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# The Origin of Orin ibeji in Yorùbáland

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### Abstract

The Yorùbá people of southwest Nigeria have shown a high prevalence of instances of multiple births, especially twins. This has, inadvertently, led to the development and adoption of a vibrant musical tradition known as *orin ìbejì*, which loosely translates as 'twins songs' in their society. In *orin ìbejì*, personality-themed songs are written and performed for twins. However, this tradition, which is a critical ethnomusicological element in the socio-cultural landscape of the Yorùbá, has not received adequate scholarly attention. This paper investigates the origin of the *orin ìbejì* tradition in Yorubaland using ethnographic and historical sources. It argues and conclude that Ifá corpus, a core trado-spiritual repository of Yorùbá history and spiritualism, clearly expressed canonical and philosophical bases that can be deductively regarded as the origin of the Yorùba *orin ìbejì* tradition.

Keywords: Ifá corpus, multiple births, orin ìbejì, trado-spiritual, Yorùbá

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## Introduction

The South-Western part of Nigeria is home to the Yorùbá-speaking people who are mostly found in Lagos, Ogun, Ekiti, Osun, Ondo and Oyo, Kwara and Kogi States of the country. These people share some broad-based socio-cultural similarities, which are evident in their belief systems; most especially their musical traditions. It is therefore not uncommon to find a wide range of traditional and customary practices that are peculiar to the region. An example of this is the musical tradition associated with the incidence of multiple births, especially twins. Incidentally, instances of multiple births seem to be prevalent among the Yorùbá. This is corroborated by a British Broadcasting Corporation's report as noted in Ibagere (2002, p. 1).

> Nigeria has the world's highest rate of twins. Within Nigeria, the South-West leads the way and within the South-West, the town Igbó-Orà comes out top of the twin's league. Renowned Sierra Leonean gynaecologist, Patrick Nylander found that in Igbó-Orà, three sets of twins were born in every nineteen births.

The incidence of twins births in South-Western Nigeria has, inadvertently, led to the adoption of a vibrant ethnomusicological tradition centred around the acknowledgement and celebration of the personalities of twins. A critical part of this tradition is the performance of a set of personality-themed songs that are dedicated to twins commonly referred to as *orin ibeji* 'twins songs'. These are different songs that are variously rendered or performed for twins with *lbeji* as the central theme. They are usually performed in homes, market places, public places, and during festivals. *Orin ibeji* is a vibrant tradition and a major ethnomusicological component in the socio-cultural fabric of the Yorùbá people. Despite this noteworthy profile, not so much has been discussed by scholars on *orin ibeji*, especially its historical cum musical perspectives. This paper, therefore, investigates the origin of the tradition from the musical perspective and through the lens of Yorùbá traditional practices.

# Origin of Orin Ìbejì

When asked to discuss the origin of Highlife, Nana Ampadu, as cited in Agawu (2003, p. xiv) said "If I say I will tell you where highlife started, then, it means I am going to lie". Borrowing an analogy from this and, in a somewhat similar sense, it is rather difficult to claim, in this paper, that the specific origin of orin ibeji can be categorically stated without running the risk of making assumptions and misrepresentations of the actual historical origin of orin ibeji. Notwithstanding, however, based on available trado-spiritual historical accounts, the origin of orin ibejì can be traced to the gods the Yorùbá people always consult to guide them in anything that has to do with their tradition. The origin of orin ibeji can be traced to the history of the beginning of multiple births in ancient times, especially that of the set of twins. This is position is corroborated by Aristotle's (1962) submission, as quoted in Vidal (2016, p. 2) that, "he who considers things in their first growth and origin will obtain the clearest view of them".

