FUNCTIONAL VALUES AND ASPECTS OF STYLE IN SELECTED RWANDESE INSIGAMIGANI TEXTS

BY

RODRIGUE RWIRAHIRA

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University or any other award.

Signature ___________________________  Date ________________

Rodrigue Rwirahira  C50EA/12224/2009

Literature Department

SUPERVISORS

We confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under our supervision:

Signature ___________________________  Date _______

Prof. Wangari Mwai

Department of Literature

Signature ___________________________  Date _______

Dr. Speranza Ndege

Department of Literature
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to:

Heroes and heroines around the world, who fought in the past, are still fighting and those who will fight in the future for human rights across all spheres of life.

Persons who have undergone different forms of discrimination in Africa and Asia;

Pioneers of freedom and transparency in Rwanda;

And finally I dedicate this work to all my family members, relatives and friends.
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms have been used in this study:

Imigani: This is used to refer to the Rwandese proverbs, adages or popular sayings that contain advice and state an accepted truth.

Insigamigani: This is used to refer to the subjects (people, objects, animals, etc.) from which different proverbs have originated.

Insigamigani texts: These refer to texts that are embedded in proverbial and narrative forms.

Meta-genres: These are used to refer to a combination of more than one literary genre, which used together produces a single and unique literary sense.

Popular literature: This term is used to refer to writings for the masses and those that are meant for large audiences.
ABSTRACT

This study analyses key literary and social values in Rwandese literary Metagenres known as Insigamigani. Insigamigani means proverb subjects or subjects that have generated proverbs. The study analysed the social values of heroism and patriotism as key virtues that emerged from the selected texts and illustrates how they turned into literary meta-genres collected in ‘Ibirari by’insigamigani’ texts. Insigamigani are considered meta-genres because they entail two oral literary genres: proverbs and narratives. The study paid particular attention to both text and context in the analysis of heroism and patriotism in Insigamigani narratives. The focus of the study was delimited to a collection of Insigamigani narratives in Benedigito Mulihano’s ‘Ibirari By’insigamigani’. The study is a library based research where an in-depth reading of the selected texts for this study was conducted and supported by secondary sources followed by a critical analysis and interpretation of the narratives. In its theoretical framework the study utilizes narratology and stylistic theories. The study shows the relevance of Insigamigani narratives as sources of virtues and positive social traits such as heroism, patriotism and other moral codes in the society featuring as social values for the modern world.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This chapter focuses the background context to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the work, research questions, assumptions, justification of the study, scope of the work and research methodology.

1.1 Background to the study

The Republic of Rwanda is located in the Great Lakes region of Africa. It is bordered by Uganda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Tanzania. Rose Marie Mukarutabana in Gakondo, The Oral Literature of Rwanda, observes that the ancient Kingdom of Rwanda had a considerable body of oral literature (2) and argued that written Rwandese oral texts are divided into two categories: the more formal royal documents, described as ‘official tradition’, and the non-formal or popular oral literature. This study, however, sought to examine the latter.

The non-formal or popular oral literature is common Rwandese oral literature meant to entertain and educate the masses. This non-formal category revolves around songs, poems, proverbs, narratives, tongue twisters and riddles. From this simplified literary classification, different texts were coined and a combination of proverbs and narratives came into being under the dubbing of Insigamigani.
Insigamigani texts, in Rwandese literature, are classified as mythological stories. This study considered them relevant because in their mythologization, they seek to inculcate various virtues like patriotism, heroism and suggest a variety of codes of conduct that can be emulated by the society for its wellbeing. This study therefore becomes unique not only because it divulges content knotted in the texts themselves but because it identifies and uses stylistic features embedded to reveal the textual side of the content.

Alexis Kagame in *La Poesie dynastique au Rwanda* asserts that mythological characters represent Rwandese ancestors who created and ruled Rwanda as a dynasty; he argues that literary legends designed Insigamigani texts with different names symbolizing their natural origin. For example *Nkuba* as thunder who reigned in the upper regions of the skies; *Kigwa*, the descendant, who falls from the sky to inaugurate terrestrial existence and from whom *Muntu*, the man came into being. There is also *Kijuru*, the celestial; *Kobo*, the loophole from which *Kigwa* escaped from the sky; *Merano*, the origin; *Randa*, the durable, *Gisa*, the ashes; *Kizira*, the taboo and *Kazi* the root who is the father of *Gihanga*, the creator and the founder of Rwanda.

Rwandese orators created different forms of speech to include pastoral and dynastic poems, proverbs, narratives, songs, riddles, tongue twisters and others as a way to portray past cultural performances. In this
context Insigamigani texts came into being and were enculturated from one generation to another. Marvin Harris in *Cultural Anthropology* observes that the culture of a society tends to be similar in many respects from one generation to the next (45). In part, this continuity of life is maintained by the enculturation process. The process is a conscious and unconscious learning experience from which an older generation invites, induces and compels the younger generation to adopt traditional cultural practices. Each generation is taught to replicate the behaviour of the previous generation. They are taught to reward actions and behaviours that conform to patterns of its own enculturation experience and to punish or at least not reward those that do the contrary.

The Rwandese had a way of treasuring their works of art and in so doing, the origins of certain proverbs, their related stories and their subjects, from the same enculturation process, could be transmitted from a narrator to the listener and were handed down over the centuries. Their collection is indeed patriotic but their scientific analysis simplifies their literary explanation.

The Insigamigani texts collected in this study are associated to popular literature not only because they are written and published but also because they hold a major place in oral popular cultures. They are extensively used for formal and non-formal education purposes and in everyday conversation. They are believed to have grown out of major historical events
that shaped the Rwandan culture since time immemorial. A large number of these narratives have been collected by some of the Rwandese writers. Thematically founded and unexplored these texts help the study to be unique in the treatment of heroism and patriotism as thematic concerns that are vividly endowed amongst other social values. Plus, if well adopted by the society, Insigamigani’s functional values are believed to be ultimate cure of social malaises, including healing wounds of genocide experienced by the country in 1994.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Insigamigani are a unique realization of Rwandese oral literature built from history and orature to educate, warn and change behaviours in the society. However, their existence is anthological. They are ordinary collections with no artistic interpretation. They are literary rich but to our knowledge, no research has been undertaken to unearth involved literariness. They were never dismantled to connect to positive values used in Rwanda today as opposed to historical nightmares that sunk it into a heinous genocide in 1994. Lack of in-depth analysis poses a gap and a challenge to such an emerging society, albeit endowed resources of social values that are deemed necessary in treatment of social malaises. With regard to the content, we critically examined aspects of heroism, patriotism and how they are stylistically constructed.
1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study sought to:

1. Examine how patriotism and heroism are treated as major social values in Insigamigani texts.
2. Identify and analyse stylistic features in the treatment of heroism and patriotism as major values in Insigamigani texts.
3. Identify and discuss functional ethical values in Insigamigani texts.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions:

1. How do the selected Insigamigani texts treat the values of heroism and patriotism?
2. What stylistic features were used to construct the values of Heroism and Patriotism?
3. To what extent do Insigamigani texts reveal ethical functional values?

1.5 Assumptions

In this study we assumed that:

1. Insigamigani texts have largely engaged heroism and patriotism as their major values amongst others.
2. Insigamigani texts have used a variety of stylistic features.
3. Insigamigani’s ethical values in Rwanda can be emulated for a social reconstruction.
1.6 Justification of the Study

Rwandese oral literature has received a fair share of publication. In fact there is a wide range of Rwandese oral literature publications by scholars like Alexis Kagame, Cyprien Rugamba among others whose major contribution has been collecting and documenting these oral materials. Insigamigani stories have also been collected and documented. The aim of documenting these oral materials is to preserve the cultural values embedded within. However, little critical attention has been paid to these stories. Thus, this study sought to enhance the understanding of these texts by providing a literary interpretation to the already documented Insigaminani stories. It is our hope that analyzing and interpreting these stories will shed more light on the embedded meaning(s) of these texts and help people to understand them better.

Julius Adekunle in *Culture and customs of Rwanda* argues that since the genocide, several books have been published and many of them make vague references to the early history and culture of Rwanda (12). It is believed that invoking Rwanda’s past history, especially of its past Heroes and Heroines, can help in the rebuilding process after the genocide that took place in 1994. Therefore, listening and reading oral stories in Kinyarwanda will provide a foundation and motivation for Rwandese people to exist as a unit. It is in this regard that this study sought to propel this foundational base of unity through analysing and interpreting the stories not only to highlight
the historical and cultural values but also to enhance the people’s sense of patriotism to the country.

1.7 Study Delimitations

Out of 100 *Insigamigani* texts written in Kinyarwanda, this study delimited itself to examining 10 of them that illustrated values of heroism and patriotism and stylistic features guiding this research. Mugenda et al in *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* 1990 argued that any type of research sample should be at least 10 percent of the total amount of coverage, hence this study delimited itself to the analysis of 10 well sampled texts due to their relevance in illustrating values of heroism and patriotism and stylistic features in the selected Insigamigani texts.

This was done in accordance to the objectives of the study. The Insigamigani texts were carefully chosen based on their diversity in the treatment of heroism and patriotism.

1.8 Research Methodology

Designing a research involves putting in place all the methods required in sampling procedures, in this study analysis of both primary and secondary data was executed to establish and obtain relevant data suitable for the topic and objectives. This study was further guided by both Narratology
and stylistic theories to bring to the fore a contextual analysis vis a vis the values.

1.8.1 Population and Sample

From a population of 100 texts in ‘Ibirari by’ Insigamigani’, a Rwandan anthology of proverbial narratives by Benedigito Mulihano, the study selected 10 Insigamigani texts due to their richness in cultural values and aesthetics embodied.

The collection of those proverbial narratives was published through a sponsorship by the Rwandese Ministry of Sports and Culture. They were transcribed (from Kinyarwanda) and translated into English. Each oral text is between two and four pages.

Our sample comprised only 10 purposively selected Insigamigani texts because they perfectly match and conveniently respond to the work’s objectives. This is done in a bid to show how insigamigani have treated social values of heroism and patriotism and how they are literary formed. Translated in bridged English, the texts were used as primary data in relation to the objectives of the study: style, heroism, patriotism and morality.

The sampling and selection of the texts was done in accordance with the three objectives of this study and a fair distribution of texts was done to ensure that the same objectives guiding this study were fully addressed.
1.8.2 Data Collection

1.8.2.1 Primary Data

The 10 selected Insigamigani texts form the primary source data of this study. The texts that were collected and written in Kinyarwanda by the publisher were transcribed and translated into English in a bid to conduct an accurate literary analysis for a varied audience but specifically to members of the academia.

1.8.2.2 Secondary Data

In this study a number of Library materials including literary works, journals, essays and dissertations were consulted, used and referred to in a bid to enrich the content and forms of this study.

Secondary texts and scholarly works, including online materials on language, style and thematic concerns were studied to complement primary data.

1.8.3 Data Analysis

The primary and secondary data collected was examined and analyzed with the view of illustrating how values of heroism and patriotism were extensively presented and treated by the selected texts and how their stylistic features were brought up.
Stylistics and Narratorology as guiding theories have consistently been prime instruments in the literary analysis of the study, they are believed to form a flexible merger and demystify inextricable ties between form and content.

In this analysis, we relied on *Domain Analysis* as demonstrated by James Spradley where we described a social situation and the cultural patterns within it. We equally applied Catherine Reisman’s *Narrative analysis* as advanced in Narrative analysis that seeks to look at context-situation, core plot in the story told and the basic action.

Although Narratology theory emerges from a school of thought that had Russian Formalism and structuralism at the helm, this study’s analysis looked at the narrator’s point of view as postulated by the Johns Hopkins University Press that seeks to dismantle the covered content within narratives with the usage of literary styles.

