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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, East.

With Plate L.

Roscoe.

Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda. *By the Rev. J. Roscoe,*
Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

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The following account of the deity is the outcome of notes taken at various times from old people and priests during the past sixteen years' residence in Uganda.

Kibuka and his brother Mukasa are the two principal gods of the Baganda; their home was on one of the islands of the Lake Victoria. Legends and traditions which have accumulated for many generations have made them appear superhuman. Most people now believe Kibuka to be a spirit only; but the fresh light thrown upon his history, together with the indisputable fact of his corporeal relics, to which I propose to call the reader's attention, prove the deity to have been a human being. Doubtless his prowess during the past, when the country was in a disturbed state, gave him the renown which later on led to his exaltation and deification. His cult extended to the tribes around Uganda; and it is difficult at present to state whether Kibuka was first known by other tribes or by the Baganda; but from the fact of the relics being preserved in Uganda it would appear that that country was his original home. The relationship between Kibuka and Mukasa, whether twins or born at different periods, still needs investigation, as also do their relationship to their so-called forefathers, Wanema and Wada, and to Bukulu, who is said to have come from the skies. The legend of Kibuka is as follows:—

Kibuka and Mukasa were the sons of Wanema, who was the son of Musisi, and grandson of Bukulu and his wife Wada. Bukulu is said to have come from the great god Katonda who lives in the sky and to have settled upon the islands of the Victoria Nyanza; there he begot three sons—Laba, Wangwa, and Musisi. Musisi, the youngest son, had two children, Wamala and Wanema. Wanema's sons, Mukasa and Kibuka, have been the principal deities of the Baganda, and around them cling many mythological stories.

In the reign of Nakibinge, who is the eleventh king in the list of the Baganda kings, the Banyoro were pressing hard upon the north-west borders of Uganda and the king besought Wanema for assistance; Wanema consented to send Mukasa to help, but King Nakibinge asked for Mukasa's brother Kibuka. To this Wanema assented and Kibuka was sent; when he arrived in Uganda the army was organised and taken to the seat of war and there Kibuka communicated his plans to the troops and gave his instructions for the battle. He then went up into a cloud and took up his position over the contending armies. When the battle commenced Kibuka hurled his weapons upon the Banyoro, and soon they were routed with heavy loss. The Baganda followed up their victory and took many captives, amongst them a woman who was brought into camp by some peasants. This was contrary to the instructions given by Wanema and Kibuka to the army; they were expressly told not to bring captives into the camp lest the secret of Kibuka should be discovered. During the evening the men talked freely before their captive about the battle, and remarked that they could not have beaten the Banyoro without Kibuka's help. During the night when the peasants were asleep, the woman made good her escape, and returned to her own people, and told them who had been fighting for the Baganda, mentioning at the same time Kibuka's place of concealment. When taken before the Banyoro leader she said "that which kills us is from above." The following day the Banyoro determined to fight again, and also to be on their guard against Kibuka. When the battle began Kibuka came sailing over in his cloud, and threw spears upon the Banyoro, but one of the latter was ready for him and shot an arrow into the cloud which struck Kibuka in the chest and mortally wounded him. He flew away to

FIG. 1. SHIELD. STOOL. BELL. SHIELD.
LEOPARD SKIN.

FIG. 2. STOOL, SHOWING BASIN AND BARK-CLOTH
COVER.

FIG. 3.

PHALLUS.

MULONGO.

JAWBONE.

KIBUKA, THE WAR GOD OF THE BAGANDA.

Mbale in the district of Mawokota and alighted upon a tree and died there. The following morning two men, Nakandigira and Lwoma, discovered him by a *mivule* tree and he came to be acknowledged as a deity (*Lubare*).

Another story runs thus : When Kibuka fled wounded he let his shield fall, and the Banyoro found it, and took it with them. However, they fell ill of a kind of plague and many of them died ; therefore, they sent it back to king Nakibinge, who ordered it to be taken to Mbale and to be placed with the body. Nakibinge then sent word to Wanema, on the Island Bukasa, of the fate of Kibuka ; Wanema told the king to have the lower jawbone removed and put into a bag, and also to have a stool made for it. With the jawbone was placed the umbilical cord, Kibuka's shield, bell, and knife ; a temple was built where these sacred objects were placed, and he has since been the god of war of the Baganda.

Another legend says that Nakibinge was also killed when Kibuka was killed, and that his body was never found after the battle with the Banyoro.

