

ARTICLES

A PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW ON WITCHCRAFT IN AFRICA

by

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The fear of witchcraft is not only a disturbing phenomenon but also a threat to family and social harmony which most contemporary African societies have been keeping up with. One, however, wonders why the belief in witchcraft has such a dynamic force on Africans in spite of the influence of western education, industrialization and modernization. Is the belief in witchcraft part of their cultural heritage which has refused to die? Or is it the case that Africans have not been able to eradicate the belief simply because they do not have the means to do so? Or does the belief have some intrinsic and extrinsic values which have encouraged Africans to cope with it? In this paper, I want to have a critical examination of witch belief among three ethnic groups in Africa namely, the Yoruba in Nigeria, the Akamba in Kenya and the Zulu in South Africa.

Witch Belief among the Yoruba

To write on witchcraft among the Yoruba, one must bear in mind some pertinent questions. Why do the Yoruba believe in witchcraft? Who are the witches and how is witchcraft acquired? How do we know witches or how are the witches identified? What is the nature of their operations and who are their victims? What efforts have the Yoruba made to eradicate the belief? Why has the belief continued to persist in spite of modern civilization? Answers to these questions may be many and some may be satisfactory while others may not. They may even lead us to more fundamental questions. In the meantime let me provide some general explanations of witchcraft in Yoruba which will probably answer some of the questions already raised.

The word for witch in Yoruba is **aje**. The ground of being of witches in Yoruba thought is Olodumare or Olorun, the Supreme Being. It is from Olodumare that the witches derive their power to protect or inflict punishment on their victims. The reason why Olodumare created them is primarily to make the Yoruba have their implicit

loyalty to him. In other words witches in Yoruba belief were created so as to make the Yoruba trust in God and to worship him. According to Yoruba traditions, without the witches it is believed the Yoruba would not have any recourse to worship the Supreme Deity.¹ Apart from this reason, the Yoruba believe that witches are the major causes of misfortunes, illness, poverty and death. J. Omosade Awolalu explains:

In the mental and social attitudes of the Yoruba, and of the Africans in general, there is no belief more profoundly ingrained than that of the existence of witches (**aje**). All strange diseases, accidents, untimely death, inability to gain promotions in office, failure in examinations and barrenness in women, impotence in men, failure of crops and a thousand other evils are attributed to witchcraft.²

Although the Yoruba believe that witches are the major causes of man's misfortunes in the world, not all witches are involved in evil machinations. There are some witches who use their witchcraft to protect their children, relations and husbands. They, as a matter of fact, bring prosperity and success to their family members. As already stated, such witches are very few in number in Yorubaland.

In Yorubaland, old women are generally regarded as witches. They are not addressed publicly as witches - **aje**, "but normally euphemisms are used like **awon iya wa**, 'our mothers', or **agbalagba**, 'the elders'."³ Old women are not necessarily the only ones known as witches in Yoruba. Awolalu and Dopamu explain:

Witches are mostly women, but men can also be found, especially at the head of the guilds. Witches usually inherit their nefarious art from their mothers. Some are born witches while others acquire witchcraft. But witchcraft can also be bought for a small amount. It can be passed on through food.⁴

Similarly, E. Geoffrey Parrinder writes, "Many African peoples think that all or most witches are women, and that the mother passes down her witchcraft to her daughter, but it is not inherited by her sons."⁵ Let me clarify a point here. Men who have the power of witchcraft are different from those who belong to sorcery. The name given to sorcery in Yoruba is **oso**, and not **aje**. In Yoruba thought, men who are sorcerers use charms, medicines and magic to harm or kill their

victims. Witches do not use any of those things to harm their victims. Witchcraft is the activity of the soul and its preys are inflicted in a spiritual manner.

Parrinder's explanation on how witchcraft is acquired needs some comments. It is interesting to note that women pass their witchcraft to their daughters and not to their sons. The question that readily comes to one's mind is why? It seems to me that since the majority of people who engage in witchcraft are women according to the Yoruba, it logically follows that by passing the art to their daughters it will enable them to increase their population and give them the control of their guilds.

