The Concepts and Contextualization of Incantations in Nigerian Popular Music: *Juju* Music as Paradigm

Kayode Olusola  
Department of Performing Arts  
Olabisi Onabanjo University  
Ago-Iwoye Nigeria.  
kayode.ulusola@oouagoiwoye.edu.ng

**Abstract**

The Yoruba people like any other African tribe are enriched with magical and other traditional spiritual powers that are capable of invoking spirits and deities. These powers actualized with incantation as one of the Yoruba oral literature, to achieve a particular spiritual purpose. This paper discusses the concepts and contextualization of incantations by some Nigerian Juju musicians as part of their music in order to highlight various types and their socio-religious roles. Data is collected through primary and secondary sources, and this paper relies on culture change and role theories in musicology as fulcrum for discourse. The findings revealed that the incantation used in Juju music contain texts requesting for spiritual protection, defensive-attack against enemy, as well as for fame and financial success. Discovered that the incantation performed in spoken-verse or song form as prescribed by the spiritualists consulted. This paper concludes that, apart from musicians’ creativity, the culture change witnessed in terms of the use of incantation in juju music in the 1970s, was because of the borrowed creativity influenced by different Yoruba traditional spiritual poetry. This paper therefore highlights and document the phenomenon of incantation as a Yoruba linguistic verbal art in popular music in Nigeria.
Keywords: Juju music, Incantation, Ọfọ, Ògèdè, Àyájọ, Awórò, Mádàríkàn

Introduction

Voluble praise, encomium and reminiscence are always part of the traditional musical practice among the Yoruba and Africans in general, and the hegemony of popular music amidst other musical types from the late 1940s has resulted in its being the most patronized musical type in Nigeria. Just like in any other African and world society, there exist different forms of popular music in the Yoruba society which is the most frequently used and serves major function of entertainment in all social gatherings and recreation. Contrary to expectations that the parameter for any genre of music to receive scholarly cogitation is predicated on its social relevance in term of functionality and significance; hence popular music remains the least researched among the various Nigerian musical genres probably due to its dwindling qualities in term of traditional values and cultural concepts. (Olusola, 2018:2)

Since the pre-colonial era the Yorùbá have been playing the vanguard role in influencing the direction of popular music in Nigeria. For instance, Jùjú and Highlife forms of popular music which originated in Lagos in the 1920s and 1950 respectively blends entertainment and Yorùbá aesthetics functions of music as a transmitter and propeller of cultural ethics and values system through their song texts. Also, the blend of talking drum and other African instruments with Western instruments and technologies in Juju and Fuji have made them represented Nigeria globally through icons like Victor Olaiya, Orlando Owoh and king Sunny Ade being signed to a major label like Island records in the 1980s. (See Waterman 1995: 38-39, Ohikelome, 2013:76).

Some early conceptualization of Nigerian popular music by scholars includes Omibiyi-Obidike (1981) who described it as corpus of music which is widely accepted and commonly liked by the masses, while its popular acceptance is usually overtly demonstrated by large scale participation usually created specifically for commercial purposes but with the objective of providing entertainment. Also using the Yorùbá music practice as a reference Akin Euba described popular music as those associated with nightclub or with private parties or other social contexts in which merriment (àríyá), leisure and consumption of beverages are prime objectives. Popular music was also was perceived by some scholars like Ekweme (1985), Onyeji (2002) and Akpan (2006) as music associated with Night clubs, illicit sex and of little or no moral impact on the people and the society.

Incantation as a Yoruba linguistic verbal art could be in either song, spoken-verse or poetry forms. Researchers like Olabimtan (1971), Fabunmi
(1979) and Agbaje (1989) also claim that incantation is an important aspect of Yoruba oral literature that can be divided into three categories namely chant, song and recitation. Akinyemi (2003) while discussing Yoruba oral literature and its influence on indigenous education among the children observed that oral art among the Yoruba people is becoming more popular and essential phenomenon due to its functions and relevance to the various sectors of the society.

