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Ph.D. 1969

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THE EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF
THE KINGDOM OF NKORE IN WESTERN
UGANDA, c.1500 - 1896.

by

Samwiri Karugire

Thesis presented for the
degree of Ph.D. at the
University of London.

School of Oriental and
African Studies

1969.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In an undertaking of this nature, it is virtually impossible to enumerate all the help one gets from individuals and institutions. My gratitude is due to the Rockefeller Foundation whose generous grant enabled me to carry out the research for this project both in London and in Uganda between 1966 and 1969, and to those officers of the Foundation who were my advisers, for attending to my endless stream of inquiries promptly and sympathetically. I am indebted to Professor Oliver, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, whose constant interest in my work and helpful suggestions were a source of great encouragement throughout the collection and the compilation of this material.

My gratitude is further due to all my informants in Ankole, Kigezi and Karagwe, not only for giving me the information I sought, but also for their hospitality to me. I am also grateful to various government officials in Ankole - in particular to Messrs Athio, then the District Commissioner, Kasapuri, then County Chief of Isingiro, Banga and Rwakanuma, then County Chiefs of Bunyaruguru and Igara respectively - and several others who made my trips in various parts of Ankole a success. I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. Buggingo, then the Education Officer of Kigezi, who allowed me the
use of his house in Mbarara, which house was my base and who also saw to other matters related to my material comfort; to Mr. F. Kasiragi, B.Sc., then of Ntare School, who helped me in a variety of ways while I stayed in Mbarara; Drs. Michael Twaddle and Matia Kiwanuka who always found time to discuss my research problems with me whenever I visited Makerere; to Mr. W. Karooga, then a student of Ntare School, for the original drawing of the maps and to Mr. Kasuge-Sherurah, B.Sc. (Eng.), then of Hertford College, Oxford, for farther help with the maps and also for his substantial help with the Chronology section of this study. Finally, my gratitude is also due to all those personal friends who gave me assistance in various fields.
The traditional kingdom of Nkore, in western Uganda, came into existence around the beginning of the 16th century and this study is an attempt to trace its political history, on the basis of traditional accounts, up to the coming of the Europeans during the last decade of the 19th century. But this study is not exclusively historical or political. Religious beliefs and practices, clan organisation and other non-political aspects of Nkore society are examined in varying degrees. From these and from other sources, it appears that Nkore had become a viable kingdom by the beginning of the 18th century, largely as a result of the efforts of her kings. From about that period, however, the kingdom went through a troubled period due to the rivalry of the princes for the throne and an examination of the system of succession indicates that the system itself was largely responsible for this period of instability. The last two reigns covered by this study (from about 1830 to 1895) saw an aggressive and expansionist Nkore, but this trend was brought to an abrupt halt by a rapid succession of human and animal epidemics, which weakened and demoralised the population, and then by the untimely death of the Mugabe Ntare V in 1895. Just when it appeared that the kingdom would not hold together in the face of these
unsettling events, the vanguard of the colonial administration arrived and the course of Nkore history was shaped along radically different lines and in the wider context of a Uganda protectorate of which Nkore kingdom, henceforth to be called Ankole, was a part.
**TABLE A: GENEALOGICAL LIST OF THE BAHINDA DYNASTY (according to Katate and Kamugungunu)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruhinda</th>
<th>NKuba</th>
<th>Nyaka</th>
<th>Nyabugaro-Bwera (NTARE 1)</th>
<th>Rushango</th>
<th>Kagwejegyerera-Mishango (NTARE 11)</th>
<th>Rugamba N’amaju (NTARE 111)</th>
<th>Kasasira</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitera</td>
<td>Rumongye</td>
<td>MIRINDI</td>
<td>NTARE-Kitabanyoro (NTARE 1V)</td>
<td>Macwa</td>
<td>Rukongyi  Karara  Karaga  Kaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakashaija</td>
<td>Bwarenga</td>
<td>Fwebishengye</td>
<td>Gasyonga 1</td>
<td>Mutambuka</td>
<td>Rukongyi  Makumbi Mukwenda Muhikira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayungu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nyamihondo Rukongyi NTare V Igumira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. This list was confirmed by information collected during field interviews. The present writer excludes Rwanga,
NOTES contd.

Mukwenda and Kahitsi from the list of the Abagabe for reasons explained in the text. The two authors list them as such.

2. In the case of contested successions the order of accession is from left to right.

3. The list of Mutambuka's children is given to make the succession war after his death (see Ch. V) more intelligible. None of them became a Mugabe.
**TABLE B: LIST OF NKORE KINGS (according to Roscoe)\(^1\)**

(a) List of "early kings".\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isimbwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ndahura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ruhinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nkubayazurama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Owanyira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rugambanamazu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nyabugaroro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kasasira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rumongi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nkubayarurama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) List of Ankole kings obtained on a "recent visit".\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nyamhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rugaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Isimbwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ndahura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ruhinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nkubayarurama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nyeika or Owanyira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rugamba na Mazu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nyabugaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kasasira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rumongi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Macwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Macwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mirindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mirindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ntare Kita Banyoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ntare Kita Banyoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ntare Kita Banyoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ntare Kita Banyoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ntare Kita Banyoro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE C: LIST OF THE "ABAGABE" (according to Gorju)**

1. Ruhinda
2. Muganga
3. Mulindi
4. Rugamba namazu or Ntare Kagwezegyera
5. Lumonge
6. Ntare Kiyita Banyoro
7. Macwa
8. Kahaya 1
9. Lwebisenge Lwazi
10. Gasiyonga
11. Mutambuko
12. Kahaya 11

**NOTES: TABLES B AND C**

2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. Ibid., p. 35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUGANDA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kimera</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1420-1447; +60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tembo</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1447-1474; +58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigala</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1474-1501; +56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiyimba</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1501-1528; +54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayima</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1528-1555; +52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakibinge</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1555-1582; +50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulondo, Jemba, Suna l</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td>1582-1609; +48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekamanya, Kimbugwe</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1609-1636; +46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katerega</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1636-1663; +44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutebi, Juko, Kayemba</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1663-1690; +42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tebandeke, Ndaula</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1690-1717; +40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagula, Kikulwe, Mawanda</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1717-1744; +38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwanga l, Namugala, Kyabagu</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1744-1771; +36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junju, Semakokiro</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1771-1798; +34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamanya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1798-1825; +32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suna l</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1825-1852; +30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutesa l (died 1884)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1852-1879; +28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ruhinda</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nkuba</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nyaïka</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyabugaro (Ntare 1)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rushango</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ntare 11</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ntare 111</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kasasira</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitera, Rumongye</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mirindi</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ntare IV</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Macwa</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwabirere, Karara, Karaiga, Kahaya 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakashaija, Bwarenga, Rwebishengye</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayungu, Gasyonga 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mutambuka</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ntare V (died 1895)</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KEY TO TABLE E:


Reigns for Nkore according to the present writer.

C. Calculations by Oliver and accepted by Kiwanuka for Buganda.

Calculations by Oliver for Nkore.

D. Calculations by the present writer for Nkore.
LIST OF BUNYORO KINGS ACCORDING TO NYAKATURA (to be read in conjunction with Table E for Buganda and Nkore).

1. Mpuga Rukidi (said to be a contemporary of Buganda's Kimera
2. Ocaki 1.
3. Oyo 1.
5. Olimi 1. (said to be a contemporary of Nakibinge and Nyabugaro, both of whom were invaded by the Bunyoro armies led by Olimi himself - see ch. III
7. Winyi 11.
8. Olimi 11.
10. Cwa 1 - said to be a contemporary of Nkore's Ntare IV against whom he fought.
11. Masamba (a woman regent).
13. Winyi 111.
15. Kyebambe 11, Bikaju.
17. Duhaga 1.
18. Olimi IV, Kasoma.
21. Olimi V.

22. Kyembambe IV, Kamurasi.

23. Cwa II, Kabarega (a contemporary of Muambuka and Ntare V).

24. Kitahimbwa.

25. Duhaga II.

### TABLE F: CONTESTED SUCCESSIONS IN PRE-COLONIAL NKORE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF PRINCE</th>
<th>MOTHER</th>
<th>MOTHER'S CLAN</th>
<th>FATHER</th>
<th>PERIOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitera</td>
<td>Nyabahutu</td>
<td>Baitira</td>
<td>Kasasira</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumongye</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karara</td>
<td>Kashegyesho</td>
<td>Baitenwa</td>
<td>Macwa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaiga²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahaya¹</td>
<td>Nkazi</td>
<td>Bashambo³</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakashaija</td>
<td>Bayambuka</td>
<td>Batwa</td>
<td>Kahaya 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bwarenga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwebishengye</td>
<td>Nyinabahinda Bene Rukaari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayungu</td>
<td>Bagande</td>
<td>Bene Ishemurari Rwebishengye</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasyonga¹</td>
<td>Bukundu</td>
<td>Bagahé</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukongyi</td>
<td>Kangabo</td>
<td>Baishikatwa</td>
<td>Mutambuka</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makumbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkuranga</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukwenda</td>
<td>Nyakairu</td>
<td>Bene Rukaari</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhikira</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntare V</td>
<td>Kibooga</td>
<td>Babito</td>
<td>Bacwa ⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The periods refer to the three divisions in which this study is divided.

2. Karaiga murdered Karara in cold blood. It was not therefore a succession war.

3. Nkazi was a daughter of Kahaya of Mpororo and at that time the royal clan of Mpororo had not subdivided into subclans.

4. For the parentage of Ntare V see chapter V. It appears fairly certain that Ntare was not Mutambuka's son but his grandson.
TABLE G: EMITWE DEPLOYMENT ON BORDERS DURING THE REIGNS OF
MUTAMBUKA AND NTARE V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Omutwe</th>
<th>Name of leader</th>
<th>Area of residence and border guarded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ebijugo 1</td>
<td>Mbaihererwa</td>
<td>Buraga: to guard against Buganda attack through Kooki-Buraga being the Kinyankore name for Kooki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bwera: deployed against Buganda attack through Mawogola.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebijugo 11</td>
<td>Macumu</td>
<td>Nshaara: also against Buganda and also to act as a bridge between the other two sections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebijugo 111</td>
<td>Rwakajogo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NTARE V:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enyana</th>
<th>Matsiko</th>
<th>Butaka: against Buganda’s raids through Mawogola</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enkaranga</td>
<td>Ryamugwizi</td>
<td>Rushozi: Buganda’s attacks through the general direction of Kabula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abajojo</td>
<td>Baineobuzare</td>
<td>Nshaara: Buganda’s raids through Kooki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abatahunga 1</td>
<td>Kijooma</td>
<td>Kikyenkye: Bunyoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abatahunga 11</td>
<td>Rugumayo</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:

1. Ebijugo was Mutambuka’s personal Mutwe when he was still a prince, which he expanded greatly after coming to the throne. Its overall leader was Bwisho during the reign of Mutambuka. The latter was very much preoccupied with Buganda, whose raids he had fought off as a prince and then as the Omugabe.

2. Those Mitwe posted at the border with Bunyoro were mainly to raid Bunyoro and not to fight off her raids for reasons explained in the text. Note also that, besides the Emitwe
NOTES TABLE G contd.

listed above, there were others, whose regions were adjacent and which could be called upon to support a harassed border. Neither of the two rulers made any provision against Rwanda because of the general assumption that by the time Rwanda troops made the crossing through Mpororo, Nkore would have been alerted to the impending attack.
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PREFACE

The awareness that traditional history was history did not dawn on me until my last year as an undergraduate at Makerere College (Uganda), before which time I had the haziest of ideas and no more than a passing interest sporadically evoked by casual conversations about it. By that time I could passably discuss several events in European history and had formed some opinions about such large historical figures as Metternich, Bismarck and Gladstone, the only statesman for whom I acquired a lasting admiration and since only equalled by that I have for Eyreere of Tanzania. But I knew almost nothing about the history of pre-colonial Africa. Neither at school, nor at Nairobi and Makerere Colleges, had it occurred to me that there could possibly be African history in the sense we knew European history - or rather the little we knew of it - because to visualise History without precise dates, great recorded battles and the treaties following upon those battles was beyond my capacity as, I believe, it was beyond the capacity of most of my generation of students. This, no doubt, was partly due to the limited range of sources and advice at our disposal, but it was also due - and perhaps more so - to the early loss of interest in things traditional owing to official discouragement at school. I recall very clearly that when we went to school, we knew several
traditional folk songs, heroic recitations and the like, and that by the third year in the Primary School we were told to forget them in order to concentrate on the English language, and forget them we did. It may well be that this was the only way we could learn English, but I have my reservations. Thus at an early age, the interest in traditional things was eroded among those who "went to school" and, of course, the higher in school one went, the more one got estranged from one's society and, even more serious, the more one tended to look down on one's cultural traits as things to be discarded and forgotten quickly. This was the education.

Then in my final year at Makerere, Dr. Kiwanuka, a graduate of Makerere and of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London), joined the staff and we were offered, as a special subject of our final examination, two papers on the traditional history of "Buganda and her Neighbours". The sources for these papers were not as abundant as for the familiar history subjects, but the little that existed excited my interest and added new dimensions to my conception of history as a subject. It was then that I made up my mind to do something about the history of Bunyoro. This decision was prompted by what I had read about the interlacustrine kingdoms in general, which had suggested that Bunyoro was the "mother kingdom" of the region. Subsequently other considerations made me choose, instead,
to work in Nkore\(^1\) for the study of which the accident of birth had given me some obvious advantages.

There exists a considerable amount of literature about Nkore society so that when I embarked on this project, I was not going to deal with a society which was entirely unknown. It is possible to divide these written sources into two broad categories in order to assess their contribution to this study. The first of these divisions is what could be termed "sociological" writings and the second "historical" ones. These divisions are not mutually exclusive and the distinction between them lies not so much in the content as in the emphasis. The main written sources are:

Katate and Kamugungunu, Abagabe b'Ankole (The Kings of Ankole) (Kampala, 1955). This is the main written historical source. It is largely a record of the dynastic tradition of Nkore. Nonetheless, it is an invaluable source, as it contains information, on the early and rather obscure period when the kingdom was founded, which would otherwise probably be lost to us. Its chief defect is that it is silent on some salient issues of Nkore history - the development of government...

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1. Nkore is the traditional name by which the kingdom was known and Ankole is the British corruption of the original name and it is the latter that became the official name which appears on all maps. The native inhabitants of Nkore are the Banyankore (sing. Munyankore) and their language is Runyankore. Since the abolition of kingship in 1967, Ankole, in the south west of Uganda, is a district and not a kingdom.
institutions, the relations of the Bairu and the Bahima, the two classes of which Nkore society is composed - the omission of which must make the study of Nkore history somewhat unintelligible. These and other omissions, however, do not stem from the fact that the book was intended to be a royal chronicle - the authors in fact do not seem to have been aware that they were compiling a dynastic record. The cause for these omissions is to be found in the background of the authors themselves and of the times in which the book was finally published. Firstly, the late 1940's and the early 1950's were the years when political antagonism between the Bairu and the Bahima - or more accurately between the semi-educated of either class - was at its highest. In those circumstances, the authors naturally were restrained from writing anything that could be construed as "controversial". Additionally, not only were the authors civil servants at the time of writing, but also one is a Mwiru and the other a Muhima. ¹ This timid stance was greatly enhanced by the fact that the chief advisers to the authors were both colonial civil servants. Both authors admit that in order to have

¹. Mr. Katate, a young and educated Mwiru, was responsible for the actual writing of the material and for consulting the published sources while Mr. Kamugungunu, an elderly Muhima, an ex-Prime Minister of Ankole, was responsible for getting the informants, of whom he was one, together.
the book published they had to allow "many errors" to pass uncorrected. Another, but minor, criticism of this work is the tendency to patriotism - the tendency, for example, to attribute victories to Nkore in wars which she obviously lost to her neighbours. Its greatest merit lies in the fact that the authors do not attempt to evaluate what they record, and only rarely do they commit themselves to any opinion, even when conflicting traditions were given to them. In such cases they recorded all the versions and left it to the "reader to choose the right one". The authors acknowledge the fact that they consulted Sir Apolo Kagwa's *Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda*, (Lomdon, 1927). This work has a section on the kings of Ankole and the author says that he collected the material from "old Banyankore". Mr. Kamugungunu says that a few elderly Banyankore gave the information to Kagwa and that those same men were consulted by Katate and Kamugungunu who had no idea of writing their own work at the time Kagwa was writing. It would appear that Mbaguta, the first Prime Minister of Nkore, originated the idea of writing a book on Nkore similar to that of Kagwa on Buganda and had collected considerable material, but he died (1944) before the actual compilation of the book. He left his papers with his son-in-law, Mr. Kamugungunu, but they were lost before the authors of the "Abagabe" started collecting material for the book. The information about Nkore contained in Kagwa
does not differ very much, except in detail, from that of the "Abagabe" and this may be due to the fact that the three authors consulted the same informants, although Katate and Kamugungunu had access to many more informants than Kagwa who seems to have consulted not more than three to five informants.


A History of Ankole, (Kampala, 1962)

The Heroic Recitations of the Bahima of Ankole, (Oxford, 1964). Most of the historical raw material in the sections of the works cited is very similar to that of the "Abagabe b'Ankole" and an interpretation of it is attempted. The Heroic Recitations is a literary study of great importance for it was the first successful attempt to record the traditional recitations of Nkore and to translate them into English. The historical sections of these works are stronger on the colonial period, for which the author made use of archival material.


"Hima cattle (parts 1 and 11)", Ug. Jnl., 6/1/July 1938 and Ug. Jnl., 6/2/October 1938. The author of these articles was Ankole's District Commissioner between 1931-2 and 1933-5. The articles consist of observations about the social behaviour and the economic
occupations of the Banyankore and are a fairly accurate recording of the customs of the tribe. ¹ To the extent that most tribal customs have their origins in some historical incidents and that the study of those customs enables us to understand the society, these contributions are a valuable source. But some of the historical interpretations, based on those very customs, are very much open to question as we shall see in the following pages.

K. Oberg, "Kinship Organisation among the Banyankore", *Africa* XI/2/April 1938.

"The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda", in *African Political Systems*, ed. by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (London, 1966). These are the main, but not the only, writings of Oberg on Nkore society. The two, taken together, form a thorough-going attempt to evaluate Nkore society in the light of tribal customs. Unfortunately many observations on which the essential conclusions are based are inaccurate and the conclusions, therefore, are inaccurate. For that reason the little historical analysis contained suffers from the same limitation. The author was an anthropologist who undertook some research in Nkore in the 1930's

1. The term tribe will be used to mean the Banyankore and to exclude the other political entities such as Igara which were incorporated into Nkore by the British and who were therefore different tribes for the purpose of this study.
as a Scholar of the International African Institute. He did not subsequently pursue studies on East Africa.

B.K. Mubangizi, Emicwe Y'Ensi Omu Banyankore (The Customs of Banyankore) (Entebbe, 1963). As the title suggests, this work is entirely about the customs of the Banyankore and the author himself is a Munyankore. Its chief value lies in the fact that it is the only written source, as far as I am aware, which shows the unity and the diversity of the Bairu and Bahima customs within Nkore. Each section ends with some biblical condemnation of the "pagan practices" of the tribe, thereby betraying the missionary influence over the author. But this in no way detracts from the main theme of the book which is the recording of those customs. The author gathered material for his book by asking many old people in various parts of Nkore and the thoroughness of his inquiries is borne out by the fact that he points out variations of particular customs from one part of Nkore to another, which variations were also confirmed by my informants.

K.K. Nganwa, Abakozire Ebyokutangaaza Omuri Ankole (Some Eminent People of Ankole), (Nairobi, 1948). The late Mr. Nganwa was made Enganzi (Prime Minister) of Ankole in 1955 and this work is a record of the most popular folk tales, many of which have bases in important historical events.

J. Roscoe, The Banyankore, (Cambridge, 1923). This work seems
be a result of very brief visits to Ankole by the author who was a missionary in Uganda. Most of what the book says needs to be treated with a great deal of reserve, since most of the observations are confused. It would appear that the author used very poor interpreters, judging from such elementary factual errors as the assigning of the names of the Emitwe (military units) to the clans, to quote only one example.

In addition to these works there are many more specialised articles on the history of Nkore to which reference will be made in the subsequent pages. The greatest value I found in these published sources, whether my conclusions agree with them or not, was the fact that the traditions recorded by these authors might otherwise have been lost. Furthermore, the conclusions reached by different writers on Nkore, irrespective of whether one thinks they are right or wrong, are valuable because they offer a wider vision of the problem of interpreting traditions from different standpoints. This would not be possible if one was beginning in a field where no other writers had ventured opinions before.

I had also the great advantage of undertaking this study when traditional history as a discipline had already been tackled by other scholars whose works were available to me. In this regard J. Vansina's *Oral Traditions*, B.A. Ogot's Ph.D. Thesis (1965) on the history of the Southern Luo and M. Kiwanuka's Ph.D. Thesis on the traditional history of
Buganda were of immense value to me. It is not easy to quantify the benefit one gets from such sources, but that one does is beyond doubt. By comparing the methods employed by each in collecting traditions and the problems they encountered in the process, I was able to get a wider appreciation of those problems relevant to my field. In the case of Ogot and Kiwanuka's studies, I have utilised some of their findings where these touch my area of study. This study is therefore an attempt to extend the systematic recording of traditional evidence on Nkore history and to evaluate all available evidence, both old and new.

The actual raw material of this study consists of stories about the genealogy of kings, factual information historically associated with particular reigns, events and individuals and, to some extent, songs and recitations. In Nkore there existed a political structure that could be passably be termed "centralised" insofar as there was a government with a single king at its head, but governmental control over the population was minimal. There existed no formal institutions, as they did for example in Rwanda, with the exclusive right or duty to preserve traditions and no formal means of ensuring the accurate transmission of those traditions. In the case of Nkore the traditions were handed down from generation to generation by informal means and were
remembered, with varying degrees of accuracy, by the whole society or nearly so. The degree of accuracy depended on the interest and ability of families and individuals. It should be noted that although there were several functionaries at the court of the Omugabe, some of whom, such as the tobacconists and the drum keepers, were hereditary, these did not have any rituals or specialised knowledge which they had only to pass on to their descendants and successors in office. What they knew was also public knowledge. For a kingdom Nkore exhibits a surprising lack of royal ceremonial. This then means that there were no esoteric groups in Nkore and consequently, the method of recording traditions must be influenced by this fact.

There were two principal methods by which historical events were handed down through the generations and these methods were designed to suit the type of audience involved on a particular occasion. The first of these was essentially a domestic audience and consisted of the elderly members of the family telling the younger ones of the past events which they themselves had learnt from their fathers or grandfathers or in which they had personally participated and experienced. This range of events included wars and raids - offensive or defensive - the acts of this or that king; the exploits of some great warrior and some natural phenomena such as droughts and famines. Again, a gathering of relatives and guests
might be entertained to folk tales - ebigano or tales which served to explain the origins of things and social norms; ebitekyerezo or historical narrative; ebiito or riddles and proverbs. These forms constituted what might be rightly termed the "fire-side story" because they were told at night before the family retired to bed after a day's work. This practice still obtained in many, though not most, homes at the period when most members of my generation went to school, and it still obtains in those few homes as yet unaffected by the influence of the church and the school. Some of these stories were sparked off by the children themselves disagreeing on some subject and then appealing to their seniors for a decision as to which of the parties concerned "remembered the true" version of the subject in question. Of these forms, the historical narrative tends to be more accurate than, say, the folk tale, in which mysteries abound. Nevertheless even the folk tales are not usually entirely devoid of historical content so that no fast rule can be laid down as to the accuracy of this or that form of transmission.

The second type of audience involved in the process of "remembering matters of the past" - and that is how the Banyankore express it - was that which took part in "formal" assemblies. This was by far the most important and the most effective method of transmitting traditions. The occasion was usually a beer party, attended by the notables of the
land, either at the court of the Omugabe or at those of his principal chiefs. The chiefs' courts differed from that of the Omugabe only in size, material provisions and the number of dignitaries gathered there at any given time. Otherwise the norms of conduct and entertainment were the same. These assemblies of the senior men of the tribe argued about major historical events such as foreign wars or natural disasters, or else they listened to more formal versions of the fire-side stories told by men who had built up reputations as "historians and who were therefore often invited to the court of the Omugabe or to those of the chiefs to narrate the materials in which they had specialised. We have already observed that there were no esoteric groups in Nkore to ensure the accurate transmission of traditions, and it needs to be emphasised that these historians were in no sense an esoteric group let alone a homogeneous one. Their specialist knowledge depended entirely on their individual ability and interest, which was neither hereditary nor given royal or any official encouragement. Any person from any walk of life could acquire a reputation of this nature at any time simply because he was interested and able. Just how effective court history-telling was may be gauged from the fact that the most knowledgeable informants in Nkore today are those who were themselves courtiers and those whose fathers were.¹ Furthermore, this

¹. For the role of the court in tribal life see Infza. pp. 136-146.
is why most of the remembered history of Nkore is connected with either the Omugabe, the royal family or with some great chiefs.

In addition to the fire-side stories, history was often related through song, which could take the form of either the plain song or the heroic recitation. Both major categories of song dealt with wars, natural calamities, cattle and women. Not all songs were historical, for many of them were composed for entertainment and dealt with such common subjects as the beauty of the women and of the cattle. Owing to the style of song, in particular of the heroic recitation, exaggeration in content abounds. This is partly due to the desire of the composer to heighten the effect of his subject on the audience which necessarily influences the manner and style of delivery. But it is also partly, and I think largely, due to the fact that Runyankore's literary style is very much given to exaggerations and is conspicuously lacking in the art of the understatement. My incompetence in linguistics forbids me to attempt a detailed explanation of this factor and my single qualification for venturing this opinion is that I am a native speaker of the language.

In those songs the themes of which are historical, the exaggerations in style do not materially alter the historical content of the song. This is because it is the event about which the song is composed, which stimulates the mind
of the composer to sing or recite, and the style in which he eventually delivers his piece will not alter the fact that the event took place. In clarification of this point a verse of a recitation concerning a raid in which the Banyankore carried off cattle from Mpororo may be cited:

**NYAKYOYA**

1. **I, Who Do Not Hesitate (in battle); I, Who Encourage My Comrades, was brought by the war cry.**

2. The war cry brought me from Rwanshaka with Rwamurega.

3. **I, The Restless One, at Birehe I fought my way out to Bushenga with Rwihama and Rugumba.**

4. **I, Who Never Waver In the Heat of Battle, With mihiro na Rucumita nkakumbira**

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1. Nyakyoya, the hero of the recitation belonged to the Omutwe of Enkaranga whose overall leader was Igumira, the half-brother of Ntare V.

2. This is a name of a hill at the then boundary between that part of Mpororo and Nkore and then, as now, in Isingiro.
Rucumita I descended upon abowa Nyetweka\textsuperscript{1} na Rukutu. the people of Nyetweka\textsuperscript{1} when Rukutu was with me.

5. I, Whom am Never Idle When Armed, I speared them while they stood stupefied\textsuperscript{2}, I buttressed my side with The Fearless One.

6. The enemy fled from the blows of Him Who Dismays the Enemy after I had felled their (cattle) owner.\textsuperscript{3}

The basic points in this verse are that Nkore

1. Nyetweka was the ruler of the area under attack - see also ch. V.

2. The enemy was said to have been stupefied by the daring of the hero.

3. Nyetweka, the leader, was actually captured and taken to Nkore, but was not killed.

General Note: I am grateful to Mr. Rwabushongo from whom the tradition and the recitation were recorded and to Messrs Kirindi and Nshemereirwe who assisted me with the translation.
attacked this area of Mpororo;\(^1\) the places mentioned saw some form of military action and the individuals, recognisable by their praise-names, took part in the fighting. What is of secondary importance is that the hero of the song and his colleagues "destroyed" so many of the enemy - it is unlikely that they did, but the exaggeration would appeal to the listeners. Even if so many of the enemy had been killed, this detail would still be of little historical consequence. The point to note is that recitations were never entirely a product of the composer's imagination unrelated to the events they describe and for this reason Morris's statement about the flight of Kijooma from Nkore to Karagwe (about 1899) on which subject he says ".... no actual fighting took place" although heroic recitations to the effect that there was fighting exist,\(^2\) needs modification. Prince Kijooma actually fought his way out of Nkore around 1899 after the death of Ntare V and the deportation of Ntare's brother Igumira, by the British authorities. It was the failure of Nkore officials to stop, by force or other means, the stream of influential people leaving Nkore for Buganda and Karagwe in the period 1896-1906 that led the Omugabe Kahaya II to appeal to the colonial officials, both at Mbarara and at Entebbe, for the

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1. Infra ch. V.

repatriation of those immigrants to Nkore. The appeal was rejected because it was not practicable.¹ One last point to be noted about traditional songs is that there are very few people in Nkore today who remember the songs dating beyond the reign of Mutambuka (see Table E) and fewer still who are willing to sing them. This is largely the result of the disruption of the traditional institutions - the court, communal and family life - by the church, the school and the cash economy in that order. These three elements made the court a venue for mere occasional visits and dispersed members of families in search of means of livelihood in a manner that Nkore had never known. Families became collections of individuals and not compact social units as before. The Schools, which were very much under the wings of the Churches, discouraged these forms of entertainment as we have observed. The popularity and perpetuation of song and historical narratives in traditional society will be better appreciated if it is borne in mind that there was little alternative evening entertainment to songs and stories. Even the most common beer parties of the adult males were dominated by song and story-telling.

¹. See for example: Kahaya 11 to D.C. (Ankole) - the letter is undated in File 1235, and P.C. (Western Province) to Chief Secretary, Memo of 15/3/1912 para 4-File 1235 (Entebbe Archives). Abagabe b'Ankole Book 11, p. 17 - the story is widely known.
It is difficult to draw up a systematic and comprehensive inventory of the sources of traditional material on Nkore society largely because of the structural fluidity of that society by comparison, for example, with the neighbouring states like Rwanda or Buganda. It is possible to get information from such sources as place-names and incidents in the history of most clans, but neither of these sources give a complete picture even in their own context. The main task of the researcher is thus to piece together the bits and pieces of information gathered from every possible source rather than conducting exhaustive inquiries in particular categories of sources. Take the question of clans, for example. There were no institutionalised clan heads in Nkore, though from time to time a member of a clan would be regarded as the leader of that clan, often because he was the richest. There were no clan lands, because the notion of land ownership was unknown in traditional Nkore. And yet within the history of any clan there are people who are remembered because they distinguished themselves, and their deeds are identified with definite reigns of this or that Mugabe. Even more important are the major clan misfortunes, which give a guide to patterns of clan mergers, the political weight of certain clans at different periods and, hence, to the political attitudes and structures of those periods. Such, for instance, is the case of the sub-clan of the
Bene-Itanzi, once one of the most powerful clans of Nkore, but since the reign of Mutambuka (mid 19th century), who banished its members from the kingdom, one of the most insignificant.¹ The giving of daughters in marriage to the Bagabe was also very important, as it explains the alignments of the clans in those wars of succession in which their "maternal sons" were involved. In the case of some clans certain areas are identified in traditional accounts as their original home in the past. From such information one gets the reasons that led to the dispersal of the clans. In Nkore today most elderly Bagabe still swear by Kicwamba, an area now in Rwanda but then in Mpororo. According to the traditions of this clan, this was their original home in the kingdom of Mpororo and a trickle of them migrated to Nkore after the death of the last king of Mpororo around the middle of the eighteenth century. Then most members of that clan left Mpororo altogether after Gasyonga 1 came to the throne in Nkore, at the beginning of the 19th century, because Gasyonga was a maternal son of that same clan in whose kingdom they sought collective safety.²

But the use of the history of the clans to construct genealogies, for example, runs into the intractable problem of

1. Infra ch. V.
2. Infra ch. IV.
gaps in the family lists. An important member of the clan is remembered because of the fame attached to his own name arising out of personal achievements, but after him his line often disappears and should, at a future date, an individual in the same line acquire prominence, not more than a few of his ancestors will be remembered – often only those who were themselves prominent. This limitation does not apply to the kings, because all of them were prominent, irrespective of what they did or did not do.

Place names can be used in a variety of ways. Some place names are associated with big battles of the past, or with natural disasters, and these kinds of associations can be utilised if those incidents are identifiable with specific reigns or some other happening of magnitude even in a different country. Here the problem to guard against is the use of the same place name to describe several places. A simple precaution to take is always to ask the informant the area in which the place named was located, for rarely does it happen that two places of the same name are located in the same area. Traditions also relate the sites of the former capitals of the Bagabe and this is a very useful source in traditional history, because it can be used, among other things, as a guide to the geographical expansion of the state whose traditions are being studied. The greatest limitation of this source lies in the fact that not much archaeological
work has been done on these sites to corroborate or refute what traditional accounts say about them. In the case of Nkore, however, the little that has been done tends to vindi- cate what the traditions say about the capital sites of the Bagabe. 1

To a large extent the problems confronting a field researcher in traditional disciplines are ultimately determined by the nature of the political and social institutions of the society whose traditions are being inquired into and the solution to those problems depends, in the last analysis, on how much he understands his working environment. This is almost axiomatic. Between October 1966 and June 1967 I was engaged in reading the published material on Nkore at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London). This exercise equipped me with a fairly wide range of questions and ideas. Then between July 1967 and July 1968 I was engaged in collecting information by conducting interviews in Ankole. While in Uganda, I took the opportunity to look at the archival material both at Entebbe and at Mbarara.

1. R. Oliver, "Ancient Capital Sites of Ankole", Ug. Jnl. 23/1/March 1959. M. Fosnansky, "The Excavation of an Ankole capital site at Bweyorere", Ug. Jnl. 3/2/1968 pp. 165-181. The excavation was carried out in 1959 and the contents of this article were kindly made available to me by the author, prior to their publication, in 1967.
When I set out to do my field research, I had some obvious advantages. I knew the language of my informants, as this is my mother tongue. This at once obviated the necessity of engaging interpreters and all that this entails. It also speeded up my work, since I was able to transcribe information taped in Runyankore direct from the tapes while translating into English at the same time. The exception to this practice was the transcription of the few songs that I collected for these had to be written down in Runyankore first and then translated into English. The translation of songs is a much more difficult task than the translation of ordinary language. I also had a fairly adequate geographical knowledge of the area and some background knowledge of the tribal code of social conduct. All these advantages stood me in good stead in various situations.

I arrived in Uganda in June 1967; and there could hardly have been a more inopportune moment to begin the sort of inquiries that I had set out to make. It was already known that the Uganda Government had decided to abolish kingship - at least the traditional types of kingship - throughout Uganda, and this included Ankole which was then one of the four kingdoms of the country. This fact made a majority of the old men wary of talking to me. The importance of this attitude lies in the fact that it is the elderly men who are the most conservative and who are also almost the sole source
of information. This wariness on their part is based on the consideration that these changes, which affected traditional institutions, were made by the "readers" or "those of the English language" of whom, according to this section of the society, I was undoubtedly one. To explain to them that these changes were made by a government of which I was not a participating member would have been irrelevant, since only a few, if any, have any notion of what this is all about. Their viewpoint is understandable because they could see no point in someone inquiring about kings whose offices were in the process of being or had been abolished, especially when the person carrying out the inquiries was one of the "educated" who were responsible for the abolition. Thus on several occasions I had to give lengthy explanations before I could be granted an interview.

The fact that I was a Munyankore doing research in my own right - as opposed to being some European's interpreter - was a source of constant amazement to the villagers and, occasionally, of considerable inconvenience to me. Research among Nkore villagers had so far been done by Europeans and this fact is well understood and accepted by the tribe generally and by the old people particularly because,

1. The term "educated" used in this context by the older people is not a compliment; it is meant as a rebuke.
according to Banyankore standards, all white men are "eccentric" and part of this eccentricity is expressed in the questions that some of them had asked in the course of their researches. It was not readily understood why I had joined what I was expected to know was not a normal breed of people. Moreover, for some people I was not "impressive enough" to do research. One such gentleman, at Ntungu in Isingiro county, whose home had been visited a few years back by "a white man and a Prime Minister" (Prof. Oliver and the late K. Nganwa), was struck speechless by my "impudence" in coming to his home and claiming to be doing research as I was obviously neither a white man nor the Prime Minister of Ankole. He concluded his severe lecture to me by observing, "As you are from Kashari county, I cannot expect better behaviour from you." He eventually granted me the interview.

There is another less obvious but very important disadvantage met by a native researching in his own area. This is the tendency to omit or overlook some information which one takes for granted, since it is so obvious in one's own society and therefore one tends to regard such information as not worth elaborating. This can lead to obscure emphasis

1. Certain kinds of behaviour are associated with particular counties in Ankole and Kashari, which is my home county, is generally associated with lack of hospitality and arrogance by the rest of the counties.
or the failure to illustrate a point effectively. In this regard I found my occasional discussions with Michael Twaddle and Matia Kiwanuka, both of Makerere College, very illuminating.

It is almost an established practice that informants are given some sort of "gift" by the interviewer. In my case no excessive demands were made on me, and this was largely due to the fact that many of my informants knew me personally or knew one or several of my relatives which would have made it embarrassing for them to demand payment from me. Sometimes I gave no more than a pot of beer; but sometimes I gave small sums of money to those few of my informants who requested payment in cash.

At no time during my field research in Nkore did I engage any full time assistant or make use of a questionnaire. These two aspects are related. I adopted this approach because I think that the usefulness of questionnaires in collecting traditions depends on the type of data being collected. In my case the primary object was the collection of traditions on the political history of Nkore and I concluded that the expense involved in sending out the questionnaires could not be justified by returns in terms of information collected in this manner. The Banyankore, on the whole, are a garrulous people and often I had to let the informants run the whole course of giving examples, with ample gestures, in
order to answer the simplest of questions. To send out questionnaires would have, thus, left me at the mercy of those carrying out the interviews on my behalf as they could only have brought back what they considered to be the essence of the answers and this would have amounted to doing the interpretation of the data for me. Alternatively, I would have had to check on this information myself by interviewing the same people as the assistants, which would have rendered their work superfluous. On these grounds the use of questionnaires and of assistants was largely irrelevant in my case.

I was operating at a base nearly two hundred miles from the nearest library of any consequence (Makerere College), and this meant that all the academic journals were out of my reach. It also meant that I was only able to discuss my work at an academic level when I made the occasional trip to Kampala, when I would avail myself of the opportunity to have discussions with some members of staff and some interested students at Makerere. The value of such discussions is that they keep one's mind alert and, quite often, one picks up some ideas with which to formulate more questions for the next trip out. But, much/importantly, I found that some of my opinions on particular topics were often challenged and in the ensuing discussion, I got a wider perspective of the topics in question.

Before I set out for the field work in Uganda, I
had a number of people in mind as potential informants. Some of these had been suggested to me by my friends in England and some of them I knew myself. When this list of informants grew thin, I approached the office of the Administrative Secretary, Ankole, and was kindly furnished with a list of old people—apparently compiled the year before—by Mr. Kareba, then Asst. Administrative Secretary, for which service I am deeply grateful to him. After a few trips on this basis, I revised my approach by writing directly to the county chiefs in advance of my visiting their areas indicating to them the date of my proposed visit, the nature of my inquiries and requesting them of any help they could render me in this connection. Many of them were responsive and were of great help in such things as suggesting possible informants, providing guides to their homes and, very often, extending their hospitality to me and accommodating me in their own houses. This is why throughout my field trip I never slept in Rest Camps or hotels. But this approach had its own problems too. On several occasions I would go to an area, having notified the chief concerned some weeks in advance, only to find that my letter had not arrived. In such cases I would interview some people near the chiefs' residence, if these were known by the chief or by me, or I would return to Mbarara after arranging an alternative date for another visit at some future time. On one occasion I went to Nyabushozi
county, only to find that the people who had been living in the area a month before my visit had all moved away in search of fresh pasture and water for their cattle.

I also found members of Ntare School History Society very helpful in directing me to potential informants. Members of this society carry out research projects in topics of local history by interviewing old people themselves. Some of their project papers were kindly made available to me by the society.

Once I got familiar with the general run of things, it became unnecessary to contact groups or institutions in order to find out potential informants. Those I interviewed told me themselves, "If you go to such and such a place, so and so will tell you all you want to know. He knows everything about matters of the past". Often in the course of casual conversations I was told of possible informants who were well informed about this or that subject. It is comparatively easy to come by such information because in every village or neighbourhood there is usually somebody who is known as the person "who remembers matters of the past". Usually, if not always, such a person establishes such a reputation at beer parties or other social gatherings such as marriage feasts.

I put all these small details on record so that those

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following me to do research in Ankole can, at least, have a general idea about what to expect.

Ankole District, as it is now called, is made up of ten counties and I conducted interviews from one county to another, but I did not follow any order of visiting them. I went to a county after listing potential informants whose names and villages I collected in the manner above indicated. Some of the counties were visited more than twice depending on the availability of the informants. In the case of counties such as Buhweju or Igara, which had been independent of Nkore during pre-colonial times, I came across families who had migrated to other counties and who knew histories or bits of history of their former counties - or rather history of their former countries as they prefer to express it. For example I found three informants in Isingiro whose original home was Buhweju and several in Nyabushozi whose original home was Igara. All these told me nothing except the history of their original "countries" because, in their own words, they did not know the history of Nkore which, they told me,

1. Between June and August 1967, I did not have independent means of transport and I conducted a few interviews by travelling by bus. This involved walking long distances as most of the informants do not live near the roads and I gave up this exercise when I spent the greater part of one night on the roadside because the expected bus to Mbarara failed to turn up - quite a common occurrence.
I could get from "the Banyankore". This designation, it might be noted in passing, they did not apply to themselves. Even today a man who makes a journey to Mbarara on returning to his home in Kajara county, for example, will say that he had been to Nkore though now Kajara is one of the counties of Ankole and had been since the beginning of this century. The great majority of the people in this area regard themselves as Bahororo and not as Banyankore-Mpororo having been a separate kingdom they inhabited in the past.¹

With the exception of the first few interviews conducted before I obtained a tape recorder, all my formal interviews were tape-recorded, although my work was inevitably influenced by many informal interviews or casual conversations with the many people I used to meet informally in all sorts of places. These took the form of discussions on any topic relevant to my period and I benefitted a great deal from these verbal exchanges. The advantage of such informants is that they are relaxed and they give the information in response to no particular pattern of questioning. I found this particular category of informants valuable in filling in details or explaining the parts which were not clear from the formal interviews. After such discussions, I made notes of such opinions and questions that were new to me for my

¹. Infra chs. IV & V.
personal use later. No list of such informants has been compiled although where their information is quoted, their names are cited as the source of such information.

I found it rewarding to interview groups of people—not esoteric groups, as these do not exist in Nkore, but a heterogeneous collection of informants at a single interviewing centre because then the informants tend to remind each other of details. In interviews involving more than two people it is absolutely essential that the interviewer exercises a great deal of firm control over the course and direction of the interview, otherwise the interview becomes a mass of unrelated opinions shouted out at random which renders whatever is said inaudible. Should, at any stage of the interview, the story being related be contested—and this happened often in my case—the informant or informants contesting should be given an opportunity to tell their own version of the story after the original informant has finished his own story. I found that in such cases the informants objecting to the versions originally narrated quoted authorities in the form of names of the people who "had said so" or, where this was applicable, of the people concerned with the events in question. It also follows that the interviewer must not only be able to follow the course of the argument, but also he must be able to determine how far such differences affect the topic under consideration. In such
cases I recorded all the versions as given by the informants present and made notes which I then used later in the overall analysis and evaluation of the material collected.

As far as possible I avoided asking questions that required "Yes" or "No" as answers, not only because these tend to suggest the answers, but also because they encourage guessing since the informant is presented with alternatives from which, if he is not honest, he has only to pick one. Since, as we have observed before, the traditions of Nkore were handed down by informal means, I found it best to collect material by an informal procedure, which means that I looked for and interviewed those old men and women who were thought to know a lot about the past. I did not adhere to any strict pattern of questioning in all the interviews I conducted. As far as possible I allowed informants to volunteer any information they had with minimum interference from me. All my interviews took the form of conversations rather than cross-examinations. Sometimes - and this at a much later stage of my field work - I found it rewarding to employ probing questions. This was necessary because certain kinds of information is only exchanged in intimate conversations between intimate friends and is thus regarded as "secret". The best way to get at such information, I found, was to suggest that I already knew something of the "secret" so that the informant might feel free to give me the rest of the
information as he would then have absolved himself from the uncomfortable feeling of being the first to "leak the secret". In a few cases I was requested expressly not to reveal names of the informants in connection with certain bits of information, especially if this was derogatory to some prominent people whose descendants were known to those informants and vice versa. In such cases I have kept the undertaking I gave.

Throughout my field trip I followed no rigid procedure by which to conduct interviews and to do the transcriptions. When I judged that I had collected enough new material, I went right ahead and did the transcription. I then read through the transcribed material and compared all the information obtained from the different informants and then matched the information to the different questions which formed the basis of my interviews. I then rephrased some of the questions to see whether they would bring forth different answers and formulated new questions arising out of the information thus far obtained. I was then ready for the next trip out. By that time I would also have found out which informants to visit for another interview either because they were knowledgeable in which case I would put the new set of questions or because, in the course of transcribing their information, I had found parts that were obscure or contradictory in which case I would straighten such parts with them.

Broadly speaking my informants can be divided in
three categories on the basis of the information they gave:—

(a) Those who had a fairly wide range of knowledge of the course of Nkore history (or of the history of Buhweju, Igara or Mpororo). These usually forgot details here and there.

(b) Those who remembered events covering one or two reigns.

(c) Those who remembered single incidents, such as a particular succession war. Categories (b) and (c) usually filled in the gaps left by category (a) of informants and also supplied greater details of the events they narrated.

I found that the "Abagabe b'Ankole" by Katate and Kamugungunu had not had wide readership, for, even among those who could read, few had heard of its existence and fewer still quoted it during the interviews. Of the few who quoted it, fewer still agreed with it — many of them told me "the book did not record" this or that correctly or "had omitted" something here and there. Little else is written in Runyankore about the history of Nkore.

The information collected was tested for reliability by the usual method of comparison. Where this was applicable, the Kinyankore versions were compared with the traditions of the neighbouring states. Where I collected different versions of tradition on the same topic, these were compared to see what seemed to be a constant and where this was not possible,
both or several versions of the tradition were recorded and then tested against the information given by the other informants. The same procedure was adopted in the case of those extant customs claiming origin in historical incidents.

One of the main conclusions from my findings is to call into question the periodisation of Nkore history established by Katate and Kanugungunu and accepted by Stenning. This shows a threefold division, the first section of which is from the reign of Ruhinda to that of Ntare IV and the main theme of which is the establishment of the authority of the Bahinda dynasty and the consolidation of the kingdom.\(^1\) The second is that from Ntare IV to Ntare V, the main theme of which is the expansion of Nkore kingdom by waging wars against her neighbouring countries. The third is the colonial one.\(^2\)

We shall not concern ourselves with the colonial period since it falls outside the period to be covered by this study. The first and second periods according to this scheme of periodisation ignore two vital points in the history of Nkore, and these are the fortunes of the dynasty and the fact that the

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1. For the sequence of the reigns see Table D(2).

2. Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit., pp. 62-63; D.J. Stenning; A Succession war in pre-protectorate Ankole" (This Seminar paper was published posthumously for the African History Workshop of the University of Sussex - the paper was kindly made available to me by Professor D.A. Low), p. 6.
expansion of Nkore is largely a 19th century event. The early traditional history, up to the beginning of the 19th century, is centred around the dynasty itself and is a period of relative territorial stability. But the dynasty, in this period, had to meet challenges on two main fronts. On the one hand the Bahinda strove to institutionalise and entrench their authority over what was essentially a hostile but small population and this, as we shall see, they accomplished by the end of the reign of Ntare IV - particularly during that very reign. On the other hand, once the process of consolidating that authority was fairly complete, the monarchy itself, as an all-embracing tribal institution, went through a long period of instability due to factors emanating from the royal family itself. On the fact of it, this might seem to be a fine distinction to draw, but in practice not only are these phases different, they are also equally important, each in its own right. They are different because the first phase saw a systematic and unified attempt by one family to impose its rule over the rest, while the second saw the divisions within that family threatening the existence of the very authority that had been painfully and patiently established over the previous two centuries or so. They are

1. Infra ch. III.
2. Infra ch. IV.
equally important because the failure of the first and the success of the second would have led to the same result - the Bahinda dynasty would not have survived.

The reign of Ntare IV itself is rather awkward in that it does not fit exactly in any of the major periods into which Nkore history can be reasonably divided. Under Ntare IV Nkore gained some territory at the expense of Buhweju almost by accident¹ and, to that extent, the reign could be said to be an expansionist one. But it cannot be included in the major period of expansion, which belongs to 19th century because another hundred years or so were to pass without Nkore expanding her territory and for that reason the reign of Ntare IV is far removed from the period of expansion on grounds of timing. The period of the monarchy's instability was characterised by the wars of succession to the throne and Ntare IV's reign clearly does not belong to this period because it was neither established after a succession war nor was it followed by one. There is, however, one very good reason for placing the reign in the first period of Nkore history and this is that Ntare IV, more than any other Mugabe before or since his reign, did so much to make kingship an integral part of Nkore's social and political life. To that extent he did much to establish the authority of the dynasty

¹. Infra ch. III.
which is what the first period of Nkore history must really be about.

Against this background, it becomes evident that the scheme of periodisation laid down by Katate and Kamugungun is inadequate. I feel that a more realistic periodisation would divide the pre-colonial history of Nkore into three phases, the first of which runs from the reign of Nkuba to that of Ntare IV, inclusive, and the main theme of which is the foundation and the consolidation of the kingdom of Nkore. Within this period the dynasty became an accepted authority as a result of the efforts of the individual Bahinda rulers within Nkore and also, to some extent, as a result of the two invasions of the Banyoro which might have had the effect of uniting the people behind their rulers against the invaders. The second period is that from the reign of Macwa to that of Gasyonga I, the main theme of which is the instability of the monarchy and the tentative contacts that Nkore made with her neighbours. The third period embraces the reigns of Mutambuka and Ntare V and the main theme of this period is territorial expansion.

The basic point underlying this scheme of periodisation is that this historical analysis is based on individual reigns. One possible objection to this approach might be that it would tend to reduce the analysis to a dynastic anthology, which, clearly, this study is not intended to be. But we
have already observed that oral history in Nkore is largely remembered in connection with the actions of particular Bagabe. Secondly, whatever the policies the Bagabe found necessary or expedient to implement, these were brought about by circumstances pertinent to their respective reigns so that the policies inaugurated in one reign had some effect on the events in the subsequent one. Any analysis which ignored this factor could hardly give a homogeneous picture of the evolution of Nkore as a political entity. Finally, the alternative method of treating historical themes independently of the sequence of the individual reigns would cause chronological chaos and unnecessary repetitions. In any case, a historical study of Nkore could hardly be real if it excluded the personalities of the various Bagabe, since they were the government of Nkore and since it was their personal characters that shaped and determined the achievements and failures of the kingdom both within and without. That the traditional history of Nkore is a history of the actions of her kings is almost a truism.

Chronology

One of the major problems of traditional history is

1. This section is not necessary to the understanding of what follows and readers may come back to it later.
the need to find a satisfactory system of giving chronological sequence to the studies undertaken in this field. Such a system needs to be established because no historical study of this nature is meaningful unless the phases within the study are given some form of time sequence. This does not have to be precise dating. In the case of Nkore history, our primary concern is to trace, as far as we are able and on the basis of the available information, the evolution of that kingdom as a political entity. As has been argued in the preceding paragraphs, this can be done by dividing the different stages of that evolution into distinct historical phases. Thus, for example, on the basis of our periodisation of Nkore history, the importance of precise dates is relatively minor, whereas the general theme of the first and second periods are not. This is not to deny that if we knew, for example, that Nkuba ruled Nkore between the years 1619 and 1654 while Ntare IV ruled between 1714 and 1749, the information would greatly reduce the problem. It would and greatly so. But that is not the point, because the emphasis is on broad themes of the evolutionary development of a particular society and it is these themes that have to be given the time sequence in such a manner that we can, at least, be reasonably sure that the main theme of the first period influenced the main theme of the second period because the one took place before the other and not the other way
round. The main point therefore is not that we are unable to give precise dates in traditional history, on the basis of the existing knowledge at any rate; it is that the events which are treated collectively as historical themes are a unity in themselves and render precise dating relatively unimportant. This is in fact true of any history phase in any country. If we take, as an example from European history, the dates 1789 and 1815 (the dates of the beginning of the great French Revolution and of the conclusion of a series of agreements collectively known as the treaty of Versailles), those dates are by themselves unimportant. One of the main historical themes of this period is that it was the revolutionary France which fought nearly the rest of Europe, particularly Britain, in a war whose primary aim, at least in the early stages of the conflict, was to enforce the revolutionary ideal on the rest of a horrified and conservative Europe. It is thus important to know that the revolution took place before the European war since it can be argued that the one was the cause of the other and not the other way round, but it is not all that important that revolution broke out in 1789 or that the armies of Europe laid down their arms in 1815 in that particular war.

When I embarked on this study, there were at least two dates from which estimations of time sequence could be based - one being absolutely certain and the other not so
certain. The certain date was 1895 which is the real terminal date of this study. In that year Ntare V died and he was the last Mugabe not only to rule over what was Nkore, but also the last to rule by the traditional methods of his ancestors. His successor, Kahaya II, had to deal with the colonial administrators who became the real centre of power in the kingdom, and he also ruled over Ankole, not Nkore, since the colonial administration enlarged Nkore at the expense of her smaller neighbours which had previously been independent. For these two reasons 1895 marked the end of Nkore's traditions history and the beginning of her "modern" history. Neither the political nor the economic life was to be the same again after 1895.

The second date is based on the traditions of Buganda, Bunyoro and Nkore. It is said by these sources that during the reigns of Nakibinge, Olimi I, and Nyabugaro of Buganda, Bunyoro and Nkore respectively there was a solar eclipse which was seen in Nkore. Traditions indicate that these three rulers were contemporaries because Olimi fought Nakibinge of Buganda and, after killing him, invaded Nkore during the reign of Nyabugaro. It was during the latter invasion that the eclipse is said to have taken place. Thus in the context of Nkore, the reign of Nyabugaro is of some chronological importance, but several attempts in the past to harmonise the dating of that event with the traditions of
the region have been hampered by the inaccurate plotting of the track of the eclipse itself. Thus 1492, 1506 and 1520 have been suggested as the possible dates of the same event. But recent findings, based on more accurate mapping of the track of the same eclipse, indicate that this event most probably took place in 1520 and not earlier. If we accept this date, then we have two dates, 1520 and 1895, but we still have to work out a method by which we can utilise these dates to give Nkore history some viable time sequence.

Just as the themes of Nkore history have to be based on the reigns of her kings, so also must any system of time reckoning for the same reasons. Furthermore, the royal genealogy is safer to use as a basis of estimation than, say, private genealogies - the latter for reasons already explained are hard to get in Nkore anyway - because the keeping of the royal genealogy was diffused throughout the society and was thus less likely to be subjected to changes "for the benefit of their own hereditary names".


2. Richard Gray, "A preliminary list of references to solar eclipses in Africa south of the Sahara" (the paper was kindly made available to me by the author before it appeared in the Journal of African History), p. 2.

disciplines have so far evolved a method of giving time sequence to those studies by using estimates based on the lengths of generations. According to this system of reckoning, as originally laid out for the interlacustrine region by Oliver, 1 27 years are allowed to every "dynastic generation" subject to an error of +2 years and this is increased further by another +20 years throughout the genealogical list. 2 The figure of +20 is given as the standard error in Oliver's list and this is a fair estimate, but its plausibility is hampered by the fact that it is an arbitrary figure.

This system of reckoning has been accepted by Ogot 3 and by Kiwanuka 4 among others, for the Southern Luo and for Buganda respectively. For Ogot, however, the approximation of a generation to 27 years was borne out by his investigations among the southern Luo. Whether one defines a generation as the period which elapses between the birth of the first to the birth of the last or between the death of the first to

2. If the figure of +2 is allowed to apply to the generations, which is clearly a constant for the society being studied, the practice of multiplying that figure throughout the number of generations would put us in the impossible situation where the generation had no length since the error would exceed 27 years at some point.
the death of the last brother, the system has grave short-comings when applied to the length of tenure of office in kingdom areas. It presupposes a difference between a "dynastic generation" — to apply only to the princes — and what might be termed a "social generation" — to embrace every other member of the society except the princes. This supposition is not correct because, in practice, such differences do not exist and thus we need not assume them in calculations of this nature.

To take the question of what we have, for convenience termed a social generation first, we find that in Nkore there existed a definite sense of a generation, based on the concept of the male line securing continuity. This means that a man, be it the Omugabe or the lowest commoner, became sure of his line's continuity after the birth of the first male grandchild to one or more of his own sons. (We shall defer the discussion of what this meant for the king and his likely successors for the time being). This then means that a generation would be reckoned from the birth of the first son to the birth of the first grandson. This is why the Banyankore married off their sons at a very early age and, to some extent, this is still the practice. Marriage at the age of 18 was regarded as normal and at the age of 22 as rather late. The social conventions actually forced this lower limit because an adolescent boy was very difficult to control in this closed
society with several young wives of other people around in the same homestead. If the boy happened not to be the "wild" type, then by the age of 22, his family would have started worrying about his virility and it was not uncommon for the grandmother to start gathering medicinal herbs to treat what usually appeared to them as the "great curse of impotence". The age of the expectation of marriage, based on traditional social conventions, would, therefore, be 20 years so that a generation would be 20+2 years. This would make adequate allowance for exceptional factors influencing the age of marriage such as the inability of parents to afford bridewealth in which case the son's marriage would take place later than the age of, say, 22. The figure would also make adequate allowance for the time lapse between marriage and the birth of the couple's first child. Even then, this would still be

1. The age of the expectation of marriage in this context is an improvement on the idea of the generation for the latter is based on the mean which suggests that the sample is not big enough whereas the former has a continuous distribution of sample-marriage patterns over a longer period than that on which the mean sample is based.

2. The combination of the late-marriage factor and the time-lapse factor is justified because the former was rare since if the particular family was poor, the situation was saved by the intervention of a rich relative or by what could be called a "marry-now-and-pay later" scheme by which the bridewealth was paid in instalments after the actual marriage had taken place. These practices still obtain in Nkore.
an imperfect system of reckoning because there are so many factors for which no reasonable allowances can be made and, yet, these factors have to be taken into account. For example, in the case of Nkore, the length of a generation would very much depend on how soon or how long after marriage the first male was born to the couple. This is so variable that no reasonable constant could possibly be assumed in its place so as to make the estimate representantive of the society as a whole — even of a society as small in size as that of traditional Nkore.

When we turn to the successions to the throne, which is what our real concern must be, we find even more complications. So far as Nkore monarchy was concerned, succession was hereditary in the male line, but there was no rule of primogeniture succession. The heir to the throne was chosen from among the sons of the late king or, if he had left no sons, from among his brothers. The regular pattern of succession was that of son succeeding father, at least until the 18th century when frequent succession wars introduced the element of brother succeeding brother. Even then the father-to-son successions did not lapse for long, only for intermittent short intervals. Two important factors may be borne in mind regarding succession to the throne of Nkore. Firstly, the same convention governing accession to the throne also governed the inheritance of property among the common people.
and that was that only a son could succeed his father or, if the father had left no son, then the brother of the deceased would succeed. Only when there was neither son nor brother could an uncle of the deceased be considered a legitimate successor. This was the order of succession and it was rigidly adhered to. Secondly, for the rulers as well as for the ruled, the usual practice was that a man began having children when he was barely out of adolescence and continued to do so until his hair turned grey and even beyond that. He himself might have ceased being virile, but his younger brothers or near blood relatives usually slept with his wives and the children born of such intimacies were regarded as his children for all practical purposes. This practice was accepted by the whole society without question and it is this practice that is expressed in the Kinyankore proverb which says: "If I give you my bed (the right to sleep with my wife), you cannot claim the offspring as your own". This in fact caused such wide age ranges between the sons of the same man and this point should be borne in mind in the subsequent arguments. It follows that if such children were born to an incumbent Mugabe, their right to succeed to his throne was equal to that of all his other physical sons and this is not without precedent in Nkore's dynastic history. There was no distinction drawn between sons born before or after the accession of the father in determining the successor to the
throne. So far the ideals of the whole society concerning succession embraced the rulers as well as the ruled. But whereas the Omugabe's subjects could divide their property among their successors, the Omugabe could not divide his throne among his own and this is why polygamous marriages were a source of great friction for the royal family while they were of little or no consequence to the subjects.

The question of polygamous marriages is of particular relevance to that period of Nkore history when brothers challenged brothers for the throne and, in several cases, the incumbents were unseated by their rivals. In the case of Nkore one has not only to consider the system of succession but also to take into account the sociological factors, already indicated, since no reliable estimation of the tenure of office of Nkore rulers can be made without them. A relatively minor point to consider first is that the idea of regency was unknown in Nkore so that a son could only succeed his father if he was old enough to rule on his own or else the succession would pass on to the brother or uncle of the late king. This statement stands valid notwithstanding the example of Kahitsi who acted as some sort of regent after the death of Ntare V (1895) and before the accession of Kahaya II (1897) because the factors which influenced this particular

1. Infra ch. IV.
succession were completely non-traditional and because the period itself is outside the scope of this study.\(^1\)

Finally, we have also to take into account what the traditions themselves say about the subject of the tenure of office of the various Bagabe. For example, some are said to have ruled for so long that they saw their great grandchildren mature into manhood while a few are said to have ruled for three months each and some to have ruled for not more than three years apiece. Admittedly this does not tell us much about the precise lengths of the reigns we are discussing, but, equally, we cannot ignore this information if the system of reckoning by generations is employed.

Against this background, we can now consider the effects of polygamous marriage on the system of succession on which rests some of my major objections to the method of estimating time sequence or the lengths of reigns by generations. Of the 23 Bagabe, whose reigns are covered by this study, eight of them came to the throne or lost their throne

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1. The intervention of the early British administrators influenced the outcome of this particular succession contest and this intervention was unknown in traditional Nkore. Moreover, all my informants agreed that Kahaya II had very little chance of gaining the throne had he been not aided by propitious circumstances apart from colonial intervention - these were: the disqualification of Igumira and Kahitsi on grounds of physical deformities and the fact that Ntare's only son, Kabumbire, had predeceased his father. These factors enabled Kahaya to come into the picture and the colonial intervention put him on the throne.
as a result of violent changes; the most common of which were the succession wars. The pattern of succession wars is discussed elsewhere and it will be sufficient here to observe that sons of the same maternal clan did not fight against each other for the throne - they fought on the same side against their half-brothers belonging to a different maternal clan. In any succession war all the contenders were the sons of the same father. A typical alignment in a succession war will perhaps clarify this point. Let us take, for instance, the succession war which followed the death of Mutambuka around 1875. The princes involved in the war were all Mutambuka's sons at the outbreak of the conflict. On the one side was Rukongyi, Makumbi and Nkuranga - the three being uterine brothers whose mother was Kangabo of the Baishikatwa clan. On the other side were ranged Mukwenda and Muhikira who were likewise uterine brothers, whose mother was Nyakairu of the Bene Rukaari clan. Rukongyi and Mukwenda were the eldest on their respective sides and they were therefore backed by their respective full brothers for the throne. But we do not know whether Rukongyi was older than Mukwenda or vice versa and,

1. Infra ch. IV.
2. Thus it could be said that the primogeniture system, on the maternal side, applied to the successions in Nkore, but that is precisely why this idea is not helpful because the decisive consideration was the paternal not the maternal side.
even if we knew that, we would still not know the difference in their respective ages and this, as it has been pointed out, could literally range from a few weeks to several years. A system of reckoning which is based on generations to estimate the duration of reigns must necessarily evolve some method of allowing for these age differentials for the brothers who gain the throne in succession to each other, since such differentials seem to be basic in the idea of generations.

The system of generations also assumes certain prerequisites which cannot be demonstrated to be common enough to constitute a pattern in Nkore or in other societies where polygamy was a common practice. Thus when a son succeeds his father or uncle on the throne, their two reigns are taken as two generations, but when a brother succeeds a brother, their two reigns are combined into a single generation. Furthermore, when a prince succeeds his grandfather, their two reigns form three generations. This is how the system of reckoning by generations has so far been employed.\(^1\) The assumption underlying these combinations seems to be that all brothers belong to the "same age range" and that the difference between the age ranges of the son and his father or grandfather is the same (emphasis is mine). If this is the assumption on which this system of reckoning is based, then it has severe limitations

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1. See Table E.
in practice as it creates more problems than it solves. In the first place, not all grandfathers, or even a majority of them, can be said to be older than their grandsons by a uniform age range, and yet this is what is implied by combining the reigns of a man and his grandson to make three generations. It would, for example, not be reasonable to combine the reigns of Mutambuka and Ntare V to make three generations simply because Mutambuka was Ntare's grandfather since Ntare was of the same age range as his uncles who could have come to the throne instead of him at that particular moment of time. The fact that the sons of Mutambuka did not come to throne is immaterial in this context. The point is that a system of reckoning which made this sort of combination and yet allowed two, instead of three, generations to the reigns in which sons succeeded fathers or uncles would give a very unbalanced estimate for the whole dynasty. In the second place, the implicit assumption in this method that all uncles are older than their nephews by the same number of years, or roughly the same number of years, as the sons are younger than their fathers, is not accurate. In societies which practised polygamy, this assumption is not even generally true. The sons of a ruling monarch could be much older than the brothers of that monarch for reasons already explained.

One more objection to the use of generations for the
projection of the lengths of reigns may be read from Table E and this is their use for the dynasty of Buganda by Kiwanuka. On that Table it will be seen that there are 19 generations for Buganda and 16 for Nkore, but that their combinations give an equal number of reigns - 17 of them for both countries. The difference does not lie so much in the tradition of both countries as these tend to suggest that the two came into existence as independent kingdoms at about the same time. The difference comes from the use of the generations as a basis for calculation. Thus three generations are allowed between Kimera and his successor, Tembo, on the grounds, apparently, that Kimera was Tembo's grandfather. It has been argued in the preceding pages that this assumption is open to grave doubts. Furthermore, Kiwanuka tells us that after the death of Nakibinge, a new dynasty was established with the accession of Mulondo and his reasons for this conclusion are very convincing. But it is not equally clear why Mulondo, Jemba and Suna 1 are given two generations (11 and 12) between them when, for example, Mutebi, Juko and Kayemba are all in one generation and while, on the same list, Nakibinge, who died in battle and therefore before his natural time, has a whole generation to himself. This, in my opinion, is a weakness of estimating by generations. Once a standard error is assumed, it must be applied equally throughout the genealogical list or, if this is not practicable, the whole
theory must clearly be abandoned. Thus, while the use of
generations to estimate probable time sequences for societies
that are generally described as "stateless" has a lot to
recommend it, it has no equal validity for kingdom areas when
the lengths of the reigns are the subject to be estimated.
In the latter case either a much more discriminating basis
has to be found before "generations" form the vital element
in the calculations or the whole idea has to be abandoned as
a general principle. One conclusion to be drawn from this
line of reasoning is that the genealogical list of Buganda
is longer than that of Nkore because the bases upon which
they are constructed are different. The second, and wider,
conclusion is that the estimate of time sequence by generations
is inadequate in many cases, particularly in the case of
Nkore, since it leaves out many pertinent factors for which
allowances have to be made.

It seems to me that a more satisfactory method would
be an estimation of the duration of reigns without a particular
emphasis on generations. Such a method must make estimates
which combine "individual irregularity with aggregate regu­
larity" which is what the pattern of succession to the throne
was.\(^1\) This can be made on the basis of recent known reigns
from which extrapolation could then be made using stastical

\(^1\) I. Hacking, Logic of Statistical Inference, (Cambridge,
1965), p. 5.
methods normally employed in forecasting probabilities. By "duration of a reign" is meant the period, when due allowances have been made, that a ruler is expected to occupy the throne. In this context, our estimate will make allowance for the fact that there were no regents in Nkore so that princes came to the throne when they were old enough to rule by themselves; that there were abnormally long as well as short reigns and that the succession wars had an effect on the time lag between the death of one king and the accession of the next one. But a reign also must be a recognisable and complete unit on its own. This means that in the cases of the rulers who were unseated by their rivals, such rulers cannot be said to have completed a reign individually. Conversely, a prince who came to the throne by unseating an incumbent by means of war or murder, or who came to the throne in succession to a predecessor who had died suddenly from some unnatural cause, cannot be considered to have completed a reign on his own since part of that reign would have been taken up by his predecessor. Thus, for instance, if prince A came to the throne and ruled for some time and was then challenged and defeated by prince B, be it his uncle or brother, who then sat on the throne, neither A nor B can be said to have completed a reign individually. But both can be said to have completed one reign between them provided that B is not subsequently deposed by a third prince, but rules until the
end of his natural time. This definition of a reign is basic in the estimation upon which the following Table D(1) is based. The recent reigns which form the population samples are taken from Nkore, Buganda, Toro, Bunyoro and Rwanda.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i. Country</th>
<th>ii. Ruler</th>
<th>iii. Duration</th>
<th>iv. Deviation from the Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nkore</td>
<td>Ntare V</td>
<td>1876-1895</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kahaya II</td>
<td>1897-1944</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buganda</td>
<td>Mutesa I</td>
<td>1857-1884</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mwanga II</td>
<td>1884-1897</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daudi Cwa</td>
<td>1897-1939</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toro</td>
<td>Kasagama</td>
<td>1891-1928</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rukidi I</td>
<td>1929-1966</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kasagama</td>
<td>1891-1928</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunyoro</td>
<td>Kamurasi</td>
<td>1852-1869</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kabarega</td>
<td>1870-1899</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kitehimbwa l</td>
<td>1899-1902</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duhaga 11</td>
<td>1902-1924</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Kigeli IV</td>
<td>1853-1895</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yuhi V</td>
<td>1895-1931</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mutara III</td>
<td>1931-1957</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. The sum of the deviations from the mean does not come to zero, as it should, because we are taking the mean to the nearest whole year and the remainder term of 5/14 accounts for the discrepancy of +5.
**TABLE D(2) — showing the estimated dates of reigns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reigns</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Estimated duration</th>
<th>Est. Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>Ntare V</td>
<td>1867-1895</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lI</td>
<td>Mutambuka</td>
<td>1839-1867</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lIII</td>
<td>Gasyonga I</td>
<td>1811-1839</td>
<td>+17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Rwebishengye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bwarenga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyakashaija</td>
<td>1783-1811</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Kahaya I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karaiga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rwabirere²</td>
<td>1755-1783</td>
<td>+22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Macwa</td>
<td>1727-1755</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ntare IV</td>
<td>1699-1727</td>
<td>+26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Mirindi</td>
<td>1671-1699</td>
<td>+28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Rumongye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kitera</td>
<td>1643-1671</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Kasasira</td>
<td>1615-1643</td>
<td>+32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Rugamba</td>
<td>1587-1615</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Kagwejegyera</td>
<td>1559-1587</td>
<td>+35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Rushango</td>
<td>1531-1559</td>
<td>+36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Nyabugaro</td>
<td>1503-1531</td>
<td>+37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>Nyaika</td>
<td>1475-1503</td>
<td>+39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>Nkuba ³</td>
<td>1447-1475</td>
<td>+40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruhinda</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The present writer excludes Rwanga, the uncle of Gasyonga I, from the list because he did not rule and for the same reason Mukwenda and Kahitsi are excluded. See Chs. IV and V.

2. All these were the sons of Macwa and all but Kahaya, who was the youngest, died before their natural time.

3. Ruhinda does not seem to have been an effective ruler of Nkore. See Ch. III.
Table D(l) gives 14 samples of the durations of the reigns for the kings cited. We need to project these backwards so as to continue the sequence of reigns from 1895 which is one of the fixed dates for Nkore. The expected duration of the reign of any king according to these samples is 397.14 and this, to the nearest whole number, comes to 28. In this context the mean and the expectation are taken to be synonymous. The usefulness of any estimate depends on its reliability and we must therefore give such an estimate a figure.

Standard practice suggests that a symmetric estimate of the standard error takes into account the inconsistencies which might be introduced by the general fluctuations in the expectations. This is done by taking the sum of the squares of the deviations from the mean which are shown in column (iv) and dividing this by 13. This gives 2088 / 13 which is 160.6.

Two thirds of the square root of this figure gives the standard error of the estimate and this is approximately +8.7. The divisor of 13 is taken instead of 14 in order to offset the smallness of the sample used for the estimation of the expected duration of the reigns. Combining this figure with the figure of +2 which we estimated as the probable error at the beginning of each reign, we get the error involved in the estimation of the duration of any given reign. Thus \( \sqrt{2^2 + (8.7)^2} \) which is approximately +9 and this is our standard error. To make farther allowance for such
marginal factors as the time lapse between the death of one ruler and the accession of the next one, and this lapse varied with the circumstances attending each accession, we shall increase this figure to ±10. Clearly we could not then double this figure since this would then mean that the error of the estimate is twice the estimate of the error which would be a repudiation of the fundamental hypothesis that the mean is the best estimate for a normal population such as we have in the duration of the kings' reigns.

It needs also to be clarified that when we speak of plus or minus this or that figure, as an estimate of the margin of error, it means that one has taken the square root of the square of that figure. It follows, therefore, that when any number of estimates are made, the error does not actually increase by the number of the estimates made, but rather it increases as the square root of the number of the estimates. Thus if we make several estimates - say N estimates - the error increases as the square root of N and not by the number of the estimates up to N. Therefore as our base year is 1895, if we wish to estimate the year Y as the beginning of the Nth reign in the past, we get the formula: Y = 1895 - 28N + 10 \sqrt{N} with the error each time being 10 \sqrt{N} and not 10N.¹ This is how Table D(2), the genealogical list of

¹ See William Feller, *Introduction to Probability and its*
Nkore kings, is arrived at.

We have some corroborative evidence to back up the division of the reigns in the manner just tabulated. We know from the traditions of Nkore and of Mpororo that the last king of the latter country died during the reign of Macwa in Nkore and that hence Mpororo princes began ruling over the fragments of what had been the kingdom of Mpororo at that point in time. Rujumbura and Igara are such fragments which were ruled over by the sons of the last king of Mpororo. Between Macwa and Ntare V there are six reigns according to our table. This is exactly the number successions that Igara and Rujumbura each count in the same period. Again we know from the traditions of Nkore that the official keepers of the royal drums were given that function by Ntare IV (see Ch. III) and between Ntare IV and Ntare V there are seven reigns. Traditionalists count five successions of the drum keepers in the same period, but this difference is accounted for by the longevity of the first two keepers - Kahurira and his son Rwankore - who are said to have covered more than three reigns between them in that office. Finally, tradition

Footnote 1 contd. from previous page.

applications, (N.Y. 1967). I am deeply indebted to Mr. Kasuge-Sherurah, B.Sc.(Eng.) of the Department of Geodesy and Surveying, Hertford College, Oxford, for the mathematical part of this section.
relates that the royal tobacconists were given that family function by the Omugabe Macwa whose reign is the sixth counting backwards from Ntare V. The family of the royal tobacconists also counts six successions in that office in the same period.

This method of estimation is of course not immune from criticism. It might be argued, for example, that since the samples used in this estimation are taken from recent reigns, many of which fall in the colonial period, they may not be typical of the traditional reigns. There are two dimensions to this criticism. The first is that the colonial powers established peace between the countries concerned and this might have affected the lengths of the reigns whereas this was not the case in the traditional setting. But we know that it was rare for the kings to be killed in foreign wars since they did not fight in person. This is why a king like Nakibinge of Buganda is widely remembered to have been killed in a foreign war - it was an unusual occurrence. No king of Nkore was killed in a foreign war. Secondly, in the case of Uganda at least, the arrival of the white man did not bring peace - it brought more wars. Witness the protracted wars of religion in Buganda and then against Mwanga; punitive measures against Kabarega of Bunyoro, Ndagara of Buhweju, Musinga of Igara and against several chiefs of Mpororo. In other words, the arrival of the white man caused more wars
than it prevented. Moreover the presence of the British in Nkore did little to make any material alteration to the pattern of succession disputes in so far as the lapse of time between the death of one Mugabe and the accession of the next one was concerned. Thus Ntare V died in 1895 and his successor was not confirmed in office until 1899 during which interval there was the familiar fighting despite the presence of the British authorities. When Kahaya II died in October 1944, his successor was not installed until September 1945 - nearly a year later. The difference here was that the fighting for the throne took place in the law courts and not on the battlefield as formerly. But this is not the point. The point is that there was a lapse of one year though the colonial authorities had been ruling in Nkore for some fifty years.

Moreover when we use the mean and the standard error in the estimation of this nature, extrapolation is justified because all we are saying is that the duration of the reign of any king is normally distributed and these two values - mean and standard error - specify an invariant law which is independent of the number in the sample as long as this is large enough (nine being normally regarded as large enough). Unless one is in position to dispute the law of distribution of the expectation of the duration of the reigns being symmetrical and unimodal, one cannot then question the
validity of this method. The deviations which are supposed to be introduced by the difference in the conditions obtaining in pre-and post colonial Nkore, which are immaterial in this context anyway, would be accounted for by the symmetric estimate of the error in the duration of the reigns.¹

The second dimension to this criticism is that, for example, Kabarega and Mwanga of Bunyoro and Buganda respectively were deposed before their natural time and were replaced by minors who then ruled for lengthy periods. It is admitted that in the case of Nkore, at least, minors did not come to the throne and that they would probably not have done so in Buganda and elsewhere during the traditional period although this is not strictly true of Bunyoro, for instance.² But this consideration is of very little relevance to our calculations. In the first place, depositions are such a regular feature of traditional history - this being what most succession wars were really about - that any system of estimating the duration of the reigns must take them for granted. Moreover, since succession wars are a constant factor both before and during the colonial period, they must go out of our averages and special allowances for other factors. The real

¹ I am farther indebted to Mr. Kasuge-Shururah for the information contained in this paragraph.

² For example Nyakatura (pp. 99-100) tells us that Kyebambe came to the throne when he was an infant.
question that would be of great relevance to our system of reckoning is whether a minor necessarily stays on the throne longer than a prince who comes to the throne when he is already grown up. In our particular examples, this is not necessarily so. Daudi Chwa of Buganda came to the throne when he was a minor and ruled for 42 years whereas Kahaya 11 of Nkore came to the throne when he was not and ruled for 47 years. Even if it is accepted that a minor holds office longer than a grown up prince, the consideration would not be any more relevant since the basis of this system of estimation is that allowances are made for the fluctuations between the long and short reigns and the reigns of the minors would be adequately catered for. The main point of this approach is that once a standard error has been estimated, it must apply to the whole genealogical list. Perhaps I need also add that this method makes no pretence at giving accurate dates - it is merely a guide to the probable time sequence in Nkore history which, I feel, is more plausible than the alternative one. The dating represented on Table D(2) forms the basis of all the dating in the subsequent pages unless otherwise indicated.
The Social and Economic Background:

Ankole, as opposed to Nkore with which this study is concerned, is a larger geographical area. It includes areas that were formerly independent of Nkore. The principal areas that were incorporated in the traditional kingdom of Nkore by the British at the beginning of this century were Buzimba, Buhweju, Bunyaruguru, Igara and the other parts of the former kingdom of Mpororo represented by the modern counties of Kajara, most of Rwampara and of Sheema.\(^1\) We have no information about the precise extent of Nkore territory north of the River Rwizi, at least until the mid 18th century from which period, it seems, Nkore expanded at the expense of Buhweju up to the Katonga river. According to the latest population estimates, Ankole has a population of over 800,000.\(^2\)

Geographically, Ankole can be roughly divided into three major regions according to the predominant relief features. The first of these divisions is what might be termed the North-West highlands, the approximate extent of

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1. See Map III.

which includes the counties of Ibanda, Buhweju, Bunyaruguru, Igara and part of Kajara. This region is dominated by rolling hills which adjoin the eastern side of the Western Rift Valley. From the floor of the rift valley, the hills rise steeply to well over 6000 feet in Buhweju and Bunyaruguru counties. It enjoys a relatively heavy rainfall which decreases as one moves from the north to the west. Dense vegetation dominates the hill sides, but this, too, thins out as one gets to the higher altitudes. The area is predominantly agricultural, although there is a considerable number of cattle keepers in the western part — especially in Kajara — where the rainfall is considerably lower. A large part of Ibanda and the whole of Bunyaruguru are entirely agricultural and unsuited to cattle rearing.

The second division comprises of the central lowlands and includes the counties of Nyabushozi, Kashari, Sheema and part of Rwampara. The region is a plain, the general elevation of which is 4500 ft. although some of the undulating hills rise to over 5000 ft. in some parts. Rainfall is low, vegetation is short and sparse and the area is a predominantly pastoral one. The third division is the southern highlands comprising the counties of Isingiro, most of Rwampara and southern Kajara.¹ This, like the first region, has hills

¹. See Map IV for the positions of these counties.
which rise to over 6000 ft. and, like the first one to some extent, the mass of these hills are dissected by deep gulleys which are filled with papyrus swamps and by wide valleys.\footnote{See for example: S.J.K. Baker, "The population map of Uganda", \textit{Ug. Jnl.} 1/2/April 1934. Ntare School History Society, \textit{op. cit.}}

The region is both agricultural and pastoral.

The distribution of pastoral and agricultural population depends on the suitability of the particular area to the relevant occupation. According to many informants, however, this population distribution has been greatly affected by the tsetse fly and by inter-county migrations. This, they say, explains why huge tracts of land stand empty of habitation in Isingiro county, where there is almost no cattle rearing worth mentioning, and also why Nyabushozi, the largest county in size, has the smallest population per square mile. This was not so at the close of the last century and the difference has been caused by the spread of tse-tse fly.

It was further explained to me that counties like Igara, Sheema and Rwampara were not as densely agricultural in the 1890's as they are now. The intensive agriculture in these areas, according to these sources, was a result of the influx of the immigrants from Kooki and Kigezi into Ankole, which is an event of this century. Several large areas which were formerly grazing land, but which are now completely under cultivation...
are recalled from personal memory of many living informants today. The explanation for this development is that since the agriculturalists are a comparatively settled population, they found it easy to crowd out the nomadic pastoralists with the hoe.

The process of occupational substitution on a geographical basis is a natural and gradual one. Since the cattle are not allowed to wander over the crops, the proliferation of food crops in an area means that the pastoralists have to move away in search of more open spaces where the animals can graze freely without the risk of destroying crops. Additionally, the habit of moving from place to place is not merely a seasonal imperative, but also a fundamental tenet of the pastoralists' philosophy concerning the well being of their animals. It was believed that new sites were a necessary part of good animal husbandry. Thus, for example, several areas of Kashari county which were entirely empty of cultivation in the 1950's are now dotted with crops and many cattle owners have had to move into Nyabushozi or across the border into Buganda.

Within these broad geographical divisions, there are areas which are only suited to agriculture to the exclusion

1. Messrs Binyindo, Batorogwa, among others in personal interviews and Mr. Mutashwera in personal communication.
of cattle rearing and vice versa. Taking two counties as examples of both extremes, Bunyaruguru and Nyabushozi are the best. It appears that, up to the 19th century, no cattle owner had settled in Bunyaruguru and that, since then, the experiment has not been repeated. For this reason, the term Bahima, was rare in Bunyaruguru and it still is. It means nothing more than a person who keeps cattle as distinct from an agriculturalist and this normally refers to those who live in Busongola and with whom the people of Bunyaruguru seem to have had regular trade contacts. Within Bunyaruguru itself the people refer to themselves as the Bakunta, if they are of Buganda descent, or simply as Banyaruguru, but never as Bairu although all of them are agriculturalists by occupation.

On the other hand, the agriculturalists do not appear to have lived in Nyabushozi in any appreciable numbers until very recently during this century - from the early 1950's. There were, and still are, natural impediments to this. The rainfall over the whole county is very unreliable and, even when it comes, generally very low. There are wild animals which destroy crops and against this hazard the agriculturalists do not seem to have devised an answer beyond moving to safer areas. Thus, at any time, only a handful of cultivators

1. Infra ch. V.
lived in Nyabushozi. They lived in the proximity of the kraals of the pastoralists, cultivating such short term crops like legumes and sweet potatoes and supplemented this diet with the dairy products from the kraals. They were always ready to move at short notice, either following their pastoralist neighbours or moving to more suitable areas to engage in more settled agriculture under more favourable circumstances. This type of agriculturalist was the least common and the most atypical member of the occupation – most of the agriculture was carried out outside Nyabushozi. Like those in the rest of Ankole, but unlike those in Bunyaruguru, this group of itinerant agriculturalists were also called Bairu.

The difference in the social complexions of Nyabushozi and Bunyaruguru is, moreover, historical. Bunyaruguru was not part of Nkore until the closing years of the last century, and, since then, its population has remained different in that the clan system, language and customs are still different from those obtaining in the rest of Nkore. What is more, the county is still a non-cattle area. In contrast, the county of Nyabushozi, as we know it today, is a 20th century creation so far as boundary demarcation goes, but, at least since the mid 18th century, the area has been under frequent occupation of the pastoralists of Nkore during the wet seasons when water is plentiful and the pasture fresh.
This is not to say that the whole area has always formed part of Nkore territory since the 18th century, because a considerable portion of Nyabushozi had belonged to the former kingdom of Bwera. This fact did not prevent the pastoralists from moving across the political frontiers in search of water and fresh pasture for their stock, and from carrying their social system with them. Traditionally political frontiers have always meant little to the pastoralist and the needs of cattle everything; a fact, incidentally, that explains most of the exasperation and, sometimes, outright hostility which the early colonial administrators showed towards these nomads. The main point to stress at this juncture is that in the parts of modern Ankole where the pastoralists and the agriculturalists have lived side by side, the terms Bairu and Bahima came to denote social distinctions on grounds of wealth, whereas in areas like Bunyaruguru such connotations did not arise because the pastoralists did not live there. This point should be borne in mind when we discuss the relations of the Bairu and the Bahima in the subsequent pages.

Nkore society comprised, and still comprises, of two different classes of people - the Bairu and the Bahima.

1. Bahima is the plural form for Muhima - the pastoralist and Bairu is plural for Mwiru - the agriculturalist. Henceforth these terms will be used to carry those meanings unless otherwise indicated.
In the past the former were entirely agriculturalists and the latter entirely pastoralists; these being the primary occupations of the whole society. These are still the basic occupations for the great majority of the people although their pursuit is much less exclusive than in the past. The daily occupational routine of either section of the society depended on whether it was a wet or dry season. Even then, these variations lay out so much in the general duties on the field or in the kraal, as these were pretty constant, but rather in the details of the day-to-day occupations. The dry seasons are late December to February and late May to August and the wet ones are March to May and September to December. Quite often there are seasonal variations - rains might come in July or the expected rains might fail to come in April, for example. But such occurrences are the exception to the general pattern and when this happens, great hardship is caused as, for instance, too much rain falling out of season and ruining the harvests.

There has been little basic change in the occupational routine of the Bairu and the Bahima over the centuries. Both occupations were full time, each in its own right. The work involved in breaking up new ground, preparation for the planting of crops, weeding, harvesting, drying and, where this is applicable, garnering, and all the other intermediary work between these main stages, depending on weather and
season, took up most of the working hours of the Mwiru. This will be all the more marked in so far as all these activities are carried on, as in the past, manually. In addition to these practical engagements, certain ritual observances attended the planting of certain crops such as finger millet which is the staple food for most Banyankore\(^1\) and which was formerly used in many ritual ceremonies of the tribe.\(^2\) For the Muhima, the routine was equally repetitive. Milking (morning and evening), taking the cattle to pasture, cleaning out the kraals and watering the animals formed, and still form, the basic routine duties in the pastoralist's working day. There are a host of other duties between those outlined depending on the circumstances obtaining in the particular kraal at a given time. For example, the treatment of cattle when they happen to be sick and the construction of new water wells and watering troughs whenever necessary are some of the duties undertaken outside the routine of the day to day chores. For the Muhima, however, cattle were not merely, or even primarily, economic assets, for he was concerned as much with increasing the size of his herd for the sake of numbers, as with the selective breeding to ensure the beauty of the

1. The term Banyankore has the meaning explained in footnote (1), p. 25.

2. See footnote (1) above and also: B.K. Mubangizi, op. cit., pp. 138-144.
animals as an end in itself. As Lukyn Williams had aptly observed, "The Muhima's cattle ..... are his friends and he treats them as such. They know his voice and he knows theirs, their life is his life, what they like he likes ... he will undergo any hardship to ensure their safety and if overtaken by death, he will mourn their death as for that of a friend". This brief outline indicates why cultivation and cattle rearing were mutually exclusive occupations in the sense that they could not normally be carried out by the same person or family at the same time. In the olden days this was rendered even more difficult by the need to protect cattle from wild animals, by day and by night, as well as to protect them against internal and external raids. Even today the families which engage in both occupations usually employ cash-paid labour, formerly unknown, or the family has to be large enough for most of the male members tend cattle while most of the female members do the cultivation. But even this has been made possible by the complete absence of raids and the relative absence of wild animals - especially lions - in most areas of Ankole. When, however, these man - and cattle - eating


2. Women, by custom, are debarred from engaging in several activities concerning cattle rearing, such as milking, watering cattle and cattle-bleeding etc.
marauders appear - and this does happen from time to time - the hazards of engaging in both occupations become tragically obvious, as happened in 1958-59 when two lions terrorised the Kakiika subcounty of Kashari. It was the mixed farmers who suffered the greatest loss of life and stock, as they usually do not have sufficient manpower in their isolated kraals to ward off such attacks because the family members are divided between the kraal and the abode near the crops. It was partly due to this consideration that the Bahima settled, as they still do, in the county of Nyabushozi where lions still roam, in considerable numbers in one kraal.

Besides cultivation and cattle rearing, other economic activities included carpentry, pottery and iron-working. It was from these vocations that implements such as hoes, spears, arrows, milk-pots etc., were obtained. These vocations were exclusively practiced by the Bairu, and on a part-time basis, as no single item was in such continuous demand to justify the pursuit of a specialised vocation to the exclusion of other economic activities. Products like spears, milk-pots, arrows (both for fighting and for cattle bleeding), were used by the Bahima in the course of their every day life. On the other hand, dairy products like meat,
milk, \(^1\) butter, hides and skins were in considerable demand among the Bairu. This, then, established a pattern of internal trade by means of bartering those products because the economic occupations of the Bairu and the Bahima were complementary.

But this pattern of internal trade does not emerge from the picture painted by the past writers on Nkore as a few examples will illustrate. Explaining why the Bahima did not choose to "exterminate" their conquered "subjects" [the Bairu], Oberg tells us that though extermination would have been possible, the Bahima chose to dominate because it was profitable. "The Bahima, then as now, lived upon their cattle and forced their serfs [Bairu] to give them as much beer, millet and labour as possible without destroying their source of supply." \(^2\) Elsewhere he says: "Formerly the Bahima dominated the Bairu and exacted tribute from them in the form of beer, millet and labour. Bairu made the milk pots, spears, and articles of decoration which the Bahima required. Today these articles are obtained by the Bahima giving the Bairu milk, butter, hides and bull calves and barren cows in

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1. Although the Bairu kept goats as domestic animals, they did not get milk from them because the Banyankore do not drink goats' milk.

exchange".¹ This line of analysis is accepted by Morris² and by Roscoe.³ This presupposes an economic and political system whereby the Bahima got the various products for their own use from the Bairu as a matter of right. The contention is difficult to sustain on any grounds. In the first place, a comparison with the neighbouring societies with which Nkore had similar class systems and institutions, such as Igara and Karagwe,⁴ suggests a contrary picture. Thus Ford and Hall tell us that in Karagwe, the ruler had absolute authority over all his subjects, the Bahima and the Banyambo, "the former having no power of their own over the latter".⁵ In Igara I was assured by all my informants that only the Bene Mafundo [the ruling clan of Igara] got those goods and services free and that, even so, they got them from the Bahima as well as from the Bairu.⁶ According to my Nkore

4. Igara, now a county of Ankole, was an independent kingdom until the coming of the British and an immediate neighbour of Nkore to the west. Karagwe, immediately to the south of Ankole, is now in Tanzania.
6. For example, Messrs Kiiza, Nshashaho and Binyindo, among others, interviewed at their homes in Igara county on 31st December and 1st November, 1967.
informants, again without a single dissenting voice, whereas the Omugabe, his senior chiefs and the senior members of the royal family did receive goods and services in the form of what may be termed "tribute", for lack of a better word, nobody else could do so save with the express sanction of the Mugabe or of one of his senior chiefs, and even then only for a limited period, usually to alleviate some misfortune of the individual being granted such a privilege. It might also be noted that the Omugabe and his chiefs were duty-bound to give "gifts" or assistance to their courtiers, who included both Bairu and Bahima, so that this "tribute" was not without strings since it was given with a view to immediate or future material consideration. Roscoe makes a curious point when he says, in reference to craftsmen such as carpenters etc., "He [the Mugabe] paid no wages, but made presents of goats or sheep to these artisans, who were never allowed to suffer from any transactions with him". This is curious because it is difficult to visualise a system in Nkore in which the Omugabe paid for the goods which a section of his subjects

1. The word "okutoija" cannot be properly rendered "tribute" in English as the latter connotes formal, pre-arranged and somewhat compulsory payment, which is what the okutoija was not. Mostly it was the giving of produce (dairy or agricultural) which was not pre-arranged as to the quantity or frequency. The voluntary element was predominant in the system.

We have already examined what broadly constituted the basic daily routine of the Bairu and the Bahima in traditional Nkore society and indicated the nature of the interdependence of those activities. In order for the Bairu to perform those kraal duties for the Bahima, it would have necessarily meant that the Bairu lived in the kraals because all the duties of the kraal fell due, as they still do, from sunrise to sunset. Furthermore, it would also have meant that whenever the Bahima moved in search of fresh pasture and water for their stock, and this happened all too frequently, the Bairu must have moved with them. Morris suggests that they did.\(^1\) It follows that if the Bairu moved whenever the Bahima moved, they could not have carried out settled agriculture as they did. Since this did not happen, it is difficult to see how these "feudal obligations" in terms of services rendered could have arisen. For some writers it is likely that the expression "menial tasks" meant different things, as is evident when Meldon writes: "The Bahima do no work of any sort, they own large herds of cattle which they tend, but all the manual labour is done by the Mwiros [sic]

or slaves..."¹ The statement overlooks the obvious fact that cattle tending has always involved manual labour.

The provision of vegetable foods, too, could not have been regular enough to constitute one of the bases of a social system, let alone of a feudal relationship. The Bahima do not appear to have been regular eaters of vegetable foods and this was even observed by several early explorers who passed through Nkore. Stanley, for instance, tells us that the Bahima shunned vegetable food, "nor will they permit a person who eats cooked food to put his lips to any pot, basin or gourd that is used in contact with their cows".² This is farther confirmed by Mubangizi in his book about the customs of the Banyankore. He says: "A person who drinks milk does not eat sweet potatoes, beans, peas or any hot food: because it was believed that if this happened, the cows' teats would be blocked. A woman in her monthly period does not drink milk because it was feared that the cows would give forth blood like hers instead of milk".³ According to my informants, vegetable food was given to the Bahima women during their monthly periods, during which time they were

³ B.K. Mubangizi, op. cit., p. 15.
forbidden to drink milk. If the food was not available, they had to do without it throughout the period and this, then as now, is called **okuzirira akakoba** in Runyankore, meaning to go without food throughout the menstruation period. Even within my own experience I recall that when school children came home for holidays from the schools, they were first given purgatives to make their "stomachs clean" before they were allowed to drink milk, because they used to eat food at school. Thus, it appears fairly certain that the economic relations between the Bairu and the Bahima were based on mutual exchange of the goods produced by each and that their occupations were made mutually exclusive by the environmental conditions rather than by ethnic superiority or inferiority. An economic system in which goods are exchanged by means of barter does not of itself preclude the possibility that one section of the community is exploiting another, since, for example, the goods exchanged may not have the same market value. In such a case it could be argued that the section giving the inferior goods for the dearer ones was exploiting. This might well be a sound economic theory, but it is entirely irrelevant in the context of traditiona Nkore because it could scarcely be said that any particular good had a "market value" - there was no market anyway. Goods had value according to their utility in relation to each other, but not according to some abstract
standard medium, such as money for example.

The whole subject of the political relationship between the Bairu and the Bahima has received a great deal of attention from writers in the past, and in order to get a proper perspective of this subject, it is essential to outline the theories which attempt to show a Hamitic origin of the Bahima, since it is against the background of these theories that these relationships have been explained in the past.

From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the imagination of the European explorers, missionaries and administrators was fired by what they saw of the Bahima of Nkore and Karagwe and of the Batutsi of Rwanda. To these Europeans, the Bahima and the Batutsi were a "finer race" than the mass of the "Negroes" among whom they lived and "over whom they ruled". It was on the basis of observations such as these that the theories about the origins of the Bahima were formulated. Thus, according to Crabtree, "the Ba-Ganda influence under the Bahima aristocracy is always associated with the western side of the lake..." and "... the most decisive word is the Ganda ente, a cow, universally used by all the Bahima stock instead of the Bantu Ngombe". From

these clues it is concluded that the Bahima came from the Azande country and not from the Galla country. It might be noted in passing that the term ente is not in use in Rwanda, at least. Baker thinks that the Bahima are linked with the Galla "and an analysis of their present day distribution shows that they have penetrated southwestwards into western Uganda and beyond what are now Protectorate boundaries into Rwanda and Urundi". Because Toro and Bunyoro, he says, have physical characteristics less favourable to large scale pastoralism, the Bahima there have been unable "so completely to preserve their identity. The greatest degree of fusion between the two elements has taken place in Buganda .... where the Bahima, though remaining as a feudal aristocracy, have lost their pastoral mode of life and have tended to be absorbed in the mass of the Bantu cultivators". To this fusion he attributes the social and political development of Buganda institutions.¹ This line of thought is also taken by Margaret Trowell who writes that, "In Buganda itself the Hamitic element left its mark in the physical features of the aristocracy and the genius of the social organisation of the kingdom..."² Two observations need be made in passing

¹. S.J.K. Baker, op. cit., p. 139.
at this stage. The first is that there is no Kiganda tradition, as far as I am aware, which suggests a link between the ruling house of Buganda and those of Karagwe, Nkore and Rwanda. Secondly, to suggest that the "Hamitic element" was responsible for the development of the Kiganda social and political organisation would, by the very logic of this contention, mean that Nkore should have been socially and politically as well organised as or better organised than Buganda by the time the Europeans came to the present Uganda and, yet, the contrary was true as all the writers in the past have observed.

Oberg finds "no dount that these people [Bahima] are closely linked to the Hamites in blood and in customs concerning cattle".¹ Crazzolara argues that the Bahima are Lwoo and uses the existence of pet names in Bunyoro to reach the conclusion that; "That this survival [of pet names] establishes a good case in favour of the Lwoo descent of the Bahima, nobody can deny".² The chief weakness in this theory is that, whereas there are good reasons for believing that the ruling house of Bunyoro was descended from the Luo, there are no good grounds for holding the same for the royal families of Nkore or Rwanda. Moreover, while pet names exist in Bunyoro and

Toro - the latter was part of Bunyoro until the 19th century anyway - they do not exist in Rwanda, Nkore or, for that matter, in Buganda. From the customs of the Bahima such as the veiling of women, Cunningham found corroborative evidence for "the supposition that the Bahima originated in Egypt or Gala Africa, and are of Hamitic stock. Such principles of their native laws and customs could hardly be a coincidence merely". Seligman holds the same views and enumerates the customs of the Galla that have a striking similarity to those of the Bahima of Nkore such as the aesthetic value placed on cattle, general monogamy, the paying of bride-wealth in cattle, the right of the first born to have a larger share of inheritance than the rest of the children while the women had no right to inherit property at all and so on. Pages also thinks that the Batutsi of Rwanda originated from either Egypt or Abyssinia and observes that they have a remarkable resemblance to the Pharaohs of Egypt in physical features. Furthermore, he continues, when the Hamites first entered Rwanda, they were known as Bahima from which term was derived the name of a village near the present town of Kigali.

Gorju maintains that the Bahima are of Galla origin because the Galla themselves are the "sons of Orma" or "Ilma Orma" and if the "Ilma" is replaced by the "Ba" of the Bantu speech, one gets the word nearer Bahima.\(^1\) Speke found it "impossible to believe, judging from the appearance of the Wahuma, that they can be of any other race than the Semi-Shem-Hamitic of Ethiopia",\(^2\) and Sir Harry Johnston, on whom the appearance of the Bahima seem to have made a great impression, placed their original home in Abyssinia rather than Egypt.\(^3\)

These authorities are quoted here, somewhat at length, in order to give a broad spectrum of the predominant theories concerning the original home of the Bahima and the main observations upon which these theories are based. The essence of the theories just quoted is twofold; firstly that the Bahima of Nkore and the Batutsi of Rwanda have a common origin in some Hamitic land (be it Ethiopia or Egypt) and that they migrated into the interlacustrine region at some point in the past and, secondly, that the rest of the inhabitants of the region - the Banyambo of Karagwe, the Bairu of

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Nkore and the Batwa and Bahutu of Rwanda were already in the region by the time the pastoralists arrived. It is also a fair generalisation, I think, to say that what gave rise to these theories in the first instance was the striking similarity in physical appearance and, to some extent, the similarity of several customs between the Bahima and the other Hamitic peoples farther up in the north of the continent. It must be admitted that the conclusions which link the Bahima/Batutsi to the Hamites of North Africa are very attractive and, what is more, these theories are difficult to prove or disprove on the basis of our present knowledge. For one thing there appears to be no good reason why the Bahima should observe similar customs with the Galla, for example, and bear remarkable resemblance to them in physical appearance when the geographical distance between them is too great to allow mutual copying of customs or intermarriage. This is all the more striking when one considers the fact that the Bairu and the Bahima who have lived together for centuries, spoken the same language and shared a great many customs have nevertheless remained different in physical features. One would therefore be tempted to explain these similarities in terms of ethnic identity and population movements in the absence of better explanations and conclusive evidence.

But this whole line of reasoning is centralistic in approach to the problem and is not all the more valid for
lack of conclusive evidence to the contrary. In the first place the evidence for these folk migrations is far from being conclusive so that lack of evidence to disprove the migration theory does not enhance its validity. In the second place, there are several ways of explaining similar customs among peoples who live on cattle in different parts of the world other than by ethnic identity and folk migration. This point is best illustrated by reference to the similar customs cited by the authorities just quoted. Thus we can explain the paying of bridewealth in cattle by saying that this was the practice because cattle was the only form of property possessed by the Galla and the Bahima. The practice of allowing a large share of inheritance to the first born son and the general disqualification of women in this field may not be unrelated to the consideration that the cattle being inherited had to be protected, from human and animal enemies, by an adult male while women would be demonstrably unequal to that task. At least in the case of Nkore there were other considerations beside this. The eldest son also inherited the responsibility of looking after all the extended family of his father and the settlement of any debts and other obligations which his father left unsettled and these

1. It is still permissable, in law, for the main heir to sue for the recovery of the debts owed to the deceased father and he can also be sued to settle any debts left outstanding by the same.
responsibilities were not inherited by the younger sons. It follows, therefore, that the elder son had to be given a larger share of his father's property to enable him to discharge these responsibilities. Moreover, women did not inherit much property in Nkore because of the clan rules of inheritance. The property inherited by a woman would ultimately "go to a different clan" from the clan of the original possessor when the woman married. This would be a consideration of some weight in any society organised along clan alignments and in which the patrilineal system of succession was the norm. The rules of inheritance in Nkore were the same for the Bairu and the Bahima except that the type of property being passed on was not the same, but then this had nothing to do with the principle itself.

The general monogamy among the pastoralists was due to their way of life rather than to any innate belief in the virtues of the principle - it is in fact doubtful whether the Bahima conceived of monogamy as a virtue or a principle at all, before the Christian missionaries told them that it was both. Many wives were not as useful to the pastoralist as they were to the agriculturalist; they were a liability in that they contributed relatively little to the wellbeing and the security of the kraal. On the other hand the more wives an agriculturalist married, the more land he could put under cultivation since his wives and children were his only source
of labour. Viewed in this light, it paid the Mwiru to have several wives and it paid the Muhima not to do so for the same reasons, and this was solely due to the economic occupations of both sections of the community and not to ethnic or cultural diversity. Finally, whereas there are strikingly similar customs pertaining to cattle, there are other customs which are equally strikingly dissimilar which tend to make the whole argument neutral. For example the Bahima traditionally did not slaughter productive cows for meat although they usually slaughtered bulls for the purpose, but this was due to the fact that they were preoccupied with increasing the size of their herds for the sake of numbers as an end so that it made sense not to slaughter productive cows. This is a very different proposition from the practice which, apparently, prevailed "in Egypt where the cow was sacred to Hethor Isis, and also among the Phoenicians, who both ate and sacrificed bulls, but would as soon have eaten human flesh as that of the cow"¹ The cow was never sacred to anything like this extent in Nkore.

