

8) Explain how the insights regarding science and knowledge gained by Evans-Pritchard in his anthropological fieldwork among the Azande can assist us in our study of divination and religion in the ancient Greco-Roman world.

Introduction

Through the extensive writings of Evans-Pritchard, the Zande people of central Africa have become synonymous with divination within discussions of anthropological theory. This essay will focus on the insights gained through Evans-Pritchard's ethnographic research during his time with the Zande people in his 1937 book *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande*. The book goes into extensive detail in terms of the day-to-day practices and beliefs of the Zande tribe regarding witchcraft, witchdoctors, oracles and magic, respectively. Evans-Pritchard's famous research, although somewhat problematic and perhaps limited by its social-historical context, revealed many aspects of a culture heavily reliant on magic and divination which could be useful in understanding divination and religion for an array of various cultures that were centred around similar practices. After discussing the insights and ideas laid out in the book, this essay will then analyse some of the ways in which these insights may offer a further understanding to an anthropological view of divination and magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman world.

It is important that our reading of Evans-Pritchard take account of the intellectual environment in which he worked. Perhaps most importantly, his work has to be seen against the background of some of the leading anthropologists at the time such as Lévy-Bruhl and Bronisław Malinowski, who Evans-Pritchard quotes as the authors who stimulated his research on magic and witchcraft among the Azande (save thought). Lévy-Bruhl had in his works described 'primitive' thought as a 'prelogical' or an 'antecedent stage' of our own developmental stage. He argued that, while Western perception focuses on 'objective reality' as experienced through the senses, a 'primitive' people's attention would be focused on the 'mystical' elements of an object. He argued that so-called 'primitive' people would not only use mystical collective representations in place of western rational concepts, but would logically connect these concepts in a fundamentally different way than a European would. It is well known that Lévy-Bruhl based his approach on the material provided by other European travelers without ever meeting any so-called 'primitive man' face to face. These conclusions, obviously not gathered through the same means of Evans-Pritchard in his ethnographic study, are ones that are rejected by him in this work.

Malinowski, however, was more concerned with social anthropology as a humane contribution toward understanding the human condition. Malinowski argued that magical practices are useful for an individual and that these practices arise as a response to the human experience, saying that 'Religion is not born out of speculation or reflection, still less out of illusion and misapprehension, but rather out of the real tragedies of human life, out of the conflicts between human plans and realities'. Unlike Lévy-Bruhl, Malinowski's insights came from his field research, which allowed him to experience the function of the various practices in the context of social life within a community. This is a view adopted by Evans-Pritchard through his ethnographic study, as he attempts to study Zande society in order to '...to show how they form an ideational system, and to enquire how this system is expressed in social behaviour'. Evans-Pritchard is often seen as one of the first anthropologists to acknowledge a seemingly

‘primitive’ culture without applying depreciating concepts of ‘undeveloped thought’ or an ‘inability to think logically’, thus creating a new paradigm within the field of anthropology. (sav)

Witchcraft

The first subject tackled by Evans-Pritchard is that of witchcraft, and the idea that it is an organic and hereditary phenomenon. The Zande believe the witchcraft to be a physical entity, attached to the liver of the witch in which it lives(2). However, whilst witchcraft itself is part of the human organism, it’s action is psychic - what the azande call *mbisimo mangu*, the soul of witchcraft, is said to be able to travel freely, usually during the night, in order to reach a witch’s neighbour when they are asleep (10). The existence of witchcraft-substance in a living person can be known by oracular verdicts and any member of a tribe may find themselves accused, usually based on the account of ill-feelings between certain characters. In the dead it is discovered by opening up the stomach of the accused and is usually identified by elders in the tribe. The Zande people believe in the oracular verdicts to such an extent that if one person in a clan is proven to be a witch, Evans-Pritchard writes that they will disregard what appears to us to be the logical consequences of belief in biological transmission of witchcraft. If a man is proven a witch beyond all doubt of his kin, in order to establish their innocence, they will admit that the man is a witch but deny that he is a biological member of their clan. (15)

