yoruba religion & medicine in Ibadan

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PREFACE

OFTEN the Yoruba people are thought of as a definite "tribal" or "ethnic" group. Dr S. O. Biobaku has shown that the use of the term "Yoruba" to refer to the peoples in Western Nigeria is largely the result of the influence of the Anglican mission in Abẹokuta in the nineteenth century. Wallerstein says that the standard "Yoruba" language evolved by the mission was the new unifying factor, and he quotes Hodgkin's remark: (T. Hodgkin, "Letter to Dr Biobaku," in *Odu*, No. 4, 1957, p. 42): "Everyone recognizes that the notion of 'being a Nigerian' is a new kind of conception. But it would seem that the notion of 'being a Yoruba' is not very much older".[1] And Lloyd points out that originally the term "Yoruba" applied only to the people of the Ọyọ kingdom.[2]

Descent is traced through the male line, and, traditionally, residence is patrilocal. The lineage has not ceased to be a corporate group, even in the towns and cities, but some of its functions have been taken over by voluntary associations of one kind or another. No reliable figures exist of the extent of polygyny among the Yoruba. Lloyd cites one survey which suggests that Yoruba men who have reached the state of marriage have an average of two wives each; one-third have only one wife at any given time, one-third have two, and one third have three or more wives.

In Ibadan, as well as in Ijaye and in Lalupọn, the chief political officer, the Baálẹ is assisted by a council of chiefs. (In Ibadan, since 1935, this officer has been known as the Olúbàdàn.) Unlike other Yoruba towns, Ibadan has no sacred king or *ọba*. In the 1950s, administrative machinery of the Regional Government grew rapidly and government became much more highly centralized than it was in the earlier part of the colonial period.[3] Between 1953 and 1955 local government councils were started by the government of the Western Region, and these units have become integral parts of a modern independent state.

Farming is the predominant occupation of the Yoruba. According to Lloyd, a typical Yoruba town has 70 per cent of its adult men engaged in farming, and ten per cent each as craftsmen and traders. Farmlands extend for twenty miles around Ibadan; in smaller towns they go out four or five miles. Where farms are some distance from the town, small hamlets are built and many people commute from town to farm. A complex marketing pattern moves agricultural products from producer to consumer and imported goods from Ibadan merchants and wholesalers to purchasers in the city, villages, and farms.[4] Thus far, there has been little industrialization

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[1] Immanuel Wallerstein, "Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* No. 3-1, October, 1960, pp. 129-39. Reprinted in P. L. Van den Berghe, *Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict*, Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, pp. 472–82.

[2] P. C. Lloyd, "The Yoruba of Nigeria," in J. L. Gibbs, *Peoples of Africa*, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1965, pp. 549–82. This is an excellent summary of Yoruba history and culture.

[3] P. C. Lloyd, "Introduction," in P. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje, and B. Awe, eds., *The City of Ibadan*, Cambridge University Press, 1967, pp. 6–7. See G. Jenkins, "Government and Politics in Ibadan," in *ibid*, ch. 11.

in Nigeria, and Ibadan has much less than Lagos. Ibadan, Lagos and other cities now have some modern department stores, hotels, office buildings and residences.

Free primary education was started in Western Nigeria in 1955 and resulted in a massive expansion of instruction at this level up to 1960. Since that time the government has encouraged consolidation to raise the standards and to reduce unnecessary expenses. Callaway says that the city of Ibadan leads Nigeria and even West Africa as a thriving centre of education at all levels.[5] The University of Ibadan, an outstanding modern university founded in 1948, provided undergraduate and graduate instruction for nearly three thousand students in 1964. In recent years, unemployed school leavers have constituted a serious social problem in Ibadan.

During the past two decades the growth of a prosperous and educated elite has been an important development, but this group makes up less than one-half of one per cent of the population in Western Nigeria. Since the present study deals largely with traditional beliefs and practices, we are concerned here only indirectly with the new elite.

Yoruba life is undergoing considerable change. New patterns are developing in family life, government, education, the economy, religion, medicine, art, and in other areas. Old ways, however, have not disappeared entirely, and the purpose of this study is to give some indication of the extent both of the continuation and of the changing of traditional religions and traditional medicine in the Ibadan areain 1964.

The sentiments, defined as "combinations of perception, belief, and feeling which each person carries in his mind as guides for conduct and for the definition of reality," found by the team responsible for the Cornell-Aro Mental Health Research Project in the Western Region is valuable in understanding "The Yoruba World". These sentiments pertain especially to the Ẹgba Yoruba who live in the Abẹokuta area, but in the main, they are characteristic of Yoruba who reside in the Western Region. We give below thirteen of the seventeen sentiments on the Cornell-Aro list. Reference to these sentiments will be helpful in examining the findings of the present study on Yoruba religions and medicine.

SELECTED SENTIMENTS OF THE YORUBA PEOPLE[6]

1 The world is made up of many unseen forces—some malevolent, some potentially malevolent. We must protect ourselves by every possible means.

2 One of the main ways to protect ourselves and our children and to ensure the benevolence of the spirits is sacrifice, the killing of a living being.

3 Success is counted in children, wives, houses, money, land, titles and good standing with one's neighbours. All of us—adherents to traditional beliefs,

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[4] P. C. Lloyd, "The Yoruba of Nigeria," pp. 555–6. See A. Callaway, "From Traditional Crafts to Modern Industries," in Lloyd, Mabogunje, and Awe, *op. cit.*, ch. 8; B. W. Hodder, "The Markets of Ibadan," *ibid.*, ch. 9; and H. A. Oluwasanmi, "The Agricultural Environment" *ibid.*, ch. 3.

[5] Archibald Callaway, "Educational Expansion and the Rise of Youth Unemployment," in Lloyd Mabogunje, and Awe, eds., *op. cit.*, ch. 10.

[6] A. H. Leighton, T. A. Lambo, C. C. Hughes, D. C. Leighton, J. M. Murphy, and D. B. Macklin, *Psychiatric Disorder among the Yoruba*, Cornell University Press, 1963, ch. 3.

Moslems, and Christians—believe in an after-life in which people are judged as good or bad. The here and now is, however, important in its own right.

4 There are many changes coming which promise a better life for us. But we had better not become so enchanted with the new as to depart radically from the old customs and beliefs.

5 People have it within their power to bring harm and misfortune to others through magical means. Therefore, we must be careful in the way we treat each other.

6 Education is the golden key to success in life—if not for me at least for my children.

7 There is nothing that money cannot do.

8 Everyone belongs somewhere in a group, but all people are not equal. Age, sex and vested authority determine every situation, and we must respect the people above us.

9 . . .the most important ties are those in marriage and between parents and children.

10 Since our world as women is centered on children, it focuses on the future, but we believe we can help them by continuing to practice many of our old ways.

11 Marriage is the normal and natural state for adults, and polygyny is the normal and natural form of marriage.

12 All of us belong in a variety of groups—family, village, compound, lineage, or tribe—but except for the face-to-face relations of immediate families, loyalties are now confused.

13 Health is precious to all of us. We have heard about germs and nutrition, but if someone is after you with magic, it is mainly sickness or death that he will be able to send.

The data in this study were obtained mainly from two sets of informants in the Ibadan area: 275 "rank-and-file" informants and 35 persons who were reputed to be especially well informed about traditional Yoruba religion, or medicine, or both. The larger sample was reduced to 272 when it was found that three of these individuals were non-Yoruba. Of the 272, 54 were residents of the village of Ijaye, 108 of Lalupọn, and 110 of Ibadan. In Ibadan, 32 informants lived in the Oje section, 36 in Oke Ọfa, and 42 in Isalẹ Ijẹbu. Data concerning the age, sex, marital status, migration, education, occupation, religion of these informants are given in tables in Chapter V and in the Appendix.

Of the 35 persons who were healers or leaders in traditional religions or both, 31 were identified with Ibadan sub-tribe, 2 were Ileṣa, 1 was Ekiti, and 1 was Ọtan-Aiyegbaju. Thirty-two of these informants were male and 3 were female, and the latter three were healers. None of these informants was under 30 years of age, 11 were between 30 and 49, and 24 were from 50 to 90. Of these 35 "experts", 18 lived in Lalupọn (8 healers, 6 traditional religious leaders, and 4 persons who were active in both areas), and 17 resided in Ibadan (6 healers, 7 traditional religious leaders, and 4 who played both roles). The 21 informants in this group with whom traditional religion was discussed in some detail gave the following as their occupations: farming,

7; healing, 6; Ifá priest, 3; trading, 2; Èṣù priest, 1; *babaláwo* and healer, 1; and farmer-healer, 1. All of the ceremonial leaders interviewed in Lalupọn are traditional religionists, but two of the traditional religious "experts" in Ibadan said that they are now Muslims. The latter two informants are discussed in Chapter VI. Of the 22 who had traditional healing practices, 11 were followers of the *òrìṣà* only, 8 said they were Muslims, and 3 claimed to be Christians. Only 3 of these 22 informants had attended school, but one had had some private "lessons". These four healers read Yoruba, and one of them claimed that he can read English and Arabic as well. In school attendance and literacy, these healers are far behind the rank-and-file sample for Ijaye, Lalupọn, and Ibadan (see Tables 5 and 18 in Chapter V).

I am indebted to many colleagues and friends for advice and assistance in connection with this study. My thanks go first to more than three hundred Yoruba informants who patiently and generously share their experiences, beliefs and points of view with me. Twenty physicians and medical scientists, members of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Ibadan, or of the University College Hospital Staff, or in private practice in the city of Ibadan, who kindly found time to discuss with the writer many aspects of the practice of medicine in Nigeria. The collaboration of three research assistants, M. O. Ogunyemi, Adekunle Adeniran and Amos Adesimi, was invaluable. Dr Joseph Black, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, facilitated this study in many ways. Albert J. McQueen provided many suggestions on fieldwork in Nigeria, and Kiyoshi Ikeda has been most generous and helpful in advising the author on statistical reporting. During his senior year at Oberlin College, David Ford programmed and processed the data obtained from the 272 rank-and-file informants.

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I. TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS IN THE IBADAN AREA

CHAPTER 1

TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS IN THE IBADAN AREA

YORUBA religion has been called a "mixed bag of individual cults", with Olòdùmarè (also known as Ọlọ́run) holding the cults together.[1] According to Idowu, Olódùmarè "has always been placed first and far above the divinities."[2] This scholar regards traditional Yoruba religion as monotheism (or Diffused Monotheism or Olodumareism) with the well-known divinities serving as ministers of Olódùmarè. The question of the historical origin, as well as the original "purity", of this "monotheism", Idowu says is debatable, but some Yoruba elders hold that "the crowd of divinities which now inhabit their pantheon is a later accretion the effect of which has not altogether been to the benefit of their religion.[3]" Other investigators have considered Yoruba religions to be polytheistic. For our purposes, this question is not of very great importance. Later in this chapter we summarize the views of our best versed informants on present day beliefs about Olódùmarè.

Although there are hundreds of divinities in traditional Yoruba religion (the number is variously given as 200, 201, 400, 600, 1060, 1440), approximately two dozen overshadow the others in the Ibadan area. Nature gods such as Ṣàngó, Ọ̀ṣun, and Ṣànpònná, and functional deities, including Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Ọ̀gún and Ọbàtálá, are held by lineages, but no lineage has a monopoly on one of the major gods or goddesses and there are always individuals who have become followers of a given deity because Ọ̀rúnmìlà, the god of divination, has told them to appeal to that *òrìṣà* or because one of the gods has helped him in time of crisis.[4] There is a cult for each deity, and each cult-group holds an annual ceremony for its *òrìṣà*. Often a traditional religionist is a follower of several divinities, but he worships each one separately. Ritual patterns vary from cult to cult; relatively few new elements have been introduced into traditional Yoruba religions in recent years.

OLÓDÙMARÈ AND THE LEADING ÒRÌṢÀ: BELIEFS AND RITUALS

We point out in Chapters V and VI that only five per cent of our 272 ordinary informants said that they worship the *òrìṣà*. Half of this group worship the *òrìṣà* only, the other half are Christian-*òrìṣà* or Moslem-*òrìṣà* worshippers. It is of interest that ten per cent of 183 informants (7 per cent of the total sample) replied affirmatively to the question of whether they worship their lineage *òrìṣà*. Together *òrìṣà* worshippers and contributors to traditional annual ceremonies constitute 19 per cent of the sample of 272 informants. In time of serious trouble, a large proportion of the Yoruba consult a *babaláwo* or other traditional religious leader for guidance, and, in many cases, this leads to the presentation of sacrifices to an *òrìṣà*.

OLÓDÙMARÈ

Idowu writes that in all previous works dealing with Yoruba religion, "the Deity has been assigned a place which makes Him very remote, of little account in the scheme of things".[5] According to him, three reasons account for this treatment: first, the objective phenomena in Yoruba religion are the cults of the *òrìṣà;* second, temples are not erected nor are images dedicated to Olódúmarè; and third, the people's conception of the Deity is a reflection of their social structure. On the last point, Idowu says that in Yoruba etiquette it is not proper for a young person to approach an elder directly when seeking a special favour; hence, "after each act of worship before any of the divinities, people conclude by saying *Kí Olódùmarè gbà á o*—'May Olódumare accept it" or a similar expression. Concerning the status of Olódúmarè, Idowu finds—

> Yoruba theology emphasizes the unique status of Olódùmaré. He is supreme over all in heaven, acknowledged by all the divinities as the Head to whom all authority and allegiance is due. He is not one among many; not even 'Olódùmarè-in-council.' His status of Supremacy is absolute. Things happen when He approves; things do not come to pass if He disapproves. In worship, the Yoruba hold Him ultimately First and Last; in man's daily life, he has the ultimate pre-eminence.[6]

The Yoruba appear to be satisfied with the gods with whom they are in immediate touch because they believe that when the *òrìṣà* have been worshipped, they will transmit what is necessary to Olódumare. The greatness of Olódumare does not, however, preclude direct approach to him, and the people "pray to him directly and at any time and place as needs arise". There is a specific cult of Olódumare, Idowu says, with the worship taking place in the open. Today ritualistic worship on a regular basis is dying out; in some places it is no longer known, and in others it has become the cult of the women.

In the main, our finding coincide with Idowu's. Traditional priests and others who play or have played leading parts in religious ceremonies in the Ibadan area hold the following views: first, Olódumare is the Supreme *Òrìṣà* and is the creator of all beings including the other *òrìṣà*; second, he is all powerful and there is nothing that he cannot do; third, there is no annual ceremony for him but his name is mentioned during ceremonies for the *òrìṣà*; fourth, the *òrìṣà* are intermediaries between Olódumare and men and he is worshipped through the *òrìṣà*; fifth, people pray to him to guide and protect them; and sixth, today there is no shrine or temple for Olódumare and no sacrifices are given to him. When asked if he knew any verses attributed to Olódumare or said in honour of him, a Muslim diviner-healer who still takes some part in annual ceremonies for four of the *òrìṣà* said that people read the Bible or the Koran as messages from God. A devotee of Ifá and Ọbàtálá gave this Olódúmarè verse:

Ọba atáyése,	The Lord who corrects every wrong on earth
Ọba adá-èdá.	The Lord who creates all beings.

One of the twenty-one traditional religious leaders interviewed in Lalupọn and Ibadan, a man who is a follower of Ogun and of Ọya, mentioned Ọlọ́run as one of the *òrìṣà* he worships.

ỌBÀTÁLÁ

Ọbàtálá, known also as Ọrìṣà-nlá, Òrìṣàála, Ògìyán, and, in some places, Olúfọ̀n, is called by Idowu "the arch-divinity" of Yorubaland. In this scholar's words, Ọbàtálá represents "the idea of ritual and ethical purity," symbolized by the immaculate whiteness associated with him—inside walls of temples washed white, emblems kept in white containers, and white robes, ornaments and beads for his priests and priestesses. My informants regard Ọbàtálá as intelligent, even-tempered and gentle, but as an important and powerful *òrìṣà*. They said that Ọlọ́run assigned Ọbàtálá (said by two *babaláwo* we knew to be a goddess) the duty of moulding children and putting them in the uteruses of their mothers. Ọbàtálá is responsible, therefore, for the normal or the abnormal characteristics of human beings. Such deformities as hunchback, paralysis, albinoism, deaf mutism, and crippling deformities present at birth or which appear later are due to Ọbátálá. Causing these defects is not necessarily intentional on Ọbàtálá's part. He may make mistakes while moulding a child. In most cases, however, the abnormalities are thought to be his way of punishing the mother for wrongdoing. A pregnant woman who speaks disparagingly of Ọbàtálá, steals a snail, violates certain food taboos such as drinking palm wine or eating snails, or, in some lineages, comes out of the room where she delivered before the sixth day, is likely to have a defective child. His followers and others appeal to him for children, prosperity, the avenging of wrongs, and the curing of illnesses and deformities. A *babaláwo*, who is also a devotee of Ọbàtálá, said that Ọbàtálá attacks people who displease him with *kòkòrò* (worms). A Muslim diviner-healer whose father was an Ọbàtálá priest, an Ibadan man who says he contributes to the cost of annual ceremonies which his relatives give in villages (and who probably participates, himself in some traditional ceremonies), said that if any member of the Ọbàtálá cult ate new yams before the specified day, all of his skin would peel off.

The relative power and the interpersonal relations of the *òrìṣà* are interesting. According to Idowu, tradition holds that Ọbàtálá is Olódumarè's executive deputy on earth, while Ọ̀rùnmìlà is his deputy in matters of knowledge and wisdom.[10] He says also that the relationship between Ọbàtálá and Ọ̀rùnmìlà is a close one, but that Ọ̀runmìlà was sent to help and advise Ọbàtálá, the senior and the leader. We refer later to the relationships between Ọlọ́run and Èṣu, Ọ̀runmìlà and Èṣu, Ọ̀runmìlà and Ọ̀sanyìn, and Ṣàngó and two of his wives (Ọ̀ṣun and Ọya).

A Lalupọn *babaláwo* who is also a follower of Ṣàngó, Ògún, Ọ̀sanyìn, Ọbàtálá, and Ọya, told the following legend:

> Ọrìṣàálá has no children but he has authority, so all children belong to him. When he was a very old man he consulted an oracle on how he could become an *òrìṣà* who would be worshipped by everyone. He was asked to sacrifice 200 elephants. How could an old man kill 200 elephants? One day he went to hunt elephants and came to a pit filled with toads, fish, and other animals that had become so dry that these animals were in danger of perishing. They heard the sound of his walking and appealed to him to save them. He told them he was hunting for elephants, and they said that if they were saved they would kill 200 elephants for him. Ọbàtálá pointed his walking stick to heaven and recited an incantation. Rain started to fall and before daybreak the well was filled. He expected the creatures in the pit to fulfil their promise, but he did not see them the following morning. He carried his walking stick to the well. When he asked

them to keep their promise, they told him that they could not hold the leg of an elephant to say nothing of killing one. Instead, they would worship him. At that time Ọbàtálá became an *òrìṣà* to be worshipped.[11]

The Annual Ceremony for Ọbàtálá[12]

During the afternoon of the day before the ceremony, new yams are brought from the farms. Some of the yams are cut in half and, after oil is put on the pieces, the participants taste the new yams. From then on cooked yams may be eaten.

On the evening before the annual ceremony for Ọbàtálá, his emblem is washed with water into which *ọdúndún*, *tẹ̀tẹ̀*, *rinrin*, and *akòko* leaves have been squeezed and to which palm oil and shea butter have been added. (By some, the emblem is said to consist of a piece of metal (*ọ̀jẹ̀*) and a shell kept in a covered calabash; others say the emblem includes the *ọjẹ́*, a bone and trunk of an elephant.)[13] Also on the first night, split kolanuts or the halves of new yams are thrown to determine whether the offerings, which may include a basketful of snails, female goats, hens, a cock, pigeons, guinea-fowls, kolanuts, shea butter, eggs, fish, corn, pounded yam, *èkuru*, and alligator peppers are acceptable. The next day some of the snails are sacrificed and the water from them is poured on the shrine. Then the animals are killed and their blood is poured on the shrine. Some of the yams are pounded, some are cooked, and portions of this food, together with some of the cooked meat and snails, are placed on top of the shrine. Drumming, dancing, and the flogging of one another occur as songs such as the following are sung:

Olówóò mi gbobi lọwọ́ kan.	My lord accepts my kola nut offering at once.
Àríyá!	*Àríyá*! (an exclamation of joy)
Olówóò mi gbàsẹ́ lọwọ́ọ̀ mi.	Àríyá My lord accepts my offerings. *Àríyá*
Ẹ́épà! Opá payán je.	Ẹ́épà! The *òrìṣà* has accepted the yam offerings
Ẹ́épà! A mú ìṣu lóko. Ẹ́épà!	Ẹ́épà! We have brought new yams from the farm. Ẹ́épà!
Èmí rọ́wọ́, mo bá òrìṣà ṣeré o.	I have time to worship the òrìṣà.
Ẹni kò rọ́wọ́ a já wàrà wọgbó lọ.	One who has no time (to worship the *òrìṣà*) strays madly into the forest.
Ọrìṣàálá gbà mí o, éni a ní ní gbani.	Ọrìṣàála save me; one expects succour from one's god.
Èmi kò mọ̀kan.	I do not know any way of saving myself.
Òrìṣà Ọgìyán gbà mí o, ẹni a ní níí gbani.	*Òrìṣà* Ọgìyán save me, one expects succour from one's god.
Èmi kò mọ̀kan.	I do not know any method (of saving myself).

The following prayer is representative of many which are recited during the annual ceremony for Ọbàtálá:

Aláàbáláàṣe, ata-ta-bí-àkún,	One who gives suggestions and also gives commands, One who is very powerful.
Ọrìṣà ṣọ mí di eni iyì, ṣọ mí di eni èyẹ.	*Òrìṣà* make me an honourable being.

Ọbàtálá má fikẹ́ pọ̀n mí; ọmọ ni o fi fún mi.	Ọbàtálá, don't put a hump on my back; it is a child you should give me (to carry on my back).

Verses recited in praise of Ọbàtálá include the following—

Ọbàtálá, Ọbàtarìsà, ọba pátápátá tíí bá wọn gbé Ọ̀de Ìrànjé.	Ọbàtálá, Ọbàtarìsà, the fierce king of the gods, who lives with others in Ìrànjé.[14]
Òrìṣàálá, Ògirigbànìgbò, alàyé tí wọ́n nfi ayé fún.	Òrìṣàálá, the great one who owns the world and to whom the control of the world must be assigned.
Ọbọ̀mọ-bòrò-kalẹ̀.	One who peels off the skin of people.
Ayinmọ-níké, adá-wọn-láro.	One who twists the hunchback and also creates the lame.
Ọbàtálá, Ọbàtarìsà, òrìṣà aláṣẹ	Ọbàtálá, Ọbàtarisá, the *òrìṣà* with authority.
Ìgàn baba oyin.	Who is as precious as pure honey.
Òrèrè yẹ̀lú àgàn wò.	The god who gives children to the barren.
Atú-wọn-ká-nib-i-tí-wọ́n-gbé-ndáná-irọ́.	One who scatters them where they are conspiring.
Oníwà pẹ̀lẹ́.	The gentle one.
Adá-wọn-lápá, a-dá-wọn-láro.	Who breaks peoples arms and creates the lame
Òrìṣà Ọ̀gìyán, ajá-gbọ́na ajà-gbọ́na, okìkì irùngbọ̀n.	Ọ̀gìyán, the fearsome warrior god with a bushy beard.
Jagungagun, ófiwà-ìjà-wọdò.	The warrior who enters a river in a fighting mood.
O jagun jagun figbọ̀n wọdò.	The warrior who enters a river throwing batons.
Àbùdi Olúkànbẹ́.	The god with inexhaustible strength.
O fágádá fà wọ́n wọdò.	One who drags his enemies into a river with a rope.
Abojú-bonígbèsè-lérù	A god whose face terrifies the debtor.
Àjànàkú, òdùgbangudu.	Who is as massive as an elephant.
Ọ̀jagun jagun-pọ̀gbọ̀n-wọdò,	Who fights until he enters a river, carrying batons on his back.
Alájogún òkìkí, ariwo kò pọ̀lá	An inheritor of reputation, whose great fame does not detract from his authority.
Abìṣòkòtò-gbósù-méfà-nílé-aláró.	One who allows his trousers to remain in the dye for six months.
Aró-gbájágbájá-kò-lọ́nà;	One who is prepared to meet force with force,
O ní ẹni tí ó bá lẹ̀ jà kó wá jókòó.	And who challenges anyone who wishes to fight to come forward.
N ò lè jà, kí ni n ò wáá jókòó sí?	I cannot fight; why should I come foward?

The musical instruments used in a ceremony for Ọbàtálá include: *igbin* (a large drum covered on one end), talking drums, *ṣèkèrè*, a piece of iron with rings around the edges, and a large iron bell (*àjà*) which announces the beginning of the worship. No rattles are used.

Typically, about five per cent of the participants become possessed during an annual ceremony. These persons stagger here and there, and then sit down and are supported by other worshippers chanting the praises of Ọbàtálá. Those who are possessed foretell future events, and they may point out those who have committed offences such as

adultery or tell women who have been unable to bear children what to do in order to have children.

The participants in Ọbàtálá's ceremony wear white dresses and white beads. At some point after the sacrifices have been offered, a procession of the worshippers may dance through the town. On the seventh day, the remains of the sacrifices are taken from the shrine and deposited at a crossroads. Returning from the crossroads, the participants sing:

Wòyí àmọ́dún o, ọmọ, yọyọ lọ́dẹ̀dẹ̀ mi.	By this time next year, may I have many many children in my house.
(Repeated several times)	
Olórí ó dorí rẹ̀ mú.	Let every one hold his "ori."[15]
Àwòdi òkè máà gbé mi lórí lọ.	May the hawk not carry away my "ori."[16]
(Repeated several times)	
Òrìṣà, gbọ́mọ wa jùkúlújùké	Òrìṣà, bring many children.
Ọbàtálá, gbọ́mọ wá jùkúlújùké.	Ọbàtálá, bring many children.

A Second Ọbàtálá or Olúfọ́n Ceremony

In Lalupọn the Olúfọ́n cult is often referred to as the "women's cult". In this village, formerly both men and women worshipped Olúfọ́n, but all of the male followers have died and ordinarily men are not affiliated with the cult. One woman informant said that Islam and Christianity "have robbed the *òrìṣà* of male devotees". Occasionally, as a result of divination, men may take part in the worship of Olúfọ́n. Usually such men have been ill and have been unable to find a remedy other than worshipping Olúfọ́n. Like most of the *òrìṣà*, Olúfọ́n can be used to avenge mistreatment. He is propitiated with cold water and kola-nuts, or he may be consulted by throwing sixteen cowry shells on the ground. The pattern of the shells indicates what Olúfọ́n demands to avenge the aggrieved person. Devotees of Olúfọ́n are believed to be lucky and prosperous people. Through worshipping Olúfọ́n the women get children and they obtain money with which to build houses or purchase the things they need.

Olúfọ́n can be particularly helpful in enabling infertile women to have children. When such a woman gives birth to a child, she sacrifices a goat to Olúfọ́n. Other offerings to Olúfọ́n include snails, beans, eggs, rats, and fish. After the sacrifices have been made, the women drink cold water. For any ceremony for Olúfọ́n, the participants must wear white garments: dresses, underwear, head ties; in the Lalupọn cult, the priest, even if a woman, wears white trousers. White chalk is rubbed on the face, and bracelets made of strips of brass wire (often referred to as brass) are worn.

The following praise verse for Olúfọ́n was obtained from the leader of the "women's cult" in Lalupọn.

Arómi tútù ṣoògùn àbíkú	One who uses cold water as medicine to prevent the re-incarnated child from dying.
Òrìṣà, jẹ́ kí omi tútù kó tán temi;	Òrìṣà, may your cold water stop mine from dying.
Orí mi kò gbó, mo súré ṣẹ́ṣẹ́, mo tọ Ikúlọ́fin lọ;	Not yet sufficiently mature, I run to Ikúlọ́fin's shrine,
Àyà mi kò gbèrù; mo súré tọ Ọrìṣàlawẹ̀.	Not yet sufficiently brave, I run to Ọrìṣà-lawẹ̀'s shrine.

Òrìṣà níí báni bẹ ẹ̀dá,	Òrìṣà is the one who pleads for one before one's creator.
Yanganmu, òun níí bá ni bẹ orí ẹni,	Yanganmu, you are the one who appeases one's partner.[17]
Ọkọ̀ mi, Ọgbóogbá, sẹ̀jẹ̀ dọmọ.	My lord, Ọgbóogbá, who turns blood into a child;
Oníwà pẹ̀lẹ́, abá-ni-tórí-ẹni-ṣe.	The gentle one who helps to make one's luck better.
Kúkúmọ́ ọkọ̀ mi funfun ni, Ẹ̀wù rẹ̀ funfun ni,	My lord's jumper is white, his robe is also white.
Aṣòwò-àlà díẹ̀díẹ̀, ọmọ akin àrè.	One who trades in white things, son of the valiant man in the other world.
Otémọ́lẹ̀, témọ ẹ́ní,	One who makes a little child lie on the bare floor and lie on the mat.
Okunmọ-lósun kunmọ láta.	One who rubs a little child with camwood and rubs him with red pepper.
Òyímọ-lérè-yímọ-léérú.	One who rolls a little child in mud and ash.
Ajagun si we o, ikú eléyìbó.	The war-faring one who is responsible for the death of Europeans;
Jagun arówó yayán;	The war faring one who has large fingers with which to eat pounded yam.
Ọkunrin lebelebe janyin janyin;	The man covered with several jingling things,
Bí èṣé ọkọ́, bí èṣé ọbẹ,	Like broken hoes, like broken knives.
Ohun rírọ́rírọ́ ni baba nje.	It is only soft or succulent things that father eats.
Olójo, ọkọ̀ mi, àkàntì òkè.	Olójo, my lord, who is as huge as a mountain.
Mo súré ṣẹ́ṣé tọ Láwòrú-mọlẹ̀ nílé onímọlẹ̀.	I run to Láwòrú the *òrìṣà* of the other world.
Abara-gba-osun-bí-ògiri.	The one who has a large body to take plenty of camwood;
Egúngún ará Ìlá.	The ancestral spirit of the people of Ìlá.
O fi ọgbuún jìnrinjìrin jí ọtí ọlọtí mu;	Who steals other people's wine with a large, deep calabash;
Kò mọ ọgbuún kékèké mú, baba ọkánjúà.	A very greedy one who never steals with small calabashes.

ỌRÚNMÌLÀ

The oracle god is one of Olódùmare's principal representatives on earth. One of my informants said that Ọ̀rúnmìlà reports on the activities of other *màlékàs* (angels; *òrìṣà*) to God, a role Idowu says is played by Èṣù.[18] Great wisdom and power are attributed to Ọ̀rúnmìlà, and Ifá divination is associated with the Ọ̀rúnmìlà cult. (Some of my informants, including men who are priests in this cult, say they are followers of Ifá, or they use the two terms interchangeably).

In addition to his skill and wisdom in matters pertaining to divination, Ọ̀rúnmìlà tells the *babaláwo* what roots and leaves should be used in healing. In this field he is assisted by Ọ̀sanyin, who is variously said to be a brother, friend, partner, or servant of Ọ̀rúnmìlà. Ọ̀sanyin is the *òrìṣà* who controls 201 roots and leaves and knows their application in curing various illnesses. Like a number of the *òrìṣà*, Ọ̀rúnmìlà can be used for any good purpose or to cause misfortune.

There are innumerable beliefs and legends about Ọ̀rúnmìlà, of which we give several examples:

1 Ọlọ́run and Ọ̀rúnmìlà had an argument, and, when it was discovered that Ọ̀rúnmìlà was correct, he was sent from heaven to earth for being too clever.

2 Ọ̀rúnmìlà has no bones in his body. He is carried about by others.

3 When Olódumaré (said by one *babaláwo* to be a son of Ọlọ́run) was ill, it was Ọ̀rúnmìlà who treated him.

4 Ọ̀rúnmìlà had no brothers and sisters until he used 180 palm nuts (*ẹ́yìn*) to make a medicine for his mother who then became pregnant and gave birth to Ọ̀sanyìn.

5 No human being gave birth to Ọ̀rúnmìlà. He descended from heaven to the earth, landing in a jungle amidst banana plants. There he was found by human beings wearing beaded necklaces, beaded bracelets, and an *àkẹ́tẹ́* (hat). With him they found an *ọ̀pẹ̀lẹ̀*, Ifá palm-nuts, and the Ifá vessel, as well as an offering consisting of a rat, a fish, snails, and a female goat. His coming has been foretold by a *babaláwo* who said the people would see a peculiar stranger and that when found in the bush he should be brought to town in a festive mood—drumming, dancing, singing. When Ifá was found, the *babaláwo* made an offering of rats, female goats, fish, other animals, and various foods in the bush and from there they danced home carrying Ifá along with them. Those in the procession are said to have sung:

Ẹ kú o! Egúngún Olúfẹ̀ Ifá rode.	Greetings! the Egúngún of Ifẹ̀, Ifá has descended into the world
Ẹ kú o! Egúngún Olúfẹ̀ Ifá rode.	Greetings! the Egúngún of Ifẹ̀, Ifá has descended into the world.
Ẹ kú o! Egúngún Olúfẹ̀ Ifá rode.	Greetings! the Egúngún of Ifẹ̀, Ifá has descended into the world.

Thereafter, Ifá taught the *babaláwo* the priestly art and the art of healing. This informant said that no one knows when Ifá departed to the unknown. He did not die, but, went away like lightning.

6 Ọ̀rúnmìlà lived in the bush among the palm trees. One day he impersonated a human being, dressed in tattered banana leaves, and headed for Iwo (a town near Ibadan). At Iwo, he saw the Ọba in all his glory, with many attendants in his court and many chiefs around him. It was the time of the annual feast in Iwo. Ọ̀rúnmìlà entered the town in his tattered banana leaves, sat down in front of the Ọba's house and helped himself to the remnants of food which had been thrown away after the feast. When the Ọba saw this, he regarded Ọ̀rúnmìlà as a strange character and ordered a plate of meal for him. Ọ̀rúnmìlà told the Ọba he wanted to sleep in the town. In order to get this strange character out of town, the Ọba ordered his servants to prepare a place for him with all the bedding sprayed with itching hair of the seeds of a certain plant. Ọ̀rúnmìlà slept on this, and, when he felt the itching, ran to the river and took a bath. Early the next morning he went to the Ọba and told him that he had had a nice sleep. Then he threw down his *ọ̀pẹ̀lẹ̀* and divined for the Ọba. He told him that he would have a long, prosperous reign. Later he continued his strange behaviour, eating remnants of food and divining for people. On his third day in Iwo, people gathered around Ọ̀rúnmìlà and the princess said that she had decided to marry him. Everyone was horrified, but the girl was determined to marry Ọ̀rúnmìlà. She told her

father that if she married a prince or an ọba like himself, the man would have no respect for her. But if she married this poor man, he would regard her highly. Her father then agreed to the marriage. He then divided his possessions into two parts and gave one part to Ọ̀rúnmìlà, who took his bride out of the town. He had many attendants, horses, and other possessions because of his father-in-law's gifts. He went to a nearby town and settled. When people saw him living in great splendour they paid homage to him. When they asked who his wife was, he answered that it was the "humiliation he suffered in Iwo". (*Ìyà* means humiliation in Yoruba. The town where he suffered the humiliation was Iwo. The two taken together are *Ìyà-Ìwó*. The Yoruba word for wife is *Ìyàwó*.) Hence, according to this informant, from that time on, Yoruba referred to Ọ̀rúnmìlà's bride as Ìyàwó.

7 Ọ̀rúnmìlà wanted to marry a girl, but she refused to marry him. At the same time, a son of Ọlọ́run was ill, so Ọ̀rúnmìlà was recalled to heaven to treat the sick man. Ọ̀rúnmìlà divined and told Ọlọ́run that the blood of a new arrival to heaven was needed for a sacrifice. But the new arrival (probably by virtue of Ọ̀rúnmìlà's power) was the girl who had refused to marry him on earth. She was brought before Ọ̀rúnmìlà. When her veil was removed, Ọ̀rúnmìlà saw that she was his intended wife. The girl agreed to marry Ọ̀rúnmìlà and part of her hair instead of her blood was used for the offering. Ọ̀rúnmìlà now led his wife back to earth and told her parents that their daughter was not dead. When they went to the girl's burial place they found nothing but an empty grave.

According to Idowu, Ọ̀rúnmìlà constitutes "another element of the demands and sanctions of morality" in Yoruba religion. A *babaláwo* is constrained not to abuse his office in any way, use his position to enrich himself, or refuse his services because a person is too poor to pay a fee for divination. Today some seem to know nothing about this sacred injunction, and others ignore it.[19] As an example of today's materialism, an Ibadan *babaláwo* said that if a girl who is ill is cured by an Ọ̀rúnmìlà priest and he later marries her, he does not pay a bride price.

The Annual Ọ̀rúnmìlà (Ifá) Ceremony

An account of the first evening of the annual ceremony for Ọ̀rúnmìlà obtained from informants in Lalupọn, including an important *babaláwo*, may be compared with the beginning of this ceremony witnessed in the Oje section of Ibadan on 26 September, 1964.

Lalupọn

Sixteen leaves are collected from sixteen different plants representing the sixteen palm-nuts used in Ifá divination. The leaves are arranged on the ground and an Ifá board is placed on them. Pieces of each leaf are cut off and washed in a bowl. The water is then used to wash the objects used in the worship of Ọ̀rúnmìlà: the beads, bracelets, cow tail and so on. Also, the Ifá priest bathes with this water before opening the rites. The following offerings are made to Ọ̀rúnmìlà: two kola-nuts, two bitter kola-nuts, two alligator peppers, two rats, two fish, a female goat, and a bunch of yams tied with palm leaves. The participants begin "to recite Ifá", that is, to repeat

odù from the corpus of Ifá recitals. After each *odù*, chants are sung. When the sixteenth *odù* is reached, the female goat is sacrificed. A procession of the participants dances through the village, with more or less continuous singing, drumming, and beating of the *agogo* (iron gong), but there is no spirit possession. Part of the blood of the she-goat is poured on Ifá (a small wooden container holding sixteen palm nuts); the rest is put in a bowl. Occasionally the priest who recites the *odù* licks the blood in the bowl; otherwise, it is believed, he may faint. Throughout the ceremony both the *ọpẹlẹ* (divination chain) and the Ifá palm-nuts are used. By consulting the palm-nuts, the priests ascertain whether misfortune will affect any member of the lineage, and, if so, how this may be averted. The offerings are eaten by the participants within a short time after the sacrifices are made. Those giving the annual ritual may buy beef to serve their friends during the rites. The presiding priests, plus friends attending the ceremony who are Ifá priests in other towns, pray that they may be able to return for the Ifá ceremony the following year. An example follows:

Bí a ti ṣe wá bí pẹlú ara líle
lọ́dún yíí, As we are in good health at this ceremony,
Ki á tún lè pé jọ láti bọ ọ́ pẹlú
àláfíà ní ọdún tí mbọ̀ May we thus gather here next year to worship.

The drums used are the *ìpèsè* and the *dùndún*. There are sacrifices at times other than the annual ceremony, e.g., fowls, rams, he-goats and ducks.

Òjé, Ibadan, 26 September, 1964

On the first night of this annual ceremony, the palm-nuts signifying Ifá were washed in a large enamel bowl for about half an hour in the *babaláwo's* consultation room. They were then placed in a large wooden bowl with six main sections in addition to a round center section. The thirty persons who were present, including the *babaláwo's* two wives and six children, assumed a kneeling position during the ceremony. The *babaláwo* prayed to Ọ̀rúnmìlà while the co-leader of the ceremony pounded on the concrete floor with an *ìrọkẹ* in the form of a cutlass blade with a bell attached to summon Ifá. A five-kobo piece was placed on the floor in front of the wooden bowl, and three animal horns (two ram's horns and a deer's horn) used in cursing a victim or blessing a client stood against the wall behind the large wooden bowl. The leaders changed roles, with the *babaláwo* tapping the floor with the *ìrọkẹ* while his confrere prayed. The co-leader dipped the fingers of his right hand in a bowl of water and sprinkled water on the kola-nuts lying in front of Ọ̀rúnmìlà's emblem. Also, he poured a small quantity of palm oil on the floor and rubbed it into the floor with one finger. Several times during the praying, the sacrificial goat was pulled forward by the rope attached to its neck and shown to Ifá. At one point, each participant in the ceremony leaned forward and touched his head to the goat's head.

The *babaláwo* placed a bundle of three yams, to which a dried rat and a dried fish had been tied, on his head. He then started the divination rites by touching with a kola-nut the forehead of each person for whom an offering was to be made. He split a nut into quarters, placed them between the palms of his hands, and with a twisting movement of his hands, threw them on the floor. When two segments of a nut fell up and two down, the offering was acceptable to Ifá. After a favourable reply was received,

two of the segments were placed in the large wooden bowl containing the palm-nuts; the other two segments were placed in a bowl of water. At one point, the offering was not acceptable and the priests asked Ifá the reason. Ifá said he foresaw death for the child of the person making the kola offering. Ifá was then asked what could be done to prevent the child's death. Using the kola-nuts again, the *babaláwo* said that Ifá demanded that the father make a sacrifice to Ọ̀sanyìn in the name of the devotee. The father agreed to provide the necessary materials for the sacrifice.

The goat was decapitated by the two young male ritual assistants, and the blood was caught in an enamel bowl. Some of the blood was poured on the palm nuts, and the *babaláwo* put some of the animal's blood on the tip of each of the three horns containing traditional medicine. He then touched the tip of his tongue to the tip of each of the horns. The co-leader dipped his forefinger in the goat's blood and touched his tongue with that finger. Two chickens were offered as sacrifices to Ọ̀rúnmìlà, and a ritual assistant squeezed blood from each chicken's neck onto the palm-nuts. After seven days the palm-nuts will be wiped off, but they will not be washed again until the next annual ceremony. The oesophagus of the goat was put aside and was to be offered later to the witches.

Partial report were obtained on two additional Ọ̀rúnmìlà annual ceremonies. One is an account of this ceremony in Ibokun (near Ilesa), the village in which the *babaláwo* who led the Oje ritual had lived before moving to Ibadan. On the first day of the Ibokun ceremony, the participants take a female goat, fowls, pigeons, snails, rats, fish, and kola-nuts to a palm tree (one which has two branches; the usual palm tree has a stem) in the Ifá jungle. After the sacrifice has been made, they return to Araba's (head of the *babaláwo*) house where they sing, dance and feast. Then they return to their own homes where they sacrifice female goats, fowls, pigeons, snails, rats, fish and kola-nuts to their individual Ifás. On the second day, they return to Araba's house for another feast. On the third day, each priest takes his Ifá to Araba's house. The priests also bring large quantities of food to feed the guests. Similar visits to his house are made for three more days. Each time they consult Ifá, and any sacrifice he demands must be made. On the seventh day a procession marches around the town. Drums, played include the *ìpèsè* (a large, tall drum with short legs), talking drums, as well as *agogo* (iron gongs). The Ifá priests wear the beads of their office. In consulting Ọ̀rúnmìlà, they use sixteen palm-nuts in the manner described in the section on divination in Chapter II. According to this informant, there is no spirit possession during a ceremony for Ọ̀rúnmìlà in Ibokun, and no masks are worn or carried during the ritual.

This report of an annual ceremony for Ọ̀rúnmìlà was given by another *babaláwo* in Ibadan. Water from a snail and the blood of a pigeon are poured into water in which *ọ̀dúndún*, *tètè*, and *rinrin* leaves have been placed. Palm-oil and shea-butter are added, and the Ifá emblem is washed in this water. The water is not thrown away but is used in curing illnesses. The offering should consist of sixteen rats, sixteen fish, locust beans, a female goat, a hen, white kolanuts, brown kola nuts, maize wine, guinea corn wine, and pounded yam. The rats and the fish are cooked without pepper. The other part of the hen is cooked with pepper. These offerings are placed before Ifá. The goat is brought before Ifá, prayer is offered and the big iron gong is beaten.

The priest says: "Ifá, this is your goat." Then the goat is killed and its blood is poured on Ọ̀rúnmìlà's emblem. The udder is roasted and salted. Anyone who is not "clean", for example, a woman who commits adultery, or a person who uses "juju" against an innocent neighbour, should not eat part of the udder (cut into small bits). If she does, she will either confess or die. If a member of the cult is given a piece of the udder and throws it away, he will become ill. Sixteen small morsels from the pounded yam are put on top of Ifá. The rats and the fish are also put there. One white kola-nut and one brown one are split open and tossed up. If two halves face up and two down, the offering is accepted. On the first night of the ceremony, the participants eat, drink and sing. The head of the goat offered as a sacrifice is put inside the calabash and covered with the lid. On the second day, the head of the goat is brought out. The participants sing and dance. The head of the goat is cooked. After a few minutes, the rats and the fish are taken out of the calabash and eaten. Parts of the rats and fish (heads and tails) are covered in the calabash until the third day. These remnants are then taken to Èṣu's shrine. From time to time during the seven-day ceremony, the participants dance around the streets of the city. They dance to an *agogo* (iron gong), but in the household or compound dance, talking drums may be used.

During an annual ceremony for Ọ̀rúnmìlà, the following are typical prayers:

Apẹ̀tẹ̀bí, ẹlẹ̀ẹ̀rí ipín, a-jẹ́-ju-oòguǹ.	Apẹ̀tẹ̀bí, witness of human destiny, one who is more effective (in curing illness) than medicine.
Ọ̀dúndún láwọ̀.	The fair-skinned one.
Ifá mo pẹ́, Ẹ̀là mo pẹ́.	Ifá I call on you; Ẹ̀là, I call on you.
Ifá sọwọ́ dẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀ gbobi rẹ o, sọwọ́dẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀.	Ifa, stretch your hands to accept your kola nut offerings.
Ìyé, ìyé okò, ìyé l' Ọ̀rúnmìlà nje.	Ifá eats termite powder (from Ìyéròsùn wood)
Eku méjì oluwéré, eja méji òlùgbàlà lọ́bẹ̀.	Two rats, two fishes in his soup.
Ìyé l' Ọ̀rúnmìlà nje.	Ifá eats termite powder.
Ifá fún wa lọ́mọ sí.	Ifá, please give us more children.
Jẹ́ kí a tún lè wá sìn ọ̀ bàyìí l'ọdun miran.	Protect us so that we may gather here next year to worship you.
Jẹ́ kí a lówó, kí a bímọ o.	Ifá, let us prosper and have more children.
Kí ile wa yìí kí a tún kọ́ dáadáa.	And let us rebuild our houses in a more attractive way.

Among the chants for Ọ̀rúnmìlà in the Ibadan area are these:

Alápànkoko, awo mà ju awo lọ.	Alápànkoko, one *awo*[20] is more powerful than another.
Awo lẹ́ gbáwo mì torítorí.	One awo can swallow another completely.[21]
Odídẹ́ré fò ó gorí ìrókò,	The parrot flies to the top of the ìrókò tree
O fi ohùn jọ agogo,	And its voice is like an iron gong
Ló ṣe Ifá fún Ifákóredé,	Divining for Ifákóredé,
Àrẹ̀mọ Olódùnmarè, ọmọ até-eni tán kó tó fi orí ṣe agbeji ara.	The son first of Olódùmarè, who protects his body with his large head,
O ní ẹ bá mi sọ fún Alárá; ẹ pé mo ríre.	He said: Please inform Alárá I have met with good fortune.

O ní ẹ bá mi sọ fún Ajerò ẹ pé mo ríre.	Inform Ajerò; tell him I have met with good fortune.
O ní ẹ bá mi sọ fún Ọwáràngún àga; ẹpé mo ríre.	Inform Ọwáràngún owner of the royal chair; say I have met with good fortune.
Ire to sọnu, Ire de.	The lost fortune is back again.
(Last line repeated many times).	
Bí iré bá wọle, ẹ jé kí a na suúru si.	If good fortune enters the house, let us be calm in handling it.
Bí inú bá le lále jù, ire ó wọgbo.	If we are quick-tempered or impatient, good fortune will enter the jungle.
Agbo yaya! Àárín ọmọ ni ma sùn.	The joyful! crowd! I shall die in the midst midst of a crowd of children.
Mo gbọ́ pọ́rọ́ làlẹ́de; ọmọ wẹ́rẹ wá bá mi hesàn.	I heard the dropping of star apples, children come round and pick up apples for me.
Ológbò-jí-gọlọ awo! Awo! Líle awo!	The "sneaking cat" cult. Cult! The powerful cult!
Olómi àjípọn yaya ni Igódó.	Owner of the Igódó spring water people wake up early to fetch.
Awo ló ṣe ọká,	It is the cult that made the cobra powerless;
Awo ló ṣe erè.	It is the cult that made the boa constrictor powerless.
Awo ló ṣe ẹkùn lajin.	It is the cult that made the tiger powerless in the dead of the night
Awo náà reé, Awo, Awo! Líle awo.	This is the cult! The cult! the dangerous cult!

Verses said in honour of Ọ̀rúnmìlà during an annual ceremony include:

Ọ̀run ló mọ ẹni tí yió là.	Only Heaven knows who will be saved.
A-ṣeayé-ṣeọ̀run.	One who lives on earth and lives in heaven.
Dúndúnké, obinrin-ò-fìdí-han-ni-kásọ,	The robust, virile one who does not refuse a woman's advances.
Elẹ́ẹ̀rí ìpín, ajẹ́-ju-ọ̀gùn.	One who is the witness of all destiny, one who is more effective than medicine.
Ọ̀rúnmìlà! Ifá Olokun, Asorandayọ	Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Ifá, the owner of the sea, who turns misfortune into joy.
Olóòréré-àìkú, Ajẹ́-joògùn.	One who saves people from death, one more effective than medicine.
Iwọ laláwòyè o;	It's you who can give life to people:
Bá mi wo ọmọ tèmi yè o.	Give life to my own children.
Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Agbọnnirègún!	Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Agbọnnirègún!
Njínjí la kífá	It is in the early morning we worship Ifa.
Kútùkùtù la kí òrìṣà	It is in the early morning we worship òrìṣà.
Ọ̀sán gangan la kí Elégbára (Èṣù).	It is in the afternoon that we worship Elégbára (Èṣù).
Mo jí mo kí Ogidi o, Ogidi o mà jíire.	I wake up and worship Ogidi (Ọ̀rúnmìlà); Ogidi, good morning.
Ọlẹgbẹ, Ifá, omi á sàn o.	Ọ̀lẹgbẹ, Ifá, the water will flow.
Arútú regbó, Ẹgbá Irèsì, awo Oro.	One who boils with rage on his way to Ẹgbá bush, the powerful Orò cult.
Ajé, wọlé mi, ọlà, jókòó tì mío.	Wealth, enter my house: honour sit down with me.
Kí lo nje l' Ótù Ifẹ̀ o?	What do you (Ifá) eat in Ifẹ̀?

Ẹran ògẹ̀dẹ̀ ni Ifá nje l' Ótù Ifẹ̀ o. Ẹran ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀!	Ifá eats bananas in Ifẹ̀. Bananas!
Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Àgbọnnìrègún elẹ́ẹ̀rí ìpín,	Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Àgbọnnìrègún, the witness of human destiny.
Ají-pa-ọjọ́-ikú-dà.	One who wakes up and changes the death dates of others.
Ọbírítí, ète kò tán ọ̀ràn.	Ọbírítí, intention does not settle any matter
Ọ̀rúnmìlà pẹ̀lẹ́ o, olóore àjí-kí.	Ọ̀rúnmìlà, I hail you, the kindhearted one who is worshipped every morning.
Asolásá tí já okùn ikú.	Asọlásá (Ọ̀rúnmìlà) who breaks the fetters of death.
Egboro ní idẹ, afínjú ọlọ́jà tí wọ ẹ̀wù nini.	Owner of brass ornaments, the royal one who is neat and wears gorgeous clothes.
Olóore àjí-kí, so lójò, ẹní lẹ́rò.	The kind one to whom prayer is offered every morning, one (Ifá-oil palm) who bears fruit in the rainy season, thoughtful one.
Ẹ̀là pẹ̀lẹ́ o. Ẹ̀là jí. Ẹ̀là wo?	Ẹ̀là,[22] I hail you. Ẹ̀là, good morning. Which Ẹ̀là?
Ẹ̀là wo ni mbẹ̀? Ẹ̀là ọmọ Oyígí.	To which Ẹ̀là am I praying? Ẹ̀là the son of Oyígí.
Oyígí wo? Oyígí ọmọ Ìpẹ́oyé.	Which Oyígí? Oyígí, the son of Ìpẹ́oyé.
Ìpẹ́oyé wo? Ìpẹ́oyé ẹni a sèsè jẹ.	Which Ìpẹ́oyé? Ìpẹ́oyé, the newly installed chief;
Ìpẹ́oyé ẹni a ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀ mú.	Ìpẹ́oyé, the one newly selected.
Ọ̀rúnmìlà Agbo, ótó géé kí o wáá gbè mi.	Ọ̀rúnmìlà Agbo it is time you blessed me.
Bóodélé bá mi ki bàbá;	When you get home, commend me to father;
Bóodélé bá mi kí yèyé.	When you get home, commend me to mother.
Bóodélé bá mi ki Olókun àjetì ayé.	Commend me to the owner of the sea, who lives in abundance.
Bá mi kí Ọ̀sàràrà omi alẹ̀ Ifẹ̀.	Commend me to Ọ̀sàràrà, the river of Ifẹ̀.
Bóodélé bá mi ki Ogbùrùgùdù,	When you arrive home, commend me to Ogbùrùgùdù,
Omi ilé Ijerò, omi Atan.	The river of Ijerò, the river of Atan.
Akókonìjìkó ni wọn fií gbé òtù Ifẹ̀ láéláé.	Akókonìjìkó (the whirlwind) was used in carrying away Ifẹ̀ in the days of old.
Ọ̀rúnmìlà o wáá tó géé, kí o mówó ìwàrà mi kò mí.	Ọ̀rúnmìlà, it is high time you enriched me.
Ireè mi gbogbo ní wàrà, ní wàrà.	Bring all of my good fortune quickly.
Ọ̀rúnmìlà Àgbo o tó géé, ki o mu obìnrin ìwàrà mi kò mi.	Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Àgbo, it is time you brought me a wife.
Ọ̀rúnmìlà ó tó gẹ́ kí o mú ọmọ ìwàrà mi kò mi.	It is time you brought me children.
Ireè mi gbogbo ní wàrà, ní wàrà.	Bring all of my good fortune quickly.

During the rites for Ọ̀rúnmìlà in Oje presented above, these parts of *odù*, among others were recited: EJI OGBE

Ọ̀tọ́ tọtọ́, ọ̀rọ́ rorọ́.	Separately! Separately!
Ọ̀tọ̀tọ̀ ni a njẹ́ èpà,	We eat groundnuts one by one.
Ọ̀tọ̀tọ̀ ni a nje ìmumu.	We eat tiger nuts separately.
Lọ́tọ̀lọ́tọ̀ làá fi olú esunsu sí ẹnu	We eat mushrooms separately.

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Ọun ló ṣefá fún Ọba Mákindé lóde Ìrànjé	The one who cast for Ọba Mákindé at Ìrànjé,
Nítorí kó le fi orí àti ore tani lóre	In order to receive good fortune and good destiny.

Note: If this *odù* comes out during Ifá divination, the affected person is told that he wants children and that he will have them. He is told also to make offerings to Ifá.

Ọrẹ ò gba elèta.	Friendship does not admit three people.
Eléjì lọrẹ gbà.	Friendship does admit two people.
Bí inú bá konú ọrẹ gb'èrindínlógún.	If people are sincere, friendship can admit sixteen persons.
Ọun ló ṣefá fún Boróyé àrèmọ Ọba Adó.	The one who cast for Boróyé, the first prince of Adó.
Ifá àgbégẹsin ni kí o gbé mi.	Ifá, let me ride horseback in triumph.
Èmi ni Boróyé aremọ Ọba Adó	I am Boróyé, the first prince of Adó.
Ifá àgbégẹsin ni kí o gbé mi.	Ifá, let me ride horse back in triumph.

Note: If this *odù* comes out during Ifá divination, good fortune is seen for the client. He is told to make sacrifices to Ifá.

Other *odù* obtained from *babaláwo* in Ibadan are:

Ogbéyèkú, baba àmúlu.	Ogbéyèkú, the first combination (of Ifá corpus)
Orí agbó, orí atọ́ níí ṣe awo Ẹdan.	Longevity is the priest of the Ẹdan cult.[23]
Òrìṣà ni pèjí ìgbágó;	It is the òrìṣà who arranges the teeth (leaves) of young palm branches.
Kékeré ni alábahun tíí kan pósí ara rẹ̀.	From birth the tortoise makes its own coffin (shell).
Adífá fun Ọbamìmì tíí ba wọn gbé abẹ̀ ìko.	The one who cast Ifá for Ọbamìmì who lives with other òrìṣà under the raffia.
Ọbamìmì gbà mi o! Ọbamìmì!	Ọbamìmì, save me! Ọbamìmì!
Ọbamìmì tíí bá wọn gbé abẹ̀ ìko.	Ọbamìmì who lives with other *òrìṣà* under the raffia.
Ọbamìmì, gbà mí o!	Ọbamímí, save me!
Ọyèkú l'Ogbè lábàrá.	Ọyèkú hits Ogbè with the palm of his hand.[24]
Awo Awọnwọ́n.	That is the priest of Awọ́nwọ́n.
A dífá fún Awọ́nwọ́n tíí ṣe ọmọyì oko.	The one who cast ifá for Awọ́nwọ́n, the famous one of the village.
Awọ́nwọ́n ọmọyì oko.	Awọ́nwọ́n, the popular man of the village.
Wọn npè ọ́ ni ilée wa ní ìpe Èyẹ.	You are invited to our house—an honourable invitation.

Ifá Initiation Ceremony

According to a Lalupọn *babaláwo*, the first step taken in initiating a man into the Ọ̀rúnmìlà cult is sacrificing a cock to Èsù. Then a cock is sacrificed to Ọ̀ṣun, and four snails and a cock are presented to Odù (an *òrìṣà*). Next a hen and nine and one-half pence are offered to Ọ̀rúnmìlà at a palm tree with three branches. The participants then take sixteen palm nuts from the tree and go into the forest to consult Ifá. Ọ̀rúnmìlà reveals whether the man to be initiated will have a long life. Ifá is then asked whether the man should sacrifice to Ọ̀rúnmìlà or to Adìmá, that is, which

òrìṣà he should worship. If the man is asked to sacrifice to Ifá, he will offer a pig, a goat, a ram, four pigeons, eight snails, four rats, and four fish. Each category of sacrifice should be accompanied with ₦2. The initiation ceremony takes place in the forest. The leaves of the *ire* plant, symbolizing luck, are picked and ground. The initiate's head is shaved, and the blood of the animals killed earlier on his behalf is used in washing his head. One hundred incisions are made on his head and the powdered *ire* leaves are rubbed into the cuts. *Efun*, a type of chalk which has been dissolved in water, is rubbed along the path of the incisions from the forehead to the back of the head. Returning to the home of the chief priest, a mat is spread on the floor and a chair is placed on the mat. The initiate sits on the chair while the priests chant the *odù* from a distance of several yards. One of the priests throws the *ifá* (sixteen palm nuts) wrapped in *ògùngun* leaves to him. He catches the *ifá* and places it in a covered wooden vessel carved for this purpose. The ceremony ends with his offering of a goat to Ọ̀rúnmìlà. The chief priest informs him concerning certain taboos, for example, what Ifá says he should not eat, the type of dress he should not wear (one that has fringe around the edge of the cloth), and that he should not go swimming.

ẸLÀ

This divinity is not well known to students of Yoruba religion and is not well understood by Yoruba traditionalists. Idowu doubts that a really knowledgeable Yoruba priest would claim that Ẹlà is simply one of the names by which Ifá is known,[26] but that is precisely what two well-known priests in Ibadan said. According to Idowu, knowledgeable Yoruba priests say that Ẹlà is an individual entity, but he adds that the puzzling question is how individual he is. Oral traditions provide several answers to this question—that he is a son of Ọ̀rúnmìlà, or his trusted servant, or his close friend, or that he is the son of Olúorogbo (an *òrìṣà*).[27] One of my informants combines two of these roles, saying that Ẹlà was at first a slave who worked on Ọ̀rúnmìlà's farm. Ẹlà told Ọ̀rúnmìlà that any leaf valued by Ọ̀sanyìn could be used in making medicines. Ọ̀rúnmìlà was so impressed with Ẹlà that he freed him and made him a partner. This informant, himself a devotee of Ẹdan, Ọ̀ṣun, Egúngún, and Egbé, said that an Ifá priest always asks Ẹlà to descend, listen to Ọ̀rúnmìlà's followers and then carry their message or requests to Ọ̀runmìlà. Another informant identified Ẹlà as a wife of Ọ̀rúnmìlà.

There is an evergreen herb called *Èlà* which is used for curative medicine or preventive charms. "Eternal" or "evergreen" is the only meaning the word Ẹlà has for several of my Lalupọn informants.[28]

Idowu finds that oral tradition depicts Ẹlà as "a deliverer from Èṣu, from evil machinations, and from unfavourable issues".[29] I did not encounter this point of view among my informants, but a priest (a man who worships Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Ṣàngò, Ogun, Ọ̀sanyìn, Ọbàtálá, and Ọya) who insisted that Ẹlà is a wife of Ọ̀rúnmìlà said that Ẹlà does not want anyone to speak ill of Ọ̀rúnmìlà. According to this informant, she incites Ọ̀rúnmìlà to punish those who criticize him and she herself makes ill and kills people who get out of line.

According to Bascom, the name Ọ̀rúnmìlà "is derived by Ifẹ diviners from an earlier name for Ifá, namely Ẹ̀là, which they interpreted as based on the verb là, "to open".[30] Bascom says that the name Ẹ̀là appears in Ifá myths, including one in which Ẹ̀là "was the younger brother of Ọlọ́run, the Sky God, who was a trader who travelled widely and dealt largely in slaves. When Ọlọ́run was away trading, Ẹ̀là had intercourse with Ọlọ́run's wives, and the children of these affairs are the wifes of Ifá who are given to diviners without bridewealth." According to this myth, one time Ọlọ́run's slaves and Ẹ̀là's children became involved in a battle. On the eighth day of the battle, Ọlọ́run recognized his brother, embraced him, and the fighting stopped. Since that time Ẹ̀là has been called Ọ̀rúnmìlà.[31] Idowu shares the belief that Ẹ̀là existed before Ọ̀runmìlà, saying that "Ẹ̀là as the spiritual principle is certainly older than Ọ̀rúnmìlà; and that Ọ̀rúnmìlà is a 'materialized' development of Ẹ̀là.[32] In support of this opinion, Idowu cites a verse in *Ọ̀dí Ìwòrì*, a main-heading in the *Odú* corpus. According to this verse, Ẹ̀là restored order when the world of Ọbalufẹ became confused. Ẹ̀là put things right for the people in the town of Okerekese when the sages of that place were baffled, and Ẹ̀là obstructs Ẹlẹ́gbára wher ever he plans to turn the world upside down. Idowu calls Ẹ̀là "the spirit of truth, rightness, and amicable living, working on earth to create and promote order, happiness, and understanding among the inhabitants of the earth".[33] He says that Ẹ̀là is frequently invoked during worship to bless offerings and that he is also addressed as the spirit which inspires correct worship—as one whose life has been offered.[34] Perhaps further investigation will show whether, as Idowu suggests, Ẹ̀là is "a spiritual principle, the full appreciation of which should revolutionize the understanding of the religion of the Yoruba."[35]

ÈṢÙ

The adjectives used to describe Èṣù are not complimentary: crafty, cunning, cruel, quick-tempered, and irascible; but he is regarded as one of the most powerful *òrìṣà*. Some of the traditional priests and ceremonial leaders we interviewed in Lalupọn and in Ibadan said that Èṣù does not befriend anyone, is always looking for trouble and that he is not easily appeased, but one of these men claimed that Èṣù is "the brain behind all good things as well as all bad things", meaning that Èṣù interferes in all things. Among those who adhere to traditional Yoruba religious beliefs, and even among many who are affiliated with a Christian denomination or with Islam, Èṣù is thought to be capable of doing any type of evil deed, including preventing other *òrìṣà* from receiving offerings, and even threatening God. According to one informant, Èṣù "tempts people against themselves" and does not hesitate to destroy a whole family. In explaining Èṣù's great power, one ritual leader said that without the cooperation of Èṣù, other *òrìṣà* can do no harm. For example, he said that if Ṣàngó wishes to kill a person with thunder, Èṣù "goes in front" (makes the damage possible). The purposes for which devotees try to use Èṣù are numerous. When his assistance is enlisted, he can get one's enemies into trouble by making them commit murder or by causing them to commit suicide, but he can also be helpful in detecting theft. Since there is

nothing that one does that cannot be spoiled by Èṣù, offerings are often given to him so that he will take no hand in whatever is being undertaken.

Èṣù's emblem is a clay or wooden figure or a stuffed figure with a china or clay head. (See Plate XII). Ordinarily it is kept outside the house because, as one informant said, Èṣù is not the kind of *òrìṣà* that anyone can leave within a house. Others said that Èṣù is kept outside the house, or even outside the town, because he is too powerful to have inside or because he always causes trouble. One Èṣù priest, the chief of Èṣù worshippers in one section of Ibadan, did have a shrine for Èṣù inside his house.

