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EFFICACY OF TRADITIONAL MAGIC AND MEDICINE AMONG THE CRIME- FREE MINDED IGBO PEOPLE.

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Abstract

The Igbo people traditionally shun crimes mainly through traditional measures in divergent areas of human endeavours. In the traditional health sector, herbs, ointments and other substances are used by the wicked/criminals to destroy or retard human lives. But these few criminal minded ones are always discriminated among the good members of various Igbo groups and communities. The problem which this article is set to address is that modern people within the Igbo extracts do not acknowledge positive and healthy efficacy of traditional magic and medicine to an expected degree, rather, most of them condemn Igbo traditional magic and medicine completely. It has been discovered in this paper, that even though, there are few evil and criminal minded magical and medical manipulators or sorcerers the righteous, good, and positive minded traditional magical and medical practitioners are still predominant. These good ones combine magical and natural medical sources to heal or treat both medical and spiritual issues challenging the sick, victims, patients and the society. The good ones handle issues like low and high blood pressure, malaria, gynaecological, paediatric health problems, etc and other issues connected with spiritual forces. This research work therefore, aims at tackling this problem of low patronage to crime free Igbo traditional magic and medicine and their associated misconceptions and condemnations. The paper also intends to elaborate the positive impact and efficacy of Igbo traditional magic and medicine in the health care delivery system among the crime free minded Igbo people. This research paper adopts historical and phenomenological research approaches. One of the recommendations is that standard traditional medical and pharmaceutical schools, institutions or colleges should be established at least in the South Eastern Nigeria from there, expansion can continue. Data were generated from both primary and secondary sources. Data gathered were analyzed with descriptive style of data analysis.

Keywords: Traditional Magic and Medicine, Crime Free, Efficacy, and Igbo People.

Introduction

The Igbo people's society of the South Eastern Nigeria cannot be defended to be free from crimes likewise other ethnicities. But what is meant in this paper is that the Igbo people are aware of the crime against man's life or health, but they try strongly to discourage those criminal actions against human health and try to promote and encourage crime free applications of their magic and medicine. There are insights of criminal and wicked use or existence of magic and medicine in Africa. Nwaogaidu (2019: 94):

In Africa, some people believe in the efficacy of charms and amulets. They believe that some people live to inflict pains on others through such charms or dangerous poisonous medicines. This belief is stronger where there exist fierce competitions or contest for a person, positions or things. This is common especially when somebody initially had no trace of such abnormality whether in himself or his lineage. Consequently, people are sometimes believed to be victims of unjust men's wickedness.

This act of inflicting pains to victims exists in Igbo society as an African nation. Despite the physical mediums of inflicting pains on victims, some victims are attacked through spiritual forces and witchcraft. Nwaogaidu (2019:93):

It is also possible that the witchcraft, seen as personification of evil, may also possess someone with diabolical consequences that may cause the person's health. That is why the possessed people are mostly taken to the traditional medicine man in order that the possessed spirit would be appeased.

The fact here is that any moment any member of an Igbo community faces health issues, serious attention is paid to his health. If it comes from any criminal minded person or force, the medicine men are consulted for urgent attention. The Igbo see those that inflict illness and health issues on individual as health criminals. Therefore the paper is interested on the measures the Igbo apply in tackling health challenges in a crime free minded spirit.

It is on this background that the paper advocates for serious attention and appreciation to be given to the indigenous magical and medical know how of the Igbo people. Adebowale Oke etal (2021:146) view “policing through community as a strategy of strengthening the security architecture of Nigeria”. This is applicable to Igbo medical services. Doing health services through community local medical contents is a viable strategy to strengthen health care delivery system among the Igbo of the South East, Nigeria. It would be pertinent to stress on the view of Mr. Aguijiege Chukwunonso (personal communication, 4 November, 2021) that white tissues in banana male flower bud Neutralizes High Blood Pressure (BP) just by licking it often.

After some traumatic experiences, the Igbo apply some magical charms to victims for healing. Igwedibia and Yerima (2018:277) emphasize that: “In the midst of all the suffering and restructuring associated with the end of the war and tentative peace which follows, children in survive the peace are also seen to undergo severe physical and psychological trauma.” In the contemporary Igbo communities it has become very common in the rural settings that children whose parents died when they are becoming teenagers are taken to the medicine men to apply some charms or amulets on them to help ward off physical and psychological trauma from them. The same thing is also done on children whose mothers are divorced and are living with their fathers Mr. Samson Ozorji (Personal communication, 7, November, 2021).

Modern strand of thought conceptualized orthodox medicine as the most reliable health care delivery system or practice. Okoro (1988) contends that medicine developed from religious divination, incantation, sacrifice, magic, prayers or other practices. Dunn in Okoro (1988) avers that every human community has responded to the challenge of ill-health by developing a medical system e.g. Acupencture among the Japanese, etc. Hughes in Okoro (1988) postulated that the Igbo community had obviously responded to the terrible challenge of the unhealthy tropical forest enclave including the horrors and terror lurking in the untamed primeval forest, largely through its own ethnomedicine. According to Okoro (1988:15);

Ethnomedicine has been the bedrock of all medicare from prehistoric times. Medicine in the Egyptian and the oriental cradles of civilization, traditional Chinese medicine, ancient Greek, Indian Ayurveda, Moslem-Asian Unani, African and new world (American) medicine have all been ethnomedical. Even modern medicine is firmly rooted in ethnomedicine...

What Okoro, Dunn, and Hughes emphasized on has formed the background of this paper since man from generations past had responded to finding medical solutions to his health and other life challenges, therefore, traditional magic and medicine cannot be ruled out by the emergence of orthodox medicine/health care delivery system. The strength of the traditional medicine is shown by Quarcoopome (1987) when he emphasized that the medicine man is also called a herbalist because he has power and control over herbs. He is sometimes referred to as a traditional doctor or traditional healer. Medicine in the traditional society does not deal with individual human (health) problems only, probably because of its magical and spiritual attachment, it extends to tackling societal problems like plagues, draughts, famine, earthquake, and so forth.

Traditional magic and medicine: (*Ogwu* in the Igbo language) Adibe (2006:6) writes that: “*Ogwu* as a word is difficult to find an English equivalent. If it is called medicine, it connotes cure and preservation of health. When it is used as a harmful material, it connotes poison and destructive object. This again leads to the fact of its complexity” To this end, Anigbo (1992:37-38) avers thus: “*Ogwu* can stand for medicine pure and simple, and whether it is traditional or modern, *ogwu* also

applies to what is often translated as charms, fetish sorcery and sometimes even magic. For the Igbo, they are all aspects of *Ogwu* - Medicine". Traditional medicine which means 'ogwu' in the Igbo language is both simple and complex. In the traditional African society, a substance or mixture of substances or objects can form the phrase traditional medicine. It could be simply for the treatment of an illness, for example, headache, or malaria. Anyacho (2005) asserts that medicine is a means of preventing and/or curing diseases. In its complex nature, such substance or mixture could be for protection, success or even to inflict pain(s) on a victim or victims. It is this complex nature of traditional medicine that introduces the concept of magic in traditional medical services. At this level supernatural or vital forces are believed to have been manipulated or tapped by man.

