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PREFACE

This book is an expansion of lectures to my students at Makere College, Uganda, and Hamburg University, Germany. Not students in both universities show continued interest in the many requested that they be available in book form to meet textbook on the subject of African traditional religions and hope that this book will be a contribution in the study of the is increasingly coming into the curricula of universities, semin and senior secondary schools not only in Africa but overseas book is intended therefore for use in such institutions of hi and by readers who may have reached that standard of ed primarily an introduction to the subject, and for that reason l a minimum analytical interpretation. For the same reason I substantial references and bibliography, so that readers wish certain lines of interest might have a reading list with which journals are not easily accessible except in large libraries, I have them in the footnote references, except occasionally, but : listed in the select bibliography.

African Religions and Philosophy deals almost exclusively w concepts and practices in those societies which have no Christian or Muslim in any deep way, before the colonial per In my description I have generally used the present tense, a are still held and the practices being carried out. Everyone rapid changes are taking place in Africa, so that traditional abandoned, modified or coloured by the changing situation time it would be wrong to imagine that everything traditi changed or forgotten so much that no traces of it are to be four the changes are generally on the surface, affecting the mater and only beginning to reach the deeper levels of thinking pa content, mental images, emotions, beliefs and response in situ Traditional concepts still form the essential background of peoples, though obviously this differs from individual to from place to place. I believe, therefore, that even if the edu do not subscribe to all the religious and philosophical pracdescribed here, the majority of our people with little or no fo still hold on to their traditional corpus of beliefs and pea

familiar with village gossip cannot question this fact; and those who have

eyes will also notice evidence of it in the towns and cities. In this study I have emphasized the unity of African religions and philosophy in order to give an overall picture of their situation. This approach does not give room for the treatment in depth of individual religious and philosophical systems of different African peoples. There is an increasing number of monographs coming out through which this aspect of study is being met, and I do not feel it necessary to duplicate the work when so many other fields remain searcely harvested. I have therefore chosen to highlight both similarities and differences considering the African picture as a whole. For this reason, I have drawn examples from all over Africa, both making general observations and giving detailed illustrations.

Since modern change cannot be ignored, I have devoted one chapter to it towards the end of the book, emphasizing particularly the human aspects of this change and how these affect individuals and families. In another chapter I discuss the present situation of Christianity, Islam and other religions in Africa, all of which are very relevant to any study of traditional religions. Both Christianity and Islam are 'traditional' and 'African' in a historical sense, and it is a pity that they tend to be regarded as 'foreign' or "European" and "Arab". It is, however, in their contact or relationship with traditional religions that I have discussed these other religions. The final chapter is an attempt to, assess the place and role of religion in modern Africa which has inherited these different religious systems and is subjected to a world-wide and radical change.

I want to express my deep gratitude to my students at Makerere (since 1964) and Hamburg (1966-7), for reacting with such encouraging and stimulating response to the original lectures. Many who heard these lectures enriched some of the points with illustrations and comments from their own reflection and experiences. I valued these comments very much, and have incorporated some of them into the book, for which I am equally grateful. In innumerable ways my dear wife has been a constant source of help while I was working on the lectures and the book, especially in Hamburg, and to her I am duly indebted. The publishers have given me unending encouragement and co-operation from the time I contacted them about the manuscript. For this and for the quick production of the book, I am very thankful.

As much as possible I have acknowledged in the footnotes the sources of my information and quotations. Where a particular work is mentioned half a dozen or more times, only the author and pages of his book are given in the footnotes and full details of the work concerned will be found in the select bibliography. I apologize for any omissions in acknowledging the Preface

sources, for misinterpreting or misrepresenting anyone's is errors in quoting other people's writings, where this may h

Makerere University College Kampala, Uganda

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Greatful admossledgement is made for permission granted by either the authors or Greeful admonifedgement is more for primary works: J. B. Danquah, The Akan publishers to make quotations from the following works: J. B. Danquah, The Akan publishers to make quotations from tox journals.

