An Evaluation of Cultural Symbolism of Selected Items on the Lomolehin Masquerade Costume

Adeyemo, Peter Adewole, Ph.D.
Fine and Applied Arts Department, School of Secondary Education (Vocational and Technical), Aminu Saleh College of Education, Azare, Bauchi State, Nigeria.

Corresponding author: woleymo@gmail.com

DOI: https://doi.org/10.62154/n2h5bw29

Abstract
The masquerade culture is so significant and usually well celebrated annually among the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria that, just like their counterparts in the Eastern part and some areas in the former Middle Belt of the country, they cannot do without honouring their departed ancestors in costumed figures. This is a sequel to their strong belief in life after death and that these departed individuals have pivotal roles they play in the lives of the living. It is against this backdrop that the veneration of the dead via ancestral worship is taken seriously among the aforementioned ethnic groups. This paper, however, evaluates the cultural symbolism embedded in selected elements of the Lomolehin masquerade costume of Ogbomoso in Oyo State, offering insights into the rich cultural heritage and significance or even meaning of this traditional attire to determine their relevance in the masquerading tradition. A qualitative methodology was adopted using historical and descriptive approaches to analyze the cultural essence of the selected items, and collected data from the sampled population, using a purposive technique to exclude people that do not fit into the profile. By and large, the study articulates the nuances of the selected magical items on the Lomolehin masquerade costume and concludes that the items or amulets have dual functions in that they are both symbolic and aesthetic. However culturally, their symbolical values are more significant than the visual appeal and aesthetic sensibility the costume evokes. Hence, it is recommended that the potency of spiritual powers inherent in the various magical items on the costume such as Ado-Oyin and Arinu-Rode, among others, should be embraced, adapted and collaborated with relevant agencies to advance knowledge in technological studies to contain the diverse security challenges bedevilling the Nigerian space.

Keywords: Evaluation, Cultural Symbolism, Lomolehin Masquerade, Costume, Amulets.

Introduction
Generally, Africans have a profound reverence for their dead and this expounds the rationale behind the ancestral worship through costumed figures to commemorate them. This culture is more pronounced among the Yoruba and Ibo of South-western and South-eastern Nigeria respectively. However, Strong (2011) notices that the ancestral spirits of the Yoruba are much more than just dead relatives, they play an active role, in the daily life of the living. They are sought out for protection and guidance and are believed to possess the ability to punish those who have forgotten their familial ties. So, one of the unique ways
through which the ancestors are believed to communicate with the living is their manifestation on earth in the form of masked spirits or costumed figures, known as *Egungun*. *Egungun*, in the broadest sense of the word, according to Uweru (2014), refers to the “Yoruba masquerades connected with ancestor reverence, or to the ancestors themselves, as a collective force. The singular form, for an individual ancestor, is *Eegun*.” Besides the physical manifest form of masquerade, there are a variety of ways, for the living to keep in touch with their ancestors. Adegbola (1998) avers that the Yoruba believe the deceased can be seen in dreams or trance and that, they can impart information or explanation, or give instructions on any matter about the family when it finds itself in a serious predicament. It is noted that they can also send messages to other persons or through certain cults. Babayemi in Adeyemo (2018) explains that the spirits of the ancestors, who ensure the well-being, prosperity, and productivity of the whole community, can be invoked collectively and individually as well, in times of need. The place of call is usually either on the graves of the ancestors, *ojú orú* the family shrine, *ile 'run* or *ojú'bo*, or the community grove, *igbale*. But for the spirit of any ancestor to be made manifest among the living, it must be clad in a costume usually decorated with different items to enhance its aesthetic appeal. It is imperative also to clarify that these items are not just ordinary objects but amulets of different kinds to fortify both the costume and its wearer, and this is peculiar to every masquerade. It is in this regard, therefore, that this study attempts to evaluate specifically the cultural symbolism and functions of some selected items otherwise known as amulets on the *Lomolehin* masquerade costume, one of the elder masquerades in Ogbomoso.

