Chapter 3

INTRODUCTION

There is a new phenomenon in the history of the Zionist Churches in Botswana especially around the area of healing. Some churches have gone far beyond what is known and accepted in the ecclesiastical circles, about healing ministry. In their appropriation of traditional healing they have employed the use of ‘ditaola’ and natural objects, objects of art or human made objects. It looks critically at the theological basis for using these objects and the justification thereof. It shows the way in which the use of these objects increases membership of these churches. It also shows the negative attitudes of the Euro-American missionaries towards the African culture and its religious practices.

A new phenomenon in the Zionist Churches of Botswana

There is a new phenomenon or development in the history of the Zionist Churches in Gaborone, Botswana especially in the area of healing. Some churches have now gone beyond what is known and accepted in the ecclesiastical circles, about healing ministry. In their appropriation of traditional healing they have employed the use of ‘ditaola’ and natural objects, objects of art or human made objects. In addition to these they use natural places such as mountains, hills, caves, forests, grooves, trees, waterfalls, rivers, lakes, springs, rocks, etc. This is a new phenomenon in the Zionist Churches, as this was never experienced or practised since the inception of these churches. Even the greatest prophets and healers who placed the Zionist Church on the religious map of the world had not experienced or practised this, or used ditaola. Scholars too, refer to ditaola only when they discuss African traditional religion and practices (Amanze 1998:14). But, one has to submit that some churches, as indicated above, have gone further than the use of traditional medicines and use ditaola for healing. These are the Zionist churches which have adopted the method of ditaola and have succeeded in its use, the Temothuo Apostolic Church, Bagethwa Apostolic

---

1 Ditaola are devices used for divination, which is a procedure of receiving revelation or information from the Supernatural, God, gods, ancestors, etc, about human beings. For more information on this see page 54 of this work. You can also see Amanze 2002:99-117, and SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:200-224.
Church. This has baffled other church leaders and prophets from other Zionist type of churches.

A question may be asked, what is wrong with *ditaola* if it is used for the good of humanity? It is in this context that *ditaola* are also appropriated for art of healing in some Zionist Churches. In broader terms a look at the use of *ditaola* from the anthropological perspective will deal holistically and dynamically with human culture because people are cultural beings.

This chapter will deal with the use of *ditaola* in a broader context of Batswana. This will be reflective of the different way and purpose for which *ditaola* have been used through the ages and will show the negative perception which the Euro-American Missionaries had towards the Setswana culture especially the traditional religion and its practices. The Euro-American Missionaries tried to inculcate these negative attitudes to their African converts through preaching and teaching. I will also argue that the African-Setswana traditional religion displayed an unprecedented resilience through the ages, since the introduction of Christianity in the African continent. This reflective of the positive attitude which Batswana have always had towards their religion.

**The importance of Divination Bones (ditaola) in Setswana Traditional Religion.**

Divination is a method of consulting the supernatural in order to obtain information that the Supernatural has and that is not available to human beings (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:224). According to Oxford Dictionary of current English the word supernatural means spiritual; of that which is not controlled or explained by physical laws, like beings, for example angels, devils, etc. But in the context of this study and African traditional religion, the term Supernatural refers to the spirits of the departed or deceased (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:200-203). The spirit is a part of human nature, which is believed to survive after a person has passed away. Human beings believe the spirit to be immortal hence concept the living-dead. (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:201). Amanze (1998:11) has convincingly argued that the deceased are at once dead and alive and because of their paradoxical nature they are known, in much recent literature in African traditional religions as the living dead. As indicated above, this
information may concern an aspect of life where uncertainty or complete ignorance makes a solution by rational means impossible, for example the future, ill-ness, the cause of baffling events, etc (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:200-204). Divination as a procedure of receiving revelation or information from the Supernatural is an extremely varied activity (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:218-224). The implication here is that there are many different methods of divination like the use of divination doll, stones, gourds, numbers, palm readings, forming or seeing images in pots of water, interpreting animal marks, a set of four calabashes, divination bones (ditaola), and direct consultation of the ancestors (Amanze 2002:102). However, the last two methods are the most common ones.

