

***KIGANDA* AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF *EKIBI* IN
CONTEMPORARY BAGANDA SOCIETY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED BY
OLIVIA NASSAKA BANJA**

**TO THE SCHOOL OF DIVINITY
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

December 2003



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Maps and illustrations	x
Abbreviations	xi
Glossary	xii
Abstract	xviii

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION AND *EKIBI* IN *KIGANDA* WORLDVIEW

1	INTRODUCTION	1
	THE STUDY AND THE PROBLEM	1
	REASONS FOR THE STUDY	2
	THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY	3
	DEFINITION OF TERMS	4
	THESIS STRUCTURE	6
	METHODOLOGY	8
2	THE IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> IN BAGANDA ORAL TRADITION: A FOCUS ON THE PRE-COLONIAL SOCIETY	15
	ORAL TRADITION IN BAGANDA PRE-COLONIAL SOCIETY	16
	THE BAGANDA	16
	BAGANDA SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION	17
	ASPECTS OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES	18
	BAGANDA ORAL TRADITION	19
	<i>ENGERO</i> (NARRATIVE)	20
	<i>EKIBI</i> IN <i>ENGERO</i> (NARRATIVE)	24
	THE ORIGIN OF <i>EKIBI</i> IN <i>ENGERO</i>	25

	THE NATURE OF <i>EKIBI</i> IN <i>ENGERO</i>	29
	THE IMPLICATIONS OF <i>EKIBI</i> IN <i>ENGERO</i> FOR THE PRE-COLONIAL BAGANDA SOCIETY	39
	CONCLUSION	47
3	<i>EKIBI</i> IN THE <i>KIGANDA</i> CONTEMPORARY WORLDVIEW	49
	THE <i>KIGANDA</i> CONTEMPORARY WORLDVIEW	50
	THE <i>KIGANDA</i> IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i>	53
	<i>EKIBI</i> WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY <i>KIGANDA</i> BELIEFS AND PRACTICES	54
	<i>EKIBI</i> AS <i>OKUSOBYA</i>	55
	<i>OKUSOBYA</i> AS VIOLATING <i>EMIZIZO</i> (TABOOS)	56
	<i>OKUSOBYA</i> AS <i>OKUJEEMA</i> (TO DISOBEY)	64
	<i>EKIBI</i> AS <i>EKIVVE</i> (ABOMINATION)	66
	<i>EKIBI</i> AS <i>OKWONOONA</i> (WRONGDOING)	73
	<i>OKULOGA</i> (SORCERY)	76
	<i>OKUSERA</i> (PROWLING)	85
	<i>EKIBI</i> AS <i>OBUBI</i> (BADNESS/DANGER)	92
	<i>OKUFA</i> (DEATH)	100
	CONCLUSION	108
 PART TWO: THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPT OF <i>EKIBI</i>		
4	THE CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> AMONG CONTEMPORARY BAGANDA	111
	THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO BUGANDA	111
	THE IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA	113
	THE <i>BAKULISITAAYO</i> (ORDINARY CHRISTIANS)	114
	THE <i>BAKULISITAAYO</i> IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i>	116
	THE <i>BALOKOLE</i> (REVIVALISTS) MOVEMENT	123

	<i>EKIBI</i> IN THE EARLY AND CONTEMPORARY MAINSTREAM <i>BALOKOLE</i> MOVEMENT	127
	THE <i>BAZUUKUFU</i> (REAWAKENED)	136
	IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> AMONG THE <i>BAZUUKUFU</i>	140
	<i>BEEGAYIRIZI</i> (INTERCESSORS)	145
	IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> AMONG THE <i>BEEGAYIRIZI</i>	158
	CONCLUSION	163
5	THE IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> IN THE BIBLE	166
	THE BIBLE IN BUGANDA	167
	<i>EKIBI</i> IN THE <i>LUGANDA</i> BIBLE	172
	<i>EKIBI</i> IN THE OLD TESTAMENT	173
	IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> BASED ON <i>AMATEEKA EKKUMI</i> (TEN COMMANDMENTS)	173
	<i>EKIBI</i> OF <i>OKUYISA ABAANA MU MULIRO</i> (BURNING CHILDREN AS OFFERING), <i>OKULAGULA</i> (FORESEEING)... (DEUT 18:9-14)	181
	<i>EKIBI</i> OF <i>OKUSOBYA</i> (VIOLATION) WITH REFERENCE TO <i>OBUKO</i> (RELATIONAL TABOOS) (LEV 18:1-18)	184
	THE IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i> AND <i>SSETAANI</i> (SATAN) (JOB 1-2)	191
	<i>SSADDAKA</i> (SACRIFICE) AS MEANS OF DEALING WITH <i>EKIBI</i> (LEV 4-5, 16)	194
	<i>EKIBI</i> IN THE NEW TESTAMENT	202
	<i>OMUZIMU OMUBI</i> (UNCLEAN SPIRIT) (MK 9:14-29)	202
	<i>OKUFA</i> (DEATH) AND JESUS' POWER (JN 11:1-54)	205
	JESUS' TRIUMPH OVER <i>OKWONOONA</i> (WRONGDOING) AND <i>OKUSOBYA</i> (VIOLATION) (ROM 5:12-22)	209
	CONCLUSION	213
	PART THREE: <i>KIGANDA</i> AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i>	
6	DIALOGUE BETWEEN <i>KIGANDA</i> AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF <i>EKIBI</i>	218
	<i>OKUSOBYA EMIZIZO GY'OBUKO</i> IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA	219

DEALING WITH <i>OKUFA</i> IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA; A LOOK AT THE PRACTICE OF <i>OKWABYA OLUMBE</i>	225
<i>OKWABYA OLUMBE</i> (LAST FUNERAL RITES) AMONG THE <i>BAKULISITAAYO</i>	226
<i>OKWABYA OLUMBE</i> AMONG CONTEMPORARY MAINSTREAM <i>BALOKOLE</i>	231
THE <i>BAZUUKUFU'S</i> TEACHING ON <i>OKWABYA OLUMBE</i>	235
<i>OKULUMBIBWA EMIZIMU EMIBI</i> (ATTACKS FROM MALEVOLENT SPIRITS) IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA	237
THE <i>BAKULISITAAYO</i> IDEAS ON <i>OKULUMBIBWA EMIZIMU EMIBI</i> (ATTACKS FROM MALEVOLENT SPIRITS)	237
DEALING WITH ATTACKS FROM <i>EMIZIMU EMIBI</i> AMONG THE MAINSTREAM <i>BALOKOLE</i>	240
DEALING WITH <i>EMIZIMU EMIBI</i> AMONG THE <i>BEEGAYIRIZI</i>	244
CONCLUSION	248
7 GENERAL CONCLUSION	252
A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE AIMS OF THE STUDY	252
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO CONTEMPORARY BAGANDA SOCIETY	253
APPENDICES	265
BIBLIOGRAPHY	281

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis constitutes my own research and writing, and it has not been (and will not be) presented to any other academic institution for a degree. All quotations have been identified and the source of information acknowledged.

DECEMBER 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I wish to express my gratitude to my sponsors the Church Mission Society, who have funded and supported me through the four years of my studies. I am also grateful for the financial support, prayers and love given to me by the Uganda Christian University Mukono. Special thanks go to Bishops W. Mutebi and E. Maari for their constant understanding, prayers and encouragement in my ministry and studies.

I express my indebtedness and gratitude to my supervisor Dr J. T. Thompson. His constructive criticism and insightful dialogue were invaluable inspiration in the completion of this thesis. I also wish to register my gratitude to Dr J. Cox, Prof. D. Kerr, Dr. H. Bond and Dr E. Koepping whose scholarly comments and wisdom inspired me in my work. I am also grateful for the assistance and support given to me by the members of staff New College and CSCNWW, the libraries of the University of Edinburgh, the School of Oriental and African Studies Library and the Special Collections Department of Birmingham University Library.

Special thanks go to all my informants in Uganda, who contributed invaluable oral and written source-material. My particular thanks are due to the Rev. Can. N. Kaweesa, Rev. Can. E. B. Kibuuka, Bishops J. Matovu and E. P. Luzinda, Mrs M. Luzinda, Mrs F. Mutebi, the Late Rev. Agatha Ssenyimba, Rev. J. Batte, Rev. Can. P. Kiggundu, Prof Walusimbi, Prof Ssekamwa, Mr S. Mpalanyi, Mary Namatovu, Mr J. Walakira and others whose advice and insight helped me tremendously. I also credit the officials and members of staff Mukono and Namirembe Dioceses, The Church of Uganda Provincial offices, Uganda Christian University library, Gaba National Seminary, Rubaga Archdeaconry library and The Department of Religious Studies-Makerere University.

I also credit Mrs Angie Inchley, Clare Mitchell and Mrs Wilma Dickson who proof-read my work. Special thanks also go to members of St. James Episcopal Church Leith for their support and prayers for my family and myself especially when my mother passed

away during the crucial stage of my studies. I thank Andrew and Wilma Dickson, Jo Colebrooke, Phil Montanjees and Mary Nsubuga, who were committed to caring for Baby Joshua during the intense times of studies. Finally I thank God for my husband Rev. Moses Banja whose love, care and prayers have been a strong pillar through the pressures and joys of my studies.

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Map 1- Uganda (showing Buganda 1886)	xxi
2	Map 2- Buganda (showing counties 1964)	xxi
3	Map 3- Uganda (new districts 2001)	xxii
4	Map 4- Dioceses of the Church of Uganda (1961)	xxiii
5	Map 5- Dioceses of the Church of Uganda (2001)	xxiv
6	Map 6- Namirembe Diocese (showing the archdeaconries 2001)	xxv
7	Map 7- Mukono Diocese (showing the archdeaconries 2001)	xxvi
8	Map 8- Uganda (showing the districts in the study area)	xxvii
9	Fig A- Katwe Church of Uganda and <i>abasawo</i> shrines and stalls	265
10	Fig B- Men selling <i>amayirungi</i> (<i>Catha edulis</i>)	266
11	Fig C- A senior <i>omulogo</i> (sorcerer) and <i>omusawo</i> (healer)	267
12	Fig D- Nakasajja forest and Kawuulu's grave	268
13	Fig E- <i>Lubaale</i> (divinity) Muwanga's altar	269
14	Fig F- The slaughtering of the bull	270
15	Fig G- Constructing huts	271
16	Fig H- Women preparing food and <i>omukeeze</i>	272
17	Fig I- <i>Okussaako omusika</i> (installing the heir)	273
18	Fig J- Kibuye Church of Uganda and the altar	274
19	Fig K- Rev. James Batte and the <i>Beegayirizi</i>	275
20	Fig L- P. Ssebuufu and J. Ndagire	276
21	Fig M- <i>Okwabya olumbe</i> among the <i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	277
22	Fig N- Serving food during <i>okwabya olumbe</i>	278
23	Fig O- Presenting/blessing the heiress among the mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	279

ABBREVIATIONS

AFER	African Ecclesiastical Review
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
CHUSA	The Church of Uganda Struggle against HIV/AIDS
CMS	Church Missionary Society/Church Mission Society
COU	Church of Uganda
CSCNWW	Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World
EATWOT	Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
<i>Lug</i>	<i>Luganda</i> Bible
RSV	Revised Standard Version Bible
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
UBS	United Bible Societies
UCU	Uganda Christian University Mukono
WCC	World Council of Churches

GLOSSARY

The following are the *Luganda* words/terms used in this thesis.

- ab'ebivve*: abominators
abaana: children
abaavu: poor people
ababbi: thieves
ababi: dangerous people, sinners
abagumba: barren people
abakadde: elders
abalaguzi: foreseers
abalogo: sorcerers
abalwadde: afflicted/sick people
abankyawa: adversaries
abasamize: diviners
abasawo: healers
abasezi abalya abantu: cannibals
abasezi b'amaka: home prowlers
abasezi b'ennimiro: garden prowlers
abasezi: prowlers
abasomi: readers
abatemu: murderers
abooluganda: brother and sisters
aboonoonyi: wrongdoers
akabi: danger
akambe: knife
akamwa: mouth
amabanja: debts
umududu: ordeal-liquor
amafuvu: strips of barkcloth
amalaalo: tomb
amalala: pride, arrogance
amannya: names
amasabo: shrines
amasiga: clan divisions
amateeka ekkumi: Ten Commandments
amayembe: horns
amazina: dance
ba maama: mothers
bagalagala: pages
Baganda: the people of Buganda
bakabona: priests
bakatonda: gods
bakopi: peasants
Bakulisitaayo: ordinary Christians
bakulu b'ebika: clan heads
Balokole: revivalists
balubaale: divinities
bamalayika: angels
bannansangwawo: aborigines
bataka: clan heads
Bayibuli: Bible
Bazuukufu: Reawakened
Beegayirizi: Intercessors
bika: clans
Buganda: Baganda region, nation
buntu: being
butaka: clan land
dayimooni: unclean spirit
ddunda: shepherd

<i>ebibi</i> : plural of <i>ekibi</i>	<i>ekizikiza</i> : darkness
<i>ebigogo</i> : banana stem	<i>embaga</i> : wedding
<i>ebikokyo</i> : riddles	<i>embugo</i> : barkcloths
<i>ebikolimo</i> : curses	<i>embuyaga</i> : hurricanes
<i>ebikwate</i> : recitations	<i>emikolo</i> : rituals
<i>ebisiraani</i> : misfortunes	<i>emirembe</i> : peace
<i>ebisoko</i> : idioms	<i>emisambwa</i> : tutelary spirits
<i>ebitontome</i> : poems	<i>emizannyo</i> : drama
<i>ebivve</i> : abominations	<i>emizimu emibi</i> : malevolent spirits
<i>ebizibu</i> : problems, undesirable conditions	<i>emizimu</i> : spirits, the living dead
<i>ebyawandiikibwa ebitukuvu</i> : Holy Scriptures	<i>emiziro</i> : totems
<i>ebyawongo</i> : sorcery stuff	<i>emizizo</i> : taboos
<i>eddagala</i> : medicine	<i>emmamba</i> : lung fish
<i>eddogo</i> : sorcery power	<i>emmandwa</i> : medium
<i>effubitizi</i> : envy	<i>emmimbiri</i> : poisonous herb
<i>effumbe</i> : civet cat	<i>empisa embi</i> or <i>emize</i> : bad/dangerous behaviour
<i>effumu</i> : spear	<i>empisa ennungi</i> : good/acceptable behaviour
<i>ekibbo</i> : basket	<i>empisa ez'obuntubulamu</i> : worthy/acceptable conduct
<i>ekibi</i> : anti-life forces, conditions and activities which undermine the wellbeing of all creation (which might approximately be translated as 'evil')	<i>empisa</i> : customs
<i>ekibonerezo</i> : punishment	<i>endagaano</i> : contract
<i>ekifaananyi</i> : picture	<i>endobolo</i> : share
<i>ekika</i> : clan	<i>enfumo</i> : stories
<i>ekikolimo</i> : curse	<i>engalo empanvu</i> : long fingers
<i>ekiraamo</i> : a will	<i>engalo</i> : fingers
<i>ekirungi</i> : good	<i>engano</i> : short stories (singular <i>olugano</i>)
<i>ekisa</i> : grace	<i>engero ensonge</i> : proverbs
<i>ekitabo ky'okusaba</i> : prayer book	<i>engero</i> : narrative (singular <i>lugero</i>)
<i>ekitambo</i> : spiritual force behind prowling	<i>engeye</i> : colubus monkey
<i>ekivve</i> : abomination	<i>enjaaye</i> : another name of <i>enjaga</i> (cannabis)
	<i>enjaga</i> : cannabis
	<i>enjala</i> : famine

enjaza: roebuck
enkaayana: conflicts
enkwe: intrigue
ennono: norms
ennyimba: songs, chants
ennyonyi: bird
ensi: world
ensimbu: epilepsy
ensiriba: amulet
entaana: a grave
entalo: wars
entula: edible berries
enzikiriza y'obuwangwa: *kiganda* religion
eriiso ebbi: bad/dangerous eye
ettooke: plantain
ganda: root neuter used to refer to everything pertaining to Baganda
gandawaza: make *ganda*
ggulu: sky
kabaka: king
kabootongo: syphilis
Katonda: the creator
kigaji: aloe vera plant
kiganda: way of thinking and doing things among Baganda
kiwa mirembe: giver of peace
kizibwe: *ssenga* or *kojja*'s child
kojja: mother's brother
kugana: to relate short stories/tales
kumalibwa: contented
kusoby: make mistake, violate
kuwulira: obey
kwatula: confess
kwegayirira: intercession
kwenenya: repent
lubaale: divinities
lubiri: palace
lugaba: giver
Luganda: language spoken by Baganda
maama: mother
matooke: plantain
mayirungi: *catha edulis*
muganda wa kitaawo: father's brother
muganda wa nnyoko: mother's sister
muka mwana wo: daughter-in-law
mukasa: divinity of the sea
muko: in-law
mukyala: wife
mulokozi: saviour
musana: light
musisi: divinity of earthquake
muzzukuluwo: grand child
mwannyoko: sister/step-sister
mwegayirizi: an Intercessor
obubaani: incense
obubbi: theft
obubi: badness or danger
obufumbo obw'ensobi: non-Christian marriage
obuggya: jealousy
obugumba: barrenness
obujeemu: disobedience, rebellion
obujulirwa: testimony

obukambwe: cruelty
obuko: relation taboos, disease caused by violating some taboos
obukyayi: hatred
obulamu obutaggwaawo: eternal/everlasting life
obulamu obwakaakati: present life
obulamu: life
obulimba: deceitfulness
obulogo: practicing sorcery
obulungi: goodness
obulwadde obw'omwoyo: spiritual illness
obulwadde: affliction/sickness
obumu: oneness, solidarity
obunnabbi: prophecy
obunnanfiusi: hypocrisy
obuntubulamu: approved/worthy conduct
obusezi: prowling
obuswavu: ashamed, guilt stricken
obutaba na mazima: dishonesty
obutakkiriza: lack of faith in God
obutalokoka: rejecting salvation, refusing to get saved
obutemu: homicide, murder
obutiko: small mushrooms
obutuukirivu: righteousness
obutwa: poison
obuwulize: obedience
obwakabaka: kingship
obwamalaaya: prostitution
obwannakyemalira: selfishness

obwavu: poverty
obwenzi: adultery
obwesigwa: honesty
obwetoowaze: humility
okuba emmandwa: mediumship
okubba: stealing
okubika: announcing death
okubikka ebiggya: covering the graves
okubonaabona: suffering
okubuulirira: guidance and counselling
okubuusabuusa: doubt
okubuza emirembe: destroying peace
okufa: death
okufuba: striving
okufulumya olumbe: to cast out death/disease
okufuma: telling, relating stories
okufuuwa taaba: smoking tobacco
okugatta: reconcile
okugoba omuzimu: to cast out a spirit
okugobwa ku kyalo: ostracising
okugwa eddalu: mental illness
okugwa: falling/being defeated
okujeema: disobey
okujjamu olubuto: abortion
okukansira: propitiation
okukola obubi: doing wrong or bad things
okukola obulungi: doing good
okukolima: cursing
okukungaana: fellowship
okukwata ebisolo: bestiality
okulagula: foretelling/seeing

okulayira: swearing, vowing
okulimba: telling lies
okuliwa: compensation, pay back
okuloga: sorcery
okulokoka okwamazima: true salvation
okulokoka: get saved
okulumbibwa emizimu: attacks from malevolent spirits
okulwanyisa: fighting
okulya amabanja/okwewola: acquiring debts
okulya ebisiyaga: homosexuality, sodomy
okulya enguzi: corruption
okulya omuziro: eating totems
okulyazaamaanya: refuse to pay back debts
okumenyeka: brokenness
okunnyogoga: becoming spiritually cold
okusaba: praying
okusaddaaka abantu: human sacrifice
okusaddaaka: sacrificing
okusamira: divination
okusera: prowling
okusiiba: fasting
okusobya: violating
okusoma: reading
okusosola: segregation
okussaako omusika: installing the heir/heirress
okuswaza: being put to shame
okutanza: to fine

okutemula: to murder
okutta: killing
okutulugunya: oppressing
okutunda empewo: selling air, fraud.
okutya abakulu: respect for seniors
okuvumaganya: cause disgrace/abuse
okuwa ekimu eky'ekkumi: tithing
okuwa obujulirwa: witnessing
okuwaayiiriza: make false accusations
okuwaayiriza: giving false witness
okuwangula: overcome/overpower
okuwemula: use dirty language
okuwonga: to sacrifice, give an offering
okuwonya: to heal, treat
okuyaayaanira ebyensi: worldliness
okuyimiriza: banning/stopping
okuyomba: quarrelling
okuzaalukuka: disown
okuziika: burial
okuziyiza: to prevent
okuzuukira: resurrection
okuzuukuka: reawakening
okwabya olumbe: last funeral rites
okwalula abaana: child initiation rites
okwanjula: introduction of suitor to family
okwebaka: to sleep, spiritual sleep
okwebuza ku bafu: necromancy
okweganga: use protective medicine
okwegayirira: interceding
okwelagula: foresee
okwenenya: to repent, repentance

okwesalamu: divisions
okwetangira: prevent or protect
okwetondalokusaba okusonyiyibwa: asking for forgiveness
okwetta: committing suicide
okwolesebwa: visions
okwonoona: wrongdoing
olubugo: barkcloth
olugave: ant-eater
olulimi olubi: bad/dangerous tongue
olumbe: disease
olunwe: one finger
olusanja: a dry banana leaf
omubala: clan motto
omujeemu: disobedient
omujjwa: sister's child
omukago: blood pact
omukazi: a woman
omukemi: tempter
omukisa omubi: bad luck or misfortune
omukozi w'obubi: wrongdoer, offender
omukulisitaayo: an ordinary Christian
omulabe: enemy, opponent, accusers
omulambo: dead body
omulogo: sorcerer
omulongo: twin, king's umbilical cord
omululu: greed
omulyazaamaanyi: obstinate debtor
omuntu omubi: a bad/dangerous person
omuntu: person
omusajja: a man
omusawo: healer
omusezi: a prowler

omusu: cane-eater
omuzimu omubi: malevolent/unclean spirit
omuzimu: spirit
omuziro: clan symbol, totem
omwenge: beer
omwoyo omutukuvu: Holy Spirit
owanawalubwa: person with bad luck/misfortune
ssaabataka: head of all *Bataka*/clans
ssabbiiti: Sabbath, Sunday
ssaddaaka: sacrifice
ssenga: father's sister
ssetaani: Satan
ssewannaku: the everlasting
Taata: father
wakayima: hare
wakikere: frog
walumbe: disease, death, divinity of sickness
wampologoma: lion
wamusota: snake
wango: leopard
wante: cow
Yesu: Jesus
yirizi: talisman

ABSTRACT

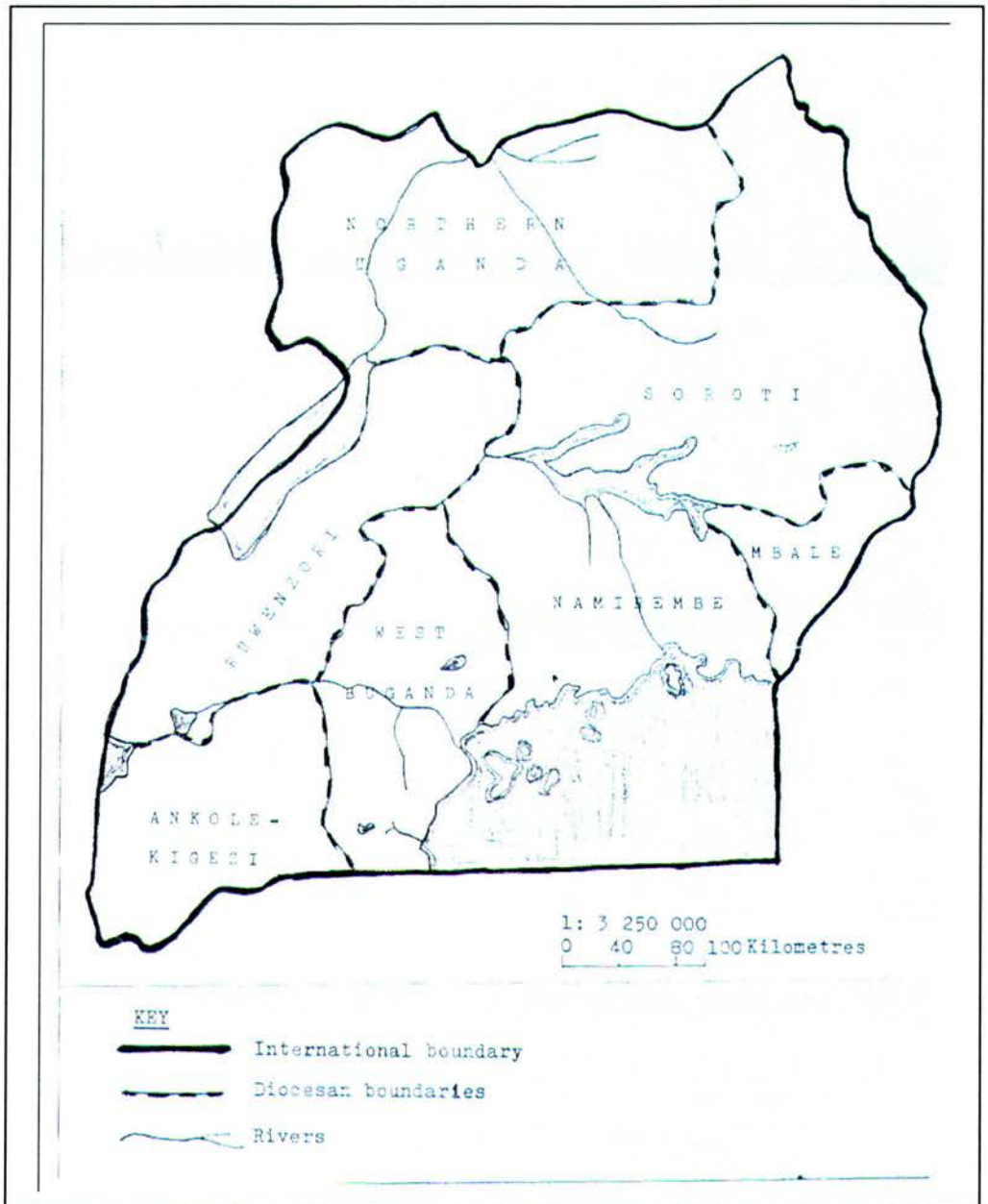
This study examines *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among the Baganda between 1962 and 2001. The ideas of *ekibi* (which might approximately be translated as ‘evil’) are discussed and analysed within the socio-political tensions and dynamics of the contemporary evolving Baganda context. Although there are a number of anthropological studies on the Baganda, on their customs and beliefs, there is hardly any study on the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. This study therefore seeks to redress this imbalance by discussing and assessing the interaction between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* and the extent to which they contribute to the Baganda Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda. The research makes use of oral tradition and qualitative fieldwork comprising informal and formal interviews with different age groups made up of both male and female participants. These belong to the *enzikiriza ey'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion) and to groups within the Church of Uganda such as the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) in both rural and urban areas of the dioceses of Mukono and Namirembe, in the Kampala and Mukono Districts.

The study is divided into three main parts. The first part introduces the study and investigates *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. The pre-colonial ideas of *ekibi* as derived from oral tradition such as *engero* (narrative) are examined with a view to exploring the background of the ideas of *ekibi* in contemporary Baganda society. The ideas of *ekibi* in the contemporary *kiganda* worldview are also examined with reference to the *kiganda* practices and rituals such as the observance of *emizizo* (taboos), *okuloga* (sorcery), *obusawo* (healing), *okufa* (death) and *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) within the tensions between the rural-urban dynamics and the forces of change which characterise Baganda contemporary society. The second part of the study discusses the Christian concepts of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda, and the extent to which they impact upon their perceptions, attitudes, practices and ways of life. The ideas of *ekibi* based on the interpretations of both the Old and New Testaments are also

discussed with a view to assessing the extent to which they impact and contribute to the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda. The third part of the study focuses on the interaction and dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda. It assesses the extent to which these ideas integrate and enhance the process of inculturating the ideas of *ekibi* in the contemporary Baganda context. The research findings indicate clearly that the concept of *ekibi* remains a vital element of the Baganda's perception of and aspirations for the wellbeing of the society. The teachings and practices in the Church of Uganda also reveal some conflicts, complexities and dynamics existing in the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda Christians. In addition the findings highlight the challenges confronting the Baganda Christians as they attempt to integrate Christian teaching into their *kiganda* values while at the same time the Church of Uganda continues to condemn some of the practices which some Baganda still value. The conflicts and condemnatory attitudes of the church have also led to the development of 'secret practices' among some of the Christians, who attempt to draw on both the values of *kiganda* beliefs and Christianity. Nevertheless the research reveals that among all the groups studied, *kiganda* ideas, church teachings and the different interpretations of the Bible together form the theological articulations and teachings on *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda.

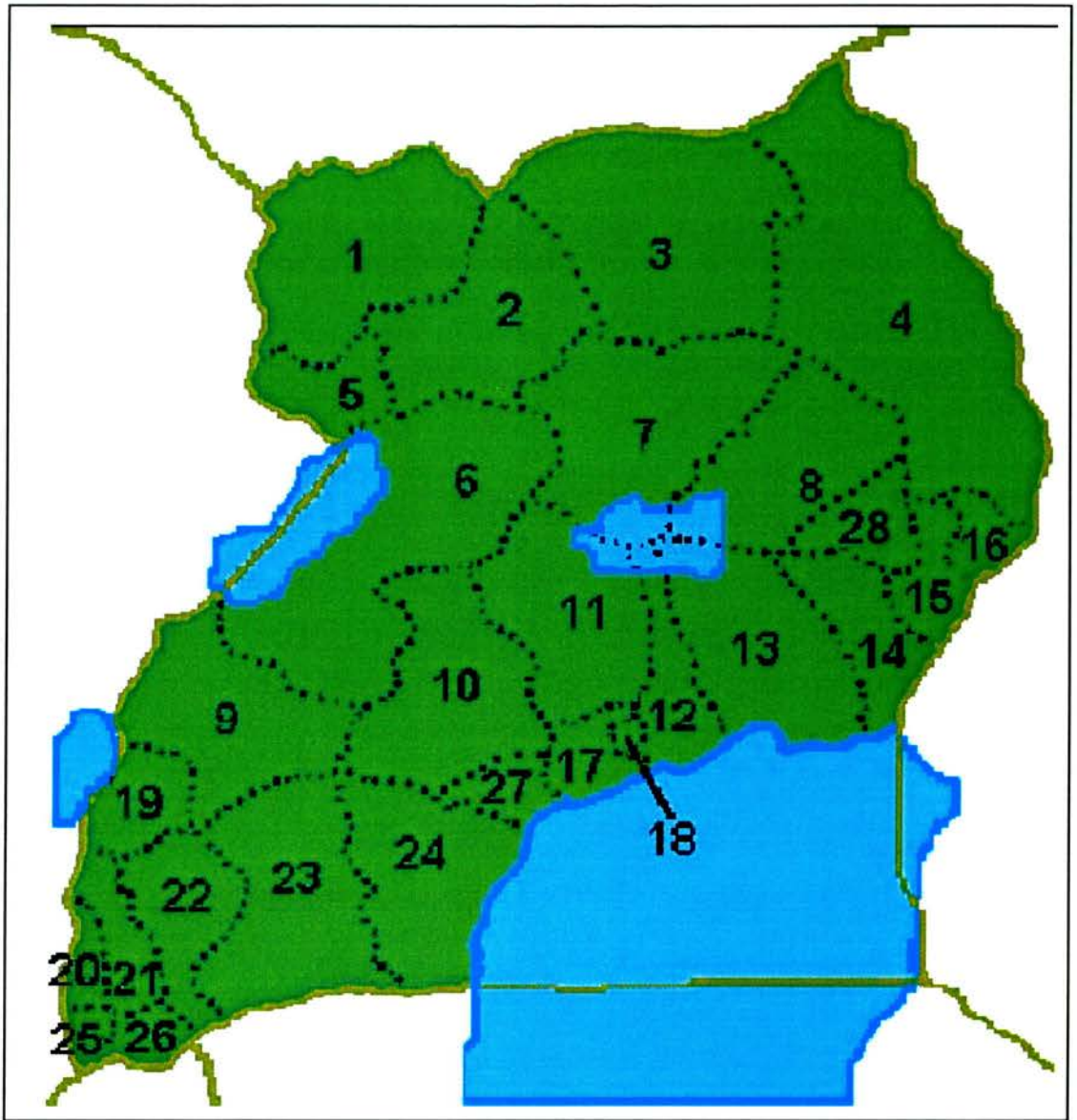
To my parents
The late James Lwanga Ssaalongo and Daisy Ndagire Nnaalongo

Map 4 Dioceses of the Church of Uganda 1961



Church of Uganda Provincial Archives

Map 5 Dioceses of the Church of Uganda 2001



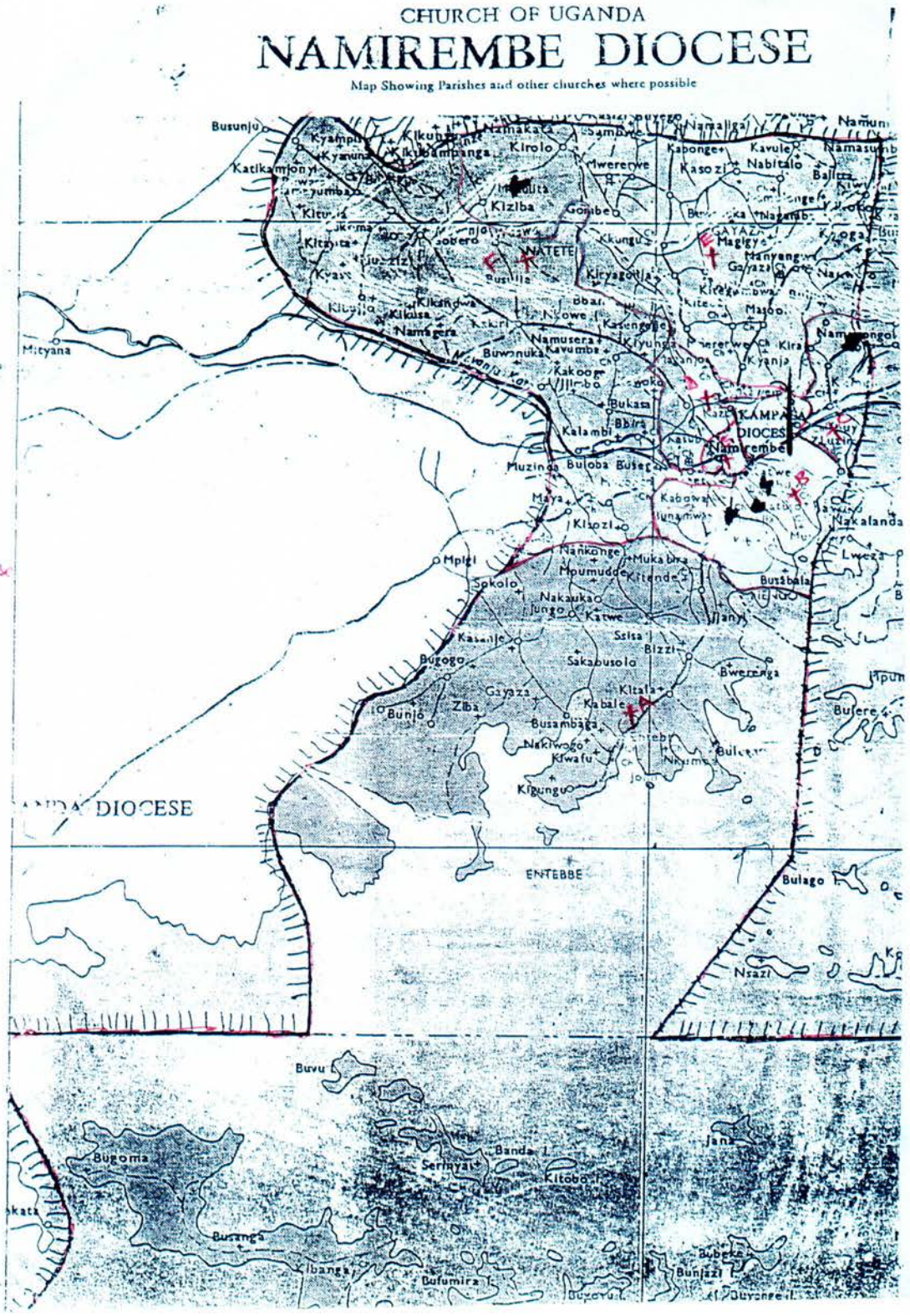
(<http://www.anglicancommunion.org/virtualtour/uganda.html>)

- 1. Madi-West Nile
- 2. Northern Uganda
- 3. Kitgum
- 4. Karamoja
- 5. Nebbi
- 6. Bunyoro-Kitara
- 7. Lango
- 8. Soroti
- 9. Rwenzori
- 10. Mityana

- 11. Luwero
- 12. Mukono
- 13. Busoga
- 14. Bukedi
- 15. Mbale & North Mbale
- 16. Sebei
- 17. Namirembe
- 18. Kampala
- 19. South Rwenzori
- 20. Kinkizi

- 21. N. Kigezi
- 22. West Ankole
- 23. East Ankole
- 24. West Buganda
- 25. Muhabura
- 26. Kigezi
- 27. Central Buganda
- 28. Kumi

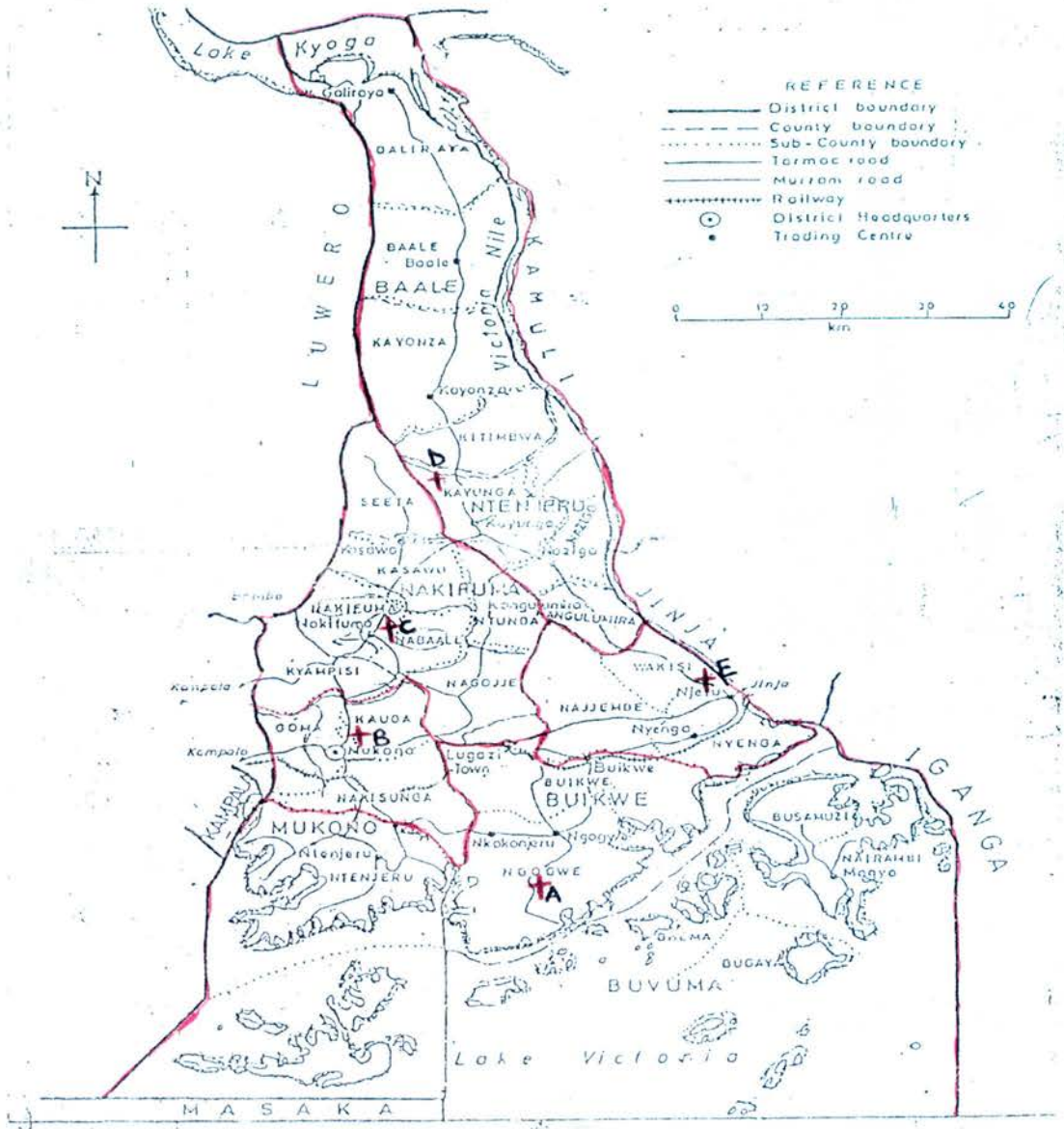
Map 6 Namirembe Diocese showing the Archdeaconries 2001



Diocesan office Namirembe

- | | | | |
|------------|------------|----------------------|---------|
| A. Entebbe | B. Mengo | C. Luzira | D. Kazo |
| E. Gayaza | F. Nateete | G. Namirembe Deanery | |

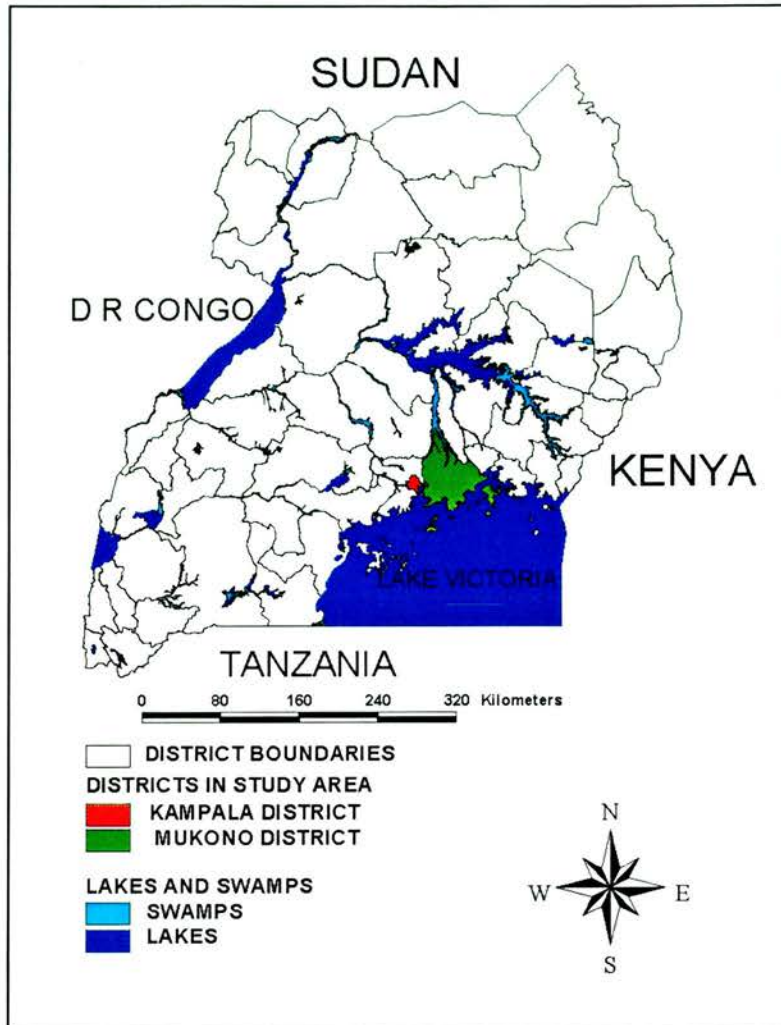
Map 7 Mokono Diocese showing the Archdeaconries 2001



Diocesan office Mukono

- A. Ngogwe
- B. Mukono Cathedral Deanery
- C. Bukoba
- D. Ndeeba
- E. Nakibizzi

Map 8 Uganda showing the districts in the study area



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

THE STUDY AND THE PROBLEM

This thesis is a study of *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda. It examines contemporary *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* and the extent to which they contribute to Baganda Christian ideas of *ekibi*. My interest in the study of the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda was particularly inspired by the persistent complaints from an old lady in Mityana. This old lady was my friend and often shared her problems with me as her pastor. Her main concern was about *mukulu munne* (mother of her daughter-in-law) who was a *mulokole* (revivalist) and often visited her son's home and stayed for some time. She complained, '*Omukazi oyo ajja kutukola ekibi, ajja kutta amaka g'omwana wange n'omwana wange naye amukooye*' (that woman will cause us *ekibi* and she will ruin the home of my son, even my son is fed up with her). Not long after that, the *muka mwana* (daughter-in-law) had a miscarriage.

So I was confronted with that complex concern from an old lady who claimed that *ekibi* was hovering over her family and was threatening their wellbeing. I had heard of other claims of the same nature, some of which were even reported in newspapers.¹ I then started wondering what the old lady, her son and the Baganda conceived of *ekibi* and what all this meant to me as a Muganda and a Christian. All this sparked off my desire to investigate the understanding of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda.

¹ A. Lubowa, *Abakazi beerangidde bwe bafuuwa emmind* (The women accused each other of sending sorcery power through smoking pipes), *Bukedde* 18th February 2000; H. Ssenyondo, *Kampala ayinza okufuulibwa ekiddukiro ky'aboonoonyi*, (Kampala may be turned into a refuge for violators), *Bukedde*, 09th June 2000, available from http://www.vision.co.ug/buk06_0609.htm, accessed 09th June 2000.

The problem of *ekibi* as rooted in the *kiganda* worldview² and in contemporary Baganda communities poses threats to the society which raise theological, anthropological and socio-economic issues which need to be addressed in an authentic manner, in order for the communities to acquire stability and wholeness. The ideas of *okuloga* (sorcery) and *okusera* (prowling), violation of *ennono* (norms) and *emizizo* (taboos), calamities, natural hazards and general lack of peace which characterise the contemporary Baganda worldview and communities are so crucial that they need to be investigated and scrutinised within the socio-political tensions and dynamics of the evolving Baganda context. This study therefore attempts to answer the following research questions:

- Is there a commonly understood idea of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda?
- To what extent do commonalities exist between the *kiganda* and the Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda?
- In what ways do the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* contribute to the inculturation of the Christian teaching on *ekibi*?

REASONS FOR THE STUDY

As a Muganda, I grew up in the context of this study and I had heard the term *ekibi* being used. *Ekibi* is used in the communities and the church, but my interest in this issue was mostly inspired by the old lady's concerns as noted above. That experience culminated in the present research into the ideas of *ekibi*, with the aim of getting to the bottom of the perceptions of these *kiganda* ideas among contemporary Baganda and assessing the extent to which they contribute to the Baganda Christian teaching on *ekibi*. Also, though the ideas of *ekibi* seem to be a significant aspect of the *kiganda* worldview,

² The term worldview as used in this study, carries a similar concept to that held by Wanjohi, who states that 'Worldview refers to the way an individual, a society, a community, a nation or a historical epoch views, sees, conceives or understands the world, and the reaction which follows.' G. J. Wanjohi, *The Wisdom and Philosophy of the Gikuyu Proverbs*, Nairobi: Paulines Publication, 1998, p. 38; C. Geertz, 'Ethos and Worldview: the Analysis of the Sacred Symbols,' in A. Dundes, *Every Man His Way*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968, p. 303.

it has hardly been investigated, especially in the light of the evolving Baganda social context.³ This study therefore seeks to redress this imbalance.

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study is centred upon the *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda. The investigations are limited to the Baganda adherents of *enzikiriza y'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion) such as *abasawo* (healers), *abasamize* (diviners), and to four groups of Christians in the Church of Uganda. The four groups of Christians in the Church of Uganda include the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors). The study is also limited to Kampala and Mukono districts, with particular focus on Mukono and Namirembe Dioceses. In the case of Namirembe Diocese, I further limited my investigations to Namirembe Deanery and Mengo Archdeaconry to have a manageable span of operation.⁴ Kampala and Mukono districts are important, as they have a long history of church presence in Buganda and also provide both the rural and urban stance vital for the examination of the tensions and dynamics posed by the perceptions of *ekibi* in the different communities.

This research covers the period between 1962 and 2001. This period is important for this study as in 1962 Uganda attained her independence. This political change had many

³ Much has been written on other aspects of Buganda culture, for instance there is J. Roscoe, *The Baganda, their Customs and Beliefs*, London: Frank Cass, 1965 (1911); A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, Kampala: Crane Publishers, 1999 (1905); A. I. Richard, 'Authority Patterns in Traditional Buganda,' in L. A. Fallers, *King's Men*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964; M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'Ennono Zaago*, London: Longman, 1989; L. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, London: Routledge, 1965; W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality of a Bantu Society: A Systematic Study of the Ganda Ontology and Ethics*, Ruprecht-Karl-Universitat Heidelberg, 1978.

⁴ See maps on pp. xxii- xxvii.

implications for the Baganda social structures, way of living and self-understanding. Political independence also gave more impetus for the churches in Buganda to push for indigenous expressions of the Christian faith. This is one of the issues which this study examines as we investigate the understanding of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda. The year 2001 is important as it sets the Baganda in the twenty-first century and is vital for our examination of the concept of *ekibi* among the Baganda at beginning of the new millennium. Above all, the study places specific emphasis on analysing the ideas of *ekibi* within the social tensions and dynamics of the evolving nature of the rural and urban contexts of contemporary Baganda society. It should however be noted that for the sake of having a manageable study it is not my intention to look at ideas of 'ekibi' among other groups of people in Uganda or in Africa. Such a broad investigation would require further research. This research also raises several questions about social and political justice within contemporary Baganda society. Therefore, a study of the interaction between *kiganda* social norms and the prevailing laws or structures of justice would be well worth investigating in the future.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

THE TERM *EKIBI*⁵

The noun *ekibi* is derived from the adjective 'bi' which refers to something bad/ugly, for instance *ekifaananyi ekibi* (bad or ugly picture).

Ekibi also refers to:

- *Okusobya*, as in the case of violating *emizizo* (taboos) such as *emizizo gy'obuko* (relational taboos). *Okusobya* also includes *okujeema* (disobeying) or failure to do

⁵ *Ekibi* might approximately be translated as 'evil.'

what is expected in the society, or making mistakes, as in the case of a child who refuses to follow his/her parents' instructions.⁶

- *Ektivve* (abomination), such as *okwetta* (committing suicide) and *okutemula* (murder).
- *Okwonoona* (wrongdoing), which encompasses all *empisa embi* or *emize* (bad/dangerous behaviour) such as *okubba* (stealing) and *okutulugunya* (oppressing).
- *Okuloga* (sorcery) and *okusera* (prowling).⁷
- *Obubi* (badness), *akabi* (danger) and all undesirable states of being such as *obulwadde* (illness/afflictions), *entalo* (wars) and *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* (attacks from malevolent spirits) and other life-threatening conditions.⁸

The concept of *ekibi* embraces that which is opposed to the ideas of *obulungi* (goodness) which refers or relates to the entire wellbeing of a person, family or society and *obulamu* (life).⁹ In our study, we concentrate on *ekibi* as it refers to all human or spiritual activities and conditions which threaten or diminish life. Thus *ekibi* refers to all anti-life forces, conditions and activities expressed in *okusobya* (violation), *ektivve* (abomination), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing), *okusera* (prowling), *okuloga* (sorcery) and *obubi* (badness or danger), which undermine the wellbeing of all creation. The ideas of *ekibi* in this study include both pre-colonial and contemporary concepts among the Baganda.

⁶ B. M. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda Amakula*, Kampala: Belinda Publishers, 1994, p. 109. Some of my informants pointed out things to do with violating *emizizo* and failure to do what is expected. Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01; Nnaalongo Ddembe, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01; Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

⁷ B. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda Amakula*, p. 66.

⁸ Oral interview with Nalweyiso Ziribaggwa, Nassuuti Mukono, 17.02.01; Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01; Solomon Mpalanyi, Sseeta, 10.06.01.

⁹ W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, pp. 108-109.

KIGANDA

The term *kiganda* refers to the way of thinking and doing things among the Baganda.¹⁰ For instance the *ennyambala ye kiganda* (*kiganda* way of dressing), *enjogera ye kiganda* (*kiganda* saying) or *amazina ge kiganda* (*kiganda* dance). *Kiganda* is an adjective used to refer to everything pertaining to the Baganda people in Uganda. Therefore, in this study the term *kiganda* refers to the way of thinking and doing things among the pre-colonial and contemporary Baganda, encompassing their culture and customs.

CHRISTIAN

The term 'Christian' may have a wide sense or meaning if it is placed in the worldwide context. However, in our study the term 'Christian' is used to refer to ideas relating to the Baganda followers of Jesus Christ in the Church of Uganda. Thus this study examines the Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda Christians, in the Church of Uganda. The Christian ideas discussed are limited to the four groups already identified in the Church of Uganda.

THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into three main parts. The first part introduces the study and examines *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. Chapter one presents the introduction to the study, establishing the methodology, scope and purpose. The second chapter explores the pre-colonial ideas of *ekibi* as derived from Baganda oral tradition with particular emphasis on *engerero* (narrative) and its implications for the society of that time. This is followed by the third chapter in which I attempt to examine and analyse the ideas of *ekibi* in the

¹⁰ This study uses the term *kiganda* as opposed to the term *Ganda*, which was introduced by the Western missionaries and thereafter some Baganda scholars used it in their writings. Cf. A. I. Richards, *East African Chiefs*, London: Faber and Faber, 1959, p. 25; M. A. Lugira, *Ganda Art*, Kampala: Osasa, 1970, pp. 3-4; W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 6; F. K. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976, p. 8.

kiganda contemporary worldview, within the tensions of the rural-urban dynamics and the forces of change which characterise contemporary Baganda society. The chapter goes on to discuss the perceptions of *ekibi* illustrated in the people's oral tradition and ritual practices, such as *okuloga* (sorcery), *obusawo* (healing), *okufa* (death) and *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) and their relevance for contemporary Baganda society.

The second part of the study deals with the Christian concepts of *ekibi*. The fourth chapter explores the Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda, focusing on the *Bakulisitaayo* (Ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) groups in the Church of Uganda. The chapter also examines the extent to which the *kiganda* ideas influence current Christian teaching and the distinctive features of the teaching on *ekibi* in the four Christians groups in the Church of Uganda. Chapter five examines the ideas of *ekibi* based on the interpretation of both the Old and New Testaments within the four groups in the Church of Uganda and the impact of those concepts on contemporary Baganda Christian ideas of *ekibi*.

The third part of the study discusses and analyses the aspects of dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi*. Chapter six deals with the conversation between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda. It examines the extent to which *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* integrate and enhance the process of inculturating or rooting the Christian message in the evolving Baganda context. In the seventh and last chapter I critically reflect on and analyse the findings and observations of the study.

METHODOLOGY

THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

This research employs qualitative research methods, whereby the researcher studies a social or human problem in its natural setting, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings the people attach to them.¹¹ It is a process of research, where the researchers interact with those they study, in the form of living with or observing informants over an extended period of time. This enables the researcher to minimize the distance between him/herself and those being researched.¹² Using this method enabled me to study some groups of contemporary Baganda,¹³ their ritual practices and the related phenomena and anthropological issues, within the dynamics of their rural or urban settings over an extended period of time. This was especially important for me as an insider for it helped me to reduce the elements of bias and preconceived ideas and thus to "bracket" my own experience in order to understand that of the informants.¹⁴

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Observation, formal and informal interviews

This research made use of both primary and secondary sources. First, the primary sources included observation, formal and informal interviews and archival materials. Using the qualitative stance, I interacted and lived with the informants over a period of nine months (between October 2000 and June 2001). I conducted formal and informal conversations, participated with and observed 109 people found in urban and rural areas of Kampala and Mukono districts covering Namirembe and Mukono Dioceses. As a participant observer I was able to obtain first-hand information and experience coming

¹¹ J. W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, London: Sage Publications, 1998, p. 15; N. K. Denzin, 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research,' in N. K. Denzin et al., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oak: Sage, 1994, p. 3.

¹² J. W. Creswell, *Research Design*, Thousand Oak: Sage Publication, 1994, p. 6.

¹³ See pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ J. W. Creswell, *Research Design*, p. 12; J. Cox, *Rational Ancestors*, Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, pp. 4-14; J. W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, pp. 54-55.

from the informants, to record what I observed and to explore topics that were sometimes uncomfortable for informants to discuss.

Also, formal and informal conversation with individuals and groups provided information and historical ideas on issues and subjects which I was not able to observe at first hand. Informal conversations were especially useful as many of the elderly, the non-professionals and young informants usually enjoyed talking in a relaxed and pressure-free atmosphere. The professionals also enjoyed the formal conversations or interviews although some of the informants failed to keep to time sometimes. This in a way affected my plan and sometimes I had to arrange for another meeting. The situation was made more complex in towns and cities especially during the early part of 2001 when Uganda had a presidential campaign and suffered some degree of insecurity as a result. Many people were very suspicious of strangers in the area, so such times were spent in rural areas where the political atmosphere was a bit calmer.

Formal interviews and conversations also had some limitations, as some of the informants would say what they thought I would want to hear, thus providing biased information. So in such cases, I would attempt a second visit in which we would have an informal conversation. This enabled me to obtain the informants' views in a comfortable environment without the impression that they were being formally interviewed.

In some rural areas I was confronted with the problem of some husbands being suspicious of a young urban lady interacting with their wives and daughters. Sometimes some men even accompanied their wives to the meetings so that they could monitor what was happening. Such a situation then forced me to collaborate with someone who could arrange time for me to meet some of these women when their husbands were away. Also some of the sensitive issues relating to family/clan secret practices, in a culture which emphasises that *eby'omunju tebitotolwa* (family affairs should not be shared with strangers) meant that I had to arrange several interviews with different

informants to cross check and make sure that the information I received was not false. Conversations with the elderly were sometimes difficult to interpret, thus in most cases I had to carry out more interviews with other persons in order to clarify some of the issues. Also some religious leaders, both Christian and *kiganda*, would sometimes refuse to answer questions, possibly because they did not know the answer or out of suspicion and fear of offending the church authorities or the ancestors.

During some interviews and informal conversations, especially with professional people, I also had the advantage of using a tape recorder and a camera. This proved valuable for preserving the information given by the informants which was later transcribed and translated into data used in this thesis. The photographs were useful for keeping a visual record of the situation or event. However, some of the *kiganda* religious leaders refused to be photographed claiming that their divinities and spirits would be offended by using such technology.

Groups which participated in the study

Five groups of informants participated in the study: as well the four groups of Baganda Christians already mentioned, there were also *Ab'enzikiriza y'obuwangwa* (adherents of *kiganda* religion). The groups comprised of the following informants:

- Professional and non-professional men and women from both rural and urban areas. These informants contributed some ideas of *ekibi* as expressed within the social dynamics of their location and context.
- Rural and urban elderly men and women. These were interviewed in order to obtain some insights into the ideas of *ekibi* perceived in the past and for chronological assessments of those concepts.

- Youth and children from both urban and rural areas. They provided some insights into the concepts of *ekibi* within tensions stemming from developments and changes in contemporary Baganda society.
- Male and female religious leaders from the Church of Uganda. These contributed some ideas on the teachings of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda.
- Male and female members of *Enzikiriza y'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion) from both rural and urban areas. They were mainly religious leaders such as *abasamize* (diviners), *abalaguzi* (foreseers) and *abasawo* (healers), whose ideas contributed some insight into the contemporary *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*.

Archival materials

The other primary source of data collection included archival material such as sermons, minutes and proceedings of meetings. Most of this material was found in the Church of Uganda archives at Namirembe, in different Diocesan offices, archdeaconries and parishes in Namirembe and Mukono. Also, some material was located in the Africana section of Makerere University, Uganda Christian University Mukono (UCU), Special Collections University of Birmingham, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (CSCNWW) and University of Edinburgh libraries. This material proved invaluable as it contributed a printed source of data for the study. However, some archives in Uganda were not very organised and some of the records were incomplete. This meant that where possible I had to make more visits and interviews with members who participated in the church meetings/events so as to clarify some issues relating to the practice/teachings on *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda and to bridge the information gap.

Secondary sources

Secondary sources were consulted including newspapers, newsletters, published and unpublished theses, articles, anthologies and books found in Namirembe diocesan and provincial offices, Gaba National Seminary, Makerere, UCU, SOAS and University of Edinburgh libraries.

Oral tradition

The study also made use of oral tradition such as *engero* (narratives) and *engero ensonge* (proverbs and sayings)¹⁵ compiled by some Baganda who lived in pre-colonial Buganda or by early Church Missionary Society (CMS) teachers who interacted with some elders in the society. These compilations and anthologies were found in the UCU library, Rubaga Archdeaconry library, and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). Oral tradition is significant for this study as it served as an invaluable primary source for background ideas of *ekibi* relating to pre-colonial Baganda society. This method was used with awareness of the fact that to some extent such materials and records of the early Christian missionaries may be influenced by the writers' interpretations.¹⁶ It should however be noted that this study also makes use of collections made by Baganda Christians who were recent converts at the time and lived among relatives and contemporaries who were rooted in the *kiganda* beliefs and

¹⁵In its use of oral tradition, this study follows three major works on Buganda: B. Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics: A Survey of the Aesthetic and Cultural Aspects of Myth, a Case Study of the 'Story of Kintu' from Buganda*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994; C. Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

¹⁶Some scholars question the credibility of early missionary records on African religions and practices. J. Cox 'Missionaries, The Phenomenology of Religions and Re-presenting Nineteenth-Century African Religion: a case study of Peter Mckenzie's Hail Orisha!', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 31/3, 2001, pp. 350-351; Gavin Flood, *Beyond Phenomenology*, London: Cassell, 1999, pp. 91-116.

practices.¹⁷ Oral tradition is all the more important for this study for it provides the wisdom of the past and information on the way of living, identity of the people and their aspirations.¹⁸

Oral tradition was also used in examining some of the ideas of *ekibi* in contemporary Baganda society. *Engero ensonge* (proverbs and sayings) supplied by some of the informants were also valuable for this study. However, in using oral tradition recorded or presented in *Luganda*, I was confronted with the challenges of translating *Luganda* terms for which there are no direct equivalents in the English language. This therefore implied the use of literal translation of some of these complex terms so as to retain the *Luganda* meaning.

TECHNIQUES OF DATA INTERPRETATION

To interpret the data collected for the study, a multi-disciplinary approach had to be employed, whereby a combination of methods within the qualitative approach was utilised in order to establish an objective and thorough analysis of the data.¹⁹ As an interpretative approach, the qualitative technique allows the appreciation of the values and meaning which the people attach to their experiences, structures and systems of their society.²⁰ As well as that it enabled me to be conscious of my own biases, values and judgements that were bound to affect the outcome of the research. Although the qualitative interpretive technique also has some limitations as the findings could be

¹⁷ P. Mckenzie, 'Hail Orisha! A Response to James Cox,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32/1, 2002, pp. 114-115; P. Mckenzie, *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature Backgrounds, Character and Continuity*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p. 115; B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, London: Souvenir Press 1982, p. 10.

¹⁹ N. K. Denzin, 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research,' in N. K. Denzin et al., *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications, 1998, pp. 5-6.

²⁰ J. W. Creswell, *Research Design*, p. 145.

subject to other interpretations utilizing a different approach.²¹ Nevertheless on balance I consider it to be the most effective approach to my type of research material.

The comparative approach was used when examining and assessing the ideas of *ekibi* that are based on the interpretations of the Old and New Testaments among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda.²² It also proved to be useful when considering the dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among the different groups of Baganda Christians in the contemporary Church of Uganda.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²² K. A. Dickson, 'Continuity and Discontinuity Between the Old Testament and African Life Thought', *Bulletin of African Theology*, January-June, 1979, pp. 179-192; J. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971; G. West, 'On the Eve of African Biblical Studies', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1999 (November 1997), pp. 99-115; J. Ukpong, 'Developments in Biblical Interpretations in Africa,' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 108 November, 2000, pp. 3-18.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IDEAS OF *EKIBI* IN BAGANDA ORAL TRADITION: A FOCUS ON THE PRE-COLONIAL SOCIETY

This chapter examines the ideas of *ekibi* in Baganda oral tradition and their implications for the pre-colonial society. Herein, we concentrate on the oral tradition and attempt to answer the question: What are the distinctive features of *ekibi* in Baganda oral tradition? The oral tradition dealt with in this chapter was collected and transcribed by people who lived in pre-colonial Buganda or early CMS missionaries who interacted with some elders in the society.¹ As already noted oral tradition² is important for this study as it provides wisdom from the past and information on the Baganda way of living, identity and aspirations. It should however be noted that in our use of oral tradition, we are aware of the fact that it was not intended to give us a history of *ekibi* as perceived by the pre-colonial Baganda. Oral tradition only served as a special language for expressing the incomprehensible.³

While there are various types of oral tradition, this chapter deals mainly with Baganda *engeru* (narrative) as it examines, interprets and critically analyses the idea of *ekibi* in

¹ These include: G. L. Pilkington et al., *Engero Ez'Ekiganda (Luganda Proverbs)*, London: SPCK, 1901; A. Kaggwa, *Bakabaka Be Buganda*, London: Headly Brothers, 1901; A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, Kampala Printing and Publishing Company, 1918 (1905); J. Roscoe, *The Baganda their Customs and Beliefs*, London: Frank Cass, 1911; A. Kaggwa, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, London: William Clowers & Sons, 1927; A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971. Secondary materials such as published books and articles relevant to this study supplement these sources. See also Chapter one, pp. 12-13.

² I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature Backgrounds, Character and Continuity*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p. 115; B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, London: Souvenir Press, 1982, p. 10; B. Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; C. Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Joachim Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics: A Survey of the Aesthetic and Cultural Aspects of Myth, a Case Study of the 'Story of Kintu' from Buganda*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994.

³ E. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing', PhD Thesis Makerere University, 1982, p. 343.

pre-colonial Baganda society. Before we proceed, let us first examine the nature of oral tradition in the Baganda pre-colonial society.

ORAL TRADITION IN BAGANDA PRE-COLONIAL SOCIETY

In order to establish the nature and value of oral tradition in the Baganda pre-colonial society, it would be appropriate to begin with a survey of the pre-colonial Baganda social aspects which were fundamental to their identity and self-understanding.

THE BAGANDA

The Baganda were the inhabitants of Buganda kingdom found in the central part of Uganda. The kingdoms of Bunyoro in the north, Toro and Ankole in the west and Kiziba in the south bordered Buganda kingdom. To the east was *ennyanja Nalubaale* (Lake Victoria) and Busoga region.⁴ The region formed a powerful kingdom with an outstanding history for a number of centuries.

According to oral tradition the origins of the Baganda are related to the story of Kintu.⁵ There are two versions of the story of Kintu and Nnambi who are believed to be the great ancestors of the Baganda. In the first version, Kintu and Nnambi are two primeval figures who are said to be the first Baganda. In the second version there are Kato and Nnambi Nantululu.⁶ Kato Kintu is believed to be the first *Kabaka*, the powerful leader who conquered Buganda region during the early part of the fourteenth century. It is said that he found some groups of the *bannansangwawo* (aborigines) already existing under the rule of six *bakulu be bika* (clan heads). These were *Effumbe* (civet cat), *Olugave*

⁴ See map 1 p. xxi.

⁵ History also has it that the Baganda belong to the Bantu group of people found in the east, central and southern parts of Africa. Their origins are rooted in the long process of migration and settlement of the Bantu people within this region. This was between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. S. M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, London: Longman, 1971, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-96; J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, pp. 1-6.

(ant-eater), *Engeye* (colubus monkey), *Ennyonyi* (bird), *Enjaza* (roebuck) and *Emmamba* (lung fish).⁷

Tradition further has it that on overpowering the *Bakulu b'ebika* (clan heads), Kato became the king and married Nantululu. Kato later took up the name 'Kintu,' and even gave his wife the name 'Nnambi,' as a way of asserting himself as the great parent of the Baganda. Kato Kintu came along with groups of people whom he divided into thirteen clans. Another group of people was from Bunyoro region, and tradition has it that Kimera led it. Kimera divided his people into twenty clans.⁸ The last group was that of the *Musu* (cane rat) clan which migrated from Sese Islands.

BAGANDA SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Buganda was an agricultural society with a subsistence economy; its tropical climate favoured the growth of a variety of food crops. The women and children grew food crops such as *matooke* (plantain), and kept goats and chickens. The men made barkcloth, built huts, made boats, fished, hunted, and fought wars.

Luganda is the language which was spoken by the Baganda. It is a rich tonal language, which makes use of prefixes, suffixes and infixes after a root in order to make new words. For instance: *Ganda* (neuter root used to refer to everything pertaining to Baganda) *Ba* (prefix) which forms Baganda (the people), and Buganda (Nation).⁹

⁷ Kiwanuka and Ssekamwa assert that Kato Kintu was a historical figure and there were pre-Kintu leaders in Buganda. S. M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, pp. 94-96; J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, pp. 1-6. However, Wrigley refutes these claims and argues that these rulers are mythical figures. See C. Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, pp. 43-56.

⁸ S. M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, p. 11.

⁹ W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 6; F. K. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976, p. 8. For more on Baganda social organisation see O. Nassaka, 'The Coming of Christianity to Buganda and its Impact on Baganda Marriage Customs (1877-1892),' University of Edinburgh, CSCNWW 2000, pp. 3-4.

Baganda society was highly organised with totemic clans and kinship systems that moulded it into a corporate society. All the *bika* (clans) converged under the *Kabaka* (king) who was the *Ssaabataka* (head of all clans). This structure also formed the core of political organisation and power distribution.¹⁰

ASPECTS OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The pre-colonial Baganda believed in *Katonda* (the creator) and *Lubaale* (divinities), and they revered their ancestors and the *emizimu* (spirits/living dead). The divinities included *Lubaale* Mukasa (divinity of the sea), Walumbe (divinity of sickness), Musisi (divinity of earthquake) and many others,¹¹ but above all was *Katonda* (the creator).¹² *Katonda* was greatly honoured and could not easily be reached. He was communicated with mostly through other divinities. Kaggwa records a song sung by Nakangu, the female medium of *Lubaale* Mukasa: *Katonda Katonda Ssewannaku, jangu onnamulire olwa leero*,¹³ 'The creator, the everlasting come and judge for me.' Nakangu sang this song when she was invoking *Katonda* to provide healing measures for her patients. However, this transcendent *Katonda* was also immanent among the people; this was mainly expressed through names such as *Ddunda* (shepherd), *Lugaba* (giver).

Katonda (the creator) was sacred and so was his creation *obulamu* (life). Therefore, *obulamu* (life) of both humans and other creatures had to be respected and valued. The people who threatened life were hated and could be disowned or killed. Therefore, there

¹⁰ Power flowed down from the *Kabaka* to *Katikiro* (prime minister), the head of clans, *bakungu* (chiefs) and through to family levels.

¹¹ As we shall discover later, the pre-colonial Baganda had *engeru* (narratives), which were about these divinities.

¹² Some western scholars urge that the ideas of creator or Supreme Being developed out the contact between the pre-colonial society and Christianity and Islam. Cf. J. Platvoet, 'The Religions of Africa in their Historical Order' in J. Platvoet, et al., *The Study of Religions in Africa: Past, Present and Prospects*, Cambridge: Roots and Branches, pp. 46-102; J. Cox 'Missionaries, The Phenomenology of Religions and Re-presenting Nineteenth-Century African Religion: a case study of Peter Mckenzie's Hail Orisha!', p. 337. Nevertheless, the concept of *Katonda* (the creator) divinity, whether small or big, existed among pre-colonial Baganda.

¹³ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 188; D. S. Bukenya, 'The Development of a Neo-Traditional Religion: Buganda Experience,' MLitt diss. University of Aberdeen, 1988, pp. 20-28.

were many *emizizo* (taboos)¹⁴ and social norms which every person had to observe in order to protect life and for the wellbeing of the whole society.

Furthermore, *obumu* (solidarity) was also central to the wellbeing of pre-colonial Buganda society. Solidarity was valued over individualism. Solidarity entailed human co-operation with other humans, the environment and the spiritual beings. Therefore, society had to be protected against the forces of disunity, disharmony and disintegration, by upholding *enono* (norms) and customs, which were believed to have been instituted by the ancestors. Acceptable or good conduct was also valued and emphasised through upholding the ideals of *obuntubulamu*. *Obuntubulamu* is a broad concept, which refers to approved-conduct. It is used as a total appraisal of a morally worthy person, a person with *empisa zo mu bantu* (worthy conduct). It entails the total decorum of personality, the faculty of life whereby one is enabled to act in the right way.¹⁵ *Obuntubulamu* comprises three major aspects: respect for *obulamu* (life), *obumu* (solidarity) and *okutya abakulu* (respect for seniors). Any violation of these norms and values was abhorred, since it could lead to disharmony and the disintegration of society. These social values had to be preserved and inculcated in the people. Oral tradition played a significant role in this. More details on this issue will be discussed later, but first let us consider the nature of Baganda oral tradition.

BAGANDA ORAL TRADITION

As already indicated, oral tradition is a key for this study. It is therefore important to clarify what it means in this study. The term oral tradition refers to those aspects of word of mouth or utterance which are handed down (Latin *trado*) from one generation to

¹⁴ These were prohibitions put in place to protect the sacred from contamination. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: A Comparative Study of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1966, p. 35.

¹⁵ A. L. Kitching et al, *A Luganda-English*, p. 10. For more see O. Nassaka, 'The Balokole Movement and the Baganda Traditional Ideas of *Obuntubulamu* (1929-1943),' University of Edinburgh, CSCNWW 2000, pp. 2-3. W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, pp. 119-132.

another.¹⁶ The material handed down may include the customs, histories and values of a given society. For this study, oral tradition refers to aspects of culture which are transmitted by word of mouth, stored in memory, recalled when it is appropriate and can even be interpreted into different contexts and conveyed to future generations.¹⁷

Among the aspects and values of culture embedded in Baganda oral tradition is oral literature, which is creative piece/text delivered by word of mouth.¹⁸ This includes *engero* (narrative), *ennyimba* (songs) and chants, *ebikwate* (recitations), *ebikokyo* (riddles), *ebitontome* (poems), *emizannyo* (folk drama), *amannya* (names) of persons and places, *ebisoko* (idioms), prayers and other forms. It ought to be noted at this stage that oral literature as tradition which is transmitted from one generation to another is not 'stale,' but as Ruth Finnegan rightly observes:

A piece of oral literature tends to be affected by such factors as general purpose and atmosphere of the gathering at which it is rendered, recent episodes in the minds of a performer and audience, even the time of year...¹⁹

Therefore, Baganda oral literature as transmitted by word of mouth from context to context expresses and develops expressions of meaning as it is performed and responded to in the given communities. The development and changes in the traditions become even more vivid when the oral text is put in writing. Though Baganda oral literature is characterised by a variety of aspects, this study will only deal with one aspect of oral tradition, namely *engero* (narrative).

ENGERO (NARRATIVE)

The term *engero* is used to refer to a variety of forms of narrative. *Engero* is the plural form of *lugero*. *Lugero* refers to saying, story, proverb, fable or parable.²⁰ There are three major categories of *engero*, namely *enfumo* (stories), *engano* (short stories) and *engero ensonge* (proverbs).

¹⁶ I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity*, p. 4.

¹⁷ J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁸ I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity*, p. 2.

¹⁹ R. Finnegan, *Oral Literature in Africa*, p. 12.

²⁰ A. L. Kitching et al., *Luganda-English*, p. 58; R. A. Snoxall, *Luganda-English Dictionary*, p. 183.

ENFUMO (STORIES)

The term *enfumo* is the plural of the noun *olufumo*, which is used to refer to tradition and legend.²¹ This noun is derived from the verb *okufuma* which refers to telling or relating *enfumo*.²² *Enfumo* includes stories about the society bearing deep historical, cultural or religious significance and they are a deep deposit of tradition.²³ For example, there are *enfumo* of Kintu and Nnambi, the Baganda ancestors, and others about divinities such as Kibuuka and Nende.²⁴ Then there are *enfumo* about events and personalities of the past,²⁵ for instance, the *olufumo* (story) of *Kabaka* Kayemba who escaped death when he refused to sail in a clay boat.²⁶

Enfumo (stories) were the deposits of pre-colonial Baganda tradition and were important in explaining the state of *ensi* (world), the origins of the people and the events which are central to their being and identity. They also offered ideas on rituals such as the coronation of the *Kabaka*, marriage, and burial rites. They informed the people about realities of life such as sickness, happiness, death, and the need to live a corporate life, the significance of harmony and dangers of violating social norms.

ENGANO (SHORT STORIES)

The second category of the narrative is the *engano* (singular *olugano*). This refers to shorter tales.²⁷ *Kugana* (to relate short tales) was a common term in pre-colonial times, which might have fallen out of use as time passed. It is no longer in use among the

²¹ A. L. Kitching et al., *Luganda-English*, p. 58.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²³ J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, p. 106.

²⁴ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 191-198. On this Mugalu further suggests that *enfumo* corresponds more or less with the Greek *muthon*: myths as they narrate accounts of gods, heroes of the primeval and early times. J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, pp. 106-107. This idea is quite substantial in so far as we do not claim that *enfumo* directly refers to myths, an idea which is echoed in Mugalu's reference to '*enfumo* the myths proper,' since the same term also refers to historical stories which in this sense may be close to the English category of legend.

²⁵ These are nearer to the stories categorised as historic legend. For more see I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity*, pp. 183-185.

²⁶ A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, pp. 48-49.

²⁷ R. A. Snoxall, *Luganda -English Dictionary*, p. 78. A. L. Kitching et al. *Luganda-English*, p. 26.

contemporary Baganda.²⁸ As a result the short *engero* are also referred to as *enfumo*.²⁹ Under this category we find stories which are explanatory, such as *Lwaki ebinyira bibuuka ekiro* (why bats only fly in the night).³⁰

There are also *engano* about animals acting as humans such as *Wampologoma ne Wante*, (lion and cow)³¹ and trickster stories such as that about *Wakayima* (hare) tricking bigger animals like *Wango* (leopard).³² Adults related the *engano* (short stories) to children and the children in turn told them to each other. These stories provided teaching about life, moral issues such as the virtues of sharing and the dangers of greed, and were also a source of amusement especially at night around the fire.³³

ENGERO ENSONGE (PROVERBS)

The third sub-category of the *engero* is the *engero ensonge* (proverbs). These are precise sayings expressed with terseness and charm. They are mainly characterised by wit and symbolism. These proverbs can be literal and state a fact plainly such as *Gunsinze aliwa bitono*³⁴ (a person who admits his/her fault pays less penalty). They may also be symbolic, wherein figures or pictures require interpretation in order to

²⁸ J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, p. 106.

²⁹ This is commonly seen in the recent collections of *engero*, such as J. C. Ssekamwa, who in his *Ebisoko N'Engero* (stories and proverbs), includes the *engano* (short stories) under the *enfumo* category. See J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*; H. Masembe, *Engero Zaffe* (our stories), Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1996.

³⁰ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda and their Customs*, p. 483.

³¹ A. Kaggwa, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, pp. 68-70.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 467. On these Ssekamwa further explains that the use of animal or plant figures was intended to provide pictures through which humans can learn easily and with amusement. Also such figures would protect the narrator against aggression especially if they pointed out *ekibi* of the rulers. See J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N' Engero*, p. vii.

³³ Writing about story telling in the traditional society, M. B. Nsimbi explains that story telling was always accompanied by actions or movements by both the listener and the narrator, which made them more involving. In this way stories inspired the people's imagination and also informed the children about the traditions and customs of their country. See M. B. Nsimbi, 'Village life and customs in Buganda,' *Uganda Journal*, 20/2 1956, p. 31. This is what R. Finnegan later emphasised about African oral literature's characteristic of performance. R. Finnegan, *Oral Literature in Africa*, pp. 1-25.

