

A Comparative Study of the New Yam Festivals of Igala Kingdom and Benin Kingdom of Nigeria

¹Amb Ayegba Abdullahi Adojoh, ²Historian Izoduwa Amowie Imasuen, ³Dr Omede Abdul Solomon and ⁴Amb Valentine Opaluwa Ejeh,

¹Office of Diaspora Igala Affairs, Attah Igala Palace, and Igala Royal Archives and Museum, Attah Igala Palace, Idah, Kogi State, Nigeria,

²History and Reconnection, Benin Kingdom, Edo state,

³APIN Public Health Initiatives of Nigeria,

⁴Publisher/Editor-in-Chief, National Ethics and Values, and CEO Pencraft Books, Abuja, Nigeria.

Abstract: The aim of this research is to carry out a comparative study of the new yam festivals in Igala kingdom of Kogi state and Benin kingdom of Edo state, using interview and observation methods. The results showed that though both Igala and Benin Kingdoms celebrate new yam festival which began from time immemorial, the methods of celebration are different in some aspects. While roasted yam is used in Igala kingdom of Kogi state, pounded yam is used in Benin kingdom of Edo state; while that of Benin is done immediately after the Oba has completed a seven-day fasting in seclusion, that of Igala does not involve fasting by the Attah or any Chief; new yam festival is called Iyalo Igala in Igala kingdom while it is called Em'orho in Benin kingdom, etc. However, there are some similarities in the practices in the two Kingdoms such as; the two kingdoms forbid eating new yam before the festival is done. In both kingdoms, yellow yam is used for the feast instead of the white yam. Also, the festival is celebrated in both kingdoms to thank the gods of the land, the ancestors and God almighty for the protections during the farming period, the blessings so far on the people, and for the good harvest from the farms. It was concluded from the results that, the new yam festival in Igala and Benin kingdoms have some differences as well as many similarities. It was recommended that clan heads and/or traditional rulers in Igala land and Benin land whose people practice yam farming should celebrate the yam festival in order to attract more blessings to the land as it is the way of appreciating the ancestors and God almighty for the good harvest. This recommendation is extended to towns and people of Benin or Igala descent in various states outside Edo or Kogi state, including those outside Nigeria.

Keywords: *Ancestors, Benin, Em' orho, Igala, Iyalo, Thanksgiving*

I. INTRODUCTION

The culture of any people can be seen as the cumulative characteristic adjustment of man to his environment including adaptation to influences from intergroup relations and the exigencies for his survival. Thus, common beliefs and practices among any people are driven by their knowledge and reactions to natural and imitative experiences (Awodiet *al.*, 2022).

Festival is day or period of celebration, usually for religious or traditional purpose. It is also an event or gathering of a community, usually by a local community, which centres on some unique aspect of the community or he people. Feast is a large meal or food for many people.

There is a general belief that Benin Kingdom operated and still operating a unique and impressive socio- political and economic organization which revolves around the Oba as the

supreme head of the Kingdom (Daniel and Victor, 2020). In the same way, it is believed by Igala people that Attah is the king, a priest and is divine, hence anyone he blesses is blessed, and otherwise (Achoba, 2017).

Before the British invasion, yams played a ritual role in four related ceremonies. In the first, which opened the agricultural cycle, yams were planted in a symbolic pattern at the Oba's Ugbeku village farm. The second ceremony took place after the general harvest with the commencement of Ague-Osa, a period of fasting that required participants to abstain from eating newly harvested yams (KATH, 1997) At its conclusion, Benin's New Yam festival was celebrated,³ and budded yams were offered to paternal and maternal ancestors, deities, the unburied dead, and hostile spirits (Melzian 1959). The celebration of cultural festivals infers the spirit of communalism, to which extent people are expected to submit themselves to authority through unison and coactivity. Among the Igala people, they take political, economic or social features as commemorating coronation, conciliation in respect of certain myths, good harvest or as a propitiation for adversity and for fortune (Seton, 1927). There are various festivals celebrated by Benin people other than the new yam festival. Similarly, Igala people celebrate many other festivals apart from the new yam festival some of the festivals celebrated by Benin are Ewere, Eho, Ugue, etc, while some festivals celebrated by Igala people are Ocho, ogaganyi, Egwu, Ogbadu, Ogan, etc.