If one accepts the hypothesis that the Bahima and the Batutsi have a common origin, wherever that may be, one has also to find a great deal of explanations for the complete

diversity of the social and political institutions of traditional Rwanda and Nkore. We are told, for example, that the traditions of the dynasty of Rwanda were handled by special appointees of the king and that these officials had the monopoly of the specialities allotted to them which monopoly was kept in their own families and hence the growth of the esoteric groups in Rwanda.1 On the other hand we do not find anything even remotely approximating to this strict regimentation of court life. In the administrative and military fields, the Rwanda state was a much more formal and elaborate enterprise than Nkore. In the former, Kagame tells us, the basis of traditional administration was the cow – the country was divided into pastoral areas called ibikingi (sing. igikingi) and over such an area there presided a chief directly appointed by the king. This chief was also the commander of the social army – all the family units in his area as well as the bovine army, consisting of all the cattle of all the members of the social army. The igikingi belonged neither to the chief nor to his social militia, but was conceived to belong to the bovine army. Thus an igikingi was a definite pastoral area as well as a territorial unit of

administration or a chiefdom. Elsewhere it is explained that the social-bovine army institution was not merely, or even largely, a fighting instrument, but rather a social institution - a vast corporation in which the members had defined obligations and rights. This is a degree of centralisation of the social-military organs that at once embraced the whole society and its collective property, the precedent of which is not known in Nkore customs and traditions. This is not to argue that ethnic identity must necessarily produce completely identical institutions. It is possible and reasonable to say that the local circumstances in Rwanda and Nkore determined the ultimate structures of the social and political institutions of those countries. But that is not the point. The point is that this is a neutralising argument since it does not establish the common origin of the Batutsi and the Bahima. We have no evidence to suggest that, before the Batutsi copied the indigenous system of government, they had a system similar to that of the Bahima of Nkore. The point is farther that, after allowances are made for the local circumstances, it is still surprising and hard to explain that Rwanda and Nkore should have developed their respective

1. A Kagame; L'Histoire des armées-bovines dans l'ancien Rwanda, (Bruxelles, 1961), pp. 5-6, 12-23.
institutions along radically different lines and not retained some vestiges of similar political notions to attest to the common origins of the pastoralist ruling classes of the two countries. It is also surprising that the Batutsi and the Bahima, forming the ruling classes in their "new" homes as they did, should have failed to impose their own "Hamitic" language over the populations they are supposed to have conquered; that they should have lost their own language beyond any possibility of trace and that they subsequently adopted the local languages which are mutually unintelligible despite the geographical proximity of the two countries. The idea of two adjacent countries, drawing rulers from the same source and yet bearing so little resemblance to each other is certainly something that needs better explanation than what is available at the moment. One may also observe that the much publicised idea of the similar physical features of the Bahima and the Batutsi is of the very marginal and relative validity since, even today, it very easy to pick out a Mututsi from any given number of Bahima and vice versa because their features and structural build is not the same.

On the whole one is inclined to agree with Posnansky on this subject who attributes the strongly marked physical differences between the Bairu and the Bahima to nutritional and social factors rather than to a folk migration: "Living predominantly on a high protein diet and with definite
physical features socially preferred in marriage, it is probable that both the forces of natural and social selection have operated to produce the physical differences so apparent two generations ago to the first European writers. It is to be hoped that parallel studies in physical anthropology will give the historian some of the answers to these problems, but these are at such a stage of development that we can hardly draw firm conclusions from them. A recent study in anthropobiological distances of certain ethnic groups gives an interesting example of this. Hiernaux's studies show that the anthropobiological distance between the Batwa of the volcano forest of northern Rwanda and the Bahutu of the same country is 688 while "The picture is especially clear in Rwanda and Burundi where the Tutsi are strongly different from the Hutu while speaking the same language: both Hutu groups are in the sphere of low distances to the Ewondo, but the distance between the latter and the Rwanda Tutsi is 608, and 667 between the Burundi Tutsi and the Ewondo. The closest affinities of the Tutsi ... are with the Moors, the Masai and the Galla". In his list of groups with distances to the Ewondo lower than 100, it is shown that the Batoro (of Uganda) were 63, the

Bahutu of Rwanda 78 and the Bahutu of Burundi 89. But can we adduce, from these figures, the possible origins of or relations between the Batwa, Bahutu of Rwanda and of Burundi, the Batutsi or the Batoro among whom, despite the absence of class barriers against intermarriage, the Bahima element is still recognisable? I do not think so, and this in no way detracts from the value of these specialised studies. It is merely to recognise what the author himself sees as the limiting factors to physical anthropology so far when he says, "... only a very rough approximation is possible at present, because the number of populations on which we have data for a reasonably large and varied set of the same variables is only a small fraction of the total. We are ... obliged to compute distances for a varying number of characters and to some extent for different sets of them, which is a highly questionable procedure". The huge task of carrying out such biological investigations on a very highly discriminating basis so far as the population samples are concerned is still to be done. This is an exacting task, but we cannot be satisfied with less and before this information is available, it is difficult to see how we can conclude with any degree of certainty that the Bahima or the Batutsi did or did not migrate from anywhere.

1. Ibid., p. 510.
This, despite the amount of literary output on the subject, remains very much an open question.

Leaving aside the vexed question of where the Bahima came from, we find that the nature of their political relationship with the Bairu in Nkore is a subject that has been treated with almost complete misunderstanding by European writers in the past. The fairness of this general statement is best judged against the background of what these writers say. Thus to Roscoe it appeared that "... the agricultural people ... were despised and regarded as serfs. They could cultivate any land wherever they wished, but they were expected to do any menial work required by the pastoral people of the district in which they settled and to supply them with grain and vegetable food should they require it". Additionally all the chiefs were pastoral people.\(^1\) This is also the view taken by Taylor.\(^2\) While recognising that the term Bairu should not be translated as slaves, Lukyn Williams informs us that, "The Bairu were certainly used as servants, but they were a free people, and, provided that they performed certain obligations for their Hima overlords, they were free to live

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1. J. Roscoe, op. cit., p. 15.
their own lives".¹ Morris suggests that the Bairu were in a position "somewhat comparable to the villein of medieval Europe. They were by no means without rights, but they had to render services to their Bahima masters, and, in particular, to provide them with beer".² Oberg takes up this line of thinking in great detail and the essence of his views are best summarised as follows: The Bahima were able to dominate the Bairu because they were individually superior fighting men since they were accustomed to protecting their hers from their human and animal enemies; The constant raiding and counter raiding practised by the Bahima developed a military discipline which could be expanded and put to political uses - and he leaves us in no doubt that this is what happened; the Bahima kraal was a larger enterprise than the Bairu homestead and the unilateral ekika or lineage offered wider political and military cooperation than the relatively smaller Bairu oruganda or extended family. This last statement is a factual error since the ekika and oruganda mean the same thing and are descriptions of a particular grouping of blood relatives among the Bairu and the Bahima alike.

On the legal status of the Bairu in Nkore, Oberg further states: the Bairu were forbidden to own productive

₁. F. Lukyn Williams, op. cit. His footnote on p. 21.
cows; intermarriage between them and the Bahima was legally forbidden as it was illegal to give cattle, necessary to make marriages legitimate, to the Bairu.¹ "While every Muhima was liable to military service, the Bairu were ... barred from serving in these bands. The Bairu thus lacked the military training and discipline necessary for affecting any change in their status."² If a Muhima killed a Mwiru, the latter's family could not claim blood revenge whereas if the reverse happened, the Muhima's family could exact revenge on the spot without recourse to officialdom. If this statement were true, it would logically mean that all the Bahima had the power of life and death over all the Bairu and that is quite an amazing claim to make. On the question of tribute, Oberg continues, only the chiefs could demand tribute from the Bairu and the small cattle owners did not have this right, but he then qualifies this by saying that since it was the habit of the Bahima herdsmen to visit their chiefs and stay for several

1. This, too, is a factual error because the Bairu paid bridewealth in goats and/or sheep and their marriages were legitimate in the sense that they were sanctioned by the parents of the young couple which was the sole criterion for a legitimate marriage - what was paid as the bridewealth did not determine whether the marriage was legitimate or not.

2. Yet if the history of revolutions has one clear lesson, it is that an oppressed peasantry does not need military training to affect political changes in its favour - France in 1789 and Russia in 1917 are the examples that spring to mind.
days in order "to be fed on beer and millet porridge", the food that came to the chiefs' kraal as tribute from the Bairu was later distributed among the Bahima as a whole. He concludes by saying "The status of the Bairu ... as a subject class, is not fully explained by stating that they paid tribute and were prohibited from possessing cattle, but by showing that this status was imposed and maintained by the Bahima as a militarily organised group".¹

All these assessments of Nkore traditional society disregard the one essential factor which is the key to the understanding of Nkore's class structure, and that is that the class system was an open one. There are several ways of demonstrating this, each of which has the backing of traditional history or observable customary practices whose origins date from the past. But it is appropriate that, before we examine the foregoing summaries of what past writers have said, we get a random sample, in apposition, of what the Banyankore informants themselves say on the subject. Since this is a subject on which I was unable to get a single contradictory version, only a few examples will be given and those that are given are literal translation of the verbal interviews conducted in Ankole. The only editing I have done was to those parts of statements, the literal translations of which do not

¹ K. Oberg, "The kingdom of Ankole...." pp. 126-134.
make sense in English.

Of my several Mpororo informants, Kananura had this to say about the military organisation of that area: "A war expedition without the Bairu could not be contemplated or successful. The Omukama used to call out all his male subjects to fight if there was a war to be fought. What you should know is that obwiru [the state of being a Mwiru] is poverty; he who was poor was a Mwiru; he who was rich was a Muhima". Of my Igara informants, Marko Kiiza had this to tell me: "Nkore is confusing because it was mixed up through intermarriage. There were the Abambari - these were the people on the way to becoming Bahima. They were emerging from the obwiru. They no longer did any cultivation as they would have acquired herds of cattle. By that stage they would also have married from the Bahima families. It was the criterion of affluence that determined obuhima [the state of being a Muhima]. For if you can count up to three generations of affluent ancestors in succession, you cannot then go back to the Bairu. Let me now give you the example of these

1. The term Omukama usually means king, but it also means somebody in authority and that is what it means in this context for it refers to the various chiefs who were ruling over the fragments of what had been the kingdom of Mpororo.

2. In this context Nkore means the society and not the territory.
Basingo [a clan name] like Rwabigongi. Their grandfathers were Bairu, but now look at them; are they not Bahima? They are completely gone". [That is to say that they are regarded as pure Bahima by everyone]. On the same subject of class relations, Batorogwa had the following to say: "It is true that the Bahima were the governing class. They were the governing class because they had the riches. Some Bairu came to live among the Bahima of their own accord. They performed all the duties of the kraal like everyone else in that particular kraal. These were the poor Bairu who could not stand on their own and in return for such work, they were given milk like everyone else in the same position. They were also given cattle for bridewealth if they wanted to marry because they possessed nothing on their own. But you see this exactly what was done for those poor Bahima who want into the service of the rich ones for the same reason. The Bairu who lived in their own homes were independent cultivators who had their own food crops to look after. If they lived near the Bahima, they sometimes participated in communal

1. In Kinyankore parlance this means that these people worked for their upkeep. They were called Abashumba (lit. Those who offer their labour in return for their upkeep) as distinct from Abahuuku (slaves). All the Bashumba were known by that name whether they were Bairu or Bahima and their status was much higher than that of the slaves who were normally war captives and were not free men.
activities like the building of huts or kraals.\(^1\) Also if a Muhima's cow died, a neighbouring Mwiru was usually called to the kraal to skin it as the Bahima did not often do this. For this service, the Mwiru took away some specific pieces of meat [collectively] called omubaago [which means meat given in payment for skinning an animal]. If a Mwiru became a close friend of a Muhima, they exchanged gifts. The Mwiru often gave him such things as tobacco, watering bowls and the like. The Muhima in turn gave him bull calves or mature bulls for slaughter and, if they became real good friends or blood brothers, a heifer from which the Mwiru could start his own herd. If he succeeded in doing this, in time, he married a Muhima woman and his children or grandchildren became Bahima. The transactions involving the barter of food produce for dairy products were carried out only by the women. The food was eaten by the Bahima women only during their moon periods when they could not drink milk\(^2\). One could go on

1. It was emphasised to me that this participation was mutual because it always went with beer drinking which was the chief attraction for the men to join such communal enterprises. "The beer of the builders" as it is called is a necessary part of the building of any homestead. Even the building of the houses of the Mugabe was accompanied by beer drinking provided for that occasion.

2. Kananura is an elderly Mwiru who is very wealthy because he has extensive pieces of land under cultivation and has a few cows in addition — interviewed at Rubaare, Kajara

F/note contd. on next page
multiplying these examples from informants, but they would all tell the same story. It is necessary to emphasize that these extracts are about the ordinary Bairu and Bahima and not about the chiefly class—a distinction that was as real as it escaped the attention of most of the past writers.

We have already examined the economic interdependence of the Bairu and the Bahima and indicated that the former, by nature of their occupation, could not have rendered free or frequent services to the latter (pp. 92-96). Most of the essential conclusions of past writers on this subject rest on the premise that only the Bahima were eligible and liable to military service from which the Bairu were debarred and, as a necessary corollary to this, that the Bahima offered the Bairu protection of life and property in return for the services rendered to them. This may well be a classical pattern of European, Japanese or Chinese feudalism, but it does not seem to fit Nkore traditional society at all. To

Footnote 2 cont’d. from previous page

county, on 18th January 1968. His information is about Mpororo only. Marko Kiiza is one of the three most prestigious old men in Ankole—interviewed at his home in Igara county on 31st Oct. 1967. He is a Mwiru courtier who rose to be a county chief for many years and who acquired vast herds of cattle which he still has. Batorogwa An elderly Muhima interviewed at Buremba, Ibanda county, on 26th Oct. 1967.
take the lesser points first; the protection most Banyankore sought from their rulers was the protection against raids. All the remembered raids in Nkore history were, by definition, aimed at getting cattle and not at getting the agricultural produce of the country. If follows, therefore, that the Bairu did not need this form of protection since they had nothing to lose to the raiders anyway. If they did not need it, they could not have paid for it with their labour. The second form of protection, which we shall discuss later, was the protection or rather the redress against civil wrongs within Nkore itself and this seems to have been available to the Bairu and the Bahima as we shall see. At any rate since the Bahima themselves needed it from the authorities, it follows that they could not have provided it for the Bairu.

The point has been advanced by some writers on Nkore and especially by Oberg that the Bairu were forbidden to own cattle and that the Bahima had the power of life and death over the Bairu. But this misses the vital point that the Omugabe was the greatest single source of wealth—cattle—for the Bairu as well as for the Bahima. It was the Mugabe alone who had the power to confiscate anyone's cattle for any reason whatever and only in his hands lay the power to give cattle to whoever he chose, either as a mark of special favour or as a reward for some meritorious service rendered to him by the individual. The Bairu as well as the Bahima
rendered him such services and they were similarly rewarded. Once the Mugabe had given "riches" to a man, that man could not be deprived of his property by anyone else save by the order of the Mugabe. To have done so would have been tantamount to claiming the exercise of higher authority than that of the Mugabe and this proposition has no foundation in tradition or in customary usage. Again only the Mugabe had the power to sentence a person to death. If this is accepted, it would be a contradiction to hold that one section of his subjects (the Bahima) had power of life and death over another section (the Bairu) independent of the Mugabe. This would have meant that the Mugabe had no authority over the Bahima and that the Bairu were not as loyal to him as the Bahima were and clearly this is not a valid theory. The alternative to this view, which is the one suggested by Oberg, is to hold that only the Bahima were the chiefs and the warriors and that they controlled the whole system justice and that then they used this control against the Bairu. The chief weakness of this view is that one would have to explain why there was never a Bairu rebellion against such a permanent system of injustice because it is not reasonable to expect that a majority of one society could submit to the kind of systematic oppression that Oberg describes indefinitely. A more effective way of demonstrating the inaccuracy of this theory is by reference to the administrative hierarchy of traditional
Nkore.

Nkore's administrative structure seems to have assumed a definite shape during the reign of Ntare IV [about mid 18th century] and because he was a martial king, it was perhaps inevitable that territorial administration, such as it was, was linked to the military organisation. From the reign of Ntare IV until the coming of the British, the basic administrative unit was the ekyanga or a region, with undefined boundaries, over which there presided an omukungu or, for want of a better equivalent, a chief.1 This same person was also the head of the basic military unit - the Omutwe (pl. Emitwe)2 - which was scattered in the region. Whenever there was a war, the men under one Mutwe leader armed themselves and went, under his leadership, to wherever the fighting was. From traditional sources we know that the Bairu also distinguished themselves on the battlefield and that they occupied positions of authority in the country at

1. The term "chief" has a variety of meanings for different African societies and in the case of Nkore, it would be more accurate to translate "Bakungu" as "agents" of the Mugabe rather than as Chiefs because they were not administrative officers in the full sense since they had very little to administer and a lot of orders from above to carry out.

2. Throughout this study, the present writer will keep the term Emitwe to mean military units in preference to "warbands" as the latter suggests some brigand organisation which the Emitwe were not.
various times. For example, during the reign of Ntare IV, one of the most famous warriors of Buhweju, Katar, the son of Kabengo, was a Mwiru and his praises are still sung today both in Buhweju and in Nkore. In the course of singing those praises it is said: "You redeemed Nyinamashazi with your arrow when he was interned in Buganda. You are the Mwiru, the rest are pickers of weeds; You are the Musingo [by clan], the others are merely gatherers of ashes. You are the One whose weapon is the arrow, the others use wood [of which the arrow shafts were made] only to make fire..."¹ During the reign of Mutambuka (mid 19th century), two of his regional chiefs were Bairu, namely Kabairu the chief of Ngarama (Isingiro county) and Rubanju the chief of Butembererwa (Nyabushozi county). Of the thirteen most famous leaders of the Emitwe during the same reign, one was a Mwiru named Muyaga, but then only one was an ordinary Muhima named Katwatwa. The rest were princes - being the sons or cousins

¹ Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit., p. 75; K.K. Nganwa, op. cit., p. 4. This tradition is widely known by informants. The expressions so (+) marked show how far above the ordinary Bairu and ordinary Bahima (for some were also Basingo by clan and others used arrows for weapons) the Bairu warriors were. This is where the class distinctions mattered most. It is in fact very difficult to see, from this, how the term Bairu could have been perjorative at the time as it was later to become.
of Mutambuka himself. The reign of Ntare V [c. 1876-1895] is full of examples of Bairu who were famous leaders of the Emitwe, such as Kicubwa who led the Omutwe of the Abarwani, Ndorere who led the Orwekubo and Mutimbo who led the Obwoma. Tradition also recalls one, Ruhara, the son of Mutembani, who "was a close confidant of Ntare V" and who was an Omutwe leader and a regional chief. In that position, he acquired a great deal of fame because of the leading part he played in bringing large parts of Rwampara county - the parts which had been Mpororo territory [Chap. VIII] - under the control of Nkore. He was a Mwiru. This same Ruhara together with Koyokoma and Rwankwiiziire - all of them Bairu - played the leading role in moving up and down the kingdom trying to stem the flow of people leaving Nkore after the death of Ntare V. This says a lot for their influence and personal standing in the society of that period. Probably a more outstanding example is afforded by a Mwiru called Muhigi who fought for Ntare V during the long succession war, guarded him during his perilous escapes when the fortunes of war were still going against his party and who, after Ntare had won the war, became one of the strongest influences at court and would

1. Kamugungunu, Nyorozi and Rwabushongo, among others, in personal interviews.

2. Infra ch. V.
probably have occupied the position of Prime Minister, had that office existed in Nkore at the time. The descendants of Muhigi are now Bahima herding their vast herds of cattle in various parts of Buganda and Ankole.

In traditional Nkore there was another chiefly class composed of prominent men who, though they did not lead the Emitwe or administer regions, were subject only to the authority of the Omugabe because they were backed by numerically strong clans. These were called Abakungu Abarukwehikira which may be freely rendered the Chiefs with direct access to the Mugabe in English. These also had their own areas and subjects from whom they obtained "tribute", which tribute was paid to them directly and not through the regional chief or the tribute collectors of whom this set of chiefs were completely independent. Among this group of notables may be named such Bairu as Bishanga, the son of Kikwegami, who was one of the leading courtiers of the Mugabe Mutambuka - so favoured in fact was he, that Mutambuka gave him his own cousin, a princess by the name of Kantunguru, in marriage. The descendants from this marriage are men like Kanimi, Rwakatitiba, Kahangire and his son, Kazora, who are now all Bahima living in Buganda. The reign of Ntare V is full of examples of Bairu who fall in this category. To mention only a few, Kamugasha, Rweshaza, Kaijuko, Karashani and Byangwamu-Rushangaaza were some of the most prominent in
this class of chiefs, most of whose descendants are known as Bahima today. ¹

Thus there are ample examples in Nkore history of people who were born Bairu, distinguished themselves in the service of the Omugabe, acquired cattle in the process, married Bahima women and whose descendants became Bahima in the course of two or three generations. It goes without saying that these men, once they became rich in cattle, employed the poor Bahima as their herdsmen like any other wealthy cattle keepers. Conversely, it was possible to lose one's cattle, take up agriculture and marry Bairu women, so that in time such a family became completely Bairu. The difficulty here is to identify such people by specific examples because the traditions of Nkore are about events of magnitude and famous people and not about failures. When one failed in life, one passed into oblivion and out of memory, as two of my informants aptly put it to me. ² The transition from obwiru to obuhima and vice versa cannot be tied to any particular time-span specification. In some cases it was

¹. Information in the preceding two paragraphs is based on the interviews with Rwabushongo, Kiiza, Kamugungunu, Nyorozi, Buningwire, Rwabugondo among others.

possible to take place within the life time of one man undergoing the transition. But it would appear that for this transition to be complete, the Bairu or the Bahima origins of the particular family to be lost completely, more than one generation was necessary. What we can say with certainty is that the transition from one class to another was necessarily accompanied by a complete change of occupations. This outline of the class structure, incidentally, explains why it is not easy for the traditionalists to recall the names of the Bairu Emitwe leaders or of the other prominent Bairu of the earlier reigns, which is why all but one of the examples given above are taken from the last two of all the reigns covered by this study. The reason is that when these men became affluent - and since the yardstick of affluence was cattle, this means when they acquired cattle - and married Bahima women, their descendants became Bahima and their Bairu origins were lost so that whatever fame they achieved passed down to history as the achievements of the Bahima.

Leaving the higher class of the society aside for the moment, it can hardly be overemphasised that the common Bairu and Bahima had little opportunity of mixing. The daily contact between the ordinary Bairu and Bahima - the independent cultivator and the small cattle owner - was minimal and this was solely due to the occupational differences, in particular to the free time available to both outside the daily routine
of making a living. For the Bairu there was not much time left for communal leisure gatherings. The communal activities like the building of homesteads, brewing and drinking of beer, harvesting - especially the harvesting of finger millet - and the hunting of wild game for meat, afforded the Bairu little opportunity of mixing with the Bahima for the simple reason that, apart from beer drinking, these were the activities in which the Bahima did not engage. Again, with the same exception, those activities were serious pursuits in their own right, hence affording little time for relaxation to the participants. On the other hand, the most common gathering points for the Bahima were the eishazi [cattle resting before being driven to pasture], the ekikumiriro [cattle resting after watering] and the interval between evening milking and retiring to bed, which interval was filled up in a variety of ways like singing, wrestling [if there was moonlight] and beer drinking. All these were leisure gatherings involving members of a particular kraal alone, except for the occasional guest. This, too, offered the Bahima little opportunity to mix with the Bairu, who would be engaged elsewhere as it has been pointed out.

Against this background, we can discuss the role of
the court as the cultural meeting place for the Bahima and the Bairu outside their occupations which necessarily kept them apart. The court of the Mugabe was a complex establishment as one might expect. The palace was divided into two distinct components - the orurembo and the ekikaari, both of which, for lack of suitable equivalents in English have been translated as palace in the past thereby obscuring the difference between them. Of the two the orurembo was the larger because it included both the ekikaari itself and also the encampments of the Emitwe leaders who, when not at war, spent most of their time at the court. Within the Orurembo also lived a variety of princes and, from the 19th century onwards, the representatives of those foreign rulers whose countries, like Igara and Buhweju, had been forced to recognise Nkore's overlordship over them. All these personalities had their camps or amacumbi within easy reach of the ekikaari which was the real palace and the hub of the whole establishment. The ekikaari was the actual enclosure which bounded all the houses of the Mugabe, but excluded all the other

1. "Court" here means the court of the Mugabe, those of his senior chiefs and of the senior members of the royal family, as all these were centres of attraction to the Banyankore for reasons already indicated and excludes the other courts, szy of Igara, Buhweju etc., which were presided over by independent rulers of different royal clans from that of Nkore.

2. Infra ch. V.
encampments. Thus, working from the centre and going outwards, there was the ekikaari which contained the houses of the Omugabe right in the centre. Next were the camps of the military leaders, who were also the regional administrators, but only those who were not of royal blood. Further from these, and therefore from the ekikaari, were the camps of the princes, including any princes who were also military leaders. Situated at about the same distance from the ekikaari as the latter, were the residences of the foreign representatives. The logic behind this arrangement seems to have been partly the desire to keep the princes as far away as possible from the king's own residence, in order to obviate the possibility of their contriving to do him some physical harm. This is why the camps of the non-royal, military leaders were interposed between the ekikaari and those of the princes. There was another, and possibly more immediate, consideration why the princes had to be kept away from the Mugabe's residence, and that was to minimise the likelihood of their being intimate with the wives of the Omugabe. The princes, like the foreign representatives who were usually members of the royal families they represented, had fewer inhibitions in this direction than the ordinary courtiers.

It will have become obvious that the Omugabe's orurembo was much greater than a "kraal" which "differed from that of his chiefs only in size" and which was shifted every
couple of years because "it was thought that fresh ground was necessary to keep the cows clean and free from pests".\textsuperscript{1} All traditionalists agree that the Omugabe never lived in kraals. His nearest herd of cattle - the enkorogi (meaning "giving milk") as the name suggests was the one from which milk supplies were obtained for the palace. The kraal of this herd was called Nyarubuga (i.e. the Great Kraal) whereas the Mugabe's residence was called the Ekikaari as has been explained. Nyarubuga was always situated beyond the boundaries of the orurembo. This herd was replenished as often as the need arose from the Mugabe's other herds called the enshuubi - those herds that were too far from the palace to supply milk to the Omugabe's immediate establishment. The distance between Nyarubuga and the ekikaari varied according to two basic factors. Firstly, the kraal nearest to the palace was often shifted when the Mugabe made a new capital so as to have them near the new capital. But, secondly, the cattle could be moved in search of water and fresh pasture and this did not necessarily entail the movement of the Mugabe's capital. In this case the milk would be carried to the palace by the herdsmen. Moreover, as Oliver has observed, ".... the size and complexity of the sites (of the capitals), and in particular the size of the earthwork embankments

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{1} J. Roscoe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 36.
\end{footnotesize}
surrounding them, indicate that the Mugabe's Orurembo was a
town not a kraal".\(^1\) Even leaving aside the orurembo site at
Bigo, the layout of a site such as Bweyorere shows that the
capitals of the Bagabe were not just kraals and were occupied
for much longer than two years at a time. In fact it is not
possible that all those courtiers could have been assembled
in one kraal.\(^2\)

The court of the Mugabe, then, and to a lesser
extent those of his chiefs, was the springboard to advancement,
both material and educational, a place of refuge in time of
adversity and the anvil upon which the various functionaries
of state were either made to unmade. The social mobility
indicated above began here. That the court served all these
purposes for the Bairu and the Bahima is attested by the
popularity and survival of the Bairu and Bahima songs sung
at court in former times. The Omugabe's flute and drum
players survived until 1967, to minister to this traditional
form of oral literature. It has also been remarked in passing
that the existence of the court gave rise to an "elite" or a
courtier class which naturally regarded itself as "better"

\(^1\) R. Oliver, _op. cit._, p. 62.

\(^2\) About 1911, the European D.C. sent away most of the
courtiers from the palace believing them to be idlers
and since then most people came to the palace as visitors
and went home after a brief stay.
than those who were not regular courtiers or who never went there at all. This attitude may be gauged from extant traditional songs, some of which I collected. The following two songs are taken from the reign of Ntare V (late 19th century). The first one is about the Cmutwe of the Abarwani led by Kicubwa, whose leader and most prominent members were all Bairu. It shows the difference in status between the kind of Bairu-warriors who attended the court and the lowly cultivators of the countryside, who were neither courtiers nor warriors. The second one, titled *Those who do not attend the court*, shows a Muhima courtier trying to convey his contempt for those other Bahima - usually perjoratively referred to as "Ba Karyangoha" or lit. "The eaters of ticks" - who do not attend the court like him.

**The Abarwani led by Kicubwa**

Abarwani ba Kicubwa

1. Here they come, oh dear, Baizire, bambe, baizire
   here they come
   Those who are worthy of Baizire Abarirwa mikyeke
   sitting on the mats
   Here they come,

---

1. Mats then, unlike now, were reserved for the very high people because they were rare.
Those for whom the Harps are played\(^1\)
Here they come, Here they come
Those whose guns\(^2\) are given a place
In the Nyaruju\(^3\)

2. Don't come near me, don't come near me
You, the ugly ones,\(^4\) with your old hoes
Go and cultivate in the
in the Kayanja area
Pass on, Pass on, You the unlucky ones

1. The harps were played for the Mugabe and for the other notables of the land. The common people also played them for their own amusement, but the exercise did not carry the same significance or dignity.

2. By the reign of Ntare V guns had come to Nkore.

3. Nyaruju, or the Big House, was the main house in which the Mugabe received his courtiers and other visitors.

4. The term Abainazi literally means the malicious ones, but as a figure of speech, as in this context, it means the ugly ones.
Proceed to Nyamambo and cultivate
With your old hoes break the ground at Marebwa
You, the unlucky ones, proceed with your hoes
And break the ground at Rugongyi

3. Itiri, Itiri, the son of Kicubwa
You whom the valour hardened
You are the brother of Ruremeza

4. Kataribata, You who jump over the snakes

1. Note that verse 2 is addressed to the Bairu non-courtiers and the singer of it is an admirer of the warriors praised in the subsequent verses.

2. Ruremeza was the praise-name of Kijooma, who was a senior prince by the time Ntare V came to the throne and who was also a leader of an Omutwe. The meaning is that the bravery of these men had ennobled them, not that they were princes like Kijooma, whose comrade-in-arms they were, or that they were related his blood relations. Where the same expressions occur subsequently, they have the same meaning.
You who leap over those you slay.
You are also the brother of Ruremeza

5. Rwamashonje, also the son of Kamari
You slay with the spear and With the long knife at the same time.

6. Ntimba, Ntimba, You are the One Who throws the opponent down first
You who never flee when the the cattle are raided
Ntimba, Ntimba, You who never flee
When the enemy is among the cattle

7. Kaitangye, You are the One Who throws himself at the enemy
Your gun slaughtered as we advanced
Your gun was full of gunpowder

8. Rwenkarakare, the son of Rwakasimba
Your gun slaughtered and We were overwhelmed with joy

9. Bwiruka, also the son of Kamari
You are the One Who pushes the enemy over the hills
You are also the son of Ruremeza's mother

10. Birakwate, also the son of Kicubwa
What you buried will

---

1. The meaning is as in the footnote above.
Always make me your blood Ndyakinywanira naiwe
brother

11. Muheru, Muheru, also the Muheru, Muheru gwa Kicubwa nawe
son of Kicubwa
Your gun seized a Embundu yawe ehambire
Munyarwanda Omunyarwanda
Then a repeat of várse one Then as verse One.

....... End of the Abarwani song.

1. Birakwate killed one of the enemy when the "singer" was
on the point of being overwhelmed and thus saved his life.

2. The personification of the gun here is for the purpose
of style and effect and it means that Muheru shot and
killed a warrior from Rwanda side.

GENERAL NOTES:

1. All the names above were the Bairu warriors who fought
against Rwanda invasion towards the end of 1894. Itiri
(verse 3) and his younger brother Bariita (not in the
song) died fighting the Banyarwanda at Kanyamisisa and
after this battle, the invaders withdrew from Nkore -
See Ch. V.

2. Mr. D. Ndibarema has a manuscript of traditional songs
and from this collection the song above was sung for
me by his children and Mr. Kirindi at Kasharara, Buhweju,
on the 26th/27th April 1968. I am grateful to Messrs
Kirindi and Nshemereirwe who assisted me with the
translation of the song.
Those who do not go to the court.

1. Those who do not pay homage
   Those who do not go to the palace
   I despise them all

2. They are never given the cattle
   From the war booty

3. Those who wear rough skins
   They wear the ebitaama
   They are fond of cutting the grass

4. Those with the broad spears
   They are fond of cutting the grass

---

1. Oruremba means palace and also, as in this context, it can mean the court of the Mugabe, of the chief or of a senior prince.

2. The courtiers distinguished the sheep-skins worn by themselves from those worn by everyone else by referring to theirs as the emitaama (soft sheep-skins) and to the rest as the ebitaama (rough sheep-skins).

3. The spears used by the warriors had slim blades so that, beauty apart, they could be hurled with comparative ease and grass-cutting, for whatever purpose, was one of the lowest occupations and hence below the dignity of a courtier
5. They have never been court messengers
They never drink the milk left over
By the princes

6. Let me despise them
Let me despise those with the Protruding navels, I despise them

7. Let me despise Rweiterero He has bonny buttocks

8. Let me despise Kabyetsiza He has elbows like those of a warthog

9. Let me despise Rwakyangiro

1. This apparently was regarded as a mark of special favour from the royalty.
He has the big teeth of an N'ebyobino by'etamu
eland

10. Let me despise Kabyemera Nyangye Kabyemera
He has hillocks on the Nagomaromba g'enda
stomach

11. They are not courtiers Tibatwaarwa
Like this Iremera Nk'ogu Iremera
They are not courtiers Tibatwaarwa
Like this Rugangisa Nk'ogu Rugangisa

1. It does not necessarily follow that all these people had the physical blemishes attributed to them in the song. It was generally assumed by the courtiers that what prevented a majority of people from attending at court was the need to hide some physical irregularity so as to escape being the target of pointed jokes and ridicule for which the court goers were particularly notorious. The blemishes listed are the most common and obvious to the eye.

2. A slim or even stomach was regarded as a sign of balanced feeding habits and an uneven or pauchy stomach as indicative of greed and the latter would be visible to all because, even after the clothes had come to Nkore and before shirts became popular, the traditional way of dressing did not hide men's stomachs.

GENERAL NOTES:

1. The song was sung to me by an old man, Rwabugondo, at Katebe, Kashari county, on the 30th November, 1967.

2. The translation of Runyankore song or recitation is
   F/note contd. on next page
From these two short songs, as well as from the preceding paragraphs, one can reasonably conclude that the Bairu warrior-courtiers were far superior to the ordinary countryside cultivators and also to the ordinary Bahima or "the tick eaters". It is tempting to ask oneself whether the ordinary Mwiru had an inferior social status to the ordinary Muhima, but this question appears to me to be an academic one, since the roles of the two in the society were so unrelated in a manner that could hardly make a comparison of their social standing meaningful. It would be the same as asking whether a motor boat was superior to or more useful than a motor car – the answer would depend on the purpose for which either the boat or the car was required.

It follows that the Bairu who were also the leaders of the Emitwe were of the same standing as the Bahima who held the same office and were of greater standing than those Bairu or Bahima who did not. In a real sense the Bairu who were the leaders of the Emitwe were not called Bairu in the same sense as the rest of the agricultural peasantry.

In traditional Nkore it was necessary for every

Footnote 2 contd. from previous page

difficult because the full meaning and effect are not easy to convey in English due to the lack of ready equivalents in English for Runyankore imagery. This translator hopes that these translations convey the essential content of the songs to the non-Runyankore speakers.
household head to be known or attached to a particular chief at any given time, or, better still, to be known to the Mugabe personally. There existed no regular police force to keep law and order and, in particular, to forestall the commission of wrongs because the traditional judicial system was primarily designed to redress and not to forestall wrongs committed by individuals against individuals. Even during the 19th century, after the institution of the Emitwe had been developed and expanded, police duties did not fall within their scope of operations. The Emitwe existed to fight wars and in peace time their constituent members were just civilians like everyone else. For this reason it was essential for every head of the family to keep himself "visible" to the authorities. This was done by means of attending the court occasionally and giving such presents as were within the reach of the family concerned. For the pastoralist this usually meant the giving of bulls, either for breeding or for slaughter, and sometimes of productive cows, and for the agriculturalist it meant the giving of his various products, especially beer. The giving of these presents was known as okutoija whose nearest but rather misleading equivalent in English is tribute as it was explained earlier.

At more frequent intervals than the ordinary people attended the courts of the chiefs, the chiefs themselves attended the court of the Mugabe and took him presents as
well. On this level, the presents included an occasional productive cow, a lion or leopard skin, honey [which was usually mixed with the beer ear-marked for the Mugabe's personal consumption] and several pots of beer from the chief's region. This regular court attendance on the part of the chiefs was partly to demonstrate their continuing loyalty to their Mugabe and also to keep themselves "visible" at the court. Thus, the okutoija was the institution through which the chief was kept in contact with the people under his jurisdiction and through which the Mugabe was kept in touch with his subjects generally and with his chiefs particularly. From the subjects' point of view, the institution served two primary purposes; it was an insurance against sudden hardships and a means of securing more reliable protection against internal and external enemies. It was the customary practice that, whenever a man took his presents to the chief or to the Mugabe, he made a speech during their presentation in the course of which he would inevitably say; "Ogume onanye", that is to say "Let me be known to you always". In time of personal stress such as the sudden loss of one's stock, failure to raise the bridewealth for one's son or the failure of one's crops due to some natural disaster, such a man presented himself to the chief or to the Mugabe and asked for the requisite assistance which could not be refused. It can therefore be said that material aid in time of need was
one of the objectives of *okutoiija* as an established institution in traditional society.

The second basic objective of the institution was to secure the protection of property. This was much more relevant, but not exclusively, to the pastoralists because their wealth, held in the form of cattle, was liable to sudden annihilation either through raids, both internal and external, and through epidemics. For a person not attached to a chief or to the Mugabe, security against such hazards was minimal, since anyone could wrong him in any manner, save that of taking his life, and redress would not be available easily. On the other hand, a person who kept in touch with the authorities was relatively immune from internal *depredations* by his neighbours and enemies because in such cases, the chief from whom the person had sought security by paying occasional presents, would take it upon himself to recover the property or redress any other wrong committed against his follower. To take the property of such a person was equivalent to taking the property of the chief himself, and the chief would either use force or appeal to the Mugabe for the recovery of such property. Naturally an appeal to the Mugabe by a chief produced quicker results than an appeal by the individual unless the individual himself was well known to the Mugabe. Moreover, a chief who could not provide this form of security for the people in his area would not only
cease to get those presents, but he would also be deserted by the people who could move to another area or even to another country, and over such movements neither the Mugabe nor his chiefs had any form of control whatever. This then means that for a commoner who allowed his presents to his rulers to lapse, the risks were great because, at least, he lost the best form of insurance against economic misfortune. Of course individuals could always call on their relatives for assistance, but this always depended on whether the relatives were themselves wealthy enough to afford the assistance. Even then no family, however rich or large, could guarantee its own security against the raids.

At a different level, the chief also needed the protection of the Mugabe and he also had to keep this link alive by the giving of occasional presents which was also known as okutoija. Additionally, if the chief abstained from giving these gifts or from attending at court for a lengthy period, it was usually assumed that he had "rebelled" and, in such a case, he lost his position and, often, his property at the orders of the Mugabe. This system of security benefitted the Bairu and the Bahima, at least in its economic aspects. On the side of military security, however, the Bairu benefitted comparatively little. Neither their goats nor their crops were liable to being raided so that it mattered little who raided where, as far as they were concerned.
The only protection that the chiefs could give them was in the redress of minor civil wrongs such as in cases where somebody's cattle or goats wandered over their crops or when their goats were stolen. But it is not surprising that the Bairu benefitted little from the legal and police system of Nkore. Nkore was a capitalist society and the form of capital was cattle, not stocks and shares or even liquid money. For this reason, as in all capitalist societies, the legal and the security system was heavily weighted in favour of the class which possessed the capital and that class was composed of the Bahima.

Once these presents were given, they were not kept for the private use of the chief or of the Mugabe to whom they were given. It was primarily from the pool of these presents that assistance was given to individuals in need and that presents were made to others as rewards for some outstanding service rendered. The vast numbers of people gathered at the courts of the chiefs and of the Mugabe had to be fed and to be provided with beer and this obviously required ample supplies of both. It was largely from the presents brought to the chiefs and to the Mugabe that the courtiers, supplicants and hangers-on were fed and refreshed. If these were not enough, of course the Mugabe or the chief had to draw on his own resources. It hardly needs repeating that all these people who gathered at court were both Bairu
and Bahima and not just Bahima as Oberg suggests.

On the basis of this survey, we can make fairly firm conclusions on the relations of the Bairu and the Bahima. Nkore's governing class was drawn from the wealthy section of the Bahima, and the criterion for belonging to that class was wealth in cattle. Most of the Bahima were outside this class, since the majority of them were not wealthy. Furthermore, the Bahima were not organised as a political and military class on ethnic grounds, since a conquering military elite determined to preserve its ethnic purity as well as the monopoly of political authority, could hardly have permitted the erosion of those very principles through a permissive social and political system.¹ The point to emphasise here is that Nkore was not a feudal society in which the Bahima were the feudal lords and the Bairu the feudal serfs. Feudalism is not an economic system, but a form of government. That being so, an analysis of Nkore's traditional institutions of government tends to show that Nkore was not even remotely feudal, if by that expression one means, "a form of government in which political authority is monopolised by a small group of military leaders but evenly distributed among the members

¹ This argument is not for or against the Hamitic theory of migration; it is rather to emphasise the observation that whatever original ethnic or racial differences that might have existed between the two classes of people, have been very much overlaid and modified by economic and social factors.
of that group", and in which "the king, at best, can merely keep peace among the lords and usually is unable even to do this". ¹ There is no precedent in the remembered history of Nkore of a group of chiefs or of individuals challenging the authority of the Mugabe. Moreover, neither the Mugabe nor his chiefs could stop anyone from moving in and out of the country at will. To speak of serfdom, therefore, in the context of Nkore seems to be a mistaken superimposition of the classical patterns of feudalism on an African tribal structure. There does not seem to be any justification for using the one as a model by which to interpret the other.

It now remains to explain the effect that the traditional mutual exclusiveness of agriculture and cattle rearing had on Nkore society as a whole, and on the Bairu and the Bahima as components of that society. It was inevitable that among the Bairu and the Bahima there should develop different mannerisms or norms of social behaviour the foundation of which lay in the occupational background of both sections of society. Thus, whereas the Bairu and the Bahima shared a great many customs, religious practices and beliefs and the like, there were areas within those shared concepts where the procedures were different. These differences were

variations of the same fundamental themes. For example, whereas the ideas concerning marriage were the same, the procedure of conducting the negotiations and the actual marriage ceremony were not the same, as Mubangizi points out, when he says; "The procedure concerning the Bahima marriage ceremonies differs from that of the rest of the Banyankore." It appears probable that these minor differences in the social conventions have misled many observers about Nkore society as a few examples will show. Oberg, for instance, says that the Bairu wives, because of their economic importance, are treated with more consideration, whereas the Bahima speak of a productive woman as they speak of a productive cow. In fact, shorn of their occupations, it is difficult to say that the status of women differed among the Bairu and the Bahima, since the wives' obligations to their husbands and their in-laws and the social conduct expected of them by society at large were the same. On the other hand, Sir Harry Johnston,

1. B.K. Mubangizi, op. cit., p. 8. Note also that the term "Banyankore" here means "Bairu". Since the 1950's, it has almost become the practice among the educated Banyankore to avoid mentioning the word "Bairu" for reasons explained in the text.

2. K. Oberg, "Kinship organisation among the Banyankore", Africa, XI/2/April 1938, pp. 138-139. Incidentally, to compare a Muhima woman to a productive cow was not derogatory to her. It was and is the highest compliment she could be paid. One would not compliment her by comparing her to foodstuffs like sugar and peaches etc. the way Europeans compliment their women as this would be insulting to her.
who seems to have been impressed by the Bahima, tells us that
the Bairu were an immoral people and that they condoned pre-
marital pregnancies, while the Bahima were a more moral
people among whom there was general chastity among young
women before marriage. This observation, like the foregoing
one, takes the differences to have been greater than they
really were because the conception of morality did not differ
among the Bairu and the Bahima. It appears, therefore, that
what made past writers on Nkore society interpret the society
in the way they did may have been a failure to see the basis
of the whole fabric of social and political mechanism of the
society. It could equally have been an effort, conscious or
otherwise, on the part of some writers to fit their observa-
tions to what was then accepted as the pattern of African
behaviour as "analysed" according to the standards of the
native cultures of those writers. This is almost certainly
true not only of those writers whose horror stories about

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1. Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate (vol. 2)*, London, 1902; p. 610, 630. It might be noted that pre-
marital pregnancies were rare among the Bairu and the
Bahima because the consequences were equally drastic in
traditional society. Usually the girl was drowned and
her mother divorced, a consideration that kept mothers
anxiously watchful over the doings of their daughters.
Among the married men and women, sexual behaviour was
much more loose among the Bahima than among the Bairu
because the former had a lot more free time than the
latter and this is still true among the section of the
Banyankore who live as their grandfathers did.
Africa were selling like hot cakes in Europe during the early part of this century, but also of those who describe Nkore as a feudal society, since to fit Nkore into the classical pattern of feudalism is, at best, to lend to it a degree of European sophistication which it has not even attained after more than half a century of contact with what is generally described as "western civilisation". But this amounts to a partial, and, in my opinion, by far the lesser, explanation of why Nkore society has tended to mislead observers about its past complexion.

For a proper understanding of this, one has to consider the class politics of the late 1940's and the 1950's against the background of the colonial administration in Nkore itself. The late 1940's saw the emergence of factional or class politics in Ankole and this was given definite shape by the introduction of nominative and, later, elective concepts in the political system of the whole of Uganda by the colonial administrators. Armed with this novelty, each side vied with the other for political positions, basing their essential appeals on being either Bairu or Bahima. But it can hardly be over emphasised that this manoeuvring was entirely confined to those who regarded themselves as "educated", that is to say those who had attained primary six standard and a few who had acquired junior secondary education, or, much more frequently, those who had failed in the attempt to do
the latter. It might be remarked in passing that these people made no attempt to extend their activities beyond their immediate circle of friends, in the initial period, and did not depart from the traditional system of politics in Nkore, in that one could hardly describe them as organised groups, since none of them was an organisation. In practice what used to happen was that a group of people met at a friends' house at night and, after exchanging a few abusive phrases about the other side, or drawing up an anonymous threatening letter addressed to its leaders, would usually disband. There was no machinery for summoning meetings, no office holders and no office either. What is more, though these occasional gatherings were supposed to be exclusively attended by the Bairu or the Bahima, but not by both at the same time, the meetings themselves were known by the opposite party before they even took place. This, too, is typical of Nkore because, "Bad habits, but not words can be hidden from the Banyankore", as the old saying goes.\footnote{The saying means that one can hide material objects, but cannot keep secrets secret in Nkore.} The culmination of this new trend of political alignments was the nomination of the late K.K. Nganwa to the office of Enganzi (Nkore's then Premier) in 1955. Though not the first Mwiru to hold that office, he was the first to do so as a result of pressure by the Bairu [largely of the Protestant persuasion] in the
District Council. Furthermore, he was the first to hold that office coming from outside the great wealthy Bairu families whose loyalty to the Bairu as a class had become increasingly suspect by those other Bairu families from humbler backgrounds.

Although these events came into the open in the 1940's and later, their origins date from the beginning of the colonial administration in Nkore. The introduction of the cash-oriented economy, and the new concepts of government, introduced by the British, had the effect of polarising the traditional class structure into a permanent and rather rigid shape. The social mobility discussed in the preceding pages was effectively brought to an end without an equivalent or adequate substitute. While introducing the new concepts of government and economy, the colonial administrators were nevertheless elitist in appointing officials to public offices. In the case of Nkore these continued to be largely drawn from the wealthy Bahima families. In the same period, the missionary schools were teaching the "Hamitic" theories in their narrowest and romanticised sense as a fact of history. It was thus inevitable that those Bairu who felt they were denied a fair chance of advancement should feel resentful against an "unfair" system which, according to their history lessons, dated from the remote period of history when their "own people" were conquered by a race they were taught was superior to theirs. Conversely the Bahima, and especially
those who were rated as failures by all normal standards, could hardly fail to draw a certain kind of pride in belonging to a "superior" race in comparison to the "upstarts" - the wealthy Bairu. Whereas, formerly, an outstanding Mwiru could advance and be accepted among the ruling class as one of them, in the colonial era he could advance to the highest office of the land and socially remain a Mwiru; and whereas, formerly, a Muhima failure usually became a Mwiru by adopting agriculture, he now remained a Muhima whether he was the lowest clerk or just a vagrant. The terms "Bairu" and "Bahima" had acquired a new meaning; they now denoted the inferior and the superior respectively. Thus one can attribute the misleading tendencies in the analysis of Nkore society during this century to at least two factors. The emphasis of ethnic differentiation is almost certainly the result of the missionary school teaching of the "Hamitic" theory that has since bedevilled most of the studies of the interlacustrine region, since there are no local traditions about "Hamitic" migration or conquest in this area. Secondly, the introduction of the western concepts of politics and economics solidified what

1. What is more, it was from this class of malcontents that the European researchers, in the early part of this century, recruited most of the interpreters since only they could speak some English and had no regular employment. This makes it likely that what was collected as genuine information was the versions favoured by the particular interpreters.
had been a fluid social and economic class system thereby giving a new complexion to traditional society - a complexion that was anything but traditional. One may finally note the side effect of the confused politics of the 1950's and this is the tendency to lump the ruling clans of Mpororo and Nkore, the Bashambo and the Bahinda respectively, under the label "Bahima" like the rest of the cattle keepers. This runs through the writings of Oberg, Morris, Roscoe and others.

In Igara, if one may take this as an example of Mpororo, everyone spoke of the Bene Mafundo [the ruling clan of Igara], the Bahima and the Bairu, just as in Nkore it was the Bahinda, the Bahima and the Bairu. In fact all the elderly people make this distinction quite clearly, because to refer to the Bashambo or the Bahinda as Bahima was derogatory. The two royal clans were the "Abatakama", lit. "Those who do not milk"¹ and the rest were their subjects - the Bahima did the milking just as the Bairu did the cultivation, a fact that did not elevate the Bahima to the level of their rulers. It is fair to conclude, I think, that these terms - Bairu and Bahima - came into use as descriptions of areas of economic activities or occupations and that they acquired the superior

¹. Milking was not done by the rulers or even by the rich cattle owners as this was a task reserved for the lowest herdsman who was employed by the rich cattle keeper. It was not a prestigious task.
and inferior overtones which their use evokes today from the crosscurrents just described.

Consideration of the clans has been deferred in order to avoid the possibility of greater confusion in the understanding of the social system of traditional Nkore. This study, as it has been pointed out, is primarily a political history and only in so far as the clan system contributes to the understanding of this, has some information on the clans been collected and used. But no extensive inquiries were undertaken into the subject as it is a vast and complete subject in its own right. The institution of clans was very fundamental to the organisation of the whole tribe.¹

It is not known how or when clans came into being and every informant of whom I asked this question either said he did not know or just raised eye brows, as if it was an unreal question, and answered; "The clans have always been there. How else could the people live without them?" For the Banyankore, and perhaps for some other traditional societies time scales are of little consequence — an institution like the clans, for example, assumes importance not so much because of when it came into being, but, rather because it it exists and serves a particular function which they

¹. Clans are a common feature of the interlacustrine region.
understand. It seems, nevertheless, that the existence of clans is of the remote past. It is necessary to stress, at the outset, that the clan system in Nkore was a very loose one indeed. There were, for example, no clan heads who were formally installed and there were no clan lands. It is in this sense that one could, perhaps, make out a case that the clans were not an institution in the same way as they were in Buganda, for example. However, from generation to generation, there was always some individual in every clan who was regarded as the "clan head" or, perhaps better, as the leading spokesman of that clan, but he was so regarded because he was the richest, best known or the oldest member of that clan and, usually, he combined all those attributes. Once thus regarded, such a man had a great deal of influence both within the clan and in the official circles as we have seen. Thus, though lacking in established offices, the clans of Nkore were an institution and the system of clan relationship embraced every Munyankore.

All traditional accounts are agreed that there are four primary clans in Ankole; the Bahinda [a section of which was the royal family of Nkore], the Bashambo [the most important branch of which was the royal family of Mpororo],

1. The significance of the four clans is difficult to pin down. There is no special importance attached to the number of four in custom.
the Baghahe and the Baishikatwa. These four clans are subdivided into more than one hundred subclans. The main connection between a primary clan and its subclans is that they all claim, or are believed, to have descended from the same ancestor in the dim past - the supposed founder of the clan. The second connection is that all the subclans of the same clan observe the same primary totem or forbiddance. For example the Bashambo clan has over fifty subclans but all of them share the common totem of epa [a woman with undeveloped breasts] and then all those subclans have each an additional totem which is peculiar to the subclan observing it.

Totems are one of the most intriguing aspects of the clan system of Nkore. Every clan and subclan has got some story which is intended to explain the origin of the particular totem being observed, but these stories shed no light whatever on the history of the clan or subclan. This point is best illustrated by reference to a few examples. The totem of the Baghahe clan is Ngobe [a cow with dark patches forming the prominent part of its colour]. The traditions of the clan has it that it became taboo because

1. "Primary totem" is used here to mean the totem shared by all subclans of the same clan and "secondary totem" to mean only those totems which are peculiar to specific subclans and these meanings will be kept throughout this study.
members of that clan shed blood while fighting over its possession and therefore the rest of the clan was forbidden to eat its meat or drink its milk. The curious point, however, is that if such a cow is raised in one's own herd, it does not become taboo - it is taboo only when it belongs to someone else outside the family and this is why the elderly Bagahe refer to such a cow as "Ente ya kyeeri" or "the cow of the neighbours" as a sign that the clan disapproves of it. Then there is the subclan of the Baitira whose secondary totem is a "woman's milk" which is said to have arisen as follows: A boy of the Baitira clan married a girl from the Bagunda clan, and this girl deserted her husband just after the birth of their first baby, which she left behind. Because the baby was still breast feeding, the father took the child to its mother at his in-laws'. The brothers of the wife beat him up for ill-treating their sister. He made good his escape to his own clansmen who, in retaliation, returned and killed many of the wife's clansmen. But they also suffered heavy casualties in the fighting. Since then, the story goes, the Baitira adopted the totem rather misleadingly described as a "Woman's milk" because if the woman had not left the baby

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1. Information is based on the interviews with Messrs. Rwabusshongo, Kamugungunu and Rwabugondo - the last two named are Bagahe. See also: B.K. Mubangizi, op. cit., p. 146.
behind, the fighting and consequent loss of life would not have taken place. The totem actually takes the form that no member of that clan slept, ate or drank anything in a house in which there was a breast-feeding mother. Again the same exception is made in that a member of that clan will sleep in his own house or that of his blood relative even if their wives happen to be breast-feeding.¹

These two examples are typical of the stories which claim to explain the origins of the forbiddances observed by the various clans. What makes this sort of information unhelpful is the difficulty of tying it down to a particular ancestor or ancestors or placing these incidents at some recognisable period of the clan's history. It may well be that the origins of these totems are much more innocent than these stories make out. It is possible, for example, that the clans adopted different totems for the purpose of distinguishing one clan from another in order to avoid such undesirable social conduct as incestuous marriages, and that then these totems grew in number as the clans themselves grew for the same reasons as they had come into being. Whatever be the origins of these totems, there is no doubt that they were widely and rigidly observed. A Munyankore would be

¹ Information is based on the interviews with: Binyindo, Rwambito, Kibaate, Kasirabo and others - interviewed at Nyabubare, Igara county, on 1st Nov., 1967.
literally terrified to discover that he had transgressed a clan taboo and would reach for the nearest medium for a cleansing ceremony and pray to his ancestors for forgiveness. The only possible value of such information and certainly the only justification for including it here, is to give a balanced picture of the clan system.

Whereas it is not possible so far to ascertain the precise beginnings of the clan system in Nkore, it is possible to reconstruct the needs that gave rise to the organisation of society into clan units from the functions they fulfilled in the traditional society and also from the past incidents in the history of the clans. Of the clan histories, the most outstanding example is that of the Basingo clan whose present unpopularity as a clan is claimed to date from the death of the Omucwezi Murindwa, for whose death this clan is traditionally held responsible.¹ Although only two women of that clan are said to have perpetrated the crime, the whole clan is still regarded as the harbinger of misfortunes and it heads the list of the "bad clans", which are debarred from many ceremonies as we shall see. The general ostracism of the Basingo clan has lasted to the present day. For our purpose it is sufficient to note the collective punishment visited

¹. See for example: Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit., pp. 18-19; J. Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 43.
upon the clan for the wrong believed to have been committed by a few of its members.\footnote{In Ankole the clans are spoken of as if they were individual persons - thus one speaks of the daughter of this or that clan, but never of the sons and this classification is implicit whenever we make references to clan members. The logic behind this seems to be that the girls are born in one clan and usually marry in a different one whereas the boys remain members of their fathers' clans.} In Buganda we are told of clans which were collectively punished or persecuted for the political actions of their members. Thus when Kabaka Kagulu was deposed (about the middle of the 18th century), his half-brother and successor, Kikulwe, embarked on persecuting the Elephant clan, the maternal clan of Kagulu, most of whose members had either to flee the country or to disguise themselves by taking up membership of other clans.\footnote{Kagwa, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 56-57; M. Kiwanuka, \textit{op. cit.}} In Bunyoro, too, we are told of "the killing of the members of the Abasaigi clan" by Olími III in revenge for the death of his father who had been assassinated by a member of that clan.\footnote{J. Nyakatura, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 140.} In the Nkore of the Bahinda period we have several examples of clans being persecuted or rewarded for the actions of a few of their members. We are told, for example, that during the reign of Ntare IV and during the period he was hiding from the Banyoro invaders,\footnote{Katate and Kamugungunu, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 68.} a few members of the Bashwasya...
clan gave him a bull-calf, which was then used in consulting the omens, and for this offer, so the traditions say, the clan was given the right to claim one cow from the bridewealth of every Muhinda girl who got married - a right they exercised right up to the coming of the British to Nkore.¹ Much later in the history of Nkore, in the nineteenth century - we have the Bene Itanzi clan being banished from the kingdom by the Omugabe Mutambuka. The story of their banishment is deeply involved in the court intrigues and the subsequent clan alignments in the succession war which followed the death of Mutambuka around 1875, the details of which are discussed elsewhere.² It is enough to note here that the immediate cause of their banishment was the death of Mutambuka's grandson, Rukamisa, at the hands of a few members of that clan.³

The pattern which emerges from these examples is that of whole clans or subclans being persecuted or rewarded for the actions of one or of a few of their members. Nobody, among the elderly Banyankore, considered such punishments

¹. This information is based on the interviews with Mrs. Kagaga, Nyabayangwe and Kashagate interviewed at NkokoJeru (Sept. 1967) and Messrs. Kiiza, Rwabushongo and others.

². Infra ch. V.

³. The story is told in ch. V.
"unjust". This collective responsibility, to use a familiar phrase in an unfamiliar context, of all members of the clan for the actions of their individual members indicates that clans functioned as protective units for their members in the same way as the family units did on a smaller scale owing to the numbers involved. Apart from protection against physical dangers, the clans also functioned as economic protective units in that any member could seek and obtain economic assistance from his clan kinsmen. This seems to be the main reason why, in the past, clansmen tended to settle in considerable numbers in particular areas - it was to keep together the members so as to make economic and military protection a more viable undertaking. Presumably this is the consideration that Lukyn Williams had in mind when he said; "Every member of the same clan treats another member as a brother no matter where he is. The relationship is as real to the Munyankore as the European relationship in a family".¹

The subdivision of clans into subclans seems to have been a result of the numerical growth of the original clans. As the members of the parent clan settled farther afield from their original abode, they formed themselves into subclans and retained the connection of the parent clan by

¹ F. Lukyn Williams, "Blood Brotherhood in Ankole", Ug. Jnl. 2/1/July 1934, p. 34.
observing the primary totem of the parent clan even after evolving a secondary totem for themselves. This pattern of clan subdivision is perhaps best illustrated by referring to those subclans of the Bashambo clan which are descended from the ruling house of Mpororo. Tradition has it that the last king of Mpororo, Kahaya Rutindangyezi, had several sons while on the throne of Mpororo. His most prominent sons to whom he assigned different areas of his kingdom to administer during his lifetime were Rukaari, Kihondwa, Kirenzi, Kahaya, Ruhiri, Mafundo and Rugambagye. It is from these sons that the main subclans of Mpororo's royal family trace their descent, and to whom they owe their names. Thus we have, as subclans, Bene Rukaari, Bene Kihondwa, Bene Kahaya etc.¹ Within these divisions there are smaller divisions yet. Rukaari, for example, who appears to have been the eldest of Rutindangyezi's sons had several children two of whom became more prominent than the others and these were Kabandwa and Kagurugunju. These founded the subdivisions of Bene Rukaari called Bene Kabandwa and Bene Kagurugunju respectively.² The difference

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¹. The prefix "Bene" preceding the name of a subclan means "the sons of" - thus the sons of Rukaari, the sons of Kirenzí etc.

². Information on Mpororo is based on interviews with Messrs Rwankyengyere and Tugutu (Karagwe, Tanzania - December 1967), Bwapamba (Ntungamo, Rwampara county - Apr. 1968) Kiragura and Bigairwe (Rujumba, Kigezi) and on an unpublished MS "The rise and decline of the kingdom of Mpororo" by Mugyenyi and Rwakishana which was kindly made available to me by the co-author Mr. Mugyenyi.
between clans and subclans in terms of close blood relationship can be illustrated by reference to the rules of endogamy and exogamy. Whereas a man may marry in his own clan, he may not marry in his own subclan and this is still a strict prohibition, because such a marriage is regarded as incestuous. Thus while a Mugina boy could marry a Mushegye girl, and both are Bagahe by clan, the same boy cannot marry a Mugina girl. The logic behind these rules is that members of the same subclans are too closely related by blood to marry whereas, in relation to another subclan, they are considerably distant and therefore marriage was permissible.

There seem to have been many cases of clan mergers or of clan adoption involving members of subclans or even of whole clans. This usually came about when a few clansmen moved to a new area of settlement and found themselves swamped by a different clan grouping. For reasons of personal security, such people usually adopted membership of the predominant clan of the area and their descendants, therefore remained members of the new clan if it remained the strong clan of the locality. By far the greatest cause of clan mergers or adoption was political persecution. Reference has already been made to the persecution of the Elephant clan in Buganda, the Basaigi clan of Bunyoro and the Bene Itanzi in Nkore, and it was pointed out that the members of those clans escaped persecution largely by adopting membership of
different clans. The result of such mergers was to swell membership of the clans in which refuge was taken and to deplete the strength of the persecuted clans. If the rulers responsible for the particular instances of whole scale persecution of some clans failed to relent while continuing to rule for a long time, many of the clans involved usually dwindled into complete eclipse. To take an example from Nkore history, the Bene Itanzi, who had been one of the most powerful clans at the beginning of Mutambuka’s reign, became one of the most insignificant by the end of the same reign as a result of that persecution, and it has remained in that condition because Ntare V, who succeeded Mutambuka, continued to persecute it. A similar example is afforded by the persecution of a Baganda regiment, generally known to history as the Bakunta, who were persecuted for the killing of Kabaka Junju about the middle of the 18th century. A group of these, fleeing from Buganda, settled in Igara, which is now a county of Ankole, named themselves Abanyamungyere and adopted the primary totem of the Bashambo clan, presumably because Igara was then ruled over by the Bashambo. The descendants of these people are still known to have Buganda origins, although they are Banyankore to all intents and purposes, and their origin

1. Infra ch. V. The political strength was directly proportional to the numbers of the clansmen.
has not prevented them from holding high offices in Ankole.¹

Thus these mergers, largely for the purpose of protection, seem to suggest that there may have been many clans originally, of which the larger clans absorbed the smaller ones, eventually leaving only four primary clans. This may or may not have been the main feature of the development of the clans, but what seems to be probable is that the absorption of smaller clans by the big ones went side by side with the subdivision of the clans into subclans, and to determine which of the two trends was the major direction of development would require detailed investigations in the incidences of clan migrations and persecutions which is outside the scope of this study.

Lest the impression is gained that the Bairu and the Bahima had identical subclans, it is now necessary to point out the differences that existed. It should, however, be noted that these differences only refer to the subclans, since all the four main clans have Bairu as well as Bahima among their members. To Lukyn Williams it was "evident that the clan system now in operation in Ankole has been artifically arranged as between Bairu and Bahima at some time in the not very distant past".² Elsewhere he suggests that the Basingo

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1. The last Enganzi (Ankole's Prime Minister) was a member of that clan and his father before him had been a county chief for many years.

2. F. Lukyn Williams, "Blood Brotherhood...", p. 34.
clan existed in Nkore, "before the Galla invasions brought into the country the Bahima, who, before Ankole was reached, had undoubtedly formed themselves into clans. Clans that were already extant were taken over and incorporated into the system by the invaders".\(^1\) According to Taylor, "No observer to date has found any clans or subclans, with the possible exception of some Bashambo - the Baisekatwa [sic] clans, which are said to be purely Bahima or Bairu".\(^2\) Gorju argues that, "in the light of the present sentiments and the past history of the parties in question [the Bairu and the Bahima], "the fact that the Bairu and the Bahima have the same clans does not mean that they have a common ancestor. He thinks that the unstable nomad invader, "unable to settle the serfs of his retinue", attached them to his service by giving them the name of his clan and totem.\(^3\) This line of analysis assumes two premises - the Galla origin of the Bahima and the existence of feudalism in Nkore - and, it has been argued, that these are not sound bases for any argument since they are not proven facts of history whatever the exponents of

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2. B.K. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 103. The statement contains at least one error - the Baishikatwa are a primary clan and not a subclan of the Bashambo as Taylor suggests.

these theories may say.

According to the traditions, certain subclans were entirely Bairu in membership and some were entirely Bahima, while the rest, or the greatest number, had members of both classes. Thus, according to my informants, the Bahinda subclans of Baikiza, Bagunda and Bakondo were and are exclusively Bairu in membership. The Bagahie subclans of Bateizi, Bazigaba and Bahome are all Bairu while the Bene Biraro, Bagina, Bayombo and a few others are entirely Bahima subclans. The Bashambo subclans of Batsyaba and Banyari are all Bairu whereas all the subclans descended from the ruling house of Mpororo, except the Bene Rugambagye, are Bahima in membership.

It is a fact that the Bahima attach much greater importance to clan kinship than the Bairu do and this can be verified by even the most cursory observation of Nkore society to day. But this does not mean that the Bahima were the originators of the clan system, which they then lent or imposed on the Bairu as some writers suggest. It is probable that those Bairu who eventually turned into Bahima adopted

1. Rugambagye, one of the sons of the last king of Mpororo, is said to have administered Rukiga (a county of Kigezi District) in his father's life time. He and his descendants are said to have married Bakiga women and, according to my informants, the Abasigi clan, which later ousted the Bene Rugambagye from Rukiga, are a product of these inter-marriages.

2. The information in this paragraph is based on the interviews with Mrs. Kikohire and Munyanshunju and Messrs Kyokoora, Kakooro, Kaburuka, Kamugungunu, Rwabushongo and others.
the subclans they considered to be suited to their new social status and affluence, but only if their original ones were entirely Bairu subclans, otherwise there would be no point in adopting a new clan when one underwent this transition. The Basingo clan - easily the most unpopular and the least prestigious clan - has always had both Bairu and Bahima among its ranks. Since, as has been pointed out, the clans were primarily designed to protect their members from internal and external mishaps, it follows that clan kinship could only have had the greatest immediate relevance and utility within the confines of the village settlement and that, therefore, it was closely related to the patterns of settlement and daily occupations. For this reason it was inevitable for the Bairu and the Bahima to evolve different subclans and, for that matter, for each group to have had different subclans as the example of the Bashambo, quoted above, shows. The need for protection was obviously greater for the Bahima than it was for the Bairu because the cattle, not the crops, were the primary targets of nearly all riads. This would explain the great importance attached to the clan kinship by the Bahima. For the pastoralists it was an occupational and material necessity, while for the agriculturalists the clan system may have been useful only in its social and moral aspects such as being a means of protecting them from contracting incestuous marriages.
The fact that there are subclans whose membership is exclusively either Bairu or Bahima, whereas both groups are embraced by the primary clans seems, at first sight, to negate the theoretical foundation of the whole clan system which is that members of the same clan originate from the same ancestor who lived at some remote point of their history. In practice, this is not necessarily so. The development of subclans seems to have arisen not only from the numerical expansion of the clans, but also from the occupational differences of the Bairu and the Bahima. As we have argued in the preceding paragraph, an agricultural settlement, for reasons of security and social identity, would form a subclan which would be different from that of a neighbouring agricultural settlement and also, similarly, different from that of the nearest pastoralist community. For precisely the same reasons the pastoralist community would do the same. The growth of these new subclans would naturally reflect the increase and the occupation of the founder members. The link, as we have seen, between these "new" subclans and the parent clans would be preserved by the observance of the primary totem of the parent clan whether the new subclan was pastoralist or agriculturalist. This, therefore, would mean that the wider kinship circle, the parent clan, embraced both the Bairu and Bahima, whereas at the lower level of subclans, which was also the level at which settlement and occupation
were closely knit, membership could either be exclusive or mixed, depending on the circumstances in which the particular subclan was founded. Thus the theory on which the clan system was based is not necessarily negated by this apparent paradox and this pattern of subclan development seems to reinforce my earlier thesis of the social mobility between the classes in traditional Nkore.
Traditional Institutions of Government:

In the context of this study, the system of government and other institutions pertaining thereto with which we shall be concerned are those which obtained in Nkore prior to the arrival of the British administrators. Although a case can be made to the effect that those institutions were preserved long after the extension of the protectorate government over Nkore under the "system" of colonial rule usually described as "indirect rule", such a case would only be superficial. Indirect rule was never a practical basis of government and it was never intended to be one, anymore than it was designed to preserve indigenous institutions. It was merely a political device by which the scarce colonial manpower was maximised by means of using traditional authorities as political front-men. This did not alter the fact that the important decisions were made by the colonial officials while the traditional authorities merely transmitted those decisions to their peoples - and government is about making the decisions and not merely about transmitting them. The introduction of colonial rule had an almost immediate effect of eroding the traditional centres of power and channels of authority and, therefore, of changing the institutions of government. Colonialism would not have been colonialism if
it did not achieve just that.

It is not intended here to give an exhaustive description of all the organs and units of government because many of these appear to have been devised by different Bagabe to meet the needs of the moment affecting their particular reigns so that such innovations are best discussed in their chronological setting. Our primary concern here is to analyse the nature and the basis of the authority which the various functionaries of the state exercised over the tribe and then to determine how far such authority was secular and how far it was religious or "magical" as some writers prefer to call it.

The axiom that the understanding of a people's religion is essential to the understanding of their culture and their political system holds very true for Nkore. In order to get religion in its proper proportion, in relation to the political system, it is appropriate to examine some of the religious beliefs and practices of the Banyankore, since many attempts have been made in the past to explain the authority of the Mugabe and of the other officials by reference to the religious beliefs of his subjects. Thus Stenning tells us that the Mugabe epitomised the welfare of the state through the possession of the royal drum which was inherited from the Bacwezi, from whom he was descended patrilineally; he practiced his ancestor cult on behalf of the state and he
alone of his lineage, unlike the practice of the commoners' cults, was allowed to make the offerings. The Mugabe was also the chief rainmaker of the tribe and the Bagabe, in the course of establishing their dynastic authority, assumed control of the moon cult. These religious functions were the bases of the Omugabe's authority over the tribe.¹ For Oberg, the Omugabe's power was sanctioned by descent from Ruhinda² and by the possession of the symbols of kingship, in particular the drum and the beaded veil, Rutare. "Physical, magical and religious powers were invested in the king's person", which is why, in song and address, he was called "lion", the fiercest of the animal cattle raiders; "leading bull", because the cattle increases through him through raid and gift; "the territory of Ankole", because he had eaten the pastoral lands at his accession and defended them against aggression; "the drum", for like the drum he maintained the unity of the people under him; "the moon", through which he had power to drive away evil and bring good fortune to the tribe.³ Of this curious assembly of names ascribed to the Mugabe by Oberg, I was able to get confirmation for only one - "the leading bull"- which was rarely used and then only in heroic recitations,

2. Infra ch. III.
not in ordinary song or speech. But even for that title, the meaning was not what Oberg says it was; it was that the Cmugabe occupied the same position in the whole country as the owner of a kraal or head of a household occupied in his own establishment. The leading bull of such a man was the embodiment of his personal seniority within his kraal, which is why it was always slaughtered when he died. Furthermore, the occasional reference to the Mugabe as the leading bull signified his status in the tribe not only as the ruler, but also as the leader of all the heads of the families and the richest cattle owner in his own right, just as the leading bull was the most prized animal for the Banyankore in any given herd of cattle. Ford and Hall claim that the kings of Karagwe, like those of many African nations where "Hamitic influence" has been great, belong to a class called by Frazer, "Divine Kings" and "upon their health and well-being depends the prosperity of the kingdom". This, they say, was the theory behind the practice of committing suicide in Ankole as well as in Karagwe when signs of inability showed in a ruler\textsuperscript{1} – a view taken by Roscoe, Oberg, Frazer\textsuperscript{2} and Seligman\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} J. Ford and de Z. Hall, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9.
among others.

These statements are generalisations and, as generalisations go, they contain some truth. Since the question is that of determining the basis of the authority of the Mugabe as an institution, as opposed to the legitimacy of any given set of Bagabe, it is essential to state, in full, the theories and actual practices involving the ancestor-spirit worship; the circlet Rutare; the new moon ceremonies; the rituals pertaining to the death and accession of the Bagabe and the royal drum Bagyendanwa. Only then will we be able to avoid the diffusionist traps with which the analysis of tribal religions are so evidently fraught. Bare references to "moon cults", "rain makers" and so on only serve to give a semblance of uniformity to African tribal religions and to reduce these into general sets of categorical imperatives.

"There was little in the way of formulated religion, for, though there were gods who were acknowledged as superior beings, there were no priests, ... and there were no temples and only a few sacrifices, ... The creator was Ruhanga who was thought to have lived in the sky ... but no prayers were offered to him... It was to these ghosts [of the ancestors] rather than to the great gods that people turned for help and to them they made offerings and prayers". ¹ Thus Roscoe

summarises the religious beliefs of traditional Nkore. What he describes as the "great gods" are what the Banyankore call Emandwa and these were different from the spirits of the ancestors.¹

The Emandwa worship was the worship of the Bacwezi who are believed to have ruled a large kingdom in the inter-lacustrine region, of which Nkore was a part, and from whom, according to the Banyankore, the dynasty of Nkore was descended.²

The Emandwa cults fell into two categories - the emandwa ezera and the emandwa eziiragura which may be freely translated as benevolent and malignant cults respectively. The benevolent cults included Ndahura, Wamara, Kagoro, Mugasha etc.; in other words, these were named after the senior Bacwezi who were individually worshipped through the practice of any of the cults so named. They were never lumped together as a single cult and the worship of any of them excluded the worship of the rest at any single ceremony. The Bacwezi were regarded as benevolent rulers, hence the prefix to the cults named after them. The malignant cults were named after the servants of the Bacwezi and they included Mugasya, Ryangombe,

¹ Information about the worship of the Emandwa and the Emizimu was given by Canon Buningwire, Mrs. Kikohire, Mrs. Munyanshunju and Mr. Mugooha for Nkore and Messrs. Nshashaho, Binyindo, Rwankyengyere and Bwafamba for Mpororo - all in separate interviews.

² Infra ch. III.
Nyabuzana, Gasyoire and several others. These were conceived as evil spirits and as the cause of many misfortunes, hence the prefix "malignant" to their collective name. Offerings made to the latter category were meant to mitigate some particular misfortune experienced by the supplicant, but never to ask for favours when there was no specific calamity. But the point to note is that the royal family of Nkore had nothing whatever to do with Emandwa worship nor did the royal family of Mpororo for that matter. The wives of the rulers did participate in this type of worship, but this did not involve their husbands. The explanation for this is that the two royal clans took wives from the ordinary Bahima clans, particularly from the Bagahe clan, which was the most famous clan in the worship and practice of emandwa cults. It was explained by my informants that it was the women who passed on these cults to their daughters, or who initiated other people in the worship. Women prayed to these spirits of the Bacwezi for the mitigation of some hardship such as the failure to bear children or the betterment of difficult marriages. But the Emandwa cult never embraced more than a small portion of the population - nearly all the male population and a good proportion of the women were not included in this form of worship. That the Bacwezi were worshipped at all was due to the reverence in which their memory is held by the entire tribe. Since the worship of
the Bacwezi spirits or *emandwa* did not involve the Bagabe in any way, it is clear that the dynasty of Nkore derived no authority from that source.

The Banyankore also had a conception of an overall "Almighty", Ruhanga or the Creator, who, as Roscoe rightly observes, was thought to live somewhere in "the skies". No offerings or prayers were made to this deity because he was conceived to be very distant and neutral. He was believed to be the creator of "all men and all things", but also to have become, subsequently, completely disinterested in what happened to those men and things once he had created them. He was, moreover, not attributed with the capacity or the interest to intervene in the daily lives of the people, as this was the field of the spirits of the ancestors.¹ Nkore religion does not seem to have concerned itself with the problems of the universe or the polemics of good and evil.

In traditional Nkore a great deal of respect was accorded by the living to the ancestors, whose spirits were believed never to die. This reverence has its roots in the

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¹. All the prayers and the offerings, whether made to the ancestors' spirits or to some other deity, were made because of the general belief that no one could fall sick, die or suffer some other misfortune unless some god was displeased with the culprit. Medicines were given for a variety of ailments, but these were meant to alleviate the visible suffering not the invisible cause of the illness which was conceived to lie in the supernatural plane - beyond the realm of medicine.
pervading parental authority among the living. In his own household, the man was the absolute master whose decisions were not open to question by his wives or his children. So long as the head of the household lived, his sons, no matter how grown up they might be, owned nothing and exercised no authority — not even over their own wives and children if they had them. To disobey the expressed command of the father was to "beat one's father", the ultimate disgrace a son could bring upon himself, for which the normal punishment was disinherirtance, and a disowned son was ostracised by the whole society. When such a man died, his spirit was believed to join those of his forefathers and the main occupation of these spirits was to act as stern overseers of their living descendants. It was to these spirits that the Banyankore attributed the power of controlling their lives, including the power to cause death, and to them the living offered sacrifices either to ask for special favours, guidance or for the mitigation of specific hardships. Little wonder, therefore, that no neglect or to offend the spirits of one's ancestors was regarded as fatal.

The making of offerings to these spirits was called okuhertza emizimu; that is to give to the spirits of the ancestors and, as a religious rite, this form of worship had a much greater following than emandwa cults, because nearly every family in the land participated in it. But the practice
and the actual ceremony of giving the offerings involved only the members of a particular family and excluded everyone outside that family, because the offerings were made to one's remembered blood relations and to no one else. The spirits of other people's ancestors were not considered as a force, since they were only interested in their own blood relatives and in no one else. The theory and the practice of these rites were the same for the rulers as for their subjects; the difference lying only in the grandeur and style. But for the Bahinda of Nkore and for the Bashambo of Igara, for example, it could be said that they were involved in making offerings to the spirits of their ancestors only to the extent that offerings were made to those spirits because they did not participate in the ceremonies in person. For the royal family of Nkore it was the members of the Bayangwe clan who conducted all the ceremonies, and the members of the Bateizi clan performed the same function for the rulers of Igara. In both cases the rulers and the senior members of the royal families would be present at the ceremonies, but would take no physical part in the proceedings - the incantations, sacrifices and, in particular, would not eat of the meat from the animal sacrificed.

The offerings to the ancestor spirits of the Bagabe were made in Kagondo - the shrine of the ancestor spirits of
the Bahinda.¹ This house was always built within the palace of the Omugabe and was among the houses from which the general public was debarred. At the appearance of the new moon, but at infrequent intervals ranging from six to twelve calendar months, a fire was lit in the Kagondo and into the enclosure of the shrine, a Muyangwe would bring the cow for sacrifice. The cow had to be of uniform colour, pure white being the colour normally preferred, and it had to be wholesome, which is to say that it had to be without a physical deformity and must not have lost a calf or have aborted. Then the Muyangwe leading the ceremonies would call to the spirits: "You, the Ones from Ishanje,² Ryamwebe, Nkironkye, Kajuura, Kabaigarire, Murambiro, Nyanyindo etc., come and eat your cow". Then everyone and everything would wait for the cow to urinate - if it did not, it was presumed that the spirits had refused it and another one would be brought and the same process would be gone through all over again. Once it did, it was slaughtered and small pieces of meat from every limb were

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1. Every senior Muhinda (prince) had a shrine in his own home which was also called Kagondo and in which members of the Bayangwe clan carried out the same ministrations as those described for the Bagabe. The princes did not do this for themselves.

2. All these places are within Masha area, Isingiro county, which was the area in which the Bahinda kingdom of Nkore began and Ishanje was the royal burial ground for the deceased Bagabe and Kabaigarire was the burial ground for the princesses.
thrown over the fence as the offerings for Kazoba,¹ one of
the prominent Bacwezi according to Nkore traditions. As the
names of the Bagabe's ancestors were called, one by one, the
Muyangwe leading the ceremony asked for their protection
against all types of evils on behalf of the royal family.
The rest of the meat was then roasted [never boiled] and
eaten by the "good clans" present — excluding the members
of the Basingo clan in Nkore and of the Bararira, Basingo
and Bakimbiri in Igara. Also excluded was anyone with any
physical deformity such as a prominent scar. No member of
the royal family partook of the meat, all of which had to be
consumed on the spot and not taken from the scene of the
ceremony. After this ceremony, beer drinking would follow
and festivities would continue in the palace for several days
at a stretch.

For the common people the proceedings were not quite
so elaborate. There were no enclosures or feasts. What
constituted the shrine, in this case called Ekibya, was a
small hollowed out anthill — two to three inches in diameter
and anything up to six inches deep — under which was placed
certain herbs and the whole paraphernalia was placed at some

¹. Kazoba, for reasons I was unable to find, is always
associated with the sun — the sun is called izoba in
Runyankore.
convenient place in the house. At equally irregular intervals, food or milk, depending on the family concerned, was placed by this simple shrine as an offering to the spirits with the exhortations to them to look after the family concerned or to mitigate some problem that the family might be facing. For the pastoralists the milk offered to the spirits was from the cows dedicated specially to them, and milk from such cows could only be taken by the male members of the family or clan, but never by women in or outside the clan. In any kraal of any size there were to be found a particular set of cows dedicated to the ancestor spirits which were called enzimu [those dedicated to the ancestor spirits], and those dedicated to the Bacwezi cults called enshugi [or sacred] - the latter applied to the kraals of the families who practiced the emandwa cults - and the cows which were dedicated to neither which were called empima [cows of the Bahima] meaning that their milk could be drunk by any pastoralist.  

It can hardly be overemphasised that the purpose of

1. Always this was so placed that it could not be seen by visitors.

2. The milkpots used for the cows dedicated the the Emizimu, Emandwa and for those not dedicated to either, the Empima, were kept strictly separate. They could not be washed together nor could the milk from one set of milkpots be poured into another set. So serious was this separation that it sufficient ground for divorce if the wife mixed up these milkpots and her mistake was discovered.
these ministrations to the spirits of the ancestors was the same for the rulers as for the ruled; it was to solicit the protection of the spirits of the departed blood relatives. What is more, the royal family, who did not take a physical part in the actual ceremonies, did not make offerings on behalf of the state at all. In the case of Nkore the Bayangwe conducted the rites on behalf of the Bagabe families in the same way and for the reasons as the commoners did on behalf of their own families; that is to say that the Bayangwe called on the spirits of the Bahinda to protect that family on whose behalf they were conducting the rites and not for the protection of any other family. This is exactly what every head of the family did for his own family among the common people. Since the Bagabe did not conduct ancestor-spirit worship on behalf of the state - nor indeed on their own behalf - the conclusion must be, contrary to what Stenning states and Oberg implies, that the Bagabe derived no power from this source.

In Nkore there was a whole range of specialists in all sorts of religion and medicine as the two usually went together. There were diviners, sorcerers, magicians and medicine men and the tools of their trade were equally varied. For example some diviners, for the purpose of telling the future, used the entrails of cows or sheep, while others used chicks or hens. Some medicine men gave their patients fetishes or amulets which were supposed to give protection
against a variety of hazards, including protection against the spears of the enemy in time of war. For all this array of religious functionaries, however, Nkore never had a state religion, or even anything approximating to that. This was due to the fact that the emergence of a state religion would have presented the Mugabe with an institutional challenge, and no Mugabe could have allowed the growth of such a threat to his authority, as some of my informants put it. This is why, it is said, when the cult of Nyabingyi came to Nkore from Mporeoro early in the first half of this century, it was officially discouraged when it showed signs of spreading too fast, and consequently it never attained a status higher than that of the cults which Nkore had known before. In fact this attitude of the rulers may explain the absence of publicly organised political pressures in the traditional accounts of Nkore.

The much-publicised beaded veil or circlet, Rutare, seems to be one of the latest additions to the regalia of kingship. There are two versions of the tradition explaining how it came into the possession of the kings of Nkore. One

1. Messrs Mugooha and Buningwire, for instance.

2. By that time, of course, the Mugabe had the aid of the zealous missionaries, who had a vested interest in discouraging traditional religions anyway, and of the colonial administrators whose efforts in matters such as this could scarcely be distinguished from those of the missionaries.
version is that "it fell from heaven" onto the lap of Mkazi, the wife of the Mugabe Macwa. The second one is that it was captured from Bwera when the Mugabe Macwa sent his younger brother, Bujuga, to raid the area. It was then captured with its keeper Kirinju, of the Batsyaba clan. This is why, the story goes, this clan was, until 1967, the one from which the official keepers of the circlet were drawn - all of them trace their descent from Kirinju.¹ The point which is relevant to our present purpose is that it was the keepers of this circlet who were the rainmakers for the Bagabe of Nkore, and they carried out their rain making ceremonies, all my informants on the subject emphasised to me, in the physical absence of the Mugabe. It is thus difficult to see how the Bagabe could have been the rainmakers of the tribe.² It is possible that this idea might have arisen out of Frazer's contention that because rain is important to his people, "if a chief cannot make rain himself, he must procure someone who

¹. The two versions are recorded by Katate and Kamugungunu (pp. 45, 83) and both of them were cited by all informants on the subject who said, "That is what the old people said about Rutare". However, all the keepers trace their descent from Kirinju, the original keeper according to one of the two versions of the story.

². There were many rainmakers in Nkore at any given time - sometimes one to every village or so. These were employed by the rest of the community not only to make rain come, but also to stop it coming when it was not wanted, such as in the middle of a harvest or during the building of a homestead when rain could be disruptive.
Possibly, too, the idea might have been suggested by Katate and Kamugungunu's ambiguous statement about the Rutare which "the Bagabe of Ankole used to employ in the ceremonies of making rain". The statement could mean that somebody else used it and Mr. Kamugungunu, the co-author, insists that that is what the statement means, because the Bagabe did not make rain. The proposition that the Bagabe were not rainmakers is also supported by Roscoe. Finally, bearing in mind the general distaste with which all witchcraft - and rainmaking was regarded as witchcraft in Nkore - and witch doctors were looked upon, though also feared, by the tribe, it is difficult to see how or why the Mugabe could have been a rainmaker. In case of the failure of the rain, he would have turned the wrath of his subjects. upon himself which, to say the least, would have been impolitic. Since, therefore, the Bagabe do not seem to have been rainmakers, it follows that they could not have derived authority from a rite which they neither controlled nor practiced.

It is not precisely known when the moon festivals began in Nkore, but Katate and Kamugungunu tell us (p. 21) that during the period of the Bacwezi, the royal drums were occasionally brought out to "welcome the moon". These authors do not tell us what happened on those occasions.

1. Sir James George Frazer, op. cit., p. 111.
What the traditionalists know is what happened during these festivals under the Bahinda rulers and it appears that the pattern of these ceremonies, like the pattern of so many other things, was laid down by Ntare IV, around the first half of the 18th century. Four of the people who described the festivals to me in interviews - Messrs Rwabushongo, Mugooha, Kamugungunu and Nyorozi - had themselves witnessed several of them in person and the following description is based on their information.

The festivals took place at infrequent intervals, but each time at the appearance of the new moon. On those occasions the drums were taken out of their palace "to meet the Omugabe" or "to welcome the moon", as the Banyankore express it. It should be noted that the drums which were taken out of the palace were those called empuuro - the ones which could be sounded by anyone and, specifically, not the main drum Bagyendanwa, which moved only once in a reign, at the accession of a new Mugabe, and which was struck only once by each Mugabe in his lifetime, at the accession ceremonies. Once assembled before the Mugabe and the dignitaries of the land, the drums were played to the accompaniment of the flutes and other traditional musical instruments and this marked the beginning of the festivals of the new moon. The Mugabe and his chiefs provided the food and the drinks for the participants and the spectators. The merry-making could
go on for up to a whole week or longer.

There were no sacrifices, offerings or any acts of a religious nature at any point of the proceedings. It is said, by these informants and several others, that the appearance of the moon was a sign of prosperity and for this reason many other feasts and festivals in Nkore were conducted during the moon, not as a rule, but as a convention. Most people, for example, gave away their daughters in marriage during this period. Most of the beer brewing took place in the same period. Above all, the purification ceremonies after the death of an Omugabe and before the accession of the next were conducted during the moon, although the burial of a deceased Mugabe could be done, moon or no moon, depending on when he died. It has been said that the offerings in the Kagondo were made at the appearance of the new moon.

The same festivities were carried out in Igara, according to my informants of that area. In that country they were called "the feasts of Kihoza", - Kihoza being the chief royal drum of Igara. On those occasions all the royal drums, including Kihoza itself, were moved to the palace of the ruler of Igara. According to this source, the practice of the drums welcoming the moon was started by Mafundo, the first king of Igara, and from then it grew into a national festival, during which all the occupational activities ceased while the population went merry-making. No religious rites
were involved during these ceremonies.

The heads of families of the common people also conducted their own simpler and private ceremonies of welcoming the moon by simply standing at their gates and chanting, while looking in the direction of the new moon:

Here is my arm

Here is my shoulder etc.

Look after your children

Look after your home etc.1

Look after me well as the last moon looked after me well.

Reeba omukono gwangye

Reeba ibega ryangye etc.

Reeba abaana bawe

Reeba eka yawe1

Onkwate gye nk'okwezi okwahing-wire.

No offerings or prayers of a religious nature were made on these occasions either. If this general outline of the activities is accepted — and there was no variation in the information I collected on this subject — it can be concluded that the moon festivals were not cults or religious occasions because, in traditional Nkore, and essential element of any religious activity was the offering — one did not pray to the departed ancestors or to the spirits of the Bacwezi without an offering. It appears that the moon festivals were, in fact, occasions of great political significance to

1. Meaning the moon should bless the home etc. of the person chanting.
the dynasty of Nkore. They were national festivals which fostered the idea of a common national identity, and which enhanced the prestige of the monarch of the day. In the first place these festivals offered the greatest opportunity to the greatest number to see the Mugabe, because he was not so accessible on other occasions as on this one. The generosity of his entertainment on these occasions was only matched by the jubilation of his subjects. Moreover, this was the only national festival which did not follow a national upheaval, and, consequently, it was the happiest of all. The festivities on the accession of the new Mugabe, though grand, were shadowed by the sadness caused by the death of the previous monarch and, often, marred by memories of succession wars. The dictum that in order for the monarchy to be effective, it must be visible seems to have been appreciated by the Bahinda of Nkore.

There are other reasons to explain why the appearance of the moon should have been a special occasion. In every calendar month, roughly one half of that period has dark nights and the other half has moonlit nights. This is why the Banyankore sometimes reckon their periods by reference to so many "moons" or "darknesses". It will be appreciated that there had to be general relief at the appearance of the new moon and the conclusion of the "period of darkness" in a society where lamps, of any description, were unknown.
Marriages and other ceremonies were carried out during the moon because it was a lot more convenient to have them then than in darkness. Most pastoralists either slept in shifts, or only during the day, during the period of dark nights, because those were the nights when the marauding lions harassed their stock and kraals. The stock raiders also favoured the dark nights for the simple reason that it would then be easy to elude their pursuers, and by the appearance of the sun, they would have put considerable distance between themselves and their trackers. Against this background, the relief felt at the appearance of the moon does not become so mysterious as the past writers would have us believe. The rulers may well have organised these festivals during those periods because they were the safest periods for their subjects and not because the moon was worshipped. It would perhaps not be out of place to compare this feeling to that felt by the people who live in temperate climates at the first signs of spring. One is thus compelled once again to conclude that the Bagabe derived no authority from the control of the "moon cult" as Stenning terms it because it was not a cult in a religious sense.

It now remains to give a brief description of what happened when a Mugabe died and at the accession ceremonies. The present writer was unable to confirm the theory of royal suicide about which so much has been written. All the
informants I asked said that they did not know and that they had not been told of specific Bagabe who had ended their lives by this means. According to Kamugungunu, for known example, "It is not/whether the Bagabe took poison or not. What I know is that many Bagabe are remembered who grew very old and died without taking the poison". And Rwabushongo had "never been told of any Mugabe who took poison because he was very old or because he was ill. But I think [the emphasis is his] it is likely that this was believed to be so because most Banyankore thought their rulers were like the Bacwezi or the gods. So they believed that their Bagabe could not die like the ordinary people". Furthermore, in the "Abagabe b'Ankole" we are told of no less than twelve Bagabe, which is about half the dynasty, who died of old age, including Nkuba, who died of old age and who was already blind by the time he died; Ntare II who was ill through out his reign and who then died from natural causes and Kahaya I, who lived to see his great grand children mature into manhood and who then died from old age without taking his own life.

1. Messrs Kamugungunu and Rwabushongo - personal interviews.
2. The other name of Ntare II, Kagwejegyerera-Mishango (lit. He who sleeps over the cases), is said to have been given to him because he was often sick and thus was unable to attend to matters of government.
3. See for example, Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit., pp. 52, 57, 94.
If the Bagabe took poison whenever they were sick or aged, they must have done so in extreme secrecy and, as these examples show, they must have allowed themselves liberal exceptions to that rule, if indeed it was a rule. In my opinion the requirements of physical fitness applied to the candidates to the throne and then it did not matter how unfit they subsequently became once they had got the throne. At least in the case of Nkore, it can hardly be said that it was a rule for the Bagabe to take poison when they became physically disabled from living an active life. Of the twenty five Bagabe, who formed the whole dynasty, not one is remembered to have ended his life in that manner, twelve are said to have died of old age, six to have died in war and one to have died of an accident. Even if the rest had taken poison, which they did not, this still would not make it a rule, because it would mean that only four - since we know that Nkare V died of pneumonia and that the last Mugabe of the dynasty is still living - took the poison.

Immediately the death of the Mugabe was known, the royal drum, Bagyendanwa, was inverted by its keepers, and it remained so until the accession of the new Mugabe; the fire in the drum's house was put out; all the fires of the various
kraals were put out;¹ all the leading bulls in the kraals had their scrotums tied so that they should not mate; cultivation ceased and the spear blades were wrapped, or their spears were kept upside down. All these things were done because, "the Omugabe is the head of all the households in the kingdom".² With the exception of the drum, the same things were done when the head of the family died, but these activities were naturally localised to the family concerned, while the death of the Mugabe was everyone's concern.

Apart from the general grief and the insecurity felt by everyone, nothing much happened among the common people until the purification ceremonies leading to the accession of a new prince. Meantime the princes and the leading chiefs would be manoeuvring for a successor behind the scenes. To such questions as; "What did all these action symbolise?" one gets unsatisfactory answers and this is not altogether surprising. The Banyankore did not rationalise the system under which they lived, and would not have done so if called upon to define it - it is more accurate to say that they did not live under or with the system, but rather that they lived it.

¹. This might have been a security precaution because raiders, internal or external, could take advantage of the unsettled conditions to harass the kraals and the lit kraals would be an easy target.

². B.K. Mubangizi, op. cit., p. 137 - also confirmed by many informants.
For that reason questions of precise definitions appear to many to be either misguided or superfluous. One thing, however, they understood clearly enough, and that was that with the death of the Mugabe, the chiefs ceased to function and the protection of their life and property likewise vanished simultaneously and that thus matters would stand until the accession of a new ruler. This interval of power vacuum was known as Bikono, meaning that anyone could commit any offence with impunity, since there was no authority to restrain or punish.

According to Mrs. Kikohire and Mrs. Munyanshunju, "Bagyendanwa's territory cannot remain empty, without a ruler. When the death of the Mugabe was known, the close confidants of the Mugabe chose one of the princes in secret to act as a Mugabe. Such a prince underwent token accession ceremonies in secret, and this secret remained guarded until the Bahitsi [the people responsible for the royal burial] returned from Ishanje. Then the prince was announced and, if there was a challenger, the war for the throne would begin". Against this, however, is ranged all my other informants who say that this is not true and that, "if it were true the royal drum could not remain inverted. The royal drum was inverted because it had lost its owner and the kingdom/empty". ¹ The

¹ These include Rwabushongo, Kagaga, Nyabayangwe and Kamugungunu among others.
origin of the story of token succession is obscure and the story itself is almost certainly inaccurate because it presupposes the existance of a body of men which had the function of choosing the king and this is a very unlikely supposition. It would appear that the drum, as the embodiment of state, was inverted as a symbolic indication that the state itself was upside down owing to the chaos and insecurity which followed the death of the Mugabe.¹ It was probably with this situation in mind that Stenning stated; "... the state as an administrative organisation and a ritual entity came to an end with the king's death, or shortly after it, and was reconstituted by a number of steps, some ritual, some secular".² In so far as the Mugabe's death was followed by the immediate closure of the channels of authority, it can be said that his death marked the winding up of the state as an instrument of executive authority - or rather the winding up of government in a strictly secular sense. It was as much a result of ensuing insecurity as of grief caused by the Mugabe's death, probably more of the former than of the latter, that general disorder attended the death of the ruler. What is, however, difficult to accept is the implication by

¹. Another name for "accession" is "okujuumura engoma" i.e. "to put the drum/kingdom upright".

². Stenning, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
Roscoe, Oberg and Stenning that the state was wound up by specific stages: the disposal of the king's body to the sacred grove; the purification of the king's household and the dispersal of its personnel, "particularly the wives who go to their natal kin"; the shifting of the royal drum to neutral ground and the proclamation of the new king by the Chief Minister.\textsuperscript{1} It was only the death of the king that marked the winding up of the state, and that was decisive enough since the king was the executive and active embodiment of the state - the drum being the passive and pervading embodiment. Neither in customary practices nor in traditional precedents would one find backing for the supposition that there existed any of the stages mentioned as practices pertaining to the winding up and reconstitution of the state. In the first place, once their husband was dead, the wives of the Mugabe lived with their sons if they had them, or stayed in the palace if they had no sons. Under no circumstances could these wives, or the wives of the common people for that matter, leave the palace, or the home of the late husband, before the purification ceremonies. The wives of the Mugabe, particularly the younger ones, were usually taken over by the successor and this was accepted because it was

\textsuperscript{1} Stenning, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 3-4.
"the keeping of the women of the family in the family".\(^1\) This was as true of the rulers as it was true of the common people as all traditional accounts confirm.

On the authority of all my informants on this subject, the royal drum only moved once and that was for the accession ceremonies after which it was taken back to its palace. There was no question of taking it to a neutral ground because there was no neutral ground anyway. As to the final stage - the proclamation of the new king by the chief minister - this can be shown not to be the case in two ways. Firstly the position of chief minister, whatever meaning one chooses to attach to that title, was a concept which was introduced by the British administrators who seem to have mistaken Nkore's administrative structure to be identical to that of Buganda and who then went ahead to transform that mistake into reality, very much to Nkore's advantage and to the disadvantage of her smaller neighbours, by giving Mbaguta not only the post of Chief Minister but also such political powers as no one had exercised before. In the second place one may refer to the functions performed during the accession ceremonies to illustrate the fact that

\(^1\) If the successor was a brother of the deceased, he took over the wives because they were regarded as his even during the lifetime of his brother anyway. If it was the son of the deceased, he took over the younger wives as his own and looked after the old ones as he did his own mother.
nobody proclaimed a new Mugabe. All these functions were performed by the clans. The point has already been made that it was essential for the various clans to be represented at the court and one of the ways of doing this was the performance of specific functions at the coronation of the Bagabe. One more distinction need be made and that is that the purification ceremonies were not part of the accession ceremonies and had nothing to do with kingship as an institution. These were gone through by every household in the land after the death of the head of the family and they marked the ending of mourning and were followed by the installation of the successor which was an entirely separate set of ceremonies. It is these latter set of ceremonies that we shall be concerned with.\(^1\)

In the accession ceremonies the Bayangwe clan had many more functions to perform than any other clan for reasons that are discussed elsewhere.\(^2\) When the stage was set for the installation of the new Mugabe, the following things were done:- A senior prince brought the "arms of the kingdom" and handed them to the prince, being installed, one by one, saying the while, "Take this spear, Nyamiringa,

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1. Information on the accession ceremonies is based on the interviews with Mrs. Kikohire, Mrs. Munyanshunju, Messrs. Butaringaya, Kamugungunu, Buningwire, Rwabushongo and many others.

2. Infra ch. III.
which is the sign of the authority you will have from today. Take hold of this shield, Kashazyo, the axe, Kaitabagomi [the slayer of rebels], the bow and the arrow, Nyarwambi, with which you will enforce obedience to your commands and ensure the peace among your subjects". Then the Mugabe-elect handed those weapons to the Muyangwe representative, who was also the leader of the ceremonies, who placed the arrow in the bow preparing to shoot while saying, "I have shot the quarters which bring the enemies to this country; I have shot a prince-pretender [to your throne]; I have shot everyone who bears you ill-will". He then released the arrow from the bow, followed it, retrieved it and handed it to the Mugabe-elect who then repeated exactly what the Muyangwe had said and shot the arrow further than the Muyangwe had done thereby indicating that he would be more vigorous in protecting the country. Then a man of the Barama clan handed him a stick saying, "Take this stick with which you will rule over the territory of Bagyendanwa"; the stick, unlike the spear and other lethal weapons, signified that he would punish his subjects, but would not kill them as the other weapons were meant to be used against foreign enemies. A Muyangwe then gave the Mugabe-elect a new hoe and some seeds of finger millet +, pumpkin +, and of another vegetable
called **eshogyi** $^{1}$ and the Mugabe then cut the ground and planted the seeds separately. Then he gave the hoe to the representative Mwiru telling him, and through him all the Bairu, to go to their homes and resume cultivation. Then the Muyangwe gave the Mugabe-elect the cow hide thong with which the cow's legs are loosely tied at milking and the Mugabe performed a token act of milking after which he told a representative Muhima, and through him all the Bahima, to return to their normal activities. $^{2}$ It will have become clear by now that all these acts were meant to signify the return of normal life in the country and had no other significance. The other functions like giving the Mugabe

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1. Finger millet - is also called **entacweka** (lit. that which never comes to an end) in Runyankore and its planting was meant to signify that the lives of the Omugabe's subjects would not end now that he was there to defend them. **Pumpkins** or **ebihaza** grow profusely and have turgid leaves and stems almost throughout their life span and their planting was meant to signify the return of prosperity. **Eshogyi** - the verb **okushoga**, from which the name of the vegetable is derived, means to multiply and prosper and the planting of this particular seed was meant to signify the wish and the determination of the Mugabe that under him "people and things" would multiply.

2. A Mugabe's token act of cultivation and milking also signified his commitment to "cultivate and milk" for his people - to give them the means of livelihood in time of need. A Mugabe never cultivated and never milked again in his lifetime.
shoes [Baigara clan], pipe and tobacco [the Basingo clan] and milk by the Baitenwa clan were the functions that were performed by members of those clans throughout the daily life of the Mugabe, and their importance lies in the history of their establishment rather than in what they symbolised for the Mugabe or for the people. After all these acts had been gone through, a Mururu [member of the clan who kept the royal drum] gave the Mugabe the stick with which he struck Bagyendanwa once, and that act alone established him as the Mugabe. No person declared him the Mugabe. These ceremonies show how totally integrated in the life of the tribe, the life and actions of the Mugabe were. Above all, these ceremonies were secular, not religious. It has been felt necessary to describe the foregoing in some detail in order to demonstrate how minimal the active participation of the Mugabe in the religious life of the tribe was.