Doctrine of God, Lunerworth (an Edinburgh House Press book) 1944; Doctrine of God, Lunerworm (an Davider and Magic among the Azande, E. E. Evans-Priichard, Witchereft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, E. E. Evans-Priichard, Weitstrigt, Clarendon Press, 1956; M. J. Clarendon Press, 1917; and Nutr Religion, Clarendon Press, 1956; M. J. Clarendon Press, 1917; and the Ga People, Oxford University Press, 1917; Field, Religion and Medicine of the Ga People, Oxford University Press, 1964; Conford D. Foede, ed., African Worlds, Oxford University Press, 1954; G. W. B. D. Foede, ed., Ajmus average, Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1953; Humingford, The Nand of Kenja, Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1953; Huntangtond, 1st (Vene God is Yerube Belief, Longmans, Green & Co., E. B. 100wu, Ossessare. Co., 1962; J. M. Lewis, ed., Islam 1962; J. Jahn, Mann, Faber and Faber, ET 1961; I. M. Lewis, ed., Islam 1962; J. Jann, Johnson, Landersty Press, 1966; G. Lienhardt, Divinity and in Tropical Africa, Oxford University Press, 1966; G. Lienhardt, Divinity and the Tropical Agrica, Colored Co. Dinka, Clarendon Press, 1961; R. A. Lystad, Experience, the Religion of the Dinka, Clarendon Press, 1961; R. A. Lystad, The Athenti: a Proud Prople, Rutgers University Press, 1958; J. H. Nkeria, Factor Dirges of the Akan People, Acces 1955; A. Oded, 'A Congregation of African Jews in the heart of Uganda', in Divi ne Mile: Revealed Religion and Traditional Customer, Vol. 3 No. 1, 1968; J. Okot p'Bitck, "The Concept of Jok among the Acholi and Lango', in The Ugande Journel, Vol. XXVII No. 1, 1965; E. G. Parrinder, West African Religion, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) 1961; P. Schebesta, My Pygmy and Negro Huts, Hutchinson & Co., ET 1936; Revisiting my Pygmy Hosts, Hutchinson & Co., ET 1936; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, Macmillan, Vol. 1, 1920; E. W. Smith, ed. (later E. G. Parrinder), African Ideas of God, Lutterworth (an Edinburgh House Press book) 1950; T. C. Young, Contemporary Anaestors, Lutterworth (an Edinburgh House Press book) n.d.

1

INTRODUCTION

Africans are notoriously religious, and each people has its ow system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always A study of these religious systems is, therefore, ultimately a s peoples themselves in all the complexities of both traditional a life. Our written knowledge of traditional religions is comparthough increasing, and comes chiefly from anthropologists and Practically nothing has been produced by theologians, de interpreting these religions theologically.

We speak of African traditional religions in the plural becar about one thousand African peoples (tribes), and each has its or system. These religions are a reality which calls for academic a which must be reckoned with in modern fields of life like politics, education, and Christian or Muslim work. To it traditional beliefs, attitudes and practices can only lead to a last standing African behaviour and problems. Religion is the stront in traditional background, and exerts probably the greatest infi the thinking and living of the people concerned.

While religion can be discerned in terms of beliefs, cerems and religious officiants, philosophy is not so easily distingus shall consider different religions in terms of their similarities and to give us a picture of the overall situation in Africa. But, since parallel philosophical systems which can be observed in similaterus, we shall use the singular, 'philosophy', to refer to the junderstanding of African peoples concerning different is Philosophy of one kind or another is behind the thinking a every people, and a study of traditional religious brings us into f African life where, through word and action, we may be a the philosophy behind. This involves interpretation of the before us, and interpretation cannot be completely free of sul ment. What, therefore, is 'African Philosophy', may not am

than simply my own process of philosophizing the items under consideration; than simply my own process of paucoup to a member of a but this cannot be helped, and in any Philosophical systems of different African peoples have not yet been Philosophical systems of districts where they may be found are in the formulated, but some of the areas where they may be found are in the formulated, but some of the areas whose and morals of the society concerned, religion, proverbs, oral traditions, others areas into this study, but reconcerned, religion, proverbs, oral transment, concernant into this study, but proverbs in I have incorporated some of these areas into their philosophical I have incorporated some or unexession their philosophical content is particular deserve a separate treatment since their philosophical content is particular deserve a separate measurement have many comprehensive collec-mainly situational. We do not however have many comprehensive collecmainly signational. We do not also which an overall analysis of this type of tions of African proverts out of which an overall analysis of this type of non of African prevents out to African philosophy, here refers to the philosophy could be unomasses, and perception behind the manner understanding, anitade of mind, logic and perception behind the manner understanding, anitate of minor, angle the different situations of life, in which African peoples think, act or speak in different situations of life, which African peoples usually a series all the departments of life, there Because traditional religious permeate all the departments of life, there