New yam festival is called Iyalo Igala or Iyalo in Igala kingdom. It literally means chewing stick of Igala. Chewing stick is the first thing that enters into the mouth before one starts to eat in the morning. This is what the new yam is regarded to do in the Igalatradition. It is the new yam that will open their mouth to eating other yams. In Benin Kingdom, new yam festival is called Em'orho. It literally means fresh yam. This is because, it is the celebration of the new yams coming from the farm.

The aim of this work is to study the relationship between the celebration of new yam festival in Igala kingdom and in Benin kingdom. Some research works have been done on some cultural festivals of the kingdoms but no recent and detailed work is done on new yam festivals celebrations in these two kingdoms.

Benin is in Edo state, and it is the headquarters of all the descendant of Idu worldwide (Naiwu, edofolks.com). It is usually referred to as the ancient Benin kingdom. Also, Idah, the ancient town, Kogi state, is the headquarters and ancestral home of all Igala worldwide. Igala are descendants of king Ata

(Djet) who ruled ancient Egypt from 300 BC to 2990 BC as the fourth king of the first dynasty rulers of ancient Egypt (Ayegba, 2020). As Pa Idu to Benin is how King Ata to Igala. Apart from the two kingdoms being the most ancient kingdoms in Nigeria, Igala people have so many related or similar cultures especially in the royal aspects with the Benin kingdom. The coronation of the two kings involve seclusion as the starting point. It also involves a long trek. Both Kings takes new names after the coronation. The burial of any deceased king takes place after some months of temporary sleep, etc. Their traditional hierarchy or structure is almost the same beginning from the supreme ruler, the prime minister, etc. There are skill workers and guilds in Benin as in Igala kingdom such as the royal hunters, royal blacksmith, the royal regalia designers, etc. Some Igala vocabularies are in Benin language too such as mother as Iye in both Igala and Benin languages, child as Oma/Omo, deity as Ebo in both Igala and Benin, banana as Ogede in both languages, etc. In addition, Igala kingdom and Benin kingdom have been best of brothers or friends right from time immemorial, and that could be attested to from various gifts shared with the other in the olden days. According to Igala oral history, in the olden days, when Attah Igalahunters kills elephant or buffalos in Igala kingdom, Attah would send the elephant tusks and part of the smoked buffalo to the Oba. In the same way, the Oba used to send gifts to Attah. One of the memorable gifts was the coconut which was presented as a gift to the Oba by foreigners. The Oba having admired and cherished it, asked his messengers to go give the Attah Igala some of the coco nuts. Till date, coconut is called Uno-Oba in Igala kingdom. Uno- Oba means the palm kernel of Oba. It is called palm kernel because it is not easily broken except the use of strong object to break it like palm kernel. There was no coco nut in Idah or Igala kingdom before that time.



HRM Omo N' Oba n' Edo uku Akpolokpolo, Oba Ewuare II, The Oba of Benin Kingdom, Edo State.



HRM Agabaidu Mathew Alaji Opaluwa Oguche Akpa II, Attah Igala Kingdom, Idah, Kogi State.



HRH Ajofe Ali Sule Ukwubile, Ogirinya Attah Igala, Idah, Kogi State.

II. MATERIALS AND METHOD

Materials: The materials used in this work is mostly primary data. The information gotten by the researchers from the people directly. The secondary data used are online and library materials.

Method: The research method is qualitative method. The interview type of qualitative method was used, and it involves phone interview and one-on-one interview. The one-on-one interview as done between the researchers and the respondents that are closer or accessible, while phone interview was used with the respondents who are not closer or accessible. Also, observation method, in addition to the interview was used. This enabled us to witness the new yam festival celebration in the two kingdoms by ourselves in order to see how it is been done. The 2023 new yam festival was celebrated in Benin kingdom by Oba of Benin, Oba Ewuare II, on October 6, 2023, that of Igala kingdom, though done by a chief, was done in Idah, Kogi state on September 30, 2023, by HRH Ajofe Ali Sule Ukwubile, the Ogirinya Attah Igala.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research question 1: What is the origin of new yam festival in Igala and Benin Kingdoms

The origin of harvest festival in general and new yam harvest festival in particular, in Igala kingdom started from their origin; the ancient Egypt. It was called Min festival then, named after the god of Min. It was an appreciation to the god of agriculture, Min, and the ancestors (Min, Britannica.com). The new yam festival in Benin was to thank God almighty for the bountiful harvest of the yam, one of the major foods in Benin Kingdom. After planting the yams, it was found to have produced well during the harvest. The ancestors were to be appreciated for the knowledge and the blessing from the farm (Curnow, 1997).