It was Evans-Pritchard’s view that witchcraft provided the Azande with a natural philosophy ‘by which the relations between men and unfortunate events are explained’. He writes that the Zande people understand that witchcraft is not the sole cause of all phenomena, but for them it provides the ‘missing link’ in that it gives a reason for an unfortunate coincidence. (23) For example, Evans-Pritchard gives the example of a Zande boy who has injured his foot on a rock and subsequently got an infection. The boy knows that the rock had caused the injury, but the lingering infection which seemed to have no other cause, must have been due to witchcraft. In this way, he writes that ‘the tribe’s belief in witchcraft in no way contradicts empirical knowledge of cause and effect’, but instead offers the explanation that most misfortunes are a product of a witch’s power against them. Evans-Pritchard draws parallels between the Zande concept of witchcraft and the western concept of luck, writing that when ‘in spite of knowledge, forethought and technical efficiency, a man suffers a mishap, we say that it is bad luck, whereas an Azande would say that he has been bewitched’. In applying this reasoning to Zande beliefs about witchcraft, he frames the concept of witchcraft as an integral belief within the functioning of Zande society - the first mention of Zande society working in a functionalist way. (65) Evans-Pritchard notes that it was easy to fall into this way of thinking, saying that he ‘applied notions of witchcraft as spontaneously as themselves’ and emphasises the fact that this provides the Zande with a perfectly relevant way of perceiving misfortunes. This implies that despite Evans-Pritchard’s Eurocentric background and preconceptions, he was able to follow Zande logic and even, to a certain extent, felt integrated within their belief system. This offers an interesting insight in regards to the compatibility of Western logic and Zande logic, a notion that has been debated by scholars and will be discussed later on.

Witch-Doctors

Since Azande believe that witches may at any time bring about misfortune, sickness or death, they are anxious to establish and maintain a connection between these worlds (65), and thus witch doctors are a

big part of zande society. Evans-Pritchard defines the Zande witch doctor as 'both a diviner and magician' - as a diviner he exposes witches; as magician he thwarts them (66). He describes the Zande corporation of witch-doctors as a 'specialized profession with vested interests in knowledge of medicines' and goes on to discuss their function within society. Witchdoctors deliver oracular verdicts through a seance, which usually consists of a witch-doctor dancing and singing in accompaniment to drums whilst answering questions put to them by spectators. (75) Evans-Pritchard goes into detail of their two 'modes of utterance'. The first is one of truculence, which he describes as an abrupt kind of deliverance that he points out would usually be considered rude in most other situations. (81) In the second mode of utterance, the witchdoctor appears to deliver psychic messages in disconnected sentences, often 'a string of separate words not strung together grammatically, in a dreamy, far-away voice'. Evans-Pritchard likens this state to that of a 'trance', or 'like men talking in their sleep'. His observations of the witch-doctors in this state seem to imply a connection to a divine source, although he is not always convinced, making the point that 'a witch-doctor's revelations are largely based on local scandal'. Nonetheless, Evans-Pritchard goes on to write that he '...feel(s) strongly that we must allow the witch-doctor a measure of intuition and not attribute his utterances solely to reason', implying that he has some belief in a potential divine connection. This idea of a trance state is a very interesting anthropological phenomenon found in different cultures across the world, as will be discussed further on.

