THE KITARA COMPLEX:

THE HISTORICAL TRADITION OF WESTERN UGANDA

TO THE 16TH CENTURY

by

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PREFACE

This study attempts to reconstruct the early history of the people and clan groups who settled in the Kitara complex, located in western Uganda, East Africa. The Bakitara, that is, the people inhabiting the Kitara complex, are unique because they possess clan traditions that demonstrate the key role they played in the history of the interlacustrine region. There in the savanna country between Lake Victoria and the Ruwenzori Mountains the Bakitara emerged by the late 11th century. Their leadership in political, military, religious and economic affairs shaped the life of the region from that time to the 19th century.

The oral traditions on which this historical study is based begin with the emigration of Nilo-Saharan speaking agricultural-hunters from north of the Nile and Bantu-speaking agricultural-pastoralists from west of the Ruwenzori Mountains, into the Kitara complex during the first millenium A.D. These settlers were followed by Bantu-speaking pastoralists from the northeast beyond the Nile River (c. 12th century) and from south of the Katonga River (c. 13th century). Still later (c. 15th century) an ethnically mixed group of Nilo-Saharan speakers who had settled in Pawir (Palwoland) just south of the Nile, joined with Luo migrating north to south in the last major invasion and settlement of the Kitara complex. Kitara clan traditions preserved the migratory routes of these various intrusive groups and suggest the above sequence for their arrival and settlement.

By the late 11th century court traditions begin to supplement clan traditions and focus on the historical development of centralized rule.

The Bagabu and Baranzi clans provided the earliest political leadership according to these court traditions describing the Batembuzi period. The Batembuzi dynasty is followed by the Bantu-speaking Bacwezi dynasty (13th - 15th centuries) and the Luo-speaking Babito dynasty (late 15th - 16th centuries), who acquire the Runyoro (Bantu) language after the political takeover of most of the Kitara complex. This study will describe and analyze the clan traditions of the Kitara complex from the earliest accounts of migration to the consolidation of power by the Babito royal clan in the 16th century.

Research for this study in London, Rome, Kampala and western Uganda was financed by a grant from the Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Fellowship program. I am deeply grateful to the Fulbright program for its assistance for myself and family. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Department of History and the Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, Kampala, for their cooperation and to the Ugandan Government for permission to conduct research in western Uganda.

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of numerous institutions that made materials available to me for study and assessment: the Africana Collection of the Makerere University Library, the Church Missionary Society, the Royal Geographic Society, the Public Record Office, University of London library, and the Mother House of the White Fathers in Rome, as well as the personal library and interview with Prof. J. H. M. Beattie at Oxford.

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Dr. Gerald W. Hartwig, and Mr. Hollis E. Merritt. Dr. Ivor Wilks, visiting Professor at Indiana University during 1966, now at Northwestern University, conducted a most stimulating seminar that was invaluable preparation for the collection of oral traditions, also attended by Dr. Patrick O'Meara and Dr. Stanlake Samkange. To both my instructors and colleagues I wish to acknowledge my gratitude. Both seminars were instrumental in focusing my attention on a number of significant problems and research techniques that were subsequently investigated and applied in western Uganda.

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To my grandmother, Mrs. Gladys Bokenkamp, who took care of us all during the final months I spent at the typewriter, I express a heartfelt thank you, as well as to my own and my husband's parents for their understanding, encouragement and support. To my husband, Ray, our eldest son Stephen, and to Scott, who left his two-year old mark in a very literal way on the later drafts of this study, I express appreciation for the years of patience and forbearance.

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MAPS

CHARTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AHS	African Historical Studies
JAH	Journal of African History
JAL	Journal of African Languages
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
TNR	Tanzania (Tanganyika) Notes and Records
UJ	Uganda Journal

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Chapter I

PROBLEMS IN RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF THE KITARA COMPLEX

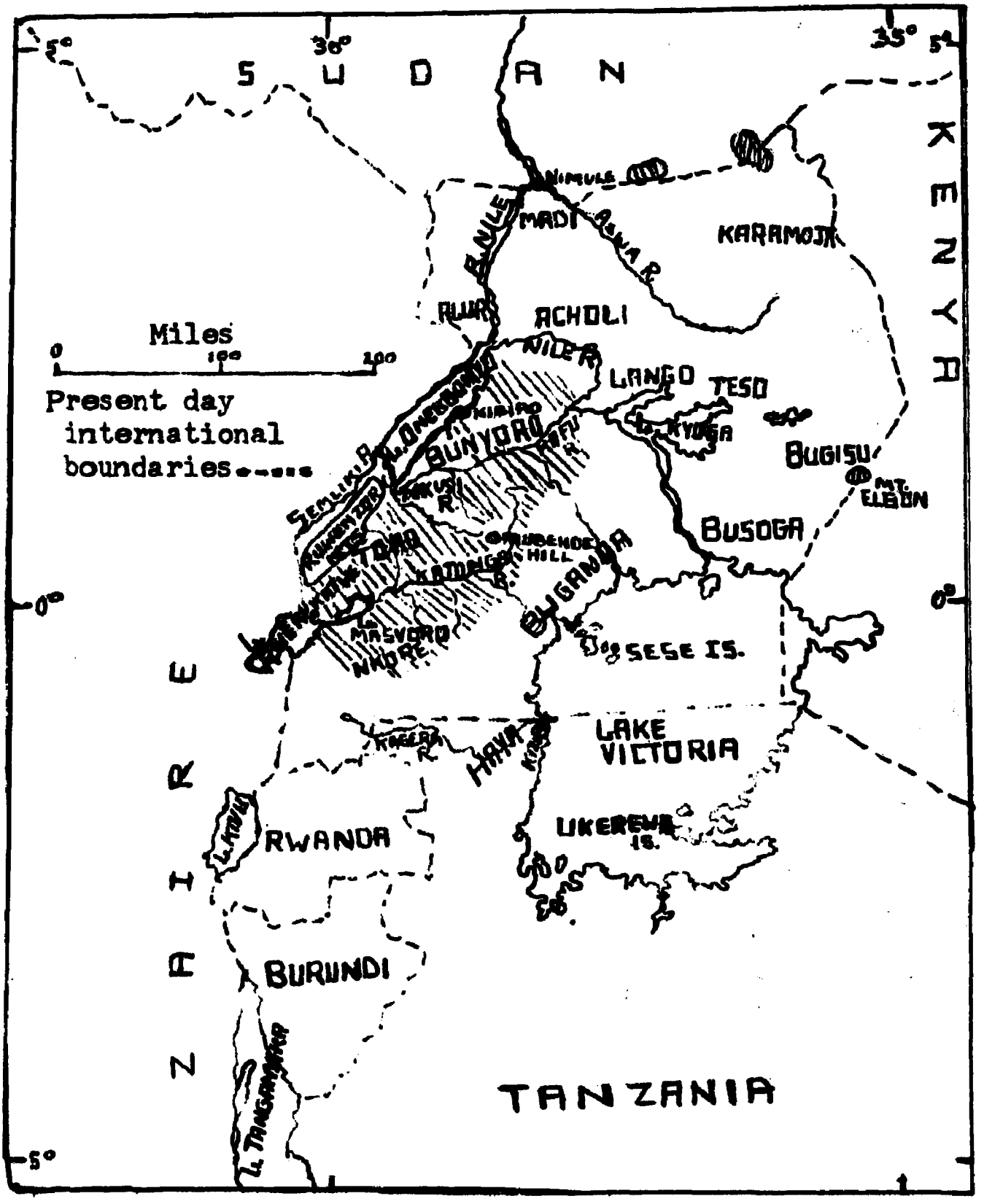
"Aliinda kakihweyo acumita omukira."
("Whoever waits for the whole animal to appear only spears the tail.") Runyoro proverb.

On September 8, 1967, Mukama Tito Winyi III, the last ruler of the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, was deposed along with three other kings of Toro, Nkore, and Buganda, by Dr. Milton Obote, then President of the Republic of Uganda. With the Mukama's royal regalia carried off in the back of a lorry by government functionaries to be stored in the basement of some government office building in Kampala, another round in the struggle between traditional and modern political leaders ended -- and with it the monarchical tradition that had so shaped the region's past. Bunyoro and Toro, successors to the old Kitara state were reduced to administrative districts of Uganda.

The historic Kitara state cut across the modern district boundaries of Bunyoro, Toro, Mubende and Nkore, and was centered south of the Kafu-Nkusi Rivers in central Uganda. Kitara was situated near the northern limits of Bantu-speaking peoples of modern Uganda--the Victoria Nile was roughly the geographical boundary between the Bantu and the Nilo-Saharan language groups to the north; and interactions between migrating groups have been a central theme of Kitara traditions. Between Lake Victoria

KITARA COMPLEX

Location Relative to Modern Ethnic Groups and Surrounding Countries



in the east and Lake Onekbonyo (formerly Lake Albert) in the west a savannah belt formed a natural corridor for the movement of both human populations and livestock. It is in this savannah zone that the royal herds were pastured, important spirit shrines commemorating the Bacwezi rulers of the past were located, and the oldest amasagani (shrines in which the jawbones and regalia of the successors to the Bacwezi, the Babito) are found. From its beginnings Kitara and its successor states depended for their existence upon the control of these grazing lands, which covered important sources of iron. Major sources of salt were also exploited to a limited extent early in Kitara history at Kibiro on Lake Onekbonyo (and later at a crater lake, Katwe, and at neighboring crater salt deposits near Lakes Masyoro (Lake Edward) and Rweru (Lake George), which is outside the chronological scope of this study.

Reconstructing the pattern of early population movements and the relationships between groups who settled in this region and emerged by the 13th century as the Bakitara (literally, "People of Kitara") is one of the tasks of this study, which attempts a giant step backwards into Kitara tradition. Instead of pushing back decade by decade from recorded history, this study will examine the earliest surviving oral traditions associated with the migration and settlement of the Kitara complex and will supplement existing court traditions with a new body of source materials--the oral traditions of surviving, non-royal clans.

Extracting history from oral traditions is never simple, and reconstructing a history from traditions that extend back to the 10th century and probably beyond in a region where it is unusual to find societies whose traditions extend beyond 1800 is one of the central problems of this study. The subject of this study is neither a "tribe" nor a

political entity which may be described and analyzed in terms of modern administrative units, but rather a study of the early migration and settlement of groups entering western Uganda who coalesced politically to form Kitara. These peoples are known today as the Banyoro and Batoro, who speak Runyoro and Rutoro.[1] The term "Kitara complex" will be used to refer to the early settlement area, whose inhabitants became linked by a shared cultural-historical tradition, a common periodization of that tradition (the Batembuzi-Bacwezi-Babito sequence, to be described below), common social structure and institutions (nomenclature of clan system, etc.), ideology of rulership, and religious system. The use of the word "complex" emphasizes both the diversity of the early groups who migrated to Kitara and the confluence of cultural traditions that constitute Kitara history.

This study will attempt to reconstruct and analyze the two earliest historical periods recounted in Kitara tradition, the Batembuzi and the Bacwezi eras which extend from the 9th to the end of the 16th century, when intrusive Nilo-Saharan speaking (Luo) invaders established the Babito dynasty. The strength and greatness of the Kitara system is attested by the survival and maintenance of its oral traditions by the ethnically and linguistically distinct Babito successors to the Bacwezi dynasty. The extensive Kitara state system stands as an exception to the generally accepted view of East African history expressed by Andrew Roberts that "In probing back beyond the nineteenth century, we have to think either in terms of smaller units, such as clans or chiefdoms, or else in terms of various regions, over which there was much movement of peoples and ideas."[2] The pivotal role Kitara played in the interlacustrine region

is apparent to any student of pre-colonial political centralization, kingship, ideology, and the broad pattern of social, economic and religious organization of Bantu-speaking Uganda.

One of the most serious problems reflected in previous historical work on the first two dynastic periods of the Kitara complex is interpretative imbalance, as recognized by D. W. Cohen in his study of pre-colonial Busoga history: "Within the interlacustrine region, historians have generally been less interested in the compositions, origins and migrations of peoples of the regions than they have been in the origins, structure, and changes in political institutions."[3] The Kitara complex resulted from the migration and interaction of ethnically distinct groups, but the historical accounts up to now have only considered the final product of such activity in terms of the evolution of political institutions. The main reason for this interpretive imbalance has been the nature of the carefully preserved traditions of the court and rulership preserved by Banyoro and Batoro chroniclers and recorded by European missionaries in the first half of the 20th century, which have become the "authorized" version of the history of the Kitara complex. These surviving court traditions of both Kitara and its successor state Bunyoro are primarily aristocratic histories, concerned with the achievements of the political, social, military, religious, and economic elites that clustered around the court during a given reign. The absence of any other published traditional evidence meant that court traditions prevailed by default as the undisputed historical account of the region, thereby minimizing the broader social contexts of Kitara.

The Court Traditions of the Kitara Complex

Almost without exception, published accounts of the Kitara complex have related what is in effect a Babito royal clan court history. As might be expected, these contain lengthy accounts of the last ruling dynasty, the era of the Babito (16th-20th centuries), including detailed accounts on the founder of the Babito dynasty, Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi (c. 16th century), and the 19th-20th century rulers, but traditions of the earlier parent state of Kitara are sketchy. Likewise, surviving traditions also emphasize accounts of the Mukama (title of the ruler), and the development of the court's political institutions rather than the societal organization that developed beyond the confines of the Mukama's enclosure. Court traditions will be used, but a history of the Babito royal clan is beyond the scope of this study.

The most widely consulted published sources based on court traditions include a series of three articles published in the Uganda Journal in 1935, 1936, and 1937 by "K. W.," a pseudonym for Sir Tito Winyi, the last Mukama of Bunyoro, Winyi acquired his information from his father, Mukama Cwa II, Kabalega, who, following his vigorous resistance to the imposition of alien control, was deposed and exiled by the British colonial government in 1898. These articles by "K. W." -- K(abalega) as told to W(inyi) -- entitled "Kyabakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara" ("Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara"), together with John Nyakatura's Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara (1947), collected and written while Nyakatura was a Saza (County) chief of Bunyoro and recently re-translated (1969), are essential sources for any historical reconstruction of Kitara. Missionary accounts collected prior to World War I include Mrs. A. B. Fisher's Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda (1911) (mistitled Baganda by the publisher), John Roscoe's The Bakitara (1923) and The Northern Bantu (1915), and Père Julien

Gorju's Entre le Victoria, L'Albert et l'Edouard (1920) and incorporate extensive accounts of court tradition and customs.

In addition, two works in the vernacular were retrieved by this author and translated in 1968: Petero Bikunya's eighty-eight page Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, (The Kings of Bunyoro) published in 1927, is of particular importance to this study because it provides more detailed accounts of the Batembuzi and Bacwezi periods.[4] The second vernacular work is H. K. Karubanga's pamphlet, Bukya Nibwira (As the Sun Rises and Sets) (1949), which lists clans and discusses Kitara customs. Important as they are for the reconstruction of Kitara history, these materials nevertheless perpetuate the bias of court traditions (with which they concur) in their periodization and in the sequence of events discussed.

Nineteenth century travellers' accounts of their journeys provide the historian with a chronological framework of events, but with few exceptions they contribute little information relating to earlier periods. The most valuable are G. Schweinfurth et. al., Emin Pasha in Central Africa (1888), Samuel W. Baker, Albert Nyanza (1867), and Major Gaetano Casati, Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha (1891). Recent scholarly studies include Fr. J. P. Crazzolara's classic three-volume work, The Lwoo (1951), which includes studies of key groups north of the Kitara complex (the Acholi, Alur, Jo-pa-Lwoo, Lango-Omiru and Kumam). It is particularly valuable for its many details concerning clan groups of the Luo speakers who arrived later in the Kitara complex than the Bantu-speaking groups associated in tradition with the Batembuzi and Bacwezi eras. Although Crazzolara's interpretation of the Bacwezi as part of the Lwoo intrusion into Bunyoro-Kitara is disproved in this study of the most important early clan groups, his contribution to the study

of the region proved extremely useful, taken together with more recent works such as B. A. Ogot's History of the Southern Luo, (1967), Christopher Ehret's Southern Nilotic History, (1971), Samwiri Karugire's A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896, (1971), and D. W. Cohen's The Historical Tradition of Busoga, (1972). John Roscoe's The Bakitara and Northern Bantu, previously mentioned, together with the recent work of the social anthropologist, John H. M. Beattie, are the most detailed anthropological sources concerning Banyoro and Batoro traditional life. To the extent that their works relate historical tradition, they also perpetuate the court version of Bunyoro-Kitara history, since both Roscoe and Beattie collected information primarily in the vicinities of Fort Portal and Hoima townships, the late 19th century capitals of Toro and Bunyoro, respectively. Regional variations among the smaller socio-political units of the state was not a primary concern of either scholar. Roscoe's works reflect a consistent bias in favor of the more aristocratic pastoral strata of society.[5] Beattie, although generally more balanced, tends to elaborate the agriculturalists' side since many Banyoro and Batoro lost their cattle to disease and other factors during the political upheavals and warfare around the turn of the 20th century and were living in reduced circumstances when he conducted his field research in the 1950's.

A few exceptions to the "court bias" are found in unpublished accounts recorded by several French White Fathers early in this century. Since British missionaries had the inside track at court, the Roman Catholic missionaries were, like the majority of the people of the countryside, among the "outs." Living away from administrative centers, the historic importance of smaller county-size geographic units, called sasas, were more apparent to the French than to most British observers. Frs. Ubala

Torelli and Henri Perouse cooperated on "Les Banyamwenge" ("The People of Mwenge"), an unpublished ethnographic study of Mwenge saza.[6] Fr. Torelli also wrote "Notes historiques apropos des pays Banyoro" (undated).[7]

Recently, other vernacular works have been collected which also emphasize the significance of sazas as important keys to the understanding of the early history of the region. From earliest times these sazas appear to have clustered in different combinations to form the basic units of successive state systems. Dialectical variations and differences in accent in different sazas support the view that the saza was the operative unit of identification traditionally. These linguistic differences are immediately recognizeable to Runyoro/Rutoro speakers, many of whom even today travel only rarely from their own districts.

The very name "saza," still used as a "county" designation, is said to derive from the name of the "first ruler" of the Kitara "kingdom," Isaza, and is said to commemorate the first such clustering of saza units under a single ruler. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, the Isaza of tradition appears to represent a period when the saza type of territorial and political organization prevailed. Periodically during the Batembuzi period these units formed alliances and clustered together, confederacy style; so the Isaza tradition may represent the last such unification before the Bacwezi kings came to power (c. 13th century), not necessarily the first. Within the sazas, the population consisted of a mixture of clans, but particular clans played historically significant roles.

The Clans of the Kitara Complex

An alternate approach to reconstructing Kitara history based on the collection and interpretation of non-royal clan traditions is feasible because clans dominant during the Batembuzi and Bacwezi periods still survive in western Uganda and have preserved their traditions. Nevertheless, the use of such traditions is complicated by the fact that Kitara totemic clans as a whole have not been generally regarded as being comprised of genealogically related units, e.g. with all clan members tracing descent from a common founder.[8] Today they are dispersed and decentralized to the extent that in some instances only lineages remain the operative social unit. This is not to reject the possibility that Kitara clans may have been genealogically linked in the past, but to admit that present sources do not establish clear links joining all lineages within a clan to a single founder. In one instance (the Basana clan, who branched from the Basengya) where detailed information was available for some eight generations, the evidence clearly suggests that at least some Kitara clans have more precise genealogical links than the amorphous and fictionally bound "clans" of neighboring Rwanda and Nkore to the south.[9]

The absence of clearly defined agnatic connections between one lineage and another within the same clan -- for example, the Basita of Mwenge saza might not know their genealogical relationship to Basita in neighboring Bugangaizi saza -- is generally true for the Kitara complex. Only two Kitara clans can trace their origins to a single founder by name: the Bagabu clan to Hangi, and the Bayaga clan to Kisehe. If Kitara clans generally lack centralization at the corporate level and are not exclusively larger extended families, what are they? Are the founders names to be regarded as "lost" to tradition? Or could the roots of Kitara clans reflect original migration units? Such a pattern would involve several

heads of families, not necessarily blood-kin, travelling together, settling together and commemorating their common heritage by coalescing as clans after arriving and remaining in Kitara. New settlers maintained closer social relations as "family," whether blood-kin or no. The stereotyped stories of "brothers" travelling together is compatible with this view, which seems borne out by the evidence collected for this study.

As clans dispersed, they maintained the link with the original migration unit through the common clan name. Marriages were exogamous and contracted outside the clan. Descent was reckoned patrilineally. Membership in a Kitara clan came to be an essential part of being "Bakitara," and it is clear that clans in the Kitara complex provided a mechanism for assimilating foreigners (or immigrants) into the Kitara social system, usually by intermarriage. Kitara clans may or may not be lineages writ large, but clan members think of themselves in kinship terms however remote or non-existant the genealogical link may be.[10] This sense of deep psychic identity with clansmen is still expressed, being particularly characteristic among elders whose level of knowledge concerning clan tradition was above average. Another characteristic of Kitara clan tradition that contributed to historical reconstruction was the persistence of the attachment to a particular clan name, as is exemplified by three of the earliest clans: the Bagabu, Bayaga and Basita. Unlike neighboring Busoga to the east, where clan members seem to have had a greater tendency to take different names when they separated from the parent clan and/or migrated into a different area (resulting in some 230+ clans in Busoga today), the clan name in the Kitara complex appears to have been retained in most instances. Despite segmentation and subsequent migrations, there are fewer than 100 clans in the Kitara complex today.[11] On occasion

a different secondary totem might be acquired by a Kitara lineage, but knowledge of the original totem was always retained by at least some members of the clan, along with knowledge of the migration traditions and/or origin of the clan. Although the dispersed, decentralised and comparatively casual structure of Kitara clans helps to explain in part their past neglect by researchers, the collected data, when synthesised, provides a reasonably coherent narrative.

The proverb "The Mukama rules the people, but the clan rules the land," seems to recall a time when clans had a greater sense of identity and a more definite geographic focus. Particular "migongo" (a raised settlement area into which the Kitara terrain is divided) were said to have been named for particular clans and were occupied predominantly by that group.[12] Projecting these settlement patterns back over the centuries, as Bakitara informants are wont to do, reflects a basic assumption on the part of informants, namely, an assumption of <u>continuity</u>. Clan groups with hunting and agricultural totems, particularly, do not regard their past as ever having been nomadic. Some "migongo" of these clans -- particularly their places of early settlement after their arrival in Kitara -- are preserved in traditions in such a way as to confirm their antiquity. Traditions of subsequent settlement sites may not be retained except for a lineage, but the earliest settlement sites tend to be independently confirmed by knowledgeable elders.

There was no apparent attempt on the part of informants to disguise or distort their migration tradition and early settlement patterns. Nor was there any apparent value recognized in linking their clan traditions to the last ruling dynasty, as might be expected. Each clan had its own tradition, whose features reflected the importance of its particular

group identity. In the absence of explicit tradition, assumptions by Bakitara informants included (a) the continuity of symbolic identification, i.e. the clan totem and (b) the continuity of that identification with a particular region, usually a saza.

One of the problems in constructing history from Kitara clan traditions was the absence of continuous narrative traditions: in every instance chronological gaps existed. Although many elder informants contributed invaluable insights, no single individual ever presumed to give a definite account of the history of even his own clan. An average Kitara clan lineage traces back six to eight generations from a baseline of 1899. One informant of a total of over 230 interviewed, a member of the Basita clan in Mwenge saza, recalled twelve generations, but even in this instance there remained an enormous genealogical gap between the lineage founder twelve generations back and the origin of the clan.[13] There is consensus among Kitara informants that the Basita number among the oldest clans in the region, clearly older than twelve generations. Hence, the pattern of Basita traditional narratives includes origin stories and early migration and settlement, leaving a large gap between traditions of the first settlers and the present lineages. The Basita pattern typifies the pattern of most Kitara clan traditions.

The absence of specialists charged with remembering clan traditions coupled with the absence of structured formulas for remembering clan traditions complicated their recovery. The informally structured clan traditions necessitated that fieldwork be as extensive as possible -- both in terms of the numbers of elder informants interviewed and geographically. Only gradually did a picture of early migrations and settlement develop from these informal traditions, and then as an incomplete mosaic.

Prior to beginning my fieldwork no complete list of Kitara clans existed, although there were several partial lists. J. Roscoe made the most serious attempt to compile a comprehensive list of clans, which numbered 115 in his published study, The Bakitara (reproduced on the next page). Unfortunately, he mistakenly assumed a clear cut hierarchy of clans which he subdivided into three categories. These included (b) Bahuma, among whom cattle totems figure most often (48 clans); in this category he included several Babito sub-clans ("engabi" bushbuck totem) which were not regarded as Bahuma by any of my informants; (2) Bahera (bairu), which he defined as "agricultural people and artisans," (43 clans), which possessed a variety of totems; and (3) the "Banyoro" or "free men" category, which he defined erroneously as clans comprised of a mixture of classes.[14] This category, which numbered 24 clans, is nonexistant in traditional Kitara social structure. In drawing up his list Roscoe assumed a fundamental inequality between superior and inferior groups in the Kitara complex following clan lines, similar to that between ruler and subject. "Bahuma" pastoralists were superior and separate; "Bairu" agricultural people were inferior "serfs." Contrary to Roscoe's notion, it now appears that not only were Kitara clans mixed in terms of their socio-economic status by the 19th century, but also were mixed as far back as oral tradition can project.

Roscoe's two remaining categories, Bahuma and Bahera (more accurately, Bairu), however, do appear to have some value in reconstructing Kitara history, despite the fact that all clans in the Kitara complex in the 19th century were mixed in terms of their pastoral-agricultural membership. Certain informants did categorize their clan as being of "Bahuma" origin, thereby ascribing a higher social status to their group, and relegated other clans as a whole to Bairu status. Only a few informants ever used

1. Babito (royal clan)	Ngabi, bush-buck. Maleghyo, rain water from the roof of a house.
2. Bachaki	Ngabi, bush-buck. Maleghyo, rain water from a house (subsection of Babito).
3. Abangamwoyo	Same totems, also a subsection of Babito.
4. Abachwa	Same totems, a division of Abangamwoyo.
5. Abagweri	Same totems.
6. Abagumba	Same totems.
7. Ababambora	„ „
8. Abandikasa	„ „
9. Abahangwe	„ „
10. Abategwa	„ „
11. Abachwera	„ „
12. Abanyakwa	Ngabi, bush-buck. Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
13. Abalebyeki	Ngabi, bush-buck.
14. Abanyuagi	„
15. Ababoro	„
16. Abakwonga	„
17. Abadwalo	„
18. Abajagara	„
19. Abagomba	„ Koroko, hippopotamus.
20. Abamori	Ngabi, bush-buck.
21. Abagorongwa	„
22. Abaziraija	„
23. Abapasisa	„
24. Abagaya	„
25. Abatabi	„
26. Abahemba	„
27. Abatwairwe	„
28. Abapina	„
29. Abasita	Ente emira, cow which has drunk salt water. Maleghyo, rain water from the roof of a house.
30. Abasita	Busito, cow after mating. Muka, dew on grass.
31. Ababyasi	Busito, cow after mating.
32. Abacwesi	Ente emira, cow which has drunk salt water. Busito, cow after mating.
33. Abahembai	„
34. Abaisanza	Etimba, cow marked red and black. Butweke, woman who enters a kraal, solicits the owner's son, and bears a child to him. She must never enter a kraal of the clan again nor may any member of the clan hold converse with her.
35. Abakurungo	Etimba, cow marked red and black. Butweke, woman who enters a kraal, solicits the owner's son and bears a child to him.

CLANS AND TOTEMS

Name of Clan	Totems
36. Abagabu	Nkira, tail-less cow. Ezobe, cow of a particular colour.
37. Abasaigi	Nkira, tail-less cow.
38. Abasengya	Ngobe, cow with straight horns. Lulimi, tongue of animals.
39. Abasingo	Mulara, black cow with white stripes down face and back. Busito, cow after mating.
40. Abangoro	Mulara, black cow with white stripes. These split from the Abasingo because their companions had killed a man and they feared the consequences.
41. Abami	Mpulu, spotted cow.
42. Abayanja	Kitara, white cow.
43. Abazima	Mbogo, black cow.
44. Abasonda	Cow marked like a zebra.
45. Abatembe	Ngabi, bush-buck.
46. Ababyasi	Ekuluzi, cow with calf for the second time.
47. Abakwakwa	Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
48. Abatwa	Milch cow. Nsugu, grass which has been put into the mouth.

Totems of Group (b), the free-men

Name of Clan	Totems
1. Abanyonza	Etimba, red and black cow. Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
2. Abalanzi	Etimba and Ngobe.
3. Abalisa	Etimba, red and black cow. Maleghyo, rain water from the roofs of houses.
4. Abasumbi	Etimba, red and black cow. Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
5. Abagahe	Etimba, red and black cow.
6. Abafunjo	Munyere, cow of some particular colour. Ngobe, cow with short straight horns.
7. Ababworo	Cow marked red and white. Maleghyo, rain water from houses.
8. Abalebeki	Cow marked red and white. Maleghyo, rain water from houses.
9. Abagimu	Cow marked red and white. Maleghyo, rain water from houses.

Name of Clan	Totems
10. Abairuntu	Mulara, black cow with white stripes. Mjojo, elephant.
11. Abanyama	Mutima, heart of animals.
12. Abaitira	Eseleke, cow of a particular colour (? grey). Isereke, woman who is a stranger and is nursing a female child.
13. Abarega	Maleghyo, rain water from houses.
14. Abarigira	,,
15. Abangali or Abagabo	Nkira, tail-less cow.
16. Abakwonga	Ngabi bush-buck.
17. Abayangwe	Nkondo, grey monkey. Nkobe, large monkey.
18. Abagweju	A house burned down. The place is avoided and no vessel from such a house used.
19. Abatongo	Amara, the stomach of animals.
20. Abasengya	Ngabi, bush-buck. Maleghyo, rain water from houses.
21. Abakimbiri	Isereke, woman nursing a female child.
22. Abysima	Ngabi, bush-buck.
23. Abaraha	Akanyamasole, wagtail.
24. Abalageya	Nlegeya, bird.

Totems of Group (c), the serfs

Name of Clan	Totems
1. Abafumambogo	Abazaza nedongo, twins. Nsenene, grasshopper. Mbogo, black cow.
2. Abayaga	Kanyamukonge, bird. A fly. Millet.
3. Abahinda	Nkonde, monkey.
4. Abasambo	Obutweke, girl who has gone wrong. Kaibo-hasa, empty basket.
5. Aberi –	Enyangi, bird.
6. Abasuli	Mbuzi, goat.
7. Abalaha	Akatengetenge?
8. Abasonga	Nsenene, grasshopper.
9. Abahango	,,
10. Abakami	Akamyu, hare.
11. Abasogo	Akaibo batera omutwe, basket put on the head.
12. Abagombi	Biweju, sugar-cane.

Name of Clan	Totems
13. Abachubo	Echu, kind of fish.
14. Ababopi	Ekigangoro, centipede.
15. Abazazi	Echu, kind of fish. Mamba, lung fish.
16. Abango	Akabaimbira, skin of leopards. These came from the Abasingo, and separated because of a quarrel over a skin.
17. Abaregeya	Njobi, monkey. Musokisoki, bird. These separated from the Abasengya.
18. Abaisanza	Epo, kind of antelope.
19. Ababiiro	Ndaha, guinea fowl.
20. Abanana	,,
21. Abaduka	The old skin of a drum.
22. Abahenga	Kagondo, small black water bird.
23. Abaho	Kalozi, fungus growing on trees.
24. Abanyampaka	Kagondo, small black water bird.
25. Abanyonza	Nyonza, bird. Kaibo-hasa, empty basket.
26. Abagimu	Mpulu, spotted cow. Maleghyo, rain water from houses.
27. Abahembo	Kaibo-hasa, empty basket.
28. Abasengya	Lugara, a wooden spoon.
29. Abagere	Njaza, an antelope.
30. Ababoro	Mutima, heart of animals. Kaibo-hasa, empty basket.
31. Abasanza	Maleghyo, rain water from houses.
32. Abakimbiri	Bumba, potters' clay. Grain left in the field all night at harvest. Yam.
33. Abasibiri	
34. Abagimu	
35. Abahamba.	
36. Abagangoro.	
37. Abagonza.	
38. Abadungu.	
39. Abaginga.	
40. Abakondwa.	
41. Abaseke.	
42. Ababaki.	
43. Abasindika.	

the term Bairu with reference to the founders of their own clans, implying that most clan founders were reputed to have been prominent men of wealth as well as of large family. But these categories provided merely one of several points of departure for the examination of clan origins which, when linked to other evidence, in some instances helped to clarify the pattern of Kitara history. As with all generic terms, they oversimplify the picture of migration and settlement if used exclusively.[15]

Some twenty-four of the clans listed by Roscoe were not corroborated by my informants.[16] In addition, Roscoe listed some parts of the Babito clan and its subclans in all three clan categories, whereas my informants preferred to group the Babito and its sub-clans separately, a pattern that will be followed in this study. It is difficult to determine the number of clans that existed in the Kitara complex at any given time, despite extensive checking and rechecking the partial lists of clans published by Roscoe, Gorju, Karubanga, Bikunya et. al.[17] Using a baseline of 1899, when Mukama Kabalega (or Kabarega) was dethroned and exiled, this study attempts to determine which were the oldest clans, the extent of fragmentation, instances in which sub-clans had become separate clans, which groups had formerly had genealogical links to the Babito and were now regarded as separate clans, which clans were associated prominently with any particular era in the traditional Batembuzi-Bacwezi-Babito periodization, and so on is made.

This study identified some ninety-one clans for the decade of the 1890's, which was the decade when the majority of informants consulted in this study were born. The Babito group, the largest, with all its sub-clans was counted as a single clan, since it was so regarded by informants. The following is an alphabetical listing of all Kitara clans referred to in this study, representing a compilation of clans listed by the main written

sources (indicated in the "Key to Sources") which were corroborated and supplemented by my informants. Clans listed beside the Roman numerals are the "parent" clan or clans for whom no links with earlier groups could be established. Dashes indicate branchings from older clans which are now regarded as independent clans (i.e. they can intermarry). The "=" marks indicate suggested links between Kitara clans and clans of other interlacustrine groups, which will be elaborated upon in later chapters.

Perspectives of Clan and Court Traditions

In this study clans will be discussed in terms of their chronological sequence of arrival or the circumstances of their emergence to positions of prominence in the Kitara complex. As previously mentioned, court traditions of the Kitara complex divide Kitara history into three successive periods: the Batembuzi, the Bacwezi, and the Babito. The consistency of the three-epoch periodization used by court historians and clan elders presents problems for the historian since this periodic sequence is associated not only with three successive dynasties, but with three waves of migrations as well. And when court traditions are set against clan traditions, oversimplifications and telescoping of events become apparent. Analysis of clan tradit ons reveals that population movements, new ideas, and institutional innovations did not usually occur simultaneously.[18] Moreover, traditions specifically associated with cattle, saltworking and ironworking, which together with agriculture formed the economic underpinnings of the state, cannot be reconciled with the sequence of court traditions. A "three sequence" pattern also characterizes the traditions of the social groupings of

Clans of the Kitara Complex
(Indicating Segmentation from Older Clans and Clan Equivalents in Neighboring Areas Using 1890's Base Decade)

				Number of Separate Clans
I.	Babito (B,G,K,R,T)			1
II.	Baboopi	Balemba	= (Karubanga links with Lion Centipede, clan, (Ekibeobi) Buganda	2
III.	Babworo (B,R)	Babwongo (T)	= Boorokaka pa Rwoot (Madi) Heart clan (Buganda)	2
IV.	Bacwa (B,K,R)	Basumbi (B,G,R)	= Cwaa, Lwoo group, Bito, a branch of Cwaa clan = Abanamucwa (Nkore) = Bacwa (Busoga, Toro)	2
V.	Bacwezi (B,G,R)	Batwa	= Abambwa (floppy-eared dog totem, Buganda)	4
		Batenzi (obusito)	= Banvuma (obusito totem) Singo Saza, Buganda	
		Basumba		
VI.	Bafumambogo (B,G,R)		= Mbogo (buffalo totem, Buganda)	1
VII.	Bafunjo (B)	Bahati (Mwenge Sasa, Toro)		4
		Baligira		
		Bazira (entimba cow totem)		

				Number of Separate Clans
VIII.	Bagabu (-o) (B,G,R)	Basaigi = Tailless cow Bakoizi = Tailless banana (enkira) Buganda		3
IX.	Bagahi (G,T,R)	Babwijwa (Mwenge Sasa) (G,K) Banyaihembe (Toro) Baliisa (Mpororo)	Basonde = Abentumba (Buganda) (B,R) Bakurungu (B,T)	6
		= Bagahe (Nkore) = Babanda (Rwanda) = Bagahe (Mpororo) = Hippo (Abenvubu) (Buganda)		
X.	Bagamba (Rhino)			1
XI.	Bagaya (O,K,T)	= Pa - Gaya (Acholi) Links with = Ngaaya (Madi) Hippo/Babwijwa		1
XII.	Bagimu (B,R)	= Edible Rat (Musu) Buganda		1
XIII.	Bagombe (-a)	Basekera		2
XIV.	Bagorongwa (-o) (K,R)			1
XV.	Bagweri (B,K,R)	Badengo Bajanju (enjobe, waterbuck totem)		3
XVI.	Bahamba (K,R)	= Basoga (Buruli) = Ensoga (castor oil, Buganda) also Millipede totem, Buganda		1

				Number of Separate Clans
XVII.	Bahango	= Empisi (hyena) (Busoga)		1
XVIII.	Bahemba	= Nkima (monkey) (Buganda)		1
XIX.	Bahinda (B,G,R,T)	Bayangwe	= Bahinda (Nkore)	2
XX.	Baisanza (B,R)	Banyakiozi	= Abengeye (colobus monkey) (Buddu, Buganda)	2
XXI.	Baigara (Reed buck)			1
XXII.	Baitira (B,G,R,T)	Banyasere	= Bakira (Bakonjo) = Baitira (Kigezi)	5
		Bairuntu (B,G,T)	= Enjovu (Elephant) (Buganda)	
		Bacwamba		
		Bane		
XXIII.	Bajuma (K)			1
XXIV.	Bairabire	=Abaisekatwe (Nkore) Same in Kigezi (branch of Bahinda) Same in Rwanda (branch of Beega)		1
XXV.	Bakoransi (K)	Babyasi (Babyansi) (K,R)		2
XXVI.	Bakwonga	= Jo-Kwonga (Pawir) = Kwonga (Alur)		1 1
XXVII.	Bamooli (B,R,T)	Links with Babito ? Links with Heart clan ? (Bayanja?)		1

		Number of Separate Clans
XXVIII.	Banati (Banabi)	1
XXIX.	Bapina (Bapima) (K,R,T)	1
XXX.	Baranzi (B,G,R) ---- Baami ---- Balinga (or Balega) = Lanzi (Ukerebe ---- Basinga = (Otter (or (Civet Cat (Buganda)	4
XXXI.	Barungu (T) (guinea fowl) ---- Basonga (B,R) = Nsenene (grasshopper totem, Buganda)	2
	= Basonga (Nkore, Kisiba, Busoga)	1
XXXII.	Barwizi	1
XXXIII.	Basambo (B) ---- Banyonsa (entimba) ---- Banyamhanga (B) (hyena) ---- Bahango (K)	4
	= Bashambo (Kigezi, Nkore)	
	= Bashambo (branch of Bazigaba, Rwanda)	
	= Baniginya (Rwanda)	1
	= Jo-kisambo (Alur) ?	1
	= Bahira (Bahera) Bukonjo)	
XXXIV.	Basongwa ---- (Madi? Crazzolara)	1
XXXV.	Baseke (bird)	1
XXXVI.	Basengya (B,R) ---- Bangere (Bagere) (K,R) = Ngali (Crested Crane, Buganda)	4
	Bangere = Amasomi (Sweet Potato, Buganda)	
	Bangere = Binyonyi (Crow, Buganda)	
	---- Basana	
	---- Baregeya (R)	

			Number of Separate Clans
XXXVII.	Basita (B,G,R,T)	Baraba, Bajwaga, etc., sub-clans = Sitta, founder, Bugisu clan = Abendiga (Sheep, Buganda) = Baswaga (Bakonjo) = Byabasita (Kibale)	1
XXXVIII.	Basingo (B,G,R,T) \Bakoye \Bagoro (R)	Bango = Pa-Bango ? (Madi) (R) = Singo (Ukerebe) = Abakimbire (Nkore, Rwanda, Kigezi) = Batangi (Bakonjo) * Links with leopard totem group	4
XXXIX.	Basuuli (B,R)	= Madi ? (rusuuli, "goat") = Links with Basende ?	1
XL.	Batema (B,K,R) (entimba)		1
XLI.	Batwairwe (B)		1
XLII.	Bayaga (B,R,T)	Bahunga = Abenyonyintono (small red bird) (Buganda and Busoga) = Babinga (Bukonjo)	2
XLIII.	Bayanja (B,K,R,T)	= Omutima (heart) (Buganda) (Goridda totem) = Kitete (grass in banana plants) (Buganda)	1
XLIV.	Basasi (B,K,R)	= Mamba (Lungfish, Buganda) (entimba, Kibiro saltworks)	1
XLV.	Basima (Basasima) (B,K,R,T)	= Zima ? (Ukerebe)	1

		Number of Separate Clans
XLVI.	Beeri----------Batabe	2
		91

Key to sources:
B = Bikunya, Ky'abakama ba Bunyoro, 3, 51-52, 63-64.
G = Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 15-22
K = Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 37-38
R = Roscoe, The Bakitara, 11-18
T = Torelli, "Notes Historiques apropos des pays Banyoro," ms.
No symbol = oral tradition collected from fieldwork

Kitara: the Bahuma, Bairu, and Bakama (rulers) who were members of the Babito clan mentioned above, and some clan traditions begin "there were three brothers..." all of which suggests that the three sequence pattern may be regarded as a formula for categorizing significant events.

Clan elders commonly linked the arrival or emergence of their clan and the Batembuzi-Bacwezi-Babito sequence, but such descriptions required further explanation to become meaningful in historial reconstruction: the word "here," for example, (as in "When the Babito came, we were already here"), might relate to the Kitara area generally or to a specific saza area, or the present location of the informant's lineage. Given the assumed relationship between clan migration traditions and periods of political centralization, ("We came at the time of the Batembuzi," etc.), it was necessary to examine the significance of the historieal periods and to arrive at some understanding of why traditional Kitara history is conceptualized as it is, and what the limitations of these traditions are. Since the Babito period overlaps into contemporary history, more is known about how this category functions in tradition. The name Babito commemorates the name of the Luo speaking clan group that became politically dominant during the 16th century. As political history, it recounts in simplified form the redistribution of power relationships. As social history, it is apparent the name of the category blurs events or omits them entirely. For example, it is known that Luo-speakers who were not Babito were also entering the Kitara area during the same general period, and no mention at all is made of non-Luo groups in court traditions.

Traditions on the Bacwezi period again describe the arrival of intruders or outsiders whose identity has been a source of historical controversy. The elusive question "Who were the Bacwezi?" led to the neglect

of other historical questions. Since court traditions characteristically tend to legitimize, elevate in status, and confirm in positions of privilege the particular groups under discussion, it became necessary to look to clan traditions for information concerning the formative years of the Kitara complex.

Examining the sources on the Batembuzi era, one finds little agreement even as to the derivation of the word. Crazzolara's ethnological evidence linked the name to the word mbuzi (goat) and the whole term, "goat-killers," to the period of the incursions of Madi peoples from the north into the Kitara region.[19] John Beattie linked "Batembuzi" to the verb kutembura ("to build in a new place"), which he associated with "wanderers."[20] One English-speaking Mutoro informant Rev. A. Katuramu, conceptualized the Batembuzi as "pioneers," interpreting the term as "the pioneer period" of early settlement.[21]

Significantly, no tradition associates this or any of the three periods with Bantu-speaking peoples. All three historical categories omit any reference to this major intrusive group from the conscious conceptualization of Kitara tradition. Intruders are always "other" in the court traditional conceptualization. The obvious question is what relationship do the Bantu speakers, whose languages dominate the lacustrine area, have to Kitara traditions? Were they, to use an overworked phrase, merely the silent majority, who observed history's events, but never made history? Are these categories merely court tradition of earlier, possibly foreign, politically dominant groups? Or might these historical categories testify to an assimilation of Bantu-speakers with non-Bantu? These questions will be taken up in the following chapters, but simply stated, clan traditions clarify the role Bantu speakers played in Kitara history. In the

court traditions, which date from the earliest periods of political centralization, it became apparent that it was social and political change that tended to be remembered, not the prevailing norms, which were established before political centralization by the earliest Bantu-speaking immigrants to Kitara.

Another possibility is that each era represents the culmination of the events of an era. There is no recollection, for example, that the Moru-Madi pastoralists of northwestern Uganda were the initial intruders of the Batembuzi era or that Moru-Madi groups may have represented the major threat and their incursions the significant event of the pre-Bacwezi period.

If, as is contended, Kitara represents one of the oldest Bantu speaking settlement areas that developed centralized political institutions of East Africa, and if, in Kitara oral traditions it is contrast and change that shape the conceptualization of their past history, what is the nature of the change that is recounted in the Batembuzi-Bacwezi-Babito framework? It would appear that, in contrast to clan traditions, court tradition is limited primarily to recounting periods of political centralization. If the arrival and settlement of Bantu speakers predated the earliest thrust toward statehood, then their omission from court tradition is understandable. As will be seen, traditions of the earliest surviving clan groups tend to suggest this interpretation: the earliest pattern that emerges is one of the migration and settlement of small groups which prospered, multiplied, and survived as clans. Why these migrations took place cannot be determined precisely without additional external evidence -- extensive archaeological research is requisite, but a sequence based on correlations between traditions will be advanced

in this study.

The three-sequence court tradition has telescoped what appear to have been key transitional periods, particularly that between the Bacwezi dynastic era and the subsequent consolidation of Babito rule under Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi (15th - 16th centuries). That such a transitional period was of some duration is suggested from evidence found in clan traditions, which relate that the possession cult of the Bacwezi (sometimes referred to as the "Embandwa" mediumship cult), which was part of Bacwezi court ritual and political leadership, was limited to the court until after political decentralization began. Only after their political decline and the Babito-Luo takeover did the cult commemorating the memory of the Bacwezi become widespread. (See Chapter VIII.) Clan traditions therefore, argue for the existence of a transitional period between the two dynasties, and even two "ruling" generations would affect the currently accepted chronology some half a century.[22]

Given the limitations of the tools currently at the historian's disposal for determining chronologies, migration sequences have been worked out, but only general dates, e.g. to the century, and a sequence will be advanced. In utilizing clan traditions to arrive at a sequential pattern of Kitara history, correlations with oral traditions of clans outside the Kitara complex will be made where possible since external evidence can corroborate and add to Kitara clan traditions.

Kitara's clan traditions also offer evidence that in the pre-Babito (Bacwezi) period the perception of time was cyclical, not linear, as it became in the Babito period. The fact that the names of only two kings have been associated with the Bacwezi dynasty has puzzled historians for some years, and no satisfactory interpretations have been offered

for the "brevity" of their reign. Certain old clan traditions reveal a practice of rotating two titles for the head of their clans. The founder of the Bayaga clan, for example, was Mihingo, his successor, Kyanku, and his successor Mihingo, and so on, alternating for some forty generations, it is claimed.[23] Similar rotating titles among early clans in the pre-Babito era support the hypothesis that the names of the Bacwezi kings, Wamara and Ndahura, are also rotating titles. If so, it becomes impossible to correlate specific events with particular reigns during the Bacwezi dynastic period. How many generations of Bacwezi kings may have ruled in the Bacwezi period is also impossible to determine given present telescoped evidence, but the existence of a rotating title holder in the early Bacwezi kingship together with the postulated transitional period occurring between the decentralization of the Kitara state of the Bacwezi and the consolidation of Babito rule (discussed above) alters the periodization of early Kitara history to a significant extent.

Fieldwork and Research Procedures

Methodology is of particular importance in dealing with oral sources where little historical research had been attempted previously. The equivalent of two years prior to fieldwork was spent at Indiana University examining all available published information and studying Swahili for three years, which was the only language related to Runyoro readily available in the United States at that time. Once in Uganda the time necessary to acclimatize oneself to the fieldwork area was minimal since I had spent 1961-1964 in Uganda as a secondary school teacher and had already traveled extensively within the country. The History

Department of Makerere University in conjunction with the Makerere Institute of Social Research cooperated to facilitate my work when I returned for fieldwork in 1968. Most of 1969 was spent in western Uganda collecting traditions of clan groups and in the translation of these primary research materials from Runyoro and Rutoro into English. These interviews, when annotated, will constitute an archival source for future researchers. In addition, archival materials were examined en route to Uganda in London and in Rome as well as in the Africana Collection of the Makerere University Library, Kampala, Uganda.

I was particularly fortunate to meet Mr. Elijah Kasenene, who worked as a translator and field assistant. Mr. Kasenene was at that time a student graduate of Nakasero Secondary School, Fort Portal, Toro District, awaiting his Higher School Certificate examination results. His home and family are in Mwenge saza, the region regarded as having the purest dialect, where royalty were sent in former times to be raised by foster parents "to learn the language." His "pure" pronunciation and his ability to put informants at ease facilitated the work immeasureably. We were generally well-received in all parts of the Kitara complex. Mr. Kasenene's precise translations and our discussions of key terms were also an invaluable aid. During the last six weeks of fieldwork, Mr. Kasenene left to begin studies at Makerere University College, and Mr. Sadson Byabasaire, a Munyoro attending Kabalega Secondary School, Bunyoro District, assisted me in the Hoima-Masindi area. Single documents were occasionally translated by other secondary students. Miss Phoebe Bonabana transcribed the interviews in Runyoro and Rutoro.

As other researchers have discovered in East Africa, once in the field, "everyone" knew something of historical interest. While still in

Kampala, the capital city, I began to collect a list of potential informants to interview in Western Uganda. There are no specialists charged with the preservation of court or clan tradition. Mr. John Nyakatura, (author of Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara), who resides in Hoima, Bunyoro District, is regarded as "the" historian of Bunyoro. His name was mentioned again and again in the Hoima area as the man "who can tell you everything." However, Mr. Nyakatura's expertise is in the area of court history and custom, particularly of the Babito period. "History" apparently still connotated the activities of the court, and in the area of court tradition Mr. Nyakatura is extremely well informed and deserves the widespread recognition that has come only is his retirement years. However, when it was explained that individual clans, not the Babito Court, were the subject of study, other informants were not reluctant to come forward.

"Contamination" of informants by published vernacular sources did not prove to be a major problem. None of my informants produced a copy of Nyakatura's work, and although a number knew of its existence, very few had read parts of it. No informants owned Petero Bikunya's Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro or knew of K. W.'s account in the Uganda Journal, and only two informants possessed Karubanga's pamphlet, Bukya Nibwira, which emphasizes Kinyoro customs and is not primarily a narrative history.

Since there are no specialists of clan traditions, the first step was to identify and interview as many elders who know clan traditions as possible. Members of the 1880's and 1890's generation are obviously becoming scarce. And, true to the proverb "Whoever waits for the whole animal to appear only spears the tail," there was the concern that to await the appearance of the whole animal, in terms of perfect

fieldwork conditions, extended financial support, time available for fieldwork, trained Munyoro and Mutoro historians, etc., might have meant that in a very real sense we would only spear the tail of the body of earliest tradition. As it was, interviews were on occasion conducted at the bedside of an ailing clan elder, and several informants did in fact die during the research year. The geographic area to be covered was large. We drove over 11,000 miles crisscrossing the sub-counties of western Uganda in our search for elderly informants. Even so, we could not reach some potential informants whose homes were so distant and/or difficult to reach as to make it a misallocation of time and resources to reach them. Finding these men, at home, well, and ready to discuss clan history, was no easy task. The District officers of Bunyoro, Toro, and Mubende Districts, Messrs. C. M. Odwori (Hoima), E. L. Ssendaula (Toro), and O. N. Obore (Mubende) assisted greatly by providing letters of introduction to all saza (county) and gomborra (sub-county) chiefs several weeks in advance requesting their cooperation in preparing a list of potential informants who had specific knowledge of their clan histories. I was identified to them as a Research Fellow of Makerere University College who had the approval of the Central Government to conduct interviews. On arrival I would identify myself to each informant, usually by relating my having been a secondary teacher at King's College, Budo, a well-known secondary school in the country, my current association with Makerere University, where I was staying, for example, "in the home of Mr. Kabuzi," a well-known Toro family, etc.

On the pre-arranged day we would arrive at the saza or gomborra offices, identify ourselves, and journey to the informants' homes. On many occasions some of the informants would have already arrived at the

gomborra offices. Each individual's biography and genealogy was recorded and interviews were conducted in private on the basis of general categories of questions (see Appendix I), allowing the informant to move directly from discussing his family and lineage history to a topic that interested him most. For example, if his father and grandfather were blacksmiths, we would investigate a series of related questions concerning ironworking traditions before other set questions would be asked. As time passed, questions were refined, rephrased and reorganized, but since traditions were not formally structured, interviews tended to be informal and as relaxed as possible, even when held at the gomborra headquarters.

The small cassette tape recorder proved no handicap or inhibiting factor when it was explained that it would help us to avoid making mistakes. On one or two occasions informants requested a brief demonstration, and then the interview would proceed. Generally my translator and I were well received, and in some instances given truly exceptional hospitality. Walking to informant's homes impossible to be reached by car, we never lacked for guides. On several occasions the gomborra chief provided a meal for the informants and ourselves. At such times individual interviews were conducted prior to the meal, with a group interview (which usually numbered eight to ten people) following. The group interview approach was used sparingly and primarily toward the end of the fieldwork, but it proved useful for discussion of apparent contradictions in previously collected accounts or clarification or reexamine certain points, such as clan lists, names, and totems could be checked with informants adding whatever they knew about a clan other than their own, corroborating or refuting information obtained at a neighboring Sasa or Gomborra. These discussions were also taped and transcribed,

translated, and checked for accuracy of translation as the individual interviews had been.

The History Department of Makerere University, then engaged in the Uganda Oral History Project, had specified that no informants be paid, since researchers and Makerere students doing subsequent fieldwork might find demands for cash payment impossible to meet. Few informants in fact requested or seemed to expect compensation (and those few who did to a man possessed a minimal knowledge of tradition). On second visits we brought gifts of tea and sugar, and I made color photographs upon request and sent copies to the informants. In a few cases second and third interviews were arranged, but in only a few instances did they add substantially to information collected at the initial interview and were used less as fieldwork progressed.

The sheer number of informants precludes individual comment on each (See Bibliography), but a few general comments can be made. What has been preserved of Kitara tradition varies obviously from individual to individual, and the informants consulted in this study ranged from members of the former royal Babito clan to ironsmiths, farmers, potters, civic leaders, teachers, salt workers, Christian ministers, Muslims, and traditional religious specialists. The formal education of informants ranged from none at all to graduate degrees, but the majority of informants had had some primary level schooling in their youth. A conscious effort was made to balance testimony taken from more urbanized informants, e.g. those living in the environs of a district headquarters such as Fort Portal or Masindi, with rural informants whose life style had been less affected by the rapid changes of the past few decades.

Members of the largest clans tended to be over-represented in

most of the gomborras (sub-counties) we visited, despite our stated interest in all clans, including the smallest. But variants of certain tales in a migration sequence for these larger groups were, of course, also sought. Despite efforts to identify all clans and their traditions, it is possible that some small clans of recent origin were missed.

By extensive interviewing it became possible to reconstruct a picture integrating the numerous small bits of information. The field notes resulting from these interviews with more than 230 Banyoro, Batoro, and a few Banyankore and Baganda total over 1,500 pages of single-spaced elite type script and represent literal translations into English of taped interviews (which in some instances were annotated). Questions were asked the informant in Runyoro or Rutoro, and the reply was recorded on tape along with the English translation. Each evening I transcribed the English translations of the interviews from the tapes. A separate transcription from Rutoro and Runyoro was also made by a student directly from the tapes. These vernacular transcriptions were translated into English directly from Runyoro or Rutoro by another student without reference to the tapes or to the initial vernacular/English translation. I would then compare the translations made by my primary translator, Elijah Kasenene, during the interview with the transcribed notes. During the interview with the literal translation from the vernacular tape and also with the written notes I made during the interview (as a check against battery failure) and made corrections of the original English transcription. As the interviews proceeded and questions were repeated daily, I soon was able to follow Runyoro interviews in a general way, but an interpreter remained indespensable.