Witches are believed to operate in secrecy in Yoruba thought. They have the capacity to change into birds, animals and use other unusual guises. They go about their "night business" while their physical bodies are on their beds. Benjamin Ray writes:

Witches . . . act only at night, fly or walk on their hands or heads, dance naked, feast on corpses, exhibit insatiable and incestuous lusts (despite sexual impotence), murder their relatives, live in the bush with wild, even predatory, animals or excrete and vomit in people's homestead.⁶

The Yoruba also believe that witches have nocturnal meetings. The meetings are called **ajo**.⁷ The nature of their meetings is spiritual. It is in those meetings that they share the "goodies" together⁸. In Yoruba society, witches only act on their relations and not on strangers. In other words, strangers do not become a prey of witches in Yorubaland. It is believed by the Yoruba that witches turn their victims into animals and eat them in a spiritual way. Once a victim has been eaten up, there is no way to save his life. If, however, the victim has not been eaten up by the witches, there is a possibility of saving his life. Generally, when a victim has not been eaten up by the witches, an appeal can be made to the guilds to spare the life of the victim. When a victim's life is saved, there is always a sacrifice in lieu of the victim. Sometimes a he-goat is required as a substitute and once that is done however sickly the victim is, he will not die.

Witches resort to using their children or husbands or relations because of the fear that if, after they have enjoyed the contributions

of others, they fail to bring theirs, they will be killed. Among the witches there is a form of hierarchy. If a witch wants to be held in high esteem among her peers, she needs to bring the most successful among her relations or husband, or daughters or sons. She may appear wretched physically but among her peers at night she is the most prominent personality to be reckoned with.

When a witch has killed her victim, there are several ways by which the Yoruba find out the particular witch. One of the ways is through the *Ifa* priests. The *Ifa* priests have the "technical knowledge" to reveal the witch who has killed the deceased. Also, there are witch-doctors or medicine-men who can prepare some medicines or use magical powers to make the witch confess her witchcraft. If she does not do so, she will be forced to take the medicine. After taking the medicine if she does not die, it is believed that she is not the one who killed the deceased. If, on the other hand, she dies after taking the concoction the people will conclude that she was the one who killed her relation or husband or daughter.

Sometimes some witches do make open confessions. How reliable such confessions are is difficult to confirm. However, Awolalu believes that a confession made by a witch must be taken as the gospel truth because it comes as a result of a guilty conscience. He explains:

What we need to realise is that a person whose conscience is still functioning properly never feels comfortable whenever anything contrary to the will of God and of the norm of the society is done; this is because the conscience is disturbed. Confession naturally eases the conscience. Our attitude to the confession made by the witches is quite clear: we believe that a woman who confesses that she has done one evil or another must be taken seriously.⁹

Awolalu may be right in a way but, generally, there are some people who confess the impossible and witchcraft may be one of them. Another issue which is of importance to this argument is that what if one does not have the kind of conscience Awolalu is talking about. For instance, if A's conscience functions very well and she does not believe that she has done what is being alleged although she had wished B the evil that befell him. Should A then say she is morally responsible for what has happened to B? Couldn't the misfortune

which has befallen B be an accident which coincides with what A had wished to happen to B rather than something caused by witchcraft? Our daily experiences of such things do not make us witches.

The Yoruba have used various means to solve the threat of witchcraft. There are some religious cults that have been used and are still being used to counter the power of witches eg, **egungun**, ancestral cult. Generally, women of evil machinations are warned of the consequences of their evil plans. If they don't take heed of the warning, those who are involved die in a mysterious manner. Witch-doctors have been used to overcome the power of witchcraft. Today, priests, prophets both christians and muslims have been involved in dealing with witchcraft. Instead of eradicating witchcraft the church and mosque have exploited the belief and have been making money in leaps and bounds. Today in Yorubaland most of the charismatic churches are increasing because their converts want an abode of refuge from the fear and power of witchcraft. The traditional solution employed by the Yoruba has not helped either. The causes of misfortunes, accidents and death are still being attributed to witchcraft in Yorubaland. Paul Bohannan argues:

Witchcraft has to a greater or lesser extent been a parasite on religion in widely scattered areas of the world for the simple reason that it answers many of the same questions about misfortune that religious dogma sets out to answer.¹⁰

We may not agree with Bohannan that witchcraft is a parasite on religion bearing in mind that the Yoruba believe that Olodumare created witches so that they can make the Yoruba to be aware of their loyalty to him. It seems to me that witchcraft is not a parasite on religion. Rather it "participates" in religion and provides answers to metaphysical problems encountered by the Yoruba.