1. There was another symbolic function on the accessions which followed succession wars and this was the ritual of slaughtering a cow with thick fur. Such cows were and are rare in Nkore and, then as now, are individually called Kimere. It was killed and its meat served to all those present at the accession ceremonies so that "abantu banere emititima" or "the hearts of the people may be healed". "The name Kimere is derived from the verb okumera - to grow and this meat was meant to reconcile the people who had been fighting against each other in the war and also to reconcile those on the losing side to the rule of the victor. Once this meat was eaten and once the prince had struck the drum, all these informants say in unison, there could not be any question as to the legitimacy of the prince."
The question of physical power aside, we still have to find the basis of the Omugabe's power over his subjects. In my opinion, the basis of this authority was the belief, held by the whole tribe, that the Bahinda rulers were the descendants of the Bacwezi, whom the Banyankore believe to have been the founders of their kingdom, and whom they worshipped as we have seen. In this context it matters little whether the Bacwezi existed or not; the point is that the Banyankore believed in their historical existence, worshipped them and believed their rulers to be descended directly from them. Furthermore, it would be irrelevant to consider whether the Bahinda are descendants of the Bacwezi or not — and I do not think that they are.¹ Once again the point is that this was implicitly believed to be a historical fact. It appears reasonable, therefore, to conclude that one of the bases of the authority that the Mugabe exercised over his subjects was this belief, and not that the Bagabe were rainmakers or priests of the moon cult etc., because the Bagabe performed none of those functions anyway.

The "divine" origin ascribed to the kings of Nkore is linked with the wider and more important question of the royal drum, the Bagyendanwa.² A considerable amount of

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¹ Infra ch. III.
² It should be noted that all the other drums and the regalia

F/note contd. on next page
literature exists on the subject and attempts have been made in the past to assess the importance of this drum in the political system of traditional Nkore. The result of these attempts is best summed up in Oberg's revealing understatement that, "no white man has ever been able to solve their [drums'] mystery". No Munyankore, so far as my investigations are concerned, could unravel that mystery either.

According to the traditions of Nkore, the drum was made by the last Mucwezi king, Wamara, who left it in the keeping of a man named Katuku from whom Ruhinda, the founder of the Bahinda dynasty, procured it when he took over the kingdom of Nkore. Traditionally, the drum has had its own establishment, separate from that of the Mugabe - a separate capital, herds of cattle, "courtiers" and territory from which the beer and the food for its keepers and retainers came. But this arrangement seems to have been a later innovation which has been elevated to the level of a convention

Footnote 2 contd. from previous page

connected therewith were important only in so far as they enhanced the dignity of the Bagyendanwa - they had no independent importance of their own.

1. See for example: Lukyn Williams, "Inauguration of Mugabe to office", UG. Jnl. 4/4/May 1937, pp. 300-312.
3. Infra ch. III.
by repeated practice. Traditionalists say that there was no specific rule which required the drum to have a separate capital from that of the Mugabe. For example, it is said, the early Bagabe whose capitals were within the Masha plain and the hills of southern Isingiro had the drum in their own capitals, in particular Nyabugaro and Kahaya I are cited as having lived in the same capital with it. It was explained that whenever the Bagabe crossed the Rwizi river and made their capitals north of it, as did Kahaya I who once made his capital at Ruhunga, they left the drum in Isingiro because, "the drum could not be taken across the river". Its herds also remained in Isingiro. But the real reason for keeping the drum in Isingiro seems to have been consideration for its security rather than the river which, in any case, the drum seems to have crossed several times. The territory north of the Rwizi was, until the 19th century, a shifting frontier which saw constant raiding and counter raiding as Nkore expanded into the area. To keep the drum in such an area would have exposed it to the likelihood of capture by the enemy - something that had to be avoided at all costs. This view is reinforced by what traditions say were the capitals of Bagyendanwa-Rusya, Birere, Kasana, Mabare and Kazinga.1

1. The fact that traditions tell us the whereabouts of the
A glance at Map 1 shows that all those places were situated well inside the nucleus of the Bahinda kingdom and, my informants explained that. "Bagyendanwa, its herds and the herds of the Omugabe were always kept in the centre of the kingdom so that the enemies of Nkore should not take them by a surprise attack".

It appears that it was from the reign of Ntare IV [about the first half of the 18th century] that the institutionalisation of Bagyendanwa's establishment was begun, and that this was a gradual process from then onwards. During that reign, we are told, one Kahurira, the son of Nyambare, came from Mpororo and was given the guardianship of the drum by Ntare IV, which guardianship remained in his family and clan right up to 1967. As Nkore expanded and suffered from increasing raids, especially from Bunyoro and Buganda, it may well have been found necessary to give the drum a permanent form of military protection and that this was achieved

Footnote 1 contd. from previous page.

Drum's capitals does not help us to decide whether the Bagabe have always had separate capitals from the drum or not. For one thing the movements of the drum are not chronologically related as those of the Bagabe in regard to the shifting of capitals. Secondly, the drum appears to have stayed in one place for several reigns at a stretch while the Bagabe, for one reason or another, moved from one capital to another. Thirdly, tradition does not connect the specific capitals of the Bagabe with the corresponding ones for the drum except in the few cases when the drum was moved during wars.
by building an establishment around it. Thus its large following of official keepers, courtiers and hangers-on, who were to be found in and around the drum's capital, formed the core of its immediate defenders in case of an attack. "If the fighting went badly for Nkore troops, these defenders ran away with the drum, while the other military units in the area fought any pursuers". This is the typical explanation given about the defence system devised around the drum. It is very significant that the single occasion on which the drum is remembered to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, the Bunyoro invaders, was also during the reign of Ntare IV. This, undoubtedly, must have made a great impression on the king as well as on his subjects, for the capture of the drum showed, as nothing else could have done, that Nkore had been completely defeated. So long as the drum was in their hands, the Banyankore did not regard themselves as defeated, no matter how many reverses they suffered in the actual fighting, but if the enemy captured the drum, then it was defeat. All the herds of the drum and the food products from its allotted region of tribute provided the means by which this large establishment was maintained. The herds, as well as the tribute, were under the personal control of the incumbent keeper of the drum, subject to the ultimate overall supervision of the Mugabe. This supervision does not seem to have been close, since the keepers had a wide area of discretion over the disposal of
the drum's property. For instance the official keeper could take any number of cattle from the drum's herds for his personal use, such as for paying bridewealth for himself or for his own son.

The power of the drum in the tribal scale of values, however, did not lie in the number of cattle it was said to possess nor in the number of retainers in its capital but rather in the number of beliefs held about it by the whole tribe. This is why it played a central role in the popular conception of the state. It was this conception that governed the relations of the Banyankore with each other, and with their rulers, and with foreigners. The drum, more than any other single institution or object, gave the people the separateness and identity as the nation of the Banyankore. This all embracing importance of the drum has its foundations in the beliefs of the Banyankore about the foundation of their kingdom. The Bacwezi were benevolent rulers; they founded the kingdom of which Nkore was a part, and they gave Nkore to the Bahinda to rule and, as sign of the legitimacy of the authority of the new dynasty, the Bacwezi left their own drum to the Bahinda. This, in a nutshell, is what the Banyankore believe to be the foundation of their kingdom and of their dynasty.1 It might be noted that all the traditions concerning

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1. Infra ch. III.
the Bacwezi and their "disappearance" stress the fact that they were "wonderful rulers" - they disappeared because, among other things, their subjects had become rebellious so that it was the subjects and not the rulers that were bad.

If one asks an old Munyankore, as I did my informants, what the Bagyendanwa means to him, the typical answer runs as follows: "Bagyendanwa is the bugabe [kingship] for without it no one can be Mugabe over its territory". When I suggested that without the Mugabe presumably the drum would not be important, my astonished informants often replied: "But how can that be possible? Bagyendanwa will always choose a Mugabe to rule over its territory". In Nkore anyone who is appointed to a position of authority is said to have eaten the drum, no matter how low or high that position may be. In that context the drum means two things; authority and the territory over which the authority is exercised. To the extent that the drum was conceived to own the territory over which all the officials, including the Mugabe, presided, everyone of those officials from the king downwards was the servant of the drum. The Mugabe in particular was its servant because he guarded it and watched over its safety, and therefore "the guard cannot be more important than he whose guard he is", as the Banyankore express it. But the Mugabe was also conceived to be the "owner" of the drum, which would suggest that he was more important than the drum,
and this, too, the Banyankore accept as a true statement. Now, this may appear to be a piece of casuistry, but it is not. The actual possession of the drum by the Mugabe was the symbol of his legitimate authority, which no one could defy except at his own peril. This is why no prince could be accepted as the Mugabe until he struck the drum publicly. This is also borne out by the manner in which the Banyankore swear a solemn oath; "I swear by Kahaya [name of the Mugabe of the day], his father, mother and Bagyendanwa". This form of oath has been in that order for as long as anyone could recall. It was the oath which was acceptable — in fact it was the only one — in the British-type of courts for administering oaths to those people who had not been converted to Christianity or Islam and who could not therefore swear by the books of religion.\(^1\) The fact that the Mugabe derived authority from the drum, and that it was the only permanent visible part of kingship, gave the drum its all-embracing influence over the tribe. If we cannot decide whether it was the Mugabe who was more important than the drum or the other way round, this is largely because the question itself was far removed from the daily lives of the tribe, who did not

\(^1\) To the early converts, this oath was more binding since nearly all of them were recruited into the faiths before they could read the books of religion, let alone understand them. I am not yet informed of the new oath since the abolition of kingship.
live by precise definitions. To them the role of the drum and that of the Mugabe were quite clearly separate and that was all that mattered.

Another aspect of the pervading power of the drum in the lives of the tribe may be gathered from the absolute faith which everyone had in its capacity for justice. Although the drum itself was not believed to possess a soul like human beings, it was nevertheless believed to know and hear everything that went on in the kingdom, as Oberg has observed. If a man felt that he had been wronged, but that he could not prove his case before the authorities, he took suitable presents to the drum and asked it to punish his opponent. The drum was supposed to punish by making the victim ill or by letting the wild animals destroy his crops or his cattle. If, in the meantime, the victim learned through divination that the drum was punishing him for having wronged someone else, he would speedily seek out the wronged man and make amends. Women took presents to the drum to ask for fertility, male children or happy marriages. In time of economic hardship everyone had the right to appeal to the drum for assistance and this assistance could not be


2. Bagyendanwa was deemed to place the same value on the presents brought to it so long as they were the products of one's occupation.
refused.¹ "Even though nothing had gone wrong, the people would ... take offerings to the drum in order to solicit protection against evil devices of men and spirits and the malignant forces which every Munyankore believes to reside in the world at large and which are revealed to him through signs and omens". This conclusion, by Oberg,² sums up the beliefs held about the drum. In giving judgement between litigants, the Mugabe could be influenced by his bad advisers into giving the wrong judgement, but the drum's judgement was absolutely fair, because it had no advisers, and it had independent knowledge of all the transgressions going on in its territory.³ Furthermore the drum's justice and benevolence extended to the rich and the poor; the Mwiru and the Muhima; the prince and the commoner, all in equal measure.

The drum, moreover, conferred immunity from all forms of punishment. If, for example, a man had been condemned to death or to some other heavy punishment, he would be set free if he managed to run to Bagyendanwa's house

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1. The assistance was given from the pool of the gifts brought to the drum and also from its other standing assets.

2. K. Oberg, loc. cit.

3. This belief had its merits because no one would have dreamt of bringing a false claim before the drum since it was feared that the drum would know in advance and would visit terrible punishment on anyone who tried to deceive it.
before the execution of the sentence, and he would never be
punished for the same offence again. Again if the Mugabe
had ordered the confiscation of a man's cattle – one of the
commonest forms of punishment in those days – such a man
would escape the punishment if he managed to drive his herd,
in secret to avoid interception, to the capital of the drum
or to one of the kraals of the drum's herds. The basis of
this practice seems to have been the belief that the drum
could never refuse to show mercy to those who asked for mercy.
It was this belief and practice which gave rise to the rumour,
which unhappily was not true, that no one would be punished
by the "European government" if, after being sentenced in
court, the individual ran to the flag pole where the British
flag used to fly. The policemen behind the docks in court
and outside the court were understood, by most people, as
being present to prevent anyone getting access to the
European flag flying outside the court.

Attempts to rationalise and explain all these
beliefs which were held about the drum run into a brick wall.
Most, if not all, Banyankore take for granted the information
that the drum was left behind by the Bacwezi to be final
enough to admit of no further argument about its importance
to them. No old Munyankore would take seriously the suggestion
that the Bacwezi did not exist. On the whole there can hardly
be any doubt that the role played by the drum in the political
life of Nkore rested largely, if not solely, on the belief that it was made and left behind by the Bacwezi as a visible symbol of the benevolent authority to be exercised over them. A logical extension of the belief in the benevolence of the rulers is also found in the fact that no Munyankore could conceive of the Mugabe as a bad ruler or a bad judge. If a man's property had been confiscated at the orders of the Mugabe, it was because of the bad advisers that the Mugabe had given the order, but not because the Mugabe himself could have erred in his judgement. The drum may have inspired more awe than the person of the Mugabe, because it has always been there, while the Bagabe change. Thus the proposition that the Bagabe derived their authority from the possession of the drum seems to be a fact. In the words of Oberg, "Bagyendanwa was the drum of the Bacwezi, and a concrete evidence that they once lived and founded the kingdom of Ankole. It does not matter whether the particular beliefs held about the Abacwezi are fact or fancy. The belief that the Abacwezi established the kingdom of Ankole a recognised number of generations back is to the Banyankore a fact and a belief upon which their political structure rests". If it should appear to be too much to explain the fundamental tenets of Nkore's political system by constant reference to the Bacwezi,

1. K. Oberg, loc. cit., p. 156.
it should also be borne in mind that the beliefs in the Bacwezi were very fundamental to Nkore society and that it is from the Bacwezi that the kingdom and its dynasty trace their origins.

But no system of government can entirely be built on unproven beliefs, however credulous the society for which the system is designed may be, and the government of Nkore was no exception to that maxim because the office of the Mugabe was primarily a political one. The Mugabe was not just the chief executive and the head of state in the sense we understand these terms today, but he was also, in a real sense, the government such as it was conceived to be. His power in this context rested on the patronage at his disposal. All the appointments and dismissals of all the functionaries of state were in his hands. He was the "giver of all things", because he was the richest single individual in the land. From his vast riches in cattle he provided for those in need, and gave to those on whom it pleased him to show special favours for one reason or another. In his hands only lay the power to distribute war booty, and his unquestionable right to confiscate anyone's property for whatever reasons gave him real power over all his subjects. It was this right which was expressed in the saying that, "the Omugabe owns everything in his kingdom".

In practice, however, his power was circumscribed
by custom and political considerations. As Maquet has said, power is "almost never restricted to a single man, chief or monarch, but must include all those who help him to administer the country".¹ It was not in the interests of the Mugabe to use these sweeping powers wantonly, nor could he afford to offend the influential men on whom he so heavily depended to govern the country. Thus, although his power over the whole country was beyond question, it was also recognized that that power went with certain clear obligations which the Mugabe had to discharge towards his subjects. These obligations included, as we have seen, giving maintenance to those in need, the organisation of the defence of the country against external enemies and the dispensation of justice between individuals and groups within the country. These boundaries of power and responsibility were quite as well known to the ruler as they were to the ruled, but these divisions cannot be explained in terms of legal obligations or contracts because the relationships were personal. The chief knew the men under him personally and to many of them he was personally attached by either some blood or marriage relationship or by some special exchange of gifts so that it was rare for a head of the family to be just a nameless subject to his local chief. The Mugabe

of course knew his chiefs intimately, for it was to that relationship that they partly owed their office in the first instance. The most effective limitation which militated against the abuse of power by the Mugabe or by his appointees, was the ever present possibility that anyone who felt dissatisfied with the authorities could remove himself and his movable property to another country, and to this possibility there is no single ruler who seems to have devised any form of control. Furthermore, this limitation was effective at all levels of government. Thus, the Mugabe who trampled on his chiefs, or on the rights of the numerically powerful clans, risked losing those chiefs and clansmen, who could simply move with their followers and property to another country. In turn, a chief who was harsh to the people under his jurisdiction risked the same sanction — many people could just move away and place themselves under another chief, or even move to another country altogether. But neither the Mugabe nor the chiefs wanted this to happen, for their own authority was ultimately proportional to the number of people under their jurisdiction.\(^1\) This traditional form of expressing discontent with the powers that be, enshrined in the Kinyankore

1. The chief's power and influence at court, for example, was ultimately dependent on the number of men he could put on the field in time of war while the total of these fighting men, under the various chiefs, was the essence of the Mugabe's power in relation to the neighbouring rulers.
diction that "when you dislike the head of the household, you do so while tying up your personal belongings",¹ has continued to exist in Nkore to the present day.

One must, at this stage, correct the impression given by Roscoe and Oberg about the checking powers exercised by the Queen Mother and Sister of the Mugabe. According to Roscoe, the two ladies had absolute authority over the people in their own estates, and they appointed their relatives and friends as chiefs in those estates. The mother, though not the sister, took the "royal poison" in case of serious illness.² Oberg goes even farther when he states that, "In judicial matters, his [Mugabe's] mother and sister could veto his decisions", and no one could be put to death unless "the consent of the two women had first been obtained". The queen mother, he continues, sat with his son in deciding matters of war, peace and important judicial cases and she received messengers from foreign kings before they saw her son. "But the fact that the mother assumes these duties seems to be correlated with the fact that the king had no living brothers or father's brothers".³ This whole line of analysis

¹. The saying means that if one disagrees with anyone in a position of authority, one leaves the jurisdiction of the authority in question.


is almost certainly incorrect, and seems to be based on, at least, three assumptions which are themselves not true.

The first seems to be the assumption that there must have been some statutory check on the power of the Mugabe, and that this existed in the "office" of the queen mother and sister. But Nkore's political system did not rely on checks and balances in order to mitigate the worst forms of abuse of political power. The relations between the rulers and the ruled were personal, based not only on mutual trust but also on the mutual interests involved in the pursuit of common economic and political objectives, as has been pointed out. The limits to which the Mugabe could enforce unpopular policies on his subjects before he forfeited their allegiance and obedience were not set by recognised corresponding centres of power, but rather by social conventions, the existence of which was not determined by the Mugabe alone. These grew out of the entire system of ideas by which society was ordered, of which political relationships were a part and in which the Mugabe's office and person were a contributing factor as was every other social unit in the country. In this whole system the Mugabe was no more than an instrument, even if an important one, of a greater unit - the collective good will of his subjects. Theoretically it was possible for his subjects to leave his kingdom and become the subjects of some other ruler, in which case he would cease to be king and, although it is
unlikely that this instrument was constantly in the minds of the Mugabe or of his subjects, it is even more unlikely that it was entirely lost sight of.

This, of course, is not to argue that the two ladies were not important in Nkore. They were very important, but not for the reasons adduced by Oberg and Roscoe. Their position was not official in the secular and political sense; it was official because of their natural relationship to the king - it was not a position in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the kingdom; it was a position in the family unit of the king. It is true that each of these ladies had her own establishment - herds of cattle, retainers and areas from which food and beer were obtained for those establishments. But this was an administrative arrangement necessitated, among other things, by the fact that since there were no registers of the governed, it was essential to assign specific areas and individuals to specific official establishments. Moreover, the areas from which the establishments were supplied with the necessities of life were not personal estates of the queen mother and sister, and were smaller units within the wider administrative units over which there presided the appointees of the Mugabe, so that the question of appointing chiefs does not arise as far as the two ladies were concerned. What is more, these areas, retainers and herds of cattle were varied from reign to reign according
to the whim of the Mugabe of the day.

The real importance - and a symbolic one at that - of the two ladies lay in the Kinyankore conception of "wholesomeness", or okushugaana as it is called, and this is best illustrated by reference to customary practices. In all traditional marriage ceremonies there was always an important, but symbolic, role played by a young boy from the groom's family - called Mafuka among the agriculturalists and omwana w'ekihara among the pastoralists. The boy had to be too young to have had affairs with women and, more importantly, both his father and mother had to be alive at the time of performing the functions. ¹ During the actual marriage ceremony the boy acted the part of the bride's husband. ² To take a different example, in the religious ceremonies involving the sacrifice of cows, we have already seen that the cow to be sacrificed had to be wholesome - none of its calves must have died, all its teats must be intact [this being quite unusual in a tick-infested country] and must have no other physical blemish such as a cut ear or a defective eye. The point to emphasise, which comes out clearly in the examples

1. B.K. Mubangizi, op. cit., ch. III.

2. The importance of the boy to the bride was perpetuated in the fact that, throughout her lifetime, the wife, at whose wedding he officiated, never calls him by his real name just as she never called her husband or mature in-laws by their real names. This was a sign of respect.
just cited, is that to the Banyankore "wholesomeness" was equated to good fortune and this included having one's close relatives alive. If they were dead, then obviously the individual was unlucky, so that a Mugabe without near blood relatives would have spelt disaster for the kingdom according to everyone's way of thinking. Of course no Mugabe would have a living father, since no son, even among the commoners, could succeed his father while the latter was still living. As to the actual political powers and influence exercised by the queen mother and sister, traditional accounts leave no room for doubt that these were minimal and unofficial. They did not, it was repeatedly emphasised to me, decide matters of state policy or sit in the councils of state with the Mugabe and the chiefs, nor could they overrule the Mugabe. Their influence lay in having personal access to the Mugabe, which access could be used to plead with him, in private, for a particular cause, but even then only like any other sister could plead with her brother or mother with her son. Likewise such pleas were not construed as binding on the decisions that the Mugabe and his advisers might have made. In any event the Mugabe never took the initiative in consulting them

1. Such "irregularities" as left-handedness and some chance scars were taken as visible manifestations of more fundamental disorders which is why these were effective disqualifications for the throne candidates.
whether a particular measure was advisable or feasible. Finally, the idea of a woman, whatever her status, sitting among men and participating in the discussions, on whatever subject, would strike most Banyankore, even today, as preposterous. Women, by custom, simply did not discuss anything in public with their menfolk, because this was regarded as unfeminine conduct and that was all there was to it.

The third possible source of confusion is suggested by Oberg's remark, quoted above, that the queen mother assumed all those official functions because the king had no living brothers or uncles. This observation seems to be based on the reign of Ntare V [c. 1876-1895] who came to the throne after a long succession war in which many of his blood relations had perished [Chapt. V] and whose mother, Kiboga, played an important role both in the war and in the government of her son after the war. If this inference is correct, Oberg and Roscoe are still incorrect for two substantial reasons. In the first place, it is not correct to say that Ntare V had no living brothers or uncles, because he had several maternal and paternal uncles, a few half brothers to say nothing of a host of first cousins, all of whom were

1. Based on interviews with Kagaga, Nyabayangwe, Bananuka among others.

2. Brothers, half-brothers and first cousins are all called brothers in Runyankore.
living during his reign and most of whom had fought on his side during the succession war. Secondly, it is admitted by all informants that Kiboga, Ntare's mother, was a powerful political force, that she had absolute power within her own palace and that she occasionally confiscated the property of her own courtiers. But this is not the point; the point is that Kiboga was the most peculiar woman, and therefore the most unrepresentative, in the whole history of Nkore's dynasty. She is credited with behaviour that was as shocking and unladylike as it was unprecedented in any woman of her status. Moreover she seems to have exhibited a great deal more malice than any other princess - or woman - in Nkore before or since her time. One of the stories about her, for example, is about how she prevented her own daughter, Magwende, from having children by contriving abortion every time the latter was pregnant. On asking why she was not allowed to have children, Magwende was told by her enigmatic mother that since her brother, Ntare, had had no children, she should not have any either. Then Magwende conceived, concealed the fact from her mother and gave birth to a baby son. When Kiboga heard of it, she sent for the child on the pretext that she wanted to see it, but actually intending to kill it. Magwende, so the story runs, refused, saying she was determined to "keep this last product of her [my] sweat", which is why the child was named Kabututu [one who is obtained through sweat]. The
point to note here is that Kiboga's single obsession was the ambition for the success of her son, and in the pursuit of that objective neither custom, establishment or even humane considerations deterred her in her chosen path and for this reason it would be unfair to regard her conduct and actual influence - and the one was a function of the other - as being typical of other queen mothers. She was atypical. Moreover, even Kiboga is not remembered to have sat in the councils of state with the king and the chiefs, for there was a limit to the extent to which anyone could deviate from the normal practices.

However benevolent and beloved, and however much the ruler exercises control over the economic resources of the country, his authority, in the last analysis, depends on the degree to which he personally commands the obedience of the armed forces of the country. This brings us to the discussion of the administrative and military structure of traditional Nkore. The two - military and civil administration - were not separate, and they formed the third cornerstone of the triangular base on which the power of the Mugabe rested. It has already been pointed out that Nkore's military organisation seems to have taken definite shape during the reign of Ntare IV, and that since Ntare was a martial king, it was perhaps inevitable that the military organisation was
linked to civil administration. Since the development of the chiefly institutions seems to have taken place in different reigns to meet particular needs of the moment, we shall only concern ourselves with the categories here and deal with the details in their chronological setting in the subsequent pages.

The loose system of the military and administrative organisation which was developed in pre-colonial Nkore revolved around the court of the king, who was its pivot. Traditional accounts, without exception, agree that there was no office of Enganzi, a term that is generally rendered "Prime Minister" or "Chief Minister" in English, until the coming of the British. The term itself means a "favourite" and, at any given time, the Mugabe had more than one favourite at his court. The influence these favourites wielded at court derived from the fact that they enjoyed the confidence of the Mugabe. They could plead with the king on someone's behalf, or influence him against someone, or they could plead for a particular cause - all in private audience with the Mugabe. This in no sense made their representations official advice to the Mugabe, since they themselves were not official anyway - they held no public office as such. There is an old Kinyankore saying which runs, "Enganzi eganza

1. Supra p. 126.
omuguha” which means that by being near the Mugabe constantly, an Enganzi was most liable to be thrown into stocks for slight lapses of conduct - a state of affairs that could hardly be expected if the Enganzi were the equivalent of a Prime Minister. There are several references in Katate and Kamugungunu about individuals who were Prime Ministers of this or that Mugabe, but all my informants, including Kamugungunu himself, denied this hotly. For example the reference that Muhigi, the celebrated favourite of Ntare V, was also the Enganzi of Ntare V, was not confirmed by anyone. It is remembered that Muhigi was one of the leading courtiers of Ntare V and that he was very influential at court, but it is also remembered that he was not the only one. It is recalled, for instance, that Ntare V was fond of saying, "Of my men I love Rugumayo, of my wives I love Nyamucwangani and of my herds [of cattle] I love the Enzira", so that it is probable that had the office of Enganzi been an official one at the time, it might have been held by either Rugumayo or Muhigi. The point is that neither of them held it; both of them were favourites and no more. The first Prime Minister

1. The expression is untranslatable because it is a pun on the word enganzi, but the meaning is as given in the text.

2. Rugumayo, the Irresistable, as he was also called, was a famous warrior.
of Nkore was Mbaguta, who, however, did not assume the immense powers that he was to wield later until the authority of the British had been firmly established in Nkore. Those powers were bestowed on him by the British, at the expense of the Omugabe, because he was "progressive", which term, in colonial parlance, means that he collaborated with the colonial administration in enforcing some of the policies which did not appeal either to king or even to the people.

The point has already been made that the court of the Mugabe was, among other things, the cultural hub of the kingdom and for that reason the types of courtiers found there varied and the influence of each courtier with the king naturally depended on several factors, but chiefly on the personality of the individual and on that individual's particular function at the court. The type of courtiers normally resident at court were the Abagaragwa who were the proper courtiers, and that is what their collective name means, in that they had no specific function at court besides rendering such services as the Mugabe would require of them from time to time. These services included bearing occasional messages to foreign rulers or to various parts of the kingdom in which capacity they were called the Entumwa or royal messengers. In their number these excluded the members of the royal family. When not engaged on specific assignments, they were to be found in Nyaruju, the Mugabe's main house
which served as the reception house for all guests. In here they would be debating among themselves or entertaining the Mugabe and his guests with stories or songs. They never entered the other houses of the Mugabe except at the specific invitation of the Mugabe. All these other houses, situated behind the main house Nyaruju, housed the wives of the Mugabe, which is why the public was strictly debarred from them.

The importance of these courtiers in the informal structure of government lay in the fact that, by being in regular audience with the Mugabe, they were well informed on matters of state, and often the Mugabe sought their advice on state affairs.

The real wielders of power below the Mugabe were the Emitwe leaders - the commanders of the basic military units scattered in the regions into which Nkore was divided. These, too, when not engaged in fighting, spent most of their time at court. They had their encampments or amacumbi near the palace but not in it. The Emitwe leaders were also the top regional administrators. In the capacity of civil administrators they were called Abakungu or chiefs. Their chief duties were to mobilise their warriors in time of war and to lead them in the actual fighting and also to carry out the duties of civil administration in peace time. These

1. Infra ch. V.
men, because of their official positions and personal standing, were the most influential single group at court since their advice was sought on most matters of public policy.

Next in importance, but not in the official hierarchy, were the Abakungu Abarukwehikira or the chiefs with direct access to the Mugabe. It has been explained that this set of people were not chiefs in the sense of having jurisdiction over defined areas – this being the function of the Emitwe leaders – but their power and influence was derived from their being backed by powerful clans, who regarded them as their leaders or spokesmen. They were under the direct jurisdiction of the Mugabe and under no one else. To him they went directly if they had any complaint or request to make. Their importance in the political system lay in the fact that their opinions carried much weight at the court especially in matters which affected their respective clans, and also, being the senior men of the tribe in their own right, they formed a significant part of the class of people from whom the Mugabe sought advice on all matters. Their judicial importance will be easily appreciated if it is borne in mind that the majority of the disputes within the tribe were settled within the clans without resorting to official circles. They were called chiefs or Bakungu for two probable reasons. Firstly, they performed judicial functions within the clans, which is what other chiefs did within their areas.
Secondly, and more probably, they were called Bakungu because the Runyankore language does not seem to have had any other word to describe anyone else in a position of authority save the term omukungu, the plural of which is Abakungu. This could in turn be due to the lack of elaborateness in the administrative structure of Nkore.¹

The lowest in prestige and influence at court were the tribute collectors or organisers who were also called Abakungu. For the purpose of tribute collection, and this meant no more the procuring of beer, food and diary produce for the establishment of the Mugabe, the Bagyendanwa and of the lesser officials, each region, each village, down to each individual homestead knew where and when to send the requisite tribute. Because this was a normal part of tribal life, few cases ever arose of anyone missing out their turns. It appears that these lesser officials had very little supervision to do, and may have been more useful in times of economic stress, when appeals to them could reduce either the amount given or lengthen the intervals at which tribute was required. Any household had the right to refuse to pay the tribute if their own stores were running low. This kind

¹. This type of Bakungu was not a permanent feature of any clan because if a clan lost importance, its chief spokesman also lost influence and the same would happen if a clan fell out of favour with the Mugabe as has been explained.
of "official" collection of produce was a form of taxation, the proceeds from which were used for the maintenance of the establishments of the Mugabe and of all the other officials, including those of the collectors themselves. For the pastoralists the most common form of taxation was okutera akariro [lit. to extinguish a small fire]¹ which was conducted as follows: A person would come to the Mugabe in an impoverished condition and ask for assistance to start a herd of his own, or alternatively, after the formation of a new Mutwe² a large herd had to be raised for the leader of the Mutwe. In either case a royal messenger went round taking one cow from each of the wealthy cattle owners until the required number had been realised and the herd so raised would be given over to the person or persons for whom it had been raised.

Outside this official framework there was the giving of "gifts", and it has been explained that this voluntary system was by far the most common means of obtaining supplies for the officials. The point to be noted in this regard is that the collection of tribute did not necessitate an elaborate administrative machinery. In traditional Nkore,

¹. The expression means "to assuage the material needs" of the persons to whom this kind of favour was extended.

². Infra ch. V.
too, there was generally very little to administer, and the
types of chiefs described seem to have been a device to
prevent any single group of individuals being powerful enough
to challenge the authority of the Mugabe. All the officials
had direct reporting access to the Mugabe. That this device
was successful is shown by the fact that there is no single
case of a rebellion against an established Mugabe, by the
chiefs or by the people, in the remembered history of Nkore.

Lastly a word on the administration of justice in
traditional Nkore. Hone tells us that among Uganda tribes
the conception that certain wrongs are harmful to society as
a whole was lacking because "the conception is clearly an
advanced one not to be generally associated with or expected
from primitive communities such as flourished in Uganda
before the advent of the European". He goes on to say that
the basis of punishment was "retribution and restoration of
balance, rather than that the public conscience was shocked
into the infliction of the extreme penalty as a warning and
deterrent to lawless persons and as a protection to society
at large".¹ He admits, however, that some tribes, such as
the Langi, recognised witchcraft, incest and sexual offences
against nature as offences against society - and this

¹. H.R. Hone, "The Native of Uganda and the Criminal Law",
Ug. Jnl. 6/1/July 1938, pp. 2-3.
admission comes after classifying the Langi as having the least social and political organisation. This analysis, whatever be its legal merits, has little to do with what it sets out to analyse. It is a statement of the fact that the tribes of Uganda did not use the European criminal code before the advent of the Europeans in Uganda which is a truism. In my opinion, the recognition of certain acts as crimes in any given society means, by definition, that that society thinks and acts as a social unit and recognises those acts as being against itself or against its wellbeing. Secondly, there can hardly be any method of "retribution" or "restoration of balance" which, while fulfilling those objectives, does not act as a deterrent against the offenders. Moreover, the concept of "public conscience" is an ever changing one and, since the advent of mass media of communications, it has become less and less public and even less of a conscience, since this is usually not much more than the conscience of the wielders of public opinion. Those who control and shape public opinion are so rarely disinterested that much of what they say is not even representative of their own consciences, let alone of the society at large. Thus in democratic, or rather in elective autocracies such as the U.S.A., this is often the conscience of the editors and owners of the newspapers and of the television. On the other hand, in the fascist societies such as South Africa,
the regime of the day determines what the public conscience is. Since the concept of law and justice is inseparable from the culture of the society for which the particular laws are designed, to label such laws as "crude", "advanced" or "primitive" out of their social context is irrelevant to the effectiveness or desirability of the laws so labelled. There exists no immutable standard of jurisprudence from which deviations could be categorised into bad and good systems. We know, for instance, that whereas the continental revolutionaries of the 19th century looked up to the institutions of England as the ideals to be achieved in their own countries, "The English criminal code was incomparably savage, . . . men could be hanged for cutting down a tree, sending threatening letters, impersonating a Greenwich pensioner..." and Sir Robert Peel, who was to reform most of this severe code, had described (1822) the English laws as being "the most perfect system of jurisprudence in the world".  

In traditional Nkore very few cases ever went before the chiefs or the Mugabe, because there existed many channels of settling disputes outside the pale of officialdom. The family, the homestead [including neighbours] and the clan gatherings were by far the most effective venues for settling

disputes of various kinds and only rarely did anyone think of appealing beyond those centres. Murder cases were the exception, but also the least common, because the in-built deterre nts against that particular crime were drastic. Most frequently, in cases of murder or manslaughter - hardly distinguished in those days - vengeance was exacted on the spot and the matter ended there. If, for some reason, this was not done, the aggrieved family went to the Mugabe and asked for the right of vengeance or "the right to the spear" as it was called. Only the Mugabe had the power to grant that right. Within the time specified by the Mugabe on that occasion, the aggrieved party had to seek out the murderer or his nearest kinsman and kill him, failing which a cleansing ceremony was gone through by both parties and enmity ended there. It is to be appreciated that it was necessary, as far as possible, for the clans and families to discourage their members from committing murder, because the strain on the whole unit was unbearable. The individual concerned in the murder risked his own life, since imprisonment was unknown. Even if he escaped with his own life, he risked those of his kinsmen and he was faced with the prospect of living in permanent

1. The fine distinctions between manslaughter and various degrees of murder are still a source of bitterness in Uganda because, for the majority of the population, they are devices to set murderers free.
estrangement from his relatives - an odium not taken lightly by the Banyankore even today.

The few civil cases that came before the Mugabe were decided by the Mugabe-in-council; the council consisting of the regular courtiers, the Abagaragwa, and any prominent guests that happened to be around. If the stories told by the parties to the dispute and their witnesses were such that it was difficult to decide the truth, the individuals involved were put to a test to determine the liar. This was called okutera entenyo and it went as follows: The parties to the dispute were made to swear before the Mugabe and their assembled relatives as to the truth of their claims. They were then sent to collect the firewood to make the fire with which to heat a broad knife, which was heated red hot in front of the court. Certain herbs were ground and mixed with butter and this mixture was smeared on the shins of the contenders and the red hot knife was lightly passed over the mixture. The liar, it was believed, would get scotched while the mixture would merely melt on the shin of the innocent. ¹ After

¹ The test seems to have relied on the guilty conscience of one of the parties - the guilty party, fearing he was about to be found out, might be jumpy and thus get scotched. This of course means that a brave criminal could withstand the test and perhaps win the case. But this was no graver risk than that encountered in the modern complicated criminal codes whose constant revisions are a testament to their inability to check or bring all types of criminals to justice.
the "determination" of the case, the Mugabe usually ordered the confiscation of the guilty party's property, which went to the innocent one. In practice, since this method was believed to be infallible by everyone, only rarely did the offender stick to his claims to the point of a public test. It was a rather haphazard way of judging cases, but it seems to have worked effectively and that is the test of any law, be it simple or complex. This test was not confined to what could be termed official courts for the clans used it in their own courts as well. Anyone who won a case involving cattle — and cattle were the cause of most litigation — was expected to get them in the presence of the court that judged the case, and for this reason an Entumwa, a royal messenger, got the cattle from the kraal of the losing party for which service he was given one or two cows. Neither the Mugabe nor any other member of the body hearing a particular case with him took anything for deciding the cases and the court of the Omugabe was the venue of last appeal.

Thus the whole system of government was informal, personalised and loose, but the Mugabe held all the loose reigns necessary to keep it going. His extensive power of patronage and ultimate power to sanction war or peace made his position unassailable. No single group, be it an Omutwe or a clan could challenge him. This is what leads us to the conclusion that the authority of the Omugabe had a triangular
base - the beliefs held about his descent from the Bacwezi, the possession of the royal drum believed to have been left to him by the Bacwezi, and the actual control of the armed forces of his kingdom.
CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF
THE KINGDOM OF NKORE (c.1500-c.1730).

The history of the region covered by the present
Uganda districts of Bunyoro, Mubende and Ankole has its begin­nings in a semi-legendary period - the period of the Bacwezi
rulers. The question of the historical existence or non­existence of the Bacwezi has been a matter of some considerable
debate among past writers, and the different conclusions
reached serve to emphasise the nature of the problem of disen­tangling myths from what might be their historical content in
oral traditions. Thus Wrigley dismisses the Bacwezi as imagi­nary gods rather than men.¹ Huntingford suggests that the Bac­wezi might have been of a Hamitic stock rather related to the
Sidama people of south western Ethiopia, though distinctive ele­ments of their culture can be paralleled in other Hamitic areas.² Roland Oliver thinks the Bacwezi were historical figures and
suggests that "on the whole it seems likely that the Ganda king­dom of Chwa was identical with that of the Cwezi, and that what
the Bito conquered was already...a single political unit domi­nated by the Hima pastoralists under the kings of the Cwezi clan."³

1. C.C.Wrigley, "Some thoughts on the Bacwezi"; Ug.Jnl. 22/1/ March 1959, pp.11-17.
3. R.Oliver, "Discernible Developments in the interior, c.1500­1840", in History of East Africa (vol.l), pp.181-182. Note also that in NKore there has always been a clan called the Abacwezi which is not related to the Bacwezi rulers.
For Crazzolara, the Bacwezi and the Bahima were one people and were all Lwoo. It was the conquering Lwoo who were first known as Bacwezi and then, later, as Bahinda of Ankole and the Bashambo and Batutsi of Rwanda. The chief problem with the view advanced by Crazzolara is that whereas it is now fairly certain that the royal house of Bunyoro is descended from the Luo, it is very difficult to relate the royal families of Nkore and Rwanda to the Luo invaders on grounds of traditions or observable customary practices as all these tend to suggest the contrary. Gorju also takes the view that the Bacwezi were the same people as the Bahima.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, Posnansky accepts the historical existence of the Bacwezi, who he thinks were a pastoralist folk.

In order to assess the merits of the traditions concerning the Bacwezi and, if possible, to extricate what appears to be historical content from them, it is essential to separate the stages in which traditions divide the period preceding the establishment of the modern dynasties of Nkore and Bunyoro. According to the traditions of the two countries, before the advent of the Bacwezi, there ruled another dynasty from which the

Bacwezi were descended. Kinyoro tradition has 19 of these, who are called "Abakama Abatembuzi", or "the Pioneer Kings" while Nkore tradition has only four, to whom no specific name is given. These rulers are believed to have ruled over an empire called Kitara, the territorial extent of which is not known, though it is said to have included at least modern Bunyoro, Ankole and the Buganda district of Mubende. Whether or not the Batembuzi were an actual dynasty, and exactly who they were, we do not know, and probably we shall never know for certain. Tradition also establishes a genetic relationship between the Pioneers and the Bacwezi rulers, who are said to have succeeded them. The Kinyoro version of this tradition says that the last of the pioneer kings was named Isaza, who had a son called Isimbwa by Nyamate, a daughter of Nyamiyonga "the king of a country we do not know". It was this Isimbwa who was to be the father of the great Mucwezi warrior king Ndahura. The Kinyankore version claims that Ruyonga (who is the equivalent of Nyamiyonga in Bunyoro) was a king of Nkore at the time Isaza ruled over Kitara. Tribal pride apart, it is clear that these traditions are consistent. Both of them agree that Ndahura expanded the Kitara empire by waging many wars.

and we have no reason to believe that Nkore had been a separate country from Kitara at the time. These traditions are also agreed about the parentage of Isimbwa and of Ndahura, and on the Bacwezi rulers as a whole. The only difference is that Bunyoro traditions centre all the stories around Bunyoro, while Nkore traditions imply that the centre of all activities was Nkore. Whatever degree of agreement may exist in these traditions, we cannot determine whether the pioneer kings were historical or mythical figures. The existence of this tradition may be intended to explain the origin of the Bacwezi dynasty, the members of which seem to be historical figures. It may well be that this was a dynasty which was supplanted by that of the Bacwezi, and the claimed genetic connection between the two may not be more than a disguise for the reasons that led to the establishment of the new dynasty and the replacement of the old. But we are still in the realm of speculation and this is just one of several possible ways of looking at this period.

Our real interest is the Bacwezi. On the Bacwezi the traditions of Bunyoro and Nkore are consistent and rather widely held. Of this dynasty two actual rulers and one regent are recalled; Ndahura, Murindwa (who acted as regent while his brother Ndahura was absent on foreign war expeditions) and Wamara, the last ruler of the dynasty. By all traditional accounts Ndahura was a martial king, who established a vast empire, by conquest,
extending eastwards to Nyanza and southwards into the present Tanzania. He is reputed to have conducted all these campaigns in person. By the time his son, Wamara, succeeded him, the Bacwezi empire is said to have covered practically the whole of modern Uganda, north western Tanzania and western Kenya. Whether the establishment of this empire followed the toppling of existing rulers or not and, if so, who those rulers were, we do not know. In fact it is doubtful whether the Bacwezi empire was as large as the traditions of Bunyoro claim, since there is no evidence that it stretched as far south as the Buhaya states. Dunbar tells us that the Empire of Kitara extended as far south as the river Kagera and there exist no traditions concerning the Bacwezi in the region, so that we can reasonably assume that the Buhaya states at least were outside it.

To admit this, however, is not to say that the Bacwezi are legendary figures. On the contrary, they seem to be real historical figures. In the first place we may consider the striking similarities between the Bacwezi traditions of Bunyoro and Nkore on one hand, and the traditions of Buganda, where Bacwezi traditions hardly exist, on the other. Kiwanuka has pointed out these similarities. He says, for instance, that in Bunyoro [and also in Nkore] traditions Bukuku (the gate keeper

1. Dunbar, History of Bunyoro-Kitara; (Nairobi, 1965), in Preface - see also Ford and Hall, op.cit. p.25.
of king Isaza of Kitara) was of the Balanzi clan which is the same as the otter clan of the Sesse islands, where the legends also name one Bukulu. The Kiganda equivalent of Nyinamwiru (the daughter of Bukuku and mother of Ndahura) is Namuddu who also abounds in Sesse legends. Isimbwa's son, Mugasa, who was Bukuku's grandson may be matched with Buganda's Mukasa, who appears as Bukulu's grandson, Mugasha of Nkore, it may be observed, is said to have disappeared in Lake Victoria. In Buganda, Wamala, a descendant of Bukulu, is connected with the making of Lake Wamala and, in the Bacwezi traditions of Wamara, he is said to be responsible for the construction of the same lake. Finally the Bacwezi have been deified, just as the Baganda have deified the descendants of Bukulu, like Nende, Mukasa and others.\textsuperscript{1} Whatever be the connection between these folk tales, it is highly improbable that they have no historical foundation or content, when all allowances are made for the mythical connotations that abound in them. It is, for example, difficult to explain the common names and the deification of the Bacwezi and the Basesse in areas so disparate as Bunyoro, Buganda and Nkore, whose occasional contacts in the past seem to have been restricted to the battlefield rather than to the fire-plate - hardly the place where the one could copy the legends of the other. The probable explanation seems to be that the Bacwezi and the descendants of

\textsuperscript{1} Kiwanuka, \textit{op. cit.} pp.81-82.
Bukulu were the same people who ruled this region as one entity, and who were then replaced by the subsequent dynasties of Buganda, Bunyoro and Nkore. For reasons of national pride the traditions may then have been subjected to suitable alterations to give those rulers the different national identities. The wide agreement of traditions about these personalities can hardly be a mere coincidence.

Secondly, so far as Nkore is concerned, there exists a tradition, and a widely held one at that, which explains the ostracism of the Basingo clan. This is that two women of that clan murdered Murindwa, the brother of the famous Ndahura, who seems to have been much more loved by the people than all the other Bacwezi. That this clan is still ostracised is an observable fact in Nkore today. Even more than all these considerations, the traditions of this region identify the Bigo sites, which are now proved to be authentic through archaeological excavations, as the centre of the Bacwezi settlement and the capital of the rulers. If one dismisses the historical existence of the Bacwezi, one has to account for the former occupants of these sites. These considerations seem to vindicate the traditions of the area, which strongly indicate that the Bacwezi were a dynasty which was replaced by the Bahinda and the Babito. This event has been placed around 1500 A.D. by various authorities and it is

   B. Ogot, op.cit. p.46.
   M. Posnansky, op.cit. p.5.
from that date that we shall begin the history of Nkore as a separate kingdom under the Bahinda dynasty. Exactly who the Bacwezi were remains an open question, although it seems reasonable, on the basis of traditions and archaeology, to say that they were a pastoralist folk.

Another small kingdom of the region whose traditions claim that it began in the Bacwezi period is Buhweju, to the north of Nkore. But this kingdom remained very much under the shadow of the Babito of Bunyoro until about the first half of the 18th century, when she gained her independence of Bunyoro, apparently by force of arms. Tradition has it that the Abarisa clan - the royal house of Buhweju - originally came from Karagwe and that, in the course of their migration, the clansmen scattered when they reached Mpororo, around the subcounty of Rubaare in the present Ankole county of Kajara. Among their number there were three poor brothers, Kateizi, Kinyonyi and Rugo, and their sister Iremera, who settled in Rubaare itself. Then an extraordinary thing happened. A huge eagle "which flashed like lightning" came and laid eggs on top of their hut. When they consulted an oracle as to what this mysterious bird portended for them, they were told to watch the bird by day and by night,

1. It is difficult to compare the genealogical list of Buhweju with those of the other kingdoms of the area because of the frequent recurrence of the same names which suggests that some names could have been duplicated and others forgotten.
and to follow it when it flew away. It would lead them to lands far away where fortune would be awaiting them. In due course the bird hatched and fledged its young and flew away. Meantime, the brothers and their sister had slaughtered their twenty head of cattle, dried the meat and made all preparations for a journey they had been told would be a very long one. They followed the bird, resting by day and travelling by night, until they came to the kingdom of Kitara and to the court of the Mugabe Ndahura, at which point the bird flew away and left them. But before they came to the court of Ndahura, the eldest of the brothers, Kateizi, had dropped out of the trek and decided to settle in Buhweju, where he took to agriculture, married the local women and founded the subclan of the Bateizi - so named after him.1

In Kitara, Ndahura took an immediate liking to the brothers and their sister. He married their sister, Iremera, and to the two brothers he gave drums and areas to rule over - to Rugo he gave the drum Bitunta with which to rule over Buzimba, and to Kinyonyi he gave the drum Mashaija with which to rule over Buhweju.2 It is from Kinyonyi that the rulers of Buhweju trace

1. Until the abolition of Buhweju kingdom, by the British in 1901, this clan had important functions to perform for the kingship within Buhweju which are said to date from this founder of the clan. Since 1901 Buhweju has been part of Ankole.

2. D. Ndibarema, "The coming of the Abarisa clan into Buhweju" (an unpublished MS, kindly made available to me by Prof. Low of Sussex University), pp. 1-5. P.K. Kanyamunyu, "The coming of the Abalisa clan into Buhweju", Ug. Jnl. 15/2/Sep. 1951; pp. 191-2; K.K. Nganwa, op. cit., pp. 6-7, 30-31; Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit., pp. 72-74 - the tradition was also confirmed by many informants in Buhweju and in Nkore.
their descent in the male line. From them the history of the kingdom is rather vague until we come to the reign of Kabundami III, Kyangabufunda \( \text{lit.} \) He who detests overcrowding who seems to have been a contemporary of Ntare IV of Nkore, against whom he fought. It was this brave king who defied Bunyoro and won his independence from the Babito shortly before he attacked Ntare IV. Judging by the confusion in the genealogical list of Buhweju, and the apparent obscurity of many of her rulers before the 18th century, it would appear that Buhweju was a semi-autonomous region under the immediate control of the Barisa clan, but owing nominal allegiance to the Babito of Bunyoro at least until the 18th century.

Although it is not possible to confirm or refute the extent of the Bacwezi empire as claimed by the traditions of Nkore and Bunyoro, we can estimate its nature. Traditions relate that Wamara, the last ruler of this dynasty, had posted provincial governors in his empire which empire had been greatly expanded and consolidated by his father Ndahura. Whereas Kinyoro traditions list provincial governors covering most of Uganda, Rwanda and Bukoba, those of Nkore list only those covering what was to be Ankole. There is, however, no reason to believe that Nkore was a different entity at this time, and this claim seems to be a manifestation of national pride on the part of Nkore traditions.
The real question to ask seems to be the extent to which it could be said that the Bacwezi kingdom was a unified political state, and the answer seems to be that this extent was very marginal indeed. The Bacwezi seem to have been no more than overlords, whose immediate influence was felt in the grazing lands of Bwera and Nkore. They may have been largely preoccupied with grazing and defending their cattle rather than with the task of formulating an effective system of government - more or less the same sort of loose system of government as that which was to evolve in Nkore later. Additionally, the extent of the territory, even it were half of what the traditions say it was, would probably have been too wide to put under an effective pastoralist government, such as that which flourished in Nkore prior to the arrival of the British. One needs to correct the impression created by many writers in the past, and by Bunyoro's local historians in particular, that the Kitara empire was the same as the Babito kingdom of Bunyoro. Bunyoro historians have even gone farther, by appending the name Kitara to that of Bunyoro to fit the general thesis advanced by them, that their dynasty was directly descended from the Bacwezi and that the empire of the Bacwezi had its centre in what is now Bunyoro. But this is not borne out by any evidence, and the proposition is therefore another patriotic fiction. It would appear that what became the

1. See Map 3.
Babito kingdom of Bunyoro was a very much smaller entity than the kingdom of the Bacwezi, Kitara, the centre of which, as Kiwanuka has already pointed out and as the Bigo sites indicate, was Bwera, which is not surprising since the Bacwezi are uniformly said to have been pastoralists.

That the Bacwezi kingdom of Kitara was, at best, a loose conglomerate of autonomous regions seems also to be borne out by its rapid disintegration at the appearance of the migrating Luo in its northern part. Oliver, Ogot and others have described this as the invasion which precipitated the disintegration of the Bacwezi empire. Thus Ogot tells us that, "Another group of the migrating Luo... continued to travel southwards, crossed the Somerset Nile and invaded Bunyoro, founding the Bito dynasty..." and, he continues, "the generation between the "disappearance" of the Bacwezi and the consolidation of the Luo hegemony saw the making of western Uganda." It is not known what form this invasion took; whether it was by conquest or by peaceful settlement. It appears that the numbers of the Luo that eventually made its way into Bunyoro was quite small and it may well be that their numerical weakness was responsible for their failure to conquer or settle more than what had been a small part of the kingdom of the Bacwezi. Indeed one may also attribute

their partial success, represented by establishing a dynasty in Bunyoro at least, to the lack of effective government and defence in the kingdom of the Bacwezi. It is not clear whether it was the Luo invasion that caused the fall of the Bacwezi kingdom, or whether it was the disintegration of the latter that facilitated the Nilotic settlement of Bunyoro. It appears that if we accept the former, we have also to accept the conquest theory as being either the cause or one of the causes of the break up of the Bacwezi empire. If we take the latter view, the conclusion must be that the Bacwezi kingdom disintegrated before the Luo got into the region and that this particular wave of migration had nothing to do with it.

But the conquest theory seems to be the most probable of the two. For one thing it would explain the establishment of the Babito dynasty in Bunyoro much more satisfactorily than the local traditions because, whatever may have precipitated the break up of the Bacwezi empire, it was not what the traditions say it was - namely the disobedience of their subjects and the persistence of ill-omens. It is hard to believe that the subjects of this region who showed unquestioning obedience to the dynasties that replaced the Bacwezi almost without a break\(^1\) for some four

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1. The only exception of significance being the Buganda's almost popular rebellion against Kagulu about the middle of 18th century and even for this the circumstances were exceptional - see Kiwanuka, \textit{op.cit.}
centuries could have had a past rooted in mass rebellion against their rulers. This is all the more unbelievable when one considers those people rebelling against the rulers they were to worship soon after their departure. Secondly, the conquest theory would appear to be supported by the welter of kingdoms that sprung up farther south, for if the Luo settlement had been peaceful, why was it suddenly necessary to set up those kingdoms? The answer seems to be that these kingdoms - Buganda, the Buhaya states, the various petty kingdoms which were later to become Rwanda and Nkore - were set up to contain the thrust of the Luo invasion and in this they succeeded.

The significance of the Luo migration, therefore, for the history of this region lies in the political transmutations which it caused south of what was soon to be known as the kingdom of Bunyoro. This leads to a discussion of how the kingdoms of Nkore and Buhaya were founded.¹ According to de Heusch, the Nilotic invasion of the Bacwezi empire began in Bunyoro, where the Bacwezi were beaten and forced to retreat to the south - to Bwera and Nkore. This area was for sometime protected from the incursions of the Lwoo by the strong fortifications of Bigo. A branch of the same Nilotic wave, the Bahinda, managed to beat down this resistance, by attacking the Bacwezi through Karagwe, when

¹. The kingdoms we have collectively called Buhaya states include Karagwe, Thangiro, Kiyanja, Buzinja and Kyamutwala - only Karagwe is shown on map 3 and the rest are to the south and east of Karagwe.
they finally defeated king Wamara in Nkore. It was these Nilotics, the Bahinda, who furnished Nkore, Karagwe and other Haya states with their new dynasties. Whereas it appears likely that the defeat of Wamara may have been accomplished by the Luo invaders, it is not likely that this was done through Karagwe, because the whole manoeuvre of detaching troops from the main Luo army in Bunyoro and getting them into Karagwe, by whatever route, would have taken a much longer time than it seems to have taken the Luo to displace the Bacwezi. Moreover the Bahinda do not seem to have been Nilotics, because all the traditional accounts about the Bahinda indicate that they were pastoralists; something the Luo do not seem to have been. In fact the traditions of Bunyoro say that the Babito were taught to drink milk and the customs pertaining to cattle keeping by the Bahima women they found in that part of Kitara. If Ruhinda had been a Mubito and fellow conqueror of the Babito who founded the dynasty of Bunyoro, one would have expected that either the whole branch, the Babito, would have an overriding influence in the whole region or that, at least, Bunyoro, Nkore and many of the Buhaya states would have been on very friendly and intimate terms, and neither of these suppositions is borne out by the history of those countries. In contradistinction Karagwe and Nkore, whose dynasties we have good grounds to believe originated in one man, were

very friendly. Furthermore, de Heuscher suggests that while the Bahinda were engaged in defeating the Bacwezi, a purely "Hamitic clan", the Bashambo, succeeded in establishing itself in Igara and in Mpororo to the east (west?) of Nkore. This is almost certainly a mistake, because both the traditions and the genealogical list of Mpororo, composed of only two kings, indicate that that kingdom came into being not earlier than the middle of the 17th century, and that it did not last more than a century as a kingdom. De Heuscher's reconstruction is largely based on the traditions of Buhaya, which are by no means in complete agreement and which, moreover, are not strong on the Bacwezi period, so that there is no compelling reason to accept the Bahaya traditions as having "precedence over the traditions from the rest of the region." It is much more likely that Wamara, after being defeated by the invaders in Bunyoro area, set off with his followers and migrated southwards, which may explain why the traditions say that the Bacwezi "disappeared" in disgust.

1. Infra. ch.V.
2. De Heuscher, loc.cit. p.41.
3. Mpororo is discussed in ch.IV. Igara of course only became a kingdom after the break up of Mpororo and under one of the sons of the last king of Mpororo.
The traditions of Bunyoro and Nkore explain that the Bacwezi "disappeared" after their subjects had become rebellious against their authority and because of the persistent ill-omens foretelling the misfortunes that were about to befall the dynasty. But, it appears to me, that this "disappearance" need not be taken literally. It probably means that the Bacwezi merely left the country, and that this was subsequently called disappearance after the Bacwezi had begun to be worshipped. It is to be appreciated that, in traditional societies, the knowledge of other countries beyond one's immediate locality and the neighbouring states was almost non-existent. One folk saga, for instance, tells us of the Queen of the area that was to become the core of the kingdom of Mpororo, around the 17th century, who made her capital, the site of which traditions still identify in the area, at the foot of the mountains, in the sincere belief that "the world ended at the foot of the mountains" so that no enemy could attack her country from the rear since "there were no people beyond the mountains." It may not be entirely unrelated to this conception of the "world" that some forms of worship were conducted at the foot of the mountains. Thus if the Bacwezi were ousted from the country, and if they migrated to some other country which their subjects did not know, it would only be natural for the subjects to assume that their rulers had disappeared.

It also seems fairly certain that the traditions attempt to disguise the defeat of the Bacwezi, which event seems to have precipitated their departure, but this disguise is not altogether successful. It is significant that the traditions of Bunyoro and Nkore relate that some of the augurors who foretold the impending doom of the Bacwezi came from the north of Lake Kyoga, the direction from which the Luo invaders came. It is farther significant that Mpuga Rukidi, the founder of the Babito dynasty, is claimed by Bunyoro tradition to have been born of a Mukiri (Nilotic) mother, and that Nkore traditions also claim that Isimbwa, the father of the famous Mucwezi Ndahura, had several children in "Bukiri" and from Bakiri women. Finally, we are also told that among the reasons which caused the exodus of the Bacwezi, was the attack, on their kingdom, by one Misango the son of Ganyonza, "the king of Burundi." This event, so the story goes, was the last of the ominous events which led to the departure of the Bacwezi "in disgust". The main point about this tradition is that it is a contradiction, the purpose of which is obscure unless we consider the Luo invasion as a factor which tipped the balance of the Bacwezi rule. It is a contradiction, because all the traditions of Bunyoro and Nkore claim that the Bacwezi were rulers of an empire which, in

1. Bukiri or Bukedi both for the Banyankore and for the Bunyoro did not merely mean the present district of Uganda of the latter name; it meant part of Uganda’s Eastern region (Teso) and the whole of the northern region which includes several tribes.
addition to other areas, included Burundi. How, then, can we explain the situation in which Burundi had acquired a new "king" who was himself not a Mucwezi and who actually fought the Bacwezi, not as a rebel, but as another ruler? The answer seems to be that this whole story is an admission that the Bacwezi fought to maintain their hegemony and lost to a new dynasty, the Babito, and, true to the pastoralist tradition, they migrated rather than stay under the government of their victors. This would go some way to explain the apparent paradox and the oblique reference to an external attack on the Bacwezi kingdom from an internal source (the emphasis is mine).

When we turn to the genetic relationship between the Bacwezi on one hand and the Babito and the Bahinda on the other, the disguise is even more transparent. According to Kinyoro traditions, the Babito are the direct descendants of the Bacwezi because Mpuga Rukidi, the first Mubito ruler, was the nephew of the famous Ndahura. It is not explained why the new dynasty was called Babito and not Bacwezi as their forebears. It has already been pointed out that the ruling house of Bunyoro was descended from the Luo invaders and not from the Bacwezi as the traditions would have one believe. Oliver has concluded that it was probably owing to the awareness of "their cultural inferiority" that the Babito claimed "a genetical relationship to their Cwezi predecessors."  

1. R. Oliver, op. cit. p. 182.
knowledge this conclusion seems to be well founded and without an alternative viable challenge.

Ruhinda, the man said to have founded the dynasty of Nkore and those of many of the Buhaya states, is claimed, by Nkore traditions, to be descended from the Bacwezi. But the explanation, if it can be called that, for this descent is hardly less disingenuous than that offered for the Babito of Bunyoro. According to this source, Ruhinda was the son of Wamara, the last king of the Bacwezi dynasty. His mother was Njunaki, one of the maidservants of Wamara. She got this honour, so the story goes, from the great oracle, Kakara, who divined the impending departure of the Bacwezi from the persistent bad omens that had beset the Bacwezi in their last years of power. Kakara rewarded Njunaki thus, because she had forewarned him of the traps set by the Bacwezi to discredit him as an oracle. In order to assess the demerits of this tradition it is essential to examine, in juxtaposition, the traditions of other areas concerning Ruhinda.

The Kinyoro version, according to Nyakatura, tells us that during the reign of Wamara there lived an important and rich man in Kitara who was called Ruhinda. He was a Muhima, who had vast herds of cattle, but he was not related to the Bacwezi. When the Bacwezi disappeared, he moved with his cattle and his Bahima followers, first going to Buzinja and then to Nkore,
where he set himself up as the ruler. In another version of the story the same writer tells us that Ruhinda was the chief herdsman of the Bacwezi and that, after the disappearance of the latter, he moved with those herds to Karagwe. The Babito of Bunyoro left him in comparative peace, because "he used to send them cattle", apparently as tokens of his subordinate status to them. Ruhinda then moved to Nkore and made himself a ruler. These versions are not essentially contradictory, and the apparent discrepancy seems to arise from the fact the Kinyoro tradition is not quite clear about Ruhinda's movements and activities either in the Buhaya states or in Nkore. The point to stress here is that Ruhinda is said to have been an ordinary pastoralist and not a descendant of the Bacwezi, as Nkore traditions claim.

Gorju, on the other hand, accepts the view that Wamara had a son called Ruhinda but, he maintains, it was not this Ruhinda who founded the dynasty of Nkore. Nkore's dynasty was founded by another man for whom, according to this author, the Bashambo of Igara - the contemporaries of the Bahinda of Nkore - have an explanation which seems to be the true one. He says that Karagwe, Mpororo, Nkore, Igara and Rujumbura used to be under one king of the Bashambo clan, who was called Kahaya.

This Kahaya had come to the throne in succession to his father, Ishebugabo, and when he died, he left Nkore to his nephew, also called Kahaya, who was the son of his sister and a member of the monkey clan - the Bahinda clan. From this he concludes that Nkore came into existence as a separate kingdom in the middle or at the end of the 17th century, which is the date at which he reckons the Bacwezi to have disappeared. This seems to be a mistaken fusion of the traditions of Karagwe, Mpororo and Nkore, because, as far as I am aware, there are no traditions which claim what Gorju says. Moreover, as it has been pointed out, the traditions of Mpororo as well as those of Nkore agree that Mpororo had only two kings, after which the kingdom broke up into several autonomous regions under the sons of the last king of Mpororo, and Igara only became a kingdom after the break up of Mpororo, of which it had been a part. On this point the traditions of the area are in complete agreement, so that Gorju's reconstruction appears to be unsupported by traditional evidence.

To the south of Nkore, Ruhinda is also said to have founded a number of local dynasties according to the traditions of the Buhaya states. But, unlike Nkore traditions, Buhaya traditions do not claim that their Ruhinda was descended from the Bacwezi - in fact they do not mention the Bacwezi at all.

This difference is important and is to be borne in mind when we turn to the detailed examination of Nkore's traditions about the descent of Ruhinda. In Karagwe it is said that Ruhinda, the conqueror, came from Bunyoro, deposed the ruler of the local dynasty, named Nono, and installed himself as the ruler. On the way from Bunyoro he had passed through Nkore, Buzinja and Burundi, overthrowing the local rulers as he advanced. Not much is remembered about the local dynasty of Karagwe which Ruhinda is said to have overthrown, beyond the fact that it was, as was the rest of Karagwe society at the time, an agricultural dynasty. It is expressly stated that Ruhinda and his followers introduced the long horned cattle into Karagwe and made cattle an economic and social feature of Karagwe society from then onwards.

In Ihangiro, the last ruler of the local family, also named Ihangiro, was of the Abayango clan, and he died of poison at the hands of local conspirators who had designs on his throne. But before he died, he heard of the Mukama (king) Ruhinda who was on his way to Ihangiro, and to him he willed the vengeance for his death with his dying breath, because

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1. F. Iwamugira, "The history of Karagwe, Ihangiro, Kyamutwala etc." (an unpublished MS in Luhaya kindly made available to me by Dr. Posnansky, then of Makerere College - Iwamugira prefaces his MS by saying that he interviewed the historians of the areas about which he wrote), pp.1-3.
"the Omukama Ruhinda and we, the Abayango, are of the same clan". After Ihangiro's death, Ruhinda duly sent his youngest son, also named Ruhinda, to rule over Ihangiro, and this son became the first ruler of the new dynasty in that country. 1 So far as Kyamutwala is concerned, Lwamugira tells us that after the conquest of Karagwe and Nkore, Ruhinda attacked and killed Kashare, the local ruler of Kyamutwala, and installed his own son, Nyarubamba, who became the first ruler of the Bahinda dynasty in Kyamutwala. From here this same Ruhinda deposed Nshashame in Buzinja and installed his own son, thereby establishing his line in Buzinja as well. 2 Cézard tells the same story about Ihangiro and the advent of Ruhinda there 3, and also records that, according to the traditions of Usswi, the first ruler of the Bahinda dynasty was Kalambo 1, one of the sons of Ruhinda, the conqueror. The latter had come from Bunyoro with his five sons and a daughter and had then distributed the sons to rule over Nkore, Karagwe, Buzinja, Ihangiro and Kyamutwala. 4

Buhaya traditions also give information about the death of Ruhinda. Thus it is said that, after collecting boats from Buzinja and Ihangiro, "Ruhinda went on a war expedition in the

1. Ibid p.82-3.
region of Lake Rweru (Victoria). He fell ill on the way, returned before the expedition was engaged in any fighting and died in Buzinja. Before his death, however, he had ordered that in the event of his death, his body should be taken to Ihangiro for interment. The people of Buzinja, despite this order, fought the people of Ihangiro for the body and the latter won and in Ihangiro, therefore, Ruhinda was buried. This account is in agreement with Nkore tradition, recorded by Katate and Kamugungunu and confirmed by my informants, which says that Ruhinda left his son, Nkuba, as a ruler in Nkore and "returned to Karagwe and Buzinja; and that is where he died without coming to Nkore another time." 2

It is clear that these traditions are rather inadequate about the period preceding Ruhinda's arrival in the region south of Nkore, in particular about the identity of the welter of local rulers that Ruhinda is supposed to have toppled. But they are, at least, consistent about Ruhinda - about where he came from, the dispersal of his numerous sons to found the different ruling families, and about his death. The picture one gets from the traditions of Buhaya is that Ruhinda, after establishing a foothold in Karagwe, proceeded to subdue the surrounding areas and, in order to preserve his authority in his absence, he

1. Lwamugira, op.cit. p.84.
then installed his sons as chiefs. Then these sons decided to be independent rulers after the death of their father. Unfortunately, at the moment, we cannot make much use of the genealogical lists of the Buhaya states to estimate the arrival of Ruhinda there and his advent in Nkore, because these lists are unreliable. This is largely due to the fact that all the rulers in Buhaya states generally, and in Karagwe particularly, have identical recurring names - Karagwe alone has no fewer than six Ruhindas and six Ntares, so that one cannot rule out the possibility that these names might have been duplicated. Until more detailed investigations are carried out in these areas, we have to do without making extensive use of Buhaya genealogical lists.

Against this wider background of what the traditions of the region tell us about the origins of Ruhinda, we can now examine the area of our immediate concern, which is Nkore. We have already seen that the traditions of Nkore claim that Ruhinda was directly descended from the Bacwezi rulers in the male line. The "fact" of this descent legitimised the accession of Bahinda to power in Nkore after the disappearance of the Bacwezi. We are also told that Ruhinda's mother was a mere servant. This fact alone would not make him "illegitimate" and hence disqualified from inheriting his father's property, although it could

have reduced his social standing if he had been born as a result of a secret and casual escapade by Wamara, his alleged father. On the strength of Nkore traditions, this was not so, because after the diviner had selected Njunaki, as the only woman who would bear a son to succeed to the throne, she was placed in Wamara's official houses - an act that made her a wife. This may well be a recent refinement appended to the tradition, but the appendage itself does not change Ruhinda's position one way or the other. In traditional Nkore, an ekizarwa, or illegitimate child, was a child born to a married woman but whose physical father was a man from outside the family circle of the husband, and such a child could not normally inherit the property of the mother's husband and, only rarely could he inherit from the physical father.\(^1\) This addition seems to serve as a sort of double insurance for the claim that the Bahinda were descended from the Bacwezi, which seems to be the sole purpose for the existence of the whole unsatisfactory tradition of Ruhinda's parentage in Nkore.

\(^1\) Brothers of the husband and near cousins, such as the sons of uncles, were entitled to the favours of the wife and children born of these intimacies were legitimate children of the husband since the practice was legitimate anyway. Even if Wamara had made Njunaki pregnant as a result of a casual escapade, this would not have necessarily affected Ruhinda's right to inherit Wamara's property since Njunaki was nobody's wife. Children born out of wedlock, and these were rare, were called ebinyandaaro and they were somewhat socially ostracised, but this did not jeopardise their right to inherit from their fathers and so long as the right to inherit was recognised, the child was legitimate.
Whatever allowances we could possibly make, the genetic relationship of the Bahinda to the Bacwezi, on the basis of Nkore traditions, remains tenuous in the extreme. We are told that Ruhinda was given that name, which he subsequently passed on to his successors, because he had "a dark patch on his face." This seems to be a very flimsy reason for changing the name of the whole dynasty from Bacwezi - a name that inspired awe - to that of Bahinda which, at best, must have meant little or nothing at the time. Moreover, if it was on the account of the dark patch that Ruhinda and, subsequently, the Bahinda got the name, it was a gross grammatical error, since the common noun ihinda from which the proper noun Ruhinda is derived means a white patch on the face against a darker background and not the other way round. These two forms of the noun have no other meaning in Runyankore. Thus, even on elementary grounds, the claimed genetic relationship does not stand.

Nkore traditions also tell us that Njunaki, the mother of Ruhinda, was a daughter of the Bahinda clan, whose totem was the monkey, and that this clan was numerically large during the period of the Bacwezi. Apparently this tradition exists to explain why the royal family of Nkore, the Bahinda, have two totems and not one like every other clan in Nkore. Thus the Bahinda have, as totems, the monkey, presumed to have been inherited from the clan of Ruhinda's mother and enzvano (which is milk from a cow that has been served within four days of that
event) said to date from the death of Wamara's friend, Kantu, who is said to have been killed by a bull while visiting king Wamara. This tradition is obscure and contradictory. For one thing we are not told the connection between the clan of Ruhinda's mother and the royal clan of Nkore, both of which are described as Bahinda. If the two were indeed the same, then Ruhinda was born of an incestuous affair and he could not therefore have succeeded his alleged father, since it seems that the conception that incest was an unnatural offence is of the remote past in the interlacustrine region generally. In the second place, we are not told by this source, and there seems to be no other reasonable explanation, why the Bahinda should have adopted the totem of their founder's maternal clan, contrary to the practice of the whole tribe, while they retained the practice of patrilineal inheritance like everyone else - the two practices are linked. The reasonable explanation seems to be that the monkey was the original totem of the Bahinda clan, and that it was relegated to that of the maternal clan, subsequent to the adoption of the second totem - the enzyano - in order to vindicate the claim of the Bahinda to have been descended from the Bacwezi. The Bahinda could not have dropped their original totem after adopting the new one for political reasons, because they still had to protect themselves from unnatural relation-
ships, as has been explained earlier. In fact it is probable that the second totem was adopted after the departure of the Bacwezi, during which period the Bahinda might have been hard pressed to find a viable base for the authority they needed to exercise as a dynasty. Finally, the consideration that Ruhinda, had he been a son of Wamara, should have claimed and possibly obtained a larger share of Wamara's empire than the paltry part that was Nkore, and that he did neither of these possible things, seems to favour this line of argument.

It has been indicated that the Babito of Bunyoro may have claimed genetic relationship to their Bacwezi predecessors owing to the awareness of their cultural inferiority. It was probably and similarly due to the lack of a valid claim to power that the Bahinda claimed the same genetic relationship. This is a probability because the dynasty of Nkore, unlike that of Rwanda for example, does not appear to have been a conquering dynasty. This statement appears to be valid despite what the traditions tell us about Ruhinda's rapid advance through Nkore and Buhaya, toppling the local rulers as he went. These other rulers appear to have been scattered local clan heads rather than dynasties. In fact the traditions of Buhaya are not agreed as to whether Ruhinda established his rule by guile or by war.

1. Supra, ch.I.
2. Supra, p.267.
3. Ford and Hall, op.cit. p.5.
It is much more likely that the Bahinda acquired dynastic recognition by diplomacy and duplicity rather than by might. This would not rule out sporadic skirmishes with isolated recalcitrant clan heads which have passed down into traditions as wars between dynasties. The fact of the matter is that these skirmishes seem to have been on a very much localised basis especially during Ruhinda's rapid advance through Nkore and Buhaya.

We have so far dismissed the possibility that Ruhinda was a descendant of the Bacwezi, and the farther possibility that he was one of the Nilotic immigrants who furnished Bunyoro with the Babito dynasty. There is of course the other possibility that the Bahinda were a local agricultural clan in Isingiro itself, and that they organised the local clansmen into a small kingdom, the better to be able to defend themselves against the Luo invasion. But this would suggest that the wave of Luo invasion flowed as far south as Nkore before it was stemmed, and for this supposition we have absolutely no evidence. Moreover, the subsequent government that was evolved in Nkore under the rule of the Bahinda was so cattle-orientated that it would be difficult to explain how this could have been developed by a dynasty whose past lay in an agricultural setting. For these reasons we have likewise to abandon this possibility.
The most probable conclusion seems to be that Ruhinda was a leader of a pastoralist band which migrated southwards away from the Luo invasion from the north, as Oliver and, to some extent, Nyakatura have suggested. It is also reasonable to assume that the unsettled conditions brought about by the Luo invasion affected the pastoralists more than it did the agriculturalists, hence the migration of the former farther south. The attempts on the part of Nkore tradition to attach his lineage to that of Wamara may be no more than an admission, however obscure, that he led a trek from some northern part of the Kitara kingdom, of which Nkore was then a very insignificant part. The probability that the kingdom of the Bacwezi was loosely organised would have made it possible for a determined person, with a band of devoted followers, to establish his rule, especially at a time when even the loose overlordship of the Bacwezi was in the process of being swept away a little to the north of what was to become the Nkore of the Bahinda. It may not be without historical significance that the kingdom of the Bahinda started in the small area named Isingiro, which literally means "a place of refuge", despite the fact that Nkore traditions are silent about the origins of that particular name.

1. R.Oliver, op.cit. p.185.
3. The verb okusingwa from which the noun Isingiro is derived has two meanings. One meaning is simply to lose in any given contest and the second meaning is to take refuge after military defeat. I feel that the name Isingiro and the fact that the Bahinda kingdom began there are somehow related.
It is because of this silence that we cannot decide whether this place was always called Isingiro, or whether it was given the name after the arrival of the Bahinda there.

The second conclusion is that the Ruhinda of the Buhaya states and of Nkore appear to be one and the same man, who was the founder of the dynasties of those countries. It would farther appear that he first established himself in Karagwe, and then in Nkore, before turning his full attention to the rest of the Buhaya states where he is said to have died, apparently while still in the process of consolidating what may well have turned out to be a large empire had he lived long enough to complete the wars. On these basic points the traditions of this area are in agreement and the subsequent peaceful relations between Nkore and her neighbours to the south seem to bear out this conclusion. There was nothing, moreover, to prevent Ruhinda from preserving his overlordship over Nkore, Karagwe and the other smaller Buhaya states, with only the river Kagyera separating Nkore from the rest of the area and with his sons acting as his agents on both sides of the river. As Oliver points out, pastoralists still go to and from Karagwe, by crossing this same river, in seasonal migrations right up to the present day.\(^1\) It is doubtful, however, whether Ruhinda

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\(^1\) Oliver, *op.cit.* p.186. In the course of my field work I visited a few pastoralists in Karagwe who had left Nkore with their herds in the late 1940's and who made the crossing of the Kagyera by means of rafts of their own improvisation.
established himself as an effective ruler, at least in Nkore. Judging by the resistance shown to the authority of his immediate successor in Nkore, it appears that, at best, he established a position among the local clans of southern and central Isingiro no stronger than that of the first among equals. This is all the more likely when we consider that it is only Nkuba, Ruhinda's successor in Nkore, who is remembered in traditions to have faced a rebellion of some clans. This suggests that his position as a ruler was not yet fully recognised. It is for this primary reason that a proper dynastic history of Nkore must date from the reign of Nkuba, one of Ruhinda's sons, who seems to have been born and to have ruled and died in Nkore.¹

Whereas the claim to have descended from the Bacwezi - a dynasty that everyone, at least in Nkore, revered - could have been one of the bases on which the authority of the Bahinda rested, it is very unlikely that this factor became decisive immediately. It would have needed a long time for this claim to be accepted by their subjects and therefore for the dynasty to have drawn authority from the belief. It would therefore appear that the immediate decisive factor was diplomacy.

¹. The full name of Nkuba is Nkuba ya(of) Rurama because, it is said, he was born at Rurama, a small hill near Ntungu.
This point will probably become clearer if we examine the traditional functions of the Bayangwe clan pertaining to kingship and also the traditions regarding the acquisition of the royal drum by the Bahinda.

The functions of the Bayangwe to the royal family of Nkore have already been indicated. According to Nkore traditions, Kayangwe, the founder of the Bayangwe clan, was the elder brother of Ruhinda, also being the son of Njunaki. But this source does not tell us who the father of Kayangwe was, and the way in which Kayangwe's story is told suggests that the tradition has been telescoped. My informants, as well as Katate and Kamumungungunu, first relate that Njunaki was a girl when the oracle divined that Wamara should take her to wife as the woman who would beget a child to "inherit the drum", and only after this will the traditionalists also recall that Kayangwe was the son of Njunaki, "presumably by one of Wamara's courtiers", as several informants put it to me. This obscure tradition seems to be consistent with the falsification of the traditions regarding Ruhinda's parentage. Despite this dubious relationship,

1. Supra, Ch.II, pp.188-90, 298-9.
2. The Bayangwe are a subclan of the Bahinda clan and according to the theoretical basis of subclan divisions, the Bayangwe and the Bahinda must have had the same male ancestor at some point in the remote past. If then Ruhinda founded the Bahinda clan and Kayangwe the Bayangwe clan and yet both are members of the same clan group, it would suggest that the father of Ruhinda was also the father of Kayangwe, and this Nkore traditions deny.
it is a fact that the Bayangwe, more than any other single clan, had very important traditional functions pertaining to Nkore kingship. They enjoyed collective immunity from all forms of punishment, denied even to the Bahinda princes themselves. It was the members of this clan who were responsible for the disposal of the body of the deceased Mugabe to the sacred grove at Ishanje; the direction of the purification and accession ceremonies; the direction of the marriage negotiations on behalf of the Bagabe, and they were also the official gate keepers to the palace. Above all, it was they who controlled the sacrificial ceremonies to the ancestor spirits of the Bahinda generally and of the Bagabe particularly. All traditionalists are united in saying that no member of the Bayangwe clan could be put to death or have this property confiscated within Nkore kingdom. "Since the Bayangwe controlled the ancestor spirits of the Bagabe, they controlled the very lives of the rulers themselves." This is how traditionalists explain the importance of the Bayangwe clan as exemplified by these immunities. This may well be the source of their importance rather than the questionable genetic relationship of the clan to the dynasty.

The question now remaining is to determine how the Bayangwe came to have this important hold on the throne of Nkore. It seems possible that the Bayangwe were already a sizeable clan
in southern Isingiro by the time Ruhinda and his followers got there and that they may have been in control of the local religious ceremonial.\(^1\) Then in return for recognising the authority of the Bahinda over them, they were allowed to retain control of the local gods and given the various immunities to which we have referred. The unsatisfactory attempt of Nkore traditions to establish blood relationship between the Bahinda and the Bayangwe is, conceivably, an attempt to sanctify the religious role of the Bayangwe by giving it a royal flavour. This diplomatic deal between the two clans most probably took place during the reign of Nkuba, who appears to have been beset by clan rebellions. It would have been in the material interests of Nkuba and of his dynasty to narrow the area of clan conflicts by making deals with some clans in order to contain the discontent of the others.

We have also examined the traditions concerning the royal drum of Nkore\(^2\) and all we need do here is to restate the tradition briefly in order to sort out the contradictions therein. The tradition states that the drum, Bagyendanwa, was made by Wamara, who gave it to one man named Karara of the Basita clan for safe custody. Then Ruhinda, when he was still a child,

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1. We have seen that the traditions of Ihangiro say that the local ruler who was supplanted by Ruhinda was of the Bayango clan and this is the Luhaya equivalent of Bayangwe and the two were probably one and the same clan. This reinforces the idea that the Bayangwe clan might have been numerically important in this region before the advent of Ruhinda there.

2. Supra, Ch.II.
"bought" the drum during the reign of Wamara, his alleged father. After this "transaction", the drum was given to a different man named Katuku for safe keeping. After the disappearance of the Bacwezi, Ruhinda procured the drum not from Katuku, but from Karara who had been its keeper before the "transaction". Clearly this tradition is hopelessly uninformative. How and when did Karara get back the drum from Katuku after the "departure" of Wamara? Why should Ruhinda have bought his father's symbol of authority when his father was still alive and still the effective ruler of the country? Why, in fact, should Ruhinda have bought the drum at all, if it belonged to his father? The answer to all these questions seems to be that none of these things happened. What is more, it is even likely that the drum was not made by Wamara, and the fact that it is attributed to him may be part of the whole concerted effort of Nkore traditions to forge a genetic link between the Bahinda and their predecessors, the Bacwezi. Even if we accepted the proposition that the drum was made by Wamara, it would still be likely that the Bahinda obtained the drum from the Basita clan, not by right since they had none to it, but in exchange for some privileges since, traditionally, keepers of the drum have enjoyed certain privileges.

1. The tradition of course assumes that the keepers simply handed the drum over to Ruhinda because they knew he was the rightful successor to Wamara.
pertaining to that function. Alternatively, Ruhinda could, like the ruler of Igara much later, have originated the idea of associating the possession of the drum with the exercise of authority and then passed on this idea to his descendants. Since Nkore tradition associates him with the Bacwezi, it would naturally follow that his drum would be similarly associated with the same dynasty. We have no sufficient evidence to opt for either of these alternatives. Whatever be the exact origins of the drum, it seems fairly certain that its advent dates either from the beginning of the dynasty or soon after the Bahinda had become the rulers of Nkore. Its central role as the embodiment of the state, and the general reverence in which it was held by the whole tribe, could hardly be of recent origin.

Thus, taken together, the importance of the Bayangwe to the rulers of Nkore and, to some extent, the acquisition of the royal drum by the Bahinda, give us clues to the political arrangements that the Bahinda might have had to make with the indigenous clans in order to secure dynastic recognition for their own clan. It is significant that traditions relate that the Bayangwe and the Basita, the two clans involved in these arrangements, were the largest clans at the time. Once the cooperation of the large clans had been secured, the Bahinda,

1. All the sons of Ruhinda who founded dynasties in Buhaya states are said to have been given a drum each, as a symbol of power they exercised on behalf of Ruhinda.
allied with those big clans, would have found it easy to overcome the resistance of the rest, and this resistance could not have been very serious, considering that the area in which the Bahinda established their kingdom was so small. One must also consider the importance of the local clans giving their daughters in marriage to the Bagabe and to the rest of the Bahinda. Since the Bahinda could not marry their own women, they must have taken wives from the local clans they found, and this must have forged very important blood ties between the rulers and the local clans, and the political importance of this can hardly be overestimated, especially for the rulers. It has been shown already that the dynastic recognition of the Bahinda was secured by diplomacy and duplicity rather than by might. This pattern of establishing dynasties is not without parallel in this region of Africa. In Rwanda, for example, we are told that the kingdom started as a conglomeration of petty kingdoms with the Banyiginya of Buganza controlling not much more than Buganza itself, which, at the time, was not more important than the rest of the petty states. By successive conquests, guile and diplomacy, the Banyiginya built the kingdom of Rwanda piece-meal and moderation in victory and talented governing, made the conquerors acceptable to the subjects.¹ This process is essentially similar to that of establishing the kingdom of Nkore. The Banyiginya seem to have done more conquering than

¹ Pages, op.cit. pp.79-82.
diplomatic bargaining and the Bahinda appear to have done the same thing in reverse. What made the Bahinda acceptable to their subjects, however, was neither administrative efficiency nor military ruthlessness since they do not appear to have possessed these qualities in anything more than a moderate measure. It was diplomacy; in particular their singular success in schooling their subjects into believing that they were descended from the "wonderful" Bacwezi. This was quite an achievement.

Just as the appearance of the Luo in the north of the kingdom of Kitara may have occasioned the retreat of the Bacwezi rulers, so also, it seems, did the ensuing pastoralist migration southwards upset the simple polities in Nkore, Karagwe, the whole of Bukoba district except Kiziba, Biharamulo district except Busambiro, and Buzinza in Mwanza district.¹ The two events - the Luo invasion and the pastoralist migration - are related, in that the one appears to be the cause of the other. The establishment of the Bahinda dynasties in the areas just cited seems to have been achieved by a series of concentric incursions, the probable centre of which was Karagwe, but the establishment of Ruhinda's overlordship was one thing and the consolidation of the authority of his numerous successors was quite another. To get this development into its proper setting and perspective, it is best to examine what the traditions say about this region just after the "departure" of the Bacwezi.

¹ All these places, except Nkore, are in Tanzania.
Katate and Kamugungunu tell us, and my informants on the subject confirmed, that, before his departure, Wamara had posted chiefs in Nkore as follows: Katuku in Rwampara, Murinda in Masha, Nyawera in Kashari, Karara in Rwanda and Muramira in Buhweju. Independent of these sources, and in a different context, we are also told that before the Barisa clan could establish their rule effectively in Buhweju, they had first to overcome the resistance of one, Muramira, who had ruled Buhweju since the departure of the Bacwezi. To all these "chiefs" traditions assign clans. We have also seen that in Karagwe and in other areas of Buhaya Ruhinda unseated what traditions of the area describe as "dynasties" with what seems to be ridiculous ease. Many of these "dynasties" are also known by their clan membership, which is about all that is known about them. It has been suggested in the preceding pages that Nkore traditions refer to "chiefs posted by Wamara" in order, one is tempted to conclude, to enhance the importance of Nkore in relation to the Bacwezi kingdom, which importance, even if these traditions were taken at their face value, appears to be imaginary.

1. Rwanda Orwera is an area divided between Nyabushozi and Kashari counties and is not connected to the country, south of Uganda, of the same name. Furthermore, though the common name is Rwanda Orwera, the area is also sometimes called Rwanda rwa(of) Karara because, I was informed, this Karara had ruled the area.


3. K.K.Nganwa, op.cit. pp.5-6 and Mr.Ndigarema and others in personal interviews at Kasharara, Buhweju, on 27th April 1968.
Taken together, the traditions of Nkore and of the Buhaya states suggest that what the Bahinda dynasties replaced in this region were not dynasties but clan heads - clan heads, moreover, who were independent of each other, and who, for that reason, could not combine effectively against Ruhinda's attempt to weld them together under his own authority. The clans of this region do not seem to have had political organisation of a scale wider than the clan kinship circle before the arrival of Ruhinda. This would explain why an apparently peaceful dynasty, like the Bahinda, could establish its rule so easily. It would farther explain why, for example, so much obscurity shrouds the local rulers whom Ruhinda is said to have replaced in Buhaya because, if they were merely clan heads, as I think they were, then nothing more than their clans could be expected to be remembered about them. It would therefore appear that all that Ruhinda had to overcome was the resistance of isolated clans and not of the established rulers, who would have had wider tribal support in their countries.

Ruhinda, it has been pointed out, could not have been an effective ruler in the whole of the area where his descendants were to rule after his death. Karagwe is perhaps the exception where he might have ruled effectively because he seems to have had his capital there, to have conducted his operations, diplomatic or punitive from there and to have lived in that country longest. Over the rest of the region he seems to have no more than a distant overload whose immediate personal rule was not felt, respectfully or negatively, simply because he
"lived far away". This view is reinforced by the consideration that if Ruhinda's kingdom had been a unified political state, only one of his sons would have been expected to inherit the whole of his father's kingdom as one unit and we know that this did not happen.

Whereas Ruhinda was a distant overlord, his successors were resident rulers in those areas and it was this change in the *locus operandi* of the rulers that seems to have given rise to the problems with which, for example, Nkuba was beset immediately Ruhinda's death was known in Nkore. Traditionalists relate that, soon after his "accession" to the throne, Nkuba was faced with clan rebellions in Ngarama, then apparently under the Banuma clan, and in Masha itself, then under the Baitira clan led by Murinda. These areas were attacked, one by one, and subdued and one of the clan leaders, Murinda, was killed in the operations. Geographically, it appears that Nkuba's authority was challenged from the north and the south and the question may well be asked as to how much of even this tiny territory he controlled before these punitive measures. Traditions agree that Nkuba's capital was then at Ntungu¹ during these clan disturbances. If this is correct, then the rebellion in Ngarama was too close to his capital to have been a mere momentary aberration by a handful of irate clansmen involved. It seems to have been a rebellion against the type of authority that had not

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¹. See Maps 1 and 2.
existed before. Then the rebellion in Masha meant that his
capital was hemmed in between the clans which were defying his
authority (Ntungu lies roughly half-way between Ngarama and
Masha). The order in which these rebellions occurred and in
which they were suppressed is also significant. It was Ngarama
and then Masha. Of the two areas Ngarama is the nearer to
Karagwe and it is reasonable to expect that Ruhinda's death, to
the south-east of Karagwe, would have been known in Ngarama be­
fore it was known in Masha. It is also reasonable to infer
from this that, once the distant overlord was dead, the clans
on the border would have taken the opportunity to forestall the
possibility of getting a new master who, unlike the previous
one, was a resident master who could therefore impose his will
on them directly. Thus this wave of defiance spread northwards
from the border of what had been Ruhinda's substantive kingdom,
Karagwe, into the areas where his authority had been minimal
and his position honorary rather than actual. It is also sig­
nificant that, after these rebellions, Nkuba is said to have
moved his capital to Mitoma, in Ngarama, presumably in order
to be able to control the clansmen of the area whose leader,
unlike that of Masha to the north, we are not told was killed.
It can hardly be over-emphasised that the area in which these
events took place was extremely small - being no more than the
present county of Isingiro excluding the subcountry of Kikagate
and most of Rugaaga (Map 4). Thus the contention, made earlier, that Nkuba was the first ruler of the Bahinda dynasty to establish their effective rule in Nkore seems to be borne out by these events. One may also conclude from these skirmishes that, far from inheriting a kingdom from his father, Nkuba was trying to establish or found one for himself and that, in order to do so, he had to reckon with the opposition of the clans whose leaders had not submitted to any higher, organised and immediate authority before.

In the attempt to impose the rule of his dynasty over unwilling clansmen, Nkuba succeeded, but we cannot attribute this success entirely, or even largely, to these punitive measures, for whereas military success could have ensured the continuation of his power in his own lifetime, it could not have equally guaranteed the power of his successors. This seems to be the conclusion to be drawn from the fact that Nkuba's son and successor, Nyaika, is acclaimed by tradition as "the Mugabe who brought peace to the land." After the skirmishes with a few clans, the Bahinda seem to have embarked on a policy of pacification - a policy made necessary by the fact that the new dynasty was not numerically strong enough to beat down all the possible clan conflicts by force. Besides, the Bahinda had not as yet acquired the moral authority necessary for a dynasty to command the obedience of its subjects and this they were not to
achieve completely until some two centuries later. One might suppose that this interval of some two hundred years was used by the dynasty to propagate the idea of their "divine" origins - their alleged descent from the Bacwezi - and also to make other political and religious arrangements in order to endear themselves to the population as we shall see below.

The developments within Nkore from the reign of Nkuba to that of Ntare IV are best discussed against the general background of the developments in the whole of the interlacustrine region of which Nkore was one of the most insignificant parts, particularly before the reign of Ntare IV. It has been suggested that the Luo invasion set in motion a chain of events leading to the foundation of most of the kingdoms of this region, but the consolidation of those kingdoms took a very long time. The new Babito dynasty of Bunyoro had to grapple with the kings of Buganda in a contest which became increasingly uneven as Buganda grew from strength to strength. From the early period of the history of Buganda, her kings embarked on ambitious policies of expanding their small realm and this brought them into direct conflict with Bunyoro. Thus Kaima\(^1\) became the first ruler of Buganda to make war on Bunyoro and this was followed by Bunyoro's invasion of Buganda in which Kabaka Nakibinge was slain around the late 16th century. Kiwanuka\(^2\) suggests that this

1. For the approximate periods of the reigns see Table E.
2. M. Kiwanuka, *op. cit.*
war exhausted Bunyoro as much as it exhausted Buganda, because, despite the success of Bunyoro arms, Buganda was not annexed and Bunyoro did not even nominate a king to replace the one they had killed in war, each of which courses could have been expected to result from Buganda's defeat. Subsequently, the Kabakas Kimbugwe, Katerega and then Mawanda were to expand Buganda's territory greatly at the expense of Bunyoro before the 19th century. Apart from territorial expansion, the most important internal developments of this period in Buganda were the administrative innovations which strengthened the power of the monarch at the expense of the traditional centres of power - especially the clan leaders. Thus from the reign of Mulondo, the kings started appointing territorial chiefs over the heads of the clan heads and Tebandeke's summary execution of the mediums thereby reducing their power and influence was part of this general trend. It was this development that lies at the core of Buganda's administrative and military efficiency. Thus one can say that the two centuries or so that followed the establishment of the kingdom of Buganda saw the dynasty engrossed in expanding the kingdom and developing the necessary machinery of government to suit and contain the widened territory. It is worth emphasising, however, that even when a kingdom like Buganda pursued expansionist policies, the motivation seems to have been internal control by the rulers.

1. Ibid.
Territorial expansion and administrative control seem to have gone hand in hand in Buganda, since this expansion seems to have succeeded largely by means of piecemeal digestion of Bunyoro territory adjacent to Buganda following successful military conflict. It was this expansion, moreover, which gave Buganda rulers extensive fields of patronage which was the essential base of their power.

Apart from Buganda and Bunyoro, which seem to have been the only powers of consequence in the region at the time, and their long drawn out conflict, the rest of the kingdom of the region seem to have been engaged in matters of domestic concern to themselves. We do not have enough information about the Buhaya states to judge what was taking place there during this period, but judging from the difficulties that Nkuba encountered in Nkore, one might suspect that the death of Ruhinda might have triggered off similar situations in those areas where his sons became rulers. On the whole it appears that the profusion of the Bahinda dynasty in this region seems to have been a source of weakness rather than of strength owing to their lack of cohesion and of their even more singular lack of administrative imagination.

We have already observed that the same developments were taking place in Rwanda, where the Banyiginya of Buganza were slowly expanding their small state to encapsulate the neighbouring petty states by means of conquest and diplomacy.  

1. Supra p.288.
The essential difference between the developments in Rwanda on one hand and in Bunyoro and Buganda, on the other, was that in the latter case Bunyoro only lost territory to Buganda, but survived as a kingdom, whereas Buganza swallowed up some of her neighbours and became the kingdom of Rwanda. On the whole one can say that the whole of the interlacustrine region was a political melting-pot during the period following the establishment of the new dynasties. These dynasties were primarily engaged in entrenching their authority, and the manner in which they went about this task varied with the local conditions and the personalities of the rulers themselves.

Whether one dynasty adopted an aggressive posture towards its neighbours, as did the rulers of Buganda, or whether they adopted a conciliatory and defensive attitude like the rulers of Nkore, the primary aim of those ruling houses was to contain and control the internal situations in their own countries, and any contacts made with the neighbouring countries were a function of this aim, and not a matter of calculated foreign policy for its own sake.

Against this brief survey of the region, we can place Nkore in its place in relation to the rest. It is necessary to emphasise that on grounds of size and power Nkore was one of the most unimportant kingdoms of the region. This same thing can be said of Buganda at the beginning of that kingdom,
but the difference lay in the fact that the rulers of Buganda were aggressive and imaginative right from the start so that by the beginning of the 18th century, their country was unquestionably one of the strongest in the area and was getting stronger all the time. The rulers of Nkore of that ability were few and far between. Perhaps we can best judge the smallness and weakness of Nkore by reference to the attack made on her by Bunyoro during the reign of Nyabugaro, Nkuba's grandson. This war itself seems to have been aimed at the territorial conquest of Nkore rather than at what was soon to be the familiar pattern of raiding Nkore cattle. As an event, the attack is also of great historical interest for two principal reasons. The first is its chronological importance, because the traditions Bunyoro, Buganda and Nkore agree on who were the rulers of those respective countries and also that it coincided with a solar eclipse in Nkore which seems to have taken place in 1520.1 Thus Nyakatura tells us that after defeating and killing Kabaka Nakibinge of Buganda, Olimi I of Bunyoro attacked and defeated Nyabugaro of Nkore and occupied the country for some time, until he saw the eclipse and decided to leave Nkore and return to Bunyoro.2 This is exactly what Nkore traditions say.3

1. See Chronology.
The second and perhaps more important reason for which this war is important is the fact that it was initiated by Bunyoro and that it seems to be the first external attack on Nkore as an independent political entity. Traditional accounts are agreed on the fact that Nkore was defeated and that Nyabugaro took "refuge" in the hills at the northern end of the Masha plain. What this seems to mean is that Nyabugaro abandoned his capital, which was then at Kakukuru (Map 2) and hid farther north at Igayaza. In any case this was all the area that was Nkore at the time and what is difficult to understand is why the Banyoro were content to sit at Kakukuru instead of chasing the Mugabe away from Nkore altogether.

It is reasonable to conclude that by the time this attack took place the Babito of Bunyoro had consolidated their hold in that area, at least sufficiently to be able to engage in a war of expansion. They, too, would have needed the lapse of time, between the departure of the Bacwezi and the attack on Nkore, to establish a firm foothold in Bunyoro before striking out to get more territory farther south. Bunyoro traditions ascribe the withdrawal of Bunyoro army from Nkore to the solar eclipse, and Nkore traditions, rather predictably, ascribe it to the defeat of the Banyoro by the Banyankore. It would appear that the Kinyoro version is the more probable
because, if the present patterns of superstitions are any guide to the past, a solar eclipse must have been an incident of such great magnitude as to cause concern about what it portended for the victors as well as for the vanquished. On the other hand we have no evidence to suppose that Nkore ever put up a more than token resistance to the invasion, let alone a victorious fight. It is highly unlikely that a dynasty so obviously lacking in administrative talent as the Bahinda of Nkore were, had managed to establish a viable system of defence so soon after facing the internal disturbances of a few defiant clans. But if the invasion had been aimed at securing Nkore territory for Bunyoro, it accomplished the exact opposite, because it left the Bahinda in a strong position in Nkore - probably in a stronger position than before the invasion, since it is possible that the foreign attack itself might have united the people behind their rulers.

The reign of Nyabugaro is also remembered for the great shortage of cattle in Nkore - a shortage so severe in fact that the people fed on enyonya berries and paid those berries for bridewealth. This is the period known as Eijuga Nyonza, that is to say, the period when the enyonya berries were paid as bridewealth. An interesting story is told in this connection. During the great shortage of cattle, so this story goes, a young man, who had never seen cattle since his birth, killed
a bush buck, but his mother would not eat meat from a wild animal and she explained that the only meat she had ever eaten was that of a cow. "What was a cow like?" asked the baffled son and, for lack of a handy example, the mother replied, "It was like that dog only the cow was bigger."¹ This same tradition also tells of vast herds of cattle which passed through Nkore and eventually disappeared in the direction of Bunyoro and, it is said, it was from this flow that the Banyankore got cattle. We are also told that these cattle "were without horns", which, in Kinyankore parlance, means that they were short-horned. Although this tradition is widely known, it is very difficult to interpret. One may infer from this shortage of cattle that the Banyoro carried out extensive pillaging during their occupation of Nkore and that they may have taken considerable numbers of cattle when they finally decided to withdraw, as they do not seem to have been harassed into leaving the country in a hurry. If the tale of the short-horned cattle has an element of truth in it, it is possible that, at this point in time, there passed through Nkore a considerable number of pastoralist folk migrating northwards, some of whose cattle were captured by the Banyankore. Alternatively it is possible that the cattle referred to were in fact raided for

¹. Ibid. p.56. The emphasis to the extremity of this plight is conveyed in the fact that no pastoralist would even dream of comparing a cow to a dog.
from farther south, from Karagwe for example, where the short-horned cattle are said to have existed before this period, after Nkore had lost the familiar long-horned breed to the Banyoro invaders.

One of the chief problems of Nkore history in this period is the yawning gaps during which nothing of importance seems to have taken place. Thus from the reign of Nyabugaro right through the next four reigns - to that of Rumongye - nothing of importance is remembered by traditionalists to have happened at home or abroad. This shortcoming is due to a number of factors. One of these is the obvious one that the farther back one goes, the more the tendency to forget historical events becomes. Secondly, as we have observed, this was also a period in which the new dynasties in the interlacustrine region were engaged in purely domestic matters and these domestic changes were seldom significant enough to register on the minds of traditionalists, since, unlike wars for example, they took place gradually and, often, without being noticed. Thirdly, the fact that states like Nkore were so minute during this period meant that, whatever developments took place within them, they were scarcely of sufficient importance to be known, for instance, in the neighbouring countries so that, if Nkore traditions were silent on some issues, we cannot hope to fill the gaps from the traditions of the neighbouring countries.
But for a dynasty that began on shaky foundations and then which weathered a foreign war, it is reasonable to assume that this lull - the apparently empty periods - was used to entrench the power of the rulers firmly and to pacify whatever hostile elements that might have survived the punitive expeditions of Nkuba. That such measures were undertaken and that they were moderately successful, we can infer from two events which, though materially unrelated, are chronologically significant.

The first of these events was the steps taken in the formal institutionalisation of kingship by Nyabugaro. By this I mean the distribution of specific functions to the different clans by the Mugabe, which functions had a direct bearing either on the king personally or on kingship as an institution. To each of these functions tradition assigns a historical origin. Thus during the reign of Nyabugaro, and after the Ban-
yoro had withdrawn from Nkore, a man of the Baitenwa clan is said to have been so excited when he saw cattle, after the great shortage, that he milked the first cow he reached into his mouth. Because those present laughed at him derisively, the Mugabe came to his rescue and ordered that, henceforth, a member of that clan would be responsible for milking for the Mugabe and this practice was observed until 1967 - that is to

1. Milking in one's mouth is regarded as an indecent act by the whole tribe.
say that a member of the Baitenwa clan was always responsible for procuring the milk for the Mugabe's personal consumption. This story of the reason for assigning the function to this or to any other clan may not be strictly accurate, but the importance of distributing these functions which attached the clansmen personally to the king can hardly be overestimated. It enhanced the loyalty of the clans to the rulers and it is significant that the practice was set in motion after the first foreign invasion of Nkore. Ntare IV was to use the system extensively as we shall see presently.

