A Chronicle of Cultural Transformation: Ethnography of Badagry Ogu Musical Practices

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to Mautin Adokun (1976 – 2019) and the numerous skilled but unsung performers of indigenous Ogu music, who are socio-economically constricted to the margins of the modernist-capitalist system in 21st-century Lagos.

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted whole or in part for the award of any degree. I have cited and referenced each significant contribution to this thesis, from the works of other people.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: 09/04/2020

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In a class all by himself is the King of my heart – my heavenly father, source, anchor, refuge, provider and a lot more – Elohim, I'm eternally grateful for loving me.

Abstract

This thesis examines the musical practices of Badagry Ogu people from both historical and contemporary perspectives and provides strategies for their further integration into the changing social and economic landscape characteristic of 21st-century Lagos. Badagry emerged as a Nigerian town bordering the Republic of Benin in the 19th-century colonial delineation processes, which neglected ethnic frontiers. Consequently, Badagry Ogu people, being a minority ethnic group and geographically peripheral in Nigeria, have been politically, economically and socially marginalized for generations. Using ethnographic methods in studying selected indigenous musical bands (Gogoke, Gigoyoyo, Kristitin and Akran Ajogan), a biographical sketch of master drummer Hunpe Hunga, and an applied ethnomusicology method of collaborative music composition and arrangement, I chronicle the musical heritage of Badagry Ogu people. In addition, I suggest an approach for its recontextualisation into different creative economies. I engage Thomas Turino's framework for identity and social analysis, including the concepts of cultural cohorts and cultural formations, in exploring the different attitudes, among Badagry Ogu people, towards indigenous music. I advocate for and outline a contemporary approach for musical recontextualisation as a means of inclusivity and economically empowering performers of indigenous Ogu music in Badagry. This thesis includes my additional arrangements to the studio recordings of Gogoke. The recontextualisation process, which commenced with Gogoke's recording of indigenous instruments and vocals in Badagry Lagos Nigeria, reached its full fruition in the overdubs of Western musical instruments in Cape Town, South Africa. To further explore the theme of inclusivity, I examine current gender practices in Ogu communities evident in the gendered musical practices of contemporary Badagry. With its in-depth analysis of Ogu genres, musical instruments, gender issues and a framework for recontextualising African indigenous musics, this thesis, while filling the gap in the study of ethnic minorities in Nigeria, is a significant contribution of the nuanced artistic practices of Badagry Ogu people to African music scholarship.

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Chapter One

Badagry Ogu Music: Background and Justification of the Study

Meet Gogoke: A vignette on a case study band

It was a warm evening in November 2017, following a sunny day in Igbogbele, about 13km from Badagry Town in Lagos State Nigeria. The community's famous (all male) indigenous band, Gogoke, was scheduled to rehearse at 5 o' clock and the bandleader, whom I had recently met in Badagry Town, had invited me. A few minutes before the scheduled rehearsal time, the band members began to arrive singly or in groups. On reaching the open-space rehearsal venue, each member exchanged pleasantries with everyone present, including my field assistant, Wilfred Zinsou and me. Although we had not yet been introduced to the band members, it was the norm to greet everyone one encounters on the way or upon arriving at an occasion. After the greetings, each band member either sat on a bench (which seemed permanently positioned under a tree for the band's rehearsal purposes) or joined a few other band members, who were standing, in their conversation. The arrivals, pleasantries and casual conversations continued passed the time scheduled for the commencement of the rehearsal; it seemed that strict adherence to the rehearsal starting times was atypical. A few key members were yet to arrive; hence the rehearsal was delayed.

As usual, there was no electric power supply. Igbogbele, like many of the suburbs in Badagry, had hardly enjoyed two hours of uninterrupted power supply in quite some time. In fact, power outages were more common than its supply. Holding a rehearsal session with a power generator, though theoretically an option, was neither necessary given the acoustic instruments, nor feasible considering the economic realities experienced by the band members. Notably, Igbogbele had lesser exposure to the forces of acculturation, such as the internet and social media, compared to Badagry Town. Face-to-face interactions and unannounced visitations of friends and extended family members, which characterised Badagry Town until the late 1990s, were still prevalent in Igbogbele. The only smartphones in sight belonged to Wilfred and me, an observation that bespeaks the minimal presence of modern technology. However, maybe even because of this, the excitement of the band

members was palpable, and they soon began to arrange their drums in preparation for the rehearsal.

At about 6 o' clock, the rehearsal began and what ensued was some two hours of uninterrupted music, resembling a performance rather than a practice to me. Apart from the continuous playing of music, which is typical of Ogu[1] performances, there was no obvious musical director in charge. Rather, members, often responding to the lead vocalist, communicated transitions and dynamics through drum codes as well as facial expressions. The bell patterns, hemiola rhythms and interlocking patterns synchronised with the improvised rhythms on the lead drum, creating a sonic ambience for the lead and backing vocalists to produce an archetypical Ogu performance. Being lost in the euphoria of the performance, minutes, then hours went by, yet I would have stayed longer but for the setting of the sun, thus necessitating my departure for Badagry Town, where I resided for the period of my fieldwork. If only for this experience, the stress of travelling from Lagos city, down the gridlock on the expressway[2] to Badagry, a town that borders the Republic of Benin, had been justified. Based on this first experience and several other considerations, which I will discuss later, Gogoke struck me as a remarkable group and thus a central case study in my project.

This thesis, informed by several years of listening to, participating in, researching, collecting and analysing Ogu music, examines the musical practices of Ogu people and the context within which these practices exist in Badagry. Furthermore, this study focuses on linking historical and current musical expressions in Badagry, while providing adaptive strategies for both scholars and musicians in the context of postcolonial Lagos. This chapter, which is a broad introduction of this thesis, employs the major headings: aims of the study, socio-political context, historical antecedents, research questions and background to the study, in positioning this study within the scholarship on African musics. Furthermore, under the section of background to the study, I use the following sub-sections – state of research, scope, methodology, reflexivity, and theoretical framework, to argue for the justification of the study.

[1] Ogu appears in some literature as Egun, Gun or Goun (Folayon 1967, for instance). Egun is the derogatory ethnonym by which Yorùbá people refer to Ogu people.
[2] The poor state of Badagry Expressway engenders an incessant gridlock, occasional armed robbery and automobile accidents, which are essential considerations among the users of the road.

Aims of the study: An investigation of indigenous practices in a contemporary context

This thesis documents my investigation into the present practices of indigenous Badagry Ogu bands in the face of socio-cultural transformation, socio-economic sways and Lagos' vibrant and eclectic modernity. The prevailing trend of acculturation (initially aided by the activities of cultural explorers, missionaries, mass media and, more recently, social media and the internet), suggests that African indigenous musics are no longer confined to their localities of origin, being continuously integrated into a broader context (Kofi Agawu 2016). On the other hand, the localisation of Western musical elements in parts of Africa complicates the definition of African indigenous musics (Kwabena Nketia 2016). Indigenous music in this study encapsulates the enduring performance practices from pre-colonial West Africa Ogu societies, which have been sustained through the colonial to the post-colonial eras. The performance practices of these genres have changed over time, owing to both the dynamic nature of communities as well as external influences and other factors, but they have retained their use of locally- or regionally made musical instruments and vocals. These genres were initially subsumed in socio-cultural activities: they are mostly gendered and devoid of electronic amplification. While Gogoke, which indexes and animates indigenous Ogu genres in contemporary Badagry, serves as the main case study, I draw examples and resources from Gigoyoyo (another all-male indigenous band in Badagry Town), Kristitin (an all-female indigenous Ogu band from Igbogbele) and Akran *Ajogan* band (another all-female indigenous Ogu band in Badagry Town). A combination of oral accounts and publications on the history of Badagry will form the basis for my comparison of past and present performance practices.

A section on the analysis of Ogu musical idiom culminates in the description of my method of recontextualising Badagry Ogu music to satisfy a different stylistic preference. I synthesize historical and contemporary musical practices to present an inclusive style with the potential of wider reach in transnational contexts. At the crux of my musical syncretism is the possibility of economically empowering Badagry indigenous music performers, most of whom are materially deprived.

Indigenous Ogu music in contemporary Badagry exists within the broader socio-political and sonic context of Lagos, and by extension, Nigeria. I examine these broader contexts as a point of departure to enhance an understanding of the current context of Badagry indigenous Ogu musical practices.

Badagry within the context of Lagos Nigeria: Socio-political and socio-economic issues

Badagry is historically significant. Its location on the West African Atlantic shores positioned it as a pre-colonial doorway for humans and goods (see Robin Law 1994). Because of this, Vlekete, one of the most prominent slave markets, which attracted merchants from various parts of West Africa, was situated in Badagry. I will return to the pre-colonial economic potentials of Badagry, which made its neighbouring kingdoms battle over its control. Furthermore, in Chapter Two, I discuss the entry of Christian missionaries into West African territories now considered parts of Nigeria, through Badagry. Later in the colonial era, Badagry became host to strategic buildings such as the Lord Luggard's house where the Southern and Northern protectorate of Nigeria were amalgamated (interview with Bode Hungbo, curator of the Mobee Family Slave-Trade-Relics Museum, on July 7, 2018, Boekoh Badagry). The biodiversity and unique vegetation of Badagry, including an array of endemic plants, coconuts, water-side straw (used to make mats, see Figure 47, Chapter Six) and the beaches, combined with the abundance of heritage sites, make Badagry a famous tourist destination in 21st-century Lagos.

Recently, however, Badagry has been confronted with a myriad of challenges, ranging from youth unemployment and infrastructural decay to impending armed insurgency. These problems may be partly linked to the colonial severance of Ogu people from the other West African communities belonging to their ethnolinguistic cluster. Several scholars (including Thomas Turino 2000 and Kofi Agawu 2016) have discussed the fact that national boundaries within Africa do not depict ethnic or cultural boundaries. The consequences of this fact continue to be of significance as this thesis demonstrates. Thus, in this section, I reiterate this argument by highlighting the contiguity of Badagry Ogu people to groups in the Republic of Benin, for instance, while explicating their peripheral positionality within Nigeria.

Since the wake of Nigeria's current democracy in 1999, Lagos State has witnessed significant infrastructure developments. This is evident in the expansion and standardization of the Lagos/Ikorodu expressway, the completion of well-furnished classroom blocks in public schools, the construction of access roads aimed at rural transformation and the introduction of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system, just to mention a few. Nevertheless, many developmental projects, including the Lekki International Airport and the 4th Mainland Bridge, are in the offing, in a bid to transform Lagos into a mega city. It is noteworthy that the said developments in Lagos State have remained uneven, with Badagry being largely

excluded until recently when talks about building a Seaport in Badagry began (Vanguard Newspaper: October 28, 2016).

The exclusion of Badagry from infrastructural development in Lagos State is first noticeable in the deplorable state of the Lagos-Badagry Expressway, which is the only access road to Lagos city and the rest of the country from Badagry. To invoke the polemical sensibilities of leading political figures, Omoyele Sowere (2019 Presidential aspirant) and Dayo Israel (named among the United Nations' 100 Most Influential People of African Descent under 40) for instance, the obscene condition of the expressway is indicative of the alienation of Badagry from Nigeria. In Sowore's words, "Badagry has been cut off from the rest of the country due to the deplorable state of the expressway" (Vanguard Newspaper: September 12, 2018). Other expressions used in describing Badagry Expressway, always bedevilled by extreme traffic gridlock that is second to none in the entire country, include "national shame" and "national disgrace" (see Vanguard Newspaper: September 17, 2018; The Guardian Newspaper: September 17, 2018, July 18, 2018; The Sun Newspaper: August 13, 2018; Punch Newspaper: August 8, 2018; Independent Newspaper: July 11, 2018 and This Day Newspaper: July 11, 2018).

Figure 1: A section of Badagry Expressway. Photo credit: Vanguard Newspaper July 13, 2018

Unfortunately, databases such as the Lagos State Government Abstract of Local Government Statistics (2017), which compare Local Government Areas in the state based on the number of schools, hospitals etc. vis-à-vis the population in each Local Government Area, reveal little

about the lived conditions of the populace in each Local Government Area. For instance, Badagry plays host to two of the best state-owned high schools in Lagos State, namely Badagry Grammar School and Kankon Model College, but its citizenry is largely economically excluded from these exclusive boarding schools. Furthermore, the dearth of companies and large businesses in Badagry implies a lack of impetus for university graduates, hence their mass emigration and the perpetuity of peasantry in Badagry (interview with Opeyemi Oke, a social entrepreneur, on July 2, 2018, Ajara Badagry). While Badagry is geographically peripheral in Lagos State, many of its people have maintained ties across the international border with people of their ethnolinguistic group but different citizenships. These ties have enhanced their coping strategies with the issues surrounding the borderland status of their community.

Badagry's congruity to Porto Novo, Republic of Benin

Apa, Farasinme, Igbogbele and the other communities along the Owode border axis of Badagry are inundated by myriads of border-related issues. The populace of these communities explores their contiguity with communities in Porto Novo, Republic of Benin, to cope with these challenges. However, the Nigerian government's enforcement of its border demarcation consistently restricts the access of Badagry populace to the communities in the Republic of Benin. This has often resulted in violent clashes between youth in some border communities in Badagry and law enforcement agents.

For instance, Nigerian land borders were shut to the importation of goods from neighbouring countries in 2016. This gravely affected economic activities in Badagry, which has two road access points – Seme and Owode, to the Republic of Benin. On the other hand, the absence of vocational training centres and the government-approved dredging of Badagry lagoon (with the unintended consequences of water despoliation, which brought fishing activities to a halt) have resulted in an upsurge in the number of unemployed youths in Badagry.[3] One strategy of

[3] For some years now, there have been dredging activities in Badagry lagoon, and that has affected the economic activity of fishing. Badagry lagoon runs parallel to the Gberefu-side of the Atlantic Ocean, a place popularly known as the point of no return due to its prominent role in pre-colonial Africa as the port from where slaves, purchased by European merchants, had their last contact with the African soil. The lagoon current becomes high, with dredging, resulting in the migration of small fish to waters of lower currents, as such fish will not find food easily in areas of high current. Before these dredging activities, there were various species of fish in the lagoon at different seasons. For instance, during the harmattan season, there was a profusion of croaker fish, and the rainy season brought shrimps in abundance. Hence fishing was a major occupation in Badagry.

coping with the economic hardship, following this government policy, is the smuggling of rice, turkey, second-hand cars, used clothes and groundnut oil by Badagry youths. Notably, illicit importation did not begin with the 2016 border policy, however, it became rife after the implementation of this policy.

Fayawo, the popular term for smuggling in Badagry, literally means "crawling on the belly or chest" – a description of the prostrate posture of one dodging law enforcement officials. A heavy presence of law enforcement officials in Badagry accompanies the rifeness of *fayawo*. As one drives through the town, particularly on the road leading to the Seme and Owode borders, one is likely to come across customs service points, immigration service stops or police checkpoints within every 500-metre distance. Intriguingly, the heavy presence of law enforcement officials did not successfully dissuade *fayawo*. Most of the officials, merely performing authority, benefit from smuggling activities through bribery. Illicit importers often 'settle' (slang for a bribe) officials. To this end, an official's insistence on confiscating goods is merely a public stunt indicating a demand for a bigger 'settlement'. Hence *fayawo* has become more lucrative than many legitimate trades, both for the illicit peddlers and the officials. The interplay between smuggling activities and enforcement of border demarcations has grave consequences for the social equilibrium of border communities. The vignette below reveals a case of extra-judicial killings resulting from the enforcement of border demarcations in Badagry.

Figure 2: A typical *fayawo* car, with reworked storage compartment, used in transporting goods across the Seme and Owode borders. This kind of car is a common sight in Badagry. Photo credit: author

Border demarcation enforcement resulting in crises

Smugglers seeking to evade law enforcement officials have thus created routes through the forests in parts of Badagry. To ensure that their interests are protected, some of the law enforcement officials often mount unauthorized barricades in addition to the entry/departure points recognised by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Consequently, members of the immediate border communities who engage in cross border socioeconomic activities other than smuggling often contest these unofficial barricades. As a result, violent clashes between the law enforcement officials and some youths from the immediate border communities often occur (as I earlier mentioned). One of such clashes in 2017 resulted in the death of a prominent musician in Badagry.

On Sunday, 22 October 2017, Solomon Godonu Hunga, a talented young musician, was killed alongside another youth in a border-related conflict. The killings resulted from a dispute involving Farasinme youth and members of the Nigeria Police Force. Farasinme is the immediate Nigerian community near the Owode border. Some of its indigenes are said to own ancestral land in areas delineated as parts of the Republic of Benin. A few weeks prior to the mayhem there was an outbreak of fire, which razed several buildings in Faransinme. The inferno could have been contained had there not been a barricade demarcating Nigeria and the

Republic of Benin. A fire service truck from Porto Novo (in the Republic of Benin) had arrived on time but the barricade prevented its access to Farasinme. Irate Farasinme youth, devastated by this and other exasperating border-related occurrences organised a protest, during which they demolished the barricades. In response to this, Mr Mohammed of the Nigeria Police Force, allegedly responsible for erecting the barricade, invaded Farasinme with armed policemen who shot into the crowd at random, killing two of the protesters. The casualty mentioned earlier, Solomon Hunga, was at the time of his demise anticipating two occasions of celebrations: his wife had just given birth to a baby girl and the naming ceremony for the child was a few days away. Secondly, he had just completed a studio recording of his second album, which would have been launched in December 2017. Again, the above narrative highlights only one of the many problems encountered in Badagry due to its borderland status. To conclude this section on the socio-political and socio-economic issues in Badagry, I draw attention to the oil exploration activities in Badagry, which perhaps signals of a potential insurgency in Lagos State.

The infrastructural collapse in Badagry is only reminiscent of the neglect of the oil-producing communities of the Niger Delta, the southernmost part of Nigeria. At the rise of the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), a shadowy militant formation, the Niger Delta oil fields became ungovernable thereby resulting in the loss of oil revenue and deepening conflicts across Nigeria (see Watts 2007, Ukiwo 2007, Obi 2010). Amid the tense sociopolitical context described above, individuals and groups continue to find solace in artistic expressions, and this remains a significant strategy of escaping the unpleasant lived realities in Badagry. Accordingly, music creates a level of satisfaction and fulfilment for musicians while asserting their identity and helping them find their social and political voices. This and other roles of music among Badagry Ogu people, some of which I discuss in subsequent chapters, informed the research questions highlighted next.

Research questions

The following musings and research questions, based on the uses, contexts, and the socio-cultural and spiritual connotations of music in Badagry, lie at the core of this study:

- What are the historical musical practices in Badagry, and how have these practices been reimagined or adapted to contemporary contexts?

- As I will discuss later, certain Ogu practices and instruments feature prominently at cultural showcases in Nigeria. How did Ogu musical culture emerge as a mine of artistic resources for cultural exhibitions in Nigeria; who are the leading players in popularising Ogu practices and instruments in Nigeria?
- How are Ogu musical knowledges and skills transferred from one generation to the next?
- How may Ogu musical practices be recontextualised with popular musical aesthetics and potentially sustain its relevance beyond an art form that indexes and animates Lagos' heritage? Secondary to this concern is the possibility of developing a framework for the recontextualisation of indigenous African musics.
- Seeing that most traditional Ogu genres are gendered, what are the historical and contemporary gender-related issues associated with Badagry Ogu musical culture?

The migratory history of Badagry Ogu people and the political structure of pre-colonial Dahomeh Kingdom are likely to lend insights into the social structure of Badagry and serve as nexuses for my discourse on the ubiquity of disunity in contemporary Badagry. Although it may be argued that colonization and the creation of states which severed cultural ties have complicated the situation of Badagry Ogu people, it should be noted that the lack of social cohesion among relatively autonomous political wards in Badagry predate the colonial era.

A historical antecedence to Badagry Ogu's subaltern status

Here I trace the history of Badagry people to the same progenitor as Dahomeh, Hogbonu, Ouidah (Whydah or Whedah) and many other West African kingdoms, thereby highlighting the nuances in dialects, religious and musical practices, and political administration. These nuances complicated the pre-colonial administration of Badagry as a unified unit and made its exploitation by other kingdoms easy.

Ogu, like Yorùbá, Shona and many other ethnonyms in Africa, is a cover term used in referring to several groups belonging to the same ethnolinguistic cluster (see Waterman 1990 for a description on Yorùbá as a cover term and Turino 2000, for Shona). For commerce, Allada, a dialect of Ogu *gbe*, emerged as the most widely spoken of Ogu dialects in the Republic of Benin Republic and Badagry.

Badagry Ogu people, all descendants of Ga, trace their ancestral homelands to Alladah, Dahomeh, Hogbonu, Whydah and a few other coastal kingdoms of pre-colonial West Africa. Dahomeh, the most famous of these kingdoms, became popular from the 18th century and conquered other kingdoms including the great Oyo Empire, but was eventually defeated by the French in the late 19th century (Ross 1983, Law 1993, Alpern 1998). Dahomeh gained popularity due to its military prowess (fighting with a relatively small all-female army – Amazons) under the rule of Agaja (1720s), Tegbesu (1740-44), Kpengla (1774-89s), Agonglo (1790s-1800s), Adandozan (1797-1818) and Gezo (1818-58) until the reign of Gbehanzin[4] (1889-1894) who was the last independent king of Dahomeh (see Ross 1983, 85, Law 1993, Alpern 1998). I will discuss this history further in Chapter Six.

The disruptive effects of the civil unrest in pre-colonial West Africa include the eastward migration of extractions of Ogu people from the above-named kingdoms, expanding their territories along the Atlantic coast from present-day Ghana, Togo and Benin Republic to as far as Apapa and Ajah (both of which have retained their Ogu names to this day despite being in the Yorùbá-dominated parts of Lagos State). Accordingly, Badagry emerged as a predominantly Ogu settlement in pre-colonial West Africa, attracting Allada-, Defi-, Toli-, Whla- and Whydah-speaking Ogu settlers.[5]

While conflicting oral and written accounts about the first settler(s)[6] and the derivation of the name 'Badagry' exist in different wards in Badagry, these accounts dovetail in their

[4] Behanzin in some literature.

[5] Traces of the communal pattern of living, in which extended family members lived in compounds, have been maintained in parts of Badagry. In Boekoh, Jegba and Ahovikoh, among the initial settlements of migrants fleeing Dahomeh conquest, the original settlement pattern is still noticeable. Although the settlement pattern in these areas is maintained with the structures still standing, the lifestyle has however changed. So many people on attaining adulthood move out of the compound only to visit occasionally when there is a celebration, marriage etc.

[6] One account suggests that Badagry was initially a farmland belonging to Agbede (or Agbatha) from Dahomeh (Olaide-Mesewaku et al 2000). Farmers in pre-colonial West Africa were known to possess farmlands, which were distant from their extended family compounds. According to this account, the land mass known as Badagry today was one of such farmlands owned by Agbede, who migrated from Dahomeh and settled in Gberefu (across the Badagry lagoon close to the Atlantic shore). Badagry was thus initially called Agbede *greme* (Agbede's farm in Ogu). Agbede *greme* was modified to *Agbadarigi* by Yorùbá settlers and further corrupted to 'Badagry' by European traders in whose language the 'gb' consonant does not exist, hence the substitution of 'gb' with 'b'. This narrative raises questions about who the descendants of Agbede are and where in Badagry they reside. There is no Ogu name close to Agbede (which means 'goldsmith' in Yorùbá) or Agbatha. This raises questions about Agbede's ethnicity. Besides that, if he was Yorùbá, what was his name? The names of other

submission that Badagry Ogu people arrived and settled in different parts of Badagry at different times between 15th and 19th century. Following the serendipity in the emergence of Badagry as a socio-political unit, its component wards, being autonomous, lacked cohesion hence the absence of central administration in pre-colonial Badagry. Paramount monarchical structure in Badagry would not be attained until the establishment of Nigeria and indeed, through the activities of the nationalists' movement (interview with Abiodun Dosu, a cultural cognocenti, on November 21, 2017, Jegba Badagry).

Quite telling is that pre-colonial Badagry lacked a central military. In addition to that, economic and religious administrations were conducted on a hamlet-by-hamlet basis. The implications of the lack of central political, religious and economic administration in Badagry include but are not limited to the frequent sieges in its history (see Robin Law 1994). In a broader sense, Badagry, lacking internal cohesion but with opportunities for international trade, became a pawn in the hands of the state societies, including Oyo, Lagos and Dahomeh, which demanded tribute and controlled its port at different periods during the pre-colonial era (ibid).

Contemporary Badagry is a representation of its historical antecedent. While Badagry's relative neglect, particularly in terms of infrastructural development may be conceived as a

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early settlers in Badagry, such as Hungbo Hungbeji, are known in oral history, but why not Agbede's? Also, Agbede was said to have farmed at Gberefu. The descendants of Hungbo Hungbeji have refuted the Agbede narrative that their ancestor was the first settler in Gberefu hence their inheritance of Gberefu. Since there are no records of internal dispossession of land in Badagry, one can safely conclude that land ownership is an indication of who the first settlers in different parts of Badagry were. With this reasoning, it becomes doubtful that an Agbede farmed existed in Gberefu since the bulk of the properties in Gberefu belong to the Hungbo family.

A dissenting oral account, on the emergence and naming of Badagry, holds that Badagry was rather a swampy farm, which was initially known as *Ogbagreme* (swampy farm in Ogu). This account suggests that Badagry was no one's farmland. Rather, Ogu people expanded their territories along the West African coast until they arrived at Badagry. This account agrees with the former on the corruption of *Ogbagreme* into Badagry. Another account holds that Ogu people are a Yorùbá subculture, which migrated from Ile Ife. Notably, this account has been refuted in the theory of West African language tree, which submits that ethno-linguistic groups belonging to the same cluster may be traced to the same progenitor. By this reasoning, Ogu and Yorùbá, belonging to the *gbe* and *ede* clusters respectively are unlikely to have descended from the same progenitor (see Greenberg 1955, Capo 2010). Each version of oral history is focused on justifying the claim to the monarchal stool in its ward of origin.

punitive measure for its prolonged political non-alignment with Lagos State's ruling party (interview with an anonymous participant, a Senior Lecturer at the Sociology Department University of Lagos, on November 25, 2017, Ikorodu Lagos), the on-going strife for supremacy among the chiefs of the different wards also bespeaks current division. In 2017, for instance, three chiefs in Ajara Badagry were elevated to monarchical status, yet my discussions with a few other chiefs revealed their aspirations to monarchical stools. The proliferation of monarchical stools, under the APC-administered Lagos State, is not only a rejection of the paramount monarch (Akran) but may be explained as a cheeky resort to polarize Badagry thereby making it more susceptible to external control. Again, this alludes to Badagry's historical antecedent in which both European traders and its neighbouring kingdoms in pre-colonial West Africa controlled Badagry. Furthermore, Badagry's lack of internal unity in the face of recent oil discovery and exploration is potentially destructive. In fact, at the time of writing this chapter, there were rumours about dissension among traditional rulers over the disbursement of oil revenue allocation from the federal government. Having considered the socio-political and historical backgrounds, I proceed to locate this study within existing scholarship on African music, while arguing for the continued importance of specificity, as against regional generalisation, in African musical discourses.

About this study

I turn now to a discussion situating the scope of this study within the existing literature, which theoretical frameworks I will draw from, and a summary of chapters. I expand this section to discuss in some detail the role of reflexivity in the methodology section accounting for the influence of my personal experiences, exposures and background on the study. Furthermore, I unpack my advocacy for Ogu performers in Badagry throughout this section, which ends with the summaries of each chapter of this thesis.

State of Research

In this section, I situate the study within ongoing conversations on African music scholarship, foregrounded in the works of the early writers who prefigure the field of Ethnomusicology, which continued in the writings of the first generation of African musicologists nurtured in Western academies and now being critiqued by some of the current African ethnomusicologists. Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2012) and Kofi Agawu (1992, 2003, 2016), among other scholars, have demonstrated that Westerners foregrounded Africa's written history, but were problematically comparative, essentialist, teleological and

evolutionist in their outlook. For example, one of the early accounts, by Richard Lander, in the early 19th century, asserts that:

> It would be as difficult to detach singing and dancing from the character of an African, as to change the colour of his skin. I do not think he would live a single week in his country without participating in these his favourite amusement; to deprive him of which would be indeed worse than death (quoted in Agawu 1992: 248).

Lander's observation, like those of the other travel writers and commentators on Africa in the early 19th century, does not only assume the homogeneity of Africa but also romanticizes about Africans' conceptualization of their musical practices. Worse still, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2012) identified that some of these early writers, in using the 'lens' of social evolution, described African music as a way "to get close to nature" (2012: 207). This explains the erstwhile practice of exhibiting Africans in the zoos in Europe (see Bender 2009:145).

Against the background of the foregoing, A.M Jones (1949) and John Chernoff's (1979) writings on the complexity of African rhythms, in the 20th century, were a significant improvement on their precursors. Yet these works, claiming that rhythm is the most important feature of African music, over generalised and implied the homogeneity of musical practices on the continent, while centralizing West African drumming practices (see Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2012: 193). As West African drumming practices became centralised in scholarly literature as emblematic of African music, Nannyonga-Tamusuza noted, North Africa musics remain categorised as Middle East or Arab music (2012: 191).

Following the early 20th century writings, in the 1960s particularly, African countries began to gain independence, the field of ethnomusicology was burgeoning, and more Africans began to document the musical practices of their ethnic groups. In Nigeria, Fela Sowande (1964) explored Yorùbá music in his articles and compositions. Laz Ekwueme (1974) documented Igbo traditional performances, while Sam Akpabot (1975) focused on the musical practices of Ibibio people. As sensible as a regional or ethnic approach to the study of African musics may sound, it inadvertently obscures the mass of distinct styles embedded within regions and ethnicities. It should be noted, however, that these Africans, writing about musical practices in Africa, retained some of the colonial ethos and perspectives. For

instance, the late 1900s and early 2000s writings on the music of Lagos have either completely ignored Badagry Ogu music or mentioned it only marginally as a reference to a part of the Yorùbá whole (see Folayan 1967, Vidal 1977, Waterman 1990, Veal 2000, Omojola 2006 and so forth). This is perhaps a reflection of the spurious assumption that Ogu is a Yorùbá sub-ethnic group. Vidal's (1977) paper, published when Lagos had a population of 1.5 million is not only too far in the past, considering the rapid rate of urbanization which has brought about major musical transformations, but it also focuses on Yorùbá music of Lagos State with minimal reference to Badagry Ogu music.[7]

Some scholarly contributions in the 2000s have been markedly progressive toward the specifics and subtleties of intra-ethnic musical styles. For instance, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2012) polemically derided the term 'African music', arguing that 'African music' as a monolithic category does not exist. She demonstrated that 'African music' is a construct aimed at fostering political, commercial and academic agendas (see also Bethwell Ogot 2009:2). With the sensibilities of documenting specific practices, thereby demonstrating the extent of Africa's diversity, Steven Feld (2012) focused on the musical performances of an association of commercial drivers in Accra Ghana. Based on a similar search for cultural subtleties, Bruinders (2017) unearthed the marginalized musical practices of the Christmas bands in Western Cape, South Africa. In this sense, a look into the myriad of genres, performance practices and drums represented in the cover term 'Ogu music' makes one agree with Nannyonga-Tamusuza's critique of the expression 'African music' as a term invoked in speaking about the musics from over 800 ethnic groups and spanning centuries of influences. I align my purpose of documenting Badagry Ogu music with these recent specific writings as I foreground the Ogu musical discourse which itself is broad and nuanced.

As Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2012) suggests, I problematize the representation of Ogu music under such categories as Southwest Nigerian music (Omojola 2006) and Lagos music (Waterman 1990, Vidal 2012). Conversely, I acknowledge that this study is not a pedantic report of the many sides of indigenous Ogu performance practices, hence my use of case studies. It should be noted that generalisation is indeed helpful in demonstrating relevance

[7] Contemporary Lagos has an arguable population of 25 million and has become highly urbanised (Lagos State Abstract of Local Government Statistics, 2017). Vidal (1977), however, mentioned Badagry Ogu *sato* and *hungan* musics – this is the first mention of genres of Ogu musical traditions, which was remarkable at the time of publication.

beyond a specific point, speaking across boundaries and thereby aiding an understanding of human behaviour. Remarkably, the cultural diversity found on the continent of Africa renders it a frame too massive for musical generalisations. In this study, however, there are several practices that are common to all indigenous bands in Badagry, hence a few case studies become appropriate as bases of generalisation on the practices of these bands. Having highlighted the importance of specificity in writing about musical practices in Africa, I subsequently delineate the group of focus in this study.

Scope and Ethnographic data

Earlier I implied, under the section on the historical antecedent to this study, Ogu people claim different West African communities as their ancestral homelands. In Nigeria, these include Badagry (and its suburbs) in Lagos State and Ipokia and a few other communities in Ado-Odo-Ota region of Ogun State. In other words, Badagry is not the only ancestral homeland of Ogu people in Nigeria. On the other hand, Badagry is home to at least two ethnic groups, namely Ogu and Awori (a Yorùbá sub-ethnic group). In this study, I focus on Badagry Ogu people, and on their musical practices.

In addition, Badagry Local Government Area has recently been divided into three Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs) by the state government – Badagry Central, Badagry West and Olorunda LCDAs. This division is mainly for administrative purposes; Badagry Local Government Area (comprising these three LCDAs) remains a single socioeconomic and sociocultural unit. Hence, in this thesis, my use of Badagry would be inclusive of Badagry Central, Badagry West and Olorunda LCDAs.

Field map

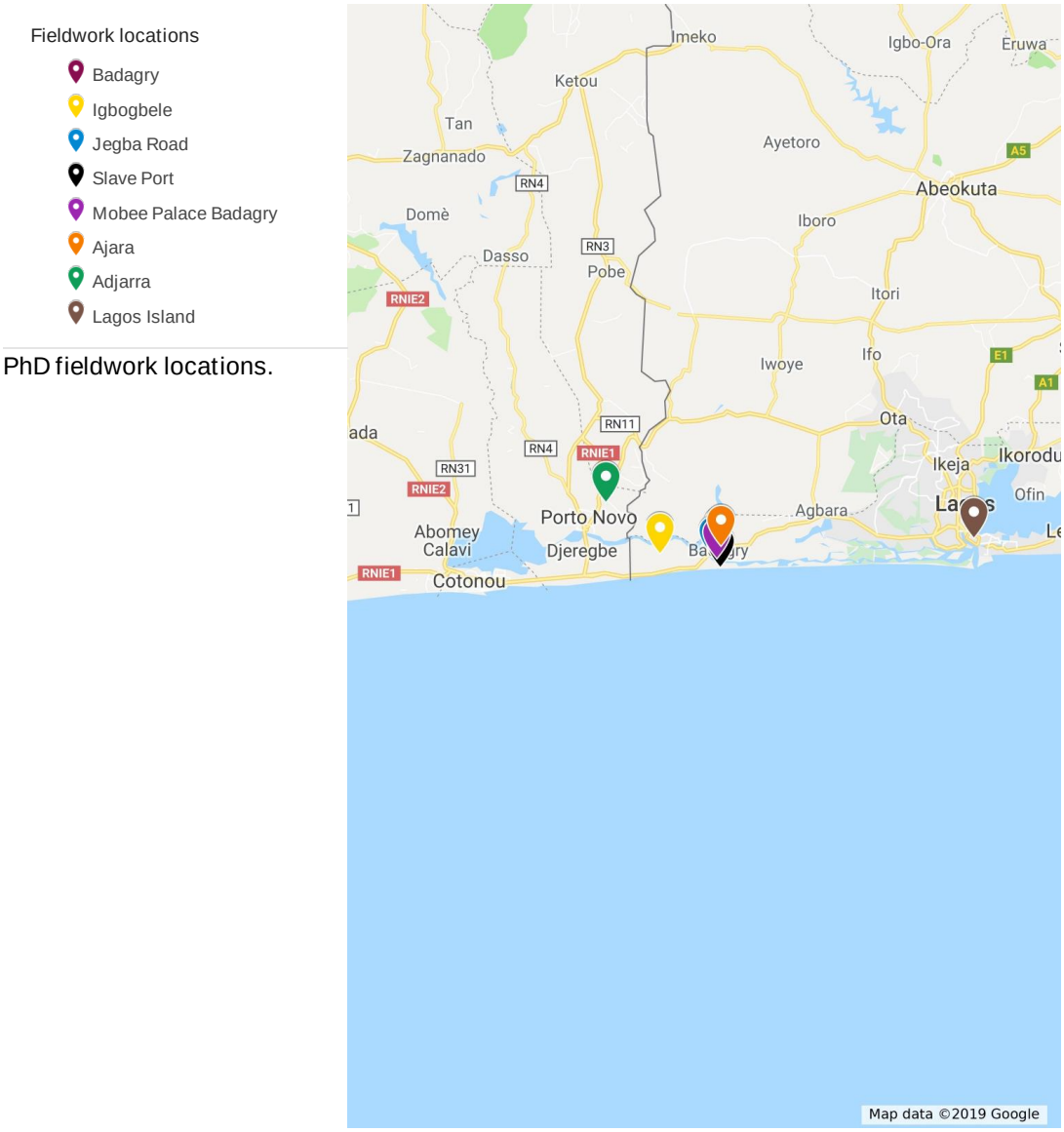

Figure 3: A map showing the parts of Badagry and Porto Novo where I conducted the fieldwork for this study.

Ado-Odo Ota Local Government in Ogun State and the Atlantic Ocean border Badagry Local Government Area in the north and south respectively. To the east of Badagry Local Government Area is Morogbo, a doorway to hinterland communities in Lagos State and to the west, the Nigerian/Republic of Benin borders at Seme and Owode (Olaide-Mesewaku et al

2000). Although I conducted the fieldwork for this study in Ajara, Jegba, Ahovikoh and Boekoh (all in central Badagry), Gogoke, a band central to this study, is domiciled in Igbogbele (a suburb in Badagry West). I also studied the drum making process, interviewed a few performers and witnessed an indigenous Ogu jam session in Adjarra[8] Porto Novo, Republic of Benin. Choosing a band that would animate and index multiple Ogu musical practices in Badagry was indeed a daunting task. First, the component communities of Badagry Local Government Area, with its distinctive history, traditional administration and religious practices, often exhibit slight differences in their musical practices, thus highlighting pan-regional subtleties. Second, the number of Ogu genres, each performed with a different lead musical instrument and ranging from mundane to mystical, complicates the selection of a case-study band.

Notably, as earlier mentioned, access to the forces of acculturation, the internet and mass media for instance, remains minimal in the suburbs of Badagry Town, including: Gberefu, Farasinme and Igbogbele. In my search for indigenous Ogu bands in Badagry, my fieldwork interlocutors, Seyon Akran (a son of Badagry's paramount monarch) and Wilfred Zinsou, agreed on Gogoke (archetypical of a Badagry suburb band) as a representative band, which has displayed a lesser cosmopolitan influence compared to other bands in Badagry Town. Quite importantly, my selection of Gogoke conforms to the general idea, in Badagry, of what constitutes an indigenous Badagry Ogu band. Moreover, the peculiarity of Gogoke's community, Igbogbele, which is underserved compared to Badagry Town and its proximity to the border, enabled me to gain a more critical understanding of the complexities of Badagry as an underserved border town, which is important in my analysis. Gigoyoyo, from Badagry Town, serves as a band with more exposure to Western and Yorùbá influences for comparative purposes in the study.

This study draws in part from my childhood[9] in Badagry and more formally is an extension of my Master's thesis.[10] Following that, I conducted two trips to Badagry with additional work in

[8] Adjarra (Porto Novo) has the same pronunciation as Ajara (Badagry) but they are spelt differently due to French and English influences on Ogu orthographies in the Republic of Benin and Nigeria, respectively. This also explains why Ogu names are spelt differently in both countries – Zinsou, Sessi and Dosou (based on the Republic of Benin Ogu orthography) are spelt Zinsu, Sesi and Dosu in Badagry.

[9] I must account for my 10-year childhood experience of living in Badagry and participating in church music, in my deductions and conceptualization of indigenous practices. These formative years informed my initial musical understanding, thus forming the foundation for my current eclectic musical conceptualisation.

Cape Town. I conducted fieldwork in Badagry, Lagos in November 2017, and June - July 2018. During my 2017 fieldwork, I recorded Gogoke in a studio then in September 2018 I began the overdubbing of Western musical instruments[11] on Gogoke's recording in Cape Town. Through this process, I demonstrate a method of re-contextualizing indigenous Ogu music, as a response to my participants' yearning for such collaborative work. My fieldwork continued in Cape Town with the interviews of selected music cognoscenti and collaborating musicians from August to October 2018. In December 2018, two of my field assistants carried out the conclusive field activities on my behalf. These activities entailed the repatriation of Gogoke's music, re-contextualised with the overdubs of my additional arrangements for Western musical instruments, to the band. I further discuss the methods of data collection, employed in this study, in the next section.

Methodology

I employed the methods of multi-sited ethnography in the collection of data while creating a framework applicable in applied ethnomusicology for the recontextualisation of indigenous African musics, thereby engaging with the local musicians' need to document their works using sound recording technology. As Marcus (1995) recommends, I moved within different locales to study the cultural understanding, behavioural patterns and practices at different times and spaces. This informed my *movement* between Badagry in Lagos State, Porto Novo in the Republic of Benin, and Johannesburg and Cape Town in South Africa in following "the thing", "the people" and "the biographies" (Marcus 1995). I mixed the ethnographic methods of observation, focused-group discussions and individual interviews, which enabled in-depth focus, not just on a few case-study bands, but also on the traditions, notable performers and performance practices.

In Badagry, I participated in the activities of Gogoke and Gigoyoyo (both male indigenous Ogu bands based in Igbogbele community and Jegba respectively), which included (twice a

[10] I conducted the fieldwork for my Master's research in Badagry from November 2013 to February 2014, and it foregrounded my study of Ogu music, thereby forming the foundation for this study.

[11] Bender (2004) contests the idea of referring to some musical instruments as Western, since geographical or historical attributes are not invoked in reference to the instruments of a symphony orchestra. For lack of a more suitable term in referring to musical instruments popularized by their usage in Western performances, I will retain the term Western musical instruments as a collective term for piano, guitar, bass guitar, flute, trumpet, trombone and saxophones. The fact that these instruments, apart from electronic keyboard, guitar, bass guitar and trumpet, are yet to be regularly featured, on the musical scene in Badagry, also informs my referring to these instruments as Western.

week) rehearsals and performances, although the need to document the entire sessions restricted my musical contribution. However, I played the role of the producer during Gogoke's studio sessions in November 2017, giving directions on song mappings, the length of sections and other musical aesthetics. I was also financially responsible for the studio recording as well as the refreshments of band members during the studio sessions. Furthermore, I interviewed musicians, social analysts, traditional rulers, and cultural aficionados like museum curators, music enthusiasts, the presenter of the only Ogu programme on Radio Lagos and leaders of cultural revival NGOs and forums. In addition to the formal interviews, I recorded live performances and rehearsal sessions of Gogoke and Gigoyoyo. In addition to these male bands, I interacted with, interviewed and attended the performances of two female bands as well as two master drummers –Hunpe Hunga (Master) and Hungbo Yevo (Akere) and a few freelance performers.

There was a marked contrast in my involvement with the male and female bands. With Kristitin (a female band resident in Igbogbele – the same community as Gogoke), my interactions were limited to the days of my interview with the band leader and a day of their performance on which I also conducted their group interview. On the other hand, I spent long hours interviewing members of Akran *Ajogan* group (a female royal court band based in the Akran compound, Badagry – near the base of Gigoyoyo) individually and collectively in June 2018. *Ajogan*, a royal court genre, is performed occasionally and there may well be an entire year without its performance. I will return to this in Chapter Six.

Apart from my visit to Porto Novo and my close interactions with a chief drum maker from the leading drum making family in Porto Novo, I took a cue from Oyebade Dosunmu (2010) and used the internet as an extensive mine of information with content available on YouTube and social networking sites. In addition to my recordings in Porto Novo, I analysed its current Ogu performance practices through online videos, which served as a basis for comparing Badagry and Porto Novo.

Studying Badagry Ogu performance practices holistically implies the acknowledgement of its diasporic voices, some of which I captured in South Africa. In October 2017, I interviewed Sylvester Aklamavo, a Badagry-born guitarist who runs a Johannesburg-based Afro-fusion band, Miton Fusion Band (MFB). *Miton* in Ogu *gbe* (Ogu language) literarily means 'ours' or 'belonging to us'. MFB featured in the 2017 Joy of Jazz Festival (in Johannesburg), which

drew performers from across the world. Sylvester would later become a collaborator in this research, overdubbing all the guitar lines on Gogoke's recordings. For Sylvester, as it is for the few Ogu in the diaspora, asserting his Ogu identity has increased with his distance from home, leading to his expression of this identity through his music and the naming of his band in Ogu *gbe*. This is similar to the way Cape Verdeans in the diaspora express their sense of belonging with traditional cultural markers such as music (see Palmberg 2002). The data collection for this study was not devoid of personal affects, which led to my collaboration with my case-study band. I examine this next.

Reflexivity in this study

My social positioning in relation to the research participants influenced both their verbal and behavioural responses. This same social positioning shaped my perspective on the research study. Having been raised in a conservative middle-class home on strict Christian principles, as a child I viewed almost every indigenous performance practice outside the church sphere as profane. I enjoyed certain privileges attached to my father's status as a clergyman in the Anglican Communion but was also restricted in several ways. For example, attendance at the public displays and performances of masquerades, somewhat frequent in Badagry in the late 1980s and early 1990s, of which my peers spoke excitedly about in school, was not even remotely feasible for me. Then, at the brink of my teenage years, after my first year in high school, my family had to relocate to Lagos Island (following my father's transfer). This would further alienate me from indigenous Ogu performance practices for about 20 years (1993 – 2013), only being exposed to them as exotic art forms during occasional family functions in Badagry, such as my father's funeral in October 2002.

On returning for my Master's fieldwork in November 2013, my privileges came to the fore again as evidenced by the willingness of the research participants (performers of indigenous Ogu music in Badagry) to 'help' with my research. Merely mentioning my surname made my entry into the field and recruiting of respondents seamless. In a similar manner, with this study being broader than my Master's thesis, I leveraged on previously established contacts and relationships. As soon as I arrived for fieldwork in 2017, Wilfred Zinsou and Seyon Akran introduced me to some performers in the suburbs where my family was not known. Quite expectedly, these performers viewed my presence as a 'blessing' because of the perceived potential in my research. With my status as a PhD candidate enrolled with Africa's best university and my headlining the 2016 MUSON Jazz Night, the band perceived me as a

potential link to the modernist-capitalist music scene and the social and economic gains attached. This thought was not only revealed in the way the bands received me but also in gestures such as the offering of monetary reward to me for interviewing one of the band leaders, which I refused. I had to explain several times to these performers that they were the ones doing me a favour and if money ever needed to exchange hands, I should be the one paying for their time. In view of the foregoing, the research participants were enthusiastic about sharing what they perceived would be beneficial to the band, in bringing more gigs for example. To this end, I also received phone calls from another indigenous band, that I had not planned to study, pleading to be included in my research.

Rick Deja (2016: 184), in his study of the commercial music scene in Malawi, noted that musicians who have not recorded in the studio are considered unserious. This practice contrasts with the common perception of musicians in Cape Town and Chicago, for instance, where musicians could earn their living by performing at weddings, corporate events and gig venues. Badagry, however, aligns with the commercial music scene in Malawi, in that an average indigenous performer desires to own an album or a recording of some sort, for posterity and to foster her/his integration into the broader modernist-capitalist formation.

Members of Gogoke recounted how they had prayed, collectively and individually, for divine intervention in promoting their music beyond Badagry, hence my choice of their band would be the much-awaited divine response to their prayer. In retrospect, the preceding explains the reason for the tepidity of the band members during my 2018 fieldwork compared to that of the previous year. Apparently, they expected an immediate gain from their studio recording of 2017 and upon my return in 2018 I had not even started the overdubs. This made some band members relapse into their normal habits such as absenteeism from rehearsals. I would later discover that the band members were not usually as excited about rehearsals as they had portrayed in the previous year when I was new to them. This subsequently offered a theoretical insight that a return into the field after an initial period of fieldwork is rewarding; not quite in the manner of Steven Feld repatriating his recordings to the Kaluli people (2012), this I also did as mentioned earlier but I refer to a return preceding the thesis writeup.

My vested interest was immediately revealed in my excitement at some point and emotional trauma to the point of tears, at other times (see also Davies and Spencer eds. 2010). Excitement, because of the performance practices I witnessed and which I believed would

interest audiences of various backgrounds, around the world. Trauma, when I was saddened by the lived material conditions of some research participants, which I could not help to change. An illustration – during my 2018 fieldwork, I had fixed an appointment to interview Sewedo Agosu[12], Gogoke's newest member, who joined the band after my 2017 fieldwork. I had observed him during the rehearsals preceding the interview date, not only to be quiet but also subdued. Unlike others, Sewedo hardly uttered a word during and after rehearsals, complying with instructions without any musical or administrative suggestion. As I interviewed Sewedo, I struggled to hear him because he spoke with a very soft voice. Other members of the band present occasionally interrupted the session, echoing and further explaining his responses. As usual, I asked about his level of education and to my utmost dismay, he had never been enrolled in any formal school. He never had a chance to attend a formal school. Sewedo's parents passed on when he was a toddler and his uncles (who oversaw him and his younger siblings) never enrolled them in school. He does not know his actual age, but his friends suggested he would be in his mid 30s. He is an itinerant farm worker, contracted by farmers at the planting seasons to clear bushes and make ridges prior to planting. At the time of my discussion with him, Sewedo's inherited house was dilapidated. However, Sewedo is a skilled drummer, in fact, one of Gogoke's best. This experience, and other subtleties relating to the deplorable conditions of living and material deprivation of the participants constitute concerns that would inform my collaboration with Gogoke.

Additionally, my musical arrangements for this study possess significant American and South African jazz leanings, which stem from my formal training in jazz and residence in Cape Town. My choices of chords are undoubtedly hinged on these experiences and acquired musical ideals. For instance, I mainly used extended chords, except for the second inversion of triad I of the major scale (a South African influence). Moreover, duplicating the melody note in the bass would be limiting for my purposes. These influences and leanings account for the departure of the emergent music from those of notable musicians and bands from the Republic of Benin, such as Sagbohan Daniolu, Polyrhythmo Orchestra and Gangbe Brass band, who also use Western musical instruments in their music.

Despite my leanings, the study is more representative of what was researched than my own personal biases. First, my sensitivities and reflexivity meant that I altered my research plans

[12] Pseudonym

significantly as dictated by serendipities initiated by the participants. For instance, my initial plan included studying the repertory I collected during my fieldwork and subsequently composing, for a jazz-type small ensemble, in Ogu idiom. Two main considerations led to a change in my plan, first, who will my compositions in Ogu idiom benefit? And second, the band's suggestion of my collaboration with them through the recording of their songs initiated a change in plan. Gogoke would not have benefitted from my compositions as much as they would through my collaboration with them. I occupy a social position more suitable for accessing digital platforms and by extension various audiences across the world. This was a common desire expressed by the performers hence my partnership with them in publishing a few of their songs. I attempt a balance between my academic interests and what matters to the community through my response to serendipity. Such collaboration with research participants resonates with Lipsitz (2008) and Kiang's (2008) recommendation on a critical appraisal on who benefits from the research, as a major consideration in ethnographic reflexivity. Ultimately, I hope that my collaboration with Gogoke prevents this research from being "symbolic of the violence wielded by researchers" in priviledged positions (see Wacquant 2004).

Knowledge claims, as Lichterman (2017) remarks, are conditioned and partial. In view of this, I subject my interpretations to multiple levels of scrutiny of Ogu cognoscenti during my fieldwork and thesis writing. Accordingly, I involved a few interlocutors in the process of transcribing some of the interviews conducted in local languages in order to retain the intention of the respondents as I keep a reflexive approach throughout my interpretations. I also embrace diversity in musical conceptualization, understanding and interpretation throughout the collaborative process, which involves musicians from Badagry in Nigeria and Cape Town in South Africa. For instance, my broad analysis of the time signature of the songs collected is compound quadruple time – 12/8 – however, the research participants in Badagry do not describe the feel of their music by the same terms I have employed due to my Western education. Rather, they refer to each 'groove' by the name of the genre, never really talking about the theoretical description (see Chapter Five). It is to be noted therefore that my prescriptive notation of Gogoke's music in 12/8 and use of Western musical ideals in this research is to facilitate the understanding of musicians with training like mine. The differences in exposure to external influences and the consistent patterns in the workings of indigenous music in Badagry within its sociological ambience may be explained using the framework of cultural formations. I explore this in the next section.

Theoretical framework

Drawing on Thomas Turino's ideas on identity and social analysis, including the concepts of cultural cohorts and cultural formations (2000, 2003, 2008), I examine three social formations in analysing some of the behavioural dispositions to indigenous Ogu music among Badagry Ogu people. I argue that the differences in attitudes towards indigenous musical practices, among Badagry Ogu people, have a bearing on levels of formal education and travels among other factors. In addition, I employ Tony Perman's suggestion of regionally specific cultural formations in explaining the lesser integration of Badagry's suburbs (Igbogbele as a case study), compared to Badagry Town in the milieu of Lagos mega city. I suggest that the residents of Igbogbele take social cues from Porto Novo, Republic of Benin, a somewhat alternative power centre in this context. I begin with the clarification of the above-mentioned concepts.

Thomas Turino (2000, 2003) explained post-colonial *cultural formations* using the case of Zimbabwe. He traced the emergence of urban-popular music, in Harare Zimbabwe, through the combined effects of colonialism, nationalism and postcolonial state policies (2000: 4). Turino argued that Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes foregrounded neo-liberalism[13] in post-colonial Africa and aided the rise in modernist capitalist expansion.[14] Precursory to the introduction of this economic policy, championed by the IMF and the World Bank, in Africa, the colonial experience had spelt significant cultural reforms.

Although there is evidence of transculturation in pre-colonial West Africa, owing to the transatlantic trading activities, Western ideals became more directly introduced to Badagry in the 19th century through its annexation, Christianisation and the advent of a formal system of education. This resulted in a complex process of assimilation, which ensured that these ideals that were first viewed as foreign gradually became indigenised and localised (see also Turino 2000: 8). To this end, Ogu people, who used to name their newborn males on the seventh day

[13] Neo-liberalism is marked by government's reduction of "spending on health, education, social programmes and development projects" (Turino 2003: 56), thereby encouraging the privatization of these sectors, which has often resulted in economic hardship for the lower class and the amassing of wealth by those in the political class (see Michael Kunnuji 2014 – for an illustration of exploitative behaviours and the insatiable appetite of the Nigerian political class for economic resources, engendered by neo-liberalism).