Another legend runs thus : Kibuka fled to Mbale, alighted upon a tree, and lay there all night ; the next morning the people saw him, and one of them climbed the tree (*Sezibugo*), but Kibuka fell down from the tree and was killed. The people built a temple (*higwa*) there and appointed four priests to minister in it to Kibuka ; their names are :—

1. Nakatendigira, belonging to the sheep (*Ndiga*) clan.
2. Kituma, belonging to the sheep (*Ndiga*) clan.
3. Luwoma, belonging to the sheep (*Ndiga*) clan.
4. Buvi, belonging to the large fish (*Mamba*) clan.

THE TEMPLE OF KIBUKA AND HIS WORSHIP.

The temple (*higwa*) of Kibuka was situated in the district of Mawokota on the south-west side of the capital of Uganda, and adjoins the large district of Budu. There, at a place, Mbala, near a large tree of the *mivule* kind, a wood which resembles mahogany, the temple has been kept up from the time of King Nakibinge, who lived over 300 years ago ; he is the eleventh king in the list of twenty-seven kings usually given by the Baganda. The temple, as all the temples have always been in Uganda, was a huge conical-shaped hut ; many of these temples were 80 feet high to the apex, and fully 100 feet in diameter. They are enclosed in tall fences made of reeds, and have only one entrance, which is always guarded. The temples are sacred, only the high priest (*Mandwa*) is allowed to enter them. Scented grass carpets the floor and a wall of reeds forms a second chamber in the temple, which is most sacred, and there the deity resides. When the priest enters the temple he wears a special dress of barkcloth, and when he is the power of the deity he becomes frenzied and speaks in tones not his own, using many obsolete words, so that it is difficult even for his brother priests to understand what he is saying. One priest is the medium (*Mandwa*), and the others are ordinary priests (*bakabona*). These latter men listen to what the medium says, and they must repeat what he said after the frenzy is passed, because he may utter words of warning to himself during his frenzy, when the deity is said to be incarnate in him and to use him as his mouthpiece.

Kibuka was always consulted by the kings when they wished to make war on the adjacent tribes, as well as for other matters ; for instance, when disease or any calamity threatened them. In the punitive expeditions the deity was represented by one or other of the priests, who carried fetiches from the temple. The priest always kept near the general of the army, and placed the fetiches near his hut when he encamped.

Only the wealthier people could consult Kibuka on private affairs, his consultation fees were too high for the poorer classes. He required a cow or several goats, and beer when the person enquired of him, and another fee when the boon asked for had been conferred.

When the civil wars broke out in Uganda in 1887-90 the Mohammedan population, having gained the ascendancy for a time, tried to destroy the old temples and other historical places. The temple of Kibuka was burned down, and the deity was supposed to have been burned too. After months of careful search it was discovered that Kibuka had been buried by one of his priests, and in this way the relics were preserved. It was difficult to induce the man to part with the god, personal fear, as well as the dread of being discovered selling what was still looked upon by many as a real deity, made him hesitate. Upon being assured that no indignity would ever happen to the deity, that he would be housed, and would be kept in safety, and also that no one should ever know who it was who had parted with the god, the man began to consider the question; he was very much pressed by debt, and at length, after naming what seemed to him a great sum, he consented to come to terms. He stipulated that the deity should not be examined in the country, that the bearer of him should not come to the Capital by the direct road, but go a roundabout way, travelling early in the morning, or late in the evening, so as not to attract the attention of the people. The bearer carried out his instructions and wrapped the god in barkcloths and mats to

FIG. 1.—KIBUKA'S KNIFE AND BELL.

FIG. 2.—KIBUKA'S SMALL SHIELD.

look like the usual bundle of a man on a journey; he took a circuitous route, spent a month on the journey, and arrived at the Capital late one night. The bearer seemed afraid, and fled directly he had deposited the bundle, requesting it might not be opened, and that Kibuka might be taken out of the country as soon as possible. His request was complied with, and the bundle containing Kibuka's remains was sent unopened to England and deposited in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge. There the bundle was left in the museum awaiting inspection until June 1907, when the result of the purchase fully justified the faith reposed in the priest. The contents of the bundle

are as follows :—A leopard skin, a stool with a hollowed seat (containing the personal relics of Kibuka, to be described later on) the twin* (*mulongo*), knife, and two shields ; the leopard skin forms the mat upon which the other articles stand. The leopard being a royal animal, together with the lion, the skin is used as being the most suitable for the deity to rest upon. The smaller of the two shields is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 7 inches wide ; it has a small boss in the centre. Both shields are of the usual kind used by the Baganda, made of wood running to a point top and bottom ; on the face of the small one there is a kind of plaited work of cane, stitched on to the wood, and the handle on the inside is of cane. The larger shield is $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and

FIG. 3.—KIBUKA'S LARGE SHIELD.

