

**THE ATTITUDE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF UGANDA TO THE
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND IN PARTICULAR
TO THE BACWEZI-BASHOMI IN SOUTH WESTERN UGANDA**

1960-1995

BY

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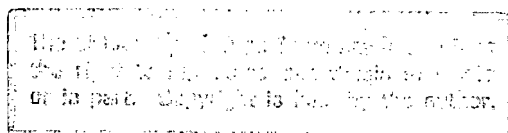
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DECLARATION

I, James Ndyabahika, hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted to any University for academic award. I carried out the research under the supervision of Dr. Chirevo Victor Kwenda. All the quotations, sources of information and assistance have been acknowledged.

Signed by candidate

James Ndyabahika.

DATE..... May 16, 1998

Signed by candidate

Chirevo Victor Kwenda (Dr)

DATE..... 16 May 1998

DEDICATED

TO

MY DEAR WIFE GRACE

FOR

LOVE, JOY AND SERVICES SHARED TOGETHER

ABSTRACT

The central theme of this doctoral thesis is the *Attitude of the Anglican Church of Uganda to the New Religious Movements and in particular to the Bacwezi-Bashomi in south-western Uganda, 1960-1995*. Since the 1960's Uganda has been witnessing a wave of new religious movements stressing healing and exorcism and to date are attracting a large following. Although the literature on these movements is still scanty with no attempt having been made in the area of academics, the researcher investigated this topic at some considerable length (assisted by six research assistants) using primary and secondary sources a task he has carried out with a sense of satisfaction.

In the area of scholarship, he has published articles in Occasional Research Papers - Makerere University (Volume 14); African Journal of Theology (1991): 54-62; Asian Journal of Theology (1991): 136-148 and African Journal of Evangelical theology (1993): 18-40. Currently, he is a lecturer at Makerere University.

This thesis is developed in six chapters with intent to establish whether the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is a challenge to Christianity or its followers are from the Roman Catholic Church or it is a pseudo-religious group or an independent church. It

highlights that apart from the *Balokole* (born again Christians), *abazukufu* (the re-awakened Christians), Pentecostal preachers and the charismatic renewal believers; many Christians who hardly take their *faith* and baptismal calling seriously claim that Christianity has failed to provide solutions to their chaotic existence, economic and socio-religious issues, hence the rush to these new religious movements and in particular to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*. Defection is caused by the inability to grasp seriously the biblical teachings and the failure to get down-to-earth philosophical explanations. The study then discusses the historical growth of the *Movement*, highlights the attitudes of the mainline churches and concludes with recommendations and vision of the Anglican Church in Uganda.

Now, the mainline churches are urged to foster the Christian faith that addresses the contemporary issues which engulf the indigenous people; to take the traditional healing and the indigenous medicine seriously; and to enhance a fruitful dialogue with the new religious movements, nominal Christians, *abalokole* and the followers of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* leading to mutual respect and understanding. Lastly, owing to the scarcity of in-depth academic studies, there is a need for serious research by church historians, sociologists, missiologists and pastors, hence the justification for this thesis.

PREFACE

About eight years ago when the researcher was the Principal (Dean) of Bishop Barham Divinity College- Kabale, a position he held for four years, he realised that many Christians from different Anglican parishes in Ankole and Kigezi were no more attending the Sunday services and did not even encourage their children to do so.

He was aware that a true Sunday Service worship is neither merely going to Church to recite the prescribed order of services nor to be a dreary affair, monotonous and boring. Rather Sunday Worship should be comprehensive in nature, when the *faithful* Christians worship God in spirit and truth. Nevertheless, the main cause why they were not attending Sunday services was due to a new religious movement known as the *Bacwezi - Bashomi*.

His interest in this movement is rooted in the longing to deepen his understanding of the new religious movements and independent churches in Uganda. Most of them have been very much part of the post-independent Uganda. Although they affect the day-to-day lives of the *faithful* Christians, their potential impact for theologising has never been developed. He feels privileged to have had the opportunity not only to teach modern African Church History to post-graduate students at Makerere University but also to use some of them as his research assistants. They happily

carried out the field research exercise on the new religious movements: *Owobusobozi*, *Abalabikirwa*, *Abayudaya*, *Abamalaki* and the *Bacwezi - Bashomi*. Their interactions in class discussions and research papers deepened my interest and reinforced my conviction that a dissertation of this kind was called for. The researcher is most grateful to them for sharing freely their experiences and heritage.

The researcher's personal contribution to this important study of the *Bacwezi - Bashomi* Movement is very significant. He had to walk an extra mile in order to stimulate further research data from the respondents. Some were not ready to part with information. Others co-operated fully. Thus, he believes that he has uncovered a new area previously unknown in academic circles. In fact, this area is a fertile ground for more intensive research. In the same vein, it will provide relevant information which will act as guidelines to those who study the new religious movements which are mushrooming around our country, at least in this century.

The objective for carrying out this research programme was to enable him to acquire more knowledge and skills for a better ministry in his country, particularly in the institutions of higher learning. The first qualifications for a servant of the Lord, he is aware, is to be a faithful believer in the saving power of Jesus Christ. However, in addition to spiritual qualifications, a Church minister who serves in the institutions of higher learning needs academic qualifications. In this regard, he was interested in

University gave him relevant knowledge to understand the historical growth of Christianity in Africa, missionary anthropology and cross-cultural studies unreservedly. Broadly speaking, this dissertation is a result of his personal research and intensive fieldwork (assisted by six research assistants) in south-western Uganda in the districts of: Bushenyi, Kabale, Kabarole, Hoima, Masindi, Mbarara, and Rukungiri. The research was carried out between April 1994 to April 1995. Then more investigation was carried out not only beginning with July 1996 to December 1996 but also from April 1997 to June 1997 to supplement the previous findings. It is his hope that this work which is intimately related to modern African Church History, missiology and other areas of church growth will finally land in the University libraries and serve as a reference text. For this reason he has closely followed the standard regulations for the thesis production, which also seem to have been designed for students' easier access. At this point, the researcher can echo what his personal friend said on his graduation day: *the end of this work is the beginning of a new task*. The nature of the task, to begin now *sine mora* (without delay). In this manner, the interpretation of this dissertation should not remain at the *marginal feeling* but interpreted in positive actions in the area of scholarship in our nation and the world at large. And the students, missiologists, priests and the pastors are the spearhead.

James Ndyabahika,

September 1997

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In the course of my field research, I inevitably incurred debts from numerous people and several institutions. I wish I could mention them all individually, but lack of space compels me to mention just a few. Firstly, in academic circles, I am deeply grateful to Dr. Victor Chirevo Kwenda of the University of Cape Town - South Africa who was so generous in terms of scholarly comments and constructive criticisms that enabled me to make substantive improvement on this dissertation. Without his academic insight and continuous advice this dissertation would not have been fruitful. Acting as my supervisor for a four-year research period, he carefully followed this work from the beginning to the end. For such academic worth, mixed with affection, there is no adequate way I can thank him.

Secondly, guidance were also provided by a number of persons with diverse experiences who gave their time to be interviewed or to discuss and comment on various issues relating to this research. I am extremely grateful and I register my profound acknowledgements for their generosity and cultural worth. However, none of them is in the least responsible for the opinions expressed, conclusions arrived at, or errors of fact or judgement which may appear in this dissertation.

Thirdly, I also received much assistance from people outside the world of scholarship, particularly *abaishemwe* (the saved people) and my fellow ministers in God's vineyard. It is a happy feeling to know that I associate with such an honourable team, which unreservedly is committed to advocate and witness for the eternal Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In the same vein, I am greatly indebted to the librarians and archivists in Uganda who gave much of their time and constant support. I also trust that all the other authors whose work appears in the footnotes and bibliography cannot go unacknowledged. More still, special thanks go to my children: Apolo, Ruth and Rachel not only for bringing their own dose of delight but also for their patience and endurance which the thesis placed on their father's time during the period when he was carrying out the research and writing up this dissertation.

More significantly, the desire to investigate the new religious movements would, perhaps, not have come to fruition without the maximum support of my dear wife, Grace. Over the past three decades, she encouraged me in my life as a priest in the Anglican community kept me constantly on track of *abeishemwe* (saved) and shared with me the experience which enabled the completion of this dissertation. I am enormously grateful to her enthusiastic encouragement, love and spiritual fellowship, which are beyond all praise. Grace, you are very special and dear to me.

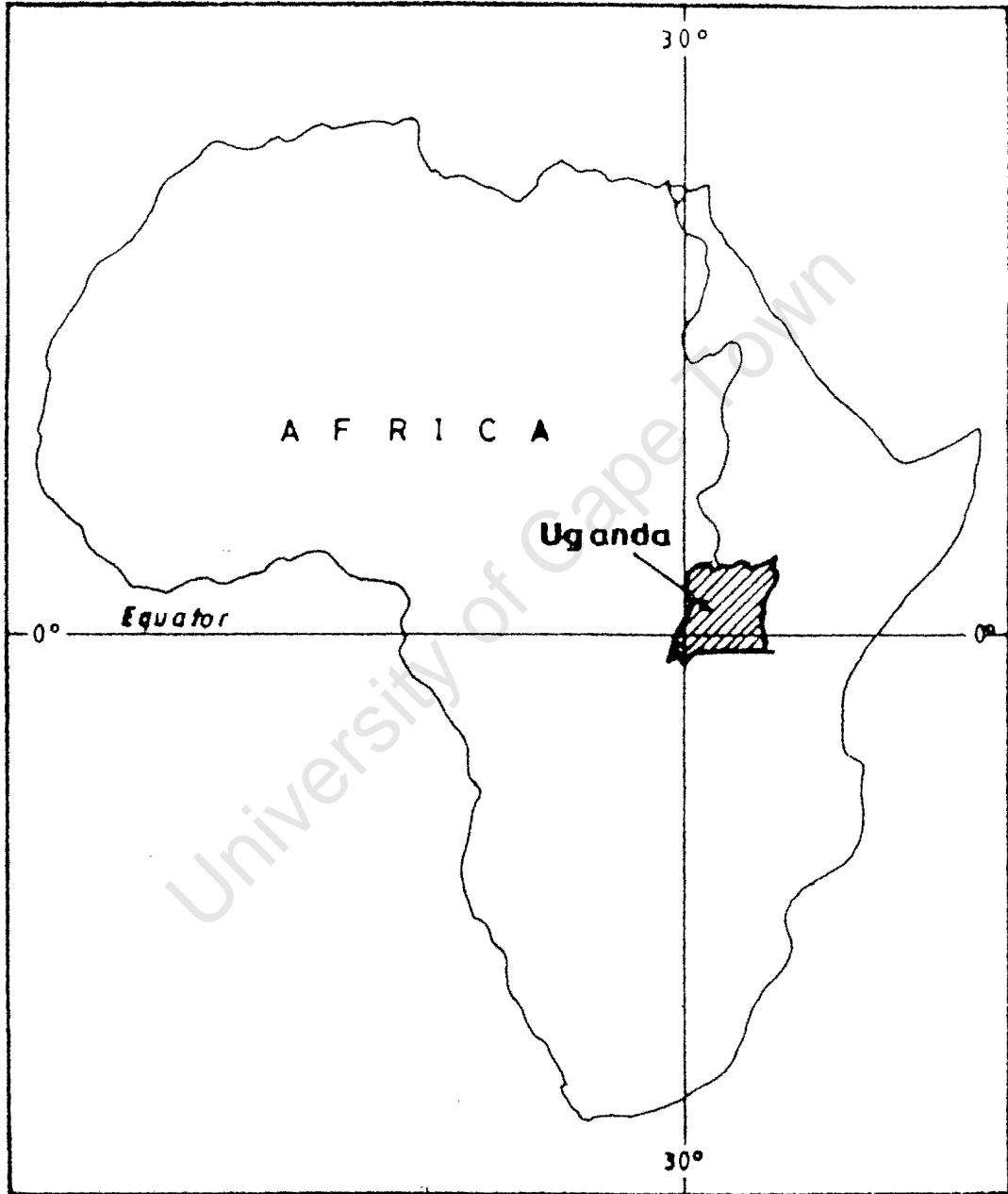
Last but not least, even at the risk of sounding pious, I wish to give thanks and praise to *Nyamuhanga* who has sustained me with good health. In the process of carrying out this research and writing up this dissertation, I have increasingly become aware of his grace and love of God and of his Son Jesus Christ who pitched his tent among us (John, 1:1 - 14) and whose strength and guidance has enabled me to complete this dissertation.

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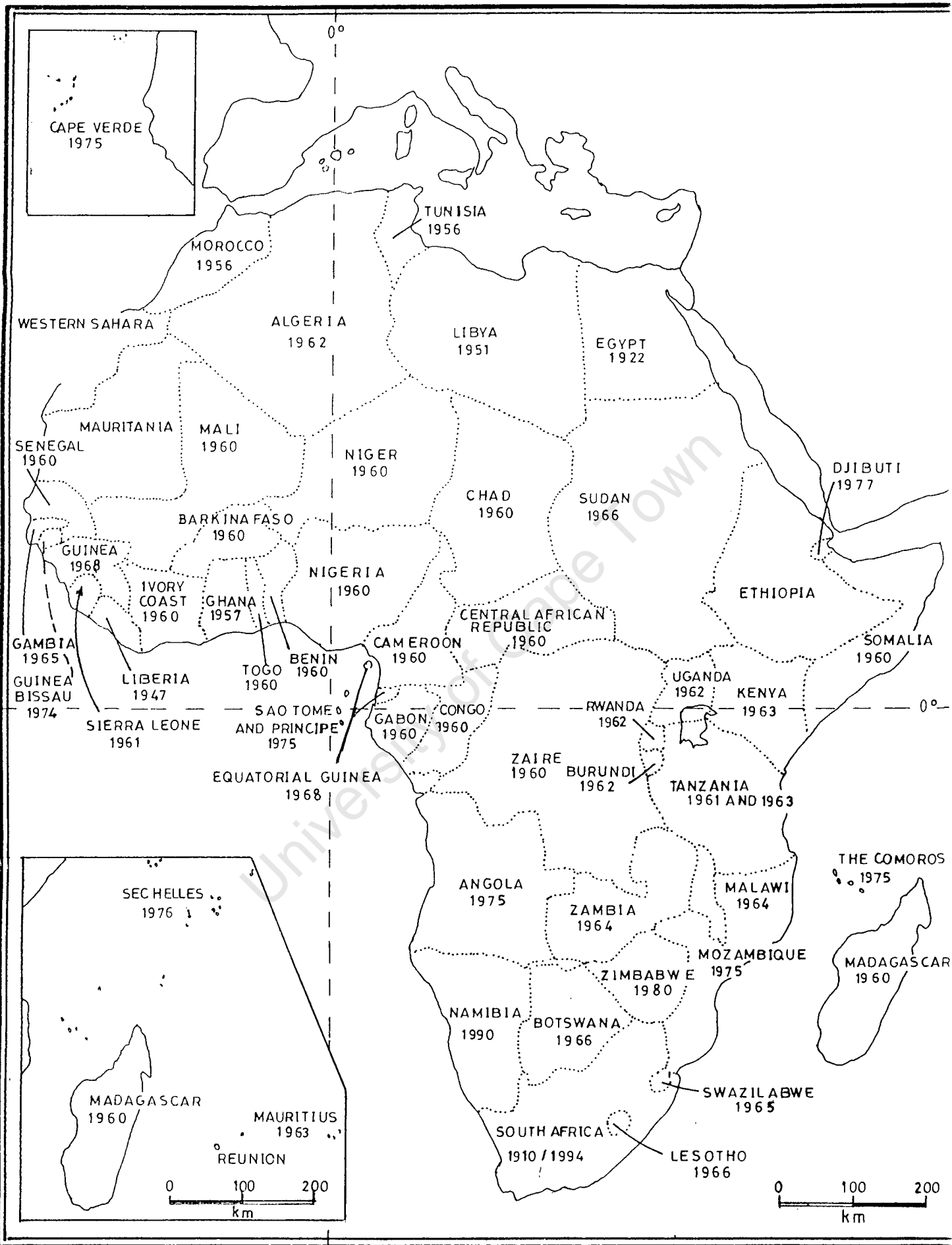
ABBREVIATIONS:

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
AFER	Africa Ecclesiastical Review
ATR	African Traditional Religion
AIC	African Independent Churches
CP	Conservative Party
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COU	Church of Uganda
DP	Democratic Party
ECLOF	Ecumenical Church Loan Fund
EDCS	Ecumenical Development Co-operative Society
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRM	International Review of Missions
JRA	Journal of Religion in Africa
KY	Kabaka Yekka (Only the king)
LXX	Septuagint (Greek translation of the Old Testament)
NAC	Native Anglican Church
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
UJ	Uganda Journal
UJCC	Uganda Joint Christian Council
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPM	Uganda People's Movement
WCC	World Council of Churches
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
WB	World Bank

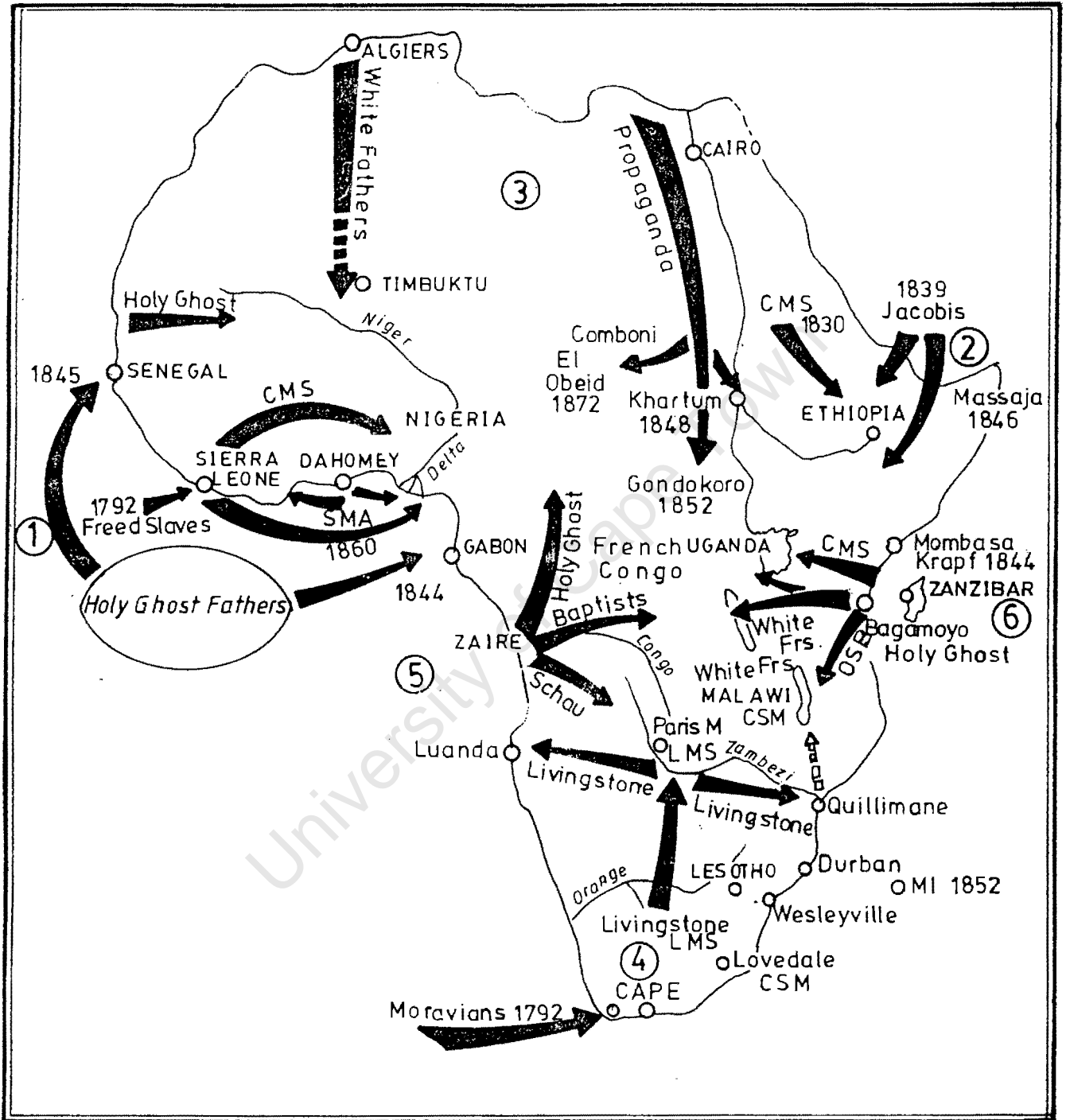
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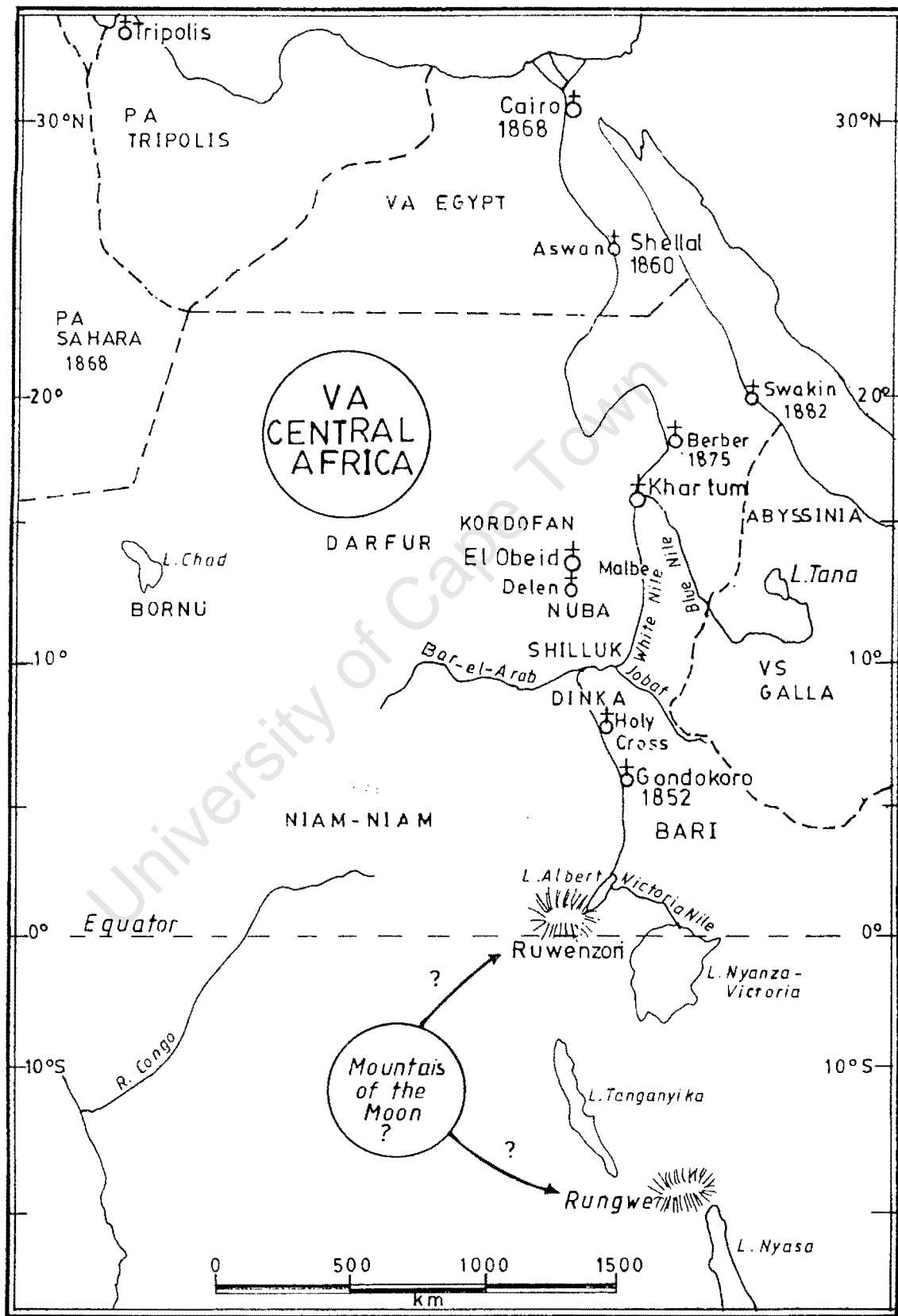
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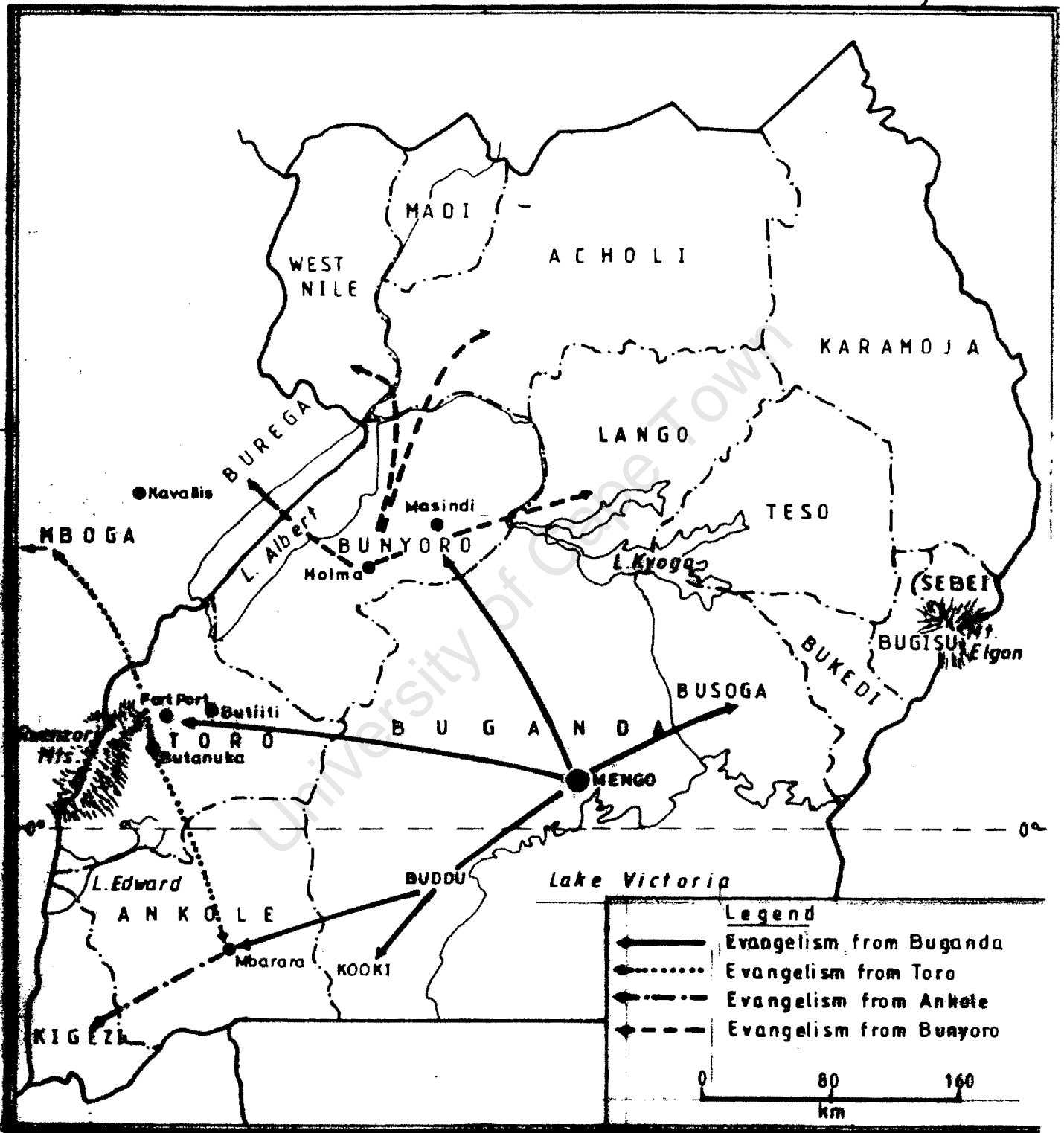
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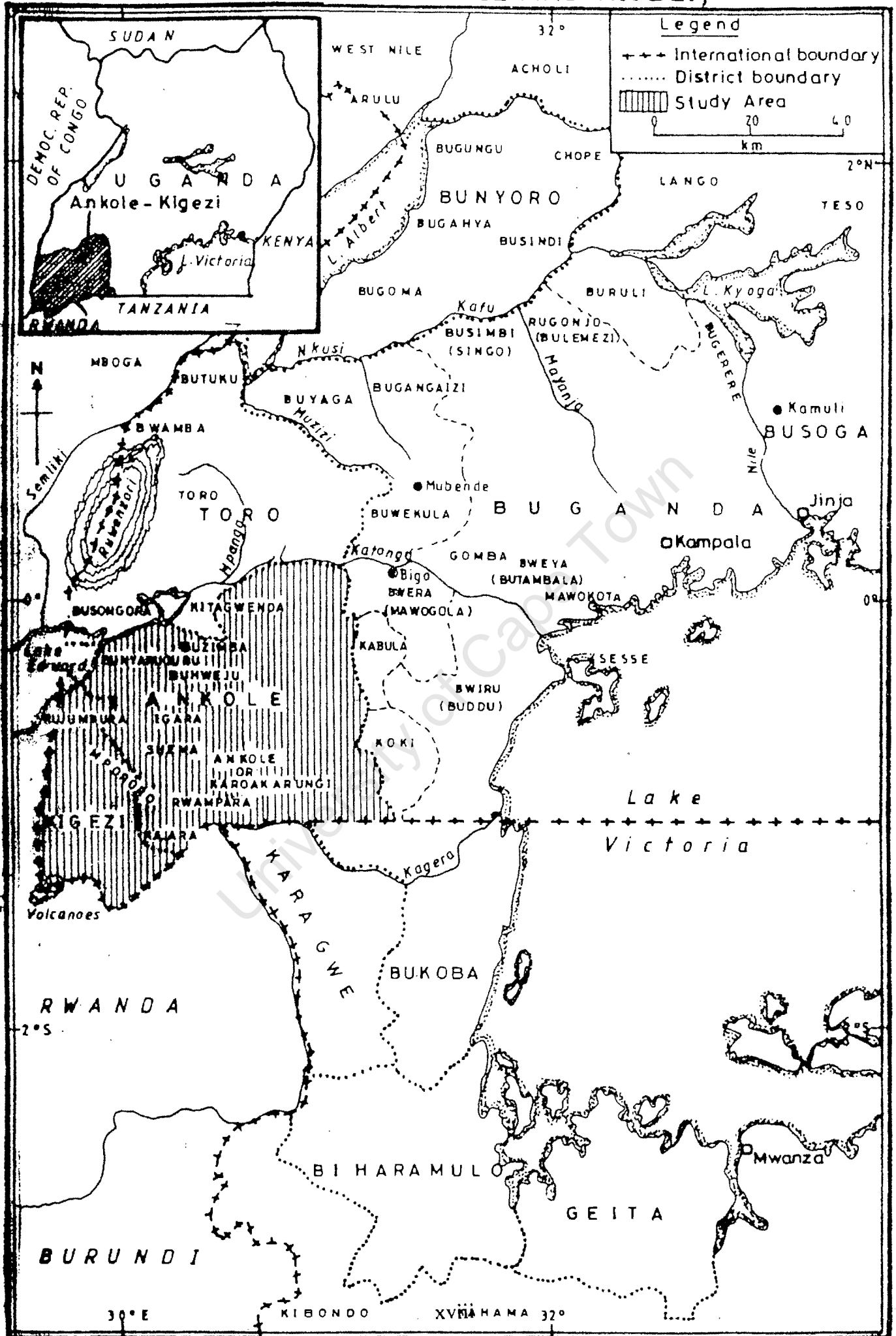
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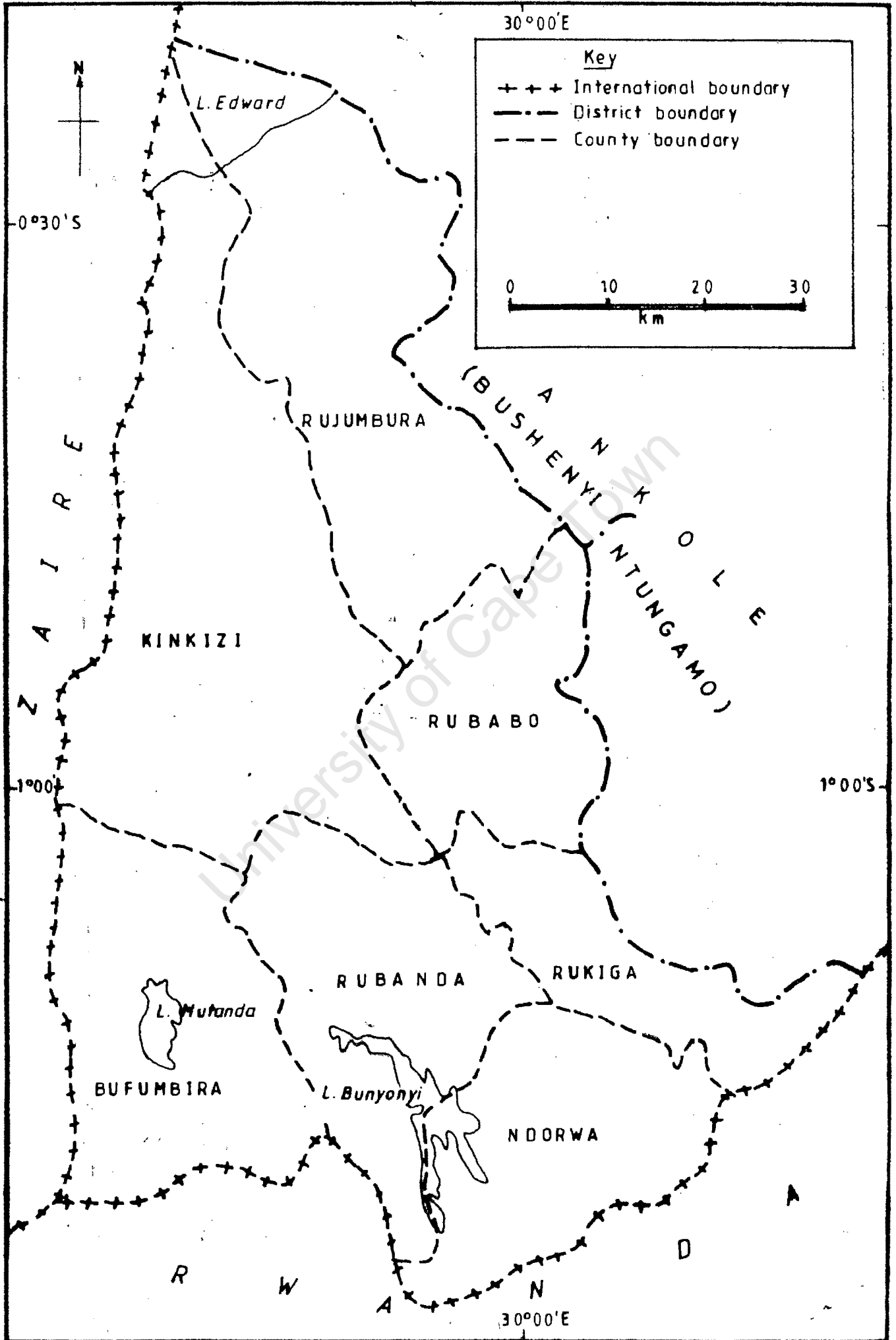
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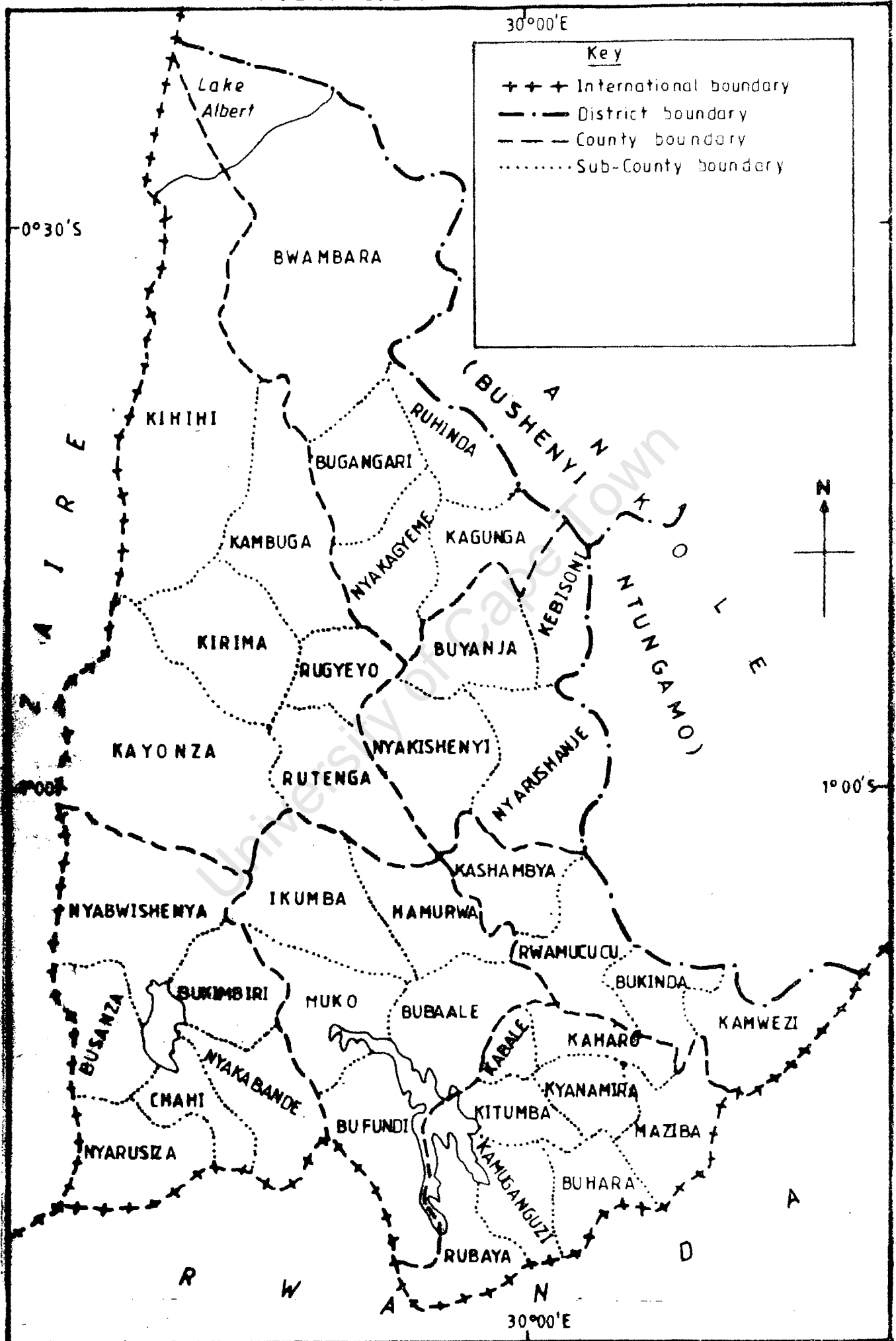
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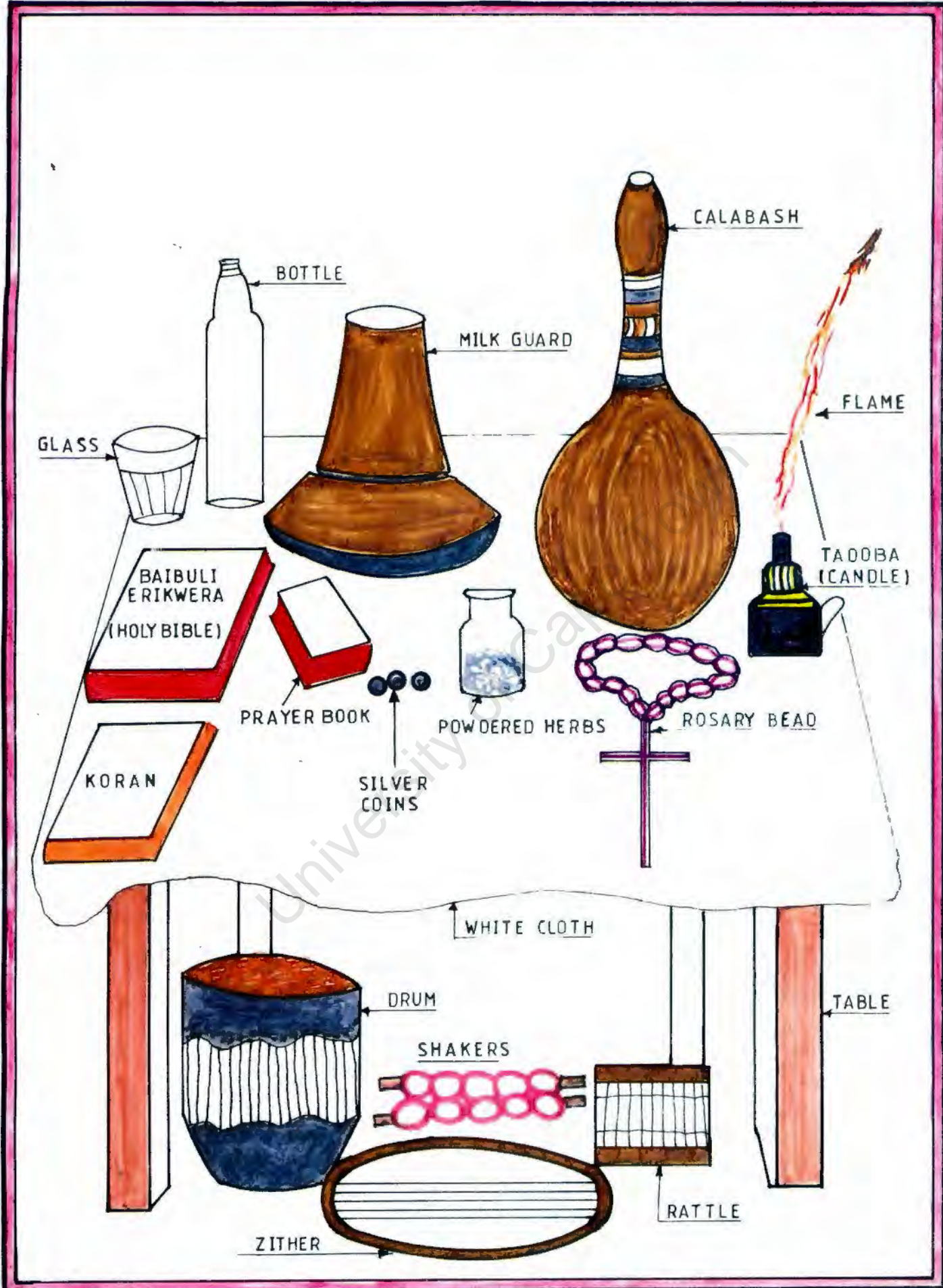
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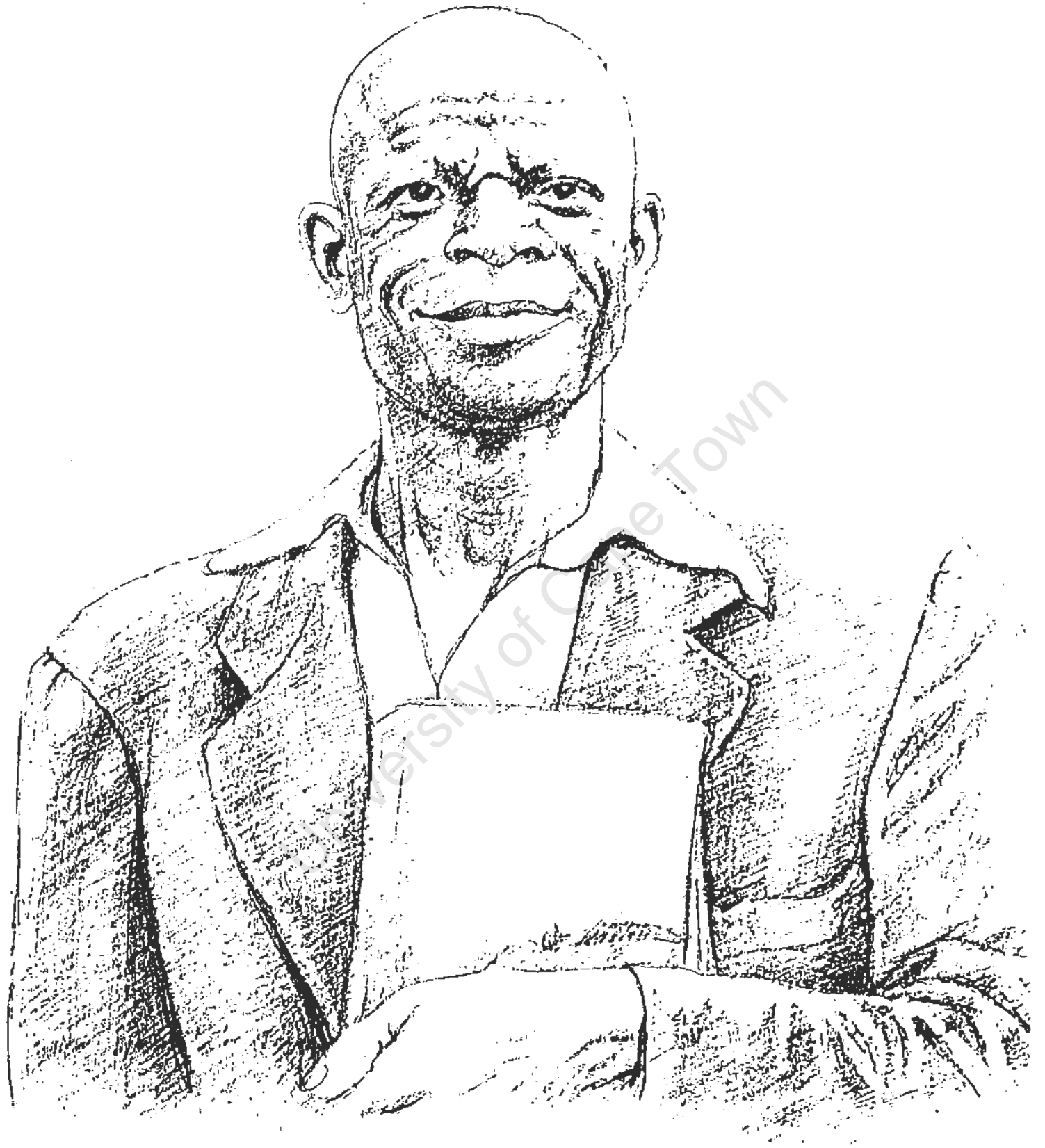


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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND

THE TECHNICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This study is about the attitude of the Anglican Church of Uganda to the New Religious Movements and, in particular, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* in South-Western Uganda. The idea of investigating this topic is rooted in the depth of the researcher's mind, to analyse the basic features of the indigenous beliefs of the people in the area and to articulate some of the changes that have occurred as a result of colonial dominance, Christian missionary endeavours (Islam) and New Religious Movements (in Uganda and Africa).

The African continent now has an important role in what is being recognised as a shift in the whole centre of Christianity as a world faith (Hastings, 1994:604-610; Isichei, 1995:1). Commenting on this new situation, Barrett rightly said, the centre of gravity of Christianity is tilting to the southern hemisphere (Barrett, 1970: 39-44). On the same point, Andrew Walls writes that what is happening within African Churches is not only exotic but will also determine the whole shape of

church history for centuries to come (Walls, 1976: 180-9). Thus the researcher, without prejudging, concurs with the above scholars and adds that the tilting of Christianity and its power base of spirituality in the twenty-first century will heavily depend on what is happening in the minds of the *faithful* Christians in Africa generally, but more significantly in Uganda. In the midst of these changes, it is important to notice here that, although the time is ripe for the *faithful* Christians to face the challenge of being the flag bearers of Christianity (Stanley, 1990:26-29) in the third millennium, the statistical growth of the Church in Uganda has some setbacks. And one of the most serious, fundamental challenge and formidable obstacle to the Church is the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*.

PURPOSE

The main aim of this scholarly investigation was to find out whether the New Religious Movements and in particular the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* which penetrated Ankole and Kigezi in the early 1960's exerted a profound influence on christianity. Secondly and at the more popular level, the researcher wanted to discover if the New Movement was a deliberate universalisation of the indigenous religious beliefs and practices. Thirdly, to posit and give coherent findings to attest whether it is one of the independent churches which was still at a rudimentary stage. Fourthly, to spell out if there were radical differences between christians

commonly called the *abalokole* (the saved) and the *Bacwezi Bashonmi* adherents. Lastly, to invoke interest and curiosity to academics (scholars) and prospective forward looking students (with active regional and International concerns) in Tertiary Colleges, in Institutions of Higher Learning and the universities as well as the pastors, priests, and the nuns in the main line churches and to the public at large. Such aims were has to be relevant and sound in order to encourage scholars who provide instructions to students (in the pursuit of higher academic qualifications) that are interested in Africa Instituted Churches, Primal Religions, New Religious Movements, missiology and African contemporary church history.

This said, the researcher still was aware that the above mentioned aims are within a cluster of factors that accelerated religious and social changes. Accordingly, probing beneath this virgin area of study it was impossible to cover everything. In this manner, the researcher has selected one New Religious Movement which has a sizeable indigenous following in South-Western Uganda. Inevitably, this has meant that some new, numerically smaller Religious Movements could not be included. Furthermore, what is not told in this study is a detailed teaching of the mainline churches, New Religious Movements and the Primal Religions of the area. Those areas of study, fascinating and important in their own rights, are therefore reserved for further research.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although the *Bacwesi-Bashomi* Movement is a major agent of social change in South Western Uganda in its dynamic forms, its role in the religious history of the area and specifically in relation to Christianity, is inadequately dealt with in extant scholarship. The study makes a limited start (using primary and secondary sources) in redressing this situation by tracing and analysing the attitude of the Anglican Church to the Movement.

LITERATURE

The literary works the researcher used have been acknowledged in the body of this dissertation and most of the books, theses and periodicals reappear in the bibliography. However, the writer has found the following dissertations, which are available at Makerere University Main library very useful and are commendable to research students and scholars who have great interest in African Instituted Churches (AIC), New Religious Movements, Primal World Religions and African Church History. The researcher will review them in that order particularly those that are contributing to the process of change and Church growth in South Western Uganda.

African Instituted Churches

The doctoral theses of Professor A. B. T. Byaruhanga Akiiki (1972), Dr. Turyahikayo-Rugyema (1974) and Associate Professor E. G. Rutiba (1985) are highly recommended. In addition to these, the Master of Philosophy dissertation of Bishop Y.K. Bamunoba (1990), and the Master of Arts theses of Serapio Tumushabe (1995), Apolo Mugenyi (1995) and Medad Rugyendo (1996) are worth reading. Byaruhanga examines all aspects of religions in Bunyoro. Those interested in Primal World Religions will find much to chew on here. Turyahikayo-Rugyema highlights the history of the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the Bakiga and provides an illuminating historical background to the impact of Christianity on their culture. Rutiba focuses on traditional healing in South-Western Uganda and how western cure ailments with injection attacked the indigenous system of rituals, divination and the functionaries of abafumu and their explanation of realities.

At a still more popular level, Bamunoba gives new insights on the development of the Anglican Church in West Ankole. He shows how the most vulnerable areas of the traditional life, battered by Christianity were the indigenous education, priestly functions of *Omugabe (King)* and social organisations. In contrast, Tumushabe

concentrates on the Administration of Justice among the Bakiga of South-Western Uganda. He stresses that equality did not exist in Kigezi during the period of transition. Lastly, Mugenyi's thesis gives salient points on Christian response to traditional healing in Kigezi. Last but not least, Medad Ruyendo gives an appraisal of the influence of African Instituted Churches in South Western Uganda. He makes it clear that these Churches are of recent in the history of Christianity in Uganda. The first to emerge during the colonial era was *Abamalaki* - the Society of One Almighty God (Anderson, 1977:45) followed by the African Orthodox Church (Tuma and Mutibwa, 1978:124) and *Abayudaya* - African Jews of Uganda (Obed, 1995:69-114).

New Religious Movements

Mugarura-Mutana in 1971 conducted an investigation on *Nyabingi cult in South-Western Uganda*. His main concern was to observe if *Nyabingi Movement* contributed to the emergency of New Religious Movements that mushroomed after Uganda attained independence in 1962. Mugarura discovered that although Christianity spread with power, such triumphs had some setbacks. Christianity was not indigenised (traditionalised), hence the rise of New Religious Movements. No doubt, this is a stimulating piece of work at an under-graduate level. It is stimulating because it attempted to grasp the data and it made an interesting and

impressive contribution to the modern debate on *Nyabingi movement*. The thesis is however, unbalanced as Mugarura-Mutana failed to mention the vital issues of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement's* impact on South- Western Uganda.

In a broader sense, Tuhirirwe's 1994 unpublished research work on *Bacwezi-Bashomi* in South-Western Uganda and its effect on Christianity, is a sure guide as he has made some interesting and impressive contribution to the debate on *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. It is a balanced paper on the practices of the Movement. However it is a very brief account (26 pages) of a complex subject. The researcher found several omissions. More pointedly, the paper failed to develop the historical growth of the movement, hardly mentioned some names of its leaders and relatively said little on its effect on Christianity. The writer will fill in the gaps, and develop the salient points in detail.

Primal World Religion

Edel's work on the *Bakiga of Western Uganda* (1957) is very innovative. This is a classical book on Bakiga society. Edel assiduously pursued the correction of her doctoral research data and reported her findings in a thorough manner. Positively, she stressed that before the coming of the British Administration, the Bakiga had their loose administrative machinery and they cherished their indigenous religious

beliefs and practices. Negatively, she reported that their contacts with other people were very warlike. It is for this reason that they were labelled individualists in their social and economic life. In an attempt to provoke the Bakiga, she concluded that they were a people without any concept of religious ethics. Furthermore, she overemphasised the role of the colonialists, missionaries and their agents and ignored the socio-economic problems of the host indigenous people who swallowed their ideologies in toto. Last and most important she failed to mention that the success of Christianity that took the West (British Administration and their *protégés*) by surprise was neither due to the missionary activities nor to their daring Baganda and Banyankole counterparts but to the national Primal Religious background. The Primal Religions are a significant factor in the way Christianity was accepted, experienced and indigenised. Despite this hostile evaluation and fallacious conclusion which she presented with little evidence, a week spent perusing the book is very rewarding to anyone who makes the effort.

Indeed, the extent of the Bakiga ethnography and the Primal Religious History is considerable. Nevertheless, Turyahikayo looked at the primary and secondary data critically in his magisterial study in which he investigated the Bakiga traditional religion with arresting flashes of insight and scholarly integrity. The methodological pitfalls of moving from an unspecified period called *traditional* to

another called *contemporary*, are fully recognised but unavoidably in his book (1983) on *the Philosophy and Tradition Religion of the Bakiga in South-Western Uganda*. In the area of scholarship, he highlights some historical facts developed by some Europeans who claimed that the Bakiga had no morality in their traditional society. For example, some Europeans remarked that Bakiga were among the lowest and most degraded people in Uganda. They came to this unfortunate conclusion on the ground that the Bakiga did not have a king; consequently, they seemed to do things according to their whims. The researcher thinks that such statements by outsiders are unfair generalisations based on few biased observations, which should be tested.

In spite of these pitfalls, he mentioned some factors that expedited change: the British Government (*as the prime agents of change*) suppressing the indigenous religious beliefs, traditional medicine and healing; the introduction of Western education, medical and paramedical facilities (hospitals); the Bakiga working as Colonial Agents (school teachers, evangelists and catechists), building and maintaining schools and churches; and the *Balokole (Bazukufu)* and charismatic leaders quickening the pace of contemporary evangelisation (*spearheading the arena of change*). In addition to these social and religious changes the researcher would like to study the Bakiga's understanding of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* and its impact on their society and Christianity.

Another interesting viewpoint to mention is that, in 1980, Rwampigi did a research on *the Elements that form Kikiga Ethics*. Among other things, he mentioned some aspects of Bakiga religious beliefs and practices which the researcher agrees with. Furthermore, in his magisterial study of Kikiga ethics and culture he portrayed the Bakiga cosmology as an alive universe meaning that, notwithstanding the colonial and missionary attitudes, the Bakiga had a cosmology that maintained a balanced social order. In spite of this observation relating to prime *agents of change* (see also Kalu, 1980:1-9), it is obvious, as Rwampigi opines, that colonialists and missionaries contributed greatly to the economic, political, social, cultural, religious life and psychological stability of the people of South-Western Uganda. But since his thesis was to show the relationship between religion and ethics (morality), Rwampigi neither mentions nor explicitly addressed himself directly to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. Therefore, the researcher wants to focus his attention on the above issue and analyse it more exhaustively.

History of Church growth in South Western Uganda

In 1969, Ngorogoza, a braver writer than most Bakiga, pioneered this virgin area and wrote a very interesting book on *Kigezi and Its People*. Although he delivered brilliant work on the introduction of Christianity to South-Western Uganda and its

impact on the indigenous beliefs and practices of the people, he totally failed to touch the issue of *Bacwezi-Bashomi* which is significant at this time when many religious people are interested in fruitful dialogue. In this regard, the researcher would like to study the impact of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* on the Bakiga society.

Worthy of note, too, is Kasenene's work on *the Mutual Influences of Religion and Political Leadership in Ankole* (1979). In this scholarly work, he rejected the European Christianity as the starting point in his grassroots investigation. On the contrary, the Banyankole culture constituted the starting point. Furthermore, he investigated Church-state relationship and made a number of observations relating to the impact of religion on politics. At the centre of his study, he makes it clear that although Christianity spread enormously the resultant Church was basically weak because the political leaders used it as a springboard to win elections or to sustain their political posts and the religious leaders also used political leaders for their religious ends. Consequently, the involvement of the Church in politics in Ankole had both negative and positive results. From the negative perspective, religion divided people and caused tension, conflict and hostility. And from a positive perspective religion acted as the conscience of the nation and voice of the silent majority on matters that involved the welfare of the citizenry. The work, good as it is, however, does not mention the emergence of *Bacwezi-Bashomi*

Movement, which started in Ankole in the early 1960s before it spread to Kigezi and other parts of South-Western Uganda. His scope is limited to Ankole. The present work will build on his research findings and chronicle the historical growth of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* in South-Western Uganda.

Lastly, the Occasional Research Papers housed in the Department of Religious Studies at Makerere University were very useful to the researcher in his investigation and so were the Research papers from the Catholic Seminary at Ggaba and the Anglican Theological Colleges at Mukono and Kabale. A useful index to these Papers can be obtained in the office of the Occasional Research Papers Secretary, Department of Religious studies - Makerere University, a position the researcher held since June 1991 up to December 1995.

JUSTIFICATION

Although some previous researchers, as I have indicated, have discussed the impact of Christianity on South-Western Uganda, they failed to address the issues of the New Religious Movements and in particular the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*. In this regard, the researcher would like to study the historical growth of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* and focus on two areas, both of them in South-Western Uganda. The former kingdom of Ankole (Bushenyi, Mbarara, Ntungamo) and the

districts of the former Kigezi (Kisoro, Rukungiri, Kabale). These two areas represent two extremes of traditional social structure and church organisations; one highly centralised politically and Christianised early (Bamunoba 1967:5-8) and the other chiefless, colonised and evangelised late (Babikidde, 1973: 11-20).

Since the researcher has doubts about some information forwarded by the previous writers, he feels duty-bound to study the issues raised and be able either to confirm as true or refute as erroneous and correct them accordingly. In this manner, he carried out field investigation and systematically collected research data. He also employed six post-graduate students as research assistants namely: Jacqueline Barungi, John Baptist Kagwa, Boaz Muhwezi, Mary Mutiibwa, Olivia Nassaka and Stanley Wareba. They were able to solicit information and to collect more data which has supplemented his findings. He hastens to add that this investigation is mainly on African Instituted Churches, New Religious Movements, Primal World Religions, African Church history and more particularly the *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement*. Thus, it is designed purposely to attract and evoke interest and curiosity among the church historians, missiologists, pastors and post graduate students to carry out more research in this virgin and neglected field of study.

METHODOLOGY

To fulfil this, the researcher applied the phenomenological and sampling techniques (as exemplified in appendix 3). Within this framework, the approach was broken into two categories: the *Insider* (Officials, Members, adherents) and the *Outsiders* (Ex officials, ex members and the public). To that extent, using the *Insider technique*, the researcher had to interview the *Bacwezi-Bashami* mediums (*Abarangi*) in order to get first hand information relating to the beliefs and practices of the Movement (see appendix 7) and his findings rest on firm and concrete data. It is on these foundations that the researcher was governed by a sense of fairness, so that the Movement is described in a way which reflects as faithfully as possible its historical development and present character.

The above approach involved two main strategies. First, the researcher set aside personal judgement in order to be able to appreciate the subject on its own terms. Secondly, the investigation attempted to achieve as much empathy with the subject as possible, trying to develop a feeling for the Movement in question, that is, as close as possible to the experience of *Abarangi*. It follows, therefore, that there is no attempt in this dissertation to promote any of the New Religious Movements at the expense of the mainline churches or other religions, or to advocate for anything other than a sensitive understanding of them all. The advocacy of religion on one

hand and criticism of it on the other are important, complex matters, but they were not the concern of this investigation.

On the other front and more telling, the researcher interviewed *Bacwezi-Bashomi Team Members* (appendix 7). Committed to get first hand knowledge of their practices, he carried out formal fieldwork (between July 1995 and April 1996), mainly in Ankole, Kigezi and to a less extent in Toro and Bunyoro. He attended some of their healing and exorcism services (*okuterekyerera*), and observed ritual practices (*okuragura*) as carried out in their respective shrines (*endaro*) and the articles they use in their religious practices (see chapter four of this study). Much later, the researcher interviewed some *Bacwezi-Bashomi* followers or *clients* or *adherents* or *neophytes* in order to get first hand information on the centrality of the Movement and its impact on their society. Admittedly, due to the degradation that has been meted out on the latter (the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* followers) by the *Balokole* and the Pentecostal preachers even people who are conversant with the Movement were often too shy or embarrassed to talk about it. It was not easy to see the way out of this dilemma. Nevertheless a few (twenty four) responded positively (appendix 8)

On the other side of the spectrum, the researcher interviewed a cross-section of *ex-officials* of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* and their *Ex Team Members* in

order to verify the authenticity of his findings relating to the Movement. Most of the data were gathered from those who have been followers of the Movement and converted to Christianity and especially those *faithful* Christians. They responded favourably as they now consider *Bacwezi-Bashomi* Movement as nonsense. Another important fact is that they were willing to talk in order to show not only how useless these beliefs and practices were but also to prove their own disdain for the indigenous religious beliefs and practices they called paganism.

At a later stage, particularly between April 1997 and June 1997, the researcher visited the Anglican Diocesan headquarters in Mbarara, Kabale, Rukungiri and Bushenyi and interviewed the Diocesan Bishops, Deans of the Cathedrals and some evangelists with intent to discover their attitude to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. (appendix 5). It would be a mistake to conclude without mentioning *Abalokole*. Thus, between August and December 1996, the researcher interviewed this indisputable evangelical group (the saved Christians) in order to solicit their views and responses to the Movement.

To crown it all, one important avenue the researcher employed to solicit data on African Instituted Churches, New Religious Movements, Primal World Religions and African Contemporary Church History was to sample one hundred and sixty five (165) people who comprised the following major categories: thirty (30) old

people of fifty-five years old and above (fifteen were males and the remaining fifteen were females); forty (40) middle aged people of between thirty six to fifty four years old (fifteen were males and twenty-five were females); thirty-five (35) youths of between fifteen and thirty five years old. The study concentrated on this group because it is the most active group and their views are of great importance to the study. The last category comprised sixty religious, professional and political leaders (twenty religious leaders, eight teachers, twenty politicians, eight lawyers and four doctors).

A high degree of importance was attached to the purpose of interviewing the above groups of people, as their views will set the stage for the exotic religious encounter with indigenous culture and contextualisation. The researcher gave out 165 questionnaires and 140 were returned. After realising a moderate response the researcher involved himself more in free and open discussions with the elderly (laity), the religious leaders (Bishops, Clergy), and the University students. This informal open discussion proved very fruitful, rich, stimulating, colourful at a very remarkably and encouraging pace as the respondents gave their true and unreserved answers that would not have otherwise come out clearly in questions and answers. All in all, the usual interviews (*insiders*) visitation to the shrines (*of the insiders and their members*), participation in rituals (*with team members and clients*) and topical discussions (*with the ex-officials, ex-members and the public*)

were duly undertaken and the results recorded. Limited funds greatly curtailed the fieldwork programme but the researcher tried to make up the loss by more intensive literature and documentary consultations.

TYOLOGY OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

New Religious Movements Scholars: Geoffrey Parrinder (1954), Bengt Sunkler (1961), Harold Turner (1962), John Mbiti (1971), Bolaji Idowu (1973) and Kwame Bediako (1992) have analysed the New Religious Movements and developed new typological motifs of great significance to modern scholars and students. Also significant is the fact that their publications contain truth which has continued unabated since then. The researcher will briefly explain a few typologies before presenting his own position.

Harold Turner (1967) developed his typology in a lucid and fascinating manner. He stressed that the new religious movements emerged not only from a non-Pentecostal background, usually that of the mainline Protestant churches and the Seventh Day Adventists but also from the Roman Catholic Church. Rightfully, he made a loud call to African scholars and African mainline Churches to recognise that a New Religious Movement follow and gather around a charismatic leader (like Muhumuza in Chapter Four of this study) who is noted for his or her

charismatic powers in prayers, gifts of healing, exorcism, leadership and prophecy. In the same spirit, (in 1970) Louis Luzbetak developed the Nativistic or Revivalistic typology. She stressed that when the indigenous people face social, cultural and religious instabilities, they naturally turn to those sources of comfort that were successful in combating unpleasant emotional states in their pre-changed periods. A resurgence of interest in Primal Religions is therefore, typical of *revivalistic* and *nativistic* movements that are common around the world. Famine, economic distress, political (violence) unrest, religious instabilities, rapid changes from a kin-based and uncontrolled urbanisation or economy to salaried city job seekers for educated individuals, can be the root causes of the resurgence of the movements.

At the other side of the fence, the *faithful* Christians feel that Christianity is a good religion and they prospered under it. In order to have access to the flow of blessing, the *faithful* attend church services, recite liturgies and endeavour to follow the teachings of the church. But since the Church does not deal with their daily issues which confront them, and since they must protect themselves and their children from spiritual attacks, they are in a double bind and feel they must resort to Primal practices not approved by the Church to survive. The idea that the Bible does not address the prevailing issues and offer no solutions for the problems is a result of imported theology. For Africans and the indigenous people in South

West Uganda to receive the good news in reality, the above issues listed by Turner (1967) and Luzbetak (1970) must be addressed. Given the importance – the New Religious Movements and African Instituted Churches (also called Independent Churches or African Indigenous Churches) have in African Societies, contextualising teaching will contribute to the reinforcement of this particular remarkable form of inculturation. Having made his point clear that he upholds the typological motifs of Turner and Luzbetak which they developed to the maximum, the researcher will use them in this investigation.

THEORIES OF RELIGIOUS CHANCE

Spirituality and religious changes permeated much of the lives of the people of South Western Uganda before the colonial and missionary era. Their religiosity was positioned in a Supreme Being who was both far and near. He was also the source of power (good at times seemingly in league with evil). Looking for help they turned to the wisdom of the elders and the living dead (ancestors). The living dead were virtually interested in the survival of their relatives in a hostile environment. Furthermore, they were not omnipotent and could not provide the protection needed from the malignant forces that were engulfing the living. As Kalu (1980) put it, indigenous people besieged by evil forces sought more potent protectors.

The colonialists and missionaries came on the scene when the Bakinga and Banyankole were in such inextricably state of affair. They ushered in, cultural, social and religious changes. When the indigenous people virtually were in great need for strength and when the living dead seemed inadequate or overbearing to rescue them, and when the diviners, rainmakers and the medicine people were failing to arrest the situation; they saw rays of hope in the newcomers. Thus, the analysis of the presence of Christianity in South West of Uganda is actually a study of religious change and the factors involved in methodologies of religious change are many.

In this study, the researcher will not directly uphold the *translation* theory propagated by Charles Kraft (1979) Lamin Sanneh (1989) and Kwame Bediako (1992); a theory that seeks to free the religious knowledge as much as possible from its former cultural accretions in order to translate the essential exotic religious beliefs into concrete and acceptable terms to the recipients. Nor is it his primary aim to ameliorate the plight of the *adaptation* theory championed by two Roman Catholic scholars: Louis Luzbetak (1970) and Aylward Shorter (1994) whose theory is developed in terms of Western philosophical or anthropological motifs with the intent to expand the horizons of the Primal Religious frameworks. Still less, does he endeavour to examine the breadth of *Kuzukuka* (reawakened)

theory addressed by Josiah Kibira (1974) with the intent to challenge the *faithful* Christians to be more rigorous and pietistic in their daily activities and mannerism.

Although the researcher will do a little of these theories in his Primal Religious interpretations, his focus will be different. His full weight will heavily lean on the *contextualization* motif propagated by one of the ablest scholar in missiology Bruce Fleming (1980), followed by David Hesselgreve (1989) and John Woodbridge (1993). This theory concentrates more on the cultural and Primal religious context in which Christianity takes root, receives expression and on the assumption of continuing to enhance cultural and religious changes. The researcher will not argue the merits and demerits of various theories - Kalu (1980) and Schreiter (1985:6-16) did that very well. Lastly, he will employ the *Balokole* (saved) theory articulated by Festo Kivengere (1976), Joe Church (1981) and Hannah Kinoti (1989). It will be necessary to spend much time on this theory because it stresses that the Christian knowledge should be permeated in the evangelical praxis to the believing community so that the acknowledgement of Jesus Christ as the saviour of the world is deeply tabernacled in the lives of those who pass it on as well as in the believing community that accommodates it.

LIMITATIONS

In the pages ahead, the researcher explores the attitude of the Anglican Church of Uganda to the New Religious Movements with particular reference to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* and proposes new directions. However, he had to observe some limitations. To begin with, this study is limited to the period 1960-1995. During this post-independent period, New Religious Movements emerged in full force. This was mainly because the New Constitution granted more freedom of worship to the indigenous people than before. It may sound airy and abstract but some Christians were living simultaneously in two cultural or religious worlds. This was not a healthy state of affairs. Instead, prior to this period, some Bakiga and Banyankole were practising the Primal Religions. The mainline missionaries in fact never understood that the Christian message was not being practised by some of the Christian messengers, who were, in practice, half-hearted Christians. Furthermore, it is limited to the former districts of Ankole, Bunyoro, Kigezi, Toro, Masaka, Mubende and Kampala. Thirdly, it does not reveal the attitude of the Anglican Church to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* or other New Religious Movements in other districts of Uganda and other parts of Africa. Lastly, it does not adequately answer all the questions pertaining to the practice of the New Religious Movements with passage of time. This is because it deals with the

attitudes of the church over a specified period of time, and the researcher is aware that attitudes are liable to change.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE STUDY

In the course of this study, several problems were encountered which constrained the researcher. Firstly, there were some difficulties in soliciting information from *Bacwezi-Bashomi* adherents as they suspected the researcher of spying on them in matters pertaining to their religious practices. Throughout the research, this mistrust and suspicion did not make it easy to get correct information. Nevertheless, there was some willingness and co-operation from other followers of the above-mentioned religious movement. Secondly, some informants did not allow the researcher's assistants to use tape-recorders in collecting information. Thirdly, information from oral sources sometimes was under-stressed or exaggerated. To avoid any misunderstanding, it must be made clear that such gaps were bridged by information from other sources. Lastly, some current and up-to-date written materials were not available at Makerere University and other libraries in Uganda. In this regard, the researcher used other libraries outside Uganda in search for relevant data: All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) Nairobi, World Council of Churches (WCC) Geneva, Yale University - New Haven, Episcopal Divinity School-Boston and University of Cape Town - South Africa.

CONCLUSION

Most significantly, the followers of the *Bacwezi- Bashomi Movement* have succeeded in integrating the indigenous rituals with their new beliefs such that some outsiders describe the followers of these New Religious Movements as pagan with Christian coatings. It is true from the above investigation that the influx of ordinary Christians into this New Religious Movement both from the mainline Churches as well as from other none Christian groups has raised a lot of concern, curiosity and interest, hence this study.

All in all, before making a serious investigation of the attitude of the Anglican Church to the New Religious Movements and in particular, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* in South-Western Uganda, the researcher will first develop the history of the area before the colonial era. Now, it should be asked what Ankole and Kigezi were like before Christianity was introduced.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF ANKOLE AND KIGEZI PRIOR TO THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

INTRODUCTION

The historical study of Ankole and Kigezi at the beginning of the nineteenth century, can be seen in terms of the external influences and internal responses that absorbed men and women into the wider political and religious systems (Williams, 1935:196-208). These changes affected not only their communities but also their Primal Religious beliefs before the emergence of the exotic religions (Oliver 1952: 73-78) and of late the New Religious Movement and particularly the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*. Admittedly, no part of South Western Uganda has remained untouched by these *New Religious Movements* (as developed in chapter four of this thesis) which came on the scene when Uganda attained independence in 1962 (Katungi, 1984; Babisima 1989; Baingana-Muntu 1990; Ndyabahika 1993). It is vital to note that this was a significant shift in political, social and religious changes. Even Kigezi, the traditional stronghold of the East African Revival commonly known in modern missiology as the *Balokole Revival Movement* (Guillebaud, 1959:14; Robins, 1975:268-296; Church, 1981:111-137) has been affected by the influx of these New Religious Movements.

ANKOLE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

It is a well documented historical fact that Ankole as a single geo-political unit, was an arbitrary creation of the British administration during a period of Western imperialism and expansionism (Ingham, 1957:141; Kasenene, 1993:6; Okoth, 1995:10). This was a period of global struggle for economic trade, supported by cultural enlightenment and people of Ankole who had previously enjoyed varying degrees of independence were brought under the domination of the west. Hence, the warring ethnic states which had one common "linga franca" known as Orunyankole were merged by the colonialists for administrative purposes under the *Pax Britannica* philosophy.

It is therefore in this milieu and against this background that in 1894, Major Cunningham acting on behalf of British Government and with the aid of the Orunyankole language, signed an agreement with *Omugabe* (the king), whereby king Ntare placed himself entirely under the colonial rule that exercised control over his foreign policy. Consequently, the colonialists united the kingdom and created one administrative unit in order to facilitate British rule (Bamunoba, 1973:1; Beakey, 1996:276).

It is not too far-fetched to affirm that the hereditary chief of *Kaaro-Karungi* known as *Omugabe* proved to be intelligent, with clearly defined administrative machinery and was selected by colonialists and installed as the overall ruler of the united Ankole. Commenting on this, Birgitta Farelius, a Swede comparative religionist made it clear that the colonial government created a ruling power clique drawn from a superior class of the *pastoral*

Bahima. Inherent in the ideology of Eurocentricism with a need to dominate, the colonialists uplifted the *Bahima* who became worthy allies in their civilising mission. Consequently *Omugabe* and other kings in the interlacustrine kingdoms (*Great Lakes Region*) had access not only to places where the colonialists used to drink but also to their (*emiginda*) rest camps (Farelius, 1993:110). In fact, it holds true that with his clearly defined rules *Omugabe* exercised an unchallenged form of leadership and became a dominant power over the surrounding states as far as Rujumbura the present county in Rukungiri district (Morris 1962: 17-29; Karngine, 1971:54-64; Doornbos, 1978:117-131)

Differently stated, Ankole under *Omugabe* autocratic rule, enjoyed unprecedented power, wealth and confidence. Its military might was feared also in the other Great Lakes Region and with good reason. In fact, the *Omugabe's* second commonly known name of *Ntare Kiitabanyoro* is a nick-name, given to him after he decisively defeated the invading armies of *Omukama* (King) of Bunyoro (Katamba, 1990:8).

Another contrast and an important one is that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Ankole became one of the four interlacustrine kingdoms of Uganda which were abolished in 1967 when Uganda under the rule of Apollo Milton Obote became a Republic (Okoth, 1995:14-19; Karugire, 1996:71). In retrospect, it is clear enough that in the 1970s, during the dictatorial, military and reign of terror of Al-hajj Field Marshall Amin Dada (New Vision June 26, 1996:19), the area was divided into two districts, namely Mbarara in the east and Bushenyi in the west. To take one further example of this principal of creating

more districts, during the National Resistance Government of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, Mbarara was re-divided and Ntungamo district came into being (Mamdani, 1995:32-62).

The Geographical Setting of Ankole

The former kingdom of Ankole which lies in the South-Western Uganda and covers an area of 5,928 square miles is surrounded by the grasslands of Masaka on the east and is about 150 miles west of *Lake Nalubaale*, alias Victoria (the source of the Nile which is the spinal cord of Egypt and Sudan). On the west, the hills of Rwahi form a natural border between Ankole and the mountainous district of Kigezi. On the south Kagera River separates it from Tanzania and on the north, the *Western Rift Valley*, Toro, *Kazinga Channel*, the *hills of Kitagwenda*, and the waters of Lake Edward and Lake George make a natural boundary from the Democratic Republic of Congo (Ahimbisibwe, 1990:7).

The whole of the western and some parts of the southern and northern areas are generally hilly, the central and eastern parts have a plateau, with small rolling hills, short vegetation and the people do not experience long periods of draught. In most cases the Banyankole rain-makers (*abajubi*) are faced with the problems of stopping the rain rather than of making it. But of course, sometimes when they experience mild-drought or when the dry season is long, they try to make rain (Sanyu, January 18, 1995). Rain-making is a special field for those who have the special knowledge about what to mix in order for the rain to come (Bisiru, September 5, 1996). Some have built *endaro* (shrines) in which they keep

herbs and other ingredients which are expected to catch and control rain. The method, which they use, is not clear as they do it secretly (Anyongerire, January 2, 1994).

The equatorial forests stretch miles and miles towards the *Kazinga channel*, Lake Edward and Lake George. This geographical feature accounts for the explanation of Kinyankole belief which is widely spread that the spirits of the deceased like living in forests especially when these spirits have bad intentions of bringing calamity to those people who are still alive. It is a strong belief in Ankole, according to Namara that, when an obstinate spirit keeps disturbing a particular family, a powerful medicine person binds it in these forests (Namara, January 2, 1994). For this reason, most Banyankole normally fear forests. How *abarangi* confront the demonic forces which bring sickness and other calamities to families will be explained by Baryaihwahwenki and other *Bacwezi-Bashomi* adherents as we shall see later in chapter four of this thesis. Their attitude, rituals for exorcisms and source of powers to drive away or to cast out these evil spirits will be studied in detail (Baryaihwahwenki, August 27, 1997).

People of Ankole

The indigenous inhabitants of pre-Christian Ankole and all other cluster states which were incorporated into it are called Bahima and Bairu (Karugire 1970: 20; Crazzolora, 1969:41-48). The Bairu are agriculturalists and the Bahima rear the long-horned cattle for food and cash (Museveni 1996:3-8). In the past, the Bahima had to move about in search of food, pasture and water for their animals especially in dry seasons (Karugire 1971:35).

Recently, some of them and especially the educated have not only accepted social, political and religious changes but also abandoned their old migratory habits and have permanent settlements. While what has been described may be referred to as the inhabitants of Ankole, the Bahima and the Bairu are no longer restricted to the area formerly known as Ankole. Many of them have moved to different parts of Uganda and some are even living outside Uganda. Likewise, people have migrated into Ankole from the neighbouring countries and districts: the *Bakiga*, the *Banyarwanda*, the *Baganda*, the *Batoro* and the *Banyoro*. Many factors may be held responsible for this trend of economic, political social and religious changes.

From this, it follows that the maintenance of law and order, the protection and the promotion of the welfare of citizens lay in a hierarchy of offices, principally the monarchy, chieftainships and clan leaders. The significant element in this system is the recognition of *Omugabe* who was the apex of a complex pyramid of political, cultural, religious, economic relations; and from whom all authority was derived (Karugire, 1970:22-23). To some extent the *Omugabe*, by virtue of his office, held special respect and was not only a political leader but also a religious head with priestly divine powers (Makoro: August 15, 1992).

KIGEZI AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Like Ankole, Kigezi was a colonial creation of the Anglo-German-Belgian Agreement of 1911 in which the Kivu- Ndurwa region was shared among the three imperialistic powers (Okoth, 1995: 10). The area was of interest to the British not so much because of the people who inhabited it, but because it bordered on the Belgian and German territories and the British did not want it to be outwitted by their western imperialist counterparts. (Karugire 1980:110; Bagumisiriza, 1988:66).

Geographical Setting.

Geographically, Kigezi which is commonly known as the Switzerland of Africa is definitely a beautiful area. It lies very close to the centre of Africa. On the south Rwanda forms a natural boundary, on the west the area is separated from the Democratic Republic of Congo by Mufumbiro Mountains, and on the north Lake Edward separates it from Toro and on the east the hills of Rwahi separates it from Ankole. Geographically the area is about 2,045 square miles of which 137 are open waters and 248 are forests (Arinaitwe, 1995:6). The size of the district is about 70 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west. Its elevation is about 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level and its vegetation is of mixed savannah (Berger, 1973:11). It has numerous mountain valleys occupied by swamps which are being cleared for farming and cattle keeping. From there, the hilltops rise to 13,000 feet. These ranges are a chain of volcanic mountains which are still actively erupting (Turyahikayo, 1983:ix).

What was Kigezi at the turn of the last century is presently the three districts of Kabale, Kisoro and Rukungiri. In some areas there were traditional and clan leaders who maintained their cultural institutions and these include Bufumbira, Kayonza, Kinkizi and Rujumbura. Among this cluster of chieftainships lived cattle keepers and peasants. On this note, Rutanga rightly observes that the *Abakiga*, *Abahororo*, *Abanyarwanda* and *Abahunde* depended on settled agriculture and livestock rearing while *Abatwa* and *Abanyabutumbi* were hunters and gatherers (Rutanga, 1994:229-231; see also Ngorogoza, 1969:68).

The colonial agents found the area with a variety of thick impenetrable forests which, today, accommodate four hundred mountain gorillas, the rarest animal species in modern Africa (New Vision 25, 1996:1). These forests are just a remnant of what must have been a green canopy covering several hundred square miles of what is now Kigezi. Only fifty years ago, places like Nyabikoni and Kirigime in Kabale valley were still forests and populated with game. The forests are indeed such a central feature of Kigezi folklore that most of the people must have lived close to it not very long ago. Today, the forests are still a big attraction to the witches, some of whom literally accord it a divine status (Beyanga, June 23, 1994).

The People of Kigezi

In 1921, the population for the whole district was only 206,181 (Denoon 1972:211-220). Since this time there have been several national censuses which show the following population figures for the district.

Table I	Year	Population
	1921	206,181
	1931	228,892
	1948	395,970
	1959	494,488
	1969	642,000
	1980	642,000
	1991	994,679

(Source: Uganda Government Censuses 1948,1959,1969,1980,1991 records).

From the above census data, it is clear that there has been a steady, rapid population growth. There are no historical records to indicate whether the scarcity of population at the beginning of the century (Phillips, 1928:310-321; Baker, 1934:134-144) was due to relatively slow and restricted immigration into Kigezi or whether the population mortality rate was kept up by the wars, or by the recurrent famine and disease.

All in all, Kigezi contains the greatest variety of topographical conditions in Uganda. It is within this varied environment that *abakiga*, *abahororo*, *abanyarwanda*, *abahunde*, *abanyabutumbi* and *abatwa* have lived and their society developed.

THE PRIMAL RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF BAKIGA AND BANYANKOLE

The researcher concurs with Anyongereire who shared with him from his encyclopaedic knowledge relating to the indigenous cultural changes that whenever the Bakiga migrated to new places they hardly uprooted *ebihaza* (pumpkins) from the old homestead. He came to this conclusion after noting the absolutely essential concept underlying the indigenous traditional culture which stresses that when a family moves from one place of land to another it cannot up- root all the food plants because they will need some food while still adjusting to the new environment (Anyongereire, August 12, 1994).

In this respect it is worth observing that the Primal Religious beliefs and practices of the Bakiga and Banyankole are not on the wane. Furthermore, their Primal Religion is not an evangelical religion. That is to say, it is not preached from one people to another (proselytisation) but rather a person must be born in an indigenous society in South-Western Uganda in order to be able to follow the Primal Religious beliefs and practices of a particular society. Thus, it would be meaningless and useless to transplant it in a different society outside Uganda unless indigenous people go with it. It should be noted that even within Western Uganda, Primal Religious beliefs and practices are not

homogenous but they rather take on different forms according to different tribal settings. That means a person from one cultural setting cannot automatically adjust to or adopt the religious life of other Ugandan people in a different setting (Ruheza, August 27, 1995). For example Rwakirembe says that people from outside Uganda cannot be converted to it because it is too removed from their geographical and cultural setting (Rwakirembe, August 8, 1995). Unlike Islam and Christianity, Primal Religions are not conquering religions and have no founders or martyrs or temples or religious books (Tamale, October 1, 1995). On the contrary, they evolved slowly, socially, culturally and religiously, through centuries and they gave their followers identity.

There is concrete evidence to substantiate that Bakiga and Banyanole have not been able to abandon their Primal Religions even when they got converted and accepted the exotic religions. Thus, the Primal Religious beliefs and practices are active and alive as before. In order to put them in their proper perspective in relation to the other aspects of life, it is proper to examine some of the Primal Religious beliefs and practices. Proceeding topically rather than chronologically, the researcher will highlight certain themes and sub-themes in the cultural, social and Primal Religious changes beginning with Abacwezi.

The Bacwezi

In the Religious History of Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro, parts of Buganda and western Tanzania, the *Bacwezi* cults are known, but have varying importance according to the different ethnic groups. These cults are derived from ancient legends about the *Bacwezi* rulers, who are said to have had famous dynasties in the present Western Uganda (Kanyamunyu, 1954:191-192; Mungonya, 1958:18-21; Wringley, 1958:11-17). They also extended into the Tanzanian states of Buhaya and Karagwe (Katoke, 1975:14-16). Throughout western Uganda the inhabitants identified their rulers as heirs of the earlier *abacwezi* and this was portrayed in series of remarkable legends of heroes whose memories dominated the early history of the Great Lakes Region (Oliver, 1953:135-137; Berger, 1981:27). Despite their importance in the social-religious and political lives of the inhabitants, *abacwezi* have remained mysterious to both the interlacustrine people of the *Great Lakes Region* and to the foreigners.

For example, Wringley and Kamuhangire deny their existence. They stress that the stories of *abacwezi* cannot throw light on the history of the *Great Lakes region* because they have never existed except in the imaginations of people (Wringley 1958:11-15; Kamuhangire 1994:14). On the other hand, Mungonya, Katoke and Kasenene strongly uphold that they existed (Mungonya 1958:201-209; Berger, 1973:32-43; Katoke, 1975:20-22; Kasenene, 1993:22). All in all, the researcher has discovered that when the *Bacwezi* leaders such as *Ndahura*, *Mulindwa* and *Wamara* died, their spirits were

venerated throughout their respective kingdoms (Katoke, 1975:36-38; Berger, 1981:15-25; Bagumisiriza, 1988:12-21; Kihumuro, 1994:25).

In concrete terms, the *Bacwezi* in Ankole were popular among the cattle keepers (Abahima), but not so much among the peasants (abairu). In Karagwe - Tanzania, one of the *Great Lakes Region* kingdoms the cult was strong among the *Bahinda* ruling class. The *Bacwezi* spirits worshipped in Karagwe were: *Kazoba*, *Kagoro*, *Kaihura-Nkuba*, and *Mugasha*; all of whom were believed to have been sons of *Wamala* or his relatives (Katoke, 1975:36). The short-lived kingdom of Mpororo, a large part of which was annexed into the Ankole kingdom in the nineteenth century, also had *Nyabingi* divinity (Williams, 1935:200-208; Morris, 1955:204-207; Bagumisiriza, 1988:22-25).

The *Bacwezi* divinities belonged to a different category of spirits from the family spirits *emandwa* (Cohen, 1968:651-57; Berger, 1973:60-81). By and large, they claimed to have power to perform miracles. Their being worshipped was due to the reverence in which their memories were held by the inhabitants. No one, not even those who had *Bacwezi* divinities, knew for sure, either when the people called *Bacwezi* came on the scene, or when they disappeared (Berger, 1981:27). Their origin and destination are as mysterious and incomprehensible as their alleged great achievements and performances, which we get to know only through legends (Kamuhangire, 1994:14). Nevertheless it is important to emphasise that the *Bacwezi* had superhuman wisdom (Katoke, 1975:14) and their stories are still shadowed in myths and legends (Ndebesa, 1994:40-42).

The *Bigo Bya Mugyenyi* architectural structures in Mubende district in Uganda are believed to be the ruins of their highly developed architecture (Shinnie, 1960:16-28; Kole, 1965: 149-161; Posnansky, 1970:125-150). It should be remembered that long after their alleged disappearances, a belief still persists that they did not die, and historians have various historical, social and religious changes relating to their disappearance as we shall see in chapter four of this dissertation.

From his in-depth study on the *Bacwezi* and *Nyabingi*, the researcher is of the opinion that *Bacwezi* and *Nyabingi* cults were the two powerful religious umbrellas not only in Ankole and Kigezi but also in the *Great Lakes Region* at the turn of the last century. The *Bacwezi* were worshipped by the ruling class and the *Nyabingi* by the subjects.

In the same vein, no matter of what origin, *Nyabingi* in Kigezi and Mpororo had *priests* who could officiate at sacrificial rituals and preside over other religious functions. Being a female deity, *Nyabingi* favoured female mediums and priestesses. In this manner, *Nyabingi* uplifted the standard of women who used to spend a great deal of their time cultivating the fields (gardens). It is clear from this study, the Bakiga and Banyankole who have good knowledge of *Nyabingi* certainly realise diverse similarities between *Nyabingi* and this new phenomenon called *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* (Zaribugire, September 8, 1995)

The Supreme-Being

The Bakiga and Banyankole strongly believed in the existence of *Nyamuhanga*, the creator and controller of the universe (Edel, 1957:160; Mungonya, 1958:208) who is known according to his attributes and activities. Understandably as in many other African traditional religions (Idowu, 1962: 140-143; Wachege, 1992:46-48), the concept of the *Supreme Being* existed long before the coming of Christianity and Islam (Nyabongo, 1939:151-250; Kyewalyanga, 1976:240). The inhabitants acknowledged his supremacy as the following proverb: *Owahangire omutwe niwe ogwata* which expressed that the one who created the head is the one who will crack it (Cisternino, 1987:10) or *eki Nyamuhanga akozire tikimurema ishoborora* which means, that what was done by the Creator (*Supreme Being*) may well be re-ordered by him (Cisternino 1987:49).

His name was used in ejaculations, such as *Taata Ruhanga!* which means, *the Supreme Being is our Father!* (Zaribugire, Sept. 8,1995), or as an exclamation used in joy (Bishusha, August 30,1992) or when people were calling upon him to intervene at certain times. Anyone undertaking serious study of the Bakiga and Banyankole Primal Religious beliefs will discover that, *Nyamuhanga* did not have *abagirwa* (priests) and places of worship similar to *omuzigiti* (mosque), *ekanisa* (church) or *ekeleziya* (ecclesia). However, prayers were occasionally addressed to him (Kitabire, August 3,1995). Equally important, *Nyamuhanga* excels above all wise people because he knows all things (omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient) and he sees everything in the universe (Kamanyire, May 15, 1995). This is a radical statement. It clearly means that no one can hide secrets from him,

because he sees both the inside and outside of his people. This is why *omukiga* or *omunyankole* courageously says *nobundaabe ntarikukureba, Nyamuhanga we nakureeba* that is to say, *although I cannot see you God does see you in whatever you are doing* (Mbahungirehe, August 6, 1995).

Specialised research on the religious beliefs of the Bakiga and Banyankole (Edel 1957; Bamunoba, 1974; Turyahikayo-Rugyema, 1974; Arinaitwe, 1995) makes it clear that *Nyamuhanga* has three attributes which describe his activities: *Rugaba* (the distributor or giver of goods her excellence) who is responsible for wealth and prosperity; *Biheko* (the sustained) and *Kazooba*: the one who is light like the sun (Mpalanyi-Nkoyoyo, December 22, 1995).

It is important to mention that the last name *Kazooba*, expresses that *Nyamuhanga* moves across the earth as the sun and therefore, he is the source of life (Kihigani, August 8, 1995), wisdom and knowledge (Mbiti, 1975:56; Turyahikayo, 1983:3). In short, he is the one who specifically enlightens people to judge rightly. He also reveals his powers over all living and non-living things especially in natural happenings such as thunder, lightning, earthquakes, storms and floods (Komunda, August 10, 1995). The contention is that everything beautiful is attributed to him; even mountains, lakes and birds are said to be beautiful because of him. In this manner, when a person sees a beautiful hill, the common expression is *bambe! reeba oku Nyamuhanga yakozire akasozi kaboneire* (O! see how God shaped a wonderful and beautiful small hill).

From his intensive investigations, the researcher discovered that there is no cult reserved for *Nyamuhanga* in the traditional religions of Ankole and Kigezi. It should be noted with great concern that, *Nyamuhanga* is not only good and transcendent but also eminent. In the case of human beings *Nyamuhanga* is recognised as having vertical and horizontal relationships with families, clans and societies. However, the ejaculations, the nature and wording of the prayers, plus the bidding wishes like *Nyamuhanga* (may the Supreme-Being protect you), confirm people's awareness and trust in the Supreme-Being. He lives not only in the sky but also has a temporary abode on earth where he may rest during his visits, particularly when he brings blessings and punishments to his entire creation. Nevertheless, he is far removed from their daily lives (Rwampigi, 1989:29). The Bakiga and Banyankole approach him through prayers and sacrifices. In the same manner, a prayer through *Kazooba* (the Sun-emanator) would stress:

<i>Kazoba nyakurenga,</i>	Sun, now that you are rising,
<i>Mpereza omugisha n'eka yangye.</i>	bless me, bless my household.
<i>Waba notaha,</i>	When you will be setting,
<i>Ompereze omugisha,</i>	give me a blessing,
<i>Haza ohereze omugisha,</i>	give a blessing to my
<i>n'eka yangye.</i>	household.

- Even if one received negative response, one did not complain. Receiving a calamity was perceived as part of *Nyamuhanga* blessing. For example if one takes a blessing, why not take the sorrow too? (Tugume, July 6, 1991). This linear understanding loomed large in their indigenous stories, legends, proverbs and oral traditions

(Kifende, August 20, 1995). It is therefore in this context, and against this background, that they refer to the spirits of their fathers more frequently than they do to *Nyamuhanga*. Communication with him was mostly done through qualified intermediaries and there were hosts of them, including diviners and ancestors (Bamunoba, 1965:95-97). In fact, the core of the Bakiga and Banyankole religious beliefs and practices was the reverence for ancestors. It is well known among them that *Nyamuhanga* did not prevent misfortunes from happening and yet, misfortunes are not punishments from him. It is in this context that the diseases, droughts and calamities were attributed to the spirits of the dead (Betsimbire: June 2, 1992). Thus, the attributes that *Nyamuhanga* is essentially good determines the relationship and worship the Banyankole and Bakiga accorded him. Also significant is the fact that due to social, political and religious changes, the mainline Churches have adopted the Primal Religious motif, *Nyamuhanga* as the Father of Jesus Christ.

Prayers addressed to Nyamuhanga

A careful study of the traditional prayers of the Bakiga and Banyankole reveal extremely rich liturgical materials not only in the area of litany but also in praises (*ebyevugo*), poems (*emigunju*) and short invocations (*emigane*). Prayers of this nature could provide materials for creative African Christian liturgies (Bamucwanira, August 8, 1995). According to their prayers they stressed that *Nyamuhanga* preserves peace, unity and justice.

Therefore it was their custom to draw his attention to all important activities of their daily lives. For example, the following words were said while praying to Nyamuhanga (God):

Hi! Ha! aa! aa!

Kaitwe Rukira boona Rwomuhangi!

Mugasha, Muhima, Kasente

Nituronda Obusingye

Hi! Ha! aa! aa!

Abanyabuzare - obusingye

Hi! Ha! aa! aa!

Kaitwe Rukira boona Rwamuhangi

Omurinzi, Omugabi wa byona

Abaana baitu obusingye, amatungo gaitu - emigisha (Basingwire, 1971:60)

Now, the researcher gives a literary translation:

Oh! Oh! Oh!

O! God the Creator

Mugasha, Muhima and Kasente (Some attributes of Nyamuhanga)

We seek peace

Oh! Oh! Oh!

Peace for our relatives

Oh! Oh! Oh!

O! God the Creator

The protector, provider and giver of everything

We pray for peace, for our people and animals

Oh! Oh! Oh!

The above Runyankole and Rukiga words are very difficult to translate accurately. However the main theme behind all the words is that the indigenous people were calling upon God to bestow all the blessings of life, peace, riches and good fortune to their families and community.

As a matter of fact, each day that comes and goes is a gift of *Nyamuhanga*. Indeed, and more explicitly, in Ankole and Kigezi, the elderly or chief women in a home, early in the morning before the rest of the members of the homestead rise up from their beds, offered prayers to *Nyamuhanga* on behalf of all her children and all those people who slept in her home as follows:

Nshekye buhoro: Let me be happy to-day

Abangye bashekye buhoro: Let my family be in peace

Abandi mbendeza obugingo: I pray for others to have long life

Owanyanga antura busha: He who hates me does me injustice

Nyowe nsheka buhooro: Let me be happy and in peace

(Wareba, 1995, see also Mugaruura 1971:24)

It is important to recognise that in this prayer the name of *Nyamuhanga* is not mentioned because *Nyamuhanga* is a great God, whose name should not be used loosely or employed in swearing. On the same point, in the above prayer, prayers, the woman said: *Nyowe nsheka buhooro* (let me be happy or cheerful today). This implied humility. It is not an artificial pretence about self but an accurate assessment of self. It is in recognition of the centrality of prayer in the life of Bakiga and Banyankole that humility is nothing but the truth. It is not surprising, therefore that the desire of Banyankole and Bakiga was to be at peace with their neighbours and with *Nyamuhanga*. This was the main reason why the chief woman of the home was entrusted with the services of praying for the home. The woman took care also to mention that she did not steal her neighbours' property, and that she wished others to have good health. Her position was clear and her prayer was precise.

In a nutshell, the central motif of the above prayers was that the children and the entire homestead should be happy and live in harmony. Of special importance here is the point that prayers of this nature could be developed, contextualised and indigenised into Christian prayers with intent to turn them into authentic indigenous doxology to God.

Sacrifices to Nyamuhanga

Although Byabazaire and Maari denied that *Nyamuhanga* received neither sacrifices nor offerings (Byabazaire, 1971; Maari, 1984) some information gathered in Ankole and Kigezi make it clear that cleansing rituals, substitutionary sacrifices and offerings were directed to him occasionally (Arinaitwe, 1995:57 see also Katoke,

1975:37). One example will suffice here. Some portions of food were thrown towards the sky and were accompanied by these words:

Iwe Kaributi, (name of the ancestor),

Tora embagwa haza orekure Receive this sacrifice, then,

omuntu wangye akire, let the sick person be cured,

Toora eyaawe Nyamuhanga! Receive yours the Creator

Reeba eyaawe Kazooba, Receive yours the giver of light,

Ngigi eyaawe Rugaba! Receive yours the giver of
prosperity! or wealth

(Barungi, 1995).

In fact, the meaning and content of this prayer depended very much on the understanding and avowed intent which the people who used it had of God.

Ancestral Spirits

When a person dies in Ankole and Kigezi it is believed that he or she does not perish because, something of that person subsists. That something is *omuzimu* (the spirit). When referring to the departed belonging to past four or five generations, Mbiti prefers to use the term *the living dead* (Mbiti, 1969:83), instead of ancestral spirits (Nyamiti, 1984:15, Westerlund, 1984:34-36) or the spirits (Gehman, 1989:139-70) or the spirits of the dead human beings (O'Donohue, 1994:53). These are spirits of the socially significant deceased

members of a family, or a lineage, or clan who are related to the living and whose membership to the family of the living is still strong and active.

Among the Bakiga and Banyankole like in other Bantu tribes, survival after death is not a matter of argument. On this note, Sawyer wrote convincingly that since the dead are spirits they can make direct approach to God who is also a spirit (Sawyer, 1968:49). In this context of ancestral theology, the living dead passes on to the next abode. They are regarded as having been vested with significant powers and authority. Furthermore, death does not annihilate life. On the contrary, the living dead continue to exist (Mbiti, 1970:264). They are respected, praised and approached more often in discipline than blessing, and for other minor needs of life, than is *Nyamuhanga*.

In this respect, for the Bakiga and Banyankole who are still living and who are not spirits, the ancestral spirits are immaterial, invisible, but undoubtedly real and active. They continue to abide for a certain period either in or near the body they left. Food and drinks are offered to them either for the purpose of communion or to prevent harm from the powerful spirits of the living dead (Mbahungirehe, August 6, 1995). They have free movement and mystical powers. They are more powerful and closer to the *Supreme-Being* than to the human race. The Bakiga and Banyankole believe that *emizimu* are all seeing. Thus, no-one can escape their notice even if one commits an offence secretly. The *emizimu* have power or vital force and can punish the living in form of illness, or bad luck if the living do not show respect to them. Even to-day, many Christians believe that the spirit of their ancestors are near them at all times watching, protecting and even advising

them (Mpiso, April 17, 1995) Hence, they are feared. This may explain the background of the ancestral veneration which foreigners in their visiting missions have, in their lack knowledge, labelled as ancestor worship (Addison, 1924:155-171; Ray, 1976:29). This was reminiscent of what the majority of the rural people intimately identified with (Safari, April 26, 1994). Not only numerous houses of worship (*endaro*) were built for them (though nowadays they tend to be tiny and hidden), but also regular sacrifices were and are offered to them.

Whenever *omuzimu* starts haunting a member of a family, it becomes a cause of great anxiety. It appears that *omuzimu* could attack the family if the deceased had a grudge against any of the family members which had not been resolved before the death of that person (Kampikaho, November 30, 1996). It is also believed that *emizimu* could be instigated by the living person against others, especially when the instigator had been subjected to abuse and harassment in the family and more generally, if no one cared to plead his or her cause. The roused *muzimu* would cause all sorts of calamities on the family, sickness and even death (Roscoe, 1911:288). To remedy the situation, the concerned person can avert the danger by pacifying the spirit and changing his or her attitude towards the instigator.

It is true that many professed Christians in South-Western Uganda and Muslims still offer prayers to the spirits of the dead or ancestors or the *living dead*. Thus, to-day, the convenient weekly schedule of worship includes a regular visit to the *endaro* (ancestral shrines), Allah on Friday (in case of a Muslim family) or *Nyamuhanga* and *Yezu* on

Saturday or Sunday (in case of Seventh Day Adventists, Protestants and Roman Catholics). Immediately after the Saturday or Sunday worship services, some Christians go straight to *endaro* without feeling that they are betraying their Christian principles. The inescapable fact, on the contrary, is that at the back of their minds is the presence of the world of the ancestors who are often presented as *Nyamuhanga's* representatives or intermediaries between him and all human beings (Kasigazi, August 21, 1995).

Generally speaking, every Mukiga and Munyankole agrees that there is a kind of communion between the living and the dead. When the Bakiga and Banyankole assemble to offer prayers to *Nyamuhanga*, they believe that their *living dead* assemble with them, because such acts of worship involve the whole community of the living and those in the departed spiritual world. In this respect, the *living dead* are regarded as human beings who have retained their unique personalities even after their earthly death (Komunda: August 10, 1995).

The *living dead* are indeed generally believed to be constantly concerned with the affairs of the living relatives: *eminyeto* (the youth), *abasika* (the middle aged) and *abakuru* (the old people). Therefore, there have to be some people who understand the language of the spirits and who are informed about the ways and means of keeping them from unnecessary interference (Mugoha, November 1, 1996). The ancestral spirit of a family - *omizimu* is restricted to related individual families (Berger, 1973:126). For example no one can be attacked by the spirit of a non-relative or even a distant one.

However, *emizimu* of grandparents and parents do not easily become furious over simple matters, but when they do, the entire family is in danger (Kimunyu, December 28, 1996). Let it be admitted at the outset that the spirits of those who die young never succeeded in crossing back into the world of the living. It is generally believed that when an infant spirit tries to come back, it gets distracted on the way by the wild flowers or a bird singing, just like babies when they are alive (Ninsiima, August 10, 1994).

Many of the Christian denominations tend to convince their followers that the spirits of deceased relatives can never come back to have positive or negative impact on the *faithful* Christians (Barugahare, April 7, 1995). There is, however, a mystery here to be solved. Although it is seldom bluntly stated, it nevertheless appears that even the educated, including Christians and Moslems believe in the powers of *emizimu* of the departed. At this point, it is significant to state that the cult of the dead is well established in the Primal Religious beliefs and practices of the Bakiga and Banyankole (Ngonoka, April 3, 1994). Should the faithful Christians pray to the dead? Can they bless? Do they have power to curse? To these rhetorical questions the researcher's implicit answer is that such things to the faithful Christians are unthinkable. On the contrary, however, Nyamiti is of the opinion that all hope is not lost (Nyamiti, 1993:17-28).

Christianity suggests that only the saints have the power to bless and that people should pray through them for favours. In order to turn indigenous religious beliefs and practices into living chronicles, it is necessary to stress some beliefs and dehumanise others in order to produce meaningful religious beliefs. On this note, the most influential statement is

given by Mugambi who stresses that the relations with the *living-dead* must be carefully maintained (Mugambi, 1992:52). It is therefore evident that when the indigenous believers pray to the Supreme-Being (*Nyamuhanga*), they do so through the living dead. Given such hearty endorsement, ancestor worship carries with Christianity in the sense that many Christians recognise the importance of the saints in their Catholicism or Anglicanism (Obokech February 14, 1995). They believe in the communion of Saints (Ddungu, 1964:285-286; Grenday, 1976:224-223). At this juncture, it is important to recognise that the living dead are bilingual; they speak the language of the people with whom they intimately lived until their demise and they speak the language of the spirit to whom they draw nearer ontologically (Mbiti, 1969:83).

Furthermore, the researcher is of the view that the underlying force behind the ancestral veneration at least among the Bakiga and Banyankole seems to be more of fear than love. Whether the contact between the living and the dead is made out of respect or out of fear will vary with cases, but the question whether and how Christians should actually relate to their dead has been overlooked. Though comparison nowadays is usually made between ancestor veneration and veneration of Christian saints (Ndamira, August 21, 1995), it should be remembered that the motive behind the two exercises are not always identical (Young, 1946:8). The better the living dead are understood, the more suitable will be the heralds of the gospel and the presentation (inculturation or contextualisation) of Christ, the great ancestor (Nyamiti, 1993:30) or the ideal elder (Brian, 1973:122-133; Wachenge, 1992:99-146) who *de facto* has power to rule and to save.

Illness or Disease

There are several causes of illness or disease. For example one can fall sick because one has violated *emigyenzo* (traditional taboos) or *emizimu* (the living dead). It is in this context that Byaruhanga-Akiiki vividly distinguishes five types of diseases: *biological* (which consists of an imbalance in the body system when human organisms fail to adapt properly to environmental influences); *social illness* (which includes a breach of family taboos - *emizimu*); *psychosomatic* (the disease of the thought particularly when one's thought becomes confused on some issues which result in causing a pathological bodily reaction); *psychological* (also known as mental disease which occurs when ones mental and emotional processes run out of control or get messed up somehow); and lastly *magical diseases* (Byaruhanga, 1991:25-27).

It is pre-eminently in this respect to note that whereas external agents have been regarded as the main cause of diseases or illnesses, it is at the same time admitted that *Nyamuhanga* is responsible for some diseases especially where there is no other satisfactory explanation (Rupopoza, September 2, 1996). The Bakiga and Banyankole constantly say *Nyamuhanga akozire ekyasimire* which means, God simply willed it, or inflicted illness upon his people as a punishment for their mischief. Although *Nyamuhanga* is invisible, the Bakiga and Banyankole could understand certain aspects of him from the actions of his emissaries (Byanyima, October 2, 1996). The emissaries are human beings with extraordinary powers; for example, *abafumu* (medicine people), *abajubi* (rain makers) and *abaraguzi* (diviners). It hardly needs stating that *abafumu*, *abajubi* and *abaraguzi*

accept their dependence on *Nyamuhanga*. In any case, when a medicine person is unable to heal, he or she surrenders his or her client to *Nyamuhanga*. The point is that, it is *Nyamuhanga* alone who can speak or act according to his will or bring his word to pass without any possibility of failure (Mafune, 1973:2; Ndoleriire 1995:261).

Healing

Healing presupposes sickness and discomfort. Furthermore, it is not just a matter of bodily healing but of the body, soul and spirit. As a matter of fact, in all parts of the world illness is a distressing experience (Kagaama, September 5, 1996). Apart from causing inner disturbance in the material world, it also opens a door to that monster called death before whom all human beings are utterly helpless. For this reason, all people throughout the course of human history, have been craving for remedy from this irreversible fact and dreadful phenomenon. All possible means and measures to restore patients to health were and are being tried (Kapa, September 2, 1996).

Indeed, the Bakiga and Banyankole are not exempted from the influence of disease and illness. They too, are much aware of it and have seen many people, relatives and friends falling sick and languishing to death beds until (*akaika kabahwamu*) their last breath (Twesigye, 1970:10). And as sure as day follows night, Omukiga or Omunyankole has to pass through death to the spiritual stage (Bamucwanira, August 8, 1995). Hence, the Bakiga and Banyankole laboured day and night facing daunting challenges and endeavouring to achieve some measures of immortality; in most cases by leaving behind

children to perpetuate the family tree, pressing on the parents' spirits to posterity (Turyahikayo 1983:3).

As a matter of fact, the Bakiga and Banyankole proverb stresses that *hamufu oyefera* which literally means that no one dies without being the victim of magic and witchcraft or no one dies a natural death; hence, there must be a reason or a cause behind the death (Byaruhanga 1991:25). This kind of philosophy includes even those who die of age and illness (Twesigye, 1970:18). The problem is complicated by the fact that even if one died of *malaria, pneumonia, asthma, diarrhoea*, the Bakiga and Banyankole are adamant that the cause of the untimely death was magic and witchcraft (Bashaija, August 4, 1994). Consequently they invented various social and religious mechanism for discerning witches and obtaining protection against them. However, it is significant to note that it is very rare to identify a witch by name (Twesigye, 1970:26). The witch is often and vaguely identified as a jealousy neighbour who lives near enough to interact with the client. In this case, *omuraguzi* refers the client to *omufumu* who will apply magic against the witch.

The researcher discovered that *omuraguzi* can be consulted on several minor issues. For example, whether the proposed journey will be safe and if not, what appropriate precautions to be observed or whether the new site for building a house was not infected with malicious spirits or magic. It has to be said, however, that there are several techniques of *okuragura* but most of them could be manipulated by *omuraguzi* to get the results that satisfy the clients. The most common techniques included *ekikondo* (rubbing a small curved stick on a flat object), *omubirizi* (leaves or a plant), *akashekye* (a small hollow stem) and *orunyegye* (small calabash with stones).

To begin with, *ekikondo* technique involved rubbing one small curved stick on a flat one and telling the results by the position with which the small one fell or spun. Water is used to lubricate the wood and to control the results (Bangwenyima, November 2, 1996). Secondly, *omubirizi* leaves were gathered, pounded and put into water through a small container before shaken hard until the froth comes up to indicate the results by telling from its shape. Apparently, the skill here lies mainly in the manner of shaking (Besigomwe, April 3, 1994). Thirdly, *akashেকে* is a small plant with a hollow stem which is used as a tube to drink beer and other liquids. It is cut short and pushed in the nostril and whistled through. Then *omuraguzi* would interpret the squeaks to the listening clients (Birongo, July 17, 1992). Lastly, concerning *orunyegye*, the researcher found little information. But what the researcher knows is that it is used in *kubandwa* worship.

More specifically, one former *omuraguzi* who impressed the researcher is Yowasi Kikombe who was a priest of *Nyabingi* before he was converted to Christianity. To-day, he is a strong member of the *Balokole Revival Movement*. He told the researcher that he used *okuragura* using *orunyegye* and he used to do this only when he had drunk beer. He told the writer all he would visualise in his head as if by inspiration from the outside world. He would inform his clients whether good or bad and it would be as he told them. He told the researcher that he himself did not understand the power that lay behind this prophetic divination. He said that he thought it was *Nyabingi* but now, as a committed Christian he thinks that it was and is the living *Supreme Being* or by the power of the Christian God that enabled him *kuragura*. The sobering and tantalising question the researcher asked

Kikombe was this: if the Christian God was behind his divination and prophetic power, why did he then stop being *omuraguzi*? The question was of importance not only for missiology but also for a clear understanding of *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. He told the researcher that it was impossible for him to become a Christian and *omuraguzi* at the same time especially as he could not *kuragura* without taking a glass of beer, a thing repugnant to his Anglican *Balokole* principles. He also feared to drink beer as it would attract back his discarded *Nyabingi* and *okubandwa* beliefs. He associates beer with *Nyabingi* and *emandwa* and he is scared of them (Kikombe October, 8,1995).

Traditional Healers

The researcher has discovered that the treatment of illness and disease is often carried out by *abafumu bebishaka* (medicine persons) who are highly respected in their respective societies (Muhima, March 3, 1995). The *bafumu abebishaka* are supposed to be trustworthy, morally upright and willing to perform their duties in the interest of their clients.

In addition, it is remarkable to mention that *abafumu bebishaka* are specialists in the field of medicine. They work hand in hand with the *abaraguzi* who diagnose the causes of diseases, and refer the patients to them for treatment. They use material objects from the earth for example, soil, plants, animals or birds (Byaruhanga, 1991:27). Moreover, *abafumu bebishaka* were consulted on matters which otherwise could not be explained by ordinary wisdom in traditional societies of some areas in Ankole and Kigezi where science

has not found place. The matter for consultation was in most cases related to sickness, the barren womb and the miscarriages and incurable diseases like cancer.

After identifying the cause, *abafumu b'ebishaka* were expected to help in re-establishing communion and communication between the family and the ancestral spirits (Kemijumbi, November 11, 1996). In most cases, the *abafumu bebishaka* prescribed offerings to the ancestral spirits. In some cases, a few *abafumu bebishaka* gave their patients amulets which were supposed not only to ward off diseases but also to give protection against a variety of hazards, including disfavour of the spirits when one was away or on a long journey (Bagumirabingi, August 8, 1996).

SUMMARY

In this pre-Christian historical background of Ankole and Kigezi some emerging themes relating to the Bakiga and Banyankole Primal Religious beliefs and practices were deeply observed. The first major theme was the concept of *Nyamuhanga* (the Supreme Being) and his importance in their respective societies. He is believed to be on top of the pyramid and it is not an exaggeration to say that several subordinate powers were below him in both the natural and supernatural worlds. It is clear that though Christianity and the Primal Religion in Ankole and Kigezi have names for the *Supreme Being*, there are differences in which the two systems conceive and interpret the term the *Supreme Being*. In the traditional setting of the people of South-Western Uganda *Nyamuhanga* is transcendent

and exercises some powers in conjunction with several subordinate powers while in Christianity monotheism is the principle factor.

Secondly, *Nyamuhanga* has a significant grassroots role to champion in relation to moral values because Primal Religious beliefs and social moral values of the people in South-Western Uganda have been eroded not only by the exotic religions but also by the corrupt leaders who for their part, have been derailed by the New Religious Movements and largely lost touch with their religious heritage. This ugly situation needs to be redeemed *sine mora* (without delay) physically, morally and spiritually. All hope is not lost. This is the main reason why the *faithful* Christians are committed to study the indigenous traditional religious beliefs and practices in order to substitute some of its tenets with the new teaching of the Christian faith.

The third theme the researcher investigated concerns spirit possession and ancestral veneration. The Bakiga and Banyankole stress most fittingly that the *living dead* can make direct approach to *Nyamuhanga* who is also a spirit. The researcher employs a similar method and concurs with Geoffrey Parrinder that the ancestors (*the living dead*) are not only referred to as past heroes but also are felt to be present, watching the household, directly concerned in all affairs of the family and property, giving abundant harvests and fertility (Parrinder, 1969:115-127). Certainly, the *living dead* are the guardians of the Bakiga and Banyankole's indigenous culture and history. Thus, there is great need for the *faithful* Christians to remember their departed ancestors. Now, before the researcher investigates in detail the emergency of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, its historical

growth, its encounter with the Christian cultural policy, and its new adaptation in the area of health, healing, spirit possession, exorcism and pneumatology. It is necessary to study the historical growth of Christianity in Ankole and Kigezi 1900-1960; and to this, we now turn.

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CHAPTER THREE

TRANSFORMATION OF ANKOLE AND KIGEZI

INTRODUCTION

Ankole was the last kingdom in the interlacustrine region of South-Western Uganda to be evangelised. The first initial contact was carried out by Christian fugitives who escaped from the Buganda religio-political wars of 1886 and 1888 when Mwanga and the Muslims were trying to curb the spread of Christianity outside Mengo (Oliver, 1952:135-137). From a missionary perspective, the *faithful* Christians who ran away from Buganda were allowed by *Omugabe* (King) Ntare to settle as refugees in Kabula and Bukanga where their Christian influence was very significant (Obed, 1995:16).

In 1889, Christians reinstated Mwanga as the legitimate *Kabaka* (King) of Buganda and the majority of the Christian refugees returned to their motherland (Isichei, 1995:148). However, a few Christian fugitives settled permanently in Ankole. It was from this point of view that they formed the first nuclear Christian group. Although they did not do any work of public evangelisation, their fervent Christian way of life pressed some Christian ideals on the inhabitants. Among whom they settled.

THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN ANKOLE

It may be mentioned here that the delay of the Anglican missionaries to be involved in church planting in Ankole was mainly due to the philosophical guidelines of evangelism as laid down by the Church Missionary Society missionaries who came to Uganda in 1877 (Oliver, 1952:75-77). In their endeavour to make Buganda the base of their operation, they met with much stiffer resistance and setbacks. To begin with, they were heavily involved in disputes with the Roman Catholic missionaries and Muslim Arabs (Waliggo, 1986:40). Secondly, *Kabaka* Mwanga of Buganda, was of the opinion that missionaries were not only part and parcel of the imperialistic minded Europeans, but also colonialists and indeed in certain respects they were (Ward, 1991:89-91). Hence, he vetoed instructing his people in the Christian faith outside the *Lubiri* (palace). What remains important is the realisation that the ferocious persecution of 1886 in which most of the potential converts and church leaders perished and the subsequent imperial rivalry turned the two missions into religio-political parties which culminated into the sporadic wars of 1888 to 1892 in Buganda (Tourigny, 1979:40-51). Although the Anglican missionaries eventually emerged as the victors, it is significant to note that none of the religious factions was able to destroy the other (Katorobo, 1982: 13). On the contrary, the Anglicans lost many of their committed Christians. Besides the fact that these wars were responsible for the first Christian contact with Ankole, the other effects also were frustrating as far as the growth of the Church in Ankole was concerned.

To begin with, and oddly enough, the wars highlighted the antagonism between the Roman Catholic and the Native Anglican Churches in Uganda (Pirouet, 1978:118-120; Kasenene, 1993:

116-132). Secondly, to avoid the legacy of religious wars and further conflicts, the colonialists convinced Bishop Alfred Tucker and Monsignor Jean Hirth to enter into an agreement and divided the country among themselves to ensure that they did not continue following each other and planting new churches or mission stations in the same districts with the inevitable results of more wars, incursions and scandals (Hastings, 1994: 464 - 475). It is of interest that this division placed the southern and western areas of Uganda (where Ankole lies) into the hands of the White Fathers and the eastern and northern areas into the hands of the Church Missionary Society (Beachey, 1996:232-274). Thus, the Anglican missionaries could not easily extend their work in Ankole as far as the Christian spheres of influence was concerned. At the end of the day this agreement was never followed or implemented.

Having briefly described the early efforts of the missionaries to establish themselves in South-Western Uganda, the researcher now follows the Anglican and Roman Catholic Missionaries' involvement in Church planting in Ankole.

ANGLICANS IN ANKOLE

It is true that the Anglican church was the first mainline church to arrive and take root in Ankole. It also won the biggest number of followers in comparison with the other denominations (Pirouet, 1968: 220). In fact, the first initial great personalities whose efforts to evangelise Ankole were the Christian returnees from Kabula and Bukanga who felt indebted to the people of Ankole. On arrival in Buganda, they put the area on their Christian agenda (Anderson, 1977: 42-43; Kasenene, 1993: 38-42).

Following from the above point, they became instrumental in sending the Baganda missionaries who played a big role in education, evangelism and church planting. The most notable of these was Apollo Kaggwa, the commander-in-chief of the exiles who became the *Katikiro* (Prime Minister) of Buganda, and Zakaliya Kizito their spokesman in exile; who on return became the *Ssaza* Chief of Bulemezi (Taylor, 1958:263). These two men tried to engineer the placement of evangelists in Ankole between 1894 and 1897. However, their attempts were not successful (Oliver, 1952:190).

In 1898, more Baganda missionaries came to Ankole and stayed for a few weeks before they returned to Buganda. As a follow up, in 1899, a team of missionaries headed by Clayton, an Anglican Priest of great repute and a sense of duty visited Ankole. Clayton left two evangelists at the palace of the *Omugabe* (King) Kahaya. Like the former evangelists, they stayed for a very short period and returned to Buganda. They reported their failure to the Mengo Native Anglican Church (NAC) stating that the interplay between three cultures, namely, of the Bible, of the Baganda (Roscoe, 1901:73-76) and of the indigenous Banyankole (Roscoe, 1923:12-36) could not work while presenting the gospel of Jesus Christ. These evangelists were not trained in cross cultural communication.

The Native Anglican Council of Mengo sent more missionaries namely Filipino Bamulenzaki and Andereya Kanya. They did commendable work (Tuma & Mutibwa, 1978:42). They were clear in their teaching which stressed the biblical truth. The researcher discovered that it was their commitment and strong faith in the true God that enabled them to persevere. They stayed at *orurembo* (palace) and evangelised *Omugabe* (King) and his chiefs.

In the year 1901, the two Baganda evangelists were joined by two Anglican missionaries, Clayton and Willis who were magnificently received by *Omugabe* (King) of Ankole. The latter became the Bishop of Uganda. Endowed with missionary zeal, Clayton remained in Ankole for more than ten years. He earned a high reputation and was very popular. He made missionary outreach trips to most parts of the Kingdom. His initiative, punctuality and enthusiasm earned him the nickname *Rutakyererwa* which means one who keeps time. In the course of time his missionary endeavours took a different turn. Together with his missionary team he concentrated on converting the *Omugabe* (King) Kahaya and *Enganzi* (Prime Minister) Mbaguta who eventually accepted baptism in 1902 together with their respective families and other high ranking officials in the Kingdom (Kasenene, 1993:43).

At baptism, the Prime Minister Mbaguta burnt his charms, King Kahaya gave up his extra wives and the new converts were given new names: Sulemani Kahaya, Nuwa Mbaguta, Keziya Kahaya (Queen), Malyamu Mbaguta, Julia Kabubura, the Saza chief of Ibanda and the only woman to hold a chieftaincy under the colonial rule (Katamba 1990:18). Commenting on their success, Oliver, the classical East African church historian left these words on record, stressing that although Filipo and Andreyia converted the King and the Prime Minister of Ankole their unchallenged successes appear very briefly in Tucker's pages, and they must be typical of many more who received less than their share of fame (Oliver, 1952:193). It must be added, in dismay, that the baptismal names were English or biblical in derivation rather than Kinyankole.

Consequently, the Anglican Church became the religion of *Omugabe* and his *Enganzi* (Prime Minister). The two remained the pillars of the Church in the kingdom (*Cujus regio, ejus religio* the religion of a territory is the religion of its ruler) until their deaths (Oliver, 1952:189; Shorter, 1982:348). This was not a policy of the colonial rule to favour the Protestants or to make Uganda a carbon-copy of the Great Britain politically and religiously. On the contrary, this acted as the shop window of the new light and magnet of evangelism in order to draw the Church Missionary Society and its newly formed Native Anglican Church into the centre of Ankole's socio-political arena. However, the Church Missionary Society missionaries were not alone in the missionary field. They existed in competition with the Roman Catholic Mission, not only in Ankole but also in other parts of Uganda.

The Role of African Clergy in the Growth of the Church in Ankole

At the turn of the century, the Anglican Church pushed on with the strategy of evangelising both within the stronghold of the *Bairu* and *Bahima* and their mission was crowned with success. Important people, mostly the chiefs, embraced Christianity and made the words of the scripture their law, often turning to the Bible for guidance in moments of crisis. The intense spiritual experience of the *Balokole Revival Movement* of the 1930s (Isichei, 1995:242), too, enabled many *Bairu* and some *Bahima* to be admitted to the *Holy Orders* and they worked in different parts of Ankole. Two examples will suffice. Among the leading *Bahima* to be ordained in the ministry was Yoweri Buningwire, who was baptised at Namirembe Cathedral (Tuma & Mutibwa, 1978:43). In the same manner, Simeu Kashenya became the first *Mwiru* to be admitted to the Holy Orders. His lifelong commitment to the *Balokole Revival Movement* is seen in his deep concern

for evangelism. To this end, he was nicknamed *Rurangira rwa Bweranyangi* (the thundering voice of Bweranyangi) which referred to his gift of preaching. At the centre of his message was Jesus, the lover of children, the great healer and the eternal Word of God. The people of Bweranyangi responded positively to his ministry and many of them flocked to the Church (Maari, 1984:21).

And so, from the very beginning, the Anglican missionaries, indigenous ordained ministers (*abahure*), lay evangelists (*ababurizi*) and their converts (*abakuristayo*) took up evangelism as a priority, often going out to the villages and local churches (*omubiterane*) in *teamus* (teams) of two or more to witness to the indigenous people about Jesus Christ (Kinoti, 1989:60). It needs to be pointed out that women also were prominent in the evangelising bands that toured the countryside on foot. Some found in the support that enable them to reject polygamous marriages. Today, Bweranyangi is the headquarters of West Ankole Anglican Church of Uganda Diocese.

The church grew, and in 1957 the Diocese of Uganda was subdivided and four Dioceses were created: Namirembe, Rwenzori, West Buganda and Ankole-Kigezi. An Assistant Bishop was appointed to be responsible for each of these Dioceses, and Kosiya Shalita was made the Assistant Bishop of Ankole-Kigezi Diocese (Pirouet, 1978: 140). By far, the most remarkable sign of the growth of Christianity in South-Western Uganda is that in 1967 Ankole-Kigezi Diocese was subdivided and Kigezi became an independent Diocese under Bishop Edward Richard Lyth (Tukwasibwe, 1977:15). Today (1995) there are two Anglican Dioceses in Ankole: East Ankole and West Ankole and four dioceses in Kigezi, namely Kigezi, Kinkizi, North Kigezi and Muhabura.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ANKOLE

In October 1900, the first White Fathers' Missionaries arrived in Ankole and founded the Roman Catholic Church at Nyamitanga (Kasenene, 1993:45-48). Although they had opened up mission stations in Koki (1894), Bunyoro (1895) and Toro (1895); they did not extend as far as Ankole. They were preoccupied with planning how to encroach on the Church Missionary Society's eastern territory. To fulfil this, they invited their fellow Mill Hill Fathers, a British Order, to come and undertake work in some parts of Uganda (Hastings, 1994:415-418). The White Fathers were of the opinion that working along with the Mill Hill Fathers would make their missionary enterprise expand and become appealing to the Banyankore. They were guided by two Batoro catechists; Yozefu Rutebemberwa and Yowana Kamondo. The Anglican Mission and the British administration gave them a very poor welcome and advised the *Omugabe* to restrict their operation in the Kingdom (Maari, 1984:19). It is most likely that the Anglican missionaries' fear about the Roman Catholic Church in Ankole arose not only from their personal religious sentiments but also from their commitment to the establishment of a centralised Anglican church in Ankole. It is a matter of regret that among the main opponents of the Roman Catholic Church were the British administrators in the area, who made it categorically clear that should the Roman Catholics be permitted to operate in Ankole together with the Protestants, there would be trouble beyond anything they could comprehend (Kasenene, 1993:49-55). The Roman Catholic Missionaries were bitter.

After a forced delay, towards the end of 1902, Father Gorju (who later become the Bishop), Varangot and Salles arrived and opened a Roman Catholic station at Nyamitanga, hardly a mile

away from the Church Missionary Society station at Ruharo (Kamugungunu and Katate, 1967:71). This is an important evidence, and by far firmest that we have, that the Roman Catholic Missionaries were determined to challenge the Anglican Missionaries whom they believed were responsible for their initial rejection. To stress this truth, of Bishop Streicher, the head of the White Fathers Mission in Uganda, sent Father Gorju and Varangot with strict instructions to make a good impression on the *Omugabe* and to rapidly make themselves known to the populace (Kamugungunu, 1967:47). The White Fathers gradually realised that the tall *Bahima* who were the ruling class, autocratic, slender, light-skinned and the cattle-keeping people were following the lead of the *Omugabe* (Roscoe, 1923:12).

Thus after 1910, they accordingly concentrated their efforts on the *Bairu*, and achieved immeasurable success (Anderson, 1977:41). More significant is the fact that they evangelised and made large gains (converts) in Bunyaruguru, Buhweiju, Igara and Ibanda (Morris, 1957:12-13). Two further pieces of evidence suggest that unlike the Anglican Missionaries, they emphasised medical work and opened up dispensaries on every mission station. Another important point in time, is that they did not make literacy a prerequisite for baptism, neither did they care about the outward appearance of their converts. Their converts, whether dressed or not were welcome in the churches. For that reason, the Roman Catholic Church in Ankole and Kigezi was called *ekyabarofa* (a religion of the poor, outcast and dirty people).

In spite of several episodes of denominational rivalry, prejudice, outward hostility, mistrust and intolerance the attitude of both missions changed with time. In view of this, all early missionaries have been blamed for importing irrelevant European religious controversies into the mission fields

(Hastings, 1967:91; New vision, February 28,1997:9). The subsequent history of the role of Protestants and Roman Catholics in politics certainly makes not only sorry reading (Moloney, 1987:13) but also is scandal to Christendom.

The role of the lay evangelists

Evidence gathered in this investigation so far, reveals that the most remarkable missionary catechist in Ankole was Yohana Kitegana (Babikidde, 1973:18). Certainly, he was in many ways the Catholic counterpart of Apollo Kivebulaya (a leading Anglican missionary of modern Ugandan Christianity). Apollo Kivebulaya was a very simple Anglican saint of distinct lifestyle, celibate and industrious. He accepted ordination in the Native Anglican church of Uganda before he offered his services as an evangelist to the pygmies of (Mboga – Zaire) the present Democratic Republic of Congo. He was made a Canon of Namirembe Cathedral before he died in 1933 (Pirouet, 1969:144). Kitegana on the other hand, was a polygamist who gave up his five wives before baptism. In 1901, when he was already in his 40s he became an evangelist, pioneering as a Roman Catholic missionary in Mbarara, then Bunyaruguru and other parts of Ankole. He was also intelligent, resourceful and iron-willed (Arinaitwe, 1995:110-102).

In 1911, he became the first Roman Catholic missionary to bring Christianity to Kigezi before his death in 1939. Like Kivebulaya, this hero of Christ identified with the people among whom he worked, even when this meant coming into conflict with some of his fellow Baganda political

agents who were exploiting the indigenous people. He passed through forests without fear, trusting only in *Nyamuhanga* (the Supreme Being). His ambition was to push even further the great work to which he unreservedly dedicated his life. As Nicolet observed, his long rosary never left his hand, and he prayed continually to the Holy mother (Nicolet, 1972:237).

All this came at a time (unlike the Anglican Church) when the Roman Catholic Church operated outside Ankole's political establishment. Nevertheless, their presence exercised an important influence on some of the work and activities of the Anglican mission in Ankole. Although efforts had been made to exclude them on the grounds that their arrival might cause political strife, it turned out that there was less bitterness than there had been in Buganda and other parts of Uganda.

ISLAM IN ANKOLE

Islam, like Christianity, came to Ankole as a result of the religious wars in Buganda. When Christians restored Mwanga to the throne in 1889, many Muslims fled from Buganda. The main reason was that they had lost not only the war but also their fortune and they now wanted to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Besides, they were unwilling to be ruled by an infidel or (*kaffir*) someone who was not a Muslim (Kasozi 1974:176). The Muslims came to Ankole under the leadership of Kauzi and Abdalla Affendi. Then, *Omugabe* Ntare allowed them to settle as refugees in his Kingdom. Unfortunately, Kauzi was killed when he refused to allow non-Muslim Banyankole to get water from spring wells used by Muslims. Nevertheless, Abdalla Affendi was made the Ssaza Chief of Bukanga and the Islamic influence began to be felt there before it spread

to other parts of Ankole (Kasenene, 1993:55-56). When the British administration established a post at Mbarara, the Muslims were recruited to work as clerks, interpreters, cooks, *askaris* and in many other minor jobs because they knew *Kiswahili*, which was at that time the medium of communication between the British administrators and the indigenous people. These Muslims formed a strong team that spread the Islamic faith in the kingdom. In the event, this group was more effective than the Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries because they were in close contact with the colonial administrators. Increasingly, this gave their religion a special standing, and some people were converted to Islam (Kasozi, 1974:189).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN KIGEZI

In 1903, the White Father missionaries and their team were the first European missionaries to arrive in Kigezi on their way to Rwanda. They arrived at Rutobo where they paid a courtesy call on Muhumuza whom they regarded as the queen of the country. She did not give them a warm welcome. Although she was interested in what they brought she refused to sell them food for their porters. Next day they went towards Lake Bunyonyi, circumnavigated it and reached Rwanda, in November 1903 (Babikidde, 1973:6-9). It was, therefore, not their intention to evangelise the Bakiga, nevertheless their arrival in Kigezi opened the door for missionaries to come to the district.

The new religions in Kigezi

The introduction of Christianity into Kigezi, unlike in many other districts of Uganda, was preceded by the establishment of the colonial political system (Turyahikayo, 1983:123). The first colonialists to arrive in Kigezi, in 1885, were Captain Emin Pasha and Stuhlmann. They had come on a surveying mission (Denoon, 1972:52-53). However, in 1910, the first incontestable British colonial masters arrived and in their eagerness to implement their system of indirect rule, they imported the Baganda chiefs and the Baziba clerks as their agents. They introduced education, independent courts of justice, new economic systems, taught the Bakiga the Western art of governance, built towns and together with Asians built shops (*amaduka*) and stocked them with merchandise (Ngorogoza, 1959:50-51).

Although there are several churches in Kigezi-namely, the Anglicans, the Roman Catholics, the Seventh Day Adventists (*Abanchwanga*) and the Pentecostals commonly known as *Mungu Mwema* who stress prophecy, healing and exorcism (Rugyendo, 1996:47-73)- this investigation will be limited to the Anglican and the Roman Catholic churches since they are the two major mainline Churches in the area. These two Churches entered Kigezi on radically different premises (Turyahikayo, 1983:122). We will look first at the growth of the Roman Catholic Church and to this we now turn.

The Roman Catholics

The first Roman Catholic missionaries came to Kigezi in 1911 and established their mission station at Nyarushanje before they moved to Rusoroza hill near Kabale (Babikidde, 1973:11-18). They had not come from Europe or North America. On the contrary, they had come from Buganda and Ankole. They were the indigenous Baganda and Banyankole and effective Roman Catholic evangelists who were responsible for the expansion of the Roman Catholic faith outside Buganda (Oliver, 1952: 183-184). Taking the initiative once more, lay indigenous evangelists did the preliminary work of establishing the Roman Catholic Church. And for more than ten years, all missionary work was in their hands. From this perspective the spirit of the Lord stirred them up and they brought the gospel of peace and love of Jesus Christ (John 3:16, Acts 1:6-9) to their brothers and sisters in Kigezi.

Yowana Ssebalijja, the Forerunner

After baptism, Yowana Ssebalijja served in Buganda as an evangelist before he was recruited by the British Administration into their services. In the records of the time, he came to Ankole and Kigezi where he reduced the area to the colonial order. Embedded with Christian sense of purpose and duty; he combined both political and religious roles. He was not simply a Sunday Catholic. His Catholic faith permeated all of his life. In 1909, he built the first Roman Catholic Church in Kigezi at Nyarushanje before it was transferred to Kabale (Denoon, 1972:181). Remarkably, amid his administrative activities, Yowana Ssebalijja recruited and trained evangelists before he rightly initiated them into the mysteries of the Roman Catholic faith. On a smaller scale,

he chose people for *omugigi* (baptismal classes) before sending them to Kitabi in Ankole to complete their Christian nurturing in preparation for baptism (Turyahikayo, 1983:124-125).

At the opposite extreme, he fought tirelessly against *Nyabingi* worshippers and the *bagirwa* priestesses. At Nyarushanje he fought with Mukeiganira, who was a *mugirwa*. After studying how she was manipulating the indigenous people with her *Nyabingi* systems, he gave her three strokes before transferring her to Mbarara prison. All the confusion and other problems caused by the *Nyabingi*, were brought to a halt (Babikidde, 1973:12). Immediately after the completion of his successful work at Nyarushanje, Ssebalijja returned to Buganda. In fact, years later in retirement, he proudly claimed, *Kitegana is the father of the first Bakiga to profess Christianity. I am their grandfather*, and indeed he was (Denoon, 1972:179-199).

Yohana Kitegana

A rising evangelistic star, Yowana Kitegana in 1911 was the first Roman Catholic missionary to set foot in Kigezi. He was from Bunyaruguru in Ankole. In the footsteps of Yowana Ssebalijja, he first carried out the missionary work in Nyarushanje, where he made new converts to Catholicism (Rugyendo, 1996:20). His evangelistic outreach had two aspects. It entailed preaching of the Gospel (*vertical dimension*) and helping the poor (*horizontal aspect*). Furthermore, the traditional view is that Kitegana was a devoted, zealous, compassionate and pious man. He also introduced formal Western education as part of his evangelical mission. The first converts were not only required to read before they could receive baptism but also reading was used as an instrument for conversion. Thus, to the Bakiga, to read was synonymous with

being a Christian (Ngorogoza, 1969:65-66). In developing his work, he taught simple hygiene, destroyed indigenous traditional religious articles (*engisha* or *fetishes*) and preached the good news that is rooted in and inseparable from the actions and life of Jesus Christ. And within twenty years of his missionary outreach, a thousand people were baptised (Arinaitwe, 1995:101).

It fell upon to him to pioneer and undergird the Catholic missionary work until the arrival of the White Fathers in 1923 in the names of Laane, Nicolet and Brother Theophile Martin (Babikedde, 1973:28). They teamed with him at Rushoroza where he had ably established a small Christian community. Equally obvious, from Rushoroza the work spread to all other parts of Kigezi. At the age of 60 plus, despite the fact that his health was weak, he travelled untiringly, trekking through the valleys and hills on foot as though he were in his teens. He remained credibly active dressed only in an animal skin - apart from *ekanzu* (the white gown) he kept for Sunday right up to his death (Hastings, 1994:470-472). His wise counsel was always available. He was a man of many talents, committed to the service of the word of God, and many *faithful* Catholics praise God for his life and witness.

It needs to be said at the outset that his influence in the mission field did not come to an end on July 27, 1939 when the drums were sounded to announce his death. He died holding *esapuri* (his rosary) and the *faithful* prayed for his soul to rest in eternal peace. During his missionary work, he built up a team of reliable catechists (Augustino Kapere, Antonio Munwaza, Yowana Rutimbirayo, Cornelio Rukuba, Andrea Kwehangana, Louis Kanyire, Sepriano Kabakure, Amato Kahemura, Blazio Rugasira) who carried out the work of evangelisation with zeal (Babikidde,

1973:99-108). Today Rushoroza is the Roman Catholic Diocesan Headquarters of Kabale Diocese.

The Anglicans

The first Anglican Missionaries to come to Kigezi were Banyankole who in 1911 arrived in Ruhinda at the palace of Kinyina's palace. Kinyina the brother of Makobore the *Omukama* (King of Rujumbura (Ndimbirwe, September 4, 1994). It is surprisingly that the poor reception they accorded to them hampered Rujumbura. Consequently the missionaries lost interest in the missionary work; hence their return to Ankole. In 1912 they were followed by Zachariah Balaba, a Muganda who established the first Anglican Church at Butobere (Kacwezi, February 24, 1997) before it was transferred to Kikungiri near Kabale. It should be mentioned that for two years he fought against diseases, persecution and opposition from the Roman Catholics and Muslims. He also came into conflict with the local administration particularly when he built a church at Kikungiri without prior permission (Tukwasibwe, 1977:7). Consequently, he was forced to shift his main area of operation from Kikungiri to Rugarama, which is about three kilometres from Kikungiri. Today, Rugarama serves as the Diocesan Headquarters of Kigezi Diocese.

The pioneering work of Zachariah Balaba did not last for a long period, and he did not see the fruits of his sweat as he was murdered during the 1912 Nyindo rebellion. His work was enhanced by Zedekiya Rwamafa, an evangelist from Ankole (Tukwasibwe, 1977:4-13). After his death the flow of evangelisation went out in all directions under the leadership of two Anglican (CMS) Missionaries namely Sharp and Stanley Smith who arrived at Rugarama in 1921 (St John,

1971:26-27). Apart from preaching, they gave medical services to the people. The Reverend Ezekyeri Balaba, a Muganda, joined them in 1928 and in 1958 he was made the first Archdeacon of Kigezi (Zaribugire, September 8, 1995). These able people, at that point in time, caused the Anglican faith to spread to all other parts of Kigezi.

From the start, there was very close co-operation between the British Administration and the Christian missions. It is not surprising that the spread of Christianity was taken by the Administration to be in the best interests of effective district administration. Apart from the need for assistance in putting down the *Nyabingi* movement (Hansen, 1995:141-151); the British Administration needed the educated Bakiga to replace the unpopular Baganda agents (Denoon, 1972:200-210). The missions, through schools, provided the necessary training. Indigenous children learnt songs that challenged parents to bring other children to schools. One example will suffice:

<i>Taata, Maama,</i>	Father, mother
<i>Mpereza ekaramu, akacumu</i>	Provide me with a pen, a
<i>n'eibare</i>	pencil and a slate
<i>Ninyenda kwega</i>	I want to learn
<i>Eitaka tiririho</i>	Land is gone
<i>Ente n'entam nazo tizikyariho</i>	Cattle and sheep are no more
<i>Tibi kyariho hati</i>	Not there anymore
<i>Mbwenu tukoreki?</i>	What is left?
<i>Okwega, Okwega</i>	Learning, learning
	(Isichei, gives a good example
	from Kenya 1995:236).

It was the responsibility of the missionaries to use education to win souls for Jesus Christ and to eradicate diseases through hospitals, to eliminate hunger and poverty through new methods of agriculture; and to promote community and primary health care. The British Administrators

consulted the European missionaries of both denominations as to the suitable people for appointment to the positions in the district administration. The Bakiga came to realise the potentialities of being in government positions and being involved in the new order of governance not only by joining the mission Schools but also through promotion into the Colonial Administration. Now, it is comparatively easy to say that the years 1921-30 saw an overall development in the construction of schools (Tuma and Mutibwa, 1978:114-119) church buildings, medical centres, and, as far as the missionaries were concerned, even some character-building.

Islam in Kigezi

Islam, one of the foremost religions of the world and the only religion to rise after Christianity (Tingle, 1985:31) was introduced in various parts of Western Uganda by colonial agents, Baganda refugees and traders (Ndyabahika 1993:136). The first Muslim missionary to Kigezi was Salifu and other Baganda Muslim traders who were not only assiduous in teaching Islam to the Bakiga but also built the first mosque at Kirigime near Kabale Town (Denoon, 1972:198). The influences of the very few Muslim thinkers who, as a result of absorbing that *infernal doctrine* which they uphold at times with arms, is not widely known and researched as it should be. Gradually they journeyed further afield and Islamic faith spread to other parts of Kigezi (Bufumbira, Kinkizi and Rukiga) especially where the Baganda Muslim chiefs were working.

At the opposite extreme, Islam did not attract many converts and this was mainly for three reasons. To begin with, some Bakiga could not tolerate circumcision. Secondly, the missionaries

of the mainline churches feared the philosophy of Islamic expansionism and misrepresented it. Thirdly and most importantly, the situation was politicised by the British administration who were Christians and who encouraged Christianity at the expense of Islam (Weekly Topic, October 30, 1992:1).

From a glance, the Islamic contribution in the field of education was relatively very small (Kasozi, 1970:9-12). This is so, partly because the teaching of the Koran remained theoretical in the daily practical life of the inhabitants. Gradually, it made minimum contribution and founded schools such as Kikungiri, Kinyashohera and Kambuga.

IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE BAKIGA

At first, the new converts went to the churches by day but at night they paid homage to *Nyabingi* in their respective *endaro* (shrines). The Western missionaries only vehemently labelled those who were involved in such practices as pagans and heathens (Mbiti, 1971:64-67; Shorter, 1994:45). In addition, they uncompromisingly preached a gospel of hell (Byang Kato, 1975: 78-83) to those who were not ready to abandon them (Nicholls, 1994; 252-253).

For this reason, the preachers in the mainline churches who did not handle with care the indigenous people met great resistance. To begin with, the elders campaigned against them and stressed that conversion to Christianity would lead to idiocy. Secondly, the traditional religious leaders told their adherents that since their indigenous beliefs and practices were not outlawed, the European Missionaries were endeavouring to undermine their reasoning capacity by converting

them to their different religions. Thirdly, becoming a Christian meant abandoning the traditional religious beliefs and practices for example; *Nyabingi*, *emandwa* and *emizimu* (ancestral spirits). Thus, the standard response was negative. Fourthly, the traditional religious leaders made it categorically clear that abandoning their role as the spiritual agents of *Kazooba-Nyamuhanga* would lead the inhabitants into trouble. Thus, the spiritual agents were mandated to destroy those who dared to desert them. Lastly, they prohibited the youth from having any contact with the white man, let alone going to Church (Kabahikyeho September 8, 1995).

In addition to the points listed above, the uncompromising attitude of missionaries intensified when the colonial government joined hands with the missionaries to fight and destroy the traditional religious beliefs and practices. The government assisted missionaries to burn down *endaro z'emandwa* (Zaramba: August 22, 1995). And in retaliation the traditionalists, too, destroyed church buildings (Brazier, 1968:17-27). Consequently, the missionaries and the government officials hunted the culprits and imprisoned them (Gareba, July 3, 1992). It must be quickly added on that to the Bakiga, colonialism and Christianity appeared to be a united force which was imposed on them, determined to oppress and uproot their indigenous traditional religious beliefs and cultural values.

It is at this point that between 1930 and 1940 the Bakiga's resentment of everything colonial or western was minimised by the *Balokole Revival Movement*. This is a movement of spiritual rebirth within the Church that was decaying under the blanket of nominal Christianity. This movement which came on the scene first in Rwanda (Gehman, 1986:36) and Kigezi (Kabaza, 1991:24) before it spread to other parts of Uganda (Warren, 1954:24). Broadly speaking,

Balokole Revival Movement contributed a new confessionalisation of belief, a new attitude towards the Lord, toward the Bible and towards the fellowship of the faithful believers. A view which the researcher endorses that the movement is a manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the individuals enabling them to renew their commitment to the Lord Jesus Christ, who in turn Commissions them to witness to their country people and share with them the Pentecostal experience they have achieved. The *Balokole* were more often stricter than the missionaries and more thorough in their rejection of some of the Primal beliefs and practices. Eventually the *Balokole Revival Movement* swept the whole of Eastern Africa and was marked by a conversion experience (Hastings, 1979:127-128), often associated with visions (Kibira, 1974:99), acknowledgement of sin (Stanley-Smith, 1946:55), public confession (Robins, 1975:85); walking in the light (Magesa, 1990:240-244) and public testimonies (Stenning, 1965:258-275). Missionaries felt threatened by the movement not least when called on to confess. In the words of the first pastor of Bukoba in Tanzania:

They hopped and danced and despised those who had not yet been revived. They refused coffee beans or groundnuts or to use ornaments and spears. They soon started their own services and despised their former friends saying 'you have not yet been saved' (Ischei, 1995: 243)

The growth of the *Balokole Revival* fellowship meetings (*ebiterane*) created new relations between the people of South-Western Uganda and the Europeans, and also accelerated the colonial influence. Through the *Balokole* (saved), the resistance to the European rule was replaced by a willingness to take advantage of the benefits offered by the colonial system (Stanley, 1978:7-10. The *Balokole* (saved) were prepared to send their children to schools and, collectively, they gave the last blow to *emigyenzo* (the customary taboos) and other traditional beliefs and practices.

No doubt, the new experience of *Balokole* conversion and the claim of having a new knowledge of the saving grace of Jesus Christ united them into a new community which explicitly claimed to have transcended the indigenous traditional ethnical boundaries, and religious rituals and ceremonies (Guilleboud, 1959:84-85; Barrett, 1968:127-134). Demand for open confession provided a means of confronting those members who were tempted to revert to traditional norms (Mugambi, 1995: 26-40). To the *Balokole* the Christian faith is always growing (Smoker, 1971:96-108).

THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN ANKOLE AND KIGEZI

It is important to acknowledge that the traditional indigenous educational system in Ankole and Kigezi had no institutionalised places of instruction (schools) where children could be instructed about their culture, traditional values, religious beliefs and morals as they have today. Another important point to note is that, they did not have specialised group of instructors (teachers) for the transmission of knowledge (Tumushabe 1994:43). On the contrary, according to Museveni, the indigenous education was an informal affair (Museveni, 1997:8).

In the above traditional setting, education was done at the family level right after birth through *emigunju*(riddles), *enfumu* (proverbs) and *emigane*(story telling). Secondly, the children for many months were under the care of their parents from whom they learnt through observation and imitation. Thirdly, through observation and practice, children learnt quickly and by the time they were six years old they were helping their parents. At eight they could do a number of tasks

without supervision (Edel, 1957:117). Interestingly, traditional education as given by the parents was utilitarian. In fact, unlike the Western education where data input is important in the process of education, what children learnt was generally for an immediate injection into the society in preparation for adulthood. The researcher would like to corroborate Wandera's view, which stresses insightfully the preservation and transmission of society's cultural heritage (Wandera, 1971:225), which heritage, of course, consisted of religious and moral values, among other components. This is a most productive area to pursue in the interests of more creative education.

More than ever, a family as a basic unit played a central role in this process (Kigongo, 1991:45). Thus, children received their earliest education and were introduced to wider communities. The methods and approaches used by the fathers, mothers and elders varied according to the situations. Firstly, around *ekikoomi* (the fire place) or by the fire side as Museveni calls it (Museveni, 1997:8) with *nyineka* (the father) where they used to warm themselves (Kajura, August 20, 1995). Secondly, around the cooking place (*omwifumbiro*) with the mother while they cooked food and prepared different meals for the family (Birija, August 20, 1996). Thirdly, in the fields (*omumisiri*) during work (Baruhukwa, September 5, 1995). Fourthly, those who were interested in other skills, like woodwork or iron work picked up the skill through observation, being near an adult person who was a specialist in his or her working place (Anyongereire, August 12, 1994). Sometimes the group was large; sometimes it was small. Sometimes teaching was done by one elder, other times it was done by uncles, stepmothers or aunts. Sometimes apprenticeship was lengthy; sometimes it was brief. Sometimes it took place spontaneously; sometimes it involved the people in discussions. Sometimes it was verbalised, sometimes it was

visualised (Katureebe, August 20, 1995). All in all, indigenous education had one objective in view - edification geared to character building.

It is important to note that in all the above places and using the above methods, children did not require much motivation in order to learn. On the contrary, they knew that what they were learning was preparing them to play their rightful role as future men and women (Bakutana, August 15, 1992).

A father (*nyineka*) or an elder was obliged to teach the boys how they ought to behave, conduct themselves before others and prepare them as responsible people in a society (Rurangaranga, April 3, 1995). It was a bonus to the boys to be assured by the elders, so that in the face of hardships or calamities in life, they knew that elders would stand by them through thick and thin. A mother, or an aunt or a stepmother also had the duty of training the girls as future wives and mothers in a community (Tibisasa, May 21, 1995). With these indirect methods of education, they prepared them socially, culturally, religiously and psychologically for the day when they would leave their homes of birth and start new lives as members of different families. In line with this, young people were not expected to question their parents or elders as this was considered to be disobedience. Nevertheless, they could seek clarification which was always given (Ndimbirwe, September 4, 1995).

The Bakiga and Banyankole were very strict with a girl who became pregnant before marriage. It was taken as the greatest shame to the family and the punishment given to such a girl was to throw her over a cliff (Zaribugire, September 8, 1995). The weakness in this education about

abstinence from sex before marriage was that it was one sided. It was expected for girls to marry as virgins and never to have children before marriage, but boys were not restricted from having sex before marriage. Fidelity in marriage was always emphasised (Hastings, 1971:191-203). In their education, the Bakiga and Banyankole elders insisted that a woman was not supposed to commit adultery. She had to remain faithful always. All these laws about adultery were mostly for women but men were never mentioned (Mushanga, 1970:201-209). This was a limited type of education.

All in all, it was the responsibility of the parents and elders in the community and particularly those who were closest to the youth to masterfully inculcate in them the traditional indigenous educational values (Arinaitwe, 1995:88). This vital motive provided a variety of learning experiences, for instance, practical experiences, spiritual experiences, knowledge, responsibilities, useful skills and values.

MISSIONARY WORK AND SCHOOLS IN ANKOLE AND KIGEZI

From the preceding research, the primary aim of the missionary education (*didasko*) in Ankole and Kigezi was to present the saving message of Jesus Christ. Their lifestyle amplified the message of the Cross they preached. In light of the growing ecumenical concern, it is clear that the missionaries were committed to win people to the Christian faith and to provide to the *faithful* Christians the in-depth knowledge of the Word of God. As if that was not enough, they were to inculcate knowledge that included wisdom, enlightenment, appreciation and sensitivity to the spirit of God.

Soon after their arrival, many people were converted to Christianity and others were showing interest in it. Consequently, the missionaries were faced with the state of new influx of new converts. This created a new responsibility of sustaining them in the sacrosanct teachings of the Christian faith. One illustration will suffice. In their attempt to reduce ignorance, win converts and penetrate the minds of the indigenous people, the missionaries established schools as a means of, and an aid to evangelisation (Shorter, 1994:1-26) and this gave them a marvellous opportunity of moulding a nation at its formative stage (Zziwa, 1996:57). Those who embarked on this long and difficult journey (at times an uphill task) believed that at the end of it all they would be part and parcel of the Commonwealth of the educated Bakiga and Banyankole

The researcher calls this authentic evangelisation which enables the indigenous people consciously and unconsciously, to be involved in grassroots theology which is built on relevant interpretation of the indigenous beliefs and Christianity. In addition to promoting church growth, education also helped to reduce the high level of illiteracy. With improved literacy the indigenous people exploited the environment for self development, better health and better nutrition. They were also able to improve their standards of living and to commit to continued learning. Furthermore, education had an important role of enabling people to break the vicious cycle of poverty, to become independent, be able to avoid some of the diseases and live in a dignified way. To achieve this, missionaries encouraged and participated in the teaching of reading and writing as a basis for the spread of Christianity (Anderson, 1977:80-84).

It is not a surprise that most of the schools in Ankole and Kigezi for a long time belonged either to the Anglican or to the Roman Catholic Churches. Although Muslims at a later stage established a number of schools, the impact of Muslim schools on society was very negligible in comparison to the other two religious groups (Kasozi 1970:8; Karugire, 1980:70-71). The Government, too, was late in building schools and the only ones it established in Ankole and Kigezi during the colonial period were Ntare and Butobero. Almost all formal education, therefore, was imparted through Christian missionary controlled schools (Tourigny, 1979:78-80; Kasozi, 1995:231).

It is worth noting that the biggest number of schools established by the missionaries were bush schools, primary schools and secondary schools. The main teachers were evangelists and lay apostles (Baur, 1994:241). The bush schools were for children who could not afford to go to the Primary schools. Similarly, they were also called Church Schools partly because children received school instructions in church buildings (Betsimbire, June 26, 1990). Extra instructions in gardening, physical education and hygiene was also done. Despite their deficiencies, these schools played a big role in uplifting indigenous communities. Through them, several people were enabled to acquire moderate ability in elementary education. The primary schools emphasised reading, writing, Bible knowledge and occasionally arithmetic in order that all pupils should leave school having attained a minimum standard of literacy. In this narrower observation the researcher pointedly notes that the missionaries were committed to establish primary schools in order to present Western religious life and culture which could push the traditional religious beliefs and practices to the margin.

The pupils who wished to further their education had to move to secondary schools (Stanley 1990:16-17; Kasenene, 1993:80-85) and the researcher discovered that they were very few at that time. The missionaries were fulfilling the call to develop the children mentally and physically in order to enable them to make a living in the new situation created by Western influence. Education reduced ignorance and was a key to progress. Besides promoting unity, it also promoted rapid socio-economic and religious development in an area through training of personnel needed to run different affairs. Isichei quoted a teacher who stressed this point thus: *less study, much work, less pay. Much study, less work, more pay* (Isichei, 1995:236). Now, a brief description of the educational development of each denomination will suffice to help in understanding why schools, as opposed to cultural imperialism influenced Church growth (Akankwasa 1996:34).

The Anglican Schools

The situation in Buganda perhaps added an impetus to the commitment of starting schools wherever there were missionaries. The Baganda were educated and many of them were willing to do anything and to go anywhere for the Lord even if it was costly. The classic injunction about the Baganda interest in education was appropriately explained by Bishop Tucker who left these words on record:

But besides this thirst for knowledge and instruction, the Baganda seemed to me to possess not only a peculiar aptitude for teaching, but a single desire to engage in it. No sooner was a reading sheet mastered than at once he became a teacher. It was the same with gospels; every fact noted, every truth mastered, was at once repeated to groups of eager inquirers (Tucker 1911: 48-49).

Consequently, the Anglican missionaries regarded their role in education as paramount. It was the youth who became mission boys and girls in the established primary schools, secondary schools and teacher training colleges. Some of the first schools were Gayaza High School (1905), and Kings College Buddo (1906) for Anglicans; then Namiryango College (1902) and St. Mary's College - Kisubi (1904) for Roman Catholics (Anderson, 1977:81).

As education became more popular with more indigenous people, so did its importance as an instrument of conversion. Only the blind and the elderly could be exempted (Tucker, 1911: 223). This rule that emerged in the mid 1890's remained in force until the 1960's when the Native Anglican Church in Uganda became an independent Province in the Anglican communion and changed the name to the Anglican Church of Uganda (Tuma and Mutibwa, 1978: xx).

Roman Catholic Schools

On sending the first team of Roman Catholic missionaries to Ankole and Kigezi the Roman Catholic office at Lubaga instructed them not only to establish dispensaries in order to help the sick but also to start grouping up children in schools, and teach them history, geography, science, arithmetic, writing, reading, music and religious education (Kasenene, 1993:79). As more missionaries arrived, the Catholic mission expanded its work in education and established more primary schools all over the two districts.

By 1962 when Uganda gained independence, the Catholic Church had over 400 primary schools. It must be observed that the White Fathers, unlike their counterparts the Anglican missionaries

(who established Mbarara High School and Kigezi High School for Protestant children who successfully completed education), delayed in providing secondary education to their converts. One of the main reasons is that they did not have many well-paid people who could assist them financially. Secondly, it was too costly for the White Fathers to give free secondary education. Thirdly, the Roman Catholics did not have well trained teachers for secondary level education. It was intellectually depressing that the priests who were qualified to do this work were only engaged in evangelisation.

Thus, the Roman Catholic followers were, for a long time, deprived of the opportunity to higher education since very few of those who completed primary school could afford to go to St. Mary's College, Kisubi or Namilyango College near Kampala. Furthermore, the problem was the fact that the Roman Catholic children could not be admitted into the Anglican founded Schools at Mbarara or Kabale on the ground that these Anglican schools had more than enough Protestant entrants. Worse still, the Roman Catholic parents found it very difficult to send their children to Protestant Schools because they were still insistent on keeping their children in the Roman Catholic faith.

Evangelism and missionary education

We have seen that in order to achieve their aim of evangelism through schools, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries aimed at giving a Christian education (Pinyewa, 1976:84). Reinforced by this brand of education in which religious education had an upper hand, both missionaries put strong emphasis on character formation by nurturing the *faithful* into Christian maturity

(Nahimbisa, June 22, 1994) marked by honesty and faithfulness (Baabo, October 10 1990). Thirdly, the religious education as a subject, in all grades, was considered paramount (Kabyanga, October 21, 1995). All these combined were supposed to, and in most cases did, mould the pupils to the type desired by the missionaries of each denomination.

In this context the value of mission schools, from the historical perspective, was to train future government officials and political leaders (Hastings, 1976:77). They were resolutely empowered to defend the Christian institutions. The type of leaders they produced were equipped to defend the rights of the mainline churches which owned and ran these schools (Leadership, April, 1961:61; Baharagate, April 7, 1995).

Outcome of the denominational education system

With the increasing numbers of children seeking education, the missionaries were able to use schools for propagating their faith. Whereas at first, they did not set down prerequisites for children entering their schools, the missionaries later made conversion or at least the willingness to do so, a condition for admission to their schools. This meant that children had to accept to follow a course in religious instruction and to receive baptism, if they were not baptised. In almost all cases, children who went to Anglican schools became Anglicans and those who went to the Roman Catholic schools cheerfully became Roman Catholics (Komunda, August 10, 1995).

Despite some negative remarks on missionary education (Akankwasa, 1996:34-38) the above findings demonstrate clearly the importance of mission schools which produced men and women

who exerted significant influence in different spheres of life, including Government, church and business. This policy was not shaken until 1963, when the Government of Uganda under the leadership of Apolo Milton Obote controlled the running of secondary schools (Katorobo, 1982:35-49).

At the time Uganda achieved political and national independence the future looked bright and the new government fundamentally changed the relationship inherited from the colonial and missionary past. A number of drastic steps were taken to reduce the influence of the missionaries: unified inspectorate for all schools, creation of a centralised system of recruitment of teachers and a directive that all schools should serve the communities in which they were located instead of religious groups. When this policy was implemented, the greatest losers were not only the Muslims who were the late comers in the field of education (Kasozi, 1970:13) but also the Roman Catholics who had the biggest number of schools (Pinyawa, 1976:82-95).

Having considered these important points, it is fitting to conclude that mission education did not only create new values, new tastes, and new standards of life, but also, it opened up different opportunities for different people. Education became the key that could unlock the new world that had been created. In this process, the achievements of Western education were immense and a new class of the educated elite emerged (Akankwasa, 1996:35). At the far right of the spectrum it was apparent that the prestige and respect of the elders and chiefs was transferred to the educated men and women.

The higher education one attained, the higher one ascended on the social and political ladder. These men and women are settled peacefully in decision-making positions that decide the fate of their churches and nation. In this manner, education transformed the social, political and religious structures of Ankole and Kigezi. It is possible to chronicle the areas of success in the sphere of western education. Nevertheless, it also created denominationalism which has been one of the biggest strains in Ugandan Christianity.

MEDICAL WORK IN ANKOLE AND KIGEZI

The medical services occupied a third place of importance in missionary activities of the pioneer missionaries (evangelism, education and medical). In the Anglican Church a new beginning had to be made. In this field, their missionaries did this at the beginning of this century in response to the Lord's command to his disciples to preach the gospel and heal the sick (Mark, 6:7-13).

The first Church Missionary Society doctor to come to Uganda was Albert Cook, who ran Mengo Hospital from 1897 till the 1920s. Not confining his pursuit to the sterile atmosphere of academia, Cook invested much of his time in research. Consequently, he emerged as a shining example in medical service (Oliver, 1952:211) and a towering figure in the development of scientific medicine in Uganda particularly in the area of sleeping sickness and venereal diseases (Ward, 1991:100). He had given his life to Jesus Christ as a young man and immediately after graduation with a medical degree, he offered to serve in the mission field as a medical doctor. Leaving England in 1896, he reached Mengo early in 1897 (Tuma and Mutibwa, 1978:90-91). Subsequently in 1899, he was joined by his brother Jack, a well qualified surgeon. They were not

only eager to win souls for Jesus but at the same time were the most renowned consultants in the whole of East Africa. Albert Cook retired from the medical services in 1936, after building church hospitals in other parts of Uganda. He stayed in Uganda at Makindye for the rest of his life and died in 1951.

In fact, from his insight the Government of Uganda ushered in a comprehensive and efficient nation-wide medical service. It is in this broader sense that both government and Church hospitals have played a leading role in the provision of curative and preventive health services to the people not only in South-Western Uganda but also in the whole nation. Important advances were made when Church hospitals were built at Mutorere, Nyakibare, Kisizi, Ishaka, Kagando and Kabarole endeavouring to provide to God's people the holistic approach to health care, while emulating the Lord Jesus Christ's example of holistic healing of the mind, body and spirit.

Fundamentally, the medical doctors believed that the well-being of men and women included a good relationship with God. In this regard, the physical, mental, social and spiritual aspects of a human being intertwine and interact with each other. Following the footsteps of Albert Cook, Government established hospitals in South-Western Uganda at Kabale, Kambuga, Kitagata, Mbarara, Fort Portal and Itojo with the primary aim of not only caring for the health of all citizens but also of rendering qualitative and affordable health care units. These units teach primary health care and personal hygiene. They also stress drinking clean water and carrying out immunisation programmes (Rutiba, March 12-13, 1996).

Before the arrival of Western missionaries, the indigenous people of Ankole and Kigezi had a well-established system of healing (using indigenous medicine) which was ignored by Western doctors who often had little understanding of the wealth they were destroying. The system included medicine people (*abafumu*), herbalists, skilful bone-setters (*abamubngi*) and diviners (Tuma and Mutibwa, 1978:90). The medicine people (*abafumu*) made a great contribution to their local communities as they effectively treated different kinds of diseases. Their drug stores contained not only different herbs and concoctions but also different coloured soils (*emumbwe*), birds' feathers (*amoya*), plant leaves of all sorts (*emizi namababi*), dead reptiles and other animals. It is significant that the diviners could find out whether sickness was caused by *Nyamuhanga* or evil spirits before it was treated by the witch-doctors or exorcists. What was of great interest to the researcher was that *omufumu* (medicine person) claimed to apply protective medicine to people endeavouring to secure jobs, or to strengthen their relationships, or to protect them against possible danger either physical or spiritual, visible or invisible, even to protect them against death (Byaruhanga, 1995:3).

Broadly speaking, the belief in the efficacy of *omufumu* was based on the supposed powers of his or her medicine. By way of illustration, most of the natural diseases were attributed to witchcraft (Erivwo, 1975:25). In the light of this, it was easy for the people of Ankole and Kigezi to view disease as an attack by some spirits upon the patient's spirit and that the disease could only be overcome by the medicine whose spirit was stronger than the spirit of the disease. Hence the Bakiga and Banyankole were to be healed by traditional medicine (Byaruhanga, 1995:2).

Christian Healing and Exorcism

From the above insights, the research is of the view that Christian healing and exorcism ministry is important as it forms an integral part of the holistic ministry. Today, this ministry is well established by Independent churches, New Religious Movement and the *Bacwezi* Movement. In their healing activities, they apply a wide range of symbolic activities - from laying-on hands to sprinkling with holy water or the touch of a holy staff. As such and within this context, exorcism represents a more dramatic act of spirit expulsion. Instead of praying to God, the priest, prophet or healer, acting as an exorcist, commands the invading spirits to depart from the afflicted person.

In concrete circumstances, African cosmology is characterised by a preoccupation with the spirit world in the form of ancestral veneration as a means of safeguarding social stability and the disruption of sociocosmic harmony. Against this background, Christian exorcism will in many instances be an effective means of communicating the Christian message that has power over all principalities in the universe (Romans, 8:37-39). At all events, many church leaders use exorcism as a pastoral instrument to combat wizardry beliefs, demonic powers and the antisocial forces.

A perusal of current theological and Biblical viewpoints indicate, however, that scholars are by no means unanimous in their evaluation of the pastoral value of exorcism in the church. Broadly speaking, a distinction can be made between those church leaders and academic African Instituted Churches or African Christianity who either practise or theoretically support a ministry of exorcism (Walls, 1982:92-99; Bosch, 1987:52-60) and those who oppose it or are highly critical of its seemingly negative implications (Shorter, 1995). The former emphasise the *liberating value* of

a ministry which appears to confront the existential needs and fears of people in a ritually understandable and therefore psychologically and religiously satisfying manner. The latter are sceptical of the long-term impact of a practice which is considered to be counterproductive in that it reinforces the traditional cosmology - and therefore *enslaves people* to the world of demons, wizardry beliefs and fears - without providing a realistic Christian solution in a more radical and peculiar way. Suffice it to note with Shorter that the solution to healing and exorcism could be sought in alternative measures: firstly, the refusal to enter into discussion with those who practice it objectively; secondly, to challenge their conscious relinquishment of the dualistic philosophy underlying their beliefs; and thirdly, to encourage the transformation of the social world through socio-economic development and Christian community programmes - which will create a new setting to dispel evil spirits or related fears (see also Singleton, 1980:1-41). A more telling phenomena is that God is the primary source of healing, assisted by human agents namely; priests or pastors, prophets, faith healers, health workers, doctors (indigenous and modern) and the power of religious practices which involve counselling. The same could be said (with reservations) that although the church hospitals are able through their medicines and health education to greatly reduce the fear of evil spirits or demons or witchcraft, the mainline churches (unfortunately) have remained incapable of convincing the public in cases of incurable and psychosomatic diseases.

If Andrew Walls' views are correct, one is obliged to affirm that the mainline Churches should ascertain their influences. They must present a biblical teaching that addresses the needs of the *faithful* and provide a comprehensive and qualitatively higher alternative to the problems they meet and to the solutions which they seek. More significantly, the researcher's hunch is that the

biblical teaching: first, must provide a dynamic life giving power that secures deliverance from evil spirits and allows the people to feel safe in a hostile environment. Secondly, it must satisfy the *existential worldly* needs (horizontal) and not only to promise *the life to come* (vertical). Thirdly, it must counter attack the dominant fears, suspicions and evil powers they feel. It is these and a host of others that the dynamic Christian healing and exorcism ministry must speak.

In this context, the researcher concurs with Taylor (1963:211) who calls for the development of well safeguarded Christian ministry of healing and exorcism, and Ingezona (1985:179-193) who calls for a more dynamic contextualised form of the gospel to the indigenous people particularly as far as the mainline churches are concerned. He argues strongly for a holistic ministry of the New Testament calibre relating to healing (Matthew, 10:8-42; Mark, 16:18; Luke, 9:10-17) and exorcism (Mark, 9:14-27; Matthew, 9:34) on the ground that exorcism succeeded in bringing relief to the affected people whereas other methods apparently failed (Ingezona, 1985:179). To drive home his point, he makes it categorically clear that, the New Testament teaching abounds with narratives on Jesus Christ's miraculous healing which took an integral approach to suffering and the way in which he transmitted this power to his disciples (Matthew, 10:1;) who, were empowered by the Holy Spirit and used it to relieve much in their ministries (Acts, 3:7;14:7).

In the Roman Catholic Church, the researcher has observed two of the best examples in African Christianity who have detailed their Christian concept of healing and exorcism - Emmanuel Milingo (1984) the former Archbishop of Lusaka and Hebga, a Jesuit priest in Cameroon (see Lagerwerf, 1985:67). Milingo developed an astounding Christian ministry of healing in Lusaka drawing vast crowds to his healing and exorcism sessions. He was summoned to Rome for

intensive investigation where he continues to give pastoral services to hundreds of people who attend his monthly *healing mass* celebration. In his Magisterial Counselling and teaching, he stresses demonology as the main cause of much of the human suffering giving contemporary examples from his Episcopal observations.

With all authority conferred on him by God, he takes a further step as he enumerates fundamental values enshrined in the Bible relating to healing and exorcism. He illustrated his conviction about the reality of *Satan, evil spirits, witchcraft, sorcery and demonic powers* with reference to a movement which allegedly, he was convinced, received *spiritual powers* from the devil. He made it clear that, these are the people who are despaired as a result of their disappointments with human life. Painstakingly, Milingo asserted that many Roman Catholic priests were incapable of acknowledging such a reality because they had become *spiritual diplomats*, who have somehow accepted a form of coexistence with the enemy - *the devil*. Outstandingly, they say he is not there and when they are told that he is there, they tell the possessed people that they should believe he is not there (Milingo, 1984:52). Milingo calls on the *faithful* to stop being *spiritual diplomats* and to engage boldly in a *war* against *Satan*. In his biblical teaching, he stresses the authority of Jesus Christ to cast out *Satan* and *all evil spirits* (Milingo, 1984:119). He appealed to the African Mainline Churches and the Universal Church not to preach the *miracles of the gospel* but to deliberately exercise the ministry of healing and exorcism given by Christ to his Church.

On the other side of the spectrum, Hebga views on healing and exorcism should be indigenised and contextualised. Against his background of diverse studies in theology, psychology, philosophy and social science, he systematically and courageously investigated at a deeper level,

not only the issues relating to injustices, but also the main causes of why Christians attend Primal Religious healing and exorcism services. As such and within this context, he developed a Christian ministry to deal with such cases. His exorcism and healing ministry included: prayers following the Roman Catholic Church rituals, reading some passages from the Bible, invoking the angels or saints, administering holy water, touching the body of the possessed person with a crucifix, discussions with people possessed by evil spirits and driving out demons in the name of Jesus, and a systematic and caring attitude towards the possessed. All these proved effective.

In concrete terms, the researcher can say, therefore, that the solution to the problems of evil forces, magic, sorcerers and other beliefs are being worked out in South Western Uganda. The New Religious Movements in post-dependent Uganda are increasingly turning to the religious programmes involving, *inter alia*, education, agriculture and community projects and health care centres. In other words, the abovementioned of social, religious, cultural and economic programmes are lessening the indigenous people's pre-occupation with wizardry or attending to other satanic agents whom Milingo calls *the Church of the Spirits*. Now, these specialised prophetic services based on mutual interaction are continuously catering for those whose pastoral, spiritual and religious needs are still basically defined in the Primal cosmological terms.

Lastly, closer home both in time and space, prevention is better than cure. Hygiene is one of those components emphasised in the Bible as part of the protective medicine. For this reason, the mainline churches should continue teaching their followers to keep the environment and their bodies clean. In a scientific manner, in view of the above, the researcher is of the opinion that Christian healing ministry using traditional medicine should be utilised to restore wholeness to the

sick and suffering. Thus, more research is needed in contexturised Biblical healing exorcism and indigenous medicine so that new attitudes are created and the old misunderstandings are resolved.

THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT

Festo Kivengere, the spokesman of the *Balokole Revival Movement*, gave a fitting description which the researcher supports when he stated that revival is an attitude towards the Lord, towards the Bible and towards the fellowship of the *faithful* believers (Kivengere, 1976:874). Byabazaire adds that it is a movement of spiritual rebirth within a church that was decaying under the blanket of nominal Christianity (Byabazaire, 1979:45). A view which this study endorses is that revival is a manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the individuals, enabling them to renew their commitment to the Lord Jesus Christ, who in turn commissions them to witness to their country people and share the Pentecostal experience they have achieved. The *balokole* (saved) were more often stricter than the missionaries, more thorough in their rejection of some of the indigenous beliefs and practices. As a group, their Christian commitment was marked by a conversion experience often associated with visions, prophecy and exorcism (casting out demons). Accordingly, the *Balokole Revival Movement* classical scholar, Kibira, laid a stepping stone in the area of walking in the light when he correctly observed:

even the missionaries, some theologians and seminarians just shining with their earned doctor degrees (and those with) high education and different skin colour needed to be made free, since basically they too were bound by Satan. This Satan was not the animal-like creature with horns and tails and with clouds usually black as European classic panthers would imagine, but the evil power that values the universe, (Kibira, 1974:10).

The above passages from Bishop Kibira makes it clear that all human beings are the same. They need the cleansing power of the Holy Spirit. Nothing sinful can coexist with God's holiness.

The emphasis on holiness in the *Balokole Revival Movement* originated from the Keswick convention founded in 1875 by the evangelicals in the wake of the Moody Revival (Webster, 1964:43-44) and its emphasis on Bible study, evangelism, mission, personal piety and victory over sin had a wide influence not only in Britain, but also in the world at large. Today, the Keswick methodology tradition continues in Uganda at the annual Keswick convention which began here in 1970 (Coomes, 1990:204).

Having said this, the researcher now lists the true marks of revival which he observed in his findings; 1) an awareness of God's presence; 2) a new knowledge of the truth of the gospel and the reaffirmation of the trustworthiness of Scripture; 3) a profound awareness of sin, calling it its proper name and not sugar-coating it, leading to deeper repentance and heartfelt embrace of the glorified, living and pardoning Christ; 4) open and honest fellowship between Christians; 5) monogamy stressed; 6) divorce not allowed; 7) adultery (*obushambani*) forbidden and 8) and a prohibition on consulting *abafumu* (medicine people) or *abaraguzi* (diviners) which was considered tantamount to other gods resulted into the backsliders being excluded from holy communion.

The above remarks are significant in the *Balokole Revival Movement* which started in Rwanda before it spread first to Kabale and other parts of Uganda, then into Kenya (Anderson, 1977:118-

120), Tanzania (Kibira, 1974:57) and other parts of Africa (Hildebrendt , 1981:233) in the 1930s and 1940s of this century.

Historical Development of the Revival Movement

The *Balokole Revival Movement* is not a sect or an independent church. It is not schismatic or subversive to other existing churches. It is a church movement operating not only within the mainline churches but also in the Evangelical Churches (Robins, 1978:5) and is blind to religious denominations, sex, colour and combats any type of evil that divides the people. It is understandable, therefore, that the foreign missionaries as well as the indigenous people experienced the impulse and often felt threatened by the *Balokole Revival* fellowship meetings not least when challenged to confess their sins (Smoker, 1971:93-97).

Between 1880-1890, many people in Uganda had joined the church without real commitment. Thus, the Church grew too fast to ensure adequate care. It is understandable therefore that some church goers could not abandon the traditional banana liquor (*waragi*) and other non-Christian habits. Because of this, the mass movement to Christianity could not survive without the deep work of the Holy Spirit and the true conviction of sin and repentance. Although the Anglican Church was growing, its spiritual foundation was shallow (Stanley, 1978:6).

The root of the *Balokole Revival Movement* in Uganda goes back to the days of George Pilkington (Anderson, 1977:37) in the last decade of the nineteenth century whose spiritual life was strongly coloured by the model of Moody Revival. George Pilkington got saved while still a

student at Cambridge University. When he arrived in Uganda in the 1890s, he found much he disliked in the church and the society. Thus, he felt it necessary to withdraw and retire to an island in Lake Victoria in order to reconsider his vocation and calling. After a time of prayer, fasting and Bible study, he learnt the great secret of the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit which enabled him to rededicate his life to Jesus Christ.

Immediately, on his return to Kampala, he organised a weekend prayer meeting which started a great revival (Tuma, 1980:33). Pilkington and his fellow missionaries began repenting and putting things right. Hundreds of people repented of their sins, gave testimonies of their wicked lives and jumped for joy at being liberated. They hopped and danced and challenged those who had not yet been revived. For in hope, they were saved. They refused to eat coffee beans or to use ornaments. The *balokole* found in it the support that enabled them to reject polygamous marriages. Consequently, they started to have their own services, a tradition that has survived up to now (Smoker, 1971:98-100). The sceptic feared that the *balokole* were not only setting impractical Christian standards but also violating the principle of confidentiality in spiritual counselling. After being re-baptised by the Holy Spirit, they went out to speak to their neighbours about the saving grace of Jesus Christ. Many Baganda women joined the evangelising teams that toured the neighbouring areas on foot. One of the most well known Uganda evangelists was Apolo Kivebulaya, who went as a missionary to Mboga in the present Democratic Republic of Congo (Taylor, 1958:104; Luck, 1963:123). The legacy of the religious wars which continued to harass the Ugandan administration and to complicate the growth of the *Balokole Revival Movement* and the extension of *Pax Britannica*, culminated in the death of George Pilkington together with his fellow CMS missionaries on January 9, 1989 at Luba in Busoga. The Muslims who killed them

were encouraged in this course by a rumour which circulated in Busoga that a passage in the Koran indicated the cessation of European rule in that current year (Beachey, 1996:284).

By 1910 the *Balokole Revival Movement* had spread throughout Uganda and spilled over into Kenya where it became strong among the Anglicans, the Presbyterians and a few Roman Catholics (Smoker, 1971: 96-97). The impact of this revival was local and temporary. Despite the initial impact, it had on the Churches in Eastern Africa, by the 1920s there were serious weaknesses to be observed in the mainline churches and in particular, the Native Anglican Church of Uganda. Commenting on this, Joe Church writes:

The crowds of people flocked up to communion on Sunday with no idea what they were doing and how a large number of baptised Christians were going back to polygamy and witchcraft and to the Worship of evil spirits. Christianity had just become a veneer to cover it. All up and in many cases the only difference between pagans and Christians was that the pagans sinned openly and the Christians hid it (Church, 1981:21).

Many factors contributed to this deterioration. First, the Anglican Church was taken as the established religion (Ward, 1991:89; Beachey, 1996:232). According to historical records, the Bishop of the Anglican Church ranked third after the Governor and the Kabaka (Ward, 1984:178; Moloney, 1987:13-15). Secondly, the Anglican baptism followed by education, became the accepted route to social and political advancement (Robins, 1975:61-102). Thirdly, in the context of intense Protestant and Catholic rivalry (Welbourn, 1965:8-15), the Catholics' policy of mass baptism (easy baptism) prompted the Anglicans to follow suit and thus accelerated the spread of *too many dummy Christians* throughout Uganda. No matter how people lived, baptism was a free ticket to heaven (Katarikawe, 1976:24). In this manner, when worldliness crept into the Church it brought in spiritual relapse. Thus the church became worldly and the world churchly. Lastly, when

the Church passed into the second generation in the late 1920's, it began to show signs of spiritual malnutrition, stagnation and numerical decline.

The endeavour on the part of the church to revive those who had fallen below the standards of true Christianity centred around the need to be *born again*. In this regard, most of the critics of the spiritual decline of Anglican Church in Uganda came from Rwanda Mission of Church Missionary Society which came into being in the early 1920s (Robins, 1975:103-108) as an attempt to stand as a conservative evangelical group, committed to challenge modernism, formalism and liberal theology (Byang Kato, 1975: 77-88; Isichei, 1995:242). All the missionaries of the Rwanda Mission were loyal to the Bible and they put their whole trust in it (Mbogori, 1975:111-118). It was translated into the two major languages of South-Western Uganda, namely the Runyankole - Rukiga and the Runyoro-Rutooro; hence Christianity was biblically grounded. As a result the *Balokole Revival Movement* theology was (and is) orthodox, biblical and christocentric.

It is no exaggeration to say that *abafumu*, *abaraguzi*, *abajubi* (traditional indigenous religious mediums) retreated into the private domain. For, by both implication and explicit stand, the *Balokole Revival Movement* took the problem of sinfulness out of the sphere of the individual conscience and made it central to South-Western Uganda. The *Balokole* spoke strongly on witchcraft eradication and they marginalised the religious experiences of other believers.

The exact starting time of the *Balokole Revival Movement* in South-Western Uganda is not clear. Several sources mention 1926 (Stanley, 1978:6-10); others mention 1928 (Rostedt, 1982:66); while others mention 1929 (Church, 1981:22); and the majority take the 1930s as the time of the outbreak of the movement (Warren, 1954:118-121; Hastings 1979:52). Barrett, an ardent friend of the *Balokole Revival Movement*, is of the opinion that since 1927, the *Movement* had started to spread with power (Barrett, 1971:82) and it spilled over across tribal and national boundaries into all parts of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Ethiopia (Kivengere, 1976:875).

It spread and grew fast before the start of the Second World War (1935-1939) and after it (Rostedt, 1982:67). From Rwanda and Uganda the *balokole* carried the saving message to a thirsty world while others carried out their evangelistic visitation outreach to schools, homes, market places, prisons and other places where people were gathered (Ndimbirwe, September 4, 1994). In the history of Christianity in South-Western Uganda (1930-1940), the *Balokole Revival Movement* filled the religious vacuum which was created by the disruption of traditional religious beliefs and practices through the establishment of the British administration and missionaries - a vacuum which the institutional missionary churches had not sufficiently filled.

Since the Second World War (1940-1960), and particularly in the twilight of Ugandan independence, the *Balokole Revival Movement* continued to grow in strength. In essence, its relationship with the Church in Ankole and Kigezi became so cordial that the practices of the *abalokole*; giving testimonies (*obujurizi*), public confessions (*okweteisa*), repentance (*okujurwa*) and the new pious greeting - *Tumutendereza Yesu* became a common feature in the Church, even

amidst the Sunday worship (Stanley Smith, 1946:102). It is precisely for this reason that the *balokole* came to be considered the most sincere Christians in the society and reliable members of the various congregations in South-Western Uganda.

From 1960s up to now (1995), *abalokole* mean *born again* Christians. In their preaching they do not only emphasise salvation with a considerable emotional appeal to the public to confess their sins, but also they stress the importance of the Cross of Christ with its ultimate powers. Rightly, the gifted East African Revival Movement writer Bishop Kivengere, beautifully draws the attention to the fact that the Cross *melts* hearts which are otherwise hard (Kivengere, 1977:27-34). Stanley-Smith adds on that *abalokole* lay great emphasis on the new codes of behaviour and on the application of Christian morality in family relationships, particularly between husbands and wives. He went on to say that they stressed freedom of choice and monogamy in marriage, and reinforced the European or missionary attitude which regarded the culture of the indigenous people in South-Western Uganda as backward (Stanley-Smith, 1946:104). They also condemned witchcraft and ancestor veneration. Even indigenous medicine for a long time was not only condemned but associated with *fetishism*, *animism*, and *paganism*. (Byaruhanga, 1995:6-8).

It is significant to note that the *Balokole Revival Movement* which has continued to spread did not become a separate sect or an independent church outside the mainline churches. It has remained exemplary within the mainline churches and is recognised as part and parcel of the Church for the sake of unity (Smoker, 1971:96). The *Bazukufu movement* (who call themselves the *reawakened*) in Buganda (Robins, 1975:369-389) and the *Trumpeters* or *Praise* groups in West Nile (Odwe, 1985:14-82) have, too, remained as the *salt* and the *light* within the Anglican Church of Uganda.

However, the *bazukufu* of late consider the *Balokole Revival Movement* to be deteriorating. To revive it, they stress that a new code of behaviour has to be observed.

In a classical manner, the *Bazukufu* neatly outlined some rules to follow: (1) All the *Balokole* must re-examine their spiritual standard and recognise that they have been *sleeping* especially in recent years. (2) They must be resurrected (*kuzukuka* or *kufukuka*) and the *Balokole* who do not announce this openly are not counted among the *Bazukufu*. (3) Some Europeans, educated Bakiga and Banyankole, Bishops and Pastors) fell into the category of rationalising their sins and the *Bazukufu* hardly accepted them in their groups. (4) Lastly, the *Bazukufu* stress the need of *dying to sin daily*, and rising through forgiveness in Jesus Christ. To clarify the views of *Abazukufu*, Kibira more aptly but cheerfully says:

We are once saved, and it is our duty to practice this by careful living and continuous repenting. This *kuzukuka* group of Christians deals severely with those that deem to be sinful and back-slidden (Kibira, 1974:51-52).

It is therefore evident that in terms of endurance, the *Balokole Revival Movement* continues to this day (1995) and is here to stay as a movement of renewal in the Church and society (Sunday Monitor, January 26, 1997:28). Over the last seventy years, it has taken the lead in the creation of African Christian hymns (Ebyeshongoro By'okujunwa, 1952) and making use of traditional patterns of singing with a variety of instruments (Afagbegee, 1984:369-371; Crusader, October 8: 1996:13).

Today (1995), the *Balokole Revival Movement* is found at all levels of the Bakiga and Banyankore societies. The followers of the movement (*abalokole*) are part and parcel of the

influential groups of elite who include Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, medical doctors, opinion leaders, lawyers, bankers, school teachers and a number of other technical and administrative officers in the government (Turyahikayo, 1983:115-118). The *balokole* are against drinking beer, smoking, immodest dress and excessive ornamentation of the body (Tugume, July 6, 1991).

They have created three more distinctive characteristics: repetitive singing in choruses, public confessions of sin, and giving testimonies wherever they happen to be at any time (Stenning, 1965:258-60). It is unfortunate that the *balokole* are referred to as fanatics when they shout in songs, while football supporters when they shout are called fans (Sunday Monitor, January 26,1997:28). Their dancing does not depict that they are in a night club. On the contrary, they are in the house of God. Furthermore, they do not commit acts of violence, as in a football match but they have to shout and make a lot of noise during their worship, which at times may extend to midnight. Another trademark of *Balokole Revival Movement* is *walking in the light* which literally means *being transparent to one another* (Kachetero: August 12, 1995). Transparency, is a process of constant cleansing in the precious blood of Jesus Christ (Ebyeshongoro By'okujunwa: Hymn 63).

A high distinctive greeting of the *balokole* is christocentric in nature, as shown in the opening words of the chorus *Tukutendereza Yesu* (We praise you Jesus). The greeting is usually followed by singing the entire chorus which is always in the Luganda language.

<i>Tukutendereza, Yesu,</i>	We praise you Jesus
<i>Yesu Mwana gw'endiga.</i>	Jesus the lamb
<i>Omusaigwo gunnazziza,</i>	Thy blood cleanses
<i>Nkwebaza, Mulokozi.</i>	I thank you Jesus (Ward, 1991:140)

This quotation serves to explain how the *balokole* have taken this chorus, which is a translation from the English hymn *Precious Saviour, Thou hast saved me* and runs as follows in Swahili and English:

<i>Utukufu Alehuya</i>	Glory, glory, Jesus saves me
<i>Sifa kwa Mwana Kondoo</i>	Glory, glory to the lamb
<i>Damu imenisafisha</i>	Oh the cleansing blood has reached me.
<i>Utukufu kwa Yesu</i>	Glory, glory to the lamb.

(Ekyeshongoro By'okujunwa, 1952:100)

Among the results of the *Balokole Revival Movement* are: (1) an increased number of new members in the evangelical Churches, (2) new candidates (Anglican and Pentecostals) for the Church Ministries, (3) a new spirit for evangelistic activities, (4) social purity and sobriety, (5) eradication of filthy and indelicate language, (6) restoration of pure speech and in place of swearing and blasphemy one hears prayers and praises (Enyagu, September 15, 1996).

The Bible and the Balokole Revival Movement

The fact that the *Balokole Revival Movement* was rooted in the Bible means that the Bible is the major source of their teaching and preaching (Mbogori, 1975:111-118). In fact, among them the Bible is the most widely read book and the most influential document and they believe that it communicates the revealed Truth (Zaribugire: September 8, 1995). From this perspective, Billy Graham has fittingly stated:

It has passed through many hands, appeared in many forms and survived attacks of every kind. Neither barbaric vandalism and civilised attacks of every kind. Neither the burning of fire nor the laughter of scepticism has accomplished its annihilation. Through the many dark ages of man, its glorious promises have survived unchanged (Billy Graham, 1996:23).

Clearly then, the Bible is a potent book. Furthermore it is not a foreign book to the indigenous people and particularly to the *balokole*. In addition, Bishop Kivengere was correct when he averred that although the Bible was historically and culturally strange to the *Balokole* it is the book which has brought more meaningful change than any other book. He went on to say that in it there are such statements as *hate evil* (Amos 5:15); *free from evil* (Psalms 34:14); *hate the devil* (James 4:1) or *put to death evil passions* (Colossians 3:5). He rightly concluded that these and many other statements protest against all categories of evil and are revolutionary in intent (Kivengere, 1987:1).

More positively, all the *Balokole* hold to the conviction that the Bible alone is the written word of God, the only source of theological information and it is supreme in all matters concerning salvation. For this reason, it is not only God's message to which the *Balokole* go in order to feed their hungry souls but also it is milk to nourish, meat to invigorate and water to cleanse. The researcher has discovered through historical investigations and hermeneutical inquiries that the Bible demonstrated to the *balokole* that it is christocentric and its theology is biblical, pneumatological and soteriological.

With such tremendous and increasing amount of information, the authority of the Bible is to them the watershed of their conviction and the basis of their decision making (Kabaza, 1991:24). It constitutes the revelation data and to them it is the only deposit of the divine truth for moral and spiritual welfare (Byang Kato, 1975:115; Yri, 1983:13-18). A quick glance in the hymn book which was written purposely for them in 1952 reveals the extent to which the Bible is significant in their worship and praise.

<i>Kitabo kya Ruhanga</i>	Holy Book of God
<i>Ninkikunda ne kyangye</i>	I love it because it is mine
<i>Kingambira amazima</i>	It speaks the truth
<i>Kundi amunyabibi</i>	That am a sinner
	Ebyeshongoro By'okujunwa: Hymn 94)

This stanza depicts the centrality and importance of the Bible to the *balokole* in Ankole and Kigezi. In all seriousness, the Bible is the *living book* which speaks relevantly to them in the language they understand. It is necessary to remind the *faithful* that just as a mother goes to the cradle only to find a baby, the *balokole* go to the Bible only to find Christ. It speaks to them and they do something about it. It convicts them and they repent. For this reason a regular contact with it is essential and significant to the development of their Christian life. Thus, the Bible is the best companion of all the *Balokole* in all circumstances in the South-Western Ugandan.

The Holy Spirit in the Balokole Revival Movement

Without admitting imprudence, the *Balokole Revival Movement* is the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit on men and women who dedicate themselves to God's service (Church, 1981:100). The classic injunction about being *filled with the Holy Spirit* is clearly emphasised in the New Testament particularly in Pauline letters. In their understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit they do not magnify the sacrosanct doctrine of the Holy Spirit that goes beyond the Bible. Their growth in spiritual wisdom and the knowledge of God is the result (fruit) of the work of the Holy Spirit (Galatians, 5:16-21) upon their lives through the scriptures, and no spiritual understanding is possible apart from this activity. The witness of the Holy Spirit who is the spirit of adoption, not slavery is the effectual reason why the Bible has received final authority in all matters of faith

and practice by the *balokole*, who take themselves to be the special children of God. While purification is the work of God's grace in a human soul, sanctification to the *balokole* involves co-operation with God, and this is impossible unless grace is combined with obedience.

According to Kinoti, Christ sets the committed Christians free not only from the bondage of Satan but also from the bondage of harmful habits (Kinoti, 1989:67). Consequently, the *balokole* cultivate the habit of constant repentance of sin and try to imitate Christ through the enabling power of the Holy Spirit. In actual fact, the Holy Spirit creates faith and certitude in their hearts on the basis of good and sufficient evidence. They affirm that what is taught by the Holy Scriptures is taught by the Holy Spirit. The object of the Bible in each of its pages is to point the *balokole* to Jesus, and the goal is carried out on the subjective level by the Holy Spirit. Jesus said, when the Counsellor comes, whom he shall send, to the *faithful* Christians from the Father, even the spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness to Jesus (John 15:26). The Holy Spirit continues to help the *balokole* to understand the Bible, to sermonise the Gospel and pray to God. It is the Holy Spirit who initiates, continues and completes this work in every believer.

Testimonies in Balokole Revival Movement

At the heart of the *Balokole Revival Movement*, is the concept of *walking in the light*, the confession of sins, giving testimonies that Jesus saves (Smoker, 1971:96-108) and the need for the saving power of Jesus Christ for everybody in whatever condition (Adeyemo, 1993:11 - 12). In the light of this, the *balokole's* testimonies and preaching gradually became less offensive to,

and less condemnatory of other Christians. Seen in this light, the Balokole have to be understood within the historical terms of reference as a continuous stream of church life that is increasingly improving the image of the *faithful* Christians in the mainline churches. In addition, Church leaders who joined the *Balokole Revival Movement* helped other *balokole* on how to put forward their testimonies and to confess properly with little offence to the hearers and other adherents.

On the whole, the *Balokole* are more enthusiastic at saying daily prayers, reading the Bible, attending weekly Sunday worship and giving *ebiconco* (church dues). Above all, the *balokole* have a burning desire to preach the gospel and witness for Christ.

SUMMARY

In this Chapter, we have observed the coming of exotic religions in Ankole and Kigezi. In addition to the civilising efforts, the exotic religions emphasised the medical services and evangelistic approach aimed at winning converts. The researcher noted that the missionaries came as professional evangelists with a clear-cut sense of purpose and were the most influential agents of education and medical services. Unfortunately they also rushed in for converts, each group trying to win as many converts as possible. This competitive rivalry spirit generated changes and conflicts amongst them which culminated in severe discrimination against children of other faiths. No boy or girl would be accepted in a school belonging to a mission other than that of his or her faith, unless he or she was prepared to change his or her faith or religious conviction.

Viewing this from another angle, both Christian missionary groups used education as a vehicle for religious propaganda. They were generally of the view that the Bakiga and the Banyankole were adults who were steeped in savage customs which could readily be changed through education. Thus, they were arrogant, unwilling to use another language than their own and furiously and relentlessly attacked all indigenous beliefs. To be a Christian one had to renounce indigenous beliefs, burn all the traditional religious objects (fetishes), promise never to take part in those rituals and to disown all that had to do with them. This was a cultural genocide in general terms but more specifically a heavy blow on the indigenous traditional spirituality.

Furthermore, to educate the children more effectively, they were to be removed from their barbaric surroundings hence the introduction of boarding schools. As if that was not enough, they also introduced industrial education. The three religious groups were specifically alive on Friday, Saturday and Sunday rather than everyday religions and the indigenous people could not benefit from a faith which was active once a week. Thus, they failed to form a spiritual depth that would help them live up to the Christian and Muslim standards.

Furthermore, we have observed that religious strains and antagonism between the two competing exotic religions were transmitted by missionaries to school buildings. The two missions built schools on opposite hills (Namilembe, Ruharo and Rugarama for Anglicans and Rubaga, Nyamitanga and Rushoroza for Roman Catholics) facing each other like two bulls competing for mastery in a herd. Unfortunately, this competitive spirit was passed on to their children in these schools. Against this trend, pupils who were brought up in these schools grew up with the idea that members of the other faith were enemies, hence the failure to abandon the negative ethos

which had been sown in their early years. They could not recall the heart of the story of Jesus which stressed *loving one another, even one's enemy and praying for those who persecuted one so that one may be a child of the Father who is in heaven* (Matthew, 5:44-45). The children in Anglican and Roman catholic Schools were and are sons and daughters of the same God (Father) and therefore they were and are brothers and sisters who should love rather than hate one another.

This leads us to another significant observation of this study. Almost all the missionaries put strong emphasis on medical services. More hospitals and clinics were established, hence the healing ministry. In addition, the Roman Catholics excelled in the establishment of community health care units and clinics, making healing a part and parcel of the essential message of Roman Catholicism. Since Christian preaching and teaching opposed the healing ministry of the indigenous medical practitioners and witch doctors it had to point to something positive for curing disease. It pointed to the western medical service. It is important to recognise that a shift towards greater acceptance of the traditional approaches to health in Uganda seems already to be on the horizon. This is mainly because there is a growing awareness that the lack of sensitivity for the indigenous cultural contexts had led to undermining the traditional healing and medicine, which is lately recognised as being able to bridge some of the shortcomings of western medicine particularly in dealing with incurable diseases and psychological problems associated with the stress of modern living.

So that now, when a patient is admitted to a hospital and requires medical care, the nurse and the social worker must establish a link with the patient's family and community in order to prepare

him or her for re-integration after discharge from the hospital. The psychologist and the pastoral counsellor, will help the patient to overcome the emotional stress and the spiritual questions in a situation of rethinking the important values in life. In this manner, healing will mean treating the person in all his or her dimensions and helping that person to become himself or herself even in illness and distress. It will also mean helping the person to accept and to live with his or her disabilities, to restore broken relationships with others and to be reconciled with God the Creator and Redeemer.

It is clear from the foregoing that the government's medical staff should work in collaboration with the traditional healers-particularly in research-instead of ridiculing them. More significantly, the traditional healers should be allowed to administer their medicine in the hospital, without interference from medical staff. Briefly stated then, the community-based programs should be planned and implemented jointly by modern practitioners and traditional healers should be supported by the Government.

CHAPTER FOUR

A CASE STUDY OF BACWEZI-BASHOMI MOVEMENT IN SOUTH-WESTERN UGANDA

INTRODUCTION

The scope of this chapter covers a period of thirty five years (1960-1995), including the epochs of the National Resistance Movement governance under Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (Museveni, 1992:279-282). Substantively, it is important to note that this chapter will make contribution in a very restricted manner on the ongoing quest by researchers on African Institutional Churches, Primal World Religions, New Religious Movements and African Church History of which the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is a part. Nothing, so far, has been formulated to demonstrate clearly how the movement relates to Christianity. To find the answer, the researcher will first conduct an in-depth investigation of the encounter between the mainline churches and the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* historically, missiologically and apologetically, before he concludes with a challenge to church historians, missiologists and church ministers to find new avenues of fruitful dialogue with the New Religious Movements and in particular the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*.

The following comments are necessarily limited to the Anglican Church of Uganda, but no doubt, comparable parameters operate elsewhere. Since this is an age of ecumenism (Basimaki, 1966:45-51; Mpunga, 1976:270-272), it will be inadequate to treat only the Anglican Church isolated from others for that would give an incomplete picture.

This investigation begins with 1960, a decade when the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church of Uganda made a revolution. This occurred, particularly after the Second Vatican Council when they started indigenising and contextualising the once cherished foreign religious beliefs and practices (Buehlmann, 1971:234-255; Zziwa, 1976:206-213). By contextualisation the writer means a process whereby the traditional concepts are translated from one cultural setting to another without losing the essential meaning (Fleming, 1980:60-67; Hesselgrave and Rommen, 1989:98-106; Imasogie, 1983, 19-36).

Secondly, the 1960's, was a decade of great creativity with a new sense of independence in the minds of the *faithful* Christians. They witnessed the upsurge of several charismatic groups commonly called *New Religious Movements* (Byaruhanga Akiiki, 1995:245-258). Of equal concern is the fact that their presence and activities threatened to blur the distinctiveness of the gospel within the mainline churches. Thirdly, the 1960's, was also a period in which one of the religious movements commonly known as the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* emerged and started to grow by leaps and bounds (Tuma, 1966; Buchanan, 1969; Katungi, 1984; Kawangusi, 1986; Babisiima, 1989; Tumusime, 1990).

At the local level, it precisely took different shades and its mediums were known by different names. In Kabale and Rukungiri (Ndyabahika, 1995:289) they were known as *Abarangi* (good prophets). In Mbarara and Bushenyi (Baingana-Muntu, 1990:53-77), they were recognised as the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* (those who practice the *Bacwezi cult*). And in Kasese, Kabarole, Hoima and Masindi (Kisembo, 1983) they were referred to as *abacwezi* (those who are possessed by the *Bacwezi spirits*). It is pertinent to note that in Busoga, they were known as *Baswezi* (Kawangusi, 1986) and in Zaire they were called *abatshwezi* (Berger, 1981:53). A very practical consequence is that, it became a threat to Christianity and a pastoral embarrassment in South-Western Uganda; an area which is predominantly Christian (Baingana-Muntu 1990:53-77).

The success of Christianity in Ankole, Kigezi and Uganda as a whole is very significant and the direction it takes affects the nation because more Anglicans attend church services than in England (Isichei, 1995:1). It is in this milieu and against this background that on Sundays, the churches are packed. Para-church organisations such as choirs, Mothers' Union, Scripture Union, Xaverians, Legion of Mary, Boys and Girls Brigades are seen everywhere. Although there is much of value in the church in South-Western Uganda, some church leaders and prominent Christians are being attracted to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement's* healing programmes because these leaders say that they *feel fine and fulfilled*. They worship occasionally in *endaro* (the shrines) of *Bacwezi-Bashomi movement* and they say that the movement does not only answer their problems but also claims to deliver them from the powers of evil spirits (Bamunoba, 1965:95-97), witchcraft (Rwampigi, 1980:17), sorcery (Beattie, 1966:202-217) and magic (Erivwo,

1875:28). It is to be expected that when people are faced with illness, they naturally need a kind of philosophical explanation (Byaruhanga, 1991:23-33). The movement tries to offer them a seemingly viable solution drawn from the traditional religious wisdom in contrast to Christianity which, according to its adherents, has failed to give them a valid answer (Baabo, October 10, 1995).

It has already been suggested in the introduction that the word *Bacwezi-Bashomi* is a synthesis of two concepts which are characteristic of the movement. Thus, in this chapter the terms *Bacwezi Bashomi* and *Abarangi* will be used inter-changeably while discussing the whole practice which involves the officials, members and their followers. Now, in this context and against this background the following reflections are made as the researcher investigates in detail the origin of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* and its impact on the mainline churches, and to which we turn.

EMERGENCY AND GROWTH OF THE BACWEZI-BASHOMI MOVEMENT

The *movement* which started in Ankole in the early part of the 1960s is more than a revitalization of the indigenous religious beliefs and practices (Babisiima, 1989:24; Baingana-Muntu, 1990:53-60; Tumusiime, 1990:30). The interesting feature about it is that, it claims to be an alternative to Christianity. Most important of all, in the last thirty-five years, like a bush fire, it has spread to most parts of the South-Western Uganda and some of its adherents predict that by the turn of this century it will have covered most Bantu areas of Uganda (Tuhirirwe, 1994:8). The reality of the matter is that it is a

challenge to Christianity and it endeavours to offer an adequate answer to the problem of interpretation of the indigenous cultural issues. Since it impinges so much on the intellectual framework of South-Western Uganda's indigenous life it is not difficult to say that this is a resurgence of *Abacwezi* and *Nyabingi* cults (New Vision October 27, 1990:16) which were strong indigenous religious movements at the beginning of this century. This brings this study to the real issue at stake, namely the relationship between *abacwezi* (Oliver, 1953:135-137), *Nyabingi* (Bessell, 1938:73-86) and the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* (Tumisiime, 1990:35-40).

Abacwezi

Some historians with European outlook are of the opinion that the *abacwezi* possibly were people of Portuguese origin (Babisiima, 1989:17) who might have migrated from Ethiopia (Katoke, 1975:21) where the Portuguese had established themselves in the sixteenth century (Kanyamunyu 1954:199-192; Byaruhanga-Akiiki 1982:23; Nyakatura 1973:17-46). Even the word *bacwezi*, they stress, might have been coined from a Portuguese word (Kihumuro 1994:10). In a similar move Were, sharing generously his encyclopedic knowledge, makes a strong point when he draws the attention to the possibility of their origin in Egypt (Were, 1974:171). Other scholars are of the opinion that the *bacwezi* were the descendants of a lost Roman army which sailed down the Nile to Bunyoro (Morris, 1962:2) or strikingly, they were of the Luo origin who travelled southward and received great respect from the inhabitants they found in the grasslands of west and central Uganda (Crazzolaro, 1937:1-21) or that they were the Sudanic-speaking

people who spread their settlement from the northern margins of the Congo forest (Wrigley 1958:17).

The degree to which these ideas are true undoubtedly varies. What is clear is that the interlacustrine kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyuro, Tooro, Buganda and Karagwe in western Tanzania at the turn of the last century venerated the *Bacwezi* (Roscoe, 1915:89; Beattie, 1957:150-160; Katoke, 1975:36-38). On this note, Berger rightly stresses that some of the religious beliefs, like *emandwa* were introduced into South-Western Uganda by the *Bacwezi* as a means of praising, worshipping and thanking the Supreme Being (Berger, 1981:67-87). When *Abacwezi* suddenly departed from Bunyoro, they left behind them their priests who could communicate with them and obtain their blessings and favour (Roscoe, 1923:2). Even the women who were left in their palaces imitated their way of worshipping God and the result was that other people also imitated them. Babisima correctly adds that these women and men also called themselves by the names of *Abacwezi* such as:

Ibona	Kalisa wa Hangi	Mugasa	Nkiri
Isumba	Kawuka wa Musinga	Mugezi	Nyabuzana
Kagaba wa Rubanga	Kazooba wa Ndaula	Mulindwa	Ruwangula
Kagolo	Kyomya Mbuza	Ndahula	Wamala

(Babisima: 1989)

Consequently, a logical train of thought compelled Babisima to acknowledge the possibility that they made themselves into *emandwa*. He further says that, information from other interlacustrine kingdoms also indicates that after the *Bacwezi* had vanished, people recalled their remarkable deeds and began praying to them for life, wealth, fertility, prosperity,

health, strength and invoked their names (*emizimu* or spirits) to bless their families and communities (Babisima 1989:4). In this manner, the *Bacwezi* were remembered through a pattern of social change. It was also a religious movement which was imitated by the successive dynasties (Oliver, 1953:135-137; Uzoigwe, 1970:6; Kihumuro, 1994:25-35) whose subjects looked back to them much as medieval Europeans looked back to the Roman empire as the golden age of civilisation (Nyakatura, 1973:46).

At the end of their reign, the *Bacwezi* are said to have either drowned into *Lake Rwitanzigye* (Lake Edward) or *Lake Womala* (Crazzolaro, 1937:1-12), or to have disappeared underground (Nyakatura, 1947:66-71; Dunbar, 1965:24) or to have mysteriously disappeared into a crater (Berger, 1981:27) or to have continued their move further southwards into Karagwe (Katoke 1975:15-30) Rwanda (Tumusiime, 1990:28) and some parts of western Zaire (the present Democratic Republic of Congo). It is a token of importance of the subject that Oberg asserts without substantiation that they did not die. On the contrary, he stresses that they disappeared and will return with fresh ideas and rule over the interlacustrine region (Oberg, 1940:125). Despite the differences of observations and interpretations, the foregoing accounts confirm the continuing importance of *Abacwezi's* sacred authority long after their political influence had declined (Roscoe, 1923:21). Today, it is believed that some of their descendants are the present Bahima of Uganda, Bahaya of Tanzania (Berger, 1981:65) the Batutsi of Rwanda and Burundi (Kihumuro, 1994:22) and Banyamulenge of (Zaire) the Democratic Republic of Congo (Berger, 1981:143-151).

It is significant to note that exchange among the interlacustrine societies occurred in various contexts, including trade and marriage. Furthermore, other forms of population movement were rampant, such as political and military systems engendered in the area of war captives, young people exchanged as tribute payments and disinherited sons. In the same vein, other groups and individuals played a more deliberate proselytising role, particularly pilgrims to the *endaro* of the *Abacwezi* clan members, promoting their associated spirit and most important professional itinerant mediums wandering about either singly or in groups.

Basically, the examples of more recent proselytizing on behalf of *Nyabingi*, was a female deity, Muhumuza, who rose to prominence at the end of the nineteenth century (Philipps, 1928:313-314); Berger, 1981:13-47). The available evidence, which varies from one region to the next, places limits on the possible hypothesis about how and why *kubandwa* evolved over time in particular areas. On this note, archaeology discoveries and legends complementing the distribution material, contribute to a fuller understanding of the social and political importance of *kubandwa* (Lanning, 1954:24-30; Shinnie, 1960:16-28; Cole, 1965:140-161; Posnansky, 1970:125-150).

Historical analysis too, reveals several patterns of religious development, all of which confirm the close association of religion with the political state formation. Both local responses to centralisation grew on the leadership of clan heads linked with particular *Abacwezi* deities. At the end of the nineteenth century, the *Abakama* (traditional rulers) of Bunyoro-Kitara, Ankole and Karagwe (presently north western Tanzania) formulated their

own theoretical and ceremonial relationships to the *Bacwezi* as a means of legitimising the political order they had established.

By early twentieth century, shrines (*endaro*) to the three major *Abacwezi* spirits, *Ndahura*, *Mulindwa* and *Wamala*, were found in several areas of Western Uganda (Lanning, 1958:188). The traditions and relics associated with these sites preserved evidence showing that, during the early period, *Abakama* (Kings) seeking to maintain their authority stressed the prestige and mystical power of themselves as the representatives of the *Abacwezi* deities.

From the proceeding discussions, it is clear that the *Abacwezi* religious movement emerged stressing indigenous religious beliefs and practices associated with a particular kingdom, but sometimes widely distributed over the Great Lakes Region. In each area a major source of ideological legitimacy for the ruler or priestess came from the ability to trace a line of descent back to *Abacwezi*.

The Meaning of Nyabingi

In the area of scholarship, three definitions have been given by various scholars and observers of the *Nyabingi Movement*. According to Turyahikayo, a historian of the highest calibre, *Nyabingi* literally means one who collected many things (Turyahikayo 1983:42). Secondly, Bessell and Ngorogoza add on that *Nyabingi* was and is a spirit (Bessell 1938:77-86; Ngorogoza, 1969:41). Thirdly, Arinaitwe rightly says that as a spirit, *Nyabingi* could

not be seen with naked human eyes (Arinaitwe, 1995:66). In the same vein, the indigenous people in Rwanda believed that *Nyabingi* was a creature of *Imaana* - the Supreme Being with a special identity, who was alleged to live forever and never die (Berger, 1981:80-87). On the other side of the spectrum, the Bakiga and Banyankole, had other names for *Nyabingi*. For example: *Biheko* (one who carries), *Rubambasi* (the powerful), *Nyamwanga-Kwarama*, (one who does not enter into socially prescribed seclusion), *Omukama* (ruler or controller) and *Rutatiina Mireego* - one that never feared bows and arrows (Phillips, 1928:321).

In a nutshell, *Nyabingi* to the Bakiga, Banyankole and Banyarwanda collectively acted as a magnet that pulled them irresistibly to this religious and political movement. Thus, they also believed that *Nyabingi* had power to kill and spare life, to bless or to give riches or to instil fertility to barren women. It is against this background that we, now, attempt to understand in greater detail the reasons for the origin, rise, growth, and efficacy of *Nyabingi Movement*.

THE ORIGIN OF NYABINGI MOVEMENT

Establishing the identity of the chief founder of the Movement is not as easy as the researcher would have hoped. Furthermore, due to lack of written documentation, it is hard to make strong and substantial conclusions about the origin of the movement. However, basing on in-depth research discoveries, some traditions stress that its origin was in Buzinza at the Southern end of *Lake Nahubale* alias Victoria (Phillips, 1928:313-314) or Rwanda

(Denoon 1972: 212), others speak of the former Zaire, the present Democratic Republic of Congo (Turyahikayo, 1983:48) and others mention Mpororo (Bessell, 1938:73, 1955:204-207).

In this context Linden affirms that at the turn of the last century, *Nyabingi Movement* first came to the attention of the colonial officials in Rwanda. Further reliable evidence reveals that its founder was Queen Kitami (Linden, 1977:19), whose rule preceded that of the later Bahima of South-Western Uganda and Batutsi of Rwanda and Burundi (Edel, 1957:155-156; Freedman, 1984:40). After the death of Kitami, the reigning queen came to be venerated as a *deity* by her followers who believed that she became immortal and deified.

In South-Western Uganda the *Nyabingi Movement* was popularised by Muhumuza in Ndorwa and Mpororo and it had considerable influence over the inhabitants socially, culturally, politically and religiously (Phillips, 1928:213-314; Louis, 1963:151-156; Hopkins, 1970:324). In this regard, imperial office at Kabale (although today, imperialisation has become a term of opprobrium) reported that in 1912, about four hundred pilgrims from Bufumbira visited her as she was a prominent renowned *Nyabingi* medium (Berger, 1981:13-47). Gradually, *Nyabingism* permeated deep at family level and became important in being invoked to seal certain sensitive agreements, social changes and promises. Furthermore, oppressed families saw solutions to most of their problems in this indigenous movement.

Initiation into the Movement

It is evident that young girls more often than boys were called frequently to become *abagirwa* (religious mediums) of *Nyabingi* and were initiated in the secrets of the *Movement*. The initiation was highly secretive, mysterious and involved intensive training. This process always took place at night. The sign for the qualified and selected girl was *omuringa* (metallic rod), which would be placed on the thighs of a candidate (Rwakabera, November 3, 1996). The metallic rod (*omuringa*) symbolised the choice of the young girl to become *omugirwa* and a defender of the *Nyabingi Movement*. The indigenous people invariably believed that it was *Nyabingi* who had made the selection. Even those who would hotly deny the selection or who had some doubts or reservations about the whole exercise had to keep quiet so as to avoid invoking the wrath of *Nyabingi* spirit or other *abagirwa*. This had the effect of imposing discipline and fear on the indigenous people (Muhumuza, August 21, 1992). In fact, that was one of the reasons why all actions in the name of *Nyabingi* demanded top secrecy. From that moment it would be clearly known to all how *Nyabingi* had selected her into her services. No one would object to the choice. Such girls were respected and feared by indigenous people.

The economic implication of this choice was that such girls would neither engage in food production nor get married in the customary way to bring wealth in the form of bride price (Birungibiriza, April 7, 1994). Bride price was a very important element in wealth accumulation (Bahemuka, 1990:24-30), acquisition of livestock products and wives

(Hillman, 1974:301-310). In the Bakiga and Banyankole societies, every women felt some pride and enjoyed some rights and prestige if she brought in wealth in form of bride price (Kihumuro, August 5, 1995).

Basically, the discontenting thing about this exercise was that those who were initiated into the *bagirwa* family were effectively excluded from reaching the final station of the railway journey of their lives that they might have been dreaming of, of rearing their own children (Bonabona, May 21, 1995). They could marry only when the high priest chose to give them (without paying of bride price) to men that Nyabingi wanted to reward.

The selection of the girls to join the ranks of the *abagirwa* was often made when people were asleep with intent to hoodwink the indigenous people and maintain the power of secrecy and initiation (Kemijumbi, November 11, 1996). A breach of this practice would undermine the *Nyabingi* institution and would force the Bakiga and Banyankole, especially men and women, to resist such choices and the legitimacy of the *abagirwa*. It was, therefore, imperative for the *abagirwa* to make people believe that these were works of supernatural forces (Galeba, July 3, 1992). On graduation, the candidates were allowed to hold *Nyabingi* instruments of power notably, the spear and the shield for defence. *Nyabingi* dictated that everyone in its service had to use these weapons for defence (Karanzire, August 12, 1995).

Traditionally, there were many checks and balances that were applied before these young women were recognised as *abagirwa* (Mpiira, November 23, 1996). First, they had to be chosen before they were trained by senior *abagirwa*. Secondly, *abagirwa* had to declare

publicly their call from the very beginning. Thirdly, the training period lasted, at least, half a year and it eventually culminated into the initiation exercises.

The material base of the Movement

Whenever people felt sick, they would attribute such sickness(es) to *Nyabingi* or to other spirits (Rutanga, 1994:36-45). They would consult *abagirwa* (religious medium of the rank of the High Priest) who were supposed to intercede for them or *abafumu* (traditional healers) who were empowered to treat difference diseases and *abaraguzi* (future seers) who would diagnose the cause of sicknesses or misfortune or disaster and give advice on what to do or what sacrifices to make. This was the basic method through which the professionals would extract reward from the indigenous people for their services (Kitende, August 20, 1995). In other words, they did not offer free services because the clients had to pay fees (*emikimbo*) or give gifts (Robins, 1995:127). The same applied to the rain markers (*abajubi*) who were believed to have power to transform the clouds with the ability to withhold rain from the undeserving or to cause it to drop upon the deserving (Mugisha, August 10, 1995). Their initiation involved learning medicine and the methods of applying it to treat some sicknesses. In the same vein, they were taught how to create fears, curse offenders and lead people in defence of *Nyabingi Movement*. A truth easily ignored fact is that many people believed *Nyabingi* mediums cured both physiological and psychological diseases as well as those caused by supernatural forces.

Sacrifices to Nyabingi

In a broader sense, there were two forms which the *abagirwa* used before giving sacrifices to *Nyabingi*. To begin with, there was *okuterekyerera* (to give offering or to supplicate). Whoever asked *Nyabingi* for a favour had to give some offering or gifts (Turyahikayo, 1983:63066). Such requests included children, cattle, and foodstuffs (Arinaitwe, 1995:67). Kimitani notes with approval that *Nyabingi*, as the name suggests, was assumed to be the source of all things. Thus far, she noted, such pledges included young girls, meat, beer or cows. Secondly, there was *okutweija* (to give pledges). Those who did not have the means would pledge to bring them later (Kimitani, July 28, 1992). It is to be noted that many people were taught that if *Nyabingi* asked for something and the concerned person failed to bring it, then, *Nyabingi* would take offence, leading to misfortune which could result into death (Zaribugire, September 8, 1995). In other words, whoever made a commitment to *Nyabingi* would have to fulfil it. Requests to *Nyabingi* and sacrifices were mainly in material form and the latter was compulsory.

These expensive economic sacrifices became a source of discontent and fear among the indigenous people. However, they could not say anything in fear of *Nyabingi's* reprisals. The situation worsened when *abagirwa* began to accumulate wealth in the form of cattle, which they had acquired from the community in the name of *Nyabingi* (Zaramba, August 22, 1995). Though many people were discontented with the state of affairs, they could not express them openly. This was another reason why it was essential to initiate all those in the service of *Nyabingi* into the defence of *Nyabingi*. The current misconception that women

should not be involved in military or political superiority is substantiated by citing these examples (Gerald, 1972:166; Ekaya, 1986:57-67).

In reality, however, *abagirwa* had to be militant and were always armed. For example, in Ankole and particularly in Mpororo, the *bagirwa* who were scattered in the whole area resisted the colonial rule, both British and German (Morris, 1960:1-15). There were skirmishes which consequently blossomed into full scale wars and a great number of *abagirwa* ended up in detention in Rwanda in prison in Kigali (as exemplified in appendix 9) and others were imprisoned in several prisons in Uganda (Turyahikayo, 1983:53). The British Government could not, therefore, tolerate the *Nyabingi* Religious Movement with its disruptive tendencies. It had to fight it militarily (Bananuka, 1972:270).

It is not too far-fetched to affirm that *Nyabingi Movement* gained popularity through the interests it projected and fought for and its *bagirwa* too, preached resistance and articulated the *Nyabingi* interests and the indigenous people found this very acceptable. In this way, those who believed in the *Nyabingi Movement* consulted *abagirwa* before going to war (Denoon, 1972:145-148). If they learnt that *Nyabingi* had sanctioned the war, then they would go to it knowing that *Nyabingi* was leading them. Furthermore, its followers believed that *Nyabingi* would punish them if they fought badly and lost the war. This forced them to fight courageously. It cannot be denied that *Nyabingi* evoked united actions, and encouraged struggles against oppression and exploitation. It was because of this that the *bagirwa* stressed the importance of secrecy and took revenge on all traitors under the cover of *Nyabingi Movement* (Rutanga, 1991:30-34).

In the absence of an organised force to protect the indigenous people from internal and external threats, the oppressed found a vent in *Nyabingi Movement*. Understandably, many people prayed for this *Movement* and dedicated their lives, relatives and property to its cause (Karanzire, August 12, 1995). Colonial repression and witch-hunt forced the membership of *Nyabingi Movement* to meet and worship in secret and in different places.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND GROWTH OF NYABINGI MOVEMENT

The historical development of *Nyabingi Movement* can be divided into four episodes. The first phase was in pre-colonial period when the *movement* was developing at the expense of other religions and was able to mobilise the indigenous people against internal enemies and external aggressors (Phillips, 1928:310-314). Such an interpretation has the advantage of placing *Nyabingi Movement* more easily into a large and comparative frame of reference. In its early stages, various peoples used it. A good example is the Batwa who used it to raid the Bakiga (Denoon, 1972:49). Further still, to add an insult to an injury, the Bakiga also adopted the movement to defend themselves against the Batwa and other tribes.

The second phase of the *Movement* begins from 1909 - 1914. The indigenous people were paralysed by the new invaders (Europeans). New avenues to avert invasions were to turn to *Nyabingi* for assistance (Turyahikayo, 1975:49-52). This new and immense political religious movement became very dynamic and using unscrupulous tactics bought its success. Even some people who had earlier on refused to accept it came to believe in it. It

was in this period that religious women occupied high positions of military, political and religious powers and played active roles in leadership (Berger, 1976:157-181). This phase was marked by spontaneous and sporadic insurgencies. Thus, there was mobilisation with minimal organisation of the Bakiga and Banyankole into sustained and coherent struggles.

The third phase began with the first world war 1914-1919. This is a period when the *Movement* reached its climax (Bananuka, 1972:269-273). Not only did its membership increase numerically, but it also developed qualitatively. There was a marked change in the recruitment process. A new leadership emerged with new methods of fighting the war and weakening the enemy. Most of these leaders were the product of the colonial policy of deportations and detentions. Being in the hands of the colonial administration or being in deportation outside Ankole and Kigezi, gave them the chance to sever their roots from the environment. It also became an opportunity to expand their knowledge about the geography and environment, increasing friends and learning new languages.

Furthermore, it gave them opportunities to understand their military weaknesses and the need to acquire, master and use the enemy's methods of war and weaponry. It was precisely from the enemy that the new *Nyabingi* leaders learnt and appreciated the need of mass organisation, intensive preparation, new methods of self-defence and active involvement of the population into the struggle. They learnt how to change tactics, from the former method of direct charging to guerrilla warfare. Recruitment of the membership also underwent some qualitative changes. It changed from massive to spontaneous forms as the new leaders recruited the membership on the basis of their programmes. The colonial agents as Edel

(1957), Brazer (1968), Mateke 1970 and Denoon (1972) have argued, failed to distinguish between the *Nyabingi Movement* and other primal religious beliefs and practices. Consequently, they wrongly and more resolutely tried to suppress all expressions of Primal Religions (Hansen, 1995: 160-163).

The available evidence which varies from one region to the next, places limits on how *Nyabingi Movement* intensified and why *okubandwa* as a religious practice evolved over time in particular areas. On this note Oliver, the architect of modern missiology is of the opinion that *Nyabingi* as a Religious Movement and *okubandwa* as a religious belief and practice was imitated by some rulers (Oliver, 1952:135-137). In the same manner, archaeological discoveries have contributed a fuller understanding of the social, political and religious importance of *okubandwa* (Lanning, 1954:24-30; Shinnie, 1960:16-28; Cole, 1965:140-265; Posnansky, 1970:125-150).

It is a historical fact to be noted that the *Nyabingi Movement* was based upon the fact that regardless of whether the leader was killed, detained or imprisoned, the adherents would immediately select another leader on merit to ensure continuity (Rwaheru, November 11, 1990). A good example of this was Muhumuza. Although her activities were not initially directly against the newly established British administration in Kigezi and Mpororo (Ankole), the British came to view her as hostile especially when she organised several raids against the Bakiga and Banyankole who opposed her leadership. Her strength was undiminished. Subsequently, she became a remarkably strong leader of the movement of resistance and her long reign was eventful.

The military group of Muhumuza fomented agitation's and she mastered a picked force which attacked the British posts at Ikumba (1915), Nyakishenyi (1917) and Kabale (1918 to 1920). During the Nyakishenyi rebellion (Hopkins, 1970:291), many Baganda who were working as British agents were killed and all symbols of foreign influence, *the court house, the Native Anglican Church* and the Muslim *Mosque* were destroyed (Brazier, 1968:17-27). To restore control, the British took stern measures against her movement (Denoon, 1972:163-166, Turyahikayo, 1975:54-56). In spite of her claim that the bullets of *Wazungu* (Europeans) would turn into water, she was defeated and some of her *Bagirwa* and several adherents were killed (Bessell, 1938:79). Muhumuza, too, was captured and detained at Mengo in Kampala (Ssebalijja, 1972:182-183).

In fact, the Europeans never understood the depth of the *Movement*. From a glance, it was only too easy to abuse its military power (Kibundaguzi, June 19, 1992). This misunderstanding is not new. Historians are acutely aware that when the last religious, political and military uprising repercussions at Kagarama were put down in 1928 (Denoon, 1972:145), the colonialists with their agents falsely concluded that the *Nyabingi* Religious Movement too, was crushed once and for all (Edel, 1957:156). This was far from the truth. On the contrary, as a religious force it was still powerful and alive. Before Muhumuza died (Nganwa, 1948 Chapter 10), people from Ankole, Kigezi and Rwanda visited her and she initiated many of them as the *abagirwa* of her *Movement* (Hansen 1984:149-152). When she died in detention in Kampala in 1944, her *muzimu* (Spirits) was deified and she became the object of veneration. In this regard, Father Geraud an amateur on Kigezi history, noted

fittingly that she continued to work miracles in the imagination of the Bakiga and Banyankole *bagirwa* who were *looking for an income* (Geraud, 1972:166).

The fourth phase begins with 1920 to 1950s. *Nyabingi Movement* was undermined by various factors before it finally succumbed to military pressure. These include constant defeats (Ssebalijja, 1972:180-184), the deaths of the strong people within the leadership such as Ndungutse, Ntochibiri, Ruhemba and Muhumuza (and many others who died in detention or prisons in Rwanda and Uganda) whom Bakiga believed to be immortal (Ngorogoza, 1969:59) and more pointedly by the power of the *Balokole Revival Movement* (Mambo, 1973:110-117; Lutahwaire, 1978:34-52). The situation was worsened by the colonial government when it initiated various reform programmes to undermine its religious and health programmes. Furthermore the availability of other alternatives to *Nyabingi Movement*, namely Christianity and Islam availed an opportunity to the indigenous population to have a living substitute. These two religions (Christianity and Islam), considered, the *Nyabinga Movement*, *okubandwa* and other Primal religious beliefs and practices as a transitional stage towards the acceptance of the Christian faith or Islam (Turyahikayo, 1972:110-115; 1995:79; Arinaitwe, 1995:69).

During this period (1920's to 1950's), confrontations with *abalokole* (born again Christians) took the form of the deliberate destruction of the sacrificial articles of *Nyabingi* followers, such as charms and amulets which were used in the Primal religious beliefs and practices (Ngorogoza, 1969:117-119; Ndyabahika, 1993:18-40); Kimunyu, December 28, 1996). The destruction of these religious articles was intended to demonstrate the supposed superiority

of Christianity over the forces of *Nyabingi Movement* and *okubandwa* (Rutanga, 1991:268-271). On this note, one *omulokole* who was an Anglican evangelist placed the stool of *omugirwa* in their village Native Anglican Church to show people that God through his Son Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit is more powerful than *Nyabingi* and *okubandwa* (Ndimbirwe, September 4, 1994). In other cases, some *balokole* Church teachers led the *faithful* Christians to the shrines (*endaro*) of *abafumu* on a witch-hunt expedition (St. John, 1971:65-73). One elderly *mulokole* evangelist who witnessed an incident geared to the elimination of these practices narrated how one *mulokole* evangelist organised the wholesale burning of *endaro z'emizimu* and the religious articles of *Nyabingi* and *emandwa*. And, those who were not *balokole* expected the *mulokole* to die within a week (Zaribugire, September 8, 1995). Although the power of Jesus was put against the powers of *Nyabingi* (church, 1969:10-12; Kivengere, 1977:27-34) the *omulokole* did not die! Jesus won! (Kakira, May 25, 1995). In this endeavour, the *Balokole Revival Movement* reached into the Primal World view at a far more existential level than the mainline churches.

The *Nyabingi* religious followers continued to operate underground for quite a while in order to escape hostilities. In the 1950s and particularly in the twilight of the political independence of Uganda, the number of *Nyabingi* followers dwindled and the Movement was on the wane. In fact as far as in 1953, one of its followers was arrested and his religious articles were burnt in a big rally at Nyarushanje with the intent to prohibit others from practising the same (Tumusiime, 1990:30; Ndimbirwe, September 4, 1994). Through *Nyabingi* and *Bagirwa* defeats, many Bakiga and Banyankole joined the *Balokole Revival*

movement and many *faithful* Christian women become new leaders in the East African Revival Movement (St John, 1971: 187-198; Winter, 1983:58-73; Kinoti, 1990:60-78).

Finally, in the 1960's some Christians felt that Christianity and the *Balokole Revival Movement* had failed to provide solutions to the social, economic, health, religious and political issues. In this context, when the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* emerged, it attracted a cross section of people. Its origin has to be traced in the economic, health, religious, and political crises of the 1960's; reinforced by the 1970's dictatorial rule of Idi Amin Dada. Many people in South-Western Uganda who have good knowledge of *Nyabingi Movement* are realising close similarities between the *Nyabingi* and the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movements*. It is possible to say that as a remarkable political force, the *Nyabingi Movement* had ceased to be noticed, but as a religious force it became established in the sense that its main function was to bring social change and sustain moral order through or *kubndwa* religious practices. Consequently, its social change, moral orientation and religious practices are now reflected in the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* and to this we now turn.

THE HISTORICAL GROWTH OF BACWEZI-BASHOMI MOVEMENT

The foregoing detailed study on the *Bacwezi* and the *Nyabingi Movements* was done in order to collate and analyse their religious practices which invariably hints that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* was building on an ancient religious tradition that changed over time as a result of historical circumstances and cultural borrowings (transformation).

The *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* which started in Ankole in the 1960s; (Tumusiime, 1990:29) before it spread to other parts of Western Uganda gained momentum after Uganda attained independence in 1962. It is equally important to add a similar view which stresses that when the British Government handed over power to Apolo Milton Obote, it also gave him a new Constitution that allowed freedom of worship. Unfortunately, the colonial Government had suppressed African Primal Religious beliefs and practices including *Bacwezi* and *Nyabingi movements*. However, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* became strong during Amin's dictatorial military reign of terror and buffoonery (1971-1979) that erected a ring fence of undemocratic culture which subjected the indigenous people to untold hardships. As if that was not enough, Amin's reign unleashed violence, death, insecurity, poverty, political uncertainty, violation of human rights, the deterioration of medical services and many other similar problems. Corruption reigned unchecked. Economic conditions worsened. The majority of the Bakiga, Banyankole and most Ugandans experienced the shock of sudden change and felt that they had reached the bottom-line of misery. In muted response, some of the Christians became clandestine members of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*.

In the decade of the 1980's (the second reign of Apolo Milton Obote commonly known in the political circles as *Obote II*), Christianity became an umbrella and in many cases the only difference between traditional believers and Christians was that the former sinned openly while the latter hid it (Church 1981:21). On this note, Baingana Muntu aptly says thusly:

No-one was ever disillusioned that the *Cwezi* cults, *Nyabingi* and numerous other cults were ever abandoned by the unbaptised, but that the baptised actively participated in such cults was neither known or simply overlooked (Baingana-Muntu, 1990:55; see also Hansen, 1995:156).

From the above quotation, it seems correct to say that in this deteriorating situation, the new Religious Movement (*Bacwezi-Bashomi*) incorporated some aspects of Christianity with *Nyabingi* coating. It offered medical advice to its adherents and attended to all types of their concerns including economic, psychological, social and religious issues. In this manner, therefore, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* gained more followers in times of trouble and many people came to them whenever they were in distress.

Admittedly, during the present *decade of churches in solidarity with women - 1988-1998*, many people still persist in their Primal beliefs and practices while appearing to embrace the Christian values outwardly (Magambo, August 18, 1996:15). It is significant to note that most of the active *Abarangi* (the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* mediums or diviners) are women (Bakuutana, August 15, 1992). Possibly, this is due to the fact that Muhumuza, who led several campaigns against the Germans and the British prior to her capture at the turn of the twentieth century was a powerful lady who posed as *Nyabingi* (Phillips, 1928:315-321; Berger, 1981:13). Consequently, most of the *Abarangi* claim to be following her footsteps (New Vision, October 27, 1996:16). Secondly, there is a tendency among women to submit more easily to New Religious Movements (Elam, 1973:5). Thirdly, the *Abarangi* are female champions in a society where male dominance, characterised by selfishness, brutality, and drunkenness is asserting itself more forcefully (Berger 1976:157-191).

Fourthly, Turyahikayo-Rugyema rightly notes that women resort to this practice perhaps out of laziness, with a desire to shun the chores of everyday life in a society (Turyahikayo, 1974:445), where women are always in the background acting not only as shock-absorbers but also providing, caring and nurturing their respective homes. Lastly, women in South-Western Uganda whose society and cultures contribute to such unflattering suffer from greater workload, clumsiness, domestic violence now struggle to control their emotions against injustice, jealousy and segregation by becoming *Abarangi* (Albert 1963:179-215).

To-day (1995), the mainline churches are threatened by this Movement which is attracting more people from Christianity and Islam. The influx of new members enables the *Movement* to accumulate more wealth much more easily and quickly than the former *Nyabingi Movement* (Bamucwanira, August 8, 1995). In this manner, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* thrives on people's misery and destitution. As one of the researcher's respondents put it, people would not be rushing to consult them if they were useless (Zaribugire, September 8, 1995). Now the three institutions of *Bacwezi*, *Nyabingi* and *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movements* are linked and have some similarities. This is evident from the kind of problems they address, their composition in terms of gender, their extraction of the surplus value from their adherents and the accumulation of wealth. For this reason, the researcher is of the view that the latter is a transformation of the former.

To sum up, the rise of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* in the last thirty five years (1960-1995) and its popularity lies in the economic hardships arising partly from political conflicts and wars as well as economical exploitation, social changes, corruption, landlessness and

diminishing yields. Taken together, some educated followers of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* do not take it seriously to understand economically and socially what has gone wrong, or to critically analyse some of the economic policy issues. On the contrary, they resort to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Religious Movement* for spiritual, social, psychological and emotional solace.

The Bacwezi-Bashomi mediums (*Abarangi*)

It is worth noting that most *Bacwezi-Bashomi* mediums (*Abarangi*) and their adherents claim to be at one time strong and devoted Christians (Kachetero, August 12, 1995). In seeking to be faithful and to protect their Christian prestige, *Abarangi* continued to go to church on Sundays for worship in order to protect their Christian prestige. With their clearly defined religious goals, they endeavour to integrate the old and the new in the light of their new found faith (Ndamira, August 21, 1995), in a bid to hold firmly to their Primal Religious beliefs and practices (Enyagu, September 15, 1996).

Today, they have borrowed many ideas from Christianity (Baingana Muntu, March 24, 1997). They read the Bible, sing Christian hymns, say prayers through Jesus Christ (Mbishibishi, May 3, 1995) and others recite the rosary (Barungi 1996). Most of the songs are charismatic in nature (Kabahiyeho, September 8, 1995) and the process of initiation and training follows the Christian pattern (Tirwomwe, August 24, 1995): a call, training, initiation and installation (Tumusiime, 1989:31-40) which, in actual fact, augurs well for the survival of the Movement. In the midst of these changes: social, political and religious

realities, it seems that the *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement* which provides continuity with the past is here to stay (Kemijumbi, November 11, 1996).

A call to become omurangi

It is important to recognise that a call, according to their understanding appears in various ways (Baingana Muntu, 1990:63). The process may start with a strange dream, a vision or through sickness (Mufuko, September 9, 1995). Religiously, this is a salient revelation given to an individual to think seriously. It may take weeks, months or even years. A good example is of Mukirirehi of Rukungiri District who claimed that she received the call through the power of spirits when she was young. She explained that one time when she was incapacitated by a prolonged sickness, she tried many different hospitals but the modern drugs could not cure her.

Finally she consulted *Omruangi* who told her that the *Bacwezi* spirits were responsible for her prolonged sickness and that the spirits wanted her to become *Omurangi*. In her esteem to be healed, she responded positively. The point is that the herbs given to her made her well. According to Mukirirehi, it is enough to recognise that sick persons recover quickly when they surrender themselves to *Abarangi* (Mukirirehi, August 7, 1992).

In fact, some *Abarangi* point out that before responding positively to the call to join the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* they were psychologically tortured and even lost their children. One very definite case is that of Kahoma of Kyamakanda, Rukungiri district who

is said to have lost three children consecutively until the *Bacwezi* spirits directed him to a medicine woman called Tariwasho of Kyatoko. Within a month, *Omurangi* revealed to him that the *Bacwezi* wanted him to be a *Omurangi*. Besides, she told him that the death of the children was a result of rejecting the call of the spirits to become *Omurangi*. Eventually, after succumbing, he was initiated into the *Movement* and was given a *orujeje* (a stool). He was instructed to prepare *endaro* (shrine) in his bedroom and to place *ekyanzi* (the traditional milk container) or *orugunda* (calabash) on the stool from where the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits would drink milk, beer and other beverages, particularly early every morning. In the same manner, he was to put in the *endaro*: *orujeje* or small table, *orugunda*, *esapuri*, a Bible, a Prayer Book, a white cloth on a small table or stool, a glass and a bottle (Kahoma, July 24, 1992).

It remains to be acknowledged that the initiation which follows the prolonged illness and misfortune usually takes only one day. In this investigation it must be mentioned that the long training is only reserved for healing. All the *Abarangi* usually learn from their senior *Abarangi* the names of the herbs to use in their healing programmes (Kwatosyo, August 24, 1995).

In a situation more revealing than the ones just referred to, Thadeo Katurumunda of Nyaburunga village in Mbarara District before his death in 1990, narrated how the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* started in Mbarara district (Katurumunda, June 18, 1990). He claimed that at one time he had been suffering from mental disorder, a fact confirmed by many eye-witnesses in Kitura who talked to the researcher's informant. At the time when he fell sick,

he was in High School. When he graduated from High School, Katurumunda believed that he had been healed and so he decided to get married. When he was a father of two children he became mentally ill again. In dreams Katurumunda used to see some pale-skinned people dressed in white, who would tell him to build *endaro* for them within his house. He was warned that if he stubbornly refused to comply to their demands, he would not get cured and that his first child and his cows would die.

Being a *faithful* Roman Catholic at that time, Katurumunda refused to attend to the suggestions of those pale-skinned people he saw in a dream. Consequently, his first child and some of his cows died. In fact, the spirits continued to tell him that the worst happenings were yet to come to his family if he remained stubborn. As a form of social protest, it is at this point that his family members, relatives and friends advised him to make *endaro* for the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits in order to save his life and the lives of his family members.

A logical train of thought reinforced by social and family pressures forced him to succumb to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi's* spirits. He then proceeded and make *endaro* for them in his house. He was then led to a person in Ibanda, who already had *endaro* for the *Bacwezi-Bashomi's* spirits. Thadeo Katurumunda said he spent three months in Ibanda. At the end, he was healed of his sickness. On returning home, he became *Omurangi* and embarked on the healing ministry. Patients started coming to his *endaro* seeking healing of their different diseases.

Subsequently, he initiated some of the patients that attended his *endaro* into the movement and directed them to start their own *endaro* in their respective homes. In spite of the march of modernity, the transforming capacity of the *Movement* rests upon its healing practice. At the time the researcher's assistant carried out the investigations in Kitura, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* healing practices were spreading. There were already ten *abarangi* commonly known as priests and priestesses of great repute. There were many more with *endaro* of *Bacwezi-Bashomi's* spirits who were less significant (Wareba, 1996). From this and many other findings, the researcher was amazed about the reality of good life ensured by the *Bacwezi-Bashomi's* spirits. On this note, Baingana-Muntu adds that, while Christianity claims that *Bacwezi Bashomi* is undermining and corrupting the Christians by luring them into false hopes, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* does not fight with Christianity at all. On the contrary, *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is faced with and responds to the problem of suffering and need for healing (Baingana-Muntu, 1990:64).

Training of abarangi

In probing the matter relating to the training of *Abarangi*, one of the researcher's informants discovered in her field research that one *Omurangi* believes the *oburangi* to be inheritable (Barungi, 1995; see also Edel, 1959:153). It can be passed on to a favourite person who can be a child, a wife, or a relative. She confessed in her case that she discovered one *Omurangi* who passed it on to her favourite grandson who is already engaged in the practice (Barungi, 1995). At a different level, another researcher's assistant observed in her field research that the only accepted training was in the area of healing (Nimusiima, 1994). All *Abarangi* were

taught the names of the herbs, code of discipline and the secrets of the *Movement*. The traditional herbs were and are able to cure different diseases depending on the nature of the disease. In the Primal Religious field, *Abarangi* continue to get further training from the senior *Abarangi* if sickness persists (Rwaheru, November 11, 1995).

Before graduation, the candidates undertake internship. They stay with the senior *Abarangi* and observe very clearly how they interpret the cause of sickness, administer herbs and adhere to articulated sets of values which guide the lives of the community (Tumusiime, 1990:13). More importantly, they have to observe the procedures of establishing a special place in the home commonly called *endaro* which is reserved for sacred use. For the moment, it is enough to recognise that most of the *endaro* are in bedrooms (Tumusiime, 1990:23). Special mention is of *orujeje* (a table) covered with a white or black cloth (white or black symbolises the cleanliness and holiness of the movement). Besides this, there are other articles in every *endaro* a chair, a drum, *orugunda*, a lantern, a Bible, a Prayer Book, a Rosary (*esapuri*), a glass, a bottle, a Quran some medicine wrapped in pieces of cloth and money paid by patients as fees (Kemijumbi, November 11, 1996). On graduation day, the candidates are given stools, bibles, Prayer Books, rosaries (if they are Roman Catholic), Quarans (if they are Moslems), white (or black) clothes, glasses and bottles (Kemigani, August 8, 1995).

Initiation of Abarangi

It is at this point that the process of initiation starts at the home of the initiator and ends with the installation ceremony at the homes of the candidates. The initiation ceremony at the home of the initiator, is a sign of commitment on the part of the candidates (Baingana-Munut, 1996:66). At night, the candidates sit on *emikyeka* (mats) or *embugo* (bark cloths) in front of the sanctuary. Very little talking is done. In a successful move to impress her or her religious followers the initiator starts with prayers. One example will suffice:

Ninkushaba omwekunengo	I pray prostrating
Ompe kace	Grant little to thy servant
Akahango nakawe omwekunengo	The big one is yours
Hereza omugisha abantu bawe	Grant peace to these thy servants

(Barungi, September 28, 1996).

The initiator places his or her hands on their heads. At the end of the function, the initiator places around the neck of each of the candidates *ekisingo* (a special decoration of beads) as a symbol of initiation denoting the manifestation of power and blessing (Denoon, 1972:64; Tumusiime, 1990:28). Some herbs are rubbed on the body of each candidate as a sign of purification and consecration (Birungi, 1995). According to tradition, beads are used not only as ornaments but also as religious articles (Turyahikayo, 1974:445). Added to this, the special beads inextricably serve as symbols of authority.

The initiation function concludes with cultural dances, accompanied by rattles and drumming. All people present make tumultuous shouts of joy, sign and offer prayers to the

divinities for the new mediums (*Abarangi*). What started on a low rate like a whisper, can now be heard in the valleys and over the hills and mountains. All the family members and friends are informed that the candidates are now *Abarangi* and must henceforth observe rules, procedures and discipline of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* (Wareba, 1996).

In some areas, the shrines (*endaro*) are built in the compounds of *Abarangi* for people who come to consult them (Barungi 1996). Rightly, the *faithful* Christians, *abalokole* and Pentecostal flowers to whom the living God is taken seriously as present in the healing and conquering power of the Holy Spirit, with a gospel generating growth and a spiritual creativity and confidences do not approve of it. They pointed out to the researcher that the movement is a living sign of the Christians backsliding to their Primal-Religious beliefs and practices (Zaramba, August 25, 1995). For others, the Movement is perceived as one of the Independent Churches still at a rudimentary formation stage (Ndamira, August 21, 1995). It is interesting to witness how the sceptics see nothing wrong in the movement, except an opportunistic commercial enterprise under the guise of religion. In other places, this Movement is not openly practised for fear of social isolation (Kasaza, June 17, 1995).

From this point of view, just as Christianity and Islam have many sects, so the same could be said of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. On this note, Babisiima who has written one of the most enlightening surveys on the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* lists six groups: (1) the *orurembo* prayer healer group which emphasised that all the adherents have to stay together for at least during a weekend for healing, prayers, exorcism accompanied by singing programmes. The significant motif for “Orurembo” prayer group is the long sessions of

Counselling and confession which form an integral – often an introductory – part of their ministry of exorcism. (2) The medicine group: The centrality of medicine group is the use of destructive medicine, supplemented with the literally symbolic burning of evil. The charismatic leader of this group is fully aware that there is much at stake than just the miraculous elimination of evil. The leader struggles not only with the unpredictable and ambivalent attitudes of his or her clients: people who on one side seek God and on the other hand refuse to follow his way. The leader also applies curative medicine. (3) The instrumental group uses instruments in their healing and exorcism services i.e. drums, *obucence* and hymn books. (4) The *olubugo* (bark cloth) group. The leader of this group instructs all the clients to lie down on *Orubugo* or mats or *eyojwa* during healing and exorcism services. (5) the Bible group encourages all the adherents to read relevant verses in the Bible during healing, exorcism and counselling sessions. (6) The charismatic leader of the Kasapuri (rosary) group, uses the Roman Catholic rituals and encourages all his or her followers to recite the rosary. The *rosary* is used during healing and exorcism sessions. It is vital to recognise that this fragmentation has contributed to the confessionalisation of South Western Uganda New Religious Movements and in particular the *Bacwezi Bashomi* religious competition, the researcher has observed four shortcomings: (a) greed for money, (b) ethnical identity, (c) religious imported identities rooted in their former mainline Churches (d) and cultural narrow based geographical restrictions. In many respects this observation will remain valid in the third century.

Religious articles for abarangi

The religious articles and objects used by *abarangi* are arranged in *endaro* and are used according to the specific requirements of the New Religious Movement. Here is a list of some of these articles: *eyojwa* (grass), a bottle, *orujeje* (a table or a stool) seats or black-cloths or mats, a bead cord, a Bible, a rosary, a Prayer Book and a Quran (Bangwenyima, November 2, 1995).

Eyojwa grass: *Eyojwa* is a smooth, beautiful grass found in the plains of Ankole and almost in all valleys of Kigezi. It would not be out of place to mention that this grass is important in the traditional setting because the inhabitants of western Uganda spread it on the ground for important people to stand on during significant ceremonial functions. It is this kind of grass that is spread on the floors of traditional houses when there are weddings. Today, in exactly the same way, *eyojwa* is artistically spread in the sanctuary of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* and particularly under the table (*orujeje*) and it serves as the *red carpet*. Thus, it is useful at this point to mention that even the wealthy mediums who have good quality carpets in their sitting rooms still use *eyojwa* in their respective *endaro* (Kihumuro, August 25, 1996).

The bottle: In the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, it is imperative to use a bottle or *ekyanzi* (traditional milk container) or *orugunda* (calabash). *Tree-tops* or *Uganda Waragi* bottles are used because they are readily available. In the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*,

The bead cord: For centuries, beads have been traditionally known in Ankole and Kigezi as well as the Great Lakes Region. They were used not only as ornaments but also for religious functions (Berger, 1981: 53). As a matter of fact, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* has a special bead cord which serves as a symbol of authority and seniority (Kakira, May 25, 1995). The beads are distinct in length, colour and function. Being a symbol of seniority in the Movement, not every medium is expected to have it. They are used in the installation of new mediums by temporarily being placed around the necks of candidates. In fact, the senior *Abarangi* wear them most of the time around their necks or place them with the rest of the objects in the sanctuaries.

The Bible, Rosary, Prayer book or Quaran: In every (*okuterekyerera*) act of worship, every *Omurangi* has a Bible in the sanctuary. As is often the case, there is also a prayer book and other religious articles, a rosary if the medium is of the Catholic persuasion and a Quaran for Muslims (Kibundaguzi, June 19, 1992). In this new religious movement, these articles are used in the same way as in the mainline churches or mosques. From this perspective, some mediums insist that their *okuranga* functions start with a hymn, scripture reading or recitation of the rosary. It is this kind of Christian inclination in their *okuranga* that reinforces the idea that *Bacwezi-Bashomi* operates within the confines of Christianity (Mikekemo, August 6, 1995).

The seat of the protector spirit: It is not possible to define what constitutes the seat of the transcendental and immanent spirit in the sanctuary. There is a general feeling, however, that there is something in particular, to which the spirit is attached, so that, without it, the

spirit would not be present in *endaro*. Some suggest that it is the bottle of *ekyanzi* or *orugunda* while others believe it is on the table (*orujeje*). This is an interesting point because, in some instances, when the medium decides to abandon the *okuranga*, the whole arrangement of the sanctuary is dismantled and everything else, except the table or stool which he or she continues to use as an ordinary table or stool in his or her house. The bottle, *ekyanzi* and *orugunda* are taken and broken far away from the home, thus bringing about a total expulsion of the spirit from that house (Kikombe, October 8, 1995). It would therefore appear that the *seat* of the transcendent and immanent spirit, as time goes on, includes the whole set up of the sanctuary (*endaro*) which in actual fact is a sacred place. Consequently, the seat is everything that has been erected with the aim of creating a special place for the spirit. This includes the raised platform, *eyojwa* that is spread on it, the table or *orujeje* (a small stool), or *ekyanzi* or *orugunda*, the black or the white cloth, the Bible, the Quran, *esapuri*, the Prayer Book, a bottle and other religious articles which are likely to be in the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* sanctuaries.

The researcher would like to clarify the place of ancestors in liturgy and a creed, and the use of the Bible in the *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement*. To begin with veneration of the ancestors is the most well contextualised motif in African Christianity and spirituality. The ancestral veneration has been assimilated at the grassroots level to the extent that living examples are observable. Most significantly, Jesus Christ by virtue of his incarnation, death, resurrection and ascension into the realm of the spirit - world - power, is seen as the Supreme Ancestor. Because the ancestors remain human, and do not become after death what they were not before, they cannot become rivals of Jesus Christ.

The ancestors are venerated are not worshipped. A good example is the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, ancestors are not prayed to but only invited to participate in the local rituals and activities. A word of welcome is given, explaining the intent of the invitation, and then prayers are made to introduce the particular event of which the invitation has been offered. The idea is that the ancestors participate only in the prayers directed to *Nyamuhanga* - The Supreme Being. Last but not least, the *Bacwezi Bashomi* mediums claim the Bible from the Bishops, priests, pastors and evangelists and return it to the people. In them the people (their adherents) are the one to govern it. They challenge the individualistic ecclesiological model which ascribe competency in Community with different gifts. As if that is not enough, they say that the Bible does not only stress miracles, blessing and cursing, healing, casting out demons but also it illuminates even the illiterate people in the rural areas of South Western Uganda.

Omurangi in practice

Omurangi has two functions to play which are interrelated: divination and religious healing. The divinatory function is not easy to discover. Through this function, *Omurangi* is able to read the patterns of life, both in the past and in the immediate future, and is able to discern the hidden causes of misfortunes and sufferings (Kemijumbi,

November 11, 1996). Depending on the type of divinities one has, *Omurangi* employs different methods which enable him or her to approach, discover and assess such happenings. In many cases, the process begins with the analysis of the client's situation in order to see the entire picture. To this, *Omurangi* poses some key questions relating to the life history of his or her clients, but others do not. As a healer, *Omurangi* prescribes curative medicine and has power to remove afflictions imposed on individuals or families by spirits and divinities. The movement emphasises healing and driving out demons from the afflicted people. In the same view *omurangi* is not only a healer, but also a respected person because he or she constantly prays for all his or her followers.

As has been observed, some texts from the Bible are read, some hymns are sung and the rosary is recited. Then a candle (*akataoba*) is lit and placed on an *orujeje*. As a consequence, *omurangi* sits on the chair or stool by the sanctuary (*endaro*) and recites a litany addressed to the spirits and divinities who are referred to as *bamalaika*. The participants are told how to respond after each stanza. It is important to remember that *bamalaika* are associated with the traditional divinities of the high mountains, big rivers, deep caves and rugged cliffs. During this litany, *omurangi* begins to belch loudly as if he or she has overeaten. It is no secret, however, it has been observed by the researcher's assistant that *omurangi's* eyes begin to twinkle and the whole body starts trembling. Another interesting and serious observation to note is that *omurangi* is seated on the chair, he or she drops suddenly to the floor and trembles all the more. The litany comes to a halt as everyone in the room is caught up in this mysterious scenario. It is important

to emphasise here that one is never sure whether *omurangi* will recover, even though he or she does this all the time.

The other paradox which lies at the core of this religious practice is the procedure of recovering from the trance and the direction there-after. Immediately, *omurangi* starts producing strange vowels and sounds, speaking a language probably known to himself or herself alone. The researcher's assistant discovered that the voice of *omurangi* also changes (Barungi, 1995; see also Rutagi, 1991: 35-36). Everybody in the room maintains a dead silence as *omurangi* dialogues with the divinities about the problems presented. To get out of this impasse, *omurangi* begins to calm down slowly until he or she lies still for a moment on the journey back into this world.

Then, with big sighs, he or she sits up slowly, wipes his or her eyes as though emerging from a deep sleep. Rightfully, this marks the end of the trance state. The medium (*omurangi*) takes time to explain what has been revealed as the clients wait anxiously, not knowing whether the revelation is going to be on a hopeful note or a complete disaster.

It is not part of the researcher's intention, either here or at a later stage, to discuss the effectiveness of such practices. It is worth mentioning, however, that as beauty is to the eye of the beholder, so the credibility and legitimacy of this practice is to the client. Even when things are not working clearly and accurately, in this thorny area of pastoral urgency, the spectacle of the ritual of divination does give the client a strong feeling that the matter has been put into proper hands. Often troubles may persist and even worsen for the client. Instead of going away, the client is drawn more and more to *omurangi* for

help. It is similar to what happens in hospitals. Although everybody knows that patients die everyday at the hands of the best doctors, they are never discouraged. They go to the doctors hoping that things will be different for them or that a frail life can be kept going a little longer. Surprisingly, with this kind of faith in the powers of *omurangi*, many clients hardly talk of *abarangi's* prescriptions that have not worked; instead they magnify even isolated successes that appear to be the direct result of the movement.

Omurangi as a healer

To a large extent, in Ankole and Kigezi the problems of illness, and the longing for healing occupy everyone in the community in varying degrees. By far, someone suffering is a person who needs treatment and pastoral care. Furthermore, a patient is a friend or part of the family or part of the community. Indeed there is room to admit that there are certain diseases that modern hospitals have no way of either detecting or curing. And, for that matter, *abarangi* are the only ones who appear to have the power to remove afflictions relating to the spirit possession (or misfortunes in life like infant mortality, barrenness in women, impotence in men, bad habits in some individuals, dullness in some school children) and who prescribe curative herbs. In the eyes of the sick, the diagnosis in some cases is prompt, precise and direct. In others, it is complicated and involves considerable ritual activities. Sometimes their patients are referred to Government or Church Hospitals for further medical attention.

Omurangi involvement in religious practices

The driving force *per-excellence* in the recruitment of the new members into *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is healing, religious worship and prayers which have a big role to play in their religious activities or lives. Each *omurangi* designs the pattern of a healing service to follow. Tumusiime gives an example of a short prayer used by *omurangi* in Kyatoko, Rukungiri district:

<i>Ai omuhangi Omukura owa Galilaya</i>	O thou Creator of Galilee
<i>Oije n'obusingye</i>	Come with peace
<i>Oije n'amagara</i>	Come with life
<i>Kworabe ori owengiri</i>	If you confess the gospel
<i>Oije n'obusinge nokora na Ruhanga.</i>	Come with peace of God
<i>Haza obingye emandwa, emizimu,</i>	Drive away divinities, evil
<i>N'oburogo</i>	Spirit and witchcraft
<i>Atuhe obusingye.</i>	Give us peace
<i>Otutebakanise omunju yatitu egi</i>	Comfort us in this home
<i>Otuhe obusingye omumaka</i>	Give us peace in our family
<i>Otuhwere.</i>	Help us
<i>Otwigurire omuhanda</i>	Provide us the way
<i>Otuhe akasente,</i>	Assist us financially
<i>Oturetere abarwaire</i>	Bring us the sick
<i>Haza okore na Ruhanga,</i>	Through God's mercy
<i>Niiwe wampaire omurimo ogu,</i>	Thank you for the work
<i>Mbwenu otuhe obusingye,</i>	Shower upon us blessings
<i>Otwihe omunaku,</i>	Deliver us from calamities
<i>Otuhe obusingye</i>	Give us peace

It is within this general framework of healing prayers that the above indigenous liturgy is said three times a day in the shrine (*endaro*) consciously and deliberately. This occurs in the morning, at mid-day and at night when all the adherents and the sick gather for healing and exorcism services. It was observed

that the regular attendance to such sessions for prayers and night healing sessions, enable all adherents to learn by heart various songs which are usually sung in a charismatic manner and good enough to relieve many troubled minds around. By and large, South-Western Uganda is a musicologist paradise.

Another original *barangi* healing song goes as follows:

Ruhanga n'omurangi wamazima nakira abarangi boona.

God is not only a true prophet, but he is the greatest of all the prophets.

Omwijeho omucwezi natambira boona.

Omucwezi, the healer of all the people (Tumusiime, 1994: 23).

In Bushenyi a young girl in Primary School narrates, how in their village, the intercessions begin with a song addressed to angels as follows: *emandwa eranda, nimuzare; bamaraika nimuzare* (Tumwebaze 1994); This song well-delimites the importance of angles and ancestors in their healing religious beliefs. The importance of singing is understood by the fact that some *abarangi* in Bushenyi have set aside Thursday and Saturday nights as days of singing healing songs and praying (Tumushabe, June 6, 1994). The whole healing prayer session is rich with drumming, singing and dancing while turning around. Amidst such activity, some followers are said to fall into trances or to become possessed by the spirits as the *Bacwezi* spirits decide to give them the gift to predict (prophecy) certain things to happen.

In these services of healing and exorcism, *abarangi* approach *endaro* for intercessions to *Nyamuhanga* (Supreme Being) and to the living-dead (ancestors)

whom Mbiti regards as the potential intermediaries between the living people and God (Mbiti, 1969: 83-84). This last point is important. The metaphors they use in reference to *Nyamuhanga* (Supreme Being) are indeed recognizable ones. *Nyamuhanga* is one who created the world, sustains life and makes the rains to fall. However, in his providence he allows *abajubi* (the rain-makers) to invoke rain in times of drought.

SUMMARY

It may seem surprising, but the researcher has observed as a matter of fact that most of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* leaders and adherents were once followers of the Roman Catholic Church. They confess that it is not easy to remain a *faithful* Christian under the present day circumstances when some Christians lead a somewhat lax lifestyle. Christianity makes a loud and clear call and instills in the believers the need of being kind and understanding at home, being responsible and duty conscious at work, being truthful and honest in word and deed, respecting *faithful* Christians in other churches, accepting others who do not share their faith and being obedient to *Nyamuhanga* (God).

Those who joined the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* argue strongly that Christianity did not make life easy. In broader terms, they rush to *omurangi* who is a consultant and a specialist. In practice, his or her teaching is not a *dry-as-dust* theology, but a valiant attempt to explain the cause of sickness in order that the

Bakiga and Banyankole might possess and enjoy their existence in the community. When *omurangi* fails to solve a problem, at least a cause is identified, appropriate actions are taken and some kind of solutions are applied. It is clear that they totally fail, or when they encounter complicated cases, they refer their patients or clients to Government or Church Hospitals. Nevertheless, they endeavour to find lasting solutions to multitude of problems encountered in their daily lives.

A final point that links this way of thinking more explicitly is that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is growing and has daily customers who believe that the movement is capable of assisting the people in South-Western Uganda in their adverse circumstances. The rate of growth of the movement is not only accelerating but it is also causing alarm among the *faithful* Christians. It has also aroused the concern of theologians, missiologists and church historians.

It is, however, sad to note that the mainline churches have not made any tangible and serious attempt to come to grips with the movement. The movement will not be allowed to degenerate into an immutable museum ornament. On the contrary, it is dynamic, growing, multifaceted and dialect Movement which has taken roots synchronically upon contextualisation, inculturisation, indigenisation and constant introspection. In that respect, the researcher is of the opinion that, it would be a mistake for the mainline churches to remain complacent.

CHAPTER FIVE

ATTITUDE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH TO THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN UGANDA AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE BACWEZI-BASHOMI MOVEMENT IN ANKOLE AND KIGEZI

INTRODUCTION

The central focus of this thesis is the attitude of the Anglican Church to the New Religious Movements in Uganda and particularly the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* in Ankole and Kigezi, 1960-1995. This Chapter will concern itself with the central issues and major themes to be discussed which includes: (a) The broken covenant of the indigenous people with Primal Religious beliefs and practices; (b) Fidelity to the Biblical teachings and Church traditions (practices); (c) The Church and the backsliders; (d) The response of the Church to the *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement* and (e) The way forward of the Anglican Church and the mainline Churches.

The Unbroken Covenant with Primal Religious beliefs and practices

As far as the attitude of Anglican Church to the Primal Religious beliefs and practices (which the *Bacwezi Boshomi* adherents outshining uphold) is concerned, most Anglican Bishops and Church workers in South-Western Uganda stressed that since the time Christianity penetrated the area, the once flourishing Primal religious beliefs and practices of the indigenous people were subjected to

incessant hostilities. Another way of expressing this view is to say that the indigenous people were viewed by Christian missionaries not only precariously as immersed in *paganism* or *heathenism* but also as intrinsically fallen, depraved, groping in darkness, whose ultimate need was to be rescued from evil and intellectual infancy (Magambo, April 2, 1997). Contributing to the same issue, Bishop Kyamugambi pointed out the irony of the matter that the Primal Religious beliefs and practices should have acted as a springboard for conveying the saving message of Jesus Christ. However, those who continued to associate with Primal Religious beliefs and practices were regarded as *abakafire* (irreligious) and were not allowed to go to the *Holy Table* for *Eucharist* in their respective churches. There is evidence from the missionary records to affirm such teachings. Less tentative was Canon Mugisha the Archdeacon of Kihanga who pointed out that to most missionaries, the outer appearance of the converts was most important because to them it signified a complete conversion not just to Christianity but to a Western way to life. Hence, those people who did not display the European products or who did not adopt western names, clothing, vestments and songs had obviously to be *converted* (Mugisha, May 20, 1997; see also Bamutungire 1989:37).

Iconoclastic attitudes to indigenous culture

Indigenous culture and Primal Religious beliefs were acknowledged as the womb out of which African Christianity must be born. Hence, they were elevated and granted the status of *praeparatio evangelica* or something to be converted from. It was therefore not by accident that Busingye the humblest of all Archdeacons in Kinkizi Diocese reiterated that, it was unfortunate for missionaries to urge the indigenous converts to repudiate their culture and religious practices on the ground that they were

allegedly not only contrary to the word of one God who is transcendent, all powerful, all knowing and self-revealing but also that they were against Biblical Christianity (Busingye, May 23, 1997).

Looked at from all angles, everything indigenous was regarded as completely worthless, dirty, and satanic. Everything European was considered superior, progressive and noble. The real point of interest for us is that western missionaries with their rich cultural and historical heritage believed that they represented a superior culture which had to be swallowed up wholesale by the new converts. In this manner, the Primal Religious beliefs and practices of the Bakiga and Banyankole which the *Bacwezi Bashomi* adherents cherished were discouraged without sufficient explanation and respect (Birakwate, May 19, 1997). Internally as well as externally, it became very hard for the indigenous people to live simultaneously into two cultural worlds. The bottom line, is clearly brought out in the words of the Dean of St Peters Cathedral, Rugarama, who said that some missionaries considered the people in Kigezi once converted from their traditional beliefs, as a sort of *tabula rasa* upon which the *imported* religious beliefs were to be imprinted (Rukashazya, May 21, 1997). In all this, it is clear that the missionaries approach to Primal Religious beliefs and practices was non-compromising because they threatened the Catholicity of the global Church. Thus, they stressed that a less risky and more honourable alternative was to be saved from these beliefs and practices through conversion.

Taking the above into account, the worldview was seen by most Banyankole and Bakiga as a domain in which the indigenous people and the spirits of the living dead lived and interacted for good or ill. As the indigenous people struggled with evils in the form of illness or misfortune, the Anglican

missionaries had no answer to offer. Reiterating this point Bishop Kyamugambi modestly advocates that the Anglican missionaries taught the indigenous people that all the expressions of traditional religiosity and spirituality were signs of backwardness as they did not worship the true God (Kyamugambi, June 3, 1997; see also Ndyabahika, 1991:54, Mpagi, 1994:45-50).

Pastoral aspects and theology

On a more sombre note, Zaribugire a retired Anglican pastor stresses that westerners, not least the missionaries, thought that the indigenous people had no religion or morality. This kind of derogatory statement created a false impression that indigenous beliefs and morality were put to rest forever by western education, colonialism and missionary enterprises (Zaribugire, June 3, 1997). This, of course, is not entirely correct. Examples in this regard abound. Today, there is a gradual shift from this fundamentalist position to the acceptance of the indigenous religious beliefs and morality, which, after all are not opposed to Christian faith and values. It is pertinent to recognise that some indigenous *thinkers* without ceasing to be committed to their religious persuasion (Christian faith) and yet without hidden evangelical agendas uphold that Christianity brought nothing *new*, but on the contrary, now, Primal Religions are *superior*. However, this religious assertion is repudiated by the Evangelical *thinkers* who stress without reservation that the Primal Religions were a fertile ground waiting to be fulfilled by Christianity. This study underlines Bishop Magambo's submission that Primal Religious beliefs and practices are still alive and well (Magambo, June 3, 1997). Thus, he strongly, recommends that there is a need for healthy dialogue between the followers of the Primal Religious beliefs and Christianity in order to avoid imminent controversies that would hinder the concurrent growth of Primal Religion and Christianity.

Fidelity to the Biblical and Church teaching

In a significant way, there are other areas that the researcher observed in this investigation. To begin with, in their teaching and preaching, the missionaries condemned much of the Bakiga and Banyankole medicine and all modes of healing. This left a vacuum or an anxiety to the indigenous people as this crucial issue was not addressed. Hence, they were confused. Consequently, this misconception planted the seed of resistance to Christianity among the indigenous people (Karagi, May 20, 1997).

Another point of concern and warranting stress is that although the indigenous people read the Bible (which they respected with high esteem and consulted for instant solutions and responses) some biblical issues need to be addressed: mediums, demons and unclear spirits. Without underscoring the mainline churches, Archdeacon Mugisha of Kihanga noted with concern that the Anglican missionaries lacked rigorous biblical hermeneutics. Positively, they stressed that they spearheaded vernacularising the Bible in several indigenous languages including Runyankole and Rukiga. Negatively, those who did not ascribe to *Sola scripture* or who attempted to interpret the Bible creatively in the vantage of indigenous *peroxis* would be accused of extravagance. Indeed, *fidelity to the Bible or Biblical grounding* and Church teaching remains the chief mechanism with which to regulate the growth of indigenous theology. More strikingly, they were poor on cross-culture communication as they asked the indigenous people to eschew all things that were allegedly related to ancestors, witchcraft, divination, intoxicating liquor (alcoholic beverages) and indigenous songs. These were said to be against the true Biblical and Church teaching (Mugisha, May 19, 1997).

Addressing himself on another point which relates to the Biblical teaching, the Primate of the Anglican Church of Uganda, rightly said that with all the good intentions of the first generation of western missionaries and, of course, with all due consideration to their limitations in cultural appreciation, outrageous damage done through their Biblical teaching and their attitude to the indigenous culture has yet to be rectified by affirming what is positive in the religio-cultural heritage. Furthermore, looking at it from the vantage of African Theology, he went on to say that what has, in his opinion, been lacking is a more appealing image of a *relationship of continuity rather than of discontinuity* (Mpalanyi-Nkoyoyo, June 2, 1997; see also Hastings, 1979:251, Kibicho, 1972:303-304; Omulokoli, 1986:22-35; and Bediako 1992: 427-431). The Primate's measured call is clear; the indigenous people should constantly be reminded that the Bible needs to be interpreted in African milieu (hermeneutics) and worship to be carried out in an indigenous manner. He made it categorically clear that all of these are vital and beneficent to the *faithful* Christians as their needs are met when they understand the Bible and praise God not only through raising hands when worshipping and singing (not boisterous) but also in dancing, drumming, clapping of hands, prophecy and chasing away evil spirits.

The last critical observation relates to Biblical teaching healing vis-à-vis traditional healing. In terms of practical experience traditional medicine was repudiated by the Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries and indigenous clergy. They failed to understand that traditional healing restores the spiritual as well as the total well-being of each individual and of the society in general. This is similar to the Hebrew word *Shalom* which reflects the well-being in all aspects of men and women; and the Greek verb *sozo* which refers to making human being whole both physically and spiritually. It is a true

fact that traditional medicine is more accessible to the people because it is less expensive than western medicine and can be easily found everywhere. Despite these cautions, there are some converts who have been persuaded by the western line of thought, particularly some members in the *Balokole Revival Movement*, the Pentecostal churches and Charismatic Renewal Movements. But it is often urged that these are very few in number. The success to which their attitude has led them, if put to test, is open to debate.

An important distinction must be made. In spite of the above tags and categories put on the missionaries, it is a reality, as Mbishibishi points out, that the indigenous people in South-Western Uganda have been open to all religions and by 1990's, more than half of the total population of the five districts in South-Western Uganda had embraced Christianity (Mbishibishi, June 5, 1997).

TABLE III Uganda Population and Housing Census:

Total District Population in 1991

<u>District</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Bushenyi	736,361	354,470	381,891	14,195	722,166
Kabale	417,218	197,695	219,523	29,246	387,972
Kisoro	186,681	86,406	100,275	7,485	178,196
Mbarara	930,772	458,257	472,515	46,616	884,156
Rukungiri	390,780	187,885	202,895	12,985	377,795

TABLE IV Uganda Religious Population

Census ('000) by Districts in 1991

<u>District</u>	<u>Catholics</u>	<u>Anglicans</u>	<u>Muslims</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kabale	185,200	219,000	2,800	9,300	417,200
Kisoro	75,700	87,200	900	22,800	186,700
Mbarara	358,700	490,200	43,800	38,100	930,800
Rukungiri	156,500	219,800	7,500	6,900	390,800
Bushenyi	263,300	408,800	32,300	31,900	737,300

(Source; Entebbe: Final Results of the 1991 Population and Housing Census Statistics Department of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992).

To clarify further our argument, the 1991 population and housing census cited above makes it clear that the number of Christians in Ankole and Kigezi has risen amazingly to an impressive figure of 2,465,300. If the number of Christians and Churches are true indications of church growth, then it can be safely said that Christianity has had a strong impact on the lives of numerous people in the area. In this respect, Ankole and Kigezi are two areas which have witnessed the most successful work in evangelism in the whole of Uganda. It is for this reason that the area became an independent diocese in Anglican Communion in 1957 under the able leadership of Kosiya Shalita as its first Bishop and in 1967, Kigezi became a separate Diocese under Richard Edward Lyth. He was succeeded in 1972 by Festo Kivengere a native of the area. The Roman Catholic Church in Ankole also came under

indigenous leadership when Bishop Kakubi replaced Bishop Ogez and Cardinal Rugumbwa was made the first Bishop of Kabale. Today (1995), the area has six Anglican and two Roman Catholic Bishops. This is a remarkable story of success which in missionary circles is almost credited to the first European Missionaries who planted Christianity in the area (Birakwate, May 19, 1997).

It is within the context of the afore-mentioned missionary achievements that the historical growth of the Church in South Western Uganda in the last ninety years, owes a great deal of its growth to the converted men and women who offered themselves to work as evangelists, catechists and ordained ministers (Birakwate, May 19, 1997; see also Luck, 1963; Rheenen, 1976). Similarly, the said facts demonstrate clearly that the church was conditioned greatly by the pre-existing situation (political, health, social and religious) which provided invaluable pathways for the spread of the gospel. Broadly speaking, Christianity has had a prophetic meaning in South-Western Uganda.

Necessity of Contextualisation

As with the Bible and the indigenous culture, the researcher observed the necessity of contextualising or inculturation, a topic which deserves an in-depth research and treatment in its right. On this note, Bishop Kahigwa states that what remains important is the realisation that Biblical teaching must be contextual. If it is to be done contextually, then it must be done rurally. Positively, missionary work definitely transformed the Bakiga and Banyankole societies to an extent that an attempt to reverse the contextualized and indigenised Christian faith and its effects would be utterly futile (Kahigwa, June 1, 1997). Negatively, the daily rhythm and experience of life in the rural areas of South Western Uganda

lacks indigenised Biblical teaching, hence the rise of *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement* which claims to address the all issues of the indigenous people.

The way forward as the *faithful* Christians approach the close of the twentieth century is, therefore, not only to cultivate a good relationship of collaboration and dialogue with those still upholding the indigenous religious beliefs, practices and in particular indigenous healing but also to contextualise the Biblical teaching in the rural areas of South Western Uganda. It is important to be cautious to these faithful Christians who confront the *Bacwezi Bashomi* adherents everyday, they have their majestic worldview, large blue skies, high mountains (Mountains of the moon - Rwenzori; Volcanic mountains - Mfumbiro) on one hand, and their desperate reliance upon rain and sun, their pathetic scenes of poverty on the streets, hold before men and women of good repute, a truth of God and their neighbours, that Biblical teaching and contextualisation cannot afford to lose. This new venture will eventually break down the negative attitudes which exist between the educated and none educated, the city people and the rural people. Furthermore, there is a need for dialogue to solve the difference between the nominal Christians, devoted Christians (the faithful or *abalokole* or the Pentecostal adherents) and the followers of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*.

It is encouraging that a larger proportion of the population, particularly the *faithful* Christians are heavily involved not only in social and moral rehabilitation but also in carrying out essential health work and church leadership roles. Under the cultural impact of pietism, missionaries who penetrated Ankole and Kigezi understood conversion as leading a *single soul belonging to the indigenous religious beliefs and practices to God and his Son Jesus Christ* (John 3:16).

The poor vision of the mainline Churches

It has been noted from Bishop Kahigwa's submission that the two mainline churches in South-Western Uganda are not immune to new challenges and threats. It is not difficult to conclude that the Primal Religious beliefs and practices as well as the New Religious Movements and in particular the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* which have been endeavouring to harmonise Christianity and Indigenous religious beliefs and practices were seen or treated as a thorn in the flesh by the two historical churches (Kahigwa, June 1, 1997).

Again, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mbarara made it clear to the researcher that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* has been borrowing some elements from the mainline churches (Bakyenga, March 23, 1997). With this benign approach, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* endeavours to amalgamate its ideas with some teachings of Christianity and the new elements are not only cherished by *abarangi* and their adherents but also undermine the uniqueness of the Christian faith, and reduce the gospel message to the minimum. Thus, it is shifting from the Biblical teaching, it is no surprise that some quote scriptures out of context to justify their work (Busingye, June 2, 1997).

It is in view of this state of affairs, that Chaluba, a Priest in the Roman Catholic faith states that it is not easy to evaluate the movement. He went on to reveal that the movement is surely not anywhere nearer to what can be defended as an alternative to Christianity or an independent church which is still at a rudimentary stage (Chaluba, March 24, 1997). This view is not invalidated even when Kateisigwa adds

that although the movement is not directly linked to witchcraft, sorcery and magic, there are, nonetheless, some elements in its practices that are contrary to Christian teachings (Kateisigwa, April 1, 1997).

So, in spite of differences in perspectives, it is worth pointing out that while indigenous Primal Religious believers refused to have anything to do with Christianity and endeavoured to resist its influence from without, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* followers, on the other hand, are endeavouring to reshape Christianity from within. A big number of their followers claim to be *faithful Christians* who do not wish to leave the church because they believe they are still part of it.

On a negative note, Father Mukasa, a Roman Catholic Priest at Nyamitanga points out that some parish priests are not willing to accept the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* followers back in the Roman Catholic church (Mukasa, March 20, 1997). In fact with no other clear way out of this dilemma, those who distort the Christian faith (a fact well known) are condemned as lost (Karungi, April 2, 1997). In short, they will have first to repent before they are accepted. The fundamental issue at hand is that, by alienating them, the church is in a way hurting itself, while at the same time, by tolerating them without qualification, it is badly compromising its teachings (Kyenderikora, March 27, 1997).

The Church and Backsliders

In search of a fuller understanding, Mugyegyie touches the heart of the matter when he stresses that the mainline churches are treating the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* as a toothless child who should eat

tasteless food. But, many of their followers (Christians) are rushing to join the Movement which was not established overnight. They retain their membership in the historical churches while at the same time adhering to the New Religious Movements and particularly to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* ethics. They purportedly see no contradiction in their actions (Mugyegy, March 27, 1997). A living example that has come to the fore is a recent report from Muyebe at *Mwirashaniro* in Kabale where a Christian of good repute (Muzarirehe) turned out to be *Omuchweze-Mushomi* but the Anglican Church could not discipline him. He remained in the Church because he was supporting it financially (Rugyendo, July 14, 1994). Such practices, when conducted by the unbaptised indigenous people, are generally referred to as idolatrous or *abaterecerezi* (Kampikaho, November 30, 1996). The *faithful* Christians to whom the centre of Christianity is Christ himself have doubt that such beliefs are against the basic monotheistic biblical commandment to adore *only one God* (Exodus, 20: 1-7).

Mindful of these points including lack of full Biblical grounding, it should be noted that the Bakiga and the Banyankole had a genuine knowledge of God known as *Nyamuhanga* and they had their own way of communicating with him. In their elementary Biblical hermeneutics, he is accepted as the Father of Jesus Christ, their Lord and Saviour (Kabahikyeho, 1995; Mafuko 1995; Kahigwa, 1997). On the same point, Bishop Shalita, in a sober and correct attitude, stressed that the Bakiga and Banyankole are joining *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement* because of lack of evangelistic drive, they failed to respond positively to the call to evangelise and spread the core of the *salvific* life and death of Jesus Christ to the unreached people (including the backsliders), and subsequently failed to promote the church within and beyond the borders of South-Western Uganda effectively (Shalita, June 2, 1997). Although the indigenous evangelists and pastors taught the new believers the Christian creedal statements, they

should also have stressed the code of conduct and the Christian faith which would touch the indigenous people holistically in their spiritual, social, economic and political dimensions. Without people of this calibre, who are strong in their faith, the situation hitherto described will adversely frustrate the Christian faith in Ankole and Kigezi, and the New Religious Movements including the *Bacwezi Bashomi* will be *the mainline Churches*.

In spite of lack of evangelistic drive, inculturation theology and poor pattern of ministry, the positive results of the Church's ministry can be observed in the areas of *health* (Ndimbirwa, 1995; Byaruhanga-Akiiki, 1994:31-33), *agriculture* (Sebuhinja, 1995; Lyth, 1969), *democracy* (Zaribugire, 1995; see also Okullu, 1974-52; Mujaju, 1976:67-85) and *education* (Rukirande, June 3, 1996; Wandira 1971:31-34; St. John, 1971:164-175).

Poor evangelisation process and impact of secularism

In this section, the researcher is specifically drawn to Baingana-Muntu's article (Baingana-Muntu, 1990:56-77) since it resonates with his emphasis. Some people in South-Western Uganda who live from crisis to crisis or in an environment fraught with oppression, deprivation, infertility, disease and death, constantly endeavour to look for a source of comfort. Ever ready to help, *abarangi* claim to show them a relaxing concern and pay caring attention to them. Although some of their followers have their traditional beliefs and practices at heart, at the same time they practise the so-called imported culture and religions which they accepted as the most civilized of all religions and culture. At the local level, they often consult their traditional healers and elders on matters of health and other social

problems which they say could not be answered by Christianity (Turinawe, April 1, 1997; see also Byaruhanga, 1995:6-8).

Even a casual glance at the recent history of Uganda shows that in the past three decades most Ugandans were malnourished spiritually (because of poor evangelism) when they were under the brutal and dictatorial rule of Amin Dada (Obed, 1995:61) and the second rule of Apolo Milton Obote. Consequently, many Christians in Ankole and Kigezi saw themselves being captives of principalities and powers beyond their control and comprehension. Matters were exacerbated in cases where scientific medicine made no breakthroughs in the treatment and cure of chronic illness and particularly those such as mental illness, the symptoms of which readily suggest supernatural causes. Thus, they interpreted anxieties, woes, sufferings and sickness as a result of witchcraft, magic, sorcery and evil spirits. Likewise, the practice of asking the *living dead* to intercede for the living in the case of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, could be understood and explained in terms of, or in relationship to, the theology of Christian Saints (Mwebesa, March 1997; see also Ddungu, 1964:285-286).

Lack of theological teaching on healing and exorcism

In the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* sphere of influence, *omurangi* is a healer and a counsellor who listens to the sufferings of the people, regardless of who or what they are and where they come from. In some cases, *omurangi* commands tremendous confidence from his or her clients. Thus, one of the best critics of the role of the western missionaries in the area of healing is Kyenderikora who is of the opinion that the mainline Churches should begin their Biblical teachings on healing and exorcism from the standpoints

of where people are, and build upon what people believe, without antagonising the cultural practices which enhance health in the local communities. Thus, the work of *abarangi* should not be glossed over (Kyenderikora, March 26, 1997) and the timeless command of Jesus Christ (Tumusiime, May 22, 1997), which stresses: *I came not to destroy the laws and the prophets but to fulfill them* (Matthew.5:17) must be heeded. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that it is within the general framework of healing and exorcism as well as of the power of prayer that Kakakweba stresses the healing aspect in the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, which he believes is something that is not totally alien to the healing prayers that go on in the Christian church hospitals (Kakakweba, March 26, 1997). The way forward is therefore not to lose the art of indigenous healing, including faith healing, but also to critically embrace and celebrate it.

The doctors at church or government hospitals undoubtedly have a great deal to offer, but there are some areas where *abarangi* are better *qualified* (Bagore, April 2, 1997). The point is that, although the preachers of the gospel of Christianity promise superior hope to the *faithful* Christians, yet there is still something they do not understand (Rwakubera, November 3, 1996). In matters of life and death, of present and future, the doctor and preacher must painfully concede that despite all their best efforts, there is an inner secret door that has not been opened to them (Turyasingura, March 27, 1997). They stress the *vertical* (second life in heaven) at the expense of the *horizontal* (the every day existential life of their followers - Christians). Alternatively, *omurangi* makes a horizontal attachment to his or her clients - by interceding for them to *Nyamuhanga* (God) because all *healers* are *Nyamuhanga's* instruments. All in all, the final verdict recognising the recovery or death of people belongs to *Nyamuhanga* (Atwine, March 23, 1997).

From a Christian perspective, the Dean of Emmanuel Cathedral, Kinyasano said that some *Bacwezi-Bashomi* followers do not practice their trade on Sundays or at least not until church Sunday services are over. This is because they either want to go to their respective churches or they want their followers first to go to Sunday services (Tumusiime, May 23, 1997). Even in the case of those who are not Christians, they also do not endeavour to uproot their clients from their original Christian denominations (Barugahare, March 23, 1997). Another way of expressing this view is to say that the relationship between the mediums and the clients is purely at the level of financial needs and economic satisfaction.

It is now possible, therefore, within this context and against these views that the mainline Churches are called upon to take Biblical evangelisation seriously and to address health, healing, economic and social wholeness as just issues. In other words, the dire need for health services in South-Western Uganda where the quality of health in rural areas is very poor, means that no form of healing can be left out without compromising the health of the people. In this manner, the saying of the Bakiga and Banyankole is fulfilled *eki Nyamuhanga akozire tikimurema ishoborora* which literary means, *what was done by the Supreme-Being (God) may well be re-ordered by him* (Cisternino, 1987:217).

Mindful of the danger of narrow dogmatism, the Archbishop of Kampala, His Eminence Emmanuel Cardinal Wamala, put his finger on this matter when he rightly stressed that the inability of the Catholics to grasp the biblical teachings relating to healing and the Catholic doctrine and traditions are the major causes of defection from the Roman Catholic Church to the healing shrines (*endaro*) of the

movements (Wamala, December 2, 1996). To clarify further this point, Archdeacon Busingye stressed that the Gospel in African Christianity should respond concretely and effectively to the contemporary existential needs and crises which have engulfed the indigenous people. God's word is healing (Busingye, May 23, 1997). Thus, genuine communication of the gospel is medicine for the problems of the body, the mind, the soul and the spirit.

Lack of grassroots economic theology

Another important point to note is that the leaders of the mainline churches should guide the faithful on the modern issues of economic and social predicaments. For this to happen, requires that they should have a clear vision to lead their people into individual and communal projects which would bring about financial stability in the families. Characterwise, many Christians in South Western Uganda and particularly at the local level live lives of groans. For the moment, it is enough to recognise the ministry of Ecumenical Church Loan Fund (ECLOF) and Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society (EDCS). These two church-related organisations stress self reliance through productive enterprises and social theology of uplifting the grassroots people socially, spiritually and economically. In fact, the two organisations demonstrate that poor people are faithful and good business partners who can work and be self- reliant and when given the opportunity, can overcome their inequitable economic environments (Kisembo, June 2, 1997). To clarify further this argument, if the assumption that many of the problems people take to *abarangi* are poverty related is correct, then, to emphasise that the above may be a serious proposal for the mainline Churches to develop a truly grassroots eco-theology which will be a blessing not only to the Church in South Western Uganda, but also to the worldwide Church.

Responses of the Church to the *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement*

A remark by Canon Abraham Zaribugire, that what lies at the heart of *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is significant, has to be taken seriously (Zaribugire, June 3, 1997). On the surface, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is not missionary oriented. It also does not endeavour to draw followers from any particular religion to itself. From this perspective, it does not present itself as distinct from Christianity. On the contrary, it tries to do everything possible to reaffirm its link with Christianity (Baabo, October 10, 1995). This observation calls for a deep serious consideration of how the mainline churches and particularly the Anglican Church is going to map out new strategies to address the *Bacwezi Bashomi Movement* and its adherents.

Of course, this emphasis is not unique. What has, in the researcher's opinion, been lacking is fruitful dialogue. Dialogue is a Christian principle that needs to be affirmed by the Anglican and Catholic churches in Uganda. By balancing their approach, engaging in fruitful dialogue and reincorporating into conversation those neglected strands of their respective traditions (although this may be a long and painful process), they will be enabled to move to the *real talk* in the community of faith. Ignore them is what they did, and is precisely what they should not have done. No one has the full truth. No one is totally wrong. In this and many other ways, the cycle of proclamation encounter and fruitful dialogue has to be reaffirmed and tested time and again with the trust that God is working through different religious traditions and movements including Islam, indigenous traditional religions, Christianity and *Bacwezi-Bashomi*.

The researcher has briefly mentioned the need for fruitful dialogue, but the boldness and progressiveness of some *Bacwezi-Bashomi* adherents who claim that some of their practices are harmonious with Christianity needs to be revisited. They argue that they neither encourage retrogressive practices (moving backward to a worse condition) in their Movement nor allow their clients to drink alcoholic beverages near the sanctuary (Ngonoka, April 3, 1994). Reacting to this unfortunate statement, Zaribugire states that this is a moral issue which cannot be equated with the Christian faith. Hence, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* adherents cannot be saved by keeping and observing rituals. It is often easy, says Zaribugire, to misconstrue what salvation means (Zaribugire, June 7, 1997).

Another *omurangi* said that since she is baptised, she is part and parcel of the Church (Besigomwe, April 13, 1994). Reacting to this, Bishop Ntegyereize made it clear that this is far from the truth. Once a person is baptised, his or her former way of thinking does not change automatically. He listed the labels of salvation which included illumination, union with the divine, peace and justice. On the cross Jesus Christ became both a victim and victimised, even if to varying degrees. On the other side of the spectrum, one example will suffice. The boss kicks the worker, the worker kicks his wife, the wife kicks the child, the child kicks the dog and the dog bites the boss. What changes a human being is a turn to God in repentance (Mark 1:14-15). Turning to God is performed as a result of the divine work through faith in the *lamb of God* (John 1:29-34). Consequently, the believer is commissioned to serve and witness to others in the name of Jesus Christ. Baptism means entering into a new life and becoming a new member of the redeemed family of God. This new family constitutes the Church of Christ.

Other *Bacwezi-Bashomi* followers emphasise and believe that they are not the same as witches, wizards or sorcerers (Karyo, May 5, 1994). They stress that they work against such elements and claim to give antidotes against them (Kagama, September 5, 1996). They give good medicine as opposed to bad medicine (Kemijumbi, November 11, 1996). Their followers, too, have to vow never to handle bad medicine for their own use (Mpiira, November 23, 1996). In working this out, Musana stresses that in this new religious movement, healers are respected and sorcerers are feared (Musana, March 15, 1995). In the religious field of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, healing and exorcism are accompanied by rhythmic dancing, shaking or flogging occasionally interrupted by shoutings which are encouraged by *abarangi* and clapping of hands punctuated with choruses of *Amen* and *Halleluiah* (Atwine, March 25, 1997).

In spite of all these good things, the New Movement is not an extension of the Christian faith. Although some of its practices are also found in the Bible, yet they have no parallel in the Christian faith. They are putting the Bible to new uses in response to their contexts. Instead of, for instance, criticising or ridiculing or precipitous condemnation of this new religious movement or accusing it of unchristian practices, the mainline churches should be involved in fruitful dialogue. The path to fruitful dialogue avoids both extremes while advancing in search not only for truth but for love as well. And if the value of humility is stressed, the churches might even discern in these Movements opportunities to learn and grow in grace and effectiveness in the ministry. Only when borrowing becomes mutual can true encounter take place. A few possible areas may be suggested randomly.

Addressing himself to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, Rwaheru attests that, *Abarangi* are only consistently maintaining the use of traditional and local materials for sacred purposes and functions (Rwaheru, November 11, 1996), now they are deeply upholding their operations (beliefs and practices). Thus, there could be not going back. Kasaja adds that while the Christian churches spend their meagre and often hard earned funds on buying foreign, expensive materials to use at Eucharist and other religious functions, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* followers and leaders of other new religious movements (*owobusobozi* and *abalabikirwa*) insist on local materials (Kasaja, August 8, 1995). The mainline churches might learn much from this (Bukenya, June 25, 1995). It needs to be said at the outset that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, adherents seem to experience a closer proximity with the sacred (as locally defined) than the mainline churches. There is really very little that could be regarded as fancy in the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, yet its religious appeal cannot be underrated on those grounds. As Archdeacon Tumusime observes, it is not because the practitioners of the New Religious Movements cannot afford high quality articles to use. To make his argument more forceful, the Archdeacon stresses that, even if that was the case, their craving for such things would be noticeable but there is no such tendency (Tumusime, May 23, 1995). From this perspective, the *faithful* Christians are exhorted to indigenise the Christian life and Christian practices in the area of worship (liturgy), church vestments, music instruments and architectural church plans and styles.

According to Bishop Shalita, the mainline churches are facing a challenge of slums, unfamiliar places and villages where the poor and the marginalised are found (Shalita, June 3, 1997). It is in these places where they find the most vulnerable members of their churches who are learning to think and live Christianity and who are concurrently the followers of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. At a different

level, but not less significant, Tumusiime points out that the typical experience and mission of the church is not only to put the basic principles of the spiritual life in the mind of the *faithful* Christians but also to bring them to the circles of faith where they can embrace total salvation which God brought for them in and through Jesus Christ (Tumusiime, May 23, 1997; see also Lutahweire, 1978:34-52). It needs to be pointed out that salvation as Christ preached it by his words and deeds, which included above all a healthy relationship with God (union with the divine), equality, justice and peace with one's neighbour, has to be presented without compromise (Zaribugire, June 3, 1997). At the core of this message should be God's concern for all people in all their dimensions of life and situations. In fact, the grassroots people need something to eat but they also need someone to lean on and to believe in. The indigenous people need Jesus Christ not just because he can give them bread (Mark, 6:34-48) but because he can feed their soul. In this respect, the foundation of *faithful* Christian thinking should not only be the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the blood which he shed on the cross but also a right grasp of the unique divine human person of Jesus Christ of Nazareth who was exalted as Lord, who is the final revelation and salvation and who remains the foundation of the Christian living (Busingye, May 23, 1997). In exactly the same way, the *faithful* Christians in Ankole and Kigezi will identify and share with other *Balokole*, *Bazukufu*, Pentecostal preachers, Charismatic and Renewal believers in the ministry of the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and all that it entails (Kahigwa, June 2, 1997; see also Mambo, 1971:11-61).

An informed church historian and missiologist Kabahikyeho forcefully states that an ultimate and more plausible approach of the mainline churches is to acknowledge and contextualize some of the tenets of the indigenous traditional beliefs (Kabahikyeho, September 8, 1995). It is not to call people away from

those beliefs in total towards a more psycho-socio-religious orientation in facing issues of witchcraft and sorcery. On the contrary, it is to claim a broader attitude towards the New Religious Movements. More importantly, the mainline churches in South-Western Uganda have a task to teach and interpret the Gospel message in a way that will help the *faithful* Christians to have a deep and fruitful dialogue with the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* adherents. Furthermore, the *faithful* Christians should faithfully implement the ministries of prayer, anointment, healing and rebuking the evil spirits (Muhumuza, August 21, 1992). However, healing including western medicine must be seen as the provision of God. This is particularly evident with regard to new approaches to health, healing and wholeness.

The way forward of the Anglican Church and the mainline Churches

To be in good spirit is very often a remarkable medicine in helping people to regain their health. The mainline churches must yield slowly to the indigenous healing ministry. Body, soul and spirit belong together. To put it in another way, the healing ministry of the exiled charismatic leader and former Archbishop of Lusaka Emmanuel Milingo who has remained loyal to the Roman Catholic faith in spite of his repeated humiliating summons to Rome in early 1982 needs to be revisited (Haar, 1992). Writing from what he personally experienced, Milingo talks about Christian healing as a war against the powers of evil. He strongly holds that healing is the function of Christianity and he sees Jesus as the source of the healing ministry (Milingo, 1984:9-119).

More significantly, through healing, people know that God is a caring Father, and that He is powerful above all gods. In this context, when people realise who God is through the experience of healing they

turn to Him. In re-stating his position, the researcher is of the opinion that the church should pay heed to the teaching of Jesus Christ and open God's ministry of healing to those ravaged by evil spirits. Another way of expressing this view is to say that the Church should recognise the fears, dangers and actual problems facing the *faithful* Christians. This has a strong bearing on Mufuko's contention which emphasises that this should not be easily explained away as hallucination or superstition but an attempt should be made to understand these underlying fears, what actually causes them, how they are perceived and how they can be resolved (Mufuko, August 24, 1995).

At any rate the irony of the situation is that while the churches are full on Sundays, it may be argued that not much change has taken place in the religious beliefs and practices of those who claim to be baptised. By and large, some of them go to their respective churches and afterwards proceed to their *endaro* (shrines) where they indulge in the new religious movements and particularly the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*. Now, it should be the work of the mainline churches in South-Western Uganda to see that the thirst for God's word is satisfactorily addressed and the hunger for God is thoroughly satisfied.

SUMMARY

Briefly stated then, the problem on hand is that the organised Christianity which was introduced to Uganda was not indigenised and contextualized at its centre. There is a need to determine carefully at what level certain adaptations, dialogue and contextualisation have to be implemented. As a result of indigenisation fruitful dialogue and contextualisation, the New Religious Movements which are not only mushrooming in different parts of the country but also making a reasonable and considerable

impact will not be a threat and a challenge to the mainline churches which held a monopoly of the country since Christianity came to Uganda in the 1870s. On the contrary, they will open new avenues for fruitful dialogue and accommodation.

It is in the face of such a situation that African theologians, church historians, missiologists and pastors are challenged to seek new avenues that will promote fruitful dialogue, contextualisation and serious indigenisation so that the gospel can be carefully and accurately presented in a unified and consistent manner. More forceful is the fact that, if indigenisation, contextualisation and dialogue are entrusted to all believers irrespective of colour, tribe or sex, then, women should be involved in the ministry of adaptation. One thing is clear, to fulfill this, the mainline churches should be encouraged to establish appropriate ways of allowing women to relate the gospel of their fellow women in church ministry and it should be the essential task of the church mission. With this distinction in mind, women should equally participate along with men and should serve as women evangelists, women pastors and women bishops.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION, OBSERVATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the previous chapters of this thesis it was made clear that the rapid influx of some Christians into the New Religious Movements and in particular to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* which mushroomed in Uganda in the early 1960's raised a lot of concern and curiosity.

In one sense this was a disturbing state of affair which led to the carrying out of this research. It was in this context that the researcher first surveyed the history of Ankole and Kigezi before the colonialists came on the scene with their superior technology, new forms of administration and a new legal system. Consequently they transformed the area and Uganda as a whole into a modern, democratic nation that is in a rudimentary stage of industrialisation.

In this milieu the investigation developed in some detail the spread of Christianity and Islam and discovered how the two religions enthusiastically embarked on development projects aimed at catering for the material as well as the spiritual well being of their converts. Throughout the British rule up to the dawn of independence, these projects delivered a variety of benefits to their respective converts. These include schools, hospitals, health care centres and agricultural projects

It is also to be noted that the mainline Churches heavily depended on the good will of the Kings (*abagabe*) and the Chiefs (*abaami or abategyeki*) in their work. Traditional

systems of governance *essentially* took two forms: the traditional democracy for the Bakiga and the *hereditary* rule headed by *Omugabe* (the King) assisted by the *Engazi* (Prime Minister) for the Banyankole.

The new exotic religions, too, instructed the indigenous people in the essentials of the new faiths (Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism) and the true midwife was the missionary who emerged with a foreign faith into a community of poor human rights (of women) and in the heartland of Primal Religious beliefs and practices. A lot could be parroted by the new converts in the form of prayers and creeds on the basis of a knowledge that remained theoretical. Unfortunately, many Christians failed to translate and use the new acquired knowledge in their daily activities. Nevertheless, the cross and the crescent became part and parcel of the religious scene in the area.

It is in the light of this reality that when the inhabitants came into contact with the exotic cultures, changes were activated. Some changes were good but others were not desirable as they took place without prior arrangements and pushed the indigenous societies as it were into disorganised state. However, the challenge posed to the Bakiga and the Banyankole up to now in 1995 is that there is no one outside who will come to reorganise their societies. It is the responsibility of the people of each area to put back in order what was disorganised. During the same period, religious leaders used politics for the propagation of their faith. In exactly the same way, political leaders used religion as a launching pad for their own ends. This was a clear sign that religious

leaders were bracketed together with politicians as important and powerful people and were treated as such.

A failure that was to plague the church throughout the century relates to the fact that Christianity did not hermeneutically use the indigenous idioms and Primal Religious beliefs and practices in worship to express the unchanging faith. The list of particular areas where contextualization was well overdue is long, covering ecclesiastical structures, theological concepts, liturgical symbols, hymnology and prayer forms. Whilst it may be true to say that there are today only a few Bakiga and Banyankole who have not been influenced by Christianity or Islam, it is also true as it was acknowledged in this investigation, that there are some people particularly the old pastors in south-western Uganda who are still adamant to integrated Primal Religious beliefs and practices in their parishes. Therefore, it is no wonder that up to the present time, some Christians go to their *endaro* (traditional shrines) and to *abarangi* (*Bacwezi-Bashomi* mediums) after Friday or Saturday or Sunday religious services. To comprehend the situation, it was at the *endaro* of *Nyabingi and emandwa* that the indigenous Bakiga and Banyankole searched for *Nyamuhanga's* blessings and protection against harm. Following this precedent it is now to the *endaro* of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement mediums* that many people, including Christians now look for advice when their lives are threatened by diseases and misfortunes.

The researcher investigated the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* at a deeper level. He has established that the Movement has succeeded in some measures to integrate some Christian rituals with the Primal religio-cultural beliefs and practices to an extent that some outsiders describe their followers as pagans with Christian coating. Lastly, observations and analysis of the attitude of the Anglican Church to the New Religious Movement and in particular to the *Bachezi-Bashomi* brought the investigation to its conclusion.

Before this study highlights the salient points and make some recommendations it is significant to note that presently the greatest challenger to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* is the *Balokole Revival Movement*, which cuts across national, denominational and other boundaries. It is worth noting, nevertheless, that criticisms of the *Balokole Revival Movement* abound. To begin with, some accuse it of being out of touch with the times. Secondly, others stress that it failed to assist the saved Christians to reinvent their social and religious realities. Thirdly, other speaks of its hyper-emotional tactics. Fourthly others state that its teaching is out of touch with the realities of life. The last group of critics say that its principles are rigid and the decisions made during the *Balokole Revival Movement meetings* are not genuine but emotional and temporary.

In response to the above criticisms the researcher is of the view that since Pentecost, God has been using revivals in spreading Christian renewal throughout the world. Thus,

the *Balokole* can be understood to be within the historical stream of the church life reaching back at least as far as the Keswick meeting of the 1870s in Great Britain. To get out of this impasse, the researcher pointed out that the misuse of a method does not necessarily invalidate the method if it is properly utilised.

Proceeding further, it is significant to point out that missionaries who came to Ankole and Kigezi failed to contextualize and indigenize their teaching. The need to contextualize Christianity cannot be over-emphasised. It is the only way the Christian faith could have been relevant and meaningful to the indigenous people. The missionaries also introduced Christian hymns and tunes, which remained English or Italian or French, and only the words were translated into the indigenous languages. And all this was dropped into a culture in which rhythm is much more important than melody. Dancing, clapping hands and drumming were forbidden (in the church) on the grounds that they were linked to the rejected powers of the past. As if that was not enough, when the Church constitutions were made, they were merely carbon copies of their mother churches in Europe with their headquarters either at Canterbury or Rome. Despite decades of efforts, they totally failed to understand the culture, indigenous songs, oral spirituality and emotional need of their Bakiga and Banyankole converts.

Another point of paramount challenge, which needs to be noted, relates to the place of women in these New Religious Movements and in particular, in the *Bacwezi Bashoni Movement*. To begin with, in the traditional set up, women were entrusted with the task

of hearth and home. In this sense they were beneath men on the social ladder where they experienced extreme hardships, harsh working conditions, break of family life and underdevelopment. And they spent a great deal of their time in the fields cultivating food. It is pertinent to say that married women with their triple setbacks of being poor, female and uneducated were also expected to be submissive and follow the dictates of their husbands. These were some of the realities of Life that woman in South Western Uganda faced.

As far as this study has been able to established, the New Religious Movements and *the Bacwezi-Bashomi* have given women a new platform. Now, they are playing a central role in leadership and this give them power to change and map out their destiny. This is symbolised *par excellence* by the fact that even outside the *Bachwezi-Bashomi Movement* women are taking over hitherto male dominated careers and in some cases doing better than men at their former male dominated areas. The glass ceiling does not exist for them any longer. If they can see through it, they can break through it.

Now, the New Religious Movements and in particular the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, not only stands in solidarity with them but it also elevates their identity, which was formerly attenuated. They have access to prosperity that was formerly exclusively for men. With their creative minds, there is hope of their success in the next millennium. This is, in actual fact, a field that has been neglected in the area of scholarship. Very little has been written by or about these women that would

communicate something of their identity and distinctive spirituality.

On the other side of the spectrum, the researcher investigated the attitude of the missionaries to the Primal Religious belief and practices. He discovered that at first they had negative attitudes and called them *primitive or pagan or heathen or bizarre* practices. But when they read the written works of social anthropologists at the turn of the century, they were influenced by their attitude to the Primal Religious beliefs. The proceedings of social anthropologists gave them a new vocabulary relating to the Primal Religious beliefs and practices.

Secondly, at the turn of the century, they were further influenced by the work of the four missionary conferences which discussed Primal Religions at a deeper level; (a) Edinburgh 1910 which was held in Scotland, (b) Le Zoute 1926 which met in Belgium, (c) Tambram of 1938 which took place in India and (d) the world Council of Churches of 1948 which met in Amsterdam, Netherlands.

On the positive side, they in turn investigated the Primal Religious belief sometimes in jest and sometimes in detail in order that they may present Christian faith as a viable authentic vehicle for salvation. Consequently, these influences and their written work brought not only new concepts and methods into their theological reflection but also new insights as a process demanding changes, interaction and dialogue among cultures. An appraisal of their attitude and the work of indigenous people who followed their

footsteps (indigenous bishops, priests, or pastors) was the concern of this research.

Now, this study submits that things have changed remarkably. Some people in south-western Uganda have moved from the traditional of being *Nyabingi* adherents and *emandwa* worshippers and are now claiming to be full members of the mainline and Pentecostal churches. Conceivably, others are members of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*.

It would be a major omission not to mention that the greatest impact on Bakiga and Banyankole societies was exercised through schools, which served as catalysts of social mobility. The missionaries, indigenous pastors and evangelists used education to assault the oral spirituality of the Primal Religious belief and practices, which would have served as a channel to present the Christian *message of repentance, and reconciliation*.

In essence, education was not only part and parcel of Christianity but was also an autonomous phenomenon inserted in the web of their modern economic, social, political and religious life. This came about as children started to leave their communities and stayed in boarding schools where they were exposed to other cultures social environments and religious practices. In those multi-cultural schools, Anglicanism and Catholicism were given the highest honour, not the Primal Religious beliefs and practices. Consistent with this, the missionary educators stressed the

Western Christian formation and development of the abilities of the pupils into assets in their communities. To put it in another way, through education western knowledge was imparted to prepare the indigenous people to become the future leaders. Concurrent with this were voices which encouraged the indigenous people to shift their attention from indigenous culture to the modern (western) ways of life.

In this respect, schools became a new way of self-elevation economically, socially, politically and religiously, with the new system of appointing only the educated people to high positions in the church and in the colonial government. As a result, power was transferred from those who had it by virtue of their birth (hereditary rulers) to those who, according to the new standard, merited it. This change, however, was not radical because it was only to those who were already in high political offices who afforded to send their children to schools. It also meant that political leaders were not only closely connected with but were also under the influence of the religious leaders who had recommended them for work on completion of their schooling.

Presently, it is pertinent to mention that the Anglican and Catholic churches are faced with the challenge of respecting the traditional healers who overcome the devastating effects of ill health, hazardous social conditions and are the agents of forgiveness. *Abarangi*, now, have registered their Movements and are attending some courses in modern medicine. In order to maintain credibility, they are now re-arranging their medicines into distinctive modes to meet the prevailing community demands). The

researcher also reckons that *abarangi* have set up *endaro* which now serve as healing religious centres where *abafumu* (herb doctors) *abaraguzi* (fortune tellers or future seers), *abagirwa* (indigenous religious leader of the rank a High Priest and *confessors* have taken residences in order to receive the patients and the penitents; and prescribe penance and cleansing ceremonies for their restoration to health. Thus, the mainline churches are challenged to pray to God to raise genuine Christian healers who will be propelled to carry out the work of healing and exorcism as a ministry. The mainline too, should have a positive attitude towards, and conserve the natural environment because most of the indigenous medicine is collected from the forests. Lest there be any misunderstanding, the researcher was impressed by the indisputable traditional (herbal) medicines. The herbal medicines which are collected from forests or from bushes planted in the vicinity of the homesteads are mixed with medicine derived from animals, reptiles or rodents before they are given to the patients as a mixture of drink. Sometimes they are burnt into powder and rubbed over the body.

What remains important is the realisation that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*, which claims to be an alternative to Christianity is not an independent church but only a religious movement. Nevertheless, it has been credited with fastidious attention paid to women in a society, which is still backward. Affirmative measures are taken and the movement has uplifted their standards, which have increased their dignity, self-confidence and pride. Now, they are reluctant to yield to any kind of change that may alter or curtail their powers in society, which expressed for a long time a diminished

sense of juniority. This is arguable true that the movement has given them empowerment and reasons to be alive.

On equally serious note, the third millennium is not a time to shrink from serious dialogue with mutual respect, hermeneutic contextualization and indigenization. On the contrary, when the gospel is preached, taught the discussed diabolically, questions and objections raised will be answered and valuable individuals will understand, contextualise and accommodate the ethos of the new religious movements and in particular the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. The end of the twentieth century affords a unique opportunity to the faithful Christians to celebrate the achievements of African Christianity, lament their missed opportunities and learn from both. All in all, this is a virgin area, which needs in-depth study and research in order to map out a solid agenda for the next Century.

If this is done, there will be a ray of hope, and the light will start to penetrate not only the inky darkness of misunderstanding but also pierce through the dark tunnel of resistance in the current schizoid society. Consequently, though the church in south-western Uganda rises and falls, though the area is christianised and de-Christianised, in the end Jesus' word, crowned with meaningful dialogue shall never fail. This is the picture portrayed in the words of Jesus Christ when he said:

I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it

(Matthew 16:18)

APPENDIX I

DEFINITION OF TERMS.

Prior to the coming of the first missionaries and colonialists to South-Western Uganda, there was no alphabet. The researcher acknowledges the linguistic skills of the first group of missionaries and colonial administrators for putting these local languages into alphabetical form for the first time. In this manner, the researcher uses *Bantu* prefixes (*Bakiga, Mukiga, Rukiga*) because the language spoken in South-west of Uganda follows the Bantu-speaking grammar. Nevertheless the alphabet is just the same as the English alphabet except for 'q' and 'x' which are left out in the Runyankole and Rukiga orthography. However, the prefix *mu* signifies personal singular while *ba* signifies personal plural and *ru* designates the language.

Some illustrations will have to suffice:

- by* - it takes the sound of the vowel added to it. Its pronunciation is like the English *bu* in bureau.
- ng* - When it has an *i* vowel it is pronounced as the English syllable *nge* as in the word hinge.
- ngw* - It is pronounced as one syllable taking the sound of the vowel added to it as in the English word anguish.
- ny* - the syllable becomes complete when a vowel is added and it takes the sound of the vowel which is added e.g *nya* in the English name Bunyan.

The prefix *mu* is plural and *ru* designifies personal singular while *ba* personal plural and *ru* designates the language. Some illustrations will have to suffice:

Bunyoro *Munyoro* *Banyoro* *Runyoro*

Abaraguzi : people who claimed to see beyond the past, present and future.

Abashaho : physicians or doctors and some *Bacwezi-Bashomi* medicinal practitioners are so advanced in their daily services to the community to a degree to qualify to be called doctors.

Amaka : families.

Ancestors : From a Latin verb which means to go before or to proceed in the space and time. Therefore, ancestor is the title given to a person from whom one descends either a father or a mother or a forefather or a foremother but who is dead. An ancestor can be more remote than a grandfather.

Bacwezi-Bashomi : The *Bacwezi* were a pastoral group of people who at one time in history occupied most of the interlacustrine region (the area around the lakes) which covered Western and Central Uganda, the lake province of Tanzania and some part of Rwanda. However, the word *bashomi* as an adjective goes with the noun *Bacwezi* just to qualify its meaning.

Bashomi literally means readers. A combination of two words *Bacwezi-Bashomi* is a synthesis of two major concepts which are characteristic of the movement. It means they are *Bacwezi* who are *abashomi*. In line with the above point, it is reasonable to suppose that the cult is called *Bacwezi-Bashomi* because some of the adherents are church-goers - *abashomi*.

Bakuru bemiryango : heads of the families.

Biheko : One of the traditional god's attribute derived from the verb *kuheka* which literally meaning to carry someone on the back.

Canonization : an act by which the Pope decrees officially that a member of the Catholic Church is inscribed in the book of saints and is venerated in the universal church as a Saint.

In the Anglican Church of Uganda, a Canon is a priest with special duties in a Cathedral.

Kafiir : Arabic word meaning to cover up or to be ungrateful to God *Allah*. Sociologically, it means someone unclean, dirty or immoral. Religiously, it means someone who neither recognises nor acknowledges *Allah*.

Kazoba : One of God's attributes derived from the Sun. Literally it means the one who is light like the sun.

Nyabingi : This is believed to be a spirit of an old woman called *Nyabingi* who is believed to have been rich and after her death her servants started to worship her spirit. Consequently *Nyabingi* became a cult.

Nyamuhanga : Creator or the *Supreme Being* or the master Creator.

Omubandisa (plural - *ababandisa*) : The specialist who leads the worship of and manipulates the *emandwa*.

Omukuru : an elder who is the head of either a family or a lineage or a clan. The word *omukuru* has a leadership connotation. *Abakuru* is the plural of *omukuru*.

Okuterekyerera : Worship which in many cases is accompanied by offering to appease the object of worship.

Oruganda : means an ancestral descent line and *enganda* is the plural form of *oruganda*.

Owobusobozi : is a title which Dosteo Bisaka has claimed for himself. In Runyoro the word means Almighty God. To the faithful Christians Bisaka is blasphemous.

Pagan : is derived from a Latin word meaning a villager. Originally such people were presumed to be uncivilized and untutored in culture and Christianity. The term was imported to Africa by anthropologists, colonialists and missionaries and was applied to describe people judged to be in such a situation. Several misconceptions of the indigenous religious beliefs and practices exist because of books written by foreigners, derogatory terms have been coined in these books and the Bakiga and the Banyankole have inherited some of these wrong terms.

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

Answer ALL the questions as honestly as you can. Tick where necessary. Your identity will be treated as confidential as possible.

SECTION A: PARTICULARS OF THE INFORMANT:

- a) NAME:
- b) AGE
- c) SEX:
- d) OCCUPATION:
- e) MARITAL STATUS:
- f) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION:
- g) RESIDENCE (Village of):
- h) NAME OF SUB-COUNTY:
- i) NAME OF COUNTY:

SECTION B HISTORY OF THE COMING OF EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES AND THE CONSEQUENT RESPONSES OF THE LOCAL PEOPLE:

1. Are you aware of the year when the first European missionaries arrived in your district?
Yes No
2. If yes, ask: When did they arrive and where did they

establish their first station? Year:

Place:

3. When did the people in your area receive the message of Christianity? Year:

4. What was the reaction of the local people to the coming of the missionaries? Co-operation: 1

Resistance 2

Both co-operation and resistance: 3

5. If the answer is (2) how did the Missionaries respond to this resistance?

.....

6. Who led the resistance?

7. Who welcomed the missionaries when they arrived?

The kings and chiefs: 1

The masses: 2

None at all: 3

Kings or chiefs and some of the masses: 4

8. Which of the missionaries arrived here first?

Roman Catholic missionaries: 1

CMS missionaries: 2

Seventh Day Adventists: 3

Pentecostal: 4

Others (Name them): 5

9. Which of the four religious denominations was more

effective than the other in winning converts?

.....

10. What methods did they use in order to win people to their faith?

.....

11. Do you know of the first converts in this area?

Yes: No:

- 12 a) If yes, who were these converts? Chiefs or kings:

..... 1

A few individuals from the masses (Names):

..... 2

13. If answer is (1) mention a few of these kings or chiefs:.....

14. Have you ever heard of the following people?

Muhumuza Yes No

Ntokibiri Yes No

Ndungutse Yes No

15. If yes, were they indigenous rulers?

Yes No

16. Do you know the response of each of them to the first missionaries?

Yes No

17. If yes. What was the response?

18. What role did each of them play in the history of Christianity in your area?

.....
.....

19. What was the people's reaction towards the alien culture of Christianity?

.....

20. Did Christianity in any way conflict with the traditional religion?

.....

21. If yes, in what ways did it conflict with the indigenous
these traditional religious beliefs and practices?

.....
.....

SECTION C: CONVERSION AND THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

22. When were you baptized? (year).....

23. How old were you when you were baptized?.....

24. Are all the members of your family baptised?

Yes No

25. If Yes, were they baptised on individual initiative or
they were baptised when they were young?

.....

26. What was the main motivating factor that accelerated the exercise of conversion in
your area?

The influence of the Kings or chief 1

Influence of education 2

Personal conviction 3

Political influence 4

Influence of the Church teachers (abashomesa) 5

27. In order for the missionaries to spread Christianity more easily, it was imperative to create some intermediaries,

such as lay agents and catechists.

a) How did the missionaries get the first Catechists?

.....

b) From which country, district or region were they recruited?

c) Who were the first Catechists in this area (Names)?

.....

d) In which year did they come to your area?

.....

28. How did the local people respond to the first local Catechists?

29. To what extent were the lay-agents helpful in spreading Christianity in your area?

.....

SECTION D: TRADITIONAL AND MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONALISM

30. Was there any form of religion prior to the coming of the missionaries? Yes

No

31. If the answer is yes, what was this form of religion?

32. Was Nyabingi cult one of the traditional beliefs in your area?
33. Did people in this area believe in it prior to the coming of the missionaries? Yes No
34. Did the people in this area believe in other deities other than Nyabingi prior to the coming of the missionaries? Yes No
35. If yes, which deities did they believe in?

36. What was the significance of these deities in the traditional society?
-
37. When Christianity was introduced, did the converts of this area forsake their traditional religious beliefs?
 Yes No
38. In some parts of your area, some people used to keep strict observance of ancestor worship. Would you please tell me whether this practice used to exist in this area?

39. If it existed, what as far as you know was its significance to the people who practised it?

40. Does this practice still exist in this area now that Christianity has been introduced?
 Yes No
41. Do people in your society offer sacrifices to the departed?
 Yes No
42. What has been the attitude of the Church towards sacrifices to the departed?

43. When the early European missionaries came, what was their impression on the Traditional Religious beliefs and practices?
 Inferior to those of European 1
 Superior to these of Europeans 2
 Just the same as those of Europeans 3
 Europeans were indifferent about the African Culture 4
44. To what extent has the Church and the teaching of Christianity affected people's beliefs and attitude to witchcraft in your area?

45. What is the future of Christianizing African rites if any? Please comment:

46. It is believed that rain-making was one of the recognised activities in the traditional society in some parts of Western Uganda. Would you please tell whether there used to be people called rain-makers in this area?
 Yes No
47. Could you be knowing some of the prominent rain-makers in this area prior to the coming of the missionaries?
 Yes No
48. If respondent answers Yes, ask: Would you please mention some of these rain-makers you know:

49. Is rain-making still being practised in this area?
 Yes No

SECTION E: QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO RELIGIOUS LEADERS.

My Lord Bishops, Deans of the Cathedral and Archdeacons. I know you are very busy, but kindly assist me answer the following:

- (a) Do you have some Abarangi in your Diocese, or Parish?
- (b) If the answer is Yes, do they receive sacraments?
- (c) What is your attitude to them as a Bishop, or Pastor?
- (d) What is the attitude of the Diocese, Parish to the Abarangi?
- (e) What is the future of Abarangi?

- (f) Do you think it would be advisable to have a dialogue with them?
- (g) What is your attitude to their claims that they heal people?
- (h) Any other positive or negative comments on them?

SECTION F: MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

- 50. When did this area receive the first indigenous pastors?
.....
- 51. To what extent was the role of the indigenous pastors helpful in spreading Christianity?
.....
- 52. One of the missionary activities was the establishment of Western education: What were the motives of the missionaries in establishing these schools?
.....
- 53. In your opinion What is the significance of Western education to your society?
.....
- 54. What criticisms would you advance against western education in your society?
.....
- 55. Did you go to school? Yes No
- 56. What type of school did you attend? Mission, private, or government
 - a) Primary

- b) Secondary
- c) Institution(s)

57. Did you study Religious Education in these schools?

Yes No

58. What was its effect on your Christian faith and traditional religious beliefs and practices?

.....

59. State four major values of traditional (informal) educations.

.....

60. State four major values of western education

.....

.....

61. The establishment of the Church as an Institution of worship figures out prominent in the African setting.

Are you satisfied with the present system of worship

which was introduced by the missionaries in the Church?

Yes No

62. If NO, ask: What additions or subtractions would you recommend for the present Church?

.....

If Yes, please state?

.....

63. Balokole in the Protestant Church have helped to

consolidate the theological goal of salvation through mission work. True False

64. If true, how often do the Balokole evangelists come to this area?

65. Do you have any misgivings with the Balokole movement? Yes No

66. If NO, state to what extent you are not happy with their gospel?
.....

67.. Are you aware of the Roman Catholic charismatic or Anglican Renewal? Yes No

68. Has this Renewal movement facilitated the growth of the Church in your area? Yes No

69. Should dancing and drumming be freely harmonised with Christian worship?
.....

70. Do you believe in divination?
.....

71. How has divination been affected by the Church in your society?
.....

72. What is your Church's attitude to driving our demons

which is being practised by the Roman Catholic
Charismatic and Anglican Renewal Movement?

.....
.....

SECTION G: BACWEZI-BASHOMI

73. Who are the Bacwezi-Bashomi?

.....
.....

74. What exactly do they believe in?

.....
.....

75. Does the cult have any other name(s) by which it is
identified? Yes No

76. If so, what is it?

.....

77. Briefly explain how this movement emerged or started?

.....
.....

78. Who started it?

.....

When and where did it start?

.....

79. What exactly led to the emergence of this new movement?

.....
.....

80. How are the members recruited to join the movement?

.....

81. How are the new members initiated?

.....

82. Do other people from other mainline Churches join the movement? Yes No

83. What reasons do the new adherents give for their apostasy?

.....

84. So far how many followers do you think the movement has?

.....
.....

85. In short, what is their teaching on the following:-

Love :

Salvation :

Heaven :

Hell :

Life after death (Resurrection):

.....

Human being and society :

.....

And others :
.....

86. What relation does the cult have with:

a) Roman Catholic Church :
.....

b) Anglican Church of Uganda :
.....

c) Orthodox :
.....

d) Balokole (saved) :
.....

e) Seventh Day Adventists :
.....

f) Islam :
.....

g) African Traditional Religious Belief and Practices:
.....

87. How different is the new movement from the above religions

88. Is there a hierarchy of leadership within the movement?

Yes No

If yes, what role do the leaders play in this new movement?

.....

89. Does the cult have any sacred places of worship?

90. Do you think Bacwezi-Bashomi movement is related to the
 Bacwezi?

91. Do you think Bacwezi-Bashomi movement has a healthy
 relationship with Muhumuza, Ndungutse, and Nyabingi

92. What are the weaknesses of the movement?

93. Do you think this movement has any effect on
 Christianity?
 Yes No
94. If yes, what effect?

95. What is the general attitude of Anglican Church of Uganda
 towards Bacwezi-Bashomi movement in your area?

96. What is the general attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards this movement?

97. What is the general attitude of the Balokole towards the Bacwezi-Bashomi movement?

98. What do Muslims say about the movement?

99. In case of any converts, is it possible to bring them back to their former religions?
 Yes No
100. How can this be done?

101. Can there be any possibility of Christians having a dialogue with the Bacwezi-Bashomi adherents?
 Yes No
102. If possible, in what ways?

103. What attitude does the Government have towards this movement?
104. What positive things that have made the Bacwezi-Bashomi movement survival (religious and political threats) up to now?

105 In your view, what is the future of Abarangi

.....

SECTION G: MARIAN MOVEMENT (Abalabikirwa)

106. Have you heard about Abalabikirwa?

Yes No

107. If YES, do you know the following?

a) Byonzira Monks:

b) Marians:

c) Any other:

108. In which part of Uganda are they found? (refer to 106 above)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Where found</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Year founded</u>
--------------	--------------------	-----------------	---------------------

a)

b)

c)

109. Today, who are the current prominent leaders of each of the above?

<u>Group</u>	<u>Leader/Founder</u>
--------------	-----------------------

a)

b)

c)

110. How do they pray or worship?

.....

111. On which day(s) of the week do they pray/worship?

112. When they meet to pray, what special ceremonies do they perform?

113. Which other celebrations or religious services do they carry out?
114. Do they have buildings where they worship from?
 Yes No
115. What special morals do they emphasise?

116. Do they practice healing ministry?
 Yes No
117. If yes, how do they perform haling ministry?

118. Do they drive out demons?
119. Do they emphasise unity? Yes No
120. If Yes, in which form?
121. Do they predict doom? Yes No
122. If YES, what are their predictions? >

.....
123. Do they offer sacrifice? Yes No

124. If YES, in which form and how?
.....

125. Do their followers abstain from the following?

a) Certain food:

b) Alcohol:

c) Smoking

126. What is their attitude towards the mainline (historical) Churches? Good

Bad

127. Do they suggest any solutions?

128. What is the attitude of the Churches in your region
towards the visionaries? Please explain:
.....

129. Do they attempt to interpret the Bible in their own ways?

Yes No

130. If YES, why? Yes No

131. If NO, why?

132. Do you think government is aware of the presence of
visionaries in your area?

133. If YES, what is the government's reaction towards the
movement?

Please briefly explain:

.....

134. What has been the positive contribution of these Abalabikirwa in your area towards the following?

a) General education of the people?

.....

b) Social welfare of the people:

.....

c) People's spirituality :.....

135. Are the visionaries a threat to the Catholic Church in your community? Yes No

136. If YES, should they be banned? Yes No

137. Do you think abalabikirwa leaders need some theological education? Yes No

138. If YES, why?

139. If NO, why?

SECTION H: OWOBUSOBOZI

140. Have you heard about Owobusobozi? Yes No

141. If YES, when did this organization start and who started it?

.....

142. What is its main teaching? (List at least four)

.....

143. worshipping places?
-
144. What is the attitude of the government to the movement?
.....
145. What is the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church or
Church of Uganda to the Movement?
.....
146. Who are the prominent leaders?
.....
147. What is the future of the movement?
.....
148. What method do they use to get members?
- a) Persuasion:
- b) Educative programmes:
- c) If any other, state:
149. Please suggest any useful sources of information in form
of documentary evidence about any of the Bacwezi-Bashomi, Owobusobozi, and
Abalabikirwa.

District Address

Bacwezi

Source

Place

District

Address

INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS;

(To be filled in after the interview)

150. Degree of co-operation

Bad:

Good:

151. a) Specific Questions and comments raised by the

respondent: .

.....

.....

b) Date interview was carried out:

.....

c) Place:

d) Name of the interviewer:

e) Signature:

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF INFORMANTS

NAME	PLACE	OCCUPATION	AGE	DATE
1. Akankwasa E.(Rev)	Mukono	Student	43	12.11.92
2. Arinaitwe Alex	Nkumbura	NRA Veteran	29	2.1.94
3. Anyongerire Asaph	Kashenshero	Cattle-Keeper	78	12.8.94
4. Atwine Emmanuel	Kabarize	Farmer	59	23.3.97
5. Bagore Isa	Ibanda	Sheik	52	2.4.97
6. Bahiizi (Mrs)	Seseme	Accountant	34	23.8.95
7. Baingana-Muntu	Mbarara	Teacher	44	24.3.97
8. Bakuutana S. (Rev)	Rwakirungura	Pastor	43	15.8.92
9. Baferabusha D.	Mbarara	Architect	41	24.3.97
10. Bbagumirabingi C.	Mwenge	Student	26	8.8.96
11. Bagyenda Pius	Mbarara	Trader	39	23.3.97
12. Bamucwanira Edward	Kabalore	Pastor	41	8.8.95
13. Bamushangire (Rev)	Nyabiteete	Pastor	47	10.10.92
14. Barugahare John	Nyamitanga	Teacher	63	23.3.97
15. Baruhukwa Jane	Rukiga	Farmer	49	5.9.95
16. Baturwaki B. (Rev)	Rwenyangi	Pastor	43	10.10.92
17. Basheija Frank	Bubale	Teacher	29	8.4.94
18. Birija Bernadette	Kabale	Business Woman	40	20.8.96
19. Birungi (Dr)	Kambuga Hosp.	Medical Doctor	50	23.6.94
20. Bishusha Eliya	Kabale	Peasant	84	30.8.95

21.	Bitarabeho Erasmus	Mulago Hosp.	Priest	62	28.12.96
22.	Bonabona T. (Miss)	Kabalore	Secretary	28	21.5.95
23.	Bukenya Rev.Fr.	Makerere Univ.	Priest	32	25.6.95
24.	Busingye Jacinta	Mbarara	Religious Nun	51	23.3.97
25.	Byabazaire Deogratius	Hoima	Bishop	52	15.4.95
26.	Byekwaso Peter	Busimbi	Student	18	9.1.95
27.	Chaluba Gordino	Mbarara	Priest	39	24.3.97
28.	Enyagu George	Mukono	Lecturer	60	15.9.96
29.	Gareeba S. (Rev)	Buyanja T.C	Retired Pastor	82	3.7.92
30.	Kabahikyeho Jack	Kabale	Dean	55	8.9.95
31.	Kabyanga	Kampala	Priest	56	21.10.95
32.	Kabanyoro M. (Miss)	Kabarole	School girl	25	19.4.95
33.	Kachetero B.N.	Kabale	Farmer	57	12.8.95
34.	Kachwezi	Kampala	Farmer	64	28.2.97
35.	Kajumba (Miss)	Kabarole	Trader	21	17.4.95
36.	Kajura Edisa	Rwamucucu	House wife	45	20.8.95
37.	Kakakweba Jolly Mary	Mbarara	Veterinary	40	26.3.97
38.	Kakira (Mrs)	Kabale	Farmer	63	25.5.95
39.	Kakukuubya M.	Mbarara	Housewife	57	26.3.97
40.	Kalema (Mr)	Kalerwe C.U	Evangelist	52	28.5.95
41.	Kemijumbi Jane	Kyeizoba	Peasant	50	11.11.96
42.	Kahoma G.	Kyamukanda	Farmer	48	24.7.92
43.	Karanzire Isameri	Kabale	Farmer	67	12.8.95
44.	Karungi Theopista	Mbarara	Housewife	32	2.4.97

45.	Kabyegira Joseph	Burahya	Teacher	38	25.8.95
46.	Kasaja Yovana	Burahya	Farmer	37	10.8.95
47.	Kasigazi Semu	Kabale	Shopkeeper	82	21.8.95
48.	Kasaza Evelyn	Kabale	Shopkeeper	32	17.6.95
49.	Katarwa D. (Miss)	Kabalore	Shopkeeper	32	17.4.95
50.	Katesigwa Deo	Mbarara	Priest	74	1.4.97
51.	Katuku J. (Mr)	F/Portal	Tailor	34	21.5.95
52.	Katureebe Peter	Igara	Priest	55	20.8.95
53.	Katuromunda Thadeo	Ibanda	Shopkeeper	26	18.6.95
54.	Kemijumbi Jane	Igara	Farmer	50	11.11.96
55.	Kibundaguzi Y. (Mr)	Buyanja T.C.	Carpenter	83	19.6.92
56.	Kifende Mary	Nyabushabi	Peasant	54	20.8.95
57.	Kihigani Y.	Rwamucucu	Peasant	95	8.8.95
58.	Kihumuro Allen(Mrs)	Rwamucucu	Farmer	40	5.8.95
59.	Kikombe Y.	Bukinda	Evangelist	62	8.10.96
60.	Kitabire P. (Mr)	Kibunda	Evangelist	76	3.8.92
61.	Kitende M.W. (Mrs)	Ndorwa	House wife	36	20.8.95
62.	Kizito Bosco	Mpigi	Widower	47	21.9.95
63.	Kizito Eriya	Mpigi	Student	27	21.9.95
64.	Komunda John (Rev)	Rukinda	Pastor	74	10.8.95
65.	Kugonza J. (Mr)	Fort Portal	Farmer	28	15.4.95
66.	Kwatosyo Provia	Kabale	Farmer	56	24.8.95
67.	Kyendikora M.	Mbarara	Teacher	42	27.3.27
68.	Kyeterere Tefero	Mbarara	Teacher	64	21.3.97

69.	Kyomuhendo Concepta	Burahya	Coordinator	32	8.8.95
70.	Kyomuhendo	Omukwenda	Shopkeeper	28	25.6.95
71.	Magezi Omukwenda	Makerere Univ.	Student	34	25.6.95
72.	Makumbi Joseph	Mityana	Omulabikirwa	45	1.9.95
73.	Masiko Edward	Mbarara	Student	18	27.3..93
74.	Masajjage S. Peter	Nakulabye	Coordinator	51	24.8.92
75.	Mampanga Rose	Katebi	Banker	29	27.8.95
76.	Mayanja S. (Fr)	Makerere Univ.	Student	30	25.6.95
77.	Mbahungirehe Stanley	Kabale	Pastor	58	6.8.95
78.	Mbishibishi (Mrs)	Seseme	Secretary	40	3.5.95
79.	Mikekemo P.	Seseme	Pastor	68	10.8.95
80.	Mpiiso E.	Mubende	Priest	50	17.4.95
81.	Mufuko Jureina	Bukinda	Farmer	62	24.8.95
82.	Mugisa Aloysius	Buraya	Mechanic	29	10.8.95
83.	Mugisha Epraim	Kihanga	Pastor	52	11.8.95
84.	Muhanga Z. (Mr)	Buyanja T.C.	Trader	79	27.6.92
85.	Mukasa P.	Nyamitanga	Priest	47	20.3.97
86.	Muhumuza D. (Mr)	Rwakirungura	Lay Leader	28	21.8.92
87.	Muhwezi Dr.	Kisizi Hosp.	Medical Dr.	29	29.12.94
88.	Mukagwego Juliet	Mpigi	Teacher	24	15.10.95
89.	Musana Paddy (Mr)	Makerere Univ.	Lecturer	35	25.6.95
90.	Musimenta Peace	Makerere Univ.	Student	26	6.11.95
91.	Musoke Joseph	Bukanga	Teacher	28	23.8.95
92.	Muwanga G. (Fr)	Mubende	Teacher	32	22.5.95

93.	Mwebesa Domiano	Mbarara	Teacher	60	21.3.97
94.	Mwesigwa F.X.	Kabalore	Farmer	28	18.4.95
95.	Nahimbisa Dorah	Rukungiri	Teacher	30	22.6.94
96.	Nalwadda Nives	Mpigi	Farmer	53	29.9.95
97.	Nakamyia Mary	Katebi	Housewife	30	27.8.95
98.	Nakanwagi D. (Sr)	Makerere Univ.	Student	28	25.6.95
99.	Nakowo Leonia	Mpigi	Farmer	62	8.9.95
100.	Nalumansi Betty	Mpigi	Student	22	18.10.95
101.	Namatovu R.(Sr)	Mubende (NTC)	Student	32	22.4.95
102.	Namusisi Teopista	Wakiso	Farmer	46	8.9.95
103.	Nasuuna Christine	Mpigi	Housewife	34	5.9.95
104.	Nazziwa Josephine	Busiro	Teacher	31	10.8.95
105.	Ndamira Francis(Dr)	Nsambya	Priest	56	21.8.95
106.	Ndimbirwe Semu	Kinyasano	Retired Pastor	92	4.9.94
107.	Ninsiima F.	Kambuga	Nurse	32	10.8.94
108.	Nsubuga Charles	Wakiso	Student	24	19.10.95
109.	Obokech John	Kampala	Priest	45	14.2.95
110.	Ruheza Frank (Rev)	Kabalore	Priest	30	27.8.95
111.	Rurangaranga F.	Katete	Chief	50	3.4.95
112.	Rwabyogamu M.	Farmer	Ibanda	48	4.4.97
113.	Rwakirembe Enock	(Rev)	Priest	40	8.8.95
114.	Safari Moses	Kihiihi	NRM Cadre	32	26.4.94
115.	Serushayo Brunno	Busiro	Student	27	25.8.95
116.	Sewanyana	Mubende	Shop attd.	32	24.4.95

117. Sendegeya	Mityana	Driver	57	30.12.95
118. Ssebuliba Achilles	Mpigi	Priest	42	4.10.95
119. Sekabwa John	Mpigi	Accountant	32	2.9.95
120. Ssekatawa Sylovia	Mpigi	Banker	30	2.9.95
121. Ssali Joseph Mary	Gomba	Student	27	24.9.95
122. Serunkuma Brunno	Bwine	Student	27	25.8.95
123. Ssevume Jane	Namasuba	Secretary	25	19.10.95
124. Sigirenda David	Kyamakanda	Farmer	52	15.8.92
125. Tamale Rev.Fr.	Makindye	Priest	32	1.10.95
126. Tibisasa D.	Kabalore	Nurse	25	21.5.95
127. Tinkasimire T.(Sr)	Makerere Univ.	Lecturer	54	26.5.95
128. Tirwomwe Stephen	Kabale	Lecturer	29	26.5.95
129. Twine M.	Ibanda	Priest	42	4.4.97
130. Tugume G.	Kibunda	Evangelist	40	6.7.91
131. Turinawe Crescent	Mbarara	Farmer	59	1.4.97
132. Tuhirirwe Chris	Makerere Univ.	Lecturer	29	21.8.95
133. Turyasingura S.P.	Mbarara	Priest	72	27.3.97
134. Tumwesigire Sam	Makerere Univ.	Senior Lect.	52	23.3.94
135. Tumwine Tabisa	Mbarara	Farmer	61	27.3.97
136. Walusimbi	Wakiso	Student	19	20.10.95
137. Wantale Fred	Makerere	Pastor	35	28.3.97
138. Yiga Vincent	Mubende	Teacher	55	22.5.95
139. Zangire Omukwenda	Kibito	Farmer	32	30.5.95
140. Zaramba E.	Kabale	Farmer	79	22.8.95
141. Zaribugire Abraham	Kabale	Retired Priest	82	8.9.95

APPENDIX 4

SECTION A: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR ORAL INTERVIEW

NAME.....

SEX.....

OCCUPATION.....AGE.....

SPECIFIC DENOMINATION.....

MARITAL STATUS.....

POSITION IN YOUR CHURCH.....DIOCESE

SECTION B: INTRODUCTION

a) Are you a practising religious person? Tick

Extremely religious..... Very religious.... Religious.....

Not religious..... Not religious at all.....

b) For how many years have you had your religious beliefs?.....

c) Special devotion if anysaved.....

Judo Tadeo.....Legio Maria

SECTION C: FOR CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS

a. Introduction: To which church do you belong?

b. What is the attitude of your church to the new religious movements?

(i) Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement

- (ii) Owobusobozi
- (iii) Abalabikirwa
- c. What means does it use to address the new religious movement?
- d. Who are their leaders in your area?
- e. Do some religious leaders of the mainline churches attend these new religious movements?
- f. In your opinion, what is the future of the above new religious movements?
- g. Add comments or suggestions.....

SECTION D: FOR BACWEZI-BASHOMI, OWOBUSOBOZI AND ABALABIKIRWA LEADERS

- 1. Introduction: To which new religious movement do you belong?
- 2. When did you become a leader?
- 3. What motivated you to join this new religious movement and what is the main teaching (theology) of this organisation?
- 4. In which districts of Uganda do you operate?
- 5. What is your relationship with:
 - (a) The mainline churches?
 - (b) The government?
- 6. In your opinion, what is the future of your organisation?
- 7. Add comments or suggestions.....
.....

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF ORAL SOURCES

1. Baabo, E. (57) is the Archdeacon of Kyamakande church of Uganda Archdeaconry, oral interview held at his home on October,10, 1995.
2. Baharagate (Bishop), Nakulabye, Retired, 75, May 3,1995.
3. Bakyenga, Paul, Mbarara, Bishop, 50, March 25, 1997.
4. Barugahare, Godfrey, a Roman Catholic Seminarian, Ggaba National Seminary, oral interview held at the Seminary on April 7, 1995.
5. Betsimbire, Y. (75) is a retired Anglican Priest (Canon) and a former Archdeacon of Kyamakande Church of Uganda, oral interview held at his home, Nyabitete, June 2, 1992.
6. Birakwate, Charles, (52), Archdeacon Hamurwa, interviewed May 19, 1997.
7. Busingye, Charles, (54), Archdeacon, Kihhi, oral interview held at his parish: Kihhi, May 23, 1997.
8. Byabazaire, Deogratius, (52), Roman Catholic Bishop of Hoima Diocese, oral interview held at his office in Hoima, April 15, 1995.
9. Gonahasa, Lucas: (60), Assistant Bishop, Kampala Diocese, oral Interview at the Cathedral of All Saints Church, Nakasero, 15th February, 1995.
10. Kahigwa, John, (59), Bishop of North Kigezi Diocese, oral interview at Namirembe Guest House, May 23, 1997.

11. Kamanyire Eustace, Rwenzori, Bishop (62), oral interview held at Kabalore Cathedral, May 15, 1995.
12. Kampikaho Justine (49) former trained Anglican evangelist; now Omurangi. Oral Interview on November 30, 1996.
13. Kanyeihamba, George: former Attorney General Televised Press Interview: U.T.V. offices, 14th April, 1995.
14. Karagiro, A., (54), Dean, East Ankole Diocese, interviewed in Mbarara on May 19, 1997.
15. Kimunyu, Adonia (87) a retired Teacher, oral interview, held at Bukinda, December 28, 1996.
16. Kitembo, Michael, (46), oral interview held at his office in Kampala, June 2, 1997.
17. Kusimwa, Emmanuel: A Roman Catholic Priest, Uganda Catholic Secretariat, oral Interview, held at his office at Nsambya, April 11, 1995.
18. Kyamugambi, Erisha, (56), Bishop of East Ankole Diocese, oral interview held at Namirembe Guest House, June 1, 1997.
19. Lule Joseph: A Roman Catholic Priest, active member of Abalabikirwa. oral interview held at his office at Nakulabye April 18, 1995.
20. Magambo, William, (56), Bishop of West Ankole Diocese, oral interview held at Namirembe Guest House, June 2, 1997.
21. Margret Rev. Sr. (26) is currently the spiritual leader of Abarabikirwa in Nakulabye Katende Zone oral interview, August 7, 1995.
22. Masereka, Z. (68), Bishop South Rwenzori Diocese, interviewed at Namirembe Guest House, May 23, 1997.

23. Mugarura-Mutana, Benon: Chaplain, St. Francis Chapel, Makerere University, oral interview, St Francis chapel, Makerere, 11th January, 1995.
24. Muhima, Edward: Rev. Dr. (45), Team Leader African Evangelistic Enterprise (A.E.E), E. Africa, oral interview : A.E.E. offices, 3rd March, 1995.
25. Mpalanyi-Nkoyoyo, Livingstone, Archbishop, Church of Uganda, Bishop Kampala Diocese, sermon St. Francis Chapel - Makerere December 22, 1995; and also June 2 - 3, 1997.
26. Musana, Paddy, (34), Lecturer, Department of Religious Studies, Makerere University, conversations. Departmental office, 15th March, 1995.
27. Mwangire (60) Omurangi, oral interview within Kitagwenda, September 23, 1996.
28. Namara, Sunday, (28) Youth leader, Kiruruma Church of Uganda, oral interview, January 2, 1994.
29. Nankyama, Theodoros: (71), Arch-Bishop (Methopolitan), Uganda Orthodox church, oral interview Orthodox Church Centre, Namungoona, 24th February, 1995.
30. Nkaijanabo, Egidio, is the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kasese, he issued a statement in the visions of the Blessed Virgin Mary in AMECEA Pastoral Institute Ggaba in 1995.
31. Obokech, Catherine: (Mrs). Student, Makerere University, oral interview at Makerere on April 1, 1995.
32. Rukashazya, A., (58), Dean, St. Peters Cathedral-Rugarama, interviewed in Kabale, May 21, 1997.
33. Rukirande, William (65), Bishop interviewed at Namirembe Guest House, June 2, 1997.

34. Ruyendo, Medard: (28), Assistant Lecturer, Department of Religious Studies, Makerere, oral interview held at Makerere, July 14, 1994.
34. Rutiba, E: Rev. Canon, Dr., Associate Professor, Makerere University, Department of Religious Studies, Private conversation held at his office on March 12 and 13 1995.
35. Sharita Ernest, (59) Bishop of Muhabura Diocese, oral interview held at Sseseme Church of Uganda August 29, 1995 and June 2 - 3, 1997.
36. Ssanyu Beatrice: (28), Provincial, Youth Co-ordinator, Church of Uganda, oral interview held at her office at Namirembe, January 18, 1995.
37. Ssekamanya, Matthias (53) Dr, Bishop of Lugazi, Kampala Arch-Diocese, oral interview, Rubaga offices, April 20, 1995.
38. Tumusiime, Fred, (48) Dean, Emmanuel, Cathedral-Kinyasano, interviewed in Rukungiri, May 21, 1997.
39. Wamala, Emmanuel, (69), Cardinal, Arch-Bishop, Uganda Roman Catholic Church, oral interview, Rubaga offices, 6th March, 1994 and December 2, 1996.

APPENDIX 6

A LIST OF BISAKA'S FIRST BAHEREZA TO BE ORDAINED

1. Akugizibwe Francis
2. Barwogeza Bonefansio
3. Bibohere Antonio
4. Bikangaga Charles
5. Buhangamaiso Zowe
6. Byoleko Restetuta
7. Kabagimu Anatolio
8. Kahiigwa Antonio
9. Kaitamyaka Federesi
10. Kiiza David
11. Koroti Sulman
12. Mitooro Teopista
13. Mugisa Krizestomu
14. Naiga Maria Regina
15. Nnagawa Sesiria
16. Nnakibuuka Elizabeth
17. Nnaziwa
18. Nsungwa Specioza
19. Nyanzi Leonard

20. Tereza
21. Tibamwenda John
22. Tibakanya Maria

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 7

LIFE HISTORY AND PARTICULARS OF ABARANGI OR BACWEZI BASHOMI

MEDIUMS

Introduction

The research was generally carried out two Districts of South-Western in Uganda (Mbarara and Kabarole) around Kitagwenda county and in Kicheche sub-county though in different parishes. Most of the respondents were not well conversant with the history of Christianity in the area because they are mostly immigrants. Also, the traditional religions are not known because they were born when Christianity had already influenced the former. From the researcher's findings it can be concluded that many people though members of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* either denied what they actually believe in or do not know what they believe in. However none of them knows how the movement started. Nevertheless, members can be recruited to become abarangi either on ancestral grounds or on personal willingness. But in all cases, it is due to the problems being faced by most people in the area. In most cases, those problems cannot be addressed by either the church or the hospital. Most of the respondents denied having been forbidden from taking Sacraments. Both Protestant and Catholic church leaders in the parishes who were interviewed said that they do not allow such people to get the sacraments because they willingly break the commandments, especially the first commandment. The church leaders also have a list of members who practice apostasy. The children of such people who are old enough are allowed to partake the sacraments.

Politically, there is no opposition to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* or *abarangi*. The major problems which the researcher met during the investigation exercise is that *abarangi* are scattered and one has to walk long distances to contact them. It was also difficult to talk to them because they do not want one to write anything down when discussing with them. A number of people interviewed did not know how the movement started. Nevertheless, many people continue to consult them in connection with complicated diseases. All respondents admitted that the future of the movement is bleak and narrow due to the growing influence of education and the spread of Christianity.

7.1 Kadiidi

Kadiidi of Nyakatokye, Ibanda, believes the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* are Protestants, and that they are so called because they have their cult - *Bacwezi* and still use Bibles both in their cult, ceremonies and in the church. Although these people commonly usually refer to themselves as *Bacwezi-Bashomi*, the Christians call them *abarangi*. They are also known by complicated names and nicknames like *Nyabingi* followers or *ababandwa*. She said that unless she is not a believer, it is hard to understand why they actually believe it. Kadidi joined the cult because complicated things (which she refused to explain) used to happen to her. After sometime, she started helping people and trying to heal them using traditional medicine. She could even bewitch her enemies. However, she stopped killing people because the neighbours would harass her. Now, she treats people with the help of the *Muchwezi* who tells her what they are suffering from and what should be given to them. After administering the medicine, then people give her money, goats or food. A person who is in need of medical treatment for fever and other ailments are referred to hospital.

This lady however, the lady refused to disclose her tools of trade. Although she is a devout Roman Catholic, she said sometimes does not go to church because she can't leave people dying and yet go to pray. She said that many people come to her for different reasons most of them being family problems. Her children get sacraments on their own when they grow up. She does not experience problems with the local authorities as long she has a government license to work as *omurangi* and reports regularly. She feels that the cult will continue side by side with Christianity because of the good things it is doing to people namely healing and solving their problems. She however, admitted that the movement is not growing because of the influence of Christianity, especially Charismatic Pentecostal preachers. For example, in 1995 a big conference was held at Ibanda Parish. Many people including *abarangi* repented of their sins and burnt the items they were using. In the conversation held with *omurangi* Kadiidi, was generally good, but she had little time for a person without enough money.

7.2 Yonia Bangwenyima

Yonia Bangwenyima was born and grew up as a Christian in her pretty village of Ncucumo. She is a widow in her mid-sixties and was surrounded by eight grandchildren who seemingly depend on her.

Along-side her business of *okuranga* she runs a retail shop and sells second-hand clothes. She does her work of *oburangi* mainly at night since she spends the day doing business. She is a Protestant and was baptised in 1938 as an infant. This was during the revival periods when the gospel was spreading like bush fire in Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. All her family members were baptised at infancy. They saw Christianity as an about-turn from

indigenous beliefs, traditional ways of living, backwardness, and ignorance. Many *Balokole* saluted Jesus Christ and accepted him as their Lord and Saviour. Unfortunately, she lives a syncretic life of being a cult leader and church goer. Since most of her work is done in secret and at night, she is able to go to church unhindered! Her clients keep the practices of the movement as top secret, and thus she is able to move on gradually and steadfastly from strength to strength.

The secret for her survival is partly because she is able to assist her clients in all ways possible. If she gives someone medicine for curative purposes and has properly and submissively prayed for it, the person gets healed. If a woman has problems with her husband, she consults her and can resolve the problem. The client must however have faith in the cult leader if the problem is to be dealt with once and for all. Although she has not been able to cure or satisfy the needs of her clients she has done a commendable job in her healing and caring ministry.

Bangwenyima states that her family had no traditional ties with the local deities. All were Christians and believed strongly in life after death. Before she became *omurangi* she lived a humble, active Christian life. This however changed when she was possessed and transformed by *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits and received mystic power of foretelling and healing all infirmities.

In spite of this new way of life, *okuranga*, she states that she has not deserted the church. The power from *the unknown place* filled her and she was forced to do as the voice told her. Like many of her counterparts, the voice gave her some standing orders to follow or else she would die or lose her senses. So, the decision to do the business of *okuranga* was not

entirely hers, but from above. However, she also believes that inciting or inviting the spirit to possess someone who is spirit possessed is a possible alternative.

In addition, a person is able to inherit his or her parents' profession. For instance, it is possible for omurangi to leave her powers and paraphernalia upon death to the husband or children when such a person is willing to cooperate with mysterious powers. Powerful words in this case are used to invoke the spirit, like: "Spirit, spirit, spirit, come and take charge of this vessel, let it do the work according to your commands and direction. Let the harvest be fruitful. May all the opposition to this noble task be overcome with a stronger force. May my spirit take lead and overcome other spirits. Mine will ever be stronger." Then some herbs are administered, some are drunk, others are rubbed on the entire body and skin, others are tied in waists or the clothes and others into their skin. Hence, they begin business and become the vanguard of the new movement.

There are a number of activities done by these practitioners, like healing infirmities, treating women who are barren and administering medicine for conception. Others include palm-reading, predicting the future, reconciling estranged relationships, counselling, preaching love, unity, peace, and restoring of traditional values and cementing societal values. All these enable abarangi to earn money from their clients.

Bangwenyima's future work as omurangi is promising since she concentrates on the curative aspect of the movement which affects all the people and brings people from all walks of life together.

7.3 Mariya Bisiru

Omurangi Mariya Bisiru is 38 years old. She is a second wife, happily married to John Bisiru who is also *omurangi*. She was baptised when she was young in the Anglican Church of Uganda. She said she believes in baptism because if one is not baptised she does not belong to any religious affiliation. She also said that although she does not receive sacraments from the church like holy communion, her children are baptised. Asked what the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* really believe in she said it is hard to explain it to non-believers. On an interesting note, she joined the movement because she found her mother with the *Bacwezi*. As a young girl, she did not mind about them but when she grew up and had problems here and there she had to consult her mother. Her mother told her that her problems which included failure to get a husband could only be solved by *omucwezi*. So she accepted without hesitation. After sometime her mother gave her a white table cloth, Bible, some money, grass and a small table. She accepted to be *omurangi*.

When I asked her why they use white table clothes, she said that they believe the *Bacwezi* are holy and white, she said, is a sign of holiness. The things mentioned above are put in one corner. No-one is allowed to touch the money but the grass has to be replaced now and then. Asked why they use a Bible, she said that she does not know. I however enquired whether they read it, unfortunately, she said that she does not know how to read. According to Bangwenyima, the *Bacwezi* are very clever. They can stop you from doing bad things, for instance drinking or smoking. Generally, Anglican Churches of Uganda followers do not accept the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*. They regard them as *ebyegyengye*. However they do not stop

one from attending church services. Nevertheless, people from different religions including Moslems consult the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*.

Lastly, this respondent pointed out that due to increased frustration among people, the movement will continue to exist as long as people live. He concluded that the influence of the movement that will become less and less due to the growing influence of Christianity.

7.4 Samuel Byanyima

The dialogue with Samuel was very cordial. He did not know the history of the growth of Christianity in his area. He was baptised when he was a baby. The *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits permeated his life when he was still young. Abarangi used to tell him funny things which he himself feared. For instance, they told him to tell his siblings what happened on the day his mother died. She had died when Samuel was only six months old. They could also tell him to inform his brother when they would be having visitors and how they would be entertained.

To him it seems he has many *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits because one spirit speaks to him giving a motherly advice in a woman's voice while another spirit speaks in a man's voice. They used to promise him that they would give him money. He confessed to the researcher that they have controlled the whole of his life. For instance, they told him to marry a second wife and build the present endaro (shire for the spirits). They also stopped him from working on people's plantations and farms and promised to send him people who would give him money. He claims that at the beginning the spirits ordered him to treat people using water, and they were healed. Later, the *Bacwezi* started telling him to use herbs. He accepted.

Subsequently, he started treating different diseases which are not curable in the hospital. When a patient needs hospital care, he sends him to the hospital. The *Bacwezi* also tell him who will visit him and when. They also tell him when his wife will be pregnant, what kind of child she will produce and the name of the baby to be born.

Byanyima went on to say that his *Bacwezi* spirits are not for *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits but *abarangi*. He also calls himself a *Murangi*. He says that he is at par with the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits because they deceive people and practice idolatry. He refers to the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* as *Nyabingi*. He does not know the criteria his *Bacwezi* follow to choose whom they want to be *omurangi*. He thinks that he can not do without them because they threaten that, "If you do not do this or that we are leaving you." He said that he cannot leave them because he cannot now imagine his life without them. So he even doesn't predict their future. He says he is denied the sacraments because he is a polygamist and not because he is *omurangi*.

7.5 Katarina Kagama

Omurangi Katarina Kagama said that she has poor information concerning the history of Christianity in her area. She, however, said that she is a Christian. She was baptised when she was still young. On the issues of *abarangi* she said it is hard to explain what they are and what they believe in. The *abarangi*, she says are not *Bacwezi-Bashomi*. The *Bacwezi-Bashomi* are found with Bibles, small tables and table clothes, crooked spears and many other articles. But the *abarangi* do not have those. They only have *omucwezi* or *Bacwezi* who come either in the form of a dream or vision. She says the *abarangi* are not at par with the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*.

To my surprise Kagama said she is accepted in church. She is entitled to all sacraments. Even her children are not denied the sacraments. On the question of whether people come to her, she said people of all religions and of different social status come to her in her vehicles. Even church and government ministers come to see her. That is why she had to construct a road leading to her place.

She claimed she is capable of solving any type of problem. The *omucwezi* informs her about the cause of the problem and advises her how to go about it. In most cases, she tells them to stay overnight because her *mucwezi* helps her mostly during the night. It usually comes in form of a dream or a vision. The *mucwezi* also tells her what herb to use for different diseases. Some herbs are planted while others are obtained from the bush or forests. Unfortunately, she does not know how the *Bacwezi* spirits come and where they come from because they have not revealed that to her. She stressed that the spirits even stop her from talking to people about the. For instance, during the interview she was commenting from time to that, "The spirits don't not want me to talk about them."

7.6 Kezekiya Katarikawe

Kezekiya refused to talk about the history of Christianity in her area claiming that he is not old enough to know history. However, when asked some questions concerning the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* followers, he said they are people who practice both the traditional religious beliefs and go to the mainline churches.

According to Katarikawe, abarangi foretell mysterious happenings with the help of *Bacwezi* spirits. Different people refer to the *Bacwezi* spirits in different ways such as *Kagoro*, *Mutakirwa*, *Wamara* and *Ndahura*. However, he does not know when and how the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement* emerged. But new members can be recruited and the following are found in their endaro (shrines).

- a) *Omuyozwa* (grass); b) Bible; c) Quran; d) Calabash
- e) White cloth; f) a table.

All these articles are put in the place where omucwezi resides. He doubted the future of the *Bacwezi-Bashomi Movement*. Although people tend to have faith in them when they are confronted with different problems, he says such people are being changed by Christianity and Pentecostal preachers. They are now faced with the problem of being derided by other people, more especially Christians. The respondent was definitely not comfortable. He felt suspicious and wondered what for and where the researcher was taking the information obtained from him. He also asked the researcher not to include his name in the data.

7.7 Jane Kemijumbi

Jane Kemijumbi was born in Nyakasozzi, a famous village which is full of *Bacwezi-Bashomi* mediums. She is a widow and a peasant farmer in her late forties. She was baptised at the age of seventeen in 1955, after many of her family members refused baptism. Apparently, she lives a miserable life as a widow without anyone to assist her in her day to day activities. She has a very strong relationship with the traditionalists and traditional healers. She heavily depends on two sources of income - farming and *okuranga* (sooth-saying). Most of her time is spent not only in *okuranga* but also in the bushes doing a thorough a study of herbs and

shrubs. She has compiled a long list of all the existing medicinal species she makes constant references to the list whenever a client comes. Each shrub and herb is recorded in Runyankore and a price tag is attached to the species. Kemijumbi confesses that immediately after receiving the vision and revelation that she should work as *omurangi* she began her job of *okuranga*. She however, kept going to church during the day and practicing *okuranga* at night. She credits herself as a respected medicine person in Nyakasozi.

Her call to be initiated as *omurangi* was irresistible since it was an order to denounce all her past mistakes and follow the new command from the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* mediums. She could not hesitate. She quickly took up the assignment and started doing the job. She specialised in women's ailments like treating the uterus and all related feminine problems. She could administer abortions and handle cases of those who had aborted and needed treatment. She also cures infertility amongst women enabling them to become pregnant, a treatment which also earned her good reputation and fame.

Furthermore, she is respected in Nyakasozi because her medicine is very efficient and effective. She predicts the future, gives out medicine, herbs and amulets to protect or defend oneself from impending dangers. Students who would like to pass their examinations go to her for consultation. Jane has great interest in children. Most children die young due to *ebihungo* a certain disease in children which makes them lose their senses and become hopeless. In this business, she has been able to raise money for her own use and sustenance. She told the researcher's assistant that she may earn about 20,000/= per month. Other activities include counselling people with various psychological, social, educational,

economical and political questions. Those with broken homes, divorcees, the social misfits, the poor, the neglected, the cheated -all go to her.

Significantly, the future of her work is bright. She gets clients from all other church denominations, including church leaders and even members of the *Revival Movement*. She says that although she didn't like the business she has no alternative since it earns her a living. Furthermore, it is a powerful force which she can not resist. "The cult is here to stay as people still believe in it", she asserted.

7.8 Enock Mugoha

Mr. Enock Mugoha was born in Kitagata-Kagamba. He was born in a Christian family and some members of the family were baptised on individual initiative, others were baptised as infants. He was baptised in 1952 when he was fifteen years old. He grew up, accepted christianity and even served in the church as a lay-reader. In the midst of his church ministry, he confronted family problems. He lost his parents, his wife, five children and some relatives. When he consulted his friends, they told him that the spirits of the departed grand- parents were inflicting this kind of loss on his family. He started wavering in his faith. Consequently, he sought to appease the spirits as a way of finding a solution. This in due course, forced him to leave the church.

On deserting active church membership, more problems came along. He was now living in two worlds: the world of the traditionalists (because he would go at night and offer sacrifices to the living-dead (*okuterekyerera*) at the shrine (*endaro*) and the world of Christianity as he

would go to worship in church in the morning. This double standard eventually presented a problem of conscience and forced him to quit church for his conscience kept haunting him seriously.

In the midst of this confusion, he received severe attacks which left him almost dead. These attacks were like thunder and lightning, but in form of revelations. He was possessed by the evil-spirits. The *Cwezi*-spirit ordered him to go to an isolated place far from his own home area in the mountains of Kyangyenyi. It was here that he started receiving instructions on what to do. He spent there almost a week without food, in isolation except for his master. At night, they would take him far afield, strip him naked, beat him and order him to do certain things, yet he could not realise what these things were. After a week of torture, recruitment and instructions, he was left alone almost mentally disturbed. He was told the cause of all family deaths: that all the spirits of his family members got instructions from the *Cwezi*, commanding him to become *omurangi*. He was cautioned that unless he followed these instructions, he would face death. He responded immediately.

Immediately after training, he started his business of *okuranga*. He was taught how to handle medicinal drugs, predict what is going to happen in the future, heal and cure certain diseases and do other mysterious things as he manipulated his objects. He could even point out a thief or identify culprits using mystical powers. This made him very famous.

He would pick his Bible and quote a verse and used it to tell his followers some mysterious things which were going to happen. He became very popular and rich. He claimed he could

raise money, goats, and cows although he did his business under-ground. He gave drugs to people with stomach-aches, headaches, epilepsy, wounds as well as to spirit possessed people would come to him for consultations.

About his future, as omurangi he confessed that it was doomed as since he was ageing. He was, however, quick to add that the movement would continue because he would leave the spirit to inhabit some other person. So the movement has to move. "It is not static" he concluded.

7.9 P. Muhora

She was born in 1935 and baptised as an infant when she was eight months. Her father was a catechist and all his family members were baptised at infancy. She grew up with her people and later joined Ibanda Teacher Training College. It is believed that Ibanda is a land where the Abatagwenda - a curiculture of Batooro and Banyankole live. They are very tough traditionalists in the area of witchcraft and other black magic operations.

She spent two years in College and when she returned home she started dealing with old traditional medicine men in her village. There was exchange of information between these two parties. She had come with skill and a knowledge of medicine, drugs and other witchcraft paraphernalia. The traditional interplay paved way for her deserting the church. She now left or stopped going to church and could not even listen to her father's advice. While she continued to teach she practised underground with traditional healers, like rain-makers, sorcerers, night-dancers, etc.

She received perpetual revelations, visions. A mighty spirit possessed her. This enabled her to speak things she did not understand. She even uttered names of people she had never seen. Her fellow *barang*i told her that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits were calling her to serve them. For one month, she lost her senses and when she recovered she began her career as *omurangi*. Furthermore, the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits told her to live alone. She did not get married at all. She built her own house and as she had formerly worked with traditional healers, she had a good ground. She, as most *barang*i do, got a Bible, bottles, table, white cloth and a drum plus other paraphernalia. She treats mad people, predicts the future, treats other ailments such as broken bones and other physical diseases and complications. She raises money from clients that visit her, mainly at night. She gives medicine with instructions from the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* spirits. Muhora claims that the spirits themselves tell her what to do.

She says sometimes disappears and goes into the forests for almost three weeks and receives renewed instructions. When she comes back, she has new knowledge on other subjects and can as well prophesy or do other mysterious things. This is how she does her business. She said observed that the process is cumbersome and some people dislike her *okuranga*.

When it came to the future of the cult, she had mixed feelings. As she talked, she said that as long as there is environmental balance, the cult has a great future. When trees are cut down, the spirits have to look for an alternative where they can stay. She asserted that there is a corresponding link between the environment and the spirit world. Furthermore, the growth of the evangelical churches is another major threat facing the *Bacwezi-Bashomi*

Movement since the gospel is against this cult. They preach against them, harass them and burn their objects like drums, tables, clothes and other medicinal herbs kept by the cult leader. Thus, *okuranga* is at logger heads with the *Balokole* and Pentecostal preachers.

7.10 Dezirita Mwangire

The old woman Mwangire said she doesn't know the historical background of Christianity in the area because she came to the place when she was old. At first she had many problems in her marriage. She failed to get children and could sometimes run mad. She consulted persons who failed to solve her problems. She was then referred to some medicine woman in Ibanda. The medicine woman told her that her problems could only be solved if she became *omurangi*. Arrangements were made accordingly.

After meeting the requirements, that is, a small table, a white table cloth to cover it, twisted spear (*empindu*), Bible, some money, *omuyozwa*, a calabash, and monkey's skin, the woman came and commissioned her. The cult was so beneficial to her because she produced and even gave birth to twins. She also produced albinos. People say it is *omucwezi* who produced them. She went on to say that the *Bacwezi* help her to foretell and explain mysterious happenings. It is hard she says to explain what they actually believe in. She also said that she refers to her *Mucwezi* as *Mutakiirwa* because she (the spirit) has done a lot for him, that is to say, a stable family and then earning money from consultations. Nonetheless, she faces a problem of religious opposition to the whole movement at large. Despite that, people of all religious denominations come to her mainly because they are not satisfied with their faith. God has failed to give them immediate answers to their problems. As of now, there is no

harassment by the authorities. When visitors (patients) come, they are reported to the authorities for security purposes.

Lastly, she says that she believes the movement will continue side by side with Christianity because people are not wholly satisfied with the foreign religions (Christianity and Islam). She refused to tell me how the items mentioned above are used, arguing that the articles stop her from telling people.

7.11 Tadeo Ntungwerisho

Tadeo said that he does not know the history of Christianity in the area because he is an immigrant. To him the Bachwezi-Bashomi mediums are possessed by ancestral spirits. In his family, his great-grand-father had *endaro* that was the main reason why he took up the cult *Nyabingi*. He said there are no problems faced by the movement because people have faith in it, particularly those who go to consult them on complicated disease which cannot be cured by prayers or western medicine. Many people face the following: failure to give birth, constant headaches and bewitching. He said there is no hierarchy in leadership but some have got more powers and are stronger than others. So if one has a complicated disease he or she is first sent to someone who is known to be weaker.

Generally, the duty of the movement is to save and to protect the people who are under difficult circumstances. To him, the movement does not attack Christianity, but it is Christianity which has implicated the movement negatively. Within the Catholic church, the problems can easily be solved with church members and leaders. For instance, if you talk

to them they accept your children to receive Sacraments. Anyone who feels he or she is not satisfied with the *abarangi* movement returns to the church and the church receives him or her back. This, to him shows that there can be a dialogue between the church and the cult, especially if the church does not use force or command. Although the government attitude has been positive, Tadeo thinks that the movement will soon come to an end because of the charismatic influence of the *Balokole* preachers. The interview was not generally good because the old man was totally money-oriented and said that if I want more information, I should "join the movement."

7.12 Yakobo Rupopoza

As old as he is Rupopoza said that the *Bacwezi-Bashomi* are people who explain and interpret mysterious happenings, for instance, croaking of the hen at midnight. They treat complicated diseases. However, unlike traditional healers, they use different cults because there are some things they respect. He said that in his family they respect sheep. He got the cult from his grandfather and he will pass it over to the heir. However, some other people can just buy the cult. Although he heals people and people join the cult because of problem of enmity and failure to give birth, he has a problem of being feared by people. He is respected by the church people. There is also the problem of competition from other traditional healers. Also, some people fail to pay for the work done.

Generally, Christians from the Protestant church treat you as an immoral person, but people from other religions are somehow accommodating. He thinks it is because he is a Protestant. He says for the Protestant church even your children may be forbidden from the sacraments

because having the cult is being irreligious. It is a way of life that is contrary to the first commandment. He says if one wants to go back to his former religion the church leaders come and burn the shrine with the consent of the owner. He however, does not think that there can be any dialogue with Christianity because the cult is regarded as immoral.

The *Bacwezi-Bashomi* have survived all the religious threats because of their ability to heal people and give them solutions to their problems. People's faith in the movement is the main reason for its existence to-date. However, because of the influence of education, many people take it to be backward. For instance, none of his sons is willing to take over the cult upon his death. Although the dialogue was very good, the old man wondered to why I wanted the information. He continually commented that, "You are still too young to need to get involved in these things?"

7:13, Yonia Rwaheru

Mrs. Yonia Rwaheru, a practising *murangi*, was born, baptised and brought up in a Christian family in Nyamiyaga, a village punctuated with hills, each hill having a woman *murangi* - both active or retired in the pecuniary lucrative-curative business of sooth saying. Mrs. Rwaheru is married to Thomas Rwaheru. She is aged fifty-two (52), a female peasant, who lives with her four grand-children, husband and daughter-in-law. One of their sons died in incessant wars that were going on in the country.

Her father, Mr. Kamuhanda was baptised a Christian at the age of twenty. Her mother Jailesi Kemijumbi was born of practising Christians. Mrs. Yonia Rwaheru was herself baptised at

For instance, her spirit teaches love, unity, peace and living in a harmonious environment with God. She defends herself that since the cult teaches purity; that is no smoking, drinking or adultery, therefore, they identify with Peter's teaching on Christian purity. This therefore, means that repentance is integrated in their belief which calls forth salvation or else receives punishment in doom or hell. Therefore, the idea of eternity is highly upheld in this cult says Yonia. She said that she strongly believes in life after death. All those who do not repent of their sins are leading to the broad way of hell.

The main activities carried out by Mrs. Rwaheru include sooth-saying (predicting the future of someone or events) palm-reading, telling students in schools or universities whether they will pass examinations or fail them and administering herbs of curative, preventive or defensive quality.

The other important activities include healing people with ailments like headaches, madness, stomach-aches, epilepsy for children and administering medicine to unproductive women in order to help them conceive or become pregnant. Impotent men can also consult her for advice. She says that she is useful in society as far as preventive medicine is as well as curative medicine are concerned. She claims that some diseases like *ebihungu* (early epilepsy in children) has puzzled doctors while she is able to cure it.

For her Mrs. Yonia Rwaheru does not administer destructive herbs which kill or make people mad at all. She does her theology in a scholastic cultural-holistic spiritual dimension. She does not mix up issues since the spirit can punish her for that mistake. Mrs. Yonia Rwaheru

says she is a traditional-cum government-trained birth attendant and earns her living through that trade, coupled with *okuranga* (sooth-saying). She may receive approximately (5,000) five thousand per month. She charges small fees to help the people. She claims that the gift is from God, hence she should not exploit them using God's gift which may be terminated any time.

She told me that the money she collects from her clients enables her to pay her annual tithe in the church; and since she received proper matrimonial vows in church she is able to receive the holy eucharist and fellowship with people of God. She feeds her family and dresses them, though some of her grand-children do not go to school.

There is a strong relationship though amongst the cult, balokole and the churches since these are her greatest clients. She said that a *mulokole's* child can be brought to her, she incises her, administers medicine as well as traditionalists or other church goers.

In a nutshell, the abarangi are facing the future with a fixed determination. She assertively told me that as long as there is God, their future is bright. God is the sustainer of our Movement. She said that 'with God, we will go on expanding.' She highlighted government's support in their crusade and commended it in its training and equipping efforts when it awarded them certificates in traditional cum modern birth attending.

She was optimistic that their cult will grow up and expand as long as there is creation. Creation is never without problems such as diseases, catastrophes, complicated questions in

life, worry, strife, war and despondency. The people will always come to her for counsel, inspiration, love, comfort and healing. In this way her work will continue to be relevant to society.

7.14 Amos Rwakubera

Mzee Amos Rwakubera is aged seventy years is still able to walk and do his day-to-day activities. He is married with two wives, the elder one stays in the village while the younger one lives with Amos in town. He owns a big banana plantation estate and he has cows and other domesticated animals. Some of his sons have made it to Makerere University. He has been able to raise income from his trade (*oburangi*) and also from other riches he owns as mentioned above.

He has been a church prostitute and wavering in faith and moving from Protestant to Seventh-Day Adventist and back to the roots of the African Traditional Culture, then to *Bacwezi-Basomi* cult. Having grown up among traditionalists, he was baptised at twenty-nine years. All members of his family were baptised on individual initiative.

He did business and even owned lorries which commuted to and from cities and villages. He became a popular business man and travelling was his greatest hobby. The travelling made him earn contacts in Bunyaruguru, Ibanda and even Buganda. Three places harbour traditional medicine men, magicians and other cultural and traditional healers. He was continuously in touch with people of this community for most of his life as he travelled quite frequently to these areas.

By the time he was called, he had grown up and was almost experienced in black magic. He said he switched to the practice of *okuranga*. His experience was a rough one. According to him, the traditional gods clashed with the *Cwezi* spirits and engaged in warfare in his body and spirit. Whenever they clashed, he suffocated and suffered both spiritually and physically. The war went on for almost three years, and during this period his relatives faced torture, pain and suffering. Some died. Eventually, he took a step and consulted other mediums. The spirit mediums and the traditional spirits were defeated by the *Cwezi* spirits. At this time he was totally confused and spent almost one month down in an unconscious state. Subsequently until he recovered and became sober again.

After his spiritual and physical healing, he undertook a series of instructional courses from the *Cwezi* spirit. He was conducted around botanical gardens and shown the best medicinal herbs. He also learnt to identify which ones were poisonous and those that could be used for curative purposes. The knowledge and experience he had earned during the pre-conversion to *Cwezi* cult was sometimes borrowed to do his work effectively. He became a famous sooth-sayer and people came from distances to consult him.

He predicted the future of people, could read palms and explain one's fate. He prophesied and at one time performed miracles -like capturing a thief, giving drugs to people who were believed to be dead. Such people resurrected. He had a good knowledge of the deities, like *Ndahura*, *Kagoro*, *Mugasha*, *Kiro*, *Mulindwa*, *Nyabuzana* from Tanzania, *Nyabingi*, *Obushaza* and many others. This interplay of spirits' knowledge and skills earned him excellence in his career. He could earn money from this trade which he invested in his

APPENDIX 8

NAMES OF BACWEZI-BASHOMI MEDIUMS - ABARANGI WHO WERE INTERVIEWED

NAME	PLACE	OCCUPATION	AGE	DATE
1. Bangwenyima Yonia	Kyeizoba	Omurangi	60	2.11.96
2. Baryaihwhwenki P.	Rubirizi	Omurangi	28	27.8.95
3. Besigomwe Yermiya	Kahihi	Omurangi	40	3.4.94
4. Beyanga John	Kihihi	Omurangi	40	23.6.94
5. Birongo A.	Nyakaina	Omurangi	78	17.7.92
6. Birungibiriza	Kiruruma	Omurangi	48	7.4.94
7. Bisiru John	Kitagwenda	Omurangi	71	5.9.96
8. Byanyima Samwiri	Kihihi	Omurangi	64	2.10.96
9. Kagaama	Kitagwenda	Omurangi	63	5.9.96
10. Kapa Kezekia	Kitagwenda	Omurangi	74	2.9.96
11. Karyo Helina	Katete	Omurangi	40	5.5.94
12. Kemijumbi Jane	Kigairoba	Omurangi	48	11.11.96
13. Kimigani Yudesi	Kitagwenda	Omurangi	95	8.8.95
14. Kimiitani P. (Mrs)	Rugongo	Omurangi	39	28.7.92
15. Makoro Y. (Mr)	Rwakirungura	Omurangi	83	15.8.92
16. Mpiira E.	Kyeizoba	Omurangi	51	23.11.96
17. Mugoha Enoch	Kitagata	Omurangi	50	1.11.96
18. Muzora P.	Kyeizoba	Omurangi	60	22.11.96
19. Mwangire	Kitagwenda	Omurangi	60	23.9.96
20. Ngonoka Jovanisi	Nkumbura	Omurangi	43	3.4.94
21. Rwaheru Yonia	Kyeizoba	Omurangi	52	11.11.95

22. Rwakabera Amos	Kyeizoba	Omurangi	78	3.11.96
23. Rwiita K.	Kyeizoba	Omurangi	68	2.11.96
24. Rupopoza	Kicence	Omurangi	80	23.9.96

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APPENDIX 9

THE BIGIRWA OF NYABINGI WHO WERE PERSECUTED

BY THE COLONIAL POWERS

A large number of Nyabingi mediums resisted the colonial rule, (Belgium and German) and therefore were imprisoned in Kigali Rwanda (where so many eventually died). Others were imprisoned in several prisons in Uganda.

1. Rutagirakijuna, and her successors: Kanzanira, Ruhara, Mafene and Ngayabarezi.
2. Nyagahima and his successor Bagamuhunda.
3. Gahu, known also as Gahukeiguru and Nkandaheijuru.
4. Bitura, son of Muhinga who lives at Kagalama, persisted the British rule in 1928 before he fled to Rwanda where he died in prison at Kigali.
5. Bamukonya brother of Banansenzere. He died in prison at Kigali.
6. Kijoro, who lived in Manyagiro in Byumba was imprisoned and died in prison at Kigali.
7. Kinyagiro, a woman from Gisaka. He died in prison at Gitega in Rwanda.
8. Rwanyegamo, who died in prison at Kigali.
9. Kayonde, son of *omugirwa* Bahinyoza. He died in prison at Kigali.
10. Madamu, a woman who lived in Nyanyumba (Belgian Ndorwa).
11. Narame, wife of Bahinyoza
12. Muzungu, from Rubaya (Belgian Ndorwa son of Mugirwa woman-Mugesera. He died in prison at Kigali.
13. Gakwanzi, wife of Gatamboi, she was imprisoned for some time at Astrida (Rwanda).

14. Mbungira, from Kayita Buganza, died in prison at Kigali.
15. Muzungu, son of Ruhuma, from Mukarange (Ndorwa).
16. Muteri of Byumba died at his place.
17. Gitangaza, the wife of Ntengura from English Ndorwa.
18. Nyinebunga, the wife of Ntegura; from English Ndorwa.
19. Nyiranturo, a female mugirwa at Mutara.
20. Nyirabitama, a female mugirwa at Buhambe (Rukiga).
21. Kanyange, a female mugirwa at Nyakenke (Buberuka).
22. Kabuga, omugirwa at Byumba (Rukiga).
23. Henda, omugirwa at Shangasha (Ndorwa).
24. Bahulira, omugirwa at Nungwe (Ndorwa).
25. Kanyandekwe, grandson of Mutereri, lived in Cyumba.
26. Sinamenye, son of Bijumbu who lived in Nyabushabi.
27. Segatwa, omugirwa at Buhambe (Rukiga).
28. Kalame, omugirwa at Rushaki (Ndorwa).
29. Muhumuza, omugirwa from Rwanda, who died in prison in Kampala in 1941.
30. Ntokibiri who was killed by the British at Kabale in 1917.
31. Katuregye and his mother Chandungutse, from the south of Lake Bunyonyi; the former was hit by the British during World War I, while his mother was killed, possibly by the Belgians.

(Source: Turyahikayo-Rugyema, 1983:150-15, but modified by the Researcher.

Turyahikayo quoted it from Father Marcel Pauwels "Le Culte de Nyabingi (Rwanda) Antrops 46:3-4 (1951):356-357).

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