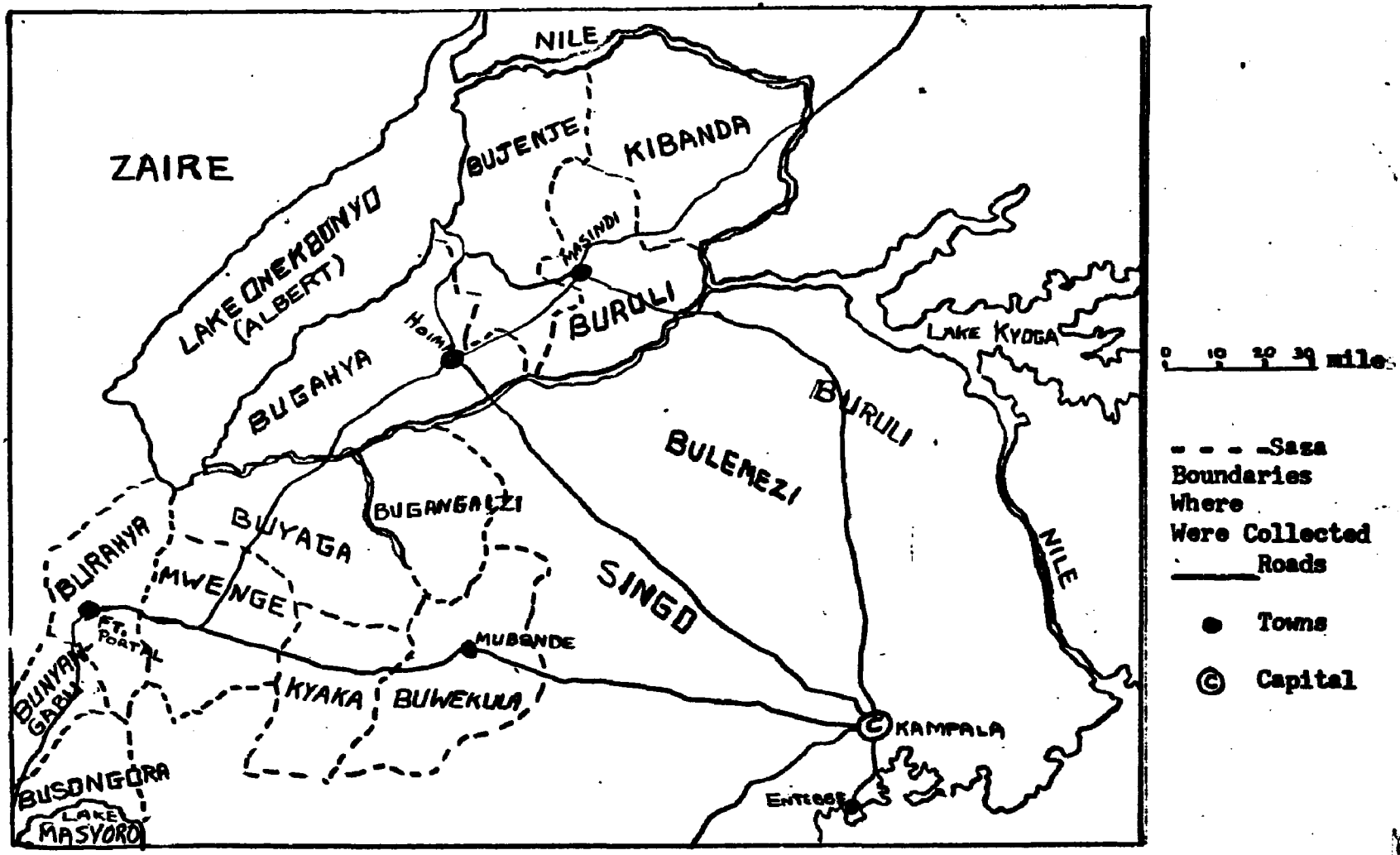
The symbolic and metaphorical meanings of words, particularly

those with religious significance, are being forgotten. At times meanings were debated between informants during which it became clear that the younger generations are no longer attuned to the traditional connotations of certain words.

Work proceeded on a saza by saza basis, and within that frame on a gomborra by gomborra basis. A complete list of the saza administrative districts with the gomborras visited are indicated (*), beginning with Bunyoro in which there are six sazas: (1) Kibanda, comprised of Kiryandongo*, Masindi port*, Mutumda and Kigumba gomborras; (2) Buruli, comprised of Ihungu*, Pakanyi*, Miirya*, Masindi Township*, Karujubu*, Kimengo and Nyangahya gomborras; (3) Bugahya saza, which includes the administrative headquarters at Hoima township*, and the gomborras of Kiziranfumbi*, Busisi*, Buhimba*, Kabwoya, Bugambe, Kigorobya* and Buhanika; (4) Bujenje, comprised of Kyabigambwire*, Bikonzi*, Bwijana*, Biiso*, Buliisa and Budongo gomborras; (5) Bugangaizi saza, comprised of Kakumire*, Kasambya*, Nkoko*, Kakindo*, Bwanswa*, Nalweyo*, gomborras; (6) Buyaga saza, comprised of Kibaale*, Bwamiramura*, Mugarama*, Matale, Kagadi, Kiryanga, Kyanisoke and Mabaale gomborras.

Toro District has seven sazas: (1) Mwenge, comprised of Nyantungu*, Katooke*, Matiri*, Bugaaki*, Karusozi*, Mirongo* gomborras; (2) Bwamba saza (visited, but no interviews were conducted; it lies outside of the Kitara complex in terms of its traditions); (3) Burahya saza, which includes Fort Portal township*, Busoso*, Bukuku*, Hakibaale*, Kichwamba*, Ruteete*, Nyaburara and Rwebisongo gomborras; (4) Bunyangabu saza, comprised of Kibiito*, Kabale*, Buhesi*, Kyombya* and Kisomoro* gomborras; (5) Busongora and Bukonjo saza, comprised of Muhokya*, Lake Katwe*, Kilembe (visited but no interviews) and Rukoki gomborras; (6) Kibaale;

Source: Adapted from J. H. M. Beattie, The Nyoro State, 83.



UGANDA SAZAS IN WHICH KITARA TRADITIONS WERE COLLECTED

(7) Kyaka.

In Mubende district interviews were conducted only in the following: Buwekula saza, including Mutologo*, Kasambya*, Namungo*, Bagezza*, Kiyuni*, Kitenga (Mutuba I and Mutuba II)* gomborras.

The most productive areas proved to be Burahya, Bunyangabu and Mwenge sazas in Toro district and Bugangaizi and Bugahya sazas in Bunyoro. Mwenge saza emerged as a major early settlement and dispersal area prior to the arrival of Babito-Luo peoples from the north. It is indeed an ancient settlement area for both pastoralist and ironworking peoples, and the greatest proliferation of small clans appears to have occurred there. Every effort was made to identify these smaller groups and establish what links, if any, they had with larger older clans. Nevertheless, it is possible a few escaped the "clan census" attempted. The most disappointing areas in terms of the research project were in Busongora saza and Mubende district. Busongora was a "disturbed area" at the time as a result of the Rwenzaruru resistance movement led by Bukonjo and Bwamba mountain groups against the majority Batoro group. One result of these ethnic tensions in Busongora Saza was that the Bwamba Gomborra chiefs were reluctant to assist in this research involving Batoro clans. Also, rumors circulating that the central government planned to take over the family-owned salt wells at Lake Katwe, located in the saza, and took some time to convince potential informants that we were not government agents of a threatening variety. We managed in the end to conduct some interviews of value, but under different circumstances, results might have been better.

Mubende (Buwekula district) was also, relatively speaking, disappointing in terms of collecting Kitara clan traditions. Here the scarcity of informants who identified with the Kitara complex appears to have been

related to the settlement of the "Lost Counties" issue, which involved the reapportionment and return of Bugangaizi and Buyaga sazas to Bunyoro district. (These counties had been awarded to the Baganda in 1894 by the British for their assistance in the war against Mukama Kabarega of Bunyoro.) Following the settlement which returned the "lost counties" to Bunyoro in 19 , it would appear that the majority of Runyoro speakers had either moved back to Bugangaizi and Bunyangabu sazas or had become so assimilated to the custom and tradition over the years of Baganda dominance that they could make little contribution to this study. Almost no informants in the area from Mubende town north, northwest, or northeast (the portion nearest the Kitara complex) retained information more than four generations back (a Kiganda custom), as opposed to the six to eight generations commonly remembered by elders of the Kitara complex proper. In addition, there was greater focus on specific hills linked to clan burial grounds (again a Kiganda custom) than was the case in Mwenge, the neighboring saza to the west. Hence, while Mubende remains a fascinating area for the study of transitional zones between culture areas, material collected there had only limited value for my study since clan and migration traditions seldom extended beyond the latter 18th century.

To summarize, this study attempts a reconstruction of Kitara history from the earliest migration and settlement remembered in oral tradition (latter 9th-10th centuries) to the end of the 16th century, when the successors to the Kitara state, the Luo-speaking Babito, secured their dominant position in Bunyoro. It utilizes new source materials, i.e. clan traditions of the Kitara complex, and sets these against the court traditions of Kitara-Bunyoro and relevant traditions surviving among

neighboring peoples in the interlacustrine area. The results described in following chapters is a greater elaboration of the migration movements and the clan in the internal dynamics of the Kitara complex, which leads to significant revision of Kitara's early history and the evolution and impact of the Kitara state upon the interlacustrine region.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The modern names for these peoples are Banyoro and Batoro.

[2]A. Roberts, ed., Tansania Before 1900 (Nairobi, Kenya, 1968)ii.

[3]D. W. Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu: The Historical Tradition of Busonga, Uganda," (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1970), 14.

[4]No informants, not even Bikunya's son, had a copy of this book. I located a copy at the Royal Geographical Society, London, and had it translated in Uganda by Paulo Nabukenya and Elijah Kasenene. The author, Petero Bikunya, was a former Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Bunyoro.

[5]Roscoe's pro-pastoral bias is explicitly stated: "There is no doubt that they (the agricultural peoples) were of far lower type than the pastoral people and have been slowly raised by contact with them." J. Roscoe, The Bakitara (Cambridge, 1923), 199.

[6]Fr. U. Torelli and H. Perouse, "Les Banyamwenge: Notes Ethwographic" Archieves of the White Fathers, Rome, n.d., No. 803.11.

[7]Torelli's "Notes Historiques apropos des pays Banyoro," Office of Regional Superior, Kisubi, Uganda; examined by courtesy of Dr. Louise Pirouet, then at the Department of Religion, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.

[8]J. H. M. Beattie, "Nyoro Kinship," Africa, 27 (1957), 320-323.

[9]Karoli Mukasa, "Eisororezo Ly'Oruganda Rw'Abasana" ("A Gathering of the Descendants of Kashoha of the Abasana Clan," n.d. (Typewritten.); Samwiri Rubaraza Karugire, A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896 (Oxford, 1971), 10-11, 72-74.

[10]Concurs with J. H. M. Beattie, Other Cultures (New York, 1964), 98.

[11]D. W. Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu: the Historical Tradition of Busoga, Uganda," Ph.D. Dissertation, S.O.A.S., London, (1970).

[12]Beattie, "Nyoro Kinship," Africa, 27 (1957), 320-323.

[13]Edward Kalyegira, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, Interview of March 26, 1969.

[14]Roscoe, The Bakitara, 12-18.

[15]Roscoe's information on clans in The Banyankole (Cambridge, 1923) also contains some basic errors. Prof. Samwire Karugire found it of limited value in his reconstruction of Nkore history. Personal communication, interview in London, December 17, 1968.

[16]The following clans have been eliminated as Kitara clans although they originally appeared on Roscoe's list: Abakami, Abatonga (not a clan but a hunting term), Abatongo, Ababilito, Abanana, Abaduka, Abahenga, Abaho, Abasihire (possibly Abasiri?, literally "people of Somalia), Abagangoro, Abagonza, Abadungu, Abaginga (Swahili for "silly people"), Abakondwa, Abaseke (possibly Abasekere?), Abasindika, Ababaki, Abasongora (literally, "people of Busongora" a province, not a clan), Ababanbara (possibly a lineage of the Babito clan), Abatabi (possibly a lineage of the Babito clan?), Abakwakwa, Abarega ("people of Bulega, a former province of Bunyoro on the west side of Lake Onekbonyo), Abatemba (from Swahili "kutembea," "to be sold" = "sellers"), Aboli (possibly Abamooli or Abamwoli).

[17]Roscoe, Bakitara, 11-18; Père Julien Gorju, Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard (Rennes, 1920), 15-22; H. K. Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira (As The Sun Rises and Sets) (Kampala, Uganda, 1949), 37-38; Petero Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, (The Kings of Bunyoro), (Kampala, Uganda, 1927), 32, 51-52, 63-64.

[18]This observation has also come to the regarded as characteristic of oral traditions in Tanzania, as reported in D. A. Roberts, "Oral Traditions Through the Sieve," East Africa Journal, V (1968), 38.

[19]Fr. J. P. Crazzolara, The Lwoo, Part III, Clans (Verona, 1954), 449.

[20]J. H. M. Beattie, The Nyoro State (Oxford, 1971), 40.

[21]Rev. A. Katuramu, Mukono Theological Seminary, Buganda district, Interview of January 13, 1969.

[22]D. W. Cohen, "A Survey of Interlacustrine Chronology," JAH, XI:2, (1970), 177-202, attempted to correlate court traditions in the interlacustrine kingdoms using Roland Oliver's formula of 27±2-year generations and available kinglists. Using this technique, he arrived at 1467±54 as the dates for the first Babito ruler of Bunyoro-Kitara Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi, and 1386-1359±60 as the dates for Kato Kimera (Rukidi's "twin" and contemporary ruler in neighboring Buganda, according to Kitara court tradition). Both these rulers are associated in tradition with the intrusion of Luo speaking peoples into the interlacustrine area, a point which concurs with a recent study of Luo migrations by B. A. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, I (Nairobi, 1967), 46.

[23]Zakayo Kyanku, head of the Bayaga clan, Rutoma village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969.

Chapter II

EARLY MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT: THE NORTHERNERS

"Nnyoko abanga omunyolo n'akusaala ku kika."
("Your mother may be a foreigner, what matters is that she begets you within the clan.") Luganda proverb.

The Pre-Dynastic Period

Kitara court traditions can be said to begin with the development of a common linguistic and ethnic identification by the settlers of the Kitara complex. The earliest period of Kitara court tradition, the Batembusi, presumes some form of political organization (the character of which will be discussed in Chapter V) as well as the presence of agriculture, pastoralism, and ironworking. Before the Batembuzi period (c. 11th century) three main groups of settlers arrived in the Kitara complex. These three streams: one associated with peoples migrating from the north (represented by the Bagabu and Babopi, see Chapter II); the second, associated with peoples moving west to east around and across Lake Onekbonyo (represented by the Bayaga, Basonga/Burungu, Bagahi/Babwijwa, Bayanja and Baransi/Baami clans, see Chapter III), and the third associated with migrations moving southwest from the Mt. Elgon region (represented by the Basita, and Basingo, see Chapter IV), constitute the three main population movements of the pre-dynastic period and illustrate the ethnic diversity

of groups that coalesced in pre-dynastic Kitara.

Kitara clan traditions project beyond the earliest period of political unification remembered in court tradition, the Batembuzi, to the era of immigration and settlement of the Kitara region. Although J. B. Webster has suggested 900-1300 A.D. as the period of Batembuzi "rule," the first date seems too early for this level of political centralization.[1] The pre-Batembuzi period of migration and settlement seems to coincide roughly with the 9th-11th centuries, and the beginnings of political centralization date no earlier than the 11th century. Earliest clan traditions relate a period which clearly predates the hierarchical ordering of Kitara society along the ruler-pastoralist-agriculturalist lines (The Bakama-Bahuma-Bairu categories) described in Chapter I.

The identity of these early migrants moving into the Kitara complex, the routes they followed and their cultural "baggage" will be examined in the next three chapters. Generally these clan traditions clearly demonstrate the ethnic diversity of these early peoples who afterwards coalesced to become Bakitara. All clan traditions describe migration routes and settlement: literally everyone came from somewhere else. Identifying these early pioneers and their lines of migration is no easy task and necessitates a brief examination of the relevant archaeological evidence.

Archaeological and traditional evidence has shown that large parts of East Africa remained sparsely populated by Bushmen and Pygmy hunters and gatherers until the coming of the Iron Age in the early part of the first millenium A.D., after which iron producing techniques spread unevenly through the region.[2] In northeastern Uganda at Magosi Rockshelter II Late Stone Age hunter-gathering groups resided well into the 13th century A.D.[3] Evidence here and elsewhere suggests that the process of

absorption of such groups by agriculturalists or pastoralists was both gradual and late. Bands of hunters and gatherers have lived to the present day in the Ruwenzori Mountains of western Uganda as well as in the forests bordering Rwanda and Zaire, generally without metals, and available evidence suggests they have been there since pre-Bantu times. Despite their presence, no hunting/gathering group figures in Kitara court or clan tradition; they are utterly ignored, and remain beyond the purview of Kitara's predynastic or dynastic history. All of the early settlers of Kitara tradition were either pastoralists or agriculturalists or both, and apparently possessed at least a minimal level of iron production and technology. Non-iron using agricultural peoples may have been present in the area, but no pre-Iron age agricultural sites have been excavated in Uganda (although in Kenya such sites have beed dated to c. 1-500 A.D.).[4] In the Lake Victoria region the earliest archaeological evidence of Bantu speaking Iron Age peoples living in Uganda is associated with finds of "dimple-based" and related pottery wares, which have been radiocarbon dated from 1000 to 1240 A.D.[5] Dimple-based wares, so-named because of a characteristic depression made in the base of the pot, are highly significant in reconstructing the early history of Kitara since scholars have postulated as a working hypothesis a link between the dimple-based sites and the presence of Bantu-speaking peoples.

According to this theory, iron-producing Bantu speaking peoples using dimple-based ware spread rapidly north and south from a major dispersal center in northernKatanga (Zaire). Combining Malcolm Guthrie's linguistic evidence with archaeological evidence in Katanga and sites in Rhodesia, Roland Oliver has hypothesized that Bantu speakers migrated into East Africa and the interlacustrine region from the southwest.[6]

Merrick Posnansky has also argued that the dimple-based ware such as found at Nsongezi Rock Shelter "could not have represented movements from the north or east, since entirely different pottery sequences have been found there.... The movement must have come from the south or west."[7]

An alternate theory of Bantu migration advanced by Aiden Southall is based on the linguistic evidence of Joseph Greenberg and supplemented by anthropo-biological evidence drawn from Jean Hiernaux's studies.[8] In Southall's view some Bantu speakers could have moved from the cradle-land of Bantu languages in West Africa (in the vicinity of the middle Benue River) to the east along the norther edge of the equatorial forest, subsequently entering the interlacustrine area, i.e., northern Kitara from the northwest.[9] The Banyoro ("Nyoro") or Bakitara peoples are among twelve populations with the lowest mean distances to all other groups, which Hiernaux interprets to mean that "A number of Bantu-speaking populations share an important part of their gene pool with them." This implies that a large component of the ancestry of these ethnic groups comes from an area north and west of the forest, where many populations akin to them live. (See map, p. 56.) Kitara traditions do not contradict Southall's hypothesis, and it may be that some Bantu speakers migrated as he described, possibly mingling with Nilo-Saharan language speakers before entering the interlacustrine area. Southall believes this movement may have preceded their acquiring the knowledge of ironworking.[10] The limited number of excavations in the interlacustrine region to date precludes determination of the ultimate direction from which the earliest Bantu speakers remembered in tradition came (southwest or northwest). Recently, however, sherds with dimple-based features have been collected at what have been described as "Late Iron Age" settlements between Lakes Kyoga and Onekbonyo.[11]

In terms of its location (on the northern periphery of the Kitara complex), this find is extremely suggestive, but awaits systematic investigation and dating. Another site on the western boundary of Kitara, Kibiro, contained no evidence of dimple-based ware prior to the 10th century which, in terms of traditional evidence is a date compatible with clan tradition.[12] Finally, at Nsongezi Rock Shelter, Nkore, on the southern periphery of Kitara, a radiocarbon date of 1000 A.D. was obtained for the level just below the dimple-based wares.[13]

Although these 10th-13th century dates may be on the late side, this archaeological evidence provides the firmest base upon which to formulate a chronological frame for the Batembuzi era.[14] It is clear that Bantu speakers played a central role in shaping Kitara culture: prevailing linguistic and social patterns appear to be inextricably linked to their presence, and traditions suggest that subsequent intrusive groups were shaped by the prevailing norms established by Bantu speakers as much as they themselves effected change. Correlating the earliest migration and settlement traditions, which all mention ironworking, with available archaeological evidence, it would seem that clan migration traditions of the Kitara complex relate events no earlier than the 9th century. And, as will be discussed below, the political institutions associated with the Batembuzi era of Kitara and the traditions of its first rulers would probably not precede the 11th century.

Because there is general agreement that virtually all of the important crops of the interlacustrine region were introduced from elsewhere, food crops and dietary customs are valuable tools for historical reconstructions and the establishment of rough chronologies. The only staple crops of the Kitara complex were finger millet (eleusine coracana), which

specialists believe indigenous to Ethiopia, and sweet potatoes (ipomoea batatas), a crop of New World origin. Although D. M. McMaster hypothesizes that the banana has been in Buganda for some 1,000 years, there is no evidence to indicate it dispersed west to the Kitara complex before the 20th century.[15] Both Kitara and Busoga traditions affirm that millet was the only staple food crop that preceded both the banana, a Southeast Asian food crop, and New World crops such as sweet potatoes and cassava, introduced after 1500.[16] However, while millet is mentioned in traditions, and geographic studies agree millet was an early staple in Kitara, there are no traditions concerning the introduction of millet to parallel the Baganda traditions of Kintu, their earliest culture hero, who is said to have introduced the banana to that area. The historian must assume that early settlers of the Kitara complex already possessed knowledge of grain agriculture when they arrived.

Cattle and small livestock are also important in the history of the interlacustrine region, and their association with intrusive groups obviously has significance in the reconstruction of the history of the region. As described in Chapter I, it has been suggested that the word Batembuzi, which is applied to the earliest period in Kitara history, is based on the Central Sudanic word mbuzi ("goat") and suggests that immigrants arrived with herds of goats during this period of Kitara's history.[17] Christopher Ehret has also offered linguistic evidence, based on the number of unrelated generic terms for cattle to be found in the relatively small area centering just south of the Kitara complex, to argue that cattle also enjoyed great antiquity in the interlacustrine region.[18] The root "-te-" was originally an Eastern Sudanic root for cattle, a root Ehret indicated was used by Madi and other Nilo-Saharan speaking peoples now situated

in northern Uganda and the Republic of Sudan who migrated there from the east).[19] The presence of this root, Ehret argues, "attests to former strong influence of Nilo-Saharan speaking peoples in the Lake Victoria region, and suggests as an historical hypothesis for further investigation that the pre-Bantu inhabitants of Southern Uganda spoke Central Sudanic languages.[20] Significantly, in the Kitara complex the Nilo-Saharan root "-te-" survived in Runyoro and Rutoro as the root for cattle along with the traditions of immigrants arriving from the north (to be discussed below), possibly from Sudan.

Hunters figure prominently in the movements of peoples into the Kitara complex--with hunting grounds gradually becoming areas of new settlement. Hunting was important as a source of protein for agriculturalists and as a necessary skill for pastoralists in order to protect their herds. Hunters also figured in the Kitara version of the discovery and exploitation of sources of salt. As Brian Fagan commented in his study of the Ivuna salt site in southern Tanzania, "Salt was a valuable commodity in Iron Age Africa: localities where it was extracted were few in number and assumed considerable importance as centers of regional trade."[21] Salt production sites are rare in the interlacustrine area, yet the Kitara complex had two: Lake Katwe located in Busongora Saza, near Lake Masyoro (formerly Edward), which is still producing three grades of salt extracted from the shallow lake: rough rock salt acquired by breaking up deposits on the lake bottom; gravel-like salt acquired by a process of evaporation; and a finer grade of salt which forms on the lake surface when climatic conditions are favorable, which is usually about once a year. An older salt production site is at Kibiro on the eastern shore of Lake Onekbonyo in Bugahya Saza, which is still producing on a limited scale. At Kibiro

salt brine is evaporated by boiling, a process that involves both pottery and firewood, which must be carried down the escarpment to the shore of Lake Onekbonyo where the mineral spring is located.

Although salt could be, and was, extracted from a filtrate of burned papyrus, the existence of major sources of salt was a significant factor in the long-term economic development of Kitara. The salt produced by both sites (including some smaller sources near Katwe) was, and still is, used for cooking, medicine, and for livestock. While archaeological evidence shows Kibiro, the oldest of the sites, was worked as early as the 10th century, it appears Kibiro was not developed on a sufficient scale to be linked to regional trade until the Babito dynasty (c. 16th century).[22] The development of the Katwe site is even more recent; it was probably not exploited before the end of the 17th century.

To summarize, the earliest Kitara clan traditions project beyond the earliest political centralization, but not beyond the knowledge of iron working and seed agriculture. Clan traditions also predate the exploitation of the two main salt working sites in the Kitara complex. Hunters figured importantly as early political leaders, as will be demonstrated in Bagabu clan traditions.

Early Settlers from the North

The Bagabu Clan. Bagabu clan traditions appear to be among the earliest migration and settlement accounts in the Kitara complex. Among the chief themes of Bagabu clan traditions are the clan's antiquity, a hunter-founder figure, a shield that gave the Bagabu their name, the crested crane and secondary totems, and the migration and fragmentation

of the clan. The Bagabu and a second group, the Babopi (to be discussed below), appear to offer traditions of the earliest Nilo-Saharan speakers to enter the Kitara complex. The impact of their migration changed the history of the region in some fundamental ways, which will be explored in this chapter.

While the corpus of court tradition includes a creation story, only one clan -- the Bagabu -- claims links with a "first man." This clan commemorates Hangi (from the verb "hanga," "to create"?), a hunter who is regarded as the "first man to settle in Bunyoro."

> It is not known where Hangi came from. Legend says that he was a ruler, but there was no one else here in Bunyoro. It was Hangi who gave the names to different things like rivers, villages, mountains, and stones. Legend says that Hangi had four sons: Kagingi (Death), Rufu (Sickness), Turo (Sleep) and Njara (Hunger, Famine). It is because of Hangi that we are called 'Abagabu ba Hangi.' (the Bagabu of Hangi)[23]

No Bagabu informant could elaborate upon this account. Hangi is clearly an "Adamic" figure, but his link to the Bagabu clan is an essential part of their claim to antiquity. Where the clan came from as Hangi led them has not survived in tradition. Some informants reported simply that the Bagabu were "always here;" that they were <u>abasangwa</u>, or "indigenous people." Non-Bagabu informants acknowledge the Bagabu claim of earliest settlement: H. K. Karubanga, an amateur Munyoro historian and author, states flatly that the Bagabu <u>were</u> the Batembuzi,[24] and Rev. E. Binyomo, of the Bayaga clan reported that the "Abagabu were the Abatembuzi, who were the first Abakama (Isasa) to rule this country.[25] However, one informant of the Babyasi clan (which branched from the Bagabu) related that the original group "came as hunters in canoes" from the northwest (Zaire) across Lake Onekbonyo to Kitara.[26] And H. K. Nkojo, retired Katikiro (Prime Minister)

of Toro, stated that the Babyasi are "still found in the Congo" (Zaire) and have the same totem. He definitely regarded totems as evidence of links between clans: "People with the same totem were at one time the same clan."[27]

As Nkojo suggested, it is still possible to correlate, albeit very roughly, a geographic focus for some of these primary clan totems in the Kitara complex.[28] For example, the oldest totemic symbol of the Bagabu clan was the crested crane (entuke), a large bird which is today the national bird of Uganda. Today the crested crane totem survives as the primary totem of the Bagabu clan settled only in northwestern Kitara (now Bunyoro district), where the Nile flows into Lake Onekbonyo, which would tend to support their tradition of a southeasterly migration or dispersal from the area of the confluence of river and lake.[29]

Most Kitara clans have more than one totem, one of which is considered "primary," which indicates it is the oldest known totem of the clan. At times it is possible to correlate the acquisition of new group symbols, which is what a totem represents, with historic events on a rough time line. The pattern that emerges for totemic identification tends to correlate with early traditions and archaeological data that hunting-agricultural groups with small livestock (goats, not cattle) having hunting or wildlife totems, such as the crested crane, were the first groups to enter Kitara. Clan totems, together with clan names, are also part of Kitara's collective naming system.[30]

Without going deeply into the symbolic dimension of Kitara clan totems, it became apparent in the process of fitting clan traditions into a general chronological sequence that Kitara clan traditions tended to fall roughly into three groups according to their primary or earliest

totemic identifications: a hunting category, usually with a wild animal, bird, or insect totem; a pastoral group, with cattle or cattle-related totems; and an agricultural group.

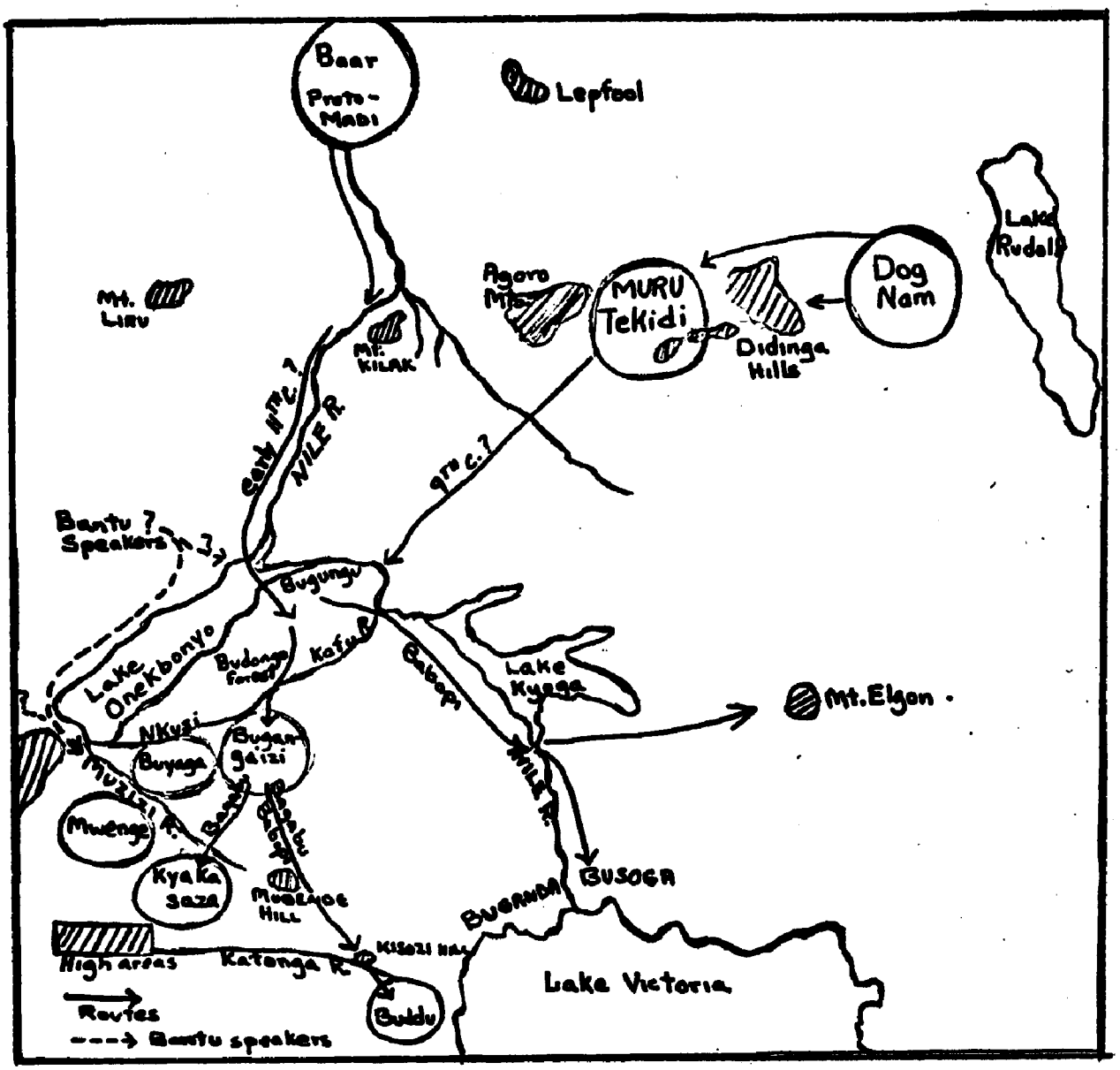
The following clans have primary totems drawn from wildlife. There is consensus that they number among the earliest clans of the Kitara complex: Bagabu (crested crane and tailless cow); Baranzi (civet cat and otter); Bagahi (hippo); Bahati and Barungu (guinea fowl); Bayaga (bird); Baigara (reedbuck); and Babopi (centipede). Evidence external to Kitara tradition supports the hypothesis above that wildlife = early totemic groups: in neighboring Buganda, groups that also possessed totems drawn from wildlife, such as the otter, grasshopper, reedbuck and civet cat were clearly identified with the earlier (pre-Bacwezi) age. Moreover, these same totemic groups are known to have arrived in Buganda (Lake Victoria shore) from the west, from the short grass country of the Kitara complex.[31]

Early clans which arrived with wildlife totems often acquired additional totems later on, as did the Bagabu group. As a prominent clan member acquired cattle or emerged in a position of political leadership, he might commemorate this change by adopting a new symbol of his lineage. Socially disruptive events -- quarrels between brothers, over inheritance for example -- also led to fragmentation and the adoption of new lineage symbols. While the acquisition of pastoral (cattle-related) totems was not uncommon from the 12th century on, there were no instances of major reverses; e.g. pastoral totems were not abandoned in favor of wildlife totems or agricultural totems, either of which from the Bakitara point of view would imply downward mobility. In some instances Kitara clan "cattle" totems are mythical, e.g. for the Basingo clan, meat from a cow marked like a skunk, was to be avoided, although no one had ever seen the

totemic animal. These two elements, the clan name and totem, represent the basic categories of Kitara identity and social life. What is most intriguing about this complex process of totemic changes in Kitara is that there is not, as one might expect, a superabundance of different totems, but that certain totems have been retained over centuries. Secondary totems might at times be acquired in a seemingly casual manner by a lineage, but traditions of the historic, primary totems were always retained.

Bagabu migration traditions survive only in barest outline, but indicate they arrived in Kitara from the north. There are three possible identifications for this intrusive group which may include the Babopi, discussed below. J. B. Webster has hypothesized that in the 9th century Nilo-Saharan speaking peoples, perhaps displaced from the Agoro mountains area by the intrusion of the Dog Nam peoples moving west from the shores of Lake Rudolf. The Nilo-Saharan peoples moved south from the Agoro Mountains with their goats, seed agriculture, and ironworking skills.[32] (See map, next page.) Another hypothesis based on linguistic evidence and traditions in northern Uganda; Crazzolara suggests that other Nilo-Saharan speakers from the Baar region, which straddles the Nile to the north, began to move out of their old homeland "about 1000 A.D.....in almost every direction except east.... What is now northern Uganda and southeastern Sudan...became an area of violent political instability, which condition probably persisted for several centuries...."[33] A third hypothesis that might be applied to the Bagabu-tradition is to identify them as an early Bantu speaking group (such as hypothesized by Southall)[34] that moved through the northern fringes of the Zaire forest and perhaps was deflected south when they encountered Nilo-Saharan speaking peoples along

POSSIBLE MIGRATION ROUTES FOR THE BAGABU AND BABOPI CLANS



the west bank of the Nile. There is no evidence in Bagabu clan traditions that assist the historian in eliminating any of the above hypotheses; however, in view of the traditions of early Bantu-speakers arriving from the west (Chapter III) and northeast (Chapter IV), this author tends to view the Bagabu as a Nilo-Saharan speaking group, part of a migration that included the Babopi, who are clearly a non-Bantu clan that arrived from the north.

Having settled south of the effluence of the Nile in Lake Onek-bonyo, the people remembered as Bagabu apparently dispersed south down the savanna corridor east of the Budongo forest into central Kitara, where they were settled when they first emerge in court tradition during the "reign" of the ruler Isaza. (The author does not regard Isaza as a single, historical elder of the Bagabu clan, but the period associated with the Isaza tradition may be tentatively dated to the la (See Chapter IV.) Bunyoro court traditions record that during Isaza's reign Bagabu clan settlements were located approximately one hundred miles north of the Muzizi River in Bugangaizi Saza.[35] Another early Bagabu clan settlement was the village of Kitara (the namesake of the state, which no longer exists), located in Kyaka saza just south of the Muzizi River.[36] Both sites are in the core area of the Kitara complex.

The impact of the Bagabu group upon the interlacustrine region was extensive, as exemplified by the many cultural associations originating with the Bagabu which diffused from Kitara throughout the region. The spread of the concept of Hangi north to south exemplifies this process. Four of the six published lists of Batembuzi "rulers" begins with "Ruhanga," which Gorju paranthetically links to the name Hangi.[37] Significantly, it is the etymologically related word "Ruhanga" that has survived as the

word for God throughout the Kitara complex and is today used in the Runyoro/Tutoro translations of the Bible as "God."[38] Just beyond the southern periphery of the Kitara complex in neighboring Nkore, court traditions relate that the Bacwezi rulers "were the descendants of Rugaba (a form of Bugabu) and Ruhanga (a form of Hangi)."[39] The names Rugaba and Ruhanga survive even farther south: in Rwanda they are associated with the supreme being, Imana, the mythical ancestors of the Batutsi, who "left the sky with their cattle and after walking for a long time arrived at Nubari, a well-known ford on the Kagera River between Karagwe and Rwanda."[40] Roland Oliver, who first drew attention to the Ruhanga praise name of Imana, regarded it as a significant link between the interlacustrine kingdoms.[41] It would appear that in both Nkore and Rwanda a Bagabu tradition associated with a Kitara clan founder was assimilated into and became an intimate feature of court traditions.

Evidence of the impact of the Bagabu clan is also found in Buganda, east of the Kitara complex where the Omutima (Heart) and the Ente (Tailless cow) (secondary totem: crested crane) clans are said to have been the earliest inhabitants of Buddu. These Baganda groups emerged from a fragmentation of the clan in the vicinity of Kisozi hill in Ggomba saza, Mubende District.[42] The migration route these groups followed originated to the northwest, north of Mubende sazas. They moved southeast to Kisozi Hill and east/southeast into Buddu, a route which is compatible with the tradition of Bagabu dispersal in Kitara.[43] They migrated along the Kabiga River to Bijja (now Bikira) and Mulema, Buddu, where there is good wood for charcoal, water, and iron sources. It is noteworthy that Katongole, the Ente clan founder in Buganda tradition, is remembered as a blacksmith.[44]

Within the Kitara complex one of the earliest fragmentations of

the Bagabu clan where the new groups adopted a different totem involves the totem nkirra (anything "tailless"),[45] which suggests a link with the Baganda clan. Bagabu clan traditions suggests this fragmentation coincided with the political decline of the clan at the onset of the Bacwezi era (c. 13th century).[46] Each of the clans, the Basaigi (tailless cow totem), the Bakoizi, the Babyasi, and the Bakoransi, now regard themselves separate and independent of the Bagabu clan group, but the totemic identification they share is indicative to informants of the Kitara complex of previous unity.[47]

The name of the Bagabu clan is said to be derived from the word engabu, meaning "shield," which Hangi, the first ancestor is said to have carried.[48] No informants could describe the type of shield with which the clan name is associated, but shields have historically been associated with rulership in the interlacustrine area, which suggests that the Bagabu clan name may have been taken at the time they assumed political prominence in the 11th century and today commemorate their prior rulership.

Shields have limited value as clues to the earlier history of the Bagabu. There were two main types of shields in Uganda: one made of wood covered with cane, the other made of hide. The former were in common use militarily in the lacustrine region, including Kitara, Buganda and Nkore. However, a very atypical circular hide shield which is apparently of some antiquity constituted part of the regalia of the Mukama of Bunyoro-Kitara and deserves mention as a type associated with rulership.[49] No neighboring groups used a circular hide shield. West Nile tribes, which include the Bari-speaking Madi and Lugbara groups, do not use shields. The Nilo-Saharan speaking Acholi and Lango had shields which were of

rectangularly shaped hide. While there is no obvious clue as to the origin of this politically important symbol, one might speculate that the assocation of the Bagabu name with "shield" and the atypical circular shield in the kingly regalia are somehow linked.

Taken together, the main themes of the Bagabu tradition concern the antiquity of the clan, the hunter theme of Hangi (with his shield), the wild bird (crested crane) totem, the acquisition of the "tailless" totem, and the subsequent fragmentation and dispersal of the clan which is unique to the Bagabu. Significantly, the idea of mukamaship, or centralized rule is also linked to the Bagabu (See Chapter V), but there is no indication from clan traditions that the Bagabu group introduced a system of state organization as soon as they arrived in the Kitara complex. Hangi is a clan founder, not a culture hero introducing foreign ideas of rulership, a hunter-clan founder figure who led the way from the north/northwest into a new land. Although respected in tradition as a great leader, Hangi was not a "mukama" (king) despite the fact that this title nowadays tends to be applied to ancestors who were politically prominent. At present it would appear that Rwanda to the southwest (with their tradition of Ruhanga) and Buganda to the east (Ente clan migration traditions) represent the extent of the impact of Bagabu migrations which began north of the Nile in the 9th century.

The Babopi Clan. Traditions of the Babopi clan in the Kitara complex are even more difficult to reconstruct than for the Bagabu clan. However, Kitara court traditions and research conducted in areas adjacent to the Kitara complex support an hypothesis that the Babopi are, like the Bagabu, among the earliest Nilo-Saharan language speakers to settle in the Kitara complex. The Babopi clan are first mentioned in Kitara court

traditions in the Bacwezi period (c. 13th - 15th centuries); their clansmans was a potter who rescued the infant Ndahura and reared him to become the first king of the Bacwezi dynasty. (See Chapter VI.) His reward was a court appointment (Mugema) that became an hereditary position within the clan which continued to the 20th century.[50] However, the clans' origins clearly predate the Bacwezi period.

Babopi migration traditions relate their arriving from the "north" (referred by some informants as "Bukedi") and settling in Bugungu, which is situated near the effluence of the Nile into Lake Onekbonyo.[51] Bugungu is the same area through which the Bagabu passed, although no Bagabu informant referred to the area by the name "Bugungu." Using linguistic and traditional evidence Crazzolara also suggests that clan groups with "Bub" or "Bobi" names were originally of "Madi" (Nilo-Saharan) origins.[52] J. B. Webster has collected traditions more recently north of the Nile which indicate "Madi" is a recent tribal name (c. 16th century) that is not applicable to the earlier periods. He has substituted the word Muru to refer to "proto-Madi" or earlier groups of Nilo-Saharan speakers which Crazzolara referred to as Madi.[53] He has further hypothesized that the "north" or "Bukedi" referred to in interlacustrine traditions is a reference to "Tekidi," a Muru-Luo homeland in the Agoro Mountains just north of the modern boundary of Uganda, with traditions of agriculture, goat herding and ironworking.[54] Babopi clan informants say the clan ancestors were originally farmers and ironworkers.[55] From Bugungu, just south of the Nile, Kitara clan traditions relate that they continued to travel in a southerly direction through Bugangaizi saza (Magoma hill) from which some branched south/southwest to Mwenge (Kikumiro gomborra) and Busongora sazas; another group, like the Bagabu moved south/southeast into Buddu.[56]

There are three avoidance totems associated with the Babopi of Kitara, which, together with the clan name, helps to trace their subsequent dispersal in the interlacustrine region: the centipede (ekikonyoro), rainwater that has drained off a roof (amalegyo), and objects that have been in a house destroyed by fire (ekisasi).[57] The Centipede clan (Ggongolo or Ekiboobi) who have "roofwater" as a second totem, in Buganda traces its migration route from Magoma hill, Bugangaizi saza (mentioned above) to Buddu in southern Buganda.[58] In Busoga the abaiseMbupi and the closely related abaiseMudope clan groups have traditions of migrations from the area of the Nile effluence into Lake Kyoga, which Cohen has linked to the "Bopi" group of Bugungu.[59] Still farther east in Bugisu, on the west side of Mt. Elgon,Bamasaba traditions relate that "Mbobi" (pl. Ba-bobi -- Babopi) was one of the five "sons" of Mwambu WeKanga. Mbobi and Mwambu WeKanga (another "son") are said to have traveled from Namusindwa to Wamale mountain, but Mbobi returned to Masaba (Mt. Elgon) "to fetch his hen" and remained in the Elgon area. He was renamed Ngokho and Wangwe, and "from him all clans of Bunkoko descended" and settled in the area around Mbale Township.[60] Whether the Bagisu Mbobi are the eastern limit of the Babopi migrations from Bugungu is not clear, but at present there is no evidence for an alternate migration route.

The absence of traditions associated with cattle in either Bagabu or Babopi traditions is noteworthy, particularly when compared with the explicit references to cattle made in clan traditions of the western stream of immigrants to be examined in Chapter II. Tentatively, it would appear that Bagabu and Babopi traditions refer to intrusions by Nilo-Saharan language speakers who migrated either from the Agoro Mountains area known as Tekidi or from the Baar region north of Mt. Kilak on the Nile. The

impact of these immigrants was in time felt throughout the interlacustrine region to Rwanda in the southwest, the shores of Lake Victoria in the east, and Mt. Elgon in the northeast. Traditions more directly associated with early Bantu speakers are clearly evident in other clan traditions, such as the Bayaga, to which we will now turn.

FOOTNOTES

[1]J. B. Webster, "Migration and Settlement of the Northern Interlacustrine Region," History of Uganda Before 1900: Migration and Settlement, J. B. Webster, (ed.) (Nairobi, Kenya) in press.

[2]J. E. G. Sutton, "The Interior of East Africa," in P. Shinnie, (ed.), The African Iron Age (Oxford, 1971), 148. Based on sites in Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia (and possibly Katanga in Zaire). B. M. Fagan, "Early Iron Age Pottery in Eastern and Southern Africa," Azania, I (1966), 101-110. K. R. Robinson and B. Sendelowsky, "The Iron Age of Northern Malawi: Recent Work," Azania, III (1968), 107-146. R. C. Soper, "Kwale, An Early Iron Age Site in South-eastern Kenya," Azania, II (1967), 1-18. R. C. Soper, "Iron Age Sites in North-Eastern Tanzania," Azania, II (1967), 19-36. J. Nenquin, "Dimple-Based Pots from Kasai, Belgian Congo," Man, 59 (1961), 242. Sonia Cole, The Prehistory of East Africa, (New York, 1963), 215, reports Late Stone Age skeletons with Bushmanoid features discovered on the east shore of Lake Victoria, Kenya and northern Tanzania.

[3]Sutton, "The Interior of East Africa," 156. Posnansky reported a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1240 obtained from this Wilton industry site. In the highlands of Kenya and norther Tanzania pre-Iron Age food production sites (grain) dating to the "early part of the first milennium B. C." have been excavated, but there is little to indicate that agriculture was widespread; no comparable sites have been located on the Uganda side of Lake Victoria or in southern or western Tanzania.

[4]Ibid., 144-146.

[5]See S. Pearce and M. Posnansky, "Re-Excavation of Nsongezi Rockshelter, Ankole," UJ, XXVII (1963), 85-94, and S. Chapman, "Kantsyore Island," Azania, II (1967), 165-191, where a similar site was excavated.

[6]R. Oliver, "The Problem of the Bantu Expansion," JAH, VII, 3 (1966), 375, and M. Guthrie, "Bantu Origins" A Tentative Hypothesis," JAL, I (1962), 9-21, assumes that the greatest conservatism, i.e. the greatest retention of original roots, is the point of origin.

[7]Merrick Posnansky, "Bantu Genesis: Archeological Reflections," JAH, IX:1 (1968), 3-4.

[8]Jean Hiernaux, "Bantu Expansion: The Evidence from Physical Anthropology Confronted with Linguistic and Archeological Evidence," JAH, IX, 4 (1968), 508. Hiernaux proposes early origins for Bantu speakers on the northern fringe of the Congo forest and savanna. The Banyoro ("Nyoro") or Bakitara peoples are among twelve populations with the lowest mean distances to all other groups, which Hiernaux interprests to mean that "A

number of Bantu-speaking populations share an important part of their gene pool with them." This implies that a large component of the ancestry of these ethnic groups comes from an area north and west of the forest, where many populatias akin to them live.

[9]A. Southall, "The Peopling of East Africa - The Linguistic and Sociological Evidence," Prelude to East African History, Merrick Posnansky, ed. (London, 1966), 74.

[10]Ibid.

[11]J. E. G. Sutton, "The Interior of East Africa," 159, 162.

[12]Jean Hiernaux and E. Maquet, L'Age du Fer à Kibiro, (Uganda), (Belgium, 1968), 43.

[13]J. E. G. Sutton, "The Interior of East Africa," 159.

[14]J. E. G. Sutton, "Review" of J. Hiernaux and E. Maquet, L'Age du Fer à Kibiro, (Uganda), Azania, (1970), 196-197.

[15]Uganda Department of Lands and Surveys, Uganda Atlas (Kampala, 1962), 14; G. P. Murdock, Africa (New York, 1959), 23-24; David M. McMaster, A Subsistence Crop Geography of Uganda (Bude, England, 1962), 28.

[16]D. W. Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," 27-28; J. K. Babiiha, "The Bayaga Slan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22, 2 (1958), 123-130.

[17]Crazzolara, The Lwoo, III, 99.

[18]Christopher Ehret, "Cattle Keeping and Milking in East and Southern Africa," JAH, 8;1 (1967), 4-7. "-gombe" is a root for cattle common in all Bantu languages north of the Zambezi River and south of the Zaire forest as well as among the Baganda, where it is the word for "horn," and in Rwanda and Burundi, where it is used for "deities." Other roots for cattle include "-ka" in Rwanda and Rundi; "-xafu" in Vugusu; "afugo" in Taita (Tanzania), and "dzago" in Sanye.

[19]Ibid., and Webster, "Migration and Settlement," publication forthcoming.

[20]Ehret, "Cattle Keeping and Milking in East and Southern Africa," JAH, 8;1 (1967), 3. The Nilo-Saharan language group is one of four main groups of Africa (the other being Congo-Kordofanian, Afroasiatic, and Khoisan), according to J. H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa (Bloomington, 1948), 8-9 The Nilo-Saharan languages include languages spoken by the Nilotes, as well as many spoken in the western Sudan and the middle Niger River.

[21]B. Fagan, "Ivuna: Ancient Salt Working in Southern Tanzania," Azania, III (1968), 1.

[22]J. Hiernaux and E. Maquet, L'Age du Fer à Kibiro,

[23]Aseri Rubanja, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969.

[24]H. K. Karuganga, Bukya Nibwira, 1.

[25]Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 11, 1969.

[26]K. Kaheru, Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 16, 1969.

[27]H. K. Nkojo, Nyakasura village, Burahya saza, interview of February 24, 1969.

[28]However, no study comparable to L. Faller's reconstruction of Buganda clan settlement based on clan burial sites is possible in the Kitara complex because of the absence of this burial tradition. See L. Fallers, ed., The King's Men (London, 1964).

[29]Aseri Rubanju, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969. The crested crane is also the totem of the Banyiginya royal clan of Rwanda. Bujenje Group interview, Bujenje Saza, August 13, 1969, Kiryandongo Group interview, Kibanda Saza, August 27, 1969; Pakanyi Group interview, Pakanyi Group interview, Buruli Saza, August 29, 1969.

[30]Claude Levi-Strauss, Totemism, (Boston, 1962), 18. The Kitara naming system has no precise religious base. They are "not to be confused with belief that an individual may enter into a relationship with an animal that will be his guardian spirit."

[31]D. W. Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," 151-152. These totemic groups "evidently preceded Kintu into the Buganda area and thus preceded the Cwezi."

[32]Webster, "Migrations and Settlement," publication forthcoming.

[33]J. P. Crazzolara, "Lwoo Migrations," UJ, 25:2 (1961), 140.

[34]Southall, "Peopling of East Africa," 74.

[35]H. F. Morris, A History of Ankole (Kampala, 1962), 6; Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 32, 190; and Y. R. K. Mulindwa, Engeso Zaitu Ez' Obuhangwa (Our Traditional Customs), MS., 32, 190.

[36]A. Rubanju, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969.

[37]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 1965.

[38]See M. B. Davis, A Lunyoro-Lunyankole-English and English-Lunyoro-Lunyankole Dictionary (Kampala, 1952), 241.

[39]Morris, History of Ankole, 6.

[40]Ibid., 137; cited Fr. Pages, Un Royaume Hamite au Centre de l'Afrique (Bruxelles, 1933).

[41]R. Oliver, "A Question About the Bachwezi," UJ, 17 (1953), 137.

[42]M. B. Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda N'ennono Zaago (Book of the Clans of Buganda), 266-267, 270-271. The Ente clan of Buganda appears to have a direct link with the Bagabu of Kitara, branching from them. The Heart clan however, appears to reflect a more complex coming together of Bakitara from the west and other immigrants from the Mt. Elgon area. The process by which these two streams coalesced is not remembered in tradition of the Heart clan. D. W. Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," 1970, 156. Z. Kaganda, Mutuba I, Mubenda saza, interview of June 15, 1969, asserted that the Bagabu and Ente clans are the same. The Civet cat (Ffumbe) clan also is represented in Buganda: See M. B. Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 27 (1964), 29-30.

[43]Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, 266-267.

[44]Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, 270-271.

[45]The "Nkirra" totem involves an avoidance of anything "tailless," a tailless cow, a stalk of bananas without its stem, a package of coffee without a bit of fiber or string left after the knot is tied to form a "tail," etc.

[46]The Basaigi apparently branched from the Bagabu at the outset of the Bacwezi period. A. Kapere, Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 16, 1969. The Bakoransi break occurred still later. In the Mubende-Buddu saza area (now in Buganda) some of the Basaigi reported that the Basaigi totem there was the heart, not the tailless totem. K. Mwanika, Kitenge Gomborra, Mubende, interview of June 6, 1969. He identified Rusiba hill as the place where the head of the clan used to reside, a point confirmed by A. Kapere.

[47]Nkoko Group interview, Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, June 17, 1969. Another group interview, Kiziranfumbe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, August 22, 1969, questioned the links agreed upon by the Nkoko Group, stressing links between the Babyasi and the Bacwezi. However, this reference appears to refer to the Bacwezi as a period of Kitara history, not to the clan group by the same name, which emerged after the Bacwezi period. Kabale Group interview, Kabale Gomborra, April 14, 1969, and Kiziranfumbe Group interview, Kiziranfumbe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, August 22, 1969, asserted the links between the Basaigi and the Bagabu, as did Bikundi, Miirya Gomborra, Buruli saza (Musaigi clan), interview of August 28, 1969. K. Kanyaihe, Bujenju saza, interview of May 15, 1969, said this was the name of the Basaigi in Bujunju saza. No historical traditions were remembered.

[48]Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969.

[49]This hide shield consisted "of a circular piece of hide some 50 cm. in diameter. This is indented down the vertical midline, and the ridge thus formed at the back is sewn together in several places with thongs. The top and bottom of the shield is bent sharply backwards and the stick which forms the handle is inserted at each end. This is bound with the hide and joined by thongs to the vertical ridge in several places." Margaret Trowell and K. P. Wachsmann, Tribal Crafts of Uganda (London, 1953), 226, 231.

[50]L. K. Basigara, Virika village, Burahya saza, interview of March 8, 1969; Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 8.

[51]Sipiriya Mbeba, Kikubi village, Bugahya saza, interview of May 23, 1969; Mpunu, Kamengo village, Burahya saza, interview of April 3, 1969; Edward Kakara, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969; Kosia Mukonjo, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 25, 1969; E. Rusoke, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 25, 1969, who added that his clan, the Balemba, separated from the Babopi; A. Muirumubi, Rubingo village, Burahya saza, interview of February 26, 1969; Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969; and Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 3, 8.

[52]Crazzolara, Lwoo, 450.

[53]J. B. Webster, personal communication.

[54]Webster, "Migration and Settlement," History of Uganda, in press.

[55]Edward Kakara, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969, and Kosia Mukonjo, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 25, 1969. As noted in the text, Webster labels the Muru as ironworking agriculturalists as well, which is compatible with Kitara clan traditions cited above.

[56]Edward Kakara, March 31, 1969; Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, 314; and S. Mbeba, May 23, 1969.

[57]Edward Kakara, March 31, 1969; S. Mbeba, May 23, 1969; Kosia Mukonja, March 25, 1969.

[58]Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, 314.

[59]D. W. Cohen, The Historical Tradition of Busoga, 157-8. Cohen uses the place name Pawir, which is the same area as Bungungu of Babopi traditions.

[60]A. K. Mayege, "The Bamasaba Tribal History (unpublished MS., Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, (1969), 10.

Chapter III

EARLY MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT: THE WESTERN STREAM

The Context of the Bantu Intrusions

With the exception of the Bagabu, all other Kitara clan traditions begin *in medias res*. Hunting and seed agriculture predominated; and cattle were present although less numerous than they were to become during the Bacwezi period (13th - 15th centuries). For these immigrants from the west (as was the case for the Bagabu) the clan was the vehicle by which the early traditions were preserved. These traditions testify to a stream of immigration entering the Kitara complex from the west (c. 9th century). All were Bantu speakers, who traveled from the Semliki valley beyond the Ruwenzori Mountains around and across the southern end of Lake Onekbonyo. (See map, p. 72.)

The number of clans in this migration movement and the various routes they travelled from Lake Onekbonyo suggests the immigrants from the west represent a larger migration movement than the Bagabu/Babopi. One is tempted to speculate that the Bantu-speaking immigrants were entering western and south-central Kitara at approximately the same time as the Bagabu/Babopi dispersal from northern Kitara (c. 9th - 10th centuries), although the Bantu clans may have arrived earlier. These Bantu speaking clans represent the primary ingredient in the ethnic make up of the interlacustrine region in historical times, an importance that is attributable

not only to their numbers, but also to their cultural influence. Their political institutions, for example, involved a more hierarchically structured clan organization than other intrusive groups of the pre-dynastic period possessed, including the pattern of two titles for their leaders used in alternating generations. They also introduced cattle and the mixed agricultural-pastoral economy that afterwards characterized the Kitara complex.

