

RESUSCITATING MASQUERADE FESTIVAL FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ENUGU AND ANAMBRA STATES

INTRODUCTION

Festivals are universal to all human societies. They are the means through which man seeks to commune and/or identify with the unknown. They were celebrated seasonally in traditional Igbo communities to supplicate and/or appease the gods or to thank them for successful seasons. Relations and neighbours travelled to festival towns and/or places to celebrate with their kinsmen and friends. Festivals were, and still are, occasions for relaxation and peaceful co-existence among the people. Buying and selling increased among the people during such times. Thus, festivals hold great promise for tourism and many of them have now developed to international and national events. The Olympic Game is one of such local festivals that have developed into a global fiesta. In Nigeria, the Argungu fishing festival in Sokoto state is gaining great prominence. The masquerade festivals in Enugu and Anambra states also have great potentials for the tourism industry.

Masking is "the most popular, the most versatile, and the most entertaining public performance in Igboland".¹ From the religious point of view, a mask has the force of an invocation and introduces extra-human forces into the human sphere, making possible, the displacement of chronological time by primordial time in which mythical beings commune with the living and manifest their powers. From the aesthetic point of view, masking is a synthesis of many art forms, including costuming, impersonation, miming, sculpture, music, dance, poetry, movement, dialogue and painting. In masking, "the active potentiality of the image"² is made possible through motion. Thus,

The Igbo conceive of a mask (sometimes called *mmonwu*, *mmuo* etc, since there are many traditions of masking) as the incarnation of the dead ancestors who continue to take an active interest in the affairs of their living descendants and relations. Their appearance at festivals is a manifestation of the general well-being and prosperity of the community.³

Masquerades had enormous powers within Igbo villages. They controlled aspects of the peoples' social lives, maintained law and order

etc. Myths and anecdotes were woven about masks. Some were/are believed to have the power to burn up a tree, a house or even a human being by merely pointing at the object. Some are believed to be capable of defying the laws of nature by suspending a knife or any other object in the air, filling a basket with water, or causing a calabash of palm wine to remain full irrespective of the quantity poured out of it. Some masks are said to be able to conjure up a river to obstruct an opponent and can evoke bees and soldier ants for the purpose of attacking people.⁴ It has been severally reported that people who dared the masquerade had their body inflicted with calamities. However, their misfortunes became suddenly arrested after complying with the wishes of the masquerade responsible for the misfortune.⁵

Masquerades appear in every communal festivity in Igboland including Christian festivals. According to Ogunbiyi (1981), the Igbos were the first in the country to make masquerade displays and traditional dances, the highlights of such Christian feasts as Christmas and Easter.⁶ In spite of the social values of Igbo masquerades and their versatility in public performance and entertainment, masquerade festivals have not been fully harnessed to boost tourism in Enugu and Anambra states. Although efforts had earlier been made in this direction, they were not sustained. Enugu and Anambra states are located within the tropical rainforest belt of Nigeria. Both states were carved out of the old Anambra state in the 1991 state creation exercise. The people are ethnically Igbo and are known to be very resourceful and hardworking.

This paper examines the significance of masquerade festivals in tourism development. It x-rays masquerade festivals from traditional times and argues that such festivals are valued heritage resources which have high potentials for tourism development. The paper advocates that the festivals be resuscitated and re-packaged.

The Origin of Igbo Masquerade

Two schools of thought emerged in the quest to find a lasting and an acceptable account of the origin of Igbo masquerade. They are:

1. The Eurocentric Tradition and,
2. The Indigenous Institution.

The Eurocentric tradition opines that masquerade was imported into the land from outside, especially from the ethnic groups who form immediate Igbo neighbours. Prominent among the proponents of this school are Talbot (1926), Basden (1933), Jones (1945), and Jeffrey (1949).