[14] Modernist-capitalist ideas encompass the new thinking, new desires, new market for industrial commodities, often imported into Africa.

and females on the ninth day after birth, began to christen their children (regardless of sex) on the eighth day of birth (pers. comm. with Dr Pius Fasinu, a cultural cognoscenti, October 5, 2017). This is but one of the numerous influences of Christianity on Ogu practices. This practice, borrowed from the Judeo-Christian religion, has now become an indigenous Ogu practice such that it would take research such as this to reveal the previous practice. Hence, the post-colonial cultural formations Turino analysed were contingent upon the antecedence of colonialism.

Specifically, aspects of Turino's description of trans-state formations (2003) are applicable to post-colonial formations among Badagry Ogu indigenes. In explaining trans-state formations, Turino used three concepts – immigrant communities, diasporas and cosmopolitans. Immigrant communities and diasporas describe communities made up of people who have moved out of their ancestral homes but continue to combine their indigenous practices, ideas and objects with those from their new location. They regard their lifeways as "more positive for themselves and their children than those of the "host" country" (Turino 2003: 60). While immigrant communities and diasporas are resident in countries other than their own, diasporas do not maintain bilateral connections with their source communities. Cosmopolitan formations, on the other hand, have less to do with migration and more to do with socialisation. Cosmopolitan formations are marked by practices, ethics, aesthetics and lifeways that are imbibed through socialisation into families and, by extension, social networks. Cosmopolitan materials, lifestyles and ideas may not be specific to a single locale but "situated in many sites", which may not be in geographical proximity but are "connected by media" and other "interchanges" (Turino 2000: 8). Turino referred to such connections as *cosmopolitan loops*. Through cosmopolitan formations, new shades of meaning are added to the conceptualisation of indigenous ideas and practices (see also Turino 2000:9). Turino further posited that this begins with imitation, which is then followed by internalisation. Invariably, the socialization of African cosmopolitans, which enables the interaction between them and cosmopolitans elsewhere, is facilitated by unified knowledge systems originating from the West.

James Clifford 1992 suggested that the expressions of cosmopolitanism are not uniform across different places. Turino also demonstrated this and concluded that there are different levels of cosmopolitan internalisation (2000:9). Accordingly, among Badagry Ogu people, there are different attitudes, lifestyles and preferences influenced by several layers of

socialisation, thereby leading to at least three different formations among contemporary Badagry people. Of all the possible contemporary social formations that exist among contemporary Badagry people, the three (which I examine subsequently) are particularly interesting to me. It is important to state that these formations are not the only ones that may exist among Ogu Badagry people and I do not eliminate the possibility of intersections between social formations. In fact, I reckon that each of the formations is nuanced. However, I observed some consistent patterns among Badagry Ogu people, which have informed this delineation.

Firstly, there is a social formation made up of upwardly mobile and aspiring elites, most of whom have tertiary (some possess post-graduate) qualifications, who deliberately distance themselves from indigenous practices. As Turino explained, conditions in host countries affect the dynamics of immigrant communities and diasporas. For example, where there are prejudices against foreigners, some immigrants tend to assimilate, thereby distancing themselves from markers of their origin (2003: 59). Although Badagry Ogu people are indigenous to Lagos State, there are prejudices against Ogu people among Yorùbá people dominant in Southwest Nigeria, causing some Ogu people to assimilate with the larger Yorùbá population, and deliberating distancing themselves from Ogu practices. An anonymous participant (a Senior Lecturer at the department of Sociology, University of Lagos) remarked on the prejudice against Ogu people to which I make reference throughout this thesis and more specifically in Chapters Four and Six.

Most people in the first social formation described above, reside outside Badagry for different reasons, one of which could include their jobs. Most of them, however, retain properties in Badagry for reasons of old age and/or the mere societal sentiment that it is an irresponsible child that sells an ancestral home. Some, belonging to this social formation, would even scold their minors for attempting to speak an indigenous language. Various other reasoning underscores this attitude to indigenous markers, apart from prejudice against Ogu practices. These may include the thought that indigenous language and lifeways may impede the assimilation of cosmopolitan lifeways, which may further be disadvantageous to these children when applying for scholarships to study abroad and get jobs in transnational companies.

The second social formation includes those who also possess tertiary (and possibly post-graduate) qualifications but rather than distancing themselves, their exposures and travels have reinforced their interest in their cultural heritage. This social formation resembles Turino's (2003) description of cosmopolitans. Turino identified Thomas Mapfuno's main contribution to "worldbeat" as his use of indigenous musical elements and instruments (2000: 12). Mapfuno is world acclaimed for his use of the *mbira dzavadzimu* (indigenous to Shona people of Zimbabwe) in his music. Notably, Mapfumo explored indigenous music using popular aesthetics, in a modern-capitalist sphere where exoticism is advantageous (Turino 2003: 73), because of his socialisation – Western education, cosmopolitan networks and travels, among others. In this second social formation of Badagry Ogu people are the pioneers and leaders of cultural revival movements such as Worldwide Ogu Concept (WOC) and African Renaissance Foundation (AREFO), who are aware of the advantage of their cultural heritage as a selling point in cosmopolitan spheres.

Tony Perman (2012) identified the limitations of Turino's idea of cultural formations using the case of *sungura*, a popular genre in Zimbabwe. *Sungura* music draws on musical elements from other African countries – Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo and South African, thus making it translocal (not necessarily modernist-capitalist). Perman explained *sungura* as a product of regional migrations and cultural exchanges. The third social formation of Badagry Ogu people I analyse here include those whose indigenous practices (and music in particular) have continued to be influenced and reinforced through regional exchanges.

Turino (2008: 109–120) argued that social classes are more significant than membership of a society in determining an individual's habits of thought. Individuals within the same society, thus form different habits and consider different lifeways while belonging to different cultural cohorts (based on their social classes). For instance, for those in the first social formations described above, overseas travel may be an option when deciding on what to do during their vacation. On the other hand, those in the third social formation would not consider such travels an option due to their lived conditions. Remarkably, these lifeways, habits of thought, and constellations of habits unite people of the same class - shared habits make individuals identify with others (ibid).

In Igbogbele, most of the residents have continued to conduct their socioeconomic activities across the Nigerian/Republic of Benin Owode border. In this community, as in several of the

immediate border communities in Badagry, the residents are largely without tertiary education and their lifeways and behavioural dispositions reflect indigenous practices more than the first two categories above. For example, a personal discussion with the lead vocalist of Gogoke revealed a practice indicative of pervasive indigenous ethos among this category. He would drink water from *ogan* (a bell, which is central among Ogu percussion instruments) as a symbolic gesture aimed at the clarity of his voice. The underlying reason for this is that the bell's 'voice' does not cease and even when it is broken, a bell retains its sonority. Contrariwise, the majority of those in the first two categories described above, eschew this kind of mythical practice. However, this and other practices are maintained, despite the influence of Christianity in Badagry and its suburbs. Again, these communities are not only perceived as repositories of indigenous Ogu practices among the participants of this study, the musicians also view themselves as custodians of indigenous musical practices. It should be noted, however, that their lifeways are not merely retentions of indigenous practices from the pre-colonial era but a product of the continued interaction with other Ogu communities in the Republic of Benin. Perman described this as a "regional loop of interaction, exchange and influence" (2012: 383). Judging from my fieldwork experience and as members of various indigenous bands in Badagry revealed, indigenous musicians listen to the recordings of indigenous Ogu bands based in the Republic of Benin as their reference. I will return to this in Chapter Four.

Notably, the participants in this study who belong to the third category described above are materially deprived and expressed their desire for better integration into the modernist-capitalist formation. Among them are artisans, itinerant farm workers and subsistent farmers. Thus, as advocacy for these indigenous musicians, I employ the idea of modernist-reformism (Turino 2000) in the creation of synthesis with their music (see Chapter Five). This is in line with similar expeditions of Fela Kuti, Thomas Mapfumo, Angelique Kidjo and Salif Keita – who leveraged on their cosmopolitan socialisation and employed indigenous elements as exotic materials, to create musical syntheses, which became internationally acclaimed.

In this section, I have applied Turino's concept of cultural formation to my analysis of behavioural patterns among Badagry Ogu people. I demonstrated some of the effects of cosmopolitan socialisation on the tastes and attitude towards indigenous practices (including music) among Badagry Ogu people. Level of education, social network and travels are major

factors that affect these attitudes. The next section outlines and summarises each chapter of this thesis.

Chapters Outline

In Chapter Two, I espouse on the vastness of indigenous Ogu musical practices through an exploration of its numerous drums. Closely linked with Ogu drumming traditions are religious rituals, therefore, I discuss Ogu drums against the backdrop of religious practices. The analysis of traditional Ogu religion culminates in the analysis of pre-colonial Ogu social structure, Ogu drum-making process and social roles typified in the roles of lead and auxiliary drums. Subsequently, I explore the drum families, selected Ogu genres and their associated drums. The chapter ends with a discussion on current drumming trends and use of indigenous drums since the introduction of Christianity in Badagry.

Chapter Three features the biographical sketch of Hunpe Hunga, a master drummer who popularized an iconic Ogu drum (*sato*) in Nigeria and beyond, introducing it to the National Troupe of Nigeria during his eighteen-year tenure as the master drummer of the national troupe. I explore the history and performance practices of *sato*, ultimately discussing its current folkloric use in Badagry. Chapter Three also investigates the past and present pedagogical practices in transferring indigenous Ogu drumming knowledge and skills from one generation to the other.

Chapter Four presents the ethnography of Gogoke. Starting with the fortuitous emergence of the band, I discuss Ogu performance practices and the cultural symbolism involved in musical roles. Furthermore, I describe the major aspects of the current performance context of indigenous Ogu music in Badagry – parties, known by the Yorùbá expression – *ó wà n'íibẹ̀*, compressed into *ówànbẹ̀*. Chapter Four also includes sections on Gogoke repertoire and compositional processes. Additionally, I investigate performances, remuneration, band rehearsals and the band's prospects and aspirations.

Chapter Five features the process of re-contextualising Gogoke music. First, I explore the characteristics of indigenous Ogu music before discussing my approach to its repackaging, which is intentional and delicately aimed to preserve its essence. I examine the theme of multiculturalism in arguing for aurality as aiding embodiment thereby stressing a reappraisal of the hegemonic Western notation system in cosmopolitan Africa. Ultimately, I submit that

sensitivity to the musical specifics of individuals and groups, rather than the imposition of one's ideals, is rewarding for the optimization of such performers' potentials.

In Chapter Six, I further discuss gender in Ogu performances using *gangbe* and *ajogan* genres, which are exclusive to female groups. The chapter also features short ethnographies of Kristitin (a *gangbe* band), and Akran Ajogan band). Through the description of these female-performing groups, I deduced inherent gender practices in Ogu communities. Through their comparison with the male bands, I examine the social positioning of Kristitin and Akran Ajogan group. Finally, Chapter Seven presents a summary, conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

Having highlighted the themes of each of the chapters in this thesis, I proceed with a dense ethnography of selected indigenous Ogu genres and their associated instruments, in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Selected Ogu Genres and Their Associated Drums

Introduction

There are several musical instruments, including *mbira*, *djembe*, *dundun* and *kora* that have become emblematic of Africa, particularly in contexts where people are less aware of Africa's vast diversity. To this end, a Guinean drum, from Madingo Malinke region – *djembe*, has been lionised and used to accompany several performances generically glossed as African and drawing repertory from various ethnicities and regions of Africa (see Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2012). Conversely, the mere absence of an instrument is enough to nullify an Ogu ritual. In fact, various contexts often require particular genres, and hence different specific lead instruments. Accordingly, Ogu musical traditions are characterised by an abundance of instruments in order to meet these performance needs.

In this chapter, while drawing attention to the plurality of musical practices, I demonstrate the centrality of instruments (mostly drums and percussion) to the entirety of pre-colonial Ogu lifeways. Furthermore, I examine the contemporary relevance of these drums through an exploration of their uses within contexts of commercial or urban nature with indeces of modernity. I trace the underlying reason for the exclusivity of some Ogu drums to indigenous rituals, to the difference in the indigenous belief system and Christianity, in contemporary Badagry. Precursory to these themes, I situate this chapter within existing scholarship on African drums.

An overview of African drumming scholarship

Following a concern, I raised in Chapter One, on the essentialist approach to African music scholarship, expressed in the citing of scant practices as representative of broad regions, I take a closer look at one of such generalisations on African drumming. Although Amegago (2014) made worthy contributions to the scholarship on drumming in Africa, he explored only fractions of the continent's cultural wealth while employing a title that includes the notably unspecific adjective *African*. Besides, Amegago romanticised "African drumming" with statements like – drums are used in "summoning members of communities to gather for events" (2014: 55). While they were used in many African societies in this manner in former centuries, Amegago's assertion about African drums is perhaps a bit essentialist and at the

very least, in need of some contextualisation given the proliferation of telecommunication and mass media in contemporary Africa.

Amegago also documented that African drums "are played during fundraisings organized by individuals, groups, and organisations" (2014: 64). Again, this assertion is essentialist and it exoticises African drums. In contrast, some indigenous rituals in Ogu communities require the use of specific drums, failing which may result in disaster or even death (interview with Peter Olaide-Mesewaku, the curator of Badagry Heritage Museum, on November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry; interview with Abiodun Dosu, Ogu cognoscenti and non-Academic staff of Lagos State University, on November 21, 2017, Jegba Badagry). In this chapter, I speak to these mandatory musical practices. Furthermore, some of these authors' basic assumptions about African drums do not include the wide varieties of instruments referred to as drums, indicated in Ogu language by the suffix – *hun*, meaning drum. Amegago quoted the following definition of a drum:

> A drum is usually defined as a musical percussion, made of a hollowed out (usually cylindrical) body, covered at one or both ends with tightly stretched membrane(s) or head(s) with tuning devices or pegs which tighten or loosen the membrane to achieve different tones, which produces a booming, tapping or hollow sound when played (The random House College Dictionary Revised Edition, 1988, p. 406 quoted in Amegago 2014:1)

Amegago critiqued this definition, stating, "the concept of a drum in the African context may extend beyond membranophones to include percussion logs, xylophones and some other instruments that are categorised as idiophones." Yet, Ogu traditions feature a number of instruments, which are classified as drums, which neither fit the above definition nor captured in Amegago's critique. These include *sinhun* (literarily, water drum[15]) and *akonhun* (literarily, human-chest drum), both of which I describe in this chapter.

While some drumming practices in Africa have been explored (see Locke and Agbeli 1980, Euba 1990, among others) there has been relatively little indepth writing on drumming practices throughout the continent given the vast numbers of drumming traditions in total.

[15] Not to be confused with the drumming of water among Baka females from Central Africa.

Following is a background to the use of drums in Ogu communities, which highlights the reason for numerous drums and the roles of these drums in pre-colonial Ogu societies.

Drumming in Ogu religion: A background to the discussion of Ogu genres

Discussing Ogu musical genres is synonymous with discussing the musical aspects of religious rituals, funeral rites, or the contemporary context of entertainment. In indigenous Ogu religion – *vothun*[16], there is a pantheon of deities and multiple religious expressions.[17] Yet the word 'polytheism' (Hasting 1966) may not suffice in describing the nuances of Ogu religious practices. In Ogu cosmological belief, God is known as *Mau/Mawu* (the all-powerful), *Segbo-lisa* (the almighty) or more recently, *Jiwheyewhe* (literarily, the sky-high one, bearing a reference to the Judeo-Christian religion). *Mawu* is believed to have appointed several deities to govern the different aspects of the universe or human life. While Mawu is worshipped as the almighty God, other deities are appeased, consulted for advice, entreated to act on one's behalf and so forth.[18]

For *vothun* devotees, the belief in several governing agents under Mawu's sovereignty necessitates the adulation of numerous deities: each family has ascribed deity(ies) based on its trade and ancestry. As such, the positioning of shrines dedicated to the family's deity at the centre of each *hongbomeh* (family compound) is a common sight in Badagry, particularly in

[16] *Vothun* (also spelled *vodun* and *vodoun*) is the source of the African diaspora religious practices with similar names – *vodou* in Haiti, *vodu* in Cuba, *vodum* in Brazil and *voodoo* in the USA (pers. comm. with Dr Pius Fasinu April 2, 2019).

[17] Like in the Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian religious practices, which found parallels for Yorùbá religion, there are parallels between Catholicism (with its many Saints) and vothun, which produced the syncretic religion – vodou in Haiti. Although there is no similar practice of syncretic religions in Ogu communities, the majority of the Christians in Benin are Catholics because the saints resonate with their belief in dieties as well as *yoho* – a type of purgatory (pers. comm. with Dr Pius Fasinu April 2, 2019).

[18] In terms of the arrangement of physical structures in Ogu communities, the pattern was functional for the protection of the communities. It was also reflective of the political structure. Outside the community stood a shrine dedicated to the deity known for creating disaster, *Tolegba* (the devil). In Ogu cosmology, Tolegba is believed to be the deity that causes evil occurrences, if not placated. The belief in and worship of the mischievous deity is not exclusive to Ogu people. Yorùbá cosmology has a similar belief about *Esu* (an agent of evil), who is feared and worshipped (Gordon 1979:239). Thus, he is assigned a space just outside the community where he is honoured and acknowledged so that the community may experience peace. In Ogu communities, this practice also connotes shutting evil out of the society, as the community fences and gates were built to exclude Tolegba shrines.

the compounds that predate the Pentecostal movements of the 1980s and 1990s.[19] Thus a constantly emerging theme in the discourse on Ogu religious practices is pluralism. The practice of ascribing deities to individuals and families is similar to the Brazilian Yorùbá belief "that everyone has an *orisha*" and that deities are ascribed to each family (Gordon 1979:241).[20]

As most musical practices in Ogu societies were religious expressions, the theme of pluralism of Ogu religious practices is paralleled in the musical expressions. Each Ogu deity is venerated with musical activities including drumming, singing and dancing. Special drums, drum patterns, dance patterns and songs are often required to celebrate each deity, and in most cases, the drums used in the worship of one deity may not be suitable for another. Each deity dictates the drums and the patterns played on them, dance steps and songs used in its worship (interview with Peter Olaide-Mesewaku, the curator of Badagry Heritage Museum, on November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry).

Consequent upon the diversity in religious affiliations, there is a myriad of Ogu musical expressions. I refer to these organised systems of musical expressions, which possess some symbolic classifications (Lena and Perterson 2008) as the genres of Ogu music. Some of these will be discussed later in this chapter. The Ogu genres, each performed with a different lead drum, is a pointer to the ostentatious claim, among the participants of this study, that Ogu people have the highest number of drums and drumbeats in Africa.[21]

[19] In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was a series of Christian revival spearheaded by the Christ Apostolic Church, Badagry. These revivals foregrounded the second generational growth of Christianity and discouraged the practice of adulating indigenous deities alongside the practice of Christianity.

[20] While there were many deities to whom different families were affiliated, each person revered deities and rituals associated with other families, regardless of whether one was devoted to them or not. This attitude of religious tolerance rippled into 'modern' Badagry. As a boy in the late 1980s and early 90s, I was a member of the Boys Brigade (a church-based paramilitary organisation). We often paraded in the streets of Badagry. Whenever we marched past a mosque or a place of worship belonging to any other religion, the band stopped playing our music until we had marched a considerable distance away from the site. Groups from the indigenous worshippers also observed the same ritual, in reverence, whenever they walked past a church or mosque.

[21] All the respondents and cultural cognoscenti who spoke on Ogu drums (performers and non-performers of Ogu music alike) were assertive about Ogu as the people with the highest number of drums. However, this assertion is yet to be documented through a comparative study of drums across the continent. First, Mr Hunpe Hunga (a former master drummer of the National Troupe of Nigeria, a repository of Ogu music, who is the subject of the next chapter) described the versatility and the enormity of Ogu drums with compelling assertiveness. Mr Peter Masewaku, the curator of the Badagry heritage museum and a prominent player in the African Renaissance Foundation (AREFO) echoed the same sentiments about Badagry drums. Subsequently, every other respondent affirmed the versatility and enormity of Ogu drums and genres. The AREFO is an NGO that was formed with the

It would also appear that the number of drums, in Ogu societies (that these respondents referred to) include those of Ogu people's kinfolks – Ewe and Fon – all of who originated from Ajatado (in today's Togo) (Ross 1985). They all trace their ancestry to one progenitor who was called Ga. However, this study focuses on Ogu people who migrated from Dahomeh, Hogbonu, Alladah and Quidah (Whydah) and are now indigenous to Badagry. This group originated from kingdoms that cover parts of today's Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin Republic and Nigeria. Ewe groups predominantly settled in the Upper Volta region of today's Ghana (Birgit Meyer 2002, Meera Venkatachalam 2012), while the Fon are indigenous to geographical locations across current Republic of Benin (Clark Poling 1986). Badagry Ogu people followed the trajectory of the political and religious structures of its source kingdoms, which I discussed in Chapter One.

While validating this unanimous claim (to the ethnicity with the highest number of drums in Africa) will be a subject for another research, the participants of this study in Badagry and Porto Novo Benin Republic identified over fifty types of indigenous drums.[22] Yet, there are many drums and genres that have either become obsolete or are unknown to the performers with whom I engaged (some of them are among the lead performers of Ogu music in Nigeria and Benin Republic). In fact, some drums are deliberately kept away from the public, being esoteric aspects of some Ogu religious practices. Some of these drums are confined to certain shrines where they may be seen and played only by selected devotees of particular *vothun* sects.

In a nutshell, religious activities, just like political administration in pre-colonial Badagry, were based on family affiliations with their ascribed deities. Notably, devotedness to deities was not entirely based on choice, ascription played a major role. Refusal to adulate one's ascribed deity may lead to disasters in the family, sickness and/or death (interview with Maugbe Akinyanmi, a member of the Mobee royal family in Badagry, on November 19, 2017, Ajara Badagry). By extension, musical practices were also ascribed to the individual. Each *hongbomeh* had a shrine administered by *edeno* (*vothun* priest). Each shrine recruited devotees and priests from the extended family where it is located through the consultation of

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aim of revitalising and preserving African arts and cultural heritage, thereby forestalling the immanent loss of these heritages in modern Badagry. AREFO achieves this aim through conducting research on traditional Art forms, exhibitions and performances, the organisation of workshops and symposia, promotion of tourism and the documentation through publications of its research findings.

[22] The pictures throughout this thesis show different Ogu drums.

ofa oracle. In essence, two neighbouring compounds may well have devotees of different deities. Affiliation to deities may be determined based on the family trade (economic activity), gender and/or its political status. For example, the females in a family involved in the smoked-fish business must be devoted to Nabluku, the deity known for controlling fire outbreaks[23] (interview with Abiodun Dosu, Ogu cognoscenti and staff of Lagos State University, November 21, 2017, Jegba Badagry). These various religious practices and gender-specific 'religio-musical' practices, and other esoteric religious practices, exclusive to certain homogenous categories, do not only explain the numerous drums in Ogu traditions but are also insightful in revealing why a musical aficionado with several decades of experience may not have experienced all genres or seen all the drums.

Although in *vothun,* each deity is associated with a drum(s) and genre(s), with which it is worshipped, some drums and genres are associated with more than one deity. Other factors responsible for the numerous Ogu drums and genres include the story-telling institution, which was an agent of socialisation in traditional Ogu societies. Furthermore, the rites of passage, including marriages and funerals, are also accompanied by various kinds of drums and genres. Each context required its own (often-exclusive) drum(s) and genre(s). While many drums have been associated with musical entertainment, in Ogu societies a drum connotes much more than merely a musical instrument.

Notably, for reasons of religious plurality mentioned earlier, a drum that is esteemed in one *hongbomeh,* being attached to their deity may have no importance in another compound, where there are no devotees of such deity. Consequently, while some Ogu people view a certain drum as the 'king' of drums, because of its spiritual significance, some other Ogu people esteem another drum as the most important drum. I will discuss this in Chapter Three.

Having highlighted some of the factors that determine the importance of Ogu drums, suffice it to say that these drums are used variously in worship, in the process of education, in the observance of a rite or may even be worshipped (interview with Abioro Satowaku, a drum maker, on November 14, 2017, Adjarra Porto Novo). A family whose trade is drum making, for instance, worships a drum, which is confined to their family shrine. The following section

[23] Women exclusively worshipped Nabluku and men were not permitted in its shrine or else they would become blind. There are several of these gender-specific religious and musical practices in Ogu communities, some of which I will discuss later in this thesis.

on the making of Ogu drums addresses the exclusivity of the drum-making trade, the process, symbolism and anthropomorphism of drums in certain Ogu families.

Drum making: Trade exclusivity, process and drum anthropomorphism

On 14 November 2017, at about 10 am, I was *en route* from Ajara Badagry to Adjarra[24] Porto Novo, the Republic of Benin with Wilfred Zinsou (an interlocutor in the field), to witness a scheduled drum-making session. This would be a follow-up investigation of a common assertion by my interviewees that all Ogu drums were made in Adjarra Porto Novo in the Republic of Benin, from where a sizable number of Badagry settlers migrated. The journey, though covering only about 20 kilometres, could last two hours, because of the bad road leading to the Nigeria/Republic of Benin Owode border and the associated delays.

Crossing the international border at Owode did not mean crossing cultural boundaries, it only meant crossing from an Anglophone to a Francophone territory although the indigenous language stayed the same. The differences in amenities between Badagry and Porto Novo are also noticeable. Benin Republic, with a much smaller population, has better amenities, such as stable electric power across the country, compared to Nigeria. As one travels on this trip, using public transport, it is almost impossible to avoid riding a commercial motorcycle, which is a popular means of transportation both in Badagry and Porto Novo.

Just after noon, Zinsou and I arrived on commercial motorcycles at Satowaku's drum retail shop in Adjarra Porto Novo. The Satowaku and Awavoike families are the two main families known for making drums in Adjarra Porto Novo and their fame reaches as far as Gabon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, other parts of Benin Republic, Nigeria and other West African countries where Ogu people and their kinfolk are spread. I found this intriguing, as I had thought that the high number of Ogu drums used in social and religious rituals would necessitate drum-making businesses. Contrary to my expectations, there are very few families whose members make drums in Ogu communities, both in Badagry and Porto Novo. These drum-making families boast of clientele from the length and breadth of West Africa. I soon found out that the paucity of drum makers, despite the high demand for drums, is connected

[24] The settlers in Badagry named their wards after their communities of origin in present day Republic of Benin. An example of this is Ajara Badagry that is named after Adjarra Porto Novo. The difference in spelling is because of the difference in orthography of the Ogu in Porto Novo and that of Badagry owing to the influence of French and English respectively.

to Ogu belief systems. Drum making is considered a spiritual endeavour, which may not be undertaken by just anybody, except those families chosen to pursue this craft by the family oracle.

Hence, Abioro Satowaku was certain that his extended family and the Awavoike family are the exclusive Ogu drum makers in West Africa. This was corroborated by the referrals, of all the indigenous drummers I interviewed, to Adjarra Porto Novo, whenever the topic of drum making arose. Adjarra is so known for drum making that upon arriving in Porto Novo, if one asks a commercial motorcyclist to take her/him to "the place where drums are made", the motorcyclist will head for Adjarra without asking further questions.[25]

There is a level of confidence that accompanies the monopoly of these drum makers, both based on their skills and expertise as well as spiritual election. To this end, they are unperturbed by possible competitors. Abioro Satowako expressed this confidence in his remark:

> It is the doing of God. I can't explain it. Our gifts and callings, as individuals, as assigned by God are different. Drum making is the gift and calling assigned us in our family […] Even if you intend to 'steal' it, we are not threatened. I will give you the wood and show you everything, but you won't be able to make it like we do. Your work is not my work. I can't do your work and you can't do mine. Because we are [divinely] elected to make drums, we can make the drums indigenous to other ethnic groups in West Africa [including the *djembe* and *dundun*], without being taught (interview with Abioro Satowaku, a drum maker, on November 14, 2017, Adjarra Porto Novo. The interview was conducted in Ogu and Yorùbá, and was transcribed by author with the assistance of Wilfred Zinsou).

"No one taught me to play or make drums", Abioro continued, "I started making drums from my childhood". This assertion signals a traditional method of intergenerational transfer of skills through family-based apprenticeship (see also Durojaiye 2019). Mack found a similar belief among Hausa, where musical skills are believed to be purely a divine endowment, and little can be done to possess it (2004:21). Satowaku, however, also revealed that the children

[25] Although there are retail outlets in other parts of the Republic of Benin and in other West African cities, all evidences indicate that all Ogu drums are carved in Adjarra Porto Novo.

in the family spend ample time observing the drum-making process over several years.[26] And in the same manner that they learn the morals, values and communal norms, children also acquire their drum-making skills in bits and pieces, through repeated observance, practice and correction. Hence, drum making is taught and mastered in the family institution.[27] Abioro alluded to this when he said:

> Acquiring drum-making skills, for us, is similar to the way you started going to school from your childhood. The likelihood of success in mastering the art is high when you start learning from your childhood. It becomes second nature after some time. What you are doing now [referring to my postgraduate studies], you didn't just pick it up in a day, you started gradually. Someone who just started a few weeks ago won't be able to work at your level (interview with Abioro Satowaku, a drum maker, on November 14, 2017, Adjarra Porto Novo. The interview was conducted in Ogu and Yorùbá and was transcribed by author with the assistance of Wilfred Zinsou).

Again, this comment lends a theoretical insight to the importance of a child's formative years to musical adeptness and virtuosity (see Turino 2008, Durojaye 2019). As the child grows, he is assigned more demanding tasks like stretching the skin over the wooden frame and cutting the wood into the desired (drum) shape. All these activities are done under the supervision and observance of a more experienced, and usually older, craftsman. Drum making is a male occupation as it is physically demanding and often arduous: involving going to the forest, procuring and transporting wood to the family workshop (a section of the *hongbomeh*).

Drum making process

For the Satowaku drum makers, the process of drum making begins with the identification of suitable trees in the government-administered forests in Porto Novo Republic of Benin. The size of a tree's trunk (*vis a vis* the size of the drum for which it is intended) is an important consideration. That is, big drums are usually made from trees with broad trunks. Also, among the trees that are local to West Africa, *azintin* (from breadfruit tree), *kwetin*, *tevitin*, *afanletin* and *lokotin* (same as *iroko* in Yorùbá and African teak in English) are known to produce good

[26] He further explained that the acquisition of drum-making skills begins as soon as a boy child is old enough to run errands. He begins by running errands for his father and uncles while they make drums, he brings tools and drum materials for them.

[27] The Satowaku family, like many other families in Adjarra Benin Republic has preserved the pre-colonial pattern of residence in which extended family members live together in the same *hongbomeh* (compound). This has helped in the perpetuity of family trades in these families.

qualities of wood.[28] Felling trees from the forest also involves some paperwork such as the processing of invoices obtained from the government office, making payments and receiving official clearance from an officer in charge of the forest. The process of tree identification, making payments and receiving official clearance to fell trees may take up to a week. Furthermore, after the trees are felled, they are also left in the forest for another two to three weeks for the sap to drain. Hence, a drum maker will hardly embark on this procedure with the intention of making only one drum.

Figure 4: Abioro Satowaku (right) displays a Yorùbá *dundun* drum, which he made. Photo credit: Wilfred Zinsou

Subsequently, the selected wood is transported to the family compound. At this stage, it is further kept outdoors for a period, which may vary depending on the type and thickness of the individual cuttings. The first step in making a drum frame from a piece of wood is to chip its exterior into the drum shape. Ogu drums vary tremendously in shapes and sizes therefore, these features are determined first. Once the exterior shape is defined, the drum maker then uses an axe, to create a hollow shaft through the piece of wood. The sizes and types of hollow shafts also differ from drum to drum. While the hollow shaft is drilled through the wood in making a *pawhle* (see Figure 15), for a drum like *agbacha*, drum makers leave the bottom end closed. Rather, a sound hole is usually drilled at the side of the drum with a closed bottom.

[28] *Atin*, in Ogu *gbe*, means wood, and the prefix determines the kind of wood in question. Some of the woods are found in the forest and others, like *afanletin*, are found in the swamp. Some of these trees, being indigenous to West Africa, may not have English names.

With the drum shape determined and the cavity through the drum frame created, smoothening the exterior and interior will follow. Some Ogu drums bear sculptural additions on their exteriors. Images of humans or images representing elements from nature are carved on such drums. Such artistic expressions on the drums may serve other purposes than aesthetic ones, in which case they are symbolic of its role and function (see Chapter Three). Other drums without sculpted images are painted or lacquer finished.

Figure 5: Drum frames of various shapes and sizes at the Satowaku *hongbomeh* in Adjarra Porto Novo Republic of Benin. Photo credit: author

Once the frame of a drum is finished, an animal skin may then be spread over it and fitted with pegs and twine. The method employed at this stage is also dependent on the type of drum being made. Some of the animal skins commonly used for Ogu drums include: *agbaligba yu* (in full, *agbaligba sin ayu* – deerskin), *eni yu* (in full, *eni sin ayu* – cow skin), *ogbo yu* (in full, *ogbo sin ayu* – goatskin), *agbonlin yu* (in full, *agbonlin sin ayu* – antelope skin) and *ogbo gbemeton yu* or *teyu* (in full, *ogbo gbemeton sin ayu* – bush goatskin). The role of each drum determines the process of its making and the materials used.

Summarily, in Ogu communities, being a drum maker, which is often based on ascription, may require devotedness to the deity of the drum-making families – *jowomo*. This deity is an anthropomorphic drum and it is strictly confined to its shrine, never to be seen in public. Its appeasement and other rituals associated with it form esoteric aspects of the drum-making process. I begin the description of Ogu drums with the auxiliary instruments (mostly idiophones and membranophones), which are part of the ensembles of many Ogu genres.

Auxiliary Drums

There are several auxiliary instruments (membranophones and idiophones) that have different functions in various Ogu ensembles. I will discuss *Ogan, aya* and *saya, apalun, alekle* and *apesi,* as they are the most commonly used.

Ogan – *Ogan,* a struck bell, is also known as *gunkeke* or *gonkedekede* (both onomatopoeic names). It is in different sizes and pitches. The smaller high-pitched *ogan* is used in almost every Ogu genre and it is the custodian of the time continuum – it is the reference point from which other percussionists take their bearing of the time feel and the entire music. The larger low pitch *ogan* is used in *kaka* and *klogun,* both up-tempo dance genres. Ogu musicians view *ogan* as the most important percussion instrument – in some cases, it provides the sole accompaniment for songs. Also, some genres are performed exclusively with *ogan* ensemble but very few, if any, genres are played without *ogan.* The groove section of most Ogu songs, irrespective of the genre, begin with one of two cycles of *ogan* pattern; this is necessary to establish the tempo and cue other percussionists who then begin to play (usually) interlocking parts.

Ogan are named according to their sizes. *Ogan gbo* literarily means big bell, while *ogan pevi* means small bell: these are usually referred to as *gangbo* and *ganpevi,* respectively. *Ogan* is the first instrument taught to the majority of Ogu drummers; it is the first instrument in the common learning sequence of Ogu ensembles. Children are not allowed to play other drums until they have mastered the playing of *ogan;* it is believed to be the appropriate instrument in learning to play in time and independently (interview with Sunday Ajulo on November 14, 2017, Ajara Badagry).

Figure 6: *Ogan* in different sizes Photo credit: author

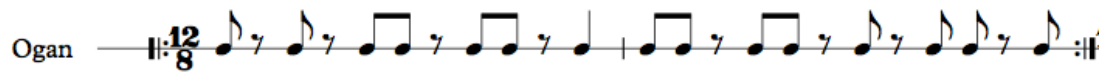

Figure 7: Ostinato *ogan* pattern for *kaka* genre

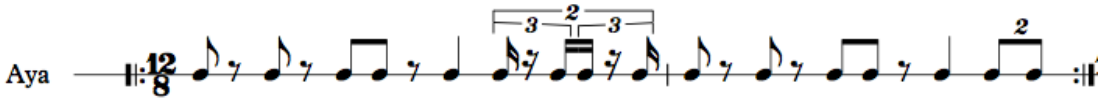

Figure 8: Ostinato *ogan* pattern for *wale* genre

Aya* and *saya – *aya* and *saya* are shakers and their roles are similar. The difference is that while *aya* is made from woven shreds of bamboo barks, with tiny enclosed pebbles/beads, *saya* is an aluminium shaker with tiny enclosed pebbles/beads. One performer, who usually doubles as a backing vocalist, may play a pair of these *aya* or *saya*. The role of *aya* and *saya* in Ogu music is usually rhythmically crossing the pattern played on the other auxiliary drums such as *ogan*, *kle* and *apesi*, thus creating a hemiola feel (see Chapter Five).

Figure 9: Ostinato *aya* pattern for *wale* and *kaka*

Figure 10: Joseph Kunnuji (left) displays a pair of *aya* while Abioro Satowaku displays a pair of *saya*. Photo credit: Wilfred Zinsou

In present-day Badagry, *aya*, *saya* and/or *oje* (known as *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* among Yorùbá people) are often played in combination by indigenous bands and church bands.

***Apalun* (bamboo clappers):** *Apalum* is a pair of clappers made from bamboo, sliced into slightly curved clappers usually not more than 40-45 centimetres long and 8-10 centimetres wide. *Apalun* is used in *kaka*, *kpacha* and *pakre* genres, which are exclusive to males.

Figure 11: The Gogoke ensemble combines a pair of *saya*, *ogan* and a pair of *oje* (ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀ in Yorùbá) (left) in their performances. Photo credit: author.

***Alekle* or *pli*:** *Alekle*, often shortened to *kle*, is also known as pli. This auxiliary drum is played in pairs. *Kle* and *pli* are onomatopoeic syllables, describing the sound of the smallest of Ogu membranophones. A pair of *kle* is viewed as a couple, with the bigger one referred to as the male and the smaller as the female. The smaller *kle* produces a higher pitch. One or two drummers play the *kle* 'couple'. *Kle* patterns are genre specific and they create the prevalent groove. Where the role of the lead drum is improvisation, such improvisation is often featured at the different climax points of the cyclical form. Hence, the pair of *kle* played in combination with *aya* or *saya* and *ogan*, not only creates an interlocking pattern but contributes to the intensity and form of the song through that very interlocking relationship.

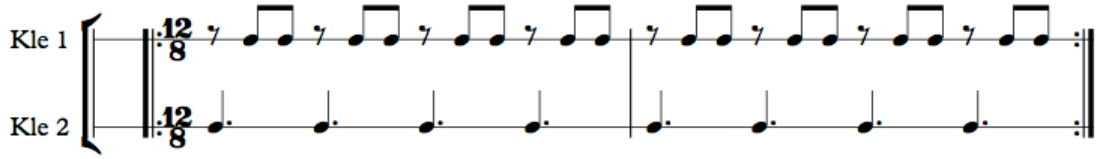

Figure 12: An interlocking ostinato pattern played on a pair of *kle* in *kaka* genre. *Kle* 1 is the female with the higher pitch while *kle* 2 is the male with the lower pitch.

Apesi: This is a versatile auxiliary drum, used in many Ogu genres including *sato*, *akoto*, *dahun*, *kaka* and *zenlin*. The frame of *apesi* could be constructed with aluminium, wood or clay (interview with Hunpe Hunga, a master drummer, on November 9, 2017, Ajara

Badagry). *Pawhle*, *apesi*, and *alekle* play call-and-response patterns in *akoto* dance. I will discuss *akoto* and its ensemble later in this chapter.

Figure 13: *Apesi* with clay frame. Photo credit: author

Apesi belongs to the same family as *agome daho* and *agome plu*, which are bigger and smaller than *apesi* respectively. These drums in the *apesi* family may be played with the *ogan* and *aya* in an ensemble, in which case the *agome plu* plays the supportive role like that of a *kle*, while *agome daho*, which has a bass sound, defines the pulse and creates the low end of the music. Over this background, the *apesi*, with medium pitch, may improvise. For clay *apesi* the drum maker purchases clay pots, over which he spreads animal skins, tightened with twine and toggle at the base of the clay jar with a wooden spool of raffia.

The above discussion on Ogu auxiliary drums is not exhaustive as there are numerous Ogu drums that are now obsolete while other drums are used exclusively in esoteric aspects of some religious practices. As each genre of Ogu music features a drum, I use the word 'auxiliary' here to refer to all the other drums in an ensemble that are not the highlight of the genre. Thus, 'auxiliary' here should not be taken as *less* active, but rather as complementary to the genre-defining drum. Although there are lead drums that play more important roles than their auxiliary drums, this is not a rule. Notably, some genres exist primarily for the function in religious rituals; hence, little attention is paid to musicality during their

performances. In other words, a ritual may highlight a drum that is not played rhythmically but only used to punctuate sections of the ritual. Also, there are drums (*pawhle* for instance) that play auxiliary roles in certain genres but are the lead drums in other genres. In the following section, I unpack Ogu genres and their associated lead drums.

Figure 14: Apesi family forms part of Gogoke's drum ensemble: from left to right – agome plu, apesi, and agome daho. Photo credit: author

Akoto, Akonhun, Hunga and other selected Ogu genres

The documentation of all Ogu genres and their associated drums is a daunting task that may be unachievable with a single research study of this nature. As part of my MMus degree, I began with an investigation of some drums and genres examining the following: *hungan, sato, mase, pakre, ajogan, kaka, jeke, kpacha, adjahoui, agbadja, toba, zenli, jegbe* and *agomeh*.[29] Here, I refrain from repeating the details contained in my MMus thesis. Rather, I explore *akoto* genre in detail while examining some of the aspects omitted in my previous documentation of *kaka, hungan, kpacha,* and *jegbe*. In addition to these genres, I survey three more genres, namely: *akonhun, klogun,* and *sinhun*. I selected these genres based on their accessibility in Badagry and knowledge of the participants in this study.

[29] I wrote on these genres based on my personal observations in the field and the descriptions of my respondents.

Akoto

Akoto is a secular genre used for entertainment during celebrations such as weddings, conferment of a chieftaincy title and post-funeral parties. Being a genre for entertainment with no spiritual connotation, *akoto* is an easily accessible genre in modern Badagry. *Akoto* performances are often presented by school cultural troupes. Most outsiders who have witnessed Ogu performances outside Badagry are likely to have witnessed *akoto* performances. It is also one of the genres that may be easily taught to outsiders – it is an aspect of Ogu traditions that is often first portrayed to outsiders. Also, *akoto* is often the first secular genre that is introduced to children wanting to learn to play Ogu drums. In this regard, *akoto* genre plays a similar role as *karimba* (or *kalimba*) among Shona people of Southern Africa. As *mbira dzavadzimu* (used in the invocation of ancestral spirits) is revered as a sacred instrument with restricted usage, karimba is often introduced to novices who desire an experience of lamellophones (see John Kaemmer 2008).

Pawhle, a popular Ogu drum without spiritual connotations, is the lead instrument of *akoto* genre. *Pawhle* is one of the most commonly used drums in contemporary Ogu performances in Badagry. It is between 3 and 4 feet tall, with a diameter of about 30 to 35 centimetres, making it a slim tall drum. The diameter at the top of the drum is usually the same for about three-quarters of its length, but the drum tapers slightly towards its bottom. The dimensions may vary slightly depending on the size of the wood used in its construction and as the drum maker deems fit. Figure 15 below shows a few *pawhle* drums with slightly varying dimensions.

Pawhle is a talking drum as it is used to imitate speech inflexions. Decoding the codes played on *pawhle* and other Ogu talking drums (such as *tehun*), however, requires familiarity with the drum language.[30] It is also one of the drums that function both as a lead and auxiliary drum. To illustrate, *pawhle* is a lead drum in *akoto* but an auxiliary drum in the *hungan* ensemble. *Pawhle* is held firmly under the thighs and played with a combination of a stick (in one hand) and the palm of the other hand. Other drums in *akoto* ensemble include *apesi*, *alekle* and *ogan* (see the section on auxiliary drums).

[30] There are a set of adages and proverbs that drummers draw from. Talking with a drum implies playing a code, which usually has the same inflection as a spoken proverb or *asha* – vocalized rhythms (see Chapter Five).

Figure 15: *Pawhle* drums with different dimensions. Photo credit: author

Akoto usually features a dance, which is central in its performance. Put differently, *akoto* genre is incomplete without *akoto* dance. *Akoto* performances also embody the communal ethos of interdependence and communal support. To illustrate, the *pawhle* player dictates the dance steps using certain patterns. With various patterns, the drummer 'announces' the end of a dance step and the beginning of another. One cycle before the end of a dance step, the *pawhle* drummer plays a new pattern, thereby indicating the end of the present dance step. On the other hand, the drummer depends on the lead dancer to determine the dance moves to be accented. Although performances are rehearsed, there is a level of spontaneity that is expected between adept dancers and drummers. The communication between dancers and drummers are done using codes that are usually unnoticeable to the audience and it takes an adept drummer or dancer to decode these messages involved in *akoto* performances. Notably, *akoto* is an instrumental genre with a dance display.

Paradoxically, although Ogu performances exist in the margins in Lagos State, the National Troupe of Nigeria now performs *akoto*, as a result of the influence of its master drummer for 18 years (see Chapter Three). Also, *akoto* dance is often used when there is a need for a presentation that is unique to Lagos State in the larger national context. Sunday Ajulo, a veteran Ogu drummer, narrated how in 1999, the *akoto* presentation by Badagry children was outstanding among other performances during a national schools' competition:

> While in Ajara Grammar School, I joined Ogu cultural troupe[31]. My first outing with the Ogu cultural troupe of the school was in 1999, when we were taken to Abuja[32] for the National Children's Festival (NACHIFEST). We presented *akoto* dance as the representatives for Lagos state. Some of us were in secondary schools while there were also pupils from primary schools in Badagry. I was in SS 3[33]. *Akoto* dance from Badagry took the first position [in its category], which earned Lagos state a high score that boosted our marks to the 2nd position overall, out of 36 participating states, in a festival that featured competitions in different performing arts (interview with Sunday Ajulo, a veteran Ogu drummer, on November 14, 2017. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and was transcribed by the author).

Conventions in *akoto* performance also feature calls and responses between the three drums in the ensemble – *pawhle*, *apesi* and *alekle*. Below is an example of this:

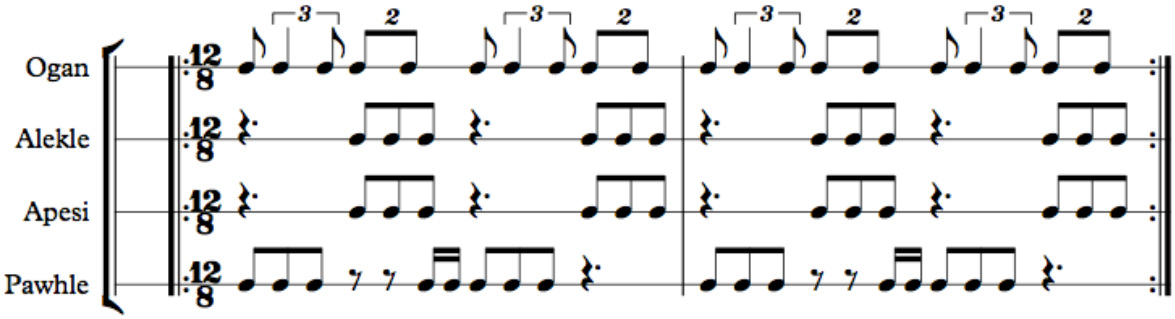

Figure 16: a sample call-and-response (between *pawhle*, *alekle*, *apesi* and *ogan*) akoto entrance pattern

The form in *akoto* includes *entrance* and *dance*. The drum pattern used to invite dances onto the stage is usually a mid-tempo pattern, which changes to an up-tempo one to indicate the dance section. The dance section, which is cyclical, usually has up to three subsections. Each of these subsections features a different dance pattern. Below are examples of entrance and dance *akoto* patterns played on *pawhle*:

[31] Public schools in Badagry do not teach music as a subject but they have Yorùbá and Ogu cultural troupes as optional extra-curricular activities.
[32] Abuja is the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria.
[33] SS 3 stands for Senior Secondary 3 and it is the terminal high school class in the Nigerian educational system.

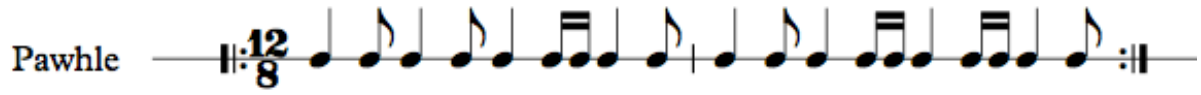

Figure 17: A sample pattern played on pawhle to signal the transition to the dance section, following the entrance, in *akoto*.

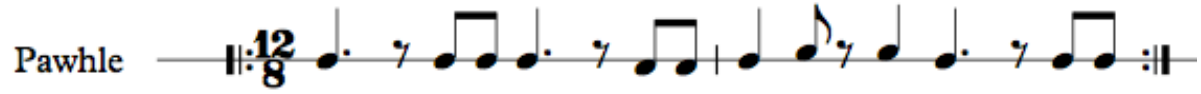

Figure 18: A sample *akoto* dance pattern, played on *pawhle*, following the transition from the entrance to the dance section.

When the above dance pattern (Figure 18) is introduced, dancers jump and clap simultaneously, with their legs touching their backsides, and this marks the beginning of choreographed dances. *Akohun*, a drum about two feet tall and 40 centimetres in diameter, may be used in *akoto* ensemble as a substitute for *pawhle*. The tension pegs of *akohun* protrude from the drum, close to the drumhead. The width of *akohun* widens from the top to the middle section of the drum then narrows towards the base of the drum. Where *akohun* is used instead of *pawhle*, the auxiliary drums of *akoto* remain the same. A similar drum to *akohun* is *ahelehun*, which is used for *vothun* rituals. *Ahelehun* may not be seen in public except in connection with a significant *vothun* ritual. The next genre, which I describe briefly, has a name like the drum – *akohun*, but the additional letter 'n' after the 'o' in *akonhun* significantly changes its meaning.

Akonhun

As mentioned earlier, this genre is one of those Ogu practices that expand on the concept of a drum with its use of human chests as pseudo-drums. *Akon*[34] in Ogu *gbe* means 'chest'. *Akonhun* therefore literally means 'chest drum'. This genre of Ogu music derives its name from the use of the chest as a pseudo drum. Ogu genres, especially the exclusively male performance practices, often require hand clapping and the beating of the chest in addition to the other instruments in the ensemble. *Akonhun* however, is predominantly played with the chest as its major 'percussion instrument'. In the performance of *akonhun*, no other drum is required apart from *ogan*. Like *akoto*, *akonhun* is secular, but it is a vocal genre and its

[34] Not to be confused with the name of the popular musician Akon. This has a different pronunciation – ah-corn, with the 'n' being a nasal sound.

performance involves colleagues or friends in the context of after-work relaxation at communal spaces.

Figure 19: *Akohun* drum, sometimes used to accompany *akoto* dance. Photo credit: author

Hungan

In contrast to *akoto* and *akonhun*, *hungan* is a sacred genre performed as part of the funeral rites of notable personalities. Like many other Ogu genres, it derives its name from its lead instrument – *hungan* drum. *Hungan* is the longest among Ogu drums, and because of its length, it is never played erect, hence my preference for the adjective 'long' over 'tall'. *Hungan* is played while it rests on its fork-stick holder, specially designed to hold the drumhead. It is about 8-10 feet long, with a diameter of about 35-40 centimetres, and is played with two sticks. *Hungan* drummer sits on the floor with the drumhead raised to his chest level. Like *akoto*, *hungan* is an instrumental genre, but it accompanies acrobatic and magical displays, rather than dance. The drum dictates the steps and the movements, calling for specific acrobatic actions with specific patterns known to both the drummer and the acrobat. Notably, *hungan* features as part of funeral rites only if the deceased is an octogenarian, or close. In other words, *hungan* is exclusive to the funeral rites of aged people. A ritual involving the sacrifice of a pig precedes *hungan* performances.

A pair of *adugba* drums is the most prominent auxiliary instrument in *hungan* ensemble. The pair of *adugba* drums used in *hungan* ensemble is considered a couple, similar to the gender ascription on the *kle* pair, earlier discussed. One drummer plays an *adugba* pair, which interlocks with the patterns played on the other hungan-ensemble auxiliary instruments, thereby creating a complex whole typical of the genre and indeed Ogu music. The other auxiliary instruments in *hungan* ensemble are *aya* and *apalun*.

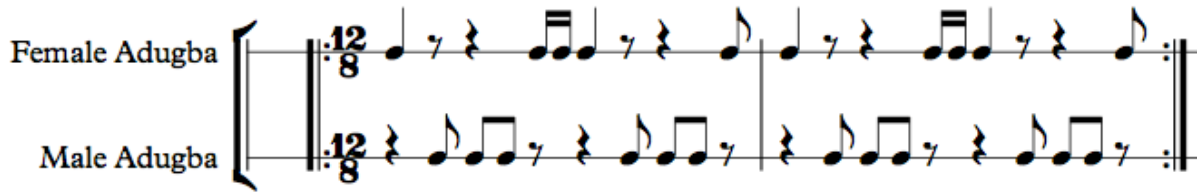

Figure 20: A sample call-and-response pattern played on an *adugba* pair (the most auxiliary instrument in *hungan* ensemble).

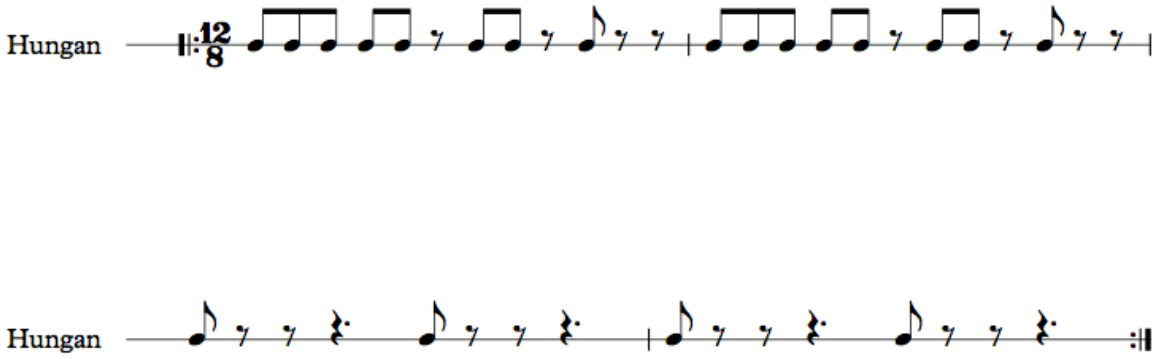

Figure 21: A four-bar sample lead pattern played on *hungan* drum over the adugba pattern in Figure 20 above.

Jegbe

Traditionally, *jegbe*, a story-telling genre, was pivotal in the non-formal socialisation of the younger members of Ogu societies. It was significant in the teaching of Ogu values to children. Thus, *jegbe* featured in most *hongbomeh*. The minimal instrumentation of *jegbe* made it easy to perform as whatever was available at home, including bottles, kitchen utensils and items of furniture like stools and tables were used as a pseudo drum; another testament to the more encompassing conceptualisation of drums in Ogu traditions. Hand clapping and *ogan* also play prominent roles in *jegbe*.