**Statement of the Problem and Objective**

Typical examples of elder or senior masquerades in Ogbomoso include *Lomolehin*, which is the focus of this paper, *Ajomogbode, Oya, Olukotun, Danafojura, Aribidara, Ayilere, Babalugbon, Lobanika, Awodagbese, Gbogi, Omoyanran, Akinkunmi, Baale-Oya, Omowunmi*, among several others (Adeyemo, 2018). Apart from the Ogbomoso variety, other important masquerades in Oyo State include among others, the *Oloolu* and *Alapansanpa*, both of Ibadan, *Elewe* of the Igbomina Yoruba clan, which is common in the towns of Oke-Ila Orangun and Arandun in Osun State. Ododo (2009) also makes mention of *Melemuku* of Oyo town, *Atupa of Ilora, Olukotun of Ede, Komenle of Agba, Akereburu of Owu and Jenju of Abeokuta* in Ogun State. However, it is observed that little attention has been given to the study of individual masquerades in Nigeria compared to a general study of masquerading traditions which have been repeatedly studied in various ways such as socially, religiously, politically, economically, etcetera. Consequent upon this, there is a dearth of literature on specific masquerades and as such, there is no known study of the *Lomolehin* masquerade of Ogbomoso to the knowledge of the writer, and hence the research gap that justifies the significance of the study in the existing body of knowledge. The paper, therefore, is designed to evaluate the cultural symbolism of some selected items on the *Lomolehin* masquerade costume, and the
The writer found the qualitative mode of research appropriate to be able to investigate deeply the beliefs and practices associated with the Lomolehin masquerade in Ogbomosho. Micah in Adyemo (2018) asserts that qualitative research generally includes research methods that rely heavily upon extensive observations and in-depth interviews that result in non-numerical data. Thus, historical and descriptive approaches are further engaged to analyze and discuss accurately the obtained data, using a purposive sampling technique to exclude people who do not fit into this particular profile of interviewees. Sources of data included both primary and secondary, and the writer employed the use of unstructured interviews, participant observation and photography as research instruments. It is imperative to note also that the study is not without limitations as the writer encountered a few difficulties during the fieldwork. Not all the respondents were willing to divulge the needed information as they considered it to be esoteric and not for the uninitiated but some, however, were liberal in their responses.

Items that Constitute Lomolehin Masquerade Costume and Their Meanings
In the masquerade art, according to Asigbo (2012), “costume is everything, as there can be no masquerade without a costume.” It is important to note that, three major features compose the entire masquerade ensemble in Yoruba land, namely; the innerwear known as either “jepe,” or “awotele” that looks like gberi ode (a hunter’s dress), the outerwear known
as “eku” or “ago,” and the head-gear or head-piece known as “ere Eegun,” and others sometimes call it “eru Eegun.” Thus, the items of masquerading are likened to the articles that make up a masquerade, to enhance its public performance. Having identified the three major components as mentioned earlier, this paper has further identified other items, which include charms, amulets, variegated cloths and different colourful lappets of cloths, on both inner and outer costumes of Lomolehin masquerade that fulfil different functions.

**Items Identified on the Inner Wear and Their Functions**

The Lomolehin innerwear is the underwear part of the total costume the masquerader puts on before the main (outer) costume is worn on top. The top of it is made of kijipa, a traditionally hand-woven fabric in milky colour, and the trousers’ part is mixed with aso-oke otherwise known as ofi, also a traditionally hand-woven fabric and damask material with brownish-pink colour. The masquerader wears a white vest as a singlet, before putting on the inner costume (jepe) and a pair of a relatively baggy trouser, with affixed stockings (figure i).