Oracles

There are several other oracles that the Zande regard more highly than witch-doctors. Amongst the most revered are the rubbing board, the termite oracle and the poison oracle. The poison oracle, *benge*, is by far the most important of the Zande oracles, and usually has the final say in a witch-craft situation. Evans-Pritchard compares this use of the poison oracle to western logic through saying that in situations where we might seek to base a verdict upon evidence or try to regulate our conduct by weighing probabilities, the Zande will consult, without hesitation, the poison oracle and follow its directions with implicit trust(121). The poison oracle speaks through fowls, and outcomes to questions are relayed through either successful or unsuccessful poisoning of a particular fowl. (134) Evans-Pritchard writes that the reading of the poison oracle requires great experience and nuance and is usually undertaken by an older man with a skill for this particular interpretation.(131) Any male can take part in the proceedings of the *benge* ceremony, and having the means to consult such an oracle is usually the province of married men with their own homesteads.(129) Women are excluded not only from operating the poison oracle but from having anything to do with it. Evans-Pritchard notes that they are not expected even to speak of it, and a man who mentions the oracle in the presence of women should even use some 'circumlocutory expression'. No important venture is undertaken without authorization from the poison oracle and the process is even backed by the law when obtained on the orders of a prince. These social norms that are governed by the poison oracle make it one of the biggest influences on the function of Zande society.

Magic

Evans-Pritchard likens the concepts of witchcraft, oracles and magic to being three sides to a triangle in that oracles and magic are two different ways of combating witchcraft (176). He writes that, 'the use of magic for socially approved ends, such as combating witchcraft, is sharply distinguished by Azande from its evil and anti-social use in sorcery' (176). In Zande society, witchcraft and sorcery are opposed to, and

opposed by, good magic. Good magic and sorcery alike involve magical rites using objects fashioned from trees and plants (176) and important magical rites are usually accompanied by spells (177). The magician addresses the medicines and tells them what he wants them to do, implying that the relationship between the divinator and the divine is what creates this magic - the spells are never formulae.

Evans-Pritchard stresses the Azande belief in the effectiveness of their magic. He notes that a general reason why they may not notice that their magic is ineffective, is that magic is aimed at other constructs such as witchcraft, which are equally intangible. In this way, we can view witchcraft, oracles, and magic as a coherent system within Zande society in which one concept stabilizes the others and all are interrelated. (187, 201)

A Functionalist View of Zande Society

Anthropologically speaking, it is useful to look at how Evans-Pritchard's insights combine the concepts of witchcraft, oracles, and magic as interdependent elements of a belief system that appears to embrace a system of values that regulate human conduct. In fact, he writes, witchcraft was so prevalent amongst the Azande tribe that it became the basis of a social construct; 'affecting everything from laws and morals, etiquette and religion and technology and language'(18). For example, he explains that 'amongst commoners any person may be a witch; man, woman or child, but those of higher classes are usually exempt from such allegations', thus contributing to the social hierarchy. Members of the princely class, the Avongara, are not accused of witchcraft, and this is a belief maintained by the overwhelming power and prestige of the ruling princes(10). Similarly, Evans-Pritchard goes on to consider social relations in regards to the access of oracles. Bengé is perhaps the most interesting oracle socially and anthropologically speaking, because, as Evans-Pritchard describes it, it expresses 'the male prerogative and is one of the principle mechanisms of male control and expression of sex antagonism'. (130) In this way, oracles can be seen to reflect the Zande social order in the ways that when utilised by a prince it becomes law(121) and that only men are able to consult oracles, therefore putting women at a social disadvantage. This is summed up by Evans-Pritchard in the following quote:

'when we consider to what extent social life is regulated by the poison oracle we shall at once appreciate how great an advantage men have over women in their ability to use it, and how being cut off from the main means of establishing contact with the mystical forces that so deeply affect human welfare degrades woman's position in Zande society.' (131)

In this way, Evans-Pritchard views the structure of Zande society from a functionalist perspective, a view that defines society as a moral system regulated by its religious ideas.

Applying a Functionalist View to Greco-Roman Society

This next part of the essay will examine how the anthropological insights regarding divination gained from Evans-Pritchard's time with the Azande people may be applied to divination and religion in the Ancient Greco-Roman world.

