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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Ph. D.

by

M.S.Kiwanuka



The Traditional History of the Buganda Kingdom:
with special reference to the Historical Writings
of Sir Apolo Kagawa

ABSTRACT

In committing Buganda's oral traditions to writing, Kaggwa did not consciously set out to write a history of Buganda. Consequently, some of these traditions are mere legends, though they are being increasingly used by the historians as historical sources. Such interest, has demonstrated the need for a critical study of these traditions so as to disentangle history from mythology. And in order to make Kaggwa's work available to the world of learning, an English translation has been made with annotations. But although we have found the Kiganda traditions largely reliable some of the conclusions drawn from them are by no means definitive.

One learns from these traditions, something about the settlement and the expansion of Buganda, and the growth of her political institutions. Buganda's early history is that of a struggling small kingdom surrounded by a powerful neighbour, Bunyoro. But the picture changes during the 17th century when Buganda begins to expand at Bunyoro's expense, and by the beginning of the 19th century, she had already become the dominant power. This expansion, created administrative and military problems. Hence new chieftainships were established and through them, Buganda developed an efficient system of local government dominated by the King. But originally the king was more or less equal to the Bataka.

Buganda's isolation from the outside world, was broken during the reign of Suna II by the visits of the Arabs. They were followed by the European explorers and missionaries during the reign of Mutesa I. Their existence in Buganda, the introduction of firearms and other trade goods, the teachings of Christianity and Islam; combined to accelerate the political and social revolution which had begun two centuries before.

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(1884). |

Glossary¹

Butaka	Ancestral land.
Mutaka (s) Bataka (pl):	Clan head or an important old man holding a traditional ritual office.
Kitongole (s) Bitongole (pl):	An administrative unit or an organised body of men responsible for special duties.
Mkejje:	Kind of fish.
Nvuma or Katinvuma:	Kind of grass.
J. Roy. Anthr. Inst.:	Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute.
Ug. J.:	Uganda Journal.
T. N. R.:	Tanganyika Notes and Records.
C. M. S.:	Church Missionary Society.
CA6/ and GA3/	References to the C. M. S. Documents.
C13, C14, E15, and E16:	References to the White Fathers' Documents.

1. The meaning given to the Luganda words, is strictly limited to the sense in which they are used in the text.

TABLE I **A**KIGANDA KING LISTS COMPILED BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

	<u>By Speke</u> ¹	<u>By Stanley</u> ²	<u>By R.W.Felkin</u> ³	<u>By Felkin & C.T.Wilson</u> ⁴	<u>By Kagwa</u> ⁵
1	Kimera	Kintu or Ham	Kintu or Ham	Ham or Kintu	Kintu
2	Mahanda	Chwa	Cwa	Cwa	Chwa
3	Katereza	Kamiera	Kalemera	Kalemela	Kimera
4	Chabago	Kimera	Kimera	Kimela	Tembo
5	Simakokiro	Almass	Rumansi	Rumaansi	Kiggala
6	Kamanya	Tembo	Tembo	Tembo	Kiyimba
7	Suna	Kiggara	Kiggala	Kiggala	Kayima
8	Mtesa	Wampamba	Wampamba	Wampamba	Nakibinge
9		Kaeema	Kayima	Kaima	Mulondo
10		Nakivungi	Nakibinge	Nachibinge	Jemba
11		Morondo	Murondo	Mrondo	Suna I
12		Sekamanya	Sekamanya	Sekamanya	Sekamanya
13		Jemba	Jemba	Jemba	Kimbugwe
14		Suna I	Suna	Suna I	Kateregga
15		Kimbugwe	Kimbugwe	Chimbugwe	Mutebi
16		Kateregga	Kateregga	Katerégga	Juko
17		Ntewi	Mutebi	Mtebe	Kayemba
18		Juko	Juko	Juko	Tebandeke
19		Kyemba	Kayemba	Kaemba	Ndawula
20		Tiwandeke	Tebandeke	Tibandeke	Kagulu
21		Ndowra	Ndawula	Ndaula	Kikulwe
22		Kaguru	Kagulu	Kagura	Mawanda

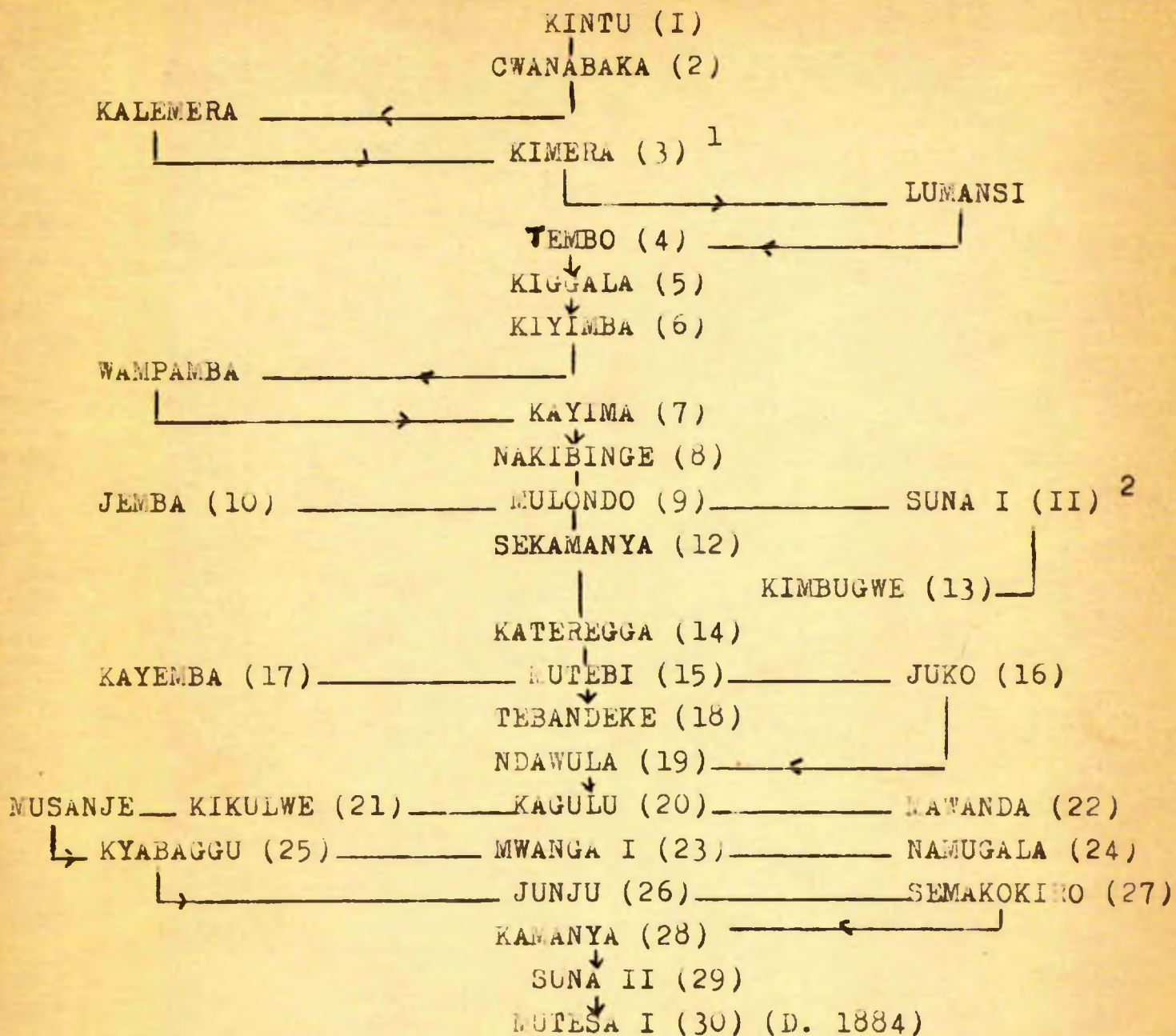
	<u>By Speke</u>	<u>By Stanley</u>	<u>By R.W.Felkin</u>	<u>By Felkin & C.T.Wilson</u>	<u>By Kagga</u>
23		Kikuruwe	Kikulwe	Chikurwe	Mwanga I
24		Ma'wnda	Mawanda	Mawaanda	Namugala
25		Msangi	Musanje	Msanje	Kyabaggu
26		Namugara	Namugala	Namgaba	Junju
27		Chabagu	Kyabaggu	Chabaggu	Semakokiro
28		Junju	Junju	Junju	Kamanya
29		Wasejje	Wasajja	Wasajja	Suna II
30		Kamanya	Kamanya	Kamanya	Mutesa d.1884
31		Suna	Suna	Suna II	
32		Mtesa	Mutesa	Mtesa	

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1. J.H. Speke. Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile (London 1863) p.252.
 2. H.M. Stanley. Through the Dark Continent Vol.I (London 1878) pp.344-381. On p.381 Stanley supplies another slightly different list which was not supplied by Mutesa and it consists of 35 names.
 3. Notice on the Waganda Tribe of Central Africa (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Edinburgh Vol.xiii (1885-86) pp.669-770.
 4. Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan Vol.I (London 1882) p.197.

The Rev.C.T.Wilson was one of the first C.M.S. missionaries to come to Buganda in 1877. Dr. Felkin belonged to the second party which arrived by the Nile Route at the beginning of 1879.

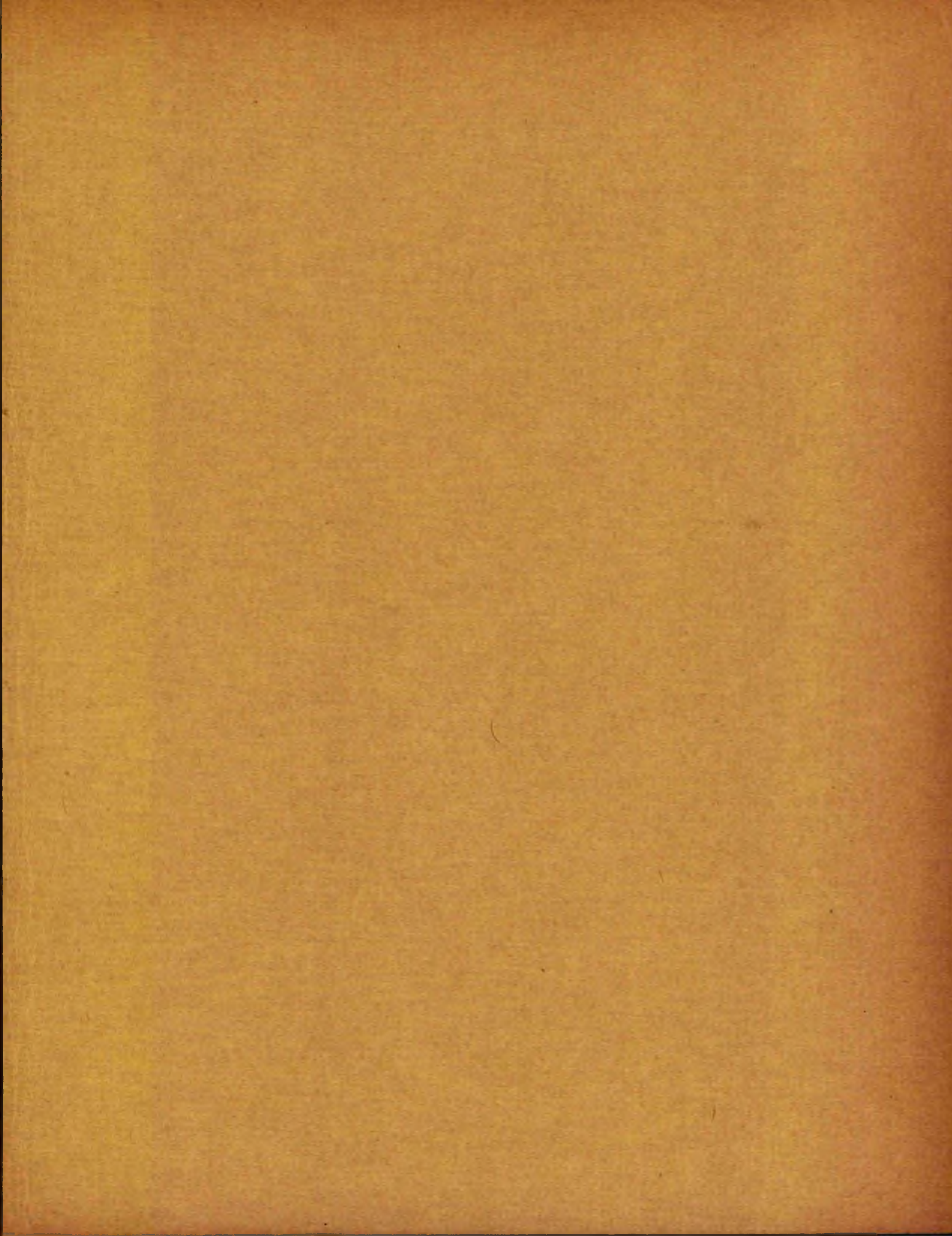
TABLE 1.B

The Geneology of the Kiganda dynasty (According to Kagwa)



1. See chapter 2.

2. See chapter 3.



THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF BUGANDA

A hundred years ago, Africa was merely the "Dark Continent"¹, and probably no one in Europe or America believed that there was such a thing as African history. Less than half a century ago the study of African history was just beginning. But although this was called African history then, it was in fact the history of the Europeans in Africa recounting their colonial activities. During the last ten years, however, progress has been made towards the study of what is truly African history - the history of the indigenous peoples. Today, the subject is no longer a matter of occasional scholarly forays. It is recognised as part of the world history, the history of the whole human race.² Despite the progress which has so far been made, the old myth that Black Africa had no history worth recording before the Colonial period still lingers on. The main argument used being that there are no written

1. See H.M. Stanley, Through the Dark Continent in 2 Vols. (London, 1878), In Darkest Africa, (London, 1890); See also Carl Peters, New Light in Dark Africa. (London, 1891). The titles of these books were probably chosen with a journalist's gift for stimulating interest. Nevertheless, they expressed the attitude of the Writers' contemporaries in Europe and America about Africa.

2. See Professor R. Oliver, African History for the Outside World; an inaugural lecture delivered on 13 May 1964 (London 1964).

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records, and that oral traditions are not a suitable subject for historical study. Unfortunately, these arguments are used even by historians who have studied oral tradition. Thus Dr. Wilks has contended that they have no historical content, but are simply myths invented to meet particular political situations.¹ Views like these, are not only unconvincing, but they betray a general misconception about historical writing. They create a false impression that history has always been written from printed documents. One man who may be described as the Father of historical writing is Herodotus. He believed in the value of oral sources, and he seems to have determined their paramountancy for many centuries afterwards. True enough the Greek and Roman antiquarians knew something about the use of documents, but the pre-eminence of personal observation and oral evidence lasted until the historian decided to go to the records office and to the archives. But so far as the evidence goes, familiarity with the archives is a recently acquired habit of the historian, and it has become effective and universally accepted less than two centuries ago.

Why then have historians underestimated the

1. Quoted by J. Vansina, Oral Tradition (London, 1965) pp.1-18. He sums up the views of the different writers on traditional history.

possibilities of oral traditions? Are they more subject to errors or to falsehoods? Certainly not. Indeed even the texts which may seem the most accommodating will only speak the truth if they are properly questioned. Magna Carta, provides one of the best examples in English History of how sources can yield useful information if rigorously cross examined. For centuries, English history has taught that the secret of English liberties is the Great Charter extorted from King John and signed on June 15th or 19th, 1215.¹ One of the great achievements of the Charter, so we were taught, was to reconfirm the older popular liberties of the Saxons which the Normans had swept away. During the constitutional disputes of the 17th century, the myths of the Charter assumed greater significance than the reality. Fortunately, historical scrutiny during the last hundred years has exposed much of the myth behind the Magna Carta and it will continue to do so as long as more rigorous scrutiny is carried out. Already, constitutional and legal experts have begun to doubt whether King John ever signed the Charter, because he may not have been able to write.² Similarly, if oral traditions are as rigorously questioned as the written documents they

1. W.S. McKenchnie, Magna Carta (2nd Edi. 1914 Glasgow) pp 530.

2. Judgment by Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, Law Report in the Guardian of 1st June, 1965.

will yield, if not complete answers, at least clues which may lead to further investigation. For instance, one Kiganda tradition asserts that all the descendants of Bukulu died without issue, and then became the Baganda gods. This would appear to be an untrustworthy assertion, and from a comparison of the Kiganda and Sesse traditions, it is possible to discover the motives for such a falsification.

One of the ways in which an oral tradition can originate is rumour, "a piece of news that the initial informant heard and made use of in his testimony". This is correctly regarded as one of the major defects of oral traditions. But the problem of rumour is not confined to oral sources. At least one example from Buganda history will illustrate this. In 1901, Sir Apolo Kaggwa wanted to postpone his visit to England, because, as he claimed his absence.

"would be seized upon by those who were disloyal to the Administration to create trouble in the land"¹

Kaggwa, however, did not specify who the would-be trouble makers were, and Frederick Jackson, who was then the Deputy Commissioner recognised that Kaggwa's fears were based on

1. FOA/162, Jackson to Lansdowne, 13. July, 1901.

'vague rumours'. Nevertheless, he concluded that, Mugwanya, the leading Catholic chief, was the likely source of trouble, and he accordingly informed Lord Lansdowne.¹ Yet no one who has studied the political career of Mugwanya can accept the view that he wanted to stir up the Catholics against the British Administration.²

Another defect rightly attributed to oral sources, is that the original informant may withhold the true information and thereby pass on to the next generation a story which is partially true. But here again the evidence shows that the problem of dealing in half truths is not confined to oral tradition. During World War II, the British Air Force, bombed and destroyed the City of Dresden in Northern Germany killing over 200,000 people in less than forty eight hours. But the British government kept the public ignorant of the true facts for nearly fifteen years.³ And yet, during that period, volumes of documents purporting to give a true account of the war had been made available by the government.

It is thus clear that there is no basic difference between history written from documentary sources and traditional history written from oral sources. True enough, written documents are relatively easier to check,

1. Ibid.

2. J. Kasirye, Obulamu bwa Stanslaus Mugwanya (London, 1963) pp. xii + 218.

3. D.C.J. Irving, The Destruction of Dresden (London, 1963)

because other sources may exist in another language, or on a related subject. For instance, if one is interested in the question whether feudalism had Latin or Germanic origins, one may study the origins and significance of the words 'beneficium' among the Latin, and 'fief' among the German speaking peoples. Or if one is interested in the development of the feudal system in England, one need not limit one's researches to Freeman who contended that feudalism was introduced by the Normans.¹ Other sources, such as the writings of Frederick Maitland will be available to argue the other case that even before the Norman conquest, there were already feudal elements in the Anglo-Saxon society of the 9th and 10th centuries. With oral tradition, however, the scope for such comparisons is limited, but not as cripplingly as is generally thought. Take the example of the Interlacustrine states: Their history has many tie-ups through which cross-checking of the events in one country against those in another can be made. We know from the Kinyoro traditions that it was probably King Olimi I who fought and killed King Nakibinge of Buganda,. We know also that during the reign of Junju

1. E.A. Freeman, History of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and results. in 6 volumes. (Oxford, 1867-1879), See also F. Maitland, Doomsday book and beyond; Three essays in the Early English History (Cambridge, 1897).

in Buganda, Duhaga I was the King of Bunyoro, and we can confirm this Kinyoro tradition by comparing it with the traditions of the former kingdom of Koki.

But when all is said and done, one must face the fact that the very nature and diversity of oral traditions create special problems and make almost impossible demands upon the historian. To research in traditional history one should know not only the language, but the society, the politics and the culture of the people whose history one is dealing with. If one is conducting interviews, one should know the psychology of one's informants, and decide when to ask a particular question. All this presupposes that ideally traditional history can only be adequately handled by the indigenous African who speaks the language and who knows the society of his own people. But if this were done the inevitable results would be bad for the study of African history. For like any other kind of history, it ought to be studied by foreigners who are free from notional or tribal prejudices. The second problem is that oral traditions demand that the historian should be able to handle diverse types of evidence, because everything the past age has left offers material for the historian: the language men used to

speak, and the sayings they coined; the shrines they built, the body remains of their ancestors they preserved and the 'unnatural happenings in the sky', they may have observed; are valuable historical sources. But their proper handling requires the participation of the linguist, of the archaeologist, of the student of art who is concerned with the material legacy and culture of the past, of the anthropologist who employs ethnographical methods of inquiry and observation, and even of the astronomer, who can calculate and determine the extent of the ^{ad}show of an eclipse.

Today, the student of pre-colonial Africa has at his disposal the accounts of the explorers and of the missionaries dealing with the immediate pre-colonial past. But though valuable, the very existence of these sources helps to emphasize the point which Dr. Vansina has so forceably argued, namely that ~~en~~ historical source can be good or bad whether written or oral.¹ A cursory glance at these accounts reveals that they are superficial, and sometimes inaccurate. That they should be superficial is not surprising, because the men and women who wrote them often did not stay long enough to know the language of, or to understand the societies they wrote about. To

1. J. Vansina op.cit. pp.1-18.

take the Interlacustrine region, nothing has bedevilled the study of its history more than the Bahuma (Hamitic) theory, first put forward by the explorer, J.H. Speke.¹ In the present investigation, we shall examine the Bahuma hypothesis in the light of what has been written about the Baganda. In the 19th century, Buganda was an independent and dynamic kingdom. Its hereditary monarchy proudly boasted of a long list of ancestors stretching back for nearly five hundred years. With its highly organised system of government and well established traditions, this kingdom, set on the equator, provided a striking contrast to the rest of the surrounding regions. After experiencing the chaos and the confusion prevailing elsewhere, the early explorers, Speke, Grant and Stanley were so impressed by the existence of law and order in Buganda, they concluded that the kingdom must have been founded by a superior race from outside tropical Africa. When the missionaries and the colonial administrators came during the last quarter of the 19th century, they too were similarly impressed. It was not only the existence of law and order which impressed them, but also the charm and manners of the people.

1. Journal of the Discovery of the Nile (London, 1863),
See also K. Ingham The Making of Modern Uganda, (London, 1958)
Some aspects of the History of Buganda, Ug. J. Vol. 20/2(1956)

"To find gentle folk with the courtesy and manners of highly educated people was indeed a surprise."

wrote the missionary J. Roscoe.¹ All these characteristics of the Baganda seemed to confirm the initial assumptions of Speke, and they were expanded by subsequent writers.

In 1882, the missionaries C.T. Wilson and R.W. Felkin made the following observation on the Kiganda Monarchy.

"The royal family of Uganda is of a different nationality to the Waganda and belongs to the Wahuma tribe, to which reference has already been made. Mtesa, through the admixture of Negro blood, has lost the pure Mhuma features, but still retains enough of the peculiar characteristics of that tribe to stamp him as belonging to a distinct race from his subjects."²

Writing about the population of Buganda in 1934, S.J.K. Baker asserted,

".....the greatest degree of fusion between the elements (Negro and Hamite) has taken place in Buganda..... where the Bahima though remaining as a feudal aristocracy, have lost their pastoral mode of life and have tended to become absorbed in the mass of the Bantu cultivators. There is much truth in the idea that social progress of the Baganda and the historical progress of their kingdom have arisen out of the fusion of these two different strains."³

Even as late as 1940, M. Trowell could still write,

1. Quoted, L.A. Fallers (Edit), The King's men (London, 1964) p.297.
 2. Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan (London, 1882) Vol. I pp.196-7.
 3. A population Map of Uganda, UG. J. Vol. 1/2 (1934) pp. 134-144.

"In Buganda itself, the Hamitic element left its mark in the physical features of the aristocracy and in the genius of the social organisation of the Kingdom."¹

Even these few quotations, display one kind of defect in the existing written sources on pre-colonial Africa. The belief that the unusually *complex* political organisation of Buganda was explicable only in terms of a superior immigrant race, demonstrates the dangers of the diffusionist theories held by some anthropologists.² Possibly the Hamitic hypothesis might be argued persuasively in the case of the neighbouring Kingdoms of Ankole and Rwanda, but hardly so in that of Buganda where there was neither an aristocracy nor a distinction between the ruler and the ruled. Furthermore, if the social and political organisation of Buganda was the result of the Hamitic invasion, the logical conclusion would be that the Kingdoms of Ankole and Bunyoro, which are believed to have had a larger Hamitic population, were more efficiently governed. But the contrary was the case. Presented with such sources, the historian of pre-colonial Africa must decide whether to rely solely on them or to supplement them with the only available accounts of the people whose history he is

1. Clues to African Tribal History, Ug.J. Vol. 10/2 (1946) pp. 54-63.

2. J. Vansina's A Comparison of African Kingdoms (Africa, 32/4, 1962), should be read in comparison with these views.

writing about. These accounts consist of the oral traditions which were handed down from generation to generation, sometimes with great accuracy. It is because of this, that the oral traditions of Buganda, which were recorded by Sir Apolo Kagawa are very important to the historian. But before we examine these traditions, it is necessary to know something about the man himself and his historical writings.

According to his own account in the text, Kagawa was born about 1865. But unfortunately apart from his own testimony about his birth, little is known about his earlier years. It is clear from the evidence, however, that his parents placed him in the household of a relative who was himself a chief. Thus the next important information we get on him is when he was in the household of Basudde, the chief of Ekitongole Ekisuuna.¹ During the years he spent in Basudde's household, Kagawa made acquaintance with Nzalambi who was the caretaker of the royal mosque. It was probably through this acquaintance that Kagawa eventually entered the Royal court and joined the service of Kulugi, the chief keeper of the royal stores. His first job under Kulugi was to distribute food among

1. Throughout his life Kagawa regarded this man as his benefactor and protector, because when some members of the Grasshopper clan attempted to declan him for his alleged foreign origins, he called upon Basudde to testify that he was a Muganda and that he knew his parents.

the members of the household, and this would appear to have been in 1884, because Zimbe argues that by the time King Mutesa died (October 1884), Kaggwa had been in the court for about a year.¹

Meanwhile, Kaggwa had been converted to christianity by the C.M.S.² In 1886, King Mwanga arrested him with other Christian converts, but he escaped execution, and he was beaten instead.³ He first became politically prominent in 1887, when he was promoted to become chief of the royal stores (probably in succession to his former master, Kulugi). The new appointment put him at the head of a large number of the Protestant converts.⁴ Thus after the Civil War of 1888, Kaggwa got the chieftainship of Mukwenda as the leading member of the Protestant faction. The turning point in his political career came during the first religious wars of 1887, when the Muslim faction defeated the Christians and the latter took refuge in Ankole. Then after Honorato Nyonyinton, who was the Prime Minister had been killed in the battle of Mawuki (1889),

1. B. Zimbe, Buganda Ne Kabaka (Kampala 1939) pp 72-73.
2. Sir Apolo Kaggwa, Ebika by a Baganda (Kampala 1912) p.125.
3. R.P. Ashe, Two Kings of Uganda (London, 1890) pp.218-9
4. The Ekitongole Ekyeggwanka, of which he had become the chief, was filled mainly by the converts of the C.M.S. just as the Ekitongole Ekigowa and all the court pages were Catholics, probably because their leaders were converts of the White Fathers.

Kaggwa became the leading contender for the office of Prime Minister among the Christian group. Thus after the Christian victory over the Muslims in 1889, Kaggwa became the Prime Minister and continued to hold the office until his enforced retirement in 1926. But long before that he had been honoured by the Colonial Government with a K.C.M.G.

Like many of his contemporaries, Kaggwa acquired a passion for writing, but he himself seems to have begun at an early date to record the contemporary events of the 1880s and 1890s. For instance, one learns from R.P. Ashe of the C.M.S. that by 1894, Kaggwa had already written a small book called Entalo Za Buganda (The Wars of Buganda).¹ The book, presumably referred to those wars in which Kaggwa himself had played an important role, and which had resulted in his becoming the Prime Minister. Ashe himself expressed his indebtedness to this small book in the Preface to his Chronicles of Buganda. But the Entalo is no longer extant, though one can safely assume that the information it contained was included in the later works. These were the Basekabaka be Buganda (The Kings of Buganda), first published in 1901; Ekitabo Kye Empisa za Baganda (The Book of the Manners of the Baganda), first published in

1. Ashe. op.cit. preface.

1905; Ekitabo Ky'Ebika bya Abaganda (The book of the Clans of the Baganda), and the Book of the Grasshopper clan, which seems to have been begun in 1893. These are Kaggwa's most outstanding historical writings. That a work of such size should appear a little less than thirty years after the Luganda language had been committed to writing was no mean achievement on the part of Kaggwa. What is curious, however, is that all these books should have been written between 1900-1912, the years during which the country was just settling down to the new Colonial administration and when Kaggwa as the Prime Minister and first Regent of the young king, must have been very busy.

A question which has often been asked and to which it is difficult to give an exact answer is why Kaggwa wrote. On the one hand, it is important to stress that Kaggwa himself was extremely interested in writing. But on the other, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was greatly influenced by the literary atmosphere provided by the missionaries around him, such as J. Roscoe, R.P. Ashe, Walker and others. The writer of the present investigation was repeatedly told by Kaggwa's family, that it was John Roscoe who suggested to Kaggwa to write in Luganda, what he himself was already writing in English. It is worthy

noting also that it was mainly Kaggwa who summoned most, if not all the informants Roscoe used as his sources. As these gave their information in Luganda, Kaggwa probably took it down and it provided the basis of his own writings. An interesting comparison can in fact be made between Kaggwa's writings and Roscoe's The Baganda.¹ It consists of a long section on the history of the kings, on the history of the clans and their totems, and the rest of the book deals with every other aspect of Kiganda society, military, political, cultural and social. As we have shown above, Kaggwa's writings also deal exactly with the same subject, but only in a more detailed manner. Another interesting comparison is that The Baganda was published in 1911, and after that date Roscoe concluded his serious inquiries in Buganda. In 1912, Kaggwa's Ebika appeared, and after that date he also did not do any more writing except for a few occasional articles he contributed to the Ebifa, a C.M.S. newspaper. The Ebika ends with a chronology of the most important events of the 19th century. Once the editor of the Uganda Journal drew attention to the fact that Kaggwa's chronology was based on that of J.D. Mullin's The Wonderful Story of Uganda which had been published in 1908.² The

1. The Baganda (London, 1911) pp. xix + 525 + maps and photographs

2. J.D. Mullins was a C.M.S. missionary in Uganda.

editor further observed that though the characters included in the chronology showed that Kaggwa's was largely an independent compilation, the dates were nevertheless lifted from Mullin's book.¹ These comparisons do not prove that Kaggwa copied the work of the missionaries, nor do they prove that all the initiative to write came from them. Nevertheless, they at least illustrate the missionary influence which clearly appears in the planning and arrangement of his historical writings.

Each of Kaggwa's three books supplements the other. This is because the views expressed and the incidents described in one book are referred to in another book in a similar or different context. Hence the information provided in Empisa, for example may be modified in Basekabaka and vice versa. Because of this, no full account of the history of Buganda can be made without using material from all of them. Basekabaka itself, is a volume of nearly 90,000 words and it is the principal source of the dynastic history of Buganda. It recounts the history of each king, from Kintu, the supposed founder of the dynasty, to the reign of Cwa II.² The details,

1. Ug. J. Vol. 16/2 (1952)
 2. The Chapter on the reign of Cwa II appears in the 1927 and subsequent editions only. But it covers only the period of the minority, 1897-1914.

however, differ from reign to reign. The accounts of some reigns are full while those of others are tantalizingly short and uninformative. The reign of Kintu, for example, is recorded at great length probably because he represented the period of settlement.¹ After the reign of Kimera, (who seems to have introduced a new dynasty), there is a dearth of information and it is not until we come to the reign of Nakibinge that the oral accounts become detailed again. From this reign until the reign of Kateregga, little useful information is recorded, but even after this reign one still meets some disappointing gaps. Thus, the excellent accounts of Mawanda and his subjugation of the Busoga States, is followed by the scrappy annals of the short reigns of Mwanga I and Namugala. Like most chronicles, Basekabaka becomes more detailed as one approaches more recent times. Thus the three reigns of Kamanya, Suna and Muteas I, take up as much space as the previous twenty seven reigns.² There are several reasons for this. Information on the 19th century was collected from eyewitnesses, and inevitably much more was remembered on this period than on any other. Moreover, as Buganda had expanded territorially, so had her administrative and military needs become more complex. Thus the lists of

1. See Chapter II

2. See Chapter VII

the chiefs are longer.

Basekabaka is not a source of royal history only, but also of the chiefs and their clans. The reign of each king is concluded with a long list of chiefs and the lists become longer as we approach recent times suggesting that there had been rapid administrative and military expansion. The Empisa, itself is a study of the manners and customs of the Baganda, but it includes also a long section on the history of the kings. For example 66 of its 319 pages are a repetition of Basekabaka in a more or less detailed manner. And the reign of each king is concluded not only with a list of chiefs, but also with a list of the royal wives, their fathers and clans and the royal children they bore. There are also detailed sections on the military organisation and taxation system. Kaggwa was at his best when he described these aspects of Buganda society. It should, however, not surprise us that he showed such knowledge, because a Muganda chief was an administrator and a tax gatherer in peace time, and a war leader in time of war. The Ebika was Kaggwa's major work on the clans and their history. The Baganda are divided into totemic clans, each one of which has its own head and Butaka. Kaggwa recorded thirty one clans and twelve others which

he classified as the Buddu clans. The book is full of details, not only of the supposed origins of the clans, but also on their relationships with the monarchy, thus giving evidence to the unique social and political relationships in Kiganda society. Knowledge of a common history, and in some cases of common origins, though remote, with a single leader; and the participation at the royal court in the ritual functions at the accession and death of each king, gave the clans a great sense of unity. At the same time it drew them and the monarchy close together. Some clans were vastly larger and had greater influence at the royal court than others. Evidence suggests also that before the 17th century the heads of the clans had greater influence in the affairs of the kingdom, and they seem also to have regarded the king merely as a *primus inter pares*. It was not until the reign of Mutebi who first stripped them of their privileges, that their powers began to decline. Successive kings gradually gathered all the power in their hands, so that by the middle of the 19th century, the king was the fountain of all honours and privileges.¹

Each clan had its own main Butaka on which it buried its dead and on which the head of the clan lived. Baganda clans, unlike those of the Nilotes, for example,

1. See Chapter VII

did not live in communities. They were scattered all over the country, though some tended to concentrate ^{more} in certain areas than in others. There are several explanations for this. One is the increase in population which forced clansmen to spread out and settle in other parts of the country. In addition to this, we should mention the territorial expansion as another factor. Once an area had been conquered, a Muganda chief was appointed to rule it. Inevitably the chief would be followed by his relatives and clansmen. If he stayed long enough in that area and had children born there, these would also settle near by. And if he died in that area, it could become a Siga of his clan. In other cases some chieftainships were hereditary, which meant that many men of one clan settled permanently in a particular district with some of their offspring and other clansmen. It was in this way that the clans spread. By plotting on a map of Buganda, the sites of the various Butakas and by carefully investigating when these were founded, one can establish fairly accurately when some districts became parts of Buganda. We have two interesting examples of the Cephalopus and of the Sheep clans. Some ancestors of these clans claim to have been the conquering generals of the modern counties of Gomba and Butambala. The writer

discovered during his field research that all the Butaka in Gomba traced their foundation to King Kateregga during whose reign these areas were annexed from Bunyoro. The other Butaka which exist in Gomba is that of the Grasshopper clan. These, however, do not trace their origins to the reign of Kateregga but to Kimera and their claim is supported by the traditions of the surrounding districts. In Butambala all the members of the Sheep clan date the foundation of their Butaka to the same reign of Kateregga, and they emphatically stress that they had no Butaka in that county before that period. It is thus clear that the existence of clan Butaka in a district can be a very useful clue to the date when particular districts were annexed by Buganda. So far as the book of the Grasshopper clan is concerned, it was merely a record of the clan traditions, and it was even less detailed than that of the Lungfish clan which was published in 1916. But because of the clan's close links with the immigration of Kimera, the traditions of the Grasshopper clan have a special significance. Hence some of the conclusions reached in Chapter II have been based largely on these traditions.

A proper assessment of Kaggwa's historical writings cannot be made without an understanding of the man himself. Mention of his character has already been made, but one requires to know his relatives, his political associates and his attitude towards his political and religious rivals. A careful study of the answers to these questions should throw light on his merits and demerits as a collector of the Kiganda traditions. First of all his historical writings are a living example of the man himself and a notable testimony of his great industry and ability. So far as his politics were concerned, he belonged to the Protestant faction. In Ebika and Basekabaka he describes their activities and defends their conduct in the crises of the 1880s and 1890s. But he disparages severely the supporters of the other factions, Catholic and Muslim. Mwanga is portrayed as an evil king, who was misguided by his evil counsellors. It did not occur to Kaggwa that Mwanga and his followers, who opposed British Colonialism, were defending their independence. Throughout the text, particular individuals are specially mentioned by name. For instance, the reader is told more than a dozen times in the reign of Kamanya and Suna, that Bunya was one of King Semokiro's Kangawo\$. The reason for this would appear to be that Kaggwa wanted to demonstrate that he had distinguished ancestors, because he claims that Bunya was his great great grandfather.

The advantage which Buganda had over her neighbours, was that her traditions were collected in the very early period of the colonial administration, when, as Professor Oliver has put it, anybody over sixty years would have received his education in the old tribal society.¹ Many such people were living and were questioned. In the original edition of the text, Kaggwa does not give a list of his informants. He only states that he wrote it after he had inquired from very many old people who knew the things of the past and who did not forget them. In the 1927 edition, however, he gave the following list of informants; Kulanga, Sekamwa Kibaale, Kweye, Paulo Buzibwa, Isaya Mayanja, Tefiro Kulugi, Princesses Tojuba, Maliyamu Gwoisa, and Ndalike, the bark cloth maker. In the Empisa (1918 edition) he gave a longer list of his informants and described how he proceeded in his inquiries thus:

"I wrote this book after I had inquired from many very old people and these are their names:

1. Maliyamu Gwoisa of the Lungfish clan, who was the wife of Sebbowa, the Sabaganzi (official maternal uncle) of King Kamanya.
2. Princess Tojuba, the daughter of King Kamanya.
3. Luka Sekamwa of the Oribi Antelope clan, who was the Kimbugwe (bearer of the royal umbilical cord) and who was also the Kibaale.
4. Paulo Buzibwa of the monkey clan, who was the chief of the Ekitongole Ekimanya.
5. Isaya Mayanja of the Lungfish clan, who was that chief of the Ekitongole Ekiakulya.
6. Tefiro Kulugi of the Colobus Monkey clan, who was the chief storekeeper at the court and who was also the chief of the Ekitongole Ekirangira.

Bunyoro

1. The Traditional Histories of Buganda and Ankole (Journ. of the Roy. Anthropological Inst. Vol. 85, pp. 111-7, 1955)

7. Ibulaim Basudde of the Grasshopper clan, who was the chief of the Ekitongole Ekisuuna.
8. Ndalike of the Otter clan, who was the chief of the bark cloth makers at Kasaka.
9. Saulo Bwogi of the Grasshopper clan, who was the chief of the Ekitongole Ekitabuza.
10. Makumbi, the Mugema of the Monkey clan. All these were chiefs of King Mukabya.
11. Kwei who used to bear the jawbone of Prince Kawagga Ebuwagga. This man belonged to the Envuma clan, and he was full of the ancient knowledge.
12. Kulanga was the bearer of King Kiggala's jawbone. He also knew a great deal of the traditions of Busiro.
13. Lujumba, the chief of Bulenga who was the son of Mugema of the Monkey clan.
14. Bitanga of the Yam clan, who was the chief makers of the spears.
15. Abidenigo Misagyankumbi, a Mutongole chief under the Ekitongole Ekikabya. He was particularly well informed about those who became chiefs in the olden times.
16. Erasto Kawagga, a prince descended from King Kateregga.
17. James Kabuga, the Sbalangira, who descended from King Suna I. He is now the head of the princes who have no immediate claim to the throne. After I had inquired from these people, I also made inquiries from the ladies who were in King Suna's court, and also in the court of King Mukabya Mutesa Walugembe. I also inquired from the principal princesses of King Suna II, and also from the heads of the clans. They told me about their clans and how they came to Buganda and their customs. After I had made these inquiries I wrote this book.....".

Here Kaggwa writes as if the information he obtained from these informants was used only in writing the Empisa. It is safe to assume, nevertheless, that he did not really categorise his informants. He probably collected all the information he wanted at once and divided it up, according

to the plans of his books. And one hopes that Kaggwa inquired from many more people than those listed above. It could well be that these were mentioned probably because he regarded them as his principal sources. Evidence that he inquired from more people is suggested by the Roscoe-Kaggwa Inquiry. Roscoe made a record of the informants including those already mentioned by Kaggwa, and it is not improbable that these others also were used by Kaggwa. Kaggwa's list of informants is very impressive indeed, and at first sight it is beyond reproach. By inquiring from the Abataka of Busiro, he went to some of the most authoritative sources in the country. These were the men and women who guarded the royal jawbones and their shrines; the royal tombs and the royal umbilical cords (called the twins). They were the men who performed the ritual duties at the accession and death of each king. Hence their knowledge especially of royal history was extremely wide. By also inquiring from the heads of the clans, Kaggwa went to the best sources and he was thus able to write a valuable account of the clans and their relations with the monarchy. It is worth mentioning also, (though he himself was perhaps too modest to mention the fact) that Kaggwa was his own source and a very important one too.

His own clan, the Grasshopper, had long and close associations with the monarchy. From the reign of Kamanya (whose mother belonged to the Grasshopper clan) many members of this clan got chieftainships. For Kaggwa this meant that he had a close network of clansmen who had been active in public life and should have therefore been well informed. He had also other advantages. Apart from the fact that he was a product of the royal court, he was at the time of his inquiries the Prime Minister and the first Regent of the young king. As the virtual ruler of the country, he could summon as many informants as he wanted and one assumes that the majority of these came.

But impressive as Kaggwa's list of informants may be, one is rather disturbed by the omissions of some of the would-be excellent sources of information. For example, Princess Katalina Mpalikitenda, one of the daughters of King Kamanya, is not included in the list of informants. Yet Kaggwa asserts that she was greatly honoured and that she outlived all her sisters and died in 1907. Missing also from the list of informants is Kasujju of the Manis clan, whose family and clan were associated with the throne from the reign of Mutebi in the 17th century without a break until the reign of the present king. Kasujju was the guardian of the princess; he settled their cases and

looked after their welfare. Whenever there was a peaceful succession to the throne, he was the one of the few men who chose the new king. Another important omission is that of Mugwanya, who was one of the Regents during the minority of Cwa II. He himself was the son of the guardian of the god Nennde, and he claims to have been in Mutesa's court even before Kaggwa was born. What was more, he would appear to have been a trusted courtier of Mutesa, because Hamu Mukasa tells us that he was one of the few men Mutesa trusted and could appoint to look after his mother and the princesses. These are just a few examples of the important informants whom Kaggwa ought to have interrogated. Equally disturbing is the fact that Kaggwa's list includes few clan heads. And when one analyses those mentioned, one discovers that there is a predominance of a certain number of clans. This seems to confirm the accusations of Kaggwa's critics that he ignored the best qualified informants and inquired from his personal friends. The general deduction, therefore, is that Kaggwa discriminated against some informants on political and religious grounds. But even if he did, the damage caused to the recorded traditions was not as great as it may appear. This was largely due to the complex social and political organisation of Buganda. Clans did not behave as communities

and political allegiance was not always determined by clanship ties. Moreover, one cannot put all the blame on Kaggwa for it is not unlikely that some informants objected to being questioned by him. Neither in Kaggwa's case, nor in that of others, should this surprise us. The civil wars of the 1880s and of the 1890s were still too fresh in people's memories. Some members of the royal family, presumably regarded Kaggwa as a traitor for the role he had in the events which led to the deposition of King Mwanga by the Colonial government. To some Catholics and Muslims, he was probably no more than a leader of the Protestant faction. And to another class of Baganda he was a mere upstart who had come from Busoga as a slave boy.

In assessing the historical value of oral traditions, several important factors must be considered. These are the political and social organisation of the community, because they affect the manner in which the traditions have been preserved and transmitted from one generation to another. One should also consider the circumstances in which the traditions were first committed to writing. So far as Buganda is concerned, her traditions were recorded in the very early period of the Colonial administration. Many old people then were still living and what they knew

of the past had not yet been corrupted by modern education. They thus reported honestly what they knew and this may be evidenced from the fact that although Buganda was then at the height of her power, the Baganda ruling in every part of Uganda as the agents of the British administration, there was no attempt to make any political or historical justification for the position Buganda had attained. The traditions frankly showed that the Kingdom had risen from very small beginnings of two or three counties, bordering on the northern shores of Lake Victoria (see map). Their triumphs and disasters were also frankly recounted, which at least indicates that the Kiganda traditions can be trusted. There were, of course, falsefictions, but these were few and could be detected. The unusually high quality of the Kiganda traditions was not a historical accident. It was the result of the complex political and social organisation which made the knowledge of history essential to all men in public life. A successful political career, could depend on a man's ability to recite a long list of ancestors who had performed service to the throne. Besides knowing one's ancestors, a biographical knowledge of the Kings they had served was also essential. All clans aspired to give girls as wives to the King, and if a girl gave birth to a King that was a rare honour which her clan

could never forget. Nay, even if a royal wife had not given birth to a king, the mere fact that she had been married to a king, was an unusual privilege to her clan and family. This explains why clans kept the genealogies of their illustrious members. Perhaps the most important factor was that succession to the Buganda throne was open to all the clans. The results of this arrangement were summed up by Gorju as follows:

The annals of his country (The Muganda) and the annals of his clan are apt to be confused in his recollection. The genealogy of the king was the story of the clans, a story in which they have all participated and have told again and again ever since. The reverse side of the story told in the clan traditions is the part played by the kings in the history of the clans. So much so that if the popular memory were to forget the national history, the perhaps exaggerated clan cults would afford an irregrageable foundation for the reconstruction of the political history.¹

Besides this keen involvement of the clans in the history of the royal family, there were other special methods of preserving the chronicle. Such as the keeping of the royal jawbones, of the tombs and of the umbilical cords. All these objects had special hereditary guardians and the jawbones themselves had special shrines built for them. The evidence suggests that the shrines became sacred places of worship to which every reigning king had to make a pilgrimage.² The whereabouts of these places were

1. J. Gorju, Entre le Victoria l'Albert et l'Eduord, (Rennes, 1920); P

2. See Chapters VI and VII

perfectly known by the nearby inhabitants and perhaps more important, the names of the kings whose jawbones had been enshrined in their neighbourhood were also known. These material remains have been described by Professor Oliver as the real charters of Buganda's present day dynasty.¹ In face of such wide spread knowledge of these traditions among all the clans, one would find it extremely difficult to doubt the existance of any king so commemorated. The Baganda had another method of preserving their traditions: the system of inheritance and succession. In pre-colonial Buganda, most of the non-administrative offices, such as those of the guardians of the tombs, of the jawbones shrines, and of the umbilical cords, were usually hereditary in one clan or even family. To the holders of such offices, a biographical knowledge of the kings whose jawbones they guarded, was essential. The value of the Kiganda system of inheritance was aptly described by Roscoe in these words.

The reader, should know that the people have no literature of their own, and that all records of the past have been orally handed down from one generation to another. We have, however, one compensating advantage afforded by their remarkable system of inheritance. In accordance with this system, an heir not only takes the office of his predecessor, but so impersonates him that it is common to hear a man saying that he is the father

1. The Royal Tombs of Buganda, Ug. J. Vol. 23/1 (1959) pp 129-33

of a person who is known to have died years before. Similarly, a woman belonging to a particular clan, will claim to be the mother of a king who has been dead for several generations. Bearing this system in mind and also taking into consideration the remarkably accurate memories of the people in recounting events long past and their conservatism in religious ceremonies and social customs, the reader will recognise that it is possible to obtain from them a fairly accurate account of the past.¹

Besides these methods of preserving the traditions, one should add also the social and political stability of Buganda, which provided conditions conducive to the accumulation of traditions. A migratory people carry but a little load of traditions with them. The Baganda on the other hand, were a sedentary agricultural people. And despite the frequency of the succession wars, these were generally short, and once a king had established himself on the throne, law and order were restored immediately. Again, except during the reign of Nakibinge, there is no evidence that the central counties in which the shrines and the tombs were, suffered from any major foreign invasion. With all these methods and advantages, it is perhaps not surprising that the Baganda managed to preserve their traditions so efficiently.

1. The Baganda, op.cit. p.2.

The discussion up to now has been devoted to analysing the Kiganda traditions which were recorded by Kaggwa. The general conclusion one would draw is that today, enough evidence has been collected to enable one to say that Kaggwa can be trusted in much of what he wrote. He was accessible to sources which are lost to us, and he managed in the circumstances of the time to produce a respectable and largely trustworthy account of his country's past. He reported honestly what he knew and what he was told, except in a few cases where personal interests influenced him. His honesty may be judged from the fact that wherever he received conflicting strands of traditions, he recorded the two or the three versions without attempting to make any interpretations. And whenever he doubted what he was told, he only made brief remarks such as that the men of old did not understand such and such a thing. There are many ways in which his general conclusions can be confirmed from foreign sources such as those of Bunyoro and Busoga. The existence of other traditions, collected and written by other Baganda, has enabled us to check him wherever this has been possible, and again we have found him largely reliable. Even where his information is not detailed, he throws hints here and

there which are useful to an inquirer. To every one interested in Buganda's past, be he historian or not, will remain in Kaggwa's debt. His influence on Kiganda historiography has been tremendous, and it would be unwise today to regard any information as being independent of him. His books were available and the fact that Basekabaka itself has gone through four editions in the last sixty years (1901, 1912, 1927, 1953), is evidence enough that the books were widely read. Even in cases where the informants may not have read his books, one cannot be sure whether they have not been influenced by people who have themselves read the books. This includes the Banyoro historians such as K.W. and Nyakatura. It was characteristic of Kaggwa that his interest as a historian was not confined to his own country. The 1927 and subsequent editions of Basekabaka concluded with summaries of the histories of Ankole, Bunyoro, Koki and Toro. Herein lies Kaggwa's claim to the title of Father of historical writing in Uganda.

But although the information provided in Kaggwa's books is copious, it is far from complete. They do not tell us anything about the land system in pre-colonial Buganda, despite the fact that the land disputes provided some of the most controversial questions at the beginning

of the century. And what is more, Kagawa himself who was keenly interested in acquiring land was heavily involved in the land disputes. His books are full of place names, but he invariably mentions places without stating where they were, whereas he knew very well that one name could apply to three or more different places. He does not avoid the use of technical terms, especially when he is describing ritual customs. Consequently to a modern reader his Luganda is archaic. Sometimes, his chronology and sequence of events is badly arranged, which factor tends to make the translation more difficult. Wherever the chronological arrangement has been at fault, the present writer has drawn the attention of the reader to this fact. One of the most serious defects is in his method of introducing new information. The mere fact that he mentions a custom for the first time (for example, that of executing household officers at the tomb of a king) does not necessarily mean that the custom had not been observed before. His lists of chiefs can be confusing, because he introduces the name of the particular chief and then that name disappears from the lists for several reigns without any explanation from him. For instance, Kimbugwe (the bearer of the royal umbilical cord) is mentioned in

the reign of Makibinge, but not in that of Suna. Sekiboobo, the county chief of Kyaggwe; is mentioned in the reign of Kimera, but we do not meet him again until the reign of Mawanda, more than two centuries later. And we get no explanations from Kaggwa. He was also inclined to misapply titles of chieftainships. Thus although the chief of Bulemezi was not called Kangawo, before the reign of Mawanda, Kaggwa uses this title even as early as the reign of Kimera.

It is necessary to emphasize, however, that these are minor criticisms of Kaggwa. As one reads the text, it becomes clear ^{that} the information it contains provides a useful starting point for further research in the political history of Buganda. In one sense, it is correct to argue that because the influence of the monarchy permeated every part of the Kingdom, one cannot separate the court traditions and those of the people. True enough, but it is also clear from the studies of Lewis Namier in English History,¹ and from those of Kagame and Vansina in Rwanda, that much valuable information can be gained by studying local and family histories. It was because of this conviction that even in Buganda, there were still many

1. L.B. Namier, Politics at the Accession of George III. 2. Vols. (1929) ; J. Vansina, L'evolution du Royaume rwanda des origines a 1900. (Brussels, 1960); A. Kagame, Les milices du Rwanda precolonial (Brussels, 1963)

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uncontaminated traditions in the peripheral areas, that the present writer decided to investigate them. Furthermore, he wanted to make a proper study of Kaggwa's sources of evidence and methods of inquiry, by reading his papers and drafts of his books, which had been acquired by the Makerere University Library.

The present writer gratefully acknowledges the grant he got from The British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa, which enabled him to carry out field studies in Buganda between July and December 1963. He began by reading the Kaggwa papers which had been catalogued by Mr. J. Rowe, another researcher in Buganda history. Unfortunately, the papers on the whole were disappointing. They were too fragmentary and not all the drafts of the books were available. It was thus difficult to form a very clear idea of how Kaggwa collected his evidence. One thing, however, seemed clear. Once the Baganda learnt to read and write, they saw the value of writing down their clans. But the real stimulant was provided by the political and social changes caused by the introduction of the Colonial administration. One of these was the introduction of a freehold land system. Because of the scramble for land, and in order to enhance

their claims to other offices, many clans and families found it essential to put their genealogies in order. Thus the clans which had disputed headships, such as the Oribi Antelope, the Lungfish and the Grasshopper, were more inclined to write their histories than others. The publication of Kagga's books acted also as a stimulus to historical writing. Men wrote either to add to what he had said or to correct him. Others, however, provided entirely new information from fields which Kagga had not inquired into in detail. There were many such writers, but at least two deserve to be mentioned as the most important; These were Alifunsi Aliwali and Gomotoka. Aliwali was born in 1880, and he later acted as Gorju's collector of traditions. Since 1911, when the White Fathers first published their newspaper, Munno, Aliwali has been contributing historical articles in that paper, and he still writes in Musizi. When the present writer interviewed him in August and September, 1963, he told him that Kyaggwe and Sesse were the only counties of Buganda he did not visit when collecting traditions for Gorju.¹ Gomotoka, the former Sabalangira (head of the princes) was

1. But he inquired from many old inhabitants of Kyaggwe and Sesse who had settled in Buddu; The former as a result of the religious wars and the latter as a result of the Sleeping sickness epidemic.

a greater inquirer than any of his contemporaries. As a prince he was more accessible to the members of the royal family than other writers including Kaggwa and this is shown by his information on King Kagulu. By the time he died at the beginning of the 1940s, he had already drafted the history of the Baganda royal family, which he called Makula. Today, the drafts of Makula are kept by the present Sabalangira. Besides Aliwali and Gomotoka, there were many other writers who contributed a few articles in the missionary newspapers, such as Ebifa of the C.M.S., and Munno of the White Fathers. The bulk of this information which was written in Luganda had never been used before by the historians. The indebtedness of the present writer to these sources, reveals itself in his comments on Kaggwa's text. For the reign of Mutesa, there were works by other Baganda historians which had also been written in Luganda, such as J. Miti's Short History of Buganda; H. Mukasa's Simudda Nyuma and B. Zimbe's Buganda Ne Kabaka. As it will be seen from the Bibliography, the writer has also had access to the Diaries and papers of the White Fathers in Rome, which had never been used before. One should also mention the contribution of the social anthropologists, whose researches make Buganda one of the best documented areas in the Interlacustrine region.

After consulting the Kaggwa papers and the Luganda sources, the second major task was to make a comprehensive study of the territorial expansion of Buganda. Until 1964 the kingdom of Buganda was divided into twenty counties. These divisions provided a useful regional plan for the field work. As we showed in the case of Butambala and Gomba, the most fruitful method of investigation was to find out when particular Butaka were established. The second fruitful method, was study the history of the Bitongole. Some were founded for specific tasks, others to commemorate certain events. The study of the Bitongole, may mean in some cases, the reduction of one's field of investigation to village level. In this way one can obtain plenty of local information. But an inquirer in this field, faces this difficulty. Bitongole were often transferred from one part of the country to another, and had their names changed. During the reign of Suna II, the most important Kitongole was called the Ekiwambya. But when Mutesa succeeded Suna, he transferred the Ekitongole Ekiwambya from Bulemezi to Kyaggwe and renamed it the Ekikabya.

So far as royal history is concerned, there are no major divergencies from what Kaggwa wrote, except in the case of Kings Kimera and Mulondo. Where the existing

information was inadequate, the missing parts have been filled in. With regard to the pre Kintu period, Many Baganda had begun writing about it as far back as 1907, and they continued to do so until the 1920s. The literature which has so far been written on the pre-Kintu period, and which the present writer has managed to see is mentioned in the Bibliography. The writer has also had at his disposal the traditions of the neighbouring states of Ankole, Bunyoro, Kiziba, Karagwe, Kooki, Busoga and Toro. These traditions have been used to check those in Buganda. Great effort has been made to identify important place names, and whenever it has been possible, some important characters have been identified and biographical information supplied.

Although Kagwa did not supply dates, except for some events during the 19th century, he nevertheless arranged the text chronologically. The present investigation has followed Kagwa's arrangement. Thus each chapter except the first consists of a translation of the text and a comment on the text itself. Annotations have been used to explain small anthropological points or to make brief descriptions on events or of characters. In order to give the thesis a chronological sequence, the chapters have been based on a number of reigns which have a common theme. For instance, the reigns of Kintu, Cwa I and Kimera

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represent the period of the migrations. The dominant theme of Chapter II, therefore, is the migrations. Perhaps one of the alternative ways of writing this thesis, would have been to separate the text entirely from the comments. This alternative, however, appeared to be unsatisfactory to the writer. Since the text which is the real basis of the present investigation was based on the royal chronicle, and since this is fundamental to any study of the pre-colonial history of Buganda, it was only logical and fitting to retain Kaggwa's plan.

One of the prerequisites in traditional history is a time scale to enable us to set up a chronology. Where no other source of evidence is available, a chronology can only be worked out from genealogies. The value of Kaggwa's books is that they are full of genealogical details. Like other pre-literate people, the Baganda saw the past in terms which one may call dynastic time, and dated all events with a reference to the royal or clan genealogy. One of the problems one has to face when dealing with genealogies is that they can be notoriously unreliable, especially where they are manipulated to validate political

claims.¹ Situations like these, however, are more likely to happen in societies without centralized institutions. Buganda itself had the advantage in that it had a centralized and long enduring monarchy, the genealogy of which was not the monopoly of one clan or interest. Any chronology in Buganda, should therefore be based on the royal genealogy. It is also worth mentioning that no absolute dates can be fixed from genealogical evidence. The only kind of chronology we can set up, has to be based on generations, and through them, one can establish relative dates for some important events such as reigns. Secondly, any chronology worked out from genealogical lists depends very much on the system of succession. So far as the Kiganda monarchy was concerned, succession was hereditary, but there was no rule of primogeniture. The heir to the throne was chosen from among the sons and brothers and nephews of the late king. Thus a glance at the genealogical order of the Kiganda king lists shows that from the reign of Mulondo to that of Semakokiro, it was common practice for the succession to pass through two or three brothers before moving to the next generation. A regular system

1. I Cunnison, History and Genealogies in a Conquest State, (American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, 1957) pp 20-21; see also I.A. Richards, Social Mechanisms for transfer of political rights in some African tribes, JR. of Roy. Anthrop. Inst. (1960) pp 175 -187.

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whereby a son succeeded his father came into use only at the beginning of the 19th century (See Table I.B.)

There exists today, four slightly different king lists, which were recorded before Kaggwa wrote his books. The first was made by Speke. It was incomplete and it consisted of only eight names, (see Table I.A.) The second list was recorded thirteen years later by H.M. Stanley in 1875. This was followed by two other lists made by the missionaries R.W. Felkin and C.T. Wilson. These were similar to Stanley's though they would seem to have been independently compiled. Then in 1901 appeared Kaggwa's Basekabaka with its authoritative list, which has been used ever since by the historians. It will be seen from Table I.A. that the lists of Stanley, Felkin and Wilson differ from Kaggwa's. One, however, prefers to accept the latter because it was based on more extensive inquiry. It consists of thirty names and according to Kaggwa, thirty reigns from Kintu to Mutesa I. According to the genealogical information provided by Kaggwa (see Table I.B.), these thirty reigns consist of twenty three generations. It seems, however, that this information contains at least one mistake. Kaggwa records Suna I as a brother of Mulondo and Jemba. But the evidence suggests that Suna

was a son or a nephew of either Mulondo or Jemba. If this is correct, we would have nineteen generations instead of eighteen from Kimera to Mutesa I.

In determining the number of generations contained in the royal genealogy, useful comparisons can be made with some of the clan and family genealogies during the same or part of the same period. One of the clans which preserved the genealogy of its ancestors for over a long period was the Oribi Antelope (Table II). The Ebika shows that this clan recorded seventeen successions from the reign of Kimera to that of Kamanya. These successions are made up of thirteen generations, that is six less than the royal family contains during the same period. This large difference is explained by the extraordinary longevity of two clan heads whose tenure of office covered between them eleven reigns. We have also the Siga of Kajugujwe, that is a sub-branch of the Mushroom clan which has twelve successions from Kateregga to Mutesa I, inclusive (Table III). These consist of eight generations, that is exactly the same number as the royal family reckons during the same period. The third example is that of the descendants of King Kagulu who was deposed during the 18th century. Their genealogical list consists of seven successions from Kagulu to Cwa II, inclusive. (Table IV). These seven successions

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are made up of seven generations, that is exactly the same number as the royal family has during the same period. The genealogical list of the heads of the Ant (Kinyomo) clan, records thirteen successions from Mutebi or Juuko to Cwa II. The traditions of the clans, however, do not state the genealogical relationship of the successors. If we assume that sons succeeded their fathers, we would get ten generations; that is exactly the same number reckoned by the royal family during the same period (Table V). The family of Bwakamba (Table VI) which claims to have emigrated to Buddu during the reign of Mutebi or Juuko, records twelve successions up to 1936. If one assumes that successions were son to father, one obtains five generations from Mutebi to Junju. That is the same number as the royal family reckons during the same period. The final examples are derived from Gorju.¹ According to him, the genealogical list of the family of Nkuutu showed seven generations in the 1900s. Tradition claims that the first Nkuutu was appointed by Mawanda to be the chief of the fleet.² A comparison of the genealogy of Nkuutu and that of the royal family, shows that the former reckons only one extra generation during the same period. Bishop Gorju

1. op.cit. pp. 107-117.

2. See Chapter V.

further calculated that the Hippo clan reckoned seven generations from Nakibinge to Junju inclusive. That is three generations less than the royal family. It is clear from these comparisons that differences exist between the royal genealogy and those of the clans. One should, however, remember that some heads of the clans lived much longer than the kings who were continually exposed to the plots not only of rivals but also of groups of chiefs. Nevertheless, in cases of divergencies, one would prefer to rely on the royal genealogy, because unlike the individual clans the preserving of its chronicle was the responsibility of all the clans.

It is also important to determine how a series of generations should be reckoned because this depends on the system of succession. In Buganda where the system was not based on primogeniture, a generation should be reckoned from the ^{birth} death of the first to the ~~death~~ death of the last brother. This, as Professor Oliver has pointed out, tends to make a rather long generation.¹ A chronological computation of the Baganda dynasty should start with the reign of Kimera because Kimera would appear to have been a real historical figure - a claim which cannot

1. Ancient Capital Sites in Ankole, Ug.J. Vol 23/1 (1959) pp. 51-63.

be made with certainty for Kintu and Cwa I, his two predecessors. The second datum point should be 1884, the death date of Mutesa I. Mutesa was the last Muganda King who lived like his predecessors, that is before the introduction of modern medicine and the colonial administration.

At the beginning of the present investigation, the writer thought that it would be possible to fix at least two absolute dates for the Kiganda dynasty. His confidence rested mainly on the then existing evidence which consisted of at least two Kiganda and Kinyoro traditions. The first was the claim made by the Banyoro that the two dynasties of Buganda and Bunyoro, had common origins and that their genealogies had a common starting point.¹ But according to the evidence, the claimed association of King Kimera in Buganda and the Babito in Bunyoro would appear to be a patriotic fiction.² This view is enhanced by the fact that any chronological computation based on the Kinyoro claim that Kimera was a contemporary of Rukidi, only brings the disagreement into sharper focus. And the supposed contemporary rulers in the two kingdoms, are thereby separated by nearly three generations, which is

1. K.W. Abakama Ba Bunyoro Kitara, Ug. J. Vol. 3/2 (1935); J. Nyakatura, Abakama ba Bunyoro Kitara, (Canada 1947)
 2, See Chapter II.

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rather too large a discrepancy. It ought to be stressed, however, that the real area of doubt, exists only in the first parts of each genealogy. This being so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Kimera antedated Rukidi in Bunyoro by perhaps one or two generations. It is possible also that Kiggala, the third successor of Kimera in Buganda, to whom tradition assigns an exceptionally long reign, was the real contemporary of Rukidi, the first Mubito ruler of Bunyoro. The second important tradition concerned the reign of Nakibinge in Buganda. The traditions of Bunyoro and Buganda agree that there was a major war between the two countries during the reign of Nakibinge. The Kinyoro traditions identify the King of Bunyoro as Olimi I, and assert that after he had defeated Nakibinge, he led another campaign to the south west of modern Uganda where he observed an eclipse at Biharwe. Where total eclipses can be identified with particular kings, they provide a basis for calculating absolute dates. Thus, the information on the reigns of Nakibinge and Olimi I has for a long time been regarded as a vital clue to when

these two kings lived.¹ One of the following 1464, 1492, 1506, 1520 and 1546 have been suggested as possible dates for the eclipse at Biharwe. Unfortunately some of these eclipses were not total, but a more serious point is that Olimi cannot be identified with any one of them. This and the evidence on Kimera, suggest that the Banyoro genealogy is an unsatisfactory basis for calculating the chronology of the Kiganda dynasty as it has hitherto been done.²

On the Kiganda side, tradition mentions two reigns during which eclipses may have occurred. The first is the reign of Mulondo, the successor of Nakibinge.³ But as in the case of Olimi, no single eclipse has so far been identified with Mulondo. Further research may reveal that the two kings presumably saw the same eclipse. The second reign is that of Juko. According to Oppolzer, the eclipse which tradition associates with Juko, occurred on 30th March 1680.⁴ But the evidence provided by Dr. J.R. Gray, and Dr. Porter, has thrown doubt on the accuracy

1. E.B.Haddon, Ug. J. Vol. 21/2 (1957) pp 114-119; J. Sykes The Eclipse at Bihwarwe, Ug.J. Vol. 23/1 (1959) pp.44-50; Sir John Gray, The Solar Eclipse in Ankole in 1492, Ug.J. Vol. 27/2 (1963) pp. 217-222.

2. J. Sykes; The Eclipse at Bihwarwe

3. Oral evidence from Gasuza (of about 70 years) of Kojja, Kyaggwe.

4. T. von Oppolzer Canon der Finisternisse (Vienna, 1887) English translation by O. Gingerrich, (New York 1962).

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of Oppolzer's calculations. It would now appear that the eclipse of 1680 occurred some 120 miles to the north west of the modern county of Busiño, where Juko's capital was then. Dr. Gray argues that for the people in Busiro, the eclipse must have been 'partial' and the degree of noticeability very small indeed.¹ It seems now that 1680 can no longer be relied upon as a reliable date for Juko's reign. This leads to two conclusions. In the first place, it seems necessary that all the annular eclipses should be tracked on more accurate maps than Oppolzer's. Secondly, we need a number of absolute dates fixed not for the Kingdom of Buganda only, but for the whole of the Interlacustrine region. By making comparisons between the different genealogies, we may be able to establish absolute dates. Before this is done, we must rely on the existing relative chronologies.

1. All the maps prepared by Dr. Gray and Dr. Porter are in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Library, University of London.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BUGANDA

KINTU

these are the versions of the story of Kintu. Some people say that Kintu came from heaven and that his father was Ggulu the son of God. Once upon a time, God told his grandson Kintu and his wife Nambi to descend onto earth and beget children. "When going to earth," God warned Kintu, "You must set off very early in the morning so that your brother Walumbe¹ may not know where you have gone. Should you go with him, he will kill all your children." God having given this strict warning, Kintu agreed to begin his journey before the dawn of the following morning. But while he was descending, his wife Nambi remembered that she had left her chickens' millet behind. "I have left my chickens' millet in the porch, let me return and fetch it," she begged. But Kintu refused and said, "Don't go back. If you do, you will meet Walumbe." Nambi, however, did not listen to her husband, and leaving him on the way she returned to fetch the millet. When she reached the house, she took the millet from the porch, but on her way back, she suddenly met Walumbe

1. Lumbe: means death or disease. "Wa" is a prefix which personifies something. For example, Wa-lumbe means death personified.

who complained: My friends, why did you leave me behind? Wherefore the woman Nambi Nantutululu came together with Walumbe. When Kintu returned to report to God that Walumbe was following him, God retorted: Do not ask me anything. Go! Away with you. On hearing God's rebuke, Kintu began to reprimand his wife: You are the one who has brought Walumbe to me. You have ruined me. After Kintu had scolded his wife, all three of them went down to earth, but when Kintu begat children, Walumbe killed them. That is one version of the story of Kintu. The other one is told as follows: That Kintu landed at a port called Podi,¹ which was in the country of Bunyoro. From there he reached Kibiro with many of his followers. They were Bukulu and his wife Wada; Kyaggwe and his wife Ndimuwala; Kyaddondo and his wife Nansangwawo; Bulemezi and his wife Kweba; Mazinga and his wife Mbuubi.²

There are four main Kiganda traditions of Kintu, whose

1. Podi may have been a landing place either on the banks of the river Nile or on the lake Albert. Kibiro which is near the lake Albert, was famous as a source of salt.
2. For a detailed comment on these names, see the subsequent pages of this chapter.

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details differ according to the source. The mythical tradition recorded above, is best described by J.Miti.¹ According to him, the story of Kintu and his wife, was an essential part of Kiganda religion, but probably due to remoteness of time, it became mixed up with the national history. If what Miti asserts is correct, it throws more light on the characteristic features of traditional histories, where kingdoms and dynasties usually begin with Creation. Similar examples can be found in other states such as Ankole, Bunyoro and Rwanda.² It is thus important, that when dealing with traditional history, one must determine where mythology ends and where history begins. In the case of Buganda, history begins with the following version of the story of Kintu. So far as the names of the counties are concerned some of them appear in other traditions, as those of the pre-Kintu kings of Buganda.

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1. A short History of Buganda.
 2. Vansina J, L'evolution du royaume rwanda des origines a 1900(Brussels, 1962) p.1.

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Thus Kakoma claims that Wada was one of them,¹ and Ndimuwala appears in the local traditions of Kyaggwe as a contemporary ruler of Kintu in that district.

1. S.L.Kakoma, and others. Ekitabo Eky'abakyanjove ab'emmba mu Siiga lya Nankere ebukerere; Kampala. nd.
p.3.

Kintu built his first house at Seke and lived there for nearly three years. He then went to Gavu where he lived for about four years. On living Gavu, he came to Kibulala and lived there for five or more years. After Kibulala he came to Nabyungu and lived there for about eight years, during which he begat the following children: Nangoma, Lukedi and Wunyi. When he left Nabyungu he came to Namagabe and lived there for about thirteen years. Seeing that his children had grown up, he gave them the following territories: Nangoma who was a girl was given Bululi and from that time to the present, that country has always been called "The Obululi of Nangoma." Lukedi, a boy was given Bukedi. He settled there with some of his relatives and their descendants are still there. Turning to his other son Wunyi, Kintu said: Now you go back to our former capital of Kibulala and settle there. When Wunyi reached Kibulala, he begat the following children: The first was a girl and he called her Musenyu. The second was a boy whom he named Ntembe.

Kibulala which is in the county of Singo, is the site at about eighty miles on the Kampala-Hoima Road. Kinyoro traditions claim that it was the last capital of Wunyi L.

the fourth king of Bunyoro.¹ It would appear from the Kinyoro traditions also that Wunyi was a contemporary of Kayima, the seventh king of Buganda.

Having partitioned the country among his children, Kintu himself went and lived at Buzinde for three years. After that, he lived at Kasanga for four months and then returned to his old capital of Namagabe. Tying all his belongings, he left Namagabe and went to Ntirba which is today in Namuyonjo's country.² He settled in a village called Bweramondo for very many years; about twenty or more. Meanwhile, he inquired whether his grandchildren Musenyu, the girl and Ntembe the boy had grown up. He sent for them and when they came, he was overcome with joy and said to Musenyu: I have given you Kyeya. Whereupon Musenyu returned to her father Wunyi and told him that Kintu had given her

1. The chronological order of the Babito dynasty, differs from author to author. According to Mrs. A.E. Fisher, in Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda, op.cit. pp.111-130. Wunyi was the sixth king of Bunyoro. But K.W., (Ug.J.vol. 3/2 1935) pp.155-160, shows him as the fourth.

2. See chapter V.

Kyeeya. Wunyi gave her permission and going with some of her relatives, they settled in Kyeeya. To Ntembe Kintu gave Busoga, and he too went and told Wunyi: Grandpa has given me Busoga. Giving him permission, Ntembe went to Busoga with some of his relatives and settled there. That is why Busoga has always been called "The Obusoga of Ntembe", even to the present day.

This so called distribution of territory by the supposed founders of states, raises the question whether it merely indicates the splitting up of the migrational bands, or whether it is a legend which should not be treated seriously. Recent studies by Crazzolara and Southall, however,¹ seem to have lent dignity to this kind of traditional claim, and people who have accepted the view that Buganda was at one time a Province of Bunyoro, and that Kimera was a Munyoro, would appear to have partly relied

- 1.(i) J.P.Crazzolara, The Lwo, in three parts. (Verona, 1950), pp.67-90.
- (ii) A.Southall, Alur Society pp.397, (Cambridge, 1953); see also Alur Society and its Political significance. (Ug.J.vol.18/2 1954) pp.137-165.

on the claim made by Kinyoro tradition that this was so. But there are strong indications, that it was a common technique in traditional history to claim that the original founder of a state or a kingdom, ruled over a vast empire whose provinces were governed by his own sons or brothers or subject vassals. Thus, in addition to the assertions of Kiganda and Kinyoro traditions mentioned, one may cite also those of the Banyankole. According to them, Ruyonga the predecessor of the Bacwezi ruled over Ankole and Buganda.¹ Ndahura, the Mucwezi ruled over an area covering almost the whole of modern Uganda and the lake Province of Tanganyika. There may be some truth in the claims for the Bacwezi. Nevertheless one suspects that they are grossly exaggerated and are unsafe guides to determine the original sizes of some of the Interlacustrine kingdoms. So far as Ntembe is concerned it would appear that the original bearer of this name, was one of the earliest rulers of one of the southern Busoga states, and he may possibly have been a contemporary of Kintu in Buganda. However, a nother Kiganda tradition offers an equally significant alternative suggestion.

1. A.G.Katate and Kamugungunu, Abagabe Bankole, (Kampala 1955) p.9. H.F.Morris, A history of Ankole. (Kampala and Nairobi, 1962) p.7.

Gomotoka, states in Makula that the tradition is very recent and that it started after King Suna II had married a daughter of Ntembe. Because the woman was very beautiful and she was much loved by Suna, her father became famous at the Buganda court and he was even called the ruler of the whole of Busoga, whereas in fact he was ruler of only one of the southern Busoga states. One suspects also that because the tradition of Kintu is strong in the southern states of Busoga, Ntembe the father-in-law of King Suna, must have found it useful to link his genealogical origins with those of the supposed founder of the Buganda Kingdom. Similarly, the Kiganda and Kinyoro traditions which link Nangoma with the earliest rulers in Bululi would appear to be untrustworthy. During a close questioning of living informants in Bululi and Bunyara, the writer was repeatedly told that before the 19th century, Bululi was ruled by indigenous chiefs who, however, owed allegiance to the king of Bunyoro. But during the reign of Kyebambe III Nyamutikura, Nangoma, a Munyoro Princess, ruled Bululi, and henceforth, the country was called Obululi bwa Nangoma. (The Bululi of Nangoma).

Having given provinces to his grandchildren, Kintu left Bweramondo and lived at Butwala for about two months. When he left Butwala he lived at Ntinda for some three years and then went to Mangira¹ where he lived for nearly eleven years. Meanwhile he sent messengers to Busoga to enquire whether his grandson Ntembe had any children. When the messengers reached Busoga, they found that Ntembe's offspring was large and that his father Wunyi had sent him a spear and a chair. On their return, the messengers reported to Kintu: Your grandson is healthy and he has had very many children. His father sent him a chair and a spear. This news, made Kintu very happy.

After those events, Kintu left Mangira and settled at Buvu for very many years during which he used to travel to Buddu, Kiziba, and even to the islands of Sesse. After a stay of about fifteen years at Buvu, Kintu went to Bukesa and lived there for nearly six years. But after he had settled there, he was told of a snake called Bemba: It lives on Naggalabi² hill,

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1. Today, Mangira is a village in Kyaggwe, about twenty-three miles from Kampala.
 2. Naggalabi, is present day Buddo.

and it is the ruler of this country. Forthwith, Kintu took counsel with his chiefs and set off to attack Bemba. On leaving Bukesa, he spent the night at Njagalabwani and while he was there, a tortoise went and proposed to him: I shall help you and assassinate Bemba the snake. Kintu agreed and appointed the tortoise to be his general. When the tortoise reached Naggalabi, it said to King Bemba: I am a doctor, and therefore I cannot die. At night, my head and feet disappear and the same happens to these followers of mine. If you also did the samething, you would never die. When the night came, the chief and all the other tortoises hid their heads in their shells. Seeing that the tortoises' heads had disappeared, Bemba said: (to the chief tortoise) Tomorrow evening, you will cut off my head also. Hence when the evening came, Bemba summoned all his followers to have their heads cut off. Seeing that Bemba had gathered all his men, the chief tortoise said to the others: As soon as you see me beheading Bemba, you must do the same to his men. After killing Bemba and all his followers, the chief tortoise sent word to Kintu who immediately went to Naggalabi, collected all the snakes and burnt them. After that, Kintu set off, and after spending one night in Namagoma, he returned to his home in Bukesa.

But the story of Bemba cannot be true. How could a mere snake have been the ruler of the country as if it

were a human being? It is possible that Bemba and others were real human beings. Moreover, from the story of Bemba, Baganda kings derived the following saying: 'That King Bemba cannot make a friendly visit, he always raids. I personally inquired closely into the tradition of Bemba, but no one seemed to know it. Thus whatever I learnt, was told with hesitation and doubt.

Kaggwa supplies more details regarding the episode of Bemba and Kintu. According to the account in Ebika (p.41) Efudu and Lugave would appear to have been personal followers of Mukiibi, the head of the Manis clan who had been forced to flee because of the persecution by Bemba. This particular tradition is the one supported by the other indigenous clans which claim to have been in the country before Kintu. If the tradition is correct, one can make the inference that the success of Kintu in establishing himself, was brought about by the military aid of Mukiibi and his followers.

Having killed Bemba, Kintu left Bukesa and went to Nnono hill. Living there for seven years, he moved to

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Magonga and built himself a capital which is still there. Meanwhile, Kintu had beght other children such as Mulanga, Cwa Nabakka and many others. All these children grew up and Mulanga learnt to work in iron. In addition to that, he used to hunt game and gave plenty of meat to his friends. Originally, the Baganda did not eat meat. It was Mulanga who taught them to do so because of the wild game he used to kill. Mulanga was also very wealthy. Thus whenever people went to him to buy meat or any other thing, he would say: This is worth two beads or three seeds. If the customer said that he could not pay cash, [Mulanga would sell to him all the same]. If he went to pay his debt on the following day, Mulanga would return the beads or the seeds¹ [as the case may be]. This became the origin of the saying of the princes: At Bulanga where we live, there are no debtors.

Kintu was now an old man and so were his sons such as Mulanga, Cwa Nabakka and others. Leaving them at Magonga, he went to Buva to look at the state of his belongings. On his return to Magonga, he found that his chief wife Nambi

1. This is the first and only traditional evidence we have on what might have been the form of currency used in very early days.

Nantutululu, had committed a crime by introducing a man in the household. When Kisolo saw the man, he caught him and put him in the stocks. He did not, however, tell Kintu of the case thinking: My master is too tired now. I shall tell him of the case tomorrow. But when Kintu discovered what had happened, he became very angry and even suspected that it was Kisolo himself who had committed the crime. Forthwith, Kintu summoned Kisolo and told him to state his case: Seeing that you were tired, Kisolo pleaded, I thought that it would be better to tell you on the following day. Very suddenly Kintu speared Kisolo and the deputy fled to Buzungu with his wounds. Seeing that Kisolo had disappeared, Kintu sent out people to look for him. When they discovered him at Buzungu, they said: Come with us, Kintu is seeking for you. Kisolo agreed to go with Kintu's messengers, but when they reached Nseke he himself died. Thereupon, the messengers went and told Kintu that Kisolo had died at Nseke. Conscience stricken, Kintu ran away and vanished because homicide was unknown during those days. That was after he had lived at Magonga for twenty-five years. By the time he disappeared he was one hundred and twenty Kiganda years old. That is sixty-two years of the European Calender¹

1. In traditional Buganda, the modern year of a Western Calender, consisted of four Kiganda years. The method of reckoning was facilitated by the fact that there were normally two wet and two dry seasons, each of which was called

When Kintu disappeared, the chiefs wanted to make Mulanga his eldest son the next king. But realising that his father had not died, Mulanga feared to succeed him and vanished also. Then the chiefs began to look for Kintu and Mulanga, but without success. They therefore decided to make Cwa Nabaka the next king. The following were Kintu's most important chiefs with whom he ruled the country¹ :-

- Prime ministers:
- 1. Kisolo of the Otter clan.
 - 2. Kakulukuku of the Scaly ant-eater.