Because transmonar response property and the secular, between the is no termin contributed to the spiritual and the material areas of religious and non-religious, between the spiritual and the material areas of reageous and moreous from it, there is his religion: he earnies it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to where he is sowing, among a funeral ceremony; and if he is educated, he the bert party or to attend a funeral ceremony; takes religion with him to the examination room at school or in the university; if he is a politician he takes it to the house of parliament, Although many African languages do not have a word for religion as such, it nevertheless accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death. Through modern change these traditional religious cannot remain intact, but they are by no means extinct. In times of crisis they often come to the surface, or people revert to them in secret.

Traditional religions are not primarily for the individual, but for his community of which he is part. Chapters of African religions are written everywhere in the life of the community, and in traditional society there are no indigious people. To be human is to belong to the whole community, and to do so involves participating in the beliefs, ceremonies, rituals and festivals of that community. A person cannot detach himself from the religion of his group, for so do so is to be severed from his roots, his foundation, his context of security, his kinships and the entire group of those who make him aware of his own existence. To be without one of these corporate elements of life is to be out of the whole picture. Therefore, to be without seligion amounts to a self-excommunication from the entire life of society, and African peoples do not know how to exist without religion.

One of the sources of severe strain for Africans exposed to modern change is the increasing process (through education, urbanization and industrialization) by which individuals become detached from their traditional environment. This leaves them in a vacuum devoid of a solid

religious foundation. They are torn between the life of which, whatever else might be said about it, has historical traditions, and the life of our technological age which, a Africans has no concrete form or depth. In these circumstant and Islam do not seem to remove the sense of frustration an It is not enough to learn and embrace a faith which is active either on Sunday or Friday, while the rest of the week is It is not enough to embrace a faith which is confined to a c or mosque, which is locked up six days and opened only a week. Unless Christianity and Islam fully occupy the v much as, if not more than, traditional religions do, most of faiths will continue to revert to their old beliefs and practi six days a week, and certainly in times of emergency and er environment and the whole time must be occupied by reli so that at any moment and in any place, a person feels secur in a meaningful and religious consciousness. Since tradi occupy the whole person and the whole of his life, con religions like Christianity and Islam must embrace his lan patterns, fears, social relationships, amendes and philosophi if that conversion is to make a lasting impact upon the ind

A great number of beliefs and practices are to be found society. These are not, however, formulated into a systemati which a person is expected to accept. People simply assis religious ideas and practices are held or observed by the communities. These traditions have been handed down fi and each generation takes them up with modifications suit historical situation and needs. Individuals hold differences various subjects; and the myths, tituals and ceremonies may from area to area. But such ideas or views are not cons contrary or conforming to any orthodox opinion. Therefor in this book that such and such a society 'believes', or 'narrat such and such, we do not by any means imply that ev society subscribes to that belief or performs that ritual. The beliefs and aces, and there can be no unanimity in such b practices. In traditional religions there are no creeds to be the creeds are written in the heart of the individual, and eac a living creed of his own religion. Where the individual religion, for he is a religious being. It is this that mal religious: religion is in their whole system of being.

One of the difficulties in studying African religions an

that there are no sacred scripeares. Religion in African societies is written not on paper but in people's hearts, minds, oral history, rituals and religious personages like the priests, rainmakers, officiating elders and even kings, personages like the priests, rainmakers, officiating elders and even kings, personages like the priests, rainmakers, officiating elders and even kings, personages like the priests, rainmakers, officiating elders and even kings, personages like the priests, rainmakers, officiating elders and even only the Ewrybody is a religious currier. But also the religious journey of the beliefs concerning God and the spirits, but also the religious journey of the beliefs concerning God and the spirits, but also the religious journey of the beliefs concerning. What people do is personal responsible for formal rituals and ceremonies. What people do is motivated by what they believe, and what they believe springs from what motivated by what they believe, and what they believe springs from what they do and experience. So then, belief and action in African traditional they do and experience they believe as single whole.

society cannot be separated: they besong to a single-Traditional religious are not universal; they are tribal or national. Each religion is bound and limited to the people among whom it has evolved, religion is bound and limited to the people among whom it has evolved, one traditional religion cannot be peopagated in another tribal group. One traditional religion cannot be peopagated in another tribal group. This does not rule out the fact that religious ideas may spread from one This does not rule out the fact that religious ideas may spread from one people to another. But such ideas spread spontaneously, especially through migrations, intermantage, conquest, or expert knowledge being sought by individuals of one tribal group from another. Traditional religious have no individuals of one tribal group from another. Traditional religious have no individuals of one tribal group from another.

religion to another.