Similar to Spradley’s and Reisman’s takes and views, this study relied on narratological proponents like Gerald Prince and other analysts; the study analysis is put into perspective purposely to present the significance of narrative structure, creations and their literary perceptions. This study engaged a thorough and a deeper literary analysis of the selected texts to reveal our concern. Data obtained was used to illustrate the discussions on how *Insigamigani* texts portray heroism and patriotism as their major values.
and the stylistic features depicted in the texts. The work comprises five outlined chapters.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

Studies were conducted with regard to proverbs, narratives, heroism and patriotism. Indeed various African and Rwandese scholars have widely conducted and published studies in the context of heroism and patriotism. This study, however, sought to examine some of these studies that relate to the current motive of the study. We have adopted a chronological approach in reviewing literature that relates to our concerns in this study. We equally draw attention and focus on how various critics dealt with heroism, patriotism and proverbs in general.

2.1.1 Proverbs: A global perspective

A number of studies exist with regard to heroism and patriotism. In oral literature, the term hero/heroism can be traced back to Vladimir Propp’s analysis of the Russian fairytale. In his structural analysis of the Russian folktale, Propp points out that a fairy tale has only eight dramatis personæ of which one is the hero. The actions that fall into the hero's sphere include: Departure on a quest, reacting to the test of a donor, marrying a princess and the story unfolds.
Propp further distinguishes between seekers and victim-heroes. A villain could initiate the issue by kidnapping the hero or driving him out; this is a victim-hero. On the other hand, a villain could rob the hero or kidnap someone close to him. Without a villain's intervention, the hero could realize that he lacks something and sets himself out to find it; these heroes are seekers. Victims may appear in tales with seeker heroes, but the tale does not follow both of them. This study seeks to use Propp’s morphology of folktales as a key tool to offer a detailed analysis of who are seeker and victim heroes in Insigamigani texts.

Lensch in *The Book of Proverbs* 2000 writes that Proverbs should be characterized by shortness, sense and salt. They are pithy, pungent and popular. He argued that like salt, not many condensed proverbs can be digested at one time. Because of their succinctness, proverbs are easily distorted through carelessness if one word is lost or misplaced, for example: “Money is the root of all evil” (12). Lensch’s description of proverbs as showed above set this study in motion as we sought to carefully look at the stylistic patterns of the Insigamigani texts that reflect different Rwandan proverbs. Lensch further divides proverbs into two major categories based on origin as folk and gnomic. He points out that folk proverbs allude to the wisdom of all and the wit of one man. Unfortunately, the identity of the originator is lost as the proverb is passed down from one generation to another relying on individual memory for survival. While examining the
corpus of our Insigamigani texts, we sought to examine whether Lensch’s arguments disseminate systematically with variances in these texts.

On the other hand, Lensch argues that gnomic proverbs are those that a wise man may distill into a maxim and make a keen observation or statement of truth in a special memorable way (13). This category of proverbs has no known authors but only applies to the folks and that in a sense belongs to a culture of a people and helps in transmitting the wisdom, moral values and virtues of a people. However, this study sought to investigate how some of these proverbs are fused to generate the Insigamigani narratives selected for analyses.

Philip M. Peek and Kwesi Yankah in Speaking for the Chief argue that the curiosity of exploring new artefacts in Africa is recognizable in the collecting and documenting zeal owned by various African folk-scholars. These folk-scholars sought to put together everything they could find from oral traditions to narratives and proverbs. However, notable in their efforts is the lack of critical interpretation of the materials that they collected and documented. Our study sought to fill this gap by critically examining these oral literature materials collected and documented, especially Insigamigani texts and offering a literary interpretation while focusing on the stylistic features and moral codes embedded in them.

Ruth Finnegan in Oral Literature in Africa observes that Africa today possesses both written and unwritten traditions. The former, is relatively well
known since the writings are in European languages, much work remains unpublished but they exist in unwritten African languages. She suggested that unwritten forms, although less known and appreciated do not fit neatly into the familiar categories of literate cultures because they are harder to record and present or perform.

Further, Finnegan asserts that in many African cultures, a feeling for language, imagery and the expression of abstract ideas through compressed and allusive phraseology comes out clearly in proverbs (390). The figurative quality of proverbs is especially striking. One of their most noticeable characteristics is their allusive wording usually in metaphorical form. Finnegan’s observations lend credence to this study as we sought to examine how the allusive proverbs were used in generating the Insigamigani narratives. Though Finnegan is one of the most prominent African scholars in as far as oral literature is concerned, her focus is mostly in Western and East African communities such as Yoruba, Ashanti, Gikuyu and Akamba. The Rwandese oral materials and traditions have not been given prominency by African Scholars. This study sought to venture into this area and address the glaring knowledge gap by examining Insigamigani texts which form part of Rwandese oral literature.
2.1.2 Proverbs, Patriotism and Heroism in Rwandese Orature

Insigamigani texts embed hero stories which may further be subdivided into epics, sagas, romance and legends. Perkins A. et al. in Myth and Hero Tales: A Cross Cultural Guide to Literature for children and young adult, argues that like myths, hero tales are finely sharpened by literary creations, having long ago been paired away through myriads of storytelling, so that what remains reflects the heart of the culture, those values to which the heroes in performing their brave deeds dedicate themselves. Thus, in this study, the main motive is to look at which level these proverbial narratives were sharpened literary and how they reflect the heart of Rwandese culture through brave deeds of past heroes.

Alexis Kagame is widely known for his collections of Rwandese oral poetry. The poetry dwells on the prestigious works of arts used to entertain and praise heroic and patriotic deeds of Kings and their entourage. Thus, his publications based on Rwandese culture mainly focus on royal literature. Some of his publications include La Poésie Dynastique au Rwanda and Introduction aux Grands Genres lyriques de l’ancien Rwanda. Other scholars who have published on Rwandese oral literature to mention a few include Andre Coupez in Ritual Paths, Pierre Smith in Le Recit Populaire au Rwanda and Cyprien Rugamba in Literary characteristics in Rwandese dynastic poetry. Despite the fact that these oral materials were published, there has been little critical focus on the analysis and interpretation of what has been
published. Our study sought to critically examine Insigamigani texts as a way of opening and spurring interpretations on documented Rwandese oral literature.

Proverbs and witty sayings (Imigani) constitute an integral part of Rwandese culture. They are used on various occasions and for different reasons. For example, they are used to appreciate, warn or teach moral and historical lessons. This study critically looked at the meaning and genesis of the metagenres and how they have been used to generate Insigamigani stories. It is in this way that they help expand our understanding of the daily life of the Rwandese in the past. It is further believed that since the stories highlight a people’s deeds, they can be helpful in the social transformation of Rwanda post 1994 genocide.

2.2 Theoretical framework

Investigating values of heroism and patriotism and stylistic features in Insigamigani texts, this study employed Narratology and Stylistics as theoretical tools. The two theories are applied simultaneously in this research.

In this study we have consulted and used Johns Hopkins University Press in Narratology, Edition 5. From the edition’s concepts, Narratology evolved as a theory of accounts that sought to understand specifically the nature of narratives and expand their meanings.
The university press states that Narratology is the name that refers to a particular period in the history of narrative analysis that not only had important consequences for other areas of study but has itself been transformed by other disciplines and perspectives.

Scholars in this theory emphasized the significance of the author’s point of view and the trends of a plot in a narrative of which this study has extensively relied on to portray heroism and patriotism as the two main values.

Distinction in narrative revolved around effective issues that help recount story events through someone’s point of view or telling through narratorial observations, often made from an omniscient viewpoint, the strategy used in this theory becomes more relevant to the study as it takes the reader through a number of key events at the same time, enabling him to read through the lenses of the actual texts and present to him involved literariness.

Hopkins further states that the scope for narratological analysis has expanded and now includes not only literary narrative, but also film, journalism, painting, music, theories of identity (both personal and group identity in terms of gender, nations, race, regions, etc.), history, economics and others.

The theory becomes even more effective to the study as it drives back to historical events and reiterates the significance of literary analysis within varied disciplines, which are the focus of this study. Another tenet by this
theory that drove it for literary consideration is the concern and attention the theory gives to the time. Analysts of the theory as quoted by Johns Hopkins stated other key areas of concern to narratology which are associated with time or ‘duration’ as it has been figured in narrative. Even if its ultimate reference might be thought to be the movement of the clock, time in narrative does not necessarily unfold linearly.

According to Genette, quoted by the University Press, the theory discusses at length the way in which narration can move backwards in time to depict events which have taken place before those that have most recently been narrated. Genette further stated that another common subsidiary criticism is that the approach of narratology is static or that it provides a synchronic view of a narrative without paying attention to the dynamism resulting from the interaction of narrative elements. Undoubtedly, one of the key elements here is plot and its embodiment of an ongoing causality.

Gerald Prince in *Narratology* states that the theory of Narratology includes all narratives, even those that are not great or literary or interesting. According to him studying and applying narratology "is to study one of the fundamental ways in which we make sense.” Ultimately, narratology can help us understand what human beings are. Narrating and Reading is quite pertinent for those interested in the structure/creation of narratives and their reception. What characterizes narratology most readily is a systematic, thorough, and disinterested approach to the mechanics of narrative, an
approach in stark contrast to those approaches that observe or seek out ‘value’ in some narratives (and not others) or provide hierarchies of narratives based on spurious categories, such as the ‘genius’ of an author or artiste.

Narratology theory in this study is augmented by Stylistics. Richard Bradford in *Stylistics: The New Critical Idioms* points out that every contribution to the vast and multifaceted discipline of literary studies has to deal with style. Bradford argues that stylistics seem to offer itself an easily definable activity with specific functions and objectives. Therefore, stylistics as a theory enables us to identify and analyse the distinguishing stylistic features of the selected *Insigamingani* texts and show how the stylistic features help in foregrounding the values of heroism and patriotism in the selected texts.

Leech and Short in *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose* argues that stylistics focus on both the form and content in a work of art. In this study, stylistics were employed to interrogate how *Insigamigani* texts use language figuratively not only to portray heroism and patriotism but also to illustrate good morals in society.

The two theories in this study are relatively complementary since narratology has proven to drive stylistics with one aim of illustrating the ultimate meaning of the story and the literariness constructed within the texts. The flexible application of the two theories has progressively been very
indispensable when looking at how the “undeniable usefulness of narratological instruments pushed the stylistics to be more descriptive with a classification and interpretation of literary narratives.”

Mark Currie in *Postmodern Narrative Theory*, argues that whatever revolutionary moment structuralist narratology may have inhabited in its heyday in the 1960s, the impact of narratological method was certainly greater in literary studies at large in the 1980s, when it was operating alongside new critical developments from deconstruction, stylistics and various new historicisms, cultural materialism and rejuvenated Marxisms. This study applies holistically the above postulation to bring to the fore intricabilities of the two theories in relation to Insigamigani texts and how the format clearly defines the content.

Michael Toolan, in *Language in Literature: An Introduction to Stylistics and Narrative*, says that although modern stylistics have a relatively longer history than narratology, the two disciplines have been enjoying quite parallel development for the past few decades. He stated that narratologists in general have not paid much attention to stylistics but that an increasing number of stylisticians have made various attempts to draw on narratology since the 1990s. Toolan further argued that Stylistics are crucially concerned with the excellence of technique while narratology’s discourse roughly denotes all the techniques that authors bring to bear in their varying manner
of presentation of the basic story. According to him, the following equation was made: Style = Language = Technique = Discourse.

Similar to this concept by the stylistician this study has explored the merger of the two theories and how the identified styles breakdown Insigamigani in their respective values.

The singular purpose of conducting the literature review was to establish the knowledge gap that this study sought to fill through the analysis of Insigamigani narratives. We outlined the theoretical framework upon which the analysis of the entire study is placed. We argued that this study utilizes both narratology and stylistic theories. In narratology, we showed how to utilize narratology proponents to depict the content while in stylistics we showed how we shall engage the theory in examining various stylistic features utilized in Insigamigani narratives.
CHAPTER THREE

FUNCTIONAL VALUES OF HEROISM AND PATRIOTISM

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses in depth the values of heroism and patriotism and how they are portrayed in Insigamigani narratives. In this, we explore how the selected narratives show various aspects of heroism and patriotism using various characters and events in different contexts in society. Additionally, this chapter explores various categories of patriotism and heroic deeds as depicted in the selected Insigamigani narratives. Lastly, the chapter explores the ethical and moral values that narratives advance to the larger society through the values of heroism and patriotism.