Apart from some witches who are presumably good in Yorubaland, the belief in witchcraft to some extent provides a means by which "the tensions in families and within communities can be brought into the open and treated."¹¹

Witch Belief among the Akamba

The Akamba word for witchcraft is **uoi**. According to Joshua Akorig'a, the Akamba believe that all the living beings or things were created

by Mulungu, the Supreme Deity.¹² If this is so, it can be deduced from this claim that since Mulungu created all things, the existence of witches is equally his own design. Judith Mbula Bahemuka argues that "witchcraft is also a mystical power which is granted to some individuals by the evil spirits."¹³ Since the evil spirits did not make themselves, and do not have a separate existence apart from what Mulungu gave them, it is logical to believe that witches were made or created by him and not by the evil spirits. The Akamba, unlike the Yoruba, do not explain why Mulungu created the witches. Like the Yoruba, the Akamba believe that all misfortunes, accidents, death and the like are caused by witchcraft. Richard J. Gehman writes:

Virtually every unusual event or tragic experience can be explained by witchcraft. Anything from a poor harvest, sickness, death, accident or headache, to a quarreling relationship or unusual phenomena find their explanation in witchcraft. Nothing happens by chance to a traditional Mukamba. There is no 'natural' death.¹⁴

Similarly Bahemuka writes:

Every social evil in African society is explained in terms of witchcraft. These evils are diseases, poverty, misfortune, inability to have children and inability to find a husband or a wife.¹⁵

Similarities in witch belief among the Akamba and other ethnic groups in Kenya and other African societies abound especially on the causes of misfortunes in life. Like the Yoruba whom we have considered, women are generally conceived as witches among the Akamba. They have the power to transfer their witchcraft to their daughters, nieces and females who are closely related to them. Bahemuka explains:

Among the Akamba, witchcraft is transmitted to the eldest daughter by the mother. If the mother dies when the daughters are too young to know the importance of witchcraft, one of the maternal aunts, who is a witch, assumes the duty of transmitting the power to her nieces. If the mother feels her eldest daughter is not a responsible person, she can freely transmit her power to one of her young daughters. Very often the

daughter chosen by the mother is her favourite . . . **Uoi** (witchcraft) is a power which captures those who possess it, and is never allowed to lie dormant.¹⁶

The main method by which witchcraft is transferred from women to their daughters, nieces and other females within the same family units is dramatically demonstrated by Bahemuka.¹⁷ As we have noticed in Akambaland, witchcraft is transmitted from women to their daughters and not to their sons, which is similar to Yoruba witches. There is, however, a difference in the method of transfer of power of witchcraft from women to their daughters between the Yoruba and the Akamba. The Akamba witches use medicines, charms and the like in transmitting witchcraft to their daughters or female relations, while the Yoruba witches don't. By using charms, medicines and the like, the Akamba witches seem not to separate sorcery from witchcraft. Writing about witchcraft among the Akamba, Bahemuka says:

Sorcery and witchcraft are two things which cannot be separated. Sorcery, in its normal use, is something which is deliberately done by the sorcerer to hurt somebody's property. It involves the use of poisonous mixtures which are maliciously given to the other person or his property. Together with the poisonous ingredients, the mystical powers which witches possess are also to be found in sorcery. Sorcerers and witches are therefore an anti-social element which threatens the very foundations of the African society.¹⁸

As rightly noted, there is a difference between sorcery and witchcraft among the Akamba, but the line of demarcation is not rigidly drawn. But that does not have to bring confusion in our understanding of the two. In Akamba, the word for sorcery is **Muoi**. In most, if not all African societies, sorcerers are hated. Generally, most, if not all, African societies try as much as possible to isolate sorcerers because of their anti-social behaviour.

Apart from the transmission of witchcraft from women to their daughters and the like, the Akamba believe that witchcraft is hereditary. There are others who buy witchcraft. Whichever way and manner witchcraft is acquired, the Akamba are more concerned with what **uoi** does than how it is acquired.

Like the Yoruba, the Akamba believe that witches perform their operations mostly at night. They have some mysterious ways of changing from one form of animal to another. Sometimes they change themselves to birds, snakes and the like. Their ultimate ambition in life is to harm or destroy life and property.