9 inches wide ; it has two bosses on the face in the centre, and, in addition to the plaited work of cane, it has a row of cowrie shells running round the edge, and a ring encircling the two bosses, and two lines of cowrie shells which run diagonally from the centre to the outer edge. To the centre of the large shield an iron bell is attached, it is 2 inches long and 2 inches in diameter with an iron ring to

suspend it, to which the tongue is attached. The bell is made of a flat piece of iron bent over, and the sides are welded together ; at the upper end two holes are punched, through which the ring for the tongue runs. The knife is also of iron, 9 inches long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide ; it has a rib or ridge running down the centre ; on either side of the rib are markings, apparently done with the corner of a chisel, for decorative purposes. The wooden handle is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and the knife is $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches long in all.

The twin (*mulongo*), as it is called, is egg-shaped ; it is encased in leather which is decorated with cowrie shells and the oldest known kind of glass beads ; most of these beads are pale blue, but one or two of apparently later date are yellow ; it has a leather strap for carrying it. The so-called twin has played an important part in Buganda customs from the earliest times. There are ceremonies performed at birth in connection with it,

FIG. 4.—GOATSKIN BAG FOR HOLDING RELICS OF KIBUKA.

and all through life even the ordinary person has to retain his twin (*mulongo*). The twin (*mulongo*) is, as I have said, a bit of the umbilical cord which remains attached to the newly-born child ; when it drops off it is wrapped up in barkcloth after having been rubbed with butter. This cord seems to be to the afterbirth what the lower jaw-

* The Mulongo. The Baganda believe that each child is born with its "double," that is, they think that the after-birth is a second child, and that it has a ghost which needs to be retained in connection with the living child in order to keep it healthy. For this reason the bit of umbilical cord which remains attached to the child at birth is retained when it falls ; this is preserved and called the twin (*mulongo*).

bone is to the person to whom it belonged ; that is, the ghost of the person attaches itself to the jawbone after death, and the ghost of the afterbirth attaches itself to the bit of cord. Every person is born with a double, viz., the afterbirth which has its ghost, and the umbilical cord in some way connects the ghost of the afterbirth with the living child. The afterbirth is wrapped up in plantain leaves and buried at the root of a plantain tree by the child's mother. If the child be a boy the tree chosen is the kind of which the fruit is used for making beer ; if a girl the tree is the plantain and must be one of the kind of which the fruit is eaten. The afterbirth is buried at the root of the tree and protected against wild beasts, and from that time the tree is sacred until the fruit has ripened and been used. Only the father's mother may come near it and dig about it ; a rope made from plantain fibre is tied from tree to tree to encircle the sacred one, and forms a barrier to keep anyone from approaching it. All the secretions from the child are thrown at the root of the tree by the mother ; when the fruit is ripe the father's mother cuts it and makes it into beer or cooks it, according to the sex of the child. The relatives of the father's clan then come and partake of the sacred feast. After the meal the father must go in to his wife, for should he neglect to do so, and should some other member of the clan have sexual relations with his own wife first, the child's spirit will leave it and go into the other woman. The naming of a child among the Baganda is a ceremony for legalising the child, that is of proving if it is really the child of the woman's husband. At the ceremony the bit of umbilical cord (the so-called twin) is brought out and dropped into a bowl containing a mixture of beer, milk, and water ; if the cord floats the child is legitimate and the clan accept it as a member ; should the cord sink the child is disowned by the clan and the woman is punished for adultery. The cord is either preserved by the clan or buried at the roots of the plantain tree with the afterbirth.

