



ÈṢÙ ÈLÉGBÁRÀ: THE INDISPENSABLE ÒRÌṢÀ (GOD) OF THE CROSSROADS MISCONSTRUED AS SATAN THE DEVIL

Dr. Samuel Káyòdé OLÁLÉYÈ

Department of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan

Abstract

Many attributes had been ascribed to Èṣù Èlégbára, the Òrìṣà of the crossroads. Such attributes as the mischief maker, trickster, the devil and so on. Out of all these attributes, none can be said to be good. All the religions in Nigeria, including Yorubá religion portrayed Èṣù as bad and full of mischief. In fact, both Christianity and Islam portrayed Orisa Èṣù as Satan the devil found in their religious books. There are more stories about him than any other Òrìṣà, yet none is considered to be good. There are many questions here begging for answers. One, can we actually say that Èṣù is truly the devil that Christianity and Islam are talking about? Two, is there no good works or things we can ascribe to Èṣù? Considering the fact that Èṣù is a facilitator of aspirations and an indispensable god of fate who stands between the Òrìṣà and Ajogun and human beings without which nothing can be accomplished and what Ifá divination said about him, one would then think that good deeds can still be ascribed to Èṣù. This and many more is what this paper tries to address. A total number of 20 Babaláwo and 20 people were interviewed for their views and belief in the activities of Èṣù as a god of fate. The study found out that portrayer Orisa Èṣù as the devil stem from the misinterpretation of the name from foreign religions in Yorubáland.

Keywords: *Èṣù Èlégbára, Òrìṣà, Crossroads, God of Necessity.*

Introduction

As far as the Yorùbá culture is concerned, many things had been said and written about the origin of this race. Regarding the origin of the Yorùbá, I will not bother anyone with this because of the conflicting reports here and there. While some have traced the origin of the Yorùbá to Asia, some claimed they originated from the remnants of the children of Canaan who were of the tribe of Nimrod. At the same time, some regarded Chaldea as original home of the Yorùbá. In fact, Egypt, Sumerian and Sudan were also suggested as the original home of the Yorùbá due to languages and cultural similarities¹. However, to the Yorùbá, *Ile-Ifè* remains the origin of their existence while heaven represents the abode where they came from. Their religious origin is also traceable to Olódùmarè through his word called *Ifá*. According to Somadhi², the practice of traditional Yorùbá religion from time immemorial has basically remained unchanged in Yorùbáland. However, it is quite unfortunate that this religion is facing a lot of unprovable challenges today as a result of some factors like foreign religion, Western education and civilisation among others, most especially on the misconception of *Òrìṣà Èṣù* as the devil. However, before we begin to talk about *Èṣù*, it is important to know the source of Yorùbá religion and its relationships with *Ifá* and *Òrìṣà Èṣù*.

The Role of *Ifá* Divination in the Religion of the Yorùbá

Ifá divination, the word of Olódùmarè, has been in existence from time immemorial. Tradition has it that *Ifá* has been on earth since the establishment of the world³. *Ifá* is believed by the Yorùbá to be the solution to all problems confronting humanity, be it political, economy social as well as religion. The system, according to McClelland⁴, is capable to inspire absolute faith in the mind of the people. This is the reason why Idowu⁵ says in all things, the Yorùbá are religious because *Ifá* is consulted in every circumstance of life from when a child is born till he dies and in all other activities of man on earth. Although there are various methods of divination such as *Owo Eerindinlogun*- 16 cowries, *Olokun* shells, *Agbigba*, *Obi dida*- kolanut, *Omi wiwo*- water gazing, *Qwó wiwo*- palmistry, *Atipa* or *Abokusoro*- necromancy, however, the most important and reliable of them all is *Ikin*, a kind of *Ifá* divination⁶.

The custodians of this *Ifá* divination are known and called Babaláwo- *Ifá* priests who one can say are directly or indirectly the descendants of *Òrúnmilà*. According to Wande Abimbola⁷, they are the intellectuals of their society and personal physicians of the kings and chiefs most especially before the advent of foreign rule. They attend to

¹ J. O. Lucas (1948). *The Religion of the Yorubas*. Lagos: CMS Books, 15-18.

² Aina Adewale Somadhi (2008). *Fundamentals of the Yoruba Religion: Orisa Worship*. San Bernardino, U.S.A: Ile Orunmila Publications, XXIV.