³⁴ G. L. Pilkington, et al., *Engero Ez'Ekiganda*, p. 14.

convey their meaning. For instance *Ennindiriza etta amenvu*³⁵ (waiting for too long spoils the banana) means that people who delay often fail to get what they want. Some may express double meaning, such as *Ssesolye bwa tafa: atuuka kulyengedde* (if the bird does not die it will eat a ripe fruit). This proverb teaches the value of patience and the dangers of impatience with life.³⁶ This means that one had to interpret the *engero ensonge* (proverbs) in order to get to their specific meaning.

Engero ensonge (proverbs) arose out of the society at a given time or event, a point at which they acquired meaning and became accepted in society. An example of this is the story of *Kabaka* (king) Kiggala (ca.1404-1434), who set up a palace and named it *Nkokonjeru* (white chicken); thus *enkoko enjeru teyekweka kamunye* (a white chicken cannot hide from the eagle because of its colour). This meant that the *Kabaka* could not hide and therefore he could be confronted by anything, be it good or bad. This proverb has been in use from that day to this.³⁷

Proverbs could be used in conversation, in public speech, in settling disputes, in ritual practices, and in story telling about names of people and places. In this last sense proverbs would indicate the story of these names and their meaning.³⁸ Through *engero ensonge* (proverbs) the communities were educated about facts of life. They were also used to encourage good conduct and to warn against undesirable behaviour or practices.

Engero (narrative) were significant in the pre-colonial society as they preserved tradition and were an avenue through which the people could be educated about life and its challenges. With their use of images, wit and involvement of the people through

³⁵ Ibid., p. 16. This proverb arose out of the brewing practices of the Baganda, where they had to be careful not to let the bananas for brewing beer over ripen. In this case familiarity with the context within which the proverb arises becomes important.

³⁶ M. B. Nsimbi, *Siwa Muto Lugero*, Kampala: Longmans of Uganda, 1953, p. x.

³⁷ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 30. Even the place *Nkokonjeru* is still found in Buganda.

³⁸ M. B. Nsimbi, 'Baganda Traditional Personal Names,' *Uganda Journal* 14/2 1950, pp. 204-205. For more about proverbs see M. B. Nsimbi, *Siwa Muto Lugero*, pp. ix-xi; G. J. Wanjohi, *The Wisdom and Philosophy of the Gikuyu Proverbs*, pp. 49-204; I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity*, pp. 226-234.

performance, the *engerero* inspired and taught pre-colonial Baganda about wide areas of their culture. They treated social, religious, historical and political issues and placed a high premium on the values of *obumu* (solidarity). The issues of joy and sorrow, good and bad, right and wrong, rights and duties, justice and injustice were also addressed. Furthermore, the wisdom, aspirations and the worldview of the pre-colonial Baganda were all articulated in this tradition. This suggests that *engerero* were of great significance in the pre-colonial Baganda society, especially for preserving and inculcating social values. Consequently, *engerero* are fundamental and significant sources through which we can gain some insight into the concepts of *ekibi* in the pre-colonial Baganda society.

EKIBI IN ENGERO (NARRATIVE)

In the previous section we observed that *engerero* (narrative) are a rich tradition through which we can gain some insight into the pre-colonial Baganda customs, beliefs and life aspirations. With that background, this section examines the aspects of *ekibi* in the *engerero*, and deals with the origin of *ekibi* and its nature. In order to have a better analysis of the ideas of *ekibi* as portrayed in the *engerero*, we need to first remind ourselves of our working definition of *ekibi*. In this study *ekibi* refers to all human and spiritual activities and conditions which diminish or threaten life. Thus *ekibi* refers to all anti-life forces, conditions and activities expressed in *okusobya* (violation), *ekivve* (abomination), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing), *okusera* (prowling), *okuloga* (sorcery) and *obubi* (badness or danger), which undermine the wellbeing of all creation. In our discussions, we will also make reference to the key elements of the pre-colonial Baganda social existence and worldview, namely the belief in the *Katonda* (the creator) and other spiritual beings, and in the sacredness of *obulamu* (life) and *obumu* (solidarity).

THE ORIGIN OF *EKIBI* IN *ENGERO* (NARRATIVE)

In order to get some ideas on the origin of *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda we will examine two *engero* (narratives). First, the *olufumo* (story) of Kintu, the *Muganda* ancestor.

*OLUGERO LWA KINTU*³⁹

When Kintu first came on earth he found that there was no food. He ate dung and drank the urine of his cow. One day he met a woman called Nnambi, who came with her brothers from the sky. Nnambi took an immediate liking to Kintu and she told Kintu that she wished to marry him. Later Kintu was given Nnambi as his wife, after being tested by Ggulu (sky), Nnambi's father. Before Kintu and Nnambi set off on their journey back to earth, Ggulu warned them that if they forgot anything they must not return to the sky, as Nnambi's wild brother Walumbe (disease/death) would follow them.

Kintu and Nnambi set forth on their journey. Along the way Nnambi remembered that she had not carried millet for her chicken. She decided to go back against Kintu's protests and reminders about Ggulu's warning. However Nnambi promised that she would hurry. When Nnambi got home she found her brother Walumbe, and he immediately followed her back to the earth. When Kintu saw Nnambi coming with Walumbe he complained and asked her why she brought her brother, when they had been warned about him. However, it was too late, so they continued on their journey. When Kintu and Nnambi settled on earth and started bearing children, Walumbe asked for a child to help him, but Kintu refused, saying that if he did he would not have a child to give to Ggulu as his *endobolo* (share). This sparked off Walumbe's anger, and he vowed to kill Kintu's children. Later on Kintu's children started *okulwala olumbe* (falling ill) and finally dying. Kintu went to Ggulu and complained about Walumbe. Ggulu reminded him about the warning, and said that if Nnambi had not returned Kintu's children would not have died.

However, Ggulu sent his son Kayiikuuzi to go and fetch Walumbe. Kayiikuuzi told Kintu to order his people to stay indoors for two days and keep silent. Everybody did as they were told, except Kintu's two young children, who went out to herd their goats. When the children saw Walumbe they screamed and Walumbe fled back into the ground, and he went beyond Kayiikuuzi's reach at the place called Ttanda. When Kayiikuuzi's mission failed he went to Kintu and said: '*abaana bo bonoonye*' (your

³⁹ This *Lugero* is recorded by Kaggwa in *Luganda* and by J. Roscoe in English. See A. Kaggwa, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, pp. 1-8; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda their Customs and Beliefs*, pp. 460-464. For this study I have used Kaggwa's *Luganda* version so that we can see the terms and ideas in their original language.

children have done wrong). Kintu replied, '*genda ogambe Ggulu nze bwe nasobya*' (go and tell Ggulu that I made a mistake/wronged). Kintu finally said that *Walumbe tagenda kumalawo baana bange anatta nga bwenzaala*, 'Walumbe will not kill all my children, I will continue to beget more as he kills them.'⁴⁰

This *lufumo* (story) as popularly interpreted gives us some ideas about the first Baganda and their beliefs about *Walumbe* (disease and death).⁴¹ For the purpose of our study, this story gives some insight into the ideas of *ekibi* as they were held among the pre-colonial Baganda, even if that is not its primary purpose. As already noted, the *enfumo* served as a special language for expressing incomprehensible life phenomena.⁴²

To begin with, this *lufumo* (story) states that once Kintu and Nnambi *basobya* (made a mistake/violated). They went against Ggulu's warning as Nnambi went back for millet, and *Walumbe* (disease and death) immediately followed them from the sky.⁴³ At this point it must be noted that though *Walumbe* was wild he could not have affected Kintu and Nnambi if they had not *okusobya* (made a mistake), as Kintu puts it, by not taking heed to Ggulu's warning not to go back if they forgot anything. This *lufumo* (story) therefore suggests that for the pre-colonial Baganda *okusobya* was *ekibi*.

Furthermore, when Kintu refused to give one of his children to his brother-in-law, *Walumbe* started killing the children.⁴⁴ The last blow was when Kintu's children failed to keep silent and scared off *Walumbe* before *Kayiikuuzi* could catch him.

⁴⁰ This is my short translation of the story.

⁴¹ This *lufumo* (story) has been interpreted by some scholars to be expressing basic insights into the nature of the human condition and the structure of the universe. B. Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda*, pp. 54-59. J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, pp. 173-209.

⁴² See p. 15.

⁴³ Mugalu suggests that the problem here was *obujeemu* (disobedience) in as far as Nnambi and Kintu failed to follow Ggulu's instruction. J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, p. 176.

⁴⁴ The idea of *Walumbe* asking for Kintu's children is said to be rooted in the *kiganda* custom of *endobolo* (share), where a child would be given to his uncle to help him. In this case however, it was not right for *Walumbe* to ask for *endobolo*, as he was not the one who gave Nnambi into marriage. Ggulu, who gave Nnambi into marriage, was the *muko* (in-law) who had this right. For more *ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

So Kayiikuuzi said ‘*abaana boonoonye*’ (the children have wronged). He gave up on his mission and went back to Ggulu, leaving the Baganda to struggle with their *ekibi*. This suggests that *okwonoona* (wrongdoing) of the children was *ekibi*, which prevented Kayiikuuzi from saving the people from the dangerous activities of Walumbe (disease and death). Walumbe later became dangerous as he started killing off Kintu and Nnambi’s children. Thus *ekibi* was further entrenched in the society as Kintu’s children violated the norms, when they failed to keep silent, and thus scared off Walumbe.⁴⁵ Therefore, in this perception, *ekibi* evolved within the society as people made mistakes and violated the society norms. Therefore, *ekibi* as *okwonoona* (wrongdoing) and *okusoby*a (violation) evolved and thrived in the society.

EKIBI TEKIBULA MUSOMBI

Some other ideas on the origin of *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda can be seen in the following *enger*o *ensonge*:

- *Ekibi tekibula musombi*,⁴⁶ ‘*ekibi* may have a living cause.’
- *Okansombedde: akabi Kimbagaya yakasombera Balama*,⁴⁷ ‘you have brought danger for me, as the bird brought it for Balama.’

These two proverbs are rooted in the reign of *Kabaka* Ssemakookiro (late eighteenth century),⁴⁸ who was very aggressive and killed many people, including his sons who threatened to overthrow him. The proverb emerged as a lament for the killing of the members of the *Kika ky’ennyonyi* (bird clan). Tradition has it that a bird called *Kimbagaya* alighted on the house of *Kabaka* Ssemakookiro, who immediately feared

⁴⁵ The issues of wrongdoing and violation here bring in the ideas of violating set norms and codes of conduct. The violators of these norms were referred to as *abokozi be bibi* (wrongdoers), *aboonoonyi* (violators) and in extreme cases such as incest, *ba bivve* (abominators). C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y’Ennono Y’Omuganda (Encyclopaedia of Baganda Customs)*, Kampala: *Ekibiina Ky’Olulimi Oluganda*, 1998, p. 85. For more see L. Magesa, *African Religion*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1998 (1997), pp. 153-155.

⁴⁶ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda their Customs and Beliefs*, p. 491. Note that Roscoe gave an incorrect English translation of this proverb.

⁴⁷ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z’Abaganda*, p. 56.

⁴⁸ A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 194.

that the members of the *Ennyonyi* (bird) clan had sent him *amayembe* (horns)⁴⁹ through this bird in order to kill him. So the king ordered the killing of all the members of the *Ennyonyi* clan. The people who escaped had to hide among other clans.⁵⁰ This *lugero* therefore suggests that *ekibi* or *akabi* (danger) could sometimes find its way into society. This could be through some living agents like the bird *Kimbagaya*, which landed on the *Kabaka*'s house, or human agents like the *Kabaka* Ssemakookiro, who killed the members of the *Ennyonyi* (bird clan). In this way, *ekibi* could cause pain, sorrow and death, as it did, for the members of the *Ennyonyi* clan.

Furthermore, this *lufumo* (story) highlights the idea that living beings sometimes paved the way and perpetuated *ekibi* in society. In this instance the powerful angry *Kabaka* Ssemakookiro was the chief engineer of *ekibi* among the people. This case can be related to the *olugero* of Kintu, where Nnambi, the woman, was blamed for bringing Walumbe, and the children were blamed for causing Kayiikuuzi's mission to fail. It can therefore be argued that the blaming of Nnambi⁵¹ and the children is rooted in the pre-colonial Baganda idea of *ekibi tekibula musombi* (*ekibi* may have a living cause).

In addition to the above, the idea of *ekibi tekibula musombi* among the pre-colonial Baganda indicates that they were very conscious of *ekibi* among themselves. These *engero* (narrative) helped to concretise this conception, as they could not hide from the fact that *ekibi* evolved in the society. Therefore, *engero* (narrative) as already noted

⁴⁹ The word *amayembe* means 'horns' but it was also used to refer to objects of spiritual power made out of horns of animals such as cows, antelopes, buffalo or rhinos. Healers or diviners filled the horns with herbs, clay and other substances. *Amayembe* (horns) were believed to derive their power from an indwelling spirit after whom they were named. For instance, there were *amayembe* known as Nambaga, Lukenge, Nakangu and Ssekabembe. Some of the owners of *amayembe* could send out these powers to bring good or harm to other people. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 205; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda their Customs and Beliefs*, pp. 279-280.

⁵⁰ Balama in this proverb represents the members of the *Ennyonyi* clan. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

⁵¹ On this issue, Magula argues that Kintu was also responsible for the violation as according to the *Le Veux Manuel de Luganda*, the White Fathers record of the story (1882), it was Kintu who returned to the sky to collect millet for the chickens. J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, p. 195. B. Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda*, P. 59.

served as a special language for expressing such incomprehensible phenomena. Having looked at the roots of *ekibi* in *engero*, let us now proceed to examine its nature.

THE NATURE OF *EKIBI* IN *ENGERO* (NARRATIVE)

EKIBI AS A DANGEROUS HUMAN FORCE

In the pre-colonial *kiganda* worldview the human being was at the centre of the universe.⁵² This position of *omuntu* (human being)⁵³ meant that humanity was the focus of all reflections on life. *Omuntu* was believed to have *obulamu* (life),⁵⁴ which was vital for their existence. This life power spread throughout the whole body of the human being. It was found in human organs such as the head, the stomach, heart, eyes, mouth and hands. However, it was believed that it could be more concentrated in some organs than in others. This power could be used for good or bad purposes, depending on the attitude of the person. On this issue Magesa rightly observed that:

Just as the vital power is diffused in all parts of the body and yet more concentrated in some, so is the power that leads to doing wrong. In this respect the head, the heart, the stomach and eyes are particularly significant. With various African peoples harmful intentions originate from one or the other of these organs because, ...this is where the concentration of forces for possible wrongdoing is found.⁵⁵

Similarly, among the pre-colonial Baganda, human organs were understood to be key elements in the issues that were related to the ideas of *ekibi*. The humans' use of their

⁵² J. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinmann, 1969, p. 92.

⁵³ For more on this see P. Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, Paris: Presence African, 1959, pp. 64-68; L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 149; M. Nkafu Nkemnkia, *African Vitalogy*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, pp. 40-42 & 133-116.

⁵⁴ P. Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, pp. 64-68; L. Magesa, *African Religion*, pp. 149-150. See also p. 19.

⁵⁵ L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 151. This idea can be compared to the Lugbara's concept that *ole* (indignation or bad attitude), which forces people to bewitch others, sits in human hearts. J. Middleton, *Lugbara Religion*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 239-240. The Nyakyusa in Tanzania also believe that certain people have *isota* (pythons) in their bellies which gives them power to harm human beings and cattle, by throttling, tramping and wounding them. M. Wilson, *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 91.

eyes, hands, or head could be *ekibi*.⁵⁶ This notion can be exemplified by *engero ensonge* (proverbs) such as: *Kamwa kabi katta Siroganga*⁵⁷ (the dangerous mouth killed Siroganga). This proverb originated from the story of *Kabaka* Ndawula who is said to have reigned in the late seventeenth century:⁵⁸

Kabaka (king) Ndawula suffered from an eye disease. A man came and told the king that his medicine could cure the disease, but that the king had to hide in the forest while applying the medicine so that the people might not see him. If anyone saw him, he had to forbid him/her from telling anybody else. If that person failed to keep the promise then the king had to kill him. The king accepted the medicine and went into hiding and the disease was healed.

One day while *Kabaka* Ndawula was walking in the forest he met Siroganga and he cautioned him not to tell anyone that he had seen the king. Siroganga went away and tried to keep his promise but when he went to join a celebration, he heard some people talking about the king's disappearance. Then Siroganga boasted that he had seen the king. When the people heard the news they demanded that he take them to the forest to see their king.

While the king was in the bush he saw a party of people led by Siroganga and he realised that Siroganga had broken the promise. When Siroganga was asked why he revealed the king's hiding place, he replied '*Gunsinze, akamwa kange ke kanzise*' (sorry it is my mouth which has killed me). Then the king killed Siroganga and from that time the proverb *Kamwa kabi katta Siroganga* (the dangerous mouth killed Siroganga) came into use.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Thieves were also referred to as *ab' engalo empanvu* (people with long fingers). Also men who eloped with other people's wives would have their *olunwe* (finger) cut, which meant killing them. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 213. *Kabaka* Chwa, when writing about the traditional society also observed that among the traditional Baganda, theft was punished by cutting off the hands of the offender, so as to render them incapable of committing that offence again. *Kabaka* Chwa, 'Education, Civilization and Foreignisation in Buganda' in D. A. Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, London: Heinmann, 1971, p. 104.

⁵⁷ A. Kaggwa, *Bakabaka Be Buganda*, p. 52; A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 60-61. In this book we find the English version of the story; however, many omissions and changes distort the original story.

⁵⁸ A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 195.

⁵⁹ My translation.

In this proverb and the story we see that the *akamwa* (mouth) is referred to as *akabi* (dangerous). This suggests that the mouth could be dangerous especially when it is used to utter harmful words. It should also be noted that the mouth itself was not bad, but its use, and the motives or attitude of its user could be conceived of as *ekibi*. For example *amalala* (pride) and desire to show off caused Siroganga to fail to keep the promise of not revealing the king's hiding place. Therefore, Siroganga's use of his mouth was dangerous or *ekibi*.

Furthermore, Siroganga used his mouth badly in violating the promise he made to the king. This threatened the king's wellbeing and he decided to kill the man according to the advice of the *omusawo* (healer). The gravity of this case was rooted in the *kiganda* background of *okutta omukago* (blood pact)⁶⁰ and the dangers which were attached to violating it. This was because such promises were binding for the people involved, their families and the living dead. This ritual was meant also to strengthen community ties and inculcate *obwesigwa* (honesty) among the people. The abuse of these promises was a taboo, and *ekibi*.⁶¹ The pre-colonial Baganda believed that violation of such promises was dangerous as it could create enmity and instability in the society.

In addition to the above, the literal translation of the name 'Siroganga' is 'I am not *omulogo* (sorcerer).' This brings in another idea which also relates to the use of the human organs. The use of the mouth to utter bad words against other people was believed to be dangerous and *ekibi*. Although Siroganga did not practice any sorcery, his dangerous words/utterance qualified him to be *omulogo* (sorcerer).⁶² This is because the pre-colonial Baganda believed that the people who uttered bad words/spells

⁶⁰ This was a ritual through which people could become related by vowing (*okulayira*) and performing a ritual of eating each other's blood on coffee berries. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 220-222.

⁶¹ For more *ibid*.

⁶² Writing on *okuloga* (sorcery) among the Baganda, Sempebwa observed that some people used evil magic, and *kintu* forces to harm others. W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 161.

were *abalogo* (sorcerers). Their words had power or force, which could harm and destroy *obulamu* (life). Therefore, anyone who uttered a word which caused harm or threatened life was *omulogo* (sorcerer) and *omuntu omubi* (dangerous person).

Okuloga (sorcery) was a common practice among pre-colonial Baganda and the people used all sorts of objects and mysterious powers to hurt others.⁶³ The punishment for these wrongdoers was death. These *engero* (narrative) therefore suggest that the bad/dangerous use of human organs, coupled with bad attitudes was *ekibi* as it threatened the wellbeing of society.

EKIBI AS OKUSOBYA (VIOLATION) OF EMIZIZO (TABOOS)

As we previously noted, pre-colonial Baganda community valued life, *obumu* (solidarity) and corporate life, and *emirembe* (peace/harmony).⁶⁴ These values were protected against violators by *emizizo* (taboos), which every member had to observe in order to ensure harmony in the society, with the environment, and with the spiritual beings. For instance, there were *emizizo* related to *okuzaalibwa* (birth), *obufumbo* (marriage), *okufa* (death), *ebika* (clans) and for *okusinza* (worship).⁶⁵ *Okusobya* (violation) of these norms or *emizizo* (taboos) was abhorred and believed to be *ekibi*. This idea can be seen in *engero ensonge* (proverbs) such as: *Omulya Mmamba abeera omu naavumaganya ekika*,⁶⁶ (If one member of the lung fish clan eats the lung fish he brings disgrace onto his/her whole clan).

⁶³ For more see, F. Kiwanuka, 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the Ganda Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs' Dip.diss., Gaba National Seminary, 1991, pp. 12-13; D. Komuggulu, 'Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,' Dip. diss., Bishop Tucker Theological College, 1986; p. 38.

⁶⁴ See pp. 18-19.

⁶⁵ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 155-161 & 168-169; W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 162; O. Nassaka, 'Women and Taboo: A Case Study on Buganda in Uganda,' in R. A. Musimbi et al., *Groaning in Faith*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, pp. 163-167.

⁶⁶ G. L. Pilkington et al., *Engero Ez'Ekiganda*, p. 14.

This proverb is about a member of a *Mmamba* clan who ate the *Mmamba* (lungfish), which is the *omuziro* (clan symbol/totem) of the *Kika kye Mmamba* (lungfish clan). Among the pre-colonial Baganda it was a taboo for a person to eat his/her clan totem. The act of violating such a taboo was believed to be dangerous to the individual and the whole clan. This was because it could cause *okuvumaganya* (abuse/disgrace), which entailed humiliation of the offender and the whole clan. It was also believed that it could lead to disruption of human *obulamu* (life) and continuity.⁶⁷ This therefore suggests that violation of taboos was dangerous and *ekibi* as it diminished the person's self-worth and that of the society. That is why in pre-colonial Buganda such offenders were banished, along with their families.⁶⁸ This proverb highlights the communal effects of *ekibi* in pre-colonial Baganda society.

There were many other things which the pre-colonial Baganda considered to be sacred. These included physical things like trees, rivers, rocks, people, and non-physical as such as spiritual beings. These sacred things were protected by taboos which every member had to observe. *Okusobya* (violation) of such *emizizo* (taboos) was an abomination and *ekibi*. This idea is further illustrated by the *olugero* (story) *Lw'akomunku*.⁶⁹ The story is about an old man who insisted on knowing the secrets of his daughter-in-law, thus violating her peace. One time, the woman turned into a lion and she killed the old man as well as some of his family members.

The *olugero* (story) *Lw'akomunku* further illustrates *omuzizo* (taboo) relating to the interaction between fathers-in-law and their daughters-in-law. Among the pre-colonial Baganda it was abominable for any father-in-law or mother-in-law to touch his/her son

⁶⁷ J. W. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 162.

⁶⁸ Mugambwa refers to such violations as *ekivve* (abomination). C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, pp. xvi. & 86.

⁶⁹ A. Kaggwa, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, pp. 95-96.

or daughter-in-law.⁷⁰ If any person violated this taboo it was believed that he/she would suffer from *obuko* which was a shameful and bad disease. *Okusobya* (violation) of these *emizizo* (taboos) was *ekibi* as it could lead to pollution and disintegration of the society.

EKIBI AS OMUKISA OMUBI (MISFORTUNE)

Another distinctive feature of *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda was related to the idea of *omukisa omubi* (misfortune/bad luck), which is illustrated in the *olugero* (story) of *Nawalubwa tagenda gy'atuuka*,⁷¹ (one with bad luck or misfortune never reaches his/her destination).

Once upon a time, there was a man called Nawalubwa. He was a hard-working man but was always confronted with problems. One time Nawalubwa worked hard and fetched fire for the *Kabaka*, a mission which many people had failed to accomplish. But when the king summoned his people in order to reward them for their good deeds, Nawalubwa was away on a journey and he missed out.

When Nawalubwa missed out on the rewards, he said, '*Nze ndi Nawalubwa*' (I have bad luck). From there, he went to his relatives to get some food. The relatives also asked him to help them to look after the millet garden, and they warned him not to shout at the birds. When birds came he shouted and the whole garden of millet caught fire. So he left that village and went away with his wife, who was pregnant. On the way his wife gave birth to a child, and so he went to fetch some water to bathe the child. When he was away a lion came and killed the woman and ate her up. However, Nawalubwa managed to save his baby, so he went back to his village. When he got there he found that some enemies had besieged the village. So poor Nawalubwa had to escape for his life with his child. After some time, the child also died. He however continued on his journey with a lot of pain and hunger. Finally Nawalubwa fell down and died, and an anthill covered his body.⁷²

This *Lugero* (story) suggests another aspect of the pre-colonial Baganda ideas of *ekibi*, characterised by the *omukisa omubi* (misfortune/bad luck). This *ekibi* followed a person, caused him/her pain, suffering and death as in the case of Nawalubwa. The man

⁷⁰ These avoidance taboos encouraged the people to respect each other's positions in society, and they limited sexual interaction among families.

⁷¹ A. Kaggwa, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, pp. 72-75.

⁷² My short translation.

was deprived of all joy and life. In spite of his efforts to live a good life the man suffered, lost his family, starved, died and had no grave. Nawalubwa had *omukisa omubi* (misfortune), which was believed to be caused by some malevolent forces which were either human or spiritual.⁷³ *Omukisa omubi* was believed to follow people even when they tried to make the best of their life. This *ekibi* destabilised the whole nature of their existence and threatened their wellbeing.

Furthermore, this story also suggests that the pre-colonial Baganda were aware of *ekibi* with its dangerous characteristics of suffering, pain, hunger, disease and death. These life-diminishing forces were a form of *obubi* or *ekibi*, which deprived the people of *obulamu* (life). They deprived them not only of life but also of friends and family, as in the case of Nawalubwa. This left them in a state of despair, which even challenged the solidarity ideals of the pre-colonial Baganda. Hence the proverb: *Bannange bangi nga tanagwa wabi* ('I have friends' was said before one got into danger).⁷⁴ This expression meant that some people could easily desert others when they were in danger. This would cause some people to feel rejected and isolated from the society. The feeling of rejection would also increase their pain and suffering. This painful and undesirable experience was believed to be caused by *akabi* (danger) and *omukisa omubi* (misfortune).

The story of Nawalubwa further illustrates the forceful nature of *ekibi*, as perceived by the pre-colonial Baganda. Even when the man moved from one village to another he was still followed by *ekibi*. This idea was further expressed in the *engero ensonge* (proverbs) such as *Kyakulumbye tekizzikayo ne bw'owonga ebingi olumbe lukutta*,⁷⁵ (What attacks you cannot be resisted; even if you sacrifice to the divinities you will finally die). *Ekibi* could attack people through illness and even when they sacrificed to

⁷³ L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 161.

⁷⁴ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda their Customs and Beliefs*, p. 486.

⁷⁵ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 37.

the divinities in order to be healed they would still die. The aspect of attacking life and destroying it was *ekibi* and that was the hard reality which pre-colonial Baganda had to live with.

EKIBI AS EMPISA EMBI (DANGEROUS /BAD BEHAVIOUR)

The idea of *ekibi* as *empisa embi* (bad or dangerous behaviour) among the pre-colonial Baganda was expressed in *engero ensonge* such as:

Kyafubutuka mpisa mbi (they ran away because of bad or dangerous behaviour).⁷⁶

This proverb originated from the early eighteenth century, when *Kabaka Kagulu Tebutwereka* was the king of Buganda.⁷⁷ This king was very cruel and he ordered the killings of his brother, his chiefs and many other people. He mistreated his subjects by ordering them to carry sharp reeds and to sit on sharp edges. However, the people got fed up with the *Kabaka's empisa embi* (bad or dangerous behaviour) and they escaped and hid on the hilltops or in the forests. *Kabaka Kagulu* was later deposed, dethroned and killed by his sister. The proverb relates to the name that Kagulu gave to his *omulongo* (twin/umbilical cord):⁷⁸ *Kyafubutuka mpisa mbi*, meaning that the people had to run or escape because of his cruelty.

This proverb suggests that among the pre-colonial Baganda, dangerous behaviour such as *obukambwe* (cruelty), *obutemu* (murder), *obwannakyemalira* (selfishness) and *okubuza emirembe* (destroying peace) in society were *empisa embi* and *ekibi*. These are the *empisa embi*, which Kagulu perpetuated. This anti-social behaviour threatened the lives of the people and their whole wellbeing. The *empisa embi* (dangerous/bad behaviour) as perpetuated by human beings further suggests the ideas of *omuntu omubi* (a bad or dangerous person). This relates to people such as *Kabaka Kagulu*, whose

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 45.

⁷⁷ A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 195.

⁷⁸ *Omulongo* (twin/umbilical cord) of the king was important for the *Kabakaship* rituals.

attitude and behaviour were dangerous to others. *Ekibi* in this case related to *omuntu owe empisa embi* (a person with dangerous behaviour) that threatened life, social stability and the whole wellbeing of the community.

The proverb further indicates that pre-colonial Baganda were aware that human beings were capable of *empisa embi* (bad/dangerous behaviour) that could even destroy life, peace and harmony in the society. The pre-colonial Baganda hated *empisa embi*, and such behaviour would in most cases be resisted. It is against this background that *Kabaka Kagulu* was later deposed, dethroned and killed by his sister.

Ekibi as *empisa embi* is further illustrated by the *olugano* (short story) of the *Wakikere ne Wamusota* (the frog and snake).⁷⁹ The snake wanted to kill the frog. The frog was weak and so it pleaded with the snake. But the snake continued to strangle the frog. While they were wrestling, people came and saw the dangerous snake. They hit it and killed it. The frog was happy that it had escaped from the cruel grip of the snake. The cruel, selfish and greedy snake had to be killed so that the poor frog could have peace and hope for life. Therefore, in this story *ekibi* was expressed in the cruelty, selfishness, greed and the anti-social behaviour of the snake.

Empisa embi (dangerous/bad behaviour) among the pre-colonial Baganda also included *obuggya* (jealousy), *effubitizi* (envy), *okubba* (stealing), and *omululu* (greed). Writing on negative social injunctions in the Baganda traditional society, Sempebwa rightly observed that:

Such offences were against the community and their consequences affected not only the offender but also the whole community. They create enmity, mistrust and disharmony in the society.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ A. Kaggwa, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, p. 55.

⁸⁰ J. W. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 153.

These *engero* (narrative) therefore suggest that *empisa embi* (dangerous/bad behaviour) were *ekibi*. These anti-human, anti-social and oppressive *ebibi*⁸¹ were abhorred as they dehumanised people, destroyed peace and were a threat to life.

The study of Baganda *engero* (narrative) has indicated that the pre-colonial Baganda believed that *ekibi* evolved in the society, as the people did wrong (*nga bakola obubi*) and violated (*nga basobya*) society norms. This was articulated in the ideas of *ekibi tekibula musombi* (*ekibi* may have a living cause). In this perception *ekibi* was believed to be perpetuated by living agents and these could be human or spiritual beings.

Furthermore, this study has suggested that *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda as expressed in the *engero* (narrative) was manifested in the bad/dangerous use of the human organs. The dangerous use of human organs coupled with bad attitudes was *ekibi*, as it threatened the wellbeing of human beings and destroyed life. This was articulated in the ideas of *okuloga* (sorcery) and all the destructive forces embedded in the human's life. Thus, *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda was understood to be a dangerous human force.

We have also seen that *ekibi* was further understood to be associated with the violation of the *emizizo* (taboos) and norms of the society. This was abhorred as it could result in the disintegration of the harmony among humans and spiritual beings. *Ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda could also be seen in the form of *omukisa omubi* (misfortune/bad luck) and deprivation of life. These aspects of *ekibi* rendered the human beings helpless and vulnerable to the other forms of *ekibi* such as suffering, injustice, disease and death. Last but not least these *engero* (narratives) have also suggested that among the pre-colonial Baganda, *empisa embi* (bad/dangerous behaviour) as perpetuated by human beings were *ekibi* and dangerous to life. In all, *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda as expressed in *engero* (narrative) referred to anything which threatened the life and

⁸¹ Plural of *ekibi*.

wellbeing of people. *Ekibi* was anti-life and therefore it was abhorred in Baganda pre-colonial society. Having looked at the ideas of *ekibi* in Baganda *engero* let us proceed to examine their implications for the pre-colonial society.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF *EKIBI* IN *ENGERO* FOR THE PRE-COLONIAL BAGANDA SOCIETY

In the foregoing section we observed that the pre-colonial Baganda believed that *ekibi* evolved in the society and was perpetuated by human and other living agents. *Ekibi* was also perceived to be a threat to life and the community's wellbeing. Therefore, the ideas of *ekibi* as expressed in *engero* (narrative) had many implications for the pre-colonial Baganda society. These implications can be examined and critically analysed within the community practices or rituals which were meant to deal with *ekibi*.

DEALING WITH *ABOONOONYI* (VIOLATORS)

As we have already observed, the Baganda in the pre-colonial society were very aware of the *akabi* (danger) of *ekibi* in society. In this corporate society, *ekibi* committed by an individual was an offence not only against his/her household but also against the community. This meant that the whole community would suffer the consequences of a person's wrongdoing.⁸² These offences destabilised both the living and the dead and therefore *ekibi* impinged on the whole life force of the society. Therefore, many measures were taken to trace and to punish the *ab'empisa embi n'aboonoonyi* (violators and dangerous people). This was meant to discourage undesirable conduct and to protect society against the effects of *ekibi*.

⁸² Writing about African morality, Kinoti similarly observed that: 'Often the whole community suffered retribution collectively for the ills of individuals.' H. Kinoti, 'African Morality Past and Present,' in J. Mugambi et al., *Moral and Ethical Issues in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers, 1992, p. 79. J. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 205.

Furthermore, if *omulogo* (a sorcerer) hurt a member of society, the pain and effects of that *ekibi* would also affect the other members of the family and the community.⁸³ Hence the saying *Olusala ekyayi luleka munyeera kusaasaana*⁸⁴ (whoever cuts the banana fibre scatters the ants which reside on the banana tree). This means that if a person, especially a key figure such as the head of a home, was attacked then this *ekibi* would also affect the other members of the family and the whole society. This highlights the communal effects of *ekibi* in the pre-colonial Baganda societies.

The need to protect the society against the attacks and effects of *ekibi* meant that pre-colonial Baganda had to deal with the offenders. Sometimes the *omukozi w'obubi* (wrongdoer) would be sought out. However, if the wrongdoer felt *obuswavu* (ashamed or guilt stricken) they would come out and confess their wrong to the family or the community. Hence the saying: *Gunsinze aliwa bitono*⁸⁵ (if a person confesses his/her guilt he/she may pay a lesser penalty). In this case the wrongdoer would pay a penalty for his/her actions as would be apportioned by the elder, priest or chief who was in charge of the case. For instance, if an offender was found to be *omulyazaamaanyi* (an obstinate debtor) he/she would have to *okuliwa* (pay back) and the case would be settled.⁸⁶ The offender would also receive the apportioned punishment for his/her wrongdoing.

If the offender failed to come forward or denied the offence, the pre-colonial Baganda would sometimes identify him/her by use of ordeals. This would involve giving the suspect *amadudu* (ordeal-liquor), which they would have to drink. The suspect would then jump over *olusanja* (a dry banana leaf), move forward and declare his innocence.⁸⁷

⁸³ See p. 31.

⁸⁴ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda their Beliefs and Customs*, p. 491.

⁸⁵ G. L. Pilkington et al., *Engero Ez'Ekiganda*, p. 14.

⁸⁶ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 208-209. Even in such cases the relatives of the offender sometimes felt obliged to help him/her raise the items for the penalty.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

If he refused to do that, then they would know that he/she was guilty and he/she would be punished. All this was meant to help the society to get rid of *ekibi* and its effects, which were in most cases a danger to peace and harmony in the society.

Furthermore, if there was *akabi* (danger) in the society such as disease, suffering, fear, theft, drought, or death, the pre-colonial Baganda would in most cases attempt to find out the possible cause of the problem. This idea, as already observed, was grounded in the notion of *ekibi tekibula musombi* (*ekibi* may have a living cause).⁸⁸ Therefore, the first step was to find the violator, guilty person or thing. For instance in the case of death, the relatives of the deceased would in most cases attempt to establish whether it was caused by a natural or a living force. On this Kaggwa wrote that:

*Abooluganda ... ne babuuzza olumbe olwatta muganda waabwe. Kubaga nti tewali yeefiira yekka wabula nga baloze muloge kya 'vudde afa, oba nti muzimu gwe gumusse, oba nti baamutega busukko, oba nti, baamuvuma omukago, yabba oba kuyomba*⁸⁹ (The relatives of the deceased would try to find out whether their relative's death was caused by sorcery or spirits, or whether he had walked over some bad medicine or had perhaps violated a blood pact, quarrelled, or stolen).

Hence the *olugero*: *Omuntu teyeefiira*⁹⁰ (a person does not just die). This meant that there was usually a possible cause of death of a person, whether old or a baby. Life was precious and no one could be left to perish without the cause of the death being established.

However, the idea of pointing out suspects or possible wrongdoers in the society had many implications for the pre-colonial Baganda. This is mainly because in pre-colonial Baganda society, according to the *olufumo* (story) of Kintu and Nnambi, women were believed to have brought *ekibi*, especially *Walumbe* (disease or death), into the

⁸⁸ See pp. 32-33.

⁸⁹ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 109.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

society.⁹¹ This meant that in many instances women were often pointed out as the suspects and wrongdoers. This was especially common in the case of the deaths of their husbands. The women would often be accused of killing their husbands through *okuloga* (sorcery) or poisoning. For instance if a man went out to war and he was speared to death, his wife would be accused of *obulogo* (practicing sorcery), because her husband failed to fight and kill his opponents.⁹² This suggests that in the pre-colonial Baganda society many forms of injustice were perpetuated in the process of dealing with *ekibi*. This mainly affected the most vulnerable groups like women and the elderly. Nevertheless, dealing with the wrongdoers among the pre-colonial Baganda was necessary for discouraging *ekibi*, and for protecting the society against its anti-life effects. More of these ideas could also be seen in the *kiganda* practices of cleansing the society of *ekibi*.

CLEANSING THE SOCIETY OF *EKIBI*

Among the pre-colonial Baganda, as we observed before, *ekibi* was believed to have detrimental consequences for the wellbeing of the society. This is because *ekibi* as a violation of taboos and social norms would not only pollute individuals and the community, but it would also destabilise the ontological balance and harmony between the living, the ancestors and the creator *Katonda*.⁹³ Therefore, the people would sometimes perform rituals such as *ssaddaaka* (sacrifice) and offerings, meant to restore the community's *obulam* (life), wholeness and stability. The ontological balance was significant for the wellbeing of the people, as Mbiti observed when writing about these African practices:

One may add that an ontological balance must be maintained between God and man, spirit and man, the departed and the living. When this balance is upset, people experience misfortune, and sufferings, or fear that these will strike them.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 175. B. Ray, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda*, p. 58.

⁹² A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 162.

⁹³ See pp. 32.

The making of sacrifices and offerings... is also a psychological device to restore this ontological imbalance.⁹⁴

Therefore in the pre-colonial *kiganda* worldview sacrificial rituals were meant to cleanse the society of *ekibi*. As among the Lugbara in Uganda, sacrifices were believed to restore relationships among the living and the dead, thereby re-establishing order in the society.⁹⁵

For instance, if a child who had not undergone the *okwalula* (initiation ceremony into a clan) fell sick, the parents would sometimes be suspected of *okusobya omwana* (violating child taboos), due to *obwenzi* (adultery). *Obwenzi* as *ekibi* was believed to pollute the family and to cause illness among children. In such cases the family would attempt to find the offender and ask him/her to confess. On confessing, the offender would be required to invite the person with whom he/she committed adultery and they would perform the cleansing rituals, which involved mixing some herbs and giving it to the child. After this the child would get better. This practice was referred to as *okukansira* (propitiation).⁹⁶ These confessions and cleansing rituals would remove the pollution and threat of death in a home and also help to reconcile the couple and the community.⁹⁷

Furthermore, in the case of general threats and calamities such as death in the kingdom due to an epidemic, the *Kabaka* would *okuwonga/ssaddaaka* (sacrifice) to *Lubaale* Walumbe (divinity of disease and death) for himself and for the people. The *Kabaka* would take nine cows and nine chickens, which he would give to the ritual leader

⁹⁴ J. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 59.

⁹⁵ J. Middleton, *Lugbara Religion*, p. 85.

⁹⁶ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 156. If the family performed these rituals and the child failed to get better then they would know that it was just a natural illness.

⁹⁷ In case of excesses such as incest, the offenders would be disowned or rituals and sacrifices would be performed to redeem the person and to cleanse the society of the pollution. A. M. Lugira, 'Redemption in Ganda Traditional Belief,' *Uganda Journal*, 32/2 1968, p. 203.

Nakabaale, to sacrifice to Walumbe at Ttanda. Nakabaale would then say:

*Kabaka akuleetedde ebintu bino okukuwa, obanga obadde oyomba lekera awo wuumula Ssaabasajja,*⁹⁸ (*Kabaka* has brought you these gifts, if you have been quarrelling please stop, man above all men).

Such sacrifices would be performed if disease and death, the anti-life and most feared *ekibi*, threatened the kingdom. Sacrifice was intended to pacify Walumbe (disease and death), so that he would not annihilate the entire population.⁹⁹

Ssaddaaka (sacrifices) would be offered for the many problems and misfortunes that threatened the wellbeing of the people. The people who had *omukisa omubi* or *ow'anawalubwa* (misfortunes/bad luck), the deprived such as the *abaavu* (poor) and the *abagumba* (barren) would have their problems dealt with by the *omusawo* (healer/diviners), who would sometimes attempt to establish the cause of the misfortunes and provide a remedy. This further highlights the role and significance of the elders, healers, mediums and priests as they presided over the rituals and mediated between the living, their ancestors, *emizimu* (spirits) and *lubaale* (divinities).

On the other hand, the Baganda in pre-colonial society were aware of the forceful nature of *ekibi* as articulated in the *olugero: Kyakulumbye tekizzikayo ne bw'owonga ebingi olumbe lukutta*¹⁰⁰ (what attacks you cannot be resisted; even if you sacrifice to the divinities you will finally die). This suggests that sometimes *ekibi* could defy all the sacrifices and the rituals meant to restore life in the community, and the people would continue to suffer and even die. This was the reality which the pre-colonial Baganda had to live with. Nevertheless, the rituals and sacrifice were valuable for cleansing the society of the pollution and the effects of *ekibi*. Even when in some instances the performance of rituals failed to yield the expected result, the people would be content

⁹⁸ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 182.

⁹⁹ J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, p. 183.

¹⁰⁰ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 37.

that they had tried their best to preserve life and harmony, and to restore stability in the society.

OBSERVANCE OF *EMPISA N'ENNONO* (CUSTOMS AND NORMS)

In addition to the above, the implications of ideas of *ekibi* as expressed in *engeru* (narrative) for the pre-colonial Baganda can be seen in their emphasis on observance of *ennono* (norms) and encouraging of *empisa ennungi* (good/acceptable behaviour). In the pre-colonial Buganda the people were encouraged to observe the *empisa n'ennono* (customs and norms) of the society as a way of protecting the society against *ekibi* and its effects. The people observed *emizizo* (taboos) and performed rituals, which would ensure tranquillity and stability in the society. This idea can be further elaborated on by Magesa's argument that:

Although the conception of morality in African religion demands that both individuals and the communities refrain from wrongdoing, it demands much more than merely avoiding the transgression of rules and taboos: it requires people to consciously pursue right behaviour.¹⁰¹

Emphasising acceptable conduct was believed to reduce the occurrence of violations or offences among the people. It also encouraged the members of the society to police each other so as to ensure that the norms and customs were not violated. Among the pre-colonial Baganda a person with right behaviour had to pursue and show *empisa ez'obuntubulamu* (worthy conduct). Such a person would do that which preserved *obulamu* (life), respect the *bakulu* (elders or seniors), both the living and the dead, and would value *obumu* (solidarity). This kind of a person would observe social conduct such as being hospitable, attending burials, visiting the sick, bereaved and afflicted, rescuing people when the alarm was raised, and respecting his/her relatives and

¹⁰¹ L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 155.

elders.¹⁰² Such a person would then be respected as *omuntu mulamu* (a person with worthy conduct).¹⁰³

Furthermore, the pursuance of *empisa ez'obuntubulamu* (worthy conduct) was believed to reduce the *empisa embi* (dangerous behaviour) such as *omululu* (greed), *obulimba* (deceitfulness), *obukambwe* (cruelty), *obubbi* (theft), *eby'obuko* (incest), *okwetta* (suicide), *okuloga* (sorcery) and *obutemu* (murder). It would also reduce the *akabi* (dangerous) use of human organs such as *okuloga* (sorcery), *okukolima* (cursing) and *okulimba* (telling lies) which, as we observed, the pre-colonial Baganda believed to be *ekibi*. Consequently, we can observe the paradox that the dangerous and anti-life nature of *ekibi* and its effects, though undesirable, served to remind the people of their duty to pursue right conduct and to preserve life and harmony in the society.¹⁰⁴ This encouraged people to be committed to being *abantu balamu* (people with worthy conduct). This can therefore be understood to have been the indirect positive implication of *ekibi* for the pre-colonial Baganda.

In addition to the above, we can observe that with their emphasis on encouraging good conduct, the pre-colonial Baganda had to teach, preserve and pass on the values of their traditions and customs to the next generation. In order to get rid of the undesirable *ekibi* in the society, the ideas of acceptable behaviour, the dangers of *ekibi* and other social values had to be shared and transmitted through oral tradition, especially in the form of *engero*. This idea was echoed in Sempebwa's observations about the pre-colonial Baganda that:

¹⁰² M. B. Nsimbi, 'Village Life and Customs in Buganda,' *Uganda Journal*, 20/2, 1956, pp. 33-36.

¹⁰³ For more see O. Nassaka, 'The *Balokole* Movement and the Baganda Traditional Ideas of *Obuntubulamu* (1929-1943),' (University of Edinburgh, CSCNWW 2000), pp. 2-10; W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, pp. 119-132 & 144-270.

¹⁰⁴ L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 164.

Story telling and proverbs were used to draw the attention of the youths to their ethical obligations. These moral values were often stressed in the form of these stories.¹⁰⁵

This indicates that in pre-colonial Buganda, *engero* were significant for inculcating good conduct among the people and for discouraging anti-life *ekibi* in the society.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this chapter was to examine the ideas of *ekibi* in Baganda oral tradition and their implications for the pre-colonial society. Thus in our discussion, we observed that *engero* (narratives) were of great significance in pre-colonial Baganda society for preserving and inculcating social values as well as for discouraging and getting rid of anti-life *ekibi* in the society.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, our study of Baganda *engero* (narrative) has indicated that among the pre-colonial Baganda, *ekibi* was believed to evolve in and among the human beings as they violated the norms. This idea was articulated in the proverb of *ekibi tekibula musombi*, (*ekibi* may have a living cause). In this perception living agents, who could be human or spiritual beings, often perpetuated *ekibi* in the society.

This study has further established that among the pre-colonial Baganda *ekibi* was also manifested in the bad/dangerous use of human organs. The dangerous use of human organs coupled with bad attitudes was *ekibi* as it threatened the wellbeing of the human beings and destroyed life. Such *ekibi* were expressed in the ideas of *okuloga* (sorcery) and all the destructive forces embedded in a person's life.¹⁰⁷ Thus, *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda was conceived to be a dangerous human force.

¹⁰⁵ W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 265.

¹⁰⁶ I. Okpewho, *African Oral Literature Backgrounds, Character and Continuity*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁰⁷ W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 161; L. Magesa, *African Religion*, pp. 149-151.

Furthermore, *ekibi* was also understood to be associated with the violation of *emizizo* (taboos) and norms of the society, *omukisa omubi* (misfortune/bad luck), deprivation of life and *empisa embi* (bad or dangerous behaviour) which were perpetuated by human beings. These were abhorred, as they could result in the disintegration of harmony among humans and spiritual beings. *Ekibi* therefore referred to anything that threatened life and the wellbeing of the people.

The life-threatening nature of *ekibi* as expressed in the *engero*, meant that the pre-colonial society had to deal rigorously with *aboonoonyi* (wrongdoers), cleanse the society of pollution, observe norms and pursue *obuntubulamu* (worthy conduct). Paradoxically, *ekibi* served to remind the pre-colonial Baganda of their duty to pursue *obuntubulamu* (worthy conduct), preserving life and harmony in the society. However, in the process of dealing with *ekibi*, there were also some injustices often perpetuated against vulnerable groups such as women, who were usually suspected of being the *aboonoonyi* (violators). This study has indicated that *ekibi* among the pre-colonial Baganda was perceived to be a forceful, abhorred threat to the wellbeing of people, which was part and parcel of human society. Having looked at the ideas of *ekibi* in the *engero* (narrative) of the pre-colonial Baganda, we proceed to look at the ideas of *ekibi* in the *kiganda* contemporary worldview.

CHAPTER THREE

EKIBI IN THE *KIGANDA* CONTEMPORARY WORLDVIEW

This chapter examines the ideas of *ekibi*¹ in the *kiganda* contemporary worldview. It discusses the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* as integrated in the social life of contemporary Baganda communities and their dynamics. It also attempts to examine the concept of *ekibi* in the rural and urban life of individuals, families and communities in Kampala and Mukono districts. In the process it underscores the tensions and dynamics of the perceptions of *ekibi* as illustrated in the people's oral tradition and ritual practices.

¹Our discussions on *ekibi* are mainly based on oral sources in Kampala and Mukono districts. These included leaders in *enzikiriza y'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion) such as *abasawo n'abasamize* (herbalists, healers and diviners). These are Stephen Ssenfuma, Nalweyiso Ziribaggwa, Erenest Lubanga Bwaddene, Muwonge Muwanga, Musa Bbengo, Mary Namatovu, Nansasi Nambi, Ssaalongo Muwanga and Keefa Lukwago. The contributions of these religious leaders were significant since they are custodians of the *kiganda* beliefs and practices within which the notions of *ekibi* thrive.

The next group of informants were elders who included: Ezeresi Namutebi, Edward Lumu, Namuli Mpomba, Paul Mukoza, Nnaalongo Ddembe, and Yakobo Mukasa. These people's ideas were significant as their experience and seniority in the society provided some insights on *ekibi* in the past.

I also had interviews with writers and professors of *kiganda* culture. These were Prof. Livingston Walusimbi and Solomon Mpalanyi. Other informants included professional and non-professional middle-aged people, youth and children from both urban and rural areas, who contributed valuable ideas on *ekibi* in the contemporary society.

Although there is not much written on *ekibi* as a subject, I consulted unpublished theses and dissertations written on *kiganda* cultures that are related to ideas of *ekibi*. These included: F. Kiwanuka, 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the *Ganda* Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs' Dip.diss., Gaba National Seminary, 1991; C. Namugera, 'Morality Among the *Ganda*,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, 1990; L. Kalungi, '*Ganda* Taboos In Relation to Christianity and Islam,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, 1988 D. Komuggulu, 'Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,' Dip. diss., Bishop Tucker Theological College, 1986; G. Banadda, 'A Study of the Nature and Influence of Selected Deities on the Lives of the Baganda and the Basoga.' MA diss., Makerere University, 1995; J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' PhD Thesis Makerere University, 1992; W. Mutebi, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism among the Baganda,' MA diss., Makerere University 1982; E. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' PhD Thesis Makerere University, 1982.

Published theses, books and articles: W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom, and Christianity in Uganda*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976; C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, Kampala: *Ekibiina Ky'olulimi Oluganda*, 1998; W. Mutebi, '*Okwabya Olumbe* Among Baganda,' *Makerere University Occasional Research Papers on African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, 27/3, 1971; J. R. Kaggwa & H. Kibirige, 'The Funeral Rites of the Baganda,' *Makerere University Occasional Research Papers on African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, 138/13, 1973; M. A. Lugira, 'Redemption in the *Ganda* Traditional Belief,' in *Uganda Journal* 32/2 1968; R. S. Ssozi, 'The *Basezi*' *Makerere University Occasional Research Papers on African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, 37/5, 1975; W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, Kisubi, Marianum Press, 1985; M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'Ennono Zaago*, Kampala, Longman Uganda Ltd., 1998 (1980); P. K. Kakooza, *Empisa Z'Obuntubulamu*, Kampala: FAD, 1996; J. C. Ssekamwa, *Enkuluze Y'Eddiini Y'Abaganda Ey'Ennono*, Kampala, Wood Printers, 1990. Other general works on *kiganda* and African culture were also consulted.

It concludes with reflections on the relevance of the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* for today and the future. Before proceeding with our discussion, we need to remind ourselves that the term *ekibi* refers to all human and spiritual activities and conditions which diminish or threaten life. Thus, *ekibi* refers to all anti-life forces, conditions and activities expressed in *okusobyá* (violation), *ekivve* (abomination), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing), *okusera* (prowling), *okuloga* (sorcery) and *obubi* (badness or danger), which undermine the wellbeing of all creation. However, before examining the ideas of *ekibi* it is useful to briefly explore the *kiganda* contemporary worldview within which the ideas of *ekibi* have evolved.

THE KIGANDA CONTEMPORARY WORLDVIEW

As noted in the previous chapters, the term worldview refers to the way an individual, a society, a community, a nation or a historical epoch views, sees, conceives or understands the world, and the reaction which follows.² This suggests a dynamic and developing worldview; a distinction should therefore be made between the past and contemporary *kiganda* worldview.

The *kiganda* worldview has undergone significant changes due to the influence of Western and other exogenous cultures. Since the mid-nineteenth century, strong waves of Christian, Islamic and other exogenous religious movements have continuously flooded into Uganda. The colonialism which followed greatly impacted the Baganda political systems and structures until 1962, when Uganda attained her independence. These political changes led to conflicts that struck Buganda's socio-political structures

² G. J. Wanjohi, *The Wisdom and Philosophy of the Gikuyu Proverbs*, p. 38; C. Geertz, 'Ethos and Worldview: the Analysis of the Sacred Symbols,' in A. Dundes, *Every Man His Way*, p. 303.

and culminated in the collapse of *obwakabaka* (kingship) in 1966.³ More waves of political turmoil wounded the society's socio-economic structures and even up to the present Ugandans are struggling to reconstruct their nation.⁴ All these external and internal forces have collaborated to mould the contemporary Baganda society, their moral fibre, self-understanding, and their entire worldview.

The Baganda societies in towns and cities have often broken down and have been remoulded into societies characterised by inter-tribal communities where cultures from all corners of the world converge. The contemporary young Baganda and adults learn much in schools, institutions and through mass media; many of their beliefs and modes of behaviour are influenced by these modern systems. Not even the rural areas have escaped these changes due to education and faster communication systems. Diverse social, political and economic changes have taken place as the world draws together and becomes a global village.

However, these changes do not mean that the *kiganda* culture has died out, but only that outside influences have impacted on the contemporary Baganda communities and continue to do so. Many of the *kiganda* beliefs and practices have survived or adapted

³ For more see *Kabaka of Buganda, Desecration of My Kingdom*, London: Constable, 1967; S. M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, London: Longman, 1971, pp. 173-175; S. R. Karugire, 'The Arrival of the European Missionaries,' T. Tuma, et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978, pp. 1-16; T. Tuma 'Church Expansion in Buganda' T. Tuma, et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978, 17-30; D. A. Low and R. C. Parrat, *Buganda and British Overrule*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 3-137; D. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, London: Frank Cass, pp. 108- 435; D. W. Nabudere, *Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda*, London: Onyx press, 1980, pp. 9-161; A. Omara-Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda; 1890-1985*, London: Macmillan, 1987, pp. 1-170.

⁴ S. Karugire, *Roots of Instability in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1996, pp. 7-96; D. W. Nabudere, 'External and Internal Factors in Uganda's Continuing Crisis' in H. B. Hansen & M Twaddle, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinmann 1988, pp. 299-312; H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle 'Political Transitions since Idi Amin; A Study in Political Pathology,' in H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinmann 1988, pp. 280-297; A. Mazrui, 'Is Africa Decaying? The View from Uganda,' in H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinmann 1988, pp. 336-358; K. Ingham, *Obote*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 43-211; O. Amaza, *Museveni's Long March*, Kampala: Fountain, 1998, pp. 1-229. *Mission to Freedom*, Collected issues of Uganda's Resistance News 1981-1985, Kampala: The New Vision, 1990, pp. 2-321.

to changing socio-political contexts.⁵ The year 1993 also saw the revival of the traditional institutions and the reinstallation of the *Kabaka* (king) and other traditional leaders of the different tribal groups in Uganda.⁶ This transition was understood by some contemporary Baganda as the revival of *kiganda* cultures, since the *Kabaka* is the head in whom all the *kiganda* practices converge. Consequently, some *kiganda* worship places such as *amasabo* (shrines) were even constructed in the cities. The *kiganda* religious leaders such as *abasamize* (diviners) and *abasawo* (healers) have even taken over a piece of land belonging to Namirembe Diocese in Katwe town next to the *Kabaka's Lubiri* (king's palace). The *abasamize* and *abasawo* constructed their shrines and stalls on these sites amidst opposition from the Church of Uganda. All the Church's efforts to remove these people off the land have been in vain.⁷ Such cases of the revival of the traditional institutions have paved the way for the revival of *kiganda* beliefs and practices.

Furthermore, the *kiganda* beliefs in spiritual beings, which include *Katonda* (the creator), *Lubaale* (divinities), and *emizimu* (spirits), continue to thrive among contemporary Baganda communities.⁸ These spiritual beings are important for many Baganda and a number of contemporary Baganda Christians and Muslims are also

⁵ The survival of the *kiganda* religion became prominent in 1955, when Kigaanira climbed a tree in Kampala Mutundwe and publicly invited the Baganda to turn to *kiganda* divinities so that *Kabaka* Mutesa II, who was deported in 1953 to Britain, might return to Buganda. The *kiganda* religion had been banned in 1916, but from the time of Kigaanira's movement, the religion continued to thrive through the 1970s. Since then the *kiganda* religion has openly existed side by side with the other religions in Buganda. F.B. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda 1952-1962*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965, pp. 42-46; P. Rigby & F. Lule, 'Continuity and Change in *Kiganda* Religion in Urban and Peri-urban Kampala,' in D. Parkin, *Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa*, London: Oxford Press, 1975, pp. 213-227; D. S. Bukenya, 'The Development, a Neo-Traditional Religion: Buganda Experience,' pp. 119-121; W. Mutebi, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism,' pp. 50-55.

⁶ The existing government of Uganda through parliament restored the traditional rulers of Buganda, Toro and Bunyoro and other traditional chiefs. A. Nsibambi, 'The Restoration of Traditional Rulers' in B. H. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *From Chaos To Order: The Politics of Constitution-Making in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers (nd), pp. 41&47.

⁷ Min 4/93 *abasamize bave ku ttaka lye Kkannisa* (diviners should leave the church land), Namirembe Diocesan Council, 02.03.93. Today the *kiganda* traditional shrines stand side by side with Katwe Church of Uganda. See appendix I, fig. A.

⁸ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 188; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom, and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 98-111; D. S. Bukenya, 'The Development, a Neo-Traditional Religion,' pp. 20-28; J. C. Ssekamwa, *Enkuluze Y'Eddiini Y'Abaganda Ey'Ennono*, pp. 1-21.

involved in *kiganda* beliefs. Even some committed Baganda Christians and Muslims are aware of the presence and activity of these beings, and a good number of them live in fear of the attacks of spirits.⁹ A close study of the communities also reveals that some Baganda have abandoned the exogenous religions and turned to their *kiganda* beliefs in *Katonda* (the creator) and *lubaale* (divinities). These prefer to be called adherents of *enzikiriza ey'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion).¹⁰ All these factors greatly influence the *kiganda* worldview as well as the ideas of *ekibi* in the contemporary Baganda society. Following an overview on the contemporary *kiganda* worldview we will examine the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* in the contemporary Baganda society.

THE KIGANDA IDEAS OF EKIBI

Ekibi, we recall, refers to all anti-life forces, conditions and activities mainly expressed in *okusoby*a (violation), *ekivve* (abomination), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing), *okusera* (prowling), *okuloga* (sorcery) and *obubi* (badness or danger), which undermine the wellbeing of all creation. To understand the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* in contemporary society, it is useful to briefly examine the contemporary Baganda beliefs and practices within which the ideas of *ekibi* develop.

⁹ This observation was made at the Nakanyonyi clergy conference, where clergy were being called upon to be equipped to deal with attacks of *emizimu* among the Christians. See Bishop W. Mutebi, *Okusoomooza kw'eddiini Enkyamu n'okulumbibwa Emizimu* (The Challenges of Cults and Spirit Possession) presented at Nakanyonyi Clergy Conference, 16th February 2001, p. 12.

¹⁰ One old lady who is *omusawo* (healer/diviner), Ziribaggwa, said that she was born of Christian parents but she was not baptised and has never been to church. She was dedicated to *Lubaale* (divinity) Muwanga from her childhood. Oral interview with Ziribaggwa Nalweyiso, Nassuuti Mukono, 17.02.01. Another young man, Muwanga, who is *omusamize* (diviner) had a Christian father who was also *omusamize* (diviner), but he said he had never been to church. Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01. The other person was Stephen Ssenfuma who was training to become a lay reader and was later called away by *Lubaale* (divinity) to become *omusamize* (diviner). Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01. I also came across a number of Baganda in towns and villages who were baptised Christians but had ceased to go to church and were mostly practising the *kiganda* religion. See also J. C. Ssekamwa, *Enkuluze Y'Eddiini Y'Abaganda Ey'Ennono*, pp. 1-64.

EKIBI WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY KIGANDA BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

It is important to note from the outset that the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* are rooted in the contemporary Baganda beliefs in *Katonda* (the creator), *Lubaale* (divinities) and *emizimu* (spirits).¹¹ These spiritual beings or ancestors of the Baganda are important, as they are concerned with the continuity and maintenance of social order for the wellbeing of the society.

Furthermore, contemporary Baganda also believe that because *Katonda* created *obulam* (life), humans ought to respect it, to do only that which promotes life, and to exist in harmony with all the created order. Therefore the purpose of human existence and their relationship with each other and the environment is centred on this worldview. Consequently morality is understood to be concerned with the good that sustains life and the bad that destroys it.¹² On this Sempebwa further explains that:

For the *Ganda*, living according to the moral law is living according to their being. Their ontological perspective and moral principles are in the same category.¹³

This brings in view the *kiganda* ideas of *obuntubulamu*.¹⁴ As already noted, *obuntubulamu* is a broad concept, which refers to approved conduct.¹⁵ *Obuntubulamu* comprises three major elements or principles of morality: respect for *obulam* (life), *obumu* (solidarity) and *okutya abakulu* (respect for seniors). The idea of *buntu* (being) as embedded in the contemporary *kiganda* concept of *obuntubulamu* is significant as it is the category which answers questions on how humans are related to each other and how

¹¹ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 188. D. S. Bukenya, 'The Development, a Neo-Traditional Religion,' pp. 20-28.

¹² L Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 41; W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, pp. 16-19.

¹³ W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 125.

¹⁴ For more on the idea of *obuntubulamu*, *ibid.*, pp. 111-134; P. K. Kakooza, *Empisa Z'Obuntubulamu*, pp. 1-59; C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y' Omuganda*, pp. 57-165.

¹⁵ See Chapter two, pp. 18-19.

they should act. All the supreme *kiganda* values to which most contemporary Baganda aspire are derived from it.¹⁶

Obuntubulamu (approved/worthy conduct) moral principles are crucial for the maintenance of social order and harmony, and for the wellbeing of every member of the clan, community and environment. To safeguard these values, the ancestors who are believed to be the governors of the society put *ennono* (norms) and *emizizo* (taboos) in place. Violation of such codes of conduct is abhorred as it disrupts and breaches the relationship between humans, spiritual beings and the environment. Among many contemporary Baganda communities the people who violate these norms are said not to have *obuntubulamu*. They are *bakozi be kibi* (violators and offenders), and a threat to the wellbeing of the community.¹⁷ After having an overview of the *kiganda* beliefs and culture within which the ideas of *ekibi* emanate and thrive, let us proceed to examine the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*, beginning with *okusobya*.

EKIBI AS OKUSOBYA

The term *okusobya* refers to violating set norms of the society. This involves two main aspects:

- Violating *emizizo* (taboos) such as those of *obuko* (relational taboos).
- *Okujeema*, which refers to failure to do what is expected in the society or making mistakes, as in the case of a child who refuses to follow his parent's instructions.¹⁸

¹⁶ W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 126. More ideas on the aspect of *Buntu* are found in P. Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, pp. 78-83; Also some of my informants on contemporary *kiganda* ideas, mentioned the ideas of *obuntubulamu*. Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01; Livingston Mpalanyi, Sseeta, 10.06.01; Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi, 15.05.01.

¹⁷ C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, p. 85.

¹⁸ B. M. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda Amakula*, Kampala: Belinda Publishers, 1994, p. 109. Some of my informants pointed out things to do with violating *emizizo* and failure to do what is expected. Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01; Paul Mukooza, Nyenga, 26.03.01; Kalooli Nanyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01.

OKUSOBYA AS VIOLATING EMIZIZO (TABOOS)¹⁹

A thorough understanding of the term *okusoby* as violating *emizizo* (taboos) require us first to have some ideas on the term *emizizo* as used among contemporary Baganda.

EMIZIZO (TABOOS)

Emizizo (taboos) among contemporary Baganda are understood to be *ebitakolwa*, close to English prohibitions or forbidden things or actions.²⁰ Many *emizizo* surround most of contemporary Baganda life and activities from the womb through adulthood, death and the hereafter. *Emizizo* are codes of conduct, which were instituted by the ancestors as they endeavoured to protect the people against things and circumstances they deemed dangerous to life. This idea is derived from Nsimbi's writing about the Baganda clans and *emiziro* (totems), which are also part of *emizizo* (taboos). He explains that at times the leader of a family would eat something or do something, which later caused severe illness or death. Such a person would forbid any member of his family, even his grandchildren, from eating, touching or doing certain things that had proved to be threats to life and these became taboos.²¹

On the same subject Willy Mpuuga writes that:

Emizizo bye biragiro ge mateeka agajja okulambika engeri entuufu esaanye mu bbanga lino oba liri, mu kifo kino oba kiri. Biragiro ebiraga omuntu nga bw'abeera omugezi era omuntumulamu buli waabeera, kubanga bigoberera amagezi, si ga mu bitabo, naye ag'obuwangwa... (Taboos are laws which guide the people on what they ought to do on any given occasion. These are codes which guide people on how to live as wise and acceptable persons in the society. This wisdom is not based on books but is drawn from our tradition).²²

There are also many *emizizo* which are attached to sacred objects and beings. Writing about *emizizo* connected to sacred objects Lugira observes that:

These holy objects (fabricated by men) were to be handled with great care and all familiarity with them was to be repudiated. Examples are the numerous *emizizo* or taboos as directives and safeguards for the sacred character of certain things. They marked off particular persons, things and situations which had to be

¹⁹ *Emizizo* (taboos) is the plural form of *omuzizo* (taboo).

²⁰ Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.200; Kalooli Nannyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01.

²¹ M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'Emono Zaago*, pp. 170-171.

²² W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, p. 26. My translation.

handled with care, approached with great reserve or avoided altogether for they were thought to have powerful mystical influence.²³

From these ideas we conclude that *emizizo* were instituted by the ancestors for the purpose of maintaining social order, harmony and continuity of life in society.

Emizizo (taboos) are observed with care; otherwise, it is believed, the violator and the community at large would suffer grave consequences. These consequences are articulated after every *omuzizo* (taboo). For instance, '*Tofuuwa luwa kiro, bw'olufuuwa oyita omuzimu omubi*' (do not whistle at night; if you whistle you will invite a hostile spirit into the home). Since *emizizo* were meant to safeguard the values and the life of the community, any act of *okusobya* (violation) of these taboos is understood to be *ekibi*.²⁴

In the past these *kiganda* moral principles or codes were not written down but were preserved in tradition and passed on orally through myths, folktales, stories, proverbs and sayings.²⁵ Today with the coming of Western education and technological advancement, most of the codes are written in books, taught in schools in culture lessons and discussed on radio programmes. This is not to say informal teaching has died out; in rural areas parents still pass on these teachings to the children as they do their daily chores or at night in the form of conversations and story telling. Also many of these teachings are passed on in *kiganda* rituals and ceremonies such as *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites), *okwanjula* (introductions of suitors to family) and *embaga* (weddings).

Though *emizizo* (taboos) are still significant in contemporary Baganda society, they are not as fully observed as in the past. Contemporary society has changed with technological advancement and education, and religions such as Christianity and Islam have affected most of the contemporary Baganda's attitudes towards *emizizo*. While

²³ A. M. Lugira, *Ganda Art*, Kampala: Osasa, 1970, p.116.

²⁴ Even in the case of accidental violation of taboos, some rituals have to be performed to clear off *ekibi*. Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

²⁵ L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 41; E. I. Metuh, *African Religion*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1981, p. 105.

many elderly people still cherish *emizizo*, some middle-aged and young people question their validity. The young people often doubt the threats attached to taboos, especially as science has demystified some of them.²⁶ Consequently taboos seem to be superstitious. Commenting on this supposed lack of logic in taboos, Rwampigi argues that:

It is quite possible that some logic was involved at the very beginning when the taboos were first constituted. Subsequent centuries have witnessed a gradual disassociation of the object and its symbolic meaning so that today we find ourselves observing customs we cannot explain and for this reason we are unjustly dubbed 'superstitious.'²⁷

This argument suggests that though time wears away the meaning of *emizizo*, they are not always devalued since they remain components of a community's beliefs.

In addition to the above, some contemporary Baganda observe *emizizo* (taboos) just because they wish to live in harmony with their family and community. For instance Ssaalongo Nsubuga explained that he observed the taboos of *obuko* (relational taboos) just because his wife's family was keen to observe them. He therefore observes *emizizo* lest he become isolated in the society.²⁸ Some of the informants also argued that they observe *emizizo* because they are Baganda and *emizizo* are a significant part of their customs.²⁹ These diverse views and attitudes towards *emizizo* suggest that some contemporary Baganda acknowledge *ekibi* related to *emizizo* and some do not.

SOME TYPES OF EMIZIZO

There are many *emizizo* (taboos) which many contemporary Baganda observe. For instance there are taboos which surround the family or clan structures and those concerned with worship, marriage, death and the whole existence of contemporary

²⁶ Oral interview with Ibrahim Wasswa and Dan Kabenge, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01; Fred Wasswa, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

²⁷ J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' p. 130.

²⁸ Oral interview with Ssaalongo Nsubuga, Lugasa Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

²⁹ Oral interview with Jane Namagembe, Katwe Kampala, 23.05.01.

Baganda. However, the practices of some of these *emizizo* may vary from clan to clan, or community to community.³⁰

***Emizizo* relating to marriage and family**

- *Obutalya muziro na kabbiro ke kika kyo* (a person should not eat his totem and secondary clan symbol).³¹
- *Omuntu tawasa era tafumbirwa muntu wa kika kye* (a person should not marry his/her clan mates).³²
- *Omuntu tawasa era tafumbirwa kizibwe we* (a person should not marry his father's sister's children).³³
- *Omukazi oba omusajja takwata ku ssezaala we oba nnyazaala we* (a woman should not touch her father-in-law and a man should not touch his mother-in-law).
- *Omukazi tafumbirwa nga gy'ava ekyaliyo ennyimbe ezitanayabwa* (a woman does not get married before the funeral rites of her deceased relative are performed).³⁴
- *Ssemaka ne mukyalawe tebanaabira mu binaabiro bimu n'abaana* (parents should not share a bathroom with their daughters and sons).

³⁰ *Omuzizo* (a taboo) which is observed in one clan may not be observed in another. This is not to say that the contemporary Baganda have no united view on these practices but it highlights the great sense of unity in diversity.

³¹ The *Abalangira* (royal clan) have no totems but still they do not marry fellow *balangira*. A person should also not eat the *omuziro* (totem) of her mother. In these exogamous clans the *emizizo* regulate sexual activities and interactions with families and clans.

³² The people of the *Mmamba* (lungfish) clan who have several *amasiga* (clan divisions) sometime marry members of other *amasiga*. M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'Ennono Zaago*, p. 176. Kaggwa also informs us that in the past the members of the *Mamba* did not marry clan-mates, it was only when men *basobya empisa* (violated the custom) and they started admiring their sisters that the practice started. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 153. This however shows how some of these taboos and ideas of *ekibi* change over time.

³³ For more on marriage taboos see: C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y' Omuganda*, pp. 59-61; L. Kalungi, *Ganda Taboos in Relation to Christianity and Islam*, pp. 1-14.

³⁴ Namuli told me that her wedding was postponed due to the sudden death of her sister and the fact that her deceased father's last funeral rites had not yet been performed. Oral interview with Harriet Lukabwe Namuli, Kasaato Zone, Mengo Kisenyi Kampala 23.05.2001. See also W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, p. 30.

Emizizo relating to birth and childhood ³⁵

- *Ssaalongo oba Nnaalongo tagenda waabwe nga abalongo tebannamalwa* (the father and mother of twins should not visit their relatives before the twins are initiated in the clan).
- *Omukazi Nnakawere teyeegatta na musajja mulala nga tannamala kizadde* (a mother of a new-born baby should not have sexual intercourse with any other man before she performs birth rituals with her husband).
- *Omwana takuba bazadde be* (a child should not beat his/her parents).
- *Omuzadde takunamira mwana* (parents should not show their nakedness to their children).
- *Abaana tebasekula binyeebwa kiro* (children do not pound in a mortar at night).
- *Omwana tanaabira ku luzzi* (children should not bathe from the well).

Emizizo relating to death

- *Omulambo tegusula mu nnyumba bbiri* (a dead body does not spend nights in more than one house).
- *Entaana y'omukazi tesula ku kyalo* (a grave of a woman is dug on the day of the burial).
- *Omukazi ow'olubuto taziikwa na mwana munda ye*³⁶ (a dead woman should not be buried with a foetus in her womb).
- *Omuntu teyetta* (people should not commit suicide).
- *Omuntu eyesse tayabizibwa lumbe* (Last funeral rites should not be performed for a person who commits suicide).
- *Abalongo tebaziikwa ku kiggya kimu n'abantu abalala* (twins are not buried in the same graveyard as other members of the family).

³⁵ For more on *okwalula abaana* (child initiation rites) see: W. Mutebi, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism,' pp. 105-153; L. Kalungi, *Ganda Taboos in Relation to Christianity and Islam*, pp. 23-33; W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, pp. 58-65; C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, pp. 65-69; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Customs and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 18-41. The rituals of *okwalula* may vary from one clan to another.

³⁶ If two people were buried in one grave, the spirits would conflict for priority and the angry spirit would wreak revenge on the living. F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion and Christianity in Uganda*, p. 91.

Emizizo relating to women³⁷

- *Omukazi ali munsonga tayingira mu ssabo* (menstruating women do not enter a shrine).
- *Omukazi talinnya nju bw'agirinnya omuntu afa* (a woman should not climb a house).
- *Omukazi talinnya miti* (a woman should not climb trees).
- *Omuwala tafunira lubuto ku luggya* (a girl should not get pregnant while she is still staying in her parent's home).
- *Omukazi ow'olubuto tatunula magombe* (a pregnant woman does not look in a grave).
- *Omukazi teyebikka lugoye lwa nnyina na bba oba muganziwe*³⁸ (a woman should not sleep on her mother's clothes with her husband).

Emizizo relating to men

- *Omusajja takomba ntamu bw'agikomba nga tajja kuwasa* (a man should not eat from a cooking pot lest he fail to marry).
- *Omusajja tawasa musajja munne* (men do not marry fellow men).

These *emizizo* and many others regulate most of the contemporary Baganda's existence. Anyone who violates such *emizizo* is accused of *okusobya*. *Okusobya* (violation) is *ekibi* and a pollution that has dangerous effects on the person and his community. To clarify this issue we look now at *okusobya* as related to *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) in the contemporary society.

³⁷ For more on Baganda taboos relating to women see: W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, pp. 45-53, C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y' Omuganda*, pp. 153-160; O. Nassaka, 'Women and Taboo; A Case Study on Baganda in Uganda,' in K. A. Musimbi, et al., *Groaning in Faith*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1996, pp. 163-167; L. Kalungi, 'Ganda Taboos In Relation to Christianity and Islam,' pp. 2-19.

³⁸ This taboo was also mentioned by 14-year-old Namakula. Oral interview with Jane Namakula, Mukono Hill, 02.03.01.

OKUSOBYA AS VIOLATION OF EMIZIZO EGY'OBUKO (RELATIONAL TABOOS)

Emizizo egy'obuko (relational taboos) are concerned mainly with marriage and family relations. In clans which are exogamous, *emizizo egy'obuko* regulate marriage, sexual activities and interactions among relatives, families and clans.³⁹ One type of *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) observed among the Baganda concerns the interactions between *omwami n'omukyala* (husband and wife) and their in-laws (especially the parents-in-law).

When a couple marries among the Baganda, their families and clans become united in a bond which even survives death. The *emizizo* (taboos) surrounding marriage such as those mentioned above begin to be observed. For instance, *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) prohibit the parents of the couple from sleeping in the same house with their children and sharing bathrooms. A man should not touch his daughter-in-law, nor should a woman touch her son-in-law. A person who violates this *omuzizo* may suffer from a disease commonly referred to as *obuko*, a disease which involves the weakening of the nervous system and finally leads to death.⁴⁰ Many elderly and some middle-aged contemporary Baganda in both rural and urban areas fear this disease. Hence the saying *akankana ng'eyakwata ku muko* (he is shivering as a person who touched an in-law).⁴¹

A number of the people I interviewed explained that they observed *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) and that they built a house in their compound to house their parents.⁴² Some people further explained that they observed these *emizizo* because they are *empisa ez'obuntubulamu* (worthy/approved conduct). They also believe that *emizizo* were

³⁹ For more see C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, pp. 59-61; A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 101; L. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, p. 79; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 49-62; L. Kalungi, *Ganda Taboos in Relation to Christianity and Islam*, pp. 1-14.

⁴⁰ Mr Lumu told me that one of his neighbours who refused to observe these *emizizo* (taboos) suffered from this disease and died. Oral interview with E. Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01.

⁴¹ Oral interview with Nnaalongo Ddembe, Rubaga Road Kampala, 18.05.01.

⁴² Oral interview with Nelson Nsubuga, Mukono Hill, 02.06.01; Joseph Magembe, Katwe Kampala, 23.05.01.

meant to promote respect for elders and to prevent in-laws from becoming so familiar with each other as to develop illicit relations.⁴³

Considering the demands of the *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) in light of the prevailing conditions of lack of space and poverty in the urban areas, I decided to visit overcrowded places in Mukono and Kampala City. Here many Baganda do not have space to construct a house for their in-laws. Some have only a single room for bedroom and sitting room. In these situations some of my informants said that when their parents visit them, they ask their neighbours to house them.⁴⁴ This revealed that the *kiganda* sense of community that exists in the rural areas has managed to survive in some of these urban areas, thereby creating a climate in which some of the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* related to *obuko* continue to thrive in the cities.

Furthermore, some of my informants told me that because of the limited space and mixed tribes among whom they live it is not easy to find shelter for an in-law in the neighbourhood. In that case the husband or wife whose parent comes to visit would have to sleep in the same room as the visiting parent. This would ensure that the man and his wife do not indulge in any sexual act while the in-law is in the house.⁴⁵ Other informants told me that when their parents come to visit they do not encourage them to stay for a night.⁴⁶ This suggests that although the *kiganda* ideas of *okusobya* related to *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) are still abhorred, some contemporary Baganda have had to develop new practices in order to adapt these ideas of *ekibi* to the changing contexts.