3.2 The value of Patriotism

Simon Keller in *Patriotism as Bad Faith*, points out that patriotism “is usually thought to be something that we should foster in our children and ourselves” (563). He further adds that patriotism, in the popular imagination, may not quite rank alongside kindness, justice, temperance and the like but it is a virtue nonetheless; it is a character trait that the ideal person would possess (563). It’s clear that patriotism should start right from the family. In an article “Is Patriotism a Virtue?” Alasdair MacIntyre explores the question of whether patriotism is a virtue or not. The author elaborates that someone
who lacks a patriotic commitment to his country is alienated and hence is ethically deficient; patriotism is not just a virtue but a central one and that it is the quality of doing what is right and avoiding what is wrong.

Baron Marcia in *Patriotism and Liberal Morality* argues that a patriot would not express his love for the patria by seeking to protect only the country's resources and preserve its natural beauty and its historical heritage or make it rich, powerful, culturally preeminent or influential in the world scene. Instead, he would seek to make sure that the country lives up to moral requirements and promotes moral values, both at home and internationally. She further states that a patriot is a citizen but a citizen is not necessarily a patriot. Patriotism involves special concern for the patria and compatriots, a concern that goes beyond what the laws obligate you to do but beyond what one does as a citizen; that is, beyond what one ought, in fairness, to do.

A patriot would work for a just and humanitarian society at home, seek to ensure that the country acts justly beyond its borders and show common human solidarity towards those in need however distant and unfamiliar. He would also be concerned with the country's past moral record and its implications for the present. He would support projects exploring the dark chapters of the country's history, acknowledging the wrongs perpetrated in the past and responding to them in appropriate ways, by offering apologies or making amends and by making sure such wrongs are not perpetrated again (269-300). The above observations fuse structurally Insigamigani texts
mentioned herein, since they clearly demonstrate guidance of what should be core trends and behaviours to define patriotism as a virtue.

3.3 Manifestations of Patriotism in Insigamigani Narratives

Insigamigani narratives have largely treated the value of patriotism in the society. Thus, as we endeavour to show how patriotism is depicted in the selected Insigamigani texts through utilization of five categories of patriotism as presented by Primoratz et al. in “Patriotism: Philosophical and Political Perspectives”.

3.3.1 Robust Patriotism

Macintyre, in an article titled Is Patriotism a Virtue? argues that Robust Patriotism puts the nation’s interests first; it is seen as the main core nation project where everyone becomes part and parcel of the targeted achievements. This type of patriotism has mainly been found in “Rumors ended up in Gishike” and “He reaches Yihande’s horizons” proverbs.

In the narrative “Rumors ended up in Gishike” the narrator tells a story of how a character named, Rugereka, a cherished servant of King Mutara Rwogera the father to Kigeli IV Rwabugiri, was embattled by conspiracy charges on Rwoger’s death.
The narrator says “To them, Rugereka was an evil to the society, he had committed an atrocity, he would be cursed and expelled out of the society” (30).

In this narrative, robust patriotism manifests when the queen declared a war on the Rugereka house. The war was inter-clan based as Rugereka came from Abega and the royal family was from the Nyiginya clan. Ironically, the queen mother who was supposed to safeguard the interests of her people did not behave as expected; instead she waged war over Abagereka.

The narrator recounts the first day of fighting, of which Abagereka won over royal fighters and pushed them back up to Rukari rwa Mwima na Mushirarungu, a location close to the royal palace (30). Amongst royal fighters, on the side of the queen, there was Rukeramihigo rwa Sentimbo ya Kazenga ka Ndabarasaa renowned fighter, who while retaliating the next day, pushed back Abagereka up to Rwesero:

The queen in her palace was briefed on how the battle was unfolding and how Rukeramihigo had acted heroically on the frontline and the queen ordered more ammunition to be sent to the fighter. She sent Gashambayita with the ammunition and gave him a message for Rukeramihigo. (30).

In the course of the fight and in the process of acquiring extra ammunition Gashambayita got shot with an Abagereka’s spear through his right hand and
he withdrew to the palace for treatment. The servants removed the spear from his hand, as the narrator recounts.

After treatment Gashambayita was to report back to the queen. She asked:

“Are you sure the man who made Abagereka withdraw is Rukeramihigo?” In his reply, Gashambayita said “I have seen him fighting for you as if he was the brother to the late king” (31). Shortly after the conversation between the queen and the servant, Rukeramihigo appeared in the courtyard touting their victory over Abagereka.

The above statement portrays Rukeramihigo as a robust patriot, prior to his bravery; he had killed the enemy in order to protect the queen’s interests and the clan’s sovereignty. In the narrative, Rugereka becomes the subject of the proverb (Insigamigani). And the whole narrative about “Rumors ended up in Gishike” became popular and renowned in different parts of the country including Nkobwa za Gishike, which was the residing location for Rugereka. Robust patriotism is equally evidenced in the narrative “He reaches Yihande horizons”. The speaker says this proverb is uttered when people are referring to someone who is in trouble and has no way out.

Originating from one of the uncles of Cyirima Rugwe (a Rwandese king) who once lived in Gitima, Rutobwe the current Muhanga district, the proverb came into being in 1300 and became widely used inside the country,
as Mulihano et.al introduces it (19). Robust patriotism in this narrative is depicted when people, mainly Nkurukumbi and his nephew Ruganzu Bwimba, launched a war between Rwanda and the neighboring Gisaka dynasty located in the eastern region. Ruganzu Bwimba’s passion to protect his country, Rwanda in this case, triggered his desire to start a war without observing preliminary war rituals leading to his unpredictable death at the battle fields. Alexis Kagame in *La Poesie dynastique au Rwanda* writes of this war:

> Finalement les consultations des aruspices désignèrent le Roi en personne, comme libérateur défensif, Il verserait son sang sur le champ de bataille contre le Gisaka, et sa soeur Robwa, alors enceinte, se suiciderait comme il était convenu entre elle et son frère. (30-50)

Finally, consultations indicated that only the king would suffice. As commander in chief his blood would flow in the battle against Gisaka. His sister, Robwa, pregnant at the time, committed suicide as agreed with her brother. (30-32).

Kagame’s assertions above confirm the king’s failure to perform the war rituals, a costly mistake on the part of the King prompting his death at the battlefield. The narrator says:
After Nkurukumbi suspected that an attack from the Gisaka dynasty was imminent, the king was left with no choice but to attack first, he went to battle without observing the initial rituals of war which sought gods’ protection.(19).

The King’s death, at the battlefield, was caused by his failure to follow traditional practices that governed and accompanied war practices. He therefore failed to be patriotic by keeping his cultural values causing his immediate demise. He allowed his own folly and ambition override what tradition demands. However, his own son, Cyirima Rugwe, who inherited the kingdom, followed what tradition demanded as the narrator observes:

Yihande later died in the mountains with nothing but loneliness. And since then people began using the proverb when someone is in a similar situation. “He reaches Yihande’s horizons” is therefore a place of no help (20).

The narrator’s technique is to introduce the reader to the story by taking the reader into the past and by bringing him/her on board by using a common consensus and using the significance of time in story telling in order to help the readers get the narrator’s point of view.
3.3.2 Extreme Patriotism

Primoratz defined extreme patriotism as when paramount interests of one's country override any moral consideration with which they might come into conflict. It is summarized in the saying “our country, right or wrong it is our country”. This patriotism is evident in the narrative proverb “He is not a man, but a strong tree” and “Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe.” In the narrative “He is not a man, but a strong tree” there are two leading characters; Ruganzu Ndoli, the King of Rwanda and Bitibibisi a renowned fighter from the opposing country. As the narrative recounts, Ruganzu Ndoli was the son of Ndahiro Cyamatare, it is said the latter was killed by the Abakongoro of Uganda and because of that Rwanda, vanished for 11 years. Ruganzu who had been in exile in Tanzania as a child chose to revive the country.

The country proved difficult to unite as the country was divided into dynasties and ruled by the former servants of the late Ndahiro Cyamatare. Bitibibisi, as the narrator observes, was the strongest man amongst the occupying tyrants, he lived in Musaho wa Rubengera in the current Karongi district. He once was the servant of Ndahiro Cyamatare Ruganzu Ndoli’s father (113)

As Primoratz argued, Extreme patriotism is mainly driven by a strong commitment that tends to reject and or ignore the sense of morality. It is driven by one’s irrefutable motto; “our country should be protected!” This is
evident in Ruganzu’s deeds in the narrative. Ruganzu started to fight alone relying on his spies and strategies to recover the whole country from the hands of oppressing occupants. The narrator says:

His first move was to kill Rubingo. He was a Buriza dynasty occupant. He killed him with an axe. (114)

From the north and south eastern sides of Rwanda to Lake Kivu, Ruganzu re-captured almost the whole country in a short time. He started with the former Byumba province which is now the Gicumbi district, then Buriza the south east of the country which is now the Eastern Province. He then proceeded to Bwanamukali and Bwanacyambwe one part of the current Kigali city and Muhanga district then advanced to the north and retrieved Bugoyi (the now Rubavu district) after Nyanza and the neighboring Nyabarongo river in what is today known as the Southern Province; he fought hard and chased away insurgent occupants like Nyiragakecuru in the Bisi bya Huye and Mpandahande, both from the current Huye district. He was to wind up from Kinyaga and Bwishaza in the western province bordering Congo Kinshasa and separated by Lake Kivu, the narrator recounts:

Ruganzu departed from Kinyaga and engaged a fight with Bitibibisi in Kibuye which is now Karongi district.

Unfortunately, Ruganzu was defeated; he went back to
Mwugario (Nyamagabe district) and fought Mukire. He killed him with an axe (114).

Ruganzu’s last battle was in the western part which included Bwishaza and Kinyaga, demonstrates vividly this type of patriotism. His love for Rwanda and his supporters had increased with time. Ruganzu was committed to defeating Bitibibisi and his fighter Ibisumizi fought against the Urusenyi fighters for three consecutive days.

Bitibibisi, an allegoric name meaning healthy, green and strong, and Mukire were organized and difficult to spy on. Later on, Ruganzu won over Mukire and went back to Bwishaza to fight Bitibibisi again who had initially defeated him. Unfortunately Ruganzu died during the fight and was killed by Bitibibisi. The narrator recounts:

Later Ruganzu attacked Bitibibisi’s house and set it on fire.

Bitibibisi did not go very far, he camped out near his house so he could observe the moves of his predator Ruganzu. While searching for Bitibibisi, Ruganzu was ambushed and immediately shot. A sharp spear went through his face and he died. (114).

The narrator says that Ibisumizi tried getting the spear out of Ruganzu’s face but efforts were futile, eventually Ruganzu died at Gaciro ka Matyazo in Huye district. Bitibibisi also died as he was fleeing to Bushi (South Eastern
Congo) and Ibisumizi decided to commit suicide after Ruganzu’s death. The proverb “He is not a man, but a strong tree” emerged from that story as Bitibibisi had killed the powerful and legendary Ruganzu who managed to revive Rwanda after it vanished for 11 years. However, the country had been reunited again and was called Rwanda despite King Ruganzu’s death. As a king Ruganzu never enjoyed his leadership, his era and life was marked by endless wars to liberate the country from hands of enemies and tyrants. He put the country’s interests first, regardless of the circumstances and fought hard until his death.