According to Talbot, the *Mmonwu afia*, the masquerade of the Ika and Onitsha, is derived from the Igala; it is most powerful at Illah and Ebu, a town founded by the Igara. The *mmonwu* club at Nri is also supposed to have been introduced by the Igara. Cult of the Owu masquerade or water spirit was devoted to fertility and was introduced by the Kalabari to the Abue and neighbouring Igbo tribes in the Oru clan and hence to the Isu.⁷ The Ekpe mask society came from the Ekoi, and then through Cameroon's coastal "tribes" to the Efik of Calabar and the eastern parts of Ibo land.⁸ For Basden (1933), the *marw Afia* of Onitsha, Asaba and other towns on the banks of the lower Niger are derived from the Igara.⁹ Nzekwe (1960) can be said to have summarized what seemed then a settled opinion:

Among the Ibo, masquerading is of foreign origin, having been introduced along with some cults from among the Igara to the north, the semi Bantu to the east and the Niger Delta tribes to the south. But they have adapted them to their own conditions.¹⁰

The indigenous school of thought sees the masquerade institution as a product of genuine cultural development of the land. In this school are Afigbo (1982), Onyeneke (1987) and Onwuejeogwu (1981). For Afigbo (1982), one of the characteristics of the colonial mentality about the Igbo was the tendency to adopt the hypothesis of foreign explanations for puzzling Igbo phenomena. He points out that those who proposed the foreign origin of the Igbo masquerade did so on the grounds of the loose similarity of the Igbo types represented in short as *mmonwu*, *Owu* and *Ekpe* of the northern, south western and south Eastern Igbo to their neighbouring ethnic groups.¹¹

The Indigenous scholars have drawn attention to the Nri cultural tradition (Awka-Orlu upland area) as the probable centre where the main institutions of Igbo society developed in an outstanding way in terms of rituals and from where it was spread early to other Igbo areas, north and south, east and west. "The hegemony of Eze Nri which probably started between 500 BC. and 1500 AD and the Nri ritual specialization and domination were felt in all parts of Igbo land and beyond".¹²

The Igbo-Ukwu archaeological data, interpreted by Thurstan Shaw (1972) showed a highly sophisticated Igbo civilization which is dated to the 9th Century AD and this falls within the Nri era. The genealogy of Nri kings has been ably recounted from Nri oral traditions to the 10th century A.D in the studies conducted by Onwuejeogwu (1981).¹³

Onyeneke (1987) also observed that:

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The fullness of the concept of the Igbo masquerade must be recognised to coincide with this northern Igbo era, the Nri-Awka, which is also the area to which is attributed the earliest ritual specialization in Igbo civilization.¹⁴

He further noted that:

The myth of origin of the masquerade found there in the masquerade survey recently conducted should be noted as confirmatory evidence. In the various parts of the Nri-Awka cultural area, the tradition held is that it is a human contrivance locally created especially to defend human rights.¹⁵

He summed up his claims by saying that his informants at Igbo-Ukwu hold a strong tradition that it was in their town that the masquerade institution originated, at least for the northern Igbo people and that it was from Igbo-Ukwu that the institution was spread to elsewhere to beyond the Anambra riverine area.

The idea of external origin for Igbo masquerade has been, arguably, rightly criticised by some contributors. However, to state that Igbo masquerade originated from Igbo-Ukwu is also controversial. Until further social research throws more light on the issues, it could be argued that most Igbo communities introduced the masquerade institution to meet their social needs.

Typologies of Masquerade

There are various types of masquerades in the different geographical areas of Igboland. Some areas accommodate women to a certain degree in their affairs, while in some, only titled; elderly and prominent women of the society are crowned as "Masquerade Mothers", "Nne Mmonwu". This privilege enables such women to accompany or associate themselves to a certain limit with masquerade performance. Additionally, the structural appearances of masquerades differ extensively to meet the aims and objectives of the initiators. Hence, if a masquerade appears devilish in outlook, it is aimed at instilling fear; while any that takes the form of a woman or maiden is meant for the admiration of spectators.¹⁶ Recently, the structural appearance of some masquerades has changed, and they reflect such animals as crocodiles, elephants, tigers and lions. Some masquerades are capable of increasing or reducing their sizes and height. The following types of masquerades are commonly found in parts of Igboland.