Each clan tradition of the western group is distinctive, and the evidence suggests that the "clans" of these traditions in fact may represent descendants of the original migration units. The traditions of the Bayaga clan suggest that it was originally a migration group which was not exclusively composed of genealogically related lineages. If this were the case with other clans as well, it might help to explain the lack of emphasis placed on clan founders in the Kitara complex, as well as the limited attention given to determining precisely the genealogical link between lineages of the same clan. Even in recent times clans absorbed families and individuals who were not biologically related.

As outlined in the previous chapter, Roland Oliver, using linguistic and archaeological evidence, hypothesized that Bantu speaking groups entered the interlacustrine region from the south. For Kitara clan traditions to fit Oliver's hypothesis one must assume that the ancestors of these early Bantu speaking groups migrated from Katanga (Zaire) north along the west side of the Ruwenzori Mountains and Lake Onekbonyo before entering Kitara from the west. Evidence that might support such an hypothesis includes two references to copper regalia and ornaments[1] and references to bow and arrow weapons.[2] (Katanga is an ancient copper producing area.) Aiden Southall's hypothesis that Bantu speakers moved east

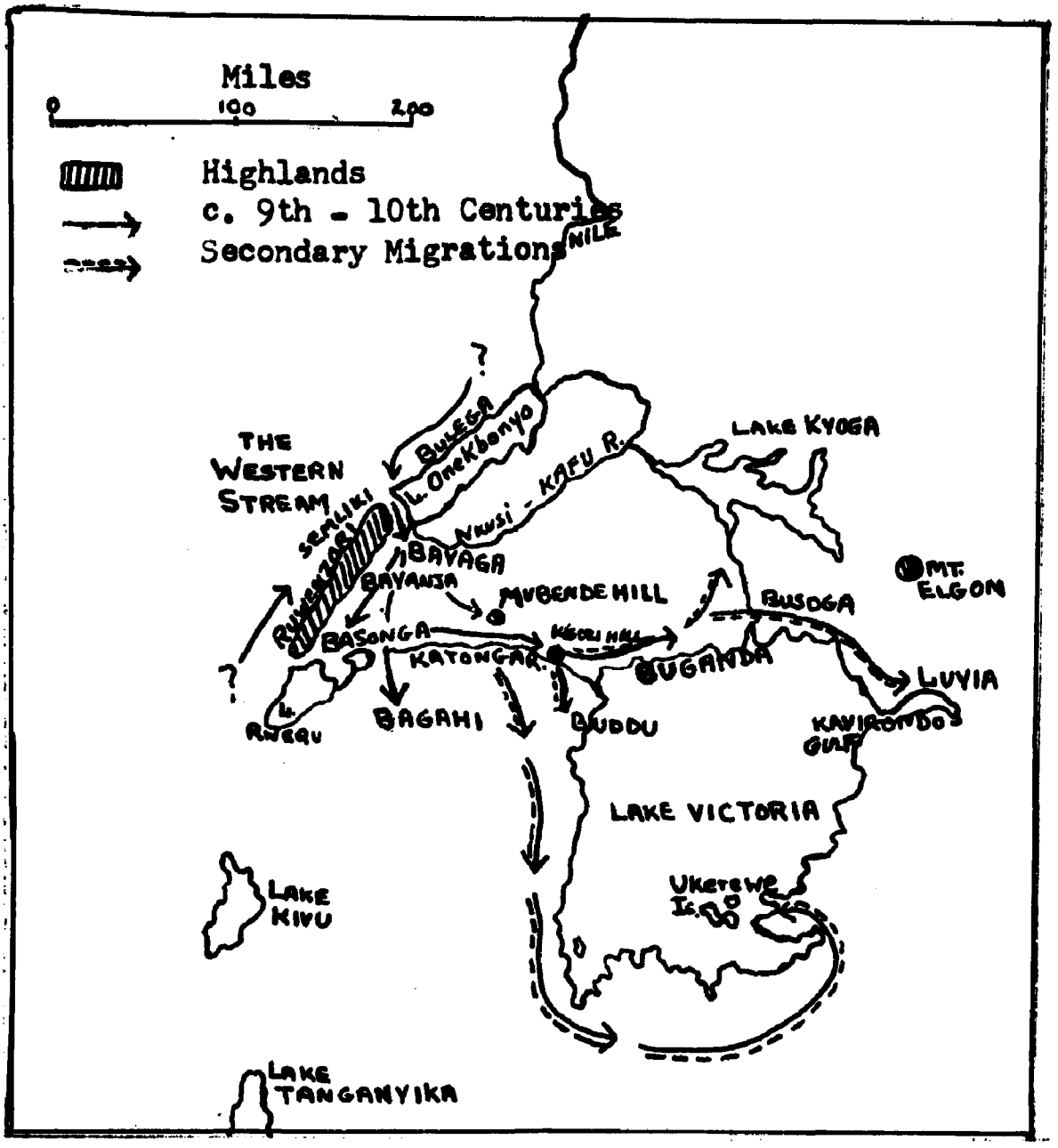
along the northern fringes of the Zaire forest also deserves consideration, but more systematic research in Zaire is needed before the Bantu speakers described in Kitara traditions can be linked directly to a population movement from either the south or the northwest.

With regard to the pattern of migration, the collective impression one gets from Kitara traditions suggests the initial spurts of population movements were precipitated by some cataclysmic event, such as famine. After a journey the relocated group would settle and plant crops. Having arrived in Kitara, years of slow drift apparently followed, reflecting a pattern of shifting agriculture. Then a quarrel or famine would precipitate a social or economic crisis and stimulate a re-clustering of groups around a leader and more movement. Some of the clan would remain; others would move on.

The Bayaga clan. The Bayaga are one of the earliest groups of the western stream of immigrants and one of the few Kitara clans with a published version of their traditions.[3] The story of the Bayaga group begins in the area bordering the western shore of Lake Onekbonyo (known to Banyoro as Bulega) north of the Semliki valley in Zaire:

> The founder of the clan was Kisehe, who settled in Bulega, a country of pastureland.... Kisehe, who was rich in cattle, took as a wife a native of Bulega, who bore him a son called Mihingo and a daughter called Katutu. The daughter was married to Isimbwa, the founder of the line of Bachwezi kings.[4]

Kisehe's wife is described as being "of the original agricultural tribe," thereby acknowledging that the Bayaga did not represent the first immigrants to the Semliki valley.[5] Notable also is that the marriage between Kisehe the pastoralist and the daughter of agriculturalists gives no hint



MIGRATION ROUTES OF THE WESTERN STREAM OF BANTU-SPEAKING PEOPLES IN THE PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

of the social exclusiveness that came to be regarded as characteristic of later (Bahuma) pastoralism. (See Chapter VI.)

The original name of the clan was Basehe (literally, "People of Kisehe"). Only after they settled in the Kitara area southeast of the lake did they become known as Bayaga. The clan name "Bayaga" is said to be associated with the word omuyaga (wind), and the following story:

> At one time a group of people were making a journey. When they reaced a lake, one of them predicted the wind, saying there would be a violent storm if they tried to cross the lake at that time. But some of them decided to go on, and these perished on the lake. The survivors wondered how these particular individuals had been able to read the wind, so they were named for this.[6]

Another version of the story of the clan name was also recounted by Rev. E. Binyomo and demonstrates the pastoral version of the origin of the Bayaga name:

> It is said that when cows get lost, the people called Abayaga could sniff the wind and tell which direction the cows had taken. They were called Abayaga for their skill in reading the wind.[7]

The first version of the origin of the clan name is associated with the journey of the Bayaga to the Kitara complex across Lake Onekbonyo, a lake notorious for squalls and storms that develop rapidly and create a dangerous situation for an unwary boatman. From the Kitara side one can see the purplish hills on the distant, western shore of the lake, twenty to twenty-five miles away, but boatmen are careful to watch for wind shifts that signal weather changes lest they be caught too far from shore. The second and apparently later version of the clan name preserves the central element, i.e. a special skill in reading the wind, but emphasizes the pastoral associations of the clan.

These two traditions are fused in the story of Kisehe, the founder of

the clan, whose distinction rested upon his turning a period of famine, during which he is said to have lost all his cattle, to personal advantage.

> [Kisehe] ordered his wife to plant pumpkin seeds in heaps of cow dung, and in two months time the pumpkin plants had spread over a large area, and by the third month they were bearing fully. Many hungry people heard of this and travelled to his home in Bulega from distant places in order to barter for fresh pumpkins. Meanwhile, his son, Mihingo, acquired a knowledge of wind direction and began to advise upon canoe steering across the lake.[8]

The Runyoro name for the miraculous plant is not provided in the above source. Pumpkins are New World plants and as such could not have been introduced to Kitara prior to the 15th century, which contradicts the consensus of informants that the Bayaga clan is considerably older. At the present time there is no evidence to resolve this contradiction; one can either assume that another food crop is meant or that the origin traditions were telescoped.

If the last sentence of the above passage can be interpreted to refer to some sort of communication links across the lake, and possibly trade, then the movement of these peoples to the Kitara side may well have been gradual and peaceful. There are no military engagements associated with the settlement of the Kitara complex preserved in the traditions of any clan of this group.

In the migration and settlement traditions of the Bayaga "Mihingo" appears essentially and exclusively as an ancestral figure, said to have led the group into the Kitara area. His name came to be, or may have originally indicated, a title associated with political as well as social (clan) leadership in the Buyaga saza area.[9] Mihingo's migration follows a route across the southern end of Lake Onekbonyo and into the Musizi River valley, where they stopped first at Hamugamba (?), then at Murora

hill (where the Bacwezi leader, Mulindwa, is said to have been buried later). They moved on to a hill nearby named Kibeede, but because of a "magical sign" they returned to Murora hill. (A "musambya" (?) tree and a "mutoma" (fig) tree had grown miraculously from the wood of Mihingo's wind testing instruments, which had been left behind at Murora.)[10]

When the Bayaga settled at Murora hill they are said to have been given coals for their fire by a "Muhemba, who became their friend and servant."[11] Some of the Bahemba clan ("Omuka" totem, a reddish dye plant) still reside in Buyaga saza, but they are a small group and no historical traditions could be recovered that extended this far back in time. A "Mihingo" is remembered as still leading the group much later when they made contact with the court of the Mucwezi leader, Mulindwa (c. 13th - 15th century), a further indication that Mihingo refers to a title, not to a single historical figure.[12]

The present head of the Bayaga clan, Zakayo Kyanku, (b. 1906) claims that his father was the 20th Mihingo to lead the clan; "My grandfather was Kyanku, his father Mihingo, and so on (alternating). So there are forty generations in my clan."[13] Both names are revered and reserved exclusively for the head of the clan in alternating sequence when he succeeds to the office. Both of the alternating titles and a degree of centralization represented by the presence of an identifiable clan head, as well as the geographic focus of the clan in what is now known at Bayaga saza, are almost unique among modern Kitara clans. The Bayaga clan, as a pre-dynastic settlement group, (a point confirmed by non-Bayaga) constitute the earliest instance of this pattern of alternating titles in the Kitara complex. This pattern is particularly important for the historian since it severely inhibits the possibility of correlating specific

events with a particular leader. Since all Bayaga leaders bore one of two titles, evidence is lacking to corroborate the forty generation claim or to establish historical relationships with specific neighboring rulers. This feature of the culture of the western stream has left its mark on Kitara history in a fundamental way: in this context the "two" Bacwezi kings, Ndahura and Wamara, cannot be interpreted as historical personalities. Instead the titles, Ndahura and Wamara, exemplify how a pattern of clan leadership was carried over and extended itself, becoming a feature of the political system of the interlacustrine region. The existence and extent of this pattern of titles is only beginning to be appreciated by historians. Farther south in Karagwe, it was reported recently that the early kings of Karagwe were also identified by two alternating titles, Ruhinda and Ntare.[14] And between Karagwe and Kitara there are other instances of alternating titles for rulers (which will be discussed in Chapter VI.)

The association between early Bayaga clan settlements and particular hills is also a hallmark of the western stream. These early settlement sites, known as ekirorro, where a "mutoma" tree (a variety of fig tree) is planted are remembered in tradition primarily by early clans who participated in the migration from the west. The name Kyanku is said to have commemorated the piece of wood that germinated and grew miraculously into a tree. ("Kiti Kyanku" is a term for firewood.) He was the "son" of Mihingo I, but has few surviving traditions associated with the title.[15] (The one exception is the Basita clan, Bantu speakers from the northeast, who also have ekirorro and settled in the Kitara region prior to the political centralization of the Batembusi period.) (See Chapter IV.) A final note on the Bayaga tradition of initial settlement in Kitara refers to

the custom of a permanent flame kept burning throughout the life of the clan head, which recalls and perhaps suggests a precedent for the identical custom observed at the courts of the Kabakas of Buganda and the Bakamas of Bunyoro-Kitara.[16]

Two themes recur throughout Bayaga traditions, one associating the clan with a lake (identified as Lake Onekbonyo by informants) and another association with cattle wealth. The original totem of the Bayaga is said to have been ente engaju (a reddish-brown cow), and there are several versions concerning how the original totem was changed to become the present totem of a small, red bird known as akafunzi (in the Runyoro language), kanyamunkongi (in Rutoro), and kasanke (in Luganda). As explained above, changes in primary totems are unusual, since one of the assumptions of Kitara traditions is that totems delineate relationships between groups (even across tribal lines, as in the instance of the Baganda counterpart of the Bayaga clan). One version of the totemic change has it that there were so many red cows, abstinence (from meat and milk) would have worked too great a hardship on the clan, so the elders met and adopted the small red bird instead, as a totem symbolizing the red cow.[17] Another version is that famine drove them first to adopt the bird totem, and a large red bird called etuku was adopted, which freed them to use engaju cattle as food sources. However, when they arrived in what is now Buyaga saza, indicating they had adopted a bird totem in Zaire, this variety of large bird (whose feathers were later used by royalty) was absent, so they adopted the akafunzi bird.[18]

Famine would certainly be one circumstance that might drive a clan to alter such an intimate feature of its group identification. An account of famine recurs in the story of Kisehe and the origin of the

name of the clan, which has associations with a lake, as indicated in the above traditions.

To summarize, the traditions of the Bayaga clan provide important evidence concerning the customs and life style of the western stream. Similarities occur in the traditions of other clans to be discussed in this chapter, but nowhere in such detail. The Bayaga clan traditions also provide links with another Kitara clan dating to this period, the Barungu/Basonga, to be discussed below.

The Barungu/Basonga clan. The Basonga, like the Bayaga, are reputed to be one of the earliest clans to disperse throughout the interlacustrine region, but Kitara clan tradition relates that the Basonga are themselves a now independent branch of a still earlier clan group, the Barungu (guinea fowl -- a wild bird totem).[19] Unfortunately, this study identified few Barungu clan elders who could elaborate their origins. The Barungu places of early settlement appear to be concentrated in the Burungu area in Bunyangabu saza, near the Ruwenzori mountains, and at "Kiraro," (location unverified; the name appears to be a variant of *akirorro*, not a specific place name). Mutoma trees are said to have been planted at both these early settlement sites and small sacrifices of beer, (which presupposes grains and seed agriculture) etc., were made periodically.[20] Further north informants had heard of the Basonga clan or its totem, but labelled them a "Toro clan," thus separating them from any possible link with the Bagabu migration from the north.[21]

The break between the Barungu and Basonga clans must have been early (c. 11th century) since according to Babiiha's clan history, the founder of the Bayaga clan, Kisehe, had a maternal uncle, Ntumo ya Munyongi,

a wealthy pastoralist of the Basonga clan. Specifically, one of Kisehe's wives (who is not identified in tradition) provides the link between Kisehe and Ntumo's pastoral wealth. The Kisehe and Ntumo story may represent an alliance between the leadership of two immigrant groups who took the names Bayaga and Basonga after their arrival in the Kitara region.[22] This possibility is suggested since there is general agreement that the Basonga emerged as a clan in western Uganda in the rich pasture land west of Lakes Masyoro and Rweru (Busongora saza).[23]

Kitara clan tradition adds little to the linguistic evidence concerning the introduction of cattle, which are mentioned in the above traditions. Only a few informants in the Kitara complex claimed any knowledge of early cattle types:

> There were only a few cattle here before the Bacwezi (Sanga) came, but the Bacwezi had many. These earlier cattle had humps .... There were 'ente za mabone' (white), 'kyozi' (black), and 'bihogo" (herd of red cows), which were also small cattle. They had small horns and humps.[24]

B. Igambire, quoted above, reported the group that introduced these cattle were not the same as pastoralists with larger Sanga cattle. These smaller cattle with humps (which appears to be a reference to zebu) are associated with the western stream of immigration.

Unlike the Bayaga who settled and remained in western Kitara, the Basonga clan group did not remain in Busongora but moved west to east and are remembered in Buganda traditions. Stories of the secondary migrations of the Basonga clan from western Kitara to the east are linked to Kirobozi, a "shepherd" (mulunzi wante) who was a "leader of the Basongora," (the saza between Lakes Rweru and Masyoro.) (See Map. "Uganda Sazas.") After Kirobozi's death some of the Basonga group are said to have taken their cattle and small livestock and left Busongora, moving

west to east along the north side of the Katonga River (roughly following the Equator) to Bwera and Buddu sazas, where some of the group subsequently fragmented again. Some turned northeast into Ggomba (Kakubansiri, Nakanoni Hill and Kisosi Hill), from whence they dispersed east and north.[25] Some groups with the Guinea Fowl totem also participated in the continuing west to east migration. In eastern Buganda between Kyaggwe and Lake Kyoga, it was reported as a "common totem" of clans in pre-Luo times.[26] (See map, p. 72.)

Their lateral movement along the Katonga River may reflect the presence of "northerners," Nilo-Saharan speakers, such as the Bagabu moving south, but there are no clan traditions that support this speculation. In the Buganda sphere, where the Basonga/Barungu group terminated their migrations, they dropped their Kitara clan names, but retained their totems, Grasshopper and Guinea Fowl, as clan names, according to Baganda custom. In Buganda, "Busonga is one of the names the Grasshopper clan gives to their children; this acts as a reminder to them of the place where they come from."[27] One can find no more explicit links in clan traditions anywhere in the interlacustrine region. Apolo Kagwa further concurred with Kitara tradition that Basonga is "the name of the same group in Ankole, Toro, and Kisiba."[28] In Buganda the Grasshopper clan is generally regarded as being earlier than "Kintu," who is the earliest

culture hero of Baganda and Basoga traditions. Kintu has been dated to c. 1250±150 A.D., an estimate compatible with the overall sequence of Kitara clan traditions.[29] No Basonga/Barungu traditions describe their early clan organization, but the centralized leadership implied in the Kyanku/Mihingo title of the Bayaga clan is paralled in the pre-Kintu (c. 13th century) Grasshopper clan structure of Buganda, a clan that had direct links to the Basonga-Grasshopper group of the western stream. It is reported that Buyonga Mugalulu, head of the Grasshopper clan,

> ...would never see the Kabaka (ruler of Buganda) because he called himself a Kabaka. His throne (entebe) was made of copper (kikomo) and it was covered with lion and leopard skins .... His milk container was also copper .... The person responsible for holding his throne belonged to the Yam clan. The person graz- his cattle was a member of the Ngonge clan. The person responsible for holding his copper spears belonged to the Tailless Cow clan.[30] (Italics mine.)

The references to copper regalia in Kagwa's account of the Grasshopper clan is suggestive of very distant links with the western immigrants and possibly with more remote copper producing areas, i.e., Katanga via the Basonga migrations through Kitara. The Bayaga clan also relate that copper bracelets were part of the regalia of the Kyanku/Mihingo. The bracelets are said to have moved magically from the deceased clan leader to the arm of the intended successor.[31] Such links, if they are corroborated by traditions of Zaire groups, would tend to confirm Oliver's hypothesis of a Bantu migration from Katanga (copper region) north to the interlacustrine region.

The reference to a retainer of the "tailless cow" clan, which is one of the totems of the Bagabu clan of Kitara, suggests a relationship that developed in the Kitara complex. That is to say, the Grasshopper

Guinea fowl migration may have included such retainers and political supporters. However, it is also possible that this secondary migration occurred after Bahuma pastoralists with a distinctively different breed of large-horned cattle known as Sanga had begun to settle in Kitara (early 13th century). The traditional evidence is limited, and it is still possible that such "refinements" in regalia as copper ornaments were introduced by Bahuma immigrants (see Chapter IV).

The Bagahi/Babwijwa Clans. Less is known about the Bagahi clan origins in the Kitara complex, but what traditions survive establish that they were a "very old clan" and a part of the western stream of immigrants. Kitara informants emphasize that the clan name Bagahi comes from the word engahi ("oar"), and report that they also "crossed a lake to come" to Kitara. During their journey a hippo is said to have capsized their canoe and to this disaster is attributed the reason for the hippo becoming their totem.[32] Judging from their early settlement in the Kitara complex and further south in what is now Nkore, the Bagahi probably followed the Muzizi River (which empties into Lake Onekbonyo) and moved southeast and then south into the modern Nkore region. There in the lush savanna they settled and prospered. In Nkore, a kingdom that emerged on the southern borderlands of Kitara in the 15th century, the "Bagahe" are regarded as "indigenous" and one of Nkore's four main clan groups.[33]

The early settlement of the clan on the southern periphery of Kitara and the central position they held in Nkore society contributes to the sketchiness of their traditions in the Kitara complex. Most Kitara Bagahi say the clan migrated from the south to their present locations in the Kyaka, Mwenge, Bugangaizi, Burahya region,[34] which represents a later,

secondary migration that coincided with the expansion of Bahuma pastoralists from the south. (See Chapter VI.) One known ekirorro or early settlement site of the Bagahi in the Kitara complex is said to be at Ruhoko in Mwenge saza; another is reported at Ngobi Hill in Bugahya saza,[35] but it is uncertain whether these date from initial migrations and settlements or the later secondary migrations, occurring during the Bacwezi period, (c. 13th - 15th centuries) when pastoral groups from the south expanded north into Kitara.

The Babwijwa clan also possesses the hippo totem and say they are "the same clan" as the Bagahi. They have similar traditions of migrating from the west (Zaire) in canoes during the pre-dynastic period.[36] One informant, who claimed the Babwijwa were the original clan, not the Bagahi, reported their having arrived bringing "small cattle with humps," a reference which concurs with Barungu/Basonga and Bayaga traditions of the western groups having arrived with "small" cattle.[37]

The Bayanja clan. No elders of the Bayanja clan (ekitera, gorilla totem)[38] could be found who were able to relate their traditions, but their totem suggests an early link with the Ruwenzori mountain area (which gorilla still inhabit). Nsimbi reported in his study of Baganda clans that the Bayanja were the same group as the Omutima (Heart) clan in Buganda, which was one of the earliest clans to settle in Buddu. Nsimbi is not definite about their origin and comments that the clan name Bayanja means "people of the lake," which he interpreted to mean Lake Victoria, "probably the Ssese Islands," but he went on to mention a contradiction: the elders of the clan said they came from "Lusiba Hill near Mt. Mubende in Bunyoro."[39] In view of their association with the early settlement

of Buddu, with Mubende Hill, and with the clan traditions involving lake crossings characteristic of the western stream of immigrants, it seems likely that the "lake" to which their name refers was not Lake Victoria but Lake Onekbonyo to the west. According to this hypothesis, the early migrants settled at the base of the Ruwenzori mountains and acquired their clan totem before moving along the Katonga River route of the western stream via Mubende Hill, where they settled before some Bayanja crossed the Katonga River south into Buddu.

The Baranzi/Baami clan. The last major clan group that appears to have been part of the western migration is the Baranzi clan, whose name is said to mean "they came from the water."[40] Like the Bayaga, the Baranzi appear to have had some connection with the Semliki valley, with lake, and with pastoralism. They, like other clans discussed thus far, draw their primary totemic symbols from wildlife. Unlike the others, there is no agreement on what the earliest totem was: no fewer than four primary totems were reported in previous studies and by informants as "original" or "early." The totem most frequently reported as primary was the civet cat;[41] the second, a grasshopper, (the same totem as the Basonga group).[42] One informant reported the totem as guinea fowl, which is the same as the Barungu clan totem, and a cattle totem (mbubi cow), which was acquired later.[43] Père Gorju's informants reported the totem of the Baranzi clan during the reign of Bukuku, just prior to the onset of the Bacwezi dynasty as being the otter.[44] Karugire has also identified "Bukulu" of the "Balanzi" clan as "the same as the otter clan of the Sese Islands, where the legends also name Bukulu."[45] Despite the contradictions concerning clan totems, most Kitara informants who linked the political emer-

gence of the clan to Bukuku's rise to power also identified with the civet cat totem.[46] Informants of the Baranzi/civet cat/guinea fowl/grasshopper/mbubi cow group who contributed oral evidence suggest that the civet cat totem is the primary totemic identification and also the totem of greatest antiquity of the Baranzi group of the Kitara complex.

No surviving traditions could be discovered that linked the Baranzi with the Basonga or Barungu clans directly or that could explain the identical totemic identification. However, informants affirm that the totems suggest an historical relationship did exist between these three groups, i.e., in their migration and settlement of the central Kitara area. There are no specific references to cattle or agriculture in the traditions collected for this early period.

As with other groups in this western stream some members of the civet cat totemic group continued their migration west to east until they reached Lake Victoria and Buganda, and still later, Busoga. The Grasshopper and Civet Cat clans had settled in Buganda by 1250±150 A.D. (pre-Kintu).[47] (In Buganda the totems are the clan name and hence capitalized). Little is known of the early structure of the Civet Cat clan in Buganda; their main clan lands are in Kyadondo saza north and slightly west of Kampala, the capital.[48] (See map, 72.) According to J. M. Gray, the Civet Cat group apparently had some form of centralized political organization although on a limited geographic scale. The clan is said to have been "deposed" by Kintu, but their former prominence was remembered in Kitara tradition: "to this day the older generation of Banyoro call Buganda 'Obuganda bwa Ntege," (Buganda of the Civet Cat)."[49] The Civet Cat clan traditionally is said to have held a saza chief position (Kago) at the time of Kimera (the first Babito ruler of Buganda), but they did not become

hereditary office holders.[50]

Within Kitara Bukuku remains the Baranzi clan's historically most important political leader. He is clearly the key to the rising political importance of the Baranzi/civet cat clan as a distinct entity in the latter Batembuzi period (c. latter 12th-13th centuries). Although his role in political centralization has been minimized in court traditions, it will be examined more fully in Chapter V.

The Baami clan, presently a separate clan which can intermarry with the Baranzi clan, by tradition were linked originally with the Baranzi. Of the clans of the western stream of immigrants, only the small Baami clan possess traditions of pottery making. The nickname of the Baami is said to be Basiiga because they were potters and made smooth pots (kusiiga, "to rub smooth").[51] Information from informants is fragmentary, but it appears the clan settled in Bugangaizi and Buyaga sazas in central Kitara when they separated from the Baranzi; after which they dispersed.[52]

The Baami recall their earliest ancestors as hunters with dogs but no cattle, although the clan later acquired a cattle totem (entimba cow), which provides another link between the Baranzi and Baami groups and suggests that their separation post-dated the acquisition of this totem.[53] No more could be discovered about the origin of this group, but it is possible that they alone have preserved the remnants of a pottery tradition that was once more widespread among the clans of the western group and possibly is linked to dimple-based pottery making associated with Bantu-speaking migrations by R. Oliver.[54] Less than ten miles from the headwaters of the Muzizi River, a migration route of the western stream, is Nchangwa, a dimple-based pottery site.

Implications of the Western Stream for Kitara History

To summarize, the traditions of the Bayaga, Barungu/Basonga, Bagahi/Babwijwa, Buyanja, and Baranzi/Baami clan groups record a major pre-dynastic west to east population movement. The groups entered Uganda, by moving across or around the southern end of Lake Onekbonyo and into central Kitara along the Muzisi River valley. The Barungu and Bagahi groups seemed to have stayed to higher ground with their livestock and moved south along the savanna corridor into what is today Busongora saza and Nkore district. By the 10th or early 11th centuries the immigrating groups associated with akafunzi (bird), guinea fowl, grasshopper, hippo, and civet cat had coalesced as clans. Some of the settlers continued to move up river until they arrived at Mubende Hill, less than ten miles from the headwaters of the Muzizi river. In the vicinity of Mubende Hill the Bantu may have first encountered the Nilo-Saharan speakers expanding south (the Bagabu and Babopi). Such an encounter may have deflected some of the Bantu south (the Bagahi) while other groups such as the Basonga, Barungu, and Bayanja continued a lateral west to east expansion. The political implications of their encounter will be discussed in Chapter V.

Distinguishing characteristics of this western stream include a more centralized and hierarchically structured clan organization than is evidenced by the Bagabu group from the north, apparently complete with copper chiefly regalia. Tradition depicts the early settlers as mixed agriculturalist-pastoralists groups who marked their early settlement sites with ekirorro (trees). The linguistic evidence of the antiquity of cattle in Kitara suggests that there were different types of cattle introduced by different intrusive groups. The Bantu-speaking western

stream of immigrants traditionally are said to have introduced a variety of Zebu cattle which they may not have milked. The degree of reliance upon pastoralism, rituals associated with cattle, and the presence of significantly greater numbers of the larger Sanga cattle are the distinguishing features that differentiate pastoralism in the pre-dynastic period from the Bacwezi dynastic period. The Sanga breed was introduced later by groups remembered collectively as "Bahima" or "Bahuma" clans, who were exclusively pastoralist and milked their cattle. These Bahuma were Bantu-speaking groups by the time they entered Kitara history (12th century), as will be discussed in Chapters IV and VI.

The migrations of the western stream had an extensive impact on the interlacustrine region. Two ethnic groups geographically removed but culturally linked to the Kitara complex possess traditions that reenforce the western migration traditions: the Bantu-speaking Luyia peoples of northeastern Lake Victoria (Kenya) and the Bakerebe of the southeast corner of Lake Victoria (Tanzania). According to J. Osogo, who collected Luyia traditions, the earliest Bantu immigrants moved from eastern Zaire through "Bunyoro" (Kitara) to Buganda, where the group split -- some occupying the islands of Segulu, Jagusi, Sere, Lolui and Mageta, and later the Kenya mainland (Kavirondo Gulf area), and the other section moving into southern Busoga and finally arriving in Kenya prior to the Nilo-Saharan speaking Luo.[55] The second group, the Bantu-speaking Bakerebe also have early traditions involving Bantu speaking "agricultural-hunters" who are said to have moved from a dispersal area in "Bunyoro" (Kitara complex) south/southeast passing through Buha en route to Ukerebe.[56] Bahitwa, the most knowledgeable historian of the Bakerebe, also reported, "The majority of [Kerebe] clans that trace their origins to Bunyoro have a

wild animal, a bird, or a fish totem...," which coincide with the pattern of totems of the western stream of immigrants into Kitara in the pre-dynastic period.[57] Each of these two sets of traditions, the Baluyia and the Bakerebe, represent evidence collected independently and strengthen the reliability of Kitara clan traditions.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Z. Kyanku, Bayaga clan, Rutoma village, Buyaga Saza, interview of June 25, 1969, and A. Kagwa, Ebika by'Abaganda. (Book of Clans.) Kampala: Uganda Bookshop, 1949. Unpublished partial translation by John A. Rowe.

[2]J. K. Babiiha, "The Bayaga Clan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22 (1958), 123-30.

[3]Ibid. Although Babiiha did not identify his informants, his account was generally confirmed by my informants, who, with the exception of Z. Kyanku, had no knowledge of his article, which was published in English.

[4]Ibid., 123.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of March 3, 1969. Elsewhere in the same interview he confirmed that he meant Lake Onekbonyo (Albert) in his reference to "a lake."

[7]Ibid.

[8]J. K. Babiiha, "The Bayaga Clan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22 (1958), 123. J. A. Grant, A Walk Across Africa, (London, 1864), 294, observed in the 1860's that there were no plantain groves or fruit, and that the main crops he observed in Bunyoro were "pumpkin, sweet potatoes and some grains," but he gave no further clarification.

[9]J. K. Babiiha, "The Bayaga Clan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22, (1958), 124.

[10]Ibid.

[11]B. Bakaturana, Bwamura Gomborra, Buyaga saza, interview of June 24, 1969. This informant was the only Bahemba elder interviewed. His comments confirmed the small size of the clan; he knew of no clansmen outside of Buyaga saza.

[12]J. K. Babiiha, "The Bayaga Clan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22, (1958), 127.

[13]Z. Kyanku, Rutoma village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969.

[14]H. Sassoon, "The Collection of Metalwork from the Kingdom of Karagwe and Its Relationship to the Insignia of the Neighboring Territories,"

Ph.D. dissertation (1971), as cited in J. B. Webster, "Migration and Settlement of the Northern Interlacustrine Region," History of Uganda Before 1900, I, in press.

[15]Z. Kyanku, Rutoma village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969.

[16]It was also a part of the ritual observance of the Grasshopper clan in Buganda, who are descendants of migrants linked to the Basonga/Grasshopper clan of Kitara, part of the western stream.

[17]A. Rwakairu, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of June 25, 1969. There is more than one "bird totem" group in the interlacustrine region.

[18]Babiiha, "The Bayaga Clan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22 (1958), 129.

[19]K. Butura, Karago village, Burahya saza, interview of March 4, 1969, and M. Rwabibi, Miirya Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 26, 1969.

[20]K. Butura, Karago village, Burahya saza, interview of March 4, 1969, and Mikaire Rukara, Mugusu Gomborra, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 9, 1969. He was unsure, but thought the clan came ultimately from Nkore. However, he knew traditions of only his own lineage, not of the ultimate clan origins. Butura, Karoro village, knew of the ekirorro at Burungu and that the clan had "two parts" Barungu and Basonga. His own lineage settled in Mwenge saza before coming to Toro.

[21]Group interview, Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, August 29, 1969; Group interview, Kiryandongo Gomborra, Kibanda saza, August 27, 1969; Group interview, Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, August 22, 1969. The latter knew of the Basonga clan, but not of the clan link with the Barungu.

[22]Babiiha, "The Bayaga Clan of Western Uganda," UJ, 22 (1958), 123.

[23]Informants who concurred on this point include Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969; Mwanguhya, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu saza, interview of March 5, 1969; Bintukwanga, Kabale village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of March 5, 1969; Everest Kaberitira, Mubende township, interview of June 4, 1969; M. Rwabibi, Miirya Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 26, 1969; T. Kyaragaire, Katwe village, Busongora saza, interview of March 10, 1969; Butura, Karago village, Burahya saza, interview of March 4, 1969. Published sources include Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 93, and Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, 278-279.

[24]B. Igambire, Basingo clan, Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 27, 1969.

[25]Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, 278-279, and Kagwa, Ebika by'Abaganda, 12-13.

[26]Cohen, Historical Tradition of Busoga, 158, 164.

[27]Kagwa, Ebika by'Abaganda, 12-13. Kagwa's sources were not identified by name, only as "elders of the clan in Toro."

[28]Ibid.

[29]Cohen, Historical Traditions of Busoga, 82, 105.

[30]Kagwa, Ebika by'Abaganda, 13. In Buganda from the time the office appears to have been created, a member of the Grasshopper clan filled the position of saza chief (Kasuju) for eleven consecutive generations. A. H. Cox, "The Growth and Expansion of Buganda," UJ, XIV (1950), 153-159.

[31]Z. Kyanku, Rubona village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969.

[32]Razali Zerisire, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 28, 1969; Tibagwa and Isingoma (full brothers), Bugambe Gomborra, Buganya saza, interview of May 22, 1969; and N. Kyabukunguru, Katwe village, Busongora saza, interview of March 11, 1969.

[33]Samwiri Karugire, London, U. K., interview of December 17, 1968.

[34]Tibagwa and Isingoma, Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969.

[35]I. Kahigwa, Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 1, 1969, and R. Zeresire, interview of March 28, 1969.

[36]T. Tibihikirra, Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of August 22, 1969, and Isaya Kahigwa, Kanyambeho village, Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 1, 1969.

[37]Isaya Kahigwa, Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 1, 1969.

[38]Pakanyi Group interview, Buruli saza, August 29, 1969.

[39]Nsimbi, Amannya Amaganda, N'ennono Zaago, 266-267.

[40]M. Kandahura, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of March 31, 1969.

[41]N. Nyakajo, Kyabagambire Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 29, 1969; G. Rugiraitima, Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje saza, interview of August 16, 1969; A. Mutunzi, Kabalega Primary School, Masindi Township, Buruli saza, interview of August 28, 1969; Nyakajo, Bwijanga Gomborra, Bujenje saza, interview of August 13, 1969; and Group interview, Kiryandongo Gomborra, Kibanda saza, August 27, 1969.

[42]G. Rugiraitima, Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview

of August 16, 1969, says it is an old totem of the clan. Group interview, Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, August 29, 1969, concurred. Also J. Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, 28. [However, in Roscoe's The Bakitara, 16, the author lists the Baranzi totem as entimba and ngobe (types of cows).] Also H. K. Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 38.

[43]Kandahura, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of March 31, 1969. However, Geresomi Rugeraitima, a Muranzi, Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje saza, interview of August 16, 1969, disputed Kandahura, saying he had never heard of any members of the Baranzi clan with a guinea fowl totem.

[44]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 34.

[45]Samwiri Karugire, A History of the Kingdom of Nkore, 121.

[46]Aloni Mutunzi, Kabalega Primary School, Buruli saza, interview of August 28, 1969.

[47]Cohen, Historical Tradition of Busoga, 82. Four of the earliest clan groups Cohen cites in Buganda are the Grasshopper and Civet Cat; the other two are Otter and Reedbuck, which represent population movements that did not originate in the Kitara complex.

[48]N. B. Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 27 (1964), 25-30, as mapped by L. A. Fallers in The King's Men, 77.

[49]J. M. Gray, "Early History of Buganda," UJ, II (1933), 265.

[50]A. H. Cox, "The Growth and Expansion of Buganda," UJ, 14 (1950), 159

[51]Yohana Birigenda, Kihomboza village, Bugahya saza, interview of May 25, 1969.

[52]Ibid., Also Eriakimu, Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of August 22, 1969, and P. Nsekanabo, Kiryandongo Gomborra, Kibanda Saza, interview of August 27, 1969.

[53]Yohana Birigenda, Kihomboza village, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 25, 1969.

[54]R. Oliver, "The Problem of Bantu Expansion," JAH, VII:3 (1966), 375.

[55]J. Osogo, History of the Baluyia, (London, 1966), 28-30.

[56]G. Hartwig, "A Cultural History of the Kerebe of Tanzania to 1895," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, (1970), 32-33; informant, Bahitwa.

[57]Ibid., 42.

Chapter IV

EARLY MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT FROM THE NORTHEAST

Kitara clan traditions also refer to a third stream of immigrants who arrived in Kitara early in the pre-dynastic, pre-Bateabuzi, period -- the Basita and Basingo. Both groups rose to positions of wealth and prominence during the Bacwezi period (c. 13th - 15th centuries) but are linked in earlier traditions with Bantu-speaking groups dispersing from the Mt. Elgon area, northeast of the Kitara complex, (c. 12th century).

The Basita Clan

The Basita are one of the largest clans of the interlacustrine region as a whole, not only in the Kitara complex. Yet as recently as the 1960's Roland Oliver, referring to the Basita group, could write only that, "The traditions of Ankole, Kiziba, and the Haya states all tell of an earlier form of chieftanship predating the Hinda associated in every case with the Sita clan, of which, however, we know nothing beyond the name."[1] In addition to the ethnic groups Oliver cites, the Basita of the Kitara complex are linked by Kitara clan traditions with Sitta, a founder of one of the clans of Bugisu on the west side of Mt. Elgon, and with the Abendega (Sheep) clan of Buganda and Busoga. Members of the Basita clan of the Kitara complex do not intermarry with the Sheep clan in Buganda, nor with any other known related clan in any other ethnic group -- such

as the Baswaga clan of the Bakonjo tribe of the Ruwenzori mountains or the Byabasita of Kibale. Basita informants say this custom of not marrying into clans which are their counterparts in other tribes is evidence that they recognize an historic unity or relatedness.[2]

Reconstructing the migration and settlement of the Basita is complicated by the sheer size and dispersed nature of the clan, which differs markedly from such groups as the Bayaga clan, who have retained a strong geographic focus (Buyaga saza), as described in Chapter III. By contrast, the Basita are so dispersed that few informants recalled a geographic focus for the group. There was no sub-county visited that was without Basita clansmen, and secondary migrations are too numerous even to be outlined in this study. The clan's genealogical traditions are the deepest of any non-ruling group in Kitara: one exceptional informant (obusito totem) cited thirteen generations of his lineage alone, which traces back to Oruha in Mwenge, "where they dig pits and got ore from underground."[3] Another Musita informant recounted twelve generations of his lineage, which had the empty basket totem and had settled first in "Mbale, Buganda" before proceeding to Mwenge saza.[4] While these genealogies do not begin to extend to the centuries under discussion (one of the obvious limitations of oral traditions), such an orientation to the past is important in a context relative to other clans.

In addition to the genealogical depth of the lineages of the clan, the Basita are also exceptional in the number of the named sub-groups or sub-clans they possess. Included below are the names of all sub-clans that were collected; it is probably an incomplete list, but it does include the larger sub-clans of the group:

Abaheka	Abajwagu	Abasara
Abalerabikya	Abatuingabikya	Abagema
Abajejeemi	Abakara	Abasurra (Abasara)
Abaheka	Abajwagu	Ababoijana,
Abaraha	Abaliba	Abakigweri[5]

The explanation for the clan's dispersal, Basita traditions assert, is cattle and iron-working, a tradition that is supported by external, non-Kitara sources. J. B. Purvis, A C.M.S. missionary to the Mt. Elgon area around the turn of the 20th century, recorded the following tradition in the Elgon region:

> There is undoubtedly something more than legend in the story that long, long ago, a vast body of people ... led by two brothers came from the east and settled for a time at Masaba (around Mt. Elgon) .... At Bugondo, a large hill in Teso country overlooking Lake Kyoga, from which can be seen the countries of (B)Usoga, (B)Unyoro, and (B)Uganda, there are pits ... from which the natives declare the early wanderers quarried their ore with which to provide their weapons..... (Italics mine.)[6]

This reference to Masaba is restated in A. K. Mayegu's "Bamasaba Tribal History," in which he makes specific reference to "Sitta," a son of "Mugisu" from whom all clans in modern nothern Bugisu district claim to have descended.[7] While the Bamasaba traditions do not tie-in directly by expressing links with Kitara clans, the Sitta name and the ironworking traditions of early groups in the Mt. Elgon vicinity suggest the groups were associated historically.

The ironworking traditions of the Sitta of Mt. Elgon extend into the remote past and possibly link up with early Bantu who produced dimple-based pottery ware at Urewe on the east side of Lake Victoria in Central Nyanza (Kenya), which has been radiocarbon dated to the 4th century A.D.[8] By the beginning of the second millenium some of these early Bantu may have expanded north to the Mt. Elgon region where they encountered another major cultural group: The pastoral Cushites (Afroasiatic speaking group),

emerging from the Ethiopian highlands. J. E. G. Sutton attributes to the Cushites the cultural characteristics of circumcision, age sets and initiations, burial cairns, grain agriculture, basic irrigation techniques, long-horned Sanga cattle, and pastoral construction works such as wells and dams.[9] Some of these characteristics, specifically grain agriculture, Sanga cattle, and construction works are present in the Kitara complex. However, although the Sanga cow may have originated in the Ethiopian highlands, it may also have developed in a wider region including the southern Sudan, where the Sanga cow is found today.[10] The Sanga cow apparently dispersed rapidly across eastern Africa; Iron-Age cattle figurines have been discovered as far south as Rhodesia dating to the latter part of the first millennium A.D.[11]

As discussed in the previous chapter, the western stream traditionally introduced cattle to the Kitara complex, although there is no evidence to suggest they were Sanga. On the contrary, traditions indicate they were a smaller, distinct type, possibly zebu. In Kitara clan traditions it is the Bahuma pastoralists (their Kitara name; elsewhere they are referred to as Hima or Hema) who are said to have introduced the bigger, large-horned Sanga cattle to the Kitara complex. Independent pastoralism and milking are also commonly associated with the arrival of the Bahuma and Sanga cattle in Kitara tradition (and there are no references to milking in the traditions of the western stream). Christopher Ehret suggests that milking was introduced by Bantu speakers, based on the argument that a Bantu word amata is used for milk in the Kitara complex (including modern Bunyoro and Toro), Buganda, Nkore, Karagwe, and Rwanda.[12] The absence of references to Sanga cattle prior to the court traditions of Isaza suggests that clans of the western and northern migrations preceded their introduction by other groups.

Bahuma pastoralists have been identified as the users of Roulette ware pottery (found in Kenya, Uganda, and Rwanda), which post-dates Iron Age Dimple-based pottery. Merrick Posnansky has suggested the early part of the second millenium, A.D., e.g. 10th - 12th centuries, for Roulette ware.[13] The Basita and Basingo clans of the interlacustrine region possess traditions which fit the archaeological and linguistic evidence. Kitara clan traditions make clear that there was more than one wave of Bahuma immigrants (to be discussed in Chapters V and VI), but if the Basita and Basingo did acquire Sanga cattle in the vicinity of Mt. Elgon, which will be discussed below, then their clan traditions represent the earliest accounts of Bahuma pastoralism in the Kitara complex.[14]

Studies conducted by both D. W. Cohen and G. S. Were have offered support for the hypothesis that pastoralists moved from the northeast along the short grass corridor into the Kitara complex by 1300.[15] Both Cohen and Were echo traditions collected less systematically by Emin Pasha, who wrote,

> Unyoro once formed with Usoga, Uganda, Uddu and Karagwe, one great country inhabited by the Wichwezi. Then people with a white skin came from the far northeast and crossed the river (Nile). Their number was very great and the inhabitants were afraid of them, for the white people were 'valiabuntu' (man-eaters). When the strangers had forded the river, they assembled in Matyum, a place still existing south-east of Mruli (Mukama Kabarega's capital in the late 19th century), and determined to send a column to Unyoro and another south to take possession of these countries. The intruders called themselves Wawitu (people of Witu), a name still given to ruling families; but the people called them 'wahuma' (men of the north).[16]

Sir Henry Johnston collected another version of the origin of the Bahuma which also reflects their northern origins:

> As far as any remembrance of origin exists among the elders of the Bahima, they repeat a vague tradition

> to the effect that their far off ancestors once were driven from their original country by a severe famine and on subsequent occasions by internecine wars. They advanced by degrees to the Lango or Bukedi country and the east bank of the Victoria Nile. Here they halted for a long time; then they appear to have crossed the Nile and entered Unyoro, first in small and by degrees in large numbers. At the present time there is no trace of pure-blooded Bahima north or east of the Victoria Nile.... These Bahima were great herdsmen. They brought with them from their northern home a breed of cattle...remarkable for their large size, straight backs and enormous horns.[17]

As Johnston and Emin Pasha imply, research by both B. A. Ogot and J. E. G. Sutton have led to similar conclusions that it was in the Bantu-speaking region between Mt. Elgon and the Nile that Bantu-speakers first acquired Sanga cattle that had such extensive impact on the culture of the interlacustrine region.[18]

The Basita are careful to conserve and emphasize their historic pastoral image, but they are equally emphatic about their having preceded the Bacwezi rulers who in court traditions are linked with Bahuma pastoralists. In a 1969 court case involving Basita clan leadership in Bugangaizi (one of the "lost counties" which had been recently returned to Bunyoro from Buganda), the following statement was made under oath:

> We the Siita of the Kewere Division do not have our origin in Buganda. In the kingdom of Bunyoro we are known as Abaisangwa (indigenous people). When the Cwezi came, they found us already in Bunyoro, and on their departure they left us in charge of their drums. The drums were left to our great-grandfather Mubimba, who had his headquarters on Mujunju hill in the Gomborra of Ssabawali, Bugangaizi. Our real origin, however, is on Mbale Hill ... just across the Muzizi River on the boundary between Buganda and Tooro.[19] (Italics mine.)

Other Basita traditions have also carefully nurtured and emphasized the pastoral image of the group:

> From the beginning the Basita had dealings with the court and the omukama. As other clans were deciding on their

> totems, they decided to have milk as a totem ... to show that they were Abahuma. If they had chosen some other totem, they would have been the same as other Bairu clans. As they could not stop drinking milk permanently, they decided not to drink milk from a cow within four days of its giving birth.[20]

The most widespread totem of the Basita clan was obusito (abstention from drinking milk from a cow within four days of its giving birth). One of the primary totems of the Basita, it reflected their acquisition of Sanga cattle and milking customs. If the Basita did acquire the humped, long-horned Sanga cow in the vicinity of Mt. Elgon, (and not after their arrival in the Kitara region), then their clan traditions may represent the earliest accounts of Sanga or Bahuma (the preferred term in the Kitara complex) pastoralism. By contrast, other clan totems reflect the iron-working, agricultural/artisan based group traditions: omuka (a wild plant), abaibokasa (an empty basket), and akakonko ko mugussa (a wild plant similar to sorghum).[21]

At this point it is necessary to mention that there are also Kitara clan traditions which relate an intrusion into Kitara by Bahuma pastoralists from the south, not the northeast.[22] And it is this pastoral intrusion that is directly linked to the beginning of the Bacwezi period and more centralized kingship. (see Chapter VI.)

> The Bacwezi were herdsmen with many cattle. They came from the south. The king of Bunyoro at that time was Bukuku and his tribe was called Balangi (Baranzi). The first Bachwezi to arrive was Isimbwa.[23]

Archaeological evidence that would lend support to an hypothesis involving a separate Bahuma migration from the south includes a roulette-ware site at Pwaga, in the Uvinza area of Tanzania (to the south), which has been dated to the 12-13th century, which is the earliest such site in East Africa.[24] Traditions of the Mwanza District, Tanzania, also relate that the pastoral

"Huma or Hima" were "peaceful conquerers" who arrived from around the southwest side of Lake Victoria.[25] The simplest way to view these apparently contradictory sets of traditions concerning the Bahuma is to regard them as two separate migrations that may have originated in the Mt. Elgon region. The Basita and Basingo groups will be discussed in this chapter; later Bahuma including the southern groups will be discussed in Chapters V and VI.

In addition to pastoral traditions, iron-working traditions help to explain the widely dispersed character of Basita settlement. The question of the introduction of iron-working into the Kitara complex is still an open one: it could have been introduced from the north along with grain agriculture and livestock, (the Muru?).[26] It could also have been dispersed throughout East Africa by Bantu speakers migrating from the Katanga dispersal center (Zaire) who may be represented in Kitara traditions by the western stream. (Their line of continuing migration, west to east across Uganda, crosses an area of the most accessible sources of iron -- Mwenge and Buddu). But with the exception of references to chiefly regalia (copper spears, etc.) there are no specific clan traditions that stress the iron-working role of clan ancestors. Iron and metal working appears to have been present, but it was not abundant among the western stream. The word for blacksmith in Runyoro is muhesi, a Bantu word, but it could conceivably have been introduced by either the western Bantu stream or by the Bantu-speaking Basita and Basingo immigrants from the northeast. Supporting traditions and additional archaeological research specifically in eastern Zaire is necessary.

A tentative interpretation is to regard the Basita as immigrants who refined a skill not unfamiliar to earlier settlers of the Kitara com-

plex. Their impact was to make iron implements a more accessible and relatively more common commodity. In terms of the political impact such a technological innovation could have, all three pre-dynastic immigration groups benefitted, since elements of all three migration groups enjoyed political power during the Batembuzi and Bacwezi periods.

The link between the Basita and this technological preeminence is provided by Basita clan tradition, particularly with their development of iron deposits at Mwenge, Buddu and Koki, all in the Kitara heartland.[27] Another iron-working center existed to the northeast in Singo saza but no clan traditions have been collected there.[28] Significantly, these are also savanna areas, suitable for cattle. As a Muganda informant C. M. S. Kisosonkole stated: "In the long past there were not many cattle in Mwenge. People such as the Basita and Bacwamba (clans) did other things like iron-working."[29] A Musita informant, E. G. Winyi reported: "There is a story which says that the Abahinda clan who are Bahuma from Ankole (Nkore), did not know how to work in iron. They intermarried with the Basita, and the children stayed with the clan of their mothers and learned how to work in iron."[30] This last sentence suggests one likely dispersal method of iron-working skills.

A particular pattern of iron production developed in Mwenge saza, that is linked to the Basita. The extraction of Mwenge ore where shaft, as opposed to open pit, mining was common was not highly specialized: a single individual traditionally performed all tasks associated with iron production, from prospecting, mining, smelting to smithing and the finished product. An exceptional informant of the Basita clan, Mr. Edward G. Winyi, a community leader, now retired and living near Fort Portal, gave a detailed account, summarized here, of the Mwenge pattern of iron production he had

observed as a youth while visiting his uncle near Kalyamuguru Hill in Mwenge saza in 1914:

> First of all, they [Basita iron-workers] surveyed a hill which was near water. They say that iron ore needs water. ... There are two classes of metal which they get from the iron ore: enyondo (this ore produces very tough metal) and ekibale (this ore is used for axes and spears, but it is *not* as tough). Enyondo is a black, very heavy metal. It is used to make hammers to hammer other types of metals. Hoes were made from a mixture of the two metals. ... Then they would call a large group of other smiths together to mine the ore. ... First they prepared burning charcoal and prepared the bellows. Then they dug shallow pits, placed stones around and covered them with charcoal. Then they thatched an enclosure about six feet in diameter. The whole pit was then surrounded by six or seven bellows. People worked at these bellows night and day.
>
> They used a metal pick for digging the iron ore -- a piece of enyondo metal fixed in a wooden handle. There might be as many as three people in the pit, which was not very deep, only about ten feet. They used baskets made of papyrus fixed on ropes to get the ore from the pits ....
>
> The iron stones from the pits were shared among the Basita .... As the stones were extracted, they were smelted. They would intersperse a layer of iron and a layer of charcoal in the smelting pit. Then they would cover it with a thin layer of soil. They would also surround the pit with charcoal fire and fan the flames with the bellows. When the heat was intense, the ore would melt and the metal would run down little channels or trenches. When the smelting was finished, the slag would be thrown away. This process takes four or five days. The purified ore is very heavy and is taken and divided among the smiths, who take it away to make the finished tools elsewhere.[31]

Mr. Winyi's account is unmatched in detail by any other informant, although others corroborated the general distinction made in Mwenge saza and elsewhere in the present Toro district of a single specialist performing all phases of production. A typical statement made by a smith of the Bahati clan in Burahya saza, Toro, follows: "The muhesi (smith) would go and collect his own iron ore. The person who wanted the article would help

the muhesi mine it."[32] There are a few blacksmiths interviewed (in 1969) in Mwenge and further west in Toro district who still adhere to this pattern.

What is striking about this pattern of iron production is how markedly it differs from the 19th century travellers' descriptions of specialized activities associated with iron production in Bunyoro; miners, smelters, and smiths were identified as distinct groups.[33] It is logical to assume that the Mwenge pattern of iron production associated with the Basita prevailed before the more specialized development of the 19th century, although the "Mwenge pattern" survived even after the Babito encouraged greater production and specialization. The Mwenge pattern of iron production represents not only a chronologically earlier form of technology, but it may suggest different sources as well, (the Basita as opposed to techniques introduced later by the Luo).