From his sources, mainly high-ranking priests in the traditional religious groups in Ile-Ife, the center of Yoruba religion, Idowu gathers that Èṣù is "primarily a 'special relations officer' between heaven and earth, the inspector-general who reports regularly to Olòdùmarè on the deeds of the divinities and men, and checks and makes reports on the correctness of worship in general and sacrifices in particular." Despite the close link between Ọ̀rúnmìlà and Èṣù, Idowu disagrees with the view usually held by the *babaláwo* that Èṣù was created to be the right-hand assistant of Ọ̀rúnmìlà.

There are a number of myths concerning Èṣù, but our informants mentioned only three brief items. According to one ceremonial leader, Ọ̀rúnmìlà borrowed *orí* (destiny or luck) from Èṣù, and this helped Ọ̀rúnmìlà to become famous. When Èṣù asked that the *orí* be returned, Ọ̀rúnmìlà instead gave him a '*yangi*' (Èṣù stone), putting it outside to be worshipped there. Ọ̀rúnmìlà said to Èṣù:

Èṣù o dara sin lehin mi.	Èṣù, Ọ̀dàrà (another name for Èṣù), leave me alone.
Gborí gborí ki gborí lemeji.	One does not take back twice what one gives to others (in this case, *orí*).

Another informant said that on one occasion Ọ̀rúnmìlà ostracized Èṣù because the latter criticized him behind his back. A third religious leader reported that Èṣù had once told Ṣàngó that he could not harm him. Ṣàngó then cut Èṣù in half and he kept on multiplying into four, eight, and so forth, beings. Independently, the man who spoke of Èṣù criticizing Ọ̀rúnmìlà said, in discussing Ṣàngó, that Ṣàngó had tried to decrease Èṣù's power but had failed. According to this oral tradition, Èṣù has a dangerous lamp which he lights to cause trouble. When Ṣàngó came into the world, he saw this lamp and tried to destroy it by striking it with a thunderstone. The lamp split into many pieces, but each part became a whole, thus increasing the power of Èṣù.

A minority report on Èṣù came from a *babaláwo* in Lalupọn who worships Ṣàngó, Ṣànpọ̀ná, Ọya and Ọ̀rùnmìlà .According to him, Èṣù is Ọ̀rúnmìlà's wife, a rascally *òrìṣà* used by Ọ̀rúnmìlà to cause trouble, especially to stimulate quarrels and enmity between people. At one point she became so crafty and wayward that Ọ̀rúnmìlà sent her away, but then he had no peace of mind. He consulted a diviner who told him that unless he found where Èṣù was hiding, he would not cease to have trouble. He was told also to make a drum. Ọ̀rúnmìlà took the drum to the home of Alárá and said:

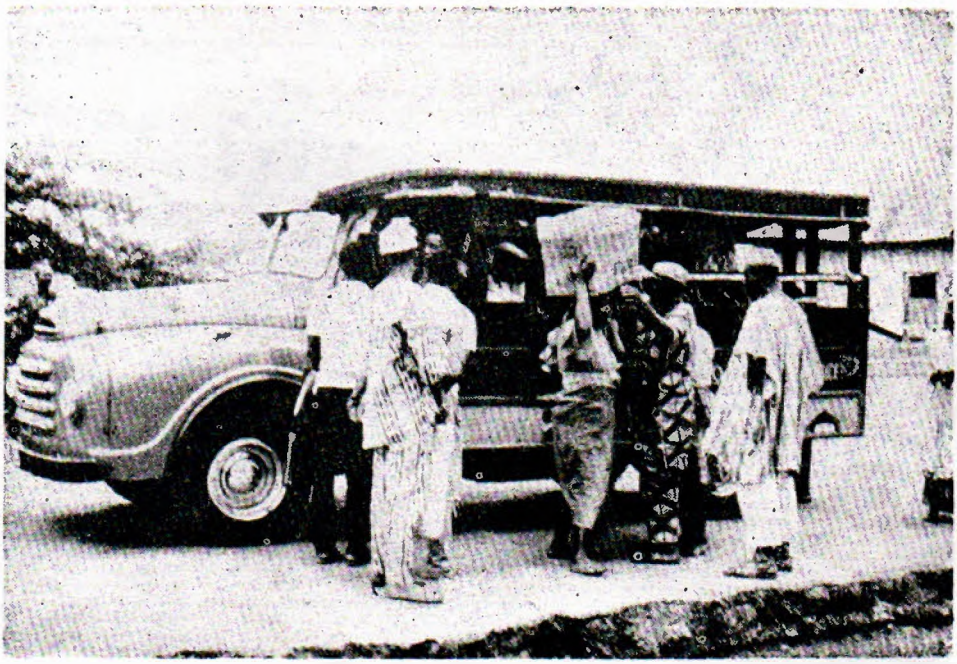


Plate I: Bus, Lalupon Street

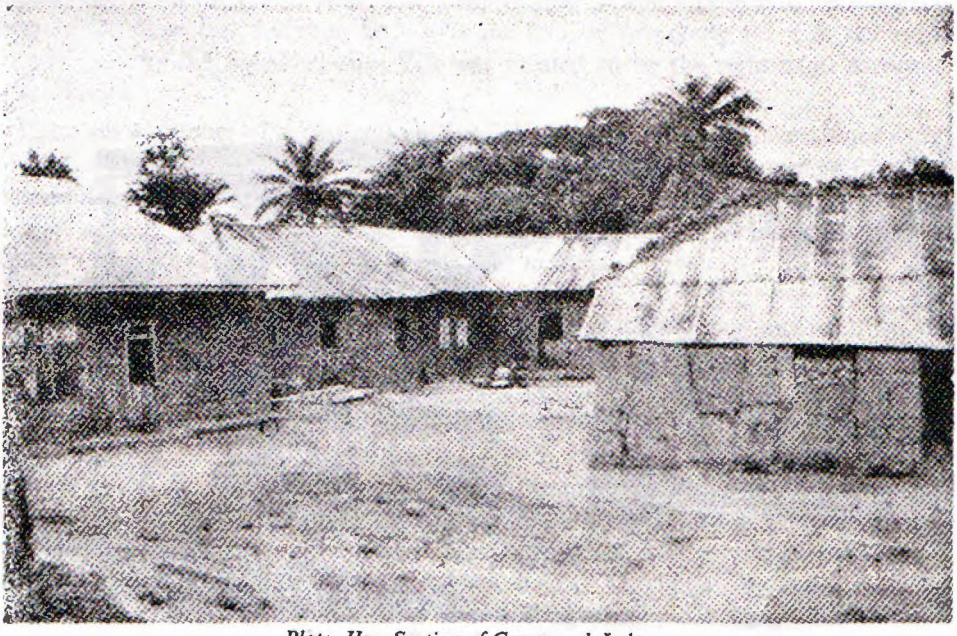


Plate II: Section of Compound, Lalupon

Plate III: Villagers (Lalupọn)

Plate IV: Small Trader, Lalupon

Plate V: Small Traders, Lalupon Side Street

Plate VI: Small Merchant, Ibadan

Plate VII: Market Stalls, Ibadan

Plate VIII: Sixteen Day Cloth market in Oje Section, Ibadan

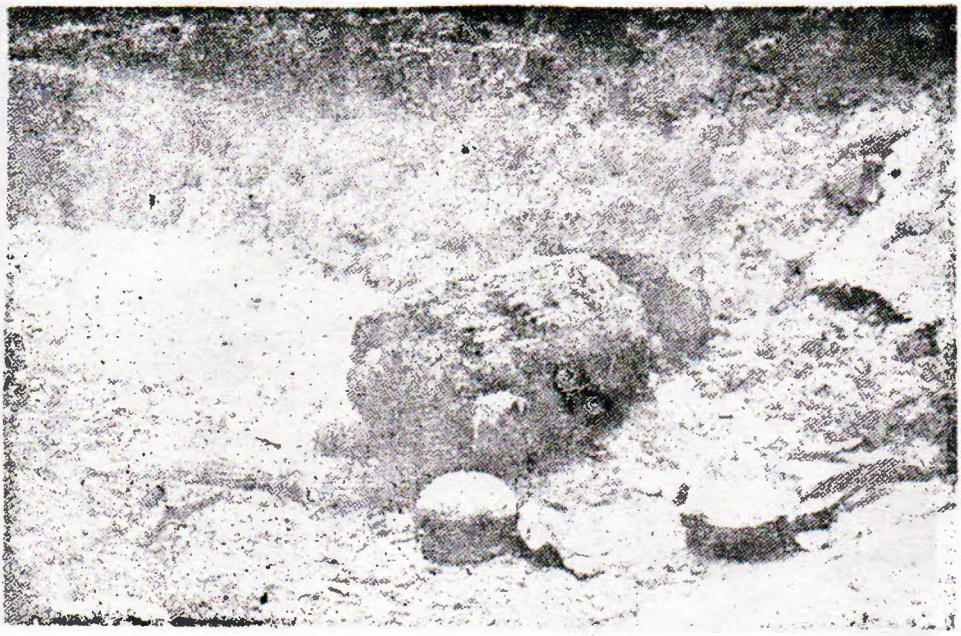


Plate IX: Outdoor Shrine for Ogún, Lalupon

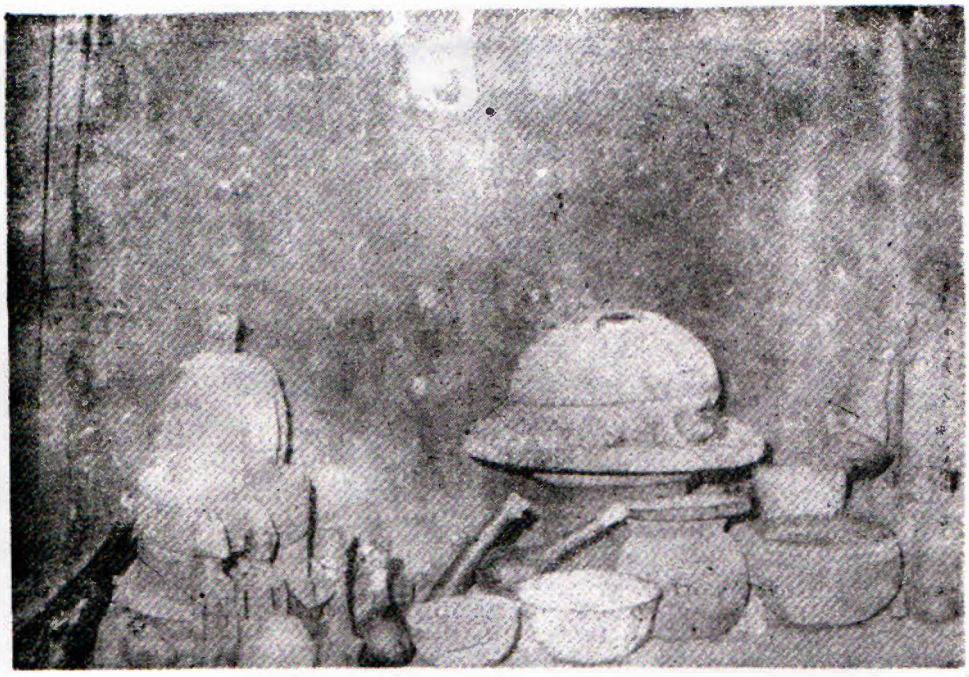


Plate X: Temple adjoining Home of Ọ̀rúnmìlà Priest, Lalupọn

Plate XI: Shrine Room in Home of a Traditional Yoruba Priest, Ibadan

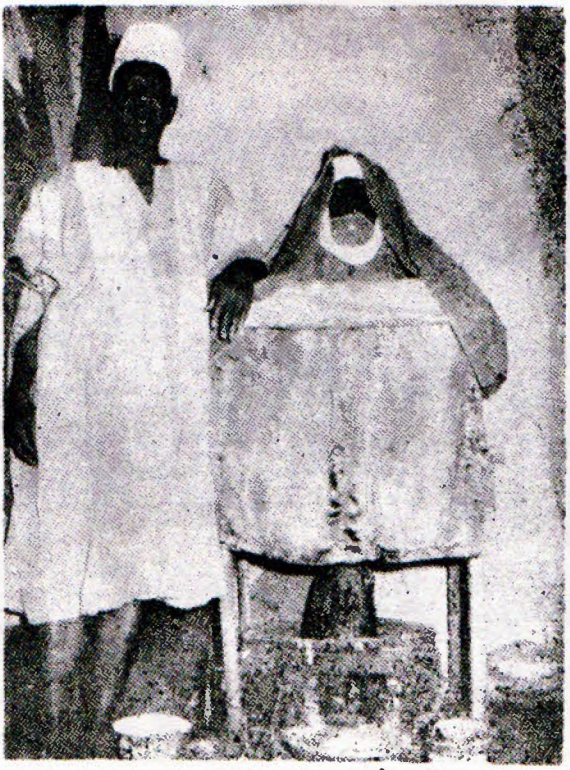


Plate XII: Indoor Shrine for Èṣù, Ibadan

Plate XIII: Beginning of Olufọn (Obatala) Ritual, Lalupọn

Plate XIV: Ọlufon Procession, Lalupọn

Plate XV: Olufon (Ọbatala) Ceremony, Lalupọn

Plate XVI: Ọ̀rúnmìlà Annual Ceremony, Ibadan

Tarágbá, tarágbá, taràgbà,
taràgbà, Arágbaràgba tàkúta. (Mystical sounds that cannot be translated)
Ìwà ni a nwá o, Ìwà. I am looking for Ìwà (Èṣù).
Níbo ni ẹ ti rí Ìwà fún mi o, Ìwà? Do you see Ìwà?

He did not find her there. Wherever they heard the drum, people gathered around him. He went to the home of Ajerò and repeated the song, but he did not find her there. He went to the home of Ọràngún and repeated the song. When Èṣù heard the song, she ran out and followed Ọrúnmìlà home. When they reached the doorstep, she refused to enter the house. Since that time Èṣù has not stayed inside Ọrúnmìlà's house. She is worshipped outside. When people consult *babaláwo*, they are asked to present offerings to Èṣù. When sacrifices are given to Ọrúnmìlà, Èṣù must be given her share.

Annual Ceremony for Èṣù

On the evening before the ceremony, Èṣù's emblem is washed with water and the following leaves: *pepe*, *pèrègún*, and *bángbélùú*, Shea butter and palm oil are added to the water. Then camwood is rubbed on the emblem and a *wájì* (dyed cloth) is placed over it. The next day kola-nuts are offered Èṣù. A kola-nut is presented with the words: "This is Mr X's kola-nut offering. Do not tempt him to commit crimes against others, do not allow others to commit crimes against him. Protect him from evil forces." This prayer is repeated with each kola-nut offered to Èṣù (each member of the family presents a kola-nut). A cock is sacrified to Èṣù and its blood is poured on the shrine. Other animal sacrifices follow—fowls, pigeons, fish, rats and perhaps, a pig or a male goat, and blood from these animals, together with water from snails, is poured on Èṣù's emblem. Groundnuts, sugarcane, and honey are also offered to Èṣù. The meat is cooked and on the second day it is served with other food to the participants. With the drumming, dancing, and singing, some ten per cent of the participants eventually become possessed by Èṣù. (One informant in Ibadan said that no spirit possession occurs today at a ceremony for Èṣù in the city). Èṣù (a devotee possessed by Èṣù) threatens bystanders with clubs. Those possessed by Èṣù do not shake and tremble, but they are stronger than they usually are and many have to be held down by other worshippers. One possessed by Èṣù does not fall down in a trance. Such a person may suck the blood of a cock and, when he calms down foretell future events. At some point during the ceremony, a procession of worshippers may march through the streets. No costumes or masks are worn. The *bata* is the main drum used in this ceremony, but talking drums and the *gangan* (similar to the talking drum but smaller), as well as the *sẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* may be employed.

Protection from evil forces and asking that they be not tempted to do evil are prominent themes in the annual ceremonies for Èṣù. The following are typical prayers in Ibadan. Of special interest is the appeal to Ọlọ́run in the second prayer for protection against the anger of Èṣù.

Ki nnkan má ṣe ọmọ mi, Protect my children from evil forces.
Ki nnkan má ṣe aya mi Protect my wives from evil forces.
Àti èmi náà. And protect me too.

Má ṣe mí lu ẹnìyàn, má ṣe ẹnìyàn lu mí.	Èṣú, do not tempt me against people; do not tempt people against me.
Lànà owó, lànà ọmọ kàn mí o.	Let me have money and children.
Èṣù má ṣe mí, ọmọ ẹlòmíràn ni o ṣe.	Èṣù, do not tempt me to commit crimes, tempt the children of others.
Asóro lógo, akétépe lògbó.	The one who has strong cudgels, the one who who has heavy clubs.
Ọlọ́run máà jẹ́ ki a rí ijà Èṣù o.	God, protect me from the anger of Èṣù.
Èṣù má ṣe mí, ọmọ ẹlòmíràn ni o ṣe.	Èṣú, do not tempt me to do evil, tempt others.
Ìwọ ló ṣe ọba tí wọ́n fi yọ lóyẹ.	It is you who tempted an *ọba* and he was deposed.
Ìwọ ló ṣe ìyàwó tí o fi kọ ọkọ rẹ̀ sílẹ̀, tó fi lọ so nínú igbó.	It is you who tempted a wife and she divorced her husband and hanged herself in the bush
Ìwọ lo ṣe igi igbó tí wọ́n fi iná dáá pa.	It is you who tempted the tree in a jungle and the tree was destroyed by fire.
Ìwọ ló ṣe ènìyàn tí wọ́n fi kó ògùn tì í ti wọ́n sọ di wèrè.	It is you who tempted a human being and others used charms against him and turned him mad.
Èṣú má ṣe mí, ọmọ ẹlòmíràn ni o ṣe.	Èṣú, please do not tempt me, tempt others.
Ìwọ ló ṣe ẹnìyàn tó fi bínú so kú	You tempted a human being and he committed suicide by hanging.
Ìwọ ló ṣe ènìyàn tó fi kó sódò	You tempted a human being and he committed suicide by drowning
Ìwọ ló ṣe ènìyàn to fi gbánú kú.	You tempted a human being and he committed suicide by slashing his stomach.
Èṣú má ṣe mí, ọmọ ẹlòmíràn ni ko ṣe.	Èṣú, do not tempt me, tempt others.

Among many others, these verses are repeated in honour of Èṣù.

Èṣù, ọgá nílùú.	Èṣú, the powerful one of the city.
Atóbájayé, eleso oògùn.	One who is sufficient support in life, one who has medicinal fruits.
Oti-balùwẹ̀-gun-ẹṣin-wọlé.	One who rides on horseback from the bath-room to the inner room.
Otílì lóògùn.	One who has very powerful medicine.
Alágada èye,	One who bears a sword,
Oroko-ni-ọjọ́-ẹbọ-le.	One who runs away when the sacrifice goes awry.
Tabírígbọngbọ̀ọ̀n; abóníjà-wá-kùmọ̀.	The staggering one who finds a big club for those who quarrel.[38]
Ò nlọ nínú epa, ípàkọ́ rẹ̀ nhàn fírífírí, opẹ́lọpẹ́ pé ọmọ́ ga.	He walks in a groundnut farm and his head is visible only because he is very tall.[39]
Èṣù, ọ̀làfé, aṣeni-báni dárò.	Èṣú, the whistler, one who harms us and sympathizes with us.
Èṣù lo ṣe babaláwo ọjọ́ métàdín-lógún ló gbé lódọ̀ Ọya.	Èṣù who tempted a babaláwo and made him stay for seventeen days in Ọya's house.

ṢÀNGÓ

Students of Yoruba religion point out that Ṣàngó was an historical figure, a king of Ọyọ, who became a god.[40] This divinity of thunder and lightning is thought of as powerful, crafty, and ruthless, and he is feared by many people. An Ifá diviner said that Ṣàngò is so powerful that he is chained by God to prevent him from coming down to use his full power. This man said also that Ṣàngó had been initiated into the Ifá cult by Ọ̀rúnmìlà, so he respects *babaláwos'* houses. An Ogun priest reported that Ṣàngó does not act unless he is provoked, but once moved to anger there is no hope for the one who annoyed or criticized him. With the help of Ọya, his wife Ṣàngó uses thunder-stones to destroy animals, houses, trees, and people. Through the use of traditional medicine and incantations, Ṣàngó worshippers call on him to avenge wrongs. One procedure for using Ṣàngo to attack enemies involve rubbing an Íbejì figure with hot pepper and other things which Ṣàngó and Íbejì must not eat. Then one says to Ṣàngó: "Mr X (the prospective victim) asked me to give this to you. I know you don't eat it and he knows you don't eat it. This is the same Mr X who asked me to paint your Íbejì with pepper." One then asks Ṣàngó to arrange the injury. In return, one must have a ram to sacrifice to Ṣàngó as soon as he has injured the other person.[41] When Ṣàngó strikes down a wrong-doer, the man's relatives ask Ṣàngó followers to come to the house that has been damaged (perhaps the victim himself has been killed) for a feast and the offering of sacrifies. The Ṣàngóists then pull the thunder-stone that caused the damage out of the ground where it struck. It is believed that if the thunder-stone is not found and dug out, everyone in the house will die and that grass will grow where the house once stood. All, or nearly all, of the property found in a house struck by lightning may be confiscated by Ṣàngó worshippers. Ṣàngó devotees may also appeal to him for protection against evil spirits, for children, and for health and wealth.

The Annual Ceremony for Ṣàngó in Lalupọn

In Lalupọn the annual ceremony for Ṣàngó, *òrìṣà* of thunder and lightning, may be condensed as follows. On the night before the rites, the leaves of the following plants are squeezed into a bowl of water and used to wash Ṣàngó (that is, the thunder-stones symbolizing this deity): *ọ̀dúndún*, *tètè*, *rinrin*, *ìyeyè* and *pèrègún*. Shea butter is added to the water. All Ṣàngó worshippers, both *adósù* and *mògbà*,[42] congregate, shake rattles, and pray to Ṣàngó. A cock is sacrificed and cooked, and, together with other food, is eaten. Dancing, singing, and praying follow until daybreak. The devotees assemble in the early morning, shake rattles, beat *bátà* drums, sing the praises of Ṣàngó, and sacrifice a ram, nine bitter kola-nuts and nine kola-nuts to Ṣàngó. When the ram is sacrificed, one or more possessions occur, signifying that Ṣàngó is pleased with the ceremony. If the *orógbó* (bitter kola-nuts) show that Ṣàngó is pleased, the participants dance and return to the shrine singing

Ṣàngó de o ọmọ araiye ẹ wá wòran Ṣàngó de o.	Sango has come. Let every human being come and watch; Ṣàngó has come

The meat of the ram and other food which was prepared earlier is eaten. On the morning after the first evening, the Ṣàngó worshippers march around the village to the accompaniment of rattles and drums. On the evening of the third day, the worshippers call on the priest who led the ceremony to present them with whatever he can afford to give.

There are innumerable verses praising the powerful Ṣàngó. An example follows:

Atúwọn-ká níbi wọ́n-gbé-ndáná-irọ́,	One who scatters them where they are conspiring
Ọ̀lọ́lọ́ afi-ẹnu-ìkà-lọ́lẹ̀	One who punishes the wicked by rubbing their mouths on the ground.
A wa aapọn mórí, o fi gọ̀gọ̀ fa tìrí mọ́ra.	One who, looking in vain for trouble, draws to himself difficult problems.
O torí ijà dá oko sí èbá ọ̀ná.	One who establishes a farm near the main road in order to forment trouble with passersby.
O ní bóo kí Ladobo ìjà ni, bí o kò kí Ladobo ìjà ni.	He says: "If you greet Ladobo[43] there will be trouble; if you fail to greet Ladobo, there will still be trouble."
Tìjàtìjà ni ṣe Ewégbẹ́mi, ọmọ Ọ̀wọnran tíí wọnkú lọ́ṣẹ́.	The ever-quarrelsome Ewégbẹ́mi;[43] son of Ọ̀wọnran, who destroys trouble the fetters of death.
Abi-gbogbo-ara-wá-sìgàsìgà.	One who by nature is restless,
Afàwọ́n-ya-bí-àgbàdo-òjò.	Who tears down people as cobs of corn are torn down.
Máà ba mí jà, mi ò sí nínú wọn.	Ṣàngó, do not quarrel with me; I am not one of them (of those who are against you.)
Lágboókun abàruru àgbàdo.	Lágboókun[43] the size of whom is like a mountain of corn.
Jámujámu pọ̀ léégún, Ṣàngó o o pọ̀ lọ́kunrin.	Jámujámu is a powerful *egúngún*; Ṣàngó, you are a powerful man.
Ọ̀nà yá méjì, pá pọ̀ o fi ṣọ̀kan.	There are two solutions to a problem; Ṣàngó, please resolve them.
Bọ́wọ́ ba tẹ Sẹ́ríẹ́ ti o tẹ Àjàṣẹ́, yíó wa mọ eleto nitògiri;	It is not until some people are involved in trouble that they will acknowledge Ṣàngó as their only saviour.
Ọ̀jò pa ẹbọra lé gúgú rẹ́rẹ́.	A dreadful spirit who becomes irritated when drenched by rain.
Òlénlé, alé Màle tọ̀ sí mọ́sálásí.	The fearsome one who frightens a Moslem so that he urinates in the mosque;
A le babaláwo-máà dúró-kóFá.	One who frightens the *babaláwo* so much that he runs away, leaving his Ifá divining chain behind.
Àti lójò àti lẹ́rùn kò sí ẹni ti Ṣàngó ò le pa.	Both in the rainy season and in the dry season, there is no one who cannot be killed by Ṣàngó.
Afi ẹni tí kọgílá kọlú, àfi eni Èṣú nṣe.	Only those who are insane and those who are being tempted by Èsù can afford to attack Èṣù or Ṣàngó.
Ló lè kọlú Èṣú, ló lè kọlu Ṣàngó, àfi ẹni tí Ṣàngó o pa.	Only those who wish to be killed by Ṣàngó will do that.
Abo-ọmọ-ọlọ́mọ-mọ́lẹ̀-bí-a-nlu-owú-irin.	Ṣàngó, one who falls upon people like the blacksmith's hammer.

Òjò ṣú òjò kò ṣú, kò sí ẹni tí Ṣàngó ò lè pa.	Whether there is rain or not, there is no one who cannot be killed by Ṣàngó.

Other favourite praise verses for Ṣàngó in Lalupọn are:

Aláàfin, ẹkùn bú, a sá.	Aláàfin (the king of Ọyọ) snarls like a leopard and the people run away
Ẹlẹ́yinjú ògunná.	One whose eyeballs glow like charcoal.
Olúkòso làlú.	Olukòso, the famous one of the city.
A rí igba ọta, ṣẹ́gun.	One who uses hundreds of catridges to win victory in war.
Èyí ti ó fi àlàpà ṣẹ́gun ọ̀tá rẹ̀.	One who used pieces of broken walls to defeat his enemies.
Kábíyèsí o.	We honour you.
Odio, àgbà Ifẹ̀.	Odio,[44] the old man of Ifẹ̀.
Asángun dẹ́yinjú.	One who is hard and strong even in his eyeballs.
Onígbẹ̀ẹ́ à nsúré fún.	The owner of the jungle from whom people must run awav.
Alẹ́dun-lábàjà;	One whose *àbàjà* facial marks are bold as thunderstones;
Aṣa-nlánlá-orí-pamọ́.	One who has control over the heads of important people.
Onímu nyínmú, èké nsá;	Some wrinkle their noses in disbelief, the traitors run;
Ògíri, akó-wọn-jọ-bá-wọn-wí.	Ògíri[45] who gathers them together and punishes them collectively.
Abá-wọn-jà-má-jẹ̀bi.	One who fights people and still remains guiltless;
A lápa-dúpẹ́.	One who kills and the relatives of the victim give thanks.[46]
Ọbakòso, Bàngúdu sákì	Ọbakòso, the powerful king.
Atú-wọn-ká-níbi-wọ́n-gbé-ndáná irọ́.	One who disperses them where they are conspiring.
Ẹ̀bìtì kọ́wọ́ pọ̀nyín ṣoro.	One who folds his hands deceitfully before causing havoc.
Akọ̀bọ̀kọ̀bọ̀ idàrọ, atú wọn ka nibi wọn gbe ndáná irọ́.	The powerful cannon who disperses them where they are conspiring.
Ọkọ̀ọ̀ mi o, baáléè mi, ogírì gbẹ̀du.	My lord, my lord, owner of the big royal drums
Ajélile bí eégun, baálẹ̀, ọbakòso.	One who is as power to a call forcefully like an *egúngún*, head chief, the king who did not hang.
Akọ̀yí-ọlọ́ràn-bá-wa, agbomi-mu-bí-àlàpà.	One who rejects the plea of an accused; one who drinks water like walls.
Gùdùgúdú abojú-telú o;	One with eyes as frightening as the poisonous *gùdùgúdú* yam.
Ọkọ̀ọ̀ mi tó ran láyà bí oko ìdí ọpẹ.	My lord, whose chest is covered with hair like the base of the palm tree.
Ọkọ̀ọ̀ mi, abitamára bí ahéré	One whose apparel is like a farm house.
Ató-bá-jayé o.	One who is sufficient support in life.
Òbónígbodè-ṣe-pinpín-npín.	One who divides the toll (tax) with the customs officer,

Baálẹ̀, ọba kò so.	Head chief, the king who did not hang.
Má fi osé rẹ na èmi.	Do not hit me with your club.
Baálé Àbẹ̀gbé, bá mi ségun ọ̀tá mi.	Àbẹ̀gbé's husband, help me defeat my enemy.
Ọ̀tá mi kò ni rójú sojú o.	My enemy will have no peace of mind.
Baálé Àbẹ̀gbé ni o bami ségun ọ̀tá mi.	Àbẹ̀gbé's husband, help me defeat my enemy.
Baáléè mi oji aboko-lórí	My lord with bushy hair.
Ọkọ̀ọ̀ mi ló bá oníyán jiyán igángán tó pa ọmọ rẹ̀ síloro.	My lord who feasts on *igángán* pounded yam and kills his host's son on the door step.
Ṣàngó má pa mí, má pa ènìyàn sí mi lórùn.	Ṣàngó do not kill me and do not tempt me to kill another person.
Ọbakòso, aní-séré-oògùn-léyin jú,	Ọbakòso, whose eyeballs are like medicine rattles.
Baáléè mi, oji boko lórí.	My lord with bushy hair.
Akogbonna kalu, máà bá mi jà nkò lówó ẹbọ nílé.	One who causes trouble in the town, do not quarrel with me, I have no money for sacrifices.
Nkò mọbi ayé kọ̀dí sí, baáléè mi Ọbakòso	I do not know where the world is heading, my lord, Ọbakòro.
Atóbájayé, sáàkó mi là láàárín wọn.	One who is sufficient support in life, save me among many.

The preceding verse and the following chant were given by two women who are active in the Ṣàngó cult in Lalupon.

Atóbájayé, ogírì gbẹ̀du.	One who is sufficient support in life, owner of the big royal drums.
Ajélílẹ bi eégún, baálẹ̀, Ọbakòso	Who is as powerful as *egúngún*, king Ọbakóso[47]
Baále orí Abẹ̀gbé, máà banjà ségbèri ará.	Àbẹ̀gbé's husband, do not quarrel with me over the uninitiated.

An Annual Ceremony for Ṣàngó in Ibadan

Prior to the ceremony the following are collected for the offering to Ṣàngó: bitter kola-nuts, kola-nuts, alligator peppers, a ram, a cock, *awun* (tortoise), *ewìri* and *ìrère* (two species of turtle), rats, fish and maize wine. For the priest's *yẹ̀rì* (ceremonial garment) which is tied around the waist and which comes down below the knees), a piece of cloth is cut. Cowry shells are tied on the edges and on various parts of the garment. The cloth and a cap to which cowry shells are attached are then dyed red with camwood.

On the first morning of the ceremony, various leaves are squeezed into water, and the water is then used to wash the thunder-stones. While the thunder-stones are being washed, several men shake rattles and, occasionally, chant verses in praise of Ṣàngó. The stones are then placed in a wooden Ṣàngó vessel.

During the first evening of the ceremony, bitter kola-nuts, alligator peppers, and kola-nuts are brought to Ṣàngó's shrine. The tips of two bitter kola-nuts are bitten off, the remaining middle portion is cut into halves and tossed up. If one faces up and one down, the offering has been accepted. One half is put on the shrine, the other half in the water. Kola-nuts are also broken and thrown in this way, with two halves placed on the shrine and the other two in the water, An alligator pepper is chewed and spit

into the vessel of water. Snails are also offered to Ṣàngó and the water from them is poured in front of the shrine. A knife which has been held in a glowing fire is used to cut open the fowl's mouth (cut between the jaws to the neck) and its blood is poured on the shrine. A thunderstone is put in the mouth of the ram and tied there so that the animal cannot open its mouth. The priests, as well as other participants, touch the ram's head with their own heads, signifying that the ram will die instead of human beings. The red hot knife is used to slaughter the ram and its blood is poured on the shrine and on the ground in front of the shrine. The ram's skin is removed, and the head, part of the chest, liver, lungs, part of the intestine, and the heart are cooked together. The cooked offering is placed in front of Ṣàngó's shrine, and a bowl of *gbẹ̀gìrì* (bean soup) is poured on the offering, as is soup from green leaves and okra soup. Maize wine is poured on the meat, and a calabash is placed over it. Then a bitter kola-nut is used to ask Ṣàngó this question—

Inú rẹ dùn ba ti ṣe é yi?	Are you satisfied with the offering?
A ò kú, a ò rùn, a ó tún ṣe àmọ́dun tọ́mọ́tọ́mọ́.	(If you are,) we shall not die; we shall not be afflicted with illness; we (with new children)[48] shall make offerings to you next year.

When Ṣàngó indicates his acceptance of the offering, the participants dance around the compound, returning to eat and drink. All of the meat offered to the *òrìṣá* is removed and eaten by members of the group. (One informant said that anyone who has been involved in wrongdoing should not eat this meat. If he does, it is believed that he will die.) At some point, the priest leads the worshippers in a procession around the neighbourhood.

Usually five or six people get possessed by Ṣàngó during a ceremony. Such persons make considerable noise, and palm oil and blood are given to them to calm them down.

On the seventh and last day of the ceremony, all the remnants on the shrine are removed and taken to the river. Rattles and drums are used on the march which ends the annual ritual.

Included in the prayers to Ṣàngó at ceremonies in the Ibadan area are:

Ṣàngó, a wá ṣe ọdún rẹ;	Ṣàngó, we are here for your annual ceremony
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ìbánujẹ́ o.	Protect us from bad fortune.
Jẹ́ kí a lé si, máà jẹ́ ki a pẹ̀dín.	Let us increase in number and not decrease.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí àìsàn o.	Protect us from illness.
Máà jẹ́ kí a dàràn ìjọba.	Prevent us from breaking the law.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ejọ́ o.	Spare us from court cases.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ìjà rẹ o.	Do not allow us to see you in your bad mood.
Máà jẹ́ kí a ri ija Ṣànpọ̀nná.	Save us from Ṣànpọ̀nnà's anger.
Máà jẹ́ kí odò o gbe wa lọ.	Save us from drowning
Máà jẹ́ kí a kú ikú iná.	Save us from death by fire.
Tútù tútù ni kí o jẹ́ kí a máá rí	Let us experience the calm and gentle things of life.
Máà jẹ́ kí ọwọ́ ìkà ó tẹ̀ wá o.	Save us from wicked people.
Báni ṣégun ọ̀tá o.	Help us defeat our enemies.
Bá mi wo ọmọ̀ mi,	Help protect my children.

Máà jẹ́ kí n ḍáràn ará Ìbàdàn.	Prevent me from committing crimes against the people of Ibadan.
Máà jẹ́ kí n lu òfin Ọyìnbó	Prevent me from breaking any law.
Máà kẹ́ kí n rin àrìn fi ẹsẹ̀ sí.	Guide my footsteps.
Máà jẹ́ kí n sọ̀rọ̀ fi ẹnu ko.	Prevent me from committing offences by the words of my mouth.

The following verse is one used in an annual ceremony for Ṣàngó:

Ọkùnrin gọ̀lọ̀jọ̀ bí Fúlàní	The man who is as slender as a Fulani.
Ọmọ ẹwà tí í dé àbòro.	The handsome one who wears a felt cap.
Apani-má-yọ̀dà.	One who kills without drawing the sword.
Káyékò, ẹkùn bú a sá;	Káyékò[49] snarls like a leopard and people run away.
Abi ojú agada bí iná.	The one whose sword edge is like a glowing fire.
Ẹ̀bìtì káwọ́ pọ̀nyìn soro.	One who folds his hands deceitfully before causing havoc.
Bí yíó bá wọn jà a yan lọ bi Ẹ̀dẹ, bí Ọ̀ṣogbo, bi Òròkí, bí Aáwẹ́ bi Olúmọ.	If he wants to fight people he strolls aggressively to distant places like Ẹ̀dẹ, Ọ̀ṣogbo, Òròki, Aáwẹ́ and Olúmọ.
Agbàrá òjò tí í bá wọn jà; tí í bá ti ojude baba wọn lọ.	The torrent (Ṣàngó) that quarrels with one and passes through one's parents' compound unchallenged.[50]

An Ibadan Sàngó Initiation Ceremony

Formerly, initiation ceremonies were common in Ibadan in the worship of such *òrìṣà* as Ṣàngó, Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Ọya, Erinlẹ̀, Ọ̀ṣun, Ọbàtálá, Ṣàmpọ̀nná, and Èṣù. At present, the practice of parents consulting Ṣàngó to discover which child should be initiated into the Ṣàngó cult is being discontinued, but Ifá divination may indicate that a person who is ill should undergo such initiation in order to be cured.

The head of the initiate is shaved and washed with 201 different leaves. Camwood and mud from the nest of *àgbìgbò* (woodcock) are mixed together and the mixture is used in painting the man's head. The candidate then spends days in a room where he cannot see sunlight. He comes out of the room on the seventh day, but he must not visit a marketplace for three months.

On the day the initiate enters the room, offerings of pigeons, cock, guinea fowls and turtles are given to his *orí* (head), and offering continue to be given throughtout the days he spends in that room. Also, on the first day, a thunder-stone is tied to his head. The stone is removed on the seventh day and the man's head is washed. The initiate puts the thunder-stone in a shallow bowl with a lid made for this purpose. Rattles are placed on top of the bowl, and the devotee continues to worship Ṣàngó during the rest of his lifetime. A hole is dug before the head-washing to prevent the water from flowing away. After the head-washing, the water is covered with earth. The water which was used in the first head-washing is then poured on the hole which has been covered up. Offerings are made to his *orí* every day during the three months following the initiate's emergence from the initiation room. At the end of that period, he or she dances to the market place in the company of Ṣàngó worshipper, all singing Ṣàngó's praises. One song is—

Àti èmi, àti ọmọ mi, Ṣàngó má mà jẹ́ ẹdun ó gbé wa lọ.	Both myself and my children, Ṣàngó do not destroy us with thunderstones.

Initiation ceremony verses praising Sango include:

Abọ́ lumọ bí owú.	One who falls on people like a blacksmith's hammer.
Iná orí kò jó ilé, ọkọ Pàrokò.	Lice do not burn houses, the husband of Pàrokò.
Sángiri, làgiri, làgiri kaàkà fi ẹdun bọ́.	One who breaks walls, cuts open walls, destroys walls with thunderstones.
Agbò kò seé mú, ọ̀dá kò seé mú	The (wild) ram cannot be caught, the gelded sheep cannot be caught.
Ọ̀ṣán le koko bá wọn gbélé.	Tough like the bow-string which shares the powerful one who insists on the same dwelling with people.
Gbogbo rẹ̀ ló tóbi lọ́wọ́ ahun.	One who says that everything is expensive in the view of the miserly.
Abọ́lumọ bí owú, ọmọ elòmíràn ni ọ̀ ṣe.	One who drops on people like a blacksmith's hammer, deal with others (not with me).
Alárààá ìyàgbẹ, iná mọ ọmọ jó ọmọ.	One who has dry thunderstones; the fire (Ṣàngó) which recognizes people before burning them.[51]
Ìyèré dì ṣàkàṣíkí rebi ìjà.	*Ìyèré* goes to battle fully armed.[52]
Atún-arúgbó-ṣe-ní-ìyàwó, ọkọ Pàṣedà.	One who turns an aged woman into a young wife; Ṣàngó, the husband of Pàṣedà.
Abọ́lumọ bí owú.	One who drops like a heavy iron club.
Òkú-làjà-ṣè-ní-pópó, fi orí mi bun mí.	One who dies in a house only to reappear on the main street, please spare me.
Ajanwọnrin, ajanwọnrìn, ajanwọ́njanwọn ẹru oògun.	The powerful one whose dress is covered with charms.
Òkú-lájà-ṣè-ní-pópó;	One who dies at home and reappears in the main street;
Akẹtan kálàìrókò.	One who bends down to pluck *irókò* okra.[53]
O pa àjé méje kukan;	One who kills six out of seven witches;
Ọ̀lọ̀lọ́ fi ẹnu ìkà lọlẹ̀.	One who makes the wicked kiss the ground.[54]

ỌṢUN

Yoruba priests differ concerning Ọ̀ṣun's personal qualities, some holding that she is wise and generous, others saying that she is irritable. Perhaps she is both depending on the behaviour of her followers. One of Ṣàngó's wives, Ọ̀ṣun is a water goddess.[55] She can cause a river to dry up or to overflow its banks, and she may attack people by drowning them when they try to cross a river. By filling a woman's stomach with water, she can make her look pregnant when she isn't pregnant, and she can cause difficulty in delivery.

Ọṣun Annual Ceremony

During the evening before the ceremony in September or October, the stones which are Ọ̀ṣun's emblem are washed in water and leaves (*ọ̀dúndún* and *rinrin*).

The drums (*bátà*, *bèmbé*, *dùndún*, and *òlukorìgì*) are played, and hens, pigeons, a female goat and other animals are sacrificed, with the usual pouring of the sacrificial blood on the shrine. Vegetables, sugar cane, and kola-nuts are also presented. Only female animals are offered to Ọ̀ṣun. The ceremony opens with this prayer:

Ọ̀ṣun mo pe ọ o.	Ọ̀ṣun, I call on you.
Mo pè ọ́ sówó, mo pè ọ́ sómọ;	I call on you for money, I call on you for children;
Mo pè ọ́ sí àìkú, mo pè ọ́ sí ọrọ̀.	I call on you for protection against death, I call on you for wealth.
Ẹnití nwá ọmọ ko fun lọ́mọ.	Give children to those who ask for children.
Èmi kò fẹ́ odi, èmi kò fẹ́ aró.	Do not give them deaf or crippled children.
Ọmọ dáradára ni kí o fún wọn.	Give them healthy children.

Drumming, singing, and dancing follow the opening prayer, and these activities, together with feasting, are continued the next day. There is a processing on the third day, and the ceremony goes on for seven days.

White dresses, head-ties, and beads are worn but no special costumes or masks are used. Today, perhaps three per cent of the participants become possessed, with some of these persons falling down in a trance partially recovering, and speaking unintelligible words which are interpreted by the priests or other worshippers. Men too take part in the annual ritual for Ọ̀ṣun, but the ceremony is led by women.

The following three verses are from a Lalupọn ceremony for Ọ̀ṣun.

Ọ̀ṣun, òyéyéní mọ̀,	Ọ̀ṣun who is full of understanding,
O wa yanrìn wayanrìn kówó sí.	Who digs sand and buries money there.
Obìnrin gbọ̀nà, ọkunrin nsá.	The woman who seizes the road (flooding it) and causes men to run away.
Ọ̀ṣun àburá-olú,	Ọ̀ṣun the river which the king cannot exhaust. one who does things without being questioned.
Agégun ṣoro.	One who blushes while committing atrocities,
Olótùtù Èkó,	One who is responsible for the cool air of Lagos.
Ẹní fúnni lọ́mọ níí retí igbe.	One who gives people children expects noise.
Oyeye ní mọ̀.	One who glories in fresh green palm leaves.
Ẹni idẹ kìí sú.	One who never tires of wearing brass ornaments.
Amọ-awomá-rò.	One who knows the secrets of cults but does not disclose them.
Abẹ̀kẹ́, Agbo, Tinúubú	Abẹ̀kẹ́, Agbo, Tinúubú
Oyé ní mọ̀, ẹni idẹ kìí su.	One who has fresh palm leaves, who is never tired of wearing brass.
A wayanrìn wayanrìn kówó sí.	One who buries money in the sand.
Gbàdàmugbadamu obìnrin kò seé gbámú.	The huge, powerful woman who cannot be attacked.
Apẹ̀rẹ̀ lo fi jòkòó nínú ibú.	One who sits on a basket in the deeps.

Two chants, two verses and a final prayer come from an annual ceremony for Ọ̀ṣun in Ibadan.

Ore yèyé. Ọ̀ṣun, ore yèyé mọlẹ̀.	Most gracious mother Ọ̀ṣun, most gracious *òrìṣà*.
Ore yèyé o.	Most gracious mother.
Ọ̀gbàdàgbada lọ́yàn.	One who has large robust breasts.
Amúdẹ-rẹmọ.	One who appeases children with brass ornaments.
Oníkìí, amọ-awo-, má-rò.	Oníkìí, who knows the secrets of cults but does not disclose them.
Otútu nítẹ̀ẹ́.	One who has a cool, fresh throne;
O wayanrìn wayarìn kówó sí.	One who buries money in the sand.
Yèyé Oníkìí, Ọbalódò	The gracious mother, the queen of the river,
Ore yèyé o.	The most gracious mother.
Ladekoju, òwẹ-ọmọ-yẹ́.	Ladekoju (Ọ̀ṣun) who gives life to children,
A fidẹ-rẹ-ọmọ.	One who appeases children with brass ornaments
Omi, arìn-má-sun.	Water (Ọ̀ṣun), which moves sleeplessly.
Alágbo ọ̀fẹ́; abi-ìwomọ-ṣáká.	One who gives healing water free of charge; one who gives good effective treatment to children.
Yèyé wẹmọ yé, gbọmọ fun mi jó	Mother, who gives life to the children, give me children with whom I can play.
Íyá tì kò léegun, tí kò lẹ́jẹ̀.	The mother who has neither bone nor blood.
Ayílà, gbà mí o, ẹni a ní níí gbani.	Ayílà (Ọ̀ṣun), save me, one expects salvation from one's god.

ÒGÚN

The *òrìṣà* of war, of the hunt, and of all pursuits in which iron or steel is used, is held to be mischievous, powerful and cruel. Idowu says that in pranks and mischief-making, Ogùn is next to Èṣù, but that justice, fair play, and rectitude rather than evil are associated with him.[56] Some men still make covenants and take oaths in the name of Ogùn by

1. washing a knife or any piece of iron in water and palm leaves and then drinking the water from an *ìtóò* (type of calabash);
2. putting a gun and cutlass on Ogún's shrine, pouring water into the barrel of the gun and asking those taking the oath to eat kola-nuts and drink the water
3. kissing something made of iron and asking Ògùn to witness the oath; or
4. when a person is suspected of a crime against a relative, for example, sorcery, taking white and brown kola-nuts to Ògùn's shine, eating the nuts and calling on Ogún to punish the offender.

If an oath is broken, or if a relative is guilty of a crime, Ògún may punish the offender by making him ill or killing him, perhaps by snake bite or as a result of contact with something made of iron (getting a wound from stepping on a nail, being in a motor car accident, injuring himself with a knife or cutlass, or being accidentally shot by a hunter). An aggrieved person may take one accused of theft to Ògún's shrine to clear himself by calling on Ògún to punish him if he has lied. A Muslim

diviner in Lalupọn who still worships Ògún because he is a hunter told the following incident. A pressing iron was stolen by one of the washermen. The washermen called a meeting, washed one of the irons in water and each drank some of the water, calling on Ògún to kill the thief. Three days later, one of the men was bitten by a cobra. All those who work with materials made of iron, including carpenters, mechanics, truck and taxi-drivers, appeal to Ògún to protect them from injuring themselves or other people with the tools, instruments or machines they use. Those who use knives in circumcising, making tribal marks, and in surgical operations wash their instruments in water from snails and then present them to Ògún, asking that the wounds heal quickly. In addition to the special powers and concerns of Ògún, he, like many of the *òrìṣà*, may be appealed to for children. Ògún's emblems—a piece of iron or a long rod with a bird-like head, a rock, or, according to Idowu, the *pèrègún* plant or the trunk or tail of an elephant,[57] are found outside the house.

A Lalupọn *babaláwo* told the following story about Ògún living outside the house. Ògún is a close friend of Ọ̀rúnmìlà. When Ògún went on a journey, he took along Àdí, Ọ̀rúnmìlà's wife and Àdí became his mistress. When Ọ̀rúnmìlà heard about this, he made it impossible for Ògún ever to live inside a house again. That is also why neither Àdí (the *òrìṣà*) nor *àdí* (palm-kernel oil) is ever brought near Ọ̀rúnmìlà.

In other story dealing with relationships among the *òrìṣà*, an informant said that Ògún made the thunder-stone used by Ṣàngó to attack his enemies and gave them to Ṣàngó.

All informants on Ògún agree that failure to provide an annual festival for him would have dire consequences, including famine, civil strife and accidents of all kinds. All make a distinction too between those who are Ògún worshippers because he is their lineage *òrìṣà* and those who have become worshippers because of their occupation. Women are included in the first group but not in the second.

Annual Ceremony for Ògún

After a date has been set for the annual ceremony for Ògún, the hunters go into the bush and kill a number of wild animals. On the night before the rites, the worshippers cook and eat the bush meat, drink palm wine, drum and sing the praises of Ògún. On the following morning, palm-leaves are tied around Ògún's emblem, and offerings of kola-nuts, bitter kola-nuts, alligator peppers, snails, palm-oil, shea-butter, roasted plantains, roasted beans, palm-wine, and a dog are presented to Ògún. A small quantity of water is poured on the shrine, kola-nuts are split and thrown. If the offerings are accepted, a gun salute follows. Small portions of the offerings are put on the shrine. The leading priests pray for health and happiness, the dog's head is severed with one blow and placed on the shrine. The dog's blood, palm-wine and palm-oil are poured on the shrine, and the dog's stomach is tied to Ògún's emblem. Singing, feasting, and some dancing continue throughout the second day, but unlike some of the annual ceremonies—especially Ṣàngó's, there is no spirit possession except perhaps on the part of one of the priests. There may or may not be a procession around the village or the neighbourhood. The singing is accompanied with iron gongs and *bàtá*, talking, and *ègùnmọ̀* (war) drums. The food offerings not

actually placed on the shrine are eaten by the participants. No costumes are used other than the hunting clothes worn by some of the men. Ordinarily, the ceremony lasts three days.

Conceptions of Ògún and attitudes toward him are seen in the following prayers, songs and verses. The first prayer is from Lalupọn, the second from Ibadan.

Ògún ọkúnrin ogun, ató polówó ikú	Ògún the powerful one, sufficiently great to advertise death.
Ẹni tíí sọmọ ẹnìyàn dọlọ́lá	One who makes human beings prosperous.
Ẹni Ògún kò gbè bi ẹni tí ko róbì ṣẹbọ.	One who is not enriched by Ògún will find it difficult to get sacrificial kola-nuts.
Gbígbé ni o gbè mí bí o ti gbe Akinọ̀rọ̀ ti ó fi kọ́lé ọlá.	Ògún, enrich me as you enriched Akinọ̀rọ̀ and made him an eminent man.
Ọgún àwóò, aláká ayé, Òsanyín imọlè.	Ògún, the powerful one, the strong one of the earth, the great one of the other world.
Ègbè léhìn ẹni a ndá lóró.	The protector of those who are being injured.
Ògún gbé mí o.	Ògún, support me.

These three songs for Ògún were obtained in Ibadan. The first is a war song.

Meji meji, kóndó yèè!	Slaughter them, cut them into two halves.
Arímọrọ̀, kódó yèè!	Arímọrọ̀ (a warrior) cut them into two halves.
Gbógungbórò lólòkè Àmọ́yè.	Gbógungbórò (a warrior) of the Àmọ́yè hill.
Òdídí, ọmọ afi-òdídí-di.	The one who heals cuts.
Àyàmọ̀dè, baba ọgbẹ́!	Deep, broad cuts!
Òdídí, ọmọ afi-òdídí-di	The one who heals cuts.
Ògún, Ògún, sín mi kí n má ba sọkún.	Ògún, Ògún, guide me so that I may not weep.
Àsìndélé làá sinmọ ẹni.	One guides his children straight home.
Àsìndélé làá sinmọ eni.	One guides his children straight home.
Atótó! Arére!	Silence! Silence!
Kéléjì ó má fọ̀, kigbárája ó má lura ra wọn.	Let no one talk; let no utensil touch another.
Àwá dé, èbgbodò ilé kò gbọdọ̀ ṣodó poro.	We are here, let no one pound anything at home.
Ìlọ̀gì kò gbodọ̀ ṣọlọ ṣúkúṣúkú.	Let no one grind anything.
Ọmọ kékeré ilé kò gbọdọ̀ sọkún kí ngbọ́.	Do not allow me to hear children crying.
Kí ọlọ́mú o fi ọmú bọ ọmọ rẹ̀ lénu.	Let everyone breastfeed her child.

The first four praise verses for Ògún come from Lalupọn, the other two are from Ibadan.

Ojọ́ Ògún tòkè bọ̀ aṣọ iná ló fi bora, èwù èjè lówọ̀.	On the day Ògùn arrived from the mountain top, he wore a red dress, he wore a cloth of blood.
Ọpọ̀ olókó lo fi okó rẹ̀ dáná;	He caused many a man to burn his penis.
Ọpọ̀ olobo lo l'àbò rẹ dáná.	He caused many a woman to slash open and burn her vagina.

Ẹdun olú irin, awọnye òrìsà tí bura rẹ ṣán wọnyìnwọnyìn.	The owner of all iron materials, the rascally *òrìṣà* who bites himself in several places (when he is excited or angry)
Ifẹẹfẹẹ lólè lébù, pánláwọ, olujẹkà, ma bù mi je.	The fire that drives thieves away, changes the colour of iron and devours the wicked, do not harm me.
A mu sí pọngá; o ba pọngá jẹ.	He was put in a sheath, he destroyed the sheath
A mu si akọ Ìrè, o là kọ dànù.	He was put in a scabbard, he ruined the scabbard.
A mu Ògún wọdò Ogún sì la omi lọgbọgba.	We took Ogún to the river, he divided the river into two equal halves.
Èrù jèjè tíí ba ará adugbo.	The fearful one who frightens the neighbours.
Ògún Ọgbọ́rọ́ ló ni ajá; òun lapa já fún.	Ògún of Ọgbọ́rọ́ eats dogs and we give him dogs.
Ògún Onírè ló lèjè; Mọlámọlà ló ni èkuru.	Ògún of Onírè drinks blood; Mọlámọlà eats *èkuru* (pudding).
To ni gbàjámọ, irun ló nje	Ògún who controls razors feeds on the hair
Ti ọkọlà níí je igbín.	Ògún who controls those who circumcise feeds on snails.
Ọgún gbénàgbénà igi lónje	Ògún who controls carvers feeds on wood.
Sùminiwà, Àjọkẹ́òpó.	Sùminiwà, Àjọkẹ́òpó.[58]
Èru Ògún mà mbà mí o.	Oh! I am afraid of Ògún.
Abi-ọwọ́-gbọgbọgbọ tíí yọ ọmọ rè nínù ọfin.	Ògún who has power to save his children,
Yọ mí.	Save me.
Ọgún láká ayé, ọsìnmọlẹ	Ògún, the powerful one of the earth, great one of the other world.
Ògún àwóò, olúkúmákin, Àjàngbodorìgì.	Ògún the powerful one, Olúkúmálin, Àjàngbodorìgì.
Ògún láká ayé, ọsìnmọlẹ.	Ògún the powerful one of the earth, the great one of the other world.
Kókò odò tíí rú minmini.	The riverine cocoyam that remains ever fresh and green.
Ògún laka gbáà, ató-polowó-ikú.	Ògún the extremely powerful one, one great enough to advertise death.
Akèrò máyà.	One who meets people (on the roads) and refuses to give way.
A tó sìkìtì bárìn.	The great one under whom many people look for protection (not fearing any misfortune).
Ògún láká ayé, ọsin mọlẹ.	Ògún, the powerful one of the earth, the great one of the other world.
Eṣinṣin ẹbọra!	The evil genius *òrìṣà*!
A mu lọ sí ọtún ó ba ọtùn jẹ;	We took him to the right, he spoiled the right;
A mu lọ sí Osì ó ba òsì jẹ.	We took him to the left, he spoiled the left.
O pa lọ́mọgogo sí etí omi láti díja silẹ láarín akàn àti eja.	He killed *lọ́mọgogo* (a water creature) on the river bank to cause a quarrel between the crabs and the fishes.
Ògún má pa mí, ọmọ ẹlòmíran ni ko pa.	Ògún do not kill me; kill the children of others.
Ògún, pẹlẹ o.	Ògún, I hail you.

Onílé ikú, ọlọ́dẹ̀dẹ̀ màríwò.	The one who keeps death in his house, the one has palm-leaves in his abode.
Ọlọ́nà ọla, agbeni-ju-oko riro-lọ.	One who controls wealth, the worship of whom is more profitable than farming.
Ònílé kọ̀bukọ́bu ọ̀run.	The one who has mansions in heaven.
Ògún ma ṣe mi lu enia, ma ṣe eniyan lu mi.	Ògún do not tempt me to commit crimes against others; do not tempt others to commit crimes against me.
Ògún laka ayé, ọmọ ẹlòmìràn ni o ṣe.	Ògún, the powerful one of the world, tempt the children of others.
Màríwò laṣọ Ògún; aṣọ alásọ l'Ògún gbà bora.	Ògún's clothing is tender palm leaves; Ògún took other's clothes to cover up himself.
Lákáayé ọ̀sínmọ̀lẹ̀	The powerful one of the earth; great one of the other world.
Ògún láká ayé máà jẹ́ kí nrí ọ nígbà tí ó ṣòro.	Ogún, the powerful one, do not let me see you in difficult times (when you are annoyed).
Awọ́nrínsán ni Awọ́nrìnsàn ni.	The cruel *òrìṣà*, the cruel *òrìṣà*.
Awonye òrìṣà tíí bura rẹ̀ sán wọ̀nyìnwọ̀nyìn.	The cruel *òrìṣà*, who bites himself in several places.
Ònílé ikú, máà jẹ́ kí nrí ọ nígbà tí o sòro.	The one who keeps death in his house, do not let me see you in a bad mood.

An Ògún Death Rite

The ritual burial of a professional hunter, including the disposal of some of his hunting equipment, is known as the *Èpà* ceremony. After the death of a hunter, his comrades go hunting and kill many animals, including without fail, a deer. Also needed for the ritual are: a male dog, a cock, a young dog, snails, eggs, chalk, camwood, black and white thread, white and brown kola-nuts, a new needle, a red tail feather of a parrot, *otútùopọ́n* beads (multi-coloured beads similar to those worn by Ifá priests), the hunting apparel of the deceased (coat, trousers or shorts, and cap), roasted yam, roasted plantain, roasted maize and beans, maize wine, the hunter's sheaf (for cutlass), the cutlass used in hunting, the knife used in cutting up animals, his hunting charms, the small pot in which he put maize-wine, the small gourd in which he put palm-oil, the cow tail which he used in the bush, white cloth, white *agbádá* dress, pounded yam, *ẹ̀kọ* (pap), *àmàlà* (made from yam flour), *ẹ̀kuru* (beans), *àkàrà* (bean cake), pigeons, a chicken, palm-leaves, *okùtẹ̀* (a pole of any type of wood—should be the same height as that of the dead hunter), an old mortar whose bottom is already punched out, palm-wine, food.

On the evening before the ceremony begins, all of the things needed for the ritual are placed in front of the hunters who have come from different places for this occasion. The ritual leaders collect ₦1.65 from the relatives of the deceased for performing the ceremony, and they ask for another ₦1.65k for entertaining the participants. Those in charge spend ₦1.65k for food and drink for the hunters of the town. Some of the latter are chosen to assist in the ceremonial.

The *okùtẹ̀* is planted in an open street, and the mortar is placed upside down on top of the pole. The hunters, holding pieces of cloth, form a circle around the pole to prevent non-members of the cult from seeing the ritual acts. A second piece of wood is tied to the upright pole, giving it the form of a cross. The pole is now dressed with the apparel of the deceased, and a parrot tail is attached to the cap placed atop the

pole. The *otútùọpọ́n* beads, as well as the needle threaded with black and white thread, are tied to the pole. Maize-wine is placed in front of the pole, and charms and a necklace of palm-leaves are fastened to the *okùtẹ̀*. Eggs, the head of the deer and those of other animals are put next to the *Ẹ̀pà* (pole). Some maize-wine is now poured on the *Ẹ̀pà* and brown and white kola-nuts are laid at the foot of the pole.

If the deceased has no issue, an unripe bunch of palm-fruit is placed in front of the pole. If he has children, they put a bunch of unripe bananas in the same position. A snail is put at the foot of the pole and the young dog is tied to the *okùtẹ̀*.

The pieces of cloth used to prevent others from seeing the procedure are removed to the accompaniment of this song:

Atótó! Arére!!	Silence! Silence!!
Kéléjì má fọ̀, kí gbá arájà má lu ara wọn.	Let no one talk, no utensil touch another.
Bàbáà mí da Ogún bo orí o	My father (the deceased hunter) has covered himself with Ògún's veil.
Akò rí ojú ọlọ́ràn mọ, igí dá!	We can never see his face again; what a pity!
Bàbáà mí lọ, bẹ́ẹ̀ ni nkò rí i.	My father is gone! I see him no more!
O di gbére! *O* di gbére nàkò!	Unless in a trance on the road, or in a dream,
O di àrìnnàkò, ó di ojú àlá fírí, ó tún di oko aláwo.	or when he appears on the *babaláwo's Ifá* board.
Bàbá kò dá mi lógún ọdún, kò dá mi lógbòn osù, Ọjọ́ títí gbọrọgbọrọ ló ti dami.	Father did not bid me farewell for twenty years, nor for thirty months, but forever.
Ọlọ́dẹ, lónlí lorò àbí lóla ni?	Hunter, is the ritual ceremony today or tomorrow?

The leader of the ceremony answers with this song:

Lónlí lorò, ẹ máa ṣé; ètùtù yíó gbà o.	The ritual is today. Carry on the ceremony; the offering will be accepted.
Lágbájá o, sáré wá, kí o wá gba ohun orò lọ́dọ̀ ọmọ.	Mr X (deceased hunter), hurry here to receive the ritual offering from your children.
Kó má wá yá gbàyí, wàràwàrà sipà ọdẹ.	Let everything move very fast now. The ritual of a hunter is celebrated very quickly. Let everything move very fast.
Kó yá gbàyí, wàràwàrà la sípa ọdẹ.	The ritual ceremony for a hunter is celebrated quickly.

Guns are now fired, and the hunters pay homage to their leaders by prostrating themselves before the ritual leader, saying that they have gone this far with the ceremony. Then they eat and drink. After feasting, the participants who know *Ẹ̀pà* hunting songs go near the *Ẹ̀pà* and chant:

Atótó! Arére!!	Silence! Silence!!
Keleji má fọ̀, kígbá arája má lura.	Let no one talk, allow no object to touch another.
Ègbodò ilé kò gbọdọ̀ ṣodó poro	Let there be no pounding of anything.
Ẹni tí nlọ̀gì kò gbọdọ̀ ṣọlọ ṣúkú ṣúkú.	I must not hear the sound of grinding stones.