Based on the insights gathered that allude to the idea of religious practices and customs creating social constructs, we can attempt to look at Greco-Roman Antiquity in the same way. Oracles and magic are just as famously tied in to our knowledge of how the Ancient Greeks and Romans functioned as to what Evans-Pritchard revealed in his insights about the Zande people. Due to the widespread trust in the gods of antiquity, daily measures were taken to appease and consult them in most decision making situations. Such was the Greco-Roman belief in these deities that often misfortunes were thought to be a result of a displeased god(pod). In this way, the same functionalist explanation can be applied to these rituals in Greco-Roman antiquity as were applied to the Azande - just as witchcraft offers a meaning for unfortunate events, so too does upset Gods. Thus, magic serves its function for Zande people in avoiding misfortune, and divinatory practices provide the same outcome for those who worshipped the Gods of antiquity. These beliefs and practices can be seen across both cultures to combine in their functions to create a moral, or at least behavioural basis for society.

Oracles were of the utmost importance in the political sphere of ancient Greece and Rome and were consulted before any important undertakings, military or otherwise(pod). As Peter T Struck in his work '*A Cognitive History of Divination in Ancient Greece*' explains, it was typical for the people of antiquity to consider divination 'as a means to invoke the ultimate authority of the divine to construct and maintain social orders by building consensus and managing conflict'. Gaining authority from the divine was an essential part of Roman society and as such oracles found their way into the very basis of these societies, influencing law and governments. *Augury, for example, is the oldest and one of the most prestigious forms of religious practice in Rome. Along with several other oracular rituals, augury came to form an integral part of the very foundation of Rome, and was considered worthy of its own special college within the Roman religious establishment.* When likening this to the poison oracle being used by the noble class in Zande culture, we can deduce that the belief in religious rituals here was integral in influencing the laws of these particular societies.

However, Struck also points out that *while concepts such as magic and divination may seem to us to be complementary, and while they definitely were for the Azande, that is not necessarily the Greek and Roman view and in considering classical context we risk losing something in our understanding of both by lumping them together. While magic in Greco-Roman antiquity was usually thought of as a fringe, esoteric, occult activity, divination was certainly not.* This implies that we should perhaps be wary of attempting to apply Evans-Pritchard's insights in such a way that we assume the same functions of certain concepts within both societies. It would be incorrect to attempt to fit various, very complex aspects into one absolute moral system as different cultures had different ways of conceptualising and controlling their experience with the divine within their societies.

Although the functionalist approach allowed for perhaps a basic understanding for Evans-Pritchard in his ethnography, further limitations of this approach must also be recognised. An issue with functionalism is that the use of social rituals and phenomena are at danger of being reduced solely to a social function, therefore neglecting individual experience. This was a subject addressed by Evans-Pritchard years after his research in Africa, when he acknowledged that 'anthropologists have, in their writings about African societies, dehumanised the Africans into systems and lost their flesh and blood'. Furthermore, a specific downfall of Evans-Pritchard's ethnography was his lack of interaction with Zande women. This further limits him in considering individual experience within his functionalist view, as half of the Zande

population is effectively disregarded. Therefore, in applying these insights to the study of Greco-Roman divination, it is important to realise that although various rituals and traditions undertaken in antiquity may have contributed to a moral basis for society, we cannot fully understand the place of divination and religion within their society without reference to the beliefs of individuals.

The Oracle at Delphi

In applying Evans-Pritchard's insights regarding oracles to the Greek's own use of oracles, it may be useful to consider **one of the most important Greek oracles throughout Antiquity, described by Plutarch as "the most ancient in time and the most famous in repute", the oracular temple of Apollo at Delphi.** The site at Delphi hosted a vast array of travellers throughout the periods of the 8th century BCE to the 4th century AD and functioned through the role of a Pythia priestess who was thought to have sat atop a tripod and give oracular verdicts through communication with the God Apollo. There is much scholarly debate over how the oracle operated, with some scholars suggesting that the Pythia spoke in an unintelligible or 'intoxicated' manner that was then translated by a male priest.(pod) Others believe that the Pythia was in fact the sole source of the prophecies given at Delphi as a result of her divine inspiration, or some other source of frenzy. The revelations given by the Pythia were famously ambiguous and, although evidence is limited, many scholars believe that there was a carefully staged procedure before the consultation which was specifically designed to give the temple priests prior notice of the questions.