Magic according to Madu (1997:27) is perceived as: "the application of the inherent power in man to manipulate the supernatural forces, an indication that these forces are not immutable so to say". Authorities like Ugwu and Ugwueye (2004:50) opine that; "magic and medicine are based on the belief that there are vital forces or supernatural powers in the universe that can be tapped and controlled by man for maintenance of balance in the system". For Adibe (2009:152) "Magic and medicine seem to enjoy a marriage of convenience. The two words often are confused in uses that one is at loss, which is at play". These scholars maintain that magic and medicine are hard to separate. There are simple and complex uses and applications of traditional medicine.

When traditional medicine is negatively used or applied, the notion of sorcery comes in. Onah (2004:140) identifies sorcerers as:

...people who are supposed to exercise supernatural powers through the aid of the evil spirits. In the African context and in our discussion here sorcerers are also categorized as medicine men especially when they prepare poisonous drugs, facilitate witch activities among many negative activities and evils.

Mbiti (1991:167) discusses sorcery generally as "the form of spells, poisoning, or other physical injury done secretly by someone to someone else or his crops and animals". In the same vein, Awolalu and Dopamu (1979:246) state that; "bad or illicit magic is known as sorcery". They further emphasize

that any person that uses bad magic is called a sorcerer. Magesa (1998:188) states that, “it is also important to note that medicine-doctors who use their medicines to harm others are regarded as sorcerers”. On this note, we can see that sorcery is evil which can be harmful or deadly to the individual victim or society. It is in the most cases when magic and medicine are to work for fetish sorcery or to inflict pain(s) on victims that magical or medical practices become criminal in nature.

Medicine, magic and sorcery are difficult to separate but they are obviously identifiable by certain features each one possesses. Medicine is the cord that binds the other two (magic and sorcery) together because magic can not happen without medicine, likewise sorcery. When traditional medicine appears pure and simple, it is commonly seen as just medicine. When it becomes complex and convoluted involving some mystical forces or contents, it is seen as magic. When it is applied or prepared in its complex and dense form to create or inflict injury or damage on individual(s) or society, it becomes sorcery.

Therefore, the problem facing the patronage expected to be given to traditional magic and medicine among the crime free minded Igbo people is that the people especially the modern Igbo society could not pay attention to the efficacy of the traditional medical technology because they are intimidated by the emergence of orthodox or modern medicine. Some have conceived traditional Igbo magic and medicine entirely as dangerous charms, amulets and substances. Hence, this paper is designed with the aim to addressing this problem of misconception. In other words, the paper tries to examine positive impact and relevance of Igbo traditional magic and medicine in the health care delivery system in her crime free minded society, where sorcerers and sorcery are condemned. The research employs historical and phenomenological research methodologies. It is discovered in this paper that the contemporary Igbo society does not offer Igbo traditional magic and medicine their deserved patronage due to condemnations, misconceptions, etc, triggered by fanaticism from Christianity, westernization, science, et cetera. Data were gotten from secondary sources, for

example; text books, journals and so on, and from primary source, basically oral interviews. It is recommended among other things that standard medical and pharmaceutical schools, institutions or colleges should be established at least in the South-Eastern Nigeria.

The Perception of Traditional Magic and Medicine among the Igbo

Magic and medicine to the people, just like other Africans, is not just drugs, herbs, barks, leaves, etc. Mystical and supernatural forces complete the phenomenon. This complexity has traditionally vested a lot of powers to the 'Agwu' or 'Ogwu' spirit i.e. the spirit in-charge of medicine and divination that almost every traditionalist has in his household. Izuegbunam N, Okeke O, and Ude N (personal communications 4, 10 and 25 May, 2012) affirm that *Ogwu* mini-shrine among the people is symbolized with vital trees and plants like *Ogilisi* (New Bouldia Leavis), *Ogbu* (figus), *Akpaka* – Oil Bean tree, *Ngwu* (*Albisia Aldiantifolia*), etc which are trimmed at intervals of worship and surrounded with symbolic objects like earthen pots, stones, plates, and cutlasses, kola-nuts, feathers, foods, etc. *Ogwu* planted by progenitors can remain effective to the future generations. Mother deities are believed to assist the *Ogwu* deity in tackling or solving human problems. Writing on the stages of *Agwu* ritual performance, Kpaterer (1997:149) asserts that; “seclusion is conceived of as a place and moment of calm, of order, of contemplation, of knowledge...” These characteristics seen in seclusion stage of *Agwu* ritual always manifest in the lives of medicine-men.

Every disease, illness or problem has its dispensary and experts. There are homes known for cases of witchcraft, divination/revelation, children illnesses, women related issues, others for psychiatrics, fracture/dislocation, adverse/natural occurrence, sorcery related matters and magical rituals, etc. Consequently, there are witch doctors, herbalists, diviners, rain-makers, bone-setters, etc. Mume in Madu (2004:27) classifies them into: “(a) the general practitioners, (b) the herbalist and native doctors, (c) faith healers, (d) bone-setters, (e) native gynaecologists and midwife, and (f) traditional surgeon”. Ekechukwu in Madu (2004) groups the *dibia* into two broad divisions (a) the

herbalist, (b) the Diviner (*dibia afa*). Okoro (1988) categorized them into (a) *Dibia Afa*, (b) *Dibia Aja*, and (c) *Dibia Ogwu*. It is understandable that areas of specialization are observed in dispensing traditional magic and medicine, notwithstanding the existence of fake practitioners operating in every nook and cranny of society. The ritual elders and the priests play a very important role in the healing and other individual and societal problems. When an ailment or problem is traceable to the wrath of the spirits, these people on many occasions offer sacrifices to appease, supplicate or plead with the spirit(s) involved. An example of such is the swelling that killed Unoka in Achebe (1958:13); “Unoka was an ill-fated man... he died of the swelling which was an abomination to the earth goddess”.

Processes of healing and art of dispensing medicine among the Igbo people include rituals, divination, application of herbs, leaves, barks, ointment, and so forth. When an ailment or a problem could not ordinarily be handled with herbs, roots, etc, divination serves as the medical laboratory in diagnosing such diseases or problems because body and spirits must obey the rule of checks and balances. Ekeopara (2005) agrees with this fact when he writes that traditional healing involves the use of physical, spiritual and psychological means in the treatment of ailments. Igbo ethnomedicine conceptualizes man as a component of body and mind. The duality of man in Igbo ethnomedicine correlates with Rene Descartes’ conception of man as an embodiment of the immaterial consciousness (*res logicians*) and material or mechanical (*res extensa*).