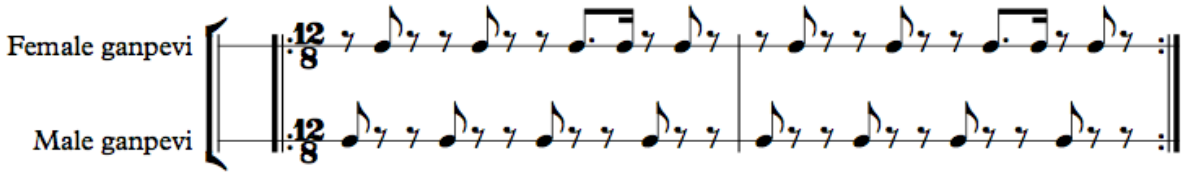

Figure 22: A typical *ganpevi* ostinato pattern used in *jegbe*

The focus of *jegbe* is to communicate morals so the musical aspect is often deliberately executed in a manner that does not overshadow the tale-telling aspect. In other words, *jegbe* music is a type of background accompaniment, and as such, it is usually less dense compared to *akoto*, *akonhun*, *hungan*, *kaka* and many other Ogu genres. However, the storytellers are often rated by the sonority of their voices and their ability to narrate stories coherently. The *ogan* used in *jegbe* is *ganpevi*, a pair of small *ogan* with different pitches. There is also a gender ascription on pairs of *ganpevi* where the bigger one is the male and the smaller one is referred to as the female.

Although *jegbe* is a quiet accompaniment to story-telling, it, however, features a dance section at which vocalised rhythmic patterns are played loudly with everyone involved creating vocables in line with the thematic pattern of the pair of *ganpevi*. The leader (storyteller) indicates the end of the dance section with a call, for example – "*epo abe, ipe ipe*", to which there is a thunderous response of "*apoze na, ma yi ro re de, i wa*" – all non-lexical syllables. After this section, the vocalised rhythmic patterns stop and the pair of *ganpevi* continue quietly. The tempo increases at the dance break but the *ogan* player may retract to the initial tempo after the dance break.

Kaka

In contrast to *akoto*, *kaka* is a nuanced communal dance genre used for entertaining guests at funerals, weddings and other social gatherings. It is upbeat and features a dense percussion section, thus making it the favourite genre of many young people. Consequently, commercial indigenous bands, who seek to perform genres that would attract party attendees to the dance floor, often favour *kaka* (see Chapter Four). Although kaka is a secular genre, it is sometimes used in certain aspects of traditional rituals. A major feature of *kaka* is the use of *gangbo* (big bells – see Figure 6). *Kaka* is characterised by a combination of three to four *gangbo*, which produce interlocking *ogan* rhythms (see Figure 7 for the *ogan* pattern of *kaka*).

Some indigenous Ogu bands make a distinction between *kaka* and *kakagbo* based on the number and sizes of *ogan* used. The suffix '*gbo'* literarily means 'big', hence the *ogan* used in *kakagbo* are bigger than those used in *kaka*. That said, *kaka* and *kakagbo* do have identical patterns. The main auxiliary percussion used in *kaka* performances is *apalun* (sliced bamboo clappers). Apart from *apalun*, unsliced bamboo stems are also used in *kaka*. They are played with slim metal beaters in their cylindrical forms, after having been cut into lengths of about 30-40 centimetres.

Another genre closely related to *kakagbo* is *klogun*. These genres are so similar that they may appear the same to an outsider unable to recognise the minute variation in the timbre of their different lead instruments. *Klogun* has the same pattern as *kakagbo* but it adds on a special drum, the *bembe* (similar to a small marching bass drum). The use of the *bembe* as the lead drum in *klogun* is its major distinguishing element. In *klogun*, the lead drum observes a break while the auxiliary instruments, majorly *apalun* and *ogan* continue. *Bembe* improvises at the high points of each song.

Kpacha

Kpacha is another secular genre mainly played to accompany funeral processions. This genre does not feature any particular drum, like *jegbe*, it is performed with "anything that makes sounds" (interview with Joel Yetonyon, a radio presenter and Ogu musicians, on November 10, 2017, Boekoh Badagry) including bottles, tins, plastic containers and cutlery.

***Sinhun* (*Osinhun*)**

As mentioned earlier, *sinhun* is one of the genres that expand the concept of a drum, to encompass a mechanism of sound production that uses gourd and water. *Osin* means water while *ohun* means drum. The genre *osinhun*, fondly called *sinhun* uses water in its mechanism of sound production: buckets or big bowls are filled with water, upon which calabashes with smaller diameters are turned upside down. The calabashes float on the water, creating a vacuum between the water and the bottom of the calabash, which faces up. The calabashes are played with drumsticks as they produce different drum-like tones. The sizes of the calabashes and level of water may be varied to change the pitches and tone colours of the 'water drum'.

Summarily, hand clapping, beating of the chest, vocalised rhythm and water drums, which are ingrained in Ogu musical performances, suggests that the Ogu concept of drumming is ubiquitous, fluid and inclusionary, transcending the fixed idea of what a drum is in earlier writings of Hornbostel (1928), Jones (1959), Chernoff (1979) and more recently, Amegago (2014). In Ogu practices, a drum includes ideas expressed through the voice or any physical object capable of producing a tone. Joel Yetonyon, an adept Ogu drummer and a radio presenter, captured this thought when he said "a drum could be anything that makes a sound – table, bottles, tins, plastic containers, just anything". Given the the use of parts of the body and utensils for creating rhythm in Ogu music, I cannot agree more with Yetonyon's stance on what is perceived as a drum among Ogu people. This definition of Ogu drum also defies the classification of drums as idiophones and membranophones (Hornbostel 1928). On the other hand, some Ogu drums are not played, as mentioned earlier. Yet, some drums are not played rhythmically but rather used only to punctuate sections. One such example is *sato,* discussed in Chapter Three.

Furthermore, most of these genres listed above, except for *akoto* (featuring male drummers and both male and female dancers) and *jegbe* (featuring children of both sexes and an adult who tells the story), are male performance practices. I discuss two female genres in Chapter Six. In addition, the foregoing is insightful in pointing to the fact that drums go beyond musical instruments or mere material objects in Ogu practices. Ogu drums are deeply symbolic and rooted in the belief system of Ogu people – this serves as the focus of the section that follows.

Determining the importance of a drum: Spiritual symbolism over musicality

Ogu genres may be broadly categorised as religious or secular. Each genre is performed with a unique ensemble, featuring a lead drum. While the lead drums featured in a genre remain the same for all indigenous bands, the ensemble of auxiliary percussion for the same genre may vary slightly from band to band: Due to the modern-day musical transculturation, a few percussion instruments, including *oje* (*ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* in Yorùbá), have been borrowed from Yorùbá tranditions.

Some Ogu lead drums play active rhythmic roles, improvising at sectional climaxes and imitating speech inflexions. Such lead drums may also communicate coded messages to dancers. There are a few genres, though, with ceremonial and spiritually symbolic lead

drums, which do not play any musically significant role. The significance of such lead drums lies more in their spiritual symbolism than musical worth. A lead drum with spiritual connotations may not be required to play a musically complex pattern like its auxiliary drums but it remains central to its associated rituals. In fact, when a symbolic lead instrument is absent, its associated genre is devoid of its power and potency. Such lead drums in Ogu musical practices contradict Agawu's remark that African lead drums play the most important and rhythmic complex pattern in an ensemble (2016: 184). I will return to this in Chapter Six.

Evidently, the rating of Ogu drums based on their importance may not be determined by their musical roles. Participants in this study, including P. Olaide-Mesewaku and Abiodun Dosu, confirmed that the spirituality of a drum is rated above its musicality in an ensemble. This non-musical consideration in the evaluation of drums in an ensemble is paralleled in the selection of leadership in Ogu bands, in which case, age and maturity may be more important than musical adeptness. Chapter Four addresses maturity over musicality in the selection of leaders in Ogu bands. In the next section, I examine the contemporary implications of the spiritual symbolism of Ogu instruments and why such instruments may not easily be used in different contexts than they were intended.

Spiritual symbolism and the adaptation of Ogu instruments in Christian worship in contemporary Badagry

Several authors have documented the Christian perception of indigenous African instruments (and other musical elements) as profane and unfit for Christian worship (Israel Katoke 1984; Birgit Meyer 2002; Anna Berger 2013). On the other hand, I have observed the use of indigenous instruments, including marimbas, in the localisation of the Anglican Church liturgy in Southern Africa. While some instruments may be easily adapted for such purposes, some other instruments and genres may not be so easily recontextualised. In what follows, I examine the underlying reason why Ogu musical instruments may not be easily adapted in Christian worship, thus explaining the perception of some indigenous instruments as unfit for Christian worship.

Due to the spiritual symbolism of musical instruments, using such indigenous instruments for other purposes than the rituals they were intended is not as simple as physically transporting the instruments and applying them in a different context. At this point, I evoke the Judaeo-Christian Biblical account in 1 Samuel, chapter 5.

The nation Israel, under the theocratic administration of a prophet, Eli, had deviated from the tenets of their religion hence their God had warned, through the young boy Samuel, of an impending punishment. In the chain of events was a battle against the Philistine nation, which Israel lost. Following this, the Philistines carted away Israel's ark of their covenant with God (symbolic of the presence of their God), which they (Philistines) kept in the temple of Dagon, a Philistine god, credited for the victory. The biblical account holds that the following morning, the statue of Dagon had not only fallen but had also broken at his head and hands. This occurrence was later linked with the presence of Israel's ark of the covenant in Dagon's temple. Other disastrous occurrences followed in Ashdod until Israel's ark was returned.

In a reversed sensibility, some indigenous Ogu drums may not be used in other contexts, be it for entertainment or in Christian worship, without the observance of due rituals. For instance, it is said that a *sato* drum requires certain esoteric rituals, failing which results in the drum being so heavy to the point that ten hefty men may not be able to lift it (interview with Peter Olaide-Mesewaku on November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry; see Chapter Three for other such rituals surrounding *sato* genre). Since there is a disconnect in the *vothun* and Christians beliefs, in which case, Christians will not subscribe to the observance of stipulated rituals that must precede the use of certain indigenous instruments, such instruments, therefore, would perpetually remain excluded from Christian worship. Furthermore, Michael Veal (2000: 29) documented an occurrence in which Reverend Canon Josiah Ransome-Kuti (Fela Kuti's grandfather), a Christian revivalist, faced a staunch opposition by traditionalist. He was preaching while an *egungun* procession warned him to stop the service. Ignoring the warning, he caused the *egungun* to tap on the door of the church three times. The church building collapsed but miraculously, the walls fell outside and the roof either fell among the aisles or flew outward, neither the preacher nor any member of his congregation was injured.

Notably, many of the early Christian converts witnessed similar occurrences and confrontations and as such have outlawed some indigenous materials (not just musical instruments) associated with indigenous religions. The Yorùbá adage – *ẹni Ṣàngó t'oju ẹ̀ wọ'lẹ̀ kò ní báwọn b'Ọ́bakòso* (one who witnessed the fury of a deity – *Ṣàngó*, will refrain from defying the deity – *Ọ́bakòso*), therefore, expresses the reasoning behind the avoidance of the use of indigenous instruments in Christian worship and entertainments.

The fact that music is embedded in religious practices explains why on conversion, many people did away with certain musical practices and their associated instruments. Being wary of the connotations of certain drums and what they represent, Christians would rather distance themselves from such instruments. As mentioned earlier, while some drums like *pawhle*, with no deep spiritual symbolism, may easily be adopted into Christian worship because traditionally, they are secular drums, adapting other drums is not simply a matter of physically taking them to be used in church. In fact, for some drums to be used for secular purposes, there are rituals that must be conducted to expunge the spirituality of the drums (see Chapter Three). The following section describes the process by which an indigenous Ogu drum, with spiritual symbolism, was assimilated into Christian worship and has since taken new forms of expression in Badagry.

The localisation of Christian worship through the adaptation Ogu drums

The missionisation of Badagry began after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, however, slave-trading activities between West African chiefs and European slave merchants at the Vklekete slave market in Badagry would not stop until the mid-1800s. After the official abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, Christian missionaries arrived in Badagry in 1842, introducing the Western system of education three years later. The events leading up to the arrival of the Christian missionaries include the repatriation of slaves from Sierra Leone. In 1838, a community of freed slaves, resident in Sierra Leone, wrote to Queen Victoria of England via the governor of Sierra Leone, requesting her financial assistance in order to trace their roots in West Africa, especially in Badagry and to create a colony for them. The response came a year later in 1839 and it was a partial success in the sense that they were granted permission to return to Badagry in the bid to trace their roots but the financial assistance they had solicited was not granted. They had to sell some of their properties, rented a ship and they arrived at Badagry around 1840. They had been missionized and Western-educated, bearing English names given to them by their patrons after baptism. In 1841, one of them called James Fergusson wrote to the Methodist Commission in England, requesting that a missionary be sent to them because they were in a place dominated by darkness, referring to the indigenous religious practices of Badagry people. *Vothun* was the dominant religion at the time.

In response to Fergusson's letter, Thomas Bach Freeman, a creole Priest, was redeployed from his base in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) to Badagry. He arrived in Badagry on 24

September 1842 and the few Christian converts from Sierra Leone received him. Prior to his arrival, Freeman wrote to Chief Warawara, the Wawu[35] of Badagry. Chief Warawara was one of the high chiefs in Badagry, and head of Ahovikoh Quarters. He had earlier received the gospel through James Fergusson and was willing to accept the missionaries. Chief Warawara was said to have donated the landed property upon which the first storey building (a mission house) was built.

On his arrival, Freeman was taken to Obada market, the city centre at that time. At the city centre or town square, there was a landmark *agiya*[36] tree (*asisoe tin* in Ogu), which served as a meeting point and point of reference for social and religious activities. For instance, the *agiya* tree played host to numerous indigenous rituals and festivities at the time. The Christian returnees suggested the *agiya* tree, being the town centre, for the first preaching of the gospel as it would be the one place where a good number of Badagry indigenes could be reached. The seed of Christianity was sown under the *agiya* tree on the 24th of September 1842, from where Christianity spread to the rest of the geographical location that would be known as South West Nigeria.[37]

With the introduction of Christianity and Western education[38] in Badagry, the indigenous religion (which cannot be divorced from its musical practices) was discouraged among Christian converts. Many Ogu drums and genres, particularly those that featured in esoteric aspects of *vothun* and thus had spiritual connotations, were outlawed in Christianity.[39] In

[35] Wawu is the title by which the chief of Ahovikoh (a ward in Badagry) is known.
[36] African velvet tamarind tree.
[37] Later, in November 1842, an Anglican emissary, Reverend Henry Townsend, joined Freeman in Badagry and on December 25, 1842, they both returned to the *agiya* to hold the first Christmas service in Badagry. The *agiya* tree fell in 1959 after a life spanning over 300 years. Because of its significance, a monument stone was erected at the location of the *agiya* tree. It remains a landmark in modern Badagry.
[38] Christianity continued to thrive through the colonial period. The missionaries also introduced the Western system of education in 1843 through the founding of the first primary school in Badagry, St. Thomas' Primary School, Badagry. When it was opened, the school enrolled adult students who were Christian converts and needed to be taught to read the Bible and become socialised in the Western way.
[39] Hunpe Hunga, a master drummer, remarked that in contemporary Badagry, Christians still distance themselves and discourage their children from learning indigenous drums. He observed that Christian preachers openly condemn their followers' participation in indigenous rituals. He submitted that while such preachers may be aiming at condemning indigenous religion, they inadvertently condemn indigenous music.

retrospect, I recall that a few drum patterns were not permitted in the church space, otherwise, the player risked being disciplined for playing a pattern associated with an indigenous deity.

Despite the discouragement of the use of drums and patterns associated with indigenous deities in Badagry churches until now, some Ogu drums (including some of the spiritually symbolic ones) and genres have now been adapted for Christian worship in a few denominations. Notable among the denominations that have localised their liturgy to include indigenous genres and instruments is the Celestial Church of Christ (CCC). Moreover, the CCC in Farasinmeh Badagry maintains a large ensemble of Ogu drums, used in the performance of various Ogu genres.

The founder of the CCC, Baba SBJ Oshofa, was an Ogu man from Agonge in Ajashe, Republic of Benin. His indigenisation of the CCC liturgy is believed to be divinely inspired, as a means of promoting inclusiveness and reaching the alienated indigenes to whom he was called (interviews with Michael Hunto and Kushokeho Jawu, both clerics of the CCC Farasinme, November 12, 2017, Farasinme Badagry). The CCC is a 'white garment church', meaning all members attend church services wearing white robes and without shoes. Indigenous music, for them, is a tool of evangelism.

However, the CCC has had to rename and slightly modify some of these indigenous drums associated with *vothun* rituals. The manner in which indigenous drums are used in indigenous religious practices is paralleled in the CCC's use of indigenous drums. For instance, *bembe* (used in some *vothun* rituals) has been modified and renamed *awhangbahun*, which is now prominent in the CCC worship. Awhangbahun (literarily, the drum of deliverance or victory) is used for healing in the CCC service. Baba Oshofa saw its new design while he was in a trance. It is said that if a sick person dances to its rhythm, which is usually up-tempo, she or he becomes healed instantly, especially if the sick person sweats in the process of dancing. It is believed that sicknesses leave the bodies of people who dance to the rhythm of *awhangbahun*, in the form of sweating. When *awhangbahun* is played, God's Spirit descends, there could be spirit possession and miracles could happen. This use of *awhangbahun*, which is similar to the use of some drums in *vothun*, is also comparable to the role of instruments in several other African traditions, such as the role of *mbira dzavadzimu* in *bira* ceremonies (among Shona people of southern Africa). In essence, *awhangbahun* signals African retentions in the indigenised Christian liturgy of the CCC.

Figure 23: Picture of the CCC Farasinmeh band playing awhangbahun (center), pawhle, tehun and some other indigenous Ogu drums. While they may use a pair of conga drums (as seen in the picture), the CCC band in Farasinme deliberately excludes the drum kit, guitars and keyboards in their performance of Ogu songs. Kushokeho Jawu, a cleric in the church, suggested that Western instruments, if not carefully applied, may undermine the essence of indigenous ensembles. Photo credit: author

Concluding remarks

The centrality of drums in Ogu religious and social life is a discursive theme that may not be exhausted in a thesis chapter. One of the most popular drums in Ogu traditions has been intentionally left for a later discussion in the next chapter. This drum, *sato*, is arguably the Ogu drum par excellence and it will be discussed in the same chapter as an estwhile master drummer of the National Troupe of Nigeria, who popularised this drum within and outside Nigeria.

Although some drums have been assimilated into contemporary performances, quite telling is the number of Ogu drums that are no longer in use, especially in Badagry. A few influential individuals have, through their positions and activities, taken Ogu drums to national acclaim, propagating certain Ogu drums as emblematic not just to Lagos State but to the entire nation, Nigeria. In the following chapter, I employ a biographical sketch of master drummer, Hunpe Hunga in a discourse of an iconic Ogu drum (*sato)* in contextualizing Ogu music in Lagos and by extension, Nigeria. A portion of Chapter Three recounts the recent spread of *sato*,

through the instrumentality of Ogu drummers, Hunpe Hunga, the erstwhile master drummer of the Nigerian National Troupe for 18 years.

Chapter Three

A Master Drummer: His Indigenous Education, His Role in Popularising Sato Drum and His Pedagogical Initiative

Introduction

Following the Nigerian civil war (1967 – 1970), the Federal Government, under the military dictatorship of General Yakubu Gowon, began initiating policies aimed, on the one hand, to emphasise unity (in the culturally diverse nation) and, on the other hand, create a national cultural identity. While the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)[40] scheme was designed to fulfil the former, the National Troupe of Nigeria was created to meet the latter need. Indeed, such initiatives as the National Troupe of Nigeria are pervasive in Africa since the 1960s. Gerhard Kubik documented that many African countries, on attaining political independence established national dance ensembles in various states. Examples of such ensembles include the Tanzanian National Dance Troupe and Uganda's Heartbeat of Africa (1981:85). In such ensembles, Nannyonga-Tamusuza added, "the creation of a widely encompassing national culture was emphasised, while local and ethnic differences tended to be played down; with time different distinctive ethnic musics have been mingled, giving way to hybridised national musics" (2012: 207 – 208). Notably, in the creation of national identities, whether through government-initiated schemes, the mass media, popular bands or individual musicians, regional styles and instruments have often emerged as emblematic of African nations: *mbira* in Zimbabwe and *kora* in Gambia.

In Nigeria, a few Ogu musicians have attained national acclaim thus popularising some Ogu drums. This underscores the emergence of *sato* drum as emblematic, first of indigenous music in Lagos State and later, of the National Troupe of Nigeria (here after NTN). In this Chapter, I discuss the role of a master drummer of the NTN – Hunpe Hunga, who originated from Badagry, in popularising the *sato* drum in Nigeria and beyond. Hunpe Hunga received his training in *hunpameh*, *vothun* monastery, which has now become obsolete in Badagry. Therefore, I examine this defunct indigenous institution and its role in the intergenerational

[40] The NYSC scheme was set up to involve Nigerian youth in nation building and familiarise them with other ethnic groups making up the nation. Through this scheme, university graduates, below the age of 30, are subjected to paramilitary training and posted to various states, other than their own, to work for the federal government for 12 calendar months. NYSC is considered an avenue for national reconciliation following the Nigerian civil war.

transfer of indigenous knowledge, while comparing its mechanisms with those of contemporary initiatives aimed at achieving the educational purposes of *hunpameh*.

Meet Hunpe Hunga, a master drummer

> I can prove it to you! The *sato* drum is the second largest traditional drum in the world. If anyone doubts it, give them my phone number [and let them have a word with me] (interview with Hunpe Hunga on November 9, 2017, Ajara Badagry).

These were the words of Mr Hunpe Hunga, the legendary master drummer of the NTN for 18 years (1994 – 2012). He is fondly referred to as "Master" by both young and old in his Posikoh Quarters, Ajara Agamathen Badagry neighbourhood, therefore, hereafter I refer to him simply as Master. Apart from his dexterity on the drums, he was articulate, confident and had his facts straight. He quoted dates and people's comments accurately, remembering first, middle and last names, as we discussed his role in popularising Ogu music within and beyond Nigeria. After multiple sessions with him, I couldn't agree more that he deserves the honourific, 'Master'.

Figure 24: Mr Hunpe Hunga (right) with Joseph Kunnuji in front of the *hunpameh* at Posikoh Quarters. Photo credit: author

My re-entry into the field in November 2017 was marked by exciting serendipity, the meeting with Master, which would refocus my fieldwork activities for the next few weeks. Wilfred Zinsou, an interlocutor in the field, had mentioned prior to my arrival, his plan to introduce me to a master drummer. I assumed that the introduction would be one of those introductions to just another respondent, but I was wrong. My encounter with Master turned out to be most rewarding for this study. In the weeks that followed the November 7, 2017, late-night meeting with Master, we had multiple sessions during which we interacted, and I also got the opportunity to watch him perform. Master narrated his introduction to drumming, his career as the master drummer of the National Troupe of Nigeria and his budding Ogu pedagogical initiative.

On Thursday 9 November 2017, I arrived at Posikoh Quarters, Ajara Agamathen Badagry around 10am. It is indeed common knowledge in that neighbourhood that people bearing cameras and other recording devices are often coming to interview Master. Journalists, reporters and researchers pay regular visits to him. Hence, When I appeared with my recording equipment, I could not evade being asked by a passer-by if I was "looking for Master's house", and then shown the way to the Hunga *hongbomeh*. Master soon took me to a tree under which were benches made of raffia bamboo, in front of the Posikoh Quarters' shrine – a place which he chose as an interview site. There we sat and what followed was an interview session, which lasted for over two hours. It was during this interview that I was schooled on topics ranging from Ogu genres, drums, and rituals, to Ogu indigenous drumming pedagogical methods. Other themes explored during this and subsequent interviews included his biography, how he became acclaimed nationwide, his tours around the world, bearing not just the 'flag' of Nigeria but also that of Ogu people. These biographical themes will serve as my point of departure for this chapter.

Hunpe Hunga's early life and his introduction to Ogu drums

Born Sunday[41] Oluwagbenga Hunga on the 2nd of June in 1970 in Ajara Agamathen Badagry, Master began his training in drumming, dancing and acrobats, at the age of five at the

[41] It is a common practice to name boys born on certain days of the week after those days, like Sunday, Monday and Friday. Certain days of the week are deemed more potentially profitable than other days in Ogu and Yorùbá cosmologies hence children are not named after Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.

hunpameh in Posikoh Quarters.[42] The word '*hunpameh*' is a derivative of three Ogu *gbe* words – *Ohun* (secrete or esoteric), *pa* (an enclosure or compound) and *meh* (inside). Hence its literal meaning is 'inside the esoteric compound'. In *hunpameh*, selected *vothun* devotees are taught the liturgy of *vothun* worship including religious songs, dances, drumming patterns as well as socioeconomic skills such as wood carving, weaving and indigenous textile designs. I will return to the *modus operandi* of this indigenous institution later in this chapter. Master's parents were *vothun* devotees although Christianity had begun to spread in Badagry since the mid-19th century. *Vothun* practices remained rife until the end of the 20th century in parts of Badagry. Though it has begun to wane, some *vothun* practices may still be found in parts of 21th-century Badagry.

On graduating from *hunpameh,* Master continued his formal education at the Local Authority Primary School Ajara Agamathen Badagry, where he became a pillar in the school's performing troupe. He led the troupe at cultural exhibitions and competitions. His drumming, dancing and acrobatic displays were all outstanding.

Hunpe Hunga's selection into the National Troupe of Nigeria

In 1988, the Federal Government of Nigeria made a call for performers nationwide, in a bid to establish a national troupe. The recruitment of these cultural ambassadors began with performances, at the State level, by different existing cultural groups from all the Local Government Areas.

Then, a few States had just been divided, increasing the number of States in Nigeria from 19 to 21, from which the present 36 States emerged over time. In Lagos State, the audition processes involved a few performing groups from Badagry. Master, who was part of his older brother's performing group, participated in the auditions at the state level. The total number of performers who attended the Lagos State auditions from Badagry was over 500, all attended with the hope of being selected into the national troupe. The selection was based on individual performance rather than group performance. Hence, individuals from different

[42] *Hunpameh* is known in Yorùbá parlance as *Ogba Osha* (literarily, a compound dedicated to a deity) in Badagry. As Master responded to my questions, we were seated in front of the *hunpameh* in Posikoh Quarters, this brought back several memories as he narrated his childhood experiences of institutionalised indigenous education.

performing groups were selected for further auditions after the first stage of auditions, and this included a few performers from Badagry.

At the second stage, Master was the only one who was selected among the Badagry contingents. All the other performers selected nationwide were brought together for further auditions. From the second stage onwards, contingents from each state were invited to a selected state where they would compete for slots against contingents from other states within the same region[43]. These further auditions continued to narrow down the number of contingents that would be trained as members of the national troupe. There were more travels thereafter. The contingents could be in three states over a period of three weeks. The gruelling audition processes made some contingents fall ill, which invariably excluded them, while some voluntarily backed down.

On 11 September 1989, the final list of selected contingents for the National Troupe of Nigerian was published in the national newspapers. Master was the only one selected from Badagry amongst 120 performers selected nationwide. It was a moment of joy for him as he felt honoured to be selected for a national assignment where he would use his talents and skills. Indeed, he became the envy of many as his fame, in Badagry, grew by leaps and bounds. Each State contacted their representatives through letters of appointment from the State's Arts Councils. Thus, Master's letter of appointment into the national troupe came from the Lagos State Arts Council, which implied that he was to represent Lagos State as well as Badagry.[44]

His career in the National Troupe of Nigeria

Dr Hubert Adedeji Ogunde, a world-class theatre luminary, was the brain behind the establishment of the National Troupe of Nigeria (as Ogunde christened the group), and he was also the founding Consultant and Artistic Director. The selected 120 members of the National Troupe of Nigeria (hereafter, NTN) were camped in Ososa, Ojebu Ode Ogun State, Ogunde's hometown, where he had established a theatre company. The training of the newly

[43] Political regions in Nigeria are now officially referred to as Geopolitical Zones.
[44] In a Federal system of government such as Nigeria, selection of national functionaries involves a delicate balance between the skill(s) requirements and a quota system, skills are the first considerations but where there are performers with similar levels of proficiency, the quota system comes to the fore in determining who is selected.

selected NTN members was carried out under the supervision of Dr Ogunde. The coaches and mentors in charge of dancing, singing, acrobatic display and drumming were members of the Ososa Experiment.[45]

Master was appointed the leader of the background drummers, as he was adept, versatile and possessed leadership quality. To reiterate the importance of versatility, before one becomes a master drummer of the national troupe, one is required to do a personal study of the different drumming traditions in Nigeria. For a group intended as a symbol of national identity in a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria, each member is expected to be able to fill in any of the roles required for a performance; hence versatility, which Master embodies, is vital. This narrative of Master's success, thus far, in the national troupe is insightful in highlighting the significance of members' versatility in addition to adeptness on their primary instruments/role. A more versatile member stands a better chance of being selected for overseas tours, in comparison with her/his less versatile colleagues.

In 1992, Mr Bayo Oduneye was appointed the Artistic Director of the Nigerian National Troupe with Dr Ahmed Yerima (now Professor Ahmed Yerima) as the Assistant Artistic Director and Master would become the troupe's master drummer in this dispensation. He held this post until 2012, when he exited the national troupe. His 18-year term as the master drummer of the national troupe afforded Master several rare privileges and opportunities, including performing on drums of all the Nigerian ethnic groups, being part of the decision-making for productions and giving master classes on the different Nigerian drumming traditions, both in and outside Nigeria. Master's individuality and leadership within the team context would later lead to his propagation of Ogu musical traditions and the popularisation of Ogu drums in Nigeria and subsequently, beyond.

The role of the master drummer in the national troupe is pivotal to every performance, and it includes creating the drum patterns in productions and deciding the repertoire, based on the

[45] The Ososa Experiment was Ogunde's personal project of 46 performers with whom he toured locally and internationally. Ogunde had established the Ososa Experiment in 1986 as an initiative to convince the Federal Government of Nigeria that a performing group, drawing members from all the States of the federation, could be created, which would represent Nigeria whenever the need arose. Ogunde's experiment proved successful with its outstanding performance at the 1986 Commonwealth Festival in Edinburg, Scotland.

(production) themes, along with the artistic director. In fulfilling this role, Master put Ogu traditions on 'the musical map' of Nigeria. Below is the narration of his role in popularising Ogu drums in the NTN using his privileged position:

> I am usually very excited about one thing, when I was the master drummer, I popularised my indigenous drums and dance patterns. For instance, I introduced the *sato* drum to the national troupe. This was propelled by the persuasion of my then boss, Mr Bayo Oduneye. He would say "Master, don't you want us to play that tall drum from your ethnic group?" I explained to him that for the drum to be introduced to the national troupe, there are traditional rituals and procedures that must be followed. With his assistance, I was given the money required to go and design a *sato* drum that would easily be adapted for travelling. I went to Adjarra in Porto Novo Republic of Benin, with a design I had in mind: the *sato* drum will be cut into two, which could be mounted for performances and dismounted after performances. On arrival at Adjarra Porto Novo, from where my ancestors migrated to Ajara Badagry, I went to the drum makers and explained the design I had in mind, and by the grace of God, it was achieved, then we brought my design of *sato* drum to the national troupe (interview with Hunpe Hunga, a master drummer, on November 9, 2017, Ajara Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá, and it was transcribed by author).

Through Master's introduction of the *sato* drum to the Nigerian National Troupe, it became the icon of Ogu music. *Sato* drum, majorly because of its size, is phenomenal and a spectacle, often taking the centre stage when used in performances by the national troupe. Its grandeur and pre-eminence on stage would naturally cause the members of an audience to ask questions about its origin and importance. Hence the *sato* attained the status of an iconic Ogu drum in Nigeria in the 1990s. In the next section, I examine the significance of *sato* drum in Ogu traditions.

Sato

Sato refers both to an Ogu genre (inclusive of its associated spiritually significant dances and songs) and the featured drum of this genre. Demonstrating its (symbolic) importance in Ogu traditions, the monument of a *sato* drummer is strategically positioned at the middle of a circle at the entrance of Badagry Town, a place popularly referred to as the 'Ajara roundabout'. This thus presents the *sato* as the first monument with which visitors to Badagry may engage. The symbolism and centrality of *sato* in Ogu traditions, however, are not

confined to the realm of its physique and musical aesthetics, but rather it is spiritually symbolic with numerous esoteric aspects.

Figure 25: *Sato* drummer statue, a significant monument at the Ajara round-about (the entrance of Badagry). Photo credit: author

Traditionally, *sato* drums are played in gender-ascribed pairs and are arguably the Ogu drum par excellence. I say arguably because a few of my respondents hold a dissenting opinion about the superiority of *sato* drum, mentioning the ubiquity of some smaller drums, the size of other drums like *hungan*, and the absence of *sato* in the socio-political history of many Ogu communities. Abiodun Dosu (staff of the Lagos State University and an Ogu cultural cognoscenti) expressed this dissension in his comments on *sato*:

> *Sato* is the most widely known of Badagry Ogu drums and it is erroneously referred to as the king of drums. There are some drums that are associated with certain deities in certain families, such that the refusal to play them will spell disaster, in the form of decline in productivity and death, for such families. Such drums must be played after the demise of a family member to forestall the recurrence of death. It is not every family that plays *sato*. *Sato* belongs to some communities, for instance Akarakunmo and Ajara have their own *sato*. Badagry central does not have a *sato*. So, whether *sato* is played or not, Badagry central is not affected. But there are some drums that must be played after the demise of a prominent person in Badagry, otherwise, there would be a disaster. The children of the dead person won't be able to eat outside their homes – these drums are as powerful as the *sato* – there are rituals that must be observed before such drums

> are played. Examples of these special drums include *ahelehun* and *hungan*. There are many of these drums in Ogu land. Some of these drums are never taken out of the shrine where they belong while some of them are taken out only once in a year (interview with Abiodun Dosu, on November 21, 2017, Jegba Badagry. The interview was conducted in English and Yorùbá, and it was transcribed by author).

Notably, there is no consensus among Ogu on the superiority of *sato* over other sacred Ogu drums. *Ahelehun*, though smaller in size compared to *sato* drums, is pivotal in its function and symbolic importance in funeral rites: It is believed that its absence during the performance of funeral rites will cause disasters in the Ogu community where such funeral rites are performed. Conversely, if the height of a drum were the major consideration in determining its importance, the *sato* drum would be next to *hungan*, which is taller, though it has a smaller diameter than the *sato*.

However, the sato drum is renowned both for its size (about six feet tall and 2 – 2.5 feet in diameter) and its spiritual connotations in the communities where it is used. *Sato* drums, dance steps and songs were *ab initio* solely sacred and may not be used for entertainment. *Sato* was prescribed only in specific Ogu communities and may be used just when necessary. *Sato* originated from Zoukou Kingdom (in the Republic of Benin) and has been adapted, based on its prescription, in Akarakunmo (in Badagry), Ajara Vetho (in Badagry), Shoki-Ere (Ado Odo Ota Ogun State Nigeria) and Vawe (Yewa Ogun State Nigeria) (Olaide-Mesewaku et al, 2000). Conversely, in modern Nigeria, there are a few *sato* drums that are used for non-sacred performances, including the pair owned by the African Renaissance Foundation (AREFO)[46] and another pair owned by the National Troupe of Nigeria.

The origin of *sato* is linked with a pre-colonial account of epidemic devastation in Zoukou Kingdom. It was common practice at that time to enquire after, not just the cause but also the solution for such social problems, from an Ogu oracle – *ofa*[47]. After enquiries were made, it

[46] The African Renaissance Foundation (AREFO) is an NGO that was formed with the aim of revitalising and preserving African Arts and Cultural heritage, thereby forestalling the immanent loss of these heritages in modern Badagry. AREFO achieves this aim through conducting research on traditional Art forms, exhibitions and performances, the organisation of workshops and symposia, promotion of tourism and the documentation through publications of its research findings.

[47] This is the same oracle in Yorùbá cosmology known as *Ifá*. Some of my respondents argued that Yorùbá assimilated *Ifa* oracle from the *gbe* ethno-linguistic groups (Ewe, Fon, Defi, Toli, Ogu/Allada). A plausible explanation for this view is in the Yorùbá praise epithet of *Ifá* as Olóòkun, a

was revealed that a snake was the cause of the epidemic.[48] The said snake lived inside *ajorohuntin* (a mighty tree), and the solution to the epidemic lay in felling the tree, cutting it into two and fashioning its trunk into a pair (male and female) of drums. The pair of drums, which has never been seen or played anywhere before, would lead spiritual dances and rituals that would cleanse the land. After this initial creation of the *sato* drum in Zoukou, its type has since been recommended to a few other communities. Hence the *sato* found in other Ogu communities are considered cousins of the *sato* in Zoukou. Invariably, the *sato* owned by AREFO and the Nigerian National Troupe are modern imitations of the *sato* drum, devoid of the spiritual connotations of the initial one. They are merely used for cultural exhibitions and entertainment purposes. *Sato* was 'brought out of hiding' due to the common sentiment among Badagry elites and lovers of the arts that such a rich cultural heritage should not be confined to the shrines, particularly as it is said to be the biggest drum in Africa (interview with Peter Olaide-Masewaku on November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry).

There are 16 unique dance steps associated with the sacred *sato* rituals. These dance steps and their associated songs are esoteric aspects of *sato* rituals and forbidden from being used for other purposes, such as entertainment or non-*sato* rituals. Notably, the sacred *sato* drums may be used for certain kinds of entertainment, only after necessary rituals are performed may they be used for such purposes. Where *sato* is performed for entertainment purposes, its components (drum patterns, dance steps and songs) are reviewed and the esoteric aspects of *sato* rituals are censored as they have spiritual connotations. Mr Peter Olaide-Mesewaku, the curator of Badagry Heritage Museum, explained it thus:

> We [AREFO performing group] have brought a lot of ideas into *sato* performances because the dance steps involved in the sacred *sato* performances have spiritual connotations so one can't copy them. That is why we have introduced some steps, some of which are academic, to make it more entertaining (interview with Peter Olaide-Mesewaku on November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry. The interview was conducted in English and remains undedited).

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s'ọ̀rọ̀ d'ayọ̀ (the owner of the ocean, who turns sad matters into matters of joy and celebration). Seeing that the ancestral communities of *gbe* ethno-linguistic groups are along the West African Atlantic coast, *Ifá* (credited as the owner of the sea) is thus more likely to be indigenous to the *gbe* ethnolinguistic groups than the Yorùbá, who live hinterland.

[48] It is unclear if the snake caused the epidemic through its bite, which causes a contagious disease, or the snake spiritually afflicted the community.

He further explained that some of the things that have been expunged from *sato* include the engravings on the drums. The carvings on sacred *sato* drums include a woman with exposed breasts on the female drums, and a man with exposed genitalia on the male drums. Other non-gender-specific carvings on both drums may include the auxiliary drums in the *sato* ensembles and a serpent. These carvings may not be seen on the non-sacred *sato* drums, created primarily for exhibition and showmanship. The major players in the creation of the non-sacred *sato* drums and performances include Messrs Hunpe Hunga (Master), Babatunde Olaide-Mesewaku and Peter Olaide-Mesewaku. With regard to Ogu music, they have indeed played a similar role to the ethnomusicologist Fernando Ortiz, who "brought out from hiding" the Afro-Cuban drums, like the *bata* drums, which were sacred and exclusively used in religious rituals (Manuel et al, 1995; Steward, 1999).

Figure 26: A *sato* drum owned by the AREFO, which looks very similar to a sacred sato drum with carvings. Photo used with the permission of Segun Arinze (in the picture)

Figure 27: A plain *sato* drum used in Badagry for demonstrations and folkloric purposes. Photo credit: Wilfred Zinsou

In rituals involving the sacred *sato* drums, the male *sato*, which is usually wider than the female, must be carried out of the shrine first otherwise, it is believed that the male *sato* becomes tremendously heavier and difficult to carry. This practice is symbolic of the leadership role of men in Ogu societies (Olaide-Mesewaku et al, 2000). Similarly, the male *sato* is played first, being surrounded by three to five drummers. In communities with the *sato*

traditions, a pair of *sato* drums is attached to the dispensation of each monarch. In other words, as part of the coronation rituals for a new king, a new pair of *sato* drums are built and played. Antelope skin is used in making a *sato*. It is fastened to the one end of a hollow *ajorohuntin* (a big tree) using up to 12 wooden pegs. *Sato* also has anthropomorphic status in communities where it is used; it is worshipped and prayed to for material blessings, protection and gifts of children. A *sato* priest, known as *dehoto*, offers kola, water, palm oil and animal sacrifices on behalf of the community to the drum (Olaide-Mesewaku et al, 2000). The pair of sacred *sato* drums in Akarakunmo were brought through the migratory processes of the 16th century by Tosavi, in 1543 precisely (ibid). Hence, the Akarakunmo community has praise poetry for their *sato*, which highlights Tosavi and other significant actors, connected to the adoption of *sato* in their oral literature (quoted from Olaide-Mesewaku, 2000, p. 63):

Ohun Tosavi ton	Drums of Tosavi
Ohun Ayipe ton	Drums of Ayipe
Ohun Soba ton	Drums of Soba
Ohun Wesenu re ton	Drums of Wesenu's descendants
Ohun Mesi ma pedo ji amo de anodo de we	Never dare look into a *sato* drum
Ayo rinu o	It is strenuous to beat the drums
Aye o	*Sato*, an embodiment of life

The auxiliary drums in a *sato* ensemble include *ogbehun*, *apesi*, *alekle* and *ogan*. *Ogbehun* is the most active drum in this ensemble. It cues the dance steps of the *sato* drummers through coded patterns. It also introduces different dance steps. In fact, there is usually a series of communication, through coded patterns, between the *ogbehun* and *sato* drummers. At the culmination of a dance step, the *ogbehun* player communicates the next step with a coded pattern, which may only be understood by the *sato* drummers. The *ogbehun* drummer usually plays the pattern for the next dance step before the expiration on an on-going dance step. All these are done without a break in the music, resulting in a seamless and medley-like performance. For an individual who is not trained in *sato* performance, it is extremely difficult to decode the messages sent to the *sato* drummers from the *ogbehun* patterns. The *sato* drums are played at intervals to punctuate the music. *Sato* drummers have the dual role of dancing and drumming. In closing this section, it is essential to note that *sato* traditions are unique to Ogu people and it is a nuance that remains unindexed through the regional approach to the exploration of indigenous musical practices in Africa.

Ogu drums and genres in the NTN

Due to the peculiarity of the national troupe, with the aim of featuring as many Nigerian traditions as possible, *sato* is often combined with drums and dance patterns from other ethnic groups in what would seem like a melting pot of Nigerian cultural performance. The aim of the national troupe is usually to attain the proficiency level of the indigenous performers in any performance. This they usually achieve, as they are a collection of arguably some of the best performers in the country. They have performed many complex music and dance genres within a few weeks of being introduced to such genres. As Master became the lead drummer of the National Troupe, he introduced the famous *akoto* dance from Badagry. As is often the case, performance aesthetics from other ethnic groups in Nigeria were fused with the *akoto* dance, creating a syncretised *akoto* performance, with an appeal to Ogu people, other Nigerians and foreigners.

Figure 28: Picture of the National Troupe of Nigeria performing with the *sato* drum at the Nigerian democracy day celebration, 12 June 2019. On the right-hand side in the background is another Ogu (*tehun*) drum. Photo credit: www.crossrivertimes.com.ng, accessed on 31 March 2020.

In addition, Master introduced a myriad of Ogu songs, some of which were used in accompanying non-Ogu performances. Furthermore, Master introduced Ogu drums such as *pawhle* and *tehun* to the National Troupe. These drums became part of the regular national-troupe drum ensemble and were subsequently adopted by many State Arts Councils. Master made a subtle boast about his role in popularising Ogu music thus: “without having any other

thing to sell, I have travelled the length and breadth of this world – all I have been exporting is my culture" (interview with Hunpe Hunga on November 9, 2017, Ajara Badagry). He also explained the adoption of Ogu drums, by the States' Arts Councils, because of the versatility of Ogu drums. "If you go to all the art councils in Nigeria today, you will find Badagry drums, because of their versatility – in all the geopolitical zones, you will find Badagry drums" (ibid).

Considering the immense variety of the drums available in Nigeria, it is practically impossible to change drums for every new performance, particularly when the national troupe is on an overseas tour. Hence, a few versatile drums are selected for the entire repertoire. A few Nigerian ethnomusicologists, including Felix Emouwa and Steve Itsewa, have misgivings about the use of Ogu drums in performances by other ethnic groups. Emouwa and Itsewa (2016) argued, in their paper titled "Beyond the Craze for the Badagry Drum Ensemble in Professional Dance Practice in Nigeria", for the use of the 'appropriate drums' in the performance of each of the different dance practices presented by the national and state troupes. Evidently, the workings of a peculiar performing group such as the national troupe are more complex than these scholars may understand. They failed to consider the logistical implications (such as freight costs and flight-baggage limits) of performing each dance with its 'appropriate drum'. However, these scholars' position is insightful in signalling the centralisation of the various ethnic practices of the principal players (artistic directors, dance directors and master drummers) of the national troupe and explains the canonisation of certain musical instruments as representative of Nigeria.

The *sato* drum was first introduced to the national troupe in the mid-1990s when Dr Yerima wrote a musical theatre titled *Iba* (homage in Yorùbá). *Iba* featured various indigenous rituals from different parts of Nigeria. This musical theatre brought to fore different masquerades, dance performances and costumes that made it exotic and uniquely Nigerian. *Sato* was the central attraction in the play. *Iba* was first staged in Cuba and the centrality of the drum was primarily to be used as a spectacle rather than any significant rhythmic role in the performance. For this reason, one *sato* would suffice. As earlier stated, Master designed a *sato* drum that could be dismantled for this purpose, and the two halves were each bagged separately for transportation. For performances, they are assembled to appear like a tall drum and only on scrutiny from a close distance will one realise that the two halves are mounted on top of each other. After the Cuban trip, the national Troupe has since travelled to different

parts of the world with the *sato* drum, including the US and the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. Master prides himself in Ogu indigenous music and has worked relentlessly to propagate the same, using the privileges of his position as the master drummer of the National Troupe of Nigeria. Overtime, Master designed a pedagogical initiative aimed at the perpetuation of Ogu drumming and replacing the waned traditional institutions – *hunpameh*, which ensured the intergenerational transfer of Ogu drumming skills. This initiative is discussed in the next section.

A discourse in Ogu music pedagogy: From *hunpameh* to contemporary initiatives

One of the major concerns Master expressed is that the future of indigenous Ogu drumming is bleak. This is because there is no clearly spelt-out plan, either by the government or an individual (at least it seemed so to Master), to ensure its perpetuity. The traditional institutions, which taught these skills, were the family unit and the *hunpameh*. However, in 21st century Badagry, while the family institution has been significantly transformed such that it is no longer efficient in fulfilling its role of intergenerational transfer of musical skills in the way it did in the pre-colonial era, *hunpameh* has drastically declined due to the change in social structure since the colonial era. Conversely, a few churches, including the Catholic Church and the Celestial Church of Christ, have recently taken on the teaching of indigenous drumming, thereby perpetuating Ogu musical practices albeit, scantily.

Figure 29: The *hunpameh* in Posikoh quarters. Photo credit: author

Most of the participants in this study acquired Ogu drumming skills from *hunpameh, hongbomeh,* church or a combination of two or all three. Considering that I briefly discussed the use of Ogu drums in the Celestial Church of Christ in Chapter Two, here I will focus on drumming skill acquisition in the *hunpameh* and *hongbomeh*. Subsequently, I will discuss the Hunpe Hunga initiative on the one hand and the Lagos State Government initiative on the other hand, both of which are structural approaches to the replacement of the pedagogical role of the obsolete or transformed institutions of *hunpameh* and *hongbomeh*.

Ogu family structure, described in Chapter Two, eased the intergenerational transfer of family trades in the pre-colonial era. Prior to the introduction of the Western system of education, a child spent several hours daily with parents, uncles and aunts in the same *hongbomeh*. Age was revered and running errands for older ones was a responsibility for children. This was rewarded through the teaching of skills. Children who would not run errands for their older ones may be punished by the adult's refusal to teach him/her. Through the structure of *hongbomeh,* a child inadvertently served an apprenticeship with her/his uncles and aunts. Mautin Adokun (a member of Gogoke – a case study band for this research) narrated his experience thus:

> A maternal uncle (my mum's younger brother) mentored me – I would follow him around as he played for the traditional religion devotees. I played the *kle* as I accompanied him. My dad also enrolled me in the indigenous religion school [*hunpameh*] because of my skills but my mum was not in support of it but I continued until my uncle passed on (interview with Mautin Adokun, a member of Gogoke, on November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Sunday Ajulo, with a similar experience, added that the apprenticeship became more structured with modernisation and the decline of the *hongbomeh*. For example, from the late 1980s, some children had to regularly visit their uncles who had moved out of the *hongbomeh*, for the purpose of acquiring drumming skills.

> It all started when I was six years, two months. My uncle (he is late now), Avoseh Foun aka Matego, was an herbalist – he had relationships with so many Yorùbá professional theatre practitioners. He trained so many musicians and performed with several groups outside Badagry regularly. I always attended rehearsals with him to observe them. I approached him on one of the days and challenged him that he only taught my older brothers and that I was willing to learn. He asked if I was sure about my passion for the drums and I said "yes". Then he asked me to take one of the drums. I picked a small one, small enough for me to manipulate. He asked me to play anything on it, and then I played random things. He came to me and corrected my playing [technique]. Then I began going to him daily after school in the evenings. He never asked me to bring anything [referring to payment]. I continued my 'classes' until I joined a *careta*[49] group. I was one of the best drummers in the group. That was how I started developing until I got to Ajara grammar School where I joined Ogu cultural troupe[50] (interview with Sunday Ajulo, November 14, 2017, Ajara Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author with the assistance of Wilfred Zinsou).

[49] See Alaja-Browne 1989:56. *Careta* groups are children's performing groups formed around the festive period in December. A masked dancer would lead the group and they would parade in the community playing music and dancing – in the manner of busking musicians – as adults reward them with money. The practice was borrowed from the Brazilian district in Lagos, where the repatriated slaves from the Caribbean had settled and perpetuate the practices they imbibed over the years of living in the Caribbean.

[50] Music is not taught, as a subject, in Badagry public schools but it is encouraged through the existence of cultural troupes.

For Ajulo, his drumming skill acquisition was through his apprenticeship with his uncle, which signals a creative response in negotiating a challenge caused by social change – that is, the transformation of the family structure in contemporary Badagry. A similar issue, which Master identified, is the neglect of *hunpameh* due to the exponential growth of Christianity and Western education in Badagry. Although there are efforts to refurbish some of these shrines through the weekly financial contributions by the devotees, it has become an accepted reality that its dwindling role of educating selected devotees may never be fully restored to its pre-colonial state.

As I stated earlier, in traditional Ogu societies and indeed until the early 1990s in Badagry, *hunpameh* functioned as monasteries for the Ogu indigenous religion, *vothun*; the major differences between a Christian monastery and *hunpameh* being its non-gender and non-age discriminatory recruitment process. However, the majority of apprentices at *hunpameh* were children. Each of the selected devotees is taught all the available practices, including dancing, singing, drumming and craftsmanship.[51] Members may then further the learning of any of these art forms, as they desire expertise in them. For instance, after 'graduating' from *hunpameh*, Master further developed his drumming, singing, dancing and acrobatics 'on the streets' until he became outstanding.

The *hunpameh* also taught its selected devotees a language called *hungbe* (ohun – esoteric, *gbe* – language). Only those who have been through the training at the *hunpameh* will understand the lingo, *hungbe*. Attending *hunpameh* was not based on the wish or desire of the individual. *Ofa* (*vothun* oracle) may pick all the children in a nuclear family while picking none from another nuclear family. The process is a delicate one, and if the wrong person is taken to the *hunpameh*, s/he may die. Therefore, it was imperative for parents to consult several times with *ofa* to ascertain the selection of their child before releasing such a child. Should *ofa* reveal that a child would make it through the training, devoted parents joyfully released the child. As long as a child is old enough to speak and has been weaned, s/he could be selected. These selected devotees subsequently become the leaders in *vothun* worship,

[51] While being trained to lead *vothun* worship, these selected devotees are also socioeconomically empowered through the teaching of sculpture, mat weaving and broom making to mention a few

performing the music and bearing totems and effigy in *vothun* worship. The duration of training could be as long as seven years. *Edeno* administers each *hunpameh*.[52]

Musicking was considered a part of *vothun* worship thus, training in singing, dancing and drumming were essential aspects of *hunpameh.* In other words, musical training was not considered part of the socio-economic skills acquisition, rather it was necessary for the perpetuity of *vothun*. The recruitment of *vothun* devotees for *hunpameh* was done annually and the selected devotees were confined to *hunpameh*. Except for the purpose of *vothun* rituals, they did not step outside throughout the duration of their training. However, members of their families may visit them regularly to bring supplies including food and clothing.

In addition, devotees who have been through *hunpameh* training are renamed – they are either named based on their assigned role in *vothun* worship or in relation to other selected devotees from the same family. The person who bears *vothun* effigy during rituals and festivals is named Avoseh. Also, the first male selected from a family is named Hunga, the second male, Hunpe while the third male is named Hunpevi. On the other hand, the first female to be selected from a family is named Dofinren, the second female, Honfo and the third female, Fonvu. In essence, the roles of devotees, who have been through *hunpameh* training, may easily be identified by their names. And by someone's name, one can tell how many people, from the same family and of the same gender, have been selected before her/him. Hunvu and Hunsivo are other names that are based on roles in *vothun* worship. Furthermore, incisions are made on the body of each of these *vothun* trainees, which is spiritually connotative. These practices are indications of a well-structured administrative system that predate the colonial structures among Ogu people.

As *hunpameh* activities have become a far cry from what was obtained in traditional Ogu societies and the family structure in modern Badagry has been transformed, with the basic family unit as the nuclear family, I examine the efforts of individuals, NGOs and the Lagos State Government aimed at the perpetuity of Ogu practices and the intergenerational transfer of knowledge. The Lagos State government has initiated an after-school arts training facility

[52] There are still a few *edeno* (*vothun* priests) in present Badagry though *vothun* practices have declined. In Posikoh quarters for instance, *edeno* still makes weekly prayers at the shrine with a few devotees in attendance. *Ofa* (oracle of divination) appoints each *edeno*, who could be of any age or gender.

for primary school pupils. Also, Master, using his connections, experience and clout, has established a theatre company with an educative arm for the training of the younger generation. In subsequent paragraphs, I will briefly discuss the State Government initiative and Master's intervention.