- Mugema
- 1. Bwoya of the Monkey clan.

The inclusion of Mugema among Kintu's chiefs, creates more doubts in Kaggwa's list of chiefs especially those of the early period. It contradicts not only what Kaggwa himself says elsewhere in the text and in his other books, but also the whole of the Kiganda tradition which asserts that the office of Mugema was created by King Kimera.

(continuation of foot note from the previous page)

Omwaka (a year). It is not clear therefore, why Kaggwa should divide the year in the Western Calender into two Kiganda years. It may be that his division was based on the tax levies, which were probably made once every two Kiganda years, that is about every six months of the Western Calender.

1. This list of chiefs does not appear in the Original Edition of Bassekabaka.

[The whole of the following paragraph does not appear in ^{the} original
the Edition of Bassekabaka]

Bukulu and his wife Wada, came also with Kintu. When they separated, Bukulu went and settled in the Sesse islands where he begat the following three children: Laba, Wanga and Musisi. When they grew up, they too had the following children: Wanga begat Muwanga; Musisi begat Wamala and Wanema himself begat Mukasa and Kyobe K^bituuka. When Mukasa grew up he begat the following: Nende, Kirabire, Musoke and Mirimu. But when these grew up, none had any issue of his own. And after their deaths, they became the gods whose evil spirit used to deceive the people and continue to do so even to this day. The reason why their spirits were worshipped, was that, during their lifetime, they were given as much respect and honour as the kings themselves. As a matter of fact, the kings (of Buganda) also, used to pay great respect to them by sending their own sons and daughters to be brought up in their court. Many royal drums also such as the Mujaguzo used to be sounded in their honour. The following people (who came with Kintu) died in the countries which were named after them: Bulemezi, Kyaddondo, Kyaggwe, Mazinga, Singo and Sesse.

Bulemezi: This is one of the northern counties of Buganda. Before the reign of Mawanda, practically the

whole of modern Bulemezi was still Bunyoro territory and it was called Rugonjo.¹

Kyaddondo: is the name of the central county and it is today the heart of Buganda. With Busiro and Mawokota, Kyaddondo probably formed the original nucleus from which the kingdom of Buganda grew. The Nvuma clan (Ebika p.58), claims that the county derived its name from the founder of their clan who was called Kyaddondo. The place where he first settled and where he died was the one originally known as Kyaddondo. But as time went on, the name was applied to a larger administrative unit. Kyaggwe is one of the largest, richest and agriculturally one of the most fertile counties of Buganda.

Singo: According to the traditions of the Bacwezi recorder by Gorju,² this would appear to be one and the same as Isingo which was given to Muyenje when the Bacwezi took over the Basita kingdom, and partitioned it among themselves. As far as its original location is concerned, Singo would appear to have formed part of the

1. K.W.op.cit.Ug.J.vol.4/1 (1937) pp. 75-83; Nyakatura, op. cit.pp.104-105. But according to J. Kyagambiddwa, (African Music from the Source of the Nile (New York, 1955), p.16 the name Bulemezi originated from Rameses II who was one of the ancient rulers of Egypt. Kyagambiddwa's conclusion, would appear to have been based on the assumption once widely held that the Interlacustrine states were conquered by peoples of the Cushitic races and that these peoples brought with them the names of their ancient Pharaohs.

2. op.cit.pp.

modern county of Busujju and possibly of Gomba. It may thus have been an extension of the kingdom of Bwera. Gomotoka claims that the name Singo originally applied to a place in Busujju. But today Singo is one of the largest counties of Buganda.

Sesse: This is the name collectively applied to a large number of islands in the western part of lake Victoria. It was officially made an independent county of the Buganda kingdom in 1900.

Mazinga may have been the name of one of the petty rulers in the islands which are in the eastern part of lake Victoria. Traditionally, the name would seem to have collectively applied to all the islands which today form part of the Buganda kingdom, and which are known as Buvuma. Unlike Sesse, Buvuma remained independent of Buganda for a long time, but in 1900, the islands were formally made a county of Buganda.

As far as Bukulu was concerned, it would appear from the text that he was one of Kintu's great contemporaries. It seems also that he established himself in Sesse as a ruler. At that time, Buganda and Sesse may have been sister states each with its own dynasty, but most probably of the same origins. This

may account for the friendship which existed between the two countries. It is improbable, however, that all Bukulu's descendants died without issue as Kaggwa asserts. One suspects that this event marked the end of Bukulu's dynasty and of the independence of Sesse as a separate state. It is impossible to say when this happened. But it probably took place between the reigns of Nakibinge and his three successors.¹ Another interesting aspect of the history of Bukulu and the people of Sesse, is their possible connection with the Bacwezi. In Buganda, the tradition of the Bacwezi hardly exist. But if one carefully examines the legends of the Bacwezi in Bunyoro and Ankole, one is struck by a possible connection between the name Bukuku which is prominent in the Bacwezi legends and Bukulu of Sesse: Bukuku of the Kinyoro tradition belonged to the Baranzi clan which is the same as the Otter clan in Buganda. In Buganda, the Otter clan is most numerous in the islands of Sesse. Nyinamwiru, the daughter of Bukuku was the mother of Ndahura, the reputed founder of the Bacwezi dynasty. The Kiganda version of the name Nyinamwiru is Namuddu, and it is very common in the Otter clan. Isimbwa, the father

1. See chapter III below.

of Ndahura, had another son called Mugasa. Thus on the Bunyoro side, Mugasa was a grandson of Bukuku. On the Kiganda side, Mukasa also appears as a grandson of Bukulu. Moreover, in Kiganda tradition Wamala, a descendant of Bukulu, is connected with the origins of the lake Wamala in Singo. In the Bacwezi traditions, Wamala, a brother of Ndahura, is also connected with the origins of the same lake. Among the Banyankole, and even among the Banyoro, the Bacwezi have been deified just as the Baganda and the Basese have deified the descendants of Bukulu, such as Mukasa, Wanema, Nende, and others. All these indications of a possible connection may mean nothing more than that the Baganda borrowed the traditions of the Bacwezi and adapted them to their own. Nevertheless, one strongly suspects that there is much more to these common connections which pose a problem worth further investigation.

KING CWA I.

When the chiefs saw that they had no king to rule over them, they chose Cwa Nabaka. After that they appointed Wamala to succeed his father Kisolo. Kisolo's death gave rise to the saying that the responsibilities of being

a minister, killed Kisolo). Cwa built his capital at Bigo¹ and lived there for many years, during which he begat a son called Kalemera. When Kalemera grew up, he was told that his grandfather Kintu and his uncle Mulanga had mysteriously disappeared and that no one knew where they had gone. Fearing that his father might also disappear, Kalemera began to watch him very closely and said to himself: should he disappear, we shall be together. Resenting the manner in which his son watched him, the king devised a plan and called Walusimbi the Sabaddu. When he came the king said to him: Bring false accusations against Kalemera, perhaps this will stop him from guarding me. That was why Walusimbi alleged that Kalemera had committed adultery with his wife. But there was no truth in that accusation. It was made only to stop Kalemera from watching his father. Nevertheless, when the chiefs assembled and heard the case they declared Kalemera guilty, whereupon Walusimbi demanded a very heavy fine.

Then the king said to the chiefs: Choose men to accompany my son to Bunyoro. My brother Wunyi, the king of Bunyoro, will help him to raise the funds and pay the

1. Bigo is a small village in the county of Busiro, and it has no connection with the Bigo earthworks in Bwera.

fine. Thus each chief nominated a man: Bwoya, nominated Mulegeya; Kasujja nominated Sebatta; Kagolo nominated Mpinga; Wakayiba, who used to herd Kintu's cattle, nominated Mazige; many others were also nominated by the chiefs and the clans. On the morrow, Kalemera set off for Kibulala where his uncle Wunyi the king of Bunyoro was. Wunyi was so pleased to see his cousin that he allowed him to sleep in the same house with Wanyana, his chief wife. But when Kalemera saw that Wanyana was beautiful, he seduced her and she conceived immediately.

Although the Kiganda tradition of Kimera's birth by Wunyi's wife, is most probably a subterfuge, the account given here has at least one important point. Among the Bahima of Ankole, it was a common custom to allow a relative to share a bed with the host's wife. Kaggwa's account might well be an indication that Wunyi and Kimera were Bahima or they were people who had similar customs though they may not necessarily have been of the same ethnological origins as the present Bahima of Ankole.

As soon as Kalemera realised that Wanyana was pregnant, he confided to Mulegeya saying: I have committed adultery

with lady Wanyana. On hearing this, Mulegeya thought of a plan and said: Because the king is my personal friend, let me go and tell him the following story. Hence when Mulegeya came before king Wunyi, he said: An oracle told me to come and warn you that if one of your wives commits adultery, you must never look at her again. Neither should you punish her. Instead, she must be removed from the palace and have a special house built for her outside. And as soon as she has given birth, the baby must be taken from her and thrown in a clay pit. Once all this has been fulfilled, your Majesty will be healthy and have a long life.

The episode of Kimera's birth, seems to be reproduction of the story of Ndahura the Mucwezi hero.¹ Because the traditions of the Bacwezi are scanty in Buganda, one may infer that the Baganda copied the story either from the Banyoro or from the Banyankole. But on the other hand, this may be an indication of a common source from which some of the traditional myths of the Interlacustrine States were drawn. Whether or not this was due to the influence of the Bacwezi, it is difficult to say.

1. Nyakature, op.cit. p.31.

King Wunyi took Mulegeya's advice because he was his favourite and because he used to make the royal pots. On returning to his home, Mulegeya related every thing to Kalemera, whereupon the latter said: Let me go to the king at once and ask for his permission to return to Buganda. Once the king gave his permission, Kalemera and some of his father's men such as Lwabiriza, Kalago, and Kigu, set off for Buganda. But Mulegeya and several others stayed in Bunyoro. Two days after Kalemera had left Bunyoro, he fell ill and died on the way. Thereupon, the chiefs who were with him cut off his head, wrapped it in a hyena's skin and carried the body to Kyasa in Busiro where it was buried. Arriving at the capital, the men who had carried Kalemera's head found that King Cwa had also mysteriously disappeared. This was the reason why Cwa disappeared: One day, he set off to go to Magonga and find out whether his father Kintu had returned. But while he was on his way to Davula, he met a man who told him that Kintu had come back. Conscience stricken because of the fear of his father, he decided to go into hiding on the plain of Davula. Cwa's disappearance gave rise to the saying that "Amasuubisuubi Gali Edavula".¹ People

1. One is not sure of what Kaggwa really meant. The word "Amasuubisuubi" is probably a derivation from "Okusuubira" to hope.

coined this saying because those of them who were at the capital of Bigo, thought that the king was at Magonga while those who were at Magonga thought that he was at Bigo. Thus it was after sometime, that they learnt of the King's disappearance. But they were not sure whether he was eaten by wild beast. This story is therefore rather doubtful.

Having proved that Cwa had been lost forever, and that his son had died on the way from Bunyoro, the chiefs chose Walusimbi who was the Prime minister, to rule over them. After a period of many years, the chiefs became dissatisfied with his rule, accused him of having been responsible of Kalemera's going to Bunyoro, and finally deposed him. They then appointed Sebwana to be their Prime minister. A few years hence, Nabugwamu came from Bunyoro and told the chiefs that Kalemera's son Kimera was already a grown up man and he had even grown up children. His wife Namagembe was the mother of Magembe. As soon as the chiefs proved that Kimera was a real son of Kalemera, they sent Nabugwamu to return to Bunyoro and fetch him. Harrying back to Bunyoro, Nabugwamu related to Kimera the whole story of his father and the mysterious disappearance of his grandfather. The country is without a king, he told Kimera, and this is why you are being invited to become their king. Having been convinced by Nabugwamu's reasons, Kimera agreed to go to Buganda. He

consulted with his mother, with Katumba who was the successor of Mulegeya; and with his uncles. These were Masembe, Balitema Kajubi, and Kalanzi, Like their sister Wanyana, these were Bahima. They gave their consent and after that Kimera took counsel with Mpinga, Gunju, Mazige, Kayira, Sebatta, and Kasujja. After the meeting, they waited until the sun had set and as soon as it was dark, they began their journey.

Curiously enough, the names Kaggwa records as those of the men who accompanied Kalemera to Bunyoro, and those who accompanied Kimera from Bunyoro, appear also in the Kinyoro traditions. According to Nyakatura,¹ these same men were appointed by Rukidi to escort his twin brother Kimera to Buganda. It is difficult to say whether the tradition was common among the Banyoro as well. However, as it has already been pointed out in chapter I, it may well be that Nyakatura copied the story from Kaggwa rather than vice versa. Another important point mentioned in the tradition is that Kimera had fully grown up children who, however, are

1. op.cit.pp.86-87.

not mentioned again in Kiganda tradition. The tradition at least seems to suggest that by the time Kimera came to Buganda, he was not a young man. And one can infer from this, that his reign in Buganda was not very long.

On leaving Kibulala, they spent the night at Magala, where Natigo was. The Natigo inquired: Who are these coming through the back entrance (of my house) as if they were princes? When he heard this, Kimera, replied that they were indeed princes. Whereupon Natigo went outside his house, saw Kimera and gave him hospitality with all his followers. He did this because he had satisfied himself that Kimera was a real prince. After staying one night at Natigo's in Magala, Kimera spent the next night at Namakagga's.

Leaving his mother at Namakagga's Kimera marched on and slept at Temangalo, where he killed a buffalo because he was an out standing hunter. After Temangalo, he spent the next night at kibibi.

If what Kaggwa says about Magala and Natigo is correct, it would have been a vital piece of evidence to

strengthen the tradition that Kimera came from the Bunyoro court at Kibulala. But a careful study of the local histories of the districts in the neighbourhood of Magala, suggests that Natigo's fame and importance in Buganda history is comparatively recent. For example, Kiganda and Kinyoro traditions show that the district in which Magala is situated did not become Buganda territory until about the reign of Kateregga. This assertion was corroborated by information obtained by the writer from living informants in this district. One is thus led to make the inference that Kiganda tradition which has presented Natigo as the man who welcomed Kimera, is false. Further evidence obtained by the author from interviews, suggests that Natigo himself was most probably an indigenous clan chief in that area, but after the district had been annexed by Buganda, he joined the Manis clan which was the same as his own. In order that he might strengthen his claim to privileges and honour at the Buganda court, he did what many clansmen have always done. He linked his clan's history with that of one of the earliest rulers. Since Kimera was traditionally known to have come from that direction, he was the most

obvious peg onto which to hang all Natigo's clan pretentions.

Meanwhile, Sebwana who had heard of Kimera's approach, sent his wives to meet him. He also sent out many other people to go and bring beer and other things in preparation of a feast for Kimera. But because the servants who had been sent to bring these things were long in returning, Sebwana followed them. When he returned with beer and other things, he heard the sound of the drums, and putting the pot of wine on the ground, he fled to the island of Bira. The spot where he placed the pot, was named Nsumbi and even today, it is still known by that name. After Sebwana had fled, one of his men complained to the chiefs who were present: Why did you betray your friend before he even returned? The man who made this complaint was immediately seized and handed to Mpinga. That was why Mpinga became a royal executioner though he was formerly Kimera's herdsman.

The following were the chiefs of King Cwa, with whom he ruled the kingdom. [One assumes that the chiefs were of King Cwa and not of Sebwana. But Kaggwa does not state which]

- Prime minister: Walusimbi of the Civet cat clan.
- Kaggo: Walusimbi of the Civet cat clan.
- Mugema: Bwoya of the Monkey clan. He was originally appointed by Kintu with whom they came.
- Kayima: When Mugalula of the Grasshopper clan joined the service of the king of Buganda, he gave Kalibbala, his brother to King Cwa Nabaka. Originally, Kalibbala was Cwa's herdsman. Because of this, he became a favourite of the king and he was subsequently promoted to the chieftainship of Kayima.¹

¹. See Chap. IV below.

KING KIMERA.

Soon after Kimera had become king, he made the following appointments: Katumba was appointed Mugema; Sebatta became the Kaggo; Nabugwamu became the Kangawo; Mpawulo was appointed Mukwenda and Sekinyomo became the Sekiboobo. After the appointment of Katumba, the King said to the chiefs who were present: Katumba is like my real brother because we both sucked the same nipples. I did not know my mother, but Katumba's nursed me as if I were her own child, so did his father, Mulegeya. He brought me up also as if I were his son. It was not until after I had reached a certain age, that I knew my real parents. Now see, Katumba has protected me even up to here in Buganda. Because of this, neither he nor any of his descendants must ever be speared. All my successors must understand this, and they must treat Katumba most respectfully because he is their father. With this oration, and taking some copper bangles, Kimera put them on the legs of Katumba's sons, Kisambu and Mande. Hence, even to-day their descendants still wear them and they are called the sons of Mugema.

Mugema: the title, properly belongs to the head of the Monkey clan though he was traditionally also, the ritual

father of the King as well as the county chief of Busiro. According to Kaggwa, it was because of the great service which Katumba's parents did in nursing Kimera, their foster child, that Katumba was created Father of the Realm [Nakazadde W'Obuganda]. From the days of Kimera, until the reign of Mutebi, Mugema used to perform one of the most important accession ceremonies, namely that of investing the new king with a double knotted barkcloth. But King Mutebi relieved Mugema of his functions at the accession ceremony, and conferred them on Kasujju of the Manis clan. Henceforth, Mugema's most important function was to bury the dead kings. It was probably because of his funeral duties that he was called "The Prime minister of the dead." [Katikkiro wabafu]. It has also been suggested that it was because of his mortuary duties that Mugema became the chief of the county of Busiro, which contained most of the royal jawbone shrines. As a result of his ritual importance at the court, Mugema had many hereditary rights and privileges. He was, for example, one of the few men in the country, entitled to greet the king standing. Normally he could not be dismissed from his office, nor could he easily be condemned to death like other chiefs. If, however, he was condemned, he could not be speared, because death

by the spear was considered to be unbecoming for people of importance.

After that, Kimera left Ganda and built another capital on Masanafu hill in Kyaddondo and lived there for a very long time. On leaving Masanafu, he built another capital at Lubaga (Kikandwa) in Kyaddondo, where he again lived for a very long time. After leaving Kikandwa, he moved to Nsambya in Kyaddondo, and lived there for many years; and while he was there, he begat Prince Lumansi and other children. When he left Nsambya, he built another capital at Mulume in Busiro, where he again lived for a very long time, and his children became of age. Meanwhile Wanyana, his mother died and she was buried at Lusaka. Her death grieved Kimera so deeply that he buried his umbilical cord called Lukungo at Nabulagala village which was near Lunnyo in Busiro. The reason why Kimera buried his umbilical cord was that his mother used to look after it, and now that she was dead, he himself did not think it worth the trouble of preserving it. After those events, men came and told the king that there were large numbers of cattle at Kalagala's in Busoga. Thereupon Kimera called his son Lumansi and all the chiefs and said: I have appointed Lumansi to command an

expedition to Busoga. Go and plunder that country and bring us cattle. After his appointment as general, Lumansi swore the oath of allegiance, protested his bravery and returned to his home whence he set off for the expedition. But he fell ill and died on the way. Hence the army stopped its march and returned.

Before he died, Prince Lumansi had had a son called Tembo. When Tembo grew up, his grandmother Nakku told him: Your grandfather, Kimera, killed your father. But the truth was that the woman made a false accusation because Prince Lumansi died a natural death. Nevertheless, the accusation grieved Prince Tembo so deeply that a few days later he began to plot to assassinate his grandfather. At first, he looked for an opportunity to assassinate the king but without success. But one day some hunters came and told him (Kimera) that they had traced a bushbuck. And on hearing this, the king collected all his hunting nets, his blowhorn, and taking his dog called Semagimbi, he went to hunt. After the nets had been laid, Kimera went into the bush with his dogs. When the beast galloped away towards Tembo, the king pursued it. But while he did so, Tembo stealthily followed behind and clubbed him to death. It was a terrible and most shocking thing.

He was one and the same Katumba with whom Kimera was suckled as a twin: While Katumba's mother was weaning him, she was told to wean Kimera also and thereby a commoner and a prince sucked the same nipples.¹

- Kangawo: Nabugwamu Kakebe of the Lung-fish clan.
- Kasujju: The chieftainship of Kasujju was given to Balittema Kajubi, Kimera's uncle of the Grasshopper clan. This is the gentleman [Kaggwa uses an endearing term for a clans man] who was the brother of lady Wanyana. They came together from Kibulala in Bunyoro and accompanied Kimera when he was coming to succeed his grandfather Cwa Nabaka as king.

KING TEMBO IV

Tembo became king when he succeeded his grandfather Kimera whom he had assassinated. His sister Nattembo became the Queen Sister. [In Empisa Kaggwa shows Nattembo to have been

1. This paragraph appears only in the 1927 and subsequent editions of Baasekabaka.

[King Tembo's mother]. After completing the funeral rites, Tembo built himself a capital at Ntinda but after sometime, he left Ntinda and built another capital on Busiro hill. He lived there for a very long time and had the following children: Sewannaku, Kiggala, Mukabya, Kangubu,¹ Lutimba and others. When they grew up, the king took Prince Kiggala and his sister Nazibanja to Muganvula to be dedicated [to the gods]. He left them there, but after a few days Nazibanja was found to be with child by her brother, Kiggala. Learning of this shocking and most shameful news, the king told Mugema to appoint a man who would take Princess Nazibanja to Nagaddya's at Nkumba where she would be delivered.² Mugema chose a man called Kikera to escort her. When they reached Mawu hill, she was made to carry a stone so as to delay her delivery. Henceforward, that hill was named jinja (stone). But the device failed and she gave birth to Wasswa. Wasswa, however, was not a real baby and the spot where it fell became the source of the river Mayanja Kato [Mayanja

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1. Kaggwa's punctuation is rather confusing because, Sewannaku, Kiggala, Mukabya and Kungubu were names of one person.
 2. Nagaddya was the title of one of the maternal female relatives of the king. Among her many duties, was that of being the midwife of royal wives. See Empisa, pp.117-122, Roscoe, The Baganda op.cit.p.50-52, Nsimbi op.cit.p.139.

the Less]. But she gave birth to real human beings such as Mawempe and Semugalwa. Their after births were Bubula and Kagya. Today, the children of the princesses are called names such as these. Kiggala had all these children before he became king.

A few years afterwards, Tembo fell ill and became a violent lunatic. Seeing that he was very ill, his subjects took him to a doctor at Bukoto. When this doctor failed to cure the king's illness, he was taken to another doctor in Kitereke, but he also failed to cure him. He was then taken to another doctor at Nanjugwe, but again all was of no avail. He was by now very dangerously ill, hence his uncle, Nankere; fetched him from Nanjugwe and took him to another doctor at Semujuzi village. The doctor told Nankere that he administered his medicine through the sinews of a human being: I use those to make anklets, he said. After the king's followers had built the hut, they went to cut the grass. Thereupon the doctor told them: Arrest the first man to tie a bundle of grass. He further told them to arrest another man who was collecting plums. After that the two prisoners were taken to the house and killed. Nankere also sacrificed his own son, who was beaten with closed fists.

Then the sinews were removed from his body, after which his remains were buried. As soon as the sinews were dried up, they were made into anklets for the king to wear. Then

the doctor gave orders to return the king to Busiro. After the king had been carried from Semujuzi, the doctor told the men to turn the pot of medicine upside down, and he also made the king undergo the ceremony of purification.¹ At the end of these ceremonies, the doctor gave the order that all the prisoners who were at the capital should be massacred: If you do that, he said to the king, you will recover. But all those people were executed for nothing because the doctor did not cure the king of his madness. Hence when he reached his capital of Busiro, he lived for only a few days and died. His body was buried at Katikamu and the jawbone was stored in a wooden bowl in the capital of Busiro. The following were his most important chiefs:

- Prime minister: Kiridde of the Yam clan.
- Kaggo: Sebatta of the Colobus Monkey clan.
- Kangawo: Nabugwamu Kakebe of the Lung-fish clan.
- Mugema: Katumba of the Monkey clan.
- Kasujju: Balitema Kajubi of the Grasshopper clan.

The last three chiefs were first appointed by King Kimera.

For a description of this ceremony, see J.Roscoe, op.cit. pp.209-211.

The place which is known as Katikamu today, is at mile 34 on the Kampala-Masindi road. All the local traditions of Bulemezi, assert that the district in which this village is situated, was conquered from Bunyoro by Mawanda during the 18th century. It is doubtful therefore whether this is the same Katikamu. It seems possible that there was a village known by that name either in Busiro or in Kyaddondo and that was where Tembo was probably buried.

KING KIGGALA, V.

King Tembo was succeeded by his son Sewanaku Kiggala Mukabya Kungubu. After Kiggala had completed the mourning ceremonies, he built himself a capital at Kitala. When he left Kitala, he built another one on Bunwa hill and lived there for a very long time. During his residence there, many children were born to him such as Gogombe, Kiyimba, Wampamba and many others. On leaving the capital of Bunwa, he built another one at Manja, after which he lived at Nsaggu for a long time. When he left Nsaggu, he built another capital at Mpumudde, he lived there again for a long time. After Mpumudde, he lived at Kisubi. But while he was there, his full brother

Lutimba, went to fight him. When he learnt of Lutimba's approach, Kiggala himself fled to Kigungu in Entebbe and stayed there. A few days afterwards, Kasongovu the Prime minister brought a doctor to the king, and gave him a fetish called Simuwune. Having received the fetish, the king told Kasongovu to go and "plant" it on Wasozi hill. After it had been planted, Kasongovu returned to Kigungu and reported to the king that he had carried out the task. Hearing that his fetish had been planted, the king left Kigungu and came to Kisubi to fight. He appointed his sons, Gogombe, Kiyimba and Wampamba to attack Lutimba. As soon as they set off, they met Lutimba on the way and fought him. The honours being even on that day, they resumed on the next, but again the battle ended in a stalemate. But during the night of the third day, Lutimba's army had diarrhoea and also were very badly bitten by red ants. Hence some spent a sleepless night by the fire, while others suffered terribly from diarrhoea. When fighting resumed on the morrow, Kiggala's sons defeated Lutimba and he fled. When he reached Wasozi village, he spent the night there because that was where he had food to eat. For three days since fighting had began, Lutimba and his armies had not eaten any food. But after he had eaten, he developed acute stomach trouble and died. He was in fact killed by Kiggala's fetish which had been placed

in that village. After this, his men carried the body and buried it at Butugu village.

Meanwhile, Kiggala's sons returned, and when they told him how they had won the war, he laughed loudly and commended them saying, You are brave my sons. After those events, Kiggala left Kisubi, and built another capital at Kamuli, whence he lived at Bika and then at Kasanga. From Kasanga, he attacked a Munyoro called Toko, because he had settled at Muganvula, the very place where Kiggala and his sister had been dedicated to the gods by their father while they were still young. Having defeated and killed Toko, Kiggala himself built his capital at Muganvula. When he left it, he went to Bumbu and built another capital. After living there for a very long time, he returned to his old capital of Mpumudde. When he left Mpumudde he returned to Kisubi, another of his old capitals. He lived there for a very long time and grew extremely old. Meanwhile he called his son Kiyimba, and when he came, Kiggala said to him: Go to Mpumudde and become the king. I myself have grown too old, and have no more strength left. I shall stay at Kigungu. Kiyimba accepted. The following were Kiggala's most important chiefs:

Prime minister: Kasongovu of the Lung-fish clan.

Kaggo: Sebatta of the Colobus Monkey clan.

Kangawo: Nabugwamu Kakebe of the Lung-fish clan.

Mugema: Katumba of the Monkey clan. These two chiefs
 were first appointed by King Kimera.

Kasujju: Sebatindira of the Grasshopper clan.

KING KIYIMBA VI .

Kiyimba went to Mpumudde and became the king. A few years after his accession, he appointed Magunda to be the Prime minister and renamed him Ntege. The incident gave rise to the saying that the kingdom, belonged to Ntege and Kiyimba. But his reign was short because one day, while he was looking at the sky, a piece of grass dropped into his eye and made him blind. That was the cause of the illness from which he died. His death was the origin of the saying: That which is in the sky, makes the hen's neck to ache. People used to speak thus, because they believed that it was Kiggala's fetish which fell into the eye of Kiyimba and killed him. After his death, the body was buried and the jawbone was stored at Sentema in a wooden bowl.

Seeing that his son had died, Kiggala left Kisubi and went to his old capital of Manja. He lived there for very many years and grew very very old indeed. Hence he used to appeal to his chiefs that they should choose one of his sons to succeed him. But because the chiefs feared his fetish

which had killed Kiyimba, they said: We shall wait until after your death and then choose a successor. By the time he died, Kiggala was already dumb. His wives who wanted to get married again, used to play tricks upon him: For examples, they would come before him with their lovers, and as soon as they saw him raising his head, the men would thank him, pretending that he had given them wives. It was, however, the king's chief wives who used to give their subordinates to other men, because there was no one to watch over them. As Kiggala grew older, saliva used to flow out of his mouth and he even used to think that cooked bananas were fire.¹ He really died of senile decay. His body was buried in the capital of Manja, and the jawbone was taken to Dambwe and stored in a wooden bowl. The following were the leading chiefs with whom he ruled his kingdom:

Prime minister: Ntege of the Civet cat clan.

Kangawo: Nabugwamu Kakebe of the Lung-fish clan.

He was first appointed by Kimera.

Mugema: Sekiivu of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Luyombya of the Grasshopper clan.

1. When bananas are well cooked, they become reddish yellow, a thing which can confuse an old person who has lost some of his senses.

KING KAYIMA VII.

Wampamba the son of Kiggala did not become king, and this was the cause for his exclusion: While he was at Nsekwa village, he remained childless for a long time. He therefore decided to consult a doctor. Whereupon the doctor told him: Go and marry your maternal uncle's daughter. If you do that you will not fail to get a child. Hence, when Prince Wampamba saw his maternal uncle's daughter, he married her. She conceived a few days afterwards, and gave birth to Prince Kayima. Having weaned Kayima, lady Nabagereka gave birth to Prince Kyabayinze. When the two children grew up, Wampamba took them to see their grandmother Namulondo. When Namulondo saw them she scolded Wampamba and said: My son, why did you marry your "mother?"¹ You are "Semirabikizzi, byomira tebidda."² He confessed that he was given wrong advice by the doctor to marry his mother's younger sister and that he could not deny that he had done a most outrageous thing.

Because Wampamba had contracted an incestuous marriage, he was excluded from the succession when Kiggala died. Thus his son Kayima came to the throne in succession to his grandfather Kiggala. After his accession, he went to Nansenyi

1. In Luganda, the maternal aunt (sister of one's mother) is called the "young or junior" mother. The word aunt is used only for the sister of one's father.

2. Kagwa probably means that Wampamba behaved incestuously.

in Nanziga and completed the mourning ceremonies. A few years after his stay at Nanziga, Kayima married a girl called Nababinge from Wampona's family. She conceived soon after and gave birth to a son who was named Nakibinge like herself. While Kayima himself had settled peacefully in his capital, people came and told him that there was an extremely wealthy man at Nyendo in Buddu called Bwakamba. Hearing this, Kayima summoned his chiefs and after taking counsel with them, it was decided to make war upon Bwakamba.

Bwakamba would appear to have been the title of one of the leading chiefs in Buddu at the time of its conquest by King Junju. According to the local histories of Buddu, the person who first bore the name of Bwakamba, emigrated to Buddu from the islands of Sesse during the reign either of Mutebi or of Juuko. If these traditions are correct, it seems that Kagwa used the title of a chief who lived generations after Kayima as if he was his contemporary. As it was explained in the Introduction, Kagwa used expressions but particular titles of recent origins as if they were as ancient as the monarchy itself. Kayima's expedition is significant because for the first time one sees a Muganda king making war upon Bunyoro territory. This provoked retaliatory measures from Wunyi I, the

then reigning king of Bunyoro. The Kinyoro sources in fact provide more information on the subject. According to them, Kayima did not die a natural death as Kagwa suggests. His army was heavily defeated and he himself died from a fatal wound he had received.¹

On reaching Nyendo, Kayima attacked Bwakamba, but he was defeated and while he was on his way back, he fell ill at Sunga and died. His body was ferried in a boat by Wampona. When the soldiers left Sunga, they spent the night at Buganga and thence at Bunjakko. After Bunjakko, they spent the next night at Zinga whence they slept at Bunjo. Fearing his sister's son Nakibinge, Wampona who was carrying the body, did not take it to the capital straight away. He first made several blood brotherhoods, and finally carried the body to the capital of Nanziga. After that, Wampona brought his nephew Nakibinge to place a barkcloth on his father's body. The body was finally buried at Kibone, and the jawbone was taken to Kongojje and stored in a wooden bowl and it is still there even today. The following were his leading chiefs with whom he ruled the country:

Prime ministers: 1. Sendikaddiwa of the Grasshopper clan.

2. Walugali of the Manis clan.

Kangawo: Ziveja of the Lung-fish clan.

1. K.W.op.cit.Ug.J.Vol 4/1, (1938) pp.75-83.

[Faint, illegible handwriting]

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE REIGN OF KINTU TO THE REIGN OF KAYIMA.

The Indigenous clans and the Pre-Kintu period.

Buganda, one of the oldest kingdoms in the Interlacustrine region, is today part of the newly independent State of Uganda. The people/^{who}number about one million and a half,¹ are called Baganda and their language is Luganda. They belong to the Bantu race which inhabits much of eastern, central and southern Africa. The subject of the Bantu migration and what first set them in motion, is still unresolved and it is beyond the scope of the present investigation. Nevertheless, it is clear from the evidence that about six centuries ago, Buganda was invaded by several waves of immigrants, mainly from the east and from the west. Tradition itself, associates the earliest immigrants with the name Kintu. It is necessary to point out, however, that the land which the immigrants occupied, was not empty. In spite of this,

1. The Economic Development of Uganda: Report of the International Bank, (Baltimore, 1961).

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the pre-Kintu period, remains the most obscure in the whole history of Buganda. And the text itself is not a useful source. Kaggwa's refusal to include in the text the traditions of the pre-Kintu period, may be described as one of the unfortunate omissions because it created the impression that the Baganda did not know their traditions before the arrival of Kintu with more clans. Fortunately, one can get an idea of what the situation was like from other traditional sources which were collected and written almost at the same time as Kaggwa wrote the Basekabaka.¹ But by 1912, Kaggwa seems to have changed his mind on the subject, because when he published his book of the clans (The Ebika), he included in it some of the traditions which had been missing in Basekabaka.

As we have explained in chapter I, above, the Ebika which contains the traditions of nearly all the clans, remains the best source for the history of the migrations.

Some writers of the pre-Kintu traditions, showed great interest in the questions which Kaggwa himself had

1. See the Bibliography.

not dealt with. These were the existence of the pre-Kintu dynasty of Kings and the origins of Kintu himself. Inevitably, these Baganda historians, did not always agree, and their disagreements showed a wide variety of traditions especially about the early period. The general picture one gets from these traditions is that before the migration of more clans, at least five were already in the country. And according to the scanty evidence we have, these constitute the earliest inhabitants of Buganda. But it is not known whether they were also immigrants who had arrived at an earlier period. Neither does one know exactly who they were. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that they were Bantu speaking living by agriculture, fishing and hunting.¹

1. See T.Kizito and L.Sekiti in Munno of 1914, 1915, and 1916. The traditions of the pre-Kintu period, claim that the Baganda were originally called Abalasangeye (those who kill colobus monkeys) because they were hunters.

So far as their political and social organisation was concerned, some Baganda historians have contended that before the Kintu migration, there was already a dynasty of kings and that Kintu himself descended from it. In support of this claim, they cite as an example, the existence of some jawbone shrines which traditions attribute to the pre-Kintu kings.¹ Besides the jawbone shrines, one is given a long list of names which are also claimed to belong to the pre-Kintu kings. These arguments, suggest that by the time of the Kintu migration, Buganda was already a unified state under a centralized monarchy. Nevertheless, despite the existence of some jawbones, a great deal of the information of the pre-Kintu period, is overlarded with fable and legend. Thus although names of kings are given, nothing else is known about the history of the individual rulers.

1. The claims of some of tradition regarding the jawbones, were confirmed by Professor R. Oliver in his survey of the Baganda Royal tombs. See The Royal Tombs of Buganda Ug. J. vol. 23/1 (1959) pp. 124-133.

And what is more,, one is not even sure whether these names represent royal families. The conclusion one is forced to draw is that, they were not of the rulers of Buganda, but of the individual clans which probably lived as separate communities. An alternative argument may be that, if by the time of the Kintu migration, Buganda was already a unified state, it was ruled by one of the leading clan heads. Support for this view, may be found in the traditions of the Banyoro which assert that Walusimbi of the Civet cat clan, was once the ruler of Buganda.¹ And Kaggwa himself describes Sebwana, the head of the Manis clan, as the ruler of Buganda after the so called disappearance of Kintu and Cwa I. The assertions of the Banyoro traditions, and what Kaggwa says about Sebwana in the text, could well be a true picture of what the situation was actually like before the Kintu migration.

The Immigrant Clans and the Traditions of Kintu.

Today, the Baganda are uniform in culture and language, and all the clans present a rather unique

1. J.Gorju, op.cit.p.158.

homogeneity. But despite the present homogeneity of the clans, their varied history suggests that they are of heterogeneous origins and the majority of them are the products of various waves of migrations. The histories of their journeys and the directions from which they came, are hinted at in their traditions. There are today, about forty clans in Buganda. They are largely exogamous, universally patrilineal and totemic. According to their individual histories, Baganda clans can be divided into five main groups. The first, which has already been mentioned, consists of the indigenous clans of the pre-Kintu period. In addition to these, about thirteen others claim to have come with Kintu. The third group consists of the clans which claim association with Kimera, and they seem to have come from the west of Buganda. Included in the fourth group, are the clans which claim to have emigrated from Sesse, probably during the 16th century. But unlike the latter two groups, this one neither associates itself with a single leader, nor does it claim to have formed part of a large migrational band as the others. The evidence in fact suggests that the Sesse group consisted of one or two clans only. The

fifth and final group is made up of the Buddu clans which joined those of Buganda after King Junju had annexed Buddu from Bunyoro during the 18th century.

In the text, Kaggwa states that Kintu and his followers came from Bunyoro. The traditions of the Banyoro themselves go further and assert that Kintu was one and the same person as Kimera and that he was a twin brother of Rukidi Mpuga, a Mubito.¹ According to Crazzolaro, the movements of Mpuga Rukidi, recounted by the Banyoro traditions, actually represent the southward advance of the Lwo one group of whom invaded Bunyoro and founded the present Babito dynasty.² Significantly enough, a comparison of Crazzolaro's account of the Pawirr group, corroborates very closely with Kaggwa's description of the movements of Kintu through Bululi, Bunyara and Bulondoganyi. For example, of the Pawirr, Crazzolaro writes,

Another possibility is that they turned east roughly following the course of the streams before swinging round the great curve and the sharp bend formed by the river in the region of Bululi. Where they crossed over. This was a common passage between Fajao and present day Acooli and Lango country in the past. Several other good landing places existed and were also used.

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1. K.W, op.cit; J.W.Nyakatura, op.cit.pp.86-88.
 2. op.cit.pp.67-112.

There is agreement also between this description and that of Zimbe¹ who argues that Podi which Kintu is claimed to have crossed, was on Kyoga. At first sight, this account seems to confirm the view that Kintu and his followers were Lwo and possibly Babito. But the difficulty in accepting this point of view, is that the migrations of the Lwo described by Crazzolara would appear to have taken place rather late for Kintu. Moreover, when one examines the political and social history of Buganda, one finds that the possibility of Kintu and his followers being Lwo, becomes all the more remote.² First of all, about thirteen clans claim to have been his followers. And if he had been a Lwo, one assumes that the majority, if not all his followers, were also Lwo. This being so, they should have left their mark on Kiganda society as they did in Bunyoro and in the other countries where they settled. But from the cultural, linguistic, political and social points of view, such influences are hard to

1. op.cit.pp.6-7; A Dry Crossing of the Nile E.S.Wayland Ug.J. vol.1/5 1934.
 2. See A.C.Wright's Review of the Lwo Migrations by J.Crazzolara (Ug.J.vol.16/2,1952) pp.81-88.

trace. It would thus appear that the precise connection of the Lwo migrations with Kintu, or of Kintu and Bunyoro, is at the moment still difficult to determine. The latter may in fact represent a series of genealogical fictions intended to legitimate Buganda or Bunyoro political influence. The reasonable conclusion would be that the Kiganda tradition of Kintu who came from Podi, possibly originated from the peoples of the border districts of Bululi, Bunyara and Bulondoganyi, some of whose ancestors may well have been Lwo. And because Kaggwa's informants came from all parts of Buganda, one suspects that those from the border areas of Buganda, would tend to confuse their local traditions with those of the nation, such as that of Kintu. The alternative suggestion is that they were Bantu who had moved away from the advancing Lwos and because of this they would know something about the Lwo traditions.

The text contains another surprising omission, namely that of the second and most important tradition of Kintu which is known by the clans. The Kintu of the clans, is associated with Bugesu and Busoga. According to the traditions of the Bagesu, for example, the Baganda were

part of a large migrational band which came from beyond the mountain Elgon. The traditions of the Basoga themselves, especially those in the southern states, are even more detailed than those of the Bagesu. And it is clear from these traditions that, to the Basoga, Kintu was as important as he was to the Baganda. For instance, his name was piously preserved and shrines were built to commemorate the stages of his journey through Busoga to Buganda.¹ These traditions suggest that a large number of the immigrants settled in south Busoga, while others crossed the lake and the Nile, went to Buganda and to the islands of Lake Victoria. The immigrants who settled in the islands, moved again and as a result of this, many of them spread to the lake side districts of Buganda, and modern Tanzania. This is suggested by the existance of certain common clans. For example, the Reedbuck and the Bird clans, are more numerous in the lake side districts of Kyaggwe in Buganda and Busoga. There is also a large number of people who belong to the Otter and Lung-fish clans in the lake side districts of

1. Y. K. Lubogo, History of Busoga (Kampala 1960); Gomotoka in Munno of 1918 and 1926.
See also, Sir John Gray, Ug. J. vol. 3/4 (1935) pp. 308-312.

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Kyaddondo, Busiro and Mawokota, in Buganda, and the islands of lake Victoria.

The traditions of these clans which claim to have come from beyond Mountain Elgon, have led to much speculation as to the real origins of the Baganda. For quite a long time, it was believed, especially by ethnologists that the Baganda were a Hamitic people, probably from Ethiopia. But modern opinion has tended to move away from this suggestion, and the subject itself, is more complex, requiring more thorough investigation. What one can say about these migrations from the east, is that they probably represented the earliest and largest wave of immigrants to Buganda.

The Bacwezi and The Significance of The Kintu Tradition.

Missing from Kaggwa's account of Kintu and indeed from the whole of the Kiganda tradition, are the traditions

of the Bacwezi. This is rather surprising because these traditions are wellknown among the Banyoro, the Banyankole and the Bannabwera.¹ One explanation for this may be that, because the Bacwezi were pastoralists, and because much of Buganda was unsuited to extensive cattle grazing, the Bacwezi confined themselves to the west of Buganda. Nevertheless, although the so called iterations of Kintu may seem legendary at first sight, they could on further investigation shed some light on the relationship of the Bacwezi and the early migrations to Buganda. This is suggested by the tradition which asserts that Kintu travelled through Buddu (a cattle area), and finally settled at Magonga. Magonga itself lies on what may possibly have been the eastern borders of the Kingdom of Bwera, which was probably the centre of the Bacwezi settlement. Another possible link between the Bacwezi and the immigrants of the Kintu period in Buganda, may be found in the name Cwa. Cwa himself is believed to have succeeded Kintu, after the latter had disappeared.

1. The traditions of the Bacwezi, are hardly known among the "Eastern Interlacustrine Bantu".

The name Cwa, is rather unusual in Buganda royal history. And what is more, tradition asserts that Cwa's capital was at Bigo in Busiro, a place which is quite close to Magonga.

Another possible connection between the Bacwezi and Kintu, could also be found in the tradition, describing what happened at the end of the Kintu and Cwa period in Buganda. The tradition itself is surrounded by a popular legend that Kintu and Cwa did not die, but mysteriously disappeared like the Bacwezi. This so called disappearance, may well confirm the view that the Kintu period in Buganda, was contemporaneous with that of the Bacwezi in Ankole and Bunyoro for they too are said to have disappeared. In dynastic terms, the disappearance of Kintu and Cwa, could represent the end of the dynasty which may have been introduced during this period.

The tradition of Kintu in Buganda, like that of the Bacwezi in Bunyoro and Ankole, poses a question of great historical importance, namely, whether Kintu and the movements which have been attributed to him, were really historical;

and if so, was he a person or a persona? Some traditional evidence, suggests that Kintu was a real individual. For example, there exists at Magonga, two jawbones which tradition associates with him. Of these jawbones, Kaggwa writes,

We used to believe that the custom of preserving jawbones, began with Kalemera. But after we had searched the contents of the package which was kept in Kintu's house at Magonga, we saw two jawbones which had been preserved. Originally, people did not know the contents of this package, because the guardians (abataka) always pretended not to know what was in it. Because of this, the people used to say that there was a package in Kintu's house (sic) but they did not know its contents. We now think that the guardians were deliberately deceiving people. After all who takes care of something he does not know? Today, all the people believe that one of the jawbones belonged to Kintu, and the other to his wife Nambi or to Cwa Nabaka.¹

The myth and piety which surrounds these objects in Kiganda dynastic history, enhances the traditional claim, that they belonged to an important person, who may have been Kintu. And as Gorju once pointed out, the assertions of the Kiganda tradition that Kintu mysteriously disappeared, probably disguised how his death was announced to the people; because in Buganda royalty does not die. The

1. Empisa op.cit.p.18.

current expression, for example, is that the fire is extinguished (omuliro guzikidde).¹

But one is persuaded to accept Sir John Gray's conclusion despite the assertions of some of the Kiganda traditions. The most probable interpretation of the Kintu legend is that he is to be seen as a mythical rather than a historical figure. Nevertheless there is little doubt for instance, that the migrations suggested by some of the traditions, took place. What is not clear, are the racial origins of the immigrants and the length of the migrational period. Kintu himself personified these movements, and that is probably why tradition shows him coming from different directions, and travelling to all parts of Uganda. As the personification of these migrations, it is understandable that he is said not to have died, he simply moved on.² But whether or not the Kintu period was long it was of great importance in Buganda history because

1. Similar expressions are used elsewhere. For example in Ankole and Rwanda, the expression is "the sun has fallen".
2. R.Oliver in R.R.A. Hamilton (Edit) "History and Archaeology in Africa (London, 1955) pp.15-19.

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after Kintu, the traditional sources become richer, and somewhat more coherent though not less complex. And as some of these traditions claim, it may well be true that the clans were first united under a centralised monarchy during this period.

The Migration of Kimera.

The reigns of Kintu, Cwa I and Kimera constitute the period of the settlement. The coming of Kimera itself, seems to have been accompanied by the last of the major migrations in Buganda. Thus Kaggwa states in the Ebika¹ that the only further immigrants, were two clans which came during the reign of Kayima. The Kiganda tradition goes on to assert that as a son of Kalemera, Kimera was a true grandson of Kintu. But the evidence suggests that this tradition is no longer tenable. C.Wrigley has aptly called it a patriotic fiction designed to demonstrate that there has always been only one dynasty in Buganda, from Kintu to the present king.² The real significance of the immigration of Kimera is that it seems to have introduced a new dynasty. If this interpretation of the tradition is correct, it follows that Kimera ended the interregnum associated with the disappearance of Kintu and Cwa. What has remained a matter of speculation, however, is the origin of Kimera himself.³ C.Wrigley has argued that

1. op.cit. p.67 & p.82.

2. Kimera, Ug.J. (1959) pp.38-43.

3. Ibid.

the name Kimera, signified an ancient fertility rite which symbolised the starting of life as a cry of joy. To him Kimera was not a person but a persona.¹

It was probably Sir John Gray who first suggested that the Kiganda tradition regarding the birth of Kimera (see the text) really concealed the conquest of Buganda by a Babito ruling group.² Sir John Gray's conclusion was originally based on the assertions of the Kiganda and Kinyoro traditions that Kimera came from Bunyoro. Since that time, many subsequent writers, have carried the claim a great deal further. According to Father J.Crazzolara, for example, the coming of Kimera represented the southward advance of the Lwo who had conquered Bunyoro.³ This hypothesis, has thus been perpetuated despite the fact that it is based on very thin evidence. To many writers, the existence of the Bush-buck clan in Buganda represented a genealogical connection

1. Wrigley's reasoning seems to be based on the Kiganda word Ekimera, which means a young green plant.
2. The Early History of Buganda, Ug.J.vol.I (1934).
3. op.cit.pp.58-107.

with the Babito. Hence in support of his arguments that Kimera introduced a Babito dynasty, Dr.A.Southall has written, "Among these clans (which claim to have come with Kimera) is the Bush-buck which ~~shares~~ this totem with the Babito of Bunyoro and other ruling clans in Busoga and Toro!"¹No argument could be more misleading than this.

Only the briefest study of the clans in the Interlacustrine region reveals that many of them have the Bush-buck as their totem, but do not claim any association with the Babito. In Buganda, the branch of the Bush-buck clan which claims to have come with Kimera, calls itself Nsamba. In Bwera, the ruling clan was that of the Bamooli. It is ^{so}incredible that these Bush-buck clans in Buganda and Buddu could have forgotten their illustrious associations, if they had really been Babito. Equally misleading is the tradition that Baganda kings, were prevented from marrying women of the Bush-buck clan because of their Babito origins. This has been regarded as evidence enough to confirm the hypothesis that Kimera was a Mubito. Thus Sir John Gray argues,

1. Alur Tradition and its Political Significance (Ug.J. vol,18/2, 1954) pp.137-165. Also by the same author, Alur Society, (Cambridge) 1959.

Moreover, until quite recent times, no king could take a wife from this clan. The reason commonly assigned to this is that Kimera was murdered whilst hunting a bush buck. This hardly seems sufficient reason. What appears to be far more probable is that members of the Bush-buck clan, were in their early days recognised as Babito and that anybody who married a Mubito woman would be regarded as having married within the prohibited degree of kingship and affinity.¹

Unfortunately, Sir John Gray's argument, is not borne out by the facts. There is no evidence to show that among the Babito rulers of Bunyoro such a custom existed. The contrary would in fact appear to have been the case.²

And as far as the Baganda kings were concerned, there is a wealth of traditional evidence in the text and also in Kaggwa's unpublished papers, to show that incest was common.³ So far as the evidence goes, it is clear that the

royal persecution of this or that clan was a common feature of Kiganda political life. Sometimes persecutions were so severe that the survivors were forced either to flee from Buganda or to join other clans and disguise themselves. Thus we learn from the Ebika, that the Bush-buck joined the ^{Monkey} Civet-cat clan (pp.17-24). The

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1. Sir John Gray, The early History.
 2. J. Roscoe, Bakitara or Bunyoro, (Cambridge, 1923) pp.12-20.
 3. In his papers, Kaggwa states that it was King Kamanya who prevented the princesses from getting married because he himself wanted to make them his wives as he indeed did. See chap.VII.

Elephant joined the Civet cat clan. The Genet clan which was nearly wiped out by King Kamanya, revealed itself only in the 1920s. It is also clear from the text that Baganda kings frequently perpetuated the feuds of their ancestors with individual families or clans. One is thus forced to accept the reason given in the text regarding the persecution of the Bush-buck clan.

Other authorities, have found linguistic evidence which in their opinion, strengthens the view that Kimera was a Mubito. According to A.C.Wright,

Luganda is permeated by many foreign words which on investigation proved to be mainly Nilotic. These linguistic influences, are largely explained in Buganda by the Nilotic hero Kimera, who founded a new Babito dynasty.¹

Mr. Wright based his conclusion on A.Werner's review² of a Luganda Grammar written by W.A.Crabtree.³ A careful examination of Dr.Werner's, review makes it clear that the words quoted are not of Nilotic origins as Wright claims.

1. (Review) Ug.J.vol.16/2, 1952,pp.82-88.
2. (In the Bulletin of Oriental studies, vol,II (1921-23) pp.158-162)
3. A Manual of Luganda (Cambridge, 1921). See also, by the same author The Origins of the Bahima, J.Roy.Anthrop. Inst. Vol.53.

Furthermore, a study of the Lwo clans reveals that they are not totemic. Yet all the six clans which claim to have come to Buganda with Kimera are totemic. In the case of Bunyoro, Crazzolara has argued that the Lwo were Bantuised and eventually adopted Bantu clans. This may be true in Bunyoro, but there is no similar evidence in Buganda to suggest that the clans which followed Kimera were Lwo. Again, a comparison of the Baganda and Banyoro chronologies, based on the assumption that Kimera was a twin brother of Rukidi, has already revealed that the hypothesis is very tenuous. Not only do the generations of the two dynasties get out of step from the very beginning, but the discrepancy in the number of years is too large. The likely reason for this is that the two dynasties were of different origins.

Assembled together, all the evidence leads to one conclusion, namely that neither Kimera was a Mubito, nor was Buganda a Babito subdynasty. Nevertheless, the Kiganda tradition that Kimera came from Bunyoro still stands. To understand this tradition, one must think in terms of the ancient Kingdom of Kitala, and not in terms of the Babito Kingdom of Bunyoro. The centre of the Kingdom of Kitala was probably the present county of Mwenge in Toro. At the same time one should consider also, the Bacwezi Kingdom.

Traditional and archaeological evidence has shown that its centre was in the modern county Mawogola. From there it stretched in the east along the banks of the Katonga river and included the counties of Busujju and Gomba in Buganda.¹ It is in this immediate west of Buganda a country vaguely called in Kiganda tradition, that one should look for the origins of Kimera. What leads one to this conclusion are the Kinyoro and Kinyankole traditions of the Bacwezi. The picture one gets from the traditions of the Banyoro, for example is that the Bacwezi Kingdom disintegrated sometime before the Babito invaded Bunyoro.² one assumes, however, that the Bacwezi did not vanish as the tradition claims. What seems probable is that when their Kingdom disintegrated, some districts established their independent existence. Another possibility is that some of the clans trekked away and embarked on fresh conquests. If this hypothesis is correct, then the coming of Kimera and his followers to Buganda, was the result of the eastward trek of these clans.

Two sources provide more evidence which would appear to support this view. At the time of, or sometime before

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1. It is not yet established whether Kitala and the kingdom of the Bacwezi were one and the same.
 2. It is not known whether the Babito invasion of Bunyoro was the cause or the result of the fall of the Bacwezi kingdom.

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Kimera's coming to Buganda, one finds that several small dynasties were, or had already established themselves as rulers in the districts which had once formed part of the Bacwezi Kingdom. These were the Bamooli in Mawogola, the Baranzi on the banks of the river Katonga and the Bagabo farther north. Of these dynasties, Professor Oliver has observed,

These western dynasties are more real for they are the names of clans which still exist among the pastoral Aristocracy known collectively as Hima in Uganda and Tustu in Ruanda.¹

More evidence is provided by the tradition of the Grasshopper clan (the Basonga). The details of these traditions do not only give a picture of what probably happened when the Bacwezi kingdom disintegrated, but hint at how Kimera may have come to Buganda. The following is Kaggwa's account of the Grasshopper clan.

These are the traditions of the Grasshopper clan which I inquired from the oldest members of the clan. I endeavoured to get as much information as possible. Hence I made inquiries from the senior clansmen of Busongola in Toro. They all told me that Kirobozi

1. R.A. Hamilton (ed): History & Archaeology in Africa: Report of a Conference held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, London (1955) pp.15-19, 41-42.

was the chief of the Abasongola. His village was originally known as Bugamba, though today it is known as Buyanja. The occupation of Kirobozi, was cattle grazing and he was called a Muhima. I was also told that he had the following sons and a daughter: Wunyi, Kajula, Ruyonga, Kalibbala and Nandawula. When he died, his sons fought for the succession. Whereupon, Ruyonga, Kalibbala and their sister Nandawula separated and emigrated with their herds of cattle towards Buganda. When they reached the district of Bwera which was in the Province of Buddu, they settled there. On leaving Bwera, they settled at Kakubansiri which was in the [modern] county of Gomba. Thence they settled at Nakanoni village and after that they settled permanently at Kisozi which was also in the county of Gomba....., To day, the members of the Grasshopper clan, are called the "Abahima who do not herd cattle," because they abandoned their traditional occupation of cattle grazing and took to the cultivation of the villages.

In his unpublished papers, Kagwa adds the following important statement,

While Ruyonga was at Kisozi, he gave birth to Wanyana and her brothers such as Kajubi and Mugalula. Mugalula himself was [became?] an important king and he used to rule over Kyawangabo, Mawogola, Kitabuza, (part of Gomba) and some districts of Bwera.

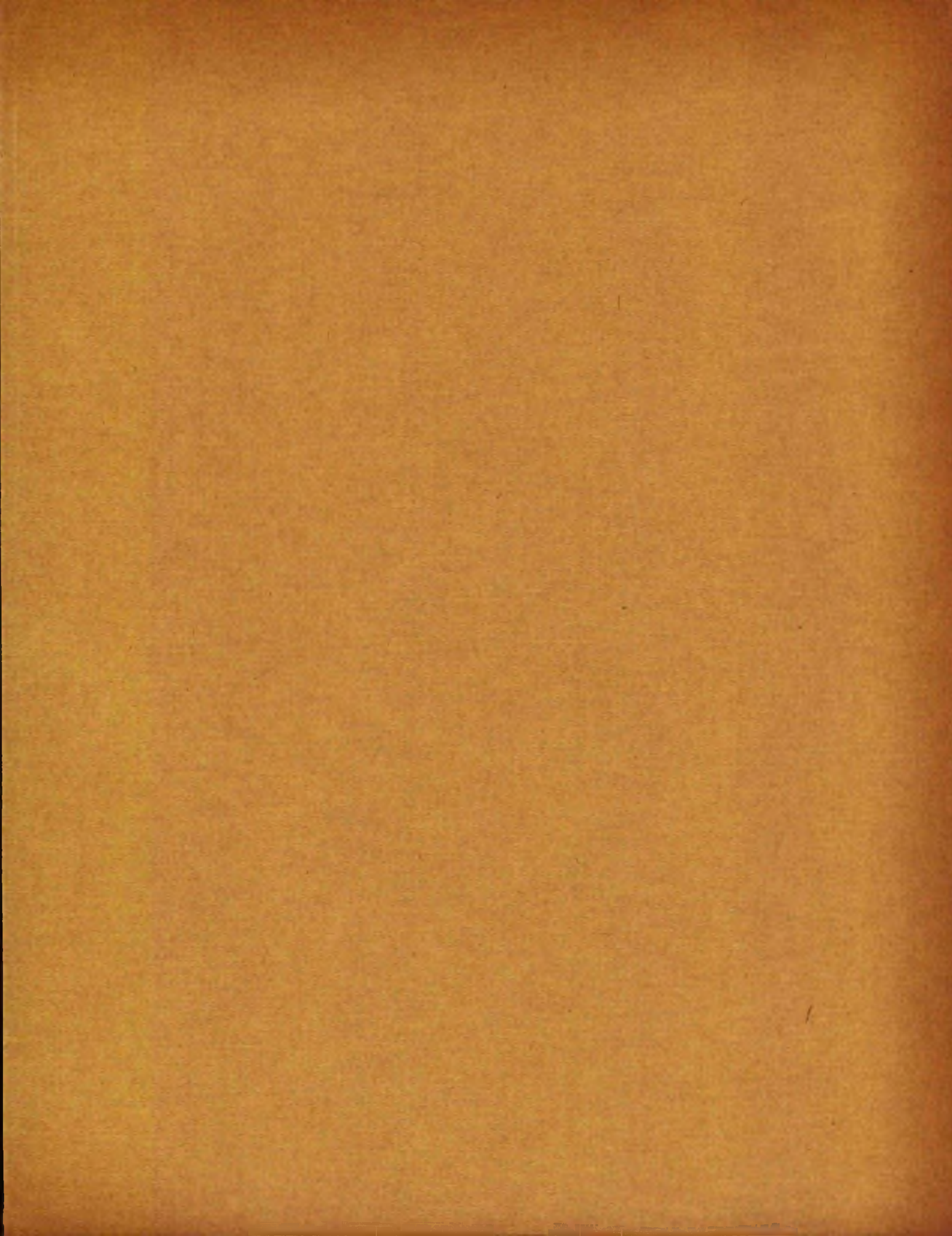
This account of the Grasshopper clan, suggests that the Basonga were probably forced to leave their homeland which was in modern Toro, due to the political troubles. Whether these led to or accompanied the fall of the Bacwezi

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1. The modern county of Gomba is in the immediate east of Mawogola which was probably the centre of the Bacwezi, Kingdom. After the Bacwezi, Mawogola became the heart of the kingdom of Bwera which was ruled by the Abamooli.

one is not certain. Nevertheless the Basonga emigrated and as they wandered eastwards, they founded a dynasty whose main centre was Kisozi in Gomba. The assertion that Ruyonga Mugalula the head of the Grasshopper clan used to rule over the territory which includes the modern county of Gomba, northern Buddu and even Bwera, is important because these districts were suited to cattle grazing. Moreover, Kagwa's other claim that Ruyonga's was a real kingdom, may find support in the Kiganda tradition which refers to Kajubi, also of the Grasshopper clan as the hereditary ruler of Busujju. Equally significant is the proximity of Kisozi, the centre of the Basonga dynasty to Magonga, and Bigo, the supposed capitals of Kimera's two predecessors.

The general conclusion reached here is that, Kimera himself, whom tradition claims to have been the son of Wanyana, a daughter of Ruyonga, could well be one of the leaders of the Basonga who had established themselves at Kisozi. His coming to Buganda represents therefore, not the southward advance of the Lwo, but the eastward movement of some of the former inhabitants of the Bacwezi or of the Kitala Kingdom. The reason why Kiganda tradition

links him with Bunyoro is that all the country to the west of Buganda was vaguely called Bunyoro particularly during the early period. The date of Kimera's arrival in Buganda is a matter of speculation. He would appear, however, to have antedated the reign of Mpuga Rukidi, the first Mubito ruler of Bunyoro. This suggestion is strengthened by the irrecincilable disagreement between the chronologies of the two dynasties.



KING NAKIBINGE VIII.

Nakibinge ascended the throne, but before he completed his father's mourning ceremonies, Prince Juma, the son of Kyabayinze made the following claim to Nakibinge: You will be the successor to my father Kyabayinze, and I shall succeed your father Kayima. The reason why I am making this claim is that, before your father died, he nominated me as his successor. Moreover, I was his Prime minister, and he had appointed me to be the administrator of the doctored beer used in the trial by ordeal. On hearing Juma's pretensions, Nakibinge sounded the war drum and fighting took place on Mulago hill in the county of Kyaddondo. Juma carried the day and Nakibinge fled to Bulingugwe island. But he took to the field again and defeated Juma who fled to Sesiriba in Busiro. Then Nakibinge went to Bumbu and completed the funeral ceremonies of his father Kayima. After that, he settled at Bumbu for a few years. Meanwhile, he had had the following children: Princes Mulondo, Jemba, Suna and Princesses Batenga and Nanzigu; and they were all quite young. After that the king took his wives and children to Jinja, a village which was at Bukoba in Kyaggwe, and kept them there.

Because Nakibinge had failed to win the war against Juma, his men Kalumba, Namuwamu and Matembe who used to carry his (Nakibinge's) umbilical cord, brought a witch doctor who gave the following oracle, "Go to Magonga and see Kintu

your great ancestor who died a very long time ago. He will advise you how to be secure on your throne." Having listened to the oracle's message, Nakibinge left Bumbu for Magonga, and on his arrival he related the oracle's words to Bwoya.¹ Bwoya advised Nakibinge to stay for the night and added, "I shall tell you everything which Kintu will say to me during the night." While Bwoya was sleeping, Kintu said to him, "Tell Nakibinge to go to Wannema of Sesse, and enlist the aid of Kibuuka the son of Wannema. He is very brave and he will help him to win the war." At that time, they [presumably Kibuuka and other inhabitants of Sesse who are nowadays worshipped as gods] were still real and ordinary human beings; that is, they had not yet become gods.

Before he left for Sesse, Nakibinge learnt that Prince Juma, with whom he had been fighting for the throne, had been killed by the Banyoro he had brought into the country, and that he had been betrayed to these people by Namunkululu. A few days after Namunkululu had killed Juma, he also plotted to kill his son, Prince Luyenje. But realizing that he had no opportunity to kill Luyenje, Namunkululu had a pit dug for him in his house and covered it with a barkcloth. Then Luyenje was invited to the house, but as he entered, he fell

1. Bwoya of the Monkey clan, was one of the traditional ritual officers at Magonga. See Empisa, op.cit.p.2.

into the pit. Thereupon he was immediately buried alive and and killed by Namunkululu. However, when the Banyoro asked Namunkululu to take Luyenje the son of Juma so that they might make him the king, Namunkululu lied, and said: Luyenje fled and disappeared after he had murdered his father. Now I myself want to become the king. Then the Banyoro spent some time looking for Luyenje. But in the meantime some one told them, Namunkululu is lying to you in saying that Luyenje disappeared. He did not disappear, he was murdered by Namunkululu himself. On learning this, the Banyoro became so enraged that they killed Namunkululu and occupied the whole country.

When King Nakibinge heard of the murders of Juma, his son Luyenje and even his man Namunkululu, he decided to go to Sesse. On leaving Magonga, he spent one night at Lumuli and then went to Namiro, a village in Buwaya where he lived for sometime (many days), and where he left two of his wives, Kabejja and Nanzigu. When he left Namiro, he slept at Zinga and thence he reached Bukasa.¹ Spending the night at Wannema's, he solicited him: Lend me the services of these young men, Kibuuka and Mukasa, to help me in the war I am fighting. Wannema who greatly sympathised with Nakibinge's difficulties, agreed to lend him the services

1. Bukasa is one of the islands which constitute the modern County of Sesse.

of Mukasa, but Nakibinge refused and said: I prefer Kibuuka whose other name is Kyobe. There upon, Wannema allowed Kibuuka to go with Nakibinge and they immediately left Bukasa to go and fight. After leaving Bukasa, they spent fifteen days on the way before reaching his capital at Bumbu.

A few days after his arrival, Nakibinge attacked the Banyoro and defeated them. The following were some of Nakibinge's leading warriors in this war: Kavuma, Jita, Sikaggya and Namalanga. They fought very bravely and killed many Basoga and Banyoro who were in Buganda and who had virtually divided the country between themselves. After his victory over the Banyoro, Nakibinge spent the night at Kasangombe and thence at Nakitembe where again there was bitter fighting. Whenever Kibuuka reached the battle field, he used to fly into the clouds and fight from there. After the defeat of the enemy, the Baganda captured a Munyoro woman and went with her to Muta in the county of Bulemezi where they slept. Because the woman had not been kept under strict custody, she escaped and returning to the Banyoro camp, she warned them, "That which kills us comes from the clouds".

Hence when fighting resumed, the Banyoro aimed [their arrows?] at the clouds and shot Kibuuka in the chest. On fleeing, Kibuuka went to Mbaale where he died. Then Nakatandigira and Lwomwa picked up Kibuuka's body from a muvule tree and buried it. But not all the people knew that Kibuuka

had been buried; because he later became a god and great reverence was paid to him. Moreover, the clan chiefs (Abataka) of Mbale conspired and decorated a large piece of dried meat (of which kind of animal, no one knew) with leopard skins, and claimed that it was Kibuuka's body. No one discovered this [the trick] until after Christianity had spread in Buganda. Then the Christians went to Mbale and on untying the leopard skins, they discovered that what was inside the skins was a mere piece of dried meat.

Having shot Kibuuka, the Banyoro attacked and fought King Nakibinge, killed him and put the Buganda army to rout. Nakibinge's body, however, was not found because after Kibuuka, the brave had been killed, the armies took to flight. Present at that battle was lady Nannono, of whom one version of Kiganda tradition says that she used to sharpen reeds for her husband when his supply of spears was exhausted. On returning to the capital, the soldiers confirmed to Lady Nannono that the king had definitely been killed. Hearing this, Lady Nannono summoned all the people and acted as the king. The country remained without a king for eighteen months partly because Nakibinge's sons were still too young, and partly because Nannono who was then pregnant, hoped that if she gave birth to a son, he would become the king. Thus it was not until after she had given birth to a princess, that she directed the chiefs to elect a successor. When the princes were

presented, it was found that Mulondo was the eldest.

Nakibinge was a good king and his memory is still cherished by those to whom he gave estates. If any one attempts to evict them from their estates, they immediately put up a plea that they got their estates from Nakibinge. On hearing this, the king and the chiefs restore at once the estates under dispute.

The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime ministers: 1. Kagali of the Nvuma clan.

2. Kalumba of the Civet cat clan.

Kimbugwes: 1. Namangangali of the Nvuma clan.

2. Sendigya of the Sheep clan.

Kaggo: Jita of the Nvuma clan.

Mukwenda: Nakaswa of the Lung-fish clan.

Mugema: Luyima of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Lugendega of the Grasshopper clan.

KING MULONDO IX.

Mulondo succeeded his father, and after he had ended the mourning ceremonies, his maternal uncles thought of a

clever plan. They made him a chair and called it Namulondo, the name of his mother. They used to seat him upon this chair, so that he could look big enough in the Councils. After making him a chair, the king's maternal uncles chose a group of boys who were good dancers. These used to dance whenever the king made a public appearance. They continued to do this until he grew up, and it was after he had come of age that he left Bumbu and built his own capital on Mitwebiri hill.

While he was there, he married an exceptionally beautiful girl whom he loved intensely. He then inquired after her parents and other relatives. She told him that her parents were in Buddu and when he heard this, he consulted with his chiefs and decided to go to Buddu to see his parents-in-law. But that was not the only reason why he went to Buddu. He had also been told by his sister, Batenga that the men who captured her mother while Nakibinge was fighting, came from Buddu. Hearing the words of his sister and his wife, Mulondo set off for Buddu and when he reached Mawuki, he sent for Kiganda so as to make a blood brother-hood with him. But there was doubt whether the ceremony of blood brother-hood was in fact actually performed. However, after this, Mulondo sent his sister Batenga to Nyendo to look for her mother.

On reaching Nyendo, Princess Batenga sent out men to look for her mother. Many women were brought before her,

but because none of them was her mother, she put all of them to death. Seeing that many of their women folk had been killed, the people of Buddu became so furious that they fought and killed Batenga with the whole of her army. When Mulondo heard that his sister had been murdered and that not only had the whole army been routed, but also the enemy was preparing to fight and could even kill him, he set off for Buganda at once. A few days after his return, he married a girl called Nakku, but when she saw that she was barren, she went to the doctors and obtained a fetish called Mbajjwe. It was specially made to enable people to beget children. Somedays after Nakku had received the fetish, she became pregnant and gave birth to the following Princes: Kazibwe, Walugembe and Sekamanya.

His mother's death which came when he was an old man, grieved Mulondo so much that he never again went out of the palace. When Gunju, the royal maternal uncle saw that the king was overcome with grief, he had a special drum made and called it Kawugulu. He used to take it to the royal courtyard and beat it. Thereupon all the members of the Mushroom clan would gather and dance as they used to do when Mulondo was still young. On hearing the sound of the drum, Mulondo went into the yard and as soon as Gunju saw him, he said, "Here are your mother's relatives (your mothers).

Select any one you want and make her the successor of your deceased mother." The king chose the one who most resembled his mother and made her the successor. Henceforth, that drum belonged to the Mushroom clan, and it is still used even today to perform a royal dance. It was also the same drum which led to the discovery of King Nakibinge's body.

One day a man who had gone to hunt, picked up a spear from a pit and took it home. On the following day, he paid a visit to Busujja,¹ but when he passed a place where there were drummers, the people saw the spear and arrested him. Whereupon he pleaded that one who picks up something which was lost, cannot be punished. (Omulonzi tattibwa). "Let me take you to the place where I found the spear," he pleaded. He then took them to the spot where he picked up the spear and on reaching the spot, they saw the body of King Nakibinge in the pit where it had dried up. Then they carried the body away and buried it at Kitinda. The jawbone was taken to Kongojje where it was treated in the traditional manner. The case of the man who found Nakibinge's spear, became the origin of the saying that one who picks up something cannot be killed. (Omulonzi tattibwa).

After the discovery of his father's body, Mulondo became fonder of the drum which had been made by his maternal uncles.

1. Busujja was the home of Kasujja, sometime head of the Colobus Monkey clan.

He also made an order that his father's spear must always be kept in that drum and it is still there even to this day. King Mulondo died when he was fairly advanced in age, but he was not yet very old. His body was taken to Gombe and he was in fact the first to be buried there. The body was put on a bed and covered with a barkcloth. But the jawbone was left at Mitwebiri where it was decorated and put in a wooden bowl. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime minister: Sekagya of the Nvuma clan.

Kaggo: Sebatta of the Colobus Monkey clan.

Kangawo: Siveja of the Lung-fish clan. He was originally appointed by King Kayima.

Mugema: Namatiti of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Sendikaddiwa of the Grasshopper clan.

KING JEMBA X.

Jemba came to the throne when he succeeded his brother Mulondo. After finishing the funeral rites, he built himself a capital at Mubango, and shortly after taking up his residence there, he married a girl called Nanfuka from Kasujja's family. Nanfuka was the favourite of all Jemba's wives and very soon she was with child. But she did not live long and her death caused the king much sorrow. He

therefore ordered that she should be buried at Luggi, and he also made a law that all royal wives who bear children must be buried at Luggi when they die. From that time to the present, all the kings' wives have been buried at Luggi.

Jemba passed this law as a memorial to his beloved wife because he wanted every king thereafter to remember her. Jemba grew older than his brother Mulondo and he even had a drum specially made which used to sound like this; "Analoga aloge, Jemba alifa Bukadde." (If any one wanted to kill the king by witchcraft, let him try. But he would be wasting his time because Jemba is destined to die of old age). He also begot the following sons, Gogombe, and Zigulu. After that he died. His body was taken to Gombe and the jawbone was left at his capital of Mubango where it was treated like those of the other kings. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime minister: Busungwe of the Colobus Monkey clan.

Kaggo: Sebatta of the Colobus Monkey clan.

Kangawo: Tabi of the Lung-fish clan.

Mugema: Maluge of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Sendikaddiwa of the Grasshopper clan. He was originally appointed by Mulondo.

KING SUUNA I. XI.

When Jemba died, he was succeeded by his brother Suuna. After completing the mourning ceremonies of his brother, Suuna left Mubango and went to Jimbo and built himself a capital. Meanwhile, he dismissed Busungwe, his brother's Prime minister, and installed his own favourite called Kisolo. As Prime minister, Kisolo used to supervise every royal job and he was the same person whom the king appointed to supervise the building of a mound which is still in existence at Jimbo. Suna lived at Jimbo for a very long time and had the following sons, Gogombe, Kawali, Kimbugwe and many others.

One day, while the king was doing the rounds of his capital, he came across a thin (akasajja) poor man who had been put in the stocks for stealing goats. On coming where the man was, the king joked, "Can this poor creature throw me down if we wrestle? He is so thin". Whereupon the prisoner replied, "My lord, I may be thin, but if I were released now and we wrestled, I would throw you down." On hearing the man's words, the king said, "Alright. Let him be released and given food to eat lest he argues that I threw him down because he was hungry." So the man was set free, given food, and having eaten, he was given a bark cloth to wear. The king also dressed himself up for the contest and they began wrestling. As they wrestled, the

King proved to be definitely the stronger, but all of a sudden the poor thin prisoner, tripped up the king and threw him down. Because the place where he fell was stony, he received cuts on his head. The people who were present wanted to put the man to death, but the king told them to let him go free.. After the prisoner had gone away, the king passed a law and proclaimed, "No one must be arrested and brought to my capital of Jimbo." That law gave rise to the saying "Kalibakabiri Oba Sirwalirundi Omusibe toyita Jimbo." (A prisoner must not be taken to Jimbo). That law has been observed up to the present day.

After that Suuna became a very good king, and put an end to the executions of people, and even granted a general amnesty to all prisoners. He died when he was a middle aged man and his body was taken to Gombe and put in a house. The jawbone was stored in a wooden bowl and left in the capital of Jimbo. The following were his leading chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime minister: Kisolo of the Grasshopper clan.

Kaggo: Kisolo of the Grasshopper clan.

Kangawo: Tabi of the Lung-fish clan.

Mugema: Maluge of the Monkey clan.

These two chiefs were first appointed by King Jemba.

Kasujju: Sendikaddiwa of the Grasshopper clan.
He was first appointed by King Mulondo.

KING SEKAMANYA XII.

Sekamanya came to the throne in succession to his uncle Suuna. Having carried out the funeral ceremonies, he built his capital at Kongojje and lived there for a long time. Sekamanya loved his mother, Nakku of the Civet cat clan so much that he built her a special palace at Busawuli. Thus, she did not live at Lusaka in Kagoma which was the capital of Wanyana, the mother of Kimera, and which had become the traditional capital of all the intervening Queen mothers .

After these events, King Sekamanya had a son called Kateregga, and when he grew up, (Yali mulenzi mukulu) the king planned with his chiefs to go to Nankere's and perform the maturation ceremony.¹ On reaching the incense tree called Nabonganani, the king called upon Nankere, to bring the objects for the making of amagoto.² Nankere, however,

1. Roscoe, (The Baganda, op.cit.pp210-211) called this the ceremony for the prolongation of life. All accession ceremonies would appear to have^{be} intended for this purpose. Alternatively, it may also be fittingly called the ceremony of confirmation, because it was the last of the most important accessions ceremonies. And as the new king went from one traditional ritual officer to another, soliciting each for his blessing (and possibly his support), he would at the end of the round consider himself confirmed on the throne.

2. Amagoto were probably the sinews with which anklets for the King were made. See Roscoe, op.cit.p.209.

presented a cow instead of his son. Then the king inquired whether all his predecessors who went to Nankere for the maturation ceremony used to be presented with cows? The chiefs who were with the king told him that Nankere should have presented his son, who would be killed in order to provide the sinews which make amagoto. When the King heard this, he became very angry and demanded that Nankere should bring his real son. But because Nankere had no son to present to the king for slaughtering, he returned to his home, packed his belongings and fled to the forest.

Nankere having fled, the king took counsel with his chiefs and decided to raid the forest in which Nankere had taken refuge. Nankere was killed with all the people who had fled with him, and the surrounding villages were also invaded and pillaged. The killing of Nankere with all his followers, was the origin of the saying, "Ekitta nyini maka tekyewala luggya: Ekyatta Nankere Kyafulumama Bukoto." (If you are in a big household, what happens to the master, affects you as well). Having killed Nankere, the king returned to his capital, but soon afterwards, he fell ill and died. His body was taken to Gombe and put on a bed in a house with very many barkcloths. The house was shut and abandoned, but the jawbone was left at Kongojje and decorated with beads. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime minister: Kisolo of the Grasshopper clan. He was first appointed by King Suuna.

Kimbugwe: Makabano of the Lion clan.

Kaggo: Sebatta of the Colobus Monkey clan.

Kangawo: Namukwa of the Lung-fish clan.

Mugema: Semukoteka of the Grasshopper clan.

Kasujju: Sendikaddiwa of the Grasshopper clan. He was originally appointed by Mulondo.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE REIGN OF NAKIBINGE TO THE REIGN OF SUNA I.

Genealogically as well as dynastically speaking, the reign of Nakibinge, properly belongs to the previous chapter because his death would seem to have ended the dynasty which had been introduced by Kimera. But because the events of the reigns of Nakibinge and his successor Mulondo, have many points in common, it has been thought appropriate to include them in one chapter. The traditional sources of this period, have perhaps as many variants as those of other reigns put together. The reason for this is probably that a new dynasty was introduced by Mulondo, and also that Nakibinge himself was regarded by all the clans as a national hero. Resulting from this, was a multiplicity of traditions. Fortunately the various strands of the traditions differ only in details, but they agree on the main outline of the story.

The significance of Nakibinge's reign is that probably for the first time in their history, Buganda and Bunyoro were engaged in a major military conflict. These events raise an important historical question

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regarding the political relationship between Bunyoro and Buganda during this period. There has always been an easy suspicion among historians that until the reign of Nakibinge, Buganda was still a Babito subdynasty which had been introduced by Kimera.¹ Besides the traditional claim of the Banyoro that the Buganda and Bunyoro dynasties were founded by twin brothers of Lwo origins, more evidence which seemed to support that view, was provided by Professor R.Oliver's survey of the Royal Tombs of Buganda.² According to him, there were similarities in the burial styles of the Buganda and Bunyoro until the reign of Nakibinge, but after that the Buganda changed to a completely new style. The change seemed not only to confirm that Buganda had thereto been a Babito subdynasty, but also that the dynasty ended with Nakibinge.

But as it has been shown in the previous chapter, Kimera was not a Mubito, and this rules out the possibility that Buganda had been a Babito kingdom till then. Nevertheless

1. R.Oliver in R.A.Hamilton, op.cit.pp.15-19,41-42.

2. R.Oliver, The Royal Tombs of Buganda

one may still argue that Buganda could have been a tributary state of Bunyoro without having a Babito dynasty. Some evidence to support this argument, may be found in the traditional sources which show Bunyoro as a powerful military and expanding Kingdom; raiding and probably conquering neighbouring states. This leads to another and equally important question, namely the cause of the conflict? Was Buganda fighting to overthrow the foreign yoke? If this was correct, Nakibinge would then be correctly regarded as a nationalist who fought for Buganda's independence. Unfortunately the results of the conflict would appear to contradict the view that Nakibinge fought for Buganda's independence. Because if Buganda had hitherto been a vassal state of Bunyoro, Nakibinge's defeat and death could only have strengthened Bunyoro's overlordship. The fact that Bunyoro neither annexed Buganda nor asserted overlordship, is a strong indication that Buganda had never been under the suzerainty of Bunyoro.