Treatment and healings extend to property and social unrest, like death of animals and poor harvest, flood, etc. Traditional magical and medical skills could be inherited or learnt from specialists or through call or dedication. These skills acquired are transferred verbally or orally. The medicine itself is inseparable from the people’s religion. Some property, items, animals, human excretions, plants, and body signs and feelings are very important in the medical practices. For example the cock (*Gallus domesticus*), *Avuke* (*Gallus domesticus*), chick (*Gallus domesticus*), dog (*Canis canis*), owl (*Tyto Abla*), vulture (*Neophron Monachus*), tortoise (*Testuela*), python (*Arkis arkis*), ram (*Ovis*

aries), pigeon (*Columba guinea*), urine, faeces, hair, white, red and black cloths, mirror, *ofo*-tree (*Detarium senegalese*), *nzu*- chaolin, wonderful kola (*Buchliolzia corialea*), bitter kola (*Garcinia kola*)-(akinu in Igbo language), guava tree (*Psidium guajava*), *oroma* citrus (*Citrus spp*), scent leaves (*ncheonwu* in Igbo language), coco yam (*ede* in Igbo language), eggs, brooms, etc are believed to be paramount in the practice of traditional magic and medicine among the people.

Efficacy of Traditional Medicine in Igboland

A lot of diseases can be treated and prevented by the use or application of traditional magic and medicine in Igboland. Adibe (2006), Onunwa (2005), and Anigbo (2005) are of the opinion that *Ogwu* could be used in the restoration of order in the human body by the *dibia* respectively. Harold and Hubert et al (1980) grouped diseases that man suffered from into skin, disorders of the skeletal structures, joint, eye, ear, nose and throat, respiratory organs, cancer, digestive tract, bile passages, heart blood-vessel and blood diseases, liver and pancreas, nutritional, intestinal parasite, urinary system, male and female sex organs, mental and nervous disorders, lymphoid tissue, endocrine gland, warm-climate, allergy, venereal and infectious diseases.

In the traditional Igbo society, there are medical treatments, management, prevention and controls. But there are health issues that were not proffered solutions, via the traditional magic and medicine, until recently. Health history, for example, has it that certain mushrooms kill men. Maziti and Mujuru (2021:30) report:

My homestead used to be full of children; I gave birth to 11 children; however 5 children 2 grandchildren and daughter in law passed away due to mushroom poisoning. The other 4 are married and my other son is in South Africa... This is the story of my life since the day my children ate the poisoned mushroom.

This speaks to the fact that there are species of mushroom that are poisonous to man when consumed.

Mr Cletus Ezeko (personal communication, 17th October, 2021) asserts that certain species of

mushroom are naturally poisoned, and had killed a lot of people. But presently, such mushrooms are cooked with enough of palm-oil, fish, crayfish etc, to neutralize the poison. In a situation whereby a victim has eaten such mushroom already, palm oil could be poured in the victim's mouth, the moment it is digested, the patient will return to normal. Tlou (2021:4) observes that: if irresponsible sex is practiced in such a pretext, there is possibility of the continuous spread of sex related diseases. Mrs Udego Ogugofor (personal communication 4, January, 2014). asserts that the traditional Igbo society encouraged polygamy as one of the means of controlling adultery, prostitution, prostrate, sexual transmitted diseases etc. The modern society with its campaign for monogamy in respect to Christianity, and western culture, has invariably been experiencing increase in sexual infections, prostate enlargement / cancer and the like, notwithstanding the contemporary medical advancements.

Though, there had not been traditional medicine in form of herb, drug, supplement for the treatment of sexually transmitted infections or prostrate issues, but recently the tree *otuaja* tree has been discovered for treatment of Gonorrhoea, Chlamydia and Bacterial Vaginosis (BV) after confirmation with laboratory diagnosis test.

Treatment: cut two handful of the stem and two handful of the leaves. Boil them with 4 liters of water for just 45 minutes with a very low flame. When it is cooked take 15cl morning 15cl night for 7 days. Mr. Cletus Ezeko (personal communication, 17th October, 2021). Today, there are herbal products that are receiving testimonies from people who have used them. Health man (2021:9) speaks on INFEMAX thus: "this infection flusher has been testified by users as an effective medicine for infections such as: Staphylococcus, Gonorrhoea, syphilis, candidiasis, toilet infections (UTI)". INFEMAX is a herbal product.

Traditionally the Igbo Practiced body design as part of African culture. They did some as make up while others as scarification with the use of *uli*, *ufe*, *nwakasi* and blades respectively. Today tattoo has taken over. But the point here is that these makeups the Igbo use, such as *uli*, *ufe* and *nwakasi*

have been discovered by this new African generation to have the property that medically offers human skin some nourishment aside the purpose of mere beautification. In both rural and urban settings in Igboland, children are robbed these substances when they fall sick. Akas and Nwofor-Molokwu (2020:43) stress that:

Body designs have been an integral part of African culture. In the older days, people made use of make-up such as, *Ufe, Uli and Nwakasi* to design the body, but aside the purpose is meant for, it also nourishes the skin medically...

Mr. Wilfred Ude (personal communication, 14 November, 2021) supports that *Nwakasi, Uli, and Ufe* are very good in Managing high body temperature especially in infants. These substances also are believed by the Igbo to scare some evil forces attacking human bodies. Other health challenges that are tackled through traditional medical means include:

Boils/Furuncles (Carbuncles): Boils are skin diseases that cause hard, red, painful and deep-seated swellings. They usually begin as pimples or nodules about hair roots. They increase rapidly in size and develop 'cores' in their centres. Boils are also called Furuncle. Boils that are unusually severe with more than one core or head accompanied by considerable systemic disturbance and general illness and debility are known as Carbuncles. Carbuncles and boils are caused by the same kind of germ – a more or less virulent strain of staphylococcus aureus as a rule. When this germ enters oil or sweat gland or a hair follicle, boils can develop.

Symptoms: For boils, the body temperature rises slightly because of pains, single and deep-seated swellings, that develop cores at their centers. For carbuncles, the body temperature and pains are very high with more than one core or head.

Treatment/Cure: According to Udego Ogugofor (Personal conversation, 4 Jan; 2014) patients should grind potash that will fill a tea spoon, get ashes from burnt and threshed oil palm nut head,

and red oil, tea spoon each, mixed to a pastry and applied on the boil morning, afternoon and evening (three hours before going to bed), for three days, and everything will clear.