Incantation as one of the Yoruba oral art consists of magical words that are recited, sung or chant in order to achieve a spiritual purpose. However, Opoola (2019) assert that incantation, which is traceable to the Osanyin deity, can be defined as a combination of carefully arranged speeches or words in a poetic form and the use makes things work quickly as the users wish or words that make human wishes come to reality with immediate effect.

During the formative period of juju music between 1940s and end of 60s, the lyrics of juju music was largely observed to dominated by Christian lyrics, true-life experiences, story-telling, and love. Text content in Juju music also includes Yoruba proverbs and aphorism, currents affairs or social situations as well as praise-singing and eulogy of some notable and influential individuals in the society. The emergence of the use of incantation as part of text content in juju music began in the early 1970s in the music of popular musicians like Kayode Fashola, Sunny Ade, Emperor P. Peters, Ebenezer Obey, Principal Adekunle and Orlando Owoh among others. This was because of different spiritual and other social factors affecting the musicians and the profession in general.

Relying on Merriam’s (1964) Functionality and Culture Change theories in musicology, this paper examines the emergence of Yoruba incantation texts and its contextualization in juju music in order explicate its functional roles on both the popular society and the musicians.

**Theoretical Framework**

Due to the peculiar nature of this work, this paper relies on Merriam’s (1964) dual theories of Culture Change and Functionality as premise for discuss. The theory of Culture Change as advanced by Merriam, (1964) states that change is a constant variable in human experience although rates of change differ from one culture to another and from one aspect to another within a given culture. The theory of culture change further states that no culture escapes the dynamics of change over time since culture is also stable, that is, no cultures change wholesale and over-night as the threads of continuity ran through every culture. Music is said to be an expression of innermost feeling, the concept of Yoruba incantation and its contextualization
emerged in Juju music as against the usual musical culture of story-telling, illicit dance, praise singing and entertainment (*fáájì* or *Áríyá*). This was because of influence of certain social issues, personality clashes, religious belief or psychological circumstances experienced during inter-relationship between the musicians, which invariably have influence on their compositions. This thereby, made this culture change in juju music inevitable.

Merriam’s (1964) Functionality in musicology theory on the other hand, stressed that music assumes different functions and plays different diverse roles in any society. It further stressed on the role of music in promulgating change in the society. According to him, ‘among the Yoruba and other Africans, the aesthetics of any music genre is predominantly rooted in the relevance and functionality of such music within the society and it had been advanced that no music is or should be without a purpose or roles it plays in the society. Therefore, on this note, music is clearly indispensable to the proper promulgation of the activities that constitute a society. It is a universal human behavior and without it, it is questionable that man could truly be called man, with all it implies’ (Merriam. 1964).

Since music must have a functional relevance in any African society according to Merriam, the emergence of, and contextualization of incantation texts in juju music is aimed at performing some roles in terms of communicating to the meta-physical or the spiritual forces, either positively to the musicians or negatively against a perceived enemy or to achieve some spiritual purposes. Juju musicians are able to extend these roles to the people in the society, especially those who may find the incantation texts in the music relevant to their situations at different context and time.

**Concepts of Incantation among the Yoruba**

The Yoruba people believe that there are metaphysical or spiritual solution to some problems or ailments. Many Yoruba people believe that some problems or ailments cannot be explained or solved through orthodox medicine. Therefore, the Yoruba traditional spiritualists or divination priests known as ‘Babaláwo’ and herbalists called ‘*Ońṣègùn*’ are consulted as alternative to medical doctors.

Incantation known as ‘*ọfọ* or *ọgèdè*’ or ‘*àyájọ́*’ in Yoruba language is an oral spiritual or magical statements either in spoken, or chanted form that are usually memorized and recited as part of the major requirements to achieve a spiritual or metaphysical purpose. Some herbal concussion prepared by the Yoruba traditional herbalists requires certain incantation for the herbs to perform its expected functions. Some other incantations recited by the traditional
spiritualists to communicate to the metaphysical beings in order for them to receive spiritual assistance or solution to their personal or client’s problem.