Lagos State Centre for Arts, Badagry

On 22nd of November, a few minutes after 1 o'clock in the afternoon, I was on my way from the Badagry Heritage Museum, where I had visited Mr Peter Olaide-Mesewaku, the curator of the museum, to learn about the socio-political and historical background of the musical practices of Badagry. He narrated the story of Richard Lander, an Englishman who was tried at the Vlekete market[53] and vindicated using the indigenous justice system. Subsequently, he became trusted and enjoyed many privileges that were not accorded foreigners, including being immortalised with a street named after him in Boekoh, Badagry, where the heritage museum was recently located.

I reminisced on the highly structured indigenous justice system that existed in traditional Ogu societies as I walked on Lander Street, just outside the Badagry Heritage Museum, that afternoon. Before I walked to the end of the street, my thoughts were punctuated by the dense and interlocking patterns played on a *pawle* ensemble, from what looked to me like a primary school compound. I walked in and was excited to find a large group of primary school pupils who were being trained in Ogu dance and drumming by a few adult trainers. The sight was unexpected, having nursed the thought of the waning of Ogu practices, with many of my respondents recounting how the children are not interested in indigenous music. Here was a nudge into the reality of the efforts towards the preservation of indigenous knowledge. I approached the leader and he, together with other staff members, narrated the Lagos State Government initiative for cultural perpetuity to me.

In 2009,[54] the Lagos State Ministry of Education, through its art and culture department, launched Arts and Craft Centres in each of its Local Government Areas. The aim of these

[53] Vlekete market was one of the most popular slave markets in pre-colonial West Africa. Today, the Lagos State Government has constructed a museum of slave-trade relics on the site of Vlekete market.

[54] 2009 marked the 10th anniversary of the transition from military dictatorship to democracy in Nigeria. Ten years into the Nigerian nascent democracy, the federal and state governments are still introducing foundational strategies to meet the particular needs of the people at every level. This was

Arts and Crafts Centres is to teach indigenous traditions, including the manner of greeting, cuisine, fashion, music and dance, caring for visitors and indigenous languages. The Local Education Authority (LDA) administered this centre in Badagry, making it an extracurricular activity for public primary school pupils. A certain day of the week was assigned to each school to bring its pupils for a few hours to the centre.

Mr J.A Odutola, head of the Badagry Arts and Crafts Centre and a mentor in drum playing, explained the importance of this initiative being wary of the dominance of "the language we bought with our money", referring to Western imperialism. Mrs Bolanle Olanrewaju, a visual arts instructor (she teaches indigenous tie-dye, painting, weaving and knitting) described the importance of the initiative as she had learned through a similar initiative at an arts centre in Obalende Lagos. Subsequently, she studied further in the same field of arts at the Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education, Ijanikin, Lagos State. She explained that the initiative does not aim to discourage foreign materials but to encourage its combination with indigenous arts.

She further asserted that a government that values the progress of its citizens would invest in indigenous practices. If the indigenous competes with the foreign in terms of quality, there will be high patronage for the indigenous from consumers, which will encourage current and intending artists. Hence, more jobs will be created in indigenous arts. She further narrated how she identifies the talents and natural gifts of the pupils: there are several arts options at the centre, the pupils gravitate towards different art forms and their talents are thereby identified. "I was working on a piece of craft, and some of the kids came to learn while others walked past. This is a pointer to the areas of interests and natural talents of these kids" she submitted.

In addition, she strongly opined that one's success in the arts is largely dependent on early exposure to the arts. Hence, children should be introduced to the arts early. This and parental support better place such children on the pedestal of success. Mr Ikudoro Sewanu, an art instructor at the Arts and Crafts Centre, continued on the importance of parental guidance in the socialisation process of their children in indigenous arts appreciation. He opined that the discovery of the talents of a child should be a result of joint efforts by parents and mentors either at the Arts and Crafts Centre or school.

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neglected during the prolonged period of military dictatorship pervaded with corruption and economic hardship for the Nigerian citizenry.

On the question of how the youth may be encouraged, Ikudoro unequivocally stated the importance of social media, in the current dispensation, in the propagation of indigenous arts. He concluded that the perpetuity of Ogu traditions lies in lacing all aspects of modern Lagos, including music, arts, fashion and formal education, with elements of indigenous heritage.

The Lagos State initiative, though laudable, is not without a few challenges. The mentors identify the main challenge as being that of transportation for the pupils, hence schools in Badagry suburbs are repeatedly absent. There is only one Arts and Crafts Centre, which is meant to service all the schools in Badagry Local Government Area, covering a vast geographical expanse including Badagry central, Ajido, Topo, Akarakunmo, Ganyingbo, Igbogbele, Joforo, Yekeme, Joton, Isamo, Jeregbe, Mowo, Toga-Zebe, Ikoga and Iragbo (this list is not exhaustive). Apart from the massive landmass, some of these communities are in the interior and are not easily accessible by road with the result that, only a few schools in Badagry central benefit from the Lagos State cultural pedagogical initiative. Away from Badagry central, the Hunpe Hunga initiative is one that benefits yet more children, and this initiative is focussed on theatre and the performing arts, of which music is central in its offerings.

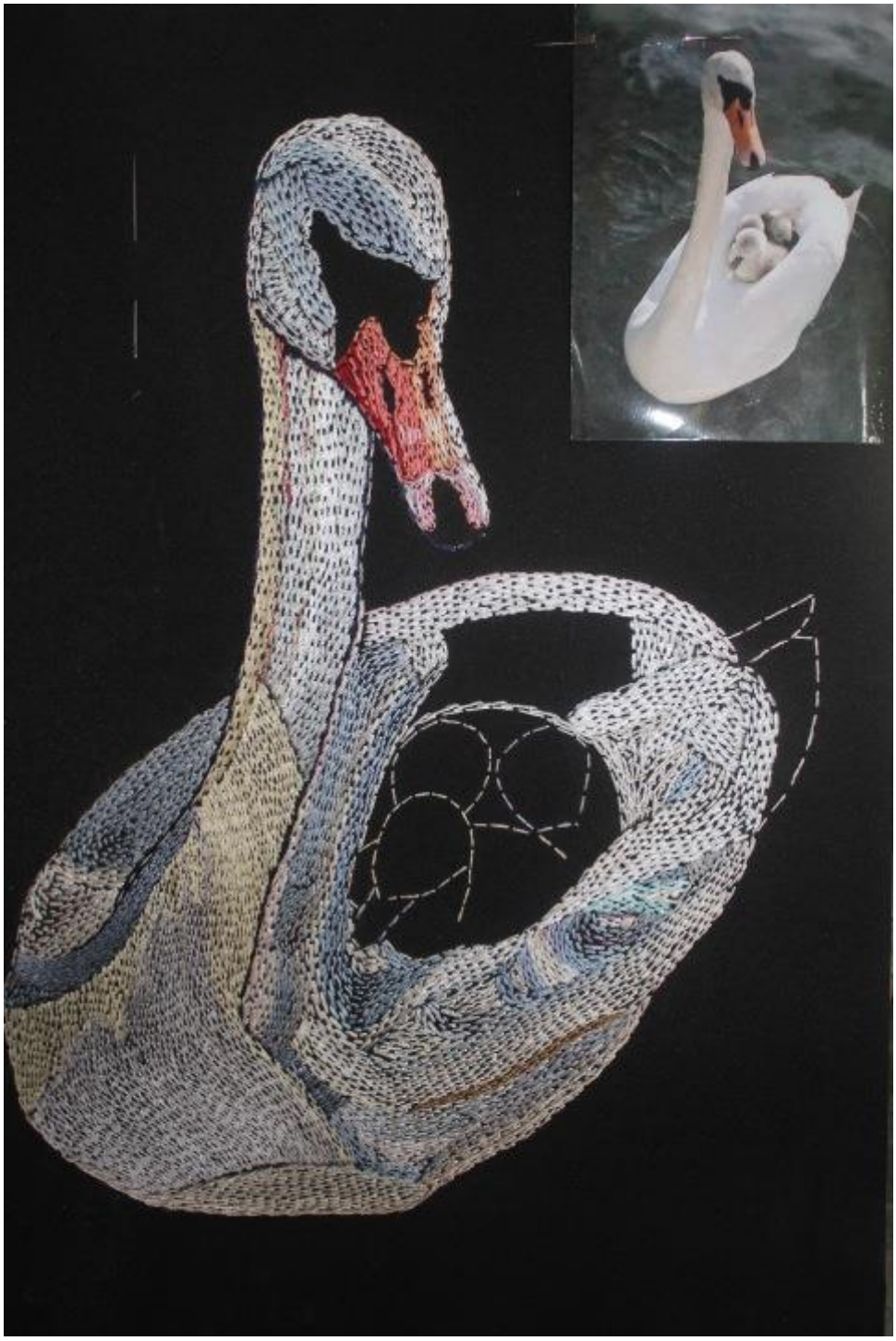

Figure 30: Mrs Bolanle Olanrewaju's Artwork in progress. The inset shows the picture she aims to reproduce. Photo credit: author

Gbenopo Theatre Company: A Hunpe Hunga initiative

New institutions such as the Arts and Crafts Centre are inadequate for the Ogu population, which is distributed across Badagry Local Government area. On the other hand, in 2012, Hunpe Hunga was no longer part of the National Troupe and was thinking of a way of giving

back to his society. All these led to his commencement of the Gbenopo Theatre Company. Pointing at the Posikoh Quarters *hunpameh*, where he attended, Master lamented the sad incidence of its neglect. "As it is now, there is no one in this *hunpameh*" he said. Then he continued "but there are plans to resurge the practice, but in a modified manner". This is to placate the deities that have not been worshipped for several years.[55]

One of the implications of the neglect of *hunpameh* is the neglect of some of its associated drums. *Hunpameh* offered institutionalised drumming classes, which the Lagos State Government initiative has not successfully replaced. Master's initiative aims to contribute towards the perpetuity of the intergenerational transfer of indigenous drumming skills. He explained his initiative thus:

> I established my group after I left the national troupe in 2012, known as Gbenopo Theatre Company.[56] It is well known in Badagry, in Lagos and beyond. It is divided into an adult group and a children's group. The performing group for the kids is known as Gbenopo Theatre Company Children's Creative Station. I created the children's arm because I know that for the continuity of this legacy, one must build kids – they are the future of every society. There is also a succession pattern in which the children's creative station feeds the adult group. Some older ones have left to start their own groups or even quit music, and the kids have always

[55] Some of the deities have not been celebrated for so long. There are over 50 deities in the Posikoh shrine. Most of their devotees have passed on and in contemporary Badagry, recruiting of new devotees is no longer regular. People insist that their children should have nothing to do with the deities. Hunpe Hunga stated, "Christianity has scattered it all". However, in recent times, the older devotees in Ajara Agamathen have begun making weekly financial contributions towards the refurbishment of the shrine, which doubles as *hunpameh.* The contribution is known as *hungbe* (doh – mi: with a different tonal inflection from *hungbe* – doh – doh: the language taught at the *hunpameh*.

[56] Gbenopo Theatre Company has performed at various places including the African Drum Festival in Ogun State, Badagry Festival, and Diaspora Badagry Festival. Master (Hunpe Hunga) rides on his connections and experience to expose the troupe, portraying the Ogu musical practices to the rest of Nigeria. The troupe is more versatile in that apart from drumming and dance, they present drama and songs, and any of these could be presented exclusively if required – it encompasses all aspects of the performing arts. Master is the artistic director of the company, which is currently planning the production of its first drama video recording. He is able to administer the company, having worked with some of the best artistic directors in Nigeria, most of whom are playwrights. He has thus gained enough experience and written drama scripts, which include: *My Badagry; My Nigeria*, *Two Sides of A Coin* and *Visa Lottery; Modern Slavery*. Hunpe Hunga narrated that this story "is based on my experience having seen several African immigrants in the US. Visa lottery entices Africans to bring their family to the US, it is to enslave them over there, hence, my title Visa Lottery; Modern Slavery, so that Nigerians will learn from it."

> replaced such adults. The kids focus on drums. When the kids play the drums, we don't use it to play Badagry patterns only, the drums can speak any language (interview with Hunpe Hunga on November 9, 2017, Ajara Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

This initiative, being sensitive to the contemporary music scene in Lagos, does not only focus on teaching indigenous drumming patterns but also incorporates Afro hip hop beats, which are central to the contemporary sonic identity of Lagos. Hunpe Hunga hopes to formalise Gbenopo Theatre Company Children's Creative Station as an indigenous music school with formal administrative and pedagogical structures. It will be a school for indigenous art forms, which will predominantly be occupied with the teaching of music, dance and drama. Master hopes to achieve this, after having gained 27 years of experience with the national troupe. The next section is a brief description of the pedagogical methods of the school.

At a performance of the Gbenopo Theatre Company Children's Creative Station for a TV recording, which I witnessed, I watched as Master instructed the children on the diferent patterns through his use of sentences like "*baba se towe*" (literally, it is my father's or it belongs to my father) and "*gboje n gboje n te*" (literally, I am at ease).[57] With the utterance of these lines, the children all knew what to play. I was intrigued by this and set about finding out the method employed in his teaching.

Despite the adoption of formal school structures, the pedagogy of Gbenopo schools has remained aural and oral in its instructional methods, which are the traditional teaching methods for Ogu drummers. It is believed that writing is only a means of documentation and written music should not take the place of aural/oral methods in instruction. One of the participants of this study – Dady Mbuyamba (a Congolese based in Cape Town) who overdubbed the electric bass on the studio recording of Gogoke's songs, alluded to this (see Chapter Five).

Master opined that using aural methods, the ears are trained so that as they listen, the children can play back what they hear. His teaching methods also include the vocalisation of drums

[57] These expressions are time-honoured Ogu adages that have become assimilated into the drumming language (see also Locke and Agbeli 1980), with lead drummers often playing their tonal inflexions as part of their improvisations.

patterns either using sentences or non-lexical syllables, which are memorised and played on the drums. An example of a popular statement used in teaching is:

Baba she ton we	It belongs to my father (it's my property)
Baba she ton we	It belongs to my father
D'ejiro mi na hen tho	I will handle it as it pleases me
e so kpe mi na gbo je	If it's too heavy for me, I will put it down (and if like, I will leave it)
Baba she ton we	It belongs to my father

[interpreted by Kushokeho Jawu]

Common sets of non-lexical syllables used in memorising and teaching patterns are:

jan-jan jan-jan jan-jan kle-gi,
jan-jan jan-jan kle-gi kle-gi

(instructing the dancers to get ready to switch to another step in *akoto* dance)

gite-glem gite-glem
jin-jin ta to to glem

(Dancers jump and clap – see description of *akoto* dance in Chapter Two)

The Gbenopo Children's Creative Station has performed at several workshops, exhibiting the creative idea of an indigenous school of music with a Western structure and approach. This initiative is still budding and designed to potentially produce renowned Ogu drummers.

Concluding remarks

This chapter examined the role of a master drummer, Hunpe Hunga, in popularising Ogu drums and musical practices within and beyond Nigeria. Notably, Hunpe Hunga's role in popularising Ogu practices and instruments contrasts the traditional emphasis on the communal agency to music-making, composition and advocacy in Africa (see Agawu 2016). I expand on this point over the next three chapters, citing cases of individual agencies to traditional Ogu music. Remarkably, Hunpe Hunga leveraged on the structures of the postcolonial arts administration in Nigeria, which enabled the emergence of individuals from different regions of the country as cultural ambassadors. The same structures created the opportunity for Hunpe Hunga to imbibe its administrative styles that would, in turn, benefit Badagry Ogu people through the establishment of an institutionalised system of intergenerational transfer of musical skills.

On the other hand, the Lagos State Government initiative aimed at teaching traditional skills to primary school pupils caters for more Badagry children to acquire Ogu musical skills and knowledge. It may be too hasty to compare the Hunpe Hunga and Lagos State Government initiatives, both at their nascent stages, with the indigenous institutions, which ensured the perpetuity and intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skills in the previous centuries – the extended family structure (*hongbomeh*), and the religious institution (*hunpameh*). Nevertheless, both Hunpe Hunga and the Lagos State Government initiatives seem to have begun on a right footing with their incorporation of indigenous methods of aural and oral teaching techniques.

While Master has heavily criticised the Christian missions for "spoiling everything" for them, referring to Christian's labelling indigenous art forms as profane and backward, a few indigenous bands draw their membership from musicians who acquired and developed their skills in their local churches. Gogoke, based in Igbogbele Badagry West, is one such band. This socio-religious band will, therefore, be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Ethnography of Gogoke

Introduction

While Chapters Two and Three focused on indigenous Ogu genres, instruments and individual performers, this chapter examines the activities of indigenous Ogu bands in the milieu of changing social structures in 21st century Badagry. I access the adaptive measures of these indigenous bands (within a modernizing locale) using the operational style of Gogoke band as a case study. This chapter discusses Gogoke's mode of operation under the following headings – membership, its creation through serendipity (revealing an ethos of communal support), administration (and hierarchy), rehearsals and performances (contexts and remunerations). Other themes, which I explore in this chapter, include Gogoke's songwriting (persona and language), religious underpinnings and influence of Lagos returnees on the development of drumming skills among Badagry children. Ultimately, I discuss Gogoke's prospects and aspirations. In keeping with Austin Emielu's (2018) framework of *progressive traditionalism*, this chapter draws on the listed themes in describing how a constellation of local considerations (core identity and the preservation of indigenous musical practices) combine with translocal concerns (the economies of musical performances within the broader modernist-capitalist structures) in shaping the adaptive strategies of indigenous bands in contemporary Badagry. My description of the contexts of rehearsals and performances in this chapter provides background and demonstrates how Ogu customs, beliefs, norms and values inform band activities and musical choices, and thus sets indigenous bands apart from other kinds of bands in urban centres. Precursory to the central discourse of this chapter, I explain, in the following section, my considerations and the process of choosing Gogoke as a study case. My first meeting with the representatives of the band's leadership propelled an epiphany on their negotiation methods, which I also discuss ahead of the above-mentioned themes.

Far from town, in search of the 'authentic'

> The student of African musical practice in changing Africa is often haunted by a feeling of urgency. He must hasten to collect examples of the variety of musical types cultivated in a given area "before they are lost forever". Wherever he goes, he does not content himself with what he gets in the

> towns: he visits places where the forces of acculturation are least evident, making a careful selection of the available material in order that he might take back recordings of "authentic" African music for preservation and study – Nketia 1957.

Considering the social change in Badagry over the last five decades, I view Nketia's (1957) remark both as a statement of fact and a 'prophecy'. In an article on Ghanaian highlife, Nketia posited that the forces of acculturation were fast relegating myriads of African musical practices in postcolonial African cities. Over five decades after Nketia's 1957 publication, his concerns about the waning of African musical practices remain legitimate and almost every respondent in this study (from Badagry, Lagos State) confirmed these sentiments. Some of these respondents, including Hunpe Hunga[58], Peter Olaide-Mesewaku[59] and Miyise Fasinu[60], suggested moving away from Badagry Town to collect 'authentic' indigenous Ogu sounds.

Looking at the "places where the forces of acculturation are least evident" in search of an 'authentic' indigenous sound would mean going beyond the ancient town of Badagry, which is famous for its pre-colonial transatlantic trading activities.[61] Tourism in Badagry thus implies the heightened activities of the forces of acculturation in Badagry Town compared to its suburbs. Consequently, Badagry Town, with a regular influx of tourists, would not be suitable for my collection and study of enduring Ogu music (from previous generations) performed on locally- or regionally-made instruments. Based on this understanding, Seyon Akran (a son of the current traditional ruler in Badagry – the Akran of Badagry) introduced me to a band called Gogoke, from Igbogbele

[58] The master drummer who is the subject of Chapter Three
[59] The curator of the Badagry Heritage Museum.
[60] The Chair of Worldwide Ogu Concept (WOC) – an NGO aimed at the propagation of Ogu practices among Ogu Youth.
[61] Badagry Town was one of the most significant trade ports of pre-colonial West Africa owing to its strategic location at the 'trigger', of the gun-shaped Africa. Its Atlantic coast was named alongside the coasts in today's Benin Republic and Togo as the Slave Coast under the derivation-based nomenclature era of pre-colonial West Africa. The coasts in Guinea were named Grain Coast due to the abundance of grains, which were derived and exported from there. Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, which are also known as Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana respectively, were other derivation-based names of the Atlantic coasts in West Africa (interview with P. Olaide-Mesewaku on November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry). The slave-trade activities of the Slave Coast are responsible for a quarter of the entire slave trade from Africa, and subsequently early missionaries visited the sites. These historical aspects left Badagry with many heritage sites and artifacts, and these have become major tourist attractions. They include, but are not limited to, war cannons, slave trade relics, the Agiya monument, the first storey building and the point-of-no-return monuments of Badagry. In view of this, Badagry Town has become a major tourist destination in Nigeria and by extension, West Africa and Africa.

community, which is far less acculturated than Badagry Town. Subsequently, Seyon Akran (hereafter, Seyon), set up a meeting of representatives of Gogoke's leadership with the two of us.

'Just come and listen to us first': Enthusiasm, poise and confidence in Gogoke negotiations

It was a sunny afternoon on 8 November 2017, the day scheduled for my meeting with the representatives of Gogoke. Our agreed meeting point was the *sato* drummer statue at the Ajara roundabout (see Figure 25, Chapter Three).[62] I arrived a few minutes before the agreed upon time; Seyon and I waited for about 30 minutes longer before Jeremiah Tonukunme and Godonu Johnson finally arrived. The former is the bandleader of Gogoke while the latter is the organising secretary of the band, whose role also includes managing the band's logistics. As I would later realise, the apex in the band hierarchy is not the bandleader, but a chairman whose role goes beyond a musical one, which I will expand upon later. On arrival, they apologised profusely, explaining why they were late. Their motorbike developed a fault, which they were not able to rectify immediately, and therefore, had to leave it at an automobile repairs shop – referred to locally simply as a mechanic shop – and had to use public transport.[63] Apart from regretting their late arrival they wished to avoid being in the bad books of an heir to the throne who had brought a researcher visiting from another country. They had to put their best foot forward.

In Badagry it is commonplace to respect and honour everyone, particularly if one is perceived to be older (see also the vignette at the beginning of Chapter One). This respect is demonstrated by bowing to the older person when pleasantries are being exchanged and the use of a traditional respect term of respect – *boda* (an indigenised form of the English word, brother) before mentioning an older male's name. *Sista* (an indigenised form of the English word, sister) prefixes an older female's name. So, in my case, I would be 'boda Joseph' to these younger men. They were even more courteous than expected, likely because they had just been told that I was a musician. I wanted to be sure Gogoke was the right band to study before investing much time and resources into exploring the band, so I began to ask questions about their style of performance, their repertory and how busy the band was. What followed every question was a short answer, sometimes monosyllabic, and an invitation to their upcoming rehearsal, scheduled for the next day. They assured me that they

[62]The *sato* drummer statue is a significant landmark at the entrance of Badagry Town, which serves as a reference point for so many things, particularly, the *sato* is used to explain the geography of Badagry to visitors.

[63]Notably, commercial and private motorcycles are extremely popular modes of transportation for commuters in Lagos and many other parts of Nigeria. This means of transportation is even more commonly used in Badagry and the neighbouring Republic of Benin.

could play numerous genres, which was followed by "just come and listen to us first". This assertiveness and display of confidence in their negotiation, more than anything else, compelled me to attend the upcoming rehearsal. What followed was an initial one-month period of participating in Gogoke band practices and for another month on my return in the following year.

"Just come and listen to us first", I would discover, is a display of confidence of the band's capabilities. An experience of their music, they are sure, will convince any client. It is common practice for the duo of the bandleader and the band organising secretary to meet with clients as they had done with me. Their tactic is to convince the client to either attend a rehearsal or watch any of their upcoming performances. This, they believe, will be more convincing than a verbal explanation, and is notable since unlike the Western practice of handing an Electronic Press Kit (EPK) to clients, Gogoke relies on oral testimony and face-to-face contacts and experiencing them in context I would describe as well. The band representatives would, therefore, refer a new client to her/his friend, who has witnessed a performance of the band, for a verbal testimonial. The face-to-face interactions and oral testimonies in the negotiations and logistics preceding indigenous performances strike one as an affinity to more personal communications as opposed to the distance and social media interactions typical in urban sites: This is further insightful for the economic and psychological support system synonymous with Badagry suburbs. Identifying this method of negotiating with clients and the reliance on word-of-mouth immediately inspired me to share my field recordings with the band. I also started nursing the idea of collaborating with Gogoke in a project, which will feature my additional arrangements (for Western musical instruments) on their original compositions. This would become another landmark occurrence in the history of Gogoke, a band that began through serendipity and had grown by leaps and bounds, in ways that its initial membership had not anticipated.

Gogoke: A musical serendipity

Gogoke band emerged through serendipity and over time owing to a series of spontaneous and inadvertent performances, three of which are worth mentioning. Through the narration of these three initial performances, intertwined with cultural analysis, I describe the emergence of Gogoke. The first of these performances took place in July 2015 when Laha (described by Johnson Godonu as "a very nice person" to the entire Igbogbele community) celebrated the birth of her granddaughter. Laha, a female senior citizen, only had one child, a fact worth mentioning because in the sociocultural context in view, as in many other parts of West Africa, children are highly valued and the status of being a parent is greatly esteemed. In fact,

it is not enough to give birth to only one child. In the event that a woman has only one child, she would encourage her child to have more than one child.

In view of the foregoing, when Laha's only child, Folakemi gave birth to a baby girl, it was an occasion for a big celebration, not only for Laha but for the entire Igbogbele community. Naming ceremonies are usually celebrated elaborately with parties, and the size of each party is dependent on the financial capabilities of the child's family. Such parties could feature a live band, a disk jockey (DJ), or both (see Emielu 2018 for a description of similar practices among Edo people of South-South region of Nigeria). It is also usual for people to bring gifts according to what they can afford. More importantly, their attendance is of paramount importance. Such occasions also mark the end of any quarrels or malice between the mother of the child and anyone in the community. The list of similar practices, suggestive of the premium value of children, affecting childbearing practices in West Africa, could go on *ad infinitum*.

For Folakemi's child, the community-wide celebration was more for the sake of Laha. The naming ceremony was scheduled for 12 July, 8 days after the child was born. A few youths, most of whom are members of the church Laha attends, the Methodist Church Igbogbele, decided to play some music at the naming ceremony. They referred to this performance as fulfilling the role of the 'band for the day'. Johnson Godonu recounted:

> The woman's name is Laha. She had only one child. It is that only child that gave birth, so we thought about what we could do for this woman to appreciate her kindness to us. The lady's name is Folake. So, we thought we should go and do *gogoke* for her, which means to honour someone (interview with Johnson Godonu, a member of Gogoke, on November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

These youths agreed upon *gogoke* (to honour someone) for Laha as there was nothing they could afford that would be commensurate with her kindness to members of the community. Their musical performance, however, would be much appreciated, as Laha would not have been able to afford a live band or a DJ for the occasion.

This performance, done in honour of a community member with good character, also resonates with the practice of communal support in many other African societies. Gavin Steingo (2016), writing

about life in post-Apartheid Soweto, notes the ethos of reciprocity. People very easily lend and give things to their neighbours and friends. The reasoning behind this, Steingo explained, is that supporting other members of one's community is a "social obligation" (2016:108). Therefore, even when support is not convenient, and occasionally, the one offering it may even do so grumbling at the inconvenience, there is a common understanding in such contexts that one would receive the same support in one's time of need.

Two weeks after Laha's granddaughter's naming ceremony, the group was invited for the second, of the three performances that led to the founding of Gogoke band. A member of the Methodist Church Igbogbele, Mr Godonu Elijah, was honoured with a merit award by the Methodist Church Nigeria for knighthood as a Member of the order of Wesley (MOW).[64] In addition to the outstanding nature of this award, the awardee, Mr Godonu Elijah happened to be the father of Johnson Godonu, a key player at the *gogoke* for Laha. Once again, the group came together to honour Mr Elijah Godonu, and this second performance served to generate momentum for more communal music making.

The third and the most rewarding of the initial performances by the ad hoc band, made up of Igbogbele youths, was at Alhaji Rabiu's[65] hotel. The occasion was a party in celebration of the hotel's first anniversary. Rabiu is a philanthropist, a trait that has earned him much respect from the (Apa) people. He is what Roschenthaler and Schulz (2016: 4) might describe as a "big man", someone with the economic wherewithal who uses it to secure social prestige, good reputation and influence. Alhaji Rabiu, as well as many other "big men" in Badagry, however, depart markedly from Roschenthaler and Schulz's explanation in that the former's investments are less motivated by the possibility of wealth acquisition. If gains are derived in the process, for instance when a band sponsored by a big man in this context earns some money, such a big man is content to have the monies shared among the band members. By so doing, he retains the prestige accorded him, but he risks losing such respect if he were to begin to pry into the details of the band's earnings. This reasoning also underscores the office of a band chair, which the most mature member of the band often occupies. I will return to this later as I discuss band hierarchy.

[64] This award, which serves as an incentive for spirituality, commitment, charity and faith, is the highest merit award in the Methodist Church in Nigeria. Other awards in the same category as the MOW include: The Knight of Charles Wesley (KCW – awarded to those who excel in music like Charles Wesley) and the Knight of John Wesley (KJW – awarded those who are devoted, committed, spiritual, faithful, liberal, peaceful and loving ardent defenders of Christian faith and promoters of Wesleyan heritage (This Day Newspaper November 2, 2009).

[65] Alhaji Rabiu is a prominent chief in Apa Kingdom, to which Igbogbele belong. His title is 'Bobajiro of Apa Kingdom' (literally: The King's adviser).

Jesse Shipley also noted, in contemporary Accra, the obligation of successful "older generation" to "aspirants who demonstrate their potentials" and display skills at one thing or the other but lack the wherewithal for a head start (Shipley 2013: 111). Alhaji Rabiu identified the potentials in the youth and assisted them to set up a band of their own; the gesture was also payback for the group's volunteered performance at his party. Seeing that the band performed on tables and chairs in addition to their two (borrowed) drums, he asked them to list the instruments required for similar performances. He also asked for the specifications of the instruments and promised to purchase them for the band. After a few months, Alhaji Rabiu informed the bandleader, Jeremiah Tonukunme, that he had purchased the instruments. On the day the band chose to collect the instruments, a wedding reception was being held on the hotel premises. This afforded the band an opportunity to test the instruments before they left the premises. What ensued was a spontaneous wedding-reception performance. And so, about five months after the first performance of the group, several performances had followed thus necessitating a more formalised band structure.

By mid-2016 the stage was set for the emergence of an indigenous Ogu band made up of 17 Igbogbele youths. Unexpectedly, what started as a kind gesture aimed to support and honour members of Igbogbele community people had become a band with an unprecedented array of Ogu indigenous repertory in modern Badagry. However, the list of instruments, which Alhaji Rabiu bought, did not make a complete ensemble for many genres of Ogu music. No lead drum had been included on the list since the band did not, at that point in time, anticipate a quick rise into the limelight. Consequently, no particular genre was initially intended. As the band became a bit commercially successful, the first few earnings were channelled towards acquiring a lead drum. *Pawhle* was the drum of choice because of its versatility and secularity. They also purchased *ogan* of varying sizes. These newly acquired instruments increased the band's options of performing different genres. Johnson Godonu further explained:

> We didn't buy *pawhle* initially because we just wanted to do it by the side and occasionally, maybe just confined to our immediate environment but the fame of the band spread beyond our locality. So, we bought *pawhle* as we saw the need in our performances. We have been receiving invitations to perform, at different occasions, since then (interview with Godonu Johnson on November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Following the influx of performance invitations, naming the band and an administrative structure, among other things, became necessary. This also meant that the band needed to increase its repertory, which necessitated regular band rehearsals. A series of meetings to discuss the above was convened.

The band, which emerged through a rather rapid sucession of fortuitous events, replacing the defunct Jegbe band in Igbogbele, while competing with Akohun band[66], would be known as Gogoke. The group retained the name – Gogoke, seeing that the ethos of the band had been centred on honouring people. In Johnson Godonu's words, the simple idea of going to "do *gogoke* for this person and that person" led to the birth of a band that quickly rose to prominence within Badagry and has now become known in different parts of Lagos State. The primary mode of spreading Gogoke's fame was through word-of-mouth. When the band performed at an event, the people who were present recommended the band to others who had occasions to celebrate.

Also emerging incidentally is the band slogan – "Gogoke, *e ma yan*" – meaning, "Gogoke, it will never spoil". This slogan is often recited in a call-and-response format. A visiting friend of the band may make a call by saying out loud "Gogoke", to which the band members will respond "*e ma yan*". The slogan is often repeated three times and it is ubiquitous, being used in celebration, to calm tension, at the end of a rehearsal session before dispersal and in calling the attention of band members. More will be said about the importance of the slogan in conflict resolution, later in this chapter. To highlight the correlates between the band's ethos and traditional value of respect for age and maturity, I discuss the band's hierarchy, which underscores a balance between character, maturity and musicality, in the next section.

Band hierarchy and administration: A delicate balance between maturity and adeptness

During the first few meetings of the band, officials were elected. The elected positions included the chairman, bandleader, secretary, organising secretary and treasurer. The chairman was also the administrator of the band, and had the final say when there were impasses in decision-making. Among Ogu people, as in many other West African societies, there is a reverence for age. It is expected that where there are disagreements in opinions, the

[66] Akohun band, named after *akohun* drum (see Figure 19 in Chapter Two), is an indigenous band in Apa Kingdom (the administrative centre of Badagry West under which Igbogbele falls), which had hitherto dominated the indigenous scene in Apa and environs.

younger person concedes to the older person. The norm is however more complex than this and in practice there tends to be a balance between the concession to age and reason. Moreover, there has been a gradual shift towards western-style conflict resolution methods, particularly in cosmopolitan West African cities. However, there are strong indications of old practices being upheld in Igbogbele, where an older person could silence dissident voices in an argument. In general, everyone knows the ancestry of each member of the community hence one's misbehaviour is often reported to an older member of one's family. These organisational conventions continue to play a part in various settings, including indigenous band structures in Badagry.

Figure 31: Gogoke Band, displaying some of the musical instruments that Alhaji Rabiu purchased for them, after a recording session (during which their original compositions were recorded for this study) in Aradagun Badagry. Photo credit: author

Mr Fideyon Tanimowo emerged naturally as the Chairman of Gogoke. He was a middle-aged man, at least 20 years older than most of the band members. Being young at heart, he had consistently taken part in the initial performances leading up to the formation of Gogoke. He was neither at the forefront nor was he a lead player of any instrument, but merely sang backing vocals with the band. In his heyday he had played several of the percussion instruments in a *fuji* band. Notably, musical qualities and proficiency had little to do with the selection of the band chairman, it was more about the age and maturity. Therefore, Mr

Fideyon Tanimowo was the person to whom every member would listen and concede. In his words:

> They thought it would be inappropriate to make a young person the chairman. I am the oldest of them, so I was made the chairman of the band because the younger ones will listen to me. So, I assumed the administration of the band (interview with Fideyon Tanimowo, the Chairman of Gogoke, on November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Conversely, there are cultural norms, which check the power of an older person. These checks, also ingrained in Ogu traditions, are evident in the expectations tied to the role of being the eldest. For example, an older person is expected to 'sacrifice' for a younger person. This implies being the last to be gratified. In Gogoke, this means being paid the least amount, being the last to eat, and in cases where the band had to share something that was not sufficient, the chairman had to go without it. Conventionally, if the older person refuses to 'sacrifice' in the ways described above, s/he loses the respect accorded her/him as an older person. This practice is echoed in the Yorùbá punny adage – "*agba ni n gba*" meaning, an older person usually gives up his/her rights for a younger one. Mr Tanimowo narrated instances where he had to 'sacrifice' for the band and in response to the question on the possibility of issues arising around the disbursement of funds to members he said:

> No, it can't happen [referring to quarrels over money]. The reason is because I know the wisdom to dispense to prevent such. It's because of my personal qualities as the manager of the band.[67]I am not after the money of the band. Sometimes I get paid less than everyone else. Once they [Gogoke members] are satisfied, there will be no misunderstanding (interview with Fideyon Tanimowo on November 18, 2017, Aradagun. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Mr Tanimowo's position is typical of indigenous Ogu bands. Just as culturally, the older person 'comes last' in gratification, he ensures that everyone is sorted before sorting out himself.

[67]Managerial role as used here is not the same as its use in settings where a manager does the booking of the band and has a cut. Here managing the band implies administration and leadership.

To continue the discussion on band hierarchy, following the post of the chairman in the band hierarchy, is the bandleader who is the musical head of Gogoke, whereas the chairman is the administrative head. He gives the musical commands and decides who plays which instrument. This role, being a musical one, requires musical adeptness and experience. Jeremiah Tonukunme emerged as the bandleader of Gogoke due to his proficiency in playing different instruments and his experience as a leader of the defunct Jegbe band. Jeremiah Tonukunme is versatile. He can play any of the instruments in Gogoke ensemble ranging from *ogan*, *aya*, *jenjen*, *apesi* to *pawhle*. He often switches roles during performances. For instance, for songs in *kaka* style, he switches to one of the *ogan gbo* (big gongs), which are the most important instruments for *kaka*. For *wale*-styled songs, Tonukunme plays the *pawhle* with an improvisational role in this genre. At the attainment of vocalised rhythms, called *asha* (see Chapter Five), which mark the climax of each song, Tonukunme may use the different tones on *pawhle* drum to imitate speech inflexions as if he were in conversation, alongside vocalised rhythms or he would improvise various rhythmic patterns. The position of the bandleader is one in which musical adeptness supersedes age and maturity. In fact, Tonukunme's older brother, Dele Gbisu, who is the lead vocalist of the band, mentioned that he submits to his younger brother's authority in the band; this is one of the few contexts in Ogu practices where age submits to adeptness.

The secretary is next in hierarchy to the bandleader, then organising secretary and treasurer. These administrative offices are assigned based on maturity, which in this context has much to do with age and administrative skills. There are nuances in how these positions are filled owing to the interplay between maturity, administrative skills and musicality. In a nutshell, the governance of indigenous Ogu bands in Badagry is generally more formal than those of several contemporary bands, which I have observed in Lagos and Cape Town, where the bandleader, is responsible for most of the band decisions. This formalised administration is another instance where Ogu customs and values permeate musical contexts. These indigenous values come to the fore again in the genderedness and a few other non-musical considerations in the membership of Ogu bands, which I examine next.

Band make-up: Gendered to forestall 'indiscipline'

Gogoke is an all-male band. While most indigenous Ogu genres are gendered (see Chapter Six), members of Gogoke explained the band's male exclusivity as a mechanism of forestalling 'indiscipline'. Indiscipline here implies flirting and possible relationships among

band members, which could affect the band negatively. Gbisu Dele, the lead vocalist explained the purposive exclusion of women from Gogoke:

> We decided to exclude women from this band because having them may breed indiscipline and there could be clashes between male members over the women. Also, once we have women in the band and we have late night performances our wives may become suspicious about happenings in the band [as the band sometimes performs into the late hours of the night]. This may affect our marriages as well. It may scatter the band. If my back-up vocalist is close to me, there will be insinuations about me having a relationship with her (interview with Dele Gbisu, Gogoke's lead vocalist, on November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Ekundayo Towheyon (the bandleader of Gigoyoyo, a male indigenous band in Badagry Town) corroborates this idea that including women in the band often engenders indiscipline among the male members. I will discuss this further in Chapter Six.

In November 2017, Gogoke had 17 members consisting of vocalists, instrumentalists or both. Apart from the lead vocalist, the other vocalists double up on the shakers (*aya, saya* and *oje*) or handclapping. Vocalists do not double on *ogan* or any of the drums as these instruments play parts considered to be extremely important and feature prominently. The members of Gogoke are:

Fideyon Tanimowo – Chairman
Jeremiah Tonukunme – Bandleader and *pawhle* drummer
Dele Gbisu – Lead vocalist and composer
Mautin Adokun – Secretary and *Jenjen* drummer
Johnson Godonu – Organiser and *apesi* drummer
Suru Godonu – *aya* player
Jacob Avoseh – *apesi pevi* drummer
Emmanuel Avoseh – *apesi* drummer
Zanmenu Anthony –back-up vocalist
Abiodun Athannagbo – back-up vocalist
Segun Hunsu – *kle* drummer
Olabode Agemo – *ogan* player

Saturday Dosu – *aya* player
Abiona Hontonyon – back-up vocals
Ranti Akran – back-up vocals
Segra Sejiro – *kle* drummer
Jimoh Dosu – back-up vocals

The average age of Gogoke's membership (barring the age of the chairman) is 27 years, and this implies that many of the members are either newly married, in courtship or still searching for spouses. Hence, the band's disposition towards female membership may not be unconnected to thoughts of 'protecting' men from women, which underlies the veiling of women in Islam (see Chapter Six). Apart from the view of female membership as a potential source of indiscipline among the male bands in Badagry, there are also connotations of promiscuity in women spending a prolonged period, for whatever reason, with male groups. This seems connected to the naturalised role of women as homemakers in the context of this study as I later demonstrate in this thesis. I explore the naturalised role of women and male dominance, on the contemporary music scene in Badagry, in Chapter Six. The next section continues the discussion on ingrained social customs and values, and their roles in informing musical activities.

Band rehearsals

Gogoke rehearsals are held on Friday evenings from 5pm, and they usually last for about two hours. In preparation for certain high-profile performances, a Wednesday rehearsal is added, making it two rehearsal slots in a week. Evening rehearsals are preferred as band members work during the day. Otherwise, it seems that in Badagry, musical activities are preferred in the evening. My experiences both from my childhood and during my fieldwork informed this suggestion. For instance, one day during my 2017 fieldwork, I decided to have my daily trumpet-warm-up exercises in the morning, around 10am. A few minutes into my warm-up routines, my elderly neighbour came to stop me because "it was too early in the day". I have also observed a few instances where children were shushed while making music in the afternoon for the single reason that 'the sun was up'. Yet, older persons often rebuke younger ones for playing loud music, which is said to attract nocturnal spirits, into the late hours of the night. In view of the foregoing, it could be argued that the rehearsal

schedule is not merely a matter of the musicians' availability but done in consideration of communal beliefs about the appropriate timing for musical activities.[68]

During Gogoke rehearsals the lead vocalist may introduce a new song and rehearse the recitative section of an upcoming performance. Band members offer their advice on how a section may be improved during the breaks. While the bandleader is in charge, giving instructions on what to practice next, other band members often offer suggestions on what they think could be executed differently.

Rehearsals double as meetings where important issues are discussed. For instance, an issue of mistrust in relation to my research was discussed before the rehearsal began on Friday 10 November. I arrived at the rehearsal venue, ready to participate and to make video and audio recordings when the bandleader called me aside to inform me that there was an issue to be discussed. The discussion that ensued took about 1hr 30minutes of the rehearsal time. On my first visit, I made my intentions known to them. Some of the band members believed I would take advantage of them. Their misgivings were centred on the possibility that I would make money from the recordings without monetary returns to the band. It was a tension-filled meeting. Occasionally, a member would shout the slogan "Gogoke" to which the other members responded, "*e ma yan*". This slogan was meant to ease the tension and restore decorum. One member spoke up:

> If you ask around [in Badagry] for a good Ogu band, you will be referred to Igbogbele [highlighting the band's popularity in Badagry]. We are determined to be serious about this work and we've been praying about it. As God would have it, you came to ask us to help you with your research and you are also a helper for us with regard to the progress of this band. But we don't know your mind yet and you also don't know our mind concerning you. Only God is the one who knows our minds. Just let us know exactly what your plans are, and I know we won't disappoint you. We will only disappoint if we sense that we are being used – like an instrument – used and dumped. That is what we are trying to avoid. That is all I have to say [these words were spoken in Yorùbá and transcribed by author].

[68] It should be noted that rituals (requiring music) and other communal activities such as church programmes, in contemporary Badagry, are often scheduled for various times of the day or night. Perhaps this is due to the perceived importance of such rituals or activities. This becomes insightful regarding the importance attached to musical rehearsals and practices in this social context.

At this stage, the band perceived that I could be of help to them by sharing my field recordings: documentation of their performance, which they could present to intending clients. Another member spoke with a threatening undertone:

> God will bless us all. This band will not scatter by God's grace. I want to support what the previous speaker said. There are people who do that [referring to using and dumping] and I have revolted such moves in the past. I personally even said we should not allow you to video record us, and all that, but the band members pacified me. My point exactly is to forestall you collecting all these materials and, in the future, you feel all that you have collected is enough and you want to use them [in making profit] without us. Forget about it! It won't work. Let the truth be told, it won't work, and your progress will be impeded. The [musical] instruments we use are [made of] *ogun* and we can use it to curse someone[69] [the words were spoken in Yorùbá and transcribed by author]

In response to these legitimate concerns, I explained that I had asked to research Gogoke in the same way that an individual would ask another for a marital relationship; the party being asked has the exclusive right to decline. Gogoke, in this case, had the right to decline. I went further to explain that I would like to collaborate with the band by adding Western instruments to their songs. This would benefit me with findings for my doctoral research while compiling documentation for the band. At this, the band unanimously gave their consent for me to use their recordings for my research. They also agreed to go and record a few of their songs in a studio, for which I was financially responsible. The rehearsal for that day was compromised. However, the band members left with a sense of accomplishment having discussed a pertinent issue relating to the progress of the band. Going by the dramaturgical approach, made popular by Erving Goffman (1967), which suggests that human interactions are dependent on time, space and audience, Gogoke's rehearsals allude to the *backstage*, where all kinds of issues arise and are dealt with. The process of conflict resolution and negotiation of interpersonal relationships during Gogoke's rehearsals literarily enhances the band's stage performances.

The discussion thus far has demonstrated that the constellation of activities of indigenous bands - rehearsals, musical interactions, creative musical choices, is shaped by the belief

[69] Reference to *Ogun,* the Yorùbá god of iron, here is a common threat based on Yorùbá cosmological belief that the deity avenges injustice done to his devotees or anyone who invokes him. Some of those who work with metallic instruments often placate *Ogun* so as to be successful in their jobs.

systems and communal ethos of Badagry Ogu communities being nested within a translocal formation. While this theme continues to reoccur, in the next section, which focusses on performance contexts, I expand the discourse to include the adaptive strategies employed by bands in finding new purposes for indigenous music and sustaining its role as an identity marker, which strengthens Ogu social fabric within the changing structure in 21st-century Badagry.

Performance context

While I briefly discussed aspects of the religious rituals that feature musical activities in Chapter Two, this section analyses the party context in which most of the surviving secular indigenous Ogu musical practices, such as *kaka* and *mase,* exist. Parties are popularly known in Lagos by the Yorùbá name – *owambe,* and they provide performance opportunities for bands. *Owambe* literarily means 'it is there' and it refers to the regularity of parties in Southwest Nigeria. Seeing white plastic chairs (party chairs in Lagos), tables and canopies deposited at a venue by rental-service providers indicates that 'it is there' or put differently, 'a party is happening there'. These parties, which are supposed to be private events, are however often open to everyone in the neighbourhood, hence a formal invitation is not required to join the parties, and non-attendance could lead to the celebrant feeling snubbed by her/his neighbours.

There are numerous reasons for celebratory occasions in Southwest Nigeria, such as funerals, birthdays, wedding anniversaries, house warmings, naming ceremonies, graduations, completions of apprenticeships and remembrance anniversaries for the deceased amongst others. To this end, there is a popular joke in Nigeria that a southwest Nigerian could hold a party to celebrate the success of a previous party. Furthermore, there is hardly a weekend, which passes by in Badagry without a party requiring the services of bands. Usually, there is a uniform fabric, known as *aṣọ ẹbí*, purchased by friends and well-wishers for each party, and made into the desired style of each attendee. Therefore, it is usual to find numerous people, attending the same party, dressed in the same fabric – *aṣọ ẹbí*. Sophistication in design and the quality of the additional fabric used distinguishes not only between elite and not so rich but also between professional and amateur designers (Nwafor 2011). The *aṣọ ẹbí* practice is a show of solidarity and conviviality. The exclusion of noncompliant attendees at the distribution of food is a common consequence for nonconformity (ibid, 2013, Ajani 2012).

With the *aṣọ ẹbí,* each attendee tries to make an outstanding costume thus individuals carefully choose their fashion designers. Where a woman adorns an outstanding style, it is

common for her friends to request the contact details of the tailor/fashion designer so that they can patronise the tailor for subsequent parties. Fashion magazines are references for tailors. It is quite prestigious for tailors to have their designs published in magazines. The *aṣọ ẹbí* practice makes sewing and jewellery beading businesses prominent in this sociocultural milieu.

Outdoor parties offer the majority of Gogoke's performance opportunities and Bode Omojola (2006) describes this performance context as African Festival Format (see also Emielu 2018: 220). Where the occasion is a funeral of an elderly person, there could be as many live bands as the number of the deceased's children. Amplified band music marks such occasions (see Emielu 2018 for similar practices in the South-South region of Nigeria). In addition to individual and family celebrations, Gogoke also performs at end-of-the-year parties of companies and events for trade unions such as the Lagos Farmers' Association. Since these parties are seasonal and not as elaborate, they rank far behind individual and family parties, which provide regular performance opportunities in Badagry. However, this makes the band even busier towards the end of the year compared to other periods of the year. Parties are essential contemporary contexts for indigenous music, and they enable the role of indigenous music as an identity marker, as most of the advocates of indigenous music for parties are often intentional about reinforcing their connections with Ogu traditions. These advocates, some of who are aware that indigenous markers are advantageous within cosmopolitan formations, further empower performers, both economically and psychologically, to fulfil their intentions as custodians of traditions (interview with Jeremiah Tonnukunme on November 15, 2017, Igbogbele Badagry). Paradoxically, being busy with numerous performances may not connote financial abundance for indigenous Ogu performers in Badagry. The next section first examines live performances of indigenous Ogu bands and then the economics of such performances.

Performances and the economics of indigenous performances in modern Badagry

There are three broad sections to Gogoke's performances: *homage*, *listening* and *dance floor*. The norm of greeting on arrival or encounter is captured in band performances in Badagry. Greeting is an expectation for individuals and bands are not exempted from this norm. In consideration of this expectation, only greeting songs are appropriate as the first song for a performance. This is based on the ethos and cultural philosophy that on arriving at any

territory, particularly if you are visiting, it is imperative to pay homage to the powers that be for one's endeavour in that territory to be successful.

Moreover, this ethos has entered the rubric of the art scene whereby younger musicians, in their debut live performances, are expected to pay homage, not just to the older musicians in the same field, but also to the elders of the community. Thus, it is ill-advised to begin almost anything without appeasing the powers that be – both spiritual and human (see Alaja-Browne 1989). It is believed that nonconformity may lead to a band or a musician suffering from a spiritual attack or being placed under a spell aimed at sabotaging the band. Being wary of these possibilities, each musician or band placates the powers that be, which may even involve a monetary settlement before performances. This must be done to ensure a successful performance. Attempts to sabotage a performance usually come in the form of mysterious technical problems with the sound system, sudden heavy rainfall, very strong winds that upturn performance equipment and stages, the lead vocalist could mysteriously lose his/her voice or worse still, the skin on the drums central to the performance may break a few minutes into the performance.

Simply put, the wrong choice of a first song could ruin the entire performance. Every local band is aware that not paying homage often brings grave consequences. Hence it is not just customary for Gogoke to begin every performance with a song like *vale whe mi yon* (which means homage paying – see Chapter Five) - it is mandatory. Each local band has an homage-paying song, which could be the band's original composition or a cover of an existing one. More importantly, it must be centred on the theme of homage paying.

Homage paying is not limited to live performances, as Abioro Satowaku (a drum maker, see Chapter Two) revealed, Ogu musicians pay homage on their albums to the musician(s) who pioneered or popularised their chosen genre. In other words, the first song on a debut Ogu album is often a homage-paying song. Another instance of homage paying in Ogu music is the common practice of *ogbon*[70] drummers who double as lead vocalists to pay homage to Michel Amipon who is well versed in playing *ogbon* and thus popularised it. While Michel Amipon is not the inventor of *ogbon*,

[70]*Ogbon* is an hourglass-shaped Ogu drum. The skins on both heads are fastened with strings of twine, which are also used for tightening and releasing to produce different tones on the drum.

his outstanding proficiency on the drum has earned him the homage of other players of the same instrument.

The practice of homage paying is a common feature of most West African traditions. Among Yorùbá people, for instance, *apala* musicians often pay homage to Haruna Isola and Ayinla omo Wura, both of whom popularised *apala* music. This concept is also appreciated in some non-indigenous performance settings such as Fela Anikulapo Kuti's Afrobeat. Although Fela rarely praised or venerated anyone through his song texts, his performance venue, The African Shrine, had a section with the pictures of his heroes including Kwameh Nkrumah and his mother, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti. Fela would stop performances at 12 midnight during Sunday's 'comprehensive' shows to pay homage by pouring libation for these African leaders (see Veal 2000). Fela's practice of homage paying might have been a derivative of the belief, in many West African cosmologies, that maverick humans are transformed into deities after their demise (ibid). With this and similar practices, Fela advocated for the dominance of African ethos, philosophies and practices in contemporary African contexts.

Gogoke's homage song, as well as many other homage songs, begins with a vocal recitative – without any accompaniment (see also Kunnuji 2017 for remarks on Oyono's *mase* homage song). The lead vocalist executes the recitative introduction to the song using improvised lyrics based on the performance context. During this recitative, the lead singer mentions the dignitaries in attendance. The lead singer also acknowledges the elders of the community and the spiritual forces in that territory.

Since the names of dignitaries present are seldom the same for any two performances, the vocal recitative introduction to the homage songs requires great skill in lyrical improvisation on the part of the lead singer. These names are blended with the lyrics of the existing song in a style that it is not easily deduced since the song would not have been specially written for the occasion. The acknowledgements are only achievable with a level of 'research' preceding every performance. Consequently, a representative of the band usually poses a few questions to the person in charge of the event with the aim of establishing more details about the performance setting and expected guests. The name of the chairperson of the occasion (if there is one), names of the other bands and names of dignitaries are usually requested. This consultation could be done just before the performance or a few days or weeks ahead of the performance. These names are also needed for the

third section of the performance – the dance floor – as bands depend on guests' 'spraying'[71] to make money.

After the acknowledgements, the lead vocalist will then apologise for any unintended omission. Once this is done, s/he may 'call' the backing vocalists with the melody of the 'homage' song to which they respond accordingly. At this stage, the drums are still silent. The melodic call-and-response between the lead vocalist and the backing vocalists may be repeated three times. On the third repeat, *ogan* pattern kicks in to introduce the tempo of the 'homage' song. After the *ogan* pattern is played for about four cycles of the melody, the other auxiliary percussion instruments, *aya*, *oje*, *saya*, begin to join one at a time. Subsequently, the *azehun* (bass drum in Gogoke ensemble) and the pair of *kle* joins in the groove. After the groove is established, the lead drums may join in. At this point, the homage songs would have been underway for about 30 minutes already.