Malaria: is a common fever suffered in the tropical regions. Malaria is caused by the transmission of a single celled parasite called plasmodium by mosquito bites. The parasite thrives in the red blood cells of the patient.

Symptoms: The patient feels feverish, weak and pains in muscles, loses appetite etc.

Treatment A: Get 5 lime (*Citrus ourantifolia*) fruits; cut each into four equal pieces; get five yellow paw-paw (*Carica papaya*) leaves; get up to 80 leaves of guava (*Psidium guajava*) plant; cook them with just 350cl of water for 45mins. Take 45cl per day: 20cl in the morning and 25cl in the night for 7 days.

Treatment B: Get 5ft stem of *dogoyaro* (*Azadirachta indica*) plant/tree, gather the leaves and squeeze with 3.5litres of a day old palm wine *Nkwu-enu*, or raffia wine 'Ngwo'. Take 25cl morning and 25cl night for 7days.

Stroke: commonly affects people with high blood pressure. Stroke can result when the artery is ruptured and leaks blood into the brain. In any occasion when there is impaired or stoppage in blood supply to any part of the brain, it can lead to either partial or complete stroke.

Symptoms: The body parts become paralysed from head to whole body for complete stroke. The patient's skin becomes sticky and wet; he becomes unconscious and finds it difficult to speak and his speech loses audibility, severe headache suddenly occurs, etc.

Treatment: Get dried pawpaw (*Carica papaya*) seeds and leaves; grind them; mix them very well with locally prepared palm kernel oil with ratio of 75cl of palm kernel oil to a glass of grinded pawpaw seeds and leaves, to be rubbed at the affected parts in morning and evening for a maximum of three and half months and minimum of two months. At the same time patients should put 210cl of water in a cooking pot and also put about 5 fresh pawpaw leaves and fresh avocado peer (*Persea americana*)

leaves of equal quantity and boil them. Take one glass three times daily - morning, afternoon, night for about two months minimum and three and half months maximum.

Cancer: Is one of the most killer diseases in the world, and has not been traced to any cause or causes. Uzundu A (Personal Conversation, 14 April, 2014) explained that cancer has not got a reliable conviction on the cause(s) of the disease. Tobacco smoking is one of the suspected causes of cancer. Cancer affects every part of the body. There are cancers of the lungs, nose, eye etc. It causes severe pains for the patient. It is a major killer disease.

Symptoms: Persistent lump or thickening in the tissue e.g. tongue, lip or breast etc. Irregular bleeding or blood-tinged discharge from any body opening, persistent hoarseness, cough, soreness deep in the throat, or difficulty in swallowing. Sudden or rapid changes in the form, appearance, or rate of growth of a mole or wart, appearance of sore that does not heal especially in the mouth, on the lips or tongue etc.

Treatment/Management: Cook snails (*ejula* in Igbo language), and prepare them with *Moringa eleifera*; eat it at least once a day for months.

Epilepsy: Dhilton and Sander (2007) explain that “epileptic seizures are produced by abnormal discharges of neurons that may be caused by any pathological process which affects the brain” (p.448) Therefore, it could be caused by an abnormal electric discharge in the patient’s brain, making the victim have seizures or fits, partial or complete loss of consciousness. It can develop due to serious injury to the brain, persistent constipation, childhood infection, etc.

Symptoms: Patients make abnormal noise, become absent minded, temporal seizure of breathing occurs, the patient’s body becomes rigid or stiff.

Treatment: Get roots of *Jatropha curcas* (*Awiriwa* in Ezeagu dialect), *newbouldia laevis* popularly known as fertility plant (*Ogilishi* in Igbo), and stoolwood of equal quantity to fill a big custard bowl,

wash them very well, and boil with a gallon of water with low pressured flame between ten and twelve hours. Take a half glass of it after each meal, three times per day for eight weeks.

Tuberculosis: Harold and Hubert et al (1980) stress that; “it is generally thought of as a disease of the lungs, but from a pulmonary focus, it may attack almost any part of the body. It is caused by a germ known as *tubercle bacillus*”. (p.316). It is highly communicable.

Symptoms: Night fever, loss of appetite, steady cough, sneezing and spitting that contain blood, etc.

Treatment: Patient is not allowed to engage in any work, has his separate room and belongings. In the patient’s room a local oven is prepared and it is energized with heat once every 6 hours. He drinks warm water. Get five nuts each of well mature wonderful kola (*Buchliolzia corialea*) and bitter kola (*Garcinia kola*), slice

them and grind them to be pastry, get a bottle of pure honey, mix and shake them very well. Take the concoction three times a day for two weeks.

Acute infectious/Semm Hepatitis: It is a virus infection which causes an inflammation in the liver. It is mildly contagious. The virus enters the body through the mouth and it is excreted through the intestine. Prevention is mainly on sanitary disposal of bowel discharges and prevention of contamination of food and beverages. The incubation is variable from two to six weeks as a rule.

Symptoms: Symptoms at the onset may be similar to those of common cold, followed by other symptoms like loss of appetite, fatigability, lethargy, light-colored stools, vomiting, nauseating, and distress in the right upper region of the abdomen etc.

Management A: Grind between twenty and twenty-five nuts of bitter kola (*Garcinia kola*) to be in powder form, mix it very well with one bottle of lime (*Citrus ourantifilia*) juice and half a bottle of real honey. Take three spoons three times a day for ten weeks.

Management B: Slice into tiny pieces between forty and fifty nuts of bitter kola, get about ten or fifteen leaves of fresh and old leaves of cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*) plant and one unripe

pineapple (*Ananas comosus*) fruit. Boil them with one and half gallons of water. Take a glassful three times daily for fourteen days.

Arthritis: It is the inflammation of the joints; there are rheumatoid and osteoarthritis arthritis.

Symptoms: Inflammation of the joints, pains at the joints and nerves, pains in one or two joints, sometimes fever, and swelling of the joint(s) can occur.

Treatment A: Mix one bottle each of lime (*Citrus ourantifilia*) juice, grape (*citrus paradisi*) juice, and honey. Take a shot, twice daily, morning and night for two weeks.

Treatment B: Boil unripe pineapple (*Ananas comosus*)-(Akunchi In Agbaja dialect), lemon (*Citrus limoin*) and pawpaw peels of between six and seven handfuls each, with a gallon of water. Take it three times daily, morning, afternoon and night for two weeks.

Constipation: Rutter (2007) observes that; “Constipation is considered as infrequent bowel action of twice a week or less that involves straining to pass hard stools accompanied by a sensation of pain or incomplete evacuation”. (p.187) Constipation is not caused by a serious disease and can easily be corrected.

Symptoms: the patient belches, suffers difficulty in defecating, faces sensation of pains etc.