- (1) *Ayaka, Ajikwu* e.t.c.: These are masquerades that enforce social sanctions and punish any erring members of the community. They are, therefore, agents of social control. The *Ayaka* or *Ajikwu* appear mainly at night. The night masquerade has deeper aura or mystery surrounding it, which makes its appearance restricted strictly to night performances for only male initiates. Instances have been cited of mysterious and wonderful activities of night masquerades. They are believed to have such magical powers as to destroy or cause explosions of light, which are forbidden within the environs of performance. Women are not allowed to peep at them or meet them along the road. Some types of night masquerades climb giant Iroko or palm trees in the darkness and deposit unbelievable huge-sized objects at such heights without any visible assistance.¹⁷
- (2) *Agbogho mmonwu*: These appear at festivals and ceremonies that are open to all. *Agbogho mmonwu* are usually very beautifully costumed. They are believed to be the ghosts of Igbo girls who died just before they consummated their marriage rites. *Agbogho Mmonwu* specializes in dancing and reflects the Igbo concept of beauty.¹⁸ The hair-do of each corresponds to the age of the subject being portrayed. *Agbogho Mmonwu* also wears small bells, cowrie shells and beads to accentuate her beauty. Her luxuriant appearance reflects the association of females with the ideas of fertility and creativity.¹⁹ The looks and dance movements of *agbogho mmonwu* represent the communities' appreciation of beauty, drama, dance, music and in fact the arts.
- (3) *Akuezuozo*: These are the comic jesting masquerades. The function of this group is to create fun, mirror past ethnic life and society and also dramatise the present. The maskers have good sense of local/ community history and are generally very knowledgeable in poetry, proverbs and riddles.
- (4) *Izaga* masquerades walk on sticks, have height advantage and are believed to oversee all aspects of human life.
- (5) The animals' masquerades namely the eagle (*Ugo*), ram (*Ebunu*), and crocodile (*Aguiyi*) are also found. They are said to represent account of events derived from folk tales.
- (6) The *Odogwu, Agaba* and many others in this category reflect bravery and the powerful, youthful life and prowess of the Igbo. These masquerades are also known for their drive, strength, dash

and agility. They always have the right of the way and command respect.²⁰ According to Enekwe (1987), when Basden saw it in the fifties, he described it as usually a "single massive figure whose every movement is deliberate and forceful".²¹ *Agaba* has an elaborately horned-headress topped by crescent-shaped buffalo horns (real or carved). *Agaba* usually has a gaping mouth with two, three or four massive teeth. There are round painted shapes in the points where the eye should be. It is through the wide mouth that the masker sees. The *Agaba* draws an analogy between the physical perfection for wild animals and the strength and vitality of young men.²²

- (7) **The Smoking Head and Oraeri Masquerades with *Ofo*:** These are the powerful ones reputed for their "spiritness". They manifest power and forces that are said to be beyond the natural. They radiate such powers that are surprising to the common man. Also among these masquerades are the *Ozoebunu*, the wonder masquerade, etc.
- (8) **The Big Masquerades, *Ijele*, *Akwunehenyi*, *Ezemuo* and *Olichaluoku*** represent the beauty, art and wealth of the spirit world. The appearance of the *Ijele* mask brings excitement among the Igbo of Nigeria. Thrilled by its splendour, they call the mask all sorts of names like "*Ijele bu Enyi*" (*Ijele* is an Elephant), "*Ijele oke Mmonwu*" (the Great Mask and Spirit), "*Ijele Oma*" (*Ijele* the Beautiful) and "*Ijele di-oke Onu*" (*Ijele* the Expensive Mask).²³

All these expressions partly refer to its size: ranging from four to as much as six meters in radius with a diameter of about three meters. It is the most monumental of all Igbo masquerades. They also refer to its beauty and ostentatious outlook. The slow-paced, dignified walk of the elephant is a suitable description of the movement of the *Ijele*. *Ijele* is also a leading spirit (*Mmuo*). "As a rule, Igbo masks do not represent specific spirits but rather dramatize particular attributes of humans, animals, spirits and ancestors".²⁴

Masquerade Festival and Tourism

Mmonwu festival is a common feature of all communities in Enugu and Anambra states. It is held to mark important events in the life of a community and to create an avenue for social interaction. In 1986, however, the old Anambra state government instituted the modern *Mmonwu* festival as a major tourist event. The first state-organized *mmonwu* festival was held in 1987. Other subsequent ones followed. This

annual masquerade festival was aimed at:

1. Promoting the culture of the State in particular and of Nigeria in general.
2. Advertising the rich cultural heritage and festivals of the people.
3. Strengthening that common link between the past, present and future social lives.
4. Encouraging tourism in the State.
5. Enhancing cultural exchange and better understanding within and outside the State.
6. Facilitating the process of mass mobilization of the people at urban and rural levels.
7. Encouraging positive revelry and competitive spirit among participants.²⁵

Mmonwu festival was conceived to showcase an assemblage of masquerades that reflects not only the sum total of Igbo life activities, beliefs, passions, theatre and traditions;²⁶ but also provides the tourists a valuable source of entertainment. After the initial performance, the masquerade festival was zoned. The zoning system was to enhance its tourism importance and values as well as to enable tourists have a taste of masquerades across the zones since they vary from place to place. In the past the staging of the festival was held in all the local government areas the same day. Tourists who would have wished to participate in most of them were denied the opportunity.