In Akambaland, witch-doctors have been used to identify witches. Sometimes the witches were forced to make confessions and whenever they did so, they were killed. According to Okot p'Bitek:

The Kenyan authorities have been waging an on-and-off battle against witchcraft, burning witchcraft things and arresting so-called witches. But recently the witches have invaded and captured all the major cities and towns of Kenya - in the form of carvings and paintings.¹⁹

Even though Kenyan authorities before independence had waged war against witchcraft, evidence of the belief is still extant in most of the ethnic groups. p'Bitek is probably correct when he says that the witches have invaded Kenya's cities in terms of "carvings and paintings". That is the extrinsic value of witchcraft. Has that erased the fear of witchcraft from the minds of the Akamba? Of course, the answer is no. Some other solutions are, therefore, necessary. But in the meantime, let us consider witch belief among the Zulu.

Witch Belief among the Zulu

The word for witch in Zulu is **abathakati**. To the Zulu, a witch is someone who has the ability to manipulate mysterious powers for destructive purposes. According to E. Thomas Lawson the Zulu believe that "witches derive their power from, and base their operations in, a shadowy world that is neither that of the ancestors nor that of the God of the Sky."²⁰ It may be the case that the Zulu believe that witches derive their power of witchcraft from some evil sources but, generally, whatever exists ultimately came from Inkosi Yezulu, the Supreme Being. It must be noted that even though the Zulu associate their belief in the Supreme Being with the sky - **izulu**, it does not mean that the Supreme Being is not the creator of everything that is.

Like the Yoruba and Akamba, the Zulu believe that women are generally witches.

According to Lawson:

Any woman can become a witch; she becomes one through the experience of possession. It is possible, however, for a Zulu to be a witch without even knowing it.²¹

To the Zulu, it is not the possession of witchcraft that is evil but the use of it. Even though women are known to be witches in Zululand, it is, however, believed that mothers don't bewitch their children. Witchcraft is the activity of strangers. Max Gluckman writes:

... whatever difficulties a Zulu woman may have with her own son, the Zulu would think him crazy if he accused her of bewitching him. Mothers do not bewitch their own children among the Zulu.²²

To the Zulu, mothers value their children so dearly that thinking of bewitching any of them is counter—intuitive. Furthermore the idea of one relation bewitching another would break the family unit and destroy the loyalty of the group. In other words, the Zulu believe that any witch accusation within the family unit would be counter—productive.

The Zulu, like the Yoruba and Akamba, believe that witches have the power to change to animals or birds at night when they want to go for their usual operations. It is also believed by the Zulu that witches perform their evil machinations without their physical bodies.

According to Gluckman, witchcraft among the Zulu is a theory of causation and why an individual suffers a particular misfortune that befalls him. So witchcraft is not a theory of how a misfortune has happened. Therefore, witchcraft is an explanation of "why me".

When a misfortune strikes a Zulu, the cause of it is determined by the witch-doctors or the diviners. Sometimes the spirits of ancestors are consulted. When the witch is known she is killed. But this has not stopped the spread of witchcraft in Zululand. Religious movements have been engaged in an-off-and-on battle against witchcraft in Zululand. Accusation of witchcraft is not limited to strangers anymore. If a man is very successful in his business, the Zulu suspect him of witchcraft, and in turn he suspects his relations of witchcraft because of their jealousy.²³ In addition Gluckman observes:

And the Zulu measure the moral disintegration of their society in modern times by the fact that men nowadays accuse their fathers of witchcraft, which would have been unthinkable in the past.²⁴

The modern trend of witchcraft among the Zulu is not an isolated case in Africa. Witch belief is difficult to eradicate because the traditional form of life has not changed much, and poverty is very rampant in most African societies, among other things. I think Gluckman's argument deserves a careful look.

The difficulty of destroying beliefs in witchcraft is that they form a system which can absorb and explain many failures and apparently contradictory evidence.²⁵

The impression one has with Gluckman's argument is that Africans cannot get rid of witch belief because it provides a simplistic solution to failures in spite of its contradictions. Logically, when there are contradictory evidences in one's belief, such a belief ought to be critically examined, if not rejected. In the case of African belief in witchcraft, we need to apply reason to establish its truth and validity.