The second part of Gogoke's homage song (*gbenopo nulo nayon nugbo)* introduces the important virtue of unity (essential for the progress and survival of any association) in Ogu culture. It also ensures a smooth transition into the second – listening – section of the performance.

The band transits into the second section by singing a few songs highlighting biblical virtues or indigenous philosophies. This stage usually coincides with the serving of food and eating. Guests are expected to be seated, listening to the music as they eat. The cyclical and medley-type forms of the listening section could go on for as long as two hours while different courses of the menu are served. This enables the guests to eat and relax for some time before the dance floor opens.

When the lead vocalist observes that most of the guests are done eating, he will begin to invite people to the dance floor, one at a time. He sings the praise of a guest and that implies an invitation to the dance floor. The invited guests would usually be accompanied by friends who dance and spray the band; they could be on the dance floor for thirty minutes or more depending on how much they are prepared to spray. Spraying is a very essential part of dancing and guests who disapprove of the public show of opulence often decline an invitation to the dance floor. Parties (and in particular, the dance floor) embody flamboyance, overt display of wealth, visibility and conspicuous consumption. Guests attending parties often invite their showy and rich friends to accompany them, first to such parties and ultimately, onto the dance floor. Some invitees are people who may never have met the

[71]Spraying refers to the common practice of party guests putting cash notes on the foreheads or chests of musicians or on the floor in appreciation of the good music.

celebrant or party host. One would rather not dance than do so and not 'spray'. Not everyone present at a party is usually invited to the dance floor. It is a common practice for bands to invite the party hosts first but if they are still busy catering for their guests, any other notable dignitary is called up. The dance floor for Ogu performances is like the *asiko* and *juju* practice of a band member inviting onlookers forward to dance by placing a cap on their laps. It is understood that everyone would give the invited dancer the opportunity to 'shine' until he completed his dance and spraying (Alaja-Browne, 1989: 56).

This practice of patrons rewarding musicians is found in various parts of Africa. Mack noted among Hausa people that bands aim to flatter patrons, by recounting their laudable acts, to attract monetary reward (see also Mack 2004:35). Roschenthaler and Schulz (2016) used the terms cultural entrepreneur and figures of success (in addition to "big men") to describe individuals with similar societal status as the patrons who spray money at parties, described earlier. As mentioned earlier, the difference between these patrons in Lagos and the big men described in Roschenthaler and Schulz (2016) is that the former are not motivated by gains but are often philanthropic in outlook.

On the other hand, the practice of praise singing for patrons and guests, which seems a retention of the traditional role of musicians serving at the courts of kings and monarchs, departs markedly from the modern practice of self-praise in Afro hip hop (see Shipley 2013:114). Hip hop icons are said to be self-made in that they praise themselves, mentioning their names several times on a track and their success becomes valorised among their fans (ibid). On the contrary contemporary indigenous Ogu musicians have a relatively low social status compared to their patrons. In modern African societies, the traditional role of musicians as praise singers coexists with the Afro hip hop practice of self-praise and this signals pluralism among musicians.

Usually, the amount obtained from spraying outweighs the amount with which the band was booked. In spite of the spraying and the booking fee that the band charges for every performance, the money that each band member makes from performances in a month would not be sufficient to cater for their monthly expenses. Thus, earnings from Gogoke performances are considered additional earnings. In 2018, Gogoke charged N20,000 (about $55) as booking fee per party. From spraying alone, the band may receive up to N30,000 (about $83). When divided among the 17 members of the band, each member earns less than N3,000 (about $8) from a performance. The band stages between three and four of such performances in a month. Notably, the booking fee of N20,000 is not enough to hire a musician in Lagos for a two-hour jazz gig. Jazz musicians usually earn from N30,000

upwards. The considerable difference in remuneration between jazz and indigenous musicians raises questions about the viability of playing indigenous Ogu music and how different musical genres are perceived, rated or valued in the context of cosmopolitan Lagos.

In view of these meagre earnings, it is imperative for Ogu indigenous musicians to have other occupations. Most of the Gogoke members are artisans, some are involved in *fayawo* while two of them are primary school teachers. Quite telling is the desire of Gogoke members to perform in Lagos city. They recounted their December 2016 performance experience in Oko-Oba Agege (closer in proximity to Lagos city than Badagry), as their most treasured *medal*. This may become more understandable with the consideration of the lived material condition of an average musician in Lagos, which is in stack contrast with that of an indigenous musician in Badagry. Yet, Lagos and its suburbs, including Badagry, exist as a single economic unit, with similar commodity pricing. Little wonder that a sizeable number of my respondents indicated their ability to perform hip hop music, dominant in the Lagos soundscape, with Ogu indigenous drums. One demonstrated his ability to rap in Ogu. Underlying these displays of cosmopolitan know-how are the performers' aims to demonstrate their versatility, with bearings on the desire for economic prosperity.

Nevertheless, members of Gogoke view their music as more of a fun activity than a means for economic survival. In fact, since the band started out as a 'fun thing', money was never an important consideration. This fun over money axiom may not be unconnected to the disposition of pre-colonial West African societies to music. Music was not considered a profession (see Alaja-Brown 1989:58; Veal 2000), and this cultural history has continued to affect the disposition towards music as a profession in Badagry. Sunday Ajulo (an adept Ogu drummer referred to in previous chapters) remarked that one of the reasons why some Badagry youth are disengaged from their musical heritage is that musicians are viewed as *alagbe* (beggars in Yorùbá, see also Veal 2000: 27). This also offers an insight into why *hunpameh* teaches *vothun* musicians other skills, such arts and crafts, to cater for their economic survival.

On the question of the viability of indigenous Ogu music, an anonymous participant (a Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Lagos) drew on the laws of demand and supply in explaining the small stipend, which Ogu indigenous performances attract in 21st-century Badagry. He said:

> Well, the skills you are talking about [referring to Ogu drumming skills] may be scarce outside that area [Badagry] but in that area, it is not scarce and whatever is not scarce will not attract a significant reward. You will be shocked that an average person in Badagry, who will not even identify himself as a musician, will have some of those skills, will be able to play those drums and some other musical instruments, so if it is not scarce, it's not likely that it will attract so much in terms of reward, payment or remuneration (interview with an anonymous Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos, on Novemeber 25, 2017, Ikorodu Lagos. The interview was conducted in English and edits are in editor's brackets).

This corroborates one of my findings that almost all my respondents with tertiary education do not view themselves as musicians, though they are proficient drummers. For example, Mr P. Olaide-Mesewaku (the curator of Badagry Heritage Museum), Mr Abiodun Dosu (a cultural cognocenti) and Mr Joel Yetonyon (the presenter of the only Ogu programme on Radio Lagos) play Ogu drums well enough to handle the most rhythmically complex drum parts in any of the indigenous bands in Badagry. Some of them have even featured on studio recordings playing Ogu drums.

Additionally, an anonymous participant observed that music in Ogu *gbe*, which is a minority language that is spoken by less than 5% of the population of Lagos (Ofulue 2013) is unlikely to sell well in Lagos.

> Ogu music is not the mainstream music in Lagos because the language most widely spoken in the State is Yorùbá so the reach of Ogu *gbe* is small in Lagos State. It has a smaller reach so that can also work against the people who think of producing music using that language outside its domain. You will not be able to communicate with most of the people in the State (interview with an anonymous Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos, on November 25, 2017, Ikorodu Lagos. The interview was conducted in English and edits are in editor's brackets).

This serves as a pretext to the relatively low bookings of Ogu indigenous bands compared to non-Ogu bands in Badagry. People who do not speak Ogu *gbe* are more likely to book a Yorùbá band which sings in the more popular language. With the demand for Ogu indigenous bands being relatively low, its price also remains low. The anonymous participant's remark above also lends insight into the observation of Mr Joel Yetonyon who pointed out the dearth of indigenous Ogu recordings by Badagry musicians. All the Ogu recordings he airs on his

radio programme are by bands in the Republic of Benin. The following section examines Gogoke's compositional method and language usage.

Gogoke compositions

Original compositions by Gogoke's lead vocalist, Gbisu Dele (who began his singing career in the Igbogbele Methodist Church specialising in leading Ogu songs), are predominant in the band's repertory. Gogoke performs predominantly these original compositions. Speaking about his compositional procedure, he mentioned "God's inspiration", "nature" and "daily life occurrences" as his sources of ideas. He would then try out these ideas by singing them to his nuclear family members, who would critique the new composition. Through repetition of this procedure of presenting songs to his nuclear family, he would adjust the song until it sounded good enough to be introduced to the band during rehearsals. In his words:

> Anytime I'm told that we have a performance, I can be at home, work [bricklaying] or in the farm, an inspiration may come through, a word, greetings from people and I will use that to form a song. While I work my day job, I compose songs as inspired by God, nature and people. Sometimes I'm inspired by events around me such as a bird taking off. I would sing a line about it or someone greets me from a distance, I would sing another line about it. Afterwards, I compile those lines into a song. I sing the songs to my family – wife and children. They are usually my first audience. My son plays the bell pattern while I sing my newly composed song. The other members of the family will sing the back-up line. All this happens at the backyard of my house. I also listen to cassettes from the Republic of Benin to add their style of play to my songs (interview with Dele Gbisu on November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

The role of Gbisu's family in his compositions is insightful first to Ogu traditional method of intergenerational transfer of skills within the family, and the blurred distinction between musicians and non-musicians in this context. The song themes are drawn from Biblical texts and Ogu indigenous philosophies of life. Morality, respect, kind-heartedness and spirituality are virtues that are upheld among the members of Gogoke. These are evident in their song texts, discussed subsequently.

Language in Gogoke repertory

Most Igbogbele residents are speakers of the Toli dialect of Ogu *gbe*, their ancestors having migrated from the Toli-speaking parts of the pre-colonial Dahomeh Kingdom. Accordingly, members of Gogoke band are Toli dialect speakers. However, the repertory of Gogoke is entirely in Alladah, which is the most widely spoken dialect of Ogu *gbe*, both in the Republic of Benin and Nigeria. Alladah emerged as the general Ogu language over the centuries as a response to the need to build unity necessary in negotiating trade with the European merchants (see Asiwaju 1979). However, Yorùbá language, which is the dominant language in Southwest Nigeria, has much influence on both spoken and sung Alladah in Badagry, as opposed to the Ogu communities in Benin Republic. It is common practice in Badagry to lace Ogu songs and *asha* (vocalised rhythmic phrases) with either spoken or sung Yorùbá passages. A case in point is Gogoke's song titled *Degbo*, which refers to a very big fish (found only in the ocean) that can never be summoned by a fish in the creek. This song figuratively boasts that other indigenous bands in Badagry are no match for Gogoke. *Degbo* has a Yorùbá passage:

won ni n wa k'awe mo ko	I was introduced to Western education, but I declined it
won ni n wa k'awe mo ko	I was introduced to Western education, but I declined it
ede oyinbo s'oro gbo	white man's language is difficult to comprehend
ede oyinbo s'oro gbo	white man's language is difficult to comprehend
won ni n wa k'awe mo ko	I was introduced to Western education, but I declined it

[interpreted by author]

This example is one out of many Badagry Ogu songs in Alladah but with Yorùbá passages. Ogu *gbe* as minority language thus explains the reason for the ubiquity of Yorùbá passages in Ogu songs. The song texts are a reflection of the influeces of Yorùbá on Badagry Ogu, which is further enhanced by intermarriages between Ogus and Yorùbás, among other factors. An anonymous participant argued that the condescension of Yorùbá people towards Ogu people has propelled Ogu youth to seek affiliation with Yorùbá people:

> The people of the major ethnic group [Yorùbá] also use pejorative terms in referring to Ogu people… so people who are Ogu will want to affiliate with the major ethnic group, the Yorùbá group. Someone who is Setonji [an Ogu name] will now say he is Soji [a Yorùbá name]. Someone whose name is

> Gugbe [an Ogu name] will change it to Ogungbe [a Yorùbá name] and there are cases like that. There is another case, Akanche became Akande and there are several like that, because Yorùbá people make it seem like Ogu people are inferior. Sometimes, it is a serious battle to hold your head up high and say you're different, you're not… They will use all sorts of pejorative terms to describe Ogu people, including terrible adages like "*egun ti o jale, oju lo n ro*"[72] things like that. So, people who are not very strong characters will very easily say "no I'm not… I'm Yorùbá" (interview with an anonymous Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos, on November 25, 2017, Ikorodu Lagos. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited except where editor's brackets are used).

Furthermore, this participant observed that mass media perpetuates the marginalisation of Ogu people:

> And Nollywood [the Nigerian film industry] is adding to the problem. Anytime they have an Ogu character, it is for comic relief, depicting that these ones are sub-humans. These forces have been used to subjugate Ogu ethnic group and reinforce the belief that it is inferior (interview with an anonymous Senior Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos, on November 25, 2017, Ikorodu Lagos. The interview was conducted in English and edits are in editor's brackets).

Some of the Nollywood movies that have used Ogu characters for comic relief include *Madam Dearest* (the characters played by Remi Oshidi and Bashiru Adisa). Another case in point is *Alani Baba Labake: World Best* (the character played by Remi Oshodi). These Nigerian movies are paralleled in the music industry by Tman Chinchin's recently released single track titled *T'alo m'egun was'eko*, meaning 'who brought an Ogu man to Lagos?' This song implies 'who brought this fool to Lagos?' These problematic cultural representations are damaging and condescending towards Ogu people and their practices. An anonymous participant in this study (a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos) also mentioned that the indifference and apathy of Badagry politicians have made Ogu marginalisation easier, submitting that the path to the restoration of Ogu pride begins with addressing the identity crisis.

[72]This Yorùbá adage literarily means 'an Ogu who does not steal is only struggling' or 'will struggle to survive'.

Gogoke's choice of dialect and its combinations with the regionally dominant language works in multiple ways to facilitate both the local identity of the band and broader regional articulations. Therefore, despite the dominance of Yorùbá language in Badagry and its inclusion in Ogu songs with Yorùbá passages, members of the Gogoke band perceive themselves and their songs as functioning like a mechanism, which somehow ensures the preservation of indigenous Ogu music. Jeremiah Tonukunme remarked:

> I personally love the kind of music we are doing. There is a saying that your mother tongue must not get lost, when it does, another person entirely, who is not an indigene, will take it over, make a living from it and later sell it to you. That is why I personally like what we are doing (interview with Jeremiah Tonukunme, Gogoke's bandleader, on November 15, 2017, Igbogbele Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

According to some Gogoke members, the perpetuity of Ogu music was the prime reason for their choice of performing Ogu music. In a Badagry that is dominated by Yorùbá music, the band looks to the bands in Benin Republic as their source of inspiration. In addition to the beliefs and practices of homage-paying earlier discussed, contemporary indigenous bands index other aspects of the belief systems of Badagry Ogu people, in their mode of operation. Subsequently, I address the religious and spiritual underpinnings in band operations.

Religious underpinnings

Ogu ontology embraces mysticism as a way to make sense of reality, and to ignore the associated beliefs is to risk injuries or even death. For Gogoke members, being religious offers a means of staying in touch with the spiritual realm. Although Gogoke is a secular band, religious undertones pervade its essence. Prayers are essential parts of rehearsals and performances. These religious underpinnings are quintessential aspects of Ogu indigenous bands. They are not just heard in the band repertoire but are also seen in the conduct of band members. As earlier mentioned, all the band members have religious affiliations.

The use of religious texts in Gogoke repertoire is like that of *juju* music (see Waterman 1990). *Juju* owes its fundamental tenets to Christian musical practices of early 20th century Lagos. Initially, *juju* employed the samba drum, which was introduced to the Lagos music scene by the Salvation Army (see Alaja-Browne 1989). The use of scriptural texts serves as a premise upon which moral philosophies in *juju* song texts are based. Religious and socio-cultural underpinnings are major

considerations in indigenous Ogu performances. I explore these themes in detail in the next chapter on musical analysis and recontextualisation.

Concluding remarks

Retentions of precolonial Ogu communities, and their role in engendering collective musical activities, are evident in Gogoke's fortuitous emergence. Igbogbele with more personal contacts and communications, as opposed to the distant and social media interactions in urban sites, maintains the social capital and psychological support system central to the social fabric of less urban sites in Badagry. In these contexts, the boundaries between professional and non-professional musicians remain a blur. Hence, despite Gogoke's current administrative structure, its music also functions as an agency to identity reinforcement, and a factor in reciprocal exchanges typical in communal dealings. Given this, Gogoke's reimagination of traditional Ogu music in Badagry employs various adaptive measures in order to uphold the ethos of the cultural formation within which it is nested. In other words, although the band has found new relevance for traditional music in contemporary Badagry, its repertory, structure and operations continue to be shaped by communal character, belief system and socio-cultural, as well as religious, underpinnings.

The next chapter, on the analysis of Gogoke music, will culminate in a demonstration of possible approaches to arrangements, which will embrace Western musical instruments and indigenous ones in repackaging Gogoke music for more extensive accessibility without undermining its essence.

Chapter Five

Gogoke: Musical Analysis and Recontextualisation

Introduction

Randy Weston (1926 – 2018), a jazz pianist, passed on around the time of my nascent conception of this chapter. At his passing I became more conversant with his innovations in merging musical worlds and Africanizing African-American musics. Upon his initial exposure to literature and discussions on Africa, first through his father and later through Professor Marshall Stearns and Dr Willis James, Weston became obsessed with using African elements in his music. His early 1960s visits and performances in Ibadan and Lagos further deepened Weston's taste for increasing African influences. Had it not been for the Nigerian civil war, which began in 1967, he would have moved, even if for a few years, to Lagos in search of his ancestral musical ambience (Kelly 2012). Shortly following this, was an equally worthwhile opportunity to live in Morocco, which Weston grabbed. With this, Weston's jazz music became one of the most Africanized of the jazz variants until now (ibid).

My approach to working with Gogoke's music follows Randy Weston's precedence of syncretising African and jazz elements. However, mine contrasts Weston's in that our perspectives are reversed: Weston Africanised his jazz music by incorporating African folk melodies, drums, languages and time feel, while I import jazz elements into Ogu music. These elements include jazz extended harmony, expanded instrumentation, instrumental improvisation and shout choruses. I employ the concept of *musical recontextualisation* to capture my use of broad stylistic and presentational options as additions in repackaging indigenous art forms. In this study, these additions include but are not limited to, my use of jazz elements and adoption of popular music preferences. These popular preferences include comparatively shorter song durations, studio recording and digital distribution, which I deploy in presenting Ogu music in a new way, for wider accessibility.

Additionally, I propose *musical recontextualisation* as a model, which forestalls the appropriation of indigenous African musics in manners that equate musical larceny (see Agawu 2016: 305–334).[73] While composers generally engage with "prior discourse[s],

[73] Agawu documented the use of African melodies, for instance, by musicians around the world, in their compositions, which do not directly benefit the originators of such melodies. For instance, Herbie Hancock used an exact replication of a *hindewhu* (a celebratory genre that announces the return from a hunt originating from the BaBenzele people of Central Africa) melodic motif in the

whether in affirmation or dissent" (2016: 315) this *musical recontextualisation* centralises Ogu elements and the originators of the melodies (Gogoke band). Gogoke's vocals and percussion section form the core of the emergent music. I supplement and expand this definition of recontextualisation throughout this chapter, which culminates in my suggested framework to approaching the exploration of indigenous African musics.

Similar to Weston's expeditions, this recontextualisation process involves "a willingness to subordinate" the jazz elements, to maintain the integrity of the infectious dance rhythms of Ogu music, among its other elements (see Kelly 2012:90). Yet, this is only a hue within the spectrum of the possibilities in the recontextualisation of indigenous art forms. While I have adopted jazz harmony, for instance, others may choose different harmonic systems, but I suggest that such attempts should also centralise an indigenous art form – a gesture deemed potent to empower indigenous performers.

Furthermore, this study reveals a few taken-for-granted issues in merging musical styles. It is also nuanced due to the specifics of the musicians involved and the combination of contexts in which the study took place. Participants, belonging to different musical worlds, are drawn from a Badagry suburb (a community in West Africa with lesser cosmopolitan influences), Johannesburg and Cape Town (metropolitan cities in Southern Africa). Furthermore, the participants from the metropolitan cities are from different backgrounds with varying musical orientations. The recontextualisation process, which began with the studio recording of Gogoke's songs in Badagry Lagos, continued in Johannesburg with the guitar overdubs and reached its full fruition in Cape Town with the bass and horns overdubs. I base my analysis of Ogu music, as well as the discussion on the process of recontextualising Gogoke's music, on five of Gogoke's songs, which were studio-recorded in Badagry, in November 2017. I also describe how I negotiated the diverse musical understandings of the participants throughout the study. With this I demonstrate the importance of reflexivity and sensitivity to power dynamics, representation and the backgrounds of all involved in a dialogic negotiation of living artforms and artists navigating creative decisions based on the variables in play at any given time and place. As a point of departure, I analyse the characteristics, styles and

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introduction of his famous tune 'Watermelon Man'. Agawu cited examples of similar appropriations in the works of jazz and world beat musicians including Martin Cradick, and Michael Sanchez (2016: 309).

aesthetics of indigenous Ogu music, which form the crux of this study; hence, central to my suggestion of a best practice approach to musical recontextualisation.

Ogu Music: Characteristics and aesthetics

Gogoke's music, an archetype of Badagry indigenous Ogu music, draws on various Ogu genres currently found in different parts of the Republic of Benin. Indigenous Ogu bands in Badagry often listen to the recordings of performers in the Republic of Benin as references for lyrics, melodies, styles and aesthetics (see Chapters Four and Six). It would, therefore, not be necessary to discuss the characteristics of Badagry Ogu music here but rather the characteristics of Ogu music, which is relatively unified in its essence across international borders. As a precursor, I discuss the characteristics of Ogu music under four broad headings namely – melodies, rhythms and time feel, *asha* (vocalised rhythms) and form.

Ogu melodies

Traditionally, Ogu melodies were based on pentatonic scales. My recent collection of Ogu melodies indicate that those composed on the major diatonic scale, for instance, are contemporary and bespeak cosmopolitan influences. Moreover, Ogu pentatonic melodies follow a few consistent patterns, some of which I highlight below. These patterns are by no means a set of rules but are constant in my field recordings and help inform creative decisions in the subsequent additions (such as the bass, guitar and horn lines) we made.

A few musical aspects are typical. First, Ogu melodies are based on call-and-response format with a lead singer and a chorus[74]. The call-and-response could either be in the form of antecedence and consequence (for instance, in Figure 32, the response is from the 3rd beat of bar 2 to the 2nd beat of bar 4) or a repetition of a melodic motif or an entire phrase (for instance in Figure 33, the chorus repeats the entire theme in response to the lead vocalist's singing of the same). Vocal responses are sometimes non-lexical syllables, such as *ehn-ehn* and *hun-hun*, repeated at the culmination of each sung phrase of the lead vocalist.

[74] Members of the chorus often play the dual role of singing and playing auxiliary percussion such as *aya* and *apalun* (see Chapter Two). They also contribute to the rhythm through rhythmic hand clapping at the climaxes and dance breaks.

Second, Ogu melodies are often monophonic in texture. Both in the male, female and the not-so-common mixed bands, the choruses are sung in unison and/or octaves[75]. Thirdly, Ogu melodies are usually short, not more than eight bars[76] in length, functioning as reoccurring themes, which are punctuated by, dance breaks and the lead vocalists' improvised melodies. As mentioned in Chapter Four, a lead vocalist is required to be able to improvise melodies and lyrics, which feature the names or praise epithets of band patrons or attendees at band performances. These improvised melodies are dictated by the tonal inflexions of the improvised song-texts. Furthermore, improvised melodies are free and extended, unlike the song themes. In addition, Ogu melodies often begin with anacruses, syncopated off the third (of fourth main) beat in a 12/8 time. It is important to have a general sense of melodic tendencies and characteristics when adding subsequent musical parts in the arrangement process. For instance, knowing what aspects to highlight or complement, not only for musical value but to maintain and assert an interesting or recognisable musical identity.

Compared to common African melodic features described elsewhere (see Jones 1949, Ekwueme 1980, Agawu 2016), notable contrasts in Ogu music includes an unconventional melodic shape, melodic modulation and pervasive anacruses (mentioned earlier). Figures 32 to 36 below are the themes of five of Gogoke's songs:

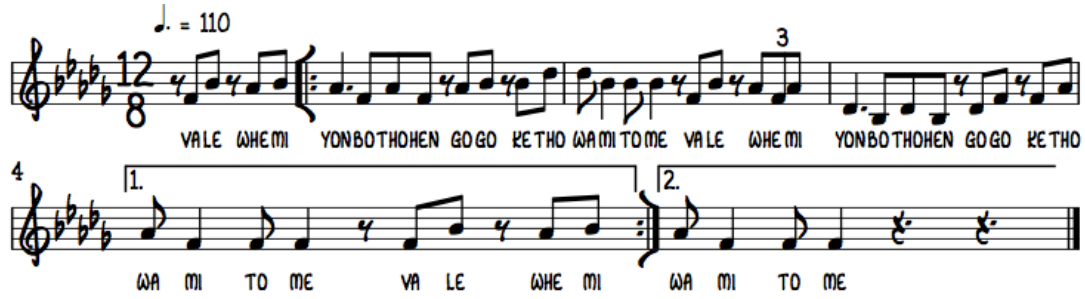

Figure 32*: Vale whe mi yon* theme

[75] The audio samples attached herewith feature chorus sections in octaves and or unison. The YouTube links to the audio samples may be found in the end matter of this thesis, following Appendix.

[76] My use of bars, time signatures and other Western musical terms is to facilitate an understanding of the music and solely as a point of reference for my non-Ogu participants and scholars involved in this study. It should be noted that the performers of indigenous Ogu music do not conceptualize their songs in bars.

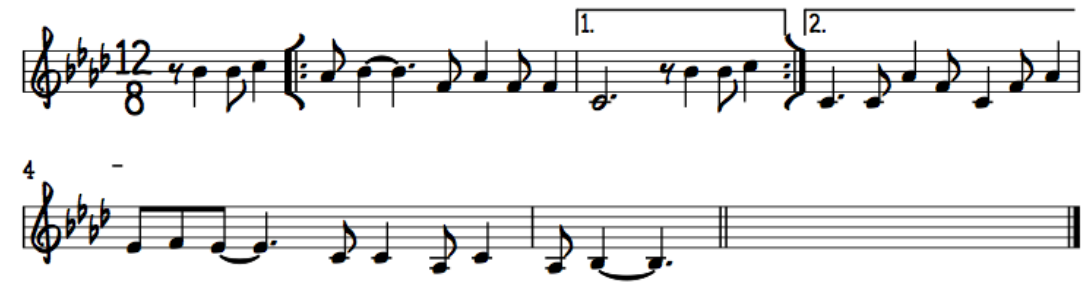

Figure 33*: Ano whlem* theme

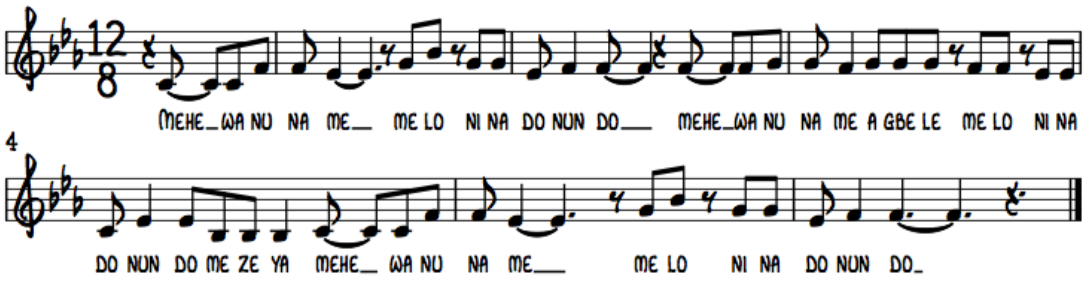

Figure 34*: Mehe wanu* theme

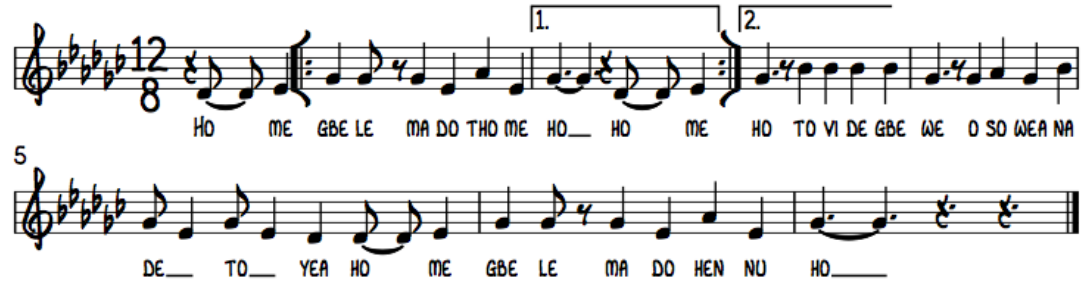

Figure 35*: Home gble* theme

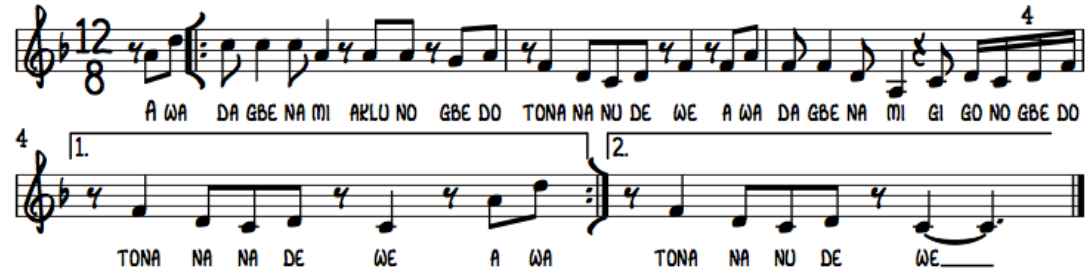

Figure 36*: Awa dagbe* theme

To analyse the intervals in these melodies, I employ Agawu's model (2016:228), while adding a few intervals, such as unison and major 6th, which occur in Ogu melodies but are absent in Agawu's model.

Vale whe mi yon	Unison (repeated notes)	Major 2nd	Minor 3rd	Major 3rd	Perfect 4th	Perfect 5th
Ascending	8	2	7	1	2	0
Descending	N.A	3	6	0	1	1
Totals	8	5	13	1	3	1
Totals as percentages	25.8%	16.1%	41.9%	3.2%	9.7%	3.2%

Table 1: Distribution of intervals in *Vale whe mi yon*.

Ano whlen	Unison (repeated notes)	Major 2nd	Minor 3rd	Major 3rd	Perfect 4th	Minor 6th	Minor 7th
Ascending	3	4	2	1	1	1	1
Descending	N.A	1	3	3	4	0	0
Totals	3	5	5	4	4	1	1
Totals as percentatges	13%	21.7%	21.7%	17.4%	17.4%	4.3%	4.3%

Table 2: Distribution of intervals in *Ano whlem*.

Mehe wanu	Unison (repeated notes)	Major 2nd	Minor 3rd	Major 3rd	Perfect 4th
Ascending	18	5	3	2	2
Descending	N.A	5	3	2	1
Totals	18	10	6	4	3
Totals as percentage	43.9%	24.4%	14.6%	9.8%	7.3%

Table 3: Distribution of intervals in *Mehe wanu*.

Home gble	Unison (repeated notes)	Major 2nd	Minor 3rd	Major 3rd	Perfect 4th
Ascending	8	3	5	2	2
Descending	N.A	2	5	1	3
Totals	8	5	10	3	5
Totals as percentages	25.8%	16.1%	32.3%	9.7%	16.1%

Table 4: Distribution of intervals in *Home gble*.

Awa dagbe	Unison (repeated notes)	Major 2nd	Minor 3rd	Major 3rd	Perfect 4th	Major 6th
Ascending	7	5	3	1	1	1
Descending	N.A	6	4	2	1	0
Totals	7	11	7	3	2	1
Totals as percentages	22.6%	35.5%	22.6%	9.7%	6.4%	3.2%

Table 5: Distribution of intervals in *Awa dagbe*.

	Unison (repeated notes)	Major 2nd	Minor 3rd	Major 3rd	Perfect 4th	Perfect 5th	Minor 6th	Major 6th	Minor 7th
Ascending	44	19	20	7	8	0	1	1	1
Descending	N.A	17	21	8	10	1	0	0	0
Totals	44	36	41	15	18	1	1	1	1
Totals as percentages	27.8%	22.2%	25.9%	9.5%	11.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%

Table 6: Summation of the distribution of intervals in Gogoke's songs.

The above data, showing the melodic intervals in Gogoke's songs, suggest that note repetition, both ascending and descending intervals of major seconds, minor and major thirds, and perfect fourths characterise Ogu melodies: Descending perfect 5th, ascending minor and

major 6th, and minor 7th intervals being occasionally featured. However, embodying Ogu melodies in the manner of the indigenous lead vocalists, who are adept at impulsively improvising melodies, transcends the realm of mathematical permutations. This requires knowledge of Ogu prosody, performance participation, imitation, memorising and several repetitions of the process in a similar manner that other musical idioms are imbibed.

Agawu (2016:202-203), referencing Jones (1949) and Ekwueme (1980:91) posited an overall descending shape in African melodies. Based on this argument, he suggested that the highest note of most African melodies occur at the beginning, culminating at the lowest note (towards the end of a phrase). While a few Ogu songs (*Awa dagbe* – Figure 36, for instance) may conform to this suggested downward melodic slope, most of the melodies recorded during my fieldwork are not consistent with this shape. Rather, Ogu melodies begin with notes somewhat in the middle, rise to the highest note and return to the middle or bottom of the melodic range (see the song themes above).

Modulations, usually up a perfect 4th, also occur in Ogu melodies. When such modulations occur within a theme, they usually exist as contrasting melodic ideas, in which case, the melody returns to the home key before the end of the theme. Conversely, modulations are used to introduce new themes as in Bar 37 of *Ano whlem* (see Appendix). I discussed melodic modulations in indigenous Ogu songs in detail elsewhere (see Kunnuji 2016). Lastly, a common feature of Ogu melodies is note repetition at the end of phrases. This occurrence of repeated notes at the end of Ogu phrases portend anticipated harmonic resolutions, which I discuss later. The use of pentatonic scales, unconventional shape and modulation may not suffice to suggest an Ogu leaning of a musical extract but remain important defining features of Ogu music — features which should be carefully considered in recontextualisation processes. Similarly, other considerations include the extract's underlying rhythms and time feel, which I discuss next.

Ogu rhythms and time feel

Several scholars have documented the complexity of African rhythms (see Jones 1949, Chernoff 1979, Locke 1998, Amegago 2014 among others). This section focuses on the instruments (and the patterns played on them) that combine to create a supposed rhythmic complexity through hemiola time.

Of all the characteristics of Ogu music, its rhythms and time, I found, are conceptualized in the most varied ways among the non-Ogu participants in this study. This is perhaps of no surprise but highlights indigenous conceptions of rhythms and why simply reading the notes may not yield the best interpretation. Ogu performers describe their rhythms and time feels using the names of Ogu genres such as *wale, kaka* and *ajogan*[77] and sometimes, non-lexical syllables imitative of rhythmic patterns. Furthermore, adjectives such as *niya niya* (literarily, fast) are appended to the genre thereby indicating the intended speed of the music; hence, a rhythmic pattern may be described as *wale niya niya* to indicate *wale* pattern played fast. This serves as a reminder that the types of subtleties in creating correct rhythmic patterns seem to require sufficient time operating within the community of practice.

However, most of the non-Ogu participants in this study conceptualised these rhythms using standardised time signatures. These participants employed different time signatures in their interpretation of the same piece, thus signalling the hemiola nature of Ogu rhythms. It should, however, be noted that my description of Ogu music, using certain time signatures, is my interpretation and other persons may interpret the music differently. For instance, on playing one of the Gogoke songs I had arranged, Rick Deja (one of my academic supervisors for this study) initially questioned the tempo indication on the score, which I had written as "♩. = 110". He was sure that the tempo was around 165. True to his guess, Deja checked on his metronome, and the music was about 165 beats per minute. As I marvelled at his accuracy, he also immediately observed that he had interpreted it as 6/4 while I had interpreted the song as 12/8. Yet other appropriate interpretations of the same song could be 4/4 (with pervasive triplets) 6/4 and 3/2. Common to all these time interpretations is the feel of three and its multiples.

In creating the hemiola feel, the role of the *ogan*, *aya* and *kle* (all auxiliary percussion, see Chapter Two) cannot be overemphasized. *Ogan* plays the fundamental patterns, an anchor upon which other patterns are hinged. *Aya* (shaker), on the other hand, usually plays a pattern suggestive of a different time signature. While *ogan* plays a 12/8 pattern, *aya* often plays a pattern suggestive of a 6/4-time signature as shown in the excerpt below:

[77] Based on the practice of describing rhythmic patterns using genre names among Ogu performers, male bands often use the word *ajogan* to describe a pattern they play. This should not be confused with the *ajogan* genre itself, which is exclusively performed by royal court wives as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

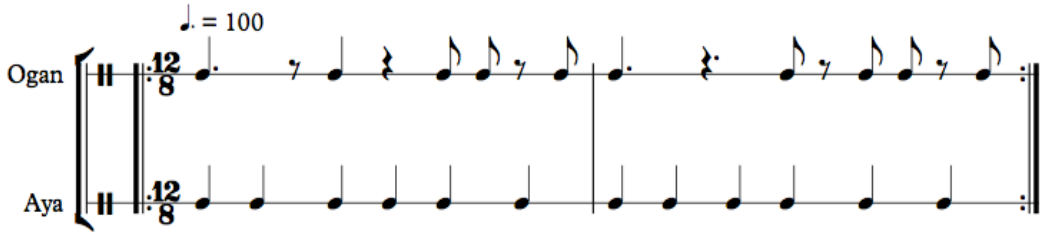

Figure 37: An ostinato *ogan* and *aya* pattern demonstrating their suggestion of different time signatures

In the above excerpt, while the *ogan* pattern may be interpreted as a 12/8 pattern, *aya* appears to be playing a 6/4 pattern. I replicated this 6/4 feel in the baritone saxophone feature at the beginning of *Awa dagbe* (audio sample 5). The interplay between rhythmic groupings and their effect on the composite sound is one that involves subtle adjustments in dynamics and placement in time. When the baritone saxophonist began to conceptualise this grouping as a 6/4 rhythm, the composite sound became more synchronised. I discuss this later.

Another characteristic of Ogu music, which speaks to the manifold nature of its feel, is its time fluidity. Within a section of a piece, there could be a strong tendency towards a certain time feel, which suddenly changes to another feel, only to return to the initial feel as the music continues. The lack of recurrent emphasis on a certain beat, which could serve as a reference point, further complicates time fluidity in Ogu music. The foregoing could be said to be the reason for the different conceptualisations and understandings of time in Gogoke's music, among the participants with backgrounds in the Western system of musical conceptualisation.

Ogan pattern often 're-sets' to align with the lead vocalist, who has the freedom to be creative with song tempi, thus creating a sense of time change in the music. As mentioned in Chapter Four, a lead vocalist serves as the 'conductor' of the band, dictating the tempi and other characteristics of the songs. However, the tempo suggested by the lead player is first established on *ogan*. Quite telling is that rhythms and time feels are not exclusively heard on the drums in Ogu music. The vocalisation of rhythms, using non-lexical syllables, is ingrained in Ogu performances and thus makes it challenging to render these through the more mathematical way that time signatures function. I explain this next.

Form

Various scholars have explored Forms in African musics (see Turino 2000, Nettl et al 2016, Agawu 2016 among others). Bruno Nettl et al identified cyclical form as Africa's "dominant form" (2016: 201). Agawu argued that forms in African music reflect "communal ethos", having developed "in response to the imperatives and exigencies of daily living" (2016: 240). This he demonstrated using various examples of call-and-response and the connotations of the indigenous words used in describing this practice. Jeremiah Tonukunme's (Gogoke's bandleader) use of the word 'wave' supports and expands Agawu's suggestion (that forms reflect communal ethos), while capturing the role of environmental and geographical features in the description of musical aesthetics.

Broadly speaking, cyclical form in Ogu music is often open-ended, with the auxiliary percussion playing ostinato patterns, thus engendering melodic variations and improvisation as well as improvising on the genre's lead drum. This cyclical form enables the seamless transition from one song to the other in Ogu medleys, making possible prolonged (sometimes overnight) performances of up to seven or eight hours. Jeremiah Tonukunme's remark on the band's conceptualization of musical form alludes to (although without having read) poet Langston Hughes' description of Randy Weston's music. Tonukunme used the word 'wave' to describe the form of Gogoke's music, same as Hughes' word (in describing the spontaneous creativity during Weston's recording sessions). Hughes wrote:

> In African tribal music there are a variety of *free forms* traditional in overall pattern, but which allow for spontaneous *improvisation within the form* itself… At the two recording sessions of the American salute to an emerging continent, there was at times so much going on, musically speaking, that nobody in the studio could follow a bar-tight score. But at such moments, no one needed to do so. Out of the rhythmic fervour engendered, *waves* of spontaneous creativity rose on the pulse of a common musical emotion to break against the microphones in sprays of exciting sounds – and all this within the basic pattern of an overall conception. (Emphases mine. Langston Hughes quoted in Kelly 2012:62)

Langston Hughes wrote the above excerpt as part of a programme note for Randy Weston's album, *Uhuru Afrika*. He identifies the leanings, in the album, towards common traditional African form. Hughes' mention of "free form" and "improvisation within the form", in reference to the similarities between Weston's music and its African roots is validated in

Gogoke's songs. While Hughes' use of "waves" referred to the synergy among the musicians and their musical chemistry during the studio sessions, Tonukunme's use of the word was metaphoric. A quick reminder: Igbogbele (Gogoke's community) is only a few kilometres from the Atlantic shore at the Seme border axis of Badagry. Hence a metaphoric use of 'waves' in describing the form of their music is not surprising. Notably, the use of metaphors, such as waves in describing aspects of music, creates an additional avenue of musical understanding while helping to bridge the gap in shared knowledge. This invariably helps in the recontextualisation process.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, Gogoke performances usually begin with a vocal recitative, to which the ostinato *ogan* pattern is added. Subsequently, other auxiliary instruments are added, one after the other until a dense percussive base is reached, each individual part interlocking to form a composite whole. Hand clapping, vocalised rhythm and the lead drum improvisation are introduced only at the climax of each section, depicting the culmination of the musical "wave". Put differently, each musical wave builds from the introduction of a new theme (often a melodic call-and-response) and culminates in hand clapping, lead drum improvisation and *asha* (vocalized rhythms).

Like Hughes' manner of identifying the common ground between Weston's music and its root, my process of recontextualising Gogoke's songs began with identifying elements common to both Ogu songs and jazz. This and other specifics of Ogu performances informed my choices throughout the process of recontextualising Gogoke's music. Given its specific melodic features, rhythms and time feel, *asha* (marking each sectional climax) and 'wave' embedded in its cyclical form, recontextualising Ogu music becomes a delicate expedition. Additionally, a "thick" understanding (Geertz 1973) of the socio-cultural context and spiritual underpinnings of Ogu musical practices became necessary for its exploration.

Recontextualisation process: Thoughts and procedure

Ogu songs are typically laden with socio-cultural and spiritual underpinnings, which inform their usage, and by extension, the order of songs in contemporary performances. Furthermore, depending on these socio-cultural and spiritual underpinnings, some songs are more receptive to vocal than instrumental introductions. To buttress this point, I later explain why *Vale whe mi yon* (hereafter, *Vale*) may be suitable only as an opening song for a performance. Treating this kind of song differently (that is, without a vocal introduction and placing it after other

songs in performance) is considered inappropriate within the socio-cultural context of its origin. In fact, beginning a performance without acknowledging the powers that be may engender negative consequences (see Chapter Four). Based on these and other considerations, I argue for an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural context of a musical practice, as a necessity for recontextualisations of this sort, which merge diverse musical worlds.

Anne Rasmussen (2004) also highlighted the necessity of an in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural backgrounds to musical practices, before attempting their exploration. She introduced students, in US universities, to Asian music through her college ensembles. Rasmussen negotiated the spontaneity involved in the performance of Arab music and the rehearsed Western orchestra-type performances (which the students were used to), successfully, due to her "patchwork of experiences" in both Asia and the US (2004: 225). She added that performing (with the owners of the music) is rewarding in gaining such understanding necessary for engaging with their music. While I align with Rasmussen in this regard, I find her concept of *bi-musicality* problematic as it has connotations of binarism. For instance, it would seem that I am only merging two worlds in this study – Ogu and jazz, but in reality, my musicality is eclectic due to my formal education, travels and exposure to a wide spectrum of musical practices. My choices and preferences cannot possibly be devoid of subtle influences of these musical experiences.

However, like Rasmussen pointed out, musical recontextualisation would not be possible without at least a mediator who is sufficiently exposed to both worlds – jazz and Ogu – in this case, someone who has imbibed the dos and don'ts of both musical worlds. Highlighting some of the sociocultural underpinnings, to the songs I used in demonstrating my recontextualisation process, will be helpful in driving this point home. Previously (in Chapter Two), I identified *jegbe* (story-telling accompanied with music), as a genre performed with minimal instrumentation (often with singing, a pair of *ogan* and hand clapping) due to the importance of the messages/morals it is intended to convey. It is believed that a dense percussion section may distract the listeners from the stories and compromise the audibility of the storyteller, thereby defeating the purpose of the genre. For a similar reason, some genres are slow and solemn due to either their philosophical content or their use in religious rituals, which require solemn ambiences. This awareness, of the centrality of a song's purpose and function, guided my addition of only a few rhythm section instruments in this study. I added the bass and electric guitar to define the chord progression (which I wrote) for the songs.

The foregoing offers a theoretical insight concerning the importance of an in-depth understanding of musical traditions, both to performers and composers (attempting to recontextualise indigenous musics). I proceed to discuss my choices, aesthetic preferences, being wary of the influences of my personal exposures and experiences on these preferences.

Approaches to the recontextualisation process

In this section, I discuss how the combination of Ogu musical characteristics, socio-cultural underpinnings, my sense of musicality and personal preferences, governed the entire process of arranging Gogoke's original compositions. These factors also informed the song structures, introductions and fitting of chords to melodies.

The songs used in demonstrating some of the possibilities and approaches in re-contextualizing indigenous Ogu music are styled differently, as they bear different messages, perform different functions, and index different stages in contemporary live performances of Badagry indigenous Ogu music. I described these performance phases in Chapter Four as *homage-paying*, *listening session* and *dance floor*. Below is an explication of three of the song texts from the selected songs, each representing a phase and demonstrating how song texts affect song order on a repertoire list:

Vale whe mi yon

Vale whe mi yon	We pay homage [to everyone in this community]
bo tho he Gogoke tho wa mi to me	This serves to introduce Gogoke
Gbenopo nulo nayon nugbo	When the entire community is united, everything will be good indeed

[transcribed in a group session with members of Gogoke]

A song like *Vale* is thus only suitable as a first song. It usually begins with a vocal recitative, in which the lead vocalist mentions names of community leaders as well as dignitaries in attendance, as explained in Chapter Four. Due to the nature of this song, I retain the vocal recitative at the beginning of the song. In its natural context, the opening section is usually longer in duration than it is on the attached recording. Accordingly, the speed of such songs is usually either slow or mid-tempo, and in a medley, it leads to other slow or mid-tempo songs

with philosophical or religious texts, thereby introducing the listening phase. *Ano whlen* is an example of a mid-tempo song, with a religious sensibility, suitable for the listening session.

Ano whlen me lo

Ano whlen me lo	[God], you often help/deliver people
Jale when len mi	Please help/deliver me
Ye jan when whlen Gogoke lo	You were the one who helped/delivered Gogoke
Jale whelen mi lo	Please help/deliver me
Yen when to koroji	I approach you [for help] kneeling
Bo tho vive we	Pleading
Jale wa se degbe se	Please listen to my plead
Ye when do mede huhu 'han	You said "unto whoever knocks,
Melo ana hun na	The door shall be opened"
Yewe do mede yi ro we	You said "whoever comes [to you]
Melo we na si o	Shall be answered"

[transcribed in a group session with members of Gogoke]

The word "Gogoke", in the third line of the song, is often replaced with names of patrons, dignitaries and revered people in the society, if they are present at the performance. Usually at party performances, after an hour or more of a few of such songs and once party attendees have eaten, an up-tempo song like *Home gble* may be introduced. Transitioning into the dance phase often happens imperceptibly. At the peak of the dance floor, the tempo of the music, which might have started around 100 (dotted-crotchet beats per minute), might have reached a tempo of about 170. The texts of dance floor songs explore various themes and are also interspersed with names of individuals, signifying their invitation to 'spray' the band. *Home gble* is based on the theme of forbearance with others (especially within a family context):

Home gble

Home gble ma do menu ho	Anger does no good to a community
Tovi de gbe we	If your sibling disowns you
Oso we ana de to eya?	Would you shoot him/her as a payback?

Home gble ma do hen nuho Anger never repairs family ties

[transcribed in a group session with members of Gogoke]

Towards the end of a band's performance, a slow song may be sung to appreciate the kind gesture of the party attendees, for their love expressed through 'spraying'. A song like *Mehe wanu* (Audio Sample 3) typifies the slow-tempo thanksgiving songs. As a communal ethos in Badagry, a kind gesture is often repeatedly appreciated, sometimes for days, weeks or even months after it is done. These song texts, implying the function of songs, also informed my arrangement decisions. In the following paragraph, I discuss how these underpinnings (highlighted above) influenced my musical preferences.

To remain true to the social value of paying homage before commencing a performance, I retain the vocal recitatives (and vocal call-and-response) as the introduction for *Vale* and *Home gble*. As I earlier explained, for an opening song like *Vale*, instrumental introduction may be inappropriate. While I left the vocal recitative and call-and-response introduction of *Vale* unaccompanied, I indicated a chord progression for the introduction of *Home gble*, making it sound as if the guitarist played the chord to introduce the key of the song for the vocalist, whereas the vocals were recorded before the guitar. Sylvester Aklamavoh executed my intention for this introduction superlatively. He played a line (indicating an E flat minor – D flat with a suspended 4th – resolving to G flat), which does not only spell out the chord but is also stylistic and tasteful.

As an exploration of a widely spread common practice (in various genres), I wrote instrumental introductions for *Ano whlem* (Audio Sample 2), *Mehe wanu* (Audio Sample 3) and *Awa dagbe* (Audio Sample 5), employing a different approach for each of these songs. *Mehe wanu* begins with four bars of J.F. Odunjo's *Kínni hun ó f'olè se l'áyé tí mo wá* [78], a popular Yorùbá folk song in South-western Nigeria. My use of this melody typifies the infusion of Yorùbá lines and phrases in Badagry Ogu performances discussed in Chapter Four.

Conversely, for the introduction of *Awa dagbe*, I feature the baritone saxophone playing a 6/4 percussive line (as mentioned earlier), which crosses the main beats of the song's 12/8

[78] This folk song admonishes against pilfering among youngsters. It appears in J.F Odunjo's Primary School Yorùbá textbook, Aláàwíyé.

rhythms. To corroborate the reasoning of hemiola rhythms in Ogu music, Georgia Jones, the baritone saxophonist for this study, delivered the line more accurately after my suggestion of a 6/4 approach rather than the 12/8 indicated on the score. *Awa dagbe* also features a syncopated counter-melody to the vocals, played on alto saxophone, following the introduction. Drawing on other popular African genres, such as Fela Kuti's Afrobeat, I subsequently harmonise this syncopated line a parallel perfect 5th up on the guitar to maintain a modal sensibility to the emergent composite sound.

At the introduction of *Ano whlen* (audio sample 2), a diminished-chord stab on horns resolves to the tonic chord of the song, heralding the bass line. After four bars of the bass line, I introduce a tenor guitar line (in the style of Fela Kuti's Egypt 80), which continues until the entry of a contrapuntal statement of the song's theme. The theme is heard in fragments on the trumpet, alto and tenor saxophones.

Contrary to the different approaches to the song introductions, I approached the process of fitting chords for melodies in a similar manner, including working out chords backwards from cadence points (Baker 1988, Israels 2011) and assigning a pre-determined interval between the first melody note of every bar and the chord root. For example, I predetermined that the first melody note of every bar (except for those at the cadences) as the 11th of a minor 11 chord. I discussed this approach to Ogu melodies in detail elsewhere (see Kunnuji 2017). David Baker (1988) referred to predetermined chords and other harmonic preferences as "sure harmonies". After establishing these preferences (which stem from my education in jazz arrangement), I filled in the gaps with a few options including approaching such sure harmonies by their (secondary) dominants. A few other rules of thumb governed my chord assignment. One of these is that the tempi of the songs determined the harmonic rhythm; a slow song is more receptive to more chord changes than a fast one. Where necessary, I used harmonic formulae such as ii – V9sus – I6 while assigning as many notes as possible to a chord to avoid the use of too many chords. Finally, as David Baker (1988) suggests, my ears were the ultimate arbiters, as I aimed at an overall modal sound.

The recontextualising process began with Gogoke's recording of the drums and vocals in Badagry. Although this was done in a studio, they performed each of the songs 'live' (without stopping to address mistakes). At that phase, I gave musical directions on song duration and advised the lead vocalist on leaving a few bars at pre-determined song sections for

instrumental introductions, interludes and/or solos. Prior to fitting chords to the melodies, I mapped all the songs, noting on my score the number of bars earmarked for instrumental interludes and the climax of each song. Apart from the instrumental introductions, interludes and solos, I identified verses, choruses and *asha*. Subsequently, I decided on suitable instrumentation for each of the sections.

As Nketia suggests, harmonising African melodies requires some restraints, if their unique African flavour must be retained (Nketia 1957:16–17). Guided by this suggestion, I wrote the bass and guitar parts with the goal of enhancing the essence of Gogoke's songs, while creating a synthesis aimed as a nexus to both worlds of Ogu and jazz musics. I discuss this under the heading 'rhythm section' subsequently.

Rhythm section

It should be noted that the term *rhythm section* here does not refer to the typical rhythm section of a (jazz) big band, made up of a drum kit, electric or double bass, piano and guitar. Rather, Gogoke's percussion section forms the nucleus of this rhythm section. The additional Western instruments are electric bass and acoustic guitar. I added only two Western instruments to the rhythm section in this study considering that Gogoke's percussion section is large, at least seven percussion instruments, making it a dense unit. Adding more than two Western instruments may result in Western sonic dominance, veiling the sound of the indigenous percussion and thereby undermining Gogoke's essence. Tenor guitar parts feature at different song sections while sustained guitar chords are more pervasive (listen to audio sample 2 – *Ano whlem*). Despite the unique make-up of the rhythm section in this study, it remains the custodian of the time continuum, as David Baker (1988) suggests about jazz rhythm sections.