Research question 2: How is new yam festival celebrated in Igala and Benin Kingdoms?

According to HRH Ajofe Ali Sule Ukwubile, the Ogirinya Attah Igala- Adagbo, of Idah, Kogi state, the new yam festival of Igala is called Iyalo Igala. The yam used is the Igala yam called Ebina in Igala. It is a yellow yam which is the one we farm. It is a special festival and it involves special beniseed soup with catfish or another "talking" fish called omodo in Igala language is used. But yam festival in Igala Kingdom is celebrated at different levels or stages. The overall is the one done by Attah Igala. The next is the community/clan traditional leaders or town heads. This is followed in hierarchy by the clan head and finally, the family level. The one by Attah and other towns' traditional rulers are mostly related or similar. The process:

When the Igala yam is ready to be brought home, the day of the yam festival will be fixed. Before this time, new yam will not be eaten especially by the elders and traditional leaders. On the day of the event, yam tubers of bigger sizes are roasted on the fire. As they are roasting the tubers of yam which is the Igala yellow yam not the white yam, there will a cooking of soup going on. This soup is called *ichekelemi*. It is a soup for the ancestors. It is made with *benniseeds*. This type of *benni* seed soup is a peculiar one. It has some specific fishes that must be used. Those fishes are the ones that can "talk". Examples are *catfish*, *doctor fish* and the one called *Omaodo* in Igala language. Any of these three fishes can be used for the soup but it must be dry ones. Palm oil and all other soup ingredients can be added as a soup. Already, the yams been roasted are getting done. When fully done, there is a special knife kept in the temple of the ancestors. The knife will be brought and it will be used to peel the roasted yams. In those days, wooden plates were used. It is called *okpa*. The yams will be cut into smaller pieces in the big *Okpa* or modern plate now as the case may be. When the soup is cooked, and is ready, it will be brought down from the fire. In those days, wooden spoon is used. It is called *Uporo*. It is used to fetch the soup into the yam. That is, the soup will be fetched and poured on the pieced yams in the *Okpa*. This will be brought to the temple where the ancestors were usually prayed to. Drinks, water, kola nuts, are brought along with the yam. Prayers are made to the Ancestors. Thanks are given to them for the harvest and the blessings till the time of harvest. Prayers also made for the future protection and blessings up on the people of the land. And for continuous good yield of the land, the land or earth is also mentioned and prayed to during the process. When the prayer is concluded, libation is made, wine poured in small quantity on land, kola nut is broken for the Ancestors, a piece of yam is dropped for the Ancestors to eat first before any other persons. After all this, the remaining yam and other items will be brought out, and the general public can now eat or be served with. In some cases, the one from the temple is eaten by those immediate members there while the public is served with the remaining yams roasted but not taken to the temple. Drinks are served with. There will be songs and traditional musical performances including coming out of *Masquerade* or *Masquerades* depending on the level of the celebration the leader or the people prepared for. It can last for as long as there is drinks and food for the people.

But is family level, it may not involve much activities. The head of the house, when he noticed that the yam is ready for eating, he will take about two tubers home and drop at the earth god spot and the other in the temple of the Ancestors or the spot where he normally prays to the Ancestors. In some cases, only one tuber of yam is brought and brought to the earth god. There, the family head will call on the Ancestors, and thank them for the blessings and protection. He will also thank the earth for the yield, and prays that there should be no death and sickness in the family. After doing this, he can bring yam home the next day. Failure to do results in different sicknesses some times when the new yam is eaten at home by family members.

According to HRH Abdul Ben Egene, the Onu Idaka, of Dekina, Kogi state, in Idaka chieftdom, the clan head do celebrate the yam festival to thank the Ancestors for their blessings, though it is not done as a festival with many people. When the yams are mature for harvest, the feast is done. Even family members celebrate it too but only those who do yam farming are the ones who observe the festival or ritual as the case may be. In our case as a clan, Idaka, before the yam is

brought home for the consumption by the general public or family members, some tubers are brought home, roasted, and cut into smaller pieces in a plate and used to thank the ancestors. Palm oil is used with oil by pouring some quantity on the yams in the plate. One or two pieces are given to the ancestors by dropping it down for them at the temple. When this rite is observed, everyone is free to eat new yam now or celebrate it at family level already. At family level, a raw tuber of yam directly from the farm can be used by the family head to pray to the ancestors by dropping it for them or roast it and sacrifice it to them. It is mandatory to celebrate the yam feast or perform the rite by those who farm yams before the new yam is brought home for the members of the family to eat. New yam festival is done to thank our ancestors for the blessings, good health throughout the farming period and for the good yield of the yams.