⁴³ Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kiteete Mukono, 14. 02. 01; Prof. L. Walusimbi, Makerere Kampala, 05.06.01.

⁴⁴ Oral interview with Christine Ssekyanzi Nakigudde, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01.

⁴⁵ Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.200; Nsubuga Ssaalongo, Lugasa Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

⁴⁶ Oral interview with Ssaalongo and Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi Kampala, 15.05.01.

Okuwonya⁴⁷ (treating or dealing with) obuko⁴⁸

If by some accident there happened to be some contact with in-laws, as in case of sudden illness where a daughter-in-law must help her father-in-law, the condition can be treated with herbs. Herbs such as *omwetango*, can be mixed in water or a bath to prevent *obuko*.⁴⁹ Some informants, however, said that once someone suffers from *obuko*, it is hard to heal them. One argued that the best medicine for *obuko* is to respect each other and to avoid such violations.⁵⁰ This shows the extent to which the *kiganda* ideas of *okusobya* (violating) *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) as *ekibi* are held among the contemporary Baganda.⁵¹

OKUSOBYA AS OKUJEEMA (TO DISOBEY)

Okusobya (violating) as *okujeema* (to disobey) is concerned mainly with failure to do what is expected in the society. According to the *kiganda* moral principles of *obuntubulamu* (worthy/approved conduct),⁵² a person is expected to *okutya abakulu* (respect seniors).⁵³ Respect for seniors necessitates *obuwulize* (obedience). As such *okutya abakulu* has the elements of obedience, respect for elders and seniority according to the society's hierarchy.⁵⁴ For instance children must *kuwulira* (obey) their parents and elders in the society. *Obuwulize* (obedience) upholds *obwetoowaze* (humility) and

⁴⁷ *Okuwonya* refers to curing, healing, saving or delivering a person from suffering or danger. M. A. Lugira, 'Redemption in the Ganda Traditional Belief,' p. 199; B. M. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda Amakula*, p. 169.

⁴⁸ Disease suffered by violators of relational taboos. Refer to p. 62.

⁴⁹ Oral interview with Kalooli Nannyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01.

⁵⁰ Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01.

⁵¹ This is not to say that every contemporary Muganda still observes this *omuzizo* (taboo). Some people, especially Christians, do not observe some of these taboos. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

⁵² C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, pp. 63, lists some persons who ought to be respected or obeyed. P. K. Kakooza, *Empisa Z'Obuntubulamu*, pp. 20-22.

⁵³ Sempebwa refers this aspect as *obukulu* (hierarchy). W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p. 132. However, as a moral principle the idea is *okutya abakulu*, which refers to respect for seniors according to social hierarchy. O. Ilogu, *Christian Ethics in an African Background; A Study of the Interaction of Christianity and Ibo Culture*, Leiden: E. J. Brill 1974, p. 131.

⁵⁴ A. L. Kitching and G. M. Mulira, *A Luganda-English*, p. 202. The social virtue of *okutya abakulu* is rooted in the *kiganda* worldview, which is characterised by the idea of hierarchy in both the invisible and visible worlds. The Baganda conceive things in a hierarchical relation to others. O. Nassaka, 'The Balokole Movement and the Baganda Traditional ideas of *obuntubulamu* (1929-1943),' University of Edinburgh, CSCNWW 2000, pp. 21-33.

negates *amalala* (pride and arrogance). Disobedience is a sign of disrespect, so not only children but also adults are expected to respect and obey their seniors.

In this hierarchical system of moral expectations the junior is in most cases considered to be the offender. Hence the saying *omukulu tasobya*⁵⁵ (a senior person does not offend his junior). However, sometimes a junior person can guide his seniors. This is expressed in the saying: *Ne gw'ozadde akkubira engoma n'ozina*⁵⁶ (parents/elders can also dance to the drumming of their children). But generally, senior persons are to be respected, and anyone who falls short of this is *omujeemu* (disobedient). *Ekibonerezo* (punishment) is usually given to the offenders, while people who ask for forgiveness or *okwetonda/okusaba okusonyiyibwa* are not punished.

In most cases the ideas of respect for seniors and obedience as opposed to *okusobya* (violating) are still valued in both rural and urban areas.⁵⁷ However, there are some conflicts about these ideas among the urban dwellers who live among people of different tribes and cultures. It is rather complex for the children to obey all the elders, given the problems of child abuse which characterise the contemporary urban areas. There are also many movements in the urban areas, which agitate for human rights and freedom for people to do whatever they wish. Such views sometimes conflict with *kiganda* cultural expectations. Consequently some of the contemporary Baganda rural dwellers accuse the town dwellers of perpetuating *obujeemu* (disobedience).⁵⁸ This conflict suggests that while people are aware of some of these *kiganda* values, there are conflicting views as one moves from rural to urban areas. The forces of urbanisation and change are clashing heavily with some of these *kiganda* values to the point that many young Baganda tend to lose their sense of direction.

⁵⁵ Oral interview with Ssebadduka Robinah, Mengo Kampala, 18.05.01.

⁵⁶ M. B. Nsimbi, *Ssiwa Muto Lugeru*, Kampala, Longman Uganda, 1965 (1948), p. 42.

⁵⁷ A number of urban and rural children and youth told me that *obutassaamu bantu kitiibwa* (disrespect) and *obujeemu* (disobedience) is *ekibi*. Oral interview with Liz Nakiyingi; Esther Nagaddya, Mengo Kampala, 23. 05. 01.

⁵⁸ Mukooza observed that some town dwellers have lost interest in their customs. Some people do not take time to talk to their children and some children also do not listen to the elders. Oral interview with Paul Mukooza, Nyenga, 26.03.01.

Nevertheless, the *kiganda* ideas of *okusobya* still prevail, and some of the contemporary Baganda who disobey or offend others show remorse. One informant reported a case of two young men who had neglected their responsibilities as husbands in their homes. Their wives reported the cases to family elders, who summoned the young men to a family meeting, the young men were found guilty and fined or *okutanza* a goat each and were to *okugatta* (reconcile) with their wives by buying them new dresses.⁵⁹ Some informants also said that these family and clan meetings are important for solidarity and dealing with cases of *obujeemu* in the families.⁶⁰ This highlights the significance of some of these *kiganda* values to some of the contemporary Baganda communities. It further indicates that some contemporary Baganda still consider *okusobya* as *ekibi* which must be dealt with in society in order for peace and tranquillity to prevail.

EKIBI AS EKIVVE (ABOMINATION)

The term *ekivve* is closer to the English word 'abomination'. *Ekivve* is the most abhorred and dangerous violation of *emizizo* (taboos). The example of *ebivve* (abominations)⁶¹ range from *okukwata abaana n'abakazi* (raping women or children), *okukwata ebisolo* (bestiality), *okulya ebisiyaga* (homosexuality/sodomy)⁶² and incest, *okwetta* (committing suicide), *okutemula* (murder or homicide), and *okulya omuziro* (eating totems). Such *ebivve* or *ebikolobero* (abominations) are especially abhorred, as they are not only a dangerous pollution and attack on human life and creation, but are also believed to be direct attacks on the spirits and the creator *Katonda*.⁶³

In contrast to the case of *okusobya* (violation) the *ab'ebivve* (abominators) are not forgiven, but are usually given ultimate punishments, such as banishment or death. They are banished from the clans, since *bavumanganya ekika* (they bring shame to the

⁵⁹ Oral interview with Jane Namagembe, Katwe Kampala, 23.05.01.

⁶⁰ Oral interview with a lawyer Robinah Kayaga Kiyingi, Buziga Kampala, 30.05. 01. Also Nelson Nsubuga, Mukono hill, 02.06.01.

⁶¹ *Ebivve* is the plural form of *ekivve* (abomination).

⁶² This is also referred to as *obugwenyufu*. C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, p. 85.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86; C. Namugera, 'Morality Among the *Ganda*,' p. 55.

clan). Hence the saying: *Omulya mmamba aba omu n'avumaganya ekika*⁶⁴ (one who eats the lung fish or his/her totem brings shame to the clan). These tough penalties are meant to deter other people from committing such abominations. This is why the clan mates of retired Bishop Ssenyonjo, who decided to sympathise with homosexuals, were so disturbed by the case and had to invite the head of *ennyonyi* (bird) clan to deal with it.⁶⁵ Because the *ab'ebivve* (abominators) pollute the land and the community, many contemporary Baganda perform numerous rituals to cleanse the land of the pollution.

EKIVVE OF OKUKWATA ABAANA N'ABAKAZI (DEFILING AND RAPING)

Among contemporary Baganda communities it is *ekivve* (abomination) to rape or have sexual intercourse with a sister, brother, mother, father, *kojja* (mother's brother), *ssenga* (father's sister), *kizibwe* (*ssenga* or *kojja*'s children), grandfather or mother.⁶⁶ Today the *ebivve* of *okukwata abaana n'abakazi* (defiling and raping) are common, especially in towns and cities.⁶⁷

My interaction with some of my informants revealed many reasons for the increase of rape and defilement cases. Some of my informants argue that it is mainly due to the mixed cultures, especially in towns, whereby people tend to lose the sense of respect and value for each other.⁶⁸ Others said that it is because some contemporary Baganda, especially in towns, have lost *empisa ez'obuntubulamu* (worthy/acceptable conduct).⁶⁹ One parent said that they are too busy with work and business, so that much is left to

⁶⁴ M. B. Nsimbi, *Ssiwa Muto Lugero*, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Bishop Ssenyonjo had become the chairman of Integrity Uganda Chapter (an organisation that sympathises with homosexuals), which raised a lot of conflict since in the *kiganda* teaching it is *ekivve* to indulge in *okulya ebisiyaga*/homosexuality. Even the *Ennyonyi* (bird) clan members were upset about this. Ssenyonjo *alekulidde ne yeewerera ab'ekkanisa* (Ssenyonjo resigns and vows revenge against the Church), Juliet Katamba, *Bukedde* 17th May 01. See also 'Resolutions on homosexuality,' Namirembe Diocesan Council held on 9th May 2001.

⁶⁶ C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, p. 85; C. Namugera, 'Morality Among the Ganda,' p. 53.

⁶⁷ Oral interview with Alice Kasozi, Mukono Hill, 06.02.01. Also Namwanje Faith, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01.

⁶⁸ Oral interview with Dick Kyateesa, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01.

⁶⁹ Oral interview with Nnaalongo Ddembe, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01.

children to discover for themselves.⁷⁰ Another argument is the general lack of space in the houses, so the young girls, boys and other relatives share one bedroom.⁷¹ Some parents have also been accused of misguiding their children as they neglect *emizizo* (taboos) and fail to teach them how to respect each other.⁷² This has caused a lot of problems as some contemporary Baganda lose respect for each other.

There is also the problem of drug abuse. Some of my informants reported that some people in towns spend most of the time smoking and taking drugs such as *enjaga* (cannabis) and *mayirungi* (catha edulis). These drugs have caused many people to lose their minds and engage in such *ebivve* (abomination).⁷³ All this points to the increase in *ekibi* of *ebivve* as the communities continue to disintegrate under the pressures of urbanisation and modernity. Because of the danger, pollution and threat to life that *ebivve* cause to contemporary Baganda society, some measures are taken to punish and to clear out the abomination from the community.

PUNSHING OF AB'EBIVVE (ABOMINATORS)

The punishment for *ab'ebivve* (abominators) includes *okugobwa ku kyalo* (ostracising) and death through mob justice/lynching.⁷⁴ Sometimes the urban dwellers report the cases to the police, but in most cases the offenders are not dealt with seriously. In some cases the rapist is imprisoned for a short while and once released he continues to offend.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Oral interview with Sebadduka Nabulya Robinah, Mengo Kisenyi Kampala, 18.05.01.

⁷¹ I visited a lady in Mengo who was in terrible fear that *ekivve* was bound to strike her home, as on some occasion her son who was 16 years old was found fondling his 10-year-old sister when she was sleeping.

⁷² Oral interview with Victor Miiro, Nabuti Mukono 08.02.01.

⁷³ In Kisenyi smoking and taking of *amayirungi* and *enjaga* is rampant. Oral interview with Ssaalongo Muwanga Kisenyi, 15.05.01. See also the photos of people selling *amayirungi*. See appendix I, fig. B.

⁷⁴ In the past the *ab'ebivve* were killed at Katadde or on Mujjokero hill. E. S. Haydon, *Law and Justice in Buganda*, London: Butterworths, 1960, p. 279. Similarly some people take it upon themselves to kill the rapist. Namotovu reported a case of a young man who raped his grandmother and was burnt to death. Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

⁷⁵ Many of my female informants were very bitter about the way rape cases are handled. They also observed that the shame which is attached to rape even bars many girls from reporting rape cases. Oral interview with Robinah Kayaga Kiyangi, Buziga Kampala, 30.05.01; Margaret Nassiwa Egesa, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01.

Some parents take it upon themselves to punish through cursing a son who rapes a relative.

***Okukolima n'okuzaalukuka* (cursing and disowning)**

*Okukolima*⁷⁶ (cursing) is one of the measures taken by some Baganda elders or parents who have been deeply offended by the abominator. Cursing is a common practice among many contemporary Baganda communities.⁷⁷ The efficacy of the cursing lies in the belief that the spoken word has power to harm or to bless. For instance, a mother or father can curse a child by saying '*mwana ggwe nkukolimide olifa oyenjeera*'⁷⁸ (I have cursed you; you will die wandering from place to place). The most dangerous curse is that of the father, mother and *ssenga* (father's sister), for it is believed that such a curse could cause *omukisa omubi* (bad luck or misfortune) that haunts a person to death.⁷⁹

A mother can *okuzaalukuka* (disown) her son/daughter by undressing part of her chest, pulling out her breasts and beating them, saying '*amabeere gano tegakuyonsanga*'⁸⁰ (I did not suckle you on these breasts). These actions and words are believed to have a terrible effect on the offender. In some cases the offender may go mad. *Okuzaalukuka* is believed to take effect immediately.

Most of the informants said that curses are not easily revoked.⁸¹ However, in some few cases such as neglecting parents, an offended parent can revoke the curse if his son/daughter asks for forgiveness. In this case they prepare a reconciliatory meal which

⁷⁶ *Okukolima* refers to the verb 'to curse' while *ekikolimo* refers to the noun 'curse'.

⁷⁷ Cursing is also common among other tribes in Uganda. For instance, among the Banyankole and Bakiga it is known as *omukyeeno*, while among the Basoga it is *okulama*. The Banyankole and Bakiga believe that the most dangerous and feared curse is that of the 'mother,' in the extended meaning of the term. J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' p. 87. Also among the Agikuyu elders can curse (*kirumi*) children who are persistently notorious or those who neglect their parents. P. N. Wachege, *Jesus Christ Our Muthamaki (Ideal Elder)*, Nairobi: Phoenix, 1992, pp. 62-64.

⁷⁸ Oral interview with Nnaalongo Ddembe, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01.

⁷⁹ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

⁸⁰ Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01. This can also be applied to a person who beats his/her mother.

⁸¹ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01; Nnaalongo Ddembe, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01.

is served after performing certain rituals. On this subject Mrs Katunze explained that a father dealing with a cursed son, would ask him to bring a goat which is slaughtered and cooked. They would also prepare food, which is to be served with goat's meat. Before serving the meal the father would spit in his son's head and say '*ekikolimo nkimeenyewo*' (the curse is now dissolved). The father would give his son some food and meat to signify their reconciliation.⁸² The fear of *ekikolimo* (curse) and *okuzaalukuka* (disowning) helps to regulate misconduct in society, thereby preventing the occurrence of *ebivve* and *ekibi* in the society.

EKIVVE A CASE OF OKWETTA (SUICIDE)

Okwetta (suicide) is one of the *ekivve* which is most detested among contemporary Baganda. This is because the Baganda believe that all human beings ought to pursue that which promotes *obulamu* (life). Any person who takes his own life is a threat to society, as he has no respect for life. He is an abominator and offender of society and *Katonda*, the author of life. For this reason, people fear contact with the corpse of a suicide case, lest the abominator's dangerous spirit have terrible effects on them. Many contemporary Baganda also believe that *okwetuga kirondoola* (a suicidal tendency can follow people in the family).⁸³ Committing suicide not only pollutes the offender but also affects the whole family. That is why most contemporary Baganda have to perform rituals to cleanse the society of the abomination.⁸⁴

Rituals for clearing out suicide abomination

Most contemporary Baganda communities perform several cleansing rituals to clear out the pollution caused by suicide cases. For instance, among some rural Baganda communities, if a person hanged himself from a tree in his own garden, the people do

⁸² Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kiteete Mukono, 14.02.01.

⁸³ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 03.02.01; Daudi Kyambadde Lubanga, Nyenga, 26. 03.01. Some Baganda also take care not to marry into families where there are suicide cases.

⁸⁴ C. Namugera, 'Morality Among the *Ganda*,' p. 55.

not touch his body. They dig a pit below the tree, invite *omujjwa* (sister's child),⁸⁵ to cut the rope, and the body drops in the pit. The body is then covered up. If someone kills himself in the house, the body is first beaten as a punishment for the crime, and *abajjwa* (sister's children) would carry the body and bury it in the bush. This is meant to keep off the dangerous spirit of the deceased. After carrying out that shameful burial, the *abajjwa* would also pull down the house.⁸⁶ In towns and cities some people remove the roof of the house so that the evil spirit of the dead is thrown out. The deceased's property is then burnt, as people do not want to identify with the abhorrent deeds of the deceased.⁸⁷ People who commit suicide are not given heirs, and their names cannot be given to any child in the family. All this is meant to cut off any relationship with the dangerous spirit of the deceased.⁸⁸ Consequently the offender will not even enjoy life after death as an ancestor since he will have no one to remember him. All these rituals are meant to deal with *ekibi* and to cleanse the society of the abomination and pollution caused by the person who commits suicide.

EKIVVE OF OKUTEMULA (MURDER)

The other case of *ekivve* which is rampant among contemporary Baganda is *okutemula* (murder). *Okutemula* is one of most dreaded *ekivve* since it involves destroying life. *Abatemu* (murderers) plan their evil activities and they sometimes waylay their victims, or break into homes to kill.⁸⁹ Murder cases are rampant both in villages and towns. Some of these murder cases are motivated by *obukyayi* (hatred), *effubitizi* (envy) and *omululu* (greed), especially for money. Some informants reported cases of people who

⁸⁵ *Omujjwa* is singular and *abajjwa* is plural. The belief here is that the children of a man's sister do not belong to his clan therefore his spirit cannot do them any harm. Being buried by *abajjwa* is shameful and is a sign of rejection. Oral interview with Keefa Lukwago, Ddungi Ngogwe, 22.02.01. W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, p. 84.

⁸⁶ Oral interview with Daudi Kyambadde Lubanga, Nyenga, 26. 03.01; Keefa Lukwago, Ddungi Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

⁸⁷ Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01. If the deceased committed suicide in rented accommodation, his/her family would have to move to some other area in an attempt to deal with the *ekibi*. Oral interview with Ssaalongo Muwanga Kisenyi, 15.05.01.

⁸⁸ W. Mutebi, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism,' p. 7.

⁸⁹ The Baganda make a distinction between, *okutemula* and *okutta* (killing) in self-defence or by accident /manslaughter. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda, their Customs and Beliefs*, p. 112.

kill others in order to take their property such as money or motorcycles.⁹⁰ Others are killed in cold blood because of political conflicts and grudges. This has been the case since the 1970s, during Amin's time. For instance, Rev.Can. Zzaake reported that during Amin's time there was a group of *abatemu* known as *bakanywa musaayi*,⁹¹ who travelled at night to kill people either for political reasons or due to personal grudges.

From Amin's time people have continued to kill each other, and the sacredness of life has ceased to be recognised. Because the governments have supported such atrocities the people have lost trust in the law and in many cases they have resorted to mob justice/lynching.⁹² In some places *abatemu* (murderers) are killed or burnt with no one paying attention to their pleas.⁹³ Even innocent people may be killed, as was the case of a young man who was seen coming out of a bush which was near a home where someone had been murdered. The villagers caught and burnt the young man only to learn later that the murderers were other people. In such cases, therefore, the method of dealing with this *ekivve* in the society has also led to the killing of innocent people.⁹⁴ This points to the injustice of some of the *kiganda* ideas of dealing with *ekibi* and the disastrous effects of *obutemu* on contemporary Baganda communities.

⁹⁰ These cases were reported in Kampala, Mukono and other places. One case was reported, where *abatemu* killed a man in Luteete. F. Kiwanuka, *Baatemyeko omuntu omutwe ku loodibulooka* (they cut off a person's head at the roadblock), *Bukedde*, 20th March 2001.

⁹¹ Oral interview with Rev. Can. D. W. Zzaake, Mutundwe Kampala, 19.06.01.

⁹² The regimes of president Amin Daada (1971-1979) and Milton Obote (1980-1985) were characterised by such atrocities. In the present government some efforts are being taken to deal with murderers but still most people do not trust the implementers of laws due to corruption. S. Karugire, *Roots of Instability in Uganda*, pp. 49-114; *Mission to Freedom*, pp. 22-121. H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle 'Political Transitions since Idi Amin; A Study in Political Pathology,' pp. 280-297; A. Mazrui, 'Is Africa Decaying? The View from Uganda,' pp. 336-358; S. C. Kamyia, 'A History of the Church of Uganda, 1900-1980: The Impact of Christianity on the Political, Social, Economic and Religious life of the People of Uganda,' MTS diss., Virginia Theological Seminary, 1990.

⁹³ When I asked some of my informants why they do not report such cases to police they said that the police are soft and the criminals sometimes buy their way out of prison. Nnaalongo explained that some *abatemu* hire motorcyclists and kill them when they get to remote places. Oral interview with Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi Kampala, 15. 05.01; Deborah Malagala, Nyenga, 26.03.01. Cases of lynching are also reported in newspapers *Baamusizza bbulooka* (he was killed with bricks), S. Musoke, *Bukedde*, 29th October 1999.

⁹⁴ This method is rooted in the traditional practice of killing *ab'ebivve*. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 153.

On the whole *ekivve* is a dangerous *ekibi* as it pollutes the offender and the whole community. Its polluting nature is dangerous to both the living and the dead. The abominators not only pollute the land but also have no respect for the sanctity of life, and are therefore offenders against society and *Katonda* (the creator). This is why many contemporary Baganda make every effort to discourage people from such *ebivve* and perform rituals to cleanse the land of the abominations.

EKIBI AS OKWONOONA (WRONGDOING)

Okwonoona (wrongdoing) involves *okukola obubi* (doing wrong or bad things) as opposed to *okukola obulungi* (doing good). It also includes all *empisa embi* or *emize* (bad/dangerous behaviour). The *kiganda* idea of *okwonoona* presupposes the knowledge of *ekirungi* (good) and *empisa ennungi* (good/acceptable behaviour). *Empisa ennungi* among contemporary Baganda is rooted in the concept of *obuntubulamu* (worthy/approved conduct).⁹⁵

If a person indulges in activities which breach the principles of *obuntubulamu* such as *okubba* (stealing), *okutulugunya* (oppressing), *okuyomba* (quarrelling), *obwenzi* (adultery), *amalala* (pride), *obuggya* (jealousy), *effubitizi* (envy), *okulimba* (telling lies), or *okuwaayiiriza* (making false accusations),⁹⁶ they would be looked upon as *aboonoonyi* (wrongdoers). All these types of anti-social behaviour are abhorred as they destabilise the social order and expose the society to the terrible consequences of *ekibi*. One of the most rampant wrongdoings which has had devastating effects on contemporary Baganda society is *okubba* (stealing).

⁹⁵ See pp. 54-55; W. J. Sempebwa, *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality*, p.144; P. K. Kakooza, *Empisa Z'Obuntubulamu*, pp. 1-59; C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y' Omuganda*, pp. 57-165.

⁹⁶ Antisocial behaviour such as *obutabuuzza bantu* (not greeting others) is one form of *ekibi* which was pointed out by some young informants and children. Oral interview with Kizza Esther, Mirembe Doreen, Mengo Kampala, 18.05.01. *Okubuuzza* (greeting) is a sign of being social and having relationships with one's neighbour and the community at large. As people greet each other they get to know about their state of being, whether it is good or bad. Greeting is an important indicator of *obuntubulamu* (worthy/approved conduct).

OKUBBA (STEALING)

Okubba among the Baganda refers to stealing. It is an offence which involves unacceptable taking of other people's property. Hence the thief is said to have *engalo empanvu* (long fingers). There is, however, a ritually acceptable *okubba* (stealing), such as that of stealing *ettooke* (plantain) which accompanies the initiation ceremony of twins.⁹⁷ Hence the proverb *bakinaanise akyagala muka omubbi okuzaala abalongo* (overjoyed as a thief whose wife gives birth to twins).

While in the past the *kiganda* ideas of *okubba* (stealing) were limited to theft of property and women,⁹⁸ today the *kiganda* ideas of *okubba* are broad and include even *okubba abaana* (stealing children). One woman for example, stole a child from hospital, after lying to her husband that she was pregnant. She was caught and sent away from the village.⁹⁹ Other people indulge in *okubba abaana* for the purpose of selling them to people who practise human sacrifice,¹⁰⁰ or providing cheap labour for people in towns and cities.¹⁰¹ This kind of *okubba* has devalued human life and threatens the wellbeing of Baganda contemporary communities.

There is also *okubba n'ekkalaamu*¹⁰² (stealing with pencil, or embezzling money), common in many institutions and government offices. This practice may be grounded in the past ideas expressed in the saying: *Alya ekya mukamaawe nga tasenguse taba mubbi* (he who takes his master's food while in service is not a thief). People might take the property of their master's as long as they remained faithful to them. However, the

⁹⁷ This ritual is done once and does not warrant continuous stealing of food. In the past the practice of *okunyaga* (looting) property of defeated tribes was a form of acceptable stealing. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 132; L Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, p. 66. This could have been the background of the Baganda's looting during the war times in the 1970s and 1980s. Oral interview with Dick Lubanga, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01.

⁹⁸ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 212-213; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 157.

⁹⁹ Oral interview with Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi, 15. 05. 01.

¹⁰⁰ Reported in Katuuso, Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa Sarah, Katuuso, 30.05.01. Also Namwanje Faith, Rubaga Raod, 09.05. 01.

¹⁰¹ Newspaper report *Omukazi agambibwa okubba omwana* (A woman who stole a child), M. Musisi, *Bukedde*, May 17th 01.

¹⁰² Oral interview with Alice Kasozi, Mukono Hill, 06.02.01; A. Ruzindana, 'Combating corruption in Uganda,' in L. Katorobo, et al., *Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1997 (1995), pp. 191-208.

changing structures of governance and circumstance have led some of the contemporary Baganda to consider such practices as *okubba*.

The other forms of *okubba* include *okutunda empewo* (selling air) or fraud, such as selling sand instead of sugar, selling the same piece of land to several people, and using incorrect scales and measures. There is also *okuyaaya* which involves pick-pocketing and stealing. Among contemporary Baganda the people who indulge in *okuyaaya* are known as *abayaaye*.¹⁰³ These forms of theft are rooted in the economic breakdown suffered by Ugandans during the 1970s, a period when the people resorted to all sorts of crude ways of survival.¹⁰⁴ *Okkuba kkondo* (breaking into houses during day or night) has also become rampant with the use of guns. These cases show that the *kiganda* practices of *okubba* have developed and are becoming increasingly dangerous to the life and the entire wellbeing of the contemporary Baganda communities. This is why some contemporary Baganda endeavour to punish and to discourage such wrongdoers.

PUNISHING AND PREVENTING ABABBI (THIEVES)

Okubba (stealing) affects the offender, his/her family and the community at large. A person caught stealing is punished, and his/her family may be required to contribute towards compensating the person whose property was stolen. Hence the saying: *azaala ekibi akiwongerera* (the parents of a bad/evil child sacrifices for him).¹⁰⁵

Punishment of thieves may take the form of *okuswaza* (being put to shame) as the stolen property is tied around the thief's neck and he/she is made to walk around the village.¹⁰⁶ Other cases are reported in village council courts and the thieves are made to pay back or *okuliwa*. Some thieves are stoned or burnt to death. Lynching has become a common

¹⁰³ People who smoke *Enjaaye* (another name of *enjaga* or cannabis) and they go out and indulge in all sorts of misconduct.

¹⁰⁴ Oral interview with Prof. L. Walusimbi, Makerere Kampala, 05.06.01; W. Kaberuka, *The Political Economy of Uganda 1890-1979*, New York: Vintage Press, 1990, pp. 253-274.

¹⁰⁵ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

¹⁰⁶ Tying the stolen item around the neck of the thief is an ancient *kiganda* practice. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 214.

practice as the police and the law systems fail to handle cases, or they allow the thieves to buy their way out of prison. When this happens some people resort to lynching as a means of implementing justice. Such punishments are meant to deter others from committing offences which impoverish and endanger lives.

Fear of thieves causes some contemporary Baganda to protect their property by going to *abasawo* (healers/diviners) who give them medicine to catch thieves or *okweganga* (use protective medicine) to prevent thieves from stealing from their gardens, shops and homes. Other *abasawo* provide medicine to help people to recover stolen property.¹⁰⁷ Paradoxically it is also believed that some of these *ababbi* (thieves) also use protective medicine such as *yirizi* (talisman) which prevents them being caught, or when they are caught they can find a way out.¹⁰⁸ On the whole *obubbi* is *ekibi* which has had diverse effects on the society, more so as *ababbi* sometimes kill victims who try to defend themselves.

OKULOGA

Among contemporary Baganda *okuloga* refers to:

- *Okuwonya* (to heal), such as providing medicine to heal headache.
- *Okuziyiza* (to prevent), as in the saying: *Baamuvumye ne bamuloga olugambo* (he was told off and stopped from rumour mongering). There are also rituals which are done to *okuloga* or prevent disruptive rains.
- The negative aspects such as *okuwa obutwa* (poisoning) others and engaging in life-diminishing activities.¹⁰⁹

The negative aspect of *okuloga* is close to the English term 'sorcery'. For our study we will concentrate on the negative aspect of *okuloga* (sorcery) as *ekibi*.

¹⁰⁷ Two of the *abasawo* (healers/diviners) told me that they give protective medicines to their clients and also help them to recover the stolen property. Oral interview with Erenest Lubanga Bwaddene, Ngogwe, 22.02.01; Oral interview with Nalweyiso Ziribaggwa, Nassuuti Mukono, 17.02.01.

¹⁰⁸ I was told of one mother who used some *eddagala* (medicine) so that her children would not be caught when they went out to steal. Oral interview with Victor Miro, Nabuti Mukono 08.02.01.

¹⁰⁹ B. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda Amakula*, p. 66.

ABALOGO AND PRACTICES OF OKULOGA (SORCERY)¹¹⁰

Abalogo (sorcerers) are the most hated and feared people in many contemporary Baganda communities.¹¹¹ Most of the contemporary Baganda believe that some people out of *effubitizi* (envy) or *obuggya* (jealousy), hatred or suspicion set out to harm other people. *Abalogo* (sorcerers) do not want to see anyone happy, comfortable, beautiful, or prosperous.¹¹² Because of these bad feelings towards others, *abalogo* set out to deliberately hurt people at night or during the day. *Abalogo* can deliberately pick quarrels or instigate conflicts with people they wish to hurt. Sometimes they pretend to be good friendly people in order to get close to their victims.¹¹³

Some *abalogo* (sorcerers) are said to acquire skills or *eddogo* (sorcery power) from other skilled *abalogo* and they also begin to practice *okuloga*.¹¹⁴ Also some young people are believed to acquire the skills of *okuloga* (sorcery) from their parents, whom they assist in these practices. There are also some professional/senior *abalogo* who welcome and encourage people to join the practice of *okuloga*. These senior *abalogo* perform *eddogo* on behalf of their clients or provide their clients with the wicked means of attacking and wreaking revenge on others.¹¹⁵ As Tait rightly observed about sorcery among the Konkomba of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire,

Sorcery is a technique to be acquired, and the sorcerer kills with full knowledge of his intentions.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Referred to as *kuroga* among the Bakiga and Banyoro in Uganda, *abaheretsi* among the Bafumbira of Uganda and Rwanda. J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' p. 329; D. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' p. 87.

¹¹¹ J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' p. 392; F. Kiwanuka, 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the Ganda Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs,' pp. 12-13; D. Komuggulu, 'Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,' p. 38.

¹¹² Oral interview with Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi, 15.05.01; Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01; Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

¹¹³ Mrs Kalooli told me about a woman who first befriended her and later started to send *eddogo* (sorcery power). Oral interview with Kalooli Nanyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01.

¹¹⁴ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01; Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

¹¹⁵ Some of the *abasawo* (healers) or *abasamize* (diviners) are senior *abalogo*. Bwaddene a well-known senior *mulogo* (sorcerer) was willing to share with me about his practices. Oral interview with Erenest Lubanga Bwaddene, Ngogwe, 22.02.01. See appendix I, fig. C.

¹¹⁶ D. Tait, 'Konkomba Sorcery' in J. Middleton, *Magic, Witchcraft and Curing*, p.167.

Therefore, *abalogo* are always aware of their activities and try all means possible to fulfil their mission. In the process they violate all the social norms and attack the society at the core of its existence.

Abalogo (sorcerers) are also said to have *eriiso ebbi* (a bad/dangerous eye). A person with *eriiso ebbi* desires to harm others.¹¹⁷ That is why people who look at others with hatred and envy are said to be *abalogo*. Some people are said to have *akamwa/olulimi olubi* (bad tongue/mouth). These people speak out dangerous words or say something bad and it happens. It is said '*olulimi lwe luloga*' (the tongue is that which does the sorcery), and '*ekigambo kiraka*' (the word can have powers to effect harm on other people).¹¹⁸ This suggests that the humans in whom *Katonda* placed *obulamu* (life) are also believed to have a concentration of forces in some of the organs, which can be used to do good or harm to others. On this Magesa observes that:

With various African peoples harmful intentions originate from one or the other of these organs because, ...this is where the concentration of forces for possible wrongdoing is found.¹¹⁹

Similarly, among many contemporary Baganda communities, human organs are understood to be the seat of dangerous intentions that are related to *okuloga*. This is why some people are said to have *olulimi olubi* (dangerous/bad tongue), or *eriiso ebbi* (dangerous/bad eye).¹²⁰ This idea is further expressed in the saying: *Kamwa kabi katta Siroganga*,¹²¹ (the dangerous mouth killed *Siroganga*). This means that a person may say a word which can effect harm on others. In this case the offender may be understood to be *omuloga* (sorcerer), even if they did not intend to harm others.

¹¹⁷ Oral interview with Livingston Mpalanyi, Sseeta, 10.06.01.

¹¹⁸ Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kiteete Mukono, 14.02.01.

¹¹⁹ L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p.151. This idea can be compared to the Lugbara's concept that *ole* (indignation or bad attitude) which forces people to harm others sits in the human heart. J. Middleton, *Lugbara Religion*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 239-240. The Nyakyusa in Tanzania also believe that certain people have pythons (*isota*) in their bellies which gives them power to harm human beings and cattle, by throttling, tramping and wounding them. M. Wilson, *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 91.

¹²⁰ Oral interview with Mary Nalwoga, Kibuye Kampala, 14.05.01; Livingston Mpalanyi, Sseeta, 10.06.01.

¹²¹ Oral interview with Nsubuga Ssaalongo, Lugasa Ngogwe, 21.02.01; A. Kaggwa, *Bakabaka Be Buganda*, p. 52; Chapter two pp. 30-31.

Some of the *abalogo* may send out *amayembe* (horns) and *emizimu* (spirits) to attack people. These are sometimes said to acquire evil powers from senior sorcerers. I visited a senior *omulogo* and on welcoming me he asked whether I wanted to kill someone. After explaining the purpose of my visit he told me that he dispensed *eddagala* (medicine) to help people kill their opponents. He supplied love potions to women and men who are rejected by their lovers. He also had medicine that could help a person prosper in business, get promotions at work and to get rid of people who bar others' progress.¹²² He also provided medicine to help confuse court proceedings for criminals, and medicine to help a person *okwelagula* (foresee) people who intend to do them harm through dreams. Some people valued this man's services as *omusawo* (healer) of people, for he gives harmful medicine only to people from other villages and parts of the country.¹²³

The senior *abalogo* (sorcerers) and their clients do a lot of *ebibi*¹²⁴ to achieve what they want. In towns and cities children are reported kidnapped and killed as sacrifices by the *abalogo*.¹²⁵ The *abalogo* are also known to use human organs such as the tongue, the liver, the heart and genitals as important ingredients of their potions. Some *abalogo* and their clients are said to protect their wealth and property by planting some of these human organs in their houses, factories and other property. With the rampant poverty and unemployment in the towns and cities, the practice of *okuloga* has persisted, as

¹²² Oral interview with Erenest Lubanga Bwaddene, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹²³ Oral interview with Babirye Idah, Ngogwe, 22.02.01. These issues only confirm the overlapping of the functions of *omulogo* (sorcerer), *musawo* (healer), *mulaguzi* (foreseer), and *omusamize* (diviner). J. O'Donohue, *Magic and Witchcraft in Southern Uganda*, Ggaba Publication, Kampala, 1974, p. 32.

¹²⁴ Plural of *ekibi*.

¹²⁵ A widow whose child was stolen said she could not believe that *abasawo* could do that to her son. She further informed me that when the boy was taken to a shrine someone inside screamed 'you have brought a wrong child.' So they carried the boy and left him in a bush where he was found. After three days a four-year old boy was kidnapped from the same village and was sacrificed. Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa Sarah, Katuuso, 30.05.01. Even newspapers report cases of sacrificed children, *Abaasaddaaka omwana baasindikiddwa ku kalabba battibwe* (the people who sacrificed a child have been sentenced to death), Tonny Nsoona, *Bukedde*, 24th July 1999.

people believe that sorcery can help them get rich quick, keep their jobs and protect their businesses.¹²⁶

However the occurrence of AIDS¹²⁷ has to some degree challenged the beliefs in *okuloga*. In the 1980s when AIDS first appeared in Uganda some people claimed that it was *eddogo* (sorcery power). Today through scientific testing and education most people know that AIDS is a disease which can be transmitted from one person to another through body fluids.¹²⁸ Nevertheless the practice of *okuloga* has proved to be a threat to life among many contemporary Baganda communities and it is *ekibi*, which has put the society's wellbeing at risk.

Some examples of *Okuloga*

Abalogo (sorcerers) use a variety of materials to harm or kill other people.¹²⁹ Poison may be put in drinks or food or thrown into people's eyes. The poison can be made out of *emmimbiri* (poisonous herbs) or animal parts.¹³⁰ For instance, the liver of a hyena can be dried and ground into poison, which can be carried even in the fingernails or hands. Hence the saying *ayanjaza amagalo nga aga muwabutwa* (he is spreading out his fingers as a person who poisons another).

A person who wishes to get rid of his neighbour can place herbs in his path so that when he walks over it he suffers from *ettalo* (skin disease) which causes swellings, wounds and eventually kills him.¹³¹ Some people slaughter a chicken and put herbs in

¹²⁶ The same phenomenon was observed by J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda, p. 50.

¹²⁷ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, a disease caused by the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV).

¹²⁸ Mrs Katunze told me that with AIDS she has even stopped suspecting *abalogo* (sorcerers) when she falls ill. Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kiteete, 14.02.01. With such experience some educated Baganda do not want to talk about *okuloga* while others just claim not to know much about it.

¹²⁹ Rwampigi points out several 'do it yourself' practices of sorcery among Bakiga and Banyankole of Uganda. J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda' pp. 124-125.

¹³⁰ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹³¹ Oral interview with Beatrice Nnangonzi, Rubaga Road, Kampala, 09.05.01.

its head. The chicken's head is then buried in the path, so that when their neighbour walks over it he falls ill and dies.¹³²

Abalogo can send *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) by getting a piece of cloth belonging to the person they want to harm, wrapping it in some herbs and planting it on a grave. This will cause the spirit to torment their victims.¹³³ A person who wants to stop his neighbours from cultivating their gardens must find where his neighbour last dug, defecate there, put some herbs there and run away without looking backwards.¹³⁴ A woman can cause temporary impotence in her husband by using the herb known as *ssemazingankata*. She wraps this in one of her bed linens and then hangs it up in the bedroom saying, 'I am with you, no other woman should arouse your sexual desires.'¹³⁵

Abalogo are anti-social people who have poor relations with their neighbours, and they are not accepted in society.¹³⁶ For instance, a person who cuts down fruit or banana trees when he is moving to another village is often said to be *omulogo* (sorcerer) since he does not want other people to eat the food crops he is leaving behind. People who often move from one village to another are also said to be *abalogo* (sorcerers), as people question their inability to relate to others.¹³⁷

On the other hand people who are successful at work, or whose gardens yield a lot of food, or who are very clever at school may be branded *abalogo* because of their extra abilities. They may be said to have *mukokota* (powers to pull to themselves other people's good things).¹³⁸ Sometimes lonely or unhappy people such as the lame and

¹³² Oral interview with Mary Nalwoga, Kibuye Kampala, 14.05.01. This is similar to the practice of *okuloga* among the pre-colonial Baganda which was written about by Roscoe. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 344. This also indicates that some *kiganda* practices have persisted to date.

¹³³ Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

¹³⁴ Oral interview with Margaret Bwenene, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01.

¹³⁵ Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

¹³⁶ J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' p. 392.

¹³⁷ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

¹³⁸ P. Kayiira, *Obusamize Nabumanya*, 1994, p. 8.

barren women are also pointed out as *abalogo*.¹³⁹ This is when all sorts of unfair treatment can be wreaked on helpless people.¹⁴⁰

Dealing with *abalogo* (sorcerers)

The *abalogo* are malevolent persons who are anti-social and anti-life. For this reason some people try their best to get rid of them. In most cases *abalogo* (sorcerers) are chased away from the villages and ostracised, or lynched by the mob.¹⁴¹ Sometimes they are taken to local councils and police, but most cases are complex to deal with, since there is no forensic evidence for the crimes. Because of threats and torture from the activities of *abalogo* some contemporary Baganda make efforts to protect themselves against their attacks.

Okwetangira*¹⁴²(preventing) *eddogo

Some contemporary Baganda use herbs to *okwetangira* (prevent or protect) themselves against the *eddogo* (sorcery power). The most common is *omwetango*, which is believed to have power to ward off *eddogo* if people place it in their homes or grind it and bathe in it. *Akatanga* (fruit herb) is also believed to ward off sorcery. This is hung in houses, shops, market stalls and vehicles.¹⁴³

Some people go to *abasawo* (healers) and get *eddagala* (medicine) to protect them against the activities of *abalogo* (sorcerers).¹⁴⁴ A number of *abasawo* told me that they give people medicines to heal and fight off *eddogo* (sorcery power).¹⁴⁵ Medicine or

¹³⁹ These unlucky members of the community are thought to be envious of happy people and are usually suspected of *okuloga*.

¹⁴⁰ Mr Kazibwe reported the case of an amputee who was accused of *okuloga* (sorcery) and his village-mates burnt him to death. Oral interview with Kazibwe Toby, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁴¹ Nnaalongo Muwanga who is a local council member reported a case of a woman who was caught collecting some sand in her neighbour's compound. The woman was accused of *okuloga* and was chased away from the village. Oral interview with Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi, 15.05.01.

¹⁴² *Okwetangira* refers to preventing or protecting against danger. It may involve use of herbs or even slaughtering an animal or bird for the purposes of protection against attacks *ekibi*.

¹⁴³ Oral interview with Mwebe Dan, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01.

¹⁴⁴ Oral interview with Sam Bukenya, Nakabago Mukono, 17.02.01.

¹⁴⁵ Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01 and Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

herbs known as *ekikongo* and *akalema njovu* are ground into powder and put in lesions made on body parts such as the chest, arms and feet. This ritual is known as *okusandagga*. After that the *omusawo* would say '*ntangidde amalogo n'ebisiraani ebyandirumbye omuntu ono* (let all the sorcery and bad luck be prevented from attacking this person).¹⁴⁶

Okuwonya (treating) eddogo

One *omusawo* (healer/diviner) explained that if a person was suffering from the attacks of a dangerous spirit sent through *eddogo* planted on *amalaalo* (tomb), they would have to first look out for signs of such *emizimu* (spirits).¹⁴⁷ For instance patients who bite their tongues are sometimes said to be tortured by hostile spirits. To deal with such hostile spirits, one can use *ebbinga mizimu* (herb). This is crushed and is given to the patient to smell, or can be burnt so that the person breathes it in. Some people burn *omwoloola* (tree bark) and *obubaani* (incense). This can make the *omuzimu* (spirit) speak and name the *omulogo* (sorcerer) who sent it. To get rid of this *omuzimu*, they first find *ekiswa ekifulufu* (dormant anthill), a black chicken, *omwetango* (herb), and *enkata*.¹⁴⁸ A black chicken is one which wards off misfortunes.¹⁴⁹ Then *omusawo* slaughters the chicken and the blood flows into the anthill. *Omwetango* (herb) mixed with blood is passed over the head of the person afflicted. The mixture and the chicken are then wrapped in *enkata* and placed in the anthill. Once this ritual is done, the *omuzimu* (spirit) is locked up in the anthill and stops attacking people.¹⁵⁰

The ritual of *okugoba omuzimu* (casting out a spirit) is also believed to deal with spirits sent by *abalogo*. I observed an old lady treating a woman who was suffering from spirit attacks.¹⁵¹ The sick woman was shivering and breathing heavily. The old lady put some

¹⁴⁶ Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁴⁷ Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

¹⁴⁸ *Enkata* is rolled banana leaves used to protect the head as one carries water from a well.

¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, a white chicken is meant for blessings.

¹⁵⁰ Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

¹⁵¹ Observed at Nsambwe, Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

red-hot charcoal on *olujjo* (a piece of broken pot), and some chicken feathers.¹⁵² Chicken feathers are used in the belief that a female *omuzimu* (spirit) detests the smell of chicken, since in the past it was a taboo for Baganda women to eat chicken.¹⁵³ Then the sick woman was made to breathe in the smoke, as the old lady addressed the spirit saying, *ono muveeko mangu talina musango* (leave this person she is innocent). After some time the sick woman said '*kangende, kangende*' (let me go, let me go), and she stopped shivering. Then the old lady mixed *omwetango* (herb) and gave it to the sick woman to drink. The old lady told me that the sick woman had a co-wife who was sending this *omuzimu* (spirit).¹⁵⁴

The antisocial nature of the practices of *abalogo* and *okuloga* is understood to be *ekibi* since the *abalogo* have no respect for social norms and are haters of peace and harmony. Their activities, which harm and destroy life are dreaded and are *ekibi* as they are anti-human and threaten the wellbeing of society. That is why many contemporary Baganda live in fear of the attacks of this *ekibi*. People do their best to prevent or protect against the *eddogo* and to set themselves free from the power of *abalogo*. Paradoxically, the fear of *abalogo* helps to prevent the people from wrongdoing.

¹⁵² Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01; Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01; Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

¹⁵³ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01; Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁵⁴ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

OKUSERA (PROWLING)

Okusera is a *Luganda* word, which refers first to *okukungula oba okuleeta ekikwa* (foretelling bad luck). For instance, when an owl hoots or a fox barks it is said to be announcing death. A child who cries all the time or one who carries his hands on his head foretells the death of his parents.¹⁵⁵ The term *okusera* also refers to the practice of undressing and engaging in strange or wicked activities. This is closer to the English term 'prowling'.¹⁵⁶ The people who indulge in *okusera* are known as *abasezi* (prowlers).

For our study we will concentrate on *okusera* as 'prowling.' *Okusera* is one *ekibi* which is most abhorred among many contemporary Baganda communities. Many people hate and fear the *abasezi* (prowlers) and their activities.¹⁵⁷ According to some of my informant, *abasezi* carry out most of their activities during the night, although they may also engage in some activities during the day.¹⁵⁸ The fear of *abasezi* (prowlers) is common among both rural and urban dwellers, although more can be found out about them in rural areas. Some of the urban young and educated contemporary Baganda question the existence of *abasezi*, which serves to increase the mystery surrounding them.¹⁵⁹ There are however some informants who could tell their experiences of *abasezi* both in towns and rural areas. Newspapers too report some cases of *abasezi*.¹⁶⁰ The mystery surrounding *abasezi* makes them the most feared people among many

¹⁵⁵ B. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda*, p. 96.

¹⁵⁶ Some people who have done studies on the activities of *okusera* such Ssozi have referred to it as 'night dancing'. R. S. Ssozi, 'The *Basezi*,' pp. 1-7; F. Kiwanuka, 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the *Ganda* Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs' p. 29. Yet as Rwampigi rightly observes 'night dancing is just part of the many activities of *okusera*.' Rwampigi also listed *obusezi* under witchcraft after defining witchcraft as 'the wisdom of the people.' J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' pp. 96-99. However in this study we use the term *okusera* and a closer English term 'prowling' which includes all sorts of weird secretive activity that people carry out mainly in the night. A. Kitching, *Luganda-English*, p. 99.

¹⁵⁷ Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01; Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁵⁸ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁵⁹ Oral interview with Dick Kyateesa, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01.

¹⁶⁰ *Asera Akatale* (Found prowling in the market place) C. Kigongo, *Bukedde*, 18th October 2000. One informant knew the man who was involved in *okusera*. Oral interview with Yunia Nakabonge Kibirige, Njeru, 21.03.01; *Omusezi yasangiddwa yeekejera ku mulambo* (prowler found with the corpse) Musasi, *Bukedde*, 22nd November 2001, available from <http://www.bukedde.co.ug>, accessed 22nd November 2001.

contemporary Baganda communities.¹⁶¹ It should however, be noted that this study is not concerned with providing proof of the existence of *abasezi*, but with examining the ideas of *ekibi* which encompass the concept of *okusera* (prowling) among contemporary Baganda.

ABASEZI (PROWLERS)

People involved in *okusera* (prowling) are known as *abasezi* (prowlers). *Abasezi* can be men or women. Most known cases of *abasezi* are middle-aged people and the elderly, although some informants reported cases of youth and children who could tell their friends at school about things to do with *okusera*.¹⁶² Most of my informants agreed that *okusera* was *kya waka* (a family practice),¹⁶³ and that the *abasezi* are initiated into the practice by family members.

Abasezi (prowlers) are initiated by the ritual of *okusala ekitambo*, which involves making lesions on the person's body into which herbs are put. The ritual ends with inviting *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling) to take control of the initiate.¹⁶⁴ Initiation into *okusera* (prowling) may be from the age of fourteen or over, when the parents are sure that the young people will not reveal the family secret.¹⁶⁵ Others are initiated into the practice as adults, as in the case of men or women who get married to *abasezi*. Sometimes the newcomers to a family are introduced to the practice and its

¹⁶¹ R. S. Ssozi, 'The *Basezi*,' p. 4.

¹⁶² Nansasi told me about her schoolmate who came from *abasezi* family. The girl used to tell Nansasi that her parents go out in the night and bring back huge pieces of meat. Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01. On this however Ssozi observed that the *obusezi* grows with age. During youth and early adulthood *omusezi* may not even be recognised. R. S. Ssozi, 'The *Basezi*,' p. 4. This is quite a complex issue to establish, though some young people told me about cases of suspected *abasezi* in boarding schools. A teacher also narrated a case of a girl in a boarding school who used to pull and eat her friend's sponge mattress at night. She was suspected of being *omusezi* and was expelled from the school. The girl's parents were reported to have been aware of this strange behaviour. Oral interview with Nabbanja Margaret, Kampala, 09.05.01. The witches written about by Evans are closer to *abasezi*. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958 (1937) p. 23; G. Parrinder, *Witchcraft: European and African*, London: Faber and Faber, p. 143.

¹⁶³ Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01; Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁶⁴ Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁶⁵ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

significance to the family, and then they are initiated into *okusera*. One informant told me about a man who went to seek advice about his wife who was persuading him to be initiated.¹⁶⁶ Some people are secretly initiated into the practice by their wives or husbands.¹⁶⁷

TYPES OF *ABASEZI*

Among the contemporary Baganda there are a number of types of *abasezi* (prowlors) known in the society. Both informants and some studies¹⁶⁸ done in this area reveal that the categorisation of the *abasezi* is based on their activities. This is somewhat complex since the activities of the *abasezi* are so secretive. However in our investigations, four main types of *abasezi* were identified: *Abasezi abalya abantu* (cannibals), *abasezi b'ennimiro* (garden prowlers), *abasezi b'amaka* (home prowlers) and *abantu abatambula obukunya ekiro* (naked people who walk in the night).

Abasezi abalya abantu (cannibals)

This group of *abasezi* (prowlors) is involved mainly in the activity of eating human flesh. These *abasezi* can be male or female, and they perform their rituals during the night.¹⁶⁹ Unlike the *abalogo* (sorcerers) who carry out their activities consciously, the *abasezi* are believed to act under the influence of *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling).¹⁷⁰ When they become possessed the *ekitambo* raises in them the craving for human flesh. They undress and rush out in search of human flesh. The women are said to tie a string of bones round their waists.¹⁷¹ According to some informants the *abasezi* usually go out at 9.00 p.m.¹⁷² The most popular place these *abasezi* visit is graveyard, where they perform rituals of exhuming a corpse. The rituals include dancing and

¹⁶⁶ Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁶⁷ R. S. Ssozi, 'The *Basezi*,' p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., F. Kiwanuka, 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the *Ganda* Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs,' pp. 30-31.

¹⁶⁹ Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01; Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁷⁰ Oral interview with Sam Bukenya, Nakabago Mukono, 17.02.01; R. S. Ssozi, 'The *Basezi*,' p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁷² Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01.

singing around the grave, then they wave around *ekiwaanyi* (branch of tree) as they call out the dead. Once the corpse is removed from the grave they carry it home, or may use their powers to walk it to their home.¹⁷³

Some *abasezi* (proglers) can even attack people whom they meet on the way, kill them and eat them up. In 1927 in Buikwe three men, Kawuulu, Leo Nsizabazungu and Lubaluka, caught a young girl Daliya, killed and ate her. These men were caught and hanged.¹⁷⁴ There are also reports of people who were chased by *abasezi*. One of my informants narrated that when she was about 14 years old her mother sent her to neighbours at around 7.30 p.m.; on her way back she was chased by *omusezi* (a prowler) but she managed to escape. However, she fell ill, and her parents had to give her *obutiko* (small mushrooms) and some herbs before she could get better.¹⁷⁵ Some informant said that the *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling) can attack the victim of the *abasezi* and cause them illness and death.¹⁷⁶

***Abasezi b'ennimiro* (garden proglers)**

Abasezi b'ennimiro (garden proglers) are proglers who specialise in attacking gardens and plantations that yield a lot of crops.¹⁷⁷ These *abasezi* can become possessed during the day or night. When they are possessed by *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling) they undress or put on light clothing since their rituals involve cursing crops by exposing their private parts to the crops. They dance and chant around the crops, uproot and knock down plants. They also smear clay, mud, and ashes on the plants or defecate in the gardens. Smearing is a way of marking where they have been, since they return

¹⁷³ Bbengo *omusawo* (healer/diviner) told me that he was once consulted by a troubled man who had carried home a corpse and on his arrival home some voices started crying out whenever he attempted to touch the corpse. Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁷⁴ Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01. His mother was a friend of Daliya's grandmother. See picture of Kawuulu's grave, appendix I, fig. D.

¹⁷⁵ Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe 23.02.01. Even newspapers have reported cases of people who were chased by *abasezi*. *Abafumbo ekitambo kibatuza bufofofo* (A couple is being tortured by *ekitambo*) B. Sennabulya, *Bukedde* 26th November 2000.

¹⁷⁶ Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01; Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁷⁷ Oral interview with Miriam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

more than twice to check on the result of their activity.¹⁷⁸ The smearing of ashes or clay on the plants is one evidence of the activity of *abasezi*. *Abasezi b'ennimiro* are feared and hated because their activities can cause famine to strike a home or village.

***Abasezi b'amaka* (home prowlers)**

The *abasezi b'amaka* are similar to garden prowlers, although they take an interest in homes and houses of different people in the village. They may undress or dress lightly and set out for *okusera* (prowling) either during the day or night. In town and cities they are said to target homes, business places such as shops, markets and vehicles.¹⁷⁹ One informant reported *omusezi* (a prowler) who always walks around her house, peeps through the windows and looks at her children as they read their books at night.¹⁸⁰ Another young informant narrated that she one time saw *omusezi* when going out to catch white ants with her aunt at around 4.00 a.m. This naked *omusezi* was standing outside their house. When he saw them he stood still and looked at them until they decided to get back inside their house.¹⁸¹ These kind of *abasezi* (prowlers) cause a lot of insecurity in society as they disturb people's peace and ruin homes and businesses.¹⁸²

***Abantu abatambula obukunya ekiro* (naked people who walk at night)**

The *abantu abatambula obukunya ekiro* (naked people who walk at night) like the other groups of prowlers, have the habit of walking naked at night. However, these *abasezi* (prowlers) do not act under the influence of *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling). They walk naked in the night as part of the prescription given to them by the *abasawo* (healers). These may be people with illnesses or problems who after seeing *abasawo* are asked to do things and perform rituals at night to treat their problems. One informant narrated how one time his son fell ill and he failed to get any cure in hospital, so he took

¹⁷⁸ Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01.

¹⁷⁹ Oral interview with Yunia Nakabonge Kibirige, Njeru, 21.03.01.

¹⁸⁰ Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe 22.02.01; Miriam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

¹⁸¹ Oral interview with Jane Namakula, Mukono Hill, 02.03.01. However, many of my young informants did not have any experience of *abasezi*.

¹⁸² Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

him to *omusawo* (a healer). The *omusawo* gave him medicine to give to his son after performing a ritual which involved fetching water in a pot at night when he was completely naked. When he went out to fetch water he met some of his village mates, who from that time started whispering that he was *omusezi* (proowler). The unfortunate thing is that his son did not get cured.¹⁸³

In addition to the above, some people who go to *abasawo* (healers) are asked to bring bits and pieces from the graveyards. Such people go out determined to get the required pieces so that they may be healed of their sickness. People who pick such items from graveyards and sell them to their clients support this group of *abasezi*. One informant reported the case of a man who specialised in collecting and selling bits of rope used by people who commit suicide. This man is looked on as *omusezi*, because of his behaviour.¹⁸⁴ This group of *abasezi* and the *abasezi b'amaka* (home prowlers) are indistinct from *abalogo* and are hated for their antisocial and life-diminishing activities.¹⁸⁵

PUNISHING ABASEZI

The *abasezi* (prowlers) and their abhorrent activities are believed to be a great threat to the social order and wellbeing of the contemporary Baganda society and measures are taken to punish and get rid of them. In the past when the *abasezi* were detected the people would set traps and catch them.¹⁸⁶ Once caught they were killed by *okusokota emizingoonyo* (stems of plantain leaves being pushed into their anus).¹⁸⁷ Today the punishment of *abasezi* varies depending on their practices. The cannibals are killed by burning or stoning. The others, who do not eat human flesh *baswazibwa* (are put to public shame) by being tied up with a rope in a public place and mocked, then

¹⁸³ Oral interview, name withheld at the request of the informant.

¹⁸⁴ Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01.

¹⁸⁵ R. S. Ssozi, 'The Basezi,' p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ For more on the past means of setting *abasezi* traps see R. S. Ssozi, 'The Basezi,' pp. 6-7; F. Kiwanuka, 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the Ganda Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs,' p. 32.

¹⁸⁷ E. S. Haydon, *Law and Justice in Buganda*, p. 283; L. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, p. 248.

ostracised.¹⁸⁸ The punishment affects not only the individual but also the family. This is because when the young people from *abasezi* (prowlers) families plan to get married, people warn the prospective suitor about their *okusera* (prowling) practices. Once warned about these practices the suitors give up the relationship. One informant reported a case of two young graduates who on completing their university studies were planning to get married. However, the young woman was later informed that her fiancé came from *abasezi* family and the marriage plans were cancelled.¹⁸⁹ It should be noted that some young urban dwellers do not take an interest in such issues and they marry strangers without considering their backgrounds.¹⁹⁰ However, there are still some young Baganda who consider these issues before they marry a person.¹⁹¹

My discussions with some of the *abasawo* (healers) and *abasamize* (diviners) also revealed that the *abasezi* can be healed of *okusera* if they decide to set themselves free of the malevolent *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling) that drives them into that practice.¹⁹² The *ekitambo* can be captured and destroyed. In most cases however, the *abasezi* (prowlers) do not consider *okusera* (prowling) as *ekibi*, which they need to deal with, for they believe *obusezi kya lulyo*¹⁹³ (prowling is a family practice). They may not even be aware of the gravity of their activity, since they always act under the influence of the *ekitambo*. This suggests that the malevolent *ekitambo* that drives people into *okusera* is *ekibi* which threatens many contemporary Baganda communities and their wellbeing.

¹⁸⁸ Oral interview with Miriam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01; Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01.

¹⁸⁹ Oral interview with Nakalawa Justine, Mukono, 07.02.01. However, as was observed by Kabugulano, some malicious people also use such stories of *obusezi* to stop other people's marriages. Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01.

¹⁹⁰ This was the complaint of some old informants who were unhappy with the conduct of the young generation. Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁹¹ Oral interview with Evelyn Ndagire, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01; Dick Kyateesa, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01.

¹⁹² Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01; Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01.

¹⁹³ Oral interview with Miriam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

Furthermore, the *ekibi* of *obusezi* (prowling) lies in the nature of the activities of *abasezi* (prowlers). The whole idea of going to a graveyard at night, disturbing the living dead and violating taboos relating to the dead is recognised as *ekibi*.¹⁹⁴ It is believed that disrespect of dead bodies can rouse in the community malevolent spirits, which may also take revenge on the society.¹⁹⁵ On this Rwampigi rightly observes that:

The crime of cannibalism consists first, in disturbing the living-dead...there is no way such a culprit can escape the terrible vengeance of the offended spirit.¹⁹⁶

Thus *abasezi* destabilise the world of the living and the dead. Many contemporary Baganda also dread the practice of attacking and killing people because it destroys life and usurps *Katonda* the creator's powers over life, and exposes society to disintegration. This is why *okusera* is the most formidable *ekibi* in many contemporary Baganda communities.¹⁹⁷

EKIBI AS OBUBI

The term *obubi* literally translates into English as 'badness.' In *Luganda*, *obubi* as an adjective refers to dirt such as excretion or to something ugly as in the case of an ugly picture. *Obubi* also refers to *ebizibu* (undesirable conditions), *akabi* (danger) and all life threatening forces/conditions.¹⁹⁸ *Obubi* stands in opposition to *obulungi* (goodness), the desirable and the state of wellbeing. Thus a very ill or poor person can say *ndi bubi* (I am in a terrible or dangerous state), while a rich or healthy person can say *ndi bulungi* (to mean, I am well or comfortable).

Obubi therefore refers to all undesirable, dangerous states of being such as *obulwadde* (sickness or afflictions), *entalo* (wars) and *okufa* (death), *obwavu* (poverty), *enjala* (famine), *obugumba* (barrenness), *omukisa omubi* (bad luck), *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* (attacks from malevolent spirits) and natural disasters such as *embuyaga*

¹⁹⁴ Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

¹⁹⁵ Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01.

¹⁹⁶ J. Rwampigi, 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' p. 197.

¹⁹⁷ Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Mukono, 07.02.01.

¹⁹⁸ A. L. Kitching, et al., *A Luganda-English*, pp. 5 & 210; R. A. Snoxall (ed.), *Luganda-English Dictionary*, pp. 10 & 200.

(hurricanes). The undesirable nature of *ekibi* is further articulated in the proverb *ekibi kigwana wala*¹⁹⁹ (*ekibi* ought to be afar) which expresses the idea that people dread attacks of *ekibi*.

Obubi, or life-diminishing conditions, are believed to be caused by both human and spiritual forces. Most of the contemporary Baganda believe that there are *abantu ababi* (bad or dangerous people), *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) and natural forces which bring *obubi* on society, and as such expose human beings and all creation to life-diminishing circumstances. These are the forces behind the dehumanising conditions such as *obulwadde* (sickness) and *okufa* (death). First I will examine the ideas of *obulwadde*.

OBULWADDE (ILLNESS/AFFLICTION)

Obulwadde is derived from the verb *okulwala* (being ill). Among contemporary Baganda *obulwadde* refers to all conditions which affect and diminish *obulamu* (life). It can be *okulwala mu mubiri* (body illness), *okulwala mu mwoyo* (affliction in the inner self) or *obutaba na mirembe* (general lack of peace). Therefore, *obulwadde* refers to conditions ranging from mild skin diseases, headache, *obugumba* (barrenness), *omukisa omubi* (bad luck), *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* (attacks from malevolent spirits) and *obwavu* (poverty), to lack of success at work or at school. People who go to see *omusawo*²⁰⁰ (healer) or *omusamize* (diviner) with afflictions are referred to as *abalwadde* (afflicted/sick people).²⁰¹

Obulwadde (disease/affliction), as we observed above, is *ekibi*, which is undesirable and dangerous to life. This is articulated in the saying *Olumbe teruweebwa mukono*²⁰² (a person cannot accept disease). Life is valued, and most people will do anything to

¹⁹⁹ Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.01.

²⁰⁰ The term *omusawo* can be used to refer to herbalists, diviners and foretellers. *Omusawo* is a healer, however some healers may also be *abasamize* (diviners) and *abalaguzi* (fortune-tellers).

²⁰¹ Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01.

²⁰² J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995, p. 28.

preserve it or to cure their afflictions. Therefore, when some contemporary Baganda are afflicted they usually try to find the causes. The causes may be natural, social or spiritual, but for the contemporary Baganda as other Africans, life and issues that affect it are perceived as a totality;²⁰³ they do not dichotomise between physical and spiritual causes of sickness. It is the duty of the *omusawo* (healer) to identify the cause of the afflictions and to cure them. *Omusawo*, as Rutiba rightly observed:

gives medicine to cure physical disease, mental illness, and misfortunes, to cast out demons and to give birth. They do the work of a modern doctor, a pastor and a nurse.²⁰⁴

If the person is himself aware of the cause, as in the case of snakebite, herbs²⁰⁵ can be given for treatment. These herbs can also be obtained from *abasawo* (healers). The healers might be simple herbalists in the community who know the herbs that treat a variety of *obulwadde* (affliction or disease). Some people who stay in snake-infested areas keep these herbs in the house. Farmers and men who harvest timber will sometimes keep herbs for treating snakebites in the form of *ensiriba* (amulet) which they put in their pockets or tie around their arms.²⁰⁶ However, if the case fails to respond to the herbs, the person may seek the help of *omusamize* (diviner), who establishes whether it was a very dangerous snake or *eddogo* (sorcery power) sent in the form of a snake to kill a person.

***Obugumba* (barrenness)**

Obugumba (barrenness) is one of the *obulwadde* (affliction or disease) that is dangerous and undesirable *ekibi*, as it strikes at life and bars its continuity. Among many

²⁰³ J. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinmann, 1969, p. 6; L. Magesa, *African Religion*, p. 159.

²⁰⁴ E. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' pp. 71 & 72.

²⁰⁵ There are a variety of herbs which some contemporary Baganda use to cure all sorts of diseases. Oral interview with Keefa Lukwago, Ddungi Ngogwe, 21.02.01. Lukwago had *akawule* (herb in a root form) which heals snakebites. Nansasi also told me that she gives herbs that help pregnant women to keep healthy and strong, Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Mukono, 07.02.01.

²⁰⁶ Oral interview with Keefa Lukwago, Ddungi Ngogwe, 21.02.01; A. M. Lugira, *Ganda Art*, p. 25. Some writers like Bannadda, confuse the *ensiriba* with *yirizi* (talisman), which is meant to thwart attacks from spirits and bad luck. Cf. G. Banadda, 'A Study of the Nature and Influence of Selected Deities on the Lives of the Baganda and the Basoga,' p. 42. This study however, argues that *ensiriba* has nothing to do with spirits.

contemporary Baganda communities having children is a significant role of adult human beings.²⁰⁷ In the past every married person was expected to give birth to as many children as possible.²⁰⁸ Today under the prevailing social and economic challenges it is very hard to manage big families; nevertheless bearing children is still highly valued and cherished.²⁰⁹ Hence the saying *enzaala embi, ekira obugumba*²¹⁰ (it is better to bear children under dangerous circumstances than to be barren). Any person who terminates life by *okujjamu olubuto* (abortion) is looked on as a great offender. People who have children are assured of a happy life both on earth and in the hereafter. Hence the saying *omuzadde taffa*²¹¹ (a parent never dies) as they are always remembered by their children. Another saying is that *alifa tazadde talizuukira* (a person who does not beget will not arise from the dead). A person who does not give birth to children may not enjoy life even in the spirit world, as his name cannot be passed on to the children or grandchildren. Children are seen as representatives of the dead ancestors. Mutebi explains this as he writes about the child naming ceremony:

The name that is chosen could be of a deceased relative or of one of the elders in the clan. When the name of a deceased relative is given this is called *okubbula*, which means to restore. Thus by giving the name of the deceased it is understood to be restoring the spirit of the deceased person.²¹²

Most contemporary Baganda who fail to give birth to children see themselves as the most wretched people in the world.²¹³ For even on their death they will not have children to mourn them in a dignified manner. It is also believed that spirits of barren people are the most hostile. Hence the saying *nakyeyitize ng'ezzimu eggumba* (as stray as a spirit of a barren person).²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ J. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, pp. 110-118. For more on the significance of children among the Baganda see W. Mutebi, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism,' pp. 105-106.

²⁰⁸ In the past people with many children were respected as they contributed to the growth of the clan, village and community. A clan with many people was always praised. Every child that was born was welcome as he added to the clan strength.

²⁰⁹ Allen Katunze, Kiteete Mukono, 14.02.01.

²¹⁰ J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, p. ix

²¹¹ M. B. Nsimbi, *Ssiwa Muto Lugero*, p. 42.

²¹² W. Mutebi, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism,' p.107.

²¹³ Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.01.

²¹⁴ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

***Okuwonya obugumba* (healing or treating barrenness)**

Some of the *abasawo* (healers) I interacted with informed me that many people visit them about the problem of *obugumba* (barrenness).²¹⁵ Most people who fail to have children through medical help turn to *abasawo* to help *okuwonya* (heal) the affliction. Many men are also keen to treat any sign of impotence for fear of not having children. It is the duty of *abasawo* (healers) to establish the cause of barrenness. They hold sessions intended to find out about their client's sex life, whether they have physical barriers such as infections due to *kabootongo* (syphilis). Cases of *kabootongo* are treated with herbs. The complex cases of barrenness are sometimes believed to be caused by angry spirits of departed parents, curses from *ssenga* (father's sister)²¹⁶ or *eddogo* (sorcery power). That is why some people avoid conflicts with their parents and *ssenga*.²¹⁷

The person who suffers barrenness caused by *omizimu* (spirit) needs great help from the *omusawo* (healer) who must consult with the spirit to establish the facts surrounding the case. *Omusawo* (a healer) may ask the *omulwadde* (afflicted) to hand over *ekiggula/amakula* (money or cowry shells) which is put in a basket. If it is an easy spirit it may speak through *emmandwa* (medium) and say what it wants. If the spirit does not speak they may have to burn a strong scented herb called *enjogeza* mixed with sulphur powder. The smoke can force the spirit to talk. They may then appease the spirit by *okussaddaaka* (sacrificing) a she-goat, and the blood is sprinkled on the patient, as they ask the spirit to stop torturing the person. Finally the diviner mixes some herbs known as *kamunye, ekikwata ndiga* with water and soil from an anthill. This medicine is drunk daily until the afflicted improves.²¹⁸

However, at times people are abused and exploited by some of the *abasawo* (healers). Some women have fallen prey to dubious and dangerous *abasawo* who turn against their

²¹⁵ Oral interview with Ziribaggwa Nalweyiso, Mukono, 17.02.01; Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

²¹⁶ Allen Katunze, Kiteete Mukono, 14.02.01.

²¹⁷ Oral interview with Nandyose Betty, Kikooza Mukono, 13.02.01.

²¹⁸ Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01. The procedure of dealing with barrenness sometimes varies from healer to healer.

clients, extort money from and even rape them.²¹⁹ One informant told me about her relative who was raped by *omusawo* (a healer) who was meant to treat her barrenness.²²⁰ The problem is compounded by the possibility of AIDS being contracted. *Obulwadde* is therefore quite complex to deal with, for even the measures taken to overcome an affliction may lead to more *obubi*. This is the dilemma and reality of life among many contemporary Baganda communities.

OKULUMBIBWA EMIZIMU EMIBI (ATTACKS FROM MALEVOLENT SPIRITS)

Okulumbibwa emizimu emibi (attacks from malevolent spirits) is one of the *obubi* most dreaded by many contemporary Baganda. This idea of *ekibi* arises from the belief in the existence of a spirit world comprising *balubaale* (divinities), *emizimu* (the living dead) and *emisambwa* (tutelary spirits).²²¹ The *emisambwa*²²² (tutelary spirits) can be both benevolent and malevolent spirits. The malevolent *emisambwa* may either be offended by the living or they may be strangers to the world of the living and are always out to harm the living. *Emisambwa* (tutelary spirits) are believed to stay in the groves, by the wells, in forests, rocks and bushes. In town and cities they are said to reside around bridges and sometimes on highways. In Kawuulu village I was shown a part of the forest called *Nakasajja*. This part of the forest is feared, and most of the people do not collect any wood from that area, for fear of attacks from *omusambwa Nakasajja*.²²³

²¹⁹ This is one of the issues that Rutiba failed to realise about the practices of the healers, for he writes; 'They are men and women, dedicated to their profession. Indeed healers are real friends.' E. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' p. 71.

²²⁰ Oral interview with Evelyn Ndagire, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01. A newspaper also reported a case of *omusamize* (diviner) in Mpigi district who raped all the female members of his client's family as he took them out to do the healing rituals. *Omusamize yasobezza ku bakazi munaana kirindi* (A diviner raped eight women), Y. Musisi, *Bukkedde* 6th February 2000.

²²¹ Tradition has it that some of the *emisambwa* were born under mysterious circumstances. These spirits may sometimes appear in the form of snakes, animals or humans. The tutelary spirits are said to guard or own the places where they reside. So one may say *omusambwa nnyini luzzi* (a spirit which owns the well). The example of *emisambwa* include; Mayanja, Ssezzibwa, Mirimu, Ssempe, Walusi. F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 111-114; J. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, pp. 75-91; A. Kagawa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 182- 201.

²²² *Emisambwa* is the plural form of the noun *omusambwa*.

²²³ *Nakasajja* forest is found in Kawuulu village in Buikwe, Mukono District. There is also a popular story that a newly married couple travelling to Masaka disappeared in this forest. See appendix I, fig. D.

Some informants reported attacks from tutelary spirits during late 1986 and 1993.²²⁴ During 1986 in Kampala some *omusambwa* (tutelary spirit) used to visit homes in the night and call out for help. If a person responded then the *omusambwa* would cause illness and death in that family. In order to ward off the attacks of the *omusambwa*, some people made the sign of a cross in ashes by their doors. It was believed that if such *omusambwa* came around and saw the sign it would think that the family died long ago.²²⁵ In 1993-94 there were also reports of *omusambwa* in Mukono area, which used to attack women and rape them. Such women would collapse or scream and when they regained consciousness they claimed that *omusambwa* had attacked them.²²⁶ *Emisambwa* are also reported to cross roads at dangerous points in order to cause accidents. The *emisambwa* are malevolent forces, which are abhorred, as they are a threat to life.²²⁷ As such some of the contemporary Baganda do all they can to protect themselves from the attacks of such dangerous spirits.

***Okwetangira* (preventing/atoning) *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits)**

Some of the contemporary Baganda believe that they can be safe from attacks of *emisambwa* and such malignant spirits by *okwetangira* (preventing or atoning). The people who suffer from such attacks go to *abasawo* (healers) to get protective medicine or *okwetangira*. This can be in the form of *yirizi* (talisman), which is tied round their arms. Some people put protective medicine in their vehicles to help prevent the attacks of such spirits on the highways.²²⁸

One of the *abasawo*²²⁹ (healers) explained the process of planting protective medicine in a home. A chicken *Lusubi* (hen with black and white feathers),²³⁰ is slaughtered and the

²²⁴ Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

²²⁵ Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

²²⁶ Oral interview with Nandyose Betty, Kikooza Mukono, 13.02.01.

²²⁷ Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

²²⁸ Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.01.

²²⁹ Plural of *omusawo* (healer).

²³⁰ The name *lusubi* has the idea of *ssubi* (grass) which is used to tie bundles of grass for thatching houses. The slaughtering of the chicken *lusubi* is meant to bind and imprison the wild spirit. Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

blood is mixed with herbs: *kiwugula awugula ebibi* (that which bars off danger) and *omutatembwa* (that which cannot be confronted). The herbs *kiwugula awugula ebibi* are meant to ward off *ekibi* or danger. Blood is important in this process as it quenches the thirst of the spirits which may attempt to attack the humans. Finally the mixture is put in a bottle which is buried in the house for protection against attacks of malevolent spirits.²³¹

Another lady *omusawo* (healer) told me that she does not use herbs but *lubaale* (divinity) *Muwanga* possesses her and effects the healing. When a person goes to see her, she listens to their story and they place *ebigali* (money or cowry shells) in *Muwanga's* basket. Then she places her hand on the client as *Muwanga* deals with the problem. That ritual is enough to effect healing. In an extreme case *Muwanga* may ask for a goat which is slaughtered and the offal and liver are burnt on the altar for *Muwanga*.²³² From that time the person would not suffer from the attacks of spirits.²³³ These rituals highlight the significance of *ssaddaaka* (sacrifice) in the process of dealing with *ekibi*. In the *kiganda* rituals healing and dealing with *ekibi*, *ssaddaaka* (sacrifices) is a very significant means of appeasing the angered ancestors or *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirit), which may be causing the afflictions.

On the whole, many contemporary Baganda value the *kiganda* ideas of dealing with *obulwadde* (affliction). They can use herbs or consult *abasawo* (healers) to get healed. Hence the saying *asiika obulamu tassa mukono*²³⁴ (a person frying life does not rest his arms lest life get burnt), which means that people will make great efforts to preserve their life. Some people can go from one *omusawo* (healer) to another in the hope of being healed. Since the *abalwadde* (ill or afflicted people) usually go to see healers who

²³¹ Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.

²³² See appendix I, fig. E (*Muwanga's* altar).

²³³ Oral interview with Ziribaggwa Nalweyiso, Mukono, 17.02.01. This lady informed me that President Amin Daada (1970s) and Milton Obote (1980s) were once her clients. However Amin imprisoned her in 1973 with claims that she was collaborating with the rebels. While in prison, she was mistreated but in the end *Muwanga* the divinity helped her and she was released after two weeks. She saw Amin's failure as a punishment for the many *ebibi* he committed against the people and spirits.

²³⁴ J.C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, p. 30.

are known to be the best, this creates a lot of competition among *abasawo*. Some have been reported to kill their fellow *abasawo* as they struggle for customers,²³⁵ while dubious *abasawo* extort money and property from their clients.²³⁶ Nevertheless *abasawo* play an important role in society as they provide cheap treatment for *obubi* that attacks and threatens the people's well being.

OKUFA (DEATH)

The term *okufa*²³⁷ refers to *okuggwaamu obulamu* (losing life) or *okugenda ekaganga /emagombe* (going to the world of the dead).²³⁸ *Okufa* is also closely related to the verb *okufiuka*, which means 'to change.'²³⁹ *Okufa* not only signifies the loss of physical life but it can also refer to being in a state of trouble or misfortune, hence a person can exclaim '*nfudde!*' (I am dead) to mean that he/she is in trouble.²⁴⁰

For this part of the study I will concentrate on the first three ideas of *okufa*. From these three ideas it is clear that *kiganda* concept of *okufa* (death) has the sense of losing life or dying, changing and moving on to the world of the dead.²⁴¹

Okufa (death) is one of the most feared and yet accepted realities of life among most of the contemporary Baganda communities. This is articulated in the Baganda saying *Ssekiriba kya ttaka, mpaawo atalikyambala* (every one will have to die and be buried in the ground).²⁴² Although *okufa* (death) is an accepted reality many people are never comfortable with the idea that a member of their family has to die. They consider *okufa*

²³⁵ *Abasamize basaanjaze nnyimu nga mukaziwe alaba*, (diviners killed a man in the presence of his wife) A. Mwangu, *Bukedde*, 26th November 2000.