![Figure I: The masquerader, Idowu Moronfade Adedeji, in the Inner costume (Jepe) of Lomolehin during the 2017 Festival. Photograph by the writer.](image)

The following are the items identified on the innerwear and their functions:

**a). Waistbands** – Magical bands of animal skin and fabric mixture, igbanu, or alounde, and or bante, used to be worn on the masquerader’s waist for protection (figure ii). This can also be used by the masquerader for self-defence, in case a physical confrontation ensues. Once a person is hit by it, the charm inherent in the waistband will make the person fall unconsciously or lose his sense of reasoning, thereby coming under a “remote control influence” of the masquerade.
b). Cowries – Cowry shells formerly used as money (owo eyo) up to the late 19th century in many parts of Nigeria (Michael, n.d.), especially in the south-western region, are used on the surface of the waistband to fortify it as protective amulets and rituals (still on figure ii). These cowries, apart from their protective functions, also portray the wealth and prosperity of the masquerade which invariably brings wealth and prosperity to its adherents.

c). d). Antelope horn – A thin coiled horn (iwo agborin), attached to the waistband, used as a commanding force, afose, or sound picker, olugbohun, to declare and bring to pass whatever the masquerade speaks, if not immediately, then sooner than later (check figure ii). It can be used to even address natural elements such as rain, fire, and whirlwinds, and sometimes on the negative side, to curse a person or object, be it animated or not. It is magically prepared with native black soap (ose dudu) and put inside the antelope horn. It is noted, however, that the masquerade uses it often to bless its followers and those who seek its blessings on any matter of life.

e). Black wax – Black wax, known as ida, is just like the native black soap with an adhesive quality in which the cowries and other items are firmly glued to the waistband (check figure ii).

f). A small gourd – An elongated brownish gourd, known as ado, is also firmly attached to the surface of the waistband (check figure ii). The gourd contains a powder substance as part of a protective charm to be licked by the masquerader after certain incantations must have been made to enhance its potency before engaging in public performance. It is also noted to be part of what gives force to the masquerade’s pronouncements, either as blessings or curses.

Figure II: The magical waistbands of the Lomolehin masquerade, and the surface laced with a small gourd, an antelope horn and cowry shells on black wax during the 2017 Festival. Photograph by the writer.

g). Armlet – A magical band, known in the Yoruba language as ifunpa, is worn by the masquerader on the arms for protection (figure iii). It is made from the combination of aso-
oke and the skin of the alligator, and fortified by some undisclosed rituals and incantations to protect the masquerade from attack and make it formidable to other masquerades.

Figure III: The Masquerader in the Inner costume with hand gloves, was being fortified with the armlet by his attendants during the 2017 Festival. Photograph by the writer.

Items Identified on the Outer Costume and Their Functions
The outerwear of the Lomolehin masquerade is the main costume seen by everyone during its public performance (figure iv). The outer cloths are sewn from a mixture of locally woven Yoruba strip cloths, ‘aso-oke,’ printed fabrics, ‘ankara,’ and imported fabrics such as velvet and damask. According to Idowu Adedeji, over two hundred strips of cloth are part of the masquerade costume. It is disclosed further by him that, a new strip of either aso-oke, velvet or damask collected on request from either young or older women, is added yearly to this outer costume, to further enhance its external beauty. In case none of these is willing to freely give, then they will buy it and add to the costume. Labode (2013) concurs with the preceding that, “a new strip of aso-oke is added to the Egungun costume to add up to its beauty every year, which implies that the age of an Egungun can be calculated from the strips.” However, the writer disagrees with the latter author that the age of an Eegun can be calculated from the strips. The age of an Eegun can only be determined if one knows how many strips of aso-oke were there from its original state. It is only then that the yearly addition of strips can give the accurate age of the Eegun in question. Besides, some masquerades change costumes every year. Aremu (1995) attests to this that, “some Egungun may come out in new costumes during annual festival while others prefer to retain old costumes.”
Items identified on the Outer Costume and their Functions