There exist two myths about the origin of *Ìbejì* in Yorubaland. The first myth is connected with *Ifá*, the god of wisdom. *Ifá* is the Yorùbá divination oracle and is considered the most venerated of all Yorùbá divinities. This is because of its assumed wisdom and ability to proffer solution to every problem brought before it. *Ifá* is referred to as the mouthpiece of other divinities and that is why it is charged with the responsibilities of divination and wisdom (Adedeji, 1992). The Yorùbá regard *Ifá* as their divination and *Òrúnmìlà* (father of *Ifá*) as its representative on earth. The worldview of the Yorùbá on these deities is expressed by Salami (2015, p. 101) who posits that

Yorùbá cosmology gives a position of repute to  $\dot{Q}r\dot{u}nm\dot{l}l\dot{a}$  and  $If\dot{a}$  on the question of ultimate meaning and knowledge of the world and the individual human beings.

Hallgreen (1988, p. 2) also posits that

the Yorùbá people attached their fate to the allknowing wisdom of  $If\dot{a}$  whom they believe carries the responsibilities of revelation through the act of divination.

*Ifá* is believed to carry out this assignment through its corpus, which is known as *odù*, generally referred to as *ese-Ifá*. The contents of *odù ifá* include history, mythology and prescriptions about sacrifices, which the Yorùbá engages in from time to time as a means of maintaining peace, order, balance, harmony and reconciliation within the Yorùbá social structures (Abimbola, 1975; 1983; Adélékè, 2008; Adeniyi, 2015). *Ifá*, from all submissions and indications, is believed to know all things about the universe and proffers solutions to oracular consultations of the people. The Yorùbá have, over the years, come to accept and rely so much on *Ifá's* wisdom. The aforementioned assertion is validated by Fatunsi's (2002) submission that:

All the important rites of passage such as naming ceremonies, installation of Kings and burial ceremonies have to be sanctioned and authenticated by  $If \dot{a}$ , the voice of diviners and the wisdom of the ancestors. *If \dot{a}* then is the means through which Yorùbá culture informs and regenerates itself and preserves all that is considered good and memorable in the society (Fátúnsì, 2002, p. 45).

In this regard, tracing the origin of *orin ibeji* through the *Ifá* corpus is apt. This paper will therefore adopt this approach, using Yorùbá mythology, towards its aim of investigating and uncovering the roots of *orin ibeji*. The first myth, according to *Odù* (*Ifá* corpus) begins with how *Ifá* gave wives to his priests. On three different occasions, at the request of a king called *Qlófin*, *Qrúnmìlà* and his apprentices were asked to cast divination or consult for *Qlófin*. On each of the occasions, it was revealed that the next child to be born to the king would be female and must be given to an *Ifá* priest in marriage. The king eventually had three daughters following the prediction and gave them to *Qrúnmìlà* 

and his two apprentices. Shortly after this, Orúnmilà, in the company of his two apprentices, embarked on a journey to conduct some spiritual assignments and did not return on schedule. When *Orúnmìlà* and his apprentices did not return on time, his wife and her sisters remarried. When *Orúnmilà* returned and discovered what had happened in his absence, he was displeased. not long afterwards, his wife returned and they got reconciled. However, she was unable to bear children. During a consultation with Ifá, told *Qrúnmìlà* was told that he will have six children through his wife and also instructed to make some sacrifices. *Orúnmìlà* obeyed and before long, his wife gave birth to six children at different times, all of which did not survive. Orúnmilà consulted Ifá again and he was instructed to make sacrifices again with some prescribed items. *Òrúnmìlà* obeyed and was compensated. His wife gave birth to a set of twins, a boy and a girl, and the two lived and became great sources of joy and blessings to *Orúnmilà* and his wife. The children also supported them. This account is established in Odù Ifá titled *Èjígbèdé omo mi* as presented below in excerpt 1.

# Excerpt 1: Èjígbèdé ọmọ mi Chant

Glossing Ojú omo awo Òrúnmìlà o Eve, Òrúnmìlà's student Hin-in Hin-in Ikùn omo awo Òrúnmìlà o Stomach, Òrúnmìlà's student Òrúnmìlà pàápàá, awo *Olófin*. Òrúnmìlà himself great diviner for king Olófin. Àwon ni wón dífá fún Olófin Together they consulted for Olófin ni hòlò hóló kerìndínlógún! in his inner chamber of the sixteen-room palace *Qlófin* ló ránsé kí *Òrúnmìlà* ó máa bò o. King Olófin summoned Órúnmìlà Nígbà tí wón délé Olófin, Ojú ló kó ki'fá. At Olófin's palace, Oju was the first to chant Ifá as well as interpret the Odù that was revealed Ó ní Ojú ọmọ ní n pón Ọlófin He said King Olófin's problem was childlessness

Ó ní Oba Olófin yóò bí òpòlopò omo.