Following the creation of states in 1991, Anambra and Enugu states organized the masquerade festival in their respective states. However, their efforts did not yield the desired results. The new Anambra state government, for instance, hosted the last of such festivals in 1995. Poor planning, lack of commitment, and inadequate funding among others, constituted the limiting factors. Instructively, both states have a variety of masquerades and perhaps have the greatest concentration of masquerades in Africa.

Masquerade is derived from the Igbo concept of interaction between the living and the living dead, i.e. between mortals and the spirit world. Masquerades are visible manifestations of the incarnate dead. Among the Igbo people, *Mmonwu* as a sacred institution is the constitutive symbolism of the collective incarnate dead. This belief and philosophy inform the awe with which people, especially women and children approach these sacred beings.²⁷ Because the mask is a communal symbol, mask performances are taken very seriously by the Igbo. When its performance

is successful, the village feels proud and fulfilled, for success is an index of the solidarity and moral health of its people. Masking offers the Igbo people the opportunity to achieve their best in the various forms of art. Usually the most talented people in the village are involved in the construction and performance of masks. According to Enekwe (1987), for certain masks, monetary contributions are mandatory for all adult members of the village or town. Sometimes, however, a wealthy man may offer to finance a performance of a mask, such as *Ijele*, which is a very expensive and time-consuming affair. It took over ten years to collect and prepare the artistic designs of an *Ijele* mask that appeared at Nri in 1904.²⁸

If so much effort is put into the construction of a mask, it is understandable that much care should be exercised in selecting the person who will don it. He must for example, Enekwe (1987) observed, be strong and should have a high level of endurance, since it is in the nature of the mask to be perpetually on the move.²⁹

Sometimes, qualities other than strength and endurance are stressed. For instance, a performer of *agbogho mmonwu* must be shapely and lithe.³⁰ In addition, he must have a very good sense of rhythm, for it is very difficult for a man to imitate the movement, gestures and poses of females. Ancestral masks are also very demanding roles, which require high histrionic and rhetorical skills. Those who perform them are usually good poets or orators or singers. It is not surprising that a good deal of the music and lyrics of popular Igbo music originates from the masking medium.³¹

Because the Igbo audience is very demanding, maskers have to keep monitoring the response they receive. The audience continuously assesses the performer. If it is dissatisfied, it makes its feelings clear by cold remarks, which may be directed through the escort of the mask. One way a masker assures himself that he is not doing badly is to interrupt his performance and ask: "are you hearing me?" In the case of the *Okumkpo* performance, Enekwe (1987) observed that, the leading masks usually ask the audience if they should go on. The audience usually answers in the affirmative: "Yaah", but, even then, the maskers will have to consider how the "yes" is said – whether it is firm or equivocal.³²

The Masquerade and Tourists

During the early period of *mmonwu* festival about the 1920s and 30s when the communities whose festal tradition is being investigated were hardly influenced by modern education, the *mmonwu* audience mainly

consisted of rural farmers and artisans, all interested elders, the *nze*, members of religious cults, priests and judiciary; and also in attendance would be prominent members of societies as *Ndi Loolo* and *Umuada*.³³ This was the *mmonwu* audience during festival, before the transition to the modern social order. Today, as a result of constant social change, the *mmonwu* audience has become more complex. *Mmonowu* spectators now include not only people from the community that is producing the *mmonwu* festival and their immediate neighbours, but also invited guests from far and near and other interested people who might have learnt of the staging of the festival from different sources. The audience would therefore include men, women and children, the highly educated and barely literate, the farmer, the labourer and the professional, the chief, the public servant and the self-employed people from the rural communities and those from the urban centres, including international tourists. Fundamentally, the audience is composed of those initiated and those not initiated into the mysteries of *mmonwu*. Yet during an actual performance, the emotions engendered by the performance of masquerades may grip every heart irrespective of whether the spectator is initiated or not.³⁴

Tourists go to masquerade festivals for a variety of reasons namely, to

1. listen to and appreciate the chanting of *mmonwu* poems.
2. watch the masks perform different acts on the stage – dance, glide, spin, chase spectators about and so on.
3. behold and contemplate the beauty that is the *mmonwu* spectacle.³⁵