Ọmọ kékeré kò gbọdọ̀ sọkún kí ngbọ́.	Let there be no crying of small children;
Kọlọmú ò fi ọmú bọ ọmọ rè lẹ́nu.	Let every mother breast-feed her child.
Akókò wáá tó, alágogo òyìnbó yío lù	It is now time for the important part of the ceremony.
A ṣe tán, a ò ṣorò, ọmọ ojo máa sá lọ.	We are prepared for the ritual, let the cowards run away.
Ọjọ́ kan ó le, ọjọ́ kan yíó dẹ̀.	One day will be rough,[59] another day will be smooth.
Asìkò tó, tí a ó ru òkú àgbẹ̀ bí ẹní ru ọpátun nínú oko.	It is a time when the dead bodies of farmers will be carried away like yam sticks.[60]
Amọ̀jí eléré o. Amọ̀jí èlè.	*Amọ̀jí eléré o. Amọ̀jì élé*
Oníbòrí má tẹ̀ ki àna.	One whose hunting cap[61] forbids him to bow down to his in-laws.
Adé bòrí-gba-oko-àna rẹ̀lọ.	One who wears his hunting cap when passing through his in-laws' fields.
Amọ̀jí èlè kìí ṣe orin ìgbàkúgbà.	*Àmọ̀jí èlè* is not a song usually sung.
Orin tí a nkọ tí a kò sùn tí a kò wo.	The song whose singing does not allow rest or leisure.
Orin tí a nkọ tí a kò gbọdọ̀ fi ojú ba orun	The song whose singing does not allow us to have any sleep.
Orin tí a nkọ tí a kò gbọdọ̀ rè [illegible] sí obìnrin ẹni pé kí o wáá gberin.	The song we cannot invite our wives to join in singing.
Amọ̀jí èlè, íbòrí tí a fi ṣe orò ọdẹ ní Morò, ni Mògún náà nì yí o.	*Amọ̀jí èlè,* this is the hunting cap which is used in the ritual.
Èrò wá wo ohun ọdẹ nṣe.	Passersby come round and watch what hunters are doing.
Odídẹrẹ́ fi ikó rẹ firì, ó gbe ìló rẹ̀ lọ sí igọ̀ arère.	A parrot flies suddenly and carries its tail-feathers to the top of *arère* tree.
Òní mo nre Ìwó Ọ̀la mo nre Wó	"Today I am going to Ìwó, tomorrow I am going to Ìwó."
Odídirẹ́ kò jẹ́ ki a mọ ibi Ìwó wà	A parrot does not allow us to know where Ìwó is.
Àmọ̀jí èlè, Amọ̀jí eléré.	*Amọ̀jí èlè, Amọ̀jí eléré.*
Íbòrí ọdẹ, abẹ́rẹ́ ọdẹ, otútùọpọ̀n ọdẹ, ìkódẹ ọdẹ tí a fi se orò ọdẹ náà mà nì yí o. Aràmọ̀jí ẹ́lẹ́	The hunter's hunting cap, the hunter's needle, the hunter's *otútùòpọ̀n* beads, the hunter's parrot tail-feathers which are used in the ritual-are here *Aràmọ̀jí èlè.*
Kò sí ènìyàn tí yíó fi ondẹ́ bọrùn afi ẹni ará bá nṣe, Amọ̀jí èlè.	No one wears an onde (charm) on his neck except those who are ill, *Amọ̀jí èlè*
Màrìwò ọ̀pẹ rọra ṣe o. Igbágó ṣe bẹ́ẹ̀ rí o, màrìwò ọ̀pẹ rọra ṣe.	New plam leaves, be careful in showing off (growing luxuriantly); dead palm leaves once did similar things. New palm leaves, be careful.[62]
Amọ̀jí èlè, òkutẹ̀ ọdẹ, màrìwò ọdẹ, òròmodíẹ ọdẹ, ondẹ́ ọrun ọdẹ, ti a fi ṣe orò ọdẹ náà mà ré o, Amọ̀jí èlè.	*Amọ̀jí èlè,* the hunter's pole, hunter's palm leaves, hunter's chick, hunter's *ondè* (charm) which are used for the ritual of a hunter are here, *Amọ̀jí èlè.*
Bàbá mí dé, fìkífìkì ẹkun, akọ òru.	**My father (the deceased hunter) has come, the strong leopard who does not fear the dead of night.**

Ọ̀tìtì, ami-ilú-wò-bí-òjò.	The powerful one who shakes the town like the powerful forces of a storm.
Alátiṣe afi-àrán-dá-ẹ̀wù-ogun.	Alátiṣe who uses velvet for his military uniform.
Arí-ṣòkòtò-pénpé-gbọ̀n-ẹẹni-ọ̀nà Ìkirè.	One who wears shorts on the wet roads of Ìkirè.
Bó bá gbó ma da miran si; ma da miran si.	If they are torn, he gets another pair; even when they are not torn he gets another pair.
Alájá, amú-òwè-mú-ọ̀bọ.	One who has dogs which kill *òwè* (animal) and monkeys.
Amọ̀jí Eléré o, Amọ̀jí èlè.	*Amọ̀jí eléré, Amọ̀jí èlè*
Odó ọdẹ, ajá ọdẹ, ṣòkòtò ọdẹ, ẹ̀wù ọdẹ tí a fi ṣe orò ọdẹ ní Moro ni Mògún o, Amọ̀jí èlè.	Hunter's mortar, dog, shorts, coat-which are used in the ritual-are here, *Amọ̀jí èlè*
Amọ̀jí èlè, Amọ̀jí eléré	*Amọ̀jí èlè, Amọ̀jí eléré.*
Gúgúrú bá mi dẹ̀gàn ó di ẹ̀sún pín.	When roasted maize grains are taken to the hunting jungle they become very valuable.
Ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ bá mi dẹ̀gàn, wọ́n á kan àga fún Afúnyinyin.	When plantains are taken to the hunting jungle they become very valuable and highly regarded.
Afúnyinyin làá pe ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀.	The white food is the name given to plantains.
Ogẹ̀dẹ̀ ni iṣu Adàwó. Ta ni ó gbé mi bonranin lọ?	Plantain is the yam of Adàwó. Who stole my plantains?
Amọ̀jí eléré. Amọ̀jí èlè	*Amọ̀jí eléré, Amọ̀jí èlè.*
Gúgúrú ọdẹ, ẹ̀ṣun iṣu ọdẹ tí a fi ṣe orò ni Morò, ni Mògún ré́é o, Amọ̀jí èlè.	Hunter's roasted maize grains, hunter's yams which are used in the ritual are here, *Amọ̀jí èlè.*

This song is repeated seven times. After the fourth repetition the deceased hunter is impersonated by one of the participants who wears a white ghost-like dress. At the end of each singing of the song, there is a booming of the guns (about one hundred guns). While singing, the participants dance round the *Ẹ̀pà*, and when the song is concluded, they take their seats. The drums used in this ritual include *bàtá*, *dùndún* (talking drum), and *àgèrè* (similar to *bàtá*).

When day breaks they consult *Ẹ̀pà* with kola-nuts and ask who among the children of the deceased or the relatives should carry the *Ẹ̀pà* to the crossroads. The carrier bears *Ẹ̀pà* to the crossroads without looking back while going or returning. At the crossroads a section of the bush is cleared. Each hunter ties a cowry shell to his left wrist with strips of new palm-leaves. Each takes a hoe and three times pulls some soil toward a mound of earth. Each hunter sings as he rakes the soil, and the others echo the song.

Kì í ro, kì í ye; arugbo ọdẹ kò roko o.	He does not till the ground, he does not till the ground; old hunters do not farm.

Following this part of the ceremony, the *Ẹ̀pà* is taken from the man carrying it and planted on the pile of earth. The pot containing maize-wine is broken, as are the gourd containing palm-oil, the dead hunter's gourd of charms, and his other possessions used in the ritual. Everything is broken with the hoe handle. One of the hunters hides in the bush and impersonates the deceased hunter. The latter is called three times and, after the third call, the impersonator answers. On hearing

the answer, the hunters fire at the *Èpà*. The young dog and the chick tied to the *Èpà* are killed with the bullets. *Èpà* is fired at until the pole falls down. Everything is then burned with the exception of the parrot tail feather which is given to the ceremonial leader.

After *Èpà* is taken from the man who carried it to the crossroads, he is asked to go home but he must wait at the original place where the pole was dressed and not enter the house until the others return. When they return, they break the snail, kill the pigeon and the cock, pour the blood in the hole (where the pole was planted earlier) and on the mortar. The pigeon's head and that of the cock are put in the hole. The male dog is pulled taut and its head is cut off; the blood is poured in the hole and on the mortar. The ceremony ends with the presentation of the dead dog, the cock, the pigeon and the white cloth to the leader of the hunters.

If a man was an active hunter for years, the ceremony is held even if he is not now a professional hunter.

ṢÀNPỌ̀NNÁ

ṢÀNPỌ̀NNÁ is an earth god who has come in recent years to be regarded almost exclusively as the smallpox deity.[63] Yoruba traditionalists visualize him a shot-tempered, cruel, and irascible, an *òrìṣà* who attacks people with mental illness as well as smallpox. One *babaláwo* attributed jurisdiction over all of the leaves and roots to Ṣànpọ̀nná, a domain usually regarded as belonging to Ọ̀sanyìn, and another *babaláwo* first said that Ṣànpọ̀nná is so powerful that he distributes babies to mothers after they have been moulded by Ọbàtálá. Later this man said that Ọbàtálá is responsible for moulding children and placing them in the uteruses of their mothers. When this discrepancy was pointed out to him, he commented that Ọbàtálá and Ṣànpọ̀nná work together.

Ṣànpọ̀nná's followers use him to injure others. In the rite employed to harm enemies, the Ṣànpọ̀nná emblem (a small carved wooden figure similar to an Ìbejì figure)[64] is rubbed first with camwood and pepper, then with *iná* and *èsìsì* leaves, and finally with hot ashes. Roasted maize and a cane which has been rubbed with pepper (*ọrẹ́ egúngún*) are placed in front of the emblem (*ọ̀gọ̀*), and bitter kola-nuts, alligator peppers and kola-nuts are chewed and spit on it. The enemy is named and Ṣànpọ̀nná is asked to injure him. On the seventh day, a hole is dug at a crossroad and everything used in the rite is buried there. Seven days later these objects are dug up and transferred to a river bank. The following day a young boy and a young girl are chosen and asked to visit the emblem every morning for seven days. People are told not to go to the river bank because Ṣànpọ̀nná is there. The two young people take roasted maize and yams to the site every day. It is said that anyone who meets them as they return home will be afflicted with mental illness. As they walk back they recite a verse in praise of Ṣànpọ̀nná

Àbàtà, Arú-bí-ewe Ajó	Àbàtà (Ṣànpònná) who flourishes luxuriantly like the leaves of the *ajó* tree.
Aję-igba-oògùn mákùú.	The one who takes poison but on whom poison has no effect.
Fáríorò, oní wọ̀wọ́-àdó, arumọ-lóògùn dànù.	Fáríorò, the one who has many tiny guards of medicine, and one who makes people's medicine ineffective.

O pa àjẹ́ méje kùkan	One who killed six of seven witches.
Ọrìṣà tíìjẹ apá àjẹ́ kù gongo.	The *òrìṣà* eats a witch's arm almost completely.
Má ṣe mí lu ẹ́nìyàn; má ṣe ẹ́nìyàn lù mí.	Do not tempt me against people, do not tempt people to do evil against me.
Ọ̀jẹ̀jẹ̀ tó sin ọmọ dé igbó èrù.	The fearsome one who guides people to a fearsome jungle.
O ba baálé jiyán ìgángán, ó pa ọmọ rẹ̀ síloro.	The one who dines with the head of a household and kills his host's son on the doorstep.
O ní bí a ba ṣe ni lóore, ọpẹ́ làá dù.	Ṣànpọ̀nnà said that one should show gratitude to a benefactor.
O ṣàánú ìyàwó, ó, pa ọkọ rẹ̀ tán, ó fi oríi rẹ̀ jóògùn.	He took pity on a wife, killed her husband and used his head in making medicine.

The boy and the girl who pay tribute to Ṣànpọ̀nnà must have their hair braided. (If they shave their heads, there will be trouble in the village.) It is thought that if they quarrel with anyone, get annoyed and hit themselves on the head to express their anger, the person who quarrelled with them will die of smallpox.

In another procedure for using Ṣànpọ̀nnà to attack others, palm-oil is boiled. After pepper is rubbed on Ṣànpọ̀nnà's emblem, the conjurer rubs palm-oil and shea-butter on his own body and then pours the boiling palm-oil on the emblem. It is claimed that when a breeze carries the heat coming out of the emblem after the oil has been poured on it, everyone will be attacked by smallpox. This technique can be used to destroy a whole village.

If Ṣànpọ̀nnà followers wish to utilize his services during the dry season, a large dog is sacrificed, as well as an *aṣa* (a fowl which has a peculiar feather arrangement), roasted maize, yams and plantains. Each of the latter items is mixed with palm-oil. Kola-nuts and alligator peppers are chewed and spit on Ṣànpọ̀nnà's emblem as this incantation is repeated.

Ọba Ẹ̀mitótó, ọba Ẹ̀milàre.	The lord of Ẹ̀mitótó, the lord of Ẹ̀milàre.
Ọba akólùúsìn, ọba akóniwáyé-wá-jayé.	The lord whom every citizen worships, the lord who brings people into the world to enjoy life.
Ọba Oní-Wọnwọjì, ọba Oni-Wàràmẹ́fún.	The lord of Wọnwọjì, the lord of Wàràmẹ́fún.
Ọba Ilé-Olọ́wá, ọba Abígbọngbọn	The lord of Ilé-Olọ́wá; the lord of Abígbọngbọn
Ọba Omírinpása, ọba òtọwọ́-bọjà-fa-ohun-rere-yọ-fúnni	The lord of Omírinpása, the lord who goes to the market (world) and brings good things out.
Ọba Ẹ̀mitótó làá pe Ifá.	The lord of Ẹ̀mitótó is the name we call Ifá.
Ọba Ẹ̀milàre láà pe Odù.	The lord of Ẹ̀milàre is the name we call Odù
Ọba akólùúsìn làá pe Ọgún.	Ogun is the lord whom every citizen worships.
Ọba akóni-waye-wa-jaye làá pe Ọrìṣàlá.	Ọrìṣàlá is the lord who brings people into the world to enjoy life.
Ọba Oní-Wọnwọjì làá pe Ọ̀sanyìn.	Ọ̀sanyìn is the lord of Wọnwọnjì.
Ọba Oní-Wàràmẹ́fún làá pe Ṣàngó	Lord of Wàràmẹ́fún is the name given to Ṣángó.

Ọba Ilé-Ọlọ́wá lorúkọ àá pe Ṣànpọ̀nná.	The lord of Ilé-Ọlọ́wá is the name given to you Ṣànpọ̀nná.
Ọba Abígbọngbọn lorúkọ àá pe àjẹ́.	Lord of Abígbọngbọn is the name given to the witch.
Ọba òtọwọ́-bọjà-fa-ohun-rere-yọ fúnni lorúkọ tí a npe élèdáa ọ̀run orí ẹni.	The lord who goes to the market (world) to bring out good things is one's *orì* (partner, luck, destiny).
Ìwọ, Ṣànpọ̀nná, iwọ lo fi àwọn òrìṣà ọ̀kànlé-ní-irúgba tí mbẹ lóde ìsálayé je oyè.	It is you Ṣànpọ̀nná, who installed all the two hundred and one *òrìṣà* who dwell in the world.
Wá fi ẹ́mi náà joyé lóde ìsálayé.	Please make me also a chief in this world.
Kí n rí je, kí n rí mu.	Provide me with all material well-being.
Ìdàkudà ni wèrè dálú; ìdàkudà ni kóo má lọ dà wọ́n wá.	Confusion is caused in a town by the mad; go and cause confusion in the town so that people will run to me for protection (that is, afflict them with illness-smallpox).
Àti obìrin àti ọkùnrin àti àgbà; ati onílé àti àlejò; kí wọn ó máa wá.	Both male and female, young and old, sons of the soil and strangers, let them rush to me.
Ẹsẹ̀ gìrìgìrì kìí dá láarín ọ̀nà.	Streets are never deserted.
Ẹni ipá mú kó máa wá; Ẹni gìrì mú kó máa wá	Let all of those who have lockjaw and convulsions come to me.
Ẹni orí ńfọ́, ẹni ínú úrun;	Let those who have headache and stomach-ache.
Aré tete ni kí wọn sá wá.	Let them hurry to me for treatment.
Ídàkudà ni wèrè ndálú.	Confusion is caused in a town by the mad.

Another formula for invoking Ṣànpọ̀nná's help calls for putting three roasted maize cobs, palm-oil, pebbles and sharpened needle-like sticks in a pot. The pot is then taken to a crossroads where Ṣànpọ̀nná is asked to attack Mr X and his household.

Ṣànpọ̀nná o, Alájogun o, Olúayé o	Ṣànpọ̀nná, Alájogun, Olúayé (other names for Ṣànpọ̀nná.
Wá lọ bá wọn jà níbi báyìí.	Go and punish them in..... (the name of the village or place is mentioned)

Still another technique begins with preparing an offering of cooked maize grains and palm-oil in a broken pot, and then saying over this offering the incantation just quoted. After this recitation, one prints an Ifá *odù* (Ọ̀wọ́nrín méjì) on a mixture of chalk and powdered camwood ground together. Going now to a crossroads, one rubs palm-wine on one's body and drinks some of the wine. The camwood and chalk powder on which the *odù* was printed is picked up as Ṣànpọ̀nná is called.

Ikán mọdi, sìkìtì modi	White ants build ant hills; They team up to build ant hills.
Ọlọ́ṣèṣẹ̀ ẹyẹ Ṣànpọ̀nná.	Ọlọ́ṣèṣẹ̀ is Ṣànpọ̀nná's bird.
Lágbájá, ọmọ Lágbájá, ọlọ́ṣèṣẹ̀ ẹyẹ re mọ́ ni.	Mr X, the son of Mr Z, is ọlọ́ṣèṣẹ̀, your bird.
Lọ rèé gbé e.	Go and take him.[65]
Máà jẹ́ ki ó lọ.	Do not allow him to escape.
Lọ mú u.	Go and take him.
Fi ẹfun mú u; fi osùn mú u;	Attack him with chalk and camwood.
Máà gba ìpèe rẹ̀.	Do not accept his plea.

The mixture of camwood and chalk is then blown toward Mr X, the victim. If Mr X or his relatives are wise, they too will make offerings to Ṣànpọ̀nná, saying: "This sacrifice is made to you for Mr X. Do not kill him, be mild with him, don't let him go to the river".[66]

Some Yoruba believe that if a victim of smallpox uses traditional medicine, or any medicine at all, the illness will be aggravated and may kill the patient. But if only palm-oil and mild, appeasing herbs are applied, the fury of the *òrìṣà* abates and the illness subsides. Also, it is thought that smallpox may not appear on the surface of the skin but may nevertheless affect the patient internally. Some hold that traditional medicine may so weaken the power of the disease that it is prevented from appearing on the skin.

Ṣànpọ̀nná's emblem and his shrine are located outside the village or town. Some worshippers, however, maintain a small shrine inside the house. Because of the fear of provoking him, other names used for Ṣànpọ̀nná include: Baba Àgbà, Ọbalúayé, Olóde, Alájogun, and Oníwọ̀wọ́ Àdó. Ṣànpọ̀nná's followers have often been suspected of spreading smallpox.[67]

The Annual Ceremony for Ṣànpọ̀nná

During the evening before the opening of the ceremony, Ṣànpọ̀nná's emblem is placed in water into which have been squeezed the following leaves: *ọ̀dúndún, tẹ̀tẹ̀, ìyeyè, àgbàdo, akòko, òsépòtu, ọgbọ́, rinrin, eèsún, ṣẹ̀jẹ̀, motiṣan, ewéjìn, gọ̀dọgbọ̀, omù ọ̀sun, gbẹ́gi,* and *ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ wéwé*. Palm-oil, shea-butter, and water from snails are added to the water. The priests give part of the water to people asking for protection and tell them to "wet their rooms" with it and to rub part of it on their bodies. Snails, rats, fish, shea-butter, kola-nuts, bitter kola-nuts, alligator peppers, a male goat, hens, maize, wine, eggs, roasted maize, ripe bananas, pounded yams, *ẹ̀kọ* (pap), *èkuru* (made from beans), and *ọ̀ọ̀lẹ̀* (bean cake) are offered to Ṣànpọ̀nnà on the first evening. Early the next morning the male goat is killed and its blood is poured on the shrine. Part of the pounded yam and some of the cooked meat is placed on the shrine as food for Ṣànpọ̀nná (one informant mentioned specifically that part of the liver, and tail of the goat are offered as a sacrifice). Palm-wine is also poured on the shrine, and prayers are addressed to Ṣànpọ̀nná.

The singing, dancing, drumming, and worshipping of Ṣànpọ̀nná continue for seven days. The food which was not placed on the shrine is eaten by the participants. Because it was widely believed that attacks of smallpox followed ceremonies for Ṣànpọ̀nná, open worship is now banned. Today worship is more or less secret and is carried on in houses or compounds. Formerly many people whose lineage *òrìṣà* is Ṣànpọ̀nná became possessed by the divinity during the annual ceremony.[68] With no drumming and no procession, spirit possession in a ritual for Ṣànpọ̀nná in Ibadan today is unusual. Perhaps five per cent of the worshippers become possessed now, but they are restrained by the others and given palm-oil and snail water to lessen the severity of their seizures.

Formerly the musical instruments used included the *dùndún, bẹ̀mbẹ́,* and *bàtá* drums, *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀*, and iron gongs similar to those used for Ọ̀rúnmìlà. Some Ṣànpọ̀nná priests wear red costumes and tie charms to these garments. Others wear no costumes, but tie

palm leaves to their clothing and to the shrine. Strings of cowry shells are sewed on the priest's cap. An *iyeyè* stick is driven into the ground near the shrine, and the cowry-shell cap is hung on it when the priest is not wearing it. (Informants compare the spots made by smallpox on the human skin with the crooked spots on the *iyeyè* tree and say that this is the tree of Ṣànpòṇná worshippers). A priest must mark his forehead with camwood and chalk. He must bathe daily during the ceremonial period and rub camwood on his body.

The following three prayers to Ṣànpòṇná are from Ibadan.

Ilẹ mo pẹ́ ọ́, Àbàtà mo pè ọ́.	Earth, I call on you; Swamp deity, I call on you.
Ọdún rẹ la wá ṣe	We gather here for your annual ceremony.
Máà jẹ́ kí a ri ikú, má jẹ́ kí a ri àrùn.	Save us from death and illness.
Máà jẹ́ kí a ríkú ọmọ, ikú aya, ikú ọkọ, títí di ọdún ti mbọ̀	Prevent the death of children, wives, and husbands until the next annual ceremony
Àgàn tí ò rí bí fun lómọ.	Give children to those who are infertile.
Kí aboyun ilé bí tibi tire.	Let those who are pregnant deliver with ease.
Kí òpó ilé kirí mólẹ̀.	Do not allow any evil to come to the household
Kí ẹṣin ọba ó jẹ oko.	Protect the king's household, even his horses.
Ọbalúayé jẹ́ kí mbímọ, kí o tó di ọdún tí mbọ̀.	Ọbalúayé, let me have children before the next annual ceremony.
To bá fún mi lómọ n ó wá fún ọ ní ewúrẹ́.	If you answer my prayer and give me children, I shall sacrifice a female goat to you.
Ọbalúayé, fún mi ní àláfíà kí ó tó di ọdún ti mbọ̀.	Ọbalúayé, let me regain good health before the next annual ceremony.
Jẹ́ kí n rí ilọsiwájú kí ó tó di ọdun tí mbọ̀.	Let me prosper before the next annual ceremony.
Jẹ́ kí nrí rere o, Ọbalúayé.	Let me have good fortune, Ọbalúayé.
Alujogun, gbà mí.	Alujogun, save me.
Má jẹ́ kí ará ilé mi rí ìbínú rẹ	Do not be annoyed with my relatives.
Má jẹ́ kí ọmọ mi rí ìjà rẹ.	Do not attack my children.
Má jẹ́ kí ọ̀rẹ́ mi rí ìjà rẹ.	Do not attack my friends.
Má jẹ́ kí nkan ṣe mí, má jẹ́ kí ó ṣe ọmọ mí o.	Protect me and my children from misfortune.

These six Ṣànpòṇná chants are from Ibadan.

Ẹbọ fín, Èrú dà.	Sacrifices are accepted; offering are received.[69]
Igún to gbẹbọ, Èrú dà.	Vulture has accepted the offerings; offerings are received evil forces have departed.
Àbàtà gbà mí o kí nmá daràn.	Swamp Deity, guard me so that I may not commit any crime.
Ẹni a ní níí gbani.	One expects succour from one's god.
(*Repeat several times.*)	(*Repeat several times.*)
Olórí ó dorí rẹ mú o.	Let every one hold his head.
Àwòdì òkè máà gbé mi lórí lọ.	Hawk, do not snatch away my head
(*Repeat several times.*)	

Àbàtà ẹni ó pe orí rẹ níbi, òfò lomi èfọ́ọ́ ṣe, òfò ni yío ṣe.	Swamp deity, any one who wishes you evil will be frustrated in life like the wasted water from vegetables.
Fáríorò, èmi ò pe orí rẹ níbi o	Fáríorò, I do not pray for evil things to befall you.
Àjíkí Olú, mo ki Ṣànpọ̀nná,	The lord who is hailed every morning, I hail you, Ṣànpọ̀nná.
Mo gba ọrẹ àárọ̀.	And I received early morning gift.
Ó fi èékánná ṣónṣó buyọ̀ sọ́bẹ̀.	He uses long nails to add salt to soup.

Three short praise verses for Ṣànpọ̀nná, two from Lalupon and one from Ibadan follow:

Gùdùgudu fàkẹ́réẹ́,	Gùdùgudu[70] crawls or spreads like whirlwind[71]
Adilgùn-mápá-jà.	One who wears charms on the arm to fight.
Ọbalúayé, ajàgì oògùn.	Ọbalúayé, one who has powerful medicine.
Oní-wọ̀wọ́-àdó.	One who has many tiny gourds of medicine.
Arumọ-lóògùn-dànù.	The powerful òrìṣà who makes people's medicine ineffective.

ỌSANYÌN

Ọ̀sanyìn, closely associated with Ọ̀rúnmìlà (see section on Ọ̀rúnmìlà in Chapter I), is believed to be in charge of all roots and leaves and to possess more knowledge than any other *òrìṣà* of the use of plant materials to cure illnesses. A priest in Ibadan said that Ọ̀sanyìn and Ṣànpọ̀nná are friends. Ọ̀sanyìn is described by Yoruba traditional religionist as impatient, cruel, and pompous. Like most of the *òrìṣà* Ọ̀sanyìn can be used for good or bad ends—to cure illness, especially sickness, caused by the witches, to ensure good health, and the birth of children, or to injure others. Some persons call on Ọ̀sanyìn to foretell the future.

A *babaláwo* in Ibadan who is an Ọ̀sanyìn priest, as well as a follower of Ìbejì, Ọ̀ṣun, and Olókun, claimed that Ọ̀sanyìn attends meetings held by the witches and that he is the real power behind the witches. Ọ̀sanyìn can appeal to the witches or force them to release a victim who has fallen into their power. This priest said that all curse methods need Ọ̀sanyìn's approval before they become effective, but this point was not mentioned by other informants.

Ọ̀sanyìn's emblem, always kept in one corner of the room, is a type of doll or puppet which a priest manipulates by means of ventriloquism. During a consultation with a client, the priest addressed questions to the emblem and the figure either whistles or speaks in return. In either case, the priest gives an interpretation of the reply.

The Annual Ceremony for Ọ̀sanyìn

Before the ceremony begins, the emblem is washed in water to which the following ingredients have been added: leaves (*iná*, *oyin*, *àràgbá*, *èsisì*, *tẹ̀tẹ̀*, *àtètèdáyé*, *pèrègún*, and *ìyeyè*), water from snails, palm oil, and shea-butter. On the following day, Ọ̀sanyìn's

emblem is placed on a white cloth which has been spread in one corner of the priest's house. Among the offerings are: alligator peppers, sixteen brown kola-nuts, snails, tortoise, a male goat, a female goat, a cock, a pigeon, roasted maize, *èkuru* (beans) and palm-oil. The animals mentioned constitute a minimum sacrifice, and a bull or a cow may also be offered. Kola-nuts are opened and spit on top of the divinity's emblem. Two kola-nuts are opened and thrown up; if two halves land face up and the other two are down, the participants say: "Éépà! Ọ̀sanyìn!!" (The offering is accepted.) A fowl or an animal is killed and its blood is poured on Ọ̀sanyín. Singing and dancing begin, and, eventually, some ten per cent of those present become possessed by the god. One priest said that those who become possessed do not tremble but they move about briskly in their usual manner, running and jumping. Unlike the practice in many of the other annual ceremonies, none of the cooked meat and other food is taken to Ọ̀sanyìn. The food is served to the guests of the priest conducting the ceremony.

As is the case with the ceremony for Ṣànpọ̀nná, the water which is used in washing the emblem is offered to people for dampening the floors of the houses. (This procedure is said to prevent a visit to a house by Ṣànpọ̀nná, that is, to prevent smallpox.) There is no procession during the rites for Ọ̀sanyìn, but on the third day a magical display is held in an open space where people can come and observe it. Some adepts punch their eyes with knives, others cut open their stomachs, and bring out their intestines, or they chew broken bottles and spit out pieces of glass, or slice their tongues or cause a piece of wood to jump, and so on.

The musical instruments used in a ceremony for Ọ̀sanyìn include *dùndún* and *bàtá* drums, rattles, and iron gongs. Ordinarily the ritual lasts seven days, with the same kinds of animal sacrifice on the seventh day as on the first.

All members of native medicine associations are notified of the date of an annual ceremony for Ọ̀sanyìn. The numbers of worshippers has declined sharply in recent years, as has the proportion of those attending who become possessed by this *òrìṣà*.

The first praise verse for Ọ̀sanyìn is from Lalupọn, the other three are from Ibadan.

Agbénígi, òròmọdlẹ abìdí ṣónṣó	One who is versed in the use of roots, one who has a sharp-pointed tail like that of a chick.
Eṣinṣin abẹdọ kínníkínní; Kọ̀ògọ egbòrò irin.	One who has a liver as crystal clear as a fly's; one who is as powerful as an iron rod.
Aképe nígbà ọ̀ràn kò sunwọ̀n	One to whom people appeal when things are bad.
Tíótió tín, o gba aṣọ ọ̀kùnrùn ta gìègìẹ̀.	The extremely slender one who in curing snatches the apparel of illness and moves as if he would fall.
Ẹlésẹ̀ kan ju ẹlésẹ̀ méjì lọ.	The one-legged man who is more powerful than those with two legs.
Aro abi-okó ilẹ̀lìẹ̀.	The weak one with a weak penis.
Ewé gbogbo kìkì oògùn.	One who turns all leaves into medicine.
Agbénijí, èsìsì kosùn.	Agbénijí, the deity who uses camwood.
Agogo nla ṣe eré agbára.	The large iron bell that produces powerful sounds.
O gbà wọ̀n là tán, wọ̀n dúpẹ̀ tènítènì.	The one to whom people give unreserved thanks, after he has saved them.

Ogba asọ ọkùnrùn ta glègiè	One who snatches the clothes of illness and staggers.
Ọkùnrin gbogbó, dá nkan dá nkan.	The powerful man who commits crimes.
Ẹlésè kan tí ó lé ẹlésè méjì sáré.	The one-legged man who puts two-legged men to flight.
Àrọ̀nì já sí kòtò di oògùn máyà.	Àrọ̀nì, who jumps into a pit with charms tied on his chest.
Ọkùnrin gbogbo, dá nkan dá nkan.	The powerful one who commits crimes.
Agúdúgbú-Ọjà, tíótió tó tẹnu mọ́ràn tí kíí se.	Agúdúgbú-Ọjà, one who remains firm on an issue.
Afínjú ọmọ tí ngbégun ilé.	The neat one who lives in a corner of a room.

The leader-chorus song and the brief offertorial chant were obtained in Ibadan

Leader: Fiwájá, Fèhìnjà.	Pluck leaves here, pluck leaves there.
Chorus: Ọmọ awo ni ṣoògùn.	It is the children of the healing cult that make medicine.
Leader: Ewé à jẹ́ oògùn á jẹ́.	Leaves will be effective; medicine will be effective.
Chorus: Ọmọ awo ni soògùn.	It is the children of the healing cult that make medicine.
Leader: Fọ̀túngún fòsìgún.	Pound (leaves and roots) with the right hand, pound with the left.
Chorus: Ọmọ awo ni sògùn.	It is the children of the healing cult that make medicine.
A wá rúbọ, ẹbọ dà nó o.	We make sacrifices and our sacrifices are accepted.
Àjà-Okoro-dùgbè	(Untranslatable expression signifying joyful mood.)

ÌBEJÌ

Ìbejì is said to be stubborn, troublesome, and cruel, a very difficult *òrìṣà* to please. According to oral tradition, when a woman gives birth to female twins, this *òrìṣà* will try to kill her unless she appeases him. If the twins are male, Ìbejì tries to kill the father. At the birth of twins, an Ìbejì shrine must be made near the small niche in the wall of the house where palm-oil is poured in honour of the lineage *òrìṣà*, and offerings to the god of twins must be made frequently. Ìf Ìbejì is not worshipped, it is said that the mother will see her twins in dreams. Ìf she fails to follow the trade specified for her by Ìbejì (selling palm-oil or cloth or begging in the streets), it is believed that the twins will become ill and eventually die. A dead twin or twins may punish the recalcitrant mother with illness or they may kill her.

If either twin falls ill, some of the palm-oil is taken from the shrine and rubbed on him. Villagers and city dwellers agree that this will cause him to recover. Ìf one of the twins dies, his relatives must not say that he died but rather that he has gone to the market to buy clothes. This will prevent the other twin from following him (dying). If a twin dies, the other may fall ill, so the parents have a statue made to represent the dead twin. This figure, which is rubbed with camwood (Ìbejì is believed to like

red camwood) and placed in the shrine room, is supposed to protect the living twin. In the view of some informants, this procedure will cause the dead child or children to be reincarnated. When something is bought for the living twin, a miniature must be bought for the dead one. For example, if a shirt is made for the living twin, a tiny shirt is made for the deceased twin.

Ìbejì can be used by devotees to avenge a wrong or to track down a thief. The simpler procedure consists of rubbing *àdí* (palm-kernel oil), which is forbidden to Ìbejì, pepper, and *èèsì* leaves on an Ìbejì figure and placing it in the sun. Ìbejì is then asked to injure the wrongdoer.[72] A more complicated formula calls for tying two Ìbejì figures together, mixing palm-kernel oil with pepper and rubbing the mixture on them. The figures are then placed on Èṣù's shrine and a special preparation of traditional medicine is put on top of Èṣù. The Ìbejì are told that if the wrongdoer is punished, a cock, *ẹ̀kuru* (made from beans), and snails will be offered to them. If the offender is not punished, the Ìbejì are told that they will not be removed from Èṣù's shrine. The wrongdoer may be killed by Ṣàngó or punished in some way. When the wrong has been avenged, the Ìbejì are taken from Èṣù's shrine, washed and rubbed with camwood, and presented with the promised offerings.

Ìbejì is worshipped by those who have given birth to twins and by twins, but the children of twins (if they are not twins) do not worship Ìbejì. One priest dissented from this view, saying that regardless of whether they are twins, children of twins, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and so forth, of twins, must worship Ìbejì. Triplets and quadruplets are regarded as peculiar children but statues are not made to represent a dead triplet or quadruplet, and their parents do not worship Ìbejì. In the case of triplets, one of them (*ato*) is said to be born carrying a cane and belongs to the Egúngùn cult, one is believed to be born carrying a bullroarer and belongs to the Orò cult, and the third belongs to his parents.

When a twin dies, a rat, a fish, an egg, white kola-nuts, brown kola-nuts, and an alligator pepper are tied together and buried with the twin to prevent the twin's relatives from becoming ill.

One traditional priest said he regards Ìbejì as an *òrìṣà* comparable to Ṣàngó and Ògún. Later, however, he remarked that Ìbejì means nothing more than the twins whom he considers to be supernatural beings, a kind of spirit. This seeming contradiction is not unlike that of those who say that a crocodile is kept simply as a pet and then add that it is an *òrìṣà*.

Ìbejì Annual Ceremony

The night before the ritual, the Ìbejì emblem is washed in water and leaves of plants growing in water. To the water and leaves, palm-oil, water from snails, and shea-butter are added. The juice of the leaves is squeezed into the water, and the leaves are used as a sponge in washing the emblem. (Later, in Ibadan, the water is poured on the bathroom floor so that everyone who bathes there will have good health.) The offerings collected for Ìbejì include some or all of the following: white kola-nuts, brown kola-nuts, *ẹ̀kọ* (pap), yams, *ọ̀ọ̀lẹ̀*, *ẹ̀kuru*, bananas, fruits, palm-oil, sugar cane, honey, *àádùn* (powdered maize) and the animal sacrifices (cocks, goats, and so forth). The kola-nuts are split into halves and offered to Ìbejì at the shrine with a prayer of this type:

Ìbejì, ọ̀rọ̀, Afẹmari.	Ìbejì, spirits, the one for whom people look in vain.
Winwin lójú orogún.	The frail ones in the eyes of their mother's co-wives.
Wọ̀wọ̀ lòjú lyá rẹ̀.	The robust ones in the eyes of their mother.
Dakun, dábọ̀, máà jẹ́kí a ríkú ọmọdé.	Please do not allow us to see the death of children
Máà jẹ́ kí a ríkú àgbà.	Do not allow us to see the death of adults.
Ẹni tí kò rí ọmọ, jẹ́ kí ó rí ọmọ.	Give children to those who have none.
Ẹni tí ó bí máà jẹ́ kí ó kú mọ lọ́wọ́.	Do not let those who have children lose them.
Máà jẹ́ kí a kú ikú òjijì.	Prevent us from meeting sudden death.
Ṣọ́ wa lóko, lódò àtí ní àárín ìgbẹ́.	Watch over us on the farm, on the river banks and in the bush.

If the offering is accepted, the participants dance and rejoice. The kola-nuts are cut into pieces and placed on the shrine with the food offerings, and some of the food is eaten. Practices with respect to the disposition of the blood of animals sacrificed on the first night vary from lineage to lineage. In one case, animals are sacrificed in pairs, but the blood is not poured on the Ibeji figures. Camwood is rubbed on the emblem, and the sacrificial blood is poured into a small container in front of the shrine. In another case, the blood of two fowls is poured on the shrine, and a third fowl is killed in the street as a sacrifice to Idowu, the child born after the twins. The next day the meat is cooked, as are the beans. The participants sing, dance and drum every day as long as the ceremony lasts. There is a procession but no spirit possession. The priest wears a new, white robe and white beads. *Bàtá*, *dùndún* and other types of drums are played, and a *sèkèrè* is used.

The first Ìbejì song is from Ìbadan, the other two chants are from Lalupọn.

Ẹdun ló ní kí n jó.	Edun (Ibeji) compels me to dance.
Èmi kò mà sọ pé n ó jó.	I have no wish to dance
Ẹdun ló ní kí n jó.	It is Edun who asks me to dance.
Èyílà, bíbẹ́ lẹdun íbẹ́.	Èyílà (Ìbejì) leaps about on the tree tops.
Ẹdun pẹ́lẹ́ngẹ́ orí igi.	The slender Ẹdun who lives on the top of trees.
Ọ̀kan ni mbá bí, èjí wọlé tọ̀ mí.	I want one child but twins enter my house.
Onínú rere ní bí Ẹdun.	It is the kind-hearted ones who give birth to twins.
Bùké mbẹ, àdò mbẹ.	There is *bùké* and there is *àdò*.[73]
Bùké mbẹ, àdò mbẹ.	There is *bùké* and there is *àdò*.
Ọmọ tuntun wáyé, oníye!	Children come into the world, *oníye*![74]
Ọmọ tuntun wáyé o wá kosùn.	Children come into the world and receive camwood.
Bùké mbẹ, àdò mbẹ	There is *bùké* and there is *àdò*.
Onibejì ló ni pẹkulẹ,	Mothers of twins have a monopoly on ostentation.
Oníbejì lo ni pẹkulẹ.	Mother of twins have a monopoly on ostentation.
Ase-ẹ̀wà-tà máà ṣe fáàrí	Those who sell beans should not deride those who sing and beg in the street.[75]
Ọlọ́run ló gbọ́n.	It is only God who is wise.

The two following verses in honour of Ìbejì are from Ibadan:

Ọ̀kánlàwọ́n, igbenìjù, erelú ọmọ	Ọ̀kánlàwọ́n, the noisy one of the forest, the peculiar child.
Mbá bi, mbá là	Had I given birth to twins, I would have been prosperous.
O fi ẹsẹ̀ méjèji bẹ́ sílé aláàkísà.	He (Ìbejì) jumps into the houses of the poor with both feet.
O sọ aláàkísà di aláṣọ.	He changes the poor into wealthy men.
Mo dáró igbá, nkò gbọ̀dọ̀ rẹ́.	I made a dye in a calabash but I must not use it
Mo dá ti ìkòkò nkò gbọ̀dọ̀ mùú	I made one in a pot but I must not use it.
Ọjọ́ ti mo dáro ilẹ̀ẹ̀lẹ̀,	On the day that I made one in an earthen pit,
Èmi ragbá, èmí ràwo, mo ra ìkòkò baba ìsasun.	I got enough money to do many things.
O ṣe ọ̀rẹ́ aláàkísà tímótímọ́.	He intimately befriends a tattered person.
Ọmọ́jọbí, ọmọ́ ko aláṣọ.	Ọmọ́jọbí, the one who enables a person to have many dresses.
Ìbejì, pẹ̀lẹ́ o, Èjìrẹ́ ará Ìṣokùn	Ìbejì, I hail you; Èjírẹ́ of Ìṣokùn.
Ẹdunjọbí, ẹdun ọmọ aké lórí igi	Ẹdùnjọbí (Ìbejí) who shouts in the treetops.
Awòdí òkè tíí gbá oju Ọlọ́run tàun	The hawk who clears the sky.
Ẹdúnjọbí ẹdun tíí gbá ori igi téfetéfe.	Ẹdùnjọbí who completely clears the treetops.
Ọ̀rẹ́ aláàkísà, ìyekán aláṣọ.	The friend of the poor and the relative of the rich.
Bú mi kí n bá ọ lọ ilé;	Abuse me (Ìbejí) and I shall follow you home;
Kì mí kí n padà léhìn rẹ.	Praise me and I shall depart from you.
Ẹdúnjọbí, Ẹdun ọmọ aké lóri igi	Ẹdúnjọbí who cries on the treetops.
Ọmọ́ kéhìn ò gba ègbọ́n.	The last born of whom is regarded as the senior twin.

ẸGBẸ́ (ELERÍKỌ)

Ẹgbẹ́'s main concern is children. She is reputed to afflict small children, and the parents of a child may be told to worship her. Ẹgbẹ́ attacks children while they sleep, but they do not die immediately. No one sees Ẹgbẹ́, but sometimes the effects of physical flogging are seen on a child's body. At times, Ẹgbẹ́ plays with children without anyone recognizing her presence. Despite her propensity for "worrying small children, she is capable of curing illness and of giving children to women who pray to her and worship her. If a client is told to give Ẹgbẹ́ her "calabash", he or she will buy a calabash, a sack, eggs, parrot feathers, sugar cane, honey *àádún* (ground maize) corn pap, and pounded yam. These things are put into the calabash, and it is put into the sack. Following the throwing of the calabash into a river, it is believed that the patient will recover.

Ẹgbẹ́'s emblem consists of small sticks (*ìsán*) similar to those for Egúngún, feathers of a parrot, feathers of a woodcock (*agbe* and *àlùkò*) and palm leaves. These objects are tied together with black and white thread, and the emblem is kept inside the house.

Ẹgbẹ́ Annual Ceremony

No objects are washed in water and leaves before the ceremony, but kola-nuts are dipped in water, as they are for any *òrìṣà*, before they are offered to Ẹgbẹ́. Offerings to

Ẹgbẹ́ include *ẹ̀kuru, ọ̀ọ̀lẹ̀, àkàrà,* sugar cane, hens, rats, fish, *àádùn* (ground maize) bananas, a male goat, white cloth, and maize or guinea wine. On the evening before the annual ceremony, Ẹgbẹ́'s followers sing, dance, and recite verses in her praise.

The animals and the fowls are killed and their blood is thrown on the shrine. Following the eating of the cooked meat and the rest of the food, the participants march around the town. Informants estimated that approximately one-twelfth of the major participants in an Ẹgbẹ́ ritual experience a mild kind of spirit possession. Although this *òrìṣà* is thought of as the female counterpart of Egúngún, Egbẹ́ is impersonated by men wearing costumes resembling women's dresses, and masks are worn. There are, however, women followers of Ẹgbẹ́. *bàtá* and *dùndún* (talking) drums are played, but no *agogo* (iron gongs), rattles or *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* are used.

The first Ẹgbẹ́ song is from Lalupọn, and is an appeal for children by women who have borne no children, and for more children by those who already have children.

Gbagèlè gba gèlè;	Please have a head-tie, please have a head-tie;
Gèlè la fi npọnmọ.	The head tie is used for tying children on our backs.
Mo mọ̀ le ṣọ̀ṣẹ̀ to ba dọrún o.	I can worship every fifth day.
Ìyá inú eèsún,	The mother (Ẹgbẹ́) who lives among the grasses.
Fún mi lọ́mọ tèmi	Give me my own children.
Mo le ṣọ̀ṣẹ̀ bo ba dọrún o.	I can worship every fifth day.

The second song is from Ibadan and is an appeal to Ẹgbẹ́ for children but for children who are not defective.

Ìyá, gbà mí, n ó rodò.	Mother, save me, I shall go to the river.[76]
Èmèrè ọmọ kó máà bá mi wálé.	Do not allow *emère*[77] to follow me home.
Ìyá, gbà mí, n ó rodò.	Mother, save me, I shall go to the river.
Àlùsì ọmọ kó máà bá mi wálé.	Do not allow an evil child to follow me nome.
Ìyá, gbà mí, n ó rodò.	Mother, save me, I shall go to the river.
Dìndìnrìn ọmọ kó máà bá mi wálé.	Let no foolish child follow me home.[78]
Olúgbọ́n lọ, ó fọmọ sáyé.	Olùgbọ́n died and left children in this world.
Arèsà lọ, ó mà fọmọ sáye.	Arèsà died and left children behind.
Olúkòyí lọ, ó mà fọmọ sáyé.	Olúkòyí died and left children behind.
Èmi kò ní lọ làifọmọ sáyé.	I shall not die without leaving children behind.
Èmi kò ní lọ lápàpàndodo.	I shall not die empty-handed

The following praise verse for Ẹgbẹ́ is from Ìbadan:

Ìyá Ẹgbẹ́, ọ̀gá ògo, ogo atélẹ́sìíntẹ̀lé.	Ẹgbẹ́, the gracious mother, one who is a sufficient support for those who worship her.
Gbàgọ̀ nínú àrán, ajíṣafẹ́, ó je ìrèké lóde Ọ̀yọ́.	One who wears velvet, the neat one who eats sugar-cane in the street of Ọyọ.
O fi owó gbogbo bẹ́ epo.	One who spends a lot of money on palm-oil.
Ajímáti, ajímarùn, O r'omi eku dara.	One who is always fresh and has plenty oil with which she performs wonders.[79]
Alówófújà ní ilé oróge ọlọ́rùn	One who has money for luxury, the beautiful
Ayílukọ bí owú, arówó rọ̀wọ́n.	One who falls on her husband like a heavy iron club.[80] One who has money to buy when things are dear.

EGÚNGÚN

Egúngún is the *òrìṣà* who symbolizes all of the dead ancestors of a lineage. Some *Egúngún* are fierce and cruel, carrying canes and beating one another and spectators in the streets during the time of the annual Egúngún ceremony. Other *Egúngún* are gentle and dance about the streets praying for people. It is thought that Egúngún can afflict human beings with mental illness, especially by causing them to see supernatural beings in dreams. An Ibadan priest who worships Ẹdan (an *òrìṣà* associated with the Ogbóni cult), Ọ̀ṣun, Ẹgbẹ́ and Egúngún, said that Egúngún is well versed in curse methods, sorcery, and other ways of using medicine to effect immediate results for good or evil. Informants reported appealing to Egúngún for children and for the curing of illness, both rather common reasons for seeking help from the *òrìṣà*. If there is a pestilence, for example, smallpox, or a large number of sudden deaths or a high rate of infant mortality in a village, offerings are given to Egúngún and the fury of the disaster subsides. If one is ill and an Ifá priest is consulted, one may be told that unless he has an *egúngún* he will not recover. An *egúngún* is then made by binding together approximately sixteen sticks (*igi àtòrì*) about two inches in diameter (part of the bark is removed in a spiral form), attaching to them a string of small beads of different colours, and tying the emblem with black and white thread. One or more cocks, and perhaps other animals, including goats, rats, fish, fowls, and snails are sacrificed to Egúngún and the name of the sick person is mentioned with plea that he be saved. *Agọ̀* clothes are then made for the *egúngún*, and it is said that "this is Mr X's *egúngún*". The *egúngún* appears (impersonated by someone wearing the agọ̀) every year. Some *egúngún* include a wooden mask which is attached to the *egúngún* clothes. (See plate).

At the site of the new shrine, the secrets concerning Egúngún are revealed to the novitiate by the leaders of the cult under an oath not to reveal them. The man then begins to learn the traditional medical formulas associated with Egúngún worship, protective medicines as well as those used in injuring others.

Egúngún's emblem is kept inside the house, and women must not enter the room where the shrine is located. Sometimes sacrifices are made to Egúngún in *ìgbàlẹ̀*, a special section of the bush set aside for his worship. An Ibadan informant in his late sixties who says that he was converted to Islam thirty years ago and who insists that that is his religion today, but who, nevertheless, participates in the worship of Ifá, Ògún, Ẹgbẹ́, Ọbàtálá, and Egúngún, called Egúngún the men's *òrìṣà*.[81] Despite the fact, he said, that women do not know the secret of Egúngún and although they are forbidden from entering the shrine room, they constitute the majority of those who follow certain *egúngún*. Some *egúngún*, for example, Olóòlù in Ìbadan, forbid the participation of women entirely. They must stay indoors while Olóòlù parades in the streets. It is believed that a woman who sees Olóòlù will not live until the time of the next annual ceremony. Women should not eat any of the meat placed in front of the shrine lest they become infertile.

Some Egúngùn worshippers believe that a sick child can be cured by stirring a cup of water with the *egúngún* emblem and giving it to the child to drink. Or they may ask Egúngún to come out from the shrine and cure the illness by rubbing the child with his costume.

Egúngún Annual Ceremony

The head of the Egúngún consults the Ọba about the date for the annual ceremony. All Egúngún worshippers perform the ritual during the same period. Before the ceremony, *àtòrì* branches and palm leaves are collected, and the branches are cut into nine parts. The priest puts the nine sticks, the tips of nine palm leaves, the tail feathers of a parrot, white kolanuts, brown kola-nuts, bitter kola-nuts, and alligator peppers on a piece of cotton wool, wraps these objects in this material and binds it with black and white thread. Then he chews the three kinds of kola-nuts and alligator peppers, spits on the bundle and rubs in this mixture. After the emblem has been kept in a white plate for three days, a bag of white cloth is made in which to keep it. During the morning of the day preceding the ceremony, *èkuru*, *ọ̀ọ̀lẹ́*, and *ẹ̀kọ* are made. White kola-nuts, brown kola nuts, bitter kola-nuts, and alligator peppers are taken to Egùngùn's shrine, and the Egúngún costumes are hung in a corner of the room. A cock, snails, and palm-oil are placed in front of the shrine, and the *egúngún* emblem is put on the ground beneath the costumes.

During the evening before the ceremony begins, cold water is poured on the shrine and a prayer is said.

Ilẹ, mo pè ó o.	Earth, I call on you.
Akísalẹ̀, mo pè ọ o.	Akísalẹ̀ (Egúngún), I call on you.
Etigbúre, mo pè ọ o.	Etígbúre, I call on you.
Àsà, mo pè ọ́ o.	Àsà, I call on you.
Etí were ni ti ẹ̀kúté ilé o.	House rats are very alert.
Àsùnmáparadà ni tigi àjà o.	Rafters never change their position.
Àgó kìí gbọ́ ekun ọmọ re kò máà tatí were.	Àgó (a species of rat) does not disregard the the cry of its young ones.
Àwa ọmọ rẹ ni a pé o; a wá láti ṣe ọdún rẹ.	We, your children, gather here for your annual ceremony.
Máà jẹ́ kí a pa ọdún jẹ;	Allow us to live so that we may perform your annual ceremony every year.
Máà jẹ́ kí ọdún ó pa àwa náà jẹ.	Do not let us die during the year.
Ọlọ́dún kìí pa ọdún rẹ̀ run.	Those who give annual offerings do not willingly abolish the practice.
Àkànnàmàgbò kìí pa ọdún esin run.	Àkànnàmàgbò[82] does not abolish its annual practice.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ikú ọmọ máà jẹ́ kí a rí ikú obìnrin	Prevent the death of children and wives.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ìjà ìgbóná.	Save us from the fury of the god of smallpox.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ìjà Ògún.	Save us from the fury of Ògún.
Lílé ni kí a máa lé si, máà jẹ́ kí a pẹ̀dín.	Let us multiply and increase.

After the prayer, two white kola-nuts and two brown kola-nuts are cut into halves and thrown. If four sections face down and four face up, the worshippers rejoice, saying that the sacrifice has been accepted. They then chew the white kola-nuts, the brown kola-nuts, the bitter kola-nuts, and the alligator peppers, and spit them on the emblem (*ọ̀pá ikú*). That night or the next day water from snails is thrown on the emblem and animals are sacrificed and their blood is poured on the shrine.

Practice varies with respect to the disposition of the meat. In one case, the slain animals are given to their individual owners to be cooked, with one of the hind

legs going to the head of the lineage. This man gives them money and prays for the others. In another case, the parts of the male goat and the ram-heads, tails, livers, and lungs are cooked, separately for each animal, and these parts are taken to the shrine. Then eight morsels of food (*ẹ̀kọ̀* and pounded yam) are placed in front of the emblem and the meat is put on top of the morsels. The meat is covered with another layer of food morsels and leaves. Maize-wine is poured on top of the pile. The celebrants and their guests eat the remaining food and meat. After they have eaten, the big pieces of meat on the shrine are removed and eaten, but the small pieces are not taken. The man impersonating Egúngún emerges from the shrine room wearing the costume and carrying a long cane, and talks in a queer voice. He is not possessed, but the uninitiated think that it is the voice of an ancestor.

Before Egúngún appears, someone goes out and calls him from a distance.

Àsà o! O ku ẹ̀mejì o.	Àsà (Egúngún) o! I shall call you two times more.
Tí ò bá jẹ́, o di ògbìgbì, o di òyo, o di àsè ẹ̀bá ọ̀na.	If you do not answer, you will be like an *ògbigbi* (a wild bird), *òyo* (a wild bird), and *àsè* (a wild bird) found along the road.
O di àpádi tí wọ̀n fi fọn iná.	You will be like a broken pot used in removing glowing charcoal.[83]

He calls Egúngún a second time and repeats the above lines, except the first line, and tells Egúngún that only one call remains:

Mo pe Olúgbọ́n, Olúgbọ́n je mi.	I called Olúgbọ́n, Olúgbọ́n answered me.
Mo pe Arẹ̀sà, Arẹ̀sà jẹ́ mi.	I called Arẹ̀sà, Arẹ̀sà answered my call.
Mo pe Olúkòyí, Olúkòyí mà jẹ́ mi o.	I called Olúkòyí, Olúkòyí answered my call.
Àsà tí o kò bá jẹ́, o di ògbìgbì, o di òyo.	Àsà, if you refuse to answer then you are *ògbìgbì*, you are *òyo*.

He calls Egúngún the third time and Egúngún answers: "Or! Orr!! Orrr!!"

With the coming of the answers, the drumming and the dancing begin. The head *egúngún*, followed by less important *egúngún*, worshippers and others, leads a procession through the streets of the village or city. Flogging is considered an essential part of the ceremony because it is believed that Egúngún enjoys watching beatings and that his support can be enlisted by humouring and entertaining him.

There is no spirit possession during an Egúngún ceremony. The drums used are *bàtá*, *gángan* (small drum), and talking drums. In some cases, rattles and *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* are shaken. On the seventh day, the kola-nuts are used to ask Egúngún what he desires as a final offering. He gives his demands, and after an offering is made, the ceremony ends.

The two songs and two verses for Egúngún which follow are from Ibadan.

Oníkòyí dòrùn, ó mú yanyan-yan.	Oníkòyí is like a scorching sun.
Enia bo ni lara o ju aṣọ lọ.	One who has people's support need not look for clothing.
Òkòkó! adiẹ bẹrẹ o nk'ọmọ yọyọ òkòkó.	Numerous! The followers of Egúngún are as numerous as chickens.

Òrífowómọ̀ mà nrelé, ara gbogbo kìkì oògùn.	Òrífowómọ̀ (Egúngún) is returning home, he ties charms on all parts of his body.
Àwa la leégún wa, àwa la ni òrìṣà wa.	We own our Egúngún, we own our *òrìṣà*.
Ori mi mà pín ire o, ọ̀ràn ayọ̀ à bá mi re ilé.	I have good luck; things of joy follow me home.
Èyìn mi ma mú pọnmọ, èyin mi.	I shall carry children on my back; yes, on my back.
A mà dé o, ọmọ orò.	We are here, children who know the secrets of the cult.
A gba ohun wa lọ́wọ́ wọn.	We take our rightful position among the cult groups.
É bá mi gbé imọlẹ̀.	Come round and hail *imọlẹ̀* (*òrìṣà*).
Òkè tere! Ma yà gbé e.	Acclaim him! I shall hail him.
Ma yà gbe, ma yà gbe.	I shall hail him, I shall hail him.
Imọlẹ̀, ọmọ olore.	*Imọlẹ̀*, the good and pleasant one,
E mà wá o! E wá o.	Gather round! Gather round!
Àbàlá, arágò-gbálẹ̀.	Àbàlá, who has a costume which sweeps the ground (as he walks).
Òkírímọ̀tì, abẹ́mọ sàn.	Òkírímọ̀tì, the one flogs with a cane.
Òfólúdà, òrìnrìn winnì.	The one who has a shining sword; the one who walks gracefully.
Okokolúà, ohùn ilẹ̀.	Okokolúà, the spokesman of the other world.
Amúgbó ṣelé, abà èhìn odi	The one whose shrine is in the bush a village behind the town wall.
Arọ́rọ̀ fínjú, òfófó ayé.	The one who sees everything, the talebearer of the world.
Ẹnu fere kúpe.	The great talker.
Egúngún, Àbàlá, ọmọ crè ní Apà.	Egúngún, Àbàlá, offspring of the python at Apà.
Ará òrun kìnkin,	The sacred one from heaven,
Òrìṣà òun aṣọ rẹ̀ méjì.	Òrìṣà and his costume-two in one.
Òrìṣà tí a nji tí anfi obì kàn	Òrìṣà, to whom we offer kola-nuts every morning.
Ti ọmọ araiye nfi oju di.	But whom some people treat with levity
Ó na mọ ní lágbà namọ níto.	The òrìṣà who canes people with sticks.
Oba jigijigi, ọba jòmì jomi.	The powerful, strong lord.
Àbàlá, máà jé kí nṣè ọ́ o, ọmọ erè ni Apà.	Àbàlá do not let me offend you, Àbàlá, offspring of the python at Apà
Àbàlá, pelé o, bá-ọlọ́mọ wá bí kò ríbí.	Àbàlá, I hail you, one who gives children to those who have none.
Ará òrun kìnkin,	The sacred one from heaven;
Òrìṣà oùn aṣọ rẹ̀ méjì.	Òrìṣà and his costume-two in one.

This prayer is said in connection with the kola-nut offering at the end of the Egúngún annual ceremony.

Egúngún, obì ti Lágbájá nìyí o.	Egúngún, this is the kola nut offering of Mr X.
Máà jé kí ó kú, máà jé kí ó rùn.	Protect him from death, protect him from illness.
Jé kí ó ṣe ti ọdùn tí ó mbọ̀ o.	Let him make his offerings to you next year.

ORÒ

Like Egúngún, Orò is thought of as a men's *òrìṣà*. He is said to dislike the company of women, and women are not allowed to become members of the Orò cult. Women can hear the voice of Orò, but they must never see him. If a recalcitrant woman looks at Orò, members of the cult kill her by sorcery and say that Orò killed her. None of the food which is offered to Orò as a sacrifice must be eaten by women. Most ceremonial leaders maintain that Orò is cruel, but one informant characterized him as calm and peaceful. Orò can bring good fortune to a town by frightening or destroying evil doers (evil spirits, witches and other malevolent persons). Orò may be appealed to if there is an epidemic in a town, or, if a woman is barren, she may worship Orò in order to have children. Although women are not allowed to participate in Orò worship, one who is advised to make sacrifices to him asks her husband and male relatives to present the offerings in her behalf. Orò has the power to prevent *àbíkú* children from dying, and he may be asked to protect one's property. According to tradition, capital punishment in the pre-colonial period was handled by the Orò cult. The offender was taken to Orò's bush and killed, but the belief was that Orò had killed him. Formerly, Orò worshippers buried persons whose deaths were peculiar, for example, a woman who died during delivery or a man killed by a falling tree.

It is thought that Orò hates witches and an Orò priest uses an *orò* stick to prevent them from causing havoc. The *orò*, a piece of iron or wood, preferably *ọ̀bọ̀* wood, about five or six inches long with a hole punched in one end of it, is carefully prepared with roots and leaves. It is tied to a string and the string is fastened to a stick. When whirled it makes a whistling noise. Since witchbirds must not see, smell, or eat *ọ̀bọ̀* wood, the witchbirds inside the witches die when *orò* is used, and the witches also die. Or Orò may be asked to destroy the trees which harbour witchbirds. Other evil doers may be driven mad by the sound of *orò*.

The whirling device is kept at home, but Orò's shrine is always in the bush. In some large towns, a temple is built for Orò. Women must not go near Orò's bush. A *pèrègún* tree is planted in the shrine area and earth is heaped up around the tree. Orò is worshipped only at night.

As we point out elsewhere in this study, beliefs about the witches have changed somewhat in recent years but concern about witchcraft has by no means disappeared. This does not mean that the Orò cult has not declined in importance nor that the use of the *orò* stick is as common as it was in former years.

Orò Annual Ceremony

In the Orò bush some of the offerings are placed in front of Orò's emblem, a piece of iron shaped like the wooden bull-roarer. Among these materials are *àṣáró*, *ègbo*, *èkuru*, pap, a lamb, *èwó*, roasted plantain, palm-oil and salt. A cock is then killed and its blood and palm-oil are rubbed on the emblem, followed by the killing of a ram and a dog and the pouring of their blood on the *orò*. After these sacrifices have been made, the priest chews alligator peppers and kola-nuts and spits on the emblem. One man strikes the ground with a new palm leaf and calls on Orò—"Ita O." He does this three times, and on two occasions the call is answered by the whistling device. An Orò song follows with one or two people holding up mortar sticks.

Èké nwo Orò,	The treacherous ones are watching Orò.
Konko nwo Orò.	The hardened ones (by use of native medicine) are watching Orò.
Bí obìrín fi ojú ba Orò, Oro yio gbe e lọ.	If women look at Orò, Orò will carry them away.
Àjẹ́ nwo Orò	The witches are looking at Orò,
Ìdòwú nwo Orò.	Ìdòwú (the child born after twins) is looking at Orò.
Kéhìndé nwo Orò.	Kéhìndé (one of the twins) is looking at Orò
Táiyé nwo Orò.	Táiyé (the other twin) is looking at Orò.
Àlàbá nwo Orò.	Àlàbá (second child after twins) is looking at Orò.
Konko nwo Orò.	The hardened ones are looking at Orò.

Some of the participants beat the ground with the mortar sticks and dance to the song. As the bull-roarer is whirled, the men shout abusive words about known offenders, thieves and others, in the village or town. Worshippers may make sacrifices to their *orí* and to the *orí* of their parents. Before returning from the bush or temple they eat the food that has been offered to Orò. At the end of the ceremony the participants may dance around the village waving the whistling *orò*.

In addition to beating the ground with mortar sticks, two flat sticks are slapped together, and, sometimes, an *obete* drum, similar to the *ìpèsè* used in Ifá rituals, is played, and there may be some hand-clapping. No costume or mask is worn at the annual Orò ceremony, and there is no spirit possession. An annual ritual may last as long as nine days, with the *orò* sounding every night.

These two Orò songs are from Ibadan.

Làgbàlàgbà nígbó Ọwá.	The strong *òrìṣà* who lives in Ọwa's bush.
Ẹni tí ó bá purọ́ kò ní bímọ ye.	The liar will not have children.
Épà! Lórò lórò la bí wa o.	Épà! We are born into Orò worship.
Oro o o o! Baba o o o!	Orò o o o! Papa o o o!
Yìnmíyìnmí gbinkin.	The terrible one who makes a frightening noise
Ọ̀gọ̀gòrumọ̀rumọ̀	One who glorifies himself in the midst of palm-leaves.
Orumọ̀ láyé, ó rumọ̀ lọ́run.	He wears palm-leaves on earth and in heaven.
Ọmọ tuntun abi-ọwọ́ pínnípín.	The small child who has a fine hand.
Làgbàlàgbà nínú igbó ọ̀wá.	The troublesome one of the palm groves.
Ẹní kunlé kò ní bímo yè.	Those who burn down houses will never have children.
Baba wa ló lorò.	Orò belongs to our father.

The following three praise verses for Orò are also from Ibadan.

Ẏìnmíyìnmí gbinkin.	The terrible *òrìṣà* who makes a frightening noise.
Ọ̀gọ̀gọ̀ rumọ̀rumọ̀.	One who glorifies himself in the midst of palm-leaves.
Òrumọ̀ láyé, òrumọ̀ lọ́run.	He wears palm-leaves on earth and in heaven.
Alántakùn abirun yantara.	A spider-like creature with little or no hair.
Orò o o o.	Orò o o o!

Orò, pẹ̀lẹ́ o! Àjàká òkò.	Orò, greetings! The one who throws stones about.
Ìta Otutu, ọlọ́pón owó.	Ìtá (Orò) Òtútù who has a wooden money vessel.
Agbé-èké bí ẹní gbé jìgá.	One who captures a liar as a jigger is removed from the toe.
Íta àjíkí, olóde àbọ̀bá.	Íta who is saluted every morning, the owner of the street whom people must honor.
Orò pagi máà sẹ.	One who destroys trees and does not deny doing so.
Orò ọmọ Ilémú.	Orò offspring of Ilémú.