Treatment: Patient should lick a glass of palm oil once a day for two days. Take at least 450cl of water in a day for two days.

In asthmatic case, the medicine-men simply use a plant ‘*Asytasia gangetica*’ an ornamental plant popularly known as *Chinese violet* to manage it. ‘*Justicia flava*’ also known as *yellow justicia* may be used to treat ordinary cough and fever.

At a certain level of alcoholic consumption, a person can be labelled an alcoholic. For an effective remedy, the medicine-man soaks a ritualized raw beef in the drink of that alcoholic (drunkard) to induce vomiting and nauseating after which the alcoholism is cured.

Spirit Based Health Hazard

The commonest spirit based health hazard according to the people's belief that gives serious concern to any family it befalls is the ***Ogbanje*** (born-to-die) spirit which could only be treated through traditional exorcism in which the evil spirit that is responsible is exorcised with ritual performance by the medicine-man-*dibia*. In this ritual, the *dibia* scars the child in order to make him or her identifiable in case the child later died and was reborn. Children and adults with such marks or scars from birth are today seen in society. Okwueze (2004:16-17)

In the course of my fieldwork, I observed a child of about six years who is said to possess the '*Ogbanje*' spirit undergoing this ritual of exorcism. She was asked to be strip naked and pieces of cloth colouring white, red and black were tied round her waist. She was asked to carry a calabash containing an unnamed liquid substance while the *Dibia* made incantations touching her and shouting at her at intervals to confess that she is an '*Ogbanje*' ...she fell down looking helpless and exhausted. The *Dibia* announced to her parents relief that the spirit of '*Ogbanje*' has left her. This observation took place at Imilike in Northern Igboland.

We can see here that methods and approaches applied or used in handling '*Ogbanje*' (evil) spirit can vary from one Igbo community to the other. But the truth is that there is the belief in '*Ogbanje*' and it really exists and can be exorcised.

Other spirit based health problem is the '*Ndi-Otu*' – believed to be marine associated illness that normally disfigures their victims, making them in most cases turn to morons/imbeciles. When one is suspected to be suffering from disease related to '*Ndi-Otu*' one is taken to the medicine-man who specializes in treating such problems. He requests for items which are mostly white in colour, snacks, and soft drinks. Such items or requirements include white cloths, white hen or cock, white duck, ram, biscuits, any brand of coca-cola products, etc. These items are taken to a river side by the medicine man in the company of the victim (optional) or/and the victim's parent(s) and the ritual will be performed there with some incantations and the victim's family will be instructed on some precautions that should be maintained. On many occasions, such victims become normal and healthy after the performance of the ritual.

Another spirit associated health problem among the people is “**witch-craft**”. Sometimes people wake up in the morning and observe a lot of fresh marks (injuries) on their bodies. Some experience steady shortage of blood, and some have bad dreams regularly. In some cases, when they are diagnosed traditionally, they are found to be tormented by a witch. The witch doctor after performing some rituals, cuts the victim’s body slightly and infuses the anti-witch medicine inside the person’s body; advises the family to plant coco-yam (*ede* in Igbo language) around the home to scare the witch (wizard) whenever it comes to attack any member of the family. When this is done, it marks the end of witches attack to that home. Recently in Igboland, there are magical charms and amulets used in tackling neurotic issues that could not be termed madness. Such neurotic cases are always obvious in the victim’s social relationships. Nwabueze (2018:5) elucidates thus:

The resolution becomes complete when Ato finally admits that his wife is not barren that they had decided to suspend childbirth. Ato’s mother is shocked at the decision, still wondering her son’s mental balance. This leads her to the realization that the problem is not necessarily from Eulalie but from Ato., that through his behaviours he has encouraged his wife to call his people savage. Eulalie returns Esi Kom supports her through the doors that lead to the old house. This symbolizes her final integration in the Yawson family.

The behaviour of Ato, a character in Ama Ata Aidoo’s “The Dilemma of a Ghost” as examined by Emeka Nwabueze calls for serious mystical and spiritual attention. This is because it is out of context for an African to resolve with his wife (whether foreign woman or not) to suspend childbirth, yet delay to unveil the agreement until it raises dust. Magic forces from the water, witches and other concoction are used for a mental balance to the victim of such circumstance like Ato.

Other Health Issues

Traditional magic and medicine for years have been wonderful in the treatment, setting and fixing of broken bones/fractures. Most of the bone-setters in this zone inherit the skill from their pedigree. Ozuomee

N, Charley O and Boniface N (personal communication/conversation June 4, 2012, May 9, 2013, and Feb 2, 2014) agree with this when they said that they were selected by the bone-setting-medicine spirit (*agwu*) of their forefathers to become orthopaedic experts. They stated occasions and periods they had received invitations by the present modern orthopaedic hospitals which they had dishonoured. There are lots of testimonies and experiences to attest to the validity and efficacy of traditional orthopaedic medicine. Sometime in May, 2013 one Ifeanyi Okongwu who was involved in a ghastly motor accident along with his parents came for thanksgiving at St. Leo, the great Catholic Church, Federal Housing, Trans-Ekulu, Enugu in which Msgr Prof. Obiora Ike officiated. He testified his involvement in the accident and the fractures he sustained, how he went to several modern orthopaedic hospitals to no avail, until he was directed to Boniface Ngwu in Ebe who treated the fractures on one of his legs.

Traditional gynaecologists handle a lot of gynaecological issues that have defied modern medicine e.g. when a baby is tied in his or her mother's womb; they untied the baby; miscarriages that are both natural and man-made are also controlled by them. Chinemelu I. (personal communication April 4, 2013) explained that he performed rituals handed over to them by their forebears for specific gynaecological problems before he administered roots, herbs, and leaves especially in cases of tied babies/wombs and chronic miscarriages in women. He further said that the medicine never failed.

Paediatric cases are also handled by traditional paediatricians. Such cases include *Ntiwe-isi* (depression of anterior fontanelle as a result of severe dehydration), *Nta (sepsis)*-as a result of serious infection), *Apupa-Afo*, *Ose-Oyi*, etc. Umeh F. (personal communication, February 10, 2013) specifies that in the traditional paediatric medicine specific cases are treated by certain traditional paediatricians according to the type of paediatric medicine *agwu* or *ogwu* installed or learnt by the family or lineage.

Some surgical related issues are also handled by traditional surgeons e.g. *Mgbapia-Akpiri: (Tonsillitis)*. This is treated by choking and pressing in which the patient is advised not to swallow

the fluid, and he is given some leaves and herbs to take. Some extract objects like bullets from human body just by placing squeezed substances on the affected part(s); sometimes, on removing the squeezed substances, the object will be seen in the midst of the squeezed substances.