According to HRH Atadoga Ibrahim Adamu, the Inalogu Attah Igala, of Idah, Kogi state, Yam festival called *Iyalo Igala* is one of Ata's festivals after *Egwu* festival. The announcement has to be made from the Ata for commencement of the yam festival/ eating known *Egwu-je*. After the announcement, all will bring their yams home from the farms and that is referred to as *Iyalo Igala*.

The yam is roasted on fire. After that, make soup of '*Igogo*' (*beniseed*) without oil and with good fish and pepper. Split the yam into smaller sizes and then spray the soup on top of the yam in a plate (*okpa* in Igala). Drinks are added or served with to the people.!. The celebration/ funfair follows.

According to Pa James Ihiabe, formerly a staff of the palace of Attah Igala, In Igala, new yam festival is done within families and not celebrated in a large way. When your yam is ready for consumption, one tuber is brought home by the head of the family, and is given to the family deity and the Ancestors as a sacrifice. After that, the yam can be brought home for the family members to eat. In the same way, when the yam of another family is ready for consumption, the man will do the same, and then, the family members can eat the yam. New yam festival of Igala people is called *Iyalo Igala*, and it is one of the major and ancient Igala traditional festivals or feasts.

Chief Yunusa Ocheje, the Ocheje Attah Igala, of Okete Ocheje, Idah, Kogi state, summarises his own that new yam festival is celebrated with roasted yam and *beni* seeds soup with special or Igala traditional fishes such as *catfish*. The roasted yam is cut into smaller pieces, and the soup put on it which is used as sacrifice to the ancestors for the blessings and coming back from farm with good harvest.

According to Pa Aiko Obobaifo of Benin Kingdom, Edo state, the new yam celebration in Benin is a very important feast. The *Omo N' Oba* is the one that will start it first. The yam used to celebrate New Yam festival in Benin is a Benin yam. It is a yellow type of yam. When yam is mature for harvest, the *Oba*, the Chiefs and some family heads will celebrate the feast. His Majesty, the *Omo N, Oba* will start the celebration. It involves the use of pounded yam, and soup, water, ...

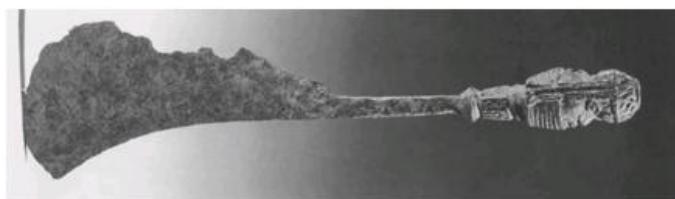
The *Omo N' Oba* has the ancestral temple in his palace. Also, every Benin clan or family has an ancestral shrine or temple. His Majesty, the *Oba* celebrate his own in his Temple. From the pounded yam, a piece is cut and put on the altar of the temple. Also, a piece is cut from the remaining pounded yam, dipped in the oil soup and thrown through the door to the outside. This is to those who do not come home to eat.

Water is sprinkled on the ground for the ancestors to make the land peace and development of the land. After that, there will

be more eating and drinking by the people. After the Omo N' Oba has celebrated his own, it becomes the turn of the Chiefs. Each Chief will celebrate with pounded yam too, and it must be the Benin yam. The celebration is based on the how economically buoyant one is. After the chiefs have celebrated their own, it becomes the turn of family heads. The same process is also followed using pounded yam too. The soup made with the pounded yam can be made with goat, bull or cow depending on the financial condition at that time. But one thing is that while it is not that compulsory for the ordinary Benin descendants not to eat new yam before the feast, it is a taboo for the Omo N' Oba and his chiefs to eat the new yam if not when they have celebrated the feast. After these celebrations, it is now declared that everyone can eat new yam wherever they are.