Ó ní ọmọ tí yó kộ bí, ó ní obìnrin ni Ó ní orúkọ rệ yóò ma jệ Téế Hin-in Ó ní ìyàwo òun Ojú ni o

Hin-in Ikùn ló ki 'fá s'ìkejì o

Hin-in Ó ní torí ọmọ ni Ọba Ọlófin se dáfá

Hin-in Ó ní ọmọ tí wọn yóò bí şèkejì

Ó ní obìnrin ni, Ìyàwó òun Ikún ni,

Hin-in Ó ní orúko rè yóò máa jé Òyìn o Hin-in Òrúnmìlà ló wá ki'fá şìkẹta

Ó ní lóòótó torí omo ni Olófin se dáfá.

Hin-in Ó ní ọmọ tí wọn yóò bí s'ìkẹta Ó ní obìnrin ni Hin-in Ó ní ìyàwó òun Òrúnmìlà ni

Hin-in Ó ní orúko rè yóó maa jé Òşúmiláyà. Hin-in (Elébunìbon, 1999, p. 110)

He said king Olófin will have many children That his first child will be a girl That her name will be Téé Hin-in And that the princess must marry him- Babalawo Oju Hin-in Ikun was the second to chant and interpret the Odù Hin-in He said King Olofin's problem is childlessness. Hin-in He said King Olofin's second child, Is going to be a girl, she's to be his (Ikun) as wife Hin-in That her name will be Oyin Hin-in Òrúnmìlà is the third to chant and interpret the Odù Ifá He said truly King Olofin's main concern for Ifá consultation was because of childlessness. Hin-in He said that the third child, Will be a girl Hin-in The girl is his (Orunmila's) future wife Hin-in That her name will be Òşúmíláyà

66

Hin-in...

Wón fi Òşúmíláyà fún Bàrà Àgbọnmìrègún Hin-in Òrúnmìlà ló jí lòwúrò kùtùkùtù Hin-in Òşúmíláyà aya òun le bí 'mọ lópòlọpò. Hin-in Ní ndáfá sí	<ul> <li>Dşúmíláyà was given to Drúnmià.</li> <li>Hin-in</li> <li>One early morning, Drúnmilà consulted Ifá</li> <li>Hin-in</li> <li>And asked, would Dşúmíláyà, my wife, have many children?</li> <li>Hin-in</li> <li>Consulting the oracle</li> </ul>
Hin-in	Hin-in
Ifá ní yóò bímọ lópòlọpò, ebọ ni kó se. Hin-in Wón ní ọmọ méfà ni yóò kó bí Hin-in Wón ní kó fi ohun méfà méfà ş'ebọ Hin-in Eku mefà, eja méfà, agbòn èso bùjé méfà. Hin-in Òọdúnrún owó eyọ Hin-in	Ifá said Òşúmíláyà will have children, but she needed to make ebo Hin-in That her first child will be sextuplets Hin-in That he should sacrifice in sextuplets Hin-in Six rats, six fish, six baskets of buje seeds Hin-in Three hundred currencies (in local monies) Hin-in
ỳrúnmìlà wá fĩ igbe ìráhùn bọ'nu Hin-in Ó ní kéèyàn bímọ méfà, kó máà ríí òkọọkan pè rán nísę́.	Òrúnmìlà lamented losing his children Hin-in He said, "it is disheartening to have six children and none of them around to help with one's work"

Hin-in Òşúmíláyà o má kú òwò àsedànù o

Hin-in Òşúmíláyà ní, baba ệjệ òì dá níìdí òun.