I approached the arrangements for the Western rhythm instruments writing the bass lines first then the tenor guitar lines and suggested rhythmic patterns for the guitar chords. In addition to the bass lines, I indicated the chord symbols on the bass score to enable the player some freedom of creativity within the chord structures. The bass here, in addition to providing ostinatos for the different song sections, functions as a low-depth percussion instrument due

to the absence of bass percussion, such as *masepotin*[79], in Gogoke ensemble. I also gave the guitarist the leeway to contribute by improving on the lines I wrote. One of such creative contributions is heard at the beginning of *Home gble* (audio sample 4), which I have described earlier. In a nutshell, my writing for Western rhythm instruments, electric bass and acoustic guitar, in this case, is both prescriptive and descriptive. Bass and guitar lines coexist with suggested rhythms and descriptive words, such as "sparse comping" and "sustained chords". The bass and guitar lines make up one unit of the additional arrangements to Gogoke's music. To this effect, the recording of these rhythm section instruments already created a synthesis, which may be considered another product of the process. However, I added the horn section as another layer, which I discuss next.

Horn section: Flute, trumpet, alto saxophone, trombone, tenor and baritone saxophones. Again, my inclusion of a horn section typifies jazz, highlife and Afrobeat small and medium ensembles. The horn section for this study ranges from two (on *Vale* – audio sample 1) to six (on *Mehe wanu* – audio sample 3). I did this to vary the texture of the horn section and explore a few horns arrangement options. For the six-horn section, octave doubling occurs between the flute and trumpet. Where there is octave doubling in the five-horn section, it is between the trumpet and trombone. The trumpet and alto saxophone play in unison at different parts of *Awa dagbe* (audio sample 5) while the trombone, tenor and baritone saxophones play the guide tones. My horns-arrangement techniques include tertian harmony (harmony in 3rds either from the lowest voice – 3, 5, 7, 9 or below a melody – 9, b7, 5, 3. See also Pease and Pullig 2001). However, the pervasive modality of the songs does not permit extensive use of this approach. Hence, I explore the use of 2nds (cluster voicing) and 4ths (quartal voicing), which were popularised by Miles Davis in his 1959 album Kind of Blue, in addition to the customary voicing in thirds. Miles' use of cluster and quartal voicings display their compatibility with modal tunes (Pease and Pullig 2001). I intersperse the 4th voicings with either a 3rd, 5th or augmented 4th, while most of the intervals remain 4ths. However, I always include the 3th and the 7th to avoid the ambiguity of the chord. I invert the four-part voicing in 4ths, subsequently displacing the lower notes an octave up, to create clusters, which are quite effective for 'crunchy' sounds (Pease and Pullig 2001). In the introduction of *Awa dagbe* (audio sample 5), the move from open to cluster voicing in the collective response of the trumpet, alto saxophone, trombone and tenor saxophone, to the baritone saxophone

[79] Masepotin is an indigenous Ogu wooden-box drum used in the performance of *Mase* genre. It produces a bass sound, like the sound of a kick drum (of a drum kit).

line, typifies this practice. In a broad sense, I limit my use of tensions to the inner parts, especially between the tenor and trombone lines to create intervallic dissonance between these parts thus bespeaking an overall jazz sensibility in the horn section. Notably, where the melody note creates a tension, I double it an octave below to reinforce the intervallic dissonance of the tension.

While the notion of harmonic tension is relative, it is understood discursively within the broader jazz community. I base much of my decisions regarding tensions on the knowledge of tension availability as described in Pease and Pullig (2001). For instance, intervals of a major 7th and major a 13th are only available as melodic tensions when using triads, while the major 9th and #11 are used when the major triad is diatonic. There are many such 'rules' of harmony.

Furthermore, I employed several common arrangement techniques in jazz theory like 'drop 2' and 'drop 4' voicings, placing chords below a melody line, and close voicings to achieve different effects.[80] Additionally, the soli section of *Mehe wanu* (audio sample 3) features a melodic fragment from Kristitin (an Ogu indigenous female band in Igbogbele, which I discuss in Chapter Six). My use of indigenous melodic materials serves to reinforce Ogu sonic sensibilities on the recontextualised songs.

Related to my earlier discussion regarding the idea that internalisation of musical nuance is acquired over time within social contexts, I prepared for the writing of the horn parts in a way that responds to this. I transcribed several Ogu melodies collected during my fieldwork, which I then played, on the trumpet, repeatedly for a few months. Inspired by these melodies, I began to improvise similar-sounding melodies, some of which became part of my horn, bass and guitar lines. This approach stems from Sylvester Alklamavo's thought, which he shared in his interview preceding my collection of Ogu songs, that one needs to "soak in" the

[80] I initially wrote the horn parts in as a closed score. Subsequently, I decided on the voice(s) to drop (an octave down) or double (an octave down), where necessary. I employed mostly 'drop 2' and 'drop 2 drop 4' voicings. Drop 2 voicing, for instance, implies scoring the second part (in a closed chord) down an octave in order for the section to sound bigger, due to the combination of expanded range and bass frequencies. In this way it creates the illusion of a bigger ensemble. For the soli sections, I composed the melody first after which I place chords below the melody line, alternating 'close', 'drop 2', 'drop 3', and 'drop 2 drop 4' voicings as appropriate. Moreover, I employ spread voicing (the root of the chord as the lowest voice) in the horn section extensively, with the baritone playing the root of the chords. This makes for effective backgrounds to the vocal melodies, as it does not only reinforce the chords but also harmonises the vocal melody.

melodies thoroughly before attempting to compose using Ogu music idiom (interview with Sylvester Aklamavo on October 5, 2017, Johannesburg). In doing this, I avoided common Western melody-writing techniques, such as inversion, retrograde, augmentations, diminution, and fragmentation, suggested in Israels (2011), which can be rather mathematical if applied artificially. Moreover, following that process may yield melodies that are uncharacteristic of Ogu music and counter to the objective of the musicians involved. However, I employed other tools, suggested in Israels (2011), such as rhythmic displacement and sequence, which are ingrained in Ogu music. In each case, the essential characteristics of Ogu music were at the core of the decision-making process.

The recontextualisation process was quite revealing given the wide spectrum of musicians involved in the recording process. Recall that the process began in Badagry Lagos but reached its full fruition in the overdubs of Western musical instruments in Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa. Furthermore, in addition to involving Nigerians and South Africans, this study drew on musicians who originated from the Democratic Republic of Congo and the US. As the study shows, different backgrounds meant different ways of conceptualising and interpreting Gogoke's rhythms and melodies in order to yield an acceptable final musical work.

The recording process: negotiating the discrepancies in musical understanding among participants

This stage of the study revealed the influence of musical orientation and socialisation on the understanding and conceptualisation of musical ideas. In what follows, I will describe the differences among my selected musicians (using biographical sketches), the challenges encountered owing to these differences in orientation and analyse how these challenges were negotiated throughout the overdubbing stage. It is in this series of negotiations that important aspects of the recontextualisation process become evident, and ones that I argue should be managed for a best-practice approach to creative endeavours such as these. I begin with a participant who opted out of the study due to the difficulty of interpreting the scored rhythms with an appropriate feel.

The most challenging task involved in this study, and perhaps the most revealing (with regard to the nuances in musical conceptualisation among musicians with different backgrounds), was overdubbing Western musical instruments on Gogoke's songs. First, selecting musicians,

who would be able to assimilate Ogu feel, within a short period of time, enough to interpret the scores appropriately, was quite challenging. When I set out to record my additions to the rhythm section (bass and guitar), I had erroneously assumed that the task would not be difficult for any proficient jazz guitarist while being more intentional about selecting an electric bass player adept in popular African dance genres such as *highlife*, *soukous* and *makossa*. Based on my assumptions, I asked Kenneth James[81], a renowned jazz guitarist (who graduated from the South African College of Music of the University of Cape Town as the best jazz guitarist in his class) to participate in this study. To add some context to his background, Kenneth James is a white South African of Jewish origin. On the other hand, the bass player I selected, Dady Kabuya Mbuyamba, has no formal training in music but has been performing *soukous*, Congolese *rumba* and other African dance genres since he was a teenager. I will discuss his roles and contributions later.

For Kenneth James, the major struggle was with the time feel and rhythms, both on Gogoke's recordings and my arrangements. During the recording sessions, it was obvious Kenneth James was more concerned with being in time with Gogoke than interpreting my written lines creatively. Yet, most of his playing were out of time and lacked an appropriate feel. He later asked to be excused from the study, based on his personal assessment of his playing. He thought his interpretation of the music was inappropriate. While James remains musically highly esteemed to me, his struggle in this study is an indication of the huge discrepancies in music conceptualisation based on different backgrounds, as another participant pointed out. In fact, as this participant also mentioned, and I observed, all the participants with similar backgrounds in Western music had similar struggles with the time feel and rhythms that typify Ogu music. I had a suspicion that music notation played a role, whether generally speaking or how I applied it specifically. I will return to this after discussing another participant's experience.

Dady Kabuya Mbuyamba, who played bass for the project, did not struggle with the time feel but was challenged in a different way. Being from Kasai, the central province of the Democratic Republic of Congo, he had early exposure to African dance genres. At the age of 11, he was introduced to the acoustic guitar and drum kit in his local church. He gleaned musical ideas from his older brother who was also a guitarist. Later, Dady (as he is popularly

[81] Pseudonym

known) moved on to the bass guitar, while still playing in his local church. He learned to conceptualise music using the French (immovable doh) solfeggio system: where the note C is Doh, D – Reh, E – Mi, F – Fah, G – Sol, A –Lah, and B is Si. In the French solfeggio system, bémol indicates flat and dièse, sharp. Mineur indicates minor, majeur implies major and naturel, natural.

My first rehearsal with Dady was largely unproductive due to my assumption that an English speaker would understand chord symbols written using English letters. I was wrong. Although Dady could speak English, his understanding of chords is located within the solfeggio system, hence learning the songs involved a translation of English letters to French solfeggios, and that slowed down the process. However, when we found a way around the challenge, which include aurality and the translation of chord symbols to the solfeggio symbols, Dady interpreted the lines with the best feel, among the non-Ogu participants in this study. In his post-recording interview, he said:

> When I heard the music for the first time and I saw chords on paper, I could not relate them. I was totally lost! I didn't know how to start. I didn't know how I was going to… we came for rehearsal, but I didn't understand anything that was going on. I was like, I can't play these songs but I thank God that when Jo[seph Kunnuji] began to accompany the songs on the piano, I began to understand the direction of the songs. That was my biggest challenge in this project (interview with Dady Mbuyamba on October 4, 2018, Cape Town. The interview was conducted in English and was edited for grammartical correctness by author).

Furthermore, Dady explained that while musical notation is important for documentation and it is time-saving when learning a piece, he recommends memorising music as essential for its proper interpretation. For him, creativity is enhanced when one embodies the written music thereby doing away with the score, which often interferes with the creative process (see also Gavin Steingo 2016: 118 for a discourse on human memory as an 'archive', which enhances creative contribution to music). In his words:

> I don't like reading [chord symbols] when playing because my focus will be on the pages of music and not on my instrument. Focussing on the pages will make me to just play the lines but I like to play from my soul, which allows me to be creative in my playing. When I am reading, I play just what is required but when I play from memory, I do much more. I become free,

once the music is memorised. Yes! That enables me to create my own style. It is important to memorise the music for it to be expressed (interview with Dady Mbuyamba on October 4, 2018, Cape Town. The interview was conducted in English and edited for grammartical correctness by author).

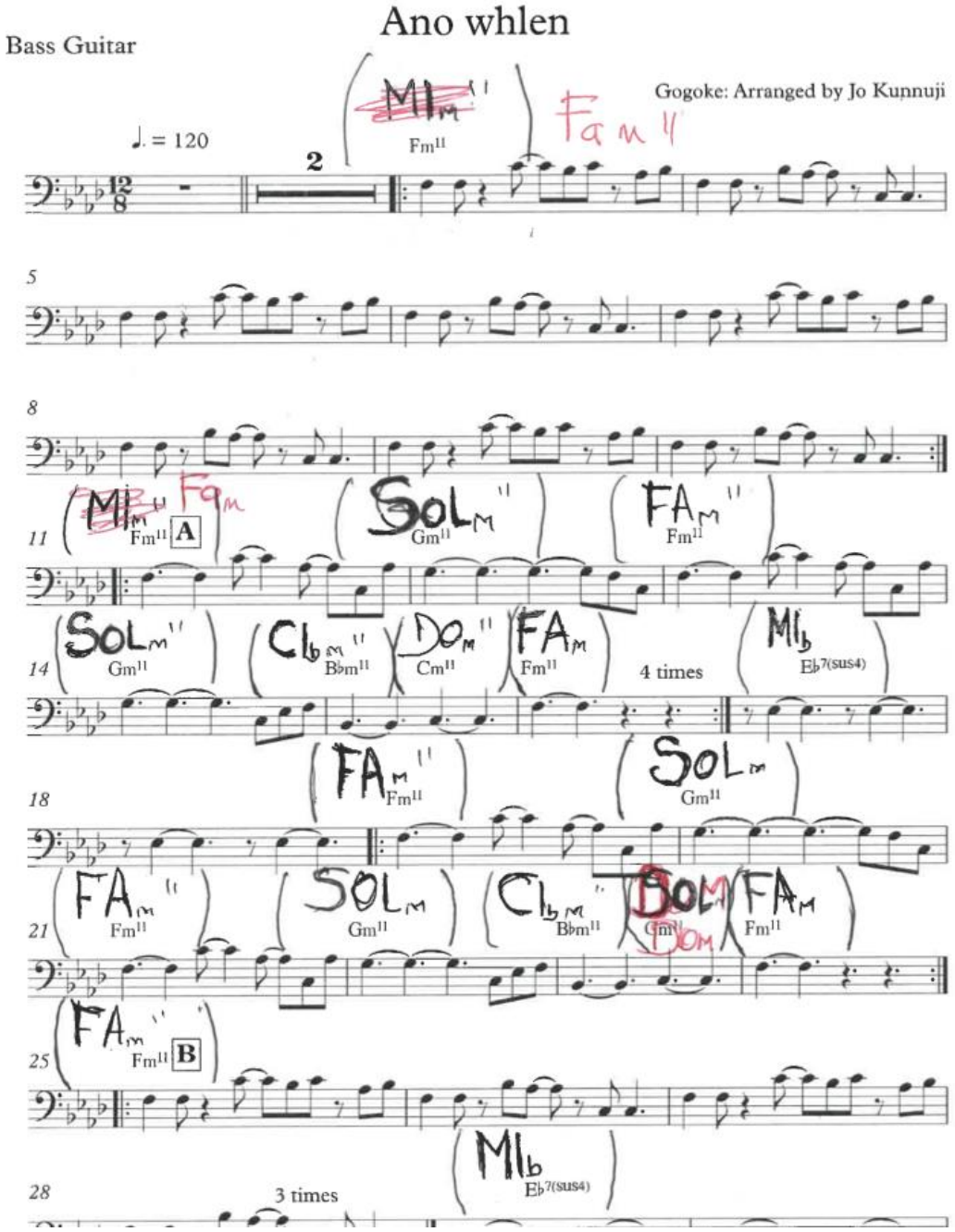

Figure 38: An excerpt from Dady Mbuyamba's score for Ano whlen (audio sample 2), showing the translation of the chord symbols to solfeggio system.

Unsurprisingly, Dady's bass lines were the least edited, of all the Western instruments overdubbed on Gogoke's songs, as they fit hand in glove with Gogoke's groove. Hence, I cannot agree more with him on the importance of internalising music through memorising

lines/parts. There remains a challenge, though, since memorising parts is more easily achievable on a rhythm instrument playing ostinato patterns and a few other lines here and there. This is less practical with the horn section having several bars of rests, extended harmonies and constantly changing lines. In his remarks on the recording process, trombonist William Haubrich captured some other issues bothering him on how he, as a Western-trained musician, conceptualised Gogoke's music.

Figure 39: Left to right: Lumanyano Mzi (recording engineer for the bass overdub session), Joseph Kunnuji and Dady Mbuyamba during the bass overdub session.

William Haubrich is from San Diego. He attended the University in Los Angeles. His Bachelor's degree was in classical trombone performance, but he began playing jazz, African and other kinds of musics professionally upon his graduation. He also combines his trombone playing with other brass instruments including the trumpet, euphonium and tuba. Haubrich relocated to Cape Town in 1982 to play the trombone in the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, which he did for 18 years. At the same time, he was a member of Ncholo, an African fusion band, alongside other brass players from the symphony orchestra and marimba players from a township in Cape Town. Currently, Haubrich is a Senior Lecturer and Head of Brass at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, a position which he has held since 2008. Despite his exposure to musics from the African continent (through performing and listening), he still found Gogoke's music unique. In his words:

> I've had the good fortune of working with African musicians and African bands, mostly in Cape Town and occasionally in Johannesburg. Also, I've heard some recordings. The Tracey's recordings of indigenous musics from around the African continent, recorded from the 1930s to, I think, 1970s. I listened to those quite carefully but not in a scholarly way. The Nigerian music that Jo[seph Kunnuji] has connected me with is in some aspects familiar and in some aspects not familiar, and of course, one gets very curious when one hears such music. And to put it together was really quite a thrill but also had its challenges (interview with William Haubrich, Senior Lecturer at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, on December 3, 2018, Cape Town. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited except where editor's bracket has been used to clarify a word).

Figure 40: William Haubrich outside Dave Langeman's studio during the horns overdubs. Photo credit: Joseph Kunnuji.

When asked about what made the music challenging, Haubrich said:

> Well, the complexity of the rhythm. First of all, the flavour of the music was different from Southern African music that I have been exposed to. So there was a different flavour to it. More specifically, the rhythms were different. They were both further away from the Western music that I'm accustomed to and also loose at the same time. They were both complex and loose. This

> was both a cause of interest and a challenge for us, more or less, Western musicians to record on top of the existing track (interview with William Haubrich, Senior Lecturer at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, on December 3, 2018. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited).
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> .

After the bass and guitar parts had been overdubbed on Gogoke's recordings, I organised a rehearsal in preparation for the horn overdub. The section sounded together when playing without Gogoke's recording but as soon as we attempted playing along with it, the horn section was out of time both with one another and with Gogoke. Both William Haubrich's comment on the complexity of Ogu rhythm and my observation of the horn section's synchronisation (when playing my arrangements without playing along to Gogoke's recording) suggest that my notation was not the source of these musician's struggle to match Gogoke's timing. At the end of the rehearsal, William Haubrich suggested a few ideas to me on how the horn section may be assisted in understanding the timing of the songs. He summarised these also in his post-recording remarks:

> What we found challenging, as Western musicians, was to know where '1' was. In other words, to know where the beginning of the bar was. So that right away indicated that we, as Western musicians, are used to boxing our music into bars. This has been an issue in Western music since Beethoven. Beethoven spoke of the tyranny of the bar line. But here we are, in quite a long time later, we are still sectioning our music into bars both when we play it and when we listen to it. We want to know somehow where '1' is (interview with William Haubrich, Senior Lecturer at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, on December 3, 2018. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited).

Haubrich explained further that Beethoven contested having to adjust every musical idea to fit into little blocks or bars. Consequently, Beethoven began writing his phrases without strict adherence to the barlines in his symphonies. According to Haubrich, Johannes Brahms took up Beethoven's banner regarding this practice. On the other hand, the challenge of knowing where '1' is, which Haubrich mentioned, is reminiscent of Dizzy Gillespie's confusion, over the same issue, on encountering Afro-Cuban music. Peter Manuel mentioned that Dizzy "used to relate with amusement and awe" at the complexity of Afro-Cuban rhythms and that "he once became completely disoriented in a jam session with Cuban musicians, shouting helplessly, 'Where's beat one?'" (Manuel et al 1995:38). In compliance with Haubrich's

suggestion, my creation of a click track (a series of audio cues) was quite helpful in negotiating this challenge:

> For most performing musicians on Western instruments, with Western tradition, we tend to find ourselves by the bar. Jo had to accommodate that in both his arrangements and how we recorded them. I recommended to Jo that he lay down what is often called the click track [manually, based on Gogoke's recording]. Often in studio recordings, everything is based on quantised metronomic precisions, so everyone plays and that time does not change from the beginning to the end of a tune. This is what is commonly known. When you are working with a live recording, you of course can't really do that. Well, there is a way to do it, for the studio technician to lay down a track but it takes a lot of time. What I suggested that Jo did was to beat out a 'metronome', sing along with the music and tell us where 1 of every bar was. Jo took it a step further. He did not only have the beat but he had a different sound at the beginning of every bar, which is exactly what we needed and that worked perfectly as far as I can tell (interview with William Haubrich, Senior Lecturer at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, on December 3, 2018. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited except where editor's bracket has been used to clarify a term).

Apparently, Ogu music with rhythmic fluidity and its lack of emphasis on a 'beat one' is likely to be perceived as challenging by those whose musical orientation is rooted in the Western practice of strict measures. Haubrich concluded his remark by stating that Ogu music was different from the other African musical practices he had been exposed to, thereby creating a feeling of musical deracination for him:

> It was significantly different from the other types of [African] music I have performed and I'd say, probably even more different for the other musicians who may not have had an extended experience with African music in general as I have had as a performer and arranger (interview with William Haubrich, Senior Lecturer at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, on December 3, 2018. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited except where editor's bracket has been used).

Indeed, the entire process of recording and overdubbing on Gogoke's songs revealed the differences in the conceptualisation of music based on the different systems and music orientation. At the overdubbing stage, one musician was challenged by the notation system but eventually became a perfect fit for the music (when I employed other systems such as

solfeggio and aurality), whereas, others had a head start with the notation system but were challenged by Gogoke's 'rhythmic complexity'. These findings corroborate Hanks (1996) and Unruh's (1980) argument that different orientations are potentially implicative of differences in the perception and understanding of a phenomenon. Here, contrasting musical backgrounds complicate the conceptualisation of the same music by different musicians.

I conclude this section with a remark from the famous jazz double bassist Ahmed Abdul-Malik's which he made after having a similar experience, working with musicians from different musical backgrounds. Abdul-Malik featured a professional *oud* player in his recording of jazz standards, an LP called *Spellbound*, and he concluded that while any instrument can be adapted to the jazz context and the instrument of jazz should be flexible enough to adapt to the world, such collaborations require a greater openness and flexibility for such a project to be successful (Kelly 2012:117). In this study, as in Abdul Malik's experiment, sensitivity to each musician's mode of conceptualising the music turned out to be rewarding, in optimally accessing each musician's creativity. An embrace of plurality in this manner has become essential in harnessing and maximising the human resources available in cosmopolitan African.

Figure 41: Zeke Le Grange (tenor sax) and Joseph Kunnuji (trumpet) rehearsing before the horn overdub on *Vale whe mi yon*. Photo credit: Dave Langeman.

Figure 42: From left, Georgia Jones (baritone sax), Jesse Jules (tenor sax) and Rick Deja (alto sax) at the horn overdub session. Photo credit: Joseph Kunnuji.

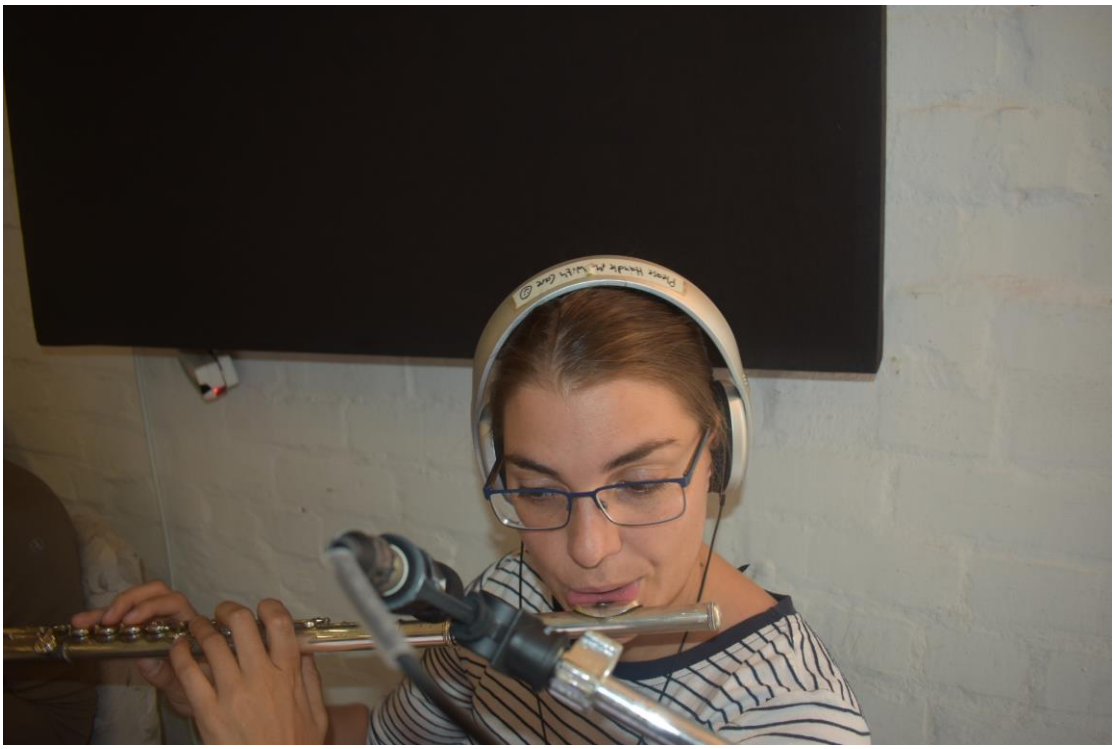

Figure 43: Tatiana Thaele at the horns overdub session. Photo credit: Joseph Kunnuji.

Again, I consider the overdubbing stage, at which musicians in Cape Town engaged Ogu music, not just the most challenging but also the most rewarding of the different stages. First, it revealed that musical conceptualisation is contingent upon musical orientation and exposures. Second, musical notation may be insufficient to communicate the subtleties that define appropriate feels of indigenous African genres. Hence, the expertise of cognoscenti (of the indigenous genre of focus, such as Ogu music in this study) is vital, in moderating the process of recontextualisation. Ultimately, the overdubs, editing, mixing and mastering (in Cape Town) of Gogoke's recordings birthed a musical synthesis – musical worlds had been merged in the evolving music. This study would be incomplete without taking the musical synthesis (the product of the recontextualisation process) back to the members of Gogoke (who last heard their recordings at the studio session in Badagry, about a year before the completion of the recontextualisation process). The following section captures the thoughts and emotions expressed (by selected musicians who participated in this study) at the outcome of the study, both from Badagry and Cape Town.

Ogu participants' responses to the musical outcome

To the members of Gogoke, the recontextualisation process, having taken about a year from the day of their recording in Badagry, seemed prolonged. I regularly re-assured them, during our telephone calls, that I would send the outcome of the process to them before releasing it to the public. Hence, the band members excitedly anticipated listening to these recordings.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town, in the first few days of December 2018, the overdubs were completed followed by a tedious week of editing. For Dave Langeman, (recording and mixing engineer who has worked with the likes of Freshly Ground and Abdullah Ibrahim) this would also be unfamiliar terrain. The rhythms, instrument timbre and vocal style were new to him. By the 18th of December, Dave had completed the mixing of five tracks, ready to be repatriated to Gogoke. Folorunsho Ibitoye and Opeyemi Oke, two of my interlocutors in Badagry, volunteered to drive down to Igbogbele with an amplification system and a smart-phone to play the five tracks at the band's rehearsal and video record the band's reactions, which I analyse next.

On the afternoon of the 22nd of December 2018, the band was seated in rows on benches, Gbisu Dele, the lead vocalist was central in the front row, being flanked on both sides by two of the band's back-up vocalists. On the following row were some of the players on the

auxiliary percussion instruments. At the rear were Jeremiah Tonukunme (bandleader) and Mautin Adokun (band secretary), both of whom play the highlight drums in the band – *pawhle* and *azehun* respectively. The set up was similar to a performance set up and each member had his instrument at arm's length. Apparently, they had planned to entertain the visiting team that brought back their music.

Mehe wanu was the first track to be played. As the instrumental introduction of the song played, there was no noticeable reaction until Dele Gbisu heard his voice, at which he grinned. The track ended, and other tracks played. Band members expressed joy through laughter, dancing and even tears. Furthermore, there were moments of thoughtful silence before Folorunsho Ibitoye and Opeyemi Oke began to ask questions about their thoughts on the music. Gbisu Dele was the first to speak:

> I am so excited. In fact, because of what I just heard, I am so glad. We never played trumpets on this recording neither did we play any saxophone on it. I am grateful, it sounds very good. Having listened to the music, I am positive that when it is released we will make so much money [laughs]. These [Western] instruments were not on the initial recording we made but as I heard it I immediately became impressed to the point of tears. I thank [God] the one that gave Kunnuji the wisdom, technical knowhow and enabled him to produce something as beautiful as this for Gogoke [bows his head and sheds tears. He could not continue with his remark for the outburst of emotions that followed. (interview with Dele Gbisu on December 22, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá by Opeyemi Oke and Folorunsho Ibitoye and it was transcribed by author).

Fideyon Tanimowo (the band's Chairman) continued by thanking "Kunnuji" profusely for giving Gogoke the opportunity of studio experience. He submitted that the way the songs sound currently was uplifting to him, making him very happy. In the same vein, Jeremiah Tonukunme commended the arrangements but mentioned that he would prefer if the lead drum could be made more prominent in the mixes as their style is a dance genre. He said:

> I'm overjoyed and overwhelmed. The entire Gogoke membership is grateful to Kunnuji for the huge work done on our music. You might have observed that I was quiet, listening carefully to what we played and what Kunnuji added and they both blend seamlessly. His arrangements [for Western instruments] fit perfectly with our music. I'm just overjoyed, the percussion we played has been modernized [mixed] and it all blends. We are all very

> happy. You might have observed that some members stood up to dance. By God's grace, we will all witness the full fruition of this project. The only addition that could be made is to make the dance rhythms (*alujo*) more prominent. If they can do that, it will be appreciated (interview with Fideyon Tanimowo on December 22, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá by Opeyemi Oke and Folorunsho Ibitoye, and transcribed by author).

I addressed the issue Jeremiah raised, on making the dance rhythms on the lead drum prominent, together with Dave Langeman, the mixing engineer. In the final mix, the lead drum is now more prominent on all the songs. In his remark, Mautin Adokun reminisced on how the project began, noting that he was one of those who initially balked at the idea of a collaboration. He said:

> When this project began back then, when Kunnuji initially came for his fieldwork to record our rehearsal sessions, I used to think that he was coming to rob us of our music or take advantage of us. He also noticed my disposition then and asked me why I was cold. I usually observe people well before relating with them. But at the end of the day, I thank God that it never turned out negative […] it is God who gave him the skills that I must really thank. Kunnuji hasn't been rehearsing with us for long, enough to understand our music that much, but I am particularly impressed by the way he has arranged the Western instruments on this project […] There was a trumpet line that was based on a song theme, it sounded really nice. He did a good job (interview with Mautin Adokun on December 22, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry. The interview was conducted by Opeyemi Oke and Folorunsho Ibitoye, and transdribed by author).[82]

The responses of Gogoke members, while largely positive, also raise questions on the actual things they were excited about. Having never recorded their songs in a studio, could they have been overjoyed at listening back to their own voices and instrumentation? This still excites me, even after several years of recording experience. Could they have been elated at the sound quality of the mixed and mastered recordings? Could their joy have come from my style of Western instrumentation, which is atypical in Badagry? Or could they have been

[82] Unbeknown to any of us, this would be Mautin Adokun's last moment with the band. On the 14th of January 2019 at 9:15pm, Dele Gbisu called to inform me of Mautin Adokun's sudden death the previous day. He was a linchpin to Gogoke, hence after consulting with the principal officers of the band, we decided to dedicate the recording project to him. In addition, I wrote a ballad, in honour of him, which was included among the recordings in this project.

hopeful that the project could take the band beyond their locality (as Dele Gbisu mentioned after the listening session)? These and many other questions could form new hypotheses for further studies.

The South African-based participants in this study were also grateful for the experience and advocated for the global distribution of the songs. Some recommended its submission for consideration at different festivals in and outside Africa. William Haubrich suggested a cultural exchange, among other things. In his words:

> So this is a multi-continental recording, which I think is really unique. One of the first things to do is to use these recordings to popularise this form of project and hopefully to extend it to live performances. It would be great to have the Nigerian musicians down in Cape Town and to have (I don't know if workshops is the right idea) but some sort of collaborative effort where musicians get to know each other and get to know each other's music. This has cultural and educational implications. I think this will be the way forward for this project. I think Jazz festivals here in Cape Town and other parts of the world are not out of the question, if that needs to be pursued and hopefully, live performances and exposure to young musicians, I think would also be very good (interview with William Haubrich on December 3, 2018, Cape Town. The interview was conducted in English and remains unedited).

I look forward to the distribution of Gogoke's music on digital platforms. I have also begun a campaign on social media, as a point of departure for the intended spread of Gogoke's music (see link to the promo video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mWlVYsVqAHg). As Guy Warren (later Ghanaba) remarked, indigenous African genres remain relevant in advancing contemporary genres, both within and beyond Africa (Feld 2012). Nketia (1957) and Sanga (2013) have also argued that the perception of indigenous African genres as frozen in time does not only contradict a fundamental characteristic of culture – change – but is also exclusionary, thereby marginalising cosmopolitan Africans. In line with Warren, Nketia and Sanga's sentiments, this chapter demonstrates a method in the recontextualisation of indigenous Ogu music thereby espousing the contemporary relevance of an indigenous African genre and making it more inclusive. In addition to these responses and their analysis I made above, I highlight the lessons from the entire recontextualisation process, while suggesting a framework for the recontextualisation of African indigenous art forms.

Concluding remarks: A framework for musical recontextualisation

Having examined Ogu music and its subtleties, I argued that its recontextualisation requires being cognisant of both its intrinsic musical qualities and its socio-cultural underpinnings. Below are the major lessons from my recontextualisation of Gogoke's music, which I suggest as major considerations in recontextualising indigenous African musics.

First, Ogu genres, as it is with many other traditional genres in Africa, are entrenched in socio-cultural practices, which dictate their aesthetic preferences. An in-depth understanding of these underpinnings is germane to the performance of these genres. Furthermore, in order not to flout communal norms, a thorough understanding of the "complex whole", is required in musical explorations.

Second, Agawu (2016), identified a few cases of cultural appropriation, in which case explorers have taken aspects of African practices and have used them for different purposes and sometimes have benefitted from such usage without giving back to the originators of such practices. To forestall this, I recommend the centrality of indigenous performers in musical recontextualisations. For instance, the members of Gogoke derived gratification from merely listening to their processed music, which is a potential source of earning an income for them.

Finally, in a recontextualisation of this sort, sensitivity to each musician's musical understanding is necessary for successful transcultural collaborations and exchanges. The participants in this study vary in their musical conceptualisation. My sensitivity in presenting the music in a manner that is best understood by each participant made for the success of the project. The aftermath of the project sounds seamless, and a listener is unlikely to guess that the performers, residing in three different sites across Africa, have never met. Such sensitivity to the music, traditions and different orientations of the musicians involved is a requirement, especially when considering the plurality and multicultural nature of post-colonial cosmopolitan African societies. In Rick Deja's words, contemporary *sites of convergence* breed networks "that contribute to a shared set of habits and practices that may be considered translocal" (2016: 177). Maximising shared knowledge and negotiating differences thus becomes necessary for musical inclusivity in contemporary African cities.

Chapter Six

Women in Badagry Ogu music: An overview of *gangbe* and *ajogan* performance practices

Introduction

Although women are still underrepresented in governance worldwide (see Hassim 1999 for a discourse on the gendered nature of formal politics), the government of many first world countries are largely gender-inclusive. The key political offices held by women indicate the pursuit of gender equity in Croatia, the United Kingdom (UK), Germany and New Zealand. They all have female heads of state. On the contrary, many African countries, including Nigeria, are lagging in terms of gender equity. President Muhammadu Buhari highlighted the relegation of many Nigerian women in a statement during his 2016 visit to Berlin. Standing next to German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, President Buhari responded to a question pertaining to his wife's criticism of his administration, with the following words:

> I don't know which party my wife belongs to, but *she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room*. It is not easy to do away with your opposition, or people that have not followed you along your campaign trail. I hope my wife will remember that I was in the field for twelve years, and tried three times… So I claim superior knowledge over her and the rest of the opposition (BBC October 14 2016 – emphasis mine).

While his remarks ignited heated gender debates within and outside Nigeria, it is important to note that the idea of male dominance is ingrained in the traditions of many ethnic groups in Nigeria (Zeleza 1988, Mama 1995, Okojie 1996, Oyewumi 2002, Mack 2004). Some of these scholars argued that colonialism and Christian missions disrupted the balance of gendered relations in Africa. While pre-colonial systems had gendered roles but a balance of power, during colonialism, the gender separation became hierarchical rather than lateral. Consequently, in these societies, women are conditioned to male supremacy and mainly raised to become wives while unmarried women are stigmatized (see Oginni et al 2015).

21st-century Badagry reflects the relegation of women in Africa and more specifically, in Nigeria to a large extent (see Chazan 1989, Mama 1995 for the marginal position of women inAfrican and Nigeria respectively), and this may be assessed through the current gender formation and practices of indigenous Ogu bands. By and large, the bands' methods of

bidding for gigs coupled with the restrictions on women, among other performance norms, are suggestive of male hegemony in modern Badagry. Oyewumi (2002) and Montgomery (2017) argued that the relegation of women in contemporary Africa is a legacy of the colonial experience, in which Western male-dominance shaped the administration of the colonies. This stance is vehemently contested through evidence of patriarchal practices, which created and perpetuated gender inequity in pre-colonial West Africa (see Gueye 2014). In this chapter, I position the constructed relationships of gender and power in Badagry Ogu music, expressed in two gendered indigenous genres – *gangbe* and *ajogan*, within the ambit of gender practices in Nigeria, while engaging Oyewumi's (2002) argument that these practices are vestiges of colonialism. As a point of departure, I consider selected cases of gender construction, both within and beyond Africa, as a background to the ensuing discourse.

A brief background on gender discourse: Selected cases of gender construction within and beyond Africa

There are diverse influences on the expressions of gender in African societies. For instance, Arab-influenced African societies (including the Islamic region of the Sahel and Hausa societies in West Africa) feature male dominance in public discourses while women remain (or are vocal only) in the domestic sphere (Hale and Sidikou 2014:5, Mack 2004). Cook and Tsou (1994: 1) argued that while sex refers to the biological phenomenon, gender is the social construct of sexual differences. In other words, gender denotes the cultural, psychological and social correlates of the sexes, which includes the "rules, expectations and behaviours appropriate to being male or female" within societies (Magrini 2003:1). This conceptualisation of gender as a social category thus implies that its expression varies from one society to the other.

Gueye recorded a few extreme gender practices in pre-colonial Wolof communities, one of which centres on the eroticizing and exploitation of female bodies while disparaging women's personal and intellectual qualities (2014:21). Virginity was the most prized possession a woman could bring into her marriage; it was indeed a token for married women to assert their rights (Gueye 2014:24). To this end, "women who were not virgins at marriage were shot by their male relatives" (Gueye 2014:12). Other practices in the same societies include the veiling of women, due to their powerful sexuality, to "protect males and the society as a whole from sin and promiscuity" (ibid). This is said to stem from the Islamic view of women mainly as sexual beings and seducers endowed with a "rampant disruptive

potential", hence women's power must be subdued and contained through veiling and seclusion (Mernissi 1975:13, El-Solh and Mabro 1994, Magrini 2003:22).

Mack, on the contrary, documented the functionality of gendered Islamic practices, such as wife seclusion, in Hausa societies. She noted that for Western scholars the public/private paradigm carries the expectation of power/powerlessness, but Islam's focus is on the inward: Families and the private sphere, which mothers oversee, are central to Islamic societies (2004: 7–8). Apparently, the practice of wife seclusion is functional, and in fact, only practised by the very wealthy men such as royalties. In view of this, secluded wives in Hausa societies are considered privileged by their peers (Mack 2004:6). Mack viewed extreme cases of women relegation in Hausa societies as exceptions rather than the rule, and often misogynistic misreading of the good intents of Islam. Mack also linked the low level of education among Hausa women, compared to the men, to the centrality of the private sphere; attributing this to the Islamic requirement for women to stay at home for 10 years while raising children (2004:6). Moreover, Cook and Tsou observed a similar trend in 19th century America, where the prevailing economic and social forces of industrialization became the pretexts for women's staying at home to enhance the survival of the family structure (1994:22).

Whether or not gender practices are functional as suggested by Mack (2004), men and women inhabiting "different geographical planes or loci" (Bithell 2003: 48) resulted in several polarised musical practices in the ancient communities of the Mediterranean, England, Greece, Afghanistan and Ireland to mention a few (see Cook and Tsou 1994:38, 41). These gendered musical practices gave rise to different genres and repertory exclusively performed by men or women. West African societies are not exempted from the emergence of gendered musical practices based on gendered geographical sites. Women and men performance practices differ markedly in contemporary Badagry, although the expressions of gender in Badagry Ogu communities are nuanced. For example, while in Sahel and Wolof societies, women are veiled, some female Ogu genres, like *ajogan*, feature voluptuous accoutrement, which is generally considered innocuous. The aim of this chapter is not to focus on the injustices perpetrated against (Ogu) women, neither is it to examine the functionality of gender practices but to examine two main gendered indigenous Ogu genres – *gangbe* and *ajogan* and their current expressions *vis-à-vis* the gender construct in 21st-century Badagry.

Though it is unclear if all indigenous Ogu genres were customarily gendered, there are no indications to the contrary. However, there are attempts aimed at making genres like *akoto* and *sato* more gender-inclusive in contemporary Badagry. Yet Badagry Ogu communities currently feature gender roles, which may be blurring in some homes, due to "the shifting position of women" in "transitioning" societies (see Bruinders 2017: 156) but are maintained in Igbogbe community in Badagry. In the traditional Ogu subsistence economy, as in the societies mentioned above, one of the roles of the men was to fend for the family. The roles of women included preparing meals for their families and selling some of the farms produce brought home by the men. These roles of caring and nurturing, Bruinders argued, have become naturalised and reinforced as female roles through "repetitious acts" and the "embodiment of culturally constructed corporeal styles" over generations (Butler 1988 terminology quoted in Bruinders 2017: 167).

As a reflection of gendered inhabited planes, there exists an inundating presence of gender roles and expectations in the sphere of musical performance practices in contemporary Badagry. Using Kritintin (literarily, Christ exists, or Christ is alive) as a case study, I examine *gangbe* practices. Similarly, I explore the *ajogan* genre, based on the practices of Akran *Ajogan* group (with similar gender underpinnings as Kristitin). Both performance practices dovetail in my discussion of gender expressions in Badagry Ogu musical practices.

Gangbe: A married women's genre

Gangbe, the only enduring secular Ogu female genre in Badagry, is also known as *panugbe*: both words are derived from the genre's characteristic use of aluminium plates, fashioned into percussion instruments (see Figure 44). The name '*gangbe*' is derived from the ring attached to the plate, which is called *gangbe* in Ogu *gbe*. Accordingly, the genre derives its second name, *panugbe*, from the plate, which is an important part of the instrument – *panu* (an indigenised form of the English word, pan). Hence, the derivation of the genre's names bespeaks the centrality of *panu* (the instrument consisting of plate and rings) to the genre.

Unlike some genres that are performed by women and for other women in the private sphere (Mack 2004:4 and Gueye 2014:30), *gangbe* performances take place in public and within multiple contexts. Traditionally, each Ogu family had a *gangbe*-performing group made up of the wives, which featured at the family functions such as funerals and naming ceremonies. *Gangbe* may be performed to welcome visitors to the family compound during the

ceremonies. The visitors, in turn, reward the *gangbe* group with offerings (which have now become mainly monetary gifts). These gifts are shared among the wives, who are often mostly full-time housewives. These wives stand at the main entrance of their family compound while they perform *gangbe*. As each visitor approaches, they spread fabric wrappers on the floor on which the visitor is expected to put a donation. After a visitor makes her/his donation, the wives remove the wrapper, allowing the visitor into the event arena.

A few of the wives, whose musical roles are not prominent, spread the fabric wrappers and collect monetary donations. Where the occasion attendee is unable to make any donation, s/he is allowed into the event arena once the *gangbe* group senses his/her financial handicap. Evidently, the demand for offerings by *gangbe* groups, which became more pronounced in post-colonial Badagry, is a blend of reward-seeking and theatrical mockery of the mode of operation of government tenement-rate collectors. Modern *gangbe* practices are nuanced and may be found in varied forms from one group to the other. However, Kristitin animates and indexes *gangbe* practices in contemporary Badagry.

Kristitin: Fundamental ethos

Ab initio, Kristitin was a thrift society. Members contributed a pre-determined amount weekly, from their meagre earnings. At the end of each month, a member would collect the total sum of money contributed by the entire membership. In the following month, it would be the turn of another member to collect the total sum contributed. This was done rotationally. Some spent their collection to start businesses, grow their existing businesses or invest in their children's education. Yet others may spend it to offset debt or on catering for a party. A few members of Kristitin Thrift Society thought it was necessary to add *gangbe* performance to the society's responsibilities to its members since there was no *gangbe* band in Igbogbele at that time.

Kristitin's first performance was at the naming ceremony of a baby girl born to one of its members. Since that first performance, over 20 years ago, Kristitin has performed regularly at various occasions including weddings, funerals and housewarming ceremonies. The band's fundamental ethos is to support its members, support other Igbogbele residents through its musical performances at social occasions and for camaraderie.

The ethos of supporting those who are unable to afford to pay for musical entertainment is also displayed in the band's repertoire. Below is one of Kristitin's original compositions, based on the theme of providing a support system for people with good character.

Aro je a ze wa uwe yen tho ze na we	Your disposition/character to me will determine my response to you
Aro je a ze wa uwe yen na ze na we	Your good disposition/character will encourage me to draw you closer
Aro je a ze wa u we na tho yin a we	Your disposition is what I will reciprocate
Okwe we a ze wa, u we na tho yi he we	If you present money, it will be exhausted
Ovi we a ze wa, u we na tho yin awe	If you present your children, we will support you
Ohoro ni e je se ji	My response to you is based on your character
Aro je a ze wa u we yen a tho yi	Your good character is what will make us accept you as one of us

[transcribed by author with the help of Mrs Maugbe Akinyanmi]

Supporting people with 'good character' rather than insisting on monetary rewards resonates with Gogoke's[83] philosophy and thus highlights a communal ethos of reciprocity in contemporary Igbogbele.

It could be argued that the non-profiteering disposition of *gangbe* performers towards their art is the preservation of traditional Ogu communalism in which one's immediate community serves as a support system and social capital. Thus, maintaining cordial relationships with neighbours and other community members is valued over wealth acquisition. In the event of a capital-requiring occasion, neighbours and community members contribute (financially and, where possible, the skills required). The ethos of Kristitin's performances as 'community

[83] Gogoke, the subject of Chapter Four, is an all-male indigenous band based in Igbogbele (the same community as Kristitin). There are close ties between these two bands. I recurrently evoke the practices of Gogoke in comparison with those of Kristitin to highlight communal ethos.

service' is even more easily achieved due to these women's status as housewives, who are not under the pressure to earn a living with their performance skills. Although most of them have occupations with which they earn meagre incomes, such as mat weaving (see Figure 47), as implied earlier, it is not their responsibility to fend for their families. The money they make is their nest egg and they may not be required to add such earnings to family coffers (see also Mack 2004:7). The common practice is that those whose husbands are still alive depend on their husbands, while the widows depend on their children for sustenance. On the other hand, *gangbe* performances offer the members of Kristitin an opportunity to socialise; the modest earnings from people's donations or 'spraying' would be enough reward for the band members.

Kristitin: Membership

Today, the membership of each *gangbe* band in Badagry is no longer restricted to women married into the same family. Membership is now largely community-based but remains conditioned upon being married. Wives from the same hamlet or community may now belong to the same *gangbe* band. There is freedom to either join a *gangbe* band of one's choice or not to associate with any. Kristitin is made up of wives from different families in Igbogbele. The membership of this band is largely related to the members of Gogoke. The lead vocalist of the band, Mrs Wasiu, is Jeremiah Tonukunmeh's (the bandleader of Gogoke) aunt. Jeremiah's mother is also a member of Kristitin. Although the name of the band reflects the Biblical Christ (Kristi in Ogu *gbe*), the membership of the band is inclusive of Muslims, *vothun* devotees and non-religious women.

Although made up of predominantly Christians, Kristitin does not have affiliations with any church. However, the band may be invited to perform in churches for special occasions such as harvest thanksgiving. Invitations usually come from churches where members of Kristitin worship. The heterogeneity in creed is not easily noticed in Kristitin as the entire membership attends all performances without discriminating. The age range (from late 20s to 70s) is another area of diversity among the membership of Kristitin. The age distribution is, however, skewed towards those who are 60 and above. There is one young member who is in her late twenties, a few are in their 50s, while others are aged 60 and above. This age distribution, which is quintessential of *gangbe* bands in Badagry, raises concerns about the future of this genre in Badagry.

Contrary to Mack's (2004) discovery of female poets who ran the gamut from non-literate to university educated in northern Nigeria, the level of formal education among Badagry Ogu performers is an area of less heterogeneity. Kristitin members either have no formal education or have primary school education. This speaks to the divide along educational lines in Badagry Ogu bands. Although the majority of Gogoke members completed their high school education, there are no university graduates in the band. Again, this observation supports the reasoning on the discrimination towards indigenous practices among some tertiary degree holders, while others support such practices in various ways without participating, as noted in Chapter One.

In addition to mat weaving, members of Kristitin are mostly involved in economic activities that depend on nature: the collection of waterside straw (*ifin*) used in mat weaving, and collection of swamp leaves used in wrapping indigenous foods such as *eko*. Other members are involved in petty trading or a combination of two or three of these occupations. As the primary craftswomen, the mat weavers among them sell their mats at wholesale prices to (often exploitative) middlemen who retail them to a few locals, visitors to Badagry and tourists. The discussion thus far, on the age distribution level of education and occupation of Kristitin members, helps to calibrate the social position of these performers of a female genre as predominantly economically downtrodden and less educated older women, who are prone to male exploitation. The next section continues with the instruments used in *gangbe* performances.

Gangbe **instruments**

The two instruments used in *gangbe* are *panu* (I describe its construction below) and *ogan* (bell). The majority of *gangbe* performers combine singing with the simultaneous playing of either of these instruments. In describing the construction of *panu*, the lead instrument of *gangbe*, Mrs Elizabeth Wasiu, the leader of Kristitin, said:

> We buy metal plates, used in eating, and then we perforate them round [leaving a small section for holding the *panu* – see Figure 44]. Then we attach rings to the holes at the edges of the plates. If we don't attach the rings to the plates, they won't sound well, the sound won't be audible. Then we play these plates in combination with bells. Our hosts appreciate us with money [as well as alcoholic drinks and food] (interview with Elizabeth Wasiu, Kristitin's

bandleader, on June 21, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

While *ogan* may be purchased at the Petun drum market in Ajara, Porto Novo Benin Republic, band members fabricate *panu* and this requires some skill. They purchase metal plates at the Badagry open market, Agbalata, then using six-inch nails, they perforate carefully determined points on the edges of the plates to which they attach metal rings. A hole drilled in the wrong part of the plate could alter the timber and sonority of the instrument.

Figure 44*: Panu* – lead instrument in *gangbe*. Photo credit: author

There are "two types of bells that we use in *gangbe*", Mrs Wasiu explained further. One of the bells is called *oganvino,* a bell with a 'child' (see Figure 45) because it is a pair of connected bells; the big one being referred to as the mother while the small one is the 'child'. The other bell derives its name onomatopoeically from its sound – *kenkeke* (see Figure 45). The use of family metaphors for *gangbe* instruments alludes to the centrality of metaphors in understanding and conceptualisation of musical ideas, which in turn aid, and is ingrained in, the indigenous system of knowledge and skill transfer in Ogu societies (see Chapters Two and Five).

Traditionally, *gangbe* was performed without drums. Recently, however, a few *gangbe* bands in Badagry have begun to occasionally feature male drummers in some of their songs. The featured male drummers are often the relatives or friends of members of the *gangbe* group, who render such services free of charge as a means of support to the *gangbe* group. *Panu* is both beaten and shaken to produce rhythmic patterns.

Figure 45: Oganvino (left) and kenkeke (right) - auxiliary instruments in *gangbe*. Photo credit: author

Song themes, repertory and other *gangbe* performance practices

Gangbe bands sing a combination of their original songs and cover versions of indigenous songs. Contrary to Agawu's remark on the ubiquity of "communal composition" in Africa (2016:316), the bandleader of Kristitin composes the band's songs. Other indigenous Ogu bands in Badagry operate in a similar manner, with either the bandleader or the lead vocalist (where different persons hold those posts) doubling as the sole composer for the band. This signals the agency of individuals to indigenous repertory and particularly the contribution of women in patriarchal social structures. As with the other indigenous Ogu bands in Badagry, the cover versions of indigenous songs Kristitin performs are copied from other *gangbe* groups within their translocal formation; some of these are from the Republic of Benin while others are derived from neighbouring Nigerian communities. Kristitin's repertory maintains Gogoke's practice of singing in Alladah, the most-widely-spoken dialect of Ogu *gbe*, laced with Yorùbá lines (see Chapter Four). The band rehearses twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, in the late afternoons.

Apart from improvisational praise singing of party guests, Kristitin, like other *gangbe* bands, features comical singing. The comedies, ingrained in Kristitin's repertory, often centre on social issues, which they artfully fashion into musical satire intended as comic relief during occasions. For instance, a Kristitin original features a mockery of the big handsets that were introduced into Nigeria in the early 2000s, at the advent of mobile telephony. The song, *Pe mi pa da* (literarily, call back in Yorùbá), is a humorous narrative about a suitor who tries to woo a lady over the phone without success due to the size of the handset he bought for her. In the story, which is a deliberate exaggeration, the lady always ends her suitor's call at important points of their conversation because the handset is too heavy for her to carry beyond a few minutes. She would always punctuate the conversation with the statement, in Yorùbá, "*pe mi pada, owo n ro mi"*, which means "call me back, my hand is sore". The humorous component of *gangbe* performances, Mrs Wasiu remarked, is to "make the performance more interesting – the audience would laugh and reward the performers with money". Demonstrations and jocular dancing often accompany Kristitin's comical singing.

Gueye observed a similar use of music among Wolof women, in which humour and sarcasm feature against modernity while encouraging the youth to stick to the indigenous philosophies and ideologies regarding the importance of virginity (2014: 17). Women, who are often socially mute in many traditional societies and sometimes restricted from offering their opinion in public, incline towards using songs to offer social commentary (see Mack 2004:15). Contrary to Cook and Tsou's observation of men's structural veiling of female composers in 19th century America (1994:3), the men in Badagry encourage and support the female composers: Jeremiah Tonukunmeh was an exemplar of this support throughout my observation of Kristitin. Again, this may be linked to the communal ethos of support and communalism.