Similarly, there is no conversion from one traditional religion to another. Similarly, there is no conversion from one traditional religion to another a Each society has its own religious system, and the propagation of such a Each society has its own religious system, and the entire life of the people complete system would involve propagating the entire life of the people concerned. Therefore a person has to be been in a particular society in order to assimilate the religious system of the society to which he belongs. An outsider cannot enter or appreciate fully the religion of another society. Those few Europeans who claim to have been 'converted' to African religions—and I know some who make such fantastic claims!—do not know what they are saying. To pour out libation or observe a few rituals like Africans, does not constitute conversion to traditional religions.

African religious have neither founders not reformers. They may, however, incorporate national heroes, leaders, rulers and other famous men and women into their body of beliefs and mythology. Some of these figures are elevated to high national positions and may even be regarded as divinities responsible for natural objects or phenomena. These heroes and heroines form an integral part of the religious milieu of their society, whether or not they played a specifically religious role in their time.

Belief in the consinuation of life after death is found in all African societies, as far as I have been able to discover. But this belief does not constitute a hope for a future and better life. To live here and now is the most important concern of African religious activities and beliefs. There is little, if any, concern with the distinctly spiritual welfare of man apart

Introduction

from his physical life. No line is drawn between the significant. Even life in the hereafter is conceived in materialities. There is neither paradise to be hoped for not hell to hereafter. The soul of man does not long for spiritual recoloser contact with God in the next world. This is an imputraditional religions, and one which will help us to und centration of African religiosity on earthly matters, with no of this religiosity. It is here also that the question of African is so important. Traditional religions and philosoph with man in past and present time. God comes into the explanation of man's contact with time. There is no mapocalyptic vision with God stepping in at some future mabout a radical reversal of man's normal life. God is no ethical-spiritual relationship with man. Man's acts of worst to God are pragmatic and utilitarian rather than spiritual to God are pragmatic and utilitarian rather than spiritual

With our incomplete knowledge of African religions, it describe their history. On the whole, however, they seem t fairly stable, quietly assimilating new ideas and peaceices fr National crises like warfare, famines, epidemics, locust inva changes in the weather cause a revival of religious activitie of new ones. Since people are so intimately bound up wi life and outlook, their history constitutes the history of the is an area of study which calls for interdisciplinary co-op historians, anthropologists and theologians. I have mad this book to deal with the historical aspects of African rel not aware of any study having been done along those lin here is chiefly descriptive and interpretive, bringing together way those elements which are representative of traditional over Africa. In such a general survey, there is no room to unique and complex religious system of each people; but the detailed illustrations used here and drawn from many will not only indicate this complexity of African religions in part what otherwise could not be covered in depth,

2 THE STUDY OF AFRICAN RELIGIONS AFRICAN RELIGIONS & PHILOSOPHY

The world is just beginning to take African traditional religions and philosophy seriously. It is only around the middle of the twentieth century that there subjects have begon to be studied peoperly and respectfully as an eademic discipline in their own right. During the preceding one hundred academic discipline in their own right. During the preceding one hundred years African religions were described by European and American mission, aries and by students of anthropology, sociology and comparative religion, aries and by students of anthropology, sociology and comparative religion, aries and by students of anthropology, sociology and comparative religion, aries and by students of anthropology, sociology and comparative religions, attended to these religions. In the early part of that period, the academic study of these religions. In the early part of that period, the academic study of these religions. In the early part of that period, the academic many fields of study. It is this theory which colours many of the earlier many fields of study. It is this theory which colours many of the earlier many fields of study. It is this theory which colours many of the earlier many fields of study. It is this theory which colours many of the present descriptions, interpretations and explanations of African religions. We shall descriptions, interpretations and explanations of African religions, the present

[2] The early approaches and articles

One of the dominating attitudes in this early period was the assumption
that African beliefs, cultural characteristics and even foods, were all borrowed
that African beliefs, cultural characteristics and even foods, were all borrowed
that African beliefs, cultural characteristics and even foods, were all borrowed
from the outside world. German scholars pushed this assumption to the
from the outside world all abandoned it completely to this day. All kinds
of theories and explanations were put forward on how the different religious
train had reached African societies from the Middle East or Europe. It is
train had reached African societies from the Middle East or Europe. It is
train had reached African societies from the outside world, but religious
and cultural influence from this contact cannot have flowed only one way:
there was always a give-and-take process. Furthermore, African soil is not
so infende that it cannot produce its own new ideas. This game of hunting
for outside sources is dying out, and there are writers who now argue that
in fact it was Africa which exported ideas, cultures and civilization to the

¹ For further unity of the earlier theories see E. E. Evans-Princhard Theories of primitive trigion (Oxford 1965). The Study of African Religious & Philosophy

outside world.1 But surely a balance between these two extreasonable.

These earlier descriptions and studies of African religion terms which are inadequate, derogatory and prejudicial. betray the kind of attitude and interpretation dominant in the who invented or propagated the different theories about traditi Animism is a word derived from the Latin anima which i breath of life, and hence carries with it the idea of the soul term has become the most popular designation for African re found in many writings even this day. It was invented b anthropologist, E. B. Tylor, who used it first in an article in in his book, Primitive Calture (1871). For Tylor the basic religion was the 'belief in spirit beings'. He saw the anima vaporous image animating the object it occupied. He tho so-called 'primitive people' imagined the anima to be capable body and entering other men, animals or things; and cont after death. Pursuing the theory further, Tylor went on to 'primitive' men considered every object to have its own sou rise to countless spirits in the universe.

Tylor's ideas were popularized by his disciples. Since the animinal has come to be widely used in describing traditions. Africa and other parts of the world. In an atmosphere filled woof evolution, the notion of countless spirits opened the way freligious evolution. This led on to the theory that single spirit each major department of nature. For example, all the spirit would have one major spirit in charge of them, and the rocks, lakes and so on. Accordingly, this gave man the idea of (polytheirs), which in turn evolved further to the stage of one over all the other departmental spirits. We might illustrate the diagram (see page 8).

This type of argument and interpretation places African rebottom of the supposed line of religious evolution. It tells us Christianity and Islam are at the top, since they are montheory fails to take into account the fact that another theory that man's religious development began with a monotheise towards polytheism and animism. We need not concern ouhere with either theory. We can only comment that Africa aware of all these elements of religion: God, spirits and div-

¹ For example: J. Jahn Musts (E. T. London 1961); B. Davids (London 1961), and The growth of African civilization (London Diop Anterior': des civilizations régent: Mythe su sérité historique?

of the maditional body of beliefs. Christianity and Islam acknowledge the additional body of beliefs. Christianity and Islam acknowledge the same type of spiritual beings. The theory of religious evolution, in which tame type of spiritual beings. The theory of religious evolution, does not satisfactorily explain or interpret African religious. Animism is not an adequate description of these religious and it is better Animism is not an adequate description of these religious and it is better than the abandoned once and for all.

for that term to be abandoned once and for all. to that term to be abandoned water and world, we hear that 'redemptive In classifying the religions of the world, we hear that 'redemptive In classifying the rengame of the last incorporate into their religions' like Christianity, Judaism and Islam incorporate into their religions. Like Consumery, 1988 redemption in the next world. 'Motality teaching the doctrine of the soul's redemption of Confucing Motality teaching the docume of the state of Conflucius lay a great religions. Eke Shintoism and the teachings of Conflucius lay a great reagions are summer great emphasis on moral considerations. Finally, 'primitive religions' are those emphasis on more considered by some writers as 'savage', 'primitive' and whose followns are described by some writers as 'savage', 'primitive' and whose resources are described or emotion.1 Of course the word primitive in is Latin root primer has no bad connotations as such, but the way it is applied to African religious shows a lack of respect and betrays derogatory undenones. It is extraordinary that even in our day, fellow man should continue to be described as 'savage' and lacking in emotion or imagination. This approach to the study of African religious will not go very far, neither can it qualify as being scientifically or theologically adequate. Some traditional religions are extremely complex and contain elements which shed a lot of light on the study of other religious traditions of the world.