Hin-in (Elebunibon, 1999 pp. 114-115)

Ņrúnmilà ní kí wọn ó lọ rèé pe babaláwo wá. Ņrúnmilà sent for the Ifá priest

Hin-in

Hin-in Wón ní ọmọ méjì ni Òşúmíláyà yóò bí

Hin-in Wón ní òkan okùnrin, òkan obìnrin

Hin-in Èkiní yóò ma gbe baba Èkejì yóò maa gbe ìyá è o

Hin-in Nígbà tí Òṣúmíláyà yóò bíí

Hin-in Òkan okùnrin, èkejì obìnrin

Hin-in Èyí okùnrin úngbe baba

Hin-in Èyí obìnrin úngbe ìyá è o

Hin-in Ọmọ ti úngbe ìyá, ọmọ tí úngbe baba

Hin-in

Hin-in Òşúmíláyà answered that she was still capable of bearing children Hin-in...
Á. Òrúnmìlà sent for the Ifá priest again Hin-in They told him that Òşúmíláyà will have a set of twins Hin-in

"Òsúmíláyà what a labour lost"

One will be male, one will be female Hin-in The First will support the father The second will support the mother Hin-in When Òsúmíláyà gave birth to the children Hin-in They were twins, one male one female Hin-in The male grew up supporting the father Hin-in The female supported their mother Hin-in Children who support and honour both father and the mother

Hin-in

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Njé ká ti máa pè é? Hin-in Èjígbèdé ọmọ mi Hin-in Ọmọ ti úngbe ìyá, ọmọ tí úngbe baba

Hin-in Èjígbèdé ọmọ mi Hin-in What shall we call them? Hin-in Oh twins, my children Hin-in Children who support and honour both father and the mother Hin-in Oh twins, my children Hin-in... (Elébunìbọn, 1999, p. 119)

# Excerpt 2: Choral recitative that comes immediately after the chant Song Text Glossing

Èjígbèdé ọmọ mi o o	Oh twins, my children
Ọmọ tí ngbè 'yá	Children who support and honour their mother
Tí ngbe baba è	Who support and honour their father
Èjígbèdé omo mi	Oh twins, my children
	(Elébunibon, 1999, p.119)

From the *Ifá* corpus that serves as the origin of *ibeji*, one can deduce the following: first, the illustration in verses comes as a clear example of *orin ibeji*, a form of song, written in a chant format. Second, it ends with another example of *orin ibeji*, a supportive choral recitative. The evidence of *orin ibeji* in *Ìyèrè Ifá* (*Èjígbèdé omo mi*), a chant and the 'choral recitative' in the discussed historical evidence at the inception is a pointer to the fact that *orin ibeji* originated in Yorùbáland at the birth of the Òrúnmilà twins. These two major musical terms, 'chant' and choral 'recitative' will be discussed extensively thereafter.

The second myth of origin claims that *ibeji* were the first set of people that *Elédùmarè* (the Supreme Deity) created. After He had created them, He put them on the earth. According to this myth, the names of the first set of twins are *Ìdámùrí* and *Èyílà*. History has it that *Òrúnmìlà* gave these beings those names at the instruction of *Elédùmarè*. These two creatures are the living things that are created through this channel and that is why they are referred to and referenced as one of the pantheons. This myth asserts that it was through this first

set of twins that other sets of twins, and the human race in general, came to be (Adéoyè, 1985).

From this second historical account of the origin of *ìbejì*, the following can be inferred: *ìbejì* is regarded as one of the pantheons and they have their deity, *Òrìşà Ìbejì*. Interestingly, if this is true of *Òrìşà ìbejì*, and in line with the Yorùbá belief system, the pantheons are regarded as special beings that should be revered and worshipped. Consequently, rituals are usually performed for pantheons and their deities. At different times, as prescribed by the *lfá* oracle, rituals are usually performed for this deity with elaborate music and ceremony. Following Omójolà (1999, p. 45), music is an integral part of an elaborate religious belief system that is characterised by a symbolic interaction between the ancestral, the divine and the mortal among the Yorùbá. This is a pointer to the fact that music has always been part of the rituals that are being performed in Yorùbáland for the pantheons, among which is *orin ìbejì* exclusively performed for *Ìbejì* and *Òrìşà Ìbejì*.