This leaves two reasons which probably led to the conflict. It is possible that Bunyoro was attempting to extend her political dominion over Buganda, but that

she failed. Strength is lent to this suggestion by a statement in the text, that the troubles of this period began with the internal disputes among the Buganda princes. Kaggwa's brief mention of this episode is corroborated even in greater detail by the traditions of the Lung- fish clan. According to this source:-

"..... King Kayima had three sons: Nakibinge, Lukongwa and Kimbugwe. When Kayima died, the wish of the country was that Nakibinge should be the successor, but Namunkululu who was Kayima's prime minister, objected because he himself preferred one of the other princes..... He therefore sounded the war drum and took to the field with the other two princes. But he was defeated by Nakibinge's army, and he fled to Bunyoro with the princes. While they were there, Nakibinge became king, but the other princes died in Bunyoro..... After their death, Namunkululu, conspired with a very strong and brave Munyoro prince and said to him, "If you lend me your services in this war, I shall give the kingdom to you..." Whereupon the Munyoro prince replied, "I am called Tagobwa, (The invincible) take me and we shall slaughter the Baganda." After saying these words they set off with Namunkululu and his (Tagobwa's) Sabaddu called Jigiji and came to Kiti where they camped with their army, Nakibinge was then in his capital of Bumbu.....1

At first sight this quotation, leads to the inference that the succession disputes among the Baganda princes, had tempted the Banyoro to interfere, and that

1. E.M.Buliggwanga, A Book written on behalf of the Senior Bataka of the Lung-fish clan. (Kampala 1916) p.75.

having done that, they probably attempted to put their own nominee on the throne. If this reasoning is correct, it would be understandable why the Banyoro interference sparked off a struggle with Nakibinge. In this sense, Nakibinge would as Professor Oliver has suggested, be regarded as a nationalist who defended Buganda's sovereignty. But a more convincing explanation would appear to be that the causes of the conflagration was not so much Bunyoro's desire to extend her dominion over Buganda as the aggressive policies of the Baganda kings which must have provoked Wunyi I and Olimi I to take retaliatory measures.

Kaggwa's statement in the text that Kayima attacked Buddu, a province of Bunyoro, confirms that Buganda kings were beginning to pursue an aggressive policy. So far as the reign of Nakibinge was concerned, Nyakatura asserts that Olimi I's attack upon Buganda was punitive expedition, again provoked by Buganda raids. It appears, however, that there was much in these so called raids upon Bunyoro territory, they were wars of expansion.

A comparison of Kiganda and Kinyoro sources for example,

suggests that the main scenes of fighting were in Bulemezi, which confirms the suggestion that Nakibinge was attacking Bunyoro territory. There is much to be said in support of this conclusion. The evidence shows that Buganda was still a small state with constantly fluctuating frontiers. These two factors probably acted as an incentive upon her kings to wage wars of aggression.

The exact territorial extent of Buganda at this time, would seem to have been lost beyond recovery. The tradition of the Lung-fish clan give the impression that the Buganda and Bunyoro were at this time living very close to each other.¹ This may emphasize the point which has already been made, namely that Buganda was still a small state. For example, some of the Banyoro capitals and tombs during this period were in the Buganda county of Singo.² K.W. Tobi on the Kiganda side is the only historian who mentions what may have been the boundaries of Buganda during this period. What he says is closely

1. E.M. Buligwanga, op.cit.p.72; cf. also Rev. Father L. Le Veux, Manuel de Langue Luganda (3rd. Ed. Algiers, 1914) pp.
 2. Nyakatura, op.cit.pp.82-112A.B.Fisher, Twilight Tales, op.cit.pp.111-180.

corroborated by information from the Kinyoro side,

K.W. for example states that,

Buganda was confined to the northern shores of Lake Victoria, with the river Tagavana in Kiryagonja as the boundary in the north west and the river Wankata as the boundary in the west.¹

K.W. may have minimised Buganda's real size, but it seems reasonable to suppose that her effective sovereignty was still limited to the area covering the modern counties of Busiro, Kyaddondo, Mawokota, portions of Bulemezi and Kyaggwe. Nevertheless it is important to point out that the mention of boundaries by Buganda and Bunyoro historians at this or any other period can only be treated as rough guide. Because, with the vicissitudes of war between the two countries, border territories must have constantly changed hands. It seems probable also that large parts of these border districts such as the south and the central part of Bulemezi may have been "No man's land", in the sense that they were neither effectively ruled by Buganda nor by Bunyoro. These border districts in fact, would seem to have

1. K.W. Ibid.

been ruled by their indigenous chiefs who probably owed allegiance either to Bunyoro or to Buganda, depending on which of the two countries was the stronger at particular period. What leads to the deduction that the border districts were ruled by indigenous chiefs, many of whom may have been heads of their clans, is that Kiganda tradition in general and the chronicles of the Lung-fish clan in particular,¹ make references to many names of "Banyoro princes" who fought against Nakibinge. One would have assumed that these princes were Babito. But what is significant, none of the Bunyoro traditional sources mention these names. One would conclude from this that these men were neither Babito nor Banyoro as Kiganda tradition suggests, but indigenous rulers of the districts bordering on Buganda.

The Accession of Mulondo.

The immediate and perhaps the most important result of Nakibinge's death would appear to have been the ending of the old dynasty and the introduction of a new one by Mulondo. Although Kagga asserts in the text that Mulondo and his

1. E.M.Buligwanga, op.cit.p.75. See chap. below.

two successors were sons of Nakibinge, the circumstances which led to the latter's death and those which surround the accession of Mulondo, render Kaggwa's account rather suspicious. For instance the statement in the text that Mulondo came to the throne as an infant, is contradicted by Kaggwa's own account elsewhere and also by the evidence from the other Kiganda sources.

A detailed study of the various Kiganda traditions suggests two important things. One is that Mulondo was not a son of Nakibinge. The second is that he was a founder of a new dynasty. The most obvious deduction one would be tempted to draw in this case, is that Mulondo himself was a nominee of Olimi and that he was a Mubito. This is the view held by E.M.Head¹ and at first sight, there seems to be evidence support her. First of all, Kiganda and Kinyoro sources assert that Buganda was heavily defeated, her king and leading generals were also killed. Without any one to rally the Baganda, it is reasonable to assume that the victorious Olimi was left with easy choices. He could either annex Buganda, or

1. Inter Tribal History Through Tribal Stories Ug.J. vol.10, 1940.

put his own nominee on the throne or do both. But unfortunately this conclusion is contradicted not only by the Kiganda sources, but also by all the Kinyoro sources. The latter claim, that, despite his triumph, Olini did not do any of these things, and K.W. writes that Olini even restored the territory of the vanquished.¹ What K.W. says is corroborated by Mrs A.B.Fisher, who supplies more details. She states that after the defeat of the Buganda,

The ruling chief, Maganda, fled to an island on the Victoria Lake. But Olini sent messengers after him, calling for an armistice that they might arrange terms of peace. So Maganda came back and they decided that the boundary between Buganda and Bunyoro should be at the Mayanja river; all the territory and tribes to the north should be ruled over by Olini while the district lying to the south should be independent and under the control of Maganda.²

W.Nyakatura, another Munyoro historian gives reasons to justify Olini's actions, namely that the gods warned him not to do anything violent to Buganda because Bunyoro and Buganda were sister kingdoms which had been founded by the twin brothers. If he did, a catastrophe would

1. K.W. Ibid.

2. A.B.Fisher, op.cit.pp.137-138.

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befall him. One finds these reasons unconvincing. First of all, it is difficult to reconcile Bunyoro's serious attacks upon Buganda which involved even the deaths of her kings and the pious desire of the gods that nothing violent should be done to Buganda. One is forced to conclude that Olimi's inability to annex Buganda or to interfere in her succession affairs, was most probably due to one or both of the following two reasons. If one treats Olimi's campaign primarily as a punitive expedition against a ~~troublesome~~ neighbour, with neither territorial nor dynasty ambitions, then his policy towards battered Buganda becomes intelligible. One can also infer from this that it was not Bunyoro's policy to assert her overlordship upon Buganda, for if that had been her policy, the defeat and death of Nakibinge would have been the most opportune moment for her to do so. But the alternative suggestion seems to be more convincing. Contrary to the assertions of Kiganda tradition, it would now appear that not only Buganda had suffered heavy losses. Bunyoro had also found the struggle so exhausting that by the end of it, she could neither

annex Buganda nor impose overlordship by nominating the next successor. One suspects that probably because Nakibinge was the first king who actually died on the field of battle as a result of a long military conflict against the Banyoro, Kiganda tradition was tempted to exaggerate the tribulations of Buganda, so as to turn Nakibinge into a national hero.

The general trend of the evidence so far is that the successor of Nakibinge was not a nominee of the king of Bunyoro. However, the possibility that he was a Mubito still remains. C.C.Wrigley, for example has suggested,

Mulondo was probably a leader of one of the Bito bands who had founded or were in the process of founding the principalities of Busoga and this particular band turned south west to invade Buganda.¹

Kaggwa's description of some of the invaders in the text as coming from Busoga would appear at first sight to confirm Wrigley's suggestion. However, the proposal that Mulondo was a Mubito has no evidence to support it. The argument is rejected on the same grounds we rejected the claim that Kimera was a Mubito. Perhaps the most important point to note in this particular case, is that none of the Kinyoro sources makes such

1. Kimera Ug, pp. 38-43.
J. (1959).

a claim. If Mulondo had really been a Mubito, it would have been inconceivable for the Bunyoro historians to remain silent. Instead they go on to state that Mulondo raided Bunyoro territory,¹ an adventure which would have been unlikely if he had been a Mubito. The general conclusion on the results of the wars and the accession of Mulondo is that it preserved Buganda's independence and her separate development as a non Babito state.

If however, Mulondo was not a Mubito, there is plenty of evidence which suggests that he introduced a new dynasty. According to the tradition of the Mushroom clan,² Mulondo was the first king to have a chair made for him. Kaggwa states in Empisa (p.36) also that he was the first king to be buried at Gombe, which became the royal cemetery for more than a century. But the important question we must attempt to resolve is where the dynasty came from. At first sight, some indications suggest that this dynasty originated either in Busoga or in eastern Kyaggwe. For example, the claim

1. Nyakatura, op.cit.p.90.

2. J.Kasirye, Abateregga Ku Nnamulondo Ya Buganda (London, 1959) pp.11-13.

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in the text that the invaders included Basoga, creates the presumption that Mulondo himself may have come from there. Moreover, the name "Mulondo" was not only similar to that of the traditional chief of eastern Kyaggwe (Bulondoganyi), but it was and still it is, used by the peoples of southern Busoga. But although the evidence so far points to an eastern origin, there are stronger reasons which compel us to adopt the view that Mulondo neither came from Busoga nor from eastern Kyaggwe. And despite the claim in the text that Nakibinge's enemies included Busoga, it would appear from the local traditions of Kyaggwe that to the Baganda, the term Basoga at the this period and for several generations afterwards, meant the inhabitants of the eastern bank of the Nile. Moreover if Mulondo had come from Busoga, he would in all probability have been a conqueror. This, however, does not seem to have been the case.

More difficulties arise when one comes to consider that Mulondo came from Bulondoganyi. If he belonged to

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the dynasty of Ndimuwala¹ and if he came from eastern Kyaggwe, his accession should either have brought eastern Kyaggwe under the dominion of Buganda or there should at least have been friendly relations between the two countries. But all the traditional sources show that until its conquest by Mawanda during the 18th century, eastern Kyaggwe was not only independent of Buganda, but also very hostile. But if Mulondo was not a son of Nakibinge and if he neither came from Busoga nor Bulondoganyi as the sources suggest, where were his origins? The evidence would seem to suggest that he and his immediate successors came from the Sesse islands. Many reasons appear to support this suggestion. In the first place it is impossible to conceive how an invader from Busoga or Kyaggwe, could ^{have} immediately established friendly relations with Sesse after a war in which men from that state had lost their lives. Yet Kaggwa makes it abundantly clear that Mulondo had no such difficulties and the traditions of the Lung-fish clan go on to add,

After Mulondo had become king, he sent a copper axe

1. A. Aliwali, Munno (1914). The traditions of eastern Kyaggwe allude to a dynasty of Ndimuwala, and claim that he was a contemporary of Kintu. Kaggwa also mentions Ndimuwala in the text (chapter 2) and calls him a follower of Kintu.

called Nalubale and nine big knives to Kasiga (of Sesse). That axe was used to cut timber which was used to make a ceremonial canoe in memory of the one which had been used by Nakibinge when he went to Sesse...

More specific reasons to support Mulondo's Sesse origins are suggested by the text. It was shown in chapter II that Bukulu who came with Kintu settled in the Sesse island. Then Kaggwa went on to add that the descendants of Bukulu were always highly respected by the Baganda kings and were also treated like kings. This as we pointed out, strongly suggested that Bukulu and his descendants had established a dynasty in Sesse. Another Kiganda source quoted already, asserts that Buganda and Sesse had always been part of one kingdom, and it would appear that for a long time the islands of Lake Victoria, were heavily populated.¹ The picture one gets from the Kiganda sources is that, when Nakibinge negotiated for military aid with Wannema, the latter was certainly not an underling. If anything it was Nakibinge who appeared to be the underling and Wannema certainly posed as an important ruler of Sesse during this period.

1. Lawi Sekiti, Munno 1915 & 1916.

If these traditions are correct, they at least show that the state of Sesse was at this time still strong and independent. But after the reign of Nakibinge, any references to Sesse in Kiganda traditions imply that the islands had already become an integral part of Buganda. Yet neither Kaggwa nor any other Kiganda source states, when and how this happened. Neither is there traditional evidence to show that Buganda conquered Sesse or vice versa. Kaggwa's assertion in the text that all Bukulu's descendants died without issue, which meant the end of his dynasty, seems to be a falsification. The more reasonable explanation is probably that Sesse ceased to be an independent state when it united with Buganda by providing a successor to Nakibinge. This would also explain the existence of the Kiganda legend that all Bukulu's descendants died without issue.

More evidence to support the conclusion that kings Mulondo, Jemba and Suna were from Sesse, is provided by Kaggwa in the book of Empisa and also by the traditions of the Mushroom clan. These sources show that the Bugeme clan which is almost exclusively in Sesse, was an offshoot

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of the Katinvuma clan. They admit also that the Mushroom clan to which Mulondo's mother, belonged, was also an offshoot of the Katinvuma clan. This arouses the suspicion that Mulondo, a man from Sesse, was originally a member of the Bugeme, a Sesse clan. But after he had come to Buganda, tradition linked him with the Mushroom, a Buganda clan which had similar historical origins with the Bugeme, namely that both clans claim to have been by-products of the Katinvuma. So far as Jemba and Suna were concerned, tradition asserts that their mothers belonged to the Otter and Lung-fish clans respectively. Today these two clans are the most numerous in Sesse and the other islands of Lake Victoria. From this, it is reasonable to infer that the present concentration of these clans in the islands, is not a recent development. They were always there. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the accession of Mulondo and the union of Buganda with Sesse was the second major event of this period.

The Genealogical Relationships of Mulondo, Jemba and Suna.

The introduction of new dynasty does not only rule out the claim that Mulondo, Jemba and Suna were sons of

Nakibinge, but it raises the question whether they were really brothers as Kiganda tradition asserts. Kaggwa's own statement in the text, suggests that there is another side to the story. He claims that when Mulondo came to the throne, he was an infant, but by the time he died he was (in Kaggwa's words) either in the prime of life or approaching middle age with children of his own. Even if Kaggwa's expression were interpreted to mean "Young Adult" the most conservative estimate of Mulondo's age at the time of his death, must have been between fifteen and twenty years. When Kaggwa comes to the reign of Jemba, he states that he died of senile decay. If this were correct, it would greatly reduce the possibility of a long reign by Suna, the supposed third brother of Mulondo. Yet, according to tradition, Suna would appear to have had not only a long reign like Jemba, but he was also a young and strong man when he came to the throne. This leads to the deduction that if Mulondo and Jemba were brothers, Suna was probably a son or nephew of one of them.

If this conclusion is correct, how can one account for the agreement among the clans and the Kiganda tradition that the three monarchs were sons of Nakibinge?

And if they came from Sesse why should Kiganda tradition have kept silent about it? The answer to the second question would appear to be that Buganda and Sesse were inhabited by people of the same ethnic origins. Perhaps the more important point is that suggested by Kaggwa in the text, namely that Bukulu and Kintu came together, which probably meant that not only were Buganda and Sesse sister states, but their dynasties were also the same. Thus, even when Kimera introduced another dynasty, the peoples of Sesse and Buganda continued to regard one another as being the same. In such a situation, Mulondo's coming on the Buganda throne could not be treated in Buganda history as a matter of great historical importance. That was probably why Kiganda tradition kept silent about what was certainly a change of dynasty.

So far as the genealogical relationship of Nakibinge and Mulondo is concerned, one should understand how the Kiganda royal chronicle was kept.¹ Today all the clans agree as to the number of reigns and the chronological order of the royal dynasty. But as it was explained,²

1. See chapter I below.

2. Ibid.

the clan of the king's mother, was the special custodian of all the traditions of that particular king. One suspects, however, that if the mothers of two successive kings belonged to the same clan and family, a confusion in the kings' genealogical relationship could easily be made. Now since the three immediate successors of Nakibinge were from Sesse and probably belonged to the same dynasty of Bukulu, it would be possible to confuse the genealogical relationship of at least one of them.

The Administrative and Military Achievement of the Period.

Kaggwa's account in the text, gives the impression that the three reigns of Mulonde, Jemba and Suna were uneventful. This would appear to have been due to a variety of reasons. The first is that the wars left Buganda weakened and exhausted. She therefore avoided frequent military adventures like Bunyoro. Moreover, the possibility that the new dynasty had come from Sesse, may have led to a pre-occupation, not only with the affairs of Buganda but also of Sesse. The other reason is suggested by the Kinyoro sources. The picture one gets from them is that, after the war against Nakibinge, Olimi and his immediate

successors were constantly pre-occupied with the affairs of south western Uganda rather than Buganda. In spite of these reasons, however, the period was not as barren of results as Kiganda tradition would make us believe. Evidence suggests that there was consolidation in government and even advancement in military organisation. But because peace at home and progress in administration are not spectacular happenings, they seldom find their way into the chronicles. What leads to this conclusion is that after the reign of Suna Buganda was militarily powerful enough to make inroads into Banyoro territory and even to recover the ground which had been lost by Nakibinge. But the possibility of a large army organisation and its successful employment for rapid territorial expansion as Kimbugwe and Kateregga would appear to have done, presupposes a fairly developed military system. This development would have been impossible if Mulondo, and his two successors had continued the aggressive policies of their predecessors. And the chances for their successful challenge of Bunyoro would have been slim, because the latter was still by far the stronger power. So far as progress in government was concerned, this would

appear to have been the period when the foundation of a future strong system of administration were laid. The monarchy also was gradually emerging from obscurity. For example, during the whole of this period, the heads of the various clans were still playing a powerful role in the affairs of the nation. But with the reign of Kimbugwe, we notice that power was gradually being wrested from them. Successful warriors were being appointed to important chieftainships, which had hitherto been held by clan heads. The long term result of such a policy was to weaken the political influence of the clan heads and to enhance the power of the king at their expense. Throughout this period, one sees Bunyoro on the other hand, raiding far and wide, which suggests that her kings had no time to build a strong system of government comparable to that of Buganda. The long term effects of these different policies, were to have tremendous influence on the future of the two kingdoms, and if Buganda eventually expanded at the expense of Bunyoro, some of the seeds of her success were sown during the reigns of Mulondo, Jemba and Suna **I**.

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KING KIMBUGWE, XIII .

Kimbugwe came to the throne in succession to Sekamanya. But their fathers were different, because Sekamanya was Mulondo's son, whereas Kimbugwe was the son of Suna.¹ After completing the funeral rites, Kimbugwe went to Bugwanya where he built a capital, and he lived there for a very long time. Meanwhile he had a son called Kamyuka. He grew into an extremely handsome young man and he was much loved by his father. At that time also, Kateregga, the son of Sekamanya, married a girl of the Monkey clan, and her name was Nalongo Kawenyera. A few days afterwards, she conceived and gave birth to twins. After he had completed one ceremony of "dancing the twins," Kateregga went to complete another ceremony connected also with the birth of twins, (okumenya olukanda). The king had also already made preparations for the ceremony. But meanwhile another man went and told him that Kateregga had left the real mother of the twins behind because she was lame. Instead, he had taken with him to the ceremonies, another one of his beautiful wives called Nalugwa.

1. According to a long statement in Empisa, (pp.39-40); it would appear that Kimbugwe was an uncle rather than a cousin. But no other evidence supports this statement.

When Kateregga went where the king was, he asked him, "why did you bring to the ceremony a woman who was not the real mother of the twins? From time immemorial, it had been taboo to bring a substitute for the mother of twins." In reproaching Kateregga thus, the king did so in good faith.¹ But because Kateregga did not want to be questioned on this matter, he lost his temper and returned to his home. Hence on reaching the river Nonve, he threw the objects (olukanda) in the river and bitterly complained to his men, "Kimbugwe has ostracised me. I am not his brother."

This was the manner in which some of the ceremonies ^{connected} (okumenya olukanda) with the birth of twins were performed. As soon as the twins were born, the Salongo (father of the twins) would go and break the news to the person who had foretold that he would beget children. After breaking the news, the Salongo would return to his house. Then the door would be closed by the doctor who had foretold the birth of the twins. He would then make two holes in the walls through which the Salongo had to crawl. After that, the Salongo would go and steal a plantain from the doctor's banana garden. But on his return, he would only bring a piece of the banana (engo), wrapped in green grass called a " bombo". Having done this, the Salongo would go and break the news either to his father or to his father's heir, or to his eldest son. Thereupon, the grandfather of the twins would give to his son (the Salongo), a man and woman substitutes to act as the parents of the twins. The woman was known as the Lubuga. These and all the other clansmen would then follow the real Salongo to his windowless house. After that, the Salongo would go and cut palm leaves for making skirt-like garments (ebisenso). But the skirt of the Nnalongo (mother of the twins), used to be plaited from cooked banana leaves. The Salongo himself would have a crown made for him. Then he would kill a goat at night, and the meat would have to be consumed at once. The meat for such a ceremony, was called Amagerengejje. But any one who violated the taboos connected with the ceremonies, was not allowed to eat it. After the Salongo had eaten the meat,

¹ Kagwa states in Empisa, (p.40); that Kimbugwe was a very good king with excellent kingly qualities.

he would go and sleep in the bush. But the Nnalongo would go to the bush with the mock Salongo who had been appointed by the grandfather of the twins. She would fulfill the ceremony with this man.

The cerebrants used to sing the principal songs connected with this ceremony. Some of these were, "Nyini muno mwali tamanyi kuboola nganda, abaana bano abazze muno wewabobwe." (The owner of this house is father of all. He does not discriminate against anyone. All the children who have come here, really belong to this family.)¹ Many other songs which I have not written here used to be sang also. The form of greeting on these occasions was very strange, for example, people would say, "Gawuga," meaning that the twins were alive and healthy. Even if they had died, a fiction had to be maintained that they were alive, because it was against the traditional custom to say that the twins had died. On the morrow, the cerebrants would leave the bush and a senior clansman (omutaka), would pay them something. Thereupon, the Salongo would take his drum and beat it while he was at the graveyard of the senior clansman. He could also go to any grave yard he wanted and celebrate there. Thereupon many people would go and dance. It was taboo for the Salongo to strike any one before the ceremonies ended. Hence he had to be very careful. If the king himself wanted to complete the ceremony of dancing the twins, he would send a war expedition. He would also take with him a type of grass called Ebombo and the hair clippings which had been cut from him. Besides these objects, he used to take a barkcloth as well. After that he would kill a man, around whose neck, all these objects would be tied. Having performed all this, the people would say, " the king has completed the Olikanda of Bunyoro.

It is not immediately obvious in this paragraph that Kaggwa is actually explaining what a king would do if he was the Salongo. When he went to carry out such ceremonies, the expression used to describe them, was "olutabalo" (war). The reason whay such an expression was used, was that frequently, the ceremonies would be accompanied by a raid on the enemy territory. The reference to Bunyoro suggests that the ceremonies were gener-

1. The reference to many children, suggests that all the children of the clansmen would be present at such a ceremony.

ally performed on the borders of Bunyoro and Buganda.

While the king was carrying out the ceremony, a chief would come with a guord of plantain wine and hand it to him. The king would do the same, and that would be the end of the ceremonies. When the Salongo himself returned from the bush, he would begin the confirmation ceremony of his children. After this, he would go to his father's house to perform another ceremony (okumenya olukanda). This was done on the grave yard of the clan. The grandfather of the twins would shut himself up in a house with curtains of dry banana leaves. At dusk, the Salongo would bring a goat and drive it into the house where his father was. The latter would kill it, and in the morning he would go outside with a bowl containing white chalk which he would sprinkle on his son. The son would do the same to his father, and after that food would be served. During the meal, the grandfather of the twins would dip a banana in the sauce and give it to his daughter -in-law (the Nalongo). She would also do the same to him, and after they had all eaten, the ceremony would end. But the skirts which had been made at the beginning of the ceremony were always left in the court yard.

After Kateregga had flung the objects in the river, he first went to his house and then consulted a witch doctor. He gave him two fetishes, (Nakawⁿaguzi) one to bring him victory and Kawulugumo. Nakawanguzi was put in a drum and after that he went to fight King Kimbugwe. As for the king, he had already mobilized his forces, but when fighting began, victory hung in the balance for sometime. Meanwhile, the king went outside his house to get news from the front, whereupon Kateregga's fetish called Sekanyonyi came in the form of a bird and alighted on his head. As he asked in amazement what had fallen on him, he collapsed and died there and then. When the royal army heard of the king's death, it lost its nerve and took to flight. That was how

Kateregga won the war. Kimbugwe's body was neither immediately buried nor taken out of his capital.¹ Instead it was left in a house and put on a bed. It was only after a very long time that King Mutebi gave instructions to bury it. Kimbugwe's son Kamyuka was a coward. Instead of fighting for his father, he stayed at Lusaka with his grandmother Nalugwa. Kamyuka's descendants are still there even at the present day. The following were the important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:-

- Prime minister: Kamegere of the Civet cat clan.
- Kimbugwe : Vuja of the Yam clan.
- Kangawo : Namukwa of the Lung-fish clan.
- Mugema : Semukoteka of the Monkey clan. These latter two chiefs were first appointed by King Sekamanya.
- Kaggo : Sebatta of the Colobus monkey Clan.
- Kasujju : Sendikaddiwa of the Grasshopper clan. He was originally appointed by King Mulondo.
- Kayima : Mpaddwa. He was a prince, but he was ineligible to become a king.²

1. But a statement in Empisa (p.38), suggests that Kimbugwe was buried immediately after his death at Merera.

2. The significance of this is discussed in this chapter below.

KING KATEREGGA XLV.

Kateregga the son of Sekamanya, succeeded his cousin whom he had killed by witchcraft. After completing the funeral rites, he built a capital on a hill called Lugeye. During his residence there, a special drum was made to store in Nakawanguzi, the fetish he believed to have made him king. He paid great honour to it, as indeed did all the successive kings. Shortly after settling in the new capital, Kateregga married a girl from the family of Mpinga. Her name was Namagwa and she gave birth to Prince Kawagga. He then married a daughter of Mbajja and her name was Namutebi. She gave birth to Princes Mutebi, Juuko and Kayemba, and they all grew up.

The impression one gets from the text is that Kateregga was a man of very violent character. The comment in Empisa (p.40), is even more explicit. For example, Kaggwa writes, "Originally, Kateregga was a very bad king. He fought against his uncle, and it was only after he had consolidated his position on the throne that he reformed." Other traditional sources, show Kateregga as terrible persecutor. For instance, the traditions of the Leopard clan, assert that because their members claimed to belong to the royal family, Kateregga persecuted them so severely that many were forced to join other clans, and others founded an entirely new clan (the Genet) so as to disguise their identity. The intimate relation-

ship between the Leopard and the Genet clans today, enhances the claim that the two clans were originally one.¹

It was King Kateregga who gave the chieftainship of Katambala to Mpungu of the Sheep clan, and the chieftainship is still hereditary in the clan. He also appointed Balamaga of the Cephalopus clan as the hereditary ruler of Gomba. Henceforth, every chief of Gomba was called Balamaga. Kateregga grew old, but this was the cause of his death: While he was sleeping at night, a millepede stang his genitals. They became so swollen and painful that he passed away after a few days. His body was taken to Gombe and put on a bed in a house. Some of the poles of this house were pulled away. The jawbone was taken to Mitwebiri and stored in a wooden bowl containing cowrie shells which had holes. The king had received these shells from the chiefs whenever they went to pay homage to him.

It is implied in this paragraph that Kateregga did not die of old age, and the whole account of the reign, gives the impression that it was short. If this postulation is correct, then Mutebi came to the throne at a relatively younger age. Nevertheless, the fact that at least two war expeditions were made during the

1. Ebika, op.cit pp62-65; The Baganda, op.cit. p.271; Nsimbi, op.cit.p. 210.

reign, suggests it was not as short as Kaggwa's account implies.

The reference to a kind of tax, is not very clear. One suspects, however, that it consisted of gifts given by established chiefs, and in the case of the new chiefs, it may be described as a fee they had to pay for being appointed. In Empisa, Kaggwa adds that Katerregga used to impose a kind of tax (scutage) on people who avoided military service.

These were the leading chiefs of King Katerregga:-

- Prime minister: Kamegere of the Civet cat clan. He was first appointed by King Kimbugwe.
 - Kimbugwe : Vuja of the Yam clan. He also was first appointed by King Kimbugwe.
 - Kaggo : Sebatta of the Colobus Monkey clan.
 - Mukwenda : Kawewo of the Tail-less Cow clan.
 - Kangawo : Mavubi of the Lung-fish clan.
 - Mugema : Semukoteka of the Monkey clan. He was first appointed by King Sekamanya.
 - Kasujju : Nkune of the Grasshopper clan.
 - Kitunzi : Balamaga of the Cephalopus clan.
 - Katambalas : 1. Mpungu of the Sheep clan.
2. Degeya, also of the Sheep clan.
-

Kaggwa's statement in the text that the chieftainship of Katambala was hereditary in the Sheep clan until the present day, (that is, until the time

Baseekabaka , was written); is not correct. The hereditary right of the Sheep clan to rule Butambala ended in 1893, when the County Chieftainships were allocated on a religious basis. The last holder of the Sheep clan, was Bbira, and the first holder who was not of the Sheep clan, was Taibu Magatto, of the Edible Rat clan. Since then, every chief of Butambala has been a Moslem,

KING MUTEBI XV.

Mutebi came to the throne in succession to his father Katere-gga. When the ceremonies of mourning were completed, he went to Muguluka hill and built himself a capital. A few days after he had installed himself at Muguluka, he summoned all the chiefs and consulted with them. The king did this because he wanted to dismiss the incumbents of the chieftainships of Kaggo and Mugema, so that he could appoint his personal favourites who came with him when he became king¹. When the chiefs heard this, they protested strongly and reminded the king that Kaggo and Mugema were very important chiefs who could not be dismissed. Partly due to the vigorous opposition of the chiefs, and partly due to the fact that the dismissal of Mugema would have violated a traditional custom, the king yielded. A few days after these

1. These may have been his personal followers, who lived on his Princely Estate. The significance of Mutebi's policy and the opposition of the chiefs, are discussed in this chapter, below.

events, oracles were brought and they told the king to make a drum. Once it was ready, the king called it two names, Kawulugumo and Mujaguzo. After that, Mbazira of Bulimu was told to put the fetish in the drum. In the meantime, the king had got information that Kawewo, the Mukwenda; and Kajubi of Enkuuka, had rebelled and refused to come to the capital when they were summoned. Thereupon the king called his chiefs and consulted with them, and decided to make war upon Kawewo and Kajubi. Lubuulwa, a great favourite of the king, was appointed to command the expedition against Kawewo, and when he had defeated him, he took over the chieftainship. After that, Kalali of the Manis clan was appointed to fight Kajubi, the Kasujju. The latter was defeated and killed. Then Kalali became the hereditary chief of Busujju until today.¹ The defeat of Kajubi and his subsequent death, became the origin of the saying that Kajubi who hoped to die a natural death, was pursued up to his capital and speared to death (Awanguza ennume siyagitema, Kalali yatema Kajubi).

After plundering and killing Kajubi, Kalali collected all the loot and took it to the king. Then the two men, Lubuulwa and Kalali, made an account of their expeditions. This having been done, the king sounded Kawulugumo, the drum in which he had put his fetish. The man who used to beat the drum was called Lukungo. Then the king set off for war

¹These hereditary clan rights, like many other traditional privileges, ended in 1893, as a result of the Religious Wars.

and spent the first night at Sekanyonyi. Because there was a rock in the place where the king spent the night, he told all his men to cover it with sufficient earth. As soon as the rock had been covered with earth, the king planted a banana and a barkcloth tree upon it. He at the same time, buried his father's fetish called Sekanyonyi on that rock. He even made an order that all the cattle which had been captured at Mwera and Mityana (during the previous raids to Busujju and Mwera, respectively); should be offered to the fetish. He then asked Kasoma of the Manis clan for his son. Kasoma presented Kamenyamiggo and he was left in charge of the royal cattle.

King Mutebi seems to have had a large number of favourites, many of whom received many privileges. For example, the office of Kibaale which remained hereditary in the Oribi Antelope clan for nearly two centuries, was created by Mutebi. Mutebi's favouritism to the members of the Manis clan, may be explained by the fact that they included three of his fathers in law. And the mother of King Tebandeke, belonged to the same clan.

After those events, the king left for Singo and three days afterwards, he reached Butebi. He built his capital at Butebi and lived there for a very long time. And he was so fond of the lake Wamala, that he used to swim in it

regularly. He was also devoted to [the local] gods, and he built shrines for all of them. He was a really bad king. After he had built the shrines for the gods, Mutebi started begetting children such as Prince Tebandeke and Prince Mpiima. When the king got tired of the capital of Butebi, he built another one at Mwera. During his residence there, a man came and told him that there were large number of cattle on the island of Buziri. On hearing this, the king conferred with his chiefs and then went to war. The islanders were defeated and plundered of countless numbers of cattle.

After his return from the war, the king built another capital at Mbalwa and lived there for a very long time until he died. His body was taken to Gombe and put on a bed in a house. The jawbone was taken to Kongojje and stored in a wooden bowl, as the custom was. These were the important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:-

- Prime minister : Musezi of the Civet cat clan.
- Kimbugwe : Sekadde of the Civet cat clan.
- Kaggo : Sebatta of the Colobus monkey clan.
- Mukwenda : Kawewo of the Tailless Cow. He was first appointed by King Kateregga.†
- Kangawo : Muvubi of the Lung-fish clan. He also was originally appointed by Kateregga.
- Mugema : Semikoteka of the Monkey clan. He was first appointed by King Sekamanya.

1. Kaggwa forgets to state that Kawewo was dismissed and replaced by a favourite of King Mutebi.

- Kasujju : Nkune of the Grasshopper clan. He was first appointed by King Kateregga. But he was dismissed and killed by the orders of King Mutebi. Kalali of the Manis clan, succeeded him, and henceforth, the chieftainship was permanently lost to the Grasshopper clan.
- Kintunzi : Balamaga of the Cephalopus clan. He was first appointed by King Kateregga.
- Katambala : Manganyi of the Sheep clan.

KING JUUKO XVI.

Juuko succeeded his brother Mutebi, and when he had completed the mourning ceremonies, he went to Ngalamye hill and built himself a capital. One year after his accession, he caught a disease which drove him mad. Then his subjects took him to Bumbu and brought a doctor. Special ablutions were prepared and they cured the king. He was also purified, and this was how the ceremony of purification was performed:

After the king had been washed, a banana tree was brought and cut length wise. Thereupon the doctor covered the head of the king with a bark cloth. He also made him walk through the banana tree, and as he did so, the bark cloth which had been covering his head, would stick in the tree.

Once he had been cured of his madness, the king left Bumbu and went to Mawule hill where he built a new capital. A few days after taking up residence at Mawule, he learnt that there was a wonderfully beautiful girl at Nabutitti. She was called Nalunga and her father was Semalulu of the Envuma clan. Having got this information the King went to Nabutitti at once, and when he came where the girl was, he asked her, "Do you want me to marry you?" "Yes. I love you," the girl replied. The king was pleased with the girl and he therefore took her to wife. After the marriage, he left his previous capital and built another one on Lubaga hill. He lived there for a very long time until he fell ill, and as a result, he abandoned that capital and built another one on Wagaba hill, where he again lived for a long time.

One day after these events, while the king was walking in his capital, he met a doctor giving an amulet to his son. Thereupon the king asked, "Who has given the amulet to the Prince? It was I," replied the doctor. "Why did you give it to him?" Juuko demanded. "Because it was good for his healthy," the doctor retorted. Then the king wanted to have the man arrested. But the man threatened, "If you want to arrest me, I shall order the sun to fall down." Before Juuko could reply, the doctor ordered the sun to set, and suddenly darkness enveloped the earth. [In the 1912 and subsequent Editions of Bassekabaka, Kaggwa added the

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following sentence : After the sun had set, the doctor ran away and disappeared.] When the sun set, Nalunga asked her husband to send for Wanga to come and hang up the sun. On hearing his wife's suggestion, the king sent for Wanga¹ and when he arrived, he restored the sun in its place and there was light again. Having done this, Wanga pronounced several oracles, whereupon the king put two of his children under his care. They were Prince Kyekakka and Princess Kagere. It is claimed that the sun fell on Baka hill, but I think this story is not true. It sounds like a grandmother's tale. It seems to me that the men of old did not understand what prevented the sun from rising.²

During Juuko's residence at the capital of Wagaba, some oracles went and advised him to prevent his brother Kayemba, from marrying the girl he was courting. "If he marries her, you will all die," the oracles threatened. But when the king sent a warning to his brother, that he should not marry Nakku, because the gods had advised against it; Kayemba paid no heed. Instead he told the messengers to ask the king, "Why didn't the gods prevent you from marrying Nalunga?" Having made this retort to the royal messengers, Kayemba married Nakku and a few days after

1. The reference is to the medium of god Wanga. Like most Baganda gods, Wanga descended from Bukulu of Sesse. See J. Roscoe, The Baganda, op.cit. p.313.
2. This event is believed to have been the total eclipse of the sun which took place in 1680. Its chronological significance has been discussed in chap. 2. See also, Sir John Gray, The Early History of Buganda, op.cit. p.259-71.

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their marriage, she conceived.

When on their return the messengers reported that Kayemba had already married Nakku, the king plotted to kill him. And this was how he went about the plot: He called his man called Masakate, who was the chief canoe builder and told him, "Go to Bulama and order all the chiefs to build a canoe of clay. They must decorate it with cowrie shells and mud (ebisittaka)." As soon as the chiefs had built the canoe, Masakate went and told the king that everything was ready. Thereupon the king decided with his chiefs to make war upon Buvuma and also to kill Kayemba secretly. Having conspired with the chiefs, the king sent for his brother, and when he came, he said to him, "I have appointed you to command a war expedition to Buvuma." The reason why Kayemba could be appointed a general, was that at that time, princes used to command armies without themselves turning into rebels.¹ Then Kayemba swore the oath of allegiance and left. But when he reached Kisubi, he heard a herd boy playing a flute: Kayemba does not listen to advice. He will embark a canoe of clay. He has a leprosy behind his neck. Then Kayemba asked those who were with him whether he had a leprosy. They replied that it was so, but they had been frightened to tell him. When he heard this, he pretended to be unaware of the fact, whereas he had always

1. After the reign of Semakokiro in the 19th century, Princes were gradually removed from all positions of power and influence, so that by the reign of Mutesa, they had to be kept under custody.

known that he had leprosy.

As he walked towards the lake, a man warned him, "Do not embark in that decorated canoe because your brother has plotted to kill you. Hence when the chiefs of Bulama brought the decorated canoe, Kayemba refused to get in it. Instead he called upon their leader Masakate to embark in the decorated canoe. Masakate tried to refuse, but Kayemba forced him to do so, and before the canoe was a few leagues away, it melted and sank with Masakate in it. But the builders of that canoe had a very difficulty job. Not only did they succeed in making a canoe of mud, but they decorated it so well and burnt the mud in such a way that it resembled one made of wood. Kayemba himself embarked in one of the wooden canoes and set off for war.

On leaving Nkumba, he slept at Nsazi and thence at Lwaje. After Lwaje, he spent the next night at Naluuma's and on leaving there, he slept at Bulutwe. After Bulutwe, he slept at Bugolo, and after one day, he crossed the lake and reached Buvuma. Meanwhile he had instructed his soldiers to stand on one leg after they had landed. The soldiers did as they were told. When the Bavuma saw each soldier standing on one leg, they said to themselves, "Let us wait until they have all assembled. We shall massacre them in one batch." After the whole of the Baganda army had landed, Kayemba ordered them to begin fighting. The Bavuma were

were defeated and very many of them were killed. Their defeat became the origin of the saying that procrastination leads to an accumulation of problems, (Linda Buwere yawanguza Abavuma). After the war, Kayemba refused to return to Buganda and settled in Buvuma. He did this because the king wanted to kill him. But while he was in Buvuma an oracle came and said, "This woman is pregnant. Your brother refused you permission to marry her, but you defied him. Now if she gives birth on this island, you will die." When Kayemba heard this, he sent away his wife, and she was taken to Luba's in Busoga. The Basoga were amazed to see a Muganda woman, especially because she was pregnant and unescorted. Hence they consulted the oracles, and they were told to return the woman to her husband who had sent her to Busoga.

On bringing her back to Kayemba, he refused to accept her and even told them a lie that he was not her husband. "Take her back to Buganda. I do not love her at all. If you insist, I shall fight you," he threatened. Having heard this, Luba chose some people to take the woman to Buganda. While the men were approaching Walumba, that is, the place on the road to Jinja, Nakku gave birth to a limbless child. She was so shocked that he called the baby Kawumpuli. During the pregnancy, Nakku had a midwife who was also a medium of the god Nabuzaana. The Basoga forced this woman to carry the baby, but when they reached Jinja, they could

not get the canoes to take them across the Nile. Hence they went to Buzaya and brought a canoe called Nakakweya in which Nakku, the baby and the midwife were ferried to Busawuli, a village in Bulondoganyi. Because Nakku's midwife was a Munyoro, that became the origin of the Kiganda custom of having Banyoro women who were also the mediums of the god Nabuzaana; to be nurses of Baganda royal children.

When King Juuko heard that Kayemba had divorced his wife, after she had given birth to a limbless baby, and that the baby and its mother were then in Bulondoganyi, he summoned his chiefs and asked them, "What shall we do? Kayemba has refused to return, but he has the whole army with him." He then told the people of Kyaggwe to stop cultivating their gardens.¹ They did as they had been told, and when the king satisfied himself that the County of Kyaggwe had grown wild, he conferred with his chiefs again and decided to abandon the capital of Wagaba. He built another one on Bujjuko hill, and after he had taken up residence there, he told Mulwana the Prime minister, "Go and tell Kayemba that Juuko is dead. Perhaps that will persuade him to return and become king." On being told thus, Mulwana went to Buvuma, and when he arrived he said to Kayemba, "The king has died. Come

¹When a man died, his relatives and immediate neighbours, stopped doing any work, especially the cultivation of their gardens during the period of mourning. If a king died, the whole country would go into mourning for nearly four or five months. For a detailed description of mourning ceremonies, see Empisa, op.cit. pp 196-208; The Baganda, op.cit pp.98-127.

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and succeed to the throne." But Kayemba was suspicious and he sent his own men to Kyaggwe [to check whether people no longer cultivated their gardens.] On reaching Kyaggwe, they found that the whole area had grown wild and the people were wearing their hair long. Hence, on their return to where Kayemba was, they told him that Mulwana had not been telling lies. "The whole of Kyaggwe is uncultivated and the people no longer cut their hair," they concluded. It was thus after Kayemba had heard the report of his own men, that he agreed to return to Buganda. He collected his belongings and sent for the fleet. Namakobe, an important old chief, who was also the Sabagabo was left in charge of some of the things which Kayemba had left behind.

On leaving Buvuma, he spent the night at Kigombe. It was at Kigombe that all his men were ferried across the lake to Buganda. After Kigombe, Kayemba slept in the following places: Mpirivuma, Iwere, Buto and Bukoto. At Bukoto, he found the people beating drums and making merry. The women were also cultivating their gardens. Forthwith, Kayemba called Mulwana and reprimanded him thus, "Why did you deceive me? The King is still alive. Do people cultivate when the king has died?" Before Mulwana could reply, Kayemba beat him so savagely that he broke all his limbs. But while he was being beaten, his men hurried to the

capital and told the king that Mulwana was being savagely beaten. The news enraged Juuko so much that he despatched Nanserenga with the following warning, "If Kayemba wants war, let him tell me. But if he does not, he will have to carry Mulwana to the capital here." On arriving where Kayemba was, Nanserenga delivered the king's message. Kayemba was now in a difficult situation, because his army had already scattered, and he himself could no longer return to Buvuma. He therefore agreed to carry Mulwana from Bukoto, that is the place where he had beaten him; to the capital. They spent the night at Kibibi in Kawoko, and the next day arrived at the capital.

As soon as the king saw Kayemba, he severely reproached him saying, "Why did you you beat Mulwana? Why did you rebel when I appointed you to command an expedition to Buvuma? I rebelled because you were plotting to kill me. You even wanted me to embark in a canoe made of clay. Fearing that you would still wreak vengeance on me if I returned, I decided to stay in Buvuma. That was Kayemba's retort. When the king heard this reply, he did not do anything harmful to Kayemba, neither did he reproach him again. The reason for this was that they were full brothers. Instead, he told him to return to his estate of Bujumba where he was before he went to the war.

In Empisa (p.43), Kaggwa supplies more information on the personal relationships of these two brothers. He wrote, "...When Kayemba built himself a palace, he named it Kanyakasasa like the one built by his elder brother Juuko. His umbilical cord (the twin) also, was known by the same name. The reason why these two kings gave the same names to their palaces and umbilical cords, was that they were brothers of the same mother Namutebi. And they always regarded themselves as twins. If it had not been for their rivalry for the throne, they would have loved each other very much; but as it was, they did not.

A few days after Kayemba had been escorted to his estate, he sent for his child and its mother from Bulondoganyi. He did this because, Kawumpuli, the child, had made him ill (yamululumirira). When the messengers brought the child, they advised Kayemba to put it under the Ekikookoma tree. Near this tree, Kayemba had planted another one which he named Batendangangi. The child remained under the tree for a long time, until the oracles came and advised Kayemba that if he wanted to ascend the throne quickly, he must build a shrine for his son. "The shrine must be built of a certain kind of grass called Ekkuuku and thatched with another type called Obusekende," they concluded. Soon after

this, Kayemba built the shrine on Mpassse hill and then asked the oracles what he should do next? They advised him to put the child in the shrine and added, " If ever the king looked upon that shrine, he would die." On hearing this, Kayemba put his son Kawumpuli; inside the shrine. At that time while King Juuko was in his capital of Bujuuko, he saw some oracles who warned him never again to look in the direction of Bulemezi. "If you do," they continued, " you will die. because your brother has built there a shrine for his son Kawumpuli." At the sametime, the oracles told Juuko to be under the strict care of his wife Nalunga. Her duty was to cover his head with a bark cloth whenever he went outside the house. Juuko agreed and Nalunga did as the oracles had advised, until one day when she caught an eye disease. And because of this, she could not attend to her husband.

It was on one of these occasions that the king went outside the house and looked in the direction of Bulemezi. When he did so, he saw the temple of Kayemba's son. But on returning to the house, he developed severe nose bleeding which made him unconscious and he died suddenly. On his death, all the people believed that he had been killed by Kawumpuli, the son of Kayemba. Henceforth, the Baganda regarded that occasion as the origin of the pestilence (Kawumpuli). The reason why they believed this, was that

they had never before seen or known the cause of such sudden death. For example, if any one died of swollen glands in the neck, or in the armpits, or under the thighs, or anywhere else on his body, the Bganda would say that he had been killed by Kawumpuli, the son of Kayemba who killed King Juuko. His body was taken to Gombe and the jawbone was stored in a wooden bowl at Bujuko. Juuko, was the first king to wear a special hair style (okutala ejjoba). These were the leading chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:-

Prime ministers :¹. Wannanda of the Mushroom clan.

ii. Mulwana of the Otter clan.

Kimbugwe ; Luwangalwambwa of the Lung fish clan

Kaggo : Kisolo of the Grasshopper clan.

Sekiboobo : Bwogi of the Grasshopper clan.

Kangawo : Sendigya of the Lung-fish clan.

Mugema : Semukoteka of the Monkey clan. He was originally appointed by King Sekamanya.

Kayima : Bwogi of the Grass hopper clan.

Kasujju : Kalali of the Manis clan. He was first appointed by King Mutebi.

Kitunzi : Luzira of the Cephalopus clan.

Katambala : Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by King Mutebi.

Bwogi, first became the Sekiboobo and then the Kayima.

KING KAYEMBA XVII.

Kayemba succeeded his brother Juuko, and went to a village called Tongolo to complete the mourning ceremonies. After the ceremonies, he went to Lunnyo and built himself a capital. A few days after taking up residence at Lunnyo, he summoned Mulwana and condemned him to death saying, "You are going to be executed because your master forced me to carry you. Your jawbone will be removed and tied together with that of Juuko." Forthwith, Mulwana was taken to the river Munyere and executed. The jawbone was removed and put together with that of Juuko. But Mulwana's was put on top of that of Juuko, as a reminder that Juuko had forced Kayemba to carry his Prime minister. When the two jawbones had been tied together, Kayemba declared, "Juuko should be made to carry his Prime minister. Moreover, Juuko had a canoe of clay specially made because he wanted me to get drowned. Because of this, I shall also have his jawbone and that of his man thrown in the lake"¹. With these words, the jawbones were given to the soldiers to throw them in the lake.

The soldiers set off and spent the night at Kisugu. Then they asked Kinyoro the chief of the district to give

¹ Kayemba did not wreak his vengeance on Mulwana only. The evidence suggests that the men who were associated with the building of the clay canoe, were severely persecuted, and some had to flee the country. See R. Oliver, The Baganda and the Bakonjo, Ug. Journ. 18/1 (1954) pp. 31-33. The subject of political refugees from Buganda, is discussed in chap. 6. below.

them beer. But when Kinyoro sent his men to get the beer, [the villagers] refused to give it because they were too drunk. Kinyoro's men returned and reported that they were refused the beer although there was plenty of it, and the villagers were beating their drums. Kinyoro was so infuriated when he heard this, that he told the royal messengers who had asked for the beer, "Go and plunder them (the villagers) because they have been disrespectful to me." The royal messengers set off at once and plundered the drunken men who had refused to give beer to the chief. There was plenty of loot and it included women, cattle, goats and bark cloth. After the raid, they caught large quantities of Grasshoppers on their way back.

While the royal messengers were away, Kinyoro untied their bag and when he looked in it, he saw the royal jawbone. He removed the two jawbones, filled the bag with stones, tied it up again tightly and put it back in its place. When the soldiers returned, they brought all the plunder before Kinyoro. He inspected it and gave it to them. Leaving their plunder behind, the royal messengers took away the bag. On reaching the port, they obtained a canoe and after paddling for several leagues, they threw the bag in the lake. They did not know that Kinyoro had untied it, and when they returned, they bade him farewell and left

KING TEBANDEKE XVIII.

Tebandeke came to the throne when he succeeded his uncle Kayemba. Tebandeke himself was the son of King Mutebi. When he completed the funeral rites, he built a capital on Bundeke hill and lived there for a very long time. But during his residence at Bundeke, every child born to him died until he consulted the oracles. They told him that it was the twin (umbilical cord) of his great ancestor Kimera which killed his children. On hearing this, Tebandeke asked all the experienced searchers to look for the twin. When they came to Nabulagala village, the inhabitants showed them where it had been buried. After digging a little earth, the searchers discovered the twin and took it to the king. Tebandeke was so overjoyed that he ordered the chiefs to bring [large quantities of] bark cloth. He made a big feast and the twin was wrapped beautifully in bark cloths. The twin was then sent to Bumera and kept in the house where Kimera's jawbone was. The woman who had succeeded Wanyana, the mother of Kimera; took care of the twin in much the same way as Wanyana herself had nursed Kimera. The incident became the origin of the saying, "one who bears the child, must nurse it. Wanyana nurses Lukungo."

After that, Tebandeke began to have children such as Prince Juma and others. When the oracles saw that the king's

children no longer died, they demanded medical fees. But because they had made their demands in public and thereby embarrassed the king, he became so enraged that he condemned all the mediums of the gods to instant execution and the burning down of all their temples. After the extermination of the mediums, the king left his capital and built another one on Mulago hill. But a few days after he had taken up residence there, he caught a very serious disease which even drove him mad. Leaving his capital, he ran to Kabulengwa hill and hid himself in the nearby forest. When his men searched for him, they found him in the forest, but his madness had already been cured, and he himself had become a medium of the god Mukasa.

A large number of people gathered and when the king saw them, he gave orders to have another capital built. As soon as it was ready, he left the forest and went to the new capital. He then became a devoted medium of Mukasa and thus restored the practices he had wiped out. He used to kiss and bite white hot iron bars, after which he would brand his body with them. Tebandeke continued to live at Kabulengwa, carrying on his two functions, of ruling the country and of being the medium of the god Mukasa. It was in that capital that he fell ill and died. His body was taken to Merera and put in a house. The jawbone was taken to Bundeke and stored in a wooden bowl which contained cowrie shells and

beads. When chiefs died, their successors whether sons or brothers, had to take cowrie shells (with holes in them) and put them on the royal cushion. This was done as often as they went to pay homage to the king. The royal pages who took care of the cushions, would keep the cowrie shells until the king died. Thereupon, people would inquire about them, and afterwards they would be put under the jawbone in the wooden bowl. If large quantities of cowrie shells and beads had been stored, the people would say, "King so and so was popular."

The reason why Tebandeke and other kings were not taken to Gombe, was that Senkaba the chief [guardian] at Gombe, used frequently to grumble and to demand excessive remuneration, saying, "It is I who guard your (the kings') tombs. Why don't you give me plenty of things?" When Tebandeke became angry, he executed Senkaba, pillaged the whole of Gombe and even declared, "When I die, I must never be buried at Gombe. My body must be taken to Merera." Tebandeke was a very bad king. He did not know the art of ruling. [The last sentence does not appear in the original Edition of Bassekabaka.]

The outstanding features of Tebandeke's reign, were the conflicts with the mediums and the traditional ritual officers. His summary execution of many of them and the

drastic measures he took against the others, throw some light on how a strong willed king could deal with opposition or with embarrassing situations. Here as in many other cases, the mediums and the guardians, are shown as reckless racketeers and extortioners. At first sight, one may suspect that Kaggwa's strong Christian views forced him to write unfairly of the traditional religion. But a close study of the practices of the oracles, shows that the picture given by Kaggwa is fair.

These were Tebandeke's leading chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:-

Prime minister: Mayambala of the Civet Cat clan.

Kangawo : Sendigya of the Lung-fish clan. He was first appointed by King Juuko.

Mugema : Sebina of the Monkey clan

Kasujju : Wankalubo of the Manis clan.

Kitunzi : Kiribatta of the Cephalopus clan.

: Malembo of the Cephalopus clan

Katambala : Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by King Juuko.

KING NDAWULA XIX.

Ndawula and Tebandeke were cousins: Tebandeke himself was the son of Mutebi, whereas Ndawula was the son of Juuko. On his accession, Ndawula declared to his chiefs: I shall not become a medium of any god, neither do I want to brand myself with red hot pieces of iron as if I were a madman. Let Tebandeke's son, Juma Katebe, become the successor to his father's god. He will also take possession of iron which his father used to bite. Having been made a successor to his father's priesthood, Juma Katebe was put under the custody of Kinyoro by the king. He was taken to Kisugu and kept under guard for sometime until Ndawula had consolidated his position on the throne. After that, Kinyoro returned Juma and the king put him under the care of Kangawo, he was also given an estate at Kibanga. Juma lived at Kibanga which became the Butaka of his descendants up to the present day. Since that time, a custom has prevailed, namely that whenever a prince became king, a son of Juma became a co-successor also.

King Tebandeke's becoming a medium of the god Mukasa, and Ndawula's refusal to become a medium of any god after his accession, raises the question whether Baganda kings used to play the double role of priests as well as of kings. Despite the example of Tebandeke,

however, the bulk of the evidence suggests that a Muganda king was primarily a political and military leader. Those who played the double role, were the exceptions. Kaggwa's story of how Ndawula forced Juma to become the spiritual successor of his father, seems to reveal what it attempts to conceal, namely that there was a dispute for the throne between Juma and Ndawula. Support for this suggestion is contained in the statement that Ndawula was forced to keep his young cousin under custody until after he had strengthened his position in the country.

After the King had ended the affair of Juma, he built himself a capital on Lubaga hill. When he got tired of it, he built another one on Kyebando hill and lived there for a very long time. Meanwhile, he gave the village of Kikaya to his mother's relatives, where they could cultivate food for him. The chief of these women was called Nakaberenge. From that time to the present, every woman appointed by the king to take possession of that estate, is called Nakaberenge. When Ndawula had lived on Kyebando for a very long time, a special fetish called Bukonge was made for him. It was also during his residence at Kyebando, that the following sons were born to him: Kagulu, Musanje, Mawanda, Kikulwe, Segamwenge and Luyenje. Many other sons besides these were also born to him.

As Ndawula grew old, he caught an eye disease which baffled all the doctors. At long last, there came a man who told the king that he was a specialist in eye diseases. But once, I give you my medicine, he claimed, you must hide in the forest so that people may not see you. If they see you, your eyes will not get cured. If, however, some one meets you, you must forbid him not to let anyone else know. Should he fail to keep your whereabouts a secret, he must be brought before you tied on a rope, and as soon as you see him, he should be killed at once. If you fulfill all these conditions, your eyes will get completely cured. After Ndawula had conferred with his mother, his maternal uncle and his prime minister, he set off with the doctor. They went and hid in Nawanku forest which was on Mengo hill. He was treated only for a few days and the disease got cured. As soon as he had recovered his sight, he began to walk along the borders of the forest and the banana gardens. But one day, he met a man called Sirogan ga, who was going to hunt. The king asked him not to report him, and Siroganga assured him that he would not.

Seeing that the specified number of days [during which the king had to be cured] had passed, Nandawula the Queen Mother, sent word to the Sabaganzi and the prime-minister, to remind them that the days had passed. But because they also had no means of getting information about the king, they decided to make a big festival with

plenty of food and beer. The festival was held in the royal court yard , and when the people had eaten and drunk got drunk, Nsombya, the prime minister; said to them: Let those who are smartly dressed parade across the yard so that we can choose the smartest of them all. Then Siroganga was called upon to march, but as soon as he did so, he swore that he had been with the king the previous evening. When the others heard him, they took him before the prime minister. The latter asked Siroganga to take him to the place where he had seen the king. Siroganga, however, refused until after he had been beaten. He then said, "Let me take you to the place where I saw the king," and with these words, he led the prime minister, the Sabaganzi and indeed all the other chiefs to the forest.

When the king saw Siroganga leading the prime minister and the Sabaganzi, he said: Dis I not warn you not to reveal where I was? Siroganga apologised saying that his toungue had put him in trouble, but the king speared him to death all the same. This incident became the origin of the saying which is still quoted, that failure to keep secrets, led to the death of Siroganga. After killing Siroganga, the king returned to his capital with the prime-minister, the Sabaganzi and the chiefs. They were all jubilant because the eyes of their king had been cured.

Ndawula died when he was a very old man. His body was taken to Merera and put on a bed in a house. The poles of such a house were pulled out so that it could fall down quickly. Certain royal servants such as the chief cook and

and the chief brewer, and the ladies Omusubika and the Omubikka, used to be executed outside the house. After that the jawbone was taken to Musaba and stored in a wooden bowl. In the bowl, were cowrie shells (with holes in them), and beads which the successors to the senior chiefs used to give to the king. Ndawula was an excellent king, good natured and peaceful. He was always on the best of terms with his chiefs, who had also long [and peaceful] lives. So far as Nsobya the Prime minister was concerned, the king was so fond of him that he made the promise that the two of them should be buried in the same place. These were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:-

Prime minister: Nsobya of the Civet cat clan.

Kangawo : Sendigya of the Lung-fish clan. He was originally appointed by King Juuko.

Kimbugwe: Mukubira of the Colobus monkey clan.

Mugema : Sebina of the Monkey clan. He was first appointed by King Tebandeke.

Kasujju : Wankalubo of the Manis clan. He was first appointed by King Tebandeke.

Kitunzi : Kajongo, Nalumenya and Maseruka. All these three belonged to the Cephalopus clan.

Katambala: Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by King Mutebi.

KING KAGULU XX.

Kagulu succeeded his father Ndawula, and, after he had completed the mourning ceremonies, he built a capital on Bulizo hill. A few years after taking up his residence there, he killed Musanje Golooba, his half brother because he had brought about the death of Prince Luyenje. Luyenje himself, was Kagulu's full brother because they had the same mother. One day, Musanje and Luyenje had been wrestling and Musanje had thrown his opponent to the ground and killed him. Hence when Kagulu came to the throne, he avenged the death of his mother's son by executing Prince Musanje. But by the time of his execution, Prince Musanje had had the following sons, Mwanga, Namugala, Kyabaggu and Kayondo. After executing Musanje, Kagulu executed also Sentongo, the Mugema; and he henceforth became uncontrollable. He had sharp nails made and they were planted in front of him whenever he gave audience. When people came to pay him homage or to have their cases heard, he would tell them: Pay me homage while prostrating yourselves on the nails. Thus many people used to have their hands pierced by the nails.

This was how people used to pay homage to the kings of Buganda. They used to kneel and stretch out their

hands, saying, "Asinze Kabaka" [That is long live your majesty.] To prove that he was an extraordinary man, Kagulu used to call very many people to come before him. He would then command them to dig up a Muvule tree with all its roots undamaged. The people of course obeyed and laboured tremendously. The Muvule itself is one of the most difficult trees to dig, because its roots go deeper than those of any other trees. Sometimes, while men were inside the pit digging up the Muvule tree, Kagulu would order those who had remained on the surface to bury their friends alive. These would obey the king's orders and thereby kill the other men by suffocation. He did also another strange thing. He said to his chiefs: Will it not be an excellent policy if everthing belonging to the king had a mark to distinguish it? Whereupon the chiefs who were present replied: It is quite fitting, your Majesty, for everything belonging to the king to bear a mark, distinguishing it from other things. Seeing that the chiefs had consented to his suggestion, he passed a law that all the reeds which were to be used for everything belonging to the king, must be carried with their sharp ends facing downwards. Once that is done, he claimed, there will then be a real distinction between the reeds which are used for

the royal functions, and the functions of the chiefs. However, when the people tried to carry the reeds with the sharp ends on their heads as the king wished, they found it impossible.

Now because the chiefs and other people were afraid of being pierced by the sharp nails, and of being buried alive, they decided to rebel; everyone going wherever he wanted. Some for example, went to Gimbi, a hill in Mawokota, from which they used to have a very good view of Lulumbu, where Kagulu's capital was. From Gimbi hill, they would mock the king saying: Long live your Majesty. We, your subjects came here to deliberate. Seeing that the chiefs had refused to go to the Councils, Kagulu had a special drum made. He then gave the order that it should be sounded thus: Obuganda Mirembe, Kagulu takyatta bantu, mujje mukiike. (There is peace in the country. Chiefs do come to the Councils. Kagulu no longer executes people). But even when the drum was beaten, the chiefs refused to go to the Councils. Realizing that the country had rebelled, Princess Nassolo called her brothers, Kikulwe, Mawanda and Segamwenge and also her cousins, the sons of her (deceased) brother Musanje. They were Mwanga, Namugala, Kyabaggu and Kayondo. She then suggested: Let us flee to Bunyoro,

otherwise Kagulu will kill us. When the Princes had heard her proposal, they agreed. And during the night, Nassolo took them to Bunyoro. But by the time they reached Busunju where Mawuba was, they were already tired. Then Princess Nassolo proposed that they should stop there and try to get some food, But the Princes fearing that they might be captured, refused to accept her proposal. When Nassolo saw that they had definitely refused, she left them in the bush and went to the village to bring Mawuba, who was a great friend of hers.

Mawuba also entreated the Princes to go to the village with him so that he might hide them, but still they refused. After imploring them again and again, the princes finally said to him: If you want to take us in the village and hide us, let us first make blood brotherhood with you. When Mawuba heard that, he asked them to allow him to fetch a knife. But while he was going to bring the knife and the coffee beans, Kikowe, Mawanda's wife, produced a knife and some coffee beans. Mawuba therefore returned and sitting down, he made a blood brotherhood with Mawanda. It was after the blood brotherhood had been made that the princes agreed to accompany Mawuba to the village, and he

hid them inside his enclosure. Soon after that, Mawuba went and obtained fetishes from the medicine men and at the same time, he sent word to all the chiefs that the princes were with him. On hearing this, the chiefs replied: Bring the princes so that we may fight this man of blood. Then Mawuba set off, but the doctor had already told him what to do with the fetish. My fetish, said the doctor, must be tied around Akawewo [small animal] and when you have marched part of the journey, you should send the Akawewo and Ettutuma (a kind of bird), to run to the capital and back to you. If they return quickly you should then march off and prepare yourself for war. When Mawuba saw Akawewo and Ettutuma, he sent them to the capital and told them to return quickly, and on their return he left for the battle.

Meanwhile, Kagulu had built another capital on Kibibi hill and oracles had been given concerning Empongo. At the same time the whole country (Obuganda) had been summoned to go and cultivate crops in the royal courtyard and while they were doing so, they saw Akawewo and Ettutuma. Before the people could beat the Akawewo, it run back to Mawuba, who immediately marched upon the capital for war. The king also had already sounded the war drum, but because

the whole country refused to go and fight for him, he adopted another strategy. He commanded those who were with him, to put up road blocks everywhere and to tie them with the partitions of houses and finally set everything on fire. The men did as the king bade them and erected walls everywhere as road blocks, and as soon as they had been set on fire, Kagulu fled.

On leaving the capital, he slept at Naberu where even those supporters he still had, deserted him. Seeing that he was alone, he fled to Seguku and hid himself there for very many days. But during that time, he had no meat to eat. Hence he took someone else's goat, but when the owner tried to rescue it, Kagulu speared him to death. Thereupon the people of Seguku expelled him and he went to Zirannumbu and whence to Bulingugwe. On leaving Bulingugwe, he crossed the lake and went to Mugomba and thence to Namaba's in Kojja where he hid himself. Meantime [each of] the princes refused to ascend the throne, until Kagulu died. They therefore asked Mawuba to become king, but he also refused, claiming that he was only a commoner. (Mawuba naberawo okutuusa okutta Kagulu). At the sametime Princess Nassolo Ndege was told that Kagulu was at Kojja. She left her brothers at the capital before anyone of them

became king and went to Namaaba's: She made friends with Namaaba and implored him thus: If you catch Kagulu for me, I promise that you will be greatly rewarded. When Namaaba understood that the princess loved him, he said to her: Let me go and brew some beer; and as soon as it is ready, you must come. Thus, once the beer was ready, Nassolo went to the party, and, on entering the house, she saw Kagulu. She arrested him and he was taken to Bukule village where she drowned him in the lake. After that, the princess took possession of that village and gave it to Seryenvu, one of her men; and it has remained Seryenvu's hereditary estate up to the present time.

On her return, Nassolo conferred with the princes in order to choose the successor to the throne; and they chose Kikulwe who was the eldest among them. The reason why the princes had at first refused to ascend the throne, was their fear of Kagulu. That was why they had given the throne to Mawuba their blood brother.

Although all the evidence suggests that Mawuba never sat on the Buganda throne, a tradition prevailed nevertheless that he did. For detailed accounts concerning

Mawuba and the possible origin of this claim, one's best sources, are outside the text. One has therefore to turn to Gomotoka and the local traditions of north west Singo, where Busunju is situated.¹ All the sources agree that Mawuba was a famous medicine man and that was why the princes turned to him for aid. Gomotoka states that after the overthrow of Kagulu, the victorious princes distributed many political rewards to their favourites. The traditions of Mawanda in fact show him as a rather extravagant king in distributing royal favours, and he is said to have created his brave warriors "Princes of the Realm". Among the recipients of this new honour, Gomotoka claims, was Mawuba. This, coupled with the blood brotherhood he had made with the princes, possibly led Mawuba and his descendants to claim that they were princes. The claim seems to have been accepted until the 1920s, when it was challenged by the Sabalanguira (Head of the princes). The case was heard before the king in 1926, and in his judgement, he told Mawuba,

Your ancestor, was a prince by blood brotherhood. His was a life title, and he did not therefore bequeathe it to you his descendants. 2

The royal judgement seemed to have closed a long chapter

1. Makula; see also Gomotoka, in Munno of 1926.

2. *ibid.*

of claim for recognition. Today, however, Mawuba's family assert that the first Mawuba was a son of King Mutebi.¹

After Kagulu had been killed, Mawuba asked the princes to choose the successor, whereupon Princess Nassolo chose Kikulwe. Other people, however, told me a different story, that on leaving Nabweru, Kagulu was pursued by Mawanda who wounded him slightly after they had reached Buto. Then Kagulu escaped to Kojja, where Princess Nassolo Ndege found him. Kagulu was a thoroughly bad king, that was why the people refused to bury him in Busiro. There is no tomb for him there. He had two sons Kayima and Sematimba who also fled with him.

Kaggwa was correct when he first wrote his books in asserting that Kagulu had neither a jawbone shrine nor a tomb in Busiro. According to the information provided by the descendants of Kagulu, and the members of the Nkejje clan in which they had disguised themselves for several generations, Kagulu's jawnone,

1. The writer had a long interview with the present Mawuba in Sept. 63.

though preserved, was not brought to Busiro until the 1920s.¹ That was after his descendants who had taken care of it, had revealed their identity. Kagwa should therefore have corrected his earlier statement when a revised edition of Bashekabaka appeared in 1927.

The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:-

- Prime minister: Kagulu gave the prime ministership to his maternal uncle, Ntambi. It was with him that Kagulu tyrannised the country and brought great suffering to the people during his reign.
- Kangawo: Kasulamunkanja of the Lung-fish clan.
- Mugema : Sentongo of the Monkey clan.
- Kasujju: Nakaswa of the Manis clan.
- Kitunzi: Vunamunkoko of the Cephalopus clan .
- Katambala: Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by King Mutebi.

1. The history of Kagulu and his descendants, was collected and written first in Munno of 1923 by Gomotoka, and also by "Kagulu's descendants" in Munno of 1924. See also Makula, op.cit.

KING KIKULWE XXI

Kagulu and Kikulwe were both Ndawula's sons. Kikulwe himself came to the throne when he succeeded his brother, and as soon as he had established himself firmly on the throne, he embarked on a campaign which nearly exterminated all the members of the Elephant clan because of the misdeeds of "their son, Kagulu". Some members of the clan joined the Civer cat clan and that was the origin of the friendly co-operation which prevails even today between the two clans. As a matter of fact there is very little difference between the two clans. Having killed off the members of Elephant clan, Kikulwe built himself a capital on Kibibi hill and lived there for a long time. While he was there, he had the following children born to him, Madangu, Mpali-kitenda, Maganda, Gabanga, Segamwenge, Zansanze, Nabaloga, Gabane and Gomotoka.

Meantime, Kikulwe discovered that the wish of the country was that Mawanda should be the king. Hence he plotted to kill him, by inviting him to go to a feast at the royal court. After sending the invitation, Kikulwe told his men to dig a pit and as soon as it was ready, small branches of trees and some grass were put on top

of it. Then a thin layer of earth was spread on top of the grass (so as to disguise the pit as much as possible). There was, however, a certain man called Muka of the Mushroom clan. He secretly went during the night and warned Mawanda, that his brother was plotting to kill him. He has already laid the plot and I am warning you now, the man claimed. When I open the door, you must walk to the side where I shall throw my stick, because on the other side there is the pit.

Hence when Mawanda came to the palace on the following morning, he walked to the side where Muka threw his stick. Seeing that instead of falling in the pit, Mawanda had walked by the side of it, King Kikulwe was full of shame. He therefore hastely left the Council and walked through a small hall (ekigango) called Ndiwulira and fled. It was the fear of Mawanda which forced him to do this. After the king had fled, Mawanda returned to his home, sounded the war drum, and came to fight Kikulwe. Mawanda carried the day and even killed King Kikulwe. His body was given to Mugema who took it to Luwoko and put it on a bed. Some of the household officers of the king were killed outside the house as the custom was. His jawbone was taken to Katiti hill and stored in a wooden bowl as the custom was.

All the royal jawbones were treated in a similar manner. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime ministers: 1. Mawuuba of the Lung-fish clan.

2. Nakikovu of the Mushroom clan.

3. Nakiyenje of the Mushroom clan.

Mugema: Bisaso of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Nakaswa of the Manis clan. He was first appointed by Kagulu.

Katambala: Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by Mutebi.

Kitunzi: Musoke of the Cephalopus clan.

The cause of Kikulwe's unpopularity is difficult to explain. Kagwa does not tell us why the country should have preferred Mawanda, but the picture one gets from Bassekabaka is that Mawanda played a leading role in the campaign against Kagulu and this probably accounted for his popularity. This alone, however, does not

explain why Kikulwe's servant should betray his master to his opponent, and Kaggwa is again a useless source here. According to the history of the Mushroom clan, however, Mawanda's mother was first married to a man of that clan, and Mawanda himself was much attached to his half brothers and sisters. If this information is correct, one may infer from this that a royal servant of the Mushroom clan, even if he was in the service of Kikulwe, would be inclined to help a prince who had close connection with his own clan.¹

1. See J. Kasirye, Abaterogga Ku Nnamulondo ya Buganda op.cit.p.24.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE REIGN OF KIMBUGWE TO THE REIGN OF KIKULWE

Expansion to the West of Buganda

The reign of Kimbugwe marked the beginning of an important period in the history of the territorial expansion of Buganda. But information on this reign is scanty in the text. Hence one gets the impression that apart from Kimbugwe's struggle with Kateregga, nothing of importance occurred. Useful information, however, is obtainable from Makula and the Kinyoro sources. These show that it was Kimbugwe who first set in motion a wave of expansion and reconquest. The Kinyoro sources in fact go farther and make a significant claim regarding the county of Mawokota. They assert that Mawokota was annexed from Bunyoro by Kimbugwe who appointed Mpaddwa to be its chief.¹ According to K.W., for example, before Mpaddwa became chief, Mawokota was ruled by a Musiita called Mugenyi. Significantly enough K.W. further states that when Mpuga Rukidi partitioned his "Empire," Bweya was given to Mugenyi. The Bweya referred to here is the modern country of Butambala,

1. K.W.op. cit.; (Pt II) pp.75-83.

which lies to the north west of Mawokota (see the map).

One wonders therefore, whether the Bweya mentioned in the Kinyoro traditions, did not include the modern county of Mawokota? If it did, it then raises the question whether Mawokota was not part of the original territorial nucleus of the Kingdom of Buganda.

According to Kaggwa, and indeed according to the history of most of the clans, Mawokota, Busiro and Kyaddondo were the oldest territorial units of the Buganda kingdom. Kaggwa emphasises this claim by pointing out in Empisa that nearly all the most important clans have got Butaka in Mawokota. Another Kiganda tradition, which asserts that there was a long list of kings before Kintu, argues that the majority of them lived and died in Mawokota.¹

These Kiganda sources lead to the conclusion that Mawokota must have been part of the original counties of Buganda. The difficulty, however, arises in reconciling this conclusion with the claim of the Banyoro to which, reference has already been made. Nevertheless, it would appear from the existing evidence, that the claim of the Banyoro may have originated from what A.H.Cox suggested,

1. Lawi Sekiti in Munno. (1916). See also H.W.Kitakule in Ebifa, (1907-9) and (1910-11).

namely that Mawokota was at the very beginning a Baganda territory, which was later lost to Bunyoro. Indeed, in view of the intermittent warfare which had been waged between the two countries during the reign of Nakibinge and also during the reign of Kimbugwe, a situation could arise where one kingdom held the east of the county and another held the west. It is thus possible that, when Banyoro traditions speak of Mawokota being annexed at this period, what they probably mean is that the territory was reconquered by Buganda.

From the reign of Katerogga, the details of expansion become clearer and more abundant. A comparison of Kiganda and Kinyoro sources, suggests that Katerogga even more than Kimbugwe, pursued a deliberate policy of expansion. The territory he annexed from Bunyoro (the modern counties of Gomba, Butambala and western Singo), remained the only substantial addition to Buganda until the reign of Mawanda. So far as the county of Gomba is concerned, its early history is not very clear, and Kaggwa does not tell us much. But as we showed in Chapter II, the counties of Gomba and Busujju may at one time have formed part of the kingdom of Bwera. When it disintegrated,

its peripheral districts probably established themselves as independent chiefdoms. This is particularly true of Gomba which seems to have become the territory of the Basonga dynasty, whose centre was at Kisozi.

Kaggwa's account of the wars which led to the conquest of Gomba and Butambala, gives the impression that the operations were swift and at once successful. But evidence from the histories of the Cephalopus and Sheep clans, and also from the local traditions of these two counties, gives a different picture. It would in fact appear that the struggle was fierce and protracted. Kaggwa is again silent about the economic importance of Gomba to Buganda. It would seem from Makula that the chief of Gomba was nicknamed Kitunzi (one who sells) because he used to trade between Bunyoro and Bwera on behalf of the king of Buganda. Moreover, as Gomba was at one time part of the grazing lands of Bwera, one may reasonably assume that its annexation increased Buganda's stock of cattle. Its strategic importance to Buganda is again not immediately obvious in the text. But a careful study of the routes future Baganda kings took in their expeditions to the west, reveals that they

always avoided the deeper and wider parts of the river Katonga, and crossed it at the fords which were in Gomba and Butambala.

So far as Busujju itself is concerned, Kiganda traditions assert that it had always been part of Buganda. The argument is largely based on the tradition that Kintu died there. The inhabitants of Busujju even quote an expression, "Muganda Wawu" (Pure Muganda), and claim that it originated from the village of Ki-wawu, which is near Magonga. All this may be true. But it is difficult to reconcile with the traditions which state that Butambala and Gomba, which lie to the east of Busujju, were conquered, during this reign. One has no reason to doubt the truthfulness of this tradition.

Nevertheless, how could Busujju which was in the west of these two counties, belong to Buganda while they themselves did not? One suspects that some important strand of tradition, concerning Busujju has been lost.

In its absence, one is forced to accept some of the local traditions from this area, which assert that a before the reign of Nakibinge, Busujju was the heart of Buganda, but that after the war in which he was killed,

Buganda lost much territory including Busujju.¹ This leads to the deduction that until the reign of Kateregga, the modern counties of Butambala, Gomba and Busujju were all ruled by Bunyoro. But if this is correct, why should Kaggwa be silent about Busujju only? The present writer, thinks that the following hypothesis provides a reasonable answer to this question. Some districts of Buganda were either conquered by arms, or were peacefully absorbed. Busujju itself would appear to belong to the latter category. After Kateregga had conquered Butambala and Gomba, the neighbouring district was gradually and peacefully brought under the Buganda power complex. That is why Kaggwa quite correctly makes no reference to its conquest at this period.

But this still leaves another question unanswered. From the reign of Kimera, Kaggwa recorded the chieftainship of Busujju. Why should he do so if Busujju had not always been part of Buganda? Here again one's answer cannot be definitive. Nevertheless, one regards the following hypothesis to be reasonable. Originally, some of the peripheral districts were ruled by indigenous

1. The writer got this information from living informants.

chiefs who were either completely autonomous, or owed some nominal allegiance to Bunyoro or to Buganda. Some of these chiefdoms, were ancient and hereditary, for example, of the Grasshopper clan at Kisozi. Kajubi whom Kagga records as the hereditary chief of Busujju, would also appear to have been in the same category. When Buganda extended her political influence in this direction, Kajubi the hereditary ruler of Busujju, was recognised by the Baganda kings and he continued to hold his chieftainship as their vassal. He at the same time retained a great deal of local autonomy as indeed did all the border chiefs during the early period. Inevitably, the loyalty of the border chiefs to Buganda must have been nominal.

The statement in the text that chiefs Kawewo and Kajubi refused to perform duties at the court when they were called upon to do so, leads to number of interpretations of the political situation in Buganda at this time.¹ In the first place it seems that the border chiefs, such as Kajubi, still enjoyed a semi-independent status, and could thus afford to defy the royal orders. But once the monarchy became more powerful, it adopted a policy of direct rule, even in the peripheral areas.

¹See discussion under the reign of Mutebi, below.

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Thus such chiefs as Kajubi were replaced by royal nominees. The claim in the text that King Mutebi deposed chiefs Kajubi and Kawewo, was probably not the mere plundering of a chief by his king. It was a deliberate policy to bring these border districts under the effective rule of Buganda.

Kaggwa and indeed the whole of the Kiganda tradition, eloquently assert that Buganda conquered Buvuma during the reign of Juuko. The text suggests also that the Bavuma were defeated not because of the military might of the Baganda, but because of their cunning. Despite these assertions, one is compelled to treat the Kiganda tradition as untruthworthy. From a military point of view, all the evidence, shows clearly that the Bavuma were the most experienced fighters and the most dreaded of all the islanders. Their supremacy on water, was demonstrated in 1875, when King Mutesa attempted to subdue them. Despite his possession of firearms, and an extraordinarily large fleet of canoes manned by the Baganda and the Basese, the Bakoombe and the Basoga, he suffered perhaps the most humiliating defeat of his reign.¹

1. See chap. VII , below.

From a political point of view also, the Kiganda tradition remains unconvincing. If the Bavuma had been conquered and made to accept the rule of the Baganda, one would reasonably assume that even after the evacuation of Kayemba himself; some form of Kiganda political suzerainty should have remained. No Kiganda source claims that this happened and as a matter of fact, Buvuma is not mentioned again until the late 19th century. And what is more, it remained as hostile to Buganda as it had been before. The general conclusion one is forced to draw is that, Kayemba probably invaded one of the very small islands near the shores of eastern Kyaggwe.