The second event is the first succession war and the only one in this period of the dynasty's history. The war was fought between Rumongye and his younger brother Kitera, both being the sons of the Mugabe Kasasira. By all accounts, Kitera succeeded his father and, after some time, he was challenged by his elder brother Rumongye. The latter lost the first round of the contest and escaped and took refuge in Karagwe. Apparently Rumongye neither asked nor obtained assistance from Karagwe. He then returned to Nkore in secret, organised his maternal uncles and the battle was then joined with Kitera's party. Again, the story goes, the tide of battle was once again going strongly against Rumongye's party, when Kitera fell in battle, so that there was no question of his supporters fighting on since they had nothing to fight for. Thus
Rumongye came to the throne. Two basic points emerge from this war. The first is that it laid the pattern of the future succession wars - the maternal clans of the princes fighting on the side of the candidate - sons of their respective daughters. Thus, in this particular war Kitera was supported by the Baitira, which was the clan of his mother, and Rumongye was supported by the Batwa clan which was similarly related to him.

The second and wider point is that the Bahinda, by this time, had become sufficiently confident of their position as the rulers to afford squabbles among themselves. This appears to be so because, although the preceding rulers had had more than one son and by different wives, we do not hear of princes fighting for the throne. That they were now able to do so, illustrates the success of the Bahinda clan in establishing itself as the dynasty of Nkore.

By far the most vigorous, and hence eventful, reign of this period is that of Ntare IV, the son of Mirindi and grandson of Rumongye. Its most distinctive characteristic is the enterprising spirit in matters of internal and external policy displayed by Ntare himself. This new spirit might lead one to think that the reign inaugurated the beginning of new era of Nkore history, but this does not appear to be so - it was a revitalisation of the old system rather than the beginning of a new one.
Tradition relates that Ntare IV married only two wives, both the daughters of the king of Mpororo¹ and that he was the first Mugabe to contract marriage with a foreign ruling house. The same sources tell us that "extraordinary things" happened in Nkore as a result of this matrimonial alliance. It rained unceasingly in Nkore from the time Ntare went to Mpororo until his return, and the royal drums "sounded of their own accord" because the king had taken wives from outside the clans from which the Bagabe had taken wives in the past.² The importance of this marriage is very difficult to pin down. According to Oliver it was significant that before the Banyoro attacked Ntare IV, the latter contracted the first external dynastic alliance the sequel to which was to be the annexation of most of Sheema to Isingiro.³ For Morris, "As a result of this Ntare's marriage... and of later dynastic alliance made by his son, the greater part of Mpororo was to fall under the Bagabe during the 18th century", and by "greater part of Mpororo" he means, "Sheema and part of Rwampara."⁴ Katate and Kamugungunu do not help us on the question of how or when Sheema became part of Nkore, as they record three versions on the subject. According to this source, many traditionalists

¹. Infra ch. 14.
². Katate and Kamugungunu, op.cit. p.63-4. The tradition is widely held in Nkore.
say that Sheema was given to Ntare IV as a wedding present when the latter married the two daughters, Kabibi and Mukabandi, of Kahaya ka Murari, the ruler of Mpororo. Other traditionalists say that Kahaya Rutindangyezi, the last ruler of Mpororo, gave the area to his grandson Ruzira, who married Bunyonyo, a princess of Nkore, and who then settled in Nkore permanently so that henceforth Sheema became part of Nkore. The third version is that Ntomi, the son of Rwebishengye, overran it and wrested it from the control of the Bashambo clan during the reign of his father (about late 18th century).

1. When a man marries, he pays bridewealth to the family of the bride, usually before the actual marriage ceremony. Then either during the ceremony or shortly after it, the parents or relatives of the bride give the new couple a number of presents which are taken to their home - these presents depend on the wealth of the bride's parents. For example a man who paid six cows as bridewealth, might be given two cows as a present on his wedding, then one more cow when he brought back the bride to her home at the agreed period after which visit the wife assumes the full duties of a housewife and then one cow each time the wife had a child and took it to her parents' home.

2. Nkore traditions have mixed up the names of the rulers of Mpororo. Mpororo sources say that the founder of the kingdom of Mpororo was Kahaya ka (son of) Murari which is perhaps why he is called Kamurari in Nkore. His successor, who was also the last king of Mpororo, was called Kahaya Rutindangyezi who died around the middle of the 18th century.

It would seem that Nkore traditions generally, and Katate and Kamugungunu particularly, contain a great deal of confusion as to what was Sheema precisely. It was not the present administrative county of Ankole of that name, because the extent and demarcation of the county was determined by the British administrators. Additionally, most of what is now Sheema county was part of the kingdom of Igara, which came into existence after the break-up of the kingdom of Mpororo around the middle of the 18th century. It is thus highly unlikely that Nkore could have controlled any considerable part of Sheema so early. According to Igara traditionalists, moreover, one king of Igara, Rwihura, is remembered to have had two of his capitals in the very area which Nkore traditions claim to have been Nkore territory even before Igara had kings. If this is so, it follows that Rwihura could not have made capitals in a country that was not his and, what is more, Rwihura could not even have been a near contemporary of Ntare IV of Nkore since they are separated by at least four reigns. Thus Rwihura, the third in succession to the throne of Igara, was the great-great-grandson of Kahaya ka Murari of Mpororo whose daughters Ntare IV married. Again all my Igara informants insisted that most of Sheema remained Igara territory right up to the coming of the British, because only the area between the rivers Koga and Kandekye (Map 1) was annexed by the Mugabe
Mutambuka in mid 19th century. This information seems to be corroborated by Nkore informants when they say that Ntomi, the son of Rwebishengye, only raided the area adjacent to the present county of Kashari and forced the Bashambo of the area to pay tribute to the rulers of Nkore, but then further punitive measures became unnecessary because the leading Mushambo who lived in the area, Ruzira, the grandson of the last king of Mpororo, married a princess of Nkore. Finally, Nkore traditions also relate that both Mutambuka and Ntare V raided the Bahweju subclan of Kigiro, which is the present subcounty of Kabira in Sheema county. If Sheema had been part of Nkore, these two Bagabe could not have raided it since no Mugabe could raid his territory for cattle. Thus it is fairly certain that what is now Sheema is a much bigger area than the area of the same name in the past and that whatever part of this small area that came under pre-colonial Nkore did so as a result of the disintegration of the kingdom of Mpororo, which no ruler of Nkore could have foreseen, and not as a result of this particular marriage.


It is tempting to conclude from the timing of the marriage that it was aimed at securing a political or military alliance between Mpororo and Nkore, since the marriage itself took place shortly before the Banyoro mounted an invasion of Nkore. This seems all the more likely since Mpororo, at the time, was a much bigger kingdom than Nkore, and since Mpororo and Rwanda were on very friendly terms. In order to forestall any possible raids from the west and the south, Ntare could have taken the precaution of forging a dynastic alliance with the royal family of Mpororo. But such a conclusion would presuppose that Ntare went to Mpororo after learning of the impending attack of the Banyoro, and there is absolutely no indication that he possessed such foreknowledge of Bunyoro's intentions. On the contrary, there appears to be good reasons to think that the Banyoro invasion took Nkore by complete surprise. The rapid advance of the Banyoro into Nkore before they met any resistance suggests that no time was allowed to the Banyankore to assemble their military forces. Again neither in Nkore's conflicts during the reign of Ntare IV nor in subsequent ones is it recalled that Mpororo assisted Nkore or vice versa, so that it would appear that this marriage was not a political alliance. So long as Mpororo existed as a kingdom, Rwanda was not an immediate threat to Nkore, and she
was not to be until much later in the history of Nkore. Therefore, the inference that Ntare could have been providing against this eventual threat seems to credit the king of Nkore with extraordinary foresight - and this in a region where calculated diplomacy seems to be conspicuous by its absence. It may well be that the importance of this marriage lies in the fact that it was the first one to be contracted by a ruling Mugabe outside Nkore itself, since Ntare does not seem to have had ulterior motives when he went to Mpororo.¹

The Banyankore were not given a long time in which to nurse their misgivings about the "unwisdom" of their king's marriage to foreigners, for they were soon faced with a large scale invasion of the country by the Banyoro under their king Cwa 1 - better known as Cwamali.² Since there is much confusion about the personalities involved in this war, it is essential that we examine this aspect before we discuss the course and consequences of the war itself. Oliver has cast some doubt on Nkore tradition which says that it was Ntare IV who suffered the attack of Cwamali. He suggests that it was probably Ntare III who suffered the invasion in question and

¹. According to my informants on the subjects, Ntare may have been informed privately of the beautiful women in Mpororo and then gone to see for himself. In fact the legend that all beautiful women originate from Mpororo and all beautiful cows from Rwanda is still strong in Ankole. Perhaps it dates from this period.

². His name was Cwa 1 and was given the nickname of Cwamali for reasons given in the text.
that it was then Ntare IV who fought off the ineffective attack by Olimi III which was led by his son, Mali, who succeeded to the throne as Cwa Duhaga I, which might explain why Nkore traditions remember him as Cwamali. Whereas it is possible that Nkore traditionalists have confused the names of the rulers of Bunyoro, it is highly improbable that they have confused the names of their own since each of the five Ntares in Nkore history has a different name by which he was principally remembered. It was not by the numbers that these kings were known - thus we have Nyabugaro (Ntare I), Kagwejegyera (Ntare II), Rugamba (Ntare III), Kitabanyoro, also known as Ntare ya Mirindi (Ntare IV) and Ruggingiza (Ntare V). The reigns of Ntare III and Ntare IV are separated by at least four other reigns which seems to minimise the possibility of confusing the events of the two reigns. Again we are told by Nyakatura that Olimi III made war on the Mugabe Karaiga of Nkore, defeated him and occupied the country. He then planned to make war on Ihangiro, but was advised against such a course by the augurs who informed him that to fight in that region would be courting disaster because that was the region where "Cwamali disappeared". Instead of making war, Olimi III sent his son, Mali, to conduct a raid against Ihangiro and there he remained without ever returning

1. R.Oliver, "Capital sites......" p.52.
2. See list of Bunyoro kings and Table E for Nkore rulers.
to Bunyoro to be king so that it would appear that Mali never succeeded to the throne of Bunyoro.¹

It is also apparent that Bunyoro historians have considerably mixed up the activities of their rulers in relation to Nkore, which in turn has given rise to the confusion under discussion. Petero Bikunya tells us that because Cwa 1 fought Nkore and captured a lot of cattle from there, the Banyankore nicknamed him Cwa evacwire ente Nkore-Cwamali which may be freely rendered The Cwa who emptied Nkore of cattle - the real breaker in English.² This is exactly what Nyakatura says about the same Cwa being nicknamed by the Banyankore.³ But then he goes on to confuse the names when he describes the "exploits" of Duhaga 1, who was also called Cwa but who is separated from Cwa 1 by at least six other kings. He says, "And the name Cwa was given to him [Duhaga 1] by the Banyankore. Because he fought them very often, they called him the old Cwa. Cwamali [the real breaker]." This is almost certainly a mistake, caused perhaps by the fact that Duhaga 1 was also called Cwa, because it is curious that Nkore traditions should remember nothing at all about Duhaga, when he is supposed to have fought

⁴. Ibid, p.109. His full name was Duhaga 1 Cwa while the earlier one was Cwa 1.
them so often according to Nyakatura. Moreover Nyakatura is further at fault when he tells us that Olimi III, the father of Duhaga I, fought Karaiga of Nkore and occupied the country for a spell, and then that Duhaga I also fought Karaiga, defeated him and cut off the side of the royal drum of Nkore. For one thing neither Olimi III nor his successor, Duhaga I, is remembered by the Banyankore accounts to have fought Nkore. In the second place, by all accounts, Karaiga could not have stayed on the throne of Nkore long enough to fight a foreign war, let alone two wars. According to Nkore sources, Karaiga came to the throne after murdering his elder brother, Karara, and this is the only murder for the throne in the dynasty. But then Karaiga had to fight almost the rest of his kinsmen, led by his younger brother Kahaya, until he was finally defeated and killed by the latter. Thus he could not have had the time or the means to fight a war, let alone two wars, because he had his own domestic war and the people were too divided by the civil war to fight off a foreign invasion. Finally, Nkore traditions agree that the royal drum of Nkore was captured by foreign enemies only once, and that that was the occasion when its side was cut. But they say that it was captured by Cwamali and not by Duhaga I as Nyakatura suggests. It seems unlikely that an event of such magnitude like the capture of the royal drum— which happened only once even according to the Kinyoro

1. Ibid p.106, III.
traditions - could be confused as to the personalities involved in its accomplishment. All these considerations suggest that it is the Kinyoro tradition which is at fault in this context.

In addition to these traditional accounts, Gorju places the reigns of Ntare IV and Cwamali, as contemporaries, around 1750.¹ We know from Kinyoro sources that when Cwamali left Nkore, he went to make war on "Kahindira", the king of Rawanda and the reign of Yuhi IV Gahindiro, who is most probably the one named Kahindira by Banyoro, is estimated by Kagame to have commenced about 1746.² My own estimate is that Ntare IV ruled in Nkore between 1699 and 1727 (allowing a marginal error of ± 27 years). It would therefore appear that Ntare IV was the ruler of Nkore who suffered the invasion of Cwamali-Cwa I of Bunyoro. The discrepancies in the estimated years of their reigns are due to the fact that the estimates are not made on the same bases.

The primary purpose of the invasion according to the Kinyoro sources was to replenish the supply of cattle in Bunyoro, where an epidemic is said to have taken a heavy toll of the stock shortly after the accession of Cwamali. At the head of his levies, Cwamali invaded Nkore and defeated Ntare's hastily

1. Gorju, op.cit. p.82.
2. A.Kagame, La Notion de Generation... p.87.
gathered army and the latter fled, wounded, to Kantayore island in the river Kagyera. The victor made his capital in Nkore, and sent some of the captured cattle back to Bunyoro. On being further informed that there were even more cattle in Rwanda, Cwamali set off, attacked the king of Rwanda and defeated him and sent some of the captured cattle back to Bunyoro. He then embarked on yet another expedition "to fight other countries in the west, beyond lake Kivu; and that is where he died."1 After the departure of Cwamali to Rwanda and beyond, some of his troops continued to return to their camps in Nkore, and Ntare's spies discovered that the king of Bunyoro was not returning with them. Armed with this information, Ntare's troops attacked the Banyoro in their camps and there was bitter fighting. "But because the army Banyoro and its leader were fighting without a king, they had no base and they retreated. This battle killed very many Banyoro and even the king's Cwamali's home in Nkore was captured."2 This is why the king of Nkore was subsequently given the name of Kitabanyoro the slayer of the Banyoro. The Nkore version of this war is in broad agreement with the Kinyoro one except, as we have seen, that Nkore traditionalists insist that this was the second and last attack Bunyoro ever made against

Nkore. Furthermore Nkore traditionalists count three battles, of which Nkore lost the first two and won the third and last one. After the last major battle of the war, the Banyoro returned to their country, regrouped and returned, but were again beaten off by the same warriors led by Rugambwa, Ntare's younger brother, and Ntsinga, the greatest hero of Nkore traditions to whom we shall refer again.

The occupation of Nkore by the Banyoro seems to have been of considerable duration - Nyakatura says it lasted three years - because the Banyoro found it necessary to construct deep water wells to ensure water supplies for themselves. These wells can still be seen in Ankole today and are all known by the same name wherever they occur - they are individually called Kyabanyoro (lit. wells made by the Banyoro) and this writer has seen several of them. It would appear that the Banyoro made extensive use of local labour, since the construction of these huge wells must have required a lot of manpower. From Nkore sources we also know that the invasion was an overwhelming success, because the Mugabe's personal herds as well as his wives were captured by the invaders. More than this, the royal drum was captured and nothing could have demonstrated Nkore's complete defeat as this single act did, because so long as the king and the drum were not

1. Katate and Kamugungunu, op.cit. p.65-71. This story was confirmed by all my informants on this subject and I got no contradictory version from it.
in the enemy's hands, the country could be said to be fighting on, but without the drum the defeat was a fact for everyone to see. It seems that by undertaking further campaigns in Rwanda, Cwamali had overstretched his resources and this led to the eventual defeat of his troops. On the whole one gets the impression that the main part of the Banyoro army was taken to Rwanda and was defeated in the campaign there, and that it was the survivors of the Rwanda campaign who were set upon and destroyed by Ntare's army while they were on their way back to Bunyoro. Naturally Nkore would claim this as an overwhelming victory against the whole of the Bunyoro army, just as the Banyoro historians are vague about where Cwamali was eventually defeated, which seems to be in Rwanda and not beyond. At any rate it is admitted even by Nkore sources that the Banyoro army was defeated in Nkore in the absence of its king, which robs the victory of any great claim to magnitude. It is to be appreciated that these fighting bands, with no formal commanders other than the king, and with no other code of discipline than personal bravery, could hardly be expected to preserve any kind of cohesion once their king had fallen in battle or disappeared. The death of the king in these circumstances deprived his men of a goal to fight for, and of a rallying point around which to fight and, consequently, robbed them of the will to fight at all.
The significance of this, and to some extent the previous invasion of Nkore by Bunyoro, does not lie in what they achieved on the battle field, but in the great impact they had on the internal organisation of Nkore as a state, which impact seems to have been in an inverse ratio to the scale of military operations in the country. We have already noted in passing that Nyabugaro (Ntare I) had begun the process of attracting clans into his personal service by giving a few of them some specialised functions pertaining to his own establishment and that this followed the first invasion of Nkore by the Bunyoro. The first act of Ntare IV, after dispersing the remnants of the invaders, was to attach many more clans to his personal service by giving them such duties. It is to be emphasised at the outset that these duties were in no sense ritual or religious - they were ordinary secular duties which members of specific clans performed for the incumbent Mugabe and no more.

We are told that during one of the battles against the Bunyoro of Cwamali, Ntare IV was forced to leave his hiding place in a hurry and that he left his shoes behind. Perceiving that the Mugabe was being tortured by thorns, one man of the Abaigara clan went back, fought his way through the enemy ranks and retrieved the Mugabe's shoes. After the war, the clan was given

1. Shoes were rather like sandals and were made from dry, hard skins. They had a loop for the big toe and were secured to the feet by means of four leather straps.
the function of making shoes for the Bagabe and this they re-
tained until 1967.\(^1\) It was also during this reign that the
Abaruru clan became the official keepers of the royal drum,
Bagyendanwa. One Kahurira, the son of Nyambare, came from
Mpororo and painted on the drum a white patch in imitation of
that painted on Murorwa, the royal drum of Mpororo; Bagyendanwa
having previously been very black. From Kahurira, the keepers
of the drum were drawn from his descendants until 1967. Several
other minor functions were also distributed after the war with
Bunyoro, and this process was completed by the son of Ntare IV,
Macwa, who added the beaded veil, Rutare, to the regalia of
Nkore kingship.\(^2\) It is also from the reign of Ntare IV that
we find the single example of a Mugabe rewarding a whole clan
for a particular service and passing on that obligation to his
successors. It is said during the time Ntare was hiding from
the Banyoro, a few members of the Bashwasya clan gave him a
bull-calf, which the augurors used to try the omens and find
out whether the time was ripe to fight the Banyoro once again,
and, on getting favourable signs, Ntare did so and won.

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\(^{1}\) By this date the function had become symbolic and only per-
formed at the accession ceremony of Kahaya (1897) and Gas-
yonga II (1945) since the two Bagabe had already taken to
wearing European type of shoes.

\(^{2}\) Supra Ch.II.
In return for this service, so the story goes, the clan was promised a heifer from the bridewealth of every Muhinda girl who got married and this promise was honoured by the dynasty right up to the effective establishment of the British administration, when Kahaya II (1897-1944) refused to honour the promise and his stand was upheld by the colonial officials, on the amazing grounds that the clan could not prove that they had a binding agreement with the dynasty!

The traditions explaining the historical backgrounds to these functions may or may not be accurate, but the main point is that the performance of these functions since the reigns of Ntare I and Ntare IV are authenticated. Their importance lies in the consideration that a constant and personal connection between the dynasty and the clans was established through this form of patronage - for the performance of those functions carried certain privileges. This enhanced the loyalty of the clans to the throne while, at the same time, it stimulated inter-clan and intraclan competition for sectional or personal advancement respectively. It is reasonable to conclude that these measures, coming in the wake of foreign invasion as they did, served to intensify the tribe's loyalty to a common objective - the king who was the chief dispenser of all forms of patronage. It is probably a proof of the success of these measures that, before the end of the reign of Ntare IV, the dynasty had achieved so much confidence in itself that it could devote its
efforts to less material or political pursuits. This is reflected in the institution of a form of "court life" as distinct from any other way of life in the country. Heroic recitations and other forms of song and poetry flourished as they had never done before, and the importance of this reign in this field is attested by the fact that a few songs from this reign are still remembered, which is more than we can say for subsequent reigns up to the mid 19th century. It is only from the reign of Ntare IV that one can speak of "court life" meaningfully in the context of Nkore - he had made kingship into an institution.

The second major internal development following upon the invasion was Ntare's introduction of the idea of an organised army formally trained in the art of fighting, in particular trained in archery. It is difficult to tell where Ntare or his advisers copied the idea of archery. It does not seem that they could have got the idea from Bunyoro since the Banyoro did not seem to have become renowned in this art before or after the reign of Ntare IV. It also appears unlikely that this could have been copied from Rwanda because the contacts between the two countries were as yet minimal, if at all extant, in this period. It is possible that Ntare's espionage system might have found out that this was the main fighting method of Buhweju because the traditions of both countries tell us that the warriors of Buhweju were accomplished archers even before the reign of
Ntare IV. What we know for certain is that from this reign, archery became a prominent feature of Nkore's fighting methods. Additionally, the idea of having more than one band of organised warriors\(^1\), which was initiated by Ntare IV, seems not to have been an immediate success, since we are told that Ntare's new young army was almost entirely wiped out by Buhweju's seasoned warriors, and that then Ntare had to call on the elderly warriors to avoid complete defeat as we shall see presently.\(^2\)

But the importance of this innovation cannot be judged on whether it was immediately successful or not. It must be judged on the possibilities it opened up for the viability of Nkore's defensive and offensive capacity and, in this context, the innovation was a great breakthrough. Although the system did not meet with immediate success, it was not abandoned altogether. The grouping of warriors into distinct units speeded up the process of calling the levies to arms.\(^3\) It is, I think, significant that, before the notion of formal training of warriors and their grouping into units, Nkore's resistance to Bunyoro's invasions seems to have been shortlived, though perhaps this could also be explained by saying that since Bunyoro was much larger than

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1. Before this reign traditionalists agree that all adult males were just called on to fight when there was a war, but that they were not grouped into Emitwe until Ntare IV started the idea.


3. The process of Emitwe formation is discussed in chapter V.
Nkore, it was the numerical strength that was decisive in these encounters. But this could only be a partial explanation, since we know, for instance, that Buhweju, which was much smaller than Bunyoro, was able to win her independence from the latter by force largely because Buhweju was militarily better organised than Bunyoro. It is also important to note that the Ban­yoro did not make any more attempts to occupy Nkore. From this period Nkore had some effective, if rudimentary, means of countering such forays into the country. The trend of mili­tary organisation, set in motion by Ntare IV, was developed by the Omugabe Rwebishengye (late 18th century) and completed by the Mugabe Mutambuka who made the greatest possible use of it in the mid 19th century.

These innovations were soon put to test in the war with Buhweju, which seems to have been provoked by Nkore. The immediate cause of the war, as usual, was cattle. Ntare IV asked the ruler of Buhweju for two particular milch cows, which apparently were very beautiful animals. The Omukama of Buhweju refused to fulfil the request, and thereupon the tempestuous Ntare summoned his warriors and ordered them to make prepara­tions for attacking Buhweju in order to get the cows by force and, possibly, to teach the king of Buhweju a lesson. But his leading warriors, who were very much unimpressed by the new innovations of their master, advised against the war on the
grounds that Nkore was not stronger than Buhweju and that since they were not sure of victory, there was no point in "suffering the spears", causing bloodshed. The warriors then dispersed to their various homes. Undeterred by his leading warriors' lack of enterprise - and apparently also resentful of their attitude - Ntare recruited hundreds of young men. He kept these in his own palace and had them trained in the art of fighting - especially in the use of the bow and the arrow.

When he judged that his new army was sufficiently trained, Ntare dispatched two famous (or notorious) thieves, Rucu, the son of Bugoro and Runkunku to Buhweju. These two were both ingenious thieves and, individually, very brave men. The two managed to slip into the kraal of Kabundami, the ruler of Buhweju, unnoticed and they contrived to steal one of the cows that their master coveted. To avoid immediate detection, they painted the cow in different colours from its natural colour during the night and thus they were able to drive the cow

1. It is to be borne in mind that Buhweju had managed to win her independence, by force, from Bunyoro and that only a short time before this war Nkore had been badly defeated by the same Bunyoro - a fact that Ntare's warriors seem to have been aware of if their master was not.

2. Their names have since passed into the Runyankore language in the common expressions like "He is as an ingenious a thief as Rucu rwa Bugoro and Runkunku", applied to all types of thieves.
into Nkore without being intercepted. On discovering the loss the next morning, the warriors of Kabundami attacked Nkore immediately. The memories of this war have been immortalised in the poems and songs about it which still abound in Nkore and Buhweju. The actual fighting, according to the traditions of both countries, was dominated by two heroes, one on each side - Muguta for Buhweju and Ntsinga for Nkore. It also appears that, militarily, the issue of the conflict was uncertain, because, although the king of Buhweju recovered his cow, which was the immediate cause of the war, Nkore seems to have gained a considerable tract of territory north of the Rwizi, especially in the present counties of Kashari and Ibanda.

The real importance of this particular war was psychological and not military, despite the fact that Nkore gained territory as a result of it. This was the first time that Nkore was the aggressor, and no longer the weakling on the defensive for her very survival. Not only did she provoke the war, but she actually did not lose the fighting, and these considerations must have been a source of tremendous pride to the dynasty and to the people as a whole, whose two centuries of existence had known nothing but invasion and defeat. Henceforth Nkore was able to ward off raids, especially Buganda raids, and to mount raids of her own against her neighbours with relative ease.

The lesser result of the war was that Nkore gained some territory. On the whole it appears that Nkore reached her northernmost expansion - the Katonga river - after the war with Buhweju, and she was never to expand beyond that point. Both Nkore and Buhweju sources agree that, after the war, Ntsinga - Nkore's hero in the war - settled at Rwantsinga (so named after him) to watch over the new boundary with Buhweju. But it is not quite so certain that all this territory was taken by Nkore solely as a result of the war she obviously did not win. It is more likely that, because the fighting took place north of the Rwizi, Ntare's men decided to settle in most of that area, which might well have been empty or very sparsely populated at the time. The whole area from the river Rwizi, working northwards, to the river Katonga seems to have always been a pastoral area, and hence all the more reason to suspect that the area was uninhabited during Ntare's reign. Viewed in this light, the territorial expansion becomes an incidental outcome of the war. All we can say with certainty is that by the end of the reign, Nkore had acquired some vague territorial boundaries, with an area greater in extent than before the reign, but not the more clearly defined for the new expansion. It is worth emphasising that the boundaries in this region were never precise until the coming of the British. If we take Nkore's eastern boundary with Buganda as an example, we find that most of that area, including
the present Buganda county of Kabula, has usually been sparsely settled and, often, empty as it is the case today. Any person could temporarily settle in the area and graze his stock there and, because he paid tribute and owed allegiance to the Mugabe of Nkore or to the Kabaka of Buganda, the area was regarded, for the time being, as Nkore or Buganda as the case may be. The reason why Nkore traditionalists still claim that most of Kabula was theirs is that it was mostly the Banyankore pastoralists who lived in the area during the rainy seasons, when the water was plentiful and the pasture fresh.

Nkore traditions today tend to be confusing when describing the extent of traditional Nkore, because usually present names are used to describe past territorial units, whereas the extent of past and present units are not the same. For example, it is common to say that the original Nkore was the present county of Isingiro, when we actually mean the Masha plain, another small area to the south (parts of Ngarama and Bukanga), and another small area to the north of the Rwizi (part of Nshaara). This is very different from the modern county of Isingiro, which also includes the subcounty of Kikagate which, at least until the coming of the British, was largely Mpororo territory.¹ Again in the particular instance of Buhweju, we

¹. Nkore and Mpororo informants agreed that this was the boundary between the two countries.
cannot be certain that the whole area from the Rwizi to the Katonga had been Buhweju territory at the time of the war with Nkore. It is more likely that the area belonged to no one in particular, and that the Banyankore just settled in it because it was empty. Thus, what was Nkore at this time was the core of the country, including the ruler's capital and the immediate areas which were either permanently or usually settled by the Banyankore. The same was true of neighbouring states also. Countries were separated from one another not by boundaries, but by wide areas of no-man's-land.

In a very real sense the death of Ntare IV marked the definite end of an era of Nkore history and the beginning of a new one. His initiatives in the fields we have examined gave Nkore a definite sense of separateness as a nation, and gave her more territory than she had had before. His institutional organisation completed what Nkuba had begun - the achievement of recognition of the Bahinda clan as the dynasty of Nkore. Nkuba had succeeded, by arms and political shrewdness, in seating himself and his successors on a very uneasy throne, but by the time of Ntare IV's death, the dynasty was firmly secure on that throne. Ntare's reign was a completion of the ten preceding ones, because he alone could not have achieved so much in the space of the single reign. He built on the foundations laid by his predecessors, and if his reign seems to be remarkably
different from those of his predecessors, it is not because it started a new era; it is because Ntare himself was a much more impetuous and imaginative personality than those who had ruled before him, and than many of those that were to rule after him. It was this dynastic security, attained after some two centuries of patient work, that was to invite trouble during the next five or so generations, when the princes vied with each other for the control of the kingdom, and it is this apparent paradox that forms the subject of our next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS (c.1730-c.1840).

Two important themes distinguish this period from the preceding and the subsequent periods. The first is the frequency of succession wars. Whereas there had been only one succession war over the previous ten accessions, there were seven violent accessions out of the ten covered in this chapter. We have already noted, in conclusion to the last chapter, that Ntare IV had left the Bahinda dynasty of Nkore in a very strong position and it was this very dynastic strength that seems to have been the cause of the frequency of the succession wars. This is not the paradox that it appears to be, because so long as the authority of the Bahinda was open to challenge, the Bahinda themselves could only find collective security by avoiding costly squabbles among themselves. Once, however, there was no need for this collective security, the individual members of the royal clan were free to pursue their personal ambitions and interests. Secondly, in contrast with the earlier reigns, those which fall in this period saw increasing contacts with the neighbouring states like Rwanda and Mpororo while, unlike the subsequent reigns, no substantial expansion or contraction of territory was effected as a result of these contacts. These factors make this period a distinctive one in Nkore history.

The causes and results of succession conflicts are best discussed against the background of what constituted "legitimate" succession in Nkore. A careful examination of
written sources tends to show that the question of "legitimacy" in the interlacustrine region has been simplified into uniformity by a diffusionist approach to its analysis. A clue to this approach is to be found in what Frazer termed "Divine Kingship" and which he defined as a system in which the king has power over nature, which power he might exert voluntarily or involuntarily. He is considered to be the centre of the universe so that the well-being of the universe depends upon his actions and course of his life both of which have, therefore, to be carefully regulated. Seligman accepts this definition for, among other kings, the Bagabe of Nkore, and adds, "The customs applying to the Mugabe...present a close and interesting parallel to those applying to the Shilluk king, particularly do they agree with the belief of the Shilluk that at one time anyone of the royal house... might kill the king and succeed to his throne." Ford and Hall agree with this general reasoning in respect of Karagwe and Nkore, and they conclude, "Just as the custom of suicide ensured that the throne should not be held by a king lacking the full possession of his powers, so the civil wars which broke out at his death ensured that he should be succeeded by the strongest among his sons." At this stage it is necessary

to separate two issues that are not automatically related and which, in the case of Nkore, appear not to have been related at all. These are the supernatural powers that a king might be believed to possess, and the criteria upon which a successor was chosen. In so far as the Mugabe, for example, was regarded as a symbol of the well-being of his subjects, and in so far as he was believed capable of "performing miracles", he could be termed a "divine king". But this statement is subject to crippling qualifications. In the first place, a case has already been made out that, in a religious sense, the royal drum of Nkore was the essential embodiment of the society's welfare and not the person of the Mugabe as such. The Mugabe was merely the embodiment of the political life of the country. Secondly, we have observed that the Omugabe himself took no active part in ritual ceremonies, and that for some of these ceremonies his physical absence was traditionally decreed. The general conclusion here seems to be that the only reason why the Mugabe was credited with supernatural powers, denied to his subjects, was the belief, unfounded or otherwise, that he was descended from the "wonderful" Bacwezi.

So far as Nkore is concerned, the question of "royal suicide" appears to be a myth, despite the fact that it has been accepted by several authorities. The present writer was unable to get a single example, in oral traditions, of a Mugabe who ended his life by that means. Traditional accounts abound with examples to the contrary. For example, of the twenty-three Bagabe whose reigns are covered by this study, at least twelve are said to have died of old age or common ailments, and this includes Nkuba, who died a blind and senile man; Ntare II, who was ill throughout his reign; and Kahaya I, who lived so long that he saw his great grandchildren mature into manhood. The single reference to royal suicide by Katate and Kamugungunu, in connection with the Mugabe Rwebishengye (c.1640-c.1670), was not confirmed by any of my informants, who included Kamugungunu himself. Thus if one accepts the existence of royal suicide in Nkore, one would also be bound to say that the rule allowed liberal exceptions, and this would divest the whole concept of whatever divine aspects which may have been enshrined in the "rule", since the practice is then reduced to nothing more than an alternative available to the individual rulers beset by different problems.

1. Infra p.334-5.

2. Katate and Kamugungunu, op.cit., p.52; 94. This was confirmed by many informants.

3. Ibid., p.61.
In Karagwe, too, we are told that Ruhinda VI and his grandson Rumanyika committed suicide - Ruhinda because he felt it was time he made room for his son to succeed him, and Rumanyika because of an affliction of the eyes and of grief for his son's death. "We may be reasonably sure that both suicides were committed to prevent the failing powers of the king from being reflected in disasters to the country."¹ In the case of Rumanyika at least it is possible to argue that his suicide could be attributed to mundane causes, as the traditions of Karagwe say, rather than to the mystical disasters that would befall the country if he died from natural causes. We have no evidence to suggest that these kings were preoccupied with the welfare of their kingdoms after their own death. The suicide of Ruhinda, however, seems to offer the real reason for the few cases of royal suicide in this region. When a king grew very old and had grown-up sons who were impatient to succeed him, there was a real danger that the sons could dispose of him. Rather than face this indignity in old age, the ruler might well have opted to forestall the move by taking his own life. One more example is afforded by the traditions of Mpororo, according to which the last king there committed suicide because his numerous sons disobeyed him.² It is also to be appreciated

¹ Ford and Hall, op.cit., p.9.
² Rwankyengyere, Bwafamba and Kananura, among others, in separate interviews between January and April 1968.
that an old ruler in this region had no real alternative to taking his own life when faced with such a challenger. He had no military force to count on, since there were no standing armies which could be called upon to back the civil authority of a legitimate ruler in such a crisis. Even on these grounds, royal suicide does not seem to have been a common political instrument in this region. If we take the example of Buganda, particularly in the 18th century, we find that the insecurity of tenure of the throne drove the kings to extreme cruelty. But this took the form of putting to death all possible rivals whether or not these had any ambitions for the throne. Thus, for instance, from the reign of Kagulu to that of Semakokiro, eight kings were either assassinated or died in battle and the single exception to those violent deaths was Namugala, who abdicated in order to forestall a contest with his brother Kyabagu.¹ One can therefore reasonably conclude that suicides, where they occurred in this region, were individual responses to specific problems by those kings who committed suicide and were not an expression of obedience to mystical rules, which appear not to have existed. Secondly, whatever mystical aspects might have been associated with the king's person or office, they did not have much influence on a king's decision to take his life and had even much less in determining a successor to the throne.

¹ M.S.M. Kiwanuka, op.cit.
The question of "legitimacy" is even more involved, because it is affected by the sociological and the political conventions of the society, for which past writers do not seem to have made adequate allowances. Thus Oberg tells us that two considerations governed the choice of a Mugabe: he had to be in the royal line, which criterion was ensured by patrilineal succession, and he had to be the strongest of the late king's sons, a criterion that was ensured by a succession war.\(^1\) To accept this as the role of succession wars is the equivalent of elevating them to the status of a permanent institution, which they were not. It is also to presuppose a condition that did not apply to the dynasty of Nkore - the condition that a succession war followed the death of every king. Stenning recognises this point, although he, too, qualifies it by saying, "It is fair to say in a general way that the succession war was an institution of the dynasty of the Bahina and of course it is always associated with an upstart king."\(^2\) In Nkore 14 out of the 23 Bagabe covered by this study came to the throne without resort to violence and the causes and course of the remaining nine contests are too varied to be subjected to a single generalisation. Moreover the throne did not always go to the strongest of the late king's sons. Thus we find that Karara and Karaiga\(^3\) and Kayungu

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3. See Table A.
(c.1811-c.1839) gained the throne over the heads of their stronger rivals, while Macwa (c.1727-c.1755) had stronger brothers and yet gained the throne without fighting for it.

So far the explanations given to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate succession have only served to emphasise the unreality of this distinction. For example, Stenning suggests that once a Mugabe had been installed, and had organised his "warbands" and the internal administrative structure suited to them, he became legitimate.¹ There are two objections, at least, to this observation. In the first place, it would be difficult to establish, from traditional accounts, that Nkore had any administrative and military organisation of the precision implied by Stenning, at least until the reign of Mutambuka.² Secondly, of the nine "pretenders" listed by the same author, at least eight were installed, established capitals of their own and, since they then fought to retain their throne, they must have established some form of military organisation, however rudimentary this might have been. The logical conclusion seems to be that they were not pretenders. Nor can we look for clues from Katate and Kamugungunu on this issue, since the rules they set out are contradicted by their own evidence. For example, they

2. See Ch.V.
tell us that in order for a ruler to be considered legitimate, he had to die on the throne and from natural causes and he had also to be buried in the royal burial ground at Ishanje. And yet one of their listed "pretenders" was buried in Ishanje, while three "legitimate" Bagabe were not.\(^1\) A much more serious objection to these explanations is that in terms of succession, legitimacy can only be meaningful as a part of a continuous political system if it is acquired by the prince concerned at the outset of his reign or never at all. For Gorju, "A patriarchal benediction is very highly esteemed by the Bahima and the benediction of a dying father is literally sacred, so much so in this case of Ntare V who fought for the throne around 1875\(^1\) as to prevail against the innate pastoral exclusivism."\(^2\) His argument is that Ntare V should have been excluded from the throne on the grounds that his mother was a foreigner, which she was, but that he was nevertheless accepted because he had been willed the throne by his father. In fact Ntare came to the throne after fighting the longest and bitterest succession war remembered in Nkore traditions and, contrary to what all the written sources suggest, Ntare was not a son but a grandson of Mutambuka to whose throne he succeeded.\(^3\) Thus the "benediction", if it was given at all, was of no consequence in this case.

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2. J. Gorju, op.cit., p.35.
3. See Ch.V.
A comparison with the neighbouring states whose political systems resembled that of Nkore tends to show that there were variations in what constituted "legitimate" successions. In Karagwe it is said by Cézard that the king chose his favourite son to succeed him⁴, and by Speke that the system of primogeniture applied, but only to those born after the accession of the father.² The two statements are of course contradictory, since it does not follow that the first born was necessarily the favourite. The point is that neither criterion appears to have been the basis of determining successions in Nkore, since we have examples not only of sons who succeeded their fathers though they were born before their fathers' accession, but also of princes coming to the throne before their elder brothers.³ In Buganda, we are told, it was normal for succession to pass through two or three brothers before passing on to the next generation⁴ and this stands in contrast to Nkore, where it was more common for sons to succeed their fathers.⁵ Nyakatura gives criteria for determining which kings of Bunyoro were legitimate, such as whether they died a natural death, whether they buried the bodies of their predecessors, and, the most dubious of all, whether they occupied the throne for at least

3. For example Rwebishengye and Mutambuka and then Kitera and Kayungu respectively.
5. See Table A.
least nine years. Apart from the objections raised above, which apply in this case also, none of the three criteria can be said to be consistent with what Nyakatura writes of the individual successions in Bunyoro. Low makes the valid observation that the chief cause of succession wars in the interlacustrine region was the shared disability that most male relatives of the ruler and almost all his sons were equally legitimate successors to his throne.

In Nkore all the sons of the ruling Mugabe, whether born before or after their father's accession, were equally legitimate claimants to his throne when he died. But they had to be grown up sons, so that they could rule on their own since the idea of regency was unknown in Nkore. Furthermore, the brothers of the deceased Mugabe were not legitimate contenders for his throne unless the Mugabe had failed to leave a son old enough to succeed him. If a Mugabe died without leaving a son or a brother to succeed him, then, and only then, could his uncle be in line for succession. This practice was as true for the succession to the throne as it was for the inheritance of property among the common people. It would appear that what gave rise to the classification of certain Bagabe of Nkore as "pretenders" or "upstarts" was the inadequate translation of


the term Ekyebumbe into English, rather than any misconception of the institutional system of succession. The term is derived from the verb okubumba, to build up in the same way as ants build up anthills. It is used thus because when a king died, the sons intending to contend for the throne marshalled the different clan elements around them for support, i.e. they built support around themselves. Because it was the princes who solicited for the support, they were called Ebyebumbe, the plural form of ekyebumbe which literally means Those who have built support around themselves. Again, not all these princes could be called "unsuccessful claimants" because some of them actually came to the throne, ruled for some period and were then deposed by their rivals. Thus in this context, the term can neither be adequately rendered "pretender" nor be given a single expression in English. During the time the fighting was in progress, each candidate was regarded as legitimate even by those fighting on the opposite side, and it was only after the victor had emerged that the term ekyebumbe was used to describe the loser. It is precisely at this point, in the progress of the succession disputes, that we come to a myth which was accepted, or rather believed, by the whole tribe as a constitutional norm governing successions. This was the belief that a prince born to come to the throne was born with a miniature "drum and bow", collectively called the things of the kingdom, i.e. the signs of kingship, right from
his mother's womb. Naturally, my informants insisted, this was a strictly guarded secret, known to the father, mother and to the nurses present during delivery, to prevent possible harm to the prince by any ill-wishers. There were little likelihood of the nurses leaking the information since the royal wives, like all the other women, were normally delivered by their own blood relatives. It is conceivable that if the reigning Mugabe communicated this "knowledge" to the public, there would have been little, or no grounds at all for fighting for the throne since the people themselves believed in the "authenticity" of these signs of kingship. But this would have been tantamount to making a will while in health - a practice that was abhorrent to all the Banyankore in the past and to a great many of them even today. By custom a person, be it king or commoner, did not will his property while he lived as this was, and to some extent is, regarded as inviting death or some other type of misfortune. It was for this reason that the tribe had fixed conventions governing the distribution of property after the death of the head of the household and these conventions are still recognised by the western-type of law courts.

1. However the man was free to disinherit or disown his child or wife while he lived and this was normally done by sending them away from his household, but he could not distribute his property to his likely successors.
This then means that up to the time when the deceased Mugabe was buried, his former subjects were not sure who their next ruler would be. It was only after the succession war, in the case of contested successions, had decided this issue, that we see myth and political reality blended into a constitutional practice. It was believed that a prince born with the right signs could not possibly lose a succession war. "How could a prince born with the right signs of the kingdom lose the war for the drum?" informant after informant asked me in amazement. If there was a peaceful succession, then obviously God, Rugaba, had saved the people from "useless spears" to determine the issue, but the prince with the right signs had succeeded to the throne all the same. In other words, wars of succession were meant to prove a point which was already decided and proven, but which had been kept secret from the public. What this belief did for Nkore was not to give the basis for legitimacy, but rather to place the nomination of a successor to the throne outside the control of any one individual or group. Against this background it is reasonable to conclude that there were no "pretenders" in the history of the dynasty of Nkore because those who lost their thrones to their rivals were as legitimate as those who supplanted them.

The political reality to be considered in this context is the fact that the outcome of any given succession war was determined by the number of men who could be put on the field
against an opponent, more particularly by the size of the maternal clans. Various factors influenced the clan groupings around the princes fighting for the throne. A person might fight for a particular prince, even if the majority of his clansmen were fighting on the opposite side, because the prince was his personal friend; or some men joined a particular side to fight alongside their friends who were already committed to fighting on that side. Maternal clans aside, the part that could be played by the uncommitted clans, fighting as clan groups, was subject to severe limitations. Firstly, the probability of severe reprisals against such a clan by the successful candidate for the throne weighed heavily against hasty commitment for or against royal candidates. Secondly, members of such clans, and indeed of all clans, were usually so scattered all over the country that they could hardly plan to act in concert when the war broke out. But the maternal clans, owing to their exalted position at court while their daughter was a wife of the ruling Mugabe, were in position to keep links between the court and the countryside very much alive, so that their kinsmen were usually aware of the events at court. This then meant that a prince who embarked on a war with the biggest maternal clan behind him was at least sure to win the first round of the contest and the number of spears the prince could call upon were the ultimate arbiter of the contest rather than the possession of the "right signs".
When we turn to the royal family itself, we find that the princes who had the same maternal clans, and this includes all the uterine brothers, did not fight against each other, but that they fought on the same side. Within the circle of princes who had the same maternal clan, the eldest of the group was supported by the rest. Thus the principle of primogeniture could be said to have been recognised on the maternal side.

The succession struggle in Nkore, as in most African states, was quite simply a consequence of polygamy. Each maternal clan backed its own "eldest" prince. But then polygamy was further complicated by the social conventions of Nkore society. A man started having children when he was barely out of adolescence and went on having them until his hair turned grey and even beyond. He himself might have ceased being virile, but his younger blood relatives slept with his wives and the children born of such intimacies were, for all practical purposes, considered as his own. Their right to inherit his throne or his property was equal to those of his other physical sons. Their legitimacy was beyond question because the practice itself was legitimate for the rulers as well as for the ruled. The practical result of this convention was that the age range between the brothers varied enormously. This then was the basic mechanism by which succession was worked out in traditional Nkore.
We have already noted in passing that the death of Ntare IV was not followed by a succession war and this appears to have been due to two factors. By all accounts Macwa, who succeeded Ntare IV, was greatly loved by all his younger brothers on account of his gentle nature. Secondly, and more decisively, all the sons of Ntare IV, including Macwa, had the same maternal clan, the Bashambo, because both wives of Ntare were uterine sisters. This, we have seen, tended to make brothers or half-brothers stand together rather than fight each other. Thus this peaceful accession was not due, as Stenning suggests, to the fact that "Of the four sons of Ntare IV, only Macwa survived the Buhweju wars."¹ All his sons, Macwa, Bujuga, Murari and Nyakakoko survived Ntare IV, and Bujuga did conduct a raid against Bwera on behalf of his brother, the Omugabe Macwa. Nor indeed can we attribute this peaceful succession to the rather bizarre episode recorded by Katate and Kamugungunu. These authors tell us that a friend of Macwa since childhood, named Jejere, came to the palace soon after the death of Ntare IV and that a great number of people had gathered there. He went into the house and asked Macwa which of the late King's sons had been willed the throne and threatened to commit suicide if he was not given an immediate answer. Macwa assured him that he, Macwa, had been willed the throne. Thereupon Jejere went before the multi-

¹. Stenning, op.cit., p.8.

². See for example, Katate and Kamugungunu, op.cit., p.83. The raid is remembered by many people from the traditions of this period.
tude outside and declared Macwa to be the rightful king and "everyone agreed. Jejere then rose and sat him on the royal stool." For one thing Jejere was a Mukimbiri by clan and therefore he could not possibly have sat Macwa on the royal stool, since this was always done by the Bayangwe. Secondly it is improbable that Ntare IV had made his will known for reasons already indicated, and it is even less likely that this could have affected the intentions of any princes who might have wanted to fight for the throne.

All traditional accounts are agreed that Macwa, of all the remembered Bagabe of Ankole, had the greatest number of children - those mostly remembered were sixteen of whom three were girls.\(^1\) Despite this, no war followed his death. His son Rwabirere succeeded him peacefully. Then misfortune struck, because Rwabirere died from a fall shortly after coming to the throne apparently because, it is said, he was very fat. His younger brother Karara succeeded him and, all traditionalists say, ruled for "six Kinyankore years". He was then murdered by another brother Karaiga. Since Kinyankore reckoning is by dry and wet seasons, six Kinyankore years would be about three calendar years. It might be noted in passing that Karaiga is the only example in the dynasty of a prince who sought to gain the throne by underhand methods, and that he also seems to have been

\(^1\) Ibid., p.83-84.
born with more than a moderate measure of gratuitous malice, because, soon after the murder of Karara, who seems to have loved him, he unsuccessfully poisoned Kahaya, his other younger brother who had not shown himself in any way to be unfriendly. The greatest single factor which made the succession war between Karaiga and Kahaya inevitable was, not so much that there were still several of Macwa's sons living, but that neither Rwabirere nor Karara had left a son old enough to succeed to the throne. Had either of them done so, the rest of Macwa's sons would have been automatically disqualified, and his grandsons either by Rwabirere or by Karara would have been in line for succession. It is thus difficult to "...view the succession wars down to Mutambuka as the working out of Macwa's virility..."¹ for if this were the case, one would not find a reasonable explanation for two peaceful successions out of three involving the very sons of Macwa.

It is after the defeat of Karaiga by Kahaya that considerable confusion creeps into the course of subsequent disputes. Kahaya's son, Rwebishengye, had done most of the fighting for his father, and had succeeded in driving Karaiga out of the kingdom to Busoga, where he is presumed to have died. It is at this point that Katate and Kamugungunu, and after them Stenning, make two mistakes that are hard to explain.

Firstly, Katate and Kamugungunu imply¹ and Stenning actually states², that Rwebishengye challenged his father for the throne on the grounds that he had defeated Karaiga. Secondly, the three authorities describe the subsequent succession war between Rwebishengye and Nyakashaija as if it was a continuation of the war between Karaiga and Kahaya. To take the second point first, one only needs to point out that Kahaya and Karaiga were sons of Macwa, whereas the other two were Macwa's grandsons so that they were separated by at least one generation (see Table F). Rwebishengye, according to my information, did not and could not challenge his father for the throne. What he did was to refuse to bring the royal drum to his father immediately after securing it from Karaiga, but he did not attempt to strike it and thus to declare himself the king as he could have done.³ One may note here that one of the chief differences between the Buganda and Nkore dynasties was that, while in Buganda the sons could and did challenge their fathers for the throne, in Nkore this could not and did not happen. In the latter case it is reasonable to attribute this factor to two causes. In the first instance a son, be it of a king or of a commoner, could succeed to his father's property only after the death of the latter. By this convention,

3. This is the story that was told by all my informants on the subject.
too, such death could not be at the hands of the son, whose obedience to the father had to be absolutely impeccable if he was to inherit the property at all. Secondly a prince challenging his father could hardly raise an army, for nobody would conceivably support a son against his own father. Any slight disobedience to one's father - in Runyankore expressed as "beating one's father" - was, and is, held in such universal odium that no one could hope to advance his political ambitions through it. What these authors missed was the obvious point that Rwebishengye, despite his personal prowess on the battlefield, was an erratic character and that he remained erratic even after securing the throne. For this assessment of his character Katate and Kamugungunu supply ample evidence. For example, it is hard to understand why, after he had succeeded in driving his younger brother Nyakashaija into exile, he did not take the throne. He merely went back to Buganda to herd his cattle.¹ This is but one of his several incomprehensible actions.

Kahaya I came to the throne when he was a very old man and held it, by all traditional accounts, for a very long time. He lived to see his great grandchildren mature into manhood. When he died, he left several sons, of whom Rwebishengye was the eldest, but they were not of the same mother. What is

more, Rwebishengye, who was already a famous warrior, seems not to have been in Nkore when his father died. He seems to have been absent herding his cattle in Buganda. There are good grounds for assuming that, had Rwebishengye been in Nkore, and that had he been less irresponsible at the time of his father's death, he would have taken his father's throne without war.

Firstly, of all the brothers, and all seven were younger than him, he was the only one who had become a famous warrior and who had an Omutwe of his own. Besides, he had already procured successful treatment for his father when the latter was suffering from poison, and had defeated Karaiga, thus enabling his father to get the throne. None of his brothers had achieved any thing comparable to this and for that reason it would have been unlikely for the brothers to take on such a rival.

We now come to consider what appears to be the second mistake made by Katate and Kamugungunu, which is also accepted by Stenning. According to these authors, Nyakashaija, Rwebishengye's younger brother, came to the throne in succession to his father Kahaya I. After some period Rwebishengye challenged Nyakashaija, but he was defeated and fled to Buganda. He obtained aid from Kabaka Kamanya of Buganda with which he overran Nkore and then, for some incomprehensible reason, returned to Buganda. We are not told of what had happened to the Omutwe
that Rwebishengye had personally led several times in his father's lifetime. The reasonable conclusion seems to be that Rwebishengye was in Bwera when his father died and that he merely carried out a raid against Nyakashaija. It was the other brother, Bwarenga, who challenged and then defeated Nyakashaija. All my informants, including Mr. Kamugungunu, insist that Bwarenga fought for the throne on his own behalf and not as a deputy of Rwebishengye as is recorded in "Abagabe b'Ankole". It is also said by Katate and Kamugungunu and by Stenning that when Rwebishengye returned from Buganda, he requested the leaders of the Emitwe to unseat Bwarenga in his favour and that these leaders refused. Stenning goes even further to say that one of the reasons the request was turned down was that Rwebishengye was already old and that he had married a Muganda woman by whom he had had a son, Kayungu, who was to be involved in the next succession war. This story, too, is rejected by all my informants. The chief objection to it is that a study of the military organisation of Nkore shows that the Emitwe were creations of a ruling Mugabe and that their effective corporate existence ceased with the death of their creator, so that they could not have influenced the choice of a

1. Ibid., p.96.
2. Ibid., p.96-7.
Neither in the earlier nor in the subsequent reigns can we find examples of Emitwe of the previous reigns siding with a candidate for the throne. On the death of the Omugabe, his Emitwe dissolved and the constituent members dispersed. Moreover all traditional accounts are agree that Rwebishengye never married a Muganda and that the mother of Kayungu was not a Muganda (see Table F). Finally, Rwebishengye secured the throne after the death - from natural causes - of Bwarenga, not because the Emitwe leaders had changed their mind, but because Bwarenga did not leave a son old enough to succeed him.

Like his father, Rwebishengye lived long on the throne and had several children both before and after his accession. But his death was followed by the single uncharacteristic war of the dynasty. It was uncharacteristic because the initiative was not taken by the princes, but by the clans which promoted the candidates, in particular by the maternal clan of Kayungu, one of the candidates. The two "eldest" sons of Rwebishengye were Gasyonga and Kayungu. After the death of their father, the maternal clan of Kayungu incited him to seize the throne. With this backing he was able to hold onto the throne for some time, but he was eventually defeated by the forces of his elder brother, Gasyonga. The latter had an already grown up son,

1. The military organisation is discussed in Ch.V.
Mutambuka, who was to be the greatest martial king of the dynasty. It was this son, already a famous general, who fought and won the throne for his father, assisted by his father's half-brother, Rwakarimirwa.

But this victory did not give the throne to Gasyonga immediately, because his uncle, Rwanga, contrived to steal the drum before the new king had been properly installed. This, too, was due to events outside the control of the royal family. The version of this episode given by Katate and Kamugungunu, and by Stenning, is that Rwanga himself challenged Gasyonga and secured the drum with the support of the drum keepers and of most clans, because he was a maternal son of the Baitira clan "from whom the Bagabe had come in the past", whereas Gasyonga's maternal clan had never produced a Mugabe before. This account seems to be substantially incorrect. If Kayungu had been supported by "most" clans, why did he lose so quickly, in the light of the fact that the Bagahe clan, the maternal clan of his opponent, was still very small in Nkore? This clan was of Mpororo origin. Furthermore, we know, from traditions, that since the reign of Ntare IV, several Bagabe were born of women from Mpororo clans - not of the Batwa or Baitira clans as in the preceding reigns. Thus neither Macwa, Karara, Kahaya I, nor Rwebishengye had Batwa or Baitira as their

1. Infra., p.397.
maternal clans.\textsuperscript{1} This being so, how could it have become a material consideration, as late as this in the dynasty, whether or not a particular clan had produced a Mugabe before? The answers to these questions seem to be supplied in a different version of the same episode given by some of my informants to explain Rwanga's actions.\textsuperscript{2}

According to this source, Rwebishengye had a brave courtier named Kitunda, who was also the leader of the Omutzwe of Abashandura. When Mutambuka grew up, he virtually controlled all the Emitwe under his father's nominal command. For this reason he fell out with Kitunda, who tried to force Mutambuka into a subordinate role. Mutambuka, however, was overbearing as his later actions as Mugabe amply show. He managed, by influencing his father, to relegate Kitunda to a position of the second in command of the Mutwe which Kitunda had formerly led, and Mutambuka himself assumed its leadership. Kitunda naturally took this as a personal affront and, in pique, incited the maternal clan of Rwanga to steal the drum so that Gasyonga should not become king, for he knew if this happened, his opponent, Mutambuka, would be in an unassailable position in the whole kingdom. Kitunda himself stole the drum, but he was overtaken and killed. In despair, Rwanga committed suicide and thus Gasyonga secured the throne.

\textsuperscript{1} See Table F.

\textsuperscript{2} Messrs. Kakooro, Kyokoora, Kaburuku and others, interviewed in August, 1967.
The point to note is that Rwanga was not a "pretender" in the sense Katate and Kamugungunu define the rest of the "Bagabe pretenders", because he did not conduct purification ceremonies and he did not strike the drum. In fact, if the traditional accounts are correct, Rwanga is the only pretender in the real sense of the word because, by the conventions governing successions as we have just seen, he did not have a valid claim to the throne since the previous Mugahe had left grown up sons. Only the sons of Rwebishengye could claim the throne, but not their uncle. It was for this reason that Rwanga's flight with the drum was shortlived, because he could not have recruited sufficient support for a claim which most of the population regarded as invalid.

One further point remains to be made, about the parentage of Gasyonga, which illustrates the conception of legitimacy peculiar to the Banyankore as a whole. Bukundu, who was Gasyonga's mother, was not Rwebishengye's wife. She was married in Mpororo, but her younger sister was married to Rwebishengye. Then Bukundu came to Nkore to visit her sister and, during her stay, she slept with Rwebishengye, which was a perfectly normal thing by the social conventions of Nkore, and she conceived Gasyonga. Back in Mpororo she gave birth to that son, but her husband insisted on sending back the child to his physical father because, it is said, he had "no wish
to be the father of the Omugabe's child". Thus Gasyonga was sent back to Nkore and when he grew up, his half-brother, Rwakarimirwa, that is to say the son of his mother by her substantive marriage in Mpororo, came to live in Nkore, and it was this brother whom we saw fighting for Gasyonga. The point to note is that no one questioned the right of Gasyonga to succeed his father on the grounds that his mother was not married to his father, because he was unquestionably the son of his father and that is all that counted.

One of the problems of oral traditions as a historical source is their tendency to ignore the unspectacular. In this category fall the internal developments within the country, which tend to be forgotten as one goes farther back in history, because these were rarely appreciated by the people involved at the time. In contradistinction, foreign wars or raids, be they offensive or defensive, were usually impressive, and that is why their accounts abound in traditions. Such wars involved families and individuals in a very intimate way. An individual, or a family, whose relative lost his life or gained some measure of fame was most likely to pass on this information, together with its background, to the next generation, and this could have hardly been the case with internal administrative innovations which were impersonal in this sense. Faced with such a problem, there are at least two ways of looking at such relatively empty
areas. One way is to proceed by the mosaic principle of gathering all bits of information that have any bearing on the internal politics of the country in question, such as the history of certain offices and their holders, and then using such material to evaluate the internal developments. Such a method, for example, would be fruitful in studying institutions in Buganda, where traditions exist about the creation of Ebitongole (military/administrative units) and the appointment of different chiefs from different clans to them. Thus we learn that from the reign of Mulondo onwards the kings of Buganda gained extensive powers at the expense of the clan heads by repeatedly appointing chiefs without reference to the clan heads and thereby reducing the latter to the status of seeking the king's favours like everyone else. But such an approach would not be of much help in the context of Nkore because, whether the creation of these administrative units was aimed at or was the result of the king's extended field of patronage, their existence enabled the rulers of Buganda to control their subjects much more directly than in Nkore. This was so because the appointment of chiefs in Buganda was related to the king's unquestionable right to distribute land to whomever he chose. In turn this was possible in Buganda because the society was sedentary. In Nkore the economy depended

on wealth in the form of cattle and not on land ownership, so that the wealthiest of the Omugabe's subjects were the nomads, over whom he could hardly exercise any control, since they could move, with their herds, out of the kingdom at will. This means that, whereas Buganda government was so organised as to keep control of the governed, that of Nkore was geared to the protection of the cattle which were already in the kingdom and to the acquisition of more cattle through raids. A combination of these two systems is to be found in the administrative structure of Rwanda, where the control over the population was fused with the protection and the acquisition of cattle through the institution of the bovine armies.\(^1\) In comparison to Rwanda or to Buganda, the administrative structure of Nkore was loose, because its aims required no elaborate machinery and consequently developed none.

The second possible method of interpreting the relatively empty periods is by comparing them to the subsequent eventful ones. The validity of this exercise lies in the consideration that the undertaking of such enterprises as the building up of military units to a point where they became effective required a long time, so that it would be reasonable to assume that a given Mugabe could not accomplish it in the space of a single reign unless his predecessor or predecessors had laid the foundation. We have at least one example, in Nkore

\(^1\) A. Kagame, *L'Histoire des armées-bovines...* p. 5-6.
history, of a Mugabe (Ntare IV) who formed an Omutwe and then sent it to Buhweju. The experiment came to grief because these untried troops were no match for the seasoned warriors of Buhweju.¹ In this period of Nkore history, it would appear that the beginning of creating several fighting units (Emitwe) was made by the Omugabe Rwebishengye and improved upon by his son and successor, Gasyonga 1. It was Mutambuka, the son and successor of the latter, who waged several external wars and who repelled many raids against his country, and it is difficult to see how he could have done so much without a viable military system. Since his own reign was not free from internal troubles, it is fair to say that he did not create and then put into use those military units in the space of a single reign, because he could not have had the time to do so much. Again, the raids that were made against Nkore in this period must have provided the impetus to devise some means of defence. Kahaya 1 was attacked by the Banyarwanda and Gasyonga was raided by the Baganda three times.² The impact of these raids did not lie in the devastation they caused, for they seem to have caused little if any, but rather in the fact that they were made by new foes against whom Nkore had not fought before.

¹. Supra, p. 327.
². Infra. p. 364.
Thus it would appear that it was Rwebishengye and Gasyonga 1 who laid down the basic military organisation which was to be improved and expanded by Mutambuka. It is to be emphasised that what these two rulers did was to set up several Emitwe, and what Mutambuka was to do was to formalise the method of recruitment without which the system would have remained incomplete. It also appears that the idea of posting Emitwe on the borders originated with Gasyonga 1, who is said to have posted one in Nshara, probably in response to the increasing Buganda raids in Nkore territory. Mutambuka was to have a ring of warriors around his country to guard against surprise raids. There seems to have been no other significant innovations in this field during this period. Although it is said that both Rwebishengye and Gasyonga 1 had regional chiefs, this is difficult to verify. It seems that Mutambuka was the first Mugabe to realise the importance of linking military organisation to territorial supervision and also to have put this realisation into practice by appointing the leaders of his Mitwe as the chiefs in charge of regional administration. Before him, the other kings do not seem to have concerned themselves with the problems of civil administration, since they had little to administer in terms of territory anyway. This probably explains why there are hardly any consistent accounts of regional administrators, in Nkore traditions, before the reign of Mutambuka.

1. Katate and Kamugungunu, op.cit., p.100; 106.
The vision of the individual interlacustrine states of what lay beyond their borders was largely limited to their immediate neighbours. This general statement is particularly true of the period preceding the advent of the Arabs and, later, the Europeans in the mid 19th century. In the case of Nkore this means Bunyoro to the north; Buganda (and Koki) to the east; Mpororo to the west and Karagwe and Rwanda to the south.\textsuperscript{1} Of these states Bunyoro ceased to be a factor in Nkore relations until the late 19th century, because she was beset by her own internal problems and menaced by the rising power of Buganda, to which country Bunyoro lost much territory in this period. The two invasions mounted by Bunyoro against Nkore, to which reference was made in the last chapter, were the last ones to be made. It is therefore difficult to see what other contacts can have existed between these two states in this period. It is a fair generalisation to say that inter-state relations in this period mean, on the one hand, raids and counter-raids, and on the other hand matrimonial alliances.

In Nkore traditions wars and raids are differentiated. A national war, defensive or offensive, always had the authorisation of the Mugabe; it involved large numbers of people and was called Omugabo (pl. Emigabo). Raids were usually private adventures by the individual chiefs and their followers, without necessarily having obtained the authorisation of the Mugabe,

\textsuperscript{1} See Map III.
although the booty from such raids had to be brought to the Mugabe. These were called Oruhendo (pl. and sing.) Neither of these types of warfare are remembered to have taken place between Nkore and Bunyoro in this period, and it seems reasonable to assume that probably there were none. There are two reasons for this assumption. In the first place, Nkore was by far the weaker of the two states at this time, and informant after informant assured me of this fact. Even the raids that Nkore was to conduct against Bunyoro in the late 19th century were made in the peripheral areas and never in the centre of Bunyoro itself. Secondly, there was no substantial incentive for Nkore to raid Bunyoro, since the latter never had a great many cattle, which were the primary objective of raids. What probably explains the absence of aggressive wars by Bunyoro against Nkore is the constant harassment of the latter by Buganda throughout the 18th and early 19th century. By the beginning of the 19th century Buganda had annexed the counties of Gomba, Butambala, western Singo and Buddu from Bunyoro.¹ In addition to losing territory, there were constant raids against her, so that Bunyoro was fully preoccupied with stemming the encroachments of the Baganda.

¹. Kiwanuka, op.cit.
But the acquisition of Gomba, Butambala and Buddu by Buganda brought a new threat to Nkore from her eastern border. By getting into the grazing lands of Bwera, the Baganda had an easy access to the Katonga river crossings and this access was increasingly used by Buganda to raid Nkore in the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century. The extent of this threat, however, should not be exaggerated since there is no evidence that Buganda ever wanted to take territory from Nkore. Her interests in this area were confined to occasional raids to carry off cattle and women. For example, Kagwa tells us that Kabaka Suna raided Nkore for cattle and women three times in this period.¹ Nkore traditions also recall three raids made by the Baganda against Gasyonga 1 (c.1810-c.1840), but, predictably, also relate that the Baganda did not capture much. It is recalled by Nkore traditions that during one of these raids prince Mutambuka and his sister, Kibangura, were captured together with their mother. The Baganda even committed the "abomination" of cutting off Kibangura's ear as was done to most captives. Mutambuka was eventually allowed to return to Nkore with her sister. When Mutambuka came to the throne, he sent for his mother, but she refused to return because, so the story goes, she did not want to become the laughing stock of Nkore society as she had slept with a Muganda during her captivity. Then the Baganda authorities asked her to return, on

¹ Kagwa, op.cit., pp.36, 103, 123.
the grounds that they had no wish to detain the mother of a neighbouring ruler. She agreed, but committed suicide on the way for the same reason as she had refused to return earlier. This tradition would seem to be authentic because it is circumstantial. For example Kibangura was the official sister of Mutambuka, and she is said to have had "queer" ears because she was rarely seen without her veil well down and Mutambuka's mother is known to have been out of Nkore throughout her son's reign, which is why she was not the Queen Mother.

Another limiting factor to Buganda's aggression against Nkore was that the former could hardly muster enough manpower to hold down her rather extensive interests in this region. We have observed that she was fighting Bunyoro more or less throughout this period. In addition to that she was also engaged eastwards in the conglomeration of Busoga states, which, though constantly beaten on the battlefield by the Baganda, were nevertheless in constant rebellion. Buganda employed considerable numbers of warriors to put down these rebellions. Again, the acquisition of Buddu drew the attention of Buganda towards the Buhaya states, and this interest was intensified by the trade contacts that were made in this and in the subsequent period. To cap all these external involvements, Buganda was also plagued by internal political turmoils with

2. Kiwanuka, op.cit.
the princes fighting each other for the throne. Thus by a combination of circumstances neither Bunyoro nor Buganda could afford to take more than a passing interest in the affairs of Nkore in this period.

Rwanda was never a serious factor in Nkore's external relations, largely because the two did not share a common frontier. Interposed between the two was Mpororo, so that this explains the infrequent contacts between them. However both Nkore and Rwanda traditions agree that Kigeri III of Rwanda attacked Kahaya I of Nkore although the raid seems to have been singularly unsuccessful. Kigeri died on his way home. Kagame reckons that Kigeri III Nabaraba ruled between 1708 and 1741, and this seems to confirm that the two rulers were contemporaries.

It was with Mpororo to the west that Nkore had more abiding relations from this period to the present day. It has been indicated above that Ntare IV had married two daughters of the king of Mpororo and that no immediate political advantages or consequences could be read into this matrimonial alliance. Macwa, Ntare's son and successor, also married from the royal clan of Mpororo, so that the Omugabe Kahaya I of Nkore, like his father, was a maternal son of the royal clan of Mpororo. In order to see these close blood relationships

4. See Table F.
in the right perspective, it is necessary to get a general picture of the history of Mpororo itself.

According to the traditions of Mpororo, this kingdom made its appearance around the middle of the 17th century, and its existence as a kingdom lasted not much more than a century. The same sources indicate that the founder of the kingdom came from Rwanda, with whose dynasty he is said to have been related although the precise nature of this relationship is not explained. Neither the dynasty of Mpororo nor that of Rwanda claim any association with the Bacwezi, as do the dynasties of Nkore and Bunyoro. Only two kings are recalled - Kahaya, the son of Murari, more commonly known as Kamurari by Nkore traditions and his son and successor, Kahaya Rutindangyezi. It is not known whether Murari, the father of the first Kahaya, actually came to Mpororo or not. It is said that Kahaya, the son of Murari, and his brother Ishemurari came to Mpororo and found a queen, Kitami, whose subjects were all women. He married her and then procured the drum, Murorwa, from her and thus founded a kingdom that was to be known as Mpororo.¹ He took to wife one named Miskyera of the Baishikatwa clan, by whom he had a son, Rutindangyezi - the name means "He who makes bridges over deep swamps" and it is said that he was given that name owing to his expansionist policies, when he came to the

throne in succession to his father; his original name being Kahaya. Not much is known about the earlier history of Mpororo and it is not even certain that the area was called Mpororo before the advent of Kahaya.

Under Rutindangyezi, Mpororo was a much bigger kingdom than Nkore, for it included the present Ankole counties of Kajara, most of Rwampara, Igara and part of Sheema and the present Kigezi counties of Rujumbura, part of Kinkizi, Rukiga, Ndorwa and Rubanda and also a small portion of northern Rwanda. Rutindangyezi had several sons, from whom many of the Bashambo subclans take their names and trace their descent, as we have observed. Because his kingdom was large, Kahaya appointed his several sons to administer the regions as his chiefs. But then they became disrespectful to him. All the stories told about Kahaya, however, seem to show that he was a very spiteful (enkunguzi) personality, whom it would have been impossible for his sons to please even if they had tried to do so. He is said to have attempted suicide by drowning and to have been rescued by his faithful page, Kagina - the founder of the Bagahé subclan which was named after him. After this he incited his courtiers to kill all his sons, allegedly for neglecting him.

1. Information about Mpororo is also based on interviews with Messrs. Bwafamba, Rwankengyere, Tugutu, Kananura, Kahurutuka and others and on "The rise and decline of Mpororo kingdom", by Mr. Mugyenyi and Mr. Rwakishana. (This unpublished MS was kindly made available to me by Mr. Mugyenyi, the co-author).

2. Supra, p. 170.
but they refused, because, they said, they would bring upon themselves the wrath of most clans to whom Kahaya's sons were related by marriage. His death was a mystery, for not only did he bury the royal drum Murorwa, so that none of his sons might get it and succeed him, but he himself disappeared and was presumed to have committed suicide in the bush because his body was never found.

After Kahaya's death, his sons ruled over the regions they had administered during their father's lifetime. Rukaari ruled over Nshenyi - approximately the area represented by the modern subcounties of Rukoni, western Kikagate, eastern Ruhama, Kayonza and part of Kabezi. Kirenzi ruled over the modern Kigezi county, then as now, called Rujumbura and situated immediately to the west of Igara county. Kihondwa retained Kajara - then roughly the modern subcounties of Bwongyera, Thunga, part of Kabezi and Rubaare, an area he shared with his brother, Ruhiri. Kahaya, another son, retained Obwera, that is to say the modern subcounty of Ntungamo and western Ruhama. Rugambagye was in Rukiga, whence he was eventually ousted by the Bakiga. Mafundo ruled over Igara.¹

By comparing the traditions of Mpororo and of Nkore we can estimate the period at which Kahaya-Rutindangyezi died. Mpororo traditions relate that during the reign of their first

¹. See Map IV.
Kahaya, the Banyoro invaded the country and forced the people to dig waterwells for the invaders, which wells can still be seen in Mpororo. We have seen, above, that Bunyoro overran Nkore during the reign of Ntare IV and then proceeded to fight in Rwanda. Thus it is probable that Mpororo was invaded by the same Bunyoro army on its way to Rwanda. We also know from Nkore traditions that Ntare IV of Nkore married two daughters of the first Kahaya of Mpororo, so that these rulers were contemporaries. Again, the Omugabe Macwa married the daughter of Rutindangyezi, who is said to have died during the reign of Macwa in Nkore. It was after Kahaya-Rutindangyezi that Kahaya I of Nkore was named. Finally, between the reign of Macwa and of Ntare V in Nkore there were six reigns, as we have already observed. This is exactly the same number of successions that are counted in Igara and in Rujumbura in the same period. Thus it seems that the last king of Mpororo died around the middle of the 18th century. One further point to be made is that although all these sons of Kahaya ruled over their respective regions, they did so without drums, as was common in this region, with the exception of Mafundo in Igara. But even he did not get the drum from his father - he made one for himself and thereby transformed his chieftanship into kingship, unlike the rest of his brothers.
The intermarriage between Nkore rulers and the royal house of Mpororo augmented the peaceful relations between the two countries even after the break-up of Mpororo as a united kingdom. This is why between the death of the last king of Mpororo and the reign of Gasyonga 1 in Nkore only one cattle raid is remembered to have been made by Nkore against a part of Mpororo. It was made by the Omugabe Rwebishengye against Igara. It is necessary to say, in connection with this raid, that so long as Mpororo was one kingdom, the maternal sons of the royal clan of Mpororo ruling in Nkore refrained from raiding Mpororo because the royal clan had not as yet subdivided. The subdivision into subclans had the effect of turning each division against the other both within Mpororo and outside. Thus when the Bene Mafundo - a branch founded by one of Kahaya's sons - ruled in Igara that country was raided by Rwebishengye, a maternal son of the Bene Rukaari - another subclan founded by another of Kahaya's sons. The pattern of interclan feuds within Mpororo which involved the rulers of Nkore will be examined in the next chapter where they belong in point of time.

A further significant result of the matrimonial alliances between the ruling houses of Nkore and Mpororo was the increase in the numbers of the Bahororo (inhabitants of Mpororo) emigrating to Nkore, especially from the late 18th century right to the coming of the British administrators into the region.
The causes of these migrations were as varied as the numbers of people involved at any given time, but the chief cause seems to have been political troubles within Mpororo itself subsequent to the breakup of the kingdom. These principalities of Mpororo raided each other for cattle and by the beginning of the 19th century, the Bene Kihondwa, whose principality was most of the present Kajara county, had emerged as the dominant group in the area owing to their numerical strength. To mitigate the effects of the raids by the Bene Kihondwa, all the other subclans, save the Bene Kirenzi of Rujumbura who were also very strong, started soliciting for the protection of either Nkore or Rwanda. Some members or followers of the weaker clans migrated to Nkore altogether. For example, the Bene Kihimba, the maternal uncles of Gasyonga 1, came to Nkore when their son came to the throne. Today there is hardly any member of that clan in Mpororo. The general insecurity of life and property brought about by the disintegration of the Mpororo kingdom, and the subsequent feuds between its component parts, tended to make the normal seasonal migrations of the pastoralists between Mpororo and Nkore into a one-way traffic. The pastoralists from Mpororo tended to stay on in Nkore rather than return to Mpororo, but not vice-versa. For the purpose of mutual protection these immigrants tended to concentrate in certain areas of settlement and this explains, for example, the predominance of the Bene Kahaya subclan in some.
areas of Nyabushozi county until one or two decades ago. This subclan is entirely Mpororo in origin. In addition to these factors, there were also the incidents that involved only a few people at a time, such as the need to escape punishment for crimes committed in one country by taking refuge in the other. It might also be added that it was far easier for the Bahororo to merge into Nkore society than it would have been for them to be assimilated into Rwanda, Bunyoro or Buganda, for example, because they spoke the same language and had broadly similar customs, whereas the other three societies spoke different languages and observed different customs. The long term results of the large scale emigration of the Bahororo into Nkore, such as the almost imperceptible changes in some customs of the host country, lie outside the scope of this study in point of timing.

According to Morris, this period of Nkore history saw a great deal of territorial expansion, mainly at the expense of Bunyoro and Mpororo. Thus under Kahaya 1 Nkore gained most of Rwampara and of Shema from Mpororo and occupied Kashari and Nyabushozi, north of the Rwizi river. Then Rwebishengye wrested Kabura from Bunyoro. 1 In the case of Kashari and Nyabushozi, one needs to draw the clear distinction between the modern names and the former names, and point out that these are not the same in territorial extent. Parts of modern Kashari and Nyabushozi seem to have been Nkore territory long before the reigns of Kahaya and

Rwebishengye. Ntare III is said to have had his capital at Biharwe, which is in modern Kashari county and also north of the Rwizi. It has, moreover, been argued that the shifting of Nkore frontier towards the Katonga river was begun by Ntare IV and that the incorporation of the area up to Katonga was achieved gradually and peacefully, so it was not just Rwebishengye and Kahaya I who accomplished this. In the case of Kabula, we have no grounds for accepting the contention that the area was acquired from Bunyoro by peaceful means or by war, since neither Rwebishengye nor any other Mugabe of Nkore is remembered to have fought Bunyoro and to have gained territory from her. It can hardly be over-emphasised that, up to the coming of the British in this area, Nkore was too weak to fight and beat Bunyoro in an all-out war, or even in any national war of any scale. Kabura seems to have been claimed as Nkore territory by virtue of the fact that the area was seasonably occupied by Nkore pastoralists and that it was virtually empty during the dry seasons. Finally, in the case of Shema, it has been pointed out that the claim that Shema was part of pre-colonial Nkore is most probably at fault, and that this fault is due to the use of modern names of administrative units to describe the old ones although the two are not the same.¹

¹ Ch.III, p.34.
Another area that has not so far figured in our survey is the small kingdom of Buzimba, at present divided between the Ankole county of Ibanda and Toro district. This, like Buhweju, was ruled over by the Barisa clan and it remained under the influence of Bunyoro until the 19th century, when we hear of it in connection with Nkore for the first time. According to Morris, this area also came under the suzerainty of Nkore during the reign of Rwebishengye and remained so until the coming of the British. Only one of my informants also related this version, by saying that Nkore "annexed" the area by force from Bunyoro which is why the area is still called Bunyoro by the Banyankore. It is true that the part of this kingdom which is now in Nkore is still called Bunyoro, but this may simply be a recognition of the fact that the area was once controlled by Bunyoro. All my other informants on this subject insisted that this small kingdom was always friendly to Nkore and was never attacked by the latter. The claim that Nkore attacked Bunyoro and annexed her territory seems to be a patriotic fiction, since it does not appear that Nkore ever became strong enough to challenge Bunyoro militarily. Moreover, Buzimba

2. Mr.E.Mugooha, interviewed on the 26th April, 1968.
3. Other than Mr.Mugooha, all my informants gave this version.
seems to have begun paying token gifts to Nkore rulers of her own free will, and during the reign of Mutambuka, not before. This seems to be the more reasonable interpretation because, as we shall see below, Mutambuka was the first Mugabe of Nkore to station his troops in this region, as part of his overall defensive and offensive policy, aimed against Bunyoro and not at the small states of this area. The rulers of these other small states would have been rightly apprehensive at the proximity of Nkore's troops to their own territory, the more so as it had become clear by this time that their former protector, Bunyoro, was no longer able to afford them adequate protection for reasons already indicated. Against this background, it is fair to conclude that Nkore did not expand in the period running from about 1730 to about 1830. The territory gained by Ntare IV was consolidated by his successors up to Gasyonga I, and it was only from the reign of Mutambuka that Nkore embarked on a deliberate policy of expansion. Over the whole of the interlacustrine kingdoms, it could rightly be said that the ability to acquire "satellite" states and to retain them, varied in an inverse ratio with the internal stability of the country acquiring them and there can hardly be any doubt that of the periods in which this study is divided, the period under discussion was by far the most frequently troubled in Nkore history. Hence her inability to expand territorially was partly, if not chiefly, due to this reason.
One more question remains to be asked about Nkore in this period and that is, what prevented the break-up of Nkore into smaller units each under a different prince or just being swallowed up by any of her more powerful neighbours? Any of these courses might appear to be a logical possibility in the light of the civil wars and the external raids which Nkore weathered in this period. We have already supplied a partial answer to the second part of this question and that is that the most likely countries which could have annexed Nkore, Bunyoro and Buganda, were too engrossed in their own problems to exert sufficient pressure to break up Nkore. To this lucky circumstance may also be added the fighting qualities of the Banyankore themselves. Though never organised as tightly disciplined groups of warriors, the Banyankore were individually great fighters on the field. This quality was enhanced by their rather quixotic code of conduct during the actual fighting. It was regarded as a standing disgrace to run away or to sustain an injury in the back, in Kinyankore parlance this was also running away, in battle and the stigma of doing so was passed on to the descendants of such a man. This meant that they could fight against heavy odds. Even after the advent of the gun, most of the tribe's warriors remained attached to their traditional weapons, because the gun was universally despised as the "weapon of the cowards", since it could kill from a distance before the adversary had a chance to fight.
Thus it is not certain that Buganda or Bunyoro could have succeeded in annexing Nkore in this period if such a course had been attempted.

We have also to consider the point that Nkore was too small for any portion of it to be a substantial attraction to any prince intending to carve out a kingdom for himself. A comparison with 19th century Bunyoro tends to show that Toro could break away from the parent state under a rebel prince, largely because Bunyoro was an extensive territory, ineffectively administered by a variety of chiefs, who enjoyed different degrees of neglect from the control of the king. On the other hand the expansion of Buganda was matched by the almost simultaneous development of administrative control by the setting up of Ebitongole, in the newly acquired areas and then manning these with Baganda chiefs. Thus it can be said that the chief difference between Buganda and Bunyoro was that the former had what may be termed political cohesion which the latter did not attain because the institutions were designed to suit neither an agricultural society nor a pastoral one. In this lies the chief weakness of pre-colonial Bunyoro rather than the celebrated princely rivalry and weak kings from which weaknesses no single kingdom, in this region, was specifically exempt or patently prone.

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Thus whereas the administrative structure of Nkore was loose, it suited a pastoralist-dominated society whose territory was not large enough to permit partial disintegration under warring princes.

The course of the succession wars and the concept of kingship supply the answer to the first part of our question. Succession wars on their own do not guarantee any form of polity or the non-existence of one. They did not, in the case of Nkore, ensure the accession of strong kings as some writers have suggested, just as they did not ensure the accession of weak ones. In fact the strongest kings of the dynasty, Ntare IV and Mutambuka, did not emerge from succession wars. Even if Nkore had had an automatic system of succession, this could only have removed the grounds for civil wars for the throne, but would not necessarily have ensured a particular brand of rulers or policy. This means that the amount of damage or benefits to the political system, which could be caused by the succession wars is best understood against the background of the entire system of ideas on which the political system itself rests.

Stenning states that the belief in the royal drum was strong enough to prevent the break-up of Nkore into smaller states under different princes.¹ In so far as the drum symbolised Nkore as a state, separate from and independent of other

¹ D. Stenning, op. cit., p. 11.
states, this is a valid interpretation, but it amounts to a partial explanation on its own. Since no prince could become king in Nkore without the royal drum and since the drum was one and indivisible, only one prince, at a time, could become Mugabe. In this one sense the drum was regarded as a symbol of authority belonging to the whole country and not simply to the kings, so that without it, a prince could hardly find subjects to rule over. This is the sense in which the drum served to preserve the unity of Nkore as a state.

Finally one has to consider the mechanisms within the social fabric which militated against disintegration. We have already noted that the outcome of any succession war was not determined, as Stenning and Oberg suggest, by the Emitwe or by the drum keepers since these did not participate in succession wars as organised groups. The maternal clans of the rival candidates, around which the other clans rallied in war, were the decisive factor. But the maternal clans of any rival group of candidates were always heavily outnumbered by the rest of the uncommitted clans and these uncommitted clans had to exercise great restraint on their members to refrain from hasty intervention in princely quarrels as compact groups owing to the almost certain reprisals that would be visited on the clan if the candidate they supported did not win. Generally speaking there was always reluctance, even in the quarrels of the common
people, to intervene in the family quarrels of other people and this is expressed in the Kinyankore saying that when you find brothers fighting, you are well advised to stand aside (i.e. do not try to separate them as they might then turn on you). This also explains why, for instance, the murder of a popular Mugabe, Karara, was not immediately followed by a civil war - the crime had been committed by another prince, Kairaiga. It was thus the inertia of the uncommitted clans that acted as a deterrent, in civil war conditions, to prevent general chaos in the country. It is perhaps necessary to observe that not all princes took part in all succession wars because the princes who did not have ambitions for the throne and who were not attracted to the support of either of the contestants, were usually left in peace by the victorious candidates. Thus despite the frequency of the succession wars in this period, Nkore remained intact as a country owing to the in-built mechanisms of her political and social institutions which militated against the breakdown of social order during periods of internal disquiet. The trying out in practice and the confirmation of these mechanisms may well be the greatest achievement of this period of Nkore history.
CHAPTER FIVE

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

MUTAMBUKA AND NTARE V (c.1840-1895).

This period of Nkore history is dominated by wars, raids and counter-raids, and this seems to have been a result of the establishment of a viable military system in Nkore, without which such policies would not have been possible. It might appear to be a chronological anomaly that, whereas we have already been making passing references to the Emitwe (military units), we have deferred their discussion up to this point. The reason is that, until we come to this period, there does not seem to have been a coherent military system in Nkore. We have observed that the idea of having warriors grouped into several units or Emitwe was started by Rwebishengye and improved by Gasyonga 1, but this grouping was not institutionalised. The method of recruitment seems to have remained, as in the previous reigns, haphazard and a response to specific needs of the moment. The novelty of these two reigns was that the recruitment and the training of the warriors, and hence the organisation of the Emitwe, was put on a formal basis and then the Emitwe were fused with the civil administration of the regions into which Nkore was divided. For these two accomplishments, the reigns of Mutambuka and Ntare V can be seen as a completion of the experiment which was launched by the enterprising Ntare IV, about one hundred years before.
Thus the methods of recruiting and training of warriors, which are discussed below, all refer to the two reigns covered in this chapter.

In traditional Nkore the palace of the Mugabe was the centre of tribal education in customs, court manners, manliness and the art of fighting, traditional forms of oral poetry and a host of other things. For this reason many people brought their sons to the palace of the Omugabe at an early age. These youngsters grew up at the palace and performed a variety of personal services for the Mugabe as household servants. The incentive for the parents of these boys was the expectation that their sons would grow up and be advanced in some way because they would be under the constant notice of the Mugabe and of the other notables of the land in whose hands lay the dispensation of such patronage as was available in the kingdom.

Theoretically anyone could bring his child to the palace for this purpose, but there were practical limitations to the pursuit of such ambitions. Children were the largest source of labour for most families. For the cattle keepers it was the sons, and not the daughters, who carried out most of the duties of the kraal, and the older they grew the more the responsibilities they shouldered from their parents, who would, on account of advancing age, be less able to carry them out. For the agriculturalists, children, sons as well as daughters, were the largest labour force available to work in the fields, and therefore
the more hands that were available to the family, the more the land that could be put under crops. It was always necessary to produce more food than was needed for immediate domestic consumption, in order to provide against natural hazards such as the failure of rains and the like. It was the large families, with extensive tracts of land under cultivation, that usually survived famines or crop failures relatively unharmed. This in fact explains why the number of the cultivators' sons brought to the service of the Mugabe was proportionately less than that of the pastoralists' sons. Thus, in practice, not many people could afford to send their sons to the court.

When these boys became of age, roughly from about the age of twelve to sixteen, they were "sent out" in a group. They were taken to one of the Omugabe's herds to be schooled into the routine of cattle-keeping, particularly in the defence of cattle against human and animal enemies. During this period the boys were taught the use of weapons - the spear and the bow and arrow - by the elderly men in charge of the Omugabe's herds. In their absence, the Omugabe and his advisers chose a leader for the boys, gave them a name, allotted them a herd of cattle, and assigned them to a region. The leader was chosen from among the group itself or, often, the leadership was given to a son of the Mugabe, of the same age range, who had grown up with the boys at the palace. To the new leader the Omugabe would assign elderly
men as advisers from time to time, until it was felt that the
leader was fully conversant with his duties. The assignment of
the group to a region was the end of the essential process in
the formation of the Mutwe, because the group that had served at
the palace was always the core of the Mutwe henceforth. Some-
times the leaders of the Emitwe were also called Abagaragwa
(royal servants) to indicate that they had been household ser-
vants of the Omugabe in the past.

The size of this core of the Omutwe could be as small
as ten at the beginning. But once the Mutwe was formed and as-
signed to a region, it was joined by many more people for a
variety of reasons. Some relatives of the leader, or of the
members, of the original group would join it to ensure their
own protection. For the same reason, other families, unrelated
to the members of the original unit, would join up. The Omugabe
also would send more men to the unit from among those people who
came to him seeking the means of livelihood for themselves and
for their families. If the Mutwe had a following that was con-
sidered too large, the Mugabe could switch some of the members
to another Mutwe in another region. In practice, it appears
that an Omutwe was considered too large, not because of the num-
ber of men in it, but because of the number of cattle which its
individual members owned. This was due to the consideration
that, since the members of the same Mutwe lived in close proxi-
imity, it was necessary to limit the size of their stock.
The primary duty of the leader of the Mutwe and of his original colleagues was to mobilise the rest of the members and to lead them in the actual fighting. The provision of weapons was entirely the responsibility of the individual within the Mutwe.

The majority of the population was outside the Emitwe and it is perhaps necessary to draw some distinctions at this stage. The leader of the Omutwe himself did not recruit the following that constituted the Omutwe, because the men joined him of their own accord, as we have seen. Two categories joined the followers of an Omutwe leader. Some came specifically to be included among the warriors, settled near the residence of the leader, and were liable to automatic mobilisation in time of war. The others, and by far the largest number, merely paid occasional visits and gave presents to the leader of the Omutwe to demonstrate the fact that they were under his jurisdiction and that they could come to him for help in time of need. It has already been explained that this was dictated by the personal interests of the individuals.¹ Such people were not members of the Omutwe and were not subject to mobilisation as the members of the Omutwe were. When war broke out, usually the agriculturalists did not fight - those who could went looting in the homes of those who had fled from the advancing enemy. The cattle keepers outside the Emitwe organisation similarly went looting for cattle in the confusion, and only fought if the enemy threatened their own stock.

¹ Supra pCh.73.
Otherwise, they just fled to put their own herds at a safe distance and left the Emitwe to do the fighting. The biggest deterrent against large scale looting in the confusion brought about by war was the probability of being reported to the authorities after the war. In such cases the looters were usually divested of all their property by the chief, whether such property was acquired by looting or not. In times of peace the leaders of the Emitwe lived mainly at the palace of the Omugabe, where each of them had a camp. During their stay at court, their deputies acted for them in their regions and kept them informed of the developments there, and these reports were communicated to the Omugabe if they were of importance to him. These deputies were appointed by the leaders themselves and not by the Mugabe so that they derived their authority solely from that source. In times of peace the rest of the members of the Omutwe lived in their kraals, and in the kraal of their leader, performing civilian duties like all the other pastoralists.

In any given region the leader of the Omutwe was also the principal administrative officer. In practice this meant that he settled such complaints as came his way from the people in his region. Nkore society does not seem to have had any notion of police duties as we understand them, and for that reason the administrators were not policemen. On the whole, the maintenance of law and order appears to have meant the redress of
wrongs already committed rather than their prevention in advance, and this seems to be the reason why the kingdom did not evolve anything even remotely resembling a police force.

In their capacity as administrators, the leaders of the Emitwe were called Abakungu, chiefs. This, then, means that the main duties of the leader of an Omutwe were the mobilisation of his troops to defend his region in an attack (or conversely to aid another region under attack), to attack another country and to decide the few cases that came before him. But, by virtue of his position in the region, he was also the focus of social and cultural activities within that region. His residence was a miniature court, at which many guests and hangers-on were entertained each day. It was like the court of the Omugabe itself, only on a smaller scale. In short, the military, the administrative and the cultural activities of the region converged and were directed at the court of the Omutwe leader.

There also existed an entirely different category of chiefs, also called Abakungu, whose responsibility was the supervision of "tribute" collection and the direction of "public works". The latter meant no more than the building of the palaces for the Omugabe, the senior princes, the royal drum, and the residences of the regional chiefs. Considering that "building" in this context meant no more than the erection of a few huts at a time, this could hardly be called exacting, nor indeed did it need any
systematic bureaucracy to carry it out. These chiefs were subordinate to, but not responsible to or appointed by, the Emitwe leaders. They were appointed by the Omugabe and only he could remove them at will. They were, like the Emitwe leaders, answerable to the Mugabe alone. For example, in a region there might be six such Bakungu - the six were equal to and independent of each other, and also independent of the regional chief, but subordinate to him in status, since the latter had jurisdiction over the whole region whereas the former only covered parts of the same region, and did not judge cases, even within this limited area. Their activities were limited to tribute collection and to the organisation of free labour for public works. The whole machinery of administration seems to have been evolved to obviate the possibility of the formation of powerful political groups that could conceivably challenge the authority of the Mugabe. The fact that all these functionaries were appointed by the Mugabe, and had independent or direct reporting access to him, kept them in keen competition for influence with their king and thus rendered less likely the chances of their combining as a pressure group to advance a particular cause.

For all that, however, the administrative structure of Nkore remained very loose. It does not seem that this framework provided machinery for effective administration. This can be shown by reference to the range of administrative duties which
the system was designed to carry out. It has already been shown that "tribute" was collected on a voluntary basis, so that it did not require effective machinery to enforce it and consequently no such machinery was developed. Secondly, unlike Buganda, Nkore society as a whole did not conceive of land as an economic asset, so that neither the ruler nor his appointees could control the governed through the power to apportion land. Anyone could move anywhere at any time, and there was nothing that the rulers could do about it. Nkore rulers did not evolve a viable system of taxation to enable the administrators to have some idea of the number of people under them, or to punish defaulters. The only known form of taxation - the cattle levy - was so irregular that it can hardly be called a system of taxation. Moreover, whenever such a levy was imposed, it did not apply to all the cattle keepers, but only to a few, in order to raise the size of the herd required for that particular occasion. Thus the question of setting up machinery for the collection of taxes never arose. We have already dealt with the administration of justice, and the point to emphasise here is that there were so many channels for settling disputes within the family and the clan circles that officialdom was rarely involved and this prevented the growth of institutionalised judicial procedure beyond very rudimentary, and often

1. Supra. Ch.I.
2. Supra. Ch.II.33.
ad hoc, notions. The tribe's unwillingness to submit complaints to public officials continued for a long time after the introduction of the colonial administration in Nkore. For example, as late as 1940, the District Commissioner's touring report of Isingiro county states, "Very little court work and little real crime, although much drunkenness." The same is said of all counties in the touring reports of 1941. It is to be borne in mind that the introduction of the British laws in Nkore extended the scope of indictable offences by introducing new offences that were not regarded as offences before. Few Banyankore even today would regard drunkenness, for example, as an offence.

Finally we have to consider the Emitwe as tools of political continuity and of administration. The Emitwe were not designed to survive the reign of more than one Mugabe in the same shape or with the same personnel, as a few examples will illustrate. One Mutwe called Abainika was formed during the reign of Rwabishengye and was given to prince Muromba to lead. Muromba died of extreme old age during the reign of Mutambuka. This is the only example of an Omutwe which is remembered to have kept the same leader and name beyond one reign. But even this one changed its name and personnel after the death of Muromba, for a section of it was given to Rwambubi and renamed Abataha. Again,

1. "Touring Reports"; Ishingiro (sic) County; report of 11th October 1941 (Mbarara District Archives).

the Mugabe Mutambuka formed a large Mutwe called the Ebijugo, but after his death, the remnants of its personnel formed the nucleus of the Ababingi (the Victors), so named in commemoration of Ntare V's victory in the succession war. This is what makes it so difficult to trace the history of a given Mutwe beyond one reign. When an Omugabe died, the Emitwe he had formed dispersed and then, after the accession of a new Mugabe, new Mutwe were formed. This reorganisation embraced the creation of new Mutwe composed of the people who were formerly outside the system, the giving of new names to the Mutwe whose membership now included the people who had previously been in different Mutwe, and the choosing of new leaders to replace those who wished to retire or those being retired. In addition, the new Mugabe might change the location of one Mutwe from one area to another. The recurrence of similar names from one reign to another was not an indication of continuity, but rather of the fact that the Emitwe were named according to the predominant weapons used - and the range of these was not wide - for example, Ebirekyezi (Spear Throwers) usually meant that the most famous fighters of the Mutwe so named used the spear rather than the bow. Sometimes, too, an Omutwe was named with reference to some quality of that particular unit, whether this was an actual or imaginary quality carried no weight. For instance, Abatahunga, a very common name, means Those who do not retreat in battle and so on. Moreover, the fact that the Runyankore language is rather limited in descriptive vocabulary
augmented the recurrence of such names between one reign and the next one.

Since the Emitwe did not survive the reign of their creator as coherent bodies, they did not become an element of continuity between one reign and the next one and this militated against their becoming an established bureaucracy. The protection of cattle against raids and the acquisition of more cattle through raids was the basis of the military and administrative organisation of Nkore, and the exclusive right of the Mugabe to distribute booty from all raids was the chief attraction for brave men to enter his service. At the bottom of all this lay the consideration that the possession and retention of cattle - then the only index of wealth - would have been impossible without some form of government, and yet this basic aim did not necessitate a centralised form of government. For that reason Nkore achieved neither the military sophistication of Rwanda, where the recruitment of troops and the rotation of fighting men was systematic in the same period, nor the administrative efficiency of Buganda. It is significant that even as late as 1895, the office of Prime Minister was unknown in Nkore. What these two Bagabe, Mutambuka and Ntare V, did was not to furnish their kingdom with an efficient bureaucracy, military or administrative, but rather to increase the offensive and defensive capacity of Nkore within the

1. Pages, op. cit., p.166.
old framework of military and administrative decentralisation. This was largely a result of the increasing raids against Nkore, especially by Buganda, in this period, as the posting of the Emitwe (Table G) tends to confirm. This, then, was the degree of administrative and military development Nkore had attained when the British administrators appeared on the scene in the last decade of the last century.

We have already made the generalisation that raids and counter-raids for cattle were the main form of contact between the states of this region and, though it holds true for this period as well, there are now significant exceptions to it. These exceptions seem to be the result of two important events which took place sometime before the period under discussion - the break-up of the kingdom of Mporsoro and the emergence of Buganda as the most powerful kingdom in the region.

Of the interlacustrine kingdoms, Karagwe seems to have had the closest ties with Nkore. It seems, moreover, that there were no mutual raids between the two, despite the silence of the traditions on the subject. This silence, on the relations between them, is not altogether surprising. A case has already been made out that the dynasties of Karagwe and Nkore were founded by the same man, Ruhinda. This seems to be the explanation for the

1. Supra. Ch.IV.
2. Supra. Ch.III.
absence of mutual raids between these countries. The close ties between the two lay in the seasonal migrations of the pastoralists, back and forth across the Kagyera river, which seems to have been considerable and of long standing. To this day there are families, both pastoral and agricultural, in Nkore and Karagwe who have relatives on the opposite sides of the Kagyera and who have been living apart for some generations past. The significance to be read into these movements seems to be that the two countries were friendly, otherwise they could not have taken place at all. Further confirmation of the movements of stock and peoples is to be found in the epidemics that beset the two countries in rapid succession in the last decade of the 19th century. The jiggers, rinderpest and smallpox struck Nkore and Karagwe, the jiggers starting in Karagwe and the rinderpest in Nkore, within a very short time.¹

In the late 1860's, however, the Omugabe Mutambuka raided Karagwe, but, unlike almost all the other raids, this one was inspired by purely personal motives on the part of the ruler of Nkore. Nkore traditions relate that one of Mutambuka's wives, Nyakairu, escaped from Nkore and married Rwegira, a prince of Karagwe. This is the same Rwegira who, according to the traditions of Karagwe, fought a succession war with his brother.

Rumanyika and who managed to hold on to some parts of the kingdom until he was finally driven out with aid of Buganda about 1870.¹ This is probably why Katate and Kamugungunu, in giving a partial account of this raid, say that it was directed "against the king of Karagwe"², when in fact it was against a rebel prince.³ This might explain why Karagwe sources are silent about it. Mutambuka was not aware of the whereabouts of his truant wife until she had the impertinence - which characteristic all the Bahororo women share⁴ - to send him presents and a message to the effect that she was married to a king as magnificent as Mutambuka himself, but who had the added attribute of "stammering before he gets into the bed". The last piece of the message enraged Mutambuka, and rightly so, because it meant that Rwegira was a more desirable husband than himself.⁵

¹ Ibid. p.9 and also F.X. Lwamugira, op.cit. p.9.
² Katate and Kamugungunu, op.cit., p.113.
³ Mrs.Kagaga, Mrs.Bananuka, Mrs.Nyabayangwe and others in personal interviews.
⁴ Nyakairu was of the Bene Rukaari clan and hence she was a Muhororo woman.
⁵ Among the Banyankore generally and the pastoralists particularly, stammering was and is regarded as a desirable accomplishment. This is because this disability hinders the capacity for rapid speech and rapid speech was considered generally uncouth and unfeminine in women and for this reason women had to cultivate the capacity for slow speech right from childhood. This is why a girl or boy who stammered was the most eligible on the marriage market in Nkore society and this is largely true even today.
Mutambuka sent back the messengers with presents and also with the message that he would be "visiting Rwegira soon". Nyakairu, however, was not fooled and she understood the message to mean that her former husband would attack her new one and she accordingly warned Rwegira, who did not think there was any substance in the threat. He is said to have asked his wife, "Can Mutambuka drink the Kagyera dry?" - meaning that Nkore troops could not cross the Kagyera to attack him.

Nyakairu escaped once more to avoid "being recovered by spears like a common slave"; that is to say that she had no wish to be recovered by fighting troops as if she were a run-away slave. She made her way back to her old husband, Mutambuka, where she arrived at about the same time as Mutambuka's troops were ransacking Rwegira's residence. This expedition was led by Mutambuka's eldest son, Bacwa, who burnt down Rwegira's residence, captured a few head of cattle and then retired to Nkore. The primary purpose of the expedition had been the recovery of the Mugabe's wife, as we have seen, and in this the expedition had succeeded, apparently even before it reached Karagwe itself, since the wife had anticipated it and gone back to Nkore. The ransacking of Rwegira's capital seems to have been an act conceived on the spur of the moment, perhaps to teach Rwegira a lesson. Even so the expedition does not seem to have made any substantial impact on Karagwe as a whole and this may be another
explanation why Karagwe sources do not mention it. On the whole, the relations between Karagwe and Nkore on a state level seem to have been minimal, whereas the flow of people between the two countries went on constantly and unimpeded. What is more difficult to explain is the absence of inter-marriage between the two dynasties and this may explain the comparative aloofness between them. In the absence of inter-marriage and mutual raids, there was no other method of keeping contact between the rulers in a way that would be visible to their subjects.¹

It has been observed that the interests of Buganda were centred on Bunyoro and on the Busoga states and that these areas remained the centre of her interests in the 19th century. The occasional interest she showed in Nkore was expressed in nothing more than the sporadic raids for cattle and women, and the propensity for carrying out these was considerably increased by the easy access to the river Katonga which came with the acquisition, from Bunyoro, of Mawogola and Butambala. At no time did Buganda exhibit an abiding interest in Nkore to the extent of seeking to annex her territory, as she did in the case of Bunyoro, or to impose a tributary status on her, as was the case with the Busoga states, so that Stanley's statement that, "In 1876, Antali (Ntare), the king, paid tribute to the king of Uganda (Buganda). He pays it still, no doubt," ² seems to be substantially incorrect.