Opoola (2019) consider the poetic form of incantation as well as its text content as carefully arranged speeches or words created by spiritual beings in order to communicate and make things work quickly as they wish. According to Opoola, the use of incantation makes things work miraculously as the users wish or words that make human wishes come to reality with immediate effect. Personal names of both living and non-living things are not only essential but inescapable. ‘Incantation (ọfọ) among the Yoruba, is a verbal aspect of African magic, used to procure non-therapeutic needs of man’ (Dopamu 1977).

According to Opoola, incantation may be regarded as a means of achieving our spiritual goals with immediate effect with these carefully selected spiritual words. The Yorùbá people believe that there are two types of incantation namely ọfọ rere or Ìyájọ́ rere (good incantations) and ọfọ búburú or Ìyájọ́ burúkú (bad incantations). He explained further by describing

‘Both ọfọ́ rere and ọfọ́ burúkú are useful in one way and the other for human existence. In order to render any type of effective incantation, personal names of both living and non-living things are not only essential but inescapable.

Sequel to the above assertion, Ajayi (2011) considers incantation (ọfọ) as the spoken word believed by Africans to produce magical effects, when used by man to control the world around him. An ọfọ or Ìyájọ́ or ògèdè (incantation) may be good or bad. The good incantations such as, the incantation for attracting clients (afèèrò), for escaping from calamity or misfortune (afore), for poison antidotes (opore), for activating memory (ìsòyè), for (aporó) self-defense (màdàrikàn), for good luck/fortune are used to procure the total well-being of man while the bad incantations such as ọgèdè and ãásán are used to kill, harm or cause misfortune to people in the society. Essentially, Ọfọ used in almost every sphere of human activities - social, economic, political and medical.

Ọlábímtán (1974) considered symbolism in Yorùbá Traditional incantatory poetry. Olatúnjí (1984) focused incantation as an important aspect of Yorùbá oral literature and classified Yorùbá oral literature into three categories namely chant song and recitation. According to him, incantation comes under recitation. Another writer is Buckley (1986) who elaborated on Yorùbá medicine generally but without special reference to incantation (see also Agbájé:1989; Agbájé: 1993). Rájí (1991) as well, makes a collection of Ìjìnle ọfọ, Ògèdè and Æásán (different types of incantation) but he does not discuss the functions of
any of them. In addition, none of these writers attempted to discuss incanta-
tion as a means of communication in Yorùbá land.

It is important to note that, incantation as a spiritual poetry used for magical
or ritual purposes can be used for positive and negative purposes, depending
on the user. Incantation used as compliments for a prepared spiritual concoc-
tion by a spiritualist before it can perform the expected spiritual function(s).
Incantations can also be rendered on its own for a spiritual or magical action
to take place. Yoruba people make use of incantation for healings, praises of
the spiritual beings, self-defenses and to make their sacrifices or rituals to be
auspicious. Specific names of both living and non-living things are inevitable
in Yoruba incantations.

**Contextualization of Yoruba Incantation (Ọfò or Àyájó) in the Lyrics of Juju Music**

Juju music in its formative and developmental period in the 1940s and
1960s largely observed to have texts dominated by storytelling, satirical, love
and illicit sex. Juju music also consists of lyrics with Yoruba proverbs and
aphorism, currents affairs or social situations as well as praise-singing and
eulogy of some notable and influential individuals in the society. The contex-
tualization of words of incantation as part of text content of juju music began
1960s as a practice, but the phenomenon became more noticeable in the mid-
1970s in the Southwest part of Nigerian where juju music was originated and
flourished.