The study will concentrate more on divination method, which uses bones, bone throwing ditaola. According to Mokotedi Motseokae, who is the Vice-chairman of the Dingaka Association of Botswana, (Personal interview, 5.06.03), the divination bones ditaola are used by the religious functionaries such as priests, prophets, diviners, herbalists etc, for religious purposes. It must, however, be indicated that in Africa, religion permeates every aspect of humanity hence Africans are essentially religious. Mbiti (1969:2) argues that in Africa, religion integrates all aspects of life that is not easy or possible to isolate it. The implication here is that in Africa one cannot demarcate between politics and religion, sacred and profane, spiritual and material etc, because all things are perceived to be religious. It is for this reason that Mbiti (1969:2) asserts that “wherever an African is, there is his religion; he takes it with him to the beer party or a funeral ceremony, and if he is educated. He 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”. In the light of this understanding it is unthinkable for an African to be non-religious.

Now, as shown above, the divination through the ages have been used by religious functionaries in consulting the supernatural beings, for information or revelation about human beings or any aspect of their lives. For instance, the traditional healers are often consulted by the people for various reasons, like ill health, misfortunes, death especially accidents, all kinds of losses etc, (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:203). Mr. Motseokae, (Personal interview, 5/06/03), maintained that because of the nature and task of the diviner of discovering, identifying, disclosing or unveiling mysteries of life
for people, he/she is consulted on a wide range of issues as when one plans to undertake a journey, build a new home or begin a new business, when planning for a marriage, in times of sickness and death, in times of circumcision or to determine the sex of an unborn child, etc. It is this procedure of divination that *ditaola* play a crucial role in terms of revelation or providing the information from the ancestors through the healer. *Ditaola* is a mixture of bones, small horns, hooves, shells of snails etc. According to Mr. Keogile Lebamang, (Personal interview, 14/04/03), a prominent traditional healer of Ramotswa, a large number of diviners in Botswana use between six and eight bones of which four are the principal ones. He maintained that the bones come from different animals such as springbok, cow, bear, etc. He postulated that in most instances these bones function in pairs as husbands and wives and rarely independently. He argued convincingly that the art of throwing *ditaola* has far-reaching implications in terms of revelation or providing the information regarding the circumstances or situation of the clients or patients. He also maintained that the positions in which *ditaola* lie after the art of throwing has a lot to say in the process of divination in regard to illness, misfortune, death, etc. It is in the light of throwing *ditaola* and their positions that the diviner would advise his clients what cause of action to follow, whether he makes referrals to the herbalists, hospitals or prescribes the appropriate treatment for diseases. Again, it must also be said that diagnosis and treatment of disease depends on the knowledge and experience of the diviner in this field. The experience of a diviner in this field is very important as it helps in other cases of divination. For instance, Mr. Lebamang maintained that sometimes a diviner may begin by questioning the client rigorously in an attempt to establish the main facts of the case. He asks specific questions as well as the general ones. Through this process the diviner is able to identify all the important circumstances surrounding the case. Through the questioning he learns the symptoms of the disease. This is how, in short, *ditaola* have been used in almost all-African societies in religious matters through the ages. However, this practice was challenged and discouraged by the missionaries when they introduced Christianity in Africa.
The negative attitudes of the Missionaries towards the African Culture and its Religious practices.

The introduction of Christianity in Africa especially in the Sub-Sahara region, affected African culture and its religious practices. The missionaries in their bid to evangelise and Christianise Africa and its people, advocated total eradication of their culture and religion (Amanze 1998:56-61, Makhubu 1988:24-25). The missionaries viewed Africa to be a pagan continent without religion and cultural values. They were negative towards African culture without making any considerable efforts to learn and understand its way of life. (Amanze 1998:24-25). According to Bosch, an eminent theologian and missiologist, the early missionaries were not at all prepared to learn other people’s cultures, they enforced their own culture (1991:267-3000). Further, he (Bosch) reiterates that the early missionaries were products of Enlightenment in England which was called Great Awakening in America. Enlightenment was a period of time in human history when emphasis was laid on the use of reason (1991:269-273). This led to rationalization of theology and as a result theology was perceived as a science “the science of God”, “the greatest of sciences”, “the science of the science”, superior, precisely as science, to any other science (Bosch 1991:270). This state of affairs certainly satisfied the rationalists who wanted to turn the bible into the first book of science. Since then, Christian theology increasingly associated itself with rationality. In this sense, this rational theology was associated with mission hence there was a perception that the task of the church is to propagate Christianity through science or knowledge (Bosch 1991:271).