Politically, one of the principal features of this period, was the appointment of royal nominees to important chieftainships. As far as the earliest chiefs of Mawokota were concerned, it has been suggested by A.H.Cox that they were probably Bahima and that their duty was to graze royal cattle.¹ This suggestion seems to be based on

1. The Expansion and Growth of Buganda, op.cit.

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two sources of evidence neither of which is conclusive. The first source is Kaggwa himself whose claim in the text that the earliest chiefs of Mawokota belonged to the Grasshopper clan, may appear to connect them with cattle grazing.¹ The second source is the supposed linguistic connection between the word "Kayima", the traditional title of the chiefs of Mawokota, and the word Muhima, a term applied to the pastoral inhabitants of Ankole. But this connection is more apparent than real, because the word Kayima is an ancient Kiganda name. Moreover, although some of the peoples of Ankole are the traditional cowherders in Buganda, the custom is recent because Buganda was not rich in cattle until the 19th century. In Makula, Gomotoka provides the following reasons why the chiefs of Mawokota, were called Kayimas. He argues that the custom began with King Kimbugwe who appointed his son Kayima Mpaddwa to be the chief of Mawokota.¹ After his death, the county was hereditarily ruled by the princes until the middle of Semakokiro's reign. Significantly enough Kaggwa does not record

1. See also K.W.op.cit. (Pt 2) pp.75-83.

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the Kayima's during the period Mawokota was ruled by the princes. His silence, would appear to confirm the point we mentioned in the Introduction, that he did not have access to some important sources. Writing after he had collaborated with the colonial regime in deposing the legitimate king, and probably because he was suspected of not being a Muganda, some important informants refused to be interviewed by him, or if they agreed, they did not give him adequate information.

The alternative suggestion, though ungenerous to Kaggwa, may also contain some truth. Kaggwa's silence, not only about the Kayima's but also about other princes who became chiefs, may have been a deliberate attempt to conceal the fact that members of the royal family were not barred from the territorial administration of the country. If this reasoning is correct, one would make the following deduction. The circumstances during which Kaggwa wrote, may have influenced him to create such an impression.

Kateregga was probably a greater warrior than it has hitherto been realised. This is suggested by interest he took in his soldiers by appointing them

hereditary chiefs. For example, the chieftainship of Gomba remained hereditary in the family of Balamaga until the middle of Semakokiro's reign. That of Manganyi Mpungu, remained hereditary in his clan until the 1890s, when religion rather than clan became the dominant factor in Buganda politics.¹ By appointing his successful generals to chieftainships, Kateregga introduced a new factor in Buganda administrative history. The evidence suggests that hitherto administration especially in the outlying districts, was based mainly on a system of indirect rule, whereby indigenous chiefs and heads of clans were recognised as the local agents. With Kateregga, however, one sees a policy of direct rule introduced by the appointment of Baganda nominees from the royal court. Henceforth, royal nominees whether successful generals or not, replaced the traditional heads of the clans as the dominant force in Buganda politics. But it is worth to point out, that the process, was gradual. Thus the newly created chieftainships of Kayima, of Kitunzi and of Butambala, were hereditary. Kateregga's policy was continued by his successors especially Mutebi and Mawanda,

1. The religious wars of the 1880 and 1890s, lie outside the scope of this investigation.

with the result that royal power steadily increased at the expense of that of the Bataka.

Mutebi was in fact the first king to interfere effectively with the hereditary principle in the administration. And according to the text this led to what would appear to have been the first major conflict between the monarchy and the traditional chiefs who still held most of the important offices.¹ Kaggwa states in the text that Mutebi's first act as king was an attempt to install his nominees. Royal policy, however, met with a rude rebuff from the chiefs who refused to accept the dismissal of any of their fellows. If what Kaggwa says is correct, the stubborn resistance of the chiefs, and the apparently successful manner in which they blocked the king's policy, suggests that the Bataka were still a very important class in Kiganda politics, so much so that no king could afford to ignore their views. Kaggwa's account gives also the impression that the chiefs were an organised class with vested interests, always ready to combine and oppose anybody, even the king if he attempted to curb their ancient privileges. But does the picture Kaggwa gives

1. It is clear from the text that the protests of the chiefs were not motivated by their hostility to the monarchy, but by a desire to recognise their place in the administration of the Kingdom.

represent the true state of affairs? The evidence does not suggest that this was so. One suspects therefore that Kaggwa exaggerated the cohesion of the chiefs and their strength as a class. There is no traditional or any other kind of evidence to show that a king had his wishes blocked by the opposition of the chiefs. Evidence on the contrary, suggests that a strong king, even before the reign of Mutebi, could easily ignore the protests of the chiefs. Moreover, he had many ways in which he could deal with unwanted or disloyal chiefs. J. Roscoe¹ for example, states that a king could fabricate a story that such and such a chief was plotting to rebel. Then he would send a plundering expedition to sack his estates and to dismiss him. The best example of this, is ~~one~~ provided by Kaggwa himself in the text, where he states that King Mutebi dismissed two chiefs from the outlying districts of Busujju and Singo. Kaggwa's account here raises the suspicion that the question of rebellion was a pretext, because the king probably wanted to create vacancies for his own favourites. Thus the two men Mutebi appointed

1. The Baganda, op.cit. p.232.

to fill the vacancies of the "rebels," were his great favourites. Kalali of the Manis clan, for example, was appointed hereditary chief of Busujju and he was also made the hereditary guardian of the royal children.

These hereditary duties and privileges, remained in Kalali's family and clan until the 20th century.¹ Mutebi's policy may thus be summed up as one of deprivation. Through this policy, the Bataka lost their ancient privileges so that by the end of the reign, the balance of political power, had shifted more into the royal hands than it had ever done before. Thus Kaggwa wrote in Empisa,

Until the reign of Mutebi, the Bataka were very important, ruling almost independently their own estates. But when their fellow king assumed a position of great dignity, which exceeded theirs, he began to bully them and to usurp their rights.²

1. The change^{was} occasioned by the Religious Wars of the 1890s. Since then the Chieftainship of Kasujju was allocated to the Catholics. After the abolition of Kasujju's Guardianship of the princes, the position of the Sabalangira (chief of the Princes) assumed greater importance and today, the Sabalangira performs the traditional duties of Kasujju such as settling cases among the members of the royal family. The writer obtained some of this information from Prince Ernest Kayima Mpaddwa, who was the Sabalangira from 1952-56.

2. op.cit.p.41.

The Civil War during the Reign of Kagulu

If Kings Mutebi and Kagulu had not been seperated by nearly two generations, one would have assumed that the political troubles of the latter's reign, were a recurrence of the old conflict between the monarchy and the chiefs. The text gives the impression that after the death of King Ndawula, the succession was peaceful. A statement appears in Kaggwa's papers, however, which suggests that, at first it was Prince Mawanda who succeeded Ndawula, but because he was still young, Kagulu overthrew him and made himself king. If this unpublished statement is correct, it throws more light on the origins of the revolt against Kagulu, because it may well have been one of the underlying causes.

According to Kaggwa, the reign of Kagulu was unique in the whole of Kiganda history. For the first time, a king is said to have lost support of the country and the chiefs are shown as fighting against royal tyranny. An analysis of Kaggwa's account of the events of the reign, reveals that there were both general and particular causes for the revolt. One of the general causes seems

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to have been the king's character, whose dominant trait was its lack of respect for men. His despotic rule and the barbarous treatment of the men who went to work at the capital caused unrest and discontent because it affected a very large section of the community. The execution of Mugema itself was according to Kaggwa, the most outrageous and unprecedented act. And it made the chiefs fear that any one of them could be the victim of royal tyranny. Because of these barbaric acts and seemingly unprecedented tyranny, Kagulu is said to have so alienated every section of the community, that only the flight of the princes was needed to trigger off the explosion.

One of the important deductions to be made from Kaggwa's story of Kagulu, is that it marked a very important political development. It also suggests at first sight that the chiefs we saw objecting to the dismissal of their fellows in the reign of Mutebi, were still a very strong force in Buganda's politics. It further implies that there was a limit to despotic rule beyond which the chiefs could not support the king. For the first time in Buganda history the "people" are presented as rising against bad rule. If this had been true, it would indeed have marked

a significant political advance.

True enough one cannot deny that Kagulu was overthrown, yet if the bullying of the senior men in the country caused irritation, and the execution of Mugema threw the chiefs into a panic, one still suspects that these factors alone could never have caused the rebellion as the tradition asserts. A close examination of the sources, reveals that there was another side to the picture. It would indeed have been a most unusual development if the Baganda took up arms against the king, for they did not normally promote sedition. There is no record in their history of either a popular rising to mark the advance of political enthusiasm, or the consciousness of social injustice. All the evidence suggests that if the Baganda wanted to get rid of an unpopular ruler, their only weapon was to support a rival candidate for the throne. In this particular case, the existence of more than six princes must have been a great political threat to Kagulu, especially as things had been working up to trouble for some time. In such an explosive situation, what was needed was a spark to start the conflagration. The spark itself was provided by the princes who were

determined to rebel.

Support for the view that this was a typical struggle for the throne is derived from the history of the next ten reigns. This clearly shows that nearly every king had to defend his throne against rivals. One suspects therefore that Kagulu's reign illustrates what was to become a regular feature of Kiganda dynastic history.

The text further gives the impression that the princes fought against Kagulu because he had brought misery upon the country. This point is stressed again when Kaggwa writes about the reign of Kikulwe. Kikulwe himself is said to have persecuted the Elephant clan because of the tyranny of "their son" Kagulu. But a careful study of Kiganda tradition contradicts this view, There is no evidence of a king or a prince fighting another for the cause of the people. Similary, there is no example in Buganda history where a king persecuted the relatives of another because he had been a despot. Whenever princes fought, it was always a struggle to fulfill their political ambitions. In this particular case, there was another reason why the princes combined and fought Kagulu. Having executed Prince Musanje, Kagulu became a menace to all his rivals. The behaviour of many clans in

The behaviour of many clans in later reigns, creates the impression that they were always ready to take up arms and fight in order to put their "sons" on the throne. The existence of many princes belonging to different clans during this crisis, would appear at first sight to have been a signal for another conflagration over the issue of the succession. But as Kaggwa tells us, the princes resolved it among themselves that the eldest should ascend the throne first.¹

The Tradition of Mawuba

Kaggwa's statement that at first none of the princes could accept the throne because Kagulu was still alive is not convincing. It is in fact contradicted by his own account of the reigns of Namugala and Kyabaggu where the latter is said to have ascended the throne while Namugala was still alive. One suspects therefore that the so-called refusal of the princes to ascend the throne was motivated by the

1. According to Kaggwa the truce was only temporary because Mawanda soon overthrew Kikulwe and installed himself as king.

fear of Kagulu rather than respect for what Kaggwa calls a traditional custom. It also confirms the view that Kagulu was a very strong king and had still formidable support which would have made any successor very insecure. One may also infer from this, that the struggle against Kagulu was longer than Kaggwa's narrative suggests. Kaggwa makes another questionable statement when he deals with the issue of Mawuba. He asserts in the text that before any of the princes ascended the throne, they first solicited Mawuba, (the man who is believed to have caused their success against Kagulu by witchcraft), to accept the throne. Then Kaggwa goes on to claim that Mawuba refused, saying that he was only a commoner. The traditions of the Lung-fish clan claim that Mawuba actually sat on the throne and ruled Buganda until the country rebelled against him because of his common origins. But as we explained above, this tradition, has little evidence to support it.¹

Nevertheless, it has led to the suspicion, that presumably Mawanda was a Mubito, and that he introduced a new

1. The author had several interviews with the present Mawuba who lived at Kyampisi, near Busunju. Busunju itself is about 34 miles on the Kampala-Masindi road.

dynasty.¹ But evidence to support Wrigley's suggestion is hard to come by. And it is clear from the sources that there was no external interference from Bunyoro. What is remarkable in fact, is that Buganda's military position was not seriously endangered by the civil war. Hence, with the death of Kikulwe, and the accession of Mawanda, Buganda conducted a successful policy of expansion.

There is little doubt that Kaggwa's account of the reign of Kagulu is unsatisfactory. It also raises some suspicions. Writing after a traditionally legitimate king had been overthrown by a group of chiefs for alleged misrule, Kaggwa and his contemporaries, would be tempted to look for precedents in Buganda history to demonstrate that even in the past, people could depose a bad ruler. But a more convincing reason would seem to be that by the time Kaggwa wrote his books, the sources on the reign of Kagulu were still severely limited. The would-be best informants, such as Kagulu's descendants, were not available for the interviews. The cause for this, was the persecution which Kagulu's immediate successors carried out against

1. C. Wrigley, The Christian Revolution in Buganda, (Comp. Studies in Soc. & History. Vol. 2 (1959-60) pp. 33-48.

the Elephant clan and also against all other associates of Kagulu. Hence his descendants had to hide themselves in the Enkejje clan and it was not until 1918-1920 that they revealed their true identity. Once this had been done, more valuable information on Kagulu which was not available to Kaggwa came to light.

In estimating the results of the rebellion against Kagulu, the popular conclusion one would be tempted to draw is that the people had triumphed over despotic rule. The chiefs' self-consciousness would appear to have been enhanced by a protracted struggle with the king. And regarding this as their moment of triumph, one would have assumed that they now conceived themselves as an important class apart, ready to re assert their dignity and privileges which Kagulu is said to have deprived them of. As far as royal power was concerned, it would appear at first sight that it had received a rude shock and one may even assume that future kings were taught caution and treated important men with greater consideration. It is evident, however, that such a summary of the results of the insurrection, would be far too sweeping and certainly not based on a broad basis of the facts.

Constitutionally, there were hardly any new developments. One seeks in vain to see the growing power of the chiefs in or outside the Lukiiko. Kikulwe did not ascend the throne with any list of demands nor are we told that he issued a charter to the Bataka. It is true that he did not behave as his predecessor, but this was not due to the lessons of the revolt. His reign was comparatively short, and he had many other internal problems to contend with. If royal policy had received a shock it was not thrown out of gear. So far as the future was concerned, the kings did not abandon their traditional despotic powers. A study of the royal policies in the 19th century confirms this view. Their cruelties in fact dwarfed those of Kagulu. These negative results of the rebellion lead us to two conclusions. That the overthrow of Kagulu was the work of his ambitious rivals, but it was helped by the general discontent prevailing in the country. The second conclusion is that as long as a king was not surrounded by ambitious princes upon whom the chiefs could look as alternative candidates for the throne, he could do much what he liked with his subjects and still get away with it.

KING MAWANDA XXII.

Mawanda came to the throne in succession to his brother Kikulwe whom he had killed. Having completed the funeral rites, he built himself a capital on Katakala hill and lived there for a very long time during which he used to visit the other parts of his country. On leaving Katakala, he went and founded the administrative headquarters of Kaggo, dismissed the incumbent and gave the chieftainship to one of his men called Mpembe. Having appointed Mpembe, Mawanda made war upon Busoga and returned with much plunder of women and cattle. After that, he established the administrative headquarters of Sekiboobo at Mukono, dismissed Mbazira, the incumbent of the Bird clan; and gave the chieftainship to Nkalubo Sebuggwawo of the Edible Rat clan.

This is how and why the members of the Edible Rat clan got the privilege of living at the back of the royal residences. Nkalubo and Muyingo were brothers, [The actual expression Kagwa uses is, Baluganda, which may mean also relatives] and on leaving Sesse, they went to Elubu and became personal follower of Nawandugu. When Nkalubo changed his allegiance, he left Nawandugu's service and joined that of the king. But before doing so, he went to Sewankambo and it was he who introduced him to the king. Then King Ndawula gave him a small estate near the capital, and because of his diligence in attending the Council meetings every day, he

became a great favourite of the king. That was why Nda-wula gave him a plot within the royal court. Since that time, Sebuggwawo's residence has always been inside the court.

According to the account in Ebika, the Edible Rat clan emigrated to Buganda during the reign of Kayima. It seems, however, that the coming of Nkalubo to Buganda at this period, may not necessarily mean the emigration of a single family. It could be another big movement of people from Sesse to the mainland. This reference to Sewankambo is rather confusing, because the best known Sewankambo in Buganda history first appears in Kaggwa's accounts of the reign of Kamanya. It is thus not clear whether Kaggwa mistakenly refers to the same Sewankambo or to a different one.

One day after these events, while King Ndawula was eating, his wife called Nakidde Luige coughed. Thereupon the king fell into a savage rage and said to Sebuggwawo: Take this lady and execute her. But shortly afterwards, the other ladies who were in the Council observed that the wife who had been condemned to death was pregnant. But even

when he heard this, the king commanded his pages: Go to Nkalubo and witness the execution of the lady and find out what made her cough. But when he learnt that the royal wife was pregnant, Nkalubo hid her. Instead he executed one of his own wives who was pregnant, disembowelled her and removed a baby son. Hence by the time the royal pages arrived, Nkalubo had already executed his own wife, and looking only at the baby, they returned without looking at the body of the executed woman, thus when they came to where the king was, they told him: We have executed the wife and removed a baby boy from her. The King was delighted by the news. Sometime afterwards, the lady [Ndawula's wife who had been hidden] gave birth to a baby boy. As soon as the baby had been weaned, Nkalubo went and told the secret to the king: I did not execute the wife. What is the sex of the baby she gave birth to? inquired the king. A boy, answered Nkalubo. Bring him tomorrow before dawn and let me find out what he looks like, commanded the king. On the morrow, Nkalubo took the child and its mother to the court, and the King was overjoyed when he saw that the child resembled him very much. He named it "Mawanda" because its mother spat while he was eating.¹ Then King Ndawula gave Nkalubo women, cattle and many other things.

1. Mawanda: according to this account the name was derived from the verb Okuwanda: To spit.

Nkalubo became an even greater favourite of the king and he was allowed to pass behind the royal residence where the baths were. King Ndawula gave this privilege, because he was convinced that Nkalubo could not do him any harm.

When Ndawula died and Mawanda became king, he called Nkalubo (after he had been appointed Sekiboobo) and requested him thus: Give me your young sons so that they may guard me at the back of my residence. After all it was you who saved me while I was still in my mother's womb. After Nkalubo had put his sons in charge of the back of the king's residence, Mawanda said to Nkalubo, the Sekiboobo: As a proof that I love you, let us make a blood brotherhood. And after the blood brotherhood had been made, Mawanda further said: I tell you, whichever prince becomes king, he must never dismiss the members of the Edible Rat clan from the back of the royal residence, because they saved me while I was still in my mother's womb. Besides giving the chieftainship of Sekiboobo to Nkalubo, he appointed him also Sebuggwawo and said: This chieftainship is hereditarily yours. It is your Butaka.

After those events, Mawanda left Mukono and went to Lwankuba hill in Bulemezi and built a capital. On leaving Lwankuba, he went to Bowa hill where he founded

the administrative headquarters of the chief Kangawo. He dismissed Nabugwamu, the incumbent of the Lung-fish clan, and installed Matumpaggwa of the Monkey clan. When he left Buzinde, Mawanda went to Mukuma hill and built himself another capital.¹ But he did not live there long, for he very soon returned to Katakala and made a huge bell which he tied on the main gate of the palace. He then passed a law that every important chief going to the Council, must announce his arrival by ringing that bell. Henceforth, all the chiefs used to announce their arrivals by ringing the bell, after which they could go and see the king.

Katakala was near the modern township of Mityana, about forty six miles on the Kampala-Mubende Road. The author discovered during his Field Studies in Buganda that the place is locally known as Mukide (in the bell) because of the bell Mawanda is said to have made.

When he got tired of the capital of Katakala, he built another one on Kasanyama hill. His residence there, was

1. These were not ordinary changes of capitals as the text suggests. They were military movements because according to the evidence at hand, Mukuma was the stronghold of Magatto, a Munyoro vassal. See Comment.

the origin of the saying, "Ekkubo litemwa mukulu, Mawanda yalitema kasanyama." (A road can only be built by an important person. Mawanda built one on Kasanyama hill). The reason why people coined this saying was that, Kasanyama was an extremely steep hill, and there was only one road leading to the capital. When he left the Kasanyama capital, he built another one on Lulumbu hill. During his residence at Lulumbu, there came a medicine man who narrated to the king thus: While I was in the bush gathering firewood, I saw a man who said to me, Go and tell the king that if he wants to see Kintu, his great ancestor; he should go to Magonga. Once the king has seen Kintu, he will live for a very long time. Mawanda welcomed the suggestion and immediately appointed a man and gave him cows and goats with the following instructions: Take these to Magonga and tell Mwanje that I have sent them to be slaughtered. After that, he should prepare very big feast. After delivering the animals, the messenger told Mwanje that the king wanted to go and see Kintu, his great grandfather. Mwanje accepted the messenger's words at once and replied: Go back and tell the king that I shall communicate to him in the morning whatever Kintu will say to me during the night.

In Empisa (p.1-4) Mwanje of the Leopard clan and about

eight other clansmen, had traditional duties to perform at Magonga. These clansmen claim that they got these duties either because they came with Kintu or because Kintu gave them certain privileges. Despite these assertions by the clans and by Kaggwa, the majority of these, if not all, would seem to have been people living in and around the county of Busujju, but later claimed to have got duties and privileges from Kintu. The best example is Kalibbala (of Nsinsi) of the Grasshopper clan, who clearly seems to be a native of this area. See the Comment on this chapter.

When the messenger heard Mwanje's words, he returned to the capital. And after Mwanje himself had seen off the royal messenger, he went to the temple to communicate the King's request which the messenger had brought. After this, Mwanje returned to his home and when night came, he went to sleep. But immediately after he had gone to sleep, Kintu got out of the temple and said to him: Go and tell King Mawanda that if he wants to see me, he must come only with his Queen Sister, Ndege. On no account must he come with any other person. If he accepts this condition, then tell him that he can see me eight days hence, and if he accepts

this also, you should come back and tell me. Having carefully listened to Kintu's command, Mwanje went to sleep again. On the morrow, he went and reported to Mawanda everything Kintu had said.

On hearing that Kintu had agreed to grant him an audience, but that he had fixed this eight days hence, Mawanda refused to accept the latter condition. Whereupon Mwanje returned and told Kintu that the king had refused to postpone his visit for eight days. Then Kintu told Mwanje: Go and tell him to come after four days. Mwanje therefore went back and told the king that he could see Kintu after four days and that he must go at night. When four days had passed, Mawanda summoned all his important chiefs and told them that Kintu had invited him and that he had made a condition that he should go only with the Queen Sister. When the chiefs heard the king's words they agreed saying: We shall not follow you. Go and see our great ancestor who disappeared from us a very long time ago. When night came, the king set off with his Queen Sister Ndege, and passing through a village called Mubango, they reached the border of the forest, (Emanju: The back side as opposed to the front side). As soon as Kintu heard them, he called the king and told him to enter through

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the front door. Passing hastily through (ekigango)¹ called Bujjabukula, Mawanda came to the courtyard. Then Kintu said to him: Hurry up and see me. As he came into the courtyard, the king had already seen Kintu who had seated himself up on an earthen platform. But just at the moment when Mawanda began to talk to Kintu, chief Senkoma Nanfumbambi, suddenly appeared on the scene also. Raising his eyes, Kintu saw Senkoma and rebuked Mawanda: Did I not strictly warn you that you must come alone? Now who are these people following you?

On turning his eyes, Mawanda saw Senkoma, but when he turned his eyes towards Kintu, to explain to him that Senkoma had come without being invited, Kintu had already disappeared. The king never saw him again. Mawanda went away full of grief and the Queen Sister was so enraged that when they reached a small valley, she speared Senkoma to death. Her action was perfectly justified because the king had given his chiefs a strict warning not to follow him. The place where Senkoma was killed became the source of the river which is still known by his name. But if the Queen Sister had not killed Senkoma, Mawanda would have

1. Council house or audience hall.

returned to continue his interview with Kintu.¹ On his return, Mawanda spent only a few days in his capital and then built another one on Lulumbu hill, which is in Mawokota. During his residence there, a very great liar went and told him, that Kagulu had risen from the dead and that he was already on his way from the direction of Entebbe to fight him. On receiving this news, the king told chief Kangawo to hurry up and sound the war drum. You will find me on the march, Mawanda added. Kangawo, however, reminded the king that the medicine men had banned the beating of war drums, but Mawanda did not listen and retorted instead: Go at once and sound the war drum and recruit an army.

As Kangawo could not dispute the king's command, he went to Buzinde, sounded the war drum and went to Kiti. But on his arrival there, he was challenged by Sengooba: The king forbade the beating of war drums, now how dare you chief Kangawo break that law? With this challenge, Sengooba fought against Kangawo and even wounded him.² His lieutenants

1. Mawanda's interview with Kintu is very graphically described by Stanley. See Through the Dark Continent Vol. I. pp. 352-358.

2. Sengooba was one of the subchiefs under Kaggo, the County Chief of Kyaddondo. Although Kagwa calls this a fight among the chiefs, there is evidence to suggest that it was one of several rebellions Mawanda had to deal with. See the Comment on this chapter.

Sekikwa, Namaala, Mutesa and Sabakula were also speared, and thus Sengooba won the fight, and chief Kangawo himself returned to his home. As soon as the king got the news that Sengooba was fighting with Kangawo, he hurried to Kiti to relieve the Kangawo. On reaching there, he reproached Sengooba, and asked him why he had fought with Kangawo? Because it was you who passed the law that there must be no beating of war drums. When I heard Kangawo sounding the the drum, I fought him. Hearing Sengooba's defence, the king did not execute him, but he dismissed him from the chieftainship and it was given to a man of the Buffalo clan.

Meanwhile when the soldiers who came with the King passed through Bumbu, they burnt Nakibinge's shrine. A spark from the burning shrine flew up and burnt the Queen Mother's breast, and as soon as the king learnt of this he returned to the capital where he was told the full story. Having heard the report, he chose some men to go and rebuild the shrine and once it was completed, the Queen Mother's breast healed. When Matumpaggwa the Kangawo, was dying of his wounds, he declared: The king must never send a messenger to my headquarters, because he betrayed me. The other men who had also been wounded,

Sekiwala, Namala, Mutesa and Sabakula also declared at their death: Kangawo has been responsible for our deaths. He must never send a messenger in our respective headquarters. Thus even today a royal messenger cannot go to the headquarters of Buzinde. He always stops at Waluleta, the headquarters of Kangawo's deputy.

Mutesa was the title of one of the subchiefs under the Kangawo. It was from a chief of this title that King Mukabya, , best known as Mutesa I, bought the name, and henceforth called himself Mutesa. See chapter 8 below.

After those events, the king called upon the whole country saying, come and perform duties for me. Cut down also this forest. But when the princes were called upon, they refused to work. They were Namugala, Mwanga, Kyabaggu, and Kayondo. Namugala and his brothers had a doctor whose name was Buddo and he came from Sesse. He foretold their future and gave ~~the oracle as follows:~~ **I am going to give you this fetish, each one of you who becomes king and who steps on it, will never be overthrown.** But whoever fails

to step on the fetish will never become king of Buganda, (Talyenga Buganda, that is, he would not eat Buganda). Iam giving it to you now. After you have defeated Mawanda, the successor must choose some people to take care of it. No other prince must step on it, except the one who succeeds to the throne. Having got the fetish, the princes buried it in a mound on Naggalabi hill. Then, conspiring among themselves, they called Dibongo the Omutamanyangamba and made blood brotherhood with him. You will assassinate the king for us, they said to him.

Buddo was originally the name of a medicine man and the place where he died was known as Naggalabi. But because of his great historical importance, his name was given to the hill, which is known today as Buddo. Ddibongo himself and the ekitongole Ekitamanyangamba, seem to have been executioners, a sort of ruffians or cut throats who could be employed to carry out assassinations such as these.

Having made the blood brotherhood, the princes set off for war and on reaching the capital, they fought with

Mawanda and killed him. The king's body, however, was not easily identified because those who killed him hid it in a house. [Kaggwa later added in Empisa (p.50) that king Mutesa I, collected Mawanda's body remains and buried them at Serinnya, during 1864.] Mawanda, was an exceptionally brave king. The Basoga had great respect for him because of the defeats he inflicted upon them. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

- Prime minister: Sebanakitta of the Lung-fish clan.
- Kimbugwe: Kavuma of the Nvuma clan.
- Kaggo: Mpembe of the Manis clan.
- Sekiboobo: Nkalubo Sebuggwawo of the Edible Rat clan.
- Kangawo: Matumpaggwa of the Monkey clan.
- Mugema: Mugwanya of the Monkey clan.
- Kasujju: Lubinga of the Manis clan.
- Kitunzi: Mujwenge of the Cephalopus clan.
- Katambala: Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by Mutebi.

The material which bears on Mawanda 's character, is

scattered over the text, in Empisa (p.50 and 264), and other sources. There is an account of his terrible wars, and the administrative achievements. There are also references recorded by Kaggwa in Ebifa (1916), which show not only the esteem and the horror in which he was held by the Basoga, but also another side of his character. For example, Kaggwa asserts without qualification, that besides being a notorious plunderer, Mawanda was no respecter of persons. Kaggwa's judgement of Mawanda's character, may of course have been coloured by the fact that Mawanda dismissed many important traditional chiefs. Nevertheless, one would be inclined to accept Kaggwa's description because it is supported by all the different sources.

KING MWANGA I (XXIII).

Mwanga, a son of Prince Musanje, became King when he succeeded his uncle Mawanda. Musanje was the younger brother of Mawanda and their mother was called Nakide Luyide. After the mourning ceremonies had been completed, there came some people who did not want Mwanga to be king, and because of this, they told him the following story: An oracle told us that if you kill your cousin, you will

live long and be secure on the throne. Forthwith the king sacrificed his maternal uncle's son without even letting his father know. But on learning that his son had been killed, Nkunumbi was so grieved that he gathered some very sharp knives, tied them in a bundle and went to see the king. As soon as he arrived where Mwanga was he said: My lord, I wish to tell you a secret when you are alone. When the king called in Nkunumbi for a secret interview, the latter pulled out a knife and stabbed him to death. He did this as a reprisal for the murder of his son.

After assassinating the king, Nkunumbi fled and hid himself. The king's body was taken to Merera and put on a bed in a house. Outside that house the following officers of the royal household were executed: Sebalijja, Seruti, the lady who used to be the Omusubika and others. The jawbone was taken to Kavumba and kept in a wooden bowl. Tradition has it that Mwanga reigned for only nine days.

The assassination of King Mwanga I, raises several important questions regarding the person of the monarch during this period. If Kaggwa's account is correct, the manner in which a reigning king was disposed of

without any one raising a finger in his support, suggests that the monarchy had not yet reached the stage where it occupied a central position in the life of the Baganda; and if this was so, the only people who were interested in the welfare of the king would appear to have been his maternal relatives.¹ In Mwanga's case, however, even if they had been interested, the likelihood that the next successor was also "their son", probably led them to the conclusion that it was not worth their while to fight. Furthermore, if Kaggwa's description of Namugala's character is correct, it probably made him a more acceptable candidate to men who still remembered the bad rule of Kagulu. Another possible explanation is that, by the time of his assassination, the country had not yet recovered from the chaos of the civil war which had overthrown Mawanda and brought Mwanga to the throne. And according to Kaggwa's list of chiefs, it would seem that Mwanga had not yet appointed his own chiefs. This suggests that there was as yet, no class of people entirely devoted to his support. When one considers all these factors, one should perhaps not be surprised that Mwanga I, died unnoticed as if he was one of the

1. Kaggwa states in Empisa (p.121), that the near relatives of the mother of a reigning king, formed the secret service and spied on any one who might plot against "their son."

least important men in the country.

These were his leading chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom.

Prime minister: Sebanakitta of the Lung-fish clan.

Kangawo: Matumpaggwa of the Monkey clan.

Mugema: Mugwanya of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Lubinga of the Manis clan.

All these chiefs, were first appointed by Mawanda.

Kitunzi: Kibate of the Cephalopus clan.

Katambala: Manganyi of the Sheep clan. He was first appointed by Mutebi.

KING NAMUGALA XXIV.

Namugala, the second son of Prince Musanje, ascended the throne in succession to his brother. After his accession, he went to step on Buddo's fetish, before the latter died.

Then Buddo gave him the following advice: Once you step on the fetish, you must eat roast bananas from this banana tree. This is also the tree from which you will make a chess board for the game of chess. In addition to this, here is the type of grass (Ekiyulu) from which baskets will be made. After the king had been given this advice he appointed the following people to take care of the fetish: Makamba, Nalungu and Semanobe of the Lung-fish clan. The latter remained the chief guardian of the fetish even up to the present day.

When the king left Naggalabi hill, he built himself a capital on Nansana and completed the mourning ceremonies. But he lived there for only a short time and built another capital on Lugoba hill, where he again stayed for only a short period. On leaving the capital of Lugoba, he built another one on Kitala hill and lived there for a fairly long time. During his residence at Kitala, he dug himself an artificial lake. Namugala was the first king to introduce the idea of artificial lakes, for he told his men: Dig a lake for me so that I can swim in it. After his men had made the lake, he used to play in it often, especially when he was drunk. He used also to tie small bells on his legs and dance. A few years afterwards, Prince Kyabaggu

told his brother Namugala: I should like you to execute Dibongo the Omutamanyangamba, because he assassinated our uncle Mawanda. Namugala, however, refused to execute Dibongo because he had made a blood brotherhood when the princes were going to fight against Mawanda.¹ But when he realized that his reluctance to execute Dibongo enraged Kyabaggu, Namugala thought of a plan: He arrested all the Abatamanyangamba; and having done that, he left Kitala capital and built another one on Namasanga hill. A few days after taking up his residence at Namasanga, he executed all the Abatamanyangamba; about two hundred of them or more. Their execution took place in Namasanga valley and when chief Nakkwale saw their dead bodies heaped tother, he thought they were elephants. Another version of this tradition, however, states that on seeing that the king had sat in a manner which exposed his private parts, Nakkwale said to him: Look at those elephants, When the king rose to look at the elephants, Nakkwale told him the real truth, namely that he had exposed his genitals. This incident gave rise to the saying that a short man cannot see locusts from a distance, because when Nakkwale saw the quarry of human bodies at Kavumba, he thought they were elephants.

1. There Kaggwa has supplied additional information regarding Mawanda's death. It would appear that being older than his brothers, Namugala made the blood brotherhood with Dibongo. Prince Kyabaggu's hostility to Dibongo, suggests that he himself was not a party to the conspiracy which resulted in Mawanda's death.

King Namugala continued to live in his new capital after the execution of the Abatamanyangamba. Kyabaggu however, remained disgruntled because although people had been executed, the real assassin of King Mawanda was left at large. Realizing that Kyabaggu was not only demanding the head of Dibongo, his (Namugala's) blood brother, but that he also had ambitions for the throne, the king called him and said: I am ill. Come and give me some medicine, (Jangu onnumike). After Kyabaggu had given the medicine, the king asked him: Why do you want to kill me? You are always consulting the witch doctors because you want to kill me. I myself do not want to fight against you and because of this, I shall surrender the kingdom to you. Here is the regalia (here are our things). After saying these words, Namugala abdicated in favour of his brother. On leaving the capital of Namasagala, he spent the night at Naziri whence he went and lived at Bulamazzi. King Namugala had a humped back. But although he was an addicted drunkard, he was a very kind hearted king. He did not want to shed human blood. The Batamanyangamba mentioned above, were executed at the incitement of his brother Kyabaggu. The following were his leading chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime minister: Kagali of the Nvuma clan.

Kangawo: Kambugu of the Brird clan.

Mugema: Mugwanya of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Lubinga of the Manis clan.

These two chiefs were first appointed
by King Mawanda.

Kitunzi: Kabale of the Cephalopus clan. He was
originally appointed by King Mwanga.

Katambala: Butekanya of the Sheep clan.

Namugala's uneventful reign was important for at least one important political change. According to Kagwa's accounts in the text and in Empisa (pp.22-26), it would appear that from the reign of king Tembo to this period, every successor to the throne had to undergo the ceremony of "Confirmation" at Nankere's. It was one of the last and most important accession ceremonies, and the prominence of Nankere himself, probably arose out of the fact that he was not only one of the most

senior clansmen, but he was also a famous doctor.¹ It has been suggested by Sir John Gray,² that Buganda accession ceremonies take place on Buddo hill because it was there that Kintu, the first king killed Bemba and thereby succeeded to take possession of the kingdom. Sir John Gray's suggestion was probably based on one of the many strands of Kiganda tradition, which unfortunately, the present writer, has not discovered. But as far as the evidence from Kaggwa and the clans goes, no king went to Naggalabi hill for his accession ceremonies until the reign of Mwanga and Namugala. King Mwanga I and his brothers went to Naggalabi rather than to Nankere for their accession ceremonies, because Buddo and his fetish which the princes believed to have brought about their military success against Mawanda, were buried there. Partly because the fetish was believed to have the power to quell rebellions, and partly because the influence of clansmen in the affairs of the country was gradually

1. According to the tradition of the Lung-fish clan, Nankere's branch, was one of the indigenous clans which Kintu found in the country.

2. Sir John Gray, The early History of Buganda. op.cit. Vol. 2/4, (1934) pp. 259-271.

waning all Namugala's successors, went to Naggalabi hill for their accession ceremonies. Buddo itself, was originally the name of the doctor who died on Naggalabi hill. But because of his great historical importance, his name was given to the hill, and it is thus known today as Buddo.¹

KING KYABAGGU XXV.

Kings Mwanga I, Namugala and Kyabaggu, were sons of Prince Musanje and their mother was Nabunya Nalugwa of the Sheep clan. As soon as Kyabaggu, the third son of Prince Musanje; ascended the throne, he executed their common blood brother, Dibongo of the Bushbuck clan. A few months after that, Namugala began his usual friendly visits to his brother, King Kyabaggu. But one day while he was walking along Nalubugo hill, he slipped, fell down and died. Other people however, claimed that he died at Muyomba. Immediately after his death, his retinue went and told the king that his brother collapsed and died on the road. Kyabaggu gave an order to carry the body to Merera and the jawbone was stored at Muyomba. After that Kyabaggu

1. Gomotoka, J.M.T. Makula.

formally succeeded his brother he had forced to abdicate, (whom he expelled from the throne while he (Namugala) was still alive).

When Kyabaggu became king, his title was ambiguous, for it seems that although he was the de facto ruler, he could not go through the accession ceremonies because Namugala the king de jure was still alive. This leads to the deduction that whether a king had died a natural death or whether he had been killed in the war, it was necessary for his successor to carry out the funeral rites, such as the covering of a bark cloth on the body of the deceased king.¹ Kaggwa's accounts of the reign of Kyabaggu show that when rival candidates fought for the throne after the death of the incumbent, the possession of the body was of vital importance because it meant that the prince who had it, would be the one who performed the funeral rites and then went

1. The Baganda, op.cit.pp.193-197.

through the accession ceremonies.¹ Sometimes, however, especially when the new king had come to the throne by overthrowing the incumbent, he did not bother to give a proper burial to the body of his predecessor.²

After he had completed the mourning ceremonies, Dibongo's ghost made him ill. Whereupon he moved from Namasanga capital and built another one on Lubyu hill. When the illness worsened, he sent for some doctors from Sesse to come and give him medicine. On their arrival at the capital, the Basese were given a plot at Nakulabye, and after building their huts, they went to see the king. Coming before him, the Basese said: When we give you our medicine, you must be washed on a mound. When Kyabaggu heard this, he told Kabinuli, the Prime minister; to instruct the people to build a mound. Thereupon the doctors brought the medicine, put it on a mound and washed the king. After washing him for a few days, he recovered and he strictly forbade them never to let loose

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1. A similar custom prevailed in Bunyoro also, where the rival candidates for the throne, used to hasten to seize the corpse before the others could secure it for burial. See A.B. Fisher, op.cit. pp. 145, 146, 153, 161.
 2. R. Oliver, The Traditional Histories of Buganda, Ankole and Bunyoro (Journal of Roy. Anthropol. Inst., vol. 85 1958).

the ghost which they had already captured. The mound upon which the king used to be washed, was called Nkokompanga and it is still found in the capital of Nabulagala, near the prime ministers' enclosure.

Soon after the king's illness had been cured, he slaughtered a large number of cattle and made a big feast; but the doctors who had cured him were not given any meat. Hence they became angry, grumbled to him thus: How dare you give meat to other people and neglect us, the very people who saved your life? (Ffe abakujja amaggwa, ffe omma ennyama? That is, we shd plucked the thorns out of your body) The king was greatly embarrassed and angered by the public grumbling of the Basese and because of this, he executed all of them. Their execution took place on Nakasero hill, where the British built their capital. These executions gave rise to the saying: Twagenda nemandwa okulya ennyama gemaddu agatta abalubale. (We went with the medicine men to eat meat. Greed led to their execution). The reason why people used to say this was that after they had cured the king hoped to get a very large share of the meat. But when they went to the feast, they were executed instead. After executing the doctors, the king appointed Nanzigu one of his wives to command a war expedition

to Sesse. Kibale and Natigo were appointed to assist her. When they reached Sesse, they raided Gugu and even killed him. Returning with a very large amount of plunder, Nanzigu found that the king had already left his old capital and was then on Masajja hill.¹

The appointment of the general was sometimes a privilege to that particular individual so that he may enrich himself, because a general had the power to distribute the loot. This is why Kagwa occasionally records royal wives as being generals.

King Kyabaggu, had a wife whom he loved very dearly. She conceived at once, but on giving birth, her baby died in infancy. Whereupon the king told the people to bury the baby in its mother's banana garden. Henceforth, all the royal children who die in infancy are buried there.

1. The exact place is still well known and it is called "Kyabaggu". It lies about four miles on the Kampala Kazi Road.

After the death of that baby however, the king begat many others. A few years hence, there was a plague of rats, which bit and killed people at the capital. Seeing that very many people were dying from rat bites, the king ordered the others to cut sticks and hunt them. But as the people hunted the rats, they bit and killed more people. King Kyabaggu also had his own stick which he named Kikubamese (That which beats rats) and it can still be seen on his tomb at Kyebando. After that, the king began an inquiry into the causes of the epidemic, whereupon a certain man told him that god Mukasa who was at Kinyoro's in Vuuma, was the cause.¹ Mukasa, the god, spoke from the sky and said: I caused the epidemic because, by killing my people, the king made war upon me.² (I told the rats to bite and kill people).

On learning that it was the god Mukasa which caused the epidemic, the king summoned all the chiefs, took counsel with them and decided to build a shrine to the god; Go and build Mukasa's shrine so that we may be saved,

1. Kyabaggu may not have had all the political wisdom attributed to him by Baganda historians, such as J.Kasi-rye (op.cit.pp.29-31) but according to this account in the text, he was far in advance of his time, for he appears to have been the first king to realize that bubonic plague was not necessarily caused by the gods, but by the rats.

2. Mukasa was the Neptune of the Baganda and as such he was considered to be the protector of all the people on the lakes and on islands.

the king told Mutumba, the Mukwenda. After receiving the king's orders, Mukwenda, Makamba and the Sabaganzi (maternal uncle) went and built the shrine and as soon as it was completed they returned and reported to the king. Then the king gathered a very large number of offerings (Things) and took them to Mukasa's shrine. He also put his daughter, Princess Nakayiza in the care of Mukasa. After making these offerings, the rats stopped biting the people and Mukasa himself gave a goat to the king as a token that the rats would no longer bite people.

After those events, the king left his capital and built another one on Nakabotongo or Nakawa hill.¹ On leaving Nakawa, he built another capital on Buye hill and while he was there he got a fetish called Nampigi and put it in a drum which used to be beaten on the night a new moon appeared. When he left Buye, he lived at Nsambwe, but while he was there, a man went and told him of a very beautiful girl called Nakalyowa who was living at Senge. Immediately after receiving this news, the king left the Prime minister at the capital and went to marry the girl. But while the king was away, Kabinuli, the Prime minister, let loose Dibongo's ghost and as soon as the

1. Mutesa I settled at Nakawa also. It is in the suburbs of the city of Kampala and lies about 1½ miles on the Kampala Jinja Road.

king returned, his old illness reoccured. The ghost used to scratch him whenever he went out of the house and when it made life intolerable for him, he arrested Kabinuli the Prime minister, his wife Kikome, and put them in the stocks because they had released the ghost. Seeing that he had fallen ill, the king decided to go to Busoga. But as soon as he set off, the ghost tormented him and scratched the whole of his back.

When the king reached Busoga, he built his capital at Jinja and soon afterwards, he invaded and conquered the whole country. After the subjugation of Busoga, Kyabaggu settled permanently at Jinja and after recovering from his illness, he decided and told his chiefs: I will not leave Busoga to return to Buganda, because there is a ghost which was going to kill me. Having taken counsel with the chiefs, he sent Walulya, the Mugema with these instructions: Go and bring native soil from Buganda. We shall cover it over the soil of Busoga, and unite the two countries. If we do this, we shall have obliterated the Busoga State. Mugema returned to Buganda and took soil from the capital, Kaggwa probably means the previous capital of the king but while he was carrying it to Busoga, his friends sent a messenger who said to him: Do not take the soil to Busoga, because that will lead to a division in the country. Hearing this Mugema threw the earth he

was carrying at Mukono and from that day forward, the spot is known as Ttaka Junge (Joined earth). After that Mugema returned to Busoga without the earth. Whereupon the king demanded: Where is the earth you fetched? The people forbade me to bring it and protested that I should not cause a division in the king's country, Mugema pleaded. But this enraged Kyabaggu so much that he told Mugema: You are fired, and with these words, Mugema was dismissed, despite the fact that traditionally, the Mugema could not be dismissed, only death removed him from office. Kyabaggu, however, created a precedent of dismissing the Mugemas, which other kings have followed ever since.

After the dismissal of Mugema, the king declared: Let the princes who are in Buganda take over the kingdom. I have given it to them. On hearing this, Princes Mulere and Bengo, the sons of Mawanda took up arms and fought Princes Kalema, Kigoye, Mukuma, Wakayima and Junju; the sons of Kyabaggu. Fighting took place at Nkazebuku and the sons of Kyabaggu defeated their opponents, and even made them prisoners. At the conclusion of the conflict, the victors sent word to their father and claimed: We captured Mulere and Bengo when they attempted to usurp the kingdom. But inspite of the fact that it was Kyabaggu who sparked off the struggle, by telling the princes: Go and fight,

the victor will be king, he despatched Senkole Binogola to go to Buganda and burn the captured princes. On his arrival, Senkole took prince Mulere and burnt him at Buyinja, his own (Mulere's) headquarters. After that he took prince Bengo to the capital of Buye. Spending one night there, he went to Namugongo and burnt the prince there. Having burnt the princes, Senkole took some ashes, a fuse and tied green grass (ebbombo) around his neck and returned to Jinja in Busoga. And when he came where the king was, he began to sing: Bengo Twamulya twamuwanika buwanisi (Bengo was not eaten. He was hanged). He even played and fooled around the court as if he were insane. After he had fooled around, the king called him and he reported that he executed the princes, and burnt them. Then Kyabaggu warned his sons who were present, that if they too continued to be troublesome, Senkole would deal with them in the same manner. The burning of the people used to be carried out by Senkole until October 5th, 1889; when Christianity triumphed over such practices.

October 5th, 1889; was the day when the Christians who opposed King Kalema, defeated him and his supporters. Now because most of these were the upholders of Mohamedanism and the old religion, the Christian group interpreted their victory as a triumph over Islam and

paganism with all that the two religions stood for. Many ancient customs and traditions were also abolished and until 1955 the day was known as Buganda Peace Day and kept as a Public holiday in Buganda.

After those events, the Baganda incited the Basoga and told them, Rebel and fight us. You must prevent us from seizing your country. Moreover, we ourselves want to return to Buganda. Hence the Basoga launched such a fierce attack upon the Baganda, that very bitter fighting took place. It resulted in a crushing defeat of the Baganda, and also in the death of Mutumba the Mukwenda. On being told that the whole of the Baganda army had been defeated, King Kyabaggu decided to leave Busoga. On leaving Jinja he spent the night at Senge, but he left all the Baganda still fighting their way as they were being ferried across the lake. Wakiwugulu of the Civet cat clan, stayed in Busoga and continued fighting. When he got tired, he looked for a small canoe and paddled across the lake shouting at the top of his voice. On seeing Wakiwugulu, the king asked him: Did you defeat the Basoga? No he said, fighting was stopped by the exhaustion of the combatants.

They went away and I also decided to leave. Then the king gave orders to ferry the other soldiers who had stayed behind with Wakiwugulu. After all the soldiers had been evacuated, the king left Senge for Bamugaya and finally spent the night at Wakiso. On leaving Wakiso he went to Namubiru,¹ built himself a capital and lived there for a very long time.

This was the cause of King Kyabaggu's death. There was a royal herdsman called Bwafama. When one day he went to graze the cattle, they ate crops in Prince Sekafuwa's garden. Sekafuwa warned the herdsman: You must not graze cattle again on this side [of the field] because they ate my crops. But a few days later the herdsman took the cattle there, and they again, ate Sekafuwa's crops. The prince warned the herdsman again, but when the cattle ate his crops for the third time, Prince Sekafuwa caught one of the cattle, slaughtered it, and sent a very large joint to his mother. When the king learnt that Sekafuwa had slaughtered one of his (the king's) cattle and even sent a joint to his mother, he fell into a savage rage, and executed his wife Namayanja, the mother of Sekafuwa. Her

1. Namubiru which was Kyabaggu's last capital, is the place near Mukono: 14 miles on the Kampala-Jinja Road. According to the local history of the area, that was where Kyabaggu received things from the East Coast, such as china and it might thus be an important archaeological site.

. See Stanley "Through the Dark Continent" op. cit. pp.

body was stretched and laid naked on the road. After the execution, the King summoned the princes to go to the Council on the following day. On the morrow, the princes went to the council to deliberate, but while they were on their way, Sekafuwa who was leading them, saw a dead body, when he looked at it closely, he discovered that it was his mother's. He covered his eyes, [because the body was naked] took off the bark cloth which he was wearing covered the body with it and returned to his home. The next day, Princes Sekafuwa, Kiribata and Kikunta marched off to fight their father because he had executed their mother. Hearing that Nabukome was coming to perform the ceremony of dancing the twins, (okumenya olukanda); the princes joined the procession. Then Kikoso, a valet of Nakirindisa, the maternal uncle of Prince Sekafuwa; speared the king to death.¹ Because fighting was not very fierce, one of the royal wives called Nambooze, speared two people.

After assassinating their father, the princes carried off the body, but on reaching Bajjo, that is the headquarters of Sekiboobo's Sabawali; they removed the inside

1. This appears to have been a conspiracy by the maternal uncles of Prince Sekafuwa to assassinate the king and probably instal one of their own "son", as King.

parts. Kyabaggu was a very big man, and hence his body was extremely heavy. On leaving Bajjo, Prince Sekafuwa planned with his full brothers, (the sons of his mother) and told them: You take the route which passes through Lubyā, if you meet Junju and if he challenges you, do fight him. So they continued their journey and on arriving at Mulago, they found that Junju was already waiting to fight them. During the ensuing battle, Junju killed Kikunta and Kiribata, the two Princes and then he appointed Prince Wakayima to attack Sekafuwa who had the king's body. Meeting at Kawanda, the two princes had a duel which ended in Sekafuwa's death. Having killed Sekafuwa and thus won the battle, Prince Wakayima carried the body to Lubyā where Junju was.

But after Junju had covered the body with the bark cloth, Prince Kalema sent him this warning: Leave the body alone. I am the one who is going to become king. When he received this challenge, Junju dressed himself up and attacked his opponents. But when he came to the River Lubigi, he found that Princes Kalema, Kibooli, Kigoye and Lubambula had poured some medicine (poison) in the water. Fearing to cross the river, Junju took another route through Bubajjwe and reached Nabweru. On

the following day, fighting took place at Nansana and Junju overcame his rivals and pursued them up to Nsumbi. There was then an interval of four days, but on the fifth day, fighting was resumed and Junju gained total victory. There upon, Prince Kalema and others fled to Kyankwanzi in Bunyoro. Because these series of battles were fierce and very many people lost their lives, the following song used to be sang, "Twasisinkana Mamuwanda mu Nkoni, owomulanga nalanga, amagombe neganyaga." (We met at Mamuwanda's. There was the blowing of horns and a terrible hue and cry). Junju had the body taken to Merera and the jawbone was taken to Gombe whence Mutesa I, removed it and had it buried at Kyebando where it still is. King Kyabaggu was the one who made the royal drums known as Entamivu. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime ministers: 1. Kabinuli of the Nvuma clan.

2. Lugolobi of the Nvuma clan.

Mukwendas: 1. Mutumba of the Yam clan.

2. Kabugo of the Buffalo clan.

Sekiboobo: Nakyejwe of the Bird clan.

Kangawo: Kambuğu of the Bird clan. He was first appointed by Namugala.

Mugema: Walulya of the Monkey clan.

Kasujju: Nkuse of the Manis clan.

Kitunzi: Bambaga of the Cephalopus clan.

- Katambalas: 1. Kyokka of the Sheep clan.
- 2. Najjuma of the Sheep clan.

During the reign of Kyabaggu, the territory of Buddu was jointly ruled by the kings of Buganda and Bunyoro. But during the reign of Junju, the whole territory finally came under the king of Buganda. During that time also, Buddu was ruled by the following chiefs, Kawuli, Bulanda and Bwakamba.

KING JUNJU XXVI.

Junju became king when he succeeded his father Kyabaggu. After completing the mourning rites, he left Lubyā and built himself a capital on Mugongo hill. A few months afterwards, he returned to Kanoni to fetch his

belongings.¹ He spent the night at Kavule, near the river Koba, and while he was there, he learnt that Prince Mukuma was making an attack on him. Junju attacked Mukuma at once, and the latter defeated the king. But while part of Mukuma's army was chasing Junju, Mukuma himself was attacked from the rear by Semakokiro, who was a full brother of Junju, because their mother Nanteza was the same. Now because Mukuma himself had only four divisions remaining with him and because Semakokiro had very many, he fought his opponent and even killed him. Mukuma's death was the origin of the song, Abatta Mukuma Bamusambya nnya. (Those who killed Mukuma did so with four [meaning the number of divisions he had]). At the end of the war, Junju built his capital at Migo in Singo. He did not reach Kanoni where he was going to fetch his belongings. They had to be brought for him. During his residence at Migo, Junju got information that there were countless herds of cattle in Buddu and on hearing this, he summoned all his chiefs and after taking counsel with them, he decided to make

1. Kanoni is near the border of the modern counties of Gomba and Buddu. It seems to have been Junju's Estate before he became king. See Makula.

war upon Buddu. On reaching Kakubansiri, he called upon Kiganda of Birongo and they made a blood brotherhood. After that he set off and crossing the River Katonga, he slept at Birongo, and thence attacked Bwakamba, in Nyendo. The king plundered Bwakamba of all his cattle and finally killed him.

According to the traditions of Buddu, Kiganda was originally known as Kajabaga, but after he had curried favour with the Baganda kings, he renamed himself.

He seems to have been a pastoralist chief on the banks of the river Katonga and he belonged to the Otter clan, which significantly enough, is common among the Bahima of Ankole. This enhances the view which has already been expressed in the present investigation, namely that , originally the western districts of the modern counties of Busujju and Gomba, most probably formed part of the grazing lands of the kingdom Bwera. When the kingdom shrank in size probably by breaking up into fragments, chiefdoms such as that of Ruyonga at Kisozi and Kiganda at Birongo, were established. As far as Bwakamba was concerned, the traditions assert that he was not killed,

because he surrendered quickly and thereby saved his life. His descendants are still well known and they have their Butaka at Bulando, a few miles to the south east of Masaka.

After killing Mwakamba, Junju raided the whole of Buddu, vanguarded it and even crossed the river Kagera, pillaged Kiziba and Buzongola. After raiding the Baziba, Junju appointed Luzige of the Sheep clan to rule Buddu and he himself returned to Buganda. But as soon as the cattle which had been captured during the war were brought to Buganda, they all died of rinder pest.

Kaggwa was wrong in recording Luzige as the first Muganda chief of Buddu. A close comparison of Buddu and Kinyoro traditional sources, clearly shows that Yiga was the first chief and he probably commanded the first expeditions. Aliwali argues that Yiga could not settle in Masaka after Junju had left him in charge of the province, because the hostility of the Banabuddu to Buganda rule

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was still strong. Fearing for his life, Yiga is said to have settled first at Bulawula and then at Kalungu, near the banks of the Katonga river. Luzige himself would appear to have been sent by Junju to smash the last pockets of resistance at the end of which he settled at Masaka as his administrative seat.

Junju lived at his capital of Migo for a long time during which he gave the estate of Ttula in the county of Kyaddondo to his brother Semakokiro. As soon as he settled at Ttula, Semakokiro made hunting nets which he used for trapping game. He attracted many followers and when their number increased, they used to boast: We, the boys of Katasa (Semakokiro), we rescued the goat from the leopard. The reason why they made this boast was that it was Semakokiro's army which had saved Junju when he fought against Prince Mukuma. However, when the king learnt of these boasts, he became very angry. As soon as Semakokiro realized that he was falling out of the king's favour, he thought of the following plan. He started growing maize and used to send his wives to take some to the king.

[one day] when the wives took the maize, Junju wanted to sleep with one who was the most beautiful of them all. But when she came before the king, she declined and pleaded that she was pregnant. The king, however, insisted and even claimed that the baby was his. The wife also continued to resist firmly which enraged the king. Hence he told the soldiers: Go and execute that woman. Disembowel her and find out whether the baby is a boy or a girl. Forthwith the soldiers executed the woman and removed the baby. On seeing that one of them had been executed, Semakokiro's wives hurried home and broke the news to their husband: One of our friends has been executed and had a baby removed from her, they reported. When he heard that, Semakokiro sent this report to Nanteza the Queen Mother, that Junju had executed his pregnant wife. If he killed your wife, said the Queen Mther I shall go and ask him to give you an estate in the Mabira district. Seperation will stop you from quarrelling among yourselves. As soon as you have attracted enough fighters, you will come and fight him. He really did a dreadful thing to kill your child especially as he himself is barren: He has only two children, Prince Semalume and Princess Nakabiri. Semakokiro on the other hand had many sons who became the Princes of

Emituba.

Having made a plan for Semakokiro, the Queen Mother sent this request to Junju: In order that you avoid quarrelling among yourselves always, expell Semakokiro from his estate of Tula and give him another one in the forests of Namwezi.¹ While he is there, the Mowa flies will bite him and he may die. This will ensure that you do not quarrel. On hearing his mother's words, Junju accepted the plan and sent Kinyolo to go and help Semakokiro to pack his belongings and also to escort him to Namwezi. Hence on his arrival where Semakokiro was, Kinyolo said: I have dismissed you from Tula and I am taking you to Namwezi. Semakokiro accepted at once and calling his men together, he told them to build twenty houses for storing in his nets. The men built twenty huts at once and as soon as they were finished, he hang in his nets and set off for Namwezi. During his stay at Namwezi, Semakokiro attracted a very large number of clients and at the same time, his mother who loved him dearly, sent him seventy fighting men with the following challenge; If you are

1. Namwezi: The area covered by this name extends from the modern township of Njeru on the west bank of the Nile to the southern parts of the modern county of Bugerere.

a woman, get married to these men. The reason why the Queen Mother sent those men to Semakokiro, was the great shock she had felt at Junju's murder of the baby.¹ When Semakokiro himself saw that his mother had sent him fighters, he worked even harder to attract more clients.

Meanwhile, Junju moved from the capital of Migo and built another one at Kasalaga, whence he built another capital at Kiwawu, and then at Nsonzibirye, When he left Nsozibirye, he built another capital on Kalamba hill and on leaving Kalamba, he returned to his old capital of Kiwawu. But he moved to Kasagala again when he left Kiwawu. The cause for the founding of many capitals, and of their frequent abandonment, was the plague which used to kill very many people wherever the king settled. While the king was at the capital of Kasagala, he learnt that Semakokiro had rebelled. The king therefore called Kinyolo and told him: Go and fine Semakokiro and ask him why he no longer sends me greetings. If it is true that

1. According to one Kiganda tradition, Nanteza was not the real mother of Junju. It is claimed in this tradition that Junju's mother was executed while he himself was still a baby, but he was reared by Nanteza, the mother of Semakokiro. The truth of this will probably never be discovered, but her partisan and partial behaviour in the controversy of Junju and Semakokiro, lends support to that tradition.

he has rebelled, you will be able to tell. On coming where Semakokiro was, Kinyolo demanded a fine. Semakokiro readily paid the fine, but it was of a small black calf. Kinyolo was going to refuse the fine of a small calf when a man warned him; if you refuse to accept the fine, you would be killed. Kinyolo who had already observed that Semakokiro's army had mobilised, stole out of the house and fled.

When he reached the capital, he confirmed that Semakokiro had really rebelled. Junju acted swiftly and appointed Nakyejwe, the Sekiboobo; to attack Semakokiro. They clashed at Bajjo, the headquarters of Sekiboobo's Sabawali. Semakokiro was defeated and pursued to the edge of a fence, but at that moment, his sons, Kamanya and Kakungulu attacked Sekiboobo from the rear, and fighting very bravely, the princes defeated him. On leaving Bajjo, Semakokiro himself spent one night at Butto where, however, an ambush had been laid for him. Fortunately for him, one of his spies called Nalukalala, went along carrying calabashes and on meeting Junju's army, he misled them and said: Semakokiro has already escaped and he is going to cross the river Naziri at Bupapa, whence he will spend

the night at Bumbu, and on the morrow, he will march to Buloba. On hearing the words of the spy, the commander of Junju's army, marched to Buloba to attack Semakokiro. But as soon as they marched off to Buloba, Nalukalala hurried and warned Semakokiro saying: Those who had ambushed you have gone away, because I deceived them that you had already escaped to Bumbu yesterday and spent the night there. When Semakokiro heard this, he set off and spent the night at Nsaggu whence he slept at Mbale. During his stay at Mbale, he had a very bitter encounter with Junju's army, in which one of his men called Nakato was wounded nine times. Semakokiro defeated his adversaries nevertheless and made offerings to the god Kibuka.

On leaving Mbale, he attacked Junju at his capital of Kiwawu and defeated him. But the cause of Junju's defeat, was that all his chiefs were away from the capital when Semakokiro's army arrived. Nevertheless, fighting lasted the whole day, but as Junju fled away, the Abatongole Abakunta, killed him and even cut off his genitals and threw them in the bush. When they reported to Semakokiro that they had killed Junju, he became furious and said: You have done a very bad thing. I wanted you to bring my brother to me alive. Then I would also have exiled him to

Namwezi and the Mbwa flies would have bitten him as they bit me.

Meanwhile, Semakokiro's men searched for Junju's genitals in the bush, and on finding them, they were stored in a piece of a bamboo tree. It was later decorated and taken to Kakoge village in Busiro where it had a palace with an enclosure built for it. If the Bakunta had not assassinated Junju, his brother would have spared him. Junju having been killed, Semakokiro sent one of his men called Galifumita to go and break the news to the Queen Mother. But when Galifumita came where the Queen Mother was, he did not tell her that Junju had been killed, for fear that she might execute him. He therefore deceived her that Junju had been captured. But after Galifumita had gone away, those people who were with the Queen Mother, told her the real truth that King Junju had been killed. Hearing this, Nanteza burst into tears and wept bitterly for her eldest son. After that Semakokiro handed the body to Mugema who took it to Merera and put it in a house as the custom concerning all the kings was. The jawbone was taken to Luwunga, decorated

with beads and stored in a wooden bowl. Junju was a very bad king because he executed many people. These were his important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

Prime ministers: 1. Sendegeya of the Lung-fish clan.

2. Mayembe of the Lung-fish clan.

3. Kagenda of the Lung-fish clan.

Mukwenda: Mayirikiti of the Buffalo clan.

Kangawo: Kambuğu of the Bird clan. He was first appointed by Namugala.

Mugema: Kyewusa of the Monkey clan.

Kaeujjus: 1. Nkuse of the Manis clan. He was originally appointed by Kyabaggu.

2. Nkuse II of the Manis clan.

3. Gaganga of the Manis clan.

4. Gaganga II of the Manis clan.

5. Nandere of the Manis clan.

Kitunzi: Kabuzi of the Cephalopus clan.

Pokinos:

1. Yiga of the Sheep clan.

2. Luzige of the Sheep clan.

Katambala:

Najjuma of the Sheep clan. He was

originally appointed by King Kyabaggu.

CHAPTER V

THE REIGN OF MAWANDA MWANGA I NAMUGALA KYABAGGU
AND JUNGU

Expansion to West and the Conquest of Western Singo

The accession of Mawanda, opened a new and significant phase. Taken as a whole, the period was perhaps the most remarkable for its achievements in the whole history of Buganda. Territorially, Buganda made her widest gains ever, and constitutionally, the monarchy emerged as the strongest instrument of government. Unfortunately, it is not obvious in Kaggwa's text that the accession of Mawanda, marked this double turning point. The impression one gets is that, Mawanda's movements from the capital of Katakala in Singo to Mbuya in Kyaddondo and to Bhowa in Bulemezi, was the typical itinerating which every king found important as a means of political communication. Kaggwa is thus an unsatisfactory source, not only for this reign, but also for the equally important reign of Junju.¹

1. The best sources for the reigns of Mawanda and Junju, are the traditional histories of Singo, Kyaggwe, Bulemezi and Buddu; which were recorded by Gomotoka in Makula and by Aliwali in Munno. These sources have been greatly supplemented by the author's field studies.

So far as the evidence goes, it would appear that Mawanda was the first king since Kateregga to pursue a deliberate policy of territorial expansion in all directions. His first campaign which began in Singo, led to the conquest of the west and central districts of that County which were still Banyoro territory. He then conquered Kyaggwe in the east and finally annexed large parts of the modern County of Bulemezi in the north. The early political history of Singo itself, is not very clear. But Kagwa's reference to Mukwenda the chief of Singo in Empisa (p.307), as the Sabagabo of Buganda, suggests that next to Kaggo he was the most important chief in Buganda.¹ From this precedent which was accorded to Mukwenda, one may infer that large parts of Singo were originally Buganda territory before they passed into Banyoro hands. Such a conclusion would accord well with the Kiganda tradition which claims that, the County of Busujju and its surrounding districts, which included Eastern Singo, were the nucleus of the original Buganda.

But despite this claim made by the Buganda, there is evidence to suggest that the importance of Mukwenda among Buganda chiefs, may well have originated from another cause.

1. The rankings in the Buganda chiefship hierarchy were, first Sabaddu, then Sabagabo, the third was Sabawali etc. See Empisa, PP 307-316; Gomotoka, Magezi Ntakke, op.cit. PP 71-97.

According to another Kiganda tradition recorded by Kaggwa in Empisa, the western part of Singo was rich in cattle, the northern part had some iron ore and an important industry which produced hoes, knives and spears. In addition to these natural advantages, salt from Kibiro on lake Albert, used to pass through Singo to the rest of Buganda.¹ All these factors, lead to the conclusion that, though Singo may have been a relatively late addition to Buganda, Mukwenda himself derived his importance from the wealth of his county and the amount of tribute he was able to pay to the king. This conclusion seems to be confirmed by evidence derived from Kinyoro traditions. According to K.W., the title of the chief of Singo was Kakwenda and that he used to act as a frontier official to both kingdoms while they were still friendly.² It is clear from this account that the original Kakwenda was a Munyoro official, but after king Kateregga had annexed the south eastern part of Singo, including the administrative seat of Kawalira³, the Munyoro holder was most probably deposed and a Muganda installed in his place. One may deduce also that at the same time, the title received the prefix of "MU" and thereby Kakwenda became Mukwenda.

1. A.B. Fisher, op.cit. p.152.

2. Ibid. p.129; K.W. (U.J. Vol. 4/1, 1937)pp.75-83.

3. Ibid.

As far as North Eastern Singo was concerned, the sparseness of the evidence on the Kiganda side, prevents us from forming any real idea of where the boundary was between Bunyoro and Buganda. But K.W. from the Kinyoro side, place it at the swamp of the River Mayanja, which certainly would have made a very good natural frontier. In the south west of Singo, Gomotoka claims in Makula, that the district around the Lake Wamala which had been conquered by King Mutebi, reverted to Bunyoro after his death. This leads to the deduction that at the beginning of Mawanda's reign, the frontier between Buganda and Bunyoro in this direction was somewhere near the Lake Wamala. If this conclusion is correct, it throws some light on Mawanda's policy in founding a capital at Katakala, as Kaggwa says in the text, Mawanda was settling near the borders of his kingdom. Katakala may thus have been deliberately chosen as a base from which to attack Bunyoro territory. Indeed one learns from Makula, that the expeditions to the north and to the west of Singo, were conducted from there. And the impression one gets from Gomotoka's account is that the whole region around Lake Wamala, including Bukuya and Kasanda, extending as far north as Bwanja, was annexed. Information collected by the writer from living informants would appear to confirm

Gomotoka's argument.¹ As a means of strengthening his authority in the newly conquered territory, Mawanda is said to have appointed chiefs, many of whom appear in Makula as princes. His son, Bengo was appointed Mukwenda and he seems to have settled at Mityana. This was now the new administrative seat, which had been moved from Kawalira during Kateregga's reign. Prince Mulere, another of his sons, and Prince Kayondo, a brother of Kyabaggu, became chiefs of the districts which included Senda, Buyinja and Kasanda.

Expansion to the West and the Conquest of Eastern Kyaggwe

From Katakala, says Kaggwa in the text, Mawanda moved to Kyaddondo, founded Kaggo's headquarters and soon afterwards led an expedition to Busoga. But this is hardly a sufficient account of what would seem to have been a campaign of conquest in the Kyaggwe district, as deliberate and as systematic as that which had taken place in Singo. At one stage, (Empisa, p.308) Kaggwa does recognize that the inhabitants of Eastern Kyaggwe defied the rule of Buganda for a long time; but unfortunately, he does not state when the

1. Among the heads of clans interviewed by the writer, was one of the Genet, whose Butaka is at Bwanja near Kibulala.

whole of Kyaggwe was brought under the dominion of Buganda. He is thus again an inadequate source, not only for Mawanda's campaigns in Kyaggwe, but also for the early history of that region. The best sources for the history of Kyaggwe are the local traditions which were recorded by Aliwali and Gomotoka in Munno. Much valuable additional information, was obtained by the present writer from living informants especially those of the Hippo and of the Reed buck clans. However, none of these sources by itself, can give a clear and consecutive account of the early history of Kyaggwe. But assembled together, the picture which these sources give is that, geographically, Kyaggwe then as now, was divisible into four parts. In the north, there was the fertile district of Bukoba, which bordered on Bulemezi. In the east, was the district of Bulondoganyi, Bugolo and Bukunja; and in the west was the third region which included Bukerere, Mukono and the lakeside districts of Kojja and Ndugu. In the centre of these three, was the fourth region which comprised the impenetrable Mabira forest.

Kaggwa states in his Ebika, that some of the clans such as the Bird, and the Reedbuck, were in Buganda before Kintu. And according to their own histories, each clan would appear to have concentrated in a different region of

Kyaggwe. The Reedbuck were mostly in Bulondoganyi and the Mabira regions, and they assert that hunting, especially of elephants, was their main occupation. The Bird, though more widely spread in Kyaggwe than other typically Kyaggwe clans, was mostly in the western districts with one of its chief Butaka at Pulimu. The Nkejje, which seems also to have existed in Buganda before Kintu, was concentrated in the lake side districts of Kojja and Bukunja. As a result of these regional groupings by the clans, each tells a slightly different history of Eastern Kyaggwe before its conquest by Mawanda. It is only through a correlation of evidence from all of them and other traditional sources that one can construct a fairly accurate historical narrative.

The evidence from these local sources makes it clear that, contrary to Kiganda tradition, effective Buganda rule in Kyaggwe before Mawanda, covered only the western districts of Kojja Mukono and Bukerere. As far as the rest of Kyaggwe was concerned, a comparison of Kiganda and Kinyoro sources shows that much of it was tributary to Bunyoro. But lack of detailed evidence on the Kiganda and Kinyoro sides does not permit a precise dating of when Eastern Kyaggwe first fell under the hegemony of Bunyoro. The best known vassal of Bunyoro in these districts, was

Namuyonjo. But the accounts of his going to Kyaggwe and Bugerere are conflicting. The Kinyoro sources claim that he was first appointed by Mpuga Rukidi. If this were correct, it would date the beginning of Bunyoro's dominion in Eastern Kyaggwe to the 15th century. However, evidence collected by the present author from living informants, especially clan heads in Bugerere, and Kyaggwe, gives a different account of Namuyonjo's movements in Kyaggwe.¹

What appears to be the most reliable source for the history of Namuyonjo, and indeed of Bunyoro hegemony in Kyaggwe and Bugerere, are the traditional histories of these districts which were recorded by Gomotoka in MUNNO of 1922 and 1923. According to him, originally there was a ruler in Kyaggwe who was called Kooja Empima. He would appear to have been native. But about ten generations ago, a band of migrants headed by a man called Chola from the Kaweri island of Lake Kyoga, invaded North Eastern Kyaggwe and settled in Bunyara. Then about one generation before the reign of Mawanda, Nabwaga, the fifth successor of Chola, overthrew the descendants of Kooja Empima and took over the

1. See A.O. Jankens Some Notes on the Saza of Bugerere, (U.J. Vol.6, 1937) Among the heads of clans interviewed was Mulondo who belongs to the Reed buck clan. This clan would appear to be one of the oldest in Kyaggwe and Bugerere. Heads of the Native clans of Bugerere such as the Rhino, the Guinea Fowl were also interviewed. As in the case of Buddu, many of these native clans in what were originally peripheral areas of Buganda, joined the more prestigious clans in Buganda.

rule of Eastern Kyaggwe. Gomotoka concludes his account by claiming that Namuyonjo himself, historically a recent figure, was either a Mubito from Bunyoro or a descendant of Chola. Gomotoka's claim that Chola came from the direction of the Lake Kyoga concurs not only with the traditional histories of Bunyoro and Buruli, but also with Crazzolara's conclusions on the Lwo migrations. According to Crazzolara, a Jo Pawiir group of Lwos, crossed the Nile and occupied the northern district of the modern county of Bugerere. Bugerere itself had been abandoned by the Bunyoro when they moved south.¹ Crazzolara puts the date of the Pawiir migrations at about 1680. But without being too precise on the dates, one can reasonably assume that the movement covered almost the whole of the 17th century. If this calculation is correct, it would fit in very well with Gomotoka's conclusion based on the traditional history of Bugerere, that Chola arrived about ten or eleven generations back. It would thus appear that Chola himself was a leader of one of the pawiir group who occupied parts of Bunyoro.

With regard to Namuyonjo himself, the local sources of Bunyoro and Bugerere support Gomotoka's tentative conclusion that he was a Mubito from Bunyoro. These sources

1. The movements of the Pawiir have been discussed in Chapter II, above.

further assert that Namuyonjo's rule in Bugerere, did not begin until about the beginning of the 19th century. If Namuyonjo was a Mubito from Bunyoro, it seems possible that he introduced a new dynasty which replaced that of Chola. This probably explains why his history is better remembered in Bunyoro and Bugerere than that of any other figure. It seems, therefore, that either due to faulty memories, or to dynastic pretensions, historically recent figures have been presented as the original founders of ancient chiefdoms.¹ Despite the possibility that all the above mentioned three dynasties which ruled Eastern Kyaggwe owed allegiance to Bunyoro, the inference to be drawn from the above account is that neither Eastern Kyaggweⁿ or Bugerere, was effectively under the dominion of Bunyoro. This conclusion is enhanced by two other important factors. One is that geographically, Eastern Kyaggwe was far away from the centre of the Bunyoro Empire, which was generally in Western or North Western Uganda. Secondly, the borders of the Mabira forest was infested with the Mbwa flies. These must have made life intolerable for the inhabitants and therefore made the surrounding districts rather unattractive to the Bunyoro

1. These are not isolated instances in traditional history. Similar examples can be quoted from even family and clan histories.

rulers.

The Conquest of Eastern Kyaggwe by Mawanda

A close comparison of the chronicles of the various Kyaggwe clans, reveals that although Kagulu was dead and all his personal adherents scattered, the kings who succeeded him continued to feel some insecurity on his account. Thus, just as Kikulwe had persecuted the Elephant clan, because of the fear of Kagulu, Mawanda also conducted punitive raids in Kyaggwe against supposed sympathisers of Kagulu. It was probably in pursuit of his internal political foes, that Mawanda began his campaign which led to the conquest of the whole of Kyaggwe. As a base for his operations, he built himself a capital at Kigenda near Sumwe Hill. Thence he conducted military expeditions and vanquished the Abagerere, and according to Gomotoka, those who refused to submit to his rule, fled to and settled in the various parts of the modern county of Bugerere. Eventually they gave their name to the whole county. After his military triumphs, Mawanda appointed many of his brave warriors to chieftainships. As we learn from the text, one of these was Nkalubo Sebuggwawo of the Edible Rat clan. He replaced Mbazira of the Bird clan as the Sekiboobo. Evidence to support

the claim that Mawanda established many chieftainships in Kyaggwe, some of which have today lost their importance, is still abundant especially in Eastern Kyaggwe. During the writer's field studies in Buganda, many sub-clan heads, such as those of the Hippo, of the Fox and of the Sheep, repeatedly emphasized that their ancestors first went to Kyaggwe with Mawanda and that their present Butaka were founded in Mawanda's reign. Other important chieftainships established by Mawanda, were those of Kikwata of the Nkejje clan, Rugumba of the Hippo, and possibly Mulondo of the Reed buck clan. All these were appointed chiefs of the fleet. The creation of these appointments leads to the deduction that the desire to raid the Busoga states made it necessary to have possession of a large number of canoes in the eastern waters. The fleet was now becoming an essential part of Kiganda military organisation.

One learns from the text that after his campaigns in Kyaggwe, Mawanda conducted another campaign to Busoga. But, unlike Kyabaggu,^{he} did not attempt to settle in Busoga. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this was a campaign to plunder Busoga rather than to conquer it. The early history of Busoga itself is obscure, and Kaggwe habitually refers to it in the text as a single and politically united region. Nothing could be more misleading.

According to ^{the} evidence, Busoga consisted of weak and loosely organised small states, jealous of each other, and often engaged in tribal warfare. Lubogo, a Musoga historian has argued that the frequent invasions of Busoga by the Baganda kings were always done at the invitation of one or the other of the Basoga chiefs. Lubogo's claim may have been an exaggeration, but it contains some truth. And presumably the success of the Buganda armies was often brought about by the disunity of the Busoga states. One may agree also with Kaggwa's conclusion in the text that the Buganda armies rampaged far and wide and returned with much plunder.

The Conquest of Bulemezi and the Expansion to the North East

After raiding the Busoga states, Kaggwa names Mukono and then Lwankuba as successive capitals. From there Mawanda went and attacked the Bunyoro territory in Bulemezi. The mention of Lwankuba and the silence about Kawanda, suggests that, Mawanda did not invade Bulemezi soon after his Busoga expedition as Kaggwa's account implies. According to Gomotoka, by the time Mawanda attacked Bulemezi, the capital had already been moved to Kawanda in North Kyaddondo. Of the early history of Bulemezi, the Kiganda and Kinyoro~~x~~ sources, supply fairly detailed accounts.

From these, it is possible to make a reasonably consecutive narrative. K.W., on the Kinyoro side, includes Rugonjo (Northern Bulemezi) among the districts which Mpuga is supposed to have distributed to his nominees. What Kaggwa calls Bulemezi during this period, would appear to have been a small territory covering a radius of about twenty miles from Kampala. And it included the districts of Buwambo, Kiti Ggombe and Ikungu, which are today in the central county of Kyaddondo. On the Kiganda side, the text gives the impression that Bulemezi was one of the original counties of Buganda. The traditions of the Lung fish clan claim also that Nabugwamu of the Lung fish clan was first appointed as the chief of Bulemezi by Kimera. If this was the only evidence available, one would have concluded that the text gives a true picture of the early history of Bulemezi. Fortunately we have other sources. Aliwali and Tobi, for example, argue that before the reign of Mawanda the central and northern districts of Bulemezi were still Bunyoro territory¹. (Munno of 1915 and 1916) As far as Nabugwamu himself is concerned, he seems to have been one of the indigenous clan heads in Bulemezi. A study of the origins of some of the Buganda chieftainships

1. Tobi, K.W., in Munno (1916); Aliwali, in Munno of (1915); Gomotoka in Makula and in Munno (1916 & 1928); Sajjabbi, L.K. in Ebifa (1916); Gorju, J. op.cit., p.....Roscoe, The Baganda, op.cit. pp. 251-52.

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suggests that in the early stages of the expansion, Buganda kings pursued a policy of indirect rule. Indigenous local chiefs who were sometimes the heads of their clans, became agents of the Buganda kings. This probably explains why chiefs such as Nabugwamu in Bulemezi and Kajubi in Busujji appear in the text as hereditary rulers. Nabugwamu himself was thought to be the ruler of Bulemezi, probably because his Clan Butaka at Sambwe was nearer the Buganda frontier than say the Butaka of Sempala of the Civet Cat clan (Sambwe is about twenty miles from Kampala whereas Bulamba, the Butaka of Sempala, is more than forty miles on the Kampala-Zirobwe road.)