Just as “people go to the theatre for one of three reasons – to laugh, to cry, to be thrilled”,³⁶ tourists go to masquerade festival for a variety of reasons but principally to be thrilled, to be soothed.³⁷ They go to masquerade festival grounds to satisfy their basic drives, namely; the desire for social interaction and social recognition and the need for adventure. It is a kind of social outing. But more fundamentally, the display of masquerades during a festival itself affords tourists an opportunity to associate with any other character in the performance and assume any desirable role he pleases. *Mmonwu* festivals therefore satisfy the herding tendency in man.³⁸

Much of the appeal of *mmonwu* festival is due to the fact that during *mmonwu* displays, the tourist is safe to indulge his “emotional and imaginative sensitivity and to be stimulated and diverted”³⁹ by a mythic world of his own creation.

He is safe in the festival ground to accept masked figures as incarnate spirits that have risen from their subterranean abodes to play before admiring spectators without appearing childish. Thus, he is secure from ridicule in erecting what some critics would regard as fantasy or dream and apparently believing in it and giving to it all the reverence due to a deity.⁴⁰

According to Ugonna (1984), "there is danger in *mmonwu* play (the danger is the source of the *mmonwu* adventure), yet the spectator finds security in the danger because he knows that the *mmonwu* danger is controlled and that the ultimate danger only engulfs the unwary and the fool. And since no spectator thinks that he is a fool he is secure from the danger".⁴¹

Finally, it should be noted that not all spectators go to *mmonwu* festival solely to satisfy their basic emotive drives. *Mmonwu* is a synthesis of various Igbo social systems –political, judicial and educational –and a mirror of Igbo artistic, metaphysical and ethical traditions. Thus, many tourists attend *mmonwu* festival for their socializing influence and to contemplate the beauty of the masquerades; while other spectators attend to obtain justice or to obtain a wife.⁴²

Mmonwu is therefore not all emotion and myth; it is also highly philosophical and intellectual. The witty *mmonwu* dialogues are replete with philosophical sayings and intellectual arguments.

The role masquerade festivals could play in tourism development cannot therefore be overemphasized. The festivals are very popular all over Igboland, including Enugu and Anambra states, and are always grand and colourful. The masquerade festival sought to bring a convergence of all the grandeur, splendour and excitement associated with the various masquerade traditions in the Igbo area. While they lasted, they were always memorable occasions.⁴³ Masquerade festival affords a part time that is invaluable. It is therefore hoped that through the resuscitation of masquerade festivals, both states will steer Nigeria's course in tourism and cultural heritage management.

Only a few African states like Kenya, Egypt, Gambia, Cote 'D'Ivoire and a handful of others have paid attention to tourism. Tourism has since 1976 contributed to the high balance of payment of Kenya. This has also contributed immensely to reducing the persistent deficit of the overall current account of the country. About 83 per cent of total visitors to Kenya are holiday-makers.⁴⁴ The implication of this for her foreign exchange earnings is obviously positive.

In Egypt, a significant percentage of foreign and private investments are being channelled into the expansion of the tourism industry. The Suez Canal has been of immense help in the development of tourism in Egypt, especially with the completion of a motorable tunnel. Tourism in the Gambia has received the highest investment since 1975 under the tourism and infrastructural project. Gambia's strategy is to spread its net all over Europe in order to achieve a year-round-tourism season.⁴⁵

The masquerade festival is evidence of the rich cultural values of the people of Anambra and Enugu states which any tourist would enjoy. Tourism, especially that which is associated with masquerade festival, promotes national unity, goodwill, cultural and social integration. It conserves foreign exchange by encouraging Nigerians to spend their leisure meaningfully. Through it, foreigners may be influenced to undertake studies on the rich cultural values of the Igbo people. As the tourist watches the big '*Akwum Enyi*', Wonder Masquerades, '*Okachamma*', '*Orimili*', and the rest of them entertain him; he does not lose sight of the costumes and regalia in which these masquerades appear. They clearly reflect our cultural pattern and aesthetic values. They manifest the richness and nobility of Igbo artistic perception. The accompanying music is another interesting feature of Igbo masquerading, which can generate interest among researchers and tourists. The tourist could be thrilled by the intricate appearance and functions of these masquerades. There could be some in the form of crocodiles, elephants, eagles, and lions exhibiting the characteristics of the type of animals, they mimic.⁴⁶