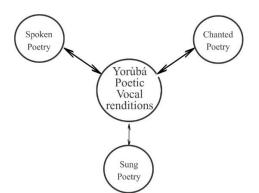
The above discussion advances the belief that *orin ibeji* originated as a sort of *ibeji* brand of dedicated divine music. This myth is in line with Adéoyè's (1985) assertion. Each pantheon, regarded as divine beings, has some sort of music dedicated to them. Therefore, if *ibeji* were to be accepted as pantheons in their own rights, it can be deduced that *orin ibeji* originated as their brand of dedicated divine music.

Besides, different deities in Yorùbá land have different drums and songs employed to worship them (Omójolà, 1999; Oláníyan, 2000; Vidal, 2012). Orin *ibejì* is a song that is performed for *Ìbejì* and *Òrìṣà Ìbejì*. Kalangú and Dùndún ensembles are the drums that are commonly used during different performances that are associated with *Ìbejì* and their deity, *Òrìṣà Ìbejì*. The evidence of orin *ibejì* in the rituals that involve *Ìbejì* and *Òrìṣà Ìbejì* in this historical illustration may be the pointer to the origin of orin *ibejì* as dated back to when the first set of twins was assumedly created by Elédùmarè.

### Styles in Yorùbá Poetic Vocal Rendition

Yorùbá musical styles can be categorized into vocal and instrumental modes. For the Yorùbá poetic vocal renditions, Vidal (2012) identified

three modes, which are: (i) spoken poetry, which is performed with a speech intonation; (ii) chanted poetry, which uses a chant intonation; and (iii) sung poetry, which follows the flow of rhythm in strict time. All these are evident in *orin ibeji*.



Three Modes in Yorùbá Poetic Vocal Rendition (Vidal, 2012, p. 152)

The spoken poetry is performed using the praise names that are associated with the twins, using a special vocal intonation. Commenting on chants, Vidal (2012) posits that chants are of different types. These, according to him, are associated with the cultural practices that establish their expressive form. Yorùbá poetic forms can be stylised, not by their content, but by the chanting modes. The same content of oral poetry can be performed in different modes; this is referred to as 'style' (Olátúnjí, 1969). With this understanding, orin ibeji, a Yorùbá musical genre can thus be classified stylistically as belonging to the class of both chanted and sung oral poetries, depending on how it is being performed or expressed in each instance. If the music being performed follows the formation of a strict rhythm, then orin ibeji can be referred to as sung poetry. On the other hand, when panegyric names and praise songs, (some of the features of oral poetry that are associated with twins) are being performed freestyle (without strict rhythm), such orin ibeji may be referred to as chanted poetry. An example of this is the Ifá corpus which can be said to be a primordial account of *ibeji* and, to which the origin of orin ibejì has been traced. Most chants in orin ibejì are usually

rendered using *ìyèrè ifá* or some other chanting styles that are peculiar to the Yorùbá culture. This is because *orin ìbejì* does not have its specific style of chant, i.e. unlike *ifá* that uses *ìyèrè ifá* or *Ògún* (the god of iron) that typically uses *ìjálá*. Omibiyi (2007) observed that Yorùbá chants are performed for traditional institutions, during festivals, ritual ceremonies, and socio-cultural events to satisfy the musical needs of the occasions. These chants and their responses can be observed to conform with the type that Adélékè (2008, p. 99) referred to generically as 'through-composed'. In a through-composed form, new music (or melodies) are created for each new set of lyrics (or verses, as the case may be). The through-composed formal structure expresses the narrative nature of the chants, where new tunes and texts (words) continually and progressively evolve with the performance. Another example of chant is seen in *oríkì ìbejì* in the musical excerpt 3 below.