Although Kaggwa records in the text the chieftainship of Nabugwamu and refers to him as Kangawo, this is contradicted by other sources. As a matter of fact Bulemezi was created a fully fledged county by King Mawanda. Before that date, Nabugwamu was a sub-chief under Kaggo, the county chief of Kyaddondo. His title was 'Omubejja'. After Mawanda had appointed his general chief of the newly conquered territory, he was also given the title of Kangawo. In a number of interviews in Bulemezi, the present writer was told that 'Kangawo' was originally a Kinyoro word, and that it was probably the title of the Munyoro chief who had been deposed by Mawanda.

In the north of the Buganda territory was the district of Rugonjo which had already shrank in size. As far as its administration was concerned, Kiganda and Kinyoro sources agree that there were chiefs who owed allegiance to the King of Bunyoro and ruled the districts as his agents. What is not clear from these sources, is whether the chiefs were Babito. Nevertheless, it would appear that like Nabugwamu on the Kiganda side, and the so called Bunyoro chiefs, were indigenous and were probably heads of their clans also. One of the best Bunyoro chiefs during Mawanda's reign, was Magatto who ruled the districts around Bowa, Sempa and Bukalasa hills. Kagwa is not a very useful source for the details of Mawanda's campaigns in Bulemezi. One has therefore to turn to Aliwali and to the local traditions in Bulemezi. These sources show that although the Baganda seized some Bunyoro territory, the opposition they met was far stronger than their eventual success suggests. According to the local sources in Bulemezi, it would appear, that by the end of Mawanda's campaigns, the Baganda frontier had been extended as far north as the river Kangadda, whence it was gradually extended to Luwero.¹ Living informants

1. Luwero is today the name of a township, about 42 miles on the Kampala-Ziro Masindi Road. According to the official history of the Nakatanza Branch of the Manis clan Luwero was originally known as Kasana, but after the appointment of Miyagi as the frontier chief, the name was changed to Luwero. In old Luganda it meant (pl. Mpero) frontier or border, and it is frequently used in Gomotoka's historical writings.

interviewed by the author in Bulemezi, unanimously asserted that the Buganda frontier in this direction remained at Luwero until the 19th century when Kings Kamanya and Suna II made further conquests to the north.

According to Kaggwa, Mawanda's military exploits in Bulemezi, would appear to be the last in his reign. For although he is said to have returned to his old capital of Katakala, nothing of importance is further mentioned. His death ended one of the most outstanding reigns in Buganda history and brought to a stop also the wave of expansion which had began with his accession. But it was a temporary stop, because the brief and uneventful reigns of Mwanga I and ^{that of} Namugala, were followed by the adventurous Kyabaggu.

The Reign of Kyabaggu and the Invasion of the Busoga States

Thus with the accession of Kyabaggu, the country was again plunged into wars of aggression and his reign is thus best remembered for the attack he made upon the Busoga States. Kaggwa does not say much about the activities of Kyabaggu during Mawanda's reign. Nevertheless, one suspects that he participated in his uncle's expedition to Busoga. This probably whetted Kyabaggu's cupidity to plunder the Busoga States after he himself had come to the throne. The conquest of Eastern Kyaggwe by Mawanda had made the approach

to Busoga safe. His appointments of Nkutu Kikwata, of Rugumba and of Mulondo as the chiefs of the canoes in Kyaggwe, had by now provided Buganda, primarily a land power, with a fairly sizeable fleet, without which the transshipment of Kyabaggu's army to Busoga would have been impossible. The Busoga themselves had probably not yet recovered from the hammer blows of Mawanda. This lends some support to Kaggwa's conclusion in the text that the whole of Busoga was pillaged.¹

One learns from the text, that because Kyabaggu wanted to unite the two countries, he sent for native soil from Buganda as a symbolic act of union. Writing in Ebifa (1916) Kaggwa further asserted that while Kyabaggu was in Busoga, the districts of Eastern Kyaggwe were actually made parts of Busoga. Whether Kyabaggu sent for Buganda soil or not, modern Buganda historians have interpreted this act as a statesmanlike plan which would have turned the Busoga States into a Buganda province without bloodshed.² But a close study of the earlier and later events in Kyabaggu's reign suggests that his decision to settle in Busoga was influenced by less grandiose ideas than the unification of the two countries.

1. This may be the fault of our one sided sources when dealing with Buganda's relationship with Busoga during this period. Nevertheless, it would appear that when Kaggwa and other Buganda historians speak of The whole of Busoga, they most probably mean only the southern states.

2. J. Kasirye, Abateregga Ku Namulondo ya Buganda, op.cit. pp. 29-32

It is evident from the text that before he went to Busoga, Kyabaggu complained of a ghost which used to torment him. One also learns from the text that Buganda at this time was full of ambitious princes, such as the sons of Mawanda, of Namugala and his own. Judging by the behaviour of the princes during this period, one may infer that once again, they were only waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the incumbent. Kaggwa in fact claims that Mawanda's sons organised a rebellion but it was nipped in the bud. The general deduction, therefore, seems to be that Kyabaggu's motives were based on a shrewd calculation that politically Busoga was a safer place to live in, because he would be far away from the plots of his sons and nephews. Moreover, he would also be far away from the ghost which used to torment him.¹ Hence the famous remark:

"I will never return to Buganda, because there is a ghost which wants to kill me. Let my sons who are in Buganda inherit the kingdom".

The length of Kyabaggu's stay in Busoga is a matter of conjecture. Kaggwa, however, asserts that Kyabaggu's evacuation, was forced upon him by the Baganda themselves who incited the Basoga to expel them. The claim that the

1. Empisa, op. cit. p.265.

Buganda incited the Busoga, can hardly be accepted as a true account of the situation. It has on the other hand a deeper significance which spotlights the difficulties which beset ancient warfare. In the first place, it would appear that the expeditions soon exhausted their impetus, the men became home-sick and unless their leader was determined to settle, they had to withdraw. Alternatively, one may argue that Kyabaggu's contemporaries probably regarded his wars as no more than raiding expeditions. Moreover being an essentially sedentary people, the Baganda did not want to settle in a foreign land. Despite these considerations, however, one is still forced to the conclusion that even when the leader chose to settle in the conquered territory, as Kyabaggu seems to have done, settlement would always be impossible if local resistance was obstinate. In the case of the Busoga States, it would appear that they had temporarily united and forced the Baganda to withdraw. What gives this view an enhanced force is Kaggwa's and Stanley's records of the bitter counter-attacks made by the Basoga. And Kaggwa frankly states that a very large number of Baganda were massacred.¹ In Empisa also, Kaggwa quotes a song composed at the time by the court flutist. The song was

1. Stanley, op.cit. pp 259-260; Luka Sekamwa & others, A chronicle of the Empewo clan, (Kampala, 1905)

a lament of the very large number of their compatriots who lost their lives in Busoga, and of the sufferings the survivors experienced. This is a strong indication that the withdrawal of the Buganda from Busoga, was certainly not voluntary as Kaggwa would make us believe.

The Reign of Junju and the Conquest of Buddu

Like several of his predecessors, Kyabaggu's reign was cut short by his ambitious sons, and once again the country was thrown into the chaos of ^{the} succession wars.¹ It was Buganda's good fortune at this stage of her territorial expansion, that the man who succeeded Kyabaggu was one of the most outstanding generals in Buganda's history. The career of Junju puts him in a special class of Buganda kings, whose reigns were dominated by wars, waged either in defence of their thrones or in endeavouring to extend the frontiers of their kingdom.² It was in fact the latter aspect of his career which culminated in the annexation of the rich province of Buddu, the raiding of the neighbouring kingdoms of Kiziba and Karagwe, and the disastrous defeat of the Banyoro. Buddu itself was at one time a part of the kingdom

1. The political and constitutional effects of these succession wars are discussed in Chapters VI & VII.

2. Kings who belong to the warrior conquering class are Nakibibge, Kateregga, Mawanda, Junju and Kamanya. Junju's bravery and fame as a terrible warrior were commemorated in songs, which are still sang today.

of Pwara. It was rich and its western districts of Kajjumba and Nakyenyi were suitable for cattle grazing. The central and northern districts were intensely agricultural and even today, they possess some of the most fertile soils in Uganda. Thus the Kinyoro traditions assert that Buddu was valued by the Banyoro kings as a source of farm produce and slaves.

The best sources for the history of Buddu itself, are the traditional accounts especially those of the clans. Kaggwa gave names of the Buddu clans in his book of the Ebika, but his account was too bare. Details, however, were supplied by various writers in Munno, and they have been supplemented by the present writer. Socially, the Buddu clans seem to have been more akin to those in Bunyoro than to the ones in Buganda. They had similar names and totems, and unlike those in Buganda, they were known by the names of their totems.¹ Politically, the Buddu clans lived in communities and each concentrated in particular districts. These were ruled over by the heads of the clans as vassals of the kings of Bunyoro. But it is difficult to know from these sources, exactly when Buddu became a province of Bunyoro. It is clear from the Kinyoro sources, however, that the first king to attempt to rule Buddu effectively was Wunyi I. As

1. See J. Roscoe, The Bakitara, op.cit. pp.12-20.

it was shown in Chapter II, ^{Kay} Wunyi himself was probably a contemporary of Kayima in Buganda. The traditions of Buddu themselves assert that Wunyi's first agent in Buddu, was his own nephew, and that his title was Pokino. He is said to have gone to Buddu with many followers. These became governors of the various districts in Buddu. From this account, one may make the inference that the Bunyoro vassals in Buddu were Babito. But contrary to this view, it is clear from the evidence that at the time of its conquest by Junju, none of the Buddu chiefs were a Mubito. Instead of belonging to the traditionally royal Bush-buck clan of the Babito rulers, the Buddu chiefs belonged to such lowly clans as the Rain water, the Grass, and the Ant. Perhaps more important still was the fact that even the Pokino himself was most probably no longer a Mubito. Neither was he the most important chief. The best known and presumably the most powerful chief was Bwakamba, whom tradition associates with Sesse rather than Bunyoro. But probably because of his notoriety for raiding his fellow chiefs, Kaggwa and even Bunyoro historians have mistakenly called Bwakamba the ruler of Buddu.¹ There is no record in the

1. Nyakatura op.cit. p.112. He was wrong also when he included Kamungoro among the Bunyoro rulers in Buddu at the time of its conquest. The Buddu and Kiziba traditional sources show that Kamungoro was the son of Ruganzi, a Muziba Prince who fled to Buddu during the first half of the 19th Century. For a detailed history of the Baziba in Buddu, See J. Junba. (Munno, 1912); D. Mafumu, (Munno, 1914); L. Mulobabaku, (Munno 1913); Bapere, J.M.K. (Munno, 1935); Mpologoma, Y, (1922 & 23) Z. Bazirondere. & G. Kitembi, G, (Munno, 1924)

traditional history of Buddu, of Bwakamba's ever being a ruler over anything more than the west central district of the modern county.

So far as the overlordship of Bunyoro was concerned it seems clear from the evidence that, Buddu was not effectively under the rule of Bunyoro, at least at the time of its conquest, and the Buddu clans in fact claim that they were almost independent. As Kaggwa repeatedly states in the text, the wealth of Buddu especially in livestock had always provoked the cupidity of ^{the} Buganda kings to raid it. Unfortunately, their efforts had often ended disastrously. The obvious explanation one gathers from the sources is that the kings of Bunyoro were still strong enough to defend their frontier districts. And although Kaggwa does not say so, one may suppose that besides being the weaker power then, Buganda had many military and geographical difficulties. Lack of communication was a great handicap because the route to Buddu was intercepted by several large rivers which must have made the journey too arduous. Kaggwa in fact quotes a song of the ancient court flutists that the River Mwerango was even more harzardous to cross than the Katonga. Invasion through the islands of Sesse would have needed a vast fleet of canoes which Buganda did not probably possess at the time.

Moreover, the lake side districts in Eastern Buddu, then seem to have been either heavily forested or too swampy.

On the purely military side, the evidence suggests that Buganda's resources in manpower and equipment were still inadequate. And although one may reasonably argue that raiding rather than annexation had always been the aim of Junju's predecessors, all their plans would have remained unfulfilled so long as they were militarily inferior to Bunyoro. By Junju's time, however, the military and even the political situation in the two countries was already changing. As far as the evidence goes, Bunyoro, the hitherto dominant military power, was declining and Buganda was gradually taking her place. The causes which brought about this change were many and varied. A close examination of the military factors shows that Kateregga's conquest of Gomba and Butambala had made the route to Buddu relatively safer. The Buganda armies could now cross at the narrowest point on the Katonga River. Thus one learns from Kaggwa and the Buddu clans that Junju's armies crossed at one of the fords which were in Gomba. It is also claimed by the Buddu traditions that after Junju, the direction through Njeru became the familiar route in all future Buganda campaigns to the west. As far as manpower and

equipment were concerned, Mawanda's conquest of Kyaggwe had widened Buganda's recruiting ground. Farther more, Buganda had also secured the services of the experienced smiths of Kyaggwe who certainly made spears in larger quantities than ever before.

Kaggwa claims in the text that before invading Buddu, Junju made a blood brotherhood with Kiganda of Birongo. By concluding this alliance, Junju did not only secure for himself the essential collaboration of a border chief, but he seems also to have used Birongo as a base for his initial campaigns. The traditional history of Buddu is filled with the details of Junju's exploits, and the impression one gets from them is that it took longer to subdue Buddu than Kaggwa's bare accounts suggest. Having conquered Buddu, Kaggwa claims, Junju marched south, raided the Kingdoms of Karagwe and Kiziba and even made them tributary states of Buganda. The extent of these two claims, can hardly be accepted and evidence to support them is hard to come by. Aliwali who inquired into the history of Buddu perhaps more than any other Buganda historian, asserts that no Buganda king except Suna II crossed and raided south of the River Kagera. It indeed appears that when Kiganda tradition speaks of Kiziba at this time, it

most probably refers to the Kanabulemu district of the modern county of Buddu, whose inhabitants though Baziba, lived on the north bank of the River Kagera.

Kaggwa's silence about the boundaries of the Province Junju conquered, gives the impression that 18th century Buddu, was as large as the modern county. Contrary to the pretensions of Kiganda tradition, it is clear from the Buddu sources that in the east, the River Katonga rather than the extensive swamp of Lwera was the boundary with Buganda. As far as the western boundary was concerned, information collected by the present writer from living informants, indicates that, much of the territory to the west of the twentieth mile stone on the modern Masaka-Mbarara road, was not Buganda territory until the second half of the 19th century. And despite what Kaggwa writes in the text, it is clear from Gomotoka and Aliwali that even the territory within the outlined boundaries was not conquered in a single campaign by Junju. According to Aliwali, Junju returned to his capital and left Yiga and other chiefs to carry the war to the last pockets of resistance. For fear of Bunyoro revolt, Yiga himself did not even settle at Masaka, but at Bulawula and then at Mpugwe. Gomotoka's reference to the Abalebeki, that they remained recalcitrant until the 19th century, further serves to emphasize the view that Buddu

was conquered piecemeal by the chiefs Junju left in charge.¹

Buddu and Kooki were close neighbours, but the evidence suggests that they were constantly in a state of war. Some of the evidence regarding the role Kooki played in the conquest of Buddu is conflicting. But a comparison of Kooki and Buddu traditional accounts, suggests that Mujuiga who succeeded Kitchembwa as King of Kooki was an ally of Junju. Because of this collaboration, Bunyoro historians have regarded him as a nominee of Junju on the Kooki throne. The evidence further suggests that Kooki voluntarily became a tributary state of Buganda. What leads one to this conclusion is the fact that after the rulers of Kooki had been forced to sever political relations with Bunyoro (their former protector) they now needed a new and powerful ally. This conclusion is in full accordance with the information obtained by the present writer from interviews of living informants in Bwera and Kooki itself. The informants emphasized that small states such as Bwera and Kooki, which were surrounded by powerful and aggressive neighbours like Ankore, Buganda and Bunyoro, could never have survived if they had not made alliances with one of their big neighbours. Kooki's choice of Buganda, whose military

1. According to Gomotoka, (Munno 1924 & 27), the Abalebeki were most probably a ruling clan in S.E. Buddu. They belonged to the Bush-buck clan, but not of the Babito branch.

power was steadily rising during this period, was perhaps not surprising. But as later events showed, it seems that Kooki had overthrown a distant and comparatively weaker protector and replaced her with an irksome and equally demanding ally.

After losing Buddu, the Kinyoro sources claim, King Duhaga took the field and though part of his army was crushed in Singo and he himself fatally wounded, one of his generals called Okwiri continued the war and even routed a Baganda regiment. Kaggwa, is unfortunately silent about these events. Despite this silence, however, the frankness with which the Banyoro historians relate the misfortunes of their kingdom, suggests that they are telling an authentic account. It also leads to the deduction that Junju's campaign in Buddu was probably not the last in his reign as Kaggwa's text implies. Nevertheless, like his predecessors, Junju probably did not live long enough to see the fruits of his life's labour. With his death ended the period which may truly be called an epoch.

An estimate of its constitutional, economic, military and territorial achievements make it undoubtedly the greatest and most remarkable in the whole of Buganda history. Internally, if reasons are sought why Buganda replaced Bunyoro as the foremost military power in the north

of the Inter-lacustrine region, they will be found in this period. It may thus justly be summed up as the cause of Buganda's greatness during the next century. Beginning with Mawanda, Buganda kings continued to link their interests with those of Busoga, and by the end of the period, they had acquired the predominant position not only in Bulemezi, but also in the whole of modern Kyaggwe. All these territorial gains had thus made Buganda a power in the north, in the east, in the west and in the south west. The fact that all these territorial gains had been made at the expense of Bunyoro was disastrous for the hitherto dominant power. But perhaps the annexation of Buddu was the most valuable. Its importance was demonstrated not only by the prestige of the Pokinos among Buganda chiefs, but also by the pride the kings took in it. Thus we learn from Makula that as soon as Senakokiro came to the throne, he created Buddu a fully fledged county. Furthermore, for the first time in her history, Buganda had a firm hold upon this vast and rich province, where at least one of her kings had lost his life. From now onwards, Buddu became not only a valuable base for future campaigns in the west, but also the gateway to the trade and contact with the external world. First, came the Swahili and Arab traders, and later the

European explorers like Speke, many of whom reached Buganda via Buddu. In fact, Buganda's control of this route during the 19th century had important consequences, which, however, lie outside the scope of the present investigation.

Taken as a whole, the greatest gains during this period were most probably made in the economic field. Although Kagga does not say so, one can deduce from his statement in Empisa (p. 277) that by the 19th century commitment to war had become an essential constituent of Buganda's prosperity. It was in war that lay the sources of wealth such as livestock, slaves, ivory; in sum, the very things for which there was a shortage in Buganda¹. Hitherto, Bunyoro's large sources of iron and the availability of smiths had made her the chief supplier of hoes. Now, however, with the conquest of Eastern Kyaggwe by Mawanda, with the annexation of Buddu by Junju, and the friendship of Kooki had increased Buganda's sources of iron ore, and also obtained for her a large number of smiths. As they made hoes in addition to the weapons, it is reasonable to suppose that there was increased agricultural production in the country. According to the history of the Reed-buck~~o~~clan, the king of Bunyoro used to control the distribution of the

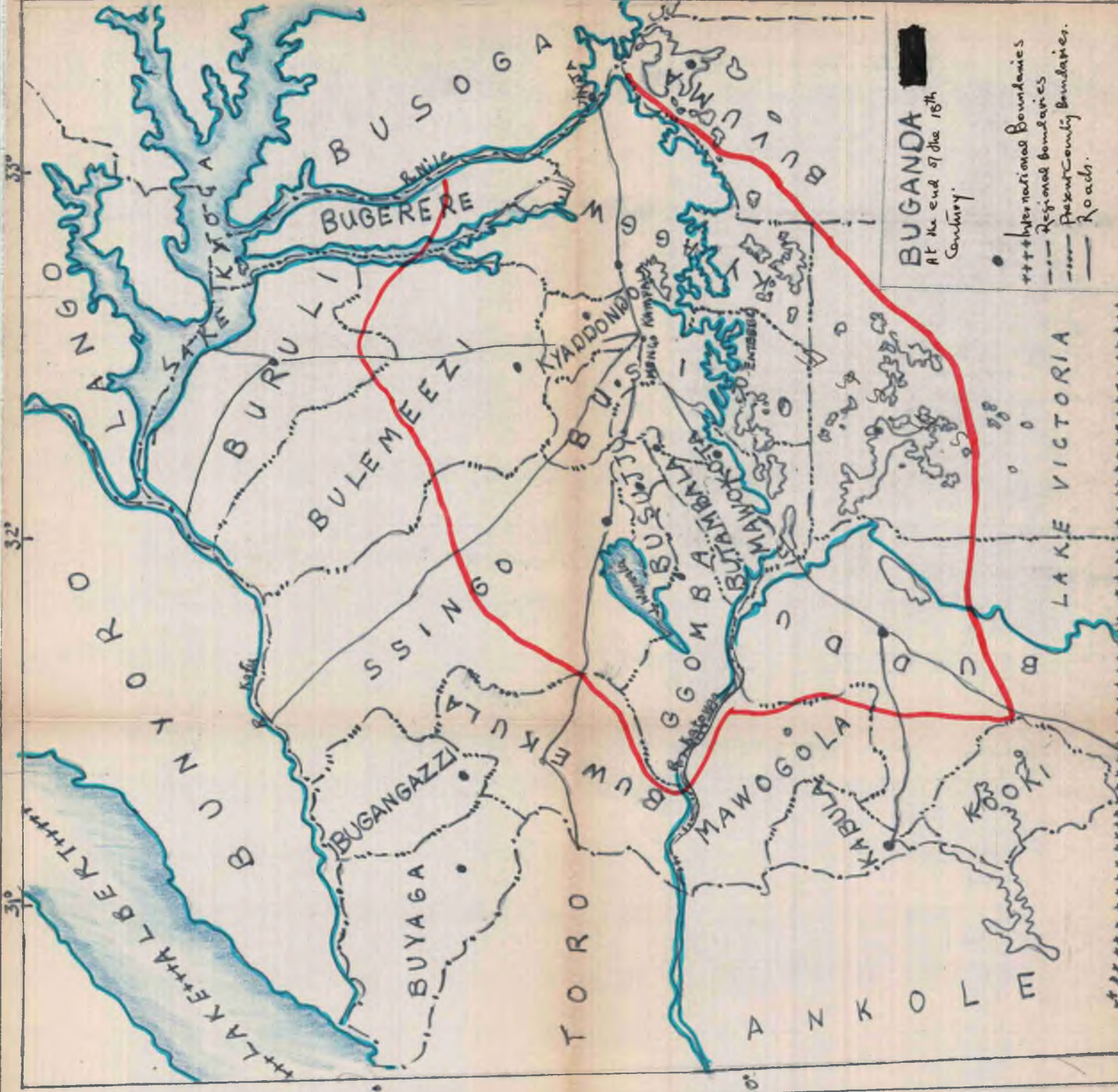
1. For an excellent summary of Buganda's economic advantages, see C. Wrigley, Buganda: An outline of Economic History, Economic History, Rev. 2nd Serr. Vol. 10 (1957-59).

ivory from Kyaggwe. Now, however, he had lost that valuable source. And presumably the supply from the Busoga States also diminished. With all these gains, one reaches the general deduction that there was in Buganda at this time more food and meat to eat. The increased supply of bark cloth from Buddu suggests that the people were probably better clothed, healthier, and fitter to cope with the new and challenging changes of the next century.

As far as the internal trade was concerned, there were probably few markets where large numbers of people concoured. Nevertheless, one can reasonably assume that with the expansion of the country, there was an increased supply and exchange of products. Gonotoka states in Makula, for example, that in the lake side districts of Kyaggwe, there were markets to which people even from the neighbouring islands of Koome, Lwaje and Buvuna, used to come and exchange their produce. But perhaps the most important single event in the field of trade was that, probably for the first time in her history, Buganda received European type of goods such as china and glass. But Kagwa does not tell us who brought these goods. It would have been unlikely during these early days, that the Arabs penetrated as far as Buganda. The most likely deduction seems to be that before the coming

of the Arabs and Swahili traders, the goods were brought most probably by the Baziba of the Bazongora or the Banyamezi. It is also reasonable to suppose that the flow of the goods was thin during this early period. By the middle of the 19th century, however, Buganda was not only well connected with the east coast and indirectly with the outside world, but the flow and variety of foreign goods had greatly increased.¹

1. See Chapters VI & VII.



15000 ft.
— Present Camp boundaries.
--- Former boundaries.
--- Boundary between the
Kiwauka Basin and the

AGUADU

AGUADU

3

KIWANUKA (M.S.)
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KING SEMAKOKIRO¹ XXVII.

Prince Semakokiro came to the throne in succession to his brother Junju who had been assassinated in the civil war. After his accession, he went to Kasangati to finish the mourning ceremonies after which he built himself a capital. He lived at Kasangati for many years during which he appointed the following chiefs:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Namutwe ² | Nsimbi.. |
| 2. Mukwenda | Nakato. |
| 3. Kangawo | Bunya. He was a very fortunate man because all his five sons became chiefs. They were Kajubi Senteza, Kamunyi, Kizza, Nteyafa, Luyombya and Sebbowa. |
| 4. Sabaganzi | Settyabula (official maternal uncle) |
| 5. Pookino | Luwalira. |

1. According to Gomotoka, Semakokiro's real name was Wasajja. And H.M. Stanley who claims to have got his list of Baganda kings from Mutesa, recorded Wasajja instead of Semakokiro. See chapter 1

2. Namutwe was the title of the first subchief of Kyaggwe.

6. Makamba

Sebuliba, (one of the official
male maternal relatives)

Having made these appointments, the king gave orders to execute all the Bakunta, the alleged assassins of his brother. But the men got information before hand, and fled to Busagala (modern Ankole) where their descendants can still be found.

Kaggwa claims in his papers that at first, Semakokiro was going to execute members of the Heart clan. But when he learnt that the real assassins of his brother belonged to the Lung-fish clan, he turned his wrath against the members of this clan. For a further discussion of this, see the comment on the text below.

While Semakokiro was at Kasangati, a terrible plague swept the country and killed very many people, it also forced him to abandon this capital and to settle first at Kisimbiri¹ and then Nakatema where he lived for a long time. During

1. Epidemics seem to have forced kings on many occasions to change their capitals. Junju was also forced to abandon several capitals because of the epidemic diseases.

his residence at Nakatema, he learnt that his sons Nyinigabo, Kafunnende, Kakungulu, Mutebi I, Mutebi II, Kamanya and many others¹, were plotting to rebel. Forthwith he issued orders to arrest all of them and when they were brought before him, he pardoned only three: Kamanya, Mutebi II, and Kakungulu.

The rest were handed to Sekiwala Kitante to be burnt at Benga.¹ Kakungulu was pardoned because he was a father of twins and because the oracles had given a warning that should he be executed, the king would die. But he was banished to Bunyoro all the same. On returning from his mission at Benga, Sekiwala found that Nakato, the Mukwenda, had already been appointed to take Prince Mutebi I, to Busoga where he was to be drowned. When he reached Busoga, Nakato plundered Kalagala of women and cattle and then threw the prince in the lake. On his way back, he caught a very painful foot disease with the result that he had to be carried in a hammock. The incident became the origin of the saying, "Your eyes are as bulging as those of Nakato when he caught a foot disease on his way back from the expedition of Ttaka."

1. Benga was one of the numerous execution places. It was in the county of Singo.

Meanwhile, there was a rebellion led from the direction of Ggomba and Singo by a man called Katabika. But because of his unknown parentage, people did not know whether he was a real prince or not.¹ Nevertheless he was supported by all the subchiefs because all the senior chiefs had not yet returned to Buganda.² On reaching Nakatema, he burnt the whole capital and even forced the king to flee to Nakirebe, whence he despatched an army to fight the rebels. On being defeated, they disappeared into the Mpanga forest and were never heard of again. Nevertheless, the king passed a law that henceforth there must be no partitions in the houses so as to ensure that no one gave refuge to Katabika. Despite these precautionary measures, Katabika never appeared again and no one knew where he died. During this same period, Prince Kakungulu who was in Bunyoro was given a very large army by Rubongoya the Omukama with which to invade Buganda.³ He approached from the direction of Buyinja,

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1. See the comment on the text below.
 2. Here the sentence is incomplete. Kaggwa does not say whence the chiefs were returning. One can only assume that they had gone to suppress another rebellion.
 3. See the comment on the text below.

but by the time he reached Namutamba, Nakato the Mukwenda had already got news of the invasion. He called up his levies at once, but before they were properly mobilised, Kakungulu had already marched to Mawonvu. Nakato gave chase and the two armies clashed at Mawonvu. The Baganda were badly beaten though Nakato himself managed to escape. With this victory to his credit, Kakungulu and his armies hurried to Magonga, but before reaching there, they were intercepted by a royal army at Nsinsi, where fierce fighting took place. A very large number of the Bakedi and Banyoro were killed in that battle and the rest of Kakungulu's army was put to such rout that they could not even see the direction from which they had come. But chief Nandere, the Kasujju, was also wounded while he was chasing the enemy. Kakungulu and the remnant of his army, made good their escape and he himself went to Lusaka to see Nanteza the Queen Mother. After a sojourn of one month he returned to Bunyoro.¹

After beating off his son's invasion, the king continued to live at Nakatema for many more years. When he got tired

1. Kakungulu's armies may not have included the Bakedi, that is, the people from Lango or Teso; but the Baganda had a habit of referring to all foreigners either as Banyoro or Bakedi or Basoga.

of this capital, he built another one at Makerere and named it Nyanjeradde where he gain lived for a very long time.

Sometimes, as Semakokiro sat in the Councils, people would come and deceive him by saying that they had seen Kakungulu moving about in broad daylight. Thereupon he would send out soldiers to arrest him, but no arrests could be made, because Kakungulu was not there. One day Semakokiro wanted to build a new capital at Kitende on the shore of the lake, but before he went, Sebuliba, the Makamba, of the Yam clan, brought accusations against Bunya the Kangawo of the Grass-hopper clan. He alleged that Bunya was plotting to put Prince Kamanya on the throne. On hearing this, Semakokiro arrested Ndwaddewazibwa, the mother of Kamanya; Sepuya, the Muwemba,¹ Bunya, the Kangawo, and about seventy others. All these were drowned at Mutungo by a man called Wakikunga, and after that the king began to confine Prince Kamanya in houses which had previously been occupied by people who had died from the plague. Semakokiro did this because he hoped that Kamanya would catch the plague, but when he survived, the king handed him to Sonko, a barkcloth maker, with these instructions:

1. Muwemba was the title of one of the official maternal uncles.

Take him to Kasaka ¹ and see to it that he makes barkcloth. The sap of the bark will kill him. But again Kamanya refused to die. This was the real reason why Sebuliba brought accusations against Bunya, Sebuliba had married a very beautiful wife from Sonko's family. But one day, she visited Bunya's home, and on discovering that he was more handsome than her husband, she planned to divorce him, so that she could get married to Bunya.² When Sebuliba learnt what was going on, he made those accusations.

Meanwhile the king had left his capital of Nyanjeradde and built another one at Kitende. Shortly afterwards, he ordered the whole country to plant barkcloth trees. Semakokiro was very wealthy, for he possessed more cattle than any other kings, and some of his cattle were stabled in houses. In addition to cattle, he had great quantities of ivory, copper and cowrie shells. Just as his father had been the first king to buy cups and plates, so Semakokiro was the first to buy cotton cloth from Karagwe. He was also the one who saved the country from being devastated by elephants, by organising successful hunting campaigns. He used to

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1. Kasaka was in Gomba, not far from Kisozi, the chief Butaka of the Grasshopper clan.
 2. Kaggwa frequently refers to Bunya as his great ancestor.

sound the drum, and when the people assembled, they would start driving the elephants into Bunyoro.

Nyanjeradde was on top of Makerere hill. According to Gomotoka, (Munno of 1916); the hill was called Nyanjeradde, because from there the king used to have a clear view of the calm waters of the lake at Luzira (Port bell). Originally, Makerere was an estate of Prince Muluta, but Semakokiro removed him and put him in charge of the ritual duties at Magonga. The plan was probably designed to neutralize the political advantages of this prince.

According to the traditions of Bwera, Semakokiro made war upon that country and Gomotoka identifies the Muganda general as Prince Wampamba Kabwa, who was the then Pookino. Kaggwa himself does not mention any expedition to Bwera during this reign, but his silence does not necessarily mean that the expedition did not take place. There is also some evidence, to suggest that the campaign was partly in pursuit of the Bakunta, the alleged assassins of King Junju. Because Bwera was rich in cattle, Semakokiro probably got most of his cattle from there. (For a further discussion of the

Bakunta see subsequent pages below.)

As for the cowrie shells, it is claimed in the Kaggwa-Roscoe Inquiry that they were first brought to Buganda during this reign and that they had holes in them. Despite this claim, it would appear from the Ebika, that cowrie shells were known and were in use long before the reign of Semakokiro. What seems to have happened in this reign, was that their supply increased.

During his residence at the capital of Kitende, he appointed Nakato the Mukwenda to raid a small island called Semukwa. Nakato fought with Kinalwa-Lukwayo, the rebel, plundered him of all his possessions and took him to Kafunta execution place, where he burnt him.¹ Having done this, Nakato returned to the capital and gave an account of his campaign. Many other campaigns besides this were conducted while Semakokiro was still in his capital of Kitende. He also had a salesman called Mangagala who used to sell the royal ivory. One day, he went to trade in Buzongola, but he

1. This was certainly not a war expedition. But Kaggwa, sometimes referred to the plundering of one chief by another as "Olutabalo" (a military campaign).

was killed in a fight by the Baziba at Kanyigo market, which was in Mutatembwa's country.¹ The cause of the fight was that Mangagala had [cheated and] sold banana fibres. On their return, the Baganda survivors told the king the fate of his chief salesman, whereupon he despatched a punitive expedition against Kikami, a Muzongola chief, who used to live at Kitoma. During the ensuing battle, the royal general defeated Kikami and plundered him of a large number of women, slaves and cattle.. Having pillaged Buzongola, the armies returned to the capital.

Shortly afterwards, the king caught a very painful disease which made his legs swell. This was the cause of the disease: One day while he was at his capital of Nyanjeradde, Kinyolo told him of a lame but very expert doctor. If I fetch him, claimed Kinyolo, he will cast such a powerful spell against Kakungulu, that he will never invade Buganda again. When he heard this, Semakokiro sent Kinyolo to Buzongola to fetch the doctor. The king wants you, Kinyolo told the man on his arrival at Buzongola. The doctor accepted the invitation, but he also proposed

1. Buzongola: means Kiziba.

that before he could go to Buganda with Kinyolo, they would have first to make a blood brotherhood.¹ As soon as it was made they left for Buganda and on their arrival, the doctor gave the king a fetish and declared: Kakungulu will never invade Buganda again because I have cast a spell against him. After giving this fetish to the king, Kigulu the doctor asked for leave to return to his own country. But before he left, the king told Kinyolo: You must drown him in the lake, lest Kakungulu hears of him and consults him also. At first Kinyolo refused to kill his "blood brother," but the king threatened him that, should he refuse, he must never return to Buganda. Because of these threats, Kinyolo agreed to drown the doctor and when they reached the river Kagera, he was thrown in and got drowned. On his return, Kinyolo gave an account of this mission to the king and went to his home in Kisugu. But as soon as he arrived, the ghost of his lame blood brother attacked him and made him very ill with the result that his legs swelled and he died soon after. Then the diviners warned the king never to send a war expedition against Buzongola. But when the Bazongola

1. So as to protect himself against betrayal.

murdered the royal salesman, Semakokiro was so enraged that he ignored the diviners' ban and sent a punitive expedition to Buzongola. On the return of the campaign, the king's legs began to swell like those of Kinyolo. He suffered so much that all sorts of doctors were brought, but none of them cured the disease. Thereupon Luwulira, the Pookino of the Sheep clan; suggested to the king: Let me give you a more portent kind of medicine (nkufumbe mu kabiga)¹ and see whether this will cure you. Semakokiro agreed, but all was of no avail. As the situation became desperate, the chiefs brought a Muziba doctor, but when he was going to give the medicine to the king, Luwalira intervened and proposed: Let me drink this medicine before it is given to the king.² If it does not harm me (if it cures me), then let the king drink it. The Muziba doctor gave the medicine to Luwalira, but the latter fell ill with severe diarrhoea. After his recovery, he went and warned

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1. The modern meaning of "akabiga", is a furnace or a kiln. It is thus difficult to know the sense in which Kaggwa used the expression "nkufumbe mu kabiga" (to cook you in a furnace). The likely guess would be that he meant inhalation.
 2. It was common practice among royal favourites to drink or to test any medicine given to the king first, before the king himself drank it.

the king: .Do not drink this medicine, it is too dangerous. But when Luwalira returned to his home, other chiefs who stayed with the king said: Luwalira is only being selfish in refusing you the medicine. Has he not recovered? When the king heard this, he called in the doctor to prepare the medicine, and as soon as it was ready, he drank it. But the moment he drank the medicine, he began to vomit and he had diarrhoea. That was the immediate cause of his death. But the real diseases from which he suffered were prolonged coughing and swollen legs.

By the time he died he was very old. After his death his body was taken to Merera and treated in the customary manner and the jawbone was taken to Kisimbiri, where it was decorated and preserved in a wooden bowl. The following were his most important chiefs:

- Prime ministers:
1. Nabunga of the Sheep clan.
 2. Sekayiba-Nambezi of the Buffalo clan.
 3. Kiyanzi of the Buffalo clan.
 4. Kadduwamala of the Nvuma clan.

Kimbugwe: Kinenenyumba of the Manis clan.

- Kasujjus: 1. Nandere of the Manis clan.
2. Maswa of the Manis clan.
3. Nandere II of the Manis clan.
4. Wamala of the Manis clan.
- Kaggo: Nkaali of Colobus Monkey clan.
- Mukwendas: 1. Makato of the Buffalo clan.
2. Sepuya of the Grasshopper clan.
- Sekiboobos: 1. Zizinga of the Edible Rat clan.
2. Katumba of the Buffalo clan.
- Namutwes: 1. Kirenge of the Grasshopper clan.
2. Nsimbi of the Lung-fish clan.
- Kangawos: 1. Bunya of the Grasshopper clan.
2. Magere-Sekkono of the Bird clan.
3. Makya of the Mushroom clan.
- Mugema: Bandabalogo of the Monkey clan.
- Senkeezi: Wamala of the Otter clan.

Kayimas: 1. Bwete of the Lung-fish clan.
 2. Sepuya of the Grasshopper clan.

Pookinos: 1. Luwalira of the Sheep clan.
 2. Wannanda. He was a prince.
 3. Zabukayimbwa of the Civet cat clan.

The Mumyruka of Lukusa:					Nakato of the Buffalo clan.
" "	"	Katambala:			Kiwebe of the Lung-fish clan.
" "	"	"	"		Kakono of the Sheep clan.
" "	"	"	"		Serubiri of the Sheep clan.
" "	"	"	"		Sekugudde of the Sheep clan.
Kitunzi:					Mukubira of the Yam clan.

KING KAMANYA XXVIII.

In Makula, Gomotoka states that before Kamanya ascended the throne, he was called Kanakulya Mukasa, but that after his accession, he named himself Kamanya. Gomotoka

is probably correct because among the Bitongole founded by Kamanya which are recorded by Kaggwa in the text, there was not only Ekimanya, but also Ekikasa and Ekinakulya. Kamanya himself is recorded in Makula as the eldest son of Semakokiro and Kaggwa states that he was already an old man when he ascended the throne (yali musajja mukulu nnyo). Because of his excessive cruelty, the people coined a new word from his name, Kamanya. Today, a cruel, and uncontrollable person is called kamanya.

When Semakokiro died, his living sons, Mutebi and Kamanya fought for the throne and the chiefs took rival sides. Prince Mutebi was supported by the following chiefs: Nkaali, the Kaggo; Kinenenyumba, the Kimbugwe; Nsimbi, the Namutwe; Namukwaya, the Sengooba; the Sekiboobo and many others. Kamanya's supporters were chiefs Luwalira, the Pookino; Nakato, the Mukwenda; Sebudde the Omunaku; Kasujju Wakayamba of the Lung-fish clan, and many others. The two armies formed up in columns, Kamanya's were at Masajja, Kabowa, Lubaga and Lugala. Mutebi's formed up at Nakasero,

Namirembe and Kibuye. Kamanya's forces marched from Mutundwe and Mutebi's from Nakasero and they clashed in a marsh, where a fierce battle took place. It was in this marsh that King Mwanga II, dug his lake; but at the time of the fighting, it was dry and there was short grass, called Embubbu. Among Kamanya's supporters were some of the bravest chiefs such as Nakato, the Mukwenda; and Kasujju Wakayamba of the Lung-fish clan. Their regiments also contained men who were renowned fighters and it was in fact Kasujju Wakayamba's regiment which killed Nsimbi, Mutebi's supreme commander; and other leading chiefs in his army such as Kinenenyumba. Nsimbi's death gave rise to the saying that his oracles made false prophecies, because he was killed in the forest of Mengo. After his defeat, Prince Mutebi fled to Bukoba in Kyaggwe and hid himself at Nakiwate.

The war having thus ended, Kamanya ascended the throne and went to Nkungulattale hill to enter a small enclosure. With the completion of this ceremony, he carried out the mourning rites also. As soon as he was firmly established on the throne, he began to look for his mother's relatives of the Grasshopper clan, many of whom had been executed

by Semakokiro, because he had wanted his son to ascend the throne without any relatives. The first to be found was his uncle Matovu who was appointed Sabaganzi. Kamunyi who had been given refuge by Zizinga, the Sekiboobo; was the second to be found, and on being brought before the king he was told to go and look for his other relatives. Kamunyi began by going round the enclosures of the chiefs and other places. He discovered some of them such as Nteyafa, Kajubi, Sebbowa, Kizza and Mwenge. They were all introduced to the king who appointed them to the following chieftainships:

1. Queen mother: Namisango. (She was the youngest sister of Kamanya's real mother).
2. Sabaganzi: Sebbowa. (Matovu had been dismissed)
3. Mmondo: Kamunyi.
4. Kawuta: Kajubi.
5. Masimbi: Mwenge.
6. Pookino: Sebbowa.
7. Kitunzi: Nteyafa.

Kamunyi received rapid promotions because soon after his appointment as Mondo he became Namutala and then Katabalwa, the first sub-chief of Pookino. Meanwhile the king caught gonorrhoea, and when he left his capital of Nsujjumpolu, he built another one on Bujuuko hill. He lived there for quite a long time, during which several children who included Prince Suna were born to him. But Prince Nakibinge and two of his brothers including five princesses were born before he settled at Bujuuko. During his residence there, he had several military campaigns conducted: Wakizike, the Sekiboobo; led an army against Kagya of Bukwanga in Busoga. He killed many a foe and plundered them of a large number of women, cattle and slaves; but very many Baganda were killed also. On the return of the campaign, Sewankambo brought accusations against the general that while the rest of the army were fighting, he himself was away receiving gifts of goats and cattle from the Basoga. The alleged cowardice of the general angered the king so much that Wakizike was dismissed

from the chieftainship of Sekiboobo and then executed. He was succeeded by Kanamalessanja, but he too was dismissed and the office was finally given to Sewankambo of the Monkey clan. Meanwhile the king got tired of his capital of Bujuuko and built another one on two small hills called Bulamu. During the years he lived there, his thirst for blood became uncontrollable. Very many people who included senior and junior chiefs were executed. The chiefs were Kabwa, the Pookino; Kiggwe, the Namutwe; and Mulinga, the Nakatanza. After their execution, the king planned another military campaign to Bulindi in Busongola. The supreme command of the army was given to Sewankambo and the Baganda were victorious, and they captured large numbers of cattle. By the time they returned, Kakungulu had already invaded the country with a very large army given to him by Rubongoya, the king of Bunyoro. On hearing that his brother was heading the invading army, Kamanya sounded the war drum and mobilisation took place at once. But by the time the royal forces marched to face the enemy, the Banyoro had already pillaged Nakwaya, (the present day Kiteesa), and returned to Bunyoro. Thus when the officers returned to the capital, they reported that by the time they reached

the invaded area, Kakungulu had already overrun it and withdrawn to Bunyoro.

Shortly afterwards, Kakungulu invaded Bulondoganyi and killed Majwala, the Mulondo; with all his sub-chiefs. On learning that the whole of Bulondoganyi had been exterminated, Kamanya sounded the war drum and appointed another general to go to the rescue. But again the Baganda found that after devastating the whole area, Kakungulu had already withdrawn to Entimba. The army returned to the capital and the officers reported to the king who after consulting with his chiefs, decided to station Ebitongole in Bulondoganyi. Then he sent his son Ndawula to go and live with the Batongole whom he had already threatened thus: Woe betide you if you desert my son. After founding these Bitongole, one of which was called Ekirawula, the king appointed Gundi to become the Mulondo in succession to the one who had been killed by Kakungulu. Meanwhile Sewankambo was appointed to lead a campaign to Busoga because the whole of that country was in full rebellion. The situation was so desperate that there was a concerted campaign throughout the country to recruit as many people for the

war as possible. Even princes were recruited. Suna, for example, who although was still very young, took part in this war. The army crossed Kiyira and spent one night at Jinja. But while they were building a camp, an edible rat ran out of the bush and when Prince Suna saw it, he speared it to death. Everyone was amazed by the spectacle of such a young boy spearing a running rat, without missing. At this time a royal messenger arrived from the capital and told the general that Prince Suna was too young to participate in the war. One night after the arrival of the royal messenger, the general despatched a platoon to attack a Musoga called Mukalula, but the Baganda were heavily repulsed, and even chased up to the point where their general was. On seeing that his army had suffered a severe reverse, Sewankambo called off the fighting and built a camp for the night. On the morrow, he attacked the Basoga, defeated them and plundered them of women, slaves and cattle.

This campaign was called one of Ekibuuka mugogo because after being plundered, the Basoga fought back with such fury that the Baganda were defeated, pursued, and were even forced to throw away two umbilical cords. Soon after this campaign, another one in which the whole country

(Obuganda bwonna) took part, was despatched against Kayanga. The general was again Sewankambo. On his arrival in Busoga, the army formed into columns and they attacked the Basoga. Fighting was very fierce and bitter, and it ended in a total victory for the Baganda. Many women, slaves and cattle were captured. The defeat of Kayanga marked the final collapse of the resistance in Busoga. Hence the war was in fact nicknamed (Olwe Kiwangulo), [the campaign of victories] because the whole of Busoga had been subdued. The king was extremely pleased by the triumphs of his armies and on their return, the officers made their report, after which the king went to Kibibi and built another capital. Meanwhile the Basoga came to Buganda to surrender formally and at the same time brought their sons and daughters. When they arrived at the capital, they declared before the king: We have surrendered. Kamanya was so pleased and flattered by this act, that he sent all the sons of the Basoga chiefs to live with a Ekitongole Ekiwangika. The reason why the Basoga surrendered formally, was that they were tired of the frequent Baganda raids into their country. Nevertheless, they rebelled again when their chiefs who were in Buganda had been illtreated by one of the royal

servants.

This was how it happened . One day, the king made a very big feast for the Basoga and sent Kalasi to serve them. Having served them, Kalasi beat each one on the head and taunted them: I am beating you because we conquered you when you rebelled. The Basoga were so stung by this taunt especially because the man who beat them was a pygmy, that they begged for leave to return to Busoga soon after the incident. The king, however, did not know [why they begged to return], and so the Basoga went away with grievance. As soon as they reached Busoga, they made an alliance with Kakungulu and rebelled again. On learning that the Basoga had allied themselves with Kakungulu, Kamanya left his capital and went to build another one at Nakiwate in Bukoba. He then sent scouts to spy on the enemy, and on their return they confirmed that the Basoga were really in arms. Meanwhile the king had founded the following Bitongole: Ekitoola, Ekimanya, Ekikakanya, Ekinakulya, Ekiryagonja, Ekirinnimula, Ekinyenya, Ekitomera, Ekiralu, Ekitibwa, Ekikeera and Ekikuta. But although the scouts confirmed that the Basoga had rebelled, the king did not send an army to

fight them, instead he returned to his old capital of Kibibi and lived there for a short time. Sometime afterwards, he built another capital at Kiwande, where he lived for a very long time. During his residence at Kiwande he arrested members of the Grasshopper clan and roared at them: Where were you when my mother was being executed? He then executed some of them such as Kagolo the Muwemba, Sewazzike and many others.

Nakiwate is a village some sixteen miles from Mukono towards Bugerere. Tradition states that because of the frequent invasion of Bulondoganyi by Kakungulu and because of the "rebellions" of the Busoga states, Kamanya decided to transfer his capital to eastern Kyaggwe, whence he could counter attack his enemies. The capital was built at Bubiuro because it was a rich and fertile area full of bananas. These used to be peeled dried and turned into flour which was carried to the war by the soldiers. Because of the abundance of the bananas, the village was renamed Nakiwate; probably from the verb okuwaata, (to peel).

A short time after these executions, members of this clan went and pleaded with their son the king thus: Our son, you executed our relatives without cause. We could not prevent the king from executing his wife. In fact, when he did so he executed our fathers as well. The rest of us had to hide until you, our son, searched for us after you had come to the throne. Kamanya was sorry and said: I am guilty, and with these words, he gave them more chieftainships. Ntamu became Mmondo, Sagala became the head of the Ekikojja Kitongole, Waliggo became the Sekyoya, Bekalaze became the chief of Ekito-ngole Ekigolooba, Kalimikakalu became the Kajerero, and many others whose names I cannot recollect, were appointed to various chieftainships. Having made these appointments, Kamanya left his capital of Kiwande and built another one at Kitende. But he did not stay there long, because he moved again and went to Bulamazzi hill. He spent there three months only during which, however, he appointed Kiddu, the Kangawo; to conduct a campaign into Buruli. It was so successful that much plunder of cattle and women was brought to Buganda. Having despatched this expedition, the king left the capital of Bulamazzi and went to Mpumudde and while he was there,

he executed many people. One day for example, some men who used to work in the capital reported for duty, but as soon as he heard them, he demanded to know who they were. They told him that they were the workers (Abakozi) whereupon he complained, that those very people had stolen all his chickens. With this complaint he executed all of them.

Kamanya had some very odd characteristics, whenever his chiefs went to war for example, he would demand presents from their wives who had stayed at home. He would at the same time claim that he was the substitute of the absent husbands. He also used to uncover his men and look at their genitals. If he saw a small man, he would scornfully comment on his size that he could never find women to love him. He would then give him about ten women to take to wife. To a huge man he would give about twenty women and again scornfully comment on his size that he would never find enough women at Mpumudde to satisfy him. During this time, another expedition was conducted to Busoga under the command of Sewankambo. It was nick named the war of Ekyetoololo, (one which goes round and covers the the whole country); because the whole of Busoga had been overran. At the end of this campaign, the king appointed

Kasajja, the chief of the Ekiwangika Kitongole, to make war upon Ntimba, but when the army reached Busoga, they found that Kakungulu had died. His body which was being guarded in a house, was discovered by the Abasingizo while they had gone to spy as well as to forage for themselves. The men reported Kakungulu's death at once and the general sent information to the king. But on getting the news, Kamanya commanded the general to execute all the Abasingizo: Massacre them all and save none, he said, because they found my brother alive and murdered him. He also commanded that the body should be burnt. But those men were unjustifiably killed because they were in no way responsible for Kakungulu's death. After carrying out the executions, the army returned to Buganda.

After an interval of many peaceful years, the king despatched an army to fight the Abakedi in Bululi, and on reaching there, Senkoole the general built a camp. The Bakedi who had already got information about the Baganda expedition sent spies to study the exact position of the Baganda army. Having made this reconnaissance, they returned to their camp. Thereupon their army secretly crossed the lake at once and took the Baganda by storm.

The whole of the Baganda army including the general was annihilated. The assistant of the general, however, was not killed, because he had spent the night away from the camp. The Bakedi chased the Baganda, but in the meantime, Muguluma the Kangawo had got the disastrous news and gone to the rescue. He gave chase, following the footprints of the enemy, and after a very long time he discovered their base. He engaged them and a fierce battle raged, in which the whole of the Bakedi army was wiped out. Unfortunately, Muguluma died on the way back from the battle field, and when the king got the humiliating news that his first army had been destroyed by the Bakedi, and that the two generals had lost their lives, he ordered the Gabunga to build canoes. As soon as they were ready, he despatched another expedition and gave the supreme command to Sewankambo the Sekiboobo. When he left the royal capital, he spent one night at Mukono, his county headquarters, and then ordered the Basese and the whole of the army (Obuganda bwonna) to carry the canoes over land. On reaching Kikalakate, that is the place where a certain type of salt called Churwe used to be obtained, the general made a stop and spent the night there while waiting for

the arrival of all the canoes. Meantime, he planned the battle: Only the fighters were to be ferried across the lake, but the load carriers were to remain at Kikalakate.

Throughout the 19th century the peoples on the northern shore of the lake Kyoga, were frequently raiding parts of Bugerere, Bululi and even Bulemezi. These were cattle areas and probably the Bakedi were raiding for cattle. But during the reigns of Kamanya, their incursions were effectively checked particularly by Sewankambo. As a result of this the Buganda frontier was extended farther to the north to include the north of Bulemezi.

On reaching Bukedi, the Baganda army fought a very fierce battle and although they were victorious, and although they plundered the Bakedi of large numbers of women, cattle and slaves, the Bakedi nearly carried the day and forced the Baganda to throw away one of the royal drums called Nakawanguzi. Four or five days after the

war, the Baganda returned and by the time the Bakedi recovered and collected their forces for a fresh assault, their vanquishers had already crossed the lake. By this time Kamanya had already left his capital of Mpumudde and built another one on Lubaga hill. During his residence there, he condemned his son Nakibinge Banyakangu to be burnt at Buyinja. At the same time the king executed his wife Samanya, the mother of Prince Nakibinge. Thus before the latter was burnt, he had his head placed in the thighs of his dead mother. This was the reason why Prince Nakibinge was executed. One day when Kamanya was going to execute his brother Mutebi, with whom he had fought for the throne, Prince Nakibinge wept and prayed: Father, why are you going to execute your innocent brother? Kamanya was hurt by his son's remarks and although he did not show this at the beginning, he nursed a grievance against his son. As the latter grew up, his father's fears and suspicions also grew. He even used to consult the witch doctors and to complain that his son Nakibinge was plotting to overthrow him.

After the execution of Nakibinge, his ghost returned and began to torment the king so much so that one side of his body was paralysed. But as a matter of fact, the king's

illness originated from another cause: One day, his wife Nantuze was cultivating in Ensiike and when she saw a leopard, she raised an alarm. But when the king run to her help, he fell, and this caused his chronic cough and other diseases. Other people, however, alleged that because Sewankambo had dragged the canoes overland and had thereby broken the back of the god Mukasa he was responsible for the king's illness. Hence as soon as they heard that Sewankambo was returning from his campaign in Bukedi, they built a small hut at Mamunyi village in Bulemezi and argued: If Sewankambo walks through it, the king will recover and with his recovery, Sewankambo himself would catch the disease and die. Thus when Sewankambo arrived, the chiefs lied and told him: The king commanded you to walk through this hut before you reach the capital. Knowing the jealousy which his fellow chiefs had for him, Sewankambo suspected at once that there was a conspiracy against him and he refused to walk through the hut. He retorted that the chiefs who had advised the king to kill his son in such a shameful and ghastly manner, were responsible for his illness. If it was criminal of me to drag the canoes overland, he charged; where are they

built? Are they built on water? If not, how do people get them to the lake? Don't they have to carry them overland as I did? Are they then accused of being bewitchers? If not, why are you alleging that I am bewitching the king?

Having made this counterattack, Sewankambo went to the capital without walking through the hut. On arriving at Lubaga, he found that the king had already returned to his old capital of Mpumudde, so he also went there. But the moment he arrived at Mpumudde, he was plundered of his war spoils, consisting of fourteen hundred women. The chiefs continued their allegations against him saying: You are the one who caused the king's illness. It was you who pulled the canoes on land and broke the back of the god Mukasa. Continuing to defend himself stoutly, Sewankambo frankly told Sebuko, the Prime minister; that his and other chiefs' bad advice, which had led to the shameful execution of Prince Nakibinge, caused the king's illness.

Mukasa was the most important of the Baganda gods,

This medium and he was also the chief adviser of the kings in all matters except military. These were reserved for the gods Kibuuka and Nnende. Like many other Baganda gods, Mukasa was one of Bukulu's descendants, and his principal shrine was on Bukasa island. As the neptune of the Baganda, Mukasa was thought to be grievously offended when canoes were hauled over land, which implied that his property had been taken out of its watery domain.

in Ebifa of 1916,¹ R.D. Musoke, supplies additional information on the early history of Sewankambo. He was a native of Kyaggwe who rose to prominence during the reign of Kamanya. He became the richest and the most distinguished of all Kamanya's generals. But because of his riches, power and influence, his fellow and jealous chiefs slandered him and this led to his fall. But because he had been the protector of Kanyange, the mother of King Suna; he was later promoted to a small chieftainship during the next reign by King Suna himself.

1. See also, A. Aliwali in Munno of 1914.

But although the chiefs launched more attacks on Sewankambo, the king's health did not improve. But as it worsened, more chiefs were arrested such as Sembatya the Pookino, Lugobe, Nseege and many others. They were all charged with bewitching the king who had now been returned to his Lubaga capital. But even then there was no improvement in his health, although more chiefs were arrested, such as Sekadde the Kaggo. But Kaggo was actually arrested on another charge. One day, while the chiefs were moving from the old capital of Mpumudde to Lubaga, chief Sekadde who had no house in the new capital of Lubaga, told his wives to put his belongings in the house of chief Sewankambo the Sekiboobo, where he hoped to sleep. But on entering Sewankambo's house, chief Sekadde's servants began to beat drums and to make merry. When other chiefs heard of that merrymaking, they went to the king and inquired whether he had appointed Sekadde to become the new Sekiboobo. The king who had already been angered by the act, denied that he had not appointed Sekadde to become the new Sekiboobo. Thus although Sekadde explained that he slept in the house without any intention of appointing himself to that office, he was

arrested. The incident became the origin of the saying: You are like Sekadde who appointed himself to the chieftainship of Sekiboobo.

Other chiefs were arrested on various charges. Kasajja the chief of the Ekiwangika Ekitongole, was alleged to have murdered Kakungulu, to have called him a medicine man, (bbandwa) and to have burnt his body. Kamyuka was charged for tying spears in essalu (kind of grass) which suggested that he was plotting to seize the throne. After these arrests, the king asked his chiefs to take him to Nalumunyi hill where another capital was built. But he lived there for two months only and he was returned to Mpumudde. A few days after his return to Mpumudde, he was taken to Lutengo in Kyaggwe, and while he was there, his condition deteriorated and he died two months afterwards. By this time one side of his body had been paralysed from the arm to the leg. His corpse was taken to Merera and treated in the customary manner and the jawbone was taken to Ttemangalo whence it was transferred to Kawoko and finally to Kasengejje. The following were his most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

- Prime ministers:
1. Ndawula of the Nvuma clan.
 2. Katimpa of the Nvuma clan.
 3. Kafumbirwango of the Manis clan.
 4. Kinogo of the Manis clan.
 5. Sebuko of the Lung-fish clan.

- Kimbugwes:
1. Njalekuuna of the Colobus monkey clan.
 2. Sikyawoza of the Colobus monkey clan.

- Kaggos:
1. Sekyeri of the Mushroom clan.
 2. Sekadde of the Mushroom clan.

- Mukwendas:
1. Mulabira of the Yam clan.
 2. Mpagaba of the Monkey clan.
 3. Mandwa of the Nvuma clan.

- Sekiboobos:
1. Kitumba of the Bird clan.
 2. Sebudde of the Nvuma clan.
 3. Wakizige of the Civet cat clan.
 4. Kanamalessanja of the Lung-fish clan.

5. Lwanga Sewankambo of the Monkey clan.

He was the bravest and wealthiest of
Kamanya's chiefs.

6. Kabiswa of the Edible Rat clan.

Kangawos:

1. Kirimuttu of the Colobus monkey clan.

2. Bigomba of the Colobus monkey clan.

3. Mandwambi of the Monkey clan.

4. Muguluma of the Civet cat clan.

5. Ggombe of the Bush-back clan.

6. Nahwaga of the Nvuma clan.

Mugemas:

1. Sewannonda of the Monkey clan.

2. Kibalama of the Monkey clan.

Kayimas:

1. Luyima of the Grasshopper clan.

2. Lwanga of the Edible Rat clan.

3. Bekalaze of the Grasshopper clan.

Kasujjus:

1. Wamala of the Manis clan.

2. Kyasiima of the Manis clan.

3. Basajjakambwe of the Manis clan.

Kitunzis:

1. Luzingo of the Cephalopus clan.

2. Mpengere of the Oribi Antelope clan.

3. Kiggwe of the Lung-fish clan.

4. Nteyafa of the Grasshopper clan. He was
a son of Bunya who was the Kangawo
of King Semakokiro.

Pookinos:

1. Kabwa. He was a prince.

2. Kabuzi of the Monkey clan.

3. Kizza of the Grasshopper clan. He
was the son of Bunya, who was the
Kangawo of King Semakokiro.

Katabalwas:

1. Kimbe of the Grasshopper clan. He
was first appointed by King Semakokiro.

2. Sebanakitta of the Lung-fish clan.

3. Senteza Kamunyi of the Grasshopper clan.
He was the son of Bunya, who was
the Kangawo of King Semakokiro.

S. Kamunyi had the following sons:
 Kalanzi, Kironde, Kadumukasa, Kijala
 Salongo and others. Kadumukasa was
 the father of Apolo Kagwa, Kali-
 bbala, the Author of this book.

- Katambalas:
1. Kiwuwa of the Sheep clan.
 2. Kafumbe of the Sheep clan.
 3. Kirigendali of the Sheep clan.

Luwekula: Kyewalabye of the Yam clan.

[The whole of the following paragraph, does not appear in the
 Original Edition of Bassekabaka.]

Buwekula: The chieftainship of Buwekula was
 established during this reign. Formerly, the district
 belonged to the king of Bunyoro, but when Kyewalabye
 fought and defeated the Bunyoro vassal, he annexed the
 district to Buganda. At the beginning, it formed part
 of Singo county and Kyewalabye, the first Luwekula was
 the Sabawali of Mukwenda. His residence was on a hill
 called Kakyuka. Kyewalabye himself was a very great
 man, brave and fearless;¹ but perhaps his son Settuba

1. See Ebifa (1916)

was even a braver man than his father. The title of Luwekula began as a nickname used by the conquered populations to describe their difficult conditions caused by the conquest. For a long time, they boycotted their new ruler, and the women especially were terribly frightened. They used to carry the babies on the backs for a whole day, then in the evening they would say: Let us remove the babies from the backs so that they can suckle the breasts. Oh! this Muganda chief has made life impossible for us. The nickname became the title of the chief and henceforth every successor of Kyewalabye was known as Luwekula

KING SUNA II KALEMA XXIX

According to Y.N.Luwekula (in Munno of 1929), originally, Suna had two names only; Suna and Kalemakansinjo (or Kalema). But after he had ascended the throne, he called himself many others, such as: Lukeberwa, Kyetutumula, Magulunnyondo, Luwambya, Omutanda, Seggwanga and Semunywa. All these names, reflect some of the dominant features of Suna's character, namely intense pride and vanity.^L He was also intensely

¹R.F. Burton, Lake Regions vol.11, op. cit. pp189- 196.

jealous not only of his mother, but also of handsome men. Tradition claims that by the time of his accession, his mother (who was one of the most beautiful women in the country), was still "young" and even better looking than some of her son's wives. Hence Suna, suspected always that his chiefs were making love to her, and because of this, countless numbers of them were executed. Similarly, other chiefs were executed for allegedly being lovers of the princesses. Suna's only friends were his maternal relatives, his in-laws, the hunters and other court comedians. Information bearing on his character, is scattered throughout the text and also in the volumes of Ebifa and Munno.¹

Suna became king in succession to his father Kamanya, but he was only a young boy of twelve years of age. (Of the European Calender). Before his death, King Kamanya told Sebuko the Prime minister and other chiefs: When I die, you must not fight over the issue of the succession. You should choose one of the young princes to succeed to

1. See Sir Apolo Kaggwa, in Ebifa of 1910-1911; R.D. Musoke, Ebifa (1916); Nuwa Sebuza, Ebifa (1918); A. Aliwali; Munno (1914); K.Y. Paul, Munno (1916); Gomotika, Munno (1931).

the throne. That was why Suna became king because he had been chosen by his father. Having ascended the throne, Suna left Mpumudde and went to Mulago where he built a small enclosure. After that he carried out the mourning ceremonies, and decided to live on Mulago hill where he built himself a capital. He appointed Migekeyamye of the Bush buck clan to be his Prime minister, but he soon dismissed him and appointed Kayira of the Buffalo clan who was then in the Kiwanga [Kitongole]. Suna lived on Mulago for many years, during which he came of age and had several children born to him. Meanwhile he appointed Sebbowa Kisubika to lead a campaign to Gambalagala. When it returned, another expedition under the command of Lubuzi, the Omukasa; was conducted to Bululi where the Bakedi had been planning to invade Buganda. It was followed by another one under the command of Bakkabulindi, the Sekiboobo, to Busongola. A very large number of cattle was plundered. While the soldiers were returning, a very large number of them died of diarrhoea, and because of this, the campaign was henceforth nicknamed (Ekigenda Mukululo) "that which causes diarrhoea". When the king saw that there was too much lamentation in the country,

he passed a law which prevented the people from mourning.

He said: There must be no more lamentation. Hence, fresh grass used to be spread in the houses where mourning ceremonies had not been completed. People did this so that when the royal inspectors went round, they would not find signs of mourning.¹

During the campaign of Busongola, some of the chiefs showed cowardice and refused to fight. When they returned, the king called the army to drink the doctored beer. Those who failed the test (the cowards) had fresh banana fibres and rotten parts of the banana tree tied around their waists as if they were women in labour. The men were treated in this manner in order that they may never show cowardice again.

Meanwhile further campaigns were conducted: Majwala, the Mulondo; took an army to Busoga, and on its return, Kojjawomulangira led another one to Bulyambwa. But on their way back, the members of the expedition caught small pox and very many people died including Mbabaali, the

1. At the end of the mourning period, all the houses were cleared and fresh grass had to be spread in the houses of the mourners.

Kayima; and Mbiddekaawa, the Omumanya. The king himself had wanted to participate in this war, but he was dissuaded by Mbabaali who suggested: As the threat of the epidemic is so great, let me go to the war this time; if I return safe and sound, then you will fight in the next campaign. Moreover, since you and I are such great friends, if I lose my life in this war, it will be as if it is you who has died. And so Mbabaali went to war, and died on the way back as he had predicted. His death grieved the king so much that he used to say: Kayima died for me. The king even passed a law which prevented people from mourning for their dead so that he himself could mourn for his departed friend. Consequently, a lot of mourning ceremonies were not carried out except perhaps in secret.

At the conclusion of this war, the king started to make small spears in preparation for a campaign against Busagala; but as soon as they were ready, he attacked Mukama¹ of Bulemezi. On his return, he went to his former estate of Wamala to fetch his belongings. He then appointed

1. According to Gomotoka in Makula, Mukama was a descendant of King Juuko.

Pookino, the Omuzinga; to make war upon Busagala, where much plunder of women and cattle was collected. Long after this campaign, the king sounded the war drum again and went to Wazika in Bulemezi to hunt.¹ He spent the night at Bubengwa and set off the next day. By this time, he had ~~very~~ many children. One day the king was passing through a camp of Abakerere and his bearer stepped on cow dung and nearly fell with him, whereupon the king asked: Why were you going to fall? Because I stepped on Human faeces; the bearer lied. On hearing this, the king condemned all the three hundred Bakerere to instant execution. After that he went to Wazika (which is today known as Kamuli) to hunt a lion. It bit very many people, but it was caught nevertheless and kept in a fence, (Egirizo). Then the king passed a law that whenever he asked, "Byani?" every body must answer, "Bibyö." [Whose are the things? They are yours]. Similarly, when two men met on the road, one had to ask: Byani? Thereupon

1. The expression (okutabala) which Kaggwa uses in this context is misleading, because this was not a war, but a hunting expedition.

the other man would reply: Bibyo.¹ A few days after the return of the hunting trip, the king appointed Galabuzi, the Omunakulya; to go and cut poles from Nakalanga forest for the building of a new capital at Ngalamyé. As soon it was ready, Suna wanted to go and live in it, but his chiefs advised him to enter his new palace first, called Batandabezaala and then return. But on returning to Ngalamyé he abandoned the new capital and built another one in the centre of Kavule. Two months after his stay there, he arrested five hundred innocent Bawambya and executed three hundred of them. This was the cause of their execution: One day, the king told them to go and look for grave yards in the capital. While the men were digging up some graves, they dug up stumps of wood also. Whereupon the king accused them of attempting to steal his fire wood. Some days afterwards, he passed a law for the strict observance of the sanitary regulations in the capital. He had in fact already sent out soldiers to execute those who violated the sanitary laws.

Meanwhile he appointed Lumweno Nakirindisa to go and levy taxes. On reaching Museebe, Lumweno met Kabugo,

1. The phrase "Byani?" (whose are they?) seems to signify nothing.

the Muwemba; and the two went together to make the levies. Having done that, Lumweno's men told him that there was a very famous diviner called Kigemuzi, where upon Lumweno told his Sabawali to go and solicit the diviner to give the the oracle. When Sabawali went, the diviner gave the following oracle: Your master Lumweno will make an excellent report of his tax collecting campaign. But do tell him that, on his return to the capital, he should ask the king, [thus]: Why did you prevent people from excreting in the capital, and why did you execute others for allegedly violating the so called sanitary laws? Where do you yourself (the king) excrete? On realising that such language was abusive and disrespectful, Lumweno's men went and told him of the diviner's threats, [to the king] that unless the king allowed the people to excrete freely in the capital, a catastrophe would befall him. Then Lumweno went to Kabugo, the Muwemba; and told him the whole story as it had been recounted by his men. Thereupon, Muwemba sent for Kigemuzi and asked him: Was it you who uttered those words? It was I, Kigemuzi answered. On answering

thus, Kabugo arrested him with his wife and handed both of them to Lumweno. When Lumweno reached the capital, he gave a report of the tax collecting campaign and then told the Prime minister: I brought with me a prisoner who gave the oracle in the following words. He then related what Kigemuzi had said. When the Prime minister spoke to the man, he reiterated his words: Why does the king execute people for excreting in the capital? Where does he excrete himself? Although the gods had already given a warning that unless all the prisoners were released, they would bring a terrible evil upon the king, Kayira refused to release Kigemuzi because he had abused the king. Full of rage, Kayira ignored the warning and took Kigemuzi to the king. As soon as Kigemuzi was brought before the king, the latter demanded: Give the same oracle as the one you gave to Lumweno. But the diviner refused, and declared that as long as he remained prisoner, he would not give the oracle. Suna was so enraged that he ordered a soldier called Ndyenkoko to stitch up the diviner's lips. Yours will also be stitched, Kigemuzi threatened the king. Forthwith, a

courtier called Kamunyi Kiyenje, the father of Kaddumukasa my father, struck the man. You will also be struck, Kigemuzi threatened again. The soldiers stitched up the man's lips and branded the whole of his body with red hot pieces of irons. While the king was taking some cloths [Engoye enfuge kafuba]¹ to the man, he was advised by chief Lwanga Senkezi Sewankambo to keep the man in the prison for that night and execute him on the following day. But when night came, so much rain fell that the god of lightning thundered and scorched the king on the leg, on the shoulder and on the cheek. Soon after the thunder, Kayira went to see the king and found him in Prince Lumansi's house. He sent for Kigemuzi from the stocks where he was, and as soon as the latter was brought he said to the king: Did I not warn you that you would also be burnt? But to strike a child is not to kill it, you will recover soon. Having said this, Kigemuzi advised the king to leave his capital and go to another one at Nabulagala. Four days later, Suna left the capital, of Kavule and went to Nabulagala, but before he actually

Engoye enfuge kafuba with a king, who has been mentioned
 1. What Kaggwa means by Engoye Enfuge kafuba, is not clear.

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left the capital, Senkatuuka grumbled to the Prime minister and said: What shall we do with a king who has been so scorched by the gods? It is indeed distressing, replied the Prime minister, but we cannot do anything to such a great king who has even fully grown up sons. Even if he is lame, we shall still have him as our king. [This sentence may mean: even if he were lame.]

Having said this, Kayira told the Mukwenda that they should leave the king alone. On the following morning, the king left for Nabulagala and when he reached Kasangati, he met his mother Kanyange and stopped to greet her.

Kigemuzi, the diviner; was left at the old capital of Kavule where, however, everything had been set on fire. But the king had left orders that he should be given very many women, slaves, cattle and indeed every thing he wanted.¹ At the same time, the Queen mother sent some men to take him to Nyimbwa which had been given him as an estate. After receiving these gifts,

1. In Ebifa of 1910-1911, Kaggwa argued that Suna thought himself so powerful, that he even defied the mediums. But Suna's treatment of Kigemuzi, was not as unique as Kaggwa would make us believe. King Tebandeke treated the mediums even more harshly than Suna.

the diviner renamed himself Wabulenkoko. The king never saw him again although he continued to live at Nabulagala while his burns cured. Meanwhile he was told that when the god of thunder struck him, Senkatuuka, the Mukwenda; wanted him to be killed. Suna, however, kept this information in his heart. Sometime afterwards, he sounded the war drum and the whole country came for a military review. He then appointed Kyamufumba, the Namutwe; to raid Gambalagala where a large number of women and cattle were captured. The next expedition was against Kibiro and the commander was Bulega, the Kaggo.^o It was followed by one to the "Stones" which was commanded by the Prime minister himself. The inhabitants of the caves of Ndere, Kakonda and Nandere were defeated and plundered of very many women and cattle. By the time Kayira returned, he found that the king had been visited at his capital of Nabulagala by Arabs and Swahili. There were three Arabs, Kyera, Lusukwe and Zigeye, and the two Swahilis were Muina and Lukabya

According to Emin Pasha's Diary,¹ Ahmed bin Amir, claimed to have been the first Arab to reach Buganda. Ahmed wrote that his first visit was in A.H.1260 (A.D. 1844), but he made two further visits during the reign of Suna. So far as Zigeve was concerned, Sir John Gray states² that, he was a Baluchi, and that his real name was Isa bin Hussein. He was nicknamed Zigeve by the Baganda, because of long locks and bushy beard.³

Coming from the direction of Karagwe, they brought with them harps, clothes, mirrors, and many other things. The king stored his presents of clothes for a long time before he started wearing them.

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1. Quoted by Sir John Gray, in Trading Expeditions from the coast to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria before 1857 T.N.R.No.49, (1957) pp.226-246. See also, Sir John Gray, The Diaries of Emin Pasha; Extract I (Ug.J.Vol 25/1, 1961) pp.1-15.
 2. *ibid.*
 3. Burton, Lake Regions, vol 2. *op.cit.*p.193. See the next chapter for a more detailed discussion of the coming of the Arabs and other foreigners to Buganda.

Meanwhile, another war campaign had been conducted to Malenge by Senkatuuka, the Mukwenda. It was also during this time that the king extended his capital so largely that it reached as far as Namirembe hill. Having extended the capital, mounds were built inside it, and at the same time, the river Nsonooko was beautifully bridged and fresh grass was spread on top of it. One day, the king went to see his mother and while he was coming back, he saw a snake in this river and told his men to catch it. As soon as they had done so, he sent it to his mother and at the same time arrested all the men who had small sticks and condemned them to death. He was also going to execute Walonzi, his bearer; but Kayira interceded for him and he was pardoned. Kayira's intervention, however, came rather late, for Walonzi's ears were already cut off. The incident became the origin of the saying what has been spilled cannot be saved. (Obwayise tebukyayolwa). Henceforth, river Nsonooko was renamed Bwayise.

Meanwhile the king ordered a general mobilization of the whole country and appointed Galabuzi, the Omuwambya;

to lead a campaign to Busoga. He appointed also Princess Nakuyita to be the second in command. She herself appointed one of her chiefs to represent her with a very large army. Soon after the army had left for Busoga, the king went to plunder the estates of Nanjobe, the Queen Sister, because it had been alleged that a certain man called Waluku had absconded with the princess.¹ Many men were arrested and executed, some for example were executed in Busoga. Having executed the men of the Queen Sister the king appointed Bakkabulindi, the Sekiboobo; to plunder also the estates of Princess Nakuyita and to execute all her men. After exterminating all the men who lived on the estates of the princesses, the Sekiboobo went to Busoga and found that Galabuzi had also already massacred the regiments formed by the

1. This was an outburst of jealousy and fury on the part of Suna, because he suspected that these chiefs were making love to the princesses. The Queen Sister, bore most of the brunt of Suna's anger because she was the (officially) senior princess, and perhaps she could be held responsible for the actions of the other princesses.

princesses' men. It had been pre-arranged that all the princesses' men, about four thousand, were to be massacred. Having fulfilled their task, the two generals returned to Buganda and as time went on, the king became even more blood thirsty: He arrested Nkambwe, the Nakatanza; Makamba Semukulungwa, the Pookino; Lugunju, the Omumyuka of Ekisubika; and very many others who were all taken to Daamba island to be devoured by the crocodiles. He then raided the estates of Mutyaba, the bearer of Prince Lumansi's twin. After that, he arrested Mande Kizimula of Kabembe and appointed Galabuzi, the Omuwambya; for the second time to go and burn him at Kigulu in Busoga. This was the cause of Mande's execution. Mande was an extremely handsome and rich man with about seven hundred wives. On being told that Mande was very handsome, Suna conspired with the Prime minister and said: Invite him to your house so that I can look at him. Suna had to do this because traditionally no king was allowed to look upon Mande. When Kayira invited Mande, the king hid himself behind the enclosure of Kayira's baths, whence he

had a good look at Mande and saw for himself that he was really handsome. This threw Suna into such a rage and became so jealous of Mande, that he looked for an opportunity to bring him to an end. But there was no chance for the time being. One day, however, the royal wives were returning from a visit to Bukerere and they met Mande's wives who were drawing water. They quarrelled whereupon the royal wives began to beat those of Mande and there was a fight. On hearing of it, Suna was hot with anger: How dare Mande's wives assault mine? he roared. He gave orders at once for the arrest and burning of Mande, whereas in fact it was the royal wives who were to blame, because they assaulted those of Mande first.

After the execution of Mande, one of the royal wives called Balugu, gave birth to twins. When he had completed the ceremonies which mark the birth of twins, the king appointed Wemirira, the Kangawo; to accompany Bunyago the son of Princess Tebatagwabwe to go and complete another ceremony connected with the birth of

twins.¹(Nebatabala). The company took ~~with~~ them the royal drum called Mujaguzo and Bunyago represented the king at the ceremony. On their return, (Olwo bwerwadda) the king went to Kizza's at Mayirikiti to perform another ceremony also connected with the birth of twins. Kizza was the son of Bunya of the Grasshopper clan who was the Kangawo of Semakokiro. After that ceremony, the king went on a hunting trip. In fact he used to go every day and he used to hunt every type of animal, so that his zoo contained all sorts of animals such as lions, leopards, buffaloes, Entengo and many others. One day while, the king was at his capital of Nabulagala, he learnt that there were many buffaloes on river Kibimbi, and that one of them was called Mpaluguje. These animals were terrorizing the whole of the country and they had in fact killed very many people. That was why the king went to Singo to hunt them and killed twenty of them on this trip. A few days after his return from the hunting trip, he sounded the war drum and went to Nansana.

1. This was not a war expedition, though Kaggwa writes, "nebatabala."

On his arrival there, he gave orders to arrest all his brothers sixty of them. There were thirtyfully grown ups, and thirty youths. All these were handed to Semuwemba, the Mukudde; to burn them at Benga. Only two ascaped this holocaust, namely Princes Wasajja and Mugogo. But all the chiefs who took the princes to the execution places, died of small pox one after the other including Semuwemba. Suna exterminated his brothers because he was advised that as his own sons had grown up, he should execute his brothers who wanted to usurp the throne.

After the execution of the princes, Suna arrested the following chiefs for their alleged amorous dealings with the princesses: Senkatuka, the Mukwenda; Makumbi, the Nanfumbambi; Kiuwa, the Katabalwa and many others. Moreover, as far as Mukwenda was concerned, the king had never forgotten that when the god of thunder burnt him, Senkatuka wanted him to be killed. All the chiefs were taken to Damba island to be devoured by Kitinda the crocodile. All victims who were killed in this manner, used to be tied on the shore of the lake where the crocodile found them. After their execution, the king

appointed Kantinti of the Monkey clan, to become the new Mukwenda. Two other chiefs, Mpagala who was the Mukwenda of king Kamanya, and Luzige Nseege were temporarily pardoned and escaped death. But when he appointed Kayira to lead a campaign to Bigo in Busoga, he told them: Go to war with the Prime minister and if each one of you kills twenty Basoga, I shall spare your lives. Thus when the army reached Busoga and the general despatched a regiment, the two chiefs went to the front. On meeting the enemy, they fought very bravely and Mpagala killed five and Nseege killed four Basoga respectively, before they themselves were killed. These chiefs lost their lives because of the king's callousness; how could two men only kill so many of their fellow men as if the latter were tied to a rope? As soon as these chiefs had been killed, Kayira marched to Bigo. During this war, the Baganda were accompanied by the Swahils: Muina, Lukabya and Sitokisi. With the aid of their four guns, the forts of the enemy were demolished and many women, slaves and cattle were plundered. But on their way back, the army caught the plague and very many people died. Kayira

also had to wait for sometime before returning to the capital where the pestilence had killed very many people. When the plague abated, Kayira returned to the capital and the whole country gathered to witness the ceremony of drinking the doctored beer. On the following day, the king came to the courtyard and the beer was brought before him. Then as Kayira drew near to drink, he challenged the crowd thus: My fellow men, if I was cowardly in the war, let any one speak and prevent me from drinking. Then all the people who had taken part in the war shouted back: Drink. You are a brave man, you conquered the whole of Busoga. Having drawn the beer, Kayira turned to the king and said: You are Semunywa (the arch-drinker,) you drank the whole of Busoga and dried it. The king also called Kayira a new name: You are the Kamalahyonna, because when the whole of Busoga rebelled, it was you who brought it under submission and it is still obedient. All those people who had behaved cowardly in the war, were prevented from drinking the beer. After the king and Kayira had nicknamed each other, the king himself founded the Ekitongole Ekinywa and said to

a Munyoro called Kasindula: Yimbirira Ekitongole ekyo, that is become the chief of this Kitongole. After founding the Ekinywa, the king founded also forty seven other Bitongole.