³ I. O. Odegbola (2014). *Iwe Mimo Ifá: Esin Akoda Olódùmarè*. Ibadan: Odegbola Transitional Global Services, VII.

⁴ E. McClelland (1982). *The Cult of Ifa among the Yoruba, Volume 1 Folk Practice and the Art*, London: Ethnographica Ltd, 10.

⁵ E. Bolaji Idowu (1996). *Olodumare God in Yoruba Belief*, Nigeria: Longman Nigeria Plc., 5.

⁶ Bade Ajayi (2002). *Ifa Divination: Its Practice among the Yoruba of Nigeria*. Nigeria: Shebiotimo Publications, 2.

⁷ Wande Abimbola (1997). *Ifa will Mend our Broken World*, USA: Aim Books, 85.

the spiritual needs of their various communities. This is a position they maintain till today because in traditional Yorùbá setting, despite civilisation and western education, there are lots things that *Ifá* would not be ignored to attain success and peace of mind. For instance, an *Oba*-king cannot be install without the knowledge of *Ifá* and all the rituals associated to the institution are still performed till today. Apart from *Ifá* being at the centre of the religion of the Yorùbá (because divination takes place in everywhere there is prayer, whether in the shrines, temples, groves and even at home), *Ifá* is also the philosophy of life because, as earlier said, *Ifá* touches every aspect of human life. It is full of wise sayings, proverbs, myths, tales, and stories that one needs in life to live a peaceful life⁸.

Who is *Òrìṣà Èṣù* and what is His Position among the gods, His Relationship to *Ifá* and the Religion of the Yorùbá?

It is quite unfortunate that foreign religions, Western education and civilisation brought by the propagators of foreign religions have done a lot of damages not only to the religion of the Yorùbá, but also to the socio-political, economic and the concept of *Èṣù* in Yorùbáland. The damage that foreign religions, especially Christianity has done is unquantifiable. Though as earlier said, it came with western education, civilization and lots of goodies but these cannot be compared with the damage done to African culture, tradition, religion, mental and psychology of Africans, the shock of which we are still battling with till today.

Òrìṣà Èṣù was one of the gods brought forth by Olodumare and occupied a very prominent position in the theocratic government of Olodumare. He is the intermediary between two opposing ends of human aspirations and displeasure, joy and sadness, life and death, fulfillment and failure and in some cases he is the agent of the catalyst to improve or sustain the present situation as postulated by Ayo Salami⁹. He is the head of all *Ajogun*. *Èṣù* is neither here nor there and he plays neutral roles in every case. *Èṣù* knows all the laws of Olodumare and was upholding them. This is the reason why Olodumare always sends him to human being because of his position as arbiter between the Creator and human since he always reveals the secret of all human good or bad. This is the reason why mankind always prays that *Èṣù má se mí* because they do not want him to reveal their secrets due to the ways he usually tricks them when investigating issues. He does not like betrayers and covenant breakers because he would not stand behind an evil doer. He was the first *omo Awo* of *Òrúnmìlà*. As the first *omo awo* of *Òrúnmìlà*, he witnesses all divination his master *Òrúnmìlà* was performing. Information gathered revealed that *Òrìṣà Èṣù* was always standing by the northern part of the *opón Ifá*-divination tray overlooking whatever his master was doing. This negates the saying that "*Èṣù ngbẹbo, bẹní kò gbọ fá*" -*Èṣù* is receiving sacrifice yet he has no knowledge of *Ifá*. He was the one in charge of record keeping of all divination done and those who offered prescribed sacrifice and those that refused to offer.

Therefore, as a witness to everything that happens, whenever *Òrúnmìlà* was going to render account before Olodumare, he was always there. As an intermediary

⁸ Awodiran Okanlawon Agboola (2017). *Ifa: Ohun Ijinle Aye (Ifa: Philosophy of life)*, Nigeria: Fagbenga Ventures.

⁹ Ayo Salami (2008). *Yoruba Theology and Tradition; The worship*. Lagos: NIDD Publishing Company, 152.

between man and the gods, between man and the witches, and between man and the *Ajogun*. *Èṣù* became popular because he delivers sacrifice of man to these agents. This is the reason why *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is an indispensable god among the gods and humans. Without *Òrìṣà Èṣù* there is no *Èḃò*-sacrifice because he is in charge of *Èḃò* either for the gods or human beings. Since the religion of the Yorubá is closely associated with *Ifá*, the mouth piece of both the gods and human society in Yorubaland and *Èḃò* is crucial in *Ifá* divination as a solution to whatever problem *Ifá* is consulted for and there is agreement between *Òrúnmilá* and *Òrìṣà Èṣù* that whatever *Èḃò* offered, part of it must be given to him (*Òrìṣà Èṣù*), it validates the above claims. According to Salami, *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is the one that is energized by the *Èḃò* that the client offers to stand in the way of any force planning an attack¹⁰. This brings us to the question of whether *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is really the devil.

