

**A CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF 1 SAMUEL 28 IN RELATION TO DIVINATION IN
CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN SOCIETY**

BY

NADUNGA ANNET

REG.NO: 17/U/14427/GMAR/PE

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES OF
KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

**OCTOBER 1, 2019
KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

DECLARATION

I, **Nadunga Annet**, declare that this thesis, titled, *A Contextual Study of 1 Samuel 28 in relation to Divination in Contemporary African society* is my own work and that all sources I used have been acknowledged as reflected in the bibliography.

Signature

.....

Date

.....

SUPERVISORS' APPROVAL

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “A Contextual Study of 1 Samuel 28 in relation to Divination in Contemporary African Society” has been written under our supervision and is now ready for examination with our approval.

Principal supervisor

Name: **Dr. Robert W. Kuloba**

Sign:

Date:

Co-Supervisor

Name: **Dr Alexander P. Isiko**

Sign:

Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the Almighty God who has given me the knowledge and strength to come up with this piece of work. I would like to appreciate Dr Robert Kuloba my principal supervisor who always gave time to my work and encouraged me to do the best in this study. I thank Dr Alexander Isiko for his guidance to see that I come up with this thesis.

I would like to thank colleagues in the Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy, Kyambogo University for their support in one way or the other. I also thank all my informants and those who willingly responded to the questionnaires.

Special thanks go to my beloved parents Mr. Nandira Joseph and Mrs. Nandira Beatrice who have always worked hard through their endless support, encouragement and prayers to see that I succeed. I also thank my brothers and sisters, especially Namaleha Jocylne for their prayers and encouragement. I would therefore dedicate this thesis to my parents, family and beloved one for their tireless support towards my success.

TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION	i
SUPERVISORS' APPROVAL	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
ABSTRACT.....	vii
Chapter 1.....	1
1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 Problem Statement:	3
1.2 Research Questions	4
1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.3.1 Specific objectives:	5
1.4 Scope of the Study	5
1.4.1 Geographical scope.....	5
1.4.2 Time scope	6
1.5 Theoretical Framework.....	7
1.6 Methodology	7
1.7 Navigating the rough terrain of nomenclature.....	9
1.8 Justification	13
1.9 Literature Review	14
Chapter 2:.....	21
2.1 DIVINATION IN POSTCOLONIAL BIBLE INTERPRETATION CONTEXT	21
2.1 Introduction:.....	21
2.2 African Divination in Colonial history and texts	21
2.3 Postcolonial Bible Interpretation	26
Chapter 3:.....	33
3.0 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF 1 SAMUEL 28	33
3.1 A brief introduction of the Text.....	33
3.2 Description of the Text	33
3.3 Discussion of the Text (1 Samuel 28).....	35
3.4 Characters in the Text	49
3.4.1 Achish.....	50
3.4.2 David	50
3.4.3 Saul	50

3.4.4	Samuel	51
3.4.5	The medium	51
	Chapter 4:	53
4.0	DIVINATION PRACTICES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST (ANE)	53
4.1	Modes of Divination in ANE	55
4.1.1	Dreams as a mode of divination.....	56
4.1.2	Animal internal organs (Sheep’s Liver).....	58
4.1.3	Divination using celestial bodies	60
4.1.4	Bird divination	62
4.1.5	Casing Lots	64
4.1.6	Divination using the Human Body.....	66
4.1.7	Necromancy as a form of divination.....	68
	Chapter 5:	71
5.0	DIVINATION IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES	71
5.1	Introduction	71
5.2	Contextualizing Divination to “Africa” and “Africans”	71
5.3	African Divination Practices amidst Global Influences.....	72
5.4	The Modes used for divination in Africa	76
5.4.1	Dreams and visions	77
5.4.2	Human body instinct, behavior and marks.....	79
5.4.3	Animals, Birds and their sounds and behaviors.....	81
5.4.4	Spirit possession.....	85
5.4.5	Divination using objects.....	87
5.4.6	Divination through observation of nature and cosmos.....	90
5.4.7	Book divination.....	91
5.4.8	Divination using water or mirror.....	91
	Chapter 6:	93
6.0	AFRICAN CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON DIVINATION	93
6.1	Introduction	93
6.2	Views against Divination.....	94
6.3	Views in favour of divination	95
6.4	Media Reports on Divination.....	97
	CHAPTER 7:	104

7.0	TEXT AND CONTEXT: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS	104
7.1	Conclusion	116
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		118
APPENDICES		A
APPENDIX I: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES		A

ABSTRACT

This Thesis is a hermeneutical analysis of 1Samuel 28 in relation to divination practices in contemporary African society. The focus of the analysis is on the fluidity of ideological renditions of divination in the Bible text and the contemporary African society.

The framework of the study is postcoloniality; a literary approach of Bible interpretation where the Bible text is read in a decolonized way with a view of liberating and giving voice to the hitherto demonized, ridiculed and silenced African traditional systems.

The analysis takes forms of a close reading of 1Samuel 28 in its original context and examines its contextual relevance to the African socio-cultural setting in relation to divination. Different African modes of divination and their modes of operation are also discussed. The contemporary African ideas and attitudes are also articulated.

The study revealed that both the Bible (con)text and Africans today express ambivalent attitudes towards the practice of divination. They criticize diviners and divination yet on the other hand when faced with life challenges which modern science and technology cannot solve, they opt for divination services. In most cases, divination services are sought nicodemusly with the aim of concealing the client's identity from the public. When compared with the scenario in the Bible narrative, there is no difference with what happens in modern Africa. Saul banished diviners from the land because their services were regarded illicit on the ideological basis of the Deuteronomist writer. However, when Saul was faced with a desperate situation, he goes after the ones he banished. He put aside his royal robes and waited for darkness to cover him up as he finds his way to Endor.

When the text is read in conversation with the African contemporary views on divination, we notice that they share the ideology of portraying divination as an illicit practice, and approve other means of dealing with human problems (like prophets as in the biblical society; science and technology, Christianity and modern medicine among others in the contemporary settings). However, on the other hand when faced with life challenges, the Africans look back to what they disputed. The negative labels of this noble African religious institution by Western colonialism is the reason why an African, faced with problems that need divination, finds it shameful, uncivilized and backward to seek the services of a diviner publicly but in hiding.

Chapter 1

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The study is a contextual analysis of 1 Samuel 28 in relation to traditional mode of divination in contemporary African society. The analysis of this biblical text is made in relation to socio-cultural and religious milieu. The study falls in a broad framework of African postcolonial biblical interpretation, which seeks to read the Bible from the African socio-cultural, economic and political perspectives; and reading the African lives from the perspectives of the Bible. Needless to say, the Bible, once a time—the colonial book has become an African book. It plays significant roles not only as the book of authority akin to the constitution in political circles, but more so in day today lives of many Africans especially those who conform to Christian faith.

Biblical scholarship in Sub-Saharan African has witnessed a major shift in recent decades, following the revolutionary modes of reading the texts. Shifting from what was hitherto called classical readership which emphasized textual criticism, form criticism and literally criticism; modern scholarship emphasizes modes of reading the Bible in forms that empower, liberate and make the Bible relevant to socio-cultural realities of the readers in a given community. This is what scholars have called contextual Bible interpretation (West, 1993) or inculturation hermeneutics (Ukpong, 2002). In these readings, Africa and its socio-cultural realities has become the subject of Bible interpretation. In the words of Ukpong, the African contexts form the subject of Bible interpretation (2001, 24).

In respect to these modes of reading the Bible, worth mentioning are the plethora of scholarly works produced by gallant scholars on the continent like: Getui, Holter and Zinkurature

(interpreting the Old Testament in Africa, 2001), Dube and Mbuvi (Postcolonial Perspectives in African Biblical Interpretation, 2012); West (The Stolen Bible: From Instrument of Imperialism to African Icon, 2016), Kuloba-Wabyanga (Song of Songs 1:5-7: The Africana reading, 2014) to mention but a few.

Whereas contextual or inculturation Bible interpretation has enlisted varied scholarly responses that range from gender, culture, economic and political analysis, the subject of divination has been a neglected field of study despite the reality that divination is central in both the Bible and African environments. The office of the diviner in both the Bible and African contexts is very important not only as a nexus between the spiritual and human societies, but also a means by which society gained information and solutions to problems through acts of divination.

Divination has been defined severally by many scholars. But noteworthy is Thomas' view which reveals the concept of divination as "an effort to gain an understanding or vision into a question or situation. It is a systematic process of organizing what appear to be disconnected facets of existence such that they provide insight into a problem" (Thomas, 2015: 8). Relatedly, Steyn also posits that divination is "the art or practice that seeks to discover hidden knowledge by deciphering or interpreting phenomena of nature in whatever form these may occur and/or by consulting spirit-beings" (Steyn, 1989: 137). Mbiti also contends that "divination is a method of finding out the unknown, by means of pebbles, numbers, water, animal entrails, reading the palms, and throwing dice" (Mbiti 1975). The above views reveal divination as a means of gaining knowledge or understanding in matters which are incognito but important for an individual human or community to collective triumph over a problem. It is a means by which humans from time immemorial have dealt with the problem of knowledge gaps in desperate

contexts, gained communication with the invisible omniscient spiritual realities and in effect harnessed their environment and advanced human life.

Humanity has an inherent quest for knowledge about his environment, the unknown and predictions about life. The inquiries are always made through specialized offices of prominent spiritual leaders who have mastered the art of divination. In the Old Testament contexts of the Bible, there are various texts that allude to the ideologically approved office of the Prophet as the means through which people inquired of Yahweh's will (Deuteronomy 18:15–19, 1 Kings 22:5, Jeremiah 21:2 among others). The Old Testament however, though does not denounce the potency of other forms of divination like spirit mediums, necromancy and omen interpretation (Deuteronomy 18:9-14); these alternate forms of divination are ideologically denigrated.

In the African context—broadly speaking, divination has been part of societies. Africans in their religious notoriety lived with insatiable quest for knowledge about their environment and solutions to their complex problems that affect their existence. Various societies have had different forms of divination as part of their spiritual heritage. These range from spiritual mediums, necromancers, palm readers and many others as we shall see later in the chapters that follow (See Peek 1991, Mbiti 1969, Kirwen 1987, Cultural Research Centre – Jinja 2003).

1.1 Problem Statement:

In the Bible narrative of 1 Samuel 28, King Saul had banished diviners from the land of Israel apparently on the ideological basis of Deuteronomy 18. Divination was an illegitimate means of seeking revelations. Israelites would only seek for revelation through Prophets and other

permitted means as Urim and Thummim. Ironically, Saul in the narrative turns to the very institution he had denigrated and illegitimated for a divine revelation to his desperate situation.

The textual scenario resonates with contemporary African society in which, though Africans view African divination from the mundane ideological lenses of the West (Christianity, Education, science and technology) would seek the services of African diviners. This view is attested by other researchers like Abioje (2012), who contends that: “...many Christians...Would visit diviners covertly or overtly, directly or indirectly by proxy” when faced with life circumstances. It is also alleged that pastors, preachers, priests also go to diviners for powers to enable them perform miracles in their churches. The situation is further nuanced by several incidences of divination practices in African cinema and art, and sheer presence of diviners in the contemporary society.

It is in this respect that the study seeks to investigate the ideological correlation between text and context; understand the principle and practice in contemporary African attitudes to African diviners; and explore circumstances in which adherents to ideology doubt its viability in favour of the denigrated alternatives.

1.2 Research Questions

This study is aimed at investigating the following questions:

1. What ideological motifs on divination permeate the Biblical story of 1 Samuel 28 and African contemporary contexts?
2. How was divination practiced in the Bible and its socio-cultural environment?
3. How was divination practiced in African tradition society?

4. What is the perception of divination in the modern African context?
5. How should we read the biblical perspectives on alternative modes of divination as Africans?

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of the study is to analyze 1Samuel 28 in its original context and examine its contextual relevance to the African socio-cultural setting.

1.3.1 Specific objectives:

1. To hermeneutically analyze 1 Samuel 28
2. Discuss modes and practices of divination in the Bible and the Ancient near Eastern context.
3. To examine how divination was practiced in the African Traditional society.
4. To explore contemporary African views on divination.
5. To show how the Biblical ideology on divination meets the contemporary African views about the practice.

1.4 Scope of the Study

1.4.1 Geographical scope.

The study is not limited to a particular African community, culture or tribe. This is due to the reality that Africans tend to crisscross geographical boundaries in search of diviners. An

individual can go to another community to get divinatory services: a person from Buganda can seek for divination services in Bunyoro or Acholi. Some even go beyond country borders. Crisscrossing is common in the modern era where people go to diviners in hiding; one will prefer to see a diviner far away from home where he/she can be incognito. Another reason is because of the social interaction amongst people of different cultures and tribes who tend to exchange information and knowledge values on divination. Some diviners are also mobile and travel from region to region with their divination services. All these make divination difficult to contextualize to a particular cultural location for study purposes. For this reason, therefore, the study draws cases from most African regions like East Africa, West Africa, South Africa, and central Africa as reflected in the work.

However, in chapter 6 which explores attitudes in the contemporary society on divination, a sample community was selected. Respondents were drawn from around Kampala and Kyambogo University academic community in particular. Both staff and students constituted respondents. These were respondents from different cultures, tribes and all walks of life from within Uganda and Africa. The study mostly employed written literature from different African contexts to tap views from the rest of Africa.

1.4.2 Time scope

The study does not have a time frame because divination has been there for generations and is still present in this modern era. This is also observed by Taylor (2006) who contends that “divination is a universal cultural phenomenon which anthropologists have observed as being present in many religions and cultures in all ages up to the present day.” Divination transcends time as the matter of the past, present and future.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

For purposes of emphasis the study is anchored on the postcolonial biblical interpretation and the African socio-cultural hermeneutic paradigm. In the chapter that follows, efforts have been made to articulate at length the postcolonial bible hermeneutic theory.

1.6 Methodology

I am inclined to use two broad approaches. These are; ‘Close reading of the Bible’ and ‘comparative approach’. In the former, I am taking a close reading of 1 Samuel 28 with the aim of reconstructing the picture of divination in the Old Testament. Needless to say, I am reading from the original Hebrew texts. The study relishes on the strategy of David Clines’s paradigm of reading from left to right (reading against the grain or ideology of the writer). Clines called this a quantum leap from the traditional approaches as historical criticism, form criticism and redaction criticism. I am using this approach because it directly confronts questions of value and validity. It is a reading by way of critique, which is using the standards and moral values that come into play when reading other literatures like newspapers, essays or novels. In reading any of these literatures, Clines observes, we get engaged as thinking, feeling, judging persons, asking questions as: Is this true? Is it the case? Can I accept it? Will I have to change if I do accept it? (Clines, 1995, See also Kuloba, 2011). In line with this, the study shall employ hermeneutics of suspicion. According to Bryan and Landon (2014), hermeneutics of suspicion arise from the realization that words may not always mean what they seem to mean. Texts don’t necessarily tell the whole truth. This method is important because it supports my assumption that, the textual story of 1 Samuel 28 is not telling the whole story of the practice of divination in ancient Israel.

Using the comparative approach, the text is comparatively read with the African cultural practices. In this the study shall follow the paradigm of Ukpong (1994) called inculturation or West's contextual bible interpretation. A detailed description of both Ukpong and West shall be made in chapter 2

The study employed the following instruments to collect data;

1. Questionnaires; questionnaires were used to explore the views and attitudes of Africans towards divination. Given the sensitive of the topic, questionnaires were suitable because respondents could fill it in privacy and freely express their views about the topic without disclosing their identity. Secondly, since the study targeted 300 respondents, questionnaires could cover a bigger group, which helped to meet the deadline of the study. Questionnaires are user friendly, respondents fill at leisure. In terms of cost, questionnaires are cheaper compared to interviews which require audio recording and transcribing.
2. The study made use of secondary data, where written library materials like books and articles relevant to the study were used. This was complimented by online materials and media reports to tap ideas from other African societies on the practice of divination. In the distribution of the questionnaires, respondents were purposively sampled against age, education levels and ethnic diversity. The focus was on the mid aged people and elderly, as a population that can make independent decisions. Questionnaire respondents were sampled from Kampala and Kyambogo University area. This is because the area presents diversity of cultures and many people are exposed to modern mundane means of approaching and solving problems like hospitals, churches and legal institutions. The

choice of Kyambogo University staff and graduate students resonate with the social status accorded to the biblical Saul. Besides, this population is well versed in knowledge with modern *legitimized* approaches to human challenges.

3. Interviews; in some cases, though not on a wider scale, interviews were used especially in attaining African names for diviners and divination from other African societies. The interviewees were purposively sampled to cater for ethnic diversity.

Data Analysis:

Upon collection of views from the respondents in the questionnaires, the researcher's analysis of data was guided by the following:

1. The percentage of respondents whose attitude was against divination in relation to percentage of respondents whose attitude was positive towards divination
2. The reasons given by the respondents in justifying each of the above cases
3. Though the views collected are from 300 respondents, the focus of the study is not presenting a catalogue of views but in summary, present the general attitudinal perspectives of the respondents in terms of whether positive or negative.

1.7 Navigating the rough terrain of nomenclature

One of the challenges encountered in the course of this research is the misrepresentation of the word divination and diviners. Much of the secondary literature available and even oral sources use demeaning nomenclature as witchcraft to refer to divination. Other cognate words include

witch or spiritists, juju, voodoo and witch doctors. This is common in Western forms of literature and polemics, whose ideologies have permeated the psycho-social strata of the modern African society. For-instance, in their works on the woman of Endor, Thomas Figart (1970), Matthew Michael (2013), Orr James (1939), Dempster Stephen (2015), among others call the woman of Endor a witch “the witch of Endor”.

From the African perspectives, these terms are so derogatory. To an African, there is a clear difference between a witch/witchcraft and diviner/divination (Kabamba, 2004). A diviner should not be confused for a witch. For purposes of clarity and illustration, African native languages have different names for diviners and witches. For instance, the Bamasaba of Eastern Uganda have names for a diviner like *umulaguzi* which means one who reveals, this goes hand in hand with the verb *kulagula* (revealing or foretelling). The work of *umulaguzi* is to *kulagula* the hidden or unknown. Another is *umufumu* which means the one who discovers; it has also a connotation of the wise one, one who has an extraordinary understanding and can see beyond ordinary man. The work of *umufumu* as used in the Lumasaba Old Testament Bible (2016) for the woman of Endoris to *kuvumula* meaning discovering; he discovers the problem and reveals the solution to it. The Bamasaba also call a diviner *umuganga* meaning one who treats or prevents. The work of *umuganga* is *kuganga* meaning to treat or deter problems like disease (Magomu Elfasi, personal communication, January 14, 2019). A diviner is therefore a person with benevolent duties in society. Conversely, the words for a witch among the Bamasaba are: *umulosi* or *omulogo* (also among the Baganda people). *Omulosi* or *Omulogo* does harm to the people. He or she is associated with the evil act of witchcraft as noted by Mesaki (1995). These names apply to most of the Bantu speaking tribes in Uganda though with a slight difference in pronunciation. The Lugbara of Northern Uganda call a diviner *ojoo* which means one who

foretells, which is different from *olewu* (witch or wizard), (Wadiko Iren, personal communication, January 14, 2019). In Ateso a diviner is *Emuronla'atagoro* meaning one who uses supernatural powers to heal, which is different from *acudan* (witch or wizard), (Okiror Joseph, personal communication, January 15, 2019).

From an African perspective, terms witch/witchcraft and diviner/divination are the opposite of the other basing on what they do. As Mbiti puts it, Diviners are friends of their communities; gifted with roles of counseling, judging, comforting and suppliers of assurance and confidence during people's crisis (Mbiti, 1969: 177). On the contrary a witch represents malevolent forces against humanity like witchcraft, sorcery and casts spells. A witch, in African sense derives pleasure from unleashing trouble and suffering to people. She/he is generally an enemy to humanity. The duty of a witch is to cause harm, havoc and death. In contrast, the diviner's role is to avert the powers of a witch/witchcraft. Therefore, the two work in opposite direction.

Other terms like traditional healer (Benatar, 2015), witch doctor (Lugira, 2009), spiritists (Perez, 2011), and necromancer have sometimes also been used to mean a diviner. These words may appear in the study because they are not far from what a diviner does. A diviner can perform all these duties, but with the end result of helping the clients. He/she is a doctor and a healer. Necromancy or spiritism may be used where necessary in the process of divination. That is why the study finds it bearable to use them. Precisely, the word used in this work for both the woman of Endor and African "witch doctors" is diviner; and their institution as divination.

There is yet another problem of nomenclature in regards to existence of Africa. In the study, terms used in regard to Africa are either African Traditional society (ATS) and/or African Contemporary society. From a lay and colonised perspective, African traditional society stopped

shortly after colonial masters took over the continent. However, from the decolonised afro-centric perspectives, African traditional society is still at large in the modern society. An African of the modern era carries a duo identity of two world views. The African traditional world view and the modern globalised world view. These views are often conflicting, making an African inconsistent in approaches to life issues. In situations which are public and call for political correctness, an African uses the globalised world views, for example in matters of gender relations and constitutional laws. However, the same African engages African traditional approaches on some significant topical issues like land, human sexuality, cherished cultural practices, among others. This is also applied in private life matters especially in the face of desperate situations that an informant called “African in nature.” These conflicting world views are what we shall call ideologies in the study. Clines defines ideology as ideas that serve the interest of a particular group especially a dominant group, and ideas that are wrongly passed off as natural, obvious or commonsensical (Clines, 1995. 10).

Although, Englebert (1997; 767) argues that “The contemporary state in sub-Saharan African is...European [and] not African—setup against African societies rather than having evolved out of the relationships of groups and individuals in societies, his argument falls short of the glimpse of the resilience of African life and culture traits, which can only be understood in terms of hybridity. Kuloba (2016) would, in this regard argue that the contemporary Africa is the modern Africa, which is born out of the cultural interchange and negotiations between the African traditional society and European colonialism. As already stated, this modern society is saliently characterised by many elements of ATS. In the context of this study, where divination is primarily seen as traditional African heritage and practice, I would expect little controversies (if

any), in using the constructs “divination in ATS” and “divination in Contemporary Africa” interchangeably.

It is also important for us to know the difference between the Biblical Israel and Ancient Israel. These are two different worlds in terms of socio-cultural beliefs and practices. Biblical Israel is the Israel we see and read in the Bible narrative. This is a world constructed by the Bible author(s), with a picture that is ideologically nuanced for a particular agenda. The Israel described in the Bible is a literary construct using selected fragments of history and fiction, which to a large extent is not a true reflection of historical picture of the ancient state of Israel. On the other hand, Ancient Israel is the historical Israel which is part of the Ancient Near Eastern communities. There are many archaeological discoveries which cast light on this state of Israel and a plethora of scholarly works on this abound (Kratz 2016; King & Stager 2002; Arnold & Hess 2014; Miller & Hayes 2006; Lemche 2015.)

1.8 **Justification**

I concur with Zuesse in his article *Divination and Deity in African Religions* (2010) where he observes that divination as spiritual phenomenon has received very little scholarly attention, due to the overly western negative attitudes that perceive it as an irrational, egoistic and insufficiently religious practice. This belief has permeated the African society hence creating an ambivalent attitude towards divination. Many Africans in their ambivalence would negate giving credence to the services of diviners despite the fact that many still visit them for solutions when faced with challenges. With this background, the study is motivated by my intellectual quest to examine this scenario.

1.9 Literature Review

This section entails a review of what other people have written on the phenomenon at study and specifically the passage in 1 Samuel 28. Various topics have been derived from the text by many scholars. It is virtually difficult to glean the entire academic fields to gather all views on this topic due to the wider expanse of the scholarly scope in term of time and space. I have however interacted with just some of the scholarly views like the works of: Suzan Pigott (1998), Matthew Michael (2013), Kabamba Kiboko (2010), Thomas Figart (1970) and Fischer (2001).

Throughout Human civilization, man has practiced Divination—as a way of knowing the hidden (Muthengi 1993: 90). Divination became an important medium by which humans communicate with the spiritual world. Divination therefore, became the centerpiece of religious experiences and beliefs. In the context of the Bible, prophecy, which in Hebrew language is associated with the root נבא stood as the ideologically approved institution through which the divine Will is revealed and the means by which the mystery of knowledge was revealed to the people of Biblical Israel. There was however other means of divination like Urim and Thummim, though they have not received a wider ideological acclamation as prophecy. Other alternative means of divination are ill represented within this ideological framework as shall be discussed later.

Suzan M. Pigott (1998) starts her write-up on 1 Samuel 28 with a poetic orientation. Pigott is mesmerized by the musical words in the movies called the Wizard of Oz. She, approvingly to the text states that “the Hebrew Bible condemns illicit magical practices as an abomination before God worthy of the death penalty... particularly reprehensible was the practice of necromancy—divination by consultation with the dead” (Pigott 1998: 1). She however points out that, though necromancy is reprehensible, the necromancer in the text of 1 Samuel is not condemned. This

observation is what informs the title of her study as 1 Samuel 28—Saul and the *Not So Wicked Witch of Endor*. Pigott seems to use methodologies of textual, historical and ideological criticism.

Pigott's focus is on the redactor's portrait of Saul vis-à-vis David, with the former as the ideological reject in favor of the later. She argues that the 1 Samuel 28 is placed between two accounts of "David fleeing to the Philistines (1 Samuel 27) and the story of his subsequent dismissal from the Philistine army and battle with the Amalekites (1 Samuel 29-30)." Pigott thinks that chapter 28 is logically placed in its place as a preamble for the events that take place in chapter 31.

In her analysis, Pigott contends that the narrative is aimed at ideological approval of Davidic kingship and rejection of Saul. In her illustration, she begins with what is called 'the sound of divine silence' in the context of war against the Philistines, in which Saul's petitions to Yahweh are not responded to, the act that forces him to seek for alternative modes of divination. Conversely, David who inquires of God through Urim is responded to.

In respect to the woman of Endor, Pigott would argue that the subject of focus is not the woman but the Kings. She however would argue that the portrait of the woman as a witch in the beginning lines of the text is to create bias in the readers but not to condemn her. It therefore, implies that the caricature of the necromancer as wicked witch is in the ideology of the reader, but not the writer. In fact, Pigott subtly puts it that the woman of Endor is presented in positive terms, and it is King Saul whose portrait is cast negatively.

The current study takes on the text to another level. Besides the textual and historical analysis, the study engages the contextual dimension in which divination in the contemporary African context forms the setting by which the text is analyzed. My attention is not on the kings or specific people who visit diviners, but on the prevailing ideological discourse that vilifies divination in the same context where those who claim to disapprove diviners are the same people who visit them nicodemusly when “legitimate” means have failed. In this way, the focus is not only to explore the ideology of the text, but also interrogate the ideology of the reader.

Kabamba (2010) is another interesting analyst of the Text. In her 524 paged study entitled *Divination in 1 Samuel 28 and Beyond: An African Study in the Politics of Translation*, she wrestles with the problem of translation and mistranslation of the words for divination from the Hebrew Bible into English and local translations. She uses the *Kisanga* cultural context as the lens through which she analyses the text. Her interaction with the Hebrew language is significantly impressive. She decries the negative influence of Western ideology on divination in the way scriptures are translated. She rightly states that words like סוּדָן which in the African traditional context would contain a positive inclination, have received a negative translation as witch. In her study, she scores divination as an alternative means of attaining divine sense. Accordingly, reading, translation and interpreting the story of the woman of Endor as witchcraft is an attempt to silence the voice of the ancestors and the voice of God. The woman of Endor, Kabamba emphasises is not a witch, as she does not represent malevolent attitude or disposition against the people of her society.

Unlike the current study, Kabamba is bent to the feminist perspectives of the study, in which she analyses the text from a feminist point of view. This is probably because; the character of the

diviner in the text is a woman. Besides, she does not engage the contemporary views on divination, but limits her study to the problem of translation. Kabamba moreover does not find interest in articulating other modes of alternative means of divination.

Fischer (2001) in his treatment of the text is entranced in an investigative approach of enlisting basic facts about the woman of Endor and her encounter with Saul. He is interested in analyzing the following questions: Who was the woman of Endor? Why did the woman recognize Saul as soon as she saw Samuel? What did Saul see? How did Samuel appear? How did Saul and Samuel talk to each other? What did Saul hope to achieve through the consultation with Samuel? What was the purpose of the meal?

Like Kabamba, Fischer contents that the woman of Endor is a medium but not a witch, a medium whose divining abilities are not natural gift but one who divines with the help of an אֵיב—the ancestral spirit. Fischer wrestles with the etymological problem of the root word אֵיב and discusses various lexical meanings and cognate derivation from other Semitic languages like Arabic, Hittite, Akkadian and Sumerian. He logically and convincingly connects אֵיב to אב (father) to denote deceased fathers and ancestors. In this analysis, Fischer argues, the woman of Endor describes the spirit of Samuel as אֱלֹהִים (the same words used for God). Connecting this to the Basotho tribe of South Africa, Fischer argues that in many African traditional religions, departed ancestors are called gods. These ancestors have authority and more knowledge and can act as intermediaries on behalf of the living.

Though Fischer takes a turn in his analysis to refer to African traditional antecedents, his approach is more of a parallel analysis of the African tradition and Biblical tradition, with a view of using what he calls the African cultic systems to understand the biblical text of 1 Samuel 28.

Fischer does not relish on the ideological framework within which the woman of Endor is presented ambiguously. He neither finds it relevant to present necromancer divination in the context of the ancient near East nor show any interest in presenting other alternative forms of divination. In the current study, a liberative approach is taken. Efforts are geared to expose the ideological framework of the text and also challenge the dominant ideologies that bedevil the mindsets on divination in the contemporary African context.

Figart (1970) takes a different approach to the study of the text. His focus is on the validity and mode of interaction between Saul and Samuel at Endor under the mediation of the woman of Endor. He explores theories advanced to clarify Saul's experience at Endor. Such theories include: Mental impression, akin to hallucination and psychological identification, in which Saul is assumed to have developed the vision of Samuel only as a psychic figment. Another theory explored by Figart is that of satanic manifestation, arguing that "either Satan himself or one of his demons responded in the usual way to the divination of the woman" (1970: 21). Furthermore, Figart considered a view that the woman of Endor was just an imposter, and tricked Saul to believe that he was communicating with Samuel. Figart, however seems to agree that the events at Endor have validity, and, using extra-biblical evidence, argues that God chose the woman of Endor as a medium through which He would communicate to Saul: "when all the theological smoke clears, we are convinced that the Biblical account sustains the fact that this incident was a divine work of God" (1970: 28). I would agree in the current study with Figart on the question of divine purpose of God in using divination as a mean of revealing knowledge to people. Though Figart does not bring in any comparative allusion to any modern society, his article resonates very well with the contemporary African ideologies on the topic of divination. There are

Africans who believe that divination is trickery, a lie, a figment of the mind where some people trick others to believe in the mysteries of spiritual reality.

Matthew Michael (2013) also in his article titled *Saul's Prophetic Representations and its Parody in 1 Samuel* interrogates how Saul is portrayed in this book. The narrator of 1 Samuel portrays Saul in the beginning chapters as a prophetic figure. However, the very Saul seen prophesying is portrayed as one who went after the forbidden practice of witchcraft/divination. Saul is seen in the company of prophets and also prophesying with them. According to Michael, the characterization of Saul a prophet was just a mockery by the narrator of 1 Samuel. "The narrator made this mockery evident by attributing to Saul a kind of prophet-king status while at the same time undercutting the full significance of this status". Michael thinks that the narrator's agenda to portray Saul in this way is to undermine his kingship. Michael comments that David is not associated with the act of prophecy anywhere in the book yet the counterpart Saul is attested to as a prophetic figure, Saul has an active, David a passive relationship to prophecy. These attributions of prophetic activity to Saul on the surface appear to be a kind of honour accorded to the first Israelite king, however on a clear look, this prophetic association turns out largely to be a mockery of him.

Michael observes that the juxtaposition of these two literary portraits is quite significant especially in the light of Deuteronomistic polarity between the cultic institutions of prophecy and witchcraft/divination. The aim of the Deuteronomist is to show a clear contrast between the cult of prophecy and divination. The narrator bases on this guideline to portray Saul as on who has crossed the boundaries and from the deuteronomic point of view he is detestable to the Lord. According to Michael, one of the chief punishments of breaking the Deuteronomistic code is

becoming an object of scorn and ridicule. To him, the narrative portrayal of Saul as a prophetic figure and after a patron of witchcraft/divination is a Deuteronomistic template. Michael's work rightly fits in the title as the narrator skilfully distorted Saul's image as one who goes against the law.

In contrast with the current study, Michael uses the whole book of 1 Samuel in his study and he uses textual analysis. He aims at illustrating the bible narrator's portrayal of Saul as a prophet yet one who goes to witchcraft. The current study on the other hand specifically uses 1 Samuel 28 as the point of departure. It is aimed at comparing ideologies in the text and the contemporary African setting, hence taking a contextual study. It is not concerned with Saul as an individual but on divination and the ideologies attested to it.

Chapter 2:

2.1 DIVINATION IN POSTCOLONIAL BIBLE INTERPRETATION CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction:

This section situates the problem of African divination in the postcolonial biblical context. African divination is perceived with ambivalent attitudes as illegitimate, backward and uncivilized approach to human problems among some Africans. This is due to the colonized mindset that has influenced the translation and readership of 1st Samuel 28 in some African languages. Postcolonialism comes in as a liberative tool that snatches African traditional systems like divination from the shackles of colonialism.

2.2 African Divination in Colonial history and texts

Earlier Europeans who came to Africa as explorers, missionaries and colonialists bewitched the African minds and soul with their 3C spell of Christianity, Commerce and Colonialism. These 3Cs had a strong smell and potency that bewildered an African to doubt his own roots. On the wings of white superiority complex was the evil spirit that undermined the African systems especially divination practices. Demeaning remarks and notes on African divination characterize the numerous expedition narratives in diaries of the European travelers and missionaries. Such write-ups were published and read in European cities and homes, and ingested as the truth about Africa. Such publications were too many to mention as the travelers themselves. For purposes of illustration, it suffices mentioning the works of Jean Barbot (1732) and William Bosman (1705) (See Silva, 2018).

Missionaries and colonialists alike conceptualized African divination negatively, from their home anthropological and ideological biases. The Christian missionary and the colonialist were blind from the reality that an African diviner was different from a witch. It is from this regard that legislations were put in place that didn't discriminate a diviner from a witch. Wallace (2015) illustrates this scenario with the South African context where a Sangoma (diviner) was called a witch. Consequently, the Natal Code of Native Law of 1891 was put in place to curtail the Sangoma's activities. Such attitudes seemed to characterize the rest of the African societies in relation to divination, (See the Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1895 in Cape Colony, SA. The 1899 Witchcraft Suppression Act in Zimbabwe (Garbett, 1998), the 1911 Witchcraft Act in Malawi, the 1957 Witchcraft Act in Uganda and Kenya, among others). For example, In colonial Zimbabwe, the law stated that: "whoever indicates any person as a wizard or witch or imputes non-natural means in causing death, injury, damage, or calamity, may be sentenced to three years' imprisonment, a fine of fifty pounds, and twenty lashes.... whoever is proved to be by habit or profession a witch-doctor or witch-finder' may be sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, a fine of a hundred pounds, and twenty- four lashes, professing to be a witch-doctor being punishable similarly" (Browne, 1935). It was apparently under this ordinance that the two Shona diviners Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi who led the First Chimurenga War, were hanged (Sibanda, 2018).

The hallmark of European attitudes was their own home anthropological ideologies. In the case of the British colonies, for purposes of illustration, the witchcraft act of 1735, which among other things criminalized magic (See Owen, 1999), was the springboard of negativities to African divination practices. It is not farfetched to state that the witchcraft ordinances in the colonial Africa stemmed from these colonial masters home legal systems. Radiant in these ordinances is

that problems of witchcraft and reality of the immaterial (spirituality) is inexistence. Using Christian doctrines, the only spiritual realities that are worth reckoning with are the biblical, and the rest are demonic. The continued European activities in Africa constituted what scholars like Mokgobi (2015) have called Westernization of the African continent.

The Bible was a very strong tool in this westernization process. An African was, and is still intimidated to think that his antecedents are evil and belong to the realm of the kingdom of the dark world and for an African to uphold them is selling one's soul to the devil for hell fire. An African was intimidated to emulate the Bible teachings and also take on names that are in the Bible. In a great degree, the European culture was synonymized to that of the Bible, which an African is also urged to embrace. Bible translations were made with Western meanings, and often some words and phrases were not given suitable African contextual meanings. For purposes of illustration, attention can be given to two texts where divination is mentioned: 1 Samuel 28 and Acts 16:16ff. In their translation of the Bible to Luganda, the missionaries translated the divinatory spirit as either *omuzimu* or *dayimoon*, (see also the Kiswahili translation which used the word *pepo* for spirit).

1 Samuel 28	Awo Sawulon'alyoka agamba abaddu be nti Munnoonyeze omukazi aliko omuzimu ngendegy'ali mubuuze. Abaddu be ne bamugamba nti Laba, waliwo omukazi aliko omuzimu e Endoli.
Translation	Literally means: Then Saul said to his slaves that, look for me a woman with <i>Omuzimu</i> so that I go and inquire from her. His slaves said to him that see, there is a woman who has <i>Omuzimu</i> in Endor
Acts 16:16	Awo olwatuuka bwetwali tugenda wali awaasabirwanga, omuwala eyaliko

	dayimooni alagulan'atusanga...
Translation	Then, as it came to pass and we were going to the place of prayer, a girl who had a <i>dayimooni</i> to reveal met us.....

Among the Baganda and other Bantu tribes, the word *Omuzimu* denotes a ghost or spirit of a dead person (Nakintu Prossy, personal communication, June 17, 2019). The New Testament Bible translation in Luganda however introduces another word for a spirit as *dayimooni*, which share a phonetic resemblance with an English word “demon.” Both *omuzimu* and *dayimooni* carry demeaning symbolism in African epistemologies. All African communities have a fear for spirits, and using Ninian Smart’s theory, this fear is the reason for religious reverence to these spirits (Ninian, 1983). *Omuzimu* carries ambiguous imageries as it possesses both the benevolent and malevolent propensities. *Omuzimu* is rendered differently from the Holy Spirit, as the later is known in the Luganda translation as *Omwoyo Omutukuvu*(cf Acts 2:4).

In the post-colonial context, the rendition of *Omuzimu* or *dayimooni* (popularly translated as ghost or spirit) carries negative imageries as compared to *Omwoyo Omutukuvu*. *Omuzimu* in most cases denotes a restless spirit of a dead person which has not got a place to settle in the spiritual realm and can cause havoc to the living. That is why Africans endeavor to give their dead a decent burial with proper rituals so that he/she does not return as *omuzimu* to scare the living. The mention of *omuzimu* brings fear and panic to most Africans. Africans in most cases avoid places which are assumed to harbor ghosts/*mizimu* for example grave yards, forests, carves among others. Mere avoiding contact with ghosts means that they have a negative portrait. It is in this same post-colonial context, that some Africans, with limited linguistic analytic skills would

fear a mention of English words like ghosts. Ghost is consumed from the cultural perspectives as different from the holy-spirit.

A case to illustrate this is a scenario in 2017 where a Ugandan pastor burnt some bible versions because they use the word holy ghost in reference to the Holy Spirit. According to the Observer News Paper April 2017, “The holy books, which included Good News and King James versions of the Bible, were reportedly burnt on Easter Monday”. According to the pastor the reason for burning these Bible versions was because “the word ‘Holy Ghost’ is used in the Bible 99 times replacing the word ‘Holy Spirit’ which appears only seven times”. The Bibles were burnt because of using the word Holy Ghost, which according to the pastor was evil, compared to Holy Spirit. What could have influenced the pastor’s mindset is the literary Luganda translation of *ghost* as *omuziru*.

It is my personal view in this study that, the translation of the Bible text into local vocabularies—specifically 1 Samuel 28 and the woman of Endor as one with *Omuzimu*, caused a demeaning effect on African divination practices. It has to be remembered that African divinatory powers stem from higher spiritual forces (not just *Omuzimu*), which are handed down through generations. Each African tradition has its own complexities in the process of becoming a diviner. The following sources give information about how one can become a diviner in various African cultures (Peek 1991; Cultural Research Centre-Jinja 2003; Kirwen 1987).

Referring to the woman of Endor as one with *omuzimu* was an agenda to paint the institution of a diviner negative and scaring as it is being associated with *mizimu*/ ghosts. The woman of Endor is like any other diviner, with unlimited powers that transcend the natural realm to include abilities to bring up spirits from the dead. This does not mean that she has the spirit of the dead

but she has the powers to master the spirits of the dead among other divining abilities. When we compare the Luganda translation with other later translations, we get a clear difference between colonial and postcolonial efforts in the text. The Luganda translation carries a colonial ideology which misrepresents divination and a diviner as seen in the text of study. On the other hand, the English and other later Bible translations call the woman of Endor “diviner or medium”; the Lumasaba translation of 2016 calls her “*umufum*” (diviner), which resonates with the English translation. We therefore observe that the Luganda (and other translations like the Kiswahili) translation of the text has more of colonial inputs whereas the later translation like the Lumasaba carries a postcolonial rendition which is neutral in its description of the woman of Endor as diviner. It is not however surprising for the colonialist to confuse the divining spirit of the woman of Endor with the spirit of the dead, this is the same thing where witches and diviners were labeled the same, as discussed earlier.

The ingestion of these Biblical renditions by Africans caused a social cultural disorientation. It is not surprising that there is a section of Africans who believe that African modes of divination is demonic and a sign of backwardness, and the reality of spiritual problems of witchcraft and ancestral spirits is fallacious and a figment of an uneducated mind. It is from this backdrop that postcolonial Biblical interpretation becomes relevant. Postcolonial theory comes in as an antidote to counteract the negative colonial ideologies that permeate the minds of post-colonial Africans.

2.3 Postcolonial Bible Interpretation

In his Thesis, “The Berated Politicians”, Kuloba (2011) writes that “Postcolonial biblical criticism is a branch of postcolonial theory. Post colonialism arises from the fact that much of the world today is a world of inequality, and much difference falls across the broad division between

the people of the West and those of the non-west”. He continues to note that “this division between the rest and the West was made by colonialism in the 19th C when European powers controlled the entire world” (Kuloba 2011, P 27). Colonial and imperial rule was justified by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the people and the socio-cultural institutions of the colonized as inferior, childlike, evil, incapable of looking after themselves; hence requiring the western rule. The land and the people, who were colonized were abused by their colonizing powers and made subjects of their masters. The basis of such anthropological theories according to Young was the concept of race: that is to say the whites versus the colored race” (Young 2013, P 3). White culture and religion were regarded to be the basis for civilization.

Punt notes that “Postcolonial biblical criticism is a form of ideology criticism, which considers the socio-political context. It goes even further to address the silencing of the voice of the other through the colonial strategy” (Punt 2003, P 63). Rukundwa (2008) elaborates that it focuses on issues such as race, gender, class, tribe, citizenship and the construction of political powers within sociological and geographical settings.

A postcolonial reading of the bible is the only method to fight against colonial ideologies with their evils. For instance Young writes that “Postcolonialism calls for the transformational activism for a politics dedicated to the removal of marginalization from the different degrees of wealth of the different states in the world system, to the class, ethnic and other social hierarchies within individual state, to the gendered hierarchies that operate at every level of social and cultural relations” (Young 2003, P 114). Postcolonialism names a politics and philosophy of activism that fights cultural marginalization and social inequality. However, this theory does not

necessarily try to idealize the past and reviving mummified fragments of African past. It is not aimed at replacing colonial European culture with an uncomplicated, celebratory, and uncritical Black culture as Sugirtharajah puts it. According to Dube “it does not seek to dwell on the crimes of the past and their continuation but seeks transformation for liberation” (Dube 2000, P 15-16).

From the African perspectives, postcolonial theory emerges from the background that Western Imperialism and colonialism brought socio-cultural structures that included new religious beliefs and practices in Africa. Kuloba writes that “The Berlin conference of 1884, tabled by Otto Von Bismarck issued a list of guidelines and procedures to be followed in dividing Africa”. He continues to note that “After the conference, the delegates had adopted what was termed as the Doctrine of Effective occupation, which required that European powers establish political and social structures in their African areas of interest” (Kuloba 2011, P 28). Therefore, the establishment of these structures affected the socio-cultural lifestyle of the colonized. All the African culture and practices were portrayed as demonic; hence had to be condemned and abolished.

According to Dube, “The African biblical Hermeneutics sessions were a product of an earlier bigger group on ‘The Bible in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America’ which ran during the 1990s to the early 2005. Gradually the group had mobilized more scholars from these various regions. It also became clear that the group straddled too many worlds hence, when its lifespan came to an end, various groups were formed to continue to investigate independently biblical interpretation in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America”. Dube continues to note that “As Two-Thirds world scholars of the Bible interacted and collected in these spaces, the centrality of the modern empire to their work became evident, ushering the postcolonial

framework of reading the Bible” (Dube 1997, P 6). Therefore, postcolonial theory of biblical interpretation is a product of the continents mentioned above. We can say that it was used by formally colonized and/or marginalized continents, whose aim was to make the bible relevant in their own contexts.

According to Dube, “The gurus of this movement include: Fernando F. Segovia, R.S. Sugirtharajah, Vincent Wimbush, Gale Yee, Gerald West, Justin Ukpong and Kwok Pui Lan. The founding members of the African Biblical Hermeneutics section were Dora Mubwayesango, Justine Ukpong, Musa W. Dube, and Gerald O. West” (Dube 1997, P 6). The mentioned scholars are the pioneers of the postcolonial theory of bible interpretation.

Dube writes that “The arrival of the Bible in the hands of the European brought imperial subjugation, which converted black Africans’ spaces and minds into white European constructs” she continues to write that “Christianity and imperialism hence entangled African minds to think that their history was dominated by ungodly cultures and practices” (Dube 2000, P 19-20). The missionary and colonialist were therefore sent by God to liberate Africans from the wrath of God.

The coming of the Europeans and their teachings made Africans feel small in their own continent: Frantz writes that “These teachings instilled into an African an inferiority feeling that before colonialism, their history was dominated by savagery and that if the colonialist and missionary were to leave they would fall back into barbarism” (Frantz 1969, P 169).

West writes that “White colonial missionaries opened and read the Bible; the indigenous people brought their own questions to the Bible and engaged it in their own terms, from the beginning”.

He continues to note that “The Bible was for an essential part of colonizing” (West 1996, P 7). On the same note, Dube writes that “The Bible is a colonizing text; it has repeatedly authorized the subjugation of foreign nations and lands” she adds that “biblical texts also emerge from colonial and imperialist contexts and therefore contain a call for liberation” (Dube 1997, P 15). Pui-lan adds that “Since biblical texts are products of colonial experiences, a postcolonial reading must examine the cultural and historical processes that call them into being” (Pui- Lan 1996, P 213).

Kuloba notes that “Postcolonial biblical criticism situates colonialism at the center of the Bible and biblical interpretation. It attempts to dismantle colonizing structures, institution, ideologies, and philosophies and emancipate the colonized and oppressed” (Kuloba 2011, P 32). Rukundwa also observes that “Postcolonial theory takes into consideration the situation of the colonizer as well as the colonized, in order to reconstruct a negotiating space for equality”. He continues to note that “Under postcolonial theory, theologians argue that biblical texts have been marked as powerful rhetorical instruments of imperialism. But at the same time, biblical texts have also been proclaimed in colonial settings and therefore contain a voice of justice that energizes faith to challenge injustice committed against the weak” (Rukundwa 2008, P 340).

Because the colonizers used the bible to oppress their subjects, an anti-colonial reading will help to liberate the oppressed Rukundwa notes that “A postcolonial reading of the Bible is a war against sin: colonialism, neocolonialism, dictatorship, corruption and social injustices in every aspect of society, regardless of their agent. Dube adds that “In this post colonialism is not a discourse of historical accusations, but a committed search and struggle for decolonialization and liberation of the oppressed” (Dube 1997: P 14). Rukundwa further comments that “The delivery

of biblical interpretation developed in a foreign context cannot effectively respond to the socio-economic, political and religious challenges of another social setting”. He continues to write that “These foreign hermeneutics are incapable of explaining the harsh realities of inequality, oppression and exploitation that are often experienced in tricontinental countries” (Rukundwa 2008, P 344). This therefore calls for decolonization of the biblical texts in order to suit the African context and appropriately solve their problems. Therefore, this makes a postcolonial reading of the bible relevant.

Postcolonial theory has taken other forms in the struggle for liberation: feminist theology which is aimed at fighting against gender based issues, not only brought by the colonialists and the Bible, but as also promoted by the African traditional cultures. This movement particularly focuses on the oppression of women. It uses the bible as a resource in the struggle against the subordination of women in contemporary society and church life. a plethora of scholars have written used this approach as a liberation tool against gender based oppressions (Ukpong 1994 & 2001; Oduyoye 1994; Musimbi 1992; Mwaura 2003; Kuloba). Black theology is also under postcolonial frameworks in the struggle for black people’s liberation from white dominated systems. Ukpong writes that “Its point of departure is the ideology of Black consciousness whereby the Blacks are made critically aware of their situation of oppression based on their skin color and of the need to analyze the situation and to struggle against it” it uses the bible as a resource for struggle”. Ukpong continues to write that “Because the bible had been wrongly used as an instrument to entrench the apartheid system, it remains central to Black theology in its struggle for liberation”. Racial and anti-colonial activities like Martin Luther king, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkuruma, Julius Nyerere, Patrick Lumumba among others, came up to oppose mistreatment of people based on their sick color. They were also on the forefront in advocating

for Africa's independence. Here are some of the references of works on black theology (Ukpong 199, Mosala 1989, Jibril 2016, Gikandi, Ebony 1959).

In summary, postcolonial approach occurs in the context of socio-economic and political inequality today. Not only the inequality that exists between the African continent and the west, but also between the Africans themselves in African societies. This inequality result from cultural and socio-structural injustices manifested in various forms like marginalization of women, corruption, unequal access to resources and unfair distribution of resources. Postcolonial bible hermeneutics shall thrive in the context where socio-cultural practices of Africans are denigrated as inferior and evil; a context that totemifies white culture as superior and godly against black culture. An African in this context is conditioned to hate his/her antecedents as evil. This is due to the colonial and missionary overt and covert approaches that converted African mind and space into white European construct as stated by Dube above. It is not surprising therefore, as we shall see later that a good section of Africans give credence to white systems and regard African practices like divination as satanic or evil.

Chapter 3:

3.0 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF 1 SAMUEL 28

In this chapter the focus is on the analysis of the text of study. The section begins with a brief introduction of the text, description, and discussion and description of the major characters in the text.

3.1 A brief introduction of the Text

1 Samuel 28 falls in the context of Saul's last days as king in Israel. Saul had been rejected in chapter 15, and David is anointed as king in chapter 16. The rejection of Saul and anointing of David created a dynastic rivalry where Saul is portrayed as pursuant of David and the later portrayed as a meek godly servant. Ironically, the meek god-trusting and seemingly harmless David forms military alliance with Philistines against Saul. This created a situation of political anxiety in Israel which needed divine intervention in order to pre-determine the outcome. The text is also situated in the context of absence of an approved spiritual mediation following the death of Samuel the prophet. With the objective of bringing forth the spirit of Prophet Samuel for the highly valued prophetic word, Saul is left with no option but to inquire from a medium. A detailed literally description of the text and analysis of relevant issues in the text are discussed below.

3.2 Description of the Text

Verse 1 & 2 begin with an introduction of a war threat against Israel by the Philistines. It also introduces a conspiracy between Achish and David in an invasion against Saul and Israel.

Verse 3 reminds the reader about the death of Samuel who was long dead and buried in his town Ramah. It also talks about Saul's expulsion of the mediums and spiritists from land.

Verse 4 & 5 describe the level of preparation for war by the two parties: accordingly, Philistines who camped at Shunem were numerous, as compared to the Israelites who camped at Gilboa. This stressed Saul to seek for divine intervention from the Lord through Urim, dreams and prophets to no avail.

In verse 6&7 Saul seeks information about an alternative where he can get help; he is told about the woman of Endor. In verse 8, Saul disguises himself and goes to Endor at night with his two men. On reaching Endor, Saul goes direct to the point by telling the Medium to consult for him a spirit.

In verse 9, the medium expresses her fear as she reminds the client of how Saul had expelled the mediums and spiritists from the land. And also, she is much aware of the punishment for anyone involved in divination. However, in verse 10 Saul assures the woman that nothing would happen to her. In verse 11 the woman is convinced and allows to do what her client wants, by asking whom she should bring up for him. And the client immediately names the person he wants- The spirit of Samuel.

The woman does her actions in verse 12 and what she sees is Samuel; this made her to lament. It is at this moment that she recognizes that she was dealing with Saul. In verse 13, Saul continues to encourage the woman to not be afraid but rather tell him what she had seen.

In verse 14, Saul asks the woman to describe how the spirit she had seen looked like. The woman gave him the description and basing on that, Saul was convinced that it was truly Samuel; therefore, he bowed down and prostrated his face on the ground.

In verse 15, Saul interacts directly with Samuel. Samuel sought to understand why Saul had disturbed him by bringing him up. It's at this point that Saul explains to Samuel what he was going through. The Philistines were approaching to attack Israel yet the Lord is silent on him: In verse 16, Samuel replies to Saul and reminds him that the Lord had rejected him and that he was now the Lord's enemy. Samuel in verse 17 continues to tell Saul about the taking away of the kingdom from him and giving it to David; Samuel in verse 18 goes further to tell Saul why the Lord had rejected him- "because you did not obey the voice of the Lord..."

Samuel in verse 19 announces the outcomes of the war which resulted in Saul's death together with his sons and the decisive defeat of the Israelite army by the Philistines.

In verse 20, Samuel's revelation shocked Saul; Saul had lost strength, partly because he hadn't eaten the whole day. In verses 21-25 the medium feed Saul and his servants and they left for Israel.

3.3 Discussion of the Text (1 Samuel 28)

The narrative in verse 1 begins with an introduction of a war threat against Israel by the Philistines and the consequent search for divine mediation. The characters in the text are Achish the Philistine, David the Israelite, Saul the Israelite and the medium. In the shadow of all these, there is Yahweh and Samuel the prophet. In the discussion of this text emphasizes shall be put on the relationship between the above characters and its resultant outcomes. The major protagonist

in this war scene are Achish, Philistines and David on one hand and Saul and Israel on the other hand.

The Philistines were one of many sea peoples who moved out of areas around the Aegean Sea and settled along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean from Ugarit in the north to Ashkelon in the southwest of Canaan. Along the southern coastal plain the Philistines settled in five major cities: Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath. After their occupation of the coastal plain, the Philistines somewhat adopted themselves to Canaanite culture, language, and religion. They grew in prowess and influence, and gradually began to dominate Israel. Philistines worked and fought with iron tools and weapons; Israel had only flint and soft copper. The Philistines had a monopoly on the available iron and carefully withheld the technique of its production from Israel. (Flanders, Crapps & Smith 1996, P 261-262)

It is also important to note that from the very beginning, the Philistines were either allies or deadly enemies of God's people. They played a pivotal role in the lives of Samson, Samuel, Saul and David. For over 200 years, the Philistines harassed and oppressed the Israelites, often invading Israel's territories. The children of Israel simply could not deal with the Philistine's overwhelming military might.

Still in verse 1b, Achish asks David and his men to accompany him in the army; one would wonder why Achish could ask David and his men to accompany him in the battle. There is no doubt that Achish could have known David's interests of taking over the throne since Saul was already rejected. Therefore, Achish knew that David could not object his request because it was for his benefit. David's story is similar to that of Jeroboam in 1Kings 11: 40 where he fled to the king of Egypt for refuge when Solomon was pursuing him. Achish could have seen David and

his men as strong and skilled people in battle therefore he wanted to make use of them since they were under him by then.

David's reply in verse 2 "*you will see for yourself what your servant can do*" is ambiguous. David does not object Achish's request but gives an answer which is not so direct. As Adeyemo observes, David was in a difficult moment of his life. He was faced with the question of fighting his own people, and at the same time faced with the challenge of betraying the trust Achish had in him and his kindness in granting him asylum (Adeyemo 2006, P 373). This means that David was in a conflicting situation; his reply shows that he was not sure of which side to take.

However, Arthur argues that David's reply was an acceptance of Achish's request. He notes that "David accepted Achish's request because to refuse the king's request would not only be to run the danger of angering him, with what that would most likely entail, but would appear the height of ingratitude in return for the kindness and protection which had been given to him and his people (Arthur 1983, P 190). Therefore, David's acceptance of Achish's request is an appreciation for the hospitality offered to him by the king. Therefore, he didn't want to disappoint him in any way.

Verse 3 emphasizes the absence of Samuel, which involved death, mourning and his burial. Still in the same verse, we are told that Saul had expelled the mediums and spiritists from the land. One would ask how the death of Samuel and the banishing of the mediums are connected. And one would wonder why Saul expelled the mediums and spiritists from the land. Guzik (2001) notes that "Samuel had died; Samuel's death was originally reported in 1Sam 25: 1. Here, the fact is mentioned again to emphasize the spiritual Vacuum left by Samuel's departure". Arthur on the same issue of Samuel's death writes that "this seems to be brought in for the purpose of

intimating why the Philistines should make an attack upon Israel at this time. The knowledge of the prophet's death had probably emboldened them" (Arthur 1983, P 192). This seems like Samuel's absence has given the enemies courage to attack Israel again.

Saul's purported expulsion of the mediums and spiritists from the land is ideological because the mosaic laws forbade mediums and necromancer, who consult the spirits of the dead as well as other forms of divination (Lev 19:31). Schmitt notes that "consulting with the dead was prohibited by the priestly writers who were promoting only the religion of Yahweh in Israel. They wanted only Yahweh to be consulted for any reason not the spirits of the dead. He continues to write that Necromancy was ruled out by Yahweh because interrogating the dead was a threat to strict monotheism and Yahweh was considered the only source of oracles and revelations" (Schmitt 2008, P 9-11). Therefore, Saul expels the mediums to fulfill the above demand.

Verse 4 shows how the two parties had prepared for the war: The Philistine had camped at Shunem; Saul also had gathered the Israel army at Gilboa. We shall first know the distance between the two scenes so that we can predict how serious the fight was going to be. "Shunem is around 7 kilometers north of the town of Jezreel while Gilboa on the south of the Jezreel valley" (Ackroyd 1971, P 211). This indicates that the distance between Saul and the Philistines was short that is why Saul could be able to see the Philistine army.

In verse 5, Saul was afraid on seeing the Philistine army; Arthur writes that "Saul's excessive terror arose chiefly from a guilty conscience; his contempt of Samuel, his murdering the priests and their families, his malicious persecution of David. Probably he had a premonition that this attack of the Philistines foreboded his approaching doom" (Arthur 1983, P 192). According to

Arthur, Saul's fear could have been influenced by the guilt he had in his heart for the sins he committed.

However, I don't think Saul feels the guilt at this point of seeing the Philistines, I think the guilt comes after failing to communicate with Yahweh. According to Flanders, Crapps and Smith "Saul's fear at such a time could have come due to the large numbers of the Philistine army, the superior weapons they had and also the distance which was between the two parties" (Flanders, Crapps & Smith 1996, P 261-262). It looked like though Saul gathered his army also, it was not well prepared for the war and maybe he thought the Philistines were still far yet they had already penetrated the land and ready to attack Israel. This kindles imaginations of powerful Philistine against the apparently weak Israel. The superior weapons that the Philistine army was equipped with made Saul and Israel feel inadequate for the battle. Since Saul feared the enemies, he had no option but to involve the divine. This act showed that Saul acknowledged the supremacy of the Philistines as he seeks divine intervention, as seen in the following verse.

In verse 6, Saul inquires from the Lord on what to do next since the enemies were approaching. Consulting the divine-Will before going to war was a common practice in ancient Israel and the Near East. Kings of Israel asked of Yahweh's Will before they went for war; (see 1king 22: 5, Judges 20: 2, 23, 1Sam 23: 2-4, 9-12, 2Sam 2:1). The Lord communicated to his people in three ways these are, בהלמות (in dreams), בנביאם (prophets) and באורים (Urim). The Lord revealed his will to his people through dreams (see Gen 15:1, Gen 28:12, Gen 37:5, 9, Numbers 12: 6, 1Kings 3:5-6) etc. The Lord also spoke his will through the prophets; the prophets mediated between God and his people. Another form of finding out the will of the Lord was by use of Urim. Urim and Thummim were words used of the twelve precious stones set in the breastplate which was

fastened upon the front of the ephod, the sacred vest of the priest (Exodus 28:15-30). The priest wore the ephod and the breastplate when he asked questions of the Lord. Answers were given by light flashing from the precious stones, and sometimes at the same time a voice was heard.

However, to Saul's dismay, all the above methods/tools had failed and yet he needed an answer from the Lord before going for war. The Lord did not give any answer to Saul by dreams or prophets or Urim. I would say because Saul's relationship with the Lord was not good, the Lord did not communicate to him through dreams. On the side of the prophets, one may assume that since Samuel was dead, the bible does not mention another prophet until the time of David when Prophet Nathan comes on the scene. Therefore, there could have been no other court prophet in Saul's palace who the Lord could speak through. For the case of Urim, since Saul had killed all the priests and yet this was a device operated by the priests, he lacked a priest to divine for him using the Urim (1 Sam 22: 17).

In verse 7, Saul after finding no answer from the Lord, he finds another option due to the urgency of the situation; "...*find me a woman who is a medium so I may go and inquire of her*". First of all Saul's statement shows that through the medium, he would get a solution. Hamori writes that "it was common throughout Israel and the ancient Near East for kings to consult diviners" (Hamori2013, P 827). One may ask why Saul specifically wants a medium who is a woman; Spence notes that "we gather that women were the usual claimants to these occult powers just as now they are the most successful clairvoyants" (Spence &Exell 1977, P 522). Implying women would do divination better than men.

Besides, when Saul asks the attendants to find him a medium, they do not waste looking for the medium but direct him. "*There is one in Endor*", this seemed like the attendants were familiar

with the place and one can say that they had been going there at some point. Hamori on the same argument writes that “note that Saul’s servants know immediately where to find the medium. This may well be a humorous depiction of a court scene. The king has removed the mediums from the land but his servants know just where to go” (Hamori 2013, P 832). But before we go far, we should find out the location of Endor; Pfeiffer writes that “the distance from the slopes of Gilboa to Endor is seven to eight miles, over difficult grounds, on the bleak northern slope of Jebel Duhy. The rock of this mountain village is hollowed into caves, one of which contains a little fountain and may well have been the scene of the incantation of the witch” (Pfeiffer 1975, P 291). Endor was located dangerously close to where the Philistines were encamped. Endor is mentioned in the bible in other books like Psalm 83: 9-10, Joshua 17: 11, Endor is also mentioned in Judge 4.

In verse 8, Saul was set for the journey to Endor with his two attendants; Saul disguised himself, putting on other clothes and went at night to the medium. One would ask why Saul should disguise himself and move at night; we see that since Saul had expelled the mediums from the land, yet at this time he needed help from them, he never wanted to be recognized by the medium. But we could also say that since Endor was not far from Shunem where the Philistines had camped, Saul feared that he could be seen by the enemies therefore he could not go during broad day light. Barker &Kohlenberger on the same note assert that “since the nether world is a place of darkness, night provided the proper setting for communicating with one of its denizens. In addition, necromancers probably preferred to do their work at night, and Saul would have found it easier to conceal his identity under cover of darkness” (Barker &Kohlenberger 1994, P 429).

On reaching Endor, Saul presents his issue to the medium in very specific terms:

קִסְמֵי-גָא לִי בְאוֹב וְהַעֲלֵי לִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר-אָמַר אֱלֹהִים:

The word *בְּאוֹב* is compounded by preposition *ב* and root *אוב*. *אוב* in many Bible lexicons is translated as spirit or medium. This word shares the first two root letter with *אור* which means light. It is interesting to note that even the word commonly transliterated as *Urim* is from *אור* (Deuteronomy 33:8, Leviticus 8:8, Exodus 28:30 etc.) Against various western Bible versions (ESV, NIV, KJV, NAS) that have the neglected preposition, I would prefer to translate this construct with a pronounced preposition *ב* which is commonly translated as *in* or *on*, hence presenting a translation as ...consult for me in the spirit..., a reading which makes sense to an African. The root *אמר* (here translated in NIV as *name*), exhibits fluidity in translations: In simple Qal, it conveys a sense of *utter* or *say* of a word. However, there are cases where the root calls for a sense of revealing of a name of a place or identity of person. For instance, Gen 22:2-3; 43:27-29, 1 Samuel 16:3. For purposes of illustration, the construct *וּמְשַׁחְתָּ לִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר-אָמַר אֱלֹהִים* indicates that Samuel would anoint the person whom Yahweh will reveal (name) to him. Probably, Genesis 32:28 (29 in Hebrew version) has a clear picture: *וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יִעֲקֹב יִאֲמָר עוֹל שְׁמִי* (and He said: your name shall no longer be called Jacob) The root *אמר* as used in the text of study has a connotation of naming the person whom Saul wants the diviner to sermon. Therefore, the rendition in NIV “consult [in the] spirit for me...and bring up for me the one I name” is well grounded.

This brings us to a discussion by Pumphrey in the power of names. In his thesis on names and power, he writes that all Ancient Near Eastern civilizations believed the name could be used to invoke the power of the figure that held it. That, “a human could control a god by using the god’s

true name”. he continues to note that “Likewise, a human’s true name held the essence of that person; therefore, if someone obtained a person’s true name, that someone could enact influence on the person whose name is under possession” (Pumphrey 2009, P 17). Therefore, we observe that by mentioning Samuel by name, Saul enacted control and influence to summon the late. This is the reason why he had to mention Samuel’s name to the medium. Indeed, this worked for him as we are going to see in the following verses where Samuel’s spirit responded by coming up.

This also shows that someone’s name endures even after death. Reiterer asserts that “Thus *sem* constitutes a reality that guarantees the bearer an existence, however hard to define, that endures beyond death” (Reiterer 2006, P 134). This is seen when Saul still called the dead Samuel by his name. One would ask what was so special with the dead; did they know something beyond the human realm? Is there another world the dead go to and stay there? According to Ellicott’s Commentary for English Readers, “The popular idea has always been that Sheol, the place of the departed spirits, is somewhere beneath the ground or earth on which we live”.

Spronk writes that “the ancient Israelite funerary customs points to a belief in some kind of continued existence of life after death. There are also indications of an Israelite belief in the dead being able to help or harm the living” (Spronk 1986, P 251). Mariottini also comments that “A study of ancient cults of the dead shows that the practice of consulting the dead existed in a legitimate way in the ancient Near East and in early Israel”. On the same note, some scholars also believe that necromantic practices were a part of Israel’s early religion until the Deuteronomist and priestly writers rejected the practices.

In verse 9, the woman expresses her fear of the act because the king had banished them and refused such acts in the land. The woman’s hesitation shows that she knew the consequences of

disobeying the king which she never wanted to face, that is the reason why she tells her client that he was setting a trap for her life by bringing about her death. It shows that the woman respected the rules of the land meaning she must have been an Israelite. She could have been among the diviners Saul expelled from the land. But on the other hand, how come that for her she remained in the land if we say Endor is within the borders of Israel. This implies that there were some diviners who remained and did their work secretly.

In verse 10, Saul promises the woman that nothing would happen to her; he swears by the name of the Lord. This gave the woman the confidence to honor the client's request. This was an assurance to the woman that nothing would happen to her because swearing by the name of the Lord was a very strong oath.

We see in verse 11 the woman accepting Saul's request by asking whom she should bring up for her client. And the client told her to bring up Samuel. At this point, Saul knows that it is only Samuel who can help out of the situation he was in.

In verse 12, the woman did exactly what she was instructed. They do not tell us how the incantation or process was done. The tools used for the practice are not mentioned. We see the woman crying out loud on her voice because she had seen Samuel. One would ask why would the woman cry yet she has been doing this work for a while. Did Samuel's spirit appear unusual to her or she didn't expect the spirit of Samuel the prophet? Barker comments that "the medium's reaction when Samuel appeared was one of shock and surprise. She cried out, an emotional outburst often linked with feelings of fear and dismay (Barker1994, P 430). Still in the same verse, the medium realizes that the person she was dealing with was Saul. Why did she

recognize Saul after seeing Samuel? One would assume the medium would have been aware that Saul and Samuel worked together so none other than Saul could ask for Samuel.

In verse 13, the king still encouraged her to not be afraid and all he wanted was to know whether the medium had seen Samuel's spirit. And the medium responded that she had seen a spirit coming from the ground. This means that in the conversation with Samuel's spirit, Saul did not see it face to face but rather the medium was the one who saw it.

In verse 14, the medium describes how the spirit looked to Saul: "*an old man wearing a robe is coming up*". The description made Saul to conclude that it was Samuel. According to Steiner, "Any sort of life, even in Sheol, must manifest itself in a bodily form or shape. The inhabitants of Sheol retain their bodily form". He continues to note that "The spirits of the dead are depicted as ethereal miniature replicas of their owners. It is the double of the living body, a replica that can be taken for the body itself that has the same appearance, clothing, gestures, and voice" (Steiner 2015, P 121-122). Barker writes that "when the medium describes him as an old man wearing a robe, Saul is convinced that the apparition is Samuel, who in Saul's mind has always worn the robe of the prophet (Barker 1994, P 430). Guzik (2001) also comments on this verse that "it is likely that when Samuel appeared before the medium and Saul, he wore this same torn robe to remind Saul that the Lord has torn the kingdom out of your and given it to your neighbor, David".

When Saul knew that the spirit of Samuel had come up, he bowed down and prostrated himself with his face to the ground. Since Samuel came inform of a spirit, Saul's bowing and prostration could be a form of worship to the spirit of the dead prophet. Spence notes that "there is nothing to prove that Saul really saw anything; all that is said is that by the woman's description Saul

recognized that what she had seen was Samuel, and he bowed himself to the ground, and made obeisance” (Spence 1977, P 523). But we could wonder whether really that was Samuel or the woman just played on Saul’s mind; was it just an imagination in Saul’s mind or it was true Samuel appeared. However, the next verses will help us to answer this question basing on the conversation between Saul and the spirit.

In verse 15, Samuel begins by complaining why Saul had disturbed him by bringing him up. We could say that Samuel’s spirit came up because he was called by name. As earlier discussed, when one knows your name and calls you by it, he/she takes control of you. Meaning because Saul called Samuel by his name, Samuel had no option but to come up. This is because Saul had gained power over him by using his name. Hamori writes that “the spirit of Samuel did not want to come up but due to the agency and actions of the medium” (Hamori 2013, P 834). Samuel’s statement shows that the place of the dead is a place of rest and peace that is why bringing his spirit up was like disturbing him. Still in the same verse, Saul talks to Samuel and tells him his problem and how he had failed to get an answer from the Lord. He tried all the proper means but he did not get any answer from the Lord. Saul talked only about God not answering through prophets or dreams, omitting Urim; here he begins with prophets and dreams which is not the same arrangement like in verse 6. Barker writes that “Saul tells Samuel that God does not answer him either by prophets or by dreams perhaps omitting Urim to hide his slaughter of the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22: 11-19) and perhaps listing prophets first in his hope that the prophet Samuel will now fill that vacuum (Barker 1994, P 430).

In verse 16, Samuel questions Saul again why he consults from him now that the Lord has turned away from him. *“Why do you consult me now that the Lord has turned away from you and*

become your enemy". Samuel's question to Saul takes us back to the relationship Saul had with Samuel before he died. On several occasions, Saul was not consulting from Samuel. Adeyemo notes that "Saul had not listened to Samuel while he was alive and had not heeded the message taught by David's life" (Adeyemo 2006, P 375). (See 1Sam 13: 8-15, 15: 15). It seems like he is not seeking the solution from the Lord this time but from Samuel. This is seen in the way Saul humbled himself before Samuel's spirit; he bowed down and prostrated with his face on the ground, this kind of respect was a way of worship to Yahweh but Saul is now doing it to Samuel's spirit. This means that at this moment Samuel was playing the role of the Lord in Saul's life.

In verse 17, Samuel tells Saul the truth of the matter; the Lord had taken the kingdom from him and given it to David. There was no use of Saul consulting from Samuel because he did not get a new message from him but the one Samuel had told him before in 1 Sam 15: 28. However in chapter 15:28, Samuel did not mention the name of the person the kingdom had been given to; he now makes it clear that the kingdom had been given to David. Therefore, Samuel's message to Saul did not change even when he was in the grave, meaning he still remained a prophet.

In verse 18, Samuel explains why the Lord did what he did to Saul; that it was due to Saul's disobedience to God's command to destroy the Amalekites. God was angry with the Amalekites because of what they did to the Israelites as they came from Egypt. God now wanted to use Saul and his army to pursue his wrath against the Amalekites, 1Sam 15:1-35. God wanted Saul to destroy everything but Saul did not follow what the Lord instructed him. Therefore, Samuel informs Saul that it is because of his disobedience that the Lord has turned away from him.

Samuel goes ahead to assure Saul that the Lord will give him and the Israelites over to the Philistines. He also told him about his death and the sons; meaning Saul's disobedience also affected his family. Samuel told him that he would be with him the following day. This means that Sheol was a place for all the dead whether good or bad; Samuel, Saul and his sons would be in the same place. Saul's punishment did not end on him and his family alone but to the entire Israel as they were handed over to the Philistines.

From Samuel's message, one would wait for him to condemn Saul for using a medium to consult him, but he does not say that. The medium is not talked about meaning Samuel had no issues with her action apart from being disturbed. We also see the Lord not punishing the medium at all meaning he did not have any problem with the act of necromancy. Hamori comments that "the lack of condemnation of necromancy and the necromancer is evident also in the content of divided message. The ghost of Samuel reviles Saul for his disobedience to God in not slaughtering the Amalekites and warns of all sorts of terrible things that will happen as a result but he does not so much as mention the fact that Saul is in the act of consulting a medium. Samuel's only complaint in regard to this event is that he did not want to be disturbed" (Hamori 2013, P 836)

One would wonder which type of spirit was Samuel. A benevolent or malevolent spirit: According to the African perspective on spirits, Samuel's spirit looks to be a benevolent one. It was a resting spirit which was comfortable. It did not want disturbance that is why it asked Saul why he had disturbed it. It does not harm anyone but gives the required message to Saul: Unlike some malevolent spirits which linger around and do harm to people.

Due to the shocking news given to Saul, he fell on the ground with fear; Saul expected Samuel to give him courage that he would win the battle but the message was different. It was a common practice for Israel kings to fast and seek for the Lord's intervention whenever they were going for war (see 1Sam 14: 24). It is likely that Saul's not eating for the whole day and night was that he was fasting; therefore, he fell on the ground because he had not eaten hence, he had no strength.

The medium on seeing Saul's condition, she requested him to have something to eat so that he could gain strength to go back. Saul refused to eat but the woman and his servants persuaded him to eat. The woman showed hospitality to the king by slaughtering a fattened calf and making a meal for him. This explains the hospitality nature of the Israelites that when a powerful visitor came, they had to honor him/her by preparing a good meal. This was a common practice in the land and also, we see it in other Old Testament texts. (See Genesis 18, Judges 13: 15, 19: 4-5)

The meal at the medium's home was the last meal Saul had; the meal was to give him strength to go to battle and meet his death as Samuel assured him. Some scholars say that the medium's act of slaughtering the calf was a form of sacrifice and appreciation to the spirit of Samuel for hearing the woman's call. But basing on this argument one would wonder whether the medium slaughtered for every client who came to her place. The woman however showed respect to Saul as the king even on his last day and after Saul eating, they left for Gilboa.

3.4 Characters in the Text

In this section, I will look at the characters, giving each one's role in relation to the text. The characters include Achish, David, Saul, Samuel and the Medium.

3.4.1 Achish

Achish in the text seems to be a person of authority on the side of the Philistines; he is the chief organizer of the Philistine army which is going to fight the Israelites. Achish is presented as a bold leader who is determined and ready to lead his army to war. He uses his powers to tell David and his men to join him in the war. He seems to know more about David and his ability in war that is why he has confidence in him up to the extent of promising to make him his bodyguard.

3.4.2 David

David according to the text does not appear so active; he is presented as a humble person who goes by what Achish commands him. When he is told to go to war, he does not object the request but gives an answer which is not so direct. It lives one still questioning whether he has agreed to accompany Achish or not. On the other hand, David seems loyal and respectful to Achish as he regards himself as “servant”. David’s reply seems like he was on his own agenda and he answered just to please Achish.

3.4.3 Saul

Saul in the text is portrayed as a helpless and desperate character who cannot stand on his own. He seeks divine intervention in his situation but it seemed not to work for him. The silence of Yahweh leaves Saul with no option but to disguise himself to the level of a commoner who needs help from a medium. On top of that, he seems to be a person who does not mean what he says; this is because after chasing the mediums, he again runs after them for help implying, he does not know what he wants. Saul’s disparate situation takes him as low as the grave to consult

from the dead Samuel for a solution. He also lost faith and was in self-pity because the Lord had kept quiet on him in such a hard situation. In his interaction with Samuel, it seems like Samuel was the last option to his problem. However, he does not get much from Samuel but rather gets more disappointed and afraid with the bad news concerning his death together with his three sons.

3.4.4 **Samuel**

Samuel is dead and only appears as a spirit; his appearance is at the command of the diviner. Saul consulted him when he failed to get an answer from the Lord. Through Samuel, Saul was able to know the will of the Lord; this shows that though Samuel was dead, he still remained a prophet. He however seemed not happy with Saul and his message to him showed that he was angry with him.

3.4.5 **The medium**

The medium was a woman from Endor who helped Saul to consult from Samuel; she seems to be a fearful person. This is seen when she realizes that she was helping Saul; she also shows fear when she saw Samuel's spirit. However, she knows her work and can do anything to help her clients that is to say she is a necromancer. That is why she was able to connect Saul and Samuel in dialogue. This medium has also human qualities that is to say empathy, hospitality for example she can cook, entertain her guests like other human beings do. She also has possessions like cattle, food stuffs among others.

In summary, the narrative is anchored to David's escape to Achish a king in the philistine territory for refuge after Saul was pursuing him. Achish gave him a place to stay and his men.

At some point Achish requests David to company him to fight against their adversary Saul. The medium is not involved in the war but her role was to bring up Samuel's spirit on the order of Saul. Samuel's conversation with Saul marks the climax of the text.

Chapter 4:

4.0 DIVINATION PRACTICES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST (ANE)

This section is about divination practices in the Ancient near East. This is important because it gives the bible text a socio-cultural niche, and fosters a better understanding of the bible text as a cultural text in the Hebrew community. It is not an overstatement to state that divination in ancient Israel and the Bible could have been influenced by the surrounding environment. Israel was not an isolated community but rather coexisted with other communities; with their various socio-religious practices. This coexistence could have influenced the religious and social lifestyle of the Israelites; hence partly informing the biblical corpus. For us to understand the concept of divination in Israel, we shall use information from the neighboring communities because they could have shared the Israel's practices. The other communities will be useful because the Bible gives scanty information on divination and it presents it with a biased attitude. The bible has been ideologically influenced implying what is written may not be having historical realities, but rather polished and fictitious stories to justify the writer's interests. Rannfrid asserts that "...those methods that are prohibited in Deut 18:10-11 are considered foolish and for naught Isa 8:19-22, but not punishable by death, as in Deuteronomy. Whether or not there is a historical development whereby the more technical methods were first prevalent and later fell out of use is hard to know, and such points of view are likely informed by the biblical agenda more than by what can be known about any real practice" (Rannfrid 2013: 25).

Although the biblical writers tried to polish the bible stories, they did not clean up the text completely. They left texts for example concerning Saul that reflect more than one point of view (1Samuel versus 1Chronicles). The bible writers try so hard to prohibit certain forms of

divination by painting them evil and foreign to Israel's culture. A mere mention of these other divination practices in the bible, means that they existed and they were practiced by the people. Although they try to prohibit other divination practices, texts like 1Sam 28 show that people were still using other forms of divination like consulting the dead, on top of the authorized ones.

Much importance was attached to divination in the Ancient Near East. The diviner was so close to the king and acted as an advisor. He revealed the will of the gods to the king and vice versa. Pongratz in his article *The King at the crossroads between Divination and Cosmology* notes that "The cosmic order was conceived as cosmic stability decreed by the gods and civic order or "straightness" enacted by the king as a means of rendering judgments. The very purpose of the oracles was to gain foreknowledge of and to align any human plans with divine intentionality as it was inscribed into the cosmic scheme" (Pongratz 2014: 34). This implies that the kings ruled on behalf of the gods therefore they were supposed to be accountable to them. Pongratz illustrates this view by observing that "The close relationship between the king and the diviners as royal advisors in cultic, political, diplomatic, and administrative affairs, as illustrated by letters from the Old Babylonian period onward, finds support in the seals of the diviners positioning themselves in direct relation to the king, as illustrated by the seal of Asqudum, diviner to king Zimri-Lim of Mari. For instance: "Zimri-Lim, appointed by the god Dagan; Asqudum, the diviner" (2014: 36). Pongratz adds that "The rulers of the ancient Near East not only made extensive use of divinatory practice for ad-hoc decision-making in daily affairs but also appropriated divination as a system of thought for their ideological self-representation". Therefore, this shows the centrality of divination in the political sphere of the Ancient Near Eastern world. Kings worked hand in hand with diviners, as prophets did in Israel's courts.

Divination in the Ancient near East was not limited to the kings a long but it was also helpful to the masses. Whenever there was a message revealed to the diviner by the gods, he communicated publically for everyone to hear and act accordingly. Lenzi notes that “Instead of sending messages addressed to the vassal king alone, the Neo-Assyrian imperial messengers addressed their messages to the entire vassal population” (Lenzi 2014: 66-67). This implies that diviners were there to serve the spiritual needs of the community. Divination was vital during warfare times in the Ancient communities. They always consulted the gods before they went in for any war. The gods through the diviners could advise them to either go for the war or not. They always predicted what was going to happen before that is to say either they were going to win or lose the battle. This is also seen in the bible when the Israelite kings before going for war could first inquire from Yahweh. King David always inquired from the Lord before he went for war.

4.1 Modes of Divination in ANE

Just like all communities have their various modes of divination, the Ancient Near Eastern communities like: Assyria, Babylon, Canaan, Egypt, Israel among others had their various modes of divination. Amar in his article *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, observes that “From early on, Mesopotamian scholars believed that the gods left signs on the exta of the sacrificial animal, in the life of plants, the behavior of animals, the movement of heavenly bodies, and in dreams” (Amar 2010: 98). This implies that different modes including objects, animals, dreams, heavenly bodies where used for divination. Below are the modes of divination used in various Ancient near Eastern communities.

4.1.1 Dreams as a mode of divination

Dreams are one of the modes used in divination in these communities. It is believed that the deities spoke to people through dreams. They revealed their Will to humans using this mode. Amar notes that “References to written messages of certain length that were deemed to have divinatory relevance occur in a few Mesopotamian dream reports” He gives two inscriptions of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal to serve as examples. In the first, he quotes that “Assurbanipal writes that a man while dreaming, saw a cult pedestal of Sin on which was written that the moon-god would persecute and destroy all the enemies of the king who refused to submit to him”. In the other passage, “Assurbanipal claims that the Lydian king Gyges sent messengers to him after he had seen the Assyrian king’s name, apparently in some written form, in a dream” (Amar 20101: 98-99). This is a clear indication that dreams were one of the modes through which people in the Ancient near East could predict some happenings in the future.

Another instance of dreams used as modes of divination is found in the epic of Gilgamesh in the *Babylonian Mythology The Creation, the Flood and Gilgamesh*. This is when Gilgamesh had a dream that he was struggling with a powerful man who could master him. The mother interpreted the dream for him that “he and Enkidu would become close companions”. It indeed came to pass that these two characters became friends and began living together. Enkidu also had a dream that “he was snatched by a strange, terrible creature with eagle claws who cast him into the underworld”. This shows that the use of dreams for divination was an ancient phenomenon traced as early as the time of Gilgamesh.

The Hebrew bible also shows dreams as a means of divination through which Yahweh uses to speak to his people. Dreams were among the three legitimized modes of divination which

Yahweh used to reveal His divine Will to his chosen people (see 1sam 28: 6). This is well speculated in Numbers 12: 6 “*when a prophet of the Lord is among you, I reveal myself to him in visions, I speak to him in dreams*”. Yahweh for example warned Abimelech through a dream not to touch Sarai because she was Abram’s wife (Gen 20: 3). Yahweh spoke to Joseph through dreams (see Gen 37:5- 9). Yahweh also spoke to Samuel through a dream (see 1 Sam 3). Gideon also had a dream when Yahweh was telling him that He was going to give the Midianites in his hands (Judges 7: 9- 14). The Hebrew bible also mentions the aspect of dreams which happened in other communities like in Egypt and Babylon. While Joseph was in prison in Egypt, he interpreted dreams for two fellow prisoners: the cupbearer and the baker of the Egyptian king. The two men had dreams which puzzled them and when they sought for the meaning, Joseph interpreted for them, and indeed they came to pass (see Gen 40: 5-22). Another instance is when again Joseph was brought to interpret Pharaoh’s dream after everyone had failed to get the meaning. When the cupbearer remembered that Joseph had interpreted his, he told the king and Joseph was brought forth. He interpreted the dream and it came to pass (see Gen 41). We see also Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylonian having a dream which puzzled him. When he sought for interpretation from his diviners, magicians, sorceries and astrologers, wise men they failed to interpret it for him. Daniel is brought forth to interpret the king’s dream (see Daniel 4).

The above discussion on dreams shows that Ancient near Eastern people took dreams very seriously. They sought interpretation for them and acted accordingly as instructed by the diviners or interpreters. Visions were also a means through which the deity communicated to the people. In the bible we see texts where visions are being used “*...your young men will see visions*” Joel 2: 28. Yahweh spoke to some of the prophets through visions. Ezekiel was one of the prophets who had visions: this is seen in the valley of dry bones (Ezekiel 37). Jeremiah had a vision of the

potter (Jer 18). Amos had five visions (Amos 8). Therefore, visions are a means of how the unknown things were revealed to people in some of the Ancient near Eastern communities as we have seen in Israel.

4.1.2 Animal internal organs (Sheep's Liver)

Some animals' internal organs were used for divination in these communities. The sheep's liver was commonly used for divination in Greece, Mesopotamia and Assyria. Jastrow in his article, *The liver in antiquity and the beginning of Anatomy*, notes that "The liver was the single organ which summarized the custom of predicting the future among the Babylonians, Etruscans, Greeks and Romans" (Jastrow 1907: 117). Hunt also asserts that "Consulting sheep livers was a common method for ascertaining what possible omens meant, especially to a trained priest called a *baru*. One of the most wide spread means of prediction was the liver omen, in which a sheep was killed and its liver and lungs examined by a specialist priest, the *baru* [*baru* is translated as inspector]". Hunt continues to write that "This augur priest often had a prearranged query to ask whose answer would be found located somewhere on the liver and possibly influenced by such aspects as shape, size, color and other physical details. The interpretation of the individual marking would supply the answer" (Hunt 2007). The damages and marks which were found on the liver of this sacrificial animal were seen as symbolic signs which presented messages from the gods to the king and the people. This shows how the liver was a vital instrument used by these Ancient communities for divination.

One would wonder why the liver of the sheep, in the other words what was special in the sheep liver that it could be used for divination. Scholars have given various views why the sheep liver was used for this event as follows: Hunt has argued that "Sheep were more easily sacrificed as

smaller animals than expensive cattle. Secondly, the sheep's liver is very close to the abdominal surface, is centrally and small enough to manipulate. He also notes that the natural smoothness of the liver makes any abnormality easy to identify. He adds that the ancients viewed blood as the source of life. Given that the liver is composed of dense tissue full of blood, the ancients understood the liver as vital to life" (Hunt 2007). From Hunt's argument, we can say because sheep was cheap and even reared by most people even the poor, it was accessible to all. It also seems like the sheep liver was in a position that it could easily be accessed during the sacrifice. Gabbay in his article *The Practice of Divination in the Ancient Near East* also observes that "Since the ancients did not perceive the importance of the brain, and felt that the mind with its thoughts, feelings, intentions, and decisions was located in the internal abdominal organs especially the heart and the liver, these organs of the sacrificial sheep were believed to reveal the decisions and intention of the god" (Gabbay 2016). Basing on this argument, the liver was used because of its importance in the body, that is to say it was looked at as the center of life.

Pongratz also observes that "The liver is used for divination by the ancients because of the belief that, since the liver is hidden, and cannot easily be accessed, it is free from manipulation. Because of this, the gods use it to communicate their Will" (Pongratz 2014: 34). In fact, the liver was termed as the tablet of the gods. In Pongratz argument, it is the positioning that makes the liver special from other parts of the animal. Divining using the liver is also mentioned by prophet Ezekiel who is believed to be an exilic prophet during the Babylonian exile of the Jews. "...*He will cast lots with arrows, he will consult his idols, he will examine the liver*" (Ezekiel 21: 21) Therefore Ezekiel's reference to this practice means that it was indeed practiced. The liver as we have seen above was read by specialists and the interpretation was given basing on the color,

shape, size and symbols/marks found on it. It was used in future predictions, revealing an illness and any communication from the gods.

4.1.3 Divination using celestial bodies

This kind of divination involved the use of the heavenly bodies for prediction for example: the sun, moon, stars, and the planets. The interpretation was given in most cases basing on the movement, positioning, shape, and sometimes the color of the object. Sachs in his article *Babylonian Horoscopes* asserts that “By observing the seasonal movement of the sun, moon, and planets, the Babylonians connected their beliefs of divine intervention in their everyday life to space and time. They would forecast their future circumstances by observing space through time and relating ominous events, such as a lunar eclipse, to social, political and environmental problems in aspects of their everyday lives, such as giving birth to deformed children” (Sachs 1952: 49-52). This implies that celestial bodies to a Mesopotamian were not just for light. They were regarded as divine bodies which the gods use to communicate to the people.

Diviners or specialist could look at the sky and from there they predicted what was going to happen in future. They observed celestial bodies and gave interpretations according to their behavior and appearance. Rochberg in his article *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and its Legacy* notes that “In celestial divination, Diviners observed the sun by day and stars of the night sky, which they knew as *sitir samami* or *sitir burume* (writing of the firmament). These three things refer to their thought of the star of the sky interpreted as heavenly writing” (Rochberg 2010: 304). The people of the ancient world believed that the sky was far and inaccessible from humans, it is only the gods who can reach it. Therefore, it was a reliable means through which the gods could communicate to the people, since it couldn't be

manipulated by humans. This implies that the message was directly from the gods and it was taken with serious attention.

Celestial bodies were so honored in the ancient world that some gods were associated with them. For instance the five planets were identified with the Babylonian gods. Jastrow writes that “By the Hammurabi period, Marduk had become astrologically associated with the planet Jupiter” (Jastrow 1911: 217). Planet Venus was associated with the goddess *Ishtar*, Saturn with *Ninurta*, and Mercury with *Nabu* and Mars with *Nergal*. There was also the sun god *Shamash*, the Moon god *Sin*. The people had a view that the gods associated with the different celestial bodies had control over them and in case of any problem with the gods, it will manifest in the celestial body. Westenholz in his article *Mesopotamian Astrology asserts* that “Evil celestial omens attached to any particular planet were therefore seen as indications of the dissatisfactions or disturbance of the god that planet represented” (Westenholz 1995: 11). Therefore, they sacrificed to that specific god to appease to prevent further disaster.

The interpretation of these celestial bodies during divination is based on the time of appearance, color, shape and its movement as discussed earlier. For instance, the rise of the new moon in a cloudy sky was followed by victory over enemies. It can also mean abundance of rain during that season. This was favorable and good news to people therefore when the moon appeared like this, it was interpreted as a good omen. However, appearance of the new moon earlier than was expected was interpreted as bad omen. It meant defeat by enemies, death of animals, poor crop yields. Therefore, when the moon appeared earlier, it was a bad omen for the nation. The use of horoscopes for revealing what was going to happen to someone in future was also common in these communities. Every month of the year was given its symbol with its own fortunes and

interpretations. They used this method to foretell one's fortune and what is bound to happen to that person.

4.1.4 Bird divination

Bird divination was also common in the ancient near Eastern communities. For instance, Sakuma in his article *Terms of Ornihomacy in Hittite* writes that "Prophesying by birds appeared among the Hittites in Anatolia, with texts on bird oracles written in Hittite known from the 13th or 14th century and from whom the Greek practice may derive. It was familiar to the Etruscans, who may have brought it to Rome" (Sakuma 2013: 33). This implies that the practice of bird divination was not unique to only one community. It was practiced by several ancient eastern communities as Sakuma as noted. In most cases the interpretation was derived from the side a bird or group of birds fly basing on the seer. The appearance of certain birds at a particular time implied something to the seer. Duane in his article *Portentous Birds Flying West: On the Mesopotamian Origin of Homeric Bird-Divination* asserts that "In every case of these Homeric bird omens, a bird on the left always has a negative portent while a bird on the right has a positive portent. It should also be noted that in every case the Homeric bird is to the right or the left of those who see it" (Duane 2013: 56).

Most of these bird- divinations concern the usual happiness in human life. Duane observes that "The portents of many of these omens concern the implications of usual and not so usual occurrences for domestic life, cultic activity, and sickness but just as many concern military activities" (2013: 56). This shows that the birds where interpreted according to the everyday activities and happiness to the human surrounding. Duane goes ahead to give examples of these practice, saying "In Babylon, if a man goes off on an errand and a falcon flies from the man's

right to the man's left- he will attain his desire. If a man goes off on an errand and a falcon stays to the man's right and proceeds alongside the man- that; where ever he goes, he will have gain". He continues to note that "If a man goes against an enemy and a falcon circles from the right of the man to the back of the man and crosses to the left of the man- that man will conquer his enemy". Duane gives another example that "If a man goes on an errand and a raven stays and caws to the left of the man- that man will go where he decides and he will enjoy profit" (Duane 2013: 58). In all these instances the reverse is true.

The use of birds for divination is also mentioned in the Bible in the flood narrative. This is found in Genesis 8:6-12 where Noah sends a raven and later a dove to determine whether the water has reduced. These birds brought feedback to Noah until the last time when he sent a dove and it didn't come back, implying the water had dried and they were good to get out. "*When the dove returned to him in the evening, there in its beak was a freshly plucked olive leaf! Then Noah knew that the water receded from the earth*" 8: 11. From the birds' messages, Noah was able to know what was happening out of the Ark. The New Testament also mentions of the Holy Spirit descending in form of a dove during Jesus' baptism. This implies that the dove was to signify the Holy Spirit and it showed Jesus as unique from other people who John Baptized. "*And the Holy Spirit descended on him in a bodily form like a dove...*" Luke 3: 16. The dove therefore made the people to know that Jesus was the son of God. Another incidence is in Matthew 26:34, 69-75 where Jesus tells Peter that before the rooster crows he will deny him three times "*I tell you the truth...this very night, before the rooster crows, you will disown me three times* 26: 34. Whatever Jesus predicted came to pass "*...then he began to call down curses on himself and he swore to them, I don't know the man! Immediately a rooster crowed*" 26: 74. Therefore the

rooster crowing fulfilled Jesus' prediction. This shows that bird-divination was also practiced among the Israelites.

4.1.5 Casting Lots

Casting lots was another form of divination in the ancient communities. The lots were inform of throwing a dice, shaking an object with labels and how they fall would decide what next. The answer which comes from the casting of lots was believed to have come from the gods because they believed it is the gods who control the lot. Tylor in his article *Primitive Culture* observes that "Means of determining chances. Primitive peoples, and occasionally those on a higher plan of culture, resort to lots for the purposes of augury. They spin a coconut or entangle stripes of leather in order to obtain an omen". Tylor adds that "Thieves especially are detected by the casting of lots" (Tylor 1873: 78). Casting lots was used in the military among the Greeks to determine who fight is. Tylor writes that "The Greek heroes cast their lots into Agamemnon's helmet in order to ascertain who should fight with Hector".

The casting of lots was used to determine or reveal some things which could have been hard for people to ordinarily settle or know. For instance, as noted above, lots were used to determine culprits like thieves and other wrong doers in case they denied. Marie also observes that "Texts show that one of the primary functions of Lot casting is to aid in the distribution of valued commodities. Both biblical and ancient Near Eastern documents illustrate this common feature". Marie continues to write that "Since the results of the sessions disclosed divine decisions, lot casting even under these circumstances was also a form of divination. She adds that when dissemination of resources was not a factor, lot casting would sense the same purpose as any other methods of divination" (Marie 2000: 208-209). This is a clear indication that casting of lots

was a common practice in these ancient communities. This was an easier way of divination compared to other forms of divination which required a specialist to interpret the message.

Although the Hebrew Bible speculates only three legal means of divination that is to say *Dreams, Prophecy* and *Urim*; it doesn't mean Israelites didn't practice other forms of divination. Several texts in the Hebrew Bible talk about casting lots; this implies that it was not only practiced by Israel's neighbors. It was practiced by the Israelites too as a means of divination. Leviticus 16: 7-10, talks about Aaron throwing lots between the two goats to find out which one was to be sacrificed for the Lord. "...*He is to cast lots for the two goats-one lot for the Lord and the other for the scapegoat. Aaron shall bring the goat whose lot falls to the Lord and sacrifice it for a sin offering...*" 16: 8-9. Therefore, it was because of casting lots that Aaron was able to know which goat to offer to the Lord. Another instance is in Numbers 26: 55-56, where the Lord tells Moses to distribute the land by lot. "*Be sure that the land is distributed by lot...*" 26: 55. This time it is the Lord himself who instructs Moses to use this method. During the time when the Israelites had entered the Canaan, Joshua used lots to distribute land to different tribes of Israel. "*Their inheritances were assigned by lot to the nine-and-a half tribes, as the Lord had commanded through Moses*" Josh 14: 2. When Jonah was fleeing from the Lord going to Joppa, the Lord sent a terrible storm that made the people scared. They were tasked to find out who could be the cause of this. They used lots to determine the culprit: "*Then the sailors said to each other, come, let us cast lots to find out who is responsible for this calamity. They cast lots and the lot fell on Jonah*" Jonah 1: 7. This also shows the accuracy of this method that it correctly identified the culprit.

The practice of casting lots is also used in the New Testament; for instance, the Roman soldiers after crucifying Jesus divided his clothes by casting lots (Matthew 27: 35). In Acts 1:26, the apostles cast lots to get another apostle to replace Judas: “...*Then they cast lots, and the lot fell to Matthias...*” Therefore, the appearance of casting lots in the Bible is a clear indication that it was sanctioned and used on several occasions. The lots as discussed earlier were believed to be controlled by the supernatural; therefore, whatever came out of them was taken as accurate. The ancient communities always abided by what the lot showed.

4.1.6 Divination using the Human Body

The ancient communities in the near east also used the human body to reveal a message to the person. Different marks on peoples’ bodies were not taken for granted but they were seen as communicating something. They looked at things like the hair, skin, body marks, and other anomalies to determine what will happen to someone. Dietrich, Shapiro and Wascheck in their article *Bodies in Transition. Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge*, assert that “The range of omens used in ancient divination comprised signs delivered by the human body. Predictions drawn specifically from the observation of skin irregularities are listed in a little-known treaties, allegedly written by Melampus” (Dietrich, Shapiro and Wascheck 2015:153). Amar also observes that “Cuneiform signs are also mentioned in treaties on physiognomy, the intellectual discipline that explains how to infer the qualities and future prospects of human beings from physical features of their body, especially the face. [Amar adds that] The most important Assyro-Babylonian treaties on physiognomy is the series *Alamdimmu* (physique)” (Amar 2010: 114). Given the fact that this information is evidenced in the ancient treatises, it means that the ancient people used this form of divination.

The ancient people put emphasis on moles, they gave their interpretations basing on where the mole is located. The message was positive if the mole was on the right side, the reverse is true. Dietrich, Shapiro and Wascheck observe that “In pseudo-melampous’ elaioscopy the close inspection of a mole provides a prophetic as well as a psychological meaning, reflecting the contiguity of the expertise with physiognomy”. They add that “The treaties on moles’ interpretation follow the structure of divinatory tradition that the records of the sign on the body proceeds from head to heels. Secondly the location of the sign on the left or on the right side of the body induces its value, usually negative on the left side, and positive on the right one” (2015:155). They give an example that “if there be a mole on the right parts, they will be rich and altogether virtuous. If on the left side, they will be sickly and poor”. They also give illustrations of other positions of a mole and its meaning. For instance, a mole on the nose or near the eye implies that he or she will be insatiable in intercourse, with a subtle distinction between the sexes: the man will have insatiable sexual appetites; the woman too will be unfaithful. If the mole is on the hand, the man will have many children. Likewise, for the woman” (2015:157-158).

Skin appearances also had their own interpretations for instances Dietrich, Shapiro and Wascheck write that “In ancient physiognomy, skin anomalies also have negative connotations. They indicate morally dubious persons. Those who have variegated color, as if sprinkled with lentils, lead a very disgraceful life and perform disgrace deeds (2015: 159). The Assyro-Babylonians as noted by Amar used the graphemes on the forehead of the people for instance: if the grapheme *AN* appear on the forehead of a man, this man will experience misfortune. If there is a grapheme of *ZI*, the sons will raise the house of their father. If there is the grapheme *Gan*,

this man will die” Amar 2010: 115-116). From these discussions, we notice that the ancient people also used the body make up as a means of foretelling what will happen to someone.

4.1.7 Necromancy as a form of divination

Necromancy was also one of the ways in which people got to know about certain hidden things. Finkel defines necromancy as “the delicate of summoning the spirits of the dead in order to learn the future from them (Finkel 1984:1). The ancient people consulted the spirits of the dead ancestors whom they believed had power over the human realm. Mariottini notes that “A study of ancient cults of the dead shows that the practice of consulting the dead existed in a legitimate way in the ancient Near East and in early Israel”. Implying people freely consulted from their ancestors in case of any problems.

In the ancient communities, death was seen as a transition from one stage to another. For instance, among the Egyptians as Frankfort observes, “Death was considered an interpretation, not the end of life but a change in a man’s personality, not its annihilation” (Frankfort 1948: 89). Death did not render the dead powerless. They were still valued as members of the family and carried on their roles of guidance and protection. Van der Toorn comments that “...the dead exercised an authority over their descendants by protecting them from evil deeds and by disciplining them” (van Der Toorn 1996: 62). Given the belief that the dead were spirits, they knew what happened in the human realm and had control of it. That is why people consulted from the spirits of the dead. Davies observes that “The belief in immortality and worship of the dead were described and interpreted through funeral rites, human beliefs in the continuity of souls after death, and their transformation into powerful divine-like entities, perhaps into the

image of God” (Davies 2008: 287). This belief made the ancient people to respect the dead and even seek answers from them by calling upon their spirits.

Among the Egyptians, people were buried with their property because of the belief that people existed even after death. Therefore, the property could help them in the other world. James notes that “The belief in the afterlife is among the fundamental concepts of Egyptian culture. The Egyptians were a particularly religious people obsessed with death and burial (James 1979: 155). When one was a king, it is believed that he was to remain a king even in the afterlife that is why consulting him was important. He still had knowledge of the physical world and can influence it.

Necromancy in the ancient communities like Mesopotamia was a common practice. This takes us back to the story of Gilgamesh, where the spirit of his friend Enkidu revealed to him some secrets about the underworld. Finkel in his article *Necromancy in the Ancient Mesopotamia* observes that “There are three passages in connected texts that touch on necromancy. The best known is that section of the Sumerian Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld, Enkidu from the underworld at the behest of Gilgamesh. The ghost is induced to rise through a hole in the ground like the wind to converse with Gilgamesh” (Finkel 1984: 1). Gilgamesh was able to know the miserable life in the netherworld through his dead friend Enkidu. The fact that the Bible author brings the story of Saul and the medium at Endor implies that necromancy was practiced among the Israelites. Necromancy as a divination practice was done by the aid of a diviner who has the powers to summon the spirit to come up. This is seen in the story of Saul and the medium.

In conclusion, the Ancient near Eastern communities have got very many divination practices which I cannot exhaust in this paper. I have picked out a few for purposes of illustration in this

study. The next chapter presents divination practices in Africa, and how these practices resonate with the ancient Near Eastern context.

Chapter 5:

5.0 DIVINATION IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

5.1 Introduction

Divination is an art, taking many forms. Turaki notes that “The traditional belief that anything that happens must have a definite spiritual cause means that the use of divination is widespread in Africa” (2006: 83). He goes ahead to outline some of the reasons in undertaking divination. These include “to find out about one’s future, destiny, wellbeing and what possibly might happen to oneself; to establish contact with the sources of mystical and spiritual powers that can be tapped to meet ones’ need; to find out how to protect oneself and community; to gain power, confidence, assurance and boldness; to overcome human limitations [and many others]” (2006:83-84). Therefore, given these reasons, divination has become an important tool to an African; in the sense that it helps one to discover and get solutions to their questions.

5.2 Contextualizing Divination to “Africa” and “Africans”

Though my focus in this section is on the divination practices in Contemporary African Society, the study will be informed by African traditional divination practices. This is because we cannot separate African traditional Religion from an African. Who is an African in this era? I am mindful while referring to Africans; this is because not everyone who stays in Africa or has the black skin color is an African. Kuloba in his article *Homosexuality is Unafrikan and unbiblical*, gives a clear understanding of who an African is. Kuloba argues that “An African is not perceived in geo-racial and organic terms as a person and especially a black people of African ancestry but in terms of cultural aggregates that constitute and influence attitudes and behavioral

disposition”. Therefore, according to Kuloba, an African in a hybrid context perceives himself or herself as more than racially black and being born in African, even by African parents. He or she is a person who lives the African culture. He or she is the African man or woman. He or she behaves African (Kuloba 2016: 13-14).

5.3 African Divination Practices amidst Global Influences

Africans though in the modern world still adhere to their traditional beliefs and practices; whether directly or indirectly. Kirwen in his book *The Missionary and Diviner* asserts that “The values and traditions of the African religions have continued to thrive in both urban and rural settings through the ministry of the diviners and elders-the religious leaders of the traditional religions-and through the traditional rituals, prayers, and ceremonies that fill the lives of ordinary Africans (Kirwen 1987: xvii). Some of these traditional practices are embedded in taboos, several rites and ceremonies performed. We see totems still being used as emblems of clans of some tribes; African names which still have their traditional meanings, among others. Steyne on taboos observes that “Taboo is a scheme of systematized fear that excites and promotes awe and respect, as well as a sense of awe-fullness. It is one of the strongest checks on man’s behavior in both traditional and contemporary society, motivating him to maintain harmony and balance with his environment” (Steyne 1990:141). Basing on Steyne’s argument, we see that taboos have continued to put moral standards for the African people in all faculties of life. Therefore it is hard to move away from African Traditional practices unless the African Christians and Muslims identify clear sources of their moral and social behavior. Tribes like the Baganda, Basoga, and Bagwere even in this modern era still use totems to identify their clans. This was an African traditional element which is carried on up to date.

With the advent of foreign religions to Africa, Africans have still kept their traditional religion near. Meaning in circumstances where the foreign religion does not meet their needs, they are very flexible to find solutions from their traditional religion; which has always had answers to all their questions. According to my observation, Africans are syncretic when it comes to the issue of religion. They have accepted Christianity or Islam but still cannot throw away the African religion; in most cases they have merged and used them concurrently. In line with this view, Turaki in his book *African Traditional Religion and Worldview* writes that “Anyone introducing a new religion needs to be aware that the traditional religious system will persist if a new religion fails to both address and assuage the same social and psychological needs as the older religion. To introduce new religion effectively, it requires knowledge of the theological foundations of the traditional religious system and also knowledge of how to apply the message of the new religion to meet the social and psychological needs of individuals and communities. This applies in Africa regardless of whether the new beliefs being introduced are those of Christianity, Islam or modernism” (2006:19). This shows that it is difficult to alienate African traditional religion from African contemporary society.

Although divination is still relevant in the life of an African, it has met opposition from the western world and foreign religions. Divination has been painted as a negative practice which is anti-modern, unbiblical, and demonic in nature. Kirwen writes that “Formerly, African religions had either been ignored or dismissed by Christian missionaries as primitive, backward, and atavistic; they were said to be dying out [divination being part of it]” (Kirwen1987: xvi). This has limited scholarship in this field since the western world seems not to pay much attention on the African religion. I think African scholars have also shied away because they have been influenced by the western ideologies; since many of them had their trainings in the west. They

feel information to be authentic and acceptable should have western backup and approval. I think this is what has made this field to have little attention; because the Western scholars have not over written about it. Zuesse in his article notes that “Divination as a spiritual phenomenon has had very little written about perhaps due in part to the ready labeling of it as a form of magic and therefore irrational, egoistic, and insufficiently religious. He continues to note that, there has also been a tendency to suppose that the complexity of divinatory ritual, as it is disclosed to the western observer in localized societies, is merely for outward effect added by the diviner for heightened impact on clients” (Zuesse 2010, P 158). This implies that western scholars have no reason to write about divination because they are already biased about it.

However much divination is portrayed as an evil practice by the western world; it cannot be alienated from an African. For instance, “about 70% of South Africans visit witchdoctors, commonly called Sangoma, more than 3 times a year” (Hergarty 2011, BBC News). Muthengi in his article *The Art of Divination* observes that, “In Africa, divination is an important means of explaining space-time events, particularly with respect to their cause and how they can affect human beings. He continues to write that in African perspective, diviners are as important as medical doctors and lawyers are for western societies” (Muthengi 1993: 99). This is also well illustrated by the South African scenario reported that about 70%-80% of the rural and urban population visit diviners locally called Sangomas. Using the South African instance, it is clear that Africans visit diviners regularly. Researchers from this area agree with the rest of the Sub-Saharan findings that Africans practice Christianity and also African divination.

In Africa, diviners played a very important role and like other leaders, they held high positions in the society; and were highly respected. Parrinder asserts that “Many African diviners are men

and women with wide experience, keen perceptiveness, and deep intuition. He continues to note that the great popularity of the diviner shows that he has a leading function to perform in society, and this he does as mediator and guide in many quarrel, trouble and sickness” (Abioje 2012: 74). The diviners in African traditional society were given appealing names like: the wise one, the revealer, the elder, and others which portray his/her importance in the society. They gave answers to all questions brought before them because of the supernatural powers they possessed. People freely approached them at any time of need because it was through divination alone that an African could know the hidden mysteries of life, and how to deal with them.

However, many African values and customs were affected during the colonial era; Africans began looking at their practices as evil basing on the Christian teachings. Kuloba in his PhD Thesis asserts that “Christianity and imperialism ensnared African minds to think that their history was dominated by savage ungodly cultures and practices. Acceptance of the biblical God went hand in hand with accepting the Bible culture and Western ways of worship, culture, names and lifestyle” (Kuloba 2011: 28). These teachings according to Kuloba instilled into an African an inferiority feeling and alienated them from their own egos, and self-realization, creating a cultural vacuum about their past and present. He adds that “Today an African lives in a cultural quandary where he/she tries to mimic the West on one hand and remains African on the other” (Kuloba 2011:29). Despite the modern technological and scientific advancement by which people get solutions to problems, divination still plays a role, though as a silent trade. People who seek divination service always do so nicodemusly. This is because; the popular perception of the practice is negative and seen as backward, primitive, and demonic. This perception is due to the mental construct made by western civilization as noted above by Kuloba.

In this cultural mimic, a person who openly visits a diviner is seen as unholy and ungodly; and she/he is sometimes isolated. This has made people shy from going to diviners openly. However regardless of the pretense, divination is still useful and being practiced in our societies. Many people after failing to get answers from the Churches, technologies and other faculties opt for divination and they often get helped. Parrinder observes that “One’s experience in Yourbaland is that many Christians and Muslims visit diviners covertly or overtly, directly or indirectly by proxy” (Abioje 2012: 74). This implies that amidst the hypocrisy in peoples’ minds, they still know that divination has the solution to most mystical happenings in their lives: which technology or the Church cannot address. Many of them go to diviners in hiding, during night hours when they cannot be noticed. Though most Christian preachers portray diviners as evil people, it is alleged that some of these pastors go to the diviners for powers to perform miracles. The work of a diviner is still valid even in the contemporary society; many people, educated or not educated look for their services. For example, in Uganda it is observed that some politicians go to diviners to help them win elections; whether openly or in secrecy. This is witnessed when the current Speaker of Parliament Hon Rebecca Kadaga went to give thanks to the gods after winning the 2016 election. This was reported by the New Vision 26/May/2016. This implies that she had visited the diviner before the elections. She then found it relevant to thank the gods for hearing her plea by granting success.

5.4 The Modes used for divination in Africa

Different African societies have got different modes of divination. This is influenced by the accessibility and the spiritual values attached to the elements used for divination. As Abioje notes, “Revelation is an act of God and to the understanding of African peoples, divine message

can be obtained through the situation of things in their environment” (Abioje 2012:73). Divination in this case can include reading omens, interpreting animal sounds and behaviors; reading the animals’ internal organs, spirit possession of individual, body reactions, dreams, visions, among others. There are different modes used for divination given the diversity of African cultures. However, given the scope of this thesis, commonly used methods of divination, cutting across several African cultures, are discussed. And these include the following among others.

5.4.1 Dreams and visions

People knew the divine Will of the supernatural through dreams. It is believed that the gods, spirits and ancestors speak to people through dreams. Dreams are associated with the belief that in sleep the human soul can leave the body and travel to other places, especially in the spiritual realms. Turaki observes that “Africans take dreams seriously and often seek for their meaning because dreams are the chief sources of revelation from and means of communication with the spirit world. Through dreams, the living communicate with the gods, the spirits and the dead”. He adds that “Dreams are means of receiving guidance, commands, good messages of blessings or bad omens and warnings” (Turaki 2006: 82). Dreams in the African traditional societies were not taken for granted but one made sure he/she finds the interpretation for it. Everyone one dreams, but the type of the dream and the superstition attached to it is what gives it meaning. People have had dreams and they come to pass. Kirwen a Catholic Priest and missionary in Tanzania, was interacting with a Luo diviner from Tanzania who told him that it is through dreams that he learns of the sick who are on their way to see him and knows which medicines are appropriate” (Kirwen 1987: 84).

During the Zulu initiation of a diviner, the spirits speak to the candidate through dreams. For the Zulu to accept that one has been made a diviner they test the person by hiding some objects in the absence of the candidate and he is required to find them. Callaway in his article *Becoming a Diviner* notes that “When a diviner concludes training or initiation, she or he is tested publicly. Yoruba *babalawo* are examined extensively on the branches of Ifa knowledge, while Zulu diviners must demonstrate the clarity of their special vision by readily finding lost objects” (Peek 1991:25). This person however cannot get the objects alone but the spirits show him where they are in a dream. Callaway writes that “...As they are talking thus and disputing about concealing things for him to find, at night when he is asleep he dreams that a man of his people who is dead, and who is causing him to be an *inyanga* [diviner], tells him saying, they were disputing with each other, saying you are not an *inyanga*...” (1991: 31). The *Amatongo* [spirits] through dreams continue to guide the *inyanga* and assure him of their help. “...and he continually tells the people his dreams, saying, there are people who tell me at night that they will speak for themselves to those who come to enquire. At last all this turns out to be true...” (1991: 29). Therefore, we see the aspect of dreams being so vital in the life of a diviner. It is a means through which the spirits communicate to him and give guidance.

Dreams as a means of divination are well depicted in Afro cinema, especially in Nollywood movies where someone dreams and the dream comes to pass. For instance, in a movie titled *Broken Promise*: a character named Ebube had dreams that Cheta wanted to kill him. Another day he dreamt that she was forcing him to sleep with her. Cheta after sometime reported to the Priest in charge of Ebube that he had impregnated her. He was chased from the seminary. This was connected to the dreams he had, meaning God was showing him what was going to happen.

Dreams are sometimes confusing; they may not come direct that is to say one can dream of something which may have a different interpretation. That is why it is important to inquire from those whose are experts in interpreting dreams. Therefore, we can say that this is one of the means of divination, following our definition that divination means revealing the hidden. Unlike dreams which happen when one is asleep, visions come when one is awake in his normal senses. Steyne notes that “in visions, people perceive an event as external to their own senses, something which imposes itself upon the mind. In traditional African religions, visions have great significance and bring guidance, warnings and promises of blessings (Steyne 1989: 126). Therefore, visions and dreams are a mode of divination since they help to reveal things unknown to us.

5.4.2 Human body instinct, behavior and marks

Africans have several interpretations of how the body reacts in certain situations. Sometimes if something is going to happen, one senses it. Most people say that “*the heart told me*” and since divination is an art of revealing the hidden, then this is another way of how Africans knew some things and how to deal with them. Among the Bagisu, when one is moving and he/she feels like the hair on the head is ‘standing’, it is interpreted that a bad spirit could be around so the person is supposed to hurry and leave that place. When one feels the palm itching, it is perceived that one is going to get money; and indeed, some people get the money. When the eyelid is shaking, it implies that one is going to get an important visit. The palm is also used to foretell something about an individual. Raliat in his article *Palm Reading- Taking your Destiny in your palms*, writes that “it is an art of foretelling that uses the hand lines as well as the palms markings to connect the reasoning of the mind with the heart’s intentions” (Raliat 2011). Among the Bagisu,

one would observe and tell if he has bad luck or good luck, if he will be poor or rich using the palm. The interpretation of the palm depends on how the linings are designed. For instance, when the lines join and make a symbol of late *M*, it is perceived that one would be rich. When the lines of the palm are parallel and half i.e. do not reach the edge of the palm, it means that one will die quickly without accomplishing his dreams. However, when the lines run up to the edge of the palm, it means one will accomplish his dreams before dying. When the lines reach a point and meet or cross each other, it means that one is generous. The interpretation of the palm varies from society to society. It has a wide interpretation because of the differences in the line designs and how people perceive them.

Mole (a natural dark spot or small dark lump on someone's skin), also has a meaning in African tradition. Among the Bagisu, if one had moles on his skin, it was interpreted that this person is loved. It was also a sign that one will be prosperous, with good fortune. A mole in Lugisu is called *kuukuu*, which is the same word for grandmother. Not only grandmother but also an ancestor who is believed to be guiding an individual in life (guardian angel), they manifest on the body to give good luck and blessings. Following the interpretations given to a mole and its name, I think that because it is believed that old people are associated with blessings, the more you have the *kuukuu* on your body, the more the good fortunes. Unlike in the Ancient near East where interpretation was given basing on the position of the mole, the Bagisu don't consider the positioning. Therefore, divination was not only done by visiting a diviner, people discovered and interpreted situations by observing their own bodies.

5.4.3 Animals, Birds and their sounds and behaviors

Some animals in African cultures have divine interpretations, which help the people to notice there is something going to happen. For instance, among the Bagisu, when one is going on a journey or going to demand for his debt from his debtor, or taking goods to the market; they were very careful on what they meet first. For example, when a pig, dog or chameleon crossed in front of them while on their journey, they counted it as a loss. When one encountered such creatures on the way, it was better for him/her to cancel the journey. However, if a wild rat crossed, the mission was counted successful. The Karamajongo of Eastern Uganda also saw a chameleon as an animal of bad luck. The Praying mantis among the Khoisan and Afrikaans of South Africa was a treasured insect. Player in his article *Mantis Philosophy* observes that “Bushmen or San loved the praying mantis because it was small. It was the small mantis with which they conversed and wove stories about, seeing everything through the eyes of the praying mantis” (Player 2014). It is also noted that “the Khoisan herd boys still use mantises to divine the location of lost animals. Among the Afrikaans, the mantis is referred to as the Hottentot’s god”. This animal in most cases is liked by many people because of its prayer posture of the front legs. In Greek, the word mantis means a “prophet or diviner” as Lobato Vila notes, in her article *Praying mantids: The Queens of Mimicry* (2015). However, a section of Bagisu see this insect as a bad omen while the Southern Bagisu call it an ancestor and people do not want to identify with it.

When a frog entered a house, it was not to be chased or beaten. This is because the Bagisu believed that a frog was associated with good news. It predicted the coming of an important visitor in the home. They also attributed it to ancestors hence it was to be left until it left at Will.

Birds like owls were viewed as evil such that when they make their sounds, they bring bad omen. For instance, among the Baganda, Bagisu, Basoga, when an owl cried near a homestead which had a sick person, it meant that the patient was going to die anytime. Therefore, people could chase them by throwing burning pieces of wood towards them. In line with this, Zylstra in his article *Don't kill the Messenger* observes that "Many South African cultures perceived it as harbinger or bad luck. It is said that if an owl is sighted on the roof of your or a relative's house then someone in the family will soon die" (Zylstra 2011). An owl in most African cultures is seen as bad omen. Among the Bagisu, if animals like foxes, wild cats, and hyenas cried within the homestead, a spiritual interpretation was attached to it. It was mostly bad omen as they were associated with witchcraft. Chicken also has sounds which revealed something. For instance, when they made some specific sound during night, it is believed that something bad thing was going to happen, or a stranger person like a wizard is outside the house. This could help the people in the house to keep alert

Some of the animals are used by diviners to aid them in their work of divination. Peek asserts that "The creatures affiliated with divination appear to be selected for their anomalous characteristics, their exceptional sensory abilities, and/or their associations with the other world and thus their ability to facilitate transworld communications" (1991: 198). For instance, the bush pig is used by the Lele diviners of Congo. It is regarded by Peek as the diviner's animal because it frequents the marshy sources of streams where spirits reside. Therefore, the diviner finds it relevant in his work. Among the Kaka Tikar diviners of Cameroon, a ground-dwelling spider is very vital during divination. This is because it is believed to live near the ancestors below the earth. Peek notes that "After the spider had crawled through the specially marked wooden cards placed next to its burrow, their positions are interpreted by the diviner" (1991:198).

Tortoises are also used for divination in Southern Nigeria because they are believed to be wise. Dogs also are used by the diviners in Congo because of their powers of detection.

Snakes are also used by some diviners for divination. A noteworthy case was a story which was aired on NTV Uganda 22/Dec/2014, when a diviner used a snake to detect and catch a thief in Wakiso district. The snake went and coiled its self in the thief's neck until police came summoned the diviner to get it off the victim. Another case was in Kenya, as broadcasted by NTV Kenya and in Daily Nation 29/Aug/ 2017, when a police snake was sent to arrest a thief. The snake kept moving on the thief as he was taking himself to police. The diviner was then called to remove the snake from the thief and he gained his conscience. This shows the intelligibility of some animals and their connection with the spiritual world. They know things which a human being cannot know with his own wisdom. One would wonder how the snake could identify the thief.

Diviners in some situations request clients to go along with some animals which will be used during the divination or healing process. Animals like goats, chicken; rabbits among others. There are a specific color, age and sex which the diviners prefer to use, depending on the patient's illness. For instance among the Basoga, Cultural Research Centre in their book *Witchcraft, Divination and Healing among the Basoga* write that "To cleanse one of bad luck, a diviner asks one to bring a white chicken to signify purity" When one was attacked by *ebiteega*(hostile spirits which in this book are believed to have come from Burundi), the diviner instructs the victim to bring a certain type of chicken. "...the chicken to be sacrificed must be *ensesere* i.e. one with raised feathers. This type of chicken symbolizes the disorganization, which a person suffering from the attack of the *ebiteega*, is undergoing. It is thus said that when such

chicken is sacrificed, it takes away the disorganization”. The diviner can also ask the victim to bring cow ghee, milk from a black cow because milk from a black cow symbolizes darkness. It is therefore perceived that when these spirits have left their victim, they will not come back since it will be dark”. (2003: 58-64).

Among the Bagisu, Animals like rabbits, chicken and goats play a big role in diagnosis of a harmed body part. This is mainly when the internal body organs like the liver, heart, lungs, and intestines are injured, that physical eyes cannot see. This is done by a specialist in that field who carefully slaughters the animal and looks into the different organs to see which one has damage. When identified in that animal, it means that exact part is injured in the patient’s body. This entails some rituals which accompany this activity. It is from here that the herbalist/diviner gives the patient appropriate medicine to cure that part. The Manjaco of Guinea Bissau and Southern and Senegal also inspect the intestines of a chicken. Binsbergen in his article *African divination across time and space* observes that “...the fowl’s abdomen is dexterously cut open, and the gut is inspected for black spots-their presence has a negative implication, their absence a positive one” (Wiw Van Binsbergen 2008: 4). Chicken i.e. the cock was very useful in revealing time. Before the coming of western cultures with their gadgets like watches, clocks, phones, Africans could correctly tell time. This was by the aid of a cock. A cock crows in intervals and whenever it crows, the Africans used that to correctly tell the time. It was abnormal for a cock to crow during certain hours of the day and night. However, if this ever happened, it meant there was going to be danger in the community. For this purpose, almost all African homesteads reared this fowl.

5.4.4 Spirit possession

This was the main form of divination where the person is possessed by a spirit or spirits. Peek asserts that "...sometimes the diviner's body becomes the vehicle of communication through spirit possession" (Peek 1991: 2). The diviner's body is used as a vessel through which the spirits convey their message to the community or individuals. Diviners are normal human beings like anyone in the society, but they could be possessed by another force which would make them surpass human wisdom. They see beyond ordinary, in the spiritual realm. Peek continues to assert that "Perhaps the most obvious instance of non-normal sensory activity is when the diviner functions through spirit possession, or alerted states of consciousness" (Peek 1991: 199). For diviners to be possessed by the spirits during divination, they have to come out of their normal senses. This is achieved through a series of activities which help to usher the spirits into the diviner. When the spirits have entered into one, he ceases to be himself but just a vessel used by spirits. This is seen when the diviner begins to behavior in a different way, talking in another voice which is different from his. This means that the spirits have taken over and they are the ones speaking through the diviner.

The state of spirit possession is achieved through various ways which lure the spirit to enter the diviner. For instance, singing, drumming, and dancing, burning herbs, among others. Peek on this notes that "These heightened states may be induced by inhaling fumes, or by a combination of shaking gourds and chewing the possibly psychoactive bulbs". He adds that "For most diviners a variety of factors contributes to their heightened awareness. At divination, the physiological stimuli provided by drumming and singing, the use of archaic formulae in questions and responses, together take him out of his everyday self and heighten his intuitive

awareness: he is a man with a vocation” (Peek 1991: 199). All these activities facilitate communication between worlds by allowing direct participation of superhuman entities in this world through their possession of the diviner. Among the Luo of Kenya, the juoga (diviner) has a way of inviting the spirits to possess him during divination. Amolo notes that “The beginning of consultation is marked by singing in praise of his or her juogi (spirits). He occasionally beats the drums. A juoga may have two or more small drums. All these are done to stimulate possession by juogi. The gourd is continuously shaken. When at last, the juogi possess a juoga, he belches and the message is delivered in the gourd using unintelligible sounds” (1987:84-85).

Spirit possession is not unique to diviners alone, but other ordinary people can also be possessed by the spirits. In other cases, the spirit can possess the client himself and speak through him by the help of the diviner. For instance, the Basoga of Uganda diviners do this by tying a rope on the client’s hand and they request the spirits to possess him. In a document formulated by the Cultural Research Centre of Busoga observed that “As soon as the diviner begins to shake his shakers, the protecting spirit comes, possesses the client and then reveals the problems affecting the patient’s life”. Also, the spirit(s) of the dead relative(s); in case a person died and there is a message he/she wants to pass on to the people, the spirit of the deceased can possess one of the family members and speaks through her. One informant in this study narrated an experience of a certain woman who had died from Kampala but was to be buried in her mother village. She said that on suddenly one of the nieces of the deceased was talking while crying; she was talking in the deceased’s tone. She said the spirit of the dead woman had possessed the girl. Through this girl, the deceased revealed where all her property was, and to whom it was supposed to be given. She revealed many other things including her debtors. The young girl was very weak after the

spirit using her. She was laid down and went into a deep sleep and after a while, she wakes up when she had gained her conscious.

5.4.5 Divination using objects

Certain objects may be used for divination and best interpreted by the diviner. Peeks assert that “Divining processes are diverse, but all follow set routines by which otherwise inaccessible information is obtained. Some type of device usually is employed, from a simple sliding object to myriad symbolic items shaken in diviners’ baskets (Peek 1991: 2). As Peek notes, there are several objects used by different diviners during divination. Some of the diviners ask the clients to come with some of these items. For instances a white handkerchief, eggs, certain seeds, piece of wood, water, among others. Among the Yoruba, kola nut ‘Obi Abata’ is used for divination. Osundiya explains that “Obi Abata, the type of Obi used in divination, is made up of three to six lobes that are split open and used as both an oracle and as offerings to the ancestors and Orisa” (Osundiya 2000: 2). Cowry shells are also used during divination by some cultures. “Many centuries ago, cowrie shells became a popular tool in divination ceremonies. These sacred shells are said to be the doorway through which we can access the world of the ancestors, the world that holds infinite knowledge and wisdom and a timeless view we cannot otherwise tap into. Certain cultures believe that the magic comes from its resemblance to a half-open eye. This is commonly seen in Nollywood movies where a diviner paints one eye with the image of a cowrie shell.

The use of cowrie shells for divination was common among the Basoga diviners. In the document written by Cultural Research Centre, there are two types of cowrie shells used in divination namely: the wise cowrie shells and the deaf and dumb cowrie shells”. This group goes

ahead to explain the meaning of the two categories of the cowrie shells. They explain that “The wise cowrie shells represent the wisdom of ancestors and are believed to help the diviner to discover people’s problem and offer solutions to them. The deaf and dumb cowrie shells represent the deaf and dumb ancestral spirits. These help the diviner to deal with certain problems and to undo witchcraft” (2003: 137). During the divination, the diviner mixes both the wise and deaf cowrie shells, depending on how many he wants. The message is therefore interpreted according to the way they fall.

Cowrie shells are not used during divination alone but have other purposes. For instance, among the Bagisu, cowrie shells are used as protective charms against evil spirits. They are tied around the baby’s waist, wrist, or neck such that anyone who wants to bewitch her would fail. There are people with “*evil eye*” who “*throw bones*” to the babies, it is believed that children who have cowrie shells will not be affected because it will bounce the *bones* back. Cowrie shells also repel bad spirits which cause illness to the baby that is why parents always had them tied around their babies.

Bones are also used by other cultures for divination. For instance, throughout northern Nguni society and among Shona and Sotho-Tswana society, the most common method of divination is called “throwing the bones.” The diviner sits opposite the client, with a mat between them. In a small bag the diviner has a set of bones, usually vertebrae of an animal, which are thrown out upon the mat. Divination using bones is also common among the Zulu. Callaway while describing the methods of divination among the Zulu observes that “In bone divination, animal bones each assigned a meaning are cast and the diviner interprets their arrangement” (1991: 24). This practice of bone divination in South Africa is seen in a movie titled *Mr. Bones*. In this

movie, the king was so worried because he didn't have a male child who could be the heir to his throne. He summoned a diviner who called himself Mr. Bones; because he divines using bones, to tell him what he should do to get a male child. Mr. Bones through his divination bones was able to reveal to the king that he had a male child somewhere. The king instructed Mr. Bones to look for the boy, and indeed the boy was found and brought to the king. The Lugbara of Northern Uganda also use bones for divination. These objects give a message according to the way they fall during the divination process. It is only the diviner who can interpret the objects' positions and from this, one gets an answer to his questions. The choices of objects used for divination vary from one culture to another; depending on the accessibility and the spiritual value attached to them. For instance, since kola nut is common in Nigerian, the Yoruba find it easy to use it as a divination object.

Gourds are also used by some diviners during divination. Some stone-like objects are put in the gourd so that it can produce sound when shaken by the diviner. The use of gourds during divination is common among the Bagisu diviners. They call it *Isasi* which literally means a shaker. When one wants to go to a diviner, he will say he is going to the shaker, implying the divination is done through the shaking of the gourd. They believe that the spirits or gods are summoned by the noise of the shaker. The use of gourds during divination is also common among the Luo of Kenya. Amolo in her thesis *The Function and the Role of Ajuoga in the changing society of the Lu of Western Kenya*, writes that "When a juoga is ready, the client then presents his problem. A juoga seeks solution to this problem by consulting his juogi through the gourd" (Amolo 1987:83). The Basoga diviners also use the gourd or shaker in during divination. Cultural Research Centre observes that "As soon as the diviner begins to shake his shakers, the protecting spirit comes..." (2003: 143). This is done in most cases to summon spirits to possess

the diviner so that they can speak through him. Sometimes the spirits speak through the noise the shaker is making and the diviner is able to interpret to the client.

5.4.6 Divination through observation of nature and cosmos

This form of divination does not require a special, however special knowledge and wisdom is required. Through accumulated knowledge, one would predict weather patterns and seasons. An African would correctly tell if the season coming is going to be rainy, sunny, windy or moderate. By this, the farming societies predicted the yields before even planting. They also observed the movement of water in water bodies. For instance, among the Bagisu, when water flowed in a river with a certain force which was unusual, it meant that it had taken a life; someone could have drowned at some point of that river. When crossed checked well, indeed they could get a body which has drowned. When a rain bow appeared in the sky, the Bagisu read it that as bad omen. The appearance of the rain bow was associated with an illness which would affect babies. When it appeared, they got soot from a saucepan and smeared it on the babies' forehead, making the sign of a cross. Why soot was used because it is black in color and the rain bow doesn't have black color, black is here acts as an anti-thesis of the rain bow color. The babies were supposed to be kept indoors until the rain bow disappeared. The bigger children could get pangas and cut in the space facing the rain bow, while uttering some words so that the rain bow could disappear. There are moments when the rain bow surrounded the sun. This was also a bad omen to the community; it was a sign that a disaster is going to happen. It was associated with an epidemic which affected livestock called *Kisongo*. Apart from the cock crowing, the Africans predicted time by observing the position of the sun at a given time. This was read in conjunction with the position and lengthen of the human shadow.

5.4.7 Book divination

This form of divination is not indigenous to Africans but was introduced by Arabs. This became a common mode of divination among some communities, mostly among the Muslims. Peek notes that “The system of divination by calculation and examination Of Arabic books is widespread in East Africa. Book diviners proceed by looking up appropriate passage and reading phrases aloud in Arabic. But since their clients did not understand, they had to translate for them and explain the relevance of passages to the client’s problem” (1991:159-160). This method of divination is commonly used by the Nyole diviners. It was introduced to them by an Arab trader who settled there, and taught the local Muslims on how to use this type of divination.

Peek explains that “clients of *lamuli* diviners emphasized that these practitioners were able to find the truth without the help of spirits. One of the clients commented that “They do not deafen you with gourd rattles and strange noises; they just examine their books quietly”. This indicates that the clients were comfortable with this form of divination since there were fewer disturbances.

5.4.8 Divination using water or mirror

These objects are used for pulling the image of the spirit that the client can see through them. For instance, some diviners in Basoga use water for divination. This may be influenced by their staying near water bodies like Lake Victoria and River Nile. Cultural Research Centre observes that “People in these places also believe that most spirits came from the islands, rivers and lakes. Thus, under the influence of these spirits, some diviners use water for divination”. They add that “During this kind of divination, a diviner brings his/her special bowl filled with water, adds some

herbs then plays his shakers above the water. The image of the ancestor may appear in this water and give information concerning the issue in question” (2003:142). The use of a mirror is not different from that of water; they both play the same role. This method is well depicted in Nollywood movies, where a diviner has a mirror in the shrine, to enable his clients view the images of their enemies. An example is in the movie title “*Endless Agony part2*” in this movie, an elderly man called Ojemba wanted to marry a young girl called Ogechi, but the girl refused. The girl got married to another man and when Ojemba went to the diviner, the diviner pulled the image of Denis Ogechi’s husband and Ojemba was able to view Ogechi’s husband through the mirror in the shrine. Ojemba then ordered the diviner to make Denis run made so that Ogechi could leave.

Chapter 6

6.0 AFRICAN CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON DIVINATION

6.1 Introduction

This section investigates African contemporary views on divination practices. These views were acquired using questionnaires that were distributed to selectively chosen respondents as indicated in the methodology. Given the sensitivity of the topic (divination), other African traditional elements like naming and African medicine were included in the beginning part of the questionnaire. These aspects were intentionally fixed in the questionnaire as preliminaries to help disarm the possible respondents' negative attitudes towards the subject of divination.

From the data collected, it is observed that modern Africans have got mixed feelings in regards to using the services of the diviners. Out of 300 respondents, 144 stated that they can neither visit/employ the services of the divination nor advise anybody to visit/ employ the services of divination, against 147 who are likely to visit, use the divination services and likely to recommend divination to other people. Statistically, the outlook is that 48% of the respondents cannot visit diviners, against the 49%. 3% of the people who filled the questionnaire didn't not give a response. Majority of the 144 respondents who don't recommend divination are in the age bracket of 18 to 30 years, while 147 who would recommend divination are between 40 and above.

6.2 Views against Divination

From the findings, it is important to note that the responses produced were of two categories; those in support of divination and those against divination. Respondents against the practice of divination gave their reasons as to why they would never visit a diviner or recommend anyone to do the same. The respondents who were against African divination practices totalled to 48% and anchored their arguments in favour of modern Education, modern science and technology and Christianity. Under this category, respondents presented their responses which portray divination as an antithesis to modernity. One respondent responded emotionally to the question that “I am educated, I believe in modern medicine and not diviners!!!” Another respondent stated that “I don’t believe in the science of divine medicine. Their medicine is not scientifically tested in relation to what they claim it treats.” In a different case, a respondent states that “diviners don’t have machines which are used now days in carrying out diagnosis like they are in hospitals like the microscope for checking malaria etc.” These were some of the recurring arguments this group presented against divination. This population thinks that diviners, in the absence of scientific knowledge are deceptive. To them, divination is deception. It is just trickery, full of liars and conmen, commonly called *bafele*—a lingoin Luganda language that denotes conmen/women, who thrive on people’s predicaments to extort money and enrich themselves. This category views divination using modern western elitist and scientific lenses. Using mechanisms of empiricism and realism, this category claim that what can’t be seen either by naked eye or machines is not real, and allusions to its existence is fallacious.

Still within this very group of respondents, the Christian faith is another reason as to why they cannot seek divination services. They stated that they are Christians so they cannot visit diviners.

According to them, their Christian faith does not allow divination practices. Divination is associated with Satanism. Some of their arguments as directly stated are: “as a Christian, I believe that the spirit of divination is a satanic spirit, a spirit from the dark kingdom. Spirit of divination is an abomination unto the Lord. Diviners are usually Satan’s agents and when you believe in them, they you are lost in their spiritual world. Diviners invoke spirits which I don’t adhere to. I have Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit in charge of my life. Diviners make people covenant with spirits and demons.” Therefore, because of their Christian beliefs, they wouldn’t visit or recommend usage of divination services. They believe divination is satanic, which involves interaction with demonic spirits. Therefore, indulging in the activities of divination is serving two masters—the Christian God and Satan. This category is sensitive to its Christian identity and image. A Christian in this case would claim to receive divine revelations only through prayers.

It is however interesting to note that, this category of people who don’t believe in divination, have views about others whom they think employ the services of diviners. In one of the questions, the researcher wanted responses about the social categories of people who visit or engage services of traditional diviners and why. All respondents in this category gave views like: Women (both educated and uneducated), poor people, rich people, uneducated, politicians, businessmen/women, unemployed, the elderly, and peasants. This category is mainly comprised of youthful people, and some highly educated elderly people.

6.3 Views in favour of divination

As already noted, 147 of the 300 respondents were in support of divination, majority of the respondents in this category fall in the age bracket of 40 and above years. These group of

respondents expressed the ineffectiveness of modern science and technology in solving some problems like incurable diseases, social-political and economic problems. These unsolvable problems by modern wisdom create desperate circumstances, hence divination services are sought. Some respondents revealed that many problems are purely African that need African traditional methodology—outside the realm of science and technology. These African problems, according to some respondents include: witchcraft, spirit and demon possession, mental illnesses, barrenness, failure to marry or get married, ancestral curses, among others. “Untimely deaths” was also the most feared factor that forces people to divination. For example, death of young children and youths in a family under mysterious circumstance, and the realization of imminent death due to causes that modern science and technology cannot prevent.

This category reckons with the supernatural abilities of diviners in solving problems. They argued that, diviners have powers to communicate with the supernatural world and would understand the root of the problems. Diviners are believed to see into the future and influence destiny. A respondent stated that: A diviner can foresee the root cause of a problem and then comes up with preventive measure before the problem actually happens. These preventive measures may include herbs or charms put on door posts or tied around the children’s waists, necks and wrists. These charms, commonly called *Iritsi* in interlacustrine Bantu languages plays the preventive roles especially against early deaths in children. In some cases, the preventive antidotes are incised in the body of a victim.

Diviners are also associated with other duties like relationships. A female respondent states that she would hurry urgently for the services of a diviner in the event that her lover is marrying another woman. This is apparently to change the heart of the man, or destabilize the new

relationship with the aim of stopping the man from marrying a different woman. Therefore in a situation where modern science and technology cannot give solution to issues like mentioned above, divination becomes relevant in giving answers.

6.4 Media Reports on Divination

Given the diversity of the study, media reports are an important avenue in informing this section. Worth noting is the reality that behind all media, there are human beings. The culture, attitudes and values of a particular community is portrayed in the media. The media reports on divination are broad because the media gathers information from various African societies which is vital to this study. For this reason, the study will make use of these reports broadcasted in News Papers, Televisions, and radios to enrich the primary findings and also broaden the scope of modern views on divination.

According to a 2013 BBC documentary on traditional healers in Tanzania, many Africans, across the continent consult traditional healers for everything from curing illness to good-luck charms. Both men and women can be diviners, and they vary in age. The most highly respected tend to have been apprenticed to a healer in their family, and the art of divination is perceived to be ancestral. In carrying out their activities, diviners always employ a combination of ritual practices and medication.

Diviners say that they get guidance of divination when they are temporarily possessed by an ancestral spirit. This spirit is conjured singing certain spiritual songs, chanting into a calabash, rubbing bits of wood, shaking a bottle, drumming and dancing (cf 1 Samuel).

As per the BBC report, one of the diviners revealed that:

“Most of those who come to me have already been to hospital[s] [but] they have not managed to get a solution for their problems. Injections and medicine that were applied have not shown any effect, it only soothes, but it does not treat. If I treat them successfully, they tell their friends. I do not have any advertising.”

According to the report, some African people prefer traditional diviners to medical “doctors as they feel there are some things that cannot be treated in hospital - they want extra protection for body and mind.”

Divination is condemned especially by the religious clergy as satanic. Vocal on this is the renowned Archbishop of the Anglican Church of Uganda in many of his sermons. For Instance: in 2016, Ntagali expressed concern against what he called “unacceptable syncretism in the majority Christian nation, and urged the leaders to be true to their Christian faith,” where politicians were accused of visiting diviners for political fortunes (Nzwili, 2016). In a similar tone, while installing the new Bishop of Soroti dioceses in 2018, Ntagali in his sermon cautioned the clergy against what he called witchcraft. According to him, some clergy visit diviners to gain spiritual solutions to their problems. This practice, according to Ntagali is satanic, syncretic, evil, and stem from the kingdom of darkness. Earlier on, Hannington Mutebi, the assistant Bishop of Kampala diocese had in a similar voice warned Christians against going to witchdoctors in order to become powerful in their societies. Mutebi was reported that “most leaders have resorted to witchcraft instead of God to attain leadership...the practice was taking away the spiritual values among the people of God” (Ojore, 2016).

These voices are made probably in condemnation of key politicians in the Ugandan governments who have openly been seen in diviners' shrines. In 2004, Prof. Gilbert Bukenya, while serving as the Vice President of Uganda visited a diviner's shrine in Masaka, purposely to seek for blessing from traditional gods. This enlisted uproar from many Ugandan Christians, who demanded for an apology from the country's Vice President. In 2016, Rebecca Kadaga, the Speaker for the Ugandan parliament visited a shrine in Nhenda hill, to thank the traditional gods for enabling her get a re-election as the country's speaker of parliament. (Bikala; 2016).

This scenario is not only peculiar to Uganda. The African cinema—movies and soaps like Nollywood movies and *kina-Uganda* (among others) depict scenes of divination. Worth remembering is that, cinema in most cases is made drawing from issues that affect society. In these movies, people who visit diviners range from different walks of life and social strata.

It cannot go without mention of Vivian Atuvuka, a Secondary School head teacher from Kakamega Kenya who died in a diviner's shrine. According to the media reports, the head teacher after a land wrangle with her neighbour began feeling weak. This started when she uprooted beacons planted to mark the boundary. Vivian visited a diviner for help however before her turn reached to be treated, she was found dead in the diviner's house where she was waiting. The bodaboda rider who had accompanied her said that "I accompanied the doctor [diviner] into the house where I found the teacher lying on the floor; she was too cold and was not breathing". (Masolo; 2018).

In another story, Nshaho a medical professor in Kampala International University was reported to have visited a diviner after the loss of his cows. The professor consulted a diviner who helped to reveal those who stole his animals. The diviner instructed the Professor to ask for

compensation from the thieves since the cows were already slaughtered. Together with the diviner, they agreed that the thieves were to pay 40 million in compensation. The diviner after the recovery of the money told professor to bring the money for cleansing. The diviner claimed that if the professor took that money home before cleansing, it would cause calamity in his family. However the professor didn't comply to the diviners' advice and instead ran to court on suspicions that the very diviner who had helped him identify the thieves, wanted to con him of his money (Tumwekwase 2018).

Leon Balogun a football player in Super Eagles Nigeria revealed that it was a diviner who helped him revive his soccer career. After he sustained injury and lost form, Balogun was encouraged by his sister to visit a diviner. Balogun reports that "I had a lot of issues with injuries so my sister said look I have this one lady I always go and see her and she reads auras". The player has flourished in his career after his visit to the diviner who after a long discussion advised him to go to Nigeria and reconnect with the country. Balogun stated that "When I got the call for the national team, that reconnection started and since then things have fallen into place." (Okogba 2018)

Politicians' visit to diviners is not peculiar to Uganda but also other African countries. Politicians have vividly sought for divination services to enable them win elections. The Star reports that "Well-politicians, some seeking lofty office, are seeking out necromancers." A case is reported in South Africa where a presidential aspirant Chief Hassan Mando flew to Johannesburg to meet a Sangoma (diviner). It is reported that the politician stayed for six hours of rituals. Relatedly a politician from Kwale (Kenya) openly admits the services of diviners. The politician reveals that "with witchdoctors' medicine, especially if our tongues are incised with symbols, we are

eloquent and get huge crowds at rallies and votes”. Annette Mutheu, a diviner from Kisii(Kenya) revealed that “You’d be surprised at my national client list. Many senior politicians and government officials always visit me and I use [supernatural powers] for those seeking fame and power”. (Star Team News 2017)

Another similar case is reported in Tanzania where a diviner reveals that “when the election comes, this is when us witch doctors get a lot of respect, as all these politicians come running to us.” The diviner was given a house as a gift by a re-elected Tanzanian minister who believed that the diviner’s services saved his seat. The diviner also acknowledged that most of his clients are members of parliament and ministers. (McNeish 2015)

From the findings, it was observed that many respondents shared the view that females are the ones who mostly seek for divination services. This view of women visiting diviners more than men is also attested by some other scholars in their findings. For instances I. M Ahmed in a survey on *Characteristics of visitors to traditional healers in Central Sudan*, found out that the numbers of females who visit diviners overlaps that of the males. 62% of the visits are women compared to 38% males. (Ahmed 1999). However, a research carried by Nonhlanla reveals that in South Africa the ratio is female and male visitors to diviners is 1:1 (Nonhlanla 2011).

Divination in Africa thrives in the fertile terrains of the reality of witchcraft. Witchcraft in Africa “is real...!” (Chuch Smith, 2014), and it “has always been a major problem in Africa.” (Wyk, 2004). Wyk calls it To Africans, witches and witchcraft is a reality and an enemy of their existence. Due to these resilient deep-rooted beliefs in witchcraft, (even in the contemporary context of independence, technological and scientific advancements, elitism and western civilisation,), the fear for witches and wicked people regulates people’s behavioural dispositions.

Witchcraft still flourishes in unexpected ways and entwines itself in the socio-economic and political realities in African societies (See. Masanja, 2015). In the words of Wyk, witchcraft is “...one of the most fundamental problems of African existence,”to which African Traditional Religion (ATR) and African healing and divination practices have as one of their most important functions the struggle against(2004).

Africans who suspect witchcraft in their families or lives have surely sought the help of diviners irrespective of their socio-economic and religious status. For purposes of illustration, the media story of Sylvia Olayinka Blyden, the Senior Executive Assistant to the President of Sierra-Leon is reported to have consulted the services of a diviner in response to a mysterious object in her compound. The suspicious object, according to Blyden was sent as an arsenal against her by desperate people who were fighting to remove her from the president’s office. The diviner ably detonated the hex through ceremonial rituals. In detonating the object, “the four horns were split open, red blood flowed out. Also, in the witch arsenal were monkey’s hair, dog’s hair, puss (cat’s) hair, cowrie shells, loads of leafy powderish stuff and so much more” (Chuch Smith, 2014).

All in all, it is the weak who seek divine intervention from their oppression, they appeal to the gods, spirits and ancestors through diviners to help them out. When we go back to the colonial periods, we notice that the colonizers were powerful then the colonized. In most cases the colonised were deprived of their rights, their land grabbed and many other evils. Since the colonised were weak and inferior, the only solution was to seek for divine intervention so that the gods can fight on their behalf. We see the Maji Maji rebellion in Tanganyika where the colonised relied on the powers of the gods to fight their German masters. This was the same

scenario with the Mau Mau of Kenya against the British rule (see Iliffe 1967, Githige 1976, Anderson & Johnson 1991).

From the above findings, it is clear for us to conclude that those who go to diviners for help are the defeated; they cannot deal with challenges on their own. Women were said be the ones who frequently visit diviners compared to the men. Given the patriarchal domination in Africa where men are seen as superior, women are treated as secondary and are a vulnerable group in our societies. They go through a lot of oppression from society, for this reason, they seek for comfort and defence from the diviners. Politicians who fear their opponents as more powerful than them will always want to involve the divine hand in order to defeat the opponent as reflected in the findings.

CHAPTER 7:

7.0 TEXT AND CONTEXT: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, attention is on the relationship between 1 Samuel 28 and the African traditional and contemporary society perspectives on divination.

From the study, it is observed that divination has been practiced for ages by humanity. Indeed, as Taylor (2006) contends: “Divination is a universal cultural Phenomenon which anthropologists have observed as being present in many religions and Cultures in all ages up to the present day.” The quest for knowledge about the unknown mysteries has prompted man to improvise means through which he can be enlightened. Divination has bridged this knowledge gap. The practice of divination takes diverse dimensions varying from culture to culture, as discussed in chapter 4 and 5. The study took a contextual trend where the bible text was read and analyzed in relation to the contemporary African perspectives on the practice of divination. For fair treatment of the text, it was important in this study that knowledge from the Ancient Near East on the subject of divination is sought. It was also important to look at divination practices in African traditional society which informs the present understanding of the phenomenon.

The Bible legitimized prophecy as the only means through which the Israelites were to inquire of Yahweh. On addition to prophecy, dreams and the objects Urim and Thummim were also allowed as means of communication with the divine. Other modes outside these, but salient in the neighboring communities of the ancient Near East, were regarded illicit in Israel (Michael, 1996). This position is ideologically founded on Deuteronomy 18:9. However in critical thought, the extent to which ideology reflects reality is only ascertained by hermeneutics of suspicion. Is

the Bible a reliable tool for reconstructing Socio-Religious reality in ancient Israel? It is difficult to imagine that ancient Israelites stayed in isolation from Canaan, amidst plethora of blames on Israel for religio-cultural imports in the pages of the Bible. In the Bible, we read that Israelites had social intercourse with the natives of the land. They intermarried and also traded with them. The foreign wives and prisoners of war captured from other communities may have brought in the land knowledge about their diviners and religious practices to Israel (cf 2 Kings 5:2). Witton notes that “In the actual religion of the Old Testament we have a syncretism in which, though Yahwehism forms the substructure, there are constituents from the religions of the native aborigines and the nations around”. Basing on Witton’s view, there was no way Israel’s kings and religious leader could completely eradicate some practices which were already there and were still upheld by the surrounding nations. This left the Israelites to practice their religion and what they have found in the land, other forms of divination inclusive.

The text at study (1Samuel 28), presents a narrative about Saul the first king of Israel seeking the services of a diviner. The narrative as discussed in chapter 3 begins by presenting a war threat on Israel by the Philistines who were ready to attack them. At the same time, we see David in the company of the Philistines also ready to fight his own people. This directly shows that this battle is a conspiracy between David and the Philistines against Saul and his dynasty. It is a dynastic war. A political war, signaling the possible end of Saul’s political carrier, and the humiliation he would suffer in the hands of his enemies. The narrative situates David as one who is due for the throne therefore allying with Philistines or probably Saul’s enemy was to enable him eliminate Saul as he takes over the throne. We cannot assume that David’s refuge in Philistia and the event of the war was a coincidence. David could have done it subtly to attain the throne. Allying with your ‘enemy’s enemy’ is not peculiar to only David but several kings in Ancient Israel followed

the same trend. For instance, Jeroboam in 1Kings 11: 40 fled to the king of Egypt during Solomon's reign, and at the end of the day, he comes back as king. In the same way, we see David at the end of the battle succeeding in his political mission. We cannot tell exactly what the writer's agenda was; but suspicion has it that the writer is pro-Davidic dynasty. He presents him in the earlier chapters as one who sought refuge from evil Saul, and here he is just requested to join the war as if he did not know anything, but rather just a third party. This portrait of David is just the narrator's agenda to conceal the insidious motive of David as the man behind the war. One would wonder why David went with a band of men to take refuge yet it was only him being pursued by Saul. Could it be that he conducted guerilla warfare or already had a standing army but lacked a strategic position to begin from, that he now finds Philistia as his beginning point?

The writer finds it relevant to remind the readers about Samuel's death, he at the same time informs us about Saul's banishment of the mediums and spiritists from the land. This therefore poses a communication gap between the divine and the King/people. Somehow the writer indirectly seems to acknowledge the role of the mediums and spirits, as if equating it to that of Samuel. This follows his statement that "*Now Samuel was dead...Saul had expelled the mediums and spirits from the land*" verse 3. Bringing this at the same time means one is the substitute of the other in terms of divination powers.

The death of Samuel left a spiritual gap in Saul's political and military activities. In the absence of a spiritual advisor, advocate and intercession amidst thunderous rumbles of war, Saul was inevitably engulfed with panic and fear. Psychologically, Saul was in a state of anxiety, despair and hopelessness. He was desperate. The Philistines were more than ready to attack Israel,

probably at a slightest signal of war. Saul in this state desperately needed spiritual direction, comfort and assurance before leading his armies to war.

In his anxiety, Saul uses the legitimate means to inquire of Yahweh—the Israelite national deity but all in vain: Yahweh did not answer Saul either by Urim, dreams or prophets. The last resort, in this desperate situation was to seek for divine intervention using an alternative means: the agency of the medium—the woman of Endor.

Saul's decision to go to a medium was not a try and error but a sure deal; he knew he would get a solution. May be, the God he was all along calling was in deep thoughts, busy, in heavy sleep or travelling (cf 1Kings 18:27). Saul went to the diviner with a clear mission of getting the spirit of Samuel. Saul knew that through Samuel, he had always heard a word from God.

As earlier noted, the writer's motive in the allegation that Saul had banished diviners is not clear. That Saul had banished diviners from the land comes so abruptly in the passage. The text and 1 Samuel do not specify when Saul chased the diviners from the land. The motive of the narrator in this allegation can only be suspected to be an ideological taint on Saul as someone who does not stand by his word. Besides, the writer attempts to draw a logical continuity between the text and the law on divination in Deuteronomy 18. In the narrative, the literary Saul, on failing to attain a word from Yahweh immediately turns to that which he had condemned" (see also Figart 1970: 15).

I am inclined to argue against the idea that Saul had in reality banished diviners from the land.

Jeffers observes that "necromancy was practiced all through the history of Israel in spite of vigorous effort to root it out. She maintains that diviners held a significant status during the

period before the exile, and, after the exile, divination became more discredited” (Jeffers 1996: 181). Craig on the same point argues that “during the post-exilic period, laws were established aiming to stamp out completely the practice of divination” (Craig 2000: 9). In line with Jeffers and Craig’s arguments, they clearly indicate that divination was rampant in Israel during the pre-exilic period. This is the same period that Saul lives, meaning his going to a diviner was not something strange. Saul was using a very common means of inquiring (See also Kabamba, 2004). Chronologically, the Deuteronomist writer comes at a later period, probably during the post exile when Saul no longer existed. Therefore, we can say that the discrediting of divination was a later editorial effort by the Deuteronomist who reworks past events and criticizes them in his context to suit the prevailing ideology. That is why the writer finds difficulties in historically stationing Saul’s outlawing divination in Israel.

On his way to Endor in the night, Saul had disguised himself avoiding using his royal robes. The aim was clearly to conceal his identity from the public eye and the diviner.

On reaching Endor, Saul goes direct to the point: **קְסַמ־גַּא לִי בְאוֹב וְהַעֲלֵי לִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ:**

“consult [in the אוב] for me and bring up for me the one I shall name!” the problematics of the word אוב have been dealt with by some scholars but the solutions suggested are as ambiguous as the term itself. I front the argument that Fischer made that connects the word to אב that relates to ancestral fathers. In this regard, Saul requested the diviner to consult the ancestors and bring out the one he names. Saul named Samuel! This reading resonates well with the African divination practices which consults the ancestral fathers, commonly called the *Bajjaja* among the Baganda people.

In her enchantment to the spiritual realm, the diviner calls out Samuel. As the diviner described what she had seen, Saul knew it was Samuel. The picture we get is of the woman not being involved in the conversation, but connects the living and the dead in a conversation. After the infamous conversation between Saul and Samuel, the diviner offered a meal, which scholars like Fischer have interpreted in sacrificial terms as an offering to Samuel's spirit for accepting to appear. In my opinion however, the meal didn't have anything spiritual connection. The diviner was equally concerned with the physical wellbeing of the client. Saul was visibly hungry. The diviner, who is also a human being was to treat the spiritual spiritually and the body naturally. Besides, it was the norm in ancient Israel for her to show hospitality to her guests. In line with Kabamba, I feel the medium acted humanly like any other sane gallant human; she is generous and kind to her guests. On the other hand, I feel it was a way of appreciating the king's visit. I suppose it was not easy for a king to dine with the low class. Therefore, having a meal with the king could have been a privilege to the medium.

Commentators on the 1 Samuel 28 have varied views on the diviner. A case in point is Orr (1939) who seems to doubt the work of the diviner: to him, "the medium used pure and simple trickery, taking advantage of Saul." This view is unfortunate on the ground that if it was trickery the diviner could have done everything possible to ensure her safety by telling the King what he wants to hear, but she was honest in her work by delivering the truth. This shows the authenticity of the diviner by not misleading the king. If indeed the woman was using trickery as Orr asserts, then she could have given the king a pleasing message, a message of victory, like what the false prophets were doing.

From another perspective, Michael notes that “On the surface it appears the narrator is praising the witch, and it appears that there is nothing wrong in consulting this means of guidance. It also appears that Yahweh could use the medium to speak to his people”. He maintains that “Samuel never condemned the witch. One would have expected Samuel to speak against the witch for thinking that she could conjure up a prophet of Yahweh. However, Samuel never condemned the witch and he appears calm and collected about the witch. The Samuel we see here is a kind of witch friendly” (Michael 2013: 130, also Figart 1970, 20-23). It’s therefore the reader’s and interpreter’s preconception to think that Samuel or God was not pleased with the medium. We don’t see such expressions in the text, but rather things work out and the Will of Yahweh is delivered regardless of the mode.

From the gender perspective, I am inclined to think that the antipathy against the diviner is a resultant of her gender. If the diviner was a male figure, probably her portrait in the minds of readers and interpreters would be different. Using a feminist hermeneutical lens, I concur with Kabamba who suggests that the presentation of the woman at Endor as a witch is influenced by gender bias in the bible and the Euro- Christian community. As she observes, gender has played a salient role in this misinterpretation and mistranslation of the woman of Endor. According to Kabamba, the woman of Endor has been one casualty of anti-divinatory, patriarchal ideology. She is minimized, dismissed, or labeled a witch.” In support of her argument, it is a common practice in the bible and most societies to belittle women and their efforts, therefore the woman of Endor performing this great act could have been a challenge to men. This text comes in the context of absence of active female prophetic figures. Women like Miriam, Jezebel and Athaliah who tried prophetic and political leadership roles were killed off unceremoniously by their male counterparts (Kuloba, 2011). One is inclined to think that had the diviner of Endor been a male,

the story would have been incorporated in the prophetic literature of the Bible, and the diviner's title would have been "an old prophet" in the land (cf 1 Kings 13: 11-23)

Like in the literary bible text, divination in Africa today is widely practiced despite the blurred attitudes. The existence of diviners in society attests to the demand for their services. In the study, it was revealed that the beneficiaries of divination services are Africans of all socio-economic status, and more so those who claim to subscribe to the Christian faith (see Abioje 2012)

The antipathy to divination in the African society today is fueled by the westernized culture. As revealed from the research, 48% of the respondents who claimed to detest divination services hitched their views on modern science and technology, their levels of education and their Christian faith. But as stated earlier, an African today carries duo-citizenship: he/she is a citizen of an African traditional society and at the same time a citizen of the globalized African society. This duality is not rigid in giving an African the liberty of enjoying rights in both African traditional society world view and the globalized African world view. In most cases, these varying world views conflict and it is at the discretion of an individual person to make a choice which worldview to uphold in a given critical situation. An individual would challenge an aspect on the grounds that "am an African!" and at the same time vilify the other as being backward and uncivilized. These worldviews constitute ideologies by which Africans

I opine that this group that represents antipathy to divination is the Saul of the Bible. In the literary text, the ideology subscribed to by Saul was that which vilified divination and upheld prophecy.

An African of today is dressed with the royal robes of Western ideologies. In that regards, divination is viewed from the western colonized lens. Hence people despise diviners/divination; they preach against it and strongly condemn the practice. But when faced with tragic situations, they remove their western masks of civility and put on their African garments, and like king Saul, move nicodemusly seeking for the diviners in villages, hills and valleys, islands and sea shore, far and near to get their problems solved. Saul a man of high status because of his desperate situation put his royalty a side and searched for the ones he had rejected and pushed in the hard to reach areas of hilly Endor. Due to the agency of the matter, I suppose Saul did not mind of the roughness of the journey but reaching Endor was the most important thing.

In the previous chapter, 49% of the respondents in the primary research gave credence to divination services. These were men and women of 40 and above years of age. The study reveals that all the people: rich, the poor, the educated, the uneducated, the male, the female; the young, the old, use African divination services whenever they fail to get answers through the so-called legitimate means of modern science and technologies. These views are well complimented with the secondary sources, which show high profile Africans engaging African diviners in critical life situations. Several African politicians today have been cited and others broadly testifying about the services of the diviners to triumph in elections. From secondary data, it is revealed that most prominent politicians seek divinatory services in order to go through elections. For instance, Kadaga Rebecca the Speaker of the Uganda parliament was broadcasted on social media coming from a shrine. She claims to have gone to thank the gods for having helped her go through election. Another one is Prof Gilbert Bukenya during his reign as vice president of Uganda visited a diviner. Other unnamed politicians in Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Nigeria also use diviner's services to win as one in Kenya openly confessed that diviners incise their

tongues with medicine so that they can speak eloquently hence having big rallies and votes at the end.

Saul too was a politician of his time who wanted to do anything to maintain his throne. He could not accept defeat even amidst Yahweh's silence. This is a common characteristic of most ancient leaders; defeat was a sign of humiliation and no leader wanted that. Likewise, to our modern politicians, losing an election is a humiliation; on the other hand, they have invested a lot therefore losing the election is seen as a big loss. That is why they strike hard to do what it takes for one to go through. Therefore, at such a crucial stage when science and technology cannot help, diviners are seen as the only source of hope, as a diviner in Tanzania in an interview observed that we (diviners) are respected during election time by politicians. Church leaders in the same way have sought divinatory services in order to get powers to perform miracles in their churches. Of course, the reason behind could be to get a big gathering which will at the end of the day give much offering. They also seek for promotions and protection against enemies. This was revealed by the Archbishop of the Anglican church of Uganda who cautioned church leaders to stop this practice.

Any one is capable of visiting a diviner depending on the complexity of the matter, regardless of socio-economic status. Chuck Smith in his report about the Sierra Leone's presidential assistant visit to a diviner observes that "This goes to show that even educated, religious people with social and political clout do believe in the existence and power of divination". A case was reported in Uganda where a medical professor at Kampala International University went to a diviner after the loss of his cows and at the end of the day, the thieves were found. There is no way science and technology could help in such a situation except a diviner with an extra-

ordinary insight. Sylvia Olayinka Blyden, the Senior Executive Assistant to the President of Sierra-Leon is another interesting scenario. She visits a diviner because she thought someone is after her position. Smith notes that “This led to a woman who professes her faith in the Almighty God to seek the assistance of a traditional healer” Sylvia could not run to church or hospital but she knew the right person to handle such a problem was a diviner. We also see a head teacher of a secondary school in Kakamega seeking a diviner’s services after having a land wrangle with her neighbor and subsequent illness. Therefore, when people are faced with desperate situations, they use any means available to avert the situation. Status are put aside just as in Saul’s context.

From the study, it is also observed that the number of women who visit diviners is higher than that of the men. The reason presented is that the women go to diviners in order to maintain their relationships with their spouses. In most cases women feel insecure in marriage, they feel the man can leave them and get another woman. Therefore, this state of desperacy pushes them to look for a way of maintaining the relationship.

The study reveals that people from the age of 39 and above don’t find a problem visiting diviners. The reason could be that they have gone through a lot of experiences; they have at one time encountered hard situations where divination is the only solution. Due to life experiences, people in this age bracket can articulate ideas objectively and hence make informed decisions. This is also the age group which is faced with a lot of life-threatening challenges like complicated illnesses due to their deteriorating immunity. Given the fear of death, they are pushed to look for solutions in any way to see that life continues, in case science and technology cannot address their problems.

Contrary from the adults, majority of the people in the age group of 30s and below disagreed with divination. According to them, they cannot visit diviners for any reason. Their argument is that they are educated; Christians and can make use of science and technology to solve any problem. This group is like Saul before that sad moment who had never thought of going to a diviner because he thought the legitimate modes would always give him answers. But what happens this time round, the so-called legitimate modes fail to work and he has no opt but to use the 'illegitimate' which seemed legitimate at the moment. Applying hermeneutics of suspicion, in a situation where science and technology fail, there is a likely possibility that this group can opt for divination as a last resort. For example at a point of life and death, where someone has gone to hospital but they cannot detect any illness yet the person is in pain; I don't think one can surrender to die in the presence of the renowned "woman of Endor" diviner in the nearby or even far away villages, hills, valleys and islands. Another reason for applying hermeneutics of suspicion is that the very group which disagreed with divination seemed to have knowledge about what diviners are capable of doing, therefore if one knows that a diviner can be a solution to certain complex problems, it is hard to imagine that the diviners services cannot be sought when need dictates. This very group on the other side agreed to use African medicine in case western medicine fails. Yet they forget that in most cases diviners are the ones who give this African medicine.

The challenge here is that Africans today don't want to openly identify with the practice of divination. This is due to the prevailing ideologies brought by Euro-American civilization. The bible was decorated by the same ideologies so that it acted as a tool for imperialist to achieve their agenda of subduing the African continent and the indigenous practices. This is in line with Kuloba's view that "...Their aim was to civilize Africans into a comprehensive culture using the

bible as a tool". He adds that "African converts were urged to abandon their cultural lifestyles, which were perceived as barbaric, and emulate western civilized cultures to being a good Christian and going to heaven" (2011: 80). Most Africans have fallen prey of such ideologies that leave them in a dilemma; as Were asserts, there is a lot of duplicity among some of its adherents; they visit an ancestral shrine at night and attend holy mass in the morning. They are therefore left with no option but to practice Christianity and at the same time make use of divinatory services. We cannot deny the fact that, there are problems which science and technology cannot solve, termed as 'African problems' which can only be dealt with in an African way. Africans have made use of this avenue though many do it nicodemusly; Joseph Were in reference to Kadaga's visit asserts that "it is dumb to deny that African ancestral worship is real. Many Africans routinely go up similar hills, albeit in secrecy, to ask protection against evil, seek luck, vengeance, healing, or fertility" (Were 2016). This is not different from Saul's experience who first hides his identity and goes to Endor under the cover of darkness.

7.1 Conclusion

Conclusively, the portrait of divination as an evil practice is just a mere ideology constructed in people's minds and just common talk. In reality, people still strongly adhere to African modes of divination. The only challenge is that they feel shy to publicly be identified with the practice because it is against their acquired worldviews as the educated and the Christians. This is not different from Saul's story were by he goes to a diviner in secrecy because of the prevailing ideology that other modes of divination were illegal. It is not sufficient for us to think that it was only Saul in Israel who used the divination services of the woman of Endor. Others could have

followed the same trend but since their needs were not the writer's agenda, information about them wasn't necessary.

From a postcolonial reading of 1 Samuel 28 which was applied in the study, it is appealing for us to conclude that the text clearly reflects the mind of an African in this era. There is no difference between the biblical perceptions on other modes of divination and that of the contemporary Africans. The passage further helps us to draw a line between ideology and reality. Ideology does not impact much on people's lives but what is practically done is what matters. Worth noting is that Divination is still alive in our communities. What we see in African movies and cinema actually reflects the reality in society. And it will continue to thrive amidst western religions and science and technology. The office of a diviner on the African continent is a very busy one, attending to people whose social-economic status is as diverse as their problems. This office is therefore here to stay provided humans still exist. Had the woman of Endor been a Ugandan woman, what title would she be called—*mufumu* or *mulogo*? Would she be a *muganga* or *muchawi* in Kiswahili speaking contexts? Definitely she would have taken on a nomenclature associated with benevolence than malevolence.

All in all, the socio-cultural landscape of Africa as it is now is due to the colonial legacy left behind. The ambivalences presented by Africans today towards some African socio-cultural systems like divination, are as a result of the Western ideologies imparted in the African minds. The bible being a central tool in colonialism was interpreted from the western lens which was full of bias towards some African practices. It is from this realization that theories like postcolonial Bible Hermeneutics arise as redemptive measures to reimage and give a voice to some of the silenced African cultural values and systems like African divination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abioje P. Oyeniran (2012), *Divine Revelation in Yoruba Traditional Religion and In Christianity*; Ilorin, Nigeria: JHSS.
- Ackroyd P.R (1971), *The First Book of Samuel The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English*; Cambridge University Press.
- Ahmed, I. M. Bremer J.J (1999), *Characteristics of Visitors to Traditional Healers in Central Sudan*; Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal, Volume 5, Issue 1.
- Amar Annus (2010), *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*; Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Anderson, D., & Johnson, D. (1991), *Diviners, Seers and Spirits in Eastern Africa: Towards an Historical Anthropology*. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*,61(3), 293-298. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1160025>
- Arnold T. Bill (2004), *Necromancy and Cleromancy in 1&2 Samuel*; The Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
- Arnold T. Bill (2014), *Ancient Israel's History: An Introduction to issues and sources*; Ada: Barker Publishing group.
- Barker L. Kenneth & Kohlenberger R. John (1994), *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*; Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- Benatar R. Solomon (2015), *"Health in Low-Income countries"*. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*, ed. James D. Wright. London. Elsevier Publ. pp 633-639
- Bikala Moses, Baligema Isaac, Abou Kisige (2016 May 23). *Kadaga visits Busoga Shrine*. Retrieved from https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1425098/vision-kadaga-visits-busoga-shrine-thanksgiving
- Brown Francis, Driver S. R & Briggs A. Charles (2015), *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic*; Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Buttrick G. Arthur (1962), *The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*; New York: Abingdon Press.
- Cavalcanti Antoni & Martins, Carolina (2012), *History of Liver Anatomy: Mesopotamian Liver Clay Models*; HPB Oxford.
- Christopher Bryan & Landon, David (2014), *Listening to the Bible: The Art of Faithful Biblical Interpretation*; New York. Oxford University Press.

Chuck Smith (2014), <http://www.africacradle.com/does-juju-play-a-part-in-african-politics/>. [Accessed 10th May 2019].

Clines J.A. David (1995), *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Cooley L. Jeffrey (2012), *Celestial Divination in Ugarit and Ancient Israel: A Reassessment*; University of Chicago Press.

Crone Patricia & Silversten Adam (2010), *The Ancient Near East and Islam; The case of Lot-Casting*; Oxford University Press.

Cultural Research Centre-Jinja (2003), *Witchcraft, Divination and Healing among the Basoga*; Marianum Publishing Company Ltd: Kisubi.

Daily Nation (2017, August 29), *Villagers shocked by "a police snake" sent to arrest thief* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wnk2WzbPffU>.

Davies D. J (2008), *Classics Revisited: Death, Immortality, and Sir James Frazer Mortality 13: 287-296*.

Dempster Stephen (2015), *What's up with the woman of Endor*; USA: The Gospel Coalition

Dietrich Boschung, Shapiro Allan & Waschek Frank (2015), *Bodies in Transition: Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge*; Whilhelm Fink Verlag.

Dube W. Musa (1997), *Toward a Postcolonial Feminists' Interpretation of the Bible*; South Africa: Semeia.

Dube W. Musa (1998), *Savior of the World but not This World. A post-colonial Reading of the Spatial construction in John*; Sheffield Academic Press.

Dube W. Musa (2000), *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*; St Louis, MO: Chalice.

Ebony (1959) <http://books.google.co.ug/books?isbn=0520242394> [Accessed 12th Dec 2018].

Ellis, S. (2002). Writing Histories of Contemporary Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 43(1), 1-26. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4100424>

Englebert, P. (1997). The Contemporary African State: Neither African nor State. *Third World Quarterly*, 18(4), 767-775. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993216>

Figart O. Thomas (1970), *Saul, the Spiritist and Samuel*; Grace Journal: Grace Theological Seminary; Volume 11, Issue 1.

Finkel L. Irving (1984), *Necromancy in the Ancient Mesopotamia*; Archiv für Orientforschung, 29/30 Bd (1983/1984), pp 1-17.

Fischer s (2001), *1 Samuel 28: The Woman of Endor- Who is she and What does Saul see*; OTSSA, Volume 14, Issue 1.

Flanders H. Jackson, Crapps R. Wilson & Smith D. Anthony (1996), *People of The Covenant* (Fourth edition); New York: Oxford University Press.

Frankfort H (1948), *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An interpretation*; New York: Columbia University Press.

Gabbay Uri (2016), *The Practice of Divination in the Ancient Near East; Locating the Presence of Gods in Cult and Nature: The Torah.com- A Historical and Contextual Approach*.

Garbett Kingsley (1998), *Contrasting Realities: Changing Perceptions of Shona Witch Beliefs and Practices. Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, Vol. 42, (2), pp 24-47.

Gikandi Simon (2000), <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsehistory/2017/10/03/jomo-kenyatta-lse-and-the-independence-of-kenya/> [Accessed 12th Dec 2018].

Guzik David (2001), *Study Guide for 1 Samuel 28*. Retrieved from https://www.blueletterbible.org/Comm/archives/guzik_david/StudyGuide_1Sa/1Sa_28.cfm

Hamori, J. Esther (2013), *The Prophet and Necromancer: Women's Divination for Kings*; USA: The Society of Biblical Literature.

Hegarty, S (2011, April 26), *South African woman tells of spiritual healing temptation*. Retrieved from www.bbc.com/news/world-Africa-12883247,

History.Com Editors (2009, November 9). *Martin Luther King, Jr.* Retrieved from www.history.com/topics/black-history/martin-luther-king-jr.

Hunt Patrick and Whitney de Luna (2007), *Reading Livers through Reading Literature: Hepatoscopy and Haruspicy in Illiad Cicero and Pliny on Divination, among others*; Stanford University and Sanford Hospital Liver clinic.

Iliffe, J. (1967). The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion. *The Journal of African History*, 8(3), 495-512. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/179833>

Jastrow Jr. Morris (1907), *The Liver in Antiquity and the Beginning of Anatomy*; Chicago: University of Pennsylvania Medical Bulletin.

Jastrow Jr. Morris (1911), *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*; New York and London: G.P Putnam's sons.

Jibril Adan (2016, August 21). Kenya: Mzee Jomo Kenyatta's Legacy of Pan-Africanism Retrieved from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201608210214.html>

Kabamba J. Kiboko (2010), *Divination in 1 Samuel 28 and Beyond: An African Study in the Politics of Translation*; Electronic These and Dissertations.

King J. Philip & Stager E. Lawrence (2002), *Life in Biblical Israel*; Louis Ville: Westminster Publishers.

Kirwen C. Michael (1987), *The Missionary and the Diviner*; New York: Orbis Books, Maryknoll.

Kratz G. Reinhard (2016), *Historical & Biblical Israel: The History, Tradition and Archives of Israel and Judah*; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuloba W. Robert (2011), *The Berated Politicians; Reading Miriam, Michal, Jezebel and Athaliah in the Hebrew Bible in relation to political and gender Quandary in African*; Lambert Academic Publishing: Saarbrucken, Germany.

Kuloba W. Robert (2016), "Homosexuality is Unafrikan and Unbiblical": Examining the Ideological Motivations to Homophobia in Sub-Saharan Africa- the Case Study of Uganda; In Journal of Theology for Southern Africa: USA, American Theological Library Association.

Lemche P. Niels (2015), *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israel*; London: T & T Clark.

Lenzi Alan & Stokl Jonathan (2014), *Divination, Politics, & Ancient Near Eastern Empires*; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Lobato I. Vila (2015); <https://allyoanedisbiology.wordpress.com/2015/08/29/prayingmantids/> [accessed 18th August, 2018]

Lugira, Aloysius Muzzanganda (2009), *African Traditional Religion*; Infobase Publishing.

M.G Mokgobi (2014), *Understanding traditional African healing*; Afr J Phys Health EducRecreat Dance. Vol 20 (Suppl 2): 24–34.

Mabonga Masolo (2018) <https://www.tuko.co.ke/300457-kakamega-school-head-teacher-dies-mysteriously-witch-doctors-house-waiting-treated.html#300457> [Accessed 10th May 2019].

Masanja Methuselaha Michael (2015), *Albinos' Plight: Will Legal Methods be Powerful Enough To Eradicate Albinos' Scourge?* International Journal of Education and Research Vol 3, Issue 5.

Matthew Michael (2013), *Saul's Prophetic Representations and its Parody in 1 Samuel*; OTE, Volume 26, Issue 1: Stellenbosch University.

Mbiti S. John (1969), *African Religions and Philosophy*; Hernemann Educational Books Ltd: London.

Mbiti S. John (1975), *Introduction to African Religion*; New York: Praeger Publishers.

McNeish Hannah (2015)<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/07/brutal-black-magic-tanzania-election-150720073105627.html> [Accessed 10th May 2019].

Mesaki Simeon (1995), *The Evolution and Essence of Witchcraft in Pre-colonial African Societies* author(s): Source: Transafrican Journal of History, Vol. 24, pp. 162-177 Published by: Gideon Were Publications.

Miller J. Maxwell & Hayes H. John (2006), *A History of Ancient & Judah*; Louis Ville: Westminster Publishers.

Mosala J. Itumeleng (1989), *Biblical Hermeneutics and Black Theology in South Africa*; USA: Eerdmans Pub Co.

Mufuzi Friday (2014), *The Practice of Witchcraft and the Changing Patterns of its Paraphernalia in the Light of Technologically Produced Goods as Presented by Livingstone Museum, 1930s – 1973*. Zambia Social Science Journal. Vol. 5. 2014. Pp 50-71.

Mugerwa, F (2018, January 26). *Wakiso Thief caught by Snake*[Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Snake-arrests-suspected-thief-Hoima/688334-4280156-78yq4uz/index.html>

Mwaura P. N (2003), *Feminist Biblical Interpretation and the Hermeneutics of Liberation*; in African Woman's Liberation: Sheffield Academic Press.

Ninian Smart (1983), *The Religious Experience of Mankind*; London: fount.

Nkhumiseni Mulaudzi (2013), *Ancestral Consultation: A Comparative Study of Ancient Near Eastern and African Religious Practices with Reference to 1 Samuel 28: 3-25* (MA Theses); University of Pretoria.

NTV Uganda (2018, July 13) *Archbishop Ntagali cautions the clergy against practice of witchcraft*[Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zRtWe4vgMZE>

Nxumalo Nonhlanhla, Olufunke Alaba & Harris Bronwyn (2011), *Utilization of Traditional Healers in South African and Costs to Patients: Findings from a National Household Survey*; Journal of Public Health Policy, Vol. 3: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

- Nyagode A. Mary (1987) *The Function and the Role of Ajuoga in the changing Society of the Luo of Western Kenya*; University of Nairobi (Master's Thesis).
- Nzwili Fredrick (2016) *Witchcraft concerns Uganda's Anglican archbishop*. Religion News Service (online)<https://religionnews.com/2016/06/24/witchcraft-concerns-ugandas-anglican-archbishop/>[Accessed 8th May 2019].
- Oduyoye, M.A., (1994), 'Feminist theology in an African perspective', in R. Gibellini (ed.), *Paths of African theology*, pp. 166-181, SCM Press, London.
- Oduyoye. M. A&Musimbi R A. Kanyoro (1992),*The Will to Arise: Woman, Tradition and the Church in Africa*; Ney York: Maryknoll, Orbis.
- Ojore Godfrey (2016), The New Vision newspaper online.
https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1427917/kampala-bishop-warns-teso-leaders-witchcraft. [Accessed 9th May 2019].
- Okogba Emmanuel (2018) *Nigeria: Witch Doctor Helped Me Back to the Top, Balogun Reveals* (online)<https://allafrica.com/stories/201809020043.html>[Accessed 10th May 2019].
- Orde Browne (1935), *Witchcraft and British colonial law*. Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 8, No. 4. Pp 481-487
- Orr James (1939), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Osundiya Baba (2000), *Awo Obi: Obi Divination in Theory and Practice*; Cincinnati: Awosina Publications.
- Oxley Simon (2017), *Contextual Bible Study*; in The Ujamaa Centre and Contextual Bible Study: Centre for Theology and Justice.
- Peek, M. Philip (1991), *African Divination Systems*; USA: Indiana University Press.
- Perez Elizabeth (2011), “*Spiritist Mediumship as Historical Mediation: African-American Pastors, Black Ancestral Presence, and Afro-Cuban Religions*” Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol. 41, issue. 4, pp. 330-365
- Pfeiffer F. Charles (1975), *The Wycliffe Bible Commentary*; USA: Moody Press Chicago.
- Pigott M. Susan (1998), *1 Samuel 28: Saul and the Not so Wicked Witch of Endor*; Review & Expositor.
- Player Ian; <https://www.mantiscollection.com/mantis-philosophy/>. [accessed 18th August, 2018]

- Pongratz-Leisten Beate (2014), *"The King at the Crossroads between Divination and Cosmology"*, Divination, Politics, and Ancient Near Eastern Empire: Ancient Near East Monographs.
- Pui-Ian Kwok (1994), *Response to the Semeia Volume on Postcolonial Criticism*; South Africa: Semeia
- Pumphrey B. Nichoaus (2009), *Name and Power The Concept of Secret Names in the Ancient Near East*; Nashville, Tennessee (Master's Thesis).
- Punt Jeremy (2003), *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism in South Africa: Some Mind and Road Mapping*; Scriptura.
- Raliat Ahmed (2011), *Nigeria: Palm Reading-Taking your Destiny in your Palms*: All Africa Global Media.
- Reiterer F. V (2006), *"Sem" in Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Renison M. Githige (1976), *The Religious factor in Mau Mau with particular Reference to Mau Mau Oaths*; University of Nairobi Research Archive
- Rochberg Francesca (2010), *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and its Legacy*; Brill.
- Rukundwa S. Lazare (2008), *Postcolonial Theory as a Hermeneutical Tool for Biblical Reading*; HTS Volume 64, Issue 1: University of Pretoria.
- Sachs, A. (1952), Babylonian Horoscopes. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 6(2), 49-75. doi:10.2307/1359035.
- Sakuma Yasuniko (2013), *Terms of Ornihomacy in Hittite*; Tokyo University of Linguistic Papers (TULIP), Volume 33, 219-238.
- Sasja Van Vechgel (2013, June 17) *In pictures: Tanzania's traditional healer*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22263057/>
- Schmitt R (2008), *The Problem of Magic and Monotheism in the Book of Leviticus*. In the Journal of Hebrew Scriptures; <http://www.shsonline.org/Articles/article-88-pdf>.
- Sibanda Fortune (2018), *The legality of witchcraft allegations in colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe*. In Religion, Law and Security in Africa, Christian Green et al. Ed. Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, pp. 297-313.
- Silva Sonia (2018), *Taking Divination Seriously: From Mumbo Jumbo to Worldviews and Ways of Life*; USA: MDPI.

Smith E. Duane (2013), *Portentous Birds West; On the Mesopotamian Origin of Homeric Bird-Divination*; Brill.com/Jane.

Spence H.D.M & Exell S. Joseph (1977), *The Pulpit Commentary*; Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Spronk k. (1986), *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and the Ancient East*; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

The Star (2017, July 3). *How politicians are enriching witch doctors*. Retrieved from <https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2017-07-03-how-politicians-are-enriching-witch-doctors/>

Steiner C. Richard (2015), *Disembodied Soul: The Nefesh in Israel and Kindred Spirits in the Ancient Near East, With an Appendix on the Katumuwa Inscription*; Atlanta: SBL Press.

Steyn D. G (1989), *Defining an Animistic Worldview*: Global Christian Center.

T. G. H James (1979), *An Introduction to Ancient Egypt*; British Museum Publications Limited.

Taylor J. Robert (2006), *An Analysis of Celestial Omina in the light of Mesopotamian Cosmology and Mythos* (Master's Thesis); Vanderbilt University: Nashville. Tennessee.

The Ujamaa Centre for Community Development & Research (2014), *Doing Contextual Bible Study: A Research Manual*; South African: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

ThelleRannfrid (2013), *Israelite Prophecy and Deutoronomic History*; USA: Society of Biblical Literature.

Tokunboh Adeyemo (2006), *Africa Bible Commentary*; Nairobi: WorldAlive Publishers.

Tumwekwase Sandra (2018, October 5), *KIU Medical Professors Witch Doctor Case*. Retrieved from <https://mknewslink.com/kiu-medical-professors-witch-doctor-case-suspects-denied-bail-after-three-months-in-prison/>

Turaki Yusufu (2006), *Foundations of African Traditional Religion and Worldview*; Nairobi: WorldAlive Publishers Ltd.

Tylor E. Burnett (1873), *Primitive Culture*; London: John Murray.

Ukpong S. Justin (2001), *Developments in biblical interpretation in Africa: Historical and hermeneutical directions*, in G.O. West & M.W. Dube (eds.), *Bible in Africa, transactions, trajectories and trends*, pp. 11–28, Brill, Leiden.

Ukpong S. Justin (2002), *Inculturation hermeneutics: An African approach to Biblical interpretation*; in D Walter & L. Ulrich (eds.), *The Bible in a world context: An experiment in contextual hermeneutics*, pp. 17–32, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.

- Ukpong S. Justine (1994), Inculturation and Evangelization: Biblical Foundations for Inculturation; *Vidyajyoti* 58 (5), pp 298-309
- Ukpong, J. (2001). New Testament Hermeneutics in Africa: Challenges and Possibilities. *Neotestamentica*, 35(1/2), 147-167. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43048421>
- URN (2017, April 22) *Pastor Bujingo under fire for burning deceptive Bibles*: Retrieved from <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/52482-pastor-bujingo-under-fire-for-burning-deceptive-bibles>
- Van Binsbergen Wim M. J (2008), *African Divination across time and space: The typology, Intercontinental connections, prehistory, and intercultural epistemology of Sub-Saharan Mantics* (Based on the 2005 Leiden International conference).
- Van der Toorn (1996), *Family Religious in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and change in the forms of Religious life*; New York: E. J Brill, Leiden.
- Wallace Dale (2015) *Rethinking Religion, Magic and Witchcraft in South Africa: From Colonial Coherence to Postcolonial Conundrum*. *Journal for the Study of Religion*, pp 23 – 51.
- Were Joseph (2016, June 7), *Kadaga's African Soul*. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.ug/kadagas-african-soul/>.
- West O. Gerald (1993), *Contextual Bible Study*; SA: Pietermaritzburg; Cluster.
- West O. Gerald & Dube W. Musa (2000), *The Bible in Africa*; USA: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Westenholz Ulla Koch (1995), *Mesopotamian Astrology: An Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination*; Denmark: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Wyk Van IWC (2004). "African witchcraft in theological perspective." *HTS*. Vol 60. Issue 4. pp1201-1228.
- Young J.C Robert (2003), *Postcolonialism: A very Short Introduction*; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zuesse M. Evans (2010), *Divination and Deity in African Religions*; USA: The University of Chicago Press.
- Zylstra Mathew (2011, October 19), *Don't Kill the Messenger*. Retrieved from <https://eyes4earth.org/2011/10/dont-kill-the-messenger/>.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES

Introduction:

I am a graduate student of Kyambogo University carrying out a research study on African cultural practices in African societies today. The purpose of this note is to request your views on the questions below.

There are two sections in this short questionnaire. Section A entails basic information of the respondents (for statistical use only) and Section B calls for views of respondents on aspects of African cultural practices.

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Please put a **Tick (√)** in the appropriate box.

1. Gender:

a) Male b) Female

2. Age Group:

a) 18-29 b) 30-39 c) 40-49 d) 50 and above

3. Educational level

a) Primary b) Secondary c) Tertiary d) None

SECTION B

This part entails perspectives on sampled African traditional practices.

A. African names and naming practices:

1. Describe how Children acquire their African names in your community.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. On the scale of 1to10 (where 1 is lowest and 10 highest) how likely are you to name your children with African names?

3. Do you know the meaning of your African name? YES NO

B. African medicine.

1. On the scale of 1to10 (where 1 is lowest and 10 highest) how likely are you to use African traditional medicine

2. Under what circumstances would you consider using African medicines?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

C. Divination and diviners in contemporary Africa.

1 Why do you think people visit diviners today despite the existence of modern science and technological facilities?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2 On the scale of 0 to 5 (where 0 is never and 5 most likely), what is the possibility that you would consider visiting a diviner in case of having problems that cannot be solved scientifically?

3 In relation to the above question, explain why you would or wouldn't visit a diviner:
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4 On the scale of 0 to 5 (where 0 is never and 5 most likely), what is the possibility that you would advise someone else to visit an African diviner to solve a particular problem?

5 In relation to the above view, explain why you would or wouldn't advise anybody to visit a diviner:
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

6 Which social categories of people would you think practice or engage service of in African traditional divination (for example the rich, the poor, the educated, the

uneducated, the young, the old, female and male etc)? (You can use additional papers in case the space below is not enough

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

7 What are some of the reasons that make people visit diviners today?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

8 What is your general view about African divination practices?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

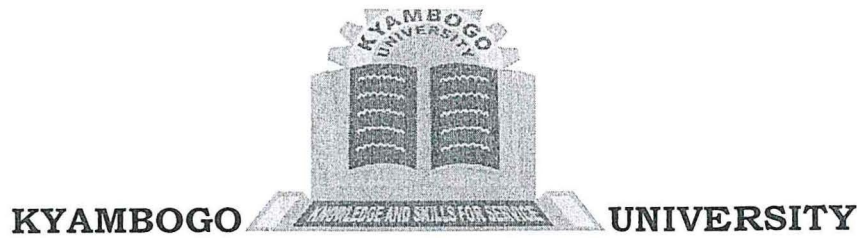
.....

.....

.....

.....

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....



KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY

P.O. BOX 1 KYAMBOGO

KAMPALA-UGANDA

Tel: 0414 - 288896/285001, Fax: 0414 - 220464,222643

E-Mail: rs@kyu.ac.ug, hodrs@kyu.ac.ug

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES & PHILOSOPHY

August 7, 2018

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir /Madam,

RE: EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

This letter is to introduce to you **Ms. NADUNGA ANNET**,
REG. NO.17/U/14427/GMARS//PE who is a student of Kyambogo University.

Annet is pursuing a Master's degree course in Religious Studies.

The topic is: **A CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF 1SAMUEL/28 IN RELATION TO
DIVINATION PRACTICES IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN
SOCIETY.**

She is conducting a research which is part of the requirements for the fulfillment of the award.

You are therefore requested to assist her with data collection.

Yours Sincerely,

Kuloba-Wabyanga Robert,
Head of Department