In 1699, the Society for the propagation of Christian knowledge was established for erecting libraries and schools for distribution of Christian literature. The perception was that the Kingdom of God would through the spread of Christian message aligned with Western culture and civilization (Bosch 1991:271). This marked the beginning of religious and cultural superiority of the West. The Westerners began to justify this by claiming that “the Ancient Greeks called other nation barbarians”. The Romans and members of the great “civilization” likewise looked down upon others (Bosch 1991:291). And, it was even looked at historically, that human history is characterized by the powerful nations dominating the weak and powerless ones. Consequently, the Western religion was perceived as predestined to be spread around
the globe and Western culture was to be victorious over all others. Bosch (1991:292) asserts that even in the early stages of modern missions the “Christian West” had the right to impose its views on others. In a similar fashion, Julius Richter, the German historian of missions, writing in 1927, viewed “Protestant missions as an integral part of the cultural expansion of Euro-American peoples (quoted in Bosch 1991:292).

Now, the statement that the early missionaries were products of Enlightenment in Europe which was called Great Awakening in America needs to be explained.

According to Wilson Walker (1976:454-476), an eminent theologian and church historiographer, Enlightenment or Great Awakening was a spiritual revival in the life of the Christian Church which introduced pietism and eagerness to engage in mission. This spiritual renewal and pietism led to establishment of countless mission societies whose members were eager to go to the ends of the world to preach the good news of Jesus Christ to the nations (Walker 1976:454-476). This changed religious landscape of the Euro-American world and Third World countries forever, it was during this Enlightenment era that every part of the Third World was perceived as a mission field. Some of those pietistic and zealous missionaries came to Africa with the Enlightenment philosophy inculcated in their minds (Bosch 1991:292-308). It must be borne in mind that according to Enlightenment philosophy, as shown in the preceding paragraphs, the missionaries had to impose their own Western culture on the inferior nations to whom they were to Christianize. Bosch expresses it explicitly when he (1991:292) asserts that “Westerners, in the Third World, missionaries were to be conscious propagandists of this culture”. It is in this context that the early missionaries were products of Enlightenment. In other words early missionaries were an embodiment of Enlightenment.

It is against the background of the Enlightenment, as analyzed above, that anyone should understand the negative attitudes of the missionaries towards the African culture and its religious practices. They attacked everything that symbolized African culture which was in their view, paganism and heathenism (Daneel 1991:69-83). For missionaries African were to confess their sins in order to be born again and truly saved. The implication here is that they perceived salvation as possible for Africans only on the grounds that they renounced being African, that is, their beliefs and practices and should show willingness to live according to the “Christian principle”
It is therefore evident that when Christianity came to Africa it was like a military expedition. Amanze (1998:51-53) asserts that “the missionaries perceived themselves as engaged in a mortal battle against evil, evil in their view, disguised and active through the net work of false African religious values”, “traditions” and “practices”. Therefore, their eradication symbolized the fall of Satan and victory of Christ over the devil and the establishment of God’s kingdom and salvation in Africa. Hence, there was a perception that all those who failed to abide by the Christian gospel and continued to live under the banner of their ancestors would be outcasts and enemies of the Lord Jesus Christ (Amanze 1998:53, Makhubu 1988:29-36). The perception was that their destiny was eternal hell, where they would weep and gnash their teeth (Amanze 1998:53). They could not even compromise for the co-existence of Christianity and African traditional religion. Any symbiotic kind of relationship between these two religions was not allowed. On the other hand the introduction of schools, hospitals, social amenities, etc, which, while meant for advancement of humankind, also aimed at the furtherance of Western culture and civilisation (Amanze 1998:52). These, with the rapid social change and institutions in place inculcated the Western way of living among the Africans. For instance, the introduction of schools alone changed the live and perception of the African in a tremendous way and it had the far-reaching implications. Firstly, it must be borne in mind that education was introduced by the Euro-American missionaries during the ‘Christianisation” of the African continent. This education, according to Mr. Molwantwa Loabile, (Personal interview 09/04/03), was meant to teach the Africans how to read, write and
communicate with non-Africans; and this was perceived as civilization; advancement of human kind. This education system was based on Christian principles and western values. Christianity in the name of religious education was made compulsory subject at all schools. For the missionaries, this was meant to “christianized” and “civilized” the Africans and their children at their early and tender age. The African children at their early and tender age. The African children who were considered intelligent by the missionaries, who were directly responsible for education then, were given bursaries and scholarship to further their studies overseas. In the process of learning the African assimilated the Western values and this changed their perceptions. This change of mind set among the African resulted in far-reaching implications. For instance the majority of those who had received education began to look down upon those who had not gone to school or receive any education as uneducated and uncivilized. They also began to despise their own cultural practices as uncivilized and backward. Those who clung to their own traditional way of living were perceived as “old-fashioned”. It is in this context that one can claim that introduction of education through schools changed the socio-cultural landscape of Africa forever. Since, then, things are no longer the same, people’s worldview has changed, some became too Western, that they perceived themselves no longer as Africans, and this was what the missionaries wanted because it was advocated by the Enlightenment philosophy (Bosh 1991:291-294). And, education more than anything else, was the most powerful tool or instrument which missionaries used to Westernized the Africans in the name of civilization; advancement of humankind. It became a powerful and effective tool or instrument which the missionaries used to impose the Western civilization and their cultural superiority (Bosh 1991:291-294).