Beyond welcoming of visitors to the family compound, as earlier stated, *gangbe* bands often sit or walk around during or at the end of ceremonies and celebrations, providing musical entertainment for guests. Similar to the repertory of male bands, *gangbe* repertory is predominantly made up of paeans, which adapt praise epithets in eulogising guests, inviting them individually to dance and 'spray' (see Chapter Four).

Within the marginal Badagry Ogu cohorts, *gangbe* exists as a further marginalised musical practice. Whereas some indigenous male Ogu bands in Badagry, including Gigoyoyo and Gogoke, have progressed to playing amplified music, *gangbe* remains entirely acoustic and an alternative genre to the male genres such as *kaka*, *wale* and *pakre*. This is in consonance with Magrini's observation that women's repertories and musical practices in the Mediterranean have long remained on the outskirts and this is for several reasons (2003:2). Mrs Wasiu implied that *gangbe* is indeed a communally 'other-ed' genre in Badagry as she explained that their clients are usually those "who cannot afford the big bands". Her use of "big bands" referred to the fees charged and the perceived importance of *juju* bands or male Ogu bands, rather than the numerical size of the bands. Akin Ayeni, arguably the most famous *juju* bandleader in Badagry, confirmed Mrs Wasiu's sentiments as he revealed *juju*'s popularity among the people as the reason for his choice of the Yorùbá popular genre. Moreover, Kristitin's performance fee could be as low as 10% of that charged by Gogoke for the same type of performance. They would be excited to perform for the fee of N2,000 (about $5.60). The point to be made here is that the members of the band perceive their performances as a service to God and humanity, though such performances may be for secular functions. Suffice it to say that the instrument-making, ensemble-playing, entertainment and compositional skills of *gangbe* performers are rarely acknowledged and celebrated within their social context, hence their comparatively high level of artistry is unbeknown to them. I now turn to examine *ajogan*, another female genre, in highlighting the pervasive gender underpinnings of indigenous genres in contemporary Badagry.

Figure 46: Kristitin *gangbe* band. Photo credit: author

Figure 47: Mrs Elizabeth Wasiu (lead vocalist of Kristitin) at home weaving a mat. Photo credit: author

Ajogan: A royal court wives' genre

Ajogan is a sacred genre, which is exclusive to *ahosi*, a term applied generically to all women married into the royal family (see Law 1993). Perhaps due to the practice of wife seclusion, which is prevalent in West African royal courts (Mack 2004: 5-7), the wives married to Ogu monarchs are exempted from *ajogan*; thus, the other wives, married into the extended Ogu royal family, are solely responsible for *ajogan* performance. Traditionally, *ajogan* is deemed an important genre, which plays a major role in prayers for the community, welcoming emissaries from other kingdoms and at the departure of warriors for the battlefront. Other occasions requiring the performance of *ajogan* include the conferment of chieftaincy titles and the funerals of notable personalities. As Cook and Tsou noted, women actively participate in religious music in certain traditional societies and this sphere is considered the middle point between the public and private domains (1994: 42 – 43). While *ajogan* exemplifies the role of women in religious rituals, it should be noted however that in traditional Ogu societies, women featured prominently in the public sphere. I will return to this later. In modern Badagry, *ajogan* may be performed during the visit of political office holders and other dignitaries to the palace.

In the cosmologies of many African societies, such sacred genres or instruments, performed as part of communal rituals, are accompanied by offerings such as palm oil, gin and food items (see Euba 1990, Ibisankale 2007, Amegago 2014 and Durojaye 2019 for other genres and instruments in African royal courts that serve a similar purpose as *ajogan*). Similarly, prayers and offerings precede *ajogan* performances. Water may be used as an offering to ancestral spirits prior to *ajogan* performances. It is poured as a libation on the ground while the prayer session proceeds. In modern Badagry, non-alcoholic drinks are also offered during the ritual prayers preceding *ajogan* performances. *Ajogan* neither requires palm oil, gin nor animal sacrifice as most of the other Ogu sacred genres, such as *sato* and *hungan*, do. For instance, sacrifices and rituals involving the use of pigs usually precede *hungan* performances (interview with Chief Hungbo Yevoh on July 10, 2018, Ajara Badagry). The details of this and other practices of Ogu sacred genres are outside the scope of this study.

Mrs Elizabeth Akran, the leader of the Akran royal family *ajogan* group, described *ajogan* in Ogu communities as a parallel to the royal drumming practices of some West African societies.

> West African traditions often feature a number of performances attached to the royal families. In some royal families, the tradition is *gbedu* [a special royal drum]. In some royal families, it is *dundun* [hourglass-shaped drum] practice. In Ogu royal families, *ajogan* is the musical practice. The Akran *ajogan* group is attached to the monarchical stool of His Royal Highness, the Menu Toyi 1, Akran of Badagry. This practice is still maintained until now. The combination of arunrun and ogan in performance is what is referred to as *ajogan* (interview with Mrs Elizabeth Akran, the leader of Akran Ajogan, on June 30, 2018, Kweme Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Ajogan instruments and accoutrements

Arunrun, the lead instrument in *ajogan*, is a totem made of a metal rod. It is usually about four-feet long, with the carving of a cockerel at the top. The rod is split into four at the bottom, each branch being turned upwards (see Figure 48). Metal rings are loosely wound around half of the length of *arunrun* such that when the rings are pulled upwards from the base of the instrument and released, they produce sounds similar to that of metal shakers. *Arunrun* are used in this manner during *ajogan* performances. While one of the performers holds an *arunrun*, an individual desirous of a specific blessing may approach, pull the rings up, give an offering and say a prayer.

Figure 48: A member of the Akran *Ajogan* group displays *arunrun*. Photo credit: author

Depending on the size of the ensemble, there could be up to four *arunrun* for an *ajogan* performance. *Arunrun* plays a secondary rhythmic role while a combination of up to six ogan forms the rhythmic patterns of the genre. Drums are not required in *ajogan*. The secondary

rhythmic role of arunrun in *ajogan* underscores the symbolism and spiritual connotations, rather than musical importance, of lead instruments in Ogu sacred genres (see Chapters Two and Three for other lead instruments, entrenched with spiritual symbolism). Again, these lead instruments, which play secondary rhythmic roles in Ogu sacred genres, exist as testaments against Agawu's statement that "the lead drummer (or "master drummer" or one who beats the "mother drum") performs the most involved and complex rhythms" (2016: 184). In Ogu sacred genres, symbolism of the lead instruments supersedes their musical importance.

Ajogan is performed barefooted, with the wives dressed, only from their chests down to ankles, in wrappers. The royal wives also perform *gangbe* during family occasions with less spiritual connotations for the kingdom, such as naming ceremonies and weddings. However, there are separate repertories for their *ajogan* and *gangbe* performances, so also, their rhythmic patterns differ as shown below:

So also, *ajogan* and *gangbe* patterns differ as shown below:

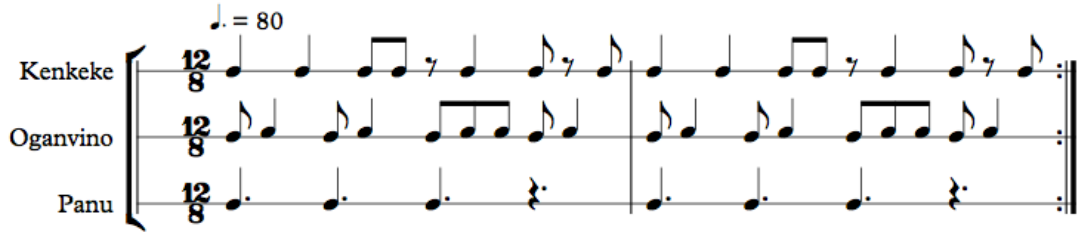

Figure 49: A sample ostinato *gangbe* pattern

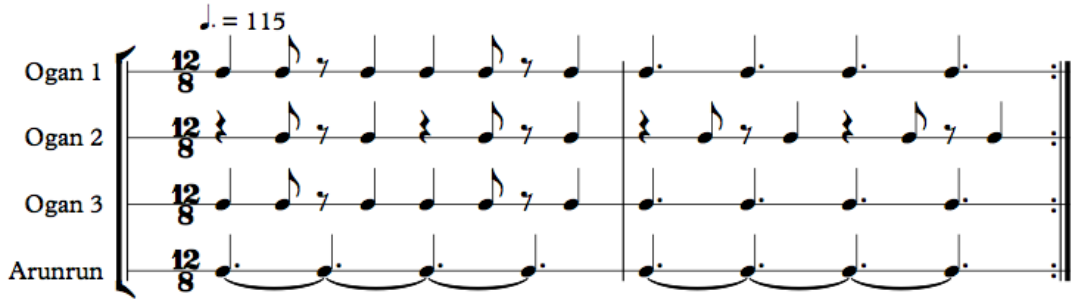

Figure 50: A sample ostinato *ajogan* pattern

Mrs Elizabeth Akran's remark on *ajogan* and *gangbe* reiterates the mutually exclusive repertory of both genres:

> *Ajogan* is different from *panugbe* [*gangbe*]. We play *panugbe* as well. The songs for *panugbe* are different from the songs for *ajogan*. The songs we play for *ajogan* can't be used for *panugbe* and vice versa. *Panugbe* has its songs and adages used in its performance while *ajogan* also has its songs and adages used in its performance (interview with Mrs Elizabeth Akran, the leader of Akran Ajogan, on June 30, 2018, Kweme Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

For the Akran wives, *gangbe* is an alternative performance option, since performance opportunities for *ajogan* are infrequent. In modern Badagry, male bands, such as Gigoyoyo[84] and Gogoke, have adapted *ajogan* patterns for their performances. When these bands perform their adapted *ajogan* patterns, they say they are performing *ajogan*. This is not to be confused with the actual *ajogan* performance of the royal wives with songs preserved and exclusive for the sacred genre.

Spiritual underpinnings in *ajogan*

Ajogan is only performed in the actual or implied presence of the monarch with which it is associated. In the absence of such a monarch but with his approval, a prince bears the royal mace to imply his presence. This often happens for *ajogan* performances at functions, which he (the monarch) approves of but is unable to attend. On their return from such functions, the royal wives usually perform a short session at the palace, creating a 'taste' of their performance in the absence of the monarch, before the *arunrun* are taken to *kubito* (the shrine where they are stowed). Only the royal wives are permitted inside kubito, hence it is always locked. Before arunrun are brought outside *kubito* for performance, these royal wives pray using a piece of white fabric and some prescribed leaves such as *ewe akoko* (botanically known as *newboudia laevis* and in English, boundary tree leaves), water and kola-nuts. All these practices constitute the spiritual underpinnings of *ajogan* genre.

Other spiritual underpinnings are evident in the several prohibitions on *ajogan* and its instruments. These include the following prohibitions: placing *arunrun* on the floor or letting it to fall, walking over it or even its handling by men. The prohibition of men from *ajogan* bespeaks aspects of Ogu traditions where women wield more power than men (see Hunsu 2011). I will return to this later.

[84] Gigoyoyo is an all-male band in the same hamlet as the Akran *Ajogan* group. Ekundayo Towheyon, the bandleader of Gigoyoyo offered some insights into the expressions of gender in Ogu music. I will analyze these insights later in this chapter.

In addition, a menstruating wife is not allowed to handle arunrun or even perform *ajogan*. The wives are also mandated to observe a ritual of cleansing after sexual intercourse before they are considered spiritually eligible to perform *ajogan*. This practice is similar to the purifying bath, after sexual acts, that Wolof women observe before they are considered 'clean' enough to participate in religious activities (Gueye 2014:12). While it may be argued that men observe similar cleansing through ablution in Islam, there are no indications of such requirements for men who perform sacred Ogu genres, and this raises a question on the supposed gender equity in precolonial Ogu societies. For *Ajogan*, appropriate ritual cleansings, usually involving the sap from *ewe akoko*, must immediately follow the violation of any of these taboos associated with *ajogan* to prevent evil occurrences. The person involved in the taboo violation is required to bath with water mixed with *ewe akoko* sap while observing some other esoteric rituals.

Certain behavioural dispositions, including malice, are forbidden for *ajogan* performers. In other words, one who is not on talking terms with someone else is forbidden from performing *ajogan*. A violation of any of these taboos without a ritual to avert its consequence may result in sickness and eventual death of the defaulter. Hence, *ajogan* is a much-dreaded sacred genre, and only those who are sure of their sanctity are bold enough to perform it. Due to its many prohibitions, *ajogan* performances are not mandatory for the royal wives. Joining an *ajogan* ensemble is by choice.

Other *ajogan* performance practices

In addition to the above, I also observed that the membership of Akran *Ajogan* is exclusive to the wives without tertiary education, as in other indigenous bands in Badagry. This offers a theoretical insight and serves as more evidence in line with my observation that educated elites in Badagry seem not to be involved in indigenous performances. Bithell observed a similar trend in post-world-war Corsica France, where there was a "depopulation of rural areas, associated with rapid urbanization and increasing emigration, accompanied by profound changes in both lifestyle and outlook" (2003:45). Furthermore, Bitchell identified the "advent of television" as "detrimental in ousting domestic fireside music-making and storytelling" thus undermining community and resulting in the alarming number of polyphonic masses that fell into disuse (Bitchell 2003:46). It could be argued that Western influences, including the instroduction of Christianity Western education, have brought about

changes in tastes and lifestyles, thereby provoking a similar disposition towards indigenous performances in Badagry as the industrial revolution did in Corsica.

Conversely, I observed that there is no discrimination against the wives who choose not to perform *ajogan* in the Akran royal family. A case in point occurred at the funeral of the popular Chief Zokoro on 30 June 2018, in Badagry. An 18-seater bus with the inscription, "The Royal Council of King Akran of Badagry Kingdom" and with the number plate, "AKRAN" had conveyed the *ajogan* group to the venue of the funeral. After their performance, as the group was boarding the palace-bound bus, other royal wives who had attended the occasion but distanced themselves from the performers indicated their interests to join the bus, which was already full, back to the palace. Contrary to my expectations, the *ajogan* performers began to suggest different seating arrangements, including sitting on one another's laps and squeezing four people into three-seater rows, to accommodate the additional passengers. The driver complained about the overload, to which the performers responded: "they are part of us". The performers would rather endure the inconvenience than leaving these other wives, who were returning to the same family compound, behind.

Figure 51: Mrs Elizabeth Akran (front left) leading the Akran *ajogan* group. Photo credit: author

When a wife is newly married into the Akran royal family or has just shown her interest in *ajogan* performance, she is asked to attend the weekly Sunday afternoon meetings, which

double as rehearsals. The procedure is similar for both Ogu and non-Ogu wives. The major difference between new entrants may be in their use of Ogu *gbe*. One who speaks Ogu *gbe* will understand the song texts, but a non-speaker will require an explanation of the texts and may initially struggle with word pronunciations. Regardless, both Ogu and non-Ogu entrants into *ajogan* ensembles will have much to learn about the genre, considering the genre's exclusivity to royal wives, no new entrant can claim an earlier performance experience of the genre.

The oldest wife is usually responsible for the training of new entrants. As soon as a new member becomes familiar with the rules of the genre and the repertoire, the leader may ask her to join the next performance. The duration of training is dependent on how quickly a new member absorbs *ajogan* rules and repertoire. Though the female genres described thus far are nuanced in their instrumentation, accoutrements, repertory, rhythmic patterns and social functions, in what follows, I examine one of their similarities – men's control over female genres.

"Call him for me": Gender expressions in Badagry Ogu music

I established contact with Kristitin through two members of Gogoke. Initially, I was unsuspecting of the social role these Gogoke members were playing in acting as middlemen between Kristitin members and me. One of the Gogoke members told me "you may call [telephonically] the women several times without a response" and that became the pretext to book all my meetings with Kristitin through them. For me, if going through the middlemen was the easier way of reaching the female band in their community, there was no need to have the latter's contact numbers. I would later discover that a male intermediary is almost always required in booking Kristitin for a performance outside their community, particularly when dealing with a stranger. The men's role will be to negotiate transportation and agree on the terms of performance. This role played by the men is for the protection of the women. Notably, the subsequent paragraphs further highlight the contrasts between male and female bands and how various lived experiences and realities, based on social constructs, are illustrative of differences in musical activities.

On the day on my interview with Mrs Elizabeth Wasiu, the lead vocalist and bandleader of Kristitin, an episode played out that suggested the social status of the female gender in Igbogbele and by extension, in 21st-century Badagry. Before interviewing Mrs Wasiu, she

sounded subdued, needing the reassurance of her middlemen about my purposes, before she granted permission for the interview. After the interview, I had packed my gadgets and was about to take my leave when one of the Gogoke members, who had been having a conversation with Mrs Wasiu's husband indoors as I concluded the interview, rushed out saying Baba had said "call him for me", referring to me. Apparently, my 'offence' was that I had interviewed Mrs Wasiu without first going to see the man in the house. Although Mrs Wasiu had asked for permission to be interviewed, both prior to my arrival and at my arrival, those would not suffice. The social expectation was for me, being a stranger, to first appear before her husband. Making a physical appearance before him would mean being physically assessed and my appearance could either earn his approval to carry on with my interview or his disapproval if I was dressed in a manner of which he disapproved. Wearing earrings (as a male) or dreadlocks are examples of what could make my appearance unacceptable. In this social context, the dress is perceived as the most accessible means of predicting a stranger's character and intentions. A bad appearance could suggest the visitor's questionable character and such a visitor may be intersected by the community's males for investigation.

The above narrative is reminiscent of my childhood, and that of many of my colleagues raised in middle-class homes in Badagry in the 1980s. Parents physically accessed our friends who were visiting. It would not suffice to tell our parents about our close friends, they had to physically appear before our parents on their arrival. The hairstyle, manner of dress and her/his response to a few questions from our parents would determine whether our friendship could continue. A friend's surname alone could bring approval or disapproval to the friendship. "Oh! You are the son of Mr so and so, the doctor?" was a typical response to a friend from a known 'good' family and that meant approval of the friendship. If the surname was unknown, more questions about the family may ensue. "Where do you live?" "What is your father's occupation?" Should the friend's response not be satisfactory to one's parents, after her/his departure, one may have to answer further questions. "Where did you meet her/him?" Such 'interrogations' often end with "I have not sent you to school to make friends" which signalled disapproval of the friendship.

Physical appearances, in the contexts described above, embody respectability, character and good upbringing (see Bruinders 2017). More importantly and for this chapter, the protection of women in the said context is matched by the protection of minors. Remarkably, as we became young adults in our early 20s, parents discontinued such protective measures. That

men in Igbogbele protect women, in a similar manner that our parents protected us when we were underage, is suggestive of an infantilized female gender, a product of male dominance (see Duncan 2006, Ezer et al 2006). The approach employed in protecting the members of Kristitin is still largely maintained for children and women in the social context of this study, thus equating women with minors.

In another context, Cook and Tsou describe a type of infant depravity aimed at conditioning such infants to the superiority of their parents' will, which is like the conditioning of women in Igbogbele to male supremacy (Cook and Tsou 1994: 116). In Cook and Tsou's narrative, an infant is denied what s/he loves most, only to be given at the will of the parent. Throughout the process, 'carrot' and 'stick' are administered as appropriate until the child is 'moulded' into the parent's desired shape. An anonymous member of Kristitin revealed that they (members of Kristitin) are required to notify their husbands a week or two in advance for them to be permitted to attend performances and such members could be punished, by being denied attendance at band performances, for offences that are not related to their musical activities. Withholding performance opportunities from these women achieve the same aim as depriving a child of its most loved activity. To this end, these women have become conditioned to male supremacy and to be self-abnegating.

A case in point played out after the demise of Mautin Adokun, Gogoke's erstwhile secretary. I thought of dedicating my collaborative project with Gogoke to him and I contacted his wife, telephonically, to find out more about the deceased. I required a few details including his age and circumstances surrounding his death. Although she was willing to respond to my questions, she referred me to a younger male in the Adokun's family, as she did not have the authority to divulge such details.

Quite telling is that both Ogu female genres, discussed thus far – *gangbe* and *ajogan* – have at least one male figure that wields authority over their performances. Some men will not allow their wives to be part of an all-female organization without a male overseer in the form of a patron. This may be connected to the stereotypical notion of women as gossips and busybodies whose freedom to form gendered associations, without male supervision, may be socially damaging (see Kartzow 2005). This underscores the need for male patrons in *gangbe* bands. In the case of *ajogan*, the monarch's approval is needed for its performance, as mentioned earlier. Without his actual or implied presence, *ajogan* may not be performed.

Hence, deeply rooted in *ajogan* practice is male dominance. On the other hand, the patrons of *gangbe* bands retain the power to sanction members and even to disband the entire band, if they deem it necessary to do so. I would later discover that Baba (mentioned above) was the patron of Kristitin; hence his authoritative stance was both as Mrs Wasiu's husband and as the patron of the band.

In addition to these limiting social expectations, these women are often involved in relentless domestic drudgeries, which make it difficult for them to fulfil their musical potential. Bithell (2003:48) also observed the dominance of male voices in modern Mediterranean societies in spite of the changing modes of expressions of the private/public paradigm. In Badagry, notifying their partners a week, or more, before a performance is at variance with the practice of the male bands, which Towheyon (bandleader of Gigoyoyo, a male band based in the same hamlet as Akran *Ajogan* group) described as a type of a "military work". He said they "could be called at any time for a performance". When called for impromptu performances, members of male bands may inform their partners and families on their way to the gig or even after the performance. Towheyon also added that this would be considered unacceptable for female performers due to their child-rearing obligations.

Furthermore, there are a few other areas of disparity between male and female bands in Badagry. For instance, the freedom enjoyed by the male bands regarding prolonged or long-distance travels, which are usually prestigious and exciting for male bands, is not an option for female bands. Ekundayo Towheyon explained this disparity between male and female bands:

> You know that God has made us [men] their heads. They are our queens, but God has made us their leaders. We are free to go anywhere. Imagine that my wife leaves home now, will I be the one to breastfeed the children? And she cannot be on the stage, singing and breastfeeding at the same time. But we can go at any time. We sometimes travel for three weeks. If you know what you are doing, you know you're going for something and you have a family at home. You will plan yourself. But we cannot allow the woman to go for one week. No, that won't work. So, we men have more freedom than women (interview with Ekundayo Towheyon, bandleader of Gigoyoyo, on July 11, 2018, Jegba Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

This restriction is not limited to women at child-bearing age but also applies to older women as members of Kristitin revealed. Towheyon's remarks signals an assumption that women's primary duties are domestic, as emphasized in President Buhari's speech whereby he implied that women's worth and value are determined by their place in the home and their ability to preserve family life. The foregoing resembles the practice in 19th-century American music since, about which Cook and Tsou observed that men had more time and greater freedom to travel (1994:38) and this rippled into more musical exposure and enhanced musical fruition for them. Again, in Badagry, as in most parts of Nigeria, female divorcees are stigmatized; hence female performers would rather sacrifice their musical career for successful homes and marriages.[85] This could be a plausible explanation for the current pattern on the musical scene, in which male bands travel more and are busier than female bands (see also Mack 2004). Towheyon explained further:

> We started [Gigoyoyo] with one woman. That woman is my wife. We did not have children yet at that time, though we were married. But when we started having children, she became 'mummy' [laughs] so we had to stop her from going [performing with the band] (interview with Ekundayo Towheyon on July 11, 2018, Jegba Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Consequently, *gangbe* and *ajogan* bands rarely perform beyond dusk, at which time male performances are only just starting. Conversely, some male performances sometimes go on until as late as midnight or the early hours of the next morning, depending on whether accommodation arrangements have been made for the band or not. The female performers, on the other hand, begin to hurry home to prepare family meals or take care of their children from around 5pm. At this stage, should the female band still be performing, one may notice a decline in the level of concentration, with a few members whispering to the lead vocalist to

[85] More of the women who attain the fruition of their musical potential are single, divorced or widowed (Langeveld 2014:45; Cook and Tsou (1994); and Mack 2004). Cook and Tsou (1994) discussed a few examples of women who only began to fulfil their dreams after their husbands died. Out of the seven women Mack profiled, all but one, were divorced or widowed. The only woman who was not divorced or widowed would have her husband stay with their children while she was on tour (Mack 2004:100). There are at least two ways to view this consistent pattern: One is that the males were so dominant that they supressed the dreams of their spouses, thus the women were only able to fulfil their dreams when they were free from their marriages either through divorce or death. Another way to perceive this is that the women, while married, were laid back since they had husbands who were responsible for them.

end the performance. This was the case during the Akran *ajogan* performance at the funeral of Awah, which I mentioned earlier. At about 5 pm, the band became 'divided' with the majority asking to leave as they vehemently opposed a member's suggestion to "perform a little more".

Figure 52: Gigoyoyo band with Ekundayo Towheyon in the centre. Photo credit: author

Towheyon has attempted a gender inclusive band but later opted for an all-male band for reasons, which he implied in his comment below. Presently, Gigoyoyo occasionally performs with a few female singers. Despite having performed with the same set of female singers for a few years, these female singers are not considered members of the band. Rather, female back-up vocalists in male bands are itinerant performers who may not enjoy equal privileges as the male members and may not be privy to the details about the running of the band. Moreover, such female vocalists are paid less than full-time members. Towheyon explained his decision to have an all-male band thus:

> There are other women that we have worked with. Due to their indiscipline, I told them to leave. When we have performances requiring female voices, we invite them. We still perform with women occasionally because women repair things. If there is a woman in an organisation where there are many men, they repair things, but they also do otherwise too. But the prayer we will pray is that we will only encounter the ones that repair things (interview with

> Ekundayo Towheyon on July 11, 2018, Jegba Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Towheyon, by mentioning "indiscipline", implied that including women in his band could affect the level of seriousness among the male members. Doing "otherwise", mentioned in his comment, is a euphemistic expression for 'destroying an organization'. Dele Gbisu (the lead vocalist of Gogoke) also alluded to this, when he said their reason for not having women in the band was to avoid "indiscipline". After further probing, I found that 'indiscipline' refers to romantic relationships among band members, among other things. This, they both noted, may affect the band dynamics negatively. On the other hand, Towheyon also mentioned that "women repair things" in reference to the naturalised female role of organising homes. Underlying this credit is another stereotypical view of women as homemakers.

Towheyon's remark highlights the pretext for the exclusion of women from Gogoke and Gigoyoyo. Another disposition, suggestive of the treatment of women as less than males, is the assistance of male drummers to female bands. Towheyon remarked that Gigoyoyo members occasionally assist in playing the drums for the *gangbe* group in the same *hongbomeh* as their band when such services are required. For such assistance, they decline performance fees. However, if the same favour were done for a male band made up of friends, the Gigoyoyo drummers would expect to be paid. This assistance seems like the responsibility of an older person towards a much younger person as discussed in Chapter Four.

Deducing from the sociocultural context of these bands, in which an older person delays her/his gratification in order to first gratify a younger person, it follows that the Gigi Yoyo drummers' self-denial of financial gratification is an action aimed at caring for the women. This action of self-denial is like the manner in which the band chair of Gogoke, and many adults in the same sociocultural context, earns respect from his younger subordinates. Still, in the same sociocultural context, it is considered the responsibility of an older person to do favours for related younger ones without expecting financial rewards. Favour done in this manner secures the respect one is accorded by those younger ones. Similarly, in-laws expect certain favours from married men as a way of maintaining the respect accorded them. A list of the kinds of favours expected from a respected superior towards the subordinate could go

on *ad infinitum*. All these are pointers to a perception of female bands, by male bands such as Gigoyoyo and Gogoke, as subordinate within Badagry Ogu musical cohorts.

In addition, Badagry Ogu female bands differ from male bands in that the former do not bid for gigs in the same manner as the latter. As Towheyon puts it, "theirs [referring to *gangbe* bands] is not like – there is a funeral there, let us go and bid for the gig" – Badagry Ogu female bands do not scout for performance opportunities as the male bands do. The male bands sometimes bid for gigs by approaching and trying to convince those who have upcoming events, such as funerals, birthdays and house warming parties to employ the band's services. Up to four bandleaders, including those of non-indigenous bands, may approach the host of an event, each lobbying to perform at the event. Conversely, *gangbe* bands are often presumed to be part of every funeral, wedding and naming ceremony in their family and neighbouring compounds. Furthermore, they may be invited to perform for events in other communities. However, hardly will a *gangbe* band lobby for performances in the manner of the male bands, they are usually invited.

Meanwhile, male bands have recently become more strategic in bidding for gigs, as bandleaders like Towheyon now intentionally seek members from different suburbs in order to have wider coverage for the purpose of bidding for gigs across the length and breadth of Badagry. Members from different suburbs are encouraged to notify the band of upcoming events in their suburbs and subsequently approach the event hosts to lobby for performance opportunities. With this strategy, Gigoyoyo has representatives in a few suburbs in Badagry thereby possessing a wider coverage than Gogoke, which has members who are mainly from Igbogbele. This strategy, Towheyon opined, will develop the negotiating skills of his band members, who may become leaders of bands in future.

Less than 10 kilometres away from Igbogbele, the base of Kristitin, and about 20 kilometres from the base of the Akran *ajogan* group, on the other side of the Nigeria/Republic of Benin border, the gender dynamics appear different from what obtains in Badagry. In Porto Novo and Cotonou, Republic of Benin, there are a few popular Ogu bands, which are led by women. As the Gigoyoyo band sometimes do, some of these female-led bands in the Republic of Benin perform with a mixture of indigenous and Western musical instruments. Notable among these female bandleaders are Sèssimé, Pélagie La Vibreuse and Oluwa Kemy. These Ogu female bandleaders from the Republic of Benin administer their own bands

predominantly made up of men and are only paralleled by popular female Nigerian bandleaders such as Simi, Tiwa Salvage and Asa, who operate in cosmopolitan sites. Notably, the existence of female bandleaders in the Republic of Benin and Nigeria may not be an indication of gender equity but these women may have emerged despite the prevailing male chauvinism in their societies, which is reflected in the musical practices. While I refrain from commenting on the gender discourse in the Republic of Benin here, it is important to highlight areas of male dominance in Nigeria.

Women in the Nigerian socio-political and musical contexts

In the Nigerian political sphere, women are grossly underrepresented. Since Funmilayo Kuti's activism, which initially led to the economic and political liberation of Egba women, women have remained largely subdued in Nigerian politics. Funmilayo Kuti, the mother of Fela Anikulapo Kuti, later became famous for her role in the nationalist movements of the colonial era. She singlehandedly led the movement which saw Nigerian women voting during the first democratic elections of 1959, which brought in the first set of African leaders in Nigeria (see Veal 2000).

Prior to the nationalist movements, Funmilayo Kuti had mobilized over fifty thousand women in protest against the tax imposed on female traders, thereby sending the then Alake of Egbaland, Oba Ademola II, into a self-imposed exile (ibid). Mrs Funmilayo Kuti's political activism took her beyond Nigeria. After founding and leading the Nigerian Women's Union she gained recognition internationally and was subsequently elected vice president of the Women's International Democratic Foundation (WIDF) in 1953. As the vice president of WIDF, she became the first African woman to visit the "Iron Curtain" countries including China, Bulgaria and Hungary (Veal 2000). Mrs Kuti's political feats, as detailed in Johnson-Odim & Mba (1997) and Simola (1999), remain unmatched in Nigeria. Rather, male dominance is evident in the zero representation of women in key political positions in Nigeria.

Taking a look at historical antecedents, Mama (1995) identified pre-colonial female military leaders among the societies that eventually became delineated as parts of Nigeria – Amina of Zazzau, Queen Kambassa of Bony and Efunsetan Aniwura of Ibadan; however, current political practices owe no allegiance to these historical antecedents (1995: 42). This, Mama linked with the all-male colonial force, which was the direct predecessor of Nigerian civil and

military regimes. She further argued that the women in government have often perpetuated femocracy rather than being genuinely interested in the entire female population.

Even if the Nigerian President's utterance, as quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is perceived as an opinion that is not representative of the Nigerian state, the female representation in the political sphere is an index by which the status of women in Nigeria can be measured. To start with, there has never been a woman in the top four political offices, namely the offices of the President, Vice President, President of the Senate and the National Assembly Speaker. Nor is there any female representative amongst the 36 State governors as of June 2019, besides, all 57 Local Government Areas in Lagos State are led by male chairs. Although there are six women among the 36 Ministers appointed by President Buhari in February 2018, very few women were elected into the legislative houses. Persistent scarcity of female leaders in Nigerian politics seems to confirm the relegation of women in Nigeria. I refrain from concluding hastily on male hegemony in Nigeria until I examine the music scene.

The Nigerian musical sphere mirrors the relegation of women in Nigerian formal politics, particularly amongst instrumentalists. To this end, an appellation, indicating that a musician is a woman, could stand such musician the chance of being showcased or offered performance platforms more easily than males with the same level of technical proficiency. This is largely owing to the rarity of female instrumentalists in Nigeria. Hence, having a female instrumentalist in your band is highly desired, especially because women have been stereotyped as vocalists only. It is still considered extraordinary for women to play a musical instrument proficiently. In view of this, female instrumentalists are often introduced as 'lady saxophonist' or 'female drummer' rather than a saxophonist or a drummer. These few female instrumentalists also often leverage on the stereotype and they sometimes introduce themselves by their self-acclaimed titles as 'the best female drummer in Africa' or 'the best female saxophonist in Africa', and so forth. Cook and Tsou link the dearth of female instrumentalists to their restriction to the private sphere (1994:40).

The exoticism of female instrumentalists in Nigeria came to the fore as I discussed with Chief Yevoh Hungbo, in an interview on 10 July 2018 at the Badagry Local Government Secretariat in Badagry. Chief Yevoh, popularly known as Akere, is a legendary Ogu entertainer, known for his drumming, dancing, singing and comedic skills. The Akran of Badagry conferred a

chieftaincy title – Ayajeto 1 of Badagry Kingdom, on Chief Hungbo, who belongs to the artistic league of Mr Hunpe Hunga (the subject of Chapter Three), as a social reward for his artistic skills. Chief Hungbo has since been one of the most famous performers of indigenous Ogu music within and beyond Badagry.

Chief Hungbo noted that Ogu drumming is traditionally the exclusive role of men, hence the absence of drums in *gangbe*. When asked if women now play the drums for their performances of indigenous Badagry music, he said: "no, young men play for them, but there are very few women who have become *kalakuta*, playing the drums themselves". Chief Hungbo employed the term *kalakuta*, the name Fela Anikulapo Kuti gave to his anti-establishment commune, to describe women who choose to play the drums rather than ask for the 'help' of male drummers. Fela Kuti's Kalakuta Republic, which emerged in the 1970s, was a deviant subculture, radically departing from societal norms in its approval of smoking marijuana and the use of profanities in public among youths. Kalakuta Republic, based in Lagos, was Fela Kuti's derisive approach, targeted at defying the Nigerian military juntas of the 1970s (Veal 2000). Kalakuta Republic was considered indecent by most of the populace hence *kalakuta* may be used in describing extremely deviant persons or actions.

While Chief Hungbo's intention might not have been to portray female drummers as indecent, his use of *kalakuta* evokes ideas of the toughness, tenacity and unusually daring nature of such women, which is a commonly held notion on the Nigerian music scene, as expressed in the exoticism of female instrumentalists. This opinion also confirms Smith's summation, about the modern American music scene, that masculinity is equated with toughness and "forcefulness"; hence a woman who displays these traits is an exception to the norm (1994:93). In the same manner that drumming among Badagry Ogu women is perceived as deviant, Bithell noted that public performances place Corsica women in a quasi-militant role (2003:58). It should be noted however that in the broader Nigerian context, female instrumentalists seem to have an edge compared to their male counterparts due to this exoticised status. Chief Hungbo emphasised this further by mentioning dancing and singing as female naturalised domains in Badagry. He argued that the physiological makeup of women is responsible for their gender-assigned musical roles. Women "generally dance better than men because they have supple bodies. Most men can't twist the way women twist, except for specially gifted men", he said.

Mrs Wasiu (lead vocalist of Kristitin) corroborated Chief Hungbo's ideas in her explanation for the reason why Kristitin does not own drums:

> It's because we don't have men who perform with us that we do not have drums. If there were men among us, we would have had drums. So, we only play with the bells and pans (interview with Elizabeth Wasiu on June 30, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry. The interview was conducted in Yorùbá and transcribed by author).

Her remark implies that drums could only be used where there are men and the absence of men would mean the absence of drums. Judging from the above, it seems obvious that men remain dominant in the public sphere in Nigeria. Some scholars, as well as some participants in this study, have attributed this to Nigeria's colonial experience.

Male dominance: a vestige of colonialism?

Male dominance among Badagry Ogu people, some opine, is a vestige of colonial structures. Belonging to this school is Mawuyon Ogun, a music technology graduate from The Polytechnic Ibadan, who has worked for 26 years as a theatre artist. Mawuyon played one of the lead characters – the only Ogu-speaking one – in *Jemeji*, an M-NET soap opera aired across Africa and widely publicized on YouTube and other social media. *Jemeji* is said to be the first 'real' Ogu-inspired movie (in its use of actual speakers of Ogu *gbe*) produced in Nigeria. According to Mawuyon, *Jemeji* portrays Ogu people in a positive light and was set in Badagry, thereby departing from the pejorative movies, which often employ slapstick humour in their condescending use of Ogu characters (see Chapter Four). Through *Jemeji,* Mawuyon rose to international acclaim and she hopes to use her present status in the liberation of Ogu women. First, Mawuyon's remarks, quoted below, agrees with the notion of the relegation of Ogu women. She noted that with a random selection from the existing Ogu bands in Badagry one is likely to draw five male bands before finding a female band, thus implying an unequal representation of male and females in Badagry Ogu music.

> I grew up listening to my mum sing (not my dad), it's always the women and they are very expressive. An Ogu woman has a song for everything. If she wants to insult you, there is a song, if she wants to praise you, there is a song, if she wants to pass a message, there is a song. But she has been relegated to singing her songs in the bedroom or her kitchen or to her children, as against the man who can go out there and probably get to a studio, record his thoughts

> and get the world to hear it. The women have always made their songs lullabies for their children until the very recent past where the women are now gaining a voice for themselves and now taking the songs from being cradle songs and kitchen songs to the studio (interview with Mawuyon Ogu, a theatre practitioner, on June 19, 2018, Amuwo-Odofin. The interview was conducted in English it is quoted here unedited).

She opined that this unequal representation of males and females in Ogu music is a result of several layers of acculturation, which Badagry Ogu people have been subjected to since colonization. The two layers, which are most prominent, are Western and Yorùbá cultural hegemony. She further argued that the inferior status of Ogu women is traceable to the colonial era, drawing on examples of female warriors in pre-colonial Ogu kingdoms. About the naturalised domestic roles of many Ogu women, she said:

> That is where the influence of foreign cultures comes in, the influence of Western culture. In the traditional times, there were cults that were female cults that men have no business being in. With Christianity, we renounce those cults as demonic. And now, the Bible says when the man is talking the woman should keep quiet, without knowing what is natural to us. We had female warriors! The women became complacent, allowing the influence of Western culture to hit so deep into the texture of what we have culturally, agreeing to 'the Bible says I should submit to my husband, stay at home, take care of the home […] That is not to say the amazon in them is not there. Like I grew up seeing my grandmum a merchant. I didn't know my grandpa to be a merchant. My grandmum was a merchant. She would farm, she would go to the market, she would do all sorts and till today, I still see things that my grandma did with her own money, that even her husband ate [benefitted] from. Yet she could… "Grandma, how are you?" "Let your grandpa speak…" and stuff like that. So, the amazon in the Ogu woman is always there, just lying dormant, waiting for the right time to leap out. So, when I said the female species of the Ogu race has been not so articulate until the recent past, that's what I meant by saying they've been relegated. But if you give an Ogu woman the opportunity to come out and express herself, you will be shocked at what you have beneath that cool and calm demeanour (interview with Mawuyon Ogu, a theatre practitioner, on June 19, 2018, Amuwo-Odofin. The interview was conducted in English and it is quoted here unedited except where editor's bracket is used).

Following on from this, Abiodun Dosu, in another interview, mentioned *nabluku* cult as a religious practice that was exclusive to women but has now waned in the light of Christianity.

The activities of this cult were said to have served the purpose of preserving Ogu communities from fire outbreaks and other disasters.

The influence of Western education, Christianization and colonization of Africa on indigenous practices and performing arts cannot be overemphasized. Nketia (1974) dealt succinctly with influences on modern African musical practices. Oyewumi (2002) focused on the 'construction' of female gender, based on Western paradigms in colonial and postcolonial Africa. Oyewumi (2002: 4) argued that "gender distinctions are foundational to the establishment and functioning of the nuclear family system, which is a specifically European in form". Drawing ideas from Yanka (1995), Oyewumi further argued that the term 'wife' was used in pre-colonial Akan Societies to refer to men whose female partners were chiefs while the term 'husband' referred to such female chiefs. Writing about Dahomeh Kingdom, Bay (1998: 20) noted that "prominent artisans and talented leaders from newly conquered areas were integrated into Dahomey through ties" that allude to being married to the king. They were addressed as *ahosi* (wife/wives) along with the women and eunuchs of the palace. This practice of the king 'marrying' male war captives, who became *ahosi,* displays the fluidity of the terms 'husband' and 'wife' in pre-colonial Ogu societies.

Judging by the foregoing, it may be argued that the ideas of stable gender identities, as seen in modern Badagry, is a Western legacy introduced into Ogu societies mainly through Christianity, colonization and Western education. Again, this submission does not only beg the question on male exclusivity to monarchical stools in pre-colonial Dahomeh,[86] but also of polygyny practices among monarchs and chiefs. While it may be difficult to explain the practices of the pre-colonial era, Oyewumi's argument promulgates the reasoning that gender manifestations in West Africa today is linked to the colonial experience. Finally, I examine how gender manifestations differ between Ogu and Yorùbá (the regionally dominant ethnolinguistic group in South-western Nigeria) societies, to demonstrate the pervasive nuances in traditions and show that it may be essentialist to view the above argument as indexing all the practices in pre-colonial West Africa.

[86] Although Akaba, the third ruler in Dahomeh, was said to have had a twin sister, Ahangbe, who reigned conjointly with him (Law 1993), there is no evidence of female monarchs in Dahomeh Kingdom.

Gender manifestations in Ogu versus Yorùbá societies

Traditionally in Ogu communities, *tayin* (father's older or younger sister, different from *nafi* – mother's older or younger sister) wields more power in the decision over a child than *tafe* (father's older or younger brother) (see Hunsu 2011, Kunnuji 2016). A *tayin* offers special prayers at a child's naming ceremony. Also, at her nieces' and nephews' weddings, a *tayin*'s responsibilities, including special prayers and consent, are unmatched by those of a *tafe*. This practice departs markedly from the gender practices of many other Western African societies, including Yorùbá societies. Again, Western influences have eroded such practices, which empowered women in pre-colonial Ogu societies.

Notably, there are other indications of significant differences between Ogu and many of its counterpart communities in pre-colonial West Africa (see Bay 1998, Capo 1990 and Hunsu 2011 among others). For instance, in Yorùbá communities of the same era and until now (in conservative families), a wife is mandated to use the 'e' (as in egg) respect pronoun used for older persons, in addressing her husband's younger brothers and sisters, even if they are more than 10 years younger than herself. The practice of saying 'e' while addressing older persons, instead of 'o', which is used in addressing one's peers and younger ones, indicates a show of respect to elders in Yorùbá tradition. It should be noted that the 'e' for younger in-laws is only mandated for wives and not husbands; hence, this practice both infantilizes and marginalizes wives among Yorùbá people. The delineation of Ogu people along with the Southwest-Nigeria dominant Yorùbá people has facilitated more occurrences of intermarriages between Yorùbás and Ogus. To this end, many Badagry Ogu families have embraced this practice of 'e' for younger in-laws. This is one of the various layers of external influences that have marginalized Ogu females since the colonial era, which Mawuyon referred to in her statement as quoted above. The Western construct of 'wife' and the Yorùbá placation of younger in-laws by wives was alien to Ogu people until the colonial epoch. These external influences have thus informed the current social position of Badagry Ogu women.

Additionally, Mawuyon uses the term 'amazon' in reference to the fierce all-female army of pre-colonial Dahomeh Kingdom (see Ross 1985, Alpern 1998).[87] The amazons had fought the

[87] King Gezo (see Chapter One) is credited as the king who employed his female bodyguards into a more serious military, using female captives more rather than the generality of the royal wives (Forbes 1850). Gezo's constant wars overstrained Dahomeh's supply of manpower. During Gezo's time the

French and had prevailed on many occasions until their eventual defeat in 1894, during the reign of King Gbehazin Hosu Bowele (referred to in some literary texts as Behanzin, see Law 1993 and Alpern 1998). The account of the amazons highlights the social status of pre-colonial Ogu women and therefore it is further evidence in support of the argument that male dominance in present-day Badagry Ogu communities is an import from external influences. As women are unlikely to be warriors in societies where they are treated as weaklings and in need of male protection in the manner members of Kristitin are treated, one may safely posit that male dominance is unlikely a trait inherited from pre-colonial Ogu societies.

Mawuyon concluded that, currently, there is a trend towards gender consciousness among Western-educated Badagry Ogu women. This, she said, is evident in the rise of Ogu female professionals who have found their ways of circumventing social limitations, such as Princess Medeyonmi Dada, a Nollywood actress and movie producer. "Things have started changing", according to Mawuyon, from her observations in the recent past:

> I will use myself as a case study, like I said [I am the] the first daughter, in my father's house. I told myself that 'okay Mawuyon, I am not going to wait for any man before I do anything. I remember my father used to say "no man wants to marry a liability". You have to keep your A game and keep working at it. So, every time I go out there, I hear his voice in my ears that I am not going to be a liability to any man. I want to be my own woman. The woman in the house, my mum was given a free hand by my dad. I remember when I was younger, my mum had her own business, had her own thing running for her, separate from her husband, as against the culture of waiting for your husband to bring money before you spend money. So using myself as a case study, in the recent times, [an] Ogu woman now knows that 'I can do better than staying in the kitchen, giving birth to children and training them'. I can do all of that and still do more for myself than just wait for people around [to help] me. So Ogu woman, Mawuyon as a case study, is now regaining her voice, she wants to speak, she wants to express herself. She wants to let the man and those around her know that she has something to say, something to

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Amazon became firmly established and post Gezo, a few scholars recorded that they are superior to the male soldiers (Law 1993). The move towards an all-women army began as King Wagbaja (who reigned from 1640 – 85) began to empower women as his personal bodyguards. The bodyguards then evolved into warriors over time (Alpern 1998). The relationship of the Amazon to the king is that of master/subject. Amazons were referred to as men – they were said to have asserted that they were females but Gezo re-birthed them. This endorses rather than subvert the traditional stereotype associating courage with masculinity (Law 1993). They fought in support of males and also referred to the males they conquered as 'women'.

> give to society (interview with Mawuyon Ogu, a theatre practitioner, on June 19, 2018, Amuwo-Odofin. The interview was conducted in English and edits are in editor's brackets).

Are Badagry Ogu women breaking from the "repetitious acts" (Butler 1988) that reinforce gender divides? I reckon that this change may not be realised in Badagry alone without recourse to the entire country. However, Mawuyon's thought, on the influence of Christianity on the construction of female roles in Nigeria, holds water when considered against the backdrop of male exclusivity in the choirs of the early orthodox churches in Lagos. Until now, the choirs of Christ Church Cathedral, Holy Trinity Anglican Church Ebute Ero, St. Paul's Anglican Church Breadfruit and St. Jude's Cathedral Church Ebute Meta, all in Lagos, are exclusive to males. Remarkably, these choirs were modelled after the Orthodox Anglican churches in England such as St Paul's Cathedral London. This also parallels the exclusivity of males in the American music scene of the early 20th century, described by Smith (1994: 94). Changes in women's roles in contemporary Badagry, as Mawuyon discussed, could be an area for further enquiry in another study. Additionally, the gaps to be filled include the current gender dynamics in the Republic of Benin's Ogu societies.

Concluding remarks

Gender consciousness has been foregrounded in Nigeria, but it is doubtful that the pursuit of gender equity in the manner that it exists in some first world societies will be witnessed any time soon. I refer to societies where women are not just able to hold key political positions but also key religious posts such as being Bishops. Moreover, an area of caution is the possibility of the rise of female professionals, most of whom have distanced themselves from indigenous practices, causing division among Badagry Ogu women. Should the trend of educated women distancing themselves from *gangbe* and *ajogan* bands continue, the current increase in female education might imply the future disappearance of such performances. Nketia (1974:16) highlighted what could be viewed as the colonial legacy, which is manifested by the divide between educated and non-educated women and their disposition to indigenous music:

> First, the continuity of traditional music in its unadulterated form outside the adopted Western institutions was unintentionally assured by the exclusion of traditional musicians and their music from the church and educational institutions, the most direct sources of Western musical influence. Second, the

> exclusion of those who were systematically exposed to Western culture from participation in traditional music led to the emergence of new "communities of tastes", identified with varieties of Western music

Nketia's remark espouses colonial attempts of assimilating West Africans through the discouragement of indigenous practices. The same colonial system led to the emergence of various cultural formations, which I described in Chapter One. While these formations are nuanced and intersect in individuals, it should be noted that the majority of *gangbe* performers and most of the schooled women, on the other hand, seem to belong to two different "communities of tastes", having been socialized to be receptive to different kinds of music.

Similarly, should the composition and ethos of *gangbe* and *ajogan*, which are exclusionary and discriminatory towards unmarried women, continue, these genres will continue to emphasize female disunity, which may be easily exploited. Currently, these bands remain exclusive to wives, with emphasis on being married as the criterion for joining. In Badagry, as in most West African societies, it is socially unacceptable for women to propose marriage hence being single is often not the choice of many single women. However, they are barred from experiences of womanhood embodied in *gangbe* and *ajogan* due to their marital status, which may be beyond their control.

As suggested by members of the Akran *ajogan* group, reasons for the dissociation of educated wives from *ajogan* are the barefooted and bare-chested performances. Another plausible explanation for the dissociation of some wives from *ajogan* is Christianity, with its abhorrence of the 'profanities' involved in the indigenous genre.

Badagry being influenced by the broader Nigerian context, a discourse in gender in Badagry Ogu music has hitherto been confined to the traditional binary view grounded on the male-female dualism. This is due to the reality of today's Nigeria, where homosexuality, bisexuality and gay relationships are outlawed. However, gender is a changing construct with the continuous creation of its associated expectations (Magrini 2003:5, 18), thus more voices will be captured in the future. For now, the dualism of male-female remains the accepted norm in Nigeria.

In a nutshell, Badagry Ogu women, as a muted group under an oppressive social system, do not have a unified ground to fight male hegemony due to their heterogeneity and stratification along the lines of marital and educational statuses. The female disunity among Badagry Ogu musical cohorts, as explained thus far, alludes to the internal division of Badagry that led to its marginalization, frequent siege and exploitation by the pre-colonial West African Kingdoms (see Law 1994). Oyo Empire, Lagos Dynasty and the Dahomeh Kingdom administered Badagry at different times, being an important Euro-African trade port. In conclusion, Badagry Ogu female population may be likened to pre-colonial Badagry, lacking internal cohesion and hence susceptible to marginalization by the men. However, Badagry Ogu female marginalization, more observable in underserved communities with restricted access to Western education like Igbogbe, reflects the reality of the country.

Chapter Seven
Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

My interest in documenting and recontextualising indigenous Ogu musical practices began at my bachelor's degree final recital. As a final-year student at the South African College of Music (SACM), University of Cape Town, I had the option of either being examined privately for my practical studies or presenting a recital (open to the public). I opted for the latter. Events leading up to my recital included the selection of pieces (from a prescribed syllabus) with the guidance of the SACM's brass convenor, Mr William Haubrich (the trombonist profiled in Chapter Five). After selecting from the classical and jazz lists, there remained about 5 minutes of music for my programme to attain the approved duration for such recitals. Knowing, from our previous discussions, that I had roots in Nigeria and that my ethnic group was peripheral in Lagos, Mr Haubrich suggested that I arrange one of my indigenous songs to fill the remaining 5 minutes of the programme, which I did.

On the appointed day in November 2013, my anxiety was palpable as I thought through the technicalities of Alexander Arutiunian's *Trumpet Concerto*, John Coltrane's *Moment's Notice* and Freddie Hubbard's *Dear John*, all included on the recital programme. I carefully worked through these pieces, executing each classical passage to the best of my ability and reeling out several of the jazz licks I had memorised in the past few years. For me, the concert was as good as done after I played my final jazz piece. Then it was time to close the performance with *dagbe dagbe*, a Christian Ogu song (in fact, my father's favourite), which I had arranged for a jazz quintet – two horns and rhythm section. As we presented *dagbe dagbe*, the audience could barely wait for its culmination before unanimously standing, shouting and applauding this song that was the least of my worries on the recital programme. For me, it was not in the same league as any of the other tunes but for some in the audience, it was one of the best compositions they had heard.

The excitement over *dagbe dagbe* would not end with the culmination of my bachelor's recital. Shortly following, there were invitations to perform *dagbe dagbe* (and other similar Ogu songs) for two concerts outside the SACM's premises. My recital band would quickly metamorphose into the Jo Kunnuji Experiment, with the modality of my recontextualised Ogu

songs as the band's sonic identity. More importantly, for me, I had found an area of study for my master's research – Ogu music. In retrospect, it seems ironic that I had not paid attention to my indigenous music until my stay in Cape Town proved it to be an easy identity marker, hence my unique selling point. Whereas I was once indifferent to Ogu music, I have now become its advocate.

In a series of my documentation of Ogu musical practices, this counts as the second study (my master's research being the first), each revealing a different aspect of Ogu music. This thesis contributes to a general understanding of the nuances of indigenous music in Africa and, more specifically, the region of West Africa. Also, this study examined the place of indigenous art forms in Lagos and by extension, contemporary African cities. Prior to my exploration of these themes, I identified the socio-political and socioeconomic issues in Badagry, a border town.

To identify the constellation of habits among indigenous Ogu performers, I used ethnographic methods of observation, participation and interviews in studying a few bands, individual performers, cultural and musical connoisseurs at different sites within Badagry Lagos, Cape Town and Johannesburg. Furthermore, I argued for and demonstrated a best practice method to recontextualise Ogu music, and by extension, indigenous performance practices in Africa. This method of recontextualisation is carried on with the cognisance of the spiritual and socio-cultural underpinnings of indigenous performances. Having considered this, I employed a few widespread aesthetic preferences, such as jazz harmony, relatively short song durations and popular musical instruments, in the presentation of Ogu music. I also advocated for the digital distribution of these recontextualised indigenous musics to make them more accessible to various audiences across international boundaries.