Special Ritual in Honour of a Deceased Orò Priest

After the burial of an Orò priest, it is believed that Orò must destroy trees in his honour. The supplies needed for this special ritual include a dog, a cock, a ram, a male goat, a turtle, a snail, a rat, a fish, palm-oil, shea-butter, maize-wine, white and brown kola-nuts, some of the foods used in an annual Orò ceremony, and about ten yards of white cloth. The cloth is sewed into a costume similar to the Egúngún costume, and the man who wears this robe climbs a tall tree and ties about three yards of the material on it. While this participant, holding a cutlass, is on the tree, others make sacrifices of kola-nuts and the animals, at the foot of the tree. Then they call on the deceased priest and say:

Orò tí a ṣe fún Olúgbọ̀n ni àwọn ọmọ rẹ wá ṣe fún ọ yí o	The ritual performed for Olúgbọ̀n[84] is hereby performed for you by your children.
Orò ti a ṣe fún Arèṣà ni àwọn ọmọ rẹ wá ṣe fún ọ yí o.	The ritual performed for Arèṣà[84] is hereby performed for you by your children.
Máà jẹ́ kí wọn ó kú, máà jẹ́ kí kí wọn ó rùn.	Protect them from death and illness.
Máà jẹ́ kí wọn ò rí àkúfà.	Do not allow them to follow you to the place of death.

One of the participants strikes the tree with a palm leaf and says that if the ritual is accepted all of the branches of the tree will fall down. While another man whirls the bull-roarer, the one who climbed the tree cuts off its branches. The others dance and sing this song:

Baba nje igi o, o nje igi pẹ̀rẹ̀.	The father is destroying a tree, he is destroying a tree steadily.
Baba nje igi o, o nje igi pẹ̀rẹ̀.	The father is destroying a tree, he is destroying a tree steadily.
Baba wa ló ni Orò, òrìṣà wa ni Orò.	Our father owns Orò, Orò is our *òrìṣà*
Baba nje igi o, o nje igi pẹ̀rẹ̀.	The father is destroying a tree, he is destroying a tree steadily.

The heads of the sacrificed animals are buried in front of the tree, and the other parts are eaten by the worshippers. On the last day, the ceremony is concluded by removing the white cloth tied around the tree.

ÒKÈBÀDÀN

The outstanding personal characteristics of Òkèbàdàn, town deity of Ibadan, are said to be gentleness and kindness, and he is believed to be especially devoted to women and children. According to the mythology about her, she has sixteen breasts with which to feed children. In the past, she prevented intertribal wars from destroying Ìbàdàn, and it is claimed that she now prevents evil spirits and pestilence from descending on the city. Her followers, both those who have children and those who have none, pray to her for children. Some informants say that it may appear that traditional priests, Muslim priests, or Aladura prophets are foretelling an impending danger, but in actuality it is Òkèbàdàn going about the city in the forms of these people shouting warnings.

The emblem of Òkèbàdàn is a huge stone larger than a house, located in the bush on top of a hill about four miles from Ìbàdàn. A clay pot resembling a woman stands in front of the stone. Water taken from this vessel is used in curing illness, infertility, *àbíkú* trouble, and other misfortunes. A few worshippers keep small Òkèbàdàn shrines outside their houses.

Okebadan Annual Ceremony

According to tradition, no smoke should be visible on the day of the annual ceremony, that is, no one should build a fire. Preceding the annual ritual, leaves and water are used to wash the small, smooth white stones that symbolize Òkèbàdàn. The Ọba of Ìbàdàn is supposed to provide 200 snails, 200 pigeons, 200 fowls, 200 guinea fowls, and one cow for the ritual. He gives these offerings, as well as money, to the priest of the Òkèbàdàn cult, and the priest adds palm-oil, shea-butter, rats, fish, kola-nuts, a female goat, beans, maize-wine, and guinea corn wine. All of the offerings are taken to the shrine, where sacrifices are made and the blood of the animals is poured on the symbol of Òkèbàdàn. Then the priest leads a procession to the city, and many of the inhabitants, in contrast to the few worshippers who journeyed to the shrine, take part in the drumming, dancing, singing, and feasting. The participants include Muslims, Christians, and *òrìṣà* followers. During the evening before the ceremony, young people go about the streets making humorous remarks and telling jokes.

On the day of the ceremony, the priest of Òkèbàdàn wears a woman's dress, necklace, earrings, and head-tie, and, on this occasion, braids his hair.

Bàtá, gángan, and talking drums, as well as the *sẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* are used in Òkèbàdàn's ritual. A few of the worshippers, including the priest, become possessed by the divinity.

An example of an opening prayer at the annual ceremony for Òkèbàdàn follows:

Òkè, pèlé o, Àtàgé ọlọ́mú orù.	Òkè, I hail you; Àtàgé, the one who has large breasts
Ó wo ọmọ, wo ìyá	The one who takes care of the children and takes care of the mothers
Ó wo bàbá, wo ọmọ	The one who takes care of the fathers and takes care of the children
Òkè gbà mí o, ọlọ́mù orù	Òkè, save me; Òkè, the one with large breasts

Máà jẹ́ kí tèmi ó sòro ṣe	Do not make my problems insoluble
Àképè níjọ́ tí ọ̀ràn kò sunwọ̀n.	Òkè, to whom people pray in troubled times.
Omi rere nílé ẹni tí ó ntọ́jú.	One who frequents the house of those who worship.
Òkè, dá kun, gbà mi.	Òkè, please save me.
Ẹni ó ké màgbà làa gbà.	One who asks for, succour is always saved.
Òkè, gbà mi, ñ ó sìn ọ́.	Òkè, save me, I shall worship you.

Another Òkèbàdàn prayer.

Òkè 'bàdàn jẹ́ kí èmí Ọba tí ó fi gbogbo ohun tí a fi bọ ọ́ silẹ̀ gùn o.	Òkèbàdàn, give long life to the *Ọba* who supplied us with things we sacrificed to you.
Kí ìlú rẹ̀ má bàjẹ́.	Let there be no disaster in his town.
Kí ìlú rẹ̀ yí tòrò bí omi tí a fi àárọ̀ pọ̀n.	Let there be peace.
Òkèbàdàn, fun wa lọ́mọ àgbéjó kalẹ̀ o.	Òkèbadàn, give us children who will live long.

An Òkèbàdàn ritual may conclude with a song and a prayer of the following types:

Olówó lágbàlú.	The wealthy influential one of the town.
Ẹ bá mi gbọ́mọ Òkè làntìlanti.	Help, carry the robust children of Òkè.
Ẹ bá mi gbọ́mọ Òkè kùlúbú kùlúbú.	Help, carry the plump children of Òkè.
Ẹ bá mi gbọ́mọ Òkè làntìlanti	Help, carry the robust children of Òké.
Ọmọ Òké dún ún bí.	It is easy to have children through Òkè.
Bí a bá bí láarọ̀ á rín lálẹ́;	If they are delivered in the morning they walk in the evening.
Abí ọmọ pọ̀nkìti.	The one who has robust children.
Jẹ́ kí a ṣe àmọ́dún.	Let us witness the next annual ceremony.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ikú ọmọ.	Prevent the death of children.
Máà jẹ́ kí a ri ikú ọkọ.	Prevent the death of husbands.
Máà jẹ́ kí a rí ikú aya.	Prevent the death of wives.
Kí á máà kú iku oró.	May we not die painful deaths.
Kí á máà sùn lágbàrá èjẹ̀.	May we not die bloody deaths.
Ẹni tí kò ti bímọ jẹ́ kí ó bí o.	Give children to those who have none.

ỌBALÓGUN

According to Lalupọn mythology, Ọbága (a mythical being—not an *òrìṣà*) was not born but descended to the earth to found the town of Lalupọn. Ọbága brought Ọbalógun from heaven to earth; Ọbalógun is not known elsewhere. Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n is an *òrìṣà* who is a slave of Ọbalógun.

Ọbalógun's followers think of him as kindhearted and confident. They believe that in the past he protected the people in time of war and that he now gives warnings of pestilence and other imminent dangers, advising them what to do to avert misfortune. He is said to make it possible for the population of the village to increase rapidly. In addition to Ọbalógun's temple, there is a shrine in the priest's house.

Wet Season Ceremony for Ọbalógun

There are two ceremonies for Ọbalógun each year. The wet season ceremony, held in August or September, begins with the women participants marching around the village, singing and collecting yams which they cook in the market place. Still singing, the women, accompanied by a *dùndún* drummer, take the pounded yam to Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n. Presenting the offering to Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n, they sing:

Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n, torií rẹ la fi la pópó;	Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n, we made the wide road for you;
Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n, Àgànná, abi-enu bobo bí òkélé èkuru.	Ọmọ́sunwọ̀n, Àgànná, whose mouth is as wide as the *èkuru* morsel.

No one eats any of the pounded yam because Ọbalógun is believed to eat nothing but *ọ̀sùn* (a vegetable). There is no animal sacrifice, no use of blood, and no spirit possession. A favourite praise verse for Ọbalógun is:

Òkànràn ni tẹkun, akaka lówo.	One who is as fierce as a leopard, as dangerous as an animal with powerful horns.
Ọdẹ wọjù ó pa ẹran jẹ.	The hunter enters the wilderness and kills animals for food.
Ọdẹ wọjù o dìlú	The hunter enters the wilderness into a large settlement.

Although Ọbalógun is the village *òrìṣà*, the attendance today at the wet season ceremony is quite small. Those who still follow Ọbalógun are not supposed to go to the farm to work on the day of his ceremony.

Dry Season Ceremony for Ọbalógun

If the villagers are slow in arranging for the annual hunting expedition, bush animals begin to enter the village. A date is set for the dry season ceremony, and all of the men of the village, whether or not they are hunters, and including Christians and Muslims, go hunting on that day. Even boys of twelve and thirteen go on the expedition. Women of the village carry water and roasted grain to the hunters. Deer, fox, bush fowl, rats, snakes, hare, leopards, and other animals are hunted. The animals are divided and given to the chiefs, the priests of Ọbalógun, and the Baálẹ̀ (head chief). These people have the meat cooked and then bring it and other food to the Baálẹ̀'s house. Those who hunted on the previous day now gather to eat and drink. Anyone who wishes to attend the feast may come, even visitors from other villages. A priest, taking part of the meat he has cooked to Ọbalógun's shrine as an offering, prays for protection against pestilence, supernatural forces and evil occurrences.

The weapons used during the hunt include guns, cutlasses and clubs. Some of the hunters are stationed at one end of the bush while others enter at the other end and drive the animals towards those who do the killing.

ẸDAN

Ẹdan, a goddess symbolizing the earth, is described as a quiet and gentle *òrìṣà* who hates liars and wicked people. It is believed that all of the *òrìṣà*, including Ọ̀rúnmìlà (who descended from heaven), are controlled to some extent by Ẹdan because they were created after the earth was formed. It is claimed that a person who breaks an oath taken in the name of Ẹdan will swell up and die or be afflicted with extreme poverty. Ẹdan is used especially to protect people against witches, sorcery and all evil spirits. A petitioner takes three kola-nuts with four quarters each and pray before Ẹdan.

Ẹdan máà jẹ́ kí apá oṣó ó ká mi.	Ẹdan, prevent *oṣó* (wizards) from harming me.
Máà jẹ́ kí apá àjẹ́ ó ká mi.	Prevent witches from harming me.
Máà jẹ́ kí ohun búburú kankan dé ọ̀dọ̀ mi.	Do not allow any evil forces to come near me.

Ẹdan's shrine is located inside an *ilédì*, a building erected by members of the Ògbóni cult for their meetings, or inside the Olúwo's house (head of the Ògbóni cult) or in the house of the Apènà, a cult officer. The emblem of the Ògbóni cult consists of a male figure and a female figure fastened to each end of a chain, all made of brass.

Ẹdan Annual Ceremony

The emblem of Ẹdan is washed in leaves and water before the ritual. Early in the morning, the emblem is touched with water from snails and shea-butter. If other animals are killed during the ceremony, they are slaughtered in the street and no use is made of their blood. Any type of food may be cooked and any kind of animal may be killed for this ritual. Part of the meat and the food is placed in front of the emblem; the rest is eaten by the participants. During the night, the bowl of food is put in the street. If the offering is still there the following morning, the sacrifice is believed to be unacceptable and kola-nuts are used to ask the *òrìṣà* what other things should be done to make it acceptable.

There are no costumes or masks, and no dancing or spirit possession in this ceremony. The drum played is the *ágbá* (a drum the size of a metal oil drum but made of wood and covered with *agogo*—iron gongs). Only members of the Ògbóni cult attend this ritual.

These two Ẹdan songs are from Ibadan.

Àti ẹiyẹlé ati àdàbà kò sí eyiti ó mọ ibi ìyá wà.	Neither the pigeon nor the dove knows where the mother (Ẹdan) lives.[85]
Ìgbín nikan lo mọ ibi ìyá wà.	It is the snail alone who knows where the mother dwells.
Ìyá ṣe mí lóore; mo dúpẹ́.	Mother gave me help; I give thanks.
Ìyá fún mi lọ́mọ; mo dúpẹ́.	Mother gave me children; I give thanks.
Ìyá fún mi lówó; mo dúpẹ́.	Mother gave me money; I give thanks.
Ìyá fún mi lálàfíà; mo dúpẹ́.	Mother gave me good health; I give thanks.

This verse is said in honour of Ẹdan in an annual ceremony in Ibadan.

Ẹdan òlóló, Abẹ́ní Adé.	Ẹdan, the gentle one, Àbẹ́ní Ade.[86]
Etígbúre,	The one who hears good tidings,
Ọrọ̀ tíí pa ìgbín bọ orí rẹ̀ ní kùtùkùtù.	The spirit that sacrifices snails to its orí[87] early in the morning.
Òfù, apa ọ̀dàlẹ̀ tú é.	Òfù (Ẹdan) who kills with ease the breaker of an oath.
Ẹdan máà pa mi nkò dalẹ̀ o.	Ẹdan, do not kill me, I am not a breaker of an oath.

The following song is sung at a burial rite for a member of the Ẹdan cult in Ibadan.

A ó bèrè o, a ó bèrè ikú tò pa ọmọ awo a ó bèrè.	We shall inquire, we shall find out the cause of the death of a cult member; we shall find out.
Ìyá yíó bèrè, ìyá yíó bèrè ikú tó pa ọmọ Ẹdan; ìyá yíó bèrè.	Mother will inquire, Mother will find out the cause of the death of Ẹdan's child; Mother will find out.
Bí ó bá ṣe àjẹ́ ló pa ọmọ Ẹdan ilẹ̀ ló dà.	If a witch killed Ẹdan's child, she has broken an oath.

THE ÒGBÓNI CULT

See p. 149ff. The nature of the Ògbóni cult and of the Reformed Ògbóni Fraternity (R.O.F.) is discussed in Chapter V of this work. At this point we are concerned mainly with beliefs and ceremonies of the Ògbóni cult in the Ibadan area obtained through interviews with members of the cult and direct observation in Ibadan and in Ikire.[88]

The old Ògbóni cult members worship the earth, believing that it is superior in power to any *òrìṣà*. They say that the earth can swallow human beings, and they stress that since everyone returns to the earth at last, one should not break an oath taken in its name. The earth is regarded as the source of life and is worshipped as the senior of the three great elemental forces: earth, water and sky.

The educated elite who are affiliated with Ògbóni tend to belong to the R.O.F., but some middle-class persons are members of the A.O.F. There is no enmity, or even rivalry, between the two types of Ògbóni. Separate meetings are held by each branch of the A.O.F., but occasionally there are general meetings for all members of this type of Ògbóni. My informants do not know how many members of the Ògbóni cult there are in the city of Ibadan, but they estimate that there are ten or twelve groups with a total membership of six hundred to one thousand or more.[89] Both men and women belong to the various Ògbóni branches, with the proportion of women running from about one-sixth to one-third. An Ibadan *babaláwo* said that since the earth is not regarded as an *òrìṣà*, Christians, Muslims, and *òrìṣà* worshippers can belong to an Ògbóni cult group "without losing respect for his own religion". He did not comment on the worship of the *òrìṣà* Ẹdan by some branches of the cult. (It is possible that in some groups only *Ẹdan*, the emblem, and not Ẹdan the *òrìṣà* is important). There seem to be no specific qualifications for memberships other than a good reputation and no effort is being made to expand the cult. In one A.O.F. branch, a candidate pays a first instalment of ₦2.30 followed by a payment of ₦6.30 and finally, an assessment of ₦50, an amount which is used to buy Schnapps, goats, beer, and a roll of white

cloth. During the initiation ritual a new member swears that he will not injure another member, reveal the secrets of the cult, or conceal anything from another member, and that he will help any member of the cult if he can. Not concealing anything from another cult member does not mean revealing everything, but simply that one should not hide information asked for by a conferrer. If a member violates this oath, it is believed that he will die immediately by swelling up and bursting.

At ordinary meetings of the A.O.F., the leader (*olúwo*) wears any fine robe (traditional gown) which he possesses and his beads of office, and carries his staff of office. During a ceremony, including an initiation ceremony, members wear white robes with three red marks, beads, and beaded bracelets. (See plate xx) Some members of the cult wear a special finger ring. Verbal signs of the following types are used to test whether a person is a member of the cult.

Òbìrìkítì níkàlẹ̀.	The ageless, bottomless, and endless one.
Apẹ kannáà ni ẹyẹlé gbé nmumi	Pigeons drink water from the same pot.

At Ikire, symbolizing the earth there is a hole about six inches in diameter at one corner of the Ògbóni temple. Members say that the pit is bottomless and that no matter how long a pole or other object is put into the hole it will not touch bottom. During the annual ceremony, anything dropped into the hole—blood of animals, rats, fish, and other offerings—disappears immediately and cannot be brought out again.

The Annual Ògbóni Ceremony at Ikire

An account of an Ẹdan annual ceremony is given earlier in this chapter. The following report summarizes the annual Ògbóni ceremony at Ikire. An alligator pepper is chewed and spit into the hole and alligator seeds are dropped into it. The priest of the earth ties a white cloth around his waist, beats on his left first with the palm of his right hand and touches the ground with his right elbow. Then he does the same with his left hand and repeats this act for a total of three times with each hand. Next he prostrates himself and rolls on the ground. After kissing the ground, he stands up and says:

Ilè, mo pè ọ́ o. (Ni ígbà mẹta)	Earth, I call on you. (3 times)
Òfù, alápatà,	Òfù, the butcher,
Láṣọre adèmùdemu àgbà.	Láṣọre, the huge, fat, elderly one.
Ajẹ ẹdọ̀ ènìyàn máà bì.	One who eats human liver and does not vomit.
Jẹ́ kí ntẹ̀ ọ gbó,	Let me walk on you until my old age.
Jẹ́ kí ntẹ̀ ọ́ pẹ́.	Let me walk on you for a very long time.
Máà ya ọta mọ́ mi lọ́wọ́, dídẹ ni ko dẹ fun mi jẹ.	Do not be barren for me, bring fruitful things forth for me.
Jẹ́ kí ngbó jẹ́ kí ntọ̀; jẹ́ kí njẹ mùtùnmùtùn lórí re	Let me live to a very old age and eat well on earth.
Épà! Òrìṣà!	*Epà*! *Òrìṣà*!

The participants repeat:

Éépà! *Òrìṣà*!!

The priest says again:

Éépà! *Òrìṣà*!!

The others repeat these words a second time.
The priest speaks these words a third time and the others echo the same words. Then the priest repeats the sacred words of the cult of the earth.

Priest:	Òbìrìkíti níkàlè.	The ageless, bottomless and endless one.[90]
Others:	Apẹ kannáà ni ẹyẹlé gbénmumi.	Pigeons drink water from the same pot.[91]
Priest:	O ṣe mi bírípelebírípele	As you are threatened, so also I am threatened, man of the cult.
Priest:	O se mi bírípelebírípele.	I am threatened here and there.
Others:	Bí ti nṣe ọ́ ló nṣe mi. mẹ̀sìn òòṣà.	As you are threatened, so also I am threatened, man of the cult.
Priest:	Ikán nmu orù..	Termites are destroying pots.
Others:	Akèrèngbè ò ma ṣàfara.	Gourds should be on the alert.[92]

After the dialogue between the priest and the others, alligator peppers, white and brown kola-nuts are offered to the *òrìṣà* and thrown into the pit. Snails, rats, fish, two species of turtle (*ìrèrè* and *ewírí*), frogs, *òkété* (a large rat), *àkú* (plantains), *àkàrà* (bean cake), *àádùn* (maize cake), *èwó* (yam cake), palm-oil, palm-wine, maize-wine, guinea-wine, Gordon's gin or Schnapps, pounded yam, *èkọ* (pap), *àmàlà* (made with cassava flour), roasted beans, boiled beans, and shea-butter are offered to the earth in the same manner. Finally, fowls, pigeons, a female goat, a male goat, and a ram are sacrificed and their blood is poured into the hole.

Rite for a Deceased Member of the Ancient Ògbóni Fraternity

When a member dies, the symbol (*ẹdan*) given to him when he was initiated is returned to the Olúwo, accompanied by one goat, ₦6.30, and a bottle of Schnapps. Usually a son takes the deceased member's place in the cult group. If the son is reluctant to join, a special appeal is made to him and generally this is effective. The son takes the standard oath and a ritual is performed for the deceased member before his burial.

A number of cowry shells is bought. The number must tally with the number of the living cult members, and also the number of eggs must be equal to the number of cult members. White kola-nuts, brown kola-nuts, shea-butter, palm-oil, snails, rats, fish, white cloth, black and white thread, maize-wine, hens, pigeons, and new palm leaves are collected for the rite.

Each member who goes to the ritual burial ties a cowry shell on his left wrist with a strip of palm leaf. Each paints the palm of his hand with white chalk and the back of his palm with camwood. Each participant puts cotton wool in the palm of his hand and places an egg on it. Closing his hand, the egg is broken and thrown into the bottomless hole. Each member washes his hand over the pit with maize-wine, removes the palm leaf and cowry shell from his wrist and throws them into the hole.

Following these acts, white and brown kola-nuts are broken and tossed into the pit. The pigeon and the hen are killed and their blood is drained into the hole, and their heads are thrown into it. The heads of rats, and fish, shea-butter, palm-oil, small quantities of *èkuru* (beans), *àkàrà* (bean cake), and pounded yam are disposed of in the same way. As these offerings are placed in the pit, they say:

Lágbájá, orò rẹ ni a wá se yì o.	Mr X or Mrs X, we are here for your burial rites.
Nígbà tí o wà láyé, ajọ nje, a jọ nmu.	When you were alive, we ate and drank together.
Ígbà ti o kò sí mọ́, a ya òkú rẹ.	When you are no more, we perform the ritual separating you from us.
Máà bá wa jẹ mọ́, máà bá wa mu mọ́.	Do not eat or drink with us again.
Máà bá wa lọ sí òde mọ́.	Do not share our company any longer.
Orò tí a se fún Olúgbọ́n, Arẹ̀sà, Olúkòyí ni a se fun ọ yi o.	The ritual ceremony which was performed for Olúgbọ́n, Olukòyí, Arẹ̀sà is hereby performed for you.
Máà jẹ́ kí nnkan se ẹnikankan o.	Do not allow any evil to befall any of us.
A ya òkú rẹ o.	We perform the ritual separating you from us.
A kò ba ọ rìn mọ o.	We do not need your company any more.

When the ceremony has been completed, the members of the cult group hold a feast and then return to their homes.

THE ANCESTORS

Although the ancestors are venerated, the traditional religions of the Yoruba cannot be called ancestor-worship. Usually a distinction is made between the divinities and the ancestors. According to Idowu, ". . .certain ancestors have found their way into the pantheon, usually by becoming identified with some earlier divinities. In this category, we have Odùduwà and Ṣàngó for example. . ."[93] Earlier in this chapter, we point out that Egúngún symbolizes all of the dead ancestors of a lineage.

SOUL CONCEPTS

In most societies, ideas about the "soul" are rather vague, and, in ethnological fieldwork, these concepts are among the most difficult to elucidate. In discussing the *orí*, Bascom says: "The ancestral guardian soul, having no material manifestations, is a concept which presents both the greatest opportunities for individual speculation and the greatest difficulties of interpretation". To illustrate the confusion which results from discussions of the *orí*, he cites the contradictory statements of an informant whose other remarks indicated no desire to obfuscate.[94]

The Yoruba generally distinguish at least three separate souls: *ẹ̀mí* (the breath), *òjìji* (the shadow), and the *ẹlẹ́dàá*, or *orí*[95]. Although there were differing views among the priests and healers with whom we discussed *ẹ̀mí* (breath, blood, heart, something that exists throughout the body), the general meaning was that *ẹ̀mí* is a man's spirit, the mysterious vital principle which distinguishes a living person from the dead.[96] A distinction is made between *orí* in the "physical" sense, that is, the head, and *orí* in the "invisible" or "intangible" sense. One informant said that *orí* means the head and the brain, the "thinking part of the body". In the second sense, *orí* refers to one's destiny. If one is fortunate in life, it is due to a good *orí*. If one has many misfortunes, these are due to a bad *orí*. In this "invisible" sense, *orí* also means "double", "partner", or "guardian spirit". One priest said that one's *orí* follows him to the earth.[97]

Another informant said that every human being has a double, adding that dreaming of attending a gathering indicates that one's double is in attendance.

All informants with whom the point was discussed agreed that it is customary to give offerings to one's *orí* once a year. Mentioned most frequently as appropriate offerings for this purpose were goats, fowls and sheep, but also listed were pigeons, guinea fowls, turkeys, kola-nuts, cakes, oats, and "any edible food". All agreed also that it is proper to give offerings to one's parent's *orí* but one priest qualified this by saying an Ifá priest makes such an offering only if Ọ̀rúnmìlà asks him to do so and added that usually that is not the case.

For our informants, synonyms for *orí* in the invisible sense include: *ìpín*,[98] *òjìji*, and *enìkejì*.[99]

According to Bascom, the shadow (*òjìji*) has no function during life: "it does nothing but follows the body about".[100] A traditional priest said that the *òjìji* ascends to heaven to join the dead members of the family.[101] This man said that a person's shadow cannot be captured and used by a living person for his own purposes. In the case of a murder, however, a relative may utilize the victim's shadow to avenge the crime.[102]

PRIESTHOOD

In the case of the ancestral cults (Egúngún and Orò), the head of the family or the compound assumes the office of priest. Idowu says that leadership in the cults for the divinities has been complicated by the fusions of clans, the inter-mingling of peoples through marriage and the acquisition of "strangers". A woman who brings her own cult into a house remains the officiant at the shrine of her deity, and the leadership of the cult is continued by her own offspring. The same principle applies to strangers. And when clans fuse, they bring their own cults and the priest is chosen from among them.[103]

An individual may become the worshipper of a particular *òrìṣà* by continuing to serve a god worshipped by his mother or father or he may be called to follow a divinity through spirit possession or through a diviner's revelations. Yoruba priests, however, are not "called". Usually the person who succeeds the lineage priest or the town priest is the person next to him in rank. The training of a priest includes acquiring knowledge informally while young, watching his predecessor, and, perhaps, some instruction from the chief priest or other elderly priests after he is chosen. If two sons of a priest are interested in succeeding their father, the latter will choose the one who seems to have the greater aptitude and to be best suited temperamentally for the office or the decision will be made by a gathering of elders charged with this responsibility.

The duties of a priest include taking care of the shrine, consecrating the emblems of the divinity, overseeing the offerings made at the shrine, and taking a leading part in the annual ceremony. A priest ascertains the will of his divinity through divination, dreams, or a medium.

The main distinguishing marks of a priest are a beaded necklace about four feet long consisting sixteen large beads with tiny bunches of small beads between them

and a beaded bracelet. Ordinarily the chief priest wears a more elaborate necklace than the other priests. Bead patterns (colour, shape and size) vary from one cult to another.

There are no special taboos for priest as a class. Taboos are revealed on an individual basis by divination at initiation ceremonies of a cult or on other occasions. One observes all his life the taboos designated for him regardless of whether he becomes a priest. Some are told not to climb palm trees, others are forbidden to swim or to eat dog meat or to drink alcohol. A Lalupọn priest who is a follower of Ògún and Ọlọ́jọ́ said that there are general taboos in some cults and added that a devotee of the latter god should not eat melons and that a follower of Ògìyán (Ọbàtálá) should not drink palm-wine.

SHRINES AND TEMPLES

Dr Stephen Farrow, who lived in Ibadan in 1894, is quoted as saying that in the streets of the city "great numbers of small idol-houses are met with."[104] Undoubtedly, the number of shrines and temples dedicated to the *òrìṣà* in Ibadan has decreased sharply since the beginning of the century. In 1951, Parrinder located some fifty "pagan shrines" in the City of Ibadan. If the term "temple" is used to indicate a building which holds the emblems of a deity, the number of such structures in the Ibadan area today is not large. If one refers to the setting aside of a room, or part of a room as a shrine for one or more deities there are scores, perhaps hundreds, of such sites. The best known of the traditional temples in Ibadan is that of Ṣàngó at Agbeni. Parrinder describes this temple as he found it in 1951:

> The external courtyard described by Frobenius seems to have entirely disappeared The modern temple is crushed in between shops and a shoemaker's room. When dances are held, the dancers jostle around in the cramped space between the vendor stalls. The disused door has vanished completely, and although the Surveyor of Antiquities offered to replace it some years ago the suggestion has not been taken up by the disciples of Ṣàngó.
> The altar is beyond the screen. It is low and black; made of a carved base bearing a large bowl wherein are celts or so-called, 'thunder-stones', which are popularly thought to be meteorites, but mostly are ancient implements. Other small figurines stand by the altar, brightly painted or spotted. Above hang leather wallets and calabashes of charms, very dusty. In front may be offerings of kolas, meal, and oil, according to the day and the wealth of offerings. Far from being 'gorgeous' the sanctuary is squalid.[105]

Parrinder found six other smaller temples of Ṣàngó in the city, as well as nine which were dedicated to Oko, six to Ògún, two to Yemọja, one to Ọya, two to Erinlẹ̀ and one to Odùduwà (ancestor of the Yoruba people). In addition to the temples of Ògún, Parrinder saw "in many a compound of another deity. . .a tree (Ficus or Dracena) to the side of which are tied iron rods, which indicate that the god of iron is worshipped there", and he adds that other Ògún shrines are in the open air.[106]

Nineteen of the twenty-one informants in Lalupọn and Ibadan with whom religion was discussed in some detail give undivided loyalty to the *òrìṣà* and each maintains a small room in his house in honour of one or more divinities. The other two "experts"

on traditional religion are now Muslims and do not devote any space in their homes to the Yoruba deities.

In addition to temples, compound and household shrines, there are shrines for divinities in groves of trees and others near lakes, streams and rivers. For example, the *akòko* tree is sacred to Ògún and Ọ̀ṣun is worshipped on a river bank. Shrines for Orò are found in groves, and the Ifá initiation ceremony takes place in a thick forest. In the discussions of Ògún and Èṣù, explanations are given for locating the shrines of these divinities outside the house. Their shrines are found at crossroads, by roadsides, in open places in a village or city, outside the entrance to a house and in Ògún's case, in the smithy.

The emblems which symbolize the traditional deities discussed in this work are described earlier in this chapter and in Chapter I. Beier points out that many shrines use no sculpture at all. Yoruba wood carvings are, he says, religious in intention but carvings rarely represent an *òrìṣà* in person. For the most part, where they are found, they represent prominent worshippers or priests. In Ilobu, a small town on the northern forest fringe of Western Nigeria, but typical of a hundred or more Yoruba communities, some *òrìṣà* (for example, Ṣàngó), seem never to be represented. Beier did find one carving representing Erinlẹ̀ himself. It is important to indicate that a carving is never worshipped in itself; it "merely embelishes the shrine, creates atmosphere and stimulates religious feeling."[107]

Idowu emphasizes that the Yoruba do not build sacred houses in which worshippers congregate. The congregation assembles in the open air in front of the temple or shrine. It follows that the Yoruba do not regard any one shrine as the only abode of a deity. At a shrine, the devotees give the divinity his due, and in turn he bestows his blessing on them.[108]

NOTES

[1] E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, p. 203.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 50. Idowu says that the Yoruba refer to Olódumarè as the "Creator Himself," "Disposer Supreme," "Author and Giver of all the good things that man can possess," the "Head over all," "His Lordship," the "Benevolent Father," and similar terms.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 202
[4] See William R. Bascom, *The Sociological Role of the Yoruba Cult Group*, *American Anthropologist* Part 22, Memoir No. 63, p. 23
[5] Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
[6] *ibid.*, p. 56.
[7] *ibid.*, p. 142.
[8] *ibid.*, pp. 142–143.
[9] *ibid.*, p. 71. Idowu says that Ọbátálá is called Olòfọn at Ifọn, and I found an Olòfọn cult in Lalupọ̀n.
[10] *ibid.*, p. 75.
[11] Ọbátálá's walking stick is about four and one half feet long, with a dozen pieces of rope about three feet long attached to the crosspiece and with tablespoons tied to the loose ends of the pieces of rope.
[12] Briefer accounts of annual ceremonies for Ọ̀rúnmilá, Ṣángó, Ogún, Ṣánpọnná, Ọ̀sanyìn, and Ọbátálá were given in G. E. Simpson, "Selected Yoruba Rituals: 1964," *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies*, No 7, 1965 pp. 311–24.
[13] Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 89, reports that one of the emblems of Ogún may be the tusk or tail of elephant.
[14] World where gods and goddesses live.
[15] Head; luck; destiny.
[16] That is, may no supernatural force make my destiny bad.

[19] That is, one's personal essence.
[18] Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[19] *ibid.*, pp. 79–80.
[20] An *awo* is one who is versed in magic and traditional medicine.
[21] That is, one *awo* can destroy another with sorcery.
[22] This informant regards Ọrúnmilà and Ẹ̀là as the same *òrìṣà*.
[23] The Edan cult is responsible for giving people long life.
[24] This means that part of Ọ̀yèkú changes position with part of Ogbè. See section on divination in chapter II for a statement on the sixteen principal *odu*.
[25] Most palm trees have a single trunk. This unusual type, called the Ifa palm tree, has three branches including the trunk.
[26] Idowu, *op. cit.*., p. 101.
[27] *ibid.*, p. 101.
[28] See *ibid.*, pp. 102–103.
[29] *ibid.*, p. 103.
[30] William Bascom, *Ifa Divination: Communication between Gods and men in West Africa*, Indiana University Press, 1969, p. 107, Later, Bascom cites a myth, told by an Ileṣa diviner, which makes Ọrunmila the predecessor of Ẹ̀là. *ibid.*, p. 112.
[31] *ibid.*, pp. 107–108.
[32] Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[33] *ibid.*, p. 103.
[34] *ibid.*, p. 104.
[35] *ibid.*, p. 70.
[36] *ibid.*, p. 80.
[37] That is, he runs away to avoid being prevailed upon to accept sacrifices and thus release the victim.
[38] That is, he gives a club to quarrelling persons to enable them to injure (kill) each other.
[39] Groundnut (peanut) is a low, creeping plant. A euphemistic way of saying that Eṣu is very short.
[40] For a summary of the Ṣángó legend, see, Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
[41] For a similar procedure in an appeal to Ibeji, see the section on Ibejì in this chapter. Idowu, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84 refers to the same technique as a way of obtaining aid from Eṣú. The same method is used with Ṣánpọ̀nná (see section on Ṣánpọ̀nná in this chapter).
[42] Names of the lower and upper ranks of the Ṣàngó cult.
[43] Another name for Sàngó.
[44] Another name for Ṣàngó.
[45] Another name for Ṣàngó.
[46] The implication here is that if they do not thank him, he will cause more havoc.
[47] Another name for Ṣàngó.
[48] That is, children born within the next year.
[49] Another name for Ṣàngó.
[50] That is, Ṣàngó is so powerful that parents dare not question (challenge) him for quarrelling with their children.
[51] That is, Ṣàngó intentionally kills people.
[52] *Iyère* is a heavily bearing climbing vine the fruit of which is used in making medicine. The meaning here is that Ṣàngó goes into battle fully armed.
[53] That is, one who is so tall that he has to bend down to pluck this tall species of okra.
[54] That is, he kills or injures the wicked.
[55] Four of the traditional priests in our Lalupọn group worship Ọya, but through an oversight I obtained information from only one of them on this *òrìṣà* and these comments are quite brief. One of Ṣàngós wives, Ọya was pictured as stubborn and irascible, always ready to accompany Ṣàngó and to urge him on when he was causing havoc. Her jurisdiction was said to be control of wind and her speciality is the uprooting of trees. According to Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 91, tradition holds that without Ọya, there is nothing that Ṣàngó can accomplish.
[56] E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[57] *ibid.*, p. 89. I did not hear of the elephant's tail or trunk as an emblem for Ògún, but some informants mentioned that an elephant's bone or trunk is used as an emblem for Ọbàtálà.
[58] Other names
[59] That is, magic will be in force.
[60] Those who do not have protective medicine will die.
[61] Refers to his status as a hunter.
[62] That is, young hunters should not show off or be pompous; dead hunters did more than they have done and they are now dead.
[63] M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, J. J. Augustin, 1938, vol. 1, ch. 27 Geoffrey Parrinder, *West African Religion*. The Epworth Press, 1949, p. 51. For an excellent discussion of Ṣànpọ̀nná, see E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, pp. 95–101.
[64] There is disagreement among my informants in Ibadan concerning the nature of Ṣànpọ̀nná's emblem. According to the members of one cult group, his emblem is an iron rod with rough

edges. Another family said it is a small carved wooden figure similar to an Ibeji (twin) figure. A third family said the emblem consists of stones kept in a wooden container.

65 That is, take him to the realm of the *òrişà* (attack and kill him).

66 According to this informant, those killed by Şànpọnná are taken to a river and buried. Şànpọnná does not wish to see sacrifices of blood. Hence, when he is attacking people in a certain place, they must not slaughter animals. This man and other informants, however, report that animals are killed during the annual ceremony for Şànpọnná.

67 Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 98, says:...knowledge of the die hard nature of the disease germs has often been exploited with disatrous consequences by unscrupulous people. When the priest or devotees of Şànpọnná threaten to 'fight' anybody or any community, what they mean is that they possess the means of spreading the disease and will do so if provoked to the point. And when they actually put up the fight, this is what happened: they usually have in their possession some virulent preparations made up of powdered scabs or parts of the skin of a smallpox victim or it may be fluid which they obtain through the action of the weather and putrefaction from the corpse of a victim. Either of these they throw out in an open place or at the doorstep of a house, or even in a house. By the action of the wind, or various other agencies, the germs are carried about and the disease spreads".

68 Prince says that two common kinds of *òrişà* cult are those characterized by "possession" and "masquerade". He writes: "From superficial observation, it seems that the possession cults are predominantly for women and the masquerade cults are predominantly for men. It is also of interest that male members of certain possession cults (like Ọ̀ṣun and Şàngo) wear female hair styles and attire on ceremonial occasions. In fact, possessed individuals are often called the "wives" of the *Órisa*. The significance of this male-female division in the cults clearly requires further study" Şànpọnnà is then referred to as a female possession cult and Gelede as a male masquerade cult. (Raymond Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry," in Ari Kiev, *Magic, Faith, and Healing*, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, p. 105.)

69 It is believed that vultures carry sacrifices to the *òrişà*.

70 A poisonous creeping plant.

71 The way smallpox spreads.

72 Idowu, *op. cit.* pp. 83–84, reports a similar procedure for obtaining Èşù's aid in injuring an enemy. Palm-kernel oil is taboo also for Èşù.

73 *Buke* and *ddo* are two types of camwood (*osùn*). *Ado* is redder than *buke*. Camwood is ground into powder and rubbed on small children, and sometimes on adult women, for decoration. In Ibadan. it is used less than formerly and less than it is used in remote places.

74 *Óniye* has no meaning. It fills out the sentence.

75 Some mothers of twins who consult *babalawo* may be told to perform a certain type of work, for example, begging, selling cloth, selling palm-oil, and so forth, in order to ensure the survival of the children. Those who beg sing these songs in the streets. Note the reference to Ọlọrun (Olodumarè).

76 That is, "I shall go to the river to worship."

77 *Emèrè* means children who associate with supernatural children. Such children die before reaching adulthood and go to meet their associates of the other world. The line means "Do not give me *emère*."

78 That is: "Do not give me emotionally disturbed or mentally defective children."

79 Palm-oil is the source of her wealth.

80 That is, she is a huge woman, a giant in stature.

81 See discussion of Orò later in this chapter. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 193, says tht both Egúngún and Orò "used to operate as instruments of discipline and execution in the Yoruba governments of the old days."

82 A ritual plant which grows in the same spot every year.

83 To be like these birds or a broken pot implies that nobody has any regard for him.

84 Representative deceased priests of Orò cult.

85 No animals except snails are sacrificed to Edan in the cult room.

86 One of Edan's praise names

87 *Orí* means "head"—one aspect of a person's soul of spirit.

88 For the information included in this section, I am especially indebted to the head of the Aborigine Ògbóni Fraternity in Ibadan and to his wife, and to a leader of the Ògbóni cult in Ikire who resides in Ibadan. The latter informant is a Muslim who has retained a strong interest in traditional Yoruba religion, a man of about 70 years of age. Additional interviewing was done in the Ogbóni temple in Ikire with members of that branch of the cult. The words "Ancient Lodge of Aborigine Federation of Nigeria" appear on a wooden sign posted on the outside wall of the house occupied by the officer and his wife referred to above. A framed certificate bearing the man's name and hanging on an inside wall of the house near the door of the room where ritual paraphernalia is kept contained the words "The Ancient Ogboni Fraternity" (A.O.F.). This certificate was dated 1949 and was marked "Number One."

89 One informant distinguished five types of Ògbóni: (*a*) the aborigine group, whose symbol is three parallel, vertical lines; (*b*) those who wear only white clothing; (*c*) those who are forbidden to wear trousers (they wear a *sàkì* or wrapper and do not wear caps); (*d*) those whose heads are

cut off before burial; and (*e*) the "secret" cult to which he belongs. This man said that there is only one branch of the fifth type in Ibadan, and that the Ibadan, Ikire, Gbongan, Apomu, and Ikoyi members have their headquarters at Ikire. I was unable to verify the accuracy of this classification through discussions with other informants.

90 Special cult greeting or password.

91 That is, we are all the same.

92 Those who are powerful (versed in medicine) are being destroyed, hence the weaker ones should not rest on their oars.

93 E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Ancestors must be kept contented, but the relationship of the living to the deceased members of the family, particularly the fathers and mothers, is that of an "unbroken family relationship" rather than "ancestor worship". *ibid.*, p. 192. On reincarnation, see W. R. Bascom. *op. cit.*, p. 409, and E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 194; on after life, see Idowu, *ibid.*, pp. 196–197, and Bascom, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

94 William Bascom, "Yoruba Concepts of the Soul," in Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Selected papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, p. 405.

95 *ibid.*, p. 401.

96 See E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 169

97 Bascom refers to the *ori* as the ancestral guardian soul "which resides in the head and is associated with the individuals' destiny and with the Yoruba belief in reincarnation". Bascom, *op. cit.*, p. 401. Idowu (*op. cit.*, pp. 171—172) calls the *ori* "the essence of personality, the personality-soul in man", and points out the complication which arises when the *ori* is conceived as "a semi-split entity in consequence of which it is at the same time the essence of personality and the person's guardian or protector."

98 Idowu (*op. cit.*, p. *171*) writes that a person's destiny is known as *ipin-ori* (abbreviated to *ipin*), the *orl's* "portion" or "lot. Sometimes "destiny is loosely designated *ori*, which makes *ipin* and *or* synonymous in popular speech." Theoretically, destiny is unalterable, but.". . .in the business of living, the Yoruba act in the apparent belief that a person's destiny can be altered," *ibid.*, 175–176.

99 Idowu (*ibid.*, p. *173*) states that ". . .often when the Yoruba refer to the double whom they designate *Enikeji* they are speaking in clear terms of an entity other than the personality-soul but which yet has a strong influence on its destiny".

100 W. R. Bascom, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

101 Idowu (*op. cit.*, p. 189) says that the Yoruba believe that after death man "passes into a 'life beyond which is called *Ehin-iwa*—After-Life. "In talking with Yoruba people today, it is clear that the views of many concerning what happens after death have been influenced by Christian doctrines which have been preached among them for more than a century and by Moslem beliefs to which they have been exposed for much longer. See W. R. Bascom, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

102 The technique consists of tying an unsheathed knife to the dead person's hand and of putting a club in the coffin. It is believed that within days the shadow of the deceased person will kill the murderer. As a variation of this procedure, a *babalawo* said that a knife and some traditional medicine may be buried with the body of the victim. The latter is called upon to take revenge on the murderer.

103 E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Included here is a brief discussion of the position of the "priest king" where the cult has town-wide significance. For example, in Ile-Ifé, "the Oni is the Olórí Awọn Iwàro—'The head of all the priests'. This is so even though he does not now officiate directly at any particular shrine and only performs certain customary rituals as tradition decrees."

104 E. Geoffrey Parrinder, *Religion in an African City*, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 17–18.

105 *ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

106 *ibid.*, pp. 20–26.

107 U. Beier, "The Story of Sacred Wood Carvings from One Small Yoruba Town," Special Issue of *Nigerian Magazine*, Lagos, 1957

108 E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

II. MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

Afolabi Olabimtan:

"Nium ohun gbogbo ti awọn baba nla wa nse iwure se pataki pupo, ṣkan won a si bale pe ohun gbogbo ti awọn ba wi aro yio ro mọ on nii...

Eni, igbagbọ ti won ni pe bi a ba nse ohun gbogbo letoleto, ti a nse nkan gbogbo letoleto, ohun gbogbo a maa ri bi o ti ye ki o ri, aseti ati amubo ko si nii bani.

Eji, won gbagbọ wi pe oosa idile eni kii kọhun eni, bi a ba nse ojuse eni, baba eni to ti ku kii sun lorun, ko si nii gbagbe emọ re laye.

Cited in OLAJUBU, Dhudarei: Iwe Asa Ibile Yoruba, Longman.

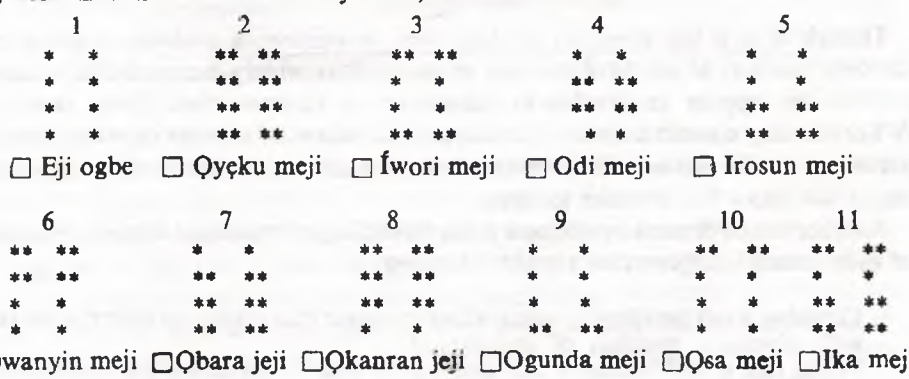
CHAPTER II

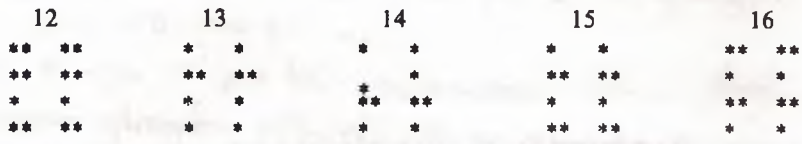
MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

DIVINATION

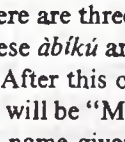
YORUBA traditionalists are reluctant or unwilling to start any undertaking without first consulting Ọ̀rúnmìlà, the oracle god. Idowu writes: "Before a betrothal, before a marriage, before a child is born, at the birth of a child, at successive stages in a man's life, before a king is appointed, before a chief is made, before anyone is appointed to a civic office, before a journey is made, in times of crisis, in times of sickness, at any and all times, Ifá is consulted for guidance and assurance".[1]

Ifá is a geomantic type of divination. In the Ifá system there are said to be 256 *odù* (verses or chapters) which a *babaláwo* is supposed to learn by heart.[2] Parts of the corpus of *odù* have been published, and several detailed studies of Ifá divination are in preparation.[3] In learning Ifá *odù*, one starts with *òpèlè*, a divination chain to which eight half nuts are fastened. When the *òpèlè* is thrown on the ground, one can tell which *odù* is indicated by the combination of nut segments which fall "up" (inner side up) and which fall "down" (inner side down). The diviner then quotes from the passages in the *odù* which he knows or which he thinks are appropriate to the occasion or to the question he has been asked and gives his interpretation of this *odù* in somewhat the same way that a Christian minister might interpret a verse or chapter of the Bible or a lawyer might give an explanation of an article or section of the Constitution. An alternative divination technique involves the use of sixteen palm-nuts. The diviner places the nuts in the palm of his left hand and grabs at them with the right hand. If he gets all of them with his right hand, no marks are made in the termite dust on the divination board. If he gets all but one, two marks are made. If he gets all but two, one mark is made. Then he places the nuts in his right hand and repeats the procedure with his left hand. The names of the sixteen principal *odù*, with the marks which identify them, are shown below.





When Òtúrúpọ̀n-gúndá (a combination of two of the principal *odù*, half from Òtúrúpọ̀n, half from Ògúndá) appears, the client is told that she should consult Ifá because of the *àbíkú* children she has had. Ifá says that she will not have any more *àbíkú*. Ifá says also that there are three *àbíkú* who frequent the client's house, and that if these *àbíkú* are to be saved, three he-goats must be offered to him. After this offering, Ifá says she will have a male child whose name will be "Maṣéjọ". The second child will also be a male and the name given to him should be "Ópé." The third child will be a male and should be called "Òpi".



Òtúrúpọ̀ngúndá, Òtúrúpọ̀ngede	Òtúrúpọ̀ngúndá, Òtúrúpọ̀ngede.
Gedegede lọmọdé tàpá elégédé.	Children stand erect when kicking independently.
Òró gangan lọmọdé tàkìtì òróle.	Children stand erect before somersaulting.
Ló dífá fún Maṣéjọ; a bù fún Opé a bù fún Òpi.	Ifá was consulted for Maṣéjọ and also for Opé and Òpi.
Maṣéjọ a mọ̀ yín o; Opé, Òpi, a mọ̀ yín o.	Maṣéjọ we know all of you; Opé, Òpi, we know all of you.
Nígbàtí a wá mọ̀ yín lèyin ò lọ mọ́.	And knowing all of you, we know you will not die again.

Ifá says that after this offering, the *àbíkú* will not die in the future.

Of our 272 rank-and-file informants, one-third consult diviners (see Table 38, Appendix), and 57 per cent consult diviners or use one or more types of magical protection or do both (Tables 12 and 13, Chapter IV).

DREAMS

Though it is a less common method than divination, a traditional priest may discover the will of an *òrìṣà* through dreams.[4] It is widely believed that deceased persons can appear in dreams to advise or to threaten their living relatives.[5] A Yoruba may consult a diviner to ascertain the wishes of a father or other deceased person whom he has seen in a dream. In the meantime, the spirit of the dead man might not allow the dreamer to sleep.

Another use of dreams by diviners is the foretelling of what may happen. Examples of such dream interpretation are the following:

> Climbing a tall building by using a ladder means that sooner or later the dreamer will achieve a position of importance.
> Flying like a bird indicates that one will be able to overcome the machinations of his enemy.

Seeing pregnant a woman who had been barren foretells that she will bear a child. Seeing beans or grains of corn in a dream means that one will become well-to-do, but seeing snails indicates that a relative will die.

Dreams may enable a healer to tell which illness is "attacking" a client and what should be used as a cure. Through dreams a diviner may discover what the intentions are of someone who is trying to cause injury or what the witches demand for the release of a victim.

Dreams may be induced by several techniques. A secret mixture of traditional medicine may be utilized by:

(*a*) making incisions near the eyes and rubbing in the medicine

(*b*) swallowing the medicine

(*c*) bathing with soap containing medicine or

(*d*) using *tíróò*, that is, adding traditional medicine to a powdered mineral that sparkles and applying the mixture on the eyelashes with a smooth stick or broom straw. Or a dream-producing charm may be kept under one's pillow.

WITCHCRAFT

Ten of the twelve traditional healers, diviners, and priests with whom we discussed witchcraft at some length said that witches are not limited to women. Two men claimed that formerly only old women were witches, but all agreed that today the witches include younger as well as older persons. Men do not actually have the power of witchcraft, but the husbands (*oṣó*) of witches (*àjẹ́*) are said to be members of the witchcraft "society". In some cases the *oṣó* act as intermediaries between the person, or his adviser (a *babaláwo* or healer), who is in the grip of the witches and the witches, seeking to find out what the witches demand for the release of the victim. The man who calls himself the "head" of the witches in Lalupọn said he does not know how many witches there are in the village, but his estimate is at least fifty. Ordinarily one avoids speaking the word witch because it is thought that witches overhear even private discussions about them and thus may be angered.

Nearly all of the informants consulted on witchcraft agreed that "the witches" cannot be recognized either by their physical characteristics or overt behaviour. A Lalupọn healer added that most people cannot tell who the witches are, but that a close observer can detect them by the way they speak and by their attitudes toward others. An Ibadan informant said that a man can tell if his wife is a witch through watching to see if anyone becomes ill after she has gone out of the house at night. A Ṣàngó priest held that a good observer can recognize witches through their behaviour, citing the following examples: first, a young woman who defies her elders; and second, a woman who had had eight children but who then had only three. In the latter case, the woman was suspected of contributing her own children to feasts where the witches jointly eat one another's children. Some traditional doctors claim they can identify the witches through the use of *tíróò*. A traditional doctor in Lalupọn,

who is an officer in a Christian church, maintained that he can recognize witches through the power given to him by God. He can't explain how he does this except that he knows he has seen some of them in dreams and he has seen the spirits of others at meetings of the witchcraft society near the village or in distant places.

According to traditional belief, witches do not receive training or serve apprenticeships. Witchcraft may be inherited, but not through biological inheritance. The power may pass from mother to daughter, usually through medicine mixed with ordinary food without the daughter's knowledge. It is not uncommon for a witch, shortly before her death, to transfer her "bird" to someone, often a daughter. The witches themselves may decide to bring a woman into their association, giving her something to eat which will make her a witch. For example, a friend may give her to chew a kola-nut which has been treated with medicine. Actually, what appeared to be a kola-nut may be a human finger, and the person becomes a witch without realizing what is happening. Later she will realize that she is a witch. Traditional doctors can prepare medicine to make witches out of those who wish to acquire this power. One mixture for this purpose includes *àgànrara* and *àlùpayídà* leaves, *òwìwí* (a bird), and the bones of *ejùgbé* (an animal). One who wishes to become a witch herself in order to avenge a wrong, or for other reasons, may simply let others know of her interest and eventually she meets a witch who is willing, for a price, to give her the desired power, or she may go to the town of Irun (Ọta) near Lagos and ask to be initiated into the cult of witches.

Views differ concerning where a witch keeps her power. Usually it is said that she keeps it in her stomach, but she may use her eyeballs as the repository. At times she may keep her power outside her own body—in an anthill, in a calabash, or inside a tree or an animal (goat, sheep, or dog). When a witch drinks palm-oil, she vomits her bird, a creature with red legs and red beak, and it flies away to do harm to others or to attend a meeting of the witchcraft society. If the bird is not kept in her stomach, she puts *èkuru* in a calabash to summon it. The bird eats the food and flies away on its mission.

Witches have the ability to see the intestines, liver, and other internal organs of human beings, as well as foetuses in the uteruses of their mothers. They can make women temporarily infertile or permanently barren, cause overdue pregnancy, as well as miscarriage, make delivery difficult, induce frightening dreams and sleeplessness, cause a person to "dry up" (lose weight) or to have headaches, stomach aches, or other illnesses, cause blindness, make one lose his job or reduce him to pennilessness, bring on madness,[6] suck human blood or kill a victim by other means, and frustrate any type of human effort. Two healers refused to name the troubles which witches cause for fear of antagonizing them. Those who have been wronged seek the power of the witches to avenge themselves, and others want assistance in committing crimes such as theft. It is said that some witches use their power to "fight" family members, including sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, co-wives, and other relatives except fathers and mothers. In doing harm, a witch may impersonate a friend or a relative. The witches are used to attack enemies and those who are envied or disliked, but this power can also be used to make one prosperous or popular, to cure illnesses, or to insure a long life.

A priest-healer in Ibadan and healer in Lalupon agreed that witches get their power from God rather than from the *òrìṣà*. According to the latter informant, in the past, evil people tried to spoil the world. Certain women called upon God to give them power to fight these villains. With the power given them, they fought and won the battle, but they did not return the power to God. Since that time this power has been passed down from one generation to the next. The first man said that the witches are not as powerful as the *òrìṣà*; the second held the opposite opinion. A third man pointed out that the *òrìṣà* must be more powerful than the witches, otherwise Ṣàngó would not be able to kill them. A fourth informant said that some *òrìṣà*, especially Oko, hate the witches and kill them. A Muslim healer in Ibadan insisted that the witches are under the control of the *òrìṣà* and that they appeal to the *òrìṣà* for what they want.

To make use of the witches for aggressive purposes, for relief from witch-caused trouble, or for a beneficial end for oneself, ordinarily one consults a traditional doctor. The healer, who may also be a priest in one of the cults and a diviner or a sorcerer, may recommend consulting Ifá to discover what the witches demand to release the victim. The offering is then made to the witches and some type of curative or protective medicine is given to the client. Or the healer may confer directly with the witches to discover that medicine or sacrifice is required to remedy the client's situation[7].

To injure an enemy the conjurer may say that it is necessary to sacrifice a goat, perhaps in the following manner. Sixteen tiny slices are taken from various parts of a big female goat and put in a pot with plenty of palm-oil. The rest of the goat is cut into pieces and about ten kobo is added for each piece of meat. Ten kobo and one piece of goat meat are given to each of a number of women, probably those thought to be witches. Then the offering in the broken pot is taken to a crossroads and left with these words: "This sacrifice is made because I want you to attack Mr or Mrs X." Or the healer may obtain some bananas that have ripened on the tree and some *àlúpàyídà* leaves, and offering them to the witches, call on them to eat the intestines and liver of the person they wish to injure. In a third procedure, the *babaláwo* makes *èṣè*, a combination of materials including fowls, palm-oil, pigeons, and bitter kola, and puts this offering outside, usually at the crossroads. He chants an incantation over the *èṣè*, calling on the witches and mentioning the name of the wrongdoer whom he wants them to attack. A variation on this technique of summoning the witches is to put the intestine and the liver of a goat in a broken pot with plenty of palm oil, leave it outside the house or at a crossroad and repeat the proper incantation.

Some healers wear charms which compel the witches to consult them. One claimed that he can provide medicine that enables a client to talk with the witches in dreams at midnight. A priest-healer in Ibadan produced a booklet (Samuel Looton Aluko, *Iwe Iwosan Akerele Gbona bi Ado*, Olushegun Press, Ilesha, Nigeria, No date. Translation of title: *A Very Good Small Medical Booklet*) and called attention to a formula which may be used in summoning a missing man or woman or the witches.

See p. 103

Formula for Summoning a Missing Man or Woman or a Witch

Ewé iná, eṣinṣìn àràgbá, olóyin, ìbà-ìgbò, èrùnyántefé, íràwé tọ́ bọ́ sílẹ̀ lójú ẹni. A ó gún gbogbo rẹ̀ pọ̀. A o lọ sínú igbó, aó da ojú ògìrìsàkọ́, aó kó gbogbo rẹ̀ sínú rẹ̀ pẹ̀lú ọṣẹ dúdú, a ó bu ọtí Òyínbó (Schnapps) si. Bí ó bá di ọjọ́ kẹje a ó lọ ko, a ó ko sínú ìwo ìgalà. Íkótí odídẹrẹ́ bàbà, òkò ọká, a ó fi gbogbo rẹ̀ bọ inú ìwo yen. A ó yọ òkò ọká yẹn, a ó fi kan enu, a ó sọ pé: "Lágbájá ọ, òní ni kí o dé; èran tí ọká bá sọ, ẹnu ọká níí kú sí. Òní dandan ni tìbà-ìgbò. Íràwé kìí dàjọ́ tirẹ̀ kí ó dọ̀la. Kánkán ni tewé iná. Warà lọmọdé njá eṣinṣìn."

Leaves of *iná*, *esinsin*, *àràgbá*, *ìbà-ìgbò*, *èrùnyántefé*, and any leaf that drops in one's presence. Pound them together and take this to the bush where you make a hole in an *ògìrisàkọ* (a type of tuber). Put everything inside the hole, and add native soap[8] and Schnapps. On the seventh day, remove everything and put it in a deer's horn. Put a piece of copper, a red feather of a parrot, and the tooth of a cobra inside the horn. Touch the tooth of the cobra with your tongue and recite these words: "Mr X, son of Mr Z, I want to see you today. Any animal bitten by a cobra dies in front of the cobra. Today *ibà-ìgbò* acts unfailingly. Dropping leaves do not postpone the date of their falling. *Iná* leaves act quickly. Children run away immediately from *esinsin* leaves."

Informants insist that there are witchcraft societies, and some such associations may actually exist. My conclusion, however, is that there is good reason to doubt that they are widespread today. There is too much vagueness in the accounts of how the alleged associations operate, and too much fantasy, to accept at face value the assertions so glibly made about them. The following comments were made concerning the transaction of business in the "societies":

Witches are not friends or members of a cult in everyday life. It is only when they change to non-human form that they are members of a society.
The spirits (birds; souls) of witches fly to meetings at midnight, but the witches themselves do not attend the meetings. (Some say that upon arrival they become human beings again)
The society meets secretly under a big tree in Lalupọn (or Ibadan) or at cross roads, or at such places in other villages or towns, or in other places in the world, including the United States and England. The "father" of the witches in Lalupọn says that he has attended meetings in many distant places.
At meetings, the witches sit according to rank.
The witches eat *ekuru*, discuss matters affecting the cult, decide on the actions they will take, including how and when to kill those whom they have agreed to attack and who will do the killing. If a traditional doctor has intervened in behalf of someone already being persecuted by the witches, the witches decide whether to accept his plea, and, if it is accepted, how much money and how many goats must be paid by the victim.
During their meetings, the witches' birds "eat human flesh," that is, they suck the blood of a human being who is not physically present at the meeting until the person dies.

Probably some witchcraft societies exist in Western Nigeria, especially in such centres of witchcraft as Ota, Abeokuta, Ife and Ilorin (places mentioned by my informants), but I have no firm evidence concerning organized groups of witches in Lalupọn or in the sections of Ibadan where I worked. In 1964, Prince wrote that earlier he was not aware "...of the existence of a real witch cult and considered the beliefs f

described to be a kind of cultural delusion." He then adds: "As far as my present information goes, there is certainly a real witchcult, composed mostly of elderly women with male leaders. It is very widespread, highly secret, and much feared by the people.[9] He cites the work of Morton-Williams concerning the coming of the Atinga witch hunters from Ghana to the town of Ilaro, mentioning the recorded confessions by the witches who confessed.

Atinga cult

The members of the Atinga cult in southwestern Nigeria in the early 1950s did not visit a settlement unless invited by its chiefs. Upon arrival, the members built a small altar of mud at the foot of a tree. Young men and adolescent girls danced to the beating of drums and older men killed one each of every Yoruba domestic animal and bird, letting some of the blood fall on the altar and catching the rest of the blood in a large pot containing water. The pot was then taken into the bushes behind the altar for the secret preparation of anti-witchcraft medicine. Protective medicine was prepared, medicine which was acceptable to most people—to traditional religionists, Atinga was a god to most Christians, an angel sent to help them. Later the party went into the town and continued their drumming and dancing. Some possessed by Atinga, claimed to have the power of recognizing witches and of discovering where sorcerers kept their harmful objects. Witches were pointed out and asked to confess. Confession cleansed a woman of her witchcraft; those who refused to confess were tested for witchcraft. From the time the Alatinga first entered Nigeria from Ghana, they had destroyed many *baobab* and *irókò* trees on the ground that they harboured witches. Before felling the trees, the Alatinga shot at them with volleys of magic kola from Dane guns. Later, the younger people in the group ran into houses and destroyed domestic shrines, knocked down the walls of *òrìṣà* houses, carried off the symbols of the *òrìṣà* and placed them in a pile. In Ilaro, the lodge of the Ògbóni society was broken into and a shot of magic kola was fired into the sacred drums. In general, the ancestor cults (Gèlèdé, Egúngún, and Orò) were not destroyed. With the exception of the shrines for Ogún, and for Odùduwà (founding ancestor of the Yoruba peoples), all of the other shrines were attacked and those which women had made to commemorate dead twins were destroyed with special enthusiasm. Morton-Williams concludes that the attacks on the *òrìṣà* were primarily an assertion by the young people that their world was triumphant over that of backward-looking elders. He says: "The destroyed *òrìṣà* were those which represented categories of nature in interaction with man; and the destruction was symbolic of a set of social relations and the cultural expressions of them breaking down, partly within the compound, mainly within the community as a whole".[10] Of interest is the attitude of the wealthy and influential men who invited the Alatinga to their towns and paid their expenses while they were in residence. These sponsors did not try to prevent the attacks on the *òrìṣà*. Some were chiefs whose offices had been made secular under the Protectorate; others were secular office-holders. Both of these groups would gain some power if the cults of the *òrìṣà* were to be abolished and the heads of the cults were to lose the small influence they retained. Other sponsors included those who had achieved status through commercial pursuits and whose interest in the Atinga cult was mainly speculative.

After a few months the populace began to lose interest in the activities of the Alatinga, the cult was prohibited by law, and those who had been recruited locally disbanded. By 1955, only a small proportion of the shrines had been rebuilt. During times of stress in communities where the leaders were uneducated and the social services undeveloped, the shrine of the principal god of the town, if it had been destroyed, was rebuilt by public subscription. Also, some of the domestic, but not the public, shrines of other *òrìṣà* were rebuilt upon the advice of diviners where individuals had met some misfortune which they could not overcome with their own resources.