In applying the insights gained by Evans-Pritchard to the Oracle at Delphi, one of the most interesting considerations is the similarities between the Pythia and the Zande witch-doctor and the role of both oracles within their societies. As previously mentioned, the Zande witch-doctor delivers his oracular verdicts in what is described by Evans-Pritchard as an almost trance-like state of altered consciousness. Famously, similar accounts are found in regards to the Pythia and her mode of utterance. This comparison is a consideration made in C.R Whittaker's work on the Delphic oracle, in which he compares this statement of Parke and Wormell about the Delphic style: "The tone is always informal, often brusque to the point of rudeness" to that same perceived rudeness discussed by Evans-Pritchard in his observation. Interesting here is the idea of the witch-doctor and the Pythia as spokespersons of the divine, and the potential similarity between their mental states. Scholars suggest that the Pythia acted as an "instrument of a divine revelation" and, similarly, Evans-Pritchard describes the way in which the witch-doctor receives his messages as though 'the words come to him from without' and that 'he has difficulty in hearing and transmitting them', implying that these messages are coming from an outside source.

In addition to this, Whittaker also acknowledges the ambiguity in African divination, what the Azande call *sanza*; in which answers are conveyed by hints and forms of speech totally incomprehensible to the observer. This is easily compared to the famously ambiguous messages given by the Pythia at Delphi, which could be seen as an extremely convenient means of leaving the true meaning of the oracle for interpretation at a later date. Ultimately, we could deduce that both oracles potentially served a purpose in telling a person what they would like to hear; in the same way that the priest may have had previous

knowledge of a question and gave an ambiguous revelation, Evans-Pritchard writes that the witch-doctors are well informed about local enmities and squabbles' and concludes that 'a witchdoctor divines successfully because he says what the listener wishes him to say, and because he uses tact'.

In further considering the Delphic Oracle against the insights gathered by Evans-Pritchard, we can look at the way in which the anthropologist found the Azande to regard witch-doctors as an integral functioning part of their society. Evans-Pritchard asserts that 'all their beliefs hang together and were a Zande to give up faith in witch-doctorhood he would have to surrender equally his belief in witchcraft and oracles' (1937a: 194). In this way, we may better understand the place of the Delphic oracle in society through the insight that it was an integral structure within the belief system that supported and ran the Ancient Greco-Roman world, perhaps explaining why the oracle remained so relevant for so long. However, it needs to be noted here that the validity of this insight when applied to the Delphic Oracle is weakened by the ambiguity of our knowledge of the Pythia and the oracular process at Delphi, as well as the many cultural differences that separate these two societies. For example, we certainly cannot apply Evans-Pritchard's observations of the witch-doctor's seance to our conceptions about the validity of the Pythia's trance state; as Whittaker discusses, the evidence for some kind of trance or frenzied state of the Pythia is too overwhelming to dismiss, but there are several other factors to consider - such as all of the classical monuments representing the Pythia in a state of calm. Thus, due to the complex cultural specifics of both societies, we can only try to understand the way in which the wider public may have regarded or implemented such oracles within their society.

Comparing Zande Logic to Western Logic

Throughout the book, there are certain aspects of Zande logic that are dismissed by Evans-Pritchard, as he makes statements such as 'witches, as the Azande conceive them, clearly cannot exist'. This has come to be a topic of some scholarly debate in regards to considering a relativistic approach of morals and beliefs between different societies. In Timm Triplett's work *'Azande Logic Versus Western Logic'*, he challenges the idea that there are incompatible ways of reasoning logically, and that there are no culturally transcendent rules of correct logical inference. He references a debated piece of Zande logic in regards to the idea that witchcraft is an inherited trait that passes from a parent to a child of the same gender. He lays out this logic in the following premises:

- (1) Every witch has the witchcraft-substance.
- (2) The witchcraft-substance is always inherited by the same-sexed children of a witch.
- (3) Male A and female B were both witches.
- (4) Everyone in clan C is descended from A or B.
- (5) Everyone in clan C is a witch.

He writes that from a western viewpoint, one would argue that these premises seem to implicate all of clan C as witches. A Zande person, however, would resist this conclusion as they do not believe that everyone who possesses the witchcraft-substance is a witch, as they believe that a witchcraft substance can be inactive or 'cool', and the individual is therefore not to be regarded as a witch. Scholars such as David Bloor have criticised such logic, but Triplett argues that there is nothing here that is illogical about the Azande's reasoning and likens it to being 'quite Aristotelian'. He argues that this is not indicative of

an alternative logical process, but rather that the Azande simply deflect the logically inevitable conclusion; 'it is therefore not an abandonment of logic but an abandonment of premises that logically lead to a conclusion that is, to the Azande, unacceptable.'

Zande logic can be further compared to Aristotelian logic through their similar ideas of multiple causation. Just as Aristotle put forward his theory of four causes, in which he insists that all four causes are involved in the explanation of natural phenomena, the Zande acknowledge the idea of multiple causes through their analogy of witchcraft being the 'second spear' in an unfortunate event. The Zande analogy implies that if a man is killed by an elephant, then that elephant is the first spear and that witchcraft is the second spear and that together they killed the man(25). In this way, Evans-Pritchard writes that witchcraft explains why events are harmful to man and not how they happen(24) and that Zande belief in witchcraft therefore in no way contradicts empirical knowledge of cause and effect (25). These similarities between the insights gained by Evans-Pritchard and our knowledge of the philosophical systems that influence these two different societies can be taken to support the idea of a common thought process between cultures. It appears that these divinatory rituals and beliefs often arise in response to the part of a collective human nature that searches for meaning, as Malinowski said, 'Magic is to be expected and is generally found whenever man comes to an unbridgeable gap, a hiatus in his knowledge or in his powers of practical control'. Thus, in applying Evans-Pritchard's insights to our study of Greco-Roman divination, we can involve the idea of a universal human nature that is potentially at the root of a functionalist society. The rituals and beliefs of these two societies may have formed in response to a desire to connect with the same divine source, but manifested in a way that is relative to their own culture.

Conclusion

In considering the extent to which we can apply the insights of Evans-Pritchard's ethnographic study to our study of Ancient Greco-Roman divination, there are some unavoidable limitations. For example, although we can apply a functionalist perspective based on various gatherings about ancient behaviour, we risk neglecting the importance of individual viewpoints and will ultimately never be able to embed ourselves into Antiquity in order to gather such insights. Even if we could embed ourselves into Greco-Roman society as Evans-Pritchard attempted to embed himself into Zande culture, there would always be limitations due to an experiential and epistemic cultural gap. Language plays a huge part in this. For example, the very notion of Zande 'witchcraft' alone may be near impossible to fully conceptualise due to our cultural biases and preconceptions about the etymology of the word in our own language. Furthermore, it is hard to draw conclusions between specific rituals across times and cultures. Although some parallels between divinatory methods are hard to dismiss, and certainly should not be ignored, it could be argued that reaching solid conclusions may be near impossible due to the necessary consideration of the vast cultural history of both societies.

Nonetheless, it is clear that othering aspects of Zande logic is unhelpful and, although relativism may have a place on the surface in explaining how different behaviours arise in regards to a society's logical thinking, in fully relativising these different cultures we are essentially ignoring the idea of a collective human consciousness. Despite this, the idea of a universal human nature and a connection to a common source still prevails through the underlying connections made between both cultures. Evans-Pritchard's time with the Zande people obviously made him feel as though he was part of something greater, as

reflected in his writing; 'I would say that I learnt more about the nature of God and our human predicament from (them) than I ever learnt at home', and it could be argued that the feelings that arise within humans during such rituals are a shared experience, regardless of background. In this way, although reality is layered with relative beliefs and behaviours, a common source or a collective consciousness can still be implied. The structure of morals and belief systems are unavoidably complex and culturally bound, but the observable similarities between these practices across the globe imply something much deeper than a social construct.

Divination in ancient greece

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