In the narrative proverb “Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe” extreme patriotism is similarly highlighted as the narrator explains. To begin with the narrator talks about the socio-economic conflicts and warfare that existed between Rwanda and the Bunyoro monarchy from south western Uganda. He says:

The first time Abanyoro fought with Rwanda, they were defeated and went back home. It was under King Kigeli Mukobanya whose son Sekarongoro Mutabazi inherited the prestigious royal name of Mibambwe because of his bravery during the war in which he got seriously injured on the frontline. The second time Abanyoro fought with Rwanda, they came in large numbers with military support from neighboring territories including Ankore, Toro, Bugande,
Bukiri, Bukede, Busogo and Bunyoro. They were able to fight Rwanda with such a coalition mainly because of their military record and their vast livestock (125).

The pre-colonial era was marked by unceasing wars and occupations between different countries in Africa. Smirnov Oleg in Ancestral War and the Evolutionary Origins of Heroism offers the most plausible explanation why wars were a common phenomenon; he asserts that they were meant to invoke humans’ achievement of ecological dominance. It is within this particular perspective that the narrator confirms Bunyoro was to fight with Rwanda not only because of its political, socio-economic and positive military records but also for ecological and occupational purposes. A country which seemingly engaged in numerous wars to expand its borders as far as it could reach.

Since the Bunyoro monarchy had amassed a military union with neighboring kingdoms, Rwanda could not retaliate over fear of being defeated. The King, Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi, had failed to form a coalition with his neighbors to fight the Abanyoro. All the neighboring kingdoms he approached repetitively rejected his request. His allies wanted to protect their countries first instead of rescuing Mibambwe. The narrator says:

Unfortunately, the kings refused to lend him a helping hand. “I can’t fight if my country is not a target,” Kimenyi told Mibambwe. “I don’t have enough men to fight that large
army, if you are looking for shelter, we shall provide it but if you are looking for allies to accompany you into battle, you will have to fight alone.” Nsoro told Mibambwe’s messengers. Mibambwe later decided to go into exile with his entourage (126).

Kimenyi, mentioned above, was King of Gisaka, a dynasty that was later added to Rwanda’s territory. Nsoro ruled Bugesera as well, which currently borders Burundi from the Eastern province of Rwanda. Gisaka, Bugesera and Rwanda shared common interests and those were to protect the nation’s interests first. Each country respectively was committed to have those interests protected.

From the narrative we see that a joint coalition of dynasties was formed against Mibambwe’s regime. This portrays and illustrates why the narrative carries elements of extreme patriotism. Although, Mibambwe was forced into exile where he lived with the Abanyabungo, the only neighboring community that granted him refuge, he and his people never thought of leaving Rwanda in the hands of outsiders. Features of extreme patriotism are seen when they all decided to go back and fight the Abanyoro occupants and liberate the country. The narrator shows one of the reasons that gave them courage and triggered their return to their homeland. He recounts:

“If we are fighting, it is better we fight for our country instead of fighting in another country, let’s go there and fight, if it is
the question of death let’s all die for our country,” Mibambwe
told his people (127).

The Rwandans realized the reasons fronted by the King were logical and
reasonablereasons to fight for their country. For example in the discussion that
emerged during a battle of bulls:

One of the bulls belonged to an exiled Rwandan community
and another one belonged to the Abanyabungo community.
The Banyabungo’s bull died in the fight which caused tension
between the two communities (127).

Abanyabungo threatened to kill the Rwandan bull in revenge. The Rwandese
perceived this as a threat and decided defend themselves even if they were
sheltered by the Abanyabungo. The narrator shows levels of extreme
patriotism as portrayed by the exiled Rwandan community when they decided
to stand with the king of Rwanda to preside over a war that would soon
liberate and rescue Rwanda instead of remaining in exile and fighting over
unrealistic and useless reasons.

3.3.3 Moderate patriotism

Moderate patriotism as Primoratz argues lacks positive moral
significance. It is neither morally mandatory, nor morally valuable if freely
adopted; it is rather a morally indifferent preference, permissible as long as it
is kept within proper moral bounds. To be sure, all this assumes the common understanding of patriotism as special concern for the political, economic, and cultural well-being of the patria. It, however, acknowledges the constraints morality imposes on the pursuit of individual and collective goals. For instance, it may require the patriot to fight for his country, but only in so far as the war is, and remains, just. Of which the following insigamigani have highlighted extensively; “Words or Things have attained Ndabaga’s phase” and “What is followed by men is finally attained”.

In “Words or Things have attained Ndabaga’s phase”, the narrator comes up with a story within which all of Primoratz’ standards defining moderate patriotism are seen and illustrated by different characters. Patriotism in this narrative is not defined through an active war that took place; it is rather founded within the concept of love that moves from individuals, families and embraces the whole country.

The narrator starts by telling us a story of a family blessed with only one child, a daughter. In the story she is referred to as Ndabaga. Her father Nyamutezi had gone to battle in the southern part of Rwanda. The daughter, puzzled by the absence of her father, would ask the mother about his whereabouts. The narrator recounts the answers the mother would give:

Your father went to serve his country and he can’t come back until he has a replacement. He went to the battle camp before we gave birth to a boy who would have replaced him once he
grew old and tired. He doesn’t even have a brother to do that

(24).

Being the only daughter in the family, Ndabaga refused to accept the idea that her father could not be replaced at the camps. Moderate patriotism is highly demonstrated in the text; people were sent to the battle camps when they were young and once they grew old a family member or a boy child would replace the warrior.

Ndabaga’s act of replacing her father at the camps opens up sensitive issues of gender and moderate patriotism that is unencumbered by identity, gender, age, race and so on and so forth. She was uncomfortable with the idea that her father could not be replaced even at his advanced age. Her father was getting old but did not have someone to replace him at the battle camp. Contrary to culture and beliefs Ndabaga decided to stand in her father’s place at the camps. Being aware of the involved exercises, she had to learn a lot and she had to disguise herself as a boy. The narrator says:

Eventually, she trained herself by learning different shooting techniques, how to handle a sword, a bow and arrow and other tools. She trained herself to do high jumps like men and on top of that she learnt everything at the training camps.

Surprisingly, she had her breasts cut off. Her mother asked why she had to do all that, and she answered: “If I am the only
child my father has, who else is going to protect you if things
get out of hand in his absence.” (24)

In this case Ndabaga had gone to the extent of abandoning her feminity in
order to achieve her goals. She warned her father, who hardly recognized her
upon her arrival, not to tell anyone who she really was. The narrator points
out that she was given various tests which she passed excellently and her
father proposed that she substitute him as the head of the camp. The leader of
the camp convinced, sent Ndabaga’s father back home. Although Ndabaga
had managed to have her father sent back home, her true identity was soon
discovered, a situation that the narrator uses to portray her as a moderate
patriot.

At the camp, Ndabaga learnt a lot. She became an exemplary trainee
and was loved by many. Her attitude, respect, commitment and discipline
earned her praise and awards from high ranking personalities; the king
awarded her a herd of cows and other gifts. However, her fame and
popularity drew too much attention to her and some suspected that there was
something wrong. The narrator says:

Some of the fighters became so jealous of her popularity that
they started spreading rumors about her. When the rumors
finally reached the king, he asked them how they had come to
such a conclusion. “Her body is slender, her nipples are much
larger than those of men, she doesn’t share a bed with any of
her colleagues and when she relieves herself, she goes very
far,” they told the king (25).

Following a number of interrogations and investigations Ndabaga later
opened up and revealed her gender. She said “…..Your majesty I am a girl,”
(26). As Primoratz asserts the truth is part of humanitarianism and this goes
hand in hand with moderate patriotism. In this case the truth had come to light
and the king was inspired by what Ndabaga had done for
her family. Ndabaga’s revelation led to law reforms.

In the second narrative “What is followed by men is finally attained”,
the narrator highlights various incidences where moderate patriotism is
manifested. To begin with, he tells the story of people who were hardworking
and committed to achieving their objectives no matter what disfavourable
conditions they found themselves in. It’s a story of how hunters captured and
killed a buffalo. The narrator believes that the animal’s presence close to the
people’s villages would become dangerous. Because the buffalo was believed
to be aggressive and brutal, they believed people’s lives were in danger and an
immediate decision to hunt down the animal was made so as to protect the
society. The narrator recounts:

The hunters chased the buffalo from the banks of River
Nyabarongo to Mount Kigese to the Mibilizi hills. As they ran
the Hunters shouted in order to warn the farmers and cattle
keepers about the buffalo (16).

Some women didn’t like the idea of the men chasing the buffalo and they
were worried about their husbands, who could get killed by the wild animal.
As the hunting continued a fierce discussion erupted among the women about
the why the buffalo should be hunted and vice versa. One of the women involved
in the discussion was Nyirarunyonga, a butchwoman who was said to be
strong and who behaved like a man:

“You women are surprised by the size of that scary wild
animal?” Nyirarunyonga silently asked them.

“Don’t you see that such an animal is massive and those men
running behind it are crazy, what on earth can kill that thing?”
replied the women to Nyirarunyonga. She laughed at them and
said: “you women are fools, instead of being surprised; you
should go to your homes, dry cassavas or sorghum and grind
them to make flour. Then prepare a meal that can be paired
with meat. From what I can see, these men will finally catch it,
of that I have no doubt.”

“Our worry is about the Buffalo killing our husbands and you
are busy thinking about food.” some women replied (16)
In the above quote, the narrator shows aspects that define the love of the patria and moderate patriotism. However, as Primoratz said not every citizen is a patriot, a practical concern which may involve working beyond the obvious and sometimes taking greater risks is what separates a citizen from a patriot. The hunters who are hunting this wild animal are not only hunters they are patriots because they have taken risks and their wives have been left worried about their lives. The hunters were determined and wanted to ensure the buffalo was hunted and killed:

“…the sounds of horns were heard. It was a signal to the community and the forest that a huge animal had been hunted and killed. It was at this point that Nyirarunyonga asked the women whether they knew what the sound of the horn meant.” (16).

From the narrator’s point of view, the buffalo had been hunted by both hunters and the people in the community. Although the hunters took charge of the task, the community gave them a helping hand to accomplish the goal. It is the ideal of using collective efforts without necessarily waiting for someone to be appointed to be responsible, in this case, it is essential and depicts the level of moderate patriotism shown by citizens. Moreover, the sharing of the kill by the citizens portrays a level of patriotism that highlights social impartiality.
3.3.4 Ethical Patriotism

Primoratz argued that this type of patriotism calls for individuals to put aside the country's well-being in an ordinary, non-moral sense and focus instead on its distinctively moral well-being, its moral identity and integrity. This is evident in the proverb narratives “He shoots the target” and “Measure your beehive against Bugegera’s”. In the narrative “He shoots the target”, the narrator recounts the story of a contest and how self-determination drives can drive one to achieve goals. The narrator says:

During Kigeli Ndabarasa’s reign, his sons would often sit on the Kamonyi hills and look down and appreciate Mount Gihiga. “If I were given that Mountain I would be happy.”

One of them would tell his brothers (161).

There are ethical issues raised by the son’s wishes in the above quote that clearly portray this type of patriotism. Although each of the brothers was a potential heir to the kingdom, they knew that they would never be given what they had not worked for. They knew, they had to work hard to earn anything. ‘No pain, no gain.’ According to the narrator, Kazenga, one of the king’s sons, was later awarded a big chunk of land and hills because of his incredible shooting techniques. In that particular competition between him and Kimenyi the King of Gisaka, the narrator recounts:
Kimenyi was the king of Gisaka, a dynasty bordering Rwanda. Kimenyi was known for being a great warrior and a skillful shooter. He asked Ndabarasa to find the best shooter amongst his people to compete with him. Although, Kazenga was still young, he was as good as any seasoned fighter, so he was selected out of all of Ndabarasa’s shooters to compete with Kimenyi. (161).

The shooting competition took place in Gisaka. Kazenga was chosen to compete with him since he was Rwanda’s best shooter. Although Kimenyi underestimated his opponent (Kazenga), he still needed to win so he could earn more fame in Rwanda. On the other hand the competition was an opportunity for Kazenga to earn his stripes. Kimenyi was sure of himself, convinced that he could easily defeat Kazenga and send the Rwandans back to their country.