The following are the items identified on the outer costume and their functions:

a). A gourd – There is a dark-brownish gourd, called ado-oyin, attached around the head of the costume, slightly below the headpiece region (figure v). This gourd is said to be one of the Lomolehin’s protective charms that contain spiritual bees. The major function of these bees is that, during a public performance, especially when the situation becomes tough and rowdy, as a result of an attack by any rivalry masquerade and its followers, they begin to sting the purported enemies to put them to flight at the command of the masquerade. It is said that the bearer of Lomolehin masquerade would ask all his followers to block their ears, to prevent them from hearing the incantations he would make. Shortly after that, the spiritual bees would be flying out from this gourd to sting and chase away the rival masquerade and its followers. Once these bees are mercilessly done with the enemies, they would return to this gourd on their own. However, anyone among the Lomolehin followers who do not heed the instruction of the masquerade, and consequently hears the incantations, such a person will not live to see the next festival.

b). A tin can – There is also another container, which appears like a lens-like object, hung around the head of the costume, where the bee-gourd (ado-oyin) is, known as arinu-rode (the see-through, figure v). It is another protective substance, a magical charm used by the Lomolehin masquerade during its outing, to read the mind of any masquerade that is coming along its path, to ascertain its intent towards it, whether good or evil, to enable it to prepare adequately for possible confrontations.
Figure V: The Bee gourd (Ado-oyin) and a tin can, the lens-like object, (Arinu-rode) on the Lomolehin masquerade outer costume during the 2017 Festival. Photograph by the writer.

During the usage, the masquerade would carry this object and put it on the eye to look through the hole, to see the coming masquerade’s mind. An oral account, according to Adigun Ogunlade, of a deadly confrontation against Lomolehin in the early 1990s by another elder and tough masquerade in Ogba, called Babalugbon, is a good example to recall. Moses Adedeji, one of the custodians, confirmed that after looking through the Arinu-rode object, the Lomolehin masquerade informed its attendants and custodians that, there was danger ahead if they went on. Consequently, to avoid this, they agreed to hold their peace and stopped where they were to allow the coming Babalugbon masquerade to pass. However, the Babalugbon instead refused to pass. It was rather occupying the entire road with its custodians and followers intentionally, which were full of drunken thugs. When the sunset and night were approaching, Lomolehin, having waited in vain for several hours for Babalugbon to pass, decided to move on, and this triggered the awaited showdown that was ordinarily avoidable. The thugs behind the Babalugbon masquerade threw caution to the air and descended heavily on the Lomolehin masquerade and its followers. They beat up Lomolehin masquerade, whose bearer then, happened to be Pa. Adedeji, and pulled down its costume. It is disclosed that they equally collected the staff of death, opa iku from him. Unfortunately, it is revealed by Mama Gbemisola Adedeji that, it is an abomination for the staff of death to stay outside the family shrine where all the masquerade ensembles are kept after the festival. The Lomolehin bearer warned the people, according to Moses Adedeji, as he was not willing to confront them with magic powers, to avoid undue casualties, having known their intents from the beginning, but they turned deaf ears and went away with it. Not long after this brutal encounter came the repercussions. The people
from the Babalugbon family began to die in quick succession, and when they contacted the Ifa oracle, they were informed about the strange staff of death in their custody. They were asked to return it in earnest or else, the spirit of death would not cease killing them. They promptly arranged to return it to the Lomolehin family, but they refused to collect it back from them. It took the mediatory efforts of the then Soun of Ogbomoso, the traditional head and king of the land, the late Oba Jimoh Oyewumi before the Lomolehin family accepted to collect the staff of death back. This mediation was made possible, according to Alagba Ojewale Adigun, after certain steps were taken which include among others, the offering of prescribed sacrifices to placate Lomolehin masquerade. However, the steps taken and the items of sacrifice were not disclosed to the writer.

c). Cowries – There are also cowries (owo-eyo) affixed on the tin can, the lens-like object and on the tips of the variegated lappets of cloths around the head are also laced with them (see figure v). This is said to be for the fortification, aesthetics and wealth of the masquerade ensemble.

d). Horsetail-whisk – These are bound hairs from a horse's tail fastened on a long wooden handle that is always carried by the masquerade called irukere in Yoruba. It is associated with a spiritual power to wade off evil influences and purify the atmosphere both at the home front and in the public space during outings (see figure iv). Also, the masquerade uses it to bless as well.