¹ Information on the relations with Karagwe is based on personal interviews with Kagaga, Bananuka, Nyabayangwe, Kamugungunu, Nyorozi and others.

One would not infer such a relationship between the two countries either from Buganda or Nkore sources. It would seem that Stanley had exaggerated Mwanga's influence in this area, which may be the reason why he thought that the king of Buganda had a great deal of power in Nkore and also many warriors at Ntare's court. But the increasing raids against Nkore were sufficiently troublesome to the rulers of this period to make them station troops near the borders with Buganda specifically to stem or repel those raids. The deployment of troops by both Mutambuka and Ntare V (Table G) are indicative of the importance they attached to the borders with Buganda. The several unsuccessful raids made against Nkore, towards the end of the reign of Mutesa I, did not owe their failure solely to the prolonged illness of Mutesa and to the incompetent leadership of the Baganda, though all these must have been contributory factors. They also failed because Nkore was militarily organised to counteract them. Nevertheless it can hardly be overemphasised that of the four states - Buganda, Bunyoro, Rwanda and Nkore - Nkore was by far the weakest right up to the coming of the Europeans. This is freely admitted by Nkore traditionalists and is confirmed by the fact that Nkore never attacked Rwanda, and never conducted raids in the centre of the other two countries, whereas the reverse happened to Nkore. Thus when we say that in the 19th century Nkore was equipped to stem the raids made by Buganda, we have also to bear in mind that these raids had limited objectives and were on a small scale.

The individual raids between Buganda and Nkore, of which there are many in this period, need no detain us because these are catalogued by Katate and Kamugungunu and also by Kagwa. But at least two of them are of special interest. The first was Mutambuka's attack on Kooki. According to Sir John Gray, this attack was provoked by Isansa, the ruler of Kooki, sending uncomplimentary messages to Mutambuka about his personal appearance and following this with a raid in which he carried off Nkore cattle. Nkore's attack on Kooki provoked a retaliatory raid by Buganda in 1873. According to Nkore traditions, the events leading to this fighting were as follows: Mutambuka had a follower called Kaiba, who lived near the Kooki-Nkore border, and who often grazed his cattle in Kooki during the reign of Isansa's father who was Mutambuka's friend. Before his death, Mutambuka's friend enjoined him to keep a benevolent eye on Isansa. It is to be pointed out at once that the friendship between Mutambuka and Isansa's father had no political overtones as all my informants emphasised - it was just a personal friendship. When Isansa succeeded his father, he insisted that Kaiba change his name in deference to his dead father, but this request was not immediately heeded, although Mutambuka himself is said to have advised his follower to oblige Isansa. The latter sent a few men to capture Kaiba's cattle as punishment, but Kaiba was able to beat them off.

When this news reached Mutambuka, he advised that his follower should leave Kooki and come to Nkore. Kaiba duly moved and camped at Kabula. That night a lion attacked his camp and killed him. On being informed of this untoward mishap, Mutambuka concluded that Isansa had contrived to bring about the death of Kaiba by magic and hence the punitive expedition led by his eldest son Bacwa. Isansa was killed in battle. Though this story is told by all the traditionalists who know anything about this war - and no one gave me a different version - there is a puzzling point of detail about it. According to Kagwa and Nyakatura, Isansa's father was called Kitehimba II and not Kaiba. It is just possible that the Banyankore had given Isansa's father the name of Kaiba because they usually invented names for other people to suit their own whims and without due regard to accuracy. But even if this were so, it would not explain why Isansa should have quarrelled about a name that was not known in Kooki. It would thus appear that in fact Isansa had mentioned Mutambuka's protruding teeth, which many of my informants say was a fact.

One can perhaps attribute this falsification of the tradition, if it is a falsification, in so far as the cause of the war is concerned, to the respect the Banyankore had for Mutambuka both during and after his reign. It is possible that the traditionalists felt

1. This tradition is partially recorded by Katate and Kamugungunu, op. cit., p.113.
3. All my informants on this subject said that Mutambuka had protruding teeth.
that it would be disrespectful to admit that a ruler as small as Isansa could dare to insult a ruler as awesome as Mutambuka.

The second point of interest about this episode is the dating given by Sir John Gray. The date of 1873 does not seem to be in accord with traditional sources. According to Nkore traditions the leader of the Baganda expedition was Senkoloto Magunda who, it is remembered, was killed in the fighting. This was the expedition sent to avenge the death of Isansa.\(^1\) Kagwa tells us that the expedition led by Senkoloto Magunda was sent by Mutesa I in 1868 and that Magunda was slain in battle.\(^2\) We have also seen that when Stanley passed through Buganda in 1876, Ntare V was already on the throne in Nkore. Furthermore, we know from Kinyankore sources that Mutambuka's death was followed by a protracted succession war, which lasted at least three years and from which Ntare V emerged the victor. Finally, Bacwa, who led the expedition, must have predeceased his father by some years, since he lived in Nkore for some time after the death of Isansa and then was banished from the kingdom by his father. He then went to live in Mpororo and thence to Rwanda, where he died before his father.\(^3\) All these considerations suggest that 1873 is probably too late a date for this expedition and, though 1868 may not necessarily be correct, it seems to be nearer the mark than 1873.

\(^1\) Messrs. Rwabushongo, Kamugungunu and Mugooha, among others, in personal interviews.

\(^2\) Kagwa, op. cit., p.113.

\(^3\) Supra. p.400-1.
The final point to consider about the raid and the counter-raid it provoked is the boundary between Buganda and Nkore in this period. There are several traditional songs about this particular war between Nkore and Kooki, the most interesting of which is known simply as "Isansa's Song". Apart from its intrinsic interest, the song shows that the boundary between Buganda and Nkore was much farther inside modern Buganda. All the places mentioned in the second verse of the song are in Bwera, where many of the princes of Nkore, who were also leaders of Emitwe, lived. But it needs to be emphasised that not all that area was definitely Nkore territory, because most of it seems to have been no-man's land which was occupied by Nkore pastoralists during the wet seasons. The region was definitely not Buganda territory, for if it had been, the Banyankore would not have settled there.

The rest of the raids conducted by either Buganda or Nkore were small scale affairs and those by Nkore were made by spirited chiefs who raidedit either Buddu or Bwera for cattle without the prior authorisation of the Mugabe. A typical example of the extent and unplanned nature of such raids is afforded by a verse of a recitation which was composed about one such raid in this period. The point to note about this recitation is that

1. See Appendix B, song No.1.
2. Ibid., recitation No.2.
not only was the raid against Kigiro unplanned, but also that the subsequent one against Buganda was conceived on the spur of the moment and then promptly carried out.

The second military contact between Buganda and Nkore that merits mention is the assistance Buganda gave to Mukwenda during the succession war following upon the death of Mutambuka. ¹

A general point to make in this context is that, by this period of interlacustrine history, it had become a familiar pattern for the contenders for the thrones to seek outside help with which to fight internal rivals. Thus we have seen that in the mid 19th century Rumanyika of Karagwe managed to defeat his rival, Rwegira, only after several expeditions had been sent from Buganda to help him.² Nkore traditions also relate, and those of Bunyoro agree, that during the succession war between Kabarega and Kabugumire, Mutambuka sent an army to Bunyoro to assist Kabugumire and that this army was almost entirely wiped out by the supporters of Kabarega. Mutambuka refused to send any more help to Kabugumire.³ One can reasonably attribute the emergence of this pattern to the increasing awareness of the existence of neighbouring kings with whom rival princes hoped to make friends after securing the throne in their own countries.

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1. Infra. p.458.
To this general pattern, however, there were clear exceptions, where the initiative was taken by the rulers giving the assistance in order to safeguard their own interests rather than to promote the interests of any of the rival candidates seeking the aid. An outstanding example is to be found in Busoga states. The petty rulers of these principalities were frequently warring among themselves and the rival rulers calling upon Buganda for assistance. But it was not the giving of this assistance that led to the Busoga states becoming vassals of Buganda, because the latter's desire to enforce tributary status upon Busoga and the military measures to put that desire into effect predated the assistance to the local warring rulers in Busoga itself. Similarly, as we have seen above, Buganda's interests in southern trade routes properly dates from her acquisition of Buddu from Bunyoro at the end of the 18th century and not from her intervention in Karagwe's civil war in the late 1860's, so that it can be said that Buganda aided Rumanyika to drive out his rival, not only to secure his friendship, but also to ensure that prolonged war conditions in Karagwe would not endanger her own access to those routes.

The assistance given to Nkore princes falls in a different category from the aid given to Busoga and to Karagwe rulers, primarily because Buganda had no interests to safeguard in Nkore. Assistance was given to Mukwenda, one of the rival
claimants to the throne after the death of Mutambuka around 1875. The nature of this assistance, which is discussed below, amounted to an adventure whose result, in the short term, was insignificant and whose long term result was irrelevant to the point at issue. The important point to emphasise is that the offer of this assistance did not amount to the interference by Buganda in the internal affairs of Nkore and, less still, did it reflect any growing influence of Buganda over her neighbours. It was an adventure without ulterior motives on Nkore, for after the despatch of two expeditions to assist Mukwenda, and both times at the express request of Mukwenda, the Baganda went home and lost interest in the subsequent course of the civil war in Nkore. It is in fact possible that Mutesa I, the closing years of whose reign were troubled, might have aided Mukwenda in the hope of securing a friendly ruler on his western border. The casual nature of this particular adventure is borne out by the fact that, although it was Ntare V's party which suffered as a result of it, Ntare himself did not hold the Baganda as a whole responsible for his losses, for we see the same Ntare playing host to the Baganda Christians, who were fleeing from the Muslims in 1888, and Ntare had too long a memory to have forgotten the events of the civil war of a decade or so before.

It needs to be pointed out that Buganda was to expand by taking Kabula and some parts of the former kingdom of Bwera, which had been part of the grazing lands frequently occupied by Nkore pastoralists. But this development took place in the colonial period, and was solely due to the policy of the British administration in Uganda and the events which dictated the policy were outside the control of Buganda authorities. In 1899 the Subcommissioner, Ankole District, was instructed to remove a Munyankore chief from Kabula and to replace him with a Muganda one, so that the area would henceforth be regarded as Buganda territory although it was "on the Ankole side of the border between the two countries."¹ This was immediately done and the boundaries so adjusted were incorporated in the "Agreements" between the British and the Baganda (1900) and between the former and the Banyankore (1901). Then three years after the latter agreement the explanation for this transfer of territory was given in a "Memorandum on Uganda (Buganda) - Ankole Boundary" which, among other things, stated that "Kabula was once truly Ankole territory, but being exclusively used by Uganda rebels and thieves as the Headquarters of their settlement and Ankole authorities failing after due warning to exercise control over the district, it was finally ceded to Buganda."² The "rebels" referred

1. H.M. Commissioner, Uganda, to Sub-Commissioner, Ankole District, Despatch No. 15 of 10th September, 1899 (Mbarara Archives).

2. "Memorandum on Uganda (Buganda) - Ankole Boundary", Ankole District Miscellaneous Correspondence (Mbarara Archives).
to here were those Baganda who harassed the colonial administration in Buganda after the deposition of Kabaka Mwanga II, notably one named Gabulyeri Kintu whose headquarters were indeed in the present Ankole subcounty of Kinoni which was then part of Kabula. From his base in Kinoni, Kintu and his followers were so successful in their raids that they nearly closed the border between Buganda and Nkore between 1897 and 1899. Only well-protected parties could make the transit between the two countries. Neither the Buganda, British nor the Nkore authorities could do much to check Kintu's depredations - Buganda because of the unsettled conditions following the wars of religion and Mwanga's rebellion against the British, the British because they had not yet established more than a token presence in the area and Nkore because Kahaya II was not yet firmly established on the throne and was still beset by the rebellion of his uncle Kahitsi. This transfer of territory, moreover, was made much easier by the general confusion which followed the untimely death of Ntare V and the weakness of his successor, Kahaya II, who, to some extent, owed his throne to the British. Thus it can be said that up to the coming of the British administrators in this region, the relations between Buganda and Nkore consisted in mutual indifference, punctuated by sporadic raids for cattle and, in the case of Buganda, for women.

We have seen, in the preceding chapter, that Bunyoro's attention and energies were centred on Buganda and on her own internal problems for most of the time between the mid 18th century and the mid 19th century. From the latter date it was Bunyoro's
border villages that were raided by Nkore and not the other way round. But these raids were what we have termed private raids—called oruhendo in Runyankore. This means that the Emitwe leaders whose regions bordered on Bunyoro territory merely swooped on a village and carried off as many cattle as they could and then retired to their own areas, often without even fighting a pitched battle if the surprise element had been complete. There was no full scale attack on Bunyoro comparable, in scale and success, to the two Bunyoro had, in earlier times, mounted against Nkore. The reason was that essentially Bunyoro was still the stronger of the two. In the opinion of most of my informants, Nkore could not have carried out a full-scale invasion of Bunyoro without courting disaster and this realisation must have made Nkore content with occasional raids in the peripheral areas, where Bunyoro's administrative and military presence was least or non-existent.

It has been remarked in passing that during the succession war between Kabarega and Kabugumire in 1869-70, Mutambuka aided Kabugumire by giving him troops, but that these were annihilated by Kabarega and then Mutambuka refused to give any more fighters to Kabugumire. Once on the throne, however, Kabarega was a much stronger ruler than his predecessors and he embarked on the process of regaining his kingdom's territory which had been lost by his predecessors. One such territory was the kingdom of Toro, which had broken away from Bunyoro, under a rebel prince, in the first half of the 19th century. But even under the
successive kings of Toro, the warring Babito princes had failed to unite the kingdom completely. It remained a country divided into semi-autonomous regions owing nominal allegiance to the throne of Toro. One of these regions was Busongola, just across the Kazinga channel from Bunyaruguru. It was in these circumstances that, around 1876, Kabarega struck and chased the warring princes of Toro into exile and succeeded in bringing Toro back to the fold. Three of these princes escaped - Kasagama to Buganda and the other two, Musuga and Kamurasi, to Nkore. The two who took refuge in Nkore were put to death by Kiboga, the mother of the Mugabe Ntare V, who was personally involved in their disputes, since she was a princess of Busongola herself. Kabarega seems to have been an efficient general, but not a good administrator, because it does not seem that he brought Toro under his effective rule after reconquering the area for Bunyoro. In any case he was overtaken by events, because Europeans started pouring into Bunyoro and disrupting whatever political order he had managed to establish. The most decisive blow to Kabarega was struck by Captain Lugard, who arrived from Buganda with prince Kasagama and who put him on the throne of Toro in August 1891. The installation of Kasagama did very little to cure the chronic weakness of Toro kingdom and it remained as divided as before, after Lugard had returned to Buganda with his maxim gun. Busongola thus remained an autonomous region, but it did not become a kingdom.

2. Ibid., p.282-3.
Before the installation of Kasagama by Lugard on the throne of Toro, the royal family of Nkore had become deeply and intimately interested in the confused politics of Toro, because Mutambuka had secured the marriage of princess Kiboga of Busongola to his eldest son Bacwa in the early 1870's. For some reason Kiboga is said to have been captured during a raid and then to have been married by Mutambuka himself according to some writers.  

All my informants on this subject insisted that Kiboga was married by Bacwa in the normal way and not captured. The cause of this confusion may well be the fact that the Banyankore would, conventionally, refer to such a marriage as being contracted by Mutambuka and not by his son, and this is because the son would not have taken part in the marriage negotiations. This practice was as true of the rulers as it was of the common people. Mutambuka is remembered to have raided Busongola twice for cattle (Busongola was more commonly known as Makara by the Banyankore). Then, according to my informants, both in Nkore and Bunyaruguru, Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, sent an army to Busongola to assist Kaihura who was beset by disobedience, not only in Busongola in which area he was the leading prince, but also in Bunyaruguru, where he was trying to set himself up as the ruler. Kaihura was Kiboga's brother, which is why Ntare assisted him. The expedition was earmarked for Bunyaruguru, but it seems that the warriors proceeded to raid Busongola because they did not find cattle in Bunyaruguru.

1. See, for example, H.F. Morris, A History of Ankole, p.12.
This expedition is of some interest because it illustrates the kind of interference to which reference has been made – the intervention by Nkore rulers in matters that did not concern Nkore and in which no national gain was envisaged in advance. This was no more than a family matter in which Nkore troops were used and, although Kahiura managed to keep control of the area as a result of this aid, it is not easy to see of what benefit this could have been to Nkore, or less still whether Ntare had envisaged that the move would bring Bunyaruguru under his control. The point to emphasise is that Kahiura only managed to control Bunyaruguru for a short time and that Nkore troops do not seem to have had the military walk-over they had anticipated. Many of the leading warriors were either killed or wounded and these casualties are still remembered in heroic recitations, as the extracts 3A and 3B show. In clarification it should be pointed out that it was the Omutwe of Abatalunga which did the fighting, and that this was the first campaign it undertook as an Omutwe just after Ntare V had constituted it, which is perhaps why its casualties on this occasion are remembered in detail. The two men, Irabira and Rugumayo, who are the heroes of these two verses, were already seasoned warriors in the previous reign. This expedition was official or national in that it was sent by the Omugabe and a whole Mutwe was engaged in the operation. Furthermore, it was the only large scale attack made by Nkore in this area in this period.

1. See Appendix B, recitations 3A and 3B.
But this expedition cannot be seen as a challenge against Bunyoro, since her effective control over Busongola had lapsed before the attack itself.

Apart from this, there were other raids which were minor in scope and more numerous in number because they were carried out by the individual Emitwe leaders whenever a suitable occasion arose. The casual nature of such raids may also be gauged from another verse of a song. The hero of the song, Kanyabyeya, was the younger brother of Manyatsi who was a leader of the Omutwe of Abacwamango which was stationed in Kikyenkye during the reign of Ntare V. The point to note about the song is that it is not the raids which form the central theme of the song—it is the grazing of the cattle. The raids are referred to as if they were part of the routine of cattle-keeping which, in a sense, they were. What private raids amounted to was that a band of warriors got together, swooped on a kraal or two during the night and then fled with any cattle they managed to capture, or even returned empty-handed if the opposition proved impossible to overcome quickly. The success of such raids depended as much on the prowess of the raiding party as on the surprise element in the operation.

It is difficult to read any great significance in such raids, however many they may have been, because they had very limited objectives. Moreover, so far as Nkore's raids against

1. See Appendix B, song No.4.
Bunyoro are concerned, they were too minor in extent to indicate any change in the balance of power between the two countries while, at the same time, they were confined to the border villages where Bunyoro's presence was not visibly effective. Perhaps all one can say is that Nkore was able to carry off these minor raids without provoking retaliation because Bunyoro was too pre-occupied with more important dangers facing her to spare the time or the men to abate this nuisance. Another, and perhaps more probable, explanation may be that the administrative structure of Nkore permitted any chief to raid for cattle, since all Nkore chiefs were cattle-keepers. Thus the desire of any chief to increase his own stock and that of his followers was the main incentive for the raids. On the other hand Bunyoro as a whole, and her rulers in particular, were far less interested in cattle and hence they could not be expected to engage in frequent raids for them.

Besides her relations with her largest neighbours, Nkore also had some dealings with those smaller kingdoms and chiefdoms at whose expense she was to expand during the period under discussion, and over which Nkore exercised some form of "overrule", from time to time, until the coming of the British administrators. It is worth emphasising at the outset that the term "overrule" is used in the loosest sense possible and only for lack of a better one.
We have examined, in the preceding two chapters, the encounters between Buhweju and Nkore and indicated that Nkore had been singularly unsuccessful in her attempts to subdue Buhweju in the several attacks that she made against her. It would appear that even in those forays Nkore never managed to carry off enough cattle to compensate for the heavy casualties of warriors in any given raid. But the accession of Mutambuka in Nkore changed this stalemate. In two successive attacks Buhweju was completely overrun, but, it is said, at a very heavy cost in men. In their own terrain, the people of Buhweju are reputed to have been very ferocious fighters, but in this contest with Nkore neither their king, Ndag'ara, nor any of his generals seem to have had the qualities of leadership in battle that had enabled Buhweju to beat off Nkore in the past. Buhweju itself is a rocky and hilly country (hills range from below 4000' to over 6000') and this fact was utilised by her fighters, who disabled many Nkore warriors by the novel method of rolling heavy stones against their advancing columns. This unorthodox method of combat, by all accounts, took Nkore fighters completely by surprise and it was not until they recovered from the shock that the Banyankore were able to advance to victory. From this point in time Buhweju became a "tributary" state to the rulers of Nkore and also established a camp of her representatives at Mutambuka's court and this type of relationship persisted right up to the beginning of the colonial period.

There were no further hostilities between the two countries in this period, and Ntare V, who succeeded Mutambuka, was friendly to Ndagara, the king of Buhweju, who had played host to him and cured him of poisoning during the long succession war from which Ntare emerged the victor. But as a result of these two attacks, Nkore had extended her boundary at the expense of Buhweju by taking all the lower ground south of the hills that form the present boundary between Kashari and Buhweju counties.

Farther north there were two tiny kingdoms of Buzimba and Kitagwenda, which were very weak, and which, for that reason, paid "tribute" to Mutambuka and then to Ntare V to forestall any attacks that might be directed against them by Nkore. Buzimba, in particular, was very much impressed by Nkore's victory over Buhweju, which was the main kingdom ruled over by the Barisa clan, to which clan the rulers of the small kingdom of Buzimba also belonged. It has been argued in the preceding chapter that neither Buzimba nor Kitagwenda came under the influence of Nkore during the reign of Rwebishengye and that no ruler of Nkore was remembered to have attacked Buzimba. Likewise the last ruler of Kitagwenda, Buremu, gave his daughter Gwenyoonga, in marriage to Ntare V, and my informants again insisted that Kitagwenda was always friendly to Nkore and was never attacked by the Bagabe. It was perhaps a mark of the declining strength of Bunyoro that her former vassal states could no longer feel adequately protected and that they had to solicit

1. Supra. ch.IV, c.c.
or to accept the protection of Nkore. It must, however, be emphasised once again that the fact that Nkore was now what could be termed a protector of these countries, it did not mean that she had succeeded to the territorial hegemony that Bunyoro had enjoyed in this area in the past, still less that Nkore had become stronger than Bunyoro. It was merely a geographical accident, in that there was no other country which could have taken on this role while Bunyoro was preoccupied with her historical rival, Buganda. Moreover this role was honorary, since it is not remembered that Nkore ever fought any other country in defence of these smaller countries. Her friendship was sought by these countries because she was in a position to overrun them individually, but not because she could defend them against the more powerful countries like Bunyoro.

The most interesting of the contacts made by Nkore in this period was with Bunyaruguru. It is interesting because these contacts seem to predate the 19th century, despite the silence of the traditions on the subject, and also because Bunyaruguru was neither a kingdom nor a chiefdom. The early history of this area is very obscure. Its strategic importance lay in its geographical location in relation to the salt deposits of Lake Katwe. Since this was the largest single source of salt, the Banyankore must have obtained some, or most, of their supplies from there long before the 19th century. This hilly area (with hills ranging from 3000 to well over 6000 feet) seems to have
been independent of Bunyoro until at least the 19th century. It is largely populated by people of Buganda origin, being part of the wave of refugees who fled from Buganda in the mid 18th century after the killing of Kabaka Junju, and at the beginning of the reign of his twin-brother Semakokiro. This group, according to my informants in Bunyaruguru, travelled from Buganda by a north easterly route through Bwera, northern Nkore and finally settled in Bunyaruguru. Another smaller group, on a similar flight, took a southerly route through Kooki, southern Nkore, finally settling in Igara and to this latter group reference has been made. Within Bunyaruguru these people are known as Bakunta. Their Kiganda origin is confirmed by their totems and their clan system, which are quite different from those of the rest of Nkore, and also by the fact that they still speak a dialect which is quite different from any in this area. The group which settled in Igara has been completely absorbed in the native society, so that they now speak the same language and have the same clan system as everyone else in that region. This contrast to their northern brethren is, I think, indicative of the political order in Igara and Bunyaruguru at the time of the migration. Igara was then a kingdom, so that the immigrants were gradually absorbed in the social and political system whereas, in the absence of an organised and effective government in Bunyaruguru, they could only secure mutual protection


2. Supra. ch.1, p.36.
and corporate economic existence as an ethnic group. This is why they retained their distinct social characteristics up to the present day. Of the history of the area before or since the arrival of the Baganda refugees little is known before the 19th century, but it would appear that Bunyaruguru was relatively independent of Bunyoro and completely independent of Nkore. This independence would have been comparatively easy to maintain, as the area has well defined and defensible frontiers unlike most of the other areas in the whole region. It is bounded by rivers Kyambura and Kafunjo to the east and to the west respectively, the Enkombe hills (over 6000') to the south and lakes George and Edward to the north - the two lakes are joined by the Kazinga channel.

Unlike its immediate neighbours, Bunyaruguru did not evolve a system of government even remotely resembling kingship. The mode of social and political organisation was that of numerous clan heads who were leaders of the small clan units which were independent of each other. Some of the most prominent clan heads during the mid 19th century are remembered. For example, Araali and Bampata of the Baitira and Bagahya clans respectively were the most prominent, but not the only ones, in the area represented by the present Ankole subcounty of Kicwamba, while Tizikara and Bibumbu, both of the Bataizi clan, were the most prominent in Ndekye during the second half of the 19th century.
The degree of importance of the clan heads was directly pro-
portional to the numerical strength of the clan units they headed.
But, it was repeatedly emphasised to me, the other smaller clan
heads, who were more in number, were not only independent of each
other, but were also independent of the larger clan units, some
of whose leaders have been named above.

This system seems to have worked well enough until it
was disturbed from Busongola in the 19th century. According to
the traditions of this area, a Basongola family crossed the
channel and managed to set itself up as the rulers of most of
Bunyaruguru. Four members of this family are remembered to have
succeeded each other in the county: Kasese, Rutairuka, Makora
and Kuriofire - the last named was embroiled in the disputes of
this region with the colonial authorities at the beginning of
this century. Then another man, Kaihura, came from Busongola
and asked Araali, one of the local clan heads, for permission to
graze his cattle in the Kazinga area - about the only area margin-
ally suitable to this occupation in Bunyaruguru. This was
granted.

When he settled down, Kaihura drove Kuriofire out of
Bunyaruguru with the combined assistance of the local clan heads
and the latter was forced to retire across the channel once more.
Then Kaihura started demanding tribute from the clan heads and
generally treating them as his subjects, but the clan heads united

once again and threw Kaihura out. He made his way secretly to Nkore, to the court of Ntare V—whose mother was Kaihura's sister—and obtained troops. With these he came and set himself up as the chief of Bunyaruguru who, for the first time, owed allegiance to Nkore. It was these troops that crossed the channel around 1881 to put down Kaihura's rivals in Busongola, presumably as a pre-emptive measure to prevent them from forming a united front to attack Kaihura in his new domain. But the Banyankore also went to Busongola to raid for cattle, since they did not find any in Bunyaruguru apart from the herds of Kaihura.¹

According to Morris, however, Bunyaruguru remembers six of her former rulers among whom there were also Rutairuka, Kasheshe and Kuriofire and, furthermore, these rulers were of Mpororo and not of Busongola origin.² Against this all my informants in Bunyaruguru insisted that Kuriofire and his ancestors were all Basongola. In addition to this, if the names of the first three rulers given by Morris—Nkomyo, Ihungo and Goro—are correct, then it seems that they must have come from Busongola, or even Bunyoro, but not Mpororo because these names are Kisongola names. Morris also suggests that Karihura and Kuriofire were chiefs at the same time³, but this inference seems to have arisen from the confusion caused by the arrival of the Belgian and British colonisers in the area almost at the same time.

¹ Supra, p.411, p.28.
³ Ibid., p.31.
To these authorities some people who had been chiefs, some who were and some who had never been so, appealed separately for recognition as the "legitimate chief", while the European authorities had no means of assessing legitimate and spurious claims. The British authorities, to whose control most of the area ultimately fell, recognised the claims of Kaihura's son, Kasigano, not because they were manifestly valid, but because the area had to have a chief and when Kasigano flirted with the Belgian authorities, he was promptly deposed and replaced by a Munyankore chief, Kabarime.¹ This was the first Munyankore to be chief in Bunyaruguru and this fact, like the inclusion of Bunyaruguru in Nkore, was solely due to the British authorities.

Prior to Ntare V's armed assistance to Kaihura, Nkore seems to have had occasional trading contacts with Bunyaruguru, by which groups of Banyankore took dried meat or live sheep to Bunyaruguru and exchanged these for salt. This was a comparatively simple operation, since it involved small groups of people at a time. It is to be emphasised that the demand for salt was limited by the existence of alternative, though less viable, sources in Nkore itself. For the purpose of supplying cattle salt there existed scattered salty water wells in Nkore, so that the pastoralists near them did not need additional salt for this purpose. Salt for human consumption could also be obtained from

certain swamps, where the *emibimbiri* grasses grew. The roots of these, when dried and ground, were sufficiently salty for the purpose of food seasoning. Direct access to Bunyaruguru was obtained by Nkore only after Mutambuka had succeeded in making Igara recognise his overlordship and this rendered possible large scale operations such as the movements of troops to the area by Ntare. V. Ntare's troops are said to have been so exasperated by the lack of cattle and beautiful women in Bunyaruguru that they turned to wanton destruction of property there. Thus the comparative silence of the traditions about the contacts between Nkore and Bunyaruguru until this period may be attributed to three main factors. The first of these was the fact that Bunyaruguru was not a state or a single entity with which relations, even the predominantly hostile relations of this region, could be had; secondly, between it and Nkore there lay Igara and Buhweju, which were independent kingdoms, at least until the middle of the 19th century. Thirdly, Bunyaruguru was almost entirely unsuitable for cattle rearing and this must have been a sufficient disincentive for Nkore to refrain from raiding Bunyaruguru.

1. See Map III.

2. Information on Bunyaruguru is based on interviews with Messrs. Igufa, Kitwe, Nusu, Muhima, Atungawenka and Kabulisoke, among others, interviewed at Ndekye and Kicwamba, Bunyaruguru county, on the 8th/9th Feb. 1968.
By the 19th century "Mpororo" had become a convenient geographical expression used to describe those areas that had been the kingdom of Mpororo in the previous century, and it is in this sense that the expression is used henceforth. It is worth emphasising that, even after the break-up of their kingdom, the Bahororo did not lose their identity, and to the present day most of them still regard themselves as Bahororo, and never as Banyankore, no matter how long they or their ancestors have lived in Nkore.

We have already indicated that Igara was the one portion of the former kingdom of Mpororo which became a kingdom under one of the sons of Kahaya-Rutindangyezi, and that because of this fact, it was almost the only part of Mpororo that enjoyed internal stability throughout the 19th century. We have also seen that the Omugabe Rwebishengye raided Igara for cattle and that, apart from this minor raid, the relations between Nkore and Igara were peaceful. But the frequent inter-marriages between the ruling houses of Nkore and Mpororo, the subdivision of the royal clans of Mpororo into subclans and the increasing one-way migration from Mpororo to Nkore were to influence the policies of Mutambuka and Ntare V towards the component parts of Mpororo. Thus in the middle of the 19th century, Mutambuka sent his eldest son, Bacwa, at the head of an army whose primary mission seems to have been to force Igara to submit to his overlordship, but the Omutwe he sent was completely
defeated by Katana, the king of Igara. Unfortunately, Katana died, from natural causes, soon after this unsuccessful attack on his country and his brother, Rugaju, acted as regent during the minority of Rutondo, Katana's son. After the death of Rugaju, there was a succession war between Nyamurenga, Rugaju's son, and Rutondo and the latter emerged the victor. But before he was settled on the throne, Mutambuka struck again and overran the country. From that point in time Igara was forced to recognise the overlordship of Nkore and this was still the position when the Europeans came into the region. As a result of this campaign Mutambuka took the territory between the rivers Koga and Kandekye from Igara, and incorporated it into his own kingdom. This is the only area of the former kingdom of Mpororo which Mutambuka is said to have attacked, and the explanation seems to be that he did not attack the other areas under the various Bashambo subclans because he was related to most of them by marriage and that he was also a maternal son of one of them. So long as the royal clan of Mpororo was one, all its maternal sons in Nkore did not fight Mpororo, but when it subdivided into subclans, they fought each other both within and outside Mpororo. The accession of Ntare V after a long and bitter succession war changed Nkore's outlook towards some of the subclans of Mpororo. One such subclan which suffered, as a result of having their daughter married by the rulers of Nkore, was the Bene Rukaari.
We have already indicated that the Bene Rukaari ruled an area called Nshenyi after the death of the last king of Mpororo. After the death of Rukaari, the founder of that sub-clan, the area underwent another subdivision under his two prominent sons, Kabandwa and Kagurugunju. Kabandwa took the high ground including the Mwizi hills and the modern subcounty of Bugamba, and since, geographically, this area was adjacent to Nkore, he paid "tribute" occasionally to Nkore rulers rather than to Rwanda. Kagurugunju took the area including the present Kayonza subcounty and part of Kabezi and, for the reverse reason, paid "tribute" to Rwanda rather than to Nkore. The subclan of Bene Kahaya whose area was the present Ntungamo - mid way between Rwanda and Nkore - at first paid allegiance to Rwanda and, when they delayed in paying the tribute and they were attacked by the king Mutara III of Rwanda, they transferred their loyalty to Nkore during the reign of Mutambuka.¹ Within the central area of Mpororo - all of Mpororo except Igara and Rujumbura - the Bene Kihondwa appear to have been the strongest and also the main cause of the instability in the whole region owing to their raids against their own kinsmen. It is said, for instance, that they raided the Bene Ruhiri, divested them of all their cattle and, consequently, the latter fled to Nkore during the reign of

¹. According to Kagame, Mutara III died in 1853 and this ties in with our estimation of the duration of Mutambuka's reign in Nkore.
Ntare V. Today hardly any member of that clan is to be found in Mpororo. Similarly the Bene Kahaya still swear by the Bene Kihondwa, thereby indicating the indelible memory of the depredations inflicted upon them in the past. Again, with the same exceptions, Igara and Rujumbura, the descendants of Kahaya do not seem to have established viable systems of government in their respective areas and this largely explains the confusion, which greeted the British authorities, when they reached the area at the beginning of this century. The essence of their rule consisted in mustering groups of agriculturalist and pastoralist followers, who paid tribute to them and who fought for them, since the descendants of Kahaya-Rutindangyezi did not fight in person.¹

When Ntare V came to the throne, the leader of the Bene Rukaari in the area adjacent to Nkore was Nyetweka. But the whole subclan was also the maternal clan of Mukwenda, against whom Ntare had fought a succession war.² Moreover, some of the maternal uncles of Mukwenda, like Kijunde, Itiganda and Kantuure, had fought for him and had then fled from Nkore with their herds to Nshenyi. For this reason Ntare regarded the whole subclan as his enemies and, immediately after the reconstruction of his Emitwe, he despatched Igumira, his half brother and famous general, who overran Nyetweka's country, and he then posted his only son,

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¹ Oral traditions of Mpororo were recorded from Messrs Rwankyengyere, Bwafamba, Kananura, and others in separate interviews.

² See Table F.
Kabumbire, as chief in the area. A large part of Nshenyi was annexed to Nkore, but, on this occasion, Nyetweka was left in Nshenyi with all his property, but shorn of his authority. Then matters took a turn for the worse. A man named Mutana, a distinguished courtier of Mutambuka who had also fought for Ntare V in the succession war, had been sent to Nshenyi as adviser to Kabumbire, because the latter was still a young man. Then a few hot heads in Nshenyi conspired and murdered Mutana, who was the real power in Nshenyi. Nyetweka, fearing that naturally he would be suspected of complicity in the murder, brought presents to Ntare and declared his innocence and dissociated himself from the murder. My informants say that Nyetweka had had nothing to do with the murder. Ntare was not convinced, but he outwardly accepted Nyetweka's explanations while he secretly sent people to murder him on his way back. This was done and from then this portion of Bene Rukaari's territory became part of Nkore.

While harassing the Bene Rukaari, Ntare was very friendly to the Bene Kihondwa - another subclan descended from Kahaya which was the most powerful in central Mpororo as we have observed. His attitude to them, however, was not influenced by the strength of the clan. A trickle of this subclan had settled in Nkore during the reign of Mutambuka and these had steadfastly fought for Ntare during the civil war, and that is why he was partial to them. Moreover, Ntare V had given his own daughter, Gwembare, in marriage to Rwakagara, the most prominent member of the Bene Kihondwa in this period.
One other chiefdom of Mpororo that was fairly powerful and more independent than the rest was Rujumbura, where the Bene Kirenzi ruled. It seems fairly certain that Rujumbura never paid tribute to Rwanda or to Nkore, despite the claim by Katate and Kamugungunu that this was so. Rujumbura had very defensible boundaries, unlike her sister chiefdoms. From the north, working in a circular movement eastwards, it is bounded by Lake Edward and the river complex of Nchewere, Kahengye, Minera and Rubabo and by the range of rocky hills, ranging from 4000 to over 6500 feet, almost all round the country. This would have made it relatively easy for Rujumbura to defend her territorial integrity and this she seems to have done until the coming of the British.

The outbreak of rinderpest in Nkore in 1894 decimated cattle in Nkore, but did not spread to Rujumbura immediately, and the need to replenish stock led Ntare to send Igumira to raid for cattle in Rujumbura. Katate and Kamugungunu record that the expedition was very successful, but that the cattle captured from Rujumbura all died of rinderpest. According to my informants both in Rujumbura and in Nkore, however, the expedition came to grief and captured very few cattle, most of which did indeed die of the epidemic even before they reached Nkore. Worse still, Nkore lost many prominent warriors including Ntare's younger brother, Rujabuka. The fact that this expedition post-

dated the rinderpest epidemic seems to indicate that the sole object was to get cattle and not to punish Makobore, the then ruler of Rujumbura, for insubordination, since he does not seem to have been obedient to Nkore rulers before the raid and never became so afterwards.

Ntare's last raid nearly brought disaster to his kingdom. This, too, was aimed at increasing the supply of cattle in Nkore. In 1894 Nkore troops were sent to raid the Bagina clansmen in Kabezi area, the most prominent of whom were Kamunuga and Kataraiha. But, unfortunately for Ntare, these men were not only under the protection of Rwanda, they also looked after some of the herds of the king of Rwanda which, at the time, were also in this area. Some of the cattle belonging to the king of Rwanda were thus captured by Nkore raiders. The raid itself was not aimed at Rwanda and the operation itself did not even extend into Rwanda territory, though Katate and Kamugungunu and Morris¹ suggest that it did. All my informants on the subject say that the raid only extended to that part of Mpororo where the Bagina clansmen lived and this was certainly not Rwanda at that time.²

On being given the news of the raid, Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, the king of Rwanda, prepared to invade Nkore and, according to at least one eye-witness account, Kigeri brought as many fighters "as the cloud of midges", women and cattle, intending to occupy

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2. Messrs. Kamugungunu, Nyorozi, Bwafamba and Mugooha, among others, in personal interviews. See also Appendix B, recitation No.7.
Nkore. His troops swiftly overran Nkore and chased Ntare up to the north-eastern border with Buganda, but then Kigeri fell ill and it was at this point that a counter attack was ordered by Ntare, after hearing the rumour that Kigeri was in fact dead, not just ill. The Rwanda levies were retreating with their sick leader when Nkore warriors fell on them. Ntare's headquarters were then at Kagaga (Map 1), where the expectant wife of Igumira, Ntare's brother and leading general, gave birth to a baby daughter who was named Kagaga after the place, and this daughter grew up to become the official sister of the Omugabe Kahaya II. In this counter attack there were heavy casualties on both sides - Ntare lost, among those killed in battle, no fewer than four leaders of the Emitwe - Rwairangira, Rwaishundu and the brothers Itiri and Bariita. However, Nkore warriors drew great courage from the rumour that Kigeri was dead, and they drove the Banyarwanda out. It appears that if illness had not intervened, and thus got the invaders disheartened, Nkore would have had very little chance of dislodging the enemy from her territory. By all accounts Kigeri died before he reached his capital in Rwanda and Ntare survived him only for a few weeks.

1. Bwafamba recalls going to the camp of Kigeri with his father and he says he was about twelve years of age at the time. Note also that the king of Rwanda had brought his own cattle from Rwanda because he thought those of Nkore were too ugly to supply him with milk and for the same reason he brought his own women.

2. This story was recorded from Mrs. Kagaga herself and her other sister Nyabayangwe and confirmed by other informants.
We can at least make one general conclusion about the relations between Nkore and the various parts of Mpororo in this period. This is that the intermarriages between the two ruling houses had brought those families so close that the dealings between them and between the two countries were an extension of the feuds of the royal family of Nkore itself. Thus Mutambuka did not attack the Bene Rukaari because he had married two wives from them and Ntare V did attack them because they were related to his rival for the throne, and so on.

We have so far made passing references to this or that state being a tributary state to Nkore without examining the nature of such tributariness. The "tributary" status of Buhweju, Igara, Buzimba, Kitagwenda and some chiefdoms of Mpororo was essentially a formality. It consisted primarily in the sending of gifts to the Mugabe of Nkore, and these gifts were neither onerous nor frequent. The gifts usually consisted of an occasional lion or leopard skin, a pot of honey (honey was mixed with the Omugabe's beer) and, even more rarely, the odd elephant tusk or two which, during the 19th century, the traders from the Buhaya states were taking in exchange for bark cloths, beads and cowrie shells. In addition to the gifts, there were also camps, near the palace of the Omugabe, for each of the representatives of those ruling houses. There was no fixed rule as to who represented which ruler or for how long. The ruler of Buhweju, for instance, might send his own son for a period of, say, "two moons" -
about one and a half months - and then replace him with any of his trusted courtiers or his relative without consulting the Mugabe at all. The chief function of the representative was to transmit messages between the two rulers and to pass on the gifts to the Mugabe. Two points seem to be obscure in connection with these "satellite states" and their "overlord Nkore". The first is that it is not clear what Nkore stood to gain by having them at all - that is besides the gifts which she got and which she could have done well enough without. All the internal and external policies - the appointment and dismissal of chiefs, the grouping of Emitwe and the conduct of the raids - were all in the hands of those rulers and were never subject to the jurisdiction of the Mugabe. I was unable, for example, to get confirmation, from my informants, of the statement by Morris that men from Buhweju accompanied Ntare V's campaigns against "Busongola, Igara, Toro, Rujumbura and Rwanda."¹ There was of course nothing to stop any handful of adventurers from joining Nkore's raiding expeditions in the hope of personal gain, but this would not be the same thing as requisitioning troops from a vassal state by another state claiming overall political control. Nkore fought her own wars single-handed even after acquiring these "satellites". The second point arises from the first one. All my informants on this subject insisted that the absence of those foreign representatives from the court of the Mugabe for a

¹ H.F.Morris, A History of Ankole, p.28.
lengthy period, or the failure to deliver the "tribute", was taken as a sign of rebellion and the ruler concerned would be raided and brought back into line. Now, it has been argued in the preceding pages that the existence of the foreign representatives at the court of Nkore did not pre-date the reign of Mutambuka. The reasonable inference seems to be that any rebellious ruler could only be brought into the fold if the internal situation in Nkore itself permitted the sending of punitive expeditions for the purpose. This could not have been frequently done because the internal troubles\(^1\) and the external pressures on Nkore could not have allowed her to spare the warriors for disciplinary purposes. One therefore gets the impression that, since it was Mutambuka and Ntare V who annexed territory from their neighbours, unlike their immediate predecessors who raided only for cattle, these two rulers felt that the safest way to forestall any punitive measures to regain territory lost by their neighbours was to establish this nominal client-relationship. So long as the representatives were at court, Nkore could be reasonably sure that all was well in that direction and the threat of corrective raids may have been a sufficient guarantee of their continued good behaviour, even if Nkore might not have been in a position to carry them out. The latter then might have refrained from making taxing demands on her clients in order to avoid the possibility of forcing them

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\(^1\) Infra. p. 330-335.
into a position in which they could have called her bluff. Moreover, none of these foreign rulers was in a position to know the internal weaknesses of Nkore and all of them were sufficiently hostile to each other never to be able to act in concert against their overlord. If this conclusion is correct, it was a very clumsy safeguard, but then so many aspects of Nkore's political system were clumsy. The point is that the system worked. On balance, however, it seems that it was the mutual hostility and rivalry of the clients that provided the effective deterrent against any attempt to regain the territory lost to Nkore.

The little control that Nkore exercised over her "satellites" may best be judged against the vehement resistance which met the attempts of the British administrators to merge some of the principalities of Mpororo and the kingdoms of Buhweju and Igara into Nkore. Repeated attempts to cajole Ndagara, the king of Buhweju, into recognising Kahaya II of Nkore as his king failed, and a British-led expedition composed of the Collector"Lt. Wood and 60 constables" invaded Buhweju and "during an attempt to dislodge him (Ndagara) he was shot with his son Chiga (Nyakiiga)." In that same year, 1901, Musinga, the king of Igara, committed suicide rather than face the indignity of recognising Kahaya as his king. This resistance did not end with the deaths of these rulers, for in 1908 one of the Baganda chiefs

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1. Tax Collectors were later renamed District Commissioners.
who was put in charge of Igara by the British, presumably to establish order and effective administration there, had the following to report to Kahaya: "I am writing to tell you about our District Egara, all the people here are rebellers, and they don't give us some food, if one of our men wants to walk about, they want to kill him...." Further west and south-west, resistance to this forced merger took a different form. In Kajara and Rujumbura the rulers and their important followers merely took to the hills when white men appeared in their regions, so that in 1901 the Collector, Ankole District, was reporting to H.M.Special Commissioner that his fears about various chiefs moving into "German East Africa" had materialised, because both Makobore and Rugarama, the rulers of Rujumbura and Kajara respectively, had moved with many followers and their herds to Karagwe rather than place themselves under the Mugabe of Nkore, and the report concluded: "I am inclined to think that the Germans have used much influence in persuading the Bahima possessing wealth to remove into their territory." This of course was not the point. The point at issue, about which the rulers of Nkore seem to have deliberately misled the early European administrators, was that these other rulers came from royal families as respectable as that of Nkore itself, and for that reason they


could hardly have been expected to place themselves willingly under the Mugabe of Nkore, whom they rightly regarded as their equal. The need to consolidate Ankole "into a compact whole"\(^1\), for economic reasons, with which the early colonisers were primarily concerned, was as irrelevant as it was incomprehensible to the rulers of those small kingdoms and chiefdoms who, in any case, did not regard themselves or their countries as being poor. These areas were eventually merged into Nkore kingdom, not because of the latter's control over them in the past, but because the British forced them into the union. In fact it can be said, in retrospect, that the union never really succeeded beyond the maps and the files of the protectorate government. Makobore eventually succeeded in keeping his area out of Ankole, and it became part of the district of Kigezi, over which the Bagabe of Nkore have never ruled. The people of Kajara, part of Ankole kingdom since the beginning of this century, have always regarded themselves as Bahororo, and never as Banyankore, and to them the kingship of Nkore, to the extent that they had any dealings with it, has remained something of a distant nuisance, nothing more. In Buhweju, Ndibarema, the son of the last king of that country, has, since 1901, always exercised greater authority than the Mugabe ever did. He continues to wield a great deal of influence since his retirement in 1940 despite the fact that, since that date, he has had no "official" status in Buhweju.

\(^1\) Ibid.
We are now in a position to estimate the extent of the territory gained by Nkore in the period just before the advent of the colonial administration. After Mutambuka's successful campaign against Buhweju, he extended the boundary of Nkore north-westwards to include the rest of the modern sub-county of Rwanyamahembe, right up to the present boundary between Buhweju and Kashari counties, and the lower ground south of the Bukiro hills, which is mostly the present subcounty of Kigarama in Sheema county. Then, after Mutambuka had defeated Igara, he annexed the area between the rivers Koga and Kandekye and this remained as the western limit of Nkore right up to the coming of the British. The northern limit of Nkore was the river Katonga beyond which she did not expand, even after the introduction of the colonial administration. This limit seems to have been reached gradually and without war and for that reason we cannot say for certain just when it was reached. The eastern boundary is much more difficult to estimate, because most of this area has always been largely uninhabited most of the time. On Map 1 (Mutambuka and Ntare V) Kaboyo is shown as the extreme eastern limit of Nkore. We know from traditional accounts that Rwakoma, a son of the Mugabe Macwa, was one of the princes of Nkore who had settled here and who, whilst there, had a son who was named Kaboyo after that place. Kaboyo was the grandfather

1. For the whole of this paragraph, Maps 111 and IV should be read in conjunction.
of Mr. Mugooha, one of my informants.¹ We also know, from traditions, that during the reign of Mutambuka most of this area was occupied by many princes of Nkore and some of the leaders of the Emitwe.² But we cannot conclude from this that the area was always Nkore, even since the reign of Macwa. The trouble with pastoralists is that they usually moved in a body out of the area, depending on the season, so that whereas some of the time the area was occupied by people who owed allegiance to Nkore, some of the time it was not occupied at all. According to Kiwanuka's informants, Buganda's western boundary did not extend west of the 20th milestone on the modern Masaka-Mbarara road,³ and, on our Map 1, the 20th milestone is only a few miles beyond Nkore's eastern boundary. All one can say with certainty is that, whatever expansion Nkore achieved in this direction, it was by the process of filling out an empty space and not by acquiring the territory from a previous owner, and that definite limits of Buganda and Nkore in this region were not laid down until the coming of the British. Finally, Ntare V's attack on Nyetweka resulted in extending Nkore territory south westwards to include the rest of the present Kikagate subcounty, in Isingiro county, and parts of Rukoni and of Bugamba in Rwampara county.

¹ Mr. Mugooha, interviewed at Igorora, Ibanda county, on the 26th April, 1968.
² See Appendix B, song No.1 (verse 2).
³ M. Kiwanuka, op. cit.
It can hardly be over-emphasised that the notion of specific boundaries is of European origin in the whole of the interlacustrine region, save in those few cases where natural frontiers were visibly marked by lakes, rivers or mountains.

Despite all this show of aggressive ability, Nkore was never free from internal upheavals during the two reigns covered in this chapter. Mutambuka's accession had been a peaceful one, due to the fact that none of his brothers enjoyed anything like the fame that he had already gained as a prince. He had personally led several Emitwe in fighting for his father to gain the throne and in repelling several raids which the Baganda had made during his father's lifetime. None of his brothers had achieved so much, so that it would have been difficult for any of them to raise a force to challenge him, since such a contest would have appeared to many Banyankore as the "suffering of spears for nothing." Nonetheless Mutambuka's court was full of petty intrigues which disturbed the kingdom. Soon after he came to the throne, one of his brothers, Munaninga, left Nkore for Karagwe in protest against his accession - this being the traditional form of expressing dissatisfaction with the government of the day. After the flight of Munaninga, another brother, called Kikamba, who lived in what is now Mawogola county of Buganda, was reported to be in rebellion with the intention of seizing the throne from his elder brother. All my informants said that there was no truth in this report, but
Mutambuka accepted it and sent his sons, who went to Bwera and killed Kikamba without fighting. It seems that the flight of Munaninga had convinced Mutambuka that the other princes were conspiring against him, hence his extreme reaction to what seems to have been no more than a malicious rumour against Kikamba. Stenning¹ and Katate and Kamugungunu² accept the story that Kikamba was a rebel prince, although the last two authors also express their doubts about it. The chain of events following upon the death of Kikamba is complicated because it involves the maternal uncles, of the princes, who were then resident in Nkore.

After Kikamba was put to death, it was reported to Mutambuka that Mpimbo and Rwakarimirwa, who were of the maternal clan of Kikamba, had incited the unfortunate Kikamba to rebel against the king. Of these two men Rwakarimirwa was Mutambuka's uncle, because he and Mutambuka's father, Gasyonga 1, had the same mother, Bukundu, but not the same father. Gasyonga's father, Rwebishengye, had married the younger sister of Bukundu, and not Bukundu herself. When Bukundu came to visit her sister in Nkore, she slept with Rwebishengye and conceived Gasyonga. She returned to Mpororo and eventually gave birth to Gasyonga, who resembled his physical father, and for that reason, Bukundu's

husband insisted that the child be sent to Nkore. By her substantive marriage in Mpororo Bukundu had had another son, Rwakarimirwa, who came to live in Nkore when his half brother Gasyonga grew up. It was this same man who was to fall out with Mutambuka, whose uncle he was. Mpimbo, the other character involved in this episode, was also of Mpororo origin and related to Mutambuka. Mpimbo's father was Bukundu's full brother, so that Mpimbo was also Gasyonga's "younger brother" as the Banyankore put it - that is to say the first maternal cousin. Thus Mpimbo was also Mutambuka's uncle.

When it was reported that these uncles had instigated Kikamba, Mutambuka had Rwakarimirwa's tongue cut out and Mpimbo's eyes put out, for he believed that they were responsible for his having ordered the death of his brother Kikamba, in whose innocence he had come to believe too late. In addition to losing his tongue, Rwakarimirwa was banished from the kingdom, and he committed suicide rather than face this indignity in old age. These intemperate actions show that Mutambuka was a very hot tempered ruler and, it is said, that he ordered most of the raids of his reign in fits of temper during which no one could dare question their advisability. These were minor eruptions compared to what was to follow.

Mutambuka's official sister was Kibangura, and she was married in one of the most powerful clans of those days - the clan of Bene Itanzi. By that marriage she had had a son called Nyinabujwahire. But she conceived a great hatred for Mutambuka's
eldest son, Bacwa, and this unusual sentiment is very difficult to explain, although it was to put Nkore through problems far out of scale with the importance of that woman. According to some informants, Kibangura had tried to seduce Bacwa to make love to her, and Bacwa had been appalled and had refused because this would have been an incestuous affair, hence the hatred. But Bacwa was not merely the eldest son of Mutambuka, he was also the greatest of Mutambuka's generals. He had led the campaigns against Isansa of Kooki and Rwegira of Karagwe and had had several Emitwe under his personal command during his father's lifetime. Moreover, by virtue of leading the Emitwe, he had also made many influential personal friends and followers in the country. Thus he was regarded as the obvious successor to his father by most people. This uncomfortable feud in the royal family was further complicated by the fact that Nyinabujwahire, Kibangura's son, married Mutambuka's daughter, Bakaran-gwire - then as now a permissible marriage in Nkore. This then meant that Mutambuka was both Nyinabujwahire's maternal uncle as well as his father-in-law. While the silent feud between Bacwa and his aunt Kibangura was going on, there was a drinking party at the palace to which both Bacwa and Nyinabujwahire went.

1. For personal reasons these informants, of whom there were five, requested me to withhold their names in respect of this information.
Bacwa got drunk and Nyinabujwahire tried to persuade him to go home in order that he should not be seen to be drunk in front of his father (this was regarded as showing disrespect to one's father). Bacwa, in a fit of drunken temper, speared Nyinabujwahire to death and the chain of misfortunes was set in motion. At the instance of Kibangura, Bacwa was banished from the kingdom by his father, and he went to live in Mpororo and then in Rwanda, where he was murdered, it is said, by Kibangura's agents. But, before Bacwa's death was known in Nkore, Kibangura had threatened to "defile" the royal drum\(^1\) unless one of Bacwa's sons was put to death in atonement for the death of her own son. Mutambuka yielded and Rukamisa, the eldest son of Bacwa, was put to death. When Mutambuka learnt of his son's murder in Rwanda, he was furious. He banished the whole clan of Bene Itanzi from the kingdom - this being the clan into which Kibangura was married - and, consequently, those members of the clan who did not flee the kingdom had to disguise themselves by joining other clans, and this is why this clan is one of the most insignificant in Nkore today.

Bacwa had already had several children by the time he was banished from the kingdom and he had left these behind in Nkore. His children were: - Rukamisa, Igumira, ...
Ntare, Bikwatsi, Rwakarombe and a daughter, Magwende. After the death of Rukamisa, Mutambuka divided the rest of Bacwa's children among his own sons for upbringing. Igumira was given to Makumbi, Ntare to Rukongyi, Rwakarombe to Nkuranga, Bikwatsi to Gandiga and Mutambuka himself brought up the daughter Magwende. This, in Kinyankore parlance, meant that the sons of Bacwa were "adopted" by their uncles and the daughter by her grandfather. Because Mukwende, Muhikira and their sister, Bakarangwire the wife of Nyinabujwahire, were of the same mother, they were regarded as enemies of Bacwa's family and for that reason they were not given any of Bacwa's children for upbringing.

Against this unhappy background it is possible to understand the bitterest succession war of the dynasty, which followed the death of Mutambuka. All my informants are united in saying that, if Bacwa had not predeceased his father, he would have taken the throne without fighting for it. This seems to be a very reasonable assumption, because Bacwa was in the same position as his father had occupied a generation before, so that there was

1. The general assumption that Ntare V was Mutambuka's son is incorrect. He was Bacwa's son and hence Mutambuka's grandson. The assumption seems to have arisen from the fact that Ntare succeeded Mutambuka and this is the only explanation I could get from my informants. Further evidence that this was so is afforded by the fact that the official sister of Ntare V, after he came to the throne, was Magwende who was Bacwa's daughter and this is even admitted by Katate and Kamugungunu who, nevertheless, record (p.116) that Ntare was Mutambuka's son. Magwende could not have been Ntare's Queen-Sister if she had been anything else but his sister.

2. See Tables A and F.
little likelihood of his candidacy being challenged by any of his brothers for none of them had his public stature. But Bacwa had died before his father and in very unhappy circumstances. The death of Mutambuka left Nkore with several grown up princes who were not only divided along the traditional maternal alignments, but who were also embittered by the death of Bacwa and Rukamisa. On one side was Rukongyi, Makumbi and Nkuranga, all of whom lined up behind Rukongyi, who was the eldest son of Mutambuka on that side. On the other side was ranged Mukwenda and Muhikira, the former being the elder of the two uterine brothers on that side. Most of the other princes were behind Rukongyi, and the reason for this seems to be that most people, and not just the princes alone, associated Bacwa's misfortunes with Mukwenda's side.

During the purification ceremonies following upon the death of Mutambuka, against all rules of conduct in succession wars and known precedents, Rukongyi was murdered by one of Mukwenda's supporters. Because of this element of surprise, Mukwenda's party managed to scatter the supports of Rukongyi who

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1. Purification ceremonies were undertaken by every family in Nkore, and not just by the royal family alone, after the death of the head of the family. The object was to "cleanse" the property, relatives and friends of the departed so that the successor should not live under the shadow of death. It was the last act of mourning and after the conclusion of that ceremony, mourning, in any form, was forbidden. During the ceremony itself no hostile acts, including quarrelling, was allowed as this was disrespectful to the dead and hence the enormity of this murder.
fled towards the border with Buganda under the leadership of Makumbi, the other younger brother of Rukongyi. Once in Kabula, Makumbi's party sent emissaries to Buganda for assistance, but, unknown to them, Mukwenda had beaten them to that source. The Muganda chief who came to Kabula, ostensibly to make blood brotherhood with Makumbi (to ensure that there would not be any treachery in the transaction from either side), had secret instructions from Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda to kill as many as he could of Makumbi's supporters. Makumbi went to Kabula with the senior princes and the leading warriors of his party to meet Mukasa, the chief of Buddu who had made elaborate plans for their reception. He had had a large house built, the inside walls of which were lined with barkcloths. Between the barkcloths and the actual walls of the house, there were huge spaces where armed men were hidden before the arrival of Makumbi and his party. When the latter arrived, they were asked to leave their spears outside the house, because, the Baganda said, since they were coming to make blood brotherhood, they need not carry offensive weapons into the house where they were to be received. The request was complied with without hesitation because it seemed reasonable. When they settled down, inside the house, the chief from Buganda signalled to the hidden men and they fell onto the unsuspecting party and massacred them to a man.

1. Katate and Kamugungunu record twenty princes and fifty eight other people killed.
"Only the Baganda could have thought of such a thing", some elderly Banyankore remark bitterly. The effect of this massacre on the political system of Nkore was disastrous. It is, however, necessary to point out that the massacre itself was not planned to have the long term effect on Nkore - political instability arising out of the fact that the death of so many princes, in line for the throne, left Nkore without an obvious successor after the death of Ntare V. In the first place, neither the Baganda nor their allies in Nkore could have foreseen such a consequence, or the fact that Ntare would win and then die without an heir. In the second place, the success of the trap itself was an accident. The slightest suspicion on the part of the victims could have broken the whole conspiracy wide open prematurely and the massacre, then, would not have been so complete. The immediate result of the massacre was counterproductive, since it seems to be the sole incident which made Ntare resolve to carry on the struggle, unto death if necessary. The military significance of this and the subsequent dispatch of Buganda troops to aid Mukwenda was negative - it prolonged the war, but did not decide its outcome because Mukwenda did not even win it. One can in fact argue that this massacre sealed Mukwenda's fate, because it embittered many people who decided to fight and die rather than live in an Nkore ruled over by Mukwenda.
Up to this point Ntare had not been considered as a candidate for the throne, not only because of his age - he was younger than most of Mutambuka's sons - but because he was not Mutambuka's son. It was for that reason that he had not gone to Kabula to negotiate the terms and plans of Buganda's assistance. This fact alone saved him from being killed along with the other princes, as it did two other sons of Mutambuka, Nkuranga and Gandiga, who stayed behind in their camp because they were younger than all the other princes who went to Kabula. It was not, as Stenning suggests, on account of being forewarned of the treacherous intentions of the Baganda that Ntare had stayed behind. If he had been forewarned, there is no reason to suppose that he could have let his kinsmen walk unsuspectingly into a lethal trap. Nor indeed did Ntare owe his life to being untrusted by the other princes of his party on account of being a son of a "captive" mother as Morris suggests. If they had not trusted him, they would not have fled with him and lived in the same camp with him in the first place and, in the second place, Kiboga, his mother, was not a captive. It was after the massacre of Kabula that Ntare came into the limelight.

When the news got to the camp of the massacred party, its remaining members decided that any more fighting was pointless and they agreed to disperse and go into exile. This mood of despair is understandable when one considers that this party had so far lost two actual candidates and several potential ones in the massacre, before they even had the chance to fight their opponents in a straight battle and yet the ranks of their opponents were still intact. Few people, at this stage, could have had any doubts as to which side the gods were on, because every Munyankore believed that bad luck was always an act of divine intervention. Worse still, nearly all the senior princes and the leaders of the Emitwe who had first backed Rukongyi and then Makumbi, had been massacred at Kabula, and this deprived their side of the seasoned warriors around whom other warriors were gradually collecting. Both Nkuranga and Gandiga, the only surviving sons of Mutambuka in this party, were in full agreement with the decision not to fight any more. Not Ntare, however. He is said to have told his colleagues that any or all of them could go to Bwera into exile, but that he would not go to Buganda again, since the Baganda had treacherously murdered his kinsmen, and that he was determined to return to Nkore and die at the hands of Mukwenda as several of his uncles had done before him. In those circumstances, this spirited rejection of the prevailing counsels of despair was an act of courage, which impressed his demoralised party. It was then that the men present, inclu-
ding Ntare's two uncles, decided that they would fight behind him and, if necessary, die in the attempt to put him on the throne. Most people would have been unwilling to back any of the sons of Mutambuka in this party because it was felt that "the sons of Mutambuka were cursed by the gods", as informant after informant put it to me. And yet the members of this party, and particularly the princes, could never have lived in Nkore if the other sons of Mutambuka—Mukwenda and Muhikira—had become the rulers, because these had shed the blood of their own kinsmen away from the battlefield—they had killed their half brothers in cold blood. This consideration was largely responsible for many people coming to Ntare's side and for his eventual triumph. Nor could the question of Ntare's legitimacy arise. Since he was a son of Bacwa who, in the opinion of most people, would have been certain to succeed to his father's throne, and since he had been adopted by his uncle Rukongyi, and hence he could legitimately inherit his property, he was amply qualified to succeed both of them. He now succeeded to their claim to a throne neither of them had occupied. We have already discussed the general concept of legitimacy in Nkore and one might add here that, by losing the will to fight in the middle of the conflict, Nkuranga and Gandiga had surrendered their claims as the legitimate successors of Mutambuka to the next generation, but this only to consider the finer points of the system. The decisive factor

1. Supra. ch. IV, p. 5. 
was that Ntare was willing to challenge his rivals when his uncles were not, and the supplementary consideration that his uncles were considered to be too unlucky to be fought for by most people. Ntare also had a personal stake in this contest beside the throne because, by fighting Mukwenda and his party, he was also avenging the death of his own father, Bacwa. From the time it was decided to fight behind Ntare, this battered band returned to Nkore, and Ntare had several narrow escapes with his life, largely due to the relentless energy of his mother and to the courage of a band of a few devoted followers. The story of Ntare's defeat in the next two battles, his being unsuccessfully poisoned by Mukwenda's agents and his final victory at Mugoye, in the modern county of Ibanda, is told by Katate and Kamugungunu and by Morris.¹

When Ntare eventually got the throne, he ruled over a very embittered population. The few survivors of the royal family were split right through the middle, and so were his subjects, by the bitter memories of the blood relations who had perished in the war. It was to his great credit that he was able to weld together such a divided society to the extent that he did. He was able to raid his neighbours and to expand the boundaries of his kingdom despite this great setback. Nevertheless, the kingdom or rather the political system, rested on a

foundation that was basically fragile, because the cream of the ruling class, and this included nearly all the sons of Mutambuka, had perished in the carnage of the civil war. A class society without a ruling class is always a dangerous anomaly, but this danger to the whole structure was not immediately apparent. It was only after Ntare's sudden death without leaving a son that the inherent weakness of a kingdom without princes in a direct line for the throne nearly broke the kingdom into pieces. Ntare himself had aggravated this situation by giving vent to his suspicions when he had his uncle, Nkuranga, put to death with two other princes despite the fact that Nkuranga had faithfully supported him in the bleak days of the civil war. This came about, apparently, at the instigation of his enigmatic mother, Kiboga. Ntare had had only one son, Kabumbire, who had predeceased him. But the soothsayers kept on telling Ntare and Kiboga that Nkuranga's children would one day take the throne and this was the source of the hatred. Nkuranga, at the time of his death, had only one physical son, Rwakatogoro, who was then an infant. But he had also adopted Nyamihondo who was a son of Rukongyi (killed at the beginning of the civil war) and Rwakarombe who was a son of Bacwa. These were regarded as his sons because he had brought them up after the deaths of their fathers and that is why both of them were put to death with Nkuranga. Rwakatogoro was spared at the time because he was an infant - and a son of that infant was to come to the throne as Gasyonga II in 1945.
The last decade of Ntare's reign was a very unhappy one for both himself and for his people. In rapid succession the country suffered from disabling epidemics - tetanus, the jigger epidemic (up to then unknown in Nkore so that nobody knew how to fight it) and an outbreak of rinderpest. These struck a people just recovering from an epidemic of smallpox which had taken a heavy toll, including Ntare's only son Kabumbire. Moreover, the epidemics struck just at the point where the economic axis of the society was weakest. By almost wiping out the cattle, the rinderpest had made the pastoralists - the ruling class and the soldiers - economically destitute and physically weak because they were not used to eating vegetable food. Worse still, the jigger epidemic had crippled the agricultural population so that food production was also decreased and, in some areas, halted altogether. This then meant that the once proud and excitable people were now the hungry and the sick population over whom Ntare ruled in the twilight of his reign. As if this was not enough, the Banyankore had also to cope with Buganda raids which, towards the end of the reign, were of a high nuisance value rather than of material harm. Buganda itself was in confusion towards the end of Mutesa's reign and soon after it, when the religious denominations were fighting each other for domination at the court of Mwanga. Towards the end of 1894 the Banyarwanda attacked Nkore in large numbers as we have seen. It was not surprising, in the circumstances, that the invaders advanced far into Nkore territory without meeting any real opposition and, although
Nkore itself carried out raids against some parts of Mpororo in this period, we have seen that these were far less successful than those which had been carried out before.

The most erosive element, so far as the traditional political system was concerned, of the whole range of events in this period was the arrival of the white man. The immediate significance of that event was not realised at the time and indeed its practical results lie outside the scope of this study in point of time. In 1889 H.M. Stanley passed through Nkore on his way to the coast with an expedition that had set out ostensibly to "relieve" Emin Pasha, who was believed to be in danger from the Mahdist nationalists. The route through Nkore was taken as the least of three possible evils. The party could have travelled through Buganda and Kavirondo and thence to the coast, but it was feared that Mwanga would harass the expedition. The second alternative was the route through Rwanda, to Lakes Nyasa or Tanganyika and thence to the coast, but this was the least known and the longest of the possible routes. The third was roughly through north-west Nkore, traversing the centre of the kingdom up to the river Kagyera (called Alexandra Nile by Stanley) and then proceeding to the coast. This route was taken not without a certain amount of misgiving, for Stanley believed, wrongly, not only that Nkore was tributary to Buganda, but also that there were many Buganda troops in Nkore who might attack the expedition.1 Along the way, in the modern counties of Ibanda,

Buhweju and the lowlands of Kashari, the terrified villagers took to their heels at the sight of the members of the expedition and it was this stampede, caused by the sight of white people, that Stanley mistook for ecstatic welcome for his party in these parts. He appears to have thought that they were vacating their homes to make room for him and for the members of the expedition.¹ It was these fleeing villagers who relayed the news of the presence of white men to Kiboga and then to Ntare—it was not Stanley who sent messengers to Ntare, as he claims, because he had no men who could have known the whereabouts of Ntare. A graphic account of Stanley's progress through Nkore is provided elsewhere.² The highlight of this journey was the making of blood brotherhood between Stanley and Bucunku, who was an uncle of Ntare V, and not his first cousin as Morris suggests.³ The aim of this ceremony, as far as the Banyankore were concerned, was to ensure that Stanley intended no harm to Nkore generally and to Ntare particularly. In fact Ntare resolutely refused to meet Stanley face to face. Later Stanley was to produce a "treaty" between him and Ntare which he understood to mean that Ntare had offered him suzerainty over Nkore and this "concession" was voluntarily transferred to the I.B.E.A. Co. by Stanley.⁴ No one, among my informants, was aware that Bucunku

¹. Ibid., p.335.
⁴. Ibid.
had done anything else besides making blood brotherhood, and it would appear that whatever form of signature Stanley may have obtained from Bucunku, it must have been mistaken by the latter as something to do with the ceremony of blood brotherhood. These minor considerations were overtaken by events outside Nkore, where the Germans and the British were staking out claims all over Eastern Africa for colonies. The major British interest in Nkore stemmed from the belief that in order to curtail the supply of arms to Bunyoro - more precisely to Kabarega who was fighting the British - it was necessary to get some form of control over Nkore. To this end Capt. Lugard entered Nkore in June 1891 and, after the customary blood brotherhood ceremony, he secured a "treaty" by which, among other things, Ntare placed his country under the "protection" of the I.B.E.A. Co. Generally speaking such "treaties" with the native chief" were the smartest confidence trick that all Empire builders used in this region. It was a trick, because it is not clear that the rulers had any idea of what these treaties were all about. Secondly, in this case, it is difficult to see what kind of protection this Company could have afforded Ntare since all its officials - or what remained of them - in most of the present East Africa did not even have adequate protection for themselves. Most of the remnants of the Company's servants were stranded in isolated stockades in modern Kenya, this being partly the reason why the Company had to hand over its "responsibilities" to the British
Government. Ntare was to sign another treaty in 1894 with Major Cunningham, placing his country under British protection - the British Government having taken over the claims of the Company in the area the year before. On this occasion Mbaguta signed on behalf of Ntare who had not as yet judged it safe enough to meet a white man face to face - he never did.\footnote{The Texts of these "treaties" are appended in "A History of Ankole", by H.F. Morris, p.46-8.} The full impact of this new element - the European - was neither felt nor understood until long after Ntare's death. Suffice to say that their presence, though a source of public amazement and curiosity, was viewed by many with great disquiet, for no one knew why they had suddenly appeared, almost from nowhere, and the fact that they were "red", as the Banyankore call all white people, could not have failed to cause uneasiness among a population in which the incomprehensible was always equated to the supernatural.

The final blow was the death of Ntare V in 1895. Were it not for the unsettling events of the preceding decade and the fact that Ntare died suddenly and without a male heir, it is probable that his death, like that of his predecessors, would have caused far less pandemonium than it did. The news of his death was broken to a public that had been beset by unceasing bad luck for some fifteen years or so.
The reactions to this news were swift and violent. Magwende, Ntare's official sister, ordered that all the wives of Ntare be put to death, and she herself committed suicide after making sure that her orders had been carried out. She needed not have waited because most of the wives had committed suicide of their own accord. Several close followers of Ntare committed suicide - like Kamabebe, Ntare's first cousins. This latter is said to have told Ntare on his death bed: "If you die, I will also die with you because I cannot live with the Bahinda (princes) after living with you; you caused the death of many of them before you got your throne."¹ This was the attitude of those people outside the royal family who either committed suicide or who fled the country. A great number of prominent men also left the country - men who had led the Emitwe under Ntare and those who had had some form of public standing during the reign or during the preceding one, migrated with their followers and their herds to Buganda and, a few, to Karagwe. A few years later Kahaya was to petition the colonial government in Uganda for the return of "fourteen chiefs", forty "prominent cattle owners" who had left the kingdom with "796 personal followers" and over 8000 head of cattle and who had gone to Buganda thereby impoverishing Nkore.² These were actions of a

¹ Mr. Rwabugondo, in a personal interview. He had been a personal servant to Ntare and he recalls the day Ntare died in detail because he was in the palace.

² Kahaya 11 to D.C. Ankole, (letter undated), File No. 1235, (Entebbe Archives).
dazed population and the cause of this situation was the
general belief that kingship itself had come to an end, since
Ntare had left no heir to the throne, while the prominent prin-
ces of the previous generation had been swallowed up in the civil
war. In addition, most of the senior military leaders of the
country, who were the backbone of the kingdom, had also died in
the course of the succession war. The bitter fruits of the
succession war were being reaped by the whole country.

In this vacuum of authority and universal despair, the
token vanguard of the British administrators arrived and Nkore
was plucked up from its traditional setting and transplanted
into a new way of life. But before this process could take
shape, a new Mugabe had to be found for Ankole, as it was now
increasingly being called. There were only two princes who, in
the circumstances, would have furnished the country with alter­
native choices for the throne. These were Igumira, a son of
Bacwa, and Kahitsi, a son of Makumbi, one of the victims of
Kabula massacre. Of the two, Igumira was the most attractive
alternative for most people, because he had been a very famous
general and a popular hero during the lifetime of his brother
Ntare. But he had a defective eye, and custom decreed that no
one with a physical deformity could strike the Bagyendanwa.
Kahitsi, too, was equally disqualified because he was left-handed.
Immediately after the death of Ntare, Kahitsu and Igumira had agreed to advance Kahaya, Igumira's son, for the throne, but Kahitsu subsequently changed his mind and advanced Rwakatogoro, the son of Nkuranga. This change is baffling because Igumira and Kahitsu had always been on the best of terms, not only because their fathers were brothers, but also because their mothers were full sisters.

These confused cross-currents were complicated, not only by Kahitsu's sudden change of mind about the accession of Kahaya, but also by the personality of Mbaguta. Mbaguta came of a very distinguished family of courtiers - his grandfather and father had been courtiers of some distinction to Gasyonga I and to Mutambuka. His father, Rwambubi, was one of the prominent leaders of Emitwe who were massacred at Kabula. Mbaguta himself had had a successful career at Ntare's court and had, as we have seen, signed a treaty on behalf of Ntare with Maj. Cunningham in 1894. Up to the death of Ntare V he was one of the distinguished courtiers, but not of the first rank. His sense of political timing, however, was staggering. Unlike almost all his countrymen, he saw the possibilities that could be opened up by co-operating with the colonial administrators. By co-operating with the British, he realised his political ambitions beyond what could have been his wildest dreams and the measure of his success can be read in the biblical praises showered on him by the colonial officials and from the pathological hatred he earned...
from almost all the leading Banyankore of his generation and from all the members of the royal family of Nkore. Thus to Lukyn Williams Mbaguta was, "a man of exceptional administrative ability, a stalwart fighter, a wise counsellor, a loyal subject, a generous host and a staunch friend."¹ "Imperious and ambitious though he no doubt was, Mbaguta had also a sincere belief in progress....Mbaguta was dependent on the support of the Collector."² This latter assessment was by Morris who, unlike all the former District Commissioners of Ankole, seems to have understood the strength and the weakness of Mbaguta and who, for that reason, does not give him unqualified praises. Mbaguta was not more "progressive" than all his other rivals who refused to co-operate with the British. He had to co-operate with them because his very position depended on the goodwill of the colonial officials of the period, as the positions of his rivals did not. He eventually triumphed over his rivals because the colonial administration had gained a firm control over the country. It is a measure of the fundamental disarray in the country that Mbaguta, who was not even the most famous courtier or general, gained so much power and prominence so soon.

In this particular succession dispute, Mbaguta backed the candidature of Kahaya because the latter was a young man whom he hoped to dominate, and for some years after Kahaya's

accession he did just that and with the blessing of the colonial officials, whose ignorance of the political system of Nkore he exploited to the full. He had prepared his ground very well. Igumira, who was Kahaya's father, Mbaguta's arch enemy and Nkore's most famous living general, was carted off into exile, largely as a result of Mbaguta's intrigues. He convinced the British that Igumira intended to take the throne and to cause trouble for them. This, too, was a master stroke, considering that every Munyankore, including Mbaguta himself, knew, and that the British did not know, that Igumira could not possibly have taken the throne because of his defective eye. This was the source of the myth that, "Had the British administration not been established in Ankole when it was, and with it the authority of Kahaya and Mbaguta, it is probable that Igumira would have become Mugabe..."\(^1\) The fact of the matter is that if Igumira had not been physically handicapped, he would have become Mugabe soon after the death of Ntare V and long before the first British Tax Collector set foot in Nkore.

Kahaya had actually been declared Mugabe in 1897, with the agreement of both Igumira and Kahitsi. But then MacAllister, the first Tax Collector in Nkore, had also visited Nkore in that year and had returned to Kampala to fetch his personal effects in order to establish a station at Mbarara. In this interval, Kahitsi changed his mind and refused to hand over most of the

\(^1\) Ibid., p.2.
property of the kingdom to Kahaya, especially cattle, for which he had been the custodian after the death of Ntare. What is more, he advanced another candidate, Rwakatogoro, and pretended that Kahaya was not yet properly installed. When MacAllister had pitched his tents at Mbarara in 1899, Kahitsi promptly appealed to him not to recognise Kahaya and, to ensure sympathetic support, he offered his sister, Kyabatuku, to MacAllister in marriage. To the consternation of everyone, except perhaps the prospective bridegroom, MacAllister declined the offer rather rudely. The latter, moreover, was already definitely on Kahaya's side, but this did not influence his decision to decline Kahitsi's offer. Then there was a brief encounter between the two sides, in which MacAllister does not seem to have taken part, and Kahitsi was defeated, but not killed. He was in fact made a county chief of Nshara. Kahaya II was thus established and accepted as the Mugabe, but he did not go through the ceremony of accession again because he had already done this in 1897.

The confirmation of Kahaya on the throne, the first accession in Nkore to be influenced from outside the kingdom, marked the end of an era and the beginning of another and new one – the Mugabe was no longer to be the centre of his kingdom because it was not his any more. If the British had not come when they did, it is very doubtful whether Nkore could have held together as a kingdom after the death of Ntare V, because the divisions in the society were too deep to be reconciled by a
single prince on the throne, and there was no single prince commanding anything like the moral authority necessary to attempt such a huge task. The early British authorities in western Uganda mistakenly believed that Nkore had had a centralised government along the lines of Buganda, and for that reason they energetically forced smaller kingdoms and chiefdoms into union with Nkore in order to create a viable and governable unit. They did not see that the basic political fabric had cracked with the death of Ntare V. It was precisely that wrong belief and that oversight that not only saved Nkore as a kingdom, but also made Nkore a much larger kingdom than it had ever been under its traditional rulers.
APPENDIX A

THE KINGS OF ANKOLE

by A.G. Katate and L. Kamugungunu

PRESENTATION TO YOU

We have great pleasure in presenting to you, readers, the first volume of the book about the events which took place during the reigns of the Abagabe (kings) of Ankole. It has taken us a long time to prepare.

This book is divided in three parts:

i. The lives of the Bacwezi kings of Ankole
ii. The lives of the Bahinda kings of Ankole
iii. The coming of the Protectorate government and its early days in Ankole.

We are very much indebted to the old men Kyerire and Karega and Samwiri Rwabushongo who helped us in our work. We are also indebted to Mr. Lukyn Williams for his valuable writings about the early Europeans who came to Ankole; we also acknowledge the valuable contribution made by the Ekitabo kya Bassekabaka b'e Buganda (The Book of the Kings-of Buganda) written by Sir Apollo Gulemye Kaggwa, K.C.M.G.,

1. These were some of the main informants of the authors.
M.B.E., the Prime Minister of Buganda, especially for the section on the Bagabe of Ankole whose contents were related to this author by Rushonje, of the Bayangwe clan, and Rukuta of the Bahinda clan. Our gratitude is also due to Mr. John Nyakatura for his book which gives a clearer picture of the matters relating to the Abacwezi.

Lastly, we are greatly indebted to Mr. H.F. Morris, Acting District Commissioner, Ankole, and Miss M.C. King, the District Education Officer, Ankole, both of whom organised our manuscript into an orderly pattern.

A.G. Katate

L. Kamugungunu

Kamukuzi, Mbarara

25th December, 1952.

INTRODUCTION

The history of Ankole has not, up to now, been written down, though the need for this has existed for a long time; we therefore have great pleasure in introducing this work to everyone. The greater part of this book contains the oral traditions, written down for the first time, from the old men who are gradually dying out and taking with them the tales of the past. It is very sad, though inevitable, that in the modern educational system, the fathers have ceased to interest their children in matters of the past and that these are now forgotten. For this reason it is, therefore, fortunate that this book has been written before the very old men, who remember things of the past, before the new order came to Ankole, are extinct; indeed one of the authors was a young man when the Ankole Agreement was signed in 1901. It is hoped that more books of this kind will follow, because no country can settle down without a foundation. Time changes and the world moves forward, but we cannot completely cut ourselves off from the past and, moreover, the future generations of the Banyankore would not be thankful to their forebears, of the present generation, if they did not make an effort to preserve the past as handed down through traditional tales.

The authors of this book have been careful in their
writing because they have not sought to overstep the traditional history of Ankole. They have not (like the scientists) said anything about the origins of the peoples of this country or of those of the neighbouring countries - this should be left to the anthropologists and the archaeologists and other experts, though even for these their inquiries in this field have only just begun.

The first part of this book is about the Bacwezi kings, and its contents should be taken as folk tales, not as things which can be proved and confirmed. However, even in such tales there are elements of truth. As to the past existence of the Bacwezi, the superior rulers in Uganda, there cannot be any doubt, because the stories concerning their descendants and their works are found everywhere in these countries.

There are many interesting stories which are told about the origins of the Bacwezi, and it is hoped that the investigations of archaeologists in the Bigo bya Mugyenyi and in other places will reveal the truth about these unknown things. The Banyankore of old, like the ancient Greeks and most ancient peoples, used to turn their heroes into deities; believing that their authority and actions were beyond the capacity of ordinary mortals and, indeed, we find that the Bacwezi in history are worshipped by people of later generations as gods.
The second part of this book deals with the generations of the Bahinda kings right up to the beginning of European rule, and ends with a summary of the reign of Kahaya II and the coronation of the present Mugabe. In this section it is possible to ascertain the truth of the contents, to some extent, by comparing them with our neighbouring kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro, but even then up to the reign of Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, what is known is embedded in unwritten traditions. Scientific investigations, in the future, may confirm or contradict these traditions. It is tempting, but dangerous, to try to fix dates for the reigns of the Bagabe, but these authors have avoided this trap by not attempting to do so.

The estimation based on the number of the accepted Bagabe as they succeeded each other on the throne, when compared to our neighbouring kings, may enable us to estimate what we think may be the right dates, but such estimations would not be taken as firm and right dates. It would appear that Ruhinda belongs to the first half of the 16th century (1500-1600) and that Ntare Kitabanyoro belongs to the mid 18th century. We cannot hope to fix, with certainty, the dates of the different events until we reach the 19th century; even then there is disagreement about the date of the accession of Ntare, the son of Kiboga, although it would
appear that Mutambuka died in 1874.¹ The third part of this book is about the first explorers in this country and it ends with the 1901 agreement which has been translated into Runyankore for the first time.

We hope that this book will be used in schools, although it is not primarily intended for schools. It is a book we would like to see in the home of every Munyankore.²

H.F. Morris
M.C. King.

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1. See Table D.

2. Ankole, or more correctly, Nkore is the country. Abanyankore (sing. Omunyankore) are the people and Orunyankore is the language of those people. For convenience, the prefixes A and O will be omitted and these terms will read Banyankore and Runyankore respectively.

Translator's Note:

As far as possible the original sentence structure will be retained, and where this is not possible, care will be taken to ensure that the English version does not obscure the original meaning intended by the authors. Expressions and names which cannot be conveniently translated will be explained in footnotes.

All references, in footnotes to "chapters etc" refer to the main text by the translator unless otherwise specified.
PART 1

THE BACWEZI KINGS

A. THEIR REIGNS

1. The Omugabe Ruhanga

In the beginning this country, Ankole, had no kings. The first king of the Banyankore was Ruhanga, whom they also call their Ruhanga, Nyamuhanga (God, the Creator). They say that this Ruhanga came from heaven and he came to the earth. When he came into Ankole, three sons were born to him: Kairu and Kahima and Kakama.

When Ruhanga grew old, he desired to choose, from among his sons, the one who would succeed him. Thus he chose Kakama, the last born, because he won the test which their father had given them. The test consisted of the three sons, each holding a milkpot full of milk throughout the night.

When it was deep in the night, Kakama spilled a small amount of his milk. His brothers filled up for him from their own so that their milkpots were no longer full. When the cocks were crowing,¹ Kairu fell asleep and spilled

¹ The Banyankore generally tell the time by the intervals at which the cocks crow.
all his milk so that he lost hope and added the small amount remaining in his milkpot onto Kakama's milk. When the cocks were crowing for the second time, Kahima became sleepy and spilled a substantial amount of his milk.

The next morning their father called them and said, "Show me, my children". Kairu said, "What can I show you? I spilled all my milk". Kahima said, "I had taken good care of my milk, but just as the day was breaking, I became sleepy and only spilled a small amount". And then Kakama said, "My lord, here is my milk and it is full to the brim". Ruhanga said, "Thank you, Rugaba, you have won the test. Although you are younger than your brothers, I have chosen you to succeed me". 

At first his elder brothers protested and said, "No, he was the first to spill his milk and we gave him ours". Ruhanga replied, "Since both of you agreed to make up for what he lost, that is why he has greater luck than you. Henceforth he will rule over you". Both of them were satisfied and they accepted Kakama-Rugaba to be their ruler. From

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1. The terms Rugaba and Ruhanga are synonymous and they mean God. They are more commonly used figuratively as terms of endearment when addressed to women, children and cattle.

2. The names of these sons are an attempt to explain the origins of the political and economic classes of Nkore.
then up to now the Bairu and the Bahima have continued to bring presents\(^1\) to the Mugabe. Then Ruhanga left them with the instruction that they should love each other under Kakama's leadership. From that time the Banyankore started loving Rugaba and worshipping him.

After these things had come to pass and after Ruhanga had seen that his son, Rugaba, was firmly established among his people and was threatening to exceed him (Ruhanga) in honour and renown, Ruhanga was so annoyed that he left the country and went back to his heaven. The people remained with Rugaba-Kakama as their king.

II. The Omugabe Rugaba

Rugaba was the son of Ruhanga. He succeeded his father after the latter had disappeared into heaven. Then during his reign, Rugaba had a son, Nyamate, born to him. When Rugaba had ruled for twenty-seven years, he was seized with a great desire to see his father because he saw that his father had not come back and this made him very sad. Because of this great desire, he followed his father into heaven leaving his son, Nyamate, to be the Mugabe.

It is from this king that the people started

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1. The role of the "presents" is discussed in Ch. I.
calling the rulers of countries Abakama for they derived the term from this king's name of Kakama when he was still a prince. And the meaning of Abakama is that they are the ones who give milk to their people.

All the other people had no right to own cattle individually. All the cattle belonged to the Omukama who, in turn, gave milk to his people by distributing cattle among them.

It is also from this king's name of Rugaba, which was given to him by his father after he had won the test of holding a full milkpot throughout the night, that the Bagabe of Nkore got their individual title of "Omugabe". It means that whenever a prince of Ankole becomes a Mugabe, he gives cattle and other things to his people. In the Ankole of the olden days, no one was richer than the Mugabe because all the riches belonged to him and he, in turn, distributed such riches to his people. That is why he had the power to confiscate anyone's property and to give it to anyone else he chose. He could also give a few head of cattle to those whose herds he confiscated so that they could start building up a new herd from friends and relatives. Therefore, the

1. To "give milk" here means that the Mugabe gives food, cattle etc. to his subjects.
meaning of the title "Omugabe" of Ankole is that he is the owner of all things in Ankole and that he alone could make his people prosperous by giving them riches.

III. The Omugabe Nyamate

Many old Banyankore like Rukuta, Rushonje, Irimba, Kakururu, Nyamajanja and Rutasharara insist that Nyamate was a son of Rugaba. This Nyamate, after succeeding his father who had gone to heaven, made his capital at Kati k'Abayagi near Rufuka in Nshaara where he lived for a long time and, it is said, his capital had taken seven years to build. It was at Kati k'Abayagi that he begat his son, Ruyonga, who is still very well remembered as Ruyonga rwa (son of) Nyamate. Afterwards, when he saw that his son, Royonga, had matured into manhood, Nyamate went to heaven to join his father and grandfather.

Other traditionalists, like Kyerire of Burunga, Nyabushozi, disagree and say, "Nyamate was also the son of Ruhanga. He was Rugaba's young brother. Then when Ruhanga went to heaven, both of his sons remained on earth. It came to pass and their father, Ruhanga, invited them saying, "Come and join me here in heaven". Rugaba refused to leave his

1. Omugabe also means "He who is given command" such as a man who leads an army on behalf of the king.
his kingdom and stayed on earth. But his younger brother, Nyamate, went to heaven and told his father, "I have come to heaven to stay with you, but Rugaba refused to leave the earth". Ruhanga replied, "Since Rugaba has refused to heed my command, go back to earth and take over the kingdom".

But when Nyamate went to heaven, Rugaba became remorseful at having failed to go and see his father. Consequently, he also left his kingdom and went to his father's in heaven.

Afterwards Nyamate himself did not rule for a long time; he left his kingdom to his son, Ruyonga. Nyamate returned to their heaven to join his grandfather and father and his elder brother".

IV. The Omugabe Ruyonga

The Omugabe Ruyonga was a son of Nyamate. When he came to the throne, he made his capital at Kishozi, near Mubende. He lived to be very old indeed. He had a baby daughter who he named Nyamate, after her grandfather. This Nyamate was married by Ishaza, the king of Kitara, and the Omucwezi Isimbwa was the issue of this marriage.

And Ruyonga had another child, Karundi, who was a boy. Karundi begat Ryangombe by Babinga of the Bakimbiri clan, which clan worships the spirit cult (emandwa) of Ryangombe. Ruyonga grew very old and when his time came,
he disappeared.

When the Omugabe Ruyonga disappeared, the kingdom of Ankole was looked after by Macumurinda. Macumurinda's capital was at Burebe, four and a half miles on the Mbarara-Kabale short route, in the subcounty of Sabagabo, Rwampara county.

RUYONGA MAKES BLOOD BROTHERHOOD WITH ISHAZA

The Omugabe Ruyonga sent six riddles to Ishaza, the king of Kitara, for solution, so that the latter might marry Nyamate (if he successfully solved them). He asked Ishaza to tell him the meaning of:— the thing that frightens darkness away; the rope that binds water; the thing that makes a king turn round; the thing that knows no kind of work; the thing that knows no pain; and the door that shuts away woes.¹

Ishaza failed to solve the riddles. He assembled all his chiefs and augurors, but they all failed to find the solution until the maidservant² of Kogire, the paternal aunt of Ishaza and ruler of Bushongora, asked her mistress, "But your ladyship, what do you discuss in all these secret meetings?" Kogire told her everything about the riddles.

1. These are literal translations because free translation would not convey the original meaning.

2. The word Omuzana can also be translated as slave woman, but maidservant is preferable in this context.
The maid servant said, "I shall solve all these riddles for you. If I fail to solve them, let Ishaza kill me".

The next morning Kogire took her maidservant to the audience of Ishaza together with a heifer to redeem her should she fail to solve the riddles. The maidservant addressed Ishaza, "My lord, these are the solutions which Ruyonga asked for".

1. They brought a cock and it crew. The maidservant asked, "Is this not the thing that frightens darkness away?". They laughed and agreed that it was.

2. They brought water and a cooking pot in which oburo (finger millet) is cooked; the maidservant sprinkled flour (of finger millet) onto the water and stirred the mixture as she cooked and she then showed them. "This is the rope that binds the water", she told them.

3. They drove a cow behind the king's enclosure. When its calf saw the assembled people, it lowed. Ishaza turned round to see it. The maidservant said, "See the thing that makes a king turn round".

4. They brought a dog and gave it a pipe and

1. At night the cocks crow towards the morning and the early risers go by this because it tells them that the morning is near.

2. This is only to emphasize that the king was a pastoralist since this is the most natural reaction of any pastoralist to the lowing of cattle.
tobacco, but the dog just looked at them. The maidservant said, "This is the thing that knows no kind of work".

5. They brought a baby for Ishaza to hold on his lap. The baby wetted the king's lap and continued to scratch him all over the face without any fear. The maidservant said, "This is he who knows no pain, the one who gets drunk without drinking any beer".

6. For the sixth riddle, the maidservant told them, "The small door that shuts away woes is nothing else but blood-brotherhood. Ruyonga wants to make blood brotherhood with you, my lord". Then the maidservant went her way. They called Ruyonga's emissaries and asked them, "Did your master send you for anything else?" "Yes", they replied. Then the emissaries brought out two small baskets containing a small calabash in which there were two coffee berries; one berry was smeared with blood and the other was clean. They also contained a few pieces of ejubwe grass and four small leaves of the bark cloth tree stuck onto a small branch and a small shaving knife. They then knew that blood-brotherhood was intended.

When Ishaza asked his district chiefs whether it was right to make blood-brotherhood with Ruyonga. An old man,  

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1. These were the articles used and the procedures gone through in making blood-brotherhood.
Kyarunda, refused and said, "No, a person does not make blood-brotherhood with another before they see each other". That is why Ishaza ordered Bukuku, of the Baranzi clan and the gate-keeper of the gate Mucwa saying, "Make this blood-brotherhood with Ruyonga on my behalf". Then Bukuku made it for him. He swallowed the berry which was smeared with Royonga's blood, and he himself made an incision on his navel, squeezed out some blood, smeared it on the other berry, placed in in a small basket and sent it to Ruyonga and the messengers went back.

THE BIRTH OF THE MUCWEZI ISIMBWA.¹

When the messengers of the Omugabe Ruyonga reported back to him, he was extremely angry because Ishaza had made him a blood-brother of a servant.² He asked them, "When you stayed there for all this time, what did you discover Ishaza liked best?" "Ishaza loves nothing else except cattle and women", they replied. Therefore Ruyonga called all his daughters together, chose Nyamate and ordered her, "Go to Ishaza's home and get married there, but never reveal to

¹. The reason for the existence of this rather cumbersome and pointless story seems to be the need to explain the origin of the Bacwezi who are now introduced in the whole story casually.

². Mwiru can either mean a servant or a person of low status and in the context it has the former meaning.
anyone that you came from Ruyonga's home".\(^1\)

Nyamate started the journey. Those who accompanied her took her near Ishaza's capital, left her there and went back. Nyamate first came to Mucwa, where she found Bukuku, the keeper of the gate, and she asked him to announce her to the king. Bukuku and all those who were present marvelled at Nyamate's beauty and hurried to announce her without even asking her where she came from. Ishaza sent his younger sister, Nyanzigumbi, and told her, "Go and see her for me". When Nyanzigumbi returned, she told the king, "This girl is as beautiful as the Nyamunyonyi bird\(^2\) which has come from heaven to earth and she is even more beautiful than myself and in the whole of your kingdom, there is no one who can compare with her".

Then Ishaza sent Bukuku to bring her in. When he saw her, he was so struck (with her beauty) that he married her. At night he asked her, "Tell me, honoured guest, where do you come from?" Nyamate replied, "I was born among the Bahima of your kingdom; I cannot tell you exactly because

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1. In the past the marriages were arranged by the parents of the boy and of the girl and the latter had no say in the proceedings.

2. A very beautiful and rare bird - so rare in fact that only few living people claim to have seen it. Its appearance on any given spot was greeted with elaborate rituals by all the residents of the area and it was never killed.
your kingdom is so big, but when I heard of your greatness, I came here so that you might marry me. You just be patient for a while, my people will come to look for me and then you will see them". Ishaza was silent.

After two weeks had passed, Nyamate asked her husband, "Which of us do you love best, Bihogo bya Gaju (a cow) or myself?" "I love you both", Ishaza replied. Once Nyamate was playing with her husband, and the latter suddenly got up (and went out) to look at his cattle. Soon afterwards he returned and, remembering he had offended his wife, told her, "Forgive me, but when I hear cattle, I lose my senses". Nyamate locked all these things in her memory, but she understood Ishaza, as her father had told her all about him when he sent her.

By that time Nyamate had been pregnant for about six months and so she asked leave of her husband, "Let me go back home and tell my people where I have been. They have been anxious and I would like to dispel their anxiety and, moreover, it is not proper that I should give birth to a child which has no maternal uncles". Ishaza approved, bade her farewell and gave her some people to accompany her.

When they came to the boundary of her homeland,

1. The maternal uncles of a child took the leading part in the ceremonies of naming the child.
Nyamate escaped at night and was lost to her escorts. Those who had accompanied her were puzzled as to what could have happened to her and they went back to Kitara. When they reported to Ishaza, he also was perplexed, but he kept his thoughts to himself. Nyamate herself, after escaping, went to her father's home. After about six weeks, Nyamate was safely delivered of a baby son whom they named Isimbwa.

**ISHAZA VISITS RUYONGA**

When Nyamate got to her father's home, she told him of Ishaza's greatness and of his of his riches and also of his obsession with cattle and women.

Ruyonga called together his herdsmen and ordered them to assemble all his herds so that he might see them. He selected a bull, Ruhogo, and a heifer, Kahogo, gave them to his men and told them and to leave them among the herds of Ishaza. They did as commanded. They drove them into Ishaza's herds without being discovered by anyone.

That night, after Ishaza's herdsmen had finished milking, they heard the bull and the heifer moving just outside the kraal, they opened the gate for them and let them in. Ishaza's bull fought Ruhogo, the new comer, all

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1. Bihogo, Kahogo and Ruhogo are a cow, heifer and bull respectively of the dark brown colour which was the most prized colour among the pastoralists.

2. Opening a kraal gate means removing the thorny branches from the exits, this being the way the kraals are made secure at night.
night. Next morning, when the cattle were resting outside the kraal enclosure, Ishaza came to see them and he liked them very much - he was particularly impressed by the prowess of Ruhogo, who had had the upper hand over his own bull while Ruhogo was courting Bihogo bya Gaju. ¹

While Ishaza was still thus preoccupied, Kahogo and Ruhogo escaped and Bihogo bya Gaju followed them. Ishaza went after them, but he failed to catch up with them and so he continued running after them, accompanied by a few of his men. When he realised that he had covered a considerable distance from home, he sent a message to Bukuku saying, "look-after my home; I am going to follow Ruhogo and Kahogo until I catch up with them and bring them back". They kept on running hard after the bull and the heifer.

Then they espied a great palace at a distance. On asking the people he met, Ishaza was told, "That is the palace of Ruyonga". He then remembered that Ruyonga was the man who had asked him for blood-brotherhood. They asked him in turn, "But who are you?" "I am Ishaza", he replied. "Are you the Ishaza Nyakikoto [the Great] of whom we hear Ruyonga, ¹

¹. Bulls run around the cows before it is served and this could take one or several days depending on how soon the cow was ready. It is this process of coaxing the cow by the bull that is translated as courting (okushija) for want of a better term. Mature bulls were closely guarded during the day and secured to stakes at night in order to prevent them from fighting.
our master, talking about?" "Yes, I am he", he replied. Then they led him on and announced his arrival to Ruyonga. At first Ruyonga sent to Ishaza the following message: "Who showed you the paths that lead here?"\(^1\) to which Ishaza replied, "I have come to look for my blood-brother".

Then a camp was struck for Ishaza, to which camp Ruyonga sent milch cows and other cows to be slaughtered for meat. The following morning two chairs were placed in Wayetwoha,\(^2\) one for Ruyonga and one for Ishaza. Ishaza came and they met and exchanged greetings. After a while, Ruyonga dismissed all the other people who were present and then started reproaching Ishaza. "By the way, do you know that you wronged me by making me a blood-brother of your servant, Bukuku?" "Forgive me for that, but I did so because of my bad advisers", Ishaza apologised.

Then Ruyonga ordered that the Queen and all her daughters be brought forth. When Ishaza saw them, he laughed. Ruyonga asked him, "Who is that?" "That is Nyamate, my wife", Ishaza replied. "What about the child with her?" Ishaza replied, "I suppose the child is also mine". Ruyonga said,

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1. This is a typical Kinyankore expression which means that Ishaza had never been in that part of the country before.

2. Wayetwoha (lit. Who invited you here?) was one of the private houses of the Bagabe of Ankole from which the public was debarred.
"It is so, the child is yours. Its maternal uncle, Karundi, is the one who sat the child down and who named him Isimbwa. Ishaza was exceedingly pleased with his wife and child, especially because he had left no child, back home in Kitara, who would succeed him. "Did you come all this way from your home to look for your wife, or did you leave your home merely to come and visit me?" Ishaza replied, "I came following my cattle: a cow Bihogo, a heifer Kahogo and their bull Ruhogo". Ruyonga farther asked, "Suppose my herds were brought here, would you be able to pick out yours?" "Yes", Ishaza agreed.

The cattle were brought to the resting place outside the enclosure (ishaaazi) and they started lowing. Ishaza was completely absorbed by their lowing. Nyamate whispered to her father, "Do you not now see him for yourself?" Consequently Ruyonga teased, "By the way, Ishaza, you seem to love cattle more than your wife and child", to which Ishaza replied, "No, I love them all, but the cattle are my very life". Then they went to another herd of cattle and Ruyonga, addressing Ishaza, said, "Pick out yours". Ishaza pointed them out to him. Ruyonga gave the three to him and added two hundred more as a farewell present, gave him back his

1. This was one of the stages in the ceremony of naming a child.

2. The name Isimbwa has neither significance nor specific meaning in Runyankore.
Ishaza did not return to Kitara; he elected to remain in Ruyonga's country herding the cattle given to him by his father-in-law. Back home in Kitara, Bukuku, of the Baranzí clan and the gate keeper of Mucwa, waited for the return of his master for a very long time, but in vain. He finally sat on the royal stool and succeeded Ishaza, but he was like a pretender because he was not of the royal blood.

In those days Bunyoro-Kitara was independent, with its own king, Ishaza, and Ankole and Buganda were one kingdom, ruled over by Ruyonga. 1 The Omugabe Ruyonga had had other children besides Karundi and Nyamate. Of the other children, the one who was famous was Nyabiryo, the daughter of Ruyonga, who was a very important person and who was talked about a lot in the days of the Bacwezi.

NYINAMWIRU, THE DAUGHTER OF BUKUKU

Bukuku, of the Baranzí clan and the keeper of the gate Mucwa, was a Mwiru. When he made himself the king of

1. The traditions of Bunyoro say that Buganda, Bunyoro and Nkore were all ruled over by Ishaza and his Bacwezi successors. See, for example, J. Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 18. The four kings, Ruhanga, Rugaba, Nyamate and Ruyonga are the equivalent of Bunyoro's "Pioneer Kings" of whom Kinyoro tradition counts nineteen. On the whole it would appear that Nkore traditions of pre-Bacwezi period are borrowed from Bunyoro in order to explain the origins of the Bacwezi. Nkore could not have been a state at this time.
Bunyoro, 1 some of the chiefs accepted him, but others refused to recognise him because, they said, "We cannot pay homage to a Mwiru". They even rebelled and set themselves up as petty rulers and stayed in their respective areas without coming (to the capital) to pay homage.