The Rwandese and Kimenyi had agreed on what day the contest would take place. Kazenga was up first. He is described as being silent, soft spoken and brave. The narrator says:

The day came and they went to the Mubuga arena which Kimenyi referred to as the pitch of judgment. “Welcome! Welcome to the renowned Mubuga arena where only men and serious warriors compete, come see ‘Inkurazo za Mpanga’
(Gisaka’s renowned warriors) boast and shout about how they are the best when it comes to shooting,” Kimenyi said to the Rwandese servants and the fans of Kazenga in the arena. (162)

The competition was fierce and all the candidates hit their targets on the first three rounds. As the spectators watched Kazenga made a decision to raise the stakes a bit higher and placed wild fruit on his servant’s head. The courage of the servant as he accepted becoming Kazenga’s next target, illustrates the level of patriotism he possessed. Kazenga and the servant did something beyond the ordinary. The narrator says:

Kazenga called his aide and tied a fruit on his head and told him, “just stand there and do not move.” “What is that?” the Gisaka people wondered. When the servant reached a certain distance, Kazenga ordered him not to face him. Kazenga took his fourth shot which pierced the fruit on top of the servant’s head. As the Gisaka people remained terrified, the Rwandese victoriously sung and shouted their praise. (162).

The narrator continues and explains that the stakes had risen for the Gisaka people and their king Kimenyi. After Kazenga shot his target, Kimenyi asked the aide to remain on the spot. However, Kazenga refused to allow the aide to be Kimenyi’s target. Kazenga made it clear that the Rwandans wouldn’t put
more people at risk. If Kimenyi wanted to try the same technique then he would have to call upon a target from his own people. The narrator says:

Kimenyi rushed to his home and grabbed an aide and took him to the arena. He then tied the fruit on his head and ordered the aide to turn around as Kazenga had done. Kimenyi took aim and shot. He shot his aide through the neck. He died immediately. (162)

Panic broke out as many of the young people present for the competition ran quickly to their homes to avoid being called upon to become Kimenyi’s next target. Kimenyi had failed and the Rwandans had won the shooting competition. Kazenga was proclaimed a hero by both sides. A messenger was then sent to announce the good news to Rwanda before Kazenga’s victorious return. When he got home he was rewarded for his heroic acts:

“Tell me everything you want and I will make sure you get it my son,” the king asked Kazenga after his return. Kazenga thought for a while and remembered his childhood desires of owning Mount Gihinga. The young prince was given the mountain and many more presents. (163)

Kazenga’s behavior was not only patriotic and heroic but also carries ethical and wise virtues. People were surprised that Kazenga had only asked for one thing from his father who was a king. They thought he would demand more
than that. The proverb “he shot the target” became widely used across the country and would always be uttered when discussing anyone lucky enough to be awarded what many desire but fail to get.

In the following proverb narrative “Measure your beehive against Bugegera’s” ethical issues in modern living were widely illustrated. The story is not based on famous territorial wars. The narrator recalls and tells the reader how the proverb became widely used when people wanted to instill a culture of adopting moral behaviours. According to him the proverb originates from a certain Bugegera, a former servant to the renowned Mirenge. Mirenge was once a wealthyman who lived at Ntenyo the former southern Nduga which is the current Muhanga district and dates back to 1700 (Measure your beehive to Bugegera’s, 58).

As Primoratz states the ethical model of patriotism puts aside the country's well-being in an ordinary, non-moral sense and focuses instead on its distinctively moral well-being, to develop and promote a moral identity and integrity. Bugegera, a servant to Mirenge a renowned tycoon, was poor and physically deformed but he started thinking of ways that would get him out of poverty. After he realized how Mirenge was making money, he started looking for something that would earn him more, the narrator says:

“If I could fix the same beehives, I would either be rich like Mirenge or I would be financially independent for life.” He consciously thought. “Mirenge does not tell the bees which
hives to go into and neither do his servants.” He then started
looking for different plants to fix his own hives.(58)

The narrator describes Bugegera as a man of integrity; a person who thinks
positively and forges ahead in order to achieve his long held ambitions.
According to the text Bugegera told his wife to make wine, wine that they
could enjoy with their community and use the gathering as an excuse to
announce his plans to make a beehive. He was looking for someone to help
him make a good beehive. The wife started making the wine as the narrator
says:

After making the wine a lot of visitors came to share it with the
family. Bugegera took advantage and announced to his visitors
his plan. The narrator states: “Listen all of you who are
gathered here, I wish to offer wine to any person who would
make a beehive for me,” (59).
This was not a bribe as it is likely to be interpreted; it was rather an ethical
method of positive living and interaction in society. The narrator continues:

One of the people, a professional beehive maker stood up and
said: “I have one at home, there is no need of weaving
another, you just come and I will give it to you,” he said to
Bugegera and this pleased him and his wife. “There is indeed
no need to wait, just go with this young boy and give it to him,” Bugegera told the man who just offered him a beehive.
The man together with the young boy went and brought the fixed beehive. (59).

Bugegera’s ambition was achieved gradually with the support of his wife. The beehive was brought and it was hung on the spotted tree around Bugegera’s house. Eventually, migratory bees started to produce honey in Bugegera’s hive and people could not believe it. He started to produce larger quantities of sweet honey than Mirenge and people came to him instead. He became rich and exemplary example in that country because of his moral and socio-ethical manners.

And from that experience a proverb ‘Measure your beehive to Bugegera’s’ emerged in the Rwandese society and became widely expanded. Measuring your beehive to Bugegera’s means to adopt or imitate good ideas from ambitious people like Bugegera. (59)

3.3.5 Deflated Patriotism

Richard Dagger in, Rights, Boundaries and the Bonds of Community: A Qualified Defense of Moral Parochialism argues that one's country is not a land inhabited by strangers to whom we owe nothing beyond what we owe to any other human being. It is rather a common enterprise that produces and
distributes a wide range of benefits. These benefits are made possible by the cooperation of those who live in the country, participate in the enterprise, owe and render allegiance to the polity (443). If patriotism is considered by some as an extension of the duty of concern for others as we said above, therefore it is a special concern for a country because it is a country of compatriots because they are compatriots. It involves morality, universalism and it is associative.

This patriotism as Primoratz argued respects the limits of universal moral considerations. In the following proverbial narratives *Not everything that is good is entirely perfect* and *The venue is at Huro* we will discuss how, what Dagger and Primoratz argued to be deflated patriotism is incorporated into the proverb *Not everything that is good is entirely perfect*. To begin with, the narrator tells us how the proverb came to be and who the main subjects (Insigamigani) of the whole story are. He says;

This proverb is used when a delightful moment is interrupted by undesirable moments. The proverb emerged during the reign of Yuhi Mpzimpaka, when the lovely wife (Kalira) of his son Cyirima Rujugira died before his coronation in 1700. (92-99)

Kalira, as the narrator recounts, had all the character traits of a wife including natural beauty. In the narrative, Mulihano et.al describes the heroic and patriotic behavior that she manifested throughout her life. She had come from
a humble Abega clan where she had initially been married to a poor orphan man.

Patriotism originates and relates to different positive and moral manners as Primoratz asserted, the narrator tells the readers about Kalira’s character traits and behaviours. This helps to show why Kalira is considered a deflated patriot. For example, in a conversation between the prince and his aid, he says:

Kalira then offered to reward him due to his help in containing the calves. She took him inside the house and gave him milk. When he finished, he lit a pipe and took it to the prince. Rujugira asked him why he had taken so long to come back. “I wish you could have seen what caused my delay, you would not have left,” he replied to the prince. “And what have you seen?” the prince questioned. He told him about how he had met a beautiful and wonderful woman when he had gone to light a pipe (92-99).

The discussion between the prince and his servant helps the narrator explain how the prince fell in love with Kalira before he saw her. And through Kalira’s positive character traits, the narrator continues to depict how wonderful she is.

However, when Kalira came, the prince was so anxious to see Kalira’s face that it was almost unbearable. Culturally Rwandese women were
said to be shy, submissive and respectful, they could rarely meet their
husband’s eyes. Since Rujugira was the prince, it was obvious that he would
make Kalira feel uncomfortable and behave even more submissively. Kalira
was so submissive that she abided to the prince’s every wish. She even stood
up and saluted the prince.

The prince, as the narrator says, was so overtaken by her beauty and
behaviour that he ordered his servants to forcefully take her infront of her
husbands. The prince’s brothers and Kalira were both shocked by that sudden
decision. The prince even offered to reward them with herds of cattle and
huge pieces of lands, after all he was the prince; he was powerful and he could
get everything he wanted, irrespective of the situation. Unfortunately, the
husbands did not accept his offer, they instead opted to go and report him to
his father King Yuhi Mazimpaka.

Meanwhile Rujugira forcefully remarried Kalira. However, Kalira in
this case was innocent; she is a deflated patriot because she could do what it
takes to please the two sides. Whether she was returned to her husbands or
forced to remain with the prince she would stick to her moral and positive
behaviours. Later, the prince was summoned by his father and asked to
explain what he had done to his people. The narrator tells us about the
dialogue between the prince and the king:

“What you have done is unjust and hostile, you need to return
the man’s wife,” the king urged him. “Is that why you have
called me,” the prince responded to his father. “Instead, of giving back Kalira to her husbands, I will give the husbands my yet to be married wife and in addition to that I will give him 16 cows and vast tracks of land. It is a huge offer compared to what they have offered as a dowry,” he told his father. (92-99)

The king’s judgment over the case can also be considered as deflated patriotism because he ensured that a fair judgement was given. It was important that his country and his people witness a just judgement being given. However, the story took another twist once the husbands refused all offers and rewards from both the king and his son, and this made the king wonder what this woman possessed that she would become such an attraction. So the King summoned for her and the king fell in love with her too. Eventually the brothers opted to take the initial rewards instead after they realized that the king had taken Kalira for himself. Consequently, out of sadness, the prince Rujugira went on a hunger strike because his father had grabbed his wife and he could not bear it. The elders advised the king to give his son his wife back, since it was illegal and inappropriate. The king listened to the elders’ advice and gave Kalira back to Rujugira. Rujugira and Kalira lived happily and got children.

The king’s decision to give back Kalira to his son shows that he had deflated patriotism because he gave her back despite his obvious jealousy. In
fact the narrator recounts that the king once composed a poem regretting how he had killed his son out of jealousy. Rujugira went into exile in Bugesera the neighboring kingdom, with his wife after he killed his father’s favorite bull which was as good as signing your own death warrant. He was still the crown prince. The situation became serious because he could not come back and take the crown as long as his father was alive, his self-imposed exile was taboo according to tradition and his wife whom he had escaped with could not be crowned queen. On top of that Rujugira was still scared of being killed by his father.

The Rwandans however still needed a King so the elders opted to kidnap Kalira from exile and use her as a bargaining chip so that Rujugira would come back from his self imposed exile. Should the strategy work out, then Kalira would in turn be killed to observe the rituals. The narrator recounts:

But Rujugira sensed what the aid wanted and he still came back with him to inherit the power accordingly. He was crowned Cyirima Rujugira. But before he took power, the elders poisoned Kalira and she died. In those days it was believed that a woman, who had gone into exile with her husband, could not be crowned queen. It was forbidden; she would either die or remain outside the country. (92-99)
The narrator in this concludes that Rujugira tearfully uttered the proverb “Not *everything that is good is entirely perfect*”. To mean that he has gotten everything important but there was one thing missing and that was his beloved wife. He wished he could enjoy the coronation together with Kalira.