After these events, the king continued to live at Nabulagala and also to go on hunting trips. Besides these, he used to visit the lake at Busabala whence he would go to the Ekitongole Ekikebezi because Kyagaba, the chief was his great friend. Meanwhile, the king got information that the men of Sesse were wonderful dancers, he therefore sent for them to come and dance.¹ They brought their drums and when they competed with the Baganda women, the latter were no match for them. On seeing that the men had danced better than the women, Suna said: I should like to receive in my court the girls of Sesse who dance better than these men. Then the chiefs went

1. Suna was a great patron of artists: Dancers, flutists, singers, drummers and comedians or jesters. Tradition asserts that during his reign, the Basoga became some of the principal artists at the Baganda royal court. See Gomotoka in Munno of 1931.

to Sesse to bring the girls, but all those they brought, were squint eyed. The king rejected them and complained that they left all the beautiful girls behind, and brought him only the ugly ones. When he was going to send messengers to bring him better girls, he was told that all the beautiful ones were reserved for Prince Sewaya, the son of Prince Wakayima who went to Sesse during the reign of Junju. On hearing this, the king appointed Namujulirwa, the Pookino; to lead a plundering expedition to Sesse. He was accompanied by Sewankambo (who was the second chief in command) and the Sabaganzi who had originally gone to capture Sewaya. When the general arrived, he pillaged the whole of Sesse, but Sewaya was not found. After this, the king arrested Kamunyi who was the bearer of Semakokiro's jawbone, and condemned him to be executed at Katadde.

This was the cause of his execution. Once Kamunyi quarrelled with the lady Nasuzewabi who was one of Semakokiro's chief wives, (Kaddulubaale). But she was also a sister of Kamunyi because Bunya who was Semakokiro's Kangawo was their father. Nevertheless, when Kamunyi

quarrelled with his sister, the latter went and reported the matter to the king and even alleged that Kamunyi used to beat all the ladies who lived at Kisimbiri. Moreover, alleged Nasuzewabi, he always sends presents of meat to his former wives you seized from him. That was the offence for which my grand father was executed, but by the time of his execution, he had had the following sons, Kironde, who was the bearer of King Sun's twin; Kalanzi, the father of Daudi Omubiito; and I Apolo Kaggwa, the Prime minister. We were seven of us, five sons and two daughters. Kamunyi left thirty three living children, boys and girls. Mirika Katiki was one of Kamunyi's children (Omukyala we Kayenje; [this is an uncompleted sentence. Kaggwa probably wanted to say that Mirika was the daughter of Kayenje who was the wife of Kamunyi]).

The following chiefs were also executed with Kamunyi; Sekadde, the Omubinge; Kadduwannema, the Kisubika of the Grasshopper clan. After these, Sempiri, the Gabunga; was also executed, but because his offence

was a great violation of the traditional customs, he was taken to a special execution place where victims of similar offences were executed.

Shortly afterwards, Nyumbatebetyo, the mother of kayira died and the Prime minister asked for leave to go and complete his mother's funeral rites. On his departure, he appointed Ndugga, the Omukanga; to act as the Prime minister. Because Kayira was also a father of twins, he wanted to complete at the same time, the ceremonies connected with the birth of twins.

These particular twins, however, belonged to both, the king and to Kayira and this was how it happened.

One day, Suna saw one of Kayira's very beautiful and young wives called Namaga and although she was pregnant, he took her to wife. As soon as the pregnancy became known, she was put under the care of Nabikande, and shortly after she had been taken there, she gave birth to twins. But according to calculations of the royal midwife, the twins were thought to have been born prematurely. Then Namaga explained that the twins were Kayira's because she was already pregnant when

the king took her to wife. I did not explain this at the beginning, she pleaded, because I was afraid that the king might execute me, especially as he loved me so much. The twins, however, died in infancy and on hearing Namaga's story, Nabikande sent the dead bodies to Senge where Kayira's Butaka for burial was. Then after this, information was sent to Kayira that his children had died and that they had been sent to Senge. That was why he went to finish the ceremony of the twins.

When he reached Kiteme, he completed the mourning ceremonies and then carried out the ceremony of dancing the twins. Meanwhile the king demanded Kayira's immediate return to the capital, but Kayira refused because he still had another ceremony to carry out. But the chiefs who were at the court alleged that Kayira was a rebel and that was why he had refused to return when the king sent for him. They then suggested that the king should send two of their fellows to go and arrest Kayira. Those sent were Nkedi, the Omutuntumuzi; and Kaddu the Omusigula. Go and arrest

him, commanded the king. When you arrive, first give him my greetings and when an opportunity arises, arrest him. But Kayira was warned of the plot even before the chiefs arrived where he was. Hence he called all his men and decided to go and hunt every morning and come back at night. He used to do this every day and when the royal emissaries arrived at Kiteme they found that they could not arrest him because he had a very large number of supporters. The agents devised another plan on their own and told Kayira: The king sent you his royal greetings and asked us to accompany you on your hunting trips and at the end of them to return with you to the capital. Having made this plan, they sent word to the king that Kayira could not be arrested by guile. The best way is to fight him and arrest him by force, they suggested. On getting this information, the king was forced to change his original plans, and sent at once his messenger called Nyoola with many presents to Kayira. They included cowrie shells, cattle, goats and many loads of bark cloth. These presents were accompanied by the following royal greetings: Your friend sends

you these presents for the twins and he has appointed you to be the general in the war when you go to carry out the ceremonies of the twins.¹

On hearing this, Kayira went to Bululi to perform the ceremony of the twins and also to plunder. The whole district was pillaged and a lot of women and cattle were captured. The captives included a man called Kimalenku who had exiled himself to Bunyoro after absconding with the Queen Mother's women. Having raided Bululi, Kayira returned to Kiteme and at the same time, the royal messengers came for him. Meanwhile, the king had had his mother's estates plundered because it had been alleged that she was pregnant. This had enraged Suna so much, that he appointed Nkedi to plunder everything at Lusaka, and after doing that he uncovered the Queen Mother so as to look at her breasts and

1. Note how Suna, like his successor Mutesa, was cautious in handling Kayira. This suggests that Kayira was an unusually powerful chief with a great number of followers. See further discussion in the next chapter.

check whether she was really pregnant. Then Nkedi took all the loot to the capital and made his report saying: I uncovered her, and found that she was not pregnant. But inspite of Nkedi's assurance, the king remained unconvinced and arrested the Queen Mother's chiefs whom he suspected of being her lovers. They were Kibazo Nakisindise, who was the father of Tebukozza; Kibirango, Sengiri, Nannungi, Kantinti, the Mukwenda; Kabwege Njovu and many others. They were all executed at Wanfufu. But even then, Suna continued to make inquisitive inquiries from his mother's women who had been captured during the raid. They also assured him that his mother was not pregnant, and on receing a unanimous answer from them, the king returned them to their mistress. When Kayira heard that the Queen Mother's property had been seized, he went to Senge to complete his father's twin ceremonies and after that he went to Mugema's to perform the same ceremony. He finally returned to the capital and a few days after his return a military campaign against Busoga

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was planned.

Nkedi the Omutuntumuzi, was one of Suna's leading generals and a great favourite as well. As his second name suggests, he was also Suna's man of action. Hence he was often engaged to carry out some of the unpleasant and embarrassing tasks such as that of uncovering the Queen Mother. The end of his political career is discussed in the next chapter below.

KING SUNA PART TWO.¹

On the following day, the king left for war in Busoga, and when he reached Makindu, he held an army review and told Kayira to cross to Busoga first because he himself

1. The wars of Kamanya and Suna are graphically described by Stanley. See Through the Dark Continent vol I, op.cit.pp.360-376.

was to follow them afterwards. The reason why the king remained behind was that Kafugankande, the Sebaganzi; had warned him not to go to war against the Basoga. But Suna paid no attention to the Sabaganzi's advice. On leaving Makindu, he made a stop at Bugungu and on the morrow he crossed the lake and spent the night at Jinja. He then went to Battambogwe, where he met Kayira and when he left that place he went to Bunya where he spent the night. After one night's stay, he marched on and spent the following night at Kakadde. During his stay there, the Abasigula [The men of the Ekitongole Ekisigula] raided Wamakofu island and captured very women and cattle. But when he learnt of their adventure, the king fell into such a savage rage that he executed many of them. The reason why he executed them was that they had appointed themselves to raid where he had not directed them to do so. The next day, he himself set off to raid the island but because there were no canoes, he could not reach it. On obtaining some canoes, the Baganda crossed the lake at night and exterminated the whole population with the result

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that by day break, there was not a single house standing. The man responsible for this destruction was Kyayi Kikwata. On seeing that the population of Wamakofu island had been wiped out, the king left and went to Wambuzi's where he spent the night. While he was walking about, he saw some men foraging for themselves in the very place where he himself was to stay for that night. He at once condemned all of them to execution and after that he went and slept at Wambuzi's.¹ While he was at Wambuzi's, he was shown another island called Kitente which he invaded on the morrow with Kayira. The invasion was directed from different sides of the island and it was followed by a fierce battle lasting four days but without success. Then Kayira sent a message to the king suggesting that poles should be sent to him so that he might build a causeway which would enable the Baganda to reach the island. But while the Baganda were building the causeway, the Basoga canoe fighters launched a fierce assault. So terrible was the attack that they even broke Kayira's shield by hurling a stone

1. Wambuzi must have been one of the Basoga chiefs who owed allegiance to Buganda.

at him. Passing through the shield, the stone broke also Kayira's guard and the stick upon which his spear was fixed. Continuing their attack, the Basoga carried away the pole which were being used to construct the causeway.

On learning that the causeway had been dismantled, the king selected a number of his brave warriors to go with four canoes and relieve the Prime minister. They were Namujulirwa, the Pookino of the Sheep clan; Settuba, the Luwekula; and Bekalaze Sekiwala of the Grasshopper clan. But just before the reliefs beached their canoes, they were attacked by the Basoga who again dismantled the causeway which was being constructed. Fighting was so bitter, that the Basoga not only wounded Settuba and Namujulirwa and drowned Sekiwala, but also pulled away (with a long hooked stick) one of the Baganda canoes called Nakyejwe. The Baganda also gave as much as they received and killed four Basoga. On seeing that his brave men on whom he had heavily relied were being killed, (and moved especially by the drowning of Sekiwala) the king sent another reinforcement of canoes.

He then summoned all the important chiefs and conferred with them, and at the same time, solicited Nnende, the war god to give the oracle. After soliciting his gods, the king laid siege to the island for ten days, and the Prime minister himself sent two canoes which captured the Basoga who were going to forage for themselves. On being brought before him, Kayira asked them where they were going. We were going to dig yams because we were on the verge of starvation, they pleaded. After saying this, the Basoga were sent to the king to whom they told the same tale, and when he heard it, he gave them food and meat, and told them to go and bring their chief. He also pledged not to kill him. When they returned to the island, the Basoga told the whole story of how the king had given them food and meat and concluded by telling Mbazi, their chief, that they had returned to fetch him. Realizing that he was the only chief left alive on the island, and fearing that resistance could only result in his being starved to death, Mbazi suggested to his men that they should go and surrender otherwise they would

all die. After proposing this, Mbazi left his friends and on being brought before the king he declared: We surrendered because we were starving to death. He was given food and meat and after he had eaten he was given more food to carry to his men on the island. But the food he took was not sufficient, his men fought for it and each one of them had only a morsel to eat. Thus instead of satisfying them, it only whetted their appetite and made them hungrier than ever before. Soon after this, the Basoga left the island and went to deliver themselves up. But by this time, there was already a plot made against them because as each group arrived, it was conducted to a stockade which had been specially constructed. As soon as they had all evacuated the island, the king ordered Kayira to go and put it on fire and once it was ablaze, Kayira returned and all the Basoga male captives were done to death. They were very many, very very many indeed, But chief Mbazi, his seven brothers and all the women were spared. Having killed the men, Suna appointed Tujunge, the Omuteregga; to take the women to the Ekitongole Ekiwambya in Bukoba to

be given food.

After exterminating Kitente island, Suna attacked chief Wakholi¹ and as soon as he reached the enemy's country, he went into the bush to waylay the Basoga. But when the Sabaganzi learnt of this, he went and took away all the king's spears and warned him also not to make more attacks on the Basoga. While he and the king were quietly arguing the matter in the bush, the Basoga heard them and took to flight. But as they did so, a certain Mutongole called Mulende started spearing some of them. This resulted in their whole band being speared. But Suna fell into a rage and asked who cast the first spear. On being told that it was Mulende, the king speared him to death. Suna did this partly because he himself had wanted to be the first person to cast a spear against the enemy, and partly because Malende himself had done so without instructions from the king. On the following day, the

1. Wakholi^{was} the title of the chief of Bukholi in Busoga. He won popularity at Mutesa's court, and there was even a gate named after him on the palace of Nabulagala.

king marched on and spent the night on the river Nangobwa. Meanwhile the Basoga launched a massive attack which was followed by fierce fighting. So bitter was the fighting that the Basoga even carried away the Baganda cooking pots. This forced Suna to despatch more regiments to attack the enemy from the front and the rear. During the ensuing battle, very many Basoga were killed but the Baganda suffered only minor losses. After this battle, the king went to Battambogwe and executed the chiefs who had behaved in a cowardly way during the war. He then went to Jinja and crossed the lake at Bugungu. While he was there, he ordered Kigwo-kyalwazi, a Mutongole of the Musenero to seize all the chiefs' wives who had accompanied them in the war¹ because he wanted to make them his own wives. The chiefs resented this so much that when Suna realized it, he restored some of them. When he left Bugungu, he spent three nights on the way and then reached Mukono. Before he left Mukono, he condemned all the war captives

1. See Roscoe, The Baganda op.cit.pp.345-364; On the customs of warfare.

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and all the prisoners at the capital. They were taken to Bulondoganyi to be executed. After Mukono he spent the night in the Kisigula [Ekitongole], and then passed by the direction of Lusaka so as to greet his mother, after which he went to his capital of Nabulagala. A few days after his return, he sent for all the women who had been captured during the previous campaign and distributed them. They were so many that he gave two thousand to his mother, eighty to Sebbowa, the Katabalwa; who was the deputy [of what?] and the rest were taken to the court and distributed them among his wives who ruled over them as they pleased.

The next military campaign was conducted to Busagala by Namujulirwa the Pookino. Because it consisted of all the men who had feared to go to the war with Suna in Busoga, it was nicknamed the campaign of the cowards. But before it returned, the king followed Namujulirwa and overnight, the campaign was nicknamed one of the "Favourites". When going to Busagala, the king took the direction of Kisozi, whence he went to

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Bwera and spent the night there. He appointed Bisobye, Omugolooba; to raid Nakisijja hill, where a lot of cattle were plundered. On bringing the plunder before the king, he told the general to keep it on Nakisijja hill while he himself went to raid a very high hill called Kibanga. On arriving there he found no enemy to fight and returned. He then invaded Kooki, where the whole country was overran and where King Kitayimbwa was plundered of many cattle. When he left Kooki, he spent the night at Kyango, thence at Senya and finally he reached Masaka. During the night he spent at Masaka, his cooks went to Jongeza, the residence of the Pookino and foraged for themselves. But while they were doing so, Pookino's wives beat them. When they reported the matter to the king, he peremptory ordered the seizure of all the forty wives of Pookino, and henceforth, the latter was mocked and laughed at and the people alleged that he had cried for food, (Namujulirwa Omuliga yakabira emmere). After that, the king went to Bulawula where Sebbowa, my grandfather, who was the Katabalwa; gave him

much more food than Pookine. On leaving Bulawula, the king started the journey to the capital and spent nights in the following places: Buganga, Luwunga, Bugonzi and at the county headquarters of Gomba, whence he reached the capital after three days. After his return from this campaign, the king spent a very long time without conducting any raids, but during this peaceful period, he executed Lwayi, a Musoga chief who was the father of Luba. The latter was the same Luba who was still alive when the British fought with the Nubians during 1897 in the county of Bunya.¹

After the execution of Lwayi, the king caught gonorrhoea and his knee also swelled.² Both diseases caused him much pain, but before the gonorrhoea cured, the Basoga rebelled again because of Suna's wanton executionn of all their chiefs. They pillaged the whole of Bugolo and the king appointed Bakkabulindi, the Sekiboobo; to command a punitive expedition against

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1. Luba was also responsible for the murder of Bishop Hannington of the C.M.S. in 1885.
 2. All the Kiganda sources assert that venereal diseases and homosexual practices, were introduced by the Arabs.

them. But because the whole of Busoga except Gabula was in rebellion, Bakkabulindi's efforts to subdue it were of no avail. On learning that Bakkabulindi had failed to bring the Basoga to submission, the king appointed the prime minister to be the supreme commander of the whole army. Kayira set off with an enormous army, (Obuganda bwonna,) and spent the night at Jinja. On hearing of Kayira's arrival, the Basoga tied a string at Buluuba and said: whoever will cut it will be the victor. (Abasoga bwebawulira nebatimba akaayi e Buluuba nebagamba nti anakakutula nga atugobye). [The meaning of this sentence is very obscure]. On the following day, Kayira launched a devastating attack and massacred countless numbers of Basoga who had formed up for battle.

Kayira conducted another campaign which led to the complete subjugation of Busoga, and a month afterwards, the king sent Lweru the Omumyuka of the Omutere-gga to fetch the prime minister. The latter left Busoga immediately, crossed the lake at Jinja and spent only one day in Kyaggwe. On reaching the capital, he

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went to the king and made an account of how he fought and vanquished the whole of Busoga. After hearing the prime minister's report, the king said: I sent for you because I wanted you to go with me to Wamunyenyé to decorate all the dead kings. On leaving Nabulagala, the king spent one night at Wamunyenyé hill which is today known as Wamala and sent for all the guardians of the deceased kings in Busiro. He told them to bring all the jawbones including those of the princes. The guardians assembled at Senge, where they spent the night: On the following day, the king also left Wamunyenyé and went to Senge to see the jawbones. Soon after his arrival, the jawbone of his father Kamanya, was brought to him before all others. Some had been decorated already by King Kamanya but others had not. Having had a good look at them, the king sent for Muiyingo the Mugema to send for all the skulls (Ebiwanga) from Merera, and as soon as they were brought, Mugema sent word to the king, that all the dead kings had arrived. On the following day, Suna went to Senge to

see his father's jawbone and once it was put before him, he securely tied the lower and upper jaws together and beautifully decorated them.¹ He did the same for other jawbones after which there came a certain Semawatta who was the chief decorator of the jawbones. He took Omuyindu, handed it to the king who placed it on his father's jawbone. After that, the decorator took the Omuyindu from the king and started his job. Kamanya's jawbone was decorated before the others and it was done best of them all. Meanwhile the king had returned to Wamunyenyene where he used to spend the nights. This was how the decorators did their job: They used to make a one legged wooden bowl which had been scooped out in the middle so as to make a secure resting place for the skull (ekiwanga). Then the jawbone would be tied in a piece of bark cloth and beautifully decorated, on the outside. The decorators used to be tall young boys of twelve Kiganda years or six years of the European Calender. Having had all the jawbones decorated, the king returned to his capital, but when he crossed the river Katonga at Senge in Busiro; he ordered Kunsa, the chief

1. The re decorating of the jawbones, is discussed in the next chapter, below.

of the soldiers to massacre all the people who were still on the opposite bank of the river. Forthwith, the soldiers started spearing countless numbers of people to death, an extraordinarily large number of people was killed on that day. They were very many indeed. Mukwenda was also going to be speared where upon Kayira intercepted the spear, and implored the king not to kill his Sabaddu in a wanton massacre; (Tebatta Sabagabo wo mu mbaga). The king pardoned Mukwenda provided he brought sixty victims as a substitute for him. On reaching his capital, the king spent about one month without making any public appearances.

After he had been pardoned, Nyamanka, the Mukwenda; started planning how he would capture the sixty men to substitute for him. So when he reached his home, he killed fifty cows and made a very big feast to which a large number of guests were invited. at the feast, sixty of the comers were captured and sent to the king, who on seeing them commanded: Execute them all and spare none. They will keep my father's fire burning at Wamunyenye. These executions were followed by a rather calm

period. Suna had many outlandish characteristics.

For example, one day he told his chiefs some confidential information, but before he finished the chiefs who had found his story amusing, started to laugh. Fuming with rage, the king stopped talking at once, and his stony silence was followed by a stern order that since the chiefs had laughed covertly, the whole kingdom should start laughing also. Hence when two men met on the way, they would begin to laugh. After these events, the king appointed Bassajjabakaawa, the Omunawa; to conduct a campaign in the "Stones" and when the army returned, the king with his mother went to Ensumbi to see again how the royal jawbones were being decorated. During the period he spent there, no one was executed and he returned to the capital calmly.

A few days after his return, Kojjawomulangira came from Kakuto and made the following allegation, that a Muzongola called Kataba had a palace with all the porches made of copper. Continuing his allegation, Kojjawomulangira told the king that Kataba had also asked for the hand

of Princess Nassolo in marriage and even claimed, that in his own country, he was as great as any other king. On hearing this story, Suna consulted his chiefs and proposed to make war upon Kataba. But the chiefs advised him that it would be unsafe to conduct a military campaign while famine and the pestilence were ravaging the country. Suna ignored their advice and because Ndimugambako, one of his wives, had claimed, that she had two hundred loads of flour and that if the chiefs feared that they might starve, she herself would carry the flour and feed the chiefs: Suna refused to listen to any more entreaties. On the morrow, he set off for war, and when he reached Kinawa, he met a mad man called Kasinde who warned him not to go, but Suna pushed on and slept at Konge. He spent the next night at Nswanjere and then marched to Matongo where he had his own diviner called Mpisi. The latter gave the oracle and said to the king: Go to war, you will return safely. The words of the diviner encouraged the king, and he marched on and slept in the following places: After Matongo he crossed the river Katonga and slept at Kamusenene.

From there, he slept at Kagezi, at Kibutamu, and at Muzibe's in Kasaka. He marched to Kamuganja and then reached Kanabulemu. On leaving Kanabulemu, he slept at Sango and after that he crossed the river Kagera, and reached Kiziba, the country of Kibi where he spent a night on the way, and finally spent the next night on the boundary between Kataba and Mutatembwa's territories.¹

On the following day, Nkedi the Omuwambya was appointed to lead the first attack on Kataba. The latter was defeated about midday and he fled to an island. He was attacked again and more fighting took place. But although he was wounded, he did not die and hence managed to escape again. Meanwhile, part of the Baganda army returned, but Nkedi the general; stayed behind fighting. While the king waited for his general, such heavy rain fell that many people starved and others had to eat their faeces. When the king consulted his

1. The country of Kibi was Kiziba. The Kiziba tradition claims that the present dynasty was founded by Kibi, after he had deposed Ntumwa. The history of Kiziba was recorded by various Writers in Munno of 1912, 1913, 1914, 1923, 1924 and 1935. Buganda's relations with her neighbours, are discussed in the last chapter below.

gods, Kibuuka and Nnende, they advised him to stop all hostilities and return to Buganda at once. Suna set off without delay, but when he reached the river Ngono, he stopped for twelve days waiting for Nkedi. When he saw that Nkedi was too long in returning, he appointed Kisawuzi to go and relieve him. Unfortunately, Kisawuzi was murdered on the way by the Bazongola before he even reached where Nkedi was. On seeing that his men had been murdered and Nkedi also was not returning, the king decided to march homeward. He crossed the river Kagera and spent the night at Kakuuto, but two days after he had been there, he caught smallpox!! When Kayira saw that the king's condition had worsened, he made a hammock in which he could be carried. Men of equal heights were chosen to carry it. The reason why such an arrangement was made, was to avoid the king being swung from side to side, if men of unequal heights were chosen. On leaving Kakuuto, it took them four days to reach and to cross the river Katonga. By this time, the king was very dangerously ill and when his bearers

reached Matongo, he lived only for two days and died. Soon after his death, the prime minister assembled all his men, and strictly appealed to them not to return to their homes. You must protect me so that I can return the king safely to his capital, he pleaded. When they left Matongo, the army spent the night at Najoki and thence went to Konge and finally reached Kiwummuza in Nakatema. On the following day, they crossed to Bulenga because the men of the Ekitongole Ekinawa had refused to allow the king's body to be carried through their Kitongole. They did so because they were bitter against Suna's cruelties and the beastly treatment they had received at his hands. After Bulenga, the body was carried to the capital at Nabulagala. On the morrow, the Kasujju took all the princes to the court and made them stand in single file whereupon Mukabya was elected to succeed his father.¹

It is claimed that by the time he died, Suna had been taught four lessons of the Mohamedan religion by

1. Mutesa's succession is discussed in chapter 7 ~~8~~ below.

an Arab called Medi Ibulaimu. Whether this story is true, I do not know.¹ The following were some of King Suna's most extraordinary characteristics. Once Kamanya forbade his sisters, the daughters of King Semakokiro, to get married. It so happened, however, that one of the princesses wanted to get married very badly, but Kamanya beat her and even put her in custody. When Suna came to the throne, his aunt, Princess Nabinaka said: Because Kamanya prevented us from getting married, I too shall do something nasty to his daughters. So she went and challenged Suna thus: Why have you neglected all your sisters and left them to the commoners? There is nothing to prevent you from making them your wives. Take them to your palace and marry them. Suna fell an easy prey to this suggestion and took all his sisters to wife. But they resisted at first and refused to become his wives until he had executed Princess Nabanakulya, the Lubuga, and eight others. After nine of their sisters

1. The introduction of Islam in Buganda is discussed in the next chapter.

had been executed, the remainder accepted to become Suna's wives.

The custom of preventing princesses from getting married seems to have been introduced by King Kama-nya, because he himself took to wife some of those he fancied. Despite the ban, however, many princesses seem to have followed their inclinations, at the risk of their lives and those of their lovers.

King Mwanga II is said to have abolished the custom after he had been advised by Father Lourdel that it was not a Christian custom to enforce celibacy on any one who did not want it. Since that time all the princess, including the Queen Sister, got married. So far as the Queen Mothers were concerned, some Kings like Suna and Mutesa, would seem to have had little respect for their mothers, though they undoubtedly loved them. Mutesa, like his father, used to have his mother's estates plundered and her chiefs executed. But like his son Mwanga, he should be remembered for having abolished the

practice of persecuting the Queen Mothers and their chiefs. Humu Mukasa states that Mutesa learnt from the Arabs and Europeans at his court, that they had great respect for their mothers. He then realized that he had always behaved wickedly and he abolished the practice.¹

It was also alleged that king Suna used to poison people he hated. Now let me tell you how people who poison others mix the ingredients: They exhume a dead body and take it to their homes where they cut off pieces of meat. They then dig a hole in the hearth and after that they mix various types of catapillers a frog, a lizard, and human fresh and then put the mixture in a pot. They cover this pot with broken pieces of earthen ware upon which ashes are spread. Finally a big fire is made on top of the pot which cooks until it runs dry. Then the pieces of meat are removed,

1. The Rule of the Kings, Ug.J.Vol. 10 (1946) pp.137-143; see also Roscoe, The Baganda, op.cit.pp.82-97; J.F. Faupel, African Holocaust, (London 1962)p.18.

and thrown away. The residue which is left at the bottom of the pot is also removed, dried and finally made into powder. It is this which people used as poison. The veracity of this story, however, is doubtful. Nevertheless, Suna had his own poison maker called Kataba. In the Council meetings, all commoners, had to look upon the floor. If any one dared to lift his eyes beyond the king and look upon the royal wives, that would be the end of him. Suna used also to arrest handsome men and give them to the executioners who would take their victims to the iron smiths to be castrated with red hot pieces of iron. Sometimes the victim would be made to lie on a big fire where he was roasted to death like a chicken. Men who met their deaths in this manner used to suffer terribly. Suna had many other barbaric ways which he employed in disposing of people he hated.

The following were his leading chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom:

- Prime ministers:
1. Migekeyamyé of the Bush buck clan.
 2. Kayira of the Buffalo clan.

Kimbugwes:

1. Mutyaba of the Manis clan.
2. Nyamanka of the Manis clan.
3. Kizza of the Grasshopper clan.

Kaggos:

1. Sikayanira of the Manis clan.
2. Damulira of the Manis clan.
3. Nyamanka of the Manis clan.
4. Bulega of the Edible Rat clan.
5. Lwanga of the Civet cat clan.

Mukwendas:

1. Settuba of the Buffalo clan.
2. Kantinti of the Monkey clan.
3. Nyamanka of the Manis clan.
4. Ndugga of the Civet cat clan.

Sekiboobos:

1. Kantinti of the Monkey clan.
(A second time)
2. Bakkabulindi of the Colubus
Monkey clan.

Kangawos:

1. Wemirira of the Civet cat clan.
2. Ndolombe of the Edible Rat clan.
3. Mpengere of the Yam clan.
4. Kyagaba of the Mushroom clan.

Mugemas:

1. Sekitoleko of the Monkey clan
2. Busagwa of the Monkey clan.
3. Muyingo of the Monkey clan.
4. Nakabole of the Monkey clan.

Kayimas:

1. Mbabali of the Bird clan.
2. Nantagya of the Bird clan.

Kasujjus:

1. Bassajjankambwe of the Manis clan.
2. Ntambazi of the Manis clan.
3. Sebitosi of the Manis clan.
4. Kabazzi of the Manis clan.
5. Lubinga of the Manis clan.
6. Mutagubya of the Manis clan.

7. Nakaswa of the Manis clan.

8. Senkoto of the Manis clan.

Kitunzis:

1. Nakamali of the Buffalo clan.

2. Sekikongo of the Buffalo clan.

Pookinos:

1. Semukulungwa of the Sheep clan.

2. Kiggwe of the Lung-fish clan.

3. Mabale of the Civet cat clan.

4. Omuzinga of the Edible Rat clan.

5. Namujulirwa of the Sheep clan.

Katambala:

Kabula of the Sheep clan.

Luwekula:

Settuba of the Yam clan.

CHAPTER VIThe Reigns of Semakokiro, Kamanya and
Suna II

Political persecution in Buganda.


The Execution of the Princes:

External Trade and the First Contacts with East Coast.

Clanship, Kinship and the Succession Wars.

Buganda's relations with the Haya States.

The Accession of Suna II.



Political Persecution in Buganda:

Semakokiro's reign was inaugurated by a terrible wave of persecution of the alleged assassins of his brother. Being one of the major persecutions in Buganda history, it led perhaps to the greatest exodus of political refugees whom posterity has called the Bakunta. Their story, however, is briefly and inadequately told by Kaggwa in his published works. He tells us that the Bakunta were of the lung-fish Clan and that those who survived the persecution either fled to Bunya rugulu or joined other clans. He does not tell us, for example, who their leader was, the part of Buganda from which they came, nor whether they were Ekitongole. Thus, here as elsewhere, one has to seek other sources for details.¹ Kaggwa's bare assertion that Semakokiro persecuted the Lung-fish clan after learning that the assassins of his brother belonged to their regiment, seems to suggest that military service in Buganda was organised on a clan basis. Nevertheless a study of the Kiganda military system provided by Kaggwa himself, clearly shows that this was not the

1. See R. Oliver, The Baganda and the Bakonjo, Uq. J. Vol. 18/1 (1954) pp. 31-33. This is the best available account on the descendants of the Baganda refugees in West Uganda.

case; And although a chief often attracted a large number of clansmen as clients, his district, contained many people of other clans. All these would fill his regiment if he went to war. Evidence from recent investigations among the descendants of Baganda refugees who fled to the western Districts of Uganda has shown that they were of different clans. This seems to imply that the Bakunta also belonged to different clans with perhaps a predominance of the Lungfish.¹

A more detailed account of the history of the Bakunta is obtainable from the local traditions of Eastern Kyaggwe. As might be expected in local sources having their birth place in the very area where at least a large number of the refugees are claimed to have come from, they are fuller than anything obtainable elsewhere in Buganda. A comparison of the information from these sources with a statement in the text that before seizing the throne, Semakokiro was exiled in Namwezi where he attracted a large number of clients, suggests that Eastern Kyaggwe was the original home of most of the victims of

1. Ibid.

this persecution.¹ When we come to trace the places to which the refugees are said to have fled, Kaggwa is again an inadequate source. The only place he mentions is Bunyaruguru which is in Ankole. It is clear, however, from ^{the} evidence in other sources, that a large number of the survivors of the persecution, fled to different parts of the Inter-lacustrine region. Kyaggwe traditions, for example, claim that some fled to the Nyanza Province of Kenya and others settled on the islands of Lake Kyoga. Information obtained from individuals who may be the direct descendants of the Bakunta who fled eastwards, would appear to confirm the assertions made by the Kyaggwe traditions. In an article which appeared in Munno of 1922, entitled Where did the Bakenye come from? a Mukenye correspondent claimed that some of their ancestors came from Buganda and settled on the islands, after a very long sojourn in Budyope.² Another writer, a Muganda travelling through South Nyanza in 1921, discovered people who

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1. During his field studies, the author discovered that the inhabitants of East Kyaggwe knew more about the Abakunta, than those in other areas.
 2. Budyope or Gabula, is the northern county of Modern Busoga.

claimed to have descended from the Bakunta, and wrote,

The Bakunta did not flee only to the West, as we used to believe. Some of them fled to the East and are settled on a hill called Kaki-singiri. They are called Bagaasi or Bagwasi ... I first learnt of their existence when I went to Kisi, whereupon the inhabitants told me, "there are some Baganda on that side of the District. They came a long time ago". On visiting them I was convinced that they were Baganda. I saw the canoe in which they fled ... But it was very old, only the keel was left. Some of them could still speak Luganda but very badly. Their country was divided into three districts, Kaki-singiri, Gwasi and Suna. The latter is very near to the country of Abatende, that is, the people who pull and make holes in their ears ...¹

A comparison of this story with the investigations which have been made in the oral traditions of South Nyanza, not only confirms the historical validity of the claims made by the Kyaggwe traditions, but also further demonstrates the inadequacy of Kaggwa's account of this episode.

The Bakunta were presumably Ekitongole, as their name suggests, but Kaggwa does not tell us their status in his published works. The allusions made in the text to Ekikuta Kitongole, are scanty and Kaggwa's

1. Munno 1922.

dating its foundation to the reign of Kamanya dispells any connection between the two. But an unpublished statement in his Papers, which asserts that the Bakunta were Ekitongole from Kasuku, is in agreement with the information received from some of the descendants of the refugees who fled to the western parts of Uganda. But although there seems to be agreement from some of our sources on the status of the Bakunta, the silence of the Kyaggwe traditions makes the issue more obscure. Aliwali in fact claimed that the Bakunta were so called because they fled with great speed like a gale.¹

Semakokiro's determination to exterminate the assassins of his brother, has created the impression that there was a strong tradition in Buganda against the shedding of royal blood. However, a study of the text shows that Buganda History teems with examples of regicide. For example, from the reign of Kagulu to that of Semakokiro, all the kings except Namugala, (who forestalled a struggle with Kyabaggu by abdication), were either assassinated or died in battle. The more

1. From the verb Okukunta, to blow hard.

closely the history of these reigns is examined, the more does the conviction grow that before Semakokiro executed the Bakunta, there was never a demonstration of public indignation either by the successor or by the public at such a deed. Evidence from Kaggwa clearly indicates that many of the immediate successors of the murdered monarchs, did not even bother to give them a proper burial. One would infer from this that it was fraternal love which prompted Semakokiro to wreak vengeance on the Bakunta rather than a vindication of a traditional custom which did not even exist.

With the discovery of the people who claim to be descended from Baganda refugees, the tendency in recent years has been to regard all of them as Bakunta. The mistake seems to have arisen partly out of the claim of the refugees themselves, the majority of whom wrongly link their past with that of the Bakunta; and partly out of the fact that Kaggwa does not record any other exodus of political refugees. Despite his silence, it is not impossible to infer from his books, especially from the Ebika that these persecutions often forced people to flee to other countries. Writing in Munno of 1927, a correspondent living in Kiziba claimed that he

and many of his neighbours were descended from Baganda refugees, and surmised that they were probably Bakunta. He did not, however, state when his ancestors emigrated from Buganda, which makes it difficult to determine whether they belonged to the Bakunta group. But his assertion that nearly all of them were of the Elephant Clan suggests that their ancestors fled from Buganda during reigns of Kikulwe and Mawanda rather than Semakokiro's.¹ Evidence at hand shows also that not all the refugees who fled to the West of Uganda were the result of a single persocution by Semakokiro. The claim of the present day descendants that their ancestors were called Abayabindi because of a loin cloth they used to wear, pre-supposes a wide spread use of cotton cloth at the beginning of Semakokiro's reign. But we have no evidence in our sources to support this view. One is, therefore, forced to conclude that some of these refugees were of a later period, probably of Suna or even of Mutesa I. This equally applies to some of the refugees in the Nyanza province of Kenya who named one of their settlements Suna. One suspects that they could only have named it so, if they had lived in Suna's or in a later reign. The general

1. See the previous two chapters above.

deduction to be made is that, as men fled from Buganda at various periods, they tended to follow their compatriots and because the greatest exodus of political refugees probably was that of the Bakunta, the name was indiscriminately used even by later refugees. But in view of the inadequacy of our sources on this subject, it will be idle to imagine that we have the full story of political refugees. Only by further inquiry from the Bakenye, the Bagwasi and other descendants of emigrants from Buganda, can we learn more about the general effects of royal persecutions on clans and families.

The Execution of the Princes and its Constitutional significance.

Being a royal Chronicle, the text does not tell us anything about the important political developments which took place at this time. But despite ^{the} lack of specific details, there is a wealth of incidental references in Kagwa's other books to enable us to form a reasonably fair picture of the social changes. These are important because they had a very important bearing

on the whole of Kiganda political history for the rest of the pre-colonial period. Kiganda society was highly competitive, partly because promotion depended on ability, but largely because favouritism was the whole basis of rewards. This encouraged competition among clans and individuals, but in their efforts to win favour, blackmail, jealousy and spying became the order of the day. To the kings as well as to the chiefs, Kiganda society always congealed a life of fear and anxiety which gave to the actors on the political stage those nervous characteristics which were the products of a violent and unscrupulous age. Politically it is clear from Kaggwa that Buganda was never a democratic state. There was thus no constitutional means either of checking the despotic powers of the king, or of expressing political grievances. In absence of such means, one would suspect that the only remedy the people had when faced by a bad king, was a resort to arms. This conclusion is born out by Kaggwa's accounts of the previous fourteen reigns which reveal a growing tendency towards violence and civil strife. The Baganda always took jealous delight in the fall of political favourites or rivals. Furthermore the history of this period, gives the impression

that they also took delight in overthrowing one king after another. This partly explains the frequency of succession of wars and of the rebellions in this period. But what is remarkable is that the Baganda never took up arms on their own against the king. They always waited to be led by a discontented or ambitious prince. By Semakokiro's time, the situation had reached a stage where in order to be safe on his throne, a king had to be an outstanding soldier as well as shrewd and even ruthless.¹

Thus although Semakokiro's triumph over Junju, followed by a merciless persecution of the Bakunta would appear to have established him firmly on the throne, his victory was in fact limited. Evidence from Kaggwa suggests that the situation remained unsettled for a long time especially because there were rebellions. The Kiganda constitutional system, which allowed every living prince to regard himself as a possible candidate for the throne, was partly responsible for this chaotic

1. Love of violence and riotousness were some of the peculiar characteristics early European travellers noted among the Baganda. See The King's Men, op. cit., p.304.

state of affairs. But being a product of his own age, Semakokiro was perhaps more acutely aware of the weakness of his own position than his predecessors. One may in fact infer from the evidence that the events of the past ten reigns seem to have taught him that as long as royal sons, cousins and brothers were given unrestricted freedom, no king could be safe on his throne. This part of the story is not very well developed in Kaggwa's books. But when he wrote in the Ebifa of 1910-11 he gave what may be the best description of Semakokiro's worries. He observed,

Semakokiro's greatest pre-occupation throughout his reign, was to preserve his throne from usurpation. He himself had obtained it through violence by killing his brother Junju. So he made certain that such a catastrophe did not befall him. Because he had fully grown sons, he executed all of them except three, and when he learnt that his in-laws, the maternal relatives of Prince Kamanya were plotting to overthrow him, so that they could put "their son" on the throne, he executed about seventy of them ...

Kaggwa does not attribute Semakokiro's fear of his sons to the soldierly qualities of Kamanya and Kakungulu. Nevertheless one would suspect from their later careers that they were better generals than their father, who

was now a middle aged man. The conclusion seems to be that it was the combinations of these factors which increased Semakokiro's feeling of insecurity and forced him to take drastic measures. Kaggwa's narrative of the execution of the princes is not only inadequate but inconsistent. In his published works, he failed to make the important distinction that the medium of the god Mukasa only recommended the execution of only the headstrong and unmanageable princes. In the text, he asserts that Semakokiro executed all his sons except three and he mentions some of these who were executed and those who were spared. In Empisa, however, he reverses his statement and claims that Semakokiro killed his brothers and three of his sons. But a comparison of the evidence from Makula and from Kaggwa's accounts of the feud between Junju and Semakokiro, clearly shows that the latter had many sons but by the end of his reign, we only hear of three. This implies that nearly, if not all the others, had been executed. One would deduce from this account that Kaggwa's statement in Empisa was wrong.

Kaggwa is also sadly silent about two important

constitutional innovations which we first hear of in this reign. It is clear from information derived from Munno and the author's field studies, that the policy of imprisoning princes as a further check on their freedom, was introduced by Semakokiro. But perhaps Kaggwa's most serious mistake was the omission of princes from his list of chiefs, which has led to the wrong conclusion that unlike other Inter-lacustrine states, Buganda had always had policy of excluding members of the royal family from political power.¹ But a careful study of Gomotoka's list of princes who held chieftainships, shows that up till now, there was not such a policy, and even Semakokiro did not remove all the princes who were holding chieftainships at this time. It would appear from Gomotoka that the policy of "Exclusion" was carried to its logical conclusion by Kamanya. When we come to his accounts of the persecution of Prince Kamanya, we find Kaggwa even more inconsistent. It is difficult to reconcile Semakokiro's alleged desire to kill his son, and the very ineffective methods he adopted to achieve his end. A statement found in Kaggwa's papers

1. Dr. M. Southwold, Chieftainship in Buganda, op. cit., p.70.

claims that Prince Kamanya was handed over to Sonko of Kasaka to be executed, but the executioner hid him instead. From this, one would suspect that Semakokiro certainly condemned Prince Kamanya to death, but he was played a trick by the executioner; a thing not uncommon in Buganda political history. The omission of this important statement from his published texts, forces us to draw the conclusion that when writing about a clansman, who as a king brought honour and prestige to the Grass-hopper Clan, Kaggwa adopted a partial view, which unfortunately failed to fit the facts.

It is a matter of regret that there is no authority in all our sources to give us a full picture of the immediate and long term results of Semakokiro's constitutional innovations. Our estimate can only be made from scattered references in Kaggwa's works. From those it seems clear that by eliminating most of his political rivals, Semakokiro achieved his primary object, namely the preservation of his throne. Nineteenth century kings are portrayed by Kaggwa as having wielded enormous despotic powers and the evidence indicates that this was partly the result of Semakokiro's measures. Nevertheless in spite of the extraordinary political insight he seems

to have had, it is doubtful whether he had any other plan besides maintaining himself securely on the throne. It is true that the strength of the Kiganda Monarchy lay in centralisation. But even then, to regard its achievement as a deliberate policy of the monarchy, would be to credit the Kings with higher qualities of statesmanship, than anything else in their careers shows them to have possessed. It would appear that all Kings were determined to be strong, not because of any theory one of them had discovered or worked out about the value of strength, or how to secure it. A careful study of the history of the next five reigns clearly shows that Semakokiro's policies neither eliminated, nor even lessened the frequency of the succession wars. The best example is the reign of Semakokiro itself. It is clear from the evidence that it did not, go unchallenged, and Semakokiro himself had more rebellions to contend with than some of his predecessor: Besides the alleged plots of the maternal relatives of Prince Kamanya, there were rebellions by Kataba and Kinalwa. And what was more serious to Semakokiro, were the invasions of Kakungulu, actively assisted by the King of Bunyoro.

Kaggwa claims in text that Kataba's rebellion originated in the counties of Singo and Ggomba but he does not tell us anything about its causes. The direction

from which it came, was later used by Kakungulu's invading armies. From this and from Kaggwa's other claim that Kataba was of unknown origin, one would suspect that Kataba was a Munyoro prince leading a foreign levy. It is evident from the history of the previous reigns, that in order to be successful, any revolt against the king had to be led by a prince. Kaggwa's description of this particular rebellion, shows, that it was not only popular but successful. This leads to the deduction that Kataba was a Muganda prince, and inspite of lack of specific details regarding its causes, one strongly suspects that they were rooted in Buganda and nowhere else. The overwhelming support it is said to have got from the subchiefs of Ggomba, Singo and perhaps other surrounding counties, creates the impression that Sema-kokiro was not readily accepted by the whole country as King. It may also be inferred that because he had spent much of his life in the eastern corner of the Kingdom, men of the western counties were probably more attached to Junju who had lived among them, and who had brought them much plunder by his annexation of Buddu.

Kakungulu's invasion of Buganda at the head of a Banyoro army introduces a new chapter in the political

relationships of the two countries. This is the first time since the reign of Nakibinge that Kaggwa has mentioned direct interference in Buganda affairs by Bunyoro. We would have liked to know how often this had happened in the past, and if not often why it happened at this time? Unfortunately, information from Kaggwa is scanty. The Kinyoro sources, however, show that there used to be many raids into Buganda, and presumably this was one of them. From the Kinyoro sources, it is clear that for a good deal of the 18th century, Bunyoro was a declining power, beset by internal problems. Buganda, on the other hand, had steadily increased her power during this period, partly due to a succession of strong and militaristic kings. The conclusion seems to be that until the accession of Kabarega in 1869, Bunyoro could no longer raid Buganda with impunity. Her one success against Semakokiro was more due to Kakungulu than to Bunyoro. Moreover, a study of the history of several Inter-lacustrine states during the 19th century, gives the impression that interference in the internal affairs of one state by another, was generally done at the invitation of a discontented chief or of the defeated claimant

to the throne. A comparison of Kiganda and Kisoga sources regarding the political relations of the two countries at this time, seems to confirm this view. And the sources of Kiziba lead one to the same conclusion that Buganda's interference in the succession disputes was almost always done at the invitation of one of the rival claimants for the throne.¹

External Trade and the First Contacts with the East Coast:

All Kaggwa's accounts of the reign of Semakokiro convey a picture of continuous internal strife and dissension. At first sight, one is thus persuaded to believe that there was unrelieved chaos and stagnation in the country. But when we turn to other aspects of the reign, we find that there was another side to the picture. A valuable piece of evidence in support of this view is found in Empisa where Kaggwa wrote,

"At the beginning of his reign, Semakokiro was an extremely tyrannous and cruel king ... But later in the reign after he had executed members of the Bird Clan, he became good and peaceful, and his people prospered by increased trade ..."²

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1. E. Cesard, Les Muhaya, (Anthropes, Vol. 32, 1937) pp.15-60; Ford and Hall, History of Karagwe, T.N.R., Vol. 24 (1947), pp. 3-27.
 2. Empisa, op. cit., p.59.

It would appear from this statement that Semakokiro's reign was far from being one of unmitigated stagnation. Kaggwa, in fact, goes on to assert that Semakokiro was the richest king that had ever been, possessing more cattle than his predecessors. References in the text to increased elephant hunting at this time, together with Kaggwa's claim that Semakokiro had much ivory, create the impression that ivory had become a commercial commodity. One doubts, however, whether the ivory trade was as important at this time as it later became. From Kaggwa we learn that by the reign of Kyabaggu, foreign goods such as china had begun to trickle into the country. It is clear also that the inflow of goods was increased by Junju's conquest of Buddu, which brought Buganda into direct contact with the southern Haya states and indirectly with the East Coast. Despite this early contact, neither Kaggwa nor ^{any} other Kiganda source, says anything about cotton cloth, or of visits from Arab traders. The most reliable accounts regarding the first direct contacts of Arabs and Swahilis with Buganda, refer to the reign of Suna.¹ Absence of Coast traders, however, did not mean that there was no trade between Buganda and other states.

1. Sir John Gray, Almedi Bin Ibrahim, The First Arab visitor to Buganda, Uq. J. Vol. 11/2 (1947); Trading Expeditions From the Coast to Lakes Tanganika and Victoria before 1857; T.N.R. No.49 (1957), pp. 226-246.

Kaggwa's claim in the text that Semakokiro had a trading agent who used to travel to Buzongola on his behalf is in agreement with another statement made by Gomotoka about a family in Buddu who became famous as traders for the King. Gomotoka wrote in Makula,

"Mwesezi Mageye of the Bird Clan, who lived during the reigns of Junju and Semakokiro, was an important travelling merchant. He used to buy and sell things from Karagwe ... When he died, his family carried on their father's job and became the trading agents of the Kings ..."

These two statements clearly show that there was a certain amount of interstate trade especially between Buddu and the kingdoms of Kiziba and Karagwe. Our sources, however, are silent about its volume, and in view of the difficulties which traders often encountered on the way, one would suspect that the volume was not yet large.

All Kiganda sources are unanimous in claiming that their compatriots used to buy beads from Kiziba, but they are sadly silent about other articles of trade and they are not even specific about what the Baganda used to sell. Kaggwa's claim that Semakokiro encouraged the planting of bark cloth trees, gives the impression that the largest commodity of the Baganda in the trade

market, was barkcloth. But even then, it is doubtful whether their share was notable. During the writer's field studies, most of his informants emphasized that the Baganda on the whole seldom travelled to foreign countries to trade.

"The Baziba and Banyoro used to come to this country to sell, after which they would buy and depart ..."¹

claimed informant after informant. The views held by these informants are in full accord with Kaggwa's claim in Empisa where he remarked that the Baganda did not know how to trade, because they depended on raiding and obtained everything they wanted by plunder ... It would appear ^{from this} that the Baganda share in ^{the} trade of any form, was never very notable.

Clanship, Kinship and the Succession Wars:

With the beginning of Kamanya's reign, our sources become more detailed and Kaggwa himself writes more fully. This should perhaps not surprise us, especially in view of the fact that Kaggwa claims to

1. op.cit. p. 277.

have collected some of the accounts of this period from eyewitnesses who included a daughter of Kamanya. The most interesting thing about the whole period is that contrary to popular belief, Semakokiro's drastic measures to eliminate the evils of the succession wars had proved ineffective. According to Kaggwa, there were only two claimants to the throne when Semakokiro died. But even then, the issue of the succession had to be settled on the battle-field. Kaggwa is at his best in describing the order of this battle. Not only does he tell us the names of the various regimental commanders and their chieftainship titles, but also their clans. This affords an interesting study of the political influences and pressures at work during this period. Information from the text, is in agreement with the claim made by members of the Grasshopper and Lung-fish Clans that Prince Kamanya had the support of the western counties of Buddu, Singo and probably Ggomba and Butambala. The same sources assert also that Prince Mutebi's support was drawn mainly from the eastern and central counties of Kyaggwe Kyaddondo and possibly Busiro and Bulemezi. But neither Kaggwa nor these sources tell us what influenced

the chiefs in taking opposite sides in this struggle. It is only by assembling scattered pieces of information, that we can get a picture of the structure of politics and form an idea of the issues, which were at stake. We have already shown from Kaggwa's papers, that instead of executing Prince Kamanya, Sonko hid him. The evidence before us suggests that in a centralised state like Buganda, Sonko could not have hidden the Prince without the knowledge of at least his immediate chief. This arouses the suspicion that as there were few rival contenders for the throne, the chiefs of Gomba conspired to adopt Kamanya as their candidate. Evidence from the Ebika, shows that the Grasshopper Clan, to which Kamanya's mother belonged, was concentrated in the western counties, with its chief ancestral land at Kisozi in Gomba. Judging by the behaviour of the members of this Clan during the previous reign, one would suspect that they campaigned among the chiefs of the surrounding districts, to fight for "their son". The conclusion would appear to be that the location of his mother's clan, was one of the decisive factors in winning Prince Kamanya the support of the western counties.

But when we come to analyse the influences behind the decision of the chiefs from the east who backed Prince Mutebi, Kaggwa is not a useful source. Today, Mutebi is a typical name of the Lung-fish Clan, and because of their concentration in Kyaggwe and Busiro, one would assume that these Counties supported him because of clan ties. But a close examination of Kaggwa's list of royal mothers and their clans, shows that Prince Mutebi's belonged to the Sheep Clan. The only useful piece of evidence we have is a brief statement in ^{the} Munno of 1927. It is claimed in Munno that Prince Mutebi grew up at the temple of the god Nende in Bukerere. It was probably this which influenced the chiefs of Kyaggwe and the neighbouring counties of Kyaddondo and Bulemezi to regard him as their leader. According to Kaggwa, Mutebi's general was Nsimbi, the Namutwe of the Lung-fish Clan and in a struggle like this where so much was at stake, and where clan affinities seem to have played a vital role in the case of Kamanya, the deduction would be that a very large part, if not the whole of the Lung-fish clan, followed Nsimbi and supported Prince Mutebi. But here again information from Kaggwa, supported by personal

communication to the author from the Sub-Clan heads of the Lung-fish clan, contradict this view. According to these sources, Kasujju Wakayamba of the Lung-fish Clan was one of the bravest and most unwavering supporters of Prince Kamanya. The conclusion we are forced to draw is that being more numerous and scattered, the Lung-fish, lacked the coherence which the relatively small Grasshopper Clan possessed. But perhaps more important to the Lung-fish Clan was the fact that neither of the claimants was "their son".¹

The overwhelming support which Prince Kamanya got from his mother's clansmen, gives the impression that in succession wars, the contenders got automatic support from their mothers' clans. This, however, is only partly true. There were factors in Kiganda society which made automatic support impossible. Clansmen were scattered all over the country and the common people unlike their superiors, seem to have had very little freedom of choice because generally they had to follow

1. In a personal communication to the present writer, Kalikuzzinga of Kyaddondo, and Wavamunno of Bulemazi, both of the Lung-fish Clan, stressed that Kasujju Kawayamba's support of Prince Kamanya, originated from personal loyalty.

their immediate chief in the wars. In view of this, one would conclude that clan affinities were strong, but not decisive factors in winning support for a prince. Hopes of promotion on the part of the chiefs played a vital role in influencing their choice. But above all, the contenders had to be good soldiers as well as popular.

Buganda's Relations with the Haya States:

In accounting for Kamanya's triumph, Kaggwa stressed only the bravery of his officers and the fearlessness of their regiments. Information collected by the author from his field studies, shows that at that time the western counties of Buddu, Singo and Gomba, were more heavily populated than Kyaggwe, whose northern part was covered by dense forests and the eastern parts infested with the Mbwa flies which made it unattractive for settlement. As far as one can tell, Kamanya had more men to put into the field, a factor on which victory heavily depended in those days. Moreover, this being a land war it would appear that Nutebi could not draw on the strength of the canoe fleets of Kikwata of Bukunja,

Rugumba of Bugolo, and Mulondo of Bulondoganyi. It may be argued in favour of Kaggwa that the question of Kamanya's numerical strength was too obvious to call for any special mention. But even if this were so, the question of the military aid which Kamanya is said to have received from the Baziba was too important to be ignored. We have information from an unusual non-Kiganda source, which makes important assertions. Writing in Anthropos, Cesard observed,

"... a ce moment il y avait competition au trone, car le roi de L' Uganda venait de mourir. Kamanya et Mutebi se disputaient la succession. Ruyobya embrasse la parti de Kamanya contre Mutebi. Lorsque le combat etait indecis, Ruyobya alla avec ses troupes s'embusquer dans une foret. Mutebi y passa sans avoir remarque l' embassade et bientot ses troupes se trouverent pris entre deux feux. La debandade se mit dans leurs rangs, un grand nombre perirent et Mutebi lui-meme y trouva la mort ..."¹

This story conflicts in some parts with the main Kiganda tradition told by Kaggwa. For example, the statement that before the Baziba intervened on Kamanya's side, victory had hung in the balance. Another disagreement is Cesard's claim that Mutebi was killed in a forest by the Baziba. Apart from these few points, there is general agreement with the story told by Kaggwa. Cesard's would

1. E. Cesard, op. cit., pp. 15-60.

therefore appear to be an authentic source, which we would otherwise have missed. And in view of Kaggwa's inconsistency about the execution of Prince Mutebi, one^{is} inclined to give credence to this story.¹

Kaggwa's silence on Buganda's foreign relations during this period, calls for even stronger criticism. Information derived from Kiziba sources especially, shows that by the second decade of the 19th century, Buganda had already extended her sphere of influence as far south as Kiziba and Bukoba. Detailed information from the author's field studies and various articles in Munno, clearly show that there was at this period an influx of many political refugees from Kiziba and Karagwe, into southern Buddu. This influx which included unsuccessful claimants to the thrones of Kiziba, seems to have given an excuse to Baganda kings to interfere in the internal affairs of those states. But Cesard's assertion of the friendship which existed between Kamanya and the Baziba, would appear to apply to those Baziba pretenders and their followers who lived in Southern Buddu, rather than to the reigning kings in Kiziba and

1. In Ebifa of 1910-11, Kaggwa wrote that Mutebi was executed before Kamanya ascended the throne. But in the text, he implies that the execution took place long after his accession.

Karagwe. Evidence also suggests that what appear to be Kiganda plundering campaigns were sometimes succession wars conducted by the Baziba Pretenders from Buddu with the aid of Baganda kings. According to both Kiganda and non-Kiganda sources, the Baganda used to demand tribute from Kooki, Kiziba, Karagwe and Busoga. It would appear, however, that in order to be effective, these demands had to be accompanied by threats of punitive campaigns. But Kaggwa's accounts of this period show that Buganda could not always impose her demands, and the tribute could only be exacted irregularly. Moreover, in spite of the assertions of the Kiganda tradition, there is no evidence to suggest that Buganda ruled Kiziba or any of her other tributary states.

According to information derived from Kaggwa, one would deduce that the reshuffle of the chieftainships was one of the main pre-occupations of the new monarch. At this stage, of his narrative, Kaggwa goes into considerable detail to tell us how Kam^{ya} searched for his maternal relatives to appoint them to chieftainships. For the first time, Kaggwa records appointments to even junior chieftainships, especially those which were held

by members of the Grasshopper Clan. This arouses the suspicion that Kamanya practised unprecedented nepotism. However, a close study of the list of the junior appointments mentioned by Kaggwa, shows that there was nothing unusual in what Kamanya did. The offices of Sabaganzi, Mondo, Masimbi, Nabikande, and several others were always reserved for the king's maternal relatives. And they enjoyed these privileges only during the reign of their 'son'. Moreover, apart from the offices of the Sabaganzi and the Queen Mother, the others do not seem to have been as important or as influential as Kaggwa would like us to believe. One would suspect from this that Kaggwa took occasion to mention the holders of these junior chieftainships simply because the majority of them were his own clansmen, and for that reason he found it easier to obtain information about them. But on the other hand, the evidence suggests that Kaggwa had deeper motives, because from now on, he is at pains to show the reader how privileged were the members of the Grasshopper Clan.

Kamanya's execution of his brother would appear at first sight to have removed all rivalry in Buganda for the throne. But it is clear from Kaggwa that

even securely established kings like Kamanya had to deal with attempts to oust him. Like his father, Kamanya lived in a state of fear of being overthrown. It is clear from the Kinyoro and Kiganda sources that the most serious threat to him was again of Prince Kakungulu, who continued to raid into Buganda with impunity. Perhaps his greatest exploit was carried out in Bulondoganyi, where he is said to have exterminated the whole population. Kaggwa's portrait of Kamanya is that of a bloodthirsty tyrant who executed countless numbers of his own subjects for trivial offences. But as we have already pointed out, Kamanya always lived in a state of fear. An analysis of the lists of executions shows that many of them had political motives behind them. The execution of even his maternal relatives suggests that he had reached a stage where he trusted no one. Evidence from Makula shows that as his feeling of insecurity increased, it manifested itself in the deposition and execution of princes who had hitherto held chieftainships. In several personal communications to the author, it was stressed that Kamanya was prompted to take this drastic step, because he feared that if the princes continued to hold chieftainships they would give quarter to Kakungulu.

Our accounts of the campaigns of this period give the impression that Buganda's military strength was unassailable. Her generals were fighting in all the surrounding states and Sewankambo, whom Kaggwa called the most outstanding of ^{all} Kamanya's generals, is claimed to have crossed Lake Kyoga and beaten the Kumamus on their own ground. Kaggwa's best comment on this reign appeared in Ebifa (1916) where he observed, "Kamanya's lifelong ambition was to extend the frontiers of his kingdom.... His greatest achievement was the conquest of Mubende Hill and the surrounding districts by Kiwalabye of the Yam Clan..." This information, however, remains inadequate for Kaggwa neither tells us the causes of the war, nor the extent of Buganda's newly acquired territory. Bunyoro sources on the other hand are more detailed and according to them, the Baganda campaign which led to the annexation of Buwekula was a retaliatory measure against Kakungulu's incursions. K.W. adds that, as a result of this war, Buganda extended her frontiers from the River Mayanja to W. Esigire and Kabyoma near Mubende. Kaggwa was no doubt justified in claiming that this conquest was Kamanya's greatest achievement. The evidence in fact shows that it was the only substantial territorial gain in the 19th century before the reign of Mwan'ga II.

In his books, Kaggwa treated the accession of Prince Suna as the result of his father's Will and thereby gave the misleading impression that in Buganda, a dying king could nominate his successor. But a comparison of Kaggwa's own accounts of the previous reigns and other Kiganda sources clearly shows that there was never such a custom. Information supplied by Kaggwa himself in the Ebifa of 1911, reveals that the selection of Prince Suna as a successor, like that of Mukabya in the next reign, was actually made by a number of powerful and influential chiefs. From these two examples one would suspect that whenever chiefs could control the election of a successor, especially in peace time, they tended to prefer a young and manageable Prince who would remain long under their tutelage and even feel grateful to them. A comparison of the text and Stanley's account of the events leading to the accession of Prince Mukabya creates the impression that the chiefs were always careful not to elect a fully grown prince for fear that he would assert his independence as soon as they had put him on the throne. Evidence from the text regarding the career of Kayira, suggests that such tactics by the chiefs, not only ensured the leading electors of a long tenure of office, it sometimes gave rise to

the emergence of powerful and dominating Prime ministers; who would during their days of prosperity, appoint their sons and relatives to as many chieftainships as possible.¹

In domestic affairs, the reign of Suna was perhaps most notable for the exceedingly large number of Ebitongole he founded. We learn from the text, that on one occasion alone he founded forty seven of them. It is remarkable that there is no other record in Kaggwa's published works of Ebitongole founded before Kamanya's reign. Kaggwa's silence on this point has created the impression that Ebitongole were a feature of the 19th century. When we turn to his papers, however, it becomes clear that nearly every king founded at least a few Ebitongole. What is not clear is why Kaggwa omitted in his books, all the Ebitongole which were founded before Kamanya. At first sight, the founding of many Ebitongole at this period when Buganda's military power was increasing, creates the impression that they were purely military organisations. But it is clear from Kaggwa's excellent description of the system of Government in Empisa, that the Ebitongole were merely the equivalent of the modern sub-county divisions known as Gombololas. Like the big county chiefs, the Batongole were responsible not only for the administration of their districts, but also for the defence of the country.

1. Stanley, op.cit., pp. 360-361. For a further discussion see Chapter VII below.

They were administrators and tax gatherers during peace time, and regimental commanders when war broke out.

Buganda's social structure was very largely the structure of an army where every fit male was a potential warrior.

Under such a system there was no need for a standing army and it would be wrong to regard the Ebitongole as such.

In conclusion, one would say that the founding of Ebitongoles was a way of settling people and so of strengthening the frontier districts.

One of the most characteristic features of this period was the decisive change in the balance of power between Bunyoro and Buganda. Kiganda and non-Kiganda sources alike show that Buganda was now the foremost military power in the whole of the Interlacustrine region. As evidence from Kisoga and Kiziba sources show, Buganda was taking every opportunity to exploit civil dissensions in those States, sometimes by direct invasion and at other times merely by forcing the rival candidates to compete for her support. Of all Buganda's tributary states, those of Busoga were perhaps the most exploited largely as a result of the political weakness caused by the mutual jealousy of their chiefs. In his History of Busoga, Lubogo commented on this impotence with nationalistic bitterness. He contended that ~~the~~ Busoga's dependency on Buganda, was

caused by the jealousy of the warring chiefs. In their rivalry to win the support and the recognition of the King, they often invited Baganda armies to fight in Busoga. Lubogo's statement is in agreement with other sources. The conclusion to be drawn from them is that, without the multiplicity of jealous chiefs, Buganda would have found it harder to raid the Busoga states with such impunity as she often did. But even then, it seems clear from Kaggwa's long account of "Basoga rebellions" during this and the previous reigns, that Buganda's claim to suzerainty in Busoga was constantly being challenged. From this one would conclude that the Busoga States were probably not as weak and helpless as the records show. But although Buganda's overlordship in the tributary states was being occasionally challenged, her position there was probably stronger now than ever before. And by the end of Suna's reign, Buganda was on the threshold of a new and exciting period. But taken by themselves, the reigns of Semakokiro, Kamanya and Suna do not form an epoch. In many ways the period was an introduction to a new age of beginnings, of guns and ammunition, of visitors from Europe and of new ideas such as Mohamedanism and Christianity. All these were to make their mark on the next reign and the revolution they set in motion is probably not yet finished.

KING MUKABYA MUTESA XXX.

When Mukabya came to the throne, the accession ceremony took place at his father's capital of Nabulagala. After the accession he went to Buddo to step on the mound which contained the fetish that prevents wars. On leaving Buddo, he went to Mukono and built a small fence. He spent there five days during which he completed his father's funeral rites. After the ceremonies, he went to Nakatema and built another small fence. It was also at Nakatema that he built his capital and lived there for very many years. Meanwhile he appointed Kajjongolo Nantooke to take a burning piece of wood to Bunyoro.

Kaggwa describes this as a war expedition. But it was a funeral ceremony which probably involved the raiding of the enemy territory as part of the ritual. The taking of the piece of wood to Bunyoro, a leading enemy territory, symbolised the casting away of the evil.

This was the wood used for roasting the meat consumed at the funeral ceremonies. The next expedition was commanded by Munyoragenze, the Mukwenda. He made war upon Bulyambwa with a very large army. The next expedition which was conducted by Mutokota, the Omuluma; was against the Banyoro. Some time afterwards, the king began the sport of spearing cattle.¹ He used to order the Bahima (herds men), to bring about one hundred or two hundred head of cattle every day. He would then call his chiefs and the game would begin. Because of his enormous strength, he used to perform better than all the others. But although he was very fond of this game, he later developed greater interest in fox hunting. One day, however, he was bitten by a snake, but as he received immediate treatment, there were no serious effects.

1. Mutesa was a keen sportsman. The explorer, J.H. Speke, for example, found him an excellent swimmer. A. Sebbowa, (in Munno of 1933) gives a list of chiefs and pages with whom Mutesa used to play particular sports.

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Another sport in which the king took a keen interest, was that of shooting with bows and arrows. But although this sport was foreign to the Baganda, the king excelled all his chiefs¹ whom he used to invite to shooting parties. There was also a man called Maja-nja who as the Kimbugwe and who used to carry the umbilical cord called Lukungo. This man was a very good shot, and he used to come second to the king. Mukabya used to enjoy also another kind of sport, but although it was called a sport, it was more of a battle than a sport because of its brutality. The king used to collect very many fighting sticks. After this, he would call upon his strong men from the following Bitongoles; Bukaki, the Abafumbiro [cooks], the Abasenero (brewers); the Abajona, and the Abamese. Men from these Bitongoles, used to fight fiercely and could even kill one another. This kind of contest had one advantage. Brave and

1. What Kaggwa means^{is} that this was a sort of national sport among the Bahima of Ankole. It would have gone hard for anyone who attempted to excell the king.

fearless men, could easily distinguish themselves.

Another sport which the king patronised was of wrestling. He used to order his chiefs to bring as many men to the match as possible. And once the contest had begun, the king and all the chiefs, except the very aged ones, used to take part. At the end of the match, the king would distribute the prizes to the best wrestlers. He at the same time, used to make feasts and give plenty of fatty meat to his men so that they might become very strong.¹ Mukabya was also fond of swimming and he had a pool dug for him at Nakatema. He used to swim in it with his brothers, but as in other sports he always came first, followed by Prince Kagumya.

Mutesa was particularly fond of his sister Nassuna. So intimate were they, that he used to spend much of his time in her house chatting. Nassuna herself had one

1. To every man of rank in Buganda, from the king to the lowest chief, a feast was a key institution, and it was one of the causes for popularity or unpopularity. See The King's men (Ed. by Fallers) op.cit.p.20.

uterine brother and two uterine sisters. The king also had very many brothers, which in fact, however, brought him little comfort. He always lived in fear of them and he often plotted against their lives. Hence he ordered a prison to be built so that they might be confined there. The prison was on the peninsula of Kisipsi and as soon as it was ready, all the princes were thrown into it. But owing to the unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, many of them died of the plague. Then the chiefs saw an opportunity to rebel, partly because there was an epidemic and partly because the princes had been dispersed. But that was not the real cause of the rebellion. The following was the real cause: On the death of King Suna, Ndugga, the Mukwenda; approached Kayira, the Prime minister and asked him which prince would be made king. Kayira replied that he had not yet decided, but he asked Ndugga: Whom do you think should be given the Kingdom? Whereupon Ndugga replied: I myself have a nephew, a son of my sister

Zawedde. I would like you to give the kingdom to him. Kayira agreed, but presently, another chief called Sebadduka, the Namutwe of the Bean clan; approached the prime minister on the same question. He inquired: To which prince will you give the kingdom? To Kikulwe, the son of lady Zawedde, replied Kayira. Sir, interrupted Sebadduka, have you forgotten that King Suna executed Musazi, his chief cook, who was the father of Ndugga and lady Zawedde? If Zawedde becomes the Queen Mother and Ndugga becomes the Sabaganzi [Maternal uncle], they would at once demand to know who caused their father's death. Was it not you who killed him? When Kayira heard this, he asked Sebadduka: What do you suggest now? Thereupon Sebadduka returned: Don't you know Prince Mukabya, the child [an endearing term], who succeeded Prince Walugembe? If you don't, let me tell you more about him. When all the chiefs went to chief Kasujju's to pour scorn on the princes saying: If ever you become kings, you might as well roast grasshoppers for us on the pipes; Prince Mukabya was not among those

who were insulted. His father had sent Kasindula, the Omunywa, to take him away so that the chiefs might not abuse him. Furthermore, don't you remember when you went to Bubajjwe to arrest the princes? Mutesa was not among them because his father had advised that he should not be arrested.

After Sebadduka's narration, Kayira inquired:

Who is Mukabya's mother and who is his maternal uncle? Muganzirwazza, the cook is his mother; replied Sebadduka, and her brother is Mpirivuma of the Civet cat clan.

After getting this information from Sebadduka, Kayira told him to go and look for Mpirivuma, Sebadduka hastened and found him during that same night. When Mpirivuma came before Kayira, the latter asked him:

Are you the maternal uncle of Prince Mukabya? (Is Mukabya your son?) Yes I am his maternal uncle. Go hence and

bring Muganzirwazza from the palace, Kayira commanded.

So Mpirivuma went and shortly afterwards returned with lady Muganzirwazza, and said: I have brought her.

Thereupon, Kayira summoned Kasujju, Mpirivuma and Sebadduka and said: I had forgotten. King Suna chose this prince to be his heir. Proof of this is that when the king arrested all the other princes, Mukabya himself was not even molested. Now you Mpirivuma, take that son of mine, Kirabira. He will make a blood brotherhood with lady Muganzirwazza. I am going to give the kingdom to your son. Then Mpirivuma took Kirabira to Muganzirwazza and they made a blood brotherhood.

After Kayira had conspired with Sebadduka, the Namutwe; Kasujju and a few other chiefs, he summoned all his soldiers called the Abagoba, and said to them: Tomorrow, I shall give the throne to Mukabya of the Civet cat clan. You must fight very bravely if there is trouble. On the following day, he sent for chief Kasujju to bring all the princes to the court. When they were brought, Kayira said to the chief Kasujju: Bring forward Prince Mukabya. He will be our king. Thereupon, Kayira took Mukabya's hand and pulled him forward. But Ndugga the Mukwenda, protested and said: He should not be made the king. (Do not bring him

forward). Kayira, however, retorted: Mukabya is also your relative, (noyo wuwo). After he had chosen Prince Mukabya, the prime minister told his soldiers (Abagoba): Spear to death any one, prince or chief who dares to fight. He then turned to the princes and said: My sons, go to my house. There are three hundred head of cattle for you to feast on. After this, he followed the king, who had already gone to Buddo. There were ninety nine brave and outstanding princes who were lined up with Mukabya for the throne. This number excludes the infants who were with their mothers. And the number of the princesses was unknown.

Kaggwa tells us little about the early life of Prince Mukabya. Fortunately, there is a wealth of information, written and oral about him.¹ It would appear from

1. The author got much of his information from informants who lived during Mutesa's reign. See also Y.N.Luwekula in Munno of 1929; Rev.B.Zimbe's account. op.cit.p.16 that Prince Mukabya was nominated as a successor by his father is contradicted by nearly all other Kiganda sources.

these sources that he was one of the obscurer sons of King Suna. As a prince, he used to live on his estate of Kunywa in the county of Singo, until a certain prince called Walugembe died. When Mukabya was chosen to succeed him, he left his estate of Kunywa and went to live on the estate of his deceased relative at Kassubi in Kyaggwe.¹ Henceforth, Mukabya assumed the name of Walugembe. But the people always made a distinction between him and his predecessor. Hence they called him Walugembe who came from Kunywa (Walugembe eyava e Kunywa). Mukabya was at Kassubi when his father died. Being one of the least qualified candidates for the throne, the manner of his election, provides one of the most interesting dramas in Buganda's history. The intrigues recorded by Kaggwa, give a true picture of Buganda politics during the 19th century: It had become a battle

1. Kassubi is about 3 or 4 miles from Kawolo. Turn right at mile 30 on the Jinja road.

of wits, of intrigues and of conspiracy. The election, however, was not typical of what used to happen before Mukabya, because successions then were almost always settled by force of arms.¹ Similarly, this account makes the position of Kayira the Prime minister rather unique. It probably had no previous parallel and its only future parallels were those of Mukasa, the last Prime minister of Mukabya, and of Kaggwa himself. Nevertheless, a few deductions can be made. It would appear first that if there was a peaceful succession, it could be managed by a group of leading chiefs. The second deduction to be drawn is that if a prince lived in a certain district, the inhabitants of that district would regard him as their candidate for the throne, regardless of whether the succession was peaceful or not. This was probably why Namutwe, one of the chiefs in

1. Many European travellers and missionaries regarded some of the events in Mutesa's reign as a repetition of what had gone on before.

Kyaggwe spent the whole night with the prime minister, promoting Mukabya's candidature. Namutwe's diplomacy was extremely effective. By emphasizing Kayira's personal interests and the risks he faced if Prince Kiyimba was elected, Namutwe easily won the prime minister on his side. But Mukabya was not the personal choice of Kayira as ^{it} has been suggested. ^I He was chosen because his apparently disinterested promoter carried on the negotiations until the very last moment. Originally Kayira himself does not appear to have considered the question of Mukabya's youth an advantage to him, because before the intervention of Namutwe, he was already committed to the election of Prince Kiyimba. If however, he later came to see candidature of Mukabya as a means of strengthening his own position, this fact was brought home to him by Namutwe.

Kayira's success in controlling the political situation, was due to two main factors. He had been prime minister for a fairly long time and presumably,

Fallers (Edit), The King's Men, op.cit. p 333

he had many supporters. But perhaps more important was the fact that at the time of the election, the majority of the chiefs were unaware of the intrigue session of the previous night, which had reversed the already agreed choice. They thus came to the election, unsuspecting and militarily unprepared. Kayira on the other hand was ready for conflicts. He came with an armed band and gave them specific instructions to crush any opposition. Very swiftly, he induced the king to wreak vengeance on all those chiefs who had opposed this election. Their removal created more vacancies for Kayira's relatives and supporters. Thus by the time the remaining rivals gathered their wits and strength, to raise a rebellion, it was speedily crushed, and its supporters hurried to their executions.¹ Once Mukabya was firm on the throne, he renamed himself "Mutesa". [The Statesman]

1. The fall of Kayira himself is discussed below.

But although his new name carried the opposite meaning of his former one, [Mukabya: The one who causes suffering], there is not truth in the tradition that he was so called because he was at first a murderous maniac. Mukabya was his name before he became king and as a matter of fact even after he had named himself Mutesa, he did not abandon his barbarous ways. Until very late in his life, he used to condemn his subjects to execution in hundreds.

After consolidating his position on the throne, the king arrested the following chiefs: Ndugga, the Mukwenda; Bakkabulindi, the Sekiboobo; Sebuko, the Muwemba; Nkedi, the Omuwambya. All these were put in the stocks. Fearing that they might also be arrested, these other remaining chiefs, Kyagaba, the Kangawo; Settuba, the Luwekula; Senyondo Kisubika, and ten others, proposed: Let us rebel and give the throne to another prince. Forthwith, they approached Princess Nassuna and suggested: As the king loves you, tell us the times he comes to

your house. We implore you. We shall arrest him and give the throne to your brother. On hearing their words, Nassuna refused and said: If you want to rebel, first of all, go and release the princes (Go and fetch the princes). After she had given them this advice, the chiefs suggested: Because some of the princes died of the plague, let us send people to the prison to smuggle some out. The people who were sent, were instructed to smuggle out Princes Kajumba and Kiyimba. They were also told to tie the princes in dry banana leaves as if they were dead bodies. The men did as they had been told. Thus when the men went to the prison of Kisinsi, they smuggled out the two princes, namely, Kiyimba the brother of Princess Nassuna and Kajumba. They were then tied in dry banana leaves and ferried across the lake to Gaba. After that, the men sent word to Princess Nassuna saying: We ourselves have already crossed the lake. When she received the message, she also set off and followed the princes. But they were captured at Nyimbwa in Bulemezi before she herself reached them. The man who captured them was called Wabulenkoko. He sent word to the king at

once, but by the time the message arrived, the king had already been informed by Kiggi the prison guard, that the princes had been smuggled out. As soon as he learnt of their capture and that of Princess Nassuna, the king sent Kaddu, the Muwemba; to fetch them. When they were brought before the king, the captive princes mentioned many names of the chiefs whom they alleged were responsible for their release from prison. That was the reason why those chiefs were arrested. None of those who had been reported by the princes was pardoned; except Senyondwa Kisubika who was not a party to the conspiracy to rebel. The chiefs and the princes were taken to the execution place of Namugongo and burnt to death. It was a most terrible and shocking thing to execute all those chiefs.

Shortly after those events, the King paid a visit to his Prime minister Kayira. While he was there he named himself Mutesa, because he claimed to have governed the country with such wisdom that he prevented civil war. As soon as peace was restored, the king appointed Matabi the Omugoloba to plunder [the cattle herding people who

were under the leadership of Kakiza.¹ After the return of that expedition, Sekisambu, the Omugoloba; was appointed to make war upon Bugerere. On his return, the king appointed Kizza Luyimbazi, (the young brother of Senteza Kamunyi who was the son of Bunya, the Kangawo of Semakokiro), to lead an expedition to the "Stones in Bunyoro". When the expedition returned, another one was conducted by Sebbowa, the Kangawo. He was the younger brother of Kizza, because they were both sons of Bunya. The next expedition was conducted to Busimbi by Kisegu the elephant hunter. The next was conducted to Ntimba by Mondo. After this, another expedition was led to Bukwata in Busoga by Kamanya the Omukwaya. Then Tebakyagenda commanded another expedition to Bunyoro. The next one was commanded to Gulu in Busoga by Mutekanya Nansaku.

After Mutesa had firmly consolidated his position in the country, there came a man called Kiyanzi who was the son of Bamba. Kiyanzi himself, had been brought up

1. Kakiza was one of the princes of the Kingdom of Bwera; and he had therefore large herds of cattle.

in the home of King Kyabaggu's Sengooba. When he grew up, he became great and famous. This was how he acquired his fame. Once upon a time, King Kyabaggu was returning from Busoga, when Kiyanzi carried him on his shoulder.¹ This act of bearing the king, earned Kiyanzi many royal favours, for example he was once appointed to be Sekayiba at Senge. While he was Sekayiba, a man called Gamba, the son of Nyonyintayise, who was the Sekayiba before Kiyanzi was appointed, went before King Semakokiro and made the following plea: My lord, although this man Kiyanzi inherited the Butaka of my ancestors, he himself is not related to me. When he heard this, King Semakokiro ordered an inquiry into the dispute. As a result of this inquiry, Gamba's case was found to be the more correct. Hence the king ordered Kiyanzi to be deposed and Gamba to be restored to the Sekayibaship. After his dismissal from the Sekayibaship, Kiyanzi thought of another plan: He went to the king and told him that Wavumirizi the

1. This seems to have been the origin of the tradition that the royal bearers must belong to the Buffalo clan. Even today, the royal chauffeurs are of the Buffalo clan.

Sekayiba, (brother of the lady Nanzigu), gave the lady Nanzigu to other men. He did this when they went to Senge to perform the ceremony of ending mourning. On her return, she brought with her a specially styled bark cloth which had been presented to her by her lovers.

Your Majesty, if you want to prove this, send searchers to lady Nanzigu's house. If they don't find that bark cloth, then you will regard me as a liar. After listening to Kiyanzi's report, the king sent his men to go and search his wife's house. They seized everything including the said bark cloth. All the things were then brought before the king. He was so enraged by Wavumirizi that he had him arrested and also complained to him: Although you have always assured me that my wife does not sleep with other men, now I know you were telling lies. If you were not telling me lies, who then gave her this bark cloth? Wavumirizi tried to convince the king that he gave the bark cloth to his sister when she asked for it, but all was of no avail. Why should you give her a bark cloth which is worn by men? the king interrupted.

The case went against Wavumirizi and he was handed to

Kiyanzi, the very man who had brought accusations against him, to be executed. Kiyanzi executed also about eighty other relatives of Wavumirizi who had taken part in the mourning ceremonies. The survivors had to hide themselves in other clans.

Sekayiba Nabembezi (Kiyanzi), the Prime minister of King Semakokiro, had a son called Kayira. On growing up, Kayira joined the services of King Suna II. The king discovered that Kayira was intelligent, he made him prime minister. Kayira acquired fame and greatness. But when Suna died and Mukabya succeeded him as king, some people began to hate Kayira. This happened whilst Mukabya was still at the capital of Nakatema. The reason why people hated Kayira was that he had been prime minister for far too long. They attempted to bring accusations against him so that he might be dismissed, but they failed. Some time afterwards, some of Kayira's opponents, egged on Kiyanja and Nyenje, the sons of Kiyanzi, to make the accusation that Kayira's mother was a Muhima: This will be sufficient to bring about his dismissal. If you assert that Kayira was brought to Buganda while still

a suckling, won't that be a serious charge? And if the king hears of it, will he not dismiss him and give the prime ministership to some one else? This man is too authoritative and overbearing. He has been prime minister since the days of Suna. This is intolerable.

When the sons of Kiyanzi heard the accusations the chiefs had made, they hurried to the king and alleged: Your Majesty, we bring before you a case against the prime minister, (Kamalabyonna). Kayira is a Munyoro. Your Majesty, how can a Munyoro rule over the Baganda? On hearing their accusations, the king appointed Kisomose, the Kaggo; and Mugema to try the case. This was the plaintiff's plea. This man Kayira is a Munyoro to the core. He was brought to this country by a Munyoro mother, and he grew up in the home of our brother Nabembezi. Nabembezi himself was the Prime minister of King Semakokiro. When Kayira grew up, he became a servant of King Suna and he was later made a chief. Now he claims that he is of the Buffalo clan. But we know that this is false. He is not our relative (brother). This is why we have come to tell your Majesty. (He should not carry

the Ddamula, the stick which symbolises the rule over Buganda), Never in the history of our forefathers, has a Munyoro ever handled the Ddamula to try cases over the Baganda. This is our plaint Your Majesty. After the conclusion of the prosecution, Kayira defended himself like this: I am neither a Munyoro nor a Muhima as these men allege. My mother Ntenyoro, on the other hand was herself a Muhima. As a maid, she used to serve beer to my father to whom she was married before the age of puberty, (she had no breasts) and when she grew up, she bore me. It is false therefore to argue as these people have done that I was brought to this country while I was still a suckling. I have brought with me witnesses who saw my mother while she was still a maid and who witnessed my birth by her. The witnesses consisted of his uncles (the younger brothers of his father Nabembezi) and aunts (sisters of his father). They also repeated Kayira's statement and declared: Kayira is our son. We are his true and undoubted parents.

The judges, Kisomose, the Kaggo; and the Mugema asked Kiyanja and Nyenje to bring their own witnesses who would testify that Kayira was a Munyoro (Muhima):

Those witnesses must tell us the battle in which Kayira's mother was captured. The accusers, however, replied that they had no witnesses and also that they did not know the war in which Kayira's mother was captured. On hearing this, the judges dismissed the case and acquitted Kayira. Thereupon Kayira went to the king and thanked him because he had won the case. It was a case which had been designed to de-clan him, to deprive him of his office and honour, and eventually to destroy him. After thanking the king, Kayira begged: Your Majesty, give me these men who have been pleading with me so that I may have a little talk with them. The king granted the request at once. Hence Kayira wreaked vengeance upon his opponents. He arrested them all with about fifty others of the family of Kiyanzi. He took them to his Butaka at Senge, and burnt them to death.¹ That was the end of the case.

But when the chiefs who had incited the sons of Kiyanzi to bring accusations against Kayira saw that the case had gone against their friends, and that Kayira's

1. The practice of chiefs destroying their opponents seems to have been common and legal.

prestige had enormously increased, and also that many of his sons and brothers had been appointed to chieftainships, they hatched another conspiracy against him.

This time they incited other people. These were:

Princess Tojuba, the daughter of King Kamanya; Nabiyiki, the Kabejja; and a certain woman called Twamutwala.

These were sisters of Mugandawasabira of Muguluka Kikuluma who was the Nabikande of King Suna. All these people were urged to tell the king that Kayira had become an overmighty subject, who wanted to make himself a king.

(Omusajja one ayagala kulya bwakabaka: This man wants to eat the kingdom). He appointed his sons and other relatives to chieftainships. Another charge is that he mourned when King Suna died despite the fact that the king had got a fetish which prevented people from mourning at his death. The doctors told the king in the presence of Kayira that he had to take one tablet every day. If you do that always, you will not die. You will live for a very long time. But if you die, people must not mourn for you. Once that is done you will rise from the dead. Now when King Suna died,

Kayira the very man with whom the king had got the fetish, wept. Why did he weep if he did not want to deprive his master of the new life after death? The king would undoubtedly have risen from the dead. (Yakabiraki okutta mukamawe olwokubiri songa yandizukidde?)

Two things emerge from Kaggwa's account of the death of Suna. It would appear that Suna was given tablets or some other kind of medicine by the Zanzibaris.

The reference to a fetish probably applied to the medicine which they had given him, because the Baganda sometimes called any powerful restorative a fetish. The account confirms also the tradition that by the time Suna died, he had received instructions in the Muslim religion.¹

After the above mentioned ladies had been instructed

1. See the next chapter below.

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in what to say against Kayira, they went to the king and made the following accusations: Moreover, the ladies said, this man of yours is very odd. He executed your maternal uncles, Kagolo Walusimbi, and Kigonya Luyimbazi. Furthermore, he executed all the senior chiefs whom your father had left you so that he might as he indeed did, replace them with his own sons and relatives. Was that fair to your Majesty? Does one behave like that to one's friend? So spoke the ladies. When he heard the accusations, the king called upon Kayira to defend himself. And Kayira conducted his defence like this: I am the Prime minister. I challenge my accusers to bring the person who made the fetish which they are talking about. If they can produce that person then I shall accept the verdict of guilty. Again if there is such a person who makes fetishes for the prolongation of life, he should be brought so that he can make one for our young king whom we all want to live long. If you allege that I violated the taboos of the other fetish, haven't yourselves ever violated such customs? (Mmwe temusobyanga

kwebyo?) Ater Kayira had wound up his defence, his accusers simply ignored it because their only interest was to disgrace him. Hence they continued to bring more trumped up charges against him and the king listened more to their allegations. Finally he arrested Kayira and also confiscated his goods. But because Kayira had been a chief for a long time, and had entrenched his position so strongly, (Yali museajja mugundivu mu Bwami bwe), it took long to manouvre him into a position of weakness. He was really feared.

But after some time, Kisomose the Kaggo; realized that the only way to break Kayira in his prime ministership, would be to plunder him. Hence, Kisomose pretended to give sympathetic advice to Kayira, by persuading him to allow his possessions to be seized. "It is wise to allow yourself to be plundered by one's king. He was the one who gave you the riches you possess and the office you hold. If you continue to live he will give you other things." On hearing the advice of his friend, Kayira agreed to let his property be seized and this was the manner in which he was plundered: [Each one of the king's

wives plundered each of Kayira's wives of the equivalent title, for example, the royal Kaddulubale plundered Kayira's Kaddulubale, and the royal Kabejja plundered Kayira's Kabejja; and the royal Nasaza plundered Kayira's Nasaza etc. This method ensured that everything Kayira possessed was taken by the king alone, because no commoner took part in the seizure. If any man was seen around, [Kayira's house], he must have been either a doorkeeper or an escort or the royal wives.

That then was the fabricated case which led to the plundering of Kayira. It was caused by the intense jealousy of his rivals. His wealth and his long tenure of office, were the things which excited their jealousy. After his property had been seized, Kayira was dismissed from the office of the prime minister and imprisoned. Kisomose of the Lung-fish clan who was then the Kaggo, and who devised the plan of how to get Kayira disgraced, was appointed prime minister.

Kayira's betrayal of a large and influential group of chiefs in electing Prince Mukabya, the manner in which he took advantage of the emergency to crush all opposition and to entrench his own position,

proved his undoing in the long run. For a brief moment, however, he was the most powerful man in the country and his extensive patronage made him a formidable foe. Hence even the king himself feared to dismiss him. Nevertheless, there still remained a core of chiefs,^{and} other influential people such as the princesses, who were determined to bring about his down fall by convincing Mutesa that his prime minister had become an overmighty subject. The tragic end of his career, demonstrates that which was best and that which was worst in Kiganda politics. Power and honour sometimes were easy to gain as they were easy to loose. Once royal favour had been withdrawn, even a formidable man like Kayira was nothing. Kaggwa gives more than enough evidence in the text to prove that the fall of Kayira was more due to the malicious pressure brought to bear on the king by his rivals, than to the fact that Mutesa wanted to set himself free of his prime minister's tutelage.¹

1. Sir J.Gray The Early History of Buganda, Ug.J.vol. 1/1 1934.

When Mutesa grew up and became a mature man, he deeply regretted his treatment of Kayira, and confessed that he did wrong to dismiss him: He was the very man who gave the kingship to me and who saved me when my brothers wanted to seize my throne. Moreover, when I became king, all my father's chiefs, despised me as a weakling. But Kayira did not. On recollecting all these things, Mutesa hastened to inquire after Kayira's surviving sons [relatives] (Because many of them had been executed). Those who were discovered, got chieftainships in order to please them and also to restore their father's dignity. One important thing to remember: Being a king is a very curious thing, because it makes people selfish. (Obwakabaka bwakitalo, anti buziba abantu amatu). Muganzirwazza, the Queen Mother; did not remember Kayira in his darkest hour. Whereas he was the very man who had done her a great service by making her son king, from all those magnificent and splendid princes. When Kayira gave the throne to Mukabya, the whole country was indignant (the country wept) that he

selected a young prince so that he himself might remain the actual ruler. Muganzirwazza, did not even remember the blood brotherhood she had made with Kayira's son Kirabira. While all those brothers [by blood brotherhood] of hers were being hurried to the execution, she was as silent as night. But the King himself who was in custody at the time, and who therefore did not know all the manouvres and intrigues which took place, [before his election]; was remorseful for what he had done to Kayira. He honoured the sons of his chief, while the Queen Mother herself, who had made the blood brotherhood, did not lift a finger to help them. Moreover, they were her real brothers and Kayira himself was her father.¹

After those events, the king appointed Mutekanga, the Omuwanga; for the second time to conduct an expedition to Busoga. A woman called Kabalu was plundered. After the return of the expedition, the king appointed Kabirinagge, the Sekiboobo; to take Mwodi to Busoga and instal

1. What Kaggwa means here is not clear. Probably Kayira was a distant relative of Muganzirwazza, or, perhaps she made a blood brotherhood with him.

him as Kayamba. During the time he lived at the capital of Nakatema, Mutesa had the following children born to him: Princes, Nakibinge, Kiwewa, and Kateregga. The princesses were: Nassolo Zalwango, Nabaloga and others. On leaving Nakatema, he went and built another capital at Nabbingo. But while he was there, he went to Kassubi to fetch his belongings.

In describing this event, Kaggwa uses a typical expression of the time, which, however, is very misleading. He refers to Mutesa's return to his princely estate at Kassubi in Kyaggwe, as a war expedition. (Bweyava eyo, natabala e Kassubi).

During his residence at Kassubi, he appointed Nyika, the Kangawo; to make war upon Bululi. When he returned from Kassubi, the king noticed Banda hill which delighted him so much, that he decided to build his [next] capital there. Banda hill is in the present day Kisalosalale.

He spent a few days in the capital of Nabbingo and went to the lake of Busabala. On his return, he found that Kanyange, the Queen Mother of King Suna II; had died.

At the same time, Rumanyika the king of Karagwe, sent an appeal that Rwegira and Kabango had rebelled and that they wanted to kill him. After getting this news, Mutesa appointed Kayima Gulanyago to command an expedition to Katando. When the army reached Katando, the general despatched a regiment under the command of Nkongge, the Omukanga; and they were to raid for cattle. When the soldiers came to where the cattle were, they attempted to seize them but the owners fought bravely, defeated the Baganda and pursued them to where Kayima the general was. Thereupon, Kayima went to reinforce Nkongge's regiment, but he was killed and so was Kirabira Buggala. The whole army in fact was thoroughly beaten and very very many people lost their lives!

Some time after the return of the expedition, the king executed all those soldiers who had not fought bravely for the General. Others, however, such as

Wamala, the Pookino; were plundered instead. Then the king appointed Bawalensanvu, the Kaggo; to raid Kaweru. By the time the expedition returned, the king had already built himself another capital on Banda hill. He then told Kisomose, the Prime minister; to build a very large palace. As soon as the palace was ready, the king appointed Sebowa the Luwekula, who was the younger brother of Kizza, the son of Bunya to lead an army of the chiefs to the "Stones". The purpose of the expedition was to carry out the ceremonies which mark the birth of twins (Okumenya Olukanda). Shortly after the army of the chiefs had returned, the king gave an order to take Sebukule, his umbilical cord to Kasengejje in Busiro where the ceremony of Okuluma was performed. [This was how the ceremony of Okuluma (To bite) was performed]. People used to catch a live viper. This would be given to the person who claimed to be possessed by the spirit of the twin. (Of the umbilical cord). Then the medium would bite the snake. At the moment he did that, the the audience would cheer him enthusiastically. Such mediums, used even to eat lizards. But the men who

who became the medium of the Twin, would be strangled soon after the ceremonies. His head would then be cut off and buried in a very good village (ekyalo ekirungi). A piece of the sugarcane from the one upon which he had eaten while he was possessed, would be planted in the mouth of his grave. As soon as the sugarcane grew, an enclosure would be built around it because no one was allowed to eat any of the sugarcane. But the man who undertook to be possessed by the Twin, never really knew that he would be killed. People agreed to be possessed because of their greed to acquire riches. (Ebyokufuna byehyabaletanga). After the first medium had been killed, the ceremonies would then go on without a hitch. Other people from whom I got information, however, told me that the first medium of the Twin was never killed, but that he died a natural death. When I saw that there was a disagreement I wrote both versions of the story.

At the end of the ceremonies, King Mutesa ordered Kiwanuka, the Kaggo and Nyika the Kangawo to carry out a mass arrest of people, (Ekiwendo). The campaign resulted in

the capture of very many people: about seven hundred common people, two hundred and sixteen slaves, five hundred royal wives and about thirty five chiefs. All these people were taken to the various execution places, the most important of which were:-

1. Tuyayi, in Kyaddondo.
2. Nalulangadde, on the river Wakaliga in Kyaddondo.
3. Wabitembe, was at Kinawa in Busiro.
4. Nakinziro was at Seguku in Busiro.
5. Namugongo, was at Kisalosallo in Kyaddondo.
6. Benga was in Bunyoro.
7. Busanji was at Bunja which is in Singo County.
8. Kintinda was on Ddamba island which was in Sesse. Victims taken to this island used to be tied up on the shore where the crocodiles would find them and devour them.
9. Mpiimerebera was at Busega on the River Mayanja in Kyaddondo. It was at this execution place that the first three young Christian martyrs in Buganda, were executed in January 1885.
10. Kubamitwe, was at Buwube in Bulemezi. In this place were executed people of accursed offences; (Abekivve). Mutukula (ku Nyanja) was in Kijabi of Mulere in Singo. This was where Kayira, the ex-Prime minister was taken after his dismissal. But he was

pardoned because it was against traditional custom to execute a prime minister. Of all the people who had been condemned to death, only fifteen chiefs, six slaves and fifty wives were pardoned. This particular massacre was called Nalongo. It was a terrible and most dreadful thing to execute so many people!!!

After these executions, the king appointed Kaya the Sekiboobo, to raid Kyanku of Buyaga. Before the expedition returned, the king dismissed Kisomose the Prime minister. It was Muganzirwazza the Queen Mother who caused Kisomose's dismissal, because she told her son that he had cast a spell upon her, (andoga). Her real grievance against the prime minister, however, was that she wanted him to become her lover. When he refused on the ground that he could not have an affair with the mother or his lord, the king, she made the allegation that he had cast a spell against her. After the dismissal of Kisomose, the king appointed Mayanja of the Monkey clan to be the next prime minister. A few months after the appointment of Mayanja, a European called Speke and his friend Grant arrived at the capital of Banda. Speke arrived from the

direction of Karagwe. It was an extraordinary and wonderful thing to see a white man. Even those people who had gone to the war, came to the capital at once from their estates. They all came to see the white man. Speke spent about five months in Buganda and then left, but before his departure, he gave the king seventeen rifles. Then the king distributed the rifles to the following people: Katumba of the Omutuba gwe Kimanya; Nkuse the Sabaddu of the Ekigalagala, Musisi, the Sabawali of the Ekigalagala. He also gave rifles to Mayanja, the Prime minister and to other favourite chiefs. Those rifles were named Speke, that is, after the European who brought them, I was told by Mr. Walker, another European; that Speke came to Buganda during the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1861.

The first European to reach Buganda was the explorer J.H. Speke. He arrived some time before his fellow explorer J. Grant. They crossed the river Kagera on January 16th 1862, and on 19th February Speke arrived at the royal capital, which was then at Banda.¹

1. Kaggwa's dates are wrong. See J.H. Speke, Journal of the Discovery of the Nile, (London) 1863.

Speke and his friend were the guests of Mutesa, until 7th July. On 18th July, he discovered what has since then been called the Source of the Nile. But apart from the discovery of the Source of the Nile, Speke's visit seems to have made little immediate impact to the outside world; because it was not until 1874 that another European, Chaille Long, came to Buganda.

After the departure of Speke, the king caught gonorrhoea and suffered for about two years before he got cured. When he recovered, he appointed Matoke, the head of the Omutuba gwe ffumbiro to lead an expedition to Busoga. The army, however, was defeated, the general and very many people were killed. When the army returned, the king was so furious that he sent another expedition under the command of Wali omuzibu, the Omutesa; to make war upon Buyende in Busoga. But again the Baganda were routed and suffered terrible casualties. Then Mutesa appointed Kikayo to go to Bulondoganyi and build canoes.

But when Kikayo reached Busoga, he made war on Kibalya in Busoga. But again the Baganda were badly defeated and the general slain. When the army returned, the king appointed Bawalenkedi to make war upon Wajoki in Busoga. Bawalenkedi's campaign was a tremendous success because a very large number of cattle slaves and women were captured. Shortly afterwards, Nyika the Kangawo was appointed to make war upon Kibiro. This campaign was followed by another one to Bugerere which was commanded by Segantebuka Nsege. The next expedition was led by Sengiri the Omulegeya. He plundered a Munyoro called Banda.¹ Then Kaya the Mulondo was appointed to lead another expedition to Bugerere. During this war, Katumba Njabala the chief of the Omutuba gwe Kimanya, lost his life. He was great favourite of Mutesa and his death grieved him very deeply. Katumba's death also led to the following words being incorporated in the formal boasts which men used to make when they went to the wars:

I shall fight more bravely than even Katumba. The next

1. Banda was the title of one of the vassal chiefs of Bunyoro in Bululi.

campaign was conducted to Kitanda by Tibakyagenda the Kitunzi, but chief Kayima was killed. However, a very large number of cattle was captured. They were so many in fact that the men could not count them. After the return of the army, another expedition was conducted to Bulyambwa by Mujabi the Omutabuza. He was also the son of Kizza, of the Grasshopper clan. and he was such a great favourite of the king that he was accompanied by the royal drums called Entenga. After the return of this expedition, the king executed Kiriwumba the Omutongole of the Ekirema because he had a piece of cloth. Once upon time, Mutesa sent Kiriwumba to Karagwe where he obtained the piece of cloth. But when he returned to the capital, he did not hand over the cloth to the king. Then the people who saw Kiriwumba with the cloth reported him to the king. Wherefore the king sent men to seize his property, and when they did so, they found him in possession of the cloth. That was why he was executed because cloth was still rare.

Shortly afterwards, the king went to Nakawa and made offerings to the god Semuyima. After doing that, he returned to the capital of Banda and had his drum called the Mujaguzo repaired. As soon as it were ready, he appointed Ddumba the Mukwenda to make war upon Bunyoro. By the time this expedition returned, the king had already been converted to Islam. The following pages also began to receive instruction in Islam: Musisi the Sabakaki, Basudde the Sabawali of the Ekigalagala and Kyankonyi the Omumyuka. All these began to receive instructions at Banda.¹ The Arabs who instructed the king were Abdul and Muyoya. During the time he was at Banda, the king had the following children born to him: Princes Mawanda, son of Lunkireribaze; Ndawula, son of Kasana; Kayondo, son of Kikome; Kimera, son of Kalinganyana; Junju, son of Namakula; Mutebi, son of Muleba of the Grasshopper clan. who was the daughter of Kizza the Pookino. The Princesses were, Nassolo, daughter of Kawawu; Nandawula, daughter of Kaddulubale; Nabweteme, daughter of Kikome; Nakalema,

1. See subsequent pages below.

daughter of Kivebukasa; Muggale, daughter of Wakindowoleza; Nalumansi, daughter of Nagaddya; Nakamanya daughter of Kubweyuna; Mpologoma, daughter of Munaku atibwa and others. Also at Banda, the king executed for the second time about one hundred pages and royal wives. The reason was that the pages used to visit the houses of the royal wives. Then he plundered all his mother's chiefs and executed about ten of them, including Kasanya, the Prime minister of the Queen Mother.

After those events, the king moved from the capital of Banda and built another one on Nakabotongo or Nakawa hill. Soon after he had settled at Nakawa, he made a very successful campaign to Buyongo in Busoga: On his way back, he despatched a detachment under the command of Mujabi, the Omutabuza. He invaded Kigulu, but the Basoga surrounded the whole army and a very furious fray ensued. Very many Baganda including a large number of chiefs were killed. Among the chiefs killed, were Kaya and Bawalensavu of the Grasshopper clan. But Mujabi the general escaped and ran back to where the king was. I, Apolo Kagwa, the author of this book, was born during this war which took place in 1865. By the time the soldiers returned and reached Kasozi

where my parents were, it was three days since I had been born. I was told this by my mother Nambi Nalongo. During his residence at Nakawa, the king became an active practising Muslim. He also kept his first Ramadan while he was at Nakawa in 1867. At the end of the Ramadan, he went to Kisinsi and built another capital. But he abandoned it soon after and built another one at Munyonyo. It was at Munyonyo that he filled the vacancies of the chiefs who had been killed in previous^{the} war. Mandwambi Bakkabulindi of the Manis clan for example, was appointed Sekiboobo. Many others were also appointed. After making the appointments, the king went to Koome and made war upon Nazalako. Shortly after his return, he abandoned the capital of Munyonyo and went back to his former capital of Nakawa. Meanwhile, an Arab called Hamish had arrived with large quantities of cloth and things of all types. Then the king distributed the cloth to his wives and to the princesses. The pages who also received theirs at Nakawa were, Kyakonyi, the butler; Musisi, the head of the gatekeepers; and Basudde, the Sabawali of the Kitongole Ekigalagala. Some time afterwards, he distributed cloth to all the chiefs.

He also allowed the Arabs to carry on slaving so that they might give him large quantities of cloth in exchange. Hence, very very many people, boys and girls were sold to the Arabs so that the king might get cloth! This happened when the new moon appeared for the Ramadan.

[But he did not observe it then].

Then the king led an expedition to Busagala where a very large number of cattle was captured. But chief Senkoloto Magunda was slain. On his return from the war, the king observed the Ramadan for the second time. The reason why he kept the Ramadan at this time, was to make up for the month he was at war. This was in 1868. Some months afterwards, the king went to Kisinsi and then to Nammere to make canoes. But he spent there nine days only and returned to his capital of Nakawa. He found that lady Bagalayaze, had given birth to Prince Mwanga who later became king. He was born one day before the king returned. Three days later Mutesa went to see Bagalayaze and his other wives. He then went to explore Lubaga hill and when he found that it had a good view, he gave orders to clear the jungle. While the king was returning to

Nakawa, he met a man called Sekizivu, a twin brother of Mwasankolo. The latter, however, was already dead. When Sekizivu saw the king, he said: I remained here, but in the past, I used to be with Kisolo Semunywa.¹ When Mutesa heard this, he ordered Mujabi the Omutabuza to abandon Lubaga and clear the jungle at Nabulagala: I wish to have my capital on the site where my father died, Mutesa declared. Hence, Mujabi built the capital at Nabulagala and as soon as it was ready, Mutesa left Nakawa and went to Nabulagala. He also kept his third Ramadan in 1869. At the end of the Ramadan, he appointed Ddumba the Mukwenda to fight Kabagumire who was struggling with his brother Kabarega for the throne of Bunyoro.² While the general was on his way to Bunyoro, he came across a fort of Nubians [Sudanese] and he went to fight them. During the battle, Mujabi the Omutabuza was wounded by a gun shot and he died nine days afterwards. The fort, however, was not captured. The king was sorely grieved by Mujabi's death because he was his

1. The man was a friend of King Suna II.

2. It was not unusual for a powerful state to interfere in the succession disputes of another state. The Kiganda sources, assert that Mutesa gave military aid to Kabarega. The two contenders got military aid also from the Sudanese, slave and ivory traders. Eventually Kabarega triumphed, and became the king of Bunyoro.

great friend. When the army returned, the king appointed Mandwambi the Sekiboobo to raid Kibalya in Busoga. He then arrested Mayanja the Prime minister and plundered him of all his possessions.

Before he became the Prime minister, Mayanja was the chief of one of the most important Bitongole, the Ekiwambya. After his dismissal, he held a number of minor chieftainships: He became the Kiyenje in Busiro, he then became chief of the Ekikasa Kitongole in Bulemezi and finally he became the Mumanya in Kyaggwe. That was where he was executed.

This was the reason why Mayanja was arrested: Before he died, Mujabi alleged that his death had been caused by the spell which Mayanja cast against him. (He also requested that the king must be told of this)¹ Now when

1. The sentence inside the brackets does not appear in the original edition.

the king heard this, he arrested Mayanja for casting a spell upon his friend. But there were many other reasons beside, which made the king loath his prime minister. After Mayanja's dismissal, the king appointed Mulere his maternal uncle to be the next prime minister.

Mulere: Kaggwa uses the previous title of this man as if it was his real name. His name was Wamala, but when his sister became the Queen Mother, he himself secured one of the official offices of the maternal uncle and became the Mulere at Buyinjo in Singo. That was where he was until his sister intrigued for his promotion to the prime ministership.¹

Meanwhile, the king went for a shooting expedition to Busabala. When he returned, he went to Wamunyenyé to re-visit his father, Suna II. He then conferred with

1. Gomotoka, Makula, ~~op. cit.~~; Personal communication from Kalikuzzinga.

the chiefs and also with Hamish the Arab, After that he appointed Kisomose and Mukasa the Kawuta; to go to Merela to bring the body of King Suna. It was wrapped in many barkcloths, put in a coffin and re-buried. After burying his father's body, Mutesa buried the bodies of the other kings as well.

The king then returned to Busiro and observed his fourth Ramadan in 1870. After the Ramadan, he went to Kyaggwe to shoot elephants, and immediately after his return from the hunting expedition, his capital caught fire, and a lot of property was lost. The capital was rebuilt and after that, the king went to Butera to shoot guinea fowls. On his return, he appointed Tebukoz¹, the Mulamba; to make war upon Sesse. When the expedition returned, the king observed his fifth Ramadan in 1871. At the end of the Ramadan, the king appointed Mukasa the Pookino to make war upon Busongola. But before

1. Tebukoz¹ was a son of Kibazo of the Manis clan. He held many important chieftainships including that of Kimbugwe² Kyambalango. As a favourite and trusted servant of Mutesa, he was often sent on ambassadorial errands especially to Gordon. R.P.Ashe states that Tebukoz¹ could read the Koran and the Bible. He seems, however, to have been opposed to the new religions and he remained unconverted. He was killed in the religious wars at the battle of Mawuki (1889). See A.Aliwali in Munno of 1914.

Mukasa's expedition returned, the king himself led another one to Kyanamugera. But its real purpose was to reinforce that of Mukasa the Pookino. As soon as he reached Kyanamugera, he appointed Majwala the Omujambula to follow Mukasa. But he failed to find the Pookino, and raided in the "Stones" instead. During the war which Mukasa made upon Busangola, very many chiefs lost their lives. They were Sebbowa, the Katabalwa; Nalwasa, the Mulondo; Namalego, the Omubaka; and Mukasa of the Omutuba gwe Kitabuza. But the number of ordinary people who died of diseases was most staggering: villages from which one hundred people had gone to the war only twenty returned. Shortly after his return, the king appointed Kaya the Gabunga to make war upon Semindi of Sesse. Before the expedition returned, the king went to Buwaya to look for a hill with a pleasant view on which to build a capital. But as there was none, he returned and spent the night in Kinawa. He left in the morning, but soon after his departure, there came four young men who were lovers of the princesses. The names of the boys were, Sekalongo,

Nalubandwa, Kibuuka and Kabarekwa. Their mission which had been instigated by the princesses, was to assassinate the king. But by the time they arrived, the king had already left. They stole his rifle called Mugalabi nevertheless and went away, but they were seen with the rifle on the way, and the one who was actually carrying it, was taken to the king. He was executed forthwith, and the other young men were also arrested and executed some time afterwards. On reaching Munyonyo, the king observed his sixth Ramadan in 1872. His seventh Ramadan was also observed at Munyonyo, and at the end of it, the king returned to Nabulagala.

Part Two

KING MUKABYA MUTESA 1873-1884

At the end of his seventh Ramadan, he went to Kabojja to build a capital.¹

1. Mutesa remained a "murderous despot" throughout the 1870s. But his executions at the capital of Kabojja exceeded all the previous records. Hence the capital was nicknamed Ndabirako ddala (see me for the last time) because when two men met, they did not know whether they would ever see each other again.

While he was there, he arrested Tibakyagenda the Kitunzi because of his amorous dealings with the princesses.

Once upon a time, Princesse Malungu fell deeply in love with Tibakyagenda, and she used to send him messages saying that she loved him deeply. Tibakyagenda Misanvu, however, refused to countenance her advances. On realising that Misanvu had refused to make love to her, she thought of another plan, to visit him at his house. On the day she visited him, she dressed loosely in a bark cloth which she did not even tie. Her arrival at his house was announced by the doorkeeper. Then Tibakyagenda told the doorkeeper to let her go to the back of the house where he was sitting. But as soon as she reached the sitting room, before she even sat down, she let the bark cloth fall off her body because it was loose and untied. When the garment fell, she took some minutes before she picked it up and dressed again. After getting dressed, she went on her knees at once and apologised to Tibakyagenda in this manner: Sire, forgive me for what has happened. I did not do it purposely. It took me also completely by surprise. When Tibakyagenda saw the extremely beautiful

curves of her body, he abandoned all the scruples such as that she was related to him. So henceforth, Tibakyagenda became a lover of Princess Ndagire Malungu. After he had made love to her, he at the same time seduced another lady called Ndimugambako who was one of the wives of King Suna. When the king heard that chief Kitunzi had made love to Princess Ndagire as well as to Suna's widow, he became very very angry and complained to Kitunzi thus:

My maternal uncle, your behaviour, has amounted to declaring that I am not your relative (ombodde). How can you sleep with my sisters as well as my father's wives? (as well as my mothers?). Mutesa therefore, hurriedly despatched the offender to Kasujju, to state his defence. Tibakyagenda pleaded guilty on both counts whereupon the Kasujju sent him back to the king with a message that he was guilty. The king pardoned him, but no sooner had he done that, than Muganzirwazza the Queen Mother intervened and charged: This man must not be pardoned, because he is too incestuous. His case involves the seduction of daughters and their mothers. He must be executed for this obscene offence. Tibakyagenda

was therefore taken to Balita execution place which was in Bulemezi. This was where people of grossly indecent crimes used to be executed. But before he reached Balita, he partially cut his throat whereupon the executioners returned and reported to the king. Then the king asked: Of what use is he now? He should be burnt.

But Tibakyagenda was a very cruel and tyrannous chief. He himself used to execute many innocent people. Meanwhile the king appointed Mandwambi, the Sekiboobo; to make war upon Menya in Busoga. Before the army returned, Mutesa went back to his capital of Nabulagala, and soon after that he appointed Mukasa the Pookino to raid Mankolongo in Buzinja. The army, however, stopped on the way because it was too large and therefore it could not get enough food to eat on the way. Nevertheless, Mukasa raided Busenya forest in Buddu, whose inhabitants had rebelled. Before Mukasa's expedition returned, a European called Baker, sent word to the king asking for permission because he wanted to come to Buganda, but that Kabarega had refused him.

In 1869, Ismail Pasha, the Khedive of Eghpt; appointed

Sir Samuel Baker as Governor General of the Sudan with instructions to extend the Egyptian frontier southwards. Baker arrived in Bunyoro in 1872; and as he believed, formally annexed the country in the name of the Khedive.¹ But Kaggwa's story that Baker wanted to come to Buganda is rather doubtful. So does the claim that Mutesa wanted Baker to come to Buganda, because it would appear that Mutesa mistrusted Baker, particularly after his clash with Kabarega. If Kaggwa is correct in his second statement, it was presumably because Mutesa could not resist the temptation of having a white man at his court. This would give him the opportunity to demonstrate that he was a better host than Kabarega and it would ^{also} increase his prestige at home and abroad. The view expressed by Sir John Gray that Mutesa wanted to trap Baker as a valuable hostage to provide security against future Egyptian aggression is hard to except. and there is no evidence to support it.²

1. Sir Samuel Baker; Ismailia, vol.2.pp.240-245. ; Sir John Gray, Mutesa of Buganda, Ug.J.vol.1/1 (1934).

2. ibid.

After those events, the king made war upon Kiwanyi, and he also appointed Nyika, the Kangawo; to command an expedition supposedly against Kabarega. But the real purpose of the campaign was to try to find Baker and bring him to Buganda. Unfortunately, Nyika could not find him. Before Nyika's expedition returned, the king appointed Ntwatwa the Kawuta to go to Bulemezi and collect taxes from those people who had not gone to war. By the time the Kawuta came back, Mutesa had already gone to build another capital on Lubaga hill. While he was at Lubaga, a European called Lungube came with a horse. It was a most marvellous sight to all the people because they had never seen a horse before.

The Baganda did not marvel at the spectacle of a horse only, for Chaille Long (whom they called Lungube) came in July 1874, and he was the second white man to visit Buganda since the departure of Speke and Grant in 1862. A fuller discussion of Mutesa's relations with Egypt, is continued below.

Then a war expedition was made to the caves of Butokot~~a~~ by Kinene, the Kajjongolo. On their return, the king observed his eighth Ramadan in 1874. Kibaate the Kitunzi was also appointed to command another expedition against Mankolongo of Buzinza. But before they returned, there was an outbreak of smallpox at the capital which killed very many people. The writer of this book who was at Kasozi village and who was still young, suffered also from the smallpox at this time. When the epidemic died down, the king dismissed Nyika the Kangawo. He was succeeded by Namalere of the Manis clan. At the same time, Mulere the Prime minister was also dismissed because of inefficiency. Mukasa of the Edible Rat clan who was the Pookino, became the new prime minister. The following appointments were also made. Kaya of the Blue Duiker clan became the Kaggo while Tebukozza of the Manis clan became the Kyambalango.

Strictly speaking, Kaggwa is not correct, because Mulere resigned before he was dismissed. His resignation

and the dismissal of Nyika were connected. When Mulere learnt that there was a plot to remove him from his office, he boldly told the king that it was unnecessary to bring trumped up charges against him, because he was an old man and he had wanted to resign a long time ago. Mutesa was so embarrassed that his maternal uncle should suspect him of double dealing that he blamed Nyika for the leakage of the information. When Mulere vacated the Prime ministership, he returned to one of the official estates of the maternal uncles at Buyinja in Singo.

So far as Nyika Omuyonga was concerned, he was the son of Kiggwe of the Lung-fish clan. Kiggwe was once the Kitunzi during the reign of Kamanya, and during the reign of Suna II he became the Pookino. Nyika himself held many chieftainships during the reign of Mutesa. He was a fearless warrior and an outstanding hunter. And because of the large quantities of ivory, he used to give to the king, he was nicknamed "The

King¹ Ivory." As a great personal favourite of the Queen Mother, Nyika was confidant of the two courts. After his demotion from the Kangawoship, he became the Sabaddu of Kajjangolo in Singo, but probably due to his favoured position at the court of the Queen Mother, he soon became the Namutwe in Kyaggwe. When Mutęsa died, Mwanga appointed him Kimbugwe. That Nyika was a pleasant man, is evidenced by the many endearing nicknames he had. Although he was himself probably never converted to Christianity, he was always kind to the missionaries. He allowed his sons and other members of his household to adopt any religion they liked. His son, Paul Nalubandwa, was one of the first converts of the White Fathers, having been baptized at the beginning of 1880

Meanwhile, Mayanja the Omumanya who was once the

1. The Rubaga diary 20th Jan. 1880; Les Missions Catholiques, vol of 1881. pp.231-232. The writer got much of this information on Nyika from Mr. S. Kalikuzzinga who was brought up in Nyika's home. See also Sir Apolę Kaggwa, (Ebifa, 1916).

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prime minister, was arrested and handed over to Kabizzi the Kasujju. He was then put in the stocks where he was murdered. (Thereupon a story was fabricated that he had committed suicide.)¹ Before he was killed, Mayanja had had the following sons: Kikanya and Lutaya and many others. (Zedi Mugenyi who succeeded him, Lutaya who was the Kawuta of King Mwanga, Joseph Lwanga, Wamuli Kiriggwajjo, Abedi Kiroka, Abudulukamedi Wannimba, Wamala who was the Mukwenda during the reign of Kalema; and very many others).¹ The following were the charges which were brought against him: Once the other chiefs realised that Mayanja was no longer in the king's favour, they began to make false accusations against him. They alleged that he had shown excessive ambition for the prime ministership, that he called himself a prince, that he did not eat the inside parts of the animals, that he one day nearly assassinated the king, When the latter went to make love to his wife at night; and

1. The sentences inside the the round brackets do not appear in the Original Text of Baasekabaka.

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finally that he massed potatoes. That was the case which led to Mayanja's death.

After the murder of Mayanja, the king went to Lweza to consult the god Wannema. Despite his dealings with the gods, a thing which was hard to give up, he returned to the capital and remained a practising Muslim. Some time after his return to Lubaga, he appointed Nsabe the Omuteregga to make war upon the capital of Bunyoro (Mu mbuga).

It is not clear whether this was really a war upon Bunyoro. One suspects that it was the friendly expedition recorded by Zimbe, which Mutesa despatched to Kabarega's court between 1875-1879.¹ Zimbe himself claims to have been a member of this friendly mission which took many presents to Kabarega. After a very warm reception and long stay, the Baganda mission

1. Zimbe, op.cit.pp.34-35; J.Roscoe, The Bakitara (London,1924) p. observes also that sometimes, rulers in the two kingdoms, exchanged friendly missions and gifts.

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returned with gifts of salt, hoes and ivory for Mutesa. It is clear from this account that Mutesa was not the arch-enemy of Kabarega, always seeking alliances, first with Baker and then with Gordon, so as to overthrow him or to conquer his kingdom.¹

Before the return of the expedition, the king began to observe his ninth Ramadan in 1875. On the following day, there was a mass arrest of all the people who did not practise Mohamedanism.² The king ordered all the chiefs to hand over to him all the "unbelievers." The chiefs arrested very many people on the pretext that they were unbelievers, but as a matter of fact, they were men against whom they had grudges. All the captives were taken to Nakinziro execution place and done to death. The leader of the victims was Nsamu the Mulumba. But the real cause of his

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1. This is the view expressed by Professor D.A.Low, in his D.Phil (Oxford) Thesis (1957). See also Oliver and Mathew op.cit.p.340. A further discussion of the subject is continued in this chap.
 2. According to H.Mukasa, op.cit.p.16, Mutesa's zeal as a Muslim was such that he promulgated a law which forbade non-Muslims to succeed their fathers or relatives.

execution, was the love affair he had had with a certain woman. Kasato, the Pookino, was also condemned to death, but he wept so pitifully that the king pardoned him. From that time forward, the whole country became very devoutly Mohamedan and many more mosques were built in every village.

After those events, the king appointed Segantebuka to take Namuyonjo to Toro.¹ When the expedition returned, the king himself led another one to Singo. On his arrival at Kitabuza, he appointed Tebukozza the Kyambalango to make war upon Kitayimbwa, the king of Kooki. At the same time, Dumba the Mukwenda led another campaign against Mpanju of Mawogola. Shortly after his return from the war, the king called a military review of the whole country. After the review, he went to Busabala and a few days hence, a European called Stanley arrived at Kivubu port which was also at Busabala. Meanwhile another European called Abudul Aziz arrived also with a battalion

1. See comment on Namuyonjo and Toro, below.

of seventy Nubians (Sudanese). When I asked Mr. Walker, about Stanley's arrival, I was told that he arrived during the month of April of the Year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1875.

Ernest Linant Bellefords, came to Buganda as an envoy of Gordon. Because he had adopted Islam he was then known as Abdul Aziz and the Baganda thought he was a Turk. He and Stanley arrived within a few days of each other in April 1875. Stanley himself has left an account of their meeting at the Buganda Court,¹ and although he seems to have exaggerated Linant's unpopularity as a contrast to himself, there were factors nevertheless, which may have made Mutesa less enthusiastic in his reception of Linant. The Zanzibaris who were certainly opposed to Egyptian influence in Buganda, must have exploited Linant's being an envoy of Gordon, who was already a thorn in Mutesa's side. And Linant's military escort seemed to confirm the

1. Stanley, Through the Dark Continent vol.1.op.cit. pp.159-162; & pp.333-340.

propaganda of the Zanzibaris. Moreover, according to Sir John Gray,¹ Linant was to build a brick house for Mutesa, but it was never completed, as Kaggwa's reference to the failure of burning the shells of snails suggests. But perhaps the significant difference between Linant and Stanley which influenced Mutesa's attitude, was that they found him preparing for a war against Buyuma. Unlike Stanley, Linant refused to aid Mutesa in his campaign. Stanley, however, agreed to do so, and his participation in this campaign, had important consequences as we shall see below.

One day, king Mutesa asked Stanley: Why do the Arabs refer to you Europeans as unbelievers? (Mwe ekyabalobera okusoma kiki?) Whereupon Stanley replied that the Europeans were Christians who believed in the religion of Jesus Christ, the son of the Living God. When he heard this, Mutesa said to Stanley: I want you to teach me your religion. Stanley suggested that he would have to return to Sukuma

1. Mutesa of Uganda, _____

first and fetch his belongings. After that he would return to Buganda and instruct the king in Christianity.

Meanwhile Abdul Aziz asked the king to collect a very large number of snail shells from which he would build a house for him. But Abdul never built the house because the shells could not turn into lime on being burnt. After Abdul Aziz had left, Muganzirwazza the Queen Mother starved all the princes to death. All King Suna's sons except two Mayinja and Mbogo.¹ Then the king conducted an expedition against Nakalanga, Buyuma. When he reached Busoga, Stanley also returned from Sukuma where he had gone to fetch his belongings. He followed the king at once and on his arrival at Jinja he reminded Mutesa that he had asked to be instructed in Christianity: I have therefore brought with me, Stanley said, Dallington Bafutuwa who knows Swahili. I shall read the Bible to him in English, and he will translate for you in Swahili. The king agreed. Wherefore Stanley began to instruct him while Dallington translated. Instructions continued



1. The possibility of death by poisoning cannot be excluded.

until they reached Bukaleba, whence they went to Nakalanga.

Dallington Bafta Scopion, originally belonged to Bishop Steere's mission school (of the University Mission to Central Africa) at Zanzibar. He was named Dallington, after the missionary under whose care he was.¹ Thence he was enlisted by Stanley in his expedition of 1874. In one statement, Kaggwa asserts that, Mutesa wanted Dallington to stay because of his desire to be instructed in the Christian Faith. Stanley makes the same claim, and adds that he purposely left Dallington in Buganda to confirm Mutesa in the Christianity.² But all the Kiganda sources, including Kaggwa in the text, would appear to contradict Stanley's claim that he deliberately left Dallington in Buganda. Kaggwa in fact states that because Stanley could not part with Dallington, Mutesa had to bribe the boy in order to make him stay behind.³

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1. CA6/O)25. Smith to Wright.
 2. H.M. Stanley, the Dark Continent, op.cit. pp.140-360. See also R. Stanley & A. Neam, (Edits), The Exploratory Diaries of H.M. Stanley, (London, 1962) p.108. an entry made on 24th Dec.75.

behind.¹ Surprisingly enough, a statement in Stanley's Diaries, gives the impression that Dallington himself desired to remain in Buganda and therefore Stanley had no alternative, but to let him stay. There is little doubt that Mutesa wanted Dallington to stay, and he even bribed him so that he might desert his master; what is questionable, however, is the motive behind Mutesa's plans. Despite what Kaggwa and Stanley claim, one suspects that Mutesa's real reasons were more political than religious. If he used the argument of religion before Stanley, it was most probably a ruse, intended to persuade Stanley to leave Dallington behind. Once Mutesa secured the services of Dallington, he did not only read the scriptures. He acted as his interpreter and secretary, and also conducted his diplomatic correspondence. His knowledge of Luganda, was utilised later by the missionaries.²

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1. In his Short History of Buganda, J. Miti states that after many honours, privileges, and riches had been showered upon him, he became very lax in his Christian principles. And Mackay stated (Journal of Oct. 23. 1881) that Dallington became chief of Ekitongole Ekiteezi.
 2. The Rubaga Diary, 12th Dec. 1879; Feb. 9th, 1880.

for whom he translated parts of the Gospels into Luganda. He at the same time taught them Luganda and even wrote for them Kiganda traditions.¹

At Nakalanga, Stanley suggested to the king that he would make a fortress of three canoes and man them with one hundred rifles. But when the fort was made, it proved to be unmanouvreable. Meanwhile the king had asked Stanley whether he also would accompany the expedition? Whereupon the European replied that he would shoot if the enemy tried to capture the Baganda army. On realising that Stanley's fortress was unmanouvreable, the king decided to abandon it. When the Bavuma ran short of food, they sent girls to the king, pretending that they had surrendered. But they were in fact telling lies.

Kaggwa gives few details of the war, but his verdict on the results is that the Bavuma defeated the Baganda and that the latter's casualties which included many

1. The Diary of Rubaga.

chiefs were extremely heavy. Kaggwa's account is corroborated in greater detail by all the Kiganda sources including that of Alex Sebbowa who was a participant.¹ But here again, Stanley's account is at variance with the Kiganda sources. Not only does he create the false impression that the Baganda won the war, but he goes farther and asserts that his fortress was a marvel and it forced the Bavuma to surrender.² But the Kiganda sources unanimously assert that the fortress was clumsy, unmanoeuvrable and could not float. Moreover, despite his claim to the contrary, Stanley's presence definitely contributed to the prolongation of the conflicts with heavier losses of lives on either side. It is clear from Stanley's own accounts that after the first few encounters, Mutesa realized that he could not vanquish the Bavuma and by the second week of September, he wanted to stop all conflicts.³ The following entry in his Diary, however, demonstrates that instead of providing a peaceful

1. A. Sebbowa's Memoirs in Munno of 1931 and 1932. See also B. Zimbe, op.cit. pp. 21-24; J. Miti op.cit.

2. Stanley Dark Continent, op.cit. pp. 338-341.

3. Ibid, pp. 310-320.

counsel, Stanley egged on Mutesa to continue, regardless of his heavy losses;"Mutesa proposes to return.

I object to it and advise him to fight for his honour which would be laughed at.¹ Hence due to Stanley's incitement of Mutesa, "who was tending to be oblivious of all counsel tending to his honour",² the war dragged on for another month.

The period of Ramadan found the king at Nakalanga and he observed his tenth Ramadan and also continued to practise Mohamedanism. Before the Ramadan ended, the king returned to the capital and found many Swahilis with large quantities of merchandise. The Swahilis included Ibrahim Ahamed, who had taught Islam to King Suna. Very Many chiefs lost their lives in the Bavuma war. They included Nsale the Omuteregga; Manjugule the Omukokiro; Sesse Byuma and about one hundred others.

Since 1875, it has been believed especially in Christian

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1. R. Stanley and Alan Neame (Edit), The Exploration Diaries. op.cit.p.102 (Entry made on 17th September 1875).
 2. op.cit.p.103.

missionary circles, that Mutesa asked Stanley in April 1875; to send for Christian missionaries to come to Buganda.¹ In one sense, Stanley's claim could well be true, because as Linant who was representing Egypt (and in the eyes of Mutesa, Islam as well) was in the capital, Mutesa may have made the request as a protest against Egyptian imperialism in the Lake Region. Nevertheless, there are doubts whether Mutesa made the request in April as Stanley's letter to The Daily Telegraph asserts.² One's suspicions are based on the following facts. Stanley first arrived in Buganda on 4th April 1875, and found Mutesa away from the capital. The following day, he saw the king, and on 14th April he wrote his letter, purportedly conveying Mutesa's request for the missionaries. But it would appear that these nine days were not enough to enable him to gain Mutesa's confidence. And what is more, Stanley's own accounts, make it clear

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1. Instructions delivered by the Committee of the C.M.S. to the Members of the Mission party proceeding to the Victoria Nyanza (1876); see also Les Mission Catholiques, (vol.1881); A Report by Cardinal Lavigerie to the International Afr. Conf. at Brussells.
 2. Nov. 15th, 1875.

that it was after the first battles had ended disastrously for the Bagandā, and after Mutesa had lost interest in the war as a result, that Stanley seriously introduced the subject of Christianity. This happened during the second or third week of September, 1875; five months after the despatch of the letter.¹ True enough this by itself does not prove that Mutesa could not have made the request in April. But unfortunately, some of Stanley's assertions which, if carefully examined, bear little relation to the real situation in Buganda at the time. For example, he claimed that he had undermined Islam and wrote,

....In this manner, Mutesa renounced Islamism, and professed himself a convert to the Christian Faith, and he has announced his determination to adhere to his new religion, to build a church and to do all in his power to promote the propagation of the Christian sentiments among his people.....and to conform to the best of his ability to the holy precepts contained in the Bible.²

Despite this claim, the text makes it abundantly clear that Mutesa showed no lack of interest in Islam. One is thus forced to make two conclusions. If Mutesa

1. Stanley. op.cit. pp.310-329.

2. Ibid. p.325.

asked for the coming of the missionaries, the request was most probably made during Stanley's second visit and not in April, and his reasons were more political than religious. It would appear also that either Stanley deliberately misled his readers by his extravagant statements, or he failed to perceive Mutesa's real motives and thereby led to the great delusion of the missionaries who also believed at first that Mutesa's interest in Christianity, was really genuine.¹

Meanwhile, the king appointed Dumba, the Mukwenda; to supervise the building of the new palace. But he died suddenly before the capital was ready. Some time afterwards, the king appointed Binayambato to lead an expedition to Busoga. It was followed by another one under the command of Kiganira. This was also against Nampala of Busoga. But Kiganira's army was defeated and the following chiefs lost their lives: Lule, the Omutomera; and many others. When the army returned, the king appointed Kayima to make

1. See subsequent pages below.

a very big mound inside the royal enclosure. It was also at this time that Stanley asked for leave to return to England. The king gave him two Bitongole and Sembuzi the Omutabuza to escort him to Enkuuka.

But before Stanley left, the king begged him to leave Dallington Bafutawa so that he could translate the Bible for him. Stanley, however, refused and argued that Dallington was his interpreter. When Mutesa saw that Stanley refused to grant his request, he called Dallington in secret and promised him whatever he wanted if only he could stay. Dallington accepted and the king said: Alright, leave with Stanley now, but I shall send people later on to fetch you. So Stanley departed.

But when he reached Buddu, the king sent Kaddu the Omusalosalo, to go and "steal Dallington". Kaddu took a lot of presents for Stanley. The latter was found at Bugaju in Buddu where the royal presents were given to him. Meanwhile, Kaddu conspired with Dallington and advised him to follow him (Kaddu) as soon as he had taken his leave. On his return, Kaddu brought with him Dallington whom he had smuggled.

This was how king Mutesa adopted Christianity. When he got the services of Dallington, he also called Masudi the Arab. The latter used to write in Arabic what Dallington read and translated from the Book of Moses. After the translation had been made, the king became a very devoted reader. There were some very favourite pages of the king such as Mponyebuwoyi and Kaganyulo. When they saw that the king had adopted Christianity, they refused to eat meat in the palace and went on grumbling; The king is becoming an unbeliever. He has adopted the European religion. When the king learnt that his pages had started calling him bad names, he became very very angry. Hence he arrested about seventy people who used to practice the Mohamedan religion and sent them to the Namugongo execution place where they were burnt to death.

The story of these Muslim martyrs is not well told by Kaggwa and it has so far escaped the attention of scholars.¹

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1. The writer understands that Mr. F. B. Welbourn is making a special study of this subject.

Kaggwa's account in fact gives the impression that these were executed because they abused the king for his Christianity would appear to have been the occasion for their execution rather than the cause. The evidence suggests that the muslim pages were more strict upholders of Islam than Mutesa.¹ And their zeal, resulted from the new inspiration provided by the Egyptian Sheiks who had been despatched with Linant by the Khedive.² Kaggwa makes no reference to these Sheiks. H. Mukasa, however does, and he states that they found fault with Mutesa's religious practices.³ His mosque for example, faced west instead of east and he himself was uncircumcised, despite the fact that he conducted the prayers in the royal mosque. Furthermore, his refusal to be circumcised, suggested that the meat served in the court, was slaughtered by uncircumcised butchers. The Egyptian Sheiks condemned these practices, where upon some of the pages refused not only to participate in the prayers conducted by the king, but also to eat

1. Gomotoka in Makula; R.D. Musoke in Ebifa of 1917. See

2. Sir John Gray, Mutesa of Buganda

meat at the Court. This was treason enough, but because the pages had no meat to eat, they resorted to methods which were little less than robbery. Hence there was a general outcry from the chiefs residing in the capital. It was a combination of these factors therefore which led to the execution of the Muslims. But even after that Mutesa remained a practising Muslim.

Soon after the holocaust of the Muslims, a European called Abudulmini arrived at the capital of Nabulagala. He came from the direction of Bulemezi. He did not stay long however. Soon after his departure a Turk called Muhamad Effendi and Walulaga arrived with two hundred-eighty guns. They were a very mischievous lot, for they wanted to fight with the king. But they failed and departed.

The European was Edward Schnitzer who after had become a Muslim, called himself Emin.¹ He made two visits to Buganda, the first was in 1876, when Gordon

1. See Major Gaetano Casati, Ten years in Equatoria vol.1 (London & New York, 1891)

despatched him to rescue Nuer Agar's troops. Gordon who wanted to secure Lake Victoria for Egypt, had sent a force of one hundred and sixty soldiers under Nuer Agar (Nalunga) and Mohamed Effendi to establish a fort in Bulondoganyi.¹ But before Nuer Agar and his soldiers camped, Mutesa invited them to his capital where he virtually made them prisoners.² After some difficulty, Nuer Agar was forced to return and report to Gordon what had happened. On receiving the report, Gordon despatched Emin to go to Mutesa and negotiate the withdrawal of the soldiers. They did so on 31st August, 1876, but some were persuaded by the king to remain and instruct his pages in drill and presenting arms.³ Kaggwa, however, seems to have confused the chronology of the events because Emin came after Nuer Agar and the troops had been ensnared to go to Rubaga.

The king then went to Munyonyo where he stayed for only nine days and returned to Rubaga. During his residence at Rubaga, he appointed a Swahili called Idi the Omuteregga,⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., Birkbeckhill (*Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, pp. 171-83).

3. Zimbè, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

4. This is one of the many examples of the Zanzibaris who became the chiefs in Buganda. Dallington also became the chief of the Ekitongole Ekiteezi. Mackay's Journal of October 23rd 1881

to command a war expedition to Busoga. By the time the expedition returned, the king had already befriended a Musoga called Balikumbuga.¹ He was appointed to be the chief of the Ekikubira Kitongole and in addition to this, he was also appointed to command a war expedition to Busoga. He was at the same time commissioned to take Wambuzi to Mawembe. On reaching Busoga, Balikumbuga plundered Kalimugi.

After the return of that expedition, two Europeans, Lieutenant Smith and the Reverend C.T. Wilson arrived on June 30th, 1877.² Thereupon the king said to them: I want to learn to read your Alphabet. I shall write some for you. "It won't take you long to learn the Alphabet," Smith assured the king. He therefore wrote many Alphabets and gave them to the king. Mutesa started reading and distributed the books among all the chiefs. The pages also began to read. It was in this manner that the

1. The career of Balikumbuga demonstrates the theory that there was equality of opportunity in Kiganda society. It also throws light on one of the weaknesses of Mutesa's character, namely impressionability. Balikumbuga's only qualifications were his handsome face and expertness as a dancer. The fact that he was a Musoga, was no handicap. He got all the honours and he was even created a Prince of the Realm.

2. See comment on the text, below.

religion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, first spread among the people. The following are the names of the people who first learnt to read: Andrew Kaddu, the Omusalosalo; Tebukoza, the Kyambalango; and Isaya Mayanja, the Omunakulya. There were also some young boys who began to read with those mentioned above. These were, Mackay Sembera, Philip Mukasa, Kalemba, Henry Buzaabalyawo, the son of Isiah Mayanja, Edward Mukasa, the Omuzigiti [Keeper of the Royal mosque] and H.W.Kitakule.¹ Meanwhile, Mr. Smith returned to Sukuma to fetch his belongings. But he promised to return and teach. Unfortunately, when he reached Bukerewe, that is Lukonge's country, the latter fought with him. Two Europeans and an Arab called Songoro were killed.² It was on December 3rd, 1877. After those events, the king appointed Wakibi, the Omunawa; to make war upon Bukerewe. But the real reason why the king despatched the expedition was that Lukonge had solicited for aid when his brother called Kibulamagulu rebelled. Once the latter had been killed, the army returned.

1. H.W.Kitakule became a minister in the Protestant Church.

2. See the comment on the text below.

After that war, the king appointed Rwakatale,¹ the ruler of Kooki and Idi the Omuteregga, to raid Toro. But by the time the expedition returned, Mutesa was suffering from gonorrhoea very severely. He caught the disease when he went to attend a dancing festival at Kabizzi's the Kasujju. But the disease was not yet serious when he returned. He therefore went to another dancing festival at his mother's. After attending this festival, however, the disease worsened.

Meanwhile, (1879) a European called Mr. Mackey, had arrived.¹ He brought with him a printing press on which he printed the Alphabet. A few days afterwards, another European called Abudula Amini, returned, for the second time. He found Mutesa ill and said; Let me go back and fetch some medicine for you. Whereupon the king appointed his maternal uncle who was called Lubuzi, to make blood brotherhood with the European. After making the blood brotherhood, the European departed. Then the king sent

1. Alexander Mackay, was one of the original party of the C.M.S. Nyanza mission which left Zanzibar in 1877; under the leadership of Shergold Smith. But due to an accident, he had received on the way, Mackay's arrival was delayed until November, 1878. The printing press, however, was brought some time later.

Ntanda the Omukubampanga to go with the Reverend Wilson and fetch the medicine from another European called Gordon Pascha. [Gordon who was at Khartoum.] Arriving where General Gordon Pascha was, Wilson was given three other Europeans. They were Pearson, Litchfield, and Dr. Felkin. Once the medicine was brought, it was given to the king, but it did not cure him. That was on February 16th, 1879.

Emin visited Buganda for the second time in 1878.

Mutesa was now very ill and the purpose of the blood brotherhood, was to ensure that Emin would not give any dangerous drug to the king. Kaggwa's statement in the text that an envoy was sent to Gordon with Emin, in order to bring medicine for the king, is significant, because it demonstrates the many ideas which were in Mutesa's mind when he sent envoys either to Gordon or to Zanzibar. The new missionaries represented the third group of the C.M.S. which arrived at the capital on 14th February, 1875.¹

1. For a further discussion, see below.

After those events, the king appointed Nyika, the Namutwe to make war on Budhola. After the return of the expedition, another one under the command of Segantebuka, the Omukanga; was conducted to Butambogwe. Butambogwe was a hill of mystery and awe because there was a god on it. Hence it could not be plundered. Meanwhile, Wakholi, came for an army to enable him to fight the people of Budhola. Whereupon the king appointed Kaya the Kaggo of the Oribi Antelope clan, to lead the army to Budhola. Before the return of the expedition, Mutesa built another capital at Kikandwa. Then a European called Stokes arrived and he found the king at his Rubaga capital. As soon as the new capital was ready, the king moved there, but his illness worsened instead. Meanwhile, Kaggo had already returned from the war of Budhola where a large number of cattle had been captured. The next expedition was conducted to Jihangiro [Ihangiro] by Bunyago. On the arrival of the army, the general despatched some regiments under the command of Majwala, the Omujumbula; to go and raid. A large number of cattle was captured in the raid, but when the Basagala [Inhabitants of Ankole], saw that their cattle had been

plundered, they made a furious counter attack which resulted in the death of Majwala and many other chiefs. One of these was Ngalombye. By the time Bunyaga and the expedition returned, the king had already chosen the following to go to Europe with Dr. Felkin, Namukadde, Katuluba, Sabaddu and Kitaka. This was in May, 1879.

By the time the first Christian missionaries arrived, Mutesa had been ill for several years. He was suffering so much that he even toyed with the idea of going to England for treatment.¹ The chiefs however, discouraged the idea and proposed that commoners like themselves should risk the hazards of foreign travel. Despite the desire for treatment, it is clear that Mutesa's real purpose of sending envoys to England was to establish diplomatic relations and if possible secure an alliance against Egypt.² From the very beginning, the C.M.S. themselves had supported the idea of sending Baganda envoys to England. They expected such a visit to

1. H. Mukasa, Temuddanyuma, op.cit.p.52.
 2. CA6/15: Litchfield to his father, August, 1879.

have not only religious but also political advantages¹ and even when Mutesa refused to provide the ivory as a payment for the fare of his envoys, the C.M.S. undertook to bear the costs.² The Baganda left with Felkin and Wilson in May 1880. We also learn from Felkin that a deputation was sent to Gordon, probably because of the report that the Egyptians were advancing towards the Baganda frontier. Namukadde and his friends were well received in England and when they returned in 1881, they gave a glowing account of what they saw.³

Meanwhile, the king's health had deteriorated. Hence he gave his daughter Kyomubi in marriage to Mukasa the Prime minister. He also sent for the medium of the god Mukasa from Sesse to come and foretell what the result of the illness would be.⁴ On his arrival, the medium of god Mukasa built his house at Mutundwe whence he used to go to the capital.

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1. CA6/25: Wilson to Wright, 6th Jul., 1877. Mackay to Wright, CA6/16 6th November, 1878; CA6/017-19, Pearson's Diary, 6th Dec., 1880.
 2. CA6/010 Felkin to Wright.
 3. Church Missionary Gleaner 1881.
 4. For a comment on these events see subsequent pages below.

of Kikandwa and give the oracle. He told the king: You will recover from your illness. To prove that what I have foretold will come to pass, Sekamwa the Kimbugwe of the Oribi Antelope clan, should be dismissed from his office. The vacancy should then be filled by Tebukozza of the Manis clan. After those events, Nakanyolo, Kayanja and about one thousand other people, were taken to settle in Kitereke.¹ The purpose was to counter the incursions of the Abakedi. It was also at this time that the king arrested and executed Bangaya, the Omutebi; because he slept with the princesses. He was a man of enormous strength, for although he was securely bound, hand and foot, he broke all the ropes and fled. He stopped of his own free will and surrendered himself to be executed. It was during the king's residence at Kikandwa, that

1. Ekitereke was Ekitongole founded by Mutesa in the north of Bulemezi. Kaggwa is correct in stating that its duty was to guard the frontiers. Evidence obtained by the author from living informants in the district, shows that the Kitongole was so named because unlike other Bitongole, it had no duties at court. It remained always at the border;

two French Priests Pere Livinhac and Pere L.Lourdel, came to Buganda. They arrived on 23rd February 1879.

Kaggwa's sequence of events is once again not in order, for the events he describes in the last few pages, happened after the arrival of the Catholic missionaries. The first group consisted of Father S.Lourdel and Brother Amans.¹ They arrived at the capital on 23rd February 1879; only a week after the C.M.S. Nile Party. Inevitably, Mutesa was disturbed by the arrival of more Europeans, but as he soon discovered, the new group of white men was of a different nationality from those whose interests he linked with the ambitions of Gordon.² Hence canoes were sent to fetch the remainder of their party. Pères Livinhac, Girault and Barbot arrived in June 1879.

When the medium of the god Mukasa returned to Sesse, the king's health deteriorated so much, that it was feared he might die. Whereupon Pere Lourdel gave him some drugs

1. C13-287, Pere Livinhac to his superior 8th Feb., 1879; C14-16, 16th March, 1879 Lourdel to his superiors.
2. When Felkin, Pearson and Litchfield came, Mutesa regarded them as Egyptian spies. See below.

which temporarily improved his condition.¹ Meanwhile, the king had appointed Mandwambi to conduct an expedition to Budhola. By the time the expedition returned, the king's health, was much improved. It was also at Kikandwa that Pere Lourdel used to teach the Roman Catholic religion to the king. He did this after the king's health had improved. As soon as he was well, the king returned to the Rubaga capital, riding on a white donkey. It was a marvellous sight which caused such excitement that many guns were fired. [in honour of the occasion.]

After that the king appointed the following people to lead a war expedition: Kibirango the Omutamanyangamba commanded an expedition to Busoga, and on his return, Balikumbuga, the Omukabya, conducted another one also to Busoga, at the same time, a Swahili called Toli, who was also the Omunyanya, was appointed to fight in Busoga. The two commanders deceived Walusansa of Kigulu that their only intention was to invade Kisiki. But when Walusansa

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1. R.P. Livinhac to mgr. Lavegerie C13 298 of 20th July 1879; Diary of Rubaga: 13th July, 1879.
 2. Ibid. 15th July 1879.
 3. Pearson: Letter 1st July, 1880 (Mutesa's dream of four moons) Journal 5th July. Mutesa proclaims himself a Moslim once more.

gave them presents, they executed him instead and even forced his son Miro to drink his blood. This action was justified it was Walusansa who had massacred a Baganda regiment when they made war upon Busoga. He was also the same man who executed Bawalehsanvu, the Sekiboobo. Meanwhile, Toli took Namuyonjo to Toro. But before they returned, there was an outbreak of the plague which killed many people [at the capital.]

Toli or Gholi, would appear to have been a personal servant of Hamis, one of the Arabs who converted Mutesa to Islam. For example, Zimbe states that Hamis gave Toli to Mutesa.¹ One suspects, however, that like Dallington (of Stanley), Toli was bribed to join Mutesa's service. Some of his duties were to hoist the Turkish flag which Mutesa had recently obtained, and to play a kettle drum. By the 1870s, sleeping on moveable beds was becoming fashionable.² Toli's skill in making them and in repairing guns, endeared him to Mutesa. Moreover, he had travelled to France and other lands as a cabin boy and presumably, he knew

1. Zimbe: op.cit.p.18; H.Mukasa, op.cit.pp.14-15.
 2. Zimbe, Ibid; Kalikuzzinga, personal communication.

some foreign language which made him a great favourite of Mutesa.

With regard to Toro, Kabarega of Bunyoro, had reconquered much of it and had deposed two kings, Olini Mukabirere and Mukalusa. Meanwhile, Namuyonjo, one of the princes of Toro who had fled to Buganda, asked Mutesa for military aid. He got a large army commanded by Toli. According to Kaggwa, the expedition was successful and Namuyonjo was temporarily installed as king. But Kabarega struck again and Namuyonjo fled to Buganda where he died of the plague which ravaged the country between 1881-1884.¹

It was also during this time that Prince Kalema shot dead his brother Mawanda, because the latter had seduced his mistress.

According to Zimbe² Mutesa's favourite sons were Luswata, Junju, Mawanda and Mwanga, but particularly

1. Nyakatura, op.cit.p.157; Bansekabaka, pp.302-308.

2. op.cit.p.47.

the first two. But unfortunately, Princes Junju and Luswata died of the plague. This left Mawanda as the obvious successor to his father, for he was intelligent and very obedient. Now when his brother shot him, Mwanga was the only son regarded by his father as a suitable successor. Mutesa therefore made his choice known to all the important chiefs and he put Mwanga under the strict protection of Kiwewa Mutebi, the senior prince, and the prime minister. By making his choice of a successor known, Mutesa was thus partly responsible for the peaceful accession of Mwanga. Kalema's murder of his brother, was characteristic of the man who exterminated every prince (1888) and princess he could get hold of. After that holocaust, for example, only Mwanga and Kalema himself, were the only surviving sons of Mutesa.

After those events, Mutesa left the capital of Rubaga and went to Nabulagala. The plague, however, continued to ravage the country and killed about three hundred royal wives. Soon after the epidemic had calmed down, two

Europeans, Stokes and O'Flaherty arrived with Namukadde and his friends who had gone to England with the Reverend Wilson.¹ Namukadde and others told the king many stories about what they had seen in England. They returned in March 1881. After these events, Princess Lwantale, the Queen Sister of King Suna II died. At the same time, the palace was burnt down and the king lost much property.

Meanwhile the king made a blood brotherhood with Mukasa the Prime minister. He even extended the royal privilege to his children. They were henceforth to be carried as if they were of royal blood.

By 1880, Mutesa was seriously weakened by a prolonged illness. His active years in fact would appear to have ended in 1876, which suggests that henceforth he could no longer provide vigorous leadership and his control of the situation was not as complete as it used to be. His sons were fully grown men and some probably wished for his death. No one was more aware of the stark consequences of his prolonged illness than Mutesa himself. It was the feeling of insecurity

1. These were members of the C.M.S. mission.

which led to his making a blood brotherhood with Mukasa, the Prime minister, because he was the man really in charge of the affairs of the country. Mutesa went further and allowed his daughters and other princesses to get married to the chiefs, so that they could report any plots against him.¹ Ham Mukasa states also that Mutesa was worried by the existence of a very large number of young chiefs who presumably yearned for a vigorous leadership. Suspecting that this group of young chiefs might encourage one of the princes to rebel, Mutesa sent them on many war expeditions even when the plague was sweeping the country. The plan had a dual purpose. On the one hand it would enable the chiefs to enrich themselves and therefore be satisfied by the plunder; on the other hand Mutesa, hoped also that very many would be killed off. It is worth noting also that Baganda expeditions during this period, often ended disastrously, probably due to incompetent leadership.

1. Zimbe, op.cit.p.61.

It was also at this time that Muganzirwazza the Queen Mother fell ill and died.¹ Mutesa mourned grievously for his mother. She was buried in four coffins. One of copper and three of wood. In addition to the coffins, her body was wrapped in three thousand sheets of a type of cloth called Doti and seven thousand bark cloths. Then forty thousand cowrie shells, eighteen bungles, and ten loads of beads were put in her tomb. The funeral was really magnificent and dignified. After the funeral the king appointed Ngobya the Kajerero to make war on Rwegira of Karagwe.² When that expedition returned, another one was despatched to Jangiro under the leadership of Wakibi the Omunawa. After its return, Mukasa, the prime minister, left Masaka where he had been the Pookino. He was instead given the Sekibooboship. Kamanyiro became the Pookino and at the same time, he was appointed to make war upon Busagala.

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1. An entry in Mackay's diary of 9th May, 1882, states that the Queen Mother died of typhoid.
 2. Rumanyika, the king of Karagwe had died in 1878, and his sons fought for the throne. Kagwa's statement that the expedition was against Rwegira, conflicts with information derived from the sources on Bukoba history. According to Hall, it would appear in fact that Rwegira triumphed over his rival because of the support of the Baganda. See J. Ford and R. de Z. Hall, The History of Karagwe, T.N.R. vol. 24 (1947) pp. 7-10.

As a brother of the Queen Mother, Kamanyiro was one of the official maternal uncles of Mutesa. His office as a royal uncle was that of Mondo at Gulama in Kyaggwe. Tradition states that, his sister, prevailed upon her son to promote him. Hence he became the county chief of Kyaggwe and when Mukasa transferred himself from Buddu, Kamanyiro became the new Pookino. Presumably he again got the latter chieftainship, through the influence of his sister, before she died.¹

When the expedition returned, the king appointed Kaya the Gabunga to make war upon Luma of near Sukuma. But Gabunga died on the way back to Buganda. The next expedition was conducted to the "Stones" by Kaggwa the Omujuna. After its return, Kiyegathe Mukwenda, invaded Toro and Nyika the Namutwe invaded Budhola. On the return of these two expeditions, another one was sent to Bukedi under the command of Waliwomuzibu, the Namutwe. At the same time, Ndalike made war upon Kimogola. But while Ndalike was on his way back, very many people were killed by the plague

1. Personal communication from Kalikuzzinga of Bulange, and J. Muwumbo

and embowa. Moreover, the expedition was defeated and the Bakedi killed very many chiefs. Among these were Senkezi and Semindi the Omukoloboza, and very very many others.

As soon as the expedition returned, the king charged the general with cowardice. , If your defeat was due to the superior forces of the enemy, why didn't you carry with you the bodies of the senior chiefs who had been killed?¹ But inspite of this reprimand, the general was not burnt. instead, he paid a fine of forty women. In fact all the people who took part in the war, were fined three hundred women altogether. After these events, Mutesa fell ill and died of gonorrhoea. But before he died, there were some Swahilis who had told him that they had a drug which they administered by inhaling.. They also warned him not to see anybody, nor to eat sweet or salty things. Moreover, he had in the meantime arrested Bazibumbira the Sabakaki. Soon after the arrest had been made, his sister Nakibuuka who was also one of the royal wives, and who had given

1. The bodies of chiefs were supposed to be carried to Buganda and be given a proper burial.

her brother to the king to serve him, went to Bumenya, that is, where the king was. Coming before the king, she complained very bitterly and said: My lord, why have you arrested my brother? He has committed no offence. When the king heard his wife's complaints, he became angrier, threw Bazibumbira in the stocks and two days hence, he executed him. But the real reason why Bazibumbira was executed was that he had seduced the royal wives. It was that which enraged the king. Bazibumbira was the last victim to suffer execution under King Mutesa.

The reason why that drug killed the king was that he did not observe the conditions which had been given to him. He had been warned not to eat salt. Another condition was that he should not become angry with anybody: If you become angry, you will die, the Zanzibaris warned. Before he died, Mutesa left instructions to his chiefs that he should be buried in his capital of Nabulagala.

The fact that many villages have been frequently renamed, makes the history of Kiganda place names more difficult. As for Nabulagala, it was called Lubale before the reign of Suna II. But when Suna built there his capital, he renamed it Nabulagala.

Then before Mutesa died, he renamed it Kassubi in memory of his Princely estate in Kyaggwe whence he came to become king. Henceforth, the village has been jointly known as Kassubi-Nabulagala or Nabulagala Kassubi.¹

He was put in two coffins four thousand clothes of Doti, and the following articles were also put in his tomb: Two ivory tasks, eighty farasiras, and forty-eight thousand cowrie shells. In addition to these, eighty farasiras of beads, and bangles and four thousand bark clothes were all put in his tomb. He was buried five days after his death on 18th October, 1884.

The Reverend B.Zimbe corrected some of Kaggwa's details regarding the burial of Mutesa. He wrote, "Some people claimed that Mutesa was buried with ivory, but this was not true. I myself was one of the twenty four people chosen to descend into the tomb and spread the bark cloth.....Sir Apolo Kaggwa made this claim in his Book of Bassekabaka be Buganda.

1. See L.N.Luwekula, in Munho of 1929.

But that was hearsay, because by the time Mutesa died, Kagwa had just joined the service of Kulugi, the chief of the royal stores.¹

Mutesa was a very intellingent king. He learnt to read and to speak Arabic and Swahili. He was fond of Europeans and Arabs, nay, he liked all foreigners. During his reign, there were two men called Bukya and Namukundi. They used to practice conjuring. Bukya in particular could even "weep tears of blood". He also used to go to the highways singing, whereupon many small children would gather and have tricks performed for them. Pregnant women used to go to him and he foretold the sex^s of their unborn babies. Whenever these two men went, huge crowds of people who wanted to be given oracles, followed them.

The last paragraph of the text just mentions one side of Kiganda political, social and cultural life: the life of the mediums and of the priests who were the spokesmen of the gods. Besides these, there were also the traditional ritual officers and the medicine men. Unlike the priests and the mediums, this latter group

1. Zimbe, op.cit.pp.71-3.

was not connected with the temple and the gods. Nevertheless, the medicine men, were also regarded as belonging to the religious class, and were perhaps more important than the priests and the mediums, because they were essential to all classes alike. They were feared and they enjoyed the respect of even the mediums.² They were also rich and secure, because unlike the chiefs, their property and estates were not normally looted by the kings. The latter sent them presents, consulted them and almost always followed their instructions.³ Occasionally, however, if the priests, or the mediums or the medicine men vexed the king, he could send his band of ruffians or favourite chiefs to pillage their estates and temples. The usual causes of conflict between the kings and the religious class, were the latter's extortionate demands for remuneration. Their services were expensive and they fixed the fees: Ninety nine of each item, women, cattle, loads of bark cloth and whatever else they fancied. Mutesa, like many of his predecessors, often discovered that,

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1. Empisa, op.cit.pp.209-237, Gomotoka, Magazintakke, op.cit. pp.40-45, J.Roscoe, The Baganda, op.cit.pp.271-345.
 2. J.Roscoe ibid, wrote that the priests and mediums had little power compared to the medicine men.
 3. Occasionally, though rarely, the kings would refuse to accept the advice of the priests as Kaggwa states in the case of Suna II. Mutesa sometimes put to shame the mediums and medicine men if they made false prophesies. He could call them and tell them off publicly that they had lied.

the ritual officers for example, did not perform their duties satisfactorily. The mediums and medicine men also often made false prophecies. It would appear that the relationship between the king and the religious class, depended very much on the character and personality of the former. A man of a violent nature treated them violently if vexed. King Tebandeke for instance, executed very many of them, burnt down all their temples, and looted their estates with impunity. A thoughtful character like Mutesa, would appear to have been more sceptical about some of their claims than violent. He was of course influenced to a certain extent by the teaching of Islam and Christianity. Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether Mutesa or his contemporaries despised the gods or ceased to believe in them. If the mediums and medicine men were not loved, they were certainly respected and feared.

Mukasa, Mutesa's Primeminister:

The text contains little biographical information on this remarkable man, who influenced some of the important events of the 1880s. Fortunately, many people who knew Mukasa personally, are still alive, and the present writer obtained from them the following account:¹

Mukasa belonged to the Edible Rat clan. Like everybody else in precolonial Buganda, his political career had humble beginnings: He first got the official job (of his clan) of guarding the royal lavatories during the reign of Suna II. He narrowly escaped execution for offences connected with his duties, and he was presumably dismissed. We next hear of him during the reign of Mutesa when he held a minor chieftainship under Kasato, the Omuwambya. Eventually, he won the favour of Mutesa and became the Kawuta, (chief of the royal cooks and butchers). Every source of Kiganda tradition shows Mukasa as a consummate politician who combined to a remarkable degree many of the qualities necessary for success in Kiganda society.

1. Oral evidence from Kalikuzzinga and Muwumbo.

He was filled with ambition and cupidity. He slandered his opponents, and ingratiated himself with the influential people. Thus at the instigation of the Queen Mother, Mutesa appointed him prime minister at the beginning of the 1870s. He grew in stature and became the confidant of the king. During the last years of Mutesa's reign, Mukasa became the real ruler of the country, and Mutesa himself knew it. Because of his restless ambition, his master made him the county chief of Buddu and later of Kyaggwe. Mukasa was ruthless with opponents and ungrateful to those who raised him.¹ He brought about the down fall of Namugulirwa, and even sold his relatives into slavery. In the 1880s, he demanded the instant execution of Andrew Kagwa, one of the Catholic converts, because King Mwanga favoured him for the office of prime minister.

Despite his political ruthlessness, he was a real statesman, and whatever else the Christian missionaries thought of him, they recognized his political skill and calm dignity.² At the death of Mutesa, there was fear

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1. See Sir John Gray, Livingstone's Uganda Servant, Ug.J. vol.13/2 (1949) pp.119-129.
 2. Rubaga Diary, 30 June, 1879.

that chaos would overtake the country as it used to happen at the death of a king in the past. But Mukasa handled the situation with firmness and threatened instant execution to all the trouble makers including those who talked of plundering the white missionaries.¹

Much credit must therefore go to him for the peaceful accession of Mwanga II. He became his first prime minister until the civil war of 1888 in which he was killed. Mukasa was a thorough going conservative, and although he read the Koran and practised Islam, one suspects that he did so in order to please Mutesa. Despite his opposition to the European and to Christianity, it is a testimony of his political wisdom that the missionaries were neither persecuted nor expelled. He wanted them to decide what to do from what they saw. Thus at the height of the persecution of the Christians, Father Lourdel begged the chiefs not to destroy all "their sons". "Expell us," Lourdel pleaded. "No," came Mukasa's reply "You are our guests, but those boys are our sons. As many as you teach, we shall kill."

1. G3.A6/01, Ashe to Wright, Oct., 1884; O'Flaherty to Wright.

The following were Mutesa's most important chiefs with whom he ruled the kingdom.

Prime ministers: 1. Kayira of the Buffalo clan. He was first appointed by Suna.

2. Kisomose of the Lung-fish clan.

3. Mayanja of the Monkey clan.

4. Mulere of the Elephant clan.

5. Mukasa of the Edible Rat clan.

Kimbugwes: 1. Mayanja of the Colobus Monkey clan.

2. Luke Sekanwa of the Duiker clan.

3. Tebukozza of the Manis clan.

Kaggos: 1. Kisomose of the Sung-fish clan.

2. Bawalensanvu of the Grasshopper clan.

3. Kabirinagge of the Colobus Monkey clan.

4. Kaya of the Duiker clan.

Mukwendas: 1. Munyolagenze of the Buffalo clan.

2. Kabirinagge of the Colobus Monkey clan.
3. Bawalensanvu of the Grasshopper clan.
4. Mubiru of the Mushroom clan.
5. Dumba of the Buffalo clan.
6. Noah Kabunga of the Buffalo clan.
7. Kiyega of the Buffalo clan.

Sekiboobos:

1. Misalenyoka of the Buffalo clan.
2. Kaya of the Colobus Monkey clan.
3. Kirabira of the Buffalo clan.
4. Bawalensanvu of the Grasshopper clan.
5. Mandwambi Bukalammuli of the Manis
clan.
6. Magimbi Kamanyiro of the Elephant clan.
7. Mukasa of the Edible Rat clan.

Kangawos:

1. Kaddu of the Ntalaganya clan.
2. Sebbowa of the Grasshopper clan.
3. Nyikomuyonga of the Lung-fish clan.

- 4. Namalere of the Manis clan.
- 5. Kibirango of the Manis clan.

Mugemas:

- 1. Nakabale of the Monkey clan.
- 2. Malagala of the Monkey clan.
- 3. Kirokiro of the Monkey clan.
- 4. Musoke of the Monkey clan.
- 5. Ibrahim Kikabi of the Monkey clan.
- 6. Muyingo of the Grasshopper clan.
- 7. Tebukoza of the Manis clan.
- 8. Makumbi of the Monkey clan.
- 9. Ibrahim Kikabi of the Monkey clan.

Kayimas:

- 1. Musajjagulanyago of the Lung-fish clan.
- 2. Nkambo of the Lung-fish clan.

Kasujjus:

- 1. Kabizzi of the Manis clan. He was originally appointed by King Suna.
- 2. Kintu of the Manis clan.

3. Kabizzi of the Manis-clan.

Kitunzis:

1. Kabalu of the Sheep clan.

2. Misalenyoka of the Buffalo clan.

3. Kyangwe of the Buffalo clan.

4. Tebakyagenda of the Elephant clan.

5. Sebbowa of the Grasshopper clan.

6. Kibate of the Elephant clan.

7. Nyikamuyonga of the Lung-fish clan.

Pookinos:

1. Mulere of the Elephant clan.

2. Kasato of the Lung-fish clan.

3. Mukasa of the Edible Rat clan.

4. Magimbi of the Elephant clan.

Katambala:

1. Ntambazi of the Sheep clan.

Luwekulas:

1. Ntokota of the Lung-fish clan.

2. Sebbowa of the Grasshopper clan.

3. Tebakyagenda of the Elephant clan.

4. Kasato of the Lung-fish clan.

5. Nviri of the Yam clan.

6. Mandwambi Bukalammuli of the Manis
clan.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF MUTESAThe Expansion of Buganda

As the present investigation draws to a close, the contrast between the first and the last chapters becomes more striking. The last two chapters, for example, are far longer - a situation rendered unavoidable by the length of the text. This enormous amount of text may be explained by the fact that information on the 19th century Kings, was recent enough to be remembered in greater detail. An even more significant contrast appears in the conclusions we have reached. Whereas the nature of the evidence made it imperative that the conclusions in the first few chapters could only be tentative, one can write with more confidence on the reign of Mutesa. Not only has one got the written sources of the explorers and the missionaries, but one has at one's disposal many eye-witness accounts of the people who lived during the reign of Mutesa. Many aspects of the history of this period, have already been investigated.¹ The present writer has therefore concentrated on those other aspects of the reign, such as the factors which determined Mutesa's attitude to the foreigners, at his court.

1. Professor D.A. Low's thesis has already been mentioned.

And in treating this subject, the writer has had new sources of evidence, (the Documents of the White Fathers) which had never been used before. It is rather regrettable that nearly all the important events of the reign of Mutesa happened in the 1870s. Hence the first ten years of the reign call for little comment. This unfortunately makes the chapter look unbalanced.

It will be fitting at this stage, however, to make a survey of the expansion of Buganda and to trace the development of her political institutions. The Kingdom of Buganda grew from very small beginnings. But her very small size and fluctuating frontiers influenced her policies particularly between the 16th and the 18th centuries. Her first bid at territorial expansion was made during the 16th century by Kings Nakibinge and Kayima. Their efforts, however, ended disastrously. They were slain and the country took long to recover. During this period (between the 16th and 17th centuries), Bunyoro was the stronger power and her armies were still the terror of the Interlacustrine region. They fought in Ankole and even as far south as Rwanda. This policy, however, not only militated against the development of a strong system of government, but it left Bunyoro's eastern frontiers unguarded. Thus during the 17th century, Kings Kimbugwe, Katernegga and Mutebi, made substantial territorial gains at the expense

of Bunyoro. The change in the military balance of power between the two countries, came during the 18th century, when a succession of strong kings, such as Mawanda, Kyabaggu and Junju, turned Buganda into the most powerful state in the north of the Interlacustrine region. During the first decades of the 19th century, Bunyoro had lost, whatever suzerainty she had hitherto claimed in Busoga, which must also have meant the loss of an important source of ivory and other forms of tribute. By the end of Kamanya's reign, Buwekula had been annexed, and Buganda had extended her frontiers in Bulemezi. But of all these territorial conquests, Buddu was perhaps the most valuable, because it was through Buddu that Buganda made her first contacts with the outside world. By the 19th century, she had already extended her sphere of influence in Karagwe and Kiziba. And by the 1830s, Baganda Kings were interfering in the Haya succession disputes with impunity. Buganda's strong position and influence in these states, had far reaching consequences. It meant that she could control the route to the north, across the river Kagera. Thus the first Arabs to cross the river Kagera, by passed Ankole and Bunyoro and came to Buganda. So did the explorers, J.H. Speke and J. Grant. The immediate result of ^{the} Arab visits,

was that they brought fire arms to Buganda which suggests that before the 1870s, she had a weaponry advantage over her neighbours. But the long term results were even more important, because Buganda made contact with the outside world; first with Zanzibar and later with Europe. The Arabs taught Islam first to Suna and then to Mutesa. The latter practised it zealously, presumably as part of his political association with the Arabs and the Sultan of Zanzibar. But one aspect of Buganda policy during the reigns of Suna and Mutesa, is difficult to explain. Despite her strong military position, she did not attempt to rule her tributary states such as Koki and Busoga. Nor were there any new territorial conquests. One hesitates to give credit to Suna and Mutesa for not attempting to extend their rule to Busoga and Koki, because that would imply that they had a formulated foreign policy. Nevertheless, this lack of policy, ensured Buganda's survival as a strong power, because the foundation of her strength had been the small size and compactness of her frontiers.

Society and Politics: The origins of change.

When one examines the political institutions, one discovers that during the previous two centuries, there had evolved a system of government in Buganda which gradually put the supreme judicial and executive power in the hands of the king. The origins of this process can be traced to a variety of causes. Constitutionally, the area of potential conflict for the throne had been restricted by the change in the succession system. This had been achieved by the introduction at the beginning of the 19th century, of the policy of exterminating rivals. Thus by the mid 19th century, the king had absolute power over the property and even over the lives of his subjects. Such a complete surrender of individual rights, even the power of life and death, suggests a wholehearted acceptance of the king as the personification of the Baganda. Support for this view may be found in the character of the praise names given him. Their whole theme is of absolute power¹, for indeed that was what the Baganda monarchy had become.

It is essential to emphasize, however, that the practice of identifying the king with the destiny of the

1. A fuller description of these political changes appears in the previous two chapters. See Hamu Mukasa, The Rule of the Kings, Ug.J. vol. 10/2 (1946)

nation, evolved gradually. And the evidence suggests that it grew more pronounced as the country expanded, became more powerful and as the fruits of victory became even more alluring. This would appear to have been the logical development for a country which was originally small and which had expanded largely by conquest. Centuries of defensive and offensive wars had united the king and the people and in several ways, they contributed to the increase of royal power. Foreign wars, for example, brought as plunder, women, slaves, livestock, ivory and many other forms of wealth. And because the kings were always the initiators of the war expeditions, and because they controlled the distribution of the loot, they were able to spread the rewards over a wide cross section of the nation.¹ As L. Fallers has observed, this power of patronage goes far to explain the obedience which the kings enjoyed despite their arbitrariness and despotic cruelty.² Moreover, besides the material rewards of the wars, the nation as a whole received satisfaction from the national aggrandisement at the expense of their neighbours.

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1. The general of the expedition divided the loot, but he did so only as the representative of the king. See J. Roscoe, The Baganda, op.cit., pp. 346-364; Kaggwa, Empisa, op.cit., pp. 152-162.
 2. Despotism and Status..., op.cit. pp.11-32

But perhaps the greatest single factor which contributed to the increase of royal power, was the territorial expansion of the kingdom. This provided the kings with the opportunity to create chieftainships for their personal favourites and distinguished generals. Thus from the reign of Kateregga, there grew up a class of chiefs who had originally no hereditary claim to any office or chieftainship. As the administrative and military needs of the country increased, especially during the 19th century, so did the number of the Batongole, a secondary order of chiefs. In all these changes, however, the real beneficiary was the monarchy rather than the chiefs. When the explorer J.H. Speke visited Buganda in 1862, he was struck by their servility and he rightly drew the conclusion that when they met in the Councils, it was neither to legislate nor to advise, but to minister to the pride of the king who was the only source of legitimate authority. He bestowed it and guaranteed it.

This state of affairs, had far reaching political and social consequences because of the fierce competition it stimulated at all levels of society. At the top, where competition was even more intense, every man struggled to win the favour of the king: either by acts of bravery or diligence, or by ingratiating himself, or by slandering

rivals, or if he could, by placing relatives and clients in key positions especially at the court.¹ The general effect on the monarchy was that the kings had even greater freedom to make themselves the fountain of all honours. And because every man in Buganda modelled himself on his superior, the process was repeated at all levels of society. Thus by the second half of the 19th century, Kiganda society had become an elaborate nexus of rewards and services, expectation and gratitude. The advantage derived from such a competitive spirit was that the Baganda became extraordinarily acquisitive and forward looking: there was eagerness to acquire not only riches but also knowledge, because only the skilful flatterer, the clever, the cunning and the brave could survive in so fierce a struggle for success. It is particularly in this socio-political aspect of the Baganda during the 19th century, that one must seek the answer to the question why many people accepted foreign religions with zeal and devotion. Their outlook can hardly be explained in terms of the breakdown of the old order, or by the loss of "aboriginal vigour."² For indeed during

1. The King's Men, op.cit., pp.303-307.

2. The view expressed by Professor D.A. Low, in his D. Phil (Oxford) Thesis is that the Baganda were forward looking, because society was in a state of flux, caused by the loss of aboriginal vigour.

the 19th century, the Baganda were an extraordinarily dynamic people with a social cohesiveness unparalleled in the whole of the Interlacustrine region. The process of change probably reached its climax during the last quarter of the century. There is little doubt, however, that it was accelerated by the new forces such as the introduction of firearms and Islam and later, by the coming of the Europeans with their religions. But neither the new atmosphere at the court nor the impact of the outside world, created this situation, they found it in existence. If these factors accelerated the approach of the climax, it was not reached precipitately. Neither was there a break with the past.

Because of these new forces, the second half of the 19th century may be described as the dawn of the new era in Buganda history. And the man who ascended the throne at this time, was Prince Mukabya, best known to posterity as Mutesa I. He was originally a diffident and relatively insignificant prince. But during the twenty seven years of his reign, he grew in stature to become one of the wisest rulers of Buganda. He influenced events, and they in turn influenced him. His character represented many aspects of the old and the new monarchy. Some aspects of the old monarchy represented, were his excessive cruelty and unmatched egotism. Summary executions for small offences, were a daily

feature of life at the court. C. Wrigley was probably right in his conclusion that Buganda ranked second only to Dahomey among the exhibits in the Humanitarian writers' gallery of African Horrors.¹ Some of the internal policies of Mutesa were largely influenced by the manner of his accession. As the text shows, his election was unpopular and no one felt this more deeply than Mutesa himself. Hence Kagawa quotes him remarking with a mixture of anger and hurt pride, "When I came to the throne, all my father's chiefs despised me as a weakling." These two traits of his character partly explain his despotic cruelty. Like Machiavelli's Prince, he believed that he had to strike terror in order to win respect. But political insecurity alone does not explain his murderous policies, because even after he had become the darling of the nation, summary executions of countless numbers of people were still common. Whatever his other qualities therefore, Mutesa must be counted as one of the most despotic and cruel kings of Buganda. But there was another side to his character perhaps again due to that feeling of inadequacy. For example, he was very impressionable and he admired not only intelligence and ability, but also handsome men. His admirable qualities were that he had a passion for acquiring

1. Christian Revolution; op.cit., pp. 33-48; R.P. Ashe, Two Kings of Uganda, (London, 1890) pp. 84-100

knowledge not only for himself, but also for his own people. Hence, not only did he learn Arabic and Swahili, but he even adopted Islam. Later in the reign, he toyed with Christianity in both its Catholic and Protestant form. By the mid 1870s, his experience and the intercourse with the foreign cultures, had so sharpened his natural intelligence and shrewdness, that the missionary P. O'Flaherty, found him "keen and subtle in argument, quick as thought to comprehend, and having to a most marvellous degree a command of temper and language".¹ It was this side of Mutesa's character which distinguished him from many of his contemporary rulers elsewhere in Africa.

But by far the strongest influences on his domestic and foreign policies, were the Arabs, and the Swahilis in the country and the external forces from Egypt and Zanzibar. Since the reign of Suna, Arabs and the Swahilis from Zanzibar had come and gone. Their main interest was trade especially in ivory, black and white. They also brought other trade goods such as firearms and clothes. But though firearms had been introduced during the reign of Suna, they were still sufficiently rare when Speke came to arouse excitement and

1. G3.A6/OI. Letter to Wigram; R.W. Felkin, Notes on the Waganda Tribe of Central Africa, op.cit.

curiosity even from Mutesa himself. Their supply increased steadily and by the mid 1870s, Mutesa could parade enough musketeers to overawe Gordon's envoy, Nuer Agar. In spite of the increased supplies of firearms in the 1860s and 1870s however, their effect on the military position of Buganda would appear to have been small: There is no evidence, for instance, that the Baganda were more successful in conquering their enemies or in controlling their tributary states than before. Many campaigns were unsuccessful and often ended disastrously. Mutesa's failure to subdue the Bavuma during the battle of Nakaranga, remains one of the best examples of how the mere acquiring of firearms, without training in using them, had little advantage over the traditional weapons and methods of warfare. Furthermore, despite the claim to the contrary, there is no evidence that the gun had replaced the spear as the main weapon in Buganda before the 1890s.¹

Various writers have wrongly linked the increase in firearms in Buganda with the foundation of the Ekitongole Ekijaasi.² The evidence suggests that Mutesa was greatly impressed by the military escorts of Chailié Long and of

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1. C. Wrigley, A Christian Revolution, ~~op.cit.~~
 2. Father Le Veux, Vocabulaire Luganda-Francais. (Algeirs, 1917) p. 249; J. Roscoe, The Baganda, op.cit. p.2.

Linant de Bellefonds, and their military bands. He was at the same time told by the Arabs that the Sultan of Zanzibar had a police force and an armed body guard. So Mutesa decided, probably in the late 1870s to have a similar body of men. The real aim in establishing the Ekitongole Ekijaasi was to have trained men who could march, play drums and blow trumpets and present arms. The Kitongole was in fact not so much a body guard or police force as a collection of bandsmen designed to impress foreign guests.¹ Its role would seem to have been reduced when Mutesa established the Ekigowa Kitongole of bandsmen. This is probably why we do not hear much about the Ekijaasi until the period of the Civil Wars in the late 1880s. Unfortunately, the duties of the Ekitongole Ekijaasi have been misunderstood.² Its foundation had nothing to do with the reform of the military service as there was none during the reign of Mutesa. And it is evident from the text, that none of the commanders of the expeditions during this reign was a Mujaasi. This would have been an unlikely omission if the Mujaasi had been the chief of a reformed military service. Moreover, the Mujaasi

1. Zimbe, op.cit., p.22 and p.31.

2. The first writer to give the impression that the Ekitongole Ekijaasi was the result of a reformed military service was probably Pere Le Veux, who in his Vocabulaire Luganda Francais drew a distinction between the Abatabazi, (native warrior) and Abaserikale, (a new type of soldier) who used firearms. Since then it has been held as an article of faith that Mutesa reformed the army.

and his Kitongole had neither the monopoly of guns, nor were they as important during the reign of Mutesa as the Ekitongole Ekikabya.

The reign of Mutesa does not divide easily into clear cut phases. One discerns, however, certain changes in the character of Mutesa which seem to have coincided with some important events in his reign. Thus from the period of his accession until the early 1860s, one sees a rather carefree young man (described in Speke's Journal), giving the impression that he was more interested in sports and other pleasures of life than in the serious duties of his high office. From the mid 1860s, Mutesa's character seems to have gradually changed, so that by the mid 1870s, one sees a mature and experienced ruler, conditioned by the new atmosphere at his court and the teachings of Islam.¹ He was bent on enriching himself and his country and because of this, he allowed the Arabs to carry on the slave trade. By the beginning of the 1880s, Mutesa was already a middle aged man, much more aware of the outside world and skilful diplomatist. Mutesa was, in fact, the first Uganda king to deal with rulers outside Tropical Africa. One of his

1. Speke's and Stanley's picture of Mutesa differ largely because of the changes his character had undergone.

ambitions was to make himself known abroad and partly because of this, he sought to establish diplomatic relations with Egypt and Zanzibar.

The Diplomacy of Imperialism: Mutesa, Egypt and Zanzibar.

So far as Zanzibar was concerned, Mutesa had probably learnt from the Arabs and other Zanzibaris in Buganda that the Sultan was a powerful and influential ruler. Fortunately for Mutesa, the reports of the Zanzibaris on the prospects of trade in Buganda seem to have been good, because in 1869, Seyyid Said, the Sultan despatched his own caravan to Buganda.¹ Soon after this event, Mutesa despatched his own deputation with large quantities of ivory and even a live elephant. Tradition claims that this deputation was also charged to look for Mutesa's mother who was alleged to have been sold into slavery by Suna. Because of their limited knowledge of Arabic and Swahili, it is reasonable to suppose that Mutesa's emissaries had little communication with the Sultan and his government. Nevertheless, the Buganda mission cannot be described as a failure.² Mutesa himself was not thinking in terms of a formal alliance especially at this early stage. The real desire for an

1. Sir John Gray, Sir John Kirk and Mutesa, Ug.J, vol 15/1 (1951) pp.1-16.

2. Ibid.

alliance came only after Egyptian Imperialism had become menacing. The general conclusion one would draw is that Mutesa had achieved one of his main objectives of making himself known abroad. And it must have been more than gratifying to him that the Sultan received his envoys and sent them back with presents for their master. It can be reasonably assumed in this connection, that after the return of the first mission, the Zanzibaris in Buganda became even more influential. Now Mutesa knew that they were backed by a powerful state to which he could turn for aid in time of danger, especially from Egypt.

The 1870s themselves were dominated by the ambitions of the Khedive and his British agents, to expand southwards in the Great Lakes region. Mutesa's first dealings with the Egyptians agents was probably in 1869 or 1870, when the Baganda army he had despatched to intervene in the succession struggles between Kabarega and Kabagumire, clashed with the Sudanese soldiers who were assisting Kabarega. As we learn from the text, the Baganda efforts to storm the fort of the Khartoum soldiers, ended disastrously. Meanwhile the Khedive of Egypt had appointed Sir Samuel Baker to establish Egyptian rule over Equatorial Africa. Baker arrived in Bunyoro in 1872 and as he himself

believed, formally annexed Bunyoro in the name of the Khedive.¹ This led to a clash with Kabarega and even to the burning down of his capital. Mutesa learnt of these events with great alarm, for, as Sir John Gray has observed, he had the common sense to realise that if Baker's forty thieves could burn down Kabarega's capital today, his might suffer the same fate tomorrow.² Baker was succeeded by Colonel Charles Gordon. When he arrived at Gondokoro in 1874, he was met by Mutesa's envoys who had been sent probably to seek an alliance. The ambition of Gordon himself was to strengthen the Egyptian position in the lakes region, and he recognised at once that Buganda was one of the key states to deal with. Hence he despatched Chailié Long as his own envoy to Buganda. As the second white man to visit Buganda after Speke and Grant, and probably because of his tactful approach, Chailié Long seems to have impressed Mutesa. Thus before he departed from Buganda (between July and August 1874), Long claimed that he had got Mutesa to sign a treaty which ceded the entire headwaters of the Nile including the kingdom of Buganda to Egypt. He further claimed that Mutesa had closed the road to Zanzibar and that he had even received assurances that

1. Sir John Gray, Mutesa of Uganda, ~~op. cit.~~

2. Ibid. See also, D.A. Low, ⁱⁿ Oliver and Mathew (Edit), op. cit. pp. 337-351.

all the ivory from Buganda would be exported via Gondokoro. The apparent consent of Mutesa to these proposals, had important repercussions in Buganda and Egypt. The idea of diverting the ivory trade from Zanzibar must have aroused strong opposition from the Zanzibaris in Buganda who had hitherto enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the whole trade. It is reasonable to suppose that they exploited the situation to their advantage and described Long's mission as an attempt by Egypt to annex Buganda. Henceforth, Mutesa became more apprehensive of Egypt.

In Egypt itself, Long's claim fired the enthusiasm of the Khedive and Gordon. Hence, eager to consolidate the position Long claimed to have gained in Buganda, Gordon despatched another envoy to Buganda, Linant de Bellefonds. One learns from the text that Linant arrived with an armed escort of about seventy soldiers who allegedly behaved in a high handed manner. The events which followed his visit did not allay Mutesa's fears, because on his way back, Linant was attacked by Namuyonjo, a vassal of Kabarega. Gordon was provoked and he despatched a punitive expedition against Kabarega. Mutesa realised that the situation was escalating to uncontrollable proportions. Fearing for the independence of his country, he decided to ask for an alliance with the Khedive. But he seems to have been unaware that Gordon was the Khedive's agent. By this time (1876) he had already

accepted Stanley's proposal that Christian missions should come to Buganda. And what was more, he had replaced the Turkish flag by the one which Stanley had given him.¹ At the same time, he had executed a very large number of Muslim subjects. These two acts by Mutesa, increased his fear of Egypt and he became a little deranged as the following account suggests. Mukasa wrote:

At that time, after the King had executed the Muslims, he got news of what was happening in Bunyoro. The story was that Guludum Pasha (Gordon) was making war upon Kabarega and that he wanted to conquer Bunyoro and then march to Buganda. This European had come from Egypt with a very large army. At the same time, the King had a dream which frightened him so much, that he decided to send a deputation to Egypt and sue for peace. He therefore summoned his trusted chiefs and said to them: "I have called you, to explain the most dreadful dream I have ever had, (sic) the dream was that the European had annexed (eaten) this country. To tell you the truth, I was terribly terrified. Don't you think it will happen? If you see clouds in the sky, what do they indicate? Not rain? If so, this dream is the presage of imminent events. Now you see, these Europeans have made a terrible war upon Kabarega. If they conquer him, nothing will stop them from marching to Buganda. I propose therefore that this is what we should do. We shall send a deputation to the king of Egypt, because all these Europeans and troops come from there. If we make friendship with the king, he will plead with them and prevent them from annexing our country."¹

Mutesa, presumably looked upon religion as an instrument of politics. Thus when he decided to send a peace mission to Egypt, he wrote two letters. One was

¹ Cf. cit. pp 23-24

addressed to the Khedive, appealing to him to restrain Gordon's plans towards the lakes region. He concluded the letter by protesting his devotion to Islam, and he offered the suzerainty of Buganda. The letter to Gordon, asked him to allow his envoy to go to Egypt and he concluded by protesting his devotion to Christianity. But the desired alliance did not come off, and the Baganda deputation to the Khedive was stopped by Gordon at Khartoum. To make matters worse, Gordon read the letter addressed to the Khedive and he was quick to point out the contradiction between the two letters. To frighten Mutesa all the more, he reminded the envoys that the Khedive would be very angry with Mutesa who had executed his co-religionists. Thus the envoys returned to Buganda fearing that Egypt had now a greater cause to crush their country as a revenge for the execution of the Moslems.

It is thus clear that in appealing to Gordon, Mutesa genuinely desired to see Kabarega safe. His intervention was of course not without self interest. He knew that if Bunyoro was overrun, Buganda might well be the next victim. But if peace was restored on the northern frontier of Bunyoro, Buganda would be secure from Egyptian aggression. It is questionable therefore, whether in approaching Gordon on this question, Mutesa merely wanted to be on the winning

side and share in the spoils which Gordon might carry from the defeated Bunyoro. To interpret Mutesa's intentions thus, is not only to exaggerate his opposition to Kabarega but also to underestimate his concern for the security of his country.¹ What finally brought home to Mutesa the nearness of the menace to his own independence was Gordon's despatch of Nuer Agar to establish forts south of Mruli. One of these new stations was to be in Bulondoganyi, which belonged to Mutesa and was the main gate way to Busoga.² Mutesa no longer needed to be told that Baker and Gordon's interests were confined to the suppression of the slave trade. His attitude to Kabarega, the forts and the soldiers, all spoke for themselves. Now with the new crisis created by the coming of Nuer Agar, Mutesa realised that only skilful diplomacy could avert it. Hence Nuer Agar and his battalion.

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1. In his D.Phil (Oxford), D.A. Low expresses the view that Mutesa's lifelong ambition was to demolish Kabarega, and for this reason he sought the Egyptian alliance. See also, Oliver and Mathew, op.cit. p.342. Plenty of evidence, including Mutesa's letter to Gordon, contradicts this view. Unfortunately, the real significance and meaning of this letter have been missed. Mutesa did not threaten to get aid from Bombay. The reference to Bombay was merely to tell Gordon that if one wanted to go to a place, such as Bombay, and found that the road was blocked, as Kabarega was doing to the southward advance of the Egyptians, one should not resort to arms.

of more than one hundred and fifty soldiers, were cleverly ensnared by Mutesa and induced to visit his capital before they made the stockade at Bulondoganyi. As soon as they reached the capital, Mutesa persuaded Nuer Agar to send away his porters and thereby caused the immobilisation of his enemy's forces. Nuer Agar and his immobilised forces were kept virtual prisoners, sometimes without sufficient food. At the same time, Mutesa adopted a very effective strategy as the following account shows.

Nalunga (Nuer Agar) came with an army of about two hundred and eighty soldiers... It is said that they wanted to make war upon Buganda because they hoped to destroy the authority of the king... When Mutesa learnt of their arrival in Bulemezi, for they came from that direction, he decided to accommodate them at Nansana. Then he ordered the people to make fires on all the roads in the capital at night (as a sign of war),. On the day he gave audience to the visitors, he called upon the whole country to come to the capital armed with spears. Those with rifles lined the road from the main gate to their quarters and mingled with the crowd. Then the visitors arrived walking through that vast crowd where every kind of instrument was being sounded: drums, trumpets and blow horns, so as to give a real impression that the Baganda were ready for conflicts. When the visitors returned to their camp, they realised that they could not fight such a formidable army they had seen.....1

Gordon on the other hand had completely misunderstood Mutesa's strategy, for he believed that by inviting the Egyptian garrison to his capital, Mutesa had unwittingly

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solved the problem of a peaceful extension of Egyptian sovereignty in the Lake region. But when he learnt of the fate of his soldiers, he then knew that far from being annexed, Mutesa had outmanouvred him. The results for Buganda were vital because Gordon never clashed with Mutesa again. Instead he offered to recognise Buganda's independence. Meanwhile, he had begun to doubt the success of the Egyptian advance into the Lake Region and by 1879 the Mahdist movement was destroying Egyptian influence in the Southern Sudan. Thus Gordon abandoned all idea of expansion in the Lake Region. When he decided to withdraw from all the stations to the south of the Nile, he offered Mutesa the fort at Mruli as a means of keeping open the communication between Egypt and the Lake Region.

At first sight, it seems strange that Mutesa, who had spent all this time attempting to secure the friendship of Egypt, did not seize on the offer. But it would appear from the Rubaga Diary that the situation was beyond Mutesa's control.¹ First of all, it took sometime for Mutesa to know that such an offer had been made. Masoudi, the Arab who brought Emin Bey's letter concealed the fact from him. Masoudi's behaviour seems to suggest that the Zanzibar

Arabs

1. Entries made on Jan. 7th and between 11th and 1st Jan. 1880.

feared that the offer might divert the ivory trade from Zanzibar. As a matter of fact it is claimed in the Rubaga Diary that the Arabs exerted pressure on Mutesa to reject the offer. They then asked Father Lourdel to write to Pearson and tell him of Mutesa's refusal. This, of course, was the opposite of what Mutesa wanted. He was highly flattered because the offer suggested to him some sort of an alliance with Egypt. Despite his enthusiasm, however, he was realistic enough to see that Mruli lay outside his kingdom and it would be very difficult to garrison it. Hence he sought co-operation with Kabarega. But at the beginning of 1880, northern Uganda was in turmoil, for Kabarega and Ruyonga (Rionga) were at war and the latter's forces had occupied Foweira.¹ Thus Kabarega had no time for Mutesa's suggestion of co-operation and he is said to have suspected Mutesa of being an accomplice of Egypt. The Baganda expedition which had been sent to occupy Mruli was thus doomed to failure and it returned without even reaching the fort.² It was a rather disappointing end to a long cherished dream of an alliance with Egypt. Nevertheless, it was not only that Mutesa was now a very sick man. His desire was the removal of the Egyptian forces, rather than the extension of his kingdom to the north. Once the Egyptians menace was removed.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

he did not see the value in provoking a quarrel with Kabarega. So he let Emin Bey's offer die.

It would be untrue, however, to conclude that Mutesa's hostility and diplomacy alone forced Gordon to change his plans towards the Lake region. There were other indirect influences. The Sultan of Zanzibar himself had vague territorial claims over the Lake Region, and he was already protesting against the unwarrantable invasion of his dominions by Egypt. Sir John Kirk was then the British Consul at Zanzibar. During his years as a Consul, he was the trusted adviser and defender of the Sultan's interests and territorial ambitions. His fear of the extension of Egyptian influence in Buganda must be viewed from this angle. Thus, when he was asked to forward his protest to the British Government, he did so with enthusiasm. The response seems to have been quick, because pressure was brought to bear upon the Khedive by the Foreign Office. At the same time, the C.M.S. whose interest in the Lake Region had been aroused by Stanley's letters, made representations and even drew up a memorial.¹

1. Sir John Kirk & Mutesa See also Mathew and Oliver (Ed) op.cit. p.250,

Notwithstanding the effect of these pressures, great credit must go to Mutesa himself for the skilful diplomatic battle he had fought. It is unlikely, however, that in dealing with Egypt and Zanzibar at the same time, and by telling each country that he was anxious to open trade with it, Mutesa deliberately intended to play off one party against the other. His desire was friendship with the two parties. Nevertheless, whether the methods of his diplomacy were deliberate or not, they stimulated efforts in Zanzibar to block Gordon's plans in the Lake Region. It must also be emphasized that the intervention of Sir John Kirk in this whole episode, was intended to serve the interests of the Sultan rather than those of Mutesa. But by so doing, Kirk contributed to the failure of Gordon's schemes.

The Planting of Christianity

The greatest episode of the reign of Mutesa, was probably his meeting with Stanley in 1875. Stanley's conduct would appear to have impressed Mutesa. Since the departure of Speke and Grant, no other European had stayed in Buganda as long as Stanley. Perhaps more important was that he assisted Mutesa in his war against the Bavuma and as Zimbe wrote, "This endeared him to the king and the two increased in each other's friendship and confidence."¹ Moreover, by

1. op.cit. pp.21-23. Mutesa sometimes used this argument in defence of the Christian Missionaries.

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the time Stanley came, Mutesa was already worried by the advance of Egypt in the lake region. Fearing for the independence of his country, he desired friendship or possibly an alliance with a powerful country. Mutesa seems also to have believed in the value of adopting a foreign culture, not necessarily for cultural reasons, but because of the military, political and even the material power such a culture represented. When therefore Stanley created the impression that he was backed by a powerful state, especially at the time ^{when} Egyptian Imperialism became more menacing, Mutesa became all the more anxious to acquire the culture of a country associated with greater military power.¹ It is thus not surprising that when Stanley suggested that Christian Missionaries should come to Buganda, Mutesa seized on the idea. He knew what he wanted from the Christian Missionaries. In fact he saw in them not the bearers of a new faith, but a counter blast to the southward thrust from Egypt.

Stanley's appeal to evangelise Buganda received immediate response from Christendom. Within a few days of its publication, for example, the C.M.S. received five thousand pounds from an anonymous benefactor, and by the end

1. Hamu Mukasa, Timugda Nyuma, op.cit. pp.18-22.

of November, 1875, the C.M.S. Committee, had already decided to undertake the Uganda Mission. Offers to serve in the new mission came in almost as quickly as the funds, and at the beginning of 1876, a party of eight men under the leadership of Shergold Smith, was despatched. They left Zanzibar towards the end of that year and after appalling hardships, only three of the original party reached the Lake Victoria.¹ They were Mr. Shergold Smith, Mr. O'Neill and the Reverend C.T. Wilson. Believing that Mutesa was in conflict with Egypt, they feared that there would be unrest in Buganda. Their plan, therefore, was to go to Karagwe first, whence Smith would proceed to Buganda and see the situation for himself.² But Mutesa who had heard of their presence at the south of the lake, sent them messages appealing to them to come to Buganda.³ Leaving Mr. O'Neill at the south of the lake, Mr. Smith and the Reverend C. Wilson proceeded to Buganda, and arrived on 30th June, 1877 as the first Christian Missionaries.

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1. For example, Mackay was injured in an accident and he was forced to rest first at the White Fathers mission at Bagamoyo, whence he was sent back to Zanzibar.
 2. Ca6/025, Wilson to Wright, 6th July, 1877; see also "Instructions delivered by the Committee of the C.M.S. to the Members of the Mission proceeding to the Victoria Nyanza," C.M.S. Pamphlet 1876.
 3. Two letters from Mutesa, one dated 10th April, 1877, the other was undated (Ca6/022).

Difficulties, however, delayed any serious work of evangelisation. Mr. O'Neill who had stayed at Kagei with the Mission goods and Mr. Smith who had returned to fetch them at the end of July, were murdered on Ukerewe Island in December of that year. Left on his own in Buganda, Wilson decided also to leave for the south of the lake. Thus, except for a short visit he made in the middle of 1878, there was no missionary in Buganda until his return with Mackay in November 1878. Work began slowly, and in February, 1879, the two missionaries were cheered by the arrival of Dr. R.W. Felkin, the Reverend G. Litchfield and Mr. Pearson, who had come by the Nile route.

Only one week after the arrival of the second party of the C.M.S. another group of whitemen came. They too wanted to establish Christian missions. These were Father S. Lourdel and Brother Amans of the White Fathers Society, known at the time as the Society of the Missionaries of Our Lady of the African Missions.¹ The Society had been founded by Bishop, later Cardinal, Lavigerie at Algiers in 1868-69 to establish Missions in the Sudan, (a term in those days vaguely used to cover even the modern East and Central Africa.)² Lavigerie's plans envisaged the creation

1. Annales de la propagation de la foi, vol. 53, 1881

2. Ibid.

of four vicariates one of which had to cover the region between the Lakes Albert and Victoria. (Like the C.M.S. the White Fathers also called this the Mission of Nyanza.)¹ The Nyanza mission party consisted of four priests: Fathers Livinhac, the Superior of the Mission, Barbot, Girault, Lourdel and one lay Brother, Amans. They left Zanzibar in June 1878. When they reached Lake Victoria towards the end of the year, Father Lourdel, who had made considerable progress with the Swahili Language,² left together with Brother Amans for Buganda. The task entrusted to them was to tell Mutesa of their presence at the south of the Lake, and to obtain permission for mission work in his kingdom. Like the C.M.S., the White Fathers thought of establishing their first Mission at the south of the Lake, should conditions be unfavourable in Buganda. But the power and influence of Mutesa suggested to them that of all the Intelacustrine states, Buganda offered the best prospects.³ Father Lourdel and Brother Amans who had arrived in Buganda on February 17th, 1879, were received at the royal court on

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1. Report of Mgr. Lavigerie to the Brussels International Conference, Les Missions Catholiques, 1878, p.135: 1882, pp.222.
 2. C 13-287, Livinhac to his Superior, 8th Feb. 1879. & C 14-16.
 3. C 14-15, Lourdel to his Superior, 29th October, 1878.

the 20th. But during the audience happened one of those ugly scenes which became a recurring event between then and 1882. Mackay of the C.M.S. denounced the Catholic religion and there was a heated argument with Lourdel.¹ Thus at their first encounter, the first bearers of Catholicism and Protestantism sowed the seeds of hatred. But the immediate effect was more disadvantageous to the missionaries themselves, than to the Baganda, whom they wanted to save from each other's bad doctrines.

The general opinion among the missionaries was that Mutesa had had no genuine desire to become a Christian, and never regarded the three religions which had come to his country as anything but possible tools of government or means of securing political alliances. These views are true to a large extent. For instance, in his first meeting with the first party of the C.M.S., he demonstrated that in welcoming them, his aim was to get increased power with which to counter Egyptian aggression. He even inquired who was the greater, the Khedive of Egypt or Queen Victoria? During the early months of 1879, rumours spread in Buganda that the Egyptian armies were advancing towards the lake

1. C14-17 & C14-16, 12th June, 1879, Lourdel to his Superior; CA6/025, Wilson to Wright, 11th March, 1879.

region. Mutesa apprehensively waited for his guests to act. When they did not, his silence anger broke into a virulent accusation. "...Mutesa abused us all," wrote Wilson, "and said that we professed to be his friends, but now that the Egyptians were coming near we did nothing to help him..."¹ When the White Fathers asked for permission to establish a mission in his kingdom, the tactless opposition of the C.M.S. taught him at once that these were a different type of white men. He therefore welcomed them as a diplomatic counterweight to the C.M.S.² And during June 1879, in a private audience, Mutesa confided in the White Fathers his fears of Egypt and his uneasiness about the connection of the C.M.S. with Gordon.³ He asked the priests to take a Baganda deputation to France and ask the French government for protection or for an alliance.⁴ Fathers Livinhac and Lourdel replied that for the moment none of them could return to France, but promised to convey his request to the French Consul at Zanzibar. Mutesa however, took the priests' reply as a refusal and this contributed to his gradual disillusionment in the whitemen as it will be shown later.

1. CA6/025, C.T. Wilson to Wright, 14th May, 1879.
 2. Rubaga Diary, 1st June, 1879.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Rubaga Diary, 13th July, 1879; C13-298, Livinhac to Lavigerie, 20th July.

But although Mutesa's real interest in the missionaries was more political than religious, evidence shows that from the arrival of the C.M.S. in 1877 until about November 1879, he genuinely desired to become a Christian, and on several occasions he asked Mackay of the C.M.S. to baptise him. The refusal to abandon Poligamy, however, remained an insuperable obstacle. But Mutesa was still determined to embrace Christianity. Hence hoping that the doctrines of the White Fathers were easier, he told them when they came, that he had found the religion of the C.M.S. heavy (mzito),¹ because they opposed poligamy and the slave trade, and more alarming was their connection with Gordon. Henceforth Mutesa leaned more and more towards Catholicism, and in July 1879 asked Lourdel to baptise him. But, as he soon discovered, the new religion was equally heavy because the White Fathers, like the C.M.S., were also opposed to poligamy and the slave trade. Moreover, if the religion of the C.M.S. had been found dangerous because of their connection with Egypt, the White Fathers were politically useless, because they had refused to promote an alliance with France. As time went on, Mutesa's attitude

1. Rubaga Diary, 30th June, 1879; C14; 13-83, Lourdel to a friend 20th July, 1879.

towards the two religions became more wavering. In September 1879, he told Mackay that he and his chiefs wanted to be baptised by him. Yet in October, he told Lourdel the same thing and to prove that he was genuine, he agreed to put away all but two of his wives.¹ When Lourdel insisted on monogamy, Mutesa gradually turned away from Christianity and in November 1879, he started reading the Koran again. By December, he had allowed the mediums of the Baganda gods to come to the court despite the strong opposition from the C.M.S.

It is thus clear that at first, Mutesa was keen to be admitted to the Christian fold though he was as yet not prepared to accept all the implications, such as the abandonment of polygamy. If his loss of interest in Christianity is viewed from his stand point, the difficulties involved become clearer. Often he had resisted the allegations of his chiefs that the whitemen wanted to alter the national institutions, Now he had come face to face with the question of whether or not to break with the past and abandon polygamy which was in many ways a national institution. The Queen mother warned him that it would be

1. Diary of Lubaga, 1st and 4th October, 1879.

unprecedented and most unbecoming for a great man, let alone a king, to have one wife only. He was now on the horns of a dilemma. Either he could violate one of the institutions which he symbolised as a king or he had to try to convince one of the missionaries and be baptised without having to get rid of all his wives. Once he realised that this was not forthcoming, his reaction was that the missionaries had rejected him. But polygamy was not the only obstacle to the conversion of Mutesa and the Baganda. Attachment to their own gods and religion was still very strong. When the mediums came to the court at the end of 1879, Mutesa told Mackay that this had been forced upon him by the chiefs and the Queen mother. One may regard this as a ruse and it probably was. Nevertheless, it contained much truth because hostility to the new religions especially Christianity, was stronger among the chiefs, including the Queen mother,¹ than in Mutesa himself.

These pressures around Mutesa partly explain why he was indecisive and cautious. Politically, prolonged illness had weakened his position and he was therefore obliged to listen more and more to his chiefs. He was himself shrewd enough to know that if he wanted to retain

1. Lourdel to Card. Lavigerie, 3rd Aug. 1882, quoted in in *Les Missions Cath.* vol. 1883, pp. 110-113.

his throne, he must not provoke any serious opposition from the conservative groups in the country. It is small wonder therefore that at the end of 1879, he renounced all foreign religions, and said, "...The Arabs can have their religion and you yours (the C.M.S.) But we shall have the religion of our forefathers."¹

But if the missionaries found the conversion of Mutesa impossible because of the nature of the Kiganda society, they also unfortunately contributed to his change of mind and to the gradual hardening of his views against Christianity. True enough, the existence of more than one religion was bound to confuse the Baganda and particularly Mutesa who was ever inquiring.² But it would appear from the evidence, that had the bearers of these new religions been more tactful in their approach, Mutesa and the chiefs would not have been as sceptical as they became, especially after 1879. What all the Kiganda sources emphasize is that the manner in which the missionaries denounced each other's doctrines, chilled Mutesa's desire to become a Christian.

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1. The royal decree against foreign religions was proclaimed on 23rd Dec. 1879. When he said, "you can keep your religion", he was telling the C.M.S., which created the wrong impression on some of the White Fathers that the proclamation did not apply to them, whereas in fact it was directed against Islam and the two Christian denominations. Despite the proclamation, Mutesa allowed his subjects to practise any religion they fancied.
 2. For example, he is said to have asked Mackay whether every nation in Europe had its own religion. Timudda Nyum. op.cit. p.50. Zimbe, op.cit. p.45.

Thus from the beginning of 1880 one discovers that Mutesa's views became more sophisticated, but they at the same time expressed his innermost feelings. For example, he told the Catholic and Protestant missionaries, that if they wanted to convert him, they should stop denouncing each other's doctrines first. And in 1883, he repeated to Mackay one of his usual complaints, "you see, Mackay," he said, "there are these two religions. When Masoudi reads his Book, the Koran; you call it lies. When you read your Book, Masoudi calls it lies. Which is true?"¹ The missionaries unfortunately failed to appreciate the sincerity of his doubts and regarded them as a ruse.

According to Zimbe, what finally convinced Mutesa that he should hold aloof from both the two Christian denominations, was an exhibition of zeal by Father Lourdel. In his opposition to the Arabs, Lourdel challenged one of the Arabs to be locked up in a house with him: he holding the Bible, and the Arab holding the Koran. Then the house would be set on fire and God would bear testimony of the true doctrine by burning the one holding the "false" book.²

1. CA6/016a, Mackay. By 1883, the White Fathers had withdrawn from Buganda.

2. Zimbe, op.cit. pp.50-51; Timudda Nyuma, op.cit. pp. 44-46.

Mutesa was frightened that the white men might die in his country. He thus came to the conclusion that acceptance of either Protestantism or Catholicism would make the rivalry of the missionaries uncontrollable. He also often used to argue that it would not be politic for a king to adopt one denomination, because that would cause a division among his subjects.¹

The story of the Christian missionaries is a tale of ups and downs which were abundantly recounted in their correspondence. These missionary sources however, create the impression that all their difficulties were created solely by their rivals, "fanatical Arabs Moslems" against the European Christians, "Romanists" against the Protestants, or the envy of the native chiefs.² But it is clear from the evidence that the Arabs for example, were not always hostile to the European missionaries. It is true though that the arrival of the latter was not welcomed by the Arabs who feared that the privileged position they had always enjoyed, would be undermined. It is true also

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1. C14-319, Levesque to Lavigerie, 6th January, 1881. Mutesa was naturally confused, not only by Christianity and Islam, but also by Catholicism and Protestantism.
 2. CA6/015, G. Litchfield to Wright, 7th June, 1880. The C.M.S. erroneously used to refer to the White Fathers as Jesuits; C13-300, Livinhac to Lavigerie, 9th August, 1882.

that their influence on Mutesa was sometimes disadvantageous to the C.M.S. Despite this, however, some of the Arabs were not only good men, but friendly to the Christians. Moreover, sometimes their hostility was provoked by the aggressiveness of the missionaries themselves. Thus Dr Felkin wrote that before the C.M.S. Nile party arrived, Mackay told them that he had ^{had} many rows with the Arabs¹. For his part, Mackay would appear to have enjoyed these controversies as his own account shows,

"...On several occasions the coast Moslems have opened subjects of controversy on their religion in court and on each occasion I have been able to thoroughly refute their arguments. Thank God, this is not a difficult task and although I do not care to commence a controversy with them, yet when the gauntlet is thrown, I take it up and put it to confusion..."²

It is important to remember also that the Arabs and other coast men enjoyed a sort of special relationship with the king. This was due to a number of factors, for instance. Mutesa had adopted and practised Islam zealously for nearly ten years. Besides religion, he had learnt Arabic, and he had even adopted Arabic dress and manners. The Arabs, moreover, traded in the very things he desired. Firearms

1. CA6/010, Letter written either at the end of April or at beginning of May 1879.
 2. CA6/016a, Mackay to Wright (26th Dec. 1878).

and cloth and thereby contributed to the country's wealth and military power. As dealers in firearms, they could afford to donate larger quantities of them than the Christian missionaries.¹ Furthermore, by their opposition to any Egyptian influence in Buganda, though doubtless from self interest, they appeared as the champions of Buganda's independence. And so did their Sultan and the British Consul at Zanzibar. All this created a bond of interest between them and Mutesa which the Christian missionaries could not achieve.

It would appear also that the favourable attitude of Mutesa towards the Arabs and the Swahills, was not unconnected with their cautious conduct in Buganda. Many of them lived like Baganda chiefs and even accepted chieftainships and women from the king. Perhaps more important in the eyes of Mutesa, was that they aided him in the wars. Furthermore, probably from a fear that they were far too isolated, they did not raid in Buganda territory as they sometimes did in Tanganyika. Equally important was that the Arabs unlike the Christian missionaries, did not violently oppose Baganda customs and religious practices. True enough

1. Levesque to Lavigerie. C14-327 (8th August, 1882).

the customs the missionaries found intolerable, such as polygamy, homosexuality and the slave trade were in fact encouraged and practised by the Arabs themselves. Nevertheless, it seems that they were more cautious and less aggressive in their conduct than their Christian counterparts.

This was not the only contrast, because from the very beginning, the missionaries made it clear that they would not participate in any of the Baganda wars. But by so doing, they forfeited some of their potential value in the eyes of Mutesa. A belief seems to have prevailed among the missionaries that strong opposition to what they believed to be pagan practises won them respect. Thus when the mediums of the Baganda gods came to the court, the C.M.S. missionaries tried to stop them. It was on this occasion that Mackay overreached himself; there was an uproar at the court and the C.M.S. lost favour not only with the king, but with the chiefs who regarded such opposition as an attempt to convert the king by force. To Mutesa, this seemed to confirm the allegations of his chiefs which he had sometimes treated sceptically, namely that the missionaries wanted to alter the national institutions as a preliminary step to the annexation of the country. He thus reminded the C.M.S. that when they came

to Buganda, they found the people with their own religion which they had every right to practise.

Mutesa and the Baganda have been accused of pursuing a deliberate policy intended to play off one party against another, Arab Moslem against the Christian Missionaries and Catholics against Protestants; so as to squeeze out of each as much as possible. There is sufficient evidence to support this accusation. Nevertheless one doubts whether it was Mutesa's original intention. It was taught to him by his guests, whose intolerance of each other exposed them to the exploitation of the king and his chiefs. For instance, when the C.M.S. heard of the approach of the White Fathers, they requested Mutesa not to allow them to establish a mission in Buganda, Mutesa, however, ignored the request, whereupon the C.M.S. tried to force his hand. They put a list of demands to him which had to be guaranteed. They threatened, at the same time, to leave the country should he refuse to grant their demands. Mutesa himself was surprised that he could be so threatened and the chiefs were dumbfounded.¹ Mutesa did not expell the White Fathers, however, and the C.M.S. did not withdraw, because that would have meant leaving the field to their

1. D.A. Low, D.Phil Thesis (Oxford).

rivals. But the damage had been done, and Mutesa had learnt to exploit his position as the following remarks to his chiefs suggest,

The Arabs and the Europeans are jealous of each other. I am myself like a beautiful young lady who is being courted by several men. Before she makes her choice, the men remain fierce rivals. The something applies to these three religions. The Arabs want me to become a Muslim and expell the Europeans. The Europeans also want me to become a Christian and expell the Arabs. But these same Europeans are divided among themselves
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Despite all this, however, what was probably the most important single factor to determine Mutesa's attitude towards his foreign guests, was what he expected to get out of them and what he actually got. It is only by looking at the situation from this point of view that one can understand Mutesa's changeable moods towards the missionaries. He had always looked upon the religion of the imported kind as an essential ingredient of the new ethos he wanted to see established in his kingdom. His aims were political, military and material. If he looked upon religion as a political tool, he cannot be blamed for this. Neither was it because the Kiganda religion itself was an instrument of government as some writers have argued.² As a matter of fact it was the new religions which

1. Timudda Nyuma, op.cit. p.54
2. H.P. Gale, Mutesa, Was he a god?

gave that impression. Islam, for instance had at one time appeared to Mutesa as a political force represented especially by Egypt. So did Christianity, because in his eagerness to undermine Islam, Stanley had spoken of the power of England and the benefits of Christianity as if the two were related.¹ Thus in welcoming the missionaries, he did so because he expected them to counter the Egyptian thrust from the north. But to his alarm, the contrary seemed to happen especially when the second party of the C.M.S. arrived with every assistance from Gordon. In rage, he accused them of being Egyptian spies and this remained a serious cause of friction between him and the C.M.S. Thus even after the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons from the south of the Nile, Mutesa could still accuse the C.M.S. of imperialism as Pearson's letter of 7th January, 1880 shows,

"I asked the king what we had to do, stay or go away? He sharply replied, "I did not send for you... You only want to spy out my country, see if there is a large sea behind the Nyanza. Then your Queen will send her ships to take the country."²

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1. Some missionaries went further than Stanley. For example, in a letter of March 30th, 1881, P. O'Flaherty wrote "... I told him (Mutesa) that those countries which had the Bible were blessed, whereas, the Koran was a curse a deadweight upon the peoples who acted upon it." See G3.A6/001, 1880-1881.
 2. CA6/019.

But although Mutesa feared the connection of the C.M.S. and Gordon as dangerous, he at first thought that they might after all secure an alliance for him with England. His assumption would appear to have been based on the fact that when the C.M.S. came, they brought with them a letter from Lord Salisbury, the then Foreign Secretary, which gave Mutesa the impression that they were the Agents of the Queen. And perhaps rather vaguely, he believed that the missionaries were supported by the military power behind them. So long as this false picture remained, Mutesa still regarded the missionaries as very important people and treated them accordingly.¹ But the bluff was called when Sir John Kirk wrote from Zanzibar, warning Mutesa that the missionaries, were not in Buganda to represent the Queen. This came to Mutesa as a shock and the violence of his reaction can be gauged from the way he taunted the missionaries that they were imposters and ^{that} the letter they had was a forgery.

From a material point of view, Mutesa had by 1860, come to regard the presence of the missionaries as unprofitable. This was largely because originally, he had been given the impression that the white man's religion was connected with his technical superiority. Moreover, he had been promised that once the missionaries came, they

1. D.A. Low. D.Phil Thesis (Oxford.)

would make all manner of things.¹ Such a statement can only be described as irresponsible, because it was bound to arouse high expectations in an untutored mind. Once these were not fulfilled, anger and disillusionment resulted. Thus although the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant did some technical work for the king and the chiefs, such as repairing their guns, and although in 1882 Mackay of the C.M.S. made a coffin for the Queen mother, for which he was acclaimed by all the people, Mutesa's gratitude then as before, would appear to have been temporary. He himself wanted the missionaries to make guns and powder. In the case of firearms, it is fair to say that Mutesa brought the disappointment upon himself because neither Stanley nor the missionaries promised him that. Nevertheless, that made no difference to Mutesa and he accused the missionaries of having let him down. As time went on he would occasionally use that as a pretext, either to abuse them or to cut down their food supplies.²

But there is also evidence that some of the missionaries aggravated what was already a delicate situation by promising things which they could not do.

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1. Shergold Smith to Wright, 6th July, 1877, CA6/022.
 2. CA6/017, Pearson to Wright, 7th Jan, 1880; CA6/010; Felkin's letter written either at the end of April or at the beginning of May, 1879.

One learns from Felkin that by the time the Nile party arrived (Feb. 1879), Mackay had already promised the king to build him a palace and a steamer.¹ Then in 1882, O'Flaherty promised Mutesa that he would build him a house of bricks and what was worse, he talked about discovering silver. One should emphasize, however, that when the missionaries made these promises they did so with some qualifications. But these were always ignored by Mutesa as in the case regarding the discovery of silver. Thus O'Flaherty's statement that "perhaps silver might be found by digging in the ground," was misconstrued. Mutesa became excited and even told all his wives that he was going to be very rich.²

Some of the missionaries regreted that such promises or statements were being made by their less prudent brethren, but no explanation could satisfy Mutesa. Thus, if Mutesa accused the missionaries of bad faith, and if he was sometimes fretful and changeable in his attitude towards them, it was neither because of pride or malice, but because he was disillusioned.³ Unfortunately, the missionaries themselves were slow to recognise the genuineness of his

1. Ibid.

2. G3.A6/01, (1882) Mackay's diary.

3. H.P. Gale, in Mutesa Was he a God? attributes some of Mutesa's reactions to the missionaries, as the result of pride or malice.

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disappointment despite the fact that frequently his serious enquiries were not about the Word of God, but about such things as powder and shot, and how quickly were the missionaries going to supply them. Largely as a consequence of this disillusionment, the presence of the missionaries after 1879 was no longer regarded as an asset. They were no doubt tolerated and Mutesa himself continued to be polite to them, but if they wanted to leave, they could do so without being persuaded to stay.¹

As a matter of fact, the White Fathers left Buganda in November, 1882 with what has always seemed to be dramatic suddenness. A note in Les Missions Catholiques² of June 1883 (pp.268-9), explained that the priests had left Buganda because of the effects of the Madhist revolt in the Sudan upon the Arabs in Buganda. In the next issue, of Les Missions Catholiques (pp.328-9), Father Charmetent, the Secretary of Cardinal Lavigerie, added an authoritative statement based on the letters of the priests. These expressed a fear that the Arabs had become more menacing and that they could even carry out a coup d'etat. They stated also that the White Fathers who had hitherto been

1. Les Missions Catholiques, vol. 1883, pp.268-269

2. *ibid*

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less feared than the C.M.S. (believed to be in league with the rulers of Egypt), were now the object of a secret conspiracy, probably inspired by Mutesa himself. Reports from the priests' young converts, seemed to confirm the rumours that there was a plot to massacre them at night. The second reason given by Pere Charment was that the priests had left Buganda out of prudence, following orders from their superiors in Europe. It was also argued that despite his kindness, Mutesa was prejudiced against the missionaries because their teaching embarrassed him. Because of these reasons, the White Fathers left Buganda, at least for a time until the situation improved. In going to the south of the lake, they hoped to find a more promising mission there than in Buganda where the monarch was the centre of intrigue. Moreover, experience had taught them that work in small and less cohesive tribes could be very fruitful.

But on the other hand, one finds the account given in Les Missions Catholiques rather remarkable for what it omits and what it describes as the main reason why the priests left Buganda. True enough by so doing, they were no doubt obeying instructions from their Superior General and Founder of their Society, who after losing many priests in the Sudan and Burundi (1881), had put his priests under obedience not to court danger of death if they could avoid it.¹

1. Les Missions Catholiques, 1881, pp.541-542.

Moreover, it may be true also that the success of the revolt in the Sudan, made the Arabs bolder because it removed any immediate threat of Egyptian intervention in Buganda. It may further be true that after Lourdel's embarrassing confrontation with Arabs in 1881, they now decided to direct their opposition to the White Fathers as the latter claimed. But it is questionable whether the actual danger (of a massacre) to them and to their converts was as real and as imminent as it was made out to be. Neither were the prospects of an Arab Coup d'etat in Buganda in any way threatening. One suspects that the stories reported to the priests by their apprehensive converts were exaggerated. And what is more, the correspondence of Father Levesque gives the impression that the revolt in the Sudan was the occasion rather than the cause for leaving Buganda. Levesque himself arrived in Buganda in December, 1880. But even before then, as his previous correspondence shows, he was already pessimistic about the prospects of their work in Buganda.¹ He was already writing enthusiastically about the great opportunities in the small state of Ruma (Rouma) at the south of the Lake. He detested nearly every aspect of

1. Pere Levesque. was on the White Fathers' side, what Mackay was on the side of the C.M.S. Indefatigable, impatient and sometimes quarrelsome. But unlike Mackay, he had no hope in the Mission of Rubaga. See C14-318
1st, November, 1880.

Kiganda life and perhaps more than any of the other missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, was convinced that there was no future for Christianity in Buganda.

The evidence suggests that the underlying and perhaps more important reason why the White Fathers left Buganda, was the disappointment at the slow progress of their mission. To this, was added the conviction that the political and social set up of Buganda which encouraged polygamy with its lack of respect for the marriage tie, rendered successful evangelisation impossible. These reasons were argued at great length by the priests who were in favour of withdrawing from Buganda and those who were not.¹ Another complaint of the Fathers was that which the C.M.S. had also frequently voiced, namely the lack of freedom to go about the country and preach. But despite the suspicion of the Fathers that Mutesa probably inspired the hostility of the Arabs, there is no evidence that this was true. The impression one in fact gets from their Diary is that Mutesa was kind, perhaps superficially so. And the general picture from all the missionary sources is that the situation in 1882 was neither better nor worse than it had been before. It was, in fact, so

1. C13-329 (30th Oct. 1882) Livinhac to a Brethren.
C13-326 (9th Aug, 1882) & C13-330 (16th Dec.

changeable that to base one's conclusion on the events of one week or even of one month could be misleading. A cool and careful assessment of the situation was made by Father Girault in July 1882 (when he argued against the decision to leave Buganda), almost in the same words as Mr. Litchfield had done two years before. Litchfield himself had written,

"I have never written in full detail about our work here... not because there is not plenty to write on, but because it was so variable. One month sees the work prosperous, another sees all work stopped. One day sees the king and the court favourable, another day sees us as enemies by all parties.. There are always the elements of explosion in Mutesa's court which the stirring of a child's finger may bring together... Arab savage, Roman Catholic, Protestant, politics, religion envy of the native chiefs, hatred of the Arabs, underhand machinations of the Romanists and other sulphurous materials."1

This analysis crystalises some of the real difficulties which the missionaries had to grapple with. The monarchy was bound to remain a centre of intrigue so long as it was the policy of the king to gather all the foreigners at the court. One sympathises with the missionaries that like the Baganda chiefs, they were obliged to dance attendance on the king and that they lacked the freedom of movement to preach wherever they wanted. But in

1. CA6/015, 7th Jan. 1880.

view of the centralised state in Buganda, one doubts whether freedom of movement would have brought them greater success. The general conclusion to be drawn is that frustration and disappointment was the lot of both missions,¹ probably because they expected too much too quickly and when they did not get it, they blamed their rivals or the Baganda. The setbacks of the earlier years, however, were rewarded before the decade was out, when between 1885 and 1887, over forty christian Baganda faced death rather than renounce their Christianity.²

As 1884 drew to a close, Mutesa, the central figure in this whole period, steadily weakened, from an illness he had contracted seven years before. His last years were in many ways unhappy, not only due to prolonged physical suffering. Between 1879 and 1884, a succession of epidemic diseases had carried away his beloved wives, daughters and the two sons, either of whom he regarded as the most suitable to succeed him. The last shattering blow came when Prince Mawanda, the third of the sons he had considered as a successor, was shot dead by his jealous brother, Kalema. About, the same time, his mother died,

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1. There is no definite evidence that the C.M.S. had more catechumens than the White Fathers because they used to distribute the Bibles.
 2. 22 of these were canonised in Rome during 1964

(1882). Politically, although Mutesa was loved and respected by all his subjects, by the time he died, there was already a general feeling that he had lived too long and that his prolonged illness prevented him from providing the sort of leadership the people desired.¹ He himself had, in these last years, lived in the nightmare of Egyptian Imperialism. The changes which had taken place and his knowledge of the events outside Buganda, rather intuitively made him believe, as he sometimes told his chiefs, that he was the last independent ruler of Buganda. Our sources, make it impossible to estimate the effects of Christianity and Islam upon Mutesa. Nor shall we ever know whether he regarded their teaching as superior to the Kiganda religion. Equally difficult to know, is whether the doctrinal differences between the three religions, really mattered to him as he sometimes claimed. What seems to have been of greater significance to him, was that the first bearers of these new religions came from different countries and therefore represented different governments. Despite our lack of evidence, it is safe to assume that the teachings of both Christianity and Islam, met and fulfilled (though to what extent we do not know) a certain spiritual need in Mutesa.

1. For example, a drum used to be beaten that he had taken toolong to die (Kaludde okufa). See Zimbe, op.cit. 61.

And spiritually it seems certain that by the time he died he believed in the existence of a Greater Being than himself. From a material point of view, his reign had seen many changes. For instance, when Speke came, the majority of the chiefs were dressed in barkcloth. But now, they were dressed in "rich gold lace and the finest cloths of scarlet, crimson, green, blue, saffron black and fine white linen."¹ So far as firearms were concerned, they were plentiful and the general distribution of wealth was shared in by the whole nation. As far as military power was concerned, Buganda seemed to be at the height of her power and the people believed that their country was the greatest, if not in the whole world, at least in Africa.² As things looked then, every one was happy to be alive.

Many appreciations of Mutesa were written by the explorers and the missionaries, all of them more or less favourable. At his death O'Flaherty wrote an obituary which contained the following words, "... the foreigner he fed and the stranger he protected.." These words sum up the everlasting credit which must be allowed to Mutesa.

1. G3.A6/01, P. O'Flaherty to Wigram.
2. Diary of Lubaga.

By peacefully opening up his country to new civilisations and cultures, he brought benefits not only to the men of his generation or to Buganda, but also to future generations and to the whole country known as Uganda today. When he died, a fundamental change came over the Kiganda scene. It was not merely that a great man had passed away, rather it was something which the missionaries for example, felt intuitively but could not express.¹ To many men of his generation, however, the death of Mutesa meant that things would never be the same again. And with the help of hindsight, we know that his death marked not only the end of pre-colonial Buganda, but also her independence.

1. H.P. Gale, Mutesa, Was he a God? Some of the missionaries wept bitterly.

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PRINCIPAL INFORMANTSIn the County of Kyaddondo:-

- Elizabethi Buteba, former royal wife of Mutesa and Mwanga: d. December 1963.
- S. KaliKuzzinga of Bulange. About 80 years and belongs to the Lungfish Clan. A mine of information.
- J. Kasirye of Rubaga. Historian and writer.
- K. Mukasa of Nangabo. Head of the Sheep Clan and a minister of the Anglican Church. About 80 years old.
- J. Muwumbo of Mageⁿre, Kasangati. Claims to have been born while Mutesa was at the capital of Banda, that is, in the early 1860's. Belongs to the Lungfish Clan.
- M.B. Nsimbi The living expert on Kiganda traditions. Writer and educationalist. About 50 years old.

In the County of Busiro:-

- Lukongwa, The present Sabalagira (head of the princes.)
- Kakoma Y.K. of Wakiso. Prominent member of the Lungfish Clan. Claims to have been one of Sir Apolo Kagawa's secretaries. About 70 years old.
- Kayima Mpaddwa E. former Sabalagira.
- Kidobanye Yusufu, of Namayumba, Gomb. Mt III. Former page in Mwanga II's court. Born during the 1870's.

In the County of Kyaggwe:-

- Gasuza, E of Lusanja village. Belongs to the Manis Clan and he is one of the great experts on the history of Kyaggwe. Born during the 1880's or 1890's.
- Kaboggoza P. Of Nammezi, Gomb. Nyenga. Reputed to know much, but he did not.
- Kamunye, D.R. of Bukamunye, Bugolo. Head of the Siga of Kamunye of the Bird Clan.
- Kanya D. Head of the Fox Clan of Bulenga, Makiadu, Gomb. Sabawali.
- Kibijjigini, E Kitanda, of Kkonko, Gomb. Mt.V, Head of the Reed-buck Clan.
- ~~Kironde M.~~
Kkonggo of Nakanyonyi. Belongs to the Colobus Monkey Clan and he is a great expert on the history of Ebitongole. About 80 years old.
- Kyankya J. Mile 43 Jinja Rd. Famous.
- Kyonga F. of Nyenga, -belongs to the Reed^{buck} Clan. An old man of about 70 years.
- Mamuli S.M. of Kabembe. Descendant of Mande and belongs to the Monkey Clan. Born during the 1870's or 1880's.
- Mawagajjo of Bugolo. Muluka chief, and head of his Siga of the Hippo Clan.
- Namaaba of Kojja. Head of Siga of the Lungfish Clan. His information should be treated with caution.
- Rugumba Y. of Bugolo, Gomb. Nyenga. Head of his Siga of the Hippo Clan. A great expert.

In the County of Bugerere.

- Basajjansolo Sinimani, of Bulyankuyege, Gomb. Mumyuka, Ntenjeru. Calls himself a Mubiito and belongs to the Bushbuck Clan. Interviewed by the Lord Munster Commission on the 'Disputed Counties' question. He knows much, but his information should be taken with a grain of salt.
- Kato, S. A Munyara of the Rhino (non Kiganda) Clan. Born 1893, and was a chief for 30 years. Famous among the Banyara.
- Masajjagge Y. of Nattetta, Gomb. Musaale, Kangulumira. Belongs to the Monkey Clan. He was interviewed by Nsimbi.
- Mwase Erisa, of Kangumira. The main source on the history of Bulondoganji. Belongs to the Reed-buck Clan.
- Ngango Temutewo, of Wartante, Gomb. Sabagabo. A Munyara, and famous throughout the county.

In the County of Bululi.

- Kizza Suleimani of Busagala, Gomb. Wsbinyonyi. He is the son of a former chief of Kabarega, and he was brought up by Kabarega's daughter. A very old man who knows the history of Bululi from A. to Z.
- Mutalabwa Byemero Festo. He is a native of Bululi and belongs to the Lungfish Clan. Famous for his knowledge. Address: Ekisenyi Gomb. Sabawali.
- Wasswa Petero of Nakasongola.

In the County of Bulemegi.

- Kasoma Batulumayo Mile 34 Masindi Rd. About 80 years old and belongs to the Manis Clan.
- Mayengo Matiya of Bukeeka, Gomb. Mt.II Katikamu, Belongs to the Lungfish Clan, and he is very knowledgeable. Born in the 1870s.
- Mbajja Zakaliya of Namayumba, Gomb. Mt.IV. Born at the beginning of the 1870s and he is the head of his Siga in the Lungfish Clan. Former page in Mwanga's court.
- Migadde Daudi of Emigadde, Gomb. Katikamu. Keeper of the Chronicle of the Siga of Nakatanza of the Manis Clan. The present Nakatanza, a relatively younger man, did not know much about his Siga.
- Nabugwamu Juma Descendant of Nabugwamu at Ssambwe, Gomb. Mt.III. Belongs to the Lungfish Clan, and is a great expert.
- Wavamunno Kasujju B. of Butanza, Gomb. Mt.II. Born about 1880, belongs to the Lungfish Clan, and he is a great expert.
- Sempala of Bulamba Head of the Civet Cat Clan. Rather un-co-operative.
- Tabula Alamanzani of Wankapa, Gomb. Mt.II. Born about 1888 and belongs to the Bird Clan.

In the County of Busujju.

- Mutasingwa Kinyewala eKiggwa, Gomb. Sabawali. Head of the Dog Clan and Keeper of the Shrine of the God Musisi. Famous, but the great expert of this Clan is Yusufu Kiwanuka of Singo. See under Singo.
- Mwanje of the Leopard Clan. Chief guardian of Magonga. Busujju is a very small county and its local history is known very well by people in Gomba, Singo and Busivo.

In the County of Ggamba:-

Kayizzi A.M. of Buwanguzi, present head of the Siga of Balamaga of the Cephalopus Clan. Knows much but suspicious.

Muwanga Nassani of Kanoni, Gomb. Sabawali Kasaka.

Sekikubo Kiribatta of Buwanguzi. Born at the beginning of the 1880s and he was once the head of the Siga of Balamaga for over ten years, and he has lived in Gomba since 1913. He retired due to old age. Most of the information came from him rather than Kayizzi.
Andreya

In the County of Butambala:-

Kafumbe Saidi Banaddawa of Ebule, Gomb. Bulo. Belongs to the Sheep Clan. Descendant of the family of Mpungu

Sekkawu Yusufu e Bweya, near Saza H.Q. Head of the Siga of Mpungu. Keeps the Chronicle and knows much about the early history of Butambala and Gomba.

In the County of Mawokota:-

Nagaledmedde of Mbale. Chief medium of the God Kibuuka. She is over 80 years old.

In the County of Kabula:-

Kongo of Rwanamusaire, Gomb. Sabaddu. He is a direct descendant of the indigenous chiefs who used to rule Kabula.

Kyeyhne Kalidi of Lyantond. Belongs to the Yam Clan

In the County of Kooki:-

Lubega Bernardo of Kiganda.

Mugumbule Zaboloni Prince of Kooki and the main source. D. 1964.

In the County of Mawogola (Bwera):-

Kayizzi D.S.)
Kigonya Matiya)

sons of a Mutongole chief of Mowogola during the reign of Mutesa. Kigonya was a former Chief Judge in Buganda. They are the principal Baganda family in Mawogola. See under Buddu.

In the County of Buddu:-

Aliwali A.

of Bukalasa, near the Catholic Seminary. He inquired in the history of Buddu and Bwera and published the results of his work in Munno. He is the real expert on these areas.

Bissibingi Yozefu

of Lutete, Gomb. Mt. 8, on the border of Buddu and Kooki. Belongs to the Bushbuck (of Buddu) Clan. and he keeps the Chronicle of his Siga.

Kaggwa George

Chief of all the Baziba princes in Buganda. Perpetually drunk!

Kaggwa Paulo,

Deputy head of the Ant Clan. Former follower of Kakugulu and the best source on the history of his Clan.

Kayizzi Yowana Gabera

of Nabyajwe, Gomb. Sabaddu. Prince of Kiziba.

Mawasano Ernest,

of Mile I, Bukala Rd. Head of the Bird Clan. (Namungona)

Mukasa Victor Rev.

e Kitasa Mission.

Musoke Zakaria

of Nakyenya, Gomb, Lwengo. Former palace page under Mwanga and a follower of A. Sebbowa. About 70 years old.

Maria Kirofu

of Kyanakibi, Gomb. Daughter of the last royal ruler of Bwera (Muntu). She is about 50 years old.

Mutawonga Peter

of Kyoko, Gomb. Sabawali. Belongs to the Monkey Clan and he is about 65 years old.

Nsubuga Peter Kaviri

of Buyaga, Gomb. Bujerero. Born 1890, a former Gomb. chief. Almost as great an expert as Aliwali.

Zamwanguya Israeli Cook

Masaka Tech. Sch. He is the father of the present Mugalula, the official head of the Grasshopper Clan.

In the County of Singo:-

Buledi Ntengo Haji,

of Budimbo, Gomb. Sabagabo, Magala. He is the acting head of the Squirrel Clan. He was born during the 1870s.

Kasimbi Eremio Kawafu

Gomb. Sabagabo. Grew up in the household of chiefs and he is now the chief of Princess Mazzi's estates. About 67 years old.

Kasirye Suleiman

of Magoya, Gomb. Sabagabo. Born during the 1870s and belongs to the Mushroom Clan.

Kiwanuka Yusufu

of Kyempisi, Gomb. Magala. He is about 90 years and belongs to the Dog Clan. A great all rounder.

Nakabale Christopher

of Namigaru, Gomb. Sabagabo. Belongs to the Monkey Clan.

Nsubuga Lazaro

of Buwalisa, Gomb. Sabaddu. Belongs to the Lungfish Clan.

From the Island of Koome

Mukasa Yafesi,

Deputy Gombolola chief. Belongs to the Lungfish Clan.

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TABLE II

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HEADS OF THE ORIBI ANTELOPE CLAN^I

<u>Name of the Clan Head</u>	<u>Name of Contemporary King</u>
1. Sejjuko	Cwa I
2. Lubulwawajjinja .. son of 1.	Kimera
3. Mawulube .. brother of 2.	Kimera
4. Mawayira .. nephew of 3.	Kiggala
5. Mpomba .. son of 4.	Kiyimba
6. Mujona .. brother of 5.	Kayima
7. Semunyi .. nephew of 6.	Nakibinge
8. Nanziri .. brother of 7.	Mulondo
9. Nankumba .. son of 8.	Jemba
10. Nkulubatya .. son of 9.	Suna I
11. Migadde .. son of 10.	Kimbugwe
12. Lubulwa .. son of 11. He held office from the end of Kateregga's to the end of Tebandeke's reign.	
13. Kulubya .. son of 12.	Ndawula
14. Senkubuge .. son of 13. From the reign of Kagulu to the reign of Kyabaggu.	
15. Katoto .. son of 14) Held the office jointly Tugavune .. son of 15) because 15 was too old.	Junju
16. Nadduli .. Same generation as 15.	Junju
17. Kantinti .. son of Nanziri, brother of 16.	Kamanya
18. Kisekwa .. son of 16.	Kamanya - Suna II

I. Ebika, pp. 73-78

TABLE III

THE SIGA OF KAJUGUJWE, A SUB-BRANCH OF THE MUSHROOM CLAN ^I

1. Kajugujwe .. The first recorded head of the clan.
2. Mugwanya .. son of 1.
3. Zzimula .. brother of 2.
4. Musitwa
5. Kagombe .. son of 2. He lived during the reign of King Mawanda.
6. Kisalita .. brother of 5. He is said to have been a half brother of King Mawanda, because their mother was the same. She was the wife of a man of the Mushroom Clan before King Ndawula married her.
7. Zibukuyimbwa .. son of 5.
8. Wattiti .. Son of Malibano who was himself the son of Mugwanya.
9. Mubiru .. son of 8. He held the office during part of Semakokiro's and Kamanya's reigns.
10. Zzimula II .. Held office during the reign of Kamanya and Suna II.
11. Musitwa .. son of 10. He was the father of Stanislaus Mugwanya, who was one of the three Regents appointed by the British during the minority of King Cwa II, 1897-1914. According to tradition Mugwanya was born towards the end of the 1840s. Musitwa held the office from the reign of Suna and died at the beginning of the 1860s, that is, at the time Speke came to Buganda.
12. Mberenge .. Held the office during the reign of Mutesa.

I. See Munno 1937

TABLE IV

THE GENEALOGY OF KING KAGULU ^I

- 1. Kagulu .. Overthrown by his fellow princes.
- 2. Sematimba .. Son of Kagulu. He died during the reign of King Kikulwe.
- 3. Kayemba Sekitamu .. He died during the reign of Namugala.
Kayemba was a son of 2.
- 4. Lubugu .. He was a grandson of 3. He died during the reign of Junju.
- 5. Sekitamu II .. He was a brother of 4. He died during Kamanya's reign.
- 6. Kikindu .. He was a grandson of 5. He died during the reign of Cwa II.
- 7. Isaka Yali Aseka .. Seems to have held the office until the 1920s.

I. Gomotoka, Munno 1924

TABLE V

THE GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF NAKIGOYE, THE HEAD OF THE ANT CLAN.^I

1. Dege .. Claimed to have lived during the reign of Kyebamb I
who was a contemporary of King Juko.
2. Kabeeba .. son of 1.
3. Mwema
4. Munyomansi
5. Ndaluboyine
6. Kabuubi
7. Lwolaba
8. Lugyayo
9. Bitino
10. Nakigoye II
11. Kibenda
12. Yozefu Lubandi) Cwa II.
13. Isaka Tebasoboke) .. 1936.

I. Isaka Nakigoye, Munno 1936.

TABLE VI

THE GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF BWAKAMBA, ONE OF THE CHIEFS OF BUDDU ^I

1. Mulannami .. Said to have lived during the reign of Kyebambe II of Bunyoro who was a contemporary of Kings Mutebi and Juuko.
2. Kumanya ... brother of 1.
3. Bwakamba .. son of 2.
4. Kagenda
5. Kiwanuka
6. Kayimbala
7. Mukubya .. Lived at the time Junju conquered Buddu.
8. Bbuye
9. Sekalo
10. Nduulu
11. Senkoto
12. Namugundu
13. Wavomukazi .. Lived from the reign of Mutesa to 1926.

I. See A. Aliwali, Munno 1914; Gomotoka, Munno 1925 and 1927; K. Nsigo, Munno 1929.

TABLE VII

A RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE BAGANDA KINGS

(According to Professor R. Oliver)

Professor Oliver states that where the system of succession is not primogeniture, the generation tends to be long, and that 27 years would be a reasonable average. "Figures calculated on this basis", he argues, "should be regarded as liable to a margin of error of two years plus or minus for every generation back from the present." ¹

<u>GENERATION</u>	<u>RULER</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ERROR</u>
20 (19)	Kimerà	1420 - 1447	± 60 years
19 (17) ²	Tembo	1447 - 1474	± 58 years
18 (16)	Kiggala	1474 - 1501	± 56 years
17 (15)	Kiyimba	1501 - 1528	± 54 years
16 (14)	Kayima	1528 - 1555	± 52 years
15 (13)	Nam ^K binge	1555 - 1582	± 50 years
14 (11 & 12) ³	Mulondo, Jemba & Suna I	1582 - 1609	± 48 years
13 (10)	Sekamanya & Kimbugwe	1609 - 1636	± 46 years
12 (9)	Kateregga	1636 - 1663	± 44 years
11 (8)	Mutebi, Suko & Kayemba	1663 - 1690	± 42 years
10 (7)	Tebandeke & Ndawula	1690 - 1717	± 40 years
9 (6)	Kagulu, Kikulwe & Mawanda	1717 - 1744	± 38 years

<u>GENERATION</u>	<u>RULER</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ERROR</u>
8 (5)	Mwanga, Namugala & Kyabaggu	1744 - 1771	‡ 36 years
7 (4)	Junju & Semakokiro	1771 - 1798	‡ 34 years
6 (3)	Kamanya	1798 - 1825	‡ 32 years
5 (2)	Suna II	1825 - 1852	‡ 30 years
4 (1)	Mutesa I (d.1884)	1852 - 1879	‡ 28 years
3	Mwanga, Kiwewa & Kalema	1879 - 1906	‡ 26 years
2	Cwa II (1897 - 1939)	1906 - 1933	‡ 24 years
1	Mutesa II (1939 -)	1933 - 1960	‡ 22 years

-
1. Royal Tombs
 2. According to the text, Tembo was a grandson of Kimera.
 3. See Chapter 3. The figures in the brackets are those of the present writer.



33°

32°

31°

MAP'D

MILES

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BUGANDA

AT THE DEATH OF MUTESI

(1884)

+---+ INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
 --- REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

BUGERE

BURULI

BULEMEEZI

KYADDONDO

BUSINGO

BUGANGAZI

BUYAGA

TORO

BWEMERKULA

BAGGOMBALA

MAWOGOLA

KABULA

ANKOLE