Internationalising the Masquerade Festival

The masquerade festival was primarily conceived as a state festival but the success of the first two festivals inspired the old Anambra state government to widen the scope of the participants. The masquerade festival, more than any other activities manifests before the tourist, the unity in diversity of the Igbo people and their socio-cultural values. Thus,

Internationalising masquerade festival will bring out also the unity in diversity of the culture of the black people wherever they are found. The aim is to enhance cross-cultural cooperation and exchange of ideas on man-spirit interactions as manifested in masquerading. The costumes and apparels used by masquerades are also vital objects to behold. Such a gathering will not only increase the cultural dimension of the festival but affords an opportunity for the projection of art life.⁴⁷

In 1987, masquerades like 'Dodo' masquerade came to Enugu from Gwantu in Jamaar Local Government Area of Kaduna State; *Egbie Iga* masquerade also came from Esan-Igbabonademai Ubiaja Local Government Area of Bendel State, now Edo state. Their appearance helped us to appreciate the perceptions of people outside our cultural domain. While masquerades in Igboland help to maintain law and order; *Egbie Igan* masquerades are attributed with the powers to cure measles.⁴⁸

Recommendation and Conclusion

It is our view that the masquerade festivals in Enugu and Anambra states be resuscitated, re-packaged and promoted. Apart from their centrality in Igbo festivity and social life, their values for the tourism industry cannot be overestimated. In conjunction with masquerade performance, other traditional games should be staged during such occasions. These will not only widen the scope of activities, but also increase visitor interests and consequently, the number of participants. The zoning pattern should continue to be used while the grand finale should take place in well-equipped arenas. The organs directly responsible for the planning, developing and transmitting information about tourism like Nigerian Tourism and Development Corporation (NTDC) should in collaboration with State Tourism Boards and other governmental agencies develop the public places and/or area where these masquerades perform and establish modern amenities like electricity, pip-borne water and health facilities. These will enhance the quality of the venues and help to attract not only Nigerians, but also foreigners.

Hotels and other recreational activity centres should be sited near such arenas. The masquerade houses within the arena of the performance should be well decorated, but not to the extent that their indigenous cultural values will be distorted. In addition, museums should be established in the vicinity of the arenas to preserve the cultural materials associated with masquerading. Photographs, radio cassettes/tapes and video cartridges of both the music of these masquerades should be preserved in such museums. This is very important when one considers the fact that some of these masquerades do not perform every year. The mask photographs and images are of great importance to the tourists. Tourists and even indigenes in need of such materials can easily consult such museums. Some can buy the replicas/reproductions of such materials as memorials of their visits.

By promoting this festival, it is hoped that the gains will be

harnessed and channelled towards national development. Apart from its potential economic value and the attendant inflow of foreign exchange, it is also a forum for human interaction, promotion of peace, understanding, unity and general appreciation of our cultural heritage. Masquerade in Igboland is not only based on Igbo concept of interaction between the living and the dead; it is also a concept that helped the traditional Igbo society to evolve a device for social control of its communities.

The origin of masquerade in Igboland is difficult to trace, and there are versions as there are Igbo communities. It is an interesting point of research to establish whether masquerading was original to the Igbo society or whether it was a cross-cultural innovation. Till this origin is established, suffice it to say that a sort of environmental device is necessary for a settled community to control its affairs. This device, the Igbo found in masquerade.⁴⁹

Notes

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- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Anambra State Government, Official Pamphlet for the "Anambra State Mmanwu Festival. 21st - 22nd November. 1986, 5-9.
- 5 Emeka E. Okonkwo, Ethnoarchaeological Survey of Deities in Ukpok, Anambra State. Unpublished B. A. Thesis. Department of Archaeology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. 1999, 1-2.
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- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Onyeneke, 46.
- 14 Ibid, 48.
- 15 Ibid.

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- 16 Anambra State Government, Official Pamphlet for the "Anambra State Mmanwu Festival. 21st – 22nd November. 1986, 12.
- 17 Ibid, 11.
- 18 Enekwe, 97-98.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid, 107.
- 21 Ibid, 105-108.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid, 103.
- 24 Ibid, 103-104.
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- 31 Ibid, 108-109.
- 32 Ibid, 84.
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- 37 Ugonna, 153-164.
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- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Chiene, 4-5.
- 44 Ibid, 17.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid, 18.
- 47 Ibid, 16-17.
- 48 Ibid, 17.
- 49 Anambra State Government, Official Pamphlet for the "Anambra State Mmanwu Festival. 21ST – 22ND November. 1986, 10.