²³⁶ Mukasa said that it is *ekibi* for *abasawo* to exploit their clients. Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01; C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, p. 147.

²³⁷ For more on *okufa* (death) see, D. Komuggulu, 'Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,' pp. 29- 49; W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, pp. 79-87; J. R. Kaggwa & H. Kibirige, 'The Funeral Rites of the Baganda,' pp. 1-7; D. Kaggwa, 'A Christian Interpretation of the Customs of the Baganda relating to Death and Inheritance,' *The African Mind; A Journal of Religion and Philosophy in Africa*, 1/1,1989, pp. 109-117; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 77-97.

²³⁸ M. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda*, p. 18.

²³⁹ F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 77- 78.

²⁴⁰ A.M. Lugira, 'Redemption in Ganda Traditional Belief,' p. 200.

²⁴¹ Even the dead are referred to as *omugenzi* (one who has gone to another place).

²⁴² D. Kaggwa, 'A Christian Interpretation of the Customs of the Baganda relating to Death and Inheritance,' p. 109.

and the related cause of death which is *olumbe*²⁴³ (disease) as *obubi* which is undesirable. Hence the saying *olumbe lubbi* (disease is a thief) as it robs people of their life. However, most contemporary Baganda consider *okufa obukkadde* (death caused by old age) to be desirable. Such death is believed to be a reward for being hard working and *omuntumulamu* (person with worthy/acceptable conduct). Nevertheless, most of the people I interviewed pointed out death as *ekibi* and if a person dies, the family and village mates say *tuli bubu*, meaning that they are in a situation of deprivation.²⁴⁴

The fact that *okufa* (death) deprives people of life makes it the most dreaded reality. Whenever it strikes, many people are thrown into misery, hence the saying *okufa tekumanyiiirwa* (we can never get used to death). This suggests that for most of the contemporary Baganda *okufa* is *ekibi* which is most dreaded, an undesirable reality, yet one that they must live with. This is why many contemporary Baganda perform rituals meant to help them deal with death.

OKUFA (DEATH) RITUALS

***Okubika* (announcing death) and consoling the bereaved**

Most contemporary Baganda carry out many rites intended to help people to go through the mourning period positively and to deal with this *ekibi* of *okufa* (death). When a person dies, the relatives and friends near him/her cry out and announce the death to the neighbours and the surrounding community. The people who do not *okubika* (announce the death) of a person are looked on as *abasezi* (prowlers) or *abalogo* (sorcerers). However, in towns and cities the existence of many tribal groups makes it somewhat complex, and some people do not even inform their neighbours of the deaths.²⁴⁵ These

²⁴³ The Baganda also believe that there is a spirit of death called Walumbe. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 182; D. Komuggulu, 'Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,' pp. 31- 32; G. Banadda, 'A Study of the Nature and Influence of Selected Deities on the Lives of the Baganda and the Basoga,' p. 35.

²⁴⁴ This response came from both young and old informants. Oral interview with Ibrahim Waswa, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01 and Esther Kalema, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01.

²⁴⁵ Kyateesa observed that some people who live in fenced houses simply do not want to relate to their neighbours. Oral interview with Dick Kyateesa, Rubaga Road Kampala, 09.05.01.

days announcements have to be made over the radio so that all the relatives and friends are informed of the death.

On learning of the death of a person, it is the duty of every relative, friend and village-mate to console the bereaved and to attend the burial. Many people leave work and go to mourn the dead. Today many Baganda in towns and cities face the challenge of economic pressures, to the point that they sometimes fail to attend such occasions. However, such people are expected to go and visit the bereaved, give *amataaba* (material things to support the mourners, especially money) and show that they are also grieving with them. It is *ekibi* for people not to console and grieve with the bereaved.²⁴⁶

In the event of death most contemporary Baganda stand together in solidarity since the pain that is suffered by a person attacks the wellbeing of the whole society. The *obumu* (oneness) at such a time is important and hence the saying: *Munno mu kabi ye munno ddala* (a friend in trouble/danger is a friend indeed).²⁴⁷ It is the duty of the male mourners to construct the grave²⁴⁸ while the women help the widow or widower to prepare meals and sit around the body until the time of burial. If the deceased is a man the widow/widows leave their chests open as a sign of mourning. This is a common *kiganda* practice among most contemporary Baganda rural communities. The widows keep wailing and narrating the events which led to the death, or they may be suspected of killing their husbands.²⁴⁹ The mourners also keep vigil around a fire built in the compound until the dead person is buried. In the past most Baganda would wait two or three days for the relatives from afar to participate in the burial. However, today the pressure of work, many deaths and the financial implications make it hard to keep bodies for days before burial. In spite of all this, it is the duty of every person to mourn with the bereaved. The people who fail to participate in this social duty are looked on as

²⁴⁶ Oral interview with Prof. Walusimbi, Makerere, 06.06.01.

²⁴⁷ F. Walser, *Luganda Proverbs*, p. 262.

²⁴⁸ The grave of a married woman is dug on the day of burial, as sometimes her clans-mates may want to bury her on her clan burial land. Oral interview with J. Walakira, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

²⁴⁹ Women are sometimes accused of *okuloga* (sorcery) so that they may take property. Oral interview with Miriam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

offenders in society.²⁵⁰ This suggests that for most contemporary Baganda, being antisocial is *ekibi*, as it leads to the disintegration of the society.

***Okunaaza n'okuziraga omulambo* (Washing and anointing the dead body)**

Before burial the family members and close relatives wash the *omulambo* (dead body) and remove the rings and bangles.²⁵¹ After washing the body is properly dressed and laid on the bed. The face of the body is not covered so that people who come to pay homage may see their dear one. Towards the time of burial the face is anointed or *okuziraga* with crushed bits of *nakitembe* (banana stem) or a piece of cloth and some oil is applied as a sign of farewell. After that the body is completely wrapped in *embugo* (barkcloths) or other materials, ready for burial. Most people take care to treat the dead body with respect so as not to offend the spirit of the deceased. For if the spirit is offended it may haunt the living, causing them misfortune and sometimes death.

***Okuziika* (burial) rituals**

Among most contemporary Baganda communities, the dead body is carried out through the main door.²⁵² Once the body is taken out of the house it is never returned, even if it rains before burial takes place. This is meant to prevent the return of *olumbe* (disease) or death's powers attached to the corpse into the house.²⁵³ The body is then carefully placed in the grave and the family moves forward to bury it. This is the point when things such as *entula* (edible berries) and a needle are dropped in the grave, so as to stop the *abasezi* (proglers) from exhuming the body.²⁵⁴ The body is then covered with soil or

²⁵⁰ People who do not mourn with the bereaved are sometimes suspected of being *abalogo* (sorcerers). They may even be punished by exposing their terrible behaviour in public or *okuswazibwa*. Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

²⁵¹ If bangles and rings are not removed the dead may complain that they were not properly buried. Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

²⁵² In the past the body of a married man was carried out through the main door while that of a young man was passed through the back door. Such burial rituals were meant to show the status of the deceased in the society. This rite did not apply to women possibly because of the patriarchal nature of the Baganda society then.

²⁵³ Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

²⁵⁴ It is believed that when the *abasezi* (proglers) call out, the dead body will always excuse itself that it is busy sewing or preparing *entula* (edible berries). R. S. Ssozi, 'The Basezi,' p. 3.

sand. Finally the elder in the family is called upon to narrate the events surrounding the death and to thank the people for their assistance. After burial all the people wash their hands with *ebigogo* (banana stem) as a means of cleansing themselves of pollution from the corpse and *ebisiraani* (misfortunes) which are attached to it.²⁵⁵ When all this is done, the family goes back wailing into house of the deceased. Then *amafuvu* (strips of bark cloth) are tied around the waists of the widow and orphans to confirm that they have lost a parent and that the owner of the home is dead. The *amafuvu* are symbols of mourning and they are kept until the day when the rituals of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) are performed.²⁵⁶ This ritual is meant to enable the bereaved family to face the reality of the death of their loved one.

OKWABYA OLUMBE (LAST FUNERAL RITES)

After three months or any time agreed upon by the family and the head of the clan, most contemporary Baganda perform the ritual of *okwabya olumbe*.²⁵⁷ *Okwabya olumbe* literally translates ‘to dismantle the disease.’ The last funeral rites mark the end of mourning in a home where a dear one is lost. These days some people perform these rituals immediately after burial for the purposes of saving time and money; a precedent which most elderly people think devalues the customs of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) and *ekibi*.²⁵⁸

On the eve of the agreed date for the *okwabya olumbe*, the family, relatives and friends congregate at the home of the deceased. People come from near and far. Nowadays because of socio-economic pressures, the ceremony takes place from Friday through to

²⁵⁵ Oral interview with Ezeresi Namutebi, Buguju Mukono, 30.02.01; J. C. Kaggwa & H. Kibirige, ‘The Funeral Rites of the Baganda,’ p. 6.

²⁵⁶ Oral interview with J. Walakira, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

²⁵⁷ For more on *okwabya olumbe* see, W. Mutebi, ‘*Okwabya Olumbe* Among Baganda,’ pp. 2-9; D. Komuggulu, ‘Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,’ pp. 43-47; D. Kaggwa, ‘A Christian Interpretation of the Customs of the Baganda relating to Death and Inheritance,’ pp. 117-135; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 93-97; A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z’Abaganda*, pp.175-181.

²⁵⁸ Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01. However Nsibambi argue that such rigid attitudes cause tension and too much pressure on the family which has to face the cost of postponing the ceremony. A. Nsibambi, ‘The Restoration of Traditional Rulers,’ p. 54.

Saturday so that people are free to travel back home on Saturday afternoon after the ceremony.

On one occasion I observed the last funeral rites of the late Kaggwa who was the father of one of my young informants.²⁵⁹ Preparation for the ceremonies included preparing *omwenge* (local beer), food and slaughtering of a bull. Slaughtering was done as a sacrifice to the spirits.²⁶⁰ Small huts or tents were put up to shelter the people through the night.²⁶¹ As the night drew in the people began singing, drumming, and drinking beer. Songs were sung amidst drumming, and people danced through the night. During such nights some people indulge in sex and *okuwemula* (use dirty language) to ward off the disease which killed the deceased. Also during the night some Baganda families perform the ceremonies of *okwalula abaana* (child initiation rites). This seems to be the best time to incorporate the young into the family of the living and the dead. Some people also perform the ritual of *okusangula lubaale amaziga* (wiping tears off the divinities).²⁶² The belief here is that the family divinities have to be appeased so that they may protect the family against death.²⁶³

***Okufulumya olumbe* (casting out death)**

Very early in the morning, at around 6.00 a.m. a man called *Omukeeze* (the early one) banged at the door and the walls to wake up the people who were still sleeping. The

²⁵⁹ Though the late Kaggwa was an urban dweller, his last funeral rites were performed in his rural home in Kanzize where he was buried. The ceremony took place between 06-07.04.01 in Kanzize.

²⁶⁰ See appendix I fig. F. Some Baganda families also sacrifice a goat. The goat is first presented to the dead by taking it to the grave where it urinates, and then it is slaughtered. This signifies that the goat has been accepted by the deceased's spirit. Oral interview with Kefa Lukwago, Ddungi Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

²⁶¹ See appendix I fig. G.

²⁶² Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

²⁶³ Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01. Ssenfuma also argues that it is *ekibi* for the contemporary Baganda to neglect their duty towards the *bajajja* (ancestors or living dead). He observed that *okusamira* (divination) is the *kiganda* religion and it is *ekibi* for people to neglect it or term it *ekibi* as Christians do. This kind of argument points to the conflict on the ideas of *ekibi* among the Baganda. More of this will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

Omukeeze was given a gourd of *omwenge* (beer).²⁶⁴ Before he tasted the beer he poured some on the ground, for ancestors to share and to participate in the ceremony of *okufulumya olumbe* (to cast out death/disease). All the people gathered in the compound facing the main door. The orphans and widow all came out of the house crying and screaming in the act of expelling *olumbe* (disease). All the objects and the grass on which the people slept were taken out of the house in the act of casting out death.

***Okussaako omusika* (installing the heir)**

This part of the ceremony began with the drumming of *omubala* (clan motto)²⁶⁵ to announce the presence of the members of the *ekika kye Mmamba* (lung fish clan). Then the orphans and widow all sat on the veranda before the relatives and friends. Then the *omusumisi* (elder in charge of the ceremony) called out the *omusika* (heir). The heir was dressed in *olubugo* (barkcloth), which is the ancestor dress, and he stood beside his *lubuga* (assistant).²⁶⁶ Then the elder announced the lineage of the heir, which signified that the heir belonged to the lineage of the deceased. The heir was given *effumu* (spear) and a gourd of beer with exhortations concerning the duties he was taking on.²⁶⁷ The *lubuga* was also given *akambe* (a knife) and *ekibbo* (a basket), to signify her responsibility and duty to feed the family. The barkcloth, spear and knife symbolise authority, protection and responsibility which the heir/heiress was taking on. Finally the orphans and widow were covered with cloth and moved off the veranda. They went behind the house crying for the deceased for the last time. The orphans were shaved and their grandmother gave them some food.²⁶⁸ The shaving of the head signified the end of mourning and the beginning of a new life under the leadership of the heir. From then on the heir took over the duties of the deceased.²⁶⁹ After this the food was served and the people continued to introduce themselves to each other. The young people who live in

²⁶⁴ See appendix I, fig. H.

²⁶⁵ Every Baganda clan has its *omubala* (clan motto) meant to announce the presence of the members of that *ekika* (clan).

²⁶⁶ An heiress sits on a mat.

²⁶⁷ See appendix I, fig. I. An heiress is given *akambe* (knife) and *ekibbo* (a basket).

²⁶⁸ See appendix I, fig. I.

²⁶⁹ Oral interview with C. Muganzi, Kanzize, 07.04.01.

towns also got the opportunity to meet their relatives, a practice which helps to promote *obumu* (solidarity). After these ceremonies the people dispersed, except for the close family members and some elders who remained behind to implement *ekiraamo* (the will) of the deceased.

In contemporary *kiganda* practice, the elders have a duty to implement the *ekiraamo* (will) of deceased. In most cases the property of the deceased is shared out among the children and widow. However, the elders have the right to nullify any part of the will, if in their judgement the deceased was unfair.²⁷⁰ It is also at this point that kind relatives offer to look after some of the young orphans. In some unfortunate cases the relatives of the deceased grab some of the widow's property.²⁷¹ This is one form of *ekibi* which some of my informants lamented.²⁷² It also highlights the challenges which some of these *kiganda* practices are posing for the contemporary Baganda and the extent to which they impact on the society. However some educated and lucky women may get lawyers to help them sort out these problems.²⁷³

The final ritual is that of *okubikka ebiggya* (covering the graves). The ritual involves clearing bush around the grave, adding stones and planting flowers. This is mainly intended to settle the dead in the grave and in the world of the living dead, with the knowledge that the living still care and respect them.²⁷⁴ However the family members regularly clean the grave as a sign of respect or else the spirit may attack the family and cause more *obubi* to the family.

²⁷⁰ D. Kaggwa, 'A Christian Interpretation of the Customs of the Baganda relating to Death and Inheritance,' p. 121. Such changes are done with caution for fear of attacks from the spirits which may sometimes not appreciate such amendments.

²⁷¹ In towns and cities some of these matters may involve the state agency responsible for the deceased's estate known as the administrator general.

²⁷² Oral interview with Mariam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01; Yunia Nakabonge Kibirige, Njeru, 27.03.01, narrated to me some of the troubles they suffered at the hands of their in-laws.

²⁷³ Oral interview with Robinah Kiyingi Kayaga, Buziga, 30. 05. 01.

²⁷⁴ Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

The last funeral rites are important for many contemporary Baganda, as they believe that death and all the spirits and disease that caused it must be dealt with or cast out of the home so that they do not strike again. In order to cast out death many rituals have to be performed, and it is the duty of every clan member, relative and friend to participate in this ceremony for the wellbeing of the community. Some contemporary Baganda who cherish these *kiganda* customs look on the people who do not perform these rituals as violators and offenders who have no respects for social norms.²⁷⁵

Furthermore, through performance of the rituals of *okufa* and *okwabya olumbe* many contemporary Baganda endeavour to get rid of death and to stop its dangerous effects and attacks on the living. The rituals are also meant to settle the spirit of the dead in the spirits' world and to recreate stability between the world of the living and that of the dead. This therefore suggests that death is not only *ekibi* that deprives people of life but it also destabilises the world of the living and the dead. The effect of this *ekibi* becomes serious if people fail to observe the necessary rituals intended to cleanse the community of the dangerous powers of *okufa* (death).

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion and analysis has indicated that the contemporary Baganda are very aware of *ekibi* in their society. *Ekibi* is understood to be *okusobya* (violating) *emizizo* (taboos) and *okujeema* (to disobey) or failure to do what is expected in society or making mistakes. It is *ekivve* (abomination), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing) and all *empisa embi* or *emize* (bad/dangerous behaviour). *Okuloga* (sorcery), *okusera* (prowling), *obubi* (badness), *akabi* (danger) and all undesirable, dangerous states of being and other life threatening conditions are perceived as *ekibi*.

Ekibi is not only pollution and an abomination in the society but it is a dangerous attack on human life and society's wellbeing. As such *ekibi* is a human or spiritual force which

²⁷⁵ Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01; C. Muganzi, Kanzize, 07.04.01.

is anti-life and a threat to the society as it destabilises the balance between the created order, the spirits and *Katonda* (the creator).

Since *ekibi* is undesirable and a danger to life most contemporary Baganda have to inculcate *empisa ez'obuntubulamu* (worthy/approved conduct) among the people and to cleanse the society of the pollution/abomination caused by *ekibi* by performing rituals and sacrifices. This underscores the significance of the *abasawo* (healers/diviners) in the society as they mediate the process of restoring life and balance between the humans, the spirits and the ancestors. However, it was observed that some of the practices and measures taken by individuals and communities to procure healing of their afflictions have turned out to be a danger and *ekibi* to the communities. The unfortunate practices of some healers who kill or sacrifice human beings or exploit and abuse their clients, stand out as *ekibi* which contemporary Baganda have to deal with. This further suggests that these unfortunate practices of dealing with *ekibi* need to be redeemed of those dehumanising aspects.

In addition to the above, the duty of contemporary Baganda to preserve life also necessitates discouraging and punishing the offenders in the society. It was however, observed that some *kiganda* means of dealing with *ekibi* have exposed the society to more dangers and threats to life. The practice of lynching ought to be discouraged as it sometimes wrongly targets the innocent and weak members of society. The fact that such practices thrive under conditions where the structures of law and order are weak, points to the need to put in place sustainable measures and systems of justice. The contemporary Baganda communities and Ugandans at large need to revisit their practices of law and justice so as to redress the imbalance. This will help to curb such *ekibi* in the society.

We also observed that there are some conflicting ideas of *ekibi* as one moves from rural to urban areas. The conflicts in the ideas underscore the impact of modernisation and social change on the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. Consequently the perceptions of *ekibi* have also had to develop and to adapt to the changing society. On the other hand, the persistence and continuity of the ideas of *ekibi* in urban and rural areas underscore the values of these *kiganda* ideas to most of the contemporary Baganda.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF *EKIBI* AMONG CONTEMPORARY BAGANDA

This chapter examines the Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda, focusing on four groups of Christians in the Church of Uganda. These include the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors). Emphasis is also placed on examining the extent to which the *kiganda* ideas influence the current Christian teaching on *ekibi* and the distinctive features of the teaching on *ekibi* in the four Christian groups in the Church of Uganda. From the outset it is important to note that there is a great deal of overlap in the *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in contemporary Baganda society. First we have a brief survey on the coming of Christianity to Buganda.

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO BUGANDA

Christianity first came into contact with Buganda during the reign of *Kabaka* Muteesa I. He ruled from 1854, when he succeeded his father, *Kabaka* Ssuuna II (1824-1854).¹ In the mid-nineteenth century the kingdom received a number of traders and travellers who at the time were traversing the African continent.² In April 1875 *Kabaka* received H. M. Stanley, a Christian explorer and journalist, who taught him some rudiments of Christianity.³ Muteesa became interested in the new religion⁴ and later invited the

¹ A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971, appendix 3.

² In 1862, Muteesa had received Speke, who had come out on his exploratory expeditions. J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 288.

³ Stanley came to Buganda under the auspices of the *New York Herald* and London's *Daily Telegraph*. H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London: Sampson Low, Marston Searle and Rivington, 1878, Vol. 1, p. 3; E. Stock, *History of Church Missionary Society*, Vol. 3, London: CMS, 1899, p. 95. By this time Muteesa and Buganda as a kingdom had already received some Arab traders (1844) who introduced Islam to the Baganda. A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 166.

⁴ Through the interaction with Stanley, Muteesa had realised the importance of this European 'religion' with its utilitarian value. S. R. Karugire, 'The Arrival of the European Missionaries' in Tuma, T. et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978, p. 6; D. Z. Niringiyiye, 'The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda 1962-92,' PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989, p. 34.

Christian missionaries to come and teach Christianity to the Baganda. The first Church Missionary Society (CMS) teachers arrived in Buganda on 30th June 1877. These were Lt. S. Smith and Rev. C. T. Wilson; A. Mackay joined them in 1878. In 1879 Fr. Loudrel, a French White Father and Brother Amans also arrived and they started teaching Roman Catholicism.

The CMS missionaries began with their mission of teaching the gospel of Christ. This was accompanied by imparting any Western culture which they deemed right for the Baganda.⁵ This process, however, was not being carried out in a vacuum. Buganda, as we have seen, was deeply rooted in her *kiganda* culture. This culture comprised customs which punctuated a Muganda's life from conception, through birth, marriage and death, and into the hereafter. The missionaries branded most of these customs heathen and evil.⁶ This does not mean that the missionaries did not appreciate any of the *kiganda* culture. They laboured to learn *Luganda*, and some family life style. Some of the Baganda were converted to Christianity and even engaged in mission. The Baganda Christians such as H.W. Duta, Zakaria Kizito, Yokana Mwira, Sara Bweyinda, Sara Duta, and Lakeeri Sebuliba, become involved in mission and participated in evangelising the rest of the Uganda and beyond, as seen in the example of Apolo Kiveebulaaya.⁷ Also, from 1890-1911 Bishop Alfred Tucker promoted the participation of Baganda Christians in the leadership of the church. This encouraged the process of integration of some *kiganda* and Christian values. It should, however, be noted that in the early period of the church much Western culture was imparted to converts through Christian teaching and Western civilisation such as education. Nevertheless, this period

⁵ These missionaries had the agenda of evangelising through proclaiming the gospel and imparting an allegedly better civilisation. J. Bonk, *The Theory and Practice of Missionary Identification*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989, pp. 239-243; A. Hasting, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*, London: Burns & Oates, 1967, p. 60; K. Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa*, Carlisle: Regnum, (1992) 1999, pp. 225-228.

⁶ E. Stock, *The History of the CMS*, Vol. 3, p. 109; L. S. Fahs, *Uganda's White Man of Work: A story of Alexander Mackay*, Dayton: Foreign Missionary Society, 1907, p. 102; R. P. Ashe, 'Uganda Past and Present', in *The Sunday Magazine*, 23/34 (1894), p. 481.

⁷ J. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, London: SCM, 1958, pp.36-84; T. Tuma 'Church Expansion in Buganda,' in Tuma, T. et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978, pp. 17-29. Kiveebulaaya is the correct contemporary *Luganda* spelling of the name.

laid a foundation for theological articulations through the translation of Western teachings and the beginnings of indigenisation of Christianity in Buganda.

At a later stage, the 1920s through to the 1950s saw many Baganda involved in mission all over the country. This period was also characterised by African Christian movements which expressed the Baganda experience and interpretation of the gospel of Christ.⁸ By the time Uganda attained her independence in 1962, the church in Buganda had grown, gone through a challenging period and was also ready for African leadership. All through this time the interaction of Christianity and the *kiganda* customs gave rise to teachings on the ideas of *ekibi* characterised by both *kiganda* and Christian values.

THE IDEAS OF EKIBI IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA

The ideas of the *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda can be examined and understood with respect to the different groups of Christians who make up the church today. These are *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors). Over time a number of teachings emerged in the different groups which vary in their ideas of *ekibi*. In order to study these groups and the development of the concepts of *ekibi* chronologically, we will first examine the *Bakulisitaayo* teachings beginning with a survey of the background of the group.

⁸ African Christian movements such as The Society of One Almighty God (*Bamalaki*), The African Greek Orthodox Church and *Balokole* Revival Movement all arose during this period. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 15-77; J. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Uganda*, pp. 96-105; F. B. Welbourn, 'The Uganda Church and Other Christian Movements', in Tuma, T. et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 121-130.

THE *BAKULISITAAYO* (ORDINARY CHRISTIANS)

Bakulisitaayo is the *Luganda* translation of the English ‘Christians.’ In the contemporary Church of Uganda *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians) refers to all Christians who are baptised into this tradition and community of believers. The *Bakulisitaayo* is the original group of Christians, which grew out of the first Baganda converts who were referred to as *abasomi* (readers).⁹ *Abasomi* were the first converts to Christianity at the beginning of the church in Buganda when Muteesa I first received the CMS teachers in his palace in 1877. The *Bakulisitaayo* are the ordinary Christians who may be committed or non-committed churchgoers. In fact, every member who is baptised into the Church of Uganda can rightly be referred to as *Omukulisitaayo* (an ordinary Christian). However, some members who have been touched by the revival spirit consider themselves to have moved beyond being mere *Bakulisitaayo* and prefer to be referred to as mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) or *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors). Nevertheless the *Bakulisitaayo* make up the biggest number of members of the contemporary Church of Uganda.

A study of the *Bakulisitaayo* shows that some of them are committed to the church teaching and are willing to live by it. At the same time a number of *Bakulisitaayo* are members of the church merely by baptism and are not deeply committed to its teaching. These people were referred to by some missionaries and writers as ‘nominal’ Christians.¹⁰ To them the church is a community where they gain identity through the sacrament of baptism. This kind of Christianity is rooted in both the early missionary teaching which emphasised *okusoma* (reading) and baptism and the activities of the Baganda Christian teachers and chiefs during the period of the persecution of the Christians and rivalry among the religious groups (1888-1890s). During that time the number of the *Bakulisitaayo* grew as they endeavoured to resist the aggression from the

⁹ The term *Abasomi* (reader) is derived from the word *okusoma* (read). The early CMS missionaries taught the Baganda converts to *okusoma* (read) some portions of the Bible and to write. S. R. Karugire, ‘The Arrival of the European Missionaries,’ pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ F. B. Welbourn, *East African Christian*, p. 146.

Catholics, Muslims and *kiganda* religious leaders.¹¹ From that time the church was opened to all, whether they were baptised or not. Even the people who could not abandon their *kiganda* religious practices such as *okusamira* (divination) and polygamy, which were detested by the CMS missionaries, found their way into the Christian community. This period opened the way for ‘nominalism,’ a process which as Niringiye rightly observes:

Was a result of the adaptation of Christianity into the traditional culture-religion. Though the missionaries were distraught by the polygamy, divination, alcoholism,... that was prevailing among the Christians the Africans did not seem to see the contradiction, because these practices were not prohibited by traditional culture-religion.¹²

The involvement of the Baganda converts in the teaching of Christianity resulted in a strong indigenising process of the new religion and its practices. The *Bakulisitaayo* have since then continued to thrive in the church and in their own way take pride in their beliefs and identity with the Church of Uganda.

It should, however, be noted that both in the past and in contemporary Baganda society, some *Bakulisitaayo* have been and are still committed supporters of the Church of Uganda. Some of these *Bakulisitaayo* have been and are committed to building churches, offering land to the church and are involved in service at all levels. They include some of the ordained church leaders and lay Christians such as Apollo Kaggwa and Ham Mukasa, F.Wuja, Rebecca Muliira, Abraham Ttondo, Ezeekeri Mulondo,

¹¹ Apollo Kaggwa was the Katikkiro, Zakariya Kizito Kisingiri and Paulo Bakunga, were chiefs in the kingdom and at the same time they were leading the church. These are the men that Bishop Tucker found steering the church when he arrived in Buganda in December 1900. Bishop Tucker even commissioned more lay church leaders. The immediate fruit of this process was the one thousand Christians whom Bishop Tucker found in the church of whom only 200 were baptised. A. Shepherd, *Tucker of Uganda* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1929), pp. 60-61; E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, vol. 3, p. 437; T. Tuma, ‘Church Expansion in Buganda,’ in Tuma, T. et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 20-23.

¹² D. Z. Niringiye, ‘The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda,’ pp. 54 -56. In this sense ‘nominalism’ evolved as the Baganda attempted to appropriate the *kiganda* values into Christianity. Some missionaries were, however, unhappy with moral state of church as articulated by Walker: ‘there is plenty of work to be done here. The people are so willing to be taught, so willing to listen, but not so ready to obey... Some know their personal saviour in their understanding and whose hearts are not changed, very many who know the creed but just give lip service. CMS Proceedings 1890-91, p. 57.

Ernest Sempeebwa, Joyce Mpanga. The Late Dunstan Nsubuga is one of the Bishops in Buganda who served whole-heartedly and had a great love for God.¹³ Most of the *Bakulisitaayo* do not approve of the small groups and divisions which characterise the contemporary church of Uganda.¹⁴

THE BAKULISITAAYO IDEAS OF EKIBI

The contemporary *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians) ideas of *ekibi* contain elements both of the early CMS teaching and *kiganda* ideas. Some of the *Bakulisitaayo* teaching on *ekibi* can be found in their liturgies, prayers, catechism, songs, sermons, and proceeds or minutes of the meetings. The ideas of *ekibi* can also be traced in their day-to-day life and activity. These reflect much of the *kiganda* ideas and aspects which arise out of the integration of the Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*.

First of all the contemporary *Bakulisitaayo* ideas of *ekibi* draw some ideas from the translated works of the early CMS missionaries and some Baganda teachers or converts. Mackay and some Baganda helpers (1879-1880) pioneered the translation of portions of the Bible and liturgy into *Luganda*. Part of the Book of Common Prayer (1662) and the gospels were also translated into *Luganda*.¹⁵ In 1885 Mackay printed out the *Luganda* prayer book, which was later revised by Pilkington and Henry Wright Luttaguzi in 1893 and was published in 1897.¹⁶ These liturgies and catechical teachings have been revised and adapted to the Baganda context over time. The current prayer book is a reprint of the revised edition of the prayer book published in 1977 to mark the centenary celebrations of the Church of Uganda.¹⁷

¹³ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Eria Paul Luzinda, Namirembe, 20.06.01. For more see J. Kalimi, 'The Life and Contribution of Dunstan Nsubuga (Bishop of Namirembe 1964-1985) to the Church of Uganda,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, Kampala, 1988.

¹⁴ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Daniel Walusimbi Zaake, Mutundwe, 19.06.01.

¹⁵ The first writings were in Swahili which was introduced by the Arabs. Later Mackay and some Baganda translated these writings into *Luganda*. E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, vol. 3, pp. 107-110.

¹⁶ J. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, pp. 219-220; *Ekitabo Eky'Okusaba Kw'Abantu Bonna*, London: SPCK, 1987 (1928), p. 1.

¹⁷ *Ekitabo Eky'Okusaba*, pp. 208-209. This has songs composed for celebrating the centenary and life of those Baganda Christians who committed their lives to God's service.

During the early 1960s a *Luganda* indigenous liturgy known as *Eby'okusaba ebyawufu mu biro ebitali bimu mu bwa ssabalabirizi bwa Uganda* (prayer for different occasions and ceremonies in the province of Uganda) was published. This provides prayers and orders of service for different activities and ceremonies which surround the people's lives. This liturgy includes prayer for various ceremonies such as thanksgiving for the birth of children and blessing of marriages, including those who have been married in a registry office or customary marriages. There are also prayers for the sick, burial, *okwabya ennyimbe z'Abakulisitaayo* (last funeral rites for Christians), and blessing of items offered for the service of God.¹⁸

In these liturgies and biblical interpretation done by the *Bakulisitaayo* we see some of the ideas of *ekibi* as understood and taught in the Church of Uganda and among the *Bakulisitaayo*. Because most of the *Bakulisitaayo* go through the catechism and the liturgy in the baptism or confirmation classes, many of their ideas of *ekibi* are based on those teachings. Interaction with informants both in rural and urban areas revealed that many *Bakulisitaayo* refer to these teachings. The most common idea of *ekibi* was *okumenya amateeka ekkumi* (breaking/violating the Ten Commandments).¹⁹ Among many children and the youth *obutasaba ku Ssande* (failure to attend church on Sunday) was a common *ekibi*.²⁰ In some sense the commandments are related to *kiganda* principles of *obuntubulamu* (acceptable conduct)²¹ among contemporary Baganda. For instance, in Exodus the fifth commandment says: Honour your father and your mother that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you (Exod 20:12). This is similar to the *kiganda* teaching in which it is *ekibi* to disobey parents and *eky'omuzizo* (a taboo) to beat them. Therefore, some of Old Testament law and the *kiganda* teaching agree on this teaching of *ekibi*.²² The fact that some of these teachings parallel *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* obliges most of the *Bakulisitaayo* to observe some of the

¹⁸ For more see *Eby'Okusaba Ebyawufu*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop (1961) 1962.

¹⁹ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01; Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.00.

²⁰ Oral interview with Ibrahim Waswa, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01; Esther Kalema, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01; Dora Namale, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

²¹ See Chapter three, pp. 54-55.

²² For more on this see Chapter five, pp. 174-175.

laws, and to behave acceptably in society. This is the legalistic idea of *ekibi* which characterises some of the *Bakulisitaayo*.²³ In this case, *ekibi* or wrongdoing is mostly related to violating the *kiganda emizizo* (taboos) and some of the biblical laws.

Furthermore, based on the interpretation of some biblical law, *okusamira* (divination) is understood to be idolatry and *ekibi*.²⁴ The Church of Uganda's teaching against *okusamira* (divination) as the worship of *emizimu* (spirits) and hence heathen strengthens this idea of *ekibi*.²⁵ Some committed *Bakulisitaayo* understand this as *ekibi*,²⁶ while at the same time many *Bakulisitaayo* still find it hard to abide by this teaching. Faced with the threat of the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* such as *obulwadde* (disease/afflictions), *okuloga*,²⁷ *okusera* (prowling), *obwavu* (poverty), *okubonaabona* (suffering), *okulumbibwa emizimu* (attacks from malevolent spirits), *omukisa omubi* (misfortune), and *okufa* (death), some *Bakulisitaayo* consult the diviners in order to get answers to their problems. Some *Bakulisitaayo* informants from both urban and rural areas admitted that they would consult a diviner in order to overcome their problems.²⁸ There are also some *Bakulisitaayo* who believe that both the church teaching and *okusamira* (divination) point to *Katonda* (the creator). Therefore, *Katonda* can use both ways to deal with their needs. One informant told me that with his disease of *okugwa*

²³ D. Bukenya, 'Kiganda Concept of Sin and Forgiveness,' Dip diss., Makerere University, 1974, p. 20.

²⁴ See Chapter five, pp. 175-176.

²⁵ This teaching goes back to early CMS teachers' denunciation of *okusamira*. L. S. Fahs, *Uganda's White Man of Work*, p. 102; R. P. Ashe, 'Uganda Past and Present,' p. 481.

²⁶ Oral interview with Eria Mata Mengo, 09.05.01.

²⁷ It is not only lay people who live in fear of *okuloga* but also some church leaders claim that they are being tormented by these practices. For instance Rev. Can. Kasujja of Kibuye accused his neighbour of planting *eddogo* in his home and church altar. H. Mutebi, *Omukadde w'ekkanisa ebyokoola biri mu kutigomya maka ge*, ' (A church priest's family is being tormented by sorcery powers), *Bukedde*, 11.02.01. See picture of Kibuye church altar where *eddogo* was planted, appendix I, fig. J.

²⁸ Oral interview with Olivia Nambaale, Kiteete Mukono, 14.02.01. However, during the war (1979-1986) many Baganda were uprooted from their communities and *okusamira* could not be carried out easily. Nevertheless, some people could still carry along some of the sacred objects for *okusamira*. Oral interview with Rev. Can. Daniel Walusimbi Zaake, Mutundwe, 19.06.01. When the war ended some Baganda resorted to *okusamira*. In 1989 the Bishop of Namirembe, the late M. Kawuma, called upon the Baganda to stop this practice and he encouraged the committed Christians to reach out to the people were lost in *okusamira*. Namirembe Diocesan Synod, 31.08.89, Min. 4/89 (d); Namirembe Diocesan Synod, 3-4.09.1991, Min. 2/91.

eddalu (mental illness), he sometimes goes to church and he is prayed for and gets better. If he does not get better he goes to a diviner, since he believes that his family spirits cause the problem. For him *Katonda* can use both the church and the diviner.²⁹

With the above ideas and beliefs the Church of Uganda teachers are still struggling to draw the people away from *okusamira* (divination). However, with the revival of *obwakabaka* (kingship) in 1993 in Buganda and other cultural institutions, some of the *Bakulisitaayo* have resorted to *okusamira* (divination).³⁰ The church teachings, warnings and punitive measures, such as denying them a Christian burial ceremony when they die, not marrying them in church, or excluding them from Holy Communion,³¹ have not helped in dealing with this problem. Some *Bakulisitaayo* not only engage in *okusamira* but also practice ritual human sacrifice.³² This suggests that for some of the *Bakulisitaayo*, *okusamira* is not *ekibi*, while another group of the committed *Bakulisitaayo* consider it to be *ekibi*. The diversity in the ideas of *ekibi* among the *Bakulisitaayo* highlights the conflict of concepts within this group. The persistence of *okusamira* further points to the challenges and dilemmas which still confront the contemporary Church of Uganda as the people struggle to integrate the *kiganda* practices into Christianity.

²⁹ Oral Interview with Mwebe Dan, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01.

³⁰ A. Nsibambi, 'The Restoration of Traditional Rulers,' in B. H. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *From Chaos To Order: The Politics of Constitution-Making in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers (nd), pp. 41&47; Bishop. S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe, 'Easter Message,' 1995, Namirembe diocesan offices.

³¹ To address this issue, Namirembe Diocese through a selected committee chaired by Rev. Can. N. Kaweesa, compiled a report meant to remind the Christians of the church teaching and ruling on the *Bakulisitaayo abasamira* (Christians who engage in divination). *Alipoota y'olukkiko lw'eddiini ku nkola y'obulabirizi ku Bakulisitaayo abasamira*, 28.10.1998. However this does not apply to their family members who may not be involved in *okusamira*. This is the position of all the Dioceses in Buganda. *Olukikiiko lwa Bassabadinkoni* (Archdeacons/staff meeting which is the executive committee of Mukono Diocese), Mukono Diocese, 14.01.93, Min. 4/93; Oral interview with Bishop. W. Mutebi, Mityana Diocese, 26.06.01.

³² The bishop's messages of Easter and Christmas pointed out this *ekibi* in the community. Bishop. S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe Diocese 'Easter Message,' 1995; Easter and Christmas Messages 2000, Namirembe diocesan offices. Also Bishop M. Ssenyimba of Mukono Diocese, 'Christmas Messages,' 2000, Mukono diocesan offices.

Among the *Bakulisitaayo*, ideas of *ekibi* also surround marriage and family life. The Church of Uganda teaching stipulates the requirement and laws for marriage as laid out in the prayer book and canons of the Church of Uganda. People who intend to get married have to be sure that they do not violate these prohibitions.³³ Hence the prayer book states ‘*Kya muzizo mu byawandiikibwa ebitukuvu ab ‘obuko oba ab’ ekika ekimu okufumbiriganwa*’³⁴ (according to Holy Scriptures it is a taboo for the people who belong to the same clan or family to marry). These prohibitions are basically drawn from the *kiganda* background and the interpretations of biblical texts such as Lev18.³⁵ However, there are some aspects of this teaching, which conflict with the *kiganda* values and thereby present some antagonism with the practice of the *Bakulisitaayo*. For instance, in the Prayer Book a woman is prohibited from marrying her *Ssenga’s* (sister of her father) husband.³⁶ This prohibition is opposed to the *kiganda* teaching, and as such has been ignored by the *Bakulisitaayo*. For the *Bakulisitaayo* it is honourable for a woman to take over her deceased *Ssenga’s* responsibility, care for the children and widower. Thus on many occasions women have been wedded in church to their late *Ssenga’s* husband.³⁷ This highlights the conflict and complexity of the ideas of *ekibi* among the *Bakulisitaayo* in the Church of Uganda.

The other idea of *ekibi* relating to marriage among the *Bakulisitaayo* arises from the church’s teaching and emphasis on Christian monogamy as opposed to the *kiganda* practices of customary marriage and polygamy. From the time of the early church in Buganda, some *Bakulisitaayo* have struggled with this teaching.³⁸ The current Prayer Book states that ‘*abantu abagattibwa ng’ekigambo kya Katonda bwe kitalagira,*

³³ *Ekitabo Ky’Okusaba* pp. 243-245; *The Church of the Province of Uganda; Provincial Canons*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1997, p. 38. The provincial canons also include the godparents.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³⁵ More of the parallels and differences between *kiganda* and the biblical ideas of *ekibi* shall be discussed in the next chapter.

³⁶ *Ekitabo Ky’Okusaba*, p. 234.

³⁷ Oral with Rev. Can. Luzinda Kizito, (Now new bishop of Mukono Diocese), Mukono, 21.06.01.

³⁸ The early CMS missionaries in Buganda taught that polygamy was against God’s command, and they could not baptise anyone until he gave up all his wives except one. L .S. Fahs, *Uganda’s White Man of Work*, p. 107; J. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p. 40.

*tebagattibwa Katonda, n'okufumbiriganwa kwabwe kuba kwa nsobi*³⁹ (people who get married contrary to what the Word of God teaches are in the wrong). Because of this teaching *okuwasa abakazi abasukka mu omu* (polygamy) is *ekibi* that some *Bakulisitaayo* repent of, but others continue to practice and cherish. The reports and debates on this issue have not changed the position of the church.⁴⁰ Reports from both Namirembe and Mukono Diocese have always indicated that a number of *Bakulisitaayo* have failed to give up this *ekibi*. For instance, in Ngogwe archdeaconry, Mukono Diocese, there was a report about a Christian who had a conversion experience but insisted on continuing in his polygamous marriage,⁴¹ while in Namirembe the Diocesan Council asked Bishop Kawuma to write a circular stating the church's position on marriage and denouncing polygamy.⁴² Two years later the issue of polygamy in the African and Asian countries was tabled and discussed at the Lambeth conference in 1988. On his return to Uganda the Late Bishop Kawuma of Namirembe Diocese reported the matter to the diocesan council, and he reaffirmed the Church of Uganda's position on polygamy as follows:

*Mbasaba tunyweze are nga bwe twayisa edda mu kitabo ekitukuvu bayibuli, n'okuyigiriza okuva ku ntandikwa yaayo, nti Katonda atuyigiriza era atulagira nti, omusajja omugoberezi wa Katonda nga ayita mu Yesu kristo, omusajja awasa omukazi omu n'omukazi afumbirwa omusajja omu.*⁴³ (I ask you to strengthen our teaching on marriage which is based upon the Bible and the early church teaching, that a man who is a follower of God through Jesus Christ should marry one woman, and a woman marries only one man).

Furthermore, in 1993, when Mukono Diocese and Ngogwe archdeaconry were celebrating their centenary, it was sadly observed that some parishes in the archdeaconry

³⁹ *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, p. 246. Some informants also pointed out *obufumbo obw'ensobi* (non-Christian marriages) as *ekibi*. Oral interview Nsubuga Ssaalongo, Lugasa, 21.02.01 and Beatrice Nangonzi, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01.

⁴⁰ B. Kisembo, *et al.*, *African Christian Marriage*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1977, pp. 30-50; A. Hasting, *Christian Marriage in Africa*, London: SPCK, 1974, pp. 50-66.

⁴¹ *Olukiiko lwa Bassabadikoni*, Mukono Diocese, 12.03.1986, Min. 15/86.

⁴² Namirembe Diocesan Council, 10-12.09.1986, Min. 2/86 (xi). During this time C. Ssenyonjo then Bishop of West Buganda Diocese had presented his controversial and sympathetic views on polygamy, which caused a lot of unrest among the committed Christians.

⁴³ Bishop Kawuma's speech at the Namirembe Diocesan Council, 22.09. 1988, Min. 2/4 (a). My translation.

could not get people to serve in church offices due to *omuze ogw'obutayagala kuwasa mukazi omu* (the bad habit of marrying more than one wife).⁴⁴ The issue of polygamy has remained a challenge to the contemporary Church of Uganda.

On the other hand, some of the informants who are *Bakulisitaayo* and polygamists argued that polygamy is a *kiganda* way of life and that it is *ekibi* for the church to teach Western culture by emphasising monogamy. They further allude to the Old Testament patriarchs such as Abraham and Jacob (Gen 21:16-15; 29:1-30) who received blessings from God in spite of being polygamous.⁴⁵ Some *Bakulisitaayo* women also explained that it is hard for them to leave polygamous marriages, as they cannot provide for the children on their own.⁴⁶ At this point one realises the conflicts and tensions of the ideas of *ekibi* among the *Bakulisitaayo*. Some of the *Bakulisitaayo* are aware of *ekibi* and its implications, but due to the social pressures in their communities they simply cannot draw themselves out of their situations.

Among the *Bakulisitaayo* there is also the idea of avoiding *okukola ebya Ssetaani* (doing Satan's will). The teaching on rejecting *Ssetaani* (Satan) is key in the baptism catechism.⁴⁷ Discussion with some informants revealed a variety of ideas about *Ssetaani* (Satan). For some *Bakulisitaayo*, *Ssetaani* has to do with *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) which are behind anti-life practice such as *okuloga* (sorcery)⁴⁸ and *okusamira* (divination).⁴⁹ *Ssetaani* is also believed to be *omukemi* (tempter) or *bamalayika abajeemu* (rebellious angels).⁵⁰ Though the ideas of *Ssetaani* are not found in the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* the people find it easy to relate it to *emizimu emibi* which are

⁴⁴ E P. Lubega 'Ngogwe egenda wa?' in *Rev. G.K. Baskerville N'ebyaafaayo by'ekkanisa mu kyaggwe*, (Baskerville and the history of the church in Kyaggwe), Kampala: Tabi & Company, p. 77.

⁴⁵ Oral interview with Dick Lubanga, Kisaala, 23.02.01.

⁴⁶ Oral interview with Betty Nadyose, Kikooza, Mukono, 13.02.01; Joyce Nalwanga Naalongo, Rubaga Road, 23.05.01.

⁴⁷ *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, pp. 222-224; *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, nd., pp. 4-5. For more see Chapter five, pp. 191-193.

⁴⁸ Oral interview with Faith Namwanje, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01.

⁴⁹ This idea originates with the teaching of early missionaries who looked at *kiganda* worship as heathen.

⁵⁰ Oral interview with Paul Mukooza, Nyenga, 26.03.01. This idea is based on the biblical teachings. Rev. 12:9; Job. 1:6, Mt 4:3, 10.

powers behind the *ekibi* of *okuloga* and *okusera* (prowling) and other dehumanising forces. This suggests that the *Bakulisitaayo* ideas of *ekibi* are more inclined towards the *kiganda* values.

THE *BALOKOLE* (REVIVALISTS)⁵¹ MOVEMENT

ORIGINS AND FACTORS WHICH LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *BALOKOLE* MOVEMENT

The *Balokole* revival movement arose in the Church of Uganda in the 1920s stimulated by the spiritual experiences of a Muganda man, Simeon Nsibambi of the Ffumbe clan. In 1926 he shared his experience with other people and started preaching to his colleagues at work and to his family. His first convert was his brother Blasio Kigozi, who later became a strong leader in the movement. In 1929 he came in contact with Joe Church at Mengo. Church was a missionary and medical doctor who was working with the Rwanda mission at Gahini. He too had some spiritual experiences rooted in the Keswick revival in Britain. These two started praying and sharing their spiritual experiences. After that meeting, Church went back to Rwanda and Nsibambi gave up his job as health inspector and started preaching barefooted like Apollo Kiveebulaaya.⁵² Nsibambi felt that the whole Church of Uganda and the society needed a revival. So he

⁵¹ *Balokole* 'the saved ones' is a *Luganda* name, which was given to members of the Revivalists movement because of their teaching of *okulokoka* (salvation). The word *okulokoka* also means being 'healed' or 'delivered' from danger. The following sources were consulted. Oral sources include: Rev. Can Peter Kigozi, Bishop. Bugimbi, Rev. Can. Ssenoga and Mrs Ssenoga, who participated with some of the early revivalist and some contemporary *Balokole* members. There are works such as J. E. Church, *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival*, Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1981; J. E. Church, *Awake! Uganda. The Story of Blasio Kigozi and His Vision of Revival*, Kampala: Uganda Book Shop, 1957; J. E. Church, *Every Man a Bible Student*, Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1981; *Okudda Obuggya Okw'Omwoyo Mu East Africa*, Kampala: Uganda Book Shop, 1997, pp. 105-170; K. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda,' in Z. Nthumburi, *From Mission To Church*, Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1995, pp. 113-144; G. Nshemereirwe, 'The *Balokole* movement In Ankole,' *Dini na Mila* 2 (1967), pp. 1-11; R. Gehman, 'The East African Revival,' *East African Journal of Evangelical Theology* 5 (1986), pp. 36-56; D. Z. Niringiye, 'The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda,' pp. 9-11, 73-115; F. B. Welbourn, *East African Christians*, pp. 142-147; F. B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, pp. 9-10.

⁵² Apollo Kiveebulaaya who went to preach in Mboga Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo).

became a self-appointed preacher, calling on people to repent of *ekibi*, receive salvation and be born again.⁵³

The genesis of the movement is set against the background of the aftermath of the 1900 Buganda agreement⁵⁴ and the resultant land conflicts. The agreement introduced land reforms which replaced the traditional Baganda tribal system of land tenure, which was controlled by *Bataka* (clan heads) and the king who was the *Ssaabataka* (head of all *Bataka*).⁵⁵ Land was redistributed to the British crown, the *Kabaka*, and regents and chiefs who were put in office by the British government. The agreement also introduced the hut and poll tax, which were to be collected by the chiefs. The *Kabaka* had to accept the advice of the governors as a condition of his recognition by the British imperial authorities.⁵⁶ This caused a lot of agitation as the *Bataka* (clan leaders) found their positions thereby diminished. The *butaka* (clan land) of different clans passed into the hands of other clans.

The chiefs then had more powers than the *Bataka* elders whom they traditionally had to respect. The chiefs collected tax and sometimes would use force and threats to this effect. This presented them as betrayers of their clans. Divisions set in and the moral *kiganda* ideals of *obumu* (solidarity) were violated. The *Bataka* and *Bakopi* (peasants) regarded the chiefs as selfish people like their British masters, and enemies of Buganda.⁵⁷ *Obwannakyemalira* (selfishness), *omululu* (greed), materialism and

⁵³More on this is found in Church, *The Quest for the Highest*, pp. 67-68; K. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the Balokole Revival in Uganda,' pp. 113-118; Okudda Obuggya, pp. 105-170. D. Z. Niringiye, 'The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda,' pp. 73-83.

⁵⁴The British government as represented by H. Johnston and the Baganda regents signed this agreement. Buganda then had regents: Mugwanya, Apollo Kagga and Zaakaria Kizito who were chosen by the British government, as Mwanga had been banished and *Kabaka* Chwa was still a child. For more on the 1900 agreement, see D. A. Low and R. C. Parrat, *Buganda and British Overrule*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 3-137.

⁵⁵This system enhanced the solidarity of the Baganda as the land belonged to clans and not individuals.

⁵⁶D. W. Nabudere, *Imperialism and Uganda in Revolution*, London: Onyx Press, 1980, p. 29.

⁵⁷This agitation resulted in the formation of *Bataka* factions in 1922. One was headed by Mugema; it pushed for land and was also against dominance of *lukiiko* by the British agents. The second was led by the Apollo Kagga to counteract the former. The *Bakopi* stood in the worst position, as they were the most exploited. D. E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, London: Frank Cass, 1997, pp. 141-147. For more on rural exploitation see Nabudere, *Imperialism and Uganda in Revolution*, pp. 112-113.

divisions worked together to undermine the society's moral ideals. This affected both the Christians and non-Christians. It was even worse for some *Bakulisitaayo*, since they were the administrators, the chiefs and the exploiters.⁵⁸ There were also other social problems which had cropped up in the society due to forces of modernity. These were lamented by *Kabaka Chwa* in 1932:

What is at the present popularly termed as education and civilisation of a Muganda may be nothing less than mere affection of the foreign customs injurious to our own inherent morals and ideals of native life... In this connection I should like to point out that although polygamy was universally recognised among the Baganda and was never considered immoral, yet prostitution was absolutely unheard of. Civilisation, education and freedom are the causes of the appalling state of affairs as regards prostitution and promiscuous relationships between the Baganda men and women.⁵⁹

The changes affected not only the masses but also the leaders in society and the church. Some Christian chiefs and catechists resorted to polygamy as a means of managing and maintaining the several estates or plots of land.⁶⁰ In such desperate conditions even some Christians sought guidance through divination conducted privately and secretly in the villages.⁶¹ At this point there were conflicting ideas on what was moral and immoral among the Baganda Christians.

Furthermore, the church was driven by internal conflicts expressed in the form of paternalism and a superiority complex among the European missionaries. At the same time the native leaders were also caught up in clericalism and elitism, and were detached from the church at the grassroots level. These weaknesses bred *obwannakyemalira* (selfishness), *amalala* (pride) and *enkwe* (intrigue), which undermined the spirit of

⁵⁸ Most of the chiefs were Christians and some were clergy. For instance Deacon Kisingiri was a regent and Samwiri Mukasa was a church teacher. The chiefs collected tax and asked peasants to work for them, even on mission buildings. This caused the people to lose confidence in the church too. D. K. Bukenya, 'The Development of a Neo-Traditional Religion: Buganda Experience,' pp. 102-103; F. B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, p. 20; D. A. Low and R. C. Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule*, p. 40.

⁵⁹ *Kabaka Chwa*, 'Education, Civilization and Foreignisation in Buganda' in D. A. Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, pp. 104-108.

⁶⁰ J. V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p. 185.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191. For more see D. K. Bukenya, 'The Development of a Neo-Traditional Religion: Buganda Experience,' pp. 96-97.

oneness and harmony in the church and society.⁶² On the whole these social, economic and political changes strained the society and affected its moral ideals. These tensions threatened the wellbeing of the people as both their ideals of *obuntubulamu* (acceptable/worthy conduct)⁶³ and the Christian values were being violated.

It is against this background that the *Balokole* (Revivalists) movement developed as a protest against what they saw as the declining moral state of the church and the society. The movement sought to revive the Church and society through preaching *okwenenya* (repentance) of *ekibi* and *okulokoka* (getting saved). They urged the people to be born again, be reconciled to Christ and the community of faith. The first centres of the revival were at Bulange Mengo in Nsibambi's home and Gahini in Rwanda, where Joe Church was based.⁶⁴ Nsibambi and his first converts Blasio Kigozi, Yona Mondo, William Naggenda and Yusuf Byangwa Mukasa, set out to preach against *ekibi* and called on people to repent.

When the movement began in Buganda the members would cluster in the homes of their leaders such as Nsibambi and Naggenda who were lay preachers. Mengo, Buloba and Namutamba were homes for the *Balokole*. Based on their *kiganda* background of *ebika* (clan) and the unity found in confession of Christ as the saviour, they formed families and a clan of the saved witnesses of Jesus Christ. They built a community of *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters) which surmounted all barriers of clan, tribe, sex, race or age. The elders in the Spirit became the team leaders, the *taata* (father) and *maama* (mothers) of the community. *Okukungaana* (fellowship) with *Abooluganda*, *okutambula mu musana* (walking in the light) and reading the Word of God and prayer were key aspects of the movement. Following the *kiganda* community strength of *obumu* (oneness/solidarity), a virtue which was being undermined by the social pressures of

⁶² J. V. Taylor, *Processes of Growth in an African Church*, ICM Research Pamphlets, (London: SCM, 1958), pp. 15-17; F. B. Welbourn, *East African Rebels*, pp. 7-10; D. Z. Niringiye, 'The Church in the World: A Historical- Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda,' p. 73. He refers to these problems as 'bureaucratization' and 'nominalism.'

⁶³ See Chapter three, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁴ J. E. Church, *The Quest for the Highest*, pp. 67-68.

modernity and change, the *Balokole* formed a new community. However they were criticised by some *Bakulisitaayo* and *kiganda* religion adherents for *okusosola* (segregation) and being in the company of only *Abooluganda*. They were also accused of being *abokozi b'ebivve* (abominators) as some *Balokole* even ate their *emiziro* (totems) claiming that they now belonged to the clan of Jesus.⁶⁵

Though the *Balokole* (Revivalists) movement had distinctive teachings, they did not break away from the Church of Uganda, and they still exist as a strong pillar of Christianity in Buganda.⁶⁶ However, due to internal conflicts it has split into the Trumpeters, *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened), and *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), which have resulted in the development of different groups of *Balokole* within the contemporary Church of Uganda.⁶⁷ The mainstream group of the *Balokole* still continues to exist alongside the other groups within the Church of Uganda.

EKIBI IN THE EARLY AND CONTEMPORARY MAINSTREAM BALOKOLE MOVEMENT

A BRIEF LOOK AT THE IDEAS OF EKIBI IN THE EARLY MAINSTREAM BALOKOLE MOVEMENT

Among the early mainstream revival movement *ekibi* was understood to be enmity against God demonstrated firstly by rejecting God and not being saved.⁶⁸ The *Balokole* (Revivalists) believed that every person stands in great need of salvation and a new life in Jesus. The idea of valuing *obulamu* (life) was rooted both in the *kiganda* and biblical teaching. Following from their *kiganda* teaching, it was the obligation of every person to value life, therefore for the early *Balokole*, rejecting salvation was rejecting life which

⁶⁵ K. Ward, '*Tukutendereza Yesu: the Balokole Revival in Uganda*,' p. 134. The most heated conflict with the *kiganda* values was when the *Balokole* supported the marriage of the *Namasole* (queen mother) (widow of *Kabaka Chwa*) to marry a *mukopi* (peasant) Peter Kigozi, even though it was a taboo for the *Namasole* to remarry. CMS Archives G3/A7, Letter from Bishop Stuart to Hopper, 1941.

⁶⁶ Because the *Balokole* in Buganda had strong attachment to the church and Buganda as a nation, they could not break away. They still valued their identity. So they remained strong critical witnesses of Christ within the church. K. Ward, '*Tukutendereza Yesu: the Balokole Revival in Uganda*,' pp. 122-123.

⁶⁷ These include the Trumpeters, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi*. More on these groups will be discussed later.

⁶⁸ J. E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 139.

God gives through Jesus Christ (Jn 10:10). Christians and non-Christians had to *okulokoka* (get saved), *okwenenya* (to repent) of *ekibi* and receive *obulamu obutaggwaawo* (everlasting life) (Jn 13:10).⁶⁹

Ekibi was also understood to be *okujeema* (to disobey) and demonstrated by acts such as *okubba* (stealing), and by attitudes such as *obuggya* (jealousy). As such, *amalala* (pride),⁷⁰ *obwenzi* (adultery), *obwamalaaya* (prostitution) and *obutaba na mazima* (dishonesty) were condemned as *ekibi*.⁷¹ Like the early missionaries, the *Balokole* (Revivalists) taught against taking alcohol, *okuwasa abakazi abasukka ku omu* (polygamy), *okufuuwa taaba* (smoking tobacco), *okunywa omwenge* (drinking beer).⁷² This teaching caused tension between the *Balokole* and the non-*Balokole*. The *Balokole* called upon people to *kwatula* (confess), *kwenenya* (repent) and be forgiven of such *ekibi*. *Okwenenya* involved *okumenyeka* (brokenness) as the people realised their *ekibi* and the need to ask for God's forgiveness. This would be followed by confessing to the offended person the *ekibi* which had been committed against him/her and asking for forgiveness. In case of theft the stolen goods would be returned to their owners. This is similar to the *kiganda* practice of *okuliwa* (compensation). As in the *kiganda* teaching, the early *Balokole* believed that *ekibi* would lead to disintegration of the society. Therefore they had to repent and be reconciled to the community of believers and to God.

Confession of *ekibi* would be done in public or in the form of *okuwa obujulirwa* (witnessing) about how God had transformed the person. Public confession of *ekibi* even before young people is another aspect which caused tension between the *Balokole* and the *Bakulisitaayo* or non-*Balokole*. Conflict arose because unlike in the *Balokole*

⁶⁹J. E. Church, 'Every Man a Bible Student,' p. 23.

⁷⁰Blasio Kigozi had to repent of his pride and superior attitude towards the Rwandans. *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 61.

⁷¹CMS Archives, G3 A7/5, Statement on *Balokole* Students. These students were reported to preach against these *ekibi* (plural of *ekibi*).

⁷²The *Balokole* even went on to condemn the growing of crops which were used in making beer. G. Nshemereirwe, 'The *Balokole* Movement in Ankole,' p. 2.

movement, the *kiganda* confessions and ordeals took place at family or clan meetings.⁷³ At such cultural meetings confession could be done among peers, and the people were aware of seniority differences. Children, servants and strangers could not be allowed into gatherings where adults would reveal the dark side of their conduct. The *Balokole* disregarded this, as they believed that they were a community of equals in Christ.

Regular confessing of *ekibi* strengthened the community of the *Balokole*. For instance, a husband confessed *ekibi* to his wife, among colleagues and at fellowship meetings. This would be followed by restitution through prayer to God asking for forgiveness and *ekibi* would be cleansed away by the blood of Jesus Christ. For the *Balokole*, Jesus' sacrifice and blood had power to cleanse away *ekibi*. This belief in the efficacy of the blood of Jesus had some roots in the *kiganda* ideas of *okussaddaaka* (sacrifice) and spilling the blood of animals and birds to cleanse away *ekibi*.⁷⁴ However, the *Balokole* (Revivalists) teaching differs from the *kiganda* ideas of sacrifice, since the *Balokole* do not sacrifice animals. They believed that the one and final sacrificial death of Jesus Christ and his blood was enough to wash away *ekibi*⁷⁵ and to cleanse all who believed and repented (1Jn 4:10; Heb 10:10, 18). This is articulated in the popular *Balokole* hymn of *Tukutendereza Yesu* (We praise you Jesus): stanza one is as follows:

Yesu Mulokozi wange (Jesus my saviour)
Leero nze wuwo wekka; (I am yours alone today)
Omusaayi gwo gunaaziza, (Your blood has washed me)
Yesu Mwana gw'endiga (Jesus the lamb of God).⁷⁶

Ekibi was also understood to be *obulwadde* (disease). This idea is also rooted in their *kiganda* ideas of *obulamu* (life), which negates all that diminishes life. For this reason individuals were invited to *kulokoka* (get saved) or be healed from all their afflictions by

⁷³ Some of these cultural confessions and ordeals are referred to by *Kabaka Chwa*, 'Education Civilization and Foreignisation in Buganda' in D. A. Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, p. 106. Even at initiation ceremonies such as *okwalula abaana* (children initiation rites) confession of violation of taboos could take place. K. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda,' p. 131.

⁷⁴ Chapter three, pp. 98-99.

⁷⁵ Plural of *ekibi*.

⁷⁶ Hymn 177 in *Ekitabo Eky'Okusaba Kw'Abantu Bonna*, p. 96. My translation.

washing in the blood of Jesus (1Jn 1:14). Through repenting and committing their lives to Jesus the individuals could receive *obulam* (life) and be reconciled to God and the community. That is why they emphasised *okulokoka* (being saved), which also means being healed or restored to life.

Among the *Balokole ekibi* was understood to be that which impinged on the wellbeing of the society. *Okuyaayaanira ebyensi* (worldliness) such as doing business or participating in politics,⁷⁷ *omululu* (greed), *okulya amabanja/okwewola* (acquiring debts), *obwannakyemalira* (selfishness) and materialism were condemned. Such *ebibi* were discouraged in the movement especially as they not only polluted the individual but also undermined the wellbeing of the community of the children of God. The *Balokole* always encouraged each other to *kumalibwa* (be contented) and happy with what God provided for them.

Furthermore, as in the *kiganda* teaching, *okuloga* (sorcery), *okusera* (prowling) and all anti-social life-diminishing activities were abhorred among the *Balokole* (Revivalists). However, the *Balokole*, like their missionary teachers, taught against cultural practices of veneration of the living dead, divination, *okwalula abalongo* (twin rituals), *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) and African medicine.⁷⁸ This teaching conflicted with some of the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* and virtues of *obuntubulamu* (acceptable conduct) because traditionally these practices were valued for enhancing *obulam* (life) and the wellbeing of the society. However, unlike the *kiganda* ideas of *obulam* where life could be invigorated through *okusamira* (divination) and veneration of the ancestors, for the *Balokole* life was in Christ. This is what they understood as being born again.⁷⁹ Life was not in being in fellowship with ancestors but being in fellowship with Christ. The people had to be born again in order to receive *obulam* (life) in Jesus. This teaching

⁷⁷ In 1936 some staff members at Bishop Tucker College were termed sinners for owning small shops in the trading centre. J. E. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p. 128. Dancing, trading and involvement in politics were considered to be worldly.

⁷⁸ *Okudda Obugya*, pp. 120-121; K. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda,' p. 126; G. Nshemereirwe, 'The *Balokole* Movement in Ankole,' p. 6.

⁷⁹ J. E. Church, *William Naggenda a Great Lover of Jesus*, London: CMS Pamphlets, nd., p. 7.

offended some of the *Bakulisitaayo* and many other Baganda, and they too looked at the *Balokole* as *aboonoonyi* (violators). This resulted in a conflict over the ideas of *ekibi* which still exist among some *Balokole* groups and the *Bakulisitaayo* community.

The *Balokole* further believed in love and respect for every member of the movement irrespective of gender, tribe or colour differences. Women were respected as full members of the community and they could participate in all activities. Though in the *kiganda* patriarchal culture, women were prohibited from participating in leadership roles, among the *Balokole*, women would become team leaders alongside their husbands. Women become *Ba maama* (mothers) who could care for the spiritual life of members in the fellowships. One informant observed that *okulokoka kwayamba nnyo abaami okuleka ekibi eky'okujooga abakyala* (revival enabled men to give up *ekibi* of mistreating women).⁸⁰ Women could also lead prayers and preach at fellowship meetings. Though the *kiganda* customs could allow women to lead in worship in shrines as priestesses and mediums, the coming of the male-dominated exogenous religions had denied them these positions. The *Balokole* movement therefore helped to restore women into their *kiganda* position of leadership in worship. The *Balokole* women not only got involved in leadership but also gave up some of the *emizizo* (taboos) which they believed were enslaving and denying them freedom in Christ. For instance, they started eating chicken, which was taboo among Baganda women.⁸¹

Though some of the *Balokole* movement's teaching was rooted in its *kiganda* background, it also had to grapple with those aspects of culture which seemed to be in conflict with the Revivalists' values. This created tensions between the *Balokole* and the rest of the Baganda society, as most the Revivalists' practice and ideas of *ekibi* seemed to be more inclined towards the early missionaries' teachings.

⁸⁰ Oral interview with A. Ssenoga, Mukono, 07.02.01.

⁸¹ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01. She observed that *Balokole* women were in most cases looked on as violators and *aboonoonyi*. However, it should be noted that the early missionary teachers introduced education to all, and some of these changes have roots in this background.

THE CONTEMPORARY MAINSTREAM *BALOKOLE* MOVEMENT

The members of the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) movement have continued with fellowships at Namirembe Cathedral, Mukono Cathedral and in different parishes where *Balokole* are found. They also hold national quarterly fellowship meetings at Kyambogo, which includes *Abooluganda* from all parts of the country. The current team leaders have the responsibility of planning for such events, missions and conventions in different parts of the country.⁸² As in the early *Balokole* movement, the leadership structure has continued to be based on seniority in the fellowship irrespective of sex.

Since independence, the mainstream *Balokole* movement has increasingly become integrated into the life of the church, and today a number of leaders, including bishops⁸³ and priests in Church of Uganda, come from the mainstream Revivalists. However, the movement has not made much effort to involve the youth in leadership except in young people's groups in schools, colleges and Universities. Young women and men are sometimes involved organising fellowship meetings, conventions and outreach programmes.

Ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary mainstream *Balokole*

Many of the ideas of *ekibi* which were held by the early *Balokole* continue to thrive in the contemporary mainstream Revivalists movement. However, some of the ideas have had to change and develop in the light of social and economic changes. The contemporary mainstream *Balokole* like early revivalists detest all *ekibi* of attitude or acts of rebellion against God,⁸⁴ such as *obutalokoka* (refusing to get saved), *obwenzi* (adultery), *obunnanfuusi* (hypocrisy), *okubba* (stealing), *okuloga* (sorcery), *obuggya* (jealousy), *okusera* (prowling) and *okunywa omwenge* (taking alcohol). They continue

⁸² The current team leaders, includes some senior members and middle-aged, such as P. Kigozi, Bishop M. Bugimbi, Mrs E. Kigozi, Mr A. Kyeyune, Mrs G. Kawuma, Mr Z. Kalega, P. Nyombi, Rev. J. Ssenyonyi, Mrs Busuulwa, Mr. Busuulwa, S. Mutyaba, Mrs E. Mutyaba.

⁸³ In Buganda are the late Bishop M. Kawuma, Bishop M. Bugimbi, Archbishop L. Nkoyoyo, Bishop W. Mutebi, Bishop M. Ssenyimba, Bishop G. Ssinabulya, Bishop Y. Mukasa and others.

⁸⁴ See pp.128-129.

to preach against *ekibi* and to testify about the power of Jesus Christ to forgive *ekibi* when people repent. They encourage each other to turn to the cross of Jesus with brokenness and confess *ekibi* which hinder their journey with Christ.⁸⁵ However, unlike the early revivalists, the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* have become more sensitive about the practice of confessing *ekibi* in public. As we observed before, this practice conflicted with the *kiganda* ideas of *obuntubulamu* (acceptable conduct) especially as the early *Balokole* indiscreetly confessed *ekibi* in public. Today the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) have had to rethink this practice. They realised that the confession of some *ekibi* such as *ekivve* (abomination) of *okukwata ebisolo* (bestiality) could have a negative effect on the young people who might even want to try out such dangerous habits. The mainstream *Balokole* now encourage each other to avoid giving outrageous testimonies in the presence of children.⁸⁶ This is why they provide children's programmes besides the adult fellowship meetings. In this way some aspects of *kiganda obuntubulamu* have had to inform the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* practices of confessing *ekibi*.

Furthermore, although the early *Balokole* movement condemned involvement in politics as worldly, the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) are now involved in politics, business and development activities in the country. The contemporary mainstream *Balokole* believe that in order to realise peace and tranquillity they must take the light of God into all activities in society. As in the *kiganda* teaching, life is looked at holistically. The mainstream *Balokole* believe that Christ gives them the power to live 'in the world without being of the world' (Rom 12:2; 8:29ff), thus they teach against having too much interest in worldly things.⁸⁷ They see themselves as heralds and vessels of the transforming power of God. This is why they look at the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened), who even refuse to vote for their community leaders, as extremists who

⁸⁵ This was the key issue at the Kyambogo Fellowship held 05.11.00. Theme: *Ekibi tekikufugenga gwe - Bar 6:1-14* (*ekibi* will not enslave you), Led by Rev. Dr. J. Ssenyonyi.

⁸⁶ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Y. Ssenoga, Mukono Hill 07.02.01; F. Mutebi, Lweza 24.05.01; M. Luzinda, Mukono, 14.03.01.

⁸⁷ J. Church, *Every Man a Bible Student*, p. 6; D. Z. Niringiye, 'The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda', p. 100.

are not willing to participate with others in order to realise peace.⁸⁸ For instance, the political events which culminated in president Obote's abolition of the Kingdom of Buganda, and the flight of the *Kabaka* into exile in 1966, also affected the mainstream *Balokole*. They stood with other Baganda to condemn *ekibi* of abusing the Buganda kingdom and torturing innocent people.⁸⁹ The *Balokole* similarly detested *ekibi* of *obutemu* and *okulya enguzi* (corruption) which thrived during Amin Daada's time (1971-1979).

During Obote's second regime in the 1980s the mainstream *Balokole* leaders felt it was their duty to speak out against the atrocities being committed. The late Bishop Kawuma is remembered as having asked Obote to stop buying guns which were used to murder people and instead buy hoes and agricultural tools for the production of food.⁹⁰ Some of the *Balokole* at this time had to put everything *mu musana* (in light) so as to help the society realise their wickedness and change. They also had to deal with *ekibi* of *obukyayi* (hatred) which some Baganda had developed towards their political enemies, the Acholis and Langis.⁹¹ For the mainstream *Balokole*, the *kiganda* ideas of implementing justice through blood revenge and killing *abatemu* (murderers)⁹² were understood to be *ekibi*, since it is against Jesus Christ's teaching of loving and forgiving our enemies (Mt 5:44).

Social, political and economic pressures in Uganda have also affected the perceptions of *ekibi* among the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists). Because of the *Balokole's* virtues of honesty and hard work, a number of them have taken highly paid jobs and have thus

⁸⁸ Oral interview with Bishop W. Mutebi, Mityana, 26.06.01.

⁸⁹ Oral interview with Rev. Can. E. P. Luzinda, Namirembe, 20.06.01. COU Archives, Letter from Kyondo to President Obote, *Uganda ey'obwakabaka obw'ensikirano* 28.12.67.

⁹⁰ The late Bishop Kauma's Enthronement Charge, 12.02. 1985, p. 40.

⁹¹ Rev. Betty Kutumba said that she had to repent of the deep hatred she had after she was beaten and wounded by Obote's soldiers who even killed Rev. Bazira, the principal of Namugongo Uganda Martyrs Seminary. Oral Interview with Rev. Betty Katumba, Seeta, 30.04. 01. Similarly Nakalawa felt the same towards the murderers of her father and the Lord helped her to forgive them. Oral interview with J. Nakalawa, Mukono, 09.05.01. D. Z. Niringiye, *The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda* pp. 261-262.

⁹² Chapter three, pp. 71-72.

become prosperous. However, this enterprising spirit has even led them to take loans and *amabanja* (debts), which in the early *Balokole* movement were considered as *ekibi*.⁹³ Some contemporary *Balokole*, however, argue that they can take loans, be honest and pay them back. In this respect, *ekibi* is not to take *amabanja* (debts) but it is *okulyazaamaanya* (to refuse to pay back debts). This indicates that the ideas of *ekibi* even among the mainstream *Balokole* have developed and changed due to social and economic pressures of the time. The *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened), on the other hand, have condemned them for *okunnyogoga* (becoming spiritually cold) or *okwebaka* (spiritual sleep), which are states of being insensitive to the Holy Spirit's conviction of *ekibi* in their lives.

Unlike the early mainstream Revivalists, the contemporary *Balokole* cherish their *bika* (clan), respect their *emiziro* (totems) and even value clan names. Indeed, some of them believe that it is *ekivve* (abomination) to violate such *kiganda* values which enhance unity in families and clans. Some of the members even attend family and clan meetings, although they make sure that they are focused on dealing with family and clan needs which do not involve rituals, such as *okusamira* (divination) which are considered to be *ekibi* among the *Balokole*. Some informants also explained that such occasions are taken as opportunities to share the gospel with their relatives.⁹⁴ This is what they understand by the idea of taking the light of Christ into their culture. This indicates that the *Balokole* teachings are a strong force in rooting the gospel of Christ in some of these valuable *kiganda* practices. On the whole, in considering the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* teaching on *ekibi*, we realise that though they have some teachings which are inclined towards the rigid early missionary attitudes to *kiganda* practices, to some extent

⁹³ Oral interview Alice Kasozi Mukono Hill, 06.02.01. Some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* have confessed difficulty in paying loans and repented of being *abalyazaamaanyi*. However they are asked to pay back even if it would mean going without meals. On some occasions even *Balokole* Bishops and clergy have confessed *ekibi* of *okwegulumiza* (lack of humility) and *obutaba ba musana* (operating in the darkness/lack of transparency). Oral interview with Bishop Y. Mukasa, Mityana, 27.06.01; Bishop M. Bugimbi, Kyambogo, 04.02.01.

⁹⁴ Oral interview with Rev. Kazimba (Vicar Mukono Cathedral), Mukono Hill, 09. 02.01, Alice Kasozi, Mukono, 06.02.01.

they have adopted a moderate and considerate attitude towards some of the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. This further highlights the extent to which the prevailing socio-economic and political pressures have impacted and continue to do so on the contemporary mainstream *Balokole*'s attitudes and teachings on *ekibi*.

THE BAZUUKUFU (REAWAKENED)

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BAZUUKUFU

The Bazuukufu (Reawakened)⁹⁵ are members of the splinter group from the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) group. This group first showed signs of breaking away from the mainstream *Balokole* movement during the 1950s. They finally split in 1971, when they felt that they could no longer continue in fellowship with the rest of the *Balokole* (Revivalists).⁹⁶ This split was due mainly to tensions, which developed among the *Balokole* during the 1950s and 1960s. Tension arose when some of the mainstream *Balokole* got involved in the social and political developments in Uganda. During that time a number of educated mainstream *Balokole* became employed in high office, and some were even travelling abroad for further education and mission. This gave rise to internal conflicts and jealousy among some members of the revival group. For instance, some members were unhappy with John Naggenda and Festo Kivengere's involvement in international mission at the cost of home mission. There were also some members who went away to study without consulting *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters) and such conduct was interpreted by the others as *okukola eby'ekizikiza* (operating in the dark) or failing to walk in the light.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ For information about the *Bazuukufu*, I consulted oral and written sources. The major oral sources include Mr K. Jolooba, Mr. A. Ntambi, Mrs J. Matte and Mrs Faith Namuyenga, who are senior members of the fellowship. These contributed much about *okuzuukuka* in the 50s-70s. Other members and young people were consulted.

The written sources include *Okudda Obuggya*, a *Luganda* history of the *Bazuukufu*; K. Ward 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda,' pp.137-138. J. Magumba, 'The *Bazuukufu* in Busoga,' Dip diss Makerere University, 1978. S. Tusuubira, 'Attitudes to the New Canon on Baptism in the Church of Uganda,' Dip diss Makerere University, 1977.

⁹⁶ *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 132; K. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda,' p. 137

⁹⁷ F. Kivengere went for further study in America without informing *Abooluganda*. K. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the *Balokole* Revival in Uganda,' p. 137.

Furthermore, there were some *Balokole* who felt that the revival was moving away from the core ideals, zeal and struggle against worldliness, of the early *Balokole* movement. So some *Balokole* who were unhappy with the state of affairs set out to search for the revival of this zeal. On the 26th June 1960 some *Abooluganda* who had a burden for praying to God for direction in *okulokoka* (revival) held a meeting at Entebbe Botanical Garden. These were Erika Mugwanya, Yona Mmondo, Eseza Mmondo, Dr. Lekoboamu Kafeero, Joyce Kafeero, Besweeri Nnyonyintono, Kezekia Musajjaakaawa, Kezekiya Matovu, Peter Kigozi, John Kajubi, Joshua Ntaate, Yowaasi Musoke, and Akisofeeri Ssekanwagi.⁹⁸ The purpose of the meeting was to ask God to show them the right path (Ezra 8:1ff). They had a reading from Rev 19:6-9, in which God reminded them of their call to holiness. They further reflected on the victory of Christ on the cross and the power of his blood, which washes and sanctifies believers (Eph 5:26-27). Through these messages God revealed to them the stains of *ekibi* in their lives. These included *amabanja* (debts), *okufuba okufuna eby'obugagga* (striving for wealth) through competing for jobs and *okufuba okuyiga oluzungu* (futile struggles to learn the English language). They were convicted of worldliness, which included *abakazi okuziga enviri n'okweyusa* (women bleaching their skins or dying their hair), and *okulwanyisa obukadde* (fighting signs of ageing).⁹⁹ Once these *ekibi* were revealed they cried and repented before God. God finally revealed to them that: *Mubadde mwebase otulo otw'omwoyo... Zuukuka ggwe eyeebase...Abef 5:14* (You have been sleeping in the spirit... Awake, you who are sleeping...Eph 5:14).¹⁰⁰ From that time *okuzuukuka* (reawakening) meant being re-convicted of *ekibi* and repenting. This message re-echoed Blasio Kigozi's call for the church to 'awake' in 1936, and as such pointed to *Bazuukufu's* concern to uphold the early *Balokole* movement's ideals/values of *okulokoka* (getting saved) from *ekibi*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 178.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179. My translation.