Hence, this study combines indigenous and non-indigenous musical instruments in unusual ways. For instance, native Ogu instruments make up the core of the rhythm section, while acoustic and bass guitars are complementary. Centralising indigenous African instruments contrasts the practices of using them in supportive roles in jazz and some modern African bands (see Guy Warren's – later Ghanaba, thoughts on this in Kelly 2012). This use of African drums displays one of the many possibilities aided by cosmopolitan interchanges (see Turino 2008). Additionally, musical recontextualisation, which is pertinent to this study, demonstrates that indigenous art forms do not necessarily buckle in the light of social change,

instead, they may be adapted, repositioned and adjusted "to revitalise creative energies" as Kwesi Yankah suggests in his forward to Nketia's (2016) monograph.

This study engaged with the widespread concern, among indigenous Ogu musicians in Badagry, on how to improve the quality of their lives and be further integrated into the international modernist-capitalist systems, by making their music more accessible. I advocated for the creation of opportunities for these musicians through collaborations with privileged musicologists and musicians who have access to digital platforms and cosmopolitan performance sites. On the other hand, this study created an opportunity for a few musicians in such cosmopolitan sites (Johannesburg and Cape Town) to experience and participate in indigenous Ogu music. Also, the involvement of all participants in making creative choices throughout this study empowered all the actors, thereby challenging the typical power dynamics in studio recordings.

In Chapter One, I identified three social formations among Badagry Ogu people. Each of these formations features similar habits of thought. While I analysed the first two categories, using Thomas Turino's (2003) model, as immigrant formations, nested formations or diasporas (though they may be resident within the country of their source), the third category is involved in a trans-state formation with Ogu people in the Republic of Benin. This study focused on the musical practices of Ogu bands, belonging to the third category.

In Chapter Two, I established that Ogu drums are beyond mere material objects, but they are deeply spiritual and laden with symbolism. However, there are secular genres and drums such as *akoto*, which is a novice genre that is first taught to children and outsiders. I also overviewed other secular genres, including *sihun* (water-drum), *akonhun* (chest-drum), and *jegbe* (storytelling genre), which expand the concept of a drum. Furthermore, Chapter Two demonstrated that, traditionally, Ogu rituals, socialisation and indigenous educational systems (storytelling within the family institution and *hunpameh* – an indigenous monastery) embedded musical practices. The chapter also explored Ogu drum-making processes and countered the dispositional explanation of the acquisition of drumming skills. I examined the contemporary use of indigenous instruments, particularly in Christian worship. I submitted that due to the spiritual underpinning of many indigenous instruments, their recontextualisation is not as simple and superficial as physically taking them to new

performance contexts. Certain rituals are necessary before such recontextualisations. Because of this, Christian worship, for instance, is less likely to feature such sacred Ogu drums.

In Chapter Three, I focussed on the pedagogical methods of indigenous Ogu people, employed in the extended family structure and *hunpameh*, while comparing them with contemporary attempts at teaching indigenous knowledge and skills. The chapter revealed that contemporary attempts integrate some of the indigenous methods and techniques of intergenerational transfer of knowledge. The traditional use of non-lexical syllables and metaphors (relatable in the context of study) in describing and teaching music, remain time-honoured ways, adopted in the modern institutions – the Centre for Arts and Crafts in Badagry.

Chapter Four explores current performance practices of indigenous Ogu bands, which exist within party contexts, familiar in Southwest Nigeria. The chapter laid the foundation for the recontextualisation of Gogoke's music by highlighting the sections of the band's live performances. In Chapter Five, I first discussed that recontextualisation should consider all spiritual and sociocultural underpinnings of performances. Hence, an understanding of these will inform appropriate creative decisions in recontextualising indigenous musics. Again, I argued for a best practice method, which centralises indigenous art forms. The chapter revealed musical backgrounds inform the conceptualisation, understanding and interpretation of musical ideas. In other words, different orientations and backgrounds complicate communication, even with a shared language.

Notably, Western education has aided cosmopolitans in their explorations of indigenous musics across Africa. Ephraim Amu, who championed the use of indigenous materials in the composition of art music in Ghana, noted the importance of mission-based education in his musical expeditions (Nketia 2016: 23). I alluded to this and other similar arguments in explicating the importance of an eclectic musicality, informed by a plethora of influences, as helpful for such recontextualisation as I demonstrated in this thesis.

One other significant contribution to the modernist-reformism discourse in Chapter Five, is my inclusion of musicians belonging to various sites and musical worlds. Again, this method of recontextualisation points to the importance of a facilitator who does not only have access

but is able to understand the musical terminologies used by the actors in these different sites and the sociocultural underpinnings of the two musical worlds.

Chapter Six explored gender in Ogu music. I engage Oyewumi's argument that female marginalisation is a vestige of the colonial era. I found that women remain marginalised in indigenous music performance spaces in Badagry. Furthermore, there is disunity among Badagry Ogu women along the lines of educational and marital statuses. The chapter submitted that as women continue to emphasise their differences, they are likely to remain susceptible to male dominance in contemporary Badagry. Taking on a broader perspective, a similar lack of internal cohesion, which emphasised diversity and regional interests, is mainly responsible for Badagry's subaltern status: the internal crisis and power tussle among the traditional rulers in Badagry evidence this. In the sections that follow this summary, I encapsulate the knowledge contributions of this thesis in the next few paragraphs, highlight the limitations and I end this chapter with a few recommendations for further study.

Badagry Ogu practices and musical instruments are often harnessed for the productions of the National Troupe of Nigeria as well as for cultural showcases at the art councils of numerous states and academic music departments all over Nigeria. Furthermore, Badagry was a significant West African slave port, and it later became the entry point for Christian missionaries into the territories now known as Nigeria. Hence, Badagry, with its several heritage sites, including the Vlekete slave market, the first storey building in Nigeria with European architecture, the Point of no Return and Agia tree (where Christianity was first preached in Nigeria), continues to attract tourists. Although Ogu musical practices are central in cultural exhibitions and Badagry is historically important in Nigeria, the place and its people remain largely under-researched. Notably, this thesis is the first academic work of this magnitude that documents Badagry Ogu musical practices; thus, it contributes to filling the gap of academic works on Badagry and its Ogu musical practices.

This thesis is an in-depth description and analysis of Badagry Ogu music, musical instruments, performing groups, and gender issues spanning pre-colonial and contemporary practices. Given this, the thesis fills the gap in the study of nuanced practices, particularly of ethnic minorities in Nigeria and Africa. Besides, the thesis contributes to Applied Ethnomusicology methods and frameworks for the reimagining and recontextualisation of indigenous African musics, through its experimentation with the music of Gogoke, which

ultimately developed a model. Using Gogoke's music, the thesis offers a practical approach to recontextualising indigenous African musics as a strategy to preserve them and sustain their relevance in contemporary contexts. The recontextualisation of Gogoke's music to fit into the multinational music market contributes significantly to African music scholarship. As this is the first study which employs the suggested model, numerous next steps could extend this study, and I highlight a few in the next section.

Limitations of the study

Out of the many challenges I encountered in the process of collecting data for this study, two strike me as worthy of mention. The first is the need for a Badagry Ogu orthography. Ogu is a tonal language, hence the meaning of a word may change with a change in the tonal inflexions of its syllables. There are three main tonal inflexions – low, middle and high. When the low and high inflexions are applied to the syllables of *ohun*, it means drum, whereas when the middle and low inflexions are applied to the same word, it means blood or cult, depending on the context. There are many such words, with identical spellings but different meanings, in this thesis that a Badagry Ogu orthography would have helped communicate more accurately. Regrettably, the French influence on the Republic of Benin Ogu orthography (as discussed in footnote 8, Chapter One) complicates its adoption in Nigeria. I refrained from adopting Ewe orthography (from Ghana), which appears suitable for Badagry Ogu, as I lack the expertise to take such a step.

Secondly, the need to document every rehearsal and performance, during my fieldwork, restricted my participation in the indigenous bands. Handling cameras and voice recorders, monitoring the recordings and taking pictures of notable sights, all denied me the experience of being a fully participant member of the bands, reserving most of my participation to observation. Besides, my recording devices, being unusual in this context, positioned me an outsider to the bands, thereby limiting my access to band information and perspectives. As I move towards the closure of this thesis, I turn to discuss a pattern I observed in the documentation of African musical practices. I hope this observation will both challenge and stir up indigenous researchers to document indigenous practices and lend insights to which outsiders might not be privy.

Have we moved beyond *dondology*?

Around 1969, the University of Ghana established its Institute of African Studies, which foregrounded the use of various indigenous instruments, including the *dondo* talking drum, on the university campus. The then serene atmosphere of the university became interrupted with the sounds of indigenous performances. This move towards including indigenous performances in an academic space infuriated many of the students from other departments, some of whom, condescending towards indigenous practices, protested what they referred to as "*dondology*" (Nketia 2016: 3). While Nketia opined that the misgivings about indigenous performances are fast disappearing, the near absence of indigenous researchers among those who have written the history of Badagry Ogu people bothers me.

It is indeed paradoxical that the writings of Robin Law, David Ross and Stanley Alpern are the major references on the history of Badagry, thus many of the cultural connoisseurs in Badagry have had to depend on these accounts. Notably, these authors are not Africans. While there are numerous researchers among Badagry Ogu people, the status quo begs the question whether we have indeed moved on from the subtle condescension towards indigenous practices and the view that indigenous practices may not be worthy of serious academic study. Remarkably, this outlook may reflect the priorities of the Nigerian state. A colleague, in the field of history, once mentioned that his reasons for not researching the history of Badagry are funding related; such research does not align with the priorities of the Nigerian government and corporate bodies in Nigeria. The dearth of writing on indigenous practices by indigenous authors therefore indicts the governments and corporate bodies as much as it indicts indigenous researchers. That said, I identify next a few areas that may be explored in furtherance of this study.

Recommendations

The study of indigenous Ogu musical practices in Badagry is far from being conclusive. There are myriads of possibilities in furthering this study and the discussions it portends. This thesis foregrounded a discussion on an understanding of the socio-cultural and spiritual underpinnings as a necessity for gaining insight into Ogu musical practice and its exploration. A study may be conducted on the reasoning behind the restriction of musical rehearsals to certain hours of the day whereas religious activities, requiring loud music, are excused at any time of the day or night. Could this be retention from the past, where music did not exist by itself but as functional in religious and other social institutions?

Also, the cognitive and pragmatic domains of indigenous Ogu musical practices remain unexplored. The underlying reasoning and the execution of such reasoning, in the presentation of musical ideas, are necessary for constructing the theory of indigenous music, which will be useful in teaching musical skills, both to the younger generation of Ogu people and to interested outsiders. Furthermore, indigenous musical instrument construction, playing techniques, and best-practice notation methods are also areas for further study.

Based on the discussion in Chapter Two on the diversity of musical practices and the enormity of indigenous drums, studies on other musical practices are likely to further demonstrate nuances within Ogu groups. Similarly, more indigenous bands (with different compositional styles and specialised in various genres) yearn for collaborations (and studies such as this one), which will benefit both the performers and increase the understanding of students on indigenous art forms. Moreover, collaborations with female bands are necessary. As discussed in Chapter Five, these female bands currently experience a few layers of marginalization – both intra – and inter-ethnic ones. Gender issues in Badagry continue to require attention. The investigation of the infantilization of women among Ogu people, for instance, is potentially a cutting edge contribution to the gender discourse.

Ogu drums and musical practices intersect with those of other *gbe* ethnolinguistic groups in West Africa. Further studies are needed to identify these intersections, similarities and differences between the practices of these related ethnolinguistic groups, thereby contributing to a more accurate musical description of West Africa. Besides, regarding the recontextualisation of indigenous music, arranging indigenous tunes for integrated big bands (based on the makeup of jazz big bands but with indigenous drums at the core) appears capable of yeilding other musical syntheses, which could foster inclusivity in contemporary African cities and cosmopolitan sites around the world.

It must not go unmentioned that the above-highlighted areas for further study require some urgency. Apart from a few bands that are made up of youths, like Gogoke, the population of indigenous performers in Badagry is ageing. Furthermore, with the life expectancy in Nigeria being as low as 54.5 years (source: World Health Organisation, 2018), the documentation of contemporary performance practices becomes even more pressing. Considering the requests from various indigenous bands soliciting my collaboration, it struck me that these performers

place a premium value on owning an album. Hence, amid their daily struggles, the members of Gogoke take solace in their musical performances, while they are optimistic, as much as I am, about the potential of their album - *Avale*, as they await its release. For them, the album is the most important outcome of this study as it is potentially able to connect them with audiences in multiple sites across international boundaries.

Glossary of Ogu Terms

Ahelehun. Sacred drum used in *vothun* rituals.

Ahosi. Royal wife.

Akoto. Secular instrumental genre used in accompanying choreographed dance with the same name.

Ajogan. A sacred female royal court genre of indigenous Ogu music.

Akohun. A secular drum.

Akonhun. Human-chest drum.

Alekle, kle, pli. Small drums played in gendered pairs.

Apalun. Bamboo clappers

Apesi. Medium-size auxiliary drum.

Arunrun. The lead instrument in *ajogan* – a totem made of a metal rod.

Asha. Vocalised rhythms.

Aya, ***saya.*** Shakers.

Edeno. Vothun priest.

Gbe. Language, as well as a term depecting a West African cluster with related languages.

Hongbomeh. Family compound.

Hungan. Longest Ogu drum, as well as its associated sacred instrumental genre, which features in the funeral rites of aged people.

Hungbe. Esoteric language exclusive to *vothun* clerics.

Hunpameh. Indigenous religious school – a *vothun* monastery.

Kaka. Up-tempo secular genre.

Nabluku. A female cult.

Ofa. Vothun oracle of divination.

Ogan. A bell.

Ohun. Drum, as well as secret.

Pawhle. Secular lead drum.

Sato. A sacred tall drum as well as the dance and genre associated with the drum.

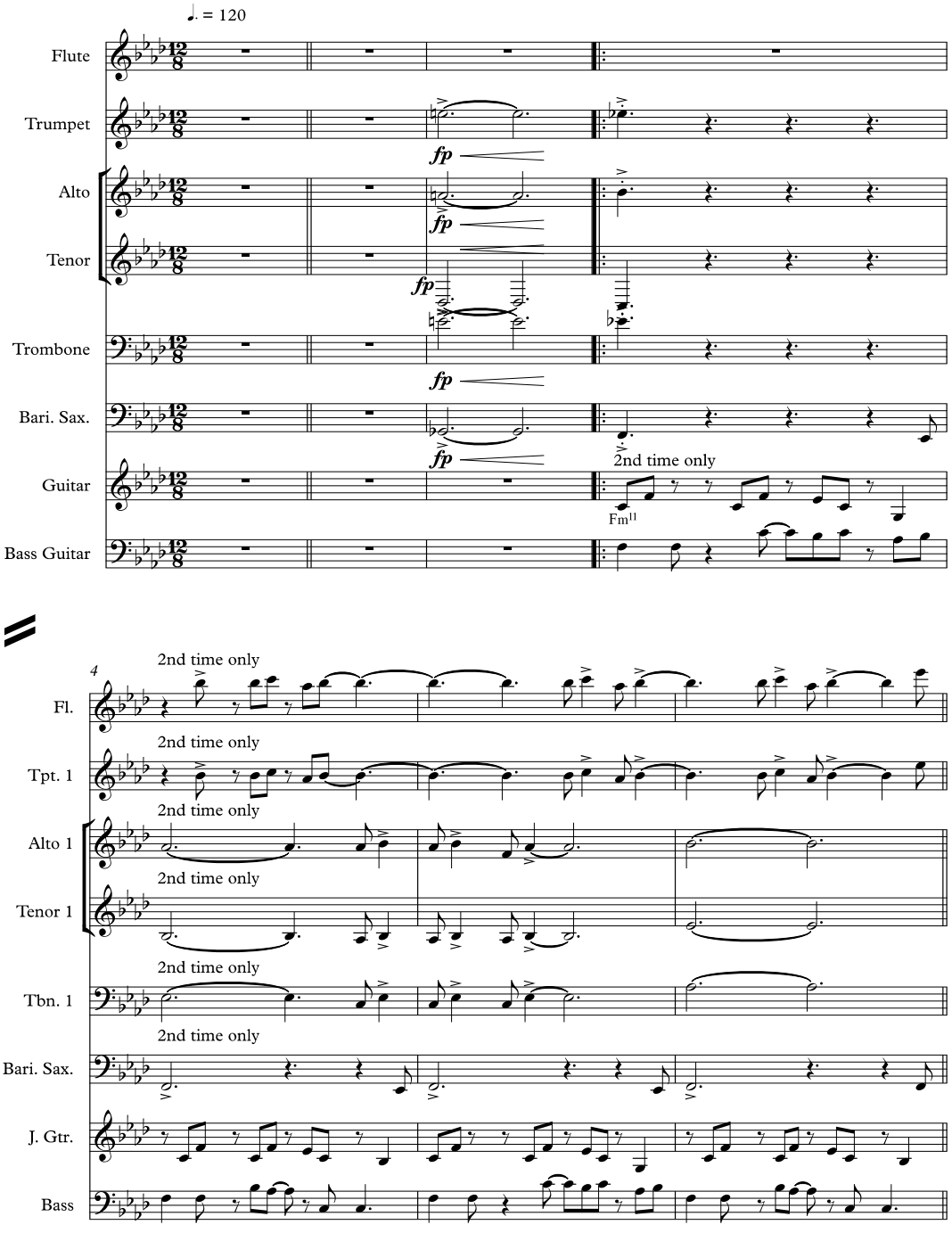
Sinhun. Water drum and its associated genre

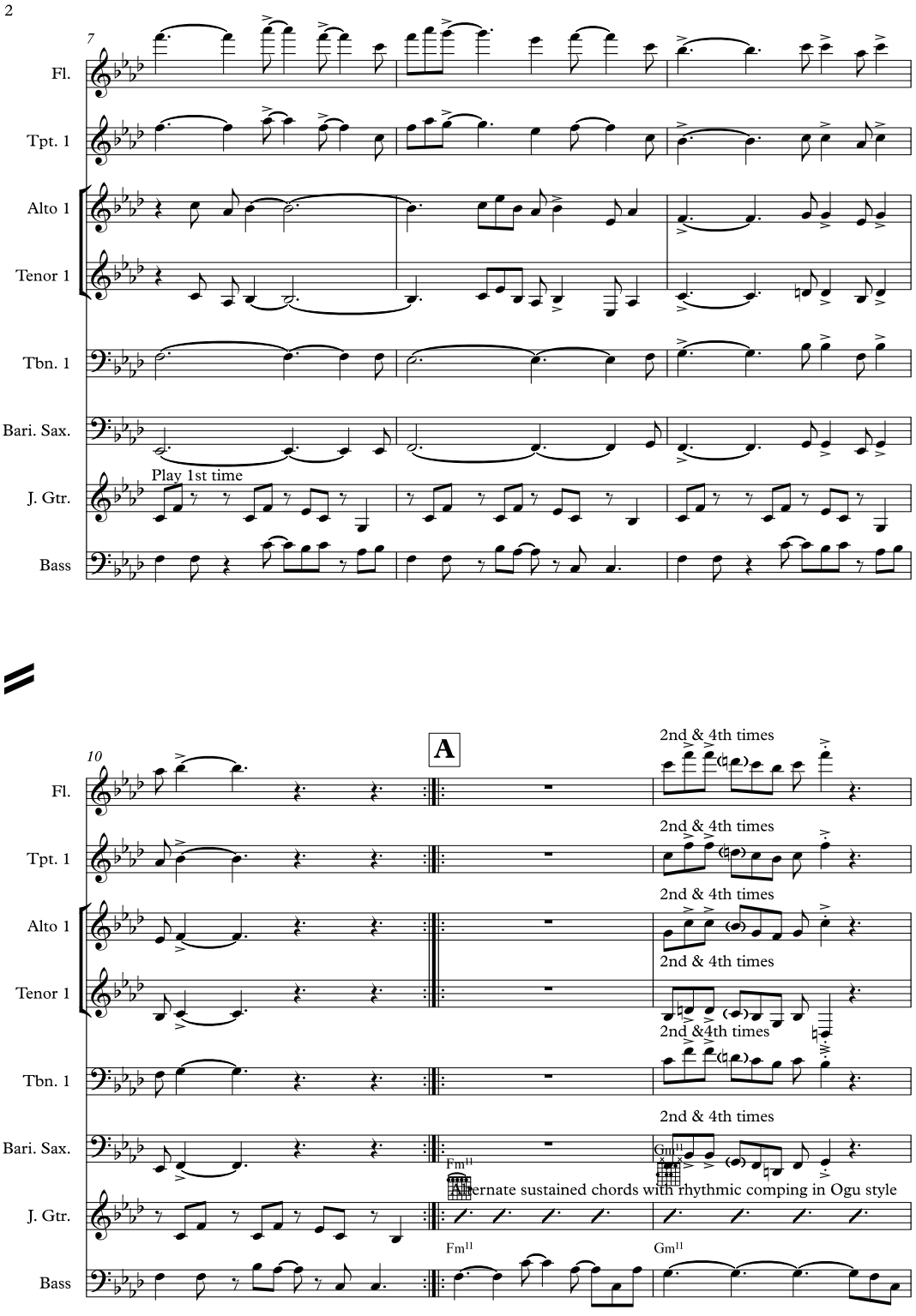
Vothun. Indigenous Ogu religion, which is the source of the African diaspora religious practices with similar names – *vodou* in Haiti, *vodu* in Cuba, *vodum* in Brazil and *voodoo* in the USA.

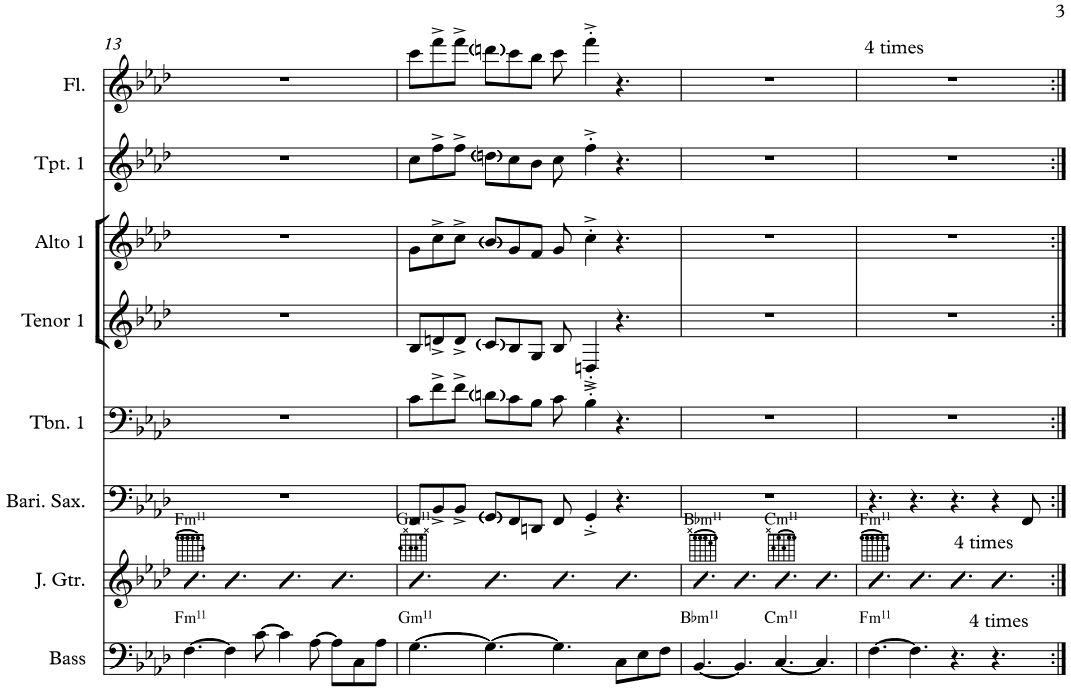
Appendix

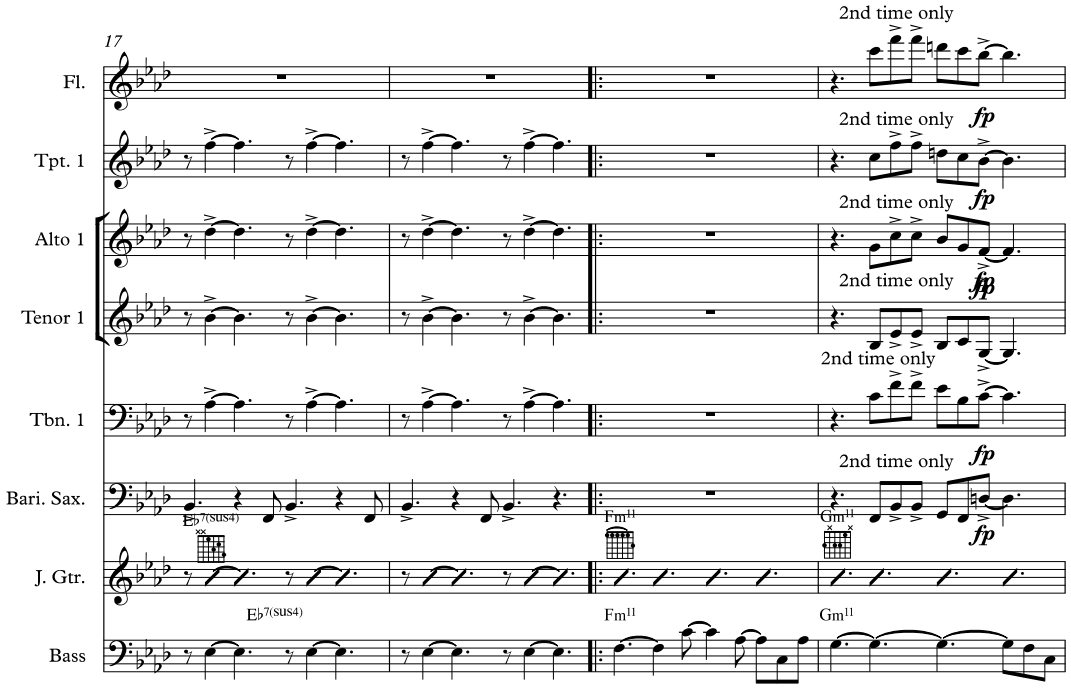
Ano whlen

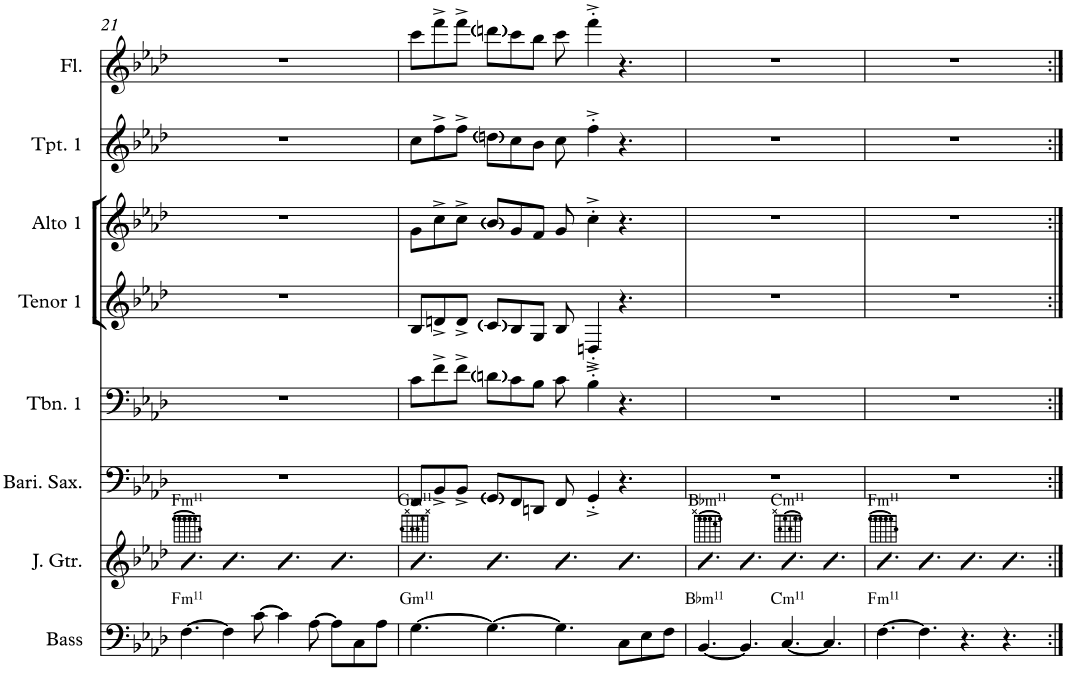
Gogoke: Arranged by Jo Kunnuji

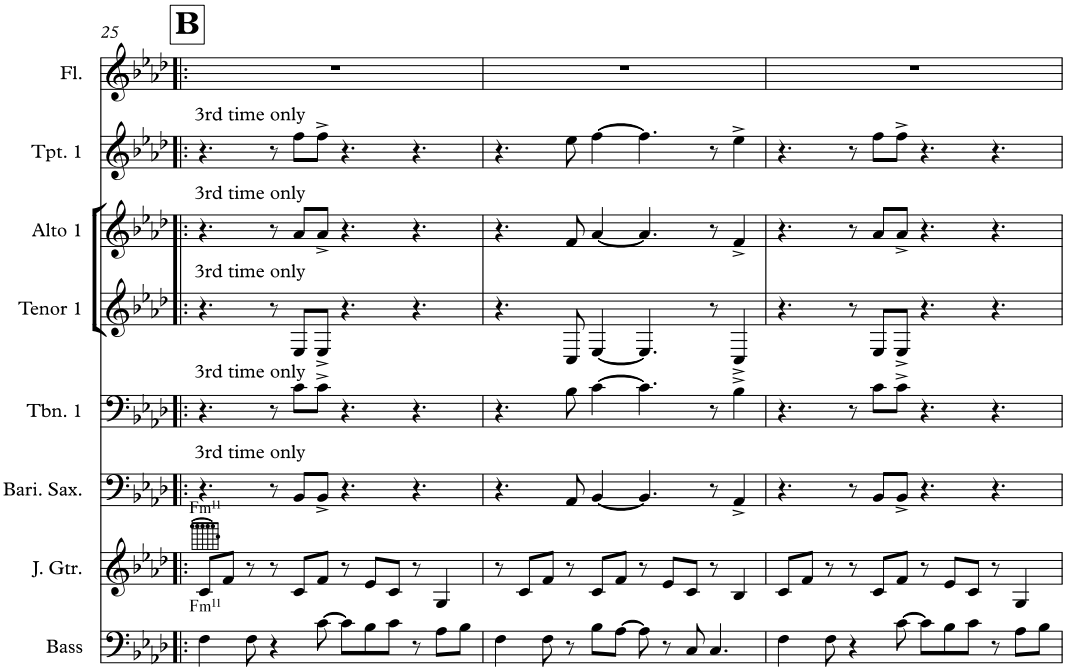


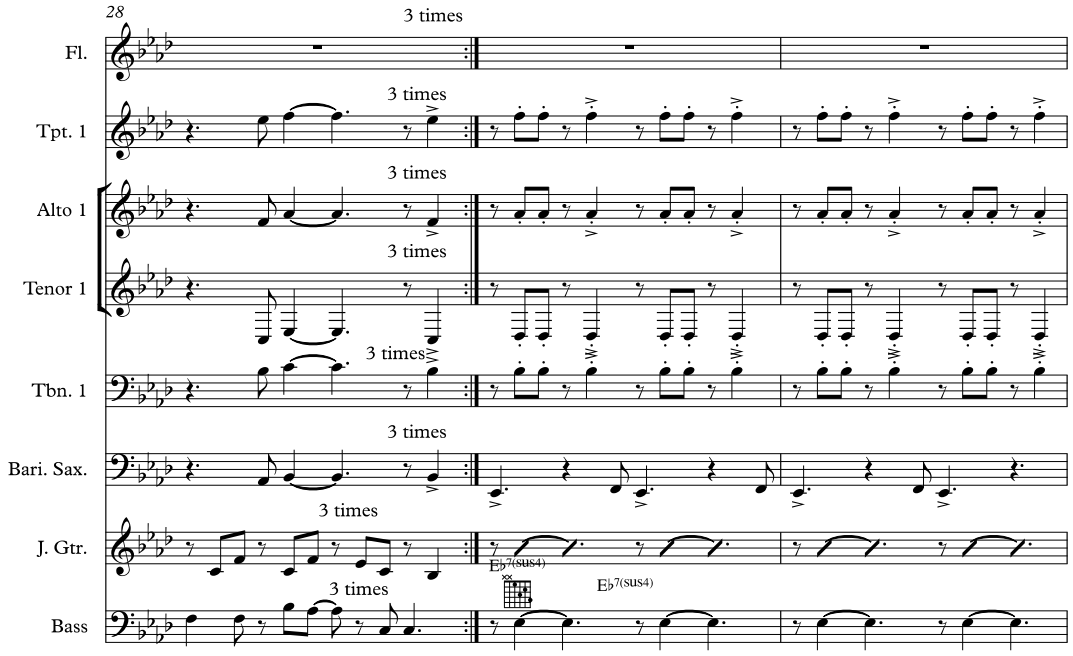

7
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
Play 1st time
J. Gtr.
Bass
10
A
2nd & 4th times
2nd & 4th times
2nd & 4th times
2nd & 4th times
2nd & 4th times
2nd & 4th times
Fm11
Gm11
Alternate sustained chords with rhythmic comping in Ogu style
Fm11
Gm11

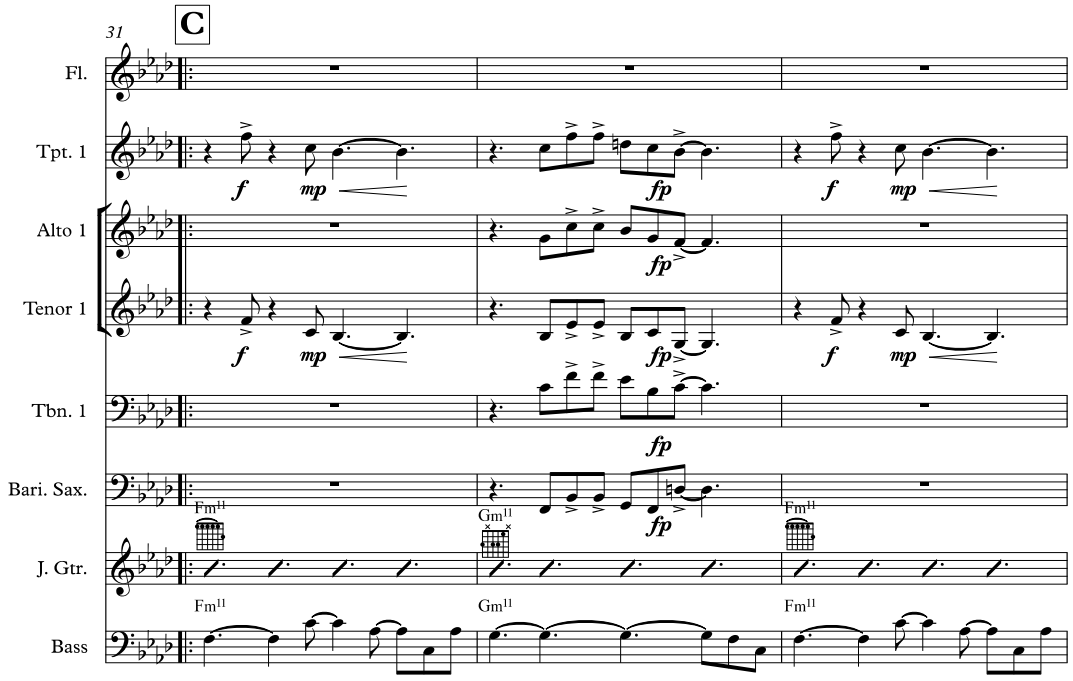

13
4 times
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
Fm11
Gm11
B♭m11
Cm11
Fm11
4 times
4 times
4 times

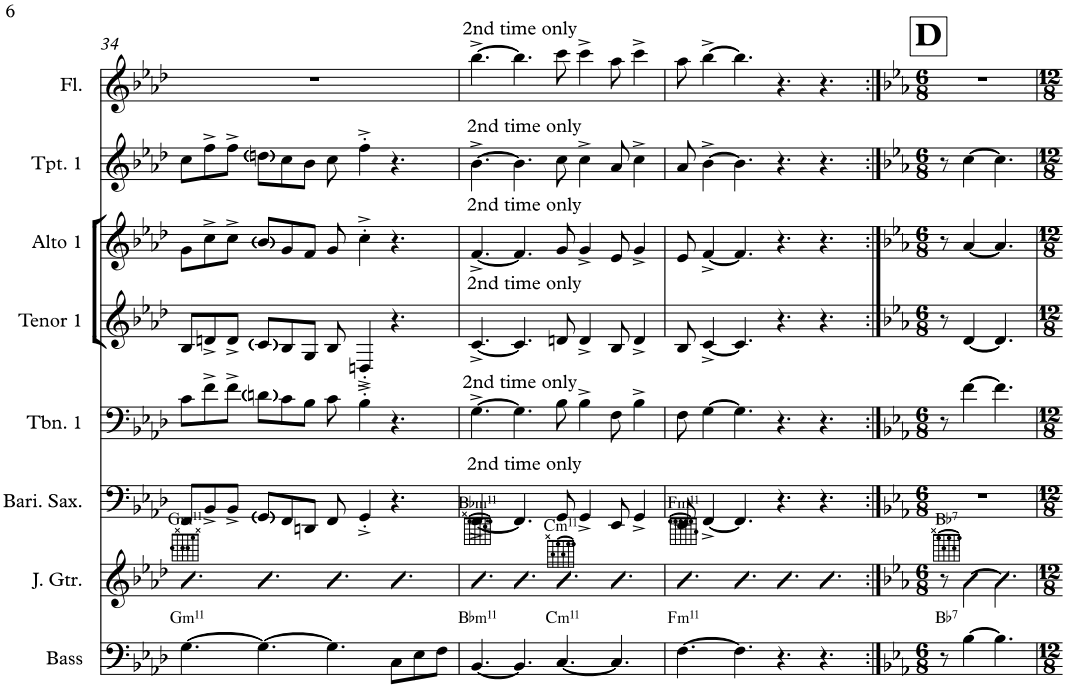

17
2nd time only
2nd time only fp
2nd time only fp
2nd time only fp
2nd time only
2nd time only fp
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
E♭7(sus4)
Fm11
Gm11
E♭7(sus4)
Fm11
Gm11

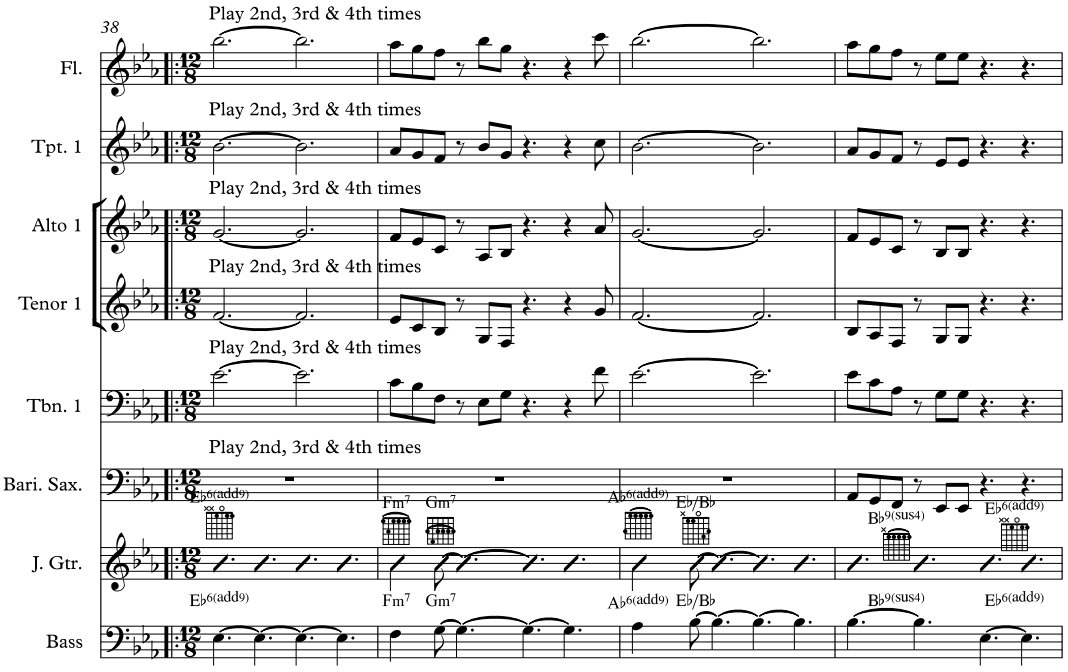

21
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
Fm11
Gm11
B♭m11
Cm11
Fm11

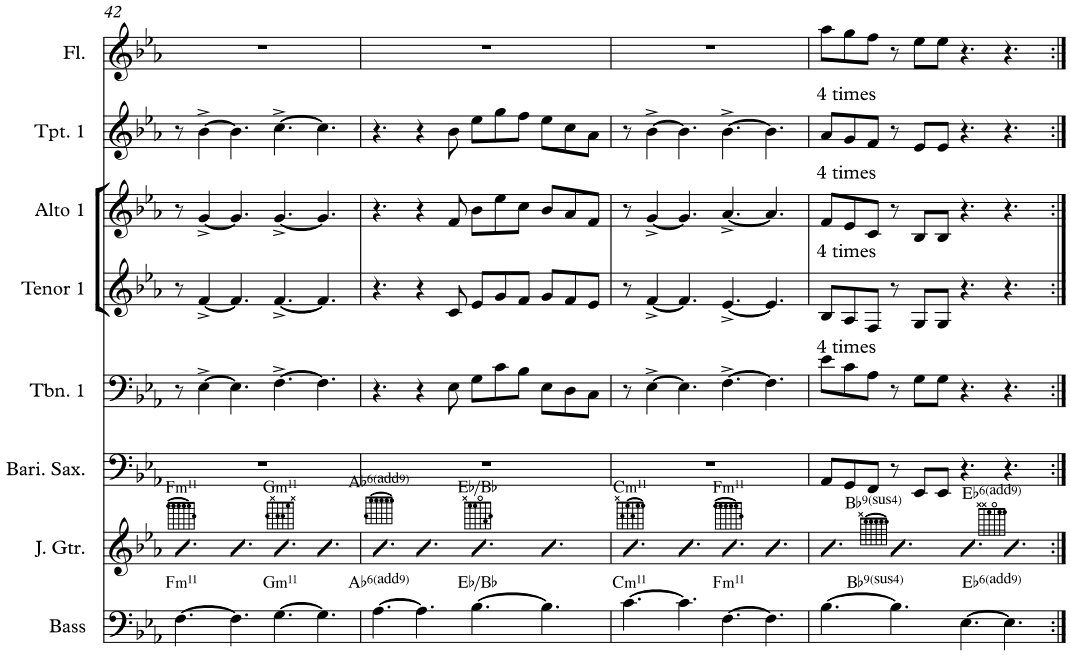

25
B
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
3rd time only
Fm11

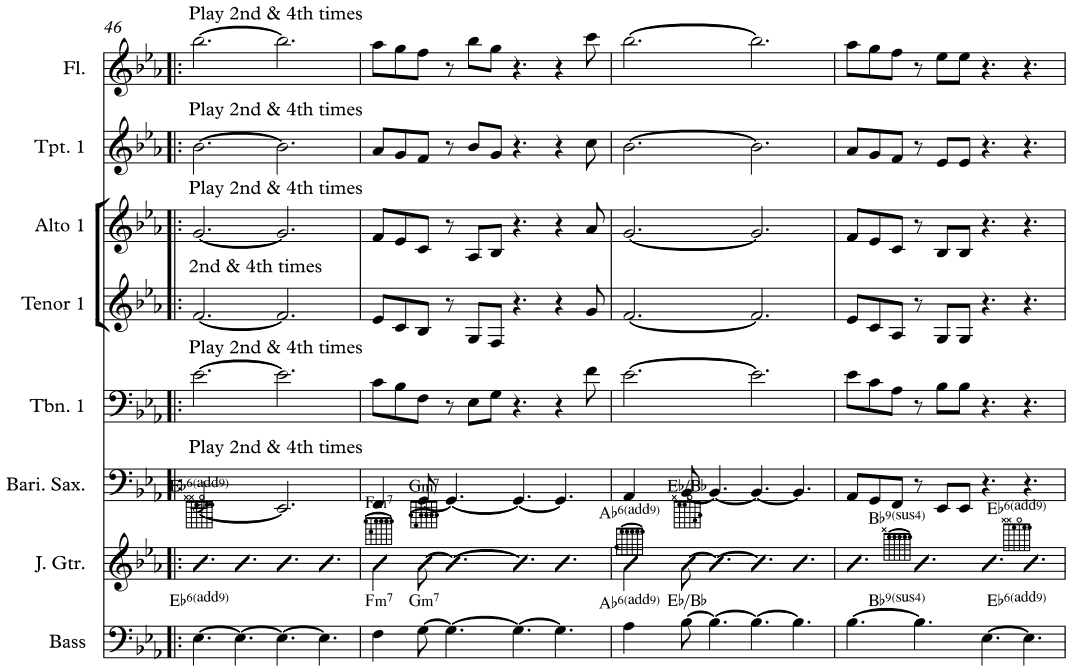

28
3 times
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
Eb7(sus4)


31
C
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
Fm11
Gm11

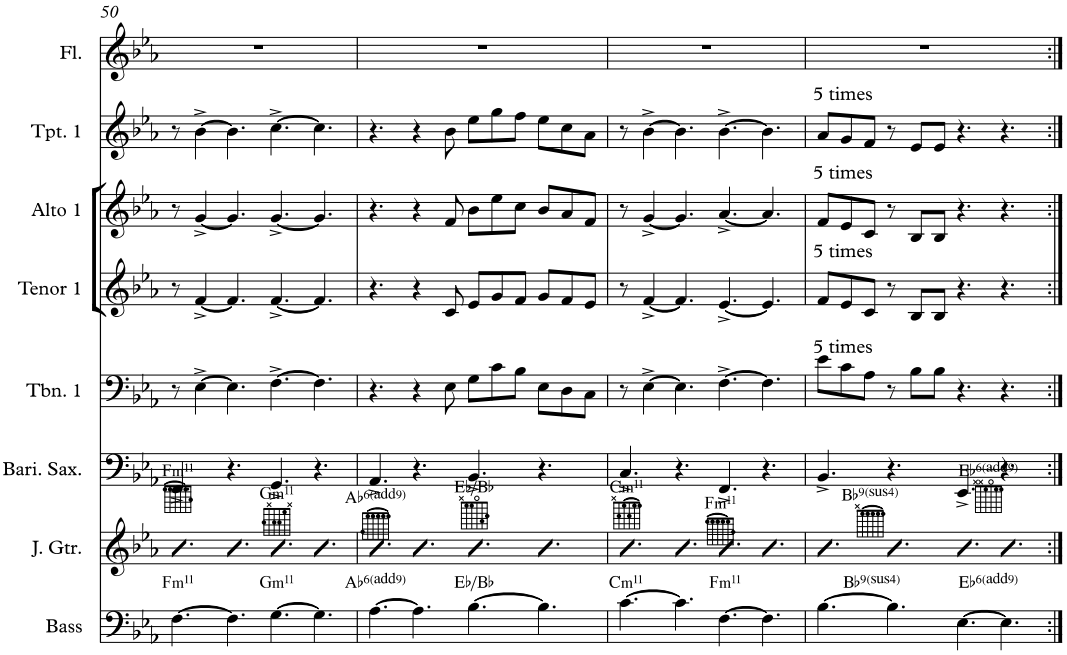

34
2nd time only
D
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
Gm11
Bbm11
Cm11
Fm11
Bb7

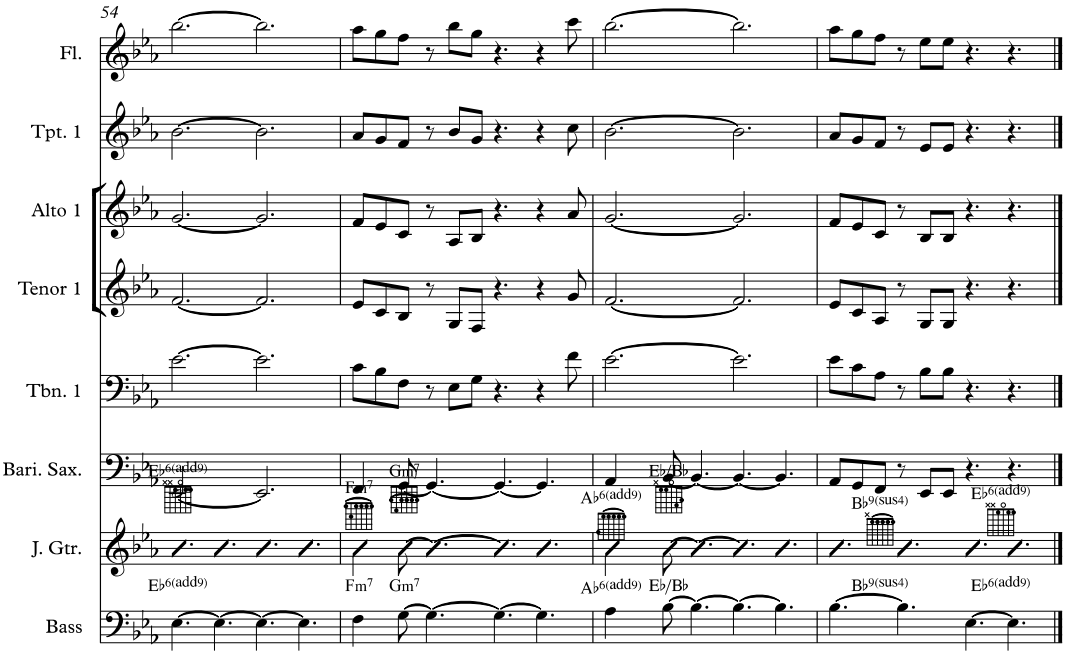

38
Play 2nd, 3rd & 4th times
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
Eb6(add9)
Fm7
Gm7
Ab6(add9)
Eb/Bb
Bb9(sus4)


42
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
4 times
4 times
4 times
4 times
Fm11
Gm11
A♭6(add9)
E♭/B♭
Cm11
Fm11
B♭9(sus4)
E♭6(add9)


46
Play 2nd & 4th times
Play 2nd & 4th times
Play 2nd & 4th times
2nd & 4th times
Play 2nd & 4th times
Play 2nd & 4th times
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
E♭6(add9)
Fm7
Gm7
A♭6(add9)
E♭/B♭
B♭9(sus4)
E♭6(add9)

8


50
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
5 times
5 times
5 times
5 times
Fm11
Gm11
A♭6(add9)
E♭/B♭
Cm11
Fm11
B♭9(sus4)
E♭6(add9)


54
Fl.
Tpt. 1
Alto 1
Tenor 1
Tbn. 1
Bari. Sax.
J. Gtr.
Bass
E♭6(add9)
Fm7
Gm7
A♭6(add9)
E♭/B♭
B♭9(sus4)
E♭6(add9)

Audio Samples

Audio Sample 1 – Avale: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Re3tJQ8qXeU

Audio Sample 2 – Ano whlen: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMnB2UDmzzo

Audio Sample 3 – Mehe wanu: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fFG9bo2dU68

Audio Sample 4 – Home gble: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mWddskChnho

Audio Sample 5 – Awa dagbe: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xvNAVK1OcLs

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Personal Interviews

1. Adokun, Mautin. November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry.
2. Agemo, Olabode. July 11, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry.
3. Afodewu, Nunayon. November 15, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
4. Ajulo, Sunday. November 14, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
5. Akintoye, Semako. November 16, 2017, Ajido Badagry.
6. Anonymous Senior Lecturer. November 25, 2017, Ikorodu Lagos.
7. Akinyanmi, Maugbe. November 19, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
8. Awhanse, Viyon. June 24, 2018, Ikeja Lagos.
9. Ayeni, Akin. June 26, 2018, Ibereko Badagry.
10. Dosu, Abiodun. November 21, 2017, Jegba Badagry.
11. Fasinu, Miyise. November 2017, Aradagun Badagry.
12. Godonu Johnson. November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry.
13. Godonu Suru. November 15, 2017, Igbogbele Badagry.
14. Haubrich, William. December 3, 2018, Cape Town.
15. Hundeyin, Bamidele. June 27, 2018, Ajara Badagry.
16. Hundeyin, Seyido. November 14, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
17. Hunga, Hunpe. November 9, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
18. Hungbo, Bode. July 7, 2018, Boekoh Badagry.
19. Hungbo, Yevoh. July 10, 2018, Ajara Badagry.
20. Hunton, Michael. November 12, 2017, Farasinme Badagry.
21. Ikudoro, Adisa. November 22, 2017, Boekoh Badagry.
22. Jawu, Kushokeho. November 12, 2017, Farasinme Badagry.
23. Mbuyamba, Dady. October 4, 2018, Cape Town.
24. Mesewaku, Babatunde. November 14, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
25. Meyer, Alan. October 8, 2018, Cape Town.
26. Mobee of Boekoh, High Chief. July 7, 2018, Boekoh Badagry.
27. Odutola, J.O. November 22, 2017, Boekoh Badagry.
28. Ogun, Mawuyon. June 19, 2018, Amuwo-Odofin.
29. Oke, Opeyemi. July 2, 2018, Ajara Badagry.
30. Olaide-Mesewaku, Peter. November 8, 2017, Boekoh Badagry; June 27, 2018, Ajara Badagry.
31. Olanrewaju, Bolanle. November 22, 2017, Boekoh Badagry.
32. Satowaku, Abioro. November 14, 2017, Adjarra Porto Novo.

33. Semeton, Saturday. July 11, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry.
34. Smith, Adeyemi. November 14, 2017, Ajara Badagry.
35. Tanimowo, Fideyon. November 18, 2017, Aradagun Badagry.
36. Tonukunme, Jeremiah. November 15, 2017, Igbogbele Badagry.
37. Towheyon, Ekundayo. July 11, 2018, Jegba Badagry.
38. Wawu of Ahovikoh, High Chief. July 7, 2018, Ahovikoh Badagry.
39. Yetonyon, Joel. November 10, 2017, Boekoh Badagry.
40. Zinsou, Wilfred. June 30, 2018, Ajara Badagry.

Group Discussion Sessions

1. Akran Ajogan group. June 30, 2018, Kweme Badagry.
2. Gigoyoyo band. July 11, 2018, Jegba Badagry.
3. Gogoke band. November 8 and 10, 2017; December 22, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry.
4. Hungbo family. July 6, 2018, Gberefu Badagry.
5. Kristitin gangbe band. June 27, 2018, Igbogbele Badagry.