Given the size and the dispersed nature of the Basita clan, it was inevitable that some contradictions in the respective clan traditions would arise, and the reference to the migration route followed by the iron-working, pastoral Basita entering Kitara was no exception. In Kitara tradition different place names are specifically associated with phases of Basita clan settlement. The place name informants of the Kitara complex associate with the earliest settlements is "Mbale," a place name found from Buyaga saza in western Kitara to the Bugisu area near Mt. Elgon in the east.[34] The largest and best known "Mbale" is the present-day township located on the west side at the base of Mt. Elgon in Bugisu, but the greatest frequency of this place name occurs in Buddu and Mwenge sazas, both iron-working areas. In Buddu there are Mabale hill, Mbale, Kibale, Bubale and four Kabale villages on modern maps. In Mwenge one finds Kibale forest, Kibale and Mabale villages and Mbale hill as well as Kibale county

to the south. Further west there is a Kibale, Buyaga saza, and Mwibale and Kibale villages around Fort Portal.[35] The origin of the name is unclear. One Musita informant linked the "mbale" name with the word "mushroom," explaining that it is "what 'mbale' means in one of the languages they speak around Mt. Elgon," but no study of clans in the Mt. Elgon region has been carried out.[36] A second place name significant in the history of migration of the clan is Bugungu, which borders the south bank of the Victoria Nile, where there is a dimple-based pottery site.[37]

Using these place name references and external traditions to reconstruct the Basita migration route into the Kitara complex, the journey of the Basita would begin beyond the Nile on the west side of Mt. Elgon (around Mbale). From Mt. Elgon the group appears to have moved west through Bugisu (via Bugondo hill?) to and across the Nile.[38] Some travelled west following the Nile to its effluence into Lake Onekbonyo in the "Bugungu" area.[39] At this point there occurs a gap in tradition and place names as to the specific route taken from the banks of the Nile to Mwenge. Mbale hill in Mwenge saza, which is near the Muzizi River and the present Toro/Buganda boundary, is the point at which most Kitara-Basita accounts recommence.[40] Mbale Hill (Mwenge saza) was the main settlement area from which secondary migrations occurred. Bugombe (associated especially with the Abajejemu sub-clan settlement),[41] Oruha village, Myeri village and Kagorra village were all settled by Basita who claim to have branched from the Mbale Hill, Mwenge saza, settlement.[42]

Villages that are variants of the clan name represent still more recent settlements, i.e. a third stage. Basita village in Bunyangabu saza was settled by a group from Oruha, Mwenge, and there are numerous Kisita villages in Toro district.[43] There is also a Kisiita near Masindi town-

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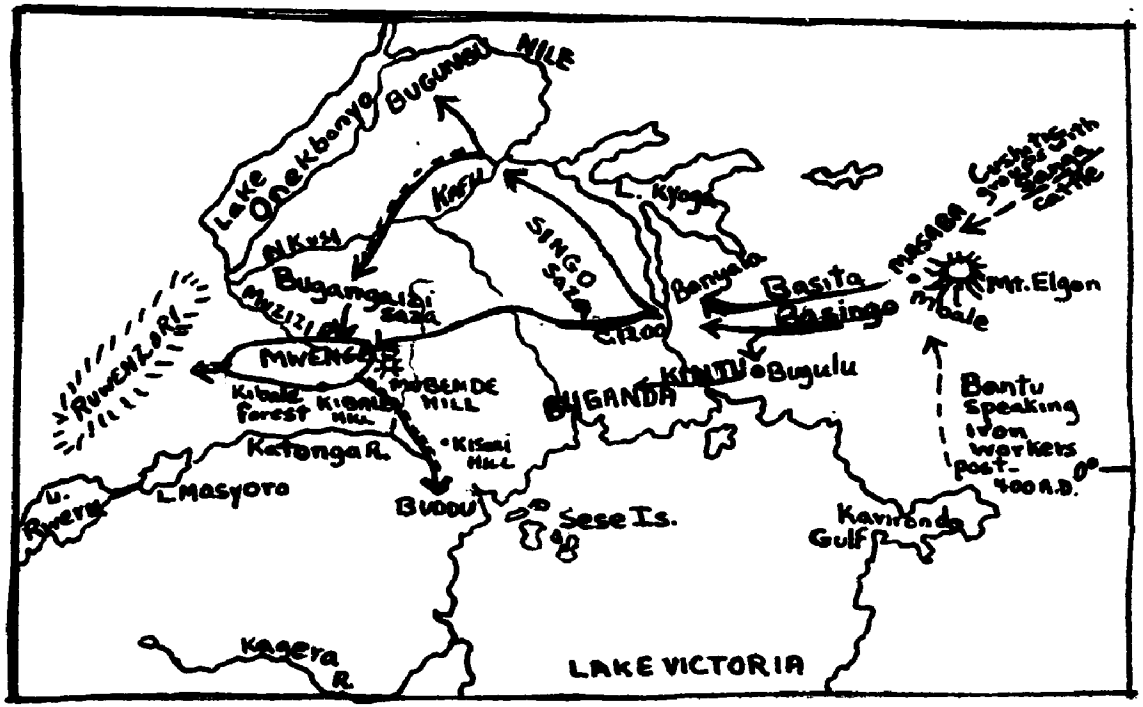


KEY: ----→ Population groups that coalesced around Mt. Elgon by the 10th century

——→ Proposed Migration Route into the Kitara Complex

= = = → Secondary Migrations

ship (an iron-working center in Babito times), two in Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya,[44] and in Buwekula, which further exemplify the settlement pattern of this stage.[45] Present evidence is insufficient to assign even tentative dates to the different phases of settlement, but traditions are explicit that the Basita preceded the Bacwezi, which would put them in the Kitara complex by the 13th century.

The Basingo Clan. Like the Basita, the Basingo are a large clan and are found in all sazas of the Kitara complex as well as in Nkore, Buganda, and Kigezi. The Basingo clan (leopard totem) figure in early migrations from the northeast, but there is another part of the clan, one with a cattle totem: the omurarra (humped cow with a band marking running from nose to tail), which has quite different migration traditions. The Kitara Basingo with the leopard totem appear to be linked with the Bantu-speaking "Lion-Leopard complex" described by D. Cohen, which were part of the earliest intrusive groups into Busoga and Buganda (the Kintu traditions). This branch of the Basingo represent the most direct link with the Baganda tradition of Kintu, who is said to have descended from "Ggulu" (or "Heaven"), which Cohen suggests, is associated with the Igulu ancestral figure of the abaiseIgulu Reedbuck group located in southern Busoga. This clan, like the Basingo of Kitara, have traditions of being an early potter group; they were also ritual specialists.[46] "Ggulu" is clearly a place reference in the above Basingo tradition, and while there is no indication in Basingo traditions of any association with the reedbuck group, their pottery traditions as well as the totem and place name referent suggest links with Ggulu, an important dispersal area in southern Busoga.

S. Rubumbi, a Musingo and a renowned potter in Bunyoro, related the migration of his clan (leopard totem), who had been potters "from their

earliest days." In the "beginnings" the Basingo came from "near Gulu," (see map: p. 106); they moved across a lake (Kyoga?) to Kiryandongo, Bujenje saza, and Buruli saza, where they dispersed around Pakanyi Gomborra -- some going northwest to Bugungu and others south to Bugangaizi and Mwenge sazas and Nkore.[47] Cohen's description of the migration route of the lion-leopard totemic groups is compatible with the above Basingo migration traditions. In Cohen's reconstruction the migration began in the Elgon region; they proceeded to southern Busoga, to Wamango, (near Bugulu, see map), from whence they dispersed west.[48]

Interestingly, the name "Singo" survives as a saza name in the Baganda district today, (although in former times it was part of Kitara) and lies across the above migration route of the Basingo clan. There is no specific mention of clan and saza name in Kitara Basingo traditions, but Richard Burton reported a tradition told him by pastoralists in Tanzania (1858) that supports an hypothesis of an original north to south migration. His informants also made specific mention of "-singo":

> The country of Karagweh (Karagwe) is at present the headquarters of the Watosi (Tutsi Hyma), a pastoral people scattered throughout these Lake Regions. They came according to tradition <u>from Usingo, a mountain district lying to the north of Uhha.</u>[49] [Italics mine.]

As yet, no study of Karagwe clan traditions have been carried out to test this statement or to confirm or reject links between the Kitara Basingo and the Bahuma pastoralists some 200 miles farther south.

A second quite separate tradition of the Basingo clan is linked more directly to pastoralism, which clarifies their inclusion in tradition as a Bahuma clan. Of all Kitara clans only the elder informants of the Basingo cited "Somaliland" or "Abysinnia" as their "place of origin," from where they traveled led by Kasward with Sanga cattle to Kitara.[50] Elders

independently interviewed reported that the Basingo of the omurarra cow totem of the clan journeyed via Kenya and Tanzania with their Sanga cattle and entered the grasslands of Nkore and the Kitara complex from the southern end of Lake Victoria. From there they dispersed -- some west to Busongora saza and Rwanda, and others north into Kibale, Kitagwenda and Mwenge sazas.[51] Other Basingo informants, while lacking such a geographic sweep, (which cannot be corroborated conclusively by linguistic or oral traditions external to the group), nevertheless also confirmed the south to north dispersal of the omurarra cow group and their cattle into Kitara.[52]

What is suggested in the migration traditions of the Basita and Basingo clans is a movement of Bantu-speaking groups emigrating from an area of common settlement in the vicinity of the west side of Mt. Elgon (Masaba country, Mbale). The migrations occurred before the Bacwezi period of Kitara (c. 13th century), yet postdate the Bagabu and Bobopi migrations (see Chapter II) and the Bantu migrations from the west (c. 9th - 11th centuries, see Chapter III). This chronology suggests the Basita and Basingo groups migrated to the Kitara complex in the late 11th or 12th centuries via the Banyala area and the Nile effluence into Lake Kyoga, travelling on higher ground (more suitable for cattle) north of the Buganda nucleus of the lakeshore until they arrived and settled in Mwenge saza, where they developed a number of iron-working sites.[53] These immigrants from the northeast appear to be particularly responsible for the superior iron-working reputation Kitara enjoyed during the Batembuzi and Bacwezi periods. Their reputation is confirmed by Buganda traditions, according to which iron-working was introduced from "Bunyoro" (Kitara) during the era of Kintu (c. 13th century) when the "head of all blacksmiths" came to Buganda to make Kintu's weapons, (which implies a superior technology existed there).[54] The Basita and Basingo appear to have been the earliest

Bahuma of Kitara tradition, representing a sort of "advanced guard" for Bahuma pastoralists that followed. These later migrations will be discussed in the next two chapters.

To summarize, there were at least three major migrations into the Kitara region in between the 9th and 12th centuries; the northwestern group represented in the traditions of the Bagabu and Babopi clans; the larger western stream, represented in the traditions of the Bayaga, Basonga/Barungu, Baranzi, Bagahi and Bayanja; and somewhat later, the northeastern group, as represented by the Basita and Basingo. These heterogeneous peoples came together in the Kitara complex. From their contact and interaction significant change resulted: socially, in terms of new clan groups and a more "class conscious" society -- sharper distinctions were made between pastoralists and agriculturalists. Politically, change took the form of a greater degree of centralization under the rulership of a king, who governed with the support of a pastoral aristocracy that included both "old" pastoral groups, such as the Basonga/grasshopper clan and "new" pastoral groups, such as the Basita. These socio-political changes were to have a lasting effect on the interlacustrine region. It is to the nature of these changes that we now turn.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Oliver, "Developments in the Interior, c. 1500-1840," I, 187.

[2]E. G. Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interview of April 15, 1969.

[3]Edward Kalyegira, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969.

[4]Labani Musoke, Kakumiro Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969.

[5]Edward Kalyegira, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969, provided the list, which was recognized as accurate by other Basita informants.

[6]J. B. Purvis, Through Uganda to Mt. Elgon (London, 1909), 319-320.

[7]A. K. Mayegu, "A Bamasaba Tribal History," MS., translated under auspices of the Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, n.d., 6.

[8]B. M. Fagan, "Radiocarbon Dates for Sub-Saharan Africa," JAH, XI:1 (1969), 157.

[9]J. E. G. Sutton, "The Archaeology of Early Peoples of the Highlands of Kenya and Northern Tanzania," Azania, (1966), 47-48.

[10]Cohen, Historical Tradition of Busoga, 77.

[11]M. Posnansky, "Kingship, Archaeology and Myth," UJ, XXX:1 (1960), 7.

[12]Ehret, "Cattle Keeping," 9, 11, 13.

[13]Posnansky, "Kingship," 7.

[14]The Sanga cow is found as far south as Rhodesia; iron-age cattle figurines date to the latter part of the 1st millenium A.D.

[15]G. S. Were, "The Western Bantu Peoples from A.D. 1300-1800," Zamani, ed. by B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (London, 1968), 178-179, and Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," Ph.D. dissertation, S.O.A.S. (1970), 144.

[16]G. Schweinfurth et. al. Emin Pasha in Central Africa, trans. by R. W. Felkin (London, 1888), 92.

[17]Sir Harry Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, I, (London, 1902), 212.

[18]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 137-138, and Sutton, "Archaeology and Early Peoples," 47-48.

[19]Labani Musoke, Kerenda village, Sabaddu Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, trans. from the original Lutoro document, collected June 21, 1969.

[20]Itegiraha, Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of February 25, 1969.

[21]E. K. Kiiza, Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969; A. Katuramu, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 19, 1969; T. Bazarabusa, Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of August 22, 1969; E. Kabirende, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969; Edward Kalyegira, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969; and S. Kijuru, Mugusu Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 9, 1969.

[22]As hypothesized by R. Oliver, "A Question About the Bachwezi," UJ, 17 (1953), 137.

[23]A. B. Lloyd, Uganda to Khartoum (London, n.d.), 66.

[24]D. Phillipson, "Notes on Later Prehistoric Radiocarbon Chronology of Eastern and South Africa," JAH, XI:1 (1970), 5, 9.

[25]R. C. Soper and B. Golden, "An Archeological Survey of Mwanza Region, Tanzania," Azania, IV (1969), 16.

[26]J. D. Clark, The Prehistory of Africa (New York, 1970), 216. Webster, "Migration and Settlement," in press, indicates that the Muru were ironworking peoples. If the Bagabu and Babopi were Muru, they would have possessed knowledge of ironworking, although Kitara traditions make no mention of it.

[27]E. G. Winyi, Basita clan, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interview of April 15 and April 24, 1969.

[28]C. M. S. Kisosonkole, Kampala city, interview of February 12, 1969.

[29]Rev. Z. Bigogo, Butiti Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 21, 1969.

[30]E. G. Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interview of April 15, 1969.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ntambirwaki, Bahati clan, Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of March 4, 1969. The informant's ancestors were also smiths for as far back as he could remember.

[33]James Grant and Emin Pasha both described a threefold division of labor associated with iron production: the "bajugusi" did the quarrying and smelting; the "omusani" purchased the rough molded iron and worked it into pieces of various sizes; and finally the "mwesi" (muhesi) or smith made it into finished tools, weapons or ornaments. J. Roscoe, The Bakitara, 217-223. Both G. Schweinfurth, Emin Pasha in Central Africa, 21, and J. Grant, A Walk Across Africa, 295-296, emphasized the number of muhesi (smiths) at the Bunyoro capital during their respective visits. Smelting and mining were not centralized.

[34]All of the following informants concurred on this point (not all are Basita): S. N. Kalubo, Mutuba I Gomborra, Mubende district, interview of June 15, 1969; E. G. Winyi, Rwengoma, Burahya saza, interview of April 15, 1969; K. Kanyaihe, Hoima township, Bugahya saza, interview of May 15, 1969; L. Musoke, Gayaza village, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969; Itegiraha, Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of June 9, 1969; A. Katuramu, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 19, 1969; S. Makankaire, Nyarweyo Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 20, 1969; and Enoch Kabirende, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 19, 1969.

[35]Based on examination of Uganda Department of Lands and Surveys Maps 1-USD, Sheet SA-36-1; Sheet NA-36-14, and Sheet NA-36-13.

[36]E. G. Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interview of April 24, 1969. While it was impossible to confirm this claim, the statement does affirm the link with both place name and their traditional point of emigration.

[37]K. Kanyaihe, Hoima township, Bugahya saza, interview of May 15, 1969, and E. Kiiza, Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969. See also Susannah Pearce and M. Posnansky, "The Re-Examination of Nsongezi Rock Shelter, Ankole," UJ, 27:1 (1936), 86, for archaeological reference.

[38]Edward Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interview of April 24, 1969; K. Kanyaihe, Hoima Township, Bugahya saza, interview of May 15, 1969.

[39]K. Kanyaihe, Hoima Township, Bugahya saza, interview of May 15, 1969; E. K. Kiiza, Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969.

[40]Itegiraha, Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of June 9, 1969; A. Katuramu, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 19, 1969; L. Musoke, Kakumiro village Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969.

[41]E. Kabirende, Nyantungu, Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 19, 1969; Isabarongo Kahubire, Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 8, 1969.

[42]Itegiraha, Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of June 9,

1969; E. Kabirende, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 19, 1969; E. G. Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interview of April 15, 1969.

[43]Itegiraha, Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of June 9, 1969.

[44]E. Kiiza, Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969.

[45]L. Musoke, Kakumiro Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969.

[46]Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," 188, 194, 198. The abaiseIgulu dominated Nsumba island, a pottery producing center in the northeast corner of Lake Victoria.

[47]S. Rubumbi, Buhanika village, Bugahya saza, interview of May 28, 1969.

[48]Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," 156-166.

[49]R. F. Burton, The Lake Regions of Central Africa (New York, 1961) II, 185.

[50]Gerisoni Kwebiiha, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of March 31, 1969, and B. Kasenene, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969.

[51]Ibid.

[52]K. Katahwabye and S. Mucucuuli, Bwamiramira Gomborra, Buyaga Saza, interview of June 24, 1969.

[53]Cohen, Historical Traditions of Busoga, 106-107. They are quite distinct from the Lungfish clan group Cohen describes, who are associated with the Lakeshore and introduced similar iron-working innovations to Buganda and Busoga.

[54]J. Roscoe, The Baganda (London, 1911), 171, 163, 295, 387, and L. A. Fallers, The King's Men (London, 1964), 75. During the Kintu period "Buganda" consisted of little more than the present sazas of Kyaddondo, Kyagwe, Busiro and Mawakota -- all bordering on the northwest shore of Lake Victoria.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL CHANGE: THE BATEMBUZI AND BACWEZI PERIODS

"Amatu gampulire ebibe n'ebirungu."
(My ears have heard both evil and good.)
Nyinamwiru, when informed that her son,
Ndahura, had slain her father, Bukuku, and
become ruler.

The Court Traditions of Kitara

Up to this point the examination of the pre-dynastic period (c. 9th - 11th centuries) has concentrated on the migrations of three major groups of peoples into the Kitara region. As has been demonstrated, the convergence of ethnically diverse groups was one of the more prominent characteristics of the period. These immigrations included intrusions of groups with seed agriculture and small livestock from the north, mixed agricultural-pastoral groups from the west, and pastoralists with a pottery tradition from the northeast. All three groups probably were iron users, although the fullest traditions of the development of iron resources in central Kitara are associated with the Basita clan from the northeast. Clan units functioned dynamically to assimilate these diverse groups through customs of exogamy and intermarriage. It is possible that the individual migration units may have been the basis for some of the early Kitara clan groupings; the respective lineages traveling together perceived themselves as "brothers" and took a common clan name, or as "brothers that quarrelled"

and formed separate clans. In some instances the groups maintained a link with clan names, founders, or totems they had possessed in their original homeland.

By the late 11th or early 12th centuries certain clans had become politically important in the Kitara complex, particularly the Bagabu clan. As suggested in Chapter II, the Bagabu are associated with the political centralization that is the genesis of Kitara court tradition and the Batembuzi period. Court traditions break Kitara political history into three main periods: the Batembuzi (late 11th-13th centuries), the Bacwezi (13th-15th centuries), and the Babito (16th-20th centuries). These periods have been generally regarded as successive dynasties, which presupposes centralized rulership.[1] This chapter will question whether the existence of kingship can be properly attributed to the earliest, the Batembuzi, period and will explore the emergence of a fully developed kingship in the Bacwezi period, which was supported by a pastoral aristocracy remembered as Bahuma.

The successor dynasty to the Bacwezi was the Babito royal clan of Luo origins: Luo speakers were the last major intrusive group to arrive in the Kitara complex from the north and will be discussed in Chapters VII and VIII. Having examined the principle clan traditions concerning migration and settlement of the pre-dynastic period, one can then turn to a brief review of the early court traditions and an analysis of how clan traditions supplement and clarify these court traditions.

All versions of Kitara court traditions begin with a common legend -- one which illustrates the distinct social and cultural milieu from which rulership emerged. Summarizing from the Bikunya text, the earliest period of Kitara court history is related as follows:

In the beginning Ruhanga created the earth. He came

> when the earth and heaven were still together, with his wife M'ba or Nkya M'ba. Nkya M'ba had four children .... The eldest was named Kantu. It became necessary to name the other three children, so Ruhanga slaughtered a cow, skinned it and cut off its head, then he cooked millet and sweet potatoes. He then got the food, an axe and a panga [knife] and carried them with a pad on his head and left them in the middle of the road. When he came back home, he told the children, "Here are your milking vessels, take them and go." As they walked, they found the things in the road; the eldest took the pot of millet, sweet potatoes, a panga and the pad. The second child took a belt strap used to tie the cows when milking, and the last child took the cow's head....
>
> Ruhanga observed their choices and set for them another test: the three children were to hold bowls of milk throughout a night. He returned to find the eldest's vessel empty, the second son's partially full and the youngest's undisturbed. After this test he named the eldest Kairu ["little servant," agricultural laborer], who would thereafter work for his youngest brother. The second son was called Kahuma ["little herdsman"], who was given the task of supplying milk to the youngest. The youngest son was named TWARI ["chief": in the Fisher version, "Kakama Twale"]. "Because you brought the cow's head, you will be head of all men, and your word will be dominant over all others." Kantu, the eldest child, angered at not having received a new name, chose to 'spoil everything' and brought death into the world.[2]

In this account the greatest emphasis is placed upon the motifs of the three brothers, the establishment of a hierarchical political and social structure, and the introduction of evil into the world. The hunter traditions that figured in the earliest clan traditions as well as stories of the "ruler" Isaza (to be described below), are absent in this genesis tale. Specific reference is made to milk pots, straps, and cattle, and the intimate relationship established between pastoralists and rulers -- all of which suggests arrangements more characteristic of the pastoralists remembered as Bahuma in Kitara tradition (in Nkore, Bahima) and of the Bacwezi period "proper." The key figures, Ruhanga and his wife Nkya, incorporate into court tradition the Hangi creator tradition of the Bagabu

clan, which was described in Chapter II. Bahuma, Bairu and Bakama, the three social categories that had developed in the Kitara complex by the end of the Batembuzi period (c. 13th century), are personified in the Kairu, Kahuma, Kakama story. One may conclude that the beginnings of court traditions, which focuses on the ordering of a social hierarchy under a ruler, are not contemporary with the genesis of clan traditions, which focus on the arrival of groups in Kitara lacking Sanga cattle and a class conscious social structure.

A brief examination of the lists of "rulers" of the Batembuzi period (see next page) which follow the genesis story of Kairu, Kahuma and Kakama, illustrate the variations in court traditions of the early period. Mrs. A. B. Fisher, whose list is the earliest systematic attempt to reconstruct Kitara's dynastic past, is the shortest. Her list, which was adopted by Bikunya in his 1927 work, is essentially a mythic genealogy of the ancestors of Isaza. Gorju and Roscoe have also begun with Ruhanga, and Gorju has included Rugaba as Ruhanga's successor, which appears to be a personification based on the Bagabu clan name. Nyakatura and K. W. (former Mukama Tito Winyi) have begun their lists with Kintu, a culture hero of Buganda tradition, not Kitara. Both of these authors were familiar with A. Kagwa's published traditional history of Buganda and apparently used Kagwa's work as a point of departure for their own studies. Kintu is not mentioned in this way in any other Kitara source. By the 1930's and 1940's when K. W. and Nyakatura published, they were "encouraged" to lengthen their kinglists to bring them into line with the number of generations in Buganda's published kinglist; hence the additional rulers listed between Hangi and Isaza.

In the lists Ira and Kazoba survive only as names; no traditions

RULERS OF THE BATEMBUZI PERIOD

Sources:-- Fisher (1911) Bikunya (1927)	Gorju (1920)	Roscoe (1923)	K. W. (1935) Nyakatura (1947)
Ruhanga	Ruhanga (Hangi)	Ruhanga	
	Rugaba	Enkyaya Enkya	
Nyka		Enkya	
Kantu			Kintu
Kairu			
Kakuma			Kakama
Kakama Twale		Twale	Itwale
		Hangi Nyamenge	Ihangi
	Ira(lya Hangi)	Ira Kabangera	Ira lya Hangi
	Kazoba (Nyamuhanga)		Kazoba ka Hangi Nyamuhanga
	Nkya		Nkya I
			Nkya II
Baba	Baba	Baba	Baba
			Kamuli
			Nseka
			Kudidi
			Ntonzi
			Nyakahongerwa
Mukonko	Mukonko	Mukonko	Mukonko
Ngonzaki	Ngonzaki	Ngonzaki	Ngonzaki
Isaza	Isaza	Isaza	Isaza Mukama
			Isaza Nyakikoto
			Bukuku

Reproduced from: A. R. Dunbar, A History of Bunyoro-Kitara, 15.

concerning them have survived in either court or clan traditions. The same is true for the additional names listed in K. W. and Nyakatura's lists (Nyamuhanga, Nkya II, Kamuli, Nseka, Kudidi, Ntonzi, Nyakahongerwa, Mukonko, and Ngonzaki Rutahinduka). Tito Winyi (K. W.) suggests that many more names of Batembuzi rulers were lost because they had no custom of keeping a record of King's tombs (amagasani) as their later successors, the Babito did.[4] There are no traditions associated with the Batembuzi rulers in his list, and without such traditions it is impossible to judge its merit, whether it is more complete than the others or padded.

Baba is included in all the earliest published lists. Despite the fact that Baba (Runyoro for "father") appears to be a generic name, Baba is the first name in the traditions to emerge as more than a name on a list. "Baba" ("father") was prosperous: "He had many people and goats." (Notably, no mention is made of cattle). His "son" Mukonko, had grown up "when Kantu came," which appears to be a reference to Kintu, traditionally the "first ruler" of Buganda and Busoga, and is the Kitara way of saying they possessed the older state: Kantu was one of the "sons" of the Batembuzi.[5] There are no traditional stories describing any interaction between Kantu and Mukonko, and it is not impossible that this tie-in may again reflect Bikunya's reading of the Buganda traditions collected by Apolo Kagwa and a concern to establish Kitara's greater antiquity. Ngonzaki, the "son of Mukonko," also prospered; the name itself means "My house is full; I need nothing," and is meant to be descriptive of conditions of his "lifetime."[6] Mukonko is traditionally the father of Isaza Rugambanabato, the great leader of the Bagabu clan. There is no evidence to suggest the clan identity of Isaza's predecessors, but Baba, Mukonko, and Ngonzaki may indicate Isaza was not the first such ruler of the Batembuzi period.

Another question raised by the Batembuzi list concerns the name/title "Kakama Twale" in Fisher and accepted by Bikunya who also used "Twari," K. W., and Nyakatura, "Itwale." This name is significant in view of the possible origin of the name Kitara. In 1862 John Speke was informed that the general name "Kittara...is gradually becoming extinct, and is seldom applied to any but the western portions" of Uganda[7] indicating it was an ancient name. The most provocative explanation concerning the historic meaning of the name Kitara was suggested by J. H. Driberg (1931), who linked Kitara to awatwara a title used for provincial governors in Burundi. Having observed that the word was at that time "hardly recognized by the Banyoro" of the Kitara complex, he wrote, "It is not until we reach Burundi that we find the origin of the word 'Kitwara.' Here we find that 'awatwara' is used to designate provincial governors to this day...."[8] In view of the historic links between these interlacustrine kingdoms, the Burundi title for provincial governor and the twale or twari chiefly title in the oldest collected Kitara court traditions is significant, the more so since the image of political orginization that emerges from the traditions of the Batembuzi period focuses on provinces (sazas) as the key political unit. "Kitara" may have originally meant the "place of the Twara" or twala (chief), that is to say, the Kitara name is an instance where the territory took the name of the title of the ruler.

Before examining the traditions concerning Isaza it should be noted that the court traditions of the Kitara complex assume the existence of established and sharply perceived social distinctions between agriculturalists, pastoralists and rulers. One can interpret this to mean that the presence of a pastoral aristocracy was the key to political centralization. However, the published lists of "rulers" for the Batembuzi period make no

mention of cattle before Isaza, the greatest "ruler" of the period, nor is there any hint of kingship before Isaza -- no court ritual, succession, etc. This inconsistency will be examined below.

The Traditions of Isaza

With Isaza there is more than a name and a phrase in tradition. One popular story is told and retold by elders in the Kitara complex with reference to the days of his rule. Textual analysis of Bikunya's version of Isaza suggests the content of this story predates the story of Kairu, Kahuma and Katwari, the three children of the "genesis" story of Kitara court tradition. It focuses on Isaza as a youthful hunter-leader -- not a pastoralist -- who caused tensions in the land by ignoring the advice of elders and banishing them from his "court." One day Isaza is said to have killed a zebra and was persuaded by his young companions to sew himself into the untanned hide. As the day grew hotter, his discomfort increased. Only the elders saved Isaza from a painful fate by returning and advising that he be immersed in a pond to loosen the ties binding him. After the crisis Isaza is said to have <u>restored</u> the elders to positions of prominence as counselors, where they apparently remained.[9] In this account the Isaza tradition relates a satisfactory compromise between rule by elders and rule by the younger age group. Power remained with the young leader, but the elders remained in respected and advisory positions around him.

Gorju clearly regards Isaza as an historical figure, whose "capital was in Bugangaizi near the present Bukumi Mission Station;" he relates that Isaza was a member of the Bagabu clan, with crested crane (<u>entuhe</u>) and genet cat (<u>kawasumba</u>) totems.[10] To judge from Bagabu clan traditions of

migration and settlement, the Bugangaizi-Mwenge-Kyaka saza region was the geographical base from which the Bagabu dominated the neighboring territory, a dominance that probably lasted over several generations which has been telescoped into the traditions of Isaza. The hegemony the Bagabu achieved marks the "beginning" of Kitara political history and the historical, as opposed to the mythic dimension of the Batembuzi period.

The nature of Bagabu hegemony is difficult to discern. "Isaza" is attributed with the first division of the region into sazas and his chiefs (although not their clans) are remembered in tradition:

> *Nyamenge was give Kitara (Kyaka saza?)
> *Ntege ya Koya was given Muhwahwa (Buganda district)
> *Machumulinda was given Nkore (district)
> *Ntembe was given Busoga (district)
> *Kabara was given Bugangaizi (saza)
> *Nyakirembeke was given Mwenge (saza)
> *Nyangome was given Buruli (saza)
> *Nyamurwana was given Bugahya (saza)
> *Nsinga was given Bugoma (southern Bugahya saza)
> Ichwamango was given Bugungu (northern Bujenje saza)
> *Kaparo was given Chope (Kibanda saza)
> *Kalega was given Bulega (the west bank of Lake Onekbonyo in Zaire)
> Mukwiri was given Bwera (Buddu saza)
> Nyakadogi was given Busindi (Buruli saza)
> Nyakaranda was given Bunyara (?, same as Bunyaruguru, east bank of Lake Rweru?)[11]
>
> (*indicates agreement as to chief and area of rule in the K. W. and Bikunya lists.)

Since there are no traditions of conquest or of the pattern of control over these sazas in any surviving account, what this list may in fact represent is the geographic extent of the saza pattern of territorial chiefships that existed prior to the more centralized kingship of the Bacwezi period. The list of sazas cited above is suspect to some extent since it refers to some political units, for example, to Busoga, which was not unified until the onset of the colonial period and appears never to have functioned along the "saza" lines suggested in Kitara court tra-

dition. There are also contradictions in the saza lists of Bikunya and of K. W. Bikunya lists twelve of the sixteen political units and titles/ chiefs in K.W.'s list, but omits Bunyara, Busindi, Bwera and Bugungu. In addition Bikunya associates the political beginnings of these areas with the "reign" of Bukuku, Isaza's "successor," of the Baranzi clan. (Some of the chiefdoms may indeed have emerged in resistance to Isaza's successor, the "usurper" Bukuku.)[12] Kitara clan traditions contribute little to the clarification of the extent of political control the Bagabu group enjoyed: none of the chiefs or rulers of the sazas listed have been identified as to clan in any source, and there is no hint whether any of these positions were hereditary within a given clan, although, like Buyaga, they may have been.[13]

Despite the scarcity of information, the pattern of saza rule, as previously suggested, appears to be the key change preserved in the traditions of the Batembuzi period. The Isaza tradition communicates a systemization of saza county units. Certain clans, such as the Bagabu, enjoyed hegemony over other groups for periods of time, but there is no clear evidence it was a centralized monarchy. The Isaza tradition testifies to the emergence of the Kitara state under Bagabu leadership which culminated a process of assimilation of ethnically and culturally diverse groups in the Batembuzi period, (by c. 11th century). It probably does not recount a biography or a "reign" of an historical personality, but a period when territorial chiefships and sazas developed, a time when the Bagabu clan was preeminent, the "first among near-equals." Isaza represents changes that superceded the structured clan organization associated with the western stream of immigrants.

One suspects that the Bagabu northerners achieved political domi-

nance by military means (as northerners were to do more than once in the history of the Kitara complex), but there are few clues other than the name of the clan, which translates "shield," and no references to battles or military leaders preserved in Kitara tradition. Clan migration traditions that relate population movements prior to political centralization suggest that political centralization was a process that resulted from interactions between the different intrusive groups. Isaza, traditionally the only Bagabu ruler of the Batembuzi period, may represent a more extended period of Kitara history, a period which ends with the emergence of Bahuma pastoralists to positions of social and political prominence.

As suggested in the previous chapter, Bahuma groups with Sanga cattle began arriving from the northeast during the Batembuzi period. They were also settled south of the Katonga River by the end of Isaza's reign, i.e. the end of Bagabu political dominance, as the following tradition suggests:

> The ruler lived long and in peace. But then Nyamuyonga, who lived underground, sent him a messenger to ask for a crowing cock, an ignorant thing, a small door of poverty, a string that can tie water, and a thing which cannot do work.[14]

The presumptuous nature of the request and the necessity Isaza felt to provide an answer to the riddle suggest more to the historian than the working out of the riddle. It is said Isaza called his own elders and then "wise men from other countries" (e.g. chiefs from neighboring sazas?) in his search. (The answer was finally provided by a maidservant to one of his wives, and the reader senses that a crisis had passed.) However, another related, more serious issue arose with the same messenger, who also proposed a blood brotherhood between Isaza and the ruler who sent him, Nyamuyonga (a name which literally means "the king of a country we

do not know"). This "kingdom," which had been translated earlier as "underground," added a mythic dimension to the English translations of the Isaza-Nyamuyonga story which minimized any historic content.[15] Karugire's translation brings the proposed blood brotherhood pact with a rival ruler back from myth into the realm of interstate relations. The proposal ostensibly involved a pact of peace -- one does not fight with a blood brother. But the advice Isaza received, "It is dangerous to make a covenant with a foreign ruler," suggests there was tension between the two.[16] Isaza's attempts to avoid the pact resulted in his undoing. The blood brotherhood was performed with a stand-in for Isaza, and Nyamuyonga sought to avenge the trickery and insult. He sent his daughter, Nyamata (literally, "milk"), incognito to discover Isaza's weakness. Isaza took her as a wife, and Nyamata discovered his weakness: his love for his cattle, Kahogo and Ruhogo, a reddish-brown cow and bull. With this knowledge, Nyamuyonga raided Isaza and captured his favorites. Isaza was subsequently lured away to the "underworld" in pursuit of his stolen cattle. (Isaza's inordinate love of these cattle appear to be the earliest reference in court tradition to Sanga cattle which alone are capable of inspiring such devotion among interlacustrine pastoralists.) Isaza never returns from his foray into the unnamed kingdom, nor do the Bagabu ever regain their political dominance.

The whereabouts of this "underworld," or un-named kingdom is unspecified in tradition, but there is some evidence to suggest this encounter relates contacts between the Bagabu state and a new power to the south, a power that proved to be Isaza's undoing. Roland Oliver, using Nkore traditions, identified the "underworld" as Bwera, just south of the Katonga River. "It may be that the 'sky' of Batutsi legend refers to the upper

kingdom in just the same way as the 'underworld' of Bunyoro tradition evidently refers to the area south of the Katonga River."[17] He goes on to interpret from these Nkore traditions attempts by Bahuma pastoralists to extend their power north of the Katonga River into Isaza's sphere of influence, which was between the Katonga and the Kafu-Nkusi Rivers. Embedded in both of the Nkore and Kitara traditions of Isaza and Nyamuyonga were not only rivalries involving prestige and cattle but also rival patterns of governance. It would seem that the pattern of territorial sazas subordinate to a leader (such as the tradition of Isaza) -- a sort of confederacy -- was successfully challenged by pastoralists expanding north of the Katonga River who possessed more centralized (kingship) political organization. Isaza's defense must have been dependent on the force of the organizing personality to a considerable degree (whether "Isaza" was his name or not) because when Bukuku (the Baranzi clan) attempted to succeed to the Bagabu leadership, he failed. Bukuku, Isaza's successor, managed to hold off the threats to the state for at least another generation, but Isaza's being succeeded by Bukuku of the Baranzi clan suggests that succession was not automatic, and the potential for decentralization of the saza unit organization during the transition between rulers contributed to political instability and apparently also made the region militarily vulnerable. With Bukuku the defense of the southern borderlands fell apart, the sazas broke away, and with Bukuku's death (c. 13th century) the Bacwezi kings extended their control to Kitara.[18]

The Traditions of Bukuku

The tenuous nature of the Isaza/Bugabu coalition of sazas became

apparent when Bukuku of the Baranzi clan attempted to succeed. The tension surrounding his rise to power involved a power struggle with the Bagabu clan:

> When Ruhunda, son of Isaza Muhundwangeye, went to the underground with his father, he left a wife who was expecting a child. When he returned, he found his wife had given birth to a son. He also found that Bukuku of the Abaranzi clan...had made himself Omukama instead of Isaza. Rubunda Omugabu, son of Isaza, named his baby son Nkomi ya Rubunda, which literally means 'He beat a Muiru with a stick for becoming Omukama in his father's place.' Then he went with his flocks to Busongora. Until today you still find Abagabu in Busongora.[19]

Karubanga has suggested above that the Bagabu made an attempt to retain power even after an apparent military defeat south of the Katonga River, from which the leader of the raid, remembered as Isaza, never returned. But the bid by the Bagabu clan failed; they were unable to maintain the political position and withdrew from the political arena to the southwest to Busongora.

In the traditions that relate events in the "life" of Bukuku it is again uncertain whether an historical figure or a title associated with a period of political dominance by the Baranzi clan is represented. There is no tradition of Bukuku's assumption of rulership in terms of ritual coronation, a formal burial of his predecessor, etc., which are essential features of later Bacwezi and Babito succession procedures. On the contrary, Bukuku, traditionally Isaza's gatekeeper, faced a revolt by much of the Bakitara population, who rebelled "because they refused to honor 'a Muiru.'" The rebellious sazas are remembered in court traditions as

Kabara of Bugangaizi	Kapere of Chope
Macumulinda of Nkore	Nyangoma of Buruli
Kogere of Busongora	Nyamenge of Kitara (Kyaka)
Nyakirembeke of Mwenge	Ntege Nakoya of Buganda
Nsinga of Bugoma	Ntembe of Busoga
Nyamirwana of Bugahya	Kalega of Bulega[20]

The carefully preserved list of rebels emphatically suggests that the coalition developed by the Bagabu clan with territorial saza chiefs disintegrated under the Baranzi clan and Bukuku.

Bukuku's area of control, it is said, was limited thereafter to Kikwenuzi, Kisegwe, and Kijagarazi, place names that could not be pinpointed by modern informants.[21] Another source says Bukuku made his base "Mubende... sometimes called Kikamba."[22] There is no indication that the Baranzi were successful in reestablishing their control over any of these rebellious areas.

Despite the political failures associated with the Bukuku tradition, it is nevertheless significant because of the status group represented -- the Muiru, agriculturalist/artisan class.[23] Court traditions such as Bikunya's (above) are explicit: Bukuku's succession to rulership and political prominence triggered resistance that is the earliest evidence of internal social stress resulting from a more hierarchically ordered class system (the sazas rebelled "because he was a Muiru"). In this tradition, the role of the Baranzi, in clan tradition a mixed-agricultural/pastoral group associated with the western stream of immigrants (see Chapter III), counters the notion that an exclusively Bahuma pastoralist group enjoyed uninterrupted domination of Kitara.

Why the memories of Bukuku's Bairu origin survived, given their context, is a question worth posing. The story of Bukuku of the Baranzi clan and his lowly origin preserves an account of internal forces involved in the early attempts at political centralization. One can only conclude from this tradition that the emergence of a Bahuma pastoral aristocracy and kingship did not predate the Bacwezi period. Anyone, such as Bukuku, who rose successfully from humbler origins apparently publicized his rise

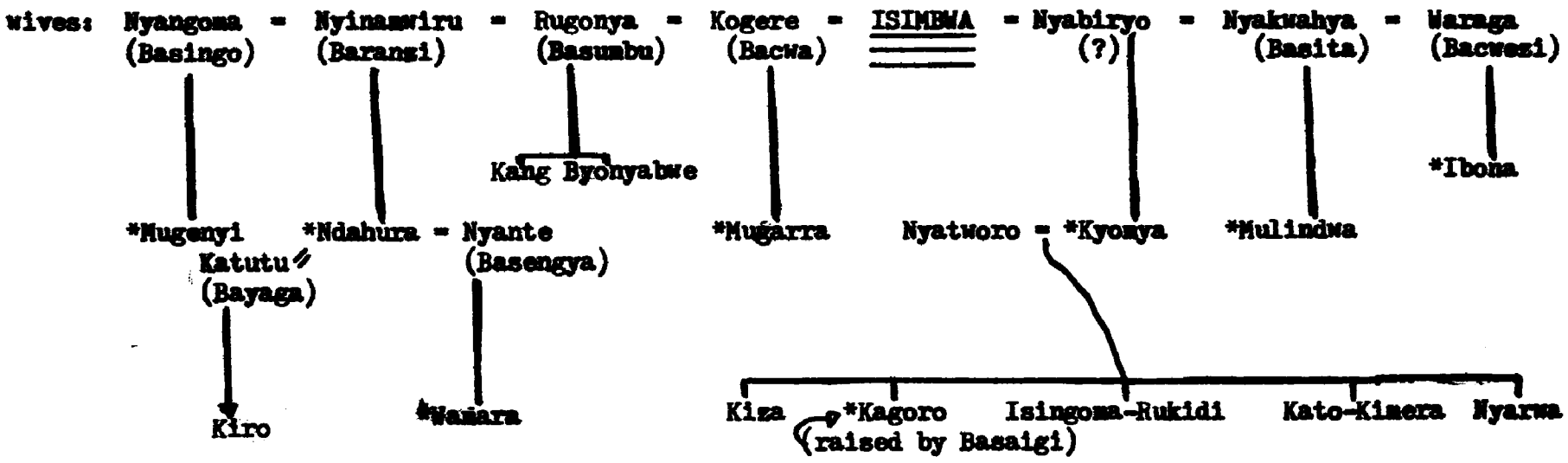
by the acquisition of cattle, but the rebellion against Bukuku suggests that cattle alone did not assure Bahuma status.

The success of the Baranzi clan was apparently short-lived. Support fell away and surviving Kitara court traditions focus on the more "vital" problem of transition, which emphasized the continuity of rule, or perhaps more accurately, the maintenance of order and authority. Isimbwa, a son of Isaza and Nyamata, "used to hunt upon the earth, and one day he came to the country ruled by Bukuku. He saw that the land was fertile, rich in people and herds, and he desired to possess it."[24] Isimbwa, both a hunter and aspiring pastoralist, provides the transition to the Bacwezi period. Ndaula (more commonly referred to as Ndahura), the son of Isimbwa and Nyinamwiru, Bukuku's daughter, was destined to slay his "grandfather," Bukuku, and emerge as the greatest warrior king of Kitara history.

The Traditions of Isimbwa and the Emergence of the Bahuma Pastoral Aristocracy

The Isimbwa tradition is the key to the transition from the Batembuzi to the Bacwezi period, one that established the socio-political legitimacy of the most prominent clans of the Bacwezi period. All the prominent clans that formed the backbone of the Bahuma pastoral aristocracy in the Bacwezi period claim to be linked to "Isimbwa" by intermarriage, and the offspring of these unions are remembered in clan traditions as the illustrious Bacwezi. Although in Kitara court tradition the emphasis is upon Isimbwa's fathering of Ndahura, the first Bacwezi king, Isimbwa obviously has a more pervasive presence in the accounts. (See chart, next page.) The Basita, Basingo, and Basambu clans are all part of the Isimbwa genealogy, along with the Baranzi, Basaigi, Bacwa and Basengya clans. Even

Isimbwa and His Descendants:
The Bacwezi Genealogy



Note: Asterisks indicate the nine Bacwezi who were subsequently deified by their respective clans. Parentheses identify clans of the wives of Isimbwa, Ndahura and Kyomya.

Sources: P. Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 16-21,
J. Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 3-4.

the Babito dynasty (who succeeded the Bacwezi in the 16th century) has grafted on a lineage that traces back to Isimbwa through Kyoma, the father of the first Babito ruler, Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi. It is clear that for a select group the Isimbwa tradition became a vehicle of social and political legitimacy.

According to the Fisher and Bikunya accounts, Bukuku's daughter had a forbidden love affair with Isimbwa. An elusive figure, Isimbwa is sometimes identified as the son of the union of Isaza and Nyamata, who was raised in the "underground" or unknown kingdom (Bwera) where Isaza met his fate.[26] In other traditions Isimbwa is clearly a pastoralist who "left his flocks and brothers and relatives to the "east," (specific location unspecified), and came to live in Kisozi,"[27] on the Ggomba/Buddu county border, just north of the Katonga River and Bwera. He traveled by a circuitous route through Bukedi (north of the Nile) and Buruli saza (south of the Nile) to Kisozi hill and finally arrived at the residence of Bukuku's daughter.[28] Stories also relate Isimbwa traveled and hunted with his "son" Kyomya, as far north as Madi (near the modern Sudan border) and Ganyi, east of the Nile, where he "found" the Bapina, Bakonga and Babwijwa clans.[29]

What is the historian to make of this paripatetic hero? He is a peripheral figure in terms of his involvement and political leadership of Kitara society, and yet he is, like a midwife, essential to traditional explanations of the emergence of kingship in the Bacwezi period. The Isimbwa traditions illustrate a motif, which is not uncommon in the oral traditions of Africa, that has been regarded by some interpreters in exclusively symbolic terms. Stephen Lucas has concluded that the thinkers who shaped oral tradition in a given society present "the hero from the outside" (such as Isimbwa) as the only possible solution to the philosophical

problem of explaining the development of inequality out of equality which is posed to them by a revolutionary social change they had experienced. In this context, the key figure becomes a go-between, an intermediary, as suggested above, a kind of midwife to the birth of a new political order while affecting the demise of the old. The "outsider hero" therefore symbolizes the central ambiguity of politics: to be subjected to the group's rules of conduct, and yet stand somehow beyond their pale.[30] Here is certainly a challenge to the diffusionists, who have pictured waves of immigrants introducing kingship and civilization to the lacustrine region.[31]

As more is known of the dynamics of socio-political change in pre-colonial Africa the diffusionist theories became increasingly unsatisfactory. Lucas' explanation of the outsider as symbol, however attractive, nevertheless ignores the dynamics of continuing population movements and interactions that so characterized the pre-colonial African and particularly interlacustrine history. While the symbolic and the diffusionist views represent the two extremes with regard to the interpretation of oral tradition, others, such as B. A. Ogot, have collected evidence which has clarified the internal dynamics of the emergence of kingship from plural societies such as Kitara was.[32] Clan traditions of the Kitara complex make clear that internal changes are essential to understanding the development of kingship in the Bacwezi period.

Kitara traditions do not focus on an "outsider" or "foreigners;" rather the formula of intermarriage with new intrusive groups (such as the Bahuma pastoralists) is used repeatedly to preserve the myth of dynastic continuity. Historically fictitious as these marriages may be, it is clear that Kitara traditional thought emphasizes a concern for continuity amidst change. The vehicle of change, intermarriage, communicates symbolically

that change is viewed as involving interaction between groups over time and between outsiders and members of the Kitara complex. Such a view assumes an active role for both the population of the Kitara complex and intrusive groups: Kitara is not the passive recipient of a state system introduced by outsiders, but interacts dynamically with group after group of immigrants moving through the grasslands corridors.

Such an interpretation, therefore, does not require a literal acceptance of tradition, e.g. the actual intermarriage of Isimbwa and Bukuku's daughter, but it does attribute to traditional thinkers an appreciation of historical evolution and casts a more evolutionary perspective on Kitara's remote past. Kitara oral tradition is not just a series of cataclysmic events and conquest initiated by foreigners. In the Batembuzi period the key traditional figures are remembered for having organized the Kitara complex politically, (e.g. into sazas). Although power struggles are evident, as in the tradition of Isaza and Nyamuyonga, Isaza is not primarily a military leader in tradition; no battles are remembered. The external sources of political tension in the Batembuzi period are essentially between political leaders with a clan base, the Bagabu (Isaza) and pastoral "outsiders." The internal sources of tension are between the older mixed-agriculturalists groups, such as the Baranzi (Bukuku) and more class conscious Bahuma pastoralists.

If this interpretation is correct, the Isimbwa tradition represents the interaction between people of the Kitara complex and a distinct, intrusive pastoral group. Isimbwa's "lifetime" parallels the migration of a group of Bahuma pastoralists with Sanga cattle, telescoped into a biographical narrative. Isimbwa's group is not identified by clan, but Kitara tradition relates in the story of Isimbwa and Nyinamwiru the migration preceded by

at least one generation their rise to political power. The only clan traditions that would fit into this sequence are the Basita and Basingo groups from the northeast, described in Chapter IV.

As hypothesized in the previous chapter, the Basita and Basingo clans represent the earliest of such groups to arrive in the Kitara complex since they are pre-Bacwezi.[33] Other Bahuma groups, also represented in the Isimbwa genealogy, such as the Basengya, Bacwa, and Basambu are also directly involved with the events of the early Bacwezi period and Ndahura. According to Bikunya, Isimbwa, who "went away" after impregnating Bukuku's daughter, returned with cattle after his son, Ndahura took the throne, arriving from "Magonda" (location unknown) by a circuitous route at Nyinamwiru's (Ndahura's mother) palace at Kikwenuzi.[34] It is possible that the two journeys Isaza makes to Kitara represent two waves of Bahuma immigration. Both may have originated in the vicinity of Mt. Elgon. One branch, represented by the first journey of Isimbwa (and the Basita and Basingo clans) moved north of Lake Victoria into the Kitara complex (c. 12th-13th centuries); the other branch, associated with the second journey of Isimbwa when he returned to visit his "son" Ndahura in the Bacwezi period (c. 14th-16th centuries) represented Bahuma groups such as the Basengya in the Isimbwa genealogy who had moved around the east side of Lake Victoria and settled in Bwera, just south of the Katonga River. These two journeys in the Isimbwa traditions refer to two chronologically distinct phases of Bahuma migrations -- the migration from the northeast being the earlier, the movement from groups settled south of the Katonga river a later, secondary migration north into Kitara. These Bahuma in Bwera may have constituted the expansionist phase of the Bahuma pastoralists described by Oliver, which are linked to the traditions of the Bacwezi period.

Both of these pastoral intrusions are reflected in Kitara clan traditions, where one finds reference to the emergence of a group of clans referred to specifically as "bahuma." These bahuma clans are associated in tradition with a growing sense of class consciousness that can only be described as aristocratic, a point illustrated by the following description:

> The Muhuma is a herdsman and nothing but a herdsman .... 'Long life to the cow!' Such is the salutation of the Barundi shepherds. 'How are the herds?' say the shepherds of Nkole, expressing their contempt for anyone who is not a Muhima or a cow. His exclusiveness is fundamental .... Even the ... zebu is for the Muhima a common 'nte nyiru' (cow of the Mwiru). He does not lower himself to drink its milk or admit them to his kraals, which are reserved for 'nte npima' (cattle with lyre-shaped horns, e.g. Sanga).[35]

With the presence of Bahuma clans in Kitara, a greater degree of class consciousness is apparent in traditions reflective of quite distinct life styles.

> The arrival of the Bahuma pastoralists in South-west Uganda brought a culture that differed from that of the Bantu in two diametrically opposite directions. It was a culture that had a nicety and refinement about it which the Bantu lacked. Not only were many of its artifacts, its spears, wooden food-vessels, milk-pots and small baskets far superior to those of the Bantu but it had also developed elaborate ceremonies concerning the use and care of milk and all else that pertained to its herds, and a ritualistic way of life .... He has been able to build up and develop his tradition until court ceremonies at certain seasons or hours of the day, and especially ceremonies concerning the king's milk, have been evolved to a remarkable degree.[36]

Until recently there were no clear cut physical or biochemical data to distinguish the Bahuma/Bahima ethnically from the Bairu groups in the interlacustrine region. The physical differences (height, lighter-skin) claimed by traditions were regarded as attributable to nutritional and social factors acting through natural selection.[37] However, recent studies suggest that "two distinct ethnic groups can be delineated in the interlacustrine region by the presence or absence of an intestinal enzyme, lactase, which is necessary for the digestion of milk sugar lactase. The (Ba)Hima

and (Ba)Tutsi have the enzyme in adult life; the Bantu tribes (including the Ganda, (Ba)Iru and (Ba)Hutu are largely lactase-deficient. This enzyme, acquired genetically, is the clearest index yet discovered differentiating the Bahuma group.[38] As indicated earler, archaeological evidence has also linked these pastoralists bringing Sanga cattle with Roulette ware pottery, which is in evidence in the Kitara complex as early as the 13th century.[39] (See Chapter VI.)

In Kitara court traditions the intrusion of this ethnically distinct group associated with Sanga cattle was a vividly remembered event. One of the most interesting examples of this association occurred when Henry Morton Stanley arrived at Lake Onekbonyo in June, 1889. Kakuri, a chief of the islands of Lake Rweru in Busongora saza was beleaguered by Mukama Kabarega's army, the Barusura. At Stanley's approach, the Barusura withdrew. Kakuri asked Stanley to burn the neighboring town of Katwe on the shore. Stanley complied and had a few villages near the shore burned, and Kakuri and his man replied, "I believe you to be of the Wanyavingi (Wanyamwenge-people of Mwenge) now." Stanley asked what he meant, and the reply came, "Why do you ask? Do you not know that we believe you to be of the Wanyavingi? Who but the Wanyavingi and Wachwezi (people of Cwezi) are of your colour?" These Bacwezi were "tall, big men with long noses and a pale colour, who came as I heard from our old men, from somewhere beyond Ruwenzori, and you came from that direction; therefore, you must be of the Wanyavingi." "Where do they live?" "Ruanda." Since Stanley had no inkling of the significance of these remarks, it is doubtful he embroidered it as he is known to have other passages of his travels. In his account the link between Bahuma pastoralists (Mwenge) and Bacwezi and origins to the south is clear.

Despite the ethnic differences described in tradition, no Kitara informants equated Bahuma exclusively with either "foreigners," or Isimbwa, or the Bacwezi. Some older clans of the western stream, such as the Baranzi clan of the Bukuku tradition and the Basonga/Barungu clans, acquired Sanga cattle, pastoral customs, and emerged as Bahuma clans during the Bacwezi period.[41] The Basaigi clan, which separated from the Bagabu, and the Babopi clan, which raised Ndahura, are also included.[42] However, other, new Bahuma clans with no links to older clan groups or to the Isimbwa genealogy (see Chart) enter into the history of the Kitara complex by the Bacwezi period (c. 13th century). These Bahuma clans, which include the Basambu, Bafunjo/Bahati/Bazira, the Balisa/Basonde/Bakurungu, the Bacwamba/Bane, the Baitira/Bairuntu and the Baisanza, arrived from south of the Katonga River.[43] These Bahuma clans will be discussed in Chapter VI in terms of their impact on the Bacwezi period, but it was necessary to introduce them here to illustrate and define the very complex term, Bahuma.

To summarize, Kitara clan traditions make clear that the designation of "Bahuma clans" reflect complex social changes in the interlacustrine region. The emergence of Bahuma clans in Kitara during the latter Batembuzi period represents a composite of intrusive groups and older Kitara clan groups which are not synonymous with Nkore "Bahima" nor Rwanda "Batutsi" nor with the Isimbwa genealogy, nor the term Bacwezi. Such equations of terms have had a rather wide currency since the publication of the Oxford History of East Africa, I (1936), in which Roland Oliver, in referring to the Bagabu, Baranzi and Bacwezi, commented,

> These western dynasties are clearly more real, for they are the names of clans which still exist among the pastoral aristocracy known as (Ba)Hima in Uganda and Tutsi in Rwanda. On the whole it seems likely that the Ganda kingdom of Chwa was identical with that of the Chwezi,

> and that what the (Ba)Bito conquered was already ... a single political unit dominated by (Ba)Hima pastoralists under kings of the (Ba)Chwezi clan.[44]

The onset of Ndahura and the Bacwezi period did not simply involve the conquest and domination of Kitara by foreign Bahuma. With the Bacwezi period intrusive pastoral groups began to emerge in chiefly positions and prominent social and military roles, but Ndahura, the first Bacwezi king, according to tradition emerges from a lowly social position within Kitara society. Although the "grandson of Bukuku" in tradition, he is said to have been raised by a potter's family (Babopi clan) away from court. His career did not involve the introduction of a totally new political system. Rather his innovations built upon existing institutions; for example, the saza unit was retained.

However, Ndahura's reign does mark the centralization of political institutions and their adaptation to the new social and economic realities of a more widespread pastoralism and a more aristocratically based society. The regalia of Kingship -- royal drums, beaded crowns surmounted by tall copper cones, copper spears for ritual use, reed fenced royal enclosures -- are all associated with Ndahura and Bacwezi rule.[47] "New moon ceremonies" lasting nine days were held at court each month inside the royal enclosure. G. Casati (1886) reported that this rite, which was retained by the Babito successors to the Bacwezi, involved human and cattle sacrifice.[48] Ceremonial herding and milk drinking were part of the ruler's daily ritual as was the observance of certain milk taboos.[49] Chiefs, young pages, wives, and servants were all in attendance.

