

**A THOUSAND YEARS
OF BUNYORO-KITARA KINGDOM
- THE PEOPLE AND THE RULERS -**

Author's Note

Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom Revived

Rukirabasajja Agutamba Gafabusa Solomon Iguru will be crowned the 27th Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom on the 11th June 1994.

The Kingdom which was declared dead in 1967 in actual fact never died. The enthusiasm with which the people greeted NRM government's decision to allow the people who once had kingdoms to revive them if they so wished is testimony enough.

Rukirabasajja Omukama Iguru, as the 27th King continues a line that was started by Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi as the first ruler of the Kitara Empire in the 14th century. This was an empire that had supposedly been started before him by Ruhanga - God himself and his brother Nkya and this was in the beginning and the beginning is the beginning of time.

This book was prepared before the Government amended the constitution to allow for the revival of the Kingdoms, this is the reason why this book ends with Omukama Winyi IV's rule in 1967 and his death in 1971.

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Introduction

A Thousand Years of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom covers a period of ten centuries. Ten centuries is certainly too long a period to be covered comprehensively in one book. However the book covers most, salient episodes of the Babiito dynasty. Its generalised nature is most suitable to a general reader interested to know and understand some aspects of Bunyoro Kingship.

Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom in which the Babiito ruled since 1500 AD is found in Western Uganda. It is one of the successor Kingdoms of the former larger Kitara Empire. Kitara Empire at its zenith is said to have included most of central and western Uganda, some parts of north-western Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, some parts of eastern Zaire and a small portion of Kenya along the shores of Lake Victoria.

The people of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom are basically Bantu-speaking who are the majority inhabitants of most of central and Southern Africa. Their origin is said to be somewhere in the region of central and west Africa estimated to be around the present Cameroon republic. The Bantu people arrived and settled in Uganda in different waves of migration at different times.

The main body of Bantu migration into Uganda came from the direction of eastern Zaire between 2000 and 2500 years ago. However more migrations of Bantu into Uganda continued to take place from the direction of present Kenya, Tanzania, and Rwanda upto almost the 18th century.

Prior to the arrival of the Bantu speaking peoples there had been living in western Uganda an unclassified group of Africans who were still hunter-gatherers. These were numerically small and after intermarriage and fusion with the incoming Bantu they lost their original identity and little is known about them. At the turn of the 15th century Bunyoro Kingdom experienced another wave of migrations from Northern Uganda. These were the Luo speaking peoples of whom the Babiito were a component part.

It should therefore be noted that the Banyoro people, the inhabitants of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom are a product of the migration and fusion of the original hunter-gatherers, the Bantu speaking peoples and the Luo. However, of the three, the Bantu were numerically stronger. The dominant language and culture of Bunyoro Kingdom has come to be Bantu.

The reader from the outset should be clear about the name Bunyoro-Kitara. The name sometimes is used interchangeably to refer to the Babiito Kingdom of Bunyoro or the larger and older Bacwezi empire of Kitara.

The latter which we talked about above and is said to have existed as far back as the 11th century had its headquarters at Bigo and Ntusi places which are presently in Mubende and Masaka districts of Uganda. Before the 18th century and sometime even in the 19th century these places where Bacwezi had their palaces were part of Bunyoro Kingdom.

Towards the end of the 15th century the larger Bacwezi Empire of Kitara was invaded by the Luo speaking people who had migrated into Northern Uganda from the present republic of the Sudan. On arrival into the Bantu speaking empire of Kitara. They found it already weak and their arrival hastened its disintegration. The various provinces which formed the empire then declared their autonomy thus, marking the beginning of western and central Ugandan Kingdoms.

These new Kingdoms which were founded at the end of the 15th century included Bunyoro hereafter called Bunyoro-Kitara, Buganda, Nkore, Koki, etc. Because the Babiito who founded Bunyoro Kingdom had their headquarters in the same places as their predecessors the Bacwezi, and because they needed legitimacy as the authentic successors of the Bacwezi as rulers adopted the name Kitara hence the name Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom.

Another issue that should be clear to the reader from the outset is that the Babiito rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom are part of the Luo peoples of Uganda by biological ancestry. These include the Acholi, Alur and Japadhola. When they came into the Bantu region at the end of the 15th century they were numerically small and although they defeated the Bacwezi rulers and replaced them, they got culturally assimilated and *Bantuised* in language, thus losing their original identity as Luo people.

The Babiito and other Luo clans who got fused into the Bantu have since lost their identity and sometimes their history such that many people in western Uganda are not presently aware that the

Babiito are not originally Bantu people but of Luo origin. The Babiito are about four hundred years old in the Bantu region. Their only surviving cultural traits that can identify them are Luo names such as Labon, Olim, Winy, etc. The extent of Babiito rule in central Uganda is discussed in the book but let us mention some facts about this dynasty in the introduction. The Babiito rulers founded many Kingdoms in Uganda. In addition to Bunyoro and Toro, they ruled over Koki. The latter Kingdom was incorporated into Buganda Kingdom in 1896 by the British. The Babiito dynastic influence was also felt in some states in what came to be Ankole Kingdom such as Buzimba and Buhweju. Although the latter states were ruled by the Barisa clans they paid allegiance to the Babiito rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara.

The pre-colonial Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom was also relatively larger than Bunyoro since 1900. The Bunyoro-Kitara King Kabalega staged stiff resistance to colonial rule. He was fought by the British with the support of Buganda and in return Buganda was rewarded with a territory from Bunyoro. So most of present Kibaale District, Mubende and some parts of Luwero districts was originally Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom territory.

Mention should also be made at this early stage of the book that Toro Kingdom was originally a province of Bunyoro-Kitara until about 1820s. Toro Kingdom is about one hundred and seventy years old. Prince Kaboyo one of the sons of the King of Bunyoro-Kitara decided to rebel against his aging father and declared Toro independent.

In the book there are also some mythological stories which are significant and can help us to understand the social set up of the people and the level of their scientific world outlook. It is for example said that the Bacwezi disappeared. This disappearance can be interpreted as migrating to far distant places unknown to their subjects. But because the subject peoples revered the Bacwezi and looked at them as demi-gods, when they migrated farther away they were thought to have disappeared to heaven.

There are also other mythological stories or facts like Isimbwa was from the "underworld". This is a reflection of the peoples' understanding of physical and biological phenomena. Their world outlook was circumscribed by fantasy, myth and superstition.

The social stratification which was found in western Uganda was also given divine interpretation. This is contained in the myth where God set a test to his three sons and the results henceforth determined the social status one and his descendants would occupy in society. This myth which was a political ideology meant to keep the subjects calm without rebelling was propagated by the rulers. The subject peoples, the Bairu had to accept their inferior status because it was God ordained. The higher status of the rulers was not to be challenged.

As far as Bunyoro court history is concerned Bunyoro began to test political centralisation as long ago as 9th century AD when some clans assumed greater roles than others and emerged as political leaders. This marked the beginning of the Tembuluzi Dynasty, which later replaced by the Bantu speaking Bacwezi Dynasty. The significance of the Tembuluzi and Cwezi periods lies in the fact that most of the features which Babiito inherited were developed during their era. But little is known about the Tembuluzi rulers because they never had a record of keeping shrines (Amagasani) as their later successors did. That is why in many respects there are rulers referred to as gods' or demi-gods.

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Chapter One: The Pre-Babiito Period

The Batembuzi Dynasty "Amatu Gampulize Ebibi N'ebirungi" (My Ears Have Heard Both Evil And Good). Nyinamwiru, when informed that her son, Ndahura had slain her father Bukuku and become King.

LIST OF BATEMBUZI KINGS VARIOUSLY COMPILED

Fisher and Bikunya Gorju	Roscoe	Nyakatura
Ruhanga	Ruhanga	Ruhanga
	(Hangi)	
	Rugaba	
Nkya		Kintu
Kantu		
Kairu		
Kahuma		Kakama
	Twale	1 Twale
Kakama	Hangi	1 Hangi
	Nyamenge	
	Ira (Iya Hangi)	Ira Iya hangi
	Kazoba	Kabangera Kazoba ka
	(Nyamuhanga)	Hangi
	Nkya	Nyamuhanga
		Nkya I
		Nkya II
Baba	Baba	Baba
		Kamuli
		Nseka
		Kudidi
		Ntonzi
		Nyakahongerwa
Mukonko	Mukonko	Mukonko
Ngozaki	Ngozaki	Ngozaki
Isaza	Isaza	Isaza Mukama
		Isaza
		Nyakikoto
		Bukuku

All versions of Kitara court traditions begin with a common legend, one which illustrates the distinct social and cultural milieu from which rulership emerged. The Bikunya and Fisher version began by relating the earliest period of Kitara Court History to Ruhanga God- the Creator, which in the beginning, there was God who created the earth. He came when the earth and heaven were close to each other, with his brother Nkya. Nkya had four children. The eldest was called Kantu (little thing) while the rest never possessed separate names. They all shared the name 'Kana' (meaning little child) Whenever the father called one, they could all come and whenever he gave one child a present, they all quarrelled declaring it was intended for them. So Nkya explained the matter to Ruhanga, who said that he could find names for them, if they came to him the following afternoon at his dwelling on the opposite hill; for at this time Ruhanga was living in heaven and upon earth and had made valleys as boundaries between men's territories.

So the boys set out to their journey and arrived at their uncle's place. They were told to get seated until he came to them. Meanwhile, he entered into his back house, in which he had a cow slaughtered, skinned and its head cut off. He then cooked millet and sweet potatoes. He got the food, an axe, a panga (knife) and carried them with a pad on his head and put them in the middle of the road.

When he got back he told the children: "Here are your milking vessels, take them and go." As they walked, they found the things in the road. These were the ones which Ruhanga had secretly placed there. The eldest son immediately seized the basket of food. He began eating the food, but his brothers remonstrated with him for taking the food that was not rightly his. He took home, the potatoes, millet, a panga and pad. The second boy chose out a belt strap, thinking it might be useful for tying up the cows at milking time and the youngest carried home the cows head.

When they got back to their uncle's house, they laid down the things before him and explained everything to him. After he had finished observing their choices, he decided to set for them another test. This time they were to sit down on the ground in the evening, with their legs stretched out, each holding on his lap a full wooden milk pot. He commanded them to guard the milk and not to drink as they had eaten his millet. At midnight, the youngest boy started to dose and spilt half of his milk: He greatly feared and turned to his brothers to beg them to give him their milk that his pot might be full. This they did. But at cock crow the eldest upset all his, and when he asked the others to pour from their pots into his, they refused, saying that he would need so much to fill up the empty pot. At dawn Ruhanga came and told each to uncover his milk pot. When he looked into the first he found it empty; passing on to the second he saw that a little had gone out of it, and asked the boy if he had drunk it. The boy answered:

"No oh God, I did not drink it, but I filled up my little brothers pot for he had spilt some of his". Ruhanga called his brother and told him that names had been found for his three children. The eldest he cursed and named Kairu (little servant), for he had eaten food on the public road with unwashed hands and had proved himself faithless in his match; hence forth he would be the servant of man, to gather firewood, to build houses and to be sub-servient in all things to his master. The second he named Kahuma (little herdsman), for he should minister as herdsman to him to whom he had given milk. To the youngest he said: "Your Name is Kakama Twale, (Ruler, Little King), You shall reign over all men, for you took from the road the cows head; all shall fear and worship you and your word".

Kakama became the first King of Bunyoro-Kitara. Historians like Nyakatura state that the three children of the Genesis story were sons of Kintu. That Kintu was the first political head of Bunyoro-Kitara and had come from a distant land. He contends that Kakama Twale was son of Kintu and Kakama only ruled after Kintu had ruled.

Kakama had children, Ira and Kazooba, who later became Kings. Ira died without a heir to the throne that he was succeeded by his brother Kazooba. When Kazooba was ruler of Bunyoro Kitara, there was much population increase. Kazooba was loved by his subjects, that is why he was deified after his death.

Kazooba was the father of Nyamuhanga known by the Banyankole as Rugaba and by the Baganda as Mwangwa. Nyamuhanga ruled for a long time but took long to, have a child. It was after consulting a medicine-man that he got a son. The doctor advised him to marry a girl named Nyabagabe, a daughter of one of his servant called Igoro. The Nyamuhanga - Nyabagabe royal marriage bore them a son who was named Nkya (meaning Lucky).

Nkya I, succeeded his father. He ruled for a long time and was said to be barren like his father. He too had to consult a witch doctor, before he could have a child. When he consulted him, he begot a son whom he also named Nkya, because his father and the son had been born under the same circumstances. Nkya the junior was named Nkya II. Nkya II was, succeeded by Baba and Nseka by Kudidi. Kudidi reigned for a long time and died a very old man. He was succeeded by Ntonzi, who was remembered to have ruled by the sword because of his harshness on rebellions, Ntonzi was succeeded by Nyakahongerwa and Nyakahongerwa by Mukonko, his son. Mukonko ruled for along time. Rutahinduka son of Mukonko came to the throne of his father when he was already a very old man. Ngonzaki who is traditionally believed to have been the father of Isaza Rugamba Nabato, was nicknamed "Ngonzaki" because he possessed enormous wealth. Whenever a subject brought him a gift, he could not bother to turn around and look at it. He could only say "NGOZAKI?" what do I want or "what should I want?" The name Ngozaki also implied "My House is Full; I Need Nothing".

Rutahinduka was replaced by Isaza Waraga Rugambanabato, who became King when he was still a very young man. He was a Mugabu by clan like his forefathers. Some accounts suggest that Isaza's capital was situated at a place near the present day Bukumi station in Bugangaizi. Isaza was a very great hunter and he is said to have ended tension in the land because he ignored the advice of the

elders and banished them from his court. He had much love for the youth, that he was nicknamed "Rugambanabato" (*He Who Talks With The Young*).

One day Isaza is said to have killed a zebra and was persuaded by his young companions to sew himself into the untanned hide. Upon the advise, he decided to wear it at once. the skin was sewn on him with leather thongs. The skin caused him pleasure and his friends congratulated him for that. As they continued hunting, the day grew hotter, the skin dried up on him and he began to feel a lot of discomfort. His fellow young men with whom he had hunted, never had any solution in mind which could save Isaza from death.

When the situation was getting out of control, they decided to send for two old men who had not yet left the kingdom, begging for help. The two elders however, declined to offer any help because they had been banished from the court. They said, "What help can we offer when we know nothing". But later, changed their minds, after the two boys whom Isaza was hunting with had narrated the story to the King's Aunt called Kogere and his sister called Nyangoma. They advised that the starving King should be immersed in a pond of water, so that the tight skin which had bounded him could loosen.

After the crisis, Isaza Rugambanato became very happy and restored all elders to position of prominence in the Kingdom. They became counsellors and palace favourites where they apparently remained. Though he did not kill them, Isaza cut off his association with young men. He transferred his love to the old men. From then onwards he ordered that the young must always give reverence to old men. He constantly consulted old men and ruled his kingdoms with ease.

Isaza is remembered to have been the first king to divide Bunyoro into Sazas. Some accounts reveal that the word Amasaza counties was coined from the name Isaza, ruler of the time. He appointed chiefs, whose names appear in the surviving accounts.

In his appointment, he showed gratitude and respect to the old men whom he gave many counties (saza's) to rule. For he remained their overhead and unifier who could command and summon them at any time. He assumed the name of Nyakikooto - meaning the greatest of all saza chiefs and the lord of all.

The first Saza Chiefs whom he appointed (the old men) were given Saza's as follows:

Nyamenge	was given Kitara (Kyaka Saza)
Ntege ya Koya	was given Muhwahwa (Buganda)
Machumulinda	was given Nkore (District)
Ntembe	was given Busoga (District)
Kabara	was given Bugangaizi (Saza)
Nyakirembeka	was given Mwenge (Saza)
Kogere (his aunt)	was given Busongora
Nyangoma (his sister)	was given Buruli (Saza)
Nyamurwana	was given Bugahya (Saza)
Nsinga	was given Bugoma (Southern Bugahya Saza)
Ichwamango	was given Bungungu (Northern Bujenje Saza)
Kaparo	was given Chohe (Kibanda Saza)
Kalega	was given Bulega (The West Bank of L. Albert)
Mukwiri	was given Bwera (Buddu)
Nyakadogi	was given Busindi (Buruli Saza)
Nyakaranda	was given Bunyara

While these names continued to appear in the surviving account, there is a lot of uncertainty about the pattern of control which was followed during the Batembuzi period. What is certain is that during the appointment process, Buganda was given to a very old man called Koya, but because of old age he was forced to delegate to his son Ntege, hence the name Ntege ya Koya. There were women sazas, Kogere and Nyangoma who helped to save Isaza's life. The appointment of these two women, plainly shows that the Bunyoro Political System had acknowledged the role of women in politics as early as

the 13th century. Isaza himself lived in Kitara County, but regularly inspected other counties especially for their cattle.

Meanwhile, traditions assert that while Isaza continued to rule over his people peacefully, the King of *Okuzimu-Underworld*, made advances to make friendship with him. Nyamiyonga-Muyonga means black smut, sent a messenger who approached Isaza with a series of riddles. In his message Nyamiyonga did not state what he wanted, except provided Isaza with six clues from which Isaza was to deduce the requests of Nyamiyonga. The riddles included:

- The measure of time (Enterabwire)
- The rope that arrests water (Omuguha Oguboha Amaizi)
- What makes Isaza to turn to look behind (Ekihindura Isaza Okurora Enyuma)
- One who knows no duty or responsibility (Entamanya Mulimo)
- One who knows no suffering or cares and comes drunk with alcohol
- The door that shuts poverty

The King could not solve these riddles; neither could the assembly of elders whom he called to assist him. Kogere the Saza Chief of Busongora and aunt to the King brought a maid called Kazana who soon promised that she would unravel the clues. The maid servant provided the answers to one of Isaza's wives and the answers were that; the measure of time was the cock; the rope that arrests water was the dough made of millet flour mixed in boiling water; what makes Isaza turn around and look behind was the calf because as the calf was being brought in, the king turned to look behind when it uttered a cry; the one with no sense of duty was the dog because it was given a smoking pipe but just stared at it disinterestedly; a baby was brought and placed on the King's lap, where upon it scratched his face and wetted his clothes, thereby becoming answer to fifth riddle; the door that shuts out poverty was a request by Nyamiyonga for a blood pact through exchange of blood painted coffee berries, one painted with Nyamiyonga's blood for Isaza to swallow and another smeared with Isaza's blood for Nyamiyonga to swallow.

Further accounts from traditions remind us that while that was over, another more serious crisis arose between Isaza and the messenger. Due to the fact that Isaza had remained undecided over the proposed blood pact (Omukago). Isaza asked his county chiefs whether he should proceed to make the blood pact with Nyamiyonga.

One legal adviser called Kyarunda advised Isaza against making any friendship with a foreign ruler whom he had not seen before. But since the custom demanded that one should not deny another, an offer of friendship, Isaza delegated the ceremony to his servant Bukuku to perform it in his name. Bukuku swallowed Nyamiyonga's seed. Nyamiyonga's messenger took leave of Isaza and reported back to his master. Nyamiyonga was filled with fury and sought to avenge the trickery and insult which Isaza had done to him.

Now it follows that Nyamiyonga was told, Isaza loved two things cattle and women more than anything else. So Nyamiyonga summoned his daughters, chose one of them called Nyamata (meaning milk) and sent her to Isaza's Palace for a trick on him. While they were at a distance, Nyamata's escorts left her to proceed along to Isaza's place. She arrived at Isaza's palace, and was met by Bukuku, at the visitor's house called *Mucwa*. Bukuku, the stand in of the King introduced her to the King, with the following words: "I Have No Intention Of Insulting My Ladies; There Is No One As Beautiful As She In Your Entire Household".

Isaza's younger sister Runyunyuzi (Star), also described her to her father that, "There Is No One As Beautiful As She, In Your Kingdom". This made Isaza to fall in love with Nyamata, and made her his wife. While Nyamata continued to stay with Isaza, she discovered that Isaza had much love for cattle especially his cow *Bihogo Bya Gaju*, a reddish brown cow and *Ruhogo* a bull. While she was six months pregnant she decided to leave for home on the promise that she had gone to establish maternal relations for her child and to see her parents. As she was escorted, traditions suggest, she simply disappeared from her escorts near the border to Nyamiyonga's Kingdom.

Nyamata bore a child who was named Isimbwa she told her father that there is nothing which Isaza loves like cattle. So Nyamiyonga decided to collect his two best cows, *Ruhogo* the Bull and *Kahogo* the cow, so that he could send them to Isaza's palace. He recommended to his herdsmen to travel at night so that, they can cause the two cows to join Isaza's herd. On seeing the two cows, Isaza got

delighted and immediately took possession of them. The two cows, unfortunately eloped with the Isaza's *Bihogo Bya Gaju* and ran to Nyamiyonga's Kingdom. Determined as he was, Isaza ordered Bukuku to keep safe of the palace, while he followed the cows.

On reaching Nyamiyonga's palace, he was met by Nyamata and his child Isimbwa. Isimbwa had been named by his uncle Rwogamata (One who bathes in milk). Isaza was given his cows *Bihogo* and *Kahogo* together with his wife Nyamata and two hundred heads of cattle, so that he could return home to Kitara. But Isaza never found the way back. He remained in Nyamiyonga's Kingdom for the rest of his life, neither did the Bagabu ever regain political dominance in Kitara.

The whereabouts of this underworld unnamed Kingdom is unspecified in tradition, but historians say that this encounter related to contacts between the Bagabu - Batembuzi and a new power to the south, that proved to be Isaza's undoing. Oliver Ronald using the Nkore traditions has identified the under world to have been Bwera just south of River Katonga, from where the Bahuma pastoralists made attempts to extend their power northwards into Isaza's Kingdom, which lay between Katonga and Nkuse Kafo Rivers.

Meanwhile, back home, Bukuku, the former stand in of the King proclaimed himself a new King of Bunyoro. He belonged to the Baranzi clan and was a "Mwiru". This proclamation to Kingship involved him in a power struggle with the members of the Bagabu clan. Isaza the former King belonged to the Bagabu Clan.

This is why the Bagabu made attempts to regain dominance after the *disappearance* of Isaza. Rubunda Omugabu, son of Isaza had a child whom he named Nkoni ya Rubunda literally meaning that "He Beat a Mwiru" (Bukuku) with a stick for becoming a King (Omukama) in his father's palace. This he did as a sign of expressing discontent and anger at being ruled by a Mwiru. When the Bagabu realised that regaining power was a far fetched idea, they decided to withdraw from Kitara. They went to Busongora where they stayed until today.

Besides, other rebellions followed suit. All the saza chiefs who had been left by Isaza Rugambanabato rebelled against Bukuku on account that they could not be ruled by a Mwiru. These rebellions left Bukuku in control of a very small piece of land that was united to Kikwenuzi, Kisengwe and Kajarazi, places which have not been pin pointed by modern informants. No account suggests that Bukuku ever regained the control over these areas he had lost. However, it should be noted that although Bukuku's reign was faced with political failures and rebellions, it remains significant because of the status group he represented, the Bairu agriculturalists. He is the only Mwiru remembered to have achieved this feat in Bunyoro-Kitara.

That aside, Bukuku had a daughter, named Nyinamwiru whom he had built a separate house to seal off everybody else and she was given a maid called Mugizi to look after her. Bukuku did this because he had no male child. One day, Isimbwa son of Isaza and Nyamata paid a visit from the *underworld*, where he had been since his infancy and he had already fathered a son called Kyomya.

While he stayed at Bukuku's place, he made some clandestine advances to Nyinamwiru through her maid Mugizi. He stayed in Nyinamwiru's enclosure for three months unknown to Bukuku. Six months after the departure of Isimbwa, Nyinamwiru bore a child Ndahura to Bukuku's consternation who ordered the child to be killed by drowning. Accounts reveal that the child was thrown into a river - Nguse Muzizi.

Ndahura wore necklaces that stuck to a tree, so he could not drown. Others say, it was his umbilical cord which got stuck in a bush. While he continued to hung around on the bank of the river, a nearby porter called Rubumbi came and saved the child. He knew that the child belonged to Nyinamwiru. He secretly informed her and Nyinamwiru decided to send two milk cows to feed the child. The child became known as Ndahura Karubumbi after the porter who had saved his life. Bukuku remained convinced that the child was dead.

Ndahura grew into a strong spirited boy, son of Rubumbi. But older people always commented on his striking resemblance to King Isaza. Ndahura constantly troubled the King's herdsmen and could always drive their cattle away, so that Rubumbi's cattle could drink first. The herdsmen reported the matter, to Bukuku who decided to come and punish the insolent youth. When Ndahura drove the King's cattle aside, Bukuku ordered his men to seize and beat him. But before they could do so,

Ndahura ran around Bukuku and stabbed him in the back with a spear. Bukuku fell down in the drinking trough and died. Ndahura sat on the King's stool. The frightened men and herdsmen ran to Nyinamwiru, so that she could come and capture her father's murderer. But Nyinamwiru just exclaimed: "My Ears Have Heard Both Good And Evil". (Amatu Gampulize Ebibi Nebirungi).

Because her father was slain but it was her son to take the throne. Nyinamwiru ordered the installation of Ndahura on the throne of his grandfather Isaza.

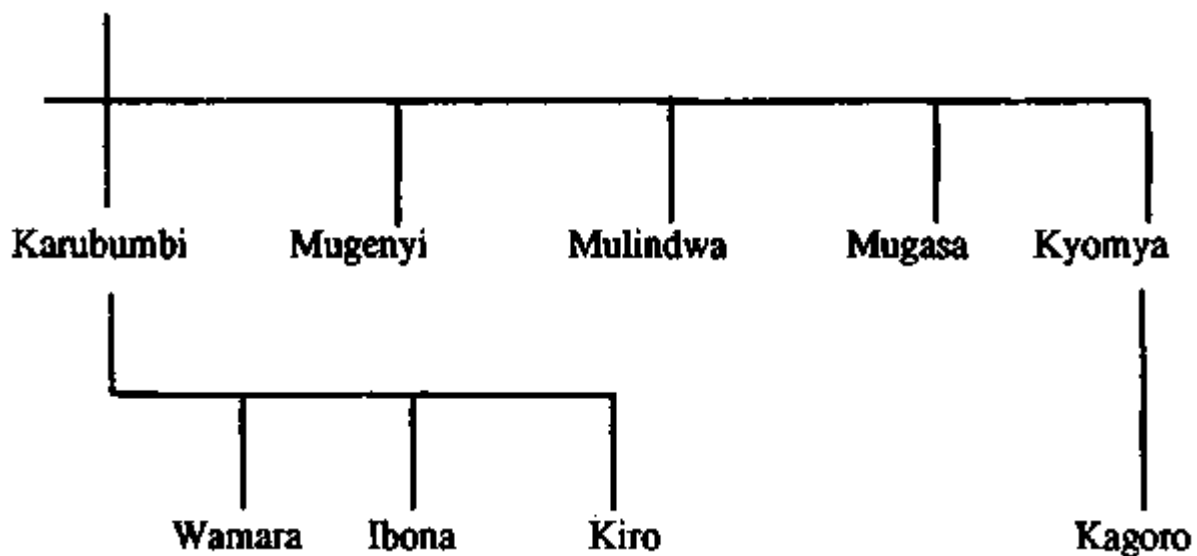
The Banyoro became very happy because the royal lineage had been restored. The Mwiru King had been slain. Ndahura became King and opened a new dynasty of the Bacwezi. He established his capital on Mubende hill, while Bukuku got buried at Kisengwa in Bugangaizi.

Chapter Two The Bacwezi Rule 1350 -1500 Ad

During the reign of Isaza Nyakikooto, there appeared a race of people known as the Bacwezi. They had a light skin, but their original homeland has remained a mystery. Some sources say that, they may have been Portuguese, that even the word 'Bacwezi' must have come from the portuguese word, while others reveal that they were an off shoot of a caucasoid people (perhaps the Egyptians) who sailed down the Nile to Bunyoro and Buganda, during and after the Batembuzi era.

For Oliver Roland, he tells us that the Bacwezi seem to have been one of the last bands of the pastoral Bahima who entered Uganda from the North East. According to him, the Bacwezi were not Galla as it used to be thought but were akin to the Sudanic peoples of South Western Ethiopia, though the distinctive elements in their culture was not Sudanic.

Bunyoro traditions assert that, the Bacwezi were related to the Batembuzi who proceeded them. In actual fact some accounts reveal that the Batembuzi were an advance party of Bacwezi, since both of them appear not to have been vastly different. The Bacwezi and Batembuzi both possessed super human qualities.