Is *Èṣù* an Evil *Òrìṣà*, a Satan or a Devil?

Going by the definition of the two words (evil and devil), evil, which means morally corrupt, unpleasant and having harmful qualities, not good and worthless. While devil means a wicked or naughty person especially in a mischievous way. A careful look at these definitions will show us that *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is not in the category of being evil or be a devil because of his good intentions and activities for both man and other gods he represents in regards to the issue of *Èḃò*-sacrifice and the intermediary role he plays.

Òrìṣà Èṣù, according to *Ifá* in *Ejiogbe* is a lover of food as a result, would do anything to make sure that things are done in the appropriate way. Therefore, he who has evil or devilish intention will not allow things to be done in an appropriate way. There are so many places in *Ifá* where we can find this good intention of *Òrìṣà Èṣù*. For example, in *Ogbe-Guda*, *Òrìṣà Èṣù* assisted *Òrúnmilá* to obtain healing for a man before *Olodumare*. He also assisted *Òrúnmilá* to recover his *Ikin Ifá* in *Òtúrúpòn-Rétè*¹¹. Again, a mischievous, devilish and evil person will not advocate for uprightness and truthfulness as advocated by *Òrìṣà Èṣù* in *Ogbè Atẹ* where *Ifá* says;

<i>Ogbè wá tẹ kára ó rọ wọ́n</i>	Ogbe stoop to ease their burden
<i>Mo gbà mo tẹ níregún Ifá</i>	I agreed and stooped like iregun Ifa
<i>Nígbà tí mo gbà, bàbá mí tẹmí</i>	When I agreed, my father initiated me
<i>Aì lógbón nínú,</i>	Inability to be wise
<i>Aì mèrò, àì níwà rere</i>	Inability to be thoughtful, Inability to possess good character
<i>Ni múmí wọ 'gbódu léé mẹta</i>	Makes one to enter sacred grove (Igbódu) thrice
<i>Ọràn Èṣù màmà kù</i>	It remains the issue of Esu
<i>Bí a bá teni nIfá, tí a dé' du</i>	If one is initiated and enters Igbodu sacred grove
<i>Tí a belegbára sẹketa</i>	And offered sacrifice to Elegbara
<i>Ọràn Èṣù màmà kù ọ</i>	It is calamity issue that remains
<i>Wọ́n ní,</i>	They said
<i>Eè se tí ọràn Èṣù ha fi kù:</i>	Why does it remains calamity's issue

¹⁰ Ayo Salami (2008). *Yoruba Theology and Tradition, The Worship*. Lagos: NIDD Publishing Company, 159.

¹¹ E.M. Lijada (1923). *Ifa: Imole re ti ise Ipile Isin mi ile Yoruba*. U.K: James Town Send & Sons, 25.

<i>Wón ní,</i>	They said
<i>Bí a bá tefá tán,</i>	If one had been initiated
<i>A kíí fè'binrin awo</i>	One should not marry an initiates wife
<i>A kò gbọdò b'òbinrin ìmulè eni sika`</i>	One must not conspire to do evil with initiates' wife
<i>Oluwo eni kíí bini léréè òràn ká se</i>	One's initiate will never ask for the truth of a matter and denied
<i>Òràn Èsù màrà kù o.</i>	It is the issue of Esu that remains

Also, in *Odu` Ogun`daketè, Oriṣà` Èsù`* promised that he would deliver people's sacrifice, however, with a price that he should be placated. This is an indication that *Oriṣà` Èsù`* is not deceitful. However, the reason why majority of people have wrong impression that *Oriṣà` Èsù`* is evil is his actions as *ariwájú` r'eyin`* at the same time¹² as expressed by *Ifá`* in *Ejìogbè`* that;

<i>Ìwéku ní'wéku</i>	<i>Ìwéku ní'wéku</i>
<i>Ìweja ní'wéja</i>	<i>Ìweja ní'wéja</i>
<i>Ìweran ní'wéran</i>	<i>Ìweran ní'wéran</i>
<i>Ìwá` èniyàn` ní'wá` èniyàn`</i>	<i>Ìwá` èniyàn` ní'wá` èniyàn`</i>
<i>Oòjò` tí` wón` pín` fún` iwà` ní'fè`</i>	On the day character was shared at Ife
<i>Ajé` ní` wón` pín` fún` Olu` Ìbinni`</i>	It was money that was given to Olubinni
<i>Wón` ní` kí` ó` mọ` o` lájé`</i>	They said he should be prosperous
<i>Okùn` ní` wón` pín` fún` Olu` Ìrada`</i>	It was beads that was given to Olu Irada
<i>Wón` ní` kó` mọ` o` gbe` borùn`</i>	That he should hang it on his neck
<i>Ide` ní` wón` pín` fún` Olu` Ìkopa`</i>	It was silver that was given to Olu Ikopa
<i>Wón` ní` kó` má` a` fi` sara` lóge`</i>	To decorate his body
<i>Aṣe` ní` wón` pín` fún` Alaketu`</i>	It was command that was given to Alaketu
<i>Ilè` ní` wón` pín` fún` Oba` lóde` Ọyó`</i>	It was land that was given to the king of Oyo
<i>Igbá` omi` ní` wón` pín` fún` Ọrúnmilá`</i>	Calabash of water was given to Orunmila
<i>Ìsekúse` ní` wón` pín` fún` Èsù`...</i>	Esu was shared misbehaviours

However, this erratic behaviour does not translate as evil, it only shows that *Oriṣà` Èsù`* has no permanent friend or permanent enemy. As far as *Oriṣà` Èsù`* is concern, there is no sacred cow. Everyone must abide with the words and rules of *Olodumare`* including *Ọrúnmilá`* his master. This is buttressed by *Iwori-Obara`* where *Ifá`* says;

<i>Ọta` gbélé` fohùn` eni` méjì`</i>	Bullet stays at home and sounded with two voices
<i>Egúngún` nlá` ní` fohun` bí` èniyàn` bí` èniyàn`</i>	The big masquerade sounded like human
<i>A` dífá` fún` èkúte` lé`</i>	Cast divination for mouse
<i>Tí` nlo` ogun` ilú`-awo`</i>	That was going to the war of Awo town

¹² Ayo Salami (2008). *Yoruba Theology and Tradition, The Worship*. Lagos: NIDD Publishing Company, 156.

<i>A ní kó rú abẹ méjọ àti egbèjọ</i>	He was asked to offer shaving blade and eight thousand cowries
<i>Ó kọ kò rú</i>	He refused to offer the sacrifice
<i>Ó dọhún ó mú ologbò l'èrú...</i>	He got to the place and enslaved the cat...

Besides, because man realised that Òrìṣà Èṣù is an upright Òrìṣà who will not renounce his promise capitalised on that to send Èṣù evil and bad errands that later looks like or tie the blame on Èṣù. *Irosun- Geda* explain this further that;

<i>Ajá sun àn tí tí fí dé eyín enu rẹ</i>	Dog was beautiful up to the teeth of its mouth
<i>Àgbò sun àn tí tí fí dé jòjò</i>	The ram was beautiful up to the bears
<i>A dífá fáwọn èniyàn nìkà</i>	Cast divination for bad people
<i>Tí I rúbọ tán</i>	That finished sacrifice
<i>Tí I tèrù tán</i>	That finished offering
<i>Tí Í pé k'élégbára jòwọ</i>	That pleaded with Elegbara
<i>Gb'ẹbọ dọdọ Olodumare</i>	To take the sacrifice to Olodumare
<i>Bẹ è ní a mò pé Olurun kò toro ẹbọ</i>	Yet we knew very well that Olorun did not beg for sacrifice
<i>Bẹ è ni Olodumare ò bèrè èrù</i>	And Olodumare did not request for offering
<i>Àwa èniyàn nìkà</i>	We human are the wicked ones
<i>Ni ó rán Èṣù nísé búburú</i>	That sent Esu on a wicked errand
<i>Àwa èniyàn mà mà nìkà.</i>	We humans are the wicked ones

Again, the reason why Òrìṣà Èṣù is given bad names in all things he does was explained in *Ogunda-'rete*¹³ where *Ifá* says;