The Traditions of Ndahura and Kingship

The progeny of the royal liaison between Isimbwa and Nyinamwiru was Ndahura (the uprooter), Kyarubumbi (son of a potter), Rwesakara Myambi (who thatches himself with arrows), Rumoma Mahunga (the attacker of nations), hereafter referred to as Ndahura.[45] According to tradition, Ndahura was raised by a Muiru, a potter's family of the Babopi clan (lion totem).[46]

Karubumbi, a name means literally "son of a potter," (thus raising additional questions about his parentage which are left unresolved) grew to maturity and clashed with Bukuku's herdsmen at a watering place. When Bukuku himself came to investigate, Ndahura slew him, "crowned himself" by sitting on Bukuku's stool, and proclaimed himself Bukuku's heir.[50] He established his capital at Mubende hill near Kisozi hill north of Bwera and the Katonga River. Nyinamwiru is said to have recognized and claimed him as her "lost son" and became Queen Mother, a title which accorded her respect, a separate enclosure with her own retainers and servants, lands, and cattle.[51] Rubumbi, the potter who raised Ndahura, was made saza chief. Ndahura I's support by the Babopi clan, whom he was careful to reward with court positions, indicates that his base of support was quite different from Bukuku's and the Baranzi clan. Although he subsequently acquired the support of Nyinamwiru and presumably some of the Baranzi clan, other Baranzi appear to have fled the political scene south to Busongora. Others, for example, the Lanzi clan of Ukerebe, who have the same totem (hippo) as well as the same name as the Kitara group, left the Kitara complex and traveled south/southeast, finally arriving in Ukerewe. G. Hartwig estimates their arrival in the 16th century, but Kitara traditions suggest they began their migrations much earlier.[52]

When Ndahura took the throne, the surrounding region was said to be still in a "state of rebellion" against Bukuku. Ndahura launched a series

of campaigns against the rebels, and set out to acquire allies. He is said to have turned to the north and brought "his relatives and their cattle" into the country to support him.[53] It is this gesture that may represent the politization of subsequent intrusive Bahuma pastoralists. These allies became Ndahura's military supporters in the expansion of the Kitara state.[54]

A reference made by Karubanga to the "return of Isimbwa," who was appointed chief and stayed at Kisozi (Hill of the Grasshopper), may refer to additional Sanga pastoralists who entered the Kitara complex during this period. Bikunya tells of Isimbwa's "return" during Ndahura's reign in this way: "When they got to the hill of Musenene ("grasshopper," possibly a reference to either Kisozi hill occupied by the Basonga/Grasshopper clan or to Kamusenene, a hill of 3,868' in Bulemezi County, Buganda), Isimbwa asked Rubumbi to go and notify Nyinamwiru Ndahura's mother of his arrival. They feasted and enjoyed Nyinamwiru's hospitality for some time and journeyed with her to Ndahura's court at "Magonda," where they celebrated and "Isimbwa" was made chief of Kisozi.[55] When he settled there he took wives from the Basaigi, Bacwa, Basita, Basingo, Basambu and Bacwezi clans.[56]

Ndahura embarked on military campaigns which extended the boundaries of Kitara. 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.[57] It is said that Ndahura removed Nsinga's crown of red feathers and substituted one of grass before executing him by casting him off the escarpment into Lake Onekbonyo.[58] Inasmuch as Bugoma is the forest area bodering the Kibiro saltworks, it may be that economic motivations provided an incentive for the campaign. Bugoma's rebellion could have meant the interruption of the salt supply from Kibiro, however erratic or tenuous the trade links may have been.[59]

An impressive series of campaigns followed the subjection of Bugoma. Ndahura is said to have led successful campaigns north to Buruli, followed by campaigns south through Nkore, Karagwe, Bukuma and Rwanda, from which the army returned via the Kazinga Channel (Busongora) and Bulega (Zaire).[60] Still another campaign is reported north into Madi country, where "Ndahura" captured black cattle and a stool with eight legs, after which they returned to Kitara around the west side of Lake Onekbonyo through Toro and Busongora.[61] Other campaigns are remembered: one to the east to Buganda where "Ntege" was ousted and Kyomya made paramount chief, and beyond Buganda to Busoga and around the east side of Lake Victoria to Sukuma country.[62]

There is some evidence to suggest that the Kitara claim that Ndahura's campaigns during the Bacwezi period extended into western Kenya are not entirely idle boasts. In central Nyanza (Kenya) there is one group, the Wanga, whose institutions of kingship are linked in tradition with pastoral "Muhima" who arrived from western Uganda and dominated the agricultural peoples. They came with large-horned (Sanga) cattle, which they milked. A significant link is a reference in Wanga tradition to a copper bracelet and sacred spears, also mentioned in traditions of the western stream (see chapter II) and the Bacwezi. This bracelet confers legitimacy upon Wanga rulers.[63] However, the majority of Wanga clans (seven of the eleven listed by Dundas) have the Bushbuck (a Luo) totem; there is thus a "Luo overlay" that occurred after the earlier Bahuma intrusion, of the Bacwezi period.[64] B. A. Ogot has reported that "certain Muhima had established a kind of hegemony over the agricultural peoples of the same area such as the Abamulembwa and Abarungu." The Barungu are a Kitara clan of the early western stream of immigrants. Barungu traditions also mention copper insignia, but Ogot does not elaborate on the name "Abarungu," or their chiefly regalia, so

the link rests on the similarity of names and Kitara traditions of campaigns into Kenya.

To summarize, the political changes of the Batembuzi and Bacwezi periods were associated with a social restructuring of the Kitara complex accompanying the arrival of Bahuma pastoralists with Sanga cattle. The Bagabu and Baranzi clans, dominant during the Batembuzi period, were not intrusive Bahuma clans but the descendants of earlier settlers from the west and north. However, the traditions of Isaza (Bagabu) and Bukuku (Baranzi) relate that both leaders were desirous of acquiring and maintaining herds of cattle. Although the term Bahuma has been linked to a lighter-skinned, ethnically and genetically distinct group of immigrants, Kitara clan and court traditions make clear that the term is not used exclusively in this context. Some older Kitara clans adopted the cattle oriented culture and are remembered as Bahuma. The Isimbwa traditions also relate intrusive Bahuma arriving from the northeast and the Mt. Elgon area, and the traditions of Ndahura and the Bacwezi period tell of still other Bahuma entering Kitara from the south. The descendants of Isimbwa are particularly important in Kitara because they constitute the roll of clans that were politically and socially prominent in the Bacwezi period. With the reign of Ndahura, the son of Isimbwa and Bukuku's daughter, marked political changes occur. The values and culture of the intrusive Bahuma are adopted, and the Kitara state enters a new and expansive stage. The clans associated with the revolutionary social and political changes will be discussed in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 54, and Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500 - 1840," 181.

[2]Bikunya, Ky'abakama ba Bunyoro, 1, 5-7; also Fisher, Twilight Tales, 74.

[3]A. Kagwa had published Buganda's longer kinglist and the Banyoro, as a point of ethnic pride, secure in the knowledge of Kitara's greater antiquity, came up with additional names which are unsubstantiated by any other source.

[4]K. W., "Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, III:2 (1935), 157.

[5]Bikunya, Ky'abakama ba Bunyoro, 7.

[6]Ibid., 7-8.

[7]Richard F. Burton, The Lake Regions of Central Africa, II (New York, 1961), 187, and John H. Speke, Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile (London, 1906), 248.

[8]J. H. Driberg, "Gala Colonists and the Lake Regions of Africa," Ethnologische Studien, Zeitschrift fur das gesamte Gebiet der Volkerkundi, (Leipzig, 1931), 196.

[9]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 8, and Fisher, Twilight Tales, 76-78.

[10]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 32.

[11]K. W., "The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, III:2 (1935), 157. Asterisks indicate the same chief and area of rule as cited in Bikunya, 15. K. W. lengthened the list by four. In neighboring Buganda, there is evidence to suggest that early provincial or saza chiefships were hereditary within a given clan, although succession was not always limited to the same lineage within the clan: of the oldest saza chiefships, six were governed by chiefs of the same clan well into the 17th century. Appointive chiefships were a later development (18th century), and reflected the increasing centralization of the Baganda state. See A. H. Cox, "Growth and Expansion of Buganda," UJ, 14 (1950), 153-159.

[12]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 13.

[13]Ibid., 10 and Roscoe, Bakitara, 52-54. Roscoe reported that although the ruler had the right to appoint chiefs, "once a man had been appointed, it was customary for his son or a clansman to succeed him:" ap-

pointment of a man of another clan was uncommon. Unfortunately, no specific historial dimension would be established for his generalizations.

[14]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 9.

[15]Karugire, History of Nkore, 119.

[16]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 10.

[17]R. Oliver, "A Question About the Bachwezi," UJ, 17:2 (1953), 136-137.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 1.

[20]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 15-16. Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 2 also lists the rebellious chiefs and agrees with Bikunya but adds "Ganyi of Acholi and Madi, Nyaba of Masaka, and Katani Ka Msinga of Buddu."

[21]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 15-16.

[22]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 1.

[23]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 15-16.

[24]A. R. Dunbar, A History of Bunyoro-Kitara (Nairobi, 1965), 17.

[25]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 16-21, and Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 3-4.

[26]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 82, and Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 16.

[27]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 3. Kisozi hill on the Ggomba/Buddu county border was mentioned in the migration stories of the Grasshopper totemic group; see Chapter III.

[28]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 16.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Stephen A. Lucas, "The Outsider and the Origin of the State in Katanga," Paper presented at African Studies Association Annual Conference, Denver, 1971.

[31]C. G. Seligman, Races of Africa (London, 1939), 156, and G. W. B. Huntingford, "The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by its Modern Inhabitants," History of East Africa, I, edited by Oliver and Mathew, 65.

[32]B. A. Ogot, "Kingship and Statelessness Among the Nilotes," The Historian in Tropical Africa, edited by J. Vansina et. al. (London, 1964).

[33]Labani Musoke, Kerenda village, Sabaddu Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, document prepared for court case concerning the Basita clan. Translated from Lutoro by Elijah Kasenene, July, 1969.

[34]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 19-21.

[35]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 11-13.

[36]M. Trowell and K. P. Wachsmann, Tribal Crafts of Uganda (London, 1953), 62-63.

[37]M. Posnansky, "Kingship, Archaeology and Historical Myth," UJ, 30, (1966), 1-12.

[38]G. C. Cook, "Lactase Deficiency: A Probable Ethnological Marker in East Africa," Man, 4 (1969), 265-266.

[39]M. Posnansky, "Pottery Types from Archaeological Sites in East Africa," JAH, 2 (1961), 188-191; 195-196. Two pottery styles, a highly burnished ware with a red slip, and a coarse black ware are characteristic. After the Bigo culture, pottery became regionally differentiated. Suggested dates are from M. Posnansky, "Kingship, Archaeology and Historical Myth," UJ, 30 (1966), 4.

[40]H. M. Stanley, In Darkest Africa, II (London, 1890), 316-317.

[41]E. Kalyegira, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969; H. K. Nkojo, Nyakasura village, Burahya Saza, interview of February 24, 1969; J. Roscoe, The Banyankole (Cambridge, 1923), 7-11.

[42]Ibid.

[43]S. Karugire, History of Nkore, 72, 119, agrees on this point. Karugire provided no list of sub-clans in his study, although some clans, such as the Basingo, are mentioned, 79, 278. Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 20, reported the Grasshopper totem of the clan. Roscoe, The Banyankole, 7-11; and Fr. Geraud, pamphlet with title page removed, (1964), 3, 6, 8, 10.

[44]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 181.

[45]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 1.

[46]Karabanga, Bukya Nibwira, 3.

[47]R. Oliver, "The Traditional Histories of Buganda, Bunyoro, and Ankole," JRAI, 85 (1955), 116. G. Casati, Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha, II (London, 1891) described the construction of the Mukama's palace in 1886 as having seven doors, each of which was reserved for a special class of persons -- the inhabitants of the district, Bahuma herdsmen, the royal family, the royal herd of cattle, were mentioned. This description has interesting parallels with E. C. Lanning's description of the Masaka Hill site, which is traditionally associated with the Bacwezi. E. C. Lanning, "Masaka Hill - An Ancient Center of Worship," UJ, 18 (1954),

24-25, 28. At Masaka he found six gates around an enclosure, each used for a specific function.

[48]Casati, Ten Years, II, 50. Roscoe, Bakitara, 107, says the new moon ceremony lasted nine days.

[49]Roscoe, Bakitara, 84, 86, 93-107. The customs were retained by the Babito dynasty and Roscoe observed the customs in this context. However, the Babito clearly state they learned these customs and language from their Bacwezi predecessors. See Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 31-34.

[50]H. H. Alsop, Cory File no. 45, Bukoba, "Bachwezi," November, 1930. Courtesy of G. Hartwig. Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 37, makes a similar point.

[51]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 3; Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 18; and Roscoe, Bakitara, 120, 146-148.

[52]Gerald Hartwig, "A Cultural History of Kerebe of Tanzania to 1895," Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1971, 109. The Lanzi arrived via Nkore, Buha, and Buzinzi before the Silamba royal clan of Kerebe emerged inthe late 16th century.

[53]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 3.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 19.

[56]Ibid., 21, and Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 4.

[57]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 19.

[58]Ibid.; Fisher, Twilight Tales, 90; Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 1.

[59]Hiernaux and Maquet, L'Age du Fer à Kibiro, 130. Expansion of the Kibiro salt trade has been associated with the Babito period, although some exploitation of the site began before that time.

[60]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 6, and Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 21.

[61]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 21-22.

[62]Ibid., 91.

[63]K. R. Dundas, "The Wawanga and Other Tribes of the Eldon District, British East Africa," JRAI, 43 (1913), 20-22, 27 ff.

[64]Ibid., 27-29.

[65]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 176.

CHAPTER VI

THE BAHUMA CLANS FROM THE SOUTH: MIGRATION TRADITIONS OF THE BACWEZI PERIOD

The emergence of the Bahuma as a distinct social class was a far from simple process that was not accomplished until the Bacwezi political takeover of Kitara (c. latter 13th century). While there is evidence of clans who became known as Bahuma entering the Kitara complex from the northeast, the intrusions or invasions of Bahuma pastoralists from south of the Katonga River are most directly associated with the Bacwezi period. Some of these clans, like the Basita and Basingo, had dispersed from the Kitara complex south to the Katona River (c. 13th century). Some of these groups fragmented from other earlier clan groups. Other Bahuma clans originated south of the Katonga River, and a few Bahuma have traditions that they originated even farther south and migrated around the east and southern sides of Lake Victoria to the interlacustrine region. The clan traditions will be examined below, since they are the strongest evidence supporting an hypothesis of the rise of a new southern power.

According to the Isimbwa genealogy wives from seven different Bahuma clans "mothered" nine important Bacwezi. This "Bacwezi genealogy" (see chart, Chapter V) represents a social register that assured the clans included a position of status and respect in Kitara through history. Each of these clans, the Basingo, the Basita, the Basambu, the Bacwa, the Basengya and the Basaigi will be discussed below in addition to other

Bahuma clans who formed part of the general Bahuma presence in southern Kitara, but who were not so politically important.[1] Their impact was also social and economic, contributing to the general reorientation of Kitara society to a cattle culture. The social framework of Kitara appears never to have been as rigid as that of Rwanda or Nkore, but there is a mixture of paternalism and dependence, as expressed in the idea of kulema ("ruling"), that pervades the whole field of social relations in Kitara. Special terms of address were used exclusively for the mukama and his activities (e.g. the word for death is -fa, but for a mukama's death, the verb -tuza is used); accession rituals dramatically marked the new ruler's change of status; and a special category of chiefs known as "crown wearers" (bajwara kondo) are a few of the innovations associated with Bacwezi rule.[2] There is consensus among informants that many of the chiefs traditionally were chosen from Bahuma clans.

As was the case with other clan traditions, each of these Bahuma clans has its own particular traditions, each of which are important to reconstructing a picture of population movement in the Bacwezi period (c. 13th - 15th centuries). These clans will be discussed below.

The Basingo-omurarra Cow Totemic Group. The Basingo clan (leopard totem) figured in early migrations from the northeast (see Chapter IV), but the second main branch of the clan, one with a cattle totem omurarra (humped cow with a band marking running from nose to tail), figures prominently in the Bacwezi period. The migration traditions of this group begin in Kenya, but they traveled around the east side of Lake Victoria through Kenya and Tanzania with Sanga cattle before turning north into the interlacustrine region. From the southwestern corner of Lake Victoria they

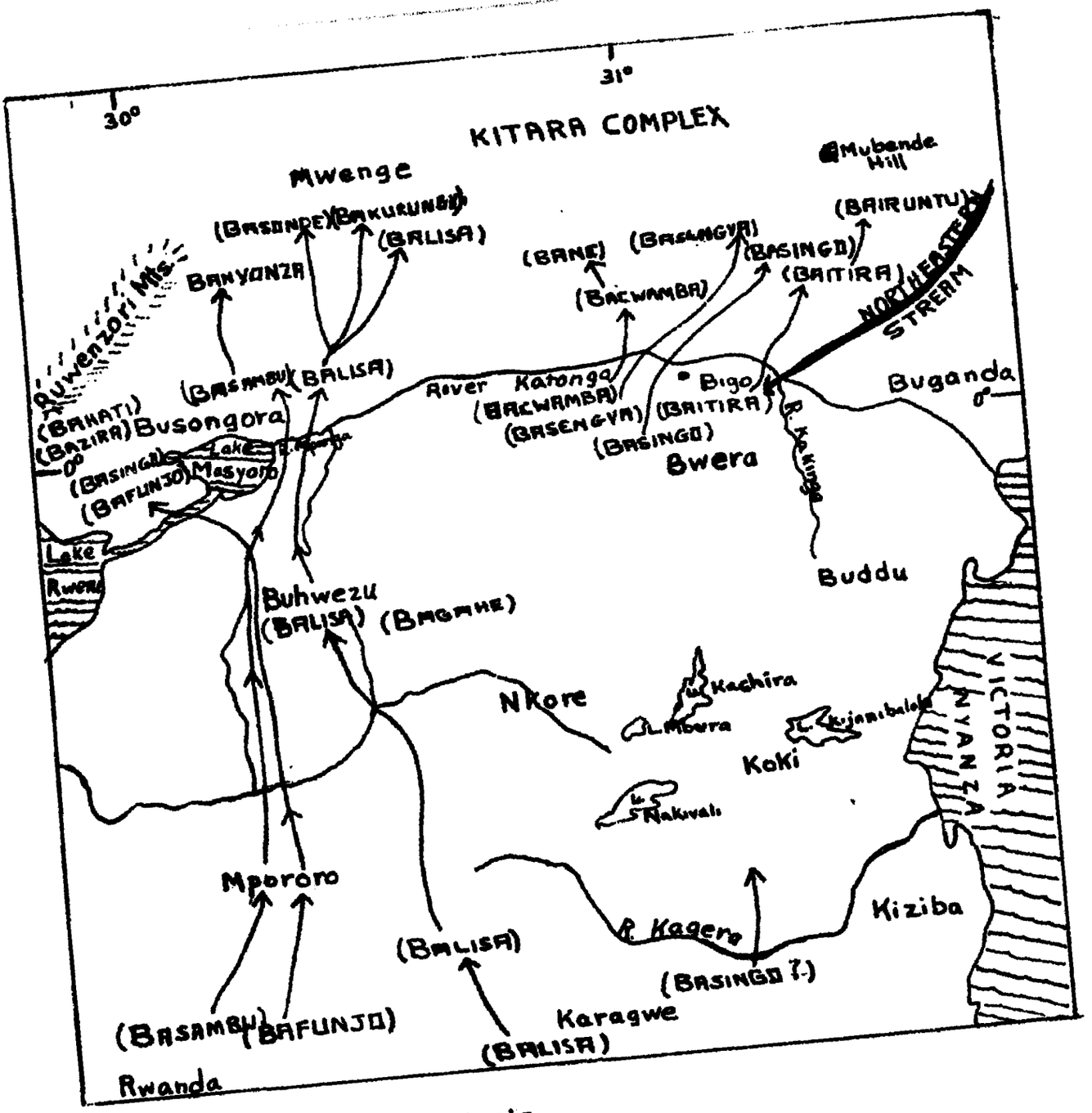
dispersed: some went west to Busongora saza and Rwanda and others north into the Kitara complex.[3]

The Entimba Cow Group. Several clans who moved into the Kitara complex at the outset of the Bacwezi period had the same entimba cow (one with red and black markings) totem: the Baliisa, Bazira, Bahati, Basonde, Baisanza, Bakurungu, and Basambu.[4] The number of clans identifying with a single totem is not unusual in the Nkore area, where all clans are sub-clans of four main clan groups.[5] Because of the differences in organization of the clan system south of the Katonga in Nkore, their presence in the Kitara system is evidence of migration. The impact these southern groups had on the Kitara complex was reflected in the Bahuma customs adopted by the Kitara complex. While this process began before the Bacwezi period, (as indicated in Chapter IV), the rate of change accelerated markedly when Bahuma groups such as the entimba who had occupied the savanna south of the Katonga became active in Kitara politics.

The Balisa. The Baliisa are a sub-clan of the Bagahe (Hippo totem), one of the four main clan groups in Nkore.[6] Like the Basingo, the Balisa are regarded as a Bahuma clan in Kitara and also claim links with Bahuma groups originating to the south. Their clan name is said to be taken from the verb kuliisa ("to graze"), and their main totem, entimba cow, also testifies to close association with pastoralism. Some informants of the Balisa clan reported their clan originated in Nkore south of the Katonga River,[7] but other informants in the Kitara complex said the Balisa group originated approximately two hundred miles farther south in "Karagwe" (Tanzania).[8]

A published migration story of the Balisa group relates their arrival in Buhweju (modern Nkore district) from Mpororro, south of the Rwizi

MIGRATION ROUTES OF BAHUMA CLANS FROM SOUTH OF THE KATONGA RIVER



KEY: Clan names in parenthesis
Proposed Migration Routes ⟶

River. In this account there were three brothers, Kataizi, Rugo and Kinyonyi, and their sister, Iremera. One day they observed "an eagle flashing fire like lightning" which landed on their roof and remained all night. Having consulted a diviner, they were advised to prepare to follow the eagle, "but carry with you much food," they were warned, "for the journey will be long." In this version the Balisa journeyed northwards following the eagle until they arrived in Buhweju, where the eldest, Kataizi, remained and ruled. The rest continued north to Mwenge Saza, in the Kitara complex, where Iremera became a wife of Ndahura, the Bacwezi ruler.[9]

The Bafunjo. Like the Basingo and Balisa, the Bafunjo clan claim to have originated to the south. The Bafunjo clan name is taken from abenfunjo (an unopened papyrus bud). The story explaining the name refers to their crossing a river on their migration "from Rwanda"; a clansman slipped and grabbed at the papyrus, but it uprooted, and he was drowned.[10] The Bafunjo had Sanga cattle by the time they entered Busongora saza, where they organized themselves under a female leader, Kogere, which appears to have been a title, and revolted against Bukuku, the Baranzi leader of the Batembuzi period.[11]

The Bafunjo account of their migration into Busongora and subsequent fighting against Bukuku (and also Ndahura, who led at least one campaign against them) suggests there were a series of Bahuma intrusions nibbling away at the periphery of the Kitara confederacy of the Batembuzi period before Ndahura ousted the Baranzi clan, took over as ruler, and used military means to subordinate the neighboring territories. The encounters between the Bafunjo under Kogere and Bukuku and later Ndahura are the only traditions of the military activities of any of the entimba clan group. Having occupied Busongora saza, their expansive urge was apparently satiated;

they defended what they had, but there is no evidence to indicate they attempted to expand the boundaries of Busongora further north. From their settlement area in Busongora, other groups with the entimba cow totem dispersed: the Bazira to Mwenge saza, and the Bahati (who branched from the Bazira) to Burahya and northern Toro district.[12]

The Bazira and Bahati clans. The Bazira and Bahati clans have in addition to the entimba cow totem, a guinea fowl totem, which informants regard as the earliest totem of their clan troups. The entimba cow, they say, resembled the guinea fowl and was thus selected by bahuma in the clan.[13] The guinea fowl totemic group may have been an early group of the western stream to settle Busongora (although there are no specific traditions). When they acquired Sanga cattle, they may have adopted the totem of the pastoral group with whom they had come in contact, (the Bafunjo), but this process by which older Kitara groups acquired cattle requires additional research.

The Basonde and Bakurungu clans. Another pair of clans that identify with the entimba totemic group are the Basonde and Bakurungu. The Basonde are said to have been ostracized by the Balisa clan when they developed a skin disease (ebisonde, "syphillis") in Kyaka saza.[14] Both the disease and the location of the group when the fragmentation occurred suggest it postdated the above divisions. Some Basonde left Kyaka to settle in Bugahya and Bujenje sazas; others settled in Buruli in Buganda where it is said they became known as the Abentimba clan.[15] The Bakurungu say they took their name "beautiful people" to distinguish themselves from the Basonde during this same crisis, but like them, they also kept the entimba totem.[16] The Bakurungu appear to have dispersed in a north-northwest direction as far as Kibiro saltworks on the shore of Lake Onekbonyo, where they

are among the earliest clans remembered by clan elders.[17]

The Baisanza. A smaller clan in Kitara that claims links with the Balisa/entimba totemic group are the Baisanza, who appear to have separated in Mwenge (their founder, "Kaliisa" was there).[18] Another informant placed their origin to the southeast in the Bwera area, and the clan founder was called "Omunyabweru" ("man from Bweru").[19] This may have led the Baisanza away from Bwera because of fighting with another clan. Whether this break coincided with the expansion of the Bahuma from Bwera is open to question.

The Basambu. This major clan is the last group in the Kitara complex identified with the entimba cow totemic group. The Basambu are of particular interest because they appear to be ultimately linked to the early western stream of immigration but were a group that did not settle in the Kitara complex.

> The Bashambo (Basambo) are a very old clan. Isimbwa, one of the Bacwezi and father of Ndahura, had two Bashambo, Nyakwahya and Rugomya, among his wives. In the time of the Batembuzi, the Bashambo...traditions unanimously recall their journey southwards. [Italics mine.][20]

They followed the Busongora valley, journeying south of Lake Rweru (Edward), where they divided into two groups. One group continued south to Rutchuru and then further south to Lake Tanganyika. Around Uvira they turned back north and arrived in Rwanda and Kigezi district.[21] In Rwanda the Bashambo are a sub-clan of the Bazigaba, "a very ancient family" which had already settled in Mutura, Rwanda, when the first Batutsi (Bahuma) arrived. The Bazigaba were known for their witchcraft, rainmaking, and blacksmith skills in Rwanda.[22] Having acquired Sanga cattle, a branch of the Basambu clan moved northwest from Rwanda to the Mpororro area (centuries before they emerged there as a ruling clan) in the 17th century.[23] In the Kigezi district of Uganda, where the clan also settled, Fr. Gerard reported that the

old people of this clan swore by "Rwitanzigye," which they said was the name of the lake from which their group originally came. Geraud did not recognize the lake, but it appears to be none other than the Bantu name for Lake Onekbonyo.[24]

As was the case with other Bantu speaking groups in the Kitara region, the Basambo appear to be another example of an early Bantu-speaking group that adapted themselves to the innovations of the Bahuma culture and adopted the entimba cow totem the process. Their other clan totems include a burnt house, (obutweki), a pregnant daughter, and a tool for making baskets (empindo). The Basambu continued their migration north, eventually entering the Kitara complex. However, there are no detailed accounts of their specific route. After they had settled in the Kitara complex and had adopted the entimba cow totem, the Banyonza, today a separate Kitara clan, separated from the Basambo.[25]

The unity of these groups who identify with the entimba cow totem supports their claim of links with Bahuma pastoralists. Their respective clan traditions all agree concerning their southern origins. Generally speaking, the "entimba group" appear to have been Bantu-speakers who migrated south via Kitara through Busongora to Rwanda, where they encountered Bahuma (in Rwanda called Batutsi pastoralists). Some adapted to pastoral ways and migrated back north with their cattle through Mpororoo and Busongora, where they fought Bukuku. Their resistance to Bukuku may explain why the Bafunjo group are omitted from Kitara court tradition. The fact that the entimba group settled around the southern periphery of the Kitara complex would also help to explain why they do not figure in a more prominent way in Kitara clan traditions generally; their dispersal into Kitara proper, e.g. Mwenge, may have been comparatively late, even after the Babito takeover of Kitara.

The diverse traditions of even this group identified by the same totem suggests that the Bahuma migrations were not a unified movement: they represent a series of incursions into the Kitara complex.

The Embazi Cow Totemic Group. The Baitira, the Bacwamba, the Bane, and the Bairuntu clans claim originally to have been "one clan" recognizing a common totem, the elephant (enjovu). Their origins lie to the east in Buganda and Busoga, where the elephant clan is associated with the Kintu group of immigrants which arrived in the area from the Mt. Elgon region by the 13th century.[26] (The clan estates of the Elephant group are situated in Busiro, one of the oldest sazas in the "core area" of Buganda.)[27] Unlike the Basita group, which also originated in the Mt. Elgon region and entered the Kitara complex through the savanna corridor, the Elephant clan group migrated closer to the shore of Lake Victoria, and entered the Kitara complex later than the Basita and Basingo groups. (See Chapter IV.) They traveled through Busiro, where some settled, but other members of the clan journeyed south to Bwera and Mubende, which was to become the geographic base from which the first Bacwezi ruler, Ndahura, built his empire.

The Elephant totemic group as such did not figure in the history of the Kitara complex until they acquired a pastoral totem, the embazi cow (a white cow with a reddish-brown band from head to tail) and Sanga cattle. This transition must have occurred in Bwera, where they encountered Bahuma with Sanga cattle, possibly the Baitira group, and adopted their pastoral customs. The Baitira clan of the Kitara complex exemplify this transition. Their migration traditions focus on the Bwera and Mubende areas, which were associated with the courts of the Bacwezi kings, Ndahura and Wamara (latter 13th century). The Baitira group in space and time are directly linked to the emergence of this new ruling group, but their traditions in Kitara sur-

vive only in barest outline.[28]

A formula story told to explain the fragmentation of the embazi cow clan group in the Bacwezi period is a variant of the "two brothers" tradition. Two brothers of the Baitira clan were traveling together and separated when one of the brother's wives had to stop to give birth. The brother tied his cow with a vine called orucwamba to get nourishment for her, and this became the source of the new clan's name--Bacwamba.[29] The split between the Baitira and the Bacwamba was in all likelihood not as peaceful as tradition implies. Another informant reported that the Baitira ran away with some of the cattle of the Bacwamba and caused the split.[30] (The Bane, mentioned above, are a small Kitara clan, which separated from the Bacwamba and are found primarily in the Toro district today.)[31]

The general migration route followed by the Baitira and Bacwamba "brothers" has several variants, but all are linked to the Bacwezi period. "They came from the underground with Ndahura" (i.e. Bwera) and brought their cattle.[32] One informant observed that the two groups may have separated in Bwera because there the orucwamba flourishes there where cows have been.[33]

To summarize, the traditions of the Baitira and Bacwamba are fairly coherent and complementary, associating them with the heartlands of the pastoralists of the Bacwezi period in Bwera, Mubende and Mwenge, and with the early political supporters of Ndahura. The Baitira, like the Basingo and Basambu clans became known in tradition as "famous cattlemen" for the Bacwezi.[34] A few of the Baitira are said to have remained in the Kitara complex after the demise of the Bacwezi rulers and offered their services as herdsmen (Abakoroogi) to the royal herd of the Babito successors.[35] The continuing association of the Bacwamba and Baitira clans with the court

of the Kitara complex is supported by a reference in Roscoe, who reported that a boy was still customarily chosen from the Baitira clan to herd the royal cattle that supplied the Mukama's milk.[36]

In the Kitara complex the Bairuntu clan (elephant totem) claims to be the oldest branch of all four clans, but the clan name itself (which incorporates the root -iru "agriculturist, artisan") suggests they did not emerge as a distinct group until after some consciousness of class differentiation developed, i.e. after the Bahuma and Sanga cattle were present. Although the elephant is an early totemic symbol in the Buganda/Busoga region, it seems they did not acquire their present names nor disperse into the Kitara complex until after or concurrently with the emergence of Bahuma pastoralists to positions of political and social prominence.[37]

The Basengya. The earliest totem of this clan is said to have been a bird (abinyonyi), but the group that settled in the Bwera and Buddu region emerged as the Basengya clan group became one of the more important Bahuma clans historically.[38] The Basengya traditionally furnished Isimbwa with a wife, and Wamara, son of Ndahura, was the "nephew" or "son" of the clan.[39] In Bwera, the Basana clan branched from the Basengya and migrated to Bugangaizi.[40] From "Wamara's palace" in Bwera the Basengya clan migrated northwest to Mubende, Mwenge and Kitagwenda sazas.[41] As Bacwezi power extended itself into Busongora saza, the Basengya moved into Busongora. There they became chiefs associated with sacrifices to Wamara which were offered at Katwe salt lake to insure the supply of salt, and were referred to as the "most most numerous bahuma clan" in the Busongora area.[42] Still another branch of the Basengya group, the Bangere, traveled north to Mbule Hill in Buganda.[43] This group was assimilated into Buganda society as the Crow (Nnamunjjona) clan.[44]

Of all the clan traditions associated with the Bahuma, only the above four groups, the leopard/omurarra cow totem, the entimba cow, embazi cow and abinyonyi totemic groups have traditions that associate them directly with the expansion of Bahuma pastoralists into Kitara from the south. Their clan traditions suggest there were not one but at least three significant bahuma migrations from the south into Kitara, one from Rwanda through Mpororro and Buhweju to Busongora saza, a second moving along the same savanna corridor but around the east side of Lake Masyoro across the Mpanga River, and a third quite separate group further east emerging in Bwera. (See "Bahuma Clans" map, p. 151.) There is insufficient evidence to determine the chronology or even the sequence of their respective invasions of Kitara. The most significant, however, was the Bwera group, who are prominently linked to the political centralization of the Bacwezi period (c. 13th - 16th centuries).

The Bahuma Clans that Emerged Within the Kitara Complex

Within the Kitara complex other clans that dated from the pre-dynastic and Batembuzi periods successfully made the transition and participated in the Bahuma social revolution that established a pastoral aristocracy in Kitara during the Bacwezi period. This fundamental social change which began with the arrival of Bahuma with Sanga cattle (c. 12th century) and culminated in the political centralization associated with Ndahura (latter 13th century) was a period when some of the same clans associated with the political leadership of the early Batembuzi period were apparently also among the first people of the Kitara complex to acquire Sanga cattle and thereby to maintain their positions of prominence into the Bacwezi period.

In some instances the Bakitara clansmen who acquired cattle broke

away from the original clan and formed a separate clan group. The Basaigi, whose original totem was the "tailless" totem of the Bagabu clan, adopted ente enkira ("tailless cow") after they separated from the Bagabu in Mwenge saza, one of the most favorable pastoral areas of Kitara.[45] The Basaigi clan name is said to come from kusaigana ("to hit in the eye"), thus commemorating an old family quarrel, possibly over cattle and the separation of the clan from the Bagabu.[46]

Another major clan group, the Basita, may have benefitted from their skills as ironworkers and acquired new wealth and status in Kitara history as a Bahuma clan, or as suggested earlier, may have been among the earliest immigrants to bring Sanga cattle. The obusito totem of the Basita clan (abstention from drinking the milk of a cow after it has recently given birth) became widely identified with the clan and the Bacwezi dynasty. According to one account, it was the Basita who fathered Wamara, the last king of the Bacwezi period,[47] and other sources attest the central role the Basita played in terms of their support for Wamara's candidacy and succession to the throne. (See Chapter VII.) There is also general agreement that Mulindwa, one of the other prominent mucwezi (pl. bacwezi) of the period was "mothered" by a clanswoman. Mulindwa's clash with Mugenyi of the Basingo clan (to be discussed in Chapter VII) remains one of the most popular stories of Kitara tradition and also contributes to the claim the prominence by the Basita group during the Bacwezi period.

The Basonga and Barungu clans (grasshopper totem) of Busongora saza already possessed some expertise in cattle management (see Chapter II and the tradition of the "uncle" of the Bayaga clan, the Basonga clan, who were "wealthy pastoralists"). The adoption of the new Sanga breed and the milking and associated customs by the Basonga and Barungu was apparently made

with relative ease. However, the Basonga group evidently remained in the comparative isolation of Busongora saza and did not play a central role in the political leadership of Kitara during the Bacwezi period.[48] It is possible that Busongora saza, occupied by the Bafunjo intrusive group remained independent of Bacwezi control.

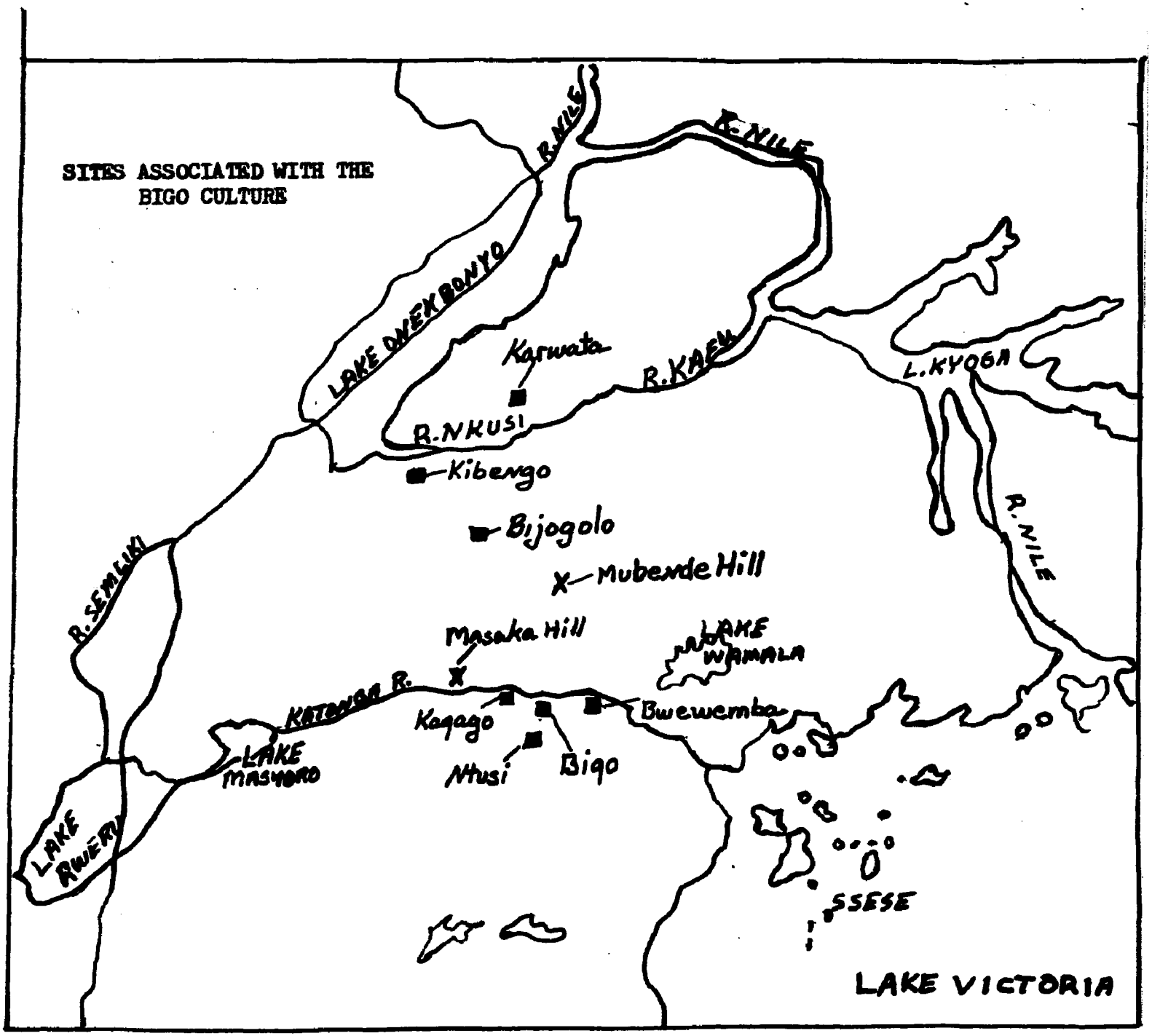
This group of older Kitara clans, the Basaigi, the Basita, the Basingo, the Basonga/Barungu, and also the Baranzi (discussed in Chapter V, the Bukuku tradition), represent adaptation to cultural changes that reached their climax in the Bacwezi period. They survived as part of the new aristocracy. Although there were new groups that entered Kitara for the first time at the outset of the Bacwezi period, the acceptance of the pastoral customs within Kitara preceded Bacwezi political control. These "Bahuma" are a crucial element in understanding the latter Batembuzi and the Bacwezi periods as a whole and the political leadership of the Bacwezi period.

The adaptation to Sanga pastoralism by older Kitara clans helps to explain why <u>not all</u> of the groups included as Bahuma in the Kitara complex had totems associated with cattle, although Roscoe categorized Bahuma clans according to their cattle totems.[49] The Basaigi kept the "tailless" totem of the Bagabu, and the Basonga and Barungu kept their grasshopper totem. The Baitira/Bacwamba kept the elephant totem although they also acquired a pastoral totem, and the Basingo, (leopard totem) acquired the <u>omurarra</u> cow. These changes reflect a measure of the growing <u>class</u> distinctions and cultural differentiation (the milk taboos and milking customs), more than ethnic differentiation in the Kitara complex, although the southern group of Bahuma may have been ethnically distinct.

Ndahura and Wamara: Kingship and Expansion

The socio-economic changes that were suggested as early as the period of Bagabu dominance and the Isaza traditions in the Kitara complex reach a climax with the political overthrow of the Baranzi clan by Ndahura, the first Bacwezi king. The Bacwezi era represented a golden age of Kitara, a time when Ndahura and Wamara, the two rulers associated with the period, together with Mulindwa, Mugenyi and their companions, all figured as heores of a great pastoral saga that is told and retold in the Kitara complex. The distinguishing features of the Bacwezi period are archaeological: roulette ware pottery[50] and the earthwork trenches, which are associated in tradition with the Bacwezi (but perhaps more accurately with intrusive Bahuma groups), and extend from the south bank of the Katonga River to northern Buyaga saza around Kulukulu hill. These sites form part of what Posnansky has labelled the "Bigo Culture," (c. 1350-1500), after the name of the most impressive site.[51]

Bigo, an iron age site on the south bank of the Katonga River (Bwera) was reputedly the site of the last capital of the Bacwezi (dated tentatively to the 14th century but possibly as early as the 13th century).[52] Bigo has over six and a half miles of earthwork trenches and is similar in type to Kagago and Kasonko of the Bigo culture. Other sites with perimeter trenches have been located as far north as Kibengo, a trench in northern Buyaga saza (seventy miles northwest of Bigo), and Kalisisi, at Masaka Hill, on the north bank of the Katonga River (eleven miles upstream from Bigo). Karwata, in the Bugoma forest, Munsa, and Bujogolo, Buyaga district, are each distinguished by a single perimeter trench about 500 yards wide; other sites have been located at Bwewemba and Kasonko hill in Mawagola saza.[53] (See map, p. 163.)


SITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE
BIGO CULTURE
R. NILE
R. NILE
LAKE OWEKABONYO
Karwata
R. KAFU
L. KYOGA
R. NKUSI
Kibengo
Bijogolo
Mubende Hill
R. NILE
R. SEMLIKI
Masaka Hill
LAKE
WAMALA
KATONGA R.
Kagago
Bwewemba
LAKE
MASAKA
Nkusi
Bigo
LAKE
RWERU
SSESE
LAKE VICTORIA

Archaeological evidence from these sites lends evidence to support oral traditions that Bahuma dominated this part of the interlacustrine area, as Kitara clan and court traditions suggest. Roland Oliver states, "The original layout of the central embankments was almost certainly similar to that of the typical 'orurembo,' or royal town, of the early Hinda kings of Ankole,"[54] whose culture was pastoralist and immediately succeeds the Bacwezi in Nkore (Ankole) tradition. That these sites were also associated with an ethnically distinct group of immigrants is further suggested by Bigo's complete name, which is said to be Bigo bya Mugenyi, literally, the "forts of Mugenyi," but the phrase could be transliterated "ebigo by'omugunyi" or "forts of the strangers,"[55] which would emphasize the distinctive identity of the builders of the site. The geographic distribution of the archaeological sites associated with the Bacwezi form the skeleton of the Bacwezi state of Kitara and extend diagonally across the heartland of the Kitara complex. This evidence, together with Kitara clan traditions place the Bacwezi period in a sharper historical context.

In addition, Bahuma culture contributed to the elaboration of the ritual associated with high political office. Certain copper regalia was part of the insignia of chiefship associated with the western stream of immigrants were retained, but the regalia of kingship associated with the Bacwezi include royal drums, beaded crowns surmounted by tall copper cones, copper spears for ritual use, and reed-fenced palaces.[56] The basic pattern of palace construction introduced at this time also had a lasting influence on the interlacustrine area and appears to have survived into the 19th century.[57] The royal enclosure always faced south (indicative of the direction from which the Bahuma came?) and capital sites were changed upon succession, a practice that also dates from Bacwezi times.[58]

Another innovation associated with the Bacwezi was the reckoning of succession. For the first time in Kitara clan and court tradition the clan of the mother is remembered. "The fathers were all of the same clan--Bacwezi--that is why they were remembered by their mother's clan" scarcely explains why this should be so in such a strongly patrilineal region. But like the ruling dynasty of Buganda, the Bacwezi were remembered by their mother's clans -- not only the rulers, Ndahura and Wamara, but prominent leaders of their court as well.

It is possible that the term Bacwezi was in fact a ruling or royal clan, as was the Babito, which was later the name of the "period" as well. There is a Bacwezi clan that survives to the present day in the Kitara complex, but this group makes no claim to being direct or lineal descendants of the Bacwezi. It is an agricultural group, and clan elders as well as other informants say the Bacwezi clan name commemorates the Bacwezi or was taken "in memory of the Bacwezi" after their demise and has no direct ties with the political traditions associated with the Bacwezi period.[59] Of the two small clans that branched from the Bacwezi, the Batenzi and Basumba, neither has any surviving traditions of links with the ruling Bacwezi. One can only conclude that if the Bacwezi were a ruling clan during this period, as is usually assumed, its traditions have no continuity with subsequent periods of Kitara history.

The impact of the Bahuma clans who arrived from the south upon the older clans of Kitara was no doubt considerable, but Nyakatura particularly emphasizes that they were not the same as the Bacwezi. He equates these southern Bahuma with the Bahinda (Nkore royal clan) and the Batutsi (aristocracy of the Rwanda Kingdom).[60] Nyakatura remarks that Ndahura "gave" them Bwera and Karokarungi (the ancient name for Nkore), but the

movement of these southern Bahuma suggests "giving" may not be an historically accurate description.[61] As long as there was a strong ruler, Kitara appears to have dominated the area south of the Katonga River. As time passed, Bacwezi power declined and a new power arose to the south associated with Ruhinda (grey monkey clan), (c. 16th century).[62]

As indicated earlier in the chapter, the clans involved in the southern group are generally quite distinct from the early Bahuma from the northeast, from the Isimbwa genealogy associated with the Bacwezi, and from the older Kitara clans who adopted Bahuma custom. The traditions of the southern group suggest they arrived south of the Katonga during the Bacwezi period and were a source of concern for the Bacwezi: the traditions of the Bafunjo group in Busongora saza assert that there was open hostility at times. Collectively these traditions illustrate how complex the settlement of the Kitara complex was and suggest the Bacwezi represented groups already at least partially assimilated into the Kitara complex.

The quest for the "identity" of the Bacwezi has attracted considerable attention in the historical writing of the western lacustrine region. C. C. Wrigley rejects the possibility of there being any historical content in the "legends" of the Bacwezi kings and regards them only as imaginary gods rather than representatives of historically significant events in the lacustrine area.[63] Huntingford, mentioned earlier, resurrected the "Hamitic theory," which regards the Bacwezi as being of "Hamitic stock," related to the Sidama people of southwestern Ethiopia.[64] He emphasizes the part of "Bacwezi tradition," which more accurately might be termed Bahuma tradition, that states they were "white." Huntingford compared their kingship and political institutions with those of the Sidama people of southeastern Ethiopia and Somalia. Like Seligman, who based his interpretation upon

the "superior" physical and cultural qualities of the "Hamitic" culture, Huntingford's use of the term appears to have certain racial implications as well. Seligman once wrote that the "Negro-Hamitic" peoples were the result of "incoming Hamites (who) were pastoral Caucasians -- arriving wave after wave -- better armed as well as quicker-witted than the dark, agricultural Negroes.... The Negro, who is now an excellent iron-worker, learnt this art from the Hamite."[65] While there is no question that the peoples and cultures of northeast Africa have had an impact on the rest of the continent, recent scholarship has argued against using linguistic terms such as "Hamite," (which has been replaced by the term "Nilo-Saharan").[66] Crazzolara theorized that the Bacwezi and Bahuma were Luo, a group which migrated to Kitara in the 15th century, is not supported by archaeology or Kitara clan tradition.[67] As will be seen in the next chapter, the Luo and the Bacwezi had different cultures and political institutions, including contrasting views of history reflected in the pattern of alternating titles for their rulers, as opposed to the linear historical traditions associated with the Babito dynasty, which were clearly Luo.

How pronounced a break with the past did the Bacwezi era represent? As described above, court traditions have emphasized continuity, while historians and other specialists have tended to emphasize the abruptness of change brought by a foreign group possessing a "superior" culture. It should be noted that none of the theorists attempted to collect traditions of Kitara clans. Traditions of the Bahuma clans of Kitara presented earlier in the chapter reveal that although some Bahuma clans are linked to intrusions of ethnically distinct immigrants from the south, other clans in Kitara which had much earlier associations with Kitara history adopted Sanga cattle and the milking customs and "became" Bahuma clans. Isaza in

the Batembuzi period was enamoured of Sanga cattle; Bukuku was also a cattle owner; neither is regarded as Bacwezi in tradition. With Ndahura, the first true king of Kitara tradition, Bahuma culture and Kitara culture came together: fundamental political and social changes resulted that left its mark on Kitara in a way that was still discernable in the 20th century. During the Bacwezi period that last major intrusive group that shaped Kitara history prior to the colonial period arrived and settled on the northern borderlands of Kitara -- the Luo speakers.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 16-21, and Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 3-4.

[2]Beattie, Bunyoro, (New York, 1960), and Beattie, Nyoro State, 108 ff.

[3]Gerisoni Kwebiiha, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969, and B. Kasenene, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969.

[4]T. Gubaza, Kigarobya Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 27, 1969; S. Kasaija, Bwanya Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 14, 1969; Byacaaka, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of March 31, 1969; Y. Kanagwo, Bukuku Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of February 25, 1969; Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969. "Bahati is said to be taken from "kihatika" a medicine used to get a cow to suckle its young. Bazira is said to come from the word "kuzira," meaning "something forbidden."

[5]Karugire, History of Nkore, 72.

[6]Samwiri Karugire, London, interview of December 17, 1968; Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 20, reported that the Bagahi clan had two branches -- the Balisa and Banuma (the latter is not a Kitara clan).

[7]Bishop Aberi Balya, interview of March 6, 1969, at his home near Fort Portal township; Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu Saza. interview of March 3, 1969; N. Mwanguhya, Kitumba village, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969.

[8]Karugire, History of Nkore, 122, and Fr. Nicolet, "Essai d'Histoire et d'Ethnologie de la Region Interlacustre du Centre Africain: Ancien Royaume du Kitara," 206, 24 February 1950, #803.11, White Fathers Archives, Rome.

[9]Perezi Kanyamunya, "The Tradition of the Coming of the Abalisa Clan to Buhweju, Ankole," UJ, 15:2 (1951), 191-192; Bishop A. Balya, interview of March 6, 1969, concurred with the basic outlines of this tradition.

[10]T. Gubaza, Kigarobya Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 27, 1969, said "in Rwanda."

[11]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 22. One informant said it was at this time in Mwenge that the Bazira separated from the Bafunjo. G. Kasorokabi, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 11, 1969.

[12]Byacaaka, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969, and T. Gubaza, Kigarobya Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 27, 1969.

[13]Ibid., and Y. Kanagwo, Bukuku Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of February 25, 1969.

[14]Tito Kihika, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 21, 1969, and E. Kaheru, Busisi village, Bugahya Saza, interview of Augusto 20, 1969.

[15]H. Rukuba, Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 29, 1969. S Bahondera, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 20, 1969; Kiziranfumbi Group interview, Bugahya Saza, August 22, 1969; Kiryandongo Gomborra Group interview, Kibanda Saza, August 27, 1969; Pakanyi Gomborra Group interview, Buruli Saza, August 29, 1969.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Benyamini Kaijamurubi, Kibiro village (saltworking site), Bugahya saza, interview of May 20, 1969.

[18]Edward Balenkoba, Butebe village, Burahya Saza, interview of June 12, 1969; H. K. Nkojo, Nyakasura village, near Fort Portal Township, interview of February 24, 1969.

[19]B. Munyema, Buhanika Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 28, 1969.

[20]Fr. Geraud, pamphlet (title page lost), on Kigezi (1964, 21.)

[21]Ibid., and Fr. Nicolet, "Essai d'Histoire et d'Ethnologie de la Region Interlacustre du Centre Africain," 198-199, #803.11, White Fathers Archives, Rome.

[22]Geraud, 13, 16, 18.

[23]Nicolet, "Essai d'Histoire et Ethnologie de la Region Interlacustre du Centre Africain," #803.11, 198-199, White Fathers Archives, Rome, and Geraud, 21. The Bashambo are said to have emerged as a ruling clan in Mpororro in the 17th century. H. F. Morris, "The Kingdom of Mpororo," UJ, 19 (1955), 204.

[24]Geraud, 9.

[25]A. Kabyemera, Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 19, 1969; Kiziranfumbi Gomborra Group interview, Bugahya Saza, August 22, 1969; and Nkoko Gomborra Group interview, Bugangaizi Saza, June 17, 1969.

[26]Isaleri Rwebisoro, Kisomora Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 11, 1969; K. Kaheru, Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 16, 1969; Cohen, "Mukama and Kintu," Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, (1970), 156.

[27]Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 28 (1964), 25-30.

[28]Daudi Rwaheeru, Bukuku Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of February 25, 1969; Y. R. K. Mulindwa, "Engeso Zaitu Ez'Obuhangwa," ("Our Traditional Customs"), MS., 26.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Gerisoni Kahwa, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 25, 1969.

[31]Gerisoni Kahwa, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 28, 1969; Isaleri Rwebisoro, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 11, 1969; and Kabale Gomborra Group interview, Bunyangabu Saza, April 14, 1969.

[32]I. Rwebisoro, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969; Gerisoni Kahwa, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 28, 1969; E. Buhungule, Kikuube village, Bugahya saza, interview of May 23, 1969.

[33]I. Rwebisoro, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969.

[34]Ibid., and Bumali Kasenene, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 26, 1969.

[35]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 47.

[36]Roscoe, Northern Bantu, 10.

[37]Sir Apolo Kagwa, Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda, 56-57; A. B. Kaseregenya, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 21, 1969. (The informant is a descendant of Kikukule, a famous military leader at the turn of the century.) There is a strong possibility that although the Bairuntu group were an old agricultural clan in Buganda and Busoga, their Bairuntu name in Kitara dates from a later period. In the mid-eighteenth century many of the Elephant clan were forced to flee Buganda after having been involved in the assassination of the Kabaka (ruler) Kagulu. Kagulu's successor, Kikulwe, far from being grateful for their timely assistance in clearing the way for his succession, used them as scapegoats and persecuted many members of the clan to avenge his father's death. A number of the Elephant clan fled Buganda and disguised themselves by taking up membership in other clans, according to Kagwa. It would appear they associated themselves with the Baitira and Bacwamba clans at this time.

[38]Bahigama, Buhimba Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 20, 1969, said his lineage migrated from Bwera north to Bugangaizi.

[39]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 4, and Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 21.

[40]Samwiri Rwomunkemba, Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of

March 27, 1969.

[41]N. B. Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 28 (1964), 25-30; J. Roscoe, The Baganda, 140-172; and A. Kagwa, Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda, 10-11. Evasta Kabenyondo, Samwiri Rwomunkemba, and Paulo Baguma of Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 27, 1969. G. Nakuzabasaija, Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969; and Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969.

[42]T. Kyaragaire, Katwe village (saltworks), Busongora Saza, interview of March 10, 1969; Evarina Bakuza, Katwe village, Busongora Saza, interview of March 10, 1969; Nasonali Kyabukunguru, Katwe village, Busongora Saza, interview of April 17, 1969.

[43]Evasta Kabenyondo, Katwe village, Busongora saza, interview of March 10, 1969; Samwiri Rwomunkemba and Paulo Baguma, Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 27, 1969.

[44]See N. B. Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 28 (1964), 25-30; J. Roscoe, The Baganda, 140-172; and A. Kagwa, Ekitabo kya Basekabaka be Buganda, 10-11. The assimilation of the Crow clan into Buganda society may have occured as late as the 18th century.

[45]Benyamini Nkoba, Murongo Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 20, 1969; Bikundi, Miirya Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 28, 1969; Kabale Gomborra Group interview, Bunyangabu saza, April 14, 1969. It should be noted that another branch of the Basaigi in northern Bunyoro have another totem, enjobe (a marsh antelope), according to group interviews in Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, August 27, 1969, and Kiryandongo Gomborra, Kibanda Saza, August 29, 1969.

[46]Yusufu Bintukwanga, Kabale village, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969. Some members of the Heart clan fled Busiro to Duddu, driven out by Bemba, "the snake." These people asked Kintu to aid them, and Kintu killed Bemba in a battle at Budo Hill, Buganda. J. M. Gray, "Early History of Buganda," UJ, II, (1933), 226.