Yoruba Incantations are of different types and used at different purposes
depending on the context. In Juju music, musicians and composers exploited
the use of different types of incantations as part of their music lyrics accord-
ing to their types and their expected socio-political roles at different context.
These shall be examined discussed subsequently.

**Incantation for Eulogy of a god or deity**

There are incantation in form of eulogy to a deity, god or a super human
being. In this context, the name and attributes of the deity or god expressed
in the incantation. Omoljola (2010) have explored the ways in which drums,
chants, and masks function as tools of performance and as objects of religious
worship and how performers act as intermediaries between spiritual forces
and humans. According to Omoljola, drums and rhythms function as a means
of delineating the character of individual gods, of invoking their presence as
well as of performing sacred texts associated with their worship. Omoljola
stated further that:
‘Yoruba religious ritual performances are defined by the constant interplay of the elements of play and spirituality as controlled by the agency of the performer. The constant engagement between the elements of play and spirituality in Yoruba performance provides the setting for understanding the role of the Yoruba performer as a mediator between temporal and spiritual domains of existence.’ (Omojola: 2010. P.31)

In line with Omojola’s assertion above, Sunny Ade in his song title ‘Ògún Onírè’ sang the eulogy of Ògún (Yoruba god of iron) in his song ‘Ògún Lákáayé’ in his Album titled ‘Ogun Part One’ in 1972 where he chanted the praise incantation of Ogun thus:

Ògún lákáayé mámà jéka ríjà rẹ
Ó wá d’iléée Ògún ooo onírè ọkọọ̀ mi
Ólómi nilé féjẹ wẹ
Ô láso n’ílélé fi imọ̣ kímọ̀ bora
Méta l’Ògún, Ògún onílé nií j’ajá
Ògún onímólı̀ nií mújẹ
Ògún oní-gbàjámọ̀ oje ịgị nií mu

(May we not experience the wrought of Ogun
Ògún of Ire our master deity
He who has water but bath with blood
He who has cloth but dresses in palm leaves
Ògún is in triplet, the domestic one eats dog
It is Ògún of the oracle that drinks blood
Ogun that cultivates drinks the fluids from the tree)

The words of incantation on Ògún’s eulogy above has the significant function of serving as the pivot to seeking the assistance of Ògún for spiritual protection and safety from any dangers in form of motor accidents. The incantation is used for seeking Ògún’s attention and appeal to him for spiritual assistance. Ogundare (oral interview 2022) explained that, since most of the musical instruments including their vehicles of the musicians are products of the Ògún (god of iron) according to the Yoruba people’s belief, it is very important for the musicians to appease the spirit of Ògún frequently. By doing this it is believed that their instruments will not be used spiritually against them by their enemies or rivals.

Apart from the incantation for eulogy of the gods, the Yoruba people believe that Olódùmarè (Supreme Being) have given some human beings especially women, some mystical powers to control some forces in the universe.
These women with these mystical powers called *Aje* (witches) also known as ‘àwọn ayé or àwọn iyá Òsòròngà’ (mothers of the odd world). The juju musicians also make use of words of incantation that eulogizes the witches in the society in order to seek for their support and favour in their profession. One of such songs include the Sunny Ade’s song where he sang the spoken poetry titled ‘Ìbà ‘Éyin Ìyá Mi’ in the Album titled *E Ṣù Bìrì È Bò Mí*. The song reads thus:

Ìbà èyin iyá mi Òpàkín Àlàkín  
Ají gini, arin gini  
Arin gini  gini w’ojà  
Tí kí jé k’érú kó b’ómòdé títí d’ojó alé  
Àwọn lóní kán f’òwọ t’èmi w’òmí o  
Torí ówọ o kókó lafi ñ’wogí  
Òwọ Òrìṣà lafi ñwọ àfín  
Wón ní kin mà sú s’épo  
Mo sú s’épo, won ò bámi wí rará  
Wón ní kin mà tó s’áàlà  
Mo tó s’áàlà, won ò bámi wí rará  
Ènikan kíi bá sèkèṣèke lórùn èsìnsìn  
Àkèré lóní kán mà torí mi kě  
Àjà lò ní kán mà torí mi jìn

(I pay homage to you my great mothers of the odd world  
The elegant mothers that rise and walks soothingly  
Mothers who walks tenderly through the market  
You that gives confidence to your dependents.  
They have commanded them to respect me  
because a tree is respected because of its buds  
an Albino is respected as a spiritual being  
Enemies restricted me from achieving certain goods  
I achieved those goods without restrictions.  
Enemies tried to prevent me from achieving success  
I achieved those success unpreventably  
A housefly can never be found chained down  
The people shall not cry because of me  
Evil shall not happen because of me)

The song above consists of words of incantation for the eulogy of the witches (àjẹ). *Juju* musicians in Nigeria believed that when they eulogize or pay homages to the witches in the society with incantations, they would
succeed in their music profession as well as enjoying the spiritual protection by from witches against rival or any other evil forces.

**Incantation for Spiritual Self-defense and Protection**

Sequel to Opoola’s (2019) observation that the Yorùbá people believe that there are two types of incantation namely *ọfọ̀ rere* (good incantation) and *ọfọ̀ bùburú* (bad incantation). Juju musicians at times make use of good incantation (*ọfọ̀ rere*) and positive statement in the text of their music to pray, defend and protect themselves from a perceived evil or against negative metaphysical forces planned towards them. Awodele (Oral interview 2022) explained that music as a profession is a worldly and delicate profession that they needs to be diabolic for the enemies and rivals not to harm them. That is why they seek for spiritual self-defense and protection. The example of this type of incarnation for spiritual self-defense is found in Ebenezer Obey’s song titled ‘Ẹkilọ Fún Bọ̀bọ́ Yèn’ in the Album *Ebè T’óbá Fara Wé’gún* where he sang and recited incantation thus:

*Ẹ kilọ̀ fún Bọ̀bọ̀ yen, kóyé gbèrò bùburú sí wa*

*Ènì bá báwa ri, kó báwa sọfun*

*Wipé abéré à lọ, kònà okùn tó di*

*Kèrègbè tófó, dèhin léhin odò*

*Oṣò ilé dèhin léhin mi*

*Kèrègbè tófó, dèhin léhin odò*

*Àjé ilé dèhin léhin mi*

*Kèrègbè tófó, dèhin léhin odò*

(Warn our enemy to stop planning evil against us
Whoever sees him should help us to explain to him
that nothing stops a needle from going through cloth
A broken gourd must stopped going to river to fetch
The wizards within my clan should desist from me
A broken gourd must stopped going to river to fetch
The witches within my clan should desist from me
A broken gourd must stopped going to river to fetch)

The lyrics above in Ebenezer Obey’s song is an example an incantation used for self-defense and protection against a perceived evil or enemy who insists in trying to do evil against a person despite his previous failed attempts. The song is serving as spiritual words for self-protection and command to all the known and secret enemies to desist from the attack.
Incantation for Good-luck and Financial Fortune.

Ajayi (2011) also observed that the Yoruba make use incantation known as *ọfọ̀ àwúre*, coupled with certain medical preparation or concoction to possess money, children, wives, love of people, to make good sales and to secure some other blessings that make life worthy of living. Simply put, *ọfọ̀ àwúre* means an incantation or charm used for good-luck or fortune. Among the Yoruba people, there are incantation for good luck and financial fortune. According to Aileru (an informant, 2022), many *juju* musicians seek spiritual help from diviners or traditional spiritualists known as *Babalawo* for fame and financial prosperity in their music profession. He stated further thus:

‘Whenever musicians come to us (spiritualist) for spiritual help, we will do either Awóró’ (crown puller) or ‘Àwúre (commercial patronage) for them. We normally make use of herbs and black soap, which they have to bath with, and others are rubbed on series of short blade-cuts on their head before they go out for performance of recording. Sometimes we tell them to go and use the given incantation in their songs for it to yield desired spiritual results’ (Aileru: 2022)

The above assertion probably explains the reason why some juju musicians incorporate short and long verses of incantation texts in their musical compositions. Ebenezer Obey’s song titled ‘Orí Mímá Jé’n Té’ in the album titled *Gbèjà Mi Èdùmàrè*, where he sang the following words of incantation in this music

**Lead:** Orí mi mámá jẹ’n tẹ o
**Chorus:** tẹtè kii tẹ te

**Lead:** Èdá mi mámá jé’n tẹ o
**Chorus:** tẹtè kii tẹ te

Ori Agbe nií gbére pàdé Olókun
Ori Àlùkò nií gbére pàdé Òlòsà
Èwá tètè gbére tèmí kò mí o

**Lead:** Orí mi mámá jé’n tẹ o
**Chorus:** tẹtè kii tẹ te

**Lead:** May my spiritual head never let me be disgraced
**Chorus:** May I never be disgraced

**Lead:** May my creator never let me be disgraced
**Chorus:** May I never be disgraced

It is the *Agbe* bird that carries blessings to Olókun
It is the Àlùkò bird that carries blessings to Ọlósà
Spirits shall go and bring my own fortunes to me
**Lead:** May my spiritual head never let me be disgraced
**Chorus:** May I never be disgraced

The words of incantation above as used in the music of Ebenezer Obey is a magical words of spiritual command for financial/commercial success in businesses or profession as well as general fortunes in life. The incantation is directed towards the spiritual forces capable of bringing those fortunes and successes to quickly bring them. Other song in this category is the song titled ‘E Şu Bíriri Bọ̀ Mí’ by Sunny Ade and ‘Đélé Mì Kò Níkù’ by Dele Abiodun in the Album *Kì Ŝe Mímọ̀ Ŝe’* among others

**Incantation for Defensive-attack against Enemy or Rival**

There are incantations for fighting spiritual battles among the Yoruba. These incantations used as a defensive-attack against enemy or rival. According to Ahmed (oral interview 2022), the words of incantation contain powerful negative verbal statements that specifically dictate or describes the bad or misfortune that should happen to the enemy. ‘They are necessary in order to defend yourself by attacking the enemy with afflictions through the negative incantation against the enemy.’ The incantation contain words that curses the enemy or rival. Juju musicians like Sunny Ade, Dele Abiodun, Emperor Pick Peters, Ebenezer Obey, Orlando Owoh and Prince Adekunle noticeably found to have used series of incantations for defensive-attack against enemies or rivals through the lyrics of their songs especially in the 1970s. An example of these songs is Prince Adekunle’s song titled ‘Ẹdá tó Lóhun kò Fẹ́ Tiwa’ in the album titled *Ayé Ñretí Ẹlẹ̀ yà* where he sang statements of incantation thus:

È̩dá tó sopé ibajé tiwa lòhùn ñwá
Wèrè wèrè n’ikán ńmọlé e
Àjá kii jin kò p’èrò ònà
È̩dá tó lóhùn kò fẹ́ tiwa
Eyẹ Àkàlà á ń lójú
T’ó bè ṣa lójú àwa ò si nibẹ̀
Ìwa rè ni yiò da l’èjó

(Whomever that is planning for our destruction
the termites do gradually constructs its shelter
house’s decking will not collapse and kill people on the street)
Whoever that is against our well being
the vulture shall pluck out his eyes
If it pluck his eyes, we don’t care
That is the reward for his evil)

Another song in this category includes Sunny Ade’s song title ‘Ėni Binú Wa’ in the album titled *È Kilò F’òmọ Odẹ*

ÉèÉni bínú wa , èè ní r’oko s’ibi á ti jẹ
tóbá roko s’ibi tá ti jẹ
Éè ní pönmi s’ibi á ti mu
tó bá sèèsí pon i s’ibi á ti mu
Éè ní m’ònà tó ma gbà

Our enemy will not labor where he will be rewarded
if he labored where he will be rewarded
he will not labor where he will be appreciated
if he is fortunate to labor where he will be appreciated
He will not know the way to the place

The words of incantation used in the lyrics of the Sunny Ade’s song example above are direct negative statements of magic commanding evil, misfortunes and spells upon an enemy. This song was rumored to be directed against Emperor Pick Peter, another prominent juju musician in the 1970s who was said to be having a rift with Sunny Ade at that time. It was also alleged by the fans that the accident encountered by Sunny Ade at the period of the rift was spiritually manipulated by Emperor Pick Peters. This explains the reason why the use of incantation for defensive-attack against the perceived enemy or rival.

**Findings and Conclusion**

From inception of juju music in the hands of Tunde King in 1920s and 1930s, the genre has been known to be a commemorative and panegyric music for exclusive entertainment and dance. Like any other popular music in Nigeria, Juju music is associated with nightclub or with private parties or other social contexts in which merriment (*àríyá*), leisure and consumption of beverages are prime objectives (Euba 1988 in Olusola 2018:3). The findings revealed that, this culture was noticeably changed in the 1960s as juju music got to it developmental stage with more musicians and patronage especially in the western part of Nigeria which is predominantly occupied by Yoruba people.
Apart from the storytelling, praise singing and entertainment that characterized juju music, the use of incantation contextualized in juju music. The incantation used in Juju music contain texts either in long or short verse form, requesting for spiritual protection, defensive-attack against enemy, as well as for fame and financial success. Discovered that usually the incantation performed in spoken-verse or song form as prescribed by the spiritualists consulted.

The findings further revealed that the Yoruba believed that everybody has an enemy, either known or unknown. They also believe that not all bad incidents that happen to someone is a natural cause. They believed some incidents are not natural, have spiritual dimension to it. Due to the popularity and high patronage enjoyed by the juju musicians in the 1960s and 1970s, there were competitions and rivalries between the juju musicians which also involved their fans. This usually leads to major or minor disputes. These disputes are noticeable by the public through the lyrics of their music with orin òwe (proverbial songs) and orin ọtè (provocative and abusive songs) against the rivals.

At the period of disputes, musicians believed that any bad incident that happen to them was a spiritual attack from their rivals or enemies. This explains the reason why musicians despite being a Christian or Muslim, still secretly seek for spiritual powers and help form diviners (Babalawo) and other traditional spiritualists for protection, defensive-attack against the enemy as well as financial prosperity in their profession. The rituals and other form of concoction prepared by these spiritualists are usually accompanied with incantations for it to be auspicious. These incantations are consciously or unconsciously contextualized into juju music by the musicians.

This paper concludes that, apart from musicians’ creativity, the musical culture change witnessed in terms of the contextualization of Yoruba incantations in juju music during its transitional period in Nigeria in the 1970s, was because of the social and spiritual experiences of the musicians. This also include the ocassional negative interpersonal relationships that exists between popular musicians at one time of the other; as well as the influenced of borrowed creativity from different Yoruba traditional spiritual poetry. This paper therefore highlights and document the phenomenon of incantation as a Yoruba linguistic verbal art in popular music in Nigeria.

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### Discography


Orisun Iye Records MOLPS 33.


## Oral Interviews

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<td>No.1 Toye Afagun street, Bembo games village, Ibadan</td>
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<td>Chief (Dr) Lamidi Awodele</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>No.24, Atobito street, off Oke-Ilewo road, Abeokuta</td>
<td>11th Sept., 2022.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mr Bamidele Ogundare-Fayanmu</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Foyanmu’s compound, Ode-Olojo, Taraa, Ogbomoso</td>
<td>5th of Aug., 2022</td>
</tr>
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