In his book, Principles of Sociology (1885), the anthropologist Herbert In his book, Principles of Sociology (1885), the anthropologist Herbert Spencer used the phrase asserter avership to describe his speculation that 'savage' peoples associated the spirits of the dead with certain objects, and in order to keep on good terms with the spirits of their ancestors, people made sacrifices to them. Other writers have borrowed this term and applied it almost to anything that Africans do in the way of religious ceremonies. Many books speak of 'ancestor worship' to describe African religions. Certainly it cannot be denied that the departed occupy an important place in African religiosity; but it is wrong to interpet traditional religions samply in terms of 'worshipping the ancestors'. As we shall see later in this book,

² See for example J. N. D. Anderson, ed., The World's Religious (third edition London 1960), p. 9 f.

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the departed, whether parents, brothers, sisters or children, family, and must therefore be kept in touch with their sur Libation and the giving of food to the departed are token hospitality and respect; the drink and food so given are syr continuity and contact. 'Worship' is the wrong wood to situation; and Africans themselves know very well tha 'worshipping' the departed members of their family. It is almo therefore, to describe these acts of family relationships as 'wo more, African religions do not end at the level of family rites food offerings. They are deeper and more comprehensive them only in terms of 'ancestor worship' is to isolate a single in some societies is of little significance, and to be blind aspects of religion.

Other writers have tried to study or refer to African relig magic. Some consider magic to have evolved before reli attempt to manipulate the unseen world. When man fa natural objects and phenomena by means of magic, he then t to forces beyond him, which in turn led to a belief in Goo of all power. As such, magic is considered to be the mod Since every African society has both magic and religion, it to conclude that Africans had not evolved beyond the stay religion from magic. Some writers even tell us that Afri religion at all and only magic. We shall devote a whole subject of magic, and there is an increasing amount of good We need here only comment briefly. A careful examination in African societies shows that magic is part of the religiou and it is not easy to separate the two. Some of the ceremoni in rainmaking and preventing of epidemics, incorporate bo magic. So long as magical acts are beneficial to the comm they are acceptable and people may even pay a great deal in order to secure such help. This gives no contradiction Magic belongs to the teligious mentality of African people is not magic, and magic cannot explain religion. Religion

Ese earlier writers like: E. Durkheim The elementary forms of (E.T. London 1915); J. Frazer Totembe (London 1917); A scientife theory of ordine and other energy (London 1944); E origin of religion (London 1917); P. Radin Primithe religion (R. Allier The mind of the savage (London 1929). See also, fo discussion, E. G. Parrinder African Traditional Religion (London Boquet Comparative Religion (London 1942); W. Schmidt I Gentrider (Vol. IV deals specifically with Africa, under directioned and Urvolker Afrikas', Münster 1911).

magic, and only an ignorant outsider could imagine that African religions Other terms employed to describe African religions include Dynamum, are nothing more than magic.

Other terms employed to describe. We need not go into them here. These Totomism, Fedicion and Naturitat. We need not go into them here. These Totamen, Ferrison and Penness. We make the outside world has under, and the previous terms show clearly how little the outside world has under, and the previous terms snow cleans over the terms are being abandoned as more snood African religions. Some of the terms are being abandoned as more stood African religions. Some or use manifest that African religions and knowledge comes to light. But the fact remains that African religions and knowledge comes to light, this use sacretated of mainterpretation, mis-philosophy have been subjected to a great deal of mainterpretation, misphilosophy have been subjected to a government of the philosophy have been despited, mocked and representation and misunderstanding. They have been despited, mocked and representation and misungerstanding, a region of the needs only to look at the dismissed as primitive and underdeveloped. One needs only to look at the dismissed as primitive and unuscount to see the derogatory language used, prejudiced earlier titles and accounts to see the derogatory language used. earlier uties and accounts to see an area of the passed upon these religions. In descriptions given and false judgments passed upon these religions. In descriptions given and tasse juogostato production as superstition, saturate, missionary circles they have been condemned as superstition, saturate, devilish and hellish. In spire of all these attacks, traditional religions have survived, they dominate the background of African peoples, and must be neckoned with even in the middle of modern changes.

[0] storest years a change of approach and attitude has begun to take place. We mention here some of the books and new methods, without elaborating on them. The first of these new approaches is represented by writers like Tempels, Jahn and Taylor. In his book, Bents Philosophy (French edition 1945, English 1959), P. Tempels presents his understanding of Baluba religion and philosophy, starting from the attitude that 'primitive peoples have a concrete conception of being and of the universe'. He goes on to say that 'this "entology" of theirs will give a special character and a local colour to their beliefs and religious practices, to their language, to their institutions and customs, to their psychological reactions and, more generally, to their whole behaviour'. For Tempels the key concept to African religions and philosophy is what he calls 'the vital force'. He isolanes this as the essence of being: force is being, and being is force'. His philosophy of forces explains for him everything about African thinking and action.

Whatever else is said about Tempels' book, it opens the way for a sympathetic study of African religions and philosophy. His motive and that of the fellow colonialists whom he addresses, is 'to civilize, educate and raise the Bantu'. The book is primarily Tempels' personal interpretation of the Baluba, and it is ambitious to call it 'Bantu philosophy' since it only deals with one people among whom he had worked for many years as a missionary. It is open to a great deal of criticism, and the theory of 'vital force' cannot be applied to other African peoples with whose life and ideas I am familiar. The main contribution of Tempels is more in terms of The Study of African Religions & Philosophy

sympathy and change of attitude than perhaps in the actual theory of his book.

In the same group is J. Jahn's book, Maens (German English 1961), which deals primarily with what he calls culture'. He devotes one section to African philosophy, while art, dance, history and literature. It covers a great part of Af material being collected through wide reading. In the religious section Jahn adopts the categories of A. Kagame (from R squeezes everything into one of four categories:

Mustu is the philosophical category which includes Go departed, human beings and certain trees. These consti endowed with intelligence.

Kints includes all the 'forces' which do not act on their of under the command of Mustu, such as plants, animals, mit

Hauts is the category of time and space.

Kants is what he calls 'modality', and covers items like bea

According to Jahn's interpretation, 'all being, all essence, in v it is conceived, can be subsumed under one of these categories. be conceived outside them'. He sticks to Tempels' concept of tells us that 'man is a force, all things are forces, place and t and the "modalities" are forces'. These items are supposed to the putely linguistic stem - NTU which occurs in all the fi which the categories are based. Jahn supposes this - NTI universal force . . . which, however, never occurs apart from tions: Muntu, Kintu, Hantu and Kuntu. NTU is Being itsel universal force . . . NTU is that force in which Being and b . . . NTU expresses, not the effect of these forces, but their h forces act continually, and are constantly effective (pp. 99 ff.). this mythical or imaginary NTU would be revealed only universe came to a standgrill.

The main contribution of Jahn's book is in pointing ou Africa has something of philosophical value which deserve seriously and studied accordingly. In his enthusiasm about may have overstated his case (he says, for instance, that Europ to compare with African philosophy). But he has argued I conviction and has put them across persuasively, whether of

In the English world this sympathetic approach to African

philosophy is best represented by J. V. Taylor in his book, The primal vision peasurepey is one represented of J. (1983). This is a contribution to studies in the series 'Christian Presence', and the book is clearly directed towards that end. With one foot in and the book is clearly anected to the contemporary Africa with its traditional Christian theology and the other in contemporary Africa with its traditional and modern life, Taylor managed to penetrate considerably African thought, in describing mainly for European readers, what he calls 'the primal world', In this attempt he is carried away by that world, becoming too sympathetic and insoficiently critical. He presents everything as if it were so sacred, holy, pure and clean that it is being polluted by Christianity, westernism, urbanization and the ways of technological life. The book has a disturbingly sharp distinction between the "we" (Europeans) and the 'they' (Africans), seen against the background of what 'we' can learn from 'them', From the point of view of the Christian contact with African traditional world, this is, however, the best study so far. It is stimulating and challenging; and its material, which is drawn from many parts of Africa both through reading and personal experience, makes a representative survey of the whole continent.

These three books have in common the artitude that African religious and philosophy are a reality which colours the whole life of African peoples. As such, they deserve to be taken seriously and studied sympathetically.

The second modern approach is represented by writers from England, France and West Germany. This approach attempts to treat African religions systematically, putting together information from various peoples. Representative authors include Parrinder, Deschamps and Dammann. The pioneer work is E. G. Parrinder's African Treditional Religion (1954), which has been re-issued several times. This relatively short book gives an excellent and accurate presentation of the main items in African religions. The writer is both sympathetic and critical, and handles his material from many parts of Africa in a simple but scholarly way. Having lived and worked in western Africa, Parrinder has made field study of African religions (both traditional and Christian), and writes with confidence. This book is to be recommended as a basic introduction to the study of our subject, and in some ways complements what I attempt to cover here. Our interpretations are different, however, and his presentation puts less emphasis on the philosophical content of African religions.

Les religions de l'Afrique noire (1960) by H. Deschamps represents this approach in the French woeld. It is of less value than Parrinder's book, and draws its material almost entirely from western Africa and the Frenchspeaking countries. The writer is an anthropologist, and his treatment of the subject is anthropological and sociological.

From West Germany comes E. Dammann's book, Die Religionen

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Afrikes (1963), which is a sizeable and well documented w the material from English, French and German sources, I the search for outside influence and the use of some of the ear and theories. But it is a comprehensive work, and valuable its descripcive parts. It also treats, but too briefly, other Judaism, Christianity and Islam in Africa, and the im-

The third approach in the modern trend is represented b books by anthropologists. E. E. Evans-Pritchard's New R the fruit of a long study of the Nuer people. The writer wen them, learnt their language and participated as much as por activities. So he describes Nuer religion from within, us tools of an anthropologist but looking at it through the themselves. He demonstrates how profoundly religious the deep conception of God as Spirit, G. Lienhardt in District the religion of the Dinke (1961) follows exactly the same me out the importance of the personal encounter between God the Dinka recognize in every aspect of their life. They see spirit beings and of men converging in human experience stitutes the essence of Dinka religion.

There are other books on the same lines, but these two representatives.1 The main contribution here is in conc religion of individual peoples and treating it both in dept to the total situation of the people concerned. If such studie for most African peoples, they would be of infinite val information on African traditional religions. Such studi religions in the context of their sociological and cultural e to be hoped that more attention will be given to moder traditional religions.

Another way of studying African religions and philosophics by African scholars who take up single subjects and stud within the situation of their people. This also has great concentrates on a given topic, describing it and interpr African experience and understanding. One of the main is that the scholars themselves have a knowledge of the la people, from within and not without. Representative e J. B. Danquah, The Akan doctrine of God (1944), J. H dirges of the Akan people (1955), A. Kagame, La philosop de l'Etre (1956), and E. B. Idowu, Olohmure: God in Yo

See the select bibliography under the names of Middlet Sangree, Tanner and Wilson.

There are, in addition, articles and essays contributed by African scholars, There is great potential in African scholars studying African religions and philosophy, with the aid of scientific tools and methodology and with the advantages of being part of the peoples of Africa, having almost unlimited access to information and speaking the languages which are the key to serious research and understanding of traditional religions and philosophy, My approach in this book is to treat religion as an ontological pheno-

menon, with the concept of time as the key to reaching some understanding of African religious and philosophy. I do not pretend that the notion of time explains everything, but I am convinced that it adds to our understanding of the subject, and if that much is achieved, these efforts will have been more than adequately rewarded.

THE CONCEPT OF TIME

Religion is a difficult word to detree, and it becomes eve in the context of African traditional life. I do not atter except to say that for Africans it is an ontological phenom to the question of existence or being. We have already within traditional life, the individual is immersed in a religi which starts before birth and continues after his death. Fo and for the larger community of which he is part, to live up in a religious drama. This is fundamental, for it mean in a religious universe. Both that world and practically al it, are seen and experienced through a religious understandi Names of people have religious meanings in them; rock are not just empty objects, but religious objects; the sou speaks a religious language; the eclipse of the sun or moor silent phenomenon of nature, but one which speaks to that observes it, often warning of an impending catastr countless examples of this kind. The point here is that t whole of existence is a religious phenomenon; man is a being living in a religious universe. Failure to realize an starting point, has led missionaries, anthropologists, coloni and other foreign writers on African religions to misund the religions as such but the peoples of Africa. This, am has resulted in the tragedy of establishing since the miss of the nineteenth century only a very superficial type of African soil. Although Islam has generally accommodate more readily than western Christianity, it also is professed in areas where it has recently won converts. Neither faith deeply into the religious world of traditional African life is so, 'conversion' to Christianity or Islam must be taken

Africans have their own ontology, but it is a religious understand their religions we must penetrate that ontole divide it up into five categories, but it is an extremely

































































































