[47]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 174-175.

[48]Other members of the Grasshopper totemic group flourished along Lake Victoria in Buganda, where they had migrated in pre-Bacwezi times.

[49]J. Roscoe, The Bakitara, 13.

[50]S. Karugire, A History of Nkore, 72, 79 and 278; Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 20, reported the grasshopper totem; J. Roscoe, The Banyankole, 7-11; Geraud, 3, 6, 8, 10.

[51]M. Posnansky, "Pottery Types from Archeological Sites in East Africa," JAH, 2 (1961); 188-191; 195-196. Two pottery styles, a highly burnished ware with a red slip, and a coarse black ware are characteristic. After the Bigo culture pottery became regionally differentiated.

[52]Posnansky, "Kingship, Archeology and Myth," UJ, 30 (1966), 4.

[53]P. L. Shinnie, "Excavations at Bigo, 1957," UJ, 24 (1960), 16-28; E. C. Lanning, "The Earthworks at Kibengo, Mubende District," UJ, 24, (1960), 183-197; E. C. Lanning, "Masaka Hill--An Ancient Center of Worship," UJ, 18 (1954), 24-31; E. C. Lanning, "Ancient Earthworks in Western Uganda," UJ, 17 (1953), 51-62.

[54]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 181-182, and Oliver, Ancient Capital Sites of Ankole," UJ, 23 (1959), 51-63.

[55]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 47.

[56]R. Oliver, "The Traditional Histories of Buganda, Bunyoro, and Nkole," JRAI, 85 (1955), 116.

[57]Casati, Ten Years, II, 17; and Lanning, "Masaka Hill," UJ, 18 (1954), 24-25, 28.

[58]Roscoe, Bakitara, 73-75.

[59]Bulandina (Mucwezi), Mubende Hill, Mubende, interview of June 5, 1969; E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969; Y. Miramagwa (Mucwezi), Nkoko Gomborra, Buganganzi saza, interview of June 17, 1969; and Paulo Bikalema (Mucwezi), Busoro Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of April 3, 1969, who claimed that they came originally from Bukedi and date no earlier than Rukidi, the first Babito ruler of Kitara-Bunyoro.

[60]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 26.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Karugire, History of Nkore, 28, 135, 141.

[63]C. C. Wrigley, "Some Thoughts on the Bachwezi," UJ, 22:1 (1959), 11-17.

[64]G. W. Huntingford, "The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by Its Modern Inhabitants," History of East Africa, I, 86-87.

[65]C. G. Seligman, Races of Africa (London, 1939), 156.

[66]J. H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa (Bloomington, 1948), 49-50; and A. Southall, "The Peopling of East Africa: The Linguistic and Sociological Evidence," East African History, edited by M. Posnansky (London, 1966), 63.

[67]Crazzolara, Lwoo, II, 94-97, 102-103.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF KITARA

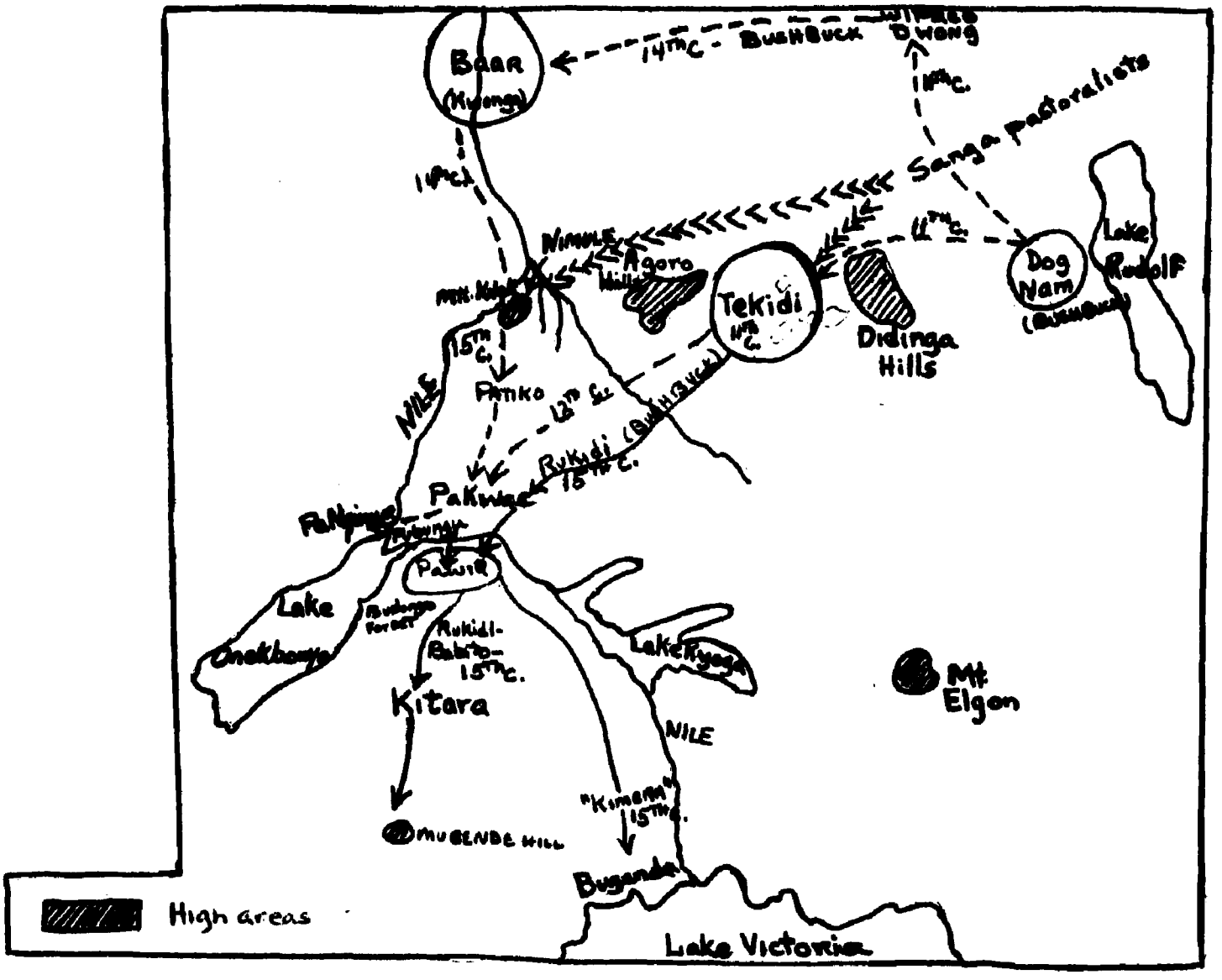
The Luo Migrations: Introduction

The Luo migrations are among the better studied population movements of East Africa. Luo-speakers are the largest ethnic group of the Nilotes, which most authorities agree had evolved as a distinct group by 1000 A.D. in the open savanna of present eastern Equatoria and the eastern parts of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Provinces of the Republic of Sudan.[1] The early Nilotes appears to have been semi-migratory pastoralists and fisher folk.[2] The Dinka and Nuer peoples were the first to leave the Nilotic cradleland followed by the Luo-speakers who moved south and southeast driven by famine, drought, shortage of pastureland and the hostility of their neighbors.[3] Following the above hypothesis, J. P. Crazzolara concentrated on a western branch of Luo who, he asserts, migrated from the Bahr-el-Ghazal region on the west side of the Nile southwards up the Nile to Lake Onekbonyo in the late 10th or early 11th centuries.[4] Some Luo crossed the Nile into the northern borderlands of the Kitara complex.

However, in a more recent study J. Odongo has identified a prior cradleland of the Luo on the western shores of Lake Rudolf (c. 11th century).[5] During a famine some Luo groups led by Olum moved west from Dog Nam in the 11th century and settled in the vicinity of the Agoro hills among the Muru peoples. This settlement came to be known as Tekedi. Others

branched north and settled in Wipaco Dwong, and a third group in the Didinga hills. (See map, p. 176.) Later there was a quarrel and two groups left the Tekidi settlement. One group moved south towards Lake Kyoga and the other moved southwest to the Nile, where they settled in Pakwac, a dry savanna region.[6] Some of these Luo subsequently crossed the Nile to settle in Pawir (c. late 12th - 13th centuries).

Around the 14th century some of the Wipaco Dwong settlers moved west to the Nile and settled in the Baar area, where they encountered the Madi (or proto-Madi), also a Nilo-Saharan language group. After some intermingling, a Luo speaking group moved south to Mt. Kilak (Nimule) where they encountered pastoralists moving west to east with Sanga cattle; their traditional description is similar to descriptions of Bahuma in the Kitara complex. The encounter between Luo speakers and pastoralists with Sanga cattle at Nimule is associated not only with the Luo acquisition of Sanga and the milking complex but also with the adoption of ideas of governance under a rwot (or chief), who were members of the ruling clan. According to legend, Ocak, "the milk drinker," a light-colored stranger, seduced a Luo girl, Kilak.[7] This mixed marriage, which Crazzolara suggests occurred in the Atura-Pakwac-Nimule triangle north of the Nile and Pawir, has been interpreted as commemorating the Luo acquisition of independent pastoralism and as the occasion for the introduction of new types of political organization.[8] Odongo alters the geographic setting for this encounter, hypothesizing that it occurred earlier, not in Nimule but in the Tekidi region.[9] It might have occurred in either or both areas, and both Luo groups (Tekidi and Nimule) may have been influenced by independent pastoralism before they arrived in the Pakwac region just north of the Nile and the Kitara complex. The Tekidi Luo appear to have settled there before Luo groups from the



Key:

Sanga Pastoralists (with roulette ware?) - 12th century

Early Luo - 11th - 12th centuries

Rukidi tradition - 15th century

Luo Migrations to the Kitara Complex

Mt. Kilak/Nimule area.[10]

Some Luo groups from both dispersal areas who settled in Pacwac subsequently crossed the Nile, but remained near its banks in an area that came to be known as Pawir. The names Palwo, Pawir and Chope have all been used in the literature to refer to the same general area. Pawir was the earliest area organized under a rwot; Palwo, the name of the general area south of the Nile between Lakes Kyoga and Onekbonyo. Crazzolara suggests that Chope may be a corruption of the Madi word mutzope, used to describe Muru/Madi who settled in the same area.[11] The first settlers remembered in Palwo traditions may have clustered in groups on either side of the Nile in the latter 14th or early 15th centuries. As will be seen below, the earliest Luo settlers were militarily weak and, therefore, probably could not have continued south in an "invasion" of the Kitara complex that ousted the Bacwezi and set up the Babito dynasties as R. Oliver suggests.[12] The Babito invasion, it will be suggested below, occurred later in the late 15th or 16th centuries after Pawir had become overcrowded with new contingents of Luo continuing to arrive from the north. The invasion of the Kitara complex associated with the Luo leader, Rukidi occurred in this period (late 15th century) and ended the Bacwezi era.

Waiting in the Wings: The Early Luo of Pawir

Palwo traditional accounts of their origins, while stylized and telescoped, nevertheless complement the surviving traditions of three Kitara clans concerning pre-Babito Luo settlement. According to the Palwo people, their initial migration from the north across the Nile is related in a classic tale of a quarrel between brothers, which is said to have

occurred at Pubungu (near the confluence of the Victoria Nile and Lake Onekbonyo), an important Luo camping ground which is recalled in the traditions of several Luo groups. This quarrel was the occasion for Luo dispersals in almost every direction but north.[13] The version of this tradition collected by Crazzolara tells of "three brothers", Nyipar, Tilfool and Labongo, who were "sons of Olum" (suggesting a link with Tekidi, traditionally founded by Olum). In this version of the "bead and spear" story, the quarrel began when Nyipir lost Tilfool's spear while hunting and had to risk his life recovering it in the forest when Tilfool would accept no subsitute. Some time later, Tilfool's young son accidentally swallowed some of Nyipir's beads. Nyipir, still resentful, would accept no substitute and insisted that the child's belly be ripped open to recover his beads. The child's death created such animosity that the family separated -- Tilfool crossing the Nile into the forests of Alur country to the west, and Nyipir going in the opposite direction with Labongo (literally, "the commoner," who is said to have later retraced his steps and returned to present day Acholiland north of the Nile). Olum, the father of the three brothers is said to have led the remaining Luo south across the Nile to the borderlands of Kitara, e.g. to Pawir.[14] This story of the bead and spear is widespread among Luo speaking peoples and is common also among Bantu-speaking groups who claim descent from the Luo of Pawir. However, in Pawir traditions, Nyawir, not Olum, is said to have led the first migration across the Nile.

These early migrations into Pawir are characteristic of the general Luo migrations into Uganda and western Kenya described by Ogot as fragmented, slow, and spread over several generations.[15] Like the early Bantu migrations into the Kitara complex, traditions record that the clans and lineages were the key migration units.

Pawir and Palwo Land

To continue the Palwo traditions, Nyawir, said to be an aunt of Labongo, led the first migration across the Nile to Pawir, and was still ruling when they came into contact with the Bacwezi empire of Kitara. Nyawir (which may have been a title) is said to have belonged to the Bukeno clan (no totem reported), a clan name which has no discoverable links with any Kitara clans examined in this study, suggesting its lack of assimilation into Kitara culture. These early Luo settlers infiltrating south of the Nile present a sharp contrast to the accounts of the triumphant entry of the Babito which are preserved in Kitara court tradition. The earliest Palwo traditions, collected by A. Adefuye, tells of unidentified cattle raiders, who left the settlers all but destitute, so much so that their "migration" across the Nile might be more accurately described as flight. Reportedly, hunger even drove some of them to take up fishing along the Nile's banks.[16] Most of these Luo settled north of the present Masindi township near the Nile's banks in Pawir. (See map). The traditions of any earlier groups in the Pawir region have not survived: they were apparently absorbed completely by the Luo.

Eventually these early Luo settlers came to occupy the whole area between Lake Onekbonyo, the Nile and the Kafu rivers. The rwotship form of chiefly political organization common to Luo-speaking settlements north of the Nile developed in Pawir.[17] Members of Pawir's ruling clan who filled the position of rwot subsequently established neighboring settlements, which they organized politically along similar lines. Adefuye has identified seven early settlements, each of which was organized under a rwot: Pawir, Kich, Kisona, Kisoga, Paitwol, Munyai and Pajao. The development of these settlements is linked in tradition with the reign of "Ndahura" in Kitara (c. 14th century).

The Bacwezi rulers are said to have taught Nyawir how to organize her territory and collect tribute; she was given royal instruments such as drums, stools, beads, and spears after which Nyawir paid tribute twice yearly to the Bacwezi, the first during the harvest season and the second during the empako festival,[18] which was an annual ceremony marking the anniversary of the Kitara ruler's succession. If the early settlers were weak, as tradition suggests, this subordinate relationship may have developed soon after their settlement in Pawir. Traditions also relate that a smallpox epidemic claimed the lives of "many" people soon after they settled.[19] The epidemic may be linked to Kitara traditions which relate a similar story that smallpox spread throughout the land after Ndahura's army returned from a major campaign to the south.

In Pawir Uyo succeeded Nyawir, and he continued to pay tribute to the Bacwezi, but the Pawir were apparently becoming restive.[20] Kitara traditions mention raids along the northern border, and a "few" of the intruders from the north are said to have survived a confrontation with the Bacwezi and retreated into the Budongo forest, where they continued to be troublesome.[21] This reference appears to be the earliest indication of the presence of Luo as a potential threat to Kitara.

During Uyo's "reign" a group of Luo led by Rukidi arrived in Pawir from the north.[22] It was this group that proceeded into Kitara and established the Babito dynasty. Unfortunately, Adefuye's study of Pawir and Palwoland did not include the collection of clan traditions, which might have clarified the dynamics of Palwo-Kitara relationships. But the Palwo traditions collected by Adefuye nevertheless assert that contacts between Palwoland, particularly Pawir, and Kitara predated the Babito by at least one generation and probably more.[23] According to Kitara clan traditions,

Palwo seems to have been, and indeed still is, a staging area where intrusive groups have paused and perhaps become assimilated to Bantu culture to some extent before some of their numbers moved south into the Bantu-speaking zone.[24]

Kitara Clans with Links to the Early Luo of Pawir

In the Kitara complex, there are a few clans whose traditions link them to the early Luo who settled Pawir which complement Pawir tradition. They include the Bakwonga, Bacwa, and Bagaya clans and are described below. They share a tradition of settlement in Pawir prior to Rukidi, leader of the Babito clan group that passed through Pawir and used it as a staging area for the invasion of Kitara. When the invasion occurred some of the Bakwonga, Bacwa and Bagaya clans joined the invasion and moved south into Kitara with Rukidi.

The Bakwonga. The Bakwonga are one of the few Bantuized Luo clans (as opposed to the Palwo/Pawir, who did not adopt the Runyoro language) that are linked to the earliest Luo settlers of Pawir. Crazzolara has hypothesized that Kwonga, the founder of the Bakwonga clan of Kitara, is linked with the "Kwonga" ("Madi") clan of the Baar region.[25] Kwonga is said to have traveled south to the Pakwac area, where they divided into two groups, one moving west across the Nile to Pa-Nyimuur, beyond the northwest shore of Lake Onekbonyo, to Alur;[26] and the other group continuing south to Pawir and beyond to the (present) Pakanyi Gomborra area, from whence they dispersed.[27]

Informants of the Bakwonga clan concur that at one time the Bakwonga,

Bacwa, and Balibeki (a branch of the Babito, now regarded as a separate clan), all came with cattle from "Bukedi" north of the Nile (a possible reference to Tekidi of the Agoro Mountains?). At one time "all stayed together," until the Bakwonga, led by "Okello," an ancestral name associated with the clan, moved south.[28]

The Bacwa. A second Kitara clan group, the Bacwa (literally, "people of Cwa"), also claim to be linked with pre-Babito Luo settlement. They mention specifically "Bedimoti Hill" (Kibanda saza) in their traditions, where they say they lived before the Babito.[29] "Bedmot" in Palwo tradition is remembered as the first site to which Nyawir led the first Luo group to settle south of the Nile.[30] Crazzolara's research also led him to conclude that the Bacwa, whom he equates with the Jo-Cwaa, were, together with the Bakwonga (originally Jo-Kwonga) and Bagaya (Jo-pa-Gaya), among the earliest Pawir clans that became Bantuized.[31]

Members of the Bacwa clan of the Kitara complex identify with the engabi (bushbuck) totem, but they distinguish it from the totem of the royal Babito clan in their descriptions, carefully stating it was a "bushbuck that coughed," and relate a folktale about its adoption by the founder of the clan.[32] Crazzolara has hypothesized that the Jo-Bito (the Bantuized form, Babito), were like the Bacwa clan originally a subdivision of the Jo-Cwaa group, "Jo-Bito" being a Luo word meaning "People of the court," which was applied generally to the royal clan group headed by a rwot.[33] The Bacwa call themselves grandsons of Kwonga (Bakwonga clan link) and "fathers" of Labongo.[34] (Labongo is one of the names given to Rukidi, founder of the Babito dynasty in the Kitara complex.)[35]

The Bagaya. The third Kitara clan with traditions linking it to

pre-Babito Luo in northern Kitara are the Bagaya, totem: amalegyo (rain-water that has dripped off a roof). The Bagaya are a small Kitara clan today, and few elders with knowledge of their early migrations could be found. Crazzolara has theorized that the Bagaya are linked with the Pa-Gaya of Acholi and the Ngaaya of Madi, some of whom he reported settled in Pawir.[36] Two informants of the Kitara complex linked the Bagaya with the lion totem group as well as rainwater, and another with the hippo totem of the Babwijwa clan--accounts that are irreconcilable based on present evidence.[37] Another knowledgeable informant was equally positive that the Bagaya clan had originated in "Bukedi" north of the Nile and dispersed south into Bugahya and Mwenge sazas with the Babito.[38] This latter tradition is compatible with above traditions. The Bagaya could have been among those groups who had settled in Pawir, where they allied themselves with the Babito and moved south into the Kitara complex. While there is as yet insufficient evidence to determine the precise role the Bagaya played, the sources do agree that they were already settled in Pawir prior to the crucial period of the Rukidi intrusion.

Taken together, the traditions of the Bakwonga, Bacwa, and Bagaya clans point to their being Bantuized descendants of early Luo who had settled in Pawir during the Bacwezi period. While subordinate to the Bacwezi for some decades, the Luo of Pawir grew increasingly restive. During Ndahura's reign a "few Bakedi," are said to have "crossed the Nile, raided the cattle, and were practically unmolested until Ndaula's (Ndahura's) brother, Kagoro, a mighty man in war and hunting, rallied the people together and attacked the "Bakedi" raiders, killing all but two, a man and a woman, "who managed to recover some cattle and hid out in the Budongo forest, where the woman "gave birth to so many devils that the country became noxious to the Bacwezi."[39]

Banyoro tended to use this word "Bakedi" as a generic term for northerners; in this context it appears to refer to the early Luo settlers. Tensions continued along the northern border of Kitara until a new group of Luo intruders, led by Rukidi, emboldened them to take the offensive and bring down a weakened Kitara state.

Bacwezi Rule: Internal Factors Contributing to the Decline of Kitara

The activities of Ndahura, the founder and first title holder and ruler of the Bacwezi state, were described in Chapter V. The major intrusive groups from the south, the Bahuma, and the north, the Luo-speakers, have been identified in Chapter VI and earlier in this chapter. Each of these groups was to play a role in the decline of the state of Kitara, but to understand their impact the character of Bacwezi rule and the internal factors that contributed to the decline of the state must be examined.

Perhaps one of the least recognized characteristics of Bacwezi rulership is that the Bacwezi apparently adopted the system of alternating titles characteristic of the Bayaga clan, one of western stream of immigrants described in Chapter III. "Ndahura," the official name of Kiro Rubumbi, commemorated the founder of the dynasty, the military leader, the state builder, while "Wamara," Ndahura's "son" is associated with the last reign. In the previous chapter, the activities of the first Bacwezi king, Ndahura the state builder, were described. However, a number of generations of Ndahuras and Wamaras appear to have taken one of these two titles, in contradiction to what has usually been regarded as a dynasty of two kings. No Kitara clan informant was cognizant of this pattern of alternating titles

for Bacwezi rulers. Only after correlating all the clan evidence did the pattern of alternating titles become clear. But once this pattern of alternating titles is recognized, the Bacwezi period becomes compatible with the longer period suggested by the archaeological evidence of some 150-200 years. In addition to the ruler's title, the eldest son of the ruler, who was ineligible to succeed, took one of two titles when his brother succeeded to the throne: Okwiri or Mugamba, in alternating generations, and became official head of the ruling clan. The Kalyota or Batebe (also a rotating title) was the sister of the Mukama and official head of all women of royal birth.[40] Alternating titles were adopted by successor states to Kitara, including Karagwe and Buhweju to the south. (See Chapter VIII). Why or how this particular custom of rotating titles was adopted by the Bacwezi rulers is not explained in any traditional source, but it was a custom retained by the successor Babito dynasty for the male and female heads of the clan as well as some court officials, such as the Bamuroga/Mugungu (Prime Minister).[41]

The implications of this custom for the historian are the obvious limitations it imposes: events of the Bacwezi period are telescoped into what appear to be two reigns. The traditions associated with Ndahura the state founder have been described previously. While a sequence for the following traditions cannot be established by reign given present evidence, the court traditions that characterize and clarify the nature of Bacwezi rule, including the court version of the decline of the Bacwezi dynasty will be described below.

Ndahura is remembered to have installed his supporters and sons, all remembered as "Bacwezi" saza chiefs (although none are remembered by clan):

Saza	Chiefs (Source: Nyakatura)	Chiefs (Source: Karubanga)
1. Bwera, Karokarungi (Nkore)	Wamara s/o Ndahura	Mugenyi
2. Buruli	Rubanga (Dubanga)	Rubanga
3. Mwenge	Mugenyi	Mugarra
4. Kitara (Kyaka)	Ibona	Mugarra
5. Buyaga (Bunyara)	Mugarra	Mulindwa
6. Bulega	Mulindwa	Kiro Mugenda Itumbi
7. Muhwahwa (Buganda)	Kyomya, then Kaganda Rusirri	Kyomya Ruganda
8. Sesse Islands	Mugassa Ibebe	Mugassa
9. Bugoma	Kanyabugoma, s/o Nsinge	-
10. Toro and Busongora	Kabuka (Kahuka)	Kazoba
11. Bugahya, Bugungu and Chope	Kiromugenba Itumbi	Kahuka ka Misinga
12. Busoga	-	Musinga
13. Ruvuma Island (Lake Victoria)	-	Mbubi
14. Singo	-	Wamara
15. Butuku (River Semliki)	-	Ibona
16. Buddu	-	Kagora
17. Masindi	-	Kapimpina[42]

The descrepancies in these lists underline the familiar problems of working with oral traditions, particularly the tendency of later collectors to expand earlier lists. Only rarely could any elaboration or clarification of which chief governed which area or clan identification be obtained. It is also questionable whether all or any were "chiefs" in the modern (19th century) sense, even among the first eleven. Mugassa, for example, is the central figure of the pantheon of deities of the Sesse Islands, and is also important in Nkore, Buhaya, Buzinza, Buha, Rwanda and Bunyamwezi pantheons.[43] The question of the deification of certain political figures of Bacwezi tradition and the development of the Bacwezi or Embandwa cult will be examined in Chapter VIII, but it is important to recognize the way these religious motifs often flow together with court and political traditions, as in the Mugassa example. The primary value of the list of sazas associated with Ndahura may be the image it provides of the units of political organization of the period -- not just Ndahura's kingdom.

It is questionable how many of the areas of Ndahura's campaigns

were consolidated permanently into his kingdom. The numerous campaigns and the implication that the Kitara state expanded rapidly was not accomplished without strain and eventually some overextension of the kingdom. Ndahura is said to have barely escaped defeat in a campaign against the Bulega on the west bank of Lake Onekbonyo, (Zaire).[44] Other sources report that this campaign to the west succeeded in returning with blacksmiths. One of these smiths is remembered as Mukebo "a great fighter," who knew how to make spears and arrows. "When he came, Mukama Ndahura built him a house at Mbale (note the Basita place name) near Masaka in Buddu, near the homes of Mbogo."[45] Signs of internal strain are indicated in the tradition that after Ndahura ruled for some years (suggesting a reference to a later Ndahura title holder) Isimbwa's "children grew up and rebelled." Their rebellion in Buruli he also put down.[46]

The last campaign associated with the Ndahura title was a fateful journey to the south, where his armies are said to have encountered both syphillis and smallpox[47] and introduced these diseases into Kitara. An attempt was made to kill Ndahura during this campaign as they moved through Nkore and a village ruled by Chief Lukerege:

> They met a man whom the diviners had commanded to kill Karubumbi [Ndahura]; so the man was lying in wait with his poisoned spear, but feared to carry out the instructions of his master when he saw the might and courage of Karubumbi, for he seized Lukerege, pulling him out by the nose, and butted him with the horns which he wore on his head, so that he died.[48]

The reference to horns worn by Ndahura are one of the few descriptions that survive. Horns were later worn by the ritual leaders of the Bacwezi cult "in commemoration of the Bacwezi" informants said. This is the only descriptive reference that links Ndahura with the kinds of ritual observance associated with the Bacwezi court that spread throughout the lacustrine

region after their political decline.

During the last fateful campaign to the south it is said that Buirebutakya, who was his opponent, "threw darkness of Ndahura's army, and Ndahura was caught. That is why people say that Ndahura was swallowed by the earth. Very few people returned from that campaign."[49] (Whether disease, or military defeat, or both, contributed to the casualties is not indicated.) Another source referring to his capture and death say the fighting occurred in Ihangiro (Tanzania).[50] Such traditions of disaster do not appear to be myth, but on the contrary, strengthen the historicity of titled leaders known as Ndahura. As mentioned above, all the traditions of Ndahura are telescoped in tradition into a single reign, but the surviving traditions suggest that Kitara expanded as a military power by a series of wide ranging campaigns, and that Ndahura I was the architect of the new state that left its mark on the entire region.

After Ndahura's final disastrous campaign, Kyomya, a loyal ally and chief of Buganda, is said to have sent a few trusted followers to Ihangiro disguised as tobacco and coffee traders to discover Ndahura's fate.[51] This tradition is of particular interest because of its reference to trade, which Ndahura is said to have introduced to Kitara and Kyomya to Buganda. The use of coffee for ceremonial and medicinal purposes is associated with the Bacwezi period in other traditions: Wamara is said to have introduced it subsequently to Buddu and Kiziba (Tanzania).[52] Nyakatura relates,

> It is well-known that the Bacwezi brought coffee into this country. First of all it was planted in Bugoma and ... Mwenge and elsewhere in this country.... Coffee started to be boiled and became a trading crop.... At every ceremony in the kingdom coffee was used.[53]

When Ndahura left on his final campaign to the south, he is said to have left Mulindwa, one of the Bacwezi and son of a woman of the Basita clan as regent and protector of the drum that symbolized the kingly office.[54] According to court traditions as recorded by J. Nyakatura and Mrs. A. B. Fisher, Mulindwa held the position for an extended period, until the child Wamara reached his majority. During this interregnum of undetermined length Mulindwa apparently exercised more than nominal control of Kitara since his power came to be coveted by a rival, Mugenyi. In one of the classic court struggles of all Kitara history, Mulindwa figures as the focus of a challenge to Bacwezi authority. Ndahura's long military campaigns had apparently allowed appointed officials such as Mulindwa great independence, but Mulindwa lacked the authority to prevent ambitious rivals from eroding the ruler's authority. The challenge to Mulindwa illustrates the internal tensions and weaknesses of the declining Kitara state and suggests decentralization had set in by the time the last Wamara succeeded to the throne.

According to Kitara court traditions, the principal antagonists were Mulindwa, the regent, and Mugenyi. Supposedly these two were "brothers" (e.g. Bacwezi clansmen), who "loved each other very much," sharing all things. Nyangoma of the Basingo clan, the aunt (in Runyoro terminology, the "mother") of Mugenyi, was jealous because Mulindwa and not Mugenyi ruled during Ndahura's absence and enjoyed the geat admiration of the people. Relying on Mulindwa's affection for her, she enticed Mulindwa to visit her, but prepared a pit full of boiling water, which she covered

with skins, in her house. When Mulindwa arrived, he fell into the hidden pit and would have died had his hunting companion, Kagoro, not arrived in time to save him. Mulindwa's arms and legs were badly burned, but he survived to curse the Basingo.[55] The Basingo clan were blamed with the ills of the state and afterwards came to be used as human sacrifices at court. (Whether this practice dates from the last Wamara's reign is uncertain, but it was a custom observed by their Luo successors, the Babito dynasty, c. 16th century.) Human sacrifices from the clan were made and bulls were killed on the king's tomb during ceremonies observed at the time of the new moon.[56] Despite their Bahuma ties, the Basingo were degraded to a despised status in Kitara, and court traditions clearly link their demotion in status to the political tensions of the latter Bacwezi period.[57] These political and social persecutions during this period help to account for the number of sub-clans within the Basingo group since such persecutions appear to have been a common cause of clan mergers or the adoption of new clan names.[58] The Abango (also spelled Abano) clan separated from the Basingo and today regard themselves as a separate clan, although they kept the same totems: leopard and omurarra cow. (They tell the story of a quarrel over a leopard skin as part of their clan traditions, but informants were quick to add that "everyone" knew that the Basingo were used as sacrifices.)[59] Some other surviving Basingo sub-clans which may date from this period include:

Abakoda	Abacumita	Abampunda
Abacaya	Abanagankaito	Abajubika
Abagonde	Abaraihankwara	Abakooko[60]
Abatanaba	Abahongera	Abagunda
Abakoyo	Abanyamutwani	

Like the bead and spear story, this clash between Mulindwa and Mugenyi is still vividly remembered by both clans, who give this quarrel

as the reason they never intermarry. What the Mulindwa-Mugenyi story reveals in terms of existing antagonisms at court among the aristocracy is a situation that contributed to the decline of the Kitara state. If the Bacwezi did function as a royal clan, Mulindwa would have been in contention as successor to the title. Mulindwa's injuries eliminated him as a candidate to succeed Ndahura; since the ruler's well-being is associated with the well-being of the state, he must be physically without blemish. Mulindwa's mother's clan, the Basita, were apparently strong enough to prevent his rival, Mugenyi and his supporters, the Basingo, from succeeding to power. Only in such a deadlocked situation could Ndahura's eldest son, Wamara, have been considered as a candidate.[61] In this crisis the eldest son appears to have succeeded to the title Wamara, becoming the last Bacwezi ruler.

The Basita may have supported his candidacy and welcomed the prospect of a weaker ruler who could be managed or influenced by them. With Basita support, the last ruler to succeed to the title of Wamara emerged victorious over the rival, Mugenyi.[62] Traditions are clear that the struggle left considerable bitterness, and evil omens were observed at the time of his succession.

It would appear that Wamara was able to muster sufficient support to reorganize the kingdom and appoint chiefs from Bahuma clans to serve him. Twelve who demonstrated their loyalty through service as chiefs are cited in Bikunya's court tradition,[63] but one suspects there is more appearance that substance in these names. There is no mention in Bikunya, for example, of the territorial area that was administered by these chiefs. Nyakatura reported that some sazas chiefs were hereditary within a clan, implying there was a certain continuity of rule between one reign and

another, but even he, the Banyoro court historian par excellence supplied no examples of either sazas or chiefs clearly associated in tradition with Wamara's reign.[64] The Basengya clan, in tradition mothers of Wamara, probably formed the backbone of continued support for his government, but they also are absent from Bikunya's list of Wamara's chiefs.[65]

Generally, less is remembered of the last Wamara's reign or activities as a ruler -- no great campaigns are associated with his reign, but the decline of the state is suggested by the re-location of the capital from Mubende Hill (Ndahura's capital north of the Katonga River) southeast to Bwera, south of the Katonga. Perhaps Wamara desired to put greater distance between his court and increasingly ambitious Luo raids from Pawir and the Budongo forest.[66]

These traditions raise questions concerning the heralded administrative system and sizeable state associated with the Bacwezi period and the oft-quoted characterization of the Bacwezi period which asserted that they "created a system of administrative officialdom accustomed to ruling small districts as the local representatives of a centralized monarchy."[67] If Bikunya's list is valid for Wamara's reign, it would seem that the principle of territorial rule was maintained, but other evidence suggests the number and possibly the scale of the administrative units was smaller after Wamara withdrew his capital southeast to Bwera. The above traditions describe events indicative of internal decline preceding the Babito takeover of Kitara.

The decline and disentegration of the state is also suggested by clan traditions. Sazas on the borderlands such as Buyaga in western Kitara broke away and perhaps even participated in the offensive in bringing down the state if Kiziba traditions may be credited. Kiziba a small kingdom situated just beyond Uganda's southern boundary in Tanzania, possesses

traditions which parallel Kitara court traditions in many particulars. It is Kiziba traditions that tell the "story of Muyaga" in connection with the decline of the Bacwezi. In this tradition Muyaga, which the translator has transcribed literally as "a great wind" but which very likely refers to the Bayaga clan of Kitara, whose name is taken from the word omuyaga (wind), brought a "destructive flood and wind which destroyed Wamara's palace,"[68] a tradition which suggests that Buyaga saza had successfully broken away from Kitara. The Kyanku/Mihingo of Buyaga with the respect due all rulers in the interlacustrine region, never met a reigning Mukama face to face, but courriers would pass between them. It was said that a small bead would mysteriously appear at the Mukama's court from time to time, indicating a suitable offering, usually of livestock, should be made to the shrine to Mulindwa in Buyaga.[69] In return it appears the Bayaga supplied seers on military campaigns, as advisors in matters of strategy.[70] These traditions are not explicitly correlated with the Bacwezi period, but the Bayaga were independent when the Babito arrived and apparently inherited the relations developed during the Bacwezi period.

Kitagwenda, formerly a saza, today a gomborra of Kibale saza, Toro, just east of Lake Masyoro as well as neighboring Buhweju and Buzimba also became independent during the latter Bacwezi period and maintained themselves as independent entities until the British Protectorate was established in the 19th century. The Basambo (Bashambo) clan, said to have emerged in this area from a Bahuma pastoral group, were the earliest rulers of these small areas, but they were subsequently superceded by another Bahuma clan, the Balisa, who had provided Ndahura with the only wife (Iremera) remembered in Kitara traditions. Like the Bayaga rulers of western Kitara and the Bacwezi, the Balisa rulers of Buzimba also used alternating titles

(Mukindo and Murarura).[71]

A final example of fragmentation is reflected in the Kiziba court version of the Mulindwa and Mugenyi (Basita-Basingo) quarrel. It relates that Wamara sent representatives periodically to collect cattle as tribute from the priminent chiefs. The Basingo refused to give them a prized spotted cow belonging to the head of the clan. When Wamara heard of the refusal, he called Kagoro to confiscate the animal and collect tribute. Kagoro is said to have refused to obey "because the Basingo were a minor clan" and not worth the effort. The opposite would appear closer to the truth, i.e. the Basingo were a large and powerful clan, and the attempt to extract the tribute would very likely involve the use of force and still fail. Mulindwa, the former regent, is said to have been sent instead, and in attempting to settle the dispute with the Basingo, Mulindwa was speared. When news of this rebellious act reached Kagoro, he is said to have grabbed his bow and arrow and set out to get revenge. After killing many Basingo, Kagoro is said to have returned with three herds which are remembered by name: Embamba, Empure, and Endemwakwenda. The Basingo, defeated and ostracized at court, took the spotted cow (the original cause of the quarrel) as their totem.[72]

One of the obvious consequences of the quarrel between the Basita and Basingo clans was a general decline in the power and prestige of the Bacwezi.[73] No longer were these leaders regarded as invulnerable (even a woman could do them in, is implied in the Kitara version of Mugenyi's aunt in the Mugenyi-Mulindwa story). They were also vulnerable militarily. A man remembered only as Misango from the south (Nkore? or possibly Busongora?) conceived a plot to steal all the cattle of the Bacwezi, which had been herded together and placed under the care of Kagoro, (possibly at Ntusi,

or another site associated with the Bacwezi?). Misango waited until Kagoro was away (from where is never indicated) to plunder the herd. Only after killing many people did Kagoro manage to recover the precious herds.[74]

Centrifugal forces continued to undermine the power of the Kitara state. Traditions relate that the Bacwezi continued to quarrel among themselves. Mugassa, the "uncle" of Wamara, rebelled against him. Again, Wamara apparently managed to put down this challenge to his authority: Mugassa and his six children (potential heirs?) were put to death.[75] The identity and significance of this account is difficult to assess. "Mugassa" is not one of the Bacwezi later deified in Kitara clan traditions, but "Mukasa" is a deity of Buganda.[76] This tradition may be a veiled reference to an encounter with the Baganda, but there is no elaboration of this rebellion in any other source. Misango's raids from the south may be the Kitara version of initial rebellions in what was to become the Nkore state founded by Ruhinda.

To summarize the political-military challenges to Bacwezi dominance that developed within the Kitara state, it is clear that the centrifugal forces were strong. On the western borderlands Buyaga successfully rebelled against the state and on one occasion even destroyed Wamara's capital. The Basita clan may have had a hand in this challenge to Wamara's rule since in tradition Mulindwa is said to have been buried in Buyaga when he died.[77]

Raids were launched externally against Kitara from the south, possibly by the western branch of Bahuma groups that had migrated north from RWanda (e.g. the Balisa and Basambu clans), which had never been closely linked with the Bacwezi dynasty, whose initial support was drawn from Bahuma groups in Bwera when they took over Kitara. Another indication that Bacwezi power and prestige had been undercut were the separate "special" arrangements

subsequently worked out between the Babito (Luo) and the Basita clan, who continued to hold prominent positions at court into modern times, and between the Babito and the Bayaga clan, who enjoyed a semi-independent status viv-a-vis the new Babito state of Bunyoro.[78] (See Chapter VIII.)

In addition to military resistance and political breakdown, important changes were occurring within the religious sphere that affected the decline of the Kitara state. Kitara clan traditions attest that a religious system was initially developed around the Bacwezi court which had involved commemoration of past rulers, e.g. those who had borne the titles Ndahura and Wamara. These court observances may have been supervised by the advisor to the ruler who also had an alternating title, Bamuroga and Mugungu. This official was keeper of the regalia associated with rulership and a priestly mediator and organizer of court ceremonials venerating previous rulers.[79] The office of Bamuroga/Mugungu appears to be as old as the Bacwezi state itself, and was an office which survived the transition to the Babito/Luo dynasty.

Briefly stated, the custom commemorating the Bacwezi rulers at court spread as the kingdom decentralized. The chieflet states that emerged adopted the commemoration of former Bacwezi or leaders that had links with the Bacwezi through the maternal side. (For example, the Basingo rebelled and deified Mugenyi; the Basita and Bayaga deified Mulindwa.) The waxing power and influence of the religious leadership vis-a-vis the waning state is clear. Whether this shift was a cause or a result of declining political fortunes is none too clear, but it is apparent that the religious system which was originally the monopoly of the court became diffused throughout the region and contributed to the political atomization of the interlacustrine region.

Another dimension of religious observance at the Bacwezi court was divining. Two clans, the Batwairwe and Basuuli traditionally are said to have occupied (by hereditary right) the offices of "bafumu" (singular, "mufumu," diviner) at Wamara's court and were also associated with the rituals of the new moon ceremonies. Tradition relates that Kosoirya, founder of the Batwairwe clan, first came to prominence in Bwera when "Wamara" failed to produce a male heir (evidently a reference to an early "Wamara"). He was advised to marry another woman, who produced an heir (said to have been fathered by another man).[80] The Basuuli clan enter Kitara history with Karongo and his elder brother, Nyakwoka, who were "men from Madi" (north of the Nile). Karongo and Nyakwoka came as bafumu to Kitara and foretold the demise of the Bacwezi.[81] Having spied out the land, they are said to have returned north to tell the Luo leader Rukidi, of Kitara's vulnerability.[82]

These two clans came to hold two of the four most important positions at court in the Babito period on an hereditary basis; they are said to have been "more important than saza chiefs."[83] In foretelling the downfall of the Bacwezi, both clans helped to insure their political survival with the incoming Luo and were an essential link between the Bacwezi and Babito dynasties. They may have enjoyed more power (as kingmakers) than court traditions reveal.

In this context, i.e., assuming a religious leadership that was highly influential at the Bacwezi court, the Kitara court traditions of the "disappearance of the Bacwezi" take on a new meaning. According to these traditions, the last Wamara was under the influence of diviners, some of whom he had apparently come to distrust, since he admitted a foreign diviner from the north to his court.[84] The Basuuli brothers confirmed the state's decline and fall when they interpreted the sacrificial bull's

remains:

> The body of the ox being empty signifies that the rule of the Bacwezi is over and the land is void. The entrails found in the head tell me that you will still exercise your powers over mankind: the others found in the hoofs mean that you will wander continually over the earth. The smut (which blew on the intestines and could not be removed) is a black man, a barbarian, who will come and usurp the kingdom; he will recognize no caste, will enforce no obedience; in his time a servant will not respond, woman will be ungovernable, cattle will not heed the voice of the herdsman, dogs will not answer the call of their masters -- the drum of the gods will be beaten by a savage, and others of his kin will possess it after him.[85]

This tradition is a central part of Babito court tradition that was collected at the beginning of the 20th century. It fit the Babito rise to power into a grand scheme envisioned by powers beyond man. What is important about it is its compatibility with the fabric of Kitara custom and with religious observances that had the powerful support of believers throughout the Kitara complex. In this context it was a comprehensible, acceptable explanation for dynastic change. Kiziba traditions (where an offshoot of the Babito also governed) also state that witchcraft was used to overcome the Bacwezi, witchcraft which was expressed in the form of a severe drought.[86] Palwo traditions to the north also link the success of the Babito takeover to a period of famine and suffering in Kitara.[87] Within Kitara, Basita clan traditions agree that famine forced the Basita, who remained with the royal drums in Mwenge after the Bacwezi had "disappeared" to abdicate, bitterly exchanging their royal drums for porridge.[88]

Given the above indications of political decentralization, the Babito would appear to have been less the direct cause than the main beneficiaries of the internal decline of the Bacwezi state. Droughts and death of cattle, court rivalries and tensions between clans, weak leadership and rivalries

for succession all figured in Kitara's internal decline. But the Bacwezi did not simply "disappear," as traditions imply. This is a literary convention, a euphemism for the coup de grâce. A minority group under an effective military leader was able to capitalize on Kitara's weakness, establish their hegemony, and consolidate their control over the Kitara heartland in the 16th century. As Roscoe relates,

> For some years the people hoped to find one of the princes whom they could induce to become king, but after a prolonged search it became evident that they must find some other to rule over them. Accordingly, Prime Minister Nakolo (the Bamuroga?) was sent to Bukedi country to seek a prince...[89]

Such a ceremonious view of dynastic change is unlikely, but the result was a revolution in the power balance of the interlacustrine area. The result of the Babito takeover was more ruler than disgruntled groups within the Kitara complex had bargained for. We turn now to the Babito, the intruders from beyond the reed fences of the royal compound, who brought down the Bacwezi state.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Crazzolara, Lwoo, I, 33-34; and A. H. McMichael, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, I (1922), as cited in Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 41.

[2]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 41-42.

[3]Ibid., 42.

[4]Ibid., 41, and J. Onyago-ku-Odongo, "Early History of the Central Luo," Ms., Department of History, Makerere University, 1971, as cited in A. Adefuye, "The Palwo: Emergence and Crisis c. 1400-1760," History of Uganda Before 1900, I, edited by J. B. Webster, in press.

[5]Odongo, "Central Luo," in press.

[6]As summarized in Webster, "Migration and Settlement," in press.

[7]A. C. A. Wright, "Lwo Migrations, A Review," UJ, 16 (1952), 16.

[8]Crazzolara, Lwoo, I, 62, and III, 482.

[9]Odongo, "Central Luo," in press.

[10]Webster, "Migrations and Settlement," in press.

[11]Crazzolara, "Lwoo Migrations," UJ, 25:2 (1961), 136-148.

[12]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 171-173.

[13]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 46; and Cohen, Tradition of Busoga, 126-127.

[14]Crazzolara, Lwoo, I, 65-66.

[15]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 42-43.

[16]Adefugy, "The Palwo," 5, in press.

[17]Ibid., 12. Adefuye's research in Palwoland neglected clan traditions, focusing instead on the rwots and their links with Kitara court tradition. Also see A. Adefuye, MSP 26/1971/72, "Early History of the Central Luo," Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1971, 9.

[18]Adefuye, "The Palwo," 4-7, in press.

[19]Ibid., 4.

[20]Nyawir and Uyo are the only surviving names of Pawir Rwots. When Pawir adopted Bacwezi organization, they might have accepted alternating titles.

[21]Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, II, 596.

[22]Adefuye, "The Palwo," 5, in press.

[23]Ibid.

[24]In 1968-1969, for example, there were numerous Congolese refugees as well as immigrants from Kenya seeking work. As the Bacwezi declined, Nyawir lost power. Tradition reports that her palace slowly sank into the ground leaving a large hole to which the people came to worship. Nyawir's descendants became priests of the cult which remember her.

[25]Crazzolara, Lwoo, I, 105.

[26]Ibid. The Bushbuck is not a totem exclusive to the Babito. A number of Luo royal clans originating in Dog Nam, Lake Rudolf shore, had it for a totem. See Webster, "Migrations and Settlement."

[27]M. Kahulere, Kyura village, Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, Interview of August 24, 1969. "Kwonga" means "beginning" in the Alur language and is associated with the twilight years of the Bacwezi period when the PaNyimur chiefs established themselves, as cited in Aiden Southall, "Alur Tradition and its Historical Significance," UJ, 18:2 (1954), 145.

[28]Y. Barwogeza, Mparo village, Bugahya saza, interview of August 23, 1969; M. Kahulere, Masindi Township, Buruli saza, interview of August 24, 1969; Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 5, reports that Rukidi and Kimera were twin sons of Kyomya and Nyatwaro, a woman of the Bakwonga clan.

[29]Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969; N. Mwanguhya, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969.

[30]Adefuye, "The Palwo," in press.

[31]Crazzolara, The Lwoo, I, 91-99. The Cwaa and the Pa-Gaya clans are also found in Acholi. Cwaa is also a section name for part of Kitgum District, Uganda.

[32]T. Magwara, Buhanika Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 28, 1969; Webster, "Migration and Settlement," in press.

[33]Crazzolara, Lwoo, I, 109, 71.

[34]Ibid., II, 210-212.

[35]Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 46.

[36]Crazzolara, Lwoo, II, 449, 451; Nyakatura, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 25, 1969; H. K. Nkojo, Nyakasura village, Burahya saza, interview of February 24, 1969; Sara Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969; Bujenje saza Group interview, August 13, 1969; Pakanyi Gomborra Group interview, Buruli saza, August 29, 1969; Kiziranfumbi Gomborra Group interview, Bugawya saza, August 22, 1969; and Kiryandongo Gomborra Group interview, Kibanda Saza, August 27, 1969.

[37]Sara Binyomo, Bagaya clan, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, April 11, 1969, and M. Byomboijana, Mparo village, Bugahya saza, interview of August 23, 1969.

[38]Sara Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969.

[39]Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, II, 596.

[40]Beattie, Nyoro State, 98, 102.

[41]Lazaro Basigara (Saza chief, ret.), Virika village, Burahya saza, interview of March 8, 1969.

[42]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 8, 15; Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 4; K. W., "Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, 4 (1935), 158, is in agreement with Nyakatura's list.

[43]D. W. Cohen, "The Cwezi Cult," JAH, IX (1968), 655.

[44]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 92-94.

[45]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 9. He reports that the name Buganda comes from Juganda, said to be the homeland of this smith in the "Congo." Buganda superceded "Muhwahwa" the earlier name for the region.

[46]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 6, and Bikunya, Ky'Abakama bya Bunyoro, 21.

[47]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 92-94.

[48]Ibid., 93.

[49]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 10.

[50]K. W., "Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, 4 (1935), 159. A. B. Lloyd, Uganda to Khartoum (London, n.d.), 69, reported, "Eventually on an expedition Ndahura was killed and all his people slaughtered, and Wamala became King."

[51]Ibid.

[52]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 9. Kyonya is said to have travelled to Bukoba (Tanzania) with coffee berries and other goods, according to Roscoe, The Banyankole, 24.

[53]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 9.

[54]Ibid., 7.

[55]Ibid., 25-27, and Fisher, Twilight Tales, 99-101.

[56]Casati, Ten Years, II, 50.

[57]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 95, reported, "Ndahura the king then made a rule that periodically his sons should go out with an army to abstract cattle and slaves from the people as tribute and an assurance of their loyalty to him or to enforce obedience and homage where this was withheld." The text describes how the Basingo refused to pay the tribute, which may have been the real source of friction.

[58]Karugire, History of Nkore, 76-77. He cited the Elephant clan in Buganda, which joined the Civet cat and the Basaigi clan in Bunyoro and the Bene Itanzi in Nkore as examples.

[59]Karugurube, Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 25, 1969; Kiryandongo Group interview, Kibanda Saza, August 27, 1969; Pakanyi Group interview, Buruli saza, August 29, 1969; and Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, 18.

[60]Benyamini Igambire, Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 27, 1969; B. Kasenene, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 25, 1969; Gerisoni Kwebiha, Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969; Kaigurube Kasale, Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 25, 1969; Paulo Katerabwire, Rutete Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of April 8, 1969. There was no clear breakdown of the totems of these Basingo sub-clans.

[61]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro, 8.

[62]Hans Cory, History of the Bukoba District (Mwanga, Tanganykia, n.d.), 7.

[63]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 33, Chief list:

		Clan
1.	Ntuma of Munyonyi	Basonga
2.	Ntuma of Kinywanaboha	Bagabu
3.	Kinwa of Muganga	Basambu
4.	Ntale of Mwenge	Batwairwe
5.	Kagaju Kamusama	Basingo
6.	Kisegu of Mpake	Baitira
7.	Buganda	Basuli
8.	Nyaikanga	Basita
9.	Kagira Kabiroro	Babwijwa
10.	Katenga	Basaigi
11.	Kayanga	Baransi
12.	Butaho	Balisa

[64]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 15-16.

[65]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 4.

[66]Whether Wamara represents a "person" or the "title" of the last ruler in the waning years of Bacwezi rule does not affect the correlations of the traditions. The evidence tends to confirm that the Wamara tradition does relate to the title of the last ruler. The Babito adopted Wamara as guardian of their royal clan since they were successors of Wamara.

[67]R. Oliver, "A Question About the Bachwezi," UJ, 17 (1953), 135.

[68]F. Lwamgira, Amakuru Ka Kiziba ("The History of Kiziba and Its Kings,") (1949), translated by E. R. Kamuhangire (Kampala, 1969), 36.

[69]Mulindwa is said to have made a blood-brotherhood with the Buyaga clan, Nyakatura, 21. Mulindwa is also the name of the main "mucwezi" guardian of the Basita clan.

[70]Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, 91. After Mukama Winyi III, Buyaga and Bugangaizi sazas became the main burial areas and center of the kingdom of Bunyoro, K. Ingham, "The Amagasani of the Abakama of Bunyoro," UJ, 17 (1953), 140.

[71]A. Wheeler, "Kitagwenda: A Babito Kingdom in Southern Toro," unpub. Ms. Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, MSP 4/71/72, 1, related the tradition but was indecisive about the chronology. He disregarded the traditional origin which correlates with the Bacwezi period, and estimated 1700 as the date of the founding of the kingdom. Kitara clan tradition supports the earlier, Bacwezi correlation. The Babito later superceded the Balisa clan in Kitagwenda.

[72]Lwamgira, Amakuru Ka Kiziba, 28-30.

[73]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 41, which agrees with Fisher, Twilight Tales, 101-102.

[74]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 104-105.

[75]Ibid., 101-102.

[76]D. W. Cohen, "The Cwezi Cult," JAH, IX:4 (1968), 651-657.

[77]Zakayo Kyanku, Rutoma village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969.

[78]Webster, "Migration and Settlement," in press.

[79]A. B. Fisher, Diaries, Book XI, Folder C (1899), 15, Church Missionary Society Archives, London, and L. K. Basigara, Virika village, Burahya saza, interview of March 8, 1969.

[80]K. Baguma, Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 19, 1969.

[81]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 18, and Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 30.

[82]Rev. E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of March 3, 1969, and Erisaniya Buletwenda, Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 19, 1969.

[83]L. K. Basigara, Virika village, Burahya saza, interview of March 8, 1969; E. Buletwenda, Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 19, 1969; and Kassim Baguma, Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 19, 1969.

[84]Some accounts say "Madi," some "Bukedi," but all agree the diviner was a foreigner from the north. See Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 29, 31, 34-35; Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 5; and Fisher, Twilight Tales, 107.

[85]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 107.

[86]The specifics of the story differ: Igaba, a hunter from Bukedi, placed a horn with charms into Wamara's well. He then caused a drought that necessitated Wamara's use of the well, where he drowned. The other Bacwezi are said to have committed suicide, according to Lwangira, Amakuru Ka Kiziba, Chapter V, 1.

[87]Adefuye, "The Palwo," in press.

[88]E. Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, Interview of April 24, 1969.

[89]Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, 9.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BABITO PERIOD

The Tradition of Rukidi

The usual explanation of the decline of the Kitara state involves the arrival in Kitara and the interlacustrine region generally of a new wave of migration of Luo-speaking groups in the 15th-early 16th centuries.[1] The form this migration of mixed farming-agricultural peoples took, whether conquest or peaceful settlement, remains open to question. According to the conquest theory, Luo led by Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi ("the father of the drums," "the spotted one," "from the land of the naked people") swept away the last remnants of Bacwezi rulership in Kitara. Rukidi established the Babito clan (ngabi, bushbuck totem) as the rulers of Bunyoro, the successor to the Bacwezi state, which they dominated for over 400 years.

South of the Katonga River (which became the southern boundary of Bunyoro), the rival state of Nkore emerged under the leadership of Ruhinda and a Bahuma pastoral aristocracy.[2] The impact of this new wave of Luo immigrants was felt even farther south in Rwanda, where the invaders were remembered in traditions as

> a strange and terrible people 'as numerous as the grains of millet in a good harvest,' whose spears were of iron (and all of one piece) and whose shields were so strong that the arrows of the Rwanda were useless against them. These barbarians not only ravaged the cows but committed the supreme outrage of killing them for food. They also marched, driving

> in front of their cohorts the women and children whom they had already enslaved.[3]

Whether Rukidi, in Kitara tradition the leader of the invading Luo group, represents a man, a population movement or a place of origin is uncertain. Traditions personalize Rukidi and depict him as a man. Yet "Bukedi" in the Kitara complex (a variant spelling of Rukidi) refers to a general area north of the Nile, east as far as Lake Kyoga, and north for an indefinite distance (depending upon the informant). The name Rukidi could also refer to a point of origin, for example, the Tekidi Luo settlement that had developed by the 11th century in the Agora Mountains. All of the above possibilities are conceivably implied by the "Rukidi" of tradition. Another name for the first Luo ruler of Bunyoro was "Mpuga" ("the spotted one"), which supposedly was descriptive of his appearance -- half-black, half-white, seemingly symbolizing his links with the Luo of Pawir and points north as well as his kinship with the lighter-skinned Bahuma pastoral aristocracy. "Isingoma" ("father of the drums") was a name that commemorated his possession of the drums of rulership and regalia that had been recovered from old supporters of the Bacwezi, the Basita clan, as well as additional drums Rukidi brought with him from Pawir.[4]

Although the chronology of this period cannot yet be set out with certainty, available evidence suggests that the Babito of the Rukidi traditions represent a later wave of Luo intruders originating not in Pawir, where early Luo groups settled, but north of the Nile beyond Pawir. The intrusions led by Rukidi appear to have been a Luo movement receiving its earliest impulse from north of the Nile beyond Pawir, possibly in Tekidi in the Agora Mountains. J. B. Webster reported that the leadership of Tekidi had the Buckbuck totem, the same as the Babito clan Rukidi founded, and he suggests this was a totem common to all ruling Luo groups that

ultimately traced their origins to Dog Nam on the shores of Lake Rudolf.[5] Other Bushbuck groups include the Patiko, Atyak, Koic, Palabek, Payera, Puranga, and Koro, who are prominent clans of Acholi (located across the Nile north of Pawir). These clans, together with the Koi clan of Padhola (east of Acholi), all claim descent from Labongo, who has been identified with Rukidi, the founder of the Babito dynasty in the Kitara complex.[6] Labongo'o is a place name in Acholiland the earliest reference to a leader remembered as Labong'o relates to a large group of Luo who settled in the Nimule area on the northern Uganda boundary about twenty generations ago before the Rukidi group entered the Kitara complex, about eighteen generations ago.[7] There is no evidence in Kitara traditions to support or reject this link with Labongo.