The second narrative *The venue is at Huro* is also based on some ethical experiences, from which we can identify levels of ethical patriotism. The narrator introduces the story by saying that the proverb is used in a situation, where people signal to each other on the agreed decision. Dating back to 1600, it originates from a certain Muberamfura who once lived at Kigese and Mibirizi, now the Southern Province, after he had advised Rugango and Murego on where to meet to escape their crucifixions. Rugango and Murego’s relatives were killed by Mazimpaka Yuhi who by that time was a prince and the son of renowned king Mibambwe Gisanura, who was believed to be generous. The narrator exposes prince Mazimpaka’s inhumanity by saying:

After some time, he ordered the former chiefs of Nduga territories to be killed just because they had direspected his father by claiming they had more cattle than the king; he said that they were not loyal or submissive. Among the chiefs killed were: Kogoto from Mugina wa Jenda, Kaza ka Nyabuseri from Gisitwe cya Gakurabwenge in Rukoma, Rugaryi rwa Bwacya at Buhanga, Mpaka and Mpombo. The
chiefs and the servants of Gisanura in Nduga all died alongside their families. (67, 69)

The brothers found refuge in Muberamfura, who in this narrative, can be considered to be an ethical patriot and a good citizen. The narrator talks about how he peacefully received the two brothers who were seeking an asylum at his home, he says:

“Your brothers were very loyal and good to me, I cannot let you down. Here is what we are going to do, I have a brother, Mugenza, who lives in Huro in Bumbogo, he is a very good servant to Mibambwe Gisanura, if I manage to get you to him, you will be in good hands and he can recommend you to serve Mibambwe, who in return can mitigate your charges,” he told the brothers (67)

The brothers finally got rescued because Muberamfura was clever and humane. Ethical patriotism considers the concern for others, a major attribute in showing ethical patriotism. It is a special concern for every citizen as Muberamfura showed to the brothers and it should be built on morality and universalism. It is the good decisions you make for your friend that in turn do not harm another person in the community.

The break down of patriotism into the following forms; Extreme, Robust, Moderate, Ethical and Deflated patriotism, have informed this study
in many ways. Chief among them being that it helped bring out a variety of patriotic acts inserted in the insigamigani texts and helped the narrator to convey his message through narrative techniques.

3.4 The Value of Heroism

Smirnov Oleg in *Ancestral War and the Evolutionary Origins of Heroism* defines heroism as a fitness cost to the individual (via increased risk of death). He argues that even though there are risks involved heroism certainly does happen with some frequency across a wide variety of cultures and societies (18). According to him the positive character traits of an individual define a hero in different circumstances, from which altruism or self-sacrifice for a group, community or a country can occur out of a warfare phenomenon. He asserts that if heroism by definition is an altruistic response on behalf of one’s group in the event of war, the task’s demands would be quite distinct from those of other altruistic behaviours such as providing food to others and caring for the sick (18).

The above statements match perfectly with the first objective of this study in the sense that the assertions of Oleg are clearly disseminated within a number of these study texts. Often, the narrator of the stories shares with the readers the positive behaviours that portray altruistic conducts as manifested by protagonists or main characters in Insigamigani texts. A hero according to Joseph Campbell in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* defeats an obstacle
blocking the progressor’s adventure. The hero enters an unfamiliar world, a ‘dark kingdom,’ in which he or she is both tested and helped by various individuals; the hero then prevails through the tribulation and is rewarded, usually through marriage or fame, and in variations may have the reward stolen and then returns home.

Campbell and Vladimir Propp share ideas on what a hero goes through, for example, Propp, (1960) argues that the actions that fall into a hero’s sphere include: Departure on a quest; reacting to the test; marrying a princess, and so on and so forth. The universalism of a hero’s journey as described by Campbell and Propp is highly exemplified in Insigamigani texts, but as opposed to the normal trend, the narrator describes a number of heroic models who demonstrated different behaviours that are deemed heroic. This is vividly brought up by the analysis made by Northrop Frye in *Anatomy of Criticism* who argues that particular heroic models are based on archetypes of common imagery in Western literature as shown various contexts that include classic and Christianity.

### 3.4.1 Heroic Models in Rwandese Insigamigani Texts

Rwandese Insigamigani texts have largely treated the value of heroism alongside patriotism. In this section we examine the manifestations of insigamigani heroic behavior based on the heroic models developed by Northrop Frye. Similar to patriotism the techniques of breaking down
different forms of heroism in this study help both the narrator and the reader to have a mutual understanding of the significance of heroism as another core thematic concern of this study

3.4.1.1 Divine Heroism

Northrop Frye in *Anatomy of Criticism* considers divine heroism as one that involves actions which are said to be beyond human capacity and imagination. In fact a divine hero is a person who is ‘superior’ to both humans and a normal human atmosphere. It is very easy among Christian believers to associate Jesus with divine heroism, because he gave his life for the whole world to be saved; he belonged to heaven and earth at the same time (143). Divine heroism is evident in the narrative *He is not a man, but a strong tree*. The narrator depicts Ruganzu Ndoli as a superhuman character who was considered a demi-god. The narrator said that Ruganzu Ndoli was the son of Ndahiro Cyamatare, who was killed by Abakongoro of Uganda and his death caused Rwanda to vanish for 11 years.

Ruganzu who had been in exile in Tanzania as child came back to Rwanda as a saviour; he revived the country after all those years. The tasks King Ruganzu Ndoli faced while trying to revive the country, as we argued above were tough and had to be done by a superhuman character. His stratagem of spying and hitting back enabled him to extend the country beyond its frontiers. In this context King Ruganzu is well defined as an epic hero as a
result of his bravery. He is also considered a divine hero after he demonstrated supernatural powers to redeem the country.

Ruganzu started to fight alone using different spying and mendacious strategies to recover the whole country from occupying tyrants. He is believed to be divine because of his supernatural power, which he uses while fighting. The narrator recounts:

Ruganzu’s first move in his endeavour to revive Rwanda was to kill a Rubingo from the Buriza dynasty. He killed him using a hoe. After that Ruganzu continued on to Kinyaga, now Nyansheke district where he befriended Mukire. He used their friendship as a strategy to take over Kinyaga. He did so by becoming Mukire’s servant. Mukire, who had no idea who Ruganzu was, trusted him enough to believe him when Ruganzu said that the only way he could be woken up once he was asleep was by being hit with an axe to the chest. Mukire of course tried to prove that the same was true of himself but instead succumbed to his injuries and died(114).

The narrator’s descriptions of how Ruganzu killed Mukire, a Kinyaga dynasty leader, confirm that Ruganzu was a supernatural human being. Northrop Frye defines this character as a person who does things that are beyond human imagination. Ruganzu told everybody present, including Mukire, who was his targeted enemy in the western parts of the country, that
he could only wake up when hit with an axe in the chest. Mukire tried to do the same in order to defend his ego. Consequently he succumbed to death trying to imitate Ruganzu. Ruganzu later took control of the whole Kinyaga dynasty. The narrator says:

He went back to Mwugariro (Nyamagabe district) and killed Mukire. Ruganzu killed Mukire using an axe when Mukire tried to prove that he could only be woken up by using an axe…Ruganzu added the Kinyaga dynasty to Rwanda once Mukire had died. The kinyaga people helped Ruganzu in his second battle against Bwisha and Rusenyi at Bitibibisi. (114)

In the last battle with Bitibibisi, Ruganzu was shot and died at Gaciro ka Matyazo which is the current Huye district. His death, in this case substantiates his love for his country; he was an altruistic king who restored Rwanda and took it back from the hands of its enemies. The death of Ibusumizi, his loyal fighters, can also be considered heroic. Even after the death of Bitibibisi, who later died on the battle field, the fighter were still not satisfied and opted to kill themselves. They loved Ruganzu so much that they could not live without him. To them he was more than a king, he was a demi-god.
3.4.1.2 Romantic Heroism

A Romantic Hero according to Northrop is superior to normal humans and belongs to typical human situations. In any particular situation that he or she appears in, the laws of nature tend to be suspended and love is put at the center of the whole story or used as a sub-climax, where the hero wins and gets married to a beautiful woman and they live happily ever after. The *Not everything that is good is entirely perfect* proverb is the only proverb that largely treats that particular model. The proverb discusses how Kalira is depicted as the romantic heroine alongside her husband Rujugira. The narrator describes her character traits first before he recounts the different sequence of events. The narrator says that her heroic behaviours can be seen through her style of living:

Although Kalira was from a lower societal class, she was said to be the most beautiful and kind-hearted woman of her time. Her father, Banyaga ba Gaheda, was from the Abega b’babahenda class. When Kalira was old enough to get married, she got a husband from her own societal class. Her husband was an orphan who lived with his young brother. (92-99)

The fact that Kalira was born from a lower societal class does not contradict Northrop’s argument that a character should be superior. She was born of the
Abega clan, which hierarchically is believed to be the second after Abanyiginya, the heirs to the monarchy.

Historically the two clans used to inter-marry; in fact she was later married to Prince Cyirima Rujugirathe son of Yuhi Mazimpaka, who later fell in love with her as well because of her physical beauty and good behaviour. That particular marriage boosted her socially. Furthermore, Kalira as the narrator describes, bears all positive character traits of a wife. In the narrative, the speaker describes her heroic virtues as depicted throughout her life as a woman, wife and as a Rwandese citizen. Kalira’s beauty, subjectivity, respect and submission made her the center of attraction. She demonstrates all the features of a romantic heroine due to her beauty and good conduct that caught the attention of two Kings, a reality that was and still is one of a kind. In exile, the narrator described her as an incomparable wife. He recounts:

Kalira took the children and enough food supply to last them throughout the journey. She asked the aides to assist with the luggage. Once they had reached Bihembe ya Rugalika, Rujugira said that he was thirsty and Kalira offered him banana wine. She then lit a pipe and gave it to him as well.

(92-99)

She became even more incomparable, when it was time for her husband to inherit the throne. Rujugira did not want to go back to Rwanda but it was
Kalira’s love for him and his country that made him go back. Even as the elite used her as bait in order to ensure that Rujugira came back home, Kalira knew that it was against the Rwandan culture for a woman to return home from exile and be crowned queen. She knew that she would die. She however managed to make Rujugira come back and take his rightful place on the throne. She later died from poisoning. Her death made her a heroine. The narrator says:

…but before he took power, the elders poisoned Kalira in accordance with tradition. A woman who had gone into exile with her husband could not be crowned queen. The law required that the woman be killed upon her return. Once Rujugira discovered what had happened to his lovely wife, Rujugira tearfully said, “not everything that is good is entirely perfect. I wish I could rule Karinga beside Kalira.” (92-99).

The narrator says that that meant that he had gained everything that was important but there was one thing missing, Kalira. He wished he could inherit Karinga, the monarchy, alongside Kalira. He would have enjoyed the coronation with Kalira, whom he had hoped he could be with eternally.
3.4.1.3 Leadership and Heroism

Northrop argues that a Leader-Hero is a person who is superior in intelligence and is virtuous. Kings in Rwanda were considered demi-gods as asserted by Rutayisire in his books, *Incamake y’amateka y’u Rwanda kuva mu Ntangiriro kugeza mu mpera y’ikinyejana cy a 20* (A brief summary of Rwandese history, since its genesis until 20 century); this confirms that leader heros are normal human beings and are not different to their surroundings. Northrop argues that such types of heroes are gifted with natural intelligence and virtualistic conscience, although, culturally, they are supposed to be trained formally about royal behaviours that was meant to prepare them to be the future leaders of tomorrow. The narrator in these texts talks about two relative kings, Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi and Ruganzu Bwimba who showed heroism many times when fighting for the country’s expansion. This type of heroism is manifested in *Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe* and *He reaches Yihande’s horizons*.

In *Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe*, the narrator describes how King Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi started to fight for his country at a young age. The narrator says:

> The first time Abanyoro fought with Rwanda, they were defeated and went back home. It was under kigeli Mukobanya’s rule that they were defeated and it is said that his son Sekarongo Mutabaziearned the royal name of
Mibambwe because of his bravery during the war, where he was seriously injured. (125)

In fact, he was a prince when Rwanda was fighting Abanyoro for the first time and he fought heroically, heroism that rendered him sick or injured while fighting.