e). Staff of Death – Staff of death (opa iku) are carved wooden objects that look like bamboo wood but with inherent powers (figure vi), usually carried by Lomolehin masquerade's attendants to wade off untimely death and other unforeseen evils during public performances. A large portion of some staff of death is embellished with triangular low-relief shapes, slightly chiseled on the surface, to form designs, while others are streaked with horizontal lines as designs. However, the designs are difficult to see from afar except by very close observation, due to their brownish dark colour. The geometric patterns on this long and circular staff of death are broken with ring bands intermittently to, possibly, enhance its beauty.

Figure VI: (a) A staff of Death (Opa Iku) carried by Lomolehin masquerade's attendant during an outing, and (b) other Staff of Death at the Grove during the 2017 Festival. Photograph by the writer.
f. **Headgear:** In Ogbomoso generally, the type of masks used by elder masquerades are head masks, otherwise known as headgears or headpieces. It is rare to find helmet masks, while face masks are completely missing, and cannot be seen anywhere around. It is instructive to note however that, the absence of face masks, does not mean the faces of the masquerades are visible to the public but are rather covered with face nets, knitted fabrics that are sewn to the costume because of its see-through or perforated nature, to enable the masqueraders see through. The *Lomolehin* headgear is anthropomorphic and treated in a semi-naturalistic style. This headgear, carved in human head form, is a mere super-imposed structure on the top of the costume (figure vii), presumably to be the head of the masquerade, but the masquerader’s head is actually below the headgear under the costume, covered with a brownish face net to see through (figure viii). The headgear is depicted with ethnic marks (*ila*) on the face, with prominent five-deep cut engravings. One can also see two other deep cuts on the left cheek that cross over to the left side of the nose, to reflect their common lineage identity.

**Figure VII: Headgear of Lomolehin Masquerade during the 2017 Festival. Photograph by the writer.**

The headgear (figure vii) is painted with a dark brownish colour, and the facial features are partly proportioned. The shape of the eyes stands out like a high relief, made into bulging forms, with holes in-between as pupils, reminiscent of the Nok and Ife traditional terra cotta heads and was symmetrically treated. The forehead appears depressed and the rest is bald and shiny. Its elongated nose runs flat downward, with wide semi-circular nostrils. The mouth region appears plumpy with glossy lips partially opened, as if gasping for breaths, and ends with an exaggerated bulbous chin. The base of the headgear, which serves as a pedestal for the mask, is firmly sewn to the costume and is surrounded with all manner of magical substances to fortify the potency of the charms on the masquerade. Idowu Adedeji confirmed this when he added that, “the substances which look like what Yoruba call *tira* or *antu*, are, according to oral history by his father, actually substances tied up completely in a chimpanzee skin (*awo-ara ijimere*).”
However, it is said that the headgear has no magical significance except for the decorative purpose of adorning the masquerade. To confirm the preceding, Kalilu (1987) also posits that, “the masks are meant for decoration and entertainment.” The author further recalls Fagg’s stance on this, that ‘many African masks, which the art critics have described as frightening and inspired by cosmic fear, are merely ludicrous in character.’ Be that as it may, the smearing of blood, in the form of libation, and the incantations made on Lomolehin headgear before wearing the costume raise curiosity. To further strengthen this curiosity, for example, Aremu (1991) reveals that, “Yoruba people, most especially believers in traditional religion, regard the masks of their ancestors as keeping watchful eyes on whatever they are doing on earth.” The author concludes that “these same masks are seen as a way of immortalizing the ancestors, and religious meanings are attached to their usage.” Omosule (2009) also concurs that both costume and mask fulfil both artistic and religious significance. Hence, this paper concludes that the purpose of the headgear could be far more than aesthetics and entertainment, but has also some esoteric undertones, which perhaps, the initiates do not want in the public space. For instance, Bell (2008) corroborates the preceding when he quotes Picasso, ‘men had made those masks and other objects for a sacred purpose, a magic purpose, as a kind of mediation between themselves and the unknown hostile forces that surrounded them, to overcome their fear and horror by giving them form and an image.’ On the whole, it is important to stress that the potency of the various ritual performances, together with all the aforementioned items attached to the Lomolehin costume, manifest their inherent symbolic values. Thus, they enhance the totality of the masquerade’s spiritual and inner beauty. This, in turn, is what makes the masquerade not only useful in meeting the people’s needs but also attractive visually to showcase its external beauty thereby, making its content and form complement each other in portraying an ideal Yoruba aesthetic philosophy.
Conclusion
The belief in ancestral worship through celebrations during festivals is so significant among the Yoruba because of the mindset that the spirits of humans never die but continue to influence the lives of their descendants after they depart from the physical realm. This is made possible through their manifestations on earth in the form of costumed figures, known as Egungun, one of which is the Lomolehin masquerade. This paper, therefore, has been able to articulate the nuances of the selected magical items or amulets on the Lomolehin masquerade costume and concludes that these items on the costume have dual functions in that they are both symbolic and aesthetic. However culturally, their symbolical values far outweigh the significance of the visual appeal and attractiveness of the costume in itself, as a premium is mostly put on intrinsic values over extrinsic worth when it comes to beauty assessment among the Yoruba. This is to affirm the saying “character is beauty” (iwa l’ewa) and hence, establish the cultural symbolism of the selected items on the Lomolehin masquerade costume.