<i>Ógún dákètẹ Ó símọ láte ọbẹ fonran fonran fonran</i>	Ogun wore a raffia hat and pierced the back of his enemies in quick paces,
<i>Awo Ako ló sefa f'Èṣù Ọdàrà</i>	Awo Ako was the one that performed divination for Èṣù Odara
<i>Ó f'owọ kan fún Ojúfo</i>	He also divined for Ojufo
<i>Níjọ tí wọn ntikòlẹ ọrun bọ wá sí t'ayé</i>	On the day they were coming from heaven
<i>Láì rú ẹbọ</i>	Without offering of sacrifices
<i>Ìgbà wọn ò ta èrù</i>	As they refused to offer the free booties,
<i>Èyin ò ríná Ifá tán tí njó wọn</i>	Can you all see how flame of Ifá consumes them?
<i>Oferefere</i>	Oferefere

¹³ Awosola Fatoosin, Babalawo Ifa Priest (2021). *Personal Interview*. Ologuneru, Ibadan, 10th, July 2021.

According to the *Ifá*, *Òrìṣà Èṣù* and *Ojúfo* were known as friends by the inhabitants of Ile Ife who were always together. *Ojúfo* was a dangerous person when it comes to perpetrating evil but not well known like *Òrìṣà Èṣù* despite the fact that they were friends as earlier said. One day, they were to travel to a long distance and since nothing is done without consulting *Ifá*, they went to make enquiry concerning the journey and were told to offer *Èbò*-sacrifice. It was only *Ojúfo* that offered the *Èbò*-sacrifice despite the fact that *Òrìṣà Èṣù* knows the implication of not offering *Èbò*-sacrifice. Along the way, they met some children playing and one of them erroneously collapsed on them. *Ojúfo* being known for evil did not wait for any apology from the child before he knocked his head and as a result, the boy fainted. The rest of the children went back home to lodge a complaint and the parents did not wait to distinguish between *Òrìṣà Èṣù* and *Ojúfo* before they pounced on *Òrìṣà Èṣù* because they thought it could not be the other friend, *Ojúfo*. Eventually, *Òrìṣà Èṣù* ran away. However, ever since then, whenever any bad thing happens, they always ascribe it to *Òrìṣà Èṣù*.

However, despite the mistake of identity narrated above, *Òrìṣà Èṣù* can still not be compared to the devil that the Bible describes in John 8⁴⁴, Rev.12⁷⁻⁹, and 12, Ezek.12¹⁴, Ish.14¹²⁻¹⁴, and Mathew. 4⁸⁻⁹, 25⁴¹, Job 1⁶, and Peter 5⁸ as perpetrator of all evil in the life of humanity and never a helper of neither angels nor prophets. *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is a helper of humanity and other divinities as earlier said. The evidence and reflection of this can be seen in the names some people bear in Yorubá society such as *Èṣùgbemi- Èṣù* supported me, *Èṣùyemi- Èṣù* befits me, *Èṣùseyi- Èṣù* made this, *Esubiyi- Èṣù* gave birth to this and so on. Conversely, no person can name his or her child after Satan the devil. Satan the devil of the Bible was there when man was created, but *Òrìṣà Èṣù* was not there when humanity came into existence. That *Òrìṣà Èṣù* will give and take back more than he gives is never an attribute of the *Òrìṣà Èṣù* but it is that of Satan the devil. The Bible made us realised that Satan the devil was sent away from the presence of the Creator in heaven and was sent to hell fire that was specially prepared for him by God, but *Òrìṣà Èṣù* was never sent away from the presence of Olodumare, God in Yorubá belief. Rather, he is the invisible police officer of Olodumare the Creator before man and other divinities. *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is an indispensable god of necessity that reports what man and other divinities do whether good or bad to Olodumare without taking sides. Satan the devil has his own angels that destroy things on earth, which the Bible describes as an entity that always look for the downfall of every man. However, in the case of *Òrìṣà Èṣù*, though He is believed to be the head of all *Ajogun*, yet he operates and delivers God's work to humanities and other divinities alone¹⁴.