Secondly, the “Westernization” of the Africans came through the introduction of Western scientific medicine by erection of health institutions such as hospitals and clinics. Yes, it must be admitted right from the outset that the Western scientific medicine produced remarkable results in respect of diseases such as Measles, Smallpox, Polio, Epilepsy, etc (Bourdillon 1997:352-356). The successful treatment of such diseases and the new phenomenon itself changed the perceptions of the Africans in regard to health and healing. The majority of the people began to look down upon the traditional healers and their profession who had been specialists in matters of health and healing through the ages before the modern scientific healing started. They
despised their own cultural practices as uncivilized and backward. According to Mrs. Seema Kegomoditswe (Personal interview 15/04/03), the “converts” of the missionaries were worse in the sense that they joined their “white masters” in labeling the traditional healers as witch doctors, sorcerers etc. This state of affairs downplayed the role of the traditional healers and their profession in African societies, and relegated them into a bunch of traditionalists who clung to practices which were no longer relevant to people in the changing world. Since, then, the service of traditional healers was sought by those people whose worldview and perceptions were not changed by education which had such a tremendous influence on people. On the other hand, the majority of the “converts” who despised the latter were employees of the hospitals and clinics which were directly controlled by the missionaries themselves. The logic here, according to Mrs. Seema Kegomoditswe, was that these people were employed on the basis of their conversion, since there was no one who could be employed without conversion and attachment to a Church or Mission station. In a sophisticated and indirect way conversion became the pre-requisite for employment. It is in this context that, Mrs. Kegomoditswe, asserted that, in most instances, the Euro-American missionaries used “manipulative conversion” to achieve their own goals and promote the Western culture. In short, this shows how education and Western Scientific medicine, among other things, were used by the missionaries for the furtherance of Western culture and civilization, in the name of advancement of humankind. But, it must be borne in mind that it is not all the African people who were in favour of what the Euro-American missionaries were doing. Others did everything in their power to protect the African culture.

**African perspective towards their own Culture and Religious practices.**

In spite of what the Euro-American missionaries were doing, majority of Africans were positive towards their own culture and religious practices (Makhubu 1988:31-38). They were prepared to do anything to protect their own culture. This was clearly reflected on their resistance towards dominance of the Western cultural dominance upon them, hence the emergence and expansion of the African Initiated Churches. It is a well-known fact in the Christian circles that one of the fundamental reasons for the emergence of the African Initiated Churches was cultural freedom and expression.
The African people wanted to express themselves in their own traditional ways in matters of worship. Daneel (1991:47-50) argues convincingly that the Africans had the desire of belonging to the church in which they would assimilate more of their traditional and natural elements. And, there was no doubt the AICs were their refuge. Mofokeng (1990:47) for instance, justifies this by calling the AICs the “principal religious custodians of African culture and traditional religion”. This statement clearly shows that Africans were positive and protective of their culture and religion. In the context of Botswana, Amanze (1998:xv) argues that Setswana and traditional religion showed resilience amid strong Christian opposition because of the crucial role it play in maintaining Setswana social system.