BACWEZI GENEALOGY

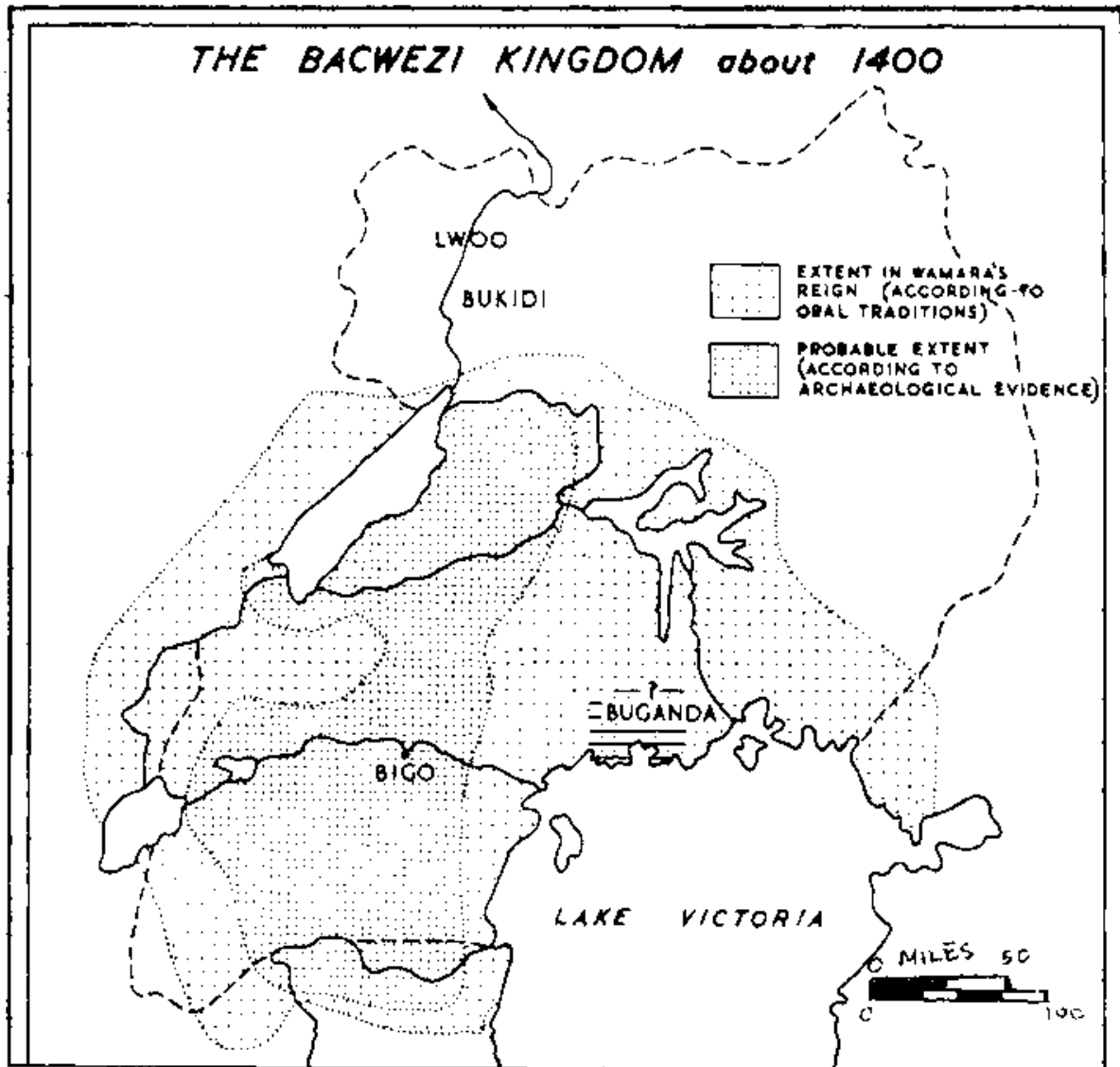
Isimbwa (not counted as a mucwezi because he was born in "the under world")

The onset of the Bacwezi did not simply involve the conquest and domination of Kitara by foreign Bahima, but also saw the emergence of these intrusive pastoral groups in chiefly position. Ndahura, the first Cwezi King emerged from a lowly social position within Kitara society. Although a grandson of Bukuku in tradition he is said to have been raised by a porter's family of Babopi clan away from court. His career did not involve the introduction of a totally new political system, rather his innovations were built upon the existing institutions which had been established by Isaza. For example, the saza unit was retained.

Ndahura's reign marked the beginning of centralisation of political institutions and their adaptation to the new social and economic realities of a more widespread pastoral and a more aristocratically based society. The regalia of Kingship : Royal drums, beaded crowns surmounted by tall copper cones, copper spears for ritual use, read fenced royal enclosures are all associated with Ndahura and the Bacwezi rule. *New moon ceremonies* lasting nine days were held at court each month inside the royal enclosure of the Cwezi King. G. Casati (1886) reported that this rite, which was retained by the Babiito, successors to the Bacwezi involved human and cattle sacrifices. Ceremonial herding and milk drinking were part of the ruler's daily rituals.

The introduction of barkcloth manufacture, coffee cultivation, iron working, earth works and fortifications have all been attributed to the Bacwezi. Careful examination of relics at important cultural sites of Bigo Bya Mugenyi, Mubende, Kibengo, Kagogo and Kasonko has revealed that the Bacwezi used bowels, spherical jars, shallow basins and fostered dishes. When Ndahura had temporarily *disappeared* from the Kingdom was ruled by his half brother Mulindwa (Caretaker) and was later succeeded by Ndahura's son Wamara, the last Cwezi ruler.

BACWEZI KINGDOM



Bacwezi Kingdom 1400

OMUKAMA NDAHURA OMUCWEZI

The progeny of the royal liaison between Isimbwa and Nyinamwiru was Ndahura (the uprooter), Kyarubumbi (son of a porter), Rwesakaara Myambi (who thatches himself with arrows), Rumoma Mahanga (the attacker of all nations). Tradition asserts that Ndahura was raised by a Mwiru, a porter's family of the Babopi clan.

Ndahura became the first Cwezi King in succession to his maternal grandfather, Bukuku Omuranzi. His capital was originally built at Kisengwe but later moved to Mubende hill where he could have a clear view of his Kingdom. When Isimbwa heard that his son Ndahura had become King of Kitara, he decided to return to Kitara. He walked through Bukidi, Isaka, Kafo, Buruli, Muduuma and Bujogoro. He crossed to Kirahoiga, Kikondo, Kyehabugingo, Mpogo, Bukonda Kitahinduka, Kicunda, Bujugule, Kikwenuzi and arrived at Nyinamwiru's palace at Kisengwe. He was warmly received and a lot of

merry-making followed to mark his re-union with Nyinamwiru. Nyanamwiru and Isimbwa, together set out for Mubende. They travelled via Kyankuba, crossed Nguse River to Busesa, Rwanjali and Bugogo from where they announced their presence to Ndahura. The royal Bacwezi drum 'Rusama' sounded all night to announce them. After merry making, Ndahura made Isimbwa the chief of Kisozi and Isimbwa decided to settle in Bunyoro-Kitara. He took wives from the Basaigi, Bacwa, Basito, Basingo, Basambu and Bacwezi clans. Nyinamwiru became Queen Mother; a title which accorded her great respect, a separate enclosure, land and cattle. She was ruler of Nkoni. Rubumbi, the porter who raised Ndahura, was made Saza Chief. Ndahura also rewarded other members of the Babopi clan, and this gave him more support in the Kingdom.

Although Ndahura had got the support of his mother, of the Baranzi clan, it appears that other members of the Baranzi clan fled the political scene south to Busongora. Others left Kitara and travelled south eastwards to Ukerewe. G. Hartwig estimates their arrival to be around 16th Century, but Kitara traditions suggest that they began their immigration much earlier.

Meanwhile, Isimbwa who had become a chief decided to go back to Bukidi to fetch his family. Kyomya his son, now had four children begotten to him by Nyatwor daughter of a mukidi who belonged to the Bakwonga clan. Kyomya's children were Nyarwa first born, Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga and Kato Kimera the twin brothers and Kiiza. When they came to Bunyoro-Kitara, Kyomya begot more children.

These were Kagoro, born of a maid Kacubya; Mugarura from Kogere of the Bacwezi clan, Ibona from a Cwezi called Waraga Mugenyi by Nyangoma of Basingo clan and Byangarubwa begot by Rugomya of the Basambu clan.

When Ndahura took the throne, the surrounding area was said to be in a state of rebellion against Bukuku. Ndahura launched a series of campaigns and set out to acquire allies. He turned north wards from where he brought his relatives and their cattle into the Kingdom. These people became Ndahura's military supporters in the expansion of the Kingdom. Ndahura embarked on military campaigns which extended the boundaries of the Kingdom. His first campaign was waged against Nsinga, a chief of Bugoma to the west, who had previously rebelled against Bukuku and was reputed to have used witchcraft against Ndahura. It is said that Ndahura removed Nsinga's crown of red feathers and substituted it with one of grass before executing him by casting him off the escarpment into lake Mwitanzige (Albert). In as much as Bugoma was a forest area bordering the Kibiro salt mines, it may be that economic motivations provided an incentive for the campaign. Bugoma's rebellion could have meant the disruption of salt supply from Kibiro, however erratic or tenuous the trade links may have been.

An impressive series of campaigns followed the subjugation of Bugoma. Ndahura is said to have led successful campaigns north to Buruli and south to Karagwe, Nkore, Bukuma and Rwanda. In the campaign against the Madi country, Ndahura's son called Kiro Muhimba captured black cattle and an eight legged stool. After the campaign he returned via the western bank of Lake Mwitanzige (Albert), through Toro and Busongora. When Kiro reached Busenya he heard the sound of his father's drum. He played his and Ndahura heard its sound. Kiro ordered his people to clear the forest called Kakiromba so that he could reach his father.

He met his father and gave him the eight legged stool and together they went back to Mubende via Nkoni. Other campaigns remembered were those to the east to Buganda where Ntege was ousted and Kyomya made paramount chief. Beyond Buganda to Busoga and around the shores of Lake Victoria to Sukuma country.

Further account shows that, the Kitara claim that Ndahura's campaigns extended into western Kenya are not idle boasts. In central Nyanza (Kenya) there is one group, the Wang'a, whose institutions of Kingship are linked in tradition with a pastoral 'Muhima' who arrived from western Uganda and dominated the agricultural peoples of the region.

He came with copper bracelets and sacred spears, which were the main features of the Bacwezi, of Kitara. The bracelets came to be used in conferring legitimacy upon the Wang'a Rulers. Through these campaigns Ndahura established the Bacwezi as the virtual rulers of the interlacustrine region.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BATEMBUZI BACWEZI AND BABIITO

BATEMBUZI
From whom descended

ISAZA

Nyabiryo (of the Bacwezi clan) Isimbwa Nyinamwiru (daughter of Bukuku, gate-guard to Isaza)

Kyomya = Nyatworo (daughter of Labongo)



Bacwezi



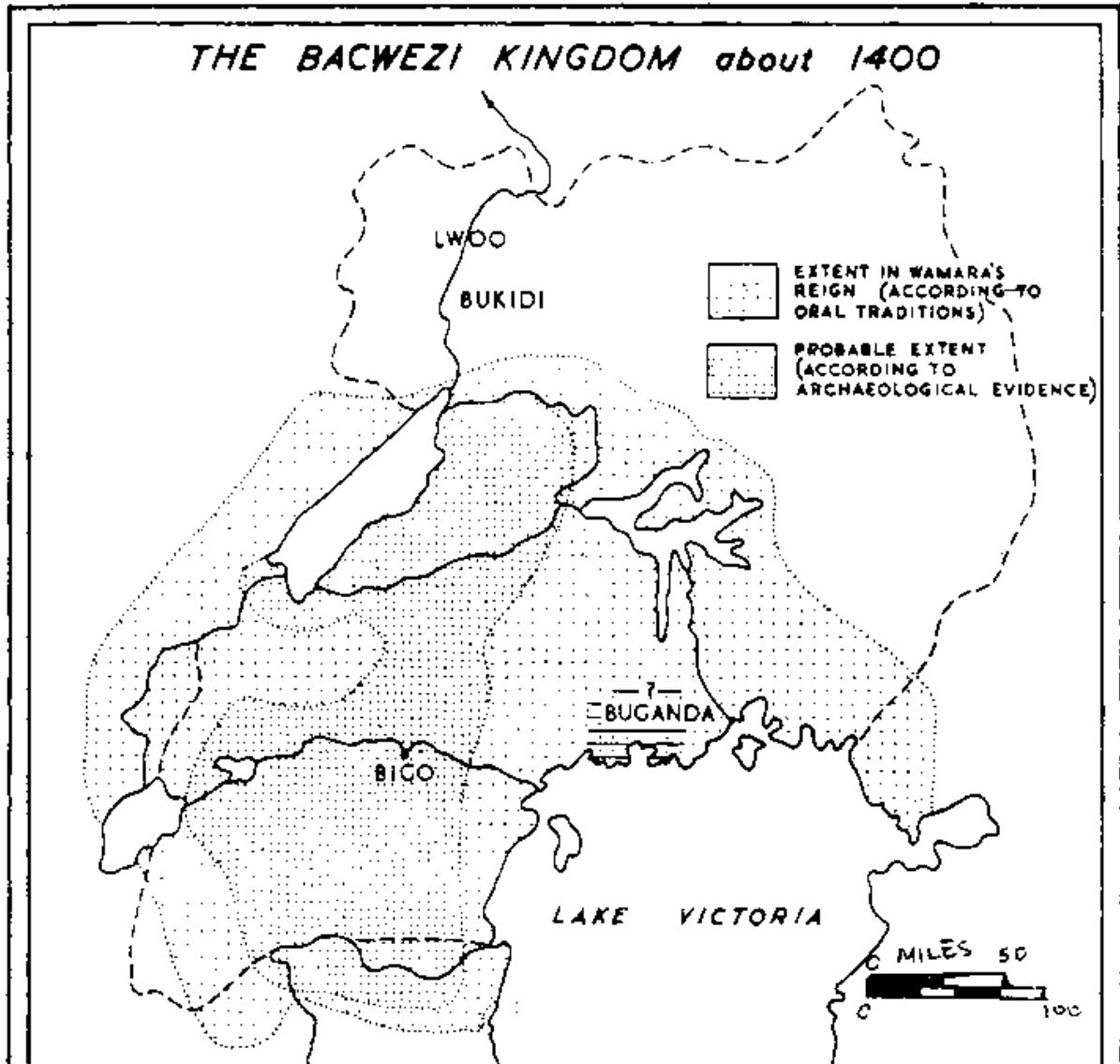
Ndahura



Wamara

BABIITO **BAKABAKA**
Isingoma Mpuga Kato Kimera
Rukidi from whom ancestor of the
descended all Biito Kings royal line of Buganda

BACWEZI KINGDOM (1400)



The Bacwezi Kingdom around 1400

KING WAMARA

At this time Ndahura is said to have become restless and began an expedition against Kyaihangiro (Tanganyika) where Bwirebutakya was the ruler. In a tough battle which followed, Bwirebutakya, threw darkness over Ndahura's Army. Ndahura was captured. A few of his soldiers who managed to escape, made reports back to the Banyoro. On hearing the bad news the people decided that Kyomya takes over the throne. Kyomya refused and decided to go and look for his brother. Mulindwa a half brother of Ndahura was left on the throne.

After spying in Kyaihangiro, Kyomya managed to reach Ndahura's captives and stole him from Bwirebutakya's palace. The people welcomed the King, but Ndahura declined the throne on account that he had already served as a servant in exile. Wamara his eldest son became the new King.

Ndahura moved away from Kitara. He went to Kibaale in Buyaga, moved to Kitagweta, passed Kijuma and reached Butara. He built a hut and there are marks to that effect today. They are called *Obwaro Bwenaku* (a sleeping place for the poor). He then travelled to Muhumba, reached Toro and stayed at Bulembo where he dug wells called Bijongo. He later moved to Butanka, Rwagimbo to Rwisamba. He settled near lake Busongora and dug a big well for his cows called Kikorongo. Ndahura's mother Nyinamwiru followed her son and together they settled at Irangara. Here they spent the rest of their lives before *vanishing* from the face of the earth.

After his coronation, Wamara moved his capital from Mubende to Bwera. Mubende was left in the hands of Ndahura's elder wife called Nyakahuma. Nyakahuma's position, apparently became hereditary until 1907, when it was destroyed by the British colonialists. The ascension of Wamara to the throne, brought about some problems in the palace. Nyangoma the mother of Mugenyi (Isimbwa's son) got displeased that her son had not become the new King. She blamed Mulindwa the 'caretaker'. However, Mulindwa was said to be in love with Nyangoma, Nyangoma organized a plot to kill Mulindwa because he had failed his son or to be King. She prepared a pit of boiling water on the spot where Mulindwa would sit. When Mulindwa came, he fell in it and almost died, had his servants not reported the matter to other Bacwezi.

Kagoro son of Kyomya rescued Mulindwa and killed people on sight. When he tried to kill Nyangoma's maid, Gwinekyakyo, she pleaded with him to stop and revealed the plot that Nyangoma had woven. Kagoro killed Nyangoma and her two sisters, Nyanteza and Nyagoro. He swore to exterminate the Basingo clan to which they belonged but his father Kyomya prevented him because the Basingo had given birth to Mugenyi. This advice prevailed.

Wamara created a new government for the Empire. He appointed chiefs of the various counties and provinces. Kagoro was given Kahange county; Mugarura - Kisoli (Mubende); Katukwe took Karokarungi (Ankole) Mulindwa was given Buyaga County; Mugenyi took Bwogero and Mahogora and built Bigo bya Mugenyi. Ibona ruled Bugusura, Bwera and Rwanda. Bugungu was given to Kahuka, Sese Islands to Mugasa; Buruli to Rubago; Muhwahwa to Kaganda Nsiri and Kyomya from Buganda was transferred to Bugahya.

According to tradition, the last Cwezi capital was in the celebrated entrenched earth work site at Bigo bya Mugenyi. Recent archeological investigations have tended to confirm the traditional evidence that Bigo was the last capital of the Bacwezi dynasty.

It has been established that the centre of the site as it now appears, is the result of a very considerable reconstruction which probably took place in the early Bito times.

Before the Bacwezi, left Kitara, Wamara the last Cwezi King left the royal drums Nyalebe and Kajumba with a man called Mubimba of the Abasita clan. He left the royal crowns and other regalia with a man called Mugungu. He requested them to hand drums to the next rulers when they came. Aware that the new incoming rulers (Babito) were ignorant of the custom of Kitara, Wamara left behind two Queens - Iremera of the Banyagi clan and Bunono of the Baitira clan, to instruct the new rulers in the Bunyoro state matters.

THE END OF THE BACWEZI RULE

Like the origin of the Bacwezi, there is still a lot of uncertainty on what the possible cause of collapse of the Bacwezi rule in Kitara was. Some historians say that the demise of the Cwezi Empire was brought about by the migration of the Luo speaking groups in Kitara about the 15th - 16th centuries; that these mixed farming agricultural people arrived by conquest and forced the Bacwezi to flee the Empire. While others attribute the decline largely on the internal factors which might have proved to be the Bacwezi's undoing and forced them to flee the Kingdom. One such internal factor could have been the excessive campaigns of Ndahura which made the Kingdom too big to manage. These campaigns were numerous and not all captured areas were permanently consolidated into the Kingdom. The Kingdom suffered a major set back when Ndahura himself was captured by Bwirebutakya. His capture was followed by many misfortunes which could not have occurred had he not been captured.

During the campaigns to Nkore, Ndahura escaped an assassination attempt, where a man lay in wait with a poisoned spear to kill him. Although the man lacked the might and courage to carry out the order, it acted as an indication that one day misfortune would befall the Cwezi rulers and their empire. The man was however seized by Ndahura and knocked him to death.

More weaknesses set in when Mulindwa was left as the protector of the throne. Mulindwa the Chief of Buganda and son of the Basita clan woman, lacked the ability to halt ambitious chiefs from becoming independent. The rebellious spirit of most of the chiefs was fuelled by the long absence of Ndahura, more so he faced challenges from Mugenyi who rivaled for the throne. These rebellions never stopped with Mulindwa's reign also continued during the reign of Wamara. For instance many Sazas of Kitara broke away during Wamara's rule. Buyaga on the western side of the Kingdom broke away and

claimed independence. Buyaga was independent by the time the Bito arrived. Tradition states that the Bayaga clan of Kitara brought a great wind, which destroyed Wamara's palace. The Bayaga related to 'Omuyaya' great wind, successfully rebelled against the Cwezi rule. Kitagwenda formerly a Saza also broke away and remained independent until the 19th century when the British Protectorate was created. It was ruled by the Basambo clan of Bahima group, but later they were superceded by the Balisa, who had provided Ndahura with the only wife Iremera.

Fragmentation increased during the Mulindwa - Mugenyi (Baasita-Basingo) quarrel. The conflict orchestrated by Nyangoma, mother of Mugenyi created differences among palace officials and made the centre of authority very weak. More confusion came when Wamara was denied tribute from the Basingo.

The Basingo refused to give Wamara a white spotted cow which belonged to their clan. Mulindwa who had been sent to collect it was speared to death where upon Kagoro went to extract revenge. He killed many Basingo and took their cattle. The defeated and ostracised Basingo adopted the spotted cow (the quarrel causer) as their totem.

Although the Basingo had been blamed for the ills of the state, this conflict made the Bacwezi vulnerable and militarily challengeable. They lost power and prestige. At the same time a man called Misango raided Cwezi herds of cattle and the Bacwezi recovered them only after they had incurred many losses of people. It seems Misango's raids were organised by Bahuma from Rwanda i.e. the Balisa and Basambu clans who were closely linked to the Bacwezi.

According to tradition, the Bacwezi left Kitara largely because of the bad omen which appeared against them. Blood was found in the milk of Wamara's cows. Mugenyi who swore to kill himself if his beloved cow Bihago died, nearly carried out this threat when the cow actually died. The red milk was however said to have been caused by the death of Kantu, blood brother to Wamara, who died due to neglect by the King's servants. After some traditional functions, we are told the cows began to produce white milk but the Bacwezi began to avoid the *obusito* (milk from a pregnant cow).

Meanwhile, Wamara arranged to summon diviners to interpret for him what these happenings meant. There are versions of what they said. One version has it that a young fattened bull (enimi yente encwerano) was slaughtered. When the diviners cut open the calf they could not trace its intestines. The diviners tried several times to divine in this manner but the same thing happened. However, a diviner called Nyakoka from Bukidi (present northern Uganda) offered to solve the mystery. He began by insisting that, he should have a blood pact with one Cwezi to guard against death should the interpretation displease them. The pact was made with Mulindwa; Nyakoka cut open the legs and head of the animal and there the missing intestines were found. Then a large black smut from the fire settled on them, it could not be removed.

Nyakoka divined that the absence of the intestines from their natural place signified that the country would be left without rulers, because the rule of the Bacwezi had ended. The intestines' presence in the animals legs and head meant that the Bacwezi would load up their belongings and would travel far away; while the presence of the intestines in the head meant that the Bacwezi would continue to rule over men through spirit mediums (Mbandwa cults).

Another version states that the two diviners from Bukidi were given a calf to kill and its blood spouted in many direction like a fountain. These many spouts were interpreted to mean that the Bacwezi would leave Kitara in many directions. So the spouts showed them the way.

Traditions further claim that when Nyakoka and his colleague Karongo left Kitara, they went back to Bukidi. And the Bacwezi were left in a state of dilemma. They wondered themselves, who would rule the land if they left. Kyomya suggested that they send for his four sons to come and manage the Kingdom. So the Bacwezi sent Kanyabuguma (saza chief of Buganda) to Bukidi to summon Kyomya's sons to get prepared for the throne. However Kanyabuguma found them already prepared to come to Kitara, for they had already been told by Nyakoka, who had left earlier.

It is said that when Nyakoka reached Bukidi he met the sons of Kyomya the Mucwezi on a hunting expedition. Kyomya had married a Mukidi woman called Nyatwor. She was called Nyatwor because she came from the country 'Tolo' at the foot of Mt. Guruguru, (Nya-Tolo, Tolo girl, wrongly Nya-Twor). She belonged to the Bakwonga clan. Her sons came to be referred to as the Ababiito because,

Nyatolo met her lover under a *bito* tree. Even when Nyakoka met them they were resting under that Bito tree and it shaded their mothers house. They adopted the bush-buck as their totem because it was their mother's totem. They did not adopt their father's totem because he had left them while they were still young. It became the official totem of the Babiito, descendants of Rukidi Mpuga who was the first Bito King.

On realizing that, the new ruler had got the messages, official Bunyoro tradition claims that the Bacwezi departed from Kitara. They passed via Kisozi to Kahanga where they stayed, for sometime. From here they reached Buyaga, where they decided that Mulindwa should remain behind. Mulindwa refused and later when others had gone he decided to move. He had a blood pact with a man called Mihingo of the Bayaga clan. Mihingo together with his son Kyanku accompanied Mulindwa, but on reaching Bugoma forests, he got sick. They decided to return Mulindwa to Buyaga where he apparently stayed and met his death there.

When Mulindwa died, Buyaga became the property of Mihingo and it became hereditary thus when Mihingo died Kyanku succeeded him. Their drum was called *Kyabakubwire* and the Mihingos or *Kyankuswere* forbidden to see a Mubito King because they buried a Mucwezi. Like the Babiito, they inherited some belongings of the Bacwezi including the golden bangle *ebikomo* that are said to have played the role of selecting a successor to Mihingo or Kyanku by transferring themselves from the arm of the dead to that of the heir.

It is said that when the Bacwezi reached Bugoma, they met their brother called Mubyasi. They left him behind and the couple are the founders of the Ababyasi clan.

Traditionally the Bacwezi are thought to have drowned into lake Mwitanzige, but another school of thought believes that the Bacwezi did not just disappear. What is traditionally called disappearance should be viewed in the context of the difficulties of communication and mobility at the time between different points at various distances of considerable magnitude. At most these people must have moved further south into Ankole, Rwanda, Mboga, Burundi and other places.

Chapter Three: The beginning of Babiito Rule in Bunyoro Kitara

GENEALOGY OF THE BABIITO KINGS ISINGOMA MPUGA RUKIDI (1) (14TH CENTURY)

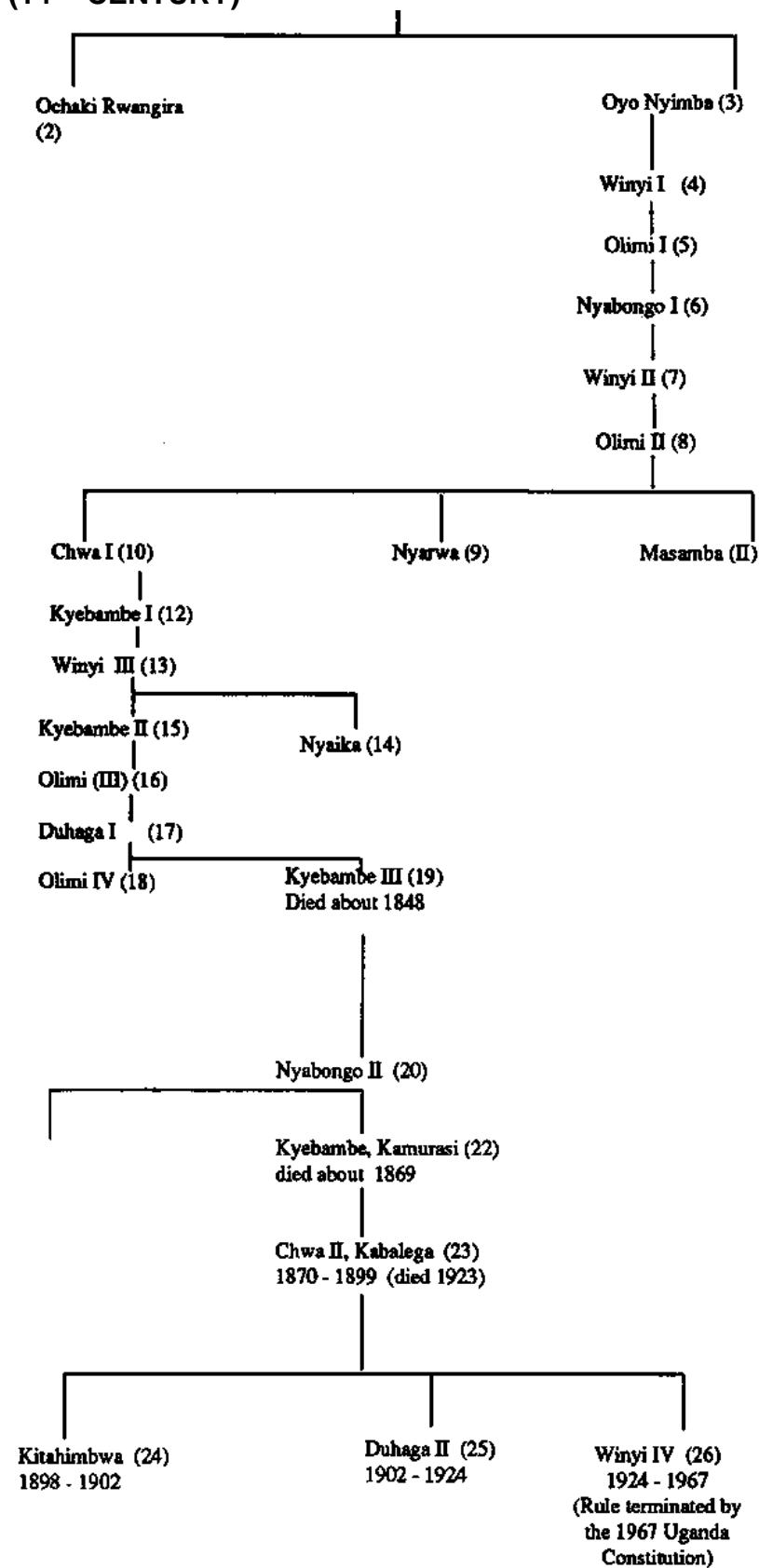


Figure
Based on K.W. 1936. J. Nyakatura 1947 and Mrs. Fisher writings

THE BEGINNING OF THE BABIITO RULE IN BUNYORO KITARA

When the Bacwezi, the invaders of Bunyoro Kitara had left, it was the Babiito-Luo who assumed Kingship over the remnants of the Cwezi empire. Traditions assert that, the Luo were invited by the Bacwezi to take over as rulers while other sources reveal that the invasion of the Luo is what forced the Bacwezi to flee the Empire. What is more certain is the fact that the group of Luo which came to Kitara must have been a very small group; for they soon gave up their Luo language for the language of the Bantu speaking people whom they ruled. They began a dynasty of Kings, *Abakama* that lasted some eighteen generations, perhaps four or five centuries, up to its dissolution in 1967 by the Uganda Government and the death of Omukama Tito Winyi in 1971. The dynasty as previously noted, was called 'Babiito' because its founders were men of the Jo-Bito clan of the Luo which came from under the Bito tree. These were Luo who had stayed in Bukidi the present day northern Uganda and their original place was called Tekidi in the Agora mountains. They were descendants of Luo groups which had moved from southern Sudan (Bahr el Ghazal) some generations before.

The name Rukidi of the first ruler referred to a point of origin in Tekidi and the name Isingoma seems to have been derived from the word *Ise - Ngoma*, meaning the father of the drums. It was a name commemorating the possession of the royal drums and Insignia that were from the old supporters of the Bacwezi - the Basita clan and other drums which Rukidi brought with him from Pawir-Chope. The name Mpuga meant the *spotted one* - meaning that Mpuga had mixed descent of the Bacwezi and the Babiito. They introduced many words, clans and customs which appear to have their origin in the cradle land.