# Excerpt 3:

Chant	Glossing	
Èjìrẹ́ ọ̀kín	Oh twin, the peacock	
Ějìré ùn bá bí, ùn bá jó, jó, jó,		
	Oh that I may birth twins, and I will dance and	
	dance,	
Èjìré ùn bá bi, un ba yò, yò, yò,		
	Oh that I may birth twins, and my joy will	
	overflow,	
Èjìrẹ́ Ọ̀kín ará Ìṣokùn,	Oh twin, the dweller of Isokun	
Ọmọ ẹdun, tí n ṣeré orí igi	The child of the monkey, whose playground is the	
	treetops	
Ọmọ ọtọtí ún sé ní ilệ 'lệ	The child of the great chimp, whose playground is	
	the bare floor	
Èjìrẹ́ wo ilé olówó kò lọ	The twin rejects the home of the rich	
Ó wo ilé olólà kò ya'bè,	The home of the wealthy they despise,	
Èjìrẹ́ Ọ̀kín ará Ìṣokùn,	Oh twin, the dweller of Isokun	
Ilé alákísà ló ti kíwon.	The twin chooses the home of the wretched	
Èjìrẹ́ sọ alákísà di aláṣọ	The fortune of the wretched they turn around	
Ó sọ alágbe di olóúnjẹ	The fortune of the starving turned to that who's	
	well-fed	
Ó sọ otòșì di ọlórọ	The poverty-stricken they turn to the wealthy	
Ó sọ kíni ó şe? di olókìkí.	The down-trodden they make famous	

Òkìkí owó, Òkìkí ọmọ	The fame money brings, the fame a child brings,
Bí Táyé tí n lọ níwájú,	As Taye walks elegantly ahead,
Béè ni Kéhìndé ún fi	Kehinde follows in majestic steps
pệlépệlé bộ léhìn	
Táyélolú ni omodé,	The younger is Tayelolu
Ọmókéhìndé l'ệgbón Èjìré	Omókéhìndé is the older of twins,
Táyélolú ni arán nísẹ́	Tayelolu, is the sent one
Pé kí ó lọ tọ ayé wò	on a mission to investigate the state of the world
Bí ayé dára, bí kò dára	whether it be good or bad

From this *Oríkì Ìbejì*, one could observe significant conformity with the operational definition of the *orin ìbejì* discussed earlier. It is a kind of chant (music) that is dedicated to the twins, in that, it extols the virtues of the twins. Its theme is centred on the belief systems in and around *ìbejì*, and everything that has to do with them. The greatness of what they are endowed to accomplish, which is spiritual and beyond the comprehension of man, is elucidated in the chant.

### **Choral recitative**

A choral recitative is a piece of declamatory music usually for the performance of more than one person, which is sung in a rhythmic speech-like flow. In  $\dot{E}jigbedé$  omo mi, the choral recitative is the short interjectory music that usually involves the participation of everyone present at the point of consulting the Ifa oracle. It gives a kind of narration to the main chant. The choral recitative emphasises what the verses earlier illustrated in the Ifa corpus by the diviner express. The 'choral recitative' in the Ejigbedé omo mi summarises what the Ifa corpus discussed.



### Conclusion

This paper has traced the origin of orin ibeji by engaging and considering Ifá corpus, which was regarded as a valid means of establishing facts in Yorùbáland. Two different myths about the origin of *ibeji* were discussed for the purpose. The first myth of the origin of ibeji considered and reviewed the related pieces of literature that pointed to the presence of music in the socio-cultural engagements of the Yorùbá people. It established that orin ibejì started with the birth of the Orúnmilà twins. In the discussion of the second myth, the study established that *ibeji* is one of the pantheons in Yorùbáland. Some of the characteristics of the pantheons were considered and attributed to the belief that orin ibeji originated as the ibeji specially branded dedicated songs similar to what other pantheons have. The discussion further explained the two major musical terms, chants and choral recitative that were used majorly in the establishment of the particular Ifá corpus as an example of orin *ibeji*. The musical feature of these two terms was considered in categorising *lyèrè Ifá* corpus titled *Èjígbèdé* omo mi, as a type of orin ibeji.

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