The situation had not gotten serious when Abanyoro attacked Rwanda for the second time. By this time the prince had become king and Abanyoro had grown in number. His instincts coupled with the intelligence he received from his spies compelled him to look for support from the neighboring kingdoms which gave him a cold shoulder. Consequently, he was exiled to Bunyabungo with all his people and property. During his exile he was persistently troubled and his exile haunted him. This prompted him to start plans to return to his beloved country that were in the hands of the Abanyoro. It was however a small incident that triggered his attack against Abanyoro, as the narrator says:

A war started instantly between the Abanyarwanda and the Abanyabungo once the queen mother Nyabadaha had died.

The Abanyarwanda decided to return to their country to retrieve it from the Abanyoro. (125)

The king’s proposal to liberate the country was heroic and he caught the attention of his people who were in exile with him. With all the spirit and the love they had for Rwanda, Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi and his fighters
managed to fight and get Abanyoro out of the country. Rwanda was rescued and in this case Mibambwe presents all the traits of a heroic leader. He managed to wage a liberation war and to intelligently advise his people not to fight over something as worthless as a bull instead of fighting for their country.

In the second narrative *He reaches Yihande’s horizons*, the narrator recounts the story of how Ruganzu Bwimba, who was the king of Rwanda from 1312 to 1345, died fighting, in the Gisaka dynasty. The narrator says:

Nkurumbi was the uncle to Ruganzu Bwimba, another Rwandese king who reigned from 1312 to 1345. The king himself was well known for his royal martial services in Gisaka dynasty and Bucengeri (Ngoma district) where he died. Nkurumbi suspected that the Gisaka dynasty had planned to attack first so he decided to beat them to it. In his attempt to attack quickly and first, he failed to observe the war rituals which were performed in order to ask for the gods’ protection.

(19)

As the narrator puts it, Ruganzu Bwimba was an ardent fighter and had been a courageous warrior who wanted to annex Gisaka to Rwanda. There were suspicions that Gisaka wanted to attack Rwanda, which was against Rwanda’s cultural beliefs. According to many, Rwanda was never attacked, it attacked first.
Bwimba was so haunted by fears of being besieged by his enemies that he resorted to going to war without observing the rituals of battle preparations to protect himself and his country. He died fighting. Ruganzu Bwimba’s behaviours depict him as a leader hero. After he fought so altruistically his sacrifice boosted morale amongst Rwandans who later went to war with Gisaka and annexed it.

3.4.1.4 Common Heroism

Northrop Frye argues that a common-hero, as implied by the name, is on the same level as an average human and the surroundings. He is imbibed by altruistic behaviours for the benefit of the community, to observe and/or serve in certain areas. Smirnov Oleg further argues that actions of self-sacrifice promote behaviours such as ‘communalism’ where there is a private cost but there is a group-benefit which increases the fitness of the group and heroism is a costly private behavior that benefits the group by contributing to the group’s success in warfare (19). *Rumors ended up in Gishike, Things attain Ndabaga’s phase, What is followed by men is finally attained* and *The venue is at Huro* best illustrate this type of heroic model.

In the *Rumors ended up in Gishike* proverb for example, we are told a story of Rukeramihigo rwa Sentimbo ya Kazenga ka Ndabarasa who was a renowned fighter and Gashambayita, the two were servants and fighters in the heydays of Kigeli IV Rwabugiri’s reign. According to the narrator, the mother of Rwabugiri was ruling on his behalf because he was very young.
During the battle between Rwanda and Abagereka, Rukeramihigo played an important role in defeating Abagereka who had initially hit hard at Rwandese fighters. The narrator says:

During the first day of fighting, the Abagereka won and pushed back the royal fighters all the way back to Rukari rwa mwima na mushirarungu, which was closer to the royal palace. Among the royal fighters was a renowned fighter called Rukeramihigo rwa sentimbo ya kazenga ka ndabarasa. The next day he pushed back the Abagereka to Rwesero. The queen mother was informed about how the battle was unfolding and was told about Rukeramihigo’s heroism. She called for people to offer him more ammunition and she sent Gashambayita to make sure it was delivered to Rukeramihigo.

Gashambayita was shot while in the process of delivering ammunitions to the front line by the Abagereka community but did not die. He went back immediately to inform the queen with spears in his hands. Rukeramihigo defeated the Abagereka and the queen did not cease to ask whether it was really him. Rukeramihigo and Gashambayita managed to fight heroically for the country even if they were common people. They were socially elevated after their altruistic bahaviours.
In the *Things attain Ndabaga’s phase* proverb, it tells the story of a certain Ndabaga who was the begotten daughter of Nyamutezi who once lived in Bwishaza in 1700. The narrator says that she was born when her father was at the battle camps somewhere in the southern part of the country. Her common acts of heroism are manifested through her decision to substitute her father at the battle camps. The narrator says that there were many reasons she decided to do so, the first reason being that her mother was growing old and could not to take care of herself, secondly, Ndabaga who had not seen her father since she was young learnt that her father could not be substituted at the battle camps because he did not have a brother or a son to stand-in for him as he grew older. This pained Ndabaga, who according to the narrator decided to practice until she was able to replace her father:

> Eventually, she trained herself to shoot with arrows and how to fight with swords and other tools. She taught herself how to do high jumps and running exercises. She learnt everything that was to be learnt at the training camps. Surprisingly, she had her breasts cut off. When her mother asked her why she was doing all that, she answered, “If I am the only child my father has, who else is going to protect you if things turn dire.”

(24)

The fact that she cut off her breast to disguise herself as a boy is heroic, risky as it was, it would be labeled inappropriate in some contexts. However, she
did that out of love for her family and her country. She went to the camps disguised as a boy and she switched roles with her father who returned home to retire alongside his wife. He was old and needed a replacement in the camps, a part which Ndabaga played successfully.

Nevertheless, as the narrator recounts, Ndabaga was suspected by the boys at the camps and she was finally found out. The king interrogated her about her real gender. She was brave enough to tell the truth and the reasons why she had done so. She was later rewarded by the king and some new laws were written in relation to old fighters who did not have replacements.

Therefore, Ndabaga became a common heroine for both women and men in Rwanda because of her commitment and love for her family and her country. She is well known in the country as one of the leading female heroines.

In the proverb, *What is followed by men is finally attained*, Collective work and associative strength of mind among the citizens are deemed heroic for the community. In this story, people demonstrate courage and heroism while chasing a buffalo, an animal said to be strong and dangerous, and which posed a major threat to the people, their farms and the whole community. The narrator says:

> After it (buffalo) reached Rugarika via Mibilizi, people rushed out of their homes with swords and machetes to run after it. It ran fast to reach the Kadasaya ka Ngoma. The women and
children stood by their houses to admire, the way men were chasing a strong, dangerous and wild forest animal. (16) The act of heroism and courage is not based on the fact that the men ran out after the animal in this narrative but it is based on the fact that, the particular action initially was seen as impossible, dangerous and risky. The narrator confirms this while narrating about how the women wanted to gamble on whether the hunters and men could really catch the buffalo.

By virtue of the fact that some women were afraid of losing their husbands the incident caused and spread uncertainty not only among them but also among their children; in other words the whole family. However, this uncertainty was put to an end when after the discussions, people communicated the death of the animal. If people stand and work together, they can achieve so much more. This proves how we can achieve anything important if we work together. It is a communitarianism spirit, in fact, Smirnov remarks that if heroism by definition is an altruistic response on behalf of one’s group in the event of war, the task’s demands would appear quite distinct from those of other altruistic behaviours for example, providing food to others and caring for the sick (18).

The last proverb in the category of common heroism is The venue is at Huro. Again we are exposed to the idea of acknowledging the generosity towards a hero. In the story, the narrator talks about death and escapes, where a certain Mazimpaka, the prince to Rwanda during the late 1600s ordered the
killings of the Nduga territory chiefs. He claimed that the chiefs were not loyal to his father and expressed no subjectivity towards him. The chiefs were arrested and killed alongside their families, although not everybody was killed some people managed to survive and escape as the narrator says:

However, two people from the late families survived; Rugango, the young brother to Kaza ka Nyabuseri and Murego the older brother to Kogoto. They found refuge in Muberamfura, a salt digger living in Kigese cya Mibirizi in the forest; he used to deliver salt to their late brothers. (67)

Muberamfura as his allegoric name reveals is a person with integrity, generosity and credibility. He was loyal and generous to the two brothers who escaped to his home in search of a safe haven. Everything he did for them was not only out generosity and respect for his former chiefs, but also so that he could free the two people from the dangerous zones of the country. He had to think of a way to get the two fugitives to safety. The brothers managed to get to the agreed destination and were in safe hands. The narrator says that upon arrival, they became servants to the king and their cases were dropped. In this regard Muberamfura had not only been loyal to the two brothers and their late families but also heroic, since he was a common citizen and yet managed to rescue the survivors from a dangerous situation.
3.5 Ethical Aspects in Insigamigani Texts

Primoratz Igor in Patriotism: *Philosophical and Political Perspectives*, avers that there is a major tradition in moral philosophy which understands morality as essentially universal and impartial, and seems to rule out local, partial attachment and loyalty. The center of morality to him is when the love for one's own country characteristically goes together with the dislike of and hostility towards other countries. Primoratz further stated that commitment to a country’s principles expresses the desire to be worthy of the trust of all those who respect their own autonomy. No doubt, much more is required to achieve the height of virtue. He expresses it better by saying that, overriding desire of this kind at least makes someone a morally responsible person, a person who avoids wrongdoing if his/her acts are faithful to his/her goals (169).

In this semi-chapter, we intend to examine various positive behaviours and intentions as exemplified in the narratives. For example in *What is followed by men is finally attained* readers are being advised on the idea of solidarity and unity in the community. The hunters, together with farmers and cattle keepers stood together and overcame a threat that would have distorted their brotherhood. Their show of solidarity is highly represented when it comes to the sharing of meats. They all understood the importance of equally sharing the fruits of their collective effort. In addition the ideals of faith and trust, in this narrative are paramount, which if
underpinned in the society can promote values of marriage and relationship, for example when the women were told not to underestimate their husbands when it comes to their particular responsibilities.

In the second proverb *Rumors ended up in Gishike* the narrator emphasizes the magnitude of hatred, jealousy, and how irrelevant conspiracies can be destructive and sensitive matters within a society. This manifests itself after people suspected Rugereka of killing King Mutara Rwogera. It was untrue and should not have caused disunity between Rwandese and Abagereka and yet it did. However, he stresses the idea of self-determination and altruism, when it comes to fulfilling an assignment. Again, this is shown when Gashambayita was sent to supply ammunitions to the fighters on the frontline.

In the proverb narrative *He reaches Yihande’s horizons* the narrator highlights different inappropriate behaviours revolving around conspiracies, brutality, disrespect and egoism; all these drove King Ruganzu Bwimba into a war which he should not have fought, he lost his life and Rwanda lost its king. However, the speaker acknowledges the importance of maturity and fair judgment, when he describes the young King Cyirima Rugwe as royally immature but he still managed to deliver fair judgment on the matter of the killed antelope and punished those who failed to abide by the rules of war.

In the narrative proverb *Words attain Ndabaga’s phase* or *Things attain Ndabaga’s phase* the speaker talks about patience and commitment.
Patience is portrayed by Ndabaga’s mother, the wife to Nyamutezi who had gone into a longtime battle camp. Ndabaga’s love for her family and country generated an extreme commitment to go beyond the ordinary and train herself to be a soldier in the battle camps tasks. She managed to get her father back home and the passing of new laws allowing old people to leave the battle camps.

The proverb *Not everything that is good is entirely perfect* the narrator strictly condemns impunity as practised by the two Kings Yuhi Mazimpaka and his son Cyirima Rujugira over Kalira. He again exposes the consequences of jealousy and how they can result into unreasonable and atrocious killings, as Mazimpaka did to his son Musigwa. The narrator however, approves of the subjective manners as portrayed by Kalira which included love and care for everyone, her love and care made her an exceptional character and the center of attention. The speaker values her love for Rwanda that drove her to her heroic death. He emphasizes the idea of respect and sympathy which form stronger pillars of patriotism and heroism. Respect is represented from the people’s loyalty to the king, and the king’s to his people. Finally, the sympathy is evidenced when Cyirima Rujugira realizes that irrespective of rules, a human being’s life should be valued above all else.