External and internal poisoning of the body can be cured by herbalists. The writer was a victim in 1992 when all his chest and belly suddenly were filled with sores. After going for some medical tests and nothing was dictated, the researcher went to Mr. Uzoechi Oha, a renowned traditional medicine-man. When the writer got there, the medicine man cried and lamented that the researcher was too young to be inflicted with such an illness by evil persons. Mr. Uzoechi Oha (the medicine-man) called his second son Eustus Oha and instructed him on the herbs, leaves and other magical medicine to be given to the writer to drink and apply on the body. Afterwards, the writer became whole. There are also some fruits, leaves, food, etc commonly taken by the people to control, and prevent certain illnesses, especially on seasonal basis e.g. bitter-kola, scent leaves, guava fruits and leaves, pawpaw fruits and leaves, bitter leaf, palm nuts, *dogoyaro* leaves, cocoyam for B.P control, and so forth.

From the above perspectives, it is understandable that traditional medicine among the people has a well felt relevance and efficacy in the sense that sicknesses and other illnesses are cured, prevented, controlled and managed properly and society and clients always enjoy the hope of survival in the midst of many health and societal challenges. The people's traditional medicine has some relevance and efficacy towards the people's struggles for economic growth. The major source of economic development among the people is not just agriculture but crop production. Almost every member of society is engaged in the production of more than one crop. In addition to that, some rear animals, some hunt wild animals, some are into local pottery industries, some craft works, some textile production and design, and some are into soap making. In an attempt to unveil the economic system of Umana Ndiagu people, Ozokolo (1991:21) stated that "productive agriculture was the

mainstay of the economy of Umana Ndiagu in the pre-colonial times. The people invested extensively in agriculture and pursued it with vigour and determination as a means of livelihood". Since farming or agriculture remained the mainstay of the people's economy, a lot of them do not take chances. Medicine-men are invited to prepare some medicines or rituals for agricultural high yields every year. It could be done by a group or an individual. Apart from the annual high yield, medicines are prepared to divert epidemics, adverse weather conditions to other areas so that theirs will be safe.

In the other way round, some lazy ones amongst them resort to serve some medicine-men who would always perform some magics to feed them. In an occasion when the researcher and peers doubted Mr. Obi Ude, a medicine man, in Isieke Village Aguobu-Owa, he told us to gather sand and logs of plantain stems, which the group did, and there and then Mr. Obi Ude made some incantations, put the sand and plantain logs on fire; after 40-50 minutes he told us to pull the pot down from fire and the group did. On opening the pot, it was filled with rice and meat. The group still doubted and took some portions to our various homes to know whether the food will turn to sand and plantain logs. To our greatest surprise, the food got spoilt naturally as rice and meat. Mr. Obi Ude also changes fresh leaves to money and his followers use them to buy items in the markets.

More so, hunters, traders, etc have their specific medicines, charms and amulets for success in their businesses. Until today, medicines or ritual are made for people to be rich and successful in whatever they are doing, even among government workers. All these medicines and rituals work, sometimes completely, sometimes partially, but experiences shared, reveal that it had negative effects at the user's old age or their children especially, the carefree users. The bottom lime is that traditional medicine can be used to make people rich or poor. Therefore, it can foster the economy either on short or long term basis.

Security of lives and property is never taken for granted by the people. It is noted that security challenges face the people time after time. One of these challenges is robbery attack. Some robbers

go with charms/amulets prepared to enhance and ease their operation. They also have medicine that would overwhelm a group that caught a robber making it easier for the robber to escape. Ejike F. (in a traditional marriage ceremony, 31st March 2013) narrated this experience as how a notorious robber called *Eje Ana* escaped a mob that had every opportunity to kill him. In order to tackle robbery activities, the Igbo people resorted to preparing anti-robbery charms for example, Obi I. (personal communication Feb 1, 1999) expressed the strength of an anti-robbery charm called “*Obia Ohulu*” which makes a robber after succeeding in entering a victim’s house/compound will freely move around choosing among the items in the compound which one to steal until the owner or someone else comes and catches him.

Apart from robbery attack, it is common that some wicked ones always hunt for people’s lives. To save lives, adherents secure themselves with a medicine popularly known as ‘*Achala*’ – ‘Escape’ which positions a targeted victim off/out from where he is being planned to be harmed. During wars medicines, charms/amulets are implanted/infused on some warriors’ skins; some wear them at their waists, shoulders so that bullets, etc cannot penetrate their bodies. Communities also install medicine for war victory on behalf of the community. Traditional medicine is highly efficacious to the people in the area of security of lives and property.

Other areas where the efficacy of traditional magic and medicine is obvious are: on psychiatric treatment, socio-political cum cultural display, and verification of hidden truths. Patients that received traditional psychiatric treatment or management include the imbecile/moron, the mad and kleptomaniac. For the imbecile/moron, the traditional medical measure is mainly devised just to manage the mental upset. Madness and kleptomaniac attract immense concern for treatment. They are believed to be caused or inflicted by the wicked, or abomination committed by the patient or genetic inheritance or inflicted by a spirit (esp. *agwu* spirit) etc. These are the reasons why the native Doctor – “*Dibia Ara*” first of all, traces the origin of the mental disorder via divination to

enable him to avoid or reduce guess work. Treatments cover two dimensions: the spirit/mysterious forces and the physical. Nwoko (2009

:41) identifies these two dimensions as bio-psychological and religion-psychological. These

dimensions simply mean the complementary use of herbs and reconciliation of the spirit world.

Sleep, rest, music, and herbs are the major treatment techniques. Kleptomaniac, on the other hand does not require sleep, rest and music as treatment techniques. Kleptomaniac is treated with herbs and charms.

During socio-political cum cultural displays, traditional medicine can be seen as an active display of some potent forces. In football competition for example, the Awha people of Enugu State are known for turning the football when kicked to the goalkeeper of their opponent, to appear as a heavy oil palm nut head, while every other viewer sees the football as football. The goalkeeper out of fear dodges to catch head of oil palm nut not knowing that it is a football and concedes as many goals as come to the goal post.

In masquerading, masquerades with no or low medicine or charm are always pinned down to a stand still, as done by the Evil Forest Masquerade of Nnewi, Anambra State, Perikone of Aro-Izogu in Imo State etc. Oyibo (2013:55) concurs with this as he laments on the use of charms in masquerading thus;

This is the greatest disadvantage of masquerading. Charms are believed to kill people. They can render people useless. This was what ended *Odo* in Oghe and finally sang the nunc-dimits of its existence. It is this activity that nearly killed Ibono feast in Aguobu-Owa.