A Critical examination of Witch Belief

Considering what we have learnt about witchcraft from the three ethnic groups discussed in this paper, we may want to find out the reality of this belief. Since philosophy is about truth, can we say witch belief, as already discussed, gives us an indubitable truth? We may not be able to answer this question either affirmatively or negatively until we assess the belief metaphysically, scientifically and ethically.

Metaphysically the belief in witchcraft in African societies has to answer the question about the truth of the existence of witches. Is it true that the Supreme Being actually made witches to perpetuate evils so that Africans can seek refuge in him? If this question is answered affirmatively, the next question is, why does the Supreme Being need such a diabolic method to make Africans succumb to his authority? Does the Deity actually need any form of worship from Africans at all?

If he does, then using witchcraft is morally unjust, more so when he is believed by Africans to be self-sufficient. To say that God has a need is to contradict the proposition of his self-sufficiency. Furthermore, since Africans believe that the Deity is all-good, creation of witches to punish human beings is also a contradiction of that attribute.

If the Supreme Being actually made witches, why do they have to be women? The belief that witches are mostly women seems to suggest that man's predicament has its root in the creation of women who are witches. It is self-evident that the belief in witchcraft in Africa is discriminatory, and a just God, it seems to me, ought not to be the ground of it.

The idea that witches perform their operations spiritually raises further questions. We have the problem of understanding how the soul of a woman sleeping on her bed at night leaves the physical body to engage in evil machinations. First, where does the soul reside in the body? How small or how big is the soul to be able to perform all the evils attributed to it? If it is the soul that eats up the victims of witchcraft, why must the physical body, which knows not what the soul has gone to do at night, be punished? In other words, if the body is not involved in the killing of a person who is bewitched, how can the witch in her physical body suffer from the punishment given to her by African societies? More importantly, if it is true that the Supreme Being has made the witches to perpetuate diabolical activities, it necessarily follows that they have no power to do otherwise, hence, they are not morally responsible. If they are not morally responsible, since they have been made to harm individuals, why do they have to be stoned to death or poisoned, or lynched in our societies?

Scientifically, it has not been demonstrated anywhere in the world that a human being can change from his biological form to a bird, snake and any other lower animals. Even Charles Darwin's evolution theory that human beings came from apes has not shown any truth of that claim. In other words, it has not happened. If we may borrow a leaf of knowledge from the Bible; it is clearly stated:

And God made the beast of the earth according to its kind, cattle

according to its kind, and everything that creeps on the earth according to its kind. And God saw that it was good (Gen. 1).²⁵

For those who question the existence of God, this passage from the Bible may not be convincing but we should not simply ignore it. The point being made is that whatever exists, except by human scientific manipulation, if it has capacity of reproduction, it produces its own likeness. Since birds, snakes and the like are not part of human species, it is impossible for a witch to change into any of them.

Can we say then that the belief in witchcraft in Africa is a superstition? From the questions and arguments already raised and given, it is philosophically clear that the belief in witchcraft is a product of African imagination and hence superstitious. It must be admitted, however, that witchcraft in Africa has psychic influence on the people in spite of the fact that it is a superstition. Let me note here for a moment that witchcraft in its nature does not employ magic, medicine and incantations. Sorcery employs those elements to harm and destroy property and life.

But what of the fear that witchcraft generates in African societies? How can it be dealt with philosophically? I admit that the fear of witchcraft is a reality although no witch exists in reality. The truth of the matter is that poverty, ignorance, the "unscientific" and "unphilosophical" nature of African traditional life have contributed to this ill-fated belief. Since the traditional life of Africans has not been eradicated by modern technology, the elites who should have influenced a change of attitude towards misfortunes attributed to witchcraft have in most cases reverted to witch belief as an explanation of their problems.

It seems to me that the fear of witchcraft in Africa is one of the "non-beings" which needs philosophical courage as its prescription. Philosophical courage has its foundation in education and self-affirmation. The position of Kwasi Wiredu is important here:

The desired change will be a long process. Its principal agency will be education, but not just any type of education . . . what is wanted is a certain kind of training in method, the kind of training that will produce minds eager and able to test claims and theories against observed facts that adjust beliefs to the evidence . . .²⁶

As already stated, it is not just any kind of education that will help to eradicate witchcraft in Africa, but the kind of education which challenges beliefs and practices with evidences. Confessions made by witches under duress do not prove the existence of witchcraft. But ill-will and envy can be attributed to poverty and ignorance. I have never seen any well educated and well to do women who confess to be witches. Those who have fallen victims of this obnoxious belief are below poverty level. According to Olu Daramola and Jeje:

Ati omode ati agba ni ile Yoruba ni a ti fi eti gbo opolopo itan; sugbon a ko i ti ri enikan ti ori re pe daadaa, ti ara re si ya gaga ti o le je tan, mu tan kit o si so pe aje ni oun.²⁷

We have heard different stories from both young and old in Yorubaland; but we have not seen anyone who is mentally sane, and very healthy who will after eating well claim that she is a witch.

[Translation is mine]

It is generally agreed among scholars who have written about witchcraft in Africa that witchcraft is performed in secrecy and nobody knows the truth about it.

Since the witchcraft is performed in secrecy, its claims, which cannot be supported with any rational evidence, must not be taken at face-value. Therefore, the feat that emanates from witchcraft has no logical foundation. Africans who are psychologically affected by witch belief need the kind of courage recommended by Paul Tillich:

The courage to be is the ethical act in which man affirms his own being in spite of those elements of his existence which conflict with his essential self-affirmation.²⁸

Even when poverty, disease, misfortunes strike, the kind of courage one needs is the ability to face the odds without blaming an individual who is consciously or unconsciously innocent.

Conclusion

Before I conclude, I want us to take note of the remark of Richard Kearney:

Philosophy, it is claimed, is not to be pursued in a vacuum. It is situated in its time and responds to its distinctive innovations and upheavals.²⁹

I believe witchcraft as a psychic problem has no philosophical basis for misfortunes of African peoples. The solution to this enigma of witchcraft in Africa is a better orientation of what constitutes misfortunes in human existence and the philosophical courage to face its reality. Finally, the philosophical attitude which I have undertaken in this paper is a prescription which if taken, will heal the neurosis of witchcraft and provide the "innovations" needed in the contemporary African societies.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 cf T.A.A. Ladele et al, **Akojopo Iwadii Ijinle Asa Yoruba** (Ibadan: McMillan, 1986), 48.
- 2 J. Omosade Awolalu, **Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites** (London: Longman, 1979), 81.
- 3 J.S. Eades, **The Yoruba Today** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 125.
- 4 J. Omosade Awolalu and Dopamu, **West African Traditional Religion** (London: Sheldon Press, 1974), 124.
- 5 E. Geoffrey Parrinder, **African Traditional Religion** (London: Sheldon Press, 1974), 124.
- 6 Benjamin C. Ray, **African Religions** (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 150.
- 7 Awolalu, op.cit., 85.
- 8 Ibid., 85-86.

- 9 Ibid., 83.
- 10 Paul Bohannan, **African and Africans** (Garden City: American Museum of Science Books, 1964), 232
- 11 Ibid., 233
- 12 Joshua J. Akong'a, **Kenya Socio-Cultural Profiles Kitui District**, (The Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi), 233.
- 13 Judith Mbula Bahemuka, **Our Religious Heritage** (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1982), 105.
- 14 Richard J. Gehman, **African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective** (Nairobi: Kesho Publications, 1989), 80.
- 15 Bahemuka, op.cit., 105
- 16 Ibid., 107.
- 17 Ibid., 106-109
- 18 Ibid., 105
- 19 Okot p'Bitek, **Artist the Ruler** (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1986), 17.
- 20 E. Thomas Lawson, **Religions of Africa** (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 23.
- 21 Ibid., 24.
- 22 Max Gluckman, **Custom and Conflict in Africa** (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 92.
- 23 cf. Gluckman, 96
- 24 Ibid., 92.
- 25 Ibid., 102.

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- 26 Kwasi Wiredu, **Philosophy and an African Culture** (London: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 15.
- 27 Olu Daramola and A. Jeje, **Awon Asa ati Orisa Ile Yoruba** (Ibadan: Onibonoje, 1975), 137.
- 28 Paul Tillich, **The Courage to Be** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 3.
- 29 Richard Kearney, **Modern Movements in European Philosophy** (Manchester University Press, 1986), 1.