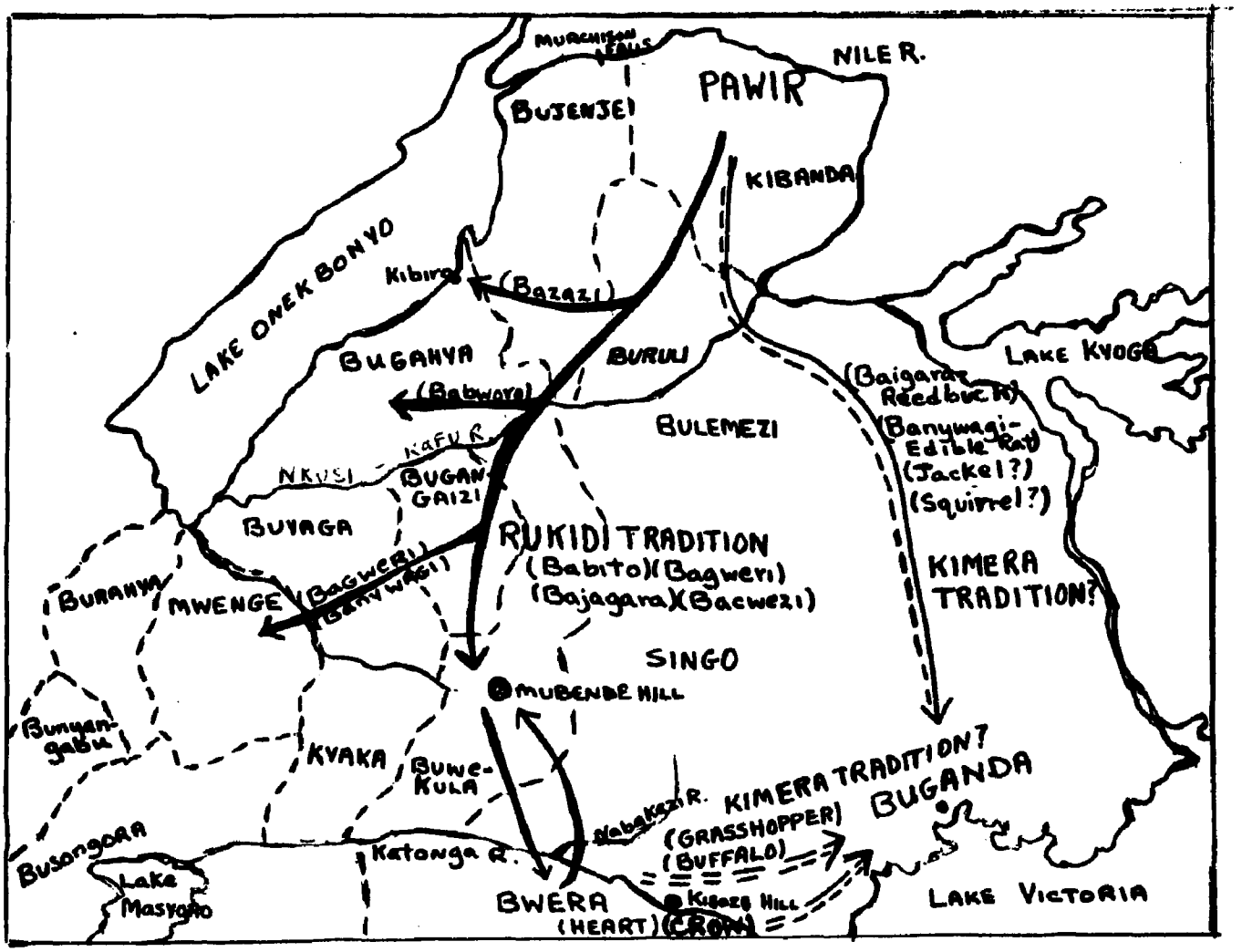
The similar names may represent a telescoping of traditions, but it is unlikely, given the generational discrepancies, that the name refers to an historical personage. In Kitara tradition the Rukidi group has its most direct links with Pawir, not Acholi or the traditions of Labongo.

The Babito Takeover of the Kitara Complex

Analysis of the evidence relating to the pattern of early Luo settlement on the northern periphery of Kitara examined in Chapter VII suggests that the earliest Luo to arrive in Kitara preceded the Babito-Luo by at least one generation. The arrival of the Rukidi group, which crossed from Acholi country into Pawir in the early 16th century does not appear to have been a warlike invasion, if traditions and subsequent history of cordial diplomatic relations that characterised later Babito-Pawir communication is any indication.[8] The Babito court tradition of the Kitara com-

plex testifies to a special relationship having existed between the Babito and the Bakwonga clan of Pawir. The Bakwonga clan is said to have met the Babito at Kisembwe in Kibanda Saza and carried the Babito mother and sister of Rukidi, Nyatworo and Nyaraki, across the river in canoes.[9] Significantly, the Bakwonga also claim to have supplied the Babito ruler Rukidi with his first wife.[10] They are remembered as "mothers" of Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi and his "twin brother" Kato Kimera, the first Luo Kabaka (ruler) of Buganda.[11] The earliest Babito kings are also said to have been buried in Palwo, although no traces of amasagani (shrines containing the jaw-bones of former Babito rulers) survive there.[12] In this context the successful Babito intrusion of Kitara was apparently achieved with substantial support from the earlier Luo settlers of Pawir. However, the motives behind this support may have been mixed. Pawir had become crowded with successive waves of immigrants, and even the Kitara version of the Babito presence in Pawir suggests that the Rukidi group soon became a source of tension for the political leadership of Pawir. They could understandably have been only too anxious to encourage their "brothers" to move on to points south. Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi had emerged as a rival to Nyarwa, a leader of Pawir.[13] In the Kitara version, Rukidi is said to have feared that Nyarwa would be preferred by the people and be chosen as their "king" (rwot?); so he feigned sickness and retired from Nyarwa's compound. When out of sight he proceeded to march toward Kitara.[14] The Pawir version stresses a more cordial relationship with Rukidi, and relates that Rukidi established his "first capital" in Pawir, married Palwo (Pawir) women, and designated his offspring as his chiefly successors in Pawir for at least the three generations after his political takeover of the Kitara state.[15] Babito traditions also acknowledge their debt to Pawir and agree that the first three Babito rulers chose wives from Pawir

POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN THE KITARA COMPLEX
15th - 16th CENTURIES



KEY:
- ⟶ Rukidi Tradition
- ⟹ Older Kitara Clans - Kimera Tradition?
- ⟹ Luo Groups to Buganda - Kimera Tradition?
- ----- Modern Saza Boundaries
- ( ) Clans

as well as being returned to the Pawir "homeland" for burial.[16] Despite this mutual admiration, the account of political rivalries in Pawir rings true, and may suggest the immediate stimulus for the Rukidi invasion of Kitara.

The Babito group appear to have used Pawir as a staging area, where they gathered support from their Luo "kinsmen" before entering Kitara, specifically, with the groups that became known in the Kitara complex as the Bakwonga, Bacwa, and Bagaya clans. (See Chapter VII.) These three groups, together with the Babworo, Basuuli, Banywagi, Baigara, Balibaki, Bagweri, Bajaara and Bapina have traditions of having accompanied the Rukidi/Babito group south into Kitara. Like the Babito, these clan groups adopted the Runyoro language and were gradually assimilated into the Bantu culture of the Kitara complex. However, the traditions of these clan groups clarify the external pressures that contributed to the fall of the Bacwezi.

Several of these clans are of particular interest since their traditions reflect links with the non-Luo Madi people and suggest that the so-called "Luo horde" as it was once described by Oliver was an ethnically mixed group of northerners attracted to the strong military leadership that is so central to the Rukidi tradition.[17] These clan traditions seem to follow the pattern of other Kitara clan traditions in that the "clans" represent what were originally sub-units within a sizeable migration group, perhaps even sub-sections of Rukidi's army (with their wives and dependents) under military leadership.[18]

The Babworo, for example, today a very small clan limited to northern Bunyoro, appear to be remnants of an old royal clan of Acholi known as the Boora kaka paRwoot (ultimately of Madi origin), who founded the rwot-ship of Lamogi in pre-Luo times. At one time Lamogi extended south as far

as the Victoria Nile, where they apparently confronted the Luo.[19] Some Lamogi, to judge from the Babworo traditions, joined the Rukidi-Babito group in the vicinity of the Nile, and journeyed south with them as far as Bugahya saza, where they separated from the invading Luo group and settled.[20]

The Basuuli clan group who supported the Babito and accompanied them into Kitara, have also been referred to as "Madi" in Kitara traditions. As mentioned in Chapter VII, the Basuuli clansman, Karongo, and his brother, Nyakwoko, distinguished themselves as spies and diviners by journeying to Kitara from Pawir, where they had settled. They reportedly foretold the downfall of the Bacwezi at Wamara's court, after which they returned to Pawir and informed Rukidi of Kitara's vulnerability.[21] Apparently Karongo's expertise in both the Luo and Bantu languages contributed to his attaining a position of trust with Rukidi. He is said to have accompanied Rukidi and his army to Kitara, where he and his descendants came to occupy one of the few hereditary offices of the Babito court.[22] The Babworo and Basuuli clan traditions support the theory that the Rukidi invasion of Kitara involved an ethnically mixed group of northerners.

Clan traditions and settlement patterns suggest there were several stages of Luo expansion into the Kitara complex. The group led by Rukidi continued south all the way to the Mubende Hill area. Court traditions relate that Rukidi and his supporters passed through Kijaguzo, Buhemba Mbale, Rwenbumba, Bugangaizi (saza), Busesa and Bucubya. From Bucubya Rukidi's group paused and sent a messenger ahead to Mubende Hill, the old capital of Ndahura, to announce his coming.[23] When they arrived, they settled at Eberu Hill, a few miles north of Mubende Hill, where they are said to have encountered two old women of the Balisa clan, who had been left behind or captured.[24]

By the time Rukidi's spearhead column had arrived at Eberu Hill, some of their early supporters had branched off from the movement settling north of Mubende, albeit still within the Kitara complex. The Rukidi intrusive group included the Bapina clan, led by Gali, who "came with the Babito to serve them."[25] Part of the Banywagi clan say they accompanied Rukidi south into Kitara. They ultimately settled around Rohoko in Mwenge saza, where they "were blacksmiths and worked with the Basita."[26] The Balibeki, who claim the engabi totem of the royal Babito clan were closely associated with them, but most informants argued they were a separate, non-royal clan group, many of whom first settled in Kibanda saza just south of Pawir.[27] Like the Bakwonga and Bacwa (led by Katanga) or Pawir, they represent earlier Luo groups of Pawir that supported the Babito as they moved south into Kitara. Many of the descendants of these clan groups remained in the northern quadrant of the Kitara complex into modern times, (the Bakwonga in Pakanyi Gomborra of Busuli saza; the Bacwa in Karujuru Gomborra, Buruli saza).[28]

The groups that penetrated deepest into Kitara with the Rukidi Babito group were the Bajagara, led by Odeeru, their clan founder, together with the Bagweri clan.[29] Odeeru was one of Rukidi's most flamboyant great chiefs. He is said to have worn many skins to make himself appear larger. His "greatness" led to a nickname "Nyamujagara" ("he assumed large proportions") and was the name taken by his descendants' clan. His ostentation may also have influenced the totemic identification of the group: they alone copied the Bacwezi and Basita and adopted their <u>obusito</u> totem (abstinence from drinking the milk of a cow that has recently calved).[30]

The Bacwezi clan, despite their name and obusito totem, also number themselves among the companions of Rukidi who traveled south into Kitara.[31]

The Bacwezi clan are generally regarded as "Bairu" (agricultural or artisan group) and some lineages claim to have been blacksmiths traditionally. They adopted the obusito totem, which they say was the same as the historic Bacwezi dynasty, and also the Basita clan, who also had a strong ironworking tradition.[32] One branch of the Bacwezi clan, the Bazazi, settled at Kibiro saltworking site on Lake Onekbonyo some "twelve" generations ago, where they became hereditary chiefs and continued to serve the Babito.[33]

The Bagweri are one of the largest surviving Luo clans with traditions of accompanying the Babito to Kitara. Their clan name is said to come from the verb kugwera ("to hide so one can overhear a discussion") or bugwera ("one who interrupts a conversation," e.g. they interrupted a discussion of Rukidi's during their journey to Kitara), or ogwera as in the expression Naiwe ogwera muno obigambo ("you speak so fast") because the Luo appeared to Bantu speakers to speak very rapidly.[34] The Bagweri trace their migration from "Bukedi," from whence they journeyed with the Babito all the way to Mwenge saza -- some say Opuuli, their clan founder, led them to Butara, Mwenge, where there was a spring with salty water and also a hot spring nearby.[35] From Mwenge saza the clan dispersed, some of their village settlements maintaining the clan name, Gweri. The clan prospered for a time and then quarrelled; there are numerous sub-clans that branched from the original Bagweri group.[36]

The vicinity of Mubende hill appears to be the limit of Luo expansion associated with Rukidi. None of the clans accompanying him have traditions of settlement south of Mwenge saza, which is about the same latitude as Mubende Hill.

Some other clans separated from the Rukidi group along the route and moved east into and across Buruli and into Buganda and Busoga.[37] One

branch of the Banywagi clan of Kitara traveled east into Buganda, where they eventually lost their Banyoro name but not their totem and were assimilated into the Baganda clan structure as the Edible Rat clan.[38] Like the Banywagi, the Baigara clan (Reedbuck totem) also have traditions of branching from the Rukidi-Babito group and moving east into Mabira forest (Buganda) and Busoga, leaving only a small residual clan group behind in Kitara which has survived to the present.[39] Cohen suggests the Reedbuck are a much earlier group of Luo, but this does not eliminate the possibility of their participation in this later Luo movement.[40]

The clan traditions related above create the impression that the Luo invasion of Kitara led by Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi was too large to have been an entirely peaceful undertaking. It appears that in response to the Rukidi intrusion, some non-Luo clan groups retreated into southern Kitara and east into Buganda. In Buganda their traditions have been lumped together as "accompanying Kimera," the "leader" of the Luo groups entering Buganda.[41] In fact they appear to identify older Bantu clan groups who fled east to Buganda during the unstable period between the Bacwezi and the Babito dynasties. These emigres included parts of the Buffalo, Grasshopper, Squirrel, Crow and Heart clans. One Buganda tradition links Kimera to the Bushbuck totem (Luo origin), but another Buganda tradition links Kimera to the Grasshopper totem (non-Luo, the Basonga clan of Kitara), which would put them in resistance to, not an extension of the Luo takeover of Kitara.[42] In Buganda tradition Kimera is considered to be the first ruler of a Luo royal dynasty roughly contemporary with Rukidi in Kitara. The "first ruler" in Buganda court tradition is Kintu; the second is Chwa, which may be a Luo term (Cwa, as in the Bacwa clan of Kitara, or a reference to the Bacwezi, pronounced "bă-chwā'-zee"). The third ruler in Buganda tradition is Kimera.[43]

The Jackel, Buffalo and Squirrel clans also claim to have accompanied Kimera (Bushbuck totem, Kato Kimera is Rukidi's "twin" in tradition) into Buganda.[44] However, with the exception of the Bushbuck, there are no totemic links between these and any surviving Kitara clan. This discrepancy is a clear indication that the Kimera tradition and the Rukidi tradition represent quite distinct population movements and probably were not the result of coordinated military planning.

Using Oliver's dating technique of estimated reign lengths of 27 years plus or minus two years per ruling generation, Cohen summarized and correlated the court traditions of the interlacustrine region as far back as Isingoma Mpuga Rukidi (17 generations from 1899) and Kato Kimera (21 generations from 1884).[45] These estimates also resulted in quite disparate dates for the Kimera tradition (1386-1359± 60) and the Rukidi tradition (1467-1440±54). Traditions collected in Kitara and in northern Uganda by Webster and others suggest that these dates may be somewhat on the early side; but what is significant is that both sources suggest the Kimera tradition of Buganda may have preceded the Luo intrusion described in Rukidi traditions, (e.g. 15th century vs. early 16th century).

The haziness concerning the Luo intrusions associated with Rukidi, the absence of clear, corroborating conquest traditions in the interlacustrine region is understandable since court traditions emphasize the positive aspects of their rulership. Based on the evidence of Nkore and Bunyoro court traditions, S. Karugire has theorized that:

> The number of Luo that eventually made their way into Bunyoro was quite small and it may well be that their numerical weakness was responsible for their failure to conquer or settle more than what had been a small part of the kingdom of Bacwezi .... It is not clear whether the Luo invasion caused the fall of the Bacwezi kingdom, or whether it was the disintegration of the

> latter that facilitated the Nilotic settlement of Bunyoro .... The Conquest theory seems to be the more probable.[46]

Despite the logic of Karugire's argument, no Kitara clans cite specific battles in which they participated or in which specific ancestors distinguished themselves. Conclusive, detailed evidence still eludes the historian.

To review the pattern of Luo settlement and subsequent occupation of the Kitara complex: the earliest Luo groups that settled in northern Kitara (Pawir) were small scale and semi-autonomous, paying tribute to the Bacwezi state. The Rukidi traditions reflect a new, more expansive stage of Luo activity -- a military-political takeover involving a group moving south and west from a base in Pawir. Their initial forays were supported by their reliable allies remaining in Pawir.

In the Kitara complex, there is little evidence of any resistance offered against the Luo intruders north of Mubende, suggesting they were the beneficiaries of an internal collapse of the Kitara state, which was described in Chapter VII. The tradition of the last Wamara moving his capital south to Bwera must have been accompanied by parallel withdrawal of other pastoralists south, so that when the Rukidi invasion occurred, a relatively unoccupied zone between the Bacwezi and the intruders existed, similar to that which existed between the rival states of Bunyoro and Buganda in the 19th century.

Rukidi beat the great royal drum Nyalebe and formally took the throne in Mubende and Bwera.[47] But afterwards he and his supporters withdrew north of Mubende to Bugangaizi saza -- to avoid war, it was said, which is apparently a reference to Nkore and Ruhinda's successful resistance.[48] Rukidi's followers and new subjects did not persist in attacking Ruhinda, and turned

instead to the task of consolidating the new holdings and building the state of Bunyoro.[49] The origin of the rulers of Nkore, the Ruhinda tradition, is still open to question. They could have been part of the Nilotic invasion (although Kitara clan traditions make this seem unlikely), or a small agricultural clan that organized themselves in southern Isingiro for defense against the Luo, or a band of pastoralists retreating south who organized a defense.[50]

In the face of organized resistance from Ruhinda of Nkore, the Babito led by Rukidi, several days march removed from their allies in northern Kitara and Pawir, apparently paused in their offensive to consolidate their gains. In developing a line of defense between Bunyoro and Nkore, Rukidi apparently installed strong chiefs along the borderlands. One of these chiefs, Nabubale, a blacksmith, was installed in Bwera, just south of the Katonga River, and his clan, the Bamooli, became "famous" in the Bwera region.[51] Although Kitara clan informants relate that the clan originated to the south, there are also large concentrations of the clan in northern Bunyoro, where all Bamooli identify with the "engabi" (bushbuck) totem, saying they were associated with the early Babito.[52] (Further south, the Heart totem is also a totem of the clan.) Their early alliance with the Babito and the loyal execution of their political and possibly economic role in Bwera, a rich, iron producing area caused the Bamooli group to prosper. They were left in control as long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Babito, who by tradition made periodic journeys to Masaka to consult with their Bamooli advisors. This arrangement apparently continued until the conquest of Bwera by Buganda in the 18th century. Kiziba, a small kingdom farther south with traditional links with the Babito may represent a similar alliance.

Another alliance that was vital to the security of the Babito was with the Bayaga to the west. An alliance between the Bayaga and Ruhinda to the south could have been disastrous for the Babito. The Bayaga had become "famous" as religious specialists, using the power of their guardian deity, Mulindwa, to strengthen their position. Semi-independent status within the Bunyoro state was their reward. The Kyaku/Mihingo of Buyaga saza enjoyed this relationship with the new Babito rulers.[53] The successful consolidation of a sizeable part of the old Kitara state was accomplished only by the Luo Babito adoption of Kitara political institutions.

The Consolidation of Babito Rule

In addition to more formal political alliances on their western and eastern flanks, such as the two described above and secure in their alliance with Pawir, the Babito were active internally in stabilizing their control of the state. This was accomplished in part by maintaining many of the essential features of administrative organization and court ritual that had been developed during the Bacwezi period, including palace officials, the saza chiefships, a royal herd of cattle and ceremonial drinking of milk, new moon ceremonies, coronation procedures, drums, crowns, spears, and other regalia, described in previous chapters.[54] Sir Harry Johnston records that when

> Wamala died, and Lukedi became king, Lukedi (Rukidi) made a great feast and sacrifice to the Bachwezi as a propitiatory offering. He first sent for nine fowls and killed them, one cow without blemish and one sheep. These also were killed and the intestines of these animals were taken and placed on the side of the main road. Several men were then placed to watch to see that no insect touched them. After some time Lukedi sent a messenger with two large barkcloths to wrap them up in. After this he selected nine cows, nine

> elderly women, nine young women, nine loads of beads. These things were then taken to the top of a large hill called Abulu (Eberu). The women and cows were then killed, and their bones burnt with fire; the beads were made into a headdress, and Lukedi wore it, and the ashes from the bones of the women were scattered upon his head. And the sacrifice was finished, and the Bacwezi propitiated.[55]

What is most striking about the new order was its familiarity with the ways and emulation of the old order. Political continuity, not revolution, characterized the early years of Babito rule.

Territorial (saza) chiefships were reorganized under appointed bakungo (sing. makungo) chiefs, a general title which may also date from Bacwezi times, as is evidenced by Nkore, which also adopted many features of Bacwezi rule and retained the same title for their territorial chiefs.[56]

In Babito times in Bunyoro, each makungo chief would appoint a number of batongole (sing. mutongole) chiefs to administer sub-units of the district. At this administrative level chiefships often became hereditary.[57] Together these officials would collect tribute, administer justice, and head the militia/military units of their respective areas. Although not all of Rukidi's chiefs (court tradition cites seventeen) are remembered in tradition by clan, the Babopi (chief of Bugangaizi), Bacaaci (c/o Bugahya), Basingo (c/o Bulemezi), Babwijwa (c/o Bugangaizi), and Basita (c/o Bweya) are recorded.[58] Here again there is continuity in that leadership was still drawn from some of the prominent Bahuma clans dating from the Bacwezi period, indicating they apparently made a successful transition to the new regime. In addition to saza chiefs, special herdsmen ("nkorogi") chosen from pastoral lineages of Bahuma clans cared for the royal herds kept exclusively for the ruler.[59] Other prominent offices at court dating from Bacwezi times which were hereditary within a particular clan included that of the Bamuroga (Bagahi clan) who looked after the royal regalia and had lands in Nyakabimba,

the Mugema (Baboopi clan), the head of household officials and servants, the Omusuuli (Basuuli clan) and the Omutwairwe (Batwairwe clan) who were both diviners for the Babito court. All four took precedence over bakungu (saza) chiefs.[60] Rukidi won the support of the powerful Basita clan, with whom they may have collaborated to persecute the Basingo and make them the scapegoats for the misfortunes associated with the Bacwezi dynasty.[61]

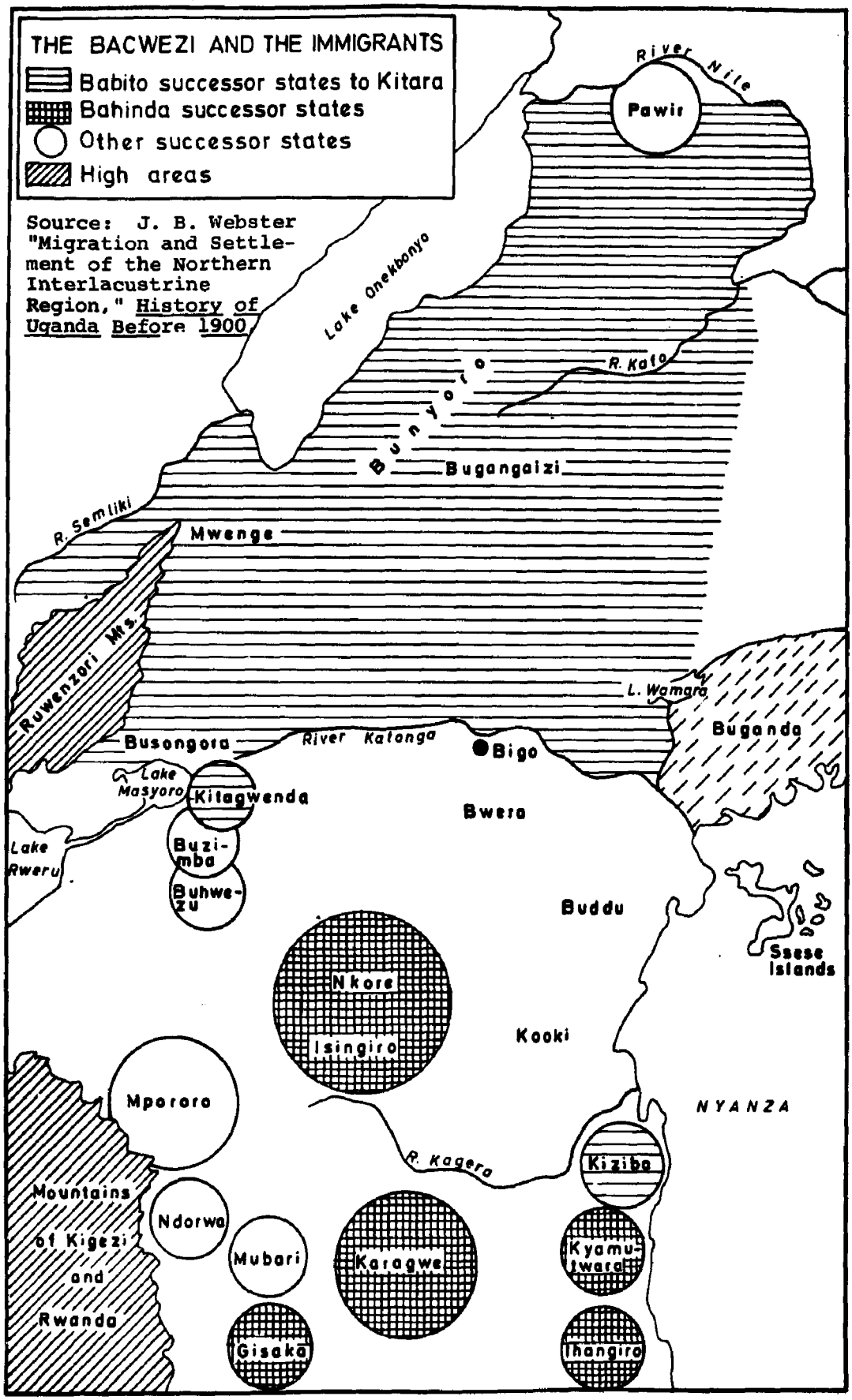
In the social sphere the Babito invasion represented the last major intrusion of foreign peoples into the Kitara complex, although other small groups of immigrants continued to arrive "after Rukidi." (Bagimu clan tradition, for example, tells of their "being taken as Babito" when they crossed from Bukedi on rafts into Bunyoro, a tradition that presupposes their Luo origins and the precedence of the Babito on the scene.)[62] By and large the non-royal or non-Babito Luo groups were mixed farmers and craftsmen who kept livestock. They were assimilated into the Kitara complex as "Bairu."

The Babito clan rapidly became one of the largest clan groups. Petero Bikunya listed 156 Babito sub-clans in his 1927 work.[63] Between the 16th and 19th centuries the rapid growth of the royal clan eventually contributed to the political instability of the state. Such proliferation of the clan can be explained only in the context of general exogamous practices despite the fact that the Babito royal clan has been generally regarded as an endogamous group.[64] The men of the ruling lineage (the Babito of the drum) practiced intermarriage with clan sisters (or cousins in Western terminology, not full sisters), but these unions were expected not to produce offspring.[65] The Mukama's official brother, and "official sister" who, like male chiefs, "drank milk" with the Mukama and lived an aristocratic life of leisure, illustrate the structure of the royal clan.[66] However, it is apparent that although the Babito clan was more structured than other

clans of the Kitara complex, for obvious reasons of political self-interest, marriages between ruling Bakama and various clans was a custom politically advantageous to the negotiating parties. An ambitious prince would rely on his mother's clan for political and military support in any succession struggle, although any potential successor needed a broad popular base to win and succession struggles were not waged along clan lines exclusively.

Non-ruling Babito (i.e. Babito who were not the ruling lineage) were limited in terms of their political activity, but they could serve as village and batongole chiefs. The important saza (bakungu) chiefs, in the 19th century at least, were awarded to men of other clans. Babito princes and even princesses could be awarded stools as symbols of authority, but never kondos (beaded 'crowns').[67] Nevertheless, to be a member of the Babito clan carried with it status and prestige, if not political power. Informants confirm that Babito were by and large an idle elite, to some extent supported by the village in which they resided. More than one informant of the Babito clan lamented the passing of the good old days when a Mubito would be regarded with respect and given gifts by his neighbors. These non-ruling lineages intermarried with non-Babito clans and dispersed throughout Bunyoro.

Sub-clans also developed among the descendants of former Bakama, such as the Bacaaki, one of the oldest sub-clans, who trace back to Rukidi's successor, Ocaaki Rwamgirra, the third Babito ruler.[68] Such fragmentation also contributed to extending and consolidating Babito influence at the local level. And beyond Bunyoro's borders, some of the Babito appear to have lived off and extended Babito rule to Kiziba. Kibi, the first Mubito ruler of Kiziba, is said to have been born at the salt lake at Kibiro. Traveling a roundabout route he ultimately banished the princes of Kyawu and Kiziba


THE BACWEZI AND THE IMMIGRANTS
Babito successor states to Kitara
Bahinda successor states
Other successor states
High areas
Source: J. B. Webster "Migration and Settlement of the Northern Interlacustrine Region," History of Uganda Before 1900
River Nile
Pawir
Lake Onekbonyo
R. Kafo
Bunyoro
Bugangaizi
R. Semliki
Mwenge
Ruwenzori Mts.
L. Wamara
Buganda
Busongora
River Katonga
Bigo
Lake Masyoro
Kitagwenda
Bwera
Lake Rweru
Buzimba
Buhwezu
Buddu
Ssese Islands
Nkore
Isingiro
Kooki
Mpororo
NYANZA
R. Kagera
Kiziba
Mountains of Kigezi and Rwanda
Ndorwa
Mubari
Karagwe
Kyamutwara
Gisaka
Ihangiro

and sent to Bunyoro for a sacred fire to confirm his legitimacy.[69]

The internal consolidation of the state proceeded in the religious sphere as well as the political (organizing sazas and court procedures), diplomatic (relations with Buyaga), and social (the royal clan). Religious tension centered around the mediumship cult that commemorated the Bacwezi of politically prominent Bahuma clans. The development and spread of this cult is difficult to explain, given the traditions of hard times and political instability associated with the final years of Bacwezi rule. The answer to the rapid spread of the cult appears to be that it was a form of political resistance. Some clans, such as the Bayaga, who had successfully challenged Bacwezi rule, had adopted their court customs, including the mediumship cult. Adapting these traditions to their own political and clan organization, Buyaga became the center for the commemoration of the former regent, Mulindwa, who is said to have been buried in the saza.[70] The mediumship cult also survived among Bahuma clans prominent during the Bacwezi period, including the Basita (who also honored Mulindwa), the Basingo (Mugenyi), the Basaigi (Kagoro), and the Baranzi (Ndahura).[71] The cult also thrived in Nkore, where Ruhinda had successfully fended off the Luo, particularly among the Bagahe clan.[72] Kitara informants were agreed that the cult spread after the political demise of the Bacwezi: Edward Winyi (Basita clan) commented,

> During the time of the Abacwezi, there was no Kubandwa, but after they disappeared, their former friends and subjects did not want the Abacwezi language to become extinct. Kubandwa (the mediumship cult) began in their memory.[73]

Bishop A. Balya (ret.) of the Balisa clan, who received his information from his mother, an active participant in the cult, reported,

> The Bacwezi were rulers, but after they disappeared, people began to recall what these Bacwezi had done,

> and in this case, the Bacwezi became "embandwa" (spirits). They would be given offerings of sheep and cattle.[74]

Rev. E. Binyomo, an exceptional informant of the Bayaga clan, stated that,

> Kubandwa started after the disappearance of the Bacwezi. Their servants remembered them and started worshipping their particular masters. For example, Mugenyi's servants would worship Mugenyi, and so on.[75]

All the above statements complement Gorju, who wrote

> When the Abacwezi left this country, the women who were left in their palaces and other people imitated (the Bacwezi) way of worshipping .... These men and women also called themselves the names of the Abacwezi, such as Ndahura, Wamara, Mulindwa, Kyomya, Mugasa, Rubanga, Ibona, Kagole, Mugiri, Nyabuzana and Kiigara....[76]

In a period of political uncertainty punctuated by famine and disease, diviners would have been much in demand to account for the difficulties. If the troubles could be attributed to the displeasure of the deposed and departed Bacwezi, propitiation of these spirits in the proper manner could be expected to alleviate the general distress. In this context the tradition that "Prime Minister Nakolo was sent to Bukedi country to seek a prince," e.g. a strong leader who could unify and personify the kingdom, helps to account for the acceptance of Babito rule.[77] (The name Nyakoko in the Nyakatura text is the name not of a Prime Minister, but of one of the "bafumu" (diviners' who accompanied Rukidi into Kitara.)[78]

This is not to set aside the possible military superiority of the invading Luo groups, the Babito and their supporters, but to clarify the problems involved in their successful consolidation of power and reorganization of the state. The Babito asserted their military control, but still had the stigma of being "Bairu" (commoners). Like Bukuku (Ndahura's "grandfather") they "acquired cattle, whether by exchange or confiscation, and adopted the pastoral customs which formed such an important part of court

ritual. To further minimize their foreigness, it made good political sense for the Babito to honor Wamara, the last Bacwezi ruler, by recognizing him as guardian of the new ruling Babito clan. By so doing, they not only enhanced their own social position, but strengthened their political legitimacy.

After the Babito adopted Wamara, their Luo supporters, e.g. the Bagweri clan, who had accompanied them into Kitara did likewise. From that time (c. 16th century), the "Wamara cult," as it has been described in some of the literature, acquired the largest number of followers. Luo clans seeking to signify support for the ruling house adopted Wamara as a clan guardian as well and venerated him as their protector. Even later non-Luo immigrants entering the Kitara complex tended to adopt Wamara, possibly as an indication of support for the rulers and a measure of their assimilation into Kitara society. The old Bahuma clans, such as the Basita, were apparently reassured, since they continued to play a prominent role politically in the Kitara complex.[79]

Thereafter priestly power centered on the commemoration of the Bacwezi. The ceremonial burial of jawbones of deceased rulers in "amagasani" shrines was introduced by the Babito/Luo dynasty, but the Babito kings did not become a focus for a religious cult. Predictably, the tensions inherent in this the development of priestly power worked as a check to limit the power of the Mukama. There is no evidence to suggest that there was ever a successful purge of priestly power to compare with that of Kabaka Suna II's attack on the priests in neighboring Buganda, although priestly power was a fact of life in Bunyoro into modern times:

> The Banyoro have always had a most elaborate priesthood and abundant ritual connected with their belief.[80]
>
> The... priests were numerous and found in every district

> in Bunyoro. They were always more powerful and wealthy than the chiefs, who supported them with gardens in their districts. They were all instructed and recognized by the High Priest [Bamuroga] at the capital.... Priests could not be brought to justice unless they were first proved imposters.[81]

As has been indicated, the religious system associated with the Bacwezi was intimately connected with particular clans, so that the mediumship cult represented an institution where political, religious and social elements of Kitara society came together. From family to clan to state, the heritage of the Bacwezi continued to influence behaviour and socio-political relationships. It appears that the branches of the tree (particularly as represented by Bahuma clans) managed to survive after the trunk (the Bacwezi political dynasty) had been cut. That these clans were able to maintain their status after the 16th century was attributable to political collaboration to be sure, but also to their success in perpetuating the memory of Bacwezi rule. Thus the "Wamara cult" spread as a result of state policy, permeating the social structure through the clans. It took over a century (to c. 1600) for the Babito-Luo to consolidate their position as heirs of the Bacwezi legacy in the Kitara complex in the political, diplomatic, social, and religious spheres, but the state system they built testified to their skill. Bunyoro, the most powerful successor state of Kitara, was to survive for over three hundred years.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The early 16th century date is hypothesized by Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 180; Ogot, Southern Luo, I, 46; Posnansky, "Kingship, Archaeology, and Myth," UJ, 30:1 (1966), 5; and D. Cohen, "A Survey of the Interlacustrine Chronology," JAH, XI:2 (1970), 177-202.

[2]Karugire, History of Nkore, 139-141.

[3]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 182-183, based on Fr. A. Pagès, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique (Brussells, 1933), 79-80, 558-574.

[4]Webster, "Migrations and Settlement," in press.

[5]Ibid.

[6]A. Bere, "A Note on the Payera of Acholi," UJ (1947), 1-8, and Ogot, Southern Luo, 46. Bere argues that Rukidi is the same man as Labongo, the first rulers of Payera in Acholi.

[7]Ogot, Southern Luo, 55, 58; Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 172-173, summarizes the evidence of generations of rulers involved.

[8]Beattie, Nyoro State, 52, and G. N. Uzoigwe, "Interethnic Cooperation in Northern Uganda," Ms., Department of History, Makere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1. In the Acholi language "Bito" was generally used for the sons of aristocratic lineages.

[9]Karubanga, Bukya Nbiwira, 6.

[10]M. Kahulere, Kyarubanga village, Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 24, 1969.

[11]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 8, 10, and Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 59, agrees.

[12]K. Ingham, "The Amasagani of the Abakama of Bunyoro," UJ, 17 (1953), 139. In both Fisher, Twilight Tales, 113, 122, and Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 67, Nyarwa is reported to have been the elder brother of Rukidi, who accompanied him to Kitara and became the first "Okwiri," head of the royal Babito clan, a position held by the eldest brother of the ruler. Kitara clan traditions make this appear unlikely.

[13]Fisher, Twilight Tales, 113-114.

[14]A. Adefuye, "The Palwo of Northern Bunyoro: A Demographic History," Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, MSP/16/71/72, 6, 7, 25. Adefuye explains further that "Kyebambe" means "usurper" in the Palwo language, a term that was applied to the fifth Mukama of Bunyoro, Olimi, because he did not have a Palwo mother. The Palwo saw this usurpation as part of a policy that disregarded their historic position at the Babito court. They rose in rebellion against Olimi, but by that time (five generations on the throne) the Babito had successfully consolidated their position and could set aside the custom of taking wives from the Palwo.

[15]K. Ingham, "The Amasagani of the Abakama of Bunyoro," UJ, 17 (1953), 138-145.

[16]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 173.

[17]Ibid., 182-183.

[18]No study of the historic development of Luo weapons or traditional military organization has been made. For a description of Luo weapons, see Trowell and Wachsmann, Tribal Crafts of Uganda.

[19]Crazzolara, Lwoo, III, 459-460. There was agreement among my informants that the Babworo are "not a Toro clan," are not known that far south and did not settle there.

[20]Mikaili Malingumu, Nkoko Gomborro, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969.

[21]Karubanga, Bukya Nibwira, 5; Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 18; Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 30; and Fisher, Twilight Tales, 111.

[22]L. K. Basigara, Virika village, Burahya Saza, interview of March 8, 1969. Basigara is a retired Saza Chief of Toro whose father also served as a Saza chief.

[23]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 40.

[24]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 182-187.

[25]J. Binejoma, Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of H. Nkojo, Nyakasura village, Burahya saza, interview of February 24, 1969, and Bikunya, 38-40.

[26]E. Kachumabiro, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969; Kabanaku, Mirongo Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 20, 1969, and E. Binyomo, Rubona village, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 3, 1969.

[27]M. Kahulere, Masindi Township, Buruli Saza, interview of August 24, 1969; H. K. Nkojo, Nyakasura village, Burahya Saza, interview of February 24, 1969; Kabwoya Gomborra group interview, Bugahya Saza, May 21, 1969; Nyantungo Gomborra Group interview, Mwenge Saza, March 19, 1969.

[28]M. Kahulere, Masindi Township, Buruli Saza, interview of August 24, 1969; Bikunya, 16, 49, wrote that Isimbwa (of the early Bacwezi period) "found" the Bapina clan, together with the Bakwonga and Babwijwa, "north of the Nile in Ganyi," a tradition which supports the clan's claim to antiquity. The Babworo and Basumbi clans subsequently separated from the Bacwezi clan, but no chronological dating can be assigned for these fragmentations. J. Mwanya, Karujubu Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 30, 1969; Rev. Timoseo Garubali, Bikonzi village, Bujenje saza, interview of August 13, 1969; and Kabale Gomborro Group interview, Bunyangabu Saza, April 14, 1969.

[29]Rwanyabaleega, Bugaki Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 24, 1969. He also included the Bacaaki clan, but they are a branch of the Babito clan, who trace their origins to one of Rukidi's early successors.

[30]Ibid. No explanation was offered as to why the group adopted the totem.

[31]Bigambwenda, Kyabigambire Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 29, 1969; Bulandina, Mubende Hill, Mubende District, interview of June 5, 1969; P. Bikalema, Busoro Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 3, 1969.

[32]I. Bagenda, Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 19, 1969; L. Kironde, Karujubu Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 30, 1969.

[33]Benyamini Kayamurubi, Kibiro saltworks, Bugahya saza, interview of May 26, 1969, and Kigarobya Gomborra Group interview, Bugahya saza, May 27, 1969.

[34]Isaleri Rwakahwa, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 28, 1969; A. Isingoma, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969; and H. B. Kaherebu, Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 16, 1969; also Bikunya, 39.

[35]A. Isingoma, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969; A. Byairungu, Kitumba Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of March 15, 1969.

[36]Sub-clans include the Bajanju, Badengo, Bagomoka, Bairagura, Bamireihwa, Bajumbi and Bagomba. A Isingoma, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969; A. Rwakaikara, Bugaki Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 24, 1969; and Y. R. K. Mulindwa, Engeso Zaitu ez'Obuhangwa (Our Traditional Customs), 26.

[37]In Busoga the Baisengobi princely house of Bukoli, which ruled Bugwere in Mbale district, were Babito and appear "to be contemporary with the Bito of Bunyoro themselves." Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 185.

[38]In Buganda tradition the Edible Rat clan is one that accompanied Kato Kimera (Rukidi's "twin brother") in the Luo intrusions into Buganda.

N. B. Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 28 (1964), 25-30; and A. Kagwa, Customs of the Baganda, 10-11.

[39]J. M. Gray, "Early History of Buganda," UJ, II (1933), 267, and Byenkya, Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of February 24, 1969.

[40]Cohen, Historical Tradition of Busoga, 82, 112-113.

[41]Roscoe, The Baganda (London, 1911), 140-172, and J. Gray, "Early History of Buganda," UJ, II (1933), 259-270.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Oliver, "The Interior, c. 1500-1840," 181.

[44]A Kagwa, Customs of the Baganda, 10-11; N. B. Nsimbi, "The Clan System in Buganda," UJ, 27 (1964), 25-30, and Roscoe, The Baganda, 10-11. The Bafumambogo Kitara clan are said to be the Buffalo (Mbogo) clan in Buganda, but this totemic group (widely acknowledged as an "agricultural clan" did not enter the Kitara complex from tne north; P. Isempogo, Kakindo Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 18, 1969; K. Makumbi, Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 17, 1969; and N. Mijumbi, Kabwoya Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 21, 1969.

[45]Cohen, "Interlacustrine Chronology," JAH, XI:2 (1970), 177-202.

[46]Karugire, History of Nkore, 124-125.

[47]Beattie, The Nyoro State, 53-54. The drum had to sound loudly and not split or be silent to give evidence of the successor's right to rule.

[48]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro, 58; K. W., "Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, III:2 (1935), 156; and B. A. Ogot, "Kingship and Statelessness Among the Nilotes," edited by J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas, The Historian in Tropical Africa (London, 1964), 292.

[49]The name Bunyoro "is clearly of Nilotic origin and in Bunyoro itself is still used as a title of honour." In addressing a superior, a man will say "Munyoro wange" which means "my lord." The Shilluk people also used "-ororo" as the category name for children of previous monarchs. A. C. A. Wright suggested "Nyoro" is an elision of "Nyi-ororo," meaning literally "children of Princes." The prefix "mu" or "ba" means "the children of previous kings." A. C. A. Wright, "Lwoo Migrations - A Review," UJ, XVI (1952), 87.

[50]S. Karugire, "Relations between Bairu and Bahima in 19th Century Nkore," Ms., Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1969, 6.

[51]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 75, reported the tradition that when the Bacwezi left, the Bamooli clan installed themselves at Bwera. When the

Babito arrived, they respected the Bamooli and left them in charge. Kitara clan traditions suggest there was a more direct relationship between the Bamooli and the Babito, and that the Babito had a hand in bringing the Bamooli to power.

[52]Kiziranfumbi Gomborra Group interview, Bugahya Saza, August 22, 1969; Kiryandongo Gomborra Group interview, Kibanda Saza, August 27, 1969; Pakanyi Gomborra Group interview, Buruli Saza, August 29, 1969; Bugambe Gomborra Group interview, Bugahya Saza, May 22, 1969; and Kabale Gomborra Group interview, Bunyangabu Saza, April 14, 1969.

[53]Mulindwa is said to have made a blood-brotherhood with the Buyaga clan, Nyakatura, 21. Mulindwa is also the name of the main "mucwezi" guardian of the Basita clan. Roscoe, Northern Bantu, 91. After Mukama Winyi III, Buyaga and Bugangaizi sazas became the main burial areas and center of the Kingdom of Bunyoro, K. Ingham, "The Amagasani of the Abakama of Bunyoro," UJ, 17 (1953), 140.

[54]Oliver, "The Traditional Histories of Buganda, Bunyoro, and Ankole," JRAI, 85 (1955), 115. "The Bito and ...the Hinda are at pains to describe how they learnt and copied the kingship customs of the Chwezi."

[55]Sir Harry Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, II (London, 1902), 600.

[56]Karugire, History of Nkore, 113. Because the Runyankore language does not seem to have any other word to describe a man in a position of authority, Karugire has suggested this could be attributed to the "lack of elaborateness in the administrative structure of Nkore." There is insufficient evidence to determine whether this generalization would apply to Kitara, which was the parent state of Nkore.

[57]Schweinfurth, ed., Emin Pasha in Central Africa, 89, and Roscoe, Northern Bantu, 20.

[58]K. W., "Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, Part II, IV:1 (1936), 76.

[59]Edward Kalyegira, Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969, lists the Basaigi, the Balisa, the Bayaga, the Baami, the Bakoransi, the Bahinda, the Basumbi, the Baitira, and the Bacwamba as Bahuma clans.

[60]L. K. Basigara, Virika village, Burahya saza, interview of March 8, 1969; also K. Ingham, "The Amasagani of the Abakama of Bunyoro," UJ, 17 (1953), 138.

[61]Webster, "Migration and Settlement," in press.

[62]Kahwakeeya, Buyaga Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 18, 1969. Like other Bantuized Luo clans, they settled in the northern quadrant of the Kitara complex, at Nyakasongora. Another informant said they separated from the Babito and that this group first settled at Ngobya Hill, Kiboro, near Kikara village, Bwijana Gomborra, but the Babito link is not supported by other informants. Kawakeyai, Bwijana Gomborra, Bujenje Saza,

interview of August 14, 1969.

[63]Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, 59-61. Members of the Babito subclans (some of whom now regard themselves as separate clans) that were interviewed for this study included the Bachubu, Bacwera, Bagumba, Baihangwe, Bajaawe, Bajagara, Bajuka, Bakoyo, Bandikasa, Banekera, Bangamwoyo, Banyakwa, Bapanyarwa, Bapasiisa, Bapiina, Bategwa, Batwara, and Bazirija. Although the development of the royal clan is beyond the scope of this study.

[64]Beattie, Nyoro State, 101.

[65]J. H. M. Beattie, "Nyoro Kinship," Africa, 27 (1957), 321, and John Roscoe, The Bakitara, 172.

[66]Beattie, Bunyoro, 20-31.

[67]Roscoe, The Bakitara, 174.

[68]Kiziranfumbi Gomborra Group interview, Bugahya saza, August 22, 1969; N. Mwanguhya, Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969, said the Basoka separated from them and are today a small clan in Toro district. K. W., "Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara," UJ, IV:1 (1936), 77.

[69]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 77-79.

[70]Zakayo Kyanku, Rubona village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969.

[71]Ibid.; Bikunya, Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro, p. 57-58; Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, 4; B. Nkoba (Basaigi), Murongo Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 20, 1969; B. Igambire (Basingo), Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 27, 1969; G. Kwebiha (Basingo), Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of March 31, 1969; B. Kasenene (Basita), Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 26, 1969; E. Kabirende (Basita), Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969; I. Rwebisoro (Baranzi), Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 11, 1969; M. Kandahura (Baranzi), Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969.

[72]In Nkore it was only the Bagahe clan who were involved in the Bacwezi cult. The successor Bahinda ruling clan never took part in it, which suggests that in Nkore as in Kitara the cult was spread by old political supporters of the Bacwezi. J. B. Webster, Personal communication, March, 1973.

[73]E. Winyi, Rwengoma village, Burahya Saza, interview of April 24, 1969.

[74]Bishop Aberi Balya (ret.), Fort Portal area, Burahya saza, interview of March 6, 1969.

[75]Rev. E. Binyomo, (ret.), Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of March 3, 1969.

[76]Gorju, Entre le Victoria, 77-79.

[77]Roscoe, Northern Bantu, 8-9.

[78]Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara, 29.

[79]The author is preparing an article on the development and spread of this religious system.

[80]Mrs. A. B. Fisher, On the Borders of Pigmy Land (London, 1905), 149.

[81]A. B. Fisher, "Diaries," Book XI, Folder C (1899), 15, Church Missionary Society Archives, London, United Kingdom.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

One of the most significant characteristics of the history of the Kitara complex and of the whole interlacustrine area has been the continuous interaction of successive intrusive groups with earlier settlers. These migrations have been in large measure the determining factor in the political, social, religious, and economic patterns of development in this area. Clans have been the means by which traditional stories about these migrations have been preserved in the Kitara complex, and, therefore, it is clan traditions that also provide the key to the most significant historical developments. Until recently, the reconstruction of Kitara history has been based primarily on traditions of the royal clan and court. Since court traditions provide a record of political centralization and successive ruling dynasties, they contain a rather selective and somewhat distorted view of the past which fails to explain satisfactorily the underlying sources for the development of the Kitara complex. Therefore, clan traditions are an invaluable source of Kitara's history.

According to clan tradition, there were at least five major intrusive groups which entered the Kitara region at various stages in its history. Hunting people with seed agriculture, small livestock, and possibly knowledge of ironworking were among the earliest groups to arrive in western Uganda from the north. In the same general period (c. 9th - 11th centuries)

Bantu-speaking agriculturalists with cattle were entering the Kitara complex from the west around the southern end of Lake Onekbonyo. The clan groups from the west introduced a more hierarchical clan organization, a system of alternating titles for the heads of clans, and copper regalia. By the 12th century other Bantu-speaking groups with longhorned, Sanga cattle, pottery and ironworking traditions were moving into the vicinity of the complex from the Mt. Elgon region to the northeast. The development of ironworking in MWenge saza coincides with the arrival of these northeastern groups. Other pastoralists with Sanga cattle, also remembered in tradition as Bahuma, entered the Kitara complex from the south c. late 13th century. The last major group to enter the Kitara complex were Nilo-Saharan speaking Luo and Madi peoples from the north. These intruders ousted the Bacwezi dynasty but retained many of the customs as well as the language of their predecessors.

According to established court traditions, there were only two major migrations -- one associated with the arrival and establishment of the Bacwezi dynasty followed by the arrival of the Luo, who founded the Babito dynasty. The earlier Batembuzi "rulers" were descended from the gods and had no specific migration stories in court tradition. Clan traditions make clear how oversimplified are the court traditions which correlate the Bacwezi and Babito dynasties with migrations. Clan traditions, for example, demonstrate that a number of intrusive groups did not impose political change immediately on arrival, although they contributed to political change over time. Another aspect of court tradition, specifically the close relationship between the high socio-economic status group of Bahuma pastoralists and the holders of political power is clarified by clan traditions. In the Kitara complex the Bahuma social category or class included not only

foreign immigrant groups with Sanga cattle but also clans that had settled previously and had gained political influence by other means. The interaction between old and more recent clan groups is not as detailed as the historian would like, but the outline is clear: new values such as the elaborate customs associated with Sanga cattle were introduced and gradually adopted by peoples of the Kitara complex. These values were not imposed by foreign ruling groups but were adopted through a process of assimilation by politically prominent clans.

In both the Bacwezi and the Babito periods a similar pattern is discernable, a pattern of foreigners settling on the borderlands, the Bahuma in Bwera, the Luo in Pawir. A period of contact and interaction followed during which some assimilation to Kitara culture, language and social organization apparently occurred, although this is not spelled out in detail in clan traditions. After a degree of assimilation had occurred, which is remembered in clan traditions as intermarriage between the newcomers and members of older clans, political and social change ensued. The political changes involved a greater degree of centralization; the social changes involved a greater degree of class consciousness: whether one was of the Bahuma, Bairu or Bakama group acquired meaning in terms of status.

From migration to settlement, from the predynastic to the dynastic periods, clans preserved particular types of traditions which allow the historian to recast Kitara history in a larger time framework. These traditions extend Kitara history by several centuries to the predynastic period thus allowing fuller explanation of the political evolution of Kitara from clan based migration and settlement to the emergence of saza territories with mixed populations under a dominant clan and then to kingship. The extended time framework also allows for a more evolutionary perspective

of Kitara history: certain clans play a primary role in the early dynastic period and maintain their status and prominence despite major dynastic change. The Baranzi, the Basita, and the Babopi number among Kitara's oldest clans, yet they continue to be politically prominent from the Batembuzi to the colonial period. Population movements preceded political change which enables the historian to identify transitional periods, e.g. between the Batembuzi and Bacwezi, and between the Bacwezi and the Babito periods.

This study has identified the Kitara clans who achieved and maintained political prominence and outlined the basis for their importance, thus providing a basis for a more detailed analysis of the mechanism by which they maintained their positions of prominence in a future study. The Baranzi clan of the Batembuzi period acquired Sanga cattle and continued to be socially important through the Babito period. The clans associated with the Isaza tradition dominate the Bacwezi dynastic period, but some of these, such as the Basita and Babopi, continued to figure at court in the Babito period. The Bayaga established a territorial base in western Kitara which waxed as the Bacwezi state waned, and the Babito acknowledged their reputation as religious specialists. Their position remained intact to modern times. The importance of these and other clans discussed in this study suggest a potential for political decentralization that is absent from the early court traditions and clarifies the importance of the saza territorial sub-units, suggesting that the Kitara state was never as centralized as court traditions would have us believe.

The major contribution of this study has been the identification of the migration routes of groups entering the Kitara complex and the clans associated with those migrations; the development of a sequential pattern

of the movement of intrusive groups, and the identification of specific clans relating to these incursions, which also suggest possible links between the clans within Kitara and outside the Kitara complex. The resulting framework provides information on links between the Kitara complex and other ethnic groups in the interlacustrine area, such as Buganda, Busoga, Nkore, Bugisu and Pawir. While all of this information lends itself to drawing the above conclusions about socio-economic and political development, this study cannot pretend to answer these questions with any finality. Rather it provides a basic contextual framework for reconstructing a more detailed history of the Kitara complex.

Appendix

The Questionnaire

While there was no formal questionnaire in the sense that set questions were asked in a set sequence, the following was developed through trial and error in the field and used consistently as a general questionnaire. Depending upon the informant, more detailed questions would follow logically from answers to the following general questions.

Date.....

Village.....

Gomborra (sub-county).....

Saza (county).....