Recommendations
• The study recommends that the potency of the spiritual powers inherent in the various magical items such as Ado-Oyin and Arinu-Rode, among others, should be embraced and adapted and collaborated with relevant agencies to advance knowledge in technological studies, for instance, to contain the diverse security challenges bedevilling the Nigerian space.
• Since the masquerading tradition is shrouded in mysteries and classified secrets, researchers and scholars in this area should adopt a participant observation method as one of the instruments to enable them to have direct access to relevant stakeholders to obtain the necessary information that will help in their inquiries.
• Researchers and scholars should intensify efforts to study other individual elder masquerades (active and inactive) to increase the knowledge of the general public on them and their specific inherent dispositions, and possible benefits to the society. For example, some elder masquerades that are no longer active in Ogbomoso include Lembe, Mote, Jagba, Dare Foyanmu, Aiye Ndara, Arenubogi, Gbadebo Olokun Eran, among others. Hence, the study of this category of masquerades will help preserve them and bring to the fore the socio-cultural values they represented, particularly at this time of value reorientation for posterity.
• The study also recommends the potentiality of conducting research by scholars on young masquerades (which is not within the scope of this paper) of about six [6] to fifteen [15] years old, known as Kunduke, that appear in different costume types which devoid of magical items but go about with canes (atori) to fight one another, spectators and passers-by. This is because the category of these masquerades has presently gone into extinction, especially in Ogbomoso, and the documentation of their visual impressions, functions and essence in the Yoruba masquerade tradition can, as well, aid posterity.
References

Interviews
Alagba Ojewale Adigun – Age: 76 years, Traditional herbalist and custodian of Lomolehin masquerade, an elder and custodian of Lomolehin masquerade, Olugbade Ajigbotifa’s compound, Oke-Ajawa, Ogbomoso. Interviewed on 27/8/2017 during the festival.
Idowu Adedj – Male, age: 36 years, Musician and masquerader, Lomolehin masquerade, Olugbade Ajigbotifa’s compound, Oke-Ajawa, Ogbomoso, Interviewed on 26/8/2016, and 27/8/2017 at his residence and through mobile phone on several occasions.
Mama Gbemisola Adedej – Age: 64 years, Tailor and wife to the late masquerader, Pa Moronfaye Adedeji, Aged member, Olugbade Ajigbotifa’s compound, Oke-Ajawa, Ogbomoso. Interviewed on 26/8/2016 and 27/8/2017 respectively at his residence.