These events occurred during the years 1947–51. Apparently some people came to Lalupọn to find and punish witches, and some witches ran out to dance to the beating drums. None of my informants in Lalupọn recalled any public witch findings of any king during the past decade. Whether or not "real" societies of witches exist widely today, it is generally believed that they do, and that is an important social fact. Where formal associations do not exist, there may be collusion at times among unscrupulous healers, diviners, and their confederates, male or female, to exploit the fears, hostilities, and jealousies in the community for their own ends.

A witch can be deprived of her power by a healer who is also skilled in magic and sorcery. The operator puts *èkuru* inside a cage and uses a charm to call the witch's bird. The (magical) fire that he makes or the use of a special medicine causes the witch to lose her power, that is, the bird will remain with her but will be powerless because of its inability to fly away. If a conjurer wishes to kill a witch, he attracts her bird to a cage and kills it.

A witch cannot be cured of witchcraft unless her "bird" is transferred to another person. Attempting such a cure without transferring the bird means killing the bird, and this automatically kills the witch. Unless they are about to die, witches rarely wish to transfer their birds to others. A traditional doctor, engaged by a witch's family to take away her power, gives her some bark of the *ọ̀bọ̀* tree, a substance that is very dangerous to witch birds, to eat. She may or may not deny that she is a witch, but in any case, if she wishes to keep her power, she transfers her bird to the stomach of a goat or a sheep. When the effect of the *ọ̀bọ̀* had worn off, she brings her bird back to her own stomach or other hiding place.

This discussion of witchcraft in the Ibadan area is based on interviews with twelve traditional healers, diviners and priests. Among more than three hundred informants, we found no one who did not believe in the existence of witches.[11] Of the 272 rank-and-file informants, approximately one-fifth reported that they are often or sometimes troubled by witchcraft (see Table 10, Chapter IV).

Interpretation of Witchcraft

In a purely sociological or structural analysis, Morton-Williams hypothesizes that Yoruba witchcraft stems from the strains inherent in the kinship system: ". . .of anxiety and guilt in the women; and ambivalent sentiments in men—affection and respect for the mothers of their children, but fear of the inadequacy of maternal care, and fear that the jealousy of women in a polygamous household within a compound group

giving the corporate members in a continuing agnatic lineage to their children but denying it to themselves, may be vented as spite against their husbands."[12]

Raymond Prince's psychological hypothesis holds that the Yoruba witch "represents the collective image of the bad mother in a people who have not yet attained the depressive position in their emotional development. . .it would not be distorting the Yoruba concept too much to think of witchcraft as representing all the bad aspects of the mother or the female. . ."[13] Another psychiatric study, however, poses a question concerning what has been regarded as a relative lack of depression among the Yoruba. According to this finding:

> The symptom pattern of depression as such-psychotic or psychoneurotic was not volunteered by our informants and when described to them was not accepted immediately as something familiar. On the other hand, many of the component symptoms of depression came up in one comment or another: sapped vitality, a sense of 'dwindling' crying continuously, extreme worry, loss of appetite, and loss of interest in life. It seems possible, therefore, that here we have come upon a genuine cultural difference of some importance for psychiatric assessment. Depression seems an unfamiliar concept, and there is linguistic difficulty in finding Yoruba words with which to describe the subjective feelings meant by the term. It is likely that these circumstances could have a distorting influence from the psychiatric point of view on the responses obtained from patients and their families in the course of examination and history taking.[14]

At present, it may be more appropriate to regard Yoruba witchcraft as due to the interplay of psychological, sociological, cultural and economic variables. Neither Prince nor Morton-Williams refers to the relationship between economic factors and the perpetuation of beliefs in the witches. Among our 272 rank-and-file informants, anxiety about money was by all odds the commonest kind of anxiety, at least at the conscious level. Economic rivalry and socio-economic ambition, especially with reference to the education of one's children, are widespread among the Yoruba today.

The witchcraft complex is not a part of Yoruba religion, but it is related to the religious realm. Although belief in the powers of the *òrìṣà* and the ancestors has decreased sharply, belief in the witches is still widespread. Witches provide a convenient explanation of one's troubles or the troubles of a traditional doctor's client, and they serve also as a possible means of striking back at enemies. Through witchcraft, some individuals obtain the self-confidence they need to cope with their life situations.[15] Schooling does not necessarily obliterate fantasies about witches. During a time when many people hesitate to be seen participating in a traditional religious ceremony, witchcraft has the advantage of being carried on secretly.

SORCERY AND CONJURY

The usual distinction between sorcery as voluntary and witchcraft as involuntary does not seem useful for the Ibadan area. Informants say that most witches know that they are witches. Like witchcraft, sorcery is carried on privately and there is no need to appear in a collective ritual.

If misfortunes are attributed to an enemy rather than to evil spirits or the witches, one may pay a traditional doctor to curse the malefactor with potent medicine and words.[16] In the Ibadan area today, probably the commonest method of putting a curse on someone is the use of the horn of a wild animal. An Ifá priest-diviner showed us four horns: three rams' horns and one deer's horn. One contained a knife stuck into the medicine inside the horn. When the horn is used, he removes the axe-like knife, touches the blade with his tongue and utters a curse. These horns have special cloth coverings over the large (open) end to prevent them from attracting curses which might be uttered unintentionally by small children. Other curse methods include putting medicine on a chewing stick and then chewing the stick while repeating a curse, preparing palm-nuts with medicine and placing them on a divination board before speaking a curse (called *mádàáríkàn*, counteracting the sorcery of evil-doers), putting medicine in a tiny brass bottle or in tiny gourds and kissing them before cursing someone. In issuing a curse, the operator may ask that the intended victim will wander away and never be seen again, hang himself, be afflicted with extreme poverty, or meet with some other great misfortune.

The opposite of the curse is the blessing, and the animal horn procedure, or the other techniques, may be used to ask positive favours. The blessing is used especially when a healer is discharging a patient who has been mentally ill. This is a simple procedure consisting of bathing the patient with specially prepared medicine and blessing him by saying that the evil forces should depart from him and never return nor afflict his kinsmen. One healer said that his blessing includes an appeal to Ọlọ́run to protect the patient from evil spirits. All of the traditional doctors who treat emotional illnesses with whom we discussed this matter (ten in Lalupọn and eight in Ibadan) bless such patients in this way in discharging them.

Apparently the use of the curse and the blessing are rare occurrences today, but it is difficult to say to what extent invoking and then damaging the spirit of a victim are now practised. Certainly we found no lack of replies on the part of twenty-two healers in Lalupọn and Ibadan concerning the alleged methods of invocation. The following techniques were mentioned.

> Put special medicine on a *sìgìdì* (carved figure about fifteen inches in height, or more often, a mud figure, used in conjuring).
> Mention the enemy's name and call on *sìgìdì* to cause the prospective victim to die or to become mad, or to meet some other dire fate.[17]
> Call a stick by the name of the enemy and cut it into halves. The victim is to die immediately. (One Ibadan *babaláwo* claimed that he has protection against such malevolent intentions and that if someone were to cut a stick to injure him, the person would cut himself.)
> Use medicine in making cartridges, put these in a gun and fire the gun with gun powder, mentioning the name of the victim.
> Put medicine and gun powder on Èṣù's head and ignite the mixture.
> Bury a cartridge in the intestine of an *owanà* (animal) and remove it on the seventh day. Place fresh melon some distance away and, calling the name of the enemy, shoot at the fruit.
> Medicine is made and put in a gun and a fowl is tied to a heavy object. An incantation is spoken and the name of the victim is called. If he answers, the fowl is shot. The gun's answer means the end for the unfortunate person.

Medicine is placed in water in a big pot. The victim is called from inside that pot of water, and, when he appears, he is stabbed with a knife or axe which has been treated with medicine.
Medicine is used to call the soul of the victim. When the man's soul appears before the operator and his client it is stabbed.
After palm-nuts and Alligator peppers have been prepared with medicine, the traditional doctor places them in his mouth and invokes the soul of the victim. When the soul appears, the conjurer throws one of the palm nuts or one of the alligator peppers at it.
The victim's spirit is invoked by using the animal horn method of cursing. The conjurer recites an incantation until the image of the victim appears. He then shoots the image with a magical gun, that is, with gun powder and medicine but no bullet.
Use medicine at crossroads. When the partner of the victim appears, he is injured.
Medicine may be placed in incisions made in the upper and lower lips of the conjurer. The victim's name is called, and, when he answers, the medicine is expelled.

Ten of the twenty-two healers said they knew of no procedures which could be used to cure a soul damaged by invocation, six said that no one can cure such a soul, one did not answer, and the other five specified some type of charm (*ọfọ̀*) or neutralizing medicine (*apaàgùn*). The medicine or charm may be put into the patient's mouth, used in teas, in making solutions for bathing, or rubbed into incisions. Some conjurers use Èṣù, a *ṣigìdì*, or a specially treated animal's horn used in uttering a curse. An example of one method of curing a soul damaged by invocation follows.

** * Grind together feathers of an *olongo* bird, the head of an *èlulùú* (bird), a frog, *ṣegisọ́rùn* (an insect), the earth from the roots of a fallen tree, an alligator pepper. Ogbèyèkú (an Ifá odu) is printed on it (the ground mixture). Repeat this incantation:

Ogbèyèkú wá ye ibi kúrò lori lágbájá.	Ogbèyèkú, remove misfortune from Mr X
Ẹni tí ó bá npe orí lágbájá níbí kí ibi ó lọ sí orí rẹ̀.	Anyone who wishes Mr X misfortune, let him have the bad fortune.
Bí èlulùú bá pe òjò orí ara rẹ̀ ló npèé lé.	Whenever *èlulùú* (a bird) invokes rain, the rain falls on him.
Ẹni tí ó bá npe orí lágbájá níbi orí rẹ̀ ni kíbi ó lọ.	Whoever wishes Mr X bad fortune, let misfortune descend on him.
Bí àkèré bá pe ojò orí ara rẹ̀ lo npèé lé.	If a frog invokes rain, the rain falls on him.
Ẹni tí ó bá npe orí lágbájá níbi orí rẹ̀ ni kí ibi ó lọ.	Whoever wishes Mr X misfortune, let him have the ill fortune.
Bí tètè èqún bá fi ọwọ́ ara rẹ̀ di ẹru orí ara rẹ̀ níí gbée kà.	If the thorny *tètè* (plant) finds itself a load (of thorns), it put the load on its own head.
Ẹni tí ó bá npe orí lágbájá níbi orí rẹ̀ ni kí ibi ó máa lọ.	Anyone who wishes Mr X bad fortune, let him carry the misfortune on his own head.
Bí ṣẹ̀gisọ́run bá segi tán orí ara ara rẹ̀ níí fi rù ú kágbó.	If *ṣẹ̀gisọ́rùn* (an insect) gathers wood (for its house), it carries it about the bush on its own head;

Ibi ti wọn bá ṣe, orí wọn ni kí ó máa lọ.	Let the evil done, follow the evil doers.
Bí igi bá ṣídi í tán ìlèpa rẹ á tọ́ ọ́	The earth on the roots of a fallen tree clings to the tree;
Orí ara àwọn aṣebi ni ki ibi o máa lọ.	Let evil repercusions be with the evil doers.

Mix the medicine with native soap for bathing.

The section on witchcraft includes a general comment on the steps taken by traditional priests, diviners, and healers to offset the machinations of the witches. When twenty-two healers in Lalupọn and Ibadan, some of whom are also diviners or priests in traditional cults, were asked what methods they employ to defend themselves and their clients against curses, invocation of spirits of human beings, and other types of magic, nine spoke of utilizing some kind of traditional medicine, four mentioned the offering of sacrifices, three said they rely on membership in a cult of the Ilẹdi variety for assistance, one confers directly with the witches to ascertain their demands, one depends on God for protection, one counts on *tirà*, and one uses a charm (*ọfọ̀*) and counter-magic. These procedures are not mutually exclusive and in a given situation two or more of them may be used. If one is a *babaláwo* or other type of diviner, he may at some point make use of divination to find out the cause of the trouble and what should be done about it.

Some of the comments of these individuals on the use of traditional medicine and of sacrifices in defending themselves or their clients against the maledictions of others are of interest. One informant said that the protective medicine he uses makes it impossible for a witch to locate his intestines or his blood and cause him harm. Among the ingredients used by one healer for compounding a medicine to ward off threats from evil sources are *ipẹ̀ta*, *aringo*, and *iṣin* roots ground into a powder and mixed with alligator peppers and locust beans. A magical technique used to combat these varied dangers is *gbẹ́rẹ́*, the making of small incisions on the head and applying traditional medicine to them. *Tírà*, is favoured by one of these informants, a Muslim diviner. (In *tirà*, the diviner writes his findings on a slate or board with a piece of chalk, washes the words off with a cloth or sponge, draining the water used into a glass or cup for the client to drink.) A sacrifice to the witches to persuade them to call off their attacks on a victim is similar to an offering mentioned earlier for getting them to injure an enemy. One puts ten cuts (slices) from different parts of a female-goat, one big rat, and palm-oil in a broken pot and then asks the diviner whether the offering should be taken to a river, a crossroads, a market place, or the main road. The man who carries the offering away should be naked except for the palm leaves which are tied on his body. Another informant offers the witches palm-oil, cloth, and money to cease their attacks. The healer who consults the witches directly said they might tell him to use ordinary water in treating a client or have him tie some soil wrapped in a piece of paper or leather around his waist. Or, after payment is made, the witches may tell a man that he will recover without the use of any medicine, or they may specify certain roots and leaves as a remedy. Two healers mentioned *ẹ̀bẹ̀*, a special concoction to make witches and evil doers think kindly of one. The following magical formula and incantation were given by a Muslim diviner in Ibadan, a man who still participates in some ways in traditional religious ceremonies.

Ẹbẹ

Grind alligator pepper bark, *inabiri* leaves, *eşinşin* roots, and hair from the private parts. Print on this powdered mixture one half of Ogbè * and say:

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Cf. Adeniji, p. 103
Raji p. 46 lines 96–128

Iná kìí roró tewétewé; èèwọ̀ ni!	The *iná* plant is wicked but not its leaves; it is forbidden.
Oṣo ilé, ẹ máà bínú mi.	Wizards, do not be annoyed with me.
Esìnsìn kìí roró kó dégbò.	The *eşinşin* plant is wicked but not its roots; it is forbidden[18]
Ajẹ ilé, ẹ máà bínú mi o.	Witches do not get annoyed with me.
Atare kìí bínú kí ó ta eèpo ara rẹ̀, èèwọ̀ ni;	Alligator pepper does not produce an irritating effect on its own bark;
Oṣó ilé ẹ máà bínú mi o.	Wizards do not be annoyed with me.
Àjẹ́ kìí gbójú kó jẹ irun òbò; èèwọ̀ ni.	No matter how bold a witch is, she does not eat hair from the private parts; it is forbidden!

Mix the medicine with native soap for bathing.

Charms

Charms to offset evil forces, to nullify both old and new types of hazards, and to facilitate the gaining of desired ends are ubiquitous among the Yoruba. There are charms to be used in the curing of illnesses such as stomach-ache and headache, in seeking a job, attaining prosperity, increasing one's popularity, improving one's luck, succeeding in love, getting back a wife, restoring peace among quarrelling wives, attracting customers to a shop, and passing examinations. An Íbadan *babaláwo* whose specialty appears to be the supplying of charms, many to young clients, has two types to enable students to pass examinations: one is to sharpen the memory of students the other is to make the examiners look carefully at one's examination papers instead of being irritated at minor mistakes. Charms are used as protective devices to prevent witches and evil spirits from entering a house or attacking a person, to prevent small-pox from coming into a house, to insure against accidents such as motor car collisions or machet cutting, to nullify the attempts of enemies or sorcerers to harm one, and to keep thieves from breaking into one's house.

As a rule, one obtains a charm from a healer or a diviner. Some charms are tied around one's neck, illustrated by the following procedure. Alligator peppers, white kola-nuts, red kola-nuts, and the blood of a cock are put inside a piece of cotton wool and buried for seven days. The charm is then taken to a leather worker who uses the skin of an animal to wrap and sew it up. Charms are tied on the doors or doorsteps of houses, buried in the ground near a doorstep or in a house or a shop, hung from the ceiling of a house, suspended in a pot over the door, or fastened to the walls of a house. It may be something to be eaten: a combination of leaves, roots, barks, and other materials ground together; a concoction to be rubbed on the body, especially on the head or arms; some traditional medicine mixed with "native soap" used in washing or bathing; or a ring (silver) with mystical signs engraved on it; or some medicine which is inserted into a necklace, a waist band, or a bracelet. A charm to be tied above the door frame inside a house called for seven leaves of a certain plant, and seven seeds of

alligator pepper. One leaf was placed down, an alligator pepper seed put on top of it, and so forth for the other leaves and the other alligator pepper seeds. The whole thing was then wrapped in black and white thread.

A formula for preventing harm to a building from thunder and lightning involves burying the following outside the building: a mortar, seven thunder-stones, and a ram. A magical fire may be prepared to get rid of an evil spirit that is persecuting a household. Or one may prepare *èsè* (food and other materials that will injure the tormenting evil spirit if he sees or eats it). *Èsè* is placed where evil spirits are thought to come.

After making a charm, one *babaláwo* prints an Ifá *odù* and asks Ọrúnmìlà's aid in making it effective. The following incantation accompanies a charm designed to increase the popularity (*àwúre*) of a client.

Ṣékóyemí lawo Imúpayín.	The art of making people popular is the specialty of the Imúpayín cult.
Oyòsèṣè lawo Ajerò.	The art of rejoicing is the specialty of the Ajerò cult.
Òun ló dífá fún Ọrúnmìlà.	Ifá was consulted for Ọrúnmìlà.
Ifá nṣe awo ìlaìtí.	Ifá makes medicine so that he will not be unpopular.
Ifá ní òun kò nítí nígbà kọ̀kan.	Ifá says he will not be unpopular at any time.
Ò ní agbe kìí tí ní maró.	He says that *agbe* (a type of woodcock) is not unpopular in the company of dyers,
Oni a!uko kìí tí ní mosùn.	*Alùkò* (a species of woodcok) is never unpopular in the company of those who use cam-wood.
Ò ní odídẹrẹ̀ kìí tí láwùjọ ìkó.	The parrot is never unpopular in the company of birds with brightly-colored tail feathers.
Tí òkéré bá fori pe ijó.	If the squirrel dances with its head;
A fi ìrù pe ayọ̀,	It rejoices with its tail
A fi agbede méjì máa jó mùkúlúmùkẹ.	And dances with its whole body.
Ọrọ̀ mi dosùn, ó di òrí.	I am now like camwood and shea-butter.
Ẹ wá fi mi ṣosùn, ẹ fi mi junra	Take me as camwood and rub me on your body.

The same Ifá priest prepares another charm with a similar purpose—to make its owner "likeable to the public." This charm consists of native medicine (pieces of roots, barks, leaves, and other materials) wrapped in a monitor (crocodile family) skin. This *babalawo* carries one of these charms in his pocket. A trader who possesses a charm of this type is certain to have numerous customers.

A procedure to ensure success in an examination or an interview calls for the following items: the fiber mat used to sit on in *agemò* (a masquerade common in Ijẹbu Province), the intestine of a wall gecko (very much like a lizard), an alligator pepper and *amúnimúyè* leaves. These components are ground together in a pot on a fire, but before they are completely ground several pen points are added. The pot is removed from the fire and kept somewhere until the next day. The pen points are removed and used in writing the examination or in filling out an application form.

To secure employment or promotion for a client, a *babaláwo* may utilize these materials: tail feathers of a parrot, feathers of *agbe* (woodcock), feathers of *àlùkò* (another species of woodcock), hair of an albino, hair of a new-baby, and sand from the sea and from Ọṣun (a large river). These ingredients are mixed with native soap, and the client bathes with it.

For "prosperity", that is, to make a business or a profession more lucrative for a client a formula of the following type may be tried. In a pot on the fire grind the body of *kannakánná* (a bird) and the body of a white pigeon. Separately grind some gold dust, silver dust, *ìmí-òrùn* (a yellow substance), and the vomit of a boa constrictor (has a luminous quality and is believed to cause the rainbow). The two mixtures are combined and the client is told to add some of this "medicine" to *èko* (pap) and lick it or drink it.

A similar formula is intended to make a client wealthy. A vulture, a pigeon, a *lékèélékèé* (a migrant bird), a *ekale* (bird), and a *kannakánná* (bird) are put in an earthen pot. A fire is built under the pot and the birds are ground into a black powder. To this mixture, the following leaves are added: *ajé, ire, oríjin, ìbà-ìgbò, àjékòbàlé, ètìpónòlá*, and *akisan*. After more grinding, the black powder is put in two small gourds or bottles. One of the gourds is wrapped in a white cloth, the other in a black cloth. On the day that the new moon appears, one takes a pigeon, kills it and rubs its blood on one of the gourds. He then takes a small quantity of the black powder mixes it with *ẹ̀kọ* (pap) and water and drinks it. When the next new moon appears, he repeats this procedure with other gourd. Before this routine has been repeated four times one should have become wealthy.

To prevent pain while teething, a traditional doctor may grind the lower jaw of a monitor (crocodile family) into a powder, add certain powdered leaves, and tie a charm made of these materials around the neck of a small child.

Numerous love charms are professionally prepared for unmarried boys and girls, as well as for married men and women whose spouses do not love them. "Medicine" can be effective when a man's wives have been quarrelling. One formula calls for mixing and cooking *afe* leaves, palm oil, salt, goat meat, and some small iron rings. Termite powder is then spread on a divination board and an Ifa sub-*odù* is printed on it (Ẹṣẹ kan ogbẹ́—one-half of an *ogbè*, the first *odù*). One half of

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Then this incantation is repeated:

Ajíkóniró. (3 times)	One who brings us together on awakening
Ajípanipọ̀. (3 times)	One who unites us on awakening.
Ẹṣẹ kan Ogbe kò klí ṣe orogún. (3 times)	One half of *Ogbè* (Odu Ifá) does not quarrel (with the other).

Afẹ́ ló ní kí wọn ó fẹ́ràn ara (3 times)	The *afẹ́* (leaf) compels them to love me and another.
Ewurẹ́ ló ní kí wọn ó bá ara wọn ré.	The female goat says they should be friendly.

Following the incantation, the powder is poured into the stew and the wives sit down together and eat it. The husband eats along with them, but he does not tell them what the stew is intended to accomplish. Instead, he may say that it is a protection against witchcraft. The husband and each wife wears one of the iron rings on his (her) finger.

An Ibadan traditional doctor employs a *ṣìgìdì* to get back a wife who has left her husband. After lighting an oil lamp and placing it in front of the *ṣìgìdì*, he chants an Ifá *odu*. The woman sees *ṣìgìdì* and returns to her husband.

Magical Protection used by 272 Rank-and-File Informants

Approximately forty-five per cent of our 272 rank-and-file informants use one or more forms of magical protection against specific kinds of misfortune (witchcraft, enemies, evil spirits, accidents, illness) or against adversities in general. Protective charms include *gbẹ́rẹ́* (native medicine rubbed into incisions made in skin); magical rings and waist-bands; and native medicine other than that used in *gbẹ́rẹ́*.

NOTES

[1] E. B. Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, pp. 77–78.

[2] Some say there are 16 main *odú* and that each has 16 subdivisions. Others say there are 256 *odu* with many subdivisions.

[3] For an earlier study, see William R. Bascom, "Ifa Divination," *Man* 42 pp. 41–43. See Wande Abimbola, "The Odu of Ifa", *African Notes* Vol. 1(April, 1964), pp. 6-12, for a presentation and translation of chapters 3 and 4 of Odi Meji, the fourth of the principal *Odus*. The most comprehensive study of Ifa divination published thus far is: William Bascom, *Ifa Divination*, Indiana University Press, 1969.

[4] E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 191.

[6] Prince found differences of opinion among his informants on whether or nor witches could be the *sole* cause of mental illness. "Out of eleven healers who were questioned specifically on the matter, seven said that witches could cause mental illness, and four said they could not. Opinion was unanimous, however, about the witches ability to spoil the power of medicine." Raymond Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry", in Ari Kiev, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[7] Morton-Williams's comment about Yoruba methods of dealing with witches in the past is of interest. He says: "...it seems to have been rare in the past (nowadays accusation of witchcraft is forbidden in the Criminal Code of Nigeria) for the authorities to take action against a particular woman. On the whole, then, it seems that efforts were made to deal with witchcraft strictly on the plane of ritual; but if a particular woman somehow brought these fears into focus on herself, then she was killed by an *egúngún* or by men of the *Orò* cult. The ancestors were invoked and the organization of the ancestor cults used, to kill witches because the ancestors are evidences of immortality, no less than because they symbolize the desired triumph of male vigour over female." (Peter Morton-Williams, "Yoruba Responses to the Fear of *Africa*, 30 (1960), p. 39.)

[8] "Native soap." Palm-kernel is roasted and pounded and sieved to get oil. Wood ashes are put in a pot with a hole in the bottom, and water is poured on top of the ashes. Water drips through the hole. Palm-kernel oil and this water are cooked together and coagulate into native soap.

[9] R. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[10] P. Morton-Williams, "The Atinga Cult Among the South-Western Yoruba: A Sociological Analysis of a Witch-Finding Movement", *Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire*, No. 18 July, 1956, p. 332.

[11] Only one of our informants had attended college. Lambo reports that in a group of Nigerian students who "broke down" during their university work in Great Britain in 1957, he found that

the symptoms in more than 90 per cent of the patients "offered clear-cut evidence of African traditional beliefs in bewitchment and machinations of the enemy. . ." T.A. Lambo, "Patterns of Psychiatric Care in Developing African Countries," in A. Kiev, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Lambo does not indicate what proportion this group constituted in the total number of Nigerians studying in universities in Great Britain in 1957, nor does he mention the cultural background of these students. It would be interesting to know whether those who had the greatest difficulties emotionally came from the most traditional homes.

[12] Morton-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[13] Raymond Prince, "The Yoruba Image of the Witch", *The Journal of Mental Science*, No. 107, 1961 p. 804.

[14] A. H. Leighton, T. A. Lambo, C. C. Hughes, D. C. Leighton, Jane Murphy, D. B. Macklin, *Psychiatric Disorder among the Yoruba*, Cornell University Press, 1963, p. 112.

[15] For differing points of view on whether witchcraft contributes to the stability of the social structure, see S. F. Nadel, "Witchcraft in Four African Societies: An Essay in Comparison," *American Anthropologist*, No. 54 1952, pp. 18–29; Paul Bohannan, *Africa and Africans*, Natural History Press (Doubleday and Company), 1964, pp. 232–33; and John Middleton and E. H., Winter (eds.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.

[16] See Raymond Prince, "Curse, Invocation and Mental Health Among the Yoruba", *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal*, No. 5, 1960, pp. 65–79.

[17] According to E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 84, when Èṣù is employed to deal the enemy a blow or to cause him to act in a way which will bring upon him a calamitous result, he is called Ṣigidi or Ẹlẹ́gbára. Prince ("Curse, Invocation, and Mental Health Among the Yoruba," p. 70) says that Ṣigidi is the spirit of a malevolent agency.

[18] That is, *ina* leaves and *èṣínṣín* roots do not produce an itching effect on human beings whereas other parts of those plants do.

III. TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

CHAPTER III

TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

TRADITIONAL HEALERS

DATA concerning the age, sex, residence, schooling, and religion of the twenty-two persons interviewed in this study who had acquired reputations as healers are given in the Preface. Most of these practitioners operate on a part-time basis—two devote from two to five hours weekly to their practice, ten give six to fifteen hours, the time spent by four depends on the number of patienst, and six gave varying answers, incluing full-time work. Fees vary with the reputation of the traditional doctor, with five informants charging from 10k to ₦2, fourteen ranging from 50k to ₦40, two having no fixed fees, and one setting fees according to his relationship to the patient.

It is not uncommon to hear educated Nigerians as well as expatriates in Ibadan, distinguish between "herbalists" and *babaláwo* and other diviners. The former are said not to use divination and to rely on medical history and symptoms for diagnosis. Generally, Prince says, these *onișeguns* are considered more respectable by the Westernized Yoruba.[1] Our efforts to find "pure" herbalists in the sections of Ibadan in which we worked were unavailing. Some of the traditional healers that we interviewed were not involved in or had minimal involvement in traditional religion, but none could be called "pure" herbalists in the sense that they had no concern about divination, witchcraft, or sorcery. It is possible to distinguish among traditional doctors in such matters as skill in healing, reputation, concern about the witches, and so forth, but, in my view, dismissal of all healers who have anything to do with divination and related aspects of traditional belief as "quacks" is too sweeping a judgement.[2] Undoubtedly some practitioners use herbs and plants without having much knowledge of their properties. Also, there are medicine peddlers who appear at markets or go from door to door selling native medicine, Aspro, patent medicines, and, in some cases antibiotics.[3] Perhaps those who fall in these latter two categories could be called "quacks".

In most cases, traditional healers see their clients in a room reserved for consultations. Some of these "offices" are orderly and clean, others are cluttered and dirty. A very busy healer in Ibadan sits all day on a dirt floor surrounded by eggs, eggshells, a large bowl containing a mixture of eggs and native medicine used in treating temporary sterility in women, some thirty "Star beer" bottles which had been re-filled with liquid traditional medicine (one of these bottles was labelled "Ogun Ale"), baked bean cakes, roots which have been ground and mixed with honey or sugar, leaves, native soap, three *ṣìgìdì*, and an Ibeji figure which had been brought to him by a woman patient, one of whose twins had died. This man claimed to be a Baptist, but said that he did not attend church in Ibadan. A framed Native Doctor's certificate from

Ile-Ifẹ was hung on the wall of his office, and he said he belongs to the Oluawo Herbal Company of Ibadan. Instead of using an *ọpẹlẹ* (divination chain) in diagnosing illnesses, a client of this healer talked to a coin then threw it on a page of notebook paper upon which the notation for the sixteen odu of Ifá were drawn.[4] A *ṣigìdi* was used in such conjuring enterprises as getting back a wife who had left her husband. This procedure consisted of placing a lighted oil lamp in front of a *ṣigìdi* and chanting an Ifá *odu*.

A *babaláwo*, aged 40, who lives in a substantial, well-maintained house in Lalupọn, conducts most of his healing practice in the sight of any persons who happen to be present. He has had no schooling. He inherited his position from his father, his mentor both in Ifá worship and in the art of healing, and he had chosen one of his sons for training in these fields.

A Muslim healer, aged 60, treat clients in the front room of the second floor of his old, sparsely furnished house. He diagnoses and divines through the use of Ọsanyìn, represented by a small doll-like cloth figure. His technique consists of addressing questions to Ọsányìn and then listening attentively to the divinity's whistled answers. Other healers who follow this procedure are more skilful ventriloquists and get spoken words in reply to their queries.

An Ifá priest, aged 46, who is very active in healing in the Oje section of Ibadan, holds his consultations in the main room of his home. This man, of the Ilesha subtribe, had moved from Ibokun to Ibadan in 1954. Dozens of different combinations of ground roots, leaves, and barks, each wrapped in a piece of newspaper and tied with a string or kept in a jar or can, were stored in a small, adjoining room. Our attention was called to a large bottle which he said contained gall from a cow's gall bladder, a very powerful medicine. This healer claimed that he uses the witches for good purposes. He keeps a small, white, downy feather, said to be from a witch's bird, in a jar and uses it in healing. Two certificates hang on the wall: the Oshogbo Society of Native Therapeutists (issued in 1959), and the Ẹgbẹ Onisegun Gbẹfaniyi Ijẹbu (the Gbefaniyi Native Doctor Association of Ijẹbu) (issued in 1950). It was in this man's home that we saw the Ifá ritual given in Chapter I.

An Ibadan man, aged 70, became a Muslim at about the age of 30 and now holds an important office in the Kudeti Mosque. At first insisting that his religion is Islam and that he no longer worshipped the *òrìṣà*, he said later that formerly he had been a hunter and that it was necessary, therefore, for him to participate in the annual ceremony for Ògún. Eventually he acknowledged that he participates in the ceremonies for Ifá, Egúngún, and Ẹgbẹ (Elérìkò) as well as Ògún, and he is thoroughly familiar with the rites for these and other *òrìṣà*. This informant once used Ifá divination in healing (his father was an Ifá priest), but he now uses sixteen numbered checkers.

NATIVE DOCTORS' ASSOCIATIONS

Most native doctors possess one or more certificates of membership in associations of healers. An example of the documents issued by such "societies" was seen in the consultation room of a Lalupọn healer.

NIGERIA UNIVERSAL AND BENEFICIAL CURES SOCIETY
Guide of Native Doctors, Herbalists, and Alagmus
Certificate of Membership

With few exceptions, these organizations seem to be inactive, and the main purpose of membership is to provide some validation for the position of healer. The members of one association said that a prospective member is required to pass an examination before getting a certificate. Applicants are questioned on the length of time they have been practising, the kinds of medicine they use, and the kinds of plants, which, if eaten, may cause death. Those belonging to another organization reported that no examination is given to candidates, but they claimed that they watch the ways these persons treat patients before admitting them and collecting membership fees. One society provides a placard listing ten rules for its members. Five of these rules are:

> Must not use poison.
> Must not tell lies that we can make or use medicine to become money (sic) or to find money there.
> Doctor must not combine with thieves.
> If a woman is brought to this doctor, he should not have connection with the woman or marry her, if he likes to marry her, he must get promissory note from the family of the woman.
> If a conceived (sic) woman comes to doctor,the doctor must not use bad medicine for the woman or to damage the condition of the woman.

Several hundred practitioners are at least nominal members of the Oluawo Herbal Company in Ibadan. Members meet from time to time in the areas of the city in which they reside, and the business transacted at monthly meetings includes reading the rules and regulations of the organization, settling quarrels among the members, and disciplining members. In the home of the head of this association, the following framed communication was observed:

IBADAN DISTRICT COUNCIL

20th April, 1961

Chief.....and Others

.....

.....,Ibadan

Petition

With references to your letter dated 11th April, 1961, the Ibadan District Council Chieftancy Committee at their meeting of 1st March, 1961 noted the complaints made in your petition of 10th February, 1961 and directed (me) to inform you that the

Committee recognized nobody as the head of the native Doctors and Herbalists in Ibadan and District other than Chief....., the Oluawo of Ibadan.

Secretary
Ibadan District Council

The significance of this document seems to lie mainly in the prestige that it gives to the head of the association. Another framed document displayed by this official and used to enhance his reputation is a letter written in 1962 by a visiting psychiatrist.

Nigerian Institute of Social And Economic Research

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, MAPO HALL
IBADAN, NIGERIA

This is to certify that I have studied the treatment methods and therapeutic results of some twenty-four psychotic patients as they passed through Mr.....'s hands, over a period of 10 months. He is efficient and rapid in his handling and I consider his treatment results to be very superior. He is kind to his patients, who appear to be very appreciative of his help. I have seen no evidence of harsh or cruel treatment.

Research Associate

Upon being admitted to membership in the Oluawo Herbal Company, a healer is given a certificate.

OLUAWO HERBAL COMPANY
Ibadan, Western Nigeria
Healing by Native Medicine
Registered No. 91896
Membership Certificate

Whoever failed to hold this Certificate would not be recognized as a genuine (sic) Native Doctor in Western Region of Nigeria.

Signature

At Chief.....'s home, three "messengers" wearing military-type uniforms are stationed. The head of the association said that a messenger is sent to collect when a native doctor who belongs to Oluawo Herbal Company complains that a patient refuses to pay for treatment.

DIAGNOSES, CAUSES AND TREATMENT OF ILLNESSES

Nearly all of the traditional Yoruba healers we interviewed rely mainly on some type of divination in diagnosing illnesses of their clients, and a divinatory technique may also be used in determining the appropriate treatments. We have discussed in Chapter II the principal methods of divining in the Ibadan area: the *òpèlè* (divination chain), palm-nuts, cowrie shells, numbered checkers, and ventriloquism. Some healers pride themselves on finding it unnecessary to ask a sick person any questions in order to diagnose his illness. At times some of the healers we knew took some medical "history", paid some attention to symptoms, or closely observed their patients.

The most common methods of treating patients consist of medical preparations made of mixtures of roots, leaves, barks, fruits, parts of animals, and so forth, and rituals involving offerings to the *òrìṣà* or the witches, or both. The medical preparations are administered orally, in ointments, by bathing, or through scarification.[5]

As Talbot said more than forty years ago, probably the main efficacy of these medical mixtures is derived from "faith and belief in them."[6] This is not to say, however, that none of the ingredients used have any value pharmacologically. In the formulas given below, we have included where possible the enlightening comments of J. M. Dalziel on the actual and alleged medical values of West African plants mentioned by our informants. In 1964, Professor O. Onuaguluchi of the Department of Pharmacology, Medical School of the University of Ibadan, told the writer that his analyses showed that certain plant materials used by traditional doctors are effective. For example, one plant is used in preparing a worm expellant, another in making an anti-convulsant, and a third for treating diuretics. In commenting on various herbal infusions that are used in treating malaria, Ajose writes that they ". . .often include the leaves of *Cassia occidentalis* (*réré*), *Rauwolffia vomitoria* (*asoféyẹjẹ*), and *Morinda* (*òrúwọ*), a very bitter leaf. *Cassia* contains anthraquinone derivatives which have purgative properties; *morinda* also is said to contain anthraquinone derivatives and, being bitter, it will have stomachic and tonic properties as well. The third common constituent, *rauwolffia*, is used for the treatment of high blood-pressure and as a sedative in neuro-psychotic conditions".[7]

Other types of traditional treatment include surgery and isolation. Most of the surgery in Western Nigeria is carried out by the Hausas and they travel around the country practising their trade. Uvulectomy and blood letting are very commonly done.[8] Ajose reports that smallpox cases are isolated and that only those who have had a previous attack, including the smallpox priests, are allowed to attend those stricken with the disease. He points out that, regardless of the mythological explanations of the causes of smallpox, its infectious nature is recognized and it is treated accordingly. In addition to isolation, disinfection may be carried out by fumigating a house with smoke from certain logs, or by spraying the walls and washing the floor with herbal preparations. Fomites (substances capable of absorbing and transporting germs, for example, woollen clothes) are burned.[9]

Illnesses treated most frequently by Ibadan Area Healers

In considering the forty illnesses which twenty-two healers in Lalupọn and Ibadan treat most frequently, the following categories are useful: symptoms called illnesses, mental illnesses; illnesses associated with child-bearing; and other illnesses. This account of diagnoses, causes, and treatment of these illnesses is based on interviews with our sample of traditional doctors, only one of whom is regarded as a "specialist" in treating mental illness.

Symptoms Called Illnesses

Among the symptoms of illness which are regarded by Yoruba healers as illnesse themselves are backache, constipation, convulsions, cough, dizziness, fainting, gas pains, headache, and stomach-ache. Various explanations of backache are given, including impure blood, worms[10] in the backbone, and injury to the backbone when the patient was young. Constipation is blamed on "rotten food". In one cure for constipation the roots of *aka*, *aringo*, and *òrúwọ* are cut into small pieces and put into a bottle with some Gordon's gin.

In some cases, a healer who speaks of convulsions is referring to lockjaw (tetanus). The patient is said to be "too stong" and to be likely to close his mouth so that it is difficult to get it open. Three formulas for "convulsions" follow.[12] In the first: the root of *òlòragbó*, with the bark removed, is ground with the bones of *aṣa* (a type of fowl) and then mixed with *àdí* (palm-kernel oil). The patient licks this mixture. In the second prescription, the roots of *ifòn*, *tude* and *ipèta*; onion leaves; *eru* seeds. and *ãnàmọ́*, *iṣu*, and *ògèdè ọjọ́* leaves are pounded together and water is added.[13] The mixture is squeezed and sieved. For an adult, the dose is four tablespoons; for children it is one spoonful. In the third remedy, *ìtàkùn ato* (a climbing plant), kola-nuts, bitter kola-nuts and an alligator pepper are all cut into bits and put into a bottle with water and a small quantity of Gordon's gin (to preserve the mixture).[14] For some healers, "cough" covers colds, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis, and the trouble is attributed to worms. Cures for headache, fever, sore throat and related complaints may be tried.

Dizziness is believed to be due to worms or to bad blood. No explanations were obtained for fainting. Gas pains were said to be caused by tiny red worms. A number of reasons were given for the common complaint of headaches, including impure blood, worms, worms inside the blood, worms in the head, constipation, and smallpox. In one cure for headaches, *iwọ̀ ọ̀ṣun* root, *èrù* fruit, and native soap are pounded together, and the patient's head is washed with the mixture.[15] In another formula, *ogbọ́* leaves and shea-butter are mixed and rubbed on the patient's head.[16] A third remedy calls for placing seven seeds of an alligator pepper in cotton wool, lighting the material and inhaling the smoke. Or a healer may squeeze *èkùyá* leaves and pour the liquid on the head and eyes of the client.[17]

Stomachaches are blamed on worms or on impure food. A favourite remedy consists of a mixture of cow's urine, onion leaves, dried tobacco leaves, and water.[18] The dose is one spoonful. One healer cooks together the following barks: *epo*, *ìrà*,

òri, *idl* and *èrù*, and asks a patient to drink some of this decoction.[19] For a stomach-ache caused by witches, one practitioner grinds the black seeds of dried *eyo* fruit with the bones of *òkété* (large rat).

Mental Illnesses

Prince lists fifteen expressions in the Yoruba language which are used to designate psychiatric disturbances, eight for psychoses and seven for psychoneuroses.[20] The research team of the Cornell-Aro Mental Health Research Project in the former Western Region of Nigeria found that the views of healers and other Yoruba differ most widely from the ideas of psychiatrists on the causes of mental illness. Some of the causes given by the team's informants are accepted by psychiatrists, but many, including those to which the Yoruba attach major importance, are not. The project report organizes the various causes into a limited number of categories and presents them in the Yoruba order of importance as: malignant influences, superhuman and human; drugs and medicines; Heredity; contagion (not germ theory, but belief that many illnesses can be acquired from a sick person); violation of one's destiny; fate; cosmic forces; physical traumata; and psychological traumata. It is pointed out that Yoruba theories of causes in illness are complex and are "part and parcel of the whole magic-religious-hereditary cluster of sentiment patterns which vary considerably from one group to another within the tribe.[21]

Illnesses named by the healers interviewed in Lalupọn and in Ibadan as "mental" include: *àbíkú*, *ègbá*, *mágùn*, mental illness (madness), epilepsy, "internal smallpox" *ọdẹ orì*, *ògún òru*, poison worry, and witch-caused illness.[22] An *àbíkú* is thought to be a re-incarnation of a sibling of the same sex who has died recently. Such a chief may be born four or five times before he survives (decides to stay) more than a few days, weeks, or years. No special symptoms are given for an *àbíkú*; a woman is said to know that she has given birth to such a child. No causes for "abiku-ness" were given by my informants except that a child born after the death of a sibling of the same sex is highly vulnerable and steps must be taken, therefore, to prevent its departure. The anxiety is felt most strongly by the mother. Treatment for *àbíkú* consists of attaching a charm to the child and seeking the advice of a *babaláwo* or other diviner about additional precautions.

Ẹ̀gbà (paralysis) is revealed in a "twisted" tongue, hand, or leg, and is said to be caused by an "evil wind" or a whirlwind. Proper treatment is sought through divination.

A man suffering from *mágùn* somersaults three times. This illness comes from "medicine" given to a woman whose husband suspects her of infidelity. A man who has sexual intercourse with her will become ill. The remedy consists of a mixture of hen fat (a pigweed or goose foot plant) and the root of *kanranjángbọ́n*.[23]

Mental illness (mental trouble; madness) is discovered by seeing behaviour that, is "not normal" (walking around aimlessly, laughing abnormally, throwing stones, acting like a drunkard, and so forth), or by the patient's own report. Such trouble are due to evil spirits, especially to meeting Ṣànpọ̀nnà in the sun at mid-day, sorcery, the witches, a heart attack, or a "brain attack." *Asofẹ́yeje* or *olóorà igbó* (rauwolfia) alone or in a mixture which includes its leaves and roots, new leaves of *ipansa* (a

climbing plant) *iyèré* fruit (hot as pepper), and the water of snail is used as a tranquilizer. A teaspoon of this concoction is added to a glass of water and given to the patient to drink. Another formula includes pounding together *ọbọ̀* bark and six seeds of alligator pepper and having the patient inhale the fumes of this medicine.[24]

The symptoms of epilepsy are falling down and foaming at the mouth. It is attributed to sorcery, heredity, or to the shaking in the patient's stomach of an animal which, when vomited, looks like a toad without head or legs (called by one traditional doctor a "worm"). No treatment formulas were given other than those for "mental trouble."

In Prince's view many cases that the traditional healer calls "internal small-pox" would be considered schizophrenia by Western psychiatrists. The onset of such illness, Prince says, is marked by complaints of internal heat, weakness and bizarre somatic complaints.[25]

Ọde orí is an illness in which the patient feels that something is walking around inside his head. In addition to the crawling feeling, the patient hears sound in his head and in his ears. This affliction is believed to be due to "worms".[26]

Ògún òru refers to an illness which attacks one during sleep. The sufferer is unable to sleep and is said to cry "like a goat". A person who believes he has been poisoned behaves nervously and blames his illness on any enemy. A traditional doctor determines whether a mental illness has been caused by witches by his power to detect witchcraft, that is, by divination or by observing the reactions of a client to native medical compounds. The displeasure of the witches is incurred by speaking ill of them or of annoying them in some other way. Usually the treatment consists of making offerings to them.

In his extensive study of indigenous Yoruba psychiatry, Raymond Prince found that the psychotherapeutic elements in Yoruba healing are similar to those reported in other investigations of "primitive" medicine. These elements include: suggestion (direct command, simile, illustrative story, song, sacramental elements (rituals magical gestures, and symbolic objects), sacramental elements involving body contact especially contact with the head; sacrifice: manipulation of the environment (patient may be asked to move to a new compound or to change his occupation); ego-strengthening elements (patient may be told to join *òrìṣà* cults and he may gain a sense of protection from "being watched over" by his ancestors or the *òrìṣà*); abreaction and group therapy through possession and masquerade; and personality-growth factors. Prince saw very little evidence in Yoruba psychiatry that attempts were made to change the individual, but he adds that the insight and personality-growth functions of psychotherapy are very recent elements in Western psychiatry.[27]

Illnesses Associated with Child-Bearing

Complaints associated with child-bearing include sterility and temporary infertility, *ìjù* (overdue pregnancy), and difficulty in delivery. Sterility in women is attributed to the witches, to a condition called *èdà* (spermatozoa fails to stay in the uterus), impure blood, worms in the stomach, or a "hot uterus". Temporary infertility in men or women is thought to be due to the presence of dirt in the blood or in the reproductive organs or to dysentery. The most frequent recourse for barrenness

in women is an appeal and offerings to one of the *òrìṣà* or to the witches. One remedy for "temporary" sterility in men is Schnapps (Dutch gin) into which bits of *Iba-otu* "wood" have been cut. Overdue pregnancy is caused by the witches or by enemies, or, if a woman is very "corrupt", she may have so much fat in her body that the foetus will fail to develop. The remedy is an unspecified native medicine. Usually a difficult delivery is blamed on the witches. One healer said that if a woman is not given traditional medicine during pregnancy to make the child move and adjust to position, she may have difficulty in delivering. For such difficulty, the following formula may be used: Grind together *àpò*, *àrọ̀*, and *àlúpàyídà* leaves,[28] add a whole alligator pepper, and mix one-half teaspoonful with a small quantity of *ẹ̀kọ* (pap) and water. The patient drinks the mixture as this incantation is repeated.

Ọmọ inú rẹ nísisiyí ni ìwọ yíò bí.	Mrs X, (the woman answers) you will be safely delivered now.
Ọjọ ewé àpò bá fi ojú kan atẹ́gun níí wálé ayé o.	The day that the wind blows the *àpò* leaf it drops.
Àrọ̀ ló ní ko rorí kí o máa bọ̀ wá sí ayé	*Àrọ̀* commands you (child) to turn your head downward and come into the world.
Àlùpayídà lóní kí ó pa ara dà kí o máa bọ̀ wá sílé ayé.	*Àlùpayídà* says you should move and come into the world.
Ní ọjọ́ tí ewé àpò bá fojú kan atẹ̀gùn níí máa íbọ̀.	The *àpò* leaf drops whenever it is blown by the wind.

Other Illnesses

A residual category of illnesses given by these twenty-two healers includes dysentery, dropsy, *ẹṣẹ́*, eye trouble, goiter, gonorrhoea, guinea worm, "yellow fever" (actually jaundice or hepatitis), worms, *kùúnú* (hernia), leprosy, malaria, *nárun*, pain in the joints (arthritis), rheumatism, smallpox, swollen scrotum, and yaws.

"Worms" are said to be the cause of dysentery. One remedy is prepared by cooking *asáràgbá* leaves and *kánhún bílálà* in *ògi* (an oat-like plant) water. The patient drinks this medicine on the second day of the illness.

Dropsy, described as "swelling in all parts of the body", is attributed to "worms inside the blood". One traditional doctor said that *ẹṣẹ́* (swelling of glands in the neck) comes from impure blood, another blamed this trouble on the witches. Eye trouble (eye waters and is whitish) is thought to be caused by worms in the eye. No explanation was obtained for goiter. The symptoms of gonorrhoea are variously described as pain in the penis, pus on penis, and difficulty in urinating. The cause is given simply as sexual intercourse or as a "disease contracted from women". One healer claimed that "everyone has gonorrhoea, but it becomes a disease when the impure blood of one person mixes with the germs of gonorrhoea of a person of the opposite sex". One remedy for gonorrhoea consists of mixing the ground fruit of *àwòrònsó* with *àdì* (palm-kernel oil) and putting a spoonful of this mixture in pap made of oats.

The adult guinea worm (filaria medinensis), a worm from one to six feet long lives in the connective tissue of human beings just under the skin. The itching in the abscesses caused by the presence of the parasite is exceedingly painful. Traditional healers attribute the presence of the guinea worm to walking in dirty water.[29] One

remedy consists of rubbing on the affected area a mixture of equal parts of Menthol Balm (a patient medicine) and Schnapps. Or one of the formulas for the treatment of *kòkòrò* (worms in general) may be utilized on a guinea worm patient.

The Yoruba use the term "yellow fever" to refer to any type of jaundice. The main symptom is brownish eyes, and the cause is thought to be "bad food". One medicine is made by cooking *imí-eṣú*[30] and onion leaves with *èrù* fruit,[31] palm-oil, and water. Liquid is drunk and is used in bathing.

The Yoruba believe that many illnesses are due in whole or in part to "worms" *Kòkòrò*, the general term for worms, is given as an illness or as a cause of a wide variety of illnesses. Frequently the worms are said to be "in the stomach" or it may be said that "the abdomen is hard". One formula for treating *kòkòrò* calls for steeping the following ingredients in water for three days: *ahùn*, *ewúro*, locust bean, and *agbọ́* roots, plus *enu opirì* leaves.[32] The liquid is drunk cold. *Kòkòrò*, a skin disease (*èélá*) is believed by some persons to be inherited. One treatment consists of grinding *ogirisako* (an inedible yam), adding Schnapps, and rubbing the mixture on the affected parts.

Kùúnú (hernia), also said to be inherited, is treated with *àsùnwọ̀n* leaves[33] which have been wrapped in fresh broad leaves, covered with hot ashes until heated, mixed with *èkuru* (bean paste) and eaten. Another collection of new *àsùnwọ̀n* leaves is squeezed into water and this decoction is drunk. One healer added that "people should be near to watch effects of the medicine on the patient".

Among many other diseases, leprosy is blamed on "worms". A rather complicated remedy involves cooking in a new clay pot the roots of the *arójòkún*, *òṣúnṣún*, *àrìngò*, *abo*, and *òrúpa* plants[34] with wood ashes and water. Several *aṣa* fowls are fed in a cage, their faeces collected and added, with *àlúpàyídà* leaves,[35] to native soap. The patient is bathed in a pit (to prevent the water from flowing away and thus spreading the disease) with the liquid mentioned above and native soap.

In cases of malaria, often called "fever", the eyes are "brownish" and the urine is brown coloured. Although several healers said they did not know the cause of malaria, approximately one-seventh of the 272 non-healers interviewed in Ijaye, Lalupon, and Ibadan attributed this disease to "mosquito bites." In one prescription, *iṣin* bark,[36] red pepper, locust beans, and salt are ground together, and the patient adds this mixture to pap every morning and evening.

Itching is a symptom of *nárun*, an illness attributed by some to the ubiquitous worms "inside the blood", but several informants who are non-healers think that *nárun*, which they say is an excess of a substance which everyone has to some degree in his body, comes from eating vegetables which have not been cooked in enough palm-oil. According to a member of the teaching staff of the Medical School, University of Ibadan, *nárun* is a filarial infection.

Pain in the joints (arthritis) is charged to "a red worm" or to constipation. The signs of rheumatism are swelling, pain, and aching of bones. This trouble is ascribed to "impure blood", inheritance, and "bad fats in the body". To treat rheumatism, pound together the roots of *làkàsìn*, *gbongún*, *ẹgbèsì*,[37] and *inabìrì*, and add a pint of Gordon's gin, mix with pap and take two tablespoonfuls twice a day.

Smallpox is widely attributed to "meeting evil spirits," that is, to meeting Ṣànpọ̀nnáa. Smallpox victims have fever and chills, pains and swellings, dream and do not eat well. In one type of treatment, a mixture of oil of lavender, *kánfọ̀* (camphor), and *sèbé* water is applied to smallpox sores. Another palliative is made of juice from *ìjòyún* leaves and shea-butter, a mixture which is rubbed on the patient. To appease Ṣànpọ̀nnáa, a *babaláwo* may advise a client or his family to give a ceremony with animal and other offerings.

Yaws, a contagious skin disease, is thought to be caused by worms.

In addition to the illnesses which they said they treat most frequently, the traditional healers consulted in Lalupọn and Ibadan prescribe for such complaints as *gbọ̀fungbọ̀fun*, lockjaw, sore throat, *lobutu*, and snakebite. The symptoms of *gbọ̀fungbọ̀fun* are a dark-coated tongue and loss of appetite, and the remedy consists of pounded *ìpèta* roots[38] to which dry gin is added. One formula for treating lockjaw calls for cutting onion leaves and *ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀-ọ̀jọ̀* leaves[39] into bits and adding camphor and *káfúrà* (copper sulphate). The patient takes one spoonful each day. Another remedy includes pounding a dried rat and dried chameleon into powder, adding some of the roots and leaves used in treating convulsions and lime juice. A teaspoon of this liquid is given at intervals of several hours.

For sore throat, *ìpèta* roots, *ìrà* bark and *kánhún bílálà* (hard potash) are pounded together, one pint of Gordon's gin is added, and the mixture is used as a gargle.

Lóbùútù is described as a painful type of swelling, especially on the thigh, and one in which the affected part is very hot. The following ingredients are cut into bits and boiled in a pot: *enu opìrì* leaves, *tàngírí* fruit, the roots and leaves of *agbári ẹtu* a bunch of *ẹ̀ẹ̀rùn àwọ̀nká*, and the roots of a male pawpaw.[40] The water is drained through a sieve into a container and an equal amount of Gordon's gin is added. This remedy is used both internally and externally.

A medicine intended to counteract poison, especially snakebite, but useful also in treating rheumatism and similar aches is given in a booklet in the possession of and endorsed by an Ibadan healer.[41] According to this booklet: Iwe Iwosan, by Samuel Luofon Aluko See p. 77

This medicine is said to neutralize the effect of poison as water puts out fire. It calls for grinding together the leaves of *àfòmọ́*, *ajede*, *orìjì*, *arójòkú;* the roots of *ipẹta*, the head of a cobra; two whole alligator peppers; the faeces of a parrot; and the root of *ojú ológbò*.[42] The medicine is applied to incisions made around the affected part.

The formulae given for the treatment of the illnesses listed here are not highly standardized. Leaves, roots, barks, seeds, nuts, fruits, some of them purchased in the market, together with non-plant materials, are mixed together. An infusion may be made by steeping the ingredients in water or gin, or by boiling or incinerating them. At a given time, the combination of elements may be determined by some type of divinatory procedure.

In discussing the kinds of treatment sought by our rank and file informants when they are ill (Table 16, Chapter IV), we point out that half of 270 informants said that they had often or sometimes prepared medicine for themselves during the past two years. Also, nearly one-third of this number stated that they had often or sometimes purchased traditional medicine, presumably from medicine peddlers. During

the two-year period, more than two fifths had taken medicine for "power" (strength), three-fifths for "purge", three-fifths for "blood", and seven-tenths for "other things" [43] We do not know what proportions of these preventive and curative remedies, taken for power, purge, blood and other purposes, were self-prepared and what proportions were obtained from traditional doctors, medicine peddlers, drug stores, and clinics.

Causes of Illnesses: Healers and Non-healers

Some comparisons can be made of the causes assigned by healers to the illnesses they treat most frequently and the explanations of illnesses for which our sample of non-healers purchases remedies at pharmacies. Some of the latter informants reported up to five illnesses for which they had purchased drug store remedies.

CAUSES OF ILLNESSES

NON-HEALERS		HEALERS
Illnesses		
DYSENTERY (81)		DYSENTERY
Food (bad; badly cooked; sweet; raw; peanuts, manioc, pepper; too much)	55	Worms
Other illnesses (constipation; fever; backache; gonorrhea; diarrhoea; piles)	10	
Worms	6	
Drinking bad water	5	
Sitting too long	3	
Act of God	1	
Flies	1	
STOMACH TROUBLE (60)		STOMACH-ACHE
Food (bad; too much; badly cooked; unbalanced diet; change of diet; irregular eating times; malnutrition)	29	Impure food
Worms	26	Worms
Other illnesses (constipation; dysentery; indigestion)	3	Witchcraft
Germs	1	
Impure blood	1	
HEADACHE (58)		HEADACHE
Extreme heat	26	Other illnesses (Constipation; smallpox)
Other illnesses (constipation; fever; indigestion)	14	Worms
Worms	4	Impure blood
Impure blood	4	
Overexertion	4	
Walking in the rain	3	
Insects	1	
Act of God	1	
Food (bad or dirty)	1	

GUINEA WORM (47)		GUINEA WORM
Drinking bad water	29	Walking in dirty water
Walking in impure water	13	
Unhygienic living conditions	3	
Food (bad or dirty)	1	
Impure blood	1	
MALARIA (41)		MALARIA
Mosquito bite	38	No cause given or "Don't know"
Impure fat in body	2	
Blood clots	1	
FEVER (25)		
Walking or working in the sun	8	
Other illnesses (constipation; colds)	7	
Overexertion	4	
Unhygienic living conditions	2	
Food	2	
Worms (malnutrition; pounded yam)	1	
Impure blood	1	
RESPIRATORY ILLNESSES (25)		COUGH
Other illnesses (colds; fever)	9	Worms
Contagion or contact with others	5	
Worms	3	
Food (bad; fresh or dried corn)	3	
Smoking	2	
Spitting on the road	1	
Drinking bad water	1	
Dry throat	1	
SMALLPOX (12)		SMALLPOX
Bad spirits	5	Meeting Sonponna
Walking or working in sun	4	
Dry season	2	
Germs	1	
CONVULSIONS (11)		
Colds	5	
Impure blood	4	
Fever	2	
GONORRHEA (10)		GONORRHEA
Sexual intercourse	10	Sexual intercourse
NARUN (7)		NARUN
Food (Bitter leaf vegetables; under-cooked meat; Kolanut; too much)	5	Vegetables not cooked in enough palm oil.
Worms	1	
Inherited	1	

BACKACHE (7)		BACKACHE
Overexertion	6	Worms
Worms	1	Injury to backbone when young
		Impure blood
YELLOW FEVER (6)		YELLOW FEVER
Unhygienic living conditions	2	Bad food
Worms	1	
Insects	1	
Walking or working in sun	1	
Contagion or contact with others	1	
RHEUMATISM (4)		RHEUMATISM
Impure blood	2	Impure blood
Unhygienic living conditions	1	Fat in body
Witchcraft	1	Inherited
DIARRHOEA (4)		
Food (bad; too much)	2	
Worms	1	
Drinking dirty water	1	
CONSTIPATION (5)		CONSTIPATION
Food (too much; eating at irregular times)	4	Rotten food
Other illness (dysentery)	1	
LOCKJAW (3)		
Germs	1	
Unhygienic living conditions	1	
Other illness (colds)	1	
ROUNDWORM (2)		
Food (bad; too much meat)	2	
LEPROSY (1)		LEPROSY
Unhygienic living conditions	1	Worms
WÓMỌ-WÓMỌ[44] (1)		
Witchcraft	1	
MAGUN		MAGUN
Sorcery		Sorcery (Husband gives medicine to wife he suspects of infidelity; man who has sexual intercourse with this woman becomes ill)
DROPSY (1)		DROPSY
Colds	1	Worms

EYE TROUBLE (1)
Sorcery 1

ELEBUTU (serious type of rheumatism) (1)
Impure blood 1

MENTAL ILLNESS (1)
Dislocation of brain 1

EYE TROUBLE
Worms

MENTAL ILLNESS
Meeting Ṣọ̀npọ̀nná at mid-day
Sorcery
Witchcraft
Heart attack
Brain attack
Nervousness (of person who believes he has been poisoned)
Sorcery

EPILEPSY
Sorcery
Heredity
Worms

ODE ORI
Worms

EGBA (paralysis)
Evil wind

WITCH-CAUSED ILLNESS
Witchcraft

INFERTILITY (temporary)
Dirt in reproductive organs
Dirt in blood
Other illness (dysentery)

STERILITY
Witchcraft

EDA
Impure blood
Worms
"Hot" uterus

OVERDUE PREGNANCY
Witchcraft

DIFFICULT DELIVERY
Witchcraft

YAWS
Worms

ARTHRITIS
Red worm
Other illness (Constipation)

ESE
Witchcraft
Impure blood

KOKORO EI A (Ringworm)
Heredity

KUNU
Heredity

DISCUSSION

Several comments are called for concerning these reports about disease causation and treatment. The fact that non-healers interviewed in this study have purchased remedies at pharmacies for the illnesses listed does not mean that they have not used other types of treatment for these illnesses. Likewise, these informants do not go to the drug store to obtain remedies for all illnesses.

The healers spoke often about sorcery, witchcraft, and "bad spirits" as the causes of psychological illnesses and troubles associated with reproduction. It is noteworthy that the non-healers made virtually no mention of going to pharmacies to purchase remedies for illnesses in these two categories. Also, healers attribute stomach-ache, smallpox, epilepsy, and *ese* in whole or in part to witchcraft, sorcery, and evil spirits. The only illness discussed with the non-healers which was said to be due to "bad spirits" was smallpox. Some of these informants did attribute certain illnesses to witchcraft (rheumatism and *wǫ́mǫ-wǫ́mǫ*) and to sorcery (*mágùn* and eye trouble).

Raymond Prince, a psychiatrist who studied forty-six healers practising in Abeokuta Ibadan, Ile-Ife, and Iiebu-Ode or in villages close to these cities, says that the Yoruba divide misfortunes, including diseases, into three categories according to cause: ① natural (faulty diet, small insects or worms, black or watery blood, bad odours ② hemp smoking and other toxins, hereditary factors), preternatural (sorcery, curse, ③ witchcraft), and supernatural (the "double", the ancestors, and the *òrìṣà*).[45] My informants, including healers in Ijaye, Lalupọn and Ibadan, did not conceptualize the causes of misfortunes in this clear-cut way, but they do identify these factors singly or in combination in discussing causation. Although Prince says that most misfortunes have multiple causes, the main causes of the 101 cases he investigated at native treatment centers, according to the healers, "could be broken down into natural (20 per cent), supernatural (18 per cent), and preternatural (45 per cent) causes."[46] He mentions that patients sometimes expressed opinions on causation which were at variance from those given by the healers.

The fact that healers and their clients sometimes differ on the causes of a patient's illness or other misfortune is not surprising. Because of the healer's greater familiarity with powerful forces, his greater preoccupation with such forces, and his personal and professional stake in healing and ritual, he is more likely to attribute an illness to preternatural or supernatural causes than is the ordinary person. Also, it should

be remembered that the range of cases of illness treated by healers may constitute an unrepresentative sample of the range of all illnesses among the Yoruba. It is clear from the replies of our non-healer informants concerning the illnesses for which they purchase remedies at pharmacies as well as the fact that 18 per cent said they try modern medicine first when seriously ill (see discussion following Table 16, Chapter IV), that dozens of illnesses are thought of primarily in naturalistic terms. By naturalistic terms we mean obtaining a herbal remedy from a healer or medicine peddler, a patent medicine at the drug store, or treatment at a dispensary or hospital. If a naturalistic or empirical remedy proves to be ineffective, a patient or his family may then try other procedures, especially offerings to the witches or sacrifices to an *òrìṣà*. For certain types of illness, or for some misfortunes other than illness, a person might go first to a *babaláwo* or to a healer. As we point out in Chapter IV, the reactions of our non-healer informants to modern medical treatment is preponderantly positive, but three-fifths of 246 informants expressed the belief that there are illnesses that modern medicine will never be able to cure (see Table 23, Chapter V). The illnesses in this category mentioned most frequently were epilepsy, *mágùn*, rheumatism, dropsy, yellow fever (hepatitis), *elébútu*, mental illness, lockjaw, convulsions, illnesses occasioned by witchcraft, illnesses caused by sorcery, and Guinea worm.

The skepticism expressed by the majority of our informants that there are illnesses that modern medicine will never be able to cure does not necessarily indicate a belief that only magical techniques can cure these illnesses. Such a belief may be widespread concerning some types of illness, but other diseases are thought to respond only to traditional, empirical remedies or to a combination of traditional, empirical techniques and magical techniques.[4] For example, a young Nigerian surgeon recalled a case where the relatives of a young man upon whom he was to perform a difficult and dangerous operation told him that they planned to sacrifice a goat to increase the chances of a successful outcome. Another example is the practise of adding some traditional medicine to the food which is brought to patients in the Adẹ̀yọ̀ Government Hospital or in the small hospitals maintained by private practitioners in Ibadan.[48]

Relatively few (9 per cent) of our rank-and-file informants said that they "go" to a healer for the treatment of illnesses, and only 2 per cent said they had stayed with a "native doctor" for treatment in the past two years. Nearly one third (30 per cent), however, said they had bought "native medicine" during the past two years. It must be remembered that many of the clients of a "native doctor" come to him for "medicine" and advice on non-medical problems. These problems include getting a job or a promotion, passing an examination, gaining admission to a school or university, marital troubles, "prosperity", "power" (health, vigour), and so forth.

Ordinary people do not seem to be constantly preoccupied with possible dangers from enemies, sorcerers, witches, the "double," ancestors, or the *òrìṣà*. Beliefs about the *òrìṣà* have been undermined to a considerable extent by the teaching of Islam and Christianity, as well as by formal and informal education. So far as my ordinary informants are concerned, the only *òrìṣà* of importance in connection with illness is Ṣànpọ̀nná (smallpox divinity). As Prince points out, the ancestors of the Yoruba are not "so frightening as those of some other cultures."[49] Belief in the witches is

widespread, and there is always the possibility of malicious attacks on the part of enemies, with or without the help of sorcerers. It is quite possible that with the decline in belief in the powers of the traditional gods and the ancestors, belief in the witches may be increasing. Yoruba anxieties have changed somewhat, but the number has not decreased. The witches provide a convenient explanation for one's troubles or a possible means of striking back at one's enemies. At the same time, many persons still have confidence that charms or other kinds of magical protection will shield them from harm.

NOTES

[1] Raymond Prince, "Some Notes on Native Doctors and Their Management of Mental Illness," in T. Adeoye Lambo, *First Pan-African Psychiatric Conference*, Abeokuta, Government Printer, 1962, p. 282.

[2] According to Professor T. Adeoye Lambo's observations on traditional healers, "some of the lesser known ones, especially on the West Coast of Africa, have proved to be either impostors or enthusiasts. . .their methods are either the work of a designing intellect or of an overheated imagination. Nevertheless, a good many of them display extraordinary qualities of mind—common sense, great eloquence, great boldness, and their work displays great controversial dexterity." T. A. Lambo, *African Traditional Beliefs: Concepts of Health and Medical Practice*, Ibadan University Press, 1963, p. 10.

[3] Nwokolo writes the "pseudo-doctors" who carry about stethoscopes, lancets, and hypodermic syringes: (1) people who may be connected with the medical profession, including chemists (pharmacists), laboratory technologists, opticians, nurses, radiographers, and even hospital orderlies and interpreters; (2) get-rich-quick adventurers who live on the hypodermic syringe: and (3) people engaged in other trades who practice medicine part-time, including some teachers, some traders, and some ex-servicemen, who claim they can give all of the injections given by physicians at greatly reduced rates. Due to the indiscreet use of penicillin, Nwokolo says that the city of Ibadan has one of the largest numbers of penicillin-resistant strains of staphylococcus in the world (Uchenna Nwokolo, "The Practice of Medicine by Laymen in Nigeria," *Dokita*, December, 1960, p. 59.) Concerning the patients of medicine peddlers, Beier says: "If the patient is lucky he may be sold coloured water or powdered chalk. If he is unlucky he may be asked to take three tablespoons of Sloan's Liniment against cough. . .I saw a child being given six nivaquine tablets a day against flu. . ." Ulli Beier, "Quack Doctors in a Yoruba Village," *Dokita*, (December 1960), p. 57.

[4] See Fẹla Sowande, *Ifa*, Forward Press, Lagos, n.d. (probably 1963), chart between pp. 38 and 39. See also chapter II of the present study.

[5] Soyannwo distinguishes between scarification and "scratures" made as " counter irritation and for letting blood which is a surgical practice widely practised by the Hausas throughout the country. It is also to be distinguished from cosmetic marks which are traditionally made on the abdomens, thighs, flexor aspect of leg and arms of women of some tribes. Typically scarification for medication are made round the ankles, wrist, on the sternum and along the line of sagital suture of the head. They are always symmetrical and those on the chest usually number three or seven. Cosmetic marks are also symmetrical but usually form definite patterns and their location as indicated above is different. Counter irritation marks are usually irregularly arranged and can be made over any site. Questioning will always reveal that a painful swelling had once occurred at the site." Biodun Soyannwo, "Some Aspects of Traditional Therapy in Yorubaland," *Dokita*, October, 1962, p. 26.

[6] P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 158–159,

[7] Oladele A. Ajose, "Preventive Medicine and Superstition in Nigeria," *Africa* No. 37, 1957, p. 269. Ajose says that many have claimed that these cures are effective where quinine has failed, and adds that he is ". . .inclined to believe, that, were it not for the various prophylactic and curative *àgbo* (herbal infusions), infant mortality from malaria-cerebral malaria in particular would have been so high that some tribal groups would not exist today."

[8] B. Soyannwo, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[9] Ajose says that the patient's personal belongings are handed to the smallpox priest as his fee for treatment. "This custom was, of course, reasonable in that it originally applied to the patient's clothing which the people realized was infectious. Not infrequently, however, the smallpox priest takes advantage of this, particularly in a case of death from smallpox, by removing practically everything that belonged to the patient. Worse still, it is said that he often obtains infective matter from the dead which he keeps and uses to disseminate the infection, when he so desires, among well-to-do households, so as to enrich himself from their belongings which will fall to him as his fee for treatment." O. A. Ajose *op. cit.*, p. 270. We found the latter belief

to be quite common among our informants. Ajose reports that variolation (inoculation for smallpox) is practiced among some of the tribes in Nigeria, usually on the back of the left hand or forearm.

10 Worms are widely prevalent, and beliefs about them are reinforced by their actual presence. A physician on the staff of the University College Hospital, Ibadan, said however, that fewer than one third of the cases claiming that they have worms, actually have them and where they are present they may not be responsible for the illness.

11 *Aka*, "The root has undefined medicinal uses. In Gold Coast, the bark is put in the nostrils to cure fever." J. M. Dalziel, *The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa*, The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1937, p. 334. On African drug plants see also, Thomas S. Githens, *Drug Plants of Africa*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948.

Aringo. "Bark and leaves used in Gold Coast in preparing enema. Also used with spices as a dressing for bruises. In Cameroons leaves used with leaves of Triumfetta cordifolia as a remedy for diarrhoea. Seeds may be taken as a laxative. In Liberia, used as a preventive for boils." J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 155. (Given as *Arin igo* in Dalziel)

Orúwọ. "The bark, root and leaf and bitter and astringent and are all used for fever, especially for true Yellow Fever or for the milder loosely so called. . .Also leaf and root are prepared in various ways with spices, and are commonly regarded as bitter tonic and as an astringent for dysentery with fever. . .also for colic, etc., associated with intestinal worms. . .The bark of the root or stem is taken mixed with species and boiled for internal use or as an enema for fever with constipation, or drunk as a remedy for piles and dysentery. . .The bitter root is an ingredient in prescriptions for gonorrhea." Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

12 One investigator reported that cow's urine medicine is used in all cases of convulsions. Gbadua Atalabi, "Cows Urine Poisoning," *Dokita* April 1964, p. 1. See comments below on remedies for stomach ache.

13 *Ipeta*. "In small doses it is purgative but drastic and possibly dangerous if taken in larger quantity . . .powered root used for headache. . .the composition and properties seem to resemble very closely those of *senega* root, which, originally used by American Indians for rattlesnake bite, passed into Western medicine as a stimulating expectorant, diaphoretic (power to increase perspiration) and diuretic (increase the secretion and discharge of urine). . ." Dalziel, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

Ẹ̀rù. Plant applied locally to ulcers and for headache. Decoction of fruit or bark, or both, useful in treatment of bronchitis and dysentery, and as a medicine for biliousness.—Externally, a similar extract is used as a lotion for boils and eruptions, and in massage for lumbago; an oily extract of the seeds is also used. Extract of bark used by Hausas as ointment for sores. Extract of seeds taken as a vermifuge worm expellant for roundworms. *ibid.*, pp. 8, 139.

14 The healer who gave this remedy said that the brother of a young woman who had come to his house that day had died of convulsions at the age of 32, Members of the family were taking this medicine as a preventive against convulsions.

15 Native soap is made from palm kernels, palm oil, wood ashes, and the shells of cocoa pods.

16 *Ọgbọ́*. Cocurbitaceae: *Luffa cylindrica*. ". . .roots credited with purgative properties, and pulp of the young fruit is sometimes applied as a poultice to swellings." Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Shea butter is made from the nuts of the shea-butter tree. Nuts are pounded in a mortar.

17 *Ekuyú*. "Commonest medicinal use is for headache or as a counter-irritant for local pain, the leaves being merely rubbed on the part, applied as a poultice, or rubbed in the palms and inhaled like smelling salts. Juice alone, or mixed with oil, is dropped into the ear for earache." *ibid.* pp. 21–22.

18 According to a 1964 report, "cow's urine" poisoning contributes a large share of all clinical emergencies at the University College Hospital, Ibadan, Medical diagnosis indicates that this treatment is often given to patients whose disease is malaria, meningitis, or pneumonia. G. Atalabi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–4.

19 *Epo*. Palm oil tree. Palm oil itself used mainly in West Africa as a vehicle for medicines and ointments. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, pp. 504–505.

Irà. Root of one variety used for stomach trouble and as a laxative. Bark used a mouthwash. *ibid.*, pp. 137–138.

Ori. Name for shea butter. See footnote on p. 12. Butter used medicinally for rheumatic pains, etc. *ibid.*, p. 353.

Ẹ̀rù. See footnote 12.

20 Raymond Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry," in Ara Kiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–88.

21 A. H. Leighton, T. A. Lambo, C. C. Hughes, D. C. Leighton, Jane M. Murphy, and D. B. Macklin, *Psychiatric Disorder among the Yoruba*, Cornell University Press, 1963, pp. 113–15. For other reports on mental illness among the Yoruba, see the studies by Raymond Prince previously mentioned in this chapter, the volumes edited by T. Adeoye Lambo and by Ara Kiev, the *Proceedings of the Symposium on Traditional background to Medical Practice in Nigeria*, Institute of African Studies, Ibadan, Nigeria, pp. 20–22, April 1966, and Una Maclean, *Magical Medicine*, Penguin, 1974, pp. 77–80.

[22] The only specialist in mental illness among the twenty-two traditional doctors we interviewed had been one of Raymond Prince's informants. At this healer's treatment centre, we saw nine patients (seven men and two women) whom he was treating for mental illness.

[23] In the eastern Sudan, this root is an ingredient in prescriptions intended to produce abortion. J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

[24] "In Yoruba the bark is used to fumigate a house in order to purge it of evil spirits, and therefore of the sickness caused by them." *ibid.*, pp. 192–193.

[25] Raymond Prince, "Some Notes on Native Doctors and Their Management of Mental Illness," *op. cit.*, p. 284.

[26] Raymond Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry," *op. cit.*, p. 90, reports that *ode ori* may be caused by "bad medicine" (sorcery).

[27] *ibid.*, p. 115.

[28] The *àlùpayidà* plant is used by the Hausa "as a medicinal charm to rub or wash on the body as a preventive of injury by cutting weapons. Juice of root used as aphrodisiac in Nigeria and in Portuguese West Africa. Infusion sometimes used as a wash for chills of fever. In southern Nigeria the pulverized leaves used as a remedy for gonorrhoea." J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[29] The young escape through the abscesses caused by adult Guinea worms, get into a stream or pond, find their way into the bodies of water-fleas, move into a human being who drinks unfiltered water, and eventually travel to the connective tissue of the skin.

[30] "In southern Nigeria *imi eṣú* used both as a lotion for craw-craw worm and taken internally for fever." J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, pp. 414–5.

[31] The fruit of a tree which is not used as a food. See footnote 12.

[32] *Ahun.* "The latex is smeared on 'Calabar swellings' caused by a Filaria, and is bandaged on with the crushed bark of Erythrophleum gineense. J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

Ewúro-odò. "Occasionally the plant is added to others in prescriptions for rheumatic pains. . " *ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

Locust bean, "Mealy pulp without the seeds, is made into a refreshing drink, regarded as a diuretic." *ibid.*, p. 218.

Agbó (yam tubers). In general the juice of yam tubers has numbing effect on the skin." *ibid.*, pp. 488–489.

Enu-opirí. ". . .the latex is a drastic purge. . .a foot affected by Guinea-worm or jiggers is soaked in a pot of infusion of the stems" *ibid.*, p. 144.

[33] *Asùnwòn.* "Some species used as a remedy for parasitic skin diseases. Leaves of other species used as a purge or are applied as a poultice to induce extrusion of Guinea-worm as well as to other inflammatory swellings and wounds." *ibid.*, pp. 179, 181, 182.

[34] *Arójòkún.* "One species used in Gold Coast (extract of leaves) for constipation. . ." *ibid.*, p. 417.

Aringo. See footnote 10.

Abo. (Abo is Ijaw; Igbo is Yoruba) The bark is used for fevers and a decoction is taken to relieve colic," *ibid.*, p. 311.

Orúpa. ". . .In Ashanti a decoction of roots is used as a febrifuge," A remedy to mitigate or remove fever. *ibid.*, pp. 146–147.

[35] *Alùpayida.* See footnote 28.

[36] *Isin.* Also known as *osè* (variety *Adansonia digitata*). Baobab, Monkey-bread, Ethiopian sour gourd. "Pulp used as a remedy or palliative and diaphoretic power to increase perspiration for fever and dysentery is widespread. . .Bark has been indicated in the French Antilles and in India as a substitute for quinine in periodic fevers, and has been so used in South Africa." J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–114.

Locust bean. See footnote 32

[37] *Ègbèsí* "In West Africa the bitter root or root-bark is used like a bark. . .Infusions of leaves and roots used both as a lotion and internally for fever. . .In northern Nigeria, the bark in cold infusion taken as a stomachic for indigestion, vomiting, etc." *ibid.*, pp. 411–412.

[38] *ipèta.* See footnote 13.

[39] *Ògèdè òjò* (paw-paw). "Young shoots used as a vermfuge, but are believed to be capable of causing abortion. . .In Gold Coast, roots used for yaws and for piles. Abortifacient." J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[40] *Enu àpirí.* "Later used by Hausa in extracting a thorn, etc. Foot affected with Guinea-worm or jiggers is soaked in infusion of the stems. . .latex is a drastic purge. . .used as a remedy for syphilis." *ibid.*, p. 144.

Agbári-etu. "Infusion of leaves used as a wash in febrile conditions. Pounded bark applied to relieve painful conditions. *ibid.*, pp. 67, 366.

Èrù. See footnote 13, p. 177.

Paw-paw (*Ògèdè-òjò*). See footnote 39.

[41] Samuel Looton Aluko, *Iwe Iwosan Akerele gbona bi Ado*, Olushegun press, Ilesha, Nigeria, n.d. (Translation of title: *A very good Small Medical Booklet.*)

[42] *Arójòkú.* See footnote 34.

Ojú ologbo. "The root is regarded in Sierra Leone as a good remedy for fever. A decoction of the leaves and fruit is taken for colic and constipation associated with intestinal worms. . . A lotion of the leaves is used for craw-craw." J. M. Dalziel, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

In connection with the cobra head as an ingredient in this treatment for snake bite, a report on snakebite treatment in Eastern Nigeria is of interest. In 1961, a resident medical officer in the Medical Centre, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, treated two victims of snakebite of a dangerous snake (Carpet viper—*Echis Carinatus*) with anti-snakebite serum, steroids (hydrocortison) per infusion and high of vitamins K and C. Each patient died on the fifth day. Later a man bitten by the snake was rushed to the Nsukka traditional doctor who is noted for treating snakebite. This man, and a few weeks later, his wife, who was bitten by the same kind of snake recovered. Eventually, the resident medical officer obtained the traditional remedy from the healer and used it on seven victims of the bite of this snake. Six of these patients, gained relief from pain in approximately seven minutes after the remedy was administered orally. A seventh man, admitted in a private hospital three days after being bitten, was given the Nsukka remedy on the fourth day. The remedy provided some relief from pain, but this patient died on the sixth day, presumably because the damage which the formula would have prevented had already set in. The three major ingredients of this remedy are: the root of a plant called. *Osisi Ukwu ya ka isi awo*, the root of a plant called *Nni abusi*, the dried head of a dead snake. Two minor ingredients, alligator pepper (*oseoji*) and *nnu ubulu* (traditional Nigerian raw salt) are mixed with the major ingredients and pounded into a powder. A certain quantity of the powder is mixed in a glass half filled with water, and the traditional healer recommends also that the victim bathe with a bucket of water treated with the powder. Only one victim bathed in this way; the resident medical officer found no differences in the results. Since bio-chemical analysis had not yet been made, the reporting physician says that it is uncertain whether one or all of the major ingredients are the effective agents. He says that it is clear, however, that the remedy itself may contain an antitoxin which makes the toxin harmless within seven to ten minutes, or it prevents or delays the absorption of the toxin by activating the body to produce an antitoxin. A. E. Ohiaeri, "A Research in the Traditional Nigerian Medicine," Medical Centre, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, n.d. (probably 1964 or 1965). Mimeo.

[43] Beier writes that even when a "dokita" (medicine peddler') "prescribes the correct dose of a medicine (purely by accident) the patient is likely to throw in a few extra tablets for good measure 'to make him strong.' Medicines are never regarded as poisons, but always as tonics. By far the greater number of *traditional* medicines are *not* poisonous in fact. The native herbalist does not work with many powerful drugs. Most traditional medicines are taken regularly every morning with the 'ogi' (maize pap) for weeks or even months. The medicine is believed to strengthen the patient, to put him into a state of physical and psychic fitness, in which he can resist disease. This kind of medicine is not only given to sick people, in fact, but a perfectly healthy person prepares himself medicines for any important or difficult task." Ulli Beier, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[44] Movement in uterus after childbirth means that "something" is looking for the child. Causes stomach ache and may lead to death.

[45] R. Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry," pp. 88–97.

[46] *ibid.*, p. 96. See footnote 20 for list of categories of causes for mental illness given by informants in Cornell-Aro Mental Health Research Project.

[47] On curing techniques, an interesting comparison can be made between mestizo communities in Latin America and Yoruba communities. Simmons says: "For those illnesses where magic is utilized at all, the dominant pattern is one of regarding magical and empirical techniques (traditional or modern) as alternative ways of curing an illness. Either magical or empirical knowledge may be resorted to with equal facility, or if one is unsuccessful the ther may be employed, but they represent cures, not complements of the same cure," O. Simmons, "Popular and Modern Medicine in Mestizo Communities," *Journal of American Folklore*, No. 68, 1955, pp. 69–70. With the exception of diseases which many Yoruba think modern medicine will never be able to cure, it is not uncommon in the Ibadan area, for traditional, empirical techniques, with or without magical procedures, and modern medical methods to be utilized simultaneously.

[48] T. A. Lambo, Professor of Psychiatry in the Medical School, University of Ibadan, found in 1950 that more than 60 per cent of the patient population in a large general hospital in Western Nigeria "received 'native treatment' in one form or another during the time they were in the hospital." and adds that in psychiatry the percentage would probably be much higher. T. A. Lambo, "Patterns of Psychiatric Care in Developing African Countries," in A. Kiev, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

[49] R. Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry", p. 94.

IV RELIGIOUS, MAGICAL AND MEDICAL BELIEFS

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS, MAGICAL AND MEDICAL BELIEFS

DURING the period July-September, 1964, 272 residents of two villages, Ijaye and Lalupọn, and of three sections of the City of Ibadan (Oje, Oke Ọffa, and Isalẹ Ijẹbu) were interviewed concerning religion, medicine and related subjects. Both Ijaye and Lalupọn are located approximately twelve miles from Ibadan. All of the 272 individuals included in this report are of Yoruba ethnic background. For the most part, these informants are uneducated or have had very little education. Under close supervision, the interviewing was conducted in the Yoruba language by M. O. Ogunyẹmi and Amos Adesimi, then students at the University of Ibadan, and Adeniran, then a student at the University of Ife. The schedule, given in the Appendix, was based in part on the "Social Data Questionnaire" used by Allexander H. Leighton, T. Adeoye Lambo, Charles C. Hughes, Dorothea C. Leighton, Jane M. Murphy, and David B. Macklin in their study of mental health in the Western Region of Nigeria.[1]. An attempt was made to obtain a random sample by including every fourth house in the places studied, but it was not possible to adhere completely to this procedure. If an informant was not found in the fourth house, interviewers were instructed to try the next house. Although the schedule was pre-tested in sections of Ibadan not included in this report, it was perhaps inevitable that interviewing done at the first site (Ijaye) was somewhat less complete and not as satisfactory as that done in Lalupọn and in Ibadan. At the beginning of the interviewing, one day was spent in the office for every day spent in the field for the purpose of checking, as a team of four, every completed schedule.

At the outset, several weaknesses in this sample of Yoruba-speaking people in the Ibadan area should be pointed out. The proportion of persons under 30 is much lower among Ijaye informants than among those in Lalupọn and in Ibadan, mainly because the principal investigator failed to make clear in the beginning that younger people in the households covered should not be passed by. The proportion of women informants in Ijaye is higher than in Lalupọn and in Ibadan largely because a much higher percentage of Ijaye residents are engaged in farming and a number of the husbands were, therefore, absent from home at the time of the interviews. A few women in each of the villages and in Ibadan refused to be interviewed in the absence of their husbands. Thirty-four of the forty-one tables includes 240 or more informants, and nine of these include all 272 informants. Four tables (1, 29, 31, 32) include smaller numbers of informants (172–181) mainly because 79, Never Married and 9 Divorced persons are not represented.

One would like to be able to claim that the missing cases would have been distributed in approximately the same way as are the ones reported on, but this is not possible. The alternative is to regard the missing cases as due to interview failure.

Very few of the missing responses are "Don't Know"; nearly all are "No Information." Outright refusals to answer questions were rare and almost no interviews were broken off. There is some failure in every study involving interviewing and in a study such as the present one, there is bound to be a little more than usual.

RESIDENCE

The data on Place of Residence and 272 Yoruba Men and Women, Ibadan Area, 1964, are given in Table 26 in the Appendix. The term "Place of Residence" here and in other tables refers to Ijaye, Lalupọn, and Ibadan (the three sampled sections of the city combined). Table 27, also given in the Appendix, shows Place of Residence and Age of 272 Yoruba.

FAMILY

Five tables (28, 29, 30, 31, 32—Appendix) deal with aspects of the family as revealed in this Ijaiye-Lalupọn-Ibadan sample. Table 28 indicates the association of Place of Residence and Marital Status of 270 Yoruba. In Lalupọn and Ibadan, there was a strikingly similar distribution of informants in the categories of Never Married, Married, and Divorced-Widowed. The small proportion of the Never Married and the considerably larger percentages of both Married and Divorced-Widowed in Ijaye reflect the fact that a smaller proportion of persons under 30 and a higher proportion of those over 50 were interviewed in that village as compared with the Village of Lalupọn and the City of Ibadan, Table 29 shows the Place of Residence and the Number of Wives of 172 Married Yoruba. Of special interest is the difference in the proportion of families where the head has two or more wives. In our Ibadan subsample, only 12 per cent of the families were polygynous, and none of these families involved more than two wives. In Ijaye and in Lalupọn, half of the sample families were polygynous.[2] Tables 30 and 31 show the strong associations between Age and Marital Status and Age and Number of Wives.

An interesting aspect of the family in the Ibadan area is the association between the form of the family and religious identification. Table 1 shows that 40 per cent of the married Muslims reporting on this point live in non-monogamous families as compared with 36 per cent of those who worship the *òrìṣà* exclusively or who combine *òrìṣà* worship with Islam or Christianity and 23 per cent of those who claim to be Christians only. It must be pointed out, however, that the highest proportion of persons under 30 is found in the Christian group and that the *òrìṣà* group has the highest percentage of informants over 50. In general, the relationships shown in Table 30 (Appendix) between age and marital status, and in Table 1 between religion and marital status, are due to the differences between those in the 50 and Over category in contrast to those in the two younger age groups.

Table 32 (Appendix), giving the Place of Residence and Number of Children of 181 Married Yoruba, reveals that only 5 families in the Ibadan subsample had 5 children and that none of these urban families had six or seven children. While the family may be somewhat smaller in Ibadan, as is the case in some African cities, it

must be remembered that the average age of respondents in Ijaye was considerably higher than in Lalupọn and in Ibadan and that the average age of the Ibadan informants is lower than it was for those in Lalupọn. Because of the differences in age distribution, a higher proportion of the Ijaye families here are completed than is true for Lalupọn and the proportion of completed families in the Ibadan subsample is still lower. Also affecting the number of children per family are the differences in the form of the family in the three places of residence as brought out in Table 29 (Appendix).

TABLE 1

RELIGION NOW AND NUMBER OF WIVES OF 172 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Religion Now			
Number of Wives	*Òrìṣà only; Muslim-Òrìṣà; Christian-Òrìṣà*	*Muslim Only*	*Christian Only*	*Total*
One wife	64	60	77	65
Two Wives	0	33	15	26
Three or More Wives	36	7	8	9
Total (%)	100 (11)	100 (109)	100 (52)	100 (172)

$X^2 = 18.166$, $P < .01$, d. f., 4. [3]

EDUCATION

Since education is a key factor in the changing situation in Nigeria, Tables 2–6 are quite important. Table 2 indicates that 52 per cent of the informants in the sample have not gone to school and that 48 per cent have attended school. Only one-fifth of the Ijaye informants, whose average age is higher than it was for Lalupọn and Ibadan respondents, had had any schooling. The association between age and school attendance is brought out in Table 3, where it is shown that more than four-fifths of those under 30 had attended school as compared with one-fifth of those over 50, an impressive commentary on the educational changes that have occurred in Western Nigeria in recent decades.

TABLE 2

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF 267 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
School Attendance	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Not Gone to School	81	51	40	52
Gone to School	19	49	60	48
Total (%)	100 (52)	100 (107)	100 (108)	100 (267)

$X^3 = 23.681$, $P < .001$, d.f., 2.

TABLE 3

AGE AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF 267 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Age			
School Attendance	*Under 30*	*30–49*	*50 and Over*	*Total*
Not Gone to School	18	58	80	52
Gone to School	82	42	19	48
Total (%)	100	100	99	100
	(76)	(124)	(67)	(267)

$X^2 = 58.13$, $P < .001$, d.f., 2.

Table 4 complements Table 2. Those who were "Born in a Village, Now Live in a Village" show up least well in educational achievement, followed by those who were "Born in a City, Now Live in a Village." Although one-fourth of those "Born in a City, Now Live in City" were illiterate or had had very limited training, this group makes a very good showing because one-fifth of them had attended Secondary Modern or Secondary Grammar schools. Perhaps the most interesting point revealed by this table is the strong record of the "Born in a Village, Now Lives in City" informants. The group is small, but of these 19 persons, only ten per cent are illiterate or have had limited training, 80 percent have attended primary school and 10 per cent have gone to Secondary Modern or Secondary Grammar schools. The greater educational opportunities of the city, or the drive which brought these persons or their families to the city, or both, may account for this showing. The "Born in a City, Now Lives in a Village" respondents had the second highest proportion of illiterates or those with limited training and no representatives in the Secondary Modern and Secondary Grammar category.

TABLE 4

RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION AND EDUCATION OF 268 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA 1964

	Residence and Migration					
Edueation	*Born in Village, Lives in Village*	*Born in Village Lived in City, Now Lives in Village*	*Born in City, Now Lives in Village*	*Born in Village, Now Lives in City*	*Born in City, Now Lives in City*	*Total*
Illiterate or Very Limited Training	66	31	53	10	26	38
iterate or Primary Education	27	59	47	80	54	50
dary Modern or dary Grammar	7	10	0	10	20	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(71)	(71)	(17)	(19)	(90)	(268)

< .001, d. f., 8.

Data concerning religion and education are presented in Tables 5 and 6. On school attendance, Table 5 shows that none of the *òrìṣà* worshippers had gone to school, but that 36 per cent of the Muslims and 72 per cent of the Christians had attended school. Table 6 differs from Table 5 in two ways: first it includes those who contribute to the worship of the *òrìṣà* as well as the admitted worshippers, and second, it uses three categories on education instead of two. The ranking from lowest to highest in all three educational categories is *òrìṣà* worshippers and contributors, Muslims, and Christians, and the differences are quite marked.

TABLE 5

RELIGION NOW AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF 266 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Religion Now			
School Attendance	*Òrìṣà Only; Muslim-Òrìṣà; Christian-Òrìṣà*	*Muslim Only*	*Christian Only*	*Total*
Not Gone to School	100	64	28	53
Gone to School	0	36	72	47
Total (%)	100 (14)	100 (155)	100 (97)	100 (266)

$X^2 = 44.377$, $P < .001$, d. f., 2.

TABLE 6

RELIGION AND EDUCATION OF 268 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Religion			
Education	*Òrìṣà Worshippers and Contributors*	*Muslim Only*	*Christian Only*	*Total*
Illiterate or Very Limited Training	61	45	13	38
Literate or Primary Education	35	47	63	50
Secondary modern or Secondary Grammar	4	8	23	12
Total (%)	100 (51)	100 (135)	99 (82)	100 (268)

$X^2 = 40.110$, $P < .001$, d. f., 4.

OCCUPATION

In our sample, farmers constitute the largest occupational group in Ijaye, but artisans lead in Lalupon and in Ibadan (Table 33, Appendix). This table shows also that our informants include no teachers or clerks in Ijaye, that only one per cent of the employed respondents in Lalupon fall into each of these categories, but that they constitute eight per cent and four per cent respectively of the subsample for Ibadan. Traders were more strongly represented in our Ijaye group than they

were in Lalupọn or Ibadan (30 per cent, 13 per cent, and 8 per cent). The proportion of unemployed persons among those interviewed was virtually the same in Lalupọn and in Ibadan (17 per cent and 16 per cent), and the lack of unemployed persons in Ijaye is due almost entirely to the fact that only two of those informants were under 30. Table 7 indicates that 41 per cent of our respondents under 30 were unemployed, compared with one per cent for the 30-49 group and 5 per cent for those over 50. Of interest are the proportions of these age groups engaged in farming: Under, 30. 2 per cent; 30–49, 24 per cent; and 50 and Over, 49 per cent.

TABLE 7

AGE AND OCCUPATION OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Occupation	*Age*			
	Under 30	*30–49*	*50 and Over*	*Total*
Teacher	6	4	0	4
Clerk	4	2	0	2
Artisan	27	44	24	34
Trading	8	17	16	14
Farming	2	24	48	24
Other	12	9	7	9
Unemployed	41	1	5	13
Total (%)	100 (78)	101 (126)	100 (68)	100 (272)

$X^2 < 114.48$, $P < .001$, d. f., 12.

The association between occupation and school attendance is shown in Table 34 (Appendix). Perhaps the most interesting datum here is that one-fourth of those who have gone to school were unemployed. Among our informants, the highest proportion of those who had attended school were artisans. Of those who had not gone to school, 39 per cent were farmers, 34 per cent were unemployed. Table 8 deals with the present religions and occupations of our respondents, showing that 43 per cent of the *òrìṣà* worshippers, as compared with 26 per cent of the Muslims and 18 per cent of the Christians are in farming. Other occupational concentrations which stand out in this table are the 36 per cent of the *òrìṣà* worshippers in trading, the 45 per cent of the Muslims in the artisan category, and the 21 per cent of the Christians who are unemployed. We mention earlier that the average age of our Christian informants is lower than for the other two religious groups, but undoubtedly a part of this difference in the proportion of those who are unemployed reflects the unfulfilled occupational aspirations of the much higher percentage of Christians who have gone to school see (Table 5). Nearly all of the teachers and clerks in our sample were Christians; there were no *òrìṣà* worshippers.

TABLE 8

RELIGION NOW AND OCCUPATION OF 271 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Religion Now			
Occupation	*Òrìṣà, Only; Muslim-Òrìṣà; Christian-Òrìṣà*	*Muslim Only*	*Christian Only*	*Total*
Teacher	0	1	8	4
Clerk	0	1	4	2
Artisan	14	45	19	34
Trading	36	12	15	14
Farming	43	26	18	24
Other	7	6	13	9
Unemployed	0	9	21	13
Total	100 (14)	100 (159)	98 (98)	100 (271)

$X^2 < 46.282$, $P < .001$, d. f., 12.

RELIGION

The proportions of informants in each of the three religious categories by place of residence is shown in Table 35 (Appendix). In our sample, Christians made up the largest group in Ijaye, four-fifths of the respondents in Lalupọn were Muslims, and Christians and Muslims were equally represented in the Ibadan sub-sample. *Òrìṣà* worshippers were 17 per cent of those interviewed in Ijaye, 4 per cent in Lalupọn and 1 per cent in Ibadan. Table 36 (Appendix) indicates that approximately half of the informants under 30 were Christians the other half Muslims. None of those under 30 was an *òrìṣà* worshipper. Two thirds of those between 30 and 49 were Muslims, one-third were Christians. The *òrìṣà* worshippers were concentrated in the 50 and over group, where they constituted one-sixth of this age group as compared with 56 per cent for the Muslims and 28 per cent for the Christians. In the sample as a whole, the proportions of the three religious categories were: *òrìṣà* worshippers, 5 per cent; Muslims, 59 per cent and Christians, 36 per cent.[4] As Table 9 indicates, if *òrìṣà* worshippers and contributors are included in the first category the *òrìṣà* group makes up 19 per cent of the sample, Muslims are 50 per cent, and Christians are second with 30 per cent.

Although the number of women included in this sample is small, Table 37 (Appendix) brings out some interesting contrasts on sex and religion. More than half of the women informants are Christians as compared with one-third for the men. While 63 per cent of the men say they are Muslims, only our-fourth of the women made this claim. Only 3 per cent of our male informants are classified as *òrìṣà* worshippers, but more than one-fifth of the female respondents are so classifed. Probably the proportion of *òrìṣà* worshippers in the total population of the Ibadan area is larger than is

indicated in this sample because women, more active than men in the traditional cults, are underrepresented among this group of informants.

The association between residence and migration and religious categories is given in Table 9. In our sample, there is an interesting relationship between "village-ness" and being a "Christian only". Of those who were born in a village and now live in a village, only 16 per cent were Christians who had nothing to do with *òrișà* worship. In Ibadan, 45 per cent of our informants claimed to fall into this class. The proportion of *òrișà* worshippers and contributors goes down from 30 per cent in the case of those whose residence has been entirely in villages to 8 per cent for those who have lived only in cities. The representation of Muslims in the five residential categories given in Table 9 remains more constant, ranging from 54 per cent to 47 per cent.

TABLE 9

RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION AND RELIGION OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence and Migration					
Religion	*Born in Village, Lives in Village*	*Born in Village, Lived in City, Now Lives in Village*	*Born in City Now Lives in Village*	*Born in Village Lives in City*	*Born in City, Now Lives in City*	*Total*
Òrișà worshippers or contributors	30	22	18	21	8	19
Muslim only	54	54	47	42	47	50
Christian only	16	24	35	37	45	30
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	99
	(74)	(71)	(17)	(19)	(91)	(272)

$X^2 < 24.517$. P = .01, d. f., 8.

MAGIC AND DIVINATION

Table 10 shows that approximately one-fourth of those interviewed in Ijaye and in Lalupọn said that they are often or sometimes troubled by witchcraft, while only 11 per cent of the Ibadan respondents felt that they are so bothered. X2 here is at the .05 level of confidence, indicating a significant relationship between residence in a village in the Ibadan area versus the city on the one hand and involvment in witchcraft trouble on the other'

TABLE 10

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND BEING TROUBLED BY WITCHCRAFT OF 260 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
	Ijaye	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Troubled by Witchcraft Often; Sometimes	26	24	11	19
Never	74	76	89	81
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	(47)	(104)	(109)	(260)

$X^2 = 7.584$, P < .05, d.f. 2.

Table 11 shows that 42 per cent of the informants who were born in a village, have moved to a large city but were residing in a village when interviewed were having supernatural trouble or experience as defined here, compared with 35 per cent of those who were born in a city but were living in a village in 1964, 29 per cent of those who were born in a village and were living in a village, 26 per cent of those who were born in a village but were then residing in a large city, and 17 per cent of thosee who were city-born and were living in a city. A possible explanation of these differences is that the Village City-Village group is made up of the least successful and most fearful persons, followed by the City-Village group, the Village-Village, the Village-City, and the City-City categories.

TABLE 11

RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION AND SUPERNATURAL TROUBLE OR EXPERIENCE OF 270 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence and Migration					
Supernatural Trouble or Experience	*Born in Village, Lives in Village*	*Born in Village Lived in City, Now Lives in Village*	*Born in City, Now Lives in Village*	*Born in Village, Now Lives in City*	*Born in City Now Lives in City*	*Total*
Sees spirits, troubled by sorcery, or troubled by witchcraft	29	42	35	26	18	29
Does not see spirits, is not troubled by sorcery, is not troubled by witchcraft	71	58	65	74	82	71
Total (%)	100 (72)	100 (71)	100 (17)	100 (19)	100 (91)	100 (270)

$X^2 < 12.239$, $P < .02$, d.f., 4.

The association between "supernatural" trouble or experience, a composite variable including one or more of the following items—seeing spirits, being troubled by sorcery or by witchcraft, and "supernatural" guidance or protection, defined here as consulting diviners or using magical protection[5] or both, is shown in Table 12. Three-fourths of the Ijaye-Lalupon-Ibadan informants who were having troubles or experiences of the kinds indicated were consulting diviners or using one or more types of magical protection, or doing both, compared with half of those interviewed who were not having supernatural experiences.

Slightly more than one-third of our informants consult diviners (Table 38, Appendix). In terms of religious categories, Table 13 shows that 63 per cent of the Muslims use "supernatural" guidance or protection (consultation with diviners, magical protection, or both), compared with 56 per cent of those who worship or contribute to the worship of the *òrìṣà* and 46 per cent of the "Christians only".

Table 14 indicates that the majority of our informants consult diviners or use magical protection or do both. It is shown in Table 14 that the relationship between three educational categories and the variable called "supernatural guidance and protection" is not statistically significant. It was expected that the proportion of persons who consulted diviners or used magical protection would be smaller for those who

TABLE 12

SUPERNATURAL TROUBLE OR EXPERIENCE AND SUPERNATURAL GUIDANCE OR PROTECTION OF 261 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Supernatural Guidance or Protection	*Supernatural Trouble or Experience: Sees Spirits, Troubled by Sorcery or Troubled by Witchcraft*	*Does not see Spirits, Is Not Troubled by Sorcery, is Not Troubled by Witchcraft*	*Total*
Consults diviners or uses magical protection	74	50	57
Does not consult diviners or use magical protection	26	50	43
Total (%)	100 (76)	100 (185)	100 (261)

$X^2 = 12.055$, $P<.001$, d.f., 1.

TABLE 13

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL GUIDANCE OR PROTECTION OF 262 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Supernatural Guidance or Protection	*Religion: Òrìṣà Worshippers and Contributors*	*Muslim Only*	*Christian Only*	*Total*
Consults diviners or uses magical protection	56	63	46	57
Does not consult diviners or use magical protection	44	36	54	43
Total (%)	100 (48)	99 (134)	100 (80)	100 (262)

$X^2 = 6.039$, $P < .05$, d.f., 2.

TABLE 14

EDUCATION AND SUPERNATURAL GUIDANCE OR PROTECTION OF 259 YORUBA IBADAN AREA 1964

Supernatural Guidance or Protection	*Education: Illiterate or Very Limited Training*	*Literate or Primary Education*	*Secondary Modern or Secondary Grammar*	*Total*
Consults Diviners or uses magical protection	52	58	62	56
Does not consult diviners or use magical protection	48	42	38	44
Total (%)	100 (95)	100 (132)	100 (32)	100 (259)

$X^2 = 1.582$, $P<.50$, d.f., 2.

had had the most education. The data show that the differences for the three groups are not large, and that such differences as were found are the opposite of those expected. As we point out elsewhere, anxieties do not disappear in the changing socio-economic and cultural situation. New anxieties appear and some of the old anxieties remain, so divination and magical protection continue to be useful.

No clear cut type was found for the twenty-five persons among 272 Yoruba informants who believe both that others are using sorcery against them and that they are being troubled by witchcraft. The expectation that persons concerned about these matters might be largely older persons, farmers, those who had not gone to school, and *òrìṣà* worshippers is not upheld by the data. The evidence of the following points: complaints about illnesses at the time of being interviewed, tendency to worry, and seeing spirits, does support the conclusion that as a group, these twenty-five informants are less healthy and more fearful than is the sample as a whole[6]

MEDICINE

In interviewing informants in the Ibadan area inquiries were made concerning their illness experiences and practices, type of treatment sought for serious illnesses, experiences with modern medicine (mainly experiences with dispensaries and hospitals), and attitudes toward modern medicine and modern practitioners. Table 15 reveals striking differences between the three age groups used in this study in the type of treatment sought when seriously ill. Of the 241 respondents from whom we obtained replies, half of those under 30 favour modern medicine, none favoured a traditional doctor, a much smaller proportion than in the two older age groups rely on home remedies, and 5 per cent use no medicine.[7] One quarter of those between 30 and 49 prefer modern medicine, as do 22 per cent of those 50 and over. In the middle age group, 63 per cent try home remedies, as do 72 per cent of the oldest age group.

TABLE 15

AGE AND TREATMENT SOUGHT WHEN SERIOUSLY ILL OF 241 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Treatment sought when seriously ill	*Age*			
	Under 30	*30–49*	*50 and Over*	*Total*
Traditional Doctor	0	2	1	1
Home Remedies	34	63	72	59
Patent Medicine	11	8	1	7
Modern Medicine	50	25	22	30
Uses No Medicine	5	2	3	3
Total (%)	100 (56)	100 (117)	99 (68)	100 (241)

$X^2 = 25.39$. $P < .01$, d.f., 8.

Table 16 indicates that for 241 informants, 78 per cent of the *òrişà* worshippers (those who say they do not worship the *òrişà* but do contribute to *òrişà* worship are not included here) try home remedies and 21 per cent use modern medicine (dispensaries and hospitals) when they are seriously ill, as compared with 68 per cent and 24 per cent for Muslims and 39 per cent and 42 per cent for Christians. When queried concerning what they try *first* and what they try *last* when seriously ill, 52 per cent of 249 respondents said they tried home remedies first, 29 per cent mentioned patent medicine, and 18 per cent try modern medicine. On what they try last, with 189 replying, 84 per cent indicated modern medicine, 8 per cent patent medicine, and 4 per cent each for home remedies and traditional doctor. It should be pointed out that "going" to a traditional doctor for treatment does not tell the whole story of the use of traditional remedies. More than half of 270 informants said that they had often or sometimes prepared medicine for themselves during the past two years. Also, nearly one-third of this number stated that they had often or sometimes purchased traditional medicine, presumably from medicine peddlers or "quacks" as they are often called in Nigeria.

TABLE 16

RELIGION NOW AND TREATMENT SOUGHT WHEN SERIOUSLY ILL OF 241 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Religion Now			
Treatment Sought When Seriously Ill	*Òrişà only; Muslim-Òrişà: Christian-Òrişà*	*Muslim only*	*Christian only*	*Total*
Traditional Doctor	0	1	2	1
Home Remedies	78	68	39	59
Patent Medicine	0	7	8	7
Modern Medicine	21	24	42	30
Uses No Medicine	0	0	9	3
Total(%)	99 (14)	100 (148)	100 (79)	100 (241)

$X^2 = 30.607$, $P < .001$, d.f., 8.

An overwhelming proportion (88 per cent) of our informants have gone to dispensaries or to hospitals for treatment (Table 19). More than nine-tenths of the "Muslim only" respondents had sought treatment at dispensaries or hospitals, compared with 85 per cent of the *òrişà* worshippers and contributors and 82 per cent of the "Christian only" group. It should be noted that 8 per cent of the latter group uses no medicine and that this practice also represents a change from tradition.

Among our informants there was no relationship between education and illness practices as the latter are defined in Table 18. Those who are illiterate or have had very limited training have gone to dispensaries or hospitals for the treatment of serious

illnesses to the same extent (88 per cent) that persons who are literate or who have attended primary schools have gone, and they exceed slightly the proportion of those who have attended secondary modern or secondary grammar schools in seeking modern medical treatment. In this table, as well as in Table 17, patent medicine is linked with home remedies and with traditional healers in contrast to two other categories, modern medicine (dispensaries and hospitals) and the use of no medicine.

The quite favourable reactions of our informants who had had experience with dispensaries and hospitals are given in Table 39–41 (Appendix). Higher percentages of the sample say they will go to dispensaries and hospitals in case of serious illness than have utilized these facilities in the past. It is of interest that the percentage of informants who had gone to hospitals is more than twice as high as the proportion

TABLE 17

RELIGION AND ILLNESS PRACTICES OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Religion			
Illness Practices	*Òrìṣà Worshippers and Contributors*	*Muslim only*	*Christian only*	*Total*
Uses traditional doctor, home remedies, or patent medicine	15	8	10	10
Has used dispensary; hospital	85	92	82	88
Uses no medicine	0	0	8	2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	(52)	(137)	(83)	(272)

$X^2 = 18.661$, $P < 001$. d.f.. 4.

TABLE 18

EDUCATION AND ILLNESS PRACTICES OF 268 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Education			
Illness Practices	*Illiterate or very Limited Training*	*Literate or Primary Education*	*Secondary Modern or Secondary Grammar*	*Total*
Uses traditional doctor, home remedies, or patent medicine	11	9	12	10
Uses dispensary; hospital	88	88	84	88
Uses no medicine	1	3	3	2
Total (%)	100	100	99	100
	(103)	(133)	(32)	(268)

$X^2 = 1.62$, $P < .90$, d.f., 4.

who had gone to dispensaries. Two reasons probably account for this difference: first there was no dispensary in Lalupon until after the interviewing for this study was completed; and second, where both are available, many persons prefer to go to a hospital for a serious illness. Nine-tenths of those who had used modern medicine said the treatments had cured them. The same proportion (90 per cent) of those who had been patients at dispensaries or hospitals felt that the doctors and nurse had (often or sometimes) shown a friendly interest in them. Only one informant reported having to bribe an attendant at a dispensary to get medical service and of those who had been hospital patients only two said it was necessary to bribe hospital attendants to get medical service. Of those with experience, one-tenth said they had had to wait a long time before they were given attention at a hospital as compared with 18 per cent for dispensaries.

The association of illness experience and supernatural trouble or experience of 231 Yoruba is presented in Table 19. Of those who had been confined to bed by illnesses in the past few years, 40 per cent had been seeing spirits or thought that they were being troubled by sorcery or witchcraft, as compared with 31 per cent of those who had not been so confined but who complained about some health problem at the time of being interviewed and 19 per cent of those who had neither been confined to bed recently nor had any complaints currently.

TABLE 19

ILLNESS EXPERIENCE AND SUPERNATURAL TROUBLE OR EXPERIENCE OF 231 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Illness Experience			
Supernatural Trouble or Experience	*Confined to Bed by Illnesses in Past Few Years*	*Has Complaints Now*	*No Illness Now or in Past Few Years*	*Total*
Sees spirits, troubled by witchcraft	40	31	19	30
Does not see spirits, is not troubled by sorcery or is not troubled by witchcraft	60	69	81	70
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	(89)	(51)	(91)	(231)

$X^2 = 10.248$, $P < .01$, d.f., 2.

Table 20 shows the relationship between illness practices and supernatural guidance or protection of 262 informants. The proportions of those who use non-modern medicine, and of those who use no medicine, who consult diviners or use one or more types of magical protection, or both, are almost the same (88 per cent versus 86 per cent). It should be pointed out, however, that the number of cases is small for those who use no medicine. It should be noted that slightly more than half of those who have

Plate XVII: Diviner Healer, Lalupon

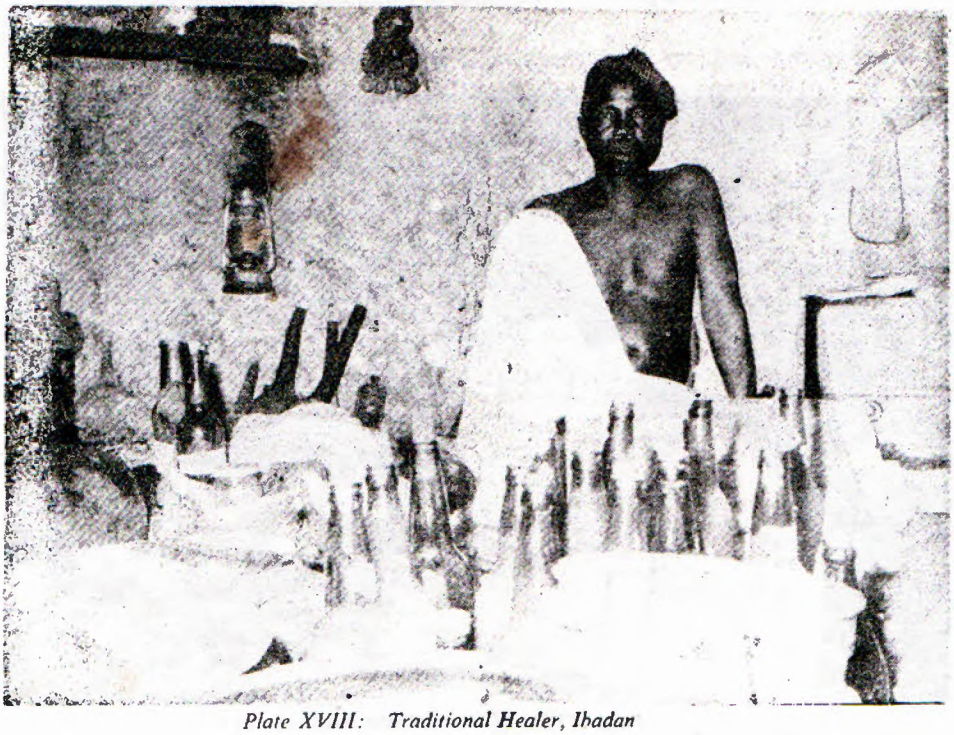

Plate XVIII: Traditional Healer, Ibadan

Plate XIX: Egúngún Worshipper in Costume and Follower of Ọ̀sanyin

Plate XX: Leader and Wife, One Branch of Ancient Ògboni Fraternity, Ibadan

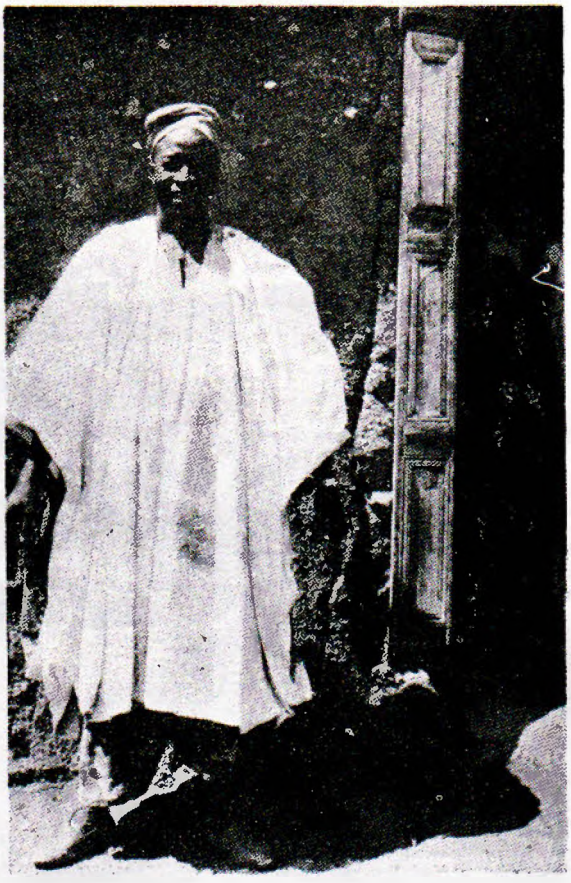

Plate XXI: The Baálẹ̀ of Lalupọn

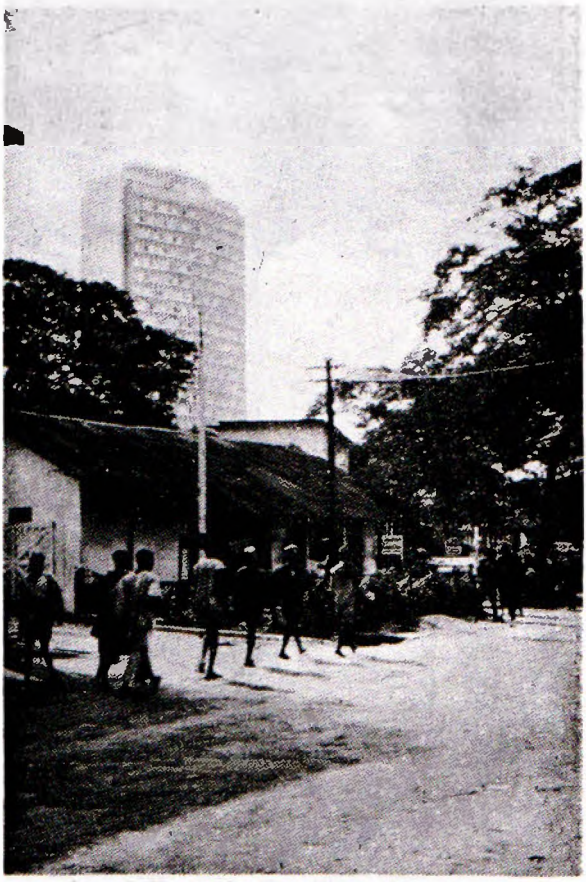

Plate XXII: Modern Office Building, Ibadan

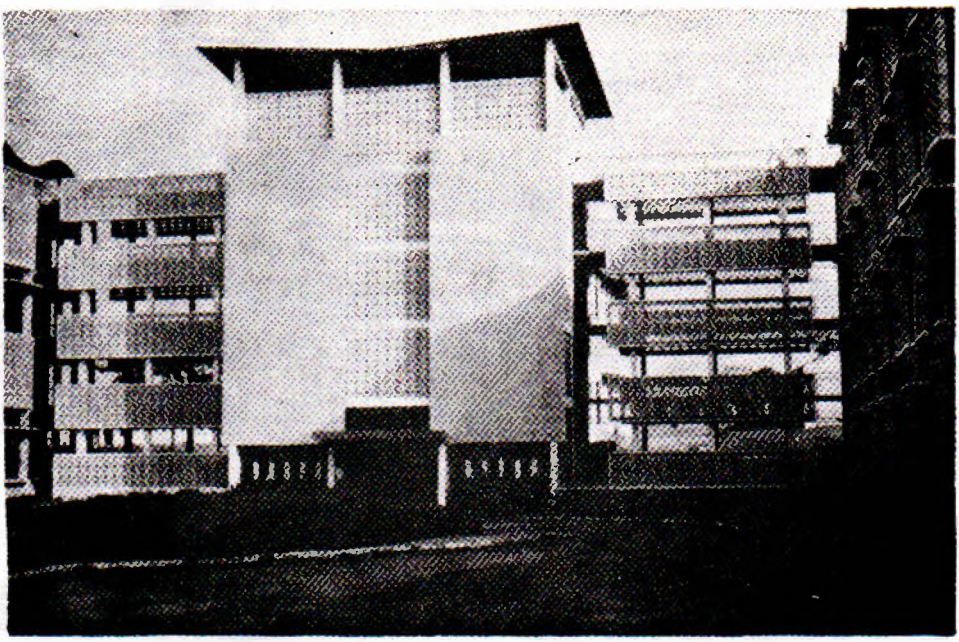

Plate XXIII: Office Building, Government of Western Region, Ibadan

Plate XXIV: Dormitory and Office Building, University of Ibadan

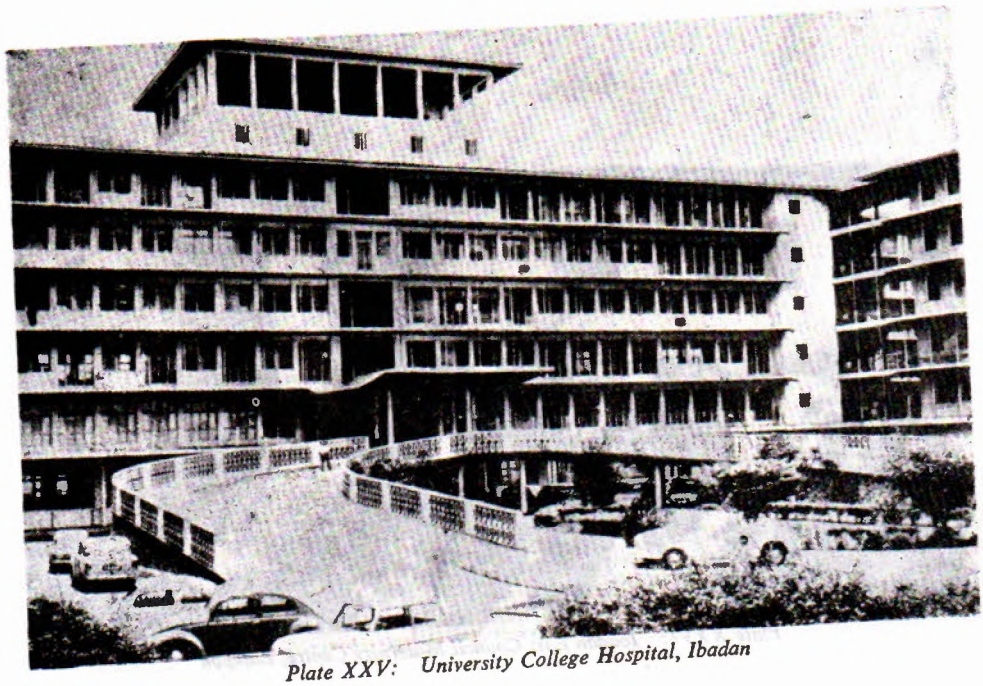

Plate XXV: University College Hospital, Ibadan

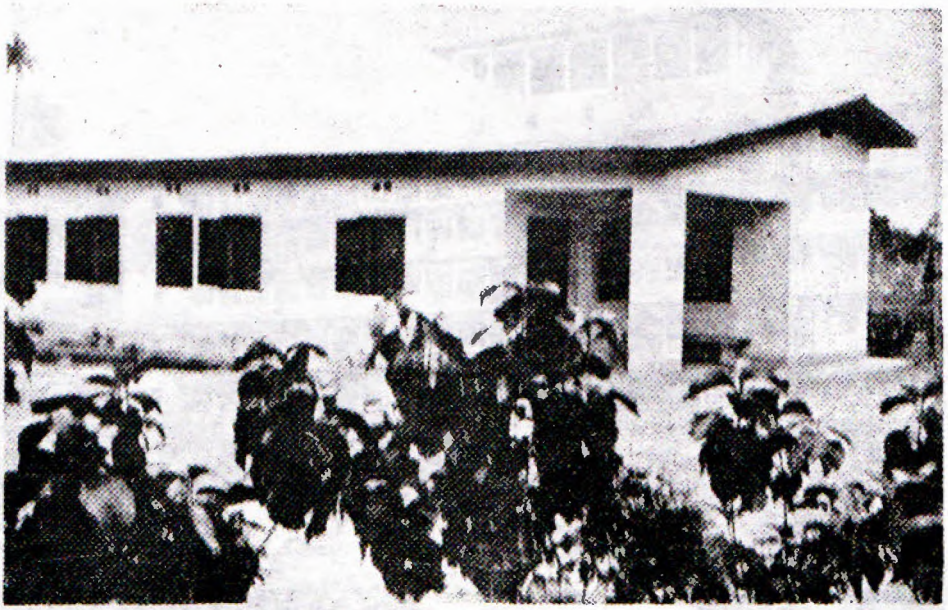

Plate XXVI: Ibadan East Council Maternity Centre, Lalupọn

gone to a dispensary or to a hospital nevertheless make use of diviners or magical protection or both. Those who use modern medicine may retain a belief in sorcery as the cause behind the cause of illness, and, of course, there are misfortunes other than illness in which one may suspect sorcery.

TABLE 20

ILLNESS PRACTICES AND SUPERNATURAL GUIDANCE OR PROTECTION OF 262 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Illness Practices			
Supernatural Guidance or Protection	*Uses Traditional Doctor Home Remedies, or Patent Medicine*	*Uses Dispensary; Hospital*	*Uses No Medicine*	*Total*
Consults diviners or uses magical protection	88	52	86	57
Does not consult diviners or use magical protection	12	48	14	43
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	(26)	(229)	(7)	(262)

$X^2 = 14.818$, $P < .001$, d.f., 2

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF THE RELIGIOUS, MAGICAL AND MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF 272 YORUBA IN THE IBADAN AREA, 1964

In this chapter we have presented the information received from 272 rank-and-file Yoruba in the Ibadan area of Nigeria. The Ibadan area here means the area within a radius of fifteen miles of the city, and, specifically, two villages—Ijaye and Lalupon—each within twelve miles of Ibadan, as well as three sections of the city itself—Oje, Oke Ofa, and Isale Ijebu. Basic demographic data: sex, age, place of residence, marital status, number of wives, and number of children of married Yoruba, are given in contingency tables. These data are related in additional tables to such variables as school attendance, occupation, and religion. Also included are data on tendency to worry, consultations with diviners, being troubled by witchcraft and sorcery, treatment sought when seriously ill, and illness practices, including experience with modern medicine (dispensaries and hospitals).

For the reasons given at the beginning of this chapter, our sample, as shown in Tables 26–27 (Appendix), consists of 238 men and 34 women. Twenty-nine per cent of our informants were under 30 years of age, 46 per cent were between 30 and 49, and 25 per cent were 50 or over. The proportions of persons under 30 are similar for Lalupon (33 per cent) and for the three sections of Ibadan taken together (36 per cent), but younger people constituted a small part (4 per cent) of the Ijaye subsample. Table 28 (Appendix) indicates that 29 per cent of 270 Yoruba had never married,

two-thirds were married, and 3 per cent were widowed or divorced at the time they were interviewed. Mainly because there were only two informants under 30 in Ijaye, the proportion of never married persons in that village is low (6 per cent).

Table 29 (Appendix) reveals that only 12 per cent of the Ibadan families in our sample were polygynous, but that half of the families in Ijaye and Lalupọn included more than one wife. The close relationship between age and marital status is shown in Table 30 (Appendix): 76 per cent of the informants under 30, 15 per cent of those between 30 and 49, and only 1 per cent of those over 50 are in the never married group.

Table 31 (Appendix) shows the association between age and number of wives of 172 married Yoruba. Ninety-three per cent of the married informants under 30 belonged to one-wife families, 7 per cent to families of two wives, and none were from families of three or more wives. The corresponding proportions for married informants between 30 and 49 were: 70 per cent, 23 per cent, and 7 per cent; for those of 50 and over: 48 per cent, 36 per cent, and 16 per cent. Sixty-five per cent of our sample were from one-wife families, 26 per cent from families of two wives, and 9 per cent from families of three or more wives.

Table 1 shows the association between religious affiliation and the number of wives in the families represented by our informants. Both Muslims and *òrìṣà* worshippers far exceed Christians in the proportion of families which are non-monogamous.

An important difference in family size between informants in Lalupọn and in Ibadan is given in Table 32 (Appendix). In the city, 52 per cent of the married informants had one or two children as compared with 42 per cent in Lalupọn. Only 8 per cent of the Ibadan subsample had five children and no Ibadan family had six or seven children. In Lalupọn, however, 22 per cent of the respondents had five or more children. In Ijaye, the percentages of informants with three or four and with five or more children are higher (38 per cent and 40 per cent), but a part of this different is due to the considerably higher average age in Ijaye. It should be noted also that Ibadan informants have a lower average age than those in Lalupọn. We have pointed out that the number of children per family is affected also by the proportion of families in the three places of residence which are polygynous.

Data on school attendance is presented in Tables 2–6. Slightly less than half (48 per cent) of our informants had attended school. For place of residence, the findings are: Ijaye, one fifth had attended school; Lalupọn, one-half; and Ibadan, three-fifths. The higher average age of the Ijaye informants affected its showing on school attendance. Since the proportion of persons under 30 is only slightly higher in the Ibadan group than in the Lalupọn subsample, the higher percentage of Ibadan informants who had gone to school would seem to be due to the educational advantages of the city over a neighbouring village. The increase in educational opportunities is seen in the dramatic differences in school attendance by age: 82 per cent of those under 30 had gone to school, compared with 42 per cent in the age group 30 to 49 and 19 per cent of those 50 and over.

Table 4 brings out certain points concerning residence and migration and education. In general the best showing in education is made by the "Born in a Village, Now Lives in City" informants, with the other groups following in this order: "Born in City, Now Lives in City"; "Born in a Village, Moved to City, Now Lives in a Village";

"Born in City, Now Lives in a Village"; and "Born in a Village, Now Lives in a Village". As suggested earlier, these differences may be due largely to one or both of these factors: the greater educational opportunities of the city and the drive which brought these individuals or their families to the city.