Again, Batswana understand their tradition and religious values as sacrosanct and therefore it is anathema to abandon them completely (Amanze 1998:xv). It is for this reason that Batswana through the ages maintained that the two religion, meaning Christianity and traditional religion should co-exist and be practiced side by side (Amanze 1998:xv). And, this is exactly what is happening in Botswana and other African countries, people in the Mission Churches have not completely forgotten their traditional roots (Bourdillion 1997:356, Dwane 1989:25-36). When they are in serious problems they consult traditional healers or leaders of the AICs. It is in this context that Bourdillion (1997:356) asserted that “Christians continue to resort to traditional healers, often against the official rules of their churches, and often in contradiction to their stated beliefs”. And in most instances, they do not want to be seen when they consult such people. This is reflective of the fact that Africans have not abandoned their cultural roots. Sigqibo Dwane in his book titled “Issues in the South African Theological debate” has this wonderful story to illustrate and justifies this point. The story is about a church elder who accompanied the minister on his pastoral visit to his congregants. As they went from house to house, the elder began to show signs of impatience with Christian people’s adherence to the old traditional beliefs and practices. Matters came to a head when he could no longer contain his disappointment. The minister frankly and honestly inquired from their host (member) as to why she continued observing the traditional festivals, the elder burst into tirade, substance of which was that people were being obstinate and resisting the gospel by indulging in the heathen practices. At the end of discussion the host cracked out laughing and said, “Don’t worry Mfundisi (minister) about the elder stricture, he
knows all about this, and he attends our festivals” (1989:30). This story only sheds light on what is discussed above.

Now, having looked critically at the two sides of the story, Christianity espoused by early missionaries from the perspective of Enlightenment and its encounter with the African culture and its religious practices. In conclusion the missionaries came to Africa and introduced Christianity clothed, or wrapped in Western culture (Bosch 1991:292-294). They could not make any distinction between the two, they could not divorce culture from religion meaning Christianity in this case. So, for them, accepting Christianity automatically meant acceptance of Western culture and this is what Enlightenment uncalculated in their minds (Bosch 1991:262-294). From this analysis it is therefore evident that the missionaries had no idea of notions like contextualisation, enculturation, incarnational theology, etc as espoused by modern theologians (Bate 1995:16-19, Kraft 1996:86-96). These concepts theologically mean taking seriously people’s culture and experience in matters of theologizing. It is for this reason that over the years the majority of theologians especially the Africans have been emphasizing contextualisation, incarnation and enculturation of theology in Africa (Mission Trends No. 3). The fact that there was an outcry for contextualisation and enculturation shows clearly that African culture was never taken seriously in ecclesiastical matters during the missionary era. Yet Charles Kraft, and eminent theologian, missiologist and anthropologist (1996:418-421) argues that any preacher must use and understand the receptor’s frame of reference in order to put one’s message across. Unfortunately, this has never happened in Africa during the missionary era. The missionary era has been characterized by war of cultures and religious. Western and African culture, Christianity and traditional religion.

Secondly, it is this war of cultures in the Mission Churches which, led to the dissatisfaction, disagreement and disillusion which resulted in secessions and schisms (Dannel 1991:68-88, Makhubu 1988:17-31). This led to emergence, growth and expansion of the AICs, these are churches, as shown in this work, in which the Africans could assimilate more of their traditional and natural elements (Daneel 1991:45-50). The implication here is that the Africans wanted to worship God in a traditional way. They wanted to express their faith in God their African way. Mofokeng (1990:47) justifies this by calling the AICs the principal religious
custodians of African culture and traditional religion. And it must be indicated here that the emergence of the AICs with their cultural practices frustrated the missionaries because in terms of their views as emanating from Enlightenment they were failing in their duty to westernize the Africans (Bosch 1991:292-294). In this way, they were failing in their military expedition of conquering evil as disguised and active through the networks of false African religious values, tradition and practices (Amanze 1998:51-53). It is for this reason that they considered the emergence of the AICs as retrogression towards paganism and heathenism (Makhubu 1988:7). In a way, they saw themselves as fighting the losing battle but they continued to have influence on Africans who were members of the Mission Churches. But, this state of affairs did not make the Africans forget their own cultural roots.