Informant's name.....

Clan..... Totem.....

Biography of the informant: date of birth or estimate; where born; schooling; occupations.

Your father is.....; he settled at..... His father was..... He settled at..... The father of that one was....; he settled at....., and so on as far back as he could go.

What was the occupation of your father, your father's father, and so on as far back as the informant could go. The founder of the clan was.....

Stories about how the clan acquired the primary totem; how it acquired the secondary totem(s)....

The mucwezi (guardian spirit) of the whole clan is.... The secondary mucwezi of your lineage is/are.....

Sacrifices offered to the mucwezi:..... Where the sacrifices were offered.... Beads (particular color) or insignia associated with the mucwezi.

The ekirorro (tree of hill) of the clan is/are..... Any horn kept by the clan?..... Name..... Importance..... Drum in the clan?.....

Where did your clan come from?..... Why did it leave?..... How did it travel?..... What clans accompanied your clan?..... What route did you follow?..... Where did your clan settle?.....What clans did they meet upon arrival?.....

Are there any clans that separated from your clan?..... Why did they separate?.....

Are there any sub-clans of your clan?..... Explain the names of the sub-clans.... Where did they settle?.....

What service(s) did your clan provide for your ruler?.....

Other general areas of inquiry included ironworking, (sources of ore, how extracted, processed (including hoe trade) and distributed); salt-working (stories about discovery of the site, production, association of the lineage with the site and with trade, tribute paid, participation in the salt trade, routes followed, what was traded, frequency of journies made); ivory hunting (where, hunting methods, marketing); markets (where, description, what was exchanged, how often); Embandwa cult (who participated, description, role of leaders in ceremony, musicians, dress, length and frequency of ceremony, cost, circumstances which prompted its being held; cattlekeeping and pastoralism (types of cattle). It should be noted that much of the information acquired related chronologically to a later period

(19th century and in a few instances 18th century).

Are there any written traditions about your clan?.... Are there any others who know the clan traditions?..... Have your read anything about your clan?..... Who wrote the information you read?.....

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I. Oral Sources

Oral traditions provide the bulk of the evidence used in this reconstruction of the history of the Kitara complex. Each informant is identified with those contributing exceptionally valuable traditions noted. After each informant's name, place of interview, and date of interview, the following information is given: his birth date, when known or estimated, place of birth, and remembered genealogy of his lineage, education, occupation, clan, and character of traditional information given.

A. Individual Informants

Bagenda, Ibraim. Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 19, 1969. b. 1895, Kabworo hill, Bugangaizi, s/o Bijugo, a blacksmith s/o Kamweso s/o Bwirengende s/o Bitaroho s/o Ruganyi s/o Kahuka. He has always been a farmer. Bacwezi clan traditions.

Baguma, Kassim. Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 19, 1969. b. 1910 in Buganya saza, s/o Magambo s/o Kamihanda. A porter, brickmaker and farmer. Batwairwe clan and ironworking traditions.

Baguma, Paulo. Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 27, 1969. b. approximately 1900, s/o Manyindo s/o Kanembe s/o Mpanju s/o Munyomo. A domestic and farmer. Bangere clan and blacksmithing traditions.

Bahigama, Ereyeza. Buhimba Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 20, 1969. b. 1918 in Buhimba Gomborra, s/o Kamarra s/o Byerungu s/o Kasundara s/o Wamara s/o Byesigwa s/o Mwamba. Attended day school, 1927-29; worked as a builder on road construction, 1929-1941; 1941-1945 served as Gomborra chief; 1945 returned to farming. Basengya clan traditions, links with Buganda clans, blacksmithing traditions and Embandwa cult.

Bahondera, Samwiri. Buhinda Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interivew of May 20, 1969. In his 80's. s/o Nyamalenge s/o Kahwa. Has been a Gomborra chief in Bugahya Saza, and a farmer. Basonde/Bakurungu clan traditions.

Bakaturana, Benua. Bwamura Gomborra, Buyaga Saza, interview of June 24, 1969. In his 60's, born at Kisega village, Buyaga saza, s/o Kaberege s/o Bwara s/o Kyenkya s/o Tebetera s/o Ndahura. Has always been a farmer. Bahemba clan and blacksmith traditions.

Bakuza, Evarina. Katwe village, Busongora saza, interview of March 10, 1969. In her 60's, born at Lake Katwe, d/o Nkurwa s/o Katakumba s/o Rugaju s/o

Bwebale. Has always worked the salt wells. Basengya clan traditions and the organization of production at Katwe salt lake.

Baligasaki, Andereya. Kigarobya Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 27, 1969. b. 1912 in Kibararu, Bugahya Saza, s/o Matayo Rugwabya s/o Mijumbi s/o Kyenkya s/o Rugumya s/o Akampante. Attended Hoima Day School for three years; taught for 27 years. From 1964-68 he was Treasurer of a Cooperative Society. Retired in 1968. Babworo clan traditions.

Baliwa, Timiseo. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. 1901 at Kirahwa, Pakanyi Gomborra, s/o Mburaibara s/o Bideko. Was a farmer, but now does no work. Banywagi clan traditions and Group interview.

Balya, Bishop Aberiki. Burahya Saza, near Fort Portal Township, interview of March 6, 1969. b. 1880's in Kyaka Saza, s/o Kebisingo s/o Oyo. Attended Kabarole Day School beginning in 1897; was baptized in 1901; served in numerous church positions and studied intermittently until 1935, when he was made a canon at Namirembe Cathedral, Kampala, Uganda. From 1947-1960 he served as an Asst. Bishop of the Curch of Uganda (C.M.S.), and retired in 1960. Balisa clan traditions, Bahuma traditions, the Embandwa cult, Mukama Kabalega's Barusura (Army), court tradition, salt trade, ivory hunting and markets.

Balya, William. Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 14, 1969. A farmer and Mukungu chief of Kabale Gomborra. Basita clan traditions and Kabale Group interview.

Baruga, Isayah. Bukuku village, Burahya, interview of February 25, 1969. b. during Kabalega's reign, in Mwenge saza, s/o Tafu s/o Mugasa. A carpenter and farmer. Babworo clan traditions.

Barwogeza, Andrea. Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 14, 1969. A farmer and Muluka chief of Kabale Gomborra. Bagabu clan traditions and Kabale Group interview.

Basigara, Lazaro Kiiza. Virika village, Burahya Saza, interview of March 8, 1969. b. 1890's in Toro, s/o Kalyegira s/o Rubban s/o Kagwa s/o Magambo. Educated at Virika Roman Catholic Mission, 1902-1907. His father was one of Mukama Kasagama of Toro's Saza chiefs, 1904-1906. Like him, Basigara served Toro as a Saza chief of Kitagwenda, 1907-1919; of Bunyangabu, 1919-1922; and of Kyaka, 1922-1949, when he retired. Some Bagahi clan tradition, but primarily the chiefship of Bunyoro and Toro, and Bahuma pastoral traditions.

Basarabusa, Tomasi. Kisiranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of August 22, 1969. b. 1896 in Kisiranfumbi Gomborra, s/o Gucwaki s/o Rukanga s/o Bihoho s/o Kalema. Attended Duhaga Primary School, 1913-1914; worked as an agricultural laborer in Buganda for "many years"; taught for three years; became a cattle trader for fourteen years; and in 1945 settled at his present home to farm. Basita clan and Kisiranfumbi Group interview.

Behuute. Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of April 1, 1969. b. in 1890's in Kibaale village, Ruteete Gomborra, s/o Kyonya s/o Byamaka s/o Kutambaki

s/o Kinyango s/o Bikalema s/o Bisunsa s/o Karamagi s/o Rwahire s/o Bitamazire s/o Bihale s/o Katemba s/o Bahemuka s/o Manyindo s/o Isingoma s/o Manyindo s/o Ndahura s/o Kiiza s/o Katorogo s/o Wempisi s/o Kanyonyi s/o Kifumu. Served the Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Toro's household, 1906-22; then as an askari until he retired in 1929. Has been farming since 1929. Basingo clan traditions and blacksmithing.

Bigaabwenda, Luka. Kyabigambire Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 29, 1969. b. 1918, s/o Rukara s/o Kitalihingurwa s/o Ruhembe s/o Kabwa. Attended Bijungura School, 1937-1942 and Nyabyeya Forestry School, 1943-47. Served as Councillor for Bunyoro saza chief and chairman of a Parents Association, 1947-1969; a farmer. Bacwezi clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Bigogo, Rev. Zedikayah. Butiti Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 21, 1969. b. 1894 at Kijonjoza village, Kitagweta, s/o Bisoke s/o Mucucu. Baptised in 1909 and taught in church day school, 1911-1936; served as a clergyman from 1936-1961, when he retired. Knew little of clan tradition, referred to himself as a Basangwa ("indigenous person"); useful traditions of Mwenge saza.

Bikalema, Paulo. Busoro Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of April 3, 1969. b. 1909, Ngombe village, s/o Bihende s/o Kirabagwera. Never attended school formally, but the church taught him to read and write. Worked as a domestic, 1912-1914; a supervisor of a coffee plantation, 1914-1959; now retired. Bacwezi clan and Embandwa cult traditions.

Bikundi, Israel. Miirya Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 28, 1969. Claimed to be 100 years old, but estimated to be late 60's. b. at Kijamba village, Bugahya saza, s/o Kiiza s/o Kubagenda s/o Kayarwe s/o Mpindu. A farmer. Basaigi clan traditions.

Bintukwanga, Yusefu. Kabale village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of March 5, 1969. b. 1897 in Kitindura village, s/o Mukonjo s/o Kagaba s/o Baseka s/o Birumomwika. A farmer and blacksmith. Babito clan traditions (in Toro), blacksmithing traditions, Kubandwa activities of his lineage.

Binyoma, James. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. 1890's (was 5 years old when Kabalega was captured by the British in 1899), s/o Kwebiya s/o Wongolo s/o Omudima s/o Muchokocho. A farmer. Bapina clan traditions and Pakanyi Group interview.

Binyomo, Rev. Ezekieri. Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interviews of March 3, April 11, and April 24, 1969. b. 1888 at Kasimbi village, Buyaga saza, s/o Binagwa. Reared in Mukama Kasagama of Toro's enclosure, a student of Rev. A. B. Fisher, baptized in 1902; served as a church teacher in various posts; married in 1911; studied for the ministry at Mukono seminary, 1917-1918, and 1923; continued church work until he retired in 1950. An exceptional informant and respected member of his community. Bayaga clan; general traditions of Bunyoro and Toro, including the Bacwezi and the origin of the Embandwa cult.

Binyomo, Sana. Rubona village, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969. In her 70's, the wife of Rev. E. Binyomo, d/o Zakaliah Kanaganagwa s/o Kalyanswa. Bagaya clan traditions.

Birigenda, Yohana. Kihomboza village, Bugahya saza, interivew of May 25, 1969. b. 1902, s/o Bitagambe s/o Kamanyiro s/o Muhazi. Attended school at Makerere, 1910-1927; has been a teacher (with occasional service as a clerk) since that time. Baami/Baransi clan and pottery traditions.

Birihanyonyo, Zakaliya. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. soon after Kabalega became Mukama (c. 1880's) at Bwijana Gomborra, Bujenje saza. Was a Gomborra chief until c. 1920; since then he has been a trader and farmer. Basambo clan and iron trading traditions.

Biriyahurasu. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 17, 1969. b. 1904 at Nyamyega, Bugangaizi, s/o Ntwani s/o Bissaka s/o Majara s/o Nyaitanga s/o Ruzira. Has always been a farmer. Bakoransi clan traditions and group interview.

Bugandabwebumu, Bulandina. Mubende Hill, Mubende District, interview of June 5, 1969. Estimated to be in her 70's, b. in Kisamuira, Kyaka Saza, d/o Mpanju "a chief" s/o Kakwa Karukara s/o Kagenda. She has buried two husbands and five children; now living with a grandson. Bacwezi clan traditions, life in Kyaka Saza, Embandwa cult.

Buhungule, Elasto. Kikuube Saza Headquarters, Bugahya saza, interview of May 23, 1969. b. 1913, s/o Kapimpina Kamugungu s/o Mugungu s/o Katebalirwe s/o Kaligita. Attended school for two years, and became a shopkeeper, 1928-1940. Since 1940 he has been a cotton cultivator, and since 1962, a Mutongole chief. Bacwamba and Bairuntu clan traditions.

Buletwenda, Erisaniya. Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 19, 1969. b. 1908, Masindi Township area, s/o Bwango s/o Olimi s/o Karongo s/o Tabaro. A pastoralist until 1930, when his cows died; a porter and askari until 1946, when he retired. Basuuli clan traditions, new moon ceremonies at court and Embandwa cult.

Butura, Karago village, Burahya saza, interview of March 4, 1969, and February 26, 1969. Estimated to be in his 60's. A brickworker and "Mufumu" (traditional doctor). Barungu clan traditions, the training of a "mufumu" and his relationship to the Embandwa and Omuzimu spirit cults.

Bwiruka, Lameki. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. 1885, s/o Rugesera s/o Byegaraso s/o Kenkya s/o Ndamurani. Has always been a farmer. Baitira clan traditions and Pakanyi Group interview.

Byacaaka. Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969. b. 1900-1910, s/o Kimondo s/o Nyamurambara s/o Kiro. A pastoralist until his cattle died around 1929; has been a farmer since then. Bahati/Bazira clan traditions.

Byairungu, Asanasio. Kitumba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 15, 1969. b. 1895 at Kitumba village, Burahya saza. A page at the Mukama's court until 1912; a domestic until 1936, when he became blind. Bagweri clan traditions, Embandwa cult, court traditions of Toro, ivory and salt trade.

Byarwanju, Federi. Kisorosoro village, Kibanda saza, interview of August 27, 1969. b. early 1890's at Kimbuye, Kibanda Saza, s/o Bwiruka s/o Buhanga s/o Magezi s/o Taboine s/o Kibatiko. As a youth he and his family were bark-

cloth makers and farmers; retired in 1948. Basazima/Bambuye clan, bark-cloth making traditions and Kiryandongo Gomborra Group interview.

Byenkya, Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 16, 1969. b. at "about the time they captured Kabalega" in 1899, at Ngobya, Bwijanga Gomborra; s/o Bulyezebwa s/o Byorwanjo s/o Gahwerra. Has always been a farmer. Baigara clan traditions.

Byomboijana, Mohammed. Mparo village, Bugahya saza, interview of August 23, 1969. b. "the year after Kabalega came to the throne," c. 1885, at Nsorro, Mwenge saza; s/o Rubani s/o Biihe s/o Kato s/o Isingoma. He served Mukama Kabelega at Mparo and has been a farmer. Bagaya clan and court traditions.

Eriakimu. Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of August 22, 1969. b. 1890's at Kitemba, Buyaga saza; s/o James Warwo s/o Rujumba s/o Mugenyi s/o Kyesubire s/o Banage. Worked as a house servant of Mukama Duhaga of Toro in 1910; as a clerk, 1911-1939; and from 1939-1957 as a farmer; now retired. Baami clan traditions.

Garubali, Timoseo. Bikonzi village, Bujenje saza, interview of August 13, 1969. b. at Kisabagwa village, s/o Samwiri Wamara s/o Kyomya. A farmer. Bazazi clan traditions.

Gubaza, Tomasi. Kigarobya Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 27, 1969. b. 1906, s/o Kwamya s/o Kato s/o Muganda s/o Kitumwe s/o Ihangire s/o Kamere s/o Bitaka s/o Kanaganago. A farmer. Baligira/Bafunjo clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Igambire, Benyamini. Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 27, 1969. b. 1912, at Mpaha village, Mwenge saza; s/o Ibulaimu Rugaragara s/o Kiiza s/o Kakoda. Attended a mission school for two years and then went to serve Mukama Rukidi at court until 1931; afterwards worked in Kampala, the capital, for three years as a mason. Returned to Toro and served as a counselor at Matiri Gomborra until 1955; as Mukungu chief, 1955-59; retired in 1959. Basingo clan and cattle traditions.

Isempogo, Paulo. Kakindo Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 18, 1969. b. 1898 or 1899, at Kihaimu, Bugangaizi saza; s/o Kahwa s/o Ndahura s/o Kasekya s/o Bwenene. A farmer. Bafumambogo clan and Kubandwa traditions.

Isingoma, Aloziyo. Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 19, 1969. b. 1911 at Mukimbimba, Burahya County; s/o Bijura s/o Mugufu s/o Kiiza s/o Waa s/o Nyakama. Herded cattle until 1926; attended Kisororo Primary School, 1926-1932; served as a Muluka chief, 1938-1964; retired in 1964. Bagweri clan and Bahuma pastoral traditions.

Isingoma, Eryeza. Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Banage s/o Rwangere s/o Isingoma s/o Mugamba s/o Kajura s/o Mpungu. Attended Hoima primary school for two years; then returned to farming and cattle keeping. Bagahi/Babwijwa clan traditions.

Itegiraha. Bukuku village, Burahya saza, interview of February 25, and June 9, 1969. b. 1910 in Bukuku village, s/o Buruga. A farmer, Basita clan and Embandwa cult traditions.

Kabamaku. Mirongo Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 29, 1969. b. 1900-10; s/o Wankere s/o Kiiza. A small trader, now retired. Bagimu clan traditions.

Kabenyondo, Evasta. Matiri Gomborra Mwenge Saza, interview of March 27, 1969. Estimated to be in her 70's, d/o Binyomo s/o Kaheeru s/o Rubani s/o Jegeere. Has always cultivated her land. Bangere clan traditions.

Kaberitira, Everest. Mubende Township, Mubende District, interview of June 4, 1969. Estimated to be in his 50's; s/o Luko Mukassa s/o Masambya s/o Kiiza s/o Kamunye s/o Sebabenga. A Gomborra chief, 1969, and farmer. Basonga/Nsenene clan traditions.

Kabirende, Enoch. Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969. b. 1918, s/o Ernest Banura s/o Rukuba Rwakabirende s/o Kabirende s/o Byabona s/o Binyomo s/o Kazini s/o Ruhukya s/o Mulindwa. Graduated from Bishop Tucker Teacher Training College; served in the Army; received his Cambridge School Certificate; became a teacher and later headmaster at Nyantungu Primary School. Basita clan traditions.

Kabyemera, Abimereki. Busisi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 19, and August 23, 1969. b. 1903 in Bugahya Saza; s/o Yakobo Byomire s/o Mutanzindwa s/o Nyakahuma s/o Chuchura s/o Bwebale s/o Busona s/o Nyamaiserwa. Attended Kabalega Central School, 1919-1925; was a teacher, clerk, headman for roads in Bunyoro until he retired in 1969. Banyonza/Basambu clan and links with the Mukamaship.

Kachumbiro, Erisa. Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 19, 1969. b. 1900, s/o Katambaki Nsozi s/o Kahuumi s/o Kara. Trained as a church worker; a veteran of World War I, 1914-1916; from 1920-28 worked as clerk in various government offices; from 1928-1933 worked as a supervisor on a tea plantation; retired in 1933 to farming. Bagimu clan traditions and ironworking.

Kaganda, Zakaria. Mutuba I, Mubende District, interview of June 15, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Kabwemi s/o Rukumba s/o Balomba s/o Bissaka. A farmer. Bagabu clan traditions.

Kagoro, Edward. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. 1904, at Migaga in Pakanyi Gomborra. At one time was a Muluka chief, but has been farming for some years. Basita clan traditions and Pakanyi Group interview.

Kaherebu, Heseroni Binuge. Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje saza, interview of August 16, 1969. b. 1909, near Hoima Township; s/o Bamwitaga Rusoke Binuge s/o Kiiza s/o Nyarwegemure s/o Kamihanda s/o Kajumba s/o Kacope s/o Waako. Attended Kabalega School 1923-1929; Makerere Normal School, 1929-1931; taught from 1931-34; in 1934, he became a road inspector, a post he held until retirement, 1967. Bagweri clan traditions.

Kaheru, Eriyesa. Busisi village, Bugahya saza, interview of August 20, 1969. b. 1908 in Busisi village, s/o Kiuiribingo s/o Byenkya. Worked as a domestic 1920-30's; for short periods as a cattle trader; since 1938 he has been a farmer. Basonde clan and cattle traditions; cattle trading in the early 20th century.

Kaheru, Kirimante. Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 16, 1969. b. 1887, s/o Bisansa s/o Igwada s/o Katyali s/o Bireya s/o Igwada s/o Mutyebere s/o Byangire s/o Musoke s/o Bikudi s/o Rwolera s/o Mulindwa (all lived in Bugangaizi saza). Attended Bukumi school, 1909-11; worked in Kampala City; a veteran of World War I; a farmer and Muluka chief, 1940-62; retired, 1962. Babyasi clan traditions and group interview.

Kahigwa, Isaya. Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 1, 1969. b. 1897, at Kisindizi, Kibanda saza, s/o Sakaliya Rwakaikasa s/o Mugenyi s/o Ndahura s/o Bwanswa s/o Katongole s/o Mugungu. Attended Kabarole school, 1911-1912; worked as a domestic 1913-1937; bought a sewing machine and worked until he lost all his money; then cut timber until 1962, when he bought several cows; now keeps cattle. Babwijwa clan traditions, ironworking and Embandwa cult traditions.

Kahubire, Isabarongo. Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 8, 1969. b. 1899 at Ngogo, Burahya saza, s/o Bwege. Attended Kyembombo school for one year. Has been a farmer since that time. Basita clan traditions.

Kahulere, Mikaire. Masindi Township, Buruli saza, interview of August 24, 1969. b. 1892 (was seven years old when Kabalega was captured, 1899); s/o Kanyehi s/o Mugassa. A blacksmith. Bakwonga clan and blacksmith traditions.

Kahwa, Geresoni, Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 25, 1969. b. in the 1880's, s/o Gabuzire s/o Bangaya s/o Ibona s/o Mwamba s/o Guliyo. A farmer. Bacwamba clan; cattle and embandwa traditions; stories of the founding of the Toro kingdom.

Kahwakeeya. Bulima village, Buijanga Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 14, 1969. b. "during Kamrasi's reign," estimated early 1880's, in Bujenje saza, s/o Rugumba s/o Rugwabya s/o Kawali s/o Kaculera. Served in King's African Rifles for twelve years; went to World War I; was shot and blinded; retired after that. Bagimu clan traditions.

Kaigurube. Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 25, 1969. Estimated to be in 80's. Born at Makunyu, Bunyangabu Sasa, s/o Kasina s/o Tibagwa. A farmer. Basingo clan and Embandwa cult traditions.

Kaikarakubi, Zibidayo. Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of August 22, 1969. Estimated to be in his late 70's. b. in Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, s/o Irumba s/o Mugenzi s/o Kasiira s/o Byampisi s/o Ruhagya s/o Kwebiiha s/o Rujojo. A smelterer and farmer. Basingo clan and smelting traditions, Kiziranfumbi Group interview.

Kaijamurubi, Benyamini. Kibiro Salt Lake, Bugahya saza, interview of May 26, 1969. b. 1911, s/o Zikeya Byangerenju s/o Kasaija s/o Isebeza s/o Mpata s/o Kyomya s/o Ntati s/o Kisaka s/o Ngundu s/o Muteresi s/o Majamba s/o Kerekere. Contributed the fullest traditions of Kibiro and stories of the development of this important saltworking site; also Bazazi clan traditions.

Kakara, Edward. Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969. b. in the early years of Kasagama's reign in Toro at Nyankwanzi, Burahya; s/o Rutemerwa s/o Kajubu s/o Rugaju. Herded his father's cattle and later farmed. Babopi clan, blacksmithing, and Embandwa traditions.

Kaliba, Epaphrodito. Rwengoma village, Burahya saza, interviews of February 24, and March 4, 1969. b. 1907 at Rwengoma, Burahya saza, the great-grandson of Mukama Kaboyo of Toro kingdom. Attended St. Leo's college, 1923, and Kisubi college, 1927-1928. Clerked in various posts in the Toro government bureaucracy, 1930-1966; retired in 1966. Babito clan traditions; development and spread of Kubandwa cult; the traditions of Toro; Bahuma and Bairu social structure.

Kaliisa, Benedicto. Kiziranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of August 22, 1969. b. in 1889 in Bugangaizi Saza, s/o Tabaramule s/o Nyakatura s/o Kakoizire s/o Mbihwa s/o Kaijahya s/o Mwigarre. A smelterer and farmer. Bacwezi clan and smelting traditions and Kiziranfumbi Group interview.

Kalyegira, Edward. Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 26, 1969. b. 1903, s/o Rukakwamya s/o Ibaale s/o Butale s/o Ruhuume II s/o Muguta s/o Malenzi s/o Itabyaama s/o Karubata s/o Nyamwesera s/o Nyamurwana s/o Ruhume I. Attended Kabarole Primary School, 1910-1917; clerked in the Mukama's palace and served as a Muluka chief until he retired in 1969. Basita clan, ironworking, and Embandwa traditions, and traditions concerning the Batembuzi period.

Kamara, Yowana. Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 16, 1969. b. 1898 ("the year before Kabalega was captured"), s/o Mijumbi s/o Balyebuga s/o Kwiryara s/o Bwogy s/o Kabagya. A trader in hides and skins and a farmer. Barwizi clan traditions (a small potters' clan in Mwenge saza) and Kasambya Group interview.

Kanagwo, Yosamu. Bukuku Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of February 25, 1969. b. 1906, s/o a Gomborra chief (unnamed). Served as a Muluka chief in Kyaka saza; later became a Gomborra chief, 1941-1943; and a farmer. Bazira/Bahati clan traditions.

Kandahura, Mario. Kicwamba Gomborra Headquarters, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969. b. 1896, s/o Bantanda s/o Mulindwa s/o Rumbugu s/o Katasigwa s/o Bigwo. Attended school for six months, then herded cattle and goats. As an adult, served the Queenmother of Toro "Vikitoliya," 1920-1931; worked as a supervisor on a coffee plantation, 1931-37; as a counselor for Gomborra and Saza chiefs of Toro, 1937-55; as a headman on road construction, 1955-1969, when he retired. Baranzi clan, cattle, ironworking sites, and Kubandwa cult traditions.

Kanyabuzana. Bwijanja Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 14, 1969. Estimated to be in late 60's. Born at Budongo village, Bujenje Saza, s/o Mulindwa Tamire s/o Mutainama Nyakojo s/o Rugaju. A farmer. Baranzi clan traditions.

Kanyaihe, Keserone. Hoima Township, Bugahya saza, interview of May 15, 1969. Claims to be over 100 years old, born during the "Rutabachope famine" of Mukama Kabalega's reign, (date unknown); s/o Muhundi s/o Mpata s/o Kalinda s/o Raboli s/o Kalingiti s/o Mweregezi s/o Mpwoki. A farmer. Basita clan traditions and general comments on the clans of the Kitara complex.

Kapere, Alphonse. Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 16, 1969. Estimated to be in early 70's, s/o Rubanga s/o Bisunsa s/o Irumba s/o Itegwa s/o Kajwarangoye s/o Kapupa s/o Kayarwe. Attended Bukumi school for one year; became a tailor; is now retired. Basaigi clan traditions and Kasambya Group interview.

Kasaija, Samson. Bwamya Gomborra, Bujenje saza, interview of August 14, 1969. Estimated to be in his 50's; s/o Kahoihoro s/o Wyakubya. A shopkeeper and farmer. Baligira clan traditions.

Kasenene, Bumali. Katooke Gomborra, Mwenge saza, interview of March 26, 1969. b. 1912 at Nyamwandara village, Mwenge saza; s/o Katamara s/o Mukonjo s/o Ruyoka. A farmer; World War II veteran, herdsman and petty trader. Basingo clan and cattle traditions; political traditions of Toro kingdom.

Kaseregenye, Alisitaliko Bitamale. Bwanswa Gomborra Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 21, 1969. b. 1908 at Bukumi Gomborra; s/o Bitamale s/o Kikukuule (a famous military leader of Mukama Kabalega's reign) s/o Kyesereka s/o Mugenyi s/o Kisoira s/o Rugwa s/o Rukoni. Attended Kikoma Day school and Kampala Normal School; has been a teacher for 39 years. Bacwamba and Bairuntu clan traditions.

Kasorokabi, Gerisoni. Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu saza, interview of April 11, 1969. b. 1895 at Kisomoro Gomborra; s/o Wamara s/o Busigaire s/o Mbota s/o Kubangisa s/o Byensahu. Not formally educated but learned to read and write; was baptized in 1912; clerked, 1912-1927; between 1927-1960, worked at a coffee plantation, as a nightwatchman, and on road building. Bazira clan traditions.

Kasumdara, Yosefu. Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 16, 1969. b. 1880's (Mwanga and Kabalega were ruling); s/o Tinkamanyire s/o Nyakatura s/o Rwabwisaija s/o Kimazire, (all of whom lived in Bugangaizi saza). A farmer. Bayana clan traditions, Kasambya group interview, and Kubandwa cult.

Katahwabye, Kabyemera. Bwamiramira Gomborra, Buyaga saza, interview of June 24, 1969. Estimated to be in his 60's; s/o Tahwabye s/o Katabarwa. A farmer. Basingo clan traditions.

Katerabwire, Paulo. Ruteete Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of April 8, 1969. b. 1890's at Kyatwa in Bunyangabu saza; s/o Bisereko s/o Buruga s/o Bulengere s/o Nyante. Served at court of Queenmother of Toro (Vikitoliya) for 27 years; retired in 1917 to farm. Bakoyo clan traditions.

Katorogo, Aleni. Kigarobya Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 27, 1969. b. 1880's in Mwenge Saza, s/o Kateriga s/o Kasumba s/o Kisenge s/o Mukama

Kamrasi. Attended Hoima Catholic School, 1902; became a "church teacher," which he has done to the present day. Babito and Bacaaki clan traditions.

Katuramu, Rev. A. Mukono Theological Seminary, Buganda District, interviews of January 13, and February 5, 1969. Attended Kabarole Senior Secondary School, Bishop Tucker College and the University of Toronto. Translated Bukya Nibwira and provided general information on Toro. Appointed Vicar of Namirembe Cathedral, spring, 1969.

Katuramu, A. Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 19, 1969. b. 1895-1899 near Butiti, Mwenge saza; s/o Kwebiiha s/o Nyakana s/o Karogo s/o Mutazindwa s/o Rukuna. A cattleman until his herd died; has been a farmer since then. Basita clan traditions.

Kewaza, Mikairi. Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 16, 1969. b. 1908, s/o Karafwa s/o Mabone s/o Rweyengya s/o Kambunene Bumale. Bahinda clan traditions and group interview.

Kihika, Tito. Kabwoya Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 21, 1969. Estimated to be in his 40's, s/o Nyakojo s/o Bibohere s/o Kwezi s/o Kategusi s/o Mukobe. A laborer and farmer. Basonde/Bakurungu clan traditions; pastoralism and ivory hunting.

Kiiza, Erifazi K. Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 22, 1969. b. 1893, s/o Kato s/o Kitalibara s/o Isingoma s/o Kymoya s/o Bala s/o Museeta. Attended Hoima Day School, 1904-1907; a World War I veteran; a farmer and Muluka chief. This informant had read Karubanga and Kagwa. Basita clan traditions and information on iron working, salt trade, and markets.

Kironde, Leo. Karujubu Gomborra, Buruli saza, interview of August 30, 1969. b. 1897 at Kibale, Buruli saza; s/o Tibasima s/o Isingoma s/o Kagyemamu s/o Bwanswa s/o Muneneza s/o Mpangire s/o Mujobe s/o Kaheru. Was taught to read and write at Masindi Mission. Has always been a laborer and farmer. Bacwezi clan traditions.

Kisosonkole, C. M. S. Kampala City, Buganda District, interview of February 12, 1969. b. 1907, Kampala, Uganda, s/o Teofirokungu Kisosonkole, who was an important saza chief, 1919-1927, and Prime Minister, 1927-1929, of Buganda. The informant, educated at King's College, Budo, has maintained a close association with the court and Buganda elders. Buganda/Bunyoro relations and trade; traditions of the Monkey clan.

Kujuru, Serigio. Mugusu Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 9, 1969. b. 1901 at Kiraro, Mugusu Gomborra, as were his ancestors listed below: Yacobo Besisa s/o Wamara s/o Baratika s/o Rugunda s/o Mukunyu s/o Rujagi s/o Mugenyi s/o Rukamba s/o Rugomoka s/o Ndahura s/o Nabalende s/o Nyamutale. Attended Virika School 1919-1923; taught school, 1923-1929; clerked at Yeriya Coffee Plantation, 1929-1935; an askari from 1935 until he retired in 1942. Basita clan and blacksmithing traditions.

Kwebiha, Gerisoni. Kicwamba Gomborra, Burahya saza, interview of March 31, 1969. b. 1890's, ("when Mukama Kasagama returned from Buganda"); s/o Mugesera s/o Mucwangobe s/o Rwakwebe s/o Mutakuuka s/o Bicekore. Attended Kabarole Day School, 1910-1914; became a clerk and held various clerical positions in

the Toro government, 1920-1959, when he retired. The father of Dr. Banura of Kyenjojo, Mwenge saza. Basingo clan traditions, cattle traditions and general Toro history.

Kyabukunguru, Nasainare. Katwe Salt Lake, Busongora saza, interview of March 11, 1969. b. 1903 at Kabarole (Fort Portal Township); 1915-22, attended Kabarole Central School; 1922-26, a clerk; 1926-29, a storekeeper; 1930-37, a coffee plantation supervisor; 1939-41, Asst. Chief Salt Inspector at Katwe; 1942-62, a Gomborra Chief; retired, 1962, but in 1965 became the gatekeeper at Katwe Salt Lake. Bagahi clan traditions, saltworking traditions, including trade patterns and markets.

Kyanku, Zakayo. Rutoma village, Buyaga saza, interview of June 25, 1969. b. October 16, 1906, at Rutoma village; s/o Mihingo s/o Kyanku, etc. with the title name alternating. Head of the Bayaga clan. Bayaga clan traditions.

Kyaragaire, Tomasi. Katwe Salt Lake, Busongora saza, interview of March 10, 1969. Estimated to be in his 70's. Preferred not to give his genealogy. A cattleman until his herd died in 1934; came to work salt; was baptized in 1948. Babito clan traditions and their control of Katwe; Katwe salt trade traditions.

Macankaine, Sulemaini. Nyarwego Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 20, 1969. Estimated to be in his 70's. b. at Kisagara, Nyarweyo Gomborra, s/o Jemus s/o Irumba. Was taught to read at a Protestant mission in 1918; served as a Mutongole Chief, 1920-1965; since retirement, 1965, a farmer. Basita clan traditions.

Magwara, Tomasi. Buhanika Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 28, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Rujumba s/o Isingoma s/o Kaitango s/o Isingoma. A cook and farmer. Bacwa clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Majugo. Katwe Salt lake, Busongora saza, interview of March 11, 1969. Estimated to be in late 60's or 70's, b. at Katwe Salt Lake ; s/o Rubaale s/o Rwengabu s/o Mulenge s/o Kaboyo s/o Nkwakwa. Works at Katwe salt lake and as a fisherman. Bafumambogo clan traditions and saltworking traditions.

Makumbi, Kalisti. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 17, 1969. b. 1912, at Buhonda, Bugangaizi sasa, s/o Mijumbi s/o Tibanagwa s/o Icumu s/o Paipaipa. Attended Bukumi school for two years; a clerk, 1931-1936; a headman on road construction, 1937-1955; a Muluka chief, 1956-1963; retired, 1963. Bafumambogo clan traditions and group interview.

Malingumi, Mikaili. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi sasa, interview of June 17, 1969. b. 1903, at Nkoko Gomborra; s/o Binjogole s/o Ifunsa s/o Ntima s/o Rubarwanyangole Rumakyoke. Taught by mission to read and write. A laborer, clerk for a Muluka chief, 1927-1929; a farmer. Babworo clan traditions.

Malli, Petero. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969. Bakoransi clan and Nkoko Gomborra Group interview.

Matama, Febyani. Kibiro Salt Lake, Bugahya saza, interview of May 26, 1969. Estimated in his late 40's; s/o Dwamigo s/o Kajwara s/o Mulega s/o Kamadyo s/o Mutera s/o Katongole II s/o Muzinduki s/o Nteranduru s/o Ibinda s/o Marembo s/o Kalisa s/o Katongole I. Produces salt at Kibiro. Baisanza clan traditions and Kibiro saltworking traditions.

Mbeba, Sipiriya. Kikubi village, Bugahya saza, interview of May 23, 1969. Estimated to be in his 80's, s/o Mukidi s/o Ibingira. A farmer and laborer all his life. Babopi clan traditions.

Mijumbi, Nasonali. Kabwoya Gomborra, Bugahya saza, interview of May 21, 1969. b. in 1890's, s/o Byambandwa s/o Babara s/o Kirabahwa. A small trader for about five years as a youth; then married and started farming, which he has done since. Bafumambogo clan traditions and salt trade.

Miramagwa, Yosiya. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interview of June 17, 1969. b. 1890's at Buhonda, Bugangaizi saza; s/o Zakayo Haraba s/o Rukodami s/o Binwa s/o Ruswata s/o Birungu s/o Kahyohyo. Attended Kikoma school, 1918-1921; became a trader for a time and subsequently a church teacher for fifteen years; for "some years" he has been farming full time. Bacwezi clan traditions and Nkoko Group interview.

Mitara, Zakayo. Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi saza, interviews of June 19, and June 21, 1969. b. 1890's at Kinena, Bugangaisi saza; s/o Kisauzi s/o Bajuga s/o Kajura s/o Nyamaitaya s/o Mujumbura s/o Muganda. Attended Kikoma school, 1913-1915; has since been a laborer and farmer. Basengya clan traditions.

Mitara, Agusti. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969. No family history was collected. Basonde clan and Nkoko Group interview.

Mpunu, Adonia. Kamengo village, Burahya saza, interview of April 13, 1969. b. 1901 at Kamengo village; s/o Kasoma s/o Nyamairangwa s/o Kasoro s/o Kyahura. Was taught to read and write by a mission; 1912-1914, worked as a servant in the Mukama of Toro's palace; a veteran of World War I; worked as a builder in Kampala and for the Public Works Department in Toro District; served as Asst. Muluka chief for 25 years until his retirement in 1961. Bacaaki clan traditions.

Mucucuuli, Sulaimani. Bwamiramira Gomborra, Buyaga Saza, interview of June 24, 1969. b. 1899, at Kabarungi, Kyaka saza; s/o Munyomo s/o Kajwahi. Has always been a farmer. Basingo clan traditions.

Muirumubi, Alfred. Rubingo village, Burahya Saza, interview of February 26, 1969. b. 1912, s/o Saulo Rukambi. Has always been a farmer; from 1935-1953 was a Muluka (village) chief. Babopi clan traditions and Mukama Kabalega's reign.

Mukonjo, Kosia. Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interivew of March 25, 1969. b. 1900 in Butara, Mwenge saza, s/o Sisasi Kijere s/o Mufumu s/o Kajubu s/o Rugaja s/o Kaliba s/o Murina s/o Kyamutale. He herded cattle until they all died (@ 1940) and then became a farmer. Babopi clan traditions and the role of his clan at court.

Munyema, Bulasiyo. Buhanika Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 28, 1969. b. 1911 in Bugangaizi sasa, s/o Kikanga Rukarra. Baptized in 1925; has always been a farmer and trader. Baisansa clan and Embandwa cult traditions.

Murama. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969. Bafumambogo clan traditions and Nkoko Gomborra Group interview.

Musoke, Labani. Kakumiro Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 21, 1969. b. 1890's at Kisita village, near Mubende, s/o Majara s/o Katule s/o Kahembulya s/o Kairu s/o Bwakatale s/o Kabarole. Attended school briefly at Kikoma in 1908; worked as a domestic, porter, and laborer; returned to farming in 1935. Basita clan traditions and salt trade.

Mutasaa, Tofriri. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969. Basongo clan traditions and Nkoko Gomborra Group interview.

Mutunzi, Aloni. Masindi Township, Buruli Saza, interview of August 28, 1969. b. in 1891 (was approximately 8 years old when Mukama Kabalega was captured in 1899); s/o Buhanga s/o Kiisa. Attended Kabalega Church School; went to Nairobi, Kenya, and worked for thirty-six years as a carpenter; retired and returned to his village. Barangi clan traditions; trade and bride-wealth traditions.

Muwanika, Kaliisa. Kitenge Gomborra, Mubende District, interview of June 6, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Ngabwesaija s/o Nyakatura s/o Butyoka s/o Mutana s/o Katyoka. Has always been a farmer. Basaigi clan traditions.

Mwanguhya, Nicholas. Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of March 5, 1969. b. 1903 at Butangwa, Burahya saza, s/o Musa Katuramu s/o Rugaaju s/o Nyaika s/o Nduru s/o Kyomya. From 1911-1919 attended Tooro Central School; in 1920, Hoima High School; from 1921-1924, Kabalega Central School; from 1925-1930 was a medical attendant; from 1931-1948, a Muluka chief; from 1949-1961, a clerk in Jinja Township; from 1961-1969, a Muluka chief. Bafumambogo clan tradition, 19th century Toro and Bunyoro traditions.

Mwanya, James. Kyema village, Karujubu Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 30, 1969. b. 1880's ("soon after Mukama Kabalega came to the throne"), s/o Kyegabire s/o Nyaitalikya s/o Rwahwire s/o Beera s/o Muhana s/o Kibumbirere s/o Byabagambe s/o Baitankiro s/o Kaheru s/o Kyadita. A blacksmith and farmer. Babworo clan and blacksmithing traditions.

Nakusabasaija, Gabrieli. Nkoko Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 17, 1969. b. 1904, near Kakumiro, Mwenge Saza, s/o Bwiruka s/o Byakutara s/o Muganda s/o Muyayi s/o Kikotooro. A cattleman and farmer. Basengya clan traditions.

Nkalubo, Sebastiani. Mutuba I Gomborra, Mubende District, interview of June 15, 1969. Estimated to be mid-60's; b. at Sabuwali Gomborra, Buwekula saza, Buganda District; s/o Kikorwa s/o Zinga. Has always been a farmer. Bagimu clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Nkoba, Benyamini. Murongo Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 20, 1969. b. 1903 near Fort Portal Township, s/o Yakobo Rujuga s/o Bagambaki s/o Kasomoko s/o Matoro. Has been a herdsman all his life. Basaigi clan traditions.

Nkojo, H. K. Nyakasura village, Burahya Saza, interview of February 24, 1969. b. 1905 in Burahya Saza. From 1924-1926, attended King's College, Budo; from 1927-1929, attended Makerere; from 1930-1935, he taught school; from 1935-1944, served as Gomborra chief at various locations; 1944, a Saza Chief of Toro; from 1945-1946, Assistant Prime Minister of Toro; 1946-1958, Prime Minister of Toro (Katikiro). Now retired. Bagaya clan and Bahuma traditions, general information concerning Toro District clans.

Nsekanabo, Paulo. Kiryandongo Gomborra, Kibanda Saza, interview of August 27, 1969. b. 1917 in Hoima Township, s/o Daudi Biribaliwa s/o Kwabiiha Magwali s/o Kibwesera. Attended Duhaga Primary School; clerked at Bujenje Saza Headquarters, 1934-1968; was appointed Gomborra Chief in 1969. Baami clan traditions.

Ntambirwaki. Bukuku village, Burahya Saza, interview of March 4, 1969. Estimated to be in his 60's; s/o Tibagyenda s/o Bamaraki s/o Katebaliirwe s/o Rubani. Has always been a blacksmith and a farmer. Bahati clan and blacksmith traditions.

Nyakajo, Juma. Bwijana Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 13, 1969. b. 1899 at Butiaba village, Bujenje Saza, s/o Kaseegu s/o Yombo s/o Busuira s/o Beteeko. Worked as a laborer in a saw mill and as a farmer. Basonga clan traditions.

Nyakatura. Kyarusozi Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 25, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Kaheeru s/o Nyakabwa. Has worked as a laborer and as a small trader. Bagaya clan traditions.

Nyakojo, Nekemiya. Kyabigambire Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 29, 1969. b. 1920's, s/o Paulo Rwakaikara s/o Galimika s/o Rukara. Has always been a farmer. Baranzi clan traditions.

Rubanju, Aseri. Bwanswa Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 21, 1969. b. 1900 at Kisengwe, Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, s/o Majogole s/o Mabiiho s/o Makaisa s/o Byambuko s/o Ruhuuta s/o Kasiiha s/o Iseguro. Attended Kikoma Day School for a year; worked as a clerk in a coffee plantation for two years, and then returned to farming, which he has done since that time. Bagabu clan traditions.

Rubumbi, Sulemaini. Buhanika Gomborra, Burahya Saza, interview of May 28, 1969. b. 1904, Burahya Saza, s/o Murubya s/o Bujaga s/o Wabyo s/o Bukahyoza s/o Kabaijo s/o Kaituru s/o Rukwaju s/o Ndyanabo. Has always been a potter. Basingo clan and potter traditions.

Rugiraitima, Geresomi. Kyabugambire Gomborra, Bujenje Saza, interview of August 16, 1969. b. 1890's ("during Kabalega's reign") at Bwikaara, Buyaga, s/o Rwabulingo s/o Kaija s/o Kazaana. Worked as a domestic on a rubber plantation; since 1942 has been a farmer. Baransi clan traditions.

Rukara, Mikaire. Mugusu Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 9, 1969. b. "during Kasagama's reign" at Kiraro village, Bunyangabu Saza, s/o Kayombya s/o Kabagambe s/o Mujuku s/o Mulindwa s/o Mukerege s/o Nganda s/o Baowa s/o Ruhamba s/o Mulimirwa s/o Mwamba s/o Serabo. Worked as an askari and as a Muluka Chief. Retired in 1961. Barungu clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Rukidi, Erhesti. Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 14, 1969. A Muluka Chief of Kabale Gomborra and a farmer. Babito clan and Group interview.

Rukuba, Hosea. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. 1914 at Kyakamese, Pakanyi Gomborra, s/o Hezikiya Kamugasse s/o Kaseegu s/o Mulyongya. Mission educated and became a primary teacher until 1939, after which he served as a Muluka chief. Basonde clan traditions and Pakanyi Gomborra Group interview.

Rwabibi, Misairi. Miirya Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 26, 1969. b. 1919 at Kyedikyo, Miirya Gomborra, s/o Zaidi Kabyanga s/o Rugaju. Attended Kabalega Primary School for four years; worked as a cook for the Health Department and as a government messenger; has farmed for the past 18 years. Basonga clan traditions.

Rwabwogo, Aberi. Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 14, 1969. Muluka Chief of Kabale Gomborra and farmer. Bacwamba/Baitira clan tradition and Group interview.

Rwaheeru, Daudi. Bukuku village, Burahya Saza, interview of February 25, 1969. b. 1917, s/o Andrea Ruteke, a pastoralist. Has always been a farmer and worked at odd jobs. Bacwamba clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Rwakahwa, Isaleri. Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 28, 1969. b. 1914 in Kasese village, Busongora Saza, s/o Kinyabwiru s/o Cwamahinga s/o Amooti ("empako," or "pet" name) s/o Acali (empako) s/o Atenyi (empako). Attended primary school from 1928-1931; worked as an orderly in a Church Missionary Society hospital; 1934-1963, served as a Muluka chief; retired in 1963. Bagweri clan and Bahuma traditions, Embandwa cult.

Rwakairu, Adriani, Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 19, 1969. b. 1916 at Kanyarukoma, Kyaka Saza, s/o Kalyebara s/o Kasumooko s/o Matagali s/o Njojo s/o Kacopa s/o Mugambaine s/o Katukuza. Has always been a farmer. Bayaga clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Rwakyondo, Musauli. Omuruti village, Busongora Saza, interview of March 11, 1969. b. 1890's at Omuruti village, s/o Rwakaikara s/o Kalyeruga. He and his lineage were all cattlemen. Bahinda clan traditions and Busongora Saza traditions.

Rwanyabaleega. Bugaki Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 24, 1969. b. 1900 at Kikumiro village, Mwenge Saza, s/o Mugeriziomu s/o Musuuga s/o Kagwa s/o Rwampara s/o Kakorwa s/o Oderu. His lineage were all cattlemen until the cattle died, 1920's. Bajagara clan traditions and ivory hunting.

Rwebisoro, Isaleri. Kisomoro Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 11, 1969. b. 1890's in Kitumba, Burahya Saza, s/o Tubanjurra s/o Busoke s/o Karuhambo s/o Mutebe s/o Kibaizi s/o Ntule s/o Buliba. A cattleman and farmer. Bahinda clan traditions and Embandwa cult.

Rwomunkemba, Samwiri. Matiri Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 27, 1969. b. 1900-1910, s/o Rwakosire s/o Bijwajwa s/o Mutumu s/o Kibaya. Has always been a cattleman. Bangere/Basengya clan traditions and blacksmithing traditions.

Tibagwa, Amoni. Bugambe Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of May 22, 1969. Estimated to be in his 50's, s/o Babara s/o Kajura s/o Majara s/o Buhomya. Has always been a farmer. Bagahi/Babwijwa clan traditions.

Tibesinda, Swisen. Pakanyi Gomborra, Buruli Saza, interview of August 29, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Rugesera s/o Byegarazo s/o Kyenka s/o Ndamurani and a full brother of informant Lameki Bwiruka. Has always been a farmer. Baitira clan traditions and Pakanyi Group interview.

Tibihikirra, Tito. Kisiranfumbi Gomborra, Bugahya Saza, interview of August 22, 1969. b. 1931, in Kihobya village, Bugahya Saza, s/o Rubanga s/o Kwamya s/o Kalikooka s/o Rwangeira s/o Mutwe s/o Isingoma s/o Rubongoya. Has always been a farmer. Babwijwa clan traditions.

Tinkamanyire, Bilesti. Kabale Gomborra, Bunyangabu Saza, interview of April 14, 1969. Mukungu Chief, Kabala Gomborra and farmer. Basonga clan and Kabale Gomborra Group interview.

Wanjojo, Muganzi. Kasambya Gomborra, Bugangaizi Saza, interview of June 16, 1969. b. 1890's, s/o Nkuna s/o Bitamale s/o Byaigunga s/o Byesigwa s/o Yokana s/o Kaseregenyu. Has always been a farmer. Bairuntu/Bacwamba clan traditions and Kasambya Gomborra Group interview.

Winyi, Edward G. Rwengoma village, Burahya Saza, interviews of April 15 and April 24, 1969. Estimated to be in his 70's; s/o Batulamayo Rusongoza s/o Wamara s/o Winyi s/o Bajunaki s/o Kagoba s/o Byahye. Attended Kabarole Day School, Toro High School and King's College, Budo; worked as an interpreter, a salt inspector, as Public Service Commissioner and Town Councillor of Fort Portal Township. Now retired. Basita clan traditions, metalworking, Katwe salt lake (production and trade), the Bacwezi period, and Busongora saza traditions.

Zerisire, Razali. Nyantungu Gomborra, Mwenge Saza, interview of March 28, 1969. b. "during Kasagama's reign," s/o Kihiira s/o Byahura s/o Ikwete s/o Kisire s/o Wamara. Herded cattle as a youth; attended Virika Mission school for two years; worked as a domestic and askari for a total of 20 years; retired in 1947. Bagahi clan traditions.

B. Group interviews

Group interviews were conducted sparingly and coupled with individual interviews of the participating informants, who are listed below by group.

Kabale Gomborra Group Interview. Bunyangabu Saza, April 14, 1969.
Three discussants contributed the bulk of information on clan traditions at this interview: Andrea Barwogeza (Bagabu); Erhesti Rukidi (Babito); and Aberi Rwabwogo (Bacwamba/Baitira). Also present were William Balya (Basita); Yosefu Bintukwanga (Babito); and Gileste Tinkamanyire (Basonga).

Kasambya Gomborra Group Interview. Bugangaizi Saza, June 16, 1969.
Yowana Kamara (Bacwezi); Alphonse Kapere (Basaigi); Yosefu Kasumdara (Bayana); Kirimente Kaheeru (Babyasi); Mikairi Kewaza (Bayana); Muganzi Wanjojo (Bairuntu).

Kigarobya Gomborra Group Interview. Bugahya Saza, May 27, 1969.
Aleni Katorogo (Bacaaki); Tomasi Gubaza (Bafunjo).

Kiryandongo Gomborra Group Interview. Kibanda Saza, August 27, 1969.
Federi Byarwanju (Bambuye); Paulo Nsekanabo (Baami).

Kiziranfumbe Gomborra Group Interview. Bugahya Saza, August 22, 1969.
Tomasi Bazarabusa (Basita); Benedicto Kaliisa (Bacwezi); Tito Tibihikirra (Babwijwa); Eriakimu (Baami); Zibidayo Kaikarakubi (Basingo).

Nkoko Gomborra Group Interview. Bugangaizi Saza, June 17, 1969.
The most knowledgeable discussants were Kalisti Makumbi (Bafumambogo); Tofriri Mutassa (Basonga); and Gabrieli Nakusabasaija (Basengya). Also present were Biriyahuramu (Bakoransi); Petero Malli (Bakoransi); Mikaili Malingumi (Babworo); Yosiya Miramagwa (Bacwezi); Agusti Mitara (Basonde); Murama (Bafumambogo).

Nyantungu Gomborra Group Interview. Mwenge Saza, March 19, 1969.
Alosiyo Isingoma (Bagweri); Erisa Kachumbiro (Bagimu); Enoch Kaberinde (Basita); Adriani Rwakairu (Bayaga).

Pakanyi Gomborra Group Interview. Buruli Saza, August 29, 1969.
Timiseo Baliwa (Banywagi); James Binyomo (Bapina); Zakaliya Birihanyonyo (Basambo); Lamieki Bwiruka (Baitira); Edward Kagoro (Basita); Hosea Rukuba (Basonde); Weizen Tibesinda (Baitira).

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Lugira, Aloysius M. "Ganda Art." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 1965.

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Wheeler, A. "Kitagwenda: A Babito Kingdom in Southern Toro," Paper presented to the History of Uganda Before 1900 Seminar, Department of History, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda. No. HSP/4/71/72.

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English and History
University of Houston (Houston, Texas), Summer of 1958 and 1959
Duquesne University (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania)
Summer Language Study (Swahili), 1968
Makerere University College, University of East Africa
(Kampala, Uganda), Summer, 1961, and as a Graduate
Research Fellow in The Institute of Social Research,
1968-1969
Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana), 1964-72
M.A. History, 1967; Ph.D. exams completed in November, 1969;
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Teaching Experience:

1960-61: Passaic High School, Passaic, New Jersey
1961-62: King's College, Budo, Kampala, Uganda, East Africa
1962-64: Trinity College, Nabbingo, Kampala, Uganda, East Africa
1966-68: Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, Graduate
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1970-Present: Instructor of History, Department of History,
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Teaching and Research Interests:

Teaching - Survey of African History; Survey of East African History;
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History and Humanities (since 1815); Humanities of the
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Teaching and Research Interests: (cont'd.)

Research - Political Centralization in Pre-Colonial Uganda (East Africa); Socio-Cultural Developments in the Interlacustrine Region; The Methodology of Oral Tradition in the Reconstruction of African History; Problems in the Teaching of Africa and Non-Western Cultures (World History).

Dissertation Topic:

"The Kitara Complex: The Historical Tradition of Western Uganda to the Sixteenth Century." This reconstruction and re-evaluation of the emergence of one of the earliest states of East Africa is based on written documents and court traditions analyzed in light of the clan traditions of the Kitara Complex (also known as Bunyoro-Kitara), collected by the author in Uganda in 1969.

Research Languages: Swahili, Runyoro and French.

Distinctions and Fellowships:

1958:	Alpha Lambda Delta National Honor Fraternity (Pres., 1958-1959), Trinity University
1959:	Alpha Chi National Honor Fraternity; Mortarboard
1960:	Who's Who Among Students in American Universities
1961:	Teacher's for East Africa Study Fellowship, Teachers College, Columbia
1965:	Indiana University, Grading Assistantship, History Department
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1961-1964:	East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda), Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, Holland and England for work, study and travel
1968-1969:	Uganda, England and Italy, Dissertation Research and Fieldwork, Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Grant
1973:	Austria and Yugoslavia, study and travel

Professional Organizations:

African Studies Association
American Historical Association
American Association of University Professors
Western Association of Africanists

Departmental and University Service:

Afro-American Studies Council, Chairman: Library Committee 1970-1973
Executive Council, A.A.U.P., 1972-3
Undergraduate Council, Department of History, 1972-3
Teaching of World History Project, Department of History, 1972-3

Course Development (courses not previously offered by the University):

History 4395 - History of Africa to the 18th Century
History 4396 - History of Africa in Modern Times
Liberal Studies 1305 - Images of Man (Non-Western)
Liberal Studies 1306 - Images of Man (Non-Western)

Publications, Papers, Panels:

"The Kitara Complex: Problems in Reconstructing Migration and Settlement Patterns in the Batembuzi Period," 1972. to be published in J. B. Webster (ed.) History of Uganda Before 1900: Migration and Settlement, Vol. I (forthcoming).

"The Bacwezi Cult: Religious Revolution in Western Uganda," 1972, to be published in Donald Denoon (ed.) History of Uganda Before 1900: Politics and Ethnicity, Vol. II (forthcoming).

"The Foundations of the Kitara State" unpub. paper delivered at Seminar of the Uganda History Project, Makerere College, University of East Africa, 1971.

Panel Chairwoman: "Problems in Oral Tradition" African Studies Association, 1971.

Discussant on "Chronology and Oral Tradition" panel African Studies Association, 1972.

Africa Panel "Problems of Teaching African History" Western Association of Africanists, 1971.