¹⁰¹ J. E. Church, *Awake Uganda*, pp. 43-44.

After the Entebbe meeting, some *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters) started to preach with vigour in the streets and villages, inviting the people to *okuzuukuka* (reawakening). However, a number of *Abooluganda* like Peter Kigozi and Simon Nsibambi, the pioneer of the revival, did not take to this zealous preaching of *okuzuukuka* (reawakening), as they understood it to be *ekibi* of *okufuba* (striving) and legalism which does not allow God's grace to prevail over self-righteousness.¹⁰² On the other hand, those for *okuzuukuka* were condemning them for *ekibi* of *okwebaka* (spiritual sleep) which is insensitive to *ekibi* and to God's call for repentance. The struggle for holiness and jealousy among the leadership of the movement amidst the forces of social change culminated in the breaking away of the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) from the mainstream Revival group. On the 22nd October 1971 the group which was convicted into *okuzuukuka* (reawakening) began a separate fellowship meeting at Kawempe while the mainstream group continued with their fellowship at Namirembe.¹⁰³

***Okuzuukuka* (reawakening) in Buganda**

The *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) group was led by Yona Mmondo (1907-1977), a Muganda man, who was born at Jjungo Busiro. His father, Ssembuya Sseezi, was a lay reader at Jjungo Church of Uganda. He attended Jjungo primary school and Mengo central school. He later worked at the government printing press in Entebbe (1923-1936) and married his wife Eseza in 1934. Mmondo underwent a conversion experience in 1936 and he gave up his job after receiving a dream in which he saw a flock of sheep. Then God gave him a staff and said; *genda olunde endiga zange* (go and look after my sheep). From that time he believed that God had commissioned him to be a shepherd of his people. After that he did a lay reader course and began preaching in Nsangi Church of Uganda and calling upon people to get saved.¹⁰⁴ In 1940-41 he was selected for an ordination course at Bishop Tucker Theological College in Mukono. However, he did

¹⁰² Even to this day the mainstream *Balokole* preach against this *ekibi* of *okufuba*. Oral interview with Rev. Can. Peter Kigozi Ntinda, 05.11.00. *Okufuba* was one of the *ekibi* which were addressed by Rev. J Ssenyonyi, at Kyambogo fellowship meeting held 05.11.200.

¹⁰³ *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 132; J. E. Church, *The Quest for the Highest*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

not complete the course, as he was one of the *Balokole* rebel students who were expelled from the college in 1941 for their preaching of *okulokoka* and ‘rebellion’ against the administration.¹⁰⁵ When the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) separated from the mainstream revival they started having their fellowship meeting at Kawempe in Mmondo’s home. From that time Kawempe became the centre of the *Bazuukufu*, and they started preaching and calling people to reawaken and be saved.

The *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) organised their fellowship along the family-clan structure of the mainstream Revivalists. They continued with the form of leadership that comprised team leaders who were spiritual fathers and mothers, following their seniority in the faith. The first team leaders were Yona Mmondo, Beesweri Nyonyintono, Rev. Benoni Lwanga, Mrs Bbeesusebba Kitayimbwa and Yusuufu Bugembe.¹⁰⁶ The current team leaders include: M. Galiwango, A. Ntambi, C. Bawuuba, C. Kabbale, C. Kasule, Rev. Y. Bwabye, and others from other parts of Uganda. The organisation of fellowship meetings and the family clan structure of the mainstream revival also continued among the *Bazuukufu*. This system has helped them to remain in closed communities in which members care for each other. However, their teaching of separation from the world created tension between them and their relatives. *Okuzuukuka* (reawakening) spread to other parts of Uganda and East Africa but received opposition from a number of people who did not like their approach, especially preaching and calling people to repent and *okuzuukuka* during or after Sunday services.¹⁰⁷ In Namirembe Cathedral some members were against them but the administration intervened and allowed the *Bazuukufu* to continue with their preaching and fellowship meetings.¹⁰⁸ To this day the *Bazuukufu* hold their fellowship meetings at Namirembe every Wednesday and also hold monthly national fellowship meetings at Kawempe. Though their numbers are small, they have continued to be part of the Church of Uganda Christian community. Their vision still

¹⁰⁵ CMS Archives G3 A7/5, Statement on *Balokole* Students.

¹⁰⁶ *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-188. They had severe opposition in Hoima and Fort Portal districts.

¹⁰⁸ Oral interview with Bishop Y. Mukasa (then dean of Namirembe Cathedral), Mityana, 27.06.01; Joyce Nakibuuka Matte, Kibuye, 26.06.01.

appeals to the old and to a few young people who still value strict forms of morality. As Eseza Mmondo observed:

Okulokoka kwasangawo Obukulisitaayo; era kwo kwajja kulongoose Obukulisitaayo so si kubuggyawo. Era n'okulokoka bwe kwawola, Katonda n'aleeta Okuzuukuka kuzzeemu okulokoka amaanyi agaali ga kuweddemu so te kwajja kuggyewo okulokoka. (The Revival came after ordinary Christianity and it was meant to purify Christianity but not end it. When the Revival became cold, God brought Reawakening to revive the Revival movement but not to destroy it.¹⁰⁹

Okuzuukuka is therefore conceived of as a revival of the revival but not as a separation from the Church of Uganda. The *Bazuukufu* to this day co-exist, despite moderate antagonism, with the mainstream *Balokole* in the Church of Uganda.¹¹⁰

IDEAS OF EKIBI AMONG THE BAZUUKUFU

Although the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) share some ideas of *ekibi* with their mother movement, the mainstream *Balokole*, they hold to some distinctive teachings on *ekibi*, which are deeply rooted in the early *Balokole* movement values and teaching. As we observed before, the split of the *Bazuukufu* was due to some of the concepts of *ekibi* which seemed to be extremist to the mainstream *Balokole*. Based on that background, the *Bazuukufu* believe that *obutalokoka* (rejecting salvation), as among the *Bakulisitaayo*, and the weakness of *okwebaka/okunnyogoga* (sleeping/coldness in the spirit) among the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) are *ekibi* which the people ought to repent of. This is because through such *obujeemu* (rebellion) a person rejects God's call to reawaken, repent of their *ekibi* and be saved.

As in the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the ideas of *ekibi* among the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) include acts, attitude, and state of rebellion against God. However, the

¹⁰⁹ *Okudda Obuggya*, appendix v.

¹¹⁰ Though the two groups preach salvation, the *Bazuukufu* cannot hold a mission outreach with the mainstream *Balokole*. The Bishops of Buganda's efforts to bring the two groups together have always failed. Oral interview with Bishop Y. Mukasa, Mityana, 27.06.01; Namirembe Diocesan Council, 14.05.1987, Min. 2/87(iii). The *Bazuukufu* refused to join the other members in mission outreach in Luwero triangle.

Bazuukufu ideas of *ekibi* also include *okufubira eby'obugagga* (striving for wealth), *okuyingira eby'obufuzi* (engaging in politics),¹¹¹ *okwekolako n'okugoberera omulembe* (making up and conforming to modern lifestyles). Even *okulunda embwa* (keeping dogs) is considered to be *ekibi*, as it shows lack of trust in God's protection, and also keeps off visitors to the home.¹¹² The *Bazuukufu* detest *okulya amabanja* (debts), and do not even take out loans. This is because they believe that *Yesu amala* (Jesus is enough), and can grant all their needs. For even the Bible teaches that: *Temubanga na bbanja na muntu yenna...Bar 13:8* (Owe no one anything...Rom 13:8).¹¹³ This idea of *ekibi* is drawn from the early *Balokole* movement, and they still stand by it in spite of the contemporary economic pressures.

Furthermore, the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) not only condemn *obwenzi* (adultery) but also consider children born out of Christian wedlock, as *abaana b'ekibi* (children of evil/sin).¹¹⁴ It is even *ekibi* for the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) to look after grandchildren who are born of adulterous relationships. This teaching is upheld in order to discourage adultery among their families.¹¹⁵ For that reason the *Bazuukufu* still value the early missionary teaching which denied baptism to children from non-Christian marriages. It is upon this belief that the *Bazuukufu* opposed in 1973 and continue to resist the new canon on baptism allowing the sacrament to be administered to any child whose parents requested it.¹¹⁶ Some *Bazuukufu* even insist that their children be baptised by *Bazuukufu* clergy.¹¹⁷ However, the *Bazuukufu* are criticised and looked on as *aboonoonyi*

¹¹¹ *Okudda Obuggya*, pp. 182-183. The *Bazuukufu* do not even vote for political leaders. They claim that *twalonda Yesu yekka* (we only voted for Jesus Christ). Oral interview with Joyce Nakibuuka Matte, Kibuye, 26.06.01.

¹¹² Oral interview with A. Ntambi, Namirembe, 16.05.01; *Okudda Obuggya*, pp. 182-183.

¹¹³ The late E. K. Bawuba, who was a headmaster of Kings College Buddo (1979-1986), testified how he resisted loans and bribes during his time in office. *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 171.

¹¹⁴ Oral Interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01. In the 1950s and 1960s, many Baganda clergy were divided on this issue. COU Archives, Letter from Rural Dean Bulemezi and Bululi to the Rt. Rev. C. E. Stuart, *Okubatiza abaana ab'obwenzi*, 26.02.1951.

¹¹⁵ Oral Interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹¹⁶ *The Church of the Province of Uganda; Provincial Canons*, p. 27. Even before the passing of this canon on Baptism some clergy used to baptise some children without the church's directive. Oral interview with Bishop Y. Mukasa, Mityana, 27.06.01.

¹¹⁷ Oral interview with J. Mwesigwa, Kampala, 26.06.01.

(violators) by other groups in the Church of Uganda because of their individualistic and selfish form of salvation that denies love to innocent babies and rejects their own blood.¹¹⁸

The *Bazuukufu* believe that once they get saved they join the clan of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁹ For that reason the Reawakened have no interest in Baganda clans and they denounce ideas of *emiziro* (totems). Thus, it is *ekibi* for the *Bazuukufu* to get involved in *kiganda* clan activities and rituals. Even the children born to the *Bazuukufu* are given *Balokole* names such as Mwebaza (I am grateful to God).¹²⁰ However such names, which tell about the nature and acts of God, have roots in *kiganda* names such as *Kiwa mirembe* (giver of peace) and *Mirembe* (peace). The fact that the *Bazuukufu* reject such *kiganda* clan values as *ekibi* places them in conflict with the *Bakulisitaayo*, contemporary mainstream *Balokole* and the Baganda who cherish the *kiganda* identity.

On the other hand, the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) draw some values from the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. For instance, though they do not value Baganda clans, they abide by the marriage prohibitions in the *Luganda* prayer book, which draw much from the *kiganda* teaching. For this reason, incest is abhorred among the *Bazuukufu*. However, unlike in the *kiganda* practice, the *Bazuukufu* do not allow a woman to marry her dead sister's or Ssenga's husband. They believe that such practice encourages adultery.¹²¹ It is also *ekibi* for the *Bazuukufu* to marry a person who is not reawakened. This idea of *ekibi* lies at the bottom of their concept of being set apart for God; '*omusana tegwetaba na nzikiza*' (light does not mix with darkness).¹²² The early *Balokole* teaching of separation from the world¹²³ has been interpreted to mean 'to be cut off from others/world.' This kind of teaching is looked on as *okusosola* (segregation) among the other Baganda and is

¹¹⁸ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju, 31.01.01.

¹¹⁹ Oral interview with C. Mukasa, Bweya, 21.07.01.

¹²⁰ Oral interview with J. Mwesigwa, Kampala, 26.06.01. These names are given to children of the mainstream *Balokole*, although they add on the clan names.

¹²¹ Oral interview with R. Kuloba Nalubwama, Ddandira, 10.02.01.

¹²² Oral Interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹²³ J. E. Church, *Every Man a Bible Student*, p.61.

ekibi, which has made the *Bazuukufu* teaching unpopular especially among the *Bakulisitaayo*.

DEALING WITH *EKIBI* AMONG THE *BAZUUKUFU*

The *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened), like the mainstream *Balokole*, have a strong belief in the power of the blood of Jesus Christ to wash away *ekibi* if people turn to him and repent. Confession of *ekibi*, repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation are important for salvation. However, the *Bazuukufu* insist that *ekibi* should be confessed without reservation. A person who believes that he has seen the light of God should not be restrained by public opinion. Not even respect for age difference should be a hindrance to the process of confessing *ekibi*. The *Bazuukufu* see themselves as *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters), and as such age differences do not matter.¹²⁴ Among the *Bazuukufu* it is *ekibi* for *omulokole* to fear or be restrained at any one time from confessing *ekibi* in public. Confession even of *ebivve* (abominations) is done without considering the negative effects it might have on the young people or children. For this reason, most contemporary Baganda who value the virtues of *obuntubulamu* (acceptable conduct) consider the *Bazuukufu* as *aboonoonyi* (violators). On the other hand the *Bazuukufu* teach that being restrained from confessing *ekibi* in public is *ekibi* of *okunnyogoga/okwebaka* (spiritual coldness/sleep). Hence Rev. Matovu taught:

Asumagira oba abongoota amaaso n'olulimi biba bizito. Katonda akutumidde ove mu kwebaka kw'omwoyo. (A person who dozes or slumbers always has a heavy tongue. God is calling us out of spiritual sleep).¹²⁵

Such issues highlight the conflicting ideas of *ekibi* among the members of the Church of Uganda.

Among the *Bazuukufu*, if a member commits *ekibi eky'ebikolwa* (wicked acts) such as *obwenzi* (adultery), *okubba* (theft) or acquiring loans and debts, it is referred to as *okugwa* (being defeated) by *ekibi*. If that person does not repent and continues in

¹²⁴ Oral interview with Lydia Mwebaza, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01. She was saved and reawakened in 1983, when she was seven years old.

¹²⁵ *Okudda Obuggya*, appendix viii. My translation.

fellowship with the other members, the elders in faith would talk to him, then proceed to *kumuyimiriza* (banning from the fellowship). Being banned from the fellowship of the *Bazuukufu* is meant to give time to a fallen person to seek guidance from God, repent and be reconciled to God and the community of believers.¹²⁶ If the person accepts this punishment, and he/she later realises his/her mistake, then they would be required to confess openly to the members of the fellowship. After that he/she would give a testimony on how God convicted him/her of *ekibi* and led them to repentance. *Okuyimirizibwa* is also meant to warn the other members about the dangers of *ekibi* and to keep them from it.

The practice of *okuyimiriza* (banning) the fallen member among the *Bazuukufu* is rooted in the *kiganda* practices of dealing with offenders, which involves public confession, *okuliwa* (repaying), punishment, ostracising and reconciliation to community.¹²⁷ Among the *Bazuukufu* any *ekibi* which is committed by an individual becomes a concern of the whole community of faith. As such the community of *Abooluganda* gives the punishment and is expected to forgive and be reconciled with the offender if he/she repents.

¹²⁶ Oral interview with R. Kuloba Nalubwama, Ddandira, 10.02.01.

¹²⁷ See Chapter three, pp. 66, 69.

BEEGAYIRIZI (INTERCESSORS)

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors)¹²⁸ is one of the groups which have developed out of the mainstream *Balokole* movement. The group derives its name *Beegayirizi* from the term *okwegayirira*, which means interceding or pleading. The origins of the *Beegayirizi* movement are rooted in the social, economic and political pressures suffered by the Church of Uganda during the 1980s and 1990s, and in the spiritual search for the renewal of the Church of Uganda by a Muganda clergyman, Rev. James Batte.

FACTORS WHICH LED TO THE RISE OF THE BEEGAYIRIZI

The rise and development of the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) is placed in the context of social, political and economic changes experienced by the Ugandans during the 1980s and 1990s. During that period Uganda suffered intense pressures due to rampant political conflicts, wars, diseases such as HIV/AIDS and poverty. These pressures impacted all the social structures including the churches, where the people always turned for hope and comfort. Through that time the leaders of the Church of Uganda and the Christians became very involved in the political, social and economic struggles at the cost of their Christian duties to God and his people. Because of the struggle for survival, the people resorted to corruption, illicit businesses and exploitation. Embezzling of funds was reported both in the church and in the government sectors.¹²⁹ Some church leaders, lay Christians and some *Balokole* became unfaithful, less committed to prayer and insensitive to challenges of the Spirit of God on the *ebibi* which were prevailing in the church.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Because there is not much written on the *Beegayirizi*, the major source of information about the group were oral interviews with key male and female informants from both Mukono and Kampala districts. These include Rev. J. Batte (the pioneer of the *Beegayirizi*), Mrs Robinah Kiyingi Kayaga, Mr. C. Kayanja, Miriam Nansubuga, Mr. Nelson Nsubuga, P. Ssebuufu, J. Namubiru and other members of the *Beegayirizi*. There are also some tracts written by the *Beegayirizi* on their teachings.

¹²⁹ *Olukiiko lwa Bassabandinkoni* Mukono Diocese, 12.03.1986, Min. 5/86. *Olukiiko lwa Bassabandinkoni* Mukono Diocese, 14.12.95, Min 3/12/95(i). These meetings addressed the problem of corruption among some church leaders and Christians. Also Bishop S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe 'Easter Message' 1995, Namirembe diocesan offices. Bishop S. Ssekkadde condemned corruption among Christians and government. Also P. Gifford, *African Christianity its Public Role*, London: Hurst & Company, 1998, pp. 139-149; T. M. Kisitu, 'A Historical Study of Conflicts in Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1972-1999,' PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2002, pp. 86-180.

¹³⁰ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01; Robinah Kiyingi Kayaga, Buziga, 30. 05. 01.

In addition, according to some *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), the Church of Uganda had grown weak in its ministry of prayer.¹³¹ The church was suffering from *obulwadde obw'omwoyo* (spiritual illness) which was reflected in *okwesalamu* (divisions), *enkaayana* (conflicts), *obwannakyemalira* (selfishness), *okuyaayaanira ebintu* (worldliness expressed in struggle for riches), *enkwe* (intrigue), *obutakkiriza* (lack of faith in God) and *okubuusabuusa* (doubt).¹³² Because of these *ebibi*, the church became weak in her duty of nurturing the believers and could not face the new challenges which were arising in the society.

There were also pressures from the African and American originated charismatic or Pentecostal churches which gained momentum in the desperate conditions created by wars, insecurity, and diseases such HIV/AIDS. Many contemporary Baganda yearned for answers to their needs, but the Church of Uganda was still rigid and stuck to the traditional, inflexible, dull form of worship, which could not meet the needs of her congregations. This resulted in an exodus of some women and youth from the Church of Uganda into the new churches.

Not only did the social and economic conditions push some Baganda into new churches, but also some Christians turned to the *kiganda* religion. The movement of Christians into the *kiganda* religion during that time was further boosted by the revival of several *kiganda* worship shrines and places which followed the reinstatement of the *Kabaka* (king) of Buganda in 1993.¹³³ Bishop Ssekkadde lamented this desperate situation in his Easter message of 1995 as follows:

Amasabo n'obusamize byeyongedde nga abantu banoonya ebinaabayamba okubakyusiza ku mbeera eremaganye (shrines and diviners have increased in number as the people are searching for something which can change their desolate conditions).¹³⁴

¹³¹ Ibid. Victor Miiro, Nabuti, 08.02.01.

¹³² *Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkansa Etanyikirira Kusaba* (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

¹³³ A. Nsibambi, 'The Restoration of Traditional Rulers,' pp. 41&47.

¹³⁴ Bishop S. Ssekkadde 'Easter Message' 1995, Namirembe diocesan offices. My translation.

Some of the Christians, who persisted and stayed in the Church of Uganda, yearned to see a renewal of Christian commitment, change in the form of worship and the growth of the church. This is because the Church of Uganda had become weak in her ministry of witnessing for Christ, and worship had ceased to have power to set the people free. *Ekibi* of *okwonoona* (wrongdoing) and *obujeemu* (disobedience) were preventing the power of God from operating among his people (Eph 4:30).¹³⁵ It was at this time that Rev. Batte became burdened to see the spiritual renewal of the Church of Uganda. He longed to see the Spirit of God moving the church, prompting the people to repent from disobedience and unfaithfulness, which had made them insensitive to *ekibi* in the society.¹³⁶

Batte, the pioneer of the *Beegayirizi*¹³⁷

Batte is the son of Mr Henry Mukasa of the Njovu (elephant) clan and Mrs Gladys Mukasa. He was born in 1955 at Ggaliraaya Bbaale Mukono District. He attended Ggaliraaya primary school, then Kiyira College (1970-74) and Namiryango College (1975-77). He trained for ministry at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono (1980-83) and graduated with a diploma in theology. After being ordained a deacon in 1983, he was posted to serve at Ngogwe Church of Uganda as a parish priest (1984-1985). In 1985 Batte returned to Bishop Tucker Theological College for a Bachelor of Divinity course and graduated in 1989. He married his wife, Victoria in 1987 when he was still studying. After completing his studies he served as diocesan secretary in Mukono Diocese (1989-1990). In 1990-1991 he completed a postgraduate diploma in pastoral theology at St John's College, Nottingham in England. On returning home he was posted to St Philip's Cathedral, Mukono as a vicar (1992-98). He is now serving as a vicar at St Dunstan Church of Uganda, Mukono. His experiences both in rural and urban churches enabled him to reflect on the state of the Church of Uganda and he always yearned to see the Spirit of God moving and reviving the church.

¹³⁵ *Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkansa Etanyikirira Kusaba* (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

¹³⁶ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01.

¹³⁷ See picture of Rev. J. Batte and the *Beegayirizi*, appendix I, Fig. K.

Batte's Call to kwegayirira (intercession)

Batte underwent a conversion experience in 1971 while he was still in secondary school and he joined the mainstream *Balokole* movement. From that time he felt that he was called to serve God in the Church of Uganda despite the waves of Pentecostalism which were flowing into the country especially from America during the 1970s and 1980s. After high school he taught as a licensed teacher in primary schools and was very active in the church choir. While teaching and serving as a church choir member, he still felt that God was calling him to serve in the Church of Uganda although he was still a youth.

In 1997 when he was serving as a vicar at St Philip's Cathedral during the Lent season he felt tired and fed up with the spiritual *obukalu* 'dryness' or emptiness in the church. To him 'dryness' was reflected in the lack of faith in the power of God, lack of commitment and laxity among the Christians and servants of God in the Church of Uganda. He was also frustrated by the unfaithfulness among some church leaders and other Christians.¹³⁸ As Batte lost hope of seeing change and the Spirit of God moving in the Church of Uganda he felt disappointed and wished to resign and join other Christian ministries. However, two days before he resigned, as he was praying and crying to God, he heard a voice saying to him, *sirikwabulira era sirikuleka (Yos1: 5b) ssaba busabi* (I will not fail you or forsake you, just pray -Josh 1:5b).¹³⁹ At that moment he did not understand what prayer would do or even know how to begin his mission. After seeking God's guidance he started praying, fasting, and inviting the Spirit of God to transform the church. The more he prayed the better he felt and the more encouraged to continue interceding for the church.

During that Lent period Batte organised daily prayer sessions at St Philip's Cathedral Mukono. He started off by inviting the following groups of people:

¹³⁸ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

- Christians who were interested in devoting their lives to praying for the ministry of the church;
- Christians who had accepted Christ and wished to get further guidance;
- Christians who were interested in preaching and witnessing for Christ in towns and villages.

Although some people opposed Batte's ideas as introducing Pentecostalism into the Church of Uganda and others spread rumours that he was suffering from some mental illness, a number of Christians were interested and willing to join the prayer ministry.¹⁴⁰ The first prayer meeting was held on 31st March 1997. At the end of the Lent period he organised a prayer seminar to train the Christians who were interested in becoming *Beegayirizi* (intercessors) for the church and world. The seminar was held on 14th April 1997 at 5.00 p.m. at the Cathedral. He invited Rev. John Magumba, who also had an interest in the prayer ministry to help in leading these sessions.

The first fellowship meeting for the *Beegayirizi* (intercessors) was held on 28th September 1997 at St. Philip's Cathedral, Mukono at 4.00 p.m. At this meeting they invited *abalwadde* (the sick), people with *ebizibu* (problems) and *ababonyaabonyezebwa Ssetaani* (those suffering under satanic powers) to be prayed for and delivered from their afflictions. The pioneering group of the *Beegayirizi* was composed of twenty people, fourteen of whom were women.¹⁴¹ Since then, the mission of the *Beegayirizi* has continued to grow and expand. Today there are members of this movement in a number of parishes in Mukono Diocese and they are extending to Namirembe Diocese¹⁴² and Busoga Dioceses. The movement is popular among women and youth, mainly because it offers answers to their needs and fears. The fact that the *Beegayirizi* movement was started in the Cathedral and was not opposed by the administration also

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. Nelson Nsubuga, Mukono, 06.02.01.

¹⁴¹ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01. Also see letter, appendix II.

¹⁴² These include Mukono cathedral parish, St. Dunstan, Mukono, Nakibizzi, Seeta, Kikanya, Kawolo, Katuuso, Entebbe, Bukoto, and others.

made the pioneering group a model to other parishes in Mukono diocese.¹⁴³ However, in some parishes where the leadership may not be interested in the spiritual experiences and teachings of the *Beegayirizi* the doors for their ministry are still closed, and parishioners who may be members of the *Beegayirizi* go to parishes where they are accepted. In spite of the opposition, the *Beegayirizi*, like the mainstream *Balokole* movement have remained in the Church of Uganda and participate in all activities and services with other parishioners. They hold their fellowship meeting in the church after the traditional Church of Uganda services.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICE OF THE *BEEGAYIRIZI*

Membership

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) movement comprises both young and elderly women and men, youth and children who confess Christ as their Lord and Saviour. Like their mother movement the mainstream *Balokole*, they refer to themselves as *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters). However the largest percentage of the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) is made up of women. This is mainly due to the freedom that such revival movements offer to women as the gospel challenges the patriarchal systems which characterise the Church of Uganda and Baganda society.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, among the *Beegayirizi* women take on bigger roles in leadership depending on the spiritual gifts they are endowed with. There are prophetesses, exorcists, counsellors, and preachers.

In addition, many women have been led to join the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) movement by the desperate conditions of poverty, illness and widowhood caused by wars and HIV/AIDS in Uganda. In the fellowship some of these women gain hope of healing and overcoming their problems. Also, some women with social concerns for the wellbeing of their families are easily drawn to a group which offers answers to social problems such as *eddogo* (sorcery power) and spirit attacks, which are common among many

¹⁴³ The dean of the Cathedral and Bishop seemed to appreciate the ministry of the group especially among the youth and people who have problems. Oral interview with Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu (Now Bishop of Kasaka Diocese), Mukono Hill, 02.02.01.

¹⁴⁴ The *Balokole* movement right from its early times offered freedom to women.

contemporary Baganda communities. Furthermore, the powerlessness of most contemporary Baganda women brought about by their lack of rights to own or inherit capital assets such as land and money¹⁴⁵ makes it attractive to join a Christian group which would empower them spiritually and restore their hope of becoming successful in life. However, some professional women have joined the *Beegayirizi* because of the hope, peace and transformation they receive in being with a praying community.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, to some extent the *Beegayirizi* movement has empowered and restored the humanity of some of these women.

Similarly many young people find the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) movement to be empowering as they have the freedom to participate in leadership, worship in a lively environment, with drumming, raising and clapping of hands, music and dance which are lacking in the traditional Church of Uganda services.¹⁴⁷ The challenges of poverty, disease, immorality and unemployment, which overwhelm most of the youth in contemporary Uganda, are all confronted by the redeeming power of Jesus Christ.

Leadership

Leadership among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) is composed basically of lay Christians; where clergy are members of the fellowship, they can also participate without necessarily taking leading roles. The *Beegayirizi* acknowledge the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and these gifts determine the role and leadership position a person can have in the fellowship.¹⁴⁸ Women, men and the youth play key roles in prophesying, interpreting messages, exorcising, counselling and healing ministries. Some children can also take up leadership roles as prophets and prophetesses or other roles depending on the gifts of

¹⁴⁵ The patriarchal system does not allow women to inherit land from their parents. In the event of the death of a husband, the relatives of the deceased sometimes overrule and they grab the property. This leaves widows in a desperate situation.

¹⁴⁶ Mrs Kiyingi, a lawyer, said that having Jesus as a friend and companion enabled her to exist and serve under the challenges of corruption in Uganda. Oral interview with Robinah Kiyingi Kayaga, Buziga, 30. 05. 01.

¹⁴⁷ Oral interview with Patrick Ssebuufu, Katuuso, 30. 05. 01.

¹⁴⁸ Oral interview with C. Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01.

the Holy Spirit endowed on them. As in the *kiganda* families, the old people also take on the role of being mothers, fathers and grandparents to the young people. They even play a major role of guiding and counselling other members in the fellowship.

Okwegayirira/ okusaba (interceding/praying)

The *Beegayirizi* are fundamentally a charismatic group who believe in the power and efficacy of prayer to God through his Son Jesus Christ. As suggested by the name of the group, *okwegayirira*, interceding to God through *okusaba* (praying) is the central focus and mission for the *Beegayirizi*. They believe that their ministry of interceding for the church and the world stands in the biblical tradition of God's people who interceded for the nations which had disobeyed God and were forgiven (Abraham –Gen 18:23-32, Moses -Num 14:11-20; Ps106: 23). They also believe that Jesus Christ the Son of God is the great intercessor, who is always interceding for the people for whom he died, so that they may be saved out of their suffering (Heb 7: 25; 1Jn 2:1, Rom 8:34).¹⁴⁹ Therefore the *Beegayirizi* believe that the Christians must follow in Jesus' footsteps as they intercede for the world to be saved.

Furthermore, prayer is the weapon which God revealed to Batte, the pioneer of the group, and to the believers. Thus he writes:

Mu kkanisa omwegayirizi abeera omukkiriza alina okulumwa olw'omuntu oba abangi abali mu mbeera embi eziraga obujeemu eri Katonda, oba ezityoboola obulungi n'obukulu bwe. Omukkiriza oyo ng'asiziira ku bisubizo bya Katonda bye yakola eri abantu n'embeera z'obulamu bwabwe, yeewaayo okukaaabirira Katonda, abantu abo (emmeeme ye beerumirwa) have mu bujeemu oba mu butamanya, oba have mu mbeera ezirumya obulamu bwabwe- Ezek 22:30; Is 59:16. (In the church an intercessor is a believer who feels for the other people who are in a state of rebellion against God, or those who are violating his goodness. Based on the promises of God and what he did for his people, a believer commits his/her life to cry to God so that the people can change their ways of rebellion or come out of life-threatening conditions-Ezek 22:30; Is 59:16)¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ *Omwegayirizi ye Ani?* (Who is an intercessor?), *Beegayirizi* tract.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* My translation.

Therefore, for the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), every believer and person who confesses Christ as Lord and Saviour ought to be an intercessor, for Jesus Christ commanded his followers to pray so that his kingdom may be realised on earth (Mt 6:10-11). Prayer is a key duty and weapon which saves the world from *ekibi*, transforms it and ushers in the reign of God. This is why the *Beegayirizi* sometimes refer to themselves as Prayer Warriors of Jesus Christ.¹⁵¹

Ebyawandiikibwa Ebitukuvu (Holy Scriptures)

The Holy Scriptures or the Bible is a key source of *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) faith and theological articulations. They believe that through the reading of Scripture they get to know the mind and will of God. The Holy Scriptures are the tools and guidelines for spiritual nature and growth towards holiness and sanctification (1 Tim 3:15-17). Thus they teach

*Oba nga twagala okukula mu kukkiriza tuteekwa okugondera n'okukola buli ebyawandiikibwa bye bitugamba. Tukubirizibwa okusabanga buli kiseera –Luk 18: 1; 1Bass 5: 17; 1Tim 2: 8...(If we want to grow in faith we must obey and do what the scriptures say. We are exhorted to pray all the time – Lk 18:1; 1 Thess 5:17; 1Tim 2:8...)*¹⁵²

Among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) reading and exposition of Scripture is part of most fellowship meetings. The leader of the session may guide in the first part of the exposition, after which the members point out key verses and issues which have touched them. Sometimes they receive revelations from Scripture verses from other members, and they proceed to find out what God is saying to them. They also hold Bible study sessions and seminars to enable the believers to understand the Word of God and live by it. As such, the Word of God is the path to knowing the will of God and understanding his nature as the loving and powerful Saviour of the world through his Son Jesus Christ.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Oral interview with Rev. Latimar Muwanguzi, Mukono, 05.02.01. *Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkansa Etanyikirira Kusaba* (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

¹⁵² *Lwaki Ekkansa Esaanye Okunyikirira Obuweereza Bw'okusaba* (Why the church should be committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

¹⁵³ Oral interview with C. Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01.

A reading from the Bible also precedes most prayer and healing sessions. In some instances the prayer leader or exorcist frequently recites verses from the Scriptures; as such the Scriptures stand as a mandate for their claim for the power of God to overcome every problem. For instance, one informant explained that she does not take medicines or any herbs because Jesus promised to grant the believers whatever they asked for (Jn 14:14). *Okusaba lye ddagala lyange kubanga Yesu ye musawo* (prayer is my medicine and Jesus is the healer).¹⁵⁴

Omwoyo Omutukuvu (the Holy Spirit)

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) also believe that in order to have effective prayers, they need the power of the Holy Spirit to enable them to pray according to the will of God (Rom 8:26). As such *Omwoyo omutukuvu ye mwegayirizi eyatumibwa Katonda Kitaffe okukoleranga mu bakkiriza* (the Holy Spirit is the intercessor who was sent by God our Father to work through the believers).¹⁵⁵ Unlike in some other groups in the Church of Uganda, among the *Beegayirizi* the power of the Holy Spirit is emphasised and acknowledged practically in their day-to-day activities. The Holy Spirit is understood to be the power of God and Jesus Christ his Son who performs miracles and transforms lives. Through prayer to God they receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are significant for their mission in the church. The gifts of the Spirit are manifested in receiving visions/revelations, trance and the ministries of deliverance and exorcism, where they pray for the sick and cast out *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits). Apparently the Holy Spirit and the power of Jesus Christ among the *Beegayirizi* draws much from the *kiganda* background, where the spirits are invited to bless homes and deal with problems in the family. It is this kind of parallel experience and appropriation of the *kiganda* worldview into the Christian faith that is drawing a number of people to join the *Beegayirizi*.

¹⁵⁴ Oral interview with Jessica Ndagire, Njeru, 20.03.01.

¹⁵⁵ *Omwegayirizi ye Ani?* (Who is an intercessor?), *Beegayirizi* tract. My translation.

Okusiiba (Fasting)

Okusiiba (fasting) is one of the spiritual exercises that *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) observe. Because they believe that they were called to intercede for the church and the world, they set aside time for prayer and fasting. The period of fasting also enables them to give more time to listening and talking to God. Through fasting they are able to be refilled by the power of the Holy Spirit, and receive guidance from God and power to overcome *ekibi* which may attack them.¹⁵⁶ Every healthy *Mwegayirizi* (an Intercessor) must fast for at least three days a month.¹⁵⁷

Okwolesebwa (visions) and obunnabbi (prophecy)

Among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), visions and prophecy are some of the gifts of the Holy Spirit through which the messages from God are passed on to the believers. The visions and prophecies convey guidance, exhortations from God, and warning about pending danger. The pioneer of the *Beegayirizi* was inspired by such visions, and many members believe in receiving such messages from God.¹⁵⁸ Some of the *Beegayirizi* who have such gifts are looked on as prophets and prophetesses. These can be men or women, young or old, even children. In Mukono Cathedral parish a thirteen-year old girl called Susan Namayanja receives *okwolesebwa* (visions) or dreams. The girl is reported to receive visions and dreams which foretell and warn her family about the attacks from malevolent spirits. On receiving the messages, the family prays and God deals with those forces.¹⁵⁹

On one occasion while a group of the *Beegayirizi* were praying, a person received a vision about an accident and he reported it to the members of his group. The members decided to pray for protection for whoever might be involved in it. After an hour a

¹⁵⁶ Oral interview with Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01; Patrick Ssebuufu, Katuuso, 30. 05. 01.

¹⁵⁷ Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.200; Patrick Ssebuufu, Katuuso, 30. 05. 01. Some *Beegayirizi* can fast for a week or so.

¹⁵⁸ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01; Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01.

¹⁵⁹ The girl's father sees her as a blessing in the family. Oral interview with Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01. In Katuuso Patrick is a prophet. Oral interview with Patrick Ssebuufu, Katuuso, 30. 05. 01.

member of the fellowship who had just been involved in an accident was brought in with some wounds but he was in a fair condition. The members believed that because of the message and their prayer to God, their friend was saved from danger.¹⁶⁰ While much of *Beegayirizi's* beliefs about prophecy are based in biblical prophecy, the belief can also be said to have some background in the *kiganda* practice of *okulagula* (foretelling/seeing). The parallelism of the experience enables the members to be content and to listen to messages from the Holy Spirit instead of going to *abalaguzi* (foreseers) and *abasamize* (diviners).

***Okuwa ekimu eky'ekkumi* (tithing)**

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) teaching also emphasises the Christian duty of tithing. They believe that God the owner and giver of all would like to receive back part of his people's earnings/harvest as a sign of thankfulness for his blessing. God loves cheerful givers and hates *obukodo n' omululu* (meanness and greed).¹⁶¹ It is further believed that through tithing, God will also bless the people and all the sources of their earnings (Lev 27:30; Mal 3:10-12). The biblical promise of blessing after tithing echoes the *kiganda* practice of offerings to the ancestors with the blessings that follow. Therefore, through tithing the *Beegayirizi* have hope of receiving blessing in their businesses and homes. Because of this teaching the *Beegayirizi* have revived the spirit of giving in the Church of Uganda. Even some Archdeacons reported that parishes where there are *Beegayirizi* are always among the most committed to giving and supporting church work, irrespective of whether they are in urban or rural areas.¹⁶²

Fellowship meetings

Fellowship meetings, as in other groups of the *Balokole* (Revivalists), are a significant feature of the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) community. These meetings are important for Christian nurture, encouraging members to walk the journey of faith and to build *obumu*

¹⁶⁰ Oral interview with Rev. Latimar Muwangunzi, Mukono, 05.02.01.

¹⁶¹ Oral interview with Robinah Kiyingi Kayaga, Buziga, 30. 05. 01.

¹⁶² Oral interview with Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu, Mukono Hill, 02.02.01; Rev. Can. Akisofeeri Maguzi, Namirembe, 25.06.01; Rev. Can. P. Kigundu, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

(oneness).¹⁶³ The *Beegayirizi* hold meetings during the week and on Sunday afternoons. The days on which the meetings are held vary from place to place and suit the lifestyle of the rural or urban areas. For instance, in Katuuso parish in Namirembe Diocese, where members have easy access to transportation, they have an hour-long meeting in the evening from Monday to Friday, while in Nakibizzi parish in Mukono Diocese, where most of the members have to walk for long distances, they have two meetings during the week and on Sunday afternoons.

Fellowship meetings are characterised by opening praise and worship, where members sing, clap, drum and dance as the Spirit of the Lord leads them. Worship and praise uplifts and draws the believers into the presence of God with joy and hope. Praise is composed of songs, choruses¹⁶⁴ and some traditional hymns used in the Church of Uganda. This group is introducing change in the Church of Uganda, as some of these choruses are sometimes used in Sunday worship in parishes where the priests are members of the *Beegayirizi*.¹⁶⁵

At the fellowship meetings, after the opening prayers, the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) have time for giving *obujulirwa* (testimony). This is mainly characterised by what the Lord has done for the members during the recent past, miracles, challenges which they have faced, repentance of *ekibi* and presenting their prayer requests. After that they have a praise session and reading of the Word of God. The appointed person does expositions for the day and the members respond by pointing out verses which touched them. Sometimes, questions are posed about parts of the text that are unclear and they are discussed. This kind of response is significant, as they believe that the Word of God is the guide for their lives. It is therefore important that they understand what the Lord is saying to them.

¹⁶³ Oral interview with Victor Miiro, Nabuti, 08.02.01.

¹⁶⁴ The members compose some of these choruses, while some are borrowed from the Pentecostal churches.

¹⁶⁵ The *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) who are still holding on to the past missionary prejudices about Baganda spirituality denounce this form of worship as worldly.

The final part of fellowship is always praying for all the needs that are presented. This is done concurrently as the Holy Spirit leads the members. If it is a deliverance session, all the people who have *ebizibu* (problems) come forward and they are prayed for by laying on hands and ordering the affliction or *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) to leave in the name of Jesus. The name and the blood of Jesus Christ and power of the Holy Spirit are the means through which the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) receive healing. The believers are however, taught that:

Katonda awonya nga bwasisa n'olwekyo mweyongerenga mu kusaba ne bwe muba temulaba nkyukakyuka yonna (God heals as he wishes, therefore we should continue in prayer even when things do not seem to happen)¹⁶⁶

This kind of teaching encourages the members to keep praying amidst the challenges of the social pressures in Uganda today. Prayer sessions can last for some time until the leader draws them to a close. On some Sunday afternoons when they have longer hours, the fellowship can even stretch to 8.00 pm. However, some members who have duties to perform in their homes have the liberty to leave at any time.

IDEAS OF EKIBI AMONG THE BEEGAYIRIZI

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) ideas of *ekibi* have much in common with their mother revival movement, the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists). The ideas of *okulokoka* (getting saved) and committing one's life to Jesus Christ are understood to be the beginning of having a relationship with God whereby a believer repents of *ekibi* and is cleansed by the blood of Jesus Christ. Therefore, *obutalokoka* (rejecting salvation) is *ekibi* as people reject the saving love of Jesus. *Obutalokoka* also includes the stubborn claims among some Christians of being saved when at the same time they are insensitive to the Holy Spirit's conviction of *ekibi* in their lives. All this is understood to be *ekibi* of *obujeemu* (disobedience or rebellion) against God.¹⁶⁷ The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) take it upon themselves to fight *obujeemu* through prayer so that the world may be saved

¹⁶⁶ Rev. J. Batte at a prayer meeting held on the 19.07.01 at St Dunstan church Mukono.

¹⁶⁷ Oral interview with Robinah Kayaga Kiyangi, Buziga, 30. 05. 01.

and be reconciled to God. For *Beegayirizi okulokoka* should not only be in words but should be *okulokoka okwamazima* (true salvation) which is expressed in the transformation of a person's life accompanied by daily prayer for the world to be saved and transformed.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, among the *Beegayirizi* it is *ekibi* for a believer not to pray or intercede for the world.

Drawing from the *kiganda* background among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), life-diminishing forces such as *obulwadde* (disease/afflictions), *okulumbibwa emizimu* (spirit attacks), *obwavu* (poverty), *omukisa omubi* (misfortunes) and *ekitambo* (spiritual force behind prowling)¹⁶⁹ are abhorred as *ekibi*. This concept is further strengthened by reference to the Bible, especially where Jesus Christ wages war against evil in the Gospel (Mk 9:14-19, 29). For this reason the members believe that they were called to wage war through prayer against this power of *ekizikiza ne Ssetaani* (darkness and Satan). Because the *Beegayirizi* understand themselves as the prayer fighters of Christ, they set out to pray, conquer and overpower the reign of darkness in the world (1 Jn 3:8; 5:4). Through praying in the name of Jesus Christ the *Beegayirizi* cast out evil spirits, and many people are healed of their afflictions.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, the practice of healing and exorcism re-enacts the *Beegayirizi*'s belief in Jesus of Nazareth, who cast out demons, healed the sick and raised the dead (Mk 5:6-8; 6:7).

DEALING WITH *EKIBI* AMONG THE *BEEGAYIRIZI*

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) further believe that through prayers *ekibi* is presented at the cross of Jesus Christ and is washed away. They believe that *omusaayi gwa Yesu gumala okutangirira amalogo* (the blood of Jesus has power to atone for sorcery power).¹⁷¹ For this reason they do not go to diviners but call upon Jesus Christ to deal with the attacks of *ekibi*. For instance, when Namutebi found *ebyawongo* (sorcery stuff)

¹⁶⁸ *Lwaki Ekkansa Esaanye Okunyiikirira Obuweereza Bw'okusaba* (Why the church should be committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

¹⁶⁹ Oral interview with Susan Nambajjwe, Kikakanya, 21.02.01.

¹⁷⁰ Jessica Ndagire of Njeru is one of the people who has the power of healing and does exorcism. Also Patrick Ssebuufu of Katuuso. See appendix I, fig. L.

¹⁷¹ Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01.

in her compound, she prayed to God and asked Jesus Christ to intervene. As she continued in prayer she picked up *ebyawongo* and threw it away and nothing happened to her.¹⁷² Like the other *Balokole* (Revivalists) groups they do not sacrifice animals and birds to deal with *ekibi*, as in *kiganda* practice, but they believe in the efficacy of the one and final sacrifice of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) also believe that through the power of prayer in the name of Jesus even diseases such HIV/AIDS,¹⁷³ which have no cure, are also dealt with. One of the female informants testified about the healing of her baby girl who had HIV/AIDS.¹⁷⁴ Jesus has power over all life-threatening forces; that is why they present all their *ebibi* to Jesus Christ, who conquered and overpowered *ekibi* by his death on the cross and resurrection. Even the *kiganda ebikolimo* (curses) that run through the family are taken to Jesus Christ (Matt 8:16-17).¹⁷⁵ Hence the chorus:

Yesu yeetikka ekikoligo kyange (Jesus carried my yoke)
Naakitwala kumusalaba (and took it to the cross) x2
Yeetikka n'obwavu bwange ... (he carried my poverty)
Yeetikka n'endwadde zange ... (he carried my sicknesses)
Yeetikka n'ebizibu byange ... (he carried my problems)¹⁷⁶

Such choruses emphasise the power of Jesus Christ over *ekibi* and are the source of hope and healing among the *Beegayirizi*. For some of these members the belief in miraculous healing is greatly valued to the point that they do not even go to hospitals or take medicine.¹⁷⁷ Prayer has become their medicine.

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) not only pray, but also use physical materials such as oil or water in the processes of healing. Water or oil is prayed for and blessed, then it is used as the Holy Spirit directs them. In most cases oil is rubbed on the forehead of the

¹⁷² Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa, Kkongwe Katuuso, 30.05.01.

¹⁷³ The Church of Uganda also has programmes such as The Church of Uganda Struggle against HIV/AIDS (CHUSA), which provide health and social service to people with HIV/AIDS.

¹⁷⁴ Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01.

¹⁷⁵ Rev. Batte's teaching at prayer meeting held on the 19.07.01.

¹⁷⁶ Song sung at the prayer meeting at St Dunstan, Mukono, 19.07.01 My translation.

¹⁷⁷ Oral interview with Jessica Ndagire, Njeru, 20.03.01.

afflicted person or used to make the sign of the cross on the forehead. This is meant to drive away the malevolent spirits. Blessed water is sometimes sprinkled on the patient or it is drunk as medicine to heal the illness.¹⁷⁸ Water is also used in blessing or driving away evil spirits from homes and business premises. In cases where the malevolent spirits are stubborn, the prayer leaders celebrate and receive Holy Communion as a means of being refilled with the power of God to cast out the evil spirits.¹⁷⁹ Holy Communion is taken as a symbol of the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, which overcomes all the powers of Satan. In this way Holy Eucharist replaces the practices of sacrifice in the *kiganda* practices of dealing with *ekibi*.

By carrying out the deliverance sessions, the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) believe that they are following in Jesus' footsteps. Because of this belief, the *Beegayirizi* tend to be closer to the few members of the mainstream *Balokole* who believe in exorcism and miracles. However, the *Bazuukufu* find it hard to accept these practices, as they believe that the practice of exorcism is a way of declaring that Satan has power over God's people.¹⁸⁰ Despite this, the *Beegayirizi* have addressed and continue to address the problems of spiritual attacks, misfortunes and *eddogo* (sorcery power) which the Church of Uganda's traditional approach had always ignored at the cost of the wellbeing of the Christians. The sincere approach among the *Beegayirizi* of acknowledging the problems suffered by the people and presenting it to Jesus Christ the Saviour is what is attracting people, especially women, to join them. Therefore the *Beegayirizi*'s teaching and practice are reviving the contemporary Baganda's hope in the power of Jesus Christ, who is concerned for the total wellbeing of the people.

Concerning the *ekibi* relating to marriage, the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), like the mainstream *Balokole*, observe the prohibitions relating to marriage which are laid out in the Church of Uganda prayer book. However, unlike the other *Balokole* who demand

¹⁷⁸ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01.

¹⁷⁹ Oral interview with C. Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01.

¹⁸⁰ Oral interview with Nakibuuka Matte, Kibuye, 26.06.01.

that new members who have been in *obufumbo obw'ensobi* (non-Christian marriage) or polygamous marriages, move out immediately, the *Beegayirizi* do not demand instantaneous separation. They give some allowance for a new member to stay in his/her marriage for some time as they seek God's guidance on how they should move out of that situation. It then becomes the duty of the new member and *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters) to pray that God's will may be revealed. The members argue that God is gracious and will always guide his people out of such conditions if they pray.¹⁸¹ For instance, one polygamous man got saved and faced the dilemma of sending away two of his three wives. After he had prayed for some time, the two women walked out of the home, as they could not cope with the changed ways of their saved husband. Consequently the man had his marriage blessed in the church with the woman who stayed in the home.¹⁸² For the *Beegayirizi*, prayer moves mountains (Mt 21:21-22).¹⁸³ Through this teaching we see a new way of dealing with the problem of polygamy in the Church of Uganda.

Furthermore, conversations with some women who were living in polygamous marriages before they got saved revealed that the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) approach to dealing with polygamy enabled them to prepare for the challenges they would face as single parents.¹⁸⁴ For instance one of my informants told me that before she moved out of her husband's home the *Abooluganda* prayed with her and even helped her to raise some money for a small business from which she got some income to care for her children.¹⁸⁵ The *Beegayirizi* approach of dealing with polygamy is important because the *kiganda* patriarchal system has long kept women in powerless positions, as they do not own or inherit capital assets such as land. This further reveals the extent to which the involvement of women in the leadership of the *Beegayirizi* has impacted the teaching and practice in this Christian group. However, the other *Balokole* groups look on this

¹⁸¹ Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa, Kkongge Katuuso, 30.05.01.

¹⁸² Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01; Eseza Muzawuula, Kikakanya, 21.02.01; Namutebi Zziwa, Kkongge Katuuso, 30.05.01.

¹⁸³ Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Oral interview with Susan Nambajjwe, Kikakanya, 21.02.01.

practice as *ekibi* of *okujeema* (disobeying) God, where saved people refuse to change and engage in *okwesigaliza* (keeping their old ways).¹⁸⁶ This conflict in the teaching and ideas of *ekibi* highlights the tensions within the contemporary Church of Uganda as the Baganda interpret the Christian faith in their context.

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) deal with *ekibi* not only through prayer but also hold sessions of *okubuulirira* (guidance and counselling) where people with problems are listened to and helped to come to terms with their feelings. This is a way of sharing each other's burdens (Gal 6:2). This is considered an important ministry because some people may have issues, which may be wearing them down. Counsellors are mainly spiritual elders in the fellowship and those with the gift of counselling.¹⁸⁷ Counselling is available for youth to share about their needs, experiences, and fears. Marital issues, including problems of barrenness among women and men, are attended to. At the end of every counselling session, all the issues are presented to Almighty God who has power to bless and transform life.

On the whole, the *Beegayirizi*'s teaching on *ekibi* has adopted a more tolerant attitude towards the *kiganda* values and has made a great contribution to the contemporary Church of Uganda ideas of *ekibi*. Also, it can be observed that the *Beegayirizi*'s teaching and practices have and are still reviving the Church of Uganda through the spiritual experiences which have generally been ignored.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion has indicated that there are a variety of ideas of *ekibi* among the four groups in the Church of Uganda. The teachings on *ekibi* as expressed among the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalist), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) show both commonalities

¹⁸⁶ At the Kyambogo fellowship meeting held 04.02.01, Bishop Ssenyimba referred to this practice as 'a situation where the saved people refuse to cross the Red Sea or change positions.'

¹⁸⁷ Rev. J. Batte, Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi and Patrick Ssebuufu are involved in counselling.

and differences. The commonalities in the ideas of *ekibi* further explain the persistence of these groups within the Church of Uganda structures amidst the waves of change and pressure from the new African and American-originated churches in Uganda.

This study has also suggested that the ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda, as expressed in the four groups of Christians, have been developing and changing over time. This is mainly due to the evolving social-political contexts within which the church exists. The study has also indicated that the *Bakulisitaayo* ideas of *ekibi* are more inclined towards the *kiganda* values. Most *Bakulisitaayo* still value the *kiganda* practices of observance of *emizizo*, *okwabya olumbe*, *okusamira*, and polygamy. The *Beegayirizi* and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* teaching on *ekibi* has adopted a more tolerant attitude towards the *kiganda* values such as the practices of dealing with *emizimu emibi* and healing. On the other hand, the *Bazuukufu* and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole*, who still value the early missionary teachings against most *kiganda* practices of dealing with *ekibi*, continue to hold negative attitudes towards some of the *kiganda* values and teachings.

The study also revealed some differences and conflicts in the ideas of *ekibi* among the groups of Christians in the Church of Uganda. This is due mainly to the groups' attitudes towards the *kiganda*, biblical interpretations and Church of Uganda teaching on *ekibi*. As we observed, some groups hold extremist views and teaching which are detached from the cultural and social-political context of the church within which they are ministering. This highlights the complexity of the integration of the *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda. It further points to the need for more dialogue and teaching on the biblical, cultural, and contextual issues which form the foundation of the theological articulations on the ideas of *ekibi*. These are the issues which this study will address in the forthcoming chapters.

Finally, a close study of the ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda has indicated that all four of the Christian groups' teachings on *ekibi* have some commonalities and parallels

between the *kiganda* and the biblical ideas of *ekibi*.¹⁸⁸ However, it was also observed that some of the teaching within these groups is based on misinterpretation, mistranslation and literal interpretation of the biblical texts. Therefore, it is imperative that we engage in a thorough study of the ideas of *ekibi* based on the interpretations of both the Old and New Testaments in order to assess the extent to which they impact and contribute to the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda. This will be the goal of the next chapter.

¹⁸⁸ K. Holter, 'The Current State of Old Testament Scholarship in Africa,' in M. Getui, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001, pp. 29-30; J. Mugambi, 'Africa and the Old Testament,' in M. Getui, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, pp. 1-19; J. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 40-4; J. Mbiti, 'The Bible in African Theology,' in R. Gibellini, *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM Press, 1994, pp. 34-38.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IDEAS OF *EKIBI* IN THE BIBLE

This chapter examines the notion of *ekibi* in both the Old and New Testaments with the view of assessing the extent to which they impact and contribute to the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda. The concepts of *ekibi* discussed here are based on the *Luganda* translation of the Bible, which enables us to scrutinise the ideas as they are received and interpreted among contemporary Baganda. In addition, the investigation of the ideas of *ekibi* is centred on interpretations of the Old and New Testaments among the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors).

In our discussion we make use of the comparative hermeneutic approach to the Bible and the *kiganda* culture.¹ In the process, the *kiganda* and the Jewish social context within which the ideas of *ekibi* emerge are scrutinized. The study explores the socio-economic and political experiences of contemporary Baganda in the totality of their evolving environment and these are the subject of interpretation of the biblical text.² Some aspects of the nature of *ekibi* are discussed, as well as approaches to dealing with *ekibi*, such as expiation and punishment in Jewish communities, and their implications for the contemporary Baganda ideas of *ekibi*. Also the ideas which bring into view the parallels, commonalities and discontinuities in the concepts of *ekibi* between the *kiganda*

¹The Comparative method has been used by several scholars such as E. Anum, 'Comparative Readings of the Bible in Africa: some Concerns,' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, Boston: Brill 2000, pp. 457-473; K. A. Dickson, 'Continuity and Discontinuity between the Old Testament and African Life Thought,' pp.179-192; J. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*; G. West, 'On the Eve of African Biblical Studies', pp. 99-115; J. Ukpong, 'Developments in Biblical Interpretations in Africa,' 108 November, 2000, pp. 3-18; K. Holter, *Yahweh in Africa: Essays on Africa and the Old Testament*, New York: Peter Lang, 2000; D. Wambuta, 'Savannah Theology: A Biblical Reconsideration of the Concept of Salvation in the African Context,' *Bulletin of African Theology*, vol. 3/6,1981; J. Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics, and Black Theology in South Africa*, Michigan: Eerdmans 1989; H. Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Acton, 1997.

² J. S. Ukpong, 'Developments in Biblical Interpretation in Africa,' pp. 3-18; J. Ukpong, 'Reading the Bible with African Eyes', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 91 June, 1995, pp. 3-14; A. E. Obeng, 'The Use of Biblical Critical Methods Rooting the Scriptures in Africa,' pp. 8-24; I. J. Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics, and Black Theology in South Africa*, pp. 1-12; L. Jonker, 'Towards a Communal Approach for Reading the Bible in Africa,' M. Getui et al. *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, pp. 77-88.

and the Jewish worldview are examined. The chapter concludes with some reflections on the theological issues raised and implications for the contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda. Before we proceed to examine the ideas of *ekibi* in both the Old and New Testaments we first have a brief survey of the historical background of the Bible in Buganda. In this respect, we concentrate on the *Luganda* Bible, the version most commonly used among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda.³

THE BIBLE IN BUGANDA

The Bible was first introduced to the Baganda in the mid-nineteenth century, when Buganda first received Western Christians and missionaries. In 1875 the explorer-journalist H. M. Stanley first read portions of the Bible to *Kabaka* Muteesa 1 in his palace at Rubaga, while Dallington Muftaa, Stanley's servant and scribe, translated the reading into Swahili.⁴ The need to evangelise the Baganda necessitated the translation of the Bible from the Swahili language, which was the language of the first Bible translation in this part of East Africa, into *Luganda*. Muftaa first translated some Swahili portions of the Bible into *Luganda*, as he was teaching Muteesa, the chiefs and the *Bagalagala* (pages), when Stanley left him behind.⁵ Though no records remain of most of this work, it is remembered as the pioneering effort of the translation of the Bible into *Luganda*.⁶

³ However, it should be noted that some contemporary educated Baganda use both the *Luganda* and English versions of the Bible.

⁴ The Arabs who first arrived in Buganda (1844) had already taught some Swahili and some rudiments of reading and writing in Muteesa's court. By this time Muteesa had even claimed to be a Muslim and he used to observe Ramadan. A. Kaggwa, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 166.

⁵ This was when H. M. Stanley went back to Britain and published *Kabaka* Muteesa's invitation to the Christian teachers to come to Buganda and spread the gospel of Christ.

⁶ A. Wandira, 'Professional Missionary Activities,' in T. Tuma et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p. 93; A. O. Mojola, '100 Years of the *Luganda* Bible (1896-1996),' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, p. 562.

The most serious and significant work of translating the Bible into *Luganda* was carried out by Alexander Mackay, Robert Ashe, Edward Cyril Gordon, George Pilkington, A. Crabtree, and some Baganda men, who include Henry Wright Luta Kitaakule, Sembera Mackay, Samwiri Mukasa and Nuwa Nakiwafu.⁷ The first *Luganda* portions of the Bible were produced in 1885. These included: the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:1-17), the Lord's Prayer and chapters from the Gospel of Matthew. In 1886 the Gospel of Matthew was translated into *Luganda* by Mackay, assisted by R. P. Ashe and some Baganda Christian converts who included Henry Wright Luta Kitaakule and Sembera Mackay. This *Luganda* version of the Gospel of Matthew was first printed at the CMS Press Nateete. This was followed by St. John's Gospel, translated by Robert Ashe in 1891 and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) London. In 1892 the Gospel of Mark was translated into *Luganda* by E. C. Gordon, assisted by some nationals and published by BFBS London. Pilkington⁸ and his assistants Henry Wright Luta Kitaakule, Sembera Mackay, Samwiri Mukasa and Nuwa Nakiwafu, were the key players in the translation of the rest of the New Testament. By 1893 a complete *Endagaano Empya eya Mukama waffe Omulokozi waffe Isa Masiya* (New Testament of our Saviour Jesus the Messiah) had been translated into *Luganda*⁹ and published by the BFBS London in the same year.

Pilkington, assisted by W. A. Crabtree and their Baganda colleagues, also embarked on the translation of the Old Testament. Based on the English version of the Bible, Pilkington translated the book of Exodus (1893) and by 1894 the whole of the Pentateuch had been translated into *Luganda*. This was later followed by the translation of the rest of the Old Testament. By 1896 a complete Bible, known as *Ekitabo*

⁷ A. Wandira, 'Professional Missionary Activities,' in T. Tuma et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 93-96.

⁸ Pilkington put in much effort to learn *Luganda* and his learning skills were praised by Nuwa Kikwabanga, his first *Luganda* teacher and Luta Kitaakule. A. O. Mojola, '100 Years of the *Luganda* Bible,' pp. 533-534.

⁹ E. Coldham, *African Scriptures, Acholi-Mousgoum: a Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*, Vol. 1, London: BFBS, 1966, pp. 345-355.

Ekitukuvu ekya Katonda, kye bayita Bayibuli, ye Ndagaano Enkadde n'empya (The Holy Book of God, known as the Bible: Old Testament and New Testament), was published. This Bible was basically a compilation of *Luganda* portions of the Old and New Testaments which had been translated over time. These portions were compiled without resetting, in order to meet the urgent need of a complete Bible then. This *Luganda* Bible was made just to fit in the biscuit tin in which some Baganda kept their precious books for protection against termites. Thus it became commonly known as the 'Biscuit-tin Bible.'¹⁰ In 1899 the Bible was revised by Henry Wright Luta, Ham Mukasa, Nathaniel Mudeka, Tomasi Ssenfuma, Batolomaayo Musoke, with Jane Chadwick of CMS as the secretary.¹¹ The revised *Luganda* Bible was published by BFBS, in London; this version included revision of and changes in orthography. Further revisions of the whole Bible followed in 1902, 1920, 1924 and 1926. In 1966 the Bible Society of Uganda was formed,¹² and a new revision of the *Luganda* Bible was produced in 1968. This version also had several revisions of orthography and changes according to the contemporary developments in *Luganda* language.¹³

The work of translating the Bible into *Luganda* was also boosted by the White Fathers who in 1894 published the gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke printed at *Imprimerie de L'ouvre de Bosco*. By 1934 the White Fathers' mission in Uganda published the New Testament translated by Father W. F. Raux.¹⁴ The launching of the Bible Society of Uganda also marked the beginning of joint ecumenical efforts of translating the Bible. The Bible Society of Uganda not only produces *Luganda* Bibles but has also expanded and is involved in translation of the Bible into other Ugandan languages today.

¹⁰ E. Coldham, *African Scriptures*, pp. 351.

¹¹ This group formed the translation committee after the killing of G. L. Pilkington in 1896 in the Nubian rebellion. *Ibid.*, p. 352.

¹² The Bible Society of Uganda became full members of the United Bible Societies (UBS) in 1988. Henry Kalule, <http://www.Biblesociety.org/bs-ug.htm> accessed 24. 04. 02.

¹³ For instance in 1968 Swahili *Isa Masiya* (Jesus the Messiah) was changed to *Yesu Kristo* (Jesus Christ).

¹⁴ E. Coldham, *African Scriptures*, pp. 350-354.

From the time when the Bible was first translated into *Luganda* it became the key book for the Baganda Christians, especially as it was the major book used in the catechism classes in which the converts first engaged in *okusoma* (reading). It also became significant for the chiefs and members of the *Kabaka's* palace to learn to read the Bible. As such, the Bible together with Western forms of education became important in the 'civilising' process and as a means of attaining social status among the Baganda. Some of the Baganda converts who excelled in reading the *Luganda* Bible went on to teach the gospel of Christ among other neighbouring groups of people and beyond Uganda.¹⁵ In this way the use of the *Luganda* Bible extended to different parts of Uganda. For instance, the *Luganda* Bible was and is still used among the Basoga, Bagishu, Banyoro, Iteso, Padohola, and in Bukoba areas of Tanzania. Consequently, the *Luganda* Bible became the foundation of many forms of theological articulation among the people where it was used. It should further be noted that the translation of the Bible into *Luganda* and the participation of some of the Baganda in the translation meant that the *kiganda* mind and philosophy found its way into the Bible, thus paving the way for indigenous interpretations.

The translation process was also enhanced by some of the Western missionaries who made efforts to learn *Luganda*. On the other hand, the Western missionary participation in the process of translating the Bible meant that a number of new and strange terms from English, Swahili, Arabic, French and Latin were introduced into the *Luganda* Bible. This made it a bit difficult for most Baganda Christians to comprehend some parts of the scriptures and Christian teaching.¹⁶ For instance, new terms such as *Ssetaani* (Satan) and *dayimooni* (demon) which were introduced in the *Luganda* Bible still stand out as impediments to biblical and Christian articulation among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda.¹⁷

¹⁵ A. O. Mojola, '100 Years of the *Luganda* Bible (1896-1996),' p. 525.

¹⁶ J. M. Waliggo, 'Bible and Catechism in Uganda,' H. Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, p. 181.

¹⁷ For more on this see pp. 191-193, 202-203.

The challenges of translating the Bible faced not only the Western teachers but also the Baganda translators, due to lack of skills in the biblical languages, the influence of their Western teachers and prejudice against some *kiganda* terms, which were thought to be 'heathen' at the time. For instance, the term *endagaano* (contract) was used to translate 'covenant' in the Bible; while according to recent biblical scholarship the term *omukago* (blood pact) best translates the biblical 'covenant'.¹⁸ At that time the term *omukago* could not be used, possibly because of the connotations it has in the *kiganda* ritual practices. Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that some of the terms used in the Bible did not have equivalent *Luganda* translations. Some of these terms, as we shall discover, continue to present challenges to the contemporary Baganda Christians' process of interpreting the Bible.

On the whole our exploration and discussion of the background of the Bible in Buganda has highlighted the values of the translation of the Bible into *Luganda*. This has also brought into view some of the loopholes and hindrances to interpretation and appreciation of the biblical message. More of these issues will be discussed in the forthcoming parts of this chapter. Having explored the background of the Bible in Buganda we can proceed to examine the ideas of *ekibi* in the both the New and Old Testaments.

¹⁸ For more see S. K. Kisirinya, 'Interpreting the Old "Testament" in Africa: Last Will, Contract or Covenant?' in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, pp. 189-192.

EKIBI IN THE LUGANDA BIBLE¹⁹

As we have already noted, during the process of translating the Bible into *Luganda* a variety of *kiganda* ideas were introduced, among which are the ideas of *ekibi*. The term *ekibi* can be found in both the earliest²⁰ and the contemporary versions of the *Luganda* Bible.²¹ Therefore, the study proceeds to examine the ideas of *ekibi* as presented in the *Luganda* Bible. As we noted previously, our hermeneutical approach attempts to examine the ideas of *ekibi* beginning from the *Luganda* Bible and the Baganda social cultural context. The context in this sense, as Ukpong puts it:

In general refers to the background against which a text is to be interpreted. In particular, it refers to an existing human community (a country, local church, ethnic group) designated as the subject of the interpretation with the people's worldview, and historical, social economic, political and religious life experiences. It is a dynamic reality with its values, disvalues, needs and aspirations.²²

This therefore suggests the use of inculturation hermeneutics, which is a 'contextual' hermeneutic. The inculturation hermeneutics as Ukpong further observes:

Designates an approach to biblical interpretation which seeks to make the African, and for that matter any socio-cultural context the subject matter of interpretation.²³

In this case, the contemporary Baganda social context is the subject of interpretation, and it provides a basis for examining the ideas of *ekibi* in the selected biblical texts. We also make use of some historical and other related critical methods to scrutinise the background and social context of selected biblical texts in light of the contemporary *kiganda* context. The selected biblical texts include: Exod 20:1-12; Deut 18:9-14; Lev

¹⁹ This study makes reference to the *Luganda (Lug)* Bible (1968) and Revised Standard Version (RSV).

²⁰ *Ekitabo Ekitukuvu Ekya Katonda, Kye Bayita Baibuli Ye Ndagaano Enkadde N'Empya*, London: BFBS, 1899.

²¹ *Ekitabo Ekitukuvu Ekiyitibwa Baibuli Endagaano Enkadde N'Empya*, Kampala, Bible Society of Uganda, 1968. Reprinted 1993.

²² J. Ukpong, 'Reading the Bible with African Eyes,' p. 6; A. E. Obeng, 'The Use of Biblical Critical Methods Rooting the Scriptures in Africa', in Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, pp. 16-17; I. J. Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics, and Black Theology in South Africa*, pp. 6-7.

²³ *Ibid.*, K. Holter, 'The Current State of Old Testament Scholarship in Africa: Where are we at the Turn of the Century?' in M. Getui et al. *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, pp. 6-7.

18:1-18; Job 1-2; Lev 4, 5, 16; Mark 9:14-29; John 11:1-54 and Rom 5:12-22. First we will begin with ideas of *ekibi* in the Old Testament.

EKIBI IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

IDEAS OF EKIBI BASED ON AMATEEKA EKKUMI (TEN COMMANDMENTS) (EXOD 20:1-12)²⁴

The term *Amateeka Ekkumi* (Ten Commandments) refers to the law as it is presented in Exod 20:1-17 (Deut 5:6-21). The Ten Commandments stand out as the Israelites' ethical code or guidelines.²⁵ This code is said to be the "ten words" from Yahweh written by Moses upon the two tablets of stone at Mount Sinai (Exod 34:28; Deut 4:13; 10:4).²⁶ However, on this, Hyatt urges that:

They are much more likely to have originated in the customs and regulations of families and clans of pre-Mosaic times, as handed down by heads of families and clans, elders, and wise men. Moses' work was to select them, put them in succinct form and relate them to the covenant.²⁷

Following this argument, it should be noted that although in the *kiganda* worldview there are no written codes of conduct, as in the ancient Jewish society the pre-colonial Baganda had some social code known as *ennono n'emizizo* (norms and taboos) which

²⁴ For the sake of having a manageable span our discussion will be limited to the first five commandments.

²⁵ The Ten Commandments are presented in apodictic form, which are straightforward declarations expressing the core concern of the community applicable to all situations. The commandments are not legal code and as such they do not prescribe juridical consequences for disobeying them. They are not generally motivated by negative reinforcement which implies that they were to be responded to out of love and commitment to their relationship with Yahweh for the wellbeing of the society. T. Fretheim, *Exodus*, Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991, pp. 221-222; J. P. Hyatt, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971, p. 209.

²⁶ J. Durham, *World Biblical Commentary: Exodus* (vol. 3), Waco: Word Books, 1987, pp. 282-283; J. P. Hyatt, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus*, p. 207.

²⁷ J. P. Hyatt, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus*, p. 210. A number of biblical critics have argued that the text went through a series of redactors, Elohist and Yahwistic activities, and this also affects its position in the book of Exodus. However, scholars like Durham dismiss all the arguments that question the context of this text in the book of Exodus as tampering with the Sinai narrative and its sequence. J. Durham, *World Biblical Commentary: Exodus*, p. 278. Despite these criticisms, the Ten Commandments are believed to have some aspects of the ten words given to Moses by Yahweh. J. Durham, *World Biblical Commentary: Exodus*, p. 278; J. P. Hyatt *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus*, p. 207.

regulated the people's conduct in society. As already observed, the *kiganda* belief had it that the *ennono n'emizizo* were instituted by the ancestors on behalf of *Katonda* for the purpose of regulating social conduct and maintaining social order.²⁸ This social code evolved in the society and was passed on from one generation to the other.²⁹ As we have noted some of the *ennono n'emizizo* are still observed among many contemporary Baganda communities.³⁰ In this sense therefore, the Old Testament code finds some parallel in the *kiganda* worldview, and it is against this background that the contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda receive and interpret *Amateeka Ekkumi* (Ten Commandments).

The Ten Commandments are placed in the context of Yahweh's revelation of himself to the people of Israel at Mount Sinai (Exod 19:17ff), where he gives them this code. Thus verse 1 records that Yahweh spoke to the Israelites, thereby asserting the divine origin of the commandments. Following that, in verse 2 he declares himself to the people as Yahweh their God, who brought them out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. In the *Luganda* version Yahweh is translated *Katonda* (the creator). This suggests that the creator God is also the deliverer who brought the Israelites out of bondage. The idea of *Katonda* (the creator) being the deliverer is also familiar to the *kiganda* worldview, as it is articulated in the saying: *Ezinunula omunaku Katonda azitunga kiro* (the creator can redeem the afflicted even in the most gloomy hour), which means that God redeems the afflicted according to his will.³¹ Therefore, it is the creator and deliverer *Katonda* who makes claim to the people he delivered and gives them the Ten Commandments.³² However, unlike in the Jewish worldview in which Yahweh is believed to be the

²⁸ See Chapter two, pp 19, 32.

²⁹ W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, p. 26; M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'Ennono Zaago*, pp. 170-171. For more on taboos, see S. Githuku, 'Taboos on Counting,' in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, pp. 113-118.

³⁰ See Chapter three, pp 57- 63.

³¹ M. Lugira, 'Redemption in *Ganda* Traditional Belief,' *Uganda Journal*, 32/2, 1968, p. 201.

³² This teaching is also seen in the Church of Uganda *Luganda* catechism teachings. *Katekisimu Ey'okusatu*, pp. 3-4.

Lawgiver, in the *kiganda* worldview, *Katonda* (the creator) is not the direct giver of the social code which governs the society. As already observed *ennono n'emizizo* (norms and taboos) were instituted by the ancestors on behalf of *Katonda*.

The first commandment: *Tobanga na bakatonda balala we ndi*³³ (you shall have no other gods besides me) calls on the ancient Israelites to be totally committed to Yahweh. This code required the Israelites to renounce any allegiance to or beliefs in other gods (Exod 22:20; 23:13; 34:14). Thus, the prohibition as it appears presupposes the belief in other gods. It further reveals to us that the ancient Israelites were in the habit of worshipping several other gods. This also points to the view that polytheism preceded monotheism among the Israelites.³⁴ Similarly the Baganda societies have existed with the practices and beliefs in *balubaale* (divinities) alongside their belief in the existence of *Katonda* (the creator).³⁵ Thus for the contemporary Baganda Christians the institution of this command suggests that it is *ekibi* for the Israelites and believers in the *Katonda* (the creator) to believe in other gods.³⁶ It should however, be noted that the translation *bakatonda* (gods) is a new term among the Baganda, since for them there is only one deity known as *Katonda* and the other divinities are known as *balubaale*. Therefore, for the contemporary Baganda Christians the appropriate translation of "other gods" should be *balubaale* (divinities). This is why the Christian teaching that interprets this commandment as teaching against worship of *bakatonda* (other gods) sometimes fails to make sense to some contemporary Baganda. Some *Bakulisitaayo* and *Ab'enzikiriza*

³³ *Okuva* 20: 3 (Exod 20: 3), *Lug Bible*.

³⁴ R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, London: Darton Longman, 1961, pp. 272-273; J. P. Hyatt, *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus*, p. 211.

³⁵ A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p.188; F. Kyewalyanga, *Traditional Religion, Custom, and Christianity in Uganda*, pp. 98-111; D. S. Bukenya, 'The Development, a Neo-Traditional Religion,' pp. 20-28; J. C. Ssekamwa, *Enkuluze Y'Eddiini Y'Abaganda Ey'Ennono*, pp. 1-21. See Chapter two pp. 18; Chapter three pp. 54-55.

³⁶ Some of this appears in the Church of Uganda *Luganda* catechism teachings. *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri*, pp. 2-4.

y'obuwangwa (adherents of *kiganda* religion) argue that their beliefs in *balubaale* do not conflict with their allegiance to and belief in *Katonda*.³⁷

The second commandment: *Teweekoleranga kifaananyi kyole ...tobivunnamiranga ebyo, so tobiweerezanga ebyo...*³⁸ (you shall not make for yourself a graven image ...you shall not bow to them or serve them). This command prohibits the making of images of God and the worship of idols. The ancient Israelites had to understand and believe that God the creator does not take the form of any human creation, nor does he appreciate the worship of things other than Yahweh, the God who lives and participates with his people. He is a jealous God and does not tolerate unfaithfulness. That is why the worship of idols was always visited by Yahweh's wrath (Exod 34:14; Deut 6:14-15). Similarly in the *Luganda* Bible, worship of idols is *ekibi* for which the punishment not only affects the offender, but also *abiwalana ku baana ebibi bya bajjajja baabwe okutuusa ku mirembe egy'okubannakasatwe ne banakana, egy'abantu abankyawa*³⁹ (visits the iniquity of their forebears upon the children of the third and fourth generation of those who hate me) (Exod 20:5b). This is similar to the idea articulated in the *kiganda* saying: *Omulya mmamba aba omu n'avumaganya ekika*⁴⁰ (one who eats the lung fish or his/her totem brings shame to the whole clan). This highlights the moral teaching that an individual's *ekibi* can affect the rest of his family and the whole clan.

However, the Jewish theology of communitarian responsibility for a person's wrongdoing develops later in Ezekiel:

What do you mean by repeating this proverb concerning the land of Israel, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are on edge'? As I live, says the Lord God, this proverb shall no more be used by you in Israel. Behold

³⁷ Oral Interview with Mwebe Dan, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01; Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01. Also J. C. Sekamwa, *Enkuluze y'Eddiini y'Abaganda ey'Ennono*, pp 14-15;

³⁸ *Okuva* 20:4-7(Exod 20:4-7), *Lug Bible*.

³⁹ *Okuva* 20:5b (Exod 20:5b), *Lug Bible*. Even the *Luganda* catechism emphasises this law that '*ekibi etteeka eryo kye ligaana...Okusinza ebifaananyi oba ekintu kyonna ekitali Katonda*' (This law prohibits us from *ekibi* of worshipping pictures or anything other than the Creator), *Katekismu Ey'okusatu*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Y. Ssekadde et al. *Ndi Mugezi*, London: Macmillan, 1952, p. 44.

all souls, the soul of the father as well as the soul of the son are mine: the soul that sins shall die.⁴¹

This underscores the value of individual responsibility within a community, similar to the *kiganda* saying: *Eyeewa ez'omumba gwe bazikuba* (he/she who calls for slaps always receives them).

The third commandment: *Tolayiriranga bwereere erinnya lya Mukama Katonda*⁴² (you shall not swear by the name of the Lord your God in vain) (Exod 20:7). This command prohibits the swearing or wrong use of the name of the Lord. As in Hebrew, in *Luganda okulayira* means swearing as in an oath. Some ancient Jews used to take oaths or practiced blessings and cursing, which involved calling upon of the name of Yahweh as witness (Isa 48:1, 2Kings 2:24; Deut 10:8; Lev 19:12; Jer 4:2). The 'name' (*shem*) among the ancient Israelites was believed to have power as it represented the soul, power and authority of the being.⁴³ Therefore, a person who swore in the name of Yahweh was filling himself with the divine soul. To utter lies in the name of Yahweh was a violation both of their own soul and that of Yahweh (Jer 14:14-16; Zech 13:3-6).⁴⁴ Taking oaths falsely in the name of Yahweh was evil and offenders would be punished by cutting off or would face God's judgment through famine and death (Zech 5:3; Jer 14:15; Mal 3:5).

On the other hand, among the ancient Baganda, *okulayira* (swearing) sometimes involves calling upon an ancestor's name, *kitange oba mmange* (mother or father) or calling upon *ettaka n'eggulu binsale* (earth and heavens to slaughter him/her). All this was meant to invoke the presence and participation of the ancestors in that oath. *Omukago* (blood pact) was binding for both the two persons and their families and

⁴¹ Ezek 18:1-4; Jer 31:29-30 (RSV).