In the five proverb narratives analysed above, the narrator demonstrates the idea of self-sacrifice, determination, flexibility and integrity
as manners that can help people enhance communalism in a country. This is shown in the proverb *He is not a man, but a strong tree*, where the narrator stresses the gallantry of the legendary Ruganzu Ndoli who saved the country from the hands of the tyrants who had had it for 11 years and annexed other regions to Rwanda. This according to the narrator required legendary bravery and spirit. The narrator admits that it was Ruganzu’s creativity that prompted him to come up with new techniques to save his beloved country. Reconstructing the country was not Ruganzu’s core goal; his goal was the reunification of his people. It was Ruganzu’s role in the reunification of Rwanda that made him a role model for successors, kings and leaders of Rwanda.

In the proverb *Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe*, the narrator criticises unreasonable and occupational warfare, since it presents and bears no other importance, other than imperialism and selfish domination. This is shown when the Bunyoro community fought to annex Rwanda. The Banyoro people sought extra support from neighboring dynasties but the neighbouring refused to help. However, the narrator stresses the importance of fighting a war that protects the welfare of the community, preserves the dignity, integrity and sovereignty of the country. This is illustrated when King Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi decided not to fight with the Bunyabungo community, who had initially offered him refuge but instead fought the Bunyoro and liberated the country.
The proverb narrative *He shot the target,* advises the reader to do two things; to be ambitious and to strive to achieve goals and to value and respect everyone, irrespective of age, strength or gender. To emphasize the importance of being ambitious and achieving goals the narrator uses the story of how Kazenga set targets, worked hard and achieved his goals. The narrator condemns the attitude of Kimenyi, the king of Gisaka, who thought Kazenga was too young to compete with him. His underestimation of Kazenga led to his failure. Kazenga, however, won and achieved all his goals.

In the proverb *Measure your beehive against Bugegera’s,* the narrator emphasizes the importance of being efficient and having a positive vision. We are told the story of Bugegera who was a servant to a famous and rich man called Mirenge. Bugegera was poor, handicapped and hopeless and yet managed to achieve his vision of producing honey. He managed to become financially independent and even richer than his former employer. It was with the help of his wife that he managed to get people to help them. Mutual and cultural socio-interaction helped them work towards achieving their goals. The narrator advises that we live harmoniously and in mutual support of each other.

Finally in the last proverb *The venue is at Huro,* the narrator condemns jealousy and grudges, and advises us to be sociable and friendly. This is portrayed when Yuhi Mazimpaka killed three territorial chiefs and their families over long term conflicts and baseless accusations. In
this narrative Muberamfura is portrayed as someone who loves and cares for people. He was a salt supplier for the former chiefs and it was he who saved the chiefs’ two brothers from death.

The values of patriotism and heroism are illustratively told by the narrator who uses aspects of narratology that help the reader understand the trends and major ideas behind the story. The Narratological techniques used in the description and citation of insigamigani narratives created a number of proverbs that made the texts appear unique because of their literariness. The narratological procedures used in the text helped in the construction of theories which illuminated the temporal role of human beings in narratives in the formation of proverbs.

The behaviours proposed in the text illustrate the importance of the role of society in Africa and the rest of the world. Because of the virtues described in this narrative, this study associates well with Primoratz views which suggest that when countries put forward policies and programs instilling patriotism, they help change a stalling society into a positive community. Sometimes practices that are deemed heroic or patriotic affect people widely. The responsibility for the injustice or lack of basic human solidarity lies with those who make the decisions and those behind their implementation.
3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed various ways in which the values of heroism and patriotism are manifested in Insigamigani narratives. We have gone ahead and explored how the two are portrayed in Insigamigani narratives. In our analysis of patriotism, we divided it into the following: extreme, robust, moderate, deflated and ethical.

We explored the concept of heroism based on Northrop Frye’s models of heroism. Using this model, we explored the following forms of heroism: divine, romantic, common, and leader ironic. We have also explored ethical issues embedded in Insigamigani narratives. These include issues such as unity, love, integrity and solidarity.

The next chapter addresses literary aesthetics as identified and analysed from the texts.
CHAPTER FOUR

STYLE IN INSIGAMIGANI TEXTS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we explore various stylistic features employed in Insigamigani narratives using stylistic theory as a literary framework. We, therefore, seek to examine how the narratives have made use of various stylistic devices to convey the intended message(s). However, analysis of style in the narratives will be based on imagery, symbolism, dialogue, and hyperbole.

4.2 Use of Symbolism

Bussmann in Routledge Dictionary of Language argues that the words symbol and symbolism are derived from the Greek word meaning to throw together. A symbol creates a direct, meaningful equation between a specific object, scene, character, or action and ideas, values, persons, or ways of life. In effect, a symbol is a substitute for the elements being signified, much as a flag stands for the ideals of a nation. Further, Bussmann asserts that when we first encounter a symbol in a story, it may seem to carry no more weight than its surface meaning. It can be a description of a character, an object, a place, an action, or a situation, and it may function normally and usefully in this capacity. What makes a symbol symbolic, however, is its capacity to signify
additional levels of meaning or major ideas, simple or complex emotions or philosophical or religious qualities or values. By highlighting details as symbols, and stories or parts of stories as allegories, writers expand their meaning while keeping their works within reasonable lengths.

On the other hand, imagery in a work of art invokes sensory details. It draws a reader more deeply into a story by helping him to visualize what is being described. However, imagery may also symbolize important ideas in a story. This draws reference to what Lawrence Barsalou et al. in *Perceptual Simulation in Conceptual Tasks* calls ‘perceptual symbol systems’. Barsalou argues that our mind deals with concepts in an analogous way to perceptual input. Language elicits imagistically conceived scenes and pictures in the mind that are similar to perceptual images. This pertains to visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, gustatory, kinesthetic, and emotional/proprioceptive images alike, but is best explained with reference to vision (387).

Symbolism is one of the major styles employed in *Insigamigani* narratives. For instance, there are spatial symbols, character symbols and situational symbols.

In the narrative *What is followed by men is finally reached*, the narrator talks about three main symbols: Men, the buffalo and the horns. Men in this context are symbolic since they represent society. In this case the narrator uses mento represent the people in a given area or circumstance, he uses this
to communicate that when there is an emerging issue people should band together and deal with it as a society.

The buffalo which is the center of this narrative is equally symbolic. This is because the narrator depicts it as a serious threat to all. It is thus a predator in the society and has to be isolated. The sound of horns is symbolic in this narrative because it communicates the death of a giant animal to the people. The sound of horns is a symbol of traditional communication since it was used to pass messages. Apart from being methods of communication, the horns also stand for completion of hard work.

In the narrative *Rumors ended up in Gishike* there are three main symbols: Gishike, Rugereka and Rumour. Gishike symbolizes the end of long-term conflicts among opposing groups of people. The fact that Rugereka’s main homestead was located in Gishike and that it was the center of power, also made it a target for the Rwandese fighters until it was burnt down by Rukeramihigo. Burning the house was another way to end the conflict and put an end to the conflict between the Rwandese and the Abagereka people. Gishike therefore stands for the end of social conflicts, anger, misunderstanding and jealousy.

Rugereka symbolises the bad; prompting the narrator to call him an abomination in the society. According to the people he was not only behind the king’s death but he also caused the calamities of drought and famine. Putting an end to Rugereka symbolises the fight against social conflicts and
calamities in the country. Rumours symbolise abstract issues that caused the war between the Rwandese and the Abagereka. It was the same war that put an end to those rumours. Rumours can also be considered as another form of calamity which spread throughout the country but finally faded out.

In the narrative, ‘He reaches Yihande’s horizons’ has two main symbols: Yihande’s horizon and the antelope judgement case. Yihande’s horizon symbolises a desert and a land of no hope. After Cyirima Rugwe took over power and learnt how Yihande agreed not to fight for his country and for his respective clan, Abanyiginya, he sent him to die alone in the forests. Dying in the forest or being thrown in the river were some of the common traditional condemnations in the Rwandan society. Such punishments were used to motivate people to love their country.

The hunters’ antelope case is symbolic since it represents fair judicial practices. The Antelope draws the image of hunted prey that everyone wants to own because it is edible, tasty and delicious. However, just because everyone wants it does not mean that everyone can hunt and kill it. From this same case, Cyirima Rugwe managed to deliver a good judgement based on the testimonial hearings. The isle that the narrator mentions when he talks about Abasindi is symbolic because it represents the limited surfaces, circumstances and behaviours which should not be surpassed.

In *Words or things have attained Ndabaga’s phase* the narrator uses both symbolic places and characters. He introduces the narrative by saying
that such a proverb is uttered when things are impossible or socially unbearable. Thus Ndabaga and her father Nyamutezi are character symbols while battle camps and training camps are spatial symbols.

Ndabaga is symbolic of change and gender equity since she was the first female ever to think about learning and performing male duties such as protecting her clan. Regardless of her being a woman, she was able to learn different war techniques:

Eventually, she trained herself by learning different shooting techniques, how to handle a sword, a bow and arrow and other tools. She trained herself to jump as high as the men could and did running exercises and on top of that she learnt everything there was to be learnt at the training camps. (24)

Eventually she brought change into the society by proving that male fighting skills could also be learnt, adopted and applied by women.

Secondly, Ndabaga equally symbolises virtues such as love, care, self-determination and self-sacrifice. This is because the narrator used her love and care for her family and her country to represent a determined character that can deal with difficult situations and who was born to bring change. As the narrator puts it toward the end, the king ordered the elderly fighters who did not have substitutes to go back home and retire. Ndabaga’s acts of patriotism and heroism made her an agent of change in the society.
Nyamutezi is another character who represents minority groups. He symbolises minority groups because as the narrator says, he grew old while at the battle camps and could not return home to see his wife and daughter because he did not have a replacement. The story depicts him as a mere fighter who could only abide by the rules as given by his chiefs. He also had no authority to claim his rights as a parent and a longtime fighter, because he had agreed to remain at the battle camps until his death. He is indeed a symbol of gender sensitivity, since he was convinced to let Ndabaga be his successor. He knew she was a girl, but in addition to that she had managed to prove to him that she was incomparable when it came to male fighting skills. In this case, he can be seen to judge people based on their performance and not their gender. In any case she was to replace him, an action which would allow him to retire with dignity.

Battle camps and training camps are symbolic because the narrator uses them to support his ideas about the impossibility of a woman joining the camp. For example, the battle camps mentioned stand for long time service and training military academies, where young men would go to learn military skills. All these stand for the impossible tasks that Ndabaga had to go through to fulfill her goal of helping her father to retire.

In the narrative *Not everything that is good is entirely perfect*, the following symbols are depicted: Kalira, Kalira’s husband, Cows, Tobacco, Karinga and Blindness. To begin with, the narrator describes Kalira as a
woman of outstanding character, and beauty who came from a humble background. She was said to come from Abega b’abahenda clan, and she got married to an orphan husband from the same societal class. The narrator recites that the husband and his brother all lived in the same house. If it were not for poverty the two brothers would not live in the same house. The husband to Kalira is a symbol of the minority group, because he did not have a lot of cows which at the time was a sign wealth.

Kalira is again seen as the symbol of love, care and peace, by virtue of being a faithful woman. Her care of the prince’s aid and the prince himself when they came to her house show her positive character traits such as being respectful, submissive and gentle. This is shown not only because she offered the two people milk to drink, but also because the narrator describes her smartness and cleanliness in everything she served. She is a symbol of love, because she loved and cared for everyone who was with her, beginning with her former husband, the prince Cyirima Rujugira and the king Yuhