KIGANDA AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF EKIBI IN CONTEMPORARY BAGANDA SOCIETY

A THESIS SUBMITTED BY
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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
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<tr>
<td>AFER</td>
<td>African Ecclesiastical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BFBS</td>
<td>British and Foreign Bible Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHUSA</td>
<td>The Church of Uganda Struggle against HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society/Church Mission Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>COU</td>
<td>Church of Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSCNWW</td>
<td>Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EATWOT</td>
<td>Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immuno-deficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lug</em></td>
<td><em>Luganda</em> Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>RSV</td>
<td>Revised Standard Version Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAS</td>
<td>School of Oriental and African Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPCK</td>
<td>Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>UBS</td>
<td>United Bible Societies</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCU</td>
<td>Uganda Christian University Mukono</td>
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<td>WCC</td>
<td>World Council of Churches</td>
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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
  * abangyiwa: adversaries
  * abasamize: diviners
  * abasawo: healers
  * abasezi abalya abuntu: 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
  * amadula: ordeal-liquor
  * amafuva: 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
  * Bazukufu: Reawakened
  * Beegayirizi: Intercessors
  * bika: clans
  * Buganda: Baganda region, nation
  * buntu: being
  * butaka: clan land
  * dayimoomi: unclean spirit
  * ddunda: shepherd
ebibi: plural of ekibi
ebigogo: banana stem
ebikokyo: riddles
ebikolimo: curses
ebikwate: recitations
ebisiraani: misfortunes
ebisoko: idioms
ebitontome: poems
ebivve: abominations
ebizibu: problems, undesirable conditions
ehyawendiikibwa ebitukuvu: Holy Scriptures
ehyawongo: sorcery stuff
eddagalala: medicine
eddogo: sorcery power
effubitizv.: envy
effumbe: civet cat
effumu: spear
ekibbo: basket
ekibi: anti-life forces, conditions and activities which undermine the wellbeing of all creation (which might approximately be translated as ‘evil’)
ekibonerezo: punishment
ekifananyi: picture
ekika: clan
ekikolimo: curse
ekiraamo: a will
ekirungi: good
ekisa: grace
ekitabo ky’okusaba: prayer book
ekitambo: spiritual force behind prowling
ekivve: abomination
ekizikiza: darkness
embaga: wedding
embuya: barkcloths
embuyaga: hurricanes
emikolo: rituals
emirembe: peace
emisambwa: tutelary spirits
emizannyo: drama
emizimu emibi: malevolent spirits
emizimu: spirits, the living dead
emiziro: totems
emizizo: taboos
emumbu: lung fish
emumanga: medium
emmambira: poisonous herb
empisa embi or emize: bad/dangerous behaviour
empisa ennungi: good/acceptable behaviour
empisa ez’obuntubulamu: worthy/acceptable conduct
empisa: customs
endagaano: contract
endobolo: share
enfumo: stories
engalo empanvu: long fingers
engalo: fingers
engano: short stories (singular olugano)
engero ensonge: proverbs
engero: narrative (singular lugero)
engeye: colubus monkey
enjaaye: another name of enjaga (cannabis)
enjaga: cannabis
enjala: 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
eriso 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
kusobya: make mistake, violate
kuwulira: obey
kwatula: confess
kwegayirira: intercession
kwenenyia: repent
lubaale: divinities
lugabi: 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
mulokozzi: saviour
musana: light
musisi: divinity of earthquake
muzzukuluwo: grand child
mwannyoko: sister/stepsister
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
obukayi: hatred
obulamu obutaggwaawo: eternal/everlasting life
obulamu obwakaakati: present life
obulamu: life
obulimba: deceitfulness
obulogo: practicing sorcery
obultongi: goodness
obulwadde obw'omwoyo: spiritual illness
obulwadde: affliction/sickness
obumw: oneness, solidarity
obunnabbi: prophecy
obunnanfuusi: hypocrisy
obuntubulamu: approved/worthy conduct
obunzezi: prowling
obusawava: ashamed, guilt stricken
obutaba na mazima: dishonesty
obutakkiriza: lack of faith in God
obutalomoka: rejecting salvation, refusing to get saved
obutemu: homicide, murder
obutiko: small mushrooms
obuuki: righteousness
obutwa: poison
obuwulize: obedience
obwakabaka: kingship
obwamalaaya: prostitution
obwannakyemalira: selfishness
obwavu: poverty
obwenzi: adultery
obwesigwa: honesty
obwetoowaze: humility
okaba emmandwa: mediumship
okubba: stealing
okubika: announcing death
okubikka ebiggya: covering the graves
okubonaabona: suffering
okuboniririra: guidance and counselling
okubuusabusa: doubt
okubuzira emirembe: destroying peace
okufa: death
okufuba: striving
okufulumoya olumbe: to cast out death/disease
okufuma: telling, relating stories
okufuuna taaba: smoking tobacco
okugatta: reconcile
okugoba omuzimu: to cast out a spirit
okugobwa ku kyalo: ostracising
okugwa eddalu: mental illness
okugwa: falling/being defeated
okujeem: disobey
okujamaa olubuto: abortion
okukansira: propitiation
okukola obubi: doing wrong or bad things
okukola obulungi: doing good
okukolima: cursing
okukungaanana: 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
okulwayisa: 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
okumnyogoga: becoming spiritually cold
okusaba: praying
okusaddaaka abantu: human sacrifice
okusaddaaka: sacrificing
okusamira: divination
okusera: prowling
okusiiba: fasting
okusobyia: violating
okusoma: reading
okusosola: segregation
okussaako omusika: installing the heir/heiress
okuwaza: being put to shame
okutanza: to fine
okutemula: to murder
okutta: killing
okutuluganya: oppressing
okutunda empewo: selling air, fraud.
okutya abakulu: respect for seniors
okuvumaganya: cause disgrace/abuse
okuwa ekimu eky'ekkumi: tithing
okuwa obujulirwa: witnessing
okuwaayiriza: make false accusations
okuwaayiriza: giving false witness
okuwangula: overcome/overpower
okuwemula: use dirty language
okuwonga: to sacrifice, give an offering
okuwonya: to heal, treat
okuwaayanira ebyensi: worldliness
okuayimiriza: banning/stopping
okuayomba: quarrelling
okuzaalukuka: disown
okuziika: burial
okuziyiza: to prevent
okuzaakira: resurrection
okuzaakuka: reawakening
okwabya olumbe: last funeral rites
okwakula abana: child initiation rites
okwanjula: introduction of suitor to family
okwebaka: to sleep, spiritual sleep
okwebubusa ku bajf: necromancy
okweganga: use protective medicine
okwegayirira: interceding
okwelagula: foresee
okwenyena: to repent, repentance
okwesalamu: divisions
okwetangira: prevent or protect
okwetondalokusaba okusonyiyibwa: asking for forgiveness
okwetta: committing suicide
okwolesebwcr. visions
okwesebwcr. visions
okw'onoona: wrongdoing
olubugo: barkcloth
olugave: ant-eater
olutimi 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
omukazi: a woman
omukazi: a woman
omukazi: a woman
omukazi: a woman
omukazi: a woman
omukazi: a woman
omukumozi w'obubi: wrongdoer, offender
omukulisaayo: an ordinary Christian
omulabe: enemy, opponent, accusers
omulambo: dead body
omulogo: sorcerer
omulongo: twin, king's umbilical cord
omululu: greed
omulyazaamaanyi: obstinate debtor
omunitu omubi: a bad/dangerous person
omunitu: 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 omutukuru: Holy Spirit
owanawalibwa: person with bad luck/misfortune
ssaabataka: head of all Bataka/clans
ssabbiiti: Sabbath, Sunday
ssaddaka: 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
Yeseu: 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 1  Uganda 1886

The kingdom of Buganda (shaded in red) from which the country of Uganda was subsequently named by a 152-mile arc on the northern shores of Lake Victoria. The king was an active and powerful ruler of a little more than a million people. The 600 Pages at the court, 10 of whom were to die for their Faith, formed a school for chiefs.

[Map Image]

http://dspace.dail.pipex.com/suttonlink/364ugmac.gif

Map 2  Buganda counties 1964

[Map Image]

www.buganda.com/masaza.htm
Map 3  Uganda 2001

Crown Press Uganda
Map 4  Dioceses of the Church of Uganda 1961

Church of Uganda Provincial Archives
Map 5  Dioceses of the Church of Uganda 2001

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. Mbaale & North Mbaale
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

(http://www.anglicancommunion.org/virtualtour/uganda.html)
Map 6  Namirembe Diocese showing the Archdeaconries 2001

CHURCH OF UGANDA

NAMIREMBE DIOCESE

Map Showing Parishes and other churches where possible

A. Entebbe  B. Mengo  C. Luzira  D. Kazo
E. Gayaza  F. Nateete  G. Namirimbe Deanery

Diocesan office Namirembe
Map 7  Mokono Diocese showing the Archdeaconries 2001

Diagram:

A. Ngogwe
C. Bukoba
E. Nakibizzi

B. Mokono Cathedral Deanery
D. Ndeeba

Diocesan office Mukono
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 maka 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. 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.

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1 A. Lubowa, Abakazi beerangidde bwe hafuuna enmindi (The women accused each other of sending sorcery power through smoking pipes), Bukedde 18th February 2000; H. Ssenyondo, Kampala ayinza okufualibwa ekidukiro ky’aboononyi, (Kampala may be turned into a refuge for violators), Bukedde, 09th June 2000, available from http://wwwvision.co.ug/buk06_0609.htm, accessed 09th June 2000.
The problem of ekibi as rooted in the kiganda worldview\(^2\) 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. 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. 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

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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

The noun ekibi is derived from the adjective ‘bi’ which refers to something bad/ugly, for instance ekifaaananyi 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

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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

- **Ekivve** (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), **ekivve** (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.

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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, Bugaju 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 Mpalianyi, Sseeta, 10.06.01.

KIGANDA

The term *kiganda* refers to the way of thinking and doing things among the Baganda.\(^\text{10}\)

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 *engero* (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

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 okwabuya 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.\(^\text{11}\) 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.\(^\text{12}\) Using this method enabled me to study some groups of contemporary Baganda,\(^\text{13}\) 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.\(^\text{14}\)

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

\(^{13}\) See pp. 10-11.
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’omunjju 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)\(^1\) 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.\(^1\)\(^6\) 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

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practices. 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.

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. 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. 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

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subject to other interpretations utilizing a different approach. 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. 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.
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 tradition\(^2\) 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 engero (narrative) as it examines, interprets and critically analyses the idea of ekibi in

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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 Natubale* (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

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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.
(ant-eater), *Engeye* (colobus 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).\(^9\)

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\(^7\) 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.

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

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

11 As we shall discover later, the pre-colonial Baganda had engero (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.

were many emizizo (taboos)\textsuperscript{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 ennono (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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{18} This includes engero (narrative), emyimba (songs) and chants, ebikwate (recitations), ebikokyö (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:

\textit{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...}\textsuperscript{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).

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{20} There are three major categories of engero, namely enfumo (stories), engano (short stories) and engero ensonge (proverbs).

\textsuperscript{16} I. Okpewho, \textit{African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{17} J. Mugalu, \textit{Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics}, pp. 53-54.
\textsuperscript{18} I. Okpewho, \textit{African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity}, p. 2.
ENFUMO (STORIES)
The term enfumo is the plural of the noun olufumo, which is used to refer to tradition and legend.\textsuperscript{21} This noun is derived from the verb okufuma which refers to telling or relating enfumo.\textsuperscript{22} Enfumo includes stories about the society bearing deep historical, cultural or religious significance and they are a deposit of tradition.\textsuperscript{23} For example, there are enfumo of Kintu and Nnambi, the Baganda ancestors, and others about divinities such as Kibuuka and Nende.\textsuperscript{24} Then there are enfumo about events and personalities of the past,\textsuperscript{25} for instance, the olufumo (story) of Kabaka Kayemba who escaped death when he refused to sail in a clay boat.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{21} A. L. Kitching et al., Luganda-English, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p. 24.
\textsuperscript{23} J. Mugalu, Philosophy, Oral Tradition and Africanistics, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{26} A. Kaggwa, The Kings of Buganda, pp. 48-49.
contemporary Baganda. As a result the short *engero* are also referred to as *enfumo*. Under this category we find stories which are explanatory, such as *Lwaki ebinyira bibuuka ekiro* (why bats only fly in the night).

There are also *engano* about animals acting as humans such as *Wampologoma ne Wante*, (lion and cow) and trickster stories such as that about *Wakayima* (hare) tricking bigger animals like *Wango* (leopard). 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.

**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* (a person who admits his/her fault pays less penalty). They may also be symbolic, wherein figures or pictures require interpretation in order to

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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.
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.
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 *Nkoko njeru* (white chicken); thus *enkoko njeru teeyekweka 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

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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.


37 A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z’Abaganda*, p. 30. Even the place *Nkoko njeru* is still found in Buganda.

performance, the *engero* 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 *engero* were of great significance in the pre-colonial Baganda society, especially for preserving and inculcating social values. Consequently, *engero* 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 *engero* (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 *engero*, 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 *engero*, 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

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 nasobyia' (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.'

This lufumo (story) as popularly interpreted gives us some ideas about the first Baganda and their beliefs about Walumbe (disease and death). 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.

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. 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. The last blow was when Kintu’s children failed to keep silent and scared off Walumbe before Kayikuuuzi could catch him.

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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.
32 See p. 15.
42 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. Therefore, in this perception, ekibi evolved within the society as people made mistakes and violated the society norms. Therefore, ekibi as okwonoona (wrongdoing) and okusobya (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 engero 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

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


that the members of the Ennyonyi (bird) clan had sent him amayembe (horns) 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. 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 Kayiikuuzu’s mission to fail. It can therefore be argued that the blaming of Nnambi 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

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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. This position of omuntu (human being) meant that humanity was the focus of all reflections on life. Omuntu was believed to have obulamu (life), 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.

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

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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 olé (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 olumwe (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

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\(^{60}\) 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, *Empiszi 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. 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). 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). Okusoby (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. (If one member of the lung fish clan eats the lung fish he brings disgrace onto his/her whole clan).

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64 See pp. 18-19.


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. 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. 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. 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.

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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. 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, (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.

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

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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. 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). 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, (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

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

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76 Ibid., p. 45.
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).\(^\text{79}\) 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.\(^\text{80}\)


These *engero* (narrative) therefore suggest that *empisa embi* (dangerous/bad behaviour) were *ekibi*. These anti-human, anti-social and oppressive *ekibi*\(^{81}\) 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 basobyat*) 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

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81 Plural of *ekibi*. 

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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. 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*.

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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.\textsuperscript{83} Hence the saying Olusala ekyayi luleka munyeera kusaasaana\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{83} See p. 31.
\textsuperscript{84} J. Roscoe, The Baganda their Beliefs and Customs, p. 491.
\textsuperscript{85} G. L. Pilkington et al., Engero Ez’Ekiganda , p. 14.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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). 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 babuza olumbe olwatta muganda waabwe._ Kubaga nti tewali yeeefiira 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 teyeefira_ 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

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⁸⁸ See pp. 32-33.
⁹¹ Ibid.
society.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{obulogo} (practicing sorcery), because her husband failed to fight and kill his opponents.\textsuperscript{92} This suggests that in the pre-colonial Baganda society many forms of injustice were perpetuated in the process of dealing with \textit{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 \textit{ekibi}, and for protecting the society against its anti-life effects. More of these ideas could also be seen in the \textit{kiganda} practices of cleansing the society of \textit{ekibi}.

CLEANSING THE SOCIETY OF \textit{EKIBI}

Among the pre-colonial Baganda, as we observed before, \textit{ekibi} was believed to have detrimental consequences for the wellbeing of the society. This is because \textit{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 \textit{Katonda}.\textsuperscript{93} Therefore, the people would sometimes perform rituals such as \textit{ssaddaaka} (sacrifice) and offerings, meant to restore the community’s \textit{obulamu} (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.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{91} Ibid., p. 175. B. Ray, \textit{Myth, Ritual and Kingship in Buganda}, p. 58.
\bibitem{92} A. Kaggwa, \textit{Empisa Z’Abaganda}, p. 162.
\bibitem{93} See pp. 32.
\end{thebibliography}
The making of sacrifices and offerings... is also a psychological device to restore this ontological imbalance.\footnote{J. Mbili, *African Religions and Philosophy*, p. 59.}

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.\footnote{J. Middleton, *Lugbara Religion*, p. 85.}

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).\footnote{A. Kaggwa, *Empisa Z'Abaganda*, p. 156.} 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.\footnote{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.}

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

*Kabaka akuleetedde ebintu bino okukuwa, obanga obadde oyomba lekera awo wuumuila 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 *ebibi,* 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 tekizzikciyo 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

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 engero (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

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

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. 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:

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.

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 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.

*Our 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, Nalwetso Ziribaggwa, Ernest Lubanga Bbewadders, Muwonge Muwanga, Musa Bbengo, Mary Namatovu, Nansasi Nambi, Ssaanolongo 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 Mpumba, 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.


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 okusoby (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

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and culminated in the collapse of *obwakabaka* (kingship) in 1966. 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. 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

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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

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\(^7\) Min 4/93 abasamize bave ku titaka 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.

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 okusobya (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.

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\(^9\) 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, 16\(^{th}\) 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). These spiritual beings or ancestors of the Baganda are important, as they are concerned with the continuity and maintenance of social order for the well-being of the society.

Furthermore, contemporary Baganda also believe that because Katonda created obulamu (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. 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.

This brings in view the kiganda ideas of obuntubulamu. As already noted, obuntubulamu is a broad concept, which refers to approved conduct. Obuntubulamu comprises three major elements or principles of morality: respect for obulamu (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

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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.


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 do to 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)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{21}

On the same subject Willy Mpuuga writes that:

\begin{quote}
Emizizo bye biragiro ge mateeka agajja okulambika engeri entufu esaanye mu bhang a 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).
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
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
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{19} Emizizo (taboos) is the plural form of omuzizo (taboo).
\textsuperscript{20} Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.200; Kalooli Nannyaizi, Bugju Mukono, 03.02.01.
\textsuperscript{22} W. Mpuuga, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 okwabha 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


\textsuperscript{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, Bugulu Mukono, 30.01.01.

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. 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.'

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. Some of the informants also argued that they observe *emizizo* because they are Baganda and *emizizo* are a significant part of their customs. 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 taboos.
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 ekvaly enyimbe 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.


\(^{34}\) 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’edd*, p. 30.
Emizizo relating to birth and childhood

- 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).
- Entana y’omukazi tesida ku kyalo (a grave of a woman is dug on the day of the burial).
- Omukazi ow’olubuto taziikwa na mwana munda ye (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 okwahula 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’eddada, 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 okwahula 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 women

- Omukazi ali munsonga tayingira mu ssabo (menstruating women do not enter a shrine).
- Omukazi talinnya nju bw’agirinya 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 tatanula magombe (a pregnant woman does not look in a grave).
- Omukazi teyeebikka lugoye lwa nnyina na bba oba muganziwe (a woman should not sleep on her mother’s clothes with her husband).

Emizizo relating to men

- Omusajja takomba ntamu bw’agikomba nga tajja kawasa (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 ey’obuko (relational taboos) in the contemporary society.

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. 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. 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).

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. Some people further explained that they observed these emizizo because they are empisa ez’obuntubulamu (worthy/approved conduct). They also believe that emizizo were

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.\footnote{Oral interview with Allen Katunze, Kiteete Mukono, 14. 02. 01; Prof. L. Walusimbi, Makerere Kampala, 05.06.01.}

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.\footnote{Oral interview with Christine Ssekyanzi Nakigudde, Rubaga Road Kampala, 23.05.01.} 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.\footnote{Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.200; Nsubuga Ssaalongo, Lugasa Ngogwe, 21.02.01.} Other informants told me that when their parents come to visit they do not encourage them to stay for a night.\footnote{Oral interview with Ssaalongo and Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi Kampala, 15.05.01.} 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.
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 okusoby a (violating) emizizo egy'obuko (relational taboos) as ekibi are held among the contemporary Baganda.⁵¹

**OKUSOBYA AS OKUJEEMA (TO DISOBEY)**

Okusoby a (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

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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, Bugaju 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'Omganda, pp. 63, lists some persons who ought to be respected or obeyed. P. K. Kakooza, Empisa Z'Obuntubulamu, pp. 20-22.
⁵³ Sempbewa refers this aspect as obakulu (hierarchy). W. J. Sempbewa, 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.
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 tasobyas (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 (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 okwetondalokusabaokusonyiyibwa 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. 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). 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.
57 A number of urban and rural children and youth told me that obutassamu 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. Some informants also said that these family and clan meetings are important for solidarity and dealing with cases of obujeemu in the families. 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) range from okukwata abaana n’abakazi (raping women or children), okukwata ebisolo (bestiality), okulya ebisiyaga (homosexuality/sodomy) 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.

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 (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, Ssíwa 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 ebisinyaga/homosexuality. Even the Ennyonyi (bird) clan members were upset about this. Ssenyonjo alekutidde ne yeewerera ab’ekkanisa (Ssenyonjo resigns and vows revenge against the Church), Juliet Katamba, Bankedde 17th May 2001. See also ‘Resolutions on homosexuality,’ Namirembe Diocesan Council held on 9th May 2001.
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. Another argument is the general lack of space in the houses, so the young girls, boys and other relatives share one bedroom. 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. 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 ebive (abomination). All this points to the increase in ekibi of ebive as the communities continue to disintegrate under the pressures of urbanisation and modernity. Because of the danger, pollution and threat to life that ebive cause to contemporary Baganda society, some measures are taken to punish and to clear out the abomination from the community.

PUNISHING OF AB'EBIVVE (ABOMINATORS)
The punishment for ab'ebivve (abominators) includes okugobwa ku kyalo (ostracising) and death through mob justice/lynching. 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.

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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 ebive 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 1, 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 Namotovu, Bugaju 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 Kiyungi, 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 nkukolimidde 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, xo*’ (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

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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. Wacheghe, 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

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\(^{82}\) 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),\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{88} W. Mutebi, ‘Towards an Indigenous Understanding and Practice of Baptism,’ p. 7.

\textsuperscript{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. 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, 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. In some places abatemu (murderers) are killed or burnt with no one paying attention to their pleas. 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. 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.
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).

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), 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).


96 Antisocial behaviour such as obutabuza 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. Okubuza (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 Buike, 23.02.01.
99 Oral interview with Nnaalongo Muwanga, Mengo Kisenyi, 15.05.01.
100 Reported in Katojuso, Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa Sarah, Katojuso, 30.05.01. Also Namwanje Faith, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01.
101 Newspaper report Omukazi agambibwa okubba omwana (A woman who stole a child), M. Musisi, Bukedde, May 17th 01.
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*. 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. *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).

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. 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

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


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. 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. 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 hamuloga 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.

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.

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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 Miiro, Nabuti Mukono 08.02.01.

Abalogo (sorcerers) are the most hated and feared people in many contemporary Baganda communities. 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. 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.

Some abalogo (sorcerers) are said to acquire skills or eddogo (sorcery power) from other skilled abalogo and they also begin to practice okuloga. 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. 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.

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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.
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, Bugaju 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. Bbwaddene a well-known senior mulogo (sorcerer) was willing to share with me about his practices. Oral interview with Ernest Lubanga Bbwaddene, Ngogwe, 22.02.01. See appendix I, fig. C.
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 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 *omulogo* (sorcerer), even if they did not intend to harm others.

\(^{117}\) Oral interview with Livingston Mpalyanyi, Sseeta, 10.06.01.

\(^{118}\) Oral interview with Allen Katanze, 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 Mpalyanyi, 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 portions 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. 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.

The senior abalogo (sorcerers) and their clients do a lot of eebibi to achieve what they want. In towns and cities children are reported kidnapped and killed as sacrifices by the abalogo. 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 Bbwaddene, 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 eebibi.
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 Zéiwa Sarah, Katuuso, 30.05.01. Even newspapers report cases of sacrificed children, A basaaddaaka omwana baasadikidw a ku kalabba bättibwe (the people who sacrificed a child have been sentenced to death), Tonny Nsoona, Bokedde, 24 July 1999.
people believe that sorcery can help them get rich quick, keep their jobs and protect their businesses.\textsuperscript{126}

However the occurrence of AIDS\textsuperscript{127} 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{131} Some people slaughter a chicken and put herbs in

\textsuperscript{126} The same phenomenon was observed by J. Rwampigi, ‘An inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft Among the Bantu of Uganda’, p. 50.

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{130} Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{132}

\textit{Abalogo} can send \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{134} A woman can cause temporary impotence in her husband by using the herb known as \textit{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.’\textsuperscript{135}

\textit{Abalogo} are anti-social people who have poor relations with their neighbours, and they are not accepted in society.\textsuperscript{136} For instance, a person who cuts down fruit or banana trees when he is moving to another village is often said to be \textit{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 \textit{abalogo} (sorcerers), as people question their inability to relate to others.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{abalogo} because of their extra abilities. They may be said to have \textit{mukokota} (powers to pull to themselves other people’s good things).\textsuperscript{138} Sometimes lonely or unhappy people such as the lame and
barren women are also pointed out as abalogo. This is when all sorts of unfair treatment can be wreaked on helpless people.

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. 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 (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.

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

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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 Tobby, 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).\textsuperscript{146}

\textbf{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).\textsuperscript{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 onwoloola (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.\textsuperscript{148} A black chicken is one which wards off misfortunes.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{151} The sick woman was shivering and breathing heavily. The old lady put some

\textsuperscript{146} Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
\textsuperscript{147} Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.
\textsuperscript{148} Enkata is rolled banana leaves used to protect the head as one carries water from a well.
\textsuperscript{149} On the other hand, a white chicken is meant for blessings.
\textsuperscript{150} Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.

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

contemporary Baganda communities. 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 (PROWLER)**

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. Most of my informants agreed that okusera was kya waka (a family practice), 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. 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. 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

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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 Buirwe, 23.02.01; Nansasi Nambi, Nsambwe Mukono, 07.02.01.

164 Oral interview with Musa Bhengo, 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. Some people are secretly initiated into the practice by their wives or husbands.

**TYPES OF ABASEZI**

Among the contemporary Baganda there are a number of types of abasezi (prowlers) known in the society. Both informants and some studies 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 (prowlers) 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. 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). 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. According to some informants the abasezi usually go out at 9.00 p.m. The most popular place these abasezi visit is graveyard, where they perform rituals of exhuming a corpse. The rituals include dancing and

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166 Oral interview with Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
169 Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01; Musa Bbengo, Kigamba Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
170 Oral interview with Sam Bukunya, 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 (prowlers) 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 prowlers)_

_Abasezi b'ennimiro_ (garden prowlers) are prowlers 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

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173 Bbengo omusawa (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, Ajija 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 kibatuuza bufoofofo_ (A couple is being tortured by _ekitambo_) B. Ssemmabulya, _Bukedde_ 26th November 2000.
176 Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajija 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.\textsuperscript{178} The smearing of ashes or clay on the plants is one evidence of the activity of \textit{abasezi}. \textit{Abasezi b’ennimiro} are feared and hated because their activities can cause famine to strike a home or village.

\textbf{Abasezi b’amaka (home prowlers)}

The \textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{179} One informant reported \textit{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.\textsuperscript{180} Another young informant narrated that she one time saw \textit{omusezi} when going out to catch white ants with her aunt at around 4.00 a.m. This naked \textit{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.\textsuperscript{181} These kind of \textit{abasezi} (prowlers) cause a lot of insecurity in society as they disturb people’s peace and ruin homes and businesses.\textsuperscript{182}

\textbf{Abantu abatambula obukunya ekiro (naked people who walk at night)}

The \textit{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 \textit{abasezi} (prowlers) do not act under the influence of \textit{ekitambo} (spiritual force behind prowling). They walk naked in the night as part of the prescription given to them by the \textit{abusawo} (healers). These may be people with illnesses or problems who after seeing \textit{abusawo} 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

\textsuperscript{178} Oral interview with Namuli Mpomba, Kisala Buikwe, 23.02.01.
\textsuperscript{179} Oral interview with Yunia Nakabonge Kibirige, Njeru, 21.03.01.
\textsuperscript{180} Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe 22.02.01; Miriam Nansubuga, Kikanya Ngogwe, 21.02.01.
\textsuperscript{181} Oral interview with Jane Namakula, Mukono Hill, 02.03.01. However, many of my young informants did not have any experience of \textit{abasezi}.
\textsuperscript{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 (prowler). The unfortunate thing is that his son did not get cured.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{186} Once caught they were killed by okusokota emizingoonyo (stems of plantain leaves being pushed into their anus).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{183} Oral interview, name withheld at the request of the informant.
\textsuperscript{184} Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajjija Buikwe, 23.02.01.
\textsuperscript{185} R. S. Ssozi, 'The Basezi,' p. 6.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{187} E. S. Haydon, Law and Justice in Buganda, p. 283; L. Mair, An African People in the Twentieth Century, p. 248.
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 fiancée came from abasezi family and the marriage plans were cancelled. 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. However, there are still some young Baganda who consider these issues before they marry a person.

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. 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 (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, Ajiija 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, Ajiija 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*. It is believed that disrespect of dead bodies can rouse in the community malevolent spirits, which may also take revenge on the society. 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.

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.

**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. *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.
197 Oral interview with Nansasi Nambi, Mukono, 07.02.01.
(hurricanes). The undesirable nature of ekibi is further articulated in the proverb ekibi kigwana wala\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{200} (healer) or omusamize (diviner) with afflictions are referred to as abalwadde (afflicted/sick people).\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{202} (a person cannot accept disease). Life is valued, and most people will do anything to

\textsuperscript{199} Oral interview with Dan Mulumba, Mukono, 14.02.01.
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{201} Oral interview with Stephen Ssenfuma, Butonda Mukono, 17.02.01.
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; 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.

If the person is himself aware of the cause, as in the case of snakebite, herbs 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. 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

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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 Bannada, confuse the ensiriba with yriri (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. In the past every married person was expected to give birth to as many children as possible. 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. Hence the saying enzaala embi, ekira obugumba (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 (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.

Most contemporary Baganda who fail to give birth to children see themselves as the most wretched people in the world. 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).
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). 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) or eddogo (sorcery power). That is why some people avoid conflicts with their parents and ssenga.

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 enjojeza 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.

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

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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. One informant told me about her relative who was raped by omusawo (a healer) who was meant to treat her barrenness. 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). 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.

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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 nyinu hezzi (a spirit which owns the well). The example of emisambwa include; Mayanja, Ssezzibwa, Mirimu, Ssemwa, Walusi. F. Kyewalyanga, Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda, pp. 111-114; J. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy, pp. 75-91; A. Kaggwa, 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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

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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 affictions.

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

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231 Oral interview with Muwonge Muwanga, Katwe Kampala, 05.07.01.
232 See appendix l, 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.
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,\textsuperscript{235} while dubious abasawo extort money and property from their clients.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{OKUFA (DEATH)}

The term \textit{okufa}\textsuperscript{237} refers to \textit{okuggwaamu obulamu} (losing life) or \textit{okugenda ekaganga /emagombe} (going to the world of the dead).\textsuperscript{238} \textit{Okufa} is also closely related to the verb \textit{okufuuka}, which means ‘to change.’\textsuperscript{239} \textit{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.\textsuperscript{240}

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

\textit{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 \textit{Ssekiriba kya itaka, mpaawo atalikyambala} (every one will have to die and be buried in the ground).\textsuperscript{242} Although \textit{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 \textit{okufa}

\textsuperscript{235}\textit{Abasamize bazonjaze myimu nga mukaziwe alaba}, (diviners killed a man in the presence of his wife) A. Mwangu, \textit{Bukedde}, 26\textsuperscript{th} November 2000.

\textsuperscript{236} Mukasa said that it is \textit{ekibi} for abasawo to exploit their clients. Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01; C. L. M. Mugambwa, \textit{Enkuluze Y’Enmono Y’Omuganda}, p. 147.


\textsuperscript{238} M. Lubega, \textit{Olummi Oluganda}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{239} F. Kyewalyanga, \textit{Traditional Religion, Custom and Christianity in Uganda}, pp. 77-78.

\textsuperscript{240} A.M. Lugira, ‘Redemption in Ganda Traditional Belief,’ p. 200.

\textsuperscript{241} Even the dead are referred to as \textit{omugenzi} (one who has gone to another place).

and the related cause of death which is olumbe243(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 bubi, 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 tekumanyirwa (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 some what complex, and some people do not even inform their neighbours of the deaths.245 These

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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.
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. 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. 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. 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. 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* (prowlers) from exhuming the body. The body is then covered with soil or

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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 *okusawazibwa*. 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* (prowlers) 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

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\(^{256}\) Oral interview with J. Walakira, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01.


\(^{258}\) 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. Preparation for the ceremonies included preparing omwenge (local beer), food and slaughtering of a bull. Slaughtering was done as a sacrifice to the spirits. Small huts or tents were put up to shelter the people through the night. 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 ofokusangula lubale amaziga (wiping tears off the divinities). The belief here is that the family divinities have to be appeased so that they may protect the family against death.

**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

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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 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 bajjajja (ancestors or living dead). He observed thatokusamira (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.
Omukeze was given a gourd of omwenge (beer). 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) 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). 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. 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. 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. After this the food was served and the people continued to introduce themselves to each other. The young people who live in

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264 See appendix I, fig. II.
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. 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. This is one form of ekibi which some of my informants lamented. 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.

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. 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 Kiyengi 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). In the mid-nineteenth century the kingdom received a number of traders and travellers who at the time were traversing the African continent. In April 1875 Kabaka received H. M. Stanley, a Christian explorer and journalist, who taught him some rudiments of Christianity. Muteesa became interested in the new religion and later invited the

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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.
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


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. 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.

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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). 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. 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

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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.

Catholics, Muslims and kiganda religious leaders. 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.

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, Ezeekeeri 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 1980. 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. Most of the Bakulisitaayo do not approve of the small groups and divisions which characterise the contemporary church of Uganda.

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 proceedings 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. In 1885 Mackay printed out the Luganda prayer book, which was later revised by Pilkington and Henry Wright Luttamaguzi in 1893 and was published in 1897. These liturgies and catechetical 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.

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.
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

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\(^{18}\) For more see Eby’Okusaba Ebyawufu, Kampala: Uganda Bookshop (1961) 1962.

\(^{19}\) Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Bugaju 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 Bakulisaayo.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{24} The Church of Uganda’s teaching against okusamira (divination) as the worship of emizimu (spirits) and hence heathen strengthens this idea of ekibi.\textsuperscript{25} Some committed Bakulisaayo understand this as ekibi,\textsuperscript{26} while at the same time many Bakulisaayo 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,\textsuperscript{27} okusera (prowling), obwavu (poverty), okubonaabona (suffering), okulumbitwa emizimu (attacks from malevolent spirits), omukisa omubi (misfortune), and okufa (death), some Bakulisaayo consult the diviners in order to get answers to their problems. Some Bakulisaayo informants from both urban and rural areas admitted that they would consult a diviner in order to overcome their problems.\textsuperscript{28} There are also some Bakulisaayo 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

\textsuperscript{23}D. Bukenya, ‘Kiganda Concept of Sin and Forgiveness,’ Dip diss., Makerere University, 1974, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{24} See Chapter five, pp. 175-176.
\textsuperscript{25} This teaching goes back to early CMS teachers’ denunciation of okusamira. L. S. Fays, Uganda’s White Man of Work, p. 102; R. P. Ashe, ‘Uganda Past and Present,’ p. 481.
\textsuperscript{26} Oral interview with Eria Mata Mengo, 09.05.01.
\textsuperscript{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 biriti mu kutigomya maka ge,’ (A church priest’s family is being tormented by sorcery powers), Bakedde, 11.02.01. See picture of Kibuye church altar where eddogo was planted, appendix I, fig. J.
\textsuperscript{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.  

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). 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, have not helped in dealing with this problem. Some Bakulisitaayo not only engage in okusamira but also practice ritual human sacrifice. 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.
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’eddini ku nkota 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. Olukikiiku Iwa 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.
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. Fuhs, Uganda’s White Man of Work, p. 107; J. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda, p. 40.
tebagattibwa Katonda, n’okufumbiriganwa kwabwe kwa kwa nsobir (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. 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, while in Namirembe the Diocesan Council asked Bishop Kawuma to write a circular stating the church’s position on marriage and denouncing polygamy. 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. (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.


41 Olukiiko Iwa Bussabadikoni, 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 marryng more than one wife).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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)\textsuperscript{48} and okusamira (divination).\textsuperscript{49} Ssetaani is also believed to be omukemi (tempter) or bamalayika abajeemu (rebellious angels).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{44} E P. Lubega ‘Ngogwe egenda wa?’ in Rev. G.K. Baskerville N’ebyafaayo by’ekkanisa mu kyaggwe, (Baskerville and the history of the church in Kyaggwe), Kampala:Tabi & Company, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{45} Oral interview with Dick Lubanga, Kisaala, 23.02.01.
\textsuperscript{46} Oral interview with Betty Nadyose, Kikooza, Mukono, 13.02.01; Joyce Nalwanga Naalongo, Rubaga Road, 23.05.01.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{48} Oral interview with Faith Namwanje, Rubaga Road, 09.05.01.
\textsuperscript{49} This idea originates with the teaching of early missionaries who looked at kiganda worship as heathen.
\textsuperscript{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)**

**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

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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.\textsuperscript{53}

The genesis of the movement is set against the background of the aftermath of the 1900 Buganda agreement\textsuperscript{54} 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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Obwannakyemalira} (selfishness), \textit{omululu} (greed), materialism and


\textsuperscript{54} The British government as represented by H. Johnston and the Baganda regents signed this agreement. Buganda then had regents: Mugwanya, Apollo Kaggwa 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, \textit{Buganda and British Overrule}, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 3-137.

\textsuperscript{55} This system enhanced the solidarity of the Baganda as the land belonged to clans and not individuals.


\textsuperscript{57} This 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 lukiko by the British agents. The second was led by the Apollo Kaggwa to counteract the former. The Bakopi stood in the worst position, as they were the most exploited. D. E. Apter, \textit{The Political Kingdom in Uganda}, London: Frank Cass, 1997, pp. 141-147. For more on rural exploitation see Nabudere, \textit{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. 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 affections 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.

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. In such desperate conditions even some Christians sought guidance through divination conducted privately and secretly in the villages. 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

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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 Override, p. 40.


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. 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) 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 *okwene* (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. 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

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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 abokozib'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

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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

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69 J. E. Church, ‘Every Man a Bible Student,’ p. 23.
70 Blasio Kigozi had to repent of his pride and superior attitude towards the Rwandans. Okulida Obuggya, p. 61.
71 CMS Archives, G3 A7/5, Statement on Balokole Students. These students were reported to preach against these ebibi (plural of ekibi).
72 The 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 ebibi\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
  Yesu Mulokozi wange (Jesus my saviour)
  Leero nze wuwo wekka; (I am yours alone today)
  Omusaayi gwo gumaziza, (Your blood has washed me)
  Yesu Mwana gw’endiga (Jesus the lamb of God).\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{73} Some of these cultural confessions and ordeals are referred to by Kahaka 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.
\textsuperscript{74} Chapter three, pp. 98-99.
\textsuperscript{75} Plural of ekibi.
\textsuperscript{76} Hymn 177 in Ekitabo Eky’Okusaba Kw’Abantu Bonna, p. 96. My translation.
washing in the blood of Jesus (Jn 1:14). Through repenting and committing their lives to Jesus the individuals could receive *obulamu* (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 *obulamu* (life) and the wellbeing of the society. However, unlike the *kiganda* ideas of *obulamu* 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 *obulamu* (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.
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 abaa ami 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. Ssennoga, Mukono, 07.02.01.
81 Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Bugaju 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.\(^8^2\) 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 bishops\(^8^3\) 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 eki bi among contemporary mainstream Balokole

Many of the ideas of eki bi 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 eki bi of attitude or acts of rebellion against God,\(^8^4\) 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

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\(^8^2\) 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.

\(^8^3\) In Buganda are the late Bishop M. Kawuma, Bishop M. Bugimbi, Archbishop L. Nkoyooyo, Bishop W. Mutebi, Bishop M. Ssenyimba, Bishop G. Ssinabulya, Bishop Y. Mukasa and others.

\(^8^4\) 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. 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 obuntubam (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. This is why they provide children's programmes besides the adult fellowship meetings. In this way some aspects of kiganda obuntubam 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. 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 tekikugenga gwe - Bar 6:1-14 (ekibi will not enslave you), Led by Rev. Dr. J. Ssenyonyi.
86 Oral interview with Rev. Can. Y. Ssemmoga, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{91} For the mainstream Balokole, the kiganda ideas of implementing justice through blood revenge and killing abatemu (murderers)\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{88} Oral interview with Bishop W. Mutebi, Mityana, 26.06.01.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{90} The late Bishop Kauma’s Enthronement Charge, 12.02. 1985, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{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 Kutumba, 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. Niringiy, ‘The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda’ pp. 261-262.
\textsuperscript{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.\footnote{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.} 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.\footnote{Oral interview with Rev. Kazimba (Vicar Mukono Cathedral), Mukono Hill, 09. 02.01, Alice Kasozi, Mukono, 06.02.01.} 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...
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)\(^5\) 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).\(^6\) 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.\(^7\)

\(^5\) 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.


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. 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’okweyerusa (women bleaching their skins or dying their hair), and okulwanyisa obukadde (fighting signs of ageing). Once these ebibi 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). 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 Bazuzukufu’s concern to uphold the early Balokole movement’s ideals/values of okulokoka (getting saved) from ekibi.

98 Okudda Obuggya, p. 178.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid., p. 179. My translation.
101 J. E. Church, Awake Uganda, pp. 43-44.

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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. 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.

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. In 1940-41 he was selected for an ordination course at Bishop Tucker Theological College in Mukono. However, he did

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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 ebibi which were addressed by Rev. J Ssenyonyi, at Kyambogo fellowship meeting held 05.11.200.
103 Okudda Obuuggya, 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. 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. 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. In Namirembe Cathedral some members were against them but the administration intervened and allowed the Bazuukufu to continue with their preaching and fellowship meetings. 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

105CMS Archives G3 A7/5, Statement on Balokole Students.
106Okudda Obuugya, p. 132.
107Ibid., pp. 183-188. They had severe opposition in Hoima and Fort Portal districts.
108Oral 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 kwaajja kulongoose Obukulisitaayo so si kubuggyawo. Era n’okulokoka bwe kwawola. Katonda n’aleeta Okuzuukuka kuzzeemu okulokoka amaanyi agaali ga kuweddemu so te kwaajja kuggyeowo 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.\footnote{Okudda Obugya, appendix v.}

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.\footnote{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.}

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
Bazuukufu ideas of ekibi also include okufubira eby’obugagga (striving for wealth), okuyingira eby’obufuzi (engaging in politics), 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. 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 banja na muntu yenna...Bar 13:8 (Owe no one anything...Rom 13:8). 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). 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. 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. Some Bazuukufu even insist that their children be baptised by Bazuukufu clergy. However, the Bazuukufu are criticised and looked on as aboonoonyi

111 Okudda Obugya, pp. 182-183. The Bazuukufu do not even vote for political leaders. They claim that twatonda 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 Obugya, 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 Obugya, 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.\textsuperscript{118}

The Bazuukufu believe that once they get saved they join the clan of Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{122} The early Balokole teaching of separation from the world\textsuperscript{123} 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

\textsuperscript{118} Oral interview with Mary Namatovu, Buguja, 31.01.01.
\textsuperscript{119} Oral interview with C. Mukasa, Bweya, 21.07.01.
\textsuperscript{120} Oral interview with J. Mwestiwa, Kampala, 26.06.01. These names are given to children of the mainstream Balokole, although they add on the clan names.
\textsuperscript{121} Oral interview with R. Kuloba Nalubwama, Ddandira, 10.02.01.
\textsuperscript{122} Oral Interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
\textsuperscript{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. 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).

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.
123 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. 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. 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.

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126 Oral interview with R. Kuloba Nalubwama, Ddandira, 10.02.01.
127 See Chapter three, pp. 66, 69.
BEEGAYIRIZI (INTERCESSORS)

The Beegayirizi (Intercessors) 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. 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.

128 Because there is not much written on the Beegayirizi, the major of 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.


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. 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* (in intrigue), *obutakkiriza* (lack of faith in God) and *okubuusabuusa* (doubt). 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 reinstallation of the Kabaka (king) of Buganda in 1993. 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). \(^{134}\)

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131 Ibid. Victor Miro, Nabuti, 08.02.01.
132 *Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkcinisa Etanyiikirira 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.
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). 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.

**Batte, the pioneer of the Beegayirizi**

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 Ekkani is Etanyikirira Kusaba (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), *Beegayirizi* tract.


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. 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 (Yosl: 5b) ssaba busabi (I will not fail you or forsake you, just pray -Josh 1:5b). 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. 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 ababonyaabo-nyezebwa 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. 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 Diocese 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.\textsuperscript{143} However, in some parishes where the leadership may not be interested in the spiritual experiences and teachings of the \textit{Beegayirizi} the doors for their ministry are still closed, and parishioners who may be members of the \textit{Beegayirizi} go to parishes where they are accepted. In spite of the opposition, the \textit{Beegayirizi}, like the mainstream \textit{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.

\textbf{BELIEFS AND PRACTICE OF THE \textit{BEEGAYIRIZI}}

\textbf{Membership}

The \textit{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 \textit{Balokole}, they refer to themselves as \textit{Abooluganda} (brothers and sisters). However the largest percentage of the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{144} Consequently, among the \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{eddogo} (sorcery power) and spirit attacks, which are common among many

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{144} The \textit{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 money 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. 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. 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. 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

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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; Ps 106: 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). 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 ezityobooola obulungi n’obukulu bwe. Omukkiriza oyo ng’asinziira ku bisuubizo bya Katonda bye yakola eri abantu n’embeera z’obulamu bwabwe, yeewaayo okukaaabirira Katonda, abantu abo (emmeeme ye beemirwa) bave mu bujeemu oba mu butamanya, oba bave mu mbeera eziruma 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)\(^{150}\)

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\(^{149}\) *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

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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...)\]

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

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151 Oral interview with Rev. Latimar Muwangunzi, Mukono, 05.02.01. *Obubi Obulindiridde Ekkamisa Eanyikirira Kusaba* (The danger awaiting a church which is not committed to prayer), Beegayirizi tract.

152 *Lwaki Ekkamisa Esaanye Okunyiikirira 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).\(^\text{154}\)

**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 eyatuumibwa Katonda Kitaffe okukoleranga mu bakkiriza* (the Holy Spirit is the intercessor who was sent by God our Father to work through the believers).\(^\text{155}\) 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.

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\(^\text{154}\) Oral interview with Jessica Ndagire, Njeru, 20.03.01.

\(^\text{155}\) *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. Every healthy Mwegayirizi (an Intercessor) must fast for at least three days a month.

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. 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.

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

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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.\textsuperscript{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).

\textbf{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{162}

\textbf{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

\textsuperscript{160} Oral interview with Rev. Latimar Muwangunzi, Mukono, 05.02.01.
\textsuperscript{161} Oral interview with Robinah Kiyingi Kayaga, Buziga, 30.05.01.
\textsuperscript{162} Oral interview with Rev. Can. Jackson Matovu, Mukono Hill, 02.02.01; Rev. Can. Akisofeeri Maguzi, Namiremebe, 25.06.01; Rev. Can. P. Kigundu, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
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, choruses 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.

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 Miirro, 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 bwasima 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 Kiyingi, 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.\textsuperscript{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)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).

\textbf{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).\textsuperscript{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)

\textsuperscript{168} Lwaki Ekkanisa Esaanye Okunyiikirira Obuweereza Bw’okusaba (Why the church should be committed to prayer), Beegayirizi tract.
\textsuperscript{169} Oral interview with Susan Nambajjwe, Kikakanya, 21.02.01.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{175} Hence the chorus:

\begin{quote}
Yesu yeetikka ekikoligo kyange (Jesus carried my yoke)  
Naakitwala kamuusalaba (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)
\end{quote}

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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{172} Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa, Kkonge Katuuso, 30. 05. 01.  
\textsuperscript{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.  
\textsuperscript{174} Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01.  
\textsuperscript{175} Rev. Batte’s teaching at prayer meeting held on the 19.07.01.  
\textsuperscript{176} Song sung at the prayer meeting at St Dunstan, Mukono, 19.07.01 My translation.  
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{178} Oral interview with Rev. J. Batte, Mukono, 19.07.01.
\textsuperscript{179} Oral interview with C. Kayanja, Mukono, 05.02.01.
\textsuperscript{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. 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. For the Beegayirizi, prayer moves mountains (Mt 21:21-22).

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. 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. 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

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181 Oral interview with Namutebi Zziwa, Kkonge Katuuso, 30. 05. 01.
182 Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01; Eseza Muzawuula, Kikakanya, 21.02.01; Namutebi Zziwa, Kkonge 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). 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. 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

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186 At the Kyambogo fellowship meeting held 04.02.01, Bishop Ssennyimba 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*. 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.

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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 Bakuulisitaayo (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. 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. 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


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 I 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. Maftaa 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

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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.
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. 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. Pilkington 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* 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*

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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.

Ekitukvu 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.’ 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. 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, 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.

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. 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.
13 For instance in 1968 Swahili Isa Masiya (Jesus the Messiah) was changed to Yesu Kristo (Jesus Christ).
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

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.

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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 earliest and the contemporary versions of the Luganda Bible. 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.

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.

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

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19 This study makes reference to the Luganda (Lug) Bible (1968) and Revised Standard Version (RSV).
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)**

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. 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). 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.

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

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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.


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, Elohistic 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. This social code evolved in the society and was passed on from one generation to the other. As we have noted some of the *ennono n’emizizo* are still observed among many contemporary Baganda communities. 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. Therefore, it is the creator and deliverer *Katonda* who makes claim to the people he delivered and gives them the Ten Commandments. However, unlike in the Jewish worldview in which Yahweh is believed to be the

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28 See Chapter two, pp 19, 32.
30 See Chapter three, pp 57-63.
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 (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. Similarly the Baganda societies have existed with the practices and beliefs in balubaale (divinities) alongside their belief in the existence of Katonda (the creator). 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. 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

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33 Okuva 20: 3 (Exod 20: 3), Lug Bible.
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 abankyawa39 (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 ekika40 (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’Eddini 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), Katekisimu Ey’okusatu, p. 7.
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 bazikula (he/she who calls for slaps always receives them).

The third commandment: Tolayiriranga bwereere erinnya lya Mukama Katonda42 (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.
44 Ibid.
misfortune would visit any person if the oath was broken or violated.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{46}

The fourth commandment \textit{Jjukira olunaku lwa Ssabbiiti olutukuzanga}...\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{45} Although the practice of \textit{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 \textit{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, \textit{Empisa Z' Abaganda}, pp. 220-222.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Okuva} 20:8-9 (Exod 20:8-9), Lug. Bible.
The idea of *Ssabbiiti* (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. *Ssabbiiti* 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/Ssabbiiti* (failure to attend church on Sunday) was one of the *ekibi* that was mentioned by some of the children and young informants. Even some of the *kiganda* ceremonies such as those of *okwabya olumbe* or *okusabira/okulaga omusika* are not performed on *Ssabbiiti*. 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. 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* (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.

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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.
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). 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). 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. For many contemporary Baganda in the Church of Uganda it is ekibi to disrespect parents. 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.

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 enmono 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.
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), OBULOLOGO (SORCERY), OBUFUMU OBA OBUGANGA OBA OBSAWO (PRACTISING HEALING), OKUSAMIRA (DIVINATION), OKUBA EMMANDWA (MEDIUMSHIP) AND OKWEBUUZA KU BAFU (NECROMANCY) (DEUT 18:9-14)**

Deut 18:9-14 presents to us ebibi\(^{60}\) of okuyisa abaana mu muliro (burning children as offering), okulagula (foreseeing), obulogo (sorcery), obufumu oba obuganga oba obsawo (practicing 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 ebibi because they are eby'emizizo\(^{63}\) eri Mukama (abominations before the Lord). Among the ancient Israelites the practices of child sacrifice,

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\(^{59}\) See Chapter three, pp. 54-55.

\(^{60}\) Plural of ekibi.

\(^{61}\) Obsawo (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; 2Chrm 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 okwebuuzci 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

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65 T. Lewis, Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel, and Ugarit, p. 102.
(foreseeing/telling) are still prevalent. However, obusawo, obufumu oba obuganga, (practising healing), okusamira (divination) and okulagula (foreseeing/telling) are not necessarily ebibi, 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.

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. 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.

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. Some of Bazuukufu told me that they do not take kiganda herbs when they fall ill. This underlines the extent to which

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66 See Chapter three pp. 74-82.
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 Leviticus\(^2\) 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 *okusobyat* (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

marriages between a brother and a half-sister as in the case of Abram and Sara (Gen 20:12), 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. 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. 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).

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) 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

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74 B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 117.


76 B. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus*, p. 117.

example Bathsheba, married Hittites (2Sam 11:3). 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. 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. 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. 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.

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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.


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.  

Verses 3-5 introduce the prohibitions with the statement: *Kale mwekuumenga amateeeka gange n’emisango gyange; ebyo omuntu bw’anabikolanga, anaabanga mulamu olw’ebyo: nze Mukama* (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 nsongi 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

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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’abaaleevi* 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. 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). 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.

In verse 7 is a Hebrew law that prohibits having sex with a father’s wife. 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

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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’Enono 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{90}

Verses 9-15 give prohibitions against marrying mwannyoko (sister/stepsister),\textsuperscript{91} muzzukulu wo (grandchild), Senga (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 Senga’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


\textsuperscript{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 mukyalci (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. 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 Uganda 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.

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92 Oral interview with Yakobo Mukasa, Mengo Kampala, 09.05.01; Kalooli Nanyanzi, Bagjuju 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). 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. 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.’

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.’

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. Such

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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.


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;


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.

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 amasetaani 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). In that way Yahweh overpowered Ssetaani the accuser/adversary. 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). For in his death on the cross and resurrection he destroyed the power of the evil one (Heb 2:14-15). 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. The ancient Israelites had several types of sacrifice, such as the burnt offering (olah), the grain offering (minhah), sacred gifts (zebah shelamin) (Lev 1-3, Num 15:1-16) and expiatory sacrifice (Lev 4-5). 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

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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).


110 *Katekisimu Esooka Ne Ey’okubiri*, p. 5. See also Chapter six, pp. 241-242.


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.\textsuperscript{114} Expiatory sacrifice included the sin offering, or Hebrew \textit{hatta’t}, and guilt offering, or Hebrew \textit{asham}.

\textbf{HATTA’T (SIN OFFERING)}

\textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{115} These rituals were meant to cleanse or purify the people from their offences.

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Nga tomanyiridde} is the term used in the Luganda Bible.

\textsuperscript{115} B. Levine, \textit{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. 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

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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 *hattai’s* 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 *okusindikiiriza okyonziira*, 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.


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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
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.\textsuperscript{124}
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{122} B. Levine, The JPS Torah Commentary Leviticus, p. 109.

\textsuperscript{123} Mishan Yoma 8:1.

\textsuperscript{124} Lev 17:11 (RSV).
Baganda to eat blood. It is indeed a delicacy for some people.\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
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.\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

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 \textit{kiganda} practice of dealing with ekibi, bakabona (priests), abasawo (healers) and abakadde (elders) were and are still key in the performance of these rituals.\textsuperscript{127} However, unlike the Jewish priests, the bakabona, abasawo, \textquoteleft abakadde mediate between the people and \textit{emizimu} (spirits) and \textit{lubaale} (divinities).\textsuperscript{128} Also in the \textit{kiganda} beliefs and practices, the people do not slaughter beasts to \textit{Katonda} (the creator). \textit{Katonda} is kind and always ready to attend to the people’s needs.\textsuperscript{129} This suggests some degree of discontinuity between the \textit{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


\textsuperscript{127} See Chapter three, pp. 83-84.


\textsuperscript{129} ‘Lugira, Redemption in \textit{Ganda Traditional Belief},’ p. 201. Even beasts offered to \textit{Katonda} are not slaughtered but are kept or set apart and marked with a sign. For instance a cow set apart for \textit{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.\(^\text{130}\)

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).\(^\text{131}\)

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).\(^\text{132}\) 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

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\(^\text{130}\) Amos 5: 22-24 (RSV).


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). 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).

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 Bakulistaayo (ordinary Christians) who still value the kiganda sacrificial practices. This also underscores the conflicts that exist between the kiganda and Christian values within the contemporary Baganda communities.

134 Heb 10:8-10; Ps 40:6-8 (RSV).
135 Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajjna 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. 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, which was recently introduced to the Baganda through the Luganda Bible.

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. 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.

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). 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, ‘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).

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.
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.  

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). 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). 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.

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'okuifuira (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. 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). 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 (sleeping in the world of the dead). The idea of sleep later became popular in

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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, Olutimi 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). In spite of that background, the disciples did not immediately understand that Lazarus had died, when Jesus decided to go and awake him.

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). 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). 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. 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. 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

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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, Kawaga Mukono, 03.02.01; Paul Mukooza, Nyenga, 26.03.01; Kalooli Nanyanzi, 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.
after death thrives in the world of the living dead or ancestors. 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.’ This why some Baganda Christians in the Church of Uganda teach that both obulamu obwakaakati (present life) and obulamu obutaggwaawo (eternal life) is given through belief in Jesus Christ.

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 days 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 (1Kings 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). It is also symbolic of Jesus’ final triumph over ekibi of okufa (death) on the cross and his rising to obulamu obutaggwaawo (eternal life).
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 tuiandika okutambula olugendo ewoffu 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

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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). This idea is similar to the kiganda mythical ideas of Kintu and Nambi’s immortality before they disobeyed Ggulu.

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. Likewise okufa reigned from Adam to Moses, to whom the law was given (Exod 20:1ff), and okwonoona (wrongdoing), 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.

\[\text{(References omitted for brevity.)}\]
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. In the kiganda worldview, this sense of communality is also articulated in the saying that Omulya Mnamba abeera omu n’avumaganya ekika, (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. 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 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. 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.

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 paraptoma.
179 Rev. Dr. J. Ssenyonyi’s teaching at the Kyambogo Fellowship held 05.11.00. Theme: Ekibi tekikafugenga 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). *Oi*’*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: *aval 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.
Thus even where there is *ekisa*, something still has to be offered to clear the offence. This is why some *Bakulistaayo* still sacrifice animals or birds in order to deal with *ekibi*. 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.

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182 Oral interview with Yoswa Kabugulano, Ajitja Buikwe, 23.02.01; Daudi Kyambadde Lubanga, Nyenga, 26. 03.01. Also Y. Ssekkadde et al. *Ndì Mugezi*, p. 14.

183 Oral interview with Sam Bukenya, Nakabago, 17.02.01. This is one of the issues which Bishop Ssennyimba addressed in his teachings. Bishop M. Ssennyimba 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. 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.

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. The process, through which the Good News becomes

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incarnated in the people’s context, challenges, animates and transforms the culture and the society.\textsuperscript{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 Bazuwakfu (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), okulumibwa 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{4} For instance, in the kiganda practice, marriage with ab’omusaayi gwo

\textsuperscript{2} J. Ukpong, ‘Christology and Inculturation,’ p. 41; A. Shorter, Toward a Theology of Inculturation, pp. 11& 150; D. Bosch, Transforming Mission, p. 455.
\textsuperscript{3} See Chapter three, pp. 61-63; Chapter four, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{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

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⁵ The members of Mmamba (lungfish) clan who have several *amaasiga* (clan divisions) sometimes marry members of other *amaasiga*. 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.


⁷ See Chapter three, pp. 66-67.
in order to adapt the emizizo gy’obuko (relational taboos) to the evolving context. 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. 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 Bakulisaayo (ordinary Christians), the mainstream Balokole (Revivalists), the Bazukuufu (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. These stipulate the requirements or laws that the people who intend to get married must not violate. Thus the prayer book states ‘Kya muzizo mu byawandiikibwa ebitukuvu ab’obuko oba ab’ekika ekimu okufumbiriganwa’.

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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)
- Mwaninya (his sister)
- Omuwala wa mutabani we (his son’s daughter)

**Omukazi taafumbirwenga:** (a woman shall not marry)
- Jjajja we (her grandparent)
- Bba wa jajja 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 mussajja we (brother of her father-in-law)
- Mwaninya 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 (her father-in-law).

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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. 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 myoko (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. 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 emitizo 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. 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. 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. 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). As already noted, the practice of okwabya olumbe ritual marks the end...
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 OLMUBE (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, Ajiija, 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 okusobyą (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:

Ekkanisa ya Kristo y’empisa yaayo okutukuzwa empisa ezikolebwa abantu nga bakyali mu bukaafiiri, eziyinza okutuuka n’okusembebeza mu Bakulisitaayo. Mu Buganda, ekipiga ekiikulu kye ky’ebika n’emiziro, okuvira ddala ku Kabaka. Okwabya ennyimbe kwe kusanyuka kw’ebika olw’okukungaanira awamu n’okulabagana n’okumanyagana, okumalawo enaku ku bamulekwa ne mmawudhu, n’okugaba emigaba ng’okulama bwe kuli okulongooosa ebirala. Kale kizibu okusuala empisa eyo: wabula okugituka n’eddiini ya Kristo omusana gw’ensi egobamu eby’ensonyi n’ebi’obuwemwe n’ebi’obukaba mu nnyimbe eziyitibwa ez’Abakulisitaayo. (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’obukaftiri 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. Nsobya ‘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 Iwa 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 kyaloo ekyo. Era omwawule oba omuyigiriza amulabulanga obutavyisa 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 okusa kubanga atakkiriza kufugibwa mpisa ezo abooliwa 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

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. 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 compiled 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). 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.
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/heiress. 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. When the church leaders arrived, the clan leader presented the omusika (heir) who was already installed in the kiganda rituals. 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. The people and family of the deceased then proceeded with other kiganda last funeral rituals. 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 okufulumi 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 OLMUBE 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 ready 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/heiress).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/heiress 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/heiress 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 kwedde omuwereereza agamba nti: (The head of the clan or his assistant dresses the heir in barkcloth. Then the minister says the following:)

Omwereereza (minister): Mu limnya lya kitaffe n’omwana n’omwoyo omutukuvu. Ggandi ... ng’omaze okukasibwa ab’ekika nti ggwe ozze mu bigere by’omugenzi ... okutwala mu maaso obuvunaanyizibwa obw’enjawulo, Mukama akulungammye ggwe era awamu ne Lubuga wo nga mutuukiriza ekvo.

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/heiress 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 eneekulungaminya. Era nkukwasa n’ekitabo kuko 
eyokusaba ne mu kuentereza 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 Alipootci y’olukiiko lw’eddini ku nkola ey’okwabya olumbe lw’omukulisitaayo, (Report on the practice 
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 okusoby (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.

\(^{52}\) Allpoota y’olukiiko lw’eddini 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, Bugaju 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. 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 OLMUBE

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. For this reason the death of a muzuukufu is celebrated with praise and thanksgiving to the Lord God who led that brother or sister through the earthly life into heaven. 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:

Asalokole be baliba n’obuyinza ku mulambo gwange. Kubanga njagala erinnya lya Katonda ligulumizibwe. Tewaliba kwabya lumbe. Okwabya olumbe muzizo. Kyawandiikibwa nti abakola eby’emizizo tebaliyingira mu bwa kabaka bwa Katonda (Kub 21:27). Tewalibaawo 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).

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 Obuguya, 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.\textsuperscript{60} Therefore, ‘omulamu tasikirwa’ (a living person should not have an heir).\textsuperscript{61} They do not need to have heirs on earth since the Bazuukufu believe that they just pass from the world into heaven.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{60}See Chapter five, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{61} Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
\textsuperscript{62} Oral interview with C. Mukasa, Bweya, 21.07.01; Keezekiya Joloba, Kigowa, 26.06.01.
\textsuperscript{63} See Chapter five, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{64}Oral interview with Faith Namuyenga, Ngogwe, 22.02.01.
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 (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.

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 abasowo (healers) to get protective medicine or okwetangira. In some cases the elders and abasowo (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.

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. 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). The church’s teaching against okusamira as worship of emizimu (spirits), Ssetaani (Satan) and ‘heathenism’ strengthens this idea of ekibi.

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 lwongera okunyweza enkola y’obulabirizi eyayisibwa edda obutazika mukulisitaayo eyalabulwa naye n’alemera mu busamize. Omusamize y’oyo alina essabo ate n’oyo atalirina naye nga yenyiigira 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 kukiriza obuyinza n’amaanyi ga Katonda omulamu, omusamize ye kyatukiriza. N’olw’ekyo olukiiko lw’eddiini lusemba nti omukulisitaayo omusamize bw’amaayagala by’okussibwako mu bufumbo obutukuvu oba okussibwako emikono, anaa malangaba

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68 The Church of Uganda gives this teaching in Katekisimu 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.

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 omukulisaatyayo abeera mu maka g'omusamize naye ye nga teyenyigira mu bya kusamira, anaakkirizibwanga okussibwako emikonko, okugattibwa mu bufumbo obutukuvu oba okuziikibwanga ng'omukulisaatyayo 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).

• **Omukulisaatyayo omusamize okudduukirira ekkanisa (A Christian who practises divination and church contribution)**
  Omukulisaatyayo omusamize bw'anaawangayo ensimbi oba ekintu ekikalu okudduukirira emirimu gy'ekkanisa, tekigaanibwenga. Kyokka buli kiseera abawereza n'abakulisitaayo banye banamulabulanga ku kiki ekiyinza okuddirira singa aftira mu busamize nga teyenyiezza (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 emtbi (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

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71 The committee which compiled this report was chaired by Rev. Can. N. Kaweesa, Alipoota y'olukiiko lw'eddini ku nkola y'obulabirizi ku Bakulisitaayo abasamira, 28.10.1998. My translation. This is the position of all the Dioceses in Buganda. Olukiiko Iwa 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, Bugju 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.


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*. 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. 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 binumanyi bwalina amaanyi agasobola okubisanyawo era bimutya (Mak 5:6-8)...Abatume era naffe fonna 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).”

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).

However, unlike in the *kiganda* practice, where some people perform the rituals of *okulagula* (foreseeing), *obulogo* (sorcery), *okusamira* (divination), *okuba emmandwa* (mediumship) and *okwebuza 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 *okwebuza ku bafu* (necromancy), as they were...

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76 Reported at Olukiiko Iwa Bassabadikoni, Mukono Diocese, 18.08.97, Min 2/8/97.
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). The contemporary mainstream Balokole also believe that such kiganda practices are life-diminishing and challenge the sovereignty of God among his people.

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). 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 ebhya ‘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).

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.

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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.
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 onuzimu 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 ebibi 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 abalwanyi (prayer warriors).88

The Beegayirizi (Intercessors) believe that omukkiriza mulwanyi obulamu bwe bwonna ebbanga lyonna. Omukkiriza mulwanyi 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 bidijjo 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 Etanyikirira 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.\(^9^0\)

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 nmumba (even if poverty attacks me)... \\
Emizimu ne bwe ginnumba (even if spirits attack me)... \(^9^1\)
\]

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’omulabeyawangulwa 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). \(^9^2\)
\]

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 Mulwanyi* (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).

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” 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. The benefits of Jesus’

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93 Oral interview with Jane Namubiru, Nakibizzi, 20.03.01.
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 waaffe egitusiba'96 (The blood of Jesus breaks the yoke which the malevolent spirits bind on us). The Beegayirizi also believe that even people with omwayo 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.
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*.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 *ohusawo* (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 *okusobya* related to *emizizo gy’obuko*

\textsuperscript{102} Heb 10:1-18.
\textsuperscript{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.

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.

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 *okwabuya 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 *okwabuya 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 *okwabuya 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 *okwabuya olumbe* (last funeral rites) among the *Bakulisitaayo*. There exist some conflicts between the Christian teaching and *kiganda* values of *okwabuya 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.\textsuperscript{105} This points to the need for further dialogue on some of these aspects of \textit{ekibi} in the Church of Uganda.

It was further observed that the practices of healing and \textit{okugoba emizimu emibi} (exorcising malevolent spirits) among the \textit{Beegayirizi} (Intercessors) and some contemporary mainstream \textit{Balokole} (Revivalists) not only highlight the significance of exorcism and healing among the Baganda but emphasise the values of integration between the Christian and \textit{kiganda} practices in the Church of Uganda. The integration of the \textit{kiganda} and Christian values of \textit{okugoba emizimu emibi} (exorcising malevolent spirits) is mainly based on the harmony between the biblical practices of exorcism and healing and the \textit{kiganda} practices of \textit{okugoba emizimu emibi} (exorcising malevolent spirits) and \textit{obusawo} (healing). Thus among the \textit{Beegayirizi} (Intercessors) and some contemporary mainstream \textit{Balokole} (Revivalists), practices of healing and exorcism not only highlight the integration of the Christian and \textit{kiganda} ideas of \textit{ekibi} but also emphasise the fundamental belief in restoring the wellbeing of people and preserving \textit{obulamu} (life).

On the whole, the process of integrating the Christian and \textit{kiganda} ideas of \textit{ekibi} in the teaching and practice of the \textit{Bakulisitaayo}, mainstream \textit{Balokole}, \textit{Bazuukufu} and \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{105} B. Bujo, \textit{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 engero (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 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 engero (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 engero. 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 engero 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 ennono (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

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 *okusanira* (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*

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. 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. This further highlights the significance of


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.

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\(^6\) B. Bujo *African Christian Morality, at the Age of Inculturation*, pp. 50-51; J. Ukpong, ‘Christology and Inculturation: a New Testament Perspective,’ p. 46

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 Bakulistaayo, 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 okusobya related to emizizo gy’obuko (relational taboos) concerning marriage, the Bakulistaayo, 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.  

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.

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

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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. 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

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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.

APPENDIX I- PHOTOGRAPHS

Fig. A

The *abasavo* shrines and stalls standing side by side with Katwe Church of Uganda
Men selling amayirungi (Catha edulis) in Kisenyi Kampala
A senior omulogo – Mr E. Bbwaddene Lubanga

Below is omusawo Muwonge Muwanga with his herbs
Fig. D

Nakasajja forest

Kawuulu’s grave marked with *ekiwaanyi* plant
Lubaale (divinity) Muwanga’s altar
The slaughtering of the bull
A man constructing a hut and two ready huts
Fig H

Women preparing food.

Omukeeze at the entrance

Omukeeze drinking beer.
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.
Okwabya oolumbe among the Bakulistaayo, the clan leader and church leaders doing their parts
Women serving food during *okwabya olumbe* ceremony
Fig 0

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

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<tr>
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<th>Sex</th>
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