Charms are traditionally used in masquerading and they fulfill the dangerous purpose they are employed for. People, therefore, become wiser and lived more careful lives as they become aware of the dangerous charms used in masquerading. During cultural displays e.g. cultural dances, charms are used against and for harming and protecting good, captivating and charming singers/vocalists,

instrumentalists and dancers. In politics, some use charms that make people to agree with their speeches and support their political interests.

In traditional medicine, hidden truth is always verifiable. In an authentic/ real traditional medicinal practice, the seers, mediums, diviners, etc are enabled by some mysterious forces to unfold hidden facts. Such a revelation helps to identify problems and their solutions. Some use mirror to expose an offender, some by divination, etc. An example is the revealing of the concealed seven seeds hidden by the police to test the divination reality and capacity of Chinwuba Onumba of Umuowulu in Aguleri, Anambra State in his accusation by Inyi Achi people in Oji River LGA, Enugu State that he Chinwuba killed their brother.

Modern Influences on the Practice of Traditional Magic and Medicine among the Igbo

Modernity which is structured by Christianity, Western Education, Science and Technology, Industrialization and Urbanization, and Migration has a lot of influences on the practice of traditional medicine within and outside Igboland. Modern advancement in medical practices in Nigeria, for example, has propelled the traditional medical experts to anchor their medical techniques and strategies in a similar realm with that of their orthodox medical counterparts. For instance, they advertise their services on sign posts, television, radio, newspapers, etc. Shobo and Ifakayode (2014) advertised their respective abilities to handle failure, frustration, incurable diseases, power of darkness, give good health and prosperous future, and to cure low sperm count, stomach problems, infertility, enhance quick ejaculation, and to make one become rich. On the television and radio we often see and hear Oosa Herbal from Yourba land and Alusi Ogwugwu of Oghe in Ezeagu advertise their products and services. Some of them who were not trained as orthodox medical practitioners employed experts who would diagnose, examine, and interpret results of the laboratory tests before treatment could be administered on their patients. In some herbal homes, they requested for police

report before they could treat any suspicious patients. Modernity is striking to snatch traditional medical customers while traditional medicine adjusts to survive in the face of this challenge.

Some families, having seen that certain traditional medical services are hereditary to them, struggle and train their children as orthodox medical practitioners within the areas of specialization that is traditional and hereditary to their lineage. These brands of medical doctors/practitioners are always distinct with regard to the efficacy of their treatments on their patients. Some of them combine both the traditional and orthodox medical techniques in carrying out treatments. An example is Dr. Enweani, the owner of City Clinic, City L/out, New Heaven, Enugu, Enugu state who is admired as the most renowned orthopaedic expert in Enugu town. Therefore, modernity in a way elevates traditional medicine as a partner and associate in Health Care Delivery Enterprise. The free encyclopedia admits that: the pharmaceutical industry has come to consider traditional medicine as a source for identification of bio-active agents that can be used in the preparation of synthetic medicine. Modernity gives traditional medicine an identifiable value.

Urbanization, migration, industrialization and western education which are offspring of modernity are not left aside in this discourse. Western education with its establishment of schools and introduction of industries began to urbanize some areas, making people to migrate to such areas with the quest to attain a better standard of living. Some traditional medical practitioners join the rural-urban migration queue to secure the patronage of their clients who already reside at the metropolis. These rural-urban migrants are not left to remain raw, they face some refinements. In order to meet up with the requirements accruing from these refinements, they began to drop some of the norms and ethical values of traditional medical practices and wear a kind of capitalist cloak with a capitalist mode of appropriation just like their orthodox medical colleagues. In reaction to the character of orthodox medical practitioners, Ogugua and Metala (2006:138) adduced thus; “The weakness of orthodox medicine surfaces again or becomes apparent when and where ethical issues are called into

play, this is due to the fact that it is associated to capitalism hence wears a kind of capitalist cloak having a capitalist mode of appropriation”.

We can see that those traditional magical and medical practitioners (some of which are Igbo people) who migrate to the urban centres operate in the same area with their orthodox medical counterparts and got diffused into the capitalist mode of appropriation also suffer such weaknesses suffered by the orthodox medicine by deviating from the ethical background of traditional medicine.

On the other hand, farming which has been noted as the people’s major source of economic development does not end at tilling the soil and planting of crops. Rituals are performed for agricultural high yields. Now people especially the youths prefer to live in urban areas in order to acquire quality western education, white collar jobs in industries; thereby, leaving the farm business for the weak old ones and reduce the demand for farming rituals/charms. Reacting to the tremendous reduction in the rate of farming in Igboland, Onuigbo (2009:161) elaborates thus;

The cultural changes made their landmark in this area through western system of education and mentality which affected the youths greatly and their standard of living. In other words, the coming of the Europeans into Africa brought a lot of changes in the entire culture and life style. The result is that office work has, as it were, replaced agriculture in Igboland. As a result, urban cities in Nigeria are swollen with young people who drifted from the villages. In the cities they attend schools and universities, engage in various businesses, trading...

From the on-going, it is clear that since the majority of people that need the rituals/charms especially the farming rituals have abandoned the farming engagement, some traditional medical practitioners loose patronage for farming rituals and charms.

Christianity, science and technology also influence traditional medical practices. Christianity recently assures the world that Jesus has powers of exorcism (casting out demons), resuscitation, and resurrection powers over spiritual attacks, diseases, and death, and has given his apostles/believers the same powers. For example the Bible records that Jesus cast out demon that lived in a boy Mathew 17: 14-20. In Mathew 20:29-34 Jesus restored two blind men’s sight. In John 11:11-44. He raised

Lazarus from death. According to the Bible he has power over nature. For example He turned water into wine in a wedding at Cana in Galilee. John 2: 1-10. In line with these biblical insights many Christian ministries are believed to have acquired such powers like Jesus: they can cast the *Ogbanje* – born-to-die spirit, pray against any natural calamity or plague, pray against any disease, and the patient would be made whole. As these Christian healing and problem solving assurances grow, the traditional medical practitioners begin to loose grip of some of its clients, thereby making some people to under-rate the people's traditional medical practices and their efficacy.

Science is defined by Odedele and Egotanwa in Okwueze (2003:121) as; “the knowledge, which is obtained through careful and systematic observation and testing of facts”. Technology according to Summers (2001) is knowledge about scientific or industrial methods or the use of these methods. Science and technology came in and challenged certain health and societal issues that traditional medicine had in the past handled. In 1947 when everywhere became dark at noonday, many traditional medical practitioners and priests in various communities rose to offer sacrifice and prepare charms to avoid the re-occurrence of such problem, but this was simply an eclipse of the sun. Sicklers in traditional religion and culture were grouped under *Ogbanje*-born-to-die children, while scientifically it was proven to be wrong genotype matching in marriage or conception. High technological applications took care of most of the farming rituals and charms e.g. modern irrigation system, improved seedlings, use of inorganic fertilizers, etc. The charms used for security and war purposes are overtaken by the use of sophisticated weapons. Orthodox medicine has condemned clitoridectomy and other related concomitant rituals. Nnachi (2007:2) remarked that; “women who are clitoridectomized are known to find it hard to experience orgasm during sexual intercourse, a situation that leads to marital disharmony and frustration. The practice has been seen as a source of a lot of health hazards”.

In the same realm, Twentyman (2004:66) writes that; “it is illogical to accept the western perspective of exclusive materialism, touchability as the touch stone of scientific reality and explanations”. These have been the dominant current of modern medicine. His argument debunks the Eurocentric perspective that theoretical concept and paradigms of science are the results of inductive reasoning derived from observations and experiments. The flaw of the logic projected by the western science is its rejection of ethnomedicine based on the principle of observation and experimentation. There are different perspectives to the comprehension of reality. It is summed up in the expression in the Igbo world-view: “*Ife kwuru, ife akwudo be ya*” (when something stands, another thing stands beside it). This means that there are many perspectives to an understanding of reality. Just as we have a wave nature of light in a holistic paradigm, we also have a composite or spectral nature of light in an atomistic paradigm. The Igbo cosmology can be understood from what Animalu (1990:1) writes as “an axiom of immortal regenerative cycle of birth, death and rebirth which constitutes an intuitive dialogue with nature”. Ethnomedicine is an African science which explicates African account and how it works. All these scientific and technological discoveries have made traditional medicine to adjust to be able to serve man better; otherwise it might fail to achieve the greatness it pursues. In effect, traditional magic and medicine among the Igbo try to avert themselves from getting involved in superstitious practices, and today, superstition is highly reduced in the practice of traditional magic and medicine among the people.

Recommendations

Having examined the efficacy and relevance of traditional medicine among Enugu West people, it is vital at this point to recommend ways of providing sustainable health care delivery within and outside this zone.

1. Standard traditional medical and pharmaceutical schools/colleges or institutions should be established either independently or incorporated in Nigeria universities by the government in

every state where teaching, learning, standardization and development of traditional medical and pharmaceutical skills and experts of international repute would be feasible.

2. African traditional religion and cultural studies should be built into the Nigerian primary and secondary schools' curriculum so that interested students would have the background knowledge of what they would meet as they advance for studies in the established traditional medical and pharmaceutical tertiary institutions.
3. Medical ethics/laws of a high moral standard should be promulgated to control and regulate the actions of sorcerers. The poor hygienic nature and other weaknesses of traditional medicine should be considered in the promulgation of these laws.
4. Punitive and civil penalties should be pronounced against those believers (Christians) that are fond of hunting for shrines and traditional places of worship to demolish. The traditionalists ought to be allowed to operate like their counterparts to enable society extract the valuable offers they can provide for the good of mankind.
5. A sensitization campaign is needed via seminars, symposiums, media firms and agents for amendment of a discrepancy already existing between modern/orthodox and traditional medicine, so that knowledge and skills, could be easily exchanged.
6. Medical trade union in Nigeria e.g. Nigeria Medical Association (NMA) in due course should include the traditional medical experts in their union/ association for a more cordial and mutual interaction.

Evaluation and Conclusion

African Traditional Religion is not just a mere theoretical academic entity. It is a pragmatic and multi-faceted religion. It is an emotional religion and at the same time punitive especially to the

evil persons. Traditional magic and medicine are just an aspect which hardly can exist without some other component(s) of the traditional religion. In the recent time, some Christians are careful with the use of traditional medicine that they alternate some ritual items and requirements with money or ordinary material things to avail themselves of the conviction that they are not committing apostasy. It is only death that is irreparable. Any short coming found in the discharge and use of traditional medical procedures is liable to amendments. But the words of Ekwutosi (2008:129) should be pondered: “therapeutic procedures that are likely to cause harm or undesirable side effect can be justified only by a proportionate benefit to the patient”. In as much as traditional medicine has been proven to be efficacious and relevant to the well being of man, the negative (efficacy), relevance and uses are not admired by society and are bound to be aborted. In many occasions, users of the bad medicines always face their penalties either at long or short term basis.

In all, traditional magic and medicine among the people of Igboland do much good in enhancing high agricultural output, provision of a healthy living society, fostering economic growth, fortifying security of lives and belongings, infusing a more careful character and qualities to the populace and finally it is affordable. Nwoko (2009:36) acknowledges its affordability when he re-states that: “...generally, in Nigeria the high cost of primary health care and the relative affordability of traditional alternative re-invented the resort to traditional remedies by both the rich and poor”.

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Interview

S/N	Name of interviewee	Profession	Place of origin	Age	Date	Interviewer
1	Chinemelu Igbudu	Medicine Man	Enugu State	79yrs	4-4-2013	Okafor Emmanuel
2	Nze Izuegbunam Sunday	Wine Tapper	Abia State	58yrs	4-5-2012	Okafor Emmanuel
3	Ichie Okeke Orji	Farmer	Ebonyi State	64yrs	10-5-2012	Okafor Emmanuel
4	Ogbuefi Nebechi Udeh	Priest (Traditionalist)	Enugu State	66yrs	25-5-2012	Okafor Emmanuel
5	Ozuomee Nwankwo	Bone setter	Anambra State	54yrs	4-6-2012	Okafor Emmanuel
6	Charley Okeke Okpukpu	Bone setter	Enugu State	41yrs	9-5-2013	Okafor Emmanuel
7	Obi Ileama	Trader/Medicine Man	Enugu State	70yrs	1-2-1999	Okafor Emmanuel
8	Boniface Ngwu	Bone setter	Imo State	43yrs	10-2-2014	Okafor Emmanuel
9	Felix Umeh	Medicine man	Enugu State	60yrs	10-2-2013	Okafor Emmanuel
10	Fidelis Ejike	Raffia Wine Tapper	Enugu State	57yrs	31-3-2013	Okafor Emmanuel
11	Udego Ougofor Nee: Okafor	Herbalist	Enugu State	68yrs	4-1-2014	Okafor Emmanuel
12	Akueyinwa Uzundu	Pharmacist	Anambra State	65 years	14-4-2014	Okafor Emmanuel
13	Cletus Ezeko	Herbalist	Anambra	84 years	4/11/2021	Okafor Emmanuel
14	Agujuiegebe Chukwunonso	Herbalist	Enugu	44 years	4/11/2021	Okafor Emmanuel
15	Samson Ozorji	Rtd Civil Defence	Abia State	81yrs	7/11/2021	Okafor Emmanuel
16	Ude Wilfred	Driver	Enugu	66 yrs	14/7/2021	Okafor Emmanuel