Although Bukuku consoled himself and held on to the throne, he was bothered by people who used to come and tell him, "Ishaza will return". This possibility upset him very much and another misfortune, which saddened him, was that he did not have a male child to succeed him – he had only one daughter, Nyinamwiru, who was given that name to show that she was of the Bairu clan, 2 the descendants of Kairu.

Nyinamwiru was very beautiful; as beautiful as the enyongarwizi 3. The augurors kept on telling Bukuku, "Kill Nyinamwiru for she will bear danger for you". Bukuku could

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1. This confused section of Nkore traditions seems to stem from the misconception, encouraged by Kinyoro traditions, that there was a Bunyoro kingdom at this time and therefore Nkore traditions seem to have invented an Nkore kingdom to get even. It is fairly certain that Kitara kingdom included both Nkore and Bunyoro.

2. This is a misleading explanation of Nyinamwiru because the persons who have such names are not necessarily Bairu. The Bairu, moreover, are not a clan – they are a class. See ch. I.

3. This is a small black insect found in swamp waters and it has a very smooth body.
not bring himself to kill her, because she was the only child he had. When he saw that she had grown up, he put one of her eyes out so that men would be repelled by this deformity. To ensure that men would have no access to her, Bukuku had an enclosure, without an independent exit, made for Nyinamwiru. All the people going there had to pass through Bukuku's biggest hut in the center so that he would know who went to see her. He also detailed a slave woman, Mugizi, to keep strict watch over her.

V. The Omugabe Isimbwa

The father of the Omucwezi Isimbwa was Ishaza, the king of Kitara; his mother was Nyamate, the daughter of Ruyonga – the king of Ankole. Isimbwa became the Mugabe in succession to Ruyonga, his grandfather. He expelled Macumurinda, the guardian, from the kingdom and he made his capital at the Eyezigoro bya Mugyenyi. When he saw that he had not begotten a child while ruling, Isimbwa went to Bunoro at Nyinamwiru's. In charge of Ankole, he left Karara of the Basita clan who lived in Rwanda Orwera, Nyabushozi (county).

Isimbwa had had some children in Bwera, but they were a product of incest, born in the family of the Bacwezi directly, because while Isimbwa was in Bwera, he made his

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1. This is a place in Bwera, near the famous Bigo bya Mugyenyi.
sister, Nyabiryo, pregnant out of wedlock and she bore him a son, Kyomya. And while in Bwera, Isimbwa also had a daughter, Nyakaranda, born to him.

When Nyabiryo I, the daughter of Ruyonga, discovered that she was pregnant before being married, and by her brother, she tried to commit suicide, so that it should never be discovered that she was made pregnant by her brother. People restrained her from committing suicide and she gave in, but she waited, in determination, to kill the child that she would have. Isimbwa detailed a man from Kiziba and instructed him, "Keep watch over Nyabiryo; the day she gives birth, deceive her into giving you the child on the pretext that you are going to kill it for her". And that is how it was. When Nyabiryo gave birth, she gave him the child. The man from Kiziba took the child to his home in Kiziba, reared him there, and he was brought back when he was about sixteen years of age. It was then that he was shown to Nyabiryo; "Look at the child you bore", they told her.

By the time he came back, Kyomya knew how to trade, could speak Ruziba and Ruganda and he had a Muganda attendant, Kataraiga. That is how Kyomya could accumulate riches while people nicknamed him saying, "Kyomya, the son of Nyabiryo,  

1. Apart from incest being an unnatural offence, the usual punishment for pre-marital pregnancy was death by drowning.
Ruranga Kyangande who drank Blood when the kings were afraid of it". ¹

VI. The Omugabe Ndahura

1. THE BIRTH OF NDAHURA

When Isimbwa left Kishozi, he went to Bunyoro for hunting. When he got there, Bukuku, of the Branzi clan, was host to him. After some days had passed, Isimbwa bade his host farewell and said, "I am going home". Then he left with his men and travelled towards Mubende. When they came to Kishozi, Isimbwa retraced his steps to Bukuku's with two of his followers. They first came to Nyinamwiru's enclosure; they made a ladder and dropped [over the fence] to the inside. Nyinamwiru hid Isimbwa in her house for a period of a few days and the latter made her pregnant. When her pregnancy became known, they feared that Bukuku might also come to know of it and Isimbwa bade Nyinamwiru farewell and told her, "I will come back when you are safely delivered". Then Isimbwa went to his home in Kishozi. From there he went

¹ This refers to the story of Ndahura's capture in Ihangiro. When Kyomya went to look for him, he was also captured and forced to drink blood in order to prove that he was not a Mucwezi - blood being one of the forbiddances for the Bacwezi.
to Bukiri.  

Nyinamwiru's pregnancy advanced and she was safely delivered of a baby son, and she herself named the child Ndahura. When Bukuku heard of it, he ordered that the child be put to death. But the augurors opposed him and told him, "It is taboo to kill a toothless child [i.e. a child has not cut its first teeth]." When Ndahura had his milk teeth, Bukuku sent for him; the men brought him and he ordered that the child be thrown into a lake. When they threw him in, he was caught by the bush branches overhanging the water and there he stayed alive.

When a potter, named Rubimba, was going home from collecting clay from the banks of the lake, he heard a child crying; he took it from the water and guessed that it was Nyinamwiru's. He took the child to his home and then went and reported to Nyinamwiru. Nyinamwiru told him, "Go and make me clay milkpots and bring them to Bukuku and tell him that they belong to me". That is what he did. As a reward, Nyinamwiru gave him two milch cows and a heifer which was in calf. It was from these cows that he was to get the milk with which to rear the child. Even the name Ndahura was

1. Bukiri or Bukedi, in Kinyankore parlance, means roughly all the country north of Lake Kyoga and not merely the modern Uganda district of that name.
replaced by that of Kyarubimba. Bukuku did not even know that Ndahura was still alive and everyone believed that the child belonged to the potter, Rubimba.

2. **NDAHURA KILLS BUKUKU**

When Ndahura became of age to herd cattle (roughly between the age of twelve and fifteen), he became exceedingly troublesome; he was a bully like his name and in addition to this he used to indulge in the deliberate destruction of crops by grazing cattle over them. Whenever Bukuku's herdsmen drove cattle to salt, Ndahura would stop them and take his own to get the salt first. Then quarrels would follow. When they got fed up, they reported him to Bukuku who said, "I will beat him".

On another occasion, they invited him [Bukuku] and said, "Come and see how your cattle are licking salt". He did not object; he came. At that precise moment Ndahura came with his own cattle and drove them into Bukuku's herds. The herdsmen said, "Our master, do you now not see this patter's son?" Bukuku was so furious that he threw a spear at Ndahura intending to kill him; Ndahura dodged it and it

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1. The verb *okurahura* from which the noun *Ndahura* is derived means to **bully**.

2. This is a grave offence among the cattle people and was one of the most common causes of the occasional feuds between the different kraals.
stuck into the ground. Ndahura himself did not hesitate, he yanked his spear from the ground,\(^1\) drove it into Bukuku's chest and the latter fell down dead.

From there Ndahura went running and sat on the royal stool. Those who were present went and reported to Nyinamwiru and said, "Woes have befallen us; the son of the potter, Rubimba, has speared Bukuku to death". Nyinamwiru replied, "Ah! The ears hear a lot of things, those of today have made me hear bad and good tidings, the death of my father, Bukuku, and Ndahura, my son, succeeding his grandfather on the throne". Then the people rejoiced. Ndahura sat on the royal stool; Nyinamwiru's enclosure was made and she wore the charms\(^2\) of a Queen Mother.

3. **NDAHURA SEES HIS FATHER**

Ndahura, after succeeding his maternal grandfather, made his capital at Mubende. While at Mubende Isimbwa, his father, came from Bukiri, Isimbwa came directly to his home at Kishozi. When he arrived, he learnt that his son, Ndahura, had been made king in Bunyoro.

Then Isimbwa went to Bunyoro and saw his son, Ndahura, and his wife, Nyinamwiru; he found the potter Rubimba

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1. The normal resting position of the spear - the lower sharp end is stuck in the ground.

2. The amulets which were supposed to bring good fortune to the ruling son.
and the slave woman, Mugizi, still living. The people rejoiced when they learnt that Ndahura was not the son of Rubimba, the potter, but that he was the son of the Mucwezi Isimbwa.¹

From then onwards Isimbwa did not become a king again; he left the kingdom to his son, Ndahura. Isimbwa remained at his capital in Kishozi and that is where he died.

4. THE REIGN OF NDAHURA

Ndahura, after being given the kingdom by his father, merged the kingdom of Ruyonga and that of Ishaza into one kingdom and both became his kingdom. Ndahura left Mubende and came and made his capital here in Ankole (Karougi).² He made his capital at Buriza, Rwanda, in the county of Kahima (Nyabushozi), near Nshongi-Rwakashegu. It was while he was at Buriza that his two sons, Wamara and Kazoba, and others were born to him.

5. NDAHURA'S WAR EXPEDITIONS

Ndahura was very brave. When he became king, he ruled over all countries: Buganda, Karagwe, Rwanda, Buzinja, Bunyoro and Kaaro (Nkore) i.e. the whole of Uganda and

¹. This is the manner in which the Kinyoro and Kinyankore traditions claim a genetic relationship between the "Pioneer Kings" and the Bacwezi.

². The reference to the Bacwezi making capitals in Nkore seems to be an attempt to portray Nkore rather than Ewera as the centre of the Bacwezi kingdom.
Tanganyika and part of the Belgian Congo.

And because Ndahura travelled in many countries, on war expeditions, his travels, more than anything else, brought a lot of diseases in this country through the returning warriors and the prisoners of war who were captured. In fact sometimes people call smallpox "Ndahura" and also sometimes the people used to call Ndahura the nick-name of Momo, meaning Ndahura, the lord of yaws.

6. THE GENERATIONS OF THE BACWEZI

1. Isimbwa: (a) He first had a son, Kyomya, by Nyabiryo I, the daughter of Ruyonga; then added a daughter, named Nyakaranda, all while he lived in Bwera.

(b) Whe he went to Bunyoro, he begat Ndahura by Nyinamwiru, the daughter of Bukuku of the Baranzi clan.

(c) When Isimbwa came from Buriri, he farther begat the following Bacwezi, the younger brothers of Kyomya who were born at Kishozi and they are:


1. In normal usage no distinction is drawn between half-brothers, first cousins etc. and the full brothers - all of them are called brothers in Runyankore.
3. Ibona, by Waraga of the Bacwezi clan.¹


Mugyenyi's maternal uncle was called Kajumba.

2. Kyomya:

(a) While in Bukiri he had the following Babito children by the woman Nyatworo, the daughter of Rubongo, of the Bakonga clan and they are:

1. Nyarwa, the first born son.
2. Ishengoma Mpuga Rukidi and
3. Kato Kimera Kintu. These two were twins.
4. Kiza, the younger brother who followed the twins.²

When Isimbwa was leaving Bukiri, he begged to be allowed to take his children with him to his home at Kishozi. Their grandfather, Rubongo, a native of Bukiri, refused and said, "My daughter cannot go to foreign countries". Kyomya then advised his father, "Leave them here, since the country is one; when they grow up, they will

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1. The Bacwezi here is a subclan of the Bashambo clan and is in no way connected with the Bacwezi rulers.

2. J. Nyakatura, op. cit., p. 36, records the same story, except that he does not say that Kimera was also called Kintu and no other source says this.
come to you". Therefore Isimbwa returned with Kyomya. Kyomya remained with Ndahura at Mubende; Isimbwa stayed at his home in Kishozi.

(b) And when Kyomya came here (Nkore), he begat a son, Kagoro, by Nyakweyunga of the Baitira clan. They deprived her of the child and gave it to the slave woman, Kacubya, of the Bashegye clan. That is why, until now, the Baitira are called the mothers of Karahabire, meaning that Nyakweyunga was mistaken in not heeding what her mother-in-law (Nyabiryo I, the daughter of Ruyonga rwa Nyamate, She Who Never Grows Old) used to order her to do. That is why she (Nyabiryo I) disowned her.¹

3. Ndahura: the maternal son of the Baranzi clan begat the following children:

1. Wamara Ruhanja Njojo-ebunga (the Roving Elephant), by Nyante of the Bamoli clan.

2. Kiro-Mihimba, the son of Ndahura, Rwegaba, by Katutu of the Bairuntu clan.

1. Wives were expected to be absolutely obedient to their in-laws, especially to the parents of the husband. A disinherited woman was usually debarred from seeing her children as long as she lived. This paragraph (b) is vague and I could not elicit its relevance to the story from anyone - it seems to be one of the numerous exasperating irrelevances of which this book is full.

4. Nyabiryo II, their sister.

4. Wamara: also had four children:

1. Ruhinda, by Njunaki, the daughter of Katuku of the Bajumira clan.


3. Nyakiriro kya Gaju Rugaya, the son of Wamara and nephew of the Bashambo clan. This is why the Abashambo are called the mothers of Njeru because Nyakiriro's beauty led the people to sing of her that she was "Njeru of Nshenyi".

4. Kabibi, their sister.

Those are the Bacwezi whose offsprings are known, but the other Bacwezi had many children in the same way and they multiplied very much.

7. NDAHURA LOSES THE KINGSHIP

Ndahura used to attack many countries unceasingly

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1. This is not only irrelevant, it is misleading, because Nyakiriro is said to be the name of the son as well as of the mother, which is very improbable. Informants said that Nyakiriro was the son, and that the name of the mother of that son is not remembered.

2. Njeru is the name of a cow whose colour is pure white. It was very rare and valuable because it was used in many traditional ceremonies. This was a high compliment to the beauty of this particular woman.
and on one occasion he attacked Kyeihangiro (Ihangiro), in Tanganyika-Territory, at Bwirebutatsya's. It is said that Bwirebutatsya threw darkness into Ndahura's army and that it was then defeated. Ndahura was captured by Bwirebutatsya's men. The few survivors of Ndahura's army went back to Kubende without knowing where Ndahura had got lost and thinking that perhaps he had been swallowed up by the earth.¹

VII. The Omugabe Murindwa

1. THE NOMINATION OF MURINDWA

When the levies that had been defeated in Tanganyika reached Mubende, they reported to the Bacwezi how they had lost track of Ndahura. The Bacwezi were baffled. Some of them wanted to appoint a successor to rule the kingdom. Kyomya objected and suggested, "Let me first go as a spy, in the disguise of a trader; If I find out that he died, I will come back and resolve your doubts for good". Thus Murindwa was appointed to act as Regent over the kingdom. Kyomya went with his men selling tobacco² and coffee (beans). This was another source from which the people derived another nick-name

¹The expression okumirwa obutaka is here translated literally - it can also mean to disappear without leaving a trace.

²I could not get any information about the coming of tobacco to Nkore. Everyone I asked said, "Tobacco has always been here".
fof Kyomya which was "Kyomya, the pedler" because during this journey, Kyomya travelled trying to sell goods like an ordinary trader.

When Kyomya reached Kyeihangiro, the people there informed him that Ndahura had not died; that king Bwirebutatsya or Kyeihangiro had taken him prisoner and that he was still keeping him. Kyomya advanced slowly and cautiously until he came to where Ndahura was; he found him with his follower, Nyamutare and then stole them away and brought them to Mubende.

2. **NDAHURA AND MURINDWA CEASE BEING BAGABE**

When Ndahura and Kyomy and their man Nyamutare, together with those who had accompanied Kyomy left Kyeihangiro, they arrived at the capital of Mubende at night. The next morning all the drums of the Bacwezi were sounded; many people gathered and they were extremely joyful because of seeing their king, Ndahura.

When Ndahura saw many Bacwezi assembled there, he addressed them, "From among my children you will choose for yourselves the one who will succeed me on the throne for I am no longer fit for it; Bwirebutatsya captured me and he degraded me by making me do the menial tasks of the slaves.

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1. These names and events do not appear in the traditions of Thangiro as recorded by Lwamugira, Cesard and Ford and Hall. See Ch. III.
and, therefore, I will never sit on the royal stool again”.

Then the Bacwezi entered into the discussions of nominating a successor for the kingdom. Some said that Murindwa should be confirmed king; others were for Muyenyi, but the majority preferred Wamara, his eldest son, to be the one to step in his father’s shoes by taking over the kingdom.

3. THE DEATH OF MURINDWA

(a) The reason why Murindwa was murdered: The chief cause of the murder of Murindwa lay in the evils of the Bacwezi being despised because the daughters of the Basingo clan, Nyangoro and Nyanteza, used to taunt the daughters of the Bacwezi by telling them, “your home (lineage) has not got a single man except Kagoro, but even he is frivolous and naughty”.

Those women used to say that because the Bacwezi had started upsetting the people and to shun them, while, at the same time, they had many sins, exclusive to the Bacwezi, such as that of marrying their sisters. Whenever a Mucwezi took a wife, he would add her on top of his sister.

1. The strength of the insult lies in the implication that all the Bacwezi, even the men, are feminine.

2. My informants explained that some Bacwezi slept with their sisters when they were drunk, and that some of these scandals became known, but that they did not marry their sisters.
The Bacwezi women continued to despise the daughters of the Bahima.¹ As a result the Bahima women started to despise the Bacwezi collectively. The hatred started from there and the daughters of the Basingo, consequently, killed Murindwa, but it is not true to say that Murindwa was killed by the daughters of the Basingo because he had prevented Mugyenyi from succeeding Ndahura as king. This is not so because Murindwa himself did not take the kingdom and, secondly, both Murindwa and Mugyenyi were not among those who were to nominate, but they were among those from whom one candidate was to be nominated and they had no say in the nomination at that time.

(b) How Murindwa was killed: When the Bacwezi were going for hunting, Murindwa Kagobe Nyarwabya dropped behind unnoticed and came back to the house of Nyangoro and Nyanteza. They (pretended that they) were pleased to see him and they gave him a seat on the bedstead,² but when he sat on the stool, he fell through a hole and was impaled on the spears which had been placed there purposely as part of the trap. When he fell onto the spears, Nyangoro and Nyanteza covered

¹. For accepting to share their husbands with their sisters-in-law. The Bahima daughters were those women who were not Bacwezi by descent.

². A flattened sleeping place within the house, enclosed by partitions of sliced reeds.
the hole with the soil and spread grass on top [of the hole] and then placed a cow-hide mat thereon.

When the Bacwezi returned, they looked for Murindwa, but they could not find him. However, Murindwa's dogs had remained in that house and were continually going to and from the bedstead until the Bacwezi came and dug up the bedstead. They got Murindwa out before he died, but he was seriously wounded. Then Kagoro started destroying the members of the Basingo clan; he killed Nyangoro and Nyanteza and all the other Basingo who were in that home of the Bacwezi, except the only Musingo survivor, Kajumba, who was the maternal clan of Mugyenyi and who was hidden by Mugyenyi. From that time Kagoro looked after Murindwa who remained a disabled cripple until he died afterwards during the period in which the Bacwezi disappeared.  

4. NDAHURA LEAVES

When Ndahura saw that the whole country had accepted his son, Wamara, he left their capital of Mubende and came to Kibare-Buyaga; from there he went to Rubazi, where he spent about two years and where he left a water-well under

1. Cow hides are treated through many processes until they become very soft and then they are used for bedding.

2. The unpopularity of this clan is still an observable fact in Ankole today and it is said to date from the death of Murindwa.
the care of his servant, Ntara. From there he went to Kitagwenda, then on to Kijuma and Butara and the place where he halted is called "Oburaro bw'enaku"; from there he went to Muhumbu and he then reached Toro. He made a camp at Burembo, where he caused pools to be dug from which to give salt to the cattle. When he left that place, he went to Butanuka, on to Rwangimba and then to Rweishamba (Bushongora), where he had a salt pit made, the water for which he obtained from the lake of Bunyampaka.

Nyinamwiru herself had her kraal made at Irangara in the south of Rwakasheshe and there they stayed until they disappeared.

VIII. The Omugabe Wamara

1. WAMARA IN BWERA

The Omugabe Wamara Ruhanja Njojo-ebunga came to the throne in succession to his father, Ndahura, when the latter was still alive. He moved his capital from Mubende and made it in Bwera. When Ndahura left Mubende, he left his senior wife, Nyakahima, behind and the descendants of Nyakahima left the place only recently in 1907 when the government was constructing the town of Mubende. When Wamara himself came

to Bwera, he distributed territory to his relatives, and his Prime Minister was Kanyangyeya of the Baishikatwa clan.

2. WAMARA IN ANKOLE

When the Mugabe Wamara left Bwera, he came to Nkore (Karo), where he found Karara, of the Basita clan, who had been left behind by Isimbwa and who was still in Rwanda (Nshara), Ankole, Karara came and paid homage.

When Wamara left Rwanda, he went to Itaba and that is where he settled. This Itaba is in the subcounty of Rugando, Rwampara, and even now the bark-cloth tree can be seen where his palace stood. Sometimes they call the place Kyabanyoro¹ and sometimes they call it Itaba of the Batsyaba clan.

When Wamara left Itaba, he camped at Rushozi behind Ebiharwe, near Rwakabyami. When he left Rushozi, he went back to Itaba for the second time. That is where he had the Bagyendanwa made and he gave it to Karara, of the Basita clan, for safe keeping.

3. THE MARRIAGE OF NJUNAKI

Whilst Wamara was at Itaba, a snake caught onto the copper bangle on his wrist when he was asleep. They sent for all the witch doctors and the magicians, but they all failed

1. If this had been the capital of Wamara, there would have been no reason to name the place after the Banyoro — see Footnote 2 on p. 496.
to remove it until they called Kakara, the son of Shagama, from Karagwe. That Kakara was Omuha by clan. Shagama was the name of the mother of Kakara. From the time the snake caught onto his wrist bangle, Wamara abstained from eating, drinking and smoking until anyone could trace the origin of the snake. Kyomya, his uncle, and his Muganda retainer, Kataraiga, were the people who went to Karagwe to fetch Kakara ka Shagama. They spent thirty days there while Wamara still had the snake on his wrist-bangle.

When Kakara came, he told Wamara; "This snake is a messenger; they have called for you". When he said that, the snake released its hold on him. Before many days had passed, they tried the omens by sacrificing a hen and then a cow, but they did not find any intestines in either. Whenever they cut off the heads of calves, the maid servant, Njunaki, collected the heads and took them away to eat them. Whenever she opened them up, she found the intestines there and ate them as well.

Meantime the king was still at Itaba. When he got exceedingly troubled, he sent for a sorcerer, Nyakasimbi, the son of Sembere, from far away in Bunyoro, to find out for him the cause of the absence of the intestines in the animals sacrificed. Nyakasimbi failed to divine the cause and so Kakara, the son of Shagama, was sent for. On his way (to Wamara's), Kakara was met by Njunaki who addressed him
thus, "My lord, I wish to speak to you". Then she told him everything and of the fact that the intestines were found in the heads of the animals which were sacrificed. She went on to warn him; "Beware for the Bacwezi have set traps for you - behold in the beer they have placed a copper bracelet; and in the entrance of the house they have placed an axe".

It came to pass that when Kakara arrived, he refused to enter the house and said, "First remove the axe from the entrance". He then refused to partake of the beer and said, "First remove the copper bracelet from the beer". Those present removed those objects, marvelling all the while how Kakara had become aware of them. Then they sacrificed a hen and a calf, but they found the intestines missing. Kakara told them, "Cut the heads open". They opened them and that is where they found the intestines. Then they divined for the woman who would bear children to inherit the drum. Kakara told them, "Try for this maidservant, Njunaki". Njunaki's signs showed up favourably. Wamara ordered that Njunaki be placed in the Kitambampita. There she was placed; she washed and she was given fumigated and scented bark-cloths

1. Kitamba-mpita literally means the cool place which was one of the houses in which the kings' wives lived. This act, contrary to what some writers have said, made Njunaki Wamara's wife. See also Ch. III.
(to wear). They built her a small house (Kenkangwa) where Wamara found her and then made her pregnant, the issue of which pregnancy was Ruhinda.

4. **THE KINGDOM IS BEQUEATHED TO THE BAHINDA**

Kakara went farther to interpret the omens for the Bacwezi. He told them that they should leave; that the intestines found in the heads meant that the Bacwezi should tie up their personal belongings, carry them [on their heads] and go away. While they were still engaged in reading the omens, a black soot speck fell onto the intestines. They tried to wash it away, but it would not disappear. Kakara said, "This black speck means that other kings, who are black, will take over the kingdom of the Bacwezi and that they will worship them (the Bacwezi)."

5. **RUHINDA TAKES THE BAGYENDANWA**

The Omugabe Wamara spent many years at Itaba. That is where Ruhinda was born. It came to pass that when Ruhinda was a toddler, a new moon appeared. The drums of the Mugabe Wamara had already come to welcome the new moon as was their

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1. This house takes the name from a special kind of reeds of which it was made. It, too, was one of the houses where the king's wives lived and was equally out of bounds to all males except on the specific invitation of the Mugabe.

2. Traditionally the Bacwezi are said to have been light skinned, or brownish as the Banyankore say.
usual custom. One morning Wamara ordered those responsible to take back the drums to their respective regions. Karara, of the Basita clan, was also ordered to return the Bagyendanwa to its territory of Rwanda (Nyabushozi).

When Karara came to the centre of the Omugabe's enclosure, he met Ruhinda who was eating a piece of millet pastry, as was the custom with the children. Karara said, "Give me that millet (oburo) and I will give you a drum, Kyana ky'omuzana". But he was only joking with him (Ruhinda). The child gave him the millet and then held the drum by its loop. Karara merely held the millet in his hand and then returned it to Ruhinda and told him, "Let go of the drum so that I may proceed on my journey". Ruhinda clung to the drum and he even started crying. He begged him farther for the drum, but Ruhinda refused. Then Karara returned his millet to him, but he refused that as well.

When Karara could not think of what more to do, he decided, "Let me go and report him to his father, perhaps he will scold him for me into making him let go of the drum".

1. Kyana kyomuzana literally means the child of a maid-servant, but figuratively, as in this context, it is an expression of endearment normally used for children when they are being coaxed into doing something by their seniors.
He came (before Wamara), knelt and said, "Nyakusinga, get the drum for me from Ruhinda for I am getting late". "What has become of him?" Wamara asked. "I found him eating millet and I asked him jokingly, "Give me that piece of millet and I will give you a drum". When he gave it to me, he held the drum by the loop. I returned his millet to him, but he refused it and held on to the drum, crying and wanting to keep it; that is why I have come to report him to you so that you may coax him for me".

In reply, Wamara said, "Oh! The drum is never to be played with. Moreover, you have already exchanged your goods, have you not? You must know that selling is selling and giving is giving. You have bartered your goods and that is the end of it. Let him retain his drum". Ruhinda kept the drum for the whole day. Eventually, Wamara called Katuku, the son of Rubango, who was one of his chiefs, and told him, "There is the drum of your grandson, Ruhinda; keep it for him; he has obtained it in exchange for millet".

1. Nyakusinga is or was the normal term used to salute or address the king and it means You deserve and I wish you long life and victory.

2. It was and is a convention for the elderly people to address their juniors as son or grandson even when no physical relationship exists between the parties in question.
Karara went back empty-handed. Katuku kept the Bagyendanwa.1

6. THE REGIONS DURING THE REIGN OF WAMARA

Before the Mugabe Wamara left Itaba, he distributed the following regions to his chiefs:—

1. Katuku, the son of Rubango, of the Bajumira clan was given Rwampara, so that he stayed at Itaba and, afterwards, he moved to Kasana (Rukoma) with the Bagyendanwa.

2. Ishe-Murinda was retained in Masha. Ishe-Murinda was of the Baitira clan.

3. Nyawera of the Bagahe clan was in Kashari at the time.

4. Kinuma was in Bukanga.

5. Rwanzigami of the Baranzi clan was in Rugando.

6. Karara of the Basita clan remained at his post in Rwanda, in Ankole.

7. Rwanyakiju was then in Nshara.

8. Muramira was in Buhweju; and there were other lesser chiefs whom we no longer remember.2

Then Wamara left Itaba finally and went back to Rushozi for the second time; that is where his daughter

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1. The reason given for the acquisition of the drum and the explanation for Ruhinda's genetic relationship to the Bacwezi are inadequate. See Ch. III.

2. If these had been Wamara's regional chiefs, it would appear that they became effective rulers after the downfall of the Bacwezi. It is more likely that these were clan heads who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy under the loose yoke of the Bacwezi rule. See Ch. III.
Kabibi was born as was another son, Mugasha Ibebe.

7. THE DEPARTURE OF WAMARA

When King Wamara left Rushozi, behind Kishasha, he spent the night at Katenga, then proceeded to Bijinja, on to Twemyambi and then to Mitare and from there he spent the night at Kisharuhoko, just beyond Macuncu. From there he spent the night at Rwoma. From here he camped at Ihongyero, thence proceeded to Rwansheka, then to Nshambya at Gwobarira's and then went on to Butaijura and from there he camped at Byezigoro bya Mugyenyi. From here he proceeded to Bwegoromoro at Nyanzigumbi's (Mahogora) and then he and his men together with the other Bacwezi disappeared in the open shallow lake in the Katonga, between Makore and Mubende.

8. THE AFFAIRS OF RUHINDA AND MUGASHA

The Omugabe Wamara had left two sons here in Ankole: Ruhinda and Mugasha. By the time Wamara departed, Ruhinda had gone to the countries of Tanganyika which are Buzinza and Karagwe. When he returned, he found that Wamara and all the other Bacwezi had left a long while before. He came with Njunaki, his mother, and his elder brother Kayangwe and their sister Kabibi and they found Katuku, the Keeper of the drum, at Kasana near Rukoma, in the suncounty of Birere,

1. It is more likely that Ruhinda was coming to Nkore to found a kingdom for the first time.
Isingiro — but at the time this area was in Rwampara. Then they settled down and lived with Katuku.

The other [son] was Mugasha Ibebe. At the time the Bacwezi left, he also had gone to Busongora to catch fish. When he returned, he found only the beetles buzzing\(^1\) in his father's deserted kraals and he was baffled as to where he should go. He was filled with sadness; as a result he decided to burn himself in the house, but he could not withstand the smoke and the flames and so he escaped from the house and went outside. He then considered drowning himself, but he feared the water and the vision of having to gulp down mouthfuls of it made him abandon the idea.

When he considered all things and failed, he went to the carcasses of his father's cows which had died. He came across one which had not decomposed, made a fire,\(^2\) roasted it and at it until he finished it completely.

From there he went to the islands in the lake of Buganda, Nyarubare (Victoria) which are Isheshe [Sesse islands]. There he stayed until he died and even now he

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1. Beetles Buzzing is also a Kinyankore expression which means that the place had not seen human habitation for a considerable period.

2. Fire was made by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other rapidly.
has become an emandwa [spirit] of that place.1

B. THE MAIN REASONS WHICH LED TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE BACWEZI

1. KANTU

The Mucwezi Wamara and a very old man, Kantu, had become very great friends. They had even made blood-brotherhood. Kantu used to relate things of the past to Wamara. On one occasion Kantu came to visit Wamara, as he used to do, and they met just outside the kraal entrance as Wamara was going out for hunting. He left him to the charge of his retainer2 and asked him that his friend be taken home so that the queens could give him refreshments.3

When the queens set eyes on him, they burst out laughing and they told the retainer, "Go and take him back to the gate, a slave woman will come for him". After the retainer had carried out his mission, he followed his master in the hunt. The queens did not even remember to give milk

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1. See Ch. III for the deification of the Bacwezi and the Basesse.

2. The term omwambari, here translated as retainer, usually means a man, one of whose parents is a Mwiru and the other a Muhima, but it also has the meaning given in this context.

3. This means the drinks which guests are given on arrival and these range from milk to beer, but not both at the same time.
to the guest. When he lost hope, he went to the junctions of the paths to await the return of the head of the home (Wamara). When the cattle were returning home from pasture, Wamara's bull came courting and it tossed Kantu with its horns and killed him.

When the Mukama Wamara returned from hunting, he asked for his little friend and they looked for him, but in vain. The king was exceedingly angry; he rebuked the whole household. They all got up and looked for Kantu and found him gored to death by the bull, just outside the enclosure. They reported to Wamara and he put his hands on his mouth.¹

When they put out the calves at milking time, all the milk was blood and when the augurors were consulted, the Bacwezi were informed that Kantu's blood brotherhood was going to wreck the home of the Bacwezi. Consequently, they brought materials for purification and made sacrifices (to appease Kantu's spirit). After four days had passed, cows brought forth white milk again. From that time it became taboo for the Bacwezi to drink "obusito" which means that a milch cow, when it is served, the first four days lapse before they drink its milk. Even now it is still the practice among the Bagabe.

¹. A typical Kinyankore gesture to express disbelief, shock etc.
2. THE BACWEZI ARE DISOBEYED

After the death of Kantu, the Bacwezi started being very timid and from then they were overwhelmed by the disobedience of their subjects. Whenever they gave an order, the maidservant or the slave would look at them insolently and refuse [to obey] as if the Bacwezi were not the masters or the servants would carry out the order while grumbling and grunting. A long time passed while their servants and the people disobeyed them, grunted, complained and showed them no respect at all. Their wives also despised them very much because the Bacwezi had adopted the bad habit of marrying their sisters and there were other things like these which gradually spoiled the respect for and detracted from the bravery of the Bacwezi.

3. THE SINISTER OMENS

Whenever the Bacwezi were eating or drinking, things, which were invisible to the eyes, would come by, cough and rattle against each other noisily. Also whenever the cattle of the Bacwezi were taken for watering, these things would fall into the water and prevent the cattle from drinking; they would frighten them away so that the cattle would go without drinking the water at all.

One day when Wamara was in Ntutsi, which is Bwera Mahogora (Mawogola), seven evil things entered his home in broad daylight; they filled it with bad smoke which smelled
like akasamunyiga [an evil-smelling animal]. People's nostrils were choked. Consequently Kagoro, the son of Kyomya, drove them away and tried to understand what they were. Cows were then going for watering. On the way he killed five of them; the other two entered the Rwizi and he came chasing them and then killed the male one also. The female one, which was in an advanced state of pregnancy, beat him to it and crossed the river. After it had crossed, it addressed him, "Although you have killed my companions, I have myself escaped, and I will turn into every conceivable object and then we shall come and destroy your home". Kagoro then retraced his steps and reported everything to the Bacwezi; they became more troubled.

4. THE DESTRUCTION OF MUTUMO'S HOME

There once lived a very rich man called Mutumo, the son of Kinyonyi. This Kinyonyi was his father. Mutumo had a bull which used to be tethered to a metal stake. What had made Mutumo rich was the fact that all the people in his household did not call the "moon" by its proper name; they called it "The Starry Bull in the sky". Then it came to

1. Rwizi or Orwizi is a general name for river and not just the name of the river of that name in Mbarara. The former is the meaning in this context.

2. This means that it was taboo for all the members of the family to call the moon the moon.
pass that one day when the moon appeared, Mutumo's wife, because of the current contempt in which the Bacweiz were held, told her husband, "I announce the appearance of the moon to you; for how long can we go on avoiding to call it by its real name?" Immediately Mutumo's cattle herd this, they broke out of the kraal and disappeared. Mutumo ran after them, following his leading bull, Rutare [the White One], and he also disappeared with them; he did not return to his home in Bwera. To prove that Mutumo had many herds, his cattle were everywhere and even now some of the ruins of his kraals can be seen, such as the one at Kyengyerere, in Bunyaruguru.

The other traditionalists, like Kyerire of Burunga Nyabushozi, disagree with the story that has been told and say that what led to the destruction of Mutumo's home was his cow Kitare which, as a heifer Katare, had been the sole survivor when rinderpest destroyed all the herds of Mutumo. Then when it matured, it bore him all those herds.

One day when it was in calf, it turned and addressed Mutumo thus, "By the way, Mutumo, do you know what made you richer than all the other people? If you did not know it, know it now. When I die, you will bury my body; you should not eat my meat as they eat meat from the other cows".

Then life went on as usual. Then one day Mutumo went to look for a bull from his relatives in Karagwe. Soon
after he left, Kitare died. Mutumo's wife told her son, "Are we not tired of this cow? Have you ever heard of a cow being buried as if it died of anthrax? When cows die, do people not skin them and eat them? Do they weep for them and bury them as if they were human beings? Bring your father's spear and axe and skin it; we shall eat some of the meat and we shall dry the rest and set it aside for your father".

At first Mutumo's son hesitated, but he eventually gave in and followed his mother's advice which was being urged on him unceasingly. He skinned it and they ate the meat. The moment they tasted the meat, all the other cows died and disappeared. But all these events came to pass when Mutumo was absent. When he returned from Karagwe, he found his home in ruins and he also disappeared and died in foreign lands.¹

5. THE DEATH OF THE TWO MUTUMOS

When Mutumo, the son of Kinyonyi, left his homeland, Bwera, he went and offered his services to another rich man called Mutumo II Kinywanabahangami of Bwishekatwa, Mpororo²

1. The popular folk tale about Mutumo says that he lived in Mpororo and that he was a son of Kinyonyi. I have not personally heard of another Mutumo of Bwera and nor have any of my informants. The first version is perhaps one of the mistakes the authors did not check.

2. See Footnote 1.
and he became his servant. But he failed to do any of the duties pertaining to cattle keeping except herding the calves\(^1\) and that is what he was detailed to do.

Then one day the former herdsmen of Mutumo, the son of Kinyonyi, came looking for employment at the home of Mutumo II, Kinywa n'Abahangami. When they saw their former master, they wept and Mutumo himself kept back the tears with difficulty. To stop this pointless weeping, he slipped away unnoticed, left them conversing outside the kraal and went into the house. At that time Mutumo II had taken cattle to pasture. Then the new arrivals came inside the kraal to sell tobacco to the women. The women asked them, "By the way, do you know where this Muhima (Mutumo I) came from?" They replied, "We know him like a spotted ntobo fruit;\(^2\) is he not Mutumo, the son of Kinyonyi, our master?" The women put their hands on their mouths and nudged each other. When their husband returned, they told him and he called Mutumo I and said to him, "By the way, honoured guest, if you are the Mutumo, the son of Kinyonyi, the wealthy who never visits the rich and of whom I have heard, why did you not reveal your identity to me? If your home was ruined, could I not have

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1. This is a job that is done by the children or by men who are too old to herd cattle.

2. The expression means beyond any doubt.
given you the cattle to make up for your loss?" Mutumo I, the son of Kinyonyi, replied, "I am the one, but I made the mistake of not telling you because I feared that the misfortune which destroyed my home might befall yours in the future. If now you really want to know, ask me tomorrow when we go to water the cattle".

The next day they went to the wells to water cattle as the sun was receding. ¹ Mutumo II asked Mutumo I, "Has the time not come? Tell me what destroyed your home". Then Mutumo I told him everything from the beginning to the end. Mutumo II was greatly troubled. As a result he sent for all his sons and all the senior men in his herds. He ordered the brewing of beer for a very big feast, the like of which they had never seen before. He told them of the appointed day and asked them to assemble at Lake Nyabihoko, in Kajara. Even today the ruins of his former kraals can still be seen there. ² There the people gathered, ate, slaughtered barren cows, drank beer and milk and they were merry. But Mutumo II kept on calling his sons together, making his will known to them and bidding them goodbye and saying, "My time has come to

¹ This is another traditional way of telling the time of day and it means that the sun had left the overhead position which is any time between 2 p.m. and 5 p.m.

² This tradition is very strong in this part of Ankole and the island in Lake Nyabihoko is said to be the ruins of Mutumo's home by the local residents.
leave you!" They were baffled to see their father bequeathing his property when he was not even sick. They said, "No. a person does not make his will when he is in good health".

After some weeks had passed while they were still there, Mutumo I and Mutumo II made a secret pact which was not known to the others; the children and the other people who were there saw Mutumo II, Kinywa n'Abahangami, telling Mutumo I, the son of Kinyonyi, "Oh! the time has come; let us accompany each other, otherwise how will these things all end? Prepare so that we leave this world; what destroyed your home may not overtake mine in the future". They embraced each other, stood on the bank of the lake and threw themselves in that lake of Nyabihoko, in Kajara. That is where the people got the saying that "So and So's home was destroyed like that of Mutumo". That is how Mutumo I, the son of Kinyonyi, and Mutumo II, Kinywa n'Abahangami, died. The children of Mutumo II could not make sense out of these events and so they went back to their home and, after slaughtering their father's leading bull,¹ they also disappeared and up to now no surviving descendant of theirs is known.

But during the period of the Bacwezi, the people were very rich in the possession of cattle and because the

¹. This is still done when the head of the household dies.
heaps of the cow dung were very huge, some people were nicknamed Mutumos meaning that their riches were just as huge. In fact there was another rich man of those days who was as wealthy as Mutumo. He was called Mwamba and he used to live at Kamushoko, Kashari. Another one was Bwayegamba of Sheema who is talked about very much.

6. MISANGO, THE SON OF GANYONZA

In the same period there came a man, Misango, the son of Ganyonza, from his country of Burundi and he came with a very large army. He raided the cattle of the Bacwezi - the cattle of Mugyenyi and Mugasha and Kagoro. Mugasha fought and defeated him and recovered all his cattle. Misango escaped with those of Mugyenyi and Kagoro. While he was still driving them away, a Mucwezi, named Kiteta, raised the alarm, but it was not heard and then Nyamutare, who had been captured with Ndahura, raised the alarm instead. He stood at Buyamba hill, on the side of Koki near Rugaaga, Isingiro and raised a great alarm to summon the Bacwezi.

Kagoro, at that time, was playing ekishoro¹ with the wives of his brothers and he said, "Eh! That is a very unusual alarm". The women said, "No, perhaps those are the birds of the wilderness". Kagoro heard the alarm clearly

¹ This is the popular game, usually called Mweso by many writers.
again and then he knew that it was an alarm for war. He rushed out and came to Nyamutare who told him, "All the herds of the Bacwezi have been captured; Mugyenyi has been wounded in the fighting and he saved only the Embamba herd from the enemy; Mugasha has recaptured his cattle and brought them back, but Misango, the son of Ganyonza, may have already finished yours by slaughtering them".

Kagoro did not delay; he followed Misango, found him at the watering wells and called out to him, "Misango, be the first to throw a spear at me and show me how you fight". Misango threw a spear at him twice and missed him. Kagoro threw his once and it struck Misango below the shoulder blade. He fell down and died there. Thus Misango's army was defeated and Magoro recovered his herds. But the Bacwezi became more frightened because of seeing foreigners beginning to attack them.  

7. **THE DEATH OF BIHOGO BYA MFUGA**

One day the Mugabe Wamara, while still at Ntutsi, was sitting outside the kraal with the other Bacwezi, eating coffee berries and one berry fell on the ground. When he

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1. Individual herds of cattle are mostly given a collective name according to their predominant colour and this name means the cattle with spots all over the body.

2. This might be a reference, however obscure, to the defeat of the Bacwezi which might have led to their withdrawal.
followed it with his eyes, he saw it disappearing into the
ground. They brought hoes to dig it up and recover it, but
the farther they dug, the more it sunk. When they dug
farther, they came across a cow's horn. There was great
excitement and when they dug deeper, what had been a horn
turned out to be a cow: a heifer, Kabibi, with many spots
[and one large dark patch].

Then Wamara had a kraal constructed for it near
Ishembabure (Mahogora) and he selected children from every
clan to tend it and to guard it from being served by the
bulls.

When it grew exceedingly old and was nearing death,
some Bahaya came with their small bull, Ruhogo, and tethered
it to the trees near the huts of the children who tended
Kabibi. When the bull saw Kabibi approaching, it served it.
At the time Kabibi was served, the children who had failed
to keep proper watch to prevent Kabibi from being served,
were of the Baitira clan. After Kabibi was served, the
Bacwezi let it mix with other cows and they detailed Mugyenyi
to watch over it so that when it calved, he should burn it
with its calf and then put the ashes in a watering bowl and
bring it to Wamara to inform him.

Kabibi calved at night and died on its own.
Mugyenyi hid the calf it bore because was very beautiful.
To Wamara they sent only the ashes of Kabibi, its mother, and
they told him a lie. "What it bore was taken by the hyenas", they said. When the heifer grew up, Mugyenyi showed it to Wamara and the latter could not bring himself to kill it and so he sent for Kagoro to be the one to kill it, but Kagoro could not do so either. Consequently they forstered it to ten other cows for suckling and these were not to be milked at all (so that the calf would have all the milk). This calf became the Bihogo of the Bacwezi - of Rushasha, of Kabibi and of Mpuga.

When Bihogo of Rushasha calved for the first time, it became the milch cow of all the Bacwezi because it gave a lot of milk and its beauty was such that all the Bacwezi desired to drink its milk. But misfortune soon struck because one day Mugyenyi and his maternal uncle, Kajumba, gave it salt. Mugasha had extracted the salt from Bushongora. When he brought the salt, they gave it to Bihogo and the salt was too much for Bihogo and it died. The Bacwezi were greatly saddened by the loss of their milch cow, Bihogo bya Mpuga.

8. THE DEATH OF MUGYENYI

About the death of Mugyenyi people have also two opinions. Some say that Mugyenyi did not die, but that he disappeared like the others. Others say that when Mugyenyi saw that Bihogo bya Mpuga, which had sustained the home of the Bacwezi, had died and that he was responsible for its death, he was overcome with grief. His friends tried to
console him, but they failed and he did not even listen to the advice he was given that he should ask for other cows to offset the loss. As a result he disembowelled himself and died.¹

C. THE DEPARTURE OF THE BACWEZI

When the Bacwezi saw the ill-omens piling upon each other and one by one, from Wamara's snake, intestines which were found in the heads, the black soot which fell on the intestines, the death of their blood-brother Kantu, the disobedience of their subjects, Kagoro's evil omens, the destruction of Mutumo's home, the raid of Misango, the son of Ganyonza, the death of Bihogo bya Mpuga to the death of Mugyenyi and also the other things which the Bacwezi could no longer understand, Wamara again sent for more augurors to come and try the omens for him. This time he sent to Bukiri for Nyakoka and Karongo, his younger brother, both of whom were senior augurors belonging to the Bashuri clan.

When they came, they divined and their divination matched that of Kakara, the son of Shagama — it was that the

¹ The version told by my informants says that Mugyenyi had said he would commit suicide if Bihogo, which he loved, died. When it did, the Bacwezi women taunted him to carry out his threat and he did and committed suicide.
Bacwezi should go. Fearing that the king might put them to death, these augurors escaped early in the morning and went back home.

Then the Mugabe Wamara sent for the children of Kyomya, who had been left behind in Bukiri, to come and look after the kingdom because Kyomya had suggested that "Instead of leaving the country empty like this, it is better that we leave it to my sons who live in Bukiri".

Before the return of Kanyabugoma, who had been sent to Bukiri to bring the Ababito, the Bacwezi disappeared in the lake of Bwegoromoro. Even today the Banyankore have a curse which runs; "I wish you disappeared like the Bacwezi".

From then onwards, the people started worshipping the Bacwezi; praying to them for life, wealth and help in everything. The spirits of the Bacwezi are called Benevolent Spirits and these are the spirits of the Bacwezi proper while the Malignant Spirits are those of the servants of the Bacwezi like Mugasya and Nyabuzana.

TAKE NOTE:

The Bacwezi were not normal; they were big people

1. This is one more clue to the probability that the whole of this story tries to disguise the defeat of the Bacwezi because there is no reason why these men should have been called Babito.

2. See Ch. II.
like giants and they were tall and awe-inspiring to look at. They used to perform wonderful things such as on the occasion when, it is said, Mugasha was bathing and people who were coming from a wedding saw him naked and he cursed them. When he cursed them, they turned into stone and that is the rock of Mugore.¹

There is another rock in Bwera which they call Rwoma. They say that it had cracks in it and that there was sand below the cracks. Then the Bacwezi struck it with a metal beam to seal the cracks so that water should not sink, but run over it and fill their well. Even now the impression left by the metal beam can still be seen.

The stake of Rutanga used to be in the Byezigoro bya Mugyenyi. It was on that stake that the bull of the Bacwezi used to be tethered and it was still there when the Europeans came.

Mugasha's meat skewers are in Nshambya za Imara and are still visible. It is said that that is where Mugasha roasted meat.

The way in which the Bacwezi constructed the Bigo bya Mugyenyi is marvellous. One cannot go in there to cut a stick without losing one's way. And even in the past the

¹ Ibare rya Mugore or the Rock of Mugore is a name of a place in Ewera-Mugore. It is also the Runyankore word for bride.
people were very much afraid of spending a night in those Bigo.

Because of the wonderful things accomplished by the Bacwezi, such as these, the Banyankore worshipped them.¹

¹ For the traditions regarding the Bacwezi, see also J. Nyakatura, op. cit., pp. 6-65. With minor exceptions, the story told by Nyakatura is similar, in detail, to that told by the present authors. See also Ch. III.
PART II
THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING THE REIGNS OF THE BAGABE OF ANKOLE.

1. INTRODUCTION

THE SEPARATION OF THE KINGDOMS—THE BAHINDA AND BABITO.

As we have just seen, during the period of the Bacwezi, all the kingdoms of Uganda were ruled over by the Bacwezi kings. The moment the Bacwezi left the country Ankole, for the first time, broke away from the other kingdoms; it was inherited by Ruhinda, the son of Wamara, who also took over the herds of the Bacwezi and became Rubambansi, the Omugabe of Ankole. It is from this Ruhinda that the Bagabe of Ankole, of the Bahinda clan, are descended.

From then on the kingdom of the Bacwezi split into two parts:

(a) That of Kitara was taken over by the kings of the Babito clan of Bunyoro, Buganda, Toro, Koki and Bushoga.

(b) That of Ankole fell to the kings of the Bahinda clan.

But between the countries of the Bahinda and the Babito, there remained the country of Bwera and two of Wamara's drums: Rushama and Nyaminyago and these were looked after by the Bamori clan, the maternal uncles of Wamara.

For a long time the kings of Bwera were closely attached to Ankole and there was intermarriage often. Ankole gave Kabaija

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1. This statement contradicts the earlier ones by these writers to the effect that Nkore and Kitara had been separate kingdoms even before the advent of the Bacwezi.

2. Toro was a part of Bunyoro kingdom until about the first half of the 19th century.
in marriage to Nyanzigumbi of Mahogora, the owner of Rushama ruler of Bwera Ankole again gave away Mbaija, the mother of Kikumbagaire and sister of Mugoha and then Kibombo was married by Kakiza. In turn the Banyabwera people of Bwera gave us Rugoma, the daughter of Nyanzigumbi, who was married by the Mugabe Ntare Rusingiza Ntare and they again gave us Nyantikye who was married by Rujabuka, the grandfather of Karere she was the mother of Kantonbo and others.

2. THE NAME ANKOLE

The name of this country, Ankole, dates from the olden days when the Bacwezi were still living in it; it was then called Nkole and the name Ankole came into use only recently during the period of the Agreement.

The name Karo-Karungi (the beautiful land) is merely a praise name which grew from the pride of its inhabitants in it of it they said, "Nkore is a very beautiful country". But all of it, from time immemorial, was called Nkore.

The other names which the foreigners call the Banyankore such as the Barindi, Bagyeshera, Bashagara, Balalo or Banyongo are all nick-names because they say that the Abarindi are the people who make fire from wood; as for the Bagyeshera, we do not know the

1. These matrimonial alliances are all late 19th century events.
2. This refers to the coming of the British Administration to Nkore.
3. What is meant by "all of it" is not much more than the original kingdom, the extent of which is estimated in Ch.III. This was a much smaller entity than the present Ankole which was largely expanded by the British administrators.
4. The two pieces of wood from which fire was made are called oburindi.
meaning because it comes from the language of the Banyoro and it is also the name the Banyabwera call the Banyankore. The term Bashagara is of Kignda origin (in Luganda the term is Basagala) because, they say, the Banyankore are tall and also because the name "Bahima" is shameful in Luganda, the Baganda called them "Balalo". Then the name "Banyongo" came afterwards. It is a word of Swahili origin which means assistants or helpers because, they say, the Banyankore helped the Baganda a great deal in cultivating their cotton and coffee and in her road works.

The Banyankore also used to call the Baganda the Bangyere. The Banyoro were called Bahura, but these names did not take from them the names of their countries proper, the name Buganda or Bunyoro. Likewise, although Nkore was given so many nicknames, its proper name from the beginning of time is Nkore.

3. THE BOUNDARIES OF ANKOLE.

1. The first explanations.

(A) The Ankole of the earliest days was a very small country; it was part of the county of Rwampara up to Kenkaranga on the near side of Mwizi; to this add the whole county of Isingiro, then Bukanga and Magabi and Muzaire and Ngando, all of which have been transferred to Magabi (in Tanzania). To this add Buraga, on the banks of the lake of Koki - all that was Nkore.¹

¹. See Map 1. Actually this is also larger than the original kingdom of Nkore.
(B) The Ankole of the present is bounded on the upper side by the lake of Kazinga, Katunguru channel, Lake George. The small part of Kitagwenda was taken away from Ankole in 1908 when the boundaries were demarcated, but it had been part of Ankole since Ankole then extended to the Katonga proper, including Kashangura, the channel of Kyarutanga up to Lake George.\(^1\)

On the lower side it (Ankole) stretched to the river Kizinga and then to Kakitumba, on to Nshungyezi, along the line by which river Kagyera separates Nkore from Karagwe (Tanganyika Territory). From Nshungyezi the boundary follows the hills of Kitenda and Buhunga, which divide Nkore from Kibumbiro, which was also transferred to Tanganyika Territory by the International Boundary of the Germans and the British; then Ankole extended to the mound of Akenjeru, near Magabi, up to Kijonjo and then up to the lake of Kakyera.

In the east Ankole extended to Lake Karunga, then on to Kijonjo and into Kakyera (Nshara) to include the river Karunyiga, near Ryantonde, and then along the Kagaga channel or the Rwamba up to Nyarukongye and then on to the Kikinga of Rwamunyagura. From here the boundary runs to Bugorogoro and Ekirega and to the channel of Akamasha and then right down to Kajumbura and Kyangiro in the Katonga.

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\(^1\) The translation of the rest of the section on boundaries is very difficult because the original is also difficult to follow.\(^1\)
The boundary then runs along the Katonga into the river of Buterano towards Nyanshoro and on to Katebe, the large forest there belongs to Ankole and it is in the subcounty of Kyarutanga, near Mpanga and then it runs up along the Kyarutanga proper to join Rwibu and Katonga, behind Katebe and into Mpanga.

From where the Kyarutanga ends, the boundary passes below Ryakagongo-Kasharara; the Batoro taking the hills of Bwera and Rwamunyari below Kinoni, Ankole remaining with Ruhoko. Then it runs into the river Karombe and divides the mountain of Kyan-yamugara and goes beyond it leaving Kishabo in Toro and Kibwiga, in Ankole, which extends into Lake George.

To the west is the lake of Katunguru and Kazinga channel and Lake Edward (Nyamweru) up to the river of Kaizi. Then the boundary line divides Kigezi (Rujumbura) from Ankole and runs up, leaving the Orwanga on the side of Kigezi, to Kamujumbwe and Kanyaruhinda and then on to Kahengye which is Nyamugoya and then the line runs on to Rutobo, Nyarwashama, Kizinga and Ruterana up to Kakitumba.

11. Further explanations about the boundaries of Ankole.

East in the subcounties of Nyakashashara and Nyakahita: 1 When you start from the lake of Kakyera, you follow the channel of Karunyiga, which runs to Rushoga, Kagaga and on to the rock of

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1. The subcounty of Nyakahita has since been broken up and only Nyakashashara remains as a subcounty.
Nyarukongyi and to the Kikinga of Rwamunyagura. In the subcounty of Kinoni and Burunga: From Rwamunyagura, for a short distance, the Baganda cross the boundary and they take the Ekirega and Bugorogoro and the Nkore boundary includes Kamasha and Kajumbura, while the Kikinga of Munyonyi remains in the middle and then on to Kyangiro, where Nkore and Buganda meet with Toro and then straight on to the Katonga.

North in the subcounties of Buremba and Bisheshe, county of Mitoma: Buganda ends here and Toro continues. Take Nyakiziba from Buremba and the opposite Toro side is Kishega; Bwakura and the opposite Toro side is Bwakasinga, but the swamp of Katonga is between both sides.

Rucumu in Nkore is opposite Byaruhangizi in Toro

| Zatunta | " " " Bwezitira |
| Mitwebiri | " " " Rwentsikizi |
| Rwenjoki | " " " Nyamashengwe |
| Rwencundzezi | " " " Bwiriza |
| Nyabishokye | " " " Kamusenene |
| Nyamarebe | " " " Byantumo |
| Kiburara | " " " Omu-ikamiro |
| Birongo | " " " Kicwamba |
| Kijongo | " " " Kabura-ishokye |
| Kakika | " " " Nyabugando |
| Kashangura | " " " Nyabihoko |
In the subcounty Sabawali, Ibanda near Ryakagongo, Ryakatemba in Ankole is opposite Rwabugingo in Toro. Kyarutanga " " Omubwera " " Nyamahururu " " Buhanama " " Rwamukingi " " Kigoto near Kyamburara. From there you come to the boundary between Mitoma and Toro thence to Kishabo up to the lake of Masyoro (George) and thence upwards to Katunguru.

West in the subcounty of Ishabairu, Bunyaruguru: the boundary runs to the Kazinga channel, Kishenyi, beyond Nyamweru (L. Edward) and then up the river Kaizi, in Igara, which flows from Nyakyera, on the boundary between Rujumbura and Ankole. Sheema also begins here. If you follow the course of the river, you come to river Kahengye which separates Kajara (Bwongyera) from Rujumbura (Kebisoni). Note that Bwongyera and Kebisoni are subcounties of Ankole and Kigezi respectively.

From that point the village of Migyera remains inside Ankole and the boundary follows the top of the mountain which is Kayonza-Nshagasha up to Rutobo.

South: From Rushozi you come to the following hills: - Burama, Nyarwashama, Kyabugimbi, Butere which is Mpungu and the small swamp of Kizinga; all this is in the subcounty of Kabezi (Ngoma), Kajara. Then to the river Kyarukanja, Kebitaka, Rushojwa and Rutungu and Mitayayo-Nyabukyere in Rwampara county. From here you come to Kakitumba and to Mirama hill in the subcounty of Mushare, Rwampara and this leads to the river Kagyera, in the subcounty of
Mutuba 1 Isingiro and from there you come to Kikagate and Nshungyezi. If you follow the boundary from here, you climb the hill of Nsheshemi, in the subcounty of Ngarama, Isingiro and thence along the hills to Kafunjo. This brings you to the hill of Akenjeru, in the subcounty of Rugaga, Isingiro, where there are three mounds. Of those three mounds, one belongs to Buganda, the other to Ankole and the third to Tanganyika Territory. From there you come to Magabi, then into Kirongo and Karungu and thence to the lake of Kakyera in Nshara and this leads you to the Mbarara-Masaka road at mile 40, to the east of which is Karunyiga, near Ryantonde, Kabura.1

1. THE CLANS OF ANKOLE

The Banyankore are divided into four primary clans. But all of them meet into the three divisions of the Bairu, the Bahima and the Bakama (rulers). Those four primary clans are: the Bahinda, the Baghahe, the Bashambo and the Baishikatwa. Some people think that there are Bairu clans and Bahima clans. This is not so, because there is one ancestor for them all. What makes a person a Mwiru (Pl.Bairu) is the hoe, and what makes a person a Muhima (Pl.Bahima) is the cattle and, moreover, the relationships of the Banyankore were mixed up because of intermarriage:

1. This section of the book is difficult to follow because of the absence of punctuation marks in most places and this obscures meanings and confuses directions.
1. There were the Bairu born of slave women among the Bahima. When such a man grew up and returned to the clan of his maternal uncles, he became a Mwiru and tilled the ground, but according to his clan he was a Muhima.¹

2. When a Mwiru takes a Muhima wife and his sons also do the same, they are no longer called Bairu; they are Bahima.

3. When a Muhima is impoverished, he ceases being called a Muhima and he becomes a Murasi and then the Bahima would not take wives from such a man - only the Bairu marry the daughters of the Barasi.²

4. When the owner of a captured slave died childless, that slave would change his clan to that of his Muhima master whose property he inherited.

To confirm all these, there are some Bahima, even now, who have the totems of their Bairu ancestors such as the hammer or the grasshoppers.

The unfortunate and surprising thing about the clans of Ankole is that the majority of the clans which are indigenous to Ankole have become extinct and there came other clans which were not known in Ankole until recently.³

The Banyankore clans which we have remembered and which are shown below are according to the subclans of the primary clans which means that even if the ancestors may have belonged to the same clan, intermarriage is permissible because the subclans are

¹ All children in Ankole take the clans and taboos of their fathers.
² The descendants of such a man became completely Bairu. See Ch.1.
³ For a discussion of clans See Ch.1.
not the same. We have not shown the subdivisions of the subclans because the people of the same subdivision have the same ancestor, originate from the same parents and they cannot intermarry. Also to follow the smaller subdivisions is a huge task which would necessitate a bigger book about the clans alone.

1. The Bahinda clan has the following subclans: the Bahinda, Bayangwe, Bakimbiri, Bashonga, Barega, Baitira, who are the same as the Bagunda, Bataka, Baigara, Baikizi, Bashwasya, Bamigwa, Barema, Bakondo and Baishanza.

2. The Bagahe clan has the following subclans: Bagahe, Bagina, Bene Biraro, Bayombo, Bene Itaka, Bashengye, Bayanzi, Banyara, Banyahimbi, Barisa, Bashaju, Basingo, Bene Kihimba, who are the maternal uncles of Gasyonga like Mpimbo, Bayebe, Bene Nyarubamba, Bakurungu, Basita, Baruru, Batorogo, Bakibiza, Bazigaba, Bene Kyeitamba, Banyaigana, Bene Nyakihunga or Babuga, Banyakafunjo, Bene Masya, Bahwiba, Baziro, Baha, Bateizi, Batende, Banuma, Batayi, Bashengyera, Bangwe, Bahome, Barengi, Baganga, Baranzi and Baturumba. There are other subclans of the Bagahe clan - the Babito and Bamori - which are not indigenous to Ankole; they are indigenous to Toro and Buganda respectively.

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1. Each subclan is exogamous within itself, but not with another subclan of the same clan. For instance a Mugina cannot marry another Mugina but can marry from the rest of the subclans of the Bagahe clan.

2. Names of clans and of most subclans have the prefix A-which is here omitted for convenience. Other subclans have the prefix Bene which means the sons of, e.g. Bene Biraro meaning the sons of Biraro.

3. Obutaya is said to be the original home of the Bataya clan and it is now the area represented by most of the subcounty of Kaebei, part of Kamwezi (in Kigezi District) and the adjacent area southwards up to Katsibo which is now in Rwanda.

4. There is ample evidence of clan mergers and adoptions. See Ch.1.
III. The Bashambo clan:

(a) The Batsyaba, Barima like Erasto Rwakatwe, Bakungu, Bahambi, Bacwezi¹, Batwa, Baroha, Bami, Batema, Bahweju such as Bene Karen-gye, Banzira - who are the senior among the Bashambo as the Bayangwe are among the Bahinda - Banika, Baturagara, Bene Muzora, Banyonzi, Bararira, Banyabusana, Bashari, Banyatsi, Baitenwa - they are close to the Batsyaba who are Batwa, Banyabuhere, Bacuragyaenyi who are also Bene Nyakizi, Basasira, Bacecezi, Banyari, Bacumbwe, Babyahima, Bahira of Rwamba like Kabura of Igara, Barigatsa, Banyakyeru, Banyamugamba and the Bagambira.²

(b) The Bashambo subclans, which are related to each other and which were founded by the brothers of Kahaya and which originate from Murorwa (i.e. which originate from Mpororo kingdom). Bene Bigyeyo, Bene Muganga, Bene Kagyenda, Bene Rukongye, Bene Muhigi, Bene Kinyoro, Bene Ishe Murari, Bene Ruhiri, Bene Itanzi, Bene Nyakizi, Bene Rukima, Bene Bugiri, Bene Mucwa and Bene Butundu who are closely related to the Bashari.

(c) The Bashambo subclans founded by the sons of Kahaya proper: Bene Rukari, Bene Ruzira both of whom, together with the Bene Nyaruganzzi, are all the same and are Bene Rukari. They cannot intermarry because this Nyaruganzzi was the son of Rukari. Bene Kirenzi are the same as the Bene Rwanyakacwamba, Bene Rugambagye, Bene Kihondwa, Bene Mafundo and Bene Kahaya.

1. These are not connected with the Bacwezi rulers.

2. No attempt has been made to translate the names of the clans because they are untranslatable.
IV. The Baishikatwa subclans:

The Baishitatwa clan is divided up as follows: - Bene Kivuna, Bene Muhondogwa, Bairuntu. The Bairuntu are also divided into two: - Bene Rushanja and the Bajonjo; Banyankune, Banyabigugu, Bakomberwa, Batahembera, Bazigye, Boro, Banyamuhanga, Banyashazima and the Banyinju.

5. THE BAGYENDANWA.

1. The meaning of Bagyendanwa.

In the distant past the Bagyendanwa was called Muyumbu because of its blackness and sometimes it was given the praise-names of Kihango /The Great One/, Mahinda /White Patched/ or Mugyenzi /The Traveller/. It is the most important drum of the kingdom, which means that it is the one to which the Mugabe-ascends.¹ The Banyankore swear by it and say, "Gasyonga /or any ruling Mugabe/, his father, mother and Bagyendanwa".² No prince of Ankole could become the Mugabe without it.

This drum is of great antiquity; it was made by the Mucwezi Wamara at Itaba, and he gave it to Karara, of the Basita clan, for safe custody. Ruhinda got it from Karara in exchange for millet. When Wamara was about to leave, he left it with Katuku, of the Bajumira clan, who is also called Kishambo by some people and whose totem was the monkey. He was the father of

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¹. The drum in this context has the same meaning as throne. In other contexts it can mean country or just a drum as object.

². This was the form of oath permissible in Protectorate courts for those Banyankore who had not been converted to any new religion and who could not therefore swear by the books of religion.
Njunaki. When Ruhinda left their former site of Bwera, Katuku installed him on the drum. Ruhinda succeeded to the drum with his elder brother, Kayangwe. From that time up to the present, the Bayangwe are the people who look after the Bahinda. They install the Bagabe; they shave their hair during the ceremony; they perform the purification ceremonies and they bury the bodies of the deceased Bagabe, on which occasions they are called Bahitsi. The Bayangwe were the ones who took the bodies of the Bagabe to Ishanje (the royal burial ground), they made the offerings to the ancestor spirits of the Bagabe in the Kagondo (the royal shrine) and they stand by them when the latter put on shoes. The Bayangwe also are the gate keepers of the palace and they conduct the marriage negotiations on behalf of the Bagabe. Every senior prince had a Muyangwe to conduct all the religious rites on his behalf. In fact the Bayangwe take part in all the ceremonies of kingship and they are very important in Bagyendanwa's kingdom.

Bagyendanwa is struck only once, when the Mugabe is being installed, and only the Mugabe strikes it. It is kept in its own palace. Its house was built without the roof frame work, like the brazier used in the fumigation of cloths. It was forbidden to shut the house in which the Bagyendanwa was. It used to face the gate so that whoever came through it, came face to face with the drum. A fire was always made for the Bagyendanwa and it was not allowed to go out except when the Mugabe died.

1. The importance of the Bagyendanwa in the political system of Nkore is discussed in Ch.11.
In the past the Bagyendanwa was never taken across the Rwizi. It was kept in the counties of Rwampara and Isingiro. It was brought to Kamukuzi (Mbarara) during the reign of Kahaya II, after the Government personnel had already come here and in the period when Mr. Macallister was the District Commissioner of Ankole. The Bagyendanwa, from time immemorial, has always had its separate herds of cattle and its own herdsmen who are not connected with those of the Mugabe's herds. The Bagyendanwa also has its own areas from which its tribute comes and its own flute players who are also of great antiquity (i.e. the function of the men, not the individual men themselves).

The Bagyendanwa has its companion from which it never separates and that is Kabembura and another small drum, Nyakashaija which, from the earliest times, has had its own cattle - the Obukara and the Encwere (The black short-horned cattle). These cattle are important in Ankole and they are kept by the Bayangwe clan. Then there are other drums: Eiguru, which the Mugabe sounds when he goes to visit the Bagyendanwa at the appearance of the new moon; when the Mugabe dies, it is inverted to face downwards and you hear people saying, "The heaven is upside down". This means that they are announcing the death of the Mugabe. Then there is Njeru ya Buremu, which came from

1. This seems to have been a precaution because the area north of the Rwizi river was a shifting frontier; it might not have been safe to keep the drum there.

2. Eiguru is the Runyankore word for sky or heaven.
Kitagwenda and Buzimba, Koma - the child attendant to Kabembura -
and then you add Ekyesiga Mugore-we and Mpunde and Tibanywana and
Rwomunshaka, Kabutu and Nyabayangwe, the inferior wife who is
never seen and this is why its position is behind Bagyendanwa and
Kabembura. Finally there is Enshandaaro. The senior drums
which are never sounded by anyone else except the Mugabe are
Bagyendanwa, Kabembura, Nyakashaija, Eiguru and Nyabayangwe; the
others are called empuro and the other people may play them during
Bagyendanwa's festivities of the new moon or during other ceremon­
ies of the Mugabe. Kashengye is the small pot in which Bagyend­
anwa's honeyed beer is kept. The other regalia of the Mugabe
which are connected with the Bagyendanwa are: - the spear,
Nyamiringa, and another spear, Mweru, the hammer that is never
lifted, the shield, Kashazyo, Wamara's axe, Kaitabagomi (the
Slayer of Rebels), bows and arrows and the ivory drum-stick used
by the Mugabe to sound the Bagyendanwa. There is also another
wooden drum-stick whose keepers are the Batende clan who live at
Kibona in Rwampara. The Basita, like Kahangire, the son of
Katitiba, have another drum-stick. There is a stick, Karebe,
which is used as a support for the carriers of Bagyendanwa on its
journeys, Bagyendanwa's tooth pick, its kishoro /Mweso/ board,

1. In other words the drums were laid out as if they were people
in a household - Bagyendanwa as the head, Kabembura as the
wife. All the other drums were only important in so far as
they were said to have a function pertaining to the Bagyendanwa
and none of them had independent importance.
flutes and their drum, Rwabashegu (the drum of the flute players) and the accompanying engarabi (long) drum. Then there is Bagyendanwa's stool and its harp and its skins - the skin of a lion, a leopard and of a colubus monkey.

In the earliest times the Bagyendanwa was pitch dark until the period of the Kahaya Rutindangyezi of Mpororo (the last one), by whom the Bakiga swear saying, "By the Kahaya of the North, of tobacco pouches". His man, Kahurira, the son of Nyambare, came to Ankole and offered his services to the Mugabe Ntare Kitabanyoro. Then Kahurira painted the white patch, which he had copied from Murorwa (Mpororo's royal drum), on the face of Bagyendanwa. As Kahaya intended to bury the Murorwa when he had grown old, Kahurira escaped and came to a secret agreement with the Mugabe of Ankole to paint the Bagyendanwa. That is how the Bagyendanwa came to have two colours, the white and the black one. From that time up to now Kahurira never went back to Mpororo; he stayed here in Ankole looking after the Bagyendanwa and even now his descendants, the Baruru, are still the keepers - for example Kozi, who was the keeper during the reign of Kahaya II and Kicanda, their niece, who is now the keeper during the reign of Gasyonga II.

The others who have functions relating to the Bagyendanwa are the Basita and the Batende who repair it. The Batende are the first who use the eyeless needle on the drum. The Bashwasya are the keepers of Nyamiringa, the spear that is stuck by the Bagyendanwa. The Basingo, who live in Mbare, are the flute players of
the Bagyendanwa. The Baikizi are the ones who erect the first foundation pole when the Bagyendanwa's house is being built.

II. The Capture of the Bagyendanwa.

The Bagyendanwa was captured by the Omukama Cwamari at the Kihonoka of Ryeru, near Birere in the present county of Isingiro. When he captured it, he cut it and this accounts for the uneven face that you now see. It was repaired by the Mugabe Ntare Kitabanyoro (i.e. he ordered that it be repaired).

It was not on the occasion when it was stolen by Karai-ga, while fighting Kahaya 1 Nyamwanga, that it was cut; Karaiga only removed it from its home and fought for it intending to be the Mugabe. It was taken away from him at Kyamburara, in the county of Muyema [Isingiro].

The third time the Bagyendanwa was taken by Rwanga; he took it to Kantsyore and he kept it there for a long time while the fighting was going on until Gasyonga killed him at Kyangabukama, Isingiro.

III. The Capitals of Bagyendanwa.

The capitals of Bagyendanwa, where it stayed most of the time, are: - Nyabikiri which is Rusya and then Birere, Kasana, Mabare and at the Rwizi. When you stand at Buremba, you see the

1. The importance of these functions being assigned to different clans was to make the clans closely involved in the system of kingship and most of them seem to date from the reign of Ntare IV (mid 18th century).

2. It is not clear why the authors describe all the three incidents as the "capture" of the Bagyendanwa - only the Banyoro captured it.
thick calendabra euphorbia grove opposite and that is where the Bagyendanwa spent a long time. And that is where the Mugabe Mutambuka left it. The other capitals are: Nyakayojo, Bwenkoma and Ryengoma and that is where it was during the period of Ntare and Mukwenda i.e. during the succession war between the two.  

IV. The resting places of Bagyendanwa.

Whenever a new Mugabe was going to be installed, the Bagyendanwa used to be brought from Mabare, in the subcounty of Mamyoka Isingiro to the Kitoma of Ibare in Rwampara, which is Katukuru. Thence it was taken to Bitoma of Rwabinda, Karamurani Rwampara and here a white cow and a white sheep were sacrificed and they drew the water from the pool just above Karamurani.

From there it went to Ijuga-ngoma, then to Kagarama, in the baths, and then to Munwanyangi where it was painted. Then from here it was rested at Ijumuriro of Nyamiyonga, Isingiro, where it would stay for about two months, thence to Burungama and then on to the Ekitoma kya Rwangabo (Bukanga). From here it was taken to Kaharo, Isingiro, and then to Rushaka rw'emebba which is Kashenyi and here it would spend the remaining hours of daylight and then go to its home at night because it was taboo for the Bagyendanwa to come home before the cows or to enter a home

1. Traditional accounts do not link the capitals of the Bagyendanwa with those of the Bagabe except in the few cases when the succession wars involved the shifting of the drum from one place to another by the rival princes. The Bagabe seem to have shifted their capitals, whereas the drum was kept in one place for several reigns at a stretch.

2. This would be about one calendar month for the Kinyankore month is reckoned by the moon-lit nights and dark nights each set of which is called a month.
in which there were no cows.  

Wherever the Bagyendanwa rested, a white cow and a white sheep were sacrificed. These journeys were made by the Bagyendanwa after the installation of a new Mugabe and at the conclusion of its ceremonies, it was put back on its bed. The white chalk with which the Bagyendanwa is painted is obtained from Nyamitsindo, in Masha, Isingiro, and it was brought by the Baitira, of the Barama subclan, such as the descendants of Kang-wagye, who are the owners of Nyamitsindo. And the red paint for Nyakashaija was obtained from Kicwamba, in the red clay-pits, in Rwampara.

At the present time of the (Protectorate) Government, the Bagyendanwa has become an important emblem of the kingdom of Ankole - its picture is on the flag of the Mugabe and on the caps of his policemen and also forms the official letter-heads of the government of the kingdom of Ankole.

6. THE VEIL, RUTARE.

Another important item of the regalia of Ankole kingship is the veil, Rutare, which the Bagabe of Ankole used to employ in rain making ceremonies. Some people say that this

1. This last statement, as indeed the whole of this laborious section, is one of the roundabout statements which do not mean what they say. According to my informants, the Bagyendanwa, like the Mugabe, did not live in kraals. The statement means that the drum was not taken to its home before nightfall - nightfall being reckoned as the time when "the cows come home".

2. The Bagabe did not make rain. See Ch.II.
Rutare was the very veil which came with Nkazi, the mother of Kahaya I Nyamwanga. She was being carried by Bashekye, of the Batsyaba clan, and then she disappeared. They reported this to Macwa (her husband). After four days had passed, Bashekye saw Nkazi at dawn, coming towards the kraal entrance.

Then Bashekye called Rubombo to stand guard over her. This is the same Rubombo of whom you hear people say, "So and so has lived as long as Rubombo", because he lived for an extremely long time.

Then they brought Nkazi and put her in the house of Mukabandi, the daughter of Kamurari of Muganga-mpindu-ebazira kyaro. Nkazi was initiated in the cult of spirit worship. Mukabandi blew milk into her eyes and the milk was spilt. Nkazi remained with her maid servant, Nyinakaraire. Then Nkazi gave birth to Kakoko (Rubare) but the veil fell onto her lap during the ceremony of the spirit worship. This is the story as related by Kyerire of Burunga.

Other people refuse this story and say that the veil Rutare or Rujeru (both names mean a white bull) was captured by the Mugabe from Irebe (ruler of Bwera). It was brought with its keeper, Kirinju, the grandfather of Mwenda. Also captured at the same time was a bull with two humps and when he died, the bull with two humps disappeared and another bull, Rugondo, was put in its place. This is why Rutare's cattle are obugondo (they have spots all over the body). It is not true, they say, that Rutare
fell from heaven onto the lap of Nkazi, the mother of Kahaya 1 Nyamwanga. This is the version of the story about Rutare as told by Rushonje and his maternal uncle Kamugungunu. The two versions can be followed because they were related by old men who learnt them from their ancestors.¹

7. THE ORIGINS OF THE BAHINDA KINGS OF ANKOLE.

The Bahinda kings of Ankole of whom we are going to speak, one by one, are not to be confused with the other rulers of the minor kingdoms surrounding Bagyenda (i.e. Ankole) such as the Barisa of Buhweju, Buzimba and Kitagwenda or the Bashambo of Mpororo and Igara.²

These Bahinda are the descendants of Ruhinda, the son of Njunaki; the Ruhinda who was the son of Wamara. The Bahinda kings of Ankole are pure Bacwezi³ and they were given the name Bahinda because Ruhinda, their ancestor, had a dark patch on his face. Their totems are milk from a cow which has been served within four days (obusito) and also milk from a cow which has just eaten salt (ekyengyre) which were the totems of their Bacwezi ancestors arising out of the deaths of Kantu and of Bihogo.

1. The keepers of the veil, however, trace their descent from Kirinju who is said to have been captured with it. Most informants on the subject relate both versions and, as an explanation say, "that is what the old people say about Rutare".

2. The statement is an expression of patriotism and not of historical judgement since, until its disintegration around the middle of the 18th century, the kingdom of Mpororo was a larger and more important kingdom than Nkore and, until the 19th century, Buhweju was just as important as Nkore.

3. The genetical relationship of the Bahinda to the Bacwezi is dubious to say the least. On the basis of Nkore traditions and of the traditions of Bunyoro and of Buhaya states, where Ruhinda figures, there is hardly anything to suggest that Ruhinda was the son of Wamara. See Ch.III.
bya Mpuga which was killed by salt. There was also another clan which was called Bahinda and whose totem was the monkey. That is the clan of Katuku, of the Bajumira clan, and the father of Njunaki. That is how the Bahinda came to have two totems - that of their male ancestors (the busito and ekyengyere) and the other of their maternal ancestors (the monkey).

The rightful Bagabe of Ankole are twenty and when you add the nine Pretenders who are the Bagabe who were killed in the succession wars, you get twenty nine Bagabe of the Bahinda clan.

The Pretenders are also numbered among the Bagabe because they had possession of the Bagyendanwa for a time, and whoever had the Bagyendanwa was the Mugabe of Ankole. But they did not remain Bagabe until their natural death because they were killed by their relatives against whom they fought for the possession of that very drum. But it is also well known, throughout Ankole, that "When a Pretender puts out someone's eye, the rightful Mugabe cannot restore it," i.e. that they are also Bagabe with absolute power.

As was the custom in Ankole, the Bagyendanwa was fought for after the burial, but there are many Bagabe who gained the drum without fighting for it. The following Bagabe fought for  

1. All the reasons advanced by these authors to determine legitimate and illegitimate rulers or pretenders are contradicted by what they write on the history of Nkore successions. All sons of the ruling Mugabe were legitimate successors to his throne. See Ch. IV.
Bagyendanwa before they were installed: Kitera, Rumongye, Karara, Karaiga, Kahaya I, Nyakashaija, Bwarenga, Rwebishengye, Rwanga, Kayungu, Gasyonga 1, Mukwenda, Ntare, the son of Kiboga, Kahaya II and Gasyonga II nearly fought before being installed when he had disputes with Mirindi. 1

These are the Bagabe who came to the Bagyendanwa without first fighting for its control: Ruhinda, Nkuba, Nyaika, Nyabugaro, Rushango, Kagwejegyera, Rugamba Ntare III, Kasasira, Mirindi, Ntare IV Kitabanyoro, Macwa, Rwabirere and Mutambuka.

From this it can be seen that there are Bagabe who fought for Bagyendanwa before being installed and who then, after being installed, lived in peace all their lives until they died and such are the Barubambansi /rightful 2/ like Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, Kahaya II and Gasyonga II. And the Bagabe who fought for the Bagyendanwa, were installed and who then were killed by their relatives, are the Pretenders. And another pleasant thing concerns the name of Ntare which is the name of the legitimate Bagabe who were thought to have done important things for the country; no pretender could be called the name of Ntare.

1. This, too, is a general statement because some of these listed princes fought their rivals before and some after they were installed and, at least, Rwanga and Mukwenda were never installed. See Ch. IV.

2. The name Ntare seems to have been given to the kings at random. Only two of the five Ntares (IV and V) are said to have done great things and, at least, Ntare II is said to have done nothing more important than being ill throughout his entire reign.
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25. ------------------------------- Mukwenda, the son of Nyakairu
26. Ntare V, the son of Kiboga
27. ------------------------------- Kahitsi, the rebel
28. Edward Sulemani Kahaya II, M.B.E., the son of Kiyaya
29. Charles Godfrey Gasyonga II, the son of Kwasherura (knighted since).

11. THE LIVES OF THE BAHINDA KINGS
    OF ANKOLE

1. THE OMUGABE RUHINDA

1. The birth and growth of Ruhinda

   Ruhinda was the son of the Mucwezi Wamara by his maid-
   servant Njunaki about whom the auguror, Kakara, the son of Shagama,
   had made a prophecy. Ruhinda stayed with his father until both of
   them left Itaba, the old capital of Wamara, for Rushozi together
   with the other Bacwezi. Rushozi is near Biharwe, behind Kishasha.

   When Ruhinda and his father left Rushozi, both of them
   went to Ntutsi in Mahogora (Mawogola) and that is where they sep­
   arated, Ruhinda himself going to Karagwe and Buzinza. While still
   there, he heard that the Bacwezi had disappeared.
2. RUHINDA RETURNS TO ANKOLE

When Ruhinda heard that their home was in ruins, he left Karagwe and first came to the former capital of the Bacwezi at Ntutsi and found that the homes were already inhabited by the beetles. Here also he found his elder brother, Kayangwe, his mother, Njunaki, and a few other people. He led Kayangwe and Njunaki by the hand and brought them to Nkore. He found Katuku, who was in charge of the kingdom\(^1\), at Kasana. Katuku then installed him on his father's throne.\(^2\)

3. RUHINDA ON THE THRONE

Ruhinda was installed at Rukoma-Kasana. His official sister was Kabibi, the daughter of Wamara. When Ruhinda moved from here, he made his new capital at Mweruka. From there he made another capital at Rurama, near Ntungu and Nyakamuri, just at the forest of Rumira and Kabuyanda.\(^3\) That is where he begat his son, Nkuba of Rurama.

When Ruhinda saw that his son Nkuba had grown up, he left the kingdom of Nkore and returned to Karagwe and Buzinja where he died without coming back to Nkore for a second time.\(^4\) From then up to now Nkore remained in the hands of the Bahinda kings.

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1. It seems fairly certain that Nkore was not yet a kingdom at this stage.
2. Since Wamara's kingdom was a larger area than Nkore, Ruhinda could not have "succeeded" to anything bigger than a chiefdom of a very minor status. See Ch. III.
3. All these places are situated in Southern Isingiro which constituted the core of the Bahinda kingdom of Nkore. See Map 1.
4. According to the traditions of Buhaya states, Ruhinda, who founded most of the dynasties of the area, died in Buzinja and was buried in Ihangiro. See, for example; F.X. Lwamugira, "The History of Karagwe, Kyamutwala and Thangiro", (Unpublished MS), pp.83-85.
4. THE SUBDIVISIONS AMONG THE BAHINDA

The Bahinda can be divided into subdivisions, although all of them originate from the same ancestor, Ruhinda, the son of Njunaki. These subdivisions are:

(a) The Bahinda Abatukura (red-eyed) - they are the owners of the kingdom. They are called the "Bahinda whose eyes are red" of Kagarama and they are the ones who succeed each other on the throne.

(b) The Bahinda Emitare like Kitunda - they were given that name because of the warriors of Rwanga who used to raid.

(c) The Bahinda of Mabare

(d) The Bahinda Emitungu

(e) The Bahinda who are mixed - they are those who had the privilege of determining the prince who was fit to be king. They are also called "the Martyrs of the drum", because they used to fight for the Mugabe of their choice; and, after dying for him, he would be installed as the Mugabe.

(f) The Bahinda Ebiruruma - are the Bahinda who were brave and who used to fight for Nkore without ever retreating in battle.

(g) The Bahinda Abajumira or Abajumerera-ngoma - are the Bahinda descended from Katuku and who used to make offerings at Ihunga which is Rugaga, Bukanga. They also used to procure the omuzo stick from Muzaire [forest] which the Mugabe held at the accession ceremonies.

1. These are not classifications of the Bahinda clan; they are nick-names of individual Bahinda families, with the exception of (a), which arose of some chance accomplishment. One did not become a member of a clan because of some achievement, but because one was born in or was adopted by the clan in question.
(h) The Bahinda b’Ebisharara - these were Bahinda who were useless and they merely called themselves Bahinda whereas they were not fit to be Bahinda.

5. THE MATTERS CONCERNING KATUKU, THE KEEPER OF THE KINGDOM

Before we go further in discussing the other Bahinda, let us first see the connections of Katuku, whom Ruhinda found acting as the guardian of the kingdom. This Katuku is sometimes called Kishambo by some people. He was a Munyankore of the Bajumira clan and his totem was the monkey. The father of Katuku was called Rubango. We do not remember the father of Rubango or his grandfathers, but we only know the son of Katuku and his descendants. They are:

Katuku who begat Rweyanda

Rweyanda begat Mukinda

Mukinda begat Kibanda

Kibanda begat Ruhendeka

Ruhendeka begat Kacumu

Kacumu begat Rwamuhunga and

Rwamuhunga begat Rutahiguka and Rutahiguka begat Kahira, Rutardin-dimuka, Rucwempoha and Kanyamukiza.¹ They went on multiplying

¹ The list of the remembered descendants of Katuku is short because a family as big as this one could lose importance for some generations during which it had no prominent member at the court of the Mugabe. In such intervals, its name was lost to the public and hence passed out of memory until another famous member brought it back into the limelight and even then, only the famous ancestors would be remembered while the lesser ancestors would have been forgotten as in the case of this particular family.
like that until the period of the war of 1914-1917 when Kahira was living at Bukora. When he died, he left a son who went to Buhaya-Bukoba and there he remained so that his name passed out of memory because nobody made any effort to preserve it.

During the reign of Ntare V Rugingiza, about 1896, Kahira was in Bukanga and he was very well known in Ankole. People say, "Once upon a time there was an old man who had a snake with which he hunted down animals. One day a servant of Kahira stole it and took it for hunting. The old man was so angry that he went to Buhaya to bewitch Kahira's home; that is why the latter's home disintegrated."

The other relatives of Katuku who are still remembered are Kanyamukiza and his son, Rucwempoha. All of them used to live at Ihunga and Muzaire. But now they are extinct and those who remain are unknown to us.

But the important point to remember is this: Katuku is very important in Ankole because he was the caretaker after the departure of Wamara. He was the grandfather of Ruhinda. During the time of Wamara, Katuku was a mere chief in charge of a region; he was a favourite among favourites. Then because of being a relative of Ruhinda through his mother, Njunaki, Katuku became highly respected and he shared many of the rituals of kingship at Ihunga and at Muzaire. And because of this relationship, Ruhinda left the Bagyendanwa with Katuku after buying it from Karara.

1. Ntare V actually died in 1895.
6. THE BAYANGWE.

Kayangwe himself was the elder brother of Ruhinda for he was also the son of Njunaki although we do not know his father. He was one of those children the maidservants used to bear. When Ruhinda left (for Karagwe), Kayangwe remained with Nkuba ya Rurama and up to now the Bayangwe do not part from the Bagabe. A Muyangwe is never put to death; his property is not liable to confiscation and he is never imprisoned within the territory of the Bagyendanwa. It was the prerogative of the Bayangwe to rule. Only a Muyangwe could oppose the Mugabe to his face (without drastic consequences) and he alone could free any prisoner \[\text{i.e. without sanction of the authorities}\]. The following are the rituals which the Bayangwe performed for the Bagabe:

(1) They bury the Bagabe and they perform all the rituals pertaining to the burial of kings.

(2) They install the Bagabe by seating them on the royal stool, carrying out the purification ceremonies and by dressing them in the bark cloth.

(3) They conduct the marriage negotiations on behalf of the Bagabe because when the Mugabe took a liking to a girl, he sent the Muyangwe with ekokobe, which is a piece of Uganda coral tree into which a cow has been bled, who then hangs it at the entrance of the girl's father's house. Then the next day a litter is brought (in which to carry the girl away).

1. The implication is that anyone could have been his father since nobody was anxious to own to being a father of a child born of servant woman. But the claimed relationship between Ruhinda and Kayangwe also seems to be spurious. See Ch. III.
(4) They are the gatekeepers of the Mugabe, which means that they have the power to grant or refuse anyone permission to see the Mugabe.

(5) They have the control over the ancestor cults of the Bagabe i.e. The Bayangwe were the ones who made the offerings on behalf of the Bagabe, they prayed on their behalf and they were also the ones who made the fire for the Bagabe and this is why the Bayangwe were never put to death within Bagyendanwa's territory. A Mugabe of Ankole could never sentence a Muyangwe to death within his kingdom. He could sentence a fellow Muhinda to death, but never a Muyangwe, because it was taboo for a Muyangwe to bleed within the kingdom as this would have meant that the kingdom had been defiled. This is why the Bayangwe are called Bajumira, meaning that they are the possessors of the drum

1. It is much more likely that the Bayangwe achieved all this importance as a result of political bargaining with the Bahinda rulers and not by birth.

11. The Omugabe Nkuba ya Rurama.

The Omugabe Nkuba ya Rurama was born at the hill of Rurama and that is why he was called Nkuba ya Rurama. He took over the kingdom in succession to his father, Ruhinda, after the latter had gone to Karagwe.

The Mugabe Nkuba, after being installed, made his new capital at another hill Rurama II which is also at the entrance of the forest of Rumira, near Nyakamuri and the hill of Ruhira,
all of which are now in the subcounty of Kikagate, Isingiro. Both Ruramas can still be identified, the one where he was born is on the near side of Mtungu near Kyaihwa while the second one, where he made his capital, is on the far side of Nyakamuri which is Ruhira.

When Nkuba ya Rurama came to the throne, he found the chiefs of Ngarama and Murinda of Masha in revolt aimed at making themselves petty kings. He attacked Ngarama, defeated its inhabitants, the Banuma clan, and from then Ngarama ceased being rebellious.

After the successful campaign in Ngarama, the Mugabe Nkuba ya Rurama came by the Masha route and attacked Ishe-Murinda who was also in rebellion. He defeated him and even killed him in battle. This Masha of Murinda belonged to the Baitira clan. 1

When the Mugabe Nkuba ya Rurama got tired of living at Rurama for so long, he made a new capital at Mitoma where he got the blessing of God and begat a prince, Nyaika.

Afterwards, the Mugabe Nkuba ya Rurama fell sick, and died a blind old man; his body was buried at Ishanje. But most of his life was spent at both Ruramas, and even now the water wells for his cattle can be seen between both hills, more particularly they are near Rurama 1.

1. Since it appears that Ruhinda was constantly on the move between Buhaya and Nkore, it is unlikely that he established himself effectively in Nkore. It is thus more likely that these "rebellions" were an assertion of the independence which these clans had known before the advent of Ruhinda in the area and that the first real king of Nkore was Nkuba, not Ruhinda.
III. The Omugabe Nyaiika

When the Omugabe Nyaiika succeeded his father, Nkuba ya Rurama, he made his capital at the hill of Kicwekano and that is where prince Nyabugaro was born.

The Mugabe Nyaiika is praised very much because he ruled his people very well and he is also known as "the Mugabe who brought peace", because he did not attack other countries and he himself was not attacked. He did not raid other countries and his country was not raided. It is said that during the reign of Nyaiika, the whole country prospered in peace; the herds of Buganda grazed on the territory of Ankole and they were not raided and those of Ankole often grazed in Buganda without any risks at all.¹

Afterwards, the Mugabe Nyaiika died of old age and the Bahitsi buried his body in Ishanje.

IV. The Omugabe Nyabugaro-Bwera Ntare ¹.

The Mugabe Nyabugaro succeeded the Mugabe Nyaiika and made his capital at the hill of Kakukuru and that is where his son, Rushango, was born.

1. THE INVASION OF THE BANYORO

The Omugabe Nyabugaro had lived in peace for sometime when he was attacked by the Omukama of Bunyoro, Olimi I Rwitamahanga (the Destroyer of Nations). At first the Omugabe Nyabugaro

¹. This story is hard to interpret. Reference to Buganda seems to be presumptuous since Buganda and Nkore did not have a common boundary at this time. Moreover Nyaiika could not have raided Buganda because Nkore was too weak to do so and it remained in this condition long after Nyaiika's reign.
was defeated. At that time Kabaka Nakibinge was ruling in Buganda. When the Omugabe got more troops, he fought the Banyoro and defeated them. He killed many of them — exceeding four thousand (killed). \(^1\)

2. THE ECLIPSE OF THE SUN

Just as the war with the Banyoro was coming to an end, an extraordinary thing happened. The moon \(^2\) fell from the sky and plunged into Lake Mutukula and the whole country was covered in darkness whereas it was still during the hours of daylight.

It was then that the Omugabe Nyabugaro took a white cow and a white sheep and offered them to God at the hill of Kyahi. After the offerings were made, the moon lifted itself onto its place in the sky. \(^3\)

3. THE SCARCITY OF CATTLE IN NKORE: THE EIJUGA NYONZA.

When the Banyoro left, Ankole became very short of cattle. The Omugabe Nyabugaro took shelter in the rock of Bushenga, just at the point where the road now rises to the headquarters of Isingiro (county) at Igayaza. With him were six Bahima, himself the seventh and he had also three Bairu attendants. The people fed on the enyonza berries; the whole country was empty of cattle and

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1. It appears that the Kinyoro version of the story, that the Banyoro withdrew because of the eclipse, is the likely one, since Nkore does not seem to have been strong enough to beat Bunyoro.

2. What is referred to here is the sun, not the moon. Neither of the authors could explain how this error arose.

3. See "Chronology", in the Text.
there was a great famine such as had never been seen before. All the people of Ankole at that time fed on enyonza berries. Even in marriage, the enyonza berries were paid as bridewealth because of the lack of cattle. A person would select his own bush of enyonza which would then be like his food crop. This is the period which is called "Eijuga Nyonza" (The period when the enyonza berries were paid for bridewealth).

The people who used to get the Mugabe's food used to go and look for it at night, but all the time the Mugabe would encourage them by saying, "It is not yet time for the one who made me Mugabe to fulfill his promise to me. The sky is still far off."

There was one Muhima man who used to roast five plantains for the Mugabe. The Mugabe would eat four - not all the four because he would break them into pieces and leave some pieces for his men and then give the fifth to the man who roasted the plantains. One day this man roasted six plantains, intending to eat the sixth in secret so that by the time the Mugabe came in, he would have finished it and he would then be able to get another one for his services.

Before he swallowed the plantain, the Mugabe Nyabugaro, together with his followers, came from the sunshine and made for the house. He found his man being tormented by the plantain which was burning his cheeks so much that he could not even swallow it.
The Bagabe are generous and when the Mugabe saw the man, he sympathised with him and drove back those who were following him so that the man might gain time to swallow the plantain, and that he might not be put to shame in front of other men. The Mugabe also went outside with the other men and he said, "Is it not true that this kingdom was given to me? Give me the bow for the sky is near."

His other man had already swallowed the plantain and so he brought out the bow and handed it to the Mugabe. The Mugabe shot at the sky. After shooting at the sky, he ordered all his men to hold on to the sides of the house. Then the sky started pouring down i.e. heavy rain fell. The rain which fell that has never been seen again. The Mugabe held the Bagyendanwa by its loops and raised it high up so that it might not get wet. The people and things marvelled at the heavy rain which fell on that occasion.

4. THE COMING OF CATTLE - THE GREAT NUMBERS OF MUNONI.

The following morning, as the sun was getting warm around 10 a.m., a young man hurried out as the rain was passing away. Outside he saw a Muhima at the head of herds of cattle which were led by a heifer Katare, which was licking its hide i.e. the hide of its dead calf. The Muhima was leading it and all the other cattle were following him. The Muhima did not say
anything. The youth raised an alarm and yelled, "Come and see cattle". They all rushed out and, at first, the Mugabe held them back while the cattle kept on passing by. Then the Omugabe Nyabugaro told his men, "Capture them". The cattle were numerous. But none of those cows had any calves or anything suckling them, and they had no bull. All of them, too, were without horns (i.e. they were short-horned) and the milk from their udders was flowing all over the grass as they passed. That is the origin of "Encwere" (or short horned cows). Only one cow had horns and that was Katare which was leading.

All those cattle are known by the name of "THE GREAT NUMBERS OF MUNONI". The Bahima, who were with Nyabugaro, captured as many cattle as they could and milked them, but they had no milkpots, except the Mugabe's small milkpot which was being smoked twice daily. Those Bahima milked into their hides, hollowed termite hills and into the small pots in which they had previously kept their enyonza berries.

5. THE MWITENWA BECOMES FAMOUS.

In the great confusion of milking, a man of the Baitenwa clan could not find a handy container in which to milk and he therefore milked directly into his mouth. All the people laughed at him.² In order to save the man from embarrassment, Nyabugaro

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1. This tradition is widely held, but its meaning is obscure. It is possible that the short-horned cattle were obtained from Karagwe where this variety is said to have existed even before Ruhinda went there.

2. Then, as now, this act was regarded as extremely indecent by the cattle people.
restrained the others saying, "Let him alone; he has done this for the Bagyendanwa", and he directed that, from then on, the Baitenwa would milk for the Bagabe. From that until now, it has been the function of the Baitenwa clan to milk for the Bagabe.

The Empenda (great numbers) of Munoni took two wet and two dry seasons to go through Ankole. They went to all countries and their last group went to Rwogamate's. All the countries captured cattle until they were exhausted. The last of them all was a white cow which had a white calf and with it was the herdsman. They said, "Look! there is the herdsman!" The Omugabe Nyabugaro told his men, "Move the kraal (i.e. make a new one)."

To illustrate that Ankole lacked cattle during the period of the ei jua nyonza, one youth killed a bushbuck. Its meat was given to his mother to eat, but she declined and said, "No, the flesh of the wild animals smells ill to me. In the olden days, I used to eat the meat of the cows." They asked her, "But what does a cow look like?" She could not think of how to give them the right picture and so she told them, "A cow looked like that dog Kakamba in colour \[\text{black and brown}\], but the cow was much bigger." From this one can see that cattle were scarce during the reign of Nyabugaro. 1

After the Omugabe Nyabugaro had made Ankole rich in cattle, he made his capital at Bugaywa which is Birere, conducted purification ceremonies and people and things lived in peace and

1. Cows are not normally compared to dogs hence the enormity of the plight.
plenty until long afterwards when the Omugabe Nyabugaro died, an extremely old man. His body was buried in Ishanje.

But the most important event of Nyabugaro's life was the coming of cattle to and of their staying in Ankole until now. In fact people have always remembered that event. When the cattle are dying, they say, "Is the country going back to the days of the ejuga nyonza?" And because of Nyabugaro's shooting at the sky, when a person is quarrelling with his neighbour, he says, "Can you [are you so important that] shoot the sky so that it bleeds milk?" Because the Mugabe Nyabugaro made Ankole rich in cattle, the people gave him the praise name of "Nyabugaro Bwera" [The One with Prosperous Hands] because he made Nkore prosperous and saved the country from poverty.

V. The Omugabe Rushango.

The Omugabe Rushango ascended the kingdom in succession to his father, the Mugabe Nyabugaro Bwera. After being installed, the Omugabe Rushango made his capital at Kibare, where he begat the following children: Kagwejegyjeramishango and Makobera. Afterwards the Mugabe Rushango died and his body was buried in Ishanje.

VI. The Omugabe Kagwejegyjerera Mishango, Ntale II.

The Omugabe Kagwejegyjerera took over the kingdom in succession to his father, the Mugabe Rushango. After completing the purification ceremonies, he built his capital at the hill of
Buhandagazi. He lived there for a very long time and while still there, the following children were born to him: Rugamba and Butiti. The Mugabe Kagwejegyerera ruled for a very long time, but he was often ill and unable to judge the cases of his people. This is why the people nick-named him Kilwejegyerera Mishango (He who sleeps over the cases). Afterwards, this Mugabe Ntare 11 Kagwejegyerera Mishango died and the Bahitsi buried his body in Ishanje.

VII. The Omugabe Rugamba Ntare Ill.

The Omugabe Rugamba came to the throne in succession to his father, the Mugabe Kagwejegyerera Mishango. When he was still a prince, he was called Rugamba because he was very tall. It is said that whenever he sat on his haunches, his knees came up to his chin. Consequently the people named him, "Rugamba-na-maju" (He who speaks to the knees).

After his installation, the Omugabe Rugamba was named Ntare Ill. This Mugabe Ntare Ill made his capital at the hill of Katamba, in Biharwe proper, Nshara. Just after he had been installed, a thunder clap struck the plain of Mburu and turned it into a lake which all of you now see in Nshara - it is Lake Kayebe.

The people who went to see the spot where the thunder clap had struck were all drowned in the lake and its floods. Arising from the stench of all those dead bodies, the whole country of Karo was hit by the first ever epidemic of smallpox which killed very many people.
When the smallpox died down, the Omugabe Rugamba begat a son and named him Kasasira, because God had shown mercy to his country and cured the people of the smallpox (Kasasira means the Merciful One). After the passage of many years during which Ankole was peaceful and prosperous, the Mugabe Ntare III Rugamba-na-maju died and his body was buried in Ishanje.

VIII. The Omugabe Kasasira.

The Omugabe Kasasira ate the kingdom in succession to his father, Ntare III Rugamba-na-maju. When the ceremonies of purification were completed, the Omugabe Kasasira built his capital at Bweyorere. The country was calm and the Mugabe begat two sons while still at Bweyorere—Rumongye and Kitera. After the birth of these sons, he ruled for a long time and then died when he was a very old man and his body was buried in Ishanje.

After the death of the Omugabe Kasasira, his two sons fought for the Bagyendanwa, each of them claiming to be the successor to the drum. They brought their dispute before the elders of the land, the chiefs and the senior Bahinda. They failed to find a solution and the dispute only got worse. As a result Rumongye and Kitera fought for the drum. They fought a succession war. This was the first civil war in the dynasty of Ankole. Rumongye was defeated and Kitera was installed to rule over the kingdom. Because of the embarrassment at being defeated while he
was the elder brother, Rumongye ran away from Ankole and took refuge in Karagwe, beyond the Kagyera (river).

Even in Karagwe, Rumongye was troublesome and lazy, and that is why many of his servants deserted him, so that he remained with only eight followers. From Karagwe he went to Buzinja and then to Bushubi, but he grew restless. He then left and went to Buha, thence to Buragurwabana and then on to Butondagira. When Kitera, the son of Nyabahutu, saw that Rumongye's men had returned to Ankole, he settled down and became the Omugabe.

IX. The Pretender Kitera, the son of Nyabahutu.

The Omugabe Kitera, the son of Nyabahutu: This Nyabahutu was his mother. The Queen Mother Nyabahutu was a daughter of the Baitira clan. When the Omugabe Kasasira died, his younger son, Kitera, succeeded him after fighting his elder brother Rumongye.

Kitera made his capital at Bungura, near Kagarama in Isingiro. When he had ruled for some time, his brother, Rumongye, returned. When Rumongye reached Rumira, he left his men behind and came to the herds of his maternal uncle which were around the hills of Nyakitunda and Nyandama. Rumongye, then, found his uncle absent, because he had driven the cattle to pasture. He found him among the cattle and they greeted each other and then his uncle asked him, "Have you come here so that your elder brother may kill you?" Rumongye replied, "I had to come" and if

1. The expression kanviije, here translated as I had to come, is the equivalent of I could not care less, in this context.
he is to kill me, let him kill me. But give me one cow from among these so that I may slaughter it and eat it with my men to appease our hunger." Thereupon his uncle gave him a barren cow, Kyozi [black]. Rumongye took it to his men in Rumira. They slaughtered it in that forest and they spent two days eating the meat.