⁴² *Okuva* 20:7(Exod 20: 7), *Lug Bible*.

⁴³ J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture*, Vol. 1, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991(1929), pp. 246-247.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

misfortune would visit any person if the oath was broken or violated.⁴⁵ Therefore, based on that background, most contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda, believe that swearing falsely in the name of *Katonda* (the creator) is *ekibi*.⁴⁶

The fourth commandment *Jjukira olunaku lwa Ssabbiiti olutukuzanga...*⁴⁷ (remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy...) (Exod 20:8-9) reveals another idea of *ekibi* related to the violation of *Ssabbiiti* (Sabbath). *Ssabbiiti*, or Hebrew *shabbath*, as rooted in the Jewish culture in the pre-mosaic period was a day when the people stopped work. As adopted within Yahwehism it was connected to the creative activity of God (Gen 2:2-3, Exod 31:12-17); it then became the day of Yahweh consecrated by him (Lev 23:38; Exod 20:11, 31:15). Since then, as De Vaux explains:

The Sabbath was a sacred sign of the covenant, and to observe it was a guarantee of salvation (Is 58:13-14, Jer 17:19-27); if an individual failed to observe it, he ceased to belong to the community (Exod 31:14; 35:2; Num 15:32-36), and if the people failed to observe it, they would bring upon themselves the punishment of God (Ezek 20:13; Neh 13:17-18).⁴⁸

Sabbath therefore was a day of rest that was meant for remembering the creative and saving activity of Yahweh, and non-observers of this day were seen as violators of the law of God. Members of the community were encouraged to observe it, although at times they found it hard to observe, and so prophets such as Amos (Amos 8:4-8) and Nehemiah (Neh 13:15-22) condemned such practices and called upon the people to keep this commandment.

⁴⁵ Although the practice of *okutta omukago* is not common in towns, it is still practised in rural areas and it valued. In an interview with Keefa Lukwago, he explained that in their family they have relations which were struck by *okutta omukago* by his father, and every member has to keep the oath. Oral interview with Keefa Lukwago, Ddungi Ngogwe, 22.02.01. Also A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, pp. 220-222.

⁴⁶ Oral interview with Lydia Mwebaza, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01; Nsubuga Ssaalongo, Lugasa, 21.02.01 Beatrice Nnangonzi, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01. Also *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Okuva* 20:8-9 (Exod 20:8-9), *Lug. Bible*.

The idea of *Ssabiiti* (Sabbath) was introduced to the Baganda through the Bible and Christian teaching. In the ancient *kiganda* practice, days of rest on which doing work was prohibited were those set aside for ceremonies such as enthroning kings, or those set apart by individual clans and families for consulting the ancestors. There was no special day set for rest or worship of *Katonda*; worship was done every day and any time. Nevertheless, the biblical teaching has been adopted by most Baganda Christians. *Ssabiiti* is understood to be a day of worship of *Katonda* and as such violating it by not going to church is considered to be *ekibi*. *Obutasaba ku Ssande/Ssabiiti* (failure to attend church on Sunday) was one of the *ekibi* that was mentioned by some of the children and young informants.⁴⁹ Even some of the *kiganda* ceremonies such as those of *okwabya olumbe* or *okusabira/okulaga omusika* are not performed on *Ssabiiti*.⁵⁰ On this one of my informants explained it is important to have some time to rest, go to church and to prepare for the following busy week.⁵¹ This highlights the extent to which some of the biblical interpretation and teaching on *ekibi* has impacted some of the contemporary *kiganda* practices.

The fifth commandment calls upon the people *okussangamu ekitiibwa kitaawo ne nnyoko*⁵² (to respect their father and mother). Respect of parents is one of the *kiganda* social values that are expected of every member of the society. Similarly among the ancient Jews, respect of parents was important and it was the basis upon which life rested (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16; Lev 19:3). It supported the strength of the family, because the relation between parents and children was the kernel of the community of kindred.⁵³

⁴⁸ R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 482.

⁴⁹ Oral interview with Ibrahim Waswa, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01; Esther Kalema, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01.

⁵⁰ For more on contemporary practices of *okwabya olumbe* see Chapter three, pp. 104-107; Chapter six, pp. 225-231.

⁵¹ Oral interview with J. Walakira, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

⁵² *Okuva* 20:12 (Exod 20:12), *Lug Bible*.

⁵³ J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture*, vol. 1, p. 72.

In the *kiganda* worldview, it is even a taboo to abuse or beat up a parent. Such offence calls upon the offender a dreadful *ekikolimo* (curse).⁵⁴ As among the ancient Israelites, respect of parents was rewarded by blessing, which includes longevity of life, while maltreatment such as cursing or striking a parent was punished by death (Exod 21:15,17) (Deut 21:18-21).⁵⁵ Such tough penalties were given because disrespect and rebellion against parents constituted disobedience of Yahweh. Respect of parents is expected of both young and old, hence the popular saying among contemporary Baganda, *omwana takula wali muzadde we* (a child can never be an adult in the sight of his/her parents). Respect and honour is due to parents as they are the channel of God's gift of life.⁵⁶ For many contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda it is *ekibi* to disrespect parents.⁵⁷ On this subject Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu said that respect of parents is even more of an issue with the present-day challenges of economic pressures which make it difficult for some people to attend to the needs of their parents.⁵⁸

On the whole in the ancient covenant community, violating the Ten Commandments was not only abhorred but it also breached the relationship of the covenant community with Yahweh their God as well as disrupting the peace and harmony in the community. In this sense the Ten Commandments can be related to the *kiganda ennono n'emizizo* (norms and taboos) which safeguarded the wellbeing of the society and maintained harmony with the *Katonda* (the creator) and the created order. On the other hand, however, among the ancient Jews the Ten Commandments were believed to be Yahweh-given, though as we observed they evolved from within the Jewish culture and their experience as the community of Yahweh. Nevertheless the *kiganda* culture and

⁵⁴ See Chapter three, pp. 69-70.

⁵⁵ Mishnah Sanhedrin 11:1.

⁵⁶ M. Masenya 'Wisdom and Wisdom Converge: Selected Old Testament and the Northern Sotho Proverbs', in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, pp. 138-140.

⁵⁷ Oral interview with Jessica Ndagire, Njeru, 20.03.01; Eria Mata, Mengo, 09.05.01. Dan Kabenge, Rubaga Road, Kampala, 09.05.01; Lydia Mwebaza, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01.

⁵⁸ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu (Now Bishop of Kasaka Diocese), Mukono Hill, 02.02.01.

experience as translated into the Bible bring the commandment closer to the contemporary Baganda and resonate with some aspects of their world. Some of the commandments are related to *kiganda* principles of *obuntubulamu* (acceptable conduct)⁵⁹ among contemporary Baganda. This suggests that some of the aspects of the commandments as they are presented to the contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda through the *Luganda* Bible, communicate a deeper sense of *ekibi* rooted in their own culture, while at the same time some aspects which remain rooted in the Jewish culture continue to challenge the contemporary Baganda as they attempt to interpret them within their culture and evolving social contexts.

EKIBI OF OKUYISA ABAANA MU MULIRO (BURNING CHILDREN AS OFFERING), OKULAGULA (FORESEEING), OBULOGO (SORCERY), OBUFUMU OBA OBUGANGA OBA OBUSAWO (PRACTISING HEALING), OKUSAMIRA (DIVINATION), OKUBA EMMANDWA (MEDIUMSHIP) AND OKWEBUUZA KU BAFU (NECROMANCY) (DEUT 18:9-14)

Deut 18:9-14 presents to us *ekibi*⁶⁰ of *okuyisa abaana mu muliro* (burning children as offering), *okulagula* (foreseeing), *obulogo* (sorcery), *obufumu oba obuganga oba obusawo* (practising healing),⁶¹ *okusamira* (divination), *okuba emmandwa* (mediumship) and *okwebuuza ku bafu* (necromancy). The practices mentioned in these verses are some of the prohibitions set before the ancient Israelites before they entered the Promised Land, where they would interact with the Canaanites and their ways of life.⁶² The practices are *ekibi* because they are *eby'emizizo*⁶³ *eri Mukama* (abominations before the Lord). Among the ancient Israelites the practices of child sacrifice,

⁵⁹ See Chapter three, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁰ Plural of *ekibi*.

⁶¹ *Obusawo* (practising healing) is a mistranslation in the *Luganda* Bible.

⁶² This is not to say that the particular practices were common only to the Canaanites. The teachings against these practices indicate that though Yahweh forbade them, these practices were also common among the Israelites (1Sam 28:3-25).

⁶³ Although *toebot* (abomination) is translated *emizizo* (taboos), it would make much more sense to the contemporary Baganda if it were translated *ebivve* so as to bring out the intensity of the abhorrence before God.

necromancy, soothsaying and sorcery were not very rare. For instance the children of Abiram and Segub were sacrificed and laid at the foundation of the restored city of Jericho (Judg 11:30-40; 1Kings 16:34), while divination, soothsaying and sorcery are all reported in the Old Testament (1Sam 15:23; Ezek 13:6; 2Chron 33:6). The practice of consulting with the dead was mainly rooted in the belief that the soul or spirit of the dead may appear on earth and interfere with the living or guide them in their time of need.⁶⁴ For instance in his political dilemmas, King Saul consulted a medium at Endor to assist him to conjure the spirit of Samuel for the Lord's word about his political conflicts with the Philistines (1Sam 28; Is 14:10). According to the law of Yahwehism, such practices were blatant acts of disobedience against Yahweh and abominations, or Hebrew *toebot*, before the Lord (Deut 12:31; 18:10; 2Kings 21:6; 17:17; 23:10; 2Chrn 33:6; Mal 3:5).

The practice of *okuyisa abaana mu muliro* (burning children as offering), *okulagula* (foreseeing), *obulogo* (sorcery), *obufumu oba obuganga oba obusawo* (practising healing), *okusamira* (divination), *okuba emmandwa* (mediumship) and *okwebuuzza ku bafu* (necromancy) were abhorred, as they challenged Yahweh's sovereignty among his people and carried with them the danger of syncretism.⁶⁵ Therefore the people who practiced such abominations would be killed or cut off from the community (Exod 22:18; 2Kings 17:18; Jer 7:32-34).

As in the ancient Jewish society, among some contemporary Baganda communities, the practice of *obusawo*, *obufumu*, *obuganga*, *okusamira* (divination) and *okulagula*

⁶⁴ J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture*, vol. 1. pp. 180-181; R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 60-61; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, London SPCK, (1963), 1981, p. 242; K. A. Dickson, 'Continuity and Discontinuity between the Old Testament and African life Thought,' pp. 187-188. E. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' pp. 355-356; T. Mafico, 'The Biblical God of the Fathers and the African Ancestors,' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, pp. 483-484. It should however be noted that in the wisdom literature such as Job 14:21 and Eccl 9:4-6,10 the dead have no knowledge about human affairs and as such have no influence over the living. T. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel, and Ugarit*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989, pp. 169-170.

⁶⁵ T. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel, and Ugarit*, p. 102.

(foreseeing/telling) are still prevalent.⁶⁶ However, *obusawo*, *obufumu oba obuganga*, (practising healing), *okusamira* (divination) and *okulagula* (foreseeing/telling) are not necessarily *ekibi*, and do not contradict the will of *Katonda* (the creator). The practices are believed to enhance and revitalise *obulamu* (life) and are means through which the ancestors and *Katonda* implement justice or social order in the communities.⁶⁷

On the other hand, *okuloga* (sorcery), and human sacrifice are some of the practices which are abhorred and *ekibi* in the society, since they diminish life and undermine the wellbeing of the society. Thus, it should be noted that the ideas of *obusawo* (healing), *obufumu*, *obuganga*, *okusamira* (divination) and *okulagula* (foreseeing/telling) which are included among the abominable practices before *Katonda* in the *Luganda* Bible as derived from the Hebrew background, raise a lot of conflict among some contemporary *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians) in the Church of Uganda. The mistranslation of *obusawo* (healing) to mean *okusamira* (divination) seems to be the main cause of the problem in this text. Among many contemporary Baganda Christian communities the practice of *obusawo* is a humanising aspect of their being.⁶⁸ Problems only arise when the skill of *obusawo* is abused by the practitioners who engage in life-threatening practices such as *okussaddaaka abantu* (human sacrifice), *obulogo* (sorcery) and practices which perpetuate injustice in the society.⁶⁹ On the other hand, many of the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) who hold negative attitudes towards some of these *kiganda* practices still consider *obusawo* practices as *ekibi*.⁷⁰ Some of *Bazuukufu* told me that they do not take *kiganda* herbs when they fall ill.⁷¹ This underlines the extent to which

⁶⁶ See Chapter three pp. 74-82.

⁶⁷ E. Rutiba, 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' pp. 73-79.

⁶⁸ Some of my informants were even involved in dispensing herbs to their clients. Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 03.02.01; Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.200.

⁶⁹ See Chapter three, pp. 76-81.

⁷⁰ Such attitudes as already observed are rooted in the early missionaries' negative teachings against some of the *kiganda* practices.

⁷¹ Oral Interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01; Joyce Nakibuuka Matte, Kibuye, 26.06.01.

the mistranslation of some of the biblical texts has contributed to the misinterpretation of the Scriptures and conflicting ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda.

**EKIBI OF OKUSOBYA (VIOLATION) WITH REFERENCE TO OBUKO
(RELATIONAL TABOOS) (Lev 18:1-18)**

In the book of Leviticus⁷² chapter eighteen presents to us some of the incest and sexual prohibitions among the ancient Jewish people in the post-exilic communities. It also lays out some of the codes of conduct which were significant for the ancient Israelites' existence as a holy people in the land that God had given them. The ancient Israelites had to be holy as God was holy (Lev 20:7). In this text the term *okusobya* (violation) relating to the act of *okusemberera ow'obuko* is used to translate the Hebrew *qarav she'er galah basar* (to approach any one near of kin to uncover nakedness) (Lev 18:6). Before we discuss the text further we need to briefly survey the ancient Jewish ideas of incest.

**A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT JEWISH IDEAS OF QARAV SHE'ER GALAH BASAR
(COME NEAR ONE'S OWN FLESH TO UNCOVER NAKEDNESS)**

The ideas of *qarav she'er galah basar* (come near one's own flesh to uncover nakedness) and sexual prohibitions in the ancient Jewish society were significant for limiting sexual and family interaction. These levitical prohibitions outline the unions among relatives within the ancient Israelites' clan and extended family structures which are forbidden on grounds of incest, adultery and illicit unions. It should however, be noted that the incest and sexual law as prescribed in Leviticus illustrates the difference between the marriage regulations and taboos during the patriarchal times and for the ancient Israelites in the Promised Land. For instance, the patriarchal times record

⁷² B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989, pp. xxvi-xxix. The book of Leviticus in which this text is found is said to originate from the priestly tradition (P), however subsequent study also discovered major activities of the redactors over a period of time. Despite the complexity of historical sources, there is some degree of consensus that Leviticus is a post-exilic work of the priestly school, which was concerned with worship and cultic life of the Israelites. For more see E. S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, (1993) 1996, pp. 2-6; M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972, pp. 8-19.

marriages between a brother and a half-sister as in the case of Abram and Sara (Gen 20:12),⁷³ while on the other hand such marriages were forbidden in the Promised Land.

Within the incest prohibition existed the *she'er* (flesh relations) sometimes known as consanguineal or blood relations and *ervah* (nakedness) which governs sexual relations with affinal relatives.⁷⁴ However, in some instances these prohibitions did not follow the principle of consanguineal or affinal relations, given the fact that the ancient Jewish society was endogamous.⁷⁵ There were cases of levirate marriages, which according to Deut 25:5-10 dispense with the prohibitions of '*ervah* in cases when a brother dies without leaving a male heir. In these cases a man could marry his brother's widow, for purposes of continuing his deceased brother's line. At the same time, in the consanguineal sense there were no set prohibitions about marrying cousins or nieces. Because of the ancient Israelites' negative attitudes towards intermarriage with other nations, it was necessary for them to maintain endogamous family structures. Therefore, marriages within the extended clan were encouraged. Thus it was acceptable to marry a cousin, for instance Jacob's marriage to Leah and Rachel (Gen 24:4).⁷⁶

It should however be noted that sometimes because of the need for progeny, or political reasons, some members of the Jewish society married foreign women, as in the case of Esau marrying a Hittite woman (Gen 26:34), Joseph an Egyptian (Gen 41:45), Moses a Cushite (Num 12:1-2)⁷⁷ and Mahlon and Chilion Moabites (Ruth 1:4), while David and Solomon also had foreign women (2Sam 3:3, 1Kg 11:1; 14:21). Jewish women, for

⁷³ R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1961, p. 32. On this Carmichael urges that the levitical prohibitions on marriage were formulated by the law giver as reaction against what went on in the Jewish legends such as those in Genesis. C. M. Carmichael, *Law, Legend and Incest in the Bible*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 14.

⁷⁴ B. Levine *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 117.

⁷⁵ C. M. Carmichael, *Law, Legend and Incest in the Bible*, p. 31.

⁷⁶ B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 117.

⁷⁷ For more about this African wife of Moses refer to D. T. Adamo, *Africa and the Africans in the Old Testament*, San Francisco: Christian University Press, 1998, pp. 67-80.

example Bathsheba, married Hittites (2Sam 11:3).⁷⁸ At times some ancient Israelites could marry women captured in war, after performing a ceremony which symbolized their abandonment of their countries of origin.⁷⁹

The object of these marriage laws (Lev 18 & 20) was to preserve the kin and the family for this could only be done when the source of propagation was kept pure and not polluted by encroaching upon other fundamental relations.⁸⁰ Above all the fundamental objective of observing all these prohibitions in community was to become a holy nation in every respect, a people unified by a common religion and bound by a common destiny. Therefore, communal and interpersonal relations were to be conducted on the highest ethical level.⁸¹ This followed the command to 'be holy to me, for I the Lord am holy' (Lev 20:26).

Pollution and defilement were believed to destabilise the created order and the people's relationship with Yahweh. It follows that all the rules of sexual morality exemplify holiness. Incest and adultery are against holiness, in the simple sense of right order.⁸² The ideas of defilement and pollution related to incest are similar to those of pollution which can be suffered by touching a corpse, eating unclean animals and having contact with unclean persons such as menstruants and lepers (Lev 11:8-11; 13:3-4; 15:18-19). Violation of such regulations was abhorred, as it resulted in pollution and disruption of social order, and could warrant punishment or separation from God's people.

⁷⁸ R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 31. It should, however, be noted that mixed marriages were believed to endanger the Israelites' faith and were forbidden by law (Exod 34:15-16; Deut 7:3-4). Nevertheless the Jews continued with these practices even after the exile (Neh 10:31; 13:23-27; Ezra 9:10-14).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture*, vol. 1, p. 66.

⁸¹ B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. xxxiii.

⁸² M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 53.

OBUKO (RELATIONAL TABOOS) OR SEXUAL PROHIBITIONS (LEV 18:1-18)

The text Lev 18:1-18 is placed in the context of the Israelites' entry into the Promised Land and the Lord speaking to his people through Moses admonishing them to keep Yahweh's statutes and ordinances. The codes of conduct rather echoed those of Lev 20 and Deut 27:20-23, though in this case the penalties for the violations are specified. These prohibitions served as a reminder for the post-exilic Jews who had already suffered in exile the consequences of violation in the land which God had given them. Although the text denounces incest as the practice of the people of Egypt and Canaan, it is possible that the Leviticus lawgiver might have set down rules in response to events or issues that arose in some of the Jewish traditions.⁸³

Verses 3-5 introduce the prohibitions with the statement: *Kale mwekuumenga amateeka gange n'emisango gyange; ebyo omuntu bw'anabikolanga, anaabanga mulamu olw'ebyo: nze Mukama*⁸⁴ (you shall therefore keep my statutes and my ordinances, by doing which a person shall live: I am the Lord). This teaching suggests that observing God's laws would yield life, whereas their violation would threaten human life and the land (Deut 30:19). This is rather similar to the *kiganda* teaching, which emphasises life for the observers of *emizizo* (taboos) and lack of wholeness and misfortunes for the violators. However, unlike in the ancient Jewish worldview in which Yahweh is believed to be the Lawgiver, in the pre-colonial *kiganda* worldview *Katonda* (the creator) is not the direct giver of the codes which govern the society. As already pointed out, *emizizo* (taboos) were instituted by the ancestors on behalf of *Katonda*.

Verse 6 in the *Luganda Bible* states, *Tewabanga ku mmwe ow'obuko yenna, okubikkula ku nsonyi ze: nze Mukama* (none of you shall come near anyone of his own flesh to uncover his/her nakedness: I am the Lord). This sex prohibition among the ancient

⁸³ C. M. Carmichael, *Law, Legend and Incest in the Bible*, pp. 9 & 14. Even Levine argues that there is no evidence that incest was widespread in Canaan or Egypt, B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 118.

⁸⁴ *Eby'abaleevi* 18:5 (Lev 18:5), *Lug Bible*.

Jewish communities had to be observed for the wellbeing of the family and society and above all as Yahweh's ordinance to his people. As in ancient Jewish society, sexual activity among Baganda society was/is regulated by taboos and prohibitions intended to regulate sexual interactions among the family and the clan.⁸⁵ In both societies sexual contact with a mother or father was prohibited, for even the act of looking at a parent's genitals was an abominable violation. In the ancient Jewish society this is echoed in the story of Ham, who looked at Noah's nakedness, an act which resulted in the cursing of his son Canaan to be a slave of his brothers (Gen 9:20-27).⁸⁶ In this respect violation of a parent resulted in a punishment in the form of a curse which fell on the family of Ham, thus highlighting the effects of such abomination on the family, clan and whole tribe. Also, Reuben, the son of Jacob/Israel, violated his father by lying with Bilhah, his father's concubine (Gen 35:22). Consequently, Jacob cursed Reuben (Gen 49:3-4). In another incident, Lot's daughters manipulated their father into having sex with them, after making him drunk (Gen 19:30-38). Among the contemporary Baganda this kind of violation would be rated among *ebivve* (abomination) that cause dangerous pollution among the people.⁸⁷

In verse 7 is a Hebrew law that prohibits having sex with a father's wife.⁸⁸ In the *Luganda Bible* however, this verse is translated *Tobikkulanga ku nsonyi za musika wa nnyoko* (you shall not uncover the nakedness of the heir of your mother). This translation eliminates the possibility of having sex with a father's wife in a polygamous setting, and covers up the polygamous aspect of the Jews in the Bible. This may be either a mistranslation or a translation intended to deliberately rule out the possibility of the Bible sounding as though it sanctions polygamy, which was detested by Western

⁸⁵ See Chapter two, pp. 32-33; Chapter three, pp. 61-63.

⁸⁶ In Ezek 22:10, the prophet Ezekiel laments similar violations among the Israelites.

⁸⁷ For more see: C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, pp. 59-61; L. Kalungi, *Ganda Taboos in Relation to Christianity and Islam*, pp. 1-14; W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, pp. 29-37. Also see Chapter three, pp. 66-68.

⁸⁸ The punishment for such violation in Leviticus is death (Lev 20:11), whereby both the man and woman are killed.

missionaries and some zealous Baganda Christians at the time.⁸⁹ Covering up polygamy seems to be the reason, since the translators were Christians who had intentions of preserving their christian teaching against polygamy. This highlights the contribution of the Bible translators to both the Scriptures and Christian teaching among contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda. It further points to the dilemma of biblical translation into African languages. For as Kanyoro rightly observes:

The dilemma of Bible translation and interpretation hinges on whether to mould a text to conform to one's cultural value system, or whether to translate a passage literally at the expense of not being understood or creating confusion...the meaning of the text is dependent upon the values of the person reading it and the applications to which it is put. In other words, translators influence the text.⁹⁰

Verses 9-15 give prohibitions against marrying *mwannyoko* (sister/stepsister),⁹¹ *muzzukulu wo* (grandchild), *Ssenga* (father's sister), *muganda wa nnyoko* (mother's sister), *Muganda wa kitaawo* (father's brother) and *muka mwana wo* (daughter-in-law). This presents some continuity between contemporary *kiganda* and the ancient Jewish prohibitions of sexual interaction within the family and clan. However, the text does not mention *Ssenga's* children, or mother's sister and *Kojja's* (mother's brother) children who among the Jews could provide suitors for the young people, whereas among the Baganda they are also included in the prohibited group. Therefore, this suggests some discontinuity between contemporary *kiganda* and the Jewish practices of marriage and the ideas of *ekibi* relating to these taboos.

In verse 16 we find the prohibition against uncovering the nakedness of a brother's wife. This prohibition was respected in the ancient Jewish society except in the case where a man died without leaving an heir (Gen 38), whereby the dispensation in Deut 25:5-10

⁸⁹ L. S. Fahs, *Uganda's White Man of Work*, p. 107; J. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p. 40. See Chapter four, p. 115.

⁹⁰ M. A. Kanyoro, 'Interpreting Old Testament Polygamy Through African Eyes,' in M. Oduyoye & M. A. Kanyoro, *The Will to Arise*, New York: Orbis Books, Maryknoll, 1995, p. 99.

⁹¹ In patriarchal times, Abram married his half sister Sarai (Gen 20:12) which according to the levitical lawgiver is a practice which had to be discouraged.

which allows a man to marry his brother's widow in order to continue his brother's line, would apply. It is this levirate law of marriage that Onan failed to fulfil and God punished him by death (Gen 38:9-10). When Tamar was denied the right to marry the young brother of her husband, she tricked Judah her father-in-law into sex by disguising herself as a prostitute and finally had children (Gen 38:13-30). While in the ancient Jewish communities marrying a deceased brother's wife was only permissible if he had no children, in the *kiganda* worldview there is no prohibition against marrying a brother's wife and it is not *ekibi*. Thus among many contemporary Baganda communities, a brother's wife is referred to as *mukyala* (wife) and in the event of death a person is free to marry the widow of his brother, for the purposes of enhancing the family and protection of his brother's family and property.⁹² The prohibition against marrying a brother's wife or a wife's sister is only observed among the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) members of the Church of Uganda⁹³ whose teachings are more inclined towards the early missionaries' teaching against some of the *kiganda* practices. In the *Luganda* Bible verse 17b closes with the emphasis that *abo ba buko: ekyo kibi* (such are taboo relations and it is *ekibi*) which emphasises that having sexual relations with the stated categories of people is incestuous and *ekibi*.⁹⁴

⁹² Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01; Kalooli Nanyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01.

⁹³ Oral interview with R. Kuloba Nalubwama, Ddandira, 10.02.01; J. Mwesigwa, Kampala, 26.06.01.

⁹⁴ The last group of sexual prohibitions (Lev 18:19-23) are not incestuous but are believed to cause defilement for people and the Holy God. They are also considered to be *ebivve* (abomination) among the Baganda.

THE IDEAS OF *EKIBI* AND *SETAANI* (SATAN) (JOB 1-2)

Ssetaani is the *Luganda* translation of the Hebrew *Satan* (Satan).⁹⁵ The ideas of *ekibi* and *Ssetaani* in the Old Testament can better be examined in light of the experience of the pious figure Job (Job 1-2). In the book of Job *Ssetaani* (Satan) first appears among the sons of Yahweh or as a member of the heavenly council of Yahweh.⁹⁶ The text does not in any way attempt to give us a clue to the origin of Satan but presents him as an adversary who challenged Yahweh into giving him permission to afflict a blameless, upright and God fearing Job (Job 1:6-12). Thus the book of Job records:

Then Satan answered the Lord ‘Does Job fear God for naught? Hast thou not put a hedge about him and his house and all that he has, on every side? ... But put forth thy hand now, and touch all that he has and he will curse thee to thy face’
And the Lord said to Satan, ‘Behold, all that he has is in your power; only upon himself do not put forth your hand.’⁹⁷

Though Satan claimed that Job’s faithfulness was only based on Yahweh’s hedge around him and his house, Job challenged his accusation when he withstood the afflictions. Then Satan again rose against Job:

Skin for skin! All that a man has he will give for his life. But put forth thy hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face.’⁹⁸

Upon this the Lord said to Satan ‘Behold he is in your power; only spare his life’ (Job 2:6). Once again Job withstood all the bodily afflictions, remained faithful, and did not curse God. In this way we see Satan taking on the role of an adversary/accuser.⁹⁹ Such

⁹⁵ The idea of *Ssetaani* is one of the new ideas which were introduced to the Baganda through the Bible teachings and the Christian communities.

⁹⁶ Some scholars such as Berechiah whose work was edited by Wright, considers Satan as an accuser angel/messenger. W. A. Wright, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1979 (1905). Also as Nielsen interprets the image of the family in the book of Job metaphorically, he considers Satan to be one of the sons of God, who is a rival of the younger son Job. K. Nielsen, *Satan: The prodigal Son?* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998 (1991), pp. 79-94. For more on the historical development of the Satan figure in the Old Testament, see P. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988, pp. 1- 45.

⁹⁷ Job 1:9-12 (RSV).

⁹⁸ Job 2:4-5 (RVS).

⁹⁹ On this Pobee observes that ‘Satan was originally an attorney general in God’s court, who later became the great adversary who was given to disrupting the relationship between God and man by being the ultimate origin of evil.’ J. Pobee, *Toward an African Theology*, p. 115.

characteristics are reflected in the angelic form of challengers as in the case of the angel who stood in the way of Balaam who was acting against the Lord's will (Num 22:21-22).

Also Satan is related to the challenging forces or adversaries such as David among the Philistines (1Sam 29:4) and Hadad who set out against Solomon (1Kings 11:14). However in Zech 3:1-2, Satan is presented as an 'accuser,' which in the *Luganda* Bible is translated *omulabe* (enemy/opponent) in Yahweh's court of justice, who is later rebuked and condemned by the Lord.¹⁰⁰ The malicious nature of *Ssetaani* is pointed out in Chronicles, where Satan stood up against Israel and incited David to number Israel, acts which provoked God's anger (1Chron 21:1, 7).¹⁰¹ This suggests that Satan can possess human beings and cause them to do evil. This idea is similar to *kiganda* belief that *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) cause or incite people into *okutemula* (murder) *okuloga* (sorcery) and *obusezi* (prowling).¹⁰² Following that background the psalmist presented ideas of *omulabe* (accusers), *abankyawa* (adversaries) who are always against the righteous (Ps 38:19; Ps 71:13; Ps 109:4).

Among the ancient Israelites it was also believed that suffering and evil would always come to people who violated the law of God. Thus it was a common teaching of the sage in the Jewish worldview that righteousness or the fear of the Lord yields blessings while the unrighteous would suffer and perish (Ps 37; 1Kings 8:32).¹⁰³ Therefore, suffering such as illness, poverty, misfortunes and death were all believed to be consequences of violation or transgression of Yahweh's laws (Job 4:7-9; 1Kings 17:18;

¹⁰⁰ N. Habel, *The Book of Job*, London: SCM Press 1985, p. 89; K. Nielsen, *Satan: The prodigal Son?* pp. 53-54; R. Sacks, *The Book of Job*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999, pp. 82-83.

¹⁰¹ However the Samuel version of the story claims that the Lord incited David to number Israel and Judah (2Sam 24: 1). However this has been interpreted as an irony meant to demonstrate the king's weakness. S. Githuku, 'Taboos on Counting' in M. Getui et al, *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, p. 114.

¹⁰² See Chapter three, pp. 85-89. A similar view is held among the Akan in West Africa. John Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, p. 115.

¹⁰³ E. Rutiba, 'Traditional and Modern Therapy,' p. 325.

Zech 14:19; Num 14:34-35; 2Chron 24:18, 32:25-26). The irony is that Job suffers in spite of his being a God-fearing man. The book of Job therefore sets out to explore the mystery of the suffering of a righteous person, as Yahweh permits Satan to afflict Job. It challenges the simplistic ideas of the relationship of success to righteousness and suffering to unrighteousness. This further emphasises the powerlessness of human beings at the hands of such adversaries as Satan.

Though the ideas of *Ssetaani* are strange to the Baganda worldview, in some cases the malevolent force believed to be behind some of *ekibi* which afflict humanity among the Baganda is related to the activities of *Ssetaani*. This is because, as we already observed, *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) which maliciously strike humans and cause them *emikisa emibi* (misfortunes) *okubonaabona* (suffering) and *okufa* (death) are sometimes equated with the activities of *Ssetaani* in the Bible.¹⁰⁴ Some of my Baganda Christian informants mentioned *Ssetaani* as one of the forces behind *ekibi*.¹⁰⁵ Also the teaching on rejecting *Ssetaani* is central in the Church of Uganda baptism catechism.¹⁰⁶ This highlights the extent to which some of the biblical interpretations have contributed to development of the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda society.¹⁰⁷

The book of Job further expounds the fact Yahweh has ultimate power over *Ssetaani*; he allows him to strike but sets limits to the adversary's activities. For instance Yahweh does not permit *Ssetaani* to touch Job's body (Job 1:12b). Also when Yahweh felt it right he put an end to Job's suffering, turned all the misfortunes into blessings and gave

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter four, p. 122; *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Oral interview with Faith Namwanje, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01, Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01; Nelson Nsubuga, Mukono, 06.02.01.

¹⁰⁶ *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, pp. 222-224; *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁷ Even some of the informants who belong to *enzikiriza y'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion) used the term *amasetani* when referring to malevolent forces. Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda, Mukono, 17.02.01.

him twice as much as he had before (Job 42:10-17).¹⁰⁸ In that way Yahweh overpowered *Ssetaani* the accuser/adversary.¹⁰⁹ God's overpowering of *Ssetaani* is further extended in the New Testament in the activity of Jesus Christ, whose life, death and resurrection are believed to be the overpowering of *Ssetaani* and adversaries in the world (Mt 4:1-11, 13:24; Mk 3:23; Jn 12:31; 16:11; Lk 10:18).¹¹⁰ For in his death on the cross and resurrection he destroyed the power of the evil one (Heb 2:14-15).¹¹¹ Having examined some aspects of *ekibi* in the Old Testament, it is imperative that we look at *Ssaddaaka* (sacrifice) as a means of dealing with *ekibi*.

SSADDAAKA (SACRIFICE) AS MEANS OF DEALING WITH EKIBI (LEV 4-5, 16)

In the Bible, sacrifice is one of the means of dealing with *ekibi*. In *Luganda* sacrifice is referred to as *ssaddaaka*.¹¹² The ancient Israelites had several types of sacrifice, such as the burnt offering (*olah*), the grain offering (*minhah*), sacred gifts (*zabah shelamin*) (Lev 1-3, Num 15:1-16) and expiatory sacrifice (Lev 4-5).¹¹³ In the Jewish background expiatory sacrifice was not a means of dealing with premeditated or advertent violations in the community such as Num 15:30-31. Violation or offences that are premeditated would warrant punishment by cutting off, banishment, death, cursing and restoration (Deut 27:15-26; Prov 2:22).

Expiatory sacrifice dealt only with violations committed either by omission or through inadvertent violation of the community and Yahweh's law. In *Luganda* inadvertent

¹⁰⁸ This idea lies in the Jewish belief that God was the author of both good and evil, creator of both fortune and misfortune, for it is Yahweh who gives and takes (Job 1:21; 2:10b).

¹⁰⁹ K. Nielsen, *Satan: The Prodigal Son?* p. 99.

¹¹⁰ *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri*, p. 5. See also Chapter six, pp. 241-242.

¹¹¹ C. Olowola, 'Sacrifice in African Tradition and in Biblical Perspective, *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 10/1, 1991, p. 7.

¹¹² See Chapter three pp. 96-97.

¹¹³ This part of the study deals with expiatory sacrifice. For more on other types of sacrifice among the Jews refer to J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture*, vol. 11. pp. 299-375; R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 415-454.

violation is referred to as *okwonoona or okusobya nga tomanyiridde*.¹¹⁴ Expiatory sacrifice included the sin offering, or Hebrew *hatta't*, and guilt offering, or Hebrew *asham*.

HATTA'T (SIN OFFERING)

Hatta't (sin offering) (Num 15:22-29; Lev 4:1-5, 6:17-23) was offered for instance when a person refused to appear in court as witness (Lev 5:1) or if a person unknowingly touched an unclean thing such as a carcass. In this case the law as prescribed in Leviticus requires that the anointed priest whose sin also falls on the people shall offer a young bull without blemish at the entrance of the tent of meeting before the Lord. Then an anointed priest would take some of the blood of the bull to the tent and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord in front of the veil of the sanctuary onto the altar of burnt offering. Then all the fat was burnt on the altar and the rest of the meat and skin would be burnt outside the camp (Lev 4:3-12). In the case of inadvertent violations committed by an individual Israelite or tribal chief, he would be expected to offer a male goat without blemish. He would then lay his hands upon the goat and it would be slaughtered before the Lord. The blood would be poured onto the altar and the fat burnt and the rest of the meat would be eaten by the priest (Lev 6:17). The people who could not afford a goat or sheep would offer two turtle doves or pigeons, or grain would be offered (Lev 4:22-5:1-13). On offering their sacrifice, the priest would make expiation for them and they would be forgiven. This type of *hatta't* had the two-fold effect of propitiating Yahweh through an altar sacrifice and of compensating the priesthood for its services on behalf of the people.¹¹⁵ These rituals were meant to cleanse or purify the people from their offences.

¹¹⁴ *Nga tomanyiridde* is the term used in the *Luganda Bible*.

¹¹⁵ B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, pp. 18-19.

ASHAM (GUILT OFFERING)

The second type of expiatory sacrifice is *asham* (guilt offering) applied to unintentional trespass (*maal*). It was carried out if, for instance, a person unintentionally trespassed in the sanctuary or the Lord's sacred things (Lev 5:14-16). Job always brought burnt offerings on behalf of his children whom he thought might violate the Lord as they enjoyed their parties (Job 1:5).

The *asham* sacrifice would comprise a ram without blemish, which would be valued by the priest for shekels of silver, according to the shekel value of the sanctuary. Then the animal was slaughtered and the blood poured on the altar and all its fat would be burned on the altar. The priests within the sacred precinct would eat the meat and the priests would use the skin of the ram (Lev 7:1-8). Sometimes *asham* would be carried out for theft or fraud connected with property which has been found (Lev 5:14-6:1-7, Lev 6:3-4). On the other hand intentional trespassing was not forgiven, and such wrongdoers would be punished, as in the case of Achan, who looted the spoil from Jericho which was devoted to the Lord and he was put to death by stoning (Josh 7:19-26).

Asham would also be carried out if the offender came forth on his own and confessed his/her wrongdoing. *Asham* sacrifice in this case would be preceded by repaying or restoring the stolen or damaged property in full and adding a fifth to it.¹¹⁶ If a person swore falsely in the Lord's name and he came forward and confessed then the *asham* sacrifice would be offered to God for expiation (Num 5:5-10). On the other hand, among some contemporary Baganda communities sacrifice is made in cases that are either inadvertent, such as failure to fulfil expected procedures in performance of rituals of worship or *okwalula abalongo* (twin rituals), or advertent, such as violation of the

¹¹⁶ R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 420-421; B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 3. It should be noted that *Luganda Bible* follows the Standard Version divisions of the book of Leviticus, unlike in the Hebrew Bible; chapter 5 ends at verse 19.

community codes such as *obutaabya lumbe lwa muzadde* (failure to perform last funeral rites of a parent).¹¹⁷

YOM KIPPUR (DAY OF ATONEMENT) (LEV 16:1ff)

Among the Israelites, violations were also dealt with by carrying out the *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement) rituals (Lev 16:1ff). *Yom Kippur* involved sacrificing *hatta't*/sin offering of a bull, meant for atonement of the priest himself and his household. Then two he-goats would be presented and a vote was cast upon them, one lot for the Lord and the other goat dispatched to the wilderness Azazel.¹¹⁸ The goat for the Lord was offered as a sin offering. Then the goat for Azazel was first presented to the Lord to make atonement over it and the priest would lay his hands on the head of the goat and confess the Israelites' iniquities and transgressions.¹¹⁹ It was believed that the goat carried the iniquities of the people with it and it would be set free in the wilderness as the scapegoat. This expiatory ritual was meant for the purity of Yahweh's sanctuary, as it was believed that an impure or defiled sanctuary induced God to withdraw his presence from the Israelite community and threatened the wellbeing of the community.¹²⁰ The purity of the sanctuary was especially threatened by transgression and violations by the priests who were responsible for maintaining it. It was also affected by the transgression of the laws of purity by the Israelite community and individuals who failed to perform their purification rituals. In the *Yom Kippur*, the ritual of presenting a goat to Azazel can be related to the *kiganda* practice of *okusindiikiriza ekyonziira*, where a person afflicted by a *omuzimu omubi* (malevolent spirit) may be asked to present to *omusawo* (healer) a goat or chicken upon which the afflictions of the person are pronounced. Some herbs are then poured on to it and the goat or chicken is set free in a remote junction or forest, where *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) are

¹¹⁷ For more on the *kiganda* sacrifice, see Chapter three, pp. 96-97.

¹¹⁸ The term also connotes a goat of departure hence the English 'scapegoat' or it may refer to prince/ruler of demons of the wilderness. B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 252.

¹¹⁹ Mishan Yoma 6:1-2; E. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996 (1993), pp. 231-233.

¹²⁰ B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 99.

believed to roam. Such a bird or animal is believed to carry with it the afflictions of the person who offered it. This ritual is still practised among some contemporary Baganda communities and it is meant to restore the wellbeing of the afflicted person.¹²¹

The rituals of atonement then followed the ritual of purification of the sanctuary (Lev 16:29-34). This was carried out in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month.¹²² The Israelites were to practise self-denial or fasting, which involved abstention from food, drink, bathing, wearing leather shoes and sexual intercourse (Is 58:3, 10; Ps 35:13).¹²³ It was a day of Sabbath on which work was forbidden even for the aliens who were living with Israelites. The priest made expiation. After dressing in the sacral vestments he purged the tent of meeting and altar and made expiation for the priests and all the members of the congregation. Upon this ritual God would cleanse his people of their transgressions.

In all these sacrifices the blood was of significant value, because blood is life and it can be used to expiate sin. As the law states:

For the life of the flesh is in its blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life.¹²⁴

For this reason eating blood was forbidden among ancient Israelites (Lev 17:12 Gen 9:4; Deut 12:23). In the same way, in the *kiganda* practice, blood is very significant in the sacrificial rites, as it is life. However, in their day-to-day slaughter, it is not *ekibi* for the

¹²¹ Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01; Musa Bbengo, Kigamba, Ngogwe, 22.02.01. The ritual of sending a goat into the wilderness is also practised by the Chagga in Tanzania. L. Kalugila, 'Central Issues of Old Testament Translation in Africa,' in M Getui *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, p. 201; H. Sawyer, 'Sacrifice,' in Kwesi Dickson et al., *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs*, London: Lutterworth Press, p. 60.

¹²² B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 109.

¹²³ Mishan Yoma 8:1.

¹²⁴ Lev 17:11 (RSV).

Baganda to eat blood. It is indeed a delicacy for some people.¹²⁵ Also among some contemporary Baganda and most of the African people the practice of sacrifice is believed to revive both the people who make the sacrifice and the object or divinities or spirit to whom the sacrifice is made. Thus Harry Sawyerr observes that:

Blood is a gift, which is a vehicle of life offered to another, it not only revives the life of the recipients, but it also gives a new life to the donors.¹²⁶

In the ancient Jewish sacrificial rituals the priests played a central role as they stood as the mediators between the people and Yahweh. It was the priests who performed and presided over the ceremonies on behalf of Yahweh. Similarly in the *kiganda* practice of dealing with *ekibi*, *bakabona* (priests), *abasawo* (healers) and *abakadde* (elders) were and are still key in the performance of these rituals.¹²⁷ However, unlike the Jewish priests, the *bakabona*, *abasawo*, *n'abakadde* mediate between the people and *emizimu* (spirits) and *lubaale* (divinities).¹²⁸ Also in the *kiganda* beliefs and practices, the people do not slaughter beasts to *Katonda* (the creator). *Katonda* is kind and always ready to attend to the people's needs.¹²⁹ This suggests some degree of discontinuity between the *kiganda* and the Old Testament practices of sacrifice.

It should further be noted that in most cases the act of confession of a person's or community's iniquities and transgressions was central to the process of expiation (Lev 16:21 Lev 4:14; Num 5:7). In most cases expiation had to be preceded by the people's realisation and admission of their weaknesses before Yahweh. This would in effect lead to the performance of the rituals of sacrifice, cleansing and forgiveness. However in

¹²⁵ C. Olowola, *African Traditional Religion and The Christian Faith*, Achimota: Africa Christian Press, 1993, p. 56.

¹²⁶ H. Sawyerr, 'Sacrifice, in Kwesi Dickson et al., *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs*, p. 77; J. Barret, *Sacrifice and Prophecy in Turkana Cosmology*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 1998, p. 165.

¹²⁷ See Chapter three, pp. 83-84.

¹²⁸ J. Ssekamwa, *Enkuluze Y'Eddiini Y'Abaganda Ey'Ennono*, pp. 13-28.

¹²⁹ 'Lugira, Redemption in *Ganda Traditional Belief*,' p. 201. Even beasts offered to *Katonda* are not slaughtered but are kept or set apart and marked with a sign. For instance a cow set apart for *Katonda* would have a bell tied around its neck. Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba, Ngogwe, 22.02.01; Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01.

some cases a person would not know his/her transgression but would be prompted by fear that they might have violated the laws of the Lord and thus proceed to offer a sacrifice (Job 1:5).

Though the rituals of sacrifice were significant in the ancient Jewish communities, it should be noted that in the post-exilic Jewish practice, there developed a shift from the overemphasis on sacrifice in the worship of Yahweh. This is mainly seen in the teaching of prophets such as Amos, who taught that:

Even though you offer me your burnt offering and cereal offerings, I will not accept them, and the peace offerings of your fatted beasts I will not look upon. Take away from me the noise of your songs; to the melody of your harps I will not listen. But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everlasting stream.¹³⁰

On this Olowola rightly observed that:

Whatever some of the Israelites may have thought about sacrifice, the prophets of the Old Testament consistently pointed out that Israel did not receive blessings because of multitudinous sacrifice. According to Old Testament teaching, those who substituted sacrifice for genuine obedience to God were odious to him. Only as the people obeyed the laws of God, so that their sacrifice became an outgrowth of their obedience, would God abundantly bless them (Mal 3:10).¹³¹

This emphasises the fact that Yahweh took no pleasure in sacrifice, but in love, justice, knowledge of God and walking humbly with him (Mic 6:6-8; Hos 6:6; Isa 1:11ff). The teaching then emphasised the fact that doing Yahweh's will and observing his torah was better than sacrifices (Ps 40:7-11; 69:31ff), and that the sacrifices in which he takes pleasure are a broken spirit and contrite heart (Ps 51:19).¹³² Therefore, this paved the way for the New Testament teaching of Jesus' perfect and final sacrifice. In obedience to God's will and love for all, Jesus offered himself to die on the cross for the

¹³⁰ Amos 5: 22-24 (RSV).

¹³¹ C. Olowola, *African Traditional Religion and The Christian Faith*, Achimota: Africa Christian Press, 1993, p. 55; C. Olowola, 'Sacrifice in African Tradition and in Biblical Perspective,' pp. 5-8.

¹³² J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture*, vol. 11, p. 631.

transgressions of the world (Mk 10:45; Eph 5:2; 1Cor 5:7). This is the sacrifice of the New Covenant, in which all thrive as they believe and are cleansed by the blood of Jesus Christ. In this we see the finality of Jesus Christ's sacrificial death on the cross for the remission of the *ekibi* of the world (Heb 7:27; 9:12).¹³³ Therefore, there is no need to sacrifice beasts or any creature. Thus the epistle to the Hebrews states:

When he said above, 'Thou has neither desired nor taken pleasure in sacrifices and offerings and burnt offerings and sin offering' (these are offered according to the law) then he added 'Lo, I have come to do thy will'. He abolishes the first in order to establish the second. And by that the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all).¹³⁴

The Old Testament sacrifice therefore, pointed to the true perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ the Son of God (Heb 10:1-4). This teaching also confronts some of the contemporary Baganda with a new perspective on sacrifice, for like the ancient Jewish cult system the *kiganda* sacrificial rituals have to be carried out whenever there is some violation of the social norms and the need to be reconciled with the *lubaale* (divinities) *emizimu* (spirits) and the community. However, with the sacrificial death of Jesus, the one perfect sacrifice is always there to cleanse the *ebibi* of the world. This teaching raises some conflicts over the ideas of dealing with *ekibi* among some of the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians) who still value the *kiganda* sacrificial practices.¹³⁵ This also underscores the conflicts that exist between the *kiganda* and Christian values within the contemporary Baganda communities.

¹³³ Olowola, 'Sacrifice in African Tradition and in Biblical Perspective,' pp. 5-8; K. Bediako, *Jesus in African Culture*, Accra: Asempa Publishers, pp. 36-37.

¹³⁴ Heb 10:8-10; Ps 40:6-8 (RSV).

¹³⁵ Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01; Mwebe Dan, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01.

EKIBI IN THE NEW TESTAMENT OMUZIMU OMUBI (UNCLEAN SPIRIT) (MK 9:14-29)

This text presents us with the dramatic account of the miraculous activities in Jesus' healing of a boy afflicted by *omuzimu omubi/dayimooni*, Greek *akatharton pneuma* (unclean spirit). The term *omuzimu omubi* is the one used to translate the Greek *akatharton pneuma* (unclean spirit) in the earliest *Luganda* Bible translations such as the 1899 version. However, the term *dayimooni* was introduced in the 1968 version of the *Luganda* Bible as the translation of the Greek *daimon*.¹³⁶ Therefore, in this study we prefer to use *omuzimu omubi* since it is the term which is familiar to the *kiganda* worldview, as opposed to the new term *dayimooni*,¹³⁷ which was recently introduced to the Baganda through the *Luganda* Bible.¹³⁸

The story is also presented in Mt 17:14-21 and Lk 9:37-43a. However, Mk 9:14-29 provides a more detailed account of the incident of Jesus dealing with the unclean spirit.¹³⁹ Following the transfiguration event (Mk 9:9-13), we see the encounter of Jesus Christ with a young boy who was possessed by a mute spirit. Jesus came across a crowd, among which a desperate man had asked the disciples to exorcise and heal his son but they had failed to cast out the unclean spirit. Among the first-century Jews, being possessed by unclean spirits was one of the most dreaded afflictions (1Sam 16:14; Mt 23:43-45; Mk 1:23; Acts 19:11-16). People possessed by unclean spirits were looked upon as social misfits and they were not even permitted to attend the synagogue service. This was because it was believed unclean spirits made a person ceremonially impure. This would debar him/her from worship and fellowship with God.

¹³⁶ The early translations of the *Luganda* Bible have the term *omuzimu omubi* all through the gospels. The 1968 translation probably borrows this term from Greek versions of the Bible.

¹³⁷ *Dayimooni* is merely an Africanization of the English term demon.

¹³⁸ My interaction with some Baganda in both rural and urban areas revealed that they have a better understanding of the term *omuzimu omubi*, while *dayimooni* seems to be confusing and alien to their worldview. Oral Interview with Mwebe Dan, Mulago Zone Mukono, 14.02.01; Paul Mukooza, Nyenga, 26.03.01.

¹³⁹ C. S. Mann, *Mark*, New York: The Anchor Bible Doubleday, 1986, p. 369.

Therefore, by the time Jesus met the boy he was already living at the edge of society, and his parent was desperately searching for a person who could heal him, for even the disciples' attempts had failed.

The boy was deaf and mute, and the unclean spirit could even throw him on the ground, into fire and water (Mk 9:18, 22). This kind of affliction is not rare in the *kiganda* worldview and community. Some contemporary Baganda refer to this kind of illness as *ensimbu* (epilepsy), and they believe it is caused by attacks from *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits).¹⁴⁰ Like the first-century Jews, among most contemporary Baganda *ekibi* of spirit attacks and the resultant *obulwadde* (affliction/sickness) are among the most dreadful attacks on human life. The attacks of *emizimu emibi* affect not only the patient but also his parents, family and community. So in such a desperate situation the people try all sorts of remedies to restore the health of their loved one and the wellbeing of the community. Hence the saying: *Asiika obulamu tassa mukono*,¹⁴¹ 'a person roasting life should never rest his arm lest life gets burnt.' In most cases the cure that the *abasawo* (healers) would carry out is known as *okugoba omuzimu* (to cast out the spirit). This may involve the use of herbs, sacrifice and mysterious powers by the *omusawo* (healer).¹⁴²

On realising the danger to the afflicted boy and the threat the unclean spirit was posing to the wellbeing of the community, Jesus intervened and cast out the unclean spirit (Mk 9:20-22). This miraculous act of exorcising the unclean spirit was a dramatic act of overcoming the power of the evil spirits and restoring the normal life of the boy and the wellbeing of the community. It should, however, be noted that exorcism was not strange to the first-century Jews, for the words of rebuke to the unclean spirit, 'You dumb and deaf spirit I command you come out of him, and never enter him again,' (Mk 9:25b),

¹⁴⁰ Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01; Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁴¹ J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, p. 30.

¹⁴² Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

were also common in the Hellenistic exorcism stories. For instance Josephus records a story about extracting the demon from the nose of a possessed man with a ring. After performing the ritual, the man fell down and the healer commanded the demon never to come back.¹⁴³

Though exorcism is common in both the first-century Jewish community and the *kiganda* worldview, Jesus' exorcism was different in that he did not have to refer to earthly spirits but did the exorcism in the power of God. Jesus' power and authority to cast out the unclean spirits is derived from God. That is why he taught and reminded his disciples of the significance of faith and the power of prayer in the war against *ekibi* of *omuzimu omubi* (Mk 9:29; Mt 17:21).¹⁴⁴ Some Baganda Christians such as the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) and some mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) interpret this miraculous event as a demonstration of Jesus' authority and power over *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits). Thus Rev. Batte teaches: *amaanyi ga Yesu gasinga ag'emizimu emibi* (Jesus' power is over and above all the powers of the malevolent spirits).¹⁴⁵ It should further be noted that Jesus' attitude and actions in dealing with *emizimu emibi* appeal to many contemporary Baganda and their worldview. This is why some of the Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda and many other Africans appreciate and identify with Jesus' practice of healing.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Josephus, *Antiquities*, 8:47-49; 1 Sam 16:14; Acts 19:13, 8:18-19; 1 Sam 16:14.

¹⁴⁴ Some manuscripts of Mark add 'and fasting.' Mt 17:21.

¹⁴⁵ Rev. J. Batte's sermon given at a prayer meeting at St Dunstan Church Mukono, 19.07.01. Also Oral interview with Rev. Kazimba, Mukono Hill, 09.02.01; Bishop W. Mutebi, Mityana Diocese, 26.06.01; Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01.

¹⁴⁶ Ntloedibe, 'Ngaka and Jesus as Liberators,' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, p. 509.

OKUFA (DEATH) AND JESUS' POWER (JN 11:1-54)

In the passage Jn 11:1-54 we get some ideas about *ekibi* of *okufa*, the Greek *thanatos* (death), in the Bible. In this text Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha and a friend of Jesus, falls ill and dies. Though Jesus learns of Lazarus' illness in time he does not get there in time, as Martha and Mary would have expected. This placed Mary and Martha in the desperate situation of losing a loved one. This is what the Baganda would consider to be *akabi akali mu kulwaza n'okufirwa* (danger of illness and losing a dear one).

Sickness and death among the Jewish people was abhorred, and people would attempt anything to get healing and escape the grip of those life-diminishing forces. The Jews not only dreaded illness but also believed that it was caused by a person's wrongdoing (Job 4:7ff). However, in Jesus' understanding, there was no reason to suppose that that would always be the case. Sickness and death could occur as a result of natural causes so that the works of God might be manifested.¹⁴⁷ Thus Jesus' delay and the illness of Lazarus was not for the purpose of death, but for the purpose of manifesting God's glory (Jn 11:3).¹⁴⁸ Jesus' awareness of the meaning of the whole incident was further revealed by his announcing that: 'our friend Lazarus has fallen asleep, I go and wake him out of sleep' (Jn 11:11; Mt 9:24; Mk 5:39; Lk 8:52). Sleep among the first-century Jews, as among contemporary Baganda, was used to refer to dying. For instance, the Jews sometimes referred to death as 'sleep,' thus Bathsheba said: 'Otherwise it will come to pass, when my lord the king sleeps with his fathers ...' (1King 1:21; Job 7:21; Dan 12:2; Ps 13:3). The Baganda refer to death as *okwebaka emagombe*¹⁴⁹ (sleeping in the world of the dead). The idea of sleep later became popular in

¹⁴⁷ G. S. Ntloedibe, Ngaka and Jesus as Liberators, in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, p. 507.

¹⁴⁸ G. Beasley-Murray, *John*, Waco Texas: Word Books, 1987, p. 187. This could not make sense to the disciples who were not aware of what would happen nor the symbolic nature of Lazarus' death and how it relates to the glory of Jesus on the cross and his resurrection.

¹⁴⁹ M. Lubega, *Olulimi Oluganda*, p. 18. For a more detailed discussion on *okufa* (death) among contemporary Baganda see Chapter three pp. 100-104.

Christian circles as a means of referring to the death of believers. For instance, Paul refers to the dead as ‘those who have fallen asleep in Christ’ (1Cor 15:18; 7:39; Eph 5:14; Thess 4:13-16).¹⁵⁰ In spite of that background, the disciples did not immediately understand that Lazarus had died, when Jesus decided to go and awake him.¹⁵¹

When Jesus and his disciples reached Bethany they found that Lazarus had been buried four days. The place was gripped with sorrow and wailing. As in the *kiganda* context, the people had come to mourn with their neighbours Mary and Martha upon the death of their brother. This was a sign of solidarity even in sorrow, which characterises such corporate communities, thus the *kiganda* saying: *munno mu kabi ye munno ddala* (a friend in time of danger is a friend indeed).¹⁵² Also among the ancient Jewish communities mourning and lamentation were considered a duty to be paid to the dead (Is 31; 1Sam 21:13-24; Tobit 1:17-19).¹⁵³ Thus in both the *kiganda* and the Jewish tradition mourning and lamentation also showed the extent to which the people bereaved loved and missed their dead relative or friend.¹⁵⁴ Among many contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda, the mourning rituals are also significant for the smooth passage of the departed into life in the hereafter.¹⁵⁵ However, the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) who have some negative attitudes towards some *kiganda* rituals, teach against the practices of mourning. When a member of the *Bazuukufu* dies they do not

¹⁵⁰ W. North, *The Lazarus Story Within the Johannine Tradition*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, p. 94.

¹⁵¹ Thomas called his fellow disciples to go with Jesus and die with him. In this way the evangelist uses Thomas’ rather unintentional prophetic words to foretell the death of Jesus (vs 16), and indeed the plot to kill Jesus and the passion narratives follow this text (Jn 12:1ff).

¹⁵² Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

¹⁵³ For more see R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 59-61. The Jews even had professional mourners (Jer 9:19). For *kiganda* mourning rituals see Chapter three, pp. 100-102.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter three, pp. 100-102.

¹⁵⁵ Oral interview with Edward Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01; Paul Mukooza, Nyenga, 26.03.01; Kalooli Nyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01.

cry or wail but praise the Lord who led that brother or sister through the earthly life into heaven.¹⁵⁶

Amid human despair at *okufa* (death), Jesus arrived and in anguish Martha lamented and proclaimed her belief in Jesus:

Lord if you had been here, my brother would not have died and even now I know whatever you ask from God, God will give you.¹⁵⁷

This statement proclaimed hope even in grief. However, when Jesus reassured her with the hope of raising Lazarus, Martha turned her thoughts to her Jewish eschatological tradition of resurrection, as she replied 'I know that he will rise again in the resurrection on the last day,' (Jn 11:24; Dan 12:2; Is 25-27; Ezek 37; Hos 6:2; Act 23:8). Unlike in the Jewish tradition, in the *kiganda* worldview the idea of *okuzuukira* (resurrection) was understood in terms of having children, hence the saying *okuzaala kwe kuzuukira* (resurrection is realised through having children).¹⁵⁸ The other idea of *kiganda* resurrection is derived from *kiganda* oral tradition, in which stories about the giant beasts, which were the embodiment of death and *ekibi*, kill all the villagers, and the only remaining person, sometimes a young person, fights the beast, kills it and cuts off its finger. After cutting the beast's finger, all the members of the village then come out to live as before.¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, in the *kiganda* worldview the idea of the future or 'eschatological' concepts differs from that expressed in the Jewish tradition. In the *kiganda* belief, life

¹⁵⁶ Oral interview with C. Mukasa, Bweya, 21.07.01; Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁵⁷ Jn 21-22 (RSV).

¹⁵⁸ Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.01.

¹⁵⁹ H. Masembe, *Engero Zaffe* (our stories), *Maaso n'amazike; Obulo bwaffe obw'Obulamu; Nabangi n'ekizike*, pp 134-135,166-168; J. S. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*, pp. 157-159.

after death thrives in the world of the living dead or ancestors.¹⁶⁰ Yet even Jesus' teaching differs from both *kiganda* and Jewish teaching. For Jesus taught: 'I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me though he die, yet shall he live, and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die.'¹⁶¹ This why some Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda teach that both *obulamu obwakaakati* (present life) and *obulamu obutagwaawo* (eternal life) is given through belief in Jesus Christ.¹⁶²

Mary's wailing further drew Jesus to acknowledge the human pain of death and losing a loved one so that he wept (Jn 11:35). Nevertheless, he was not overcome by grief or even death and he went to Lazarus's tomb. Despite the four days¹⁶³ Lazarus had been buried and the stench of the rotting body, Jesus went on to confront the power of death. He prayed and thanked his Father in heaven (Jn 11:41-42) which publicly illustrated that his power and authority were derived from God. In this power, he called out to Lazarus, overpowered death and raised him from the dead. Although the act of resuscitating people was not strange in the Jewish tradition (1 Kings 17:17-24; 2 Kings 4:18-37) Jesus' action of raising Lazarus, who had been buried four days, was extraordinary and indeed done by divine authority. Among most contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda Jesus' raising of Lazarus to life reflects both his present and future victory over *ekibi* of *okufa* (death).¹⁶⁴ It is also symbolic of Jesus' final triumph over *ekibi* of *okufa* (death) on the cross and his rising to *obulamu obutagwaawo* (eternal life).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ B. Bujo, *African Theology in its Social Context*, New York: Orbis Books, 1992, pp. 24-25; J. S. Mbiti, 'The Bible in African Culture,' in Gibellini et al. *Paths of African Theology*, p. 34; J. S. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*, p. 59.

¹⁶¹ Jn 11: 25-26, (RSV).

¹⁶² This belief is emphasised among the three Revivalists groups in the Church of Uganda. Bishop S. Ssekkadde's 'Easter Message,' 1995, Namirembe diocesan offices.

¹⁶³ In the Jewish tradition the soul of the dead was believed to come out of the grave in hope of returning into the body. When after three days it saw that the face was changing then it would leave. Thus four days in the grave would mean the end of it all. G. Beasley-Murray, *John*, pp. 191-192.

¹⁶⁴ This idea is articulated in the prayers of *okuziika abafu* (prayers for burial). *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, pp. 270-271. Bishop S. Ssekkadde's 'Easter Message,' 1995, Namirembe diocesan offices.

¹⁶⁵ See p. 212.

Among the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) the interpretation of this text has even introduced a new attitude towards *okufa*. For instance one of my informants quoted the Bible as follows:

Ffe abalokole bwe tukkiriza yesu tutandika okutambula olugendo ewaffe mu ggulu okubeera ne Yesu. Era ne Yesu agamba: Akkiriza nze aliba mulamu newankubade ng'afudde -Yok 11:25, ndiba mulamu nga ndi ne Yesu, (Once the Reawakened commit their lives to the Lord, they begin their journey home in heaven to be with Jesus. For even Jesus said: 'whoever believes in me, though he die, yet he shall live' -John 11:25, I will be alive with Jesus).¹⁶⁶

Thus among the *Bazuukufu okufa* is not *ekibi*, it is understood to be part of the journey into heaven. Some of the informants told me that when one of the members of the *Bazuukufu* dies they say: *Owooluganda yagenze mu ggulu* (a brother/sister went to heaven).¹⁶⁷ They do not cry or wail but praise the Lord who led that brother or sister through the earthly life into heaven. For this reason they do not mourn but sing and give testimonies about how the deceased lived and loved God. This kind of teaching highlights the impact of the interpretation of such texts on the attitude and ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda.

JESUS' TRIUMPH OVER *OKWONOONA* (WRONGDOING) AND *OKUSOBYA* (VIOLATION) (ROM 5:12-22)

This text discusses the Biblical ideas of *ekibi* as presented in Paul's letter to the Romans. It explores the idea that *ekibi* was first introduced by one human being and its consequences in the world. Paul introduces the idea of *omuntu omu* (one human being) and the first *okwonoona* (wrongdoing), the Greek *hamartia* (missing a goal),¹⁶⁸ and the consequence it has on the human race, which is *okufa*, the Greek *thanatos* (death) (Rom 5:12-13). This argument follows Paul's discussion in the previous text (Rom 1:1-11), which explains the effects of Christ's justification of believers. The text argues that *ekibi* brought *okufa* (death). This view is based on the ancient Jewish tradition that

¹⁶⁶ Oral interview with Kezekiya Joloba, Kigoowa, 26.06.01.

¹⁶⁷ Oral interview with C. Mukasa, Bweya, 21.07.01; Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁶⁸ Also means sin.

Adam would have been immortal if he had not sinned (Rom 2:23-24).¹⁶⁹ This idea is similar to the *kiganda* mythical ideas of Kintu and Nambi's immortality before they disobeyed Ggulu.¹⁷⁰

In this text Paul acknowledges the subtle nature of *ekibi*, as he suggests that it existed in the world before the law was given, although *ekibi* is not accounted outside the law (Rom 5:13). This idea suggests that the knowledge of *ekibi* exists in every human society. This view is supported by the existence of ideas of *ekibi* among the Baganda before their encounter with the biblical law as introduced by the early Christian missionaries.¹⁷¹ Likewise *okufa* reigned from Adam to Moses, to whom the law was given (Exod 20:1ff), and *okwonoona* (wrongdoing),¹⁷² the Greek *parabasis* (transgression), of commandments and its consequences are passed on to all Adam's race. As we have already observed, in the *kiganda* worldview there are no written codes, but the biblical law is related to taboos and social norms which society values. Among many contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda, Adam's transgression is related to the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* as it is reflected in their myth of Kintu and Nambi, the Baganda ancestors who disobeyed Ggulu as they failed to abide by his orders and are thus believed to have passed on their *ekibi* to their descendants.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ It should, however, be noted that Gen 2:17 could not refer to physical death since Adam did not die after sinning (Rom 6:23, Eph 1:1ff). L. Morris, *The Epistles to the Romans*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988, pp. 229-230; C. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, vol. 1, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1977(1975), p. 274.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter two, pp. 25-26. S. M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, pp. 94-96; J. C. Ssekamwa, *Ebisoko N'Engero*, pp. 1-6; J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics: A Survey of the Aesthetic and Cultural Aspects of Myth, a Case Study of the 'Story of Kintu' from Buganda*, pp. 173-209.

¹⁷¹ See Chapter two, pp. 25-48.

¹⁷² In the *Luganda* Bible, Greek *parabasis* and *hamartia* are sometimes translated *okwonoona* (wrongdoing). It should however be noted that there are no directly equivalent *Luganda* expressions which can translate some of these terms.

¹⁷³ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Y. Sennoga, Mukono Hill, 07.02.01; Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu, Mukono Hill, 02.02.01; Nsubuga Ssaalongo, Lugasa, 21.02.01; Beatrice Nangonzi, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01. Also J. Mugalu, *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics*, pp. 173-209.

The idea of *ekibi*'s consequences being passed on to all Adam's race, further suggests the communal sense of *ekibi* in the early Christian teaching.¹⁷⁴ In the *kiganda* worldview, this sense of communality is also articulated in the saying that *Omulya Mmamba abeera omu n'avumaganya ekika*,¹⁷⁵ (If one member of the lung fish clan eats the lung fish he brings disgrace onto his/her whole clan). *Ekibi* has dangerous consequences, which can affect not only the offender but also his family and the whole community. Therefore, this suggests some continuity between the *kiganda* and biblical communal ideas of *ekibi*. For some contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda the mention of communal *okusobya* (violation) in the Bible immediately reminds them of the Kintu and Nambi narrative.¹⁷⁶ However, the Pauline ideas of communality suggest a worldwide idea of community, which surpasses the narrow and limited *kiganda* worldview.

Despite the dangerous polluting nature and consequences of *ekibi*, Paul further argues that there is hope and triumph over personal *okusobya*¹⁷⁷ Greek *paraptoma* (trespass). In this context both the *Luganda okusobya* and Greek *paraptoma* give an impression of *ekibi* as inadvertent violation, albeit a culpable mistake.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, *okusobya* and its consequence *okufa* (death) are overcome as God provides *ekisa*, the Greek *charis* (grace) (Rom 5:15). The interpretations and teaching on the ideas of *ekisa* based on the interpretation of the epistle to the Romans is central among contemporary mainstream *Balokole*. Thus Senyonyi teaches:

There is no *ekibi* in our lives that is above God's grace. The grace of God that is provided in Jesus' incarnation, death and resurrection is available for many and sanctifies all who believe in him.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ This is rooted in the Jewish tradition (Gen 3:1-12).

¹⁷⁵ M. B. Nsimbi, *Ssiwa Muto Lugero*, p. 20

¹⁷⁶ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Y. Sennoga, Mukono Hill, 07.02.01; F. Mutebi, Lweza, 24.05.01.

¹⁷⁷ Though the *Luganda* Bible in this verse uses the term *okwonoona*, in this case the term *okusobya* would have been the best translation of Greek *paratoma*.

¹⁷⁸ J. Pobee, *Towards an African theology*, p.108.

¹⁷⁹ Rev. Dr. J. Ssenyonyi's teaching at the Kyambogo Fellowship held 05.11.00. Theme: *Ekibi tekikufugenga gwe Bar 6:1-14 (ekibi will not enslave you)*.

Therefore, while Adam brought death on all his progeny, Jesus Christ gave his people the blessing of *obutuukirivu* (righteousness).

In this teaching Christ's vicarious atonement through his sacrificial death is seen as superabundant, in that the value of the expiation brought about by sacrifice is greater than the harm caused by *ekibi*.¹⁸⁰ Jesus reverses the effects of Adam's *ekibi* and procures new *obulamu* (life) (Rom 5:21), and because of his *obutuukirivu* (righteousness), believers are justified before God (Rom 5:15-18). *Olw'obutawulira bw'omuntu omu* (for as by one person's disobedience) many were made *ababi* (sinners), *n'olwokuwulira kw'oyo omu abangi balifuuka abatuukirivu* (so by one person's obedience many will be made righteous) (Rom 5:19). For this reason *ekibi* no longer reigns in its power and effects of *okufa* but *ekisa* (grace) in Christ reigns in *obutuukirivu* (righteousness) to *obulamu obutaggwaawo* (eternal life) through Jesus Christ. This teaching is emphasised among the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) thus Rev Can. Luzinda teaches: *awali ekisa tewaba kufuba okufuna obutuukirivu* (Because of grace we do not need to strive for righteousness).¹⁸¹ Therefore, for the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* the concept of *ekisa* (grace) and *obulamu obutaggwaawo mu ggulu* (eternal life in heaven) is the new hope that Jesus Christ offers as he triumphs over *ekibi* and its effects of *okufa*.

However, this teaching of *ekisa* poses some challenges for some contemporary Baganda as they attempt to appropriate it into their own situation. This is because while in the *kiganda* worldview there are some ideas of *ekisa* (grace) some *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians) still say: *gunsinze aliwa bitono* (admission of an offence reduces the

¹⁸⁰ P. N. Wachage, *Jesus Christ Our Muthamaki*, p. 218.

¹⁸¹ Rev. Can. Eria Paul Luzinda at Kyambogo. This was one of the key issues at the Kyambogo Fellowship meeting held 04.02.200. The emphasis on *ekisa* among the mainstream *Balokole* conflicts with the *Bazuukufu*'s teaching on striving for holiness. This is why the *Bazuukufu* sometimes refer to the mainstream *Balokole* as *abeebafu* (sleeping Revivalists). Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

penalty).¹⁸² Thus even where there is *ekisa*, something still has to be offered to clear the offence. This is why some *Bakulisitaayo* still sacrifice animals or birds in order to deal with *ekibi*.¹⁸³ This therefore underscores the conflicts and challenges which confront some contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda as they attempt to interpret the message of Jesus Christ's *ekisa* (grace) into their worldview.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion and examination of the ideas of *ekibi* based on the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments we observed that the translation of the Bible into *Luganda* significantly affected the concepts of *ekibi* among the contemporary Church of Uganda Christians. This is because it introduced ideas of *ekibi* drawn from the ancient Jewish or Greek world into the *kiganda* worldview. These included the ideas of *ekibi* relating to *amateeka ekkumi* (Ten Commandments) and *Ssetaani*. However, it was also observed that some of the ideas which were introduced found expression in the *kiganda* worldview through the process of translation and interpretation. This highlights the extent to which the translation and interpretation of the Bible has contributed to the development of the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda communities.

The translators not only introduced new ideas of *ekibi* in the *Luganda* Bible, but they also covered up aspects of the ancient Jewish way of life which they thought would encourage practices such as polygamy, which they deemed to be *ekibi*. Such issues underline the significance and contribution of Bible translators in the development of the Old and New Testament ideas, interpretation and related theological articulations.

¹⁸² Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja Buikwe, 23.02.01; Daudi Kyambadde Lubanga, Nyenga, 26. 03.01. Also Y. Ssekkadde et al. *Ndi Mugezi*, p. 14.

¹⁸³ Oral interview with Sam Bukenya, Nakabago, 17.02.01. This is one of the issues which Bishop Ssenyimba addressed in his teachings. Bishop M. Ssenyimba of Mukono Diocese, 'Christmas Messages,' 2000, Mukono diocesan offices.

Furthermore, some of the new ideas of *ekibi* which were introduced in the *Luganda* Bible, are alien to the *kiganda* worldview. For instance we noted the prohibition against worshipping *bakatonda abalala* (other gods), in the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:3) and *dayimooni* (demon) in the place of *omuzimu omubi* (Mk 9:17). The idea of *bakatonda* does not exist in the *kiganda* worldview and so this concept does not make sense to some contemporary Baganda but rather creates conflicts on the teaching of *ekibi* especially among some Christians in the Church of Uganda. Also the introduction of the term *dayimooni* instead of *omuzimu omubi*, undermines most contemporary Baganda ideas of *ekibi* as it alienates them from the concepts of *ekibi* based on their *kiganda* worldview. This highlights the fact that Bible translation is culturally bound, and as such the translators ought to be grounded in the culture and language into which the Bible is translated.¹⁸⁴ It also points to the conflict which exists between the *kiganda* and the biblical ideas of *ekibi*. Such conflicts not only affect the interpretation of the Bible, but also affect the theological articulation and practice that is based on this translation.

The study also revealed several ideas of *ekibi*, which include *okusobya* (violation) of *amateeka* (law), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing) and pollution caused by violators, *obulwadde* (illness), afflictions from *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits), *okubonaabona* (suffering), *obwavu* (poverty) and all that alienates us from God. It was further noted that a number of similarities or parallels exist between the *kiganda* and ancient Jewish worldviews. For example, most aspects of the Ten Commandments are similar to the *kiganda* social codes such as the taboos which regulate social conduct in the communities. Consequently the idea of disrespect for parents is similar to the *kiganda* taboo against abuse of parents. Also the elements which prohibit antisocial practices such as *okutta* (killing), *okubba* (stealing), *okuwaayiriza* (giving false witness), and *obwenzi* (adultery) are similar to *kiganda* prohibitions against such violations.

¹⁸⁴ A. Obeng, 'The Use of Biblical Critical Methods in Rooting the Scriptures in Africa,' in H. Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, p. 20.

However, we also noted some discontinuities between the ancient Jewish and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*, especially the fact that while in the Jewish worldview Yahweh is believed to be the Lawgiver, in the *kiganda* worldview *Katonda* (the creator) is not the direct giver of the codes which govern the society, for it is believed that elders and ancestors instituted these social norms on behalf of *Katonda*. Thus, while violation of the social norms among most contemporary Baganda affects the community, in the Jewish context violating the law is also a violation against the holy God who is the author of the law. We also observed some discontinuities in the ideas of *ekibi* which related to Jesus' radical teaching in the first-century and the resultant Christian teaching and practice. This teaching also poses a challenge to some Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda who are faced with the task of interpreting the ideas of *ekibi* derived from Jesus' teaching that contend with both the Jewish and *kiganda* worldviews.

Furthermore, while we observed that similarities exist in the ideas of *ekibi* relating to *obuko* (incest) prohibitions which regulate sexual interaction in the Bible, there are also some discontinuities that relate to this *ekibi*. This is because some of the prohibited sexual interactions in the Old Testament, such as a man marrying two sisters (Lev 18:18) are acceptable in the *kiganda* worldview and are not *ekibi*. On the other hand, some acceptable sexual interactions in the ancient Jewish culture, such as marrying *Ssenga's* (father's sister) or *Kojja's* (mother's brother) children are taboo and *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda. Therefore, such discontinuities underline the conflict in the teaching on *ekibi* in the Old Testament in relation to the *kiganda* practice. This further points to the need for both worldviews to listen to and respect the values that exist in these contexts.

In our discussions it was also observed that *ekibi* can have undesirable consequences for the offender, his/her family and community at large. These may include illness, suffering, poverty and misfortunes for the violators, lack of wholeness and disintegration of community, and death. In spite of the emphasis on communitarian responsibility, both the Old or New Testaments and *kiganda* teaching acknowledge the significance of individual responsibility for their wrongdoings. Therefore, such convergences in the teaching can be valuable grounds for a healthy dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi*.

Considering the ideas of dealing with *ekibi*, we noted some parallels between the biblical and *kiganda* ideas and practices of dealing with *ekibi* such as sacrifice, healing, exorcism, confessing *ekibi*, compensation, cursing, and penalties such as excommunication, death, and blood vengeance. The practices are valued, as they are believed to be life affirming and valuable for maintaining social order. However, it is unfortunate that the mistranslations in the Old Testament present the practice of *obusawo* (healing) as *ekibi*, in the *Luganda* Bible; while among most contemporary Baganda it is a life-affirming practice which restores *obulamu* (life). This underlines the extent to which the mistranslation of some of the biblical texts has contributed to the misinterpretations of the Scriptures and conflicting ideas of *ekibi* among the Christian groups in the Church of Uganda.

Further still, on the practices of sacrifice as a means of dealing with *ekibi*, we observed some continuities and discontinuities in respect to the significance of expiation and cleansing of *ekibi* in both the ancient Jewish and some contemporary Baganda communities. However, though the rituals of sacrifice were significant, in the post-

exilic Jewish practice, there developed a shift from the overemphasis on sacrifice in the worship of Yahweh. For Yahweh preferred righteousness and justice as means of dealing with *ekibi* in society. The shift in the teaching on sacrifice culminated in the New Testament sacrificial death of Jesus, the one perfect sacrifice that cleanses the world of *ekibi*. The Old Testament sacrifice thus pointed to the true perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ the Son of God (Heb 10:1-4). This therefore introduces a new teaching and approach of dealing with *ekibi* among the Christians in the Church of Uganda. However, the message of Jesus' sacrificial death clashes with some of the contemporary *kiganda* values and sacrificial practices. Thus this underscores the conflicts that exist between the *kiganda* and biblical values within the contemporary Baganda Christian communities in the Church of Uganda. It further points to the need for dialogue between *kiganda* and the Christian ideas of *ekibi*. These are the issues which this study will address in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX
DIALOGUE BETWEEN *KIGANDA* AND CHRISTIAN
IDEAS OF *EKIBI*

This chapter deals with the dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda. The chapter examines the extent to which *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* have interacted, been interpreted and integrated in the evolving Baganda social context. The chapter also assesses and analyses the commonalities and differences between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi*, with a view to highlighting their contribution to the wellbeing of the community. Consequently the value of the interaction and conversation between *kiganda* and Christian teachings on *ekibi* and the extent to which they inform and have transformed the teaching and practice within the contemporary Church of Uganda and society are also examined.