In the case of princes the cord is carefully preserved, and the fortunate prince who becomes king has the cord decorated and made into a twin (*mulongo*) as described above. This is handed to the Kimbugwe's care, who is one of the most important chiefs in the country. Each month, directly after the new moon appears, the Kimbugwe has to bring the "twin" and carry it wrapped in barkcloths to the king, who holds it for a moment or two and then hands it back to the Kimbugwe. It is carried in state to the Kimbugwe's enclosure, drums are beaten in the procession, and the twin is honoured as a king. When it is returned to its house it is not put inside, but is placed by the door and guarded all night ; next morning Kimbugwe comes and rubs butter on it and restores it to its usual place inside the temple or hut. When the king dies his lower jawbone is removed, and, after a lengthy ceremony of cleansing and purification, it is stitched up in a leather case, decorated with cowrie shells, and placed on a stool. The ghost of the king attaches itself to the jawbone, whilst the ghost of the afterbirth requires the umbilical cord ; these two must always be kept together to fulfil the requirements of the ghosts after the death of the king.

We now turn to Kibuka's stool and to the deity himself. The stool is 9 inches high, and the base is 12 inches in diameter ; instead of a seat there is a basin 8 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep ; on this basin the relics were placed. The whole stool is carved out of solid wood. The supports of the basin (the legs of the stool) consist of four quadrangular pillars. A bag in which the relics are kept is made of goatskin, taken whole from the animal, and dressed with the hair on it. The actual relics of Kibuka comprise, first, a lower jawbone which is stitched in a leather case, drawn tightly over the bone, and showing the shape of it. On the upper side the case is decorated with cowrie shells and copper beads ; there are twelve rows of shells and beads ; apparently no order is followed in the decorations, for while in some places there are two shells and a bead, in others the shells and beads are alternated. With the jawbone are two smaller leathern cases containing the genital organs ; each

case is decorated with shells and beads. The bag in which these are placed is tied with string made from the fibre of aloes, and placed in the basin on the stool. Round the side of the basin barkcloth is wrapped and secured by six rows of cowrie shells ; this barkcloth forms a cover to the leather bag ; it runs to a peak and is fastened with string. The whole stool with its contents stands 22 inches high. J. ROSCOE.

Folklore. Frazer.

Not to seethe a Kid in its Mother's Milk. *By J. G. Frazer.* 96

In a volume of *Anthropological Essays* recently published by pupils and admirers of Professor E. B. Tylor, I proposed an explanation of the above rule based on the existing objection of African tribes to boil the milk of their cattle. The explanation was suggested by information verbally given to me by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe as to the theory and practice of Central African tribes in regard to milk, and it was confirmed by evidence which I had extracted long ago from older works on Africa, particularly the books of Th. Winterbottom and the explorer J. A. Grant. I thought that the explanation was novel, but since publishing it I find that I have been anticipated by my friend, M. Marcel Mauss, who had briefly but clearly given the same explanation in a review of two recent books on the Masai by Messrs. Merker and Hollis (*L'Année Sociologique*, IX. (1906), p. 190). Thus if our explanation of the rule deserves to rank as a discovery, the priority of the discovery certainly belongs not to me but to M. Mauss. This is the second time of late that views of mine, which I supposed to be novel, have been anticipated by my French friend and fellow-worker. While on my side these anticipations only serve to raise my opinion of M. Mauss's learning and acumen, I am happy to know that on his side they make no difference in his friendly relations to me. I am sending a similar communication to *The Athenæum*, and I propose to insert a note to the same effect in the printed report of a paper which I had lately the honour of reading to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres at Paris. J. G. FRAZER.

Australia. Mathews.

Note on the Social Organisation of the Turrubul and adjacent Tribes. *By R. H. Mathews.* 97

In an article contributed to the Royal Society of New South Wales in June 1898, dealing with various tribes in the Australian States, I made a short reference to the Kittabool tribe, occupying the country on the head waters of the Clarence and Richmond rivers in New South Wales, and extending over the dividing range to the sources of the Logan river in Queensland.* On the present occasion I desire to report that the same organisation was in force among the Turrubul tribe, whose country reached from the Logan river to Moreton Bay and Pine river, including Beenleigh, Ipswich, Brisbane, and other places. The following is a copy of the table published in 1898, with the addition of the names of the cycles or phratries, Deejee and Karpeun. The feminines of each of the section names has the suffix *gun*, which I have omitted :—

TABLE I.

CYCLE.		WIFE.	HUSBAND.	OFFSPRING.
Karpeun	{	Barrang	- Terwain	- Banjoor.
		Banjoor	- Bunda	- Barrang.
Deejee -	{	Terwain	- Barrang	- Bunda.
		Bunda	- Banjoor	- Terwain.

* *Journ. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales*, Vol. XXXII., p. 82.