Thirdly, from this analysis it is clear that culture is intrinsic and central to religion and the two cannot be divorced from each other. Now, religion as set of beliefs in life of the spirit and usually in God or gods is expressed in cultural ways. Since, human persons are cultural beings their relationship with the supernatural, God, gods, Ancestors etc, is expressed in cultural ways (Kraft 1996:86-96). Likewise any revelation or communication from the supernatural is interpreted and understood in cultural way (SKA 100-v/1/98-2000:203-224). Whether revelation or communication is verbal or non-verbal but is always understood in a cultural way. This shows clearly the importance of culture in matters of religion. Hence, Kraft (1996:418-421) argued that Christian religion and its preaching must take seriously the receptor’s frame of reference to drive the message home. Unfortunately, the early Euro-American missionaries had no idea of this, their un-preparedness to learn African culture emanated from the Enlightenment philosophy of viewing themselves as propagandists of the Western culture and ‘Christian civilization’ (Bosch 1991:292-294).

As indicated above, that the AICs are churches in which Africans assimilate more of the traditional elements therefore there is nothing wrong that they use even the traditional medicine for healing purposes (Amanze 1998:xvi, Daneel 1991:47-50). Again, from the point of view of the Africa religion, as shown in the preceding paragraphs, there is no dichotomy between what is religion and secular, sacred or profane, spiritual and material therefore everything can be used for religious matters (Amanze 1998:2, Mbiti 1991:10). It is for this reason that Mbiti (1969:1) had
convincingly argued that in Africa, religion integrates all aspects of life that it is not easy or possible to isolate it. It is in this context that the use of *ditaola* is quite appropriate in the Zionist Churches as shown in Temothuo Apostolic Zion Church, Bagethwa Apostolic Church and Emmanuel Christian Church in Zion by diviners, herbalists, prophets, pastors and leaders, more especially when they are used for the good of humanity by the people who are in God’s service. In essence what they do is service to God and his people. They use *ditaola* and traditional medicines, in some instances, for healing and other related reasons. And anyone who is surprised or baffled by the use of *ditaola* is referred to these biblical words by the leadership of the said Churches. ‘The world and all that is in it belong to the Lord; the earth and all who live on it are His’ (Psalm 24:1). The use of *ditaola* and traditional medicines does not replace prophecy and other elements, which are normally used for healing in the Zionist Churches, but they are juxtaposed. Therefore, in my observation this juxtaposition makes healing more holistic and dynamic more than it had been in the past from the Zionist Churches.

For instances, Mr. Keabetswe Gabanamong, (Personal interview, 19/02/03), in most instances, heals some illnesses that could not be cured in hospitals, private hospitals by medical doctors. A certain lady was diagnosed with renal (kidney) failure or cardiac (heart) problem, which cause swelling of some body organs. This is a chronic condition, which means that the illness cannot be cured completely but can only be controlled according to the medical professionals. But Mr. Keabetswe healed the condition completely. The lady is now, a staunch member of Temothuo Apostolic Church. Another person, Molefi Tau who could not speak for several months was healed by the bishop, Mr. Keabetswe Gabamamong. According to diagnosis made at Marina hospital in Gaborone such condition is caused by severe depression or side effects of Psychotic treatment like seranaunce which is responsible for dryness, elongation and enlargement of the tongue. But, the hospital could not cure such illness or condition he was treated and healed by Mr. Gabanamong. Molefi Tau, is also a staunch member of the above said church. Healing such illnesses or conditions, which could not be cured in a modern and Western scientific way, attracted a countless number of people to Temothuo Apostolic Church. Again, what is more attracting for people in case of this church is the natural places where the art of
healing takes place. However, these places and the manner in which healing take place shall be dealt with, in details in the next chapter.