The consideration of the conversation between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* is significant in this study as it enables us to assess the extent to which the ideas integrate for the purposes of inculturation or rooting the Christian message in the evolving Baganda context. In this respect, inculturation, as Ukpong puts it, involves evangelising a culture from within, that is to say, proclaiming the Good News to people from within the perspective of their culture.¹ The process, through which the Good News becomes

¹ J. Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation: a New Testament Perspective,' in R. Gibellini, *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM, 1994, pp. 40-41; J. M. Waliggo, 'Making a Church that is Truly African,' in J. M. Waliggo et al., *Inculturation: its Meaning and Urgency*, St. Paul Publications, 1986, pp. 11-30; S. J. Crollius, 'Inculturation: Newness and Ongoing Process,' in J. M. Waliggo et al., *Inculturation: Its Meaning and Urgency*, pp. 31-42; P. N. Wachege, *Jesus Christ our Muthamki (Ideal Elder)*, pp. 159-160. For more on inculturation see, Jean-Marc Ela, *My Faith as an African*, New York: Orbis (1985) 1989, pp. 170-177; A. Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, New York: Orbis Books, 1988; B. Bujo *African Christian Morality, at the Age of Inculturation*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications, (1990) 1998; J. Ganly, 'ATR can Enrich Christianity,' *AFER*, Vol. 31/5, October, 1989, pp. 309-315; H. Hinfelaar, 'Evangelisation and Inculturation,' *AFER*, Vol. 36/1, February, 1994, pp. 2-17; L. Oger, 'Inculturation: To Evangelise as Christ did, can this be done Without Compromising Ourselves?' *AFER*, Vol. 36/1, February 1994, pp. 18-31; D. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, New York: Orbis, (1991) 1997, pp. 447-456; S. J. Schineller, 'Inculturation - Why so Slow?' *Journal of Inculturation Theology*, Vol. 4/2, October, 1997, pp. 130-140; J. Ogunduyilemi, 'Inculturation in the Church Today', *Journal of Inculturation Theology*, Vol. 4/2, October, 1997, pp. 141-149.

incarnated in the people's context, challenges, animates and transforms the culture and the society.² Thus this chapter assesses the inculturation of the ideas of *ekibi* in the Christian groups in the Church of Uganda in both rural and urban areas. The groups, as already indicated in the previous chapters, include the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors).

In order to make a thorough assessment and scrutiny of the dialogue and inculturation process of these ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda, we focus on the four Christian groups' teaching and practice on *ekibi*. For the practice and teaching on *ekibi* we consider *ekibi* relating to *okusobya emizizo gy'obuko* (violating relational taboos), *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* (attacks from malevolent spirits) and dealing with *okufa* (death), with specific reference to the practice of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites). First we consider the ideas of *ekibi* relating to *okusobya emizizo gy'obuko* (violating relational taboos).

OKUSOBYA EMIZIZO GY'OBUKO IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA

As we observed in chapters three and four, among most contemporary Baganda communities *okusobya emizizo gy'obuko* (violating relational taboos) is *ekibi* about which both the urban and rural dwellers have various attitudes, teaching and practices.³ As already noted, in contemporary *kiganda* teaching *emizizo gy'obuko* are significant for regulating marriage, sexual activities and interactions among relatives, families and clans.⁴ For instance, in the *kiganda* practice, marriage with *ab'omusaayi gwo*

² J. Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation,' p. 41; A. Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, pp. 11& 150; D. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 455.

³ See Chapter three, pp. 61-63; Chapter four, p. 120.

⁴ See Chapter three, pp. 61-62.

(consanguine/blood relatives), *ab'ekika kyo*⁵ (clan-mates) and *ab'obukojja* (mother's relatives) is prohibited. Hence the *emizizo* (taboos) such as *Omuntu tawasa era tafumbirwa muntu wa kika kye* (a person should not marry his/her clan-mates), and *Omuntu tawasa era tafumbirwa kizibwe we* (a person should not marry his father's sister's children).⁶

These prohibitions are meant to demarcate boundaries for sexual interactions in families and clans. Observance of these *emizizo* was and is still valued among most of the contemporary Baganda communities. This is why, among most Baganda communities, the non-observers of *emizizo gy'obuko* (relational taboos) are considered to be *aboonoonyi* (violators), *abakozi b'ebivve* (abominators) and polluters of the community, who pose a threat to the entire wellbeing of the people. For instance anyone who had sexual intercourse with *mwannyina* (a brother or sister) would be considered to be *omukozi w'ekivve* (abominator) and that person would be excommunicated.⁷

As we have noted, because the observance of the prohibitions and taboos is rather complex, in many contemporary societies some Baganda have had to reinterpret some of the prohibitions in the evolving urban communities. Due to the pressures of the forces of change such as technological advancement and education, and religions such as Christianity and Islam, some contemporary Baganda have had to develop new practices

⁵ The members of *Mmamba* (lungfish) clan who have several *amasiga* (clan divisions) sometimes marry members of other *amasiga*. M. B. Nsimbi, *Amannya Amaganda N'Ennono Zaago*, p. 176. Kaggwa also informs us that in the past the members of the *Mmamba* did not marry clanmates, it was only when men *baasobya empisa* (violated the custom) and they started admiring their sisters that the practice started. A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 153.

⁶ For more on marriage taboos see: C. L. M. Mugambwa, *Enkuluze Y'Ennono Y'Omuganda*, pp. 59-61; L. Kalungi, *Gganda Taboos in Relation to Christianity and Islam*, pp. 1-14; W. Mpuuga, *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, pp. 29-37.

⁷ See Chapter three, pp. 66-67.

in order to adapt the *emizizo gy'obuko* (relational taboos) to the evolving context.⁸ The reinterpretation of *emizizo gy'obuko* has also taken place within the Christian communities. Thus in chapter four we observed there are varying attitudes and teachings on *ekibi* relating to *emizizo gy'obuko* in the different Christian groups in the Church of Uganda.⁹ It is at such levels that we examine and assess the dialogue between Christian and the *kiganda emizizo gy'obuko* among the four groups in the Church of Uganda.

Most of the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors), as already mentioned follow most of the marriage prohibitions stipulated in the *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba* and the canon laws of the Church of Uganda.¹⁰ These stipulate the requirements or laws that the people who intend to get married must not violate.¹¹ Thus the prayer book states '*Kya muzizo mu byawandiikibwa ebitukuvu ab'obuko oba ab'ekika ekimu okufumbiriganwa*'¹²

⁸ See Chapter three, pp. 57-58.

⁹ See Chapter four, pp. 120, 142.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, pp. 243-245; *The Church of the Province of Uganda; Provincial Canons*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1997, p. 38. The provincial canons also include the godparents.

¹² Ibid., p. 243.

(according to Holy Scriptures it is a taboo for the people who belong to the same clan or family to marry).

The prohibited categories include the following:¹³

Omusajja taawasenga:(a man shall not marry)

Jjajja we (grandparent)
Muka jjajja we (wife of his father)
Jjajja wa mukazi we (his wife's grandparent)
Ssenga we (his father's sister)
Muganda wa nnyina (his mother's sister)
Muka muganda wa kitaawe (his stepmother's sister)
Muka kojja we (wife of his uncle)
Mwannyina kitaawe wa mukazi we (his father-in-law's sister)
Muganda wa nnyina mukazi we (his mother's sister)
Muwala we (his daughter)
Omuwala wa mukazi we (his wife's daughter)
Omukazi wa mutabani we (his son's wife)
Mwannyina (his sister)
Omuwala wa mutabani we (his son's daughter)

Omukazi taafumbirwenga: (a woman shall not marry)

Jjajja we (her grandparent)
Bba wa jjajja we (her grandmother's husband)
Jjajja wa musajja we (her husband's grandparent)
Muganda wa kitaawe (her father's brother)
Kojja we (her mother's brother)
Bba wa ssenga we (husband of her father's sister)
Omusajja wa muganda wa nnyina (husband of her mother's sister)
Muganda wa kitaawe wa musajja we (brother of her father-in-law)
Mwannyina nnyina wa musajja we (brother of her mother-in-law)
Kitaawe (her father)
Omusika wa kitaawe (heir of her father)
Kitaawe wa musajja we oba Ssezaala we (her father-in-law).

¹³ *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, pp. 243-244. My translation.

In view of the prohibition given in the prayer book, we realise that many of the ideas of *ekibi* are based on the *kiganda emizizo gy'obuko* (relational taboos), which limit sexual interaction in the families and clans, and on some of the levitical marriage prohibitions (Lev 18:9-15). As we observed in the previous chapter, most contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda see some similarities between their *kiganda* marriage *emizizo* (taboos) and the prohibitions in Lev 18:9-15.¹⁴ For instance, it is prohibited and *ekivve* (abomination) for a person to marry *mwannyoko oba mwannyina* (brother or sister), *muzzukulu wo* (grandchild), *Ssenga* (father's sister), *muganda wa nnyoko* (mother's sister), *muganda wa kitaawo* (father's brother) and *muka mwana wo* (daughter-in-law). This, as already noted, highlights some continuity between the *kiganda* and the ancient Jewish prohibitions of sexual interaction within the family and clan as presented in Lev 18:9-15. Where there are similarities or continuities between the *kiganda* and Christian teaching on *okusobya* related to *emizizo gy'obuko* (relational taboos) concerning marriage prohibitions among the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi*, these have smoothly integrated, and are based on the intersections which exist in these teachings on *ekibi*. Thus it is *ekibi* among most Baganda Christians groups in the Church of Uganda to violate such relational taboos.

However, as we observed the prohibitions of sexual interaction within the family and clan as provided in Lev 18:6-18, do not mention *Ssenga's* (father's sister) children, or mother's sister and *Kojja's* (mother's brother) children, who among the ancient Jews could provide suitors for the young people. On the other hand, among the *kiganda* tradition, *Kojja's* children and *Ssenga's* children are also included among the prohibited group. This shows some discontinuity between the *kiganda* and the levitical teaching on marriage prohibitions, and the ideas of *ekibi* relating to these taboos. Based on this interpretation and the *kiganda* teaching, it is *ekibi* among most of the groups in the Church of Uganda for a person to marry either *Ssenga's* or *Kojja's* children.¹⁵ In this case the *kiganda* practice and value is upheld as the acceptable Christian practice and

¹⁴ See Chapter five, pp. 187-190.

¹⁵ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu, Mukono Hill, 02.02.01.

teaching among contemporary Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda, as opposed to the ancient Jewish practice in the Old Testament. From this we see that the dialogue between the *kiganda* and ancient Jewish practices as presented in Lev 18: 6–18 does not lead to the suffocation of the value of *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* but rather provides a basis on which the Baganda Christian practice developed. This therefore, highlights the importance of the dialogue and integration of these values. It further emphasises the significance respecting of the values of the people's culture in the process of inculturation.

On the other hand, though the *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba* (prayer book) and the canons of the Church of Uganda provide the teaching and prohibitions for marriage, the observance of these *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) sometimes vary across the Christian groups. For instance, in the *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba* (prayer book) a woman is prohibited from marrying her *Ssenga's* (father's sister's) husband.¹⁶ This prohibition is opposed to the *kiganda* teaching and so has been ignored by most of the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole* and *Beegayirizi*. This is because among these groups according to their *kiganda* practices, it is honourable for a woman to take over her deceased *Ssenga's* responsibility, care for the children and widower. Thus on some occasions some women have been married in church to their late *Ssenga's* husband.¹⁷ It should however be noted that though there appears to be a conflict between the Church of Uganda teaching on marriage prohibitions as given in the *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, and the practice of the three groups, the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole* and *Beegayirizi* practice integrates the Christian and the *kiganda* values. This also suggests that the degree of dialogue on some of these aspects of *ekibi* varies according to the interpretation of the teaching in the different groups and the values attached to the *kiganda* practices and customs. In this we recognise a form of dialogue and expression based on respect for the values of the people's culture.

¹⁶ *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, p. 234. This prohibition is based on the early missionary teachings in Buganda.

¹⁷ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Luzinda Kizito, Mukono, 21.06.01.

On the other hand, the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened), who observe the prohibition against marrying *Ssenga's* husband as stipulated in the *Ekitabo Ky'Okusaba*, argue that the *kiganda* practice of marrying the deceased *Ssenga's* husband is *ekibi*. For instance, some of my informants said that the practice of marrying the deceased *Ssenga's* husband encourages *ekibi* of *obukaba* (lust) and *obwenzi* (adultery) in the families and it can therefore be the source of conflict in the communities.¹⁸ This points to the conflict and diversity in the process of integrating Christian teaching into the *kiganda* practice among the various groups of Christians in the Church of Uganda. It further suggests that the mode of dialogue and interpretation on this issue in the Church of Uganda sometimes depends on the group's attitude and interpretation of the *kiganda* and Christian teaching. For, as already noted, the *Bazuukufu's* teaching on this matter inclines more towards the early missionaries' teaching.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the teaching, practice and observance of *emizizo egy'obuko* (relational taboos) within the groups in the Church of Uganda represent a significant development in the process of integration of Christian and the *kiganda* values on marriage among the Baganda.

DEALING WITH OKUFA IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA; A LOOK AT THE PRACTICE OF OKWABYA OLUMBE

As we observed in chapter three, in the *kiganda* worldview, *okufa* (death) is *ekibi* which is most dreaded, an undesirable reality, yet one that most contemporary Baganda believe they must live with. This is why in most cases contemporary Baganda perform death rituals in the attempts to deal with *ekibi* of *okufa*.²⁰ The performance of the death rituals also underlines the *kiganda* belief that *okufa* is not annihilation, since in their worldview death is believed to be a transition into another life in the world of the living dead. This belief is also demonstrated and emphasised in the performance of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites).²¹ As already noted, the practice of *okwabya olumbe* ritual marks the end

¹⁸ Oral interview with R. Kuloba Nalubwama, Ddandira, 10.02.01; Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

¹⁹ See Chapter four, p. 141-142.

²⁰ See Chapter three, pp. 100-104.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-107.

of the mourning as the heir is installed and he/she takes on the responsibilities of the deceased. The rituals of *okwabya olumbe* are also intended to cleanse the community of the dangerous powers of *okufa*, to stop its attacks on the living. *Okwabya olumbe* rituals are also meant to settle the *omuzimu* (spirit) of the deceased in the spirits' world and to recreate stability between the world of the living and the dead.²²

Although death is dreaded among most contemporary Baganda communities, nevertheless we find that different groups of Christians in the Church of Uganda express a variety of attitudes towards it. It is on this aspect of Baganda life that we examine and assess the dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* by considering the teaching and practice among the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi*. First we consider *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) among the *Bakulisitaayo*.

OKWABYA OLUMBE (LAST FUNERAL RITES) AMONG THE BAKULISITAAYO

Among most *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians) *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) is one of the significant and valuable rituals.²³ Based on their *kiganda* teaching, many *Bakulisitaayo* believe that they ought to deal with the powers and effects of *okufa* (death) in order for life to continue harmoniously.²⁴ Therefore, they carry out the *kiganda* ceremonies of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites). Some of my informants said that it is *ekibi* for a person not to perform these ceremonies, as the spirit of the dead might cause misfortune and death among the living.²⁵ *Okwabya olumbe* rituals are therefore meant to enable the deceased to rest in the world of the living dead. Many *Bakulisitaayo* also cherish the practice of *okussaako omusika* (installing the heir) and value *obumu* (oneness/solidarity) which is expressed in these gatherings. They

²² Ibid., pp. 104-108.

²³ Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kitete Mukono, 14.02.01; Prof. L. Walusimbi, Makerere, 05.06.01; Dick Lubanga, Kisaala, 23.02.01; Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajijja, 23.02.01.

²⁴ Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01; Nandyose Betty, Kikooza Mukono, 13.02.01; Dick Lubanga, Kisaala, 23.02.01.

²⁵ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01; Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.200.

denounce *okusobya* (violation) and *okusosola* (segregation) perpetuated by some people especially some *Balokole* (Revivalists) who refuse to participate in these ceremonies.²⁶

Realising the significance of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) among some of the Christian communities, the Church of Uganda provides *Eby'okusaba ebyawufu* (Prayers for special occasions). This liturgy provides *ebigambo eby'okwabya ennyimbe z'Abakulisitaayo* (Prayers for the Christian's last funeral rites). The introduction to this liturgy states:

Ekkansa ya Kristo y'empisa yaayo okutukuza empisa ezikolebwa abantu nga bakyali mu bukaafiiri, eziyinda okutuuka n'okusembezebwa mu Bukulisitaayo. Mu Buganda, ekigambo ekikulu kye ky'ebika n'emiziro, okuviira ddala ku Kabaka. Okwabya ennyimbe kwe kusanyuka kw'ebika olw'okukungaanira awamu n'okulabagana n'okumanyagana, okumalawo ennaku ku bamulekwa ne nnamwandu, n'okugaba emigabo ng'okulaama bwe kuli okulongoosa ebirala. Kale kizibu okusuula empisa eyo; wabula okugitukuza ng'eddiini ya Kristo omusana gw'ensi egobamu eby'ensonyi n'eby'obuwemu n'eby'obukaba mu nnyimbe eziyitibwa ez'Abakulistaayo. (It is the tradition of the church to transform the customs which the people used to practice when they were still infidels and incorporate them into Christianity. In Buganda the clans and totems are important right from the Kabaka. Last funeral rites are significant for the clan mates to have fellowship and get to know each other, to end the mourning among the orphans and the widows and to implement the will. Therefore it is hard to discard such customs, but they are transformed and the light of Christ cleanses them of shameful and immoral practices).²⁷

In the *Eby'okusaba ebyawufu*, the Church of Uganda's teaching values some of the practices of *okwabya olumbe*, such as fellowship, ending mourning, and implementing the will. However, the church's teaching in this liturgy condemns the activities which are carried out at night or in the dark. Thus the liturgy goes on to state:

- *Mu bigambo by'empisa ez'obukulisitaayo, nga bakulemberwa omwawule oba omusomesa, Abakulisitaayo be nnyini be basaana okufuga ennyimbe z'Abakulisitaayo. Olwekyo empisa zonna ez'obukafiri tezikkirizibwa mu nnyimbe z'Abakulisitaayo. Ate Abakulisitaayo kibagwanira okwegendereza mu biraame*

²⁶ Oral interview with Lumu Mukono, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01. *Okwabya olumbe* was one of the contentious issues in the Church of Uganda during the 1940s. E. Kabuye, 'Okwabya ennyimbe z'Abakulisitaayo,' *Ebifa* March 1948, pp.61-63; E. N. Nsohya 'Okwabya ennyimbe z'Abakulisitaayo,' *Ebifa* April 1948, p. 88.

²⁷ *Eby'okusaba Ebyawufu*, p. 49. My translation.

byabwe byonna, baleme okwekuusa ku mpisa z'abakaafiiri (The last funeral rites of a Christian should be presided over by the church ministers and the Christians should be in charge of the whole ceremony. Therefore, all infidel rites should be avoided. When writing their wills, Christians should be careful not to include any infidel practice).

- *Ekiseera eky'okwabya olumbe kinaabangawo misana sso ssi kiro era ssi ku lunaku lwa Ssabbiiti.* (The last funeral rites of a Christian should be carried out during the day and it should not be done on Sunday).
- *Ekiseera nga kituuse okwabya olumbe, omukulu w'olumbe ategeezanga omukadde w'ekkanisa oba omuyigiriza ow'oku kyalo ekyo. Era omwawule oba omuyigiriza amulabulanga obutayiisa mwenge wabula omubisi oba ccaayi.* (At the set time of the last funeral rites, the head of the family should inform the church ministers. The ministers should warn the people against brewing and serving of alcohol, instead juice or tea should be served)²⁸

Though the liturgy does not state what is meant by the *empisa zonna ez'obukaafiiri* (infidel practices), discussions with some of the members who participated in the writing of the liturgy revealed that the *empisa zonna ez'obukaafiiri* refer to *okusamira* (divination), *okwalula abaana* (twin rituals), *okunywa omwenge* (taking alcohol), *okufulumya olumbe* (casting out death) and *eby'obuwemu* (immoral conduct). These practices are condemned as *ekibi* in which the Christians should not participate.²⁹ Thus the Church of Uganda warns the Christian: *Buli Mukulisitaayo asaanira okuyisa empisa ez'obukulisitaayo okutuusa okufa kubanga atakkiriza kufugibwa mpisa ezo aboolebwa oba agobwa mu Kkanisa,* (Every Christian should conduct him/herself as a Christian unto death and if a person fails to abide by this custom, he/she should be excommunicated).³⁰

The Church of Uganda's teaching in *Eby'okusaba Ebyawufu* (the book of prayer for special occasions) also acknowledges the value of the *kiganda* practices of *okussaako omusika* (installing the heir). Thus, the liturgy provides some prayers for the heir and

²⁸ *Eby'okusaba Ebyawufu*, pp. 49-50. My translation.

²⁹ Oral interview with Bishop Y. Mukasa, Mityana, 19. 06.01; Rev. Can. Kibuuka, Kazo, 23.05.01; Rev. Can. N. Kawesa, Namirembe, 20.06.01.

³⁰ *Eby'okusaba Ebyawufu*, p. 49. My translation.

also makes reference to biblical texts such as Gen 27:21-24,48:8-22; Josh 24:14-24; 1Thess 4:13-17.³¹ However, this liturgy does not give details on what ought to be done and it remains the duty of a minister in charge of the ceremony to choose what should be included or left out. On realising this loophole, the Namirembe Diocesan Council held on 7th May 1997 requested the liturgical committee to revise the liturgy for *okwabya olumbe lw'omukulisitaayo*. The report and proposed liturgy were compiled³² but they have not been put into practice as yet, possibly due to the conflicting ideas and attitudes on the practice of *okwabya olumbe* in the Church of Uganda.

Nevertheless considering the teaching in the *Eby'okusaba Ebyawufu* (the book of prayer for special occasions) we recognise that the church and some *Bakulisitaayo* see some parallels between the biblical teachings and interpretation on inheritance and the *kiganda* practices and values of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites). Some of my informants argued that Jesus Christ left his apostles to continue his ministry (Jn 21:15-18), while others referred to the Old Testament practice of inheritance, such as when Joshua inherited Moses' ministry (Josh 1:1-9).³³ This therefore suggests that the integration of some of the Church of Uganda's teachings and some of the *Bakulisitaayo* practices and procedures of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) is a significant step in the process of rooting Christian teaching among the Baganda.

On the other hand, the Church of Uganda's teachings on *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) is not appreciated by some of the *Bakulisitaayo* because it condemns some of the *kiganda* rituals such as *okusamira* (divination), *okwalula abaana* (twin rituals), *okunywa omwenge* (taking alcohol), and *okufulumya olumbe* (casting out death), which they consider to be valuable. Some of the *Bakulisitaayo* wish that the Christian teaching on *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) were all-embracing. Thus Dick Lubanga argues:

³¹ Ibid. My translation.

³² *Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddini ku nkola ey'okwabaya olumbe lw'omukulisitaayo*, (Report on the practice of last funeral rites among the Christians). The committee which compiled this report was chaired by Rev. Can. Nelson Kawesa.

³³ Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kitete Mukono, 14. 02. 01; Prof. L. Walusimbi, Makerere, 05.06.01.

Byonna bya Katonda, anti ye yatuwa eggwanga n'obuwangwa bwaffe ne byonna eby'okwabya ennyimbe, abasomi b'eddini be bagaana okukitegeera (Everything belongs to the creator, as he also gave us our nation, customs, even the practice of last funeral rites; the teachers of the faith are the ones who fail to understand this).³⁴

Consequently, in practice some *Bakulisitaayo* perform all the *kiganda* rituals in the night and in the morning before the church leaders come to do the Christian ceremony of installing the heir/heirress. For instance, during the ceremony of *okwabya olumbe* of the late Sebabi the Christian ceremony of blessing *omusika* was done after the performance *kiganda* rituals of installing the heir.³⁵ When the church leaders arrived, the clan leader presented the *omusika* (heir) who was already installed in the *kiganda* rituals.³⁶ The heir was dressed in *olubugo* (barkcloth), the *kiganda* dress meant to remind him of his heritage and of the new role in the family. This was followed by the prayers for blessing of the *omusika* and the *lubuga* (co-heir).

The prayers opened with a hymn. Then the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed were recited to affirm their belief. Then the family of the deceased was prayed for, and clan leaders so that they may responsibly care for the orphans and widows/widowers, and honestly implement the will of the deceased. This was followed by a sermon in which the heir was encouraged to take on his responsibility as a God-fearing person. The prayers ended with the blessing. After the prayer session, food was served and the church ministers left.³⁷ The people and family of the deceased then proceeded with other *kiganda* last funeral rituals.³⁸ In some cases, the *Bakulisitaayo* carry out only the *kiganda* rituals of *okwabya olumbe* and may not even invite the church ministers to participate in the ceremony.

³⁴ Oral interview with Dick Lubanga, Kisaala, 23.02.01.

³⁵ See appendix I, fig. M. The pictures of *okwabya olumbe* ceremony shows the parts led by the clan leader and that led by church leaders. Observed 28. 04. 01, Bugerere Mukono.

³⁶ See appendix I, fig. M.

³⁷ See appendix I, fig. N.

³⁸ See Chapter three, pp. 104-108.

On the whole, though the Church of Uganda acknowledges the value of *okwabya olumbe*, there are still some conflicts in so far as they insist on condemning some *kiganda* practices such as *okusamira* (divination), *okwalula abaana* (twin rituals), *okunywa omwenge* (taking alcohol), and *okufulumya olumbe* (casting out death) that are valuable to some of the *Bakulisitaayo*. Even the liturgies of *okwabya olumbe* provided by the Church of Uganda seem to be detached and alienated from most of the *Bakulisitaayo*'s needs, fears and worldview. This therefore highlights the challenges that face the church and *Bakulisitaayo* in the process of integrating the Christian and *kiganda* values and practices of dealing with *ekibi* of *okufa* (death) in the Church of Uganda. It further suggests the need for more dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian teaching on the practice of dealing with *okufa* (death) among contemporary *Bakulisitaayo*.

OKWABYA OLUMBE AMONG CONTEMPORARY MAINSTREAM BALOKOLE

Among most contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) some of the rituals of dealing with *okufa* (death) are also still considered significant and valuable.³⁹ However, some *kiganda* practices such as *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) which involve *okusamira* (divination), *okwalula abalongo* (twin rituals) and other practices are understood to be *ekibi*.⁴⁰ Unlike the early *Balokole*, who considered the whole ceremony as *ekibi*, contemporary mainstream *Balokole* value some of the *okwabya olumbe* practices.⁴¹ They prefer to have a Christian ceremony of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* (presenting or blessing the heir). For instance on this issue Mrs Kasozi explained:

Nze ngenda ku mikolo gya kusabira musika oba ennyimbe ez'eddiini ezitaliiko mikolo mibi ng'okusamira n'okwalula abalongo (I attend rituals of blessing the heir or Christian last funeral rites which do not include abhorrent practices such as divination and twin rituals).⁴²

³⁹ Oral interview with Rev. Can. Kibuuka, Kazo, 23.05.01; J. Walakira, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.

⁴⁰ Oral interview with F. Mutebi, Lweza 24.05.01.

⁴¹ As we readily observed the early *Balokole*'s attitudes were more inclined to the early missionaries' teachings which condemned most of the *kiganda* rituals of dealing with *ekibi*.

⁴² Oral interview with Alice Kasozi, Mukono Hill, 06.02.01; Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Parish, 23.05.01.

The rituals of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* (presenting or blessing the heir) are done in the belief that it is right to have someone to take up the responsibility of the deceased.⁴³ Most of the mainstream *Balokole* also see some parallels between *kiganda* and the Old or New Testament practices of inheritance and passing on responsibility to the living (Gen 48:8-22; Josh1: 1-15; Mk 12:7; Jn 2:5; Rom 8:17).⁴⁴

Among some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) the ceremony of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* (presenting or blessing the heir) can be done in the deceased's home or in church after farewell prayers for the deceased. The ceremony starts off by inviting a member of the clan to present *omusika* (the heir/heirress).⁴⁵ As in the *kiganda* practice, presenting the heir includes relating the lineage of the person so as to confirm that he/she belongs to the clan of the deceased. The heir/heirress is then blessed by a priest and is given a Bible to guide him/her in the new responsibility in the family and society.

Among some mainstream *Balokole* the *kiganda* practice of *okusumika* (dressing in barkcloth) is also done. This is mainly the duty of *omukulu w'ekika* (clan leader). On this the Rev. Can. Luzinda Kizito (now Bishop of Mukono Diocese) explained that the barkcloth is significant as it represents the *kiganda* heritage and symbolises the responsibility of the heir/heirress in the family.⁴⁶ Also in the report on *okwabya olumbe* compiled by a good number of contemporary mainstream *Balokole*, it is recorded:

Wano omukulu w'ekika oba omubaka we asumika omusika. Okusumika nga kuwedde omuweereza agamba nti: (The head of the clan or his assistant dresses the heir in barkcloth. Then the minister says the following:)

Omuweereza (minister): Mu linnya lya kitaffe n'omwana n'omwoyo omutukuvu. Ggundi ... ng'omaze okukakasibwa ab'ekika nti ggwe ozze mu bigere by'omugenzi ... okutwala mu maaso obuvunaanyizibwa obw'enjawulo, Mukama akulungambye ggwe era awamu ne Lubuga wo nga mutuukiriza ekyo.

⁴³ Oral interview with Rev. Kazimba, Mukono Hill, 09. 02.01.

⁴⁴ Oral interview with M. Luzinda, Mukono, 14.03.01; Rev. Can. Kibuuka, Kazo, 23.05.01.

⁴⁵ I observed the ceremony of *okusabira omusika* of the late B. Lwere at Buddo, 26.05. 01.

⁴⁶ Rev. Can Luzinda Kizito, Mukono, 21.06.01. In the *kiganda* practice they would also give the heir/heirress a spear as a symbol of authority and for protection. A basket and a gourd of beer would also signify their duty to feed the family. For more see Chapter three, p. 106.

Nkukwasa Bayibuli eno (amukwasa Bayibuli) ng'ekyokulwanyisa ekitasingika. Wakati mu ssanyu ne mu nnaku eneekulungamyanga. Era nkukwasa n'ekitabo kino eky'okusaba ne mu kutendereza Katonda wo. (In the name of the Father the Son and Holy Spirit. So and so ... as you have been confirmed by the clan as the heir of the deceased ... carry on the responsibility entrusted to you, and may the Lord guide you and your co-heir. I give you this Bible (hands him/her the Bible) as the most powerful weapon; it will guide you in times of joy and sorrow. I also give you this prayer book to use in prayer and praise of your Creator).⁴⁷

This can be seen in the ceremony of the blessing of the late Mrs Bugimbi's heiress.⁴⁸ The heiress was given a Bible to guide her in her new responsibility. Therefore, based on the *kiganda* and Christian teachings, the barkcloth, Bible, and prayer book symbolise authority, protection and responsibility. It should however be noted that sometimes the items used in the rituals may not be uniform. Some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* use the Bible and prayer book while some others may include the barkcloth. Unlike the *kiganda* practice where the heir/heiress is given *effumu* (spear) or *akambe* (knife) as the key symbols of authority and protection, among the mainstream *Balokole* the Bible and prayer book are the main symbols of authority, protection and responsibility. These rituals are followed with a sermon or words of encouragement admonishing the heir/heiress to take on the duties of the deceased, following the example of those who died believing in Jesus Christ. The ceremony concludes with blessings.⁴⁹

Some mainstream *Balokole* carry out the ceremony of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* (presenting or blessing the heir) immediately after the burial. Once the heir is presented and blessed, some food is served and there is time for the people to interact. The young members of the family are also introduced to each other and to some of the elders. As in their *kiganda* practice, such introductions are valued for helping to prevent *ebivve* (abomination) of choosing their relatives as partners for marriage.⁵⁰ After sharing the meal they then depart. This practice helps the mainstream *Balokole* to avoid any of the

⁴⁷ *Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddini ku nkola ey'okwabya olumbe lw'omukulisitaayo*, (Report on the practice of last funeral rites among the Christians), p. 4. My translation.

⁴⁸ See appendix I, fig. O.

⁴⁹ See the picture of the presenting and blessing of the heiress of the Late Mrs Bugimbi, who was a *Mulokole* belonging to the mainstream group, appendix I, fig. O.

⁵⁰ Oral interview with Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Parish, 23.05.01.

kiganda activities such as *okusamira* (divination), *okwalula abalongo* (twin rituals) and other practices which they consider to be *ekibi* and usually performed at night. They believe that they are people of the light and everything is done in daylight.⁵¹

As we have already noted, the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* believe that the practice of *okulaga/okusabira omusika* is in harmony with Jesus' practice of passing on responsibility to his followers (Mk 12:7; Jn 2:5) and is also based on their interpretation of the biblical texts on inheritance (Gen 48:8-22; Josh 1:1-15; Rom 8:17). Therefore, in the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* practice of *okulaga/okusabira omusika* we see the integration of Christian teaching into *kiganda* practices. The integration is mainly seen in the value the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* attach to their *kiganda* belief of passing on responsibility to their heirs. Unlike the *kiganda* worldview, where the dead are believed to remain in the spirit world, they teach that the rituals of *okulaga/okusabira omusika* should be a ceremony that points to the victory of Christ over death. Therefore, the ceremony should emphasise the Christian's hope in the resurrection of the dead.⁵²

On the other hand, the mainstream *Balokole* practice of *okulaga/okusabira omusika* (presenting or blessing the heir) before the burial conflicts with the *kiganda* teaching and ideas of *ekibi*. This is because in the *kiganda* teaching it is *ekibi* to install an heir before the deceased is buried.⁵³ Also, mourning after installing the heir is *okusobya* (violation), which can cause the spirit of the dead to attack and harm the family.⁵⁴ These issues place the mainstream *Balokole* in conflict with some contemporary Baganda who detest such violation of the *kiganda* customs. This points to the need for more dialogue and consideration of this *kiganda* value.

⁵¹ Oral interview with Rev. Can. J. Matovu, Mukono Hill, 02.02. 01; Rev. Luwalira Kityo, Namirembe, 20.06.01.

⁵² *Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddiini ku nkola ey'okwabya olumbe lw'omukulisitaayo*, (Report on the practice of last funeral rites among the Christians), p. 1.

⁵³ Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguju Mukono, 30.01.01.

⁵⁴ Oral interview with E. Lumu, Kawuga Mukono, 03.02.01.

Nevertheless, the mainstream *Balokole* have continued with their practice, as the acceptable practice for 'saved' people. Their mode of *okulaga/okusabira omusika* (presenting or blessing the heir) on the day of burial has also gained popularity in the pressing economic situation in Uganda because it saves money and time.⁵⁵ In this way the mainstream *Balokole*'s teaching has contributed to transforming the *kiganda* practice of *okwabya olumbe* in light of the changing social and economic situation.

THE BAZUUKUFU'S TEACHING ON OKWABYA OLUMBE

Among the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) *okufa* (death) is not *ekibi* as it is according to *kiganda* teaching. As already observed, among the *Bazuukufu* death is understood to be part of the journey from earth into heaven.⁵⁶ For this reason the death of a *muzuukufu*⁵⁷ is celebrated with praise and thanksgiving to the Lord God who led that brother or sister through the earthly life into heaven.⁵⁸ Because the *Bazuukufu* do not believe in the *kiganda* ideas of *okufa*, they do not install heirs on their death. For instance, in his will Yona Mmondo stated:

Abalokole be baliba n'obuyinza ku mulambo gwange. Kubanga njagala erinnya lya Katonda ligulumizibwe. Teweliba kwabya lumbe. Okwabya olumbe muzizo. Kyawandiikibwa nti abakola eby'emizizo tebaliyingira mu bwa kabaka bwa Katonda (Kub 21:27). Tewelibaawo musika, nze sifudde ndi mulamu, omulamu tasikirwa. Nze ngenze mu ggulu (The brethren will take care of my body, because I want the name of the Lord to be glorified. There will be no last funeral rites, because it is taboo. It is written that the people who perform such ritual taboos will not enter the kingdom of God (Rev 21:27). I will not have any heir, I will not have died, I will still be living, a living person does not need an heir. I will have gone to heaven.⁵⁹

Based on their interpretation of biblical texts such as Rev 21:27 and Jn 11:1-54, the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) believe that the people who die confessing Jesus Christ

⁵⁵ Oral interview with J. Nakalawa, Mukono, 09.05.01; Alice Kasozi, Mukono, 06.02.01.

⁵⁶ See Chapter five, pp. 206-207, 209.

⁵⁷ Singular of *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened).

⁵⁸ Oral interview with Kezekiya Joloba, Kigoowa, 26.06.01.

⁵⁹ *Okudda Obuggya*, p. 140. My translation. The quotation shows the problem of literal translation of the scripture and issues which arise out of the process of translating scripture from English into *Luganda*. Here 'abomination' (*ekivve*) was translated *muzizo* (taboo). These are some of the issues we discussed in Chapter five.

continue a new life in heaven.⁶⁰ Therefore, ‘*omulamu tasikirwa*’ (a living person should not have an heir).⁶¹ They do not need to have heirs on earth since the *Bazuukufu* believe that they just pass from the world into heaven.⁶² The *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters) help to implement the will, and the relatives of the deceased who are not *Bazuukufu* are not involved.

In the *Bazuukufu*’s teaching about *okufa* we see a strong belief in life after death which arises both out of the *kiganda* ideas of continuing life in the world of the living dead and their interpretation of biblical teaching on the resurrection of the dead (Jn 11:1-54).⁶³ However, the *Bazuukufu*’s teaching based on their interpretation of the Bible differs from the *kiganda* ideas, as they emphasise celebrating death with the hope of continuing life with Jesus Christ in heaven. For the *Bazuukufu*, *ekibi* of *okufa* does not prevail, since through their belief in Jesus Christ the risen Lord they receive *obulamu* (life) *obutaggwaawo* (eternal life) both on earth and in heaven (Rom 5:21; 5:19).⁶⁴

On the whole, though the *Bazuukufu*’s teaching based on their interpretation of some biblical texts and overlooks some of the values of *kiganda* teachings, it illuminates the practices of dealing with *okufa* among the Baganda. This is mainly seen in their practice of celebrating death with joy. This further points to the need for more dialogue on such doctrines in order for the gospel teaching on death and resurrection to become rooted among the Baganda.

⁶⁰ See Chapter five, p. 209.

⁶¹ Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

⁶² Oral interview with C. Mukasa, Bweya, 21.07.01; Keezekiya Joloba, Kigowa, 26.06.01.

⁶³ See Chapter five, p. 209.

⁶⁴ Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.

OKULUMBIBWA EMIZIMU EMIBI (ATTACKS FROM MALEVOLENT SPIRITS) IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA

THE BAKULISITAAYO IDEAS ON OKULUMBIBWA EMIZIMU EMIBI (ATTACKS FROM MALEVOLENT SPIRITS)

Okulumbibwa emizimu emibi (attacks from malevolent spirits) are among the most dreaded *ekibi* among many contemporary Baganda. The beliefs in the attacks of *emizimu emibi* are also found among some of the Christian groups in the Church of Uganda, in both urban and rural areas. As already observed, the idea of *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* is rooted in the *kiganda* belief in the existence of a spirit world comprising *balubaale* (divinities), *emizimu* (the living dead) and *emisambwa*⁶⁵ (tutelary spirits). These spirits are believed to be both benevolent and malevolent. The malevolent spirits may be offended by the living, or they may be strangers to the world of the living who are out to harm the living. The malevolent spirits are sometimes believed to cause afflictions such as *obugumba* (barrenness), *omukisa omubi* (misfortunes) and *obulwadde* (illness). For this reason, the malevolent spirits are abhorred, as they are a threat to life and the wellbeing of communities.⁶⁶

Some contemporary Baganda take preventive or protective and curative measures against the *emizimu emibi*. In most cases the people who suffer from such attacks use herbs or go to *abasawo* (healers) to get protective medicine or *okwetangira*. In some cases the elders and *abasawo* (healers) may advise the afflicted person to *okussaddaaka* (sacrifice) an animal or bird in order to appease the *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirit) which may be causing the afflictions. *Okulumbibwa emizimu* therefore not only afflict individuals and communities but also drain the economic resources, thus causing misery and threatening the entire wellbeing of the communities especially in contemporary society.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *Emisambwa* is the plural form of the noun *omusambwa*.

⁶⁶ See Chapter three, pp. 94-98.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-99.

In spite of the threats of *okulumbibwa emizimu* among many contemporary Baganda communities and even among some Christians, the Church of Uganda, as already observed, has continued to preach against the *kiganda* practices of dealing with *emizimu emibi* such as *okusamira n'okulagulwa* (divination and consulting spirits) as *ekibi*.⁶⁸ This is because according to the Church of Uganda teaching and interpretation of the Old Testament law, *okusamira* (divination) is understood to be a rejection of *Katonda* (the creator) or idolatry (Exod 20: 3-4), and *eky'omuzizo eri Mukama* (an abomination before the Lord) (Deut 18:9-14).⁶⁹ The church's teaching against *okusamira* as worship of *emizimu* (spirits), *Ssetaani* (Satan) and 'heathenism' strengthens this idea of *ekibi*.⁷⁰

For instance, responding to the practices of *okusamira* (divination) among some of the Christians in the Church of Uganda, the Diocese of Namirembe produced a report on the *Bakulisitaayo abasamira* (Christians who engage in divination), which emphasised the following issues:

- ***Okunyweza enkola y'obulabirizi ku Bakulisitaayo abasamira (Re-affirming the policy of the diocese on the Christians who practise divination).***
Olukiiko lw'eddiini lwongerera okunyweza enkola y'obulabirizi eyayisibwa edda obutaziika mukulisitaayo eyalabulwa naye n'alemera mu busamize. Omusamize y'oyo alina essabo ate n'oyo atalirina naye nga yenyigira mu by'okusamira n'okulagulwa (The committee re-affirms the policy of the diocese not to bury a Christian who was warned and continued to practise divination and consulting spirits. This applies to any person who owns a shrine and the person who engages in divination and such consultations).
- ***Omukulisitaayo omusamize okugattibwa mu bufumbo obutukuvu oba okussibwako emikono (Marriage and confirmation of a Christian who practices divination)***
Ebirayiro by'obufumbo obutukuvu ne by'okussibwako emikono bikwata ku kukkiriza obuyinza n'amaanyi ga Katonda omulamu, omusamize ye kyatakkiriza. N'olw'ekyo olukiiko lw'eddiini lusemba nti omukulisitaayo omusamize bw'anaayagalanga okugattibwa mu bufumbo obutukuvu oba okussibwako emikono, anaamalanga

⁶⁸ The Church of Uganda gives this teaching in *Katekismu Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri* (the first and second catechism), p 4. This teaching follows the early CMS teachers' denunciation of *okusamira*. L. S. Fahs, *Uganda's White Man of Work*, p. 102; R. P. Ashe, 'Uganda Past and Present', p. 481.

⁶⁹ Chapter five, pp. 175- 176.

⁷⁰ This teaching goes back to early CMS teachers' denunciation of *okusamira*. L. S. Fahs, *Uganda's White Man of Work*, p. 102; R. P. Ashe, 'Uganda Past and Present,' p. 481.

okusalawo okuva mu busamize era n'okuyigirizibwa obulungi ennyo ebikwata ku kukkiriza Katonda (The vows of marriage and confirmation are about acknowledging the power of the living God, which a Christian who practises divination does not believe in. Therefore, this committee has decreed that if a Christian who practises divination wishes to be married in holy matrimony or confirmed, he/she should first give up divination and thoroughly be taught the belief in God.

- ***Abantu b'omu maka g'omusamize* (The family of a Christian who practises divination)**

Bwekinaazuulibwanga nga waliwo omukulisitaayo abeera mu maka g'omusamize naye ye nga teyenyigira mu bya kusamira, anaakkirizibwanga okussibwako emikono, okugattibwa mu bufumbo obutukuvu oba okuziikibwanga ng'omukulisitaayo bw'aba affude (Any Christian who comes from a diviner's family but does not practise divination should be allowed to be wedded in holy matrimony and be confirmed).

- ***Omukulisitaayo omusamize okudduukirira ekkansa* (A Christian who practises divination and church contribution)**

Omukulisitaayo omusamize bw'anaawangayo ensimbi oba ekintu ekikalu okudduukirira emirimu gy'ekansa, tekigaanibwanga. Kyokka buli kiseera abaweereza n'abakulisitaayo banne banamulabulanga ku kiki ekiyinza okuddirira singa afiira mu busamize nga teyenyeyezza (If a Christian who practises divination offers any money or anything to support the work of the church it should be accepted. However, the ministers and his/her fellow Christians should continue to warn him/her about the consequences of dying before he repents of divination).⁷¹

Despite the Church of Uganda's teachings, warnings and punitive measures against divination, some of the *Bakulisitaayo* have continued the practice of *okusamira*.

With the belief in the attacks of *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) and other life-threatening forces, some desperate *Bakulisitaayo* secretly turn to *abasamize* (diviners) in an attempt to deal with the threat of *ekibi*.⁷²

⁷¹ The committee which compiled this report was chaired by Rev. Can. N. Kaweesa, *Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddiini ku nkola y'obulabirizi ku Bakulisitaayo abasamira*, 28.10.1998. My translation. This is the position of all the Dioceses in Buganda. *Olukiiko lwa Bassabadinkoni* (Archdeacons/staff meeting which is the executive committee of Mukono Diocese), Mukono Diocese, 14.01.93, Min. 4/93; Oral Interview with Bishop W. Mutebi, Mityana Diocese, 26.06.01.

⁷² Oral interview with Olivia Nambaale, Kiteete Mukono, 14.02.01; Nandyose Betty, Kikooza Mukono, 13.02.01; Kalooli Nanyanzi, Buguju Mukono, 03.02.01. Also Chapter four, pp. 118.

DEALING WITH ATTACKS OF *EMIZIMU EMIBI* AMONG THE MAINSTREAM *BALOKOLE*

Considering the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) teaching and practice, we see that some members acknowledge the threats and dangers of *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi*. Unlike the early mainstream *Balokole* and the *Bazuukufu*, who dismissed such beliefs as superstitions and *ekibi*, some of the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* have attempted to deal with the problem of *emizimu emibi*. For instance, some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* have embraced practical forms of dealing with *ekibi* such as *eddogo* (sorcery), *obulwadde* (illnesses), *okulumbibwa emizimu* (attacks from malevolent spirits), and *omukisa omubi* (misfortunes).⁷³ This change was also a response to the challenge of the exodus of young people and women from the Church of Uganda into African and American-originated charismatic and Pentecostal churches. Some of the young people left claiming that there was no power/spirit of God in the Church of Uganda worship. Such issues were especially the concerns of the late Bishop Kawuma of Namirembe and Bishop Nkoyooyo (now Archbishop) during the 1980s.⁷⁴

Today some members of the *Balokole* mainstream movement are involved in praying, healing, exorcism and deliverance of people from all sorts of afflictions. For instance, there was a case of a church minister who claimed to be attacked by *emizimu emibi* and *eddogo* (sorcery) and a group of lay Christians and bishops went, prayed and carried out exorcism.⁷⁵ Bishop Mutebi and Bishop Bugimbi are also known for their belief in the power of prayer and practices of exorcism. Bishops Mutebi and Bugimbi even prayed and exorcised some students in Mityana Secondary School who claimed to be attacked

⁷³ Oral interview with Bishop W. Mutebi, 26.06.01; Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01. It should, however, be noted that practical services such as hospitals, schools and projects for generating income, have been provided since the time of early missionaries in the Church of Uganda.

⁷⁴ *Lipoota y'akakiiko akanoonyereza ku nsonga ezisengudde Abakulisitaayo mu Kkanisa ya Uganda* (report on the reason for the exodus of Christians from the Church of Uganda). Compiled by a committee chaired by Rev. Can Yusuufu Tubomwe (1989). Namirembe Diocesan Council, 22-24.08.1989, Min 2/89(10).

⁷⁵ H. Kiyaga, *Omulabirizi weebale kutuwonya byawongo* (Thank you Bishop for saving us from the powers of malevolent spirits), *Bukkede*, 05.03.01. Also oral interview with Mrs B. I. Namatovu, Kibuye, 14.05.01; Rev. E. Ssekyaya, Kibiri, 16.02.01, who participated in the deliverance session.

by *emizimu emibi*.⁷⁶ On this issue Bishop Mutebi argues that the Church of Uganda should not deny the existence of *emizimu emibi* in the world, which the *kiganda* teaching emphasises. Even Jesus Christ battled and overpowered *emizimu emibi* all through his earthly ministry.⁷⁷ At the Church of Uganda clergy conference in Mukono Nakanyonyi, (16th February 2001), he explained:

Njagala mukakase nti Dayimooni n'ebintu ebirala ebikozesebwa Ssetaani, Yesu bimumanyi bwalina amaanyi agasobola okubisanyaawo era bimutya (Mak 5:6-8)...Abatume era naffe ffenna abaweereza mu Kkanisa Yesu yatuwa obuyinza okugoba Dayimooni na buli kintu kyonna ekikozesebwa amaanyi ga Ssetaani (Mak 6:7). (I would like you to understand that the demons and all those who use the power of Satan know that Jesus has power to overcome them and they indeed fear Him (Mk 5:6-8)...The apostles and all the servants of Jesus in the church were given authority to cast out demons and every being that uses the power of Satan (Mk 6:7)⁷⁸

In this teaching we see the integration of the Christian ideas of *dayimooni* (demons) and *Ssetaani* (Satan) with the *kiganda* ideas of *emizimu emibi*. As already observed, some of the contemporary mainstream *Balokole*, basing their ideas on the interpretation of biblical texts, see a lot of similarities between Jesus' practices of exorcism (Mt 17:14-21 and Lk 9:37-43a, Mk 9:14-29) and the *kiganda* practice of *okugoba emizimu emibi* (casting out unclean spirits).⁷⁹

However, unlike in the *kiganda* practice, where some people perform the rituals of *okulagula* (foreseeing), *obulogo* (sorcery), *okusamira* (divination), *okuba emmandwa* (mediumship) and *okwebuuzza ku bafu* (necromancy) in order to deal with *emizimu emibi*, some of the mainstream *Balokole* pray and exorcise the spirits in the name of Jesus Christ. They abhor the *kiganda* practices *okusamira* (divination), *okuba emmandwa* (mediumship) and *okwebuuzza ku bafu* (necromancy), as they were

⁷⁶ Reported at *Olukiiko lwa Bassabadikoni*, Mukono Diocese, 18.08.97, Min 2/8/97.

⁷⁷ W. Mutebi, *Okusoomooza kw'eddiini Enkyamu n'okulumbibwa Emizimu* (The Challenges of Cults and Spirit Possession) presented at Mukono Nakanyonyi Clergy Conference, 16th February 2001, p.18.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17. My translation.

⁷⁹ See Chapter five, pp. 203-204.

condemned in the Old Testament (Exod 22:18; 2Kings 17:18; Jer 7:32-34).⁸⁰ The contemporary mainstream *Balokole* also believe that such *kiganda* practices are life-diminishing and challenge the sovereignty of God among his people.⁸¹

It is against that background that some of the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* wage war against the attacks of *emizimu emibi*. They believe that *amaanyi ga Yesu gasinga emizimu ne Ssetaani* (Jesus' power is over and above all the powers of the malevolent spirits and Satan).⁸² Thus Bishop Mutebi listed the following incidents in which the power of God overcame *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) and their effects on the people in his Diocese:

- *Omukyala omugumba eyafuna olubuto oluvannyuma lw'okusaba* (a barren woman conceived after being prayed for).
- *Amayembe Yesu yagagoba mu Busumba bwonna obwe Kitonzi* (Jesus overpowered the mystical powers in Kitonzi parish).
- *Obulwadde obwagwa mu Mityana Secondary School emyaka ng'esatu egiyise Yesu ya buwonya* (Jesus overcame the illness and spirit attacks among students in Mityana Secondary School three years ago).
- *Omuzimu ogwagwira omwana ng'akola ebibuuzo ebya 'A'Level* (The spirit that attacked a student as he was writing his 'A' Level examinations was also exorcised).
- *Omuzimu ogwali ku mwana mu ddwaliro na gwo gwa gobwa* (The spirit which had possessed a child who was in hospital was also exorcised).⁸³

On another occasion, Edisa narrated to me how Jesus delivered her baby from the attack of *omuzimu omubi* (malevolent spirit) which was sent by her husband's relatives. She said that one time when she was pregnant she found a snake on her bed and she killed it.

⁸⁰ See Chapter five, pp. 181-183. Oral interview with Rev. Kazimba (Vicar Mukono Cathedral), Mukono Hill, 09.02.01; Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01.

⁸¹ Some of the mainstream *Balokole* detest the practices of *abasamize* (diviners) mainly because they exploit their clients. Some of my informants reported cases of *abasamize* who rape, abuse of young women, even practice *okussaddaaka abantu* (human sacrifice). Oral interview Ruth Nakityo, Kikooza Mukono, 13.02.01; Evelyn Ndagire, Mulago Zone Mukono, 13.02.01.

⁸² Oral interview with Rev. Kazimba (Vicar Mukono Cathedral), Mukono Hill, 09.02.01; Bishop W. Mutebi, Mityana Diocese, 26.06.01; Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01.

⁸³ W. Mutebi, *Okusoomooza kw'eddiini Enkyamu n'okulumbibwa Emizimu* (The Challenges of Cults and Spirit Possession) presented at Mukono Nakanyonyi Clergy Conference, 16th February 01, p. 18. My translation.

When her father-in-law heard about it, he invited her to go and perform some cleansing rituals and Edisa refused. When Edisa refused to do the rituals, her father-in-law threatened that she would have to face the wrath of the family spirits. When Edisa gave birth her baby's skin was patched like that of the snake she killed. The baby was also sickly and was not growing. However, Edisa took the baby to *Abooluganda* (brothers and sisters). They prayed in Jesus' name, the *omuzimu omubi* was exorcised and the baby was healed.⁸⁴

In these *bujulirwa* (testimonies) about the power of Jesus over *emizimu emibi* among the contemporary mainstream *Balokole*, we see some harmony between the gospel teaching and practices of exorcism, and the *kiganda* practice of dealing with *emizimu emibi*. As in the *kiganda* worldview and among the first-century Jewish communities, the mainstream *Balokole* believe in the existence and attacks of malevolent/unclean spirits which are a threat to the wellbeing of humans. However, they believe that these threats can be overcome by the power of Jesus Christ the Son of God.⁸⁵ Therefore, the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* experiences of the power and authority of Jesus can be perceived not only as the re-enactment of Jesus' healing and exorcism ministry in the gospels but also as a means of utilising the *kiganda* values of healing in their evolving context.⁸⁶ Consequently, in this teaching we see the integration of the Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *emizimu emibi*. This suggests that the integration of *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* has enabled the contemporary mainstream *Balokole* to take a step towards rooting the gospel of Christ in the Church of Uganda.

⁸⁴ Oral interview with Edisa Sabwe Mutebi, Mengo Kisenyi, 23.05.01.

⁸⁵ See Chapter five, pp. 203-204.

⁸⁶ Mk 9:14-29; Mt 17:14-21; Lk 9:37-43a.

DEALING WITH *EMIZIMU EMIBI* AMONG THE *BEEGAYIRIZI*

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) is another group in the Church of Uganda whose approach to dealing with *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) is worth considering. As in the *kiganda* worldview, the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) believe in the existence of *emizimu emibi* which can attack humans and cause *ennaku* (misery), *omukisa omubi* (misfortune), *obulwadde* (sickness) and *okufa* (death). However, unlike in the *kiganda* worldview, when faced with the attack of *emizimu emibi* the *Beegayirizi* do not consult *abasawo*, they instead present their problems through prayers to Jesus Christ.⁸⁷ The *Beegayirizi* believe that through prayers all *emibi* and threats to life are dealt with in the power of Jesus Christ who died on the cross and overcame all life-threatening forces as he rose from the dead. This is why they call themselves Jesus Christ's *Beegayirizi abalwanyani* (prayer warriors).⁸⁸

The *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) believe that *omukkiriza mulwanyani obulamu bwe bwonna ebbanga lyonna. Omukkiriza mulwanyani wa Kristo (2Tim 2:3; 1Tim 6:12; Zab 144:1). Bwe tukkiriza Kristo twegatta naye okulwana era n'okuwangula obufuzi bw'ekizikiza mu nsi (1Yok 3:8; 5:4). Okusaba kw'omukkiriza kya kulwanyisa (Bef 6:13, 18; Luk 18: 1-7; Dan 6:10; Bik 12:5, 7). Olwekyo alina okukozesa bulijjo mu bulamu bwe obw'okukkiriza, (The believer is always a warrior of Jesus Christ (2Tim 2:3; 1Tim 6:12; Ps 114:1). When we believe Jesus we join him in fighting and overcoming the rule of darkness in the world (1Jn 3:8, 5:4). The prayer of a believer is a weapon (Eph 6:13, 18; Lk 18:1-7; Dan 6:10; Act 12:5, 7), therefore he/she always has to use it in his/her day-to-day life as a believer).⁸⁹ For instance, Nansubuga told me that she was once attacked by *omuzimu omubi* which appeared in images of dark cows and other things and she fell ill.*

⁸⁷ Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.00; Rev. Latimar Muwanguzi, Mukono, 05.02.01; Patrick Ssebuufu, Katuuso, 30.05.01.

⁸⁸ Oral interview with Rev. Latimar Muwanguzi, Mukono, 05.02.01. Also *Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkanisa Etanyiikirira Kusaba* (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* Tract.

⁸⁹ *Lwaki Ekkanisa Esaanye Okunyiikirira Obuweereza Bw'okusaba* (Why the church should be committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract. My translation.

However, when the *Beegayirizi* prayed for her the malevolent spirit left her and she got well.⁹⁰

The *Beegayirizi*'s belief in the efficacy of prayer and interceding against *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) and such life-threatening forces is further articulated in the following song:

Naatuulanga wansi w'omusalaba (I will sit near the cross)
wansi w'omusalaba gwa Yesu (by the cross of Jesus)
abalabe ne bwe balinnumba (even when my enemies attack me)
ndi bawangula ngali nange (I will overcome them because he is with me).

Sitye nga sitye nga (I will not fear) x3
nze ndi bawangula nga Yesu ali nange (I will overcome them because Jesus is with me).

Endwadde, ne bwe zirinnumba (even if sickness attacks me)...
Obwavu ne bwe buli nnumba (even if poverty attacks me)...
Emizimu ne bwe ginnumba (even if spirits attack me)...⁹¹

In their belief and practice, the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) teach that through prayer Jesus Christ enables them to *okuwangula* (overcome/overpower) the attacks of the malevolent spirits. Thus *Beegayirizi* teach:

Omukkiriza alwana olutalo naye ng'omulabe yawangulwa dda Yesu Kristo. Ate oyo eyawangula ye ali mu bakkiriza –1Yok 4:4 (a believer is a warrior who fights with the belief that the enemy was overcome by Jesus Christ and that he who triumphed is with the believers -1Jn 4:4).⁹²

The *Beegayirizi*, therefore, believe that through praying in the name of Jesus Christ, the believers become victors over the attacks of *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits). Therefore, in this teaching we see the integration of the Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *emizimu emibi* and belief in *okugoba emizimu* (exorcism) as the means of maintaining the wellbeing of humanity and restoring *obulamu* (life). However, this does not mean that the *Beegayirizi* consciously acknowledge and utilise the *kiganda* values of dealing

⁹⁰ Oral interview with Nansubuga Miriam, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01.

⁹¹ This song is sometimes sung in the main services in Mukono cathedral during intercession time. My translation.

⁹² *Omukkiriza Mulwany* (A believer is a warrior) *Beegayirizi* tract. My translation.

with *ekibi*. Rather, the *Beegayirizi*'s teaching and practice provides some answers to the spiritual and physical needs of some Baganda Christians which the *kiganda* practices originally served.

As already noted the *Beegayirizi* also believe that *omusaayi gwa Yesu gumala okutangirira amalogo n'emizimu emibi* (the blood of Jesus has power to atone for sorcery power and malevolent spirits).⁹³ For this reason when they are confronted with the threats of *emizimu emibi* they do not consult *abasamize* (diviners) or *abasawo* (healers) like those who hold the *kiganda* worldview. They instead call upon Jesus Christ to deal with the attacks of *ekibi*. In the *Beegayirizi* conception and belief, as Namutebi puts it, *Yesu ye musawo asinga era amaanyi ge gasinga ag'emizimu gyonna* (Jesus is the greatest healer and his power is above all the spirit forces). With this conception the *Beegayirizi*, like some contemporary mainstream *Balokole*, not only see in Jesus the *kiganda* value of *obusawo* (healing) but also recognise him as the greatest healer whose power is above that of other healers. Jesus is the healer who gives them life in abundance (Jn 10:10). He is the priest and the "healer of healers"⁹⁴ who gives life. Unlike some contemporary Baganda healers who abuse their skills by engaging in life-threatening practices such as *okussaddaaka abantu* (sacrificing humans), *obulogo* (sorcery) and practices which perpetuate injustice in society, Jesus bestows *obulamu* (life) on his people. Therefore, in the *Beegayirizi* practice we see the integration of the *kiganda* and the Christian values of healing.

Furthermore, as in the *kiganda* belief, the *Beegayirizi* believe in *ssaddaaka* (sacrifice) as significant for atoning and cleansing *ekibi*. However, unlike in *kiganda* practice, they do not sacrifice animals and birds to deal with *ekibi*, as they believe in the efficacy of the one final sacrifice of Jesus Christ the Son of God on the cross.⁹⁵ The benefits of Jesus'

⁹³ Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01.

⁹⁴ B. Bujo, *African Theology in its Social Context*, pp. 85-86; D. Waruta, 'Who is Jesus in Africa Today,' in R. Schreiter, *Faces of Jesus in Africa*, SCM London 1992, pp. 62-63. Kofi Appia-Kubia et al., *African Theology en route*, New York Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1979, pp. 83-84.

⁹⁵ See Chapter five, p. 201.

sacrifice are received through believing and praying to Jesus Christ. Thus Rev. Batte teaches *omusaayi gwa Yesu gumenya ebikoligo byonna ebitusiba eby'emizimu gye waffe egitusiba*⁹⁶ (The blood of Jesus breaks the yoke which the malevolent spirits bind on us). The *Beegayirizi* also believe that even people with *omwoyo w'okugaanibwa* (spirits which cause people to be rejected or hated in society) caused by malevolent spirits in the family can be delivered.⁹⁷ The *Beegayirizi* believe that Jesus has power over all life-threatening forces; that is why they present all their *ebibi* to Jesus Christ, who conquered and overpowered *ekibi* by his death on the cross and resurrection.

As we already noted, in their ritual practice of dealing with *emizimu emibi*, the *Beegayirizi* not only pray, but also use physical materials such as oil or water in the processes of healing.⁹⁸ They use blessed water or oil to anoint the forehead of the afflicted, or it is used to make the sign of the cross on the forehead. This is meant to drive away the malevolent spirits. Blessed water is sometimes sprinkled on the patient, or it is drunk as medicine to heal illness.⁹⁹ Water is also used in blessing or driving away *emizimu emibi* from homes and business premises.¹⁰⁰

In cases where the *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits) are stubborn, the prayer leaders celebrate and receive Holy Communion as a means of being refilled with the power of God to cast out the evil spirits.¹⁰¹ Holy Communion symbolises the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which overcomes all the powers of *emizimu emibi*. In this way Holy Communion represents Jesus' sacrifice which atones for *ekibi*. Therefore, the *Beegayirizi* do not need to carry out the *kiganda* practices of sacrificing animals and birds to appease the malevolent spirits, since they believe that Jesus' single and final

⁹⁶ Rev. J. Batte's sermon given at prayer meeting at St Dunstan Church Mukono, 19.07.01.

⁹⁷ Oral interview with Grace Nalugo, Katuuso, 30.05.01.

⁹⁸ See Chapter four, pp.160-161.

⁹⁹ Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01.

¹⁰⁰ Oral interview with Rev. Latimar Muwanguzi, Mukono, 05.02.01; Patrick Ssebuufu, Katuuso, 30.05.01.

¹⁰¹ Oral interview with C. Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01.

sacrifice atones and delivers the believers from the attacks of *emizimu emibi*.¹⁰² Thus among the *Beegayirizi* celebration of Holy Communion is understood to be a re-enactment of Jesus' sacrifice which atones for the *ekibi* and overcomes the powers of *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits). The vicarious atonement is ever powerful and is enough to expiate *ekibi* which afflict humans.¹⁰³ This therefore suggests that to some extent the appropriation and integration of the gospel teaching on the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ into *kiganda* values of *ssaddaaka* (sacrifice) and *obusawo* (healing) underlie the *Beegayirizi* concepts of dealing with *ekibi* of *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* (attacks from malevolent spirits). It can therefore be argued that to some extent the *kiganda* ideas of dealing with *ekibi* provide the framework for the *Beegayirizi's* (Intercessors) practices of healing and deliverance.

On the whole, the *Beegayirizi's* teaching and practice on dealing with *ekibi* of *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* highlight the value of dialogue and integration of the Christian and the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. Like the teaching of the other groups in the Church of Uganda, the *Beegayirizi's* teachings are a strong force for rooting the Christian faith among the people, and have contributed to the processes of incarnating the gospel of Christ in the evolving social context of the Baganda.

CONCLUSION

In our discussion and analysis of the dialogue between the Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* among the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi* in the Church of Uganda, we observed that there exist some similarities and parallels in the teachings and practices. This suggests that the similarities, or parallels, which exist between the ideas of *ekibi* as derived from biblical interpretations, Church of Uganda teaching, and *kiganda* values, form the basis upon which the process of dialogue has been built over time. Thus, for instance, on the aspects where these convergences exist between the *kiganda* and Christian teachings on *okusobywa* related to *emizizo gy'obuko*

¹⁰² Heb 10:1-18.

¹⁰³ Rom 5:12ff.

(relational taboos) concerning marriage, the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi* have smoothly integrated the teachings on *ekibi*.

On the other hand, as regards the discontinuities we observed between Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*, they can be understood as aspects upon which the level of respect for the people's values has been observed. Thus, some of the *kiganda* values, such as the prohibition against marrying *omwana wa Kojja* (mother's brother's child) and *omwana wa Ssenga* (father's sister's child), have been and are still considered and understood to be the acceptable Christian practice, as opposed to Jewish practice in the Old Testament (Gen 24:4). In this case we see that the dialogue between the *kiganda* and ancient Jewish practices as presented in Lev 18:6-18 does not lead to the suffocation of the values of *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*, but rather provides ground on which some of the Christian teaching and practice on *ekibi* develops or grows, thereby enabling Christianity to be incarnated in the Baganda worldview. This, as already observed, highlights the significance of respecting the values of the people's cultures, as they are the instrument and means of realising the incarnation process of Christianity.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, we observed that the process of dialogue between Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda also depends on the attitudes and teaching of the people within their groups. Thus while marrying your late *Ssenga's* (father's sister) husband is not understood to be *ekibi* among the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole* and *Beegayirizi*, it is *ekibi* among the *Bazuukufu* whose teachings on this issue is more inclined towards the early missionary teaching against this *kiganda* custom. This suggests that the degree of dialogue on this aspect of *ekibi* varies according to the people's attitudes towards *kiganda* customs, Church of Uganda doctrine rooted in their history, and interpretations of the Scriptures in the different groups. This further points to the diversity of the inculturation processes within the different Christian groups in the Church of Uganda.

¹⁰⁴ J. M. Waliggo, 'Making a Church that is Truly African,' p. 12; J. Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation: a New Testament Perspective,' p. 41.

In addition to that, the attitudes and values which the groups attach to some of their customs also determine the level of dialogue between the *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda. This explains the diverse forms of dialogue and integration of the Christian ideas into the practices of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) among the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole* and the *Beegayirizi*. Therefore, the values which the mainstream *Balokole* and *Beegayirizi* attach to the *kiganda* practice of *okwabya olumbe* led to the development of the practice of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* (blessing/presenting) in the Church of Uganda. Also, the economic mainstream *Balokole* practices of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* immediately after burial has contributed to the development of the *kiganda* practice of *okwabya olumbe* in light of the changing social and economic situation in Uganda. This also suggests that to some extent part of the *kiganda* tradition has been affected by the Christian teachings and practice.

On the other hand, several aspects of conflict were also observed between Christian and *kiganda* teachings on *ekibi*, especially among the *Bakulisitaayo*. This issue mainly relates to the practices of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) among the *Bakulisitaayo*. There exist some conflicts between the Christian teaching and *kiganda* values of *okwabya olumbe*, especially as the Church of Uganda teaching condemns the *kiganda* practices, which the *Bakulisitaayo* still consider to be valuable. Some of the *Bakulisitaayo* would prefer Christianity to be all-embracing. This highlights the challenges confronting the *Bakulisitaayo* as they attempt to integrate the Christian teaching into their *kiganda* values. Such issues, as Bujo rightly puts it, become even more delicate and complex where African customs regard as a value that which

Christianity believes must be rejected in the name of Jesus the Christ.¹⁰⁵ This points to the need for further dialogue on some of these aspects of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda.

It was further observed that the practices of healing and *okugoba emizimu emibi* (exorcising malevolent spirits) among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) not only highlight the significance of exorcism and healing among the Baganda but emphasise the values of integration between the Christian and *kiganda* practices in the Church of Uganda. The integration of the *kiganda* and Christian values of *okugoba emizimu emibi* (exorcising malevolent spirits) is mainly based on the harmony between the biblical practices of exorcism and healing and the *kiganda* practices of *okugoba emizimu emibi* (exorcising malevolent spirits) and *obusawo* (healing). Thus among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), practices of healing and exorcism not only highlight the integration of the Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* but also emphasise the fundamental belief in restoring the wellbeing of people and preserving *obulamu* (life).

On the whole, the process of integrating the Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* in the teaching and practice of the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi* within the Church of Uganda underscores the values, challenges and complexity of the process of integrating Christianity into the people's context. It further points to the need for an ongoing dialogue or process of inculturation, in light of the developing nature of the Church of Uganda and the Baganda evolving worldview and social context.

¹⁰⁵ B. Bujo, *African Christian Morality at the Age of Inculturation*, p. 107.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes our study on *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in contemporary Baganda society. Before proceeding to the conclusion, a brief summary of the aims of our research will be given to enable us to give a critical reflection and analysis based on the findings and observations of the study.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study was to examine the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda communities, and the extent to which they contribute to Baganda Christian ideas of *ekibi*. The scope of the study was limited to Kampala and Mukono districts, with particular focus on Mukono and Namirembe dioceses. It attempted to answer three major questions:

Is there a commonly understood idea of *ekibi* among the Baganda?

To what extent do commonalities exist between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* among the Baganda?

In what ways do the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* contribute to the inculturation of the Christian teaching on *ekibi* in Buganda?

In attempting to answer the above questions it was deemed necessary to examine some of the pre-colonial concepts of *ekibi* derived from oral tradition such as *engeru* (narrative), with the purpose of exploring and analysing the background of the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda. We further examined and analysed the contemporary ideas of *ekibi* both in rural and urban areas among different age groups of male and female participants, who belong to the *enzikiriza ey'obuwangwa* (*kiganda* religion) and to groups in the Church of Uganda such as the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors). We also looked at some of the ideas of *ekibi* which are derived from the interpretations of both the Old and New Testaments and the extent to which they impact on and contribute to the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda within the Church of Uganda. Finally we

attempted to examine the dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda by assessing the extent to which these ideas are integrated and enhance the process of inculturating the ideas of *ekibi* in the Baganda context. A brief summary of the subject therefore leads us to a discussion of our research findings and their significance to contemporary Baganda society, the Church of Uganda and Uganda at large.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO CONTEMPORARY BAGANDA SOCIETY

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *KIGANDA* IDEAS OF *EKIBI*

Our study and examination of the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda communities revealed that the notion of *ekibi* is a significant element in the *kiganda* worldview, sense of wellbeing and existence. The research data revealed that *ekibi* is understood to be *okusobya* (violating) *emizizo* (taboos) and *okujeema* (disobeying) or failure to do what is expected in the society and making mistakes. It is *ekivve* (abomination), *okwonoona* (wrongdoing) and *empisa embi* or *emize* (bad/dangerous behaviour). *Okuloga* (sorcery), *okusera* (prowling), *obubi* (badness), *akabi* (danger) and all undesirable, dangerous states of being and other life-threatening conditions are perceived as *ekibi*. *Ekibi* is not only a pollution and an abomination in society but is also a dangerous attack on human life and on society's wellbeing. As such, *ekibi* is a human or spiritual force which is anti-life and a threat to the society as it destabilises the balance between the created order, the spirits and *Katonda* (the creator).

Furthermore, it was observed that the dangerous and anti-life nature of *ekibi* creates the need to protect the community through the observation of the *kiganda* social code such as *ennono* (norms) and *emizizo* (taboos). This further highlights the significance of *ennono* (norms) and *emizizo* (taboos), which are believed to have been instituted by the ancestors on behalf of *Katonda*. Thus, the awareness of the threat and dangers of *ekibi* necessitates the pursuing of *obuntubulamu* (worthy /approved conduct) and the observance of society norms. Conversely, the absence of

ekibi may imply a peaceful relationship with the living and the dead, the entire created order and *Katonda* (the creator). This explains why some of the *emizizo* such as those relating to birth, marriage and death are still valued and practised both in rural and urban areas of contemporary Baganda society. Therefore, the observance of *emizizo* and *ennono* is significant for upholding the values of society and for the prevention of *ekibi* and its consequences. However, this does not imply that the *kiganda* social code is static, since *emizizo* (taboos) and *ennono* (norms) have changed, developed and have been transformed to suit the evolving contemporary social context of the Baganda. It was also observed that some young people's and urban dwellers' attitudes have changed or been transformed in light of the prevailing social needs and pressures. While on the other hand, some of the elderly and the rural dwellers still hold onto some of the *emizizo* and continue to consider the urban and young non-observers as *aboonoonyi* (violators). This therefore suggests some form of retention and modification of the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. It also indicates that there are some conflicting ideas of *ekibi* as one moves from rural to urban areas and even across different age groups and generations. The conflicts in the ideas underscore the impact of modernisation and social change on the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*.

The significance of observance of the *kiganda* social code also emphasised the value of pre-colonial and contemporary *kiganda* oral tradition such as *engeru* (narrative) as a means of communicating and inculcating social values. It was also observed that some of the contemporary ideas of *ekibi* are rooted in pre-colonial concepts, as was revealed in our examination of the ideas of *ekibi* in *engeru*. However, it was noted that some of the pre-colonial concepts have faded away, while others have persisted, adapted, changed and have been interpreted in light of the evolving social context. Nevertheless, it was perceived that the *engeru* are still valuable media for inculcating *empisa ez'obuntubulamu* (worthy/approved conduct) and for warning the young and old about the dangers of violating the social norms. Not only that, it was also revealed that oral tradition is an important tool for interpreting the Bible within the *kiganda* worldview and philosophy. This further suggests the need for contemporary

Baganda society to appreciate, interpret and to tap the values of oral tradition for the purpose of teaching and inculcating morals. This is especially important because as we observed, some of the *enono* (norms) and *emizizo* (taboos) are incomprehensible to some of the young people. Therefore, there is a need to reinterpret the values of these customs in light of the evolving social context of Baganda contemporary society.¹

The study also highlighted the polluting nature of *ekibi* and its capacity to destabilise the equilibrium between the created order, the spirits and *Katonda* (the creator). This further pointed to the importance of the performance of *emikolo* (rituals and ceremonies). It was observed that *emikolo* (rituals and ceremonies) are significant in some contemporary Baganda communities as a means and measure of cleansing society of the pollution and *okutangirira* (preventing) *ekibi*. Preventing and dealing with the various forms of *ekibi* such as *obulwadde* (illness), *obwavu* (poverty) and *omukisa omubi* (misfortune) requires the performance of rituals. Thus, rituals such as those of *okufa* (death), *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites), *okusamira* (divination), *okussaddaaka* (sacrificing), *okugoba emizimu* (exorcising malevolent spirits) and *okutangirira eddogo* (protection against sorcery powers) are valued for dealing with *ekibi* and establishing harmony in the world of the living and the dead. This explains why some contemporary Baganda communities in most cases consider non-observers of *emikolo* (rituals and ceremonies) to be *aboonoonyi* (violators) as they expose the communities to danger, disharmony and disintegration.

The study also revealed that through the performance and the observance of the *emikolo* (rituals) such as *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites), *okusamira* (divination) and *okutangirira* (preventing) *eddogo*, some of the young and old contemporary Baganda learn to appreciate the benefits and value of dealing with or preventing the

¹ Grace Wamue, 'Women and Taboo Among the Gikuyu,' in K. A. Musimbi et al., *Groaning in Faith*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1996, p. 174; O. Nassaka, 'Women and Taboo; A Case Study on Baganda in Uganda,' p. 167.

occurrence of *ekibi*. Thus, performance of the rituals releases the power that revitalises the living and the dead, and protects the entire community against the dangerous attacks of *ekibi*.

The significance of rituals in some contemporary Baganda communities also underscores the value and role of the *abasawo* (healers/diviners) as they preside over the rituals and mediate the process of restoring life and balance between humans and the spirits. This further explains the persistence of some of the *kiganda* practices of restoring life and dealing with *ekibi*, amidst the forces of change and modernity that characterise many contemporary Baganda communities. Thus we can conclude that the *kiganda* practices of dealing with *ekibi* are still of great importance to many contemporary Baganda especially when they are confronted with the forces of political, social and economic change.

However, it was also revealed that not all *kiganda* practices and measures taken by individuals and communities in order to procure healing from their afflictions are as valuable to the entire society. Some of the practices have turned out to be a danger and *ekibi* to contemporary Baganda communities. For instance, the killing and sacrificing of human beings as well as the exploitation and abuse of clients are some of the unfortunate practices of the *abasawo* (diviner/healers). Therefore, the *kiganda* practices of dealing with *ekibi* need to be redeemed of such dehumanising aspects.

Furthermore, the emphasis *kiganda* teaching puts on the need to prevent *ekibi*, also means that it is the duty of contemporary Baganda to preserve life, and to rid society of all life-threatening forces. This also necessitates the discouraging and punishing of offenders in the society as a means of dealing with *ekibi*. It was, however, observed that some *kiganda* methods of dealing with offenders have exposed society to more dangers and threats to life. For instance, the practice of lynching sometimes wrongly targets the innocent and the weak members of society. This highlights the danger some of the *kiganda* practices of dealing with *ekibi* pose for contemporary Baganda communities and at the same time challenges the institutions of law and

justice to revisit and reinterpret such *kiganda* practices in order to redress the imbalance.

CONTINUITY, ADAPTATION AND CONFLICT: *EKIBI* IN THE EVOLVING BAGANDA CONTEXT

In addition to the above, the examination of the concepts of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda revealed some complexities and dynamics in the ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda Christian communities. The study identified four major groups within the Church of Uganda: the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists), the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) and the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors). An examination of the practice and teaching of the groups indicated that while there are some distinctive ideas of *ekibi* among the groups, there are also some commonalities which are significant for the development of Christian ideas of *ekibi* among contemporary Baganda, within the Church of Uganda. Thus, the research reveals that among all the groups studied *kiganda* ideas, church teachings and the different interpretations of the Bible together form the theological articulations and teachings on *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda.

The negative attitudes of the early missionaries towards *kiganda* values and practices were passed on to their adherents, and seem to have impacted and continue to influence some of the contemporary Baganda ideas of *ekibi*. This was seen in the disapproval of the mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) and the *Bazuukufu* (Reawakened) of some of the *kiganda* ceremonies of *okufa* (death), *okuwasa abakazi abasukka mu omu* (polygamy) and *okwalula abalongo* (twin rituals). This leads us to conclude that *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* have not only had to adapt to the evolving social context but are in some cases fading away especially among communities who hold negative attitudes towards them.