According to Pa Oseleke David, new yam festival of Benin Kingdom is called Emoro (Em'orho). Em 'Orho is a festival of harvest and its consumption by the people of Edo state. It is a festival during which the Omo N' Oba, and the heads of families appreciate the ancestors and gods of the land for the bountiful harvest of the yams. The festival or activity is first started by the king, the Omo N, Oba. In the Royal Palace in Benin City, the Ague rite is commenced or done before the Emoro festival. Ague festival or rite is when the king goes into seven days of seclusion with some selected chiefs. After that immediately is the Em 'Orho festival. In that seclusion, the monarch embarks on a fast for seven days with some chiefs. The Em 'Orho of Benin kingdom is celebrated with pounded yam, goat meat, or bush meat soup. Em 'Orho means fresh yam, and this pounded yam is done with the new or fresh yam. The yams used for the festival is yellow yam which is the one planted in Benin. Yam festival in Edo is celebrated as a thanksgiving to the ancestors and God almighty for making the crops produce be in good form and for the blessings throughout the farming period to the harvest period.

According to Mr Osas Eghosa of Benin kingdom, Edo state, new yam festival of Benin kingdom is celebrated by the oba and his Chiefs as well as some family heads. It involves the use of pounded yam and meat soup especially goat meat. The food is offered to the Gods of the land and the ancestors for a new yam harvest, and to pray for further protections.



Broze type of the Knife used for peeling yam in the palace of the Oba of Benin during new yam festival in the olden days. It is currently in the USA museum



The type of Knife used for peeling roasted yams in Igala kingdom during new yam festivals. It is always kept in the temple of the ancestors in the palace, or at the house of the head of the clan.

Comparatively:

While the one in Benin Kingdom involves the use of pounded yam, the yam festival in Igala kingdom is done with roasted yams, and in some cases, just one tuber of raw yam as in the case of family level of the celebration or marking of the new yam arrival. In the case of Benin, goat meat or bush meat is used for making the soup, but in Igala kingdom, only some peculiar fishes such as catfish, doctor fish are used for making the soup which must be made with benniseed. While the name of the new yam festival in Igala is called Iyalo Igala which means "chewing stick of Igala", as chewing stick is the first thing that goes into the mouth in the morning before eating food, the name in Benin Kingdom is Em'orho, meaning "fresh yam", as it is done only when fresh yam is coming from the farm. There is a seven-day fasting by the Oba and some chiefs before the yam festival, there is no fasting by Attah or any chief or family head before the festival. In Igala, it is mandatory for any family farming yam to carry out the feast or sacrifice before the yam is brought home for the family members to avoid sickness after eating. It is not like that in Benin.

Though, there are some differences in the celebrations in the two kingdoms, some similarities still exist. Some of these are new yam is not eaten by the monarchs or the people before the festival is held. Both celebrations in Igala kingdom of Kogi state and Benin Kingdom of Edo state involve the thanking of the ancestors, gods of the land and God almighty. Both involve the gathering of people or community members to eat and drink together, hence strengthening the bond between the clan and family members. In both, the general and the first new yam festival is done by the king in both kingdoms before others. The celebration in the two kingdoms is from around September and October which is the time their yam is ready for harvest. In addition, the yellow yam used in Benin is the same type of yam used in Igala kingdom for the new yam festival.

This new yam harvest festival, though which has gone through various changes due to time, modernization, and external interferences as encountered in the two kingdoms- invasion of Benin kingdom by the British and the suspension of the yam festival, and the outright banning of the Igala own by the same British, but still celebrated in the two most ancient in Nigeria Kingdoms (Igala and Benin) till date, it confirms that kingdoms, peoples and towns of Igala or Benin descent across various states of Nigeria such as Onitsha, Atani, Ogburu, Anaku, etc in Anambra state, or those of Igala or Benin ancestry in Enugu, Ebonyi, and other South-East states, as well as Asaba, Agbo, Iseleuku, Ashaka, Umukwata, Ogume, Oko, Boki, Okpanam, Ika, Abbi, Idumujes, Onicha, Aika, Amai, Umukwata, Ossissa, Ebu, Ikwere, Ogba, Akpor, Egi, Obosi, Aboh, Illah, Igbanke, Ifeku, Uloshi, Inyele, Nsukwa etc. in South-south Nigeria who are celebrating the new yam festival yearly are celebrating the festival of their Benin or Igala ancestors as their ancestral heritage preservation and promotion.

CONCLUSION

The comparative study of the new yam festivals in Igala kingdom of Kogi state and Benin kingdom of Edo state have been carried out using interview and observation methods. It was observed that though both Igala and Benin Kingdoms celebrate new yam festival, the method of celebration is not completely the same as there are some differences in the modes of their celebration. While roasted yam is used in Igala kingdom, pounded yam is used in Benin Kingdom; while that of Benin is done immediately after the Oba has completed a

seven-day fasting in seclusion with some chiefs, that of Igala does not involve fasting by the Attah or any chief, new yam festival is called Iyalo Igala in Igala kingdom, but it is called Em'orho in Benin kingdom, etc. However, despite some differences, the two kingdoms forbid eating new yam before the new yam festival is done. In both kingdoms, yellow yam is used for the feast instead of the white yam. Also, the festival is celebrated in both kingdoms to thank the gods of the land, the ancestors and God almighty for the protections during the farming period, the blessings so far on the people and for the good harvest of the farm. In conclusion, the new yam festival in Igala and Benin kingdoms have some differences, but with many similarities.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that clan heads and/or traditional rulers in Igala land whose people practice yam farming should celebrate the yam festival in order to attract more blessings to the land as it is the way of appreciating the ancestors and God almighty for the good harvest. This recommendation is extended to towns and people of Benin or Igala descent in various states outside Edo or Kogi state, including those outside Nigeria.

References

- [1] Achoba Fidelis (2017): African traditional religion in Igalaland, Nigeria (c 1000 - date).RJHIS, Vol. 4 (1). Pp 35 -62.
- [2] Awodi, Martina Mamenoka, Amana, Isaac Akogwu, Akowe, Joel, and Attah, Emmanuel Yusuf (2022): "Culture and National Integration: A study of cultural festivals among the Igala speaking people of Kogi state, Nigeria". International Journal of Advanced Academic Research. vol. 8 (11), pp 18 – 29
- [3] Ayegba Abdullahi Adojoh (2020): "A Study of Igala Origin: An Evidence-Based Approach". International Journal of Trend in Research and Development, Vol. 7(4), pp 250 – 254.
- [4] Curnow, Kathy (1997). "The Art of Fasting: Benin's Ague Ceremony." African Arts 30, pp 46-53. Art Full Text (H.W. Wilson), EBSCOhost. Web.
- [5] Chief Yunusa Ocheje: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Igala kingdom of Kogi state?, on October 9, 2023.
- [6] Daniel Ayodele Orobator and Victor Osahon Aiguoarueghian (2020): Regaining the Lost Heritage: A Critique of the Revival of Igue Festival in Benin, Nigeria.
- [7] HRH Ajofe Ali Sule Ukwubile: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Igala kingdom of Kogi state?, on October 10, 2023.
- [8] HRH Abdul Ben Egene: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Igala kingdom of Kogi state?, on October 8, 2023.
- [9] HRH Atadoga Ibrahim Adamu: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Igala kingdom of Kogi state?, on September 20, 2023.
- [10] Melzian, Hans. 1937. A Concise Dictionary of the Bini Language of Southern Nigeria. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- [11] Min: Fertility, Harvest and festivals, www.britannica.com
- [12] Mr Osas Eghosa of Benin kingdom, Edo state: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Benin kingdom of Edo state?, on October 5, 2023.
- [13] Naiwu Osahon. Ogiso Dynasty (Before the Obas of Benin), www.edofolks.com.
- [14] Osarumwense, C. O. "Igue Festival and British Invasion of Benin 1897: The Violation of a People's Culture and Sovereignty", *African Journal of History and Culture*, vol. 6, No. 1, 2014, p. 1
- [15] Pa James Ihiabe: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Igala kingdom of Kogi state?, on October 16, 2023.
- [16] Pa Aiko Obobaifo: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Benin kingdom of Edo state?, on October 15, 2023.
- [17] Pa Oselekepe David: Interview by the authors on what is the mode of celebration of new yam festival in Benin kingdom of Edo state?, on October 17, 2023.
- [18] Seton, S. (1929) Report on the Igala tribe- Customs and Religion, Lokoprof.37 Stevens, P. (1975) The Kisra legend and the distortion of historical tradition" *Journal of African History*, XVI 2, pp185-200 in Gavin, R.J. 1979)