Those who saw him went running and reported to the Mugabe Kitera and told him, "Rumongye is here and he has come to attack you with eight men". The Omugabe Kitera, the son of Nyabahutu, was contemptuous of Rumongye's strength. He appointed Kishubure, gave him sixty men and sent them to attack Rumongye. When the two sides caught sight of each other, they did not hesitate; they shot arrows at each other. Rumongye made short work of them for he killed nine of their number, including their leader, Kishubure, and thus Rumongye defeated them.

The bad news was relayed to the Omugabe Kitera. "They have killed Kishubure together with nine other men", they told him. Kitera rose in person to fight Rumongye. They met and fought. They fought two rounds and in the third Kitera was slain. Rumongye killed him and that is how the war ended. The body of the Mugabe Kitera was buried in Kabaingyinya and Rumongye became the Omugabe.

The other story told by old men which says that, "In order to kill Kitera, Rumongye turned himself into a buffalo," is only a tale of the olden times. It is only to praise Rumongye and

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1. This was probably not bigger than a skirmish, but the authors confuse these terms by calling such minor encounters obweme, which means war.
its meaning is that Rumongye fought like a buffalo because he had a small force and yet he defeated Kitera's side which had many more people in it. But the tale does not have the meaning imputed to it in the story which runs: "During the fighting Rumongye was first defeated. In order to save his life, he hid in a thick bush which was as compact as a small forest. Then Kitera's men came at his heels in hot pursuit intent on capturing and killing him. They came after him, cutting and beating down the bush, in order to get at the spot where Rumongye was hiding. When they were about to get at him, a buffalo rushed out of the bush and scattered them. When the warriors ran away, the buffalo came directly at Kitera and gored him to death instantly. That is how Rumongye turned himself into a buffalo".

During that war, the maternal uncle of Rumongye drove his cattle, for safety, to Bwenkoma (Kazinga Rwampara), just as the fighting began. When Rumongye became the Mugabe, his maternal uncle brought them back and presented to Rumongye. Thereupon Rumongye gave him the royal enclosure of Kitera and here his maternal uncle remained acting as the Queen Mother of the Mugabe Rumongye.¹

¹ What is meant is that Rumongye's maternal uncle became his adviser and there is no reason why the term Queen Mother should have been used in the context at all.
X. The Omugabe Rumongye

1. THE BIRTH OF RUMONGYE

The Omugabe Kasasira had failed to have a son from the Batwa clan to succeed him on the throne. He had had children by other women of other clans. One day the augurors told him, "If you see a girl and her brother presenting themselves to you offering their services to you, ask them if they are Batwa, and if they are, then you will know that by that girl you will beget the child who will take the throne."

When the Mugabe Kasasira was in a pavilion, a girl and a boy came to him and offered their services to him and told him, "We are Batwa". The Omugabe Kasasira sent the boy to the youths of the royal milch cows and he placed the girl in the hands of his queen for upbringing. The queens gave the girl a lot of milk to fatten her for marriage as was the custom.

When the girl grew up, the Mugabe told her, "When you have your first period, continue drinking milk so that the queens (my wives) do not learn of it. When it ends, go to the wells and massage yourself with orweju (a sweet smelling type of clay) and then come to Kagondo." The girl waited for the time of her first period. When it came, she did as the Mugabe had bade her. She went into Kagondo and the Mugabe Kasasira joined her there and the girl conceived Rumongye.

1. See Ch.IV.

2. Women, by custom, did not drink milk during their monthly periods and this custom is still observed by many.
When she neared labour, the Omugabe told her to go to the Kagondo and that is where she was delivered. The Omugabe ordered that the baby, the after birth and the baby's miniature bow and basket of the drum\(^1\) be placed in a watering bowl around which was wound a papyrus strip. He put them in and gave them to his page whom he instructed, "Go and take these things, without being seen, and when you reach Buragurwabana, tie up that watering bowl in a tree in the royal enclosure at night and then come back without being seen." And that is what he did.

When the maternal aunts of Rumongye were in an enclosure, bathing, a leaf of the bark cloth tree fell onto their laps and when they raised their eyes, they saw the watering bowl up in the tree. They brought it down, cleaned the baby and gave it milk and they knew that their sister had died. And that is how it was because that girl, the mother of Rumongye, had died immediately after being delivered.

After the return of the page, the Omugabe Kasasira spent a long time on the throne and then took poison and died.\(^2\) By that time Rumongye had grown up and that is how he came to fight for the drum with Kitera. Kitera defeated him in the first round and Rumongye fled to Karagwe and after some years, he returned and they fought a second round in which Rumongye slew Kitera thereby enabling himself to gain the Bagyendanwa.

1. The "rightful heirs" to the throne were believed to be born with these articles.
2. I was unable to get confirmation of this single incident of "royal" suicide.
2. THE REIGN OF RUMONGYE

After his accession, the Mugabe Rumongye made his capital at Kagarama, Isingiro, where he begat a son, Mirindi. Afterwards, the Omugabe Rumongye ruled for a very long time until he died when he was a very old man. His body was buried in Ishanje.

XI. The Omugabe Mirindi.

The Omugabe Mirindi succeeded his very brave father, Rumongye. The Omugabe Mirindi lived at that hill of Kagarama, and he did not pull down the former capital of his father. That is where he begat the princes Ntare and Rugambwa. The traditionalists say that this Mugabe lived for an extremely long period and that he also ruled for a long time. He died when he was very old indeed and his body was buried in Ishanje.

XII. The Omugabe Ntare IV Nyakikoto-Kitabanyoro.

1. HIS IMPORTANCE.

This Mugabe is very important in the history of the dynasty of Ankole because of his personal bravery and because he laid the foundations of the expansion of the country. He earned himself a big name which will never be forgotten by the people of Ankole.

In the history of the Bahinda kings of Ankole, there are three main periods according to the events which took place during their reigns:—
(a) From Ruhinda to Ntare IV Kitabanyoro

(b) From Ntare IV Kitabanyoro to Ntare V Rugingiza, the son of Kiboga.

(c) From Ntare V Rugingiza to the present period of the Europeans.¹ That is how the country went on changing in the performance of those important things which have enabled this country to stand up to now. The Bagabe who followed Ruhinda were mostly preoccupied with the work of consolidating the country and of cementing the authority of the Bahinda /dynasty/. The Bagabe who followed Ntare IV Kitabanyoro were the brave and martial kings who fought against the other countries on the borders of Ankole. And the Bagabe who followed Ntare V Rugingiza are those of the European period who presided over councils, ruled over people of many nationalities² and who built Ankole anew according to the Agreement with the /Protectorate/ Government of Uganda.

This Mugabe Ntare IV was the son of the Mugabe Mirindi and that is why he is sometimes called Ntare-ya/son of/Mirindi. He was a maternal son of the Batwa clan. He was installed in the capital of Byanganga. From here he moved to Buhandagazi. It was from the capital of Buhandagazi that he made the journey to Mpororo, at Kamurari’s. He went in secret after instructing the gate keeper that, "If the people come here seeking to see me, tell them that I am indisposed."

¹. This scheme of periodisation is inadequate. See "Preface".
². Nkore was expanded by the British to include countries which were formerly independent of Nkore.
2. THE JOURNEY TO MPORORO.

When he reached Mpororo, he went to the palace of the Mugabe Kamurari, but he found him absent because he was in another palace. Ntare IV went ahead unnoticed and entered the Kagondo of the Bashambo (the shrine of Mpororo's royal clan). Kabibi and Mukabandi, the daughters of Kamurari, were sent by their mother who told them, "Go into the Kagondo for it is empty", because it was taboo for the Kagondo to remain empty of people. When they came to that house, they found him there and they were frightened. They went back and told their mother, "We have found a person in the Kagondo". Their mother rose and when she came to the Kagondo, she found a man she had never seen; a spear stuck in front of him. He had well groomed hair and was dressed in a very beautiful bark cloth. She asked him and Ntare introduced himself by saying, "I am Ntare". She brought him water and a wash basin and he washed hands and feet. She then brought him milk and Ntare tapped on the milkpot, but did not drink the milk. She brought him beer and it was this that he drank. Then that lady sent a message to her husband, Kamurari, saying, "Ntare, the Mugabe of Ankole, is here; we found him in the Kagondo and that is where he still is". Kamurari replied, "So that is the Mugabe of Ankole! Why should the Bacwezi follow me? I expect he has come to look for wives. Go and entertain him.

1. Nkore traditions have confused the rulers of Mpororo. The king referred to here is Kahaya ka (son of) Murari which is perhaps why he is called Kamurari here.
and tomorrow I will come." The next day Kamurari came and met Ntare and the latter proposed marriage. Kamurari gave him the girls Kabibi and Mukabandi. Ntare stayed for some more days and then returned to his country, Nkore.

3. THE PROPHECY OF THE DRUMS.

Back in this country, Nkore, after the Omugabe Ntare IV had left, the gate keeper turned back all the people who came to pay their homage by telling them, "Go back, the Omugabe is indisposed." And another thing; the moment the Mugabe Ntare IV left Nkore, it began raining very heavily night and day. The Bagyendanwa and the other drums of the kingdom sounded themselves and it appeared as if they would leave their beds of their own accord. When the Mugabe Ntare IV returned, the rain stopped but the drums remained turbulent and Ntare could not think of what they wanted. He eventually sent for the advisers on the matters of the drums - those of the family of Ndyaibare, the forefathers of Byara who were the senior Bahinda, well versed in the behaviour of the drums and from whom he wanted to discover the cause of their unrest. They told him that the cause of the continuous rain for days and of the drums' displeasure was Ntare himself failing to marry from among the clans from which the Bagabe of Ankole had traditionally taken wives, and then his marrying in the Bashambo clan. They added, "The Bagyendanwa is annoyed because you have taken it away from its usual wives, the daughters of the Batwa and
the Baitira clans and you have taken it to the Bashambo. You know that the Bagyendanwa is a ladies' man\(^1\) and it is likely that it will not retract from marrying Bashambo wives\(^7\).

\(^4\) THE PROPHECY CONCERNING ISHE-KATARAZI \(^2\).

During those discussions there was a young boy who had come with those old men who were advising Ntare and that boy sat in silence without saying anything at all. Then Ishe-Katabazi rose and went out of the house where they were all seated. The young boy grunted. The advisers asked him, "Why have you grunted?" The boy replied, "You have said that the Bagyendanwa is going to remain among the Bashambo, but why has Ishe-Katabazi gone out just now? He never goes home because he is always here \(\text{in the palace}\). One day he also will have his turn." There the matter ended and the Bagabe of Ankole continued to take wives from the Bashambo clan, but one day the child's prophecy came true: the Omugabe Rwebishengye took a wife from the Bagabe clan and she bore Gas-yonga \(^1\), the son of Bukundu of the Bagabe clan.

\(^1\) The expression akojo k'amakune, here translated as a ladies' man, is difficult to express in English. It means a man who knows all the tricks of talking himself into women's favours.

\(^2\) Ishe-Katabazi is a legendary folk hero in Nkore tales. Traditionally he is said to have been a Mugahe by clan and the stories depict him as a wise man, a coward, a glutton, etc. and the Bagabe clan is similarly regarded as being typified by his characteristics for reasons that are obscure.
5. THE INVASION OF THE BANYORO.

When the Omugabe Ntare IV, the son of Mirindi, was ruling his kingdom in peace, Ankole was invaded by the Banyoro of the Omukama Cwamari. This invasion or war was led by Cwamari himself. This Mukama of Bunyoro, Cwamari, came to attack Ankole with very many soldiers.

There were three main battles in this war:
(a) The battle of Byanganga
(b) The battle of Ryeru
(c) The battle of Ntungu. The Omukama of Bunyoro overran Ankole and occupied the country for a very long time. He made many water wells which are still in this country.¹

Then after the conclusion of the war, the Mugabe of Ankole, Ntare IV, the son of Mirindi, was given the title of Nyakikoto Kitabanyoro (i.e. Ntare IV, the Great, Slayer of the Banyoro).

(A) The Battle of Byanganga.

The Omugabe Ntare IV was ruling over a contented and prosperous Nkore when he was attacked by the Banyoro of Cwamari. They found him at his capital of Byanganga. This Byanganga is near Kakunyu. The Omugabe Ntare IV fought with them and among his warriors there was his younger brother, Rugambwa. They fought very hard, but the Banyoro were too many to be dislodged and they overcame the Banyankore. On that day the Banyoro killed very many

¹ All my informants confirmed that these wells were made by the Banyoro during this occupation. The wells I have seen myself are within the area bounded by Mbarara, Ruhunga, Orubare and Biharwe (see Map 1), but there are others outside this area.
Banyankore, captured the wives of the Mugabe and all his cattle and the Mugabe himself sustained two spear injuries and that is how he was defeated. While escaping, he entered into a bush, but the Banyoro saw him and they surrounded the bush in order to kill him. It is said that he turned and ran out of the bush and they could not catch him. He fled and took refuge in Kantsyore which is the island near Nshungyezi, in Kagyera. There he stayed with some of the men who had come looking for him. Altogether they were a hundred men.

When he had been at Kantsyore for about three years, his younger brother, Rugambwa, learnt of his whereabouts and came and joined him in Kantsyore. Rugambwa came with fifty men and this brought the total of the men with Ntare to one hundred and fifty. Rugambwa also had a cow which they slaughtered and ate, and when they finished it, they went to the forest of Bushenya, which is now in the country of Kibumbiro and which we, the Banyankore, call Muzaire, which means that it is the "Muzaire otakwa" [the mother who cannot be deprived of her child] because it sheltered the Mugabe. The Banyankore continued to treat the forest of Muzaire with great respect. It was looked after by the Bahinda of the Bajumira subclan who are sometimes called Bajumerera-ngoma and who are thought to have been descendants of Katuku, the son of Rubango. And it is from that forest that the Bahinda cut the omuzo stick which the Omugabe holds when he is being installed.
The following are the warriors who were with Ntare (in Kantsyore island):–

Buhitira, the Cunning One, the son of Muyenyi of the Bayangwe clan.

Mitako, the son of Kamanyire of the Bayebe clan.

Gundi, the son of Mishana also of the Bayebe clan.

Katukuru of the Bayangwe clan. This Katukuru and Buhitira, the son of Muyenyi, both of them Bayangwe by clan, were the men who used to hunt for honey for the Mugabe (i.e. extract honey from bee hives).

Rugambwa, a prince and the younger brother of the Mugabe Ntare IV Nyakikoto.

Kagaju who was sent by the Omugabe Ntare IV to Karagwe to get a milkpot from there.

Rushaija, the son of Igaba, who was extremely brave and who continually repulsed the Banyoro at the entrance of Rumira forest so that they could not get at the Mugabe. He also fought and recovered his cattle from the Banyoro and took them across the river to Karagwe so that the Banyoro might not seize them again. He is the grandfather¹ of Kzhura and Rwakazizi.

Those one hundred and fifty men who remained with Ntare in Rumira continued to extract honey for him and they themselves

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¹. The expression grandfather often means any direct ancestor in the male line, and not just the father of the father, in Runyankore.
fed on the meat of wild game which they hunted with their dog. The dog used to be taken out by the Bairu and the Bahima in turns. When the turn of the Bahima came round, the dog was killed by a buffalo and, because they could not help it, the men had to rely on the speed of their legs in hunting for meat.

(B) The Battle of Ryeru.

After the first defeat of Ntare IV at Kakunyu and Byanganga and while the people and things were still running away, Cwamari came to the capital of Bagyendanwa at Ntungu. Here the Banyankore fought very hard against the Banyoro. And here also the Banyoro overpowered the Banyankore, and Cwamari captured the Bagyendanwa. The Banyoro carried it away and when they brought it to Ryeru, they could not carry it any further. Therefore, they cut away its side and left it there. The spot where it bled from the cut is at Kihonoka kya Ryeru. This battle is also very important for the Banyankore because it is the one in which the Bagyendanwa was damaged and that is why it is not round at the front like other drums.

The matters concerning Rwangabo /bull-calf of Ngabo/.

While the Omugabe Ntare IV and his warriors were still in Muzaire-Otakwa, the supply of honey for the Mugabe ran out in Bukanga and Kibumbiro. Then Buhitira and Katukuru went looking for honey and they came to the forest of Rumira where they found four men with their cow Ngabo. At first they feared them because
the men threatened to spear them thinking that they were Banyoro. When they came closer, they recognised each other and knew that they were all Banyankore. They exchanged greetings and the two told the others of the whereabouts of the Mugabe and added, "We are not going to leave you here." The four said, "You cannot leave us here". So they all went together, travelling by night and hiding in the bush by day, until they came to Muzaire-Otakwa.

These men were of the Bashwasya clan and they were the ancestors of Katsinde who is living in Nyabushozi now. At that time their cow, Ngabo, had a bull calf, Rugabo, and they were pleased to take the cow to Ntare IV so that they could milk it for him since, at the time, there were no cattle in Nkore because the Banyoro had seized them.

When the Bashwasya brought Ngabo to Muzaire, they had no wooden milkpot for they used to milk in a clay milkpot. The Mugabe Ntare refused to drink out of a clay milkpot and he sent his retainer, Kagaju, the son of Mickyera, of the Basingo clan, to Karagwe to get a wooden milkpot from Nunu, the Omukama of Karagwe. Nunu refused to oblige, but his sister sent him a milkpot and the bwitizo /grass used to smoke the milkpots/ with it. They continued milking Ngabo and the Mugabe Ntare IV continued drinking from that milkpot.

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1. Karagwe sources do not mention anything about this event nor do they say that there was a king called Nunu. One ruler, Nono, is said to have been deposed by Ruhinda before the establishment of the Bahinda dynasty in this region.
After about two days had elapsed, the Mugabe thought of sacrificing that bull-calf, Rugabo, in order to find out whether the signs would be favourable so that he could return to Nkore. The owners of the bull, the Bashwasya, refused and pleaded with him, "You cannot kill our bull calf because this cow had been our maintenance and it gives us milk". The Mugabe told them, "How can you refuse, seeing that it is going to give all of us a good service of checking our future position?" They still refused. "Let me buy it," he said. They said, "Buy it". He told them, "When I return to the kingdom, you will shoot four arrows and wherever they stop, I will fill the whole distance with cattle for you". "No, that is not acceptable to us," they said. Then he told them, "I will give you my daughter." "No, is your daughter not a human being?" they said. He then promised them, "I shall share the kingdom equally with you, including the Bairu and the Bahima subjects." "No, we cannot accept that for what would happen if those things came to an end?" Then he asked them, "Now, what do you want?" They replied, "We want to take one cow from the bridewealth of every daughter of the Bahinda clan who gets married, starting from you until the time of your grandchildren." The Mugabe Ntare IV agreed.

Then Ngabo was milked and the milk was given to the Omugabe Ntare IV, who took a mouthful and spat it in the mouth of Rwangabo to find out whether he would be able to go back to Ankole as the Mugabe. Thus he consulted the spirits. The bull calf
stayed in its nook where it used to sleep at night. When they woke up the following morning, eager to see the signs, they found the bull calf dead. The Omugabe turned away from it and said, in despair, "Now that it is dead, all our hopes are gone". They all agreed, seeing that the chance of ever going back to Ankole was lost.

But the augurors of the Mugabe, the Bayebe clan, Gundi, the son of Mishana, and Mitako, the son of Kamanyiro, refused and said, "Now that this bull calf is dead, let us skin it and find out what killed it". The Omugabe Ntare IV permitted them to do so. When they skinned it, they squeezed its veins and there issued forth both currents of blood, as if it was not dead and thus it became enjeru /showed favourable signs/.

The Bayebe were overjoyed and they performed heroic recitations. They addressed the Omugabe Ntare IV, "Rise and go back to your kingdom and destroy the Banyoro. Do not let the bull calf frighten you just because it is dead. This is the dead body of Rwangabo which indicates that every Munyankore who goes to a foreign country will, in time, return and die in Nkore."

Then the calf was cut up, the meat eaten and the intestines were wrapped up in a bark cloth and suspended on a pole and a watch was kept over them. When the intestines dried up, the people left the forest of Muzaire, spent one night on the way and they arrived at Katoma-Bukanga on the following morning. Here they planted the enjeru /buried the intestines/ and up to now the
place is called Rwangabo. This Kitoma /bark cloth tree/ is in the subcounty of Rugaga, Isingiro.

(C) The Battle of Ntungu.

When the Omugabe Ntare IV left Katoma, he came to Bungura. The next morning he sent his retainer, Kiziro, the son of Ntirimba, to raise the alarm. Kiziro stood at the hill of Nshungyezi, which is near Nyandama, Ruyanga, Kibwera and Mabona and raised the alarm which was heard by all the people. The Banyankore answered the alarm and the Banyoro answered the alarm. At that moment the sister of the Omukama of Bunyoro, Cwamari, who was called Burungi-buhita-eiguru was coming down by the path of Birere, Nyamuyanja. She had returned from Mpororo, where they had all been. When she was coming down, in a litter, towards the Kihonoka kya Ryeru, where they had cut away the side of Bagyendanwa, a man of Ntare IV, who was called Nyakamwaga, took position at Zirazira, stretched his bow with his feet, aimed upwards and shot the arrow which killed Burungi-buhita-eiguru. The two hills of Zirazira and Kihonoka are close and opposite to each other. The spot where Burungi-buhita-eiguru was killed is still marked by a big bark cloth tree and other trees which formed the royal enclosure of Burungi-buhita-eiguru and all these are above Kihonoka kya Ryeru.

1. The place itself is called Ekitoma kya Rwangabo (lit. The Bark Cloth tree of Rwangabo), and, as the local residents explained to me, the name dates from this event.
The morning following upon the death of Burungi-buhita-eiguru, the Omugabe Ntare IV deputed his younger brother, Rugambwa (to lead the warriors). Rugambwa ascended Kakunyu and attacked Ishansha, the deputy of Cwamari. The fighting was very fierce and when the battle was rejoined, Rugambwa defeated Ishansha and killed him together with very many Banyoro. Rugambwa chased the rest until they reached their homeland, Bunyoro. After winning, the Banyankore were relieved and the country enjoyed a brief period of peace.

When the Banyoro reached their homeland, Bunyoro, they were incensed at being beaten by the Banyankore and at losing so many of their warriors. Dunego, the mother of the Omukama Cwamari, collected a very big army of Banyoro and sent it to destroy Nkore. The Banyoro returned to Nkore in great numbers. The Omugabe Ntare IV was still living and he again deputed his younger brother, Rugambwa. Rugambwa fought them very hard and defeated them and even killed the deputy of Dunego. The Banyoro were driven away completely up to the boundary of Katonga and they never returned to Nkore another time.

In the last battle, the man who fought the Banyoro most was Ntsinga. He used to recite his epic saying, "I speared Rwanyamiti and Rwakitumba and my spear foiled those who tried to pull it out and they said, Mishare, the son of Kiru, the man died of strangulation". The Banyankore made Cwamali lose his way so that
he could not pass through Ankole and thus he went through Rwanda and Buhaya and that is where he died.¹ To show their appreciation of the Mugabe Ntare IV's bravery in fighting the Banyoro, the people gave him the praise-name of Ntare IV Nyakikoto Kitabanyoro.

These are the names of Rugambwa's warriors who fought the Banyoro in the last battle in Ankole:

1. Rugambwa of Nyancucu, of the Bahinda clan and the younger brother of Ntare IV.

2. Itama, the son of Katarishwerwa, Rubibi otera ehuru. This Itama belonged to the Baitira clan. He was tall and stout and, it is said, he used to lie across the Kagyera so that the warriors of Ankole would cross over him, using him as a plank, on their way to attack Karagwe.² Itama used to sing, of himself, that, "I beat the dwarfs of Bunyoro and those of Buganda grumble."

3. Itanzi, the son of Kunoba and

4. Nyamufu, the son of Kunoba. Both of them belonged to the Bagahe clan and were uterine brothers.

5. Nyamiti, the son of Kunoba, Rukokoma of Kabazi. This one belonged to the Bayangwe clan.

¹ It appears that Cwamali had left Nkore to fight in Rwanda where he was defeated and that Nkore might have scattered the remnants of Rwanda campaign, but not defeated the main Bunyoro army. See Ch. Ill.

² Neither Nkore nor Karagwe sources say anything about these "attacks."
6. Rugyeza, the son of Katura, enshunga-enyara-okwayo, of the Bairuntu clan.

7. Birabumbwa, the son of Nyamugumusi, He whose arrows put other Archers to shame.

8. Kayonga Rukubirana, the son of Muhende, of the Bagahe clan.


**6. THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS.**

After the successful conclusion of the war, the Omugabe Ntare IV Nyakikoto Kitabanyoro distributed functions to his men.

1. To the Bashwasya who had brought Ngabo and Rwangabo, he gave his spear Nyamiringa. To make sure that no one would go back on the promise he had made to them, he ordered that the spear always be stuck by the side of Bagyendanwa and told them, "If you hear that a daughter of the Bahinda clan is getting married, you will bring this spear forth and claim your heifer from the bride-wealth and then return the spear to its place in the house of Bagyendanwa." This practice was followed in Ankole until the Government /Protectorate/ came. It was ended recently during the reign of Kahaya II, M.B.E., who brought a case against the Bashwasya before the District Commissioner and obtained judgement in his favour, so that he had his spear Nyamiringa returned to him (i.e. the right of the clan to claim the cow was terminated).

1. Rugyeza, a popular hero in this and in the next war, was like a circumcised man and this seems to have been the chief cause of his extreme bad temper. Banyankore regard circumcision as a very shameful thing, but because Rugyeza was a famous warrior, his obvious social disadvantage was sung as if it was a desirable social attribute.
2. The Omugabe Ntare IV gave the function of making the shoes for the Bagabe to the Baigara clan because a man of the Baigara clan, on seeing Ntare IV escaping from the Banyoro with bare feet, which were hurt by the bushes, volunteered and fought his way through the Banyoro attackers. He managed to get a narrow passage back into the house of the Mugabe, recovered his shoes, brought them back and put them on his feet. From then it became the function of the Baigara clan to make the shoes for the Bagabe of Ankole. The shoes for the Bagabe of Ankole were made from the skins of otters and duikers. The duikers were hunted for in the region of Buhweju.

3. The Bayebe also retained the function of being the medicine-men to the Mugabe. Likewise many other clans of Ankole were given functions relating to the Mugabe of Ankole by the Mugabe Ntare IV.¹

7. THE WAR WITH BUHWEJU.

1. Mawenje ga /of/ Ishinjo and Rwanga-Kuzaha /both were cows/. After defeating the Banyoro, the Omugabe Ntare IV Nyakikoto Kitabanyoro remained in his capital at Bungura, Kagarama, where he begat the following princes: - Macwa, Bujuga, Murari and Kakoko.

After about two years had passed whilst at Kagarama, he sent messengers to Kabundami, the Omukama of Buhweju, for two of

¹. These functions were hereditary in the clans.
his Kabundami's cows, Mayenje ga Ishinjo and another one, Rwanga-Kuzaha. He requested that he be given one of those in exchange for his own and added, "Nkore has ugly cows which are short-horned and I have no beautiful milch cow". In reply Kabundami said, "Mayenje ga Ishinjo is old, but there is Rwanga-Kuzaha which is my milch cow and I cannot, therefore, give it to you. And, moreover, we divided raiding areas among ourselves long ago; you raid Karagwe and Buganda and I raid Rwanda and Butuku. But now I permit you to pass through my country to Rwanda or to Butuku so that you can raid for beautiful cows of the empogo [dark brown] type like Rwanga-Kuzaha."

When the messengers reported to the Omugabe Ntare IV, he was exceedingly angry with Kabundami. Then he started calling together his warriors and with them he plotted to attack Buhweju and to seize Rwanga-Kuzaha and Ga-Ishinjo. But Ntsinga rejected the whole plan and said, "We are not stronger than the Barisa and we are not going to shed blood for nothing and then fail to capture even the cows. Suppose the Banyabuhweju attacked us, could they take away our cattle?" Thus all the warriors turned down the suggestion of the Mugabe. The Omugabe Ntare IV was displeased and he complained that, "Warriors are never ruled; they always do what they like."
Then the Omugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro hit upon a plan of recruiting youths into an army which he called the *Enyana* (lit. The Heifers). The warriors dispersed to their respective areas and Ntsinga himself went back to his home in Buraga. When the *Enyana* grew in numbers, the Mugabe made an enclosure for them and there they were trained in archery.¹ Then the Mugabe Ntare IV devised a plan of sending two very famous (notorious?) thieves, Rucu, the son of Bugoro, and Runkunku; the latter had come from Karagwe, to Buhweju in order to steal Rwanga-Kuzaha.

These two thieves went to Buhweju with three horns filled with red earth, black soot and white chalk. They arrived during the day and spent the whole day hiding up in a tree. At night they came down and slipped into the courtiers of Kabundami whose beer party they joined. After they had taken a sufficient quantity of beer, they went outside the house, leaving the *Enkondami* (the warriors of Buhweju) enjoying their beer and they surveyed the kraal. They then started painting Mayenje Rwanga-Kuzaha with bigger spots and turned it into Ngabo.² They took it out of the kraal. Those who met them inquired, "Where are you taking this cow?" They replied, "We are taking it to a suitable bull." And others inquired, "But it resembles Rwanga-Kuzaha?" They were

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¹ It is not clear where this resourceful Mugabe got the idea of archery from.

² Mayenje is a cow which has small white patches against a darker background while Ngabo has much bigger and bolder white patches against the same background.
answered, "Is Rwanga-Kuzaha Ngabo?" Thus the men continued the journey with the cow and by the following morning, they had crossed the Rwizi.

When Rwanga-Kuzaha was brought to the capital of Kagarama, these two thieves told the Omugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro, "Do not milk this cow for your men; milk it for the children because its milk is enzvano."¹

11. The Enkondami of Kabundami.

Back in Buhweju, when the morning came, they called up Rwanga-Kuzaha at milking time² and they found it missing. They were in no doubt as to who had stolen it. They said, "Mayenje has not been taken by anyone else but by the Banyankore because they are the people who are foolishly fearless." Without any further delay, the warriors (Enkondami) of Kabundami called for their shields:

1. Kabundami said, "Give me Rucucura." (his shield).
2. Muguta said, "Give me Mugomi."
3. Itabara said, "Give me Enganyirwa."
4. Katare, the son of Kabengo, said, "Give me Rwongyeza burwani (his bow)."
5. Rwakaroma said, "Give me Omuzambi."
6. Rwabina said, "Give me Entera, the shield of shields; whoever licks it will die of anthrax."

¹. That is milk from a cow which has been served within four days.
². Cows are called up by names at milking time.
7. Isingoma said, "Give me Ruziba."
8. Kantu said, "Give me Kyangabufunda."
9. Kaforo said, "Give me Rweyamwa."
10. Kyarirensioni said, "Give me Kakururu."
11. Rushaija said, "Give me Rubinga."
12. Kihuka said, "Give me Rukonyerwa."
13. Kashoma I said, "Give me Rutanywa ziragura."
14. Kashoma II said, "Give me Rubera shera."
15. Kashoma III said, "Give me Nyamwikira."
16. Ndegyeya said, "Give me Rwiranga."
17. Bahuta said, "Give me Rwampuro."

The people said, "The warriors have broken the holds; give them space so that they may overwhelm each other." They all rushed to war. They arrived at the capital of Kagarama just as the sun was getting warm and found Rugambwa with all the warriors of Nkore, except Ntsinga, seated outside the kraal. Among the Enkondami of Buhweju, there were three warriors whose praises were sung most and whom we remember:

1. **Muguta**: He was a giant in size. His shield was never carried in the hands like the other shields; it was carried on the head wherever Muguta went to war. Whenever Muguta came to the site of battle, they would tie him up with buffalo-leather thongs. Then they would sing his praises: "Muguta, the son of Butaho, who soars in the sky while the others break into pieces", of Kinika of

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1. Enshungyera nigacweka, here translated **Who soars in the sky while others are breaking** can also mean, **He who soars in the sky while the weapons of the enemy are breaking**.
Katago, he who moves like fire. He whose shield repels the spears and the bows, the Rhino of Rugaju of Nyabantu, The Tempestuous One whose momentum returned to Kazya and Bukanga when the thrust was made. He fights by breaking up, he kills Muzaza ndongo; Gahamba of Rwanshungye, of Nzina, was slain by him before churning. He goes back to the battle field like a spotted hyena. The Driver, is he not the one who drives the other warriors like cattle?" This Muguta belonged to the Barisa clan.

2. Katare, the son of Kabengo: He belonged to the Basingo clan. He was a Mwiru. His weapon was the bow. He stammered in speech. They used to sing his praises as follows: "Katare, the son of Kabengo; He who senses danger, the Trunk of Manengo Rwikina mpi-mpi-mpi (stammering). The puppies follow the escalator of the fighting nka-nka-nka (stammering). You redeemed Nyinamashazi with an arrow when he was interned in Buganda; You are the Mwiru, the others are merely pickers of weeds. You are the Musingo, the others are merely gatherers of ashes. You are the one whose weapon is the arrow, the others merely use wood to light fire.

1. Before churning milk to get butter which is around the break of dawn.

2. After being praised thus, Muguta is said to have been able to break all the shackles and to fight fiercely.

3. Stammering is still regarded as a very desirable natural attribute in Nkore.

4. The expressions so (++ ++) marked show just how far above the ordinary Bairu and Bahima (for some Bahima were Basingo and some used arrows as weapons) the Bairu warriors were in social status.
Say whatever you please, you who never concede defeat." Katare was Muguta's intimate friend.

3. Itabara: "Itabara, the son of Mushunga; He who evokes compassion, the Brave One who knows neither fear nor hesitation and who says, "If Muguta's shield, Mugomi, were here, we would have won long ago." He fights with his teeth like a dog, Rukamba. He fights, He who is the personification of manhood. The darkness of night comes against him and gets confounded. He avoids those of Manzi because he would slaughter them remorselessly." These are the three names, among the Enkondami of Kabundami, whose praises we know.

When the Enkondami came to the capital of the Omugabe Ntare IV at Kagarama, they found the warriors of Nkore gathered with their leader, Rugambwa, and they started to call the names of dead cows i.e. in order to provoke the Banyankore into a quarrel. Then Rugyeza bared his kishunga his private parts whose top skin was removed as with the circumcised men to the Enkondami. Katare, the son of Kabengo told him, "Take away your rotten thing." Rugyeza speared him and Katare speared him in return and the fighting began.

III. The Envana (Warriors) of Ntare.

The warriors of Rugambwa who had fought the Banyoro of Cwamari were the ones who were now going to fight with the Enkondami. They fought with the Enkondami and they were beaten;
they were overcome by the severity of the spear thrusts and they were forced to retreat to the kraal fence. They said, "Let out the Enyana." Out came about two hundred of them - those who had been trained in archery. Kyarirenshoni sang the praises of Muguta and said, "Destroy all the huts of the calves and kill those calves with east coast fever and Kahano." Muguta struck off their heads and destroyed all the Enyana.

They said, "Let out the Enyana," and about three hundred came out, but these were also destroyed by Muguta. Again they said, "Let out the Enyana." The Enyana said, "Ah! we have been childish and we have been shooting at practice-targets." They shot Katare and knocked him out of the fighting, and then they shot Itabara, the son of Kafire, and he, too, was paralysed and he pulled out of the fighting. Only Muguta, the Rhino of Rugaju of Nyabantu remained pressing on, striking off their heads until he killed all of them. They said, "Let out the Enyana." About four hundred Enyana were led out. The youths said to themselves, "An elephant is best killed by shooting its knees; lower your shots." They shot Muguta in the knee three times and Muguta's knees looked like a porcupine. They defeated the Enkondami and harassed their retreat all the way to Ibare, Munywanyangi, Kyashamire and Karuyenje and the Enkondami became so exhausted that they hid in the papyrus swamp of Orukono and in the forest of Rwamuganga.

1. Kahano is a lung and tongue disease which commonly affects calves. The whole sentence is a pun on the collective name of Ntare's young warriors which was Enyana (lit. The Calves) and it means "Destroy all the young warriors."
The Enyana pressed on and went to Buhweju. They captured cattle at Bwanga and Bugarwire; they seized those of Kyanwanzi and Kyamamari and they gathered all the property of Buhweju together with women and children and came driving them towards Ankole.

When the lowing of the herds came to the Enkondami, Kyarirenshoni came out of the Orukono swamp, where they had been hiding, and stood by the side of the path to watch the things of Buhweju, which the Enyana had captured, go by him. He went back to the swamp and told Muguta, "Ah! you did not fight well. I am not hurt by our herds which have been seized, but I am infuriated by the sight of our young children whom they came pushing along. You did not fight properly because you just offered yourself as a target; you did not duck. Why don't you take them on again for the last time? The Rhino of Rugaju of Nyabantu, the Tempestuous One...."

Muguta was filled with enthusiasm and he said, "Girdle me." Kyarirenshoni brought forth his buffalo leather-thongs and said, "Let me girdle you and we see. Let me girdle you and tie you up and we see." Muguta rushed out of the swamp and appeared on the brow of a hill. The Enyana exclaimed, "Do you see that evil man returning? All right, now do as we did before; aim at the leg and at the knee." They shot the arrows low down and Muguta soared up; they shot them up and Muguta ducked and came down, but he was slaying them all the while and the last young man he killed
belonged to the Banyonzi clan who had married a daughter of the Mugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro. The Enyana who survived exclaimed, "Oh! this evil man has done it!" There survived about two hundred Enyana who hid on the hill of Rwagaju. Then Muguta passed on and descended on Kagarama and seized the herds of Nkore at Kabondo, Nyakitunda and Nyandama and at Murema, Kanyamarwa, Magabi and Ntantamuki and at Magugu and Rweisheremba. He drove off all the herds of Nkore and the Enkondami left the battle ground.

8. THE DUEL BETWEEN MUGUTA AND NTSINGA.

When Muguta and the Enkondami concluded the fighting, they crossed the Rwizi and camped at the spot where the Mbarara Town Council Market now stands and here they stayed for three days, resting and eating meat. Then one man, Kayongo Rukumbirana, stood on the bank of the Rwizi, on the side of Nyamitanga [southern side] and called to them, "Muguta, listen! Do not take those things to Buhweju, to your great shame; the owner of the cattle was absent and if you take them, it means that you have run away!" \(\text{i.e. you are cowards}\).

Meantime, Ntsinga was at his home in Buraga when he heard the news that Ntare's property had been captured, the Enyana destroyed and that the warriors of Nkore had been defeated. He left his home to come and see what had happened.
This Ntsinga was very handsome. The other warriors beat him in girth, but he beat them in flexibility. He had very even round thighs, big round eyes and wavy hair. He was very pleasing to behold as he walked. He was a very reliable confidant. He belonged to the Bayanzi subclan of the Bagahe clan. He used to wear small bells, which are like those worn by the children, and when these met, they looked like a belt.

Thus he came to rescue and passed through the capital of Kagarama. "The counsels of this kingdom have always puzzled me. If it was not my country, I would not have gone to recover these herds and for the Enyana, what more can I say?" he mused.

Thus he passed by. The old men came to the gates of their kraals, saying, "Let us go and see the gait of Kikombero". The women poured out of the houses, saying, "Let us go and see the gait of the king of men". The bells around his waist sounded "Wa" and those of the shield sounded "Bo." And thus to war went Ntsinga, the son of Karureta, the Mad Dog, The Bell of Alarm, The Fire of the Hill and He Who Speared Rwanyamiti and Rwakakitumba and whose spear foiled the pullers. They said Mishare of Kiru, the man died from strangulation. He followed the Enkondami and the herds and he found Kayonga at the Rwizi, still facing the Enkondami of Kabundami. The Enkondami were on the far side of the Rwizi and Kayonga on the near side [the northern and southern banks of the river respectively].
The Enkondami saw Ntsinga coming towards Kayonga and one of their number said aloud to Kabundami and all the Enkondami, "Nkore has very handsome people. Even among the people we fought, there was not one who could compare, in handsomeness to the boy they have sent to Kayonga." "Ask Kayonga to send the boy to us after he has delivered the message so that we may look at him," they asked the man.

When Ntsinga came, he asked Kayonga, "What does Muguta look like?" He replied, "Does anyone ask for the identity of Muguta? You will see him. The moment you set eyes on him, you will recognise him instantly". Thereupon Ntsinga crossed the Rwizi and found Kabundami and all the Enkondami gathered there. They were searing their wounds as a cure, slaughtering the cows and eating the meat. They exchanged greetings and he sat down. After a few moments, he called the name of Muguta and the latter answered the call, but then Ntsinga said, "No, there is no need to speak with you; let me speak to the king himself." He then continued, "Kabundami, I was not in the plot of taking your cow, Rwanga-Kuzaha. I had rejected the whole idea. Now take your cow back and let the herds of Nkore return. Do not even let Mayenje come with our herds for I would then kill it if it did. I do not want to see it. And if you refuse to return our things, I will turn Buhweju into a tobacco crop (destroy Buhweju completely)."
They all laughed and said, "Ah! Nkore is the land of impudence! Even this boy?". He said, "All right, you may call me a boy, but I am going to recover those herds on my own." He went off. When he planted a firm step outside, Muguta appeared to come from a deep sleep and he recognised him in a flash. Muguta got up and called to him, "Ntsinga! If you walk beyond that ridge, it means that you have run away and that I have beaten you in a round. Come back and let us fight a duel."

Ntsinga turned back. They closed up and fought. Ntsinga knew how to dodge like a swallow. Muguta threw two spears at him and missed. Ntsinga speared him thrice. Then Kyarire started singing the praise of Muguta and said, "The Tempestuous One, you will not manage a man who eats in space like a swallow; lower the spear and frighten him and when he jumps up, throw it to meet him." Muguta stamped down to convey the impression that he was going to throw the spear and when Ntsinga soared up, Muguta released the spear to meet him. Wherever Ntsinga dodged, he found the spear and it struck him through one end of the stomach to the other. He hurtled through the air and even his weapons fell down. He landed on Muguta's head, stuck his teeth in the centre of Muguta's skull, closed his fingers on his throat and planted his toes in the spaces behind his knees. Thus they stood, immovably locked up like the grain store of Kasha.1

1. Kasha is also another personality of the folk tales and he is said to have had the largest millet store and when used as a figure of speech, as in this context, the expression indicates the large size of the object being described and also its immobility.
After some time the Enkondami mused, "Oh! this boy is a wonder; may we attack him too?" Kyarirensioni then cheered Muguta thus, "Throw away, the Rhino of Rugaju of Nyabantu. Throw away, the Tempestuous One. What has come over you, Rucucurana?" Muguta tried to throw Ntsinga off, but he failed. Kayonga also cheered Ntsinga and said, "It is good for people not to grow up together [they are then ignorant of each other's prowess]. If necessary, Kikomberwa, you could be buried in the same tomb."

When Muguta became completely confused, he addressed Ntsinga as follows: "What is it that you want now?" "I told you what I wanted long ago and that is the return of the herds of Nkore and your taking your cow Mayenje so that it does not come with ours as I would kill it. Only our own cattle should be returned," said Ntsinga.

Then they separated; the herds of Nkore returned and the Enkondami regained their cow, Mayenje, which they had come for and which the Banyankore had stolen. From then onwards the Enkondami and the Amamanzi did not fight for a second time. A plan was agreed upon and by this the boundary between the kingdoms of Nkore and Buhweju was demarcated. The territory of the

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1. So long as two people fought, the by-standers could only intervene to separate them, but not to take one side as this was regarded as shameful and cowardly.

2. The recording of this story by these authors has several additions. It seems that the senior warriors of Ntare had refused to go to war with Buhweju and then, in pique, Ntare recruited the young warriors (Enyana) which was very badly defeated by Buhweju's seasoned warriors. It was then that the senior warriors came in and fought Buhweju to a stalemate. Nkore did not invade Buhweju and did not win the war. See Ch.111.
Banyankore ran along the channel of Rubingo up to the river Katonga, which is now the boundary between the counties of Kashari, Nyabushozi and Ibanda. They took Butaka and the eastern part of Rwamwanja which are the subcounties of Burunga, Kazo, Kinoni and Nyakahita. The Banyabuhweju took the whole of Mutanzi which is Kikyenkye and the larger part of Kashari and they also took part of Rwamwanja which is Mazira and Kanyarugiri which are now in the county of Ibanda and from here they rolled back to their homeland of Buhweju.

Ntsinga settled at Rwantsinga and Muguta at Rubaya so that their homes overlooked each other. From then onwards the Enkondami of Kabundami did not fight the Mamanzi of Rugambwa. But this war killed a lot of people in Ankole. All the Enyana were destroyed.

9. THE DEATH OF MUGUTA

Muguta was giant. He fought very many wars. On one occasion, he attacked Budama, Tororo, and the other countries of Bukiri. On their way back, the Basoga attacked them at Ijinja and Muguta climbed up a tree. In climbing down, he jumped as was his usual custom of a giant. He landed on a piece of wood which gored him at the stomach and disembowelled him.

1. The boundaries were not as precise as all this and there is no reason to suppose that Nkore gained so much territory (up to Katonga river) from a war she obviously did not win. The expansion to the Katonga seems to have been gradual and peaceful.

2. The meaning of Bukedi, is as explained in Footnote 1, p.493 above.
But because he was very brave, he did not tell his men as they would then lose heart in a foreign country. He himself put back the bowels, wrapped himself up and continued the journey with that painful injury, which was neither washed nor seared, until they arrived here in Nkore.

When Muguta reached his homeland of Buhweju, he called the Omukama Kabundami and said, "I wish to tell you a secret." They went aside and he told him how he had been injured and he undid the wrappings in order to show him. When he removed the wrappings, he collapsed and died. All the people who were occupied in celebrating the return of their warriors to Nkore and the booty captured in the wars, were extremely saddened by the loss of that brave man, Muguta, whose prowess had never been matched before. That is how our brave Muguta died. Even his death shows that he was a giant and a hero.

10. THE DEATH OF NTSINGA.

The death of Ntsinga is not clearly known. Traditionalists say that he died of spear wounds after his other colleagues, led by Rugambwa, had been killed. It is said that before he died, he had spent four days fighting the enemy and that on the fifth day he was angered by the death of his colleagues while he himself did not die. As a result of this anger, he undid from his body the Omugabe's charm, which was called "Rwoma" because he
thought that it was this charm which had prevented him from dying like the others. That charm, Rwoma, was a very important one for the Mugabe's campaigns against the neighbouring countries. It used to be worn by our brave Ntsinga. Then, they say, after undoing the charm, the enemy killed him so that he also left the world by dying in battle. But the country of those enemies is no longer remembered.

11. THE INCORPORATION OF SHEMA INTO ANKOLE.

It was during the reign of the Mugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro that Shema was incorporated into the kingdom of Ankole. From the beginning Shema was a part of Mpororo. Then when the Omugabe Ntare IV Nyakikoto Kitabanyoro married Mukabandi, the daughter of Kamurari, that king of Mpororo gave that region to his daughter as a wedding present. This is the tradition which is related by most traditionalists.

The others, who are fewer, say that Shema became part of Ankole during the reign of the Mugabe Kahaya Rutindangyezi of Mpororo and that the latter gave the territory to his grandson, Ruzira, when he sent him to Nkore to marry princess Bunyonyo, the mother of Bukondoro, and to settle in Ankole permanently. This Bunyonyo was a daughter of the Omugabe Macwa of Nkore. Thus the region of Shema remained in the hands of the Bahinda kings until now.¹

¹. See Ch.III.
12. CONCLUSIONS.

(a) The children of Ntare IV Kitabanyoro:

These are the children of the Mugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro who were born after the Bunyoro invasion; Macwa, Bujuga, Murari and Nyakakoko.

(b) The wives of the Omugabe Ntare IV:

The wives of the Omugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro were Kabibi and Mukabandi, the daughters of the Mugabe Kamurari of Mpororo.

(c) The death of the Omugabe Ntare IV:

After fighting many wars which we have talked about, the Omugabe Ntare IV Nyakikoto Kitabanyoro ruled for a very long time and then fell ill and died. His body was taken to Ishanje.

XIII. The Omugabe Macwa.

The Omugabe Macwa was a son of the Omugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro, who is sometimes called Ntare ya Mirindi. The mother of Macwa was Mukabandi, the daughter of the king of Mpororo, Kamurari. Mukabandi was the sister of Kahaya Rutindangyezi of Mpororo. Thus the Omugabe Macwa was a nephew of the

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1. This reign, on grounds of its achievements and the character of the king, marks the end of an era in Nkore history. It can be said that Ntare IV had finally made the dynasty firmly established. See Ch. III.
Bashambo clan. The elder Kahaya of Mpororo was his maternal uncle.

1. THE ATTACK AGAINST IREBE.

When the Omugabe Ntare IV died, Macwa succeeded him on the throne. Immediately after the Omugabe Macwa was installed, he attacked Irebe of Kikokwa (Bwera). At that time Nkore had had a long break without fighting, since the war against Buhweju which had been fought by the Omugabe Ntare IV. Thus when Macwa became Mugabe, he deputed his younger brother, Bujuga Rubyama-omumburara rwa Ngando, to attack Irebe, the owner of Rushama [royal drum] in Bwera, Mahogora. Bujuga devastated Bwera and seized many cattle from there. Above all he captured the beaded veil "Rutare" and its keeper, Kirinju of the Batsyaba clan. He brought all these to Nkore. Even now this veil, Rutare, is still in the palace of the Omugabe at Kamukuzi and the descendants of Kirinju are known - for example Rusimirwa and Kayaburo. That veil, Rutare, which is sometimes called "Rujeru", was used by the Bagabe of Ankole in the making of rain. At present it is merely kept as a reminder of the past.

1. It would altogether have been much better if the authors had refrained from giving "detailed explanations" because, nearly every time they do, they cause more confusion. In Mpororo there were two kings only. The first was Kahaya ka Murari who was Macwa's maternal grandfather. The second king, who was also the last, was Kahaya Rutindangyezi who was Macwa's maternal uncle.
After the war at Irebe's, the Omugabe Macwa ruled his kingdom in peace. During his reign many Bashambo started coming to settle in Nkore. He married princess Nkazi, the daughter of Kahaya of Mpororo, who bore him prince Kahaya 1 Nyamwanga. The Omugabe Macwa had the blessing of begetting many other children, of whom the following are the best known: Karara, Rwabirere, Karaiga, Kimina, Tahayirwa, Rwakaijumba, Bugyene, Nyabinyegye, Nyabuhembe, Rwakoma, Buranda, Karugande, Bunyonyo, Bukyerengye and Kiberegyetsi. The latter was the younger brother of Rwakoma and the father of Kashakamba who fought against Rwanga and who was then killed by the Baganda of Kabaka Suna at Kibanga.

The Omugabe Macwa lived and ruled for a very long time and he even saw his grandchildren grow up. His sons used to live with their maternal grandfather, Kahaya of Mpororo. Eventually he sent for them so that he might allot his property to them. Kahaya Rutindangyezi of Mpororo sent them off with presents which the grandparents give to their grandchildren, but he did not give anything to Kahaya. In explanation, he sent the following message to the Mugabe Macwa: "To him [Kahaya] I have bequeathed my name of Kahaya as a parting present."

By then Macwa had grown old and he died and his body was taken to Ishanje for burial. This Mugabe Macwa exceeded all the Bahinda kings of Nkore in having many children.
11. THE MEN OF MACWA

The Omumwe of Macwa was called Entamba and the leading members of the Mutwe were: Jejere, Kaija, Ruhondwa and Bantariza.

1. JEJERE:

Jejere, the courtier of the Mugabe Macwa, belonged to the Bakimbiri clan. People used to nick-name him "Jejere of Kyanengo". At the beginning he was a courtier of the Omugabe Ntare IV Kitabanyoro because he was a page boy. He grew up with Macwa and they developed great attachment to each other while Macwa was still a prince. Macwa was a frail boy; he was not as strong as his younger brothers, Kakoko and Bujuga. Usually the princes sat together and argued about hunting.

Jejere would wait for his friend to start arguing or boasting of his own exploits, but Macwa would sit there and remain silent. On one occasion when Macwa sat silent during a discussion, Jejere told them, "Although you are arguing, Macwa here has a dog which is faster than your dogs." They all laughed and swore that it could not beat theirs and Jejere swore that it did. Then they said, "Let us go hunting tomorrow and see!" He replied, "Don't let the day break." ¹

Jejere could run as fast as a zebra or as an antelope. The morning came. Jejere had spotted a puppy in a nearby house

¹. The expression is the equivalent of I can hardly wait.
and he brought it to spend the night in his house so that it would compete with the other dogs on the following morning. At day-break they went out for hunting. Those with the dogs took to the plains where the animals slept, but Jejere himself took to the hills. Whenever they came across the animals or startled them, the dogs would chase them and the animals would make for the hills. Then the dogs would bring the animal down, but Jejere would chase the dogs away, kill the animal and smear the lips of his puppy with blood before the other hunters came. Thus the whole hunt was Macwa's and that is how he defeated his kinsmen. That is one of the important things which Jejere, out of love, did for Macwa when the latter was still a prince.

(b) When the Mugabe Ntare IV died, Jejere was not at the capital; he had gone to his home for a brief visit. When he heard the news (of Ntare's death), he wondered who would become the Mugabe. He said to himself, "If they do not give the drum to Macwa, I will die; I will not stay in this kingdom." When he came to the capital, he went straight to join Macwa and Mukabandi, his mother, in the house. "Tell me at once whether the drum was bequeathed to you or whether it was given to the others," he demanded of Macwa. "But why should you be so bothered as to whether the drum was bequeathed to me or not?" Macwa teased him. "Be patient; why are you always in a hurry?" he added. By that time crowds of people had already assembled outside the palace. Jejere then threatened, "Now that I have asked you and you only advise me to
wait, I will go out and kill myself." Macwa said, "Relax, I am the one to whom the drum has been bequeathed; you mad man."

Just as Macwa let the last words out, Jejere jumped up and yelled to the people assembled outside, "The drum belongs to Macwa; he is the one to whom it was bequeathed!" They all agreed. Jejere rose and put him on the royal stool and thus he made him the Omugabe. 1

(c) Again when Macwa was still a prince, he asked for a dog from a certain man when Jejere was present. That man was an important person in Ankole, but the dog was not his; it belonged to his son. When Macwa asked for it, the man refused to give it to him. Jejere then beckoned the dog to come near him. The dog came to him, wagging its tail. When it reached him, Jejere speared it to death. The man accused Jejere before the Omugabe Ntare IV, and Jejere said, "I killed it intentionally for how could you refuse to give it to Macwa after he had asked it of you, thereby making him cry? Do you think that Macwa has the eyes for crying? i.e. he is too delicate and precious to be made to cry."

On that occasion Jejere, again, won the case for Macwa.

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1. The feat attributed to Jejere was denied by all my informants. They all said that Macwa was acceptable by his brothers, who were the only possible rivals, owing to his extreme gentle nature and, moreover, all his brothers and himself had the same maternal clan. The whole story is unbelievable because Jejere could not have sat Macwa on the royal stool since there are good reasons to believe that this was a function of the Bayangwe clan to which Jejere did not belong.
(d) When the Omugabe Macwa died, Jejere tried to commit suicide, but the people restrained him and tried to distract him. Macwa had left a daughter who resembled him very much and they used to bring her to spend whole days with Jejere, playing the *ekishoro*. By that time Jejere was a very old man. Whenever people said, "here is So and So", he would tell them, "Go away, the only Mugabe was Macwa." That is how Jejere had loved Macwa, his master.

(e) On one occasion after Macwa had become the Mugabe, Jejere entered into an argument with his fellow courtiers and he told them, "I am more important than you," and they said, "No, you are not." He then told them, "If you think that I am not, let us go into hiding and see whether I will not be the first to be missed at court." They all agreed not to appear in the palace at all and they remained in their own camps without coming to the palace to pay their homage to the Mugabe. But their sons continued going to the palace. When these courtiers had stayed away for three days, the Omugabe Macwa asked three times before coming out of bed, "Where are the Jejeres?" He kept on asking like that until Jejere told his colleagues, in their hide-out, "You are tormenting my king because I have already beaten you since he has already asked for me three times, but he has not asked for you even once." They came out of their hiding in order to pay homage to the Mugabe and to explain the cause of their absence for those days.
(f) Sometimes when the chiefs were engaged in some debate or in the discussion of other important matters and the Mugabe Macwa would tell them, "Let us wait for Jejere because, as he is absent, he is likely to differ from your views when he comes."

(g) To demonstrate that Jejere had loved the Omugabe Macwa, whenever he wanted to call somebody or to call for something, he would say, absent-mindedly, "Give me that, Macwa.....(or) I say, Macwa." Eventually some people, who wanted to undermine Jejere, accused him to the Mugabe Kahaya I and said, "Ah! we are tired of Jejere calling the name of your deceased father. Was he a more favourite courtier of Macwa than the others?" But others opposed those who were accusing Jejere and said, "Jejere is right because nothing can give him pain any more; he died with his master and what now speaks is his Jejere's ghost."

They then planned to trap him and see whether he was pretending. They chose two men who disguised themselves and came to the palace as guests. They found the Omugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga seated on the royal stool and all the other courtiers were also assembled, with Jejere among them. Greetings were exchanged. They said that they were coming from Bwera where the herds of Jejere and his children were and they then broke the bad news and said that Jejere's herds had been raided and that his two sons had been killed. Jejere said, "It does not matter. Let them die, after all Macwa died." From then they left Jejere alone, knowing how greatly he had loved Macwa. He was the man to whom Macwa showed favour over and above everyone else among the favourite courtiers.
2. KIGANI.

It was during the reign of the Mugabe Macwa that a man called Kigani made his home at Omu-kacucu. The place called Omu-Kacucu is at mile 19 on the short route to Kabale, after passing Kinoni, on your way from Mbarara. From then its name of Omu-kacucu was replaced by that of Kakigani (named after Kigani). In fact it is now the Omugabe's freehold land. Sometimes when people remember, you hear them call the place Kakigani-Omu-kacucu. This man Kigani belonged to the Basingo clan.

Kigani begat Nyabushunju,
Nyabushunju begat Kabarema,
Kabarema begat Mudigi.

During the reign of Mutambuka, the grandson of Kigani, Kabarema, the son of Nyabushunju, started taking tobacco to the palace for the Bagabe. He replaced Ruhondwa, the royal tobacconist, who had died childless. When Kabarema got the job of the royal tobacconist, he left their home at Kakigani and came here to Mbarara, at Kazinga, to the home of Ruhondwa, whose job he had taken over. Even recently, during the reign of the Omugabe Kahaya II, the people of Kazinga-Ruwemigina, at Isherukare's, were still responsible for bringing the tobacco to the Mugabe. Additionally, the hill which is called "Ruwemigina of the royal tobacconists," is in Kazinga, in the subcounty of Nyakayojo, Rwamara.
And during the reign of the Mugabe Ntare V Rusingiza, the son of Kiboga, a descendant of Kigani, named Muhigi, became the Prime Minister of Ntare V. All those people were Basingo by clan. Ruhondwa, whose job they had taken over, was also of the Basingo clan. Up to now the job of procuring the tobacco for the Mugabe is still in the Basingo clan.

**NOTE:** There was another man, called Kabarema, during the reign of Gasyonga I, but that Kabarema is not the same as Kabarema, the father of Muhigi who lived during the reign of Macwa and, therefore, they should not be confused.

**XIV. The Omugabe Rwabirere.**

The Omugabe Rwabirere was born at the hill of Birere and that is why he was given the name of Rwabirere. He took over the kingdom of his father, Macwa, after the death of the latter. After his installation, the Mugabe Rwabirere did not live long. He spent two or three months on the Bagyendanwa after the purification ceremonies.

One day he was with his men on their way from giving salt to the cattle when he slipped and fell down and his retinue saw him die and thus he died in the open path [*i.e. in an undignified manner*]. His body was buried in Kabaingyinya. Kabaingyinya and Kabaigarire [*the place of the Princes and of the Princesses respectively*] are near Ishanje, on Lake Mazinga [*Nakivale*] in the county of Isingiro.
This Mugabe Rwabirere is Rubambansi (i.e. legitimate) because the drum was bequeathed to him, he performed the purification ceremonies and he was installed on the drum publicly. His body was taken to Kabaingyinya because the Rahitsi had just been to Ishanje to bury the body of the Mugabe Macwa and, secondly, Rwabirere had not ruled for long and finally he had died without a male heir. In the olden days it used to make people very sad if a Mugabe died without leaving a male successor for the drum. That is why his body was taken to Kabaingyinya, but that in itself does not deprive him of the honour of being called The Omugabe Rubambansi.

XV. The Pretender Karara.

Because the Omugabe Rwabirere died without leaving a male heir, he was succeeded by his brother Karara. This Mugabe Karara made his capital at Bweyorere. When he had lived there for about six years (i.e. about three calendar years) or more, his younger brother, Karaiga, murdered him.

The death of Karara: The Omugabe Karara had been drinking beer and when he was drunk, he went to his house to sleep. During the night, his younger brother, Karaiga, came and speared him to death while he was in bed, sleeping. Some traditionalists say that the murder of the Omugabe Karara was made possible by the fact that he and his younger brother, Karaiga, loved each other very much;

1. See Ch. IV.
that whenever the Omugabe Karara went to bed, his younger brother slept in the guest bed so that both of them slept in the same house. Then one day while the Omugabe Karara slept, his younger brother, Karaiga, came from the guest bed and speared him to death. From that time it became taboo in Ankole for the Mugabe to sleep in the same house with the Bahinda, i.e. it is forbidden for the Bahinda to sleep in the house of the Omugabe.

When the news reached Karugande, the official sister of the Omugabe Karara, she came and cried over the body of her brother. Karugande was so deeply grieved by the death of Karara that she tried to disembowel herself, but the people restrained her. When she was foiled in the attempt to commit suicide, she went into the house where the body of the Mugabe Karara was and set it on fire so that the body of the Mugabe Karara was burnt before it could be buried and Karugande, his sister, perished in the fire with the body of her brother. Thus all things went very badly: the body of Karara was not buried in Ishanje and that of Karugande was not buried in Kabaigariire. This event saddened Ankole very much and many people came to see the tragedy and even now the people have still got a saying which runs: "Could the people be more numerous than those who were at Bweyorere?" meaning that very many people went to the palace at Bweyorere because of the death of Karara.
XVI. The Pretender Karaiga.

The Omugabe Karaiga came to the throne in succession to his elder brother, Karara, whom he had murdered. The Omugabe Karaiga made his capital at Mabare, in Masha. After ruling peacefully for some time, he thought that one day his kinsmen would seek to avenge the death of their elder brother, Karara. He therefore sent for poison from Rwihura, the Omukama of Igara.

When the poison was brought, Karaiga gave it to his younger brother, Kahaya. The poison made Kahaya very ill and his son, Rwebishengye, had him carried to the place where he could get treatment. When Kahaya recovered, he despatched his son, Rwebishengye, to attack Karaiga. The Omugabe Karaiga chose Kimina to lead his army and the two sides clashed at the Kihonoka kya Haragatwa. Kimina was taken prisoner by Rwebishengye's men. Then Rwebishengye handed him over to his maternal uncle, Ikura, to guard him. Rwebishengye laid siege to Karaiga's capital. But he then discovered that Karaiga had escaped and so he followed him, found him at Kyamburara and they fought very hard and he captured the Bagyendanwa from him.

Karaiga then went to Buganda and then to Busoga and that is where he died without being heard of again in Ankole. When Rwebishengye got the Bagyendanwa, he took it to his father, Kahaya, who was then at Ruburara. The Omugabe Kahaya and all his people were overjoyed at getting rid of Karaiga and also at the bravery

1. Karaiga is the sinister character of the whole dynasty - he alone murdered his brother in cold blood and then poisoned another brother against whom he had no grievance.
of Rwebishengye whose prowess was beyond praise.

XVII. The Omugabe Kahaya 1 Nyamwanga.

The Omugabe Kahaya 1 was a son of the Omugabe Macwa. The mother of Kahaya 1 was Nkazi, the daughter of Kahaya-Rutindangyezi of Mpororo. In the early days of his princelhood, the Omugabe Kahaya 1 was called Nyamwanga until his grandfather, Kahaya of Mpororo, gave him that name of Kahaya and that is why he is sometimes known as Kahaya 1 Nyamwanga or Kahaya 1, the son of Nkazi, Nyamwanga.

1. The poisoning of Kahaya 1 while he was still a prince.

The Omugabe Karaiga sent for Kahaya at high noon and requested him to come and drink beer with him. It occurred to Kahaya that they wanted to poison him and he therefore told his wife, Nylnabahinda, "Here is my medicine in a small gourd; suspend it from the roof at the centre of the bed. I am going to drink beer when they bring me here when I am drunk, lay me on my back, remove the grass stopper from the bottom of the gourd and let the medicine drip onto my navel slowly, drop by drop."

After giving her the gourd full of medicine, he went with his son, Rwebishengye, to the house of his younger (elder!) brother, the Mugabe Karaiga. He found Karaiga lying on the bed and his men drinking beer which he had provided. He had given a beer party during broad daylight. Thereupon the Omugabe Karaiga
brought forth beer in a gourd and gave it to his younger brother, Kahaya. Rwebishengye received the beer and then requested his father, "Let me first lower the level of this beer." Kahaya replied, "No, how can you level for me as if you have ever been my attendant?" He took it from him because he did not want his son to die of poison. Then Kahaya got hold of the beer and drank all of it at a go. Those present saw him collapse, unconscious. They put their hands on their mouths.

The Barahutsya [the warriors of Rwebishengye] remarked bitterly, "Oh! so this is the reason for the invitation!" They lifted their master, Kahaya, and made as if to take him to the house of his son, Rwebishengye. Nyinabahinda called to them and said, "Bring him this way so that he may die on his bed." Then she started letting the medicine drip, slowly, onto Kahaya's navel. As the day was breaking, Kahaya regained consciousness just as the medicine in the gourd was also running out.

The Barahutsya of Rwebishengye then saw Kahaya making signs to them and telling them to bring forth his litter, in which to carry him, and also his bow. They brought the litter, put him in and made off as if to go to Isingiro, but he declined and pointed towards Rwanda Orwera, Nkore.

1. Traditionally the person who handed out the beer or who brought beer to the court, or just to a friend, took the first sip because he was thought to need a drink having carried the beer or poured it out. But it was also a precaution just in case somebody brought or gave out poisoned beer.
When they came to Rushozi, near Rwakabyami, he saw a zebra, asked for his bow and shot it. That spot is still called Rwenturegye (the Place of Zebras). When they crossed a small valley, he saw a topi and he also shot it and the spot is similarly called Rwenyemera. He then told them, "Take me back." They rested at the hill of Bugaba and there he made his capital. He lost all his skin and hair; all these peeled off his body and he was left with only the bare flesh. Then he folded the skin and sent it to the Omukama of Igara, Rwihura, with the following message: "Karaiga and yourself bought barren cows; Karaiga skinned his in the grass and you skinned yours in the hide and here is the hide."¹

Kahaya then spent a long time at Bugaba before he moved away. His well, called Rwakahaya, brought forth spring water and it was in that water that they washed him for four days and it was here that he grew a new skin.

2. His war with Karaiga.

It was from Ruburara, also called Bugaba, that Kahaya appointed his son, Rwebishengye, to lead an expedition against Karaiga, the Pretender. Karaiga also appointed Kimina and they joined battle at the hill of Haragatwa. Kimina was defeated and taken prisoner and handed over to Ikura, the maternal uncle of Rwebishengye, so that he might not escape. When Karaiga heard of

¹ The poison from which Kahaya suffered is said to have been obtained from Buhweju.
all this, he ran away with the Bagyendanwa, the drum of the kingdom. Rwebishengye followed him and found him at Kyamburara, in Bukanga, and forced him to give up the drum. After being divested of the Bagyendanwa and of the other drums of the kingdom, Karaiga fled to the foreign countries of Buganda, and then went on to Busoga, where he disappeared without ever being heard of again in Ankole.

3. The Accession of Kahaya 1.

After Rwebishengye had defeated Karaiga, he brought the kingdom's drums and kept them at Kakukuru, in Nshara, while his father was still at Bugaba. Then Kahaya sent messengers to Rwebishengye and said, "Bring the drums here; why should you keep them there as if they were yours?" to which Rwebishengye replied, "Although you are my physical father, I am the one who fought for the drums and I want to be the Mugabe." He even said, "You are descended from Macwa and so am I." Hence that he, too, was a legitimate successor. Kahaya continued to send messengers to him, but Rwebishengye refused to give him the drums, Even Nyinabahinda asked him to hand over the drums, but he refused and said, "Do whatever you want to do." 1

Then one day Kahaya slaughtered a cow, carved open its chest, removed a piece of meat from it and put the meat on two skewers whereas the piece of meat was one. He cut away one piece

1. Neither the origin nor the purpose of this story is known. All my informants say that Rwebishengye did not and could not challenge his father because he well knew that he could get no support by defying his father.
and ate it and then called up his retainer, Kajuna, and told him, "Go and take this meat to Rwebishengye, but do not give it to him in the presence of his men, the Barahutsya, as they might kill you; take him aside and tell him that I have sent this meat to him; that I have eaten my one piece and that he should eat the remaining piece. If he finishes it, then he is the Mugabe and I will never ask him for the Bagyendanwa."

Kajuna did as he was told and Rwebishengye became exceedingly angry. He snatched the skewer from Kajuna and said, "Give it to me and I will eat it and see what will happen." But when he snatched the meat, the skewer hit him and broke into his shin bone and he thus sustained a serious injury. When they saw what had happened, Kajuna and his companion jumped over the fence and ran away so that the Barahutsya might not kill them. When the Barahutsya came to see their master, they found him vomiting. "Let us take him to his father's so that he may die there," they decided. He was groaning. His mother told his carriers, "Bring him here." Then they sent for Kahaya to come and see him, but he refused and said, "He is pretending to sleep, let him exhaust his sleep; the thief."

In the evening, when the cattle were returning from pasture, Kahaya came in by the gate. When he entered the house, he said, "Uncover him so that we may see the thief." Thereupon he spat on the wound and, immediately, the piece of wood came out
and thus Rwebishengye recovered. The Omugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga took over the kingdom and he stayed with his son, Rwebishengye, at Ruhunga, Kashari.

4. The Invasion of the Banyarwanda.

While the Mugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga was at Ruhunga, he was attacked by the king of Rwanda, Kigyere III. The Banyarwanda were stopped at Rwomawana Kantojo, which is Masheruka, Shema. On that occasion the Omugabe Kahaya I took refuge in Rwamuhunga, in Rwanda Orwera and it was from there that he sent his son, Rwakyendera, to fight the Banyarwanda. Rwakyendera fought the Banyarwanda and he defeated them. Thus their king Kigyere went back without gaining anything from Ankole and, on his way back to Rwanda, he was overtaken by death and he died before he reached his home.

After the conclusion of the war against the Banyarwanda, the Omugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga ruled peacefully for a very long time. He then grew very old and died and his body was taken by the Bahitsi to Ishanje for burial.

5. The children of Kahaya I.

The Omugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga begat very many children. Among all of them, those who are mostly remembered are: Rwebishengye, Nyakashaija, Rwakyendera, Bwarenga, Bantariza, Baryebijunzire, Rwakajabaga, Rwatirimba and the following daughters: Kyazanga, Bunyonyo and Kijambaire.
6. The Capitals of Kahaya I.

When the Omugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga moved from Ruhunga, he went to Byaruho. When he left the capital of Byaruho-Masha, he moved to Buhandagazi. From Buhandagazi, he moved to Nyabikiri where he died a very old man. The Omugabe Kahaya I lived for a very long time and stayed on the throne for long. He even saw his grandchildren and great-grandchildren mature into manhood.

NOTE: That Ruhunga is also a very important hill in the history of Ankole because from the time Muguta moved there and after Nkore and Buhweju were merged into one country, the Bagabe of Ankole were fond of making their capitals there. The Bagabe who made their capitals there are: Kahaya I Nyamwanga, Rwebishengye and Ntare V, the son of Kiboga.

AND NOTE: That the reason why the Bagabe of Ankole made so many capitals was that once a Mugabe moved from one capital for one reason or another, custom forbid him to return to it.

XVIII. The Pretender Nyakashaija.

The Omugabe Nyakashaija was installed on the Bagyendanwa in succession to his father, the Omugabe Kahaya I Nyamwanga Rubambansi. Nyakashaija made his capital at the hill of Mabare. After he had been established firmly on the throne, his elder brother, Rwebishengye, grew resentful of the injustice with which the

1. This is an error because Buhweju was merged into Nkore by the British in 1901.

2. Yet these authors tell us of many Bagabe who went back to their former capitals.
Bahinda and the other leading men of the kingdom had treated him: they had chosen Nyakashaija to be the Mugabe when he was the younger, while he, Rwebishengye, was the first born son and had been responsible for curing their father, Kahaya 1, of the poison, and he had fought the civil war, on behalf of their father, between Karaiga and Kahaya. 1

When the Omugabe Nyakashaija heard that Rwebishengye was planning a rebellion, he immediately attacked him. To lead his army, he appointed his uterine brother, Rwakyendera. They fought Rwebishengye and defeated him and there was a short spell of peace in the country.

When Rwebishengye lost hope, he betook himself to Buganda to become a courtier of the Kabaka of Buganda, Kamanya Kasengejje. The Kabaka Kamanya was very pleased at having a prince of Ankole and he made him a chief over the territory of Kaijumba, Bwiru /Buddu/ near Kabura. 2 But, above all, Kamanya liked Rwebishengye because of his bravery.

Rwebishengye lived in Buganda for a very long time, ruled his people well and they liked him very much. When he saw that he had mustered enough hands, which is a sizeable army, he asked for an additional army, from the king of Buganda, with which to attack Nkore, Bushagara, in order to overthrow Nyakashaija. Kabaka Kamanya gave him one and they came and attacked Nkore.

1. See Ch.IV.
2. ditto.
When the Omugabe Nyakashaija heard of the news, he said, "I cannot stomach the Baganda". He left his capital of Mabare and took refuge in Karamurani. Rwebishengye came and devastated Nkore, for what could one expect from those Bangyere (Baganda)? Thus he captured many things and women and children and cattle and other riches and he took all of them to Buganda. When Nyakashaija heard that Rwebishengye had gone back to Buganda, he left his hiding in Karamurani and came and made his capital at Nyakashanje.¹

When Rwebishengye heard of this, he also left Buganda and came and camped at Nkyengye. He left Nkyengye and came to Bwara, from where he sent his younger brother, Bwarenga, to attack Nyakashaija.² The Omugabe Nyakashaija also deputed Rwakajabaga and Nyabiremu. Bwarenga defeated them and chased them up to Mile 24 on the Mbarara-Ibamba road. They made another stand at the Kashenshero ka Nyahora and Bwarenga defeated them again. They captured the Omugabe Nyakashaija, put out his eyes and threw him in a papyrus swamp where he died and decomposed so that his body was not buried in Ishanje.

¹ The progress of this protracted war is discussed in Ch. IV.
² My informants on this subject, including Mr. Kamugungunu, insisted that this story is incorrect: Rwebishengye did not ask the Emitwe leaders to put him on the throne and Bwarenga was not fighting for Rwebishengye - he was fighting for himself. Bwarenga did not rule for long, but he died from natural causes.
NOTES: The following are the Bahinda kings of Ankole who were not buried in Ishanje for various reasons: - Ruhinda, the son of Njunaki Rubambansi. 2. Nyakashaija, a Pretender. 3. Karaiga, a Pretender. 4. Bwarenga, a Pretender. 5. Rwabirere, Rubambansi. 6. Karara, a Pretender. 7. Kitera, the son of Nyabahutu, a Pretender. 8. Rwanga, a Pretender. 9. Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, Rubambansi and 10. E.S. Kahaya, M.B.E., Rugyenga Rubambansi. With the exception of those, the rest were buried in Ishanje.

XLIX. The Pretender Bwarenga.

1. The Accession of Bwarenga.

After the Mugabe Bwarenga had killed Nyakashaija, he sent the following message to Rwebishengye: "All is well concluded; you have been victorious; Nyakashaija is dead." Rwebishengye was very pleased because he thought that he was going to be the Mugabe. In fact he was so excited that he did not even go back to Buganda to say farewell to Kabaka Kamanya; he simply moved his home from Nkyengye and came to Nkore. He found Bwarenga camped at Kakukuru.

Rwebishengye then asked the leaders of the Emitwe to put him on the Bagyendanwa. They all refused and said, "No, we cannot manage you; you left the kingdom long ago and went to Buganda and we are tired of your wars. Bwarenga is the one who will eat the Bugabe."¹ Thus Rwebishengye lost the Bugabe and lost all hope.

¹. It seems that Rwebishengye was still in Buganda when Bwarenga became the Mugabe.
Bwarenga became the Mugabe, in succession to the Omugabe Nyakashaija and that was that. When the Omugabe Bwarenga became firm on the throne, he made his capital at the hill of Kikarabwa where his two children were born. The children were Kashegu and Ikura. But this Mugabe Bwarenga only ruled for a very short period for he was soon overtaken by death and he died.

2. The burial of Bwarenga.

When the Bahitsi, who are the Bayangwe, were taking the body of Bwarenga for burial in Ishanje, a heavy rain storm overtook them on the way. The lightning flashed and the thunders boomed so that the carriers could not see their way. They ran for shelter from the rain and left the body of the Mugabe hidden in the bush. When the rain subsided, they came to fetch the body to take it to Ishanje, but they could not find it. The Bahitsi were puzzled as they could not understand what they should do. They went back to the capital without burying it and without knowing where it had gone.

But the old people say that a thunder clap came from the sky and struck the hill of Ngoro, in Masha, and swallowed up the body of the Mugabe Bwarenga so that it disappeared before it was buried. And it is possible that this is what happened because floods, resulting from heavy rain, can carry away anything beyond the sight of the people nearby. Sometimes floods sweep away papyrus swamps, leaving only the mud, clay and sand and sometimes they
sweep away big forests and you find only the soil remaining. Alternatively the body of Bwarenga might have been taken by the lions or by other wild animals because there used to be very many of them in Masha in those days. If they can eat people now, what about in the olden days?

But on that day the Bahitsi were very unfortunate and they also committed a great wrong by abandoning an important object of their duty and running away whereas we see that the herdsmen take shelter from the rain in the bush so that they can keep watch over their cattle. Perhaps that rain was sent by the Bacwezi to destroy things as it did.

**XX. The Omugabe Rwebishengye.**

1. **His Reign.**

The Omugabe Rwebishengye was a son of the Omugabe Kahaya 1 Nyamwanga and his mother, Nyinabahinda, was a daughter of the Bene Rukaari clan. He came to the throne in succession to his younger brother, Bwarenga, and he made his capital at Bwara, in Masha, and also at Kakukuru, where he had camped when he was still a prince. By the time he came to the throne, he was already an old man.

2. **The children of Rwebishengye.**

The Omugabe Rwebishengye had the following children when he was still a prince:- Gasyonga and Kayungu. And after becoming
the Mugabe he had the following princes and princesses: Biteya, Nyineihamba, Mwimba, Nyabuhembe, Kyazanga, Kihinga, Ntomi, Kitumo, Ndayondi and Nyanziriga. It should be noted that Kashakamba was not Rwebishengye's son. He was the son of Kiberegyetsi and the grandson of Macwa.

3. The Capitals and Wars of Rwebishengye.

When the Omugabe Rwebishengye left Rukukuru, he made his capital at Kazinga and even now his wells are still in the sub-county of Birere, Isingiro, and in Nkayayojo, Rwamara, and they are still called Rwarwebishengye etc. When he had been at Kazinga for two years, he attacked King Rusharabaga of Buhweju, defeated him and captured many herds of cattle, women and other riches and he annexed Muzira, Sheema.¹

When the Omugabe Rwebishengye had concluded the war with Buhweju, he moved from Kazinga and made his capital at Ruhunga, where he spent four years. From here he attacked Rugaju of Kigiro. When he left Ruhunga, Kashari, he went back to Bwenkoma, Kazinga, and it was from here that he attacked Katana, the Omukama of Igara.

After successfully completing the war of Igara, the Omugabe Rwebishengye stopped fighting. His sons began disobeying him. The people used to laugh at them, calling the Ebitera of Rwebishengye.²

¹ This shows that Buhweju and Nkore were not one country - see Footnote
² Ebitera, in this context means, the children who beat their father and such conduct was disapproved of by the entire society. Despite his personal bravery, Rwebishengye seems to have been an erratic personality as demonstrated by his war against Nyakashaija while he was based in Buganda. His sons' rebellion seems to have sobered him up and made him concentrate on the affairs of his country.
Of his sons only Gasyonga was obedient and he became the senior and most well known son even when his father was still alive and, afterwards, Rwebishengye bequeathed the drum to him.

When the Omugabe Rubambansi Rwebishengye left Kazinga-Bwenkoma, he made himself another capital at Bweyorere and it was from there that his sons, the Ebitera, mounted an attack against Mpororo. One year passed after this campaign and Rwebishengye fell ill in his old age and died and his body was buried in Ishanje by the Bahitsi.

4. The Senior Wives of the Omugabe Rwebishengye.
Nyamuziga begat Biteya.
Kyamazanga begat Ntomi.
Bukundu begat Gasyonga.
Nyinatura begat Kihinga.
Kabugo begat Ndayondi.

5. The Men of Rwebishengye.
1. Buhangwa, of the Bakimbiri clan, was the Enganzi/Prime Minister of the Omugabe Rwebishengye. He was also the regional chief over Kayebe, Nshara.
2. Kagweza, the father of Kabarema Mutari, belonged to the Bashenzya clan.
3. Nyakaiha, a Mwiru of Rwebishengye, was in charge of Kibingo and he was also responsible for the provision of beer for the Mugabe /collected the beer from his area/.

1. See Ch. IV.
4. Kibubura was in charge of Nyakayembe. This Kibubura used to fight a hundred men single-handed and he could kill bulls with his fist.

5. Rwanyangi, of the Bakimbiri clan, was also in charge of Kazinga.

6. The Armies of Rwebishengye.

1. Ntomi was the leader of the Bataraha and the Bakangura.
2. Kitunda led the Emitara.
3. Rwamahe, the grandfather of Nuwa Mbaguta, led the Ebikara of Kayungu.

7. The boundaries of Ankole.

During the reign of Rwebishengye, the boundary between Ankole and Mpororo was at Kenkaranga, near Mwizi, Rwampara.

The boundary between Ankole and Bunyoro was at Kibingo kya Matu which is Buyenje and thence to Ibanda.

The boundary between Ankole and Buganda was along the channel of Rubindi and the hill of Bisheshe.

In Bwera the boundary included Buraga, at the time Buraga was Ankole and Bwisho, of the Bayangwe clan, and Rwangoga, the brother of Yogo Macumu of the Bataraka clan and Mbaihererwa, of the Bagahe clan, were all in charge of it.

And it was also during the reign of Rwebishengye that Sheema was overrun by Ntomi, the son of Rwebishengye, who took it away completely from the hands of the Bashambo.¹

¹ See Ch.IV.
XXI. The Pretender Kayungu.

The Omugabe Kayungu was a son of the Omugabe Rwebishengye. Kayungu was the younger brother of the Omugabe Gasyonga I. The mother of Kayungu was Bagande, the daughter of Bene Ishe-Murari clan. This Kayungu rebelled, usurped the drum and fought against his elder brother, Gasyonga I. This fighting lasted for a very long time until the followers of Gasyonga I overpowered Kayungu and killed him.

Kayungu fought for the Bagyendanwa with the support of his maternal uncles, the Bene Ishe-Murari and of the other clans. We call him a pretender because he stole the Bagyendanwa and ran away with it. The followers of Gasyonga attacked the Omugabe Kayungu and they fought him in the plain of Bigashe, which is between Ngarama and Bukanga. The side of Gasyonga I won, recovered the Bagyendanwa from Kayungu and they even killed him and that is how the war ended. But the war itself did not last a short time because it lasted for about six Kinyankore years \(\frac{6}{3}\) i.e. about three calendar years.

The Omugabe Kayungu left a son, Kisyo, who was killed by another boy, Kasha, the son of Rufu of the Bahweju clan. He was killed over a trivial matter while they were playing, but even so, Kisyo was in the wrong. Kasha, the son of Rufu, knew how to fence

1. The clans usually supported their maternal sons in succession wars and they got amply rewarded if they won, both in material goods and in prestige. There is no occasion in Nkore dynasty when princes of the same maternal clan fought for the throne.
with a shield. Then Prince Kisyo asked him, "Can you ward off my arrows?" The other replied, "Remove the arrow-heads and shoot at me with the shafts." Kisyo shot at him and he warded off the shots with a shield. Eventually Kisyo was annoyed and he shot at him with a real arrow. He warded it off as before, but he knew that Kisyo intended to kill him while pretending to play and he therefore speared Kisyo to death.

At that time the Bahweju were a very big clan in Ankole. The Omugabe Mutambuka banished the whole clan from the kingdom because of the death of Kisyo. After the Omugabe Mutambuka had understood the circumstances in which Kisyo was killed, he allowed them to return to Ankole from Kihanga and Kigiro where they had taken refuge. That Kihanga and Kigiro used to be sung as follows: "We turned bees into beetles."¹

XXII. The Pretender, Rwanga.

1. His war with Gasyonga I.

Six months after the Omugabe Gasyonga I had fought with Kayungu, his younger brother, his paternal uncle, Rwanga, came at night and stole the Bagyendanwa from him. At that time the Bagyendanwa was at Mabare, in Masha, and Rwanga took it to Kantsyore, the small island in the Kagyera. On the following day, the Baruru, the keepers of the Bagyendanwa, found the Bagyendanwa missing and

¹. The expression means, "We turned brave men into cowards," and it refers to one of the raids Nkore carried out in the area.
they went and reported this to the Mugabe Gasyonga. Immediately after getting hold of the Bagyendanwa, Rwanga went to Buha, in Karagwe. But when the Pretender, Rwanga, got the Bagyendanwa, he was supported by very many people, especially the Basingo clan, because he was a maternal son of the Batwa clan, from which most of the Bagabe had come in those days, whereas Gasyonga was a maternal son of the Bagahe clan which had never "begat" a Mugabe for Ankole. This is why many people supported Rwanga. At that time Gasyonga I was at Rwizi-Kazinga, which is now called Rwemigina and the drums were at Mabare.

At the time Kitunda was a follower of Mutambuka (Gasyonga's son), but Mutambuka insulted him and Kitunda left him and went into the service of Kashakamba Rurangwa, the son of Izagira. When Rwanga stole the drum, Kitunda supported him and all the Bahinda Emitare supported Rwanga and all the Bairu did the same. Gasyonga was left with only the Bagahe, his maternal clan. By that time most people supported Rwanga saying, "It is from the Batwa that the Bahinda kings come."

1. This was not a subdivision of the Bahinda clan; it was the core of Rwanga's followers so that they would have supported him naturally.

2. This story is inaccurate. In the first place the Bagabe did not marry from the Batwa clan alone. Secondly Rwanga could not have lost the war so easily if he was so widely supported, especially as the maternal clan of Gasyonga was so small (the bulk of their members were still in Mpororo which was their original home). Finally, by Nkore's succession conventions, Rwanga had no valid claim to the throne. Succession could not pass to him so long as Gasyonga and his brothers lived.
On one morning, the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 appointed his younger brother, Rwakarimirwa, to lead the Bahura and his son, Mutambuka, to lead the Bashandura. Kashakamba, the son of Izagira, led the Banyoro and Gasyonga 1 himself led the Basikura. They all attacked Rwanga at Kyangabukama, Isingiro. Rwanga appointed Kitunda Rutacencana, the son of Kamugasha, who met Mutambuka; the battle was very bitterly fought and Kitunda defeated them.

They again met at the top of Isingiro and Kitunda defeated them once again. When Rwanga saw Gasyonga's strength growing, he escaped with the drums to Kantsyre. In order to get to that island of Kantsyre, the Bashandura of Gasyonga had to stretch raw hides on door frames behind which they sheltered from the arrows of the Emitare of Rwanga. The Emitare rained arrows on them and the Bashandura retreated, convinced that Rwanga was the Mugabe. The Omugabe Gasyonga 1 took refuge in the county of Ibanda. His son, Mutambuka, acted as a dam to prevent Rwanga's advance at Nyakisharara while Kashakamba was stationed at Bwenkoma, Rwampara.

Rwanga left the south and made his capital at Kyangabukama, on the top of Isingiro. After this, the prince Ndayondi, the son of Rwebishengye, made his way from Igara, where he had taken refuge without taking part in the conflict, and came to

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1. This is just a name of the Mutwe and has no connection with the people of Bunyoro.
Nyabugando Kashaka, Kashari. While Ndayondi was still at Nyabugando, the Omugabe Rwanga sent Kitunda to dislodge Mutambuka and make him follow his father in hiding. Kitunda then met Ndayondi and captured his cattle, but he did not seize all of them because he said, "I am not going to take all his herds since I was not sent to seize them."

The news was relayed to Gasyonga. "The herds of your elder brother, Ndayondi, have been seized by Rwanga", he was told. Thereupon the Omugabe Gasyonga ordered his son, Mutambuka, "Go and attack him and kill him because the time is ripe." He brought forth his arrow for which the Bashandura and the Basikura asked, but he declined to give it to them and gave it to his maternal uncle, Nyabushoro, and told him: "Go and be the one to kill Kitunda."

2. The death of Rwanga.

The battle was joined at Nyabugando in the morning when Mutambuka fought Kitunda. Then Kitunda and Nyabushoro came face to face. Kitunda told Nyabushoro to shoot him first, but Nyabushoro declined and invited Kitunda to shoot first. Kitunda shot at Nyabushoro with a white arrow and the latter ducked. The Nyabushoro shot at Kitunda with a black arrow and hit him between the eyes and Kitunda fell down and died. The Emitare of Rwanga ran away and the Bashandura of Gasyonga pursued them into Isingiro in order to scatter them.
Whilst the Omugabe Rwanga was in his capital of Isingiro, at Kyangabukama, which is now called Igayaza, he saw a military detachment which he thought was his own. The children ran to meet them while the Omugabe Rwanga remained seated with his sister, Sura, and their maternal uncle, Marenga. After a while Rwanga raised his eyes and saw Rwantere of Gasyonga's army who was leading the Bashandura. He then realised that the army belonged to Gasyonga. They brought the Bagyendanwa out of the house. Rwanga's sister, Sura, tried to strike the drum with her sash, but the Omugabe Rwanga told her that it was forbidden to do so. They then left the drum outside, shut themselves in the house and the three set the house on fire. The people who looked for their bodies could not find them. Some Banyankore think that perhaps the Omugabe Rwanga had not died then, but that he ran through the house and disappeared.

XXIII. The Omugabe Gasyonga 1.

1. His accession.

The Omugabe Rubambansi Gasyonga 1 came to the throne in succession to his father, the Omugabe Rwebishengye, after emerging victorious from two big wars against the Omugabe Kayungu, his younger brother, and Rwanga, his paternal uncle. The Queen Mother

1. See Ch.IV.

2. The story of Kayungu, Gasyonga and Rwanga is confused by these authors in many ways. See Ch.IV.
of the Mugabe Gasyonga 1 was Bukundu, a daughter of the Bagabe clan. The Omugabe Gasyonga was installed at Rukoma. While he was still at Rukoma, Kyera, he was attacked by a Muganda called Nyamujurirwa (Namujulilwa), the Pokino of Buddu, who was on his way from raiding for cattle in Nshenyi, Mpororo. Nyamujurirwa captured Mutambuka, who was still a youth, together with his sister Kibangura. He even committed the abominable act of cutting off Kibangura’s ears because she could not walk fast. It was the Bamoli (of Bwera) who redeemed Mutambuka and Kibangura. On that occasion Gasyonga’s followers took refuge in the rock of Nyakahondogoro which is Nyabuhikye and he himself took refuge in Mpororo.

This time the Omugabe Gasyonga did not fight in person because he was already an old man and even in the other wars, his son, Mutambuka, did the fighting for him.

2. **His children:**

**Boys:**

1. Kikamba, the father of Kanashukye.
2. Munaninga ka Bagyendanwa, the father of Ngangare.
3. Rukuta, the father of Andrea Kanyongororwa.
4. Rwakimete, the father of Mukwiri.
5. Muyemua, the father of Bucunku.
6. Bwishiki, the grandfather of Rutaramuka and Kakuba.
7. Kyomujogo, the father of Tujungye.
8. Rwamatete, the grandfather of Batulumayo Rurimbirwa.
9. Munyaga, who made Nkore grieve very much because of his death. He was the eldest son and he died while his father was still living.

10. Mutambuka who became the Mugabe.


Girls:

3. His wives:
The wives of the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 were: - Kabibi, Kizambara, Nyamikono, Nyinabahanura and Kabirigye.

4. His chiefs:
1. Rwakarimirwa, his half-brother and son of his mother, Bukundu, was his first Enganzi from the time he came to the throne. He lived at the Mabare of Rwanyangwe, Kikyenkye.
2. Kanyamuhangi, of the Bene Itanzi clan in which clan Kibangura was married.
4. Nyabushoro, of the Bagahe clan and the maternal uncle of the Mugabe Gasyonga to whom the latter gave a daughter, Kyabakazi, in marriage.
5. Rutukura Mujwiga, the son of Ngata of the Baitenwa clan who was in charge of Bukiro.

1. The relationship between Gasyonga and Rwakarimirwa is discussed in Ch.IV.
6. Kyamukongoire who was in charge of Igayaza.
7. Buhurani, of the Bayonza clan and the father of Binyatsi.
8. Mutambuka, his son.
9. Kashakamba Rurangwa, the son of Izagira, who a Muhinda and a son of Kiberegyetsi.

When Rwanga seized the Bagyendanwa, Kashakamba contracted yaws and he refused to be washed, shave his hair and to cut his nails. Whenever people asked him: "Did you sleep well, Kashakamba?" he would reply, "I have never slept well, the Bagyendanwa is still in Kantsyore." They would then say, "Kashakamba Rurangwa, the son of Izagira!" and he would say, "My bed is behind the fire-place where dogs sleep and my milkpot is the dog's bowl and it is from this that I drink the beer because the Bagyendanwa is still in Kantsyore". All these things show that Kashakamba was a brave man and that he was on the side of the Omugabe Gasyonga I.

10. Kabarema, of the Basingo clan arid the father of Muhigi.
11. Tura.
12. Rwamatete.
13. Kitumo and there were others like these.

5. The Emitwe of Gasyonga I.

While the Omugabe Gasyonga I was still a prince, he had his own Mutwe [military unit] of the Basikura when Rwakarimirwa led the Bahura. When he came to the throne, his son, Mutambuka, took over the leadership of the Bashandura who were previously
led by Kajwahura. Mutambuka also had another Mutwe, the Banyoro, whose leader was Kashakamba Rurangwa, the son of Izagira. Kyamukongoiire was the immediate leader of the Basikura which was Gasyonga’s personal Mutwe. And Rwakarimirwa led the Bahura. But the overall commander of all these Mitwe was Mutambuka.

NOTE: When an Omugabe came to the throne, he relinquished the Mutwe of his princehood, the personnel of which went to another area and were taken as being in retirement. 1

6. The attack of Kabaka Suna of Buganda.

When the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 left Rukoma, he made his capital at Kasana, which is more or less the same place. It was at Kasana that the Queen Mother Bukundu died. Her body was taken to Kabaigarire for burial.

Then the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 left the capital of Kasana and moved to Kagugu-Kibanja. Whilst there he was attacked by the Baganda of Suna, but they failed to defeat him. They attacked him in the morning and they fought all day until the sun set and they failed and retired.

For a second time the Baganda attacked the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 in great numbers and these were the Baganda who found the Mugabe at Kagazi and who captured Rwigi, the Omukama of Kitagwenda. The Omugabe fled to Muzira, Shema, and that is where the Baganda

1. The organisation of the Emitwe was not as described here. The Emitwe ceased to exist once the Mugabe, who had formed them died. The in-coming Mugabe chose new leaders, switched the old ones and made new Mitwe. The leaders did not have to retire unless they elected to do so. See Ch.V.
were defeated.

When the war ended, the Omugabe moved to Rwizi Kazinga, close to Rukoma, and here he lived for a long time. He then fell ill and died and the Bahitsi buried his body in Ishanje.

7. The Wars of Gasyonga 1.

The major wars which were fought by the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 were five:

1. His war against the Omugabe Kayungu.
2. His war with the Omugabe Rwanga.
3. His war against the Muganda Nyamujurirwa at Kyera.
4. The war against the Baganda of Suna at Kagugu.
5. The second war with the Baganda of Suna at Kagazi.

8. The Capitals of Gasyonga 1.

1. The first one was Rukoma where he was installed.
2. Kasana, where his mother died.
3. Kagugu where he fought against the Baganda of Kabaka Suna.

The Omugabe Gasyonga 1 was a very kind ruler who never troubled his subjects. Even now the Banyankore have a saying they apply to a well behaved person; they say, "This person is as good as Gasyonga." And this Mugabe Gasyonga 1 died when he was a very old man like his ancestor Bagabe who used to live for very long.
9. Kagaju, the son of Kanyorokazi, Mitsindo.

During the reign of Gasyonga 1 there lived a man called Kagaju Mitsindo, the son of Kanyorokazi. The Omugabe Gasyonga 1 had put him in charge of a hundred head of cattle which were called Akatare (White ones). This man used to live in Ngarama, grazing the cattle near prince Rwamatete, the son of Rwebishengye, because in those days the herds of the Omugabe had to be kept near his chiefs. 2

This herdsman Kagaju Mitsindo, the son of Kanyorokazi, was a Munyambo and one day he grazed the cattle at the boundary, near the Kagyera. He then plotted with a prince of Karagwe to come and seize them. That prince prepared boats and his men at the river Kagyera. The Banyankore only became aware of what had happened after the cattle had crossed to the Karagwe of king Rumanyika. Then the prince Rwamatete, the son of Rwebishengye, rushed to the rescue with the Bahambani warriors, but they found that the cattle had crossed some time before. They were puzzled and they mused: "The king of Karagwe does not yield an inch; now that they have crossed the Kagyera, how are we going to get there?" Thus they could not recover the cattle. Consequently, they told Kagaju: "Go back home and tell the Omugabe Gasyonga 1 that the cattle have been seized and then go to your relatives and ask them to

1. This section has nothing to do with the story and the reader may skip it.

2. One of the important duties of a chief was to look after the safety of the Mugabe's cattle in his area.
make up for part of the loss to you." When they rose to go, Kagaju stayed behind as if lost in thought. When he saw that the Bahambani and Rwamatete had gone, he plunged into the Kagyera with his bow and spear. The current swept him to the opposite side of the bank. After drying himself and his arrows, he followed the trail of his cattle. When he came within sight, the herdsmen recognised him and they told the prince of Karagwe: "There is the owner of the Akatare following us."

The prince sent a man to meet him and to tell him: "Go back to your homeland, Nkore, unless you want to meet death at our hands". Kagaju replied: "Go and tell him that I have come to offer my services to him; to milk those cows for him as I was doing for their former owner, Gasyonga." When the messenger turned his back to return, Kagaju followed him in order to get to the cattle. He speared the messenger to death and ran into the herd. When they all rushed to fight him, he killed a second man among them. He then split open the hump of his bull, Rwakyakihama, so that it bled. When the cows smelt the blood, they remembered their calves and they stampeded back into the Kagyera. Kagaju held on to the tail of his bull and it carried him across the water and thus he was saved from the water for a second time. He drove back the cattle to his kraal of Ngarama, Nkore. This shows how brave the people of the olden days were.
The Omugabe Mutambuka came to the throne in succession to his father, the Omugabe Rubambansi Gasyonga 1. The mother of the Omugabe Mutambuka was Nyinahahahanura.

1. The Capitals of Mutambuka.

When the Omugabe Mutambuka came to the throne, he moved to Nyampikye. From Nyampikye, he made his capital at Murubare. From there he moved to Bisharara. Whilst at Bisharara, he was informed that his younger brother, Kikamba, had rebelled. Thereupon the Mugabe Mutambuka sent the princes Makumbi and Mukwenda to attack him and they went and killed him at Kiguma, on the boundary of Ankole and Mahogora. At that time Kiguma was in Ankole.

After the Omugabe Mutambuka had put Kikamba, his younger brother, to death, he made his capital at Rwamahungu where he cut out the tongue of Rwakarimirwa, his paternal uncle, on the grounds that he did not respect him. From Rwamahungu, he moved to Kabanja where he put out the eyes of Mpimbo for having been impudent to his father, Gasyonga 1, and also because he had been accused of inciting Kikamba to rebel. On one occasion, after putting out Mpimbo's eyes, Mutambuka met Mpimbo and told him: "Mpimbo, I hate you very much; that is why I put out your eyes." And Mpimbo

1. Nyampikye and Murubare are the same place and are usually known as Omurubare. They are two hills separated by a track no wider than a dual carriage road. This may account for the "disappearance" of some of the former capitals because names which are not used frequently can be forgotten.

2. The story of these ruthless punishments is deeply involved in the intrigues of Mutambuka's court and are not as simple as they are presented here. See Ch.V.
replied: "Mutambuka, I loathe you; I am happy that you put out my eyes because I will never see you again." The Omugabe Mutambuka was so impressed by this witty and brave reply that he gave him one hundred head of cattle both as a sign of approval and a gesture to placate him. When the Omugabe Mutambuka left Kabanja, he made his capital at Rwenkanja where he lived for a very long time and this is where he grouped his warriors Emitwe.

KIKAMBA, THE REBEL

The Omuhinda Kikamba was a prince of Ankole, the son of the Omugabe Gasyonga I and the younger brother of the Omugabe Mutambuka. When Mutambuka came to the throne, without fighting his relatives, his younger brother, Munaninga rebelled and went to Buhaya without fighting. He returned to Nkore only recently during the reign of Kahaya II and Igumira.

The other younger brother of Mutambuka whom they called a rebel was Kikamba. Some people reported him to Mutambuka and said, "Kikamba intends to rebel," but this was long after Mutambuka had come to the throne. Consequently, Kikamba moved to Bwerag Mahogora. These people continued to report him to Mutambuka and to say, "Kikamba is in rebellion and Mpimbo, his maternal uncle, is actively encouraging him." Thereupon the Omugabe Mutambuka put out Mpimbo's eyes. But Kikamba was not a pretender at all because, by the time he rebelled, Mutambuka had been a Mugabe for a long time and also Mutambuka had been given the drum by all his
relatives without the customary friction which followed the death of a Mugabe and the purification ceremonies. Moreover, Kikamba did not touch or sound the Bagyendanwa. But his enemies used to accuse him falsely of being disobedient to the Mugabe.

Then Mutambuka sent the warriors who were led by Makumbi and Mukwenda and they went and killed him. Kikamba did not even fight; he was simply killed just as the Omugabe Ntare V Rugingiza killed Nkuranga, his elder brother, without fighting at all.

Some other traditionalists say that Kikamba was a pretender and that his fighting with Mutambuka lasted four years and that therefore he was a Mugabe like all the other pretenders. But they do not say how Kikamba seized the Bagyendanwa and sounded it or whether he did not touch it at all. We leave this to the reader of this book to decide whether Kikamba was a pretender or whether he was just a rebellious prince. But most of the old people insist that Kikamba was not a pretender.

Kikamba, the rebel, was killed by the warriors of the Omugabe Mutambuka, in the county of Nyabushozi which is now in Ankole. He was killed at Kiguma near the boundary between Ankole, Toro and Bwera which is now in Buganda. By then Mutambuka had been on the throne for a long time.

Kikamba left a son, Kasyata, who was the father of Kajunane, the mother of Mr. Erienza Mugimba. And Kasyata begat prince Kanashukye who was still living in Kashari only recently during the reign of Kahaya II, M.B.E.
Some other traditionalists say that the Omugabe Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, had intended to banish Kasyata from the kingdom and that Kasyata took refuge in Rwampara. They also say that Kikamba was not killed by the warriors of the Omugabe Mutambuka, but that he was killed by some Bairu, sent by Mutambuka, who killed him without a fight because, they ask, what strength did Kikamba have? But these words have no foundation because we have already seen that the princes Makumbi and Mukwenda went to Kiguma with the warriors of Mutambuka. As for the Omugabe Ntare V's intention to expel Kasyata from the Bagyendanwa, we are not sure because there is no known reason why Ntare V should have wished to wrap Kasyata's feet\(^1\) and to expel him from the kingdom. Even supposing that Kasyata had done something wrong, what relief could he hope for by escaping to Rwampara since this was also Ntare's country? Usually if one wants to run away from a king, one escapes to places outside his kingdom and not within the kingdom over which that king rules.

2. The Campaigns of the Omugabe Mutambuka.

1. The campaign of Kiguma, near Burunga-Nyakariro Nyabushozi, in which Kikamba, the rebel prince and the younger brother of the Mugabe Mutambuka, was killed.

2. The campaign of Kigiro in which he captured Buruguya, the leader of the Bahweju clan, and all his herds. He did not kill him for he only imprisoned him at Buraga.

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1. The expression means to banish him from the kingdom for good.
3. The campaign of Mwaro, in the country of Toro in which Mutambuka captured a lot of cattle which were called Abashemba.

4. The campaign of Makara-Bushongora (Busongola) in which he also captured a lot of cattle.

5. The second campaign of Busongola in which Rushongoka, the courtier of the Mugabe Mutambuka, was killed, but in which the Banyankore captured a lot of cattle.

6. The campaign of Koki, when the Omugabe Mutambuka ordered that Ishansha, the ruler, be put to death. In Bugaba, which is now in Koki but was then in Ankole, there lived Mutambuka's chief who was called Kaiba. Ishansha complained to Mutambuka that this chief's name be changed because it was the name of his deceased father, and Mutambuka ordered the change and the man was called Rwamuraza. But the new name did not catch on, and Ishansha complained again. Thereupon Mutambuka became very angry with Ishansha and despatched an army under his son, Bacwa, which killed Ishansha, the Omukama of Koki on the grounds that he had dared to argue with Mutambuka. The cause of this war was not that Ishansha had insulted Mutambuka by mentioning his protruding teeth.

7. The campaign of Karagwe when the expedition went to look for the wife of the Mugabe Mutambuka, Nyakairu, who was the mother of prince Mukwenda and the daughter of the Bene Rukari clan. This time also the Mugabe Mutambuka was victorious; his wife was recovered and many cattle were seized from Karagwe.

1. Many informants confirmed that the cause of the expedition was what these authors say it was not and they gave a fuller version of the story. See Ch.V.
8. The first campaign of Igara, during which the people of Igara wiped out the army of the Mugabe Mutambuka which was called Abataha, under the command of his son, Bacwa.

9. The second campaign of Igara, when the Mugabe Mutambuka went there to annex the country. He defeated them and deposed the Omukama Rugaju from their drum, Kihoza, and installed Rutondo. Rutondo was later driven off by Nyamurenga, but only after the death of Mutambuka. Then one day Nyamurenga seized the cattle of Ndayondi, the son of Rwebishengye. Ndayondi's son, Ruhinda, then attacked and killed Nyamurenga. After that Rutondo left Rujumbura, where he had been hiding, and came back to his drum, Kihoza.

10. The first campaign of Buhweju-Mutambuka also expelled the Omukama Ndagara from Mashaija (the drum). He fled to Obuyombera which is Obutumbi in Mpororo, near Kayonza as you leave Rujumbura.

11. The second campaign of Buhweju. After four years had passed, the Omugabe Mutambuka attacked Buhweju for a second time. One month after the end of this campaign, the Omugabe Mutambuka died and he was buried at Ishanje.

12. The campaign of Kyakabunga when Mutambuka was still a prince; he fought the Baganda at Rwabashandura, near Kyakabunga, in Nshara. Mutambuka stemmed their attack on Ankole. At the time of fighting the Baganda, Mutambuka had eight Emitwe (armies). They fought night and day for about a month and he was left with only two armies.

1. At first Mutambuka sent a raiding expedition against Igara and this was completely defeated. But then, in the confusion of the succession war in Igara, Mutambuka attacked again and was victorious.
One day when the Baganda got tired, one of their number called out Mutakbuka by name, and Kaburamu told Mutambuka, "Answer for you are being called." But Kaisinga said, "Have you ever heard a Mugabe answer a call? Let me answer for him", and he did. The Muganda said, "Although you have not answered my call, at least I have heard that you, Mutambuka, are very brave. Now let the people stop fighting; come out yourself and we fight a duel so that whoever wins, his side will have won the war".

Kaisinga said, "Let me go and fight him." He rushed out as he said this. Before he went very far, Karabamu said, "Come back; You do not know how to fight. Let me be the one to fight him". Then Karabamu closed with the Muganda. The Muganda speared him and he fell down, but he kept his hold on him so that they went down together. When they reached the ground, Karabamu pulled out his sword from its sheath, drove it through the Muganda's stomach and his bowels poured out and the Muganda died. Thus the Banyankore won.

On another occasion that same Karabamu, together with his younger brother, had captured a hundred head of cattle, armed with a spear shaft and a pot-hole digger. The Muganda owner of the cattle was slain with his own spear. Thus the Banyankore of old, like Karabamu, were brave to an extraordinary degree.

13. The campaign of Kibanga, while the Omugabe Mutambuka was still at Rwenkanja and shortly after the death of Ishansha. The Kabaka of Buganda, Mutesa I Walugembe, attacked him in retaliation for his attack on Ishansha. On that occasion, Mutesa deputed his chief
Senkoloto Magunda. The Banyankore fought the Baganda and Magunda was killed at Kibanga, Nyabuhikye. This is the campaign by which the Baganda swear when they say, "The campaign of Busagara (Ankole) which killed Magunda." Also on that occasion the Banyankore captured Ngyesha, a Muhimba of Buganda, and the Baganda got him back by paying two hundred head of cattle as redemption payment.

All these campaigns show that the Omugabe of Ankole, Mutambuka, was very brave.

3. The wives of the Omugabe Mutambuka:

The following are the wives of the Omugabe Mutambuka:

1. Nyakairu, of the Bene Rukari clan and the mother of the Pretender Mukwenda.

2. Kangabo, the daughter of the Baishikatwa clan and the mother of Rukongyi, Makumbi and Nkuranga.

3. Kyomunogo, the daughter of the Barega clan and the mother of Rubajuka and Mazinyo and the old ladies, Bitoiijwa and Kyetoba who are still living at the palace in Kamukuzi, Kashari.

4. Butitira, also the daughter of Bene Rukari. This one did not bear any children. She was the younger sister of Queen Nyakairu, the mother of Mukwenda.

5. Kanzanira, the mother of the twins Nyansheshe and Kekinyinya.


7. Kiboga, the daughter of the Mubito Mairanga of Bushongora and the mother of the Omugabe Rubambansi Ntare V Ruggingiza. This Kiboga became the Queen Mother when her son, Ntare V came to the throne.
4. **The children of the Mugabe Mutambuka:**

The following were the children of the Omugabe Mutambuka:

(a) **The Boys:**

Bacwa, Mukwenda, Gandiga, Rukongye, Makumbi (this Makumbi was the father of Kahitsi. He had merely given him to the Omugabe Mutambuka), Nkuranga, Muhikira, Rujabuka, Mazinyo and Ntare V,¹

the son of Kiboga, who became the Mugabe.

(b) **The Girls:**

Mukarubuzi (Bafurwize), Twayambuka who died during her wedding, Bakarangwire, Ryandaba, Kekinyinya, Nyansheshe, Kishwiga, Bitoijwa and Kyetoba.

(c) The children of the Muhinda Bacwa who were regarded as those of the Mugabe Mutambuka were: Magwende, the mother of Kabututu – this Magwenda was really the daughter of Prince Bacwa², Bamubuza, Rubece and Nyabishambu.

5. **The chiefs of the Omugabe Mutambuka.**

The following were the regional chiefs of the Omugabe Mutambuka:

1. Bacwa was in charge of Shema.
2. Rwantere was in charge of Bugarama.
3. Gandiga was in charge of Rugando.
4. Mugyema was in charge of Isingiro.
5. Mukwenda was in charge of Rwampara.

¹ Ntare V. was not Mutambuka's son; he was his grandson. See Ch.V.
² Since Magwende was the daughter of Bacwa, she could not have been Ntare V's Queen Sister if he had not been her brother.
³ Mugyema and Mukwenda subsequently became the official titles of the county chiefs of Isingiro and Rwampara respectively, but the titles do not date from these men.
6. Kabairu was in charge of Bukanga.
7. Kabibi was in charge of Karamurani.
8. Bwisho was in charge of Kabura.
9. Byanemba was in charge of Nshongyi.
10. Mbaihererwa was in charge of Buraga.
11. Rwangoga was in charge of Kiguma.
12. Musheruzi was in charge of Bwekingo.
13. Ibutu was in charge of Magondo.
14. Kyamabwa was in charge of Migina.
15. Rukongye was in charge of Bihunya.
16. Rugaju was in charge of Igara.
17. Ndagara was in charge of Buhweju.
18. Rubanjyu was in charge of Butembererwa-Nyabushozi.

6. The Emitwe of the Omugabe Mutambuka.

The following were the Emitwe of the Omugabe Mutambuka which used to fight for Ankole:

1. Muyaga used to lead the Obwoma.
2. Katwatwa used to lead the Embogyeka.
3. Muhikira used to lead the Abarombani.
4. Mukwenda used to lead the Ababingyi.
5. Bacwa used to lead the Abataha.
6. Rukongye used to lead the Abatubani.
7. Gandiga used to lead the Abarara.

1. These were rulers of Igara and Buhweju respectively and, although Mutambuka made those countries tributary to him, this did not reduce the status of the rulers to that of Nkore chiefs which neither they themselves nor Mutambuka conceived them to be.
8. Kitumo used to lead the Abacwamango.
9. Bwishiki used to lead the Abainika.
10. Kyomujogo used to lead the Abamangi.
11. Muyyema used to lead the Abarwani.
12. Makumbi used to lead the Abahambani.
13. Kihinga used to lead the Abatembani and there were many others which we no longer remember.

7. Snae Bin Amir-Kiyengo.

While the Omugabe Mutambuka was still on the throne, an Arab named Snae Bin Amir came to Ankole in the year 1852. This is the Arab who was named Kiyengo by the Banyankore. In passing through Ankole, he came riding on a horse. He came through Karagwe, at Kiyengo's, and that is why the Banyankore named him Kiyengo. And the people of Ankole used to talk about this Kiyengo saying: "Kiyengo cooked milk and it was burnt; he cooked relationship and it was burnt; but when he cooked blood brotherhood, it did not burn and it burst the pot in which it was cooked."2

That Arab, Kiyengo, is very well known in Kampala because he stayed there for a very long time and even now, among the streets of Kampala, there is one which is named after him; it is called "Snae Bin Amir Road." And the Kiyengo of Karagwe is also well known because many Arabs used to come into these countries,

1. All these leaders, except the first two, were princes.
2. The Arab shocked the Banyankore because he boiled the milk they gave him to drink - such a thing being unheard of in those days.
through Rumanyika's Karagwe, and they had established a market in which they bought and sold slaves whom they took to foreign countries to make them work as was the fashion in those days.1

XXV. The Pretender, Mukwenda.

When the Omugabe Mutambuka died, the Bahlitsi took his body to Ishanje for burial. When the burial was over, the Bahlitsi returned to the capital. The next morning, when the Bahlinda came to purify the drums at Mabare, the sons of Mutambuka, Rukongye and Mukwenda, fought for the kingship. From then the war of Mabare-Mugoye began and Mukwenda slew Rukongye.

1. The BATTLE OF MABARE.

This is how the war started: During the purification ceremonies, an old man named Mwenda, who was the keeper of the veil Rutare, was passing by and he was speared by one Kacururu, the son of Nyineihega, who was on the side of Rukongyi. Kacururu was in turn killed by Kanture Ruzirwa, the son of Nyambogo, who was on Mukwenda's side. From there the fighting started and spread and Mukwenda defeated Rukongye and even killed him. Rukongye was killed by a retainer of Mukwenda who was called Kitera, the son of Kasiri of the Bagahe clan, the subclan of Bene Nyarubamba. Kanture belonged to the subclan of Bene Itaka of the Bagahe clan.

1. The "market" here refers to the Arab slave markets on the coast. Arab slave trading does not seem to have gone as far inland as Nkore and the few Arabs who passed through Nkore in this period were looking for ivory from Bunyoro.
Kaisho, the son of Nyineihega of the Bahinda clan, fought a death struggle with Kishare, the Frightening Pursuer, of the Bairuntu clan and the son of Karangaro.

At the time the followers of Rukongye were defeated, Ntare went with them as a young prince. By then the faction of Rukongye were looking upon Prince Makumbi to succeed Rukongye so that they might fight for him. Ntare was then very young and he did not have an army to lead. Also his mother, Kiboga, was not respected very much and many people took Ntare to be a child of a slave. Even Mukwenda sent his follower, Rubare, to cut off Ntare's ear so that he might never become a Mugabe in the future. But he found Ntare surrounded by his followers and he feared to come near him. Ntare then had come to Biharwe, fleeing to Kabura.

The sons of Mutambuka who were on the side of Rukongye at the outbreak of the war were: Makumbi, Nkuranga, Gandiga and Rwakaryoto who was speared and captured at the battle of Mabare, but who was later released by Mukwenda's party. The other princes like Muyema, Kaguhangire and Kashenda fled with Ntare to Kabura. Herds of cattle were driven away dying and everything was in turmoil. All the princes as we have enumerated then went to

1. This is a misleading statement which, probably, has led many writers in the past to say that Kiboga was captured and not married in the usual way. Ntare was not a serious contender for the throne at this stage because he was not Mutambuka's son. Kiboga was not despised; she was feared because of her character. See Ch.V.

2. This bears out my earlier statement, because if Ntare had been the son of a slave, nobody would have worried about his ever becoming a Mugabe.
the hill of Nyakato, near Kabura. When they got there, the
Omugabe Mukwenda sent for aid from the Kabaka of Buganda, Mutesa I
Walugembe. Mutesa sent Pokino Mukasa. Then the Pokino of Masaka
came and camped at Kabura. He then sent a message to Makumbi and
all those who were supporting him and said, "Come here so that we
make blood brotherhood; I will give you assistance to fight
Mukwenda." Makumbi went with the princes and the other people,
altogether seventy people went.

2. THE MASSACRE OF THE BAHINDA AT KABURA.

But in sending for Makumbi and the princes who supported
him, Pokino Mukasa was enticing them; he did not intend to make
blood brotherhood with them, for he had already hatched a plot
with Mukwenda to murder all of them. On that occasion the Pokino
Mukasa had had a big house built for himself at Kabura, where he
had camped, and it was covered with bark cloths along the inside
walls. When the princes came to make blood brotherhood with him,
and before they entered the house, Pokino Mukasa ordered that they
be relieved of their spears on the pretext that, "Those who come
to make blood brotherhood do not enter houses with spears." They
agreed and were relieved of their spears and they entered the
house. Pokino Mukasa greeted them and they talked briefly of the
aid he was going to give them.

After a brief conversation with them, the Pokino Mukasa
rose and went out and then made a signal to those who were con-
cealed behind the barkcloths; they poured forth and fell on the
princes and killed all of them together with their followers. Only Mogyema put up a fight because he had entered the house with his knife. He had been a senior warrior among the armies of Mutambuka, but even he was overwhelmed by the Baganda.

The most important Bahinda who were massacred at Kabura were: Makumbi, Mogyema, Igarabuzi, Nyineihamba, Rubanga, Kaguhamgire, Kashenda, Mbusi, Bakareba and Kanyamukwara. All together twenty princes died. And among their Bahima followers the most important were: Rwambubi, the father of Nuha Mbaguta, the Ex-Enganzi of Ankole, and Murehe together with fifty eight other people.

Ntare escaped death that day because he had stayed behind at their camp with Nkuranga and Gandiga, the sons of Mutambuka. After the Bahinda had been massacred, and while many Banyankore were stunned and thinking of migrating to foreign countries, Ntare spoke brave words to them which they did not expect of him. He rose and went and brought back his cattle with which he had fled; the cattle of Katura, the father of Mr. Yakobo Bugyengyera, which were called Emango and he then told them, "I am not migrating to Buganda myself; Buganda had massacred the boys, my colleagues. I am going back to Ankole so that Mukwenda may kill me."

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1. Sir Apolo Kagwa, op. cit., p.323-324 confirms this aid, the massacre and the subsequent despatch of Walusimbi to help Mukwenda's party.
All the Banyankore were rallied and they said, "Ah! why have we been drifting while you, child, were here and now have we not found a shelter?" That day all the armies knew him and they all came round to his support and brought him back to Nkore to fight Mukwenda and that is how the battle of Rutagyengyera was begun.

3. THE BATTLE OF RUTAGYENGYERA.

(a) When Ntare left Kabura, he went to Kanyarugiri, near Munyoro at the boundary between Nkore and Toro. Pokino Mukasa himself went back to his homeland, Buganda after destroying Kabura. When Ntare left Manyoro, he came and camped at Rutagyengyera, below Kashongyi as you face Rwanyakwe. Then the Omugabe Mukwenda left his capital of Mabare and came to attack him. They fought very hard and Mukwenda defeated him during the day. But Rugumayo, on Ntare's side had fought very hard. That was the occasion when Rugumayo began to be famous after he had left his home in Shema. In this battle Mukwenda's side lost a man, Nyakaranga, of the Bene Itanzi clan. And the follower of Ntare who sustained most leg injuries was Kirajunde Rukorera by whom the Omugabe Ntare V used to swear and whom he loved very much.

(b) The Omukama Ntare V went, by night, to the home of Kajende of the Baishikatwa clan. Kajende told him, "You are a
Munyoro child and you are a coward. How often are you going to run away? Now stay here for the night and tomorrow I will fight for you relentlessly. If you refuse and run away, as is your habit, I will drive my cattle, for no one can stop me, and I will take my bull Rusa of (given to me by) Makumbi and give it to Mukwenda."

Meanwhile Kabairu, of the Banika clan, came to Mukwenda's. Kabairu had been neutral and had forbidden his men, the Entare, to participate in the conflict. When he came, he told Mukwenda, "You put me in a dilemma and that is why I refused to come, although you sent for me long ago. I did not want to intervene in a quarrel between Mutambuka's children. But you have now worn me down. Now that I have come, tomorrow I will capture the child of the Munyoro woman for you. By what means has he eluded you?"

Thus when the morning came, after Ntare had spent a night at Kajende's, Kabairu evolved a plan of taking Ntare from the rear. One batch of fighters was to attack from the front and another from the rear so that while the fighting was going on in the front, the warriors of the rear would come and capture Ntare. Just as the day was breaking, the fighters of the front attacked Kajende's kraal. Kajende met them and fought very bravely. Then a man of Ntare V, Mwebwe Rweshaza, the son of Kabwegyegye of the Bagina clan, slew

1. This is a reference to the origins of Ntare's mother. The Ban-yankore generally regarded themselves as better fighters than everyone else, even when they were defeated, and the massacre of Kabura was taken by many as another sign of the "cowardice of the foreigners," because it was an unfair trick.
Kikoko, of the Bene Itanzi clan and the son of Kibangura who had been the Rubuga (Queen Sister) of Mutambuka.¹

Note: The name Rubuga is a Luganda name. In Nkore of the olden days, the official sister of the Omugabe, who was also his physical sister and with whom he was then installed was called Omugabekazi (the Queen). (Italics are the authors').

Also in this battle fell Murangira of the Bene Itanzi clan. Muhaniya, the son of Kanyamuhangi of the Bene Itanzi clan, and the younger brother of Kikoko, was injured. Whilst Ntare was sitting alone outside the enclosure and thinking that his men had won, he saw people suddenly appear from his rear. He knew that it was Kabairu. He bared his teeth to him [an insulting gesture] and muttered, "I suppose Kabairu has come to capture me." His men took him to safety across a small channel. When Kabairu came, he did not pay attention to him; he just proceeded to capture the herds of Kajende. He entered Kajende's kraal and killed Rutura, Kajende's paternal uncle, and some other people in that kraal.

An onlooker hastened and told Kajende at a point where the latter was pursuing the enemy. When he reached him, he said, "Rutura is dead; your herds have been captured." "Who captured them?" asked Kajende. "It was Kabairu," the other said. Then Kajende said, "I am lucky now that I know that it is Kabairu who

¹. This costly civil war had its origins in the previous reign and Kibangura played a prominent part in the intrigues which led to it. See Ch.V.
has captured my cattle. Be patient, I am going to ask Kabairu whether he is going to own [my bull] Rusa of Makumbi on top of his own, Rusina [i.e. the leading bulls of the two men].  

When they came, they found Kabairu and his followers outside the enclosure, where they had assembled all the herds of the Baishikatwa and, immediately, the fighting began. The Baishikatwa pushed the Banika back and they forced them into Kajende's kraal where they massacred them. Among the Banika who were massacred were Kabairu, their leader, Bicwa, the younger brother of Kabairu and Bashaija. Kikwekweto, the son of Kabairu, was injured.

On that same day Nkuranga, the elder brother of Ntare V, pressed on and attacked the Ababingi of Mukwenda in their own camps and killed Homanya, the leader of the Bene Itanzi clan. Those are the important people on Mukwenda's side who were killed in the battle of Rutagyengyera. They were members of the Banika and Bene Itanzi clans.

And those who fought for Ntare were the Baishikatwa. But they only fought on that day only and when the battle of Rutagyengyera ended, they withdrew, saying, "We have killed many clans, someday they will seek vengeance against us." Thereafter they went to Buganda with their leader, Kajende. The others who fought for Ntare V and who remained with him throughout the war were the

1. This means: I am going to fight him and recover my bull.
2. See Ch.V.
Basasira and the Bahambi. The rest of the clans such as the Bahweju and the Basingo were divided between the two sides. But from the battle of Rutagyengyera, the Omugabe Mukwenda knew that Ntare V was the rightful Mugabe. Muhikira, the younger brother of Mukwenda, told him, "Let us leave the kingdom; it is not yours." But Mukwenda refused and said that it was not yet time to abandon the struggle.

4. THE BATTLE OF KEBIRIMBO.

When the Omugabe Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, left Rutagyengyera, he moved to Kebirimbo. The Omugabe Mukwenda also moved to Ruti, which is now called Ngara, whereas the drums of the kingdom remained behind Ngara at a place called Ryengoma. The two capitals of Ntare and Mukwenda faced each other.

Whilst Ntare V was at Kebirimbo, Mukwenda deceived Ndyarora, a page of Ntare, and sent poisoned beer by him. Ndyarora was of the Bahweju clan and was Ntare's household servant, whose duty it was to bring drinks and food to Ntare. Thus Ntare V drank the poison and became very ill. When he was far gone with illness, Mukwenda attacked, hoping to capture Ntare and kill him, for he thought he was too weak to escape. The Bene Itanzi of Mukwenda's side attacked the Bararira of Ntare's side at Nyakisharara and they killed Buhome, the leader of the latter.

1. At this stage neither Mukwenda nor Ntare was a Mugabe though these authors describe both as such.
Mukwenda attacked Ntare in the morning and they fought and Mukwenda was victorious. The Omukama Ntare, his mother Kiboga and his sister, Magwende, were saved by Ntare's men Bitsa, Muyaga, Muhigi and Matsiko, who hid them in the small papyrus swamp of Nkurwa, which was subsequently called Kaisigurimo (lit. The Place of Fulfilment) because, it is said, that on that day Kiboga had had her prayers fulfilled. The other men of Ntare V, Bosya, Rubazibwa, the son of Byatenda, and Kabango Rwakibito carried an empty litter. The men of Mukwenda, the Babingi, came pursuing them, intending to capture the litter from them and to kill the Omukama Ntare. Ntare's men kept on fighting back. When the night came, those who had hidden him took him out of the swamp and fled with him to Ntobora, in Buhweju, and that is where he contracted smallpox and where he also recovered from the poison.

The smallpox of Ntobora killed the following important people on Ntare's side: Gandiga, of the Bahinda clan and the elder brother of Ntare (actually his uncle), Kirya, the father of Kakweshere of the Basasira clan, Kirajunde Rukorera who had been injured in the battle of Rutagyengyera, Kairanga, the father of Kagufa of the Bayangwe clan and many other people. Ntare V, Magwende and Igumira suffered from it.

During this time the Omugabe Mukwenda again sent for aid from the Kabaka of Buganda, Mutesa. The Kabaka this time sent him Walusimbi. When Walusimbi came, he attacked the Barara of
Kashozi and the home of Gandiga and he seized the herds of Gandiga and then returned to Buganda.  

5. THE BATTLE OF MUGOYE.  

When the Omugabe Ntare V recovered from the smallpox, he moved from Ntobora to Mugoye which is Rwamwanja. Mukwenda also left his capital of Nyakashanje, which is Mabare, and attacked the Omugabe Ntare. Mukwenda's men found Ntare in a camp where he had spent only three days. There was very heavy fighting. Muhikira, the younger brother of Mukwenda, died about nine o'clock in the morning, before the cattle were taken to pasture. And at noon the Omugabe Mukwenda, the Pretender, was also killed. The battle ended and the whole country was told: "The Omukama Ntare has won." That is how the war of Mabare-Mugoye ended.

The following were the people who died in the battle of Mugoye from Mukwenda's side: - Mujonjo Rutatakira-banobi, the son of Rwakazengyerera, Muhikira, Nyaipoco, Bitanuzire, Rwampanguka, Kangaragwa, Mugasha, Kajura Thingira, the son of Kangwagye, who died following Mukwenda after he had lost all his weapons and Karunganwa Rukinura, the son of Katorogo. All those were in the Omutwe of Ababingi which belonged to Mukwenda and on that day about two hundred or more of Mukwenda's supporters died at Mugoye.

1. The sequence of these events is mixed up. See Ch.V.

2. The Banyankore also tell the time by reference to what the cattle are doing.
From the side of the Omugabe Ntare there were killed Rwakayoto, who died with Bitanuzire of Mukwenda's side, Ndondoro, the grandfather of Goha of the Bene Butundu clan, Bishaka, the son of Nyinabigogo of the Barega clan and many more whom we no longer remember because Ntare's Omutwe, the Bamangi, was greatly decimated that day. After the Omugabe Mukwenda was killed, the Bahitsi took his body for burial in Ishanje as usual.¹

XXVI. The Omugabe Ntare V, the son of Kiboga.

The Omugabe Ntare V Rugingiza, the son of Kiboga, came to the throne after killing Mukwenda, the pretender and his elder brother. Then the Omugabe Ntare V moved from Mugoye to Rubingo. He performed the purification ceremonies and then sent Nkuranga, his elder brother, "to throw the stamp in Kitagwenda."² Then the Omugabe Ntare V moved from Rubingo to Kitoma kya Haragatwa where he confiscated the herds of the Babingi who had fought against him in the civil war of Mabare-Mugoye. From Kitoma kya Haragatwa also the Mugabe Ntare V attacked Karamuriro, of the Bashambo clan, against whom he sent Nkuranga. It was also at the Kitoma kya Haragatwa that Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda attacked Nkore when he sent Mahurugungu here. The Omukama Ntare V fled to Kakoba where he spent a whole year. Mahurugungu went back without fighting.³

1. This war, by all accounts, was the longest and the bitterest of all remembered succession wars and this is due to the factors that gave rise to it.

2. The expression means to declare an end to future raids by making a token raid against a neighbouring country.

3. See also A. Kagwa, op.cit., p.325.
When Nkuranga attacked Karamuriro, he was defeated. Then the Omugabe built a new Mutwe, the Enyana, and gave it to Matsiko to command. After this the Omugabe Ntare V left the Kitoma and moved to Bugaba. From Bugaba he moved to Kaigoshora. He then came from Kaigoshora and went to see his mother, Kiboga, in her palace at Byanamira, Nyabushozi. Whilst at Byanamira, he planned a campaign against Makara (i.e. Busongola). Thus, because of that campaign, the Omugabe left the palace of Byanamira and moved to Rwomuhoro from where he despatched Igumira to attack Makara. The Omugabe Ntare had to move from Byanamira to Rwomuhoro because, according to the customs of the Banyankore, the Mugabe had to move from his main capital before despatching any war expedition. Igumira went to Makara and captured a lot of riches, and from that period the Bashongora started coming to live in Nkore.

The following are the important warriors of Ntare who died in Makara, Bushongora: Buramba Misinga, of the Bahinda clan and the son of Nyankuyegye, Ruziro, the son of Byengabo of the Basingo clan and Karangari, the younger brother of Ruziro. Those who were injured included Irabira Rutarindimuka, the son of Kaishaza and Kaishaza himself of the Batwa clan. Those are the most well known men and they all belonged to the Omutwe of Batahunga. The Omugabe Ntare V had just formed this Mutwe and the campaign of Makara was the first one they fought as an Omutwe.
After two years had passed since Igumira’s attack on Makara, Ntare V attacked Bwesharire of Kigiro. Bwesharire was taken prisoner and brought to the capital of the Omugabe at Ruhunga. But before they could get him to the capital of the Mugabe, Bwesharire burnt himself in a house at the hill of Karuyenje. For the campaign of Kigiro, Ntare had deputed Rukatsi. The Bahinda who captured Bwesharire were Igumira and Nyamajanja.

When the Omukama Ntare V left Ruhunga, he made his new capital at Kaburangire from where he sent an expedition against Nshenyi of the Bene Rukari clan. For the campaign against Nshenyi, Ntare appointed Nkungu in Isingiro who overran the whole of Nshenyi and who then installed Kabumbire, Ntare's son, as the ruler of the region.

From Kaburangire the Omukama Ntare V made a new capital at Nyakakoni. Whilst at Nyakakoni, the Enyana of Matsiko raided Buganda for cattle and they all perished there. These were the most important Enyana who died in Buganda:

1. Rwamiziriga, of the Baitira clan and the younger brother of Matsiko, the leader of the Enyana.
2. Rwabutondo, the follower of Matsiko. This Rwabutondo was a prince and his praisename was "The One from Rwenkono Who Trusts the Bow".

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1. In order to save himself from the indignity of being captured and also because kings were forbidden to meet face to face.
2. Nshenyi is now divided between the counties of Rwampara and Isingiro and was one of the principalities into which Mpororo kingdom had divided itself. Ntare attacked this area because it was ruled by the maternal uncles of Mukwenda, his principal rival in the succession war which Ntare had just won.
3. Tamuhikire, the younger brother of Rwabutondo.
4. Rwomire of the Bashonga clan.
5. Rwabucuro of the Baitira clan.
6. Rwota of the Baitira clan.
7. Rwohibwa, the younger brother of Rwota and also of the Baitira clan.
8. Rwabihuwhwanyi Mugwisa-kagwe, the son of Ruyombagani of the Bagina clan.
9. Bazigire Rusimwa, the son of Kyangara of the Banyamugamba clan.
10. Katsigye Rutambuka-mukura, also the son of Kyangara.
11. Rwaikanga, the son of Nyamugurusi of the Baitira clan.
12. Kashende, the son of Nyakarasi of the Bagaha clan.
13. Runyongororwa Rugumba n'abandi.

While the surviving Enyana were returning, a Muhima of Buganda, Kakiza, brought his many herds to Nkore fleeing the war between Karema and Mwanga. When he reached Ntojo in Nkore, the Omugabe Ntare V confiscated some of his cattle. He allowed him to take the remainder back to Buganda because they were distant relatives.

The Omugabe Ntare V lived at Nyakakoni for a very long time. He made two capitals there: Nyakakoni k'Eklyenje and Nyakakoni k'Abatenga. While the Omugabe Ntare was at Nyakakoni k'Abatenga, the two Baganda Christians, Honorato Nyonyintono and Sir Apollo Kagwa came in 1888 and they stayed with him at Kabura.
After the Omugabe Ntare V had confiscated the cattle of Kakiza, he formed the Omutwe of Abatenga to replace the Enyana. One division of the Batenga was given to Matsiko and the other to Kabumbire. Thus the Batenga were divided into two parts.

The Batenga of Matsiko fought the Muganda Bunyaga, who raided Isingiro at the orders of Kabaka Mutesa. The Banyankore attacked Bunyaga at Ntungu, which was then in Rwampara, about 1879. Bunyaga was on his way from raiding Mpororo. The Banyankore defeated him and even killed two of his important chiefs: Majwara, the Omujumbura and Ngaromyambi and also many other people. The herds which he had seized from Mpororo were captured from him and brought to the Omugabe at Nyakakoni k'Ekiyenje.

After about three years, in 1881, Kabaka Mutesa attacked Nkore for a third time, this time sending Mondo Kamanyiro. The Baganda seized the herds of Bitsa of the Basita clan, in Masha and they even killed his wife, the maternal aunt of the Omugabe Ntare V. Her name was Oyera.

After a few months, the Queen Mother, Kiboga, died and her body was taken to Kabaligare. When the Bahitsi returned, they found that the herds Nkore had contracted the rinderpest of September 1894. It had started from Bwera, at the hill of Nshozi and among the herds of Rwakimete, Karomba and Gureme. At that time this part of Bwera was in Nkore. The rinderpest consumed all the cattle from Bwera, Nkore to Igara.
Consequently the Omugabe Ntare V Rutingiza appointed Igumira, the father of Mubu, to raid Rujumbura. Ntare's younger brother, Rujabuka, died in the raid and the father of Mubu killed some princes of Rujumbura. Rukwire, the son of Makobore, was killed. Igumira captured a lot of herds, especially those of Makobore's witch doctor, Rwokunda, and he also captured goats and slaves. But the cattle which Igumira captured from Mpororo, Rujumbura, were all killed by that rinderpest.

Then the Omugabe Ntare V left Nyakakoni and returned to Kaigoshora and it was from there that he attacked Rujumbura and that is where the expedition returning from the raid found him.

THE SMALLPOX OF MUTI /MBARARA/. 

When the Omugabe Ntare V left the ruins of the rinderpest, Kaigoshora, he made his capital at Muti which is now Mbarara Township. His palace extended to where the shop of Messrs Jetha Ismail Ltd. now stands and the residence of the Enganzi was at the place where the Car Garages have been built. It was at Muti that the smallpox of Muti decimated the people. It spread to the palace and then swept over the whole of Ankole. The Omugabe tried to prevent the people from coming to the palace so that they may not catch it, but they refused because, they said, they could not desert their master. And the smallpox took its toll.
In the palace the important people who died from the smallpox of Muti were: Rwakibogo, Kabibi I, Kabibi II, Mbarangwa, Kabumbire, Karyebara, Byarugabe, Kicubwa, Mwenda, Ruhinda, Rwomunkuzi, Kajubwe, Bibaya, Burushu, Birere, Kakwekweto, Rutatsyahwa, Nkoko, Rwamuzora, and Mushusha - these were senior Bahinda.

It killed the following courtiers of the Omugabe:- Ruziriga, Mushongi, Bosya, Birunduro, Kamina, Rwankambura, Kanahe, Nyamukaga, Matabara, Murindira, Karinda, Rwetabure, Mpirimi, Rutunduri, Ruhigwa, Rwaiburingi, Nyakamari, Mbwakazi, Kinyamukira, Kahwa, Ishitiba, Rwamurega, Mubangura, Burungu, Kagimba, Muhara, Karuhanga, Rubibi, Bakahiga, Muhigani, Rwampembo, Rukara, Rwakazigana, Mubu, Rwangurinda, Rubatsimbira, Mabega, the father of Rubatsimbira, Rwankoba, Bukondo, Runumi, Cwabaranga, Birangaro, Buturu, Rutera, Mutimbo, Buvumba, Rwakagara I, Rutontoma, Rwakagara II, Kaitaba, Kabya, the father of Nyorozi, Magirima, and Rutegwa, the elder brother of Boazi Kaganzi.

It killed the following wives of the Mugabe: Nyamucwanganya, Zampuro, Kitorwa, Nyinamaiba, Kyabana, Kwofungura, Gwenyonga, Kanagaijwa, Kiyaya the daughter of Bukondoro and the mother of the Mugabe E.S. Kahaya II and Rwakatabire, the mother of Mubu.

It killed the following princesses: Nyansheshe, Kishwiga, the mother of Rwakatekyeire and elder sister of Bitoijwa, Kyanganga, Nyabuzana, Ryandaba, Nyabishambu and Kekinyinya.
It killed the following maternal aunts of the Mugabe Ntare V: Kairera, Kajoka, Nshagi and Rubarata. Those were related to Kiboga and they were killed by the smallpox. Many other people died.

Igumira's capital was at Rurama at that time. This Rurama is in the subcounty of Kishabya which is Kyempitsi, Shema. It was here that many of Igumira's people, such as his wife, the mother of Mubu, the son of Igumira and Kiyaya, the mother of Kahaya, died. In fact the Muhinda Taryabwize used to swear by saying: "I would rather go to Rurama where the mother of Kahaya died." At that time, too, Ruhara, of the Bayangwe clan, had become a trusted confidant of Ntare and Igumira. Then the Omugabe Ntare V sent Kahaya to Itendero, to the home of Mutembani, the father of Ruhara, because Mutembani was an important follower of Igumira and Ruhara, his son, was a courtier of Kiyaya. That is where Kahaya sheltered from the smallpox.

Just as the smallpox was subsiding, there came a tetanus epidemic. Tetanus also killed many people. When the tetanus abated, there came a jigger epidemic and this also killed many people.

Then there came the Bangonya /Baganda/. The Omukama Ntare V gave them to Mbaguta, the father of Mugyerwa and Mbaguta put them in the county of Kabura. At that time there was a great scarcity of cattle in Ankole. That is why the Omugabe Ntare V raided Katago of Ntungamo where a hundred and fifty head of cattle were captured.
After the campaign of Ntungamo, the Omugabe Ntare V moved from Muti, Mbarara Township, and made a new capital at Mbarara, across the Rwizi which is now Katete. It was from here that he ordered the death of his elder brother, Nkuranga. This is how this came about: While the Omukama Ntare V was still at Katete, he devised a plan of killing his brother, Nkuranga. He first asked him for a leading bull, intending to put him to death should he refuse to give it to him. But Nkuranga gave him the bull without hesitation.

Then the Omugabe moved him nearer; he brought him from Kiguma to Rubaya. All the augurors of the Mugabe were against Nkuranga because he had children and they forecast that he would eventually take the kingdom. Whenever the Mugabe consulted the omens, they were favourable to Nkuranga. The Omugabe Ntare V did not have any son to succeed to the throne and that is why the augurors prophesied Nkuranga for the throne. This is the reason that made Ntare hate his elder brother, Nkuranga. When he brought him to Rubaya, he continued sending Banyankore to put him to death. All the Banyankore whom the Omugabe sent to put Nkuranga to death refused and pleaded, "Our master, we beseech you; we cannot kill a prince of Nkore." One day the Omugabe sent Mbaguta

1. It seems that Ntare's mother had incited him to commit this callous murder. See Ch.V.
with his Baganda, the Bangonya. He sent Kitentegyere and Kishoro, the Bangonya chiefs, to surprise and kill Nkuranga in his herds at Nyabuhama. When the Bangonya got to Nyabuhama, they found an abandoned kraal. Nkuranga himself was on his way to Mbarara unaware of the plot to kill him. When he reached Kyamugorani, where the subcounty of the Township is, he sent his page, Rwankara, to the Mugabe Ntare V for beer. The Omugabe was very surprised by this and was also very angry with Mbaguta and he said, "How is it that the person whose death I ordered is now in the capital?" He then told Rwankara, "You should stay here so that I send the beer by another person because I like you and I would not like you to be killed." Rwankara replied, "My lord, that is not possible. I promised Nkuranga to be his carpet over which he sleeps. If you wish to kill him, you should kill me with him. Suppose I leave him and stay with you, should I desert you when another person seeks to kill you?"

This Rwankara belonged to the Bayebe clan. The Omugabe Ntare V gave him the beer he had been sent for and he took it. Mbaguta, in the meantime, had learnt of the whereabouts of Nkuranga for he had known that he was in Rwebishuri. He came with his Baganda and camped at Muti, where the Club House used to be.

Then Kitentegyere and Kishoro, the leaders of the Bangonya, crossed the small valley below Kakiika, which is now behind the house of the Honourable L. Kamugungunu, M.B.E. At first they could not find them. When they were about to pass them, the other party
got up and shouted, "Here we are." The Bangonya then fired upon them with guns and killed them. They killed three princes and their four courtiers; all together seven people. Those who died are: Nkuranga, the elder brother of the Mugabe Ntare V, and his two sons, Rwakarombe and Nyamihondo. In actual fact Rwakarombe was a son of Bacwa and Nyamihondo was a son of Rukongye, but both of them had been brought up by their paternal uncle, Nkuranga. The followers of Nkuranga who were killed were Rwankara and Rwabuharambo and two others whose names we do not remember.

Rwakatogoro, the son of Nkuranga, had remained at the home of his paternal uncle, Manyatsi. After the murder of Nkuranga, the Omugabe Ntare V looked after Rwakatogoro. At that time Nkuranga had a hundred and fifty head of cattle out of which Ntare selected only forty and gave them to Rwakatogoro, whom he handed over to Rwakimete for upbringing. This Rwakimete was already a very old man. He was a grandfather of the Mugabe Ntare V because he was a son of the Mugabe Gasyonga 1, the son of Bukundu. The spot where Nkuranga was murdered was Rwebishuri, where the Banana plantation of Bijalunaku now stands.

THE RAID AGAINST RWANDA

After the Omugabe Ntare V had put Nkuranga to death, he sent Ruhara to Mpororo to spy upon Kisiribombo Ruremire and upon the Bagina of Kataraiha. Ruhara went with Rwabishenguzi and Kibanda and their servants. Those three were the people most
trusted by the Omugabe Ntare V and they used to spy upon the
countries against which raids were being planned.

The espionage upon Mpororo increased the fame and pres-
tige of Ruhara, because he went alone into the kraal of Kamunuga,
of the Bagina clan, at night, and cut off the penis of Kamunuga's
leading bull, Ruyenje. And it was the beautiful herd of Kamunuga
that Ruhara had been sent to spy upon, because the Omugabe Ntare V
intended to raid them. To confirm his story, Ruhara brought the
penis of Kamunuga's bull to the Omugabe Ntare V and proved that
he had actually been in that herd. The incident demonstrated the
determination and bravery of Ruhara and it brought him into
greater favour of the Mugabe Ntare V.

After the spies had returned from Mpororo, Ntare V sent
Igumira to raid Mpororo and Rwanda. This is the campaign that
was called "The Campaign of Rwanda." Igumira himself captured
seven hundred head of cattle which were later called, "The Legs
of the Bangonya", and the other warriors penetrated into the
centre of Rwanda\(^1\) and raided for many herds which totalled three
thousand head of cattle in all. Among the herd called the Legs
of the Bangonya came the leading bull of Kamunuga, Ruyenje. And
all those herds helped Nkore to grow prosperous in cattle.

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1. The raid did not extend to Rwanda itself. It so happened
that there were some of the cattle of the king of Rwanda
which were in this area of Mpororo which were raided by
Nkore raiding party.
After the Omugabe Ntare V had raided Rwanda - the herds of Kataraiha, Kamunuga, Kinyamugara and Kisiribombo, all the herds were brought by Igumira and presented to the Mugabe. The cattle that had been captured by the Bahima were retained by them by the order of the Omugabe. The share of the Mugabe was taken (for herding) by the father of Katera. These belonged to Ntare and Igumira and they had been taken from the poor Bairu and the low Bahima. The low Bahima were employed as herdsmen and the Bairu were given numerous goats.

The Omugabe Ntare V gave his herds to Ogura Migarambo and Igumira gave his to Ishenya and Rwamiju. The Princess Magwende, the sister of Ntare, gave hers to Rwebiribe. From the cattle which had been captured from Rwanda, the Omugabe Ntare V gave two head of cattle to Ruhara alone for the service he had rendered him while he was not in his service since he was usually a courtier of Igumira. The cows given to Ruhara were Kyasha kya Kyera and Bihogo bya Rugongi Rurundana Abayangwe. It was at Kyera that the herds were presented to Ntare and that they were distributed to the people.

THE INVASION OF THE BANYARWANDA.

After the Banyankore had divided the cattle among themselves, the king of Rwanda Kigyere Rwabugiri, invaded Nkore, following his cattle, which the Banyankore had raided without provocation. At that time Nkore had a very small population.
The Banyarwanda attacked in great numbers, like the insects. The Omugabe Ntare V did not know what to do about them, and so he devised a clever plan of fighting them. The plan was to flee the country after destroying the crops and the water wells as they fled. Then the Omugabe Ntare V fled to Kiguma, in the county of Nyabushozi. When he got tired of hiding, he met his troops at Kanyamisisa and they fought the Banyarwanda. Kigyere Rwabugiri was victorious and he killed the following Banyankore: Kabwire, Mayasha and Gujwire who belonged to the Mutwe of Abatanhaunga. From the Omutwe of Abarwani there died Itiri, the son of Kicubwa and his younger brother, Barita.

The king of Rwanda, Kigyere Rwabugiri, suffered from lack of food and so did all the Banyarwanda because the Omugabe Ntare V had ordered the removal of everything from Nkore. The Banyarwanda went back. When they were retreating, the Banyankore attacked them at Nyakakoni and heavy fighting followed. Kigyere slew Rwairangira, the deputy of the Mugabe. Also Rujumba, Kabura, Ntondere, Nyamushaija, Rwaishundo, Rukungu, Rwakiti, Rutairuka, Rwabyoma, Rwanyamukaga, Ibano, Rwekuta, Rusinga, Nyakabwa, Kinuka, Nyaitogoza, Rwanyamukyenga, Ikatura, Rubandana and Bagonera were killed. The last three named were uterine brothers and

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1. According to my informants, this was not Ntare's strategy. It was the Banyarwanda who destroyed crops, burnt houses, including the palace of the Mugabe. Because the Banyarwanda despised everything Nkore had, they had come with their own cattle and women so that they depended on Nkore for nothing in this campaign.
were sons of Kairaza. When Kigyere was returning to Rwanda, the Omugabe Ntare V ordered the destruction of all bridges across the Rwizi. Numerous Banyarwanda were drowned trying to cross the Rwizi. This was in the year 1895.

FURTHER EXPLANATIONS ON THE INVASION OF BANYARWANDA.

1. The battle of Kagaga.

The Omugabe Ntare V Rugingiza spent the night at Kagaga, two days after the death of Kaishaza who was the leader of the Batenga. He had died at Nsikizi. Then the Omugabe distributed gunpowder to the Batenga. While they were sharing it out, they spread it on a cloth and a boy came smoking a pipe. A spark came out of the boy's pipe and ignited the powder. Because they did not know the gunpowder, they remained seated down and sharing out the remaining powder. Immediately they were engulfed in the flames and they were burnt. The men who died were: Rweshaba, but Ntezi, Majagari, Kitera-Byoma, Ruhorera and Bugongoro and Nkuba were injured.¹

The Omugabe Ntare V left Kagaga at night and left Igumira with all the troops at the dam. The following morning, about ten o'clock, Igumira followed the Omugabe after addressing the

¹. Ntare and some members of the royal family had reached Kagaga (Map 1) while fleeing from the Banyarwanda when they heard the news that Rwanda army was going back. The official sister of Kahaya II (1897-1944) was born here and that is why she was named Kagaga. Apparently this is described as battle because the Banyankore blew themselves up and not because they fought anybody.
troops as follows: "Do not go to the Banyarwanda. You can see that we are very few and the Banyarwanda are crowds and crowds; if we advance to meet them, they will destroy all of us and then they will come and find the Mugabe alone and capture him. We have already lost many men. So let us keep near the Mugabe and move together and if the Banyarwanda find us near him, we shall stop them and the Mugabe will hide." All the troops rose with Igumira and they followed the Mugabe.

2. The battle of Kanyamisisa.

At Kagaga there remained four men belonging to the Omutwe of Abatahunga - they remained at the camp of Sherengye with their leader, H.Ryamugwizi, the father of Mugoha. One chief, Gujwire, went forth with nineteen men, himself being the twentieth. They spent the whole day looking for the Banyarwanda, but they did not see them. They came and spent the night at Kanyamisisa. Then they found that the Banyarwanda had blocked their path. When the cocks were crowing, they rose to go. They made a detour to take another direction, but even there they found the Banyarwanda and so they went on until daylight. The Banyarwanda then recognised them as Banyankore and the latter knew that they were going to be captured. They formed and attacked them. The Banyarwanda massacred the whole lot of them. These are the Banyankore who died
at Kanyamisisa: Gujwire of the Bahinda clan, Kabwire of Bene Ishe-Murari clan, Nyamurwana, Rukumbagaza, both of them also of Bene Ishe-Murari clan, Rubaka and others - altogether nineteen people died.

Only one man, Rwantungu, survived. At that time the rest of the Banyankore were at Nyakato, just across in Kabura, when Kabura was still in Nkore. When they heard the sound of the guns, they came to battle. They were fifty men, including Mbaguta, the father of Mugyerwa, and Nyamukokoromi, the grandfather of Kihara, and Mayasha who was their leader. Then they attacked the Banyarwanda and the Banyarwanda killed them. The following were slain: Mayasha of the Bahinda clan, Kabibi, of the Bene Mafundo clan, Matane of the Bashegye clan and many others. Nyamukokoromi was only injured.

Itiri, the son of Kicubwa, also came following the sound of the guns, attacked the Banyarwanda and he was killed with his younger brother, Barita. Those who survived, some without fighting, went back and found the Mugabe at Nyakato. Then the Mugabe fled from Nyakato to Kazo. From Kazo, he camped at Rubingo and from Rubingo he moved to Kaihangara.

When the Omugabe Ntare V had spent two days at Kaihangara, there came Rwabutorobo and Rwabishenguzi, the brother of Kibanda, who reported, "Kigyere has ended the campaign and gone back. We left the survivors at Bubare and perhaps by tonight he (Kigyere) will spend the night at Rushozi."
3. The battle of Nyakakoni.

At that time the Banyankore left the Omugabe Ntare V at Nyakato and they went to spy upon the Banyarwanda. When they returned, they told the Omugabe of the beauty of the cattle with which Kigyere had come. The Omugabe became unhappy and asked, "Should Kigyere take these cows back?" The Banyankore were filled with enthusiasm and they told him, "We are going to capture them for you." Igumira said, "I would be the person to seize them for, the others are merely pretending." At that moment the Omugabe Ntare V was in the Mihe shrubs where they were consulting the omens and that is where his spies had found him. Then the Omugabe told Igumira, "No, you are ill, let me send Rwairangira". Thus Rwairangira was dispatched. The augurors who were trying the omens in the Mihe shrubs were Kazini and Karuhin-jure, both of whom were Banyoro. They asked for the spear of Rwairangira, the father of Matayo Katera, and Rwairangira got his spear from his page boy, Nyakongyeza of the Bahinda clan.

Then the augurors told Rwairangira to cut a Muhe plant and he cut it. They took the spear from him, wrapped it in a Mwihura shrub and handed it back to him. Thereupon he went to fight with the Banyarwanda. They attacked the Banyarwanda at Nyakakoni and fighting began at about three o'clock in the afternoon and at five o'clock (of the same day), the Banyarwanda

1. See Footnote No.1, p.688.
defeated the Banyankore. Their leader, Rwairangira, was slain together with the following chiefs: Nyakabwa, Rwomukyenga of Bene Muganga clan, Itema, also of Bene Muganga, and many others whom we have already mentioned and who died with Rwairangira. ¹

¹. The happenings at Rwamuyeye.

When the Omugabe Ntare V heard that the people had perished, he fled from Kaihangara and camped at Nyabiherere. From Nyabiherere, he moved to Rwamuyeye. When he came to Rwamuyeye, he sent the following message by Rutarurwa: "Go to Buganda and tell Mwanga to send me aid as I have aided him in the past²; tell him that my country is composed of the Bahima and cattle and that when the cattle died, the people died with them; that now the country is empty of people. Tell him not to let Kigyere step over me anymore."

When Rutarurwa arrived at Mwanga's, he repeated the message and Mwanga said, "So Ntare is appealing to me for help! Does he think that I have any authority? Does he not know that the country now belongs to the Europeans and that it is ruled by the Council?" Rutarurwa asked, "But what is a Council?" "Tomorrow I will take you and show you what the Council is like," Mwanga

¹. The purpose of this cumbersome repetition of the events seems to be the attempt to avoid stating that the Banyarwanda invaded Nkore, defeated Ntare's army, occupied the country and only withdrew because their king fell sick. The other mysteries in the story seem to be invented to give Nkore some victory she does not seem to have won.

². Neither Nkore nor Buganda sources suggest that Nkore had aided Buganda.
replied. The next day, as the sun was getting warm, Mwanga took Rutarurwa and showed him the Council. When they returned, Mwanga said, "Go and tell Ntare that I would have given him aid; that I am no longer the Kabaka and that I rule nothing and that all the country now belongs to the Europeans."

Rutarurwa returned empty-handed. When Kigyere was crossing the Rwizi, Katimbo, the father of Bundara, together with the Bangonya, attacked the Banyarwanda and captured forty head of cattle from them. Among them there was a cow, Bihogo, which had red horns. The Omugabe picked it out and placed it in the herds of Bigyemano so that it might stay with Rwakyakatare (another favourite cow).

THE DEATH OF THE OMUGABE NTARE V.

The Omugabe Ntare V concluded the wars against the Banyarwanda in 1895. When he reached Kitoma, he told Igumira, "Go and stay in Kashari and I will come to join you so that we plan to raid the cattle of Kisiribombo." The Omugabe Ntare V wanted to punish Kisiribombo by raiding his cattle because he was responsible for the attack of the Banyarwanda on Nkore. Igumira wanted to go with Kahaya, but Ntare refused and said, "Let him stay with me," because he had not completely recovered from the smallpox.

Thus Igumira left the Kitoma and came and camped at Kamushoko, Kashari. Whilst at Kamushoko, Ntare V sent Rushambirira to Igumira asking him to return. He again sent Komire of the Bayangwe clan with the same message. This Komire was the gate-keeper.
Then Igumira set out to see what the Omugabe wanted him for. When he came to the hill of Rwemiriti, he met a man, Kagumire of the Bahweju clan, who told him, "The Omugabe is dead." By the time he sent for Igumira, the Omugabe Ntare V had made his capital at Mutonto. Then Igumira returned to his home and grief and confusion descended upon the whole country.

That same day Kahaya came. He was brought by Kikoona and Ngarinda. Then Igumira sent Karega to "go and tell Kahitsi to relieve the tension of the people so that they do not migrate to foreign countries." At the time Kahitsi was at Rwakihinyahinyo. Karega went there and told him and he also found him with the other people who had collected, but they did not want Kahitsi; they preferred Igumira. Igumira told everyone who came to him, whether a Mwiru or a Muhima, "Go to Kahitsi and stay with him for the time being; why do you come to see me?" But the people refused because they wanted Igumira to assemble them.

**Igumira assembles the people after the death of Ntare V.**

The Omugabe Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, had died suddenly of pneumonia. He died at Katete, after leaving Wabinyonyi and that is where he was buried. Then his younger brother, Kamabebe, committed suicide. Seven wives of the Omugabe committed suicide. The wives of the Omugabe who committed suicide when he died were:

1. See Ch.V.
Matama, Kahunzire, Kintu, Funza, Nyamwari and Ntimbiri. But Ntimbiri had feared committing suicide. She had prepared herself to escape and go back to Rujumbura, to her brother Makobore. Then Igumira sent to prince Tajungye and asked him to have her killed on the way. The men sent by Tajungye killed Ntimbiri at Ruhiri near Kashaka, before she crossed the Koga. She was put to death by members of the Baidizi clan.

Queen Magwende, the sister of the Mugabe Ntare V, committed suicide as did the following sisters of the Mugabe: Bambuza, Gwembare and Koma - these strangled themselves. Among the courtiers of Ntare who committed suicide were the same Kama-bebe, his younger brother [actually his first cousin] and Rujug-uta, a personal attendant of Igumira and many others who committed suicide by goring themselves to death.¹

At the same time Igumira sent some warriors and told them, "Go to Bukanga and put Prince Mazinyo to death. Now that Ntare, who hated him and whose half-brother he was, is dead, what shall we do with him if he takes the throne?" Thus the people rushed to Bukanga to attack Mazinyo. When Mazinyo heard that they were coming to kill him, he fled to Buganda.

¹ Magwende, Ntare's sister, ordered that the women who had not committed suicide should be put to death. After making sure that this was done, she committed suicide herself. This was but the beginning of the pandemonium which swept the whole country and the cause of which was Ntare's sudden death which left the country with no obvious successor to the throne.
The migration of the people.

The Omugabe Ntare V was buried at Katete because he had died childless. When the Banyankore people knew that the country had been left empty, they fled a likely civil war. The first to go was Kakweshere who came to Igumira. Igumira told him to remain with Kahitsi for the time being. But Kakweshere fled with Bucunku and they were followed by Bigyemano, Manyatsi, Bitembe and Ogura. These were then followed by Bimpigima, Karuhitsi, Bikanga and Birigye and the country was left in a desolate condition. Those who remained in Ankole only did so out of despair and in the certain knowledge that whatever came next would finish them off.

The Capitals of the Omugabe Ntare V.

The Omugabe Ntare V, the son of Kiboga, made very many capitals, but we have already mentioned the important ones. His best known capitals are:


In 1889 when he was at Mbarara, the Europeans Stanley and Emin Pasha passed through Ankole. Then the Omugabe Ntare V arranged blood brotherhood between his younger brother, Bucunku, representing the Mugabe and Stanley, representing Her Majesty of Britain. The blood brotherhood was entered into at Byaruho, Masha, on 23rd July, 1889.
Also in 1889 the Europeans killed Kikwimba at Nyabuziba owing to Kikwimba's foolhardiness in trying to attack them, when the Mugabe had forbidden him to do so as they had already spent a night in his capital of Mbarara and he had entertained them. This enraged Kikwimba because, he said, they had not been announced; they had merely stampeded their way into the palace.

Other things took place at Nyakakoni. It was here that Nyakarembe, a courtier of Ntare V, fell on his own spear while drunk. Also the Baganda Christians found Ntare here in the year 1888.

At Kaburangire the people died of plague. Those who died of the plague are: Mwene, of the Bene Bigyeyo clan who belonged to the Omutwe of Engangura, Kyamurema, the son of Byareka of the Batsyaba clan, who also belonged to the Engangura and Kabarega, the younger brother of Rugumayo. And while the Omugabe was still at Kaburangire, the Baganda killed Irabira, of the Batwa clan and a great friend of the Omugabe Ntare V. Those Baganda came like thieves, without the permission of the Kabaka of Buganda, found Irabira herding his cattle at Kabura and killed him. Also in the year 1891 the Omugabe made a treaty with Captain Lugard.

At Kitoma, and after the invasion of the Banyarwanda, the Omugabe Ntare V imposed a fine of cattle for cowardice on those Banyankore who had feared fighting the Banyarwanda and he gave some of the cattle to Karuhitsi and the rest to Bucunku.
The Emitwe of the Omugabe Ntare V Rugungiza.

The Omugabe Ntare V Rugungiza, the son of Kiboga, made attacks against many countries. He attacked Migyera and he was defeated and then attacked Karamuriro, but he was again defeated. He then devised a plan of forming the Emitwe which would fight for him. These were:

1. The Abanga led by Rugumayo
2. The Abambuki led by Matsiko.
3. The Abatenga led by Kabumbire
4. The Ebirundi led by Matsiko.
5. The Batahunga led by Mubangria
6. The Engangura led by Rwetura.
7. The Birekyezi led by Rwairangira
8. The Ebyanga led by Ntare himself.
9. The Amakuba led by Rwairangira
10. The Engangura led by Kijoma.
11. The Bacwamango led by Kituma
12. The Emanga led by Kamurasi.
13. The Bamangi led by Tujungye
14. The Enyana led by Nkuranga.
15. The Enkaranga led by Igumira
16. The Batahunga led by Karyebara.
17. The Akashugi led by Bushundo
18. The Batakubwa led by Rutatsiyahwa.
19. The Babaganani led by Igumira
20. The Bakutani led by Bikwatsi.
21. The Kitahira led by Bwingi, the father of Nkara.
22. The Engumba led by Kahitsi.
23. The Barara led by Gandiga
24. The Bazigu led by Karamuriro.
25. The Obwoma led by Mutimbo
26. The Barwani led by Kicubwa.

1. Not all these were Emitwe. Some were subsections of the Emitwe and some of the names are repeated more than once.
27. The Eisasi led by Kababunzya  
28. The Orwekubo led by Ndorere
29. The Baritani led by Bucunku  
30. The Enkombe led by Katwatwa.
31. The Enyana Entorezo led by Nkuranga  
32. The Rutonyerera led by Ndorere
33. The Batakubwa led by Karyebara  
34. The Embogyeka led by Katwatwa.
35. The Ntabogorwa led by Rwakibogo  
36. The Bukuba led by Kanyabuzana.
37. The Barekyezi led by Rugumayo and there were many other Mitwe which we no longer remember.¹

The Regions and the chiefs of Ntare V Rugingiza.

1. Karyebara was in charge of Rushoga and his duty was to guard against the attack of Rubambura, the ruler of Koki, on Ankole.
2. Eriya Kahitsi was in charge of Nshongyi and his headquarters were at Nyabiherere.
3. Kamurasi was in charge of Nshongyi and his headquarters were at Ryakyenda.²
4. Karyebara was in charge of Rushoga and his headquarters were at Rushoga.
5. Kituma was in charge of Nyabwongye and his headquarters were at Nyabwongye.
6. Matsiko was in charge of Kabuyanda and his seat was at Komi.

1. See Ch.V.
2. Similarly not all these were regional chiefs. Some are prominent people who are listed by their areas of residence. At any given time the number of regional chiefs was equal to the number of Emitwe leaders because both offices were combined by one man. In this list there are also the inevitable repetitions.
7. Nkuranga was in charge of Kiguma and his seat was at Kiguma.
8. Kijoma was in charge of Mitoma and his seat was at Ibanda.
9. Rwairangira was in charge of Kikyenkye and his seat was at Kabare and Ryamakoma.
10. Igumira was in charge of Shema and his seat was at Rwekarabo.
11. Kabumbire was in charge of Rwambara and his seat was at Kitunda.
12. Rujabuka was in charge of Bukanga and his seat was at Mirambiro.
13. Mutimbo was in charge of Kishasha and his seat was at Kakoma, near Byasina.
14. Ndorere was in charge of Shema and his seat was at Nyakakoni.
15. Kicubwa was in charge of Nyabushozi and his seat was at Butembererwa.
16. Rwakabara was in charge of Masha with his seat at Mabare. This Rwakabara was the keeper of the Bagyendanwa and his Mutwe was that of the Baruru.
17. Ndagara was in charge of Buhweju and his seat was at Kishungwe.
18. Musinga was in charge of Igara and his seat was at Rukarwe, the former home of Marenga.
19. Kaihura was in charge of Bunyaruguru and his seat was at Nyakatanda.
20. Gwembuzi was in charge of Nshenyi and his seat was at Ishunga.
21. Rugarama was in charge of Kajara and his seat was at Kiyaga.

Afterwards these regions were converted, by treaty, into the counties of Ankole and the title Bakungu Chiefs was replaced

1. The names so (+++++) marked are the names of independent rulers who were not chiefs of the Mugabe as it is suggested here.
by Bamashaza [County Chiefs].

The Prime Minister of the Omugabe Ntare V.

The Prime Minister of the Omugabe Ntare V was Muhigi of the Basingo clan. The next in authority to him were the judges who, at the time, were Kyabatende and Bitsa. Mbaguta came afterwards. When Mbaguta was the leader of the Bangonya and Kyabatende was a judge, which was the same as the present Kihimba, Mbaguta and Kyabatende changed places. From that time Mbaguta became only second to Muhigi and Bitsa.

On 29th August 1894 the Omugabe Ntare V sent Mbaguta to sign an agreement, between Ankole and Britain, on his behalf. Mbaguta signed it with Major Cunningham who signed on behalf of Queen Victoria so that Ankole could be protected by the British. Mbaguta then maintained a steady advance to power.

The wives of the Omugabe Ntare V Rucingiza.

The wives of the Omugabe Ntare V were very many, but those from the royal families and who are best known were:

1. Nfunzi, the daughter of the Bene Ruzira and the mother of Kabumbire. 2. Nyamucwanganyi, the daughter of Ndagara, the king of Buhweju. 3. Kitorwa, the daughter of Gwembuzi of the Bene Rukari clan. 4. Kwofungura, the daughter of the Bene Itaka clan. 5. Kintu, the daughter of the Bagahe of the Bene Kihimba subdivision.

1. The offices of Prime Minister, Judges etc. were unknown in Nkore until colonial times. See Chs. 11 and V.
6. Kyabana, the daughter of the Baishikatwa. 7. Nyinamaiba, the
daughter of the Bagaje clan of the Bayombo subdivision. 8. Zam-
puro, the daughter of the Bashari clan. 9. Rwakoga. 10. Rugoma,
the daughter of the Bamoli of Nyanzigumbi. 11. Ntimbiri, the
daughter of Bene Kirenzi and the sister of Makobore.

The descendants of the Omugabe Ntare V.

The Omugabe Ntare V did not leave a child to inherit the
drum. The only child he had begotten was Kabumbire who died while
his father was still living. Then Prince Igumira gave his son,
Kahaya II Rugyengamamanzi, to the Omugabe Ntare V and he was the
one who succeeded him.

The Bones of the Omugabe Ntare V.

When the country had settled down, the Omugabe Kahaya II,
M.B.E. had the bones of the Omugabe Ntare V transferred from Katete
to Kaigoshora and that is where the tomb of this Mugabe is. And
then that is where they buried Igumira and that is where the grave
of their senior courtier, Kanyabuzana, is.

The big Banana plantations during the reign of Ntare V.

During the reign of the Omugabe Ntare V, the following
were the major banana plantations from which the tribute of that
Mugabe was obtained:

1. The plantations of Shema used to provide the tribute for the
Queens, Chiefs and the princes like Igumira.
2. Rwampara, Bukanga, Isingiro and Biharwe were the areas from which the beer and the bananas were brought directly to the palace of the Mugabe.

(a) **RWAMPARA**

1. Ngugo belonged to the Bagara of Kishengyera.
2. Kahenda at Rweshaza's
3. Kagasha at Byangwamu Rushangaza's where the goats of the Mugabe were kept.
4. Ibare, the home of Nyaruyaga and Rugaju-Rubakirwa, the son of Rwemijumbi; these were the flute players.
5. Kyonyo at Kamugambirwa's. There were many plantations like these in Rwampara.

(b) **ISINGIRO**

1. The upper Isingiro belonged to Isingoma Rwamboijana.
2. Kayanga belonged to Kyoma, the father of Rwankambura – these were also flute players.
3. Rwetango at Isingoma Rwambagaza's – these were musicians.
4. Bukanga at Kanyabuzana Rwangoga's.
5. Kamuri, the area of Rukabya the son of Nyanjwengye who used to look after the sacred forests of the Bagabe.

(c) **NSHARA**

1. Kaku at Rwabina's. 2. Rwabarata at Bugingo's, the father of Kagurusi. 3. Rukukuru at Ibuza's – these were the people who built the houses for the Bagabe of Ankole.
There were other plantations which belonged to the senior Bahinda and to the senior chiefs such as that of Nshara from which tribute was obtained for Kibuzi; Kashari for Mutimbo; Nyabushozi for Kicubwa; Kikyenkye for Kijoma; Butaka for Manyatsi and Matsiko; Nshongyi for Kahitsi and Kamurasi; Bushozi–Kabura for Bushundo and Kiguma for Nkuranga. There were other plantations during the reign of the Omugabe Ntare V Rugingiza, the son of Kiboga.

XXVII. The Pretender, Eria Kahitsi.

After the death of the Omugabe Ntare V in 1895, we heard that the king of Rwanda, Kigyere Rwabugiri, had died in that same year. Back here in Ankole, Prince Eriya Kahitsi Rukirana, the son of Mutambuka, made himself the Mugabe and he kept all the regalia of kingship, including the Bagyendanwa, for a period of about two and a half years. Although the Banyankore preferred Igumira to Kahitsi, the latter persisted and kept the things of the kingdom, which had belonged to Ntare, such as cattle and the Bagyendanwa. He refused to give them to Kahaya until they fought a civil war and then Kahaya was able to gain possession of those things only after defeating Kahitsi. The mother of Kahitsi Rukirana was called Kamabona.

The cause of Kahitsi's dislike for Kahaya was that Kahitsi knew that Ntare V had left no male heir and that Igumira wanted his own son, Kahaya, to be the Mugabe. That is why Kahitsi backed
Rwakatogoro, the son of Nkuranga, to become the Mugabe. Then those two elder princes Igumira and Kahitsi kept watch over their respective candidates. At first Kahitsi agreed with Igumira that the property of the kingdom, which was being looked after by Kahitsi, belonged to Kahaya, but he later changed his mind and refused to hand over the things until they fought. But the war against Kahitsi took place after Kahaya had been declared the Mugabe of Ankole and also after Mbaguta had returned from the court of Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda. The Protectorate Government had already established a station at Mbarara. Despite all this, Kahitsi persisted in regarding himself as the Mugabe and that is why the people called him Kahitsi, the rebel. However, if one scrutinises the customs and conventions of Ankole, one sees that Kahitsi was not a rebel prince like Kikamba and Nkuranga who were put to death by the Bagabe for alleged rebellious activities because Kahitsi should be rightly taken as a pretender since, during that period, he had all the things of the kingdom of Ankole such as cattle, the Bagyendanwa and the other ritual articles of the Mugabe.  

1. Neither Kahitsi nor Igumira was eligible and this is why they backed other candidates instead of pushing themselves for the throne. See Ch.V. 

2. This is a mistake. Kahitsi never aspired to get the throne because he knew he was physically disqualified - he was left handed and this is why he backed Rwakatogoro. Igumira was also disqualified because he had a defective eye.
Because the country had no leader, many Banyankore left the country with their herds because they had no one to follow. Whenever they went to Igumira, whom they knew to have been a trusted confidant of Ntare, he sent them away to go and stay with Kahitsi. But they did not want Kahitsi and that is why they were troubled at the prospect of a country without a leader and, as a result, they migrated.

THE FAMINE.

In that year of 1897, as a result of mourning for Ntare V and because the people were unsettled, most people did not cultivate crops as usual. On top of that there was an unusual dry season which lasted for a very long time. Thus there was a great famine in Ankole which lasted four years and that is why it was nick-named Rwaranda.¹

1. Rwaranda means that which spreads extensively, such as creeping plants.
No. 1: ISANSA'S SONG

1. Katesigwa go and spy them out for me mbwenu And come and tell me the truth, Not the sweet lies of the palace people Rurembo

2. Messengers were continually sent to Bwera Bwera

---

1. It was already known that Nkore troops were on the way and this man was asked to see how far into Kooki they had advanced.

2. People who lived in the palace were reputed to be liars. Ironically, the name Katesigwa literally means a person who cannot be trusted.

3. As with most songs, this one sung by more than one person. Verse 1 is supposed to be sung by someone in Isansa's army; Verses 2-4 is Katesigwa's report and the rest is sung by Isansa's sister. Note also that all the places mentioned in verse 2 are in Bwera, where many of the princes and Emitwe leaders lived at the time.
From Bwera came those wearing the beads

From Rwobwitizo and Rwobuhungye came those wearing the ebirunga.

Those from Ndeego pitched camps at Garuhura.

From Ruhembe the warriors camped at Kyazanga.

The warriors from Kinoni crowded into Bitibyoma.

The sheepskin-wearers from Nkote entertained the levies.

---

1 & 2. These were fashionable neck-wear for men and women. The hair from a giraffe's tail was woven into a twine of a few inches' thickness and onto this was fitted one, two or three beads depending on the style of the day and the sex of the wearer.

3. See Map 1.

4. These were also warriors, but they entertained their colleagues with songs and recitations to keep their spirits up.
The princesses of Ruhembe, 
Huddled together by the riverside
And longed interminably for the return of their men.

3. The levies of Ishansha are in full retreat
Ishentebuka has hidden his stomach,
But he has forgotten his back
Ishabagabo has fled with numerous sheep

---

1. Ebyambu, here translated as riverside means just rivers or swamps. As many princes then lived in Bwera, these were not their sisters; they were their wives. They stayed near the water because the men had gone to fight and therefore there was not enough manpower to water the cattle from long distances. Watering of cattle has always been a man’s job.

2. Ishansha is the Runyankore form for the name Isansa.

3. Because of fear he hid his face and forgot that his back could be seen.

4. This, as indeed the whole of this verse, is meant to poke fun at Kooki as a whole because sheep are not regarded as of such value that they should be taken to safety during a raid.
Ishabakaki has hidden in the papyrus swamp\(^1\) the papyrus swamp\(^1\) orufunjo\(^1\)

I, Katesigwa, in the hills Nyowe, Katesigwa, omunkiro

I shout like Mukoona\(^2\) nyamuza nka Mukoona\(^2\)

I, Katesigwa, I shout like Nyowe, Katesigwa, nyamuza nka Mukoona,

Mukoona, Mukoona

Directing our people where to hide.\(^3\)

Nimpabura abaitu.\(^3\)

4. The cowardly levies

In Ibanda they came from Engabo mbi

Kibwiga Ibanda baimuka ogwa Kibwiga

Those with carbuncled Abamashuyo
temples, Buzimba bahurana Omukibare\(^4\)

From Buzimba are stamped- ing into Kibare\(^4\)

---

1. Papyrus swamps are rarely dry and this means that the man's fear of the fighting made him endure the wetness of the swamp.

2. This is a bird usually found in the wooded parts of Nkore. It misleads people going to water their cattle because it makes noises similar to the noise herdsmen make when they are driving their stock to watering.

3. He was at a vantage point and could see the position of the enemy.

4. These were the cowards from Nkore who stayed far away from the scene of battle.
The cowardly levies from Sheema
Are pouring in from Kikonko.

5. Kangoigo\(^1\) I have come to ask you
What makes you laugh
Now that Rwampanja\(^2\) is dead?
What makes you play
Knowing that Rugororoka is dead?
What makes you laugh
Seeing that Rugororoka no longer reigns?

6. Oh, Alas!
Do you not recall
The occasion he took shelter

---

1. Kangoigo is the name of Isansa's wife who is being upbraided by her sister-in-law.

2. One of the names given to Kooki by the Banyankore was Mpanja and when this has the prefix Rwa, it means the bull of Mpanja, i.e. Isansa.
From the rain in our house? We drank the beer together all day And we were happy Until the setting of the sun.

7. Oh, Alas! Do you not remember him at Rukinga How he looked Coming from his other herds?

8. The spears, oh, alas! I saw and had no where to touch

1. The herd of the king nearest to his palace is called Enkorogi in Nkore and the rest are called Enshuubi. Isansa was coming from the latter, where a king does not often owing to the distances involved, which is why these are translated here as his other herds.

2 & 3. Because the spear wounds were numerous. After castigating her sister-in-law for being heartless, Isansa's sister is overcome with grief.
Through his thighs, the spears
Thrust down to the ankles
Through his shoulder blades
The spears burst out of his breast nipples
Through his ribs
The spears strayed to the back
Thus Rugororoka,
The elephant has fallen with its "horn".1

9. Oh, Woes, I wail
I wail. I wail
I wail like a mother that has lost its child
I cry each time

1. The king had died and so had many of his warriors. The elephant here is used to give the idea of the enormity (size) of the calamity that had befallen Kooki. The "horn" is the elephant tusk and is here used to suit the style of the theme.
I remember the Engango of Mpanja

10. What caused the destruction of this home?

It was destroyed by the ill-omens

The ill-omens of Rubona

Were evident to all

At Rwomutiba, a baby spoke after birth

And the vipers made their nests in people's beds

Pythons coiled themselves

---

1. Engango is a beautiful coil, made from raffia fibres, on which the milk-pots of the notables were sat. The image here is that the kingdom rested on the king in the same manner as the king's milk sat on the Engango, hence that the kingdom has lost the foundation.

2. In this context "home" means both the royal family and the kingdom.

3. Rubona is the poetic short form for Rubonamahano - the Victim of Ill-Omens.

4. All these were the ill-omens which are supposed to have foretold the catastrophe, which was about to befall Isansa's home.
The hyenas entered the kraals in broad daylight.

Like the cows that had calved.

1. Cows do not go to pasture with their young.

**General Note:** I am grateful to Mr. Ndibarema, his children and grandchildren and to Mr. Kirindi from whom this song was recorded on the 26th/27th April 1968 and also to Messrs Kirindi and Nhemereirwe who assisted me with the translation.
No. 2: KIJOOMA (A RECITATION)

1. He Who Pushes the Enemy down the hills,
   Reinforced the lows against Rurundura akashubya enkubito Kigiro with Waikorera¹ ya Kigiro na Waikorera¹

2. He Who Never Deters (His) Troops from attack
   Wsa reported already victorious at Ntsibare² Rutazibirana bakamuranga Ntsibare²

3. At Byanamira he bid farewell to Rugyereka³ Byanamira akaragana na Rugyereka³

---

1. Kijooma, praise-named Ruremeza, was a leader of a section of the Omutwe of Abatahunga. He went following the main part of his army to raid Kigiro (the present subcounty of Kabira in Sheema county) and found the fighting in progress, but they did not capture any cattle. Hence they marched right back and went straight to raid for cattle in Bwera area.

2. On their way to Buganda, his rear troops were told that he had already captured some cattle ahead at a place called Ntsibare.

3. Rugyereka was one of the praise-names of the Omugabe Ntare V.
4. He made Mutonto sleep under Ogwa Mutonto akagiraza a chill\(^1\) n'omurombe\(^1\) Ruremeza lay hidden at Ruremeza aketinda owa Kakonde\(^2\) Kakonde's\(^2\) The Majestic One poured Rutengyeta engabo akairoha his troops into Buganda. Buganda.

---

1. This is a figure of speech and it means that the people of the area were in a gloomy mood, because Mutonto, a few miles south-west of Byanamira (Map 1), was Kijooma's headquarters and by taking his warriors away, the place was left without its normal bustle of life. Note also that Byanamira was then the palace of Kiboga, Ntare's mother, which is why Ntare was there.

2. The warriors camped at a friendly home on the way to Buganda.

GENERAL NOTE:

1. The tradition as well as the recitation was recorded from Mr. Rwabushongo on the 9th/10th May 1968. I am grateful to Mr. Kirindi and Mr. Nshemereirwe who assisted me with the translation.

2. Heroic recitations are about wars of all descriptions and, although the events actually described are usually exaggerated in favour of the reciter, the fact that there was a conflict itself gives rise to the composition of the recitation. For a full discussion of the structure of heroic recitations see: H.F. Morris, The Heroic Recitations..., ch. II.
No. 3A: IRABIRA (A RECITATION)

1. I, Who Kindle the fighting Rubahimbya nibaganguta
   Spirits of my colleagues
   Was encircled by the spears
   of the enemy

2. The vanguard of the Bakiri Abakiri baganguta akaijo na
   speared me
   Rushwaza
   When I was with The One
   Who Puts the Enemy to Shame

3. I, The Fierce One, am re-
   Rujwiga okuhambana nikunduhuura
   refreshed by close combat

4. The war drums rekindled
   Engoma zimpimbya na Rutinampora
   my spirits
   When I was with The
   Fearless One
   I, The Unexcellable One,
   destroyed the enemy with

---

1. Bukiri was one of the names by which Busongola was known to the Banyankore and hence the Bakiri are the people of Busongola (the Basongola).
Nyarwanda spears\(^1\)  \quad \text{Rutakirwa nkaganguza enyarwanda}\(^1\)

5. The bells of my bow were injured\(^2\)

I, The Battle-Scarred One, Rukonjorwa nkainamuka n'ebitemo emerged from battle with numerous wounds

6. The Irresistible One rescued me when I was wounded and

At Rukungu they seared my wounds\(^3\)

I slaughtered with Kahungira's spear\(^4\) when

---

1. These were spears with very slender blades and, like most other beautiful things, they were believed to have originated from Rwanda.

2. Small bells (amajugo), for reasons of style here called amarengye, were usually suspended at one end of the bow and the expression here means that this particular bow had its bells struck off to emphasise the narrow escape of the owner.

3. This was about the only known cure for wounds of this kind.

4. Kahungira was one of the warriors on Nkore side and Irabira is said to have snatched the spear from him and to have speared one of the enemy with it.
Kaishaza was surrounded by Bakubire Kaishaza.

No. 3B: **RUGUMAYO (A RECITATION)**

1. I, Who Overcome all Opposition, came with Rukumbira

To avenge the injuries inflicted on Irabira

2. The Irresistible One quarrelled with the Basongola

The Vigilant One felled Nyinomushana with a spear

When he was with the Destroyer.

3. Even The One Who Forces

---

1. Kaishaza was the father of Irabira, the hero of this piece, and both of them took part in this fighting and were both wounded. Thus the father was saved by the son.

2. On hearing that Irabira had been wounded and was being hard pressed by the enemy, Rugumayo rushed to his aid at a different point, where the fighting was in progress.
the Enemy to Decamp\textsuperscript{1}  \hspace{1cm} omu baabo\textsuperscript{1}

Had to take refuge among his relatives

I killed with my spear inspired by my cow

The Buffalo of Nyakakoni  \hspace{1cm} Nkaitsa eicumu na Mbogo ya Rurenzya\textsuperscript{2}  \hspace{1cm} Nyakakoni Rurenzya\textsuperscript{2}

---

1. This was one of the enemy who, though beaten at least in the recitation, was very brave and he must have made a strong impression on Nkore warriors since they pay tribute to his prowess.

2. All the recitations are normally concluded by a reference to some beautiful cow which the hero of the recitation captures in the war recited or just his favourite cow. "Mbogo" literally means "Buffalo" and this is a reference to the big size of this particular animal and "Rurenzya" means a cow with straight long horns; in the traditional scale of values, this was a very beautiful cow.

GENERAL NOTE TO 3A and 3B: I am grateful to Mr. Rwabushongo from whom the tradition and these extracts were recorded and to Messrs. Kirindi and Nhemereirwe who assisted me with the translation.
No. 4: **KANYABYEYA (A SONG)**

He grazes his cattle at the borders
He spreads them over the uninhabited places
Rufunzana\(^1\) scounts for the fresh pastures
He makes water troughs and deep water wells\(^2\)
This Rufunzana, his weapon is the arrow\(^3\)
He sleeps while clutching his bow and
He wakes holding his arrows\(^4\)
The Irresistable One left

---

1. One of the praise-names of Kanyabyeya was Rufunzana.
2. He had all these made for his cattle.
3. In ordinary usage, the arrow also means both the bow and the arrow and the latter takes precedence because it is the part of the weapon that strikes the enemy.
4. He was not only a pastoralist for he was also an assistant to his brother, who was a leader of a section of the Omutwe of Abacwamango.
the Kirinda area in utter confusion
He sleeps while clutching his bow
He wakes holding his arrows
The Irresistible One destroyed Omwitaka

1. The Banyankore often devised names for their neighbouring areas to fit the style of their own songs and this one is a reference to a minor village of Bunyoro, where the hero of the song led a raid.

2. Another reference to a Bunyoro village, where the hero made another raid.

GENERAL NOTE:

I am grateful to Mr. Rwabugondo from whom the tradition and the song were recorded on the 30th November, 1967.
1. He is ill, he is in pain
   The Pearl$^1$ has pain in the chest
   In his head, in his back
   He is ill and he is in pain
   The Pearl has pain in the chest.

2. Ye people send for all my children
   Ye people send for all my children
   Let Nyamihondo come with Kekinyinya

1. Ekishonga, here translated as The Pearl refers to the Mugabe being the most important member of the royal family and also the leading citizen of his kingdom.

2. This was Mutambuka speaking from his death bed and he sends for his children and grandchildren, whose names appear in the subsequent lines of this verse.
And let Nkuranga come following them.

Let Kahitsi come with Igumira
Send for all my children
Let Makumbi come with Bacwa
Send for all my children
Let Mukwenda come with Muhikira
Send Rwakino, my servant (to bring the children).

3. Burarama, Burarama and Rwenkanja
The whole country is mourning the Mugabe
The whole of Rwensheka and Rwenkanja is grief-stricken
Biharwe is wailing¹

1. This means that the people in the places mentioned were mourning - the places cited are, of course, those whose names fit the rhyming scheme of the song.
Kaitanjojo is engulfed in grief
Itagura is wailing
Rushozi is in tears
Ruhunga is stricken with grief
Kishasha is in tears
Nyambuhama is wailing
Now all of them are mourning the Mugabe.

4. Nyaruju\textsuperscript{1} is very big
The Bahitsi\textsuperscript{2} are on one side of it
The Bararira are on the other side of it
The Baitira are on one side of it etc.\textsuperscript{3}

1. Nyaruju, or The Big House was the main house of the Mugabe, where he entertained all the guests.
2. The Bahitsi were the people responsible for burying the Bagabe.
3. Here the names of most clans are cited.
5. The Bahitsi took him (the Abahitsi bakamutwara body) away
The Bakimbiri also took Abakimbiri nabo bakamutwara him away
When the forest of Ishanje Ekibira iwe ekya Ishanje saw him,
It burst out wailing Kukyamurebire kyayeha eborogo For eight days we were Ebiro tukagitera munana there
And when it was deep in Kubwagire kuba omwitumbi the night,
The lion roared and it Ekcincu kyakanga nakyo thus forecast the war kyashura oburwani

6. What happened to the moon Kukaba kuta okwa Mabare? of Mabare?

---

1. The forest of Ishanje was the burial ground for the Bagabe of Nkore.
2. It was believed that when the body of the Mugabe decomposed, it turned into a lion.
3. This means that the roaring of the lion forecast that there was going to be a succession war.
4. Purification ceremonies, which followed the death of every Mugabe and which preceded the installation of a successor, had to wait for the appearance of the moon as they were never carried out "in the period of darkness". See also ch. II.
Here it comes; I swear by Ntare and his father
Here comes the moon of Mabare
But it is blood-red
It has forecast the war.

GENERAL NOTE:

I am grateful to Mr. Rwabugondo from whom this song was recorded on the 30th November, 1967.
No. 6: NTARE V'S FLIGHT DURING THE CIVIL WAR -c.1875 (A SONG)

1. Where is he? Where is he? Arahi? Arahi?
   His mother took him away Nyina akamutwara
   The woman of Bukiri¹ is Rwabukiri¹ ari omubyanga
   in her regions² byaabo²

2. Where is he? Where is he? Arahi? Arahi?
   The woman of Bukiri, Rwabukiri
   Is where the setting sun Ari Oburengyerwa izoba³
goes³

3. Nsheshe and Mugoye Nsheshe Mugoye
   He (Ntare) is in the Ari Omubyemero byabo
   coronation sites
   They (his men) are looking Nigamuronda, Tigamurebire
   for him, but in vain

1. Bukiri here means Busongola and this is a reference to
   the fact that Kiboga was a princess of Busongola.

2. Her regions means that Kiboga had returned to Nkore after
   the flight that had taken Ntare and other princes to
   Kabula. See also Ch. V.

3. Where the setting sun goes is west: After returning to
   Nkore from Kabula, Ntare fought and lost another battle
   against Mukwenda and he then fled to Buhweju. Though
   Buhweju is to the north west of Nkore, it is generally
   assumed to be to the west because the setting sun is seen
   over the tall hills of Buhweju.
They are looking for this Nigasherura ogu Rugingiza¹
Rugingiza¹
But Kijooma has gone with Baitu Kijooma arengire nawe
him
And Ryamugwizi has gone Na Ryamugwizi arengire nawe
with him
To fight this war² Kurwana obwo bweme²

4. Where is he? Where is he? Arahi? Arahi?
His mother took him away Nyina akamutwara
The woman of Bukiri, the Rwakbukiri, Emandwa etasikoora³
wholesome mother³
She is wearing the Ajwaire Mugumya⁴
Mugumya⁴

1. Rugingiza was also another name of Ntare.
2. Kijooma and Ryamugwizi were not only senior princes, but they were also leaders of Emitwe in the previous reign and were individually famous fighters. For reasons explained in the text, most princes backed Ntare's party in this contest.
3. Emandwa etasikoora, here translated as the wholesome mother means a mother who is fortunate not to lose any of her children or husband through death or other misfortune.
4. Mugumya, literally means that which gives hope and courage and is a poetic reference to one of the charms that Kiboga wore, which was believed to bring good luck to her son.
She is wearing the **Entahutara**\(^1\)

She has the **protection** against all evils\(^2\)

The Beloved One is at **Kyamarindi**\(^3\)

Nsheshe and Mugoye

He is where the setting sun goes.

---

1. **Entahutara** literally means that which prevents injuries and was a collection of herbs worn by women, when their menfolk went to war, and these were similarly believed to protect the fighters from injury.

2. **Omurinda** is the poetical form for the omurinzi tree whose pieces were also worn as charms to give all sorts of immunities against foreseeable misfortunes.

3. **Ente igamba**, literally means the cows that can speak, but it is translated as the Beloved One because this is what it means in this context. This is reference to Ntare and not to his mother on whom no one seems to have ever wasted a single word of endearment.

**GENERAL NOTE:**

I am grateful to Mrs. Kashagate from whom this song and the story were recorded in December, 1967.
No. 7: RUTAGYENGWA (A RECITATION) No. 7:

1. I, The Silent One, cheered Rutayomba akamuhigira\(^1\) him\(^1\) up

   I, The Silent One, cheered Rutayomba akahigira Rwairamura\(^2\) na Rutasya

   When I was with The One

   Who Dismays the Enemy

2. He girded himself at Akekwatirira Omugoburimbi na

   Goburimbi with Rugumba

   He Who Never Wavers in battle

   Left the Baganda\(^3\) behind Rutashanza akahingura Abaganda\(^3\)

3. He grouped them\(^4\) in the Akategyeka\(^4\) omwihindanjojo na

   dead of night Rubanzangabo

---

1. Him here refers to the Omugabe Ntare V. It was customary for the warriors to present themselves before the king before embarking on a raid. Rutagyengwa, the hero, was the younger brother of Kijooma and also the leader of the Omutwe of Engangura.

2. Rwairamura was one of the praise-names of Ntare V.

3. These were some of the Baganda refugees who went among Nkore troops.

4. This means that he organised his men for battle at night.
With The One Who Strikes
First
At Rufuha\(^1\) he reached them Rufuha\(^1\) akashanga nibatemba
as
They were going to their beds
With Matsiko he arrived to find
The Enkaranga decamped\(^2\) Akakora omukyenkaranga\(^2\) na Matsiko
At Katsibo\(^3\) they threw Bakamurekyerera Katsibo\(^3\) na Ruhambisangungu
Spears at him when he was with
The One Whose Spear overtakes the Enemy

---

1. Orufuha is an area divided between Kabezi and Rubaare subcounties of Kajara and this shows that the raid took place in Mpororo rather than Rwanda: See Ch. V.

2. He was following a section of the Omutwe of Enkaranga and he found that they had moved farther than he had expected.

3. Katsibo, now in Rwanda, was then part of Mpororo and was part of the region then known as Kicwamba-Rwantera, which was the original home of the Bagina clan. This is where the raid stopped.
Rutiba enshonga was captured suckling Ruguga

1. Rutiba enshonga is a cow with long sharp horns. It was captured with a slave, Ruguga, but because the slave had no status in song and in fact, he is here recited as a calf in order to accord some recognition to the fact that he was captured.

GENERAL NOTE:

I am grateful to Mr. Rwabushongo from whom this extract was recorded and to Messrs Kirindi, Nshemereirwe and The Hon. J. Kangahho, M.P., who assisted me with the translation.
APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOME INFORMANTS (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)¹

Bananuka, Mrs: Interviewed at Nkokonjeru, Mbarara, on the 12th September, 1967. In her late 60's, Mrs. Bananuka has spent all her life at court, being a princess and the grand daughter of prince Kahiti, who fought against Igumira just as the British were arriving in Nkore (see Ch. V.). She then married a prince of Rujumbura. She grew up at the court of Ntare V and then lived at the palace of Kahaya II and then, until 1967, at that of Gasyonga II. Informative on the major events of the reigns of Ntare V and of Mutambuka and has intimate knowledge of the matters relating to court life and to the royal drums of Nkore.

Bakoma: Interviewed at Kabingo, Isingiro county, on the 18th October, 1967. He was born in

¹ This list is intended to give a general idea about the backgrounds of the informants upon whose information most of this study is based and also to give a rough guide to the categorisation of the informants which was indicated in the Preface.
Buhweju during the smallpox epidemic (late 1880's) and attended the court of Ndagara with his father. After the death of Ndagara in 1901, he migrated to Nkore. Informative only on those wars in which Nkore fought Buhweju and on the court life of Buhweju, but not on the general history of either Buhweju or Nkore.

Interviewed at Rubaare, Kajara county, on the 18th January, 1968. He is a Munyarwanda who was born in Rwanda during the reign of Mutara II (a contemporary of Mutambuka in Nkore) and he, like his father, was a personal servant in the royal household of Rwanda. He migrated to Mpororo during the reign of Ntare V of Nkore and has lived in that area ever since. He is very well informed on the relations between the various chiefdoms of Mpororo and between these and Rwanda and Nkore, especially during the 19th century. He gave a detailed account of the progress of the Rwanda army through Mpororo on the way to Nkore towards the end of 1894, and of the causes of that invasion.

Bataringaya:

Interviewed at Ruharo, Mbarara, on the 18th
Batorogwa:

August, 1967. This was the most atypical of all my informants because, though he is a plain Muhima, with no acquaintance with the court circles, he was remarkably well informed over the whole range of Nkore history. He said that he had learnt all he knew by listening to the discussions of the old people. He is in his early 50's. Interviewed at Buremba, Ibanda county, on the 26th October, 1967. He was born during Ntare V's attack against Nshenyi (see Ch. V) - which was about 1888 - and his grandfather was a courtier of the Mugabe Mutambuka, his father of the Mugabe Ntare V and he himself grew up at court. He is well versed in the general history of Nkore and in the religious practices of the court and of the common people.

Bigairwe:

Interviewed at Buyanja, Rujumbura (Kigezi District), on the 6th February, 1968. He was born in the late 1880's (just before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic). He, like his father before him, was a frequent attendant at the court of the rulers of Rujumbura and was knowledgeable only on the wars in
which Rujumbura was involved and also had some knowledge of the ruling family of Rujumbura, but not on the general history of Mpororo as a whole or even of Rujumbura itself.

**Binyindo:** Interviewed at Nyabubare, Igara county, on the 1st November, 1967. He was then the sub-county chief of Nyabubare. He was born in 1919 and he is a direct descendant of the keepers of the royal drums of Igara. He has very intimate knowledge of the history of Igara, the royal drums and of the relations between Igara and her neighbours prior to its amalgamation with Nkore at the beginning of this century.

**Buningwire, Canon Yoweri:** Interviewed at Rutoma, Kashari county, on the 28th and 29th January 1968. He was born in 1881 and he entered the Mugabe’s court shortly after the death of Ntare V (1895) and grew up there. He was one of the first batch of the Banyankore to be baptised in the Anglican Church and he entered the priesthood in 1904. He was a broad knowledge of the history of Nkore and of her neighbours and was by far the most
informative person on the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the Banyankore.

**Bwafamba:** Interviewed at Nyamirama, Rwampera county, in April 1968. A direct descendant of the last king of Mpororo, the branch of the Bene Rukaari (see Ch. IV), Bwafamba was born towards the end of the reign of Mutambuka in Nkore. The area over which his family ruled paid tribute partly to the kings of Rwanda and partly to the rulers of Nkore, especially during the reign of Ntare V. He has intimate knowledge of the history of Mpororo, when it was still a kingdom and after its disintegration and he also had personal recollection of Kigeri's attack on Nkore towards the end of 1894 (see Ch. V).

**Byambwenu:** Interviewed at Rutooma, Kashari county, in May, 1968. He is over 70 years of age and his mother was the keeper of the beaded veil, Rutare, and he was a valuable informant on the veil and its role as one of the important regalia of Nkore kingship, but not on the general history.

**Kaburuka:** Interviewed at Burunga, Nyabushozi county, on
31st August, 1967. He is in his early 70's. His father was a follower of Igumira and belonged to the Omutwe of Abatenga. This informant was only knowledgeable on the formation of the Emitwe and on the wars waged by Ntare V only.

Kagaaga, Mrs:

Interviewed at Nkokonjeru, Mbarara, on the 12th September, 1967. She was born during the invasion of the Banyarwanda (1894/5) and is the eldest daughter of prince Igumira (see Ch. V). She was the Queen-Sister of the Mugabe Kahaya II (1897-1944) and she married the late Edward Mujungu of the royal house of Igara. Having lived at court all her life, she has very intimate knowledge of the court, the royal drums and of the major events of the reigns of Mutambuka and Ntare V and also some knowledge of the court life of Igara, where she was married.

Kakoore:

Interviewed at Burunga, Nyabushozi county, on the 31st August, 1967. He is about 75 years old. His father was a rich man who belonged to the Omutwe of Engangura during the reign of Ntare V. He has intimate knowledge of the formation of the Emitwe and their history.
and of the raids of Ntare V, especially those which were conducted across Bunyoro's border.

**Kakyende:** Interviewed at Rugaga, Isingiro county, on 17th October, 1967. This informant was born during the reign of Mutambuka and appeared to be over 80. His father was a personal servant of the Mugabe Mutambuka and he himself became a household servant of prince Bikwatsi, the son of Bacwa and grandson of the Mugabe Mutambuka. He had intimate knowledge of the institution of tribute collection (*okutoija*) and only slight knowledge of other aspects of history.

**Kamugungunu, Lazaro, M.B.E.:** Interviewed at Kamushoko, Kashari county, in August 1967. He is over 80 years of age and is one of the most distinguished elder statesmen of Ankole. After holding junior appointments, he became a county chief in 1918 and then was the first to hold the post of Kihimba (then the head of Ankole's civil service) in 1926. He became the Enganzi (Prime Minister) on retirement of his father-in-law, Mbaguta, in 1938 and retired in 1946. He is one of the best informed local historians and also the
Kananura: joint author of the only major historical work on Nkore (See Appendix A).

Interviewed at Rubaare, Kajara county, on the 18th January, 1968. He was born in Mpororo during the reign of Mutara II Rwogera of Rwanda (born in the area of Mpororo which was tributary to Rwanda). He is a very well informed on the relations between the various chiefdoms of Mpororo and between some of them and Rwanda.

Kasikoora: Interviewed at Ntungu, Isingiro county, on the 19th October, 1967 (died in 1968). When Ntare V died, he was "about fourteen years old". He had intimate knowledge of the locations of the former capitals of the Bagabe and of the royal drums of Nkore, most of which were located in Isingiro itself.

Kiiza, Marko: Interviewed at Kantojo, Igara county, on the 31st October, 1967. He is well over 70 years of age. He was a courtier of prince Ryamugwizi and he held a number of junior public offices from 1916 and then became a county chief of Bumyaruguru in 1928 and held the same post in the same county until his retirement in 1953, which is why he is more
widely known by the official title of the county chief of Bunyaruguru rather than by his own name. He is well informed on the major events of the reign of Ntare V, the organisation of the Emitwe and was remarkably well informed about the intrigues which led to the succession war after the death of the Mugabe Mutambuka.

**Kikohire, Mrs:** Interviewed at Ruharo, Mbarara, in August, 1967. She is over 70 years old. She grew up in Mbaguta's household and was then married to a county chief in 1913. She is very well versed in the ancestor spirit worship, the Emandwa and also of the ceremonies of accession to the throne and the moon festivals. She has some knowledge of the general history of Nkore, particularly the traditions of the Bacwezi.

**Kiragura:** Interviewed at Mabanga, Kebisoni (Kigezi District), on the 7th February, 1968. He was born during the reign of Mutambuka in Nkore. His information was valuable only on the court life of Rujumbura and on the relations between the different chiefdoms of Mpororo.
Kyokoora: Interviewed at Burunga, Nyabushozi county, on the 31st August, 1967. He is in his late 50's. His father was a courtier of prince Ryamugwizi and later became a sub-county chief in Ibanda. This informant has a local reputation of being a great narrator "of the matters of the past", and was well informed on the general history of Nkore.

Mugooha: Interviewed at Igorora, Ibanda county, on the 26th April, 1968. He was born in 1902, the son of prince Ryamugwizi, who was a great grandson of the Mugabe Macwa. He was a county chief from 1928 until his retirement in 1956. Because he is one of the most senior princes of Nkore, Mr. Mugooha officiated as the senior uncle of the Mugabe Gasyonga II at the latter's accession ceremonies in 1945. He has the most detailed knowledge of the court religious ceremonial, the events of the reigns of Mutambuka and Ntare V and about the organisations of the Emitwe through many reigns.

Munyanshunju, Mrs: Interviewed at Ruharo, Mbarara, on the 17th and 19th August, 1967. She is the daughter of one of the seniorest chiefs of Ankole in the 1920's, who had been sent into
exile with prince Igumira. She herself grew up at the court of Ntare V. Her information was valuable on the system of the Emitwe formation (see Ch. V), the ancestor spirit worship and the worship of the Emandwa (see Ch. II). She has also a fair knowledge of the major events of the reign of Ntare V.

Ndiba: Interviewed at Kigarama, Sheema county, on the 12th October, 1967. He was born at the beginning of the reign of Ntare V. His father was a personal servant of the Mugabe Mutambuka and the informant himself became a personal servant of princess Magwende, the Queen-Sister of the Mugabe Ntare V, and was present when the princess was married to a prince of Rujumbura. His knowledge was confined to the wars fought by Ntare V and has an intimate knowledge of the life at the court of Ntare V.

Ndibarema, Mr. Daudi: Interviewed at Kasharara, Buhweju county, on the 26th and 27th April, 1968. The son of the last king of Buhweju, Mr. Ndibarema is about 80 years of age. His father was killed fighting the British in 1901 (see Ch. V) and since then Ndibarema
became the "official chief" of Buhweju, but in fact remained the actual ruler of the area even after his "retirement" in 1940. He has a wide ranging knowledge of the history of Buhweju and of the latter's relations with Nkore.

Nshashaho: Interviewed at Kantojo, Igara county, on the 31st October, 1967. He was "about 15 years old when the Europeans first came to Igara", and he grew up at the court of Musinga, the last king of Igara, and then remained with Musinga's son after the death of Musinga in 1901. He is the eldest son of the last official keeper of the royal drums of Igara and he knows a great deal about the court, the drums and the general history of the kingdom of Igara, prior to its amalgamation with Nkore.

Nyabayangwe, Mrs: Interviewed at Nkomonjeru, Mbarara, on the 12th September, 1967. She is the second daughter of prince Igumira and she was married to Kabututu, the son of Magwende (the Queen-Sister of Ntare V). Like her elder sister, Kagaaga, she is very well informed on all aspects of court life, the
Rwabugondo:

 royal drums and on the major events of the reigns of Mutambuka and Ntare V.

Interviewed at Katebe, Kashari county, on the 30th November, 1967. He was born during the succession war between Ntare V and Mukwenda (see Ch. V) and he grew up at the court of Ntare V, where his father was one of the household servants to the Mugabe. He has detailed knowledge of the events of the reign of Ntare V and has personal recollection of the day Ntare V died because he was in the house where he died. He also remembers several traditional songs, some of which appear in Appendix B.

Rwabushongo:

Interviewed at Rutoma, Kashari county, on the 9th, 10th and 11th September 1967 and then at Ruharo, Mbarara, on the 9th and 10th May, 1968. He is about 70 years old and he grew up at the court of Kahaya II. His father was a courtier of Ntare V. He was by far the most valuable informant on all aspects of Nkore history and society and he is widely known in Ankole as the most accomplished traditionalist by other traditionalists. He is a mine of information and a reliable
Informant - some of his heroic recitations appear in the text and in Appendix B.

Rwankyengyere: Interviewed at Murongo, Karagwe (Tanzania) in December, 1967. This is another direct descendant of the last king of Mpororo - the Bene Kihondwa branch (see Ch. IV). Born in the late 1880's, Rwankyengyere is well informed on the general history of Mpororo kingdom, its disintegration, the relations between its component parts and on the raids these chiefdoms suffered at the hands of Nkore and Rwanda.

GENERAL NOTES:

1. No background information is given about the informants of Bunyaruguru because all of them, and they were ten in Bunyaruguru itself, had no specific background and they had learnt all they knew by very informal means. Bunyaruguru society was stateless until its incorporation into Nkore by the British at the end of the 19th century.

2. The list above is made up of my main informants on various topics of history and a few of those who were only informative on single topics have been included in order to give a complete picture of the types informants I used - the majority of the latter have been left out and their names appear in Appendix D only.
## APPENDIX D

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE INFORMANTS WHO WERE INTERVIEWED FORMALLY

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<td>Kyakutakwire</td>
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1. Some informants, though formally interviewed, have not been listed here because it was impossible to separate what they knew from the confusion in their accounts. Their tapes were erased.
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# APPENDIX E

## PUBLISHED WORKS CITED IN THE TEXT

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<tr>
<td>Cezard, P.</td>
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</table>


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Map 2. CAPITAL SITES OF ANKOLE

1. Itaba
2. Rushazi
3. Ntutsi
4. Rurama rwa Ntungu
5. Rurama rwa Rukirira
6. Mitooma
7. Kachwekano
8. Kakukuru
9. Buhandagazi
10. Katamba
11. Bweyogerere
12. Bungura
13. Kagarama
14. Byanganga
15. Birere
16. Nyabikiri
17. Bwara
18. Kakukuru
19. Nyamirima
20. Kasana
21. Mabaare
22. Kagugu

* Roland Oliver, UG. JNL. 23/1/March 1959.
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