The proportion of Christians who have attended school is twice as high as for Muslims; none of the *òrìṣà* worshippers had received any schooling (Table 5). When the *òrìṣà* category is broadened to include contributors as well as worshippers, approximately two-fifths of this group had obtained some education, but our Christian informants lead by quite a margin both the Muslims and the *òrìṣà* worshippers-contributors in educational achievement, both primary and secondary education. Here the age distribution for the three religious categories must be taken into consideration (Table 36, Appendix).

Tables 7–8 and 33–34 (Appendix) show the occupations of our informants. According to Table 33 (Appendix), 13 per cent of our respondents were unemployed at the time they were interviewed—17 per cent in Lalupọn, 16 per cent in Ibadan, none in Ijaye. The lack of unemployed persons in the Ijaye subsample is due mainly to the inclusion of only individuals under 30 in that village. Only 2 per cent of the sample were clerks and 4 per cent were teachers. These two occupational categories were unrepresented in the Ijaye group and together they constituted only 2 per cent of the Lalupọn subsample. Table 7 indicates the high proportion (41 per cent) of those under 30 who were unemployed, as well as the fact that of those in this age group only 2 per cent were engaged in farming. One-tenth of those under 30 were employed as teachers or as clerks, compared with one-sixteenth for informants between 30 and 49 and none in the 50 and over category. We found that 24 per cent of those who had attended school were unemployed (Table 34, Appendix). Those with the least schooling were engaged in farming, the trades (artisans) and trading, but only 4 per cent of the unemployed had received no training (Table 24, Appendix). The high percentage (one-fifth) of Christians who are unemployed (Table 8) is related to the much higher proportion of these religionists who have attended school, and, presumably, to the considerable difficulty which many school-leavers find in obtaining what they regard as suitable employment. Our Christian informants had more than their share of the unemployed, of clerks and teachers, of traders, and of "other" occupational pursuits, but they were underrepresented in farming and in the trades. Muslims area over-represented in the skilled trades and in farming, but have less than their share of teachers, clerks, the unemployed, and "other" occupations. *Òrìṣà* worshippes are concentrated in farming (43 per cent), trading (36 per cent) and the skilled trades (14 per cent).

Christians constitute 36 per cent of our sample (Table 35, Appendix), making up half of the Ibadan group, nearly half (46 per cent) of the Ijaye informants, but only 18 per cent of those interviewed in Lalupọn. Among our respondents, 5 per cent are *òrìṣà* worshippers, but the proportions in the subsamples vary from 18 per cent in Ijaye to 4 per cent in Lalupọn and one per cent in Ibadan. (If those who contribute to the worship of the *òrìṣà* but do not themselves worship the traditional gods are added to the *òrìṣà* worshippers, the proportion in this category is nearly one-fifth, as shown in Table 9.) Three-fifths of our informants were Muslims (79 per cent of the

Lalupọn subsample, 50 per cent of the Ibadan group, and 37 per cent of the Ijaye informants). Table 36 indicates that in our sample, Muslims predominate in the 30–49 age category, Christians among those under 30 and *òrìṣà* worshippers in the over 50 group. Women are overrepresented among *òrìṣà* worshippers, and it is for this reason that we said earlier that the small proportion of women among our informants probably means that the percentage of such worshippers in the Ibadan area is higher than that indicated in this study (Table 37, Appendix). Table 9 shows that nearly a third of our informants who were born in a village and now live in a village were *òrìṣà* worshippers or contributors. There is less variation in the proportion of respondents (42 to 54 per cent) in each of our five categories of residence and migration who are muslims than for the other two religious categories. Very few (8 per cent) of our informants who were born in a city and now live in a large city are *òrìṣà* worshippers or contributors. Nearly half (45 per cent) of those interviewed in this study who were born in a city and now live in a city claimed to be Christians, but only 16 per cent of those who were born in a village and now live in a village were Christians.

For 260 Yoruba, we found that 35 per cent consult diviners, but the association between sex and such consultations was not significant (Table 38 Appendix). The association between place of residence (Ijaye, Lalupọn, Ibadan) and being troubled by witchcraft is not statistically significant (Table 10). This is true also of place of residence and seeing spirits and of residence and the belief that sorcery is being directed against one. Among other items not shown in Table 10, we found no association between being troubled by witchcraft and age or school attendance or present religion. The lack of relationship between witchcraft and the several variables just cited is not surprising since the presence of and the need to relieve fears, anxieties, and suspicions are not monopolies of villagers or of urban dwellers, or of one age group, one religion, or one educational category. The changing situations in Nigeria have not diminished worries, tensions, and problems. New forms of concern are readily related to old beliefs and to old formulas for dealing with trouble. The strong association between being troubled by witchcraft and the belief that someone is using sorcery against one was to be expected.

In Tables 11 and 12, supernatural trouble or experience is related to residence and migration and to supernatural guidance or protection. Twenty-nine per cent of 270 informants had seen spirits or believed that someone was using sorcery or witchcraft on them (Table 11). Those who were born in a village, had moved to a large city, and, when interviewed, were living in a village, were found to have a higher proportion of individuals (42 per cent) who see spirits, or are troubled by sorcery or by witchcraft, or both, than any of the other four categories of residence-migration (Table 11). Those who were born in a city and were living in a city when interviewed had the smallest proportion of persons (17 per cent) who were having such supernatural troubles or experience. The hypothesis stated earlier as a possible explanation of these differences is that the Village-City-Village group is, on the whole, made up of the least successful and the most anxious persons, followed by the City-Village, the Village-Village, Village-City and City-City groups. The relationship between education and supernatural trouble or experience is not given in a table, but the data show that 22 per cent of those who are illiterate or who have had very limited training were having

supernatural trouble or experience, as compared with 34 per cent of those who had attended primary school, and 28 per cent of those who had attended secondary modern or secondary grammar school. The relationship between these two variables is not statistically significant ($X^2=3.739$, $P<.20$, d.f., 2). This lack of association may be interpreted as further evidence that education does not necessarily banish beliefs in spirits, sorcery, and witchcraft. Instead, education may bring new problems and the attempts to find solutions may well involve traditional supernatural beliefs.

There is a close relationship between having supernatural trouble or experience, as those terms are defined here, and consulting diviners or using one or more types of magical protection, but Table 12 reveals that consulting diviners and using magical protection are by no means confined to those reporting supernatural trouble or experience currently.

The association between religion and supernatural trouble or experience is not presented in tabular form, but the replies show that 37 per cent of the *òrìṣà* worshippers and contributors, as compared with 29 per cent of the Muslims and 24 per cent of the Christians, do have supernatural trouble or experience. The relationship between these variables is not statistically significant ($X^2=2.669$, $P<.30$, d.f., 2).

In our sample (Table 13) there was a greater utilization of divination and of various kinds of magical protection on the part of Muslims (63 per cent) than of *òrìṣà* worshippers-contributors (56 per cent) or of Christians (46 per cent). Although the point is not brought out in the tables, we found that the relationship between age and the consultation of diviners was not statistically significant.

We have reported that we did not find a statistically significant relationship between school attendance and the belief that one was being troubled by witchcraft. A lack of association was found also between amount of education and supernatural guidance and protection (consulting diviners or using one or more types of magical protection, or both). Among our informants who were illiterate or had had very limited training, 52 per cent sought the help of diviners or used magical protection, as compared with 58 per cent for those who were literate or had attended primary school, and 62 per cent for the secondary modern and secondary grammar school attenders (Table 14).

When asked what kind of treatment they seek when seriously ill, three-fifths of 241 Yoruba mentioned home remedies (Table 15). Nearly one-third (30 per cent) said they go to a dispensary or to a hospital in case of serious illness, 7 per cent rely on patent medicine obtainable in medicine shops in nearly every marketplace, every business district and in pharmacies, 3 per cent use prayer instead of medicine, and only 1 per cent reported that they go to a traditional doctor for such an illness.

In assessing the place that traditional medicine still has in the Ibadan area, one must add to those who say they go to or have "stayed with" a traditional doctor, the high percentage of people who use home remedies for major or minor illnesses, those who buy traditional medicine from medicine peddlers, and even those who use types of "patent" medicine purchased in a medicine shop or pharmacy which represent a mixture of traditional and proprietary formulas.[8] One must distinguish also between serious and minor illnesses.

As expected, our data show (Table 16) that *òrìṣà* worshippers turn to home remedies more often and to modern medicine less frequently than do Muslims and Christians,

with almost twice as high a proportion of Christians as of Muslims relying on a dispensary or a hospital for serious illness.

When questioned about the kind of treatment they seek first and last when seriously ill, the majority (52 per cent) said they try home remedies first, but more than one quarter (29 per cent) try patent medicines, and nearly one-fifth (18 per cent) spoke of trying modern medicine first. Our data indicate that Raymond Prince has overgeneralized in giving a sequence of events which, he says, take place when a Yoruba becomes ill.

"In practice, when a man falls ill, he will first try a home remedy or one purchased from an itinerant medicine peddler. If he does not recover, he may consult a *babaláwo* who, after divination, will advise that he make a sacrifice to the witches, his double, his ancestors or one of the *òrìṣà*, take certain medicines or use certain magical devices for protection against sorcerers, witches or bad spirits; change his place of abode (because of the witches in the compound) or, more rarely, change his occupation (because he is not fulfilling his heavenly contract); change his character—be less aggressive, proud, impatient, and so forth; take a medicine for disease of the body; become an initiate into one of the *òrìṣà* cults (generally one's lineage *òrìṣà* or one that was formerly in one's lineage, although this association may have been forgotten by living members and may be discovered only by divination)."[9]

The point is that the sequence described by Prince often, but by no means invariably, occurs. Of the 189 who responded to the query about what they try last for a serious illness, 84 per cent said they go to a dispensary or to a hospital, 1 per cent use patent medicine, 4 percent try home remedies, and 4 per cent go to a traditional doctor as a a last resort. Table 15 shows that twice as high a proportion of informants under 30 seek treatment at a dispensary or a hospital when seriously ill as is the case with persons in the two older age groups.

Table 17 indicates that *òrìṣà* worshippers-contributors rely to a greater extent on non-modern treatments (traditional doctors, home remedies, or patent medicine) than do Muslims or Christians. A higher proportion of Muslims than of Christians have used dispensaries and hospitals, but this is due largely to the fact that 8 per cent of the Christians (the Aladura Christians) rely on prayer rather than on any type of medicine for the treatment of all disease. An overwhelming proportion (88 per cent) of our informants have gone to dispensaries or to hospitals for the treatment of illnesses. We found (Table 18) that there was no association between amount of formal education and actual illness practices in the extent to which illiterate persons and those who had had very limited training, those who were literate or had attended primary school, and those who had attended secondary modern or secondary grammar schools had utilized modern medicine (dispensaries and hospitals).

The reactions of our informants to modern medical treatment are preponderantly positive (Tables 39–41). A very high proportion of those who had had experience with dispensaries or hospitals said that the treatments received had cured them of illnesses. The persons from whom we obtained information felt that doctors and nurses had shown a friendly interest in them. Very few said they had had to bribe attendants to get medical service, and relatively few complained about having to wait for medical attention.

It should be pointed out that villagers and urban dwellers in the Ibadan area have greater access to hospitals than do most Yoruba. Presumably, findings concerning illness practices, medical experiences and reactions to modern medicine would vary considerably in various parts of southwestern Nigeria.

Illness experience (defined here as—(*a*) confined to bed by illnesses during the past few years, (*b*) had complaints at time of interview, or (*c*) no illness now and not confined to bed in past few years) and supernatural trouble or experience (seeing spirits, or being troubled by sorcery or witchcraft, or both) are associated for our sample (Table 19). Supernatural troubles and experiences are not limited to those who have had illnesses but it appears that sickness may stimulate such experiences.

The majority of our informants (57 per cent) consults diviners or uses magical, protection, or both, but the proportion is much higher (88 per cent) for those who use non-modern medicine for serious illnesses than for those who rely on dispensaries and hospitals in such cases (52 per cent). It is of interest that six of the seven persons who use no medicine (Aladura Christians) said that they use supernatural guidance or protection as those terms are defined in this study (Table 20).

Among our informants in the Ibadan area, age is a very important factor in the determination of marital status, number of wives, number of children, amount of schooling, present religion, occupation, type of treatment sought when seriously ill, and belief concerning the ability of modern medicine to cure all types of illness. Despite the shifts in religious affiliation on the part of the younger informants (Table 36, Appendix), the three generations differ very little in certain supernatural matters—being troubled by sorcery, being troubled by witchcraft, seeing spirits, consulting diviners, and using magical protection. For reasons stated earlier, these aspects of traditional culture seem to give ground less readily than do many others in the changing situation. The lack of a significant relationship between age and whether traditional religion should be kept (see Table 21, Chapter VI) seems to the writer to be due in part to a fairly general belief that it would be unwise for everyone completely to abandon the old divinities. One prominent villager, a Muslim, provides space in his house for a shrine room for lineage *òrìṣà* and helps to defray expenses for annual ceremonies on the grounds that neglect of the gods could only result in pestilence, famine and civil disturbances. Even if one seldom or never takes part in traditional rituals, he may hope that some of his kinsmen or others will not forsake the tribal gods. Perhaps this lack of association between age and religious retentions is due in part to ethnic pride and ethnocentrism a feeling that traditional religion is an aspect of the Yoruba heritage which should not be lightly abandoned.

There are advantages in obtaining information from the experts in such matters as religion, divination, witchcraft, sorcery and medicine, and we have given data received from ritual leaders, diviners, and healers in earlier chapters, but it is useful also to sample the beliefs, practices and attitudes of rank-and-file villagers and urban dwellers. In this chapter we have presented the material collected from 272 residents of two Yoruba villages (Ijaye and Lalupon) and in three sections of the city of Ibadan. It is clear that important changes are occurring and have been occurring, especially in the past twenty years, in marital status, school attendance, religion, migration, and occupation, as well as in such related variables as tendency to worry often; consultation

with diviners; being troubled by sorcery or witchcraft; use of magical protection; and medical practices and experiences. We have tried to indicate the nature of some of these relationships and changes and to give some interpretation of them, and further attention will be given to change in the next chapter. One may hazard the guess that the general direction of the changes shown here will continue, but at greater speed, in the remaining decades of the twentieth century.

Although our explanations go about as far as it is possible to go with the data of this study, many questions remain unanswered. With the present data, it is not possible to pursue to the end the cause of behaviour such as consulting a diviner or using magical protection, or to take another example, to determine that such-and-such a factor alone explains the differences in the amount of education obtained.

NOTES

[1] A. H. Leighton, T. A. Lambo, and others, *Psychiatric Disorder among the Yoruba*, Cornell University Press, 1963, Appendix E.

[2] In fifteen family compounds bordering the Oje market in Ibadan, Barbara Lloyd found that 34 per cent of the married men had more than one wife (20 per cent had 2, 8 per cent had 3, 4 per cent hand 4, and 2 per cent had 5 or more). These proportions similar to those for our sample (35 per cent of the married in informants were polygynous, with 26 per cent of their families including two wives and 9 per cent three or more). In our Ibadan subsample, 88 per cent of the married informants were monogamous at the time they were interviewed. However, 86 per cent of these informants were under 50 years of age (compared with 77 per cent in Lalupọn and 46 per cent in Ijaye). In addition to some differences in the age structure of the Ijaye, Lalupọn and Ibadan subsamples, the proportion of the Lalupọn in informants who profess Islam, a religion which sanctions plural marriage up to four wives, in much higher than it is for either of the other subsamples. Dr Lloyd found that 58 per cent of the wives living in the Oje compounds she studied were plural wives. Barbara Lloyd, "Indigenous Ibadan," in Peter Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje, and B. Awé, eds., *The City of Ibadan*, Cambridge University Press, 1967, pp. 69–70.

[3] Statistical computations in this study are based on procedures outlined in Hubert Blalock Jr., SOCIAL STATISTICS, McGraw-Hill, 1960. On corrections for continuity, Blalock says (p. 221): "Corrections for continuity cannot easily be made in the case of the general contingency table. If the number of cells is relatively large and if only one or two cells have expected frequencies of 5 or less, then it is generally advisable to go ahead with chi-square tests without worrying about such corrections. If there are a large number of small cells, however, the only practical alternative may be to combine categories in such a manner as to eliminate these cells. Of course categories can only be combined if it makes sense to do so theoretically. Thus if there were an 'other religions' category consisting of such a wide range of religious groups as to make the category theoretically meaningless, it would perhaps be better to exclude these persons from the analysis altogether."

[4] Among the 14 *òrìṣà* worshippers (5 per cent of the total sample), 7 worship only the *òrìṣà*, 6 follow both Islam and the *òrìṣà*, and 1 is both Christian and an *òrìṣà* worshipper. In Ibadan only 1 of 110 informants said that he worshipped only the *òrìṣà*. Barbara Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 72, found "about one per cent, mostly old people, are still entirely faithful to their traditional Yoruba gods". In her study of fifteen family compounds bordering the Oje market in Ibadan, Dr Lloyd found that 74 per cent of all adults were Muslims. In our Ibadan subsample, 50 per cent of our informants were Muslims only, but in the Oje section it was 66 per cent.

[5] Magical protection include *tira* (writing verses and prayers on a slate, washing off the slate and drinking the water), magical rings or waist-bands, *gbẹ̀ṛẹ́* (rubbing medicine into superficial cuts made in the client's skin) and other uses of traditional medical materials.

[6] The following differences were found:

(1) Those under 30 were over-represented (36 per cent versus 29 per cent in the sample).
(2) Farmers are underrepresented (16 per cent versus 24 per cent) and traders are overrepresented (28 per cent versus 14 per cent.)
(3) Fifty-six per cent of the 25 persons complained of illnesses at the time they were interviewed as compared with 38 per cent of 272 informants.
(4) Twenty per cent of those troubled by sorcery and witchcraft go to traditional doctors, but only 10 per cent of the total group goes.
(5) The percentage of the special group who worries often is twice as high as that for the sample as a whole.

(6) Forty-eight per cent of the smaller group see spirits as compared with 14 per cent of the whole sample.
(7) Those who are troubled by sorcery and witchcraft are somewhat more likely to have gone to school (60 per cent versus 47 per cent for the sample as a whole).

On the following variables there was little or no difference between the twenty-five persons who are concerned about sorcery and witchcraft being directed against them and the total group: sex; marital status; number of wives; going to dispensaries or hospitals for the treatment of serious illnesses; and present religious affiliation (*òrişà* worshipper, Muslim-*òrişà*, Christian-*òrişà*; Muslim only; Christian only).

[7] Those who use no medicine are members of one of the Aladura churches (Church of the Lord, Christ Apostolic Church, and Cherubim and Seraphim), independent Christian faiths. These groups forbid the use of medicine of any kind and rely on prayer, confession, "holy words", "holy water", "holy oil", "Faith Homes", and auxiliary practices in curing illnesses. See Chapter V footnote 21 on Robert C. Mitchell's findings on Aladura therapy, including relationship between this therapy and modern medicine.

[8] See discussion in Chapter V of patent medicines seen in medicine shops in Ibadan as well as the account in Chapter III of traditional curing formulas received from informants.

[9] Raymond Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry," in Ari Kiev, *Magic, Faith and Healing*, 1964, pp. 104–5.

V CHANGES IN YORUBA RELIGIONS AND MEDICINE IN 1964

CHAPTER V

CHANGES IN YORUBA RELIGIONS AND MEDICINE

RELIGION IN 1964*

IN the Ibadan area, the following seem to be the main trends in religious life:

1. Conversion to Islam and to Christian faiths, including the Aladura churches, is continuing.
2. Participation in the large annual ceremonies is decreasing rapidly and the prestige of traditional rituals is declining, but these developments do not mean that the Yoruba as a people have ceased to believe in the old gods.
3. Compromises, concessions, and rationalizations reconciling the old and the new are worked out by families and by individuals.
4. Syncretisms of traditional and non-traditional elements are found in a number of religious movements, the largest of which is the Aladura movement.

Conversion to Islam and Christian Faiths

In our sample of rank and file Yoruba in two villages, Ijaye and Lalupọn, and three sections of Ibadan (Oje, Oke-Ọffa, and Isale-Ijebu), 5 per cent said that they worship the *òrìṣà*, 59 per cent are Muslims, and 36 per cent are Christians. We pointed out in Chapter III that among the 14 *òrìṣà* worshippers, 7 worship only the traditional divinities, 6 follow both Islam and the *òrìṣà*, and 1 is both a Christian and an *òrìṣà* worshipper. We found that nearly one-fifth (19 per cent) of our informants were either *òrìṣà* worshippers or persons who contribute to *òrìṣà* worship (see Table 9, Chapter IV.)

Seven tenths of our ordinary informants said that they had been born into their present religion. Of the other three-tenths, twice as many (55) had changed first to Islam as had been converted first to one of the Christian faiths (27). Half of those who had joined another religion and had first become Christians affiliated with the Anglican Church, one-fifth had joined an Aladura church, one-fifth changed to the UNA (African Church), and the others became Baptist, Methodist, or Catholic Church members. Seventeen informants said they had later joined a second religious group, with seven of these choosing the CMS (Anglican) and six joining an Aladura church.

Traditional Cults Declining, but Traditional Beliefs Persist

In a number of ways, the decline of traditional Yoruba religions is apparent. Attendance at the large annual ceremonies has been decreasing for many years, and the prestige of these rituals has gone down markedly, especially with the younger

people. Idowu speaks of a people with "half-hearted zeal for learning the traditions" and of officiants who have "unwittingly drifted away from what the past generations of worshippers would accept as correct traditions (the language and the ordering of the liturgies)."[1] Most of my informants who are cult leaders agreed with this judgement. Compared with a few decades ago, relatively few persons in the Ibadan area devote their lives entirely to cult matters. Our research bears out Lloyd's finding that today the priests of Yoruba cults are men of little wealth and that their prestige in the community is low despite the fact that their powers are feared.[2]

Idowu says that the shrines and temples all over the country are in a "sorry state of neglect."[3] In general, we found this to be the case in the Ibadan area. Undoubtedly the number of shrines has decreased and, while, according to my informants, there has always been some negligence in keeping shrines clean, this neglect has increased. Those who are scrupulously careful about the appearance of their altars say that those who are careless often encounter difficulties.

Spirit possession does not have the prestige it had a few decades ago; in fact, it is openly ridiculed by some of the younger people. In some parts of the Ibadan area, the secular aspects of the ceremonies for some divinities, Egúngún, for example, overshadow the religious side of the annual ceremonies. Today some Christians do not enter the shrine room nor eat any of the meat offered to the *òrìṣà*, but they wear the Egúngún costume and take part in the flogging for amusement. Open worship of Ṣànpọ̀nná is banned by law in Ibadan because it was widely believed that worshippers disseminated smallpox germs during the annual ritual. Today there is no Ṣànpọ̀nná procession; the rites are carried on in houses or within compounds with little or no drumming and dancing.

The changing role of the town deities is worthy of further study. We mentioned earlier that Morton-Williams found that, of the shrines attacked by members of the Atinga cult, only those for the principal town gods were rebuilt by public subscription. In Lalupọn, Ọbalogun is worshipped as the founder and protector of the village, and Muslims, Christians and traditional religionists participate in the first of two annual rituals for this deity. This ritual consists of a one-day hunting party in which all able-bodied men are supposed to take part. All of the animals killed on this collective hunt are brought to the home of the *Baálè*, and a feast to which everyone is invited is held the next day. The second ceremony, held approximately six months later, is attended today by relatively few people. An interesting latent consequence of the first ritual is the provision of some sense of identity and unity in the religiously mixed population of the village.[4]

In Ibadan, traditional rituals do not enjoy the support formerly given them by civil officials. Some of these officials attend some ceremonies, others attend none. On some occasions, money is contributed but the officials do not openly participate in the rites. Old men recall that formerly on the morning of the annual ceremony, the *egúngún* paid homage to the *Ọba* of the town and that he provided snails, pigeons, dogs, cocks, turtles, and other animals for offerings. Usually these animals were sacrificed in the *Ọba's* compound, and the head of the *egúngún* prayed for the *Ọba*. Now, all the Ọba these informants know about, do not support such ceremonies.[5] Despite all of these indications of the decline of Yoruba religions, the real test of

the strength of traditional beliefs comes in times of trouble. Then a large percentage of the Yoruba, educated and uneducated, consult a *babaláwo* or other traditional leader for guidance. Usually the one in difficulty is told to present sacrifices to Ògún, Ṣàngó, Ọbàtálá, or one of the other divinities. The Òrunmìlà cult may persist longer than most of the other cults because of the close relationship between Ifá divination and the beliefs and practices associated with sorcery, witchcraft, and traditional medicine.

Nearly one-fifth of our sample of 272 ordinary informants failed to respond to the question concerning the retention of traditional religion. It is possible, but this cannot be said with certainty, that many of these 53 persons are indifferent about the continuation of traditional religious beliefs. Of the 219 informants who expressed their views, 69 per cent said that traditional religions should not be retained, and 31 per cent favoured their retention. Table 21 shows that there is no association between place of residence (Ijaye, Lalupon, three sections of Ibadan) and attitude toward retaining traditional religion. The same is true of age and retention of traditional religion ($X^2 = .718$, $P <$, d.f., 2) and of school attendance (Gone to School versus Not Gone to School) and retention of traditional religion ($X^2 = .45$, $P < .70$, d.f., 1).

TABLE 21

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND ATTITUDE TOWARD RETENTION OF TRADITIONAL RELIGION OF 219 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Attitude Toward Retention of Traditional Religion:	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Should be kept	40	29	28	31
Should not be kept	60	71	72	69
Total (%)	100 (47)	100 (89)	100 (83)	100 (219)

$X^2 < 2.502$, $P<.30$, d.f., 2.

The seeming discrepancy between the small proportion of this sample (5 per cent) who say they worship the *òrìṣà* and the 31 per cent who favour the retention of traditional religions appears to be due to two attitudes on the part of a sizable number of those who say they are Muslims or Christians: first, a feeling that it would be wrong or dangerous for everyone in the community to ignore or abandon the traditional gods; and, second, that it is advisable for some members of a lineage to continue the worship of the *òrìṣà* just in case one should have need of them from time to time. As cited in Chapter IV, the fact that a total of 19 per cent of our informants are either *òrìṣà* worshippers or persons who contribute to *òrìṣà* worship, supports this hypothesis.

Regardless of their personal attitudes toward the retention of traditional religion, nearly half (48 per cent) of 271 Yoruba believe that traditional religion will disappear within a few decades. Less than four-tenths (37 per cent) hold that the cults will continue indefinitely, but two-thirds of these persons say that they will have fewer

and fewer worshippers. One-tenth said they didn't know whether the traditional religions would survive, three per cent think that their future depends upon the will of God, and two per cent did not reply.

Moral Values

According to Idowu, the *òrìṣà* are concerned in the relationship which exists among their co-worshippers, but the real source of recognized moral values in the religion of the Yoruba is Olodumare.[6]

On the question of a decline in moral values, this scholar says:

> There has been a remarkable change in moral values all over the land. Western influence has not been altogether beneficial to the people: the Yoruba have been taught too many things! The *Pax Britannica* makes it possible for a daylight burglar to escape his well-merited punishment if he and his lawyer are sufficiently clever about it-the judge is so bound by the paradox of objective justice that even though he knows in his heart of hearts that the accused before him has committed the crime for which he is arraigned, yet he will let him go scot-free if the law is on his side. Christianity, by a miscarriage of purpose, makes its own contribution to the detrimental changes in moral values. Somehow, it has replaced the old fear of the divinities with the relieving but harmful notion of a God Who is a sentimental Old Man, ever ready to forgive perhaps even more than man is prone to sin, the God in whom "goodness and severity" have been put asunder. So also does Islam unwittingly create the erroneous impression that the fulfilment of the obligatory duties and acts of penance by good works are sufficient for the purpose of winning heaven. The result of all these is that our "enlightened" products of the two "fashionable" religions can now steal without any twinge or moral compunction those articles of food placed for sale at crossroads and by roadsides, which used to be quite safe; they can now cheerfully appropriate other persons' property; they can break covenants, or promises made on oath, with brazen indifference; all these they feel free to do where those who have been brought up in the old ways and wisdom still shake and tremble at the mere thought of such things.[7]

With one exception, the traditional priests among our informants in the Ibadan area said that moral principles have been weakened in recent years. They spoke of increasing deceit, corruption, and treachery. Specifically mentioned were the betrayal of a friend in order to obtain money, the exploitation of the uneducated and the less privileged by the politicians, and initiating people into the *oṣó* cult by promising them that they would become rich. One informant insisted that in general morals have improved, arguing that there is now less exploitation of human beings than in earlier generations. He stressed the greater individualism of the present time, saying that formerly the children of a deceased man became the servants of a younger brother and were not treated as kinsmen. There seems to be some truth in both claims. Some of the security and mutualism provided by the lineage and the village in earlier days are weaker now. Individualism has increased, as have mobility, stimulation, opportunity, some types of exploitation, and confusion. But, even in the city, the influence of the lineage is not dead.[8] The changes in standards that are occurring may be viewed as a decline or as a reformulation of moral values.

Compromises, Concessions, and Rationalizations

The eclectic-synthetic views developed by individuals and families as they come to terms with a changing situation merit careful attention. The following instances exemplify such adaptations. Some persons maintain that they are Christians or Muslims but say they are compelled because of occupation to continue the worship of one or more deities. Outstanding here are the hunters, blacksmiths, taxi or truck drivers who feel obliged to participate in ceremonies for Ògún, traditional protector of warriors and those who work with iron. In one case, a man who was converted to Islam more than thrity years ago participates in the annual ritual for Ògún because formerly he was a hunter. The Baálẹ of Lalupọn is a Muslim, but he named five deities of his lineage and pointed out that one room of his residence is used only to house the paraphernalia of these *òrìṣà*. Although a substantial proportion of Muslims condemn traditional Yoruba religion and pray for its disappearance, the Baálẹ is among those who believe that complete neglect of the *òrìṣà* would lead to pestilence, famine, death of children, and other troubles, including civil disturbances. Like many others who belong to a "modern" religious group, he contributes money and supplies to the members of his family who are responsible for carrying on ceremonies for lineage *òrìṣà*. Some persons attend parts of the major ceremonies but do not take an active part in the rites; others participate on a limited basis but do not eat sacrifices. Many occasionally give offerings of kola-nuts to one or more of the gods.

Many of the psychological and sociological needs formerly met among the Yoruba through the traditional religious cults are being provided for increasingly by a number of functional alternatives. Among these are the Islamic and Christian religions, tribal unions, political parties, labour unions, and many other types of voluntary associations. These functional equivalents, however, cannot be depended upon in all situations. Anxieties do not decrease in a rapidly changing situation, and a considerable period of time will elapse before reliance on the advice of *babaláwo* and appeals to the *òrìṣà* will have disappeared.

Syncretisms found in Religious Movements in South-western Nigeria

A typology of African religious movements in relation to two continuums, one phrased in instrumental-expressive terms, the other involving the two poles of a traditional or an acculturated symbolism, has been proposed by James W. Fernandez.[9] Recognizing that there are varying proportions of expressive and instrumental tendencies in every religious movement, and recognizing also that symbolism is only one of a number of characteristics which might be used in constructing a religious typology, this schema may be advantageously used in considering religious groups and movements in south-western Nigeria.

Starting with the upper right quadrant in Fernandez's typology, I know of no instance in south-western Nigeria of a messianic cult in which acculturated symbols are manipulated expressively. Messianic and millenial movements are not inevitable developments in the face of frustration, deprivation, and social strains. In this region of Nigeria, discontent seems to have found other outlets, for example, political party activity and participation in prophet healing movements.

Examples of nativistic movements in south-western Nigeria involving the use of traditional symbols expressively are seen in the Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà religion and in the Ogbóni cult. According to Ṣọwande, the former development came to public attention in the early 1930s when some Yoruba Christians began to turn away from Christianity and to re-establish direct contact with Yoruba traditional religions.[10] Among the earliest of these persons was the Reverend D. Onadele Epega, whose booklet *The Mystery of Yoruba Gods* was published in 1931. Epega was the founder-proprietor in 1904 of the Imọlẹ Oluwa Institute at Ode-Remọ in Ijebu, and, also, was a pioneer in collecting stanzas of Ifá. These stanzas, never published, had some distribution in typewritten form. In 1934, Mr A. O. Oshiga, a former Christian, founded the Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Adúláwọ̀. Mr Ṣowande remarks that Mr Epega and Mr Oshiga "brought to the service of the Yoruba System a literacy and a mental discipline on academic lines that had been conspicuous by their absence in the System." Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Adúláwọ̀ had hymn-books, a prayer book, and a collection of the stanzas of Ifá from which lessons were read and texts taken for sermons. All were part of a framework usually associated with Christian worship. The stated purposes of Mr Oshiga's organization were as follows:

1. The development of Spiritual Manifestation and Religious Convictions of the African Race.
2. The development and fostering of African consciousness in the Universal Spirit of true love particularly amongst the race.
3. The promulgation of the great Philosophical teaching of the Holy Orunmila Bara Àgbọnnìrègún with the view to worshipping Almighty God in the indigenous form, language, and culture.
4. The exploration, development and preservation for posterity of the African Science with the view to its adoption in the Spiritual and Social ethics of the African Race.[11]

The Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà with its typical nativistic ideology, soon split, with Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Ato and Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Mímọ́ breaking away from the original body. With the subsequent separation of Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Ilupesin from Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Ato, there were four Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlàs: the Adúláwọ̀, the Ato, the Ilupesin, and the Mímọ́. In 1943, Mr Fagbenro-Beyioku founded Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Nigeria, publishing a booklet called *Orunmilaism, The Basis of Jesuism* in support of his organization. Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà Nigeria did not long survive. Mr Ṣowande, who is sympathetic to Fagbenro-Beyioku's attempt to stimulate interest in traditional Yoruba religion, says that this man was temperamentally excitable and that it would be difficult to find more extravagant claims for Ifá than those which he made. Professor E. Bọlaji Idowu, who is unsympathetic to Orunmilaism, writes that "the Odu corpus is being adulterated to the end that Ọ̀rúnmìlà may have conferred on him a status which makes him higher and the progenitor of both Jesus Christ and Muhammad."[12]

In 1956 Ṣowande recorded two Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà services and broadcast them in his radio series on "Yoruba Life". In 1957 the Nigerian Broadcasting Company set up a small committee to consider whether regular time should be allotted for additional programmes of this type. Among those present at the first of two meetings held by

the committee were an Archdeacon of the Anglican Church, Professor Idowu, Mr Ṣowande, and four delegates from the Council of the Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà. The latter stated that they represented eight Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà churches, adding that one of these churches in Lagos had a membership roll of 900 and had branches at Ebute-Mẹtta, Mushin, Jos, Ondo, and elsewhere. Precisely what happened at this meeting and at a second meeting is controversial, but it is known that no further meetings were held and that no additional programmes were produced.[13] In November, 1964, Mr Ṣowande said that he had not been in touch with the Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà in recent years and did not know whether the groups were still in existence. In two villages near Ibadan (Ijaye and Lalùpọn) and in three sections of Ibadan (Oje, Oke-Ọffa, and Isalẹ-Ijẹbu), I did not encounter persons who were affiliated with this movement. Further inquiries concerning the present status of Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà are needed. This movement seems to have had the ingredients for a successful nativistic movement. If it no longer exists, it would be of interest to know why it failed.

A nativistic group which still flourishes in Ibadan is the Ògbóni cult, designated by Bascom more than twenty years ago as a religious organization rather than a secret society.[14] Known in some sections of Ibadan as the Aborigine Ògbóni Fraternity, this cult, in Fernandez's conceptual scheme, is "oriented toward a traditional symbolism which the members manipulate expressively." Basically, the Ògbóni cult is earth worship. The earth is regarded as the source of life and is worshipped as the senior of the three great elemental forces: earth, water, and sky. Ẹdan, a pair of male and female human figures made of brass and chained together, symbolizes the earth, and each new initiate must acquire these personal ritual objects.[15] Despite strong opposition from Islam and from some parts of the Christian community, members claim that Christians, Muslims, and traditional religionists belong to the cult. Today the old Ògbóni cult in Ibadan is a mutual aid society as well as a religious group. Members may use magical rituals to avenge a wrong inflicted upon a member, or they may rescue a colleague from the witches, get him freed in a court case, or assist in curing illnesses or infertility. There are said to be at least twelve branches of the old Ògbóni cult in Ibadan town.

Unlike the traditional Ògbóni cult, the Reformed Ògbóni Fraternity falls in Fernandez's reformative quadrant where traditional symbols are utilized instrumentally. In 1914, an Anglican priest and others organized a revised Ògbóni society called the Christian Ogbóni Society. Parrinder says that the Bible was to be used in this society as one of the chief emblems and that "objectionable" practices were to be eliminated. Although the society was not expected to replace the council of the elders, it was hoped that the organization would provide status for Christian leaders in a way which would be in keeping with local traditions. Opposition to the society developed and later the name was changed to the Reformed Ògbóni Fraternity.[16] Idowu, who is critical of the Reformed Ògbóni Fraternity, says that this group is "a national reply to the attitude which has inconsistently decried all Yoruba cults as things of the devil while yet sponsoring the European lodges."[17] With the decline of traditional religions, Idowu thinks an effort may be made to fill the vacuum with a new faith of a nationalistic character. This hasn't happened yet—neither Ìjọ Ọ̀rúnmìlà nor the Reformed Ògbóni Fraternity has attracted much support—and

it may not happen in south-western Nigeria. Although several of my informants in three sections of Ibadan said they were members of the Aborigine Ògbóni Society, none said they belonged to the R.O.F. They know of its existence but claim that it is made up of wealthy and influential persons, including some important government officials. This is another group which needs to be investigated further.

The Atinga anti-witchcraft cult, another traditional-instrumental or reformative cult, came from Ghana in the early 1950's. This cult, which disappeared within a few years, is discussed in the section on Witchcraft in Chapter II.

A fourth type of religious movement in south-western Nigeria, and a very important one, is a separatist movement in which acculturated symbols are manipulated instumentally and expressively. Beginning with the founding of the United Native African Church in 1891, the first independent churches in Nigeria were "Ethiopian type" secessions from the large missions.[18] Prophet-healing movements originated in 1915 and the three principal Aladura groups (Christ Apostolic Church of the Lord, and Cherubim and Seraphim) developed between 1916 and 1930.[19] Mitchell attributes the rise and development of the Aladura movement to internal and external stresses upon Protestantism. Because these strains have not disappeared, an expressive emphasis continues in the Aladura churches, but it is also true, as Fernandez says about some of the separatist churches in South Africa, that members of the Aladura churches especially of the larger Christ Apostolic congregations in Ibadan, "are very conscious of their social status within the larger community and are anxious that their religious behaviour should be instrumental in promoting or maintaining it".[20]

According to Mitchell, the traits, whose central characteristic is a concern for spiritual power, which distinguish the Aladura churches from the more conservative African churches and from the "mission" churches are:

1. Worship forms which involve drumming, dancing, and the singing of lyrics in the traditional idiom, forceful prayers with vigorous congregational responses and, duriug certain services, spirit possession.
2. A reliance on the authority of the Bible plus direct revelation in the form of visions, dreams and possession for the communication of God's will.
3. Healing and diving as central activities.
4. A ministry of prophets, men whose claim to authority derives from their personal spiritual gifts of visioning and healing and who play a practitioner-pastoral role.
5. Religious practice which involves taboos, fasting, and the use of concrete symbols such as holy water and candles.[21]

MEDICINE IN 1964

Patent Medicines and Drugs

Imported and locally manufactured patent medicines are sold in Ibadan in modern pharmacies, and in medicine shops in the market areas of the city, by medicine peddlers, and by small merchants in the towns and villages. The latter women display their stocks of medicine along with soap, powdered milk, canned fruits and other goods, on small tables along the main streets or on shelves placed near the front entrances of houses. Among the patent medicines in greatest demand are: aspirin-type drugs

(APC, Cafenol, Aspirin, Phensic) purchased for the treatment of colds, fever, and pain; codeine for fever and pain; quinine for fever and headache; cough remedies; tonics for "general weakness"; worm expellants; and De Witt's Tablets for backache and body pain.

One successful "Medicine Store and Dispensary" in Ibadan has been in existence for fifty years. The proprietor, bearing the title of "Chief" on the store's 1964 advertising calendar, operates a small maternity home adjacent to the store. Framed certificates in his office include:

HEALTH PRACTITIONERS ASSOCIATION
London 1948

The British Institute of
Naturopathy and Osteopathy
1950

CUMI PELE HERBALIST SOCIETY
Incorporated in Nigerian
Association of Medical Herbalists
Lagos, Nigeria
1949

In the latter organization, the proprietor had passed the "Second Class Herbal Examination". He possessed also the following licence:

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS AND DENTISTS ORDINANCE
Licence to Administer Drugs by Injection

Mr.....
Pharmacist

Under the medical supervision of Dr.....
Hospital, Ibadan
to give free of charge, injection of the following drugs:
Acetylarsan, Ergometine
in the treatment of the following diseases
Yaws and Scabies in children
Postpartem haemorrhage

Director of Medical Services
Western Region

Two medicines bottled and sold by this store are an "infants' preservative" and a compound for pregnant women.

INFANTS' PRESERVATIVE
(*Agbo Omoekee*)

The celebrated mixture for children is specially prepared for disorders peculiar to infants, especially useful in those distressing complaints to which infants are subject whilst teething.
. . . . . 's Infants' Preservative prevents and quickly cures Fever, Measles Sickness, Windy Gripes, it gives instant relief, and has an immediate soothing effect. . . . . 's Infant Preservative is perfectly safe and contains no opium or harmful sedative.

. . . . . 'S FAVOURITE PRESCRIPTION
(*Egbogi fun Aboyun*)

A wonderful discovery for women in stage of pregnancy will strengthen the mother and afford vitality to the child instead of endangering both as has often been the case where unwise treatment has been followed.
Under any circumstance the use of this prescription is of the greatest value in ensuring a safe and comfortable confinement.

Explanations of both of these mixtures are given in Yoruba on bottle labels and on small leaflets available in the store.

Among proprietary preparations widely sold in medicine shops, as well as in some of the drug stores which are not located in the modern business section of Ibadan, are the following:

PREGNANT TONIC

A special prepared tonic for pregnant women, it is good for stomach grumbling, backache, irregular excreta and urine tiredness. Vomiting, weakness of the body, loss of appetite, sleeplessness, and stomach ache. It purifies the blood and cures all pregnant troubles. It makes delivery easy and safe. Try and see. Dose: One teaspoonful 3 times daily from 1st month to 10th month.

Sold by J. A. Ogunsola
NW3/362, Abebi, Ibadan,
Formula: Ew sag, Egb If, Ep Emy
Erlj Ard Agb Es Sep Oin

MEDICINE FOR ALL TYPES OF ILLNESS

Worms, Headache, Toothache, Rheumatism, Guinea Worm, Cuts, Constipation, Smallpox, Dysentery, etc.

BLOOD TONIC

Makes rich red blood, restores vitality and stamina. Acts like a charm in all cases of stomach and nerve weakness, depression, trembling, anaemia, indigestion and loss of energy.

JAGILEGBO INJECTION BLOOD TONIC

For Backache and Stomach Trouble
Made in Ibadan

NIGERIA BALM

The best home Doctor for the relief of all aches and pains.

OMOLOLA BABY MIXTURE

Omolola baby mixture is specially prepared for children. It is good for fever, restlessness, wind gripes, spleen, all children's disorders, convulsions and useful during the cutting of teeth. It cures cough, worms, dysentery.
Manufacture by the members of Nigeria Association of Medical Herbalists for M....., ... St., Ibadan.

Beier reports that in the Yoruba village in which he lived, the illiterate or semi-literate villager looks at European medicine like a tonic. According to Beier: "It is a common thing for people who are perfectly healthy to go to the dispensary or even to the hospital and ask for medicine. Whenever a person is seen taking a European patent medicine, any bystander will beg to be given some. He will not ask what the medicine is to be taken for, or how much one should take. He believes that like the traditional "tonic type" of medicine all European medicines will make him strong'.[22] Beier's observations apply also to villages in the Ibadan area.

This research project did not include a study of the role of the druggist as a medical practitioner, but according to several doctors interviewed at the University College Hospital in Ibadan, some pharmacists in Nigeria take on many of the functions of physicians. These individuals carry on an illicit injection practice (intramuscular injections for venereal disease, especially for gonorrhea are not uncommon in the South). Some pharmacists sell antibiotics without prescriptions, anti-tuberculous drugs, and, of course, all sell many proprietary medicines, many of them imported. Some druggists do a thriving business mixing and selling their own remedies.[23]

Favourable Attitudes Toward Modern Medicine

Table 22 indicates that, with the exception of those who use no medicine, nine-tenths of 245 Yoruba informants in the Ibadan area, regardless of whether they had relied on modern or non-modern medicine in the past, would go in the future to a dispensary or a hospital for treatment when seriously ill. Three tables in the Appendix (40–42) further document the strongly favourable reactions of our informants to modern medicine. For those who have had experience with dispensaries or hospitals, preponderantly affirmative responses were given on the following points: cures obtained by the treatments, the friendly interest in patients taken by doctors and by nurses, the lack of necessity of bribing attendants to get medical attention, and the lack of having to wait a long time before receiving medical attention. These tables show that the percentage of informants who had gone to hospitals is more than twice as high as the proportion who had gone to dispensaries. Two reasons probably account

TABLE 22

ILLNESS PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS MODERN MEDICAL TREATMENT OF 245 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Attitudes toward Modern Medical Treatment	*Uses Traditional Doctor, Home Remedies, or Patent Medicine*	*Has Used Dispensary; Hospital*	*Uses No. Medicine*	*Total*
Would go to dispensary or hospital	88	92	0	90
Would not go to dispensary or hospital	12	8	100	10
Total (%)	100 (25)	100 (216)	100 (4)	100 (245)

$X^2 = 37.877$, $p < .001$, d. f. 2.

for this difference: first since there was no dispensary in Lalupọn until after the interviewing for this study was completed, a resident of that village had to go to a nearby village for dispensary service; and second, where both are available, many persons prefer to go to a hospital for a serious illness because of the larger and more highly trained staff and the greater equipment and facilities of a hospital.

Despite the generally highly favourable attitudes toward modern medicine, six-tenths of 246 informants believe that there are illnesses which scientific practitioners will never be able to cure. Table 23 indicates that a higher proportion of informants residing in the city of Ibadan believe that there are illnesses that modern medicine will never be able to cure than in the two villages, Ijaye and Lalupọn. A possible explanation here is that the easier availability of modern medicine has given urban dwellers a greater appreciation of the efficacy of such medicine but has also strengthened their belief that there are illnesses that modern medicine will never be able to cure. Further statistical analysis of the responses of informants in the two villages compared with those in Ibadan showed that where people have opportunities to get treatment at a modern hospital, they may become more doubtful about the ability of modern medicine to cure all illnesses. This explanation of a favourable yet not completely unskeptical view of modern medicine receives support from other directions: 62 per cent of the men compared with 35 per cent of the women say that modern medicine will never be able to cure all illnesses ($X^2=7.110$, $P<.01$, d.f., 1), and similar reactions are found in Gone to School (59 per cent) versus Not Gone to School (34 per cent), with $X^2=14.86$, $P<.001$, d.f., 1). Younger informants are more skeptical than older informants (Under 30, 73 per cent; 30–39, 57 per cent; 50 and over, 46 per cent, with $X^2=9.96$, $P<.01$, d.f., 2).

Interaction between Traditional and Modern Medicine

In the changing situation, patients may get traditional and scientific medical services simultaneously or sequentially. If the latter is the case, the sequence is not always one of home remedies or traditional doctor, patent medicine, and dispensary or hospital. In Chapter IV (Table 16), we point out that 18 per cent of 241 Yoruba informants said that they try modern medicine first when they are seriously ill.

TABLE 23

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND BELIEF THAT THERE ARE ILLNESSES THAT MODERN MEDICINE WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO CURE OF 246 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Belief that there are Illnesses that Modern Medicine will never be able to Cure	*Residence*			
	Ijaye	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Are such Illnesses	30	59	70	59
No Illnesses Modern Medicine will never be able to Cure	70	40	29	41
Total (%)	100 (43)	99 (101)	99 (102)	100 (246)

$X^2 = 20.371$, $P < .001$ d.f, 2.

Interviews with fifteen staff members of the Medical School at the University College Hospital of the University of Ibadan, with three of the twelve private medical practitioners in the city of Ibadan, with five physicians associated with three government hospitals (Adeọyọ General Hospital, Jericho Chest Clinic, and Jericho Nursing Home) and with the medical director of the Catholic Hospital at Oke-Ọfa), provided some interesting examples of the kinds of interaction which occur in the relationships between traditional and modern medicine and practitioners.

A Nigerian physician in private practice said that a healer may tell a patient how long to stay in the hospital maintained by the physician, and, he added, a traditional doctor's word often carries more weight than that of the modern doctor.

Another private practitioner in Ibadan recalled that a disturbed young man came to his office on a wednesday. The physician intended to "patch him up" until the patient could see a psychiatrist at the University College Hospital on friday. Then the young man said he wanted to see a certain healer. When the physician took him to this traditional doctor, the latter said immediately: "I recognize you" (from an earlier meeting). Apparently, some recognition from some one in the city was all the patient needed. Within a week he was well and he is now employed as an accountant in the United Kingdom. (The young man has been trained in England.)

In another case, this physician's office nurse saw a patient eating black pap while waiting in the outer office. When asked why he was eating that mixture, the patient said it would make the injection he would receive work better.

A Lecturer in the Medical School spoke of his earlier service on the wards, saying that he often asked patients if they had consulted a traditional doctor and if they had, what kind of treatment they had received. His policy was to avoid a head-on collision with patients, trying not to contradict them and to explain things in terms of what they know. For example, one hookworm patient came back with more hookworm after he had left the hospital. A healer had told him that an enemy had stretched out "juju" for him. When the University College Hospital staff member told him he had stepped in faeces containing hookworm, the patient replied that an enemy had put the faeces there. The physician said he didn't know about that (he told the writer he couldn't be absolutely

sure that this was not true-the patient had claimed that a man below him wanted his job). Then he asked the patient to watch where he stepped in the future. Occasionally this physician took a patient whom he suspected of lying to him out to the balcony of the hospital and asked him to grasp the iron railing and to swear to Ògún that he was telling the truth. Because of the fear of Ògún, the patient would not lie.

Because a patient fears he may be scolded for not coming to the hospital sooner, he may lie about the length of time he has been ill. When one UCH physician suspects such misrepresentation he may say: "If this illness started yesterday, there is no hope for you. You might as well go home now." Taking the patient's clothes out of the chest of drawer, he says: "Here are your cloths. Go home." The patient may then say: "Well, the illness began a month ago, but it was not serious until yesterday."

A young civil servant improved after an operation for a tumor, but after returning to his home his condition worsened. Members of the patient's family told the physician that they were sacrificing animals in the hope of bringing about a cure. The physician said to the writer: "What could you tell them?"

A private practitioner in Ibadan said that one has to be careful in dealing with traditional beliefs. He divides the population into two groups: (1) a smallgroup whose members do not believe or do not quite believe in traditional explanations, and (2) the large group which believes strongly. He holds that one is not justified in being dogmatic when a patient is under great stress. Instead, he listens to the complaints and doesn't try to convince the patient that his explanation of his disease is wrong. When the crisis is over, he tries gradually to wean the patient away from traditional beliefs. In the meantime, if the patient takes some medicine for "power" it will not, in most cases, be harmful.

If a patient attributes his illness to the witches or to an enemy, or gives an erroneous explanation of his difficulty, another private practitioner says rather sternly: "Forget that and tell me exactly what is troubling you." Then he gives the patient some reassurance. At times, he has told the client that he has an incantation of his own, repeating a saying of his own invention. In some cases, he suggests that a patient consult his priest or ask him to read certain passages in in the Bible or the Koran.

When a patient speaks about sorcery and the witches, a physician at UCH explores the situation with the client to see if the illness is psychogenic. If he concludes that it is functional, he explains the nature of the patient's fears and tells him that what he attributes the illness to is not its true cause.

A patient may be cured of a disease by a modern practitioner, but decide to go to a diviner or traditional doctor to discover the real cause of the illness.

A man or a woman with little or no education may come to a modern doctor because he wants coverage so he won't lose his job or because he has decided that scientific medicine may be able to help him. In the latter case, he comes in willingly for treatment, but sooner or later he may be convinced by relatives that he should go to a traditional doctor. A physician in private practice said he tells the patient: "If you want to go-go," and the relatives may say: "We would like to take brother from you; we are not satisfied with the treatment he is getting." If the physician says that the treatment is going well, the reply may be: "We cannot afford to continue the treatment. If you don't mind, we will take him home." Or the patient may say: "You are doing your best for me, but you can't help me. I am going to someone who has helped me, someone I know."

Speaking of psychosomatic illnesses due to family and social worries, an Ibadan private practitioner said that one may give tranquillizers to such patients, but, in his view, the results are poorer than if the troubled persons go back to their villages and give the necessary sacrifices and participate in traditional rituals. (The same view was expressed by a Nigerian psychiatrist and by an expatriate doctor.) This physician added that if there is an organic basis for the illness, the belief that sacrifices will make them better is likely to fail. In traditional belief, he said, illness is caused by external agency-brothers, sisters, *òrìṣà*, enemies, witches, and so forth, and treatment consists of the magical removal of the disease-causing entity by someone who knows how to control the external agency. As he and others point out, the value of traditional healing is not so much in the medicine prescribed, but in the personality of the healer and in his skill in handling of the patient. According to this physician, the traditional doctor is less effective when, due to the coming of many migrants, the community becomes more heterogeneous and all of the people do not hold the same beliefs. The stranger is insecure, and his insecurity may be expressed in emotional disturbance. In his view, "nervous breakdown" (anxiety neurosis) in Western Nigeria is not traceable to conflict over sex but to conflict over disloyalty to one's group. He quoted people as saying that "the soul of the community is punishing this man."

A psychiatrist said that a person who meets with difficulties tends to regress to earlier beliefs and that in the anxiety states of neurotic types of illness, suggestion plus impressive paraphernalia can be therapeutic. Conjuring is, he said, a way of relieving anxieties, especially specific anxieties. This physician finds out the history of a case and the symptoms; then he tells the patient that everyone has his breaking point and explains stressful situations. One patient told him that some thing was crawling around in her stomach. He said: "Let's get an X-ray." When this woman had been cured, he asked her if she still thought there was something in her stomach. She said: "Don't joke with me."

Not all of the physicians in Ibadan with whom we talked take into consideration the traditional beliefs of many of their patients. A professor in the Medical School at the University of Ibadan who is also a member of the UCH staff said that UCH doctors do not have to worry about utilizing popular concepts in interpreting modern medical treatment and preventive measures to patients. Since there is no fee relationship between physicians and patients, doctors do not try to build up a personal relationship. They do not expect or want, he said, to see the patient again; the patient needs the physician, the doctor doesn't need the patient. Those who are admitted to UCH are willing and ready to cooperate. Although private practitioners and some of the other hospitals make concessions to traditional beliefs and practices, this hospital makes very few. As an example of a minor concession, this doctor remarked that one might say, in giving something to relieve pain to a patient who claimed that he had worms in various parts of his body, that the medicine cures worms.

A physician at Adeọyọ Hospital said that he ignores patients' beliefs in sorcery, witchcraft, and the *òrìṣà*, goes ahead and treats his clients, thus showing them that there is another kind of medicine that is more powerful than the traditional variety. A physician at one of the other government hospitals said that medical practice is affected by traditional medicine, almost always adversely. He cited the belief that tuberculosis can be acquired from the medicine which someone puts on one's chewing

stick. This doctor discountenances the traditional beliefs mentioned by patients, trying to explain that they are not true. He finds that some patients are not convinced by his explanations, and, even though he cures them, they often go back to a healer for other illnesses.

Unquestionably, some traditional treatments are harmful. Several physicians mentioned the cow's urine remedy given in Chapter III. Widely used to treat convulsions, the urine makes the child vomit, and he may have a bowel movement. The relatives then wash him and take him to a medical doctor to do the rest, believing that the physician cannot treat convulsions. One physician said that if the child cannot defecate or vomit, he is in bad shape. Another harmful practice is the application of red pepper to the eyes or to fresh skin incisions to resuscitate an unconscious patient, or, in the case of a child, singeing the legs in an open fire. Another detrimental practice is the adding of modern chemicals, such as naphthalene balls or liniment, to herbal mixtures. And, of course, the delay caused by trying a traditional remedy first may result in not getting a patient to a modern doctor soon enough for successful treatment.

Fifteen physicians at the hospitals we visited and in private practice were asked about difficulties they had encountered in:

1. willingness of patients to give blood for examination or transfusion;
2. securing permission of relatives to perform postmortems on deceased persons;
3. getting patients to follow instructions;
4. getting requests for the placenta after childbirth.

None of the fifteen professional persons (UCH, 11; private practitioner, 1; government hospital, 2; Catholic hospital, 1) had found patients reluctant to give blood for diagnostic purposes. One physician said that people who fight to get into UCH will do anything they are told, and another staff member said that patients who subject themselves to treatment at UCH know that blood is likely to be taken. In the field, individuals are willing to give blood if the relationship between the physician and the subject is good. It was mentioned that an influential chief can persuade the people to cooperate in a medical survey. At UCH, the relatives of a patient who is seriously ill will give blood for transfusions (the blood bank is operated on a reciprocal basis). One physician said that members of the Cherubim and Seraphim Church who are brought to the hospital as accident cases refuse to have transfusions.

In the Ibadan area, resistance to post-mortems is somewhat greater than to the giving of blood. Nine of the fifteen medical professionals reported encountering very little resistance on the part of the members of the family of a deceased person to granting permission for a post-mortem, but six said they had frequently met reluctance or resistance in this matter. (Very little resistance: UCH, 7; Catholic Hospital, 1; Adeọyọ, 1. Reluctance or resistance: UCH, 4; private practitioner, 1; Adeọyọ, 1.) Where there is opposition to a post-mortem, it is based on one or more reasons:

> Because of beliefs in reincarnation, family members do not want the body of a deceased person mutilated, especially the body of a chief or the child of a mother who has lost several children (marks on the dead child will appear on the next child.)

A relative who has worked in a hospital and knows something about post-mortems may try to arouse opposition to this procedure.
If the family's village is a considerable distance from the hospital, it may be said that a post-mortem would interfere with taking the body back for burial. (sometimes the body is taken one hundred miles or more for burial. Decomposition occurs rapidly in the climate of Western Nigeria.)
Because of the belief that surgeons remove parts of the body for use as charms in curing others.
Belief that the deceased is going to heaven and that the body should not be mutilated.
Belief on the part of some Muslims that when a person dies, nothing can be done about it and the body should be buried soon.

Apparently, much depends on what the physician says to the relatives. If he tells them that they are going to examine the body, but adds: "We are not going to take out anything" (meaning a whole organ), the relatives usually will agree. When that is said, it does not mean that the physician will not take "bits and pieces". If no commitment is made to the relatives, the physician may take a whole organ. In some cases, it helps if the purpose of the post-mortem is explained as the obtaining of information which will aid future patients.

In 1964, the post-mortem rate for patients who died in UCH varied monthly from 70 to 80 per cent. One physician said that ten years ago there was difficulty at Adeọyọ about post-mortems, but that today someone can usually persuade the relatives to give permission. A post-mortem is required in cases which are referred to the coroner, cases where death (*a*) is the result of injury in an accident, (*b*) occurs within twenty-four hours after admission to the hospital, (*c*) is caused by anaesthesia or (*d*) is unnatural (drowning, burns, and so forth).

Most of the patients in the University College Hospital have serious illnesses, and, since such illnesses tend to be concentrated in the lower socio-economic groups, most of the patients at UCH are from these groups. On the question of willingness to follow instructions, staff members at UCH say that, if they are carefully given and are practicable, directions will be observed. Many cannot follow instructions if told to drink milk every day, or, if they are city people, to eat eggs daily, or oranges, or even bananas. Illiterate patients can be taught to give themselves insulin and to report to the hospital at intervals. One physician said that he gives enough drugs for a week or so and asks patients to come back; otherwise, the drugs may be sold to others. Another staff member said that patients can be trusted to take pills, follow instructions, and to come back.

Because of the traditional belief that the placenta should be disposed of by members of the patient's family, the placenta is given to a relative if it is asked for at the health centres and at dispensaries, and this is done also at Adeọyọ and at the Catholic Hospital in Oke-Ọffa. Such requests are not met at the University College Hospital.

In public health work, it is sometimes possible to utilize traditional beliefs as the basis for inculcating preventive measures, for example, beliefs pertaining to smallpox. Tact and small compromises reduce the suspicion that strongly held ideas, especially those of causation, are under attack. Ajọsẹ cites an instance of gaining the co-operation of uneducated persons:

> I once had the head of the market women on the platform with me at a public lecture on tuberculosis during a tuberculosis week organized to raise funds for a Red Cross clinic for diseases of the chest in Lagos. The woman spoke after me, and though her ideas as to the aetiology of the disease were different from the accepted modern view-her belief and that of the laity being that the disease is due to the use of the patient's sputum or his chewing-stick by an enemy to make bad juju-yet in the main her speech strongly supported preventive measures. We were agreed that the disease spread among members of the same family and that indeed it might wipe out whole families; we were also agreed that it is not a good habit to spit indiscriminately; it is better to cover sputum with earth or destroy it; we were agreed vaguely on isolation but were not quite sure; and lastly we agreed to give modern medical treatment a trial though, of course, we held divergent views about the use of native medicine in addition or the recourse to it if modern medicine did not give satisfactory results. These points are far more important as working bases for public health propaganda than attempts to convince the people that *tubercle bacilli* cause the disease. The effect of the speech of this woman, who was also in favour of people coming for examination, was reflected in the number who came for medical examination in the following weeks, whereas before many had been ashamed or afraid to come to the clinic. The psychological aspect that we are more likely to listen or yield to a person who compromises a little than to one who is dogmatic- must also be remembered. By not contradicting certain indigenous beliefs, one gets a hearing. This begets confidence, and once confidence is gained it becomes easier to put into practice modern preventive measures with the full co-operation of the people.[24]

Hospitals and Health Centres in the Ibadan Area

In 1964, the University College Hospital associated with the Medical School of the University of Ibadan, an outstanding modern teaching hospital, had 500 beds and treated 30,000 new patients annually. The majority of the patients are treated in the General Out-patient clinic. Difficult cases are referred to specialist clinics, and acute emergency cases are sent to the wards for admission. A UCH patient has a choice of a "European" or a "Nigerian" menu, with decisions being based on food habits and cost. A patient who requires special food is required to follow a prescribed diet.

In 1964, Adẹọyọ Hospital was a 250-bed hospital with a staff of twenty-six doctors, eighteen nursing sisters, and 186 nurses. Several hundred general out-patients are cared for daily at Adẹọyọ, including a large and approximately equal number of children and of ante-natal patients. The hospital provides food for children, paupers, and those on special or high protein diets; relatives bring food to the other patients at 6:30, 12:00 and 5:00 o'clock. Ideally, staff members said, the hospital would feed all patients.

Jericho Nursing Home, a general hospital operated by the government mainly for senior civil servants and their wives and children, has thirty beds. These government officers do not pay for services received at this hospital. Some persons who are not civil servants come as private patients and pay for all services. In 1964, about five-sixths of the patients were civil servants or members of their families. Most types of illness are treated at Jericho Nursing Home, but when facilities are lacking, cases are referred to UCH, for example, ear, nose and throat conditions.

Jericho Chest Clinic, a government clinic for tuberculosis, has twenty beds—ten for males and ten for females, but most of the patients are out-patients.

Several of the twelve private medical practitioners in Ibadan maintain small hospitals adjoining their offices, usually with from ten to twenty beds. Relatives come and go when they please and give moral support as part of the treatment. One of these physicians said that to the relatives, as well as to the patient, a large hospital is a frightening place. Relatives bring food into these small hospitals, thus saving the doctor that expense and providing the patients with what they want to eat. One doctor, who said his practice is mainly for farmers, petty traders, and labourers, charges small fees (ten kobo to seven naira), but he sees a very large number of patients daily. This physician, who was trained in England, tells incurable patients to go back to a traditional healer.

In 1964, major health centres in the former Western Region were owned and staffed by the regional rather than the local government. The larger centres had cost approximately ₦40,000 to erect, always had transport available (ambulance and one other vehicle), housing for senior staff, four to six beds (normally used for maternity purposes, but sometimes used for general cases), and quarters for midwives and community nurses. Theses centres are staffed by either a physician or a senior nurse, and a dispensing assistant who has had some training in pharmacy but is not a full pharmacist. A health office is part of such a centre, with a Public Health Inspector, a trained sanitarian, in charge. A rural health centre is financed by the local council but receives a grant from the government. Typically, these centers have four beds, no transport, and no senior staff. An attendant, who has had one year's training at the School of Hygiene and Health Auxiliaries Training School, is in charge of the dispensary. These attendants are taught to diagnose and prescribe for simple illness and they have had some training in public health work. They are supposed to refer patients whose illnesses they are not competent to treat to a larger centre or to a hospital, but, according to a number of physicians with whom we talked, many of them do not know their limitations and do little referring. A Standard VI education is required for admission to the course for dispensary attendants, with the Local Council nominating the person it wants to get this training and paying his fees for the course. The Public Health Inspector or Health Overseer assigned to a Rural Health Centre has completed a three-year training course after receiving the West African School Certificate. This official is responsible for sanitation in the widest sense: refuse disposal, latrines, markets, drainage, housing (building plans), and water supply. They often give smallpox vaccinations. Because they prosecute people who have untidy compopounds, there is a tendency to regard them as sanitary policemen. In recent years, an attempt has been made to train these officials on the teaching rather than the policing side. One or two midwives (Grade 2) complete the staff of a Rural Health Centre. In 1964, no additional Grade 2 midwives were being trained and those in this category were being brought in for an additional year of training. Following this training, they are called Community Nurses, and it is intended that they should take an interest also in young children and in the family as a whole. After receiving this further training, the nurses are sent to the larger health centres. One difficulty in giving extra training is that they do not then want to stay in a small village.

Eight physicians associated with the University of Ibadan Medical School (five Nigerian and three expatriate staff members) were asked whether most of the emphasis in the public health centers was put on preventing illness or on introducing modern curing remedies. The view of these doctors was that at the larger health centres, there may be a good deal of public health work, depending largely on the outlook of the Medical Officer and the Health Sister (Public Health Nurse and Midwife). In these centres, there is a larger range of immunization procedures, especially diphtheria, tetanus, and whooping cough; health teaching to expectant mothers and to mothers of young children; and some instruction on family food preparation and on budgeting. According to one UCH staff member, the public health work done in the rural health centres is "close to nil". Smallpox vaccinations are given and some pre-natal work is done, but not much more than that. A medical professor said that the health centres "are supposed to do preventive medicine, but actually most of their work is curative". He attributed this emphasis in part to patient demand and partly to the fact that curative medicine is more spectacular. Expressing a similar view, a Medical School lecturer cited an example of a centre known to him where there had been no clean-up campaign, no immunization, and no drives for the disposal of waste. Two UCH staff members, one a Nigerian and the other an expatriate who were interviewed together, agreed that "lip service is paid to preventive medicine in the public health centres, but most of the work is curative". Another expatriate doctor expressed a view often given by physicians and public health personnel in developing countries, namely, that when a child is ill, its mother will not listen to propaganda about malnutrition or other health matters, and, likewise, when her children are not ill, it is difficult to interest a mother in preventive measures. This physician said that there is less emphasis everywhere in the world on preventive medicine than on curative medicine and that one should not expect a degree of sophistication in a developing country that does not exist at home (United Kingdom).

At the Ikire Health Centre, visited on 21 November 1964, the staff consisted of a resident physician, a Sister or Senior Nurse, two Community Nurses, and two Midwives (Grade 2). According to the Physician in charge of this Centre, 40 per cent of the mothers in this area "go to the bush for delivery", in part because their husbands insist that they be delivered at home. This centre was trying a new procedure, that of asking a patient to pay the delivery fee (₦2.50) charged there whether or not the patient was delivered there. The ante-natal fee at this centre had been ₦1.05. This centre had four beds for adults, but could take care of an additional four patients, and four beds for children. Relatives brought food to patients, with the Sister checking only if the patient was malnourished. Most of the cases at this centre were maternity cases, but there were some gynaecological cases, some first aid, and some children were being treated for *kwashiorkor* (serious protein deficiency). A rather extensive program was being conducted on the preventive side, including well-baby clinics, instruction in preventive medicine for mothers when staff members treated their children, talks in schools, and health posters. In 1964, the Sister Nurse devoted a total of about one day a week to home visits. (The centre had a small car, given by UNICEF, for home visiting.) The Health Overseer attached to the centre inspected local

sanitary conditions and checked on animals before slaughtering and on the carcases afterward.

Not far from the Ikire Health Centre, a maternity centre is located. Its staff consisted of one midwife (Grade 1), one midwife (Grade 2), and a dispensary attendant. The work of this centre was described as "ante-natal care, deliveries, and infant welfare". In 1964, deliveries were running about 34 per month. A "booked" patient paid one naira for ante-natal care, 50 kobo for delivery, and 5 kobo per night for a bed, while an "unbooked" patient paid one naira for delivery.

A small dispensary, known as an Ibadan East Council Maternity centre, was opened in Lalupon in September, 1964. This centre was staffed by two midwives (Grade 2) and a dispensary attendant who came two days a week to mix medicine for the use of the midwives. This attendant did not prescribe for or treat patients. The hours for this dispensary were 7:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., but patients could receive emergency treatment at any time. With the exception of minor complaints, it was not expected that adult cases would be treated at this centre. If a patient needed the services of a dispensary attendant, he was sent to Ẹgbẹda (11 km.), Iyana-Ore (8 km.) or Oyedeji (13 km.). More serious cases were sent to Adeoyọ Hospital or to the University College Hospital. During the first two weeks of November 1964, this centre handled 49 ante-natal cases and 55 children's cases (mainly "cough", fever, and diarrhoea). Four patients had been delivered there in the two months since the centre opened. The midwives said that women were reluctant to pay the fee for delivery (₦2.10), telling them that labour pains often come at night when they cannot come to the dispensary. According to these midwives, ordinarily a woman delivers her child alone, calling the traditional doctor only if there is some difficulty or if the placenta does not appear. At that time, women were more willing to bring their children to the centre for treatment than to come there to be delivered.

New Emphases and Programmes at the Medical School, University of Ibadan

Nwokolo has summarized some of the recent developments in Faculty of Medicine programs at the University of Ibadan. In 1963, when the university became autonomous, one of the first actions taken by the Board of the Faculty of Medicine was the alteration of the syllabus for the Bachelor of Medicine degree ". . .in such a way as to bring a new emphasis to bear on those disease processes and situations which are peculiar to Nigeria." This meant placing greater emphasis on Preventive and Social Medicine than had been provided for in the London M.B. syllabus. The new curriculum requires a two months' clerkship in a rural area for every student.[25] Since children constitute approximately half of the Nigerian population and more than 60 per cent of hospital attendances, the new curriculum increased the time allocated to Paediatrics, and, as is the case of Preventive and Social Medicine, a separate examination in Paediatrics has been instituted in order to emphasize the subject. In the new scheme of postgraduate specialist training, ". . .the Faculty of Medicine seeks to inculcate an intimate knowledge of local conditions while maintaining its grip on the universally accepted principles of Medicine." In research, as in teaching, the disease processes peculiar to the Nigerian environment are emphasized in Internal Medicine, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Ophthalmology, Pathology, Paediatrics,

Pharmacology, Psychiatry, and Anatomy. An important development is the establishment by four departments of the University Medical School of outposts in villages in Western Nigeria. In each case, the department "undertakes much of the medical day-to-day care of the villagers in exchange for the opportunity to study their disease patterns, the growth trends in their children, the behaviour and progress of their pregnant women, the eccentricities and aberrations of their lunatics."[26]

A Pilot Experiment in Community Psychiatry

In October, 1954, two projects were started by Dr T. Adeoye Lambo, Professor of Psychiatry and Head of the Department of Psychiatry at the Medical School, University of Ibadan, at Aro, a village near the city of Abeokuta, about ninety kilometres north of Lagos.

> The first phase was the adoption of a day-hospital scheme. . .The scheme of treatment within the framework of the community was based on the use of four large traditional villages. On to these four villages, we grafted our therapeutic unit, which could accommodate 200 to 300 patients. The normal population comprised Yoruba tribesmen and their extended-families, the majority of whom were peasant farmers, fishermen, and local craftsmen. The four villages surround a central institution-Aro Hospital-a most modern 200-bed mental hospital with all the modern facilities for treatment and research.
>
> It was part of the regulation leading to admission to the treatment that each patient should be accompanied by at least one member of the family-mother, sister, brother, or aunt, who should be able to cook for him, wash his clothes, take him to the hospital for treatment in the morning and collect him in the afternoon. . .
>
> This first phase went on for two years. Patients and their families, as well as ordinary villagers, were regularly invited to attend church services, films, traditional plays, dances, and social functions in the hospital itself. One of the most important lessons learned during the first phase of the experiment was that this form of treatment provided the best and the most effective way of dealing with family attitudes towards patients from the beginning of treatment. . .
>
> The second phase of our experiment took the form of comprehensive village-care services, through gradual extending of the first phase. All treatment facilities now provided in two smaller villages, and, in addition, we have now taken full responsibility for health administration, management, planning, and public health of these villages, in full collaboration with the village elders, who serve on the health planning council. . .
>
> One of the most unusual features of our pattern of care for the mentally ill in Nigeria is our unorthodox collaboration with the traditional healers. . . Dr El Mahi and I have for a number of years made use of the services of African 'witch doctors', especially selected for epidemiological work and other aspect of social psychiatry (for example, a community attitude survey). . .[27]

In addition to other services, three of these traditional healers have assisted in the day-to-day clinical work, doing some psychotherapy on their own with those who have psychoneuroses and anxiety states. Often in such cases, rituals and sacrifices suffice.

Differing Points of View on the Use of Traditional Healers

A number of physicians who are concerned about medicine in developing countries have expressed doubts about the encouragement of traditional healing practices. Kiev comments:

> The fact that treatment is culturally based and directed at the alleviation of drugs may in fact do actual harm. The use of amulets or suggestive, abreactive, and dissociative experiences, although it may cause no direct harm, may do indirect harm by delaying the use of prompt and effective modern treatment.[28]

Margetts writes:

> It has been suggested that traditional medicine men and healers do some good, usually by manner of strong positive suggestion based on faith or fear. They probably do more harm than good. There seems little rationale to fit traditional healing into a mental health programme in this day in Africa. There is no need for it. . . One must differentiate spiritual, suggestive, dancing, and abreactive healing. . .from the primitive medicine man as the *dokita* of Nigeria or the *mganga* of the Swahili-speaking tribes in the East. While there might be some rationale in accepting, with caution, the purely psychological type of healer, there are many pitfalls if modern emerging countries *encourage* him, and real *dangers* if they promote the native medicine man who uses material substances or cutting procedures.[29]

According to Prince:

> It seems clear that there is no good reason to encourage indigenous healing practices for physical illness in any culture. Western diagnostic technique and Western pharmacological and surgical knowledge far outstrip every other known system of medicine. In addition, Western practices are universally applicable they are not culture-bound. Psychological medicine is different, however, in a number of ways. Western psychiatric techniques are not in my opinion demonstrably superior to many indigenous Yoruba practices. I feel that investigation of the indigenous psychiatry of other groups will lead to the same conclusion. Psychotherapeutic techniques fit with the cultures in which they have developed and cannot cross cultural boundaries so successfully as can physical therapies. . . Psychiatric ills are not so pressing a public health problem as are many physical ills. They are not killers. The limited resources of underdeveloped countries must be devoted first to such major health problems as malnutrition, infectious diseases, and parasitic infectations. This consideration coupled with the other two make it clear that the mental health programs of underdeveloped countries should make the fullest use of indigenous psychiatric facilities.[30]

Dr Lambo does not advocate extensive training for traditional healers, but he favours working with selected individuals during the interim period while the number of psychiatrists is inadequate to meet the needs of the population.[31] He and other physicians with whom we talked oppose setting up institutes of traditional medicine along the lines of those established in mainland China and in India.[32] These institutes have great influence and have entrenched the questionable as well as the useful features of traditional medicine in those countries.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RETENTION OF TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS

The positions taken on the retention of traditional customs, like those taken on the retention of traditional religions and on the inability of modern medicine to cure all illnesses, are indicative of important attitudes of ordinary people in the changing situation in Western Nigeria. Table 24 shows the association between place of residence and attitude toward the retention of traditional customs, defined here as dress, food, mode of greeting, polygyny, and tribal marks (facial scarification). Informants in Ijaye, where persons under 30 constituted only 4 per cent of the sample, are overwhelmingly in favour of retaining traditional customs. In the Village of Lalupọn, 72 per cent said they believed it was a good idea to retain traditional customs as compared with 7 per cent in Ibadan. Both in Lalupọn and in the city, those under 30 constituted approximately one-third of the samples. For the sample as a whole, there is a strong relationship between age and retention of traditional customs: Under 30, 22 per cent; 30–49, 56 per cent; 50 and over, 70 per cent ($X^2 = 41.43$, $P < .100$, d.f., 4). The women in the total sample favour the retention of traditional customs to a greater extent than do the men (62 per cent versus 48 per cent, but this association is significant only at the .20 level). A smaller proportion of informants from monogamous families (46 per cent) than from families where there are two wives (72 per cent) or three or more wives (100 per cent) favour the retention of traditional customs ($X^2 = 25.03$, $P < .001$, d.f., 4). Of those who have not gone to school, 63 per cent wish to keep traditional customs compared with 36 per cent who have gone to school ($X^2 = 19.553$, $P < .001$, d.f., 2). On present religion, 93 per cent of the *òrìṣà* worshippers prefer to retain traditional customs, compared with 51 per cent of the Muslims and 41 per cent of the Christians ($X^2 = 13.818$, $P < .01$, d.f., 4).

TABLE 24

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND ATTITUDE TOWARD RETENTION OF TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS OF 269 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Retention of Traditional Customs	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Good Idea Retain Customs	90	72	7	49
Keep Some; Drop Some	6	27	93	49
Drop	4	1	0	1
Total (%)	100 (54)	100 (105)	100 (110)	99 (269)

$X^2 = 147.597$, $P < .001$, d.f., 4.

SCHOOLING DESIRED FOR OWN CHILDREN

Education in one of the strongest influences in social change in south-western Nigeria. As is the case in most of sub-Saharan Africa, Nigerian parents are intensely interested in the education of their children. Half of the 179 rank-and-file informants (78 of

our 272 informants were unmarried) who replied to our question concerning the schooling of their children said that none had gone beyond primary school. (Some of the children of these informants were still of primary school age.) Table 25 indicates that none of the children of the responding informants had up to that time attended a college or a university and that only 7 per cent had close kinsmen who had attended an institution of higher learning. Nineteen per cent of 202 informants said they desired college or university training for their children, and an additional 36 per cent want their children to go as far as possible with their schooling. By the latter statement these informants meant the earning of the highest degree it is possible to obtain in one's field of interest. Only one of these informants wants his children to have no training beyond primary school, and only seven favoured secondary modern education for their children.

TABLE 25

SCHOOLING DESIRED FOR OWN CHILDREN, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Highest Schooling Attained thus far by any of Your Children	*Highest Schooling Attained thus far by Close Kin*	*Schooling Desired for Own Children*
Primary Only	51	13	1
Secondary Modern	15	16	4
Secondary Grammar	7	35	19
College or University	0	7	26
Postgraduate School	0	8	1
Trade or Technical School	0	6	10
As far as Possible	2	15	36
Other	25	0	4
Total (%)	100 (179)	100 (173)	101 (202)

SUMMARY

The trends away from traditional religion, medicine, and customs, as well as the strong interest in education beyond primary school for one's children are indications of changes that are occurring throughout Yoruba society and culture.[33] Although there has been no stampede away from Yoruba beliefs and practices, changes are being made continuously, and, in some cases, rapidly. Our findings show that ordinary Yoruba have not found everything Western more desirable than Yoruba ways. European, African, American, and other ways are being accepted, rejected, modified, and combined in the light of past experiences, present conditions, group pressures, and personal tastes. Cultural nationalism is the counterpat of political nationalism.

NOTES

* Part of this section of Chapter VI were published in G. E. Simpson, "Religious Changes in South-Western Nigeria," *Anthropological Quarterly*, April, 1970, pp. 79–92.

[1] E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1963, p. 215

[2] Peter C. Lloyd, "The Yoruba of Nigeria," in James L. Gibbs, Jr., *Peoples of Africa*, Holt Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1965, p. 574.

[3] Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[4] In 1950, William B. Schwab ("The Growth and Conflict of Religion in a Modern Yoruba Community," *ZAIRE*, 6 (1952), pp. 829–835) found that cults maintained by segments of the community in Oshogbo, and these were in the majority, had become ineffectual and had few followers but that the small number of cults which had significance for the entire community had taken on additional form and new importance. For example, the Ọ̀ṣun cult, the paramount cult and the one associated with the founding of the town, had lost most of its religious character for the majority of the people and had assumed a secular role. The religious ritual had been retained, but it had been supplemented by secular activities. In 1950 the traditional Ọ̀ṣun festival was primarily a commemoration of the founding of the city and was celebrated by Muslims and Christians as well as by the traditional religionists. A noteworthy development of the past decade is the active part which Suzanne Wenger, a German expatriate artist, has played in stimulating interest in traditional ceremonies in the Oshogbo area. A devotee herself of several of the Yoruba deities, Miss Wenger has helped to restore the main shrine area near the city. She and her Nigerian associates have cast a number of modern concrete sculptures of leading deities, and she participates in several of the annual rituals, the most notable of which is the ceremony for Ọ̀ṣun. It would be interesting to know to what extent her own views have occasioned a re-interpretation of old beliefs and whether the renewed interest in Oshogbo in the annual ceremony for Ọ̀ṣun has reinstated some of the religious aspects which, according to Schwab, had largely disappeared in 1950. Some indication of Suzanne Wenger's influence on Yoruba religion in Oshogbo is given in Ulli Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, New York and London, Frederick A Paeger Inc., 1968, pp. 113–148.

[5] On this point Idowu says: "There was a time when the king *must* be present during certain rituals. Now, however, he can perform his part of such rituals by proxy or not at all. One instance was the occasion of lament which I heard from the Ọ̀gún worshippers in Ondo that they had to omit a certain part of an important ritual because their king had ceased to take any interest in a particular ceremony. On another occasion of great significance to the town, the Oni of Ile Ife had to decide at the last minute that he would not attend a ceremony because of a likely political riot which his appearance might cause. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[6] *ibid.*, pp. 152, 154.

[7] *ibid.*, p. 211.

[8] See, for example, Peter Marris, "Slum Clearance and Family Life in Lagos," *Human Organization* (Fall), 1960, pp. 123–28, and Joan Aldous, "Urbanization, the Extended Family, and Kinship Ties in West Africa," *Social Forces*, No. 41, 1962, pp. 8–11.

[9] James W. Fernandez, "African Religious movements-Types and Dynamics," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, **Vol. 2, No. 4,** 1964, pp. 531–543. The theoretical placing of the four types of religious movements on two co-ordinate axes is shown in Diagram 1, p. 537.

Fernandez defines an instrumental type of religious movement as one which "chooses the elements for symbolic use in a realistic and goal-minded fashion and with a view to perpetuating them under existing conditions." An expressive type of religion emphasizes "...escape by symbolic displacement from the situation which is causing frustration." *ibid.*, p. 535.

[10] Fela Sowande, *Ifá*, Lagos, Forward Press, 1963, pp. 8–9.

[11] *ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

[12] E. Bolaji Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[13] According to Professor Idowu: "The committee easily decided against the claim of *Orunmilaism* by showing from incontrovertible facts that since Orunmila was just one, though a principal, one, among the divinities in the Yoruba pantheon, no one cult among the many could claim to be the 'religion' of the Yoruba, not to speak of the whole of Africa. But it was quite obvious that if that committee had not been formed and its work so thoroughly done, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation would have been misled easily into making itself a means of subtle propaganda for the establishment and propagation of a nationalistic religion based on a deliberate heresy..." The "heresy" referred to here is a theory set forth in a lecture delivered by Mr A Fagbenro-Beyioku (see reference above to the booklet based on this lecture) in 1943. In Mr Fagbenro-Beyioku's theory, "Orunmila was the prophet of God to the Yoruba (or rather, the Africans), even in the same way as Jesus Christ was the prophet of the Jews; and, moreover, Orunmila was of a higher status than Jesus Christ in as much as the latter derived

from the former." *ibid.*, p. 214.

[14] Bascom found that the political functions of Egúngun, Orò, and Ògbóni are secondary from the point of view of the worshippers to purely religious functions that characterize all *orişa*. William R. Bascom, "The Sociological Role of the Yoruba Cult-Group," Memoir No. 63, American Anthropological Association, January, 1944, p. 70. Peter Morton Williams ("The Yoruba Ogboni Cult in Oyo," *Africa*, 30. (1960), pp. 362–74, who regards the Ogboni cult as a secret society, writes: "Ogbóni, indeed, is hard to investigate. My inquiries in Oyo may have been made easier through Ogbóni having been disbanded by Alafin Adeyemi, a pious Muslim, in 1948 after his accession. But in Egbado, where I worked before going to Oyo, although its judicial functions had been taken over by the courts, and its political authority largely by new councils, it was still a going concern, with residual political and wide religious powers." (p. 362) In Ibadan, the cult has few, if any, "residual" political powers. See report on Ogbóni cult in chapter II.

[15] Ulli Beier, *Yemi Bisi*, Ibadan, Mbari Publications, 1963, p. 16.

[16] Geoffrey Parrinder, *Religion in an African City*, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 178–79.

[17] E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[18] Michael Crowder, *A Short History of Nigeria*, Praeger, 1962, p. 211.

[19] Robert C. Mitchell, "The Aladura Movement Among the Yoruba, 1918–1931," Mimeo (revised), p. 2. A paper presented to the African Studies Association, October, 1963, San Francisco. In 1963, Mitchell estimated that the Aladura churches had 80,000 members in the Western Region, and that in Ibadan perhaps one-fourth of the active Christians belonged to these R. C. Mitchell, "Christian Healing," in Victor E. W. Hayward, ed., *African Independent Churches Movements*, Edinburgh House Press, 1963, p. 47.

[20] James W. Fernandez, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[21] Robert C. Mitchell, "Witchcraft, Sin, Divine Power and Healing: The Aladura Churches and the Attainment of Life's Destiny Among the Yoruba," Paper 8, Special Seminar on "The Traditional Background of Medical Practice in Nigeria," Institute of African Studies and University College Hospital, University of Ibadan, April 20–23, 1966, p. 2.

Mitchell's findings on aladura therapy (divination, diagnosis, interpretation of cause of illness, means used in treatment-prayer, confession, "holy words," "holy water," "holy oil," "Faith Homes" where patients may live in a changed environment for extended periods of time, and auxiliary practices—cabalistic symbols, candles, charms, and negotiation with the witches troubling a patient, as well as relationships between aladura therapy and modern medicine, are of great interest. On the last point, he sees as the most serious liability of aladura therapy "their condemnation of the use of modern medicine as showing a sinful lack of trust in God." He adds, however, that with the exception of the Christ Apostolic Church, "there is evidence that the aladuras are moving toward an accommodation with modern medicine on the official and unofficial levels." *ibid.*, pp. 6–14.

[22] Ulli Beier, "Quack Doctors in a Yoruba Village," *Dokita*, December 1960, p. 57.

[23] In Latin America, Simmons found that the druggist's role as a practitioner of medicine "epitomizes whatever rapprochement has occurred between popular and modern medicine. In both Peru and Chile, many druggists have built up substantial practices as curers of a wide variety of illnesses. . .The druggists are usually thoroughly familiar with popular beliefs, and instead of attacking them, accord them the supposed sanction of modern medicine. The druggists utilize both popular and modern remedies in curing, and their prestige is enhanced by their professional status as representatives of modern medicine. The most popular druggist in Valparaiso manufactures patent medicines and herb teas for every conceivable kind of illness which are sold not only to a local population but to the country at large on a mail order basis." O. Simmons, "Popular and Modern Medicine in Mestizo Communities," *Journal of American Folklore*, No. 68, 1955, p. 69.

[24] Oladele A. Ajose, "Preventive Medicine and Superstition in Nigeria", *Africa*, No. 27, 1957, pp. 272–73.

[25] For a report on the Community Health Program established in the Ibarapa district, see T. O. Ogunlesi, *Ibarapa Project*, Ibadan University Press, 1964.

[26] C. Nwokolo, "African Medicine and Medicine in Africa", *African Notes*, No. 3, April, 1966, pp. 9–12.

[27] T. Adeoye Lambo, "Patterns of Psychiatric Care in Developing African Countries," in Ari Kiev, (ed.), *Magic Faith and Healing*, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, pp. 447–49.

[28] Ari Kiev, "Implications for the Future," in *ibid.*, p. 459.

[29] E. L. Margetts, "Psychiatry and Mental Health in Africa—Prospects for the Future," in T. Adeoye Lambo, (ed.), *First Pan African Psychiatric Conference*, Abeokuta, Nigeria, Government Printer, Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1961, p. 190.

[30] Raymond Prince, "Indigenous Yoruba Psychiatry" in A. Kiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17.

[31] Until 1961, there was only one psychiatrist in Nigeria. In 1964, there were eight or nine fully trained psychiatrist.

[32] See Ari Kiev, "Implications for the Future," in A. Kiev, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 463–64, footnote 6.

[33] For a recent analysis of all aspects of social change in West Africa, see Peter C. Lloyd, *Africa in Social Change*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1967.

APPENDIX A

Forms Used in This Study

VILLAGERS AND URBAN DWELLERS

Number.....Date of interview.....Interviewer.....

Village name.....

1. Full name of respondent.....
2. Tribe.....and subtribe.....
3. Sex.....

3*a*. Language spoken:

a. Self:
b. Wife or husband:
c. Mother:
d. Father:

4. Age
   a. Respondent's statement:.....
   b. Interviewer's estimate.....
5. Marital status
   a. Never married.....
   b. Currently married.....

   If man: How many wives including those living with you and those living outside?.....

   If woman: How many co-wives including those living outside?.....

   c. Other (specify).....
6. How many children do you have?.....
7. How much schooling have your children received?.....

   How much schooling would you like your children to get?.....

   What is the highest education any of you close kin has received?.....

   In interviewing informants the various forms given here were used only as guides.
8. What kind of work do you do?.....
   a. What does your wife (wives) do?.....
   b. What does your husband do?.....
9. What different types of occupations do people have around here?.....
10. Do you have any complaints (illnesses) right now (list)?.....
11. What illnesses have confined you to bed in the past few years?.....

	TREATMENT				
Illness	*When*	*Hospital*	*Home*	*kind of Treatment*	*Length of Illness*
a.					
b.					

12. Has anyone ever operated on you? Yes..... No.....

a. If "yes," where?.....

b. If "yes", what for?.....

c. Has anyone ever given you an injection? Yes..... No.....

13. Do you go to a native doctor for treatment?
a. Often .....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

14. *a.* How many times in the past two years have you stayed with a native doctor for treatment?.....

b. How many times in the past two years have you prepared your own native medicine?
a. Often.....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

c. How many times in the past two years have you bought native medicine?
a. Often.....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

15. *a.* How many times in the past two years have you taken medicine for blood?
a. Often .....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

b. Have you taken medicine for power?
a. Often.....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

c. Purge?
a. Often.....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

d. Other things?
a. Often.....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

16. In the past two years, has any ill health affected the amount of work you do?
a. Often.....
b. Sometimes.....
c. Never.....

If yes, explain.

17. How much do you worry? Often.....Sometimes.....Never.....

What do you worry about?.....

18. Do any of these worries make you physically ill?
   a. Often.....
   b. Sometimes.....

19. Do you ever hear or see spirits or other things?
   a. Often.....
   If "yes," what are they?
   b. Sometimes.....
   c. Never.....

20. Do you think anyone is using "juju" on you?
   a. Often.....
   If "yes," how?
   b. Sometimes.....
   c. Never.....

21. Do you think you are troubled by witchcraft?
   a. Often.....
   b. Sometimes.....
   c. Never.....

22. *a.* Have you ever gone to a dispensary for treatment of an illness? Yes.....No.....
   1. If yes, for what illness(es)?.....
   2. How many visits have you made to a dispensary?.....
   3. Did the treatment(s) cure you? Yes.....No.....
   4. If you become ill in the future would you go to a dispensary? Yes.....No.....
   5. If yes, for what illnesses?.....

   b. Have you ever gone to a hospital for treatment of an illness? Yes.....No.....
   1. If yes, for what illness(es)?.....
   2. How many visits have you made to a hospital?.....
   3. Did the treatment(s) cure you? Yes.....No.....
   4. If you become ill in the future, would you go to a hopsital? Yes.....No.....
   5. If yes, for what illness(es)?.....

   c. Did the doctors at the dispensary show a friendly interest in you?
   Often.....Sometimes.....Never.....

   d. Did the doctors at the hospital show a friendly interest in you?
   Often.....Sometimes.....Never.....

   e. Did the nurses at the dispensary show a friendly interest in you?
   Often.....Sometimes.....Never.....

   f. Did the nurses at the hospital show a friendly interest in you?
   Often.....Sometimes.....Never.....

   g. Did you have to bribe (tip) the attendants at the dispensary in order to get medical attention? Yes.....No.....

   h. Did you have to bribe (tip) the attendants at the hospital in order to get medical attention? Yes.....No.....

i. Did you have to wait a long time before you were given attention at the dispensary? Yes.....No.....

j Did you have to wait a long time before you were given attention at the hospital? Yes.....

No.....

k When you are seriously ill, what do you try:

Home remedies.....

Traditional healer.....

Doctor at dispensary.....

Doctor in private practice.....

l Which do you try first.....;last.....?

m Which illnesses do you think modern medicine will never be able to cure?.....

.....

23. Do you purchase remedies for illness or misfortune at the drugstore (chemist's)?

(If yes) Illnesses or Misfortunes Remedies

.....

(*a*) .....

(*b*) .....

24. What do you think the causes of illnesses *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* (in No. 23) are?

Name of Illness Causes of Illness Remedies

.....

(*a*) .....

(*b*) .....

(*c*) .....

(*d*) .....

(*e*) .....

25. How serious (dangerous) do you think these illnesses are?

(*a*) .....not serious.....serious.....very serious

(*b*) .....not serious.....serious.....very serious

(*c*) .....not serious.....serious.....very serious

(*b*) .....not serious.....serious.....very serious

(*e*) .....not serious.....serious.....very serious

26. (*a*) Is this village the place where you were born? Yes.....No.....

If "no," then ask:

(*b*) Where were you born?.....
(District and region as well as village name).

27. (*a*) Have you ever lived in a large city?.....

(*b*) If "yes", what city or cities?.....

(*c*) How long? (Give number of years).....

28. (*a*) Have you ever been to school? Yes.....No.....

(*b*) If yes, kind of school (one or more)

	Elementary Only	*Modern*	*Grammar*
Ordinary			
Koranic			
Other (e.g., lessons)			

(*c*) If public, highest grade completed.....

If Koranic, how many Esu did you read?.....

(*d*) Can you read: Yoruba?.....English.....

Other languages.....

29. (*a*) What is your religion now?

Christian?.....*Òrìṣà* only?.....

Muslim?.....Other (specify).....

(*b*) If Christian or Muslim, ask if also *Òrìṣà*: Yes.....No.....

(*c*) Have you ever been possessed? Yes.....No.....

(*d*) For which *Òrìṣà* does your lineage hold annual ceremonies?.....

(*e*) Which other annual ceremonies do you attend (in order of importance)?.....

.....

* Residents of villages only, For residents of Ibadan add the word "before" at end of question

30. (*a*) What are your lineage *Òrìṣà*?.....

(*b*) Do you worship them?.....

(*c*) (If no) Do you contribute to the worshipping?.....

(*d*) (If yes) In what way?.....

31. Which *Òrìṣà* do you worship besides those of your lineage?

	Name of Òrìṣà	How acquired (explain circumstances, e.g., during illness, for infertility, for success)?	How worshipped?
1.			
2.			
3.			

32. Are any of these more important than the others?.....

Which?.....Why?.....

33. Is there a village deity here?.....

(If yes) Name.....

When is the annual ceremony for this deity?.....

34. Are there any special taboos in connection with this *Òrìṣà*?.....

(if yes) What are they?.....

35. Do you belong to any cult groups?.....

(If yes) Which?.....

36. Do you consult a diviner? Yes.....No.....

Babalawo.....? Muslim diviner.....? Aladura.....?

37. (*a*) What kind of magical protection do you use?.....

(*b*) What does it protect you against?.....

38. Do you now belong to any of the following?

Islam.....

Christian: African Church (UNA)..... Catholic.....

Anglican..... Jehovah's Witness.....

Methodist..... Seventh Day Adventist.....

Baptist..... Aladura (give name).....

Other .....

39. Where do you attend worship services?.....

40. (If a Christian) About how often do you attend worship services in your church?

1. One a year.....
3. About once a month.....
4. About once a week.....
5. Twice or more weekly.....

41. (If a Muslim) Do you pray regularly?.....

Do you observe the full fast?.....

Do you attend (weekly) Jumat prayers regularly?.....

42. Do you now hold or have you held any special offices in your church or mosque? Yes.....

No.....

(If yes) What offices?.....

43. Were you born into this religion?.....

Religion (list chronologically)	Age When Joined	What Reason
1.		
2.		
3.		

44. (*a*) Do you think it is a good idea for people to keep up native customs?

Yes.....No.....

(*b*) Can you explain?.....

(*c*) What about native religion?.....

(*d*) Can you explain?.....

45. How do you think these things will change in Nigeria in the next few years?

TRADITIONAL CEREMONIAL LEADERS

Number.....Date of Interview.....Village Name.....

1. Full Name of Respondent.....
2. Tribe.....Subtribe.....
3. Sex.....
4. Age..... (Respondent's statement)

..... (Interviewer's estimate)

5. What kind of work do you do?.....
6. How many orisa are there?.....
7. Please give names of *Òrìṣà* known to you:.....

.....

.....

.....

8. Which are the most important and most powerful *Òrìṣà*?.....

.....

.....

9*a*. Do people here carry on daily *Òrìṣà* worship? Yes.....No.....

b. Of what does this worship consist?.....

.....

10. Which *Òrìṣà* do you worship?.....

.....

11. Which *Òrìṣà* do you worship in annual festivals?.....

.....

12*a*. Are annual ceremonies given here for lineage *Òrìṣà* Yes.....No.....

b. Are annual ceremonies given here for village *Òrìṣà*? Yes.....No.....

(If "Yes") which *Òrìṣà*?.....

13. Ẹ̀ṣù

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ẹ̀ṣú?.....

.....

(*b*) What are Ẹ̀ṣù's powers?.....

(*c*) For what purposes does one use Ẹ̀ṣú?.....

(*d*) Where is Ẹ̀ṣú kept (e.g., inside the house)?.....

Why?.....

(*e*) Is there an annual festival here for Ẹ̀ṣú?.....

(If yes), When?.....

(*f*) Can you give some verses said in praise of Ẹ̀ṣú?.....

(*g*) Can you tell us anything else about Ẹ̀ṣú?.....

14. Ògún

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ògún?.....

.....

(*b*) Do people here take oaths and make covenants in the name of Ògún?

Yes.....No.....How are such oaths taken?.....

.....

(*c*) What happens if an oath is broken?.....

.....

(*d*) For what other purposes do people here use Ògún (e.g., circumcision, tribal marks, and surgical operations, etc.)?.....

.....

(*e*) What would be the consequence of failing to provide the annual festival for Ògún?.....

.....

(*f*) Can you give some verses said in praise of Ògún?.....

(*g*) Can you tell us anything else about Ògún?.....

15. Ṣàngó

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ṣàngó?.....

(*b*) What are Ṣàngó's powers?.....

.....

(*c*) In what ways does one use Ṣàngó to avenge wrongs?.....

(*d*) For what other purposes does one use Ṣàngó?.....

(*e*) Can you give us some verses said in praise of Ṣàngó?.....

(*f*) Can you tell us anything else about Ṣàngó?.....

16. Ṣànpọ̀nná
(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ṣànpọ̀nná?.....

.....

(*b*) What are Ṣànpọ̀nná's powers?.....

(*c*) For what purposes does one use Ṣànpọ̀nná?.....

(*d*) Is Ṣànpọ̀nná's shrine outside or inside the house or community?.....

(*e*) What other names (euphemisms) are used for Ṣànpọ̀nná?.....

.....Why?.....

(*f*) Are any verses addressed to Ṣànpọ̀nná?.....

(*g*) Can you tell us anything else about Ṣànpọ̀nná?.....

17. Ọlọ́run
(*a*) In what ways does Ọlọ́run differ from the *òrìà*?.....

.....

(*b*) What are Ọlọ́run's powers?.....

(*c*) Is there a specific way of worshipping Ọlọ́run?.....

18. Olódùmarè
(*a*) In what ways does Olódùmarè differ from the *òrìṣà*?.....

.....

(*b*) What are Olódùmarè's powers?.....

(*c*) Is there a specific way of worshipping Olódùmarè?.....

(*d*) Are any verses addressed to Olódùmarè?.....

19. Ọ̀rúnmìlà Ifá
(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ọ̀rúnmìlà?.....

.....

(*b*) What is the relationship between Ọ̀rúnmìlà and Ẹ̀là?.....

.....

Between Ọ̀rúnmìlà and Ọ̀sanyìn?.....

(*c*) What are the powers of Ọ̀rúnmìlà?.....

(*d*) Can you give us a short history of Ọ̀rúnmìlà?.....

(*e*) Can you give us verses in praise of Ọ̀rúnmìlà?.....

(*f*) Can you tell us anything else about Ọ̀rúnmìlà?.....

20. Ẹ̀là
(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ẹ̀là?.....

.....

(*b*) What are the powers of Ẹ̀là?.....

(*c*) What is the relationship between Ẹ̀là and Olódúmarè?.....

.....

(*d*) Can you tell us anything else about Ẹ̀là?.....

21. Ọbàtálá

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ọbàtálá (Orịṣálá)?.....

.....

(*b*) What are Ọbàtálá's powers?.....

.....

(*c*) Is Ọbàtálá responsible for deformities in children?.....

If yes, in what way?.....

(*d*) Can you give us any verses said in praise of Ọbàtálá?.....

(*e*) Can you tell us anything else about Ọbàtálá?.....

22. Ọ̀ṣun

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ọ̀ṣun?.....

.....

(*b*) What are Ọ̀ṣun's powers?.....

(*c*) Can you give us a verse in praise of Ọ̀ṣun?.....

(*d*) Can you tell us anything else about Ọ̀ṣun?.....

23. Ọ̀sanyìn

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Ọ̀sanyìn?.....

(*d*) What are Ọ̀sanyìn's powers?.....

(*c*) For what purposes does one use Ọ̀sanyìn?.....

(*d*) Where is Ọ̀sanyìn kept (e.g., inside the house)?.....

Why?.....

(*e*) Is there an annual festival here for Ọ̀sanyìn?.....

If yes, when?.....

(*f*) Can you give some verses said in praise of Ọ̀sanyìn?.....

(*g*) Can you tell us anything else about Ọ̀sanyìn?.....

24. Orò

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Orò?.....

(*b*) What are Orò's powers?.....

(*d*) For what purposes does one use Orò.....

(*d*) Where is Orò kept?.....

Why?.....

(*e*) Is there an annual festival here for Orò?.....

If yes, when?.....

(*f*) Can you give us some verses said in praise of Orò?.....

(*g*) Can you tell us anything else about Orò?.....

25. Òkèbàdàn

(*a*) What are the personal characteristics of Òkèbàdàn?

(*b*) What are Okèbàdàn's powers?.....

(*c*) For what purposes does one use Okèbàdàn?.....

(*d*) Where is Okebádán kept?.....

Why?.....

(*e*) Is there an annual festival for Okèbàdàn?.....

(*f*) Can you give us some verses said in praise of Òkèbàdàn?.....

(*g*) Can you tell us anything else about Òkèbàdàn?.....

26. Annual ceremonial routines (typical sequence of events):

(*a*) Processions:
(*b*) Singing (hymns, etc.):
(*c*) Priase verses:
(*d*) Dancing:
(*e*) Drumming:
(*f*) Spirit possession:
(*g*) Sacrifices (Offerings):
(*h*) Use of blood:
(*i*) Use of leaves:
(*j*) Use of water:
(*k*) Prayers:
(*l*) Musical instruments used (Drums (types of), rattles, gongs, bells, shakers, etc):
(*m*) Masks and costumes:

27. Shrines and Temples

(*a*) which deities have shrines near lakes, streams, or rivers?.....

.....

(*b*) Which deities have shrines in groves?.....

(*c*) Do all deities have shrines in dwelling places?.....

(*d*) Where are the shrines for the spirits of the ancestors found?.....

.....

28. Priesthood

(*a*) How does a lineage priest acquire his position?.....

(*b*) Who performs the priest function for a ward (city only)?.....

(*c*) Do priests receive any training?.....

(*d*) Is a priest ever deposed?.....

(*e*) Who leads the annual ceremony for the town *orișà*?.....

How is he chosen?.....

(*f*) How does priest ascertain the will of his divinity?.....

.....

(*g*) Distinguishing marks of a priest (e.g., clothes, beads etc.).....

.....

(*h*) Taboos (food, drink, sex, etc.) which priests must observe.....

.....

29. Soul

(*a*) What does *ẹ̀mí* mean?
(*b*) What does ọkàn mean?
(*c*) What does *orí* mean?
(*c*) Is *ipín* the same as *orí*
(*e*) Does *orí* also mean "double" ("partner)" or "guardian angel"?
(*f*) Is *iwín* the same as *ẹ̀mí*?
(*g*) What does *òjìjì* mean?
(*h*) What does *ẹnikẹjì* mean?
(*i*) Does one give offerings to his own *orí*?
To his parents' *orí*?
(*j*) What does *ará ọ̀run* mean?
(*k*) What does *imọ́lẹ̀* mean?

30. What are the uses of dreams:

31. What are the uses of charms:

32. Witches:

(*a*) Who are they?.....

(*b*) How does one become a witch?.....

(*c*) What are the powers of witches?.....

(*d*) Who uses witches?.....

(*e*) How does one use withces?.....

(*f*) Is there a witchcraft society?.....

(*g*) Do men belong to the witchcraft society?.....

(*h*) How does the witchcraft society operate?.....

(*i*) Can witches be recognized by physical appearance?.....

If yes, how?.....

(*j*) Can witches be recognized by actions (behavior)?.....

If yes, how?.....

33. Change

(*a*) Are present-day priests lacking in knowledge of cult beliefs and practices?.....

.....

(*b*) Are shrines and temples in a state of neglect?

Yes.....No.....

(*c*) How have moral values changed in recent years?.....

(*d*) Does the Ògbóni Fraternity exist here?.....

(*e*) Is the Ọ̀runmìlá cult undergoing reorganization?.....

(*f*) Do civil officials attend Yoruba rituals in these days?.....

34. Do Muslims and Christians (*a*) attend and (*b*) participate in traditional ceremonies?

TRADITIONAL HEALERS

Number.....Date of Interview.....Village Name.....

1. Full name of respondent.....
2. Tribe.....and Subtribe.....
3. Sex.....

3*a*. Language spoken
   a. Self:
   b. Wife:
   c. Mother:
   d. Father:

4. Age.....
   a. Respondent's statement.....
   b. Interviewer's and interpreter's estimate.....
5. Marital status
   a. Never married.....
   b. Currently married.....
      If man: How many wives including those living with you and those living outside? .....
      If woman: How many co wives including those living outside? .....
   c. Other (specify) .....
6. How many children do you have?.....
7. How much schooling have your children received?.....
   What kinds of schooling do your children plan to get?.....
   What is the highest education any of your close kin has received?.....
8. What kind of work do you do?.....
   a. What does your wife (wives) do?.....
   b. What does your husband do?.....
9. Do you have any complaints (illnesses) right now (list)?.....
   .....
10. What illnesses have confined you to bed in the past two years?

Illness	*When*	*Treatment*		*Kind of Treatment*	*Length of Illness*
		Hospital	*Home*		
a.					
b.					

11. Did anyone ever operate on you? Yes..... No.....

    a. If "yes," where?.....

    b. "yes," what for?.....

12. Has anyone ever given you an injection? Yes..... No.....

13. Do you treat yourself when ill?

    Often..... Sometimes..... Never.....

    If "yes," for which illnesses?.....

14. Do you go to other native doctors for the treatment of illnesses?

    Often..... Sometimes..... Never.....

    If "yes," for which illnesses?.....

15. *a.* Have you ever gone to a dispensary for treatment of an illness?.....

    b. For what illness(es)?.....

    c. How many visits have you made?.....

    d. Have you every gone to a hospital for treatment of an illness?.....

    e. For what illness(es)?.....

    f. How many visits have you made?.....

    g. Did the treatment (medicine....., operation,....., injection..... cure you?.....

    h. If you become ill in the future, will you go to a dispensary or to a hospital?.....

    i. (If yes) For what illnesses?.....

    j. For what illnesses would you *never* go to a dispensary or a hospital?.....

    k. Do you ever advise any members of your family, friends, or clients to go to a dispensary or to a hospital for the treatment of illnesses which you cannot cure?.....

    If yes, for which illnesses?.....

16. What kind of illnesses do you treat most frequently?.....

    .....

    .....

17. What do you think the causes and symptoms of illnesses a, b, c, d, e, (those mentioned in No. 16) are?.....

Names *Symptoms* *Causes*

.....

a. .....

b. .....

c. .....

d. .....

e. .....

18. What methods and materials do you use in diagnosing illnesses? (*Note:* include rituals as well as individual treatment.)

.....

.....

19. *a.* Do you ever purchase materials at the drugstore (chemist's) to use in the preparation of medicine for the treatment of illness or misfortune? Yes..... No.....

b. (If yes) What materials?.....

c. Can you give one or two examples of the way combine materials from the drugstore with your own materials to make medicine for the treatment of specific illness(es) or misfortunes?

.....

.....

20. During most weeks, how many hours do you devote to healing?.....

21. Can you give me some idea of the fees charged for each treatment of a sick person? Examples of types of illness and usual fee.

Are fees governed by the income of the patient?.....

22. Is the use of Oso medicne (for becoming wealthy) increasing or decreasing?.....

23. What kinds of curse methods are used today?.....

.....

24. Do you "bless" mentally ill patients when discharging them?.....

If yes, in what way?.....

25. *a.* What patterns of invocation (spirit of victim invoked, brought before theoperator where he is then damaged) are used today?
b. What methods are used to cure a soul damaged by invocation?

26. Do many people believe in witches today? Yes..... No.....

27. What troubles do you think witches cause today?.....

28. What methods are used to defend oneself or one's clients against witchcraft and against curse, incantation, and invocation

29. *a.* Is this village the place where you were born? Yes..... No.....

b. If "no" where were you born?.....
(*District, Region, Village*)

30. . Have you ever lived in a large city?*.....

b. If "yes," what city or cities?.....

c. How long? (give number of years).....

* For residents of villages only; for residents of Ibadan add the word "before" at end of question.

31. *a.* Have you ever been to school? Yes..... No.....

b. If "yes," kind of school: Ordinary.....

Koranic.....

Others (e.g., lessons).....

If Ordinary, highest grade completed.....

If Koranic, how many Èṣù did you read?.....

c. Can you read: Yoruba..... English..... Other Languages.....

32. *a.* What is your religion now? Christian *Orișà* only.....

Muslim?.....Other (specify).....

b. If Christian or Muslim, ask if also *Òrișà* Yes..... No.....

c. Do you become possessed? Yes..... No.....

d. For which *òrișà* does your lineage hold annual ceremonies?.....

e. Which other annual ceremonies do you attend (in order of importance)?.....

33. *a.* What are your lineage *òrișà*.....

b. Do you worship them?.....

c. (If you) Do you contribute to the worshipping?.....

d. (If yes) In what way?.....

34. Which *òrișà* do you worship besides those of your lineage?

Name of *òrișà*	How acquired (explain circumstances, e.g., during illness, for fertility, for success)?	How worshipped?
1.		
2. (etc.)		

35. Are any of these *òrișà* more important than the others?.....

Which?.....

Why?.....

36. Is there a village deity here?.....

(If yes) Name.....

When is the annual ceremony for this deity?.....

37. Does your *òrìṣà* impose any special taboos on you? Yes..... No.....

(If yes) What are they?.....

38. Do you belong to any cult groups?.....

(If yes) Which?.....

39. Do you now belong to any of the following?

Islam.....

Christian:

African Church (UNA)	Catholic .....
Anglican	Jehovah's Witness.....
Methodist	Seventh Day Adventist.....
Baptist	Aladura (give name).....

Other.....

40. Where do you attend worship services?.....

41. (If a Christian) About how often do you attend worship services in your church?

..... 1. Once a year

..... 2. Two or 3 times a year

..... 3. About once a month

..... 4. About once a week

..... 5. Twice or more times weekly

42. Do you now hold or have you held any special offices in your church?

Yes..... No..... (If yes) What office?.....

43. Were you born into this religion?.....

	Religion (list chronologically)	When joined	What reason
1.	.....	.....	.....
2.	.....	.....	.....
3.	.....	.....	.....

44. *a.* Do you think it is a good idea for people to keep up native customs?.....

b. Can you explain?.....

c. What about native religion?.....

d. Can you explain?.....

45. How do you think these will change in Nigeria in the next few years?

PHYSICIANS AND MEDICAL SCIENTISTS

1. Are patients reluctant to give blood for examination? Why?
2. Are members of the family of a deceased person reluctant to give permission for a post-mortem? Why?
3. If requested, is the placenta given to the family of a patient to be disposed of in ritual fashion?
4. Are patients willing and able to follow instructions?
5. How do you respond to patients who attribute their illnesses to sorcery, evil spirits, the orisa, or the witches?
6. Do dispensaries and health centers maintained by the government emphasize the prevention or the curing of illnesses?
7. Other aspects of the practice of scientific medicine in Nigeria.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE 26

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF 272 YORUBA MEN AND WOMEN, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Sex	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Male	67	94	92	88
Female	33	6	8	12
Total (%)	100 (54)	100 (108)	100 (110)	100 (272)

$X^2 < 26.881$, $P < .001$, d.f., 2.

TABLE 27

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Age	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Under 30	4	33	36	29
30–49	42	44	50	46
50	54	22	14	25
Total (%)	100 (54)	99 (108)	100 (110)	100 (272)

$X^2 < 39.204$, $P < .001$, s, d.f., 4.

TABLE 28

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND MARITAL STATUS OF 270 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Marital Status	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Never Married	6	35	35	29
Married	85	62	64	67
Divorced, Widowed, Other	9	3	1	3
Total (%)	100 (54)	100 (106)	100 (110)	100 (270)

$X^2 < 23.856$, $P < .001$, d.f., 4.

TABLE 29

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND NUMBER OF WIVES OF 172 MARRIED YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Number of Wives	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
One Wife	51	50	88	65
Two Wives	27	39	12	26
Three or more wives	22	11	0	9
Total (%)	100 (41)	100 (64)	100 (67)	100 (172)

$X^2 < 31.792$, $P < .001$. d.f., 4.

TABLE 30

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS OF 270 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Age			
Marial Status	*Under 30*	*30–49*	*50 and Over*	*Total*
Never Married	76	15	1	29
Married	23	84	88	67
Divorced, Widowed, Other	1	1	10	3
Total (%)	100 (78)	100 (125)	99 (67)	93 (270)

$X^2 < 129.09$, $P < .001$, d.f., 4.

TABLE 31

AGE AND NUMBER OF WIVES OF 172 MARRIED YORUBA, IBADAN AREA 1964

	Age			
Number of Wives	*Under 30*	*30–43*	*50 and Over*	*Total*
One Wife	93	70	48	65
Two Wives	7	23	36	26
Three or More Wives	0	7	16	9
Total (%)	100 (15)	100 (101)	100 (56)	100 (172)

$X^2 < 14.12$, $P < .01$, d.f., 4.

TABLE 32

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF 181 MARRIED YORUBA IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Number of Children	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
1–2	21	42	52	40
3–4	38	36	40	38
5 and Over	40	22	8	22
Total (%)	93 (47)	100 (69)	100 (65)	100 (181)

$X^2 < 36.646$, $P < .001$, d.f., 12.

TABLE 33

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Occupation	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Teacher	0	1	8	4
Clerk	0	1	4	2
Artisan	6	33	48	34
Trading	30	13	8	14
Farming	56	27	5	24
Other	9	8	10	9
Unemployed	0	17	16	13
Total (%)	101 (54)	100 (108)	99 (110)	100 (272)

$X^2 = 92.809$, $P < .001$, d.f., 12.

TABLE 34

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND OCCUPATION OF 267 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	School Attendance		
Occupation	*Not gone to School*	*Gone to School*	*Total*
Teacher	0	8	4
Clerk	0	4	2
Artisan	34	31	33
Trading	16	12	15
Farming	39	8	24
Other	6	12	9
Unemployed	4	24	13
Total (%)	99 (140)	99 (127)	100 (267)

$X^2 = 64.714$, $P < .001$, d.f., 6.

TABLE 35

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND RELIGION NOW OF 271 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Residence			
Religion Now	*Ijaye*	*Lalupon*	*Ibadan*	*Total*
Òrìṣà only: Muslim-*Òrìṣà*; Christian-*Òrìṣà*	17	4	1	5
Muslim only	37	79	50	59
Christian only	46	18	50	36
Total (%)	100 (54)	101 (108)	101 (109)	100 (271)

$X^2 = 48.552$, $P < .001$, d.f, 4.

TABLE 36

AGE AND RELIGION NOW OF 271 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Age			
Religion Now	*Under 30*	*30–49*	*50 and Over*	*Total*
Òrìṣà only; Muslim-*Òrìṣà*; Christian-*Òrìṣà*	0	2	16	5
Muslim only	49	66	56	59
Christian only	51	32	28	36
Total (%)	100 (77)	100 (126)	100 (68)	100 (271)

$X^2 = 30.59$, $P < .001$, d.f., 4.

TABLE 37

SEX AND RELIGION NOW OF 271 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Sex		
Religion Now	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Òrişà only; Muslim-*Òrişà*; Christian-*Òrişà*	3	21	5
Muslim only	63	24	59
Christian only	34	55	36
Total (%)	100 (238)	100 (33)	100 (271)

$X^2 = 29.831$, $P < .001$, d.f, 12.

TABLE 38

SEX AND CONSULTATIONS WITH DIVINERS OF 260 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Sex		
Consultations with Diviners	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Consults diviners	36	28	35
Does not consult diviners	64	72	65
Total (%)	100 (228)	1000 (32)	100 (260)

$X^2 = .84$, $P < .50$, d.f., 1.

TABLE 39

EXPERIENCE WITH AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DISPENSARIES AND HOSPITALS OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

	Experience with Hospitals and Dispensaries					
Attitudes	*Gone to Dispensary*	*Treatments Cure you*	*Will Go Dispensary in Future*	*Gone to Hospital*	*Treatments Cure you*	*Will go Hospital in Future*
Yes	25	18	65	58	40	77
No	72	2	15	41	4	8
No information	3	79	20	1	55	14
Total (%)	100 (272)	99 (272)	100 (272)	100 (272)	99 (272)	99 (272)

TABLE 40

ATTITUDES TOWARD PATIENTS OF DOCTORS AND NURSES IN DISPENSARIES AND HOSPITALS ACCORDING TO PATIENTS, 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964

Attitudes of Doctors and Nurses toward Patients

Attitudes	*Doctors at Dispensary Take Friendly Interest in you*	*Doctors at Hospital Take Friendly Interest in you*	*Nurses at Dispensary Take Friendly Interest in you*	*Nurses at Hospital Take Friendly Interest in you*
Often	14	35	17	35
Sometimes	4	10	4	10
Never	2	2	2	3
No Information	80	53	78	
Total (%)	100 (272)	100 (272)	101 (272)	101 (272)

TABLE 41

EXPERIENCE OF 272 YORUBA, IBADAN AREA, 1964 WITH BRIBING ATTENDANTS AND WAITING FOR SERVICE AT DISPENSARIES AND HOSPITALS

Bribing Attendants and Waiting for Service

Experience	*Have to Bribe Attendants at Dispensary to Get Medical Attention*	*Have to Bribe Attendants at Hospital to Get Medical Attention*	*Have to Wait a Long Time Before You Were Given Attention At Dispensary*	*Have to Wait a Long Time Before You Were Given Attention At Hospital*
Yes	0	1	4	4
No	21	46	20	36
No information	79	53	76	60
Total, (%)	100 (272)	100 (272)	100 (272)	100 (272)

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Traditional medicine

THERE is a muddle somewhere as soon as medicine is mentioned among christians in our society today. This is because the same term is often used in Yoruba to cover medicine, idol and medium. But the Bible is specific about these things:- Medicine, idol and medium/magic.

The LORD said to Moses, tell the Israelites ..... "Do not make any gods to be alongside me, do not make for yourselves gods of silver or gods of gold". (Exod. 20:23) NEB. Also in the Songs of David, it is written: "You must never worship any other god, nor ever have an idol in your home" (Psalm 81:9) NIV.

The Prophet Isaiah clearly says that "When men tell you to consult mediums and spirits, who whisper and mutter, should not a people enquire of their God? Why consult the dead on behalf of the living'? (Isaiah 8:19) NIV.

It is written in Ecclesiasticus The Lord created medicines from the earth, and a sensible person will not hesitate to use them. Didn't a tree once make bitter water fit to drink, so that the Lord's power might be known? (Exodus 15.23-25) He gave medicinal knowledge to human beings, so that we would praise him for the miracles he performs. The chemist mixes these medicines, and the doctor will use them to cure diseases and ease pain (Eccles 38. 4-8) GNB.

Is there no medicine in Gilead? Are there no doctors there? Why then, have my people not been healed? (Jeremiah 8:22). Is there anyone who is ill? He should send for church elders, who will pray for him and rub olive-oil on him in the name of the Lord (James 5:14) GNB.

By the oral traditions of the Yoruba, it is accepted that the basis of medicine is religion; it came directly from the supreme Deity: it operated through a divinity or spirits. Nupes hold that medicine exists through man's endeavour. because in preparing and administering "medicine" the name of God is mentioned: which is also true of Yorubas.

The Akans (Ghana) have a saying that "If God gave you sickness, he also gave you medicine". Among the Yorubas, the divinity of medicine is OSANYIN who is said to be the brother of ORUNMILA - the oracle divinity or consultant relative to everything about human destiny.

Every divinity has in his possession a particular set of remedies for the care of his children". For example - OSUN uses only cold water as "AGBO" for all ailments.

The collection of ingredients, dispensing and application of medicine are accompanied by:-

(a) Invocation of ancestors in connection with the practice of medicine: (b) It is a rule that honour has to be given to God vis-a-vis the divinity as well as to the ancestors who first practised it and then past masters and teachers of the medicine.

To wit. ELESIJE, the first doctor and ancestral genius of medicine in IFE is always invoked in ILE—IFE up to this day.

(b) Traditional doctors often claim being taught medicine by divinities generally in dreams or in trances or during meetings with spirits in forests. AJANAKU was said to have remained in the world of spirits for seven years feeding on alligator pepper and was taught medicine.

Spirits do teach medicine to men of their choice - whom they have selected to become doctors. A good African doctor is one who lives close to nature with good opportunity of close observation of the medical habits of animals and birds. They produce curative and preventive medicines for the use of man.

In the case of serious ailments, either traditional or European medicines cure patients. It is noticeable that relatives of patients admitted into hospital "smuggle in" for some of these patients, medicine obtained from traditional doctors.

Again, African doctors, trained in the European methods, sometimes advise relatives of patients in their care "This is not a case for this place" or that "this case, as I see it, cannot be successfully treated here, why don't you take the patient home and try the native way".

They genuinely believe in the efficacy of "the native way" for certain forms of sickness: on the other hand, it is believed that the patient would respond psychologically more easily to the "native way" and so assist his own recovery.

Faith cannot be ignored in the practice and application of medicine because the mind influences the body to respond favourably to treatment. Religion is necessary to medicine. The belief is that only the maker can remake or repair the damage to mind and body as well as effecting wholeness in man's being.

in our society

BY ADE AJAYI

Getting over the two "BUTS" in traditional medicine preparation under unhygienic situation and prescription uncertainty i.e. no sure-specific measuring dose: Traditional medicine is as effective as European medicine.

Jeremiah 33:6

"They genuinely believe in the efficacy of "the native way" for certain forms of sickness: on the other hand, it is believed that the patient would respond psychologically more easily to the "native way" and so assist his own recovery."

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ORAL TRADITION AND MODERNITY

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By AYO OPEFEYITIMI

"A LOVE for tradition has never weakened a nation", wrote Sir Winston Churchhill on November 29, 1944 during his speech in the House of Commons, "indeed it has strengthened nations in their hours of peril, but the new view must come, the world must roll forward", he concluded.

It was during my Sabbatical leave at Ondo State University, Ado-Ekiti in the second semester of 1989/90 Session. I was teaching a course on "The Yoruba Novels" to the second year Yoruba Students. One of the novels treated was C.L. Adeoye's (1971) **Eda Omo Oodua**. In my reflection on the cardinal ideas in the mythological imaginative literary work of art, I found the beliefs therein highly paradigmatic, debatable and thought provoking.

The central concepts of the myth developed in the novel partly state as follows. Firstly, people on earth divided themselves into four groups at creation, in 'heaven' before coming to the sphere of existence called the 'earth'. Individuals were said to have voluntarily chosen the group to which they would belong.

Succinctly put, there were those who own life; 'those who accompany them', 'the onlookers', and 'the opportunists'.

The second paradigm concerns the comparable numerical issue in terms of relative ratio of the four groups to each other. To translate the author's words in this regard; "those who come to live in this world", are infinitesimally small compared to "those who accompany them"; the companions are proportionally smaller to "the onlookers", the spectators are smaller in comparison with "the opportunists" who came in their teeming millions. It is as if to reinforce the saying that those who are born to lead are few, those born to follow, many.

The third motion essential to reflect upon concerns the life-span question and the characteristics said to be intrinsic in the framework of the four stages of life identified. This is especially so because of the pre-supposition that they seem to display some parallels with modern societal structure, life-span and behavioral traits of modern society.

The life-span parallels the biblical injunction that man is divinely granted seventy years on earth. We may hastily note that the agreement in the number of years in Yoruba Oral tradition with the Hebrew record of literary experience in the bible demonstrates what can be termed areas of the 'Universality of religions'.

Of curious interest, however, is the four stages in which human life-span of seventy years is divided; especially the why and how of it.

According to the oral tradition developed in the novel under scrutiny, it was the first thirty years of life that were originally accorded Man by the creator. This is what the author portrays as the first stage of human life. The oral tradition adds that Man's problems at this stage are minimal because the creator himself was said to have taken responsibility and control of man's life.

The second stage of twenty years which approximates human life to fifty is said to have initially belonged to another creature, the dog. The latter is said to have opted for just ten years out of thirty which the creator endowed it. Man coveted the remaining twenty years and the creator granted them, with the associated, intrinsic problems of the dog which include service and restlessness.

During these years i.e. 30-50, Man is believed to have got children, and material wealth, the defence and security of which makes the period heavy-laden.

The third stage (the next ten years) which puts man's life-span to year 60 were said to be those rejected by the camel "who" was originally accorded thirty years but opted for only twenty. Man coveted the ten years and was granted him with the associated problems of shouldering responsibilities of extended family structure and matrimony; especially in the manner in which the camel as a beast of burden carries about loads that may not necessarily be 'his'.

The last stage of ten years, the oral tradition maintains, was coveted, through greed, by man, from the original thirty which the horse rejected because of its associated faults. This approximated man's life to seventy and reduced the horse's to twenty. During this stage, man is said to be preoccupied with cogitating on how the society to which one belongs will be orderly.

In short, unprecedented problem-solving, reflections and mental labour, the author of **Eda Omo Oodua** claims, are the principal causes which decay the body and mind to gradual points of life termination of the aged.

By unavoidable comparison the above analysis of the stages of human life seems to reinforce Baltasar Gracian (1647) submission that: "at twenty, man is a peacock: at thirty—a lion; at forty — a camel; at fifty - a serpent; at sixty - a dog; at seventy - an age; at eighty - nothing at all.

Another food for thought for modern man concerns the essential characteristics of each group within the total of four into which human beings were said to have divided themselves. The relationship of one group to another is also important for consideration, at this stage.

Evidently, the first group was said to desire leadership and knowledge. They proposed to live in the real sense of the word, enviably, achievement-oriented and honourably. The second group is said to have come to live and die for its first reference group.

Functionally, they are lieutenants, assistants, attendants, etc. This is their celestial desire. The spectator-audience group possess deadly appetite for observation, vigilance, gossipping; to know everything about anything at the risk of their lives, is their lot.

It is the first two groups of

Mankind which the third group has come to monitor keenly; and talk about carelessly or carefully.

Finally, the opportunistic group which comprised millions of people of no ambition, insensitive, powerless and lukewarm, is said to have dropped the decision that the first three groups were coming to live on earth, and consequently decided to come for the mere sake of coming.

In practice, they have come simply to exist as opposed for instance, to the first group that has come to live.

One is tempted to believe, in the light of the sincere realities of modern societal structure, human life-span, the problematics of its stages and the characteristics of individuals, that perhaps our oral tradition is right. A diachronic study of religions doctrines reveal consistency in asking man to resign to fate.

Ralph Ellison also said, that "we must learn to wear our names within all the noise and confusion in which we find ourselves. They must become our marks and our shields and the containers of all those values and traditions which we learn and/or imagine as being the meaning of our familiar past". The is against the background of the fact adduced by Palmer and Celton in his **History of the modern world.**

To paraphrase him: "it is a truth, a kind of non-religious faith, that the conditions of human life becomes better as time goes on. That in general any generation is better off than its predecessor, and would continue to contribute to an even better life for generations to come; and that at the end all mankind would share in the same advance'.

The point is that inspite of these betterment and advancement, the main divisions, equality of man to man, the life-span issue and many other factors in human society remain illusory.

Seminally therefore, we can conclude by asking the following questions. Is it true that we can technically group people in societies or nations of the world into the four models of beings as our oral tradition posits?

Do individuals fit more properly into one of the groups when their cardinal goals and lifestyles remain the essential criteria?

Is it true that after the first thirty years of Man, the rest is full of emotional upheavels; burden and boredom, restlessness and decay?

What about the final question - "People are what they are because they have come out of what was. Therefore, they should bow down before what was and accept it and say it's good - or should they? Carl Sandburg (1936) **The People, Yes.**

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Prof Adeoye Lambo, 164

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