On the other hand the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) expressed a more sympathetic attitude towards the *kiganda* values of dealing with *ekibi* that relate to *emizimu emibi* (malevolent spirits), healing and exorcism. Also most *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary

Christians) were more inclined towards the *kiganda* values and practices of dealing with *ekibi* such as *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) and *okusamira* (divination). This therefore suggests that to some extent though unconsciously, the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* are not only being reinterpreted within the teaching and practice of the groups but moreover, the groups are also continuing to resist the forces of change that characterise contemporary Baganda communities.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION OF EKIBI IN THE BIBLE

Further consideration and scrutiny of the ideas of *ekibi* that are based on the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments revealed that the translation of the Bible into *Luganda* still significantly affects the concepts of *ekibi* among contemporary Church of Uganda Christians. For instance, it was revealed that the process of translation introduced some ideas of *ekibi* that are drawn from the ancient Jewish and Greek texts into the *kiganda* worldview. These include the ideas of *ekibi* relating to the *amateeka ekkumi* (Ten Commandments) and *Ssetaani*. However, it was also observed that some of the ideas which were introduced have been reinterpreted and found expression within the *kiganda* worldview through the process of translation. It was also noted that the translators not only introduced new ideas of *ekibi* in the *Luganda* Bible, but they also covered up some aspects of the Jewish way of life which they thought would encourage practices such as polygamy, which they deemed to be *ekibi*. Therefore, this shows the significance and contribution of the Bible translators in the development and interpretation of ideas of *ekibi* and related theologies in the Church of Uganda.²

The translation of the Scriptures into *Luganda* also introduced some new ideas of *ekibi* in the Bible, which are alien to the *kiganda* worldview. For instance we noted the introduction of the ideas of worshipping *bakatonda abalala* (other gods) (Exod 20:3), *dayimooni* (demon) instead of *omuzimu omubi* (Mk 9:17) and *Ssetaani*

² M. A. Kanyoro, 'Interpreting Old Testament Polygamy Through African Eyes,' in M. Oduyoye & M. A. Kanyoro, *The Will to Arise*, New York: Orbis Books, 1995, p. 99.

(Satan). It was further observed that some of these ideas are not only alien to the *kiganda* worldview, but also undermine the Baganda ideas of *ekibi* and create conflicts especially among some Baganda Christians. This highlights the fact that the translation of the Bible is culturally bound and as such the translators need to be grounded in the culture and language into which it is translated.³ It also points to the conflict which exists between *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* and those based on the biblical interpretations. Such conflicts not only affect the interpretation of the Bible, but also affect theological articulation and practice within the Church of Uganda. Therefore, this suggests that the interpretation of such texts needs to take into account the values of the people for whom the Bible translation is intended. It also calls for the continuous scrutiny and revision of the translations of the Bible into *Luganda*. The translators need to study more fully biblical languages, *Luganda* and the cultures into which the Bible is translated.

The study also drew attention to several convergences between the Old/New Testament and the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*: for instance the ideas of communitarian and individual responsibility, the practices of sacrifice, healing, exorcism, reconciliation, compensation, and cursing, and penalties such as excommunication, death, and blood vengeance. Such practices are cherished by some contemporary Baganda, as they are believed to be life-affirming and valuable for maintaining social order. Therefore, this suggests that the *kiganda* practices provide the basis upon which parts of the Old and New Testament are interpreted among the Christian groups in the Church of Uganda. This also emphasises the fact that the biblical world is akin to the *kiganda* worldview.⁴ This further highlights the significance of

³ A. Obeng, 'The Use of Biblical Critical Methods in Rooting the Scriptures in Africa,' in H. Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, p. 20.

⁴ K. Holter, 'The Current State of Old Testament Scholarship in Africa,' in M. Getui, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001, pp. 29-30; J. Mugambi, 'Africa and the Old Testament,' in M. Getui, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001, pp. 1-19; J. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 40-4; J. Mbiti, 'The Bible in African Theology,' in R. Gibellini, *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM Press, 1994, pp. 34-38.

the translation and interpretation of the Bible in the process of inculturation of ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda and in contemporary Baganda communities.⁵

However, we also detected some discontinuity between the ancient Jewish and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*. For instance it was observed that while in the ancient Jewish worldview Yahweh was believed to be the Lawgiver, in the *kiganda* worldview *Katonda* (the creator) is not the direct giver of the codes which govern society. Thus, while violation of the social norms among some contemporary Baganda affects the community, in the ancient Jewish context violating the law was also a violation against the holy God the author of the Law. This also introduced the idea of violation of *amateeka ga Katonda* (the law of the Creator) and the legalistic concepts of *ekibi* in Christian communities and in the contemporary Baganda society.⁶ Also the idea of the perfect and final sacrifice of Jesus Christ significantly affected some of the contemporary Baganda ways of dealing with *ekibi*. It resulted in clashes between the Christian and the *kiganda* concept and value of sacrifice which in turn intensified the existing conflict within contemporary society. This therefore points to the need for both worldviews to listen to and respect each other's values.

The study of the ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda also indicated that within the *Bakulisitaayo*, the mainstream *Balokole*, the *Bazuukufu* and the *Beegayirizi* teachings on *ekibi* there are some commonalities and parallels between *kiganda* and the Old/New Testament ideas of *ekibi*.⁷ Most aspects of these commonalities have been the basis for biblical interpretations of ideas of *ekibi* in these groups. However, it was also observed that some of the teachings within these groups are based on misinterpretation, mistranslation and literal interpretation of some biblical texts.

⁵ On this, Sanneh observes that translation may make commonplace passages of Scripture come alive, while also stimulating indigenous religious and cultural renewal. L. Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, p. 208. K. Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, pp. 61-62, 122.

⁶ B. Bujo *African Christian Morality, at the Age of Inculturation*, pp. 50-51; J. Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation: a New Testament Perspective,' p. 46

⁷ K. Holter, 'The Current State of Old Testament Scholarship in Africa,' pp. 29-30; J. Mugambi, 'Africa and the Old Testament,' pp. 1-19; J. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*, pp. 40-4; J. Mbiti, 'The Bible in African Theology,' pp. 34-38.

This emphasizes the need for the Church of Uganda to focus more on training and equipping of Christians with relevant biblical translation and interpretation skills.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTEGRATION IN THE PROCESS OF INCULTURATION OF *EKIBI*

Following from the above, an examination of the dialogue between Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* among the *Bakulisitaayo*, the mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and *Beegayirizi* suggested that to some extent the groups have over time based their teaching both on the *kiganda* values and on Church of Uganda teaching, some of which is still rooted in the missionary teaching and on the groups' biblical interpretation. Thus, it follows that the teaching and practices of the Christian groups revealed both similarities and discontinuities between the *kiganda* and Church of Uganda views of *ekibi*. This suggests that the similarities or parallels which exist between the ideas of *ekibi* derived from biblical interpretation, the Church of Uganda teaching, and *kiganda* values, form the basis upon which the process of dialogue has been built over time. Thus, for instance, on the aspects where some convergences exist between the *kiganda* and the Christian teachings on *okusoby*a related to *emizigo gy'obuko* (relational taboos) concerning marriage, the *Bakulisitaayo*, mainstream *Balokole*, *Bazuukufu* and the *Beegayirizi* have smoothly integrated the Christian and the *kiganda* teachings on *ekibi*. Therefore, we can conclude that the convergence between *kiganda* and Christian teaching is a valuable and significant basis upon which the process of integration and inculturation of the teaching on *ekibi* has been thriving in the Church of Uganda.

Regarding the discontinuities between Christian and *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*, they can be understood as aspects in which a level of respect for people's values has been observed. Thus, for instance, some of the *kiganda* values, such as the prohibition against marrying *omwana wa Kojja wo* (mother's brother's child) and *omwana wa Ssenga wo* (father's sister's child), have been and are still considered and understood to be acceptable Christian practice, as opposed to the Jewish practice in the Old Testament (Gen 24:4). This showed that the dialogue between the *kiganda* and

ancient Jewish practices as presented in Lev 18:6-18 does not lead to the suffocation of the values of *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi*, rather it provides a basis on which some of the Christian teaching and practices on *ekibi* can develop, thereby enabling Christianity to be incorporated into the Baganda worldview. This, as already mentioned, highlights the significance of respect for the values of people's cultures, as they are the instrument and means of realising the incarnation process of Christianity.⁸

In addition to that, the attitudes and values which the groups attach to some of their customs also determine the level of dialogue between *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda. This explains the diverse forms of dialogue and the integration of Christian ideas in the practices of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites) among the *Bakulisitaayo*, the mainstream *Balokole* and the *Beegayirizi*. Therefore, the values that the mainstream *Balokole* and *Beegayirizi* attach to the *kiganda* practices of *okwabya olumbe* led to the development of the practice of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* (blessing/presenting) in the Church of Uganda. Also, the mainstream *Balokole* practice of *okusabira/okulaga omusika* immediately after burial has contributed to the transforming of the *kiganda* practice of *okwabya olumbe* in light of the changing social and economic situation in Uganda. This highlights the importance and transforming nature of the processes of inculturation in the society. Thus, it can be concluded that the process of inculturation not only roots the Christian message in the contemporary Baganda's culture, but it transforms the people's life, attitudes and worldview.⁹

However, some areas of conflict were also noted between Christian and *kiganda* teachings on *ekibi* especially among the *Bakulisitaayo* (ordinary Christians), relating mainly to the practice of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites). The Church of Uganda teaching condemns some of the *kiganda* practices, which some of the *Bakulisitaayo*

⁸ J. M. Waliggo, 'Making a Church that is Truly African,' p. 12; J. Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation: a New Testament Perspective,' p. 41.

⁹ J. Ukpong, 'Christology and Inculturation,' p. 41; A. Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, pp. 11& 150; D. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 455.

still consider to be of great importance. This highlights the challenges confronting the *Bakulisitaayo* as they attempt to integrate the Christian teaching into their *kiganda* values.¹⁰ The continuous warnings and threats by Church of Uganda teachers have also led to the development of secret practices among some of the *Bakulisitaayo*, who attempt to draw on both the values of *kiganda* practice such as *okusamira* (divination) and of Christianity.

The conflicting teaching and attitudes within the Church of Uganda further suggests that to some extent the level of integration of the ideas of *ekibi* is still wanting. This was observed in respect of the liturgies of *okwabya olumbe* (last funeral rites), teaching against *okusamira* (divination) and *kiganda* practices of *obusawo* (healing) which are provided by the Church of Uganda but which seem to be detached and alienated from the people's needs, fears, aspirations and worldview. This points to the need for further dialogue on some of these aspects of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda and the setting of a conscious agenda geared towards rooting the Christian teaching on *ekibi* into the *kiganda* worldview.

The study further observed that the development of healing and *okugoba emizimu emibi* (exorcising malevolent spirits) ministries among the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) as measures for dealing with *ekibi* such as *obulwadde* (illness), *omukisa omubi* (misfortunes), *okulumbibwa emizimu emibi* (attacks from malevolent spirits), *obwavu* (poverty) and *eddogo* (sorcery power) emphasises the value some Baganda attach to the *kiganda* practices of *obusawo* (healing) and *okugoba emizimu* (exorcism) as a means of dealing with *ekibi*. Thus, we can conclude that the *kiganda* ideas of *ekibi* provide the framework for the *Beegayirizi* (Intercessors) and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* (Revivalists) practices of healing and deliverance. However, it must be noted that this observation does not imply that the *Beegayirizi* and some contemporary mainstream *Balokole* consciously acknowledge and utilise some of the *kiganda*

¹⁰ B. Bujo, *African Christian Morality at the Age of Inculturation*, p. 107.

values in dealing with *ekibi*. Rather, the *Beegayirizi* and contemporary mainstream *Balokole* teaching and practice provide some answers to the spiritual and physical needs which the *kiganda* practices originally served. This also suggests that such movements will continue to develop and grow as long as they are able to meet the contemporary Baganda's needs and values attached to dealing with *ekibi* and restoring the wellbeing of humanity as well as enhancing *obulamu* (life).

This study has also suggested that the ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda, as expressed in the four groups of Christians, have been developing and changing over time. This is mainly due to the evolving social-political contexts within which the church exists. This highlights the complexity of the integration of the *kiganda* and Christian ideas of *ekibi* in the Church of Uganda. Therefore, this points to the need for continuing study of the patterns and modes of inculturation within the Church of Uganda.¹¹

From the examination and analysis of the study of the *kiganda* and the Christian ideas of *ekibi* one is led to conclude that the concept of *ekibi* is a vital element in the Baganda's perception of and aspirations for the wellbeing of society. Most of the ideas of *ekibi* are deeply integrated in Baganda social life and existence, thus suggesting that the appreciation and respect for the values relating to the notion of *ekibi* are significant for understanding contemporary Baganda's aspirations and worldview. This is especially vital for the church and for the social and political institutions that interact and participate in Baganda contemporary society.

¹¹ A. Crollius, 'Inculturation: Newness and Ongoing Process,' in J. Waliggo et al., *Inculturation: Its Meaning and Urgency*, Nairobi: St. Paul Publications, 1986, pp. 38-39; A. Shorter, *Evangelization and Culture*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994, p. 11; F. Domingues, *Christ Our Healer*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2000, pp.16-18.

APPENDIX I- PHOTOGRAPHS

Fig. A



The *abasawo* shrines and stalls standing side by side with Katwe Church of Uganda

Fig. B



Men selling *amayirungi* (*Catha edulis*) in Kisenyi Kampala

Fig C



A senior *omulogo* –Mr E. Bwaddene Lubanga

Below is *omusawo* Muwonge Muwanga with his herbs

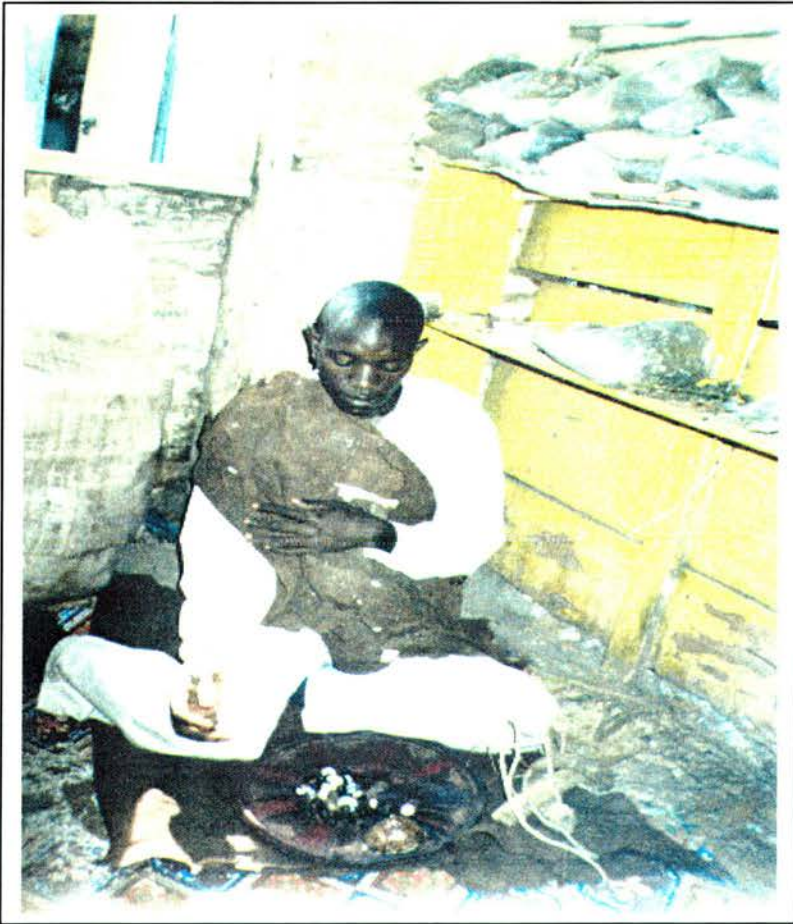


Fig. D

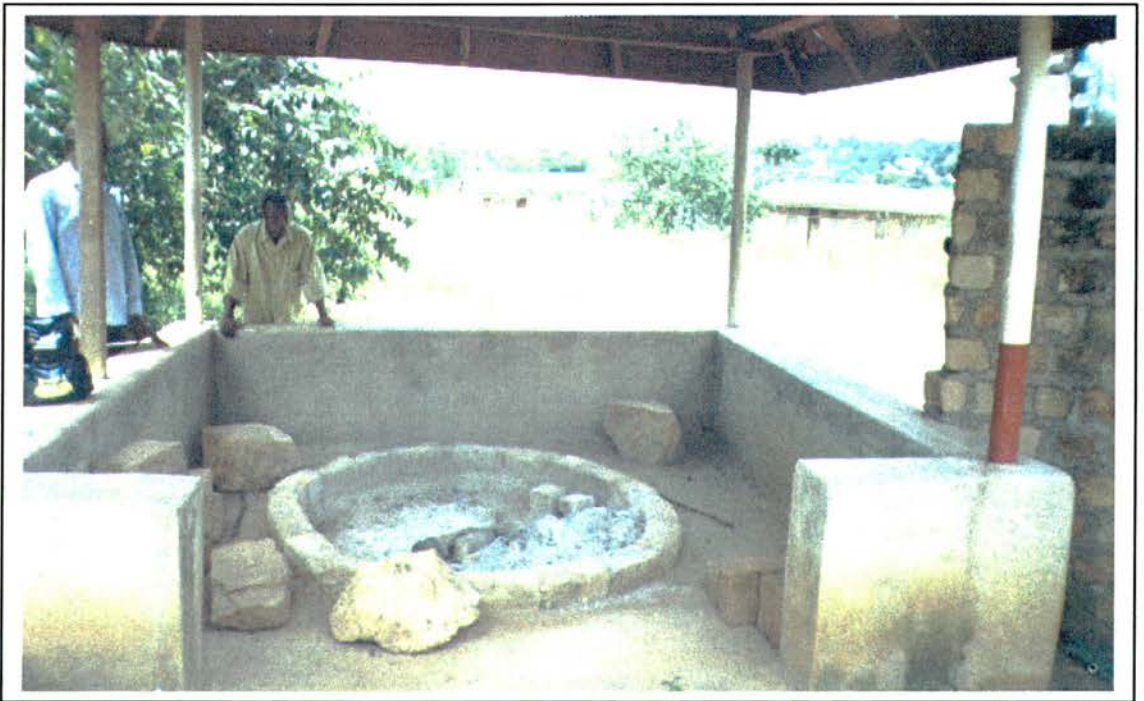


Nakasajja forest



Kawuulu's grave marked with *ekiwaanyi* plant

Fig E



Lubaale (divinity) Muwanga's altar

Fig F



The slaughtering of the bull

Fig G

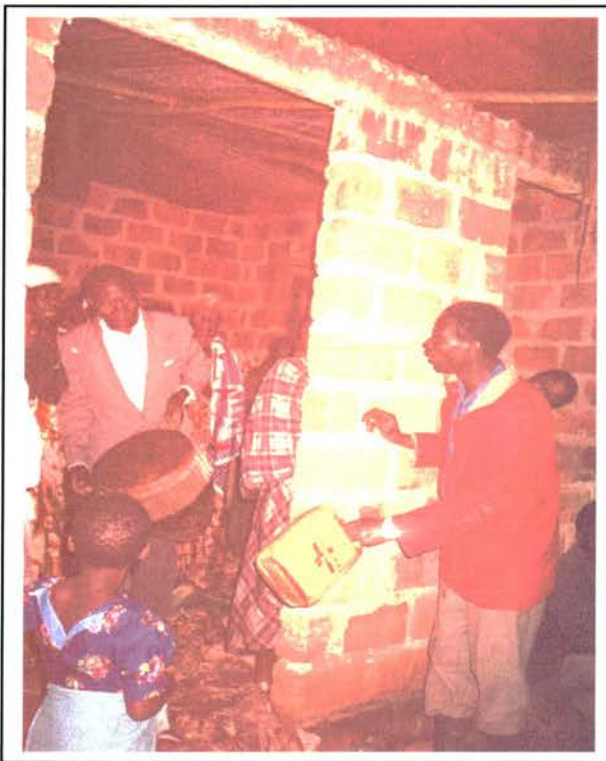


A man constructing a hut and two ready huts

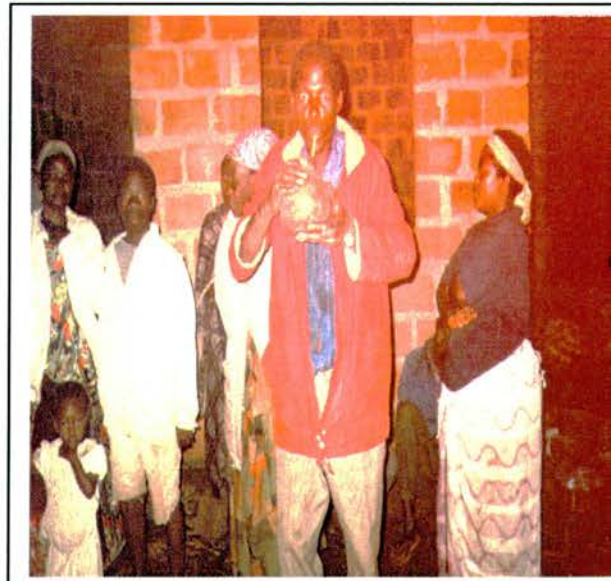
Fig H



Women preparing food.



Omukeeze at the entrance



Omukeeze drinking beer.

Fig I



Okussaaka omusika (installing the heir)



The grandmothers shaving the orphans

Fig J

Kibuye Church of Uganda, below is the altar

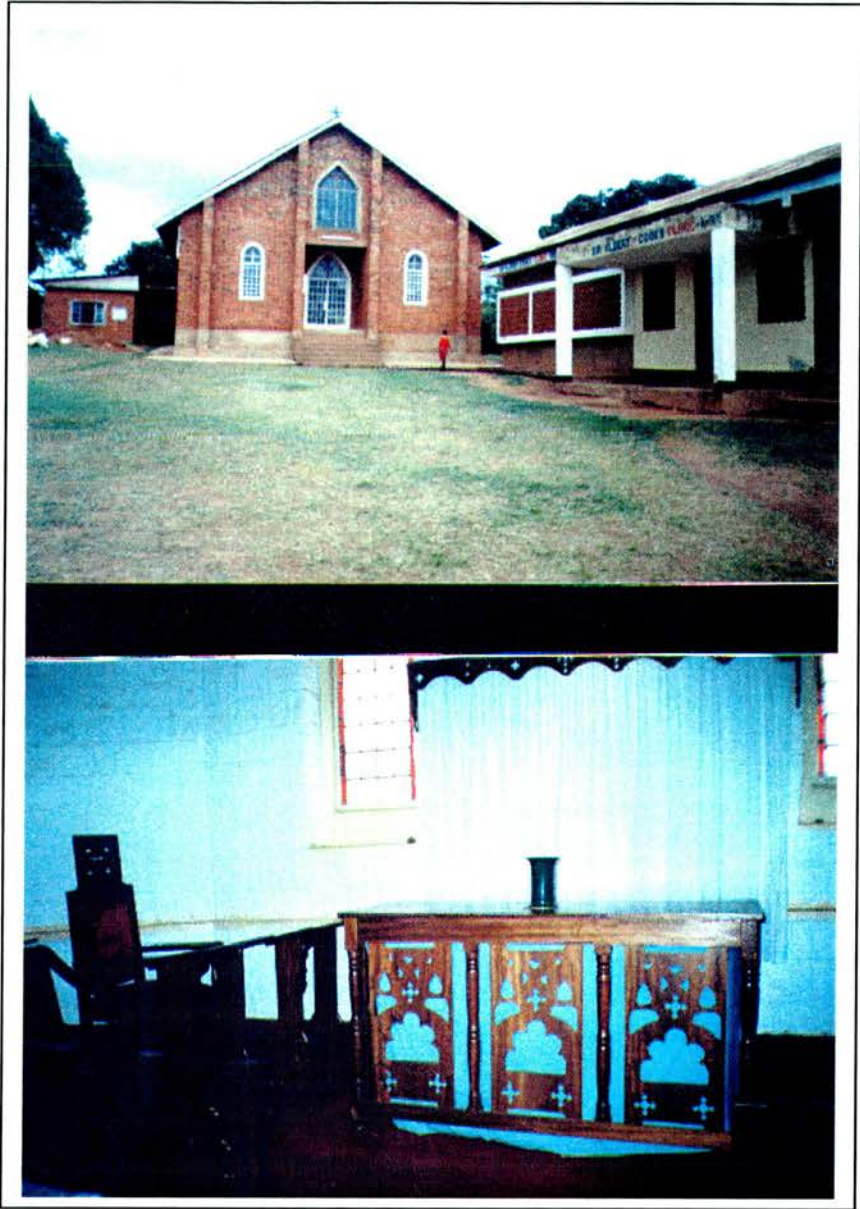
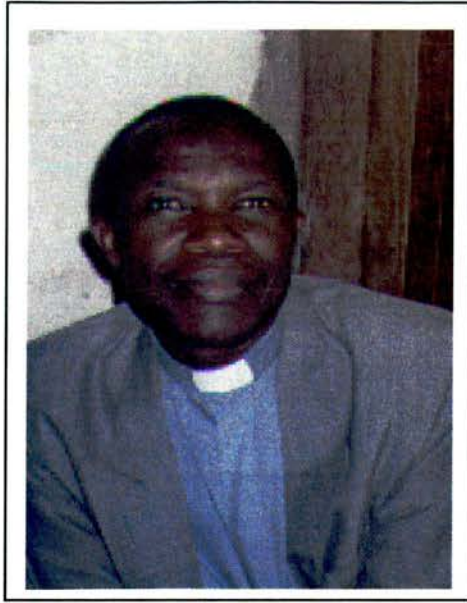


Fig K

Rev. James Batte the pioneer of the *Beegayirizi*



Below are the *Beegayirizi* praying and worshipping

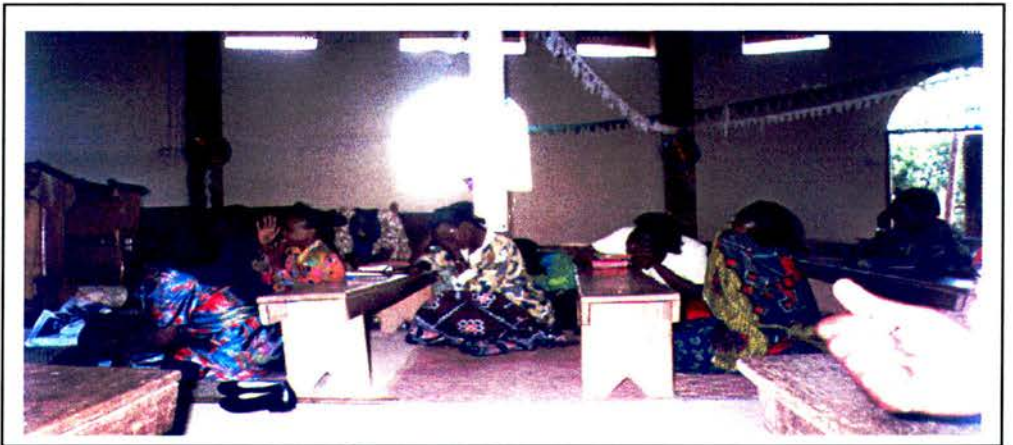


Fig L

P. Ssebuufu and J. Ndagire with her daughter. These two have the gift of healing.

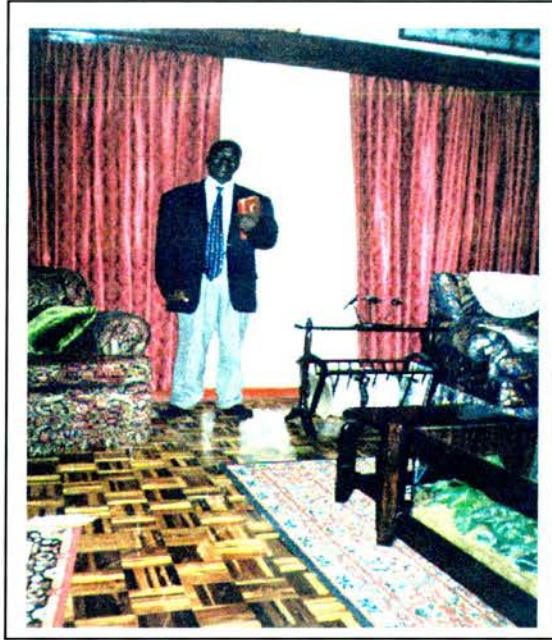


Fig M

Okwabya olumbe among the *Bakulistaayo*, the clan leader and church leaders doing their parts



Fig N



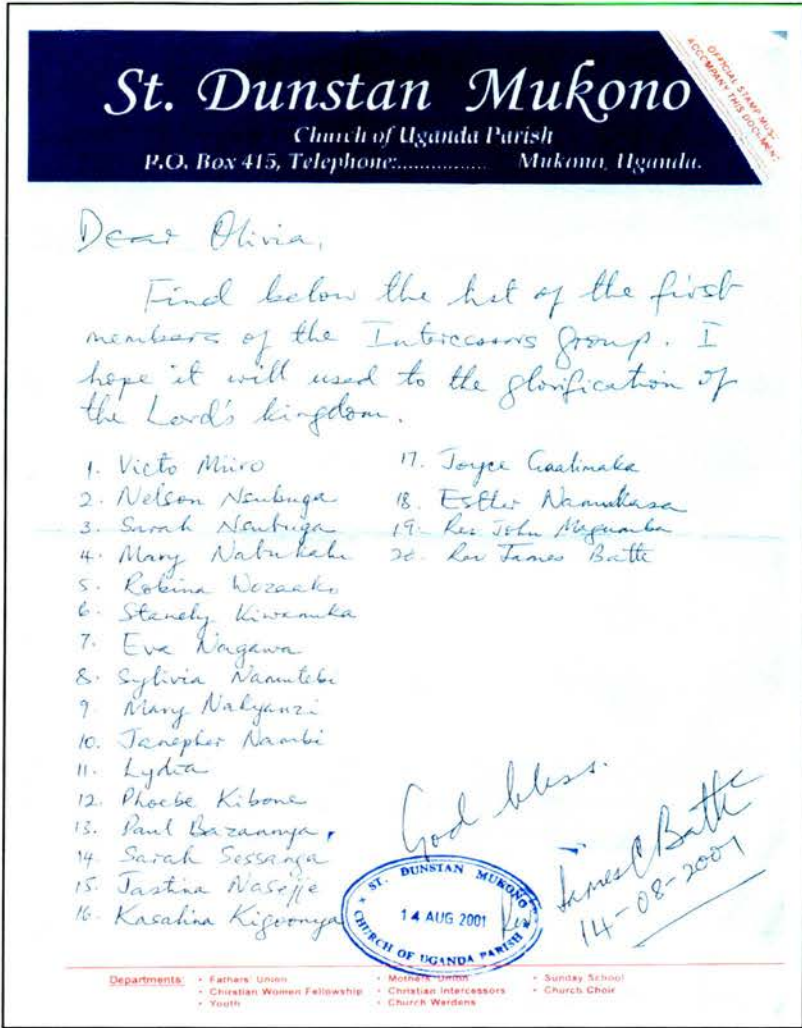
Women serving food during *okwabya olumbe* ceremony

Fig O

Presenting and blessing the heiress among the mainstream *Balokole*



APPENDIX II- LETTER



Letter showing list of the pioneer members of the *Beegayirizi*.

Source: Rev. James Batte

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A LIST OF INFORMANTS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

	Name	Sex	Age	Clan	Residence	Occupation	Church/religious group	Place of interview	Date
1	Babirye Idah	F	69	<i>Mpindi</i>	Ngogwe	Farmer, widow	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
2	Batte James (Rev)	M	46	<i>Njovu</i>	Mukono <i>Antone</i>	Vicar St. Dunstan Church	Beegayirizi Pioneer	St. Dunstan Church	19.07.01
3	Bbengo Musa	M	70	<i>Nkima</i>	Kigamba, Ngogwe	Diviner/healer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kigamba	22.02.01
4	Bbwaddene Lubanga E.	M	98	<i>Mmamba</i>	Ngogwe	Diviner, Foreseer	<i>Enzikiriza y'obuwangwa</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
5	Bugimbi	M	70	<i>Mamba</i>	Luwero	Retired Bishop	<i>mainstream Balokole</i>	Kyambogo	04.02.01
6	Bukenya Sam	M	37	<i>Ngabi</i>	Nakabago, Mukono	Medium	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Nakabago	17.02.01
7	Bwenene Margaret	F	18	<i>Ntalaganya</i>	Rubaga Road, Kampala	Student	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	09.05.01
8	Ddembe Nnaalongo	F	70	<i>Mmamba</i>	Rubaga Road, Kampala	Widow	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	18.05.01
9	Joloba Kezekiya	F	75	<i>Mmamba</i>	Kigoowa Kampala	Retired driver	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Kigoowa	26.06.01
10	Kabenge Dan	M	16	<i>Katinvuma</i>	Rubaga Road, Kampala	Student	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	09.05.01
11	Kabugulano Yoswa	M	69	<i>Nsuma</i>	Ajijja Buikwe	Retired teacher	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Ajijja	23.02.01
12	Kalema Esther	F	11	<i>Mmamba</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	Pupil	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	23.05.01
13	Kalooli Nannyanzi	F	60	<i>Mbogo</i>	Buguju Mukono	Widow	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Buguju	03.02.01
14	Kasozi Alice	F	48	<i>Mmamba</i>	Mukono Hill	Midwife	<i>mainstream Balokole</i>	Mukono Hill	06.02.01
15	Katumba Betty (Rev)	F	40	<i>Lugave</i>	Sseeta	Clergy	<i>mainstream Balokole</i>	Sseeta	30.04.01
16	Katunze Allen	F	60	<i>Mmamba</i>	Kiteete Mukono	House wife	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kiteete	14.02.01
17	Kawesa Nelson	M	47	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Namirembe	Diocesan secretary	<i>mainstream Balokole</i>	Namirembe	20.06.01
18	Kayaga K. Robinah	F	40	<i>Katinvuma</i>	Buziga Kampala	Lawyer & Diocesan Chancellor	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Buziga	30.05.01
19	Kayanja C.	M	50	<i>Mutima</i>	Buguju	Verger Mukono Cathedral	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Mukono	05.02.01
20	Kazibwe Tobby	F	42	<i>Nyange</i>	Ngogwe	Teacher	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
21	Kazimba S. (Rev)	M	39	<i>Mpindi</i>	Mukono Hill	Vicar Mukono Cathedral	<i>mainstream Balokole</i>	Mukono Hill	09.02.01
22	Kibuuka, (Rev. Can.)	M	62	<i>Ngo</i>	Kazo	Archdeacon Kazo. Was diocesan secretary Namirembe (1994- 1996).	<i>mainstream Balokole</i>	Kazo	23.05.01

23	Kigozi Peter (Rev. Can.)	M	84	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Ntinda	Retired clergy	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Kyambogo	05.11.00
24	Kigundu P. (Rev. Can.)	M	54	<i>Nkima</i>	Ngogwe	Archdeacon	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
25	Kizza Esther	F	11	<i>Kayozi</i>	Mengo Kampala	Pupil	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo	18.05.01
26	Kuloba R. Nalubwama	F	40	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Ddandira	Teacher	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Ddandira	10.02.01
27	Kyambadde Lubanga Daudi	M	67	<i>Nyange</i>	Nyenga	Retired Surveyor, farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Nyenga	26.03.01
28	Kyateesa Dick	M	26	<i>Mutima</i>	Rubaga Road, Kampala	Businessman	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	09.05.01
29	Lubanga Dick	M	72	<i>Mpologoma</i>	Kisala	Retired Teacher	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kisala	23.02.01
30	Lukabwe Harriet	F	35	<i>Nkima</i>	Kasaato Zone, Mengo	House wife	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kasaato Zone	23.05.01
31	Lukwago Keefa	M	64	<i>Nkima</i>	Ddungi Ngogwe	Farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Ddungi	22.02.01
32	Lumu Edward	M	63	<i>Ndiga</i>	Kawuga Mukono	Shopkeeper	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kawuga	03.02.01
33	Luwalira Kityo W. (Rev)	M	42	<i>Nkima</i>	Namirembe	Vicar Namirembe Cathedral	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Namirembe	20.06.01
34	Luzinda Kizito Eria Paul (Rev. Can.)	M	55	<i>Mmamba</i>	Ndeeba	Archdeacon Ndeeba. Was diocesan secretary (1994- 1998) Current Bishop Mukono Diocese	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono	21.06.01
35	Luzinda Eria Paul (Rev. Can.)	M	74	<i>Mmamba</i>	Wattuba	Retired clergy, Provincial internal auditor	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Namirembe	20.06.01
36	Luzinda M.	F	50	<i>Mutima</i>	Ndeeba	Social work, Mother's Union chair person	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono	14.03.01
37	Magembe Joseph	M	23	<i>Mbogo</i>	Katwe	Accountant	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kampala	23.05.01
38	Maguzi Akisofeeri	M	58	<i>Ngo</i>	Luzira	Archdeacon Luzira	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Namirembe	25.06.01
39	Malagala Deborah	F	40	<i>Lugave</i>	Nyenga	Farmer	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>		26.03.01
40	Mata Eria,	M	64	<i>Mutima</i>	Ndejje	Accountant	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo	09.05.01
41	Matovu Jackson Rev. Can.	M	49	<i>Ngabi</i>	Mukono Hill	Dean Mukono Cathedral (now Bishop Kasaka Diocese)	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono Hill	02.02.01
42	Miiro Victor	F	60	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Nabuti Mukono	Trader	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Nabuti	08.02.01
43	Mirembe Doreen	F	13	<i>Kayozi</i>	Mengo Kampala	Pupil	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo	18.05.01
44	Mpalanyi Livingston	M	68	<i>Nkima</i>	Sseeta	Teacher, author & specialist in <i>kiganda</i> <i>culture</i>	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Sseeta	10.06.01
45	Muganzi C.	F	45	<i>Mmamba</i>	Kanzize,	Farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kanzize	07.04.01
46	Mukasa C.	M	60	<i>Mmamba</i>	Bweya	Elder among	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Bweya	21.07.01

47	Mukasa Y. (Bishop)	M	84	<i>Nkima</i>	Bishop, Mityana	the <i>Bazuukufu</i> Retired Bishop Mityana. Dean Namirembe cathedral (1966-1979)	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mityana	27.06.01
48	Mukasa Yakobo	M	80	<i>Mutima</i>	Mengo Kampala	Retired farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo	09.05.01
49	Mukooza Paul	M	85	<i>Nvubu</i>	Nyenga	Retired farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Nyenga,	26.03.01
50	Mulumba Dan	M	46	<i>Nseenene</i>	Mukono	Shopkeeper	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mukono	14.02.01
51	Mutebi F.	F	57	<i>Nkima</i>	Lweza	Teacher	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Lweza	24.05.01
52	Mutebi W. (Bishop)	M	64	<i>Mmamba</i>	Mityana	Bishop Mityana Diocese	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mityana	26.06.01
53	Muwanga Nnaalongo	F	35	<i>Mutima</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	Market woman	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	15.05.01
54	Muwanga Ssaalongo	M	50	<i>Ngabi</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	Healer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	15.05.01
55	Muwangunzi Latimar (Rev)	M	27	<i>Mbogo</i>	Mukono	Curate Mukono cathedral	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Mukono,	05.02.01
56	Muwonge Muwanga	M	35	<i>Ngabi</i>	Katwe Kampala,	Diviner/healer	<i>Enzikiriza y'obuwangwa</i>	Katwe	05.07.01
57	Muzawuula Eseza	F	37	<i>Mmamba</i>	Kikakanya	House wife, farmer	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Kikakanya	21.02.01
58	Mwebaza Lydia	F	24	<i>Mutima</i>	Rubaga Road	Teacher	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Rubaga Road	09.05.01
59	Mwebe Dan	M	37	<i>Nsenene</i>	Mulago Zone Mukono	Shopkeeper	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mulago Zone	14.02.01
60	Mwesigwa J.	F	38	<i>Ngabi</i>	Gayaza	Teacher	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Kampala	26.06.01
61	Nabbanja Margaret	F	24	<i>Mbogo</i>	Kampala	Hair Dresser	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kampala	09.05.01
62	Nagaddya Esther	F	7	<i>Mmamba</i>	Mengo Kampala	Pupil	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mengo Kampala	23.05.01
63	Najjuka K. Betty	F	30	<i>Buttiko</i>	Gamba Ngogwe	Housewife, farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Gamba	22.02.01
64	Nakabonge Kibirige Yunia	F	36	<i>Mmamba</i>	Njeru	Teacher	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Njeru	21.03.01
65	Nakalawa Justine	F	30	<i>Mutima</i>	Mukono	Social worker	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono	07.02.01
66	Nakibuuka Matte Joyce	F	60	<i>Ndiga</i>	Kibuye	Retired teacher	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Kibuye	26.06.01
67	Nakibuuka Semanda P. (Rev).	F	40	<i>Ndiga</i>	Mukono	Clergy	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono	02.03.01
68	Nakityo Ruth	F	21	<i>Nkima</i>	Kikooza Mukono	Nursery teacher	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Kikooza Mukono	13.02.01
69	Nakiyingi Liz	F	13	<i>Ndiga</i>	Mengo Kampala	Pupil	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mengo Kampala	23.05.01
70	Nalugo Grace	F	19	<i>Nte</i>	Katuuso	Dressmaker	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Katuuso	30.05.01
71	Nalwanga Naalongo Joyce	F	42	<i>Nvubu</i>	Rubaga Road	Housewife	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	23.05.01
72	Nalwoga Mary	F	46	<i>Mutima</i>	Kibuye	Market woman	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kibuye	14.05.01
73	Namagembe Jane	F	25	<i>Mbogo</i>	Katwe Kampala	Hair Dresser	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Katwe Kampala	23.05.01
74	Namakula Jane	F	14	<i>Lugave</i>	Mukono Hill	Pupil	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono Hill	02.03.01

75	Namale Dora	F	17	<i>Nseenene</i>	Kiyindi	Student	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
76	Namatovu B. I	F	34	<i>Ngabi</i>	Kibuye	Lay reader	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Kibuye	14.05.01
77	Namatovu Mary	F	88	<i>Ngabi</i>	Buguju Mukono	Herbalist	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Buguju	30.01.01
78	Nambaale Olivia	F	24	<i>Ndiga</i>	Kiteete Mukono	House maid	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kiteete Mukono	14.02.01
79	Nambajjwe Susan	F	35	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Kikakanya	Teacher	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Kikakanya	21.02.01
80	Namubiru Jane	F	42	<i>Mmamba</i>	Nakibizzi	Widow, school cook	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Nakibizzi	20.03.01
81	Namuli Mpomba	F	64	<i>Nkima</i>	Kisala Buikwe	House wife	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kisala Buikwe,	23.02.01
82	Namutebi Ezeresi	F	74	<i>Mmamba</i>	Buguju Mukono	Retired Farmer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Buguju Mukono	30.01.01
83	Namutebi Zziwa	F	40	<i>Mmamba</i>	Kkongwe Katuuso	Widow, trader	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Kkongwe Katuuso	30.05.01.
84	Namuyenga Faith	F	80	<i>Ngabi</i>	Ngogwe	Widow	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
85	Namwanje Faith	F	26	<i>Ngo</i>	Rubaga Raod	Teacher	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Raod	09.05.01
86	Nandyose Betty	F	40	<i>Mpindi</i>	Kikooza Mukono	Teacher	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kikooza Mukono	13.02.01
87	Nansasi Nambi	F	71	<i>Mmamba</i>	Nsambwe Mukono,	Healer	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Nsambwe Mukono,	07.02.01
88	Nansubuga Miriam	F	50	<i>Mmamba</i>	Kikanya Ngogwe	Farmer	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Kikanya Ngogwe	21.02.01
89	Nassiwa Egesa Margaret	F	41	<i>Mmamba</i>	Rubaga Road Kampala	House wife	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	23.05.01
90	Ndagire Evelyn	F	24	<i>Mmamba</i>	Mulago Zone Mukono	Shopkeeper	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mulago Zone Mukono	14.02.01
91	Ndagire Jessica	F	21	<i>Mmamba</i>	Njeru	Widow, farmer	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Njeru	20.03.01
92	Nnangonzi Beatrice	F	25	<i>Ntalaganya</i>	Rubaga Road	Student	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	09.05.01
93	Nsubuga Nelson	M	46	<i>Mmamba</i>	Nabuti	Custodian (UCU)	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Mukono hill	02.06.01
94	Nsubuga Ssaalongo	M	63	<i>Mmamba</i>	Lugasa Ngogwe	Lay reader	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Lugasa Ngogwe	21.02.01
95	Ntambi A	M	62	<i>Njovu</i>	Mityana	Farmer	<i>Bazuukufu</i>	Namirembe	16.05.01
96	Sabwe Mutebi Edisa	F	40	<i>Ngonge</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	Dress maker	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mengo Kisenyi,	23.05.01
97	Ssebadduka Nabulya Robinah	F	45	<i>Ngo</i>	Mengo Kisenyi Kampala	Shopkeeper	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mengo Kisenyi	18.05.01.
98	Ssebuufu Patrick	M	25	<i>Mpologoma</i>	Katuuso	Lay evangelist	<i>Beegayirizi</i>	Katuuso	30.05.01
99	Ssekyanzi Nakigudde Christine	F	38	<i>Nkima</i>	Rubaga Road Kampala	House wife	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road	23.05.01
100	Ssekyaya E. (Rev.)	M	44	<i>Nkima</i>	Kibiri	Clergy	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Kibiri	16.02.01
101	Ssenfuma Stephen	M	50	<i>Mmamba</i>	Butonda Mukono	Diviner	<i>Enzikiriza y'obuwangwa</i>	Butonda Mukono	17.02.01
102	Ssennoga A.	F	68	<i>Mmamba</i>	Mukono Hill	House wife	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono Hill	07.02.01
103	Ssennoga Y. (Rev. Can.)	M	76	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Mukono Hill	Retired clergy	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mukono Hill	07.02.01
104	Walakira J.	M	42	<i>Mbogo</i>	Mengo Kampala	Auditor	mainstream <i>Balokole</i>	Mengo Kampala	09.05.01
105	Walusimbi L. (Prof.)	M	66	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Wampeewo	Professor Makerere University	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Makerere	06.06.01

106	Wasswa Fred	M	17	<i>Mmamba</i>	Nakasiita	(Institute of languages) Student	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Ngogwe	22.02.01
107	Wasswa Ibrahim	M	18	<i>Katinvuma</i>	Rubaga Road Kampala	Student	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Rubaga Road Kampala	09.05.01
108	Zzaake Walusimbi Daniel (Rev. Can)	M	70	<i>Ffumbe</i>	Mutundwe	Retired clergy was diocesan secretary Namirembe Diocese (1996-1998)	<i>Bakulisitaayo</i>	Mutundwe	19.06.01
109	Ziribaggwa Nalweyiso	F	90	Lugave	Nassuuti Mukono	Diviner	<i>Enzikiriza y'obuwangwa</i>	Nassuuti Mukono	17.02.01

B ARCHIVAL MATERIALS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

1 Archives and special collections - Britain

Church Missionary Society proceedings 1877-1900. Available in CSCNWW, University of Edinburgh.

Church Missionary Society proceedings 1890-91, 1891-92. Available in Birmingham University Library.

Church Missionary *Intelligencer* 1900. Available in Birmingham University Library.

C M S Reports and letters on Uganda, in the outgoing and incoming boxes 1920-1943. (CMS Archives G3/A7, Letter from Bp. Stuart to Hopper, 1941; CMS Archives G3 A7/5, Statement on *Balokole* Students.) Available in Birmingham University Library.

First editions/publications of pre-colonial Baganda oral tradition collections and anthologies. Available in SAOS Library.

2 Archives and special collections – Uganda

Church of Uganda Provincial Archives (Provincial Secretariat, Namirembe)

Letters

Letter from Rural Dean Bulemezi and Bululi to the Rt. Rev. C. E. Stuart, *Okubatiza abaana ab'obwenzi*, 26.02.1951.

Letter from Kyondo to President Obote, *Uganda ey'obwakabaka obw'ensikirano*, 28.12.67.

Namirembe diocesan offices

Minutes and sermons

Minutes

Namirembe Diocesan Council, 10-12.09.86, Min. 2/86 (xi).

Namirembe Diocesan Council, 14.05.87, Min. 2/87(iii).

Bishop Kawuma's speech at the Namirembe Diocesan Council, 22.09.88, Min.2/4(a).

Namirembe Diocesan Synod, 31.08.89, Min. 4/89 (d).

Namirembe Diocesan Council, 22-24.08.89, Min. 2/89(10).

Namirembe Diocesan Synod, 31.08.89, Min. 4/89 (d).

Namirembe Diocesan Synod, 3-4.09.91, Min. 2/91.

Min 4/93 *abasamize bave ku ttaaka ly' ekkannisa* (diviners should leave the church land), Namirembe Diocesan Council, 02.03.93.

Namirembe Diocesan Council, 6.05.93, Min.4/93 (iv).

Namirembe Diocesan Council held on 7th May 1997 minutes.

Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddiini ku nkola ey'okwabya olumbe lw'omukulisitaayo, (Report on the practice of last funeral rites among the Christians). The committee which compiled this report was chaired by Rev. Can. Nelson Kaweesa (1997).

Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddiini ku nkola y'obulabirizi ku Bakulisitaayo abasamira, 28.10.98.

Namirembe Diocesan Council, 09.05. 01: Resolutions on homosexuality.

Sermons /Messages

The late Bishop M. Kawuma's Enthronement Charge, 12.02. 85.

Bishop S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe Diocese, *Obubaka bw'amazuukira* (Easter Message) 1995.

Bishop S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe Diocese, *Obubaka bw'amazuukira* (Easter Message) 2000.

Bishop S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe Diocese, *Obubaka bw'amazaalibwa* (Christmas Message) 2000.

Bishop S. Ssekkadde of Namirembe Diocese, *Obubaka bw'amazuukira* (Easter Message) 2001.

Mukono diocesan offices

Minutes and sermons

Minutes

Olukiiko lwa Bassaabadinkoni (Archdeacons/staff meeting) Mukono Diocese, 12.03.86, Min.5/86.

Olukiiko lwa Bassaabadinkoni (Archdeacons/staff meeting) Mukono Diocese, 12.03.86, Min. 15/86.

Lipoota y'akakiiko akanoonyereza ku nsonga ezisengudde Abakulisitaayo mu Kkanisa ya Uganda (report on the reason for the exodus of Christians from the Church of Uganda) Compiled by a committee chaired by Rev. Can Yusuufu Tubomwe (1989).

Olukikiiko lwa Bassabadinkoni (Archdeacons/staff meeting) Mukono Diocese, 14.01.93, Min 4/93.

Olukiiko lwa Bassabadinkoni (Archdeacons/staff meeting) Mukono Diocese, 14.12.95, Min 3/12/95 (i).

Olukiiko lwa Bassabadinkoni (Archdeacons/staff meeting) Mukono Diocese, 18.08.97, Min 2/8/97.

Sermons

Bishop M. Ssenyimba of Mukono Diocese, *Obubaka bw'amazaalibwa* (Christmas Messages) 2000.

Bishop M. Ssenyimba of Mukono Diocese, *Obubaka bw'amazuukira* (Easter Message) 1997.

Tracts from Saint Dunstan Church Offices Mukono

Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkkanisa Etanyiikirira Kusaba (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

Lwaki Ekkkanisa Esaanye Okunyiikirira Obuweereza Bw'okusaba (Why the church should be committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.

Omukkiriza Mulwany (A believer is a warrior) *Beegayirizi* tract.

Omwegayirizi ye Ani? (Who is an intercessor?), *Beegayirizi* tract.

How to be a champion over your situation, *Beegayirizi* tract.

UCU Library Archive

Some first editions/publications of pre-colonial Baganda oral tradition collections and anthologies.

Rubaga Archdeaconry Library Archive

Some first editions/publications of pre-colonial Baganda oral tradition collections and anthologies.

C UNPUBLISHED THESES AND PAPERS

- Anker-Petersen, 'A Study of the Spiritual Roots of the East African Revival Movement with special reference to its use of confession of sin in public,' MTh diss., University of Aberdeen, 1988.
- Banadda, G. 'A Study of the Nature and Influence of Selected Deities on the Lives of the Baganda and the Basoga,' MA diss., Makerere University, 1995.
- Bukenya, D. K. '*Kiganda* Concept of Sin and Forgiveness,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, 1974.
- Bukenya, D. K. 'The Development of a Neo-Traditional Religion: Buganda Experience,' MLitt diss., University of Aberdeen, 1980.
- Kalimi, J. 'The Life and Contribution of Dunstan Nsubuga (Bishop of Namirembe 1964-1985) to the Church of Uganda,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, Kampala, 1988.
- Kalungi, L. '*Ganda* Taboos in Relation to Christianity and Islam,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, 1988.
- Kamya, S. C. 'A History of the Church of Uganda, 1900-1980: The Impact of Christianity on the Political, Social, Economic and Religious life of the People of Uganda,' MTS diss., Virginia Theological Seminary, 1990.
- Kisitu, T. M. 'A Historical Study of Conflict in Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda, 1972-1999,' PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2002.
- Kiwanuka, F. 'Magic and Witchcraft Among the *Ganda* Seen in the Light of Christian Beliefs,' Dip. diss., Gaba National Seminary, 1991.
- Komuggulu, D. 'Concepts of Death Among the Baganda,' Dip. diss., Bishop Tucker Theological College, 1986.
- Magumba, J. 'The *Bazuukufu* in Busoga,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, 1978.
- Mande, W. M. 'An Ethic of Leadership and the Anglican Church in Buganda,' PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1996.
- Mukungu, F. N. 'Survey of the Anglican Church of Uganda Archives Documents in Britain.' MA diss., Loughborough University, 1995.

Mutebi, W. *Okusoomooza kw'eddiini Enkyamu n'okulumbibwa Emizimu* (The Challenges of Cults and Spirit Possession) presented at Nakanyonyi Clergy Conference, 16th February, 2001.

_____, 'Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism among the Baganda,' MA diss., Makerere University, 1982.

Namugera, C. 'Morality Among the *Ganda*,' Dip. diss., Makerere University, 1990.

Nassaka, O. 'The *Balokole* Movement and Baganda Traditional Ideas of *Obuntubulamu* (1929-1943),' University of Edinburgh, CSNWW, 2000.

_____, 'The Coming of Christianity to Buganda and its Impact on Baganda Marriage Customs (1877-1892),' University of Edinburgh, CSNWW, 2000.

_____, 'The Implications of Jesus' Understanding of Sin for the Church in Uganda,' MA diss., Nottingham University, 1997.

Niringiye, D. Z. 'The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-92,' PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998.

Rutiba, E. 'Traditional, Modern Therapy and Christian Ministry of Healing,' PhD Thesis Makerere University, 1982.

Rwampigi, J. 'An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda,' PhD Thesis Makerere University, 1992.

Tusuubira, S. 'Attitudes to the New Canon on Baptism in the Church of Uganda,' Dip diss., Makerere University, 1977.

D NEWSPAPERS AND ONLINE MATERIALS

Ssenyondo, H. *Kampala ayinza okufuulibwa ekiddukiro ky'abooonyi*, (Kampala may be turned into a refuge for violators), *Bukedde*, 09th June 2000, available from http://www.vision.co.ug/buk06_0609.htm accessed 09th June 2000.

Musasi, *Omusezi yasangiddwa yeekejera ku mulambo* (prowler found with the corpse), *Bukedde*, 22nd November 2001, available from <http://www.bukedde.co.ug> accessed 22nd November 2001.

Kalule, H. The Bible Society of Uganda, <http://www.Biblesociety.org/bs-ug.htm> accessed 24th April 2002.

Ebifa, March 1948.

Ebifa, April 1948 .

Bukedde, 24th July 1999.

Bukedde, 29th October 1999.

Bukkedde, 6th February 2000.

Bukedde, 18th October 2000.

Bukedde, 26th November 2000.

Bukkedde, 05th March 2001.

Bukedde, 18th February 2001.

Bukedde, 20th March 2001.

Bukedde, May 17th 2001.

Bukedde, 11th November 2001.

E ARTICLES, PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS

Anum, E. 'Comparative Readings of the Bible in Africa: some Concerns,' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, Boston: Brill, 2000.

Ashe, R. P. 'Uganda Past and Present,' *The Sunday Magazine*, 23/34, 1894.

Baeta, O. B. 'The Challenge of African Culture to the Church and the Message of the Church to African Culture,' *Christianity and African Culture*, Proceedings of Accra Gold coast Conference, May 2nd –6th 1955, Christian Council of the Gold Coast, 1955.

Bakkabulindi, J. 'The Traditional Wisdom of the Baganda Concerning Moral Behaviour,' *African Religions and Philosophy*, Vol.17.1974.

Bediako, K. *Jesus in African Culture*, Accra: Asempa Publishers, (1990) 1998.

- Busia, K. A. 'The African World View,' *Christianity and African Culture*, proceedings of Accra Gold coast Conference, May 2nd –6th 1955, Christian Council of the Gold Coast, 1955.
- Church, J.E. *William Naggenda a Great Lover of Jesus*, London: CMS Pamphlets, nd.
- Coldham, E. *African Scriptures, Acholi-Mousgoum: a Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*, Vol. 1, London: BFBS, 1966.
- Cox, J. 'Missionaries, The Phenomenology of Religions and Re-presenting Nineteenth-Century African Religion: A Case Study of Peter Mckenzie's Hail Orisha!,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 31/3, 2001.
- Crollius, A. 'Inculturation: Newness and Ongoing Process,' in J. Waliggo et al., *Inculturation: Its Meaning and Urgency*, Nairobi: St. Paul Publications, 1986.
- Denzin, N. K. 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research,' in N. K. Denzin et al., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oak: Sage, 1994.
- _____, 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research,' in N. K. Denzin et al., *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications, 1998.
- Dickson, K. A. 'Continuity and Discontinuity between the Old Testament and African Life Thought,' *Bulletin of African Theology*, January-June, 1979.
- Ganly, J. 'ATR can Enrich Christianity,' *AFER*, Vol. 31/5, 1989.
- Geertz, C. 'Ethos and Worldview the Analysis of the Sacred Symbols,' in A. Dundes, *Every Man His Way*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Gehman, R. 'The East African Revival,' *East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 5, no.1, 1986.
- Githuku, S. 'Taboos on Counting,' in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Hansen, H. B. & M. Twaddle, 'Political Transitions since Idi Amin; a Study in Political Pathology,' in H. B. Hansen & M Twaddle, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinmann, 1988.
- Hinfelaar, H. 'Evangelisation and Inculturation,' *AFER*, Vol. 36/1, 1994.
- Holter, K. 'The Current State of Old Testament Scholarship in Africa,' in M. Getui, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.

- Jonker, L. 'Towards a Communal Approach for Reading the Bible in Africa,' M. Getui et al. *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Kabaka Chwa, 'Education, Civilization and Foreignisation in Buganda,' in Low, D. A. *The Mind of Buganda*, London: Heinemann, 1971.
- Kaggwa, D. 'A Christian Interpretation of the Customs of the Baganda relating to Death and Inheritance,' *The African Mind; A Journal of Religion and Philosophy in Africa*, 1/1, 1989.
- Kaggwa, J. R. & H. Kibirige, 'The Funeral Rites of the Baganda,' *Makerere University Occasional Research Papers on African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, 138/13, 1973.
- Kalugila, L. 'Central Issues of Old Testament Translation in Africa,' in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Kanyoro, M. A. 'Interpreting Old Testament Polygamy Through African Eyes,' in M. Oduyoye & M. A. Kanyoro, *The Will to Arise*, New York: Orbis Books, 1995.
- Karugire, S. R. 'The Arrival of the European Missionaries,' T. Tuma, et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978.
- Kayiira, E. P. *Obusamize Nabumanya*, 1994.
- Kinoti, H. 'African Morality Past and Present,' in J. Mugambi et al., *Moral and Ethical Issues in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers, 1992.
- _____, 'Proverbs in African Spirituality,' in M. Getui, *Theological Methods and Aspects of Worship in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Kolbe Press, 1998.
- Kisirinya, S. K. 'Interpreting the Old "Testament" in Africa: Last Will, Contract or Covenant?' in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Lubega, E. P. 'Ngogwe egenda wa?' in Rev. G. K. Baskerville n'ebyaafaayo by'ekkanisa mu kyaggwe, (Baskerville and the history of the church in Kyaggwe), Kampala: Tabi & Company, 1993.
- Lugira, M. A. 'Redemption in the Ganda Traditional Belief,' in *Uganda Journal*, 32/2 1968.
- Mafico, T. 'The Biblical God of the Fathers and the African Ancestors,' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, Boston: Brill, 2000.

- Masenya, M. 'Wisdom and Wisdom Converge: Selected Old Testament and the Northern Sotho Proverbs,' in M. Getui et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Mazrui, A. 'Is Africa Decaying? The View from Uganda,' in H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinmann, 1988.
- Mbiti, J. 'The Bible in African Culture,' in Gibellini, R. *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM Press, 1994.
- Mckenzie, P. 'Hail Orisha! A Response to James Cox,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32/1, 2002.
- Mojola, A. O. '100 Years of the *Luganda Bible* (1896-1996),' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, Boston: Brill, 2000.
- Mugambi, J. 'Africa and the Old Testament,' in M. Getui, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Mukasa, J. 'News article,' in D. A. Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, London: Heinmann, 1971.
- Mutebi, W. 'Okwabya Olumbe among Baganda,' *Makerere University Occasional Research Papers on African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, 27/3, 1971.
- Nabudere, D. W. 'External and Internal Factors in Uganda's Continuing Crisis,' in H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinmann 1988.
- Nassaka, O. 'Women and Taboo: A Case Study on Buganda in Uganda,' in Musimbi K. A. et al., *Groaning in Faith*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1996.
- Nshemereirwe, G. 'The *Balokole* Movement in Ankole,' *Dini na Mila* 2, 1967.
- Nsibambi, A. 'The Restoration of Traditional Rulers,' in B. H. Hansen & M. Twaddle, *From Chaos to Order: the Politics of Constitution-Making in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers (nd).
- Nsimbi, M. B. 'Baganda Traditional Personal Names,' *Uganda Journal*, 14/2, 1950.
- _____, 'Village Life and Customs in Buganda,' *Uganda Journal*, 20/2, 1956.
- Ntloedibe, G. S. 'Ngaka and Jesus as Liberators,' in G. West & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, Boston: Brill, 2000.

- Nyamiti, C. 'The Problem of Evil in African Traditional Cultures and Today's African Inculturation and Liberation Theologies,' *African Christian Studies*, 2/11, 1995.
- Obeng, A. E. 'The Use of Biblical Critical Methods Rooting the Scriptures in Africa,' in Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Acton, 1997.
- Oger, L. 'Inculturation: To Evangelise as Christ did, can this be done Without Compromising Ourselves?' *AFER*, Vol. 36/1, 1994.
- Ogunduyilemi, J. 'Inculturation in the Church Today,' *Journal of Inculturation Theology*, Vol.4/2, 1997.
- Olowola, C. 'Sacrifice in African Tradition and in Biblical Perspective,' *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 10/1, 1991.
- Richard, A. I. 'Authority Patterns in Traditional Buganda,' in L. A. Fallers, *King's Men*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Rigby P. & F. Lule, 'Continuity and Change in Kiganda Religion in Urban and Peri-urban Kampala,' in D. Parkin, *Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa*, London: Oxford Press, 1975.
- Ruzindana, A. 'Combating corruption in Uganda,' in L. Katorobo et al., *Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, (1995) 1997.
- Sawyers, H. 'Sacrifice,' in Kwesi Dickson et al. *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs*, London: Billing & Sons, 1969.
- Schineller, S. J. 'Inculturation - Why so Slow?' *Journal of Inculturation Theology*, 4/2, 1997.
- Ssozi, R. S. 'The Basezi,' *Makerere University Occasional Research Papers on African Traditional Religion and Philosophy*, 37/5, 1975.
- Tait, D. 'Konkomba Sorcery,' in J. Middleton, *Magic, Witchcraft and Curing*, Austin: University of Texas Press, (1967) 1976.
- Taylor, J.V. *Processes of Growth in an African Church*, ICM Research Pamphlets, London: SCM, 1958.
- Tuma, T. 'Church Expansion in Buganda,' T. Tuma et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978.
- Ukpong, J. 'Christology and Inculturation: a New Testament Perspective,' in R. Gibellini, *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM, 1994.

- _____, 'Developments in Biblical Interpretations in Africa,' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 108, 2000.
- _____, 'Reading the Bible with African Eyes,' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 91, 1995.
- Waliggo, J. M. 'Bible and Catechism in Uganda,' H. Kinoti et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Acton, 1997.
- _____, 'Making a Church that is Truly African,' in J. M. Waliggo et al., *Inculturation: its Meaning and Urgency*, St. Paul Publications, 1986.
- Wambuta, D. 'Savannah Theology: A Biblical Reconsideration of the Concept of Salvation in the African Context,' *Bulletin of African Theology*, 3/6, 1981.
- Wamue, G. 'Women and Taboo Among the Gikuyu,' in K. A. Musimbi et al., *Groaning in Faith*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1996.
- Wandira, A. 'Professional Missionary Activities,' in T. Tuma et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978.
- Ward, K. 'Tukutendereza Yesu: the Balokole Revival in Uganda,' in Z. Nthumburi, *From Mission to Church*, Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1995.
- Waruta, D. 'Who is Jesus in Africa Today,' in R. Schreiter, *Faces of Jesus in Africa*, SCM: London, 1992.
- Welbourn, F. B. 'The Uganda Church and Other Christian Movements,' in Tuma, T. et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978.
- West, G. 'On the Eve of African Biblical Studies,' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, (1997) 1999.
- Willis, R. 'Do the Fipa have a Word for it?' in Parkin, D. *The Anthropology of Evil*, New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

F BOOKS

- Adamo, D. T. *Africa and the Africans in the Old Testament*, San Francisco: Christian University Press, 1998.
- Amaza, O. *Museveni's Long March*, Kampala: Fountain, 1998.
- Appia-Kubia, Kofi et al., *African Theology en route*, New York: Orbis Books, 1979.
- Apter, D. E. *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, London: Frank Cass, (1961) 1997.
- Bailey, J. et al., *Gods and Men: Myths and Legends from the World Religions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Barret, J. *Sacrifice and Prophecy in Turkana Cosmology*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 1998.
- Beasley-Murray, G. *John*, Waco Texas: Word Books, 1987.
- Bediako, K. *Christianity in Africa*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.
- _____, K. *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa*, Carlisle: Regnum, (1992) 1999.
- Bonk, J. *The Theory and Practice of Missionary Identification*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.
- Bosch, D. J. *Transforming Mission*, New York: Orbis Books, (1991) 1997.
- Bourdillion, M. *Religion and Society: A Text for Africa*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1990.
- _____, *Where are the Ancestors?* Gweru: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1993.
- Brodie, T. *The Gospel According to John*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Brown, I. C. *Understanding other Cultures*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963.
- Bujo, B. *African Christian Morality, at the Age of Inculturation*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications, (1990) 1998.
- Carmichael, C. M. *Law, Legend and Incest in the Bible*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Center, W. (ed.) *Evil and the Response of World Religion*, St Paul: Paragon House, 1997.

- Church, J. E. *Awake, Uganda! The Story of Blasio Kigozi and his Vision of Revival*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1957.
- _____, *Every Man a Bible Student*, Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1981.
- _____, *Quest for the Highest: An Autobiographical Account of the East African Revival*, Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1981.
- Cox, J. *Expressing the Sacred*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, (1992) 1996.
- _____, *Rational Ancestors*, Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998.
- Cranfield, C. *The Epistle to the Romans*, vol. 1, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, (1975) 1977.
- Creswell, J. W. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Thousand Oak: Sage Publication, 1994.
- _____, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*, London: Sage Publications, 1998.
- Day, P. *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.
- Denzin, N. K. et al., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oak: Sage, 1994.
- _____, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, 1998.
- De Vaux, R. *Ancient Israel*, London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1961.
- Domingues, F. *Christ Our Healer*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2000.
- Douglas, M. *Purity and Danger: A Comparative Study of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1966.
- Dundes, A. (ed.) *Every Man His Way*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Durham, J. *World Biblical Commentary: Exodus* (vol. 3), Waco Texas: Word Books, 1987.
- Eby'okusaba Ebyawufu mu biro ebitali bimu mu Bwassaabalabirizi bwa Uganda*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop (1961) 1962.
- Ekitabo Ekitukuvu Ekityitibwa Baibuli Endagaano Enkadde N'Empya*, Kampala, Bible Society of Uganda, (1968) 1993.

- Ekitabo Ekitukuvu Ekya Katonda, Kye Bayita Baibuli Ye Ndagaano Enkadde N'Empya*, London: BFBS, 1899.
- Ekitabo Eky'Okusaba Kw'Abantu Bonna*, London: SPCK, (1928) 1987.
- Ela, Jean-Marc, *My Faith as an African*, New York: Orbis (1985) 1989.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. *Theories of Primitive Religion*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965.
- _____, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1937) 1958.
- Fahs, L. S. *Uganda's White Man of Work: A Story of Alexander Mackay*, Dayton: Foreign Missionary Society, 1907.
- Fallers, L. A. *King's Men*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Fardon, R. *Between God, the Dead and the Wild*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Finnegan, R. *Oral Literature in Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Flood, G. *Beyond Phenomenology*, London: Cassell, 1999.
- Fretheim, T. *Exodus*, Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991.
- Gehman, R. J. *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective*, Kibeja: Kesho Publication, 1989.
- Gerstenberger, E. *Leviticus*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, (1993) 1996.
- Getui, M. (ed.) *Theological Methods and Aspects of Worship in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Kolbe Press, 1998.
- _____, et al., *Interpreting the Old Testament in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton, 2001.
- Gibellini, R. (ed.) *Paths of African Theology*, London: SCM Press, 1994.
- Gifford, P. *African Christianity its Public Role*, London: Hurst & Company, 1998.
- Gray, R. *Black Christians and White Missionaries*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Habel, N. *The Book of Job*, London: SCM Press, 1985.

- Hansen, B. H. & M. Twaddle, *From Chaos to Order: The Politics of Constitution-Making in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers (nd).
- _____, *Uganda Now*, Nairobi: Heinemann, 1988.
- Hasting, A. *Christian Marriage in Africa*, London: SPCK, 1974.
- _____, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*, London: Burns & Oates, 1967.
- Hattersley, C. W. *The Baganda at Home*, London: Frank Cass, (1908) 1968.
- Haydon, E. S. *Law and Justice in Buganda*, London: Butterworths, 1960.
- Healey, J. et al., *Towards an African Narrative Theology*, Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa, 1996.
- Holter, K. *Yahweh in Africa: Essays on Africa and the Old Testament*, New York: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Hyatt, J. P. *The New Century Bible Commentary: Exodus*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971.
- Ilogu, O. *Christian Ethics in an African Background; A Study of the Interaction of Christianity and Ibo Culture*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.
- Ingham, K. *Obote*, London: Routledge, 1994.
- Jahn, J. *Muntu: An Outline of the New African Culture*, New York: Grove Press, 1961.
- Josephus, F. *Jewish Antiquities*, Vol. V-VIII, London: Heinemann, 1934.
- Kabaka of Buganda, *Desecration of My Kingdom*, London: Constable, 1967.
- Kaberuka, W. *The political Economy of Uganda 1890-1979*, New York: Vintage press, 1990.
- Kaggwa, A. *Bakabaka Be Buganda*, London: Headly Brothers, 1901.
- _____, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, Kampala: Crane Publishers, (1905) 1999.
- _____, *Engero Z'Abaganda*, London: The Sheldon Press, 1927.
- _____, *The Kings of Buganda*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- Kakooza, P. K. *Empisa Z'Obuntubulamu*, Kampala: FAD, 1996.

- Karugire, S. *Roots of Instability in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1996.
- Kasenene, P. *Religious Ethics in Africa*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1998.
- Katekismus Esooka Ne Ey'okubiri* (the first and second catechism), Kampala: Uganda Book Shop, nd.
- Katekismus Ey'okusatu* (third catechism) Kampala: Uganda Book Shop, nd.
- Kinoti, H. et al., *The Bible in African Christianity*, Nairobi: Acton, 1997.
- Kirwen, C. M. *The Missionary and the Diviner: Contending Theologies of Christian and African Religions*, New York: Orbis Books, 1987.
- Kisembo, B. et al., *African Christian Marriage*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1977.
- Kitching, A. L. et al., *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, London: S P C K, (1925) 1952.
- Kiwanuka, S. M. *A History of Buganda*, London: Longman, 1971.
- Kwesi, D. et al., *Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs*, London: Billing & Sons, 1969.
- Kywalyanga, F. *Traditional Religion, Custom, and Christianity in Uganda*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976.
- Levine, B. *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989.
- Lewis, T. *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel, and Ugarit*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Low, D. A. and R.C. Parrat, *Buganda and British Overrule*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- _____, *The Mind of Buganda*, London: Heinemann, 1971.
- Lubega, B. M. *Olulimi Oluganda Amakula*, Kampala: Belinda Publishers, 1994.
- Lugira, A. M. *Ganda Art*, Kampala: Osasa, 1970.
- Magesa, L. *African Religion*, Nairobi: Paulines Publication Africa, 1998 (1997).
- Mair, L. *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, London: Routledge & Kegan, (1934) 1965.

- Malinowski, B. *Magic, Science and Religion*, London: Souvenir Press, (1948) 1982.
- Mann, C. S. *Mark*, New York: The Anchor Bible Doubleday, 1986.
- Masembe, H. *Engero Zaffe (Our Stories)*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1996.
- Mbiti, J. *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinemann, 1969.
- _____, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- _____, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Mckenzie, P. *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Metuh, E. I. *African Religion*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1981.
- _____, *Comparative Study of African Traditional Religions*, Onitsha: IMICO Publishers, 1987.
- Middleton, J. (ed.) *Myth and the Cosmos: Reading in Mythology and Symbolism*, New York: The Natural History Press, 1967.
- Middleton, J. and Winter, E. H. (eds.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Middleton, J. *Lugbara Religion*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- _____, *Magic, Witchcraft and Curing*, Austin: University of Texas Press (1967) 1976.
- Mishnah* (new translation by J. Neusner) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Morris, L. *The Epistles to the Romans*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988.
- Mosala, J. *Biblical Hermeneutics, and Black Theology in South Africa*, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989.
- Mpuuga, W. *Amagezi Ga Ab'edda*, Kisubi: Marianum Press, 1985.
- Mugalu, J. *Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics: A Survey of the Aesthetic and Cultural Aspects of Myth, a Case Study of the 'Story of Kintu' from Buganda*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994.

- Mugambi, J. et al., *Moral and Ethical Issues in Africa Christianity*, Nairobi: Initiatives, 1992.
- Mugambwa, C. L. M. *Enkuluze y'ennono y'omuganda*, Kampala: *Ekibiina Ky'olulimi Oluganda*, 1998.
- Murphy, J. D. *Luganda-English Dictionary*, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1972.
- Musimbi, K. A. et al., *Groaning in Faith*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1996.
- Nabudere, D. W. *Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda*, London: Onyx press, 1980.
- Nida, E. A. *Customs and Culture*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.
- Nielsen, K. *Satan: The Prodigal Son?* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, (1991) 1998.
- Nkemnkia, N. M. *African Vitalogy*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1999.
- North, W. *The Lazarus Story Within the Johannine Tradition*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Noth, M. *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
- Nsimbi, M. B. *Amannya Amaganda n'ennono Zaago*, Kampala, Longman Uganda Ltd., (1956) 1989.
- _____, *Ssiwa Muto Lugero*, Kampala: Longman of Uganda Ltd., (1949) 1965.
- Nthamburi, Z. (ed.), *From Mission to Church*, Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1995.
- O'Donohue, J. *Magic and Witchcraft in Southern Uganda*, Ggaba Publication, Kampala Uganda, 1974.
- Oduyoye, M. et al, *The Will to Arise: Women: Tradition and the Church in Africa*, New York: Orbis, 1995 (1992).
- Okpewho, I. *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Okudda Obuggya Okw'omwoyo mu East Africa*, Kampala: Uganda Book Shop, 1997.
- Olowola, C. *African Traditional Religion and the Christian Faith*, Achimota: Africa Christian Press, 1993.

- Omara-Otunnu, A. *Politics and the Military in Uganda; 1890-1985*, London: Macmillan, 1987.
- Parkin, D. (ed.) *The Anthropology of Evil*, New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- _____, *Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa*, London: Oxford Press, 1975.
- Parrinder, G. *Witchcraft: European and African*, London: Faber and Faber, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1958.
- Pedersen, J. *Israel its Life and Culture*, Vol. 1&11, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991 (1929).
- Pilkington, G. L. and Cook, A. R. *Engero Ez'Ekiganda (Luganda Proverbs)*, London: SPCK, 1901.
- Pobee, J. *Towards an African Theology*, Nashville: Partheon Press, 1979.
- Ray, B. *Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Revised Standard Version Bible
- Richards, A. I. *East African Chiefs*, London: Faber and Faber, 1959.
- Ricoeur, P. *The Symbolism of Evil*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- Ringgren, H. *Israelite Religion*, London SPCK, (1963) 1981.
- Roscoe, J. *The Baganda, their Customs and Beliefs*, London: Frank Cass, (1911) 1965.
- Sacks, R. *The Book of Job*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.
- Sanneh, L. *Translating the Message*, New York: Orbis Books (1989) 1990.
- Sawyers, H. *Creative Evangelism: Towards a New Christian Encounter with Africa*, London: Luther Worth Press, 1968.
- Schreier, R. *Faces of Jesus in Africa*, London: SCM, 1992.
- Sempebwa, W. J. *The Ontological and Normative Structure of a Bantu Social Reality of a Bantu Society: A Systematic Study of the Ganda Ontology and Ethics*, Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karl-Universitat, 1978.
- Shepherd, A. *Tucker of Uganda*, London: SCM, 1929.

- Shorter, A. *Evangelization and Culture*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994.
- _____, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, New York: Orbis Books, 1988.
- Smalley, A. W. (ed.) *Readings in Missionary Anthropology II*, South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1978.
- Snoxall, R. A. (ed.) *Luganda-English Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Ssekamwa, J. C. *Ebisoko N'Engero*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995.
- _____, *Enkuluze Y'Eddiini Y'Abaganda Ey'Ennono*, Kampala: Wood Printers, 1990.
- Ssekkadde, Y. et al., *Ndi Mugezi*, London: Macmillan, 1952.
- Stanley, H. M. *Through the Dark Continent*, London: Sampson Low, Marston Searle and Rivington, 1878, Vol.1.
- Stock, E. *History of Church Missionary Society*, Vol.3, London: CMS, 1899.
- Tanner, R. E. S. *Transition in African Beliefs: Traditional Religion and Christian Change -A Study in Sukuma Land, Tanzania East Africa*, New York: Maryknoll Publications, 1967.
- Taylor, J. V. *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, London: SCM, 1958.
- _____, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence Amid African Religion*, London: SCM, 1963.
- Tempels, P. *Bantu Philosophy*, Paris: Presence African, 1959.
- The Church of the Province of Uganda; Provincial Canons*, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1997.
- Tuma, T. et al., *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, Nairobi: Uzima, 1978.
- Wachege, P. N. *Jesus Christ Our Muthamaki (Ideal Elder)*, Nairobi: Phoenix, 1992.
- Walligo, J. M. et al., *Inculturation: Its Meaning and Urgency*, Nairobi: Saint Paul Publishers, 1986.
- Walser, F. *Luganda Proverbs*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1982.
- Wanjohi, G. J. *The Wisdom and Philosophy of the Gikuyu Proverbs*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1997.

- Welbourn, F. B. *East African Christians*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- _____, *East African Rebels*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- _____, *Religion and Politics in Uganda 1952-1962*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965.
- West, G. & Musa Dube, *Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, Boston: Brill, 2000.
- Willoughby, W. O. *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa*, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928.
- Wilson, M. *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Wright, W. A. (ed) *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, Amsterdam: Philo Press, (1905) 1979.
- Wrigley, C. *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.