Conclusion:

Having established that *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is not evil and is not Satan the devil, the advocacy should begin now to let the whole world know that *Òrìṣà Èṣù* is not Satan and the change should begin from the practitioners themselves. The reason for this is, traditional religion worshippers, especially the *Babaláwo* are contributing to the bad image of the *Òrìṣà (Èṣù)* because of possibly, inexperience, ignorance or probably it may be to create fear to the minds of the novice, to extoll the *Òrìṣà Èṣù* or as a *Èṣù* of ignorance by attributing the *Oriki* that was to be given to *Ojúfo*, the counterpart and

¹⁴ Aina Adewale-Somadhi (2006). *Sixteen Mythological Stories of Ifa (Itan Ifa Merindinlogun)*, USA: Ile Orunmila Communications, 3-6.

friend of *Orìṣà Èṣù* who was always full of doing evil things. Or how do we explain and convince people of other religions that *Orìṣà Èṣù* is not the devil with this *Oríkí* ascribed to *Orìṣà Èṣù* as:

<i>Laálú</i>	Laalu
<i>Ògiri òkò</i>	Ogiri oko
<i>Ó nḽ láárín èpà</i>	He was going in the field of ground nut
<i>Àtari rè rí fié fié</i>	His head hardly shown
<i>Òbèlèkún sunkún</i>	He was crying on behalf of another person
<i>Kèrù ó bèlèkún,</i>	The person he was crying for was afraid
<i>Èlèkún nsunkún</i>	Water was coming out of the eyes of the person crying
<i>Láaroyè nsejè</i>	It was blood that was coming out of Laaroye's own eyes
<i>Èṣù má semí,</i>	Èṣù should not tempt me
<i>Omọ èlòmín ni o se etc.</i>	Go and tempt the son of another person.

All these attributes are for the Satan. We should note that the word Satan was a borrowed word that was adopted by the Yorubá. Therefore, Satan and *Èṣù* are not the same thing because they are different in every areas and deeds.

End Notes

- Abimbola, Wande (1997). *Ifa will Mend our Broken World*, USA: Aim Books.
- Adeoye, C. L. (1979). *Asa ati Ise Yorubá*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.
- Adewale, S. A. (1978). The Role of Ifá in the Work of the 19th Century Missionaries. *ORITA: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies*, xii/I.
- Adewale-Somadhi, Aina (2006). *Sixteen Mythological Stories of Ifa (Itan Ifa Merindinlogun)*. USA: Ile Orunmila Communications.
- Adewale-Somadhi, Aina (2008). *Fundamental of the Yorubá Religion: Orisa Worship*. San Bernardino, USA: Ile Orunmila Publications.
- Agboola, Awodiran Okanlawon (2017). *Ifa: Ohun Ijinle Aye (Ifa: Philosophy of life)*, Nigeria: Fagbenga Ventures.
- Ajayi, Bade (2002). *Ifa Divination: Its Practice among the Yoruba of Nigeria*. Nigeria: Shebiotimo Publications.
- Al Ghazoli, M. (2007). *Christ Muhammad and I. D. W. Daniels* (ed.) U.S.A: Chick Publications. 22
- Awolalu, J. O. (1979). *Yorubá Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*. UK: Longman Group Limited.
- Awosola Fatoosin, Babalawo Ifa Priest (2021). *Personal Interview*. Ologuneru, Ibadan, 10th, July 2021.
- Boer, H. R. (1990). *A Short History of the Early Church*.
- Butani, H. (1989). *Understanding Bhagavad Gita with Tales of Mystic Saints*. Nigeria: C & A Prints Nigeria Limited.
- E. McClelland (1982). *The Cult of Ifa among the Yoruba, Volume 1 Folk Practice and the Art*, London: Ethnographica Ltd, 10.

- Idowu, E. Bolaji (1996). *Olodumare God in Yoruba Belief*, Nigeria: Longman Nigeria Plc.
- Ifágbemi, Yokelepekun (2015). *Babalawo Ifá Priest. Oral Interview*. Apete, Ibadan. 10th, July 2015.
- Jegede, C. O. (2004). *Incantation and Herbal Cure in Ifá Divination among the Yorùbá of South Western Nigeria*. Ph. D Thesis.
- Lijada, E.M. (1923). *Ifa: Imole re ti ise Ipile Isin mi ile Yoruba*. U.K: James Town Send & Sons.
- Lucas, J. O. (1948). *The Religion of the Yorubas*. Lagos: CMS Books.
- Makinde, M. A. (1988). *African Philosophy, Culture and Traditional Medicine*. Athens: University Center for International Studies, 10.
- Odegbola, I. O. (2014). *Iwe Mimo Ifá: Esin Akoda Olódùmare*. Ibadan: Odegbola Transitional Global Services.
- Quarcopome, T. N. O. (1987). *West African Traditional Religion*. Ibadan: African University Press.
- Salami, Ayo (2008). *Yoruba Theology and Tradition, The Worship*. Lagos: NIDD Publishing Company.