

**SPACE, POWER AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE ISHOR DIVINATION PRACTICE OF
THE TIV OF MAKURDI, BENUE STATE, NIGERIA**

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

To the patriarch of the Pine Family, Baba Pine Akaa Gbasha; his wife and our matriarch, Mama Adia Jooji Pine (aka Jooji); nee Tyungu. Since you lit the light of modern civilization, the entirety of the Mbaazu community and we your children have seen the way. We remain eternally grateful for your vision and foresight. We wish you peace of the soul in the company of the Saint Triumphant.

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I give glory to God Almighty, the creator of heaven and earth, the I am that I am, the Alpha and Omega; without whose grace, mercy, kindness, favour and blessings, this work would not have seen the light of day. Take all the glory Father.

In a work of this nature it is only natural that one would incur so much intellectual debts and I sure had a surfeit of such debts. But for me it is not the debts of gratitude as it is the difficulty of capturing my sense of appreciation of this gratitude in words. Never in my academic pursuits have I encountered a crop of academics whose sense of professional sophistication is superb. I have read in the media of the Mephistophelian mindset of Nigerian academics and their pressing of graduate students especially doctoral candidates into extra-academic service; most especially where such service have political economy content. I experienced nothing of the sort, to the contrary, I was handled with good care that made my stay in University of Ibadan fantastically fine.

In the first flight of these scholars is my supervisor, Professor Olatunde Bayo Lawuyi, a leading contemporary anthropologist and an inestimable gift to the academe. I was not directly taught by him because I had my anthropological training at the Institute and not the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology. But as soon as I settled down for my Masters in Anthropology and began familiarising myself with anthropological literature—I had to do so as much as I could because anthropology was a new field of study to me, my intinial training being Political Science—I noticed that he was highly referenced and his opinion held with magisterial awe. This aroused my intellectual curiosity and soon I sought his works and devoured them with omnivourous delight. I was not disappointed to say the least. His prose is dense, concentrated, and protean; almost verging on the mode of obscuranism; anyone reading his work must read him contrapuntally, intertextually, and with an intellectual presence of mind. However, what you lose in his prose is more than compensated by the freshness of his analytical vision, imagination, and perspective.

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ABSTRACT

Ishor divination practice is the central organising principle of life among the Tiv people of north-central Nigeria. Existing studies on it however, have focused on its roles in Tiv religion, culture and traditional medicine; literature on space, power and knowledge in the Ishor divination ritual is scanty. This study was, therefore, designed to examine how the notions of space, power and knowledge are constructed in the Tiv Ishor divination with a view to underscoring their significance and influence on the divinatory practice.

The study was premised on Foucault's Power/Knowledge Theory and employed ethnography as design. Purposive sampling method was used to select 44 knowledgeable Ishor diviners cutting across the eleven council wards of Makurdi Local Government Area. Data were generated using two life histories, two Key Informant Interviews with diviners; 11 In-Depth Interviews and two Focus Group Discussions with selected divination clients. Forty-four Participant observation sessions was used to source information during divination sessions. Data were content analysed.

The Ishor divination space is regarded as a sacred ground and as such clients are required to take off their footwear before they enter into the divination hut and throughout their period of stay, they are expected to be in a state of reverence. The space is marked by taboos forbidding clients to mention death, wear charms, whistle, fight, and cross legs. Women menstruating are also forbidden from it. Power, as the ability and capacity to influence the behavioural patterns of someone else in a situation of social interaction, is observable between the diviner and the client. Such powers are exercised through the display of the diviner's incantatory prowess, supernatural knowledge of causations, and issuing of commandments. Clients demonstrate their powers through deliberate withholding of information, muteness, shaking of head to signify disapproval, and outright taking back of their consultation fee as a mark of not being satisfied with the diviner's proclamation. Diviners exhibit knowledge of Ishor divination through supernatural call, intergenerational transfer, and critical agency of symbolic organisation and linguistic codes. Ishor divination code responds to the pressures of contemporary social change through Western education and challenges of Christianity and Islam, economic hardship, modern medical sciences, ecological degradation and lack of governmental support. These pressures and challenges have engendered code alteration in relation to linguistic intelligibility, space organisation and confidence in divination, all of which have threatened the centrality and importance of the practice in the Tiv culture and society.

Space, power and knowledge are three significant elements that influence and shape the social construction, interpretation, and understanding of Ishor divination practice among the Tiv of Benue State, Nigeria. To preserve and sustain Ishor divination practice, these elements must be addressed and improved upon by relevant institutions.

Keywords: Tiv culture, Ishor divination, traditional medicine and ritual

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Divination is one of the ancient cultural institutions of humanity. It came into being as a result of man's quest to understand, interpret, and give meaningful expressions to his experiential world. It has evolved from its earliest proto-scientific and metaphysical-epistemological intellectual enterprise into a cultural asset useful to man in interrogating his existential beingness and circumstances. As man evolved and increasingly gained cultural sophistication, influenced as it were by a multitude and peculiarities of historical, environmental, social factors, he devised divinatory practices as well as its accompanying ritual to help his understanding of his immediate physical and spiritual environment.

As a cultural institution the core value of divination was and is still its instrumentality for knowledge construction and problem solving. Since its coming into being it has exerted profound and deep impact on the appreciation of cultural and spiritual cosmologies of societies and cultures.

In contemporary times, the appeal of divination has waned because of the pressures of modernization. Nonetheless, in Africa particularly, it has continued to make its impact and presence felt both in public and private spaces in spite of the drubbings of colonialism and its accompaniments of cultural genocide.

There are many divination traditions in Africa. Divination and the traditions it spurns in Africa is emblematic of the historicity of African civilisations. Divination points to a lived way of life not at all primitive in standard and knowledge construction. The massive cultural erosion of Africa wrought by colonialism notwithstanding, in symbolisms like divination, Africans have continued to reproduce their personal and collective essences of indigenous knowledge system. Hence the need for the recuperation of whatever is left of African cultural heritages is crucial and an inspiring point.

What the above prove is that there is need to demonstrate its scientific validity, its value as a site of power and knowledge. We must begin to see divination as an indigenous knowledge system grafted on the foundations of sound intellectual production of knowledge and imbued with power to mediate the crises between individuals and groups. This approach would contrast

sharply with the etical orientation of the West, especially of colonial anthropologists, whose theoretical philosophy is to authenticate the Western imagination of the exotic *Other* (Ruth & Douglas, 2004; Bhabba, 1990; Said 1978). The ideological propositions of these studies need not continue to influence contemporary thinking and African studies scholarship; because divination's value to national development is demonstrable.

This study seeks to examine Tiv divination as an aspect of African divination system. Specifically, it looks at Tiv divination from the angle of space, knowledge and power, drawing critical insights into worldviews and ritual process as embodiment of local knowledge and power relations within a space. In one regard, the thesis' argument is that the divination space is culturally constructed in consonance with local values and traditions. In another regard, divination itself is viewed as a cultural embodiment that reinforces and preserves the ideals of society. The study also considers the values of Tiv divination and divinatory practices as those that can be harnessed to contribute to the task of nation-building and national development in Nigeria, and by extension in Africa.

Tiv mantic tradition is one of the least studied in Africa in spite of the fact that the Tiv are a large population. Our finding indicates that not more than five scholarly works may have been written on it and these are the works of Bohannan (1975), Shishima (2007), Ephraim and Andrew (2010), Sambe, Abanyam and Iorkyaa (2013). In undertaking this study, the researcher highlights the importance of Tiv's culture and tradition and value, especially from the point of view of divination in order to throw light and wider understanding and interpretation of Tiv divination Tiv culture generally.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Every social space has profound impact on the nature and organization of human life. As Lawuyi (2004:3) notes: "spatial consciousness has implication for the way society is organized, its environment managed, and its socio-cultural development pursued. Space, organizes and structures human relations in ways specific to its peculiar features." This characterization, no less, applies to Tiv divination. Divination is a cultural institution and it exists within a given space. Therefore, the divination space is a cultural space and embodied in a knowledge system. As a very ancient cultural institution, it is surprising that divination has not enjoyed robust intellectual attention in the academy. More often than not, divination studies have tended to emphasis the metaphysical and spiritual to the neglect of the social and cultural aspects. Studies

on Tiv divination have trodden this familiar path of religious emphasis (Shishima 2007, 2014, Ephraim and Andrew 2010, Bohannan 1953). There clearly appears, therefore, to be a gap in the analysis of the social cultural aspect of Tiv divination that new studies should fill the void.

Apart from the above-identified gap in Tiv divination studies, the other concern of this study, to critically examine how notions of space, power, and knowledge are constructed within the Tiv divination space. In other words, the study seeks to examine the Tiv divination system from the angle of space, knowledge and power. The overriding essence is not space, knowledge or power perse but the intersections of power and knowledge within its spatial formation, given that divination has social and cultural embodiment undergirded by prescribed norms and values.

For emphasis, the three key variables that underscore this study are: space, power, and knowledge. The processes of the social production and reproduction of each of these variables and their dynamic interactions within Tiv divination would be carefully analyzed to bring to limelight the cultural potency and agency of Tiv divination as a veritable platform with utility of being deployed to interrogate the contemporary afflictions besetting not just Tiv land, but Nigeria, and indeed Africa.

In specific ways, this study is about (a) the contribution to disciplinary knowledge, especially to African studies (African anthropology), and thus dispelling the primitivist conception of African knowledge system by Eurocentric thinkers; (b) make contribution to theory, and (c), contribution to cultural practice and public policy.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to interrogate Tiv divination with the view to finding out how the notions of space, power and knowledge cross-fertilize. As a cultural space, the Tiv divination space, like any other human cultural space, is undergirded by certain norms and values. In view of this therefore, the study aims at examining Tiv divination and how it is culturally constructed. The specific objectives of the study are:

- I. To examine the nature of Tiv divination and ideas of space, knowledge and power;
- II. To analyse the interactional processes, and the symbolic organization and linguistic description of Tiv divination space;
- III. To assess the changes and challenges evident in contemporary Tiv divination practice.

1.4 Research Questions

- I. What is the nature of Tiv divination and its place in the conceptualization of space, knowledge and power?
- II. What is the nature of the interactional processes, and of the symbolic organization and linguistic descriptions of Tiv divination space?
- III. What are the evident changes and challenges in contemporary Tiv divination practice?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The geographical scope of this study is Makurdi Local Government Area of Benue State. Makurdi Local Government was created in 1976 and it is made up of eleven council wards. We have chosen Makurdi Local Government because it is the most accessible to us, as someone who lives there, and because it has the largest concentration of diviners by our pre-field research. As such it offered more opportunities of studying the various types of divination practices among the Tiv people.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in three major ways: a.) its contribution to Africana studies, b.) its contribution to anthropological knowledge and theory, and, c.) its significance to public policy. In what follows, we would elaborate on these significances. The primitivist vision of Eurocentricism condemns all cultural expressions and productions of Africa as barbaric and heathen. So intensive, extensive and profound, has this streak of racist intellection impacted on the African psyche, psychological construction, self-confidence that it has eroded, the esteem Africans truly deserve; saved only by emerging radical scholarship championing Africans great intellectual contributions to civilizations over the centuries.

The radical scholarship in African studies has lent critical voice to the debate on the ideological value of knowledge (Memmi 1965, Fanon 1980, Rodney 1972). In contemporary African studies, Afrocentricism (Asante, 2004) is a forceful theoretical assertion for reclaiming African dignity lost in the maze of western modernity. The study is inspired by this intellectual tradition and its propositions. In this wise, therefore, this study demonstrates the significance of Tiv divination as a cultural institution, its social import, and philosophical sagacity.

This study is significant to anthropological studies. This is due to the fact that although divination is a very important cultural entity of man, it has not been given the much needed anthropological attention it deserves, especially, Tiv divination. For the Tiv, particularly, not much has been done on their divinatory practices. In this regard, this study is significant to

anthropology in three ways. One, it will contribute to the pool of anthropological knowledge on divination, especially of African divination systems. Two, it will expound on Tiv divination from an anthropological point of view; and three, it will expand the boundaries and horizons of Tiv studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Divination in Ancient Times

Divination is an ancient institution found across all human cultures. On account of its ancientness and centrality in human society and culture it has been a subject of intense conceptual and philosophical debate from the classical period to the present era (cf, Homer, Cicero; Plato). Divination is a mode of supernatural communication. From its very earliest beginning to date it serves as a means of consulting the supernatural forces, the gods to give interpretations to happenstances in everyday life. Cicero, the famed Roman orator, writing on the importance of divination contends that (Johnston quoting Cicero, 2008:3):

I know of no people, whether they be learned and refined or barbaric and ignorant, that does not consider that future things are indicated by signs, and that it is possible for certain people to recognize those signs and predict what will happen.

Anthropologists of divination have conceptualized divination from both etic and emic perspectives. The emic point of view sees divination as an intrinsic component of human social organization; it is immanent and embedded in the socio-cultural process of the human society. On the other hand, eticists view divination as a knowledge system that is acquired through observation, and that the human agency is the central element in the interpretation of signs that come from the supernatural. To the eticists, the supernatural forces, or the gods, do not play an active part in the divination process. It places premium on the human agency in the recognition of signs and messages sent by the gods, and accordingly interpret these signs and messages thus making it possible to address a given human problem.

To achieve this feat, the gods relay supernatural information to the diviner or ask the diviner to perform certain tasks in order to be able to decode and construct supernatural communications. It is on account of this that Beerden (2013:20) identifies three key elements of a proper divinatory process to be: (a) the homo divinaus (that is, the diviner, whether layman or professional); the sign observed, recognized and interpreted and the textual framework that the

diviner had to use during the process. These three elements are, in the etic formulation, the major characteristics of the divinatory process.

The earliest literature on divination dates back to around the time of Homer (8th Century B.C.). However, Cicero's work, *De divinatione*, is the earliest most thorough study on divination. It is multidisciplinary in scope and analysis. Cicero employs both ethnology and philosophy in his study of divination, in the process comparing Roman divination to the practices of the Assyrians, Egyptians and Greeks. He distinguishes between two types of divination: a.) inspired type of divination (e.g. dreams); and b.), divination which requires skilled interpretation (e.g. Ornithomancy). In her study, 'Divination as a way of knowing' Barbara Tedlock (2001) examines the etymological origins of the word 'divination' as coming from the Latin noun *divinationis* f. (*divino*) 'the gift of prophesy, divination. Also the word is related to the Latin *divines-a-um* "belonging to a deity, divine.' (Tedlock 2001:190).

It is important to point out that the word divination is derived from Latin, while *mantis* is Greek. It is apposite to state the etymological origins of both concepts. First, let's begin with divination. Divination means, 'to deal with the gods.' Elaborating on the Latin etymology of the word Lisdorf (2007:21) states that:

The term is found in nominal and verbal form: *divinatio* and *divinare* respectively. All previous attempts to construct an etymology for divination has derived from *deus* (god), and its adjectival derivation *divinus*, -a, -um (divine). This in turn resulted in two derivations: *Divinitas* (god) and the verb *divinare* (to divine) (1st per. Sg. *Divino*). The verbal stem and the addition of the suffix-atio results in *divinatio*. This account accords well with Cicero's usage in *De divinatione*, but the earliest attested evidence of the use of divination does not give the impression that a god or anything godly is involved in divination.

The word divination, from its embryonic linguistic origins, did not imply any form of explicit connection with the gods (Lisdorf, 2007). However, Cicero's influential work influenced the semantic conception of its meaning of the gods as a medium of making hidden meanings known to normal human perception. It is important to note that Cicero himself was an Augur, a respectable Roman priesthood and *De divinatione* is a part of his philosophical treatise. In his

work (book 1), Cicero demarcates the typologies of divination into two broad areas: *ars* and *natura*.

The underlining principle behind this division is that the soul relates with the gods. Lisdorf (2007:24) brings this Ciceronian proposition into clear relief thus:

According to Cicero a divine soul (*divinus animus*) exists outside of humans. This is where the human soul comes from. The human soul, which is in the body, has two parts: one, which is closely connected to the body, which has the property of movement, sensing, and appetite. The other part of the soul, which expresses itself in rationality (*ratio*) and intelligence (*intelligential*) expresses itself the further it is removed from the body (Cic. Div. 1.70). Consequently in the natural form of divination the soul moves freely and can therefore communicate with the gods. This is what happens when you sleep or is in a state of ecstasy as for example the Delphic Oracle. In the technical form it is necessary to use rationality and intelligence to see how the gods express themselves through artifacts and nature.

From any point of view of this Ciceronian classificatory paradigm of divination, the one central idea is that divination is conceptually theocentric. That is, the gods are at the center of the divinatory enterprise. Since Cicero's pioneering work, there has been a profusion of studies on divination, mostly, ethnographic. These studies have in their varying ways conceptualized divination and undertaken ethnographic analysis of divination on single ethnic groups.

On the other hand, the word *Mantis* is etymologically derived from the Indo-European root *men*, which means 'someone in a special mental state', and this was overwhelmingly understood to be religious in nature. In *De divinatione*, Cicero (2006:94) sees the Latin—divination—term as an improvement of the Greek *Mantike* (related to *mania*, madness, or inspiration). It is this Greek root that serves as the foundation of the variety of linguistic constructions of divination that employ the suffix *-mancy*; for instance, geomancy, chiromancy, scapulimancy, and so on (see appendix for the various forms of this use of suffix to denote divinatory practices). In addition to *Mantis*, Homer also uses 'theopropos and thuoskoos' (Landry 2014:11). However, the term *Mantis* remains the dominant of the Greek terms for divination.

The *Mantis* (seer) performed a broad range of functions that Flower (2008:24) outlines to encompass all the various forms of divination that are found in literary source. These methods include the interpretation of the movements, behaviour, and cries of birds (augury), the interpretation of dreams and of portents (such as lightning, thunder, earthquakes, eclipses and any unusual occurrences). The seer also examined the entrails of a sacrificial animal for marks and abnormalities of various kinds (extispicy), as well as interpreting the result of burning the entrails (empyromancy).

On the other side of the coin of technical divination was possession divination. It occurred when a seer (*Mantis*) serves as the mouthpiece for a god. There were variety of ways of maintaining divinatory legitimacy in the event of prophetic failure such as seeing the seer as fake; disbelief in a certain mode of authenticity; unconsciousness of the diviner in the divination process. It is important to point out that the first attempt at the complete understanding of divination in ancient Greek was made by August Bouche-Lec Lerca in his book, *Historie de la divination dans l'antiquite* in the late nineteenth century (Johnston 2005)

Generally, divination has been defined in a variety of ways. According to Edward Brunet Tylor (Tylor 1994: 293), 'the term is used to mean the obtaining of knowledge of secret or future things by revelation from oracles or omens'. In Tylor's analysis, which is evolutionistic in character, he consigns divination as belonging to the primitive layer of human evolution, a layer with its decided belief in gods and the primacy of the supernatural in human affirms.

According to Rose (1974) in her article on divination in the 'Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,' divination is meant the endeavor to obtain information about things future or otherwise removed from ordinary perception by consulting informants other than human (Rose 1974:775). Rose follows this definition up by giving elaborate typologies of divination across the whole world as: 1.) Dreams; 2.) Presentiment; 3.) Divination from bodily movement; 4.) Divination by possession; 5.) Necromancy; 6.) Divination from animals; 7.) Divination by mechanical means; 8.) Divination from nature; and 9.) Miscellaneous.

On his part, Park (1974), a leading anthropologist of divination in the twentieth century, defines divination as 'the alleged art or science of foretelling the future by various natural, psychological and other techniques. It is a phenomenon found in all civilization in all times and areas. Divination is the effort to gain information of a mundane sort by means conceived to transcend the mundane' (1974:917). Park compartmentalizes divination into three major

components: inductive, interpretive, and intuitive. The inductive component is derived from natural phenomena, the interpretive out of manipulated accident, which might involve either nature or mechanical artifacts, while the instructive is a shaman.

Divination, according to Zuesse (1987:375) is “the art of discovering the personal human significance or more commonly, present or past events.” The emphasis of his definition is on an indigenous understanding of divination, which involves spiritual beings, producing the following typologies 1.) Intuitive Divination: Where the diviner spontaneously sees the future; 2.) Possession Divination: Where spiritual begins communicate through intermediary agents-human or non-humans; and, 3.) Wisdom Divination: Where the diviner decodes impersonal patterns of reality

These conceptualizations and definitions of divination reflect varying intellectual traditions in the anthropological studies of divination. They cut across evolutionism, functionalism, and phenomenological perspectives. Generally, it is in the natural wont of human beings to quest after the mysteries of life. Since the dawn of humanity, the human mind has always being inquisitive and interested in such question such as, who created humanity? What control destiny? Where do we go after death? Are there rules guiding life? It is the answers to these questions that prompt what Radin (1927) refers to as primitive philosophers.

This inquisitorial urgings of man to interpret his environment has led to different cultural constructions and paradigms of supernatural communication. Among the varieties of elements deployed across different cultural activities to give meaning and interpretation to reality and the supernatural agency have been: a.) heavenly bodies, such as stars, planets, constellations, eclipses, comets, b.) terrestrial omens such as animal migrations, weather patterns, bones amulets, rocks, and forms of tossed sticks; c.) inner spaces, such as dreams, d.) hallucinogenic plants, e.) sacred set of dice such as the Urim and Thummim in the Bible (Joshua 7, 1 Sam 14:23-46).

One major means of preserving intergenerational sustainability of divination has been oral transmission through agencies such as priests, sages, official soothsayers, rulers, chiefs, and prophets. Divination, since its emergence on man’s cultural scene, has metamorphosed and evolved in varying typologies. In the literate modern/contemporary society, divination is exemplified in such practices as: astrology, numerology, I-Ching, Tarot and Runes. While its non-literate forms are associated with traditional societies.

The modern/contemporary type of divination is associated with the emergence of the printing machine. This was a major facilitator and popularizer of divination in this sense. According to O'Brien (www.ancientpages.com):

The Chinese invented paper more than two thousand years ago, and by 1045 a printer named Bi Sheng had created the first primitive movable type, which served to increase the production of reading material. His method was used to reproduce the oldest book wisdom the I-Ching, which is also the world oldest and most venerated divination system. Jonathan Gutenberg's invention of the Western press in the 1450's gave rise to printing of books in Europe, and the reproduction of Card decks, including Tarot cards... As literacy increased, more translations of ancient texts were made and knowledge of divination systems was able to spread over time.

However, the earliest historically recorded divinatory practice is in the Ancient Near East. There are bodies of literature on divination way back to the Babylonian period (Greenfield and Sokoloff 1989). Then there are biblical accounts of divinations (Joshua 7, 1 Sam 14:23-46, 1 Sam 23, Deuteronomy 18:15-22, Isaiah 44:25-26, and the Magi in *New Testament*). Across all historical periods, divination has been a major part of human life. The Chinese *I-Ching* is dated as far back as 1000BC, and the *Feng-Shui*. The Greeks had oracles that spoke on behalf of the gods. In modern times, divination has also moved with the times. It bestrides book and e-spaces. As noted (www.lunnascircle.org/divination):

The latter, part of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival, especially in the United States and England, with such practices as astrology, spiritualism and other types of divination becoming widely popular. Today, divination has become common place, from astrology columns in newspapers to large section of columns in newspapers, to large sections of bookstores featuring divination tools from palm-reading and phrenology to rune stones, the *I-Ching* and a vast array of Tarot decks especially in paganism, witchcraft, voodoo and Santeria.

As varied as there are divinatory practices influenced by social, cultural, historical and religious factors so there have been its conceptualizations. The root word of divination is

divinare, from Latin. It simply means to foresee, to be inspired by a god. It is also related to the etymology *divinus*, *divine*. Divination essentially is an agential interface between the natural and the supernatural worlds. It involves the diviner offering interpretative meaning to events and omens that have supernatural provenance and consequences to the querent (seeker). According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, divination is “the practice of determining hidden significance or cause of events, sometimes foretelling the future, by various natural, psychological, and other techniques. Found in all civilizations, both ancient and modern, it is encountered most frequently in contemporary mass society in the form of horoscopes, astrology, crystal gazing, tarot cards and the onija board.”

This definition combines both traditional and contemporary conceptualizations of divination. It further asserts divination as a consultative institution. On his part, Oppenheim (1977:207) defines divination thus:

Basically, divination represents a technique of communication with the supernatural forces that are supposed to shape the history of the individual as well as that of the group. It presupposes the belief that these powers are able and, at times, willing to communicate their intentions and that they are interested in the well being of the individual or the group—in other words, that if evil is predicted or threatened, it can be averted through appropriate means.

According to Hebert (1991:139) divination is a ‘way of discovering what trans-empirical beings and forces will do or what they want us to do.’ There are so many definitions and conceptualizations that we scarcely can exhaust the catalogue (see Mbiti 1975, Adelewo 1987, Ekechukwu 1982, Muthengi 1993). The essentialist underlining of divination is that it is a preternatural communication with divinities using human agency to interpret events and proffer actions desiring to avert unpleasant consequences and negativities.

Divination is very central in the cosmological thought of Africans. This is so because the African cosmology is not binarist in structure, that is, matter and spirit, but unitarist, eliding the natural/visible and the supernatural/invisible (Anyanwu 1976). Consequently, the urge to seek mediumistic interpretations to phenomenon is an important aspect of African values, traditions and religion. There are many reasons why there could be a resort to divination in Africa. According to Mouthing (1993:99-100):

First, people may engage in divination in the event of recurrent sickness in a family in which people have died. Second, successive deaths (especially where children are victims) may be another cause. Third, epidemics such as small pox which may take a toll of lives, may yet be another cause of divination. Fourth, crises of life-birth, marriage, and death are also reasons for engaging in divinatory practices. Fifth, barrenness of women which Africans in general take seriously, may be another cause of divination. The above list of causes indicates that suffering and misfortune are believed by Africans to go deeper than they may appear on the surface. Divination attempts to provide answers to the issues listed above, at a deeper level of looking at reality.

There are a variety of divinations. Each divinatory practice is influenced by peculiar socio-historical and cultural factors. Divinatory spaces are spiritual, cultural and epistemological and radiate dynamics and characteristics that accord to their ontological foundations. Therefore, divination should not be construed in essentially religio-spiritual terms, but also cosmological, and spatiotemporal realities and dynamics

2.1.2 Divination in Africa

The earliest known literature on African divination is the work of Henry Callaway (Peek 1991:2). He wrote on the divination of the Amazulu of South Africa by recording interviews with diviners. The focus of his study was on the processes of becoming a diviner and the myths about divination (Callaway 1870; Callaway 1970). As a Christian missionary, the chiefest emphasis of his analysis was to draw parallels between Amazulu divination and the Christian worldview; it was less interpretive and theoretical in scope.

Callaway tries to demonstrate this parallelism by the equation of modes of the Amazulu divination system to a Christian world-view. He contends that the spirit talk to the diviner coincides with the Holy Spirit in Christian cosmology, becoming a diviner resembles the conversion process, and the mythology pertaining to the religious practice is similar to the biblical narrative (Callaway 1970:259-265). In all, Callaway's analysis is decidedly promontory of the missionary agenda.

The pioneering anthropological study on African divination system is the work of Edward Evans-Pritchard entitled, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, and published in 1937. The work is the outcome of an intensive ethnographic study of the Azande ethnic group in the present day South Sudan. The research was conducted from 1926 to 1930. A thorough bred functionalist, Pritchard establishes the place of divination in the thought of the Azande. Divination in this sense is functional, especially in its exposition of existential phenomena such as misfortune, moral behaviour and emotional responses. He explicates the Azande divination system both from the perspective of the process involved in the divination and the rationality of the exercise. He emphasizes that in Azande divination, the case of oracular manipulation was non-existent. Evans-Pritchard's focus is to portray the complex theme of religion in Zande religion. Witchcraft is the centrum of his analysis of African divination. As he postulates (Evans-Pritchard 1937:63):

The concept of witchcraft nevertheless provides them (Zande) with a natural philosophy by which the relations between men and unfortunate events are explained. The major agenda of divination in Zande society therefore was to root out and expose witches. Almost always, witches cause attribution of unfortunate events. Divination thus is to serve as to identify those malevolent witchcraft forces.

Evans-Pritchard as an ethnographic purist is seldom preoccupied with theorizing as he is with descriptive analysis. Another major work on African divination that is also ethnographic is Victor Turner's work on the Ndembu of Central Africa. Turner's work, like Evans-Pritchard, is the outcome of an ethnographic study carried out among the Ndembu from 1950-1954; which resulted in the publication of his very influential work on divination in 1961 entitled, *Ndembu Divination: Its Symbolism and Techniques*. In the study, he interviewed many diviners on the Ndembu basket divination; even though, he never attended any divination séance. Ndembu divination makes use of so many symbols, and like any divinatory practice the over-riding preoccupation is to make interventions on issues of existential challenge such as death, disease, and misfortune with a view of proffering solutions to them. These existential challenges arise in the sociation process of the kin group.

According to Turner (1961:17), divination, therefore, becomes a form of social analysis in the course of which hidden conflicts between persons and factions are brought to light so that

they may be dealt with by traditional and institutionalized procedures. It is in the light of this “cybernetic” function of divination as a mechanism of social redress that we must consider its symbolism, the social composition of its consultative sessions, and its procedures of interrogation. Turner is reknowned for his contribution to symbolic and interpretive anthropology.

In his study of the Ndembu divination, he sought to understand the meaning of the symbols involved in the divination practices of the Ndembu. According to Turner (1961:4) ‘ritual symbols.... give a visible form to unknown things; they express in concrete and familiar terms what is hidden and unpredictable. They enable men to domesticate and manipulate wild and wayward forces. Like the Zande, the Ndembu believe that divination helps to tame the major causes of disorder and disruption in their life attributed to witchcraft (Turner, 1975).

Rosalind Shaw, an American anthropologist has also written extensively on African divination (1985; 1981). Her theoretical tradition is poststructuralist in parentage. As a poststructuralist interlocutor, she is largely concerned with the intersections of conceptual structures and social strategy in the analysis of African divination (Shaw1985: 287). She examines the social construction of the divination process, especially in terms of power and the definition of women. Divination, she argues, is a platform of ontological assurance, a strategy to negotiate reality (Shaw1985: 300). Divination is imbued with the power to legitimize authority and power. Another poststructuralist scholar in the field of divination is Susan Reynolds Whyte (1991).

The Belgian anthropologist, Rene Devisch, has also carried out studies on African Divination. His major contribution to the study of African divination practice being what he terms a praxeological analysis of divination. This approach places premium on the human agency, rather than the artifacts as the centrum of divination. The praxeological paradigm is expozited in the works Devisch 1994; Devisch and De Boeck 1994).

The African worldview is indissolubly tied to culture and religion. The supernatural and natural cohabit in the production of meaning and interpretations of phenomenon and causations. This organic copulation is elaborated by Braithwaite (1974:4) in these words:

A study of African culture reveals that almost without question, it is based upon religion, that is, it is within a religious framework that the entire culture resides. Furthermore, this entire culture is an organic

whole. In traditional Africa, there is no specialization of disciplines, no dissociation of sensibilities. In other words, from this particular religions focus, there is no separation between religion and society, and religion and art.

At the heart of this cultural-religious continuum is divination. Divination is a major pillar on which African cosmology is hung. This is so because it is the agential instrumentality that mediates the natural and supernatural worlds. It is partly on account of this that illness in Africa is attributable to spiritual dislocations (Schulles and Hoffmann 1992). Commenting on the place of divinities in this organic copulation of the material and immaterial in Africa, Anyanwu (1976:121) contended that:

In African communities, the diviners have the duty of interpreting and enunciating the relationship between the African people and the invisible forces. The ancestors and deities influence the behavior and activities of the people. The deities can be employed by individuals and the whole community to accomplish their goals. It could be said that a form of social-spiritual-material contract exists between the African people and the deities in as much as they are “worshipped” or “revered” only if they offered the people their wishes.

What this point buttresses is that divination has a central and key role in the life of Africans. Indeed, not just in Africa but all human societies. However, divinatory practices and traditions vary from culture to culture. This variation could be attributed to a variety of factors that cut across socio-historical, cultural and social experiences. As diverse as Africa is so are its divinatory practices. It is, therefore, practically impossible, to give detail and critical expositions of all these divinatory practices in Africa in this study. Some of the known divinations in Africa are Ifa among of the Yoruba of West Africa, and Sangoma among the Zulu of South Africa.

There are several works across disciplinary specialties on Ifa. These works are so much that it is almost practically impossible, to mention all of them. However, some of the very important ones are Clarke (1939), Bascom (1941, 1969), Prince (1966), McClelland (1966), Morton Williams (1966), Abimbola (1965; 1976; 1983), Lawuyi (1989), Jegede (2015), Longe (1983), and, Asakitikpi (2014) among others.

The scope and analytical forms of these studies vary. However, their essential focus has been to interrogate the Ifa divination as an indigenous knowledge system and its place in Yoruba society, religion, and culture. In short, how Ifa as a divinatory institution has influenced and shaped Yoruba cosmology and intellectual culture. Bascom's 1969 study on Ifa, which was a product of his fieldwork in the Yoruba country from 1950-1951, 1960 and 1965, is the most comprehensive study on Ifa. The work has two broad divisions: one, it narrates the nature of the paraphernalia of Ifa divination, and two, compilation of several Ifa verses.

Wande Abimbola, a Yoruba scholar, wrote his 1969 PhD thesis on Ifa and it was subsequently published with the title: *Ifa. An Exposition of Ifa Literally Corpus* (1976). In this study, he examines Ifa as an indigenous Yoruba cultural institution and its place in Yoruba society and culture. He also examines Ifa as literary genre, specifically, as oral poetry. He argues that Ifa beyond being a divinatory system, has utility both as an indigenous intellectual and cultural force.

Longe's (1983) work is an inaugural lecture he presented at the University of Ibadan. It is decidedly Afrocentric in ideological conception. It is arrayed against the Eurocentric contention that Africans have no scientific mind, and as such, have not made contributions to human scientific development. He quotes Dean Farrar (cited in Longe 1983:2) as an evidence of this postulation:

Africans... (were) invariable and expressionless, their minds characterized by a dead and blank uniformity. They had not originated a single discovery... not promulgated a single thought... not established a single institution... not hit upon a single invention.

Using Ifa as example, he argues that Africans indeed had a scientific mind, were variable, and not expressionless. He does this by demonstrating the similarities of Ifa and computer science. Given the newness of computer science, and the ancient provenance of Ifa, it goes without saying that Africans had a scientific mind that predates contemporary modernity. Ifa, therefore, not only should be seen as a spiritio-cultural enterprise but also a scientific body of knowledge. Longe achieves this postulation of the scientific ontology of Ifa with admirable brilliance and originality.

Asakitikpi (2014) and Jegede (2015) also dwell on the place and centrality of Ifa divination in Yoruba society. However, the point of divergence of the two scholars is that

whereas the former has a sparse, comparative and panoramic view of Ifa and other divinatory systems such as the Urhobo and Tiv, the latter is focused on the possibilities of harnessing Ifa for security and development in Africa. As he argues, one way of bringing about good security in Africa is to ‘invoke a tradition of African security philosophy of the Yoruba so as to stimulate or engineer a renaissance of the indigenous security system in the drive for a philosophy of physical security that has not been fully appreciated’ (Jegede 2015: 15)

Lawuyi’s (1989) work is a socio-cultural analysis of Ifa literature. It interrogates the Ifa corpus as having a sociological provenance. As he argues: ‘Ifa literature is a codification of a complex world-view, not just a disembodied view of religion or art. Quite often the literature used here refers to both the texts on Ifa as well as the studies based on the corpus-refers back to a context of ritual performance like that of healing, festivity and religious observances. Nonetheless, it is a text that provides insight into the socio-political reality of the Yoruba, traditional or modern.

To facilitate an understanding of this, he uses the Yoruba entrepreneurial society as an example, and demonstrates how the Ifa corpus plays on metaphors and imagery. This framework of analysis he postulates offers a viable basis for the construction of a theory of Ifa for its literary appreciation. The underlying point to be noted in all these is that a divinatory system transcends mere religio-spiritual understanding. As a cultural practice, it embodies a complex of knowledge and information that could be harnessed to reconstruct the contours of society.

Islam and Christianity are two Abrahamic faiths that have had profound impact on African religion and belief system. Of the two, Islam was, and remains, more militantly aggressive and intolerant of African indigenous religions and religious practices. Faki, Kasiera and Nande’s (2010) work examines divination among the Swahili, a predominantly Islamic community in Kenya. The Swahili have had a long time encounter with Islam, traceable to 800 AD (Middleton, 1992). During this time, Islamic and Arabic cultures were enmeshed with the indigenous Swahili culture. Given the intolerant spiritual/religious militancy of Islam against customs and religions it comes into contact, it is to be expected that indigenous cultural practices such as divination would be annihilated in such encounters. However, this study among the Swahili proves to the contrary.

The traditional cosmogony of the Swahili is varied and enriched by a plethora of spiritual beings such as spirits (*Koma*), nature spirits (*Mizimu*), benevolent spirits (*Pedo*), and *Jinns*

(*Majini*) among others. The creator in Swahili is *Mungu*. All these spirits have cross-cutting and dialectical relations and impact on the living, positively or negatively. As such, divination in Swahili is also a therapeutic ritual. On account of this, divination is a very strong element of the Swahili society. As they submit (Faki, Kasiera and Nandi 2010:218):

Thus, the Swahili see evil, ill health and moral pollution as being everywhere, and every person and community must continually counter them to purify and reconstruct flawed sectors of experience...all rites in Swahili religion are performed by or under the direction of a ritual specialist, custodians of the numerous shrines found along the coastal shore line. Most rites are performed to purge harm and ensure that the harm will not befall an individual in the future. This explains the necessity of a person to consult a diviner from time to time to ensure that all is well.

This enculturation of Abrahmic religions by African religion is a major element in the religious experience of contemporary Africa. Rather than obliterate practices such as divination, indigenous cultural practices have continued to exude themselves through their resilient energies. And as much as possible the extant factors that have been the major reasons for divination in Africa have continued to chime in relevance.

Danfulani (2007) and Longe (1983) share the same philosophical and ideological intellectual universe. Both are geared towards the demonstration that, contrary to Eurocentric proposition(s) that Africa is primitive and unscientific, African thought systems are indeed borne out of scientific knowledge and experimentation. While Longe demonstrates the similarities between Ifa and computer science, Danfulani on the other hand shows how knowledge system takes on a more intellectualist and philosophical perspective, using religion as the organizing mode of his inquiry and analysis. Reacting to Horton's (1993) assertion that African thought pattern concerning myths, rituals and cosmology are unlike those in the West, he uses the *Pa* divination among the *Mupun*, a Chadic speaking ethnic group on the Jos plateau to demonstrate its mathematical ontology and scientificity.

To accomplish this task, he undertakes an analysis of the mantic science, which he termed 'sixteen basic figures for divination based on a simple binary geometry that becomes quite complex with increasing divination figure (Danfulani 2007: 62). This divination practice is wide

spread in African and African American cultures of Latin America. In East Africa it is known as *burji*, the *Hubeer* of Somalia calls it *Khatt*, among the Yoruba *Ifa*, among the Igbo of Nigeria and Ewe of Togo, it is known as *afa* among many other names. On the basis of his analysis, he concludes that (Danfulani 2007:69):

Mupun divination praxis, however, vividly and glaringly demonstrates that the logic underlying both Western and African thought patterns is basically the same. The rational and basic principles involve in *Pa* divination system of the *Mupun* are basically the same with binary arithmetic, Bootean algebra, aspects of quantum physics, the truth scale in engineering and in digital computers. Divination is a legitimate way of making choices by presenting its clients with legitimate alternatives and ways of thinking. Thinking and philosophizing in divination and in most divination patterns with sixteen basic figures is not only scientific, but it is open ended, with numerous alternatives.

Although there have been many publications on divination in Africa, the publication of Philip M. Peek's edited book entitled: *African Divination Systems; Ways of Knowing* (1991) marked a significant point on the study of African divination. This is so because it is so much encompassing: theory, epistemology, practice, and trajectories. So influential that no major work can be written on divination in Africa without recourse to it. Indeed, it has attained canonical status. It is divided into five major parts with a total of thirteen chapters. The book developed out of a panel on divination at the 1981 Africa Studies Association in the US. The locus classic on African divination is the work of Philip M. Peek, entitled, *Divination System in Africa*. An edited study, it has extensive influence on the study of African divination systems. It is largely theoretical and cognitive in focus.

The central thesis of the book is that divination is a pivotal cultural institution for the understanding of African society and cosmology. In view of this, the papers are all united and arrayed against positivist epistemologies in the interpretation of African divination. As Peek (1991:3) notes in the introduction 'divination systems are not simply closed ideologies founded on religious belief but are dynamic system of knowledge upon which the proper ordering of action is based.'

Given that divination pivots the whole spectrum of human life, the paper traverses areas such as: comparative epistemology and the anthropology of religion, cross-cultural psychology and cognitive studies, and semiotic and ethnosciences as well as to religious studies and more traditional anthropological topics. Although all the works are crucially important in the study of divination, part four and five are focused on the critical interrogation of theoretical issues. For our study, Susan Whyte's paper is very important. The focus of our review would therefore lay emphasis on this paper.

Of all the literature on divination, the one whose aim of study approximates ours is Susan Whyte's paper in Peek (1991:153-172), almost bearing a similar title to ours entitled, 'Knowledge and Power in *Nyole* divination. *Nyole* is an ethnic group in Eastern Uganda. The paper addresses two fundamental issues:

- i. The issue of whom, between diviner and consulter, knows the truth, and how this truth is to be legitimately recognized in divination. *Nyole* diviners have to establish a mode of interpretation that consulters recognize as true. This is made the more important because an average *Nyole* consulter knows what interpretation is true or false. As such, through dialogic exchanges both parties' resolve their differences and uncertainties in interpretation by arriving at specific interpretation that is mutually agreeable.
- ii. How communication proceeds between the diviner and the consulter, and what and whom, it concerns. Often, in *Nyole* divination, the client is not the victim of affliction, but the latter's representative. In the circumstances, Whyte argues that such a representative-consulter exerts a kind of interpretive domination, proposing a social and moral identity for the suffering individual (Peek 1991:154).

Using these two referents Whyte demonstrate how knowledge is socially shared between the diviner and the client. In this case, both possess knowledge. However, the diviners are at a vantage point because of the underling presupposition, *abinitio*, that they have specialized knowledge. And in most cases, meanings and power forms are manipulated, through idioms, circumlocutions, metaphors, and allusions. Although in *Nyole* divination, both diviner and consulter, mutually possess knowledge, the divinatory authority of the diviner, puts the consulter at the receiving end of the power configuration.

In all, both the consulter and diviner by virtue of their knowledge wield considerable influence in the social structure of relations among the *Nyole*. As Whyte puts it (1991:197)

‘knowledge is power... and access to knowledge through divination is a means of maintaining it.’ One major way of demonstrating power is the adrogynization of divination, where diviners were consulted by women, or where oracular consultation relating to women showed that their misfortunes were associated with offenses committed by their husbands. Two, where consultations were carried out on behalf of the afflicted, thus, learning the interpretation of the cause of the affliction to the consulted: This point is stated clearly by Whyte as follows (1991:168), ‘since the outcome of oracle consultation was determined by the consulter, he was able to produce knowledge that supported his own political interests vis-à-vis other men.

In all, Whyte’s extensive work on Nyole divination (1981; 1982; 1988; 1990) clearly demonstrates that there are three principles that govern Nyole divinations. These are: one, the principle of relative privacy, where the consulter usually come alone, or with one or two relatives or friends. Two, the principle of lack of knowledge. This implies that the client has no knowledge of the causative agent(s) of the misfortune and therefore relies on the diviner. Three, the principle of incomplete knowledge of the diviner. There is no presumption of the oracular infallibility of the diviner, both diviner and consulter mutually reinforce knowledge therefore aiding the diviner’s interpretations.

One major weakness of Whyte’s paper is its inability to analyze the role and place of agnatic relations in the divination process and how this produces notion of power, dominance, and authority on both the afflicted, and possibly the family. In Africa, particularly, one’s being is usually mutually shared between the maternal and paternal kinsmen. Cosmic dislocations and their effects on an individual are shared between these kinsmen. Therefore in times of need, the causation of misfortune could be from any of this source. Resultantly, whichever of the kinsmen that could be seen to be the source of affliction exerts relations of dominance and authority. More, the remediation of such an affliction is based on their authorization. This is very much the practice in the Tiv land. This study proposes to fill this gap in the literature by analyzing Tiv divination, its social relations and implication on action and practice.

2.1.3 Tiv Divination

The body of literature on Tiv divination is scanty. The earliest writings were on Tiv were by colonial anthropologists. Akiga Sai (1858-1959), a noted Tiv historical anthropologist, was the first Tiv to write on the Tiv. In 1939, he wrote his classic *Tiv History*, which was translated by the colonial missionary anthropologist, Rupert East as *Akiga Story: The Tiv Tribe*

as seen by one of its Members. In all these works, however, Tiv divination practice was not given attention. The first work that elaborately discussed Tiv divination was that of the anthropologist Paul Bohannan who alongside his wife, Laura Bohannan undertook fieldwork in Tiv land from 1949-1952. On the basis of this fieldwork he singlehandedly and conjointly with his wife wrote many books on the Tiv that are today adjudged as classics on Tiv studies (1953; 1957; 1969).

His work on Tiv divination was simply titled as *Tiv Divination* and it appeared as a contributing article in Beattie and Leichardt (1975) edited work entitled: *Studies in Social Anthropology*. Bohannan's study is basically descriptive. Its focus is on the materials and artifacts used in the Tiv divination; and how communication is effected between the diviner and client. As he puts it (1975:151), 'for purposes of analyzing Tiv oracular revelations.' He uses the divining-chains to illustrate his point.

He identified three kinds of communication occurring during a seance in Tiv divination. These are: a.) the diviner ask the client all kinds of information, and it is expected that he/she would answer these questions freely if the divination is to be effective. In his words (Bohannan, 1975:152) 'the petitioners answer these questions freely- they say that the oracle cannot tell the truth if you lie to it; their attitude reminded me of the notion in our society that we must tell medical doctors the truth about our symptoms if we expect the best service from them. Therefore, at that level, there is a free flow of information.' b.) intuition, or what psychoanalysts term 'empathy and introspection.' This has to do with the diviner focusing his attention on the oracle in order to free himself to use his intuition and 'unconscious' perception of feelings and affects, c.) cocking of head to 'listen' to reply. All these elements dialectically cross-fertilize in a Tiv divination session to generate meaning and interpretations. According to Bohannan (1975:153):

The Tiv diviner, using his oracular equipment, and with a thorough knowledge of the factual situation through interview, a good knowledge of the affective situation through empathy, and his sureness of the principles of Tiv culture, engages in introspection. From the intuitive introspections of the diviner (based, obviously, on referents and codes well known to all those present), a 'reply' is forthcoming.

To interpretively underscore these elements in Tiv divination, Bohannan attended three divination sessions on a particular case of the age-set of one Ende consulting oracle to find out the cause of his ailment, hydroceles. The work is largely ethnographic in character. Bohannan intends to use this particular case to explicate on how divination is initiated in Tiv society, the divination process, the cross-questions, and disputations arising therefrom, and how they are settled, and the séances, and oracular proclamations, and at the end pass comments on Tiv divination generally and in respect to other mantic traditions in Africa. Bohannan (1975: 165-166) summarizes his participant-observation by noting that:

Tiv, unlike Azande, seldom ask the oracles about practical steps in the business of living, and they even brand their neighbours, the Uge and the Udam, who do so, as superstitions. Although oracles can indeed determine that there may be dangers that have not yet come to light and in that sense ‘predict’ the future- Tiv never go to oracles for that purpose (The assurance that you will not ‘perish on the path’ is sometimes thrown in by the diviner as an extra). Without the divining apparatus the Tiv mode of group decision could not be utilized.

Also using the divination chains and its modus operandi he also comments on its implications for Tiv social and political life. As he puts it (Bohannan, 1975: 166):

Without the divining apparatus, the Tiv mode of group decision could not be utilized so effectively—someone would have to take the authoritarian position of ‘dictating’ the answer, sometimes influential elders can and do merely ‘tell’ their juniors what Akombo are involved and occasionally even what relationships are to be ‘repaired’ but such authoritarianism is both rare and distasteful to Tiv. Whereas some African peoples use diving chains to underwrite the authority of leaders, Tiv use them to protect their non-authoritarian social organization and its way of taking group decisions. Through it, and through the ritual that follows consultations, the community is repaired.

This study is ethnographic, descriptive and concerned with mode/means and ways of communication in Tiv divination. There is the absence of a critical engagement with cultural

precepts, practices, and social relations and how power/knowledge interconnects. Again, it is uninterested in the spatial configuration of Tiv divination and its elements. Nonetheless, as a pioneering work, it has provided the scaffold on which subsequent works on Tiv divination and religious practices have climbed. Its seminal originality and scholarly insight are of immense intellectual significance to Tiv studies.

Another work on Tiv divination is: *Divination in Tiv Belief of system* by Shishima (2007). The work is narrative and religious in character. It looks at the issue of becoming a diviner in Tiv culture. It identified three major ways of becoming a diviner in Tiv land to be: call, training, and, installation/initiation. Further, it also identifies the role of the diviner in Tiv society. These processes of becoming a Tiv are not uniquely Tiv.

The diviner in Tiv is known as Or-ishor. The divination process is called Ishor Kpehen. Using the agbende Ishor (shells of Ishor) he narrates how the processes of divination are undertaken, and where there is the need to heal, the diviner does so. The diviner in Tiv society, he asserts, plays lots of roles. Some of the roles identified are (Shishima 2007:407):

Among the Tiv, a diviner is the father and revealer of secrets who by virtue of his/her extra-curricular sensitivity to spiritual reality and training uncover the mysteries of human life by revealing the past, present and even future secrets of hidden things and facts. He/she also belongs to the category of medicine men both in training and duties. He/she seeks to interpret and explain the mysteries of life, convey the message of God, divinities and the ancestors and other spirits to the members of the community. Gives guidance in daily affairs, settles disputes, diagnoses diseases, gives solutions to various problems and looks into the future. Is consulted freely by the people for both public and private affairs who look upon him/her as counselor, pastor, fortuneteller, soothsayer, prophet, priest, seer and solver of all problems. In fact, the diviner is seen as a mirror in Tiv society (sic).

Furthermore, the paper identifies factors constraining the affective utilization of divination in Tiv land. Among these factors are (2007: 408-409): the onslaught of modernity, the unscientific practices of diviners, lack of government encouragement and support, taboos, economic down town, and Christianity among others.

Notwithstanding these encumbrances, it is argued that the patronage of Tiv divination is on the upswing considering the large clientele. On the basis of this, therefore, he made recommendations such as standardization and regulation of practice and the enactment of regulatory framework to supervise and co-ordinate divination in Tiv land. The paper is largely narrative and devoid of any analytical interrogation of Tiv divination. In most cases, it uses precepts and principles that are found in other African divination system and on the strength of that align them to the Tiv and make generalizations. By so doing, it fails to identify and analyze those elements of Tiv divination that are uniquely Tiv, and how they are borne out of Tiv culture and cosmology. What is more, this failure also beclouds its inability to raise the discourse on issues of continuity and change as it inheres in knowledge construction; interpretation, social dynamics and self-reflexivity.

Two papers, Ephraim and Adegas (2010) and Sambe, Abanyam and Iorkyaa (2013) examine Tiv divination from a medical point of view. Specifically, they look at the role and place of divination in the traditional Tiv health architecture. Divination, they all concur, plays a central role in the etiological analysis of diseases in Africa. This is made the more so because in the African worldview both the material and spiritual are one and the same. In this wise, therefore, diviners who have the supernatural agential powers are able to interpret disease conditions from the spiritual point of view, and based on their diagnosis, medicinal prescriptions and a host of other ritualistic practices are undertaken in order to heal the afflicted/diseased. In this way, therefore, divination in traditional health system is at par with modern-day laboratory diagnosis. The diviner and laboratory technician are therefore professional colleagues practicing in two separate health systems.

Ephraim and Andrew capture the place of divination in Tiv traditional health care system as follows (Ephraim and Adegas 2010:426):

Divination plays a significant role in the restoration of health to the sick in Tiv religion. This is because it is through it that the causes of illness are unraveled, the type of disease affecting the person is known and the appropriate prescription to remedy the situation is ascertained. In other words, we can rightly assert that divination serves as a diagnostic laboratory owing to the fact that we do not have such in the traditional set up.

The findings of both papers indicate that divination has been very effective in healing especially in diseases whose physiological provenance has preternatural attribution. Indications that the sources of these kinds of diseases are supernatural are that they are occasioned by omens, and show no symptom of irruption. In view of the importance and usefulness of divination in the treatment of ailment, especially those with supernatural provenances, both papers contend that divination should be incorporated into modern health care system. This, it is envisaged, would enhance the effectiveness and overall service delivery capacity of the health system.

The focus of these two papers is clearly delineated: health, especially the need to professionalize the services of diviners as laboratory diagnostician. The papers are not interested in interrogating the epistemological foundation of Tiv divination, their materialities, entities, and reflexes in spatial contests. All these scholarly works on Tiv divination clearly demonstrate that there exist a gap in the study of Tiv divination.

This gap is the absence of a study that takes a critical look at Tiv divination in its spatial context as a cultural practice and on the basis of that dissect its various components especially how they dynamically cross-fertilize and intersect to produce knowledge and generate power in its social relations. This is the gap that this study proposes to fill. No work, to the best of our knowledge, has been written on this aspect of Tiv divination. It is also in this sense that the work draws its originality and contribution to knowledge in Tiv studies in particular to the growing corpus of works on anthropology of divination of the African continent in general.

2.1.4 Conceptualization of Major Variables

There are basically three key variables that are central to the understanding and interpretation of this study. They are: space, power and knowledge. In this subsection, these variables are examined.

2.1.5 Space

The concept of space as an imagined entity of activity is central in human social thought. It defines organization and activity. In short, human activities are woven around spatialized boundaries. Because of this importance of space, it has come to occupy a space in the theoretical imagination of man since the ancient times. Consequently, it has undergone profound analytical transformation and conceptualizations (Lefebvre 1991, Ross 1988). As the analyses of space took on intense scholarly interest, also the constitutive elements inherent in a given space and

their dynamic and interrelatedness to wider issues of social and human development took prominence and centre stage.

This was especially so for in the areas of the logic of space as it concerns multiscales, multiple agency, and temporalities. As noted by Gulde (www.spatial.scholarship.org)

By the end of the nineteenth century, the term 'space' has a radically promiscuous career. Space slipped between the social 'space' that fin-de-siècle sociologists discovered around the Paris commune; the 'personal space', of midcentury psychologists and the 'Cartesian space' that Marxist geographer after 1968 associated with the liberal government and the role of capital.

Space analysis is important because society has spatial dimensions. These dimensions of the sociological conceptualization of space could both be in terms of 'physical space' and 'social realism' and for social interactions. Each space is identified by its markers. Spaces and their conceptualization have profound impact in understanding the organization of a society, their implications on social lives, and how society and the organization of social lives also impact on space reconfigurations (Gans, 2002).

Space studies are anchored on a multidisciplinary methodology. This is so because issues of space cut across disciplinary boundaries. For instance, the sociology of space analyses the material and social constitution of space, especially 'understanding the social practices, institutional forces, and material complexity of how humans and space interact.' Anthropology of space, while examining the aforementioned issues, locates them within the ambience of a cultural fulcrum (Zuniga, 2003). In view of this fact, therefore, there are specific and salient areas of disciplinary emphasis, and in like manner, various theoretical perspectives in the analysis of space.

Conceptually, space studies are replete with plethora of conceptualizations. These conceptualizations are often affected by a multiplicity of ideological, political, cultural and intellectual nuances. Lefebvre (1991) sees space as existing in a triad: a.) physical space/perceived space, b.) mental space/conceived space, and c.) social space/lived space, and yet to other scholars, space is seen in a binarist tradition (Lawuyi 2003), and also, relational space (empirical construction of space, unblocking space, image space, and place space (Thrift, 2003).

Anthropologically speaking, however, it is apposite to posit that spaces are culturally constructed. This is so because space is a product of cultural norms and values whereby such norms and values interact dynamically and recreate and reproduce themselves. Space formations are, therefore, mutually dependent, not an objective category; it is subjective and relative, multiple and moving (Chetrinescu 2001:158). Whatever strand of conceptualization may appeal to one's intellectual sensibilities, Lawuyi (2003:3) states matter-of-factly that 'spatial consciousness has implications for the way society is organized, its environment managed, and its socio-cultural development pursued. Space organizes and structures human relations in ways specific to its peculiar features.' Using Nigeria as a case study, Lawuyi (2011; 2012; 2013; 2014) demonstrates the cultural and sociological specificities of space, their recreations, reinventions, reproductions, and how they enhance, conscript and pose challenges to the development process.

Massey (cited in Barker 2005: 349-50) has outlined five fundamental features that are important in the analysis of space. These are:

- i. Space is a social construct;
- ii. The social space is socially constructed;
- iii. Social space is not static but dynamic, it is constituted by changing social relations;
- iv. Space is implicated in questions of power and symbolism;
- v. Social space implies a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces; cross cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism.

Notwithstanding any spatial paradigm of analysis, social spaces are delineated into two broad categories: the public and private Space (Lawuyi, 2012). The boundaries separating each, according to Lawuyi (2012:7) is thus: '.... Private spaces are conceptual forms that characteristically condense experience, which enables a reflection on a complexity and ambiguity of social relations and thought practices, not artificially articulated. The density and quality of the ideology allow for a serious altitude. The public space, in contrast, serves a social end: provides entertainment, allows marketing, creates an avenue for information exchange, and is conducive to the reception of people. The public space is open and accessible to all, while the private is close or accessible to a few.' Divination, given this broad delineation, for instance, is in the public space.

Interestingly, one important feature that is associated with space is the notion of power. Power issues may not be original to the original construction of space. However, once the processes of spatial dynamics and interactions get underway, power formations come into play. Lawuyi (2012: 4) epigrammatically captures this point thus:

Every space of the crowd, within a space of society, can inadvertently become a space of power, the third significant feature of space. While it may not set out to be such, once power is ascribed to the space (i.e transforming it into a space of power) by patrons, the power determines the aesthetic and ideological elements of the space. In this manner, power becomes the theoretical and critical point of and for reflection that informs the traditions which dominate the activities on the space.

All these expostulations and conceptualizations on space have direct bearing on Tiv divination. Tiv divination, like any type of divinatory practice, takes place in the public space and is underscored by the cultural values, norms, mores and practices that are peculiar to any such cultural space. The divination space, therefore, is a cultural space. And in the specific case, Tiv divination as a cultural space is defined and shaped by Tiv culture and values. In analyzing Tiv divination as a spatial formation, therefore, this study is concerned about both its construction as an abstract and epistemological idea, and as an empirical reality with concrete, specific forms of human interactions undergirded by cultural norms and values, and how power dynamics intersect within it. It is in this sense that Foucault (1984; 48) sees space as: ‘the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occur, the space that claws and gnaws at us is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space... we live inside a set of relations.’

2.1.6 Power

Power, like any other conceptual and analytical category in the social sciences, has been subjected to a myriad of conceptualizations and analytical applications. Power is also operationalized differently across disciplinary boundaries. In its juridical/political sense, power is seen from the point of economicism and politics. It has to do with compelling compliance and obligation. In simple terms, power is seen as the ability to influence or control the behaviour of other person(s)/ people to do what ordinarily they may not have done or acted differently. Power

has been categorized differently in terms of its bases such as: legitimate power, referent power, expert power, reward power, and conceive power (French and Raven 1959). Typologies such as persuasion, coercion, (force of one's personality or charisma), material acquisitions and wealth, and organizational superiority (Galbraith, 1983), principles of power (Guerrero and Anderson 2011); and soft and hard power (Nye, 2004).

Whereas in a juridical/political sense power involves the use of force, or threat (coercion) of its use to compel compliance, in its more sociological/social sense, it is conceptualized in terms of influence to generate or make social actions possible 'as much as it may constrain or prevent them.' It is in this sense that Foucault (1978:93), defines power thus:

Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere. And "power", insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the over-all effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement... Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with, it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society.

Power in this sense is closer to Nye's concept of soft power (Nye, 2004), which is the ability to shape the preferences of others' subtly. Conceptualized in the social/Foucaultian terms, there are different types of power and they exist in different formations. Knowledge is power and power is embedded in social practices. For instance, knowledge is a form of power. Divination is a form of social practice; therefore, power is embedded in its practice.

As a space, Tiv divination operates in a space that is culturally defined and conceptualized, and embodied by social relations that exhibit notions of power and knowledge. The critical intersections of this triad are the principal organizing motif of this study. In the course of the practice of divination, behavioural patterns are influenced and shaped to react in certain ways. This process of shaping and influencing behavioural patterns is how we conceptualize power in this study. This shaping and influencing of behaviour could both be material or immaterial, or negative or positive (Foucault, 1978).

There is a fundamental interconnection between spatiality and power. This is so because space is a major organizing structure of human life; power on the other hand is equally always

present in human relations. The dynamics created between space and power produce different elements in a given spatio-temporality. Commenting on the centrality of power in space, Slater (cited in Omobowale, 2014:23), posits that ‘in a globalizing world an effective theorization of power can no longer ignore the significance of space.’

The constitution of power in social relations could be either in instrumental (this deals with domination, coercion, manipulation, authority, inducement, and seduction) or associational (such as money, contacts, information, skills,) to empower associational participants (Douglas, 2004). It needs be stated that the deployment of these associational resource are geared towards the achievement of instrumental ends of power. Power deployed, in any form and context, has tremendous impact on both the wielder and recipient/object of power alike (Omobowale 2014).

In contemporary anthropological and cultural studies, given the immanence and ubiquity in social relations, central to the understanding of epistemological analysis. It is a social force that parades and permeates every level of social relationship. Because of its force, it not only defines, but also determines the character and content of interpersonal relationships. According to Foucault (1980:136) power is viewed in terms of generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit or destroy them.

For Foucault, power and knowledge are indissolubly linked, hence he conjoins them: Power/Knowledge (Foucault 1980). For instance, he contends that psychiatry developed as a result of trying to understand and control ‘Madness’. By so doing, it has birthed a knowledge system and ‘created’ new subjects and how they are to be so recognized. This study, borrowing a leaf from Foucaultian framework of analysis, examines the Tiv divination space as constituted in power relations. For instance, how it privileges power and knowledge simultaneously for both the client and diviner. It examines the nature and character of power relations in the Tiv divination space, the various codes, means, and modes of power expressions, knowledge construction and social interpretation in the Tiv divination space.

2.1.7 Knowledge

Knowledge is the key attribute that separates *homo sapiens* from the lower primate; especially general knowledge. The search for knowledge, beginning from its Adamic origin, has been that of an insatiable quest for knowledge (Doren, 1991). It is the repository of knowledge at the disposal of man that has facilitated the social, scientific and technological changes from the very earliest and primitive origins to the contemporary Cyber Age of information super highway.

Knowledge is of different kinds, types, orientations, and has evolved progressively across the historical continuum.

The subject of knowledge, of what constitutes it, and what it is, and how it is to be perceived has also been a site of intense discourse. It has been elaborated upon in diverse ways informed equally by a variety of perspectives and theoretical orientations. This could be termed the discourse of meta-knowledge or meta-epistemology. Philosophically, the study of knowledge is known as epistemology, imbued with its sub-disciplinary methodology and theories. The question of what is knowledge has defied concrete definitional conceptualisation since the classical times and has remained conceptually puzzling to date. This is so because the concept knowledge is largely abstract and lacks physical tangibility (Bolisani and Bratianu, 2018). The oft repeated definition that knowledge is justified true belief is also conceptually contested. For instance, to Davenport and Prusak (1998:5) ‘knowledge is a fluid mix of framed experience, values, contextual information, and expert insight that provides a framework for evaluating and incorporating new experiences and information. It originates and is applied in the minds of knowers.’

Knowledge is also compartmentalized into various domains with different sources (Mendelsohn & Elkana, 1981). For instance, situated knowledge, partial knowledge, cultural knowledge, and scientific knowledge. All these knowledge forms have evolved gradually, influenced and shaped by their unique socio-cultural ecologies. As Doren (1999: XVI) asserts:

The rate at which the totality of human knowledge increases varies from age to age; sometimes the rate is very fast (as, for example, it is today or it was during the fifth century BC), while at other times it is very slow (as, for example, it was during the Dark Ages). Nevertheless, this progress essentially never ceases and, most probably, never can cease as long as man is man.

In modern times, the scientific method of knowledge predominates. As a method of knowledge acquisition it is essentially based on the observation and gathering of data, and the analysis of such data on specific principles of reasoning and experimentation on the basis of hypothesis, theories, generalizations, and conclusion drawn. This is the basis of the scientific enterprise. Two major ways that knowledge can be generated are: *a posteriori*, and *a priori*. In

the former, knowledge is generated through experience, whereas in the case of the latter, it is before experience.

Having outlined the theoretical contours of what knowledge is, it is apposite to look at it from an anthropological point of view. Anthropologists of knowledge are broadly interested in how human beings perceive and understand their environment. Such perception and understanding is shaped by the contexts in which they live, especially their socio-cultural ecology. In other words, in what ways do varying human socio-cultural ecologies construct their processes of perception and understanding of their environment, and how does this defines and determine their belief systems and how it is maintained and transformed overtime (Barth, 2002). In a question form: how do we know what we know?

However, Barth (2002) proffers an anthropologically and sociologically oriented definition of knowledge. For him, knowledge has three faces: a) a substantive corpus of assertions, b.)a range of media representation, and c.) a social organization. In his words (Barth 2003:3):

I see three faces of knowledge that can be analytically distinguished. First, any tradition of knowledge contains a corpus of substantive assertions and ideas about aspects of the world. Secondly, it must be instantiated and communicated in one or several media as a series of partial representations in the form of words, concrete symbols, pointing gestures, actions. And thirdly, it will be distributed, communicated, employed, and transmitted within a series of instituted social relations. These faces of knowledge are interconnected.... These three faces of knowledge appear together precisely in the particulars of action in every event of the application of knowledge, in every transaction in knowledge, in every performance.

Tiv divination, like any other form of divinatory practice is a site of knowledge. It embodies these Barthian ingredients of knowledge, that is, it is discursive, and inheres in itself representations of agency and power. In classical Mannheimian tradition, knowledge has a dynamic interrelationship between man and his society. Resultantly, it orders and organizes, arranges, and decodes man's society and culture. In this way, therefore, knowledge is related to power. Both influence and sharpen each other.

In conducting an anthropological analysis of a knowledge system such as Tiv divination, it is geared towards leading ‘to a pragmatics of knowledge, that is to say, a consideration of how knowledge is constructed, as the product of practical competencies (savoir-faire) and of intellectual operations. Such an approach seeks to understand knowledge as it is historically situated, as it is embodied within contexts, space, institutions and materialized through physical inscriptions which are communicated to others’.

Divination is an indigenous knowledge system (Hountondji: 1997, Akinwumi, et al 2007). It is transcendental and supernatural in character and relies on rituals, ritual manipulations, symbols and metaphors as descriptors to give meaning to phenomena that are culturally embedded. In this study, we are concerned with divination both as an implicit and explicit knowledge especially as it relates to Tiv divination as a cultural institution. We examine how knowledge is constructed in Tiv divination and how messages and meaning are communicated using the various symbols and paraphernalia of divination. For as Barker (2005) argues, knowledge gives meanings to material objects and social practices that are brought into view and made intelligible to us. Above all else, the study would look at how Tiv divination as a form of knowledge and practice embodies and produces notions of power and power relations within its epistemological spaces.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts Michel Foucault theory’s of power/knowledge as its theoretical framework. Michel Foucault is a French philosopher, whose genres of intellectual disquisitions are vast. Because his contributions bestraddle many disciplinary fields, he is adjudged to be a multi-disciplinarian and one at home in the meta-disciplines – the study of studies (Kendall and Wickham, 2004:141). He intellectualizes on subjects such as art, music, history, psychiatry, sociology, and also theorizes on a number of themes cutting across these disciplines. His intellectual evolution has been categorized into three phases. These are, the archaeological, genealogical, and ethical phases.

The Archaeological Phase (1950’s-1960’s-1968) is laid out in his book, *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Science*. In this phase, Foucault, using what is termed the archaeological methodology, is essentially concerned with the investigation of communities of discourse and the way in which particular languages or disciplinary codes define those

communities. The major influence on his thought in this phase is structuralism, especially its emphasis on synchronic rather than diachronic modes of analysis. As a methodology, structuralism privileges space over time, and paradigm over progress.

The Foucaultian archaeological methodology is a way of doing historical analysis of system or discourse. It is geared towards the description of the 'archive', which according to Foucault, refers to as the general system of formation and transformation of statements' that exist at a given period within a particular society. 'The archive determines both the rules and defines the limits and forms of expressibility, conservation, memory, reactivation and appropriation.

The essentiality of the Foucaultian methodology is archaeological analysis and the description of the archive, literally what may be spoken of in discourse, what statement survives, disappear, got recognized, etc. The ultimate objective of such an analysis of discourse is not to reveal a hidden meaning or deep truth, neither is it to trace the origin of discourse to a particular mind or subject, but to document its conditions of existence and the field in which it is deployed. Hence, if the object of archaeological analysis is a description of the entire archive, a description of systems of statements of discursive formations, the question arises as to possible similarities with the history of ideas.' Some of the major features of the archaeological methodology are: a.) archaeology focuses on temporal discontinuity; b.) archaeology focuses on knowledge; and c.) archaeology articulates existing problematization in their static forms.

The Genealogical Phase (1969-1970-1977) emphasis is on power. The major book that expounds this methodology is his *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of Prison (1977)*. He borrows the word/concept, 'genealogy,' from the German philosopher, Frederic Nietzsche. As an approach, genealogy refers to an investigative analysis that presupposes and assumes that 'truth', wherever it is to be found, or appears, is always relative to an order of power (e-notes). In this sense, therefore, genealogical discourse is one on the social practices that may also be understood as a matrix power.

Genealogy is not understood as the etymological origins of the word indicate; that is, the search for origins, nor the construction of a linear development. Rather, its theoretical properties are:

- a. It is a counter historical narrative of the position of the subject and traces the development of peoples and societies through history;

- b. The genealogy of the subject accounts for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects, and so on without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history;
- c. It deconstructs truth, positing that truth is discoverable by chance facilitated by power/knowledge. As such, all truth are questionable;
- d. It contends that there is no uniformity and regularity of history, and that truth is irregular and inconstant, and that history is not linear;
- e. It is opposed to universal conceptualization of phenomena;
- f. It looks at practices as overlapping and self-reinterpreting;
- g. Genealogy is an expansion on the theoretical and methodological scope of archaeology rather than a replacement;
- h. It expands on temporal discontinuity by embracing both continuity and discontinuity in history;
- i. Genealogy focus on the intersections of power/knowledge;
- j. Genealogy traces problematization in their contingent emergence and through complex practices;
- k. Genealogy does not look at history as a single, unified process, nor does it produce a condensed narrative of history. Rather, the genealogist is saddled with the task of dealing with complex processes, which cannot be subordinated to general laws but dealt within their specificity and locality;
- l. Genealogy is suspicious of universal categories and categorizations;
- m. Genealogy interrogates contemporary reality, with the aim of transforming such a reality and opening up new possibilities of thought and action.

The Ethical Phase (1977-1984) melds the genealogical approach with the analysis and study of political and moral issues. Major issues that occupy his theoretical concern in this phase are sexuality and its origins in Christian ideas of the self. The theoretical direction of this phase is outlined in his book: *The History of Sexuality*.

In the words of Kendall and Wickham (2004:143), the Foucaultian framework “is an approach rather than a methodology, a predisposition to look at certain questions rather than others. Just as the Marxist tends to find most answers in the economy, and the functionalists in

the functional or dysfunctional relationship of one part of the social system to another, so the Foucaultian framework emphasizes certain sorts of phenomenon...”

Archaeology is the term that Foucault uses to characterize his approach to analysis (Farshid 2010; Foucault 1995). According to Kendall and Wickham (2004:143):

Archaeology is a historical investigation, but one always tempered by skepticism. Just as ‘real’ archaeologists need time passed for their endeavours to bear any fruit, so the Foucaultian archaeologist needs time passed, not least because Foucaultian archaeology is an approach designed to understand knowledge, practices, relations, etc., that have stabilized, rather than those that are in flux. Foucault himself never did any archaeologies that made their way as far as the twentieth-century even though he usually choose twentieth-century problem to archaeologize (Kendall and Wickham 2004:143).

Foucaultian archaeological methodology is problem-based and not period based. Though the question that it raises could have historical orientation, it seeks to identify discontinuities in practices. It explores ‘how’ questions, rather than, ‘why’ questions. For instance, how did such and such practice come to exist? And by asking such question, the methodology is geared towards constructionism (Hacking 1999). The approach seeks for a novel, new ideas or way of conceptualizing a problem, and is interested in continuous archaeological diggings until one finds the relative beginnings of a practice. It also places emphasis on discursive history; that is, it is more concerned with knowledge, individuals and institutions. This is so because in its methodological imaginings, knowledge has a primacy of place over and above ‘non-discursive’ elements such as peoples, materials, objects, etc., which are governed by knowledge.

Power, according to Foucault, defies any form of monolithic conceptualization, such as political scientists are wont do, or in economic, capital terms, that Marxists posits. On the contrary he sees power as coming from multiple sources and means, and also inversely, multiple means and sources of resistance.

Foucault asserts that knowledge is a form of power. That knowledge is derived from power, and that power produces it. In view of this interconnectivity, he often wrote power and knowledge as a singular, thus: power/knowledge. According to him (Foucault 1977: 27):

Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of ‘the truth but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, one applied in the real world, has effects, and in that sense at least, becomes true. Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of other entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practice. Thus, ‘there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations (Foucault 1977:27).

Power and knowledge, according to Foucault, comes from observing people. A good example that he uses to buttress this point is the Panopticon, an architectural design put forth by Jeremy Bentham in the mid-19th century for prisons, insane asylums, schools, hospitals, and factories. Before that the monarchical punishments of deviants was by cruel means such as public torture and executions, what he called “the spectacle of the scaffold”. The problem with this system was not the cruelty *per se*, but that it did not produce the intended effect of deterrence. Rather, the victims became heroes of folktales and pamphlets, in the process generating and breeding more resentment than discipline. Thus, the scaffold, that is, the great display of power and brutality, were replaced by discipline and normalizing institutions of less visible, more discreet, and most importantly, more efficient power (Larkin, 2011).

In the system of the Panopticon, the victim/prisoner is under constant surveillance, resultantly, the Panopticon created a powerful and sophisticated internalized coercion, as a result of the observation. What is more, each prisoner was separated from another, allowing for no interaction, no communication. It enabled the guards to see the prisoners by standing at their watchtower, whereas the prisoners wouldn’t see the guard. This therefore acted as a control mechanism, and a consciousness of constant surveillance was internalized.

Foucault uses the Panopticon as a metaphor to explore the relationship between a) ‘systems of social control of people in disciplinary situation; and b.) The power/knowledge concept. This marked the transition to disciplinary power where every event is supervised and recorded. The result of the Panopticon is that it leads to the acceptance of regulations and docility, and as such, leads to the internalization of conforming to societal expectations.

The conforming to expectation is induced because as a result of the knowledge the observer has over the observed. Knowledge is, therefore, power. Power and knowledge are

closely interrelated because knowing enables one to exert control and by this control one inescapably also has the ability to know. According to Foucault, power ‘reaches into every grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives’ (Foucault 1980:30). Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of ‘the truth,’ but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has effects, and in that sense at least, becomes true. Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining practice. Thus, ‘there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, or any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations’ (Foucault 1977:27).

Power, therefore, to Foucault, is essentially and simply the ability “to” create change in society or in the behaviour of individuals be it positive or negative. Power is then everywhere. In every relationship, we are constantly subjecting it and being objects of it. Take for example a male worker. He is obviously an object of his boss’ power; if he joins a union and goes on strike, he subjects his boss to the collective power he and his co-worker possess. If the union bureaucracy then calls off the strike against his wishes, he is now an object of their power. Now let’s say he is the sole breadwinner of a traditional family but he drinks with a good portion of his wages. He has then subjected his family to his power as patriarch in a patriarchal world (Larking, 2011:14).

By wielding power, doesn’t imply that the wielder of such power will become authoritarian, tyrannical and dominating. Rather power should be exercised with considerations of ethics, what he terms ‘practice of the self’ in order to avoid its abuse. Using an analogy of student-teacher relationship, Foucault states that (cited in Bernauer and Raguussen 1988:18).

I don’t see where evil is in the practice of someone who, in a given game of truth, knowing more than another, tells him what he must do, teaches him, transmits knowledge to him, communicates skills to him. The problem is rather to know how you are to avoid in these practices—whose power cannot play and where it is not an evil in itself—the effects of domination which will make a child subject to the arbitrary and useless authority of a teacher, or put a student under the power of an abusively authoritarian professor and so forth.

Foucault looks at power away from the typical analysis of power from the point of view of actors, especially from the point of view of power as an instrument of cohesion (Weber 2011), and even further still, from the discreet structures that actors of such power operates from, and tow more towards the notion and idea that ‘Power is everywhere; it is diffused, and embodied in discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth. (Rabinow 1991). Power to Foucault, is simply what makes us what we are. “Power is everywhere” and “comes from everywhere” (Foucault 1978:93). In this sense, therefore, neither is it an agency nor a structure. Rather, it is a kind of metapower or regime of truth’ that pervades society and which is in constant flux and negotiation (Larkin, 2011:14).

Foucault, using a genealogical methodology (Power/Knowledge 1977) traces the evolution of his theory of power. The breakup after World War II, of all totalizing political and ideological systems, is traced to the Enlightenment Revolution. Accordingly, there is the dismantling of hitherto conceived universal, hierarchical, and essentialist knowledge claims as a result of what he calls explosion of “subjugated knowledge.” By ‘subjugated knowledge’ he meant knowledge that are under the signs of the repressed, the marginal, the fragmented, and local. They were those knowledge or voices, or traditions that were silenced by the discourses of modernity” (e-notes).

This oppressed knowledge, however, began to see the light of day in the Age of Reason. Though he postulates ‘the need for critical, erudite researchers such as himself, mole-like students of hidden knowledge who will burrow deep beneath the foundations of progressivist historiography to uncover the irrational, the discontinuous, and the uncanny. Such an anti-foundationalist history, or genealogy... will serve an emancipatory purpose; it will liberate local knowledge and local histories from...oblivion (e-notes).

Foucault’s conceptualization of power is diametrically opposed to the traditional juridical/liberal theories of power which see power via the binoculars of economicism (Smart, 1985) and as repressive. For him, this sort of conceptualization needs to be rethought. That such rethinking should be steered away from the theory of sovereignty. Five principal issues are associated with analysis of power within a Foucaultian framework: They are:

- a. The central location of power should not be on sovereignty, or political power. Emphasis should not be placed on who wields power but how power is embodied in institutions at a local and regional level;

- b. Studies of power should be oriented towards ‘its real and institutional effects (Foucault, 2003:97) rather than “from its internal point of view.’ In other words, the accent on the study of power should not be concerned with the reason behind the pursuit of power or the intentions behind it but rather is interested in how power itself work.’ (Natashab).
- c. Power is circulatory in content and character, always employed and exercised through a net-like organization’ rather than being seen as ‘one person or institutions authority over all others’ (Natasuab). Individuals are the vehicles of power; they don’t just experience it but also transfer power; they are not just objects undergoing power but also the agents exercising power.
- d. Power is not ascending and deductive from a central point. But on the contrary it exists at lower-levels such as prisons or schools, and the discourse of truth and knowledge generated at such lower levels is applied to more ‘general mechanisms’ in order to serve ‘forms of global domination’ (Foucault, 2003:99).
- e. Power is not a product of ideology. But rather the production of ideology co-exists within the machinery of power. However, ideology does not change them. According to Foucault, the ‘mechanisms of power would be unable to function unless knowledge apparatuses were created, organized and made to circulate and states that their knowledge apparatuses are not ideological constructs’ (Natashab).

Two important concepts are central in the understanding and interpretation of the power/knowledge theory of Foucault. These are problematization and episteme. The episteme is the philosophical canvass through which our refractions of theory are guided and understood. As Foucault states, the episteme is an ‘epistemological field’ or a ‘space of knowledge’ and with such spaces competing theories and concepts exist and are analyzed’ (1973: xxii). The episteme is culturally and historically determined/constructed. As such, between different cultures, or between different epochs of the same culture, there may be radically different episteme (atlas society.org). Episteme are always almost conceptually coterminous to paradigm.

However, ‘the chief difference (between them is that) Foucault’s vision is considerably more grandiose than Kuhn’s (2012). Kuhn restricts himself to the domain of scientific theories, and even that only in fields of science that are relatively well developed. Foucault on the other hand wants to cover all knowledge in any human culture. His concept of ‘episteme’ is

accordingly broader than ‘paradigm: whereas a paradigm determines a particular theory, an episteme determines what theories are possible’ (Atlassociety).

On the other hand, problematization is a method of critical interrogation deployed in Foucaultian analyses. Problematization is both “an act of critical inquiry... and a nominal object of inquiry” (Koopmans 2013: 98). Elaborating on the concept Allen (ndprnews) states that;

The term has both a verbal (to problematize) and a nominal (a problematization) form. Foucaultian genealogy engages both dimensions of the term simultaneously: it problematizes thing (that is, renders some things problematic that were not previously considered as such) and it articulates problematizations (that is, things that have become problematic and the process by which they have become so). Further, each of these dimensions of problematizations has two senses: to problematize is both to describe and to critique existing problematizations, and a problematization has both negative and positive aspects. Problematizations are both contingent and complex; hence genealogy as problematization tracks the complex under action of different practical vectors in their contingent intersection with one another so as to form problematizations.

Michel Foucault’s theory has influenced intellectual and theoretical productions across disciplines. In anthropology particularly, it inspired the poststructuralist turn. In the context of our analysis, we conceptualize Tiv divination as a space that is an embodiment of cultural forces, that produces notions of power, and that generates knowledge. All these reflexes are self-reproducing and cross-fertilizing in dynamic ways to produce, create, and culturally reinvent Tiv divination. Like any genealogical analyses, it looks at Tiv divination, not essentially in historical dimensions, but its complex cultural processes and manifestations in their specificity and locality.

One of the theory’s major strengths is that it is trans-disciplinary, affording the researcher the opportunity to harness a multiplicity of theoretical perspectives in the interrogation of phenomenon with the construction of ideological considerations. More importantly, he sees power as percolating through all the strata of society down to its minutest level.

Notwithstanding its theoretical strength, like any intellectual production it has been criticized. One, its epistemic foundations are rooted in European intellectual traditions. Most of the issues he raises, his problematizations are derived from an engagement with European

history and its social and cultural evolution. Their claim to neutrality, universality and scientific objectivity and empiricism is, therefore, contested.

For other critics, his conceptualization is heavily eclectic, exposed to multiple interpretations, and cluttered by linguistic jargons, verbiage, and analytical imprecision. In this way, a Foucaultian analysis, it is argued, is more often than not engaged in spiraling expositions and linguistic bombasticity.

Last, but by no means the least, some critics have accused the theory of lacking agency and resistance. Because of this incapacitation, it is seen as lacking in social action. In spite of these criticisms, the core theoretical postulations of Foucaultian framework, particularly the power/knowledge theory in the interrogation of cultural and empirical reality, is not vitiated. This accounts for its allurements within contemporary anthropological, and indeed, social scientific analysis. Power has been theoretically expounded by varying scholars as inhering in multiple spaces and locations. The originality and contribution of Foucault to the theory of power is his contention that it is ever present in all relationships and is at once both positive and negative. In this sense, therefore, this will be deployed in the analytical interrogation of divination both in terms of the omnipresence and crosscutting influences of power in the divinatory process. It is in view of this theoretical utility that we have deployed it as the theoretical framework of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology is central to the success of any research enterprise (Schwedt 1997, Seale et al 2004, Iyiola et al 2008). Anthropology, like any social scientific field of inquiry, no less places high premium on methodology in order to enable it arrive at empirically verifiable and objective conclusion (Radcliffe Brown 1983, Bernard 2006). In view of this fact, a work of this nature, therefore, requires a clearly defined methodological outline of how to logically and scientifically carry it out.

There are two major taxonomic classification of research methodology: quantitative and qualitative. Both forms of methodologies cut across disciplinary boundaries. However, in the physical and natural sciences, the quantitative research methodology predominates; in the social sciences, both methods are used interchangeably. Most often, the choice of a methodological framework is dependent on the analytical aptitude of the researcher and the very nature of the research, and at times, both methodologies are adopted in a single work.

In this study, however, the qualitative research methodology has been adopted. Since the issue at hand is the cultural analysis of Tiv divination, qualitative methodology, is deemed apt as it strives to uncover how and why it subsists as a cultural practice and as a meaning producing system. This methodology is made the more important because it pays particular attention to observations, interviews and focus group discussions. Resultantly, therefore, this study employs ethnographic strategy of data collection and qualitative methodology of analysis. Ethnography according to Brewer and Hunter (2006:6) is:

The study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by methods of data collection which captures their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally.

3.1 Research Design

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, two major approaches of conducting anthropological research were adopted. These approaches are: (i) the ethnographic approach,

and (2.) participant observation approach. Ethnographically, the researcher carried out a study of the research area with a view of having good understanding of the peoples cultural system and world-view. Thereafter, the researcher embedded and integrated himself in the research community as a participant observer and was thus able to be part of divinatory sessions. This approach was very useful in generating primary data and gaining understanding of the organizing principles underlying Tiv divination practices. The Foucaultian theory of power/knowledge was adopted as the guiding framework of analysis. Thereafter, data generated was descriptively and qualitatively analysed.

3.2 Study Plan

The study plan outlines the framework of data collection and analysis. The focus of the study is on Tiv divination, and it was carried out in Tiv land. The Tiv people are predominantly found in Benue State, Nigeria. Other states of Nigeria where the Tiv are found in large indigenous population are Nasarawa and Taraba States. The Tiv people are generally scattered across Nigeria as migrant communities. But the Tiv that is of concern to this study are the Tiv of Benue State specifically those found in Makurdi local government area.

There are twenty-three local government areas in Benue State. The Tiv have fourteen as follows: Gwer-East, Gwer-West, Makurdi, Guma, Tarka, Gboko, Buruku, Kastsina-Ala, Ukum, Logo, Kwande, Ushongo, Vandeikya, and Konshisha. The Tiv are geo-culturally divided into two major lineages: *Ichongo* and *Ipuusu*. This dual division of the Tiv people permeates their cultural cosmology and spatial thought. In every environment you find the Tiv, they are divided into two major parts, along these lineage lines. The Tiv are a homogenous group, though with little dialectical variation in language. The area of this study is Makurdi Local Government Area.

3.3 Study Population

The population of this study is those living within Makurdi Local Government Area of Benue State. By the 2006 population, the population figure of Makurdi Local Government Area was 500,672, (Gazette 2009). The Local Government is made up of eleven council wards as follows: 1. Agan, 2. Ankpa/Wadata, 3. Central South Mission, 4. Bar, 5. Fiidi, 6. Market/Clarke, 7. Mbalagh, 8. Modern Market, 9. North Bank I, 10. North Bank II, and 11. Walamayo.

3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Methods

A sample size is a minute extraction from the population of the study. Through such extraction, inferences about the entire population are drawn. By studying a sample of the population in Makurdi Local Government Area we seek to capture the essence and thrust of the entire Tiv population and their practice of divination. Four diviners were identified in each council ward based on the binary division of the Tiv and the nature of their divination practiced was analyzed. As such, the total number of diviners studied were forty-four. Our sampling method was random and purposive. In each council ward, we made use of one in-depth interviewee, thus making the number eleven. We made use of two key informants based on the division of Makurdi Local Government into two geographical areas: Makurdi North and Makurdi South. For Focus Group Discussion (FGD) a population size of eight elderly men knowledgeable in Tiv culture and traditions was convened. Two Focus Group Discussion were convened in Agan and Apir settlements respectively. The case histories of two diviners out of the forty-four diviners that we interviewed were collected. In all, the sample size for this study was seventy-five (75). The breakdown is as follows: forty-four diviners, eleven informant interviews, two key informant interview, two case histories, and sixteen members of FGD, eight apiece.

3.5 Methods

3.5.1 Primary Sources

Primary sources here refer to information generated through fieldwork. In this respect, five major primary research methods were adopted. They are:

- i. Participant Observation
- ii. Informal Interview
- iii. Key Informant Interview
- iv. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
- v. Life History

3.5.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is a major methodological strategy of data collection in anthropological study. It entails the researcher embedding his/herself into the activities of the group being researched. To get a proper grasp of the divination process, I first of all sought the consent of each diviner that I would like to observe his/her divination session. This permission was granted by all diviners, moreso that in Tiv divination, the act is carried out in the divination

hut in the full glare of everyone present whether consulting or not. This therefore afforded the researcher the ample opportunity to observe many divination sessions, forty-four participants observation were carried out during divination session.

3.5.3 In-dept Interview

Eleven in-dept interviews were held. One from each of the eleven council wards of Makurdi Local Government Area. These indepth interviews were with elderly persons from sixty years and above, all male, and of diverse educational background but well knowledgeable in Tiv culture and traditions, especially divination. Questions were asked about Tiv divination, especially as it relates to the diviner and the consulters. The interviews were conducted in Tiv language. The interview questions revolved around the study's core objectives. Response(s) were recorded electronically and manually, in notebooks and, later transcribed into English language.

3.5.4 Key Informant Interview

Those selected for key informant interviews were elderly and knowledgeable persons about Tiv culture, traditions, and divination. Their ages were from sixty (60) and above. Chiefs, especially Kindred Heads, were made use of as Key Informants. We choose two key informants based on the geographical division of Makurdi Local Government into Makurdi North and South. In-depth questions, bordering on Tiv people, Tiv culture, and Tiv divination were asked.

3.5.5 Focused Group Discussion

Two Focused Group Discussion sessions with a total number of sixteen persons, eight apiece, were conducted for this study. These two FGD's were convened based on the geographical division of Makurdi Local Government into two broad parts: Makurdi North and South. The size of each FGD was eight persons. Selection of FGD was based on criteria of homogeneity of subgroups, smallness of size, similarity in socio-economic status, and demographic contiguity.

3.5.6 Life History

Life history was used to enrich the totality of data collected. As Strauss (1989) posits (cited in Erinoshio et al 2002: 45) "case histories cover some temporal spine or interlude in social life, a biography, an occupational career, a project, an illness, ceremony". Accordingly, life histories of diviners were explored with respect to their engagement with divination practice,

occupational life, social relations, training, and social experiences. Two diviners were interviewed in details for the purpose of uncovering patterns in their life history.

3.5.7 Photograph and Audio/Video Recorder

Photographs and audio/video recorder are important instrumentalities in contemporary social research (Papstein, 1990, Abuku 2011). This is why they were used in this study. Pictures of diviners visited, studied and interviewed were taken (some) and some are presented in this thesis. Apart from visually authenticating the researcher's doing fieldwork, they reproduce reality to third party visualization, and provide platforms for readers semiotic decoding and gestural analysis. The pictures, as ethically prescribed for research studies, were taken with the express permission of the photographed.

3.5.8 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources constituted a source of data collection in this study. Emphasis was placed on the collection of materials related to anthropology, divination across cultures, and specifically, how divinatory spaces embody notions of power and knowledge. Particular attention was paid to Tiv culture. Materials consulted included books, journals, thesis/dissertations/projects, and other relevant written materials in library or archives were subjected to content analysis.

3.5.9 Method of Data Analysis

All the data collected, electronically and manually, through the aforementioned methods of data collection, were carefully sorted, decoded and transcribed. On the basis of this, a critical analysis of issues relating to the study's statement of problem, aim and objectives was carried out. The content analysis framework was adopted in outlining the key themes, concepts, and their interrelationship to actions.

3.5.10 Limitations to the Methodology

In the course of the collection of data, we encountered some challenges that in one way or the other affected the quantity and quality of information availed the researcher. Basically, these limitations were three types. One, in many instances, the researcher was refrained from using camera to snap pictures, or tape recorder to record discussions. This happened mostly with women diviners, and those who were illiterates. When the researcher asked the diviner the reasons for their unwillingness to be snapped they responded in different ways. To some, the spirits have warned them not be snapped and failure to heed to this instruction was at great peril

to the diviner. In one instance, a female diviner told the researcher that there is a ‘spiritual computer’ (Elizabeth Adué, 19/11/2015) that is used to record all the divinatory powers of a diviner and after such recording, a diviner so recorded loses the spiritual potency of his/her divinatory powers hence the fear to allow recording and pictures. In yet another instance, the diviner (Mama Alu Tembe, 9/12/2015) told the researcher that if she is recorded without her express permission the gods would destroy the recording gadgets and the recorder would similarly be punished.

Two, in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with elderly men, they were not enthusiastic and willing to volunteer information. In Tiv society, witchcraft is a very serious social issue. Part of the reason of the unwillingness to volunteer information may be due to fear that the researcher wants to gauge the spiritual knowledge of the respondents. In the company of other kinsmen, such elders were unwilling to speak in order not to expose themselves to potential enemies. Again, the researcher hazards a guess that the elders were unsure of the motive of the researcher, not being satisfied with the researcher’s explanation that it was purely academic. We say so because; no sooner had other members of the panel relaxed and began to volunteer information, the ice of reticence that had initially beclouded the interview session begins to melt.

Three, almost all the diviners were unwilling to discuss the issue of how the spirits transmit knowledge from the spiritual realm to them. They were completely hesitant in discussing how diviners penetrate the supernatural realm. From one diviner to other, time and time again, the researcher was told that that region of interrogation was out of bounded and should not be interrogated. In the face of these encumbrances, we devised other means of getting information. The researcher scouted for ex-diviners—those who have converted to Christianity or have completely abandon the profession for one reason or the other—and as such were willing to reveal the so-called classified information that practitioners were unwilling to share with the researcher. A key informant in this direction was Averyina Anaaker (14/12/2015). These limitations of the methodology, notwithstanding, the measures we took to address them were very effective in availing us of critical information that enhanced the quality of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section of the report is on the findings from our fieldwork. During the fieldwork, questions were asked and responses received and categorized with respect to the aim and objectives of the study. Basically, the aim was translated into three objectives. These are:

- I. To examine the nature of Tiv divination and ideas of space, knowledge and power;
- II. To analyse the interactional processes, and the symbolic organization and linguistic description of Tiv divination space;
- III. To identify the changes and challenges evident in contemporary Tiv divination practice.

The findings presented below are based on the responses gathered from Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Informant interview, participant observation, life history; and secondary sources.

4.1 Objective One: To examine the nature of Tiv divination and ideas on space, knowledge and power

4.1.1 History of Tiv Divination

All the respondents we asked whether they know of the existence of Tiv divination answered in the affirmative. However, when we posed the question of how divination emerged among the Tiv, their responses were divergent. We deciphered two oral historiographical narratives. A set of respondents contended that Ishor divination is *gbaAondo* (it is created by God). That is, it is in the order of God's creation. For this category of respondents, when God created the world, He also created divination so that man can inquire about issues that are

supersensible. Thus, a ninety year old community leader, Tyozuwa Tarkighir (interview 10/11/2015), contends that:

Ishor was created by Aondo (Tiv name for God). It is not the creation of man. God created it in order to help the Tiv people explain issues that are beyond human comprehension. It is difficult to say when Ishor started. If it were possible, at my age, I would have known, my son (Tyozuwa Tarkighir, 10/11/15).

The other narrative is that Ishor divination is the handwork of man, and it was specially created by the Tiv people to help in their experiential and existential challenges. To this group of people, God did not create man with divination (Aondo yan gba or a Ishor ga); rather divination evolved as part and parcel of the growth and development of the human society. And it is to provide answers to spiritual phenomena. Therefore, the emergence of *Ishor* divination is as a result of existential challenges. Thus, Chief Akaa Gbasha, a seventy-five years old (75) Kindred Head, says in the interview conducted on 15/11/2015 that:

The Tiv people created Ishor divination. Every ethnic group has its own divination. For us the Tiv, divination came about due to our curiosity and knowledge behaviour. Our forefathers wanted to know things in the spirit world. They wanted to find out the causes of human problems and how to solve them. The Tiv people had hostile neighbours and in those days divination was used to find out their evil plans about the Tiv, and when they were more likely to attack Tiv people. Tiv people used the Ishor divination to find out the cause of death. It is because of the very important place of Ishor in Tiv cultural life that our forefathers use to call divination *anpaseakaa* (explainer of things) or *pase pase* (explain things).

Like in the first narration, divination resolves spiritual problems, but unlike it the greater emphasis in the second narration is how to deal with existential issues of death, conflict, and misfortunes. Divination is, in this perspective, an explanatory paradigm, loaded with stated principles, which account for why things are the way they are, or could be different. In any case, the difficult task of this paradigm is looking into the word of God and of men from the principles

established by the phenomenological world of human experiences and actions. The knowledge which divination dispenses is of a less theoretical mode. It is about practical, problem solving techniques.

4.1.2 Typologies of Tiv Divination

The Tiv have four major types of divination. They are: (1.) Lithomancy – divination by stones, (2.) Geomancy – divination using pattern of the earth and stones thrown on the ground, taking pricks in the sand; divination by means of figures of lines; (3.) Hydromancy – divination by water, and (4.) Crystallomancy – divination by mirror. Other mantic traditions noticeable in Tiv land (interview Ahen Ugbile, 30/11/2015, Denen Dick 2/1`2/2015; Akon 2/12/2015) include the use of the Holy Bible, the Catholic Rosary; Islamic Rosary (tesbi) and pencil as instruments of divination. The art seems to respond to availability of tools within the environment and in this wise, is susceptible to change. What seems to be common to all the diviners is that these tools are symbolisms of power. They are of course, areas of specialization and a diviner is not necessarily competent in all of them. In fact, many are not

Each divinatory practice is largely borne out of the specific socio-historical and cultural specificities and peculiarities of given a culture. Devisch (1985) makes a classificatory taxonomy of three types of divination. They are: a.) structural-functionalist, b.) ‘external, cognitive,’ ‘internal, semiotic and semantic.’ Peek (1991) identifies about seven types of taxonomies. Adekola (1998) identifies three. And yet, there are other taxonomies.

The implication of all this is that the debate on the taxonomization of divinatory practices is unsettled. And as a result of the ever-expanding cultural exchanges there have been borrowing of divinatory practices across cultural boundaries. For instance, in Tiv land, there are some diviners that use the Holy Bible and the Catholic Rosary. Yet, others use pencil.

4.1.3 Becoming a Tiv Diviner

The knowledge in Tiv divination is derived from three major sources: inheritance, supernatural appointment and apprenticeship. But as many of the diviners consulted hinted, the source of knowledge is the spiritual world; but the point of departure is the way spirits or gods transfer the knowledge of divination to the diviners, the medium, and language of communication. Some diviners get the knowledge of divination after taking a divination medicine, *ichir kigh ishor*. The medicine is a mixture of herbs, able to activate spiritual powers in objects. Targema Kpelai, told us in an interview that when the herbs are taken, the would-be

diviner become qualified to practice. In his own case “after spending six years with my master learning divination and when he became satisfied that my conduct is good, he called me one day and gave me the divination medicine. The mixture was made up of alligator pepper (ikyeh), cow milk, short pepper (mgbakpa); all mixed together in a native pot with ritual water. Once I took it, my mind’s eyes opened. I could see clearly (Targema Kpelai10/03/2016) a reference to the “inner eye” that sees in the spiritual realm. Yet, to the Tiv, divination is a thing of the mind as explicitly stated in the aphorism, *ishor ka ke vanger* (divination is in the mind).

In the Tiv world view, human beings have fats across the layers of their mind that blocks the spiritual eyes. But once the spiritual concoction is taken, the spiritual eyes are opened and can see the metaphysical realm. This, in fact applies to witchcraft. Those initiated into Tiv witchcraft take this concoction in order to open their supernatural eyes.

To the second school of thought, diviners receive signals and knowledge of divination from spirits that speak to them directly or rather transmits signals to them. The manifested signs include either being sick as a result of one’s unwillingness to serve the spirits, or being divinely called. One diviner that is emblematic of this school of thought is Chief Akon Alfred, a Kindred Head and diviner, who resides in Makurdi town. He uses the Catholic rosary and Bible for divination, but as he opined:

I was sleeping one certain day. Suddenly I was awake and thereafter I fall into a trance and six spirits came talking to me. They told me that I should become a diviner and that I should stop forthwith my intention of going to the university. They however enjoined me to be going to church, avoid sex with patients, and not over charge my divination fee. In fact, they told me the divination fee to charge (13/11/2015).

It is not always that initiates have dreams and are called; they can even be trained directly by the spirits themselves. A woman diviner in the Agan Toll Gate section of Makurdi, Mrs. Elizabeth Adeva (21/11/15) revealed that:

I stayed with Adzov (spirits) for three years. They were the ones who gave me the powers of divination. Because it was the spirits that taught me, I cannot teach anyone how to become a diviner. My duty is to divinize, not to train anyone (21/11/15).

The training begun with learning the language of the spirits. As Ahen Ugbile (13/11/2015) told us he can communicate with the spirits in their language (dzwa ijov). But, many of the diviners that we spoke to were unanimous that there is nothing like language of the spirits. They opined that anyone saying s/he speaks a so-called language of the spirits is a liar or may be seeking to cloth the divination profession in mystic and exoteric garb, and thus confer on it an aura of respectability and dignity in the eyes of non-practitioners (Akon Alfred 13/11/15; David Kwaghngu 13/11/2015; Gbenda Tyodoo 02/05/2016). Spirits are omnipresent, omniscience, and omnipotent. They cannot speak any language, says Gbenda Tyodoo. So the diviner's language is the language that the spirits speaks (David Kwaghngu (13/11/2015). Faga Usue, a diviner, argues in the same vein: the language of the diviner is the language of the spirit (14/11/2015). Thus, the language of *Ishor* divination is Tiv language.

There are different spirits saddled with the responsibilities of attending to different spiritual issues. Mrs. Elizabeth Adeva (21/11/2015), for instance, says she has fifteen spirits that work with her. Each of these spirits works for one week and goes on break. When asked to mention the names of these spirits, she could only mention seven and told us she would not go further. The spirits she mentioned were: (1.) Fulani spirit (2.) Yoruba spirit (3.) Jov pupu (4.) mammy water spirit (5.) Atsu Kwase spirit (6.) Jov Tiv spirit (7.) Jov nyian spirit. David Kwaghngu (13/11/2015) on his part told us there are three broad categories of spirits: Tiv spirits, Muslim spirits, and non-Tiv spirits (atoatiev spirits).

Tiv diviners generally agreed that supernatural communication in divination is passed from the spirits to the human agency. There is no language distinctly called spirit language, but divination messages come from the spirit world and are passed supernaturally into the mind. This happens only when the mind's eyes are opened to receive messages from the spiritual realm.

There are several other ways and processes of becoming a diviner in Africa (Campbell 1979, White 1991, Danfulani 1994). For some it is hereditary, others are gender based, and yet others acquire the knowledge through apprenticeship. This happens too among the Tiv, but for them the method of becoming a diviner is not so much an issue as it is the potency of spiritual powers. Becoming a diviner in Tivland can be through:

- (a) Inheritance: The knowledge of divination is intergenerationally and intragenerationally passed down. The diviner inherits divination from his/her parents, more or less a family

heritage. Some of the diviners we interviewed entered the profession of divination through this process.

- (b) Supernatural call: an individual receives supernatural communication from the spirit world to become a diviner. Such call could come from dreams, visions, or trances. Two female diviners that we interviewed said they were divinely called. Mbazan Tyowase, a fifty year old diviner, recounts her personal experience (interview 10/12/2015):

I was going to the stream one fateful morning when I heard someone calling me Mbazan, Mbazan. I paused and answered, but there was no one in sight. Suddenly I heard a voice, saying, I want you to help my people. Go and commence Ishor divination. I ran back to the house and relayed the message to my parents. I was unwilling to do that nonsense (byume kwagh). However, I got lost for thirteen years and dwelled in the forest of the spirits. It was when they released me to come home that I came back and started the practice of Ishor divination (Mbazan Towase, 10/12/2015).

- (c) Apprenticeship: The individual enrolls in a “school” to learn from a diviner. This could be for the love of the profession, or, due to health or spiritual challenges. It could also be for economic reasons. With the exception of one diviner who said he learnt divination to eke out a living, most of the diviners we interviewed became diviners as a result of spiritual and health challenges.

After the call comes the challenge of professional training. The curriculum entails botanical knowledge, incantations, veneration of spirits and ancestral agencies, herbal medicine, and other ancillary knowledge forms. The duration of apprenticeship varies from one diviner to the other. There is no fixed term limit for learning divination. Basically, an apprentice is set free at the discretion of the diviner. This could be six months, one, or six years. A diviner, Ahen Ugbile (29/4/2016), told us that his training lasted for six years. He also told us that there are two factors that a diviner considers before graduating an apprentice: He must be in learning and character. As he puts it:

Even if an apprentice has stayed long with you and acquired all the knowledge of divination, it is not a must that you should initiate him/her into the secrets of divination. Knowledge of what and what constitutes the process of divination is one crucial aspect of the training. The other crucial aspect is that such an apprentice must be of good character. Good character includes among other things being polite, humble, obedient, having a good mind, and above all else, not being someone that could be contracted or hired to kill someone supernaturally Ahen Ugbile (29/4/2016).

Once the master finds the apprentice worthy, the diviner would undertake some rituals (akombo) on behalf of the apprentice. The purpose of these rituals is to open the apprentice spiritual eyes. Then the apprentice would be allowed to go and start practicing. But before commencing the practice, his master-diviner would consecrate and dedicate the apprentice's divination hut.

There are two ways to ishor divination: *laker gabi* and *bija ishor*. In the *laker gabi* typology, divination can take place anywhere be it on the road, market square; by phone, anywhere. In the case of, *bija Ishor*, divination can only take place within a specially designated space that is well consecrated.

In all Tiv divination space, the environment is usually cluttered and surrounded by so many artifacts and items that make the divination space aesthetically displeasing. We sought to know whether the knowledge of divination resides in these artifacts or they are merely for the purposes of adornment. Or whether without them divination cannot take place. All the diviners concurred that the artifacts are epistemologically irrelevant; that with or without them they can divine. However, why they chose to leave the artifacts is because they create an aura of spirituality in the minds of consulters and without these debris it is arguable whether consulters would patronize them at all (Ayajor Torwua 10/01/2016; Ageshi Kur 14/01/2016).

In some traditions becoming a diviner is hereditary, gender biased, and yet in others, none of these ways applies. Cambell (1979:56), for instance, commenting on the process of becoming a diviner among the Ngwaketse of Botswana has this to say:

The art of divination is not hereditary although sons may learn it from their fathers; normally a man apprentices himself to a successful

diviner who spends two to three years teaching him the art. The diviner prepares for his apprentices a goat's horn containing parings from the apprentice's little finger nails, hair, sweat, saliva, and certain medicines. This horn is prepared in the middle of the thicket, often hung with beads attached to a special root (phepa) and hung around the neck of the apprentice. The root stands for health, purity, guiltlessness, and motion light, and ensures the bones against contamination. The horn is imbued with intelligence and impacts this intelligence to the bones. The diviner also prepares the bones for his apprentice collecting them with care.

The Nyole had a process of recruiting diviners through divine call. Elaborating on this method Campbell (1991:157) states that:

Spirit diviners were thought to be chosen by spirit agents to take up divination. They may well have been familiar with the work through a close relative, but people did not think of becoming a diviner in terms of apprenticeship. Rather some form of affliction, such as impotence, illness, and strange behavior, was attributed to spirits who wish to "settle" (ohwihala) and to work with the person they had chosen. Not everyone who received such an interpretation of misfortune became a diviner; it was possible to "say goodbye to" (ohusebula) divining spirits with a sacrifice, thus refusing the call. But those who accepted the call established a permanent relationship to their spirits.

There are no culturally and traditionally prescribed ways of becoming a diviner in Tiv society. The most important issue in becoming a diviner is the ability to transmit and receive supernatural communications in order to transmit same to consulters. Failure of a diviner to possess this supernatural knowledge would lead to non-patronage because the clients would doubt the supernatural potency of his/her oracular pronouncements. This could prove professionally fatal, both for the material and spiritual needs of the diviner.

Whichever mode of entree into the profession, professional training is a *sine qua non*. The curriculum of such training involves mediumistic communication, botanical knowledge, in case

it also involves element of traditional medicine, herbal concoctions, hermeneutics, veneration of spirits and ancestral agencies, and other acts ancillary to the secrets of divination. The duration of training is dependent on any given diviner and the intelligence quotient of the apprentice. As Mbiti (1975:178) notes on the training of diviners:

Diviners are trained privately by other diviners and work as apprentices for periods ranging from three to seven years... training involves learning the names and signs of divination figures...rites and cults of divination.

Once the diviner-pupil is knowledgeable enough, in his, and the master's opinion, to supernaturally intercede for consulters, he/she graduates and begins to practice.

4.1.4 Paraphernalia of Tiv Divination

By paraphernalia of divination we mean the various materials and artifacts that are used in Tiv divination. There are no standard regalia that diviners use in Tiv divination. Some diviners use white apparel (kyondu upupu); others could put on top charms or rosaries, or simply do away with the white cloth. The other paraphernalia could be: (1.) mirror; (2.) water; (3.) sand; (4.) bones, (5.) sticks; (6.) cowries shells; (7.) snail shells, (8.) tortoise shells, (9.) feather of birds, (10.) coloured cloths such as red, white, black. Our use of paraphernalia in these categories is rather generic. We say so because in reality they are not used in the divinatory process but constitute the materialities of Tiv divination.

The choice of the instrument to use is dependent on the typology of divinatory practice associated with any given diviner.

In other words, there are no universally prescribed and culturally acceptable paraphernalia associated with Tiv divination. According to Bohannan (1975:149) 'Tiv people use several kinds of oracle: a rubbing horn, administration of sasswood to chickens, and several contrivances that Tiv themselves considers of doubtful authenticity.' The typology of the divination that Bohannan studied while on a field study in Tiv land from 1949-1952 was the diving-chains; and he gives a vivid description of its paraphernalia and use in these words (Bohannan, 1977:149):

The chains are made from the pits of the *ive fruit* or segments of the pods of the silk-cotton tree. Most chains have four such pods, held together with heavy cotton twine on to which snake bones have been strung. Tiv sometimes tell inquirers that the bones must be from

poisonous snakes, but different diviners in several parts of Tiv land have confided that in fact they are made from any sort of snake bones that may be available-and may, in fact, be filled out with fishbone, though that is something like stretching yam porridge with cassava. The diviner usually uses four chains, tossing them, one at a time, end over end, so that they fall to the ground in front of him. The pod furthest from the diviner is called the head, the second is the belly, the third is the genitals and the pod nearest him the feet. The chains are 'read' from cues derived from whether the pods' fall 'open' (concave side up) or shut (convex side up). An open pod represents a 'good thing'- not necessarily an affirmative response to a specific question. A closed pod represents a bad or dangerous thing. If one of the pods lands and remains tilted upright on its side, it is a sign that a grudge is involved.

Two Tiv anthropologists, Wegh and Moti (2001) in a similar vein commented on the issue of paraphernalia in Tiv divination. They stated that *agbende ishor* (shells of ishor) is at the centre of Tiv divination. This *agbende Ishor* is made up four bisected seed pods or pieces of bones which are serrated on the one side and smooth on the other; and joined together. The diviner usually picks one set at a given time and throws it down. As he does this, he venerates and invokes the divinities, requesting of them to *haa vough* (say exactly what it is), *kaa Sha gba-aondo* (tell the whole truth), *chir vough* (close exactly).

The choices of paraphernalia and materials to be used in Tiv divination are varied depending on the type in practice at any given time, and in some instances, within Tiv locale. As such, materials used in Tiv divination could be as varied as: mirrors, regalia, water, cowrie shells, snail shells, tortoise shells, bird feathers, colour types (red, white, and black).

4.1.5 Reasons for Divination

There are countless reasons people engage in divination. In Africa particularly, there is an incestuous relationship between the natural and the supernatural world (Anyanwu 1976). As a result, people are not contented with seeking solution to their problems only in the corporeal domain, but the urge to appease the supernatural is high. In the Tiv worldview, particularly where the power of life and death of a person resides in the hands of his/her paternal or maternal kinsmen,

the urge to understand the spiritual realm about one's social, cultural and spiritual being is very high. Thus the underlining importance of divination. Reasons for divination in Tiv society are (1.) illness (2.) fear of witches and wizards or other malevolent spiritual forces, (3.) bareness, (4.) fear of imminent death, (5.) poverty, (6.) lack of wife and children; (7.) fortification of oneself against spiritual attacks.

4.1.6 Tiv Divination Space as a Sacred Space

The Ishor divination space is a sacred space; it is a holy ground. It is the abode of the spirits. Therefore, anyone entering its precincts must do so with reverence, respect, solemnity and grace. David Kwaghngu (interview 13/11/2015), stated that the Tiv divination space is the most scared space in Tiv society, because, the Tiv are unwilling to openly and freely discuss sacred issues except in close groups, it is clothed in a dense, protean, elliptic, and metaphoric language. As a spiritual space, and source of multiple spiritual powers both the diviner and the client are imbued with different spiritual powers. In the Tiv imagination, it is assumed that these variances in spiritual powers are potent basis for the clash of spiritual powers. While the diviner is trying to consult the spirits to tell him/her the cause of a problem with oracular certitude, a guilty client feeling threatened that he may be exposed and ridiculed also invokes his/her powers to blur the vision of the diviner from seeing clearly in the spirit realm. On account of this, therefore, before the diviner starts divining, s/he must spiritually fortify his/her divination space against malevolent contingent forces. Diviners go all out to get the best spiritualists to fortify their divination space. Nguaiybo Origbo, a seventy five years old diviner revealed in an interview (15/11/2015):

If you as a diviner is not sure of the spiritual potency of the rituals and concoctions that have been done to protect your divination space from outside spiritual powers, you look for someone else who you believe possess higher spiritual powers strong enough to protect you and guide your divination space from external spiritual attack.

Spatially, the Tiv divination space is divided into two. The entire compound of the diviner is called *Twagh Ishor* (divination shrine). This covers the trees, land, buildings, cloths, persons on the piece of land that the diviner lives on. Within the compound, there are two important divination points. First, the divination shrine (*Ikyuve Ishor*) where all the charms, magical portions, spiritual concoctions, images, sources of power of the divination are kept. Second, there is the divination hut where the diviner sits and attends to clients. According to Ahen Ugbile, (Interview 29/4/2016),

most Tiv diviners have a good luck charm that they use to draw clients to their divination huts. No two diviners use the same way of spiritual fortification of their divination space as made clear in the case of two diviners that volunteered to speak on this aspect of divination—something considered conservative and exclusive.

Case Study 1: Spiritual Fortification of Divination Space: Mr. David Kwaghngu

This case involves a diviner who resides in Makurdi town in Makurdi local government area of Benue State. After interviewing him on other questions that guided our interactions, I came to the issue of the spiritual fortification of his divination spaces. At first, he was unwilling to speak on this issue, saying that it is a professional secret and very private. But after much prodding he accepted to answer my questions and the following exchange took place:

Researcher: Have you spiritually fortified your divination space?

Diviner: Yes, I did. And let me tell you, no diviner in Tiv land would leave his divination space unfortified.

Researcher: How was this done?

Diviner: When I finally made up my mind to come and stay here and practice, I called on my master who taught me divination to come and dedicate and spiritually fortify my divination space. He came all the way from Nasarawa State. When I showed him the place where I wanted to put up my divination hut, he made some rituals and incantations round the place. Thereafter, he cut a jiagba (tree) trunk, wrapped tugudu (native cloth) around the trunk of the tree and buried it underground (see picture).

Researcher: What were the items enclosed in the tugudu (native cloths)?

Diviner: Six pieces of alligator pepper (ikyeh), lion meat, and lion fat. These three items were fried and then enclosed in the tugudu (native cloth) before it was wrapped on the trunk of the jiagba tree and then buried.

Researcher: What are the symbolical meanings of these items?

Diviner: Lion symbolize strength. What this means is that no spiritual attack can withstand my divination hut strength. Alligator pepper (ikyeh) symbolizes Tiv culture. That is why we use native chicken, not 'agric' fowl, Tiv pot, instead of the white man's pot, and Tiv native cloth, instead of the white man's cloth in our activities. The native chicken, native pot, native cloth all symbolize Tiv culture. Jiagba tree symbolizes strength and power. It

is a very strong tree. Also, it is symbolic that any herb used inside this divination space would be conferred with spiritual powers.

Researcher: How potent is this spiritual fortification in the protection of your divination space?

Diviner: By God's grace it has worked very well. Nobody can come here and do any satanic thing and go scot-free. Indeed, before you come, I would have seen and appropriately warned you; but if you persist I will destroy you and all your spiritual powers.

Researcher: Do you have cases of people who come here deliberately to undermine your divination powers?

Diviner: Very many and they have come and gone home with sad tales

Case Study 2: Spiritual Fortification of Divination Space of Mr. Ahen Ugbile (Alias Alhaji Gande Mbastav)

This diviner is fifty-one years old and resides in Makurdi town in Local Government of Benue State. He volunteered to speak on how he spiritually fortified his divination space against any form of external attack.

Researcher: Did you spiritually fortify your divination space?

Diviner: Every diviner must do just that or he will not be able to practice successfully.

To answer your question directly, I did.

Researcher: How was this done?

Diviner: The following items were used:

- a. Akinde
- b. Vambe
- c. Gbande
- d. Native egg
- e. Akeshi (Kernel oil)
- f. Kpaagh (cam wood)
- g. Ikyehe (alligator pepper)
- h. Ikye Mou (cotton seed)
- i. Gbaaye

All these items were pounded, mixed and fried. After that, native chicken was slaughtered and the blood sprinkled on the concoction in order to activate it spiritually. Thereafter, the chicken was eaten and the feathers used to decorate the divination hut.

Researcher: What are the symbolical meanings of these items?

Diviner: They have different meaning in Tiv culture.

- a. **Native egg.** The symbolism of this is bomb. It means that if you are bringing any evil thing into my divination hut this spiritual bomb will detonate and blow it into smithereens.
- b. **Cotton bud** (Ikye mou): It has spiritual power and as such when added to the concoction makes it more powerful.
- c. Alligator pepper (Ikyehe): This is meant to nourish and rejuvenate the potency of the spiritual concoction.

Researcher: How potent is this spiritual fortification of your divination space?

Diviner: Without it I would have long abandoned *ishor* divination. Many clients specifically come here to try my powers. But in the end, they run away and their charms completely destroyed.

Researcher: Do you have cases of people who come here deliberately to try your powers and undermine your *ishor* divination practice?

Diviner It is a daily occurrence. Evil people keep trying your powers as long as you are in the practice of divination. It is only when they are unable to destroy your powers that they leave you alone.

4. 1. 7 Sacred Materials on Tiv Divination Space

Tiv divination usually takes place in a divination hut called *ate u Ishor*. The divination hut is divided into four spatial units. One is where the diviner sits. Two, where the divination items—water, mirror, and sticks—are kept. Usually, they are right in the front of the diviner. Three, a seat for consultants. Four, a clients' section. This part of the hut is where clients sit and take their turns on a first come first serve basis to see the diviner. The Tiv divination space is public. It is not like the modern medical institution where the doctor and the client have private discussions. Indeed, in Tiv divination, if a client is unwilling to disclose certain information sought by the diviner, the diviner usually enjoy other clients sitting in the divination hut to make their contributions and comments in order to entice such a client to speak.

The Tiv divination hut is decorated with a lot of sacred materials. They have their different significations and meanings. Among other noticeable items that adorn the *Ishor* divination hut are:

- a. Cow horns and tails
- b. Native pots and plates
- c. Native knives
- d. Native bag (ikpa abor atar)
- e. Smoking pipe (kon tyu)
- f. Native stool (ayakpa, or, Kpenga, or, Kujira)
- g. Tree trunks and dried shrubs and herbs
- h. Sculpted images
- i. Mirror
- j. Calabash
- k. Stones
- l. Water
- m. Snail shells spiritual perfumes especially *bintel sudan*
- n. Coloured pieces of cloths such as white, black and red.
- o. Rosaries (catholic rosary or Islamic rosary)
- p. Snake bones
- q. Crabs

Whereas some items are indigenous to Tiv, others are as a result of cross-cultural borrowings. It is as a result of this mixture of divination items and practices that some people have argued that there is nothing like Tiv divination any longer. This skepticism appears extreme and radical, for it belies the organismic nature of society and culture. Again, such borrowing as argued by Lawuyi is a manifestation of the adaptive and dynamic nature of divination as a cultural institution. But then, what people say is their culture at any given period is their culture. Hence, it is important to stress that whether indigenous or not, the sacred materials on the Tiv divination space are invested with cultural meanings. This is how Faga Usue, a fifty-seven year old diviner, explains the symbolic significations of the artifacts (interview, 14/11/2015).

- a. Snail shell: whatever the bad intention that a client brings to the divination hut would be sealed like a snail in its shell.

- b. Cow tail: clears the divination water of any spiritual impurities so that the diviner can see clearly in the spiritual realm.
- c. Bottle and stone: make signals of spiritual communication very clear.

In another interview, Ahen Ugbile, a diviner, while responding to our questions on colour gave the following clarifications (13/11/2015): Red cloth symbolizes woman. Black is for men. Red stands for female spirits. According to him, red spirits are usually very violent, wicked and bad. They come out in the mornings and evenings. While black spirits, representing men, come out in the afternoon (12noon) and very early in the morning. He also said that perfume especially *bintel sudan* is like food to the spirits. It activates the activities of spirits and enhances diviners powers of clairvoyance. He said the most powerful perfume in the spirit world is *Dan goma*.

A diviner, David Kwaghngu, in an interview, explained the functions of the various artifacts as follows (13/11/15): Tesbi (Islamic rosary). This is very effective in communication with Muslim spirits, especially on Friday. These spirits are six in all: three males and three females. The males are usually in the front row, then followed closely by the female spirits. The female spirits operates in the morning, while the male spirits operates in the evening. Another material item, Bende (see picture/plate), is used to see clearly in the mirror especially in situation where there are so many spirits appearing in the mirror. The cow tail brings out the leading spirits that would give the diviner authentic information. The big mirror (*pel u gbenda*) is mostly used in conflict divination. It is used to find out the position of enemy forces in times of conflicts. Generally, it is used to foretell whatever bad thing that is to occur, for example, accidents. This enables one to be armed with information to take adequate precaution. The small mirror is basically used to call out spirits and is permanently kept in the divination hut.

4. 1. 8 Taboos in Tiv Divination Space

Taboos are critical elements in African culture and religion. Taboos abound in the Tiv divination space. They are very central in creating cultural meanings and interpretations. The major taboos in Tiv divination space are:

- a. All clients entering into the divination hut must remove their footwear. The reasons behind this taboo are twofold: (1.) it is taken that the Tiv divination space is a sacred space and as such every one—client and diviner-alike should remove their footwear as a gesture of respect and reverence to the spirits. (2.) It is a mechanism to avoid situations

whereby a client would stuff charms or other magical concoction in his/her foot wears in order to desecrate the divination space by rendering its spiritual powers weak.

- b. A client is not allowed to sit in the divination hut with his legs or hands crossed. When we sought to know the reasons for this, a diviner, Akegh Gyakpa, told us in an interview that (5/5/2016) the crossing of legs and hands is prohibited because some client who are spiritually powerful can through such gestures block the spirits from appearing in the divining mirror or water, thus impeding the divination process.
- c. It is a taboo to mention the name of death (ku) in the divination hut.
- d. All magical charms worn by clients must be removed and kept outside before stepping into the divination hut.
- e. Women under menstruation are also not allowed to step into the divination space. It is agued that doing so would impede spiritual signals and communications.
- f. It is a taboo for a client to whistle or sing in the divination hut.
- g. It is a taboo for client to fight in the Tiv divination hut.

4. 1. 9 Divination Fee

It is mandatory for a client to pay divination fee in Tiv divination. This fee, diviners say, is to appease the gods and spirits. In the olden days before the advent of money, the ‘objects’ that were used for divination fees were: beans, cotton, seeds and bashi (traditional coin) (Focus Group Discussion 21/03/2016). With the advent of money, these forms of fees were replaced. Consultation fee vary from one diviner to the other. Mama Alu Tembe, seventy-five old diviner, for instance, charges N100 for sickness, N200 for omen, and N1000 for death (9/1/2015). David Kwaghngu charges N200 for witchcraft divination, and N100 for non-witchcraft divination (13/11/15). Ahen Ugbile (13/11/2015) collects N100 for water divination, N100 for non-water divination, and N3, 000 for death divination. Faga Usue, a fifty five years old diviner, told me that his charges are as follows: bad luck N300, sickness N300, and death N20, 000. Generally, clients’ desire for the services of a diviner to find out the cause of the death of loved ones attract the highest cost. The rest of the divination fee is economically friendly.

A very important thing about divination fee in Tiv divination is that it is a major site of power relations. If a consulter is not satisfied by a diviner’s findings, such a consulter is at liberty to tell the diviner so and take back his money. Indeed, most times, the diviner would expressly tell a consulter that, if s/he is not satisfied with the diviner’s findings he/she is free to

take back his/her divination fee. In such circumstances, mostly, the diviner may have observed from the gestures of the consulter that s/he is not satisfied with the diviner's findings. At times, a consulter takes back his/her consultation fee without telling the diviner. The message that this act communicates is that of non-satisfaction with the divination. Yet, in other circumstances if a consulter is satisfied with a divination, s/he as a mark of appreciation gives the diviner additional money unsolicited.

Of all the diviners interviewed, only one, Faga Usue (14/11/2015), told us that a client cannot take back his/her money without first and foremost informing him. According to him, doing so would be met with repercussions. When we sought to know the nature of the repercussions he declined to tell us. Equally important to note is that Tiv diviners do not carry out divination unless a client pays his/her divination fee. This fee they argue is to appease the gods. By this, therefore, a client without the requisite amount of money per the kind of divination he/she would be unable to access divination. However, in the event of he/she paying the prescribed divination fee, such a client also has power over it, and of the divination process if s/he is not satisfied with the outcome of the divination. In an interview with the diviners, most of them were of the opinion that the economic realities of contemporary society are at variance with this act. Their point of emphasis is that nowadays there has been the professionalization of divination practice. That is, they solely rely on divination for their livelihood. The Tiv divination practice whereby unsatisfied clients take back their divination fee is taken a toll on their practice. And for this reason, the token paid as divination fee is not enough to take care of themselves and families. Mr. Fachi Shirsha, a diviner, commenting on this issue, argued that (15/11/2015):

The practice whereby clients are at liberty to take back their divination fee if they are not satisfied with what a diviner's divination is is very bad. In the days when the Tiv people were doing so, things were not as difficult as they are today. Besides, no diviner in those days relied on divination as means of livelihood. It was part time. But these days divination is a full time job. It is from it that we pay the school fees of our children, take care of our families' social and material needs, and our in-laws. Truly, Tiv people need to change this practice. It is outdated and not in tune with current realities in Nigeria (Fachi Shirsha, 15/11/2015).

Apart from the issue of divination fee, there are a plethora of gestures that Tiv people use to exercise power in the divination process. For instance, (1.) a consulter can become very quiet and unwilling to answer questions put to him/her by the diviner. This silence is a semiotic code dissatisfaction. (2.) Consulters frown and contort their faces in gestures of disapproval. (3.) Consulters can show no sign at all but tell you politely that they are okay and walk away (Ankon Alfred, diviner, 13/11/15).

From a slightly different perspective, Nguaiyo Origbo (15/11/2015) told us in an interview that when some clients are not satisfied with the diviner's findings, they involve themselves in different acts and gestures of disapproval such (1.) Ignoring the diviner and engaging in conversations with co-consulters; (2.) Squeezing and turning off their mouth sideways; (3.) avoiding face-to-face contact with the diviner; (4.) using non-verbal or facial gestures that would transmit messages of disapprovals to the diviner. To David Kwaghngu, a diviner, the most noticeable signs that a consulter is not satisfied with a diviner's findings are that: (1.) he becomes easily irritable, and (2.) shakes his hand disapprovingly (13/11/2015).

The other side of the coin to this disapproval is approval. Here the client nods his head in agreement, laughs, becomes easily excited, relaxed and more willing to divulge information (Tyoshioor Peter 15/11/15; Antule Ati Mchiekkan 13/11/2015; Denen Dick 13/06/2016). We should add that these modes of actions have consequences on the construction of power relations in the divination process, particularly in putting the client or the diviner in positions of privilege and power over the other. What goes on reminds the diviner of his infallibility and the power of the consulter over him.

For the diviner, the gestures of disapproval are distressing moments. These acts de-power, dispirit, and can extinguish the spiritual energy of the diviner. Several diviners interviewed said they are affected in various ways. For instance, Daniel Zeku, (10/0/2016) a forty-year-old diviner operating close to the University of Agriculture, Makurdi, revealed that gestures of disapproval with his divination process are self-destabilising. In his words:

Gestures of disapproval are the worst moment of Ishor divination. They make you look senseless and stupid. You lose orientation completely. You lose enthusiasm. In fact, you momentarily lapse into a state of confusion. But it is part of the Ishor that we have learnt to live with it (Daniel Zeku, 10/0/2016).

4.2 Objective Two: ` To analyse the interactional processes, and the symbolic organization and linguistic description of Tiv divination space

Space is central to human social organization and thought. This is so because space defines forms of human organization, and gives meaning to activities as well as codes of boundaries. Every space has its markers. The totality of the activities and markers on a space impact profoundly in understanding implications on social lives. A space is at once materially and socially constituted, and is a category of analysis that can be used variously to conceptualize reality. Lefebvre (1991) sees it as a triad of physical space, mental space and social space. Chetrescu (2001) on his part, sees it as subjective and relative, or multiple and moving.

Lawuyi (2003:3) underscores the importance of space thus: ‘spatial consciousness has implication for the way society is organized, its environment managed, and its socio-cultural development pursued. Space organizes and structures human relations in ways specific to its peculiar features.’ We would adopt Lawuyi’s conceptualization and elaboration on space as our conceptual framework. This is because of its theoretical and anthropological relevance to our study. The key issue about a space in his proposition is that a space is a social construct; it is dynamic, and influential on socio-cultural constitution and development. He also postulates that there are two types of spaces: public and private space (Lawuyi 2012). The differences between these spaces according to him are that, ‘The private space is open and accessible to all, while the private is close or accessible to a few’ (Lawuyi 2012:7).

From the foregoing therefore, it is clear that, the divination space, not the least, the Tiv Ishor divination space is a public space because it is open to all. Specifically, it is a social and cultural space, and by its openness enables cultural process that can underscore a plethora of cultural values, norms, mores, and practices that are peculiarly Tiv. In other words, the Tiv divination space is a cultural space as defined and shaped by Tiv culture and values. Such values, norms, mores and practices go a long way to show the Tiv Ishor divination space as material and immaterial, tangible and intangible, abstract, epistemological and cosmological. Given these introductory clarifications, we examine different aspects of the Tiv divination space.

Our conceptual understanding of power is derived from Michel Foucault, the French philosopher and historian of ideas. Foucault argues that power inheres in both individuals and institutions in a social, psychological and cultural sense rather than in juridical-political sense. It is, in a sociological sense, entrenched in performance. ‘Power always entails a set of actions

performed upon another person's actions and reactions.' And power, he further argues, can be exercised only in an environment of freedom and over free subjects.

To Foucault (1982:791) 'at the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom" and that which "defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions. A mode of action upon the actions of others.' In the context of this study, therefore, though, not been oblivious to other Foucaultian conceptualizations of power, we look at power relations as the social actions that take place within the divination space. The actions of both the diviner and the clients and how these actions elicit counter actions and reactions and, how the totality of these actions shape and give meanings to Tiv divination as a cultural practice are all imbricated in Foucaultian theorization.

4. 2. 1 Divination is a Two Way Process

Divination is a two way process. By this we mean that both the diviner and client have their own understanding of what could likely be the cause of a problem and the possible solutions. The diviner does not in any way enjoy the monopoly of meaning and power, for meaning is de-centered and circulates freely and is socially constructed. Before a Tiv person sets out to go and consult a diviner on an issue, the person has an idea of what the problem is likely to be. Going to the diviner is just to confirm his suspicions. In an interview, a consulter who spoke to us, Tyoga Mbaizeveiyol, stated that (07/06/2016) any person who comes to see a diviner without a reasonable suspicion of what is the cause of his problem is not a Tivman.

There is, in fact, a proverbial saying that: *ka akpehen we Ishor u kpehen a ishima yoo* (if the diviner is consulting for you, you also consult your mind). The Tiv diviner always has this at the back of his/her mind and knows that his/her findings are not couched in finality of oracular infallibility. Rather, they are open to contestations by clients. It is, thus, commonplace for the diviner to constantly ask the clients whether he/she is saying the right thing or not. This is a short hand expression of the de-monopolization of meaning. If the diviner makes consultation, the client equally self-consults. Should the diviner hold a contrary opinion, s/he tells the diviner of his/her non-satisfaction and may depart to another diviner. Moti and Wegh (2007:119) captures this point poignantly in his assertion that:

The true *or-ishor* (diviner) is credited with supersensible powers, which enables him to make revelations that are believed to be due only to such powers while the charlatan cleverly tries to interpret the socio-psychological history given by the client. By and large, the Tiv in the final analysis use their common sense to reach their own conclusions in respect of their problems. That is why they say that *ashe hembra ishor* (the eyes are more reliable than ishor). This testifies to their reliance on concrete, empirical evidence even though cases of supernatural occurrence are much complicated (Moti and Wegh, 2007:119).

We should point out that in Tiv divination, there is provision for the confirmation of divination. This is done when a consulter visits two or three diviners in order to compare and contrast the findings made by previous diviners.

In Tiv culture, the elders don't go to consult diviners. On the contrary, the Head of the Compound (*orya*) chooses two or three male members of the compound, cutting across the different agnatic lineages in the compound, and send them on a divination errand. The idea is that the head of the compound is the reporting authority, so if he goes to consult himself, there will be no one to receive the report when obtained. Given the knowledge of divination, of course, the members are likely to question the veracity of the message received from him especially those that are negatively affected. However, should two to three delegate-consulters, go out one must be from the lineage of the person who is in need of divination in order to affirm and confirm the knowledge of the situation. In this way therefore, divinatory process is imbued with checks and balances.

One way consulters confirm the ability of a diviner is by telling lies to the diviner. For instance, a consulter may tell a diviner that his/her problem is headache, if the unsuspecting diviner falls for this bait, the consulter would know he is a fake diviner and, thereafter, take leave of his/her divination hut. Tiv diviners are aware of this trap so some diviners tell a consulter outright not to tell them anything. Even at this, should a consulter not be satisfied with the outcome of the divination, s/he is free to seek the services of another diviner elsewhere. In an interview, (Ageva Yakpa 21/11/2015) commenting on how the Tiv know whether a diviner is telling the truth or not said that:

One way to tell a genuine from fake diviner is to tell the diviner the wrong thing that brought you to his divination hut. A genuine diviner will tell you straight away that that is not what brought you to his divination hut, and that you should not test his powers. A fake diviner on the other hand, before you even finish saying what brought you would roll out his Tiv divination paraphernalia and start incantations (Ageva Yakpa 21/11/2015).

There is the de-centering of truth and its de-monopolization across the social structure of society. The divination space may be a centre of power construction, but the deconstruction and reconstruction of knowledge challenges power “a mode of actions upon the actions of others.

4. 2 .2 Symbols of Knowledge in Tiv Divination

Knowledge is at the core of man’s being; as it is that which separates man from the lower primates. It is socially produced, imbricated in culture, traditions, values and mores. Socio-cultural ecologies of man influence their processes of perception and understanding of their environment; and as regards that of the diviner, the supernatural mode of knowledge conveyed through rituals, symbols, manipulations, and metaphors as descriptors that give meaning to phenomena. In this wise, the knowledge of divination is both implicit and explicit. Indeed, when you enter into the Ishor divination hut, it appears as a disorganized space littered by an assortment of materials. But these are the diviner’s embodiment of his knowledge. But in their views, these symbols add nothing to divination knowledge. The persons are interred in the being and not in any material being used. That is why the materials are organized differently in different spaces. The organization of space proceeds from the paradigm of knowledge the diviner uses. He is free to organize his space with any relevant objects in any way objectifying his/her knowledge, particularly of power. According to Ikyeve Mbadim, a seventy six years old diviner (30/05/2016):

My son, this is how we met our forefathers practicing divination. Indeed, these days due to western civilization, Tiv people no longer put the kinds of things that use to adorn divination huts. But basically, I think the purpose that these symbols serve is to tell the consulter that s/he has come to the right place: to a gifted diviner, full of knowledge and power (Ikyeve Mbadim, 30/05/2016).

There were diviners that argue that due to advent of modernity, and increasing social and technological sophistication, it is needless for Tiv divination practitioners to decorate their divination huts with debris, animal bones, and feathers of birds among others. They further contend that Tiv diviners must find creative ways of making their divination space appealing to other social and ethnic groups if only to remain relevant in contemporary times. This perspective is echoed by Toryough Tyukwa, a forty-eight years old diviner (08/02/2016):

The practice whereby the divination environment looks very dirty must change. You can see, I am a diviner of the younger generation, you hardly can see rags, bones and all kinds of items in my place. If Tiv divination is to remain relevant as our cultural heritage that we can transfer to generations yet unborn we need to address the issues of dirtiness environment. It makes us look like witches, evil men and women (Toryough Tyukwa, 08/02/2016).

Decorations are of different colour types, red, white, and black. Any of these colours could be tied to the trunk of a tree, or placed on the roadside, as a semiotic code. The chromatic representations vary from diviner to diviner and play differing roles and functions in the process of knowledge articulation and dissemination. David Kwaghngu (13/11/2015) prefers the white colour. It is the colour that he tied around the trunk of the tree besides his divination shrine (twagh Ishor). On his part, Ahen Ugbile (13/11/2015) works with several colours. Though red and black are his major colours. The ‘red spirits are very difficult spirits, he says, and when I want to get in touch with them fully, I use the Muslim tesbi’ (rosary). The red symbolizes women and the black stands for men. The red spirit (female spirits) are very violent and bad.

The diviner, Nguaibo Origbo (15/11/2015) uses four different types of colours: black; white; red and blue. When asked to decode their symbolic significations, he was unable to do. It would appear that majority of the Tiv diviners find it quite difficult to explain the symbolic meanings of the colours they use. Generally, there are two colours of spirit: red and black. The red spirits are more likely to be female and violent. The black spirits are men, and they are calm and benevolent. These two categories of spirits, and a host of other new spirits, populate the Tiv spiritual landscape and stir up public imagination and thoughts. As Yina notes (2011:65):

The Akombo apparatus—images and objects, could be made from any available materials—from parts of the human body to cast metals,

bronze, brass, wood, gourds, calabash, pieces of broken pottery, hides, leather, feathers, shells, etc. It must be noted that the objects and substances are not in themselves sacred for they can be destroyed or renewed at will. They are only affirmative of the belief in the divine link with humanity in constant interactive intercourse. The individual exploits this intimate relationship to his benefit of fortification, wealth, and fame for himself and lineage and also through such divine connection seeks evil retribution for his enemies (Yina 2011:65).

4. 2. 3 Incantations in Tiv Divination

There is hardly any divination system without its own incantations. Incantations are modes of communication. It is a metaphysical mode of communication. A divination practitioner in Tiv land must be well versed in incantations and their semiotic representation, and also demonstrate professional dexterity of the knowledge of Tiv metaphysics, cosmology, and spirituality. Incantation can be and is used as a form of power negotiation because it amplifies the truth of the diviner's knowledge. These incantations are the creative product of the diviners, which are transgenerationally transmitted through oral traditions. They are clothed in the garb of cultural metaphors, and only decoded by those who are initiated into the inner bowels of its secrecy. For the most part, items that constitute the referent points in Tiv incantations are totemic of the Akombo—Akombo, standing as spiritual forces. Yina makes the point clearly when he states that (2011:64):

The spirits behind the various Akombo are always associated with natural phenomena to which they can be summoned at will by the human agents (Mbatsav). In other words, their presence is usually enshrined in natural objects and images such as artistically caved figures adorned with clay moulds (signifying Adzov). Others include beautifully designed amulets, fetish thread, perfume (tulari), cultural hold-all bag (Ikpa i abor), etc. These objects and images go by various Tiv appellations including imborivungu, Atsuku, Ubende, Ikpagber, Wuna Igbainjov, Poor, Atsukwase, Laya, Nyinya utu, Igirgi utu, Tso u abendga mtende, Azenke u Mbatsav, Gbegba etc. These are material symbols of spiritual significance (Yina (2011:64).

There are two major ways that incantations are used in Tiv divination. One is to narrate, praise and extol, as well as worship the gods and spirits so that they sufficiently appeased to help the diviner in explaining metaphysical phenomena. Two, it is used by diviners in rituals of cleansing and healing of the sick. In both instances, the poetic rendition is mytho-poetic, mystifying, abstract, protean, and imbued with prosodic elegance. Songs and musical elements accompany some incantations.

Incantation for veneration and worship are usually short. Those of ritual cleansing are usually long. In both instances, incantations are symbolic, metaphoric and exoteric in diction. A typical veneration incantation is like this (Yina 2011: 89):

(Incantation A)

Ter Azande
Bugh! Wan vaa yila
A gba megh
Wan vaa gba wer ga
Tsough sen, Azembe
Kegh kuu. Dwem dura amar
Bugh kperegh
Yer wan!!!

Translation

Father Azande
Open! Your child
Calls weeping.
He has fallen
Victim of poison
The child's been crying ceaselessly!
The hawk has stooped,
The eagle is hovering
The hygena has struck a dance code
Open a wing
And hide your offspring

In the case of cleansing rituals, the incantations would be long and invocative. Usually in the process of cleansing the diviner performs symbolic gestures that mimics the sort of cleansing to be carried out. The items that are used are ritual water in a calabash, ashes, a chicken (pullet), and any musical instrument that appeals to the diviner. The first stanza of the incantation is to invoke and appeal to the spirits and gods. An example of a Tiv ritual incantation is of this kind (Yina 2011:72-78):

(Incantation B)

Chia I Tan

Tyo kumul gbande

Bogi awuna!

Atser Mishe!!!

Ne Uter mba tsev

Hemen. Mtan

Ka ityo wagher!!

Se hii soron we iyol

Sha kaa a uter

Aser mbatsav vihin

Ior onov a mi la

Shi ikyaa tweregh

ka twer il, twer pupuu

Twer awambe

Imande twer

Chian ikyondo

Kor chan

U mbatugh

I chan I tan

Ka ihyongough

Kende

Mnenege a nenge ashe go!
Myam a yam ga! Ka Tom Ityo
Tyo na kpagh ku pupuu,
Kpagh ku iligh
Swem tema, ayande yagher
Atsa kende tyungu sua
oom yam we nyian kera
Chichia jene.

Yila un sha akahar gbenda!
Ityov ki poor
Mtoum ma wuna igbianjov
Tindi ikyom kwase, ta un
Humbe iyol, tindi Orapireshe
Tindi Orimande
Ka mba ipusu chichia

Mba icha sagh iwange
Wuhe u iwa, ka swende
Ve tindi heron, ve tindi
Gber, ve tindi akiki
Ve tindi mtsaan, ve tindi
Boughun, ve tindi sha ian.
Ka adzor a ken ityo na.
Yila un sha kwa akombo
Sha agashi, sha kwa wayo,
Ka yum chigh, ka yum twer.

Ka iho ibo, ka tough
Ku bough, ka wuhe ijoo
Ta un il wuhe, leva

Wuhe Orkpen, too un
Ikyondo ver sha wuna-akombo
Ve kember un angahar,
Ve nande un akuul
Ve ta un humbe ken
Ikyer we, ve pev un
Akev a vee, ka mba
Tugh ve leva bufu.

Ta isho kor yila
Itina, ta hum kor
Yila iti na
Ta vendeve-kor yila
Iti na . Un kwase
Ibumun. Uyav a kwase
U awambe. Ka gbande
Megh, ka idya I me

Ve vihi iyol injia njia
Ve leva atsuku u gbe
Ka atsuku ukuna ugbe
Ka ikyegh gbenda,
Ve leva Swem

Ivihi uiyol a Orkpen.
Ishie u ambi a Oprkpen iyol.
Kuran yam we wuhe
Ne kera cica jene.
Sha iyange duen
Yav wan nomso
Shin yange miren

Yav wankwase

Ibo sen, isho kondo!

Ibo sen, isho kondo!!

Ibo sen, isho knondo!!!

Translation: (Justification and Invocation)

Tyokumbul Gbande!

Bogi Awuna!!

Atser u Mishe!!!

You ancient fathers

Lead! Mtan is

The glare of the

Spring fountain!!

We begin this cure

Of your body with

The things our forefathers

Bedeviled the offspring

Of others.

About the medicament:

Black cure! White cure!

Blood cure! Leprous cure;

Malignant penury

Infectious poverty chain

Of nocturnal origin

Daylight malfeasance

Infernal festooning filth

Awake!!

Mine is not fraudulent

Services by way of
Imitation.
My powers were not 'procured'
With money. I was a communal
Choice. My patrilineal kinsmen
Exchanged white chalk, black chalk
The mystic Swem sat dressed
On a sacred pad
Of Ayande twines.
Atsa intoned the spirit
Infested pond and bathe
Me pure.
I now cleanse you
From all defilements.

Call him out at the crossroads!
Pillar of sacred poor store
Revered pillars of Ingbianjov
Spirit store.
Send a barren woman
Propel send an evil wind in her
Send a blind man, a leper
Cast an evil spell on them
They are all circumcised.

The ill-dad virgins
Defiled with dog's blood
It is the spell of blood guilt
They sent a heron, they
Sent the barn owl,
They scop owl and the pearl-spotted owl

They sent auspiciously
They are the ghosts
From his patrilineage
Call him into the sacred
Akombo circle
Into the ring of nasal
Syphilis, the circle of
Fraudsters. I prescribe
Only the right medication.

It is the evil knife. It
Is the dangerous pillar.
It is the ghost spell
Propel the black chill on him. Echo the dead man
Cold. Hide his cloth in the sacred store.
They flecked the scale
On the his feet
And burnt his nail cuttings.
They blew into his palms
That he may remain
Externally poor, they
Echoed 'bufu'-drier
Of nocturnal meat.

Rope a toad and call his mane
Rope a chameleon and call his name
Rope a wall gecko and call his name
You caused a woman to swear.
You defiled
A menstrual woman
It is a sheathe of poison

It is infernal adultery.
They destroyed your body completely
With the nefarious, contagious
Malignant Atsuku
From the sacred land of Ugbe
It is the evil variety from
Kena-Ugbe.
It is a road feast
It is the Swem oath

They destroyed all your vitals
When they contaminated
Your body with a corpse
They rubbed your entire body
With a dead man's entrails
I now exorcise your body
Cleanse it of filth and foul.
At sunrise, the promise;
The pregnancy, a male child
At dusk, the pregnancy,
A female child.

Guilt descend! Innocence ascend!
Guilt descend!! Innocence ascend!!
Guilt descend!!! Innocence ascend!!!

4.2.4 Space, Power and Knowledge in Tiv Incantation

Incantation is a form of religious poetry. It is a crucial component of any divination system. It is a form of supernatural communication that is offered by a religious specialist such as a priest, diviner, healer or ritualist beseeching the spirits to assist in the curing of illness,

confronting spiritual enemies, or the achieving of success or promotion in one's endeavours (Akporobaro 2006). They are not meant to entertain but to appease the deities.

Incantations among Tiv diviners are not uniform. As such, each diviner composes incantations that reflect the nature and character of his/her divination practice. More fundamentally, each diviner sings these incantations in the most potent way that would appease the deities/ spirits to intervene in his/her supplications. Generally, elements of power, space and knowledge are buried in imagery, metaphors, symbols and figurative expressions

Because incantations are imbricated in the wider Tiv cultural world view they shed light on the nature of the conceptualization of space, knowledge and power in Tiv divination society. According to Achie-Nege (2016:6-7):

Religious experts choose their words to suit the purpose of the ritual they are performing. For invocations to gods or deities to cure a client of persistent ill-luck, illness or other misfortune, the priest's words express indignation, anger, and utter displeasure with the meanness of the Mbatsav (witches and wizards) who are believed to be the ones that inflict such misfortunes. Often, such incantations describe in great detail what trauma the victim is going through Achie-Nege (2016:6-7).

The eloquent rendition of incantations privileges and elevates the image and status of the diviner, and consequently enhances his/her position of power over consulters. One major thing most clients watch out for is to confirm the supernatural prowess and knowledge of a diviner by the fluency and dexterity of his/her poetic renditions of incantations. The first stanza of every divination states the innocence of the diviner of any wickedness, communal transgressions and/or spiritual malfeasance. By this act, the diviner is saying that he is coming to equity with clean hands and as such enjoins the spirits to help him/her in the divination. This done, he is free in engaging in supernatural communications with the spirits.

Terver Aguji (20/05/2016) and Orban Shankyula (31/05/2016) two consulters we interviewed, spoke at length about the place of incantation in Tiv divination and their perceptions of the knowledgeability of the diviner. Both averred that the age of the diviner and the dexterity with which s/he makes incantations are two major things they look at as parameters of saying who a genuine and truly gifted diviner is. According to Terver Aguji (20/05/2016):

Before I go to a diviner, I first and foremost, make inquiries to find out whether s/he practices witchcraft because any diviner that practice malevolent witchcraft his/her divinations are usually false. If you are into malevolent witchcraft you cannot make justifications for divination (incantations). Then, secondly, I find out the age of the diviner. I don't patronize small boys. Thirdly, and this is very important, the diviner's knowledge of incantations and power of delivery. This is so because the older a diviner is, the more masterly s/he possesses incantations and you know in Tiv land, you cannot make incantations without stating your innocence and justification (Terver Aguji, 20/05/2016).

In the first incantation (Incantation A), a situation of conflict is presented. This conflict occurs in the spiritual realm, and has element of both protagonist (healer/consulter) and antagonist (enemy/witch/wizard). The later is objectified as hawk, hyena, and eagle. These animals symbolically represent strength, power, and vigor. They are known predators that devour their prey with brutality. Here the consulter (child) has come to the father (Azande) to be shielded from the anticipated and imminent danger that the threat of the hyena, eagle, and hawk (the evil ones) portend. The child is conceptualized in the attributes of a child: weak, helpless and crying ceaselessly for assistance in order to evade the stooping hawk and menacing hyena.

The hawk, hyena, eagle and father are metaphoric representations of power. In the metaphoric allusion to the wings of the hawk, the father is enjoined to open his wings to hide his child from the predations of the hawk. The child on the other hand is depicted as operating in a closed space, space of weakness, vulnerability, weeping and hiding.

In the two instances that open is used, the symbolic underpinning is for the deity, father Azenda, to open up his spiritual abode which is a refuge for the afflicted. In such an open space, the evil forces – hawk, eagle and hyena would fear to tread because it is the abode of the spirits, the shrine of healing, fortified with the fathers spiritual powers and forces that can ward off the evil potentials of the hawks, eagles and hyenas no matter how malevolently powerful they may be.

In the second incantation (Incantation B), the first stanza is an invocation of the power of the deity and a proclamation of personal innocence. The invocation is to please and appease the

spirits, to venerate them, and make them happier and willing to attend to the supplications of the diviner. In Tiv divination, it is expected that whomsoever comes to seek the assistance of the deity or spirits must come with clean hands, unsoiled by guilt, blood and evil deeds. In this stanza the diviner invokes this age-old practice of calling on the ancient fathers to listen to his/her supplications. The collective pronoun of “we” joins the self with the spiritual forces with the ancient fathers. The reference to father being a purely ritualistic demonstration of the dominant patriarchal ideology of Tiv culture. The choice of who to go on a divination errand is determined by the head of the household. In this way, therefore, the male gender exercises power over the female both in terms of who controls the divination errand and the spiritual population.

In the second stanza, the diviner lays out the pathological description and intensity of the ailment. What the diviner did was to scour through the spiritual universe seeking the knowledge and power of the spiritual forces, be they black, white, blood, nocturnal, or daylight to effect the necessary cure. The chromatic representations are integral part of the cosmology of curative process. There are about three important colours associated with spirits: white, black and red. In broad categorizations, the spirits are group into two: black and white. The black spirits are male, while white/red are female. The latter is reputed to be very wicked and unforgiving. The symbolism of black, white, and blood is invitation to all the known spiritual forces and deities in Tiv cosmology to attend to the needs of the consulter. ‘Daylight’ and ‘nocturnal’ are temporal representations.

In Tiv worldview, spiritual entities inhabit two types of temporality: night and day. The diviner’s reference to daylight and nocturnal is to enjoin the deities to scour through all the known temporal-spatial spaces of Tiv universe and uproot the malevolent and malignant forces afflicting the consulter. Since the powers of a deity supersedes other spiritual forces, therefore, by invoking the deity power is gotten to destroy the powers of the evil forces inhabiting the world of darkness.

In the third stanza, the diviner makes an invocation as well as clarify his/her role. Unlike the first cited invocation, there is declaration of guilt of the diviner. Declaration of innocence and guilt is a critical component of success in a Tiv divination. For this reason, diviners are wont to declare before their patrons that they do not involve themselves in witchcraft or diabolical activities. Hence, the diviner in this stanza declares his/her innocence and proceeds to define his/her personality: a.) not fraudulent, b.) playing according to the ancient rules of Tiv

divination, c.) doing service to community, d.) pure in thought and; e.) engendering trust and reliability. These are affirmation of the credentials of the diviner: “my powers were not ‘procured’/with money. I was a communal choice/My patrilineal kinsmen exchanged white chalk, black chalk establishes the connection between the diviner and the spirit world, and as it is to be expected that given the diviner’s innocence and call to duty, the spirit world into being favourably disposed towards engaging positively with the diviner.

In the fourth and fifth stanza, the incantations centre on the cure. Here the metaphor of ‘cross-road’ symbolizes a dilemma, confusion, disease that needs to be resolved. The confusion is cast in binarist terms as: profane/sacred, woman/man, ghost/ living, life/corpse, sunrise/duck. In stanza six to eight, the diviner outlines the possible malevolent manipulations that the enemies of the consalter conjured to cause the consalter afflictions; such as: ‘hiding of the consalters cloth in the sacred store’, ‘burnt his nails’, ‘defiled a menstrual woman’, ‘contaminated your body with corpse’, ‘rubbed your entire body with a dead man’s entrails’.

Having established the likely causes of the consalter’s affliction, the diviner proclaims his/her powers to heal the consalter of his/her affliction.’ The lines of healing are rendered thus: ‘I now exorcise your body/cleanse it of filth and foul. The logic of this pronouncement is that only the filthy can heal the filthy. Most Tiv incantations end with the refrain: ‘Guilt descend/innocent ascend’ (three times). This refrain has implication for the understanding of space in Tiv divination. The sky is the space for the innocent, while the ground is the space of the malevolent forces. The sky oversees all, while the ground is the footstool of mankind. When guilt descends, it would no longer preside over the wellbeing of the afflicted. This establishes that, knowledge of divination comes from the spiritual realm, from the ancient fathers.

The diviner mediating engages in the transmission of knowledge passed down through successive generations. The spirits give power in Tiv divination. Power cannot be procured with money. This is the basis of the diviner’s line that: Consequently, ‘my powers were not ‘procured ‘with money/I was a communal choice’. To sustain such powers the diviner must rely on the spirits and must not soil his/her hands in witchcraft/wizard/ diabolical practices. For this reason, therefore, before and in the course of the divination, the diviners have to invoke and proclaim their innocence as intermediaries between the spiritual and human world.

There are numerous forms of declarations that Tiv diviners use. It is not fixed and they are dependent on the knowledge of a given diviner. A typical declarative incantation goes like this (Yina 2011: 70-71):

Declarative Incantation

Chia I Tan

Mtan iyange, ijov wer
Bogi Awuna, esem gbenda
Dughun kua ken ashe
Zwa coughol mo
Wanger mo u
Vanger wam ka inikyur
U anmbayev
Yeren kwagh ga, cirin zwa ga
Teren wanye kwaor
Ngom iniun kwase
Chia yam poo
M geve swem
M geve inigbian ijov
Ka mbataregh, ka ityo
Ka tsombor
Ka azov a uter
Ka bi yam
M kpile kpagh
Ku pupuuk, ka wuna bo

Translation

Midday sun, shadow ghost moon,
Bogi Awuna, sweep my path,
Remove the blinding pus from my eyes
My mouth is filthy,
Cleanse it for me,

My chest is the innocent
Vagina of a child,
It hides nothing, covers nothing.
My father a prime youth,
My mother a proud virgin
My justification
The spirit store
My oath the prime 'swem'
Mystic port, echo the
Ingbianjov prime ghosts
The rulers of our world
They are the kindred
Spirits. They are the
Family, they are
The ancestral ghosts
My fee-I draw with camwood
The evil spirit store.

Ritual Incantation

Yila'un sha akahar a gbenda
Ken ato u tu
Wanger un iyol
Sha ifyer u uter
Sha idya awambe
Sha ihyongol I yolougggh
Sha fag a u ime
Sha akar atswa
Imondo ciha
Ka mlyam ma wankyundan
Ka anikyegh twer
Mningem ma akinde

Ka ihyelegh ku anikyundan
De a per
Ka m zan hemen
Ka ikyura
M pav swem
M puu ga; m bum mtuliwem
Ka icenge igbe je ne.

Translation

Call her out at the crossroads
At midnight
Purify her body
From the ills of her forefathers
From menstrual adultery
From the cumulative filth
Of her body
From the bliding filth
Of ignorance
From the valuting lust
For human flesh
Of the wicked
Oozing wax from the
Baob tree
Is the wailing cry of a
Suckling, the ritual chick
The streaming latex
Of the akinde tree
Festooning pus
From an urchin's septic ulcers
Let her step forward
It is progress
It is health

It is prosperity
I have taken the swem oath
It is the broken pottery
Of igbe-akombo
It is dysentery.

In other divination practice, the diviner uses song in place of incantation. In such circumstances, the consultants are free to participate in the musical rendition. A major practitioner of this type of divination is Binjo Wende (field interview 30/12/2015). His song goes like this:

Musical Incantation

Yadio Ngu Ke Yandev

Yadio ngu ke Yandev
a vam a tso fefa
nyen m ngohol Wan-Isherev
Nor yisa ihongo
Me per je ga!

Shango Yave Gena
Mo nyor a Wan-Anongo
M ngohol Wan-Ingbian Tyoga
M za Waka iyol yam

Saaku Tandyer Kaa
U yav hen Gyakpo ga
Ligom Abele Kume Adaka ta yo
doo mba ve lu tsav ga.

I wua sha inja or hembe mbatsav-tyou
tso se gba kporom

Uke ve wua na-na

Gbangya Kpera Kakaki doo

Koko vine kpegher

Hungur wen he gbenda

Me Lam iyongo Gbaka a kaa

Ancheregh Wase

Kule Kwagh he Mbakor caca

Tindi or a da or Wan-

Agbeishee Liam Yongo

M ngohol Nyidoo

Me nyor ve-ee!

Ashe yo alu mea kera nenge ga

Ashe yo a lu mea kera nenge ga kpa

M ngu mbagbaka Gbem

Yo mo kpa doom (2x)

Or a da kaa Kave Damkor Abele

Me lu Mbagbaka tso mo kpa doom.

M nande kwaor

m gba van ve-ee!

I yila Weor Abele-ee-oo

Ngupeven Wende

Wantsa

can a wua wanibyume Tereu

Kpa kera Nengen ga.

Da kaa Hembam Nor, Wan-

Mbashoo wama

Hyagh i Aba kaan a Mba-Wantsa ne
Ihyagh ne i kuma sha shendegh ve!

Abugwa mase suen,
Udor Aduga ngu wan mo genga-igbaa
Ganyi Tsakaka.

Nyor amar on Mbakooko mban
a er a Wende Gyakpo
u Wende
Ne mase teman ne nenge Gyakpo a
lu inja yo.

Byomswa me gema kpoghol
Kakaki dure imo yande Mbadu-oo
Swem Tseke ke Gwakyaa
U Kuma ke idyu ga
Za se za tume idyu pe Lua u lu yo
Lua Adaka Dajo
Kyaa kuma sha ha div e!

Kwagh kuma sha ha Mbanagar mba
Nongon u nanden
Abua-tyoo
Tiger kure wegh tse-tse
Har Abichi mase teran uter vee
I lu akombo kpa maa Dura Kusugh
On-Mbagbe mough caca.

Ter u Gyakpo,
vaa –nyar kar

Clement u Dajo wa imo doo doo
Kukegh-e wam-ooo!

Gever Agabi

Gever Agabi
doo Gando rumun shin shima
Me gbidye igbende doo Gando
Rumun shin shima (2x)

Kwagh hembamo ve-ee
Kuyisa Gye wam
U yem u undum ve-ee
Mo er nena?
Kwagh hemban ve-ee
Gbasongon mo
U yem u undum ve-ee
Me er nena?

Ishol gbungur-gbungur
Ka Wende Abele
Agabi gbungur-gbungur
We wende Abele
We kpa u ngu wan-or-iwan
Ape me za yo m fa ga.

M pine ke ijime yo
Orna Abele yem shin Guma
Kende wende
Mo vaa Wantsa shin nya,
Mbagbaka, kwagh u Ter yo zever a
mo je ve (2x)
Wuan or er via wav anger

Or ma a hungur he avese ze-oo!

Translation

Yadio is in Yandev clan
and should quickly bring me a canoe
Yesterday, I received an Isherev daughter
A hippopotamus blocked the stream
I cannot cross!
Shango Yave Gena
I arrived with the daughter of Aongo
I married the daughter of Ingbian Tyoga
I have made the distance to Waka myself.

Mr. Saaku Tandyer Kaa
You will not sleep in Gyakpo clan
Ligom Abele has cock and fired Adaka
People that are not witches are happy
Kill well; someone should smash winches' head
Let's draw near
Let the law kill the person
Mr. Gbangya plays Trumpet beautifully
Mr. Kokodanced and nodded
Forgetting himself along the road
Mr. Lam Iyongo Gbaka should brief
Ancheregh Wase
Who decides all cases in Mbakor clan.
Send someone to tell daughter of
Agbeishee Liam Yongo
I have married Nyidoo
I have just arrived!

Even though i no longer see

Even though I no longer see bu
I am still a member of Mbagbaka Gbem
And I am proud of this (2x)
Someone go tel Kave Damkor Abele
That I am satisfied being Mbagbaka son
I have set ablaze my fashion
Here I come
Weor Abele should be called
Ngupeven Wende
Daughter of Wantsa,
Poverty would kill your just-father
He no longer sees.
Go tell Hembam Nor, my daughter of Mbashoo
The boast that Aba used to boast with
People of Wantsa; it is now time.
Abugwa keeps challenging
Udo Adugu is organizing a Mothers'-
Kin dance for me
To give me a whole night dance festival
As I entered the arena Mbakooko's
Children gave a treat to Wende Gyakpo
of Wende.
You will sit back and see the character of
Gyakpo
Byomswa I will turn and call attention
Hear a trumpet across Mbadu-river
Mr. Swem Tseke from Gwakyaa
You are not an aside-person
Come, let's go and consult with

Abugwa keeps challenging
Udo Adugu is organizing a Mothers'-
Kin dance for me
To give me a whole night dance festival
As I entered the arena Mbakooko's
Children gave a treat to Wende Gyakpo
of Wende.
You will sit back and see the character of
Gyakpo
Byomswa I will turn and call attention
Hear a trumpet across Mbadu-river
Mr. Swem Tseke from Gwakyaa
You are not an aside-person
Come, let's go and consult with
Time is now riped and people of Mbanagar are
trying to burn a whole cow-herd
Mr. Tiger quietly stops it with his hand.
Har Abichi walks among his patriarchs
Even if this were a rite, Mr. Dura Kusugh
The children of Mbagbe all stood up.
The father of Gyakpo clan,
Praiseful-ululation with cash overflow.
Clement Dajo really sang well,
My dear Kukegh.

Belched Agabi

I belched Agabi-medicine for divination
And Gando accepts in his hearts
I threw my divination strings and Gando
Meditatively appreciates it (2x)
I have been defeated

My dear Kuyisa Gyer
You have gone and left me
What will I do?
I have been defeated
My Gbasongon
You have departed and left me.
What am I to do?
Very sound divination
It is Wende Abele
Very sound Agabi
You Wende Abele
You are a disabled person
Where to go; I don't know
When I asked behind
Orna Abele has gone into the grave
Leaving Wende.
I larmment Wantsa in the ground
Mbagbaka, concerning father too, I am
helpless (2x)
If people were killed by mere suspicion
No one would remain in our place.

4.3 Objective Three: To assess the changes and challenges evident in contemporary Tiv divination practice

4.3.1 Threat of Cultural Domination and Possible Extinction

Modernity and social change have affected African society and culture in varying ways. The intensity of these challenges is magnified by the pressures of modernity and the velocity of the speed of contemporary globalization which has posed serious threat of cultural asphyxiation as a result of the global homogenization and hegemonisation of western values. Tiv divination in like measure has experienced its fair share of changes and challenges. In our fieldwork, we sought to find out the various changes and challenges that confront Tiv divination. The first

major challenge confronting Tiv divination is the threat of extinction it faces as a result of cultural domination arising from globalization. There is the threat of the palpable extinction of Tiv divination as a result of the violence of cultural imperialism and its genocidal implications for indigenous cultures. Through the instrumentality of the Information Communication Technology (ICT), the Western world through the media and manipulation of symbols have ingrained in the mind set of the younger generation of the superiority of Western values and life styles. Consequently, indigenous and traditional values and customs are denigrated and despised as primitive and barbaric. This has brought in its wake the challenge of the intergenerational transmission of oral and cultural heritages such as divination. Except urgent steps are taken towards reorientation, conscientization and education, once the present generations of old persons who are the custodians of this aspect of Tiv culture depart, Tiv divinatory practices may as well be on the road to cultural extinction.

4.3.2 The Advent of Christianity and Islam

The advent of the two Abrahamic religions of Christianity and Islam has had tremendous influence on African religion and cultures. As Okot p'Bitek (1970:54) stated, missionaries were urged to be ruthless with African religious. In Tiv society, the dominant religion is Christianity. Most of the diviners and clients we interviewed were of the opinion that Christianity, has led to divination losing its pride of place, prestige and prominence in Tiv culture, especially because of its railing against traditional religion and its mischaracterization of Tiv religion as primitive, barbaric, satanic, and heathenic.

Mwuese Tyochimin, a diviner, (15/01/2016) averred that Tiv Christians have failed to understand that there is difference between culture and Christianity. She argued that even Jesus Christ was from an ethnic group with its unique cultural traits before coming to save mankind. Her opinion is that in contemporary times the thematic preoccupation of Christianity is to disparage Tiv divination. And like other ethnic groups who take pride in their culture, she posits that the Tiv must stand up against this threat. According to her Mwuese, 15/01/2016):

The Yoruba are well educated, and are predominantly Christians, yet when you go to Yoruba land, they still take pride in their culture. Ifa divination is revered. I am saying this from personal experience because it was in Ogbomosho that I learnt divination. Divination is a

very crucial aspect of our culture and must not die (Mwuese Tyochimin, 15/01/2016).

Ironically, Aondoaver Uzuku (20/01/2016) and Tyolaha Tenge (23/02/2016) stated that in as much as Christians condemn divination, they constitute the biggest chunk of divination clientele. They however come in the night under the cover of darkness in order not to be seen.

4.3.3 Contemporary Economic Realities

Contemporary economic realities, especially the declining economic fortunes and the economic pressure of eking a living, poverty, change of mode of production, and the spirit of commercialism that is the essence of capitalism have in immeasurable ways taken their tolls on Tiv divination. In an interview with a sixty two year old diviner, Agu Waki (11/05/2016), he said that there has been the increase in divination fee and most other commercial practices that are associated with contemporary Tiv divination are as a result of the economic difficulties. He blamed this on the shift from communalism to individualism. The old Tiv was communal. Everybody was welcomed in the other person's house, and people were willing to share whatever they had. Now the reverse is the case. People are unwilling to help the poor. Those that are employed are unwilling to go into any profession, including that of divination without requisite training. In order to fend for themselves and family, diviners charge high consultation fee. In his words, Waki (11/05/2016) says:

The high charge you see some diviners charging is due to the economic realities we have found ourselves in Nigeria today. Most people have taken to divination in order to make a living and take care of their families. Nothing more. They are the ones spoiling the name of diviners in Tiv land. A diviner that is called by the spirit would not charge high divination fee. In most cases, the spirits would direct the diviner on the amount of money to collect. Once a truly called diviner start collecting large some of money as divination fee the spirits would severely deal with him and subsequently depart from his divination practice. But young diviners charge high divination fee in order to make ends meet and care less about what people say of their divination practice (Waki (11/05/2016).

Agbatse Iorgbir (14/12/2015), a diviner in his arguments contended that the phenomena where diviners also double as medicine men is strange to Tiv culture and divination practices. He explained that in ancient Tiv society, divination was a communal property. It was the elders of the clan that decided who in a community should be a diviner. In the same way, they also took the decision of who would be a medicine man. The diviners were like the modern-day laboratory technologists, while the medicine men were like the modern-day doctors. If there was a problem, the diviner would make divinations and do the pathological analysis, the medicine man based on the analysis would administer the right dosages of herbal mixtures. All this he argued has changed in Tiv land. Every diviner combines Tiv divination with herbal medicine practice. He says:

The economic difficulties of modern society have affected all the fabrics of Tiv culture including such sacred issue like divination. Nowadays for one to practice as a diviner he must also be a medicine man or he would lose economically. This has resulted to the commercialization of divination. Everything now centres on personal economic benefits. This is one of the main reasons why oracular revelations of diviners lack predictive accuracy. For us to change this we must go back to the old Tiv practice of separating divination from herbal medicine practice (Agbatse Iorgbir 14/12/2015).

4.3.4 The Pressures of Modern Medical Science

The question of the scientific ontological status of ishor divination is an incipient challenge. As society increasingly becomes rationalistic and scientific in the analysis and interpretation of phenomenon, the fatalistic and cryptic pronouncements of diviners have come under intense suspicion, interrogation, and criticisms. At times, and in recent times, as a result of the invasion of divination by the economic push factors, the oracular predictions and prescriptions of diviners have lost its potency. In the event, oracular predictions are psychologically manipulated and concocted by ‘diviners’ based on their intuitive and emotional intelligences. Many rationally minded people are becoming skeptical of divination and are calling for the scientific development of the principles of knowledge acquisition and the hermeneutics of divinatory interpretations. The failure to heed to these demands of the scientific validation of divinatory practices may likely jeopardize its practice in the near future.

The emergence of modern medical science has had serious impact on Tiv divination. Majority of the respondents we interviewed were of the opinion that modern medicine is scientific in its analysis and prescription while traditional medicine is not. Tyowase Iorvihi (12/05/2016) told us that many rationally minded people are becoming skeptical of divination and calling for the scientific development of the principles of divination. For this group of people, divination is too fatalistic and cryptic. Terlumun Abagen's (30/01/2016) view which in any case merely corroborates Iorvihi states that one of the major weaknesses of Tiv divination is that there is the inability to establish its scientific and empirical validity and precision empirically and procedurally, particularly the dosage of herbal mixtures that diviners would administer to their clients.

Generally speaking, there are many factors encumbering the growth and development of divination as an indigenous knowledge system with implications for massive contributions to scientific, cultural, social and economic development in Tiv land in particular, and Nigeria in general. Some of these factors range from taboos, unhygienic environment, lack of standardized dosage administration of herbal mixtures, the assault on divination and other indigenous epistemologies by the Abrahamic faiths of Christianity and Islam, economic depression, and so on.

It is our considered opinion that if these challenges are addressed, divination holds a lot of prospects. One of the major prospects of divination is that it would complement the health system. It has been contended that in Africa both the visible and invisible world cohabit in defining the world-view. Therefore, there are medical ailments that are best treated traditionally. Or, even where they could be diagnosed and treated in modern medical practice, individuals with such affliction sensing it has a supernatural causation may psychologically attune him/herself to its incurability in modern medicine thus making healing difficult. There is a social, psychological and emotional component to healing. Patients of this cultural world-view are more likely to heal if traditional means such as divination are involved. Divination, deployed as a traditional form of pathological analysis, stands to play a very important and complimentary role in the health care delivery system.

Two, divination has the prospect of making meaningful contribution to economic development, this is basically in two senses. One, it would provide employment to those who would take to the divination subsector of the traditional health care system. Two, since most

diviners incorporate traditional medical practice in their trade, the proceeds made from medical practices could serve as seed money to invest in other income generating enterprises. This would go a long way in addressing social problems and distresses arising in the society as a result of the down turn in the economy. In fact, if the herbal products of diviners are standardized and well packaged they could as well be exported to overseas markets just like Asian traditional products therefore serving as a major source of income for the country. As the economic fortunes of Nigeria declines, and the imperatives of divesting the economy abates, perhaps, divination could provide a major source of income to the country. Yet, again, once the herbal products and the oracular potency of these diviners are creditably established, it would make Nigeria a tourist destination, especially in the area of medical tourism, and as is well known the tourism industry is a multibillion income generating sector. In short, divination has the prospect of being a major source of income generation, tourism, and economic development for Nigeria.

Three, divination has the prospect of triggering a scientific revolution in Tiv land, and Africa. The divination process involves a process of deep intuition, reflection, imagination, thought, and interpretation. These are key ingredients for scientific analysis and breakthrough. What needs to be done is for the government to provide the enabling environment, encouragement and assistance so that diviners can transpose their metaphysical conceptions into concrete and empirical materialization through solid and rigorous scientific creations.

Four, but by no means the last, divination has the prospect of triggering a cultural renaissance. African culture, religion, values, and tradition were, and have continued to be trampled upon, both by colonial and neocolonial cultural forces. African value systems were dubbed as barbaric and primitive. Divination, for one, was highly drubbed. So intense was this denigration of Africa and its people that a Eurocentric historian, Trevor-Roper (Uya 1984:1) once said that Africa had no history and what could be termed African history is the history of European activities in Africa and the rest is darkness and darkness is not the objects of history. The effect of this denigration of Africa, its peoples and culture is that it has led to loss of self-esteem and confidence. Indeed, Africans are in the spell of psychological colonization. By given a pride of place to African arts and practices, not only would it lead to the restoration of self-esteem and confidence in Africans, but also it has the immense possibility of triggering a cultural revolution generally in African.

4.3.5 Ecological Degradation

The speed of industrialization and contemporary modernization has profound implications on the ecosystem. This is so because it causes environmental degradation due to the ever rising needs for ecological resources, and clearing of vast swatches of land for urban and industrial development. Allied to this is the destruction of the environment as a result of industrial pollution and the emission of carbon fluorocarbons. For developing societies, the one major threat to the environment is poverty. Forest resources are daily being pillaged, especially the cutting down of trees, and other botanical, aquatic and zoological resources. All these have serious consequences for divination. The major consequence is that the variety of roots, herbs, shrubs bushes, bark/twigs of trees and animal resources that are used in divination, especially in medical prescriptions and mixture of herbal medicines would be lost. This would effectively cripple the medical/healing component of divination and render it castrated and inefficient.

Amine Tyokumbul, the fifty year old diviner, said that to him, the major challenge that diviners are saddled with in Tiv society is the issue of the destruction of the environment. For diviners to get necessary herb, shrub, bushes or animal skins, or feathers of birds to mix medicines is increasingly becoming problematic. This situation has forced diviners to trek very far into the bush in search of herbs, or send for it in far away places, mostly in the rain forest region of the country. All this take their toll on the divination process. It could lead to abandonment of divination in the foreseeable future. In most instances, the delay in the procurement of herbs or other ingredients needed in divination process lead to death of clients. The most untold effect of this is the gradual dying of Tiv culture itself. According to Amine Tyokumbul (10/05/2016):

As the environment increasingly comes under threat, it comes with the danger of cultural genocide. I say so because most of the younger generation of Tiv people will have little or no knowledge of botanical plants and their place in Tiv cosmology, metaphysics and medicine. This would negatively affect Tiv divination, which also relies on herbs, roots and shrubs. For instance, the concoction that is prepared to open the spiritual mind of trainees is at the risk of extinction.

Should this happen that is the end of divination in Tivland (Amine Tyokumbul 10/05/2016).

4.3.6 Lack of Government Interest

Successive governments in Nigeria have not shown concern for the development of traditional medicine and its allied institutions. Yet, traditional medicine and its ancillary services beyond contributing to the overall wellbeing, development, and substance of the health sector, also plays significant complimentary role to the health sector and is a major income earner. The experience of Asian countries is a case in point. This lack of interest has led to the neglect of this sector and robbed it of the massive contributions that it stands to contribute to national development. Most of the respondents that we interviewed contended that there is the lack of government interest in the profession. They opined that successive governments from the colonial administration to date pay less attention to indigenous cultural knowledge systems. Many reasons account for this scenario.

When we sought to know what should be done to address all these changes and challenges, the responses were divergent. For instance, a client, Desega Ahom (17/03/2016) was of the opinion that the diviners themselves should reform their practices by making their work environment more friendly and modern. This, he argues, would entail removing the dirty objects and artifacts that usually adorn their compound. On his part, Gbechin Terzungwe (19/04/2016) opined that the government of Benue State should take a more than passing interest in divination. She should set up an agency specifically charged with the regulation and standardization of the conduct of divination. Such agency should also be saddled with weeding out of quacks from Ishor divination. Gbechin Terzungwe (19/04/2016), Orban Mbavaa (20/10/2015) called for government to pay more than passing interest to divination. According to Orban Mbavaa (20/10/2015):

Indigenous knowledge systems are minefield of social, cultural and economic development. For instance, if the government takes a more serious interest in say divination, it can be incorporated into the modern health system as a critical component. This is what Asian countries have done successfully. They have blended the traditional

and modern health systems. It is a very good combination. Also, Asian countries make a lot of money from the exportation of their herbal products. Nigerian governments have to learn from the Asian experience. By so doing, the government would open up the window of cultural resources to participate in the development process (Orban Mbavaa (20/10/2015).

4.4 Modernity and Change in Tiv Divination

The pressures of modernity have affected all fabrics and fibers of African society. So intense are these pressures that it has led to the sociological reconstitution of African societies, and indeed, societies that experienced intensive cultural clashes that led to the large-scale supplanting of their indigenous values, customs, mores, and traditions by the twin forces of colonization and spiritual colonization by the Abrahamic religions of Islam and Christianity. These among many other factors are the triggers of contemporary modernity and change in Tiv divination.

The idea of modernity, both as a form of temporality and an epistemological construct has received profound scholarly attention (Mignolo 2011, Giddens, 1991). Both points of view in this debate are philosophically rooted in ideological and political foundations. While the one, decolonial/postcolonialism tradition conceptualize modernity as an ‘invasive species’ with capacities for epidemiological annihilations, what Alfred Crosby refers to the ‘Columbian exchange.’ The other, the Eurocentric/Modernization tradition, conceives of modernity, informed as it is by the philosophy of social Darwinism as a *sine qua non* of development and social progress.

Notwithstanding these theoretical postulations, the one indisputable issue is that cultural encounters between peoples across space and time have impacted on interacting cultures differently. This has bred changing patterns of social organization and issues of change and continuity. In the era of contemporary globalization, the momentum of change has also accelerated immensely. The one area that modernity has impacted on Africa tremendously is religion and culture. Specifically, modernity has affected the philosophical foundations of African religion and belief system. This foundation as Anyanwu (1976:121) argued:

In the hierarchy of African cosmology, God, divinities, spirits, ancestors, man, animals, plants and minerals, occupy different levels,

though a constant interaction exists among all things in the universe. The belief in a constant interaction and mutual relationship between the visible and invisible worlds, between the dead and the living, coupled with the future generation, is another characteristic of African culture and psychology. This belief eliminates the duality of matter and spirit, subject and object, and establishes a world of aesthetic continuum, an initiative notion of time which sees the past, present and future as an 'enduring now'.

The dimensions of African religion that uphold the corporeal integrity of the society she identified to be (1976:120): political and social organization, belief in the ancestors; metaphysical aspects, accounts for man, universe, existence, nature, mutual relationship between all levels of reality; ethical and moral codes: account for human solidarity; the relationship between dead, living and future generations; the oneness of community; artistic aspects: music, carvings, sculptor, poetry, farming, artifacts, drama; linguistic aspects: names, the magical and creative power of words, proverbs; and, account for misfortune: spirit, deity, witches, sorcery.

All these dimensions have been affected by modernity. Indeed, in 1937, Dietrich Westermann urged missionaries to be ruthless with African religions (Okot p' Bitek, 1971:54). The onslaught against African religion and its practices such as divination have had tremendous impact on their cultural practice. Commenting on the impact of modernity on African religion, Gbenda states (www.thembosdev.com) that:

The religion is looked upon as outmoded; full of barbaric acts and practices. In the same vein, traditional ethical and moral values are no longer highly appreciated. Traditional regulations and taboos, chastity, among others are no longer given serious attention. Christianity and Islam have forced certain customs to natural death, while traditional practices have crumbled, disappeared, or modified. In some cases, some aspects of the religion are taken over by the forces of Christianity e.g. the indigenous names and attributes of God.

It should be noted that Africans were not passive agents in the face of the violation of their spiritual cosmology. Many indigenous social movements and discursive resistances were mounted to challenge this cultural-spiritual onslaught (Ogunbado 2012, Ray 1976). This

dialectical relationship between domination/eradication and resistance/tradition led to the continuity of African traditional religion and its practices in the contest of changes. The resilience and continuity of these practices are captured by Gbenda (www.thembosdev.com):

There are indications that some traditional practices still persist among Africans, even at this twenty first century (sic) they include, puberty rites, marriage rituals, funeral ceremonies, witchcraft, divination, and traditional medicine, libation to ancestors, ancestral veneration, priesthood, and chieftaincy, some of these belief systems and practices have assimilated new values and changes. It is a normal process for religious change as the religion-cultural institutions are dynamic and are not static. It is not possible for people's culture to be completely destroyed and replaced by another. The core values especially those embedded in the religious heritage are the hardest to change despite foreign influences.

What we have said of African religions and culture is completely applicable to the Tiv, our case study. For emphasis, not only has its religion and culture been intensively adulterated, cultural practices such as divination are not spared. A very fundamental impact of modernity on Tiv divination has been the rupturing of its philosophical essence. In traditional Tiv society, the diviners' place in the health care architecture was to undertake diagnostic analysis of etiologies, such as the modern day laboratory technicians are wont to do. Traditional doctors on the other hand undertook healing and restoration of health. These professional boundaries were jealously guarded in order to enhance professionalism, focus and commitment. However, with the advent of contemporary modernity and capitalist globalization, Tiv diviners have broken this professional boundary. The practice now is for diviners to also double as traditional doctors.

Other influences of modernity on Tiv divination are invasion of foreign religions, ecological degradations and their resultant negative implications on medico-botanical and zoological resources and materials, the unrelenting assault on traditional values and practices as a result of the speed of contemporary globalization, cosmopolitanism, and transnationalism among other factors. All these influences of modernity on Tiv divination have further compounded a plethora of problems.

In spite of the challenges that modernity has posed, Tiv divination has continued to assert itself within the cultural matrix of the Tiv people especially as it relates to its place in the traditional health care architecture and the interpretation of the cultural cosmology and proffering of measures to restore society to its foundational stability. In sum, there has been continuity and change in Tiv divination and as a cultural institution and practice; its centrality in the society and cultural cosmology of the Tiv is not vitiated. This fact is also true of other cultural and divinatory practices of other ethnic groups in Africa (Adekola, 1998).

It is a measure of the importance and centrality of divination in human society that in spite of the historical attempt to exterminate it, it has continued to wax stronger. Buoyed by this fact, O'Brien (www.ancientpages.com) states that:

Authentic divination system passed down by our ancestors are our sacred heritage. From a practical point of view, their ability to provide fresh guidance through the changes of our lives and words is our collective good fortune. They help us satisfy our primordial need to better understand life and our place in the universe. Their usefulness has allowed Astrology, Numerology, the I-Ching, Runes and Tarot not only to survive, but also to thrive in the face of all odd.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study set out to undertake critical analysis of the Tiv *Ishor* divination. Specifically, it sought to understand the nature of space, power and knowledge in the Tiv divination, and how these variables cross-pollinate to give *Ishor* divination its specific cultural character. It conceptualize power in Foucaultian terms. According to Foucault, power is everywhere. It inheres in individuals and institutions. It is construed in social-anthropological, rather than, political-juridical sense. As such, power is not seen as a weapon for the oppression of the powerless, on the contrary, it is a strategy that leads to someone acting in a certain way. It is both positive and negative and is coextensive with resistance.

Space, knowledge and power are complexly imbricated in the tapestry of the Tiv *Ishor* divination. In *Ishor* divination, the cultural configuration of space, which is essentially Tiv, is in the knowledge of divination possessed by the diviner and client. This is achieved through the analysis of the aim and objectives of the study. The responses from the various sources of data collected showed that there are a plethora of ‘technologies of power’ that both diviners and consultants use in the *Ishor* divination space to configure the divination process in its unique way.

Some of the elements that inhere in these variables—space, knowledge, and power—are artifacts that decorate the divination space, divination fee, sacralization of the divination space, diviner’s knowledge of causations, dexterity in incantations, knowledge of herbs, taboos, and sacred materials. The influence of modernism and cultural contact with other ethnicities has also brought in its wake other forms of power configuration and disciplinary strategies. In all cases, both the possessor of power and the mode of power it impact produces counter-power measures in form of resistances.

And more, the study also took a look at the impact of modernity on *Ishor* divination. From the responses, colonialism, Christianity, Westernism, ecological degradations, capitalist

globalization, heritage spoilation, among other forces have cross-fertilized in complex and varying ways to affect its institutional integrity. The pressures of commercialism have also impacted negatively on *Ishor* divination. As a result of commercialism, quacks have infiltrated the profession. Consequently, the spiritual potency of *Ishor* has increasingly come under critical interrogations. While the invasion of fake diviners has no doubt eroded its cultural legitimacy, there are still many truly endowed diviners of *Ishor* divination whose knowledge and services have continued to be courted. Indeed, they remain critical pillars in the architecture of Tiv ethnomedicine and culture.

As an indigenous knowledge system, in an era that places accent on modern science and biomedicine, divination has been challenged by critical ratiocinations that contest its scientific ontology and epistemology. What is more, successive governments in Nigeria have shown a lack of interest in indigenous knowledge system. Indigenous knowledge systems, especially traditional medicine, is bullied and bluffed heathenism, primitivism, paganism and satanism. Yet, traditional medicine is now complementary to modern medicine and is a major source of economic power. The viability of traditional medicine and its economic potency is attested to by its use in Asia. It is, therefore, argued that Nigerian government should also look in the direction of traditional medicine as a strategic factor in national development.

5.2 Conclusion

The Tiv *Ishor* divination, as this study has shown, is of ancient provenance, and plays significant roles in Tiv social, medicinal, and religio-spiritual life. Its mode of institutional organization is complex, dynamic, functional, at once traditional and liberal, and imbued with varying mechanisms and strategies that regulate its practice.

It is made up of many elements. This study, however, focused on the elements of power, space and knowledge. It found out that their agential constitution reinforces each other in the production of divinatory meaning. Notwithstanding the Orientalization (Said 1977) of divination and African indigenous knowledge system, the *Ishor* divination practice among the Tiv is playing key roles in the social and spiritual lives of the people. Also, it has weathered the storm of contemporary modernism, scientism, religious mischaracterization and official neglect to

remain relevant. It is therefore important that its institutional energy and capacity be harnessed to participate in the development process.

This study brings fresh perspective to Tiv divination. By looking at issues of space, power, and knowledge in Tiv divination, the study brings to the fore the place and relevance of taken-for-granted micro-institutional elements in knowledge production and social analysis. In this wise, therefore, the study fills a gap in the literature on Tiv divination, and also makes contribution to anthropological knowledge, theory and practice.

5.3 Recommendations

This study has thrown up a plethora of issues. Among these are: the nature of Tiv *Ishor* divination, diviners, apprenticeship, space, power, knowledge, divination and modernity, and the challenges to contemporary Tiv *Ishor* divination. All these issues have significant impact on the practice of Tiv divination. In this sub-section, we make recommendations to enhance the integrity, efficiency, and practice of Tiv divination. These recommendations are four in number.

One, the practice of consultants taking back their divination fee as a result of not being satisfied with the diviner's proclamations should be abolished. This is because most diviners are professionals. That is, they solely rely on the proceeds from divination to take care of themselves, family, and relatives. Whereas this practice of taking back the divination fee in the time past was sustainable due to the predominance of the agrarian mode of production, the ideology of social communalism, lack of economic and commercial pressures, and lack of social and cultural sophistication are at variance with the practice. The diviner needs to eat and shelter himself/herself and is confronted by the challenges of the political economy of contemporary capitalism. Consequently, clients who seek the services of diviners must pay for such services. Beyond enhancing the economic life of the diviner, payment of divination fee would check the menace of quack practitioners. This is because payment of divinations would make prospective clients more discrete in their choices of consultation. In the event, quack professionals would lose patronage and resultantly wither away.

Two, the artifacts that adorn *Ishor* divination spaces should be cleared. In *Ishor* divination space, artifacts and materialities such as broken bottles, pieces of broken earthenware pots, feathers of different types of birds, animal skins, skeletons, charms, molded images and large quantum of indescribable debris abound. Other scary images also abound in such spaces. The *Ishor* divination space is also littered with a bricolage of chromatic rags. What is more, the

diviner is seldom neat, presentable, and appealing. Most *Ishor* diviners appear in torn cloths, they look haggard and disheveled, walk around barefoot, look unkempt, and indulge in zoonotic cohabitation. This outlook, semiotically speaking, conjure in the mind of the client(s) images of power, longevity of practice and divinatory knowledge. But then semiotic connotations should not take precedence over good practice habits.

Apart from the challenge of spatial inclemency, visual fatigue, proneness to satanic characterization, environmental spoliation among others, the nature of the *Ishor* divination space repulse new entrants. Its space is anti-modern, anti-elitist, and anti-social. These elements have in large measure affected patronage and the psychology of its clientele. The *Ishor* divination practice must open its window to allow the fresh air of contemporary best practices of modernism filter through it. This is a veritable way to allow both Tiv and non-Tiv alike embrace the practice of Tiv *Ishior* divination.

Three, Tiv *Ishor* practitioners must form an association/guild of practitioners to regulate and standardize their practice. At the moment, there is no such guild. Some diviners interviewed said they belong to *National Union of Herbal Medicine Practitioners of Nigeria*. However, our findings indicate that this union is not strong, not sustainable and indeed, moribund. What is needed is a specifically Tiv *Ishor* divination association where its members can come together in a spirit of camaraderie to share professional experiences and develop mechanisms and framework for the regulation and control of *Ishor* divination.

This point brings us to the issue of the Tiv Traditional Council (TTC). The TTC is made of all the titleholders, chiefs, traditional leaders, and it is headed by the *Tor Tiv* (King of the Tiv). It is the highest organ that regulates and legislates on Tiv culture and society. The *Tor Tiv* is the custodian of Tiv culture and heritage. It also has jurisdiction over the constitution of Tiv civil society and the management of its social capital. In view of this, it is apposite to recommend that the TTC take measures to sanitize, regulate and standardize the conduct and practice of *Ishor* divination. The TTC has always taken lead and given direction to Tiv affairs. Here, too, it needs to mount the gauntlet.

Four, governments at all tiers—local, state and federal—must take more than passing interest in the promotion of indigenous knowledge systems. They are very central to both the social, economic, cultural and religio-spiritual lives of the people. However, successive governments, sprouting on the trump of colonial heritage have taken to denigrating indigenous knowledge

systems. The case of Tiv *Ishor* divination and other cultural system are no less so. The government, particularly, the Benue State Government must put in place measures and strategies of tapping into the abundant resources that Tiv *Ishor* divination possesses in order to enhance the religio-spiritual, cultural, social and economic empowerment and development of the people. The Asian countries have deployed their cultural and ethnopharmacological resource with immense benefits. The Nigeria government, especially Benue State taking cue from Asia can deploy the resources of Tiv divination to enhance national development.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

The modest contributions of this study to knowledge are twofold: One, it has contributed to the dissemination of anthropological knowledge on Tiv divination. In doing this, it has brought to the front burner contemporary changes and challenges that confront Tiv divination and the need to take measures that would safe guard its institutional integrity and relevance within the broad ambience of Tiv cosmology, culture, and society. Two, it has contributed to anthropological theory and knowledge. This it does by looking at how theoretical tropes such as space, power and knowledge can contribute to our understanding of cultural systems and institutions.

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APPENDIX I
FIELD INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (GUIDE)

Interview with Diviners

1. How did Tiv divination evolve?
2. What are the differences between ancient Tiv divination and their contemporary forms?
3. How much is your divination fee?
4. What divination instruments do you use?
5. Do you use divination paraphernalia?
6. What separates Tiv divination from other types of divination?
7. What is the nature of Tiv divination space?
8. What are the characteristics of Tiv divination space?
9. How Tiv divination space is culturally constituted?
10. How many types of Tiv divination do you know?
11. Do clients come to divination with a preconceived notion of causation?
12. What do clients who are not satisfied with your divinatory proclamations do?
13. What do clients who are satisfied with your divinatory proclamation do?
14. How are notions of power demonstrated in a Tiv divination space?
15. How does the diviner demonstrate power in a divination space?
16. How is knowledge of divination got?
17. How do you communicate with the spirits?
18. What are the contemporary changes in Tiv divination?
19. Why do people come to divination?
20. How did you become a diviner?
21. What are the sources of your divinatory powers?
22. What is the duration of period for divination apprentice?
23. How does an apprentice disengage from a master?
24. What are the symbolisms of your divination instruments?
25. Why do diviners mix divination with traditional herbal practice?
26. Can you diviner without your divination instruments?
27. What determines the cost of your divination fee?

28. How long did it take you to train as a diviner?
29. Why do you choose to use these divination instruments?
30. How do you demonstrate knowledge and mastery of divination to your clients?
31. What is the future of Tiv divination?

Interview with Informant Interviewees

1. Do you know much of Tiv divination?
2. If yes, what is it?
3. What separates Tiv divination from other types of divination?
4. How many types of divinatory practice have the Tiv?
5. What are the main cultural characteristics of Tiv divination?
6. Is Tiv divination effective?
7. What is the nature of the Tiv divination space?
8. How is the Tiv divination space culturally constituted?
9. How is knowledge of divination derived?
10. What are the sources of knowledge in Tiv divination?
11. What influence does the nature of Tiv society and culture wield on divination?
12. What are the functions of divination in Tiv society?
13. Why do people undertake divination?
14. What powers do the client wield in Tiv divination?
15. What powers do the diviner wield in the divination process?
16. What are the changes in Tiv divination practices?
17. Why do people patronize diviners?
18. How do the spirits relate with diviners?
19. What are the modern changes in Tiv divination?
20. What is the future of Tiv divination?

Focus Group Discussion

1. Do you know of the Ishor divination?`
2. How did it evolve in Tiv society?
3. What is the nature of Tiv divination space?
4. How are power relations formed in Tiv divination?
5. How is knowledge of Tiv divination derived?

6. How do diviners get knowledge of divination?
7. How does one become an Ichor diviner?
8. What is the duration of apprenticeship in Tiv divination?
9. What are the changes and continuities you observe about the Ichor divination?

APPENDIX II
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

S/N	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Place of Interview
1.	David Kwaghngu	54	M	Diviner	Apir
2.	Peter Ugbile	50	M	Diviner	Lower Benue
3.	Antule Mchiekaan	56	M	Diviner	Lower Benue
4.	Alfred Ankon	55	M	Diviner	Modern Market
5.	Faga Usue	55	M	Diviner	Low Cost Housing
6.	Daniel Zeku	40	M	Diviner	Uniagric Rd
7.	Fachi Shirsha	63	F	Diviner	North Bank
8.	Baby Tyoshior	40	F	Diviner	North Bank
9.	Nguaiby Origbo	75	M	Diviner	Terwase Agbadu
10.	Ngutsav Ayilla	62	F	Diviner	Adaka
11.	Nguemo Dooga	55	F	Diviner	Agan
12.	Wandoo Gbem	44	F	Diviner	Agan
13.	Elizabeth Adeva	60	F	Diviner	Agan
14.	Nyiman Undeer	41	F	Diviner	Adaka
15.	Tsehemba Azu	63	M	Diviner	Adaka
16.	Mishi Abuul	72	M	Diviner	Agboughol
17.	Akombo Nyuma	77	M	Diviner	Agboughol
18.	Tsegbe Iyav	71	M	Diviner	Abgoughol
19.	Dookan Zeku	68	M	Diviner	Gaadi
20.	Liba Tyowase	56	M	Diviner	Gaadi
21.	Mbakuuv Iorbo	50	M	Diviner	Gaadi
22.	Mbashinya Usur	45	M	Diviner	Fiidi
23.	Zafefa Demesugh	38	M	Diviner	Fiidi
24.	Oryen Tyowua	62	M	Diviner	Fiidi
25.	Donatus Gbechin	58	M	Diviner	Ayihe
26.	Onkasev Orga	55	F	Diviner	Ayihe

27.	Adoo Nahanga	47	F	Diviner	Ayihe
28.	Alu Gbamyiman	51	F	Diviner	Ayihe
29.	Kunav Shaku	72	M	Diviner	Wurukum
30.	Igbayima Kusuv	55	M	Diviner	Wurukum
31.	Agbo Bunde	53	M	Diviner	Wurukum
32.	Adzua Shom	67	M	Diviner	North Bank
33.	Vihimga Anule	39	M	Diviner	North Bank
34.	Veronica Tsav	43	F	Diviner	North Bank
35.	Aondokaa Amise	57	M	Diviner	Tyomu
36.	Terfa Nor	53	M	Diviner	Tyomu
37.	Mlanga Adudu	60	M	Diviner	Tyomu
38.	Ukumhemba Yio	66	M	Diviner	Tyomu
39.	Gafera Mbashav	48	M	Diviner	Akpehe
40.	Shawon Yina	61	M	Diviner	Akpehe
41.	Zayol Ahimbir	37	F	Diviner	Akpehe
42.	Kuyisa Aduiejov	43	F	Diviner	Akpehe
43.	Abuul Chikpi	58	M	Diviner	Tse-Ayu
44.	Anyom Ibel	52	M	Diviner	Tse-Ayu
45.	Gbechin Terzungwe	64	F	Farmer	Apir
46.	Desega Ahom	67	M	Farmer	Agan
47.	Tyolaha Tough	60	M	Farmer	Bar
48.	Aonover Uzuku	61	M	Farmer	Fiidi
49.	Mwuese Tyochimin	74	M	Farmer	Mbalagh
50.	Ageshi Kur	70	M	Farmer	Wadata
51.	Ayajor Torwua	66	M	Farmer	Wurukum
52.	Gbenda Tyodoo	61	M	Farmer	High Level
53.	Orban Shankyula	67	M	Farmer	Abuwa
54.	Terver Aguji	78	M	Farmer	Yogbo
55.	Tyozuwa Tarkighir	90	M	Farmer	Toll Gate
56.	Chief Akaa Gbasha	75	M	Farmer	Gaadi

57.	Mbazan Tyowase	61	M	Farmer	Tyomu
58.	Akegh Gyakpa	68	M	Farmer	Idye
59.	Mlumun Awua	54	F	Farmer	Idye
60.	Yavihigh Achir	52	F	Farmer	Kanshio
61.	Torkwase Akem	64	F	Farmer	Abiem
62.	Tyozuwa Tarkighr	90	M	Diviner	NNPC Depot
63.	Ahen Ugbile	55	M	Diviner	Lower Benue
64.	Akegh Gyakpa	70	M	Diviner	High Level
65.	Denen Dick	53	M	Diviner	High Level
66.	David Kwaghngu	60	M	Diviner	High Level
67.	Akaa Gbasha	75	M	C	High Level
68.	Apaa Bar 65yrs	65	M	Farmer	Akpehe
69.	Orban Mbavaa	70	M	Farmer	Logo II
70.	Orban Shankyula	51	M	Farmer	Tyo Mu
71.	Terver Aguji	66	M	Farmer	Agan
72.	Mbazan Tyowase	50	F	Chief	Tse-Ayu
73.	Gbenda Tyodoo	48	M	Farmer	Adeke
74.	Ayajor Torwua	52	M	Farmer	Anter
75.	Alfred Ankon	63	M	Chief	Modern Market
76.	Aondover Uzuku	57	M	Farmer	Akpehe
77.	Gbechin Terzungwe	60	M	Farmer	Welfare Qtrs
78.	Desega Ahom	65	F	Diviner	Nyon
79.	Agu Waki	73	M	Diviner	Kanshio
80.	Mwuese Agbatse	48	F	Diviner	UNIAGRIC

APPENDIX III
VARIOUS KINDS OF DIVINATION SYSTEMS

1.	Aeromancy	Divination by the air
2.	Alectrymancy	Divination by cocks or poultry
3.	Alphitomancy	Divination by meal, flour or bran
4.	Antinopomancy	Divination by the entrails of women and children
5.	Arithmancy	Divination by numbers
6.	Astragalomancy	Divination by dice
7.	Axinomancy	Divination by saws
8.	Botanomancy	Divination by herbs
9.	Capnomancy	Divination by smoke
10.	Carromancy	Divination by melting of wax
11.	Catoxtromancy	Divination by looking glasses
12.	Cattabomancy	Divination vessels of brass or other metal
13.	Caphalomancy	Divination by broiling of an ass's head
14.	Chartomancy	Divination by interpreting inscriptions on writing paper
15.	Chiromancy	Divination by interpreting the lines on the palms of the hands; palmistry.
16.	Chrystallomancy	Divination by glasses
17.	Cleromancy	Divination by lots
18.	Coscinomancy	Divination by sieves
19.	Crithomancy	Divination by grain or corn
20.	Datylomancy	Divination by rings
21.	Demonomancy	Divination by the suggestion of evil demons or devils
22.	Gastomancy	Divination by the sound of or signs upon the belly
23.	Geomancy	Divination by earth
24.	Gyromancy	Divination by rounds or circles
25.	Hydromancy	Divination by water
26.	Iothyomancy	Divination by fishes
27.	Idolomancy	Divination by idols, images, figures
28.	Lampadomancy	Divination by candles and lamps

29.	Lecanomancy	Divination by a basin of water
30.	Lithomancy	Divination by stones
31.	Livanomancy	Divination by burning of frankincense
32.	Logarithmancy	Divination by logarithms
33.	Macharomancy	Divination by knives or swords
34.	Oinomancy	Divination by wine
35.	Omphilomancy	Divination by the navel
36.	Oniromancy	Divination by dreams
37.	Onomatomancy	Divination by names
38.	Onychomancy	Divination by the nails
39.	Ornithomancy/Augury	Divination by birds
40.	Podomancy	Divination by feet
41.	Psychomancy	Divination by men's souls, affections, wills, religious or moral disposition
42.	Pyromancy	Divination by fire
43.	Roadomancy/Astrology	Divination by stars
44.	Sciomancy	Divination by shadows
45.	Spatalamancy	Divination by skins, bones, excrements
46.	Stareomancy	Divination by the elements
47.	Sternomancy	Divination from the breast to the belly
48.	Sycomancy	Divination by figs
49.	Theomancy	Divination or pretending to divine by the revelation of the spirit and by the scriptures of word of God
50.	Theriomancy	Divination by beasts
51.	Tuphramancy	Divination by ashes
52.	Tyromancy	Divination by the coagulation of cheese
53.	Nagomancy/Necromancy	Divination by inspecting, consulting and divining by, with, or from the dead.

Source: John Gaule, *Mysmantia* (1652) in Robbins (1959:139) *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft And Demonology* London: Spring Books