The Empire which the Babiito inherited was still extensive but certainly smaller than that of their predecessors. Nkore for example had broken away before the arrival of the Bito and Buganda seceded before the death of the first Bito King Isingoma Rukidi-Mpuga. The Kingdom which remained got another name Bunyoro hence the name Bunyoro-Kitara. The term Bunyoro according to some historians, seems to have specifically, referred to the new Luo element in the population, the bulk of which tended to form an intermediate class between the Hima-pastoral aristocracy and the ordinary peasants.

On the coming of the Bito rulers, Bunyoro tradition confirms that they came to Bunyoro after they had been invited by the Bacwezi. It is stated that when Nyakoka left Kitara, he went to Bukidi, where he met the two brothers and their servants. These were Rukidi Mpuga and Kato. Mpuga is said to have run to embrace Nyakoka, the diviner who had foretold the Bacwezi's fate. Nyakoka asked what fortune they had met during their hunt. Mpuga showed him a curious animal which he had shot on the lake. One part of it resembled a monkey and the other a lion. They returned together to the house and that night made a great feast to commemorate Nyakoka's coming. When the night had advanced and the people had gone to bed, Mpuga remained talking with Nyakoka. Nyakoka explained that the southern Kingdom of Kitara was vacant without any ruler and expounded on its vastness, wealth, beauty, dignity and might. He also told of its people, their herds, rich clothing and their refined habits. Mpuga who sat listening, got excited to see this land and rule its people.

While the discussion continued, there arrived a messenger of the Bacwezi called Kanyabugoma, with the message that the Babiito should descend to Kitara and take over kingship. Mpuga who had already got the message from Nyakoka got delighted by that formal invitation. But no sooner had Kanyabugoma rested than another man by the name Mugungu arrived. He was from the Babwijura clan of Kitara.

He also brought the same message that the Babiito should not delay; for the royal regalia of the Bacwezi had been left behind with him. When Mpuga fully got the message, he is said to have withdrawn his interest because he had considered himself incapable for the kingship. Nyakoka the chief diviner however, never allowed him to get faint hearted; for he promised to guide him to Kitara and to lead him into the customs of the country. Mpuga who got pleased in turn promised that he would make Nyakoka a great man, almost as great as a king, if he fulfilled all his missions. He also promised the rest of the messengers, rewards if they assisted the Bito to go to Kitara.

Nyakoka is said to have advised Mpuga to make a drum which was to be used for summoning the people and which could also be used to let the Babiito know each other's whereabouts. This advice prevailed and a big tree was felled out of which drums were made. Rukidi took the lowest part of the tree from which he made a big drum (empango) and named it Tibamulinde. He got another branch of

the tree from which he made a small drum to be used for the journey to Kitara. He named it Nyakangubi. Kato the brother, took the trunk from which he made his drum Musambwa or (Mujaguzo) and also made a smaller drum which he called Timba. The top section was given to Mugungu of the Babwiju clan, out of which he made a drum called Kanumi.

Thereafter they began their journey to Kitara accompanied by their chief minister Mugungu, the chief priest Nyakoka and Karongo, the messenger of the Bacwezi - Kanyabugoma and Kasaru the *Secretary* (literally who acted as interpreter to the people). Other servants included one who carried Rukidi's Spear called God Ati and another man by the name of Katanga of the Muchwa clan. Katanga carried Rukidi's spear called Karazankamba, while Rukidi himself carried a sword called Kasutama and a spear *Kaitantahi*.

The rest of the servants carried other spears like *Nyakakooto*, *Kaizireigo* and many other things. The pattern of movement was that the warriors went before with spears, arrows and daggers followed by musicians who played on the horn. Nyakoka, Mpuga and his family and some of his immediate servants came last. Nyakoka the chief priest constantly told his journeying mates that those who fight for Kingdoms must be courageous and strong. That with a leader like Rukidi Mpuga and a priest like himself, they had nothing to fear. After a march of tens of miles they reached the shores of Lake Albert (in Luo Onekbonyo i.e. it may kill the locusts) and the shores of the Nile. They searched for a place where they crossed at Fajoo according to common tradition. Another possibility is that they turned east, roughly following' the course of the stream, before swinging round the great curve and the sharp bend formed by the river in the Buruli region where they passed. This in later years became a common passage between Bunyoro and Acholi land. Fajoo is situated south of Murchison Falls and Muruli Port.

But before they crossed the Nile, we are told, a diviner advised the Babiito - Luo to make a sacrifice if they were to enjoy prosperity in their new land. The sacrifice was to be in form of a baby, money, beads and a cow. They were to be thrown into the lake. The advice was accepted but it was not easy for the Babiito to determine whose baby was to be sacrificed. As the beads were thrown into the lake, being part of the sacrifice! Nyarwa's (the eldest Mubiito's) baby who had just started walking swallowed one of them. The (Bafumu) diviners from there concluded that the Lake had chosen its victim and that bad luck would befall the Babiito if they refused to sacrifice the baby. Not wishing to take any chances, they cut open the baby, removed the bead and reluctantly threw it into the Lake. Nyarwa became furious at what he regarded as unnecessary murder. To appease him Mpuga got another child of the peasant and hurled him into the Lake. The mother of the child got heart-broken and is said to have cursed the Babiito.

Although the Babiito got deeply touched by the curse, they continued with their journey southwards and crossed the Nile with the help of men of the Bahinda clan. They immediately engaged a man called Muhanguzi as their messenger so that he could announce their arrival into Bunyoro-Kitara. They proceeded towards Buruli and reached Pawir (Chope for Bantu). Though the whole group stayed at Pawir it is said that the place became over crowded and political tension was created between Rukidi Mpuga and Nyarwa his elder brother. According to some sources, the political tension was caused by the fear which Mpuga had for Nyarwa. Mpuga feared that if he proceeded southwards together with Nyarwa there was a possibility of Banyoro electing Nyarwa as their King. So he hatched a plan of getting rid of him, that on the evening of the fifth day, Mpuga feigned sickness and called for Nyarwa saying, states that cordial relations existed and that even Rukidi married a Pawir (Chope) woman. It asserts that Nyarwa was just left in the north (Pawir) as ruler and Mpuga had even appointed the people of Chope as chiefly successors before his formal take over.

What seems more certain is that the Babiito first settled in Pawir to gather support from their Luo kinsmen. This was specifically achieved with groups such as Bakwonga, Bacwezi and Bayago. Together with the Babwooro, Banywagi, Baigara, Balebeki, Bagweri, Bajaara, and Bapiina. So the take over of Rukidi was supported by an ethnically mixed group of northerners, who got attracted to the strong leadership of Mpuga and moved with him down to the capital.

Ethnically mixed because, these other groups were just Luo hordes which had non-Luo-Madi culture. For example the Babworo clan which is today limited to northern Bunyoro, is said to be a remnant of an old royal clan of Acholi referred to as the BooraKaka par Rwot (of Madi Origin). This group had founded the Rwotship of Lamogi, in pre-Luo times which extended as far down as the Nile. According to Babworo tradition, they joined Rukidi Mpuga and travelled with him as far down as Bugahya where they apparently settled. The accompaniment which many of the clans offered to the Babiito testifies to

the fact that, their coming must have been peaceful, although some non-Luo groups retreated southwards into Buganda and other areas.

Rukidi moved through Busesa, Rwanjali and Bucubya before reaching Bwera the last capital of Wamara. Rukidi established his own capital at Eburu a few miles north of Mubende Hill. When he was still at Wamara's palace, he ordered huts to be erected in the outer court yard for himself and his people. He refused to take possession of the royal houses until he was assured of his position and had learnt the use of the different buildings. He inquired whether there were people who had been left by the Bacwezi and discovered that there were two of the King's wives (Abago), Iremera of the Balisa clan and Bunono of the Baitira clan. He also discovered that there were royal drums which Wamara had left with a man called Mubimba of the Basita clan. The Bacwezi had followed the custom of the past Kings because even when the Batembuzi were leaving they left behind their drums at a hill called Mujungu in Bugangaizi.

Meanwhile the Luo who had spent some time without exchanging words with the local people, at least did so, when Mpuga sent for someone to talk to. From there Nyakoka summoned Kasoira the leader of the Bafumu who had served the Bacwezi. Rukidi asked him where the Bacwezi had gone and Kasoira told him that the Bacwezi had left the Kingdom due to the loss of prestige and respect.

Kasoira who held a long discussion with Rukidi Mpuga told him that the Bacwezi had left Kitara and would not come back. Mpuga sent for the two wives of Wamara, to ascertain whether the Bacwezi would not come back. Bunono and Iremera were brought in to the presence of Mpuga. They trembled and were sorely frightened when they saw him and all his servants armed. Mpuga spoke kindly to them and told them to be seated. Then turned and said:

"My dear ladies, I wish very much to know the reason why your dear husband, the King and his people decided to leave their Kingdom".

The two ladies looked at each other not knowing who should tell the story, but finally one jerked out and repeated what Mpuga had heard from Kasoira. When the women had left, Mugungu and Nyakoka warned Rukidi that if he never wanted to become King, his brother would be made King.

This aroused Rukidi, who despatched a man called Kabahita of the Abazima clan to collect the royal drum from Mubimba of the Abasita clan. He was chief of the royal drums and lived on the hill called Mujungu. When Kabahita arrived at Mubimba's place, he found him in a depressed mood. He asked the royal emissary to leave him alone and complained of lack of food (millet) in his household because of severe famine. His wife he said had given birth and there was nothing for the mother and child to eat. He remarked that if Rukidi was a true King why could he not send him (Mubimba) food so that he could save the life of his wife and child. Kabahita is said to have hurried back to Bwera and reported to Rukidi Mpuga. Rukidi immediately despatched Kabahita with food to Mubimba. Mubimba got very happy to see that the King had accepted his request and thanked him gratefully. He handed over the small drum (Nyalebe) to Kabahita while himself carried the bigger one (Kajumba) to Bwera. Their arrival was announced by Nyakoka. Mubimba (Omusita) who had been left in charge of the royal drum, expressed happiness upon seeing a new King for Kitara Kingdom. Mpuga himself was glad to see Mubimba and thanked him for keeping the royal drum.

Mpuga then ordered for the preparation of the coronation ceremony. Mugungu was asked to produce the royal Insignia office that was left. in his charge, which included spears, shields, royal chairs and some royal drums. *Omunyunya*, another man, was asked to produce the spears and royal chair which were left in his care. So were the other things which had been left behind by the Bacwezi. Iremera, Wamara's wife (Omugo) produced a cup made of beads, a milk pot, while Bunono the other woman brought other things. To these Rukidi added what he had brought with him from Bukidi. They became very important things in Bunyoro from there onwards. They were always covered with beads and preserved until the coming of the white man.

Rukidi Mpuga was crowned afterwards. But before he was crowned, he had his head shaven, finger nails trimmed and his toe nails well treated. He was also decorated with beads. Regalia men were selected (abebikwato). Nyakoka, Mugungu, Bumuroga, worshipped and praised Rukidi by calling upon the gods to prevent the drums from sounding if he was a pretender or not entitled to the throne of his predecessors. A man called Ruhaguzi brought forward the *Nyalebe*, *Kajumba*, and *Kaijwire* drums which Rukidi hit and they produced a good sound. He led the procession inside the palace, because

the first ceremony was carried out in front of the palace on a fire place of the Bacwezi which was filled with earth to become an ant-hill. From then, coronation ceremonies were to take place there and it became a custom for every King to have this *Anthill* in front of the palace. Among the Baganda, its called *Wankaki (Mugabante)*. Rukidi Mpuga was named "Winyi" by Mugungu, who also gave him an "*Empaako*" of "Okali" (pak in Luo where they originated).

The empako is a secondary name for greeting and for use in other culturally important daily oral attachments. Okali is used only for Kings. Other *Empaako* include:

Amooti Abwooli Apuuli
Akiiki Adyeri Achali
Abooki Ateenyi Bala (for chiefs)
Atwooki Araali Okali (for Kings)

The Empaako have their origin from the Luo and every Munyoro is given one soon after birth. In Acholi the same names are still found and are called "Pak" meaning "praise". So they are praise names - used in everyday life to imply respect and friendly intimacy.

Rukidi Mpuga thus ascended to the throne, becoming the first Mukama of the Babiito in Bunyoro-Kitara. It is recorded that after his coronation, Rukidi transferred his capital from Bwera (Buddu) to Bugangaizi. He left Bwera in charge of a man called Baralemwa Kihesanantoni of the Bamwooli clan. Rukidi wanted to avoid King Ruhinda of Nkore who declared independence. He therefore built the first Bito capital at Haburu, a place situated four miles north of Mubende town and Bamuroga of the Babwijura clan built the palace on the model of Wamara's palace at Bwera. This included a fence, houses called *Kasende, Kamurweya, Kyamunuma, Kyakato* and *Kyakatumura, Mucwa* (for royal ladies meetings) and *Kagondo* (a three passage house). A man called *Ruzika* built *Karuzika* house named after him. It was the royal main house having on top of it a spear called *Galengera*.

Another house was *Mukanaiguru*. where people bowed and knelt before him, before he proceeded to the royal house *Karuzika*. Rukidi's royal dancer was called the *Nzini*, whose name was Nyakwehuta of the Bayaga clan. Rukidi delivered a speech which was interpreted to the people by Kasaru who introduced Rukidi to them. Kasaru said:

"This is your King who has succeeded to the throne of his fathers. He is not a bastard as you can see the resemblance yourself. All of you and all the various ethnic groups from different countries gathered here must obey him and must always feel free to come to him whenever you are in trouble or in sorrow, he will help you."

It was after delivering speeches and after all the ceremonies were over that, Rukidi Mpuga embarked on the administrative arrangements of the Kingdom. He divided Bunyoro-Kitara among his brothers and his followers. It is recorded and most traditions confirm that Rukidi Mpuga gave the county of Buganda to his brother Kato, who rebelled after a short period of time. Suspecting that Kato may decide to settle in Buganda, he gave him a faithful and trustworthy old man who accompanied him to Buganda. These included Katumba of the Bahinda clan, Kahira (of the Buffalo clan), Balitema, Mpinga, Maziga, Gunyu, Kaswija, and many others. He took a lot of salt with him, which he was to use to preserve the meat for feeding his people. While Kato had at the back of his mind a plan of rebelling against his brother, Rukidi accompanied him up to Kiburara hill where he bade him farewell. Bunyoro traditions confirm that, the marks which they made on a stone at the spot where they said good-bye to each other are still visible.

Kato went to Buganda and arrived at a house of a man called Ssebwana, who pretended to be the Saza Chief of Buganda at that time. At the time Kato arrived, Ssebwana was not at home and his wives struck by the good looks of Kato, soon hatched a plan of murdering Ssebwana so that they could have Kato as their husband. But what Kato discovered was that the women of Buganda were good cultivators of the soil. He sent Mpuga twenty maidens, to dig for him. He settled down among the people of Buganda and as his power increased the tributes he used to send to Bunyoro gradually became less, until they ceased altogether and Kato proclaimed himself independent and Buganda a separate Kingdom. He performed all the ceremonies following what had happened at Rukidi's coronation. He assumed the name Kimera, signifying a branch, which having dropped from the parent

tree, grows into another tree. He said, "I have taken root here and will not move hence, no man shall transplant me".

The great and ancient Kitara Empire had split up into parts. There was Nkore which had broken away under Ruhinda (Muhuma) and there remained only Bunyoro-Kitara which now claimed to be the legitimate bastion of that empire. Buganda which had now become independent was originally called Muhwahwa. It assumed the name Buganda after Kaganda Rusiri son of Ntege son of Koya who was the Saza Chief of Muhwahwa during the reign of Wamara. Bakitara used to despise the people of Muhwahwa and used to describe them jokingly as Kaganda's littlemen, "Obuganda". The nickname slowly took roots and the name Muhwahwa disappeared. To his younger brother, Kiiza, he gave Busoga. The party of the Bito which moved to Bunyoro and perhaps one which had been sent by Rukidi Mpuga, founded the principality of Bukholi, the oldest principality in Busoga.

The two women Bunono and Iremera, remained in the royal household of Bunyoro to instruct the king in court ceremonies. Some of Mpuga's wives were taught to cook according to the custom of the country of Bunyoro. Mpuga never used to drink milk, for he did not know what it was. This was considered a disgrace to many Banyoro, who felt that the king should learn how to drink milk. One day when the King was ill with fever, she carefully washed a milk-pot, flavoured it with smoke and filled it with milk. When night fell, she came and handed it to the king, telling him to drink this medicine through a spell. As it was dark, he could not see the contents of the pot and he drank it off and had the pot refilled four times. When he was well again, she showed him that milk was the medicine she had administered, so he straight away called all his people of Bukidi and advised them to drink milk. He liked cattle very much that every evening cows were brought to the entrance of the king's house and he watched them being milked. The training which Rukidi Mpuga had to undergo in order to understand the Cwezi's kingly rituals, shows that, the Bacwezi culture was superior compared to the much less sophisticated culture of the Luo new comers.

Rukidi ruled for quite long and married among others, the two royal "Bahumakati" left by Wamara. Iremera produced Ocaki and Oyo, who later, became kings. Rukidi Mpuga named Ocaki Rwangira to be successor to the throne.

The kings of Bunyoro Kitara were never considered dead in the natural sense. They buried and succeeded their fathers, they sat on the throne and acquired the title Okali and met their deaths while defending their thrones. Those who defeated them were called "Kyebambe" meaning "Userper, who seizes the throne forcibly when it belonged to his brother. Mpuga was buried at Dyangi, but his garments were buried at Masaijagaka in Chope, implying that Mpuga's authority extended as far as Chope.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUNYORO KITARA AND OTHER INTERLACUSTRINE REGION KINGDOMS AND PRINCIPALITIES

Following the coming of the Luo into Bunyoro-Kitara, the break up of the Biito family were planted out as tributary rulers of the central provinces of the former Cwezi Kingdom. The break up, gave most parts of the interlacustrine region, communality of origin as far as their ruling houses were concerned. It was this sort of origin which determined the relationships between them and Bunyoro-Kitara, which in this case was considered the parent house of the royal families. However, at times, relationships could be determined by national considerations and other factors.

We have already shown that Bunyoro is related to Buganda by the traditions of the founders of both kingdoms. Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga was a twin-brother of Kato Kimera the founder of the ruling house of Buganda. Buganda seceded from Bunyoro in the early days of the establishment of Bito rule in Bunyoro-Kitara. Common ancestry between Bunyoro-Kitara and Buganda has been disputed by some historians. They say that, if Bunyoro and Buganda, had been founded by the same family of the Babiito as the traditions say, then these kingdoms would not have become rivals. This argument does not hold, since national considerations were often of more importance than common ancestry of the rulers.

Bunyoro and Buganda remained in recognition of their historical bonds. Whenever the Kabaka of Buganda would die, fire that would usher in the reign of the new Kabaka had to be brought from Bunyoro. In this respect, Buganda acknowledged, the parenthood of the Bunyoro - Monarch to Buganda. Bunyoro's system of administration was a yardstick for all these newly created sub-dynasties. To the

South-east of Bunyoro, lay Buddu, a periphery state of Bunyoro which was under the Fumambogo sub-dynasty. Southwards, there was Bwera, another tributary state which was under the Mori (Bamwoli) sub-dynasty. It had been given to them by Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga. South-west and west lay Kitagwenda and Kyaka. They possessed Bito rulers. Buruli and Bugerere to the north also had Bito rulers and paid tribute to Bunyoro.

The classic direction in which the Bito princelings found thrones and fortunes and virtual independence was east-wards in Busoga. Here all the princely houses called Baisengobi which held sway right over the north and east of the country were founded by the Babiito, from Bunyoro-Kitara. Many of these were founded in the period between (1500-1733 AD). Bukoli, the oldest Busoga principality is said to have been the first to be founded and was founded by the earliest party of the Babiito, who moved from Kitara during the early period of Bito rule. This must have been the party which was led by Rukidi's younger brother Kiiza, who was given the territory by Rukidi in the first administrative arrangement of the Kingdom.

Kiiza changed his name to Nyaika when he reached Busoga. Other sub-dynasties of Busoga such as Bulamogi and Bukono seem to have been in existence for about 13 generations while others like Bugabula and Bugweri, have only lasted for nine to ten generations. These sub-dynasties attached great importance to Bunyoro, although they led an independent life. Some accounts reveal that King Igabula was grandson of Omukama Olimi I, of Bunyoro.

Since Busoga sub-dynasties were several in number, Igabura must have been one of the first ruler of the sub-dynasties which were founded at a later stage. Members of the Busoga ruling houses, used to be brought up in Bunyoro's place. This continued even at the time of Kabalega, Nyaika a young prince of Busoga was brought up in Bunyoro's palace and he was under the care of Omukama Kabalega.

Beyond these inner circles, there were other sub-dynasties which were established as a result of the raids which Bunyoro carried out against other distant territories. An early example was Kiziba the northern Haya State of Bukoba District, which received a Bito ruler in the sixteenth or seventeenth generation back, Kibi Kiziba, the first ruler of Kiziba is said to have been born at the salt Lake Kibiro but went to Kiziba where he claimed independence. Other sources, tell us that Kibi did not declare Kiziba independent as a result of the raid to which he had gone but was just given Kiziba by Omukama Winyill. Kibi sent for a fire from Bunyoro - Kitara to confirm his legitimacy. His action to send for fire from Bunyoro implied that, he still recognised the parency of Bunyoro to his newly created Kingdom of Kiziba.

Kibi's example was followed by Prince Bwohe, son of Omukama Isansa, who proclaimed Kooki an independent Kingdom. Bwohe had gone on a raiding expedition into Nkore, together with his father. When they were going back, they passed through Kooki. Bwohe saw the beauty of the country and its remote position. He said to his father My Lord, let me stay in this place so as to prevent enemies from coming to our Kingdom. His father accepted and made him ruler of Kooki. Because of its remoteness, Bwohe declared it an independent Kingdom and soon began to send out expeditions to Kiziba to attack the rulers of that country - his fellow Babiito the grand children of Kibi, although Kooki had broken away from the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, it retained one custom of sending a message to the King.

The Mukama of Kitara used to send a Mubiito who performed the coronation rites such as silting the new King on the throne and handing him the royal spear. This connection which Kitara had with Kooki was retained up to the time when Kooki ceased to be an independent Kingdom and joined Buganda in 1896.

When Kabumbuli was being crowned as new Mukama, the Omukama of Bunyoro Duhaga I, sent his brother price Nyakana Bosa Mbangwire to perform those rites. He was the one who gave the royal name of Isansa. Kitara Kings long performed these rites for other Kings of Kooki.

Historically, the Luo group which migrated to Bunyoro has been divided into two houses - the party that actually set up the ruling house of Bunyoro-the Babiito and the other party that settled in northern the parts of Bunyoro in the area known as Chope or Pawir. These two houses have been considered different because, the Bito who founded the ruling house of Bunyoro-Kitara lost their language and their way of life while the Palwo (of Pawir) kept their culture more or less intact. Although these people had lived and formed pan of the Bunyoro-state system they had remained Luo in speech. Around

1680, these same people started their migrations to the north, into Acholi and Karamoja. The migration was caused by upheavals which took place in Bunyoro-Kitara in that period. The upheavals had been caused by the invasion of King Chwa II against Nkore and Rwanda, where he was overwhelmed, and killed. Some of these new waves of Palwo settled in Kaberamaido for some time before moving on Bukedi and western Kenya. In Bukedi the Palwo who had moved from Bunyoro, joined the pioneers of the earlier migrations and began a systematic colonization of Budama. These were people who came to be called the Padhola (or Japadhola).

The Palwo, founded principalities such as Patiko, Pay era and Atyak in Acholi. In these principalities and other areas of northern Uganda they introduced new concepts of Government from Bunyoro, which replaced the rudimentary forms of government in the area. The new concepts in particular were the idea of hereditary kingship associated with the royal drum, and other items of regalia such as spears, stools, skins etc. The movements of the Palwo and those of early Luo communities, which the Bito and Palwo had left in northern Uganda, preceded a pace with those of the Ateker people.

There was fusion which occurred at particular major points between Luo and Ateker, the result of which was the creation of new people notably the Langi and Kumam. These facts therefore tell us that, the Babiito (royal ruling house of Bunyoro-Kitara, sprung from the same stock as that which largely populated northern Uganda and furnished the region with Luo language. This is one of the major reasons which basically explains why Bunyoro had an enduring friendly relationship with the northern communities.

The relationship between Bunyoro and these communities did not in any way imply subordination, though Bunyoro was far larger and a more powerful kingdom. It was a co-operation between equals-equals who were politically independent of each other. Bunyoro respected these northern neighbours partly because of their commonality of origin and partly because of the maternal relationships between the two territories. The founder of the Bito dynasty, Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga, was born by a Mukidi woman Nyatwor, a bond which prevented war. Some other accounts reveal that Bunyoro did not go to war with her northern neighbours due to the fact that, she used to get soothsayers from the north of the Nile and as a consequence, held these people in ardent respect for their strong divination.

When explaining the cause of the relationship, Uzoigwe said that, the relationship was not only a consequence of the historical bonds between these territories, but also a result of the fact that Bunyoro herself could not attempt to subjugate the northern people with their long history of democratic decentralisation and their ill-adaptation to regal personal authority. He also asserts that the northerners themselves did not take advantage of Bunyoro's weakness and problems to expand, because they had an exaggerated sense of Bunyoro's power even when it had declined in the whole region.

To these views, Karugire has provided an answer and he says that, Uzoingwes views are sound and are in accordance with what we know of these societies, but there was more to it than that. He says that if Acholi and Lango had wished to expand at the expense of Bunyoro, they could probably not have been deterred by belief in strength of Bunyoro against which they had never measured their own. The relationship was fundamentally due to ties of friendship that had been established between them over a long period of time. They had become so strong to withstand and supersede other drives of sectional aggrandizement or aggression.

So the Bunyoro-Northern relationship was diplomatic not coercive. It was diplomacy which was used by Kamurasi and Kabalega to secure firm control of the ivory trade in the area. Rich presents would be sent to leaders of Bulega, Angal, Alur, Acholi, Lango etc. and sometimes Bunyoro could give military assistance to them. These controlled areas in which ivory was more abundant. Kabalega could send troops to Alur chiefs to raid the lendu. Moreover the history of Lango and Bunyoro expound that from the 19th century, the Langi helped Bunyoro rulers, by giving them troops. It is claimed that Kabalega used a Langi contingent in the succession war which caused the death of Kabigumire in 1870. The Langi used to refer to Omukama Kabalega as *Nyangatunu* meaning the king of kings. The Omukama of Bunyoro was always referred to whenever there was a problem in any of these principalities. For instance during the time of Kabalega, he was approached by elders of Acholi to solve misunderstandings between Awici and his brother. Kabalega decided in favour of Awici and Awici was declared the undisputed ruler of Acholi.

Many of the chiefs in northern Uganda recognised the superiority of the Omukama of Bunyoro and they received spears and other regalia from Bunyoro acknowledging their recognition by the Omukama.

Apart from the historical bonds, friendly relationships between Bunyoro and her neighbours flourished because of the trade which was profitable to all parties involved. As far as this trade was concerned, Bunyoro was the main link between the Nilotic speaking peoples of the north and the mainly Bantu speaking people of the south. Bunyoro provided this link because the single commodity upon which all Ugandan societies placed an equal importance, was found in Bunyoro. Many other things followed this fact. Where historic or genealogical bonds existed, they served as agencies of promoting trade and not so much as *causes of it*.

The trade involved northern communities such as Alur, Lendu, Kebu, Madi and the Lugbara. The intermediaries between them and the Banyoro were mainly the Parombo established at Padyere in west Nile. They also settled at Okoro country. The parombo themselves were part of the Luo speakers who migrated from northern Bunyoro and settled in present Parombo. Due to long distance and trade bonds, they absorbed many ethnic groups especially the Bantu and Sudan elements. Today some clans among the Parombo acknowledge their Bunyoro origin, but they have lost their language due to a long process of social and cultural interaction.

The main centres of trade between northern Uganda and Bunyoro were two: Panyimir on the east-side of Lake Albert and Magungo on the western side of Albert. The Alur and Lugbara specialised in fanning (including livestock), the Kebu were iron smiths together with the Nyangika clan of Kakwa. So from these people the Parombo obtained livestock, iron products, and food stuffs, which they carried to Panyimir and then across the narrow neck of the lake to Magungo. They would then reach Bunyoro and be exchanged for salt and dried fish.

The return journey took them to Magungo and across the lake to Panyimir and then they would disperse all over northern Uganda to re-exchange the commodities for local ones. The southward journey would be repeated. The long distance trade therefore involved many communities and reached as far as Buganda. More trade with the south emanated at the salt exploitation works of Katwe and Kasenyi. These works were situated in the kingdom of Bunyoro until the first half of the 19th century. This trade dispersed in many directions especially southwards to Nkore, Kigezi, Rwanda, Karagwe. It increased in volume until it was disrupted by the advent of the Arabs and Europeans. It kept all the interlacustrine region communities attracted to Bunyoro, since this most sought-after commodity had been naturally located in Bunyoro. This made Bunyoro play a leading role in the relationship between interlacustrine kingdoms and principalities, let alone her historical importance which was acknowledged by all other kingdoms and principalities in the region.

Chapter Four: Babiito Kings : 1500 -1852

This section is intended to deal with the major achievements of Babiito Kings from Ocaki Rwangira, successor to Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga to Olimi V., Rwakabale, the twenty first King (Mukama) of Bunyoro Kitara. And also show the major developments which took place in this period which run from around 1500-1852. It is proper to begin by observing that when Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga died, Bunyoro-Kitara was plunged into a state of despair.

The national drum remained with its top downwards. Not once was it sounded. Silence covered the country like a shroud, and in the homes of people the rattles were put aside and all music ceased. The instruments of raiding were sheathed and everyone donned his oldest and dirtiest garments. People fasted day after day with sorrowful countenances; for death had never hitherto fallen on the throne. The Bunyoro regarded the death of the first Bito King as the curse on the King and prognostication of the overthrow of the Kingdom.

When the announcement went forth that a new king had been found, the nation breathed fresh hope and threw aside all garments of mourning. All people hastened to the capital to pay homage to the new king. The king was Ocaki Rwangira, son of Rukidi Mpuga. He was presented to the people by the priest, who placed on his head, the ancient crown of the Bacwezi. Offering of cattle were given to the king and deputies from Toro, Nkore, Busoga, and Buganda also presented their gifts. When the Omukama had received the homage of the people, he reversed the drum and exercised the royal prerogative of sounding it, as a sign of his sovereignty. As the booming resounded from hill to hill, the people broke out into deafening shouts of "Okali", hail to our king and all the drums were awakened at the sound and responded in a roar of rejoicing.

Ocaki Rwangira became successor to Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga. He was a very peaceful man. During his reign Bunyoro Kitara enjoyed peace.

Historians attribute the peace to the absence of quarrels among the members of the royal family which had not yet started. Ocaki remained on good terms with his uncle Kato Kimera of Buganda and used to exchange gifts and messages with him. Ocaki did not have children. He was buried at Keci and his garments at Irangara. His mother was Iremera of the Balisa clan.

Ocaki was succeeded by Oyo I, Nyimba Kabamba Iguru. He ascended the throne when he was a very old man. There were no wars during his reign. He was called *Kabamba Iguru* because he had very many children. He had more than two thousand children. He was buried in Bukidi while his garments and personal belongings at Kinogozi Masindi. His mother was Iremera.

Winyi Rubembeko succeeded his father Oyo, as a very younger ruler. He was a king of playful disposition and one day sent a message to the king of Buganda demanding that porters should be sent to him from Buganda. This annoyed Buganda and opened hostilities between the two kingdoms. Kabaka Kaima of Buganda attacked Bwakamba son of Mukwiri Saza chief of Bwera. Winyi I led the campaign in defence of Bwera and Kaima was wounded in the battle. He died at Isunga in Bwiru (Bwera). Winyi I built his capital in Bwiru and appointed a Bito, Kaganda to rule there. The site of the capital is still known as Winyi's village. Winyi was buried at Kiburara in Ssinga (now in Buganda) his mother was called Nyaraki of the Bakwonga clan.

Olimi I Rwitamahanga, Kilimbi was successor to Winyi I. The Obwali name of this king was Rukidi. He succeeded his father because of his bravery and courage. He was respected and honoured throughout Bunyoro. People always addressed him as *Olimi Rwitamahanga Omwitabyaro wa Kalimbi*, (the scourge of nations). When Buganda invaded Bwera and Bulemezi, the two Sazas of Bunyoro, Olimi I matched with his army and killed Kabaka Nakibinge at the battle of Mulago. Being a very hard battle, Kabaka Nakibinge prayed for the assistance of the embandwa spirit Kibuka, who was supposed to fight from the clouds. Kibuka is said to have killed one man, a Munyoro remembered as Nsembukya son of Kwezi.

The Baganda lost the battle and their throne was occupied by a woman called Nanono for one full year. Olimi's intention was to annex Buganda and restore it to the rule of Bunyoro Kitara. But his advisors prevented him from fulfilling the plan because one throne does not swallow another. However, Olimi withdrew from Buganda and invaded Nkore. Unlike in Buganda, the king occupied Nkore -for some period and built his capital there. According to Kinyoro traditions, Olimi withdrew from

Nkore because of an eclipse of the sun. This is believed to have taken place in 1520, a date which agrees with the Nkore estimates of the reign of Ntare I. This date being one of the firm dates, it has been used as a peg on which chronological problems of this region have been hanged. Olini I died and was buried at Kalimbi in Mutuba Gombolola, Ssinga. His mother was Nyagiroti of the Banyungu clan.

Olini I was succeeded by Nyabongo I Rulamu, who decided to attack Madi to annex it, but lost his son called Kabakangara in battle. He proceeded to fight king Muzibuyecumita in Madi, killed him and his mother and captured cattle called *enewere*. These killed Nyabongo's cattle and when the Baganda attacked Kitara, they took away Nyabongo's war booty. He was referred to as 'Rulamu' because of the many battles he fought. He was buried at Muyaje in Buganda but his garments are at Busesa in Buyaga. His mother belonged to the Bacwa clan.

Winyi II Rubagiramasega succeeded Nyabongo. His full title was: *Lapenje, Emparangani*, son of Cwa. He fought with his brother Kalirahaiguru to win the throne. He was nicknamed Rucwerabazaire because of the grief he caused to the parents during the prolonged war with his brother. He ruled ruthlessly by useless murders and was called *Rubagira-Masega* - one who provides nourishment for the eagles. He provided people as food to the eagles.

During his reign, he never fought wars and so Buganda extended its borders to River Wabiruka in Mityana. When he died he was buried at Lapenje in Ssinga and his mother was of the Balisa clan.

Olini II, Ruhundwangeye succeeded Winyi II, with these titles: *Ruhundwangeye Mirundi Egoroire Magurugagenda Omurucuba*. He never fought wars, was very handsome and loved cattle more than any Mubiito king before him. He used to attend to the cattle himself just like the herdsmen. One day he was hurtfully kicked by a cow he was attending to and since then the Bito kings were forbidden to herd cattle. This action was considered necessary because whenever a King shed blood, it was considered a misfortune to the kingdom. Olini II was buried at Burongo in Ssinga (Buganda) and his mother belonged to the Bakwonga clan.

Nyarwa succeeded Olini II. He was called *Omuzara Kyaro* because he remained on the throne for a very short time. He was cheated out of the kingship by his younger brother Cwa I, who is said to have murdered him. Others claim that he simply *disappeared* around Mwenge. His mother was called Runego of the Bagweri clan. Cwa I, Rumoma Mahanga succeeded Nyarwa. During his reign a plague broke out among the cattle of Bunyoro and the king ordered all the infected animals to be destroyed so as to arrest the disease and to prevent it from spreading to other districts.

The cows that were destroyed were so numerous that they could not be counted and when the servants had finished carrying out the King's command, they came and told him that they had killed all the infected animals. The king was also advised to invade Nkore which at this time had a lot of cattle. Not waiting to waste time the King turned to his servants and said: "let him who has a shield smear on butter; he who possess a spear sharpen it and prepare for plunder, so that my flocks and herds should be replenished".

So the war drum was sounded and the men rallied round the king. He moved and confronted the Omugabe *Ntare Kitabanyoro* (scourge of Bunyoro) and defeated him at the battle of Rulembo. Ntare fled to the Kagera Islands. The king ordered that the Nkore royal drum should be cut into pieces, so that Nkore should cease to exist as a separate state. He came to be known as Cwa, *He who cuts*. Cwa I established his capital in Nkore on a hill called Kakunyu.

Meanwhile, Cwa also planned to invade Rwanda under the advise of the Abafumu of the Bacwezi clan that he would get a lot of cattle from Rwanda. This was after a three-year stay in Nkore. He encountered King Kahindira of Rwanda and a battle was fought in which Kahindira was beaten and his cattle captured. Many of the cattle were sent to Kitara. Cwa I settled in Rwanda and thus~, Rwanda became the centre for his raiding expedition. He ventured even beyond Lake Kivu. During his stay in Rwanda, the Omukama gave Rwanda a taste of good administration. He organised it on the same pattern used in Bunyoro-Kitara. In the chronicles of Rwanda, the Kitara occupation of Rwanda, is said to have been great because Cwa I, left a legacy of good administration, which came to be used.

Cwa I, died in Rwanda and his men decided to return to Bunyoro-Kitara. But they tried to hide the death of the King and from this fact developed the custom of saying that the King has been *lost* or

swallowed up. Indications show that, the Banyoro must have been forced out of Rwanda. When Ntare learnt of the death of Cwa I, and the defeat of the Banyoro, he decided to ambush the remaining followers. Many of them were killed thus avenging his earlier defeat. This earned him the name Kitabanyoro. Because Cwa had not left a heir to the throne, a lady Mashamba was put on the throne as regent. She was also the Batebe - the Kings official sister. Her mother was Runego of the Bagweri clan. Mashamba (Regent) was a princess and daughter of Winyi II, and she served as regent when Rumoma Mahanga had been killed in Rwanda.

During her reign, a lady called Ihembe, a former wife of Cwa I, who had escaped from Kitara, was discovered by the elders who were in earnest search for a legal heir. It is said that, this information to the elders of Bunyoro-Kitara was given by a man called Kyamatebe, who used to travel to Nkore with coffee beans, for exchange with butter. She had been captured by the Banyankore when she was pregnant. She gave birth to prince Winyi. When she was discovered, she was returned to Kitara together with prince Winyi. When they arrived the prince was first hidden from his aunt, because the Queen had secret plans to kill the boy. When the elders discovered it, they also planned for her assassination.

This being accomplished and her household officials being liquidated Prince Winyi was put on the throne and crowned as Kyebambe I, because he had usurped the throne of his aunt. He was also called Masikya because after killing her (Mashamba) he had reduced the members of the clan. Mashamba was buried at Rwembuba in Bugangaizi. She ruled for more than four years and was married to a Mubiito called Iguru son of Murro. Iguru is said to have been a cruel man and it was one reason why Mashamba was deposed. Although Mashamba was deposed, her reign remains significant because, she is the only remembered woman to have achieved this feat in this region.

The Basegu clan were raised in importance because the man who reported to the elders about Mashamba's planned murder of Winyi was a Musegu. So the elevation of the Busegu was in appreciation for their loyalty. The Kings dancers and singers called Abatimbo also gained importance and prominence for the King was a music lover. Kyebambe ruled peacefully and did not exploit the feud in Buganda between Kabaka Juko supporters and those of Kayemba. Omukama Kyebambe I, reigned for quite long and died very old. He was buried at Kijaguzo in the Nyakabimba area of Toro. His mother was a Mubiito called Ihembe.

Kyebambe I, was succeeded by Winyi III, Ruguruka Macolya, a sportsman especially a long distance runner. He begot eight children namely: Rucwerabazaire, Bikaju, Karamagi, Nyaika, Malaki (whose mother was Kahinda), Ruteba (whose mother was Kapapa, Muganda (whose mother was Mworobi) and Onyiri (born by Munyuuki). It is said that Winyi III, died of a snake bite while hunting in Miduma. Winyi III, was buried at Miduma in Sabairu gombolola of Buruli. His mother was called Gawa of the Bakwonga clan.

Omukama Nyaika I, succeeded Winyi III. But he was unacceptable to the clan and elders because he seized the throne when all of them were away. His authority was defied and the first Mubiito to raise rebellion was Bikaju of Bugungu. Bikaju learnt of the situation at the centre from Mugasa who had taken refuge in Bugungu because he feared reprisals for hurling Mugungu's eye. Bikaju sought the support of the elders to dethrone Nyaika. The elders included; Kapapa Omutaseka, Butyoka Kyokora etc. Bikaju carried out a coup at night and killed Nyaika who ruled for only two years. He was buried at Kihwera in Bujenje.

So Kyebambe II, Bikaju usurped the throne and became King. He was praised for his courage and bravery for having become King without bloodshed. Kyebambe II's wife called Kitamire had a secret love affair with Katenga of the Basaigi clan. The king netted Katenga one day but Kitamire gave a sword to Katenga to defend himself. Kyebambe was fatally wounded, but escaped to his palace called *Kabagarama* and summoned his sons for help. These included Byakaya, Isingoma, Runywambeho, and Isansa. Isansa the bravest was given a spear (erihango) to kill Katenga. Isansa speared Katenga to death and many members of his clan: the Basaigi, Isansa also ordered Mukerenge to kill his Basaigi's wife called Kindiki but Mukerenge could not because she was pregnant. She was hidden instead. Kyebambe took poison and died. His mother was Kacubya, maid of Winyi III. He was buried at Nyamiryango in Kihukya county.

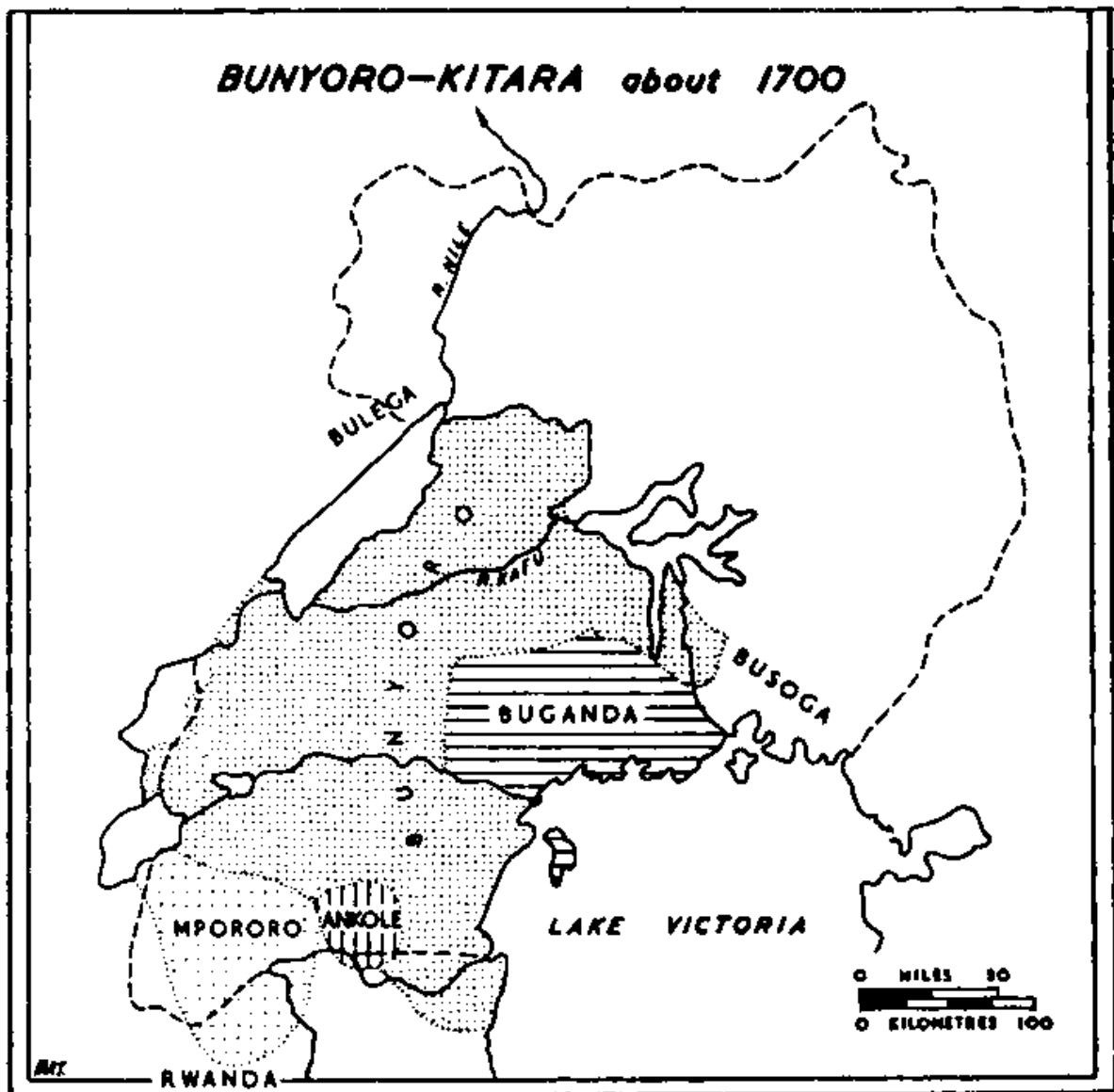
It was Omukama Olimi III, Isansa (1710-1730) who succeeded his father Bikaju. He built his capital in Isingo-Kyenkwanzi (Ssinga). When he ascended the throne, Mukerenge the executioner returned Isansa's wife called Kindiki from her hiding place. Isansa named the child Mujwiga, Maharre.

During his reign, Isansa faced problems from Buganda and Nkore. The former extended its borders to Mubende up to the River Nyabakazi, Omukitengeza (mile 84 Kampala-Mubende road, and to Ssinga up to the Mayanja. Nkore too expanded as far as Katonga river in the region of Rwamwanja.

Omukama Isansa attacked Nkore first and passed through Kyenkwanzi, Parajwoki, Bugahya, Bugoma, crossed Nguse river to Buyaga, Bujogoro, Mulongo and Kikana. He encountered Omugabe Karaiga at Rulembo (his capital) and beat him decisively. Nkore was captured and the country raided. Isansa had decided to attack Kyaihangiro too, but he was advised against that by his diviners who told him that it was not in order for Kitara Kings to attack Kyaihangiro.

First, Omucwezi Ndahura was captured and defeated there, in addition and secondly, Cwa I, got *lost* in that place. However, Isansa's son called Mali had already left for Ihangiro before his father had been given advice. Indeed he was defeated and captured in Ihangiro. Prince Mali never left Ihangiro, where it is said he got children. Olimi III Isansa died and was buried at Kiguhyo in Buyaga. His other burial place (for his garments and other personal belongings is at Bukonda in Bugangaizi). He was son of Mpanga Omwangamwoyo, Omubiitokati (of the Babiito clan).

BUNYORO KITARA 1700



Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom around 1700

Omukama Duhaga I Cwa Mujwiga (1731-82) succeeded Isansa. He was physically small and called *Ruhaga* meaning that he would expand in size while on the throne. He was greeted with the title of *Maherre ga Isansa, Mujwiga, Matamancwera, Engundu Yekisiha*, because he was very light-skinned (maherre); was called Mujwigo because he was very hairy; "Matamancwera" as he was uncontrollable in times of temper; "Ngundu yekisiha" because he was so difficult a man to deal with. It was the Banyankore who called him Cwa because he fought them like the celebrated Chwa (Chwamali) of long ago.

When Duhaga became King, he discovered that there was no Musaigi to succeed to the position of the King's mother because his father, Isansa, had killed all members of the Basaigi clan in the country to avenge the death of his father Kyebambe II, Bikaju. The Basaigi, however, were still in Nkore and from there a Queen was got to fill the position of the official mother of Omukama Duhaga I. Duhaga I, who never had children was made fertile by a man who kept Wamara's spear called *Kimuli Kyokya Mahanga*, from Bwera. From there Duhaga produced many children. He had the second greatest number of children among all Kitara Kings.

Duhaga fought against Nkore's King called Karaiga. He defeated the latter and destroyed his royal drum called Bagendanwa, which he cut into pieces. He also invaded his son called Kitehimbwa, his own ruling in Kooki, but was protected by Kabaka Jjunju. Kitehimbwa had declared Kooki an independent kingdom after he had stayed behind from an expedition with his father in Nkore. Kitehimbwa lost his life and Kooki fell to Bunyoro. However, Kabaka Jjunju invaded Kooki and installed Mujwiga in Kooki. The Kabaka also attacked and killed Bwakamba son of Mukwiri, head of the Babiito

clan as well as Saza Chief of Bwera. The Bwakamba family had ruled Bwera since the Omukama Isaza Waraga's time. Jjunju appointed Ruziga of the Basita clan as saza chief of Kooki and Kooki fell to Buganda Kingdom. Kooki on the other hand became Mujwiga's kingdom.

Today there are many characteristics which denote that Kooki was for a long time, a province of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom. Such personal names as Katabarwa, Kagoro, Kagerre, Bwigora, Mukwiri, Kasumba, Komungoro, Kigemuzi are all Kinyoro authentic names.

Duhaga I, declared war on Buganda so that he could recover his lost territories. But as was the advice of Nyakoka's predication, Duhaga was defeated. His move had been supported by another diviner called Kakyali, whose advice was taken for granted. Duhaga fled into Kaborogota swamps and hurt himself in the process. Some people suggest that he was cut by a papyrus, others say that he fell on his own spear which wounded him. Whatever the case, he was carried away by his followers to Nkwali market and died there. He did not die of wounds but took poison as most Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara did. He bequeathed the throne to Kasoma his son. 70 of his sons had died in the battle with Buganda. Duhaga was buried at Irangara in the Mutuba III Gombolola in Bugangaizi.

Omukama Olimi IV Kasoma (1782-86) succeeded as the next ruler. He built his palace at Kijagarazi Nsonga in Bugangaizi. Then moved to Kiboizi. However, his brother Nyamutukura who lived at Kisunga Rugonjo became unhappy with Kasoma, being a King. He therefore planned to seize the throne from Kasoma, through a coup d'etat. Having mobilized his army, he sent a message to Kasoma that he was coming to pay his respect to him. But Kasoma was wise enough to realise his brother's dark plans that he also mobilised his army. The two brothers met at River Nguse. As Kasoma's men approached near to Nyamutukura, Kasoma told his men to raise their shields to find out whether Nyamutukura had come for peace or war. Nyamutukura in turn ordered his men to fix their sharp blades on to their spears, ready for attack. A big battle ensued and ended with Nyamutukura's defeat and flight. Tradition records that so many people were wounded in this battle that the river Nguse was turned into blood.

Nyamutukura fled through the papyrus covering the swampy river of Kairabya. He was assisted by the man (his servant) called Kanyaihe. When they had crossed to the other side, they arrived at the home of a man called Mutaikanga, who was a chief. From there he moved on and arrived at a house which belonged to a man called Kataba, before reaching his own area of Kisunga. He swore never to go back to the capital because he nearly lost his life there.

Nyamutukura who gave up every hope of fighting for the throne was later to be assisted by Rumoma the Okwiri (head of the Babiito clan) to take power. One day, Rumoma the Okwiri and Rabwoni, son of Bireju came to pay their respects to the King. The two got drunk while at the king's palace and started a heated argument which ended up into a quarrel. Rabwoni accused Rumoma of complicity in Nyamutukura's plot to overthrow Kasoma, and mocked him for the failure of the conspiracy. Rumoma was very hurt by this allegation and assured Rabwoni that if he had been on the side of Nyamutukura, it would not have been possible for Kasoma to be King.

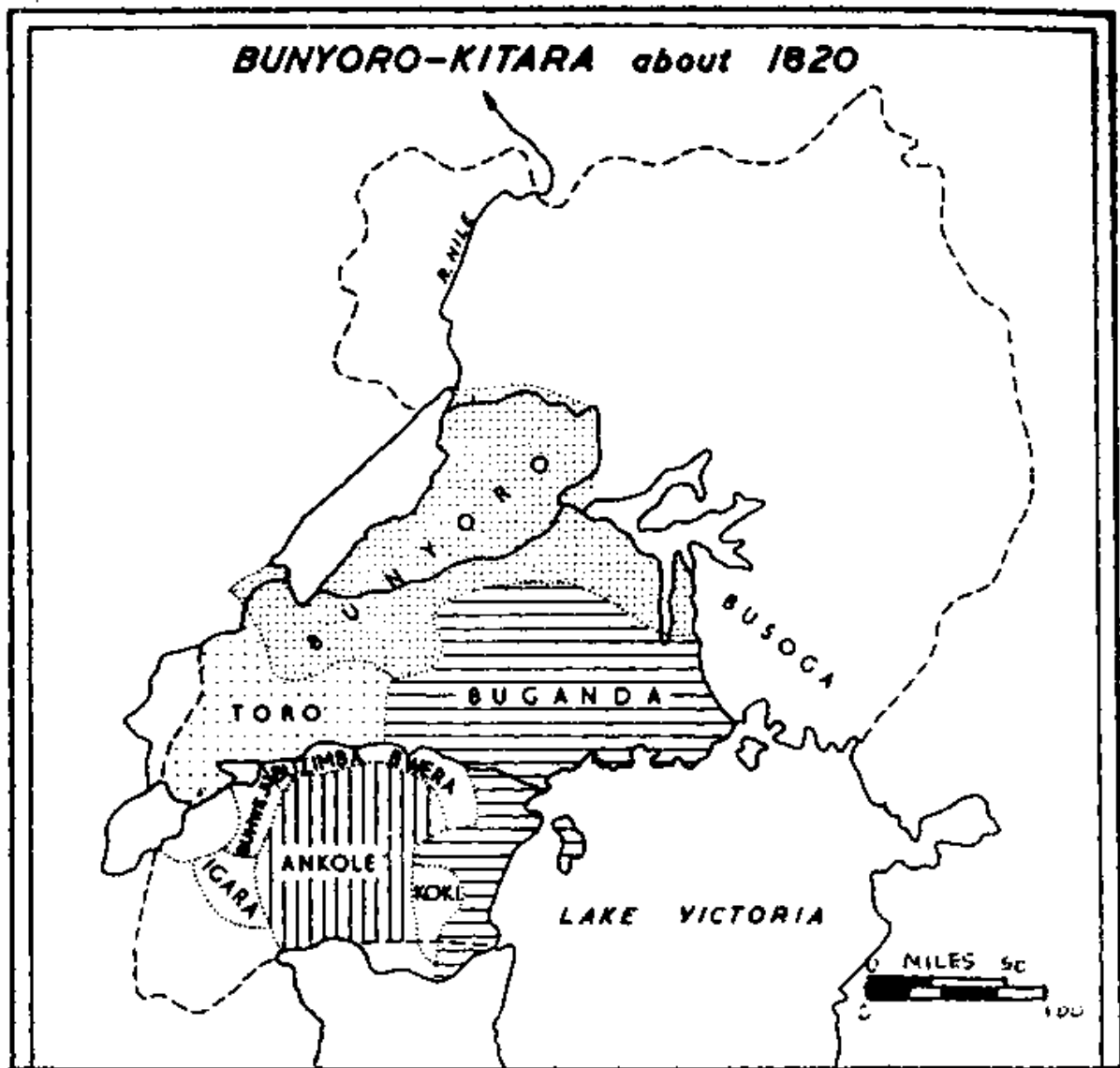
Although the King was called upon to intervene and stop the quarrel, he refused arguing that the two were sensible men who knew what was required of them to do. Okwiri Rumoma was so annoyed that he decided to give his support to Nyamutukura so that he could be the new king. He sent message to prince Nyamutukura in Rugonjo to come, so that they would move together to the capital and overthrow Kasoma. Nyamutukura, who refused at first later changed his mind when Rumoma had sent his son to Nyamutukura as a guarantee of his word.

They moved against Kasoma and Kasoma was seriously beaten. Nyamutukura marched with his victorious army into the palace and installed himself as king. Kasoma was offered posts in the new government but refused them, there upon causing anger to Nyamutukura who then ordered his immediate execution. He was taken to Kabale and executed near the lake. Olimi IV Kasoma was buried at Ruhunga in the Gombolola of Mumyoka in Bugangaizi. His mother belonged to the Mucwa clan and was a sister of Nyamutukura's mother.

Nyamutukura's original name was Musuga. He was given the name Nyamutukura because he was fair-skinned like his father Duhaga. He was given the name Kyebambe because he had killed his brother and usurped the throne. Some people say that this name was given to him by Kasoma before his death.

Nyamutukura established his capital at Ruhunga, then moved to Kikumbya from where he sent his son to go to Toro and count all the cattle there and bring them to him. He moved to the capital to Kihagura Burambika where he spent seven years before moving the capital again to a place called Nyakitojo. Nyamutukura reigned for a long period of time (1786 -1835), became too old and forced his son to desire the kingship through drastic steps. Many of the sons decided to rebel. The first son to scheme against his father was Karasama Bugondo, county chief Bugungu. He sought support from Kabaka Kamanya of Buganda, but the latter refused to give in the support. He instead informed Nyamutukura about the plot because the two kings had been on friendly terms. Nyamutukura tricked his son and got him killed before he reached Bugungu. His remains are at Kitagi in the Sabagabu Gombolola of Buhaguzi.

BUNYORO - KITARA 1820



Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom around 1820

The next rebellion was by the favourite son called Kaboyo who allied with the Batoro and Basongora elders. He had been sent to inspect the herds in Toro, but noting that he was welcomed, he declared Toro independent and made himself king of Toro Kingdom. Nyamutukura never wanted to kill Kaboyo for he loved him. So he prevented his soldiers from killing him. The soldiers were sent after the King heard that his rebel son had attacked the King's cattle at Myeri. He told the soldiers not to chase Kaboyo if he ran away because he had a weak heart and not to engage him if he decided to give battle. Nyamutukura moved his capital to Bugoma to avoid raids from the Toro rebellion. He died there five years after Kaboyo's rebellion. Nyamutukura had many children below are those who are known and their respective sazas. These were:

Kaboyo Omuhundwa	ruled	Toro
Mugenyi	ruled	Mwenge
Isagara Katiritiri	ruled	Kibanda Chope
Karasama Bugondo	ruled	Bugungu
Kagoro Mugamba	ruled	Kijumba
Nyinamwiru (his daughter)	ruled	Nkoni
Kahibale	lost his life in the Toro campaigns	
Kabanyomozi	(Princess)	
Kalyebara	(Princess)	
Kahoza	(Princess)	

During the reign of Nyamutukura, Kitara weakened because it was reduced to a very small kingdom. Toro succeeded and extended as far as river Munobwa in Mwenge. Buganda moved as far as Kiboga and Nyabakazi in Buhekura county. When Nyamutukura died he was buried at Kibedi, Nyamarunda in Buyaga. His mother was called Kafunda of the Bacwa clan.

Omukama Nyabongo II Mugenyi (1835-48) was the successor to Nyamutukura. He succeeded his father when he was a very old man. Nyamutukura had offered the throne to Kaboyo, but he declined it. Mugenyi's *ekikubyo* name was: *Biranga of Mwenge*. He was a very peaceful King.

He neither fought with Ssuna II, of Buganda nor attempted to suppress the rebellions of his brothers Kaboyo, Kachope, and Isagara Katiritiri. He built his palace at Makara, then at Rwenyenje, then at Kitemba. He then moved to Galihuma Kijumba, Rwenkuba and finally to Rwenkukuni where he died. He was buried at Bukonda and his tomb was looked after by Ibona and his wife Kisambwa. His known children included:

Dwetakya
Nyakuhyu
Kweru
Rwakabale
Kamurasi (Saza Chief Bugungu)

Kamihanda Omudaya (Saza Chief of Kicwabugingo)

Isingoma Rutafa (the Father of Zeresire, Alifunsi (Alphonse) Ngasirwa and of Jessica Gafabusa and Kahimbara (daughters); and Kasami minor chief of Bujwahya. Mugenyi's mother was Kajaja of the Bafunjo clan.

Omukama Olimi V Rwakabale (1848-52) became successor after the death of Mugenyi. When he became king, his elder brother called Kweru tried to rebel but he was crushed and killed, at Buhango Nyabinja. Olimi Rwakabale never reigned for long because Kamurasi his younger brother disapproved his rule. Kamurasi organised a large army so that he could attack and overthrow the king. Prince Kamurasi together with his brother Kamihanda Omudaya, sent a message to Olimi V that they had gone to Bugoma to look after their cattle, when in actual fact they were organising a coup-d'etat. When they reached Bugahya of Kasumba, Kamurasi instructed the inhabitants to shout loudly that Kamurasi had rebelled. He then proceeded to Bugoma by way of Rubindi and Bugahya of Jawe Nyinekeringa and arrived at the island of Karakaba, where he found supporters who rallied to his stand. At this point Kamurasi mobilised his army which included soldiers from Bukidi. Kamuhanda also formed his, assisted by Rugangura son of Nyakojo Omusengya.

Kamuhanda's army was commanded by Kikwizi son of Mulere of the Basaigi clan. Kamurasi moved and confronted Olimi with a large army, in which, Olimi was defeated and killed. He was buried at Kitonya in the Gombolola of Mituba III, Buyanja, Buyaga. His mother belonged to the Bazira clan.

From the aforesaid facts it remains undoubtable that the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara declined steadily from about 1650 and the decline continued up to the 19th century when the southern tributary slate of Toro won its independence. However, the decline was a bit reversed by Kamurasi, successor to Olimi Rwakabale. He tried to exploit the opportunities provided by the expansion of the long distance trade, to revive the kingdom. The reign of Kamurasi and those of his successors will be treated separately, because of their great significance in the political history of Bunyoro Kitara. For instance, it is during Kamurasi's reign that Bunyoro-Kitara begins to have formal contact with foreigners, such as Arabs and Europeans. Contacts which fundamentally made Bunyoro's political, economic and social affairs to acquire new influence. The new influence should be dealt with it one is to understand the course of events and know how Bunyoro's politics fared under a new environment, which largely came to be determined by foreign influence.

Chapter Five: The Reign of Omukama Kyebambe IV Kamurasi 1852 - 1869

Kamurasi ascended the throne of Bunyoro Kitara in 1852 after a civil war in which he killed his brother Olimi V Rwakabale. His praise names were: *Rukanama of Kanembe, Okukidi of Isaka, Mirundi Egoroire*. He was given the name of *Kyebambe* because he was a usurper. Although he tried to maintain his throne by the sword he did not always succeed. He ruled precariously but with dignity until his death in 1869.

When Kamurasi became the king of Bunyoro-Kitara, his immediate plan was to move against the rebellious princes and consolidate his authority throughout the kingdom. He for example dismissed prince Kaliba chief of Kyaka and appointed Dwetakya to rule the county. He dismissed Mwanga from Mwenge and appointed Materu in his place. Kamurasi moved his capital to Kicunda Rwempanga and later transferred it to Rwenyenje.

His major problem was the princes of Chope, Kachope and Isagara, who constantly challenged his authority and failed him to fully establish his authority over the province of Chope. Nyakatura explains to us that, after a short period on the throne, Kamurasi faced attacks from chope which made him flee to Busesa. When he had ruled for eight month, his adversaries made another attack in which they killed many people and raided the kingdom. This made Kamurasi to organize a powerful army to repulse the invaders. In his mobilization he tactfully declared that he had mobilized the army to fight Buganda because he never wanted the rebellious princes to take flight because of the size of his army. A pitched battle was fought and Kamurasi was wounded in the finger but Kachope and his men fled. The news of the wounding of the king set his brother and Saza chief of Buruli, Kamihanda Omudaya moving so that he could rescue the king. Kamihanda Omudaya encountered the rebel forces at a place called Kokoitwa.

In a battle which ensued, Kamihanda completely destroyed the rebel elements that had been opposed to Kamurasi. Many members of the royal family were slain in the battle. Some of those killed included Nsale, Kato, Kwabigoye, Manyindo, Kabadima, Kabanyomozi, Fotoire and Mampohya. The battle came to be referred to as the Kokoitwa disaster (ekya Kokoitwa) because many princes had lost their lives. With this, Kamurasi temporarily pacified chope. Temporary in the sense that although he had managed to reestablish his authority, he totally failed to devise means of surbodinating the princes and the aristocracy. Kyebambe IV Kamurasi produced many children of whom the known are listed below: -

Kabigunure	Kabagungu
Kabalega	Isingoma
Ntiri	Munu
Kanyabuzana	Kabatongole
Kabasanya	Kabasunga
Kabagonza	Ndagano Rutakya
Mugizi I	Kanyamukono
Kabahukya	Kaikara
Beza Barongo	Nyaknto
Kahamba	Kabasesera
Nyakaisiki I	Kaijamurubi
Rutanana	Rukosa
Nyakaisiki II	Calimbwa
Kabahinda	Kalyegira
Komusenyi	Kasuzi
Kafuzi	Rwigirwa

During the reign of Kamurasi a man called Igwahabi son of Nyakatura of Bamwoli clan rose to prominence. He was a very good dancer. Kamurasi rewarded him as one of his pages and called him Nyakamura. The latter was elevated to saza chief of Bugahya to fill the vacant position of Jawe Nyinekinga who was killed by prince Nyaika to avenge the death of his father.

Nyakamatura became a very powerful chief even during the reign of Cwa II Kabalega. He produced the famous Paulo Byabacwezi who succeeded Nyakamatura as saza chief of Bugahya in 1893. He was significant during the reign of Kitahimbwa and Duhaga II. He was a caretaker after the capture of Omukama Kabalega.

Kamurasi contributed greatly to the revival of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom by admitting to his Kingdom Arab-trade from the north and the Swahili-Arab traders from the East African Coast. Before the Arabs came, Bunyoro had flourished as a base of long distance trade in the interlacustrine region. The advent of the Arabs and Swahili availed Bunyoro greater markets for her products. Exports of Bunyoro included iron goods such as hoes and spearheads produced from local iron deposits and salt from the large deposits at Kibiro on Lake Mwitanzige (Albert). Kamurasi exchanged salt with the Arabs, to get guns and other manufactured products. Ivory which was a royal monopoly was directly exchanged with these new traders. Bunyoro goods were disposed off to the outside world and Bunyoro grew wealthier and stronger. With this Kamurasi opened the way for the revival of Bunyoro's former military power over its neighbours.

Because Kamurasi had committed himself to revive the power of Bunyoro, he tried to avoid confrontation before his centre was strong enough to stand foreign challenges. Instead he welcomed and exploited the presence of foreigners to strengthen his kingdom. When Speke and Grant the first Europeans arrived in Bunyoro on 8th September 1862, Kamurasi welcomed them well. He treated them with great hospitality and provided them with food and beer. The two explorers who had come to Bunyoro via Buganda, stayed at Kamurasi's palace for two months before moving on to the Sudan.

Speke and Grant observed that Kamurasi was kind and a king of mild disposition compared to Mutesa of Buganda. Speke and Grant told the king that their mission to Bunyoro was motivated by a desire to establish trading relations between Kitara and Europe and requested Kamurasi's co-operation in this venture. They gave him a Bible and explained to him the tenets of the Christian faith. They offered to educate two of Kamurasi's sons but Kamurasi refused to hand over his sons to the foreigners he did not know. He instead offered to give them two of his pages who were not princes. Speke and Grant rejected them. During their presence in Bunyoro, the two explorers heard of other white men in Acholi and sent messages to investigate who they were. It turned out however, that the so-called whitemen were Arab Slave Traders who had established a trading station at Faloro north of Gulu.

While Speke and Grant proceeded northwards. Baker and his wife were descending southward to Bunyoro to look for the whereabouts of Lake Albert. On their way to Bunyoro, Baker and his wife met the aggrieved mother of Nsale the slain prince at the battle of Kokoitwa. The lady who consumed with burning determination to avenge her son's death tried to persuade Baker to team up with Ruyonga to fight against Kamurasi but Baker declined to offer assistance because he had been advised by Speke and Grant to reach Kamurasi's palace. The Bakers spent one year in Bunyoro in the course of which they discovered and named lake Albert (which already had a Runyoro name, Mwitanzige, 'the locust kill, and sailed up its eastern coast.

The Bakers were hardihood and possessed physical courage, but they showed little tact or sympathy in their dealings with the Banyoro. Though they did not conflict with Kamurasi openly, they continuously strained relations with the King. Baker must have known that Kamurasi had little ground for trusting him and his escorts from southern Sudanese, but he made little allowance for this in his dealing with him. He wrote bitterly about the Nyoro King, charging and accusing him of duplicity, cowardice and greed. The description he gave of the King was that his character was below that of the most petty chiefs that he had ever seen.

This extremely violent antipathy which Baker showed to Kamurasi, is more understandable if it is remembered that until he reached Bunyoro his experience of African rulers had been confined to the comparatively minor head men of the sequentary nilotic societies of the north. The magnificence of an African court and the evasive autocratic manner of the Omukama, ruling an area larger than England itself were something new in Baker's experience. It must be added that, Kamurasi's refusal to conform to Baker's idea of a petty African chief must have disconcerted Baker very much. Baker was obsessed with those type of reactions because he never came by way of a very autocratic Ganda court, as Speke and Grant did.

Baker and his wife left Bunyoro in 1864 and returned in 1872. When he returned he was no longer a private explorer, but Sir Samuel Baker, the Governor General of the Egyptian Equatorial Province.

Baker thought Bunyoro was part of the province, and that he was to annex it formally. He found that his *friend* Kamurasi had died six years after his departure and it was Kabalega his energetic son on the throne. Apparently unaware that Kabalega was the legitimate heir to the throne. Baker accused Kabalega of assassinating Kabigumire. This caused conflicts.

Some accounts reveal that, before Kamurasi died, he had sent to the Omugabe of Nkore for the beautiful women found in his land. Kamurasi died when the women were within three days of arriving at the palace. He died at Kiryandongo in December 1869. He was buried at Ngangi, Bwamiramira Gombolola, Buyanja county (formerly in Buyaga). His mother was called Nyarwegendaho of the Abasiita clan.

Chapter Six: The Reign of Omukama Chwa II Kabalega 1870-1899

As shown in the foregoing pages, the Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara, had constant feuds with Ankole and Buganda and displayed remarkable appetite for quarrelling among themselves. This led to the collapse of the kingdom mostly from around 1650 onwards. Ankole extended its frontiers at Kitara's expense, while Busoga maintained a slippery sort of independence paying tribute now to Kitara than to Buganda, according to its shrewd estimation of where power lay. The sons of Nyamutukura proceeded to dismember what was left out of the kingdom, after complaining that their father had ruled for a long period of time. Kaboyo, the favourite prince carved out Toro where he was Saza Chief. While Princes Isagara Katiritiri and Kacope seized control of Choje in Northern Kitara and divided it among themselves. The attempt by the fourth prince Karasama Bugondo Bwamusungu to cut off his Saza of Bugungu on the eastern side of Lake Albert failed but the Omukama's authority for sometime remained ineffective. Any hope of giving the kingdom a new lease of life appeared illusory until Omukama Chwa II Kabalega (1870-1899) made a determined bid to stop the rot. This is the major importance of Kabalega in the history of Bunyoro-Kitara and why he merits to be regarded as the greatest Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara.

Kabalega was born in about 1850 of Mukama Kyebambe IV Kamurasi. His mother, a Muhuma lady of the Abayonza clan from Mwenge was called Kanyange Nyamutahingurwa. Kabalega spent his early days in Bulega where he and his mother had taken refuge when some rebellious Bito princes had temporarily chased his father from the throne. It is probable that this incident left a strong impression on the mind of the boy. It is believed that when he was brought back to the palace he was given the name "*Akana Kabalega*", meaning a child of the Balega and this was shortened to Kabalega.

Kabalega grew up in the palace with his brother, prince Kabigumire. They played together and like all younger boys discussed their ambitions and aspirations with each other. Kabigumire's ambition was to slaughter all his father's servants when he became king and replace them with those of his own choice. Kabalega's ambition was to turn these servants into soldiers. There was no point in killing them he argued. As soldiers, they could be profitably used in maintaining internal stability and in raiding neighbouring kingdoms. Moreover, successful raids would make them rich and contented.

During this period, Kabigumire and Kabalega were placed under the care of Kamihanda Omudaya, the brother of Kamurasi. He was instructed to study them and note who exhibited kingly characteristics. At the same time, he taught them court etiquette and the history of the kings of Kitara. It soon became apparent that Omudaya was impressed with Kabigumire. He found him more royal and refined in behaviour. Kabalega, on the other hand, was impulsive, headstrong, proud, opinionated and short tempered. He devoted a lot of attention to the royal cattle and the court pages. Despite the views of Kamihanda, Kamurasi named Kabalega as his successor in his will, because of his younger son's single-mindedness, aggressive qualities and obvious interest in the people - the common people Kabalega used to chat with them and give them gifts. They adored him. But the majority of the royal family hated him. They appear to have been apprehensive of him and to have made their minds that he would never be their king.

As a young man, Kabalega was slim like his father but slightly shorter. He was about 5 feet 10 inches in height and very light in complexion. With age, however, he added a lot of weight to the extent that he is generally described as a stout man. He had sharp, big, bright eyes, a large mouth, prominent but very white teeth, the upper of which became missing in the later life. He spoke with a deep, refined voice but occasionally roared like a lion.

He had the curious mannerism of speaking with a stern countenance when in good humour and a smile when in a rage. He was extremely neat and clean and his hands were neatly kept. He was a very cheerful man and as a soldier demanded explicit obedience, strict discipline and efficiency. He was merciless towards those of his royal guards who showed no dedication of duty. He spoke these languages - Runyoro, Swahili and Arabic - and he may have also spoken Luo.

The kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara was unstable. The instability resulted into the decline of the kingdom as against the more centralized and organised kingdoms of Buganda and Ankole. Kabalega grew amidst this political instability and grasped the cause of his kingdom's importance more than his predecessors. According to reports given by one of his sons Aramanzani Mwirumubi, Kabalega made up his mind to reassert the authority of royal power, quell dissident and rebellious elements, centralize the kingdom, undertake a policy of national reconstruction and reconciliation and restore the fortunes

of the once powerful and famous empire of Kitara by reconquering the rebellious princes. In short, Kabalega had taken the task of founding a strong, united, and centralized state, modelled on these initiatives. Any one who prevented his realization of this goal was an enemy and must be resisted.

Kabalega's ideals would remain dreams so long as he was not a king. So he had to establish himself on the throne. This proved to be a very difficult task. In 1869, Kamurasi died. Kabigumire at once seized the body of the king. According to Nyoro custom, the prince who buried his father's body and killed his opponent became king. Civil wars were inevitable. The chief contenders were Kabigumire and Kabalega. It was an unusual succession war because normally aristocratic support tended to be evenly balanced between the opposing candidates. This time it was different. Given the views of Kabalega regarding centralization and the subordination of the aristocracy, it was not surprising that practically all the Bito and the other important people in the kingdom supported Kabigumire who emerged as the aristocratic candidate. Only two Bito, Kabagonza and Nyaika, supported Kabalega. Of the important chiefs only Nyakamatura Nyakatura, Saza Chief of Bugahya is known to have supported him. The majority of the chiefs opposed him. Initially his prospects of success appeared slim but soon became clear that Kabalega had the enthusiastic support of the royal guards of Kamurasi as well as that of the Bairu (common people) agriculturalists. The Arab traders divided their support between the two opponents. So, the stage was set for a bitter struggle.

Nyaika who was left by Kamurasi to look after his favourite Kabalega, sent words secretly to Kabalega asking him not to forget his father's words and not to wait for his father's body to be buried if he was not to be sacrificed as a mock king, (Omuragwa Ngoma). Kabalega took up the advice and travelled at night to Nyabaleba, Macunda and arrived at Ngangi. Kamihanda Omudaya and other members of the royal family who possessed the king's body, (Omuguta), learnt of Kabalega's disappearance from his household. They prepared for war. Kamihanda Omudaya sent a regiment commanded by Katabandaka Kigoye to find the whereabouts of Kabalega. He also sent Biremeseze bya Kikonge and Kwezi as spies to make him informed of Kabalega's preparations for war.

A battle was fought at Kinoga and Kabalega carried the day by overwhelmingly defeating his adversaries. When Muhangi ya Nyakairu led another regiment against Kabalega, a pitched battle was fought and Kabalega defeated and killed Muhangi. Kabalega also engaged Kamihanda Omudaya who was trying to escape with the royal herd. He was arrested at Musaija Mukuru hill, Buhimba, but luckily escaped with the omuguta.

He captured a large booty of cattle. He then decided to consult Ruhanga Rwa Kyagwire for divination because Rubanga had extreme experience and reputation as possessor of reliable spirits. Kabalega sent for help from Mukabya which he received. Mukabya sent an army commanded by Kangawo Kyegulumiza which fought along with Kabalega.

Nyaika who camped at Kasingo, befriended an Egyptian trader called Sulaiman Kirimani and sent word to Kabalega who was in Kyankwanzi. Kabigumire was at Kitaihuka. Kabalega invaded him at Buziba and in the resultant battle Kabigumire was defeated. Kabigumire escaped to Kyegayuka.

The elders, who had been exhausted by war and a long feud that had lasted six months advised Kabalega to bury his father, ascend the throne and stop fighting. Kamurasi was buried at Ngangi, Bwamiramira Gombolola, Buyanja (formerly in Buyaga county). Kabalega built at Kikangahara Kisagara. A mock King called Kabagungu was placed on the throne for nine days and was named Olini VI. He was the Omuragwa Ngoma. He was taken to Buziba and killed. His tomb is at Buziba in Buyaga. He died instead of Kabigumire who was still on the run. Kabigumire returned after mobilising a Banyankore dominated force given to him by Mutambuka the Omugabe of Ankole. Kabalega entirely wiped the alien force. Kabigumire escaped back to Ankole to seek more help. The Omugabe of Ankole refused to give him more assistance saying: "Engoma Yo Neywanyu Nekibwa Erikate, Yamarize Abantu Baitu kandi Nosubira Tutekeyo Abandizo, Eri Nihano."

Meaning that the Bunyoro throne had consumed many people (including Banyankole and it is still unsettled and you expect us to send in more people to be sacrificed, that is a strange expectation. Kabigumire, however, managed to return to Kitara via Bwiru, Kahanga, Rugonjo and arrived in Chope. Kabalega was at Buruko in Bugangaizi. At this time Nyaika advised Kabalega to allow his brother to rule part of Bunyoro if he never wanted to kill him. The feud lessened peoples numbers, so if he was determined he (Kabalega) should give a spear to Nyaika to spear Kabigumire to death. Kabalega did so and Nyaika led an army together with Nyakamutura. Kabigumire was confronted and killed.

Kabalega emerged victorious. He became the undisputed King of Bunyoro-Kitara, and chose the name of Chwa II Rumoma Mahanga.

Kabalega inherited a Kingdom which was crumbling. It was a period during which the European penetration into present Uganda was pressing from two directions - the East Coast and Cairo - and carried with it the seeds of imperialism.

Because Kabalega chose to re-organise his Kingdom so as to save it from internal collapse and external threat, he had little to do with the bothersome whitemen who called at his palace (Mparo). In Bunyoro-Kitara Kabalega is remembered for his political and military reforms which have only been compared to Shaka the Zulu King. In the early years of his reign, he set out to impose his new ideas and order. His opponents had either to cross to his side, flee or wait to be destroyed. Japari who had fought for Kabigumire, was praised by Kabalega for his military skill and settled down comfortably in the Kingdom.

OMUKAMA CWA II KABALEGA



Omukama Kabalega

On the other hand, those who refused to accept their reduced political role or continued to intrigue against Kabalega were either killed or escaped. Seven important Biito princes plus two of Kabalega's sisters who had acted as spies for Kabigumire were executed at Kibwona. He established an intelligence network to check upon potential causes. In Nyoro tradition Kabalega is known as Ekituli Kyangire Abemi, he who hates the rebellious. His other praise names were: Rukolimbo Nyantalibwa Omugobe, Rwoota Mahanga.

On creation of order, he embarked on administrative reforms which were closely tied with military reforms. He reduced the power of the aristocracy which had been a thorn in the flesh of Bunyoro's political establishment. The civil wars, succession disputes and intrigues had emanated from this faction. He appointed Army Generals as territorial chiefs. The post of the chief was made appointive rather than hereditary. Greater centralisation and efficiency ensued because all chiefs were now answerable to the King. New chiefdoms were created for able commoners and these could be promoted on merit. Below are the names, clans and villages of county chiefs who ruled during the time of Kabalega:

1. Bugahya Ruled by Nyakamura rwa Nyakatura. His capital was at Kihaguzi on Kabyerya Hill County and was a Mumooli by clan (bush back totem). Citizen of Kihaguzi, Bugahya.
2. Busindi Ruled by Bikamba rwa Kabale, his capital was at Kibwona. A Muranzi by clan (owe

- County Nkobe in Buganda). Native of Butengesa Rugonjo. His county extended from Kasokwa Ntoma to Nyabuzarla and Kafo.
3. Bugungu or Ruled by Mwangarwa Kagwa. His capital at Kinywambeho Bugungu. A Mucwa Kicwante (bushbuck). Bungungu citizen.
 4. Chope Ruled by Kihukya Katongole Rukidi. Had his capital at Panyadoli. Mucwa clan.
 5. Kibanda Ruled by Masura rwa Mnteru, with capital at Koki. He was a Munyonza by clan, born in Chope -Mwenge.
 6. Buruli Now in Buganda, was ruled by Kadyebo rwa Bantawa. Capital at Kamunina Kigweri. county Mugonya clan (mushroom totem). From Buruli.
 7. Bunyara Ruled by Mutenga rwa Ikwambu. Capital at Ibale Ntenjeru. Mubiito and grandson of Bugerere King Olimi I. Born in Bunyara.
 8. Rugonjo Ruled by Mutengesa rwa Ololo. Has his capital at Kicucu. Mubiito, grandson of King Butengesa- Winyi II. Native of Rugonjo.
 9. Bugangaizi Kikukule son of Runego. Capital at Kasa-Bukuumi (at the parish) Mwiruntu (Elephant totem). Native of Bugangaizi.
 10. Buyaga Rusebe, son of Rukumba Rukira Banyoro, grand-son of Kyebambe Nyamutukura. County Capital at Nkeirwe Pacwa.
 11. Ruled by Mugerwa son of Zigijja, Omubopi. Capital at Bucubya. King's guard and Nyakabimba protector of the royal tombs of Bunyoro. He was leader of Babiito in the region of County Kyaka, Mubende, Mwenge and Buyaga. Mubopi (Lion totem). Native of Nyakabemba. His county was hereditary since the reign of Ndahura the Cwezi King who gave it to Rubumbi after he (Ndahura) had been rescued from drowning in river Muzizi.
 12. Kyaka Ntamara, son of Nyakabwa. Had capital at Karwenyi, Munyonza. Born at Mwenge. County
 13. Mwenge Mugarura, son of Kabwijamu. Had his capital at Bugaki, Mwenge, Munyonza. County
 14. Toro Ruburwa son of Mirundi. Capital at Kamengo Kibimba, Munyonza. Born at Mwenge. County He begun ruling there when Kabalega re-incorporated it into Kitara.
 15. Bulemu son of Rwigi. Had capital at Kanyamburara, Mubiito. Grandson of Isansa. Kitagwenda
 16. Rukara, son of Rwamagigi. Capital at Katwe salt place. He came from Bukidi. His clan Busongora was Muranzi.
 17. Bwamba Rukara rwa Itegeiraha. Had capital at Bironga. A Mucwa by clan. Born in Kibanda Chope. From his enclosure was born Yosia. W. Karukara Kitehimbwa, 1887.
 18. Mboga Now in Zaire, was ruled by Ireta rwa Byangombe, a Musaigi. His capital was at Kayera, County Butuku. He was a commander of Kabalega's regiments, known as Ekirwana, ekiporopyo, ekikweya, ekibangya and ekikube. His duty was to protect the border with Zaire. He would sometimes command in the battle and was very brave. When Mwanga fled to Bunyoro it was Ireta who met him in the forest at Bisio. Ireta died in 1906.
 19. Ruled by Kagambire son of Kajura Ruyumba. Had capital at Kanamba, Mulisa by clan. Busongora Born in Chope Kibanda. Makara
 20. Buzimba Nduru son of Nyakairu, Mulisa. Had his capital at Kanyamburara. This county is now in Ankole taken in 1900.
 21. Buhweju Ndbalema of Balisa clan. Taken to Ankole in 1900. Hereditary county of the Balisa County because they were mothers to King Winyi Rubagira Masega. This arrangement survived until the end of the 19th Century, when the whiteman intervened to destroy it.

Nyoro sources unanimously assert that the greatest achievement of Kabalega was military. His major task on assuming the throne was to reform and reorganize the army which had fought so well for him during the succession war. He called his new army the *Abarusura*. This army was different from the traditional one known as *obwesengeze*. With this army, Kabalega became not only the head of state but also the commander in chief of all the Armed Forces. The institution of the *Abarusura* had a modern ring in it because it involved the transfer of military leadership from the Saza Chiefs to a new group of men who were professional soldiers and who took order from the King. This was a very important change in the base of political power in the land.

The army was divided into regiment/battalions each with 1500 men. Each battalion was put under the command of a royal, courageous and well trained soldier. People could become commanders irrespective of birth. That is why his force was led by the Bairu commanders such as Rwabudongo, Kikukule and Ireta. Battalions were given task names such as Ekidoka, Ekihukya, Ekiporopyo, Ekigwera, Ekikabya, Ekihabya and the like. The commanders of each of these battalions were appointed from their respective battalions. This was different from the traditional Army 'obwesengeze', which consisted volunteers from each province of the Kingdom and were commanded by their respective provincial chiefs. These were in most cases Biito princes and were not directly responsible to the King. The political and military implications which these two systems of recruitment bore on the strength of the Kingdom can be understood. The regimental system of which Kabalega introduced meant that the Abarusura was a state army which derived its powers from the King. It suited the centralised political system which he had introduced. While the volunteer system which operated before, made provincial chiefs to be semi-autonomous. These provincial chiefs hardly took orders from the King. That is why secessionism and intrigues had retarded the political development of Bunyoro-Kitara for a long time and had almost led to her collapse by the middle of the 19th Century.

However, by 1890 Bunyoro was a power to reckon with in the whole of the interlacustrine region. It had conquered Toro and subdued all other provinces which attempted to secede such as Chope and Bugungu. It posed as a potential threat to Buganda and Nkore which through centuries had gradually extended their borders at its expense. With the administrative and military reforms, Omukama Kabalega had consolidated his power and rallied all his people together. The Kingdom of Bunyoro Kitara became once united and all elements of rebellion and intrigue which had existed were curbed out.

With internal peace, any form of development takes off and it was the case in Bunyoro-Kitara during Kabalega's reign, particularly in the field of economic-development. After the session of Toro, Bunyoro had lost the vast salt resources of Lake Katwe and Kasenyi. With internal instability its own salt working industry had declined. When Kabalega re-organized the Kingdom and installed hope and confidence into his people, the human and natural resources were utilized to the full. Toro which had been re-conquered in 1870 and the salt works at Katwe and Kasenyi coupled with those of Kibiro earned the Kingdom the capacity of supplying salt throughout the interlacustrine region. The iron working industry revived and Bunyoro became the main supplier of hoes to all areas north of the Lake Kyoga. In fact some accounts reveal that regular markets were established along the northern shores of Lake Kyoga. Bunyoro market masters were appointed to run these markets. The markets were established purposely to trade in Bunyoro hoes, which would be exchanged for foodstuffs from the neighbouring region.

Equally so, the salt markets which had been in operation before Kabalega were re-organised, and many were established to trade in salt and other products throughout the kingdom. Kabalega did not only encourage internal trade but also stimulated external trade. The old slave trade was replaced by the ivory trade and Bunyoro benefited from having two exits to the international market. Bunyoro's ivory could be exported either through Cairo or the East African coast. Ivory was exchanged for guns and ammunition, brought by Khartoumers and Swahili Arab traders. Unlike the salt and iron trade which was an occupation of the peoples, ivory trade was the King's preserve. All the ivory throughout the Kingdom would be collected and brought to the king's palace. It would be traded there. Since it was exchanged for guns and ammunition, the concentration of its sale at the King's palace was intended to prevent lawlessness in the Kingdom. Also they never wanted ivory to be smuggled to the neighbouring areas without the King's notice.

Kabalega introduced the public works system (oruharo), in order to rehabilitate what had been destroyed during the war. People could work on state farms for production of food like millet. The surplus food would be stored in underground granaries, 'enguli'. The stored food would be used during times of famine.

Kabalega was very much concerned with problems of national unity and reconciliation. He urged his people to pull together and work together towards a common destiny. He used the Ganda threat to appeal for unity as the following song sung by a Murusura in front of Kabalega testifies:

"I own goats and the Ganda are planning to come over and seize them. The Ganda are vowing to help each other and fight. When the Ganda come over, we should aid each other; we should love each other. I, the omurusura of omukama, By your highness, I will have to do something - I swear, I will beat them off. I vow to die with his Highness."

There were many similar songs devoted to the theme of national unity and reconciliation. Indeed Kabalega was a remarkable nation builder.

He encouraged intermarriages between the three historical social groups of Bunyoro, to forge greater unity. Kabalega set the fashion where he married a Mwiru lady. She was called Achanda (affectionately remembered by her family as Elizabeth). She hailed from the Ritwanga village of Chope (now Kibanda county). It is worth noting that Achanda's family had refused to identify themselves with Mupina's rebellion and had migrated southwards. Kabalega met her at Bugahya Hoima and made her his Queen. He rewarded her parents with presents including servants. Altogether Kabalega had 150 wives and 150 children. They came from all groups and according to oral evidence they were all beautiful.

Whether or not Kabalega was completely successful in his efforts at national reconciliation is difficult to tell. But what is certain is that during his period there were no rebellions. The country enjoyed peace and stability. This equilibrium was upset by the Anglo-Ganda combination against Bunyoro in the 1890's.

Kabalega's great power and influence gave his people that self-confidence and pride in themselves which they had not known for some generations past. To all Banyoro, he was a focal point and a symbol of unity.

With the Abarusura Army of 10 main battalions (bitongole) each between 1,000 and 2,000 men and 5 minor (Bitongole), each between 400 and 500 strong, all stationed in strategic positions inside the kingdom and on the borders of the Kingdom, Kabalega felt he was in position to fulfill yet another of his ambitions namely to regain if not all of the former Bacwezi, empire. The change of events at the time, however, worked against him. He attempted without success to play a role of broker in the Buganda civil war. Moreover his name had been spoilt on the European side by reports of Baker and Stanley.

KABALEGA AND THE EUROPEANS

Europeans, as mentioned before, first came to Bunyoro during the reign of Kamurasi. Speke and Grant, the first two Europeans were given a warm welcome by Kamurasi and when they were going away he sent along some people (messengers to look after them until they reached his boundary). These were followed by Samuel Baker in 1864. He came back in 1872. When he returned, he was no longer a private explorer, but Sir Samuel Baker, the Governor - General of the Equatoria Province. He had been appointed by Khedive Ismail of Egypt to fulfill for him his imperial ambitions in the Sudan and northern Uganda. By 1872 Baker had already established his headquarters at Gondokoro and was carrying the Egyptian flag and commanding an Egyptian Army. Baker understood northern Uganda to include the whole of Bunyoro and hence part of the Equatorial province. He was to annex it formally. When he arrived to annex the territory, he found that his friend Kamurasi had died and it was his son Kabalega in control of the Kingdom.

The relations between Bunyoro and the governor rapidly deteriorated. In 1872 he (Baker) publicly annexed Kabalega's country to the Egyptian Empire. The young monarch was now fully convinced that his fears were justified. He attacked Baker's garrison at Masindi ...

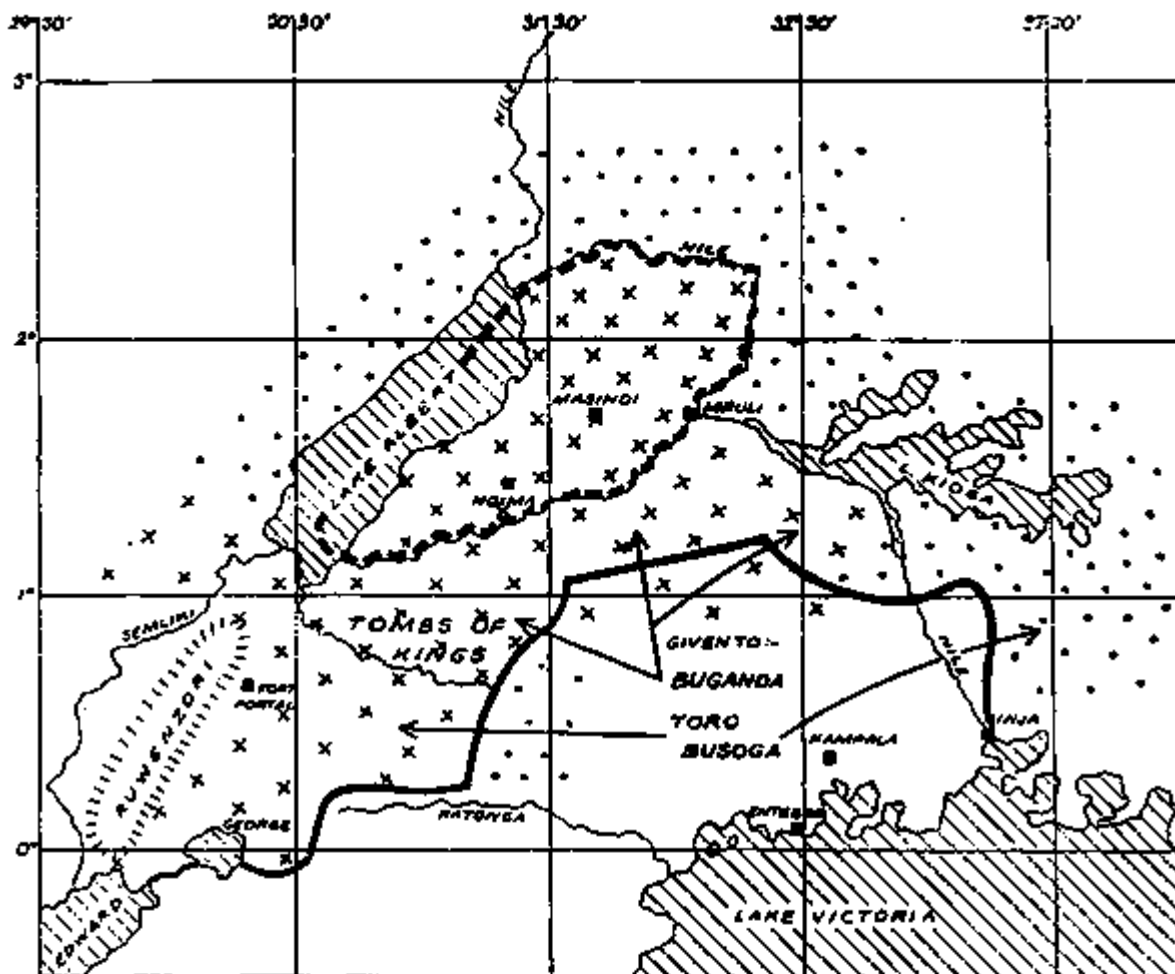
Forced to withdraw ignominiously to northern Uganda, Baker published, in 1874, his *Ismaili* in which, in an attempt to justify his failure he deliberately poisoned his countrymen's minds against Kabalega and his Kingdom.¹

It was from that angle in time that the imperialists' conception of Bunyoro hostility to themselves was accepted as a fact and British officials' attitude to Bunyoro came to be conditioned against this background. Kabalega never wrote his own version of the events, but even if he had done so, his would be side stepped as that of a native against the whiteman's version. Therefore, without exaggeration Baker's most remarkable achievement in Uganda was the creation of lasting misunderstanding between Bunyoro and the British officials. The consequences and importance of this clearly unfolds and becomes apparent as the story progresses.

Contrary to what Baker reported and according to reports given by Birigirwa Kabonerwa, the jester to King Kabalega and Jardeen Omubali (soldier in casati's Army), Kabalega had no enmity against Europeans, as long as his independence was kept intact. In the reports Kabonerwa and Omubali made to King Sir Tito Winyi, it is stated that when Baker returned to Bunyoro on the 25th April, 1872 Kabalega was very happy to see the friend of his late father back again. He showed every hospitality to him. He had no doubt that Baker would extend his friendship to him and hoped to remain on peaceful terms. Kabalega was not barring his people to go to foreign lands or of sending some of his people to Egypt to acquire new knowledge.

In doing this, Kabalega was being assisted by an Arab Mr. Ebrahim (known in Bunyoro as Burahi). He had stayed in Bunyoro, since Kamurasi's times. Burahi had already understood Baker and Khadive Ismail's intentions on Bunyoro. So Burahi sent word to Kabalega that Baker had planned to add Bunyoro to the Egyptian Empire. That is why he came with a powerful Army to fight the King if he tried to resist his will. Burahi also advised Kabalega to be careful when talking and not to put up a fight against Baker because the latter had a very superior Army. The Arab advised Kabalega that if ever Baker gives you a pistol with its muzzle pointing at you, do not take it from his hands. He will have loaded it, so that you might shoot yourself. Ask him to place it down first. Kabalega kept all these things in heart and watched.

BUNYORO - KITARA KINGDOM



- Boundary given by Lugard 1891
and approximately the same area as when Speke came in 1862
- X X X** Runyoro speaking areas
- • • •** Bunyoro influence
- - - -** Bunyoro boundary 1900-1957

When Baker came, Kabalega watched him and found that he was pursuing the same plan that Burahi had mentioned. Kabalega adhered to the Arabs advice, without showing any sign that he knew Baker's plans. Generous as he was, he went on to give food and heads of cattle for meat to Baker's soldiers. This act of generosity forced Baker's soldiers to disclose their master's intentions on Kabalega. The soldiers were of Bari, Bagingo and Bameka tribes. What they disclosed was exactly what Kabalega had learnt earlier. Kabalega had already given orders that wherever in the country Sir Samuel Baker and his lady passes, people should help them as best as they can by feeding them, their people and so on, until they reach him.

A few days afterwards. Baker who had been lodged near the King's palace (600 yards away), sent to the King that he should order for the gathering of all his people because he (Baker) had an important message to deliver. This was at Bulyasojo (Masindi 1872). The King then passed the information to the chiefs. All chiefs, subchiefs and heads of clans and other personalities gathered together in a big council. The King came and informed the people that Baker had asked him to call all the people for an important message. The King then sent for Baker to come and say what he wanted to say. Samuel Baker came with all his soldiers stood on guard outside while he entered into the council hall. When he entered, he proclaimed that, the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara was under the Equatorial administration, and therefore the King and his people were subjects of Egypt. In this instance, he never declared that Bunyoro was to be put under her majesty's Empire but just mentioned that it was under the Egyptian government.

The chiefs, in return asked Baker whether there were to be two Kings in Bunyoro. Baker could not respond. He instead ordered his soldiers to hoist the Egyptian flag and put down the Bunyoro-Kitara flag. The King sent a messenger Mbogo Omumizi (the interpreter) to Baker to ask him to explain what all this meant. He ordered him to ask Baker that if there was any change in the Kingdom Baker should call him and his advisers and agree to the change, or he should come and discuss the matter with him, or if he could not come, he should ask the King to go to him (Baker) together with his advisers to discuss the matter and make it clear to every body, showing the reason why Bunyoro was to be added to Sudan and the Equatorial administration. But Samuel Baker could not send any reply and for this reason the King sent the messenger to him again that he and his advisers might see Baker. Baker insisted that only the King was to see him. According to the customs of Bunyoro, the King could not move alone. He had to move with his servants. When Baker saw them, he could not let the chiefs in, but only the King. The King refused to enter the tent unless he was allowed to go in with his chiefs. He knew what Baker was all about. Then Baker rebuked the King saying: "What a proud little child you are." The King replied, "I am a king and you call me a child".

But Mrs. Baker begged her husband to let them in and Baker accepted. When they had sat down. Baker brought a loaded pistol and handed it to the King with the muzzle pointing to him (Kabalega). Kabalega refused to take it and instead asked Baker to place it on the ground, from where he would pick it. Baker's intention in this plan was to ensure that if Kabalega handled the pistol with a muzzle pointing to his direction, he would touch the trigger and shoot himself.

When Kabalega had picked it he observed that it was loaded. Baker, on realising that Kabalega had unfolded his intentions, he pretended that he had forgotten and handed loaded pistol to the King. Besides that Baker's soldiers had already started committing many acts of annoyance to the people in order to provoke war against Kabalega. They entered chiefs enclosures and raped their wives. They looted properly and forced Kitara men into sodomy with them. These unbearable acts were reported to the King and the King requested Baker to prevent his soldiers from doing such things. This he did not do. Still trying to find out whether Baker was for peace or war, Kabalega again sent his usual messenger Mbogo Omumizi to establish whether an agreement was to be made or not. Baker just arrested and executed Mbogo at once. When the King heard that Mbogo had been executed, he sent another messenger called Bagunywa to ask why his messenger was killed. He met Baker on the way coming to attack Kabalega. Bagunywa did his best to tell Baker what the King had sent him for, but no success was met. A man who had accompanied Bagunywa rushed immediately and informed the King of the forthcoming Baker's attacks. Although Kabalega had heard the attack he did not prepare for war at once. But his chiefs advised him to leave the palace, which he did. He left one of his chiefs Bikamba s/o Kabale to wait and ask Baker why he came to attack him when he was not prepared to go to war. Baker did not listen to Bikamba.

Bikamba was about to be put to death had he not escaped cunningly. He set fire on the palace and burnt down everything before him. The King's granaries were all destroyed. When the people were annoyed beyond measure, they decided to attack the foreigner who had burnt down their King's palace and waged war against an innocent King.

Baker escaped into northern Uganda. The King's soldiers who delayed to surround his camp hoped that Baker after destroying the palace kept inside his tent. Two days after waiting in vain for him to come out, they decided to go in but found none. Because of the emptiness, the battle was coined, '*Ekya Muleju Baligota Isansa*,' meaning that to fight Baker you will fight nothing.

When he was fleeing, he passed via Chope to Gulu where he established a fort. There he remained and ordered for the reinforcement so that he could go back and fight Kabalega. He prepared the

second attack because he had promised Ruyonga that he would overthrow Kabalega and put him on the throne. This proved to be very difficult for him to fulfill. Ruyonga county chief and appointee of Kabalega had told lies to Baker that he had been King of Bunyoro, but Kabalega had deposed him.

In 1876, another European, colonel Gordon replaced Baker as Governor of the Equatorial. He established his forts in Buruli near River Kafo. Gordon's knowledge of Kabalega was solely and absolutely obtained from Baker's reports - the worst possible source by any standard. He put soldiers in the fort. His chief commander was called Nuahr Aga. This caused a great deal of anxiety to the omukama and the people because it was done without the knowledge of the King. During the same year Gordon brought Nubian soldiers and established forts in Bunyoro at Bugungu, Kibyama, Kisuga near Masindi. All these were provocative acts but the King decided not fight.

In 1878 Gordon was succeeded by another curious and complex German Doctor, Emin Pasha. Emin Pasha got on well with Kabalega. He seemed not to have swallowed Baker's reports wholesale. He spoke highly of Kabalega:

Kabalega is cheerful, laughs readily and much, talks a great deal and does not appear to be bound by ceremony the exact opposite to Mutesa the conceited ruler of B Uganda. He is thoroughly hospitable and intelligent.²

However Emin Pasha, further observed that Kabalega was suspicious of all Europeans, an observation which was accurate because Kabalega had already understood the intentions of Europeans on his country. The Europeans had to look for a pretext to attack Kabalega, because Kabalega was a powerful ruler in East Africa whose power would render the establishment of colonial rule in the region very difficult.

THE CONVENTIONAL WAR AGAINST BUNYORO

The next phase in the Anglo-Bunyoro relations opened in 1890 following the arrival of captain Fredrick .F. Lugard, the representative of the Imperial British East African Company (I.B.E.A.). He arrived in Buganda on 18th December 1890. He was sent by the British government to secure control of Buganda by means of an agreement and extend the territorial claims of the IBEA Co. to the west of Buganda. Lugard who had Baker's reports in mind, got further prejudiced against Kabalega when the Baganda informed him that Kabalega was a very hostile King, who never welcomed foreigners and hated Europeans. They misrepresented Kabalega in the eyes of Europeans. From Lugard's own writing, it is exposed that he never considered the possibility of negotiating with Kabalega, the latter was irrevocably cast as villain of peace. He regarded Kabalega as having lost any claim to indulgence.

In 1891, Lugard moved towards western Uganda, hoping to raise more troops to defend his company. He left Captain Williams in charge of Kampala. When he reached Ankole, he signed a treaty with the Omugabe Ntare on 1/7/1891. This was because he believed Nkore was of strategic value, since some of the arms reaching Kabalega were ferried through Nkore.

The arrival of Lugard in Toro proved a great tragedy for Kabalega. Lugard destroyed Kabalega's forces at Muhokya, Katooke and Butanuka. On 15th August 1891, he restored Kasagama. He had moved along with him from Buganda where Kasagama had been a refugee. After a treaty of protection, Lugard continued to Kavalli at the southern tip of Lake Albert. At Kavalli, Lugard's forces armed with modern weapons found it easy to beat an unprepared force of Kabalega. Kabalega was expelled from Toro and a line of forts was built along the Toro-Bunyoro border, purposely to stop Kabalega from reinvading Toro. Kabalega did not keep quiet but kept on attacking the British Forts. He interrupted communications and stopped the British from getting the necessary supplies.

When Lugard returned to Britain and Portal came in, a policy of withdrawing forces from Toro Forts was pursued. This gave chance to Kabalega to invade Toro and expel the British puppet Kasagama. Kasagama was chased by Ireta and Rwabudongo into the foothills of the Rwenzori mountains. Owen the British officer was compelled to evacuate Toro.

Unfortunately Portal was succeeded by Macdonald and Colonel Colville who discarded Portal's policy. These officers were determined to restore British prestige wherever possible and silence men like Kabalega. Macdonald concluded that a full scale invasion of Bunyoro and the subjugation of Kabalega

was the only way open for British influence to be secured in the region. Owen was instructed to prepare for the invasion of Bunyoro after Colville himself was convinced that nothing short of a military expedition could pacify Bunyoro into accepting British supremacy.

When the British had spread their military preparedness, military invasion of Bunyoro was accordingly planned to be undertaken with the help of Baganda. In 1893, Colville issued an ultimatum to Kabalega notifying him that: Unless in the meantime, you send me guarantee for your good conduct in future and substantial indemnity for damage done in the past, I and my army would cross your frontier within 21 days of the date of writing.

Kabalega never sent a reply and in December 1893, Colville invaded Bunyoro with a force of eight European officers, 400 Sudanese and 1,500 Baganda. Kabalega who would have stayed more serious resistance made a mistake and divided his force into four scattered divisions. He was forced to abandon his capital Mparo and retreated to Budongo forest to organise his forces. In his retreat, he was so tactical enough that he did not offer Colville any chance of a pitched battle Colville had thought. He however, slipped back towards Mparo and fought the Anglo-Ganda force at Kisabagwa. He was chased to Kisindizi, then to Kibanda. Having realised that Kabalega could not easily be captured Colville decided to divide the kingdom into portions, so that Kabalega could be confined to the norther portion. The Barusura who had been forced to get scattered, started to resist in hide-outs under Kabalega's distant leadership.

Although Kabalega had been chased out of Bunyoro into Lango, he started a guerilla warfare in which he continuously attacked British forts. In 1895, Kabalega slipped back to Bunyoro and attacked the British at Kijunjubwa near Masindi. It is estimated that he beat a twenty-thousand British-Ganda-Nubian strong force in which one British officer by the name of Dunning was slain. The British led troops were forced to return to Hoima for re-organisation. The return of Kabalega encouraged all those enemies of Britain to gather and fight Mwanga of Buganda too joined Kabalega and was met at Biiso by Ireta.

However, in the battle which ensued Kabalega was attacked by the British at a place called Harukungu, in which many people were killed. Among those who died were two of Kabalega's brothers and many of his sons. Prince Karukara, the Queen mother Kanyange Nyamutahingurwa and princes Victoria Mukabagabo were taken into captivity.

Kabalega continued his guerilla warfare throughout 1897. In 1898, he returned to Northern Bunyoro and the British post at Hoima was destroyed. Mwanga who had joined Kabalega to fight against British colonialism, split his forces into three groups; the first was dispersed in north Ankole, the second in southwest Bunyoro and the third in the region of Kijunjuba. Ireta deployed his forces between Budongo forest and Fajao and Jasi moved his force from Foweira towards Masindi port. A number of minor engagements took place.

Between June and July, 1898 the 27th Bombay Light Infantry Force rigorously patrolled northern Bunyoro and cleared the area of Ireta and Kikukule's forces. Fajao and Foweira were re-occupied. Ireta and Kikukule were confined to the east bank of the Nile. Kitahimbwa, son of Kabalega, who had been imposed as a new Omukama by the British travelled to Masindi in September, accompanied by Lewin of the Church Missionary Society, and Thomas Senfuna a Muganda Evangelist, where they established a church of reeds and grass. Senfuna was left to continue with missionary work in Masindi while Lewin returned to Bulemezi. At this lime, Bunyoro was truly in pitiful state. War had been followed by plague, pestilence and famine. The food supply of the country was perilously near starvation level. Cultivation had almost ceased.

In October 1898, Kabalega's forces crossed the Nile from Lango into Buganda and ambushed a patrol in north Buruli. Reinforcements later dispersed them and they retreated towards the Bugoma forest.

Columns operated in southwest Bunyoro until December when Ireta was attacked in the Budongo forest by the British. By January 1899 most of Kabalega's forces had given up themselves and it was estimated that only thirty remained on the west bank and seventy on the east bank of the Nile.

The end was almost near. In March 1899, Lt. Col. Evatts moved into Lango to discover where Kabalega was and break up the resistance. When Kabalega realised that Evatts had crossed, he re-organised a strong rear guard to resist him. He was assisted by chief Adora of Lango. Mwanga, whom

they had fled together, realised that things were worsening and suggested to Kabalega to surrender, but Kabalega answered: Everything has its own time appointed; a woman travelling with a child reaches a time of deliverance; so does a cow; the banana is planted and takes root; but when it arrives at fruition, it must fall; and now we have reached the hour of our fate; and if so be that our appointed time to die has come, let us not be faint-hearted.

On 9th April, 1899 the two leaders were discovered at Oyom near Kangai in Dokolo county of Lango where they were driven into a swamp by Evatts troops. Kabalega, although, he had an infection of the eyes, resisted courageously. He was only forced to drop his gun after bullets struck his right arm and his left hand thumb. After his capture, Kabalega persuaded his son Duhaga to tear the bandages from his injured arm so that he might bleed to death in order to fulfill the Kinyoro tradition that an incapacitated Mukama should die. But the attempt was frustrated. Eventually the arm had to be amputated. Kabalega and Mwanga were taken to Kismayu and later to the Seychelles, where Mwanga died in 1903. Kabalega spent 23 years in exile and was guarded by a British officer and local constables. He learnt to read and write and was Baptized John. By Baptism and literacy, the British thought that this could be - potential weapons by which they would reconcile their adversary to the new colonial subjection. Kabalega died in 1923 at about 70 years of age while on his way back to Bunyoro. His death paralysed the Banyoro. Every activity came to a standstill and laughter at that time was considered a national insult. His body was brought and buried at Mparo (Royal Village) where an imposing grass structure protects his grave. Although the Europeans boast that even Kabalega passed through the ritual of colonialism, the ritual was not entirely effective since he requested that no European type of roofing should ever be used to cover his corpse.

OMUKAMA KABALEGA



Omukama Kabalega (in bandage) after his capture in 1899

Chapter Seven: The Aftermath of the Anglo-Nyoro War

This section shows what exactly happened after the flight of Kabalega to Lango and his consequent capture in 1899. Kabalega was captured in 1899 but his flight to Lango in 1895 is in most cases held to have largely been the beginning of the collapse of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom and her defeat in the war against white colonialism. In fact, it was from this time that the British began to make some inroads into Bunyoro's political establishments. The British period in Bunyoro-Kitara is widely regarded as a brief interlude in her history because what they really did, left this once glorious and mighty kingdom in ruins.

It should be noted that the war which the British waged against Kabalega did not only end Kabalega's hopes of making a new Kitara but also left Bunyoro in a very desperate state. Johnstone, who visited the wretched Bunyoro observed that the country had been appallingly depopulated by the war. Another man, a Reverend R.P. Ashe who knew Bunyoro very well and lived in Bunyoro from the time the war ended, wrote about the Sudanese soldiers that what they did shall not be forgotten by those who witnessed it. He said that the Sudanese soldiers devastated Bunyoro and did devilish acts of hideous shame. They looted, raped and behaved with appalling savage against the indigenous people. One provincial commissioner who was posted to Bunyoro, in the years which preceded, observed what the situation looked like and made the following remark: I like the Banyoro and I do feel that their action

in opposing foreign control hardly merited the consequences which have followed it.

The sympathy which some white men showed when it was in actual fact their fellow white men who had done the job, serves as a clear testimony that the consequences on the side of the Banyoro and the kingdom were severe.

Before and after the war ended, there were periodic famines which came as a result of devastation. Homes, crops, cattle, had been destroyed during the war. Fisher, a missionary in Bunyoro at that time records that girls and women whose husbands had been killed in the war roamed about the country, selling their honour for a mere handful of grain. Thousands of people died as a result of famine. Between 1898 and 1900 there was a famine called Kyomudaki or Igora. It made the colonial administration to change the economic set up of Bunyoro from a pastoral to an agricultural oriented economy. In 1907 another famine broke out. This was famously known as Kiromere. It was followed by another in 1914 whose name was Zimyaetara (meaning that switch off the light) because the husbands would prefer to eat in darkness so that they would not see their family starving. The spate of famines continued until 1918 when another famine Kabakuli (Bowl) broke out. Diseases were also frequent. There was smallpox, leprosy, dysentery and syphilis. In 1909, sleeping sickness struck the lake region and many people were forced to move to Bugahya county. The Saza chief of Bugungu died of the same disease.

Important to mention is the fact that after the capture of Kabalega, six of the most historic and favourite counties of Bunyoro-Kitara were handed over to Buganda as a punishment against Bunyoro for her resistance against colonial rule and as a reward to Buganda for her alliance with the forces of colonialism. The hand-over of Bunyoro's territory south and east of river Kafu originated from Colville's schemes where he wanted to reward Baganda for their efforts to fight Kabalega. This undertaking was ratified in 1895 when the office of Berkeley successor to Colville approved it.

Berkeley's despatch dated 19th November, 1896, to the foreign office stated that:

The annexed provinces, in becoming part of the Kingdom of Buganda, must of course recognise the sovereignty of the King of Buganda the supremacy and authority of chiefs selected with approval of her Majesty's Commissioner to govern them and they must understand that hence forth, they are subject to all laws, regulations, obligations, as to local taxation and tribute that are in force in other parts of the Kingdoms. At the same time, however, these provinces became part of Buganda Kingdom so would their native inhabitants become Waganda.¹

All the indigenous Banyoro in the lost counties were forced to abandon their customs and values against their will. The transference of Bunyoro's territories to Buganda was finally ratified by Buganda Agreement of 1900. The Agreement was signed between the British Government and Buganda Kingdom. Clause 9 of the agreement provides that for purposes of native administration, Buganda

Kingdom should be divided into 20 counties including the six counties of Bunyoro of Bugangaizi, Buyaga, Buwekula, Rugonjo (Isingo), Buruli and Bugerere. When these lands were being transferred, they were distributed among the different religious sects. The protestant sect was given an area of county south of Buruli, while the catholics were given an extensive district west of Ssingo. The inclusion of Bunyoro's land into Buganda created a lot of discontent in Bunyoro because the Banyoro felt that this was too harsh a punishment. Pulteny, the British junior officer who had been sent to officiate the transfer of the lost counties resigned. Another young British administrative officer also resigned for similar reasons. Postlethwaite, once a provincial commissioner of Bunyoro wrote:

In any ease it seemed impossible to make up for the loss to the unfortunate Banyoro of what was in fact their holy of hollies and the real centre of their Kingdom. It was an accident after all at the time of the agreement the Baganda were in ascendancy. Incidentally, the caves of rocky hills near Kakumiro had been a standing place of the Banyoro from which as far as I know, the Baganda had never successfully dislodged them, while in Buyaga lie the graves of Banyoro kings, where every creature, hill, rock and blades of grass cries aloud to those interested that they are Banyoro and can never be anything else."²

In the same book the author points out:

"The inclusion of Mubende district in Buganda Kingdom is considered by many to have been one of the greatest blunders we committed in the past."³

These quotations hold, since it was the lost county question which turned out to be a major problem for this country. Apart from the kingdom of Bunyoro being cut to size, the British proceeded and declared Bunyoro part of the British Protectorate on 3rd June 1896 and this was published in the London Gazette of the following month.

The British disorganisation of the Bunyoro set up did not stop with the exiling of Kabalega but continued even in years that followed. The British destroyed Bunyoro's administrative structures and disorganised the Babiito Royal Family. This they did to destroy Bunyoro's identity and the centre of unity which had binded the Banyoro together during their war against colonialism. The British believed that what they thought best for Bunyoro was best and had to be adhered to. Although Kabalega was still alive the British imposed Kitehimbwa, his 12 year old son, on the throne of Bunyoro-Kitara. It is said that prince Kitehimbwa did not carry out accession rites, much as Duhaga whom the Banyoro believed did not completely perform the traditional accession rites until after the death of his father Kabalega in 1923. Since Kitahimbwa was a young king, he had to be assisted by regents and chiefs. One of the most famously remembered regent and who assisted Kitahimbwa in the administration of Bunyoro was Paulo Byabacwezi, saza chief of Bugahya. So, Kitehimbwa became the first Bunyoro King to rule over the Kingdom with diminished powers. The British collector who had been posted to Bunyoro became the front of authority in Bunyoro.

In 1902, Omukama Kitehimbwa who had been baptized Yosia by Bishop Tucker and had ruled only for four years was deposed by the protectorate government. He was deposed for what they termed as being incompetent. He was succeeded by Andrea Bisereko Duhaga, also son of Kabalega. At this time, Duhaga was aged about twenty. Although these changes were taking place, to all intent and purposes the Banyoro still regarded Kabalega as the rightful and spiritual king of Bunyoro. It was after his death that the spirit of passive resistance of Banyoro died out.

Having deposed Kitahimbwa and installed Duhaga as the new Omukama, the British embarked on a system of administration in which the remaining counties of Bunyoro were reduced from eight to four and the British continuously regard Bunyoro as a conquered territory.

They never dared to develop Bunyoro's indigenous political institutions as they had done in Buganda. Their aim was limited to efficient administration of the district officer. They believed that this could not be achieved without the assistance of the Baganda chiefs. Consequently what they did was to employ twenty or more Baganda chiefs without minding about the likely consequences of the policy. In fact it was the Nyangire rebellion which changed the harsh British policies towards Bunyoro.

It must be put that the Nyangire rebellion was one of the most dramatic events which took place during the reign of Duhaga II. It caused many challenges to the Omukama and made him a victim of circumstance. He was accused by his subjects of working under the influence of James Miti. He was

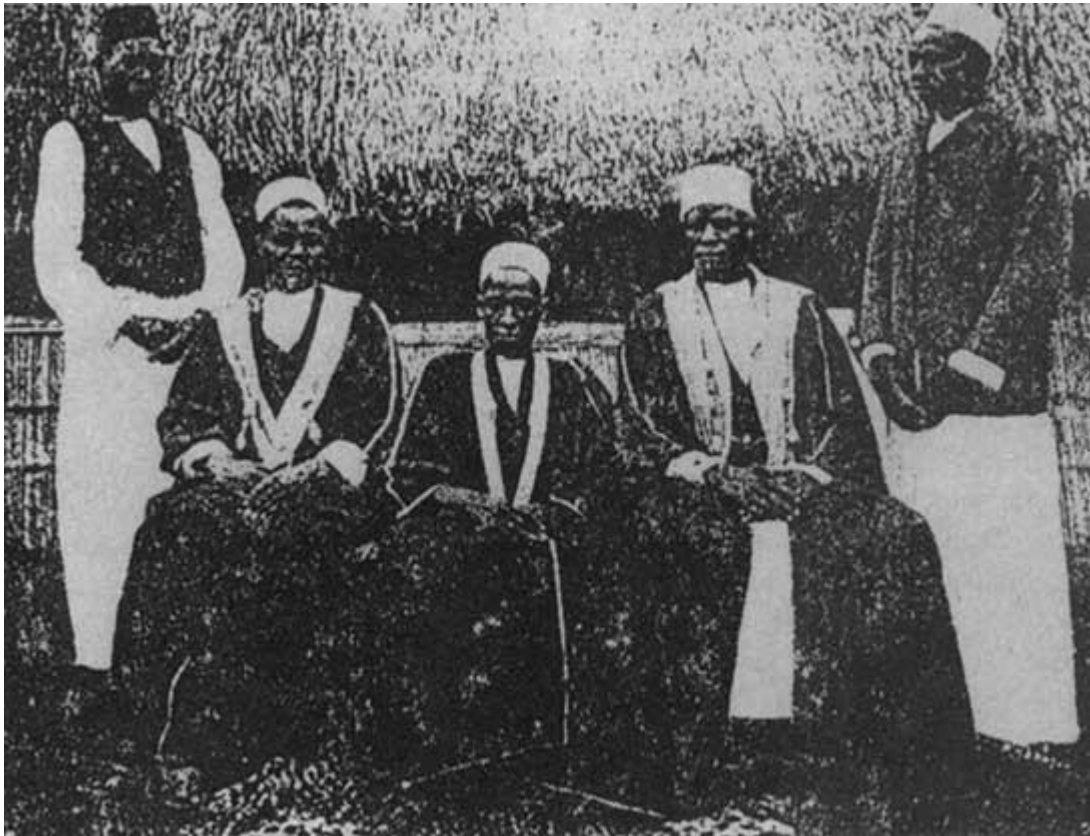
also accused of favouring the Baganda Protestant leaders for religious reasons. He was also accused of having abandoned many of the ceremonies that the Omukama traditionally undertakes due to the influence of the Church Missionary Society. Some accounts reveal that the Banyoro tolerated Duhaga just because he was Kabalega's son.

The fact remains, the Bunyoro had to tolerate the situation just as the Mukama tolerated it himself, because none of them had the means to remove their tormentors.

Despite these challenges, Duhaga reigned for 22 years and had the reputation of thinking twice before speaking. His nick-name was "Omutuma Gwibale" literally meaning, "Stone Hearted". He was addressed as "Rubazanekalamu Kalera Bikya". Duhaga would have been named Kyebambe "Usurper" because he had taken over the throne from his brother who was at the same time still alive. But because he was weak, small, he had to be given the name Duhaga II after his great and illustrious grandfather Duhaga

I. The name Duhaga signified that the Mukama would expand in size while on the throne.

OMUKAMA DUHAGA II



King Duhaga and his chiefs

In 1912, Paulo Byabacwezi, the caretaker who had assisted Duhaga in administration of the Kingdom died. He had been saza chief of Bugahya since 1893. His county was divided between his sons Zakayo Jawe, and Andereya Buterere. Petero Bikunya was appointed to be the guardian of Jawe and young Buterere. When the first world war broke out the Omukama summoned his army and put it under the charge of Prince Cosma Kabeba. The army was to fight in defence of British Empire, was put under the command of the protectorate captain officer. Because the colonial government had sighted some signs of loyalty from the Omukama and had accepted British supremacy, he was awarded with an M.B.E. award in 1918. By this time, the Omukama had appointed Petero Bikunya to be the Katikiro (Prime Minister of Bunyoro Kitara). He was to undertake administrative work on behalf of the Omukama. Although this was the case, it has been found that on many occasions, his decisions were not respected by the colonial administrators. At this moment, one can say that the indigenous rulers of Bunyoro played a "YES" Man's role and their opinions would be accepted as long as they were in line with the British colonial policies. What the British wanted is what they did. For instance,

they decided to transfer the capital of Bunyoro from Hoima to Masindi because there was construction of Masindi and Butyaba Ports. And later in March 1921, the Governor in council declared again that the Headquarters of Bunyoro Kingdom were to be returned to Hoima. They did this hoping that they would compensate the people of Hoima for the excessive loss of population which had occurred in the area. According to the census which was conducted at that time, it was found that the African population had decreased by 32,675. The decrease was to excess of deaths over births and migration of Banyoro to other regions of Uganda.

While the Banyoro continued to be oppressed, they joined hands once again to fight this kind of exploitation. Important to note is the fact that in 1921 the Banyoro in the lost counties formed what is remembered as the Bunyoro-Mubende Committee with a view of bringing the grievances of the Banyoro in the lost counties before the protectorate government and to campaign for the return of the lost counties to Bunyoro. But the colonial government showed little cooperation and re-emphasized its stand that lost counties were never to be returned to Bunyoro. Although the Nyangire rebellion had made the British a bit flexible they remained hostile to Banyoro in very many respects. The protectorate government refused to give enough money to the missionaries to finance educational programmes in Bunyoro-Kitara. The burden for the maintenance and development of the few schools which had been established in Bunyoro by 1920 was entirely born by the missionaries. The missionaries could get little money paid by the tenants on free hold land which had been held by the missions. Consequently, the missions found it difficult to attract tenants to their lands. To make matters worse the Banyoro parents never had money to send children to school as it was a period of economic depression . Consequently Bunyoro lagged behind in the fields of educational development.

At the request of Omukama, the Governor Sir Archer obtained permission for Kabalega to return to Uganda. He arrived from the Seychelles in February 1923 and was provided with a house at Jinja. This house belonged to Semei Kakungulu, the Muganda General, who was present at the capture of Kabalega in April, 1899. Unfortunately, Kabalega did not live longer from the time he returned. On 7th April 1923, he died of heart failure following influenza.

So, the aftermath of the war had been an unhappy period for Bunyoro. The spirit of the Banyoro was low and the situation was worsened by conditions of world trade which adversely affected Bunyoro's cotton production capacity. Lack of opportunity in Bunyoro made the young and fitter people seek livelihood outside the region, and the health of the Omukama itself became very poor such that he no longer possessed energy to lead his people forward. He died on 30th March, 1924 and was succeeded by his half-brother. The half-brother took succession because Duhaga never had a son. He had only three daughters namely, Ruth Oliver Bisereko, Alexandria Komukyeya Bisereko, and Norah Bulituli. The brother in succession was Sir Tito Owinyi and his reign was the last most significant rule of the Babiito rulers in Bunyoro-Kitara.

Chapter Eight: The Reign of Sir Tito Winyi IV Gafabusa 1924-1967

At this time, the lethargy of the Banyoro was apparent to the protectorate government, but the protectorate government officials could not avail any answer in material things. Most of the successive district commissioners who were posted to Bunyoro never dared to work hand in hand with Omukama to solve Bunyoro's problems. The only fortunate moment came when Bunyoro got a series of sympathetic district commissioners amongst which was J.R.P. Postlethwaite and E. Dauncey Tongue. These found that much could be done to improve Bunyoro by genuinely working together in cooperation with the Omukama and giving him the respect due to his position. It was this changed environment which brought about substantive developments in Bunyoro during the Winyi period. The Winyi period is remarkable because it was when things really got going.

The death of the Omukama Andereya Duhaga took place suddenly during the night of 30th March, 1924. He died of heart attack. He was buried at Kinogozi on 7th April. He was succeeded by his half-brother Tito Winyi, whom he had nominated some years before as his successor and who among the sons of Kabalega seemed to have the necessary education and experience. He had been brought up as a child at Ibanda, Mitooma county, Ankole and was educated at Mengo High School and Kings College Buddo. He spent most of the years between 1910 and 1920 in Seychelles acting as Private Secretary to his father Kabalega. In 1920 he returned to Uganda and worked in the District Commissioner's office for a year. From 1921 until his brother's death, he was subcounty chief at Bwijanga. Having signed an agreement relating to his future conduct both public and private, he ascended the throne of Bunyoro-Kitara with the traditional empango ceremonies on 12th April, 1924. His appointment was confirmed by the Governor at a general meeting held on 15th May. Omukama Sir Tito Winyi was addressed as Rubazanenkuba Ngambo

Nyingi, who travelled in an airplane of the whiteman from Masindi to Hoima and could speak many languages including Swahili, English, and the language of Seychelles was honoured with the title Rubaza n'ekalamu because he could write and Muzahura Nganda because he was the first king to visit other kingdoms of Uganda. His visit to other kingdoms was remarkable because it broke the tradition which inhibited kings from visiting each other.

When Winyi became Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara, he toured most parts of Bunyoro to which he was comparatively a stranger. His immediate steps were to fight the retrograde attitude which had been shown by most officials in the Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom who were anxious to exploit the peasants as much as possible for their own advantage. He soon proved to be more popular because he deliberately undertook both the traditional and modern duties of the Omukama.

It is said that in the early days of his reign, the Omukama was on several occasions treated in a discourteous manner by the district commissioners who tended not to have regard for his status. However, with the appointment of Postlethwaite on 27th August, 1927, there came an improvement in relations between the Omukama and District Commissioner. This consequently benefitted the whole of Bunyoro. Because of his wide experience of varying conditions in Uganda Postlethwaite became sympathetic to Kinyoro aspirations in the lost counties. His feelings on this subject endeared him to the Banyoro and made his task in Bunyoro very easy. While District Commissioner, he encouraged tobacco growing in Bunyoro and the British American Tobacco Company started arrangements on how to buy the first crop with the posting of Kentucky Hayes as its first representative. His innovations, however, were abandoned following his departure due to illness and transfer. The sudden transfer of Postlethwaite must have been due to suspicions which the Protectorate Government had about officers who succeeded in forging a bond of sympathy to a particular tribe.

That is why officers were invariably posted elsewhere as soon as they mastered the local languages in particular areas.

In 1928 the Omukama received a white delegation led by Hilton Young. The team was on feasibility study of creating an East African Federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. It was officially welcomed in a Rukurato Hall on 17th January, 1928. Later, when the conference dealing with the issue of the EAF was convened in London in 1931, the Omukama sent an envoy Kosiya K. Labwoni to go and explain the stand of the Omukama and the obstacles which lay in the formation of such a federation.

Meanwhile at the same time Sir Tito Winyi undertook to improve relations with other kingdom leaders of Uganda. That is why he ventured very much in paying a lot of visits to these other kingdoms. In 1933, the Omukama set off to visit other kingdoms of Uganda and visited the kingdoms of Ankole, Buganda and Toro. On 2nd May, the Omukama was in Buganda and visited a number of places. He visited the Roman Catholic Mission and toured Buddu which was by that ruled by Rawuli Kiwanuka. He also paid a visit to George Sefasi Kabumbuli Kamuswaga, Ssaza chief of Kooki. Remember Kooki had been an independent kingdom with great historical attachments to Bunyoro until 1896 when she joined Buganda. From Buganda, he proceeded to Mbarara, the capital of Omugabe of Ankole. The two monarchs sat in the royal chairs and conversed like ordinary men. They inspected regalia of Ankole and Winyi was able to see the main royal drum of Ankole called Bagendanwa which was once cut by his great grandfather who had led an expedition into Ankole around 1770. On 8th May, he visited Kigezi in south-western Uganda so that he could see the areas that had once been conquered by his great grandfather Cwa I Rumoma Mahanga. He crossed lake George and saw the boat which was used by Kabalega to cross his men whenever they went for expeditions into Ankole and Rwanda. He went as far as Lake Katwe, and climbed on top of a hill called Katwe so that he could see the Ituri forests.

While returning home, he passed via Mubende, where he climbed up to the top of Mubende hill and tried to draw a picture of the old capital of Ndahura-the Mucwezi king. When he returned home, it was when he signed the 1933 Bunyoro Agreement with the Protectorate government. Under the terms of the Agreement the protectorate government undertook to protect Bunyoro and thus Bunyoro was formerly put under British Colonial Rule. The Omukama was to be the head of the native government and had some powers to undertake certain decisions. He could appoint and dismiss ministers which in this case meant the Katikiro, Muketo (treasurer), county and subcounty chiefs. He had to consult the Rukurato and to discuss his proposals with the district commissioner, except for the appointment of Parish chiefs. The district commissioner would initiate a recommendation for the dismissal of any minister or chief while the purpose of the Rukurato was to deliberate upon such matters as might be referred to them by the Omukama.

However, the Omukama made a formal public statement at the signing reserving the claims of Bunyoro to the lost counties. He re-affirmed what Kosiya Labwoni had raised in London in 1931 where he had been attending a joint selection committee meeting, which was studying the problems of closer union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Labwoni had complained to the secretary of state for colonies about the loss of his territories, but the reply from the secretary was that it was impossible to go into the question which had long been settled. However, what should be said, is the fact that, the signing of the 1933 Agreement increased formal contacts between Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom and colonial government. Many important white personalities began to pay visits to Bunyoro. On 12th July, 1934, Gunliff - Lister, G.B.E., P.C., M.C., M.P., the British Colonial Secretary paid a visit to Bunyoro. He visited Rukurato Hall on the same day and addressed its members at about 3.00 p.m. On the same day. Sir Bernard Henry Bourdillon, Governor of Uganda conferred on Rukirabasaija Agutamba Tito Winyi Gafabusa, the honour of the Commander of the British Empire (C.B.E.) awarded to him by the king of Britain. The same honours were awarded to the District Commissioner of Bunyoro, Mr. E. Dauncey Tongue, who had played a great role in signing the Agreement. He was awarded an O.B.E. On July 21st 1934, Omukama received a letter from King George of England which bore the signature of the illustrious Prince of Wales and conferred on him the companion of honour, thereby making him a member of the British Royal Guard.

By 1936 considerable developments had taken place in Bunyoro. Road into areas which had previously been inaccessible and barely cultivated were constructed. These roads proved to be very good investments. For instance the road from Hoima to Buseruka from which a foot-path descended the escarpment to Tonya and the road from Kiziranfumbi to Kabale from which descended the escarpment to Kaiso opened the best cotton growing lands in Bunyoro, and facilitated fishing on Lake Albert. Cotton growing in Buseruka, however, had been started by a few Banyoro who had served with the King African Rifles in Nyasaland during the first world war. The escarpment overlooking Lake Albert appeared similar to parts of Nyasaland where they had seen cotton growing. In the course of time their example was followed by other Banyoro and cotton growing flourished. The road from Katesiha to Nyantonzi opened up for the cultivation of the deep red soils of the Waki valley. The Munteme-Musaija Mukuru road served a thickly populated area in Buhaguzi while the Buhimba-Kabale road would ultimately provide a direct road to Mubende.

In May 1939, when the second world war broke out, Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara volunteered for military service and made a formal offer of his men for the defence of the British Empire. His men

fought in Kenya, Abyssinia, Somaliland , Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, Burma, Madagascar, and other areas. After some time, he sent his envoy John W. Nyakatura, Saza Chief, to go and visit the soldiers. He left Bunyoro in 1943 and returned in January 1944. In May 1944, Omukama decided to go for himself and inspect the soldiers. He mostly inspected those who were fighting in East Africa. He was accompanied by John Nyakatura and Policarpo Kwebiha, Omukama's secretary who visited very many military stations where Ugandans and African soldiers were stationed and returned to Bunyoro in June 1944,

The war created a refugee problem which Bunyoro suffered. On 8th May, 1941, Polish consisting of a few old people arrived in Bunyoro. They had run away from the war. The Omukama and his government being very hospitable decided to house them at Nyabyeya Forestry School which was converted into a camp. The camp contained 4,000 adults and children, fruits, vegetable and eggs from Bunyoro found a good market from the new comers. The agricultural department encouraged the planting of sweet-bananas for sale to the refugees. A large number of Polish women accommodated at the camp created considerable interest outside and amusing tales have been told by people who lived in Bunyoro at that time.

RUKIRABASAIJA AGUTAMBA WINYI IV



Rukirabasaija Agutamba Winyi IV, Commander of the British Empire. Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara

Earlier in 1939, Petero Bikunya who had been Katikiro since 1917 died. He is thought to have been a just and honourable man and the best Katikiro Bunyoro has ever had. He was succeeded by Petro Nyangabyaki who had been Sekibobo. Although many Banyoro did not consider him sufficiently

intelligent to cope with the duties expected of a Katikiro, he executed his duties very well. He occupied the post of Katikiro until 1947, when Balamu-Mukasa was appointed Katikiro. Balamu's father was a muganda and his mother a Munyoro. He had been brought up in Bunyoro, he occupied the post until 1952 when he was transferred to the Uganda Development Corporation and made a member of the executive council. This deprived Bunyoro of a man of high experience and knowledge of internal affairs. He was replaced by Martin Mukidi, previously the senior county chief (Mukwenda). Mukidi occupied the post from 1953 to 1956 when he was replaced by Zakayo Kwebiha. Kwebiha remained Katikiro until 1962 when he was replaced by Metusera Katuramu, the last Katikiro of Bunyoro Kitara.

In the meantime, the Banyoro had not forgotten the lost counties. In 1943 the Omukama petitioned the secretary of state for the colonies of their return. The reply to this and the subsequent petitions in 1945, 1948, 1949 and 1954 and to the representation made by the Mubende-Bunyoro Committee in 1951, 1953, was invariably that the secretary of state could not alter a decision which had been reaffirmed on many occasions and that the boundaries laid down in the 1900 Buganda Agreement could not be altered in favour of Bunyoro.

In 1953, the governor of Buganda Sir Andrew Cohens visited Bunyoro and had an important discussion on the future constitutional developments of Bunyoro in light of the recommendations of the Wallis report. These discussions were followed by others in 1954 between Prof. Sir Keith Hancock and Sir Tito Winyi. This resulted into the signing of another agreement between Bunyoro and the Protectorate government in 1955. The Agreement was signed by Sir A.B. Kohen, K.C.M.G. Governor, Sir Tito Winyi, Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara, R. Dreschfield, Attorney General, L.M. Boyd, Secretary for African Affairs, Sir G.E. Duntze, Bt., Provincial Commissioner Western Province and K.P. Gower, District Commissioner Bunyoro, and M.D. Martin the Katikiro. Others were Laurent Muganwa, Omularamuzi, E.N. Kabyanga, Omuketo, E.R. Mucwa Mukwenda Bugahya, Kaijamurubi, I.K. Majigo and K. Balya. At the signing of the agreement, the Omukama once again made a formal public statement reserving the claims of Bunyoro to the lost counties. According to this agreement the Rukurato would for and on behalf of the Omukama carry on the government of the Kingdom of Bunyoro Kitara. The Katikiro would be elected by the Rukurato and would be appointed by the Omukama subject to the approval of the Governor. Parish chiefs would be appointed by the Omukama in conformity with the advice of an appointments committee of the county council in which a vacancy existed. Hence this agreement reduced the powers which the Omukama used to exercise because Bunyoro was now ruled by the District Commissioner and the Katikiro as the elected head of the Rukurato. The Mukama became a constitutional monarch on the West Minister Pattern as his appointments became more subject to the Rukurato in the colonial government.

KATI KIROS OF BUNYORO - KITARA 1917 -1967



Petero Bikunya 1917-1939



Petero Nyangabyaki 1940-1947



Balamu - Mukasa 1947-1952



Martin Mukidi 1953-1956



Zakayo Kwebiha 1956-1962



M. Katuramu 1962-1967



Paulo Byabacwezi Caretaker after the arrest of Omukama Kabalega

Important about this agreement however, is the fact that, it renewed Bunyoro's interest in the lost counties. The Banyoro who had from time to time tried to persuade the colonial government to reconsider their status in the lost counties, lost patience and took action against the Baganda. They slashed crops and burnt buildings belonging to Baganda because the Baganda had continuously treated them with disdain. Runyoro had been forbidden in schools, courts, official speeches or correspondences and in the churches. As a result what had not been considered a topic of discussion became a serious issue in a spell of moment. The lost counties question formed the greatest pan of the constitution discussion prior to independence in 1962. In 1961, a three man Bunyoro delegation was allowed to give evidence before the Relationship Commission which was touring Uganda for constitutional arrangements for an independent Uganda. The Commission recommended that a

referendum be held in Buyaga and Bugangaizi counties and in one other county of Bunyoro's choice and that any area that opted for union for Bunyoro should be handed over at the time of independence. This position was vehemently opposed by the Baganda leaders. But the Uganda Constitutional Conference held in London later in the year, it was agreed that a Commissioner of privy council be appointed to investigate the dispute and so it was appointed and headed by Lord Molson. These developments caused excitements in the lost counties but the Baganda leaders re-affirmed their stand that those lost counties could be transferred to Bunyoro by a physical flood.

In March 1962, the Commission had finalised its report and it recommended the transfer to Bunyoro before independence of Buyaga and Bugagainzi in which the Banyoro constituted the majority. The Commission further recommended other areas should remain in Buganda but Mubende township should be administered by the Central Government. The Commission did not endorse the referendum as the relationship commission recommended on the grounds that an attempt to do so in the existence situation could only lead to intimidation and violence. The Molson Commission knew well that the Baganda would strongly Fight for secession. That is why they hoped for a generous act of statesmanship on a part of Buganda which could contribute to the stability of the protectorate on the eve of independence.

OMUKAMA WINYI WITH HIS OFFICIALS



Rukirabasajja Agutamba Sir Tito Winyi with his Ministers, Permanent Secretary to the Katikiro and the Saza chiefs.

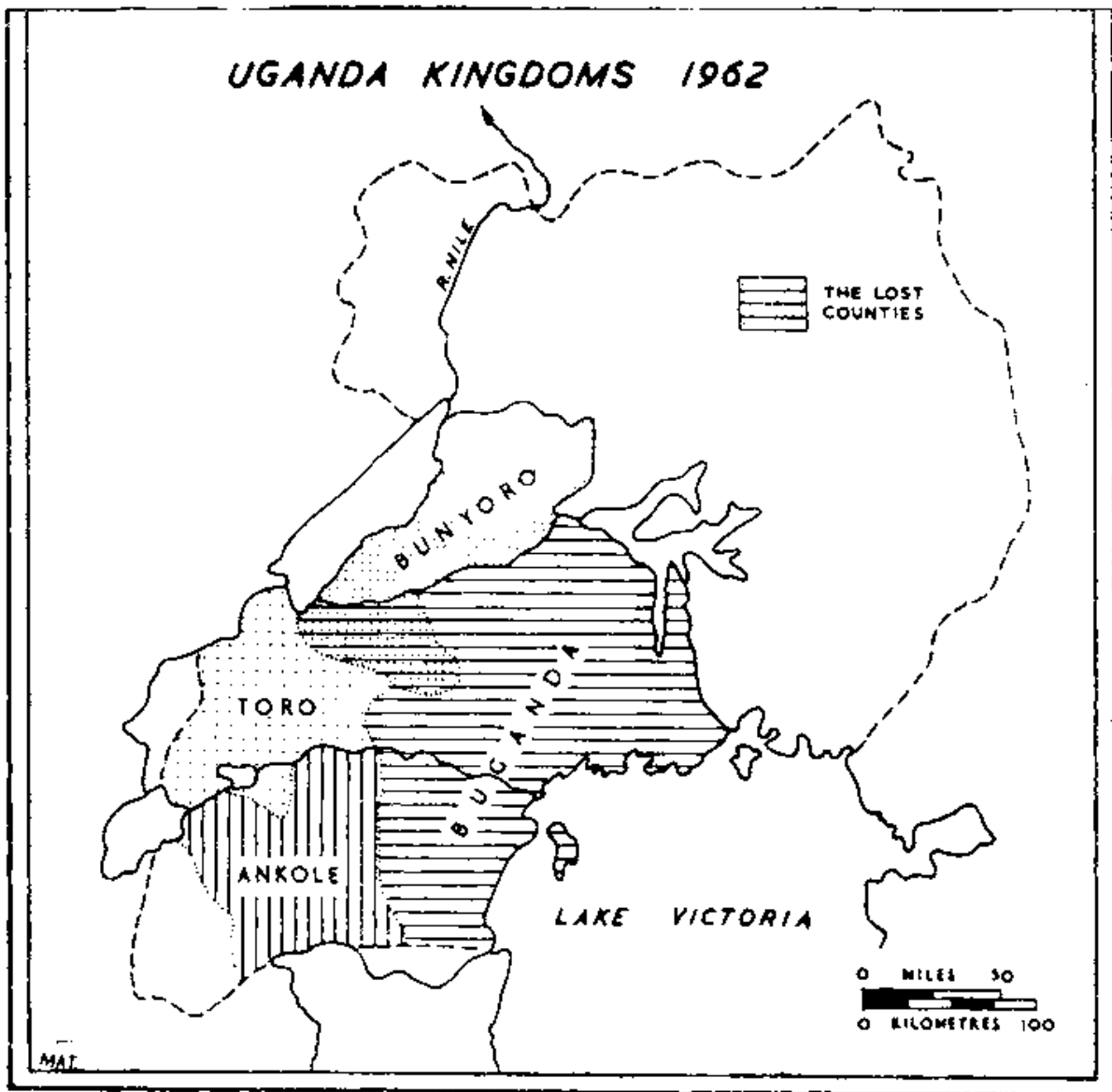
As expected, the Baganda on the publication of the report spoke heatedly of preparing for war and fighting to the last drop or their blood to retain the lost counties. But it was obvious that those lands since lime immemorial belonged to Bunyoro. The Kabaka sent telegrams rejecting the report to the secretary of state for colonies. In July, the acting Premier of Buganda said that the Kabaka's people had been prepared to invade Bunyoro if Britain had ordered any of the lost counties to be transferred to Bunyoro (*The Times*, 19th July, 1962).

Faced by Buganda's intransigence and refusal to compromise, the British Government left the problem to be settled at some future date in Independence period. It based itself on the ground that the atmosphere was quite unsuitable for holding a referendum in the short period available and that to force the issue might cause down for arrangement for independence. The British were, the trouble-causers, they caused the problem and left it unsolved. It was the Uganda Independence order in council which provided that a referendum be held in Buyaga and Bugangaizi before 9th October,

1964. Persons in the area would have three options; to continue to be part of Buganda or to return to Bunyoro or that it should become a new district of Uganda. Until the referendum day, the area was to be administered by the central government. It was hoped that after two years the area would be peaceful for a referendum. This stand was however unacceptable to the Banyoro who believed that if a referendum did not take place before the British left it would never take place in a Buganda dominated Uganda.

It was at that time that Milton Obote had become Prime Minister of Uganda after forming a coalition government with Kabaka Yekka government. Sir Edward Mutesa Kabaka of Buganda and leader K.Y. party became president. Within two months of independence, the parliament urged Prime Minister Obote to appoint the administrator for the lost counties as agreed at the conference. This was done but the administrator had vaguely defined powers which left the Kabaka's government still in effective control of the counties. Consequently, the Kabaka's government blamed the Bunyoro-Mubende committee of what it called violent campaigns and arrested its members. Although the central government prevented full scale confrontation, a number of incidents took place during this period especially in Buyaga county, where a number of people were killed, including 9 people who were shot by the Kabaka's men at a market place at Nduiga. These happenings had taken place as resultant effects of the Kabaka's campaign of "show of strength" against Bunyoro which he had embarked on since early 1963. The Kabaka spent a good deal of time at his hunting lodge in Ndaiga, from where he launched an ambitious scheme of resettling thousands of Baganda ex-servicemen in the area with a view of reinforcing Buganda's claim over the area.

UGANDA KINGDOMS



Four of the Uganda Kingdoms in 1962

However, on 4th November, 1964, a referendum was held in Buyaga and Bugangaizi and the overwhelming majority voted for transfer to Bunyoro. In Buyaga 8327 voted integration with Bunyoro and 1289 retention into B Uganda. In Bugangaizi 5275 were for Bunyoro and 2253 voted for Buganda. 112 voted for separate district. The results were announced the following day and people in the counties remained calm. On 1st January 1965, the counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi were formerly transferred to Bunyoro and the lost county dispute was put to an end.

Throughout the struggle for the return of the lost counties and freedom from the vestiges of colonialism the Omukama served as a refined personality who united all the Banyoro to fight for a common cause. He provided a thrust forward which made all Banyoro and mostly those in the lost counties to struggle to live as free men. At the time he was to forge further unity and consolidate the kingdom, its when Milton Obote, then President of Uganda under the 1967 constitution arrangement abolished kingdoms. The Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara Sir Tito Winyi retired to Masindi from where he died four years later in 1971. With the royal regalia being carried off in the back of a lorry by some government functionaries to be stored in the basement of some government office building in Kampala, ended the monarchical tradition which had shaped Bunyoro's past since the 9th Century AD.

Appendix I: The Procedure of Enthroning Omukama *

** Uganda Journal. Vol. 4. 1936*

After burying the body of his father or in another way defeating his rival brothers to the throne, a quite new enclosure used to be afterwards made in preparation for the new Mukama. A day for enthronement used to be arranged and declared. On the fixed day, the people used first to wash the whole body of the nominated Mukama, cut his finger nails and be given vials, and shave his head. All these used to take place at the newly appointed Mukama's uncle's house, or in like manner at another chief's house whose clan is entitled to the procedure. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the group of chiefs and all the people take the Omukama in procession into the prepared enclosure. On arriving at the first main gate (Mugabante), just at the drum wound (or platform), the following people followed the Mukama:-

1. Bamuroga who at the time was Katikiro.
2. Nyakoka, the physician of the Basuli clan holding his stick called Binyonyo, and another minor physician.
3. Kasoira Nyamumara of the Batwaire clan.
4. Mubito known to be descendant from Mukama Nyarwa Omulirahaigura.

On passing through the gate called Mugabante, then the two mentioned physicians slaughter there on white bull and one white cock. At the same moment, the above mentioned Mubito prays in a loud voice saying: "Oh God of Gods Begetter of Kings, Oh, Creator of Heaven and Earth, I have brought this new Mukama to succeed to the throne of his father, but if you find him warmly and that he is not a real son and grandson of his forefathers, the Bakama, may he suddenly die, or may the drum fail to give out its sound when sounded so as to signify that he is totally null".

After hearing these words the group of persons all around there pass over the flowing blood of the slaughtered victims. The Mukama then is allowed to enter the fence accompanied first by the Owisaza Mugema who, in old times was a head of all chiefs and was the chief Justice. After that he was followed by all other chiefs and people. On entering the royal house (Karuzika), before stepping over the elephant tusk laid down just on the threshold of the gate, again the aforesaid Mubito, together with the two physicians above mentioned, pray and say the same words as those mentioned above. The Mubito afterwards asks for an axe (Nyarebe) from Mulimba of the Basita clan. After getting it, the Mubito holds it and shows it to the Mukama who also knocks it with another tool nine times. The people during this event congratulate the Mukama with much pleasure. And then they bring a metal drum (Kajumba) to him. He also strikes upon it nine times while the people rejoice. After these events the Mukama is then allowed to pass over the said elephant tusk and entering the room he sits down on the royal wooden stool called Nyamyaro. From this moment he really becomes Mukama, and there is no further doubt that everything is in his hands. He is not allowed to speak nor to whisper during the whole night and besides this he is obliged to lie on one side of his body until its day lime. A guardian is placed there to watch him to see that he does not break any of these obligations.

HANDING OVER OF REGALIA TO THE MUKAMA AND THE CORONATION DAY CELEBRATIONS

On the very Coronation Day, the Omwambukya whose duty is to prepare the royal bath awakes the Mukama very early at about 3 o'clock in the morning. After awaking him he leads him from the house Kabagarama, to another main house Karuzika in which is kept the sacred spear Ruhango, and asks him to lie there on a bed until the day breaks. During the morning lime he leads him to the bath place (Kyambukya). Whilst there the Mukama sits on a stool called Kabwizi and Omwambukya bringing the water in a pot called "Rugaju", pours it into a wooden vessel and afterwards the Mukama begins to wash his body. After having taken a bath the Mukama then proceeds from there to the former house Kabagarama and sits in a very nicely prepared place. The maid in charge of the house and who belongs to the Bakopi clan brings water in a vessel with a lid on it, then the Mukama starts washing his face. After washing the servants bring the garments of barkcloth. The Mukama then removes those he had and puts on new ones. After dressing, the same lady brings a basketfull of beads and fastens

them on the Mukama's wrists and legs and on his neck. Then the Mukama returns to the Karuzika passing through several passages and appears in the front room. He finds the men who take care of his regalia waiting to greet him there. Again in this room the Mabito of Nyarwa's stock prays (his: "Oh, God, God save our Mukama, make him live long and make him advance in years, give him wealth and many children."

During these ceremonies, the Kondo wearers i.e those given the right to wear the colobus beard and crown stand in a position of expectation at the platform 'Mugabante' with the drum placed just on the top of it waiting to beat it in respect of the new Mukama. Very many persons in addition to Kondo-wearers also stand round the platform such as Ntimbo drummers, flute players, rake holders, torch holders, grain seed keepers, keepers of the axe Kararamaire and horn blowers.

THE MUKAMA'S OATH ON THE INSTALLATION DAY

During this ceremony, the Mukama is first made to swear. The Mukama is first handed a towel then the Bamuroga, Mugema, the Mubito, the Kasoira (a physician) other chiefs and the ladies/Iremera in charge of the bed-chamber and Nyaraki in charge of Kapanapa, and another lady of the Baibira clan who looks after the dairy, make the Mukama swear that he will never frighten his nation, he must rule his people peacefully, he must admit foreigners to settle in his county, he must equally love his subjects however poor they may be, he must look after the orphans, and he must justly settle disputes. When swearing the Mukama lets fall the towel once at the end of every clause. When these are over the Mubito then pours the consecrating oil on the Mukama's head. The oil is kept in metal vase made in shape of a horn. By anointing him with the oil the Mukama is therefore consecrated. The oil is obtained from a tree known as Ojwangi. Then they put on his wrist a ring called Ziriboyo and Rwendoro on the neck.

When the lady of the bedchamber of the Bakwonga clan brings a basketful of some grains mixed with sim-sim and some sort of wild leaves and flowers (Orwihura, and Omuhabura and Kasekera) and hands them to the Mukama. The Mukama then picking them out scatters them four times by throwing some to the back and some to his front.

When these are finished, the Mubito then proclaims the Mukama by the royal name and other dignitaries (Mpako), then he puts the hereditary crown called Rwobusungu on the Mukama's head nine times. An assistant called Muhesera also brings several other crowns and puts each at a time on the Mukama's head and lastly he puts the proper crown called Kasusunkwanzi on the Mukama's head and leaves it there.

Another assistant called Mujwiga bringing sandals called Biganja puts them on the Mukama's feet and the Omuhagane man hands the Mukama the spear called Kinegena. This spear signifies this: "You have been put in possession of your country should any person despise you, kill him."

Abebirongo of the Basonde clan hands the shield called Bisegege to the Mukama which means the whole nation is in his hands and it is his duty to preserve it from war.

Omusekura of the Banywagi clan hands a dagger called Busitama to the Mukama which also means that the Mukama must protect his country and settle cases justly as well.

Omusindizi then hands the stick called Kaliruga to the Mukama. This means that though he may be the Mukama he must take care not to kill anyone who perhaps vexes him in a trifling matter, but he must punish him by beating him with a slick. The same man also hands the whip to the Mukama which also has the same meaning as a slick.

A man known as a *Mutamura* hands a thin long staff (Kajunju) or a cane to the Mukama which, denotes that he must punish the people for minor offences by beating them with it.

Another man called Muhamba Nyamugoya hands to the Mukama a quite new hoe called Empese which indicates that he has become father of his people and that all persons must cultivate and must see that food is grown in order to avoid famine.

The man Munuma then comes holding the bow known as Nyampogo and quiver known as Ndayampunu. This signifies that the Mukama must proceed at once against any foes in his Kingdom.

Another man Musindizi hands to the Mukama a bag made of leopard skin which is called Rutanga. This means that he must trade and become rich, and that also he must teach his subjects to trade as well.

The Muhesera man then hands to the Mukama a wooden whistle and another made of bamboo. It means that if the Mukama hears the people sounding the alarm whistle he must go to the war. On the other hand, the Kasisi (a dried plant used as a decanter or vessel in which water is put for drinking and used as a glass denotes peace.

When all these rites are performed, the Bamuroga then sends word to a man Kakahuka of the Babwitwa clan at the mound outside the fence and orders him to raise the alarm. Kakahuka raising an alarm shouts: " You enemies, you witches, you barbarians, why do you disobey this brave Mukama?"

In the meantime the man of the Basita clan immediately beats the drum whilst standing at the summit of the mound and all people make a noise in honour of the event.

The other men stretch mats along the path. They lay them from Karuzika to Omurugo stretching them through many small limbs named Mucwa, Kyakato, Kyamunuma and Komuruweyo and Komuruweyo. From Kamurweyo only papyrus grass is laid right through Kitogo to Omurugo, where the men called the Baswata have already hung up a mat Mukanaigura to make a canopy. Two calves, a heifer and a bull are found there too, with the cattleman called Lingiro who has prepared a smokefire for them.

After the ceremonies described above, the Mukama leaves the stool Nyamyaro. He meets a lady of the Bakwonga clan holding a basket full of dried coffee berries and another plant known as Rugusa, which the Mukama takes before stepping over the tusk.

He takes out two male coffee berries and two female ones wrapped in the Rugusa and chews them. He keeps the tusks in his hands and then steps over the tusk. Then he meets a Mubitokati called Kabatongole whom he finds holding red clay. Kaolin and ordinary earth, and a wooden mould full of water drawn from a well at Mubende Hill which formerly had been used by Mukama Nduhura of the Bacwezi race.

The Mubitokati then mixes the above article into the water and smears each of the colours on the Mukama's cheeks near the ears. She first of all anoints him with the red clay, and then with the Kaolin, and lastly with the earth. After doing so, she then dips the gathered wild flowers and leaves already referred to in the water in the mould and then sprinkles the Mukama and the other people by way of bestowing on them a blessing. Whilst sprinkling she calls on the names of the Bakama of old and says: 'This throne belonged to your father (mentions the name) and to your father. "You have now inherited their seat called Tibamulinde, May it bring you, success." Holding the gathered wild flowers and leaves she again says that she wishes him blessing and prosperity, to have as many children as possible, to be wealthy, to save his Kingdom and people and that God may favour him. When speaking these words she closes her eyes and she opens them when they are over. Then the Mubitokati is told to choose a part of land which she prefers to reside in, the Mukama then sends her there after finishing the ceremony. He orders the chief of that region to erect for her a dwelling with a fence round it. He also gives her many presents such as cattle, male and female servants. From that time this Mubitokati never returns to see the Mukama until his death.

Then the Mukama utters these words. "Oh Nyarwa who eats in the heavens, letting the bones drop down, I pray you to make me live long and advance in age, to give me wealth, to give me many children, to help me in defeating the nations and to leave me in peace."

After concluding this prayer the Mukama, then proceeds to Murugo. He is led by a man entitled Nzini of Rwtomahanga (the grandson of Nyakwehuta of the Bayaga clan). Also Ntimbo drummers and flute players lead him. The group of other persons come after the Mukama praising him thus: Ha Kyaro, Nzaire ha Kyaro Lyogere, ba Kyaro mbaire, ba Kyaro Nyamunyaka etc.

On entering the hut, Mucwa, the Mukama meets there his head royal sister (known as Batebi or Kalyota) together with other Babitokati. On seeing him they all stand up in the meantime the Batebi or kalyota touches the shoulder of the Mukama. She touches it whilst he is standing on a calf's skin, called Okwemerra.

Leaving this but he goes on and passes through another but called Kato. Before entering the next hut 'Kyamanuma' he meets a man representing foreigners, who produces an elephant tusk and two copper bracelets and shows them to the Mukama. The Mukama touches them. (It denotes that the Mukama is the head of all rain-makers, and that in case the rain fails to fall he may ask for rain from God that his people may be saved from a serious famine).

After passing through the hut, Kyamunuma, the Mukama meets in the yard a man holding the sacred spear 'Kaitantahi' the bow 'Nyampogo' and two quivers Nyamyezi and Nyamirima. These mean that the Mukama is guarded from enemies by means of them.

After leaving there, he passes the hut Kamurweyo and arrives at the hut Kitoyo where he finds the Baswata. They pass their hands over his garments as if they are clothing him; and then he reaches Murugo and stands under *-the* canopy. Whilst there the Abeganywa bring to the Mukama some spears which they get from the hut, Rwemigo. They hold them towards him. Then another man Mukimirizi stands below the Mukama and shouts to the Kondo-wearers, Babito and to other people warning them that the Mukama is already in Murugo.

As soon as they hear this, all Kondo-wearers immediately put on their Kondo crowns on their heads and move towards the Mukama to salute him and to give him some presents.

One man goes through the form of accusing another for two debts as if they are in court. The Mukama settles the cases, quickly and symbolically. He who wins the case thanks the Mukama by kissing hands. Then every Kondo-wearer approaches; and kisses his hands, which means that they realise the distinction bestowed upon them because some of the Kondo-wearers are chiefs, and some are caretakers of the regalia. After this ceremony the Mukama then goes back to his house. On the way he stops for a moment at the hut Kamurweyo, then a Mujaguzo man named Musita beats the drum four times; and Kakahula of the Babwijwa clan again raises an alarm repeating the same words as those described before. Then another man of the Bahisa clan holds the shield Mugidu which is believed to have belonged to the original Mukama Rukidi. He waves it as a sign of pleasure. The Mukama then goes on as far as to the royal house Karuzika returning there by the way he came. But at this time the drums and the people do not pass through the huts as before, they accompany him by passing outside them. On reaching Karuzika the Mukama, after stepping over the tusk, meets again a lady of the Bakwonga clan awaiting him there having already spread a white calf skin upon which he must stand. He then gives to her the coffee husks which he had got from the coffee berries he had chewed on his way to Murugo as explained above. When this is over, he then sits on the stool Nyamyarro. Omuhesera comes and takes the crown off from the Mukama's head, puts it on the Queen mother's lap, and then takes it from her and puts it away in its proper place.

The Mukama then leaves the seat and goes into another room of the same house. He finds there a lady of the Balisa clan awaiting him to give him some milk to drink. Whilst there the Mukama sits on a chair known as Kaizirokwera.

He does not drink the milk immediately, but he first sips it nine times and then at last drinks it up altogether. After drinking, the lady hands to the Mukama a towel with which he wipes his mouth. Also she gives to him another towel with which he wipes his hands. Afterwards the Mukama remains there for only a few minutes lying on a bed. He then goes and sits on Kaizirokwera. At this moment another lady of the Baitira clan producing a butter bowl called Nyamutungo elevates it nine times in the presence of the Mukama. By doing so she conveys the symbolic meaning that such a bowl was put in her charge by Bacwezi Bakama, their predecessors, and after their disappearance she guarded it for the Babito-Bakama his ancestors, and that she claims that she is still its keeper for the present Mukama. Also she produces a basket called Kaguli which she elevates to nine times and which action also has the same sense as that in the case of the butter bowl.

After this ceremony the Mukama then goes out of this room and takes his seat on Nyamyarro, in the throne room. Immediately the Mpango drum is beaten at the threshold and the Kondo-wearers are called out from the hut Mucwa to come and approach the Mukama in the Karuzika.

Then both the Mubito who is said to be a descendant of Nyarwa, and Bamuroga announce to the gathering this: "Now know that this is your new Mukama, and the same is the descendant of the first Mukama Rukidi Mpage, everyone must obey him, but whoever shall disobey him shall be liable to be killed, or he shall be exiled."

When the announcement is over, then the Mubito proclaims to the people what new official name the Mukama has taken and his other dignities (Mpako). Then after that the multitude stand up and greet the Mukama thus: "Engundu zona Okali, Kahangirize Wamara, Kahangirize Agutamba, Kahangirize Nzaire, Kahangirize Nkyamungi etc."

When this is over, the drummers hand to the Mukama the principal drum Mpango Tibamulinde which he beats in nine different rolls. Then they give him other small drums too and he strikes them, beating each in four rolls. A man of the Bakurungo clan then brings to the Mukama two long trumpets Nyamalya by name which are said to have been possessed by Mukama I.M. Rukidi: He hands both to the Mukama four times. It is said that Mukama I.M. Rukidi was using them when hunting in Longo at the time when Nyakoka and Karongo found him there to inform him of his succession to the throne, and the Mukama after being informed that he was nominated to be Mukama, ordered these trumpets to be ornamented with beads.

Then after this event, a man Mujwiga who takes care of the bow Nyapogo and quiver Ndampunu brings them to the Mukama. The Mukama then draws out only four arrows and begins to shoot towards the comers of the world. With the first arrow he shoots Eastward (i.e towards Buganda, Busoga, and other tribes of that side), with the second- he shoots Westwards (ie. towards Bulega in the Congo); with the third he shoots southward (i.e aims at Ankole, Rwanda etc); and with the fourth he shoots Northward (i.e he aims at Bukedi, i.e Acholi and Lango etc.). He indicates that war shall be prevented from coming from any of the quarters towards which he has shot an arrow.

Then the Ntimbo drummer brings his old drum Mutengesa which formerly had been possessed by Bacwezi Bakama and hands it to the Mukama. This signifies that whenever the people hear the sound of this small drum, they at once know that the Mukama is roaming about in his enclosure.

After this, then, the Mujwiga drummer and his companions holding long drums called Tomuju or Namagaija come before the Mukama and play their drums. These drums have the same meaning as that of Ntimbo. At the same time the other drummers beat the little drums (Amahurru and Obwana bw'engoma). The Abahaimi bring the sacred spears : Mahere Kimuli, Kaizireijo, Mutasimbwa, Gotigoti and others and slope them towards the Mukama. It means that the Mukama's forebearers, the Bacwezi and the Babito, have defeated all other nations, and that in case he likes to attack other countries, they will guard and help him.

After this, another man of the Bukalari clan brings a hammer, and another one brings a stone anvil called Oruhija and they place them before the Mukama and he then hammers some iron four times. By this action it means that he is the head of all blacksmiths. This hammer is the tool with which he hammers the spears for war and hoes for his people to cultivate with. Another meaning is "May the Mukama all his days be strong and endure like this hammer which cannot be spoilt or broken by any man".

In the meantime, a man of the Batwairi clan called Katoira, the physician, comes and squats in the doorway in front of the Mukama. Then the Bamuroga on the other hand brings a pipe Kyoma and gives it to Kasoira who smokes it in the presence of the Mukama. By this pipe the Mukama commemorates the power and dignity which his ancestor Mukama Rukidi bestowed upon the physician. Because this soothsayer had explained to Rukidi the reason why the Bacwezi Bakama *disappeared* from the country.

After this, then the Nyakoka of the Basuli clan brings to the Mukama the Binyonyo stick and four knives, vis: Kabutika, Kyeraigongo, Nyamahunge, and Kyebagira, and he hands them all to the Mukama nine times, saying the royal salutations.

In this action, Nyakoka represents the original Nyakoka the physician who was a doctor to Mukama Rukidi and who had prophesied how Rukidi was going to become Mukama.

A moment after, Kadongolima, chief of Matiri of the Bakwonga clan, comes wearing his Kondo-head-dress made of feathers and tops slightly on the Mukama's shoulders and afterwards salutes him: 'This Kadongolima represents the old Kadongolima who at that time was a chief of Matiri and who belonged to the Bakwonga clan, and was husband of the sister of Rukidi.

Some other ceremonies are performed, but which are unnecessary to include here.

When all these are finished, the Mukama goes into the dressing room to change his garments. After wearing other clothes he goes and sits at the third gateway, Ihudiro, at the back of the enclosure where the lady Nyaraki is in charge. Then all the ladies of the royal houses bring baskets containing beads, emblems, lions, and leopard claws nicely ornamented, which are put on by the Mukama. After receiving these presents he then returns to the dressing room and re-changes his vestments, and then returns to the throne room.

At this time the Mpango and other drums are brought from Kyawairindi to the threshold. Then the chiefs, Babitokati and other persons who are not Babito approach and sit by the Mukama. Then a Mujaguzo drummer begins drumming after which he gives it to the Mukama who also strikes it as many times as the former did and gives it back to the drummer. The former again hits it in four rolls whilst Kakahuka raises the alarm and a man of the Balisa clan waves the shield Mugido about. Then the Musita drummer sounds four rolls, and on the fifth he beats the Irambi song and all the drummers and musicians proceed back to the courtyard Kyawairindi, and the Mukama retires. During this interval the people who live in the Mukama's enclosure to perform services begin to have their meals.

At 3.00 O'clock in the afternoon, the Mukama again undertakes other ceremonies. He first goes to the dressing room and puts on other clothes. He moves, again to the Murugo called Kyawairindi where he finds a seat Kabwize already arranged for him to sit on. This seat is taken care of by the Bambukya, who dress him. The drums are also rebated as explained in the preceding lines. The Kondowearers, the Babitokati and many other people assemble there and begin to dance accompanying the instruments. Presents to the Omukama are made. He remains there at least for one hour and then goes back to the dressing room to change his garments and then after changing he comes and sits in the throne room.

A young boy of about 12 years of age, brings some of the sacred milk cows raising all alarm in order to warn other people to get away to create passage for the cows. When this boy grows up he ceases to do this work, but another one of the same age is selected to succeed him in his office. But the former heads other Kraals. Such a boy is selected from the following clans: Balisa, Basambo, Basita, Baitira, and Bayaga. In raising an alarm the selected boy calls out: "Erakafa efe, erahendeka ehendeka, Omwenzi wabyo aliyo" which is interpreted. " If one dies let it die, if one breaks a bone let it break, provided the owner is there." Another man upon seeing the cows coming, at once spreads a mat upon which they stand when being milked. Two ladies one being of the Baitira clan and the other of the Balisa clan, after smearing their bodies with Kaolin assemble, one holding an old horn containing water, a brush for driving away flies, and a cord for fastening the lower legs, the other holds an earthenware bowl. A man of the Mugombirwa clan fastens the two back legs, the milkman, who is one of the caretakers of the sacred spears begins to milk. The bowl Nyamusika is filled, but the milkman has to take great care against dirtiness and dust in the milk. The milking man and the two ladies are all of them entirely forbidden from having any sexual intercourse during all these days. They are obliged to appear happy all the time and are strictly forbidden to cough or sneeze.

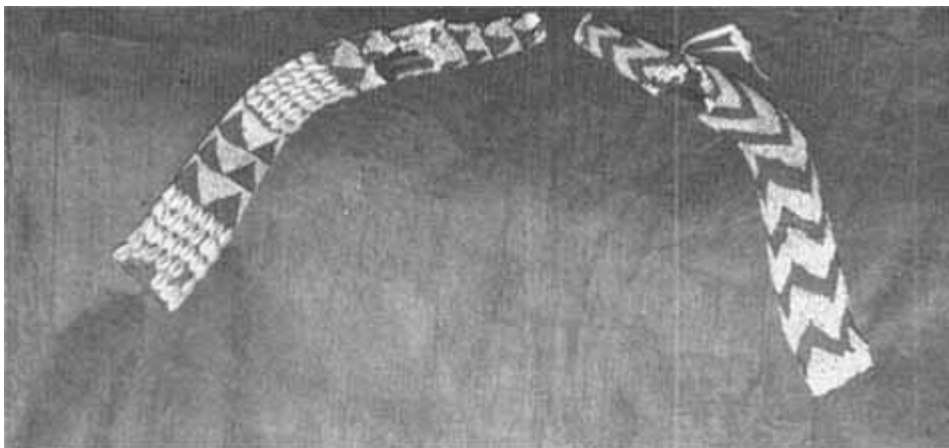
When all these are over the Mukama takes his meal called Nyakabito. A man named Nyakabango of the Bakurungo clan with his companions serve it. They wear new clothes and are smeared with Kaolin. One of them serves the food cleanly wrapped in two bark-cloths, and the other serves a wooden vessel containing food and water marere covered with nicely painted lid. Another brings a wooden bowl containing long pointed pins and knives and another a small water mug. All these things are wrapped up in bark-domes. Before serving them, a man called Nyakabango first gives to the Mukama a moistened towel which the Mukama takes and with it rubs his hands after which Nyakabango gives him four long pins and two knives placed on the towel.

The Mukama then takes one of the four pins and a knife and cuts the meat in small pieces. Before eating he first casts one piece on the right hand side, and the second one on the left hand side, and the third he casts to the back, and the fourth he casts before him. After doing so he afterwards cuts nine other pieces for himself to eat. After he has finished eating the man Nyakabango again gives him a

moistened towel to rub his hands with. After rubbing them he takes a glass of water to drink. Then Nyakabango knocks at the door to warn the people that the meal is now finished. The Nyakabango announces to the Mukama that his post is a hereditary one from the time of the first Mukama Rukidi up to date and at the same time swears before him that he agrees to continue to fill it during his reign. The Mukama agreeing to this promise orders him to return very early and kiss his hand (a sign of thanks giving) in the presence of all chiefs. When this is over the Mukama retires. The Accession celebrations conclude.



A crown - Rwabusungu



Amakondere



Royal Drums



A Royal Stool

Appendix II: List of Clans in Bunyoro-Kitara

* Carole A. Buchanan, *The Kitara Complex : The Historical Tradition of Western Uganda to the 18th Century*, 1973

The following is a list of the clans in Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom as compiled by a Canadian named Carole . A. Buchanan in 1973, after concluding an extensive study in Bunyoro and Toro.

It is advisable to the reader to contact any knowledgeable person for further clarification about what he/she does not understand. This list is not in its original form as compiled by C. A. Buchanan, it is rearranged for easy reading.

LIST OF CLANS OF BUNYORO-KITARA AND THEIR TOTEMS

The following clans have the bush-buck (Ngabi) as their totem

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Babiito (Royal Clan) | 12. Abahemba |
| 2. Bachaki | 13. Abaziraija |
| 3. Abahyakwa | 14. Abagorongwa |
| 4. Abalyebeki | 15. Abapasisa |
| 5. Abanywagi | 16. Abagaya |
| 6. Ababworo | 17. Abatabi |
| 7. Abakwonga | 18. Abahemba |
| 8. Abadwalo | 19. Abatwairwa |
| 9. Abajagara | 20. Abapina |
| 10. Abagomba | 21. Abasengya |
| 11. Abamwolo | 22. Abatembe |

The following clans have two totems. In addition to avoiding the bush buck totem, they also avoid Malegyo (rain water from the roof of a house).

Bachaki

Abangamwoyo Abacwera

Abacwa Abasiita

Abagweri Abasengya

Abagumba Abalisa

Ababombora Abagimu

Abandikasa Abalega

Abahangwe Abaligira

Abategwa Ababworo

The following clans have their totems (Omuziro) dealing or related to the Cow.

Clan	Totem
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Abanyakwa	<i>Ngobe</i> , cow with short straight horns.
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Abasita	<i>Busito</i> , pregnant cow
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Ente Emira, cow which has drunk salt water.

Ababyasi	<i>Busito</i> , pregnant cow
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Abacwezi	<i>Busito</i> , pregnant cow
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Ente Emira, cow which has drunk salt water.

Ababemba	<i>Busito</i> , pregnant cow
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Abasaigi	<i>Nkira</i> , tail-less cow.
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Abasingo	<i>Mulara</i> , black cow with white strips down face and back.
Abasingo	<i>Ntimba</i> , brown and black cow.
Abangoro	<i>Mulara</i> , (they split from Abasingo because their companion had killed a man and they feared the consequences).
Abami	<i>Mpuga</i> , spotted cow.
Abagimu	<i>Mpuga</i> , spotted cow.
Abayanja	<i>Kitale</i> , white cow.
Abakwakwa	Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
Abatwa	Milch cow.
Abanyonza	<i>Ntimba</i> , brown and black cow.
Abaranzi	<i>Ntimba</i> , brown and black cow.
Abalisa	<i>Ntimba</i> , brown and black cow.
Abagahe	<i>Ntimba</i> , brown and black cow.
Abafunjo	Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
Abalebeki	Ngobe, red and white cow.
Abagimu	Ngobe, red and white cow.
Abaligira	<i>Ntimba</i> , brown and black cow.
Ababworo	Ngobe, brown and white cow.

The following is a list of various clans and their avoidance objects (Omuziro).

Clan	Totem
Ababworo	<i>Omutima</i> , heart of animal
Abanyama	<i>Omutima</i> , heart of animal
Abasita	<i>Muka</i> , dew on grass.
Abaosara	<i>Butweke</i> , woman who enters a kraal, solicits the owner's son and bears a child to him. She must never enter the kraal of the clan again and have any member converse with her. Butweke also means a girl who is pregnant.
Abagabu	<i>Ntuha</i> , Crested Crane.
Abagabu	<i>Kawaisomba</i> , geret cat.
Abasaigi	<i>Njobe</i> , a certain animal.
Abasengya	<i>Orulimi</i> , tongue of animals.
Abaregeya	<i>Nkobe</i> , monkey.
Abaregeya	<i>Musokiso</i> , bird - these separated from the Abasengya.
Abakaikya	<i>Kagoma</i> , the large eagle - bird that carries away small goals and like animals, and birds.
Abasonde	<i>Rubeibere</i> , Cock.
Abanyonza	<i>Nyonza</i> , bird.
Abaraha	<i>Akanyamasole</i> , wagtail.
Abaraha	<i>Akatenge</i> - tedge.
Abayaga	<i>Kanyamunkonge</i> , bird.
Ababiiro	<i>Ndahi</i> , guinea -fowl.
Abanana	<i>Ndahi</i> , guinea -fowl.
Abahenga	<i>Kagondo</i> , small black water bird.
Abanyampaka	<i>Kagondo</i> , small black water bird.
Abaiegeya	<i>Ndegeya</i> , bird.
Ahengo	Leopard skin, these separated from Abasingo due to a quarrel over a skin. The skin which caused the havoc became their new totem.
Abasaizina	<i>Mhogo</i> , buffalo.

Abafumambogo	<i>Mbogo</i> , buffalo.
Abafunjo	<i>Munyerere</i> .
Abairuntu	<i>Njojo</i> , elephant
Abanyama	<i>Isereke</i> , woman who is a stranger and is nursing a female child.
Abakimbi	<i>Isereke</i> .
Abayangwe	<i>Nkende</i> , grey monkey.
Abayangwe	<i>Nkobe</i> , large monkey.
Abahinda	<i>Nkende</i> .
Abagweju	A house burned down. The place is avoided and no vessels from such a house should be used by the member of the clan.
Abatongo	<i>Amara</i> , the stomach of animals.
Abafumambogo	<i>Nsenene</i> , grasshopper.
Abasonga	<i>Nsenene</i> , grasshopper.
Abahango	<i>Nsenene</i> , grasshopper.
Abayaga	<i>Nsenene</i> , grasshopper.
Abayaga	<i>Oburo</i> , millet
Abayaga	<i>Guswera</i> , a fly.
Abasambo	<i>Obutweke</i> , pregnant girl.
Abasambo	<i>Nkuuku</i> , kind of peas.
Abasuli	<i>Mbuzi</i> , goat.
Abakame(i)	<i>Aki wakame</i> , Hare.
Abasogo	<i>Akaibo</i> Kateirwe ha mutwe(basket put on the head).
Abagombi	<i>Akaibo</i> Kateirwe ha mutwe(basket put on the head).
Abagombi	<i>Biwetu</i> , sugar cane.
Abachubo	<i>Guchu</i> . kind of fish.
Abagere	<i>Njoza</i> , an antelope.
Ababopi	<i>Ekgigongo</i> , centipede.
Abazazi	<i>Guchu</i> , kind of fish.
Abaisanja	<i>Epo</i> , kind of Antelope.
Abaduka	The old skin of a drum
Abaho	<i>Kalogi</i> , fungus growing on trees.
Abasihiri	<i>Ebihunna-Mayuni</i> , Yams.
Abahembo	<i>Kaibo Masa</i> , empty basket.
Abahamba	<i>Ensonga</i> , a certain plant.
Abakorwa	totem not known.
Abaseke	totem not known.
Abagonza	totem not known.
Ababaki	totem not known.
Abasindika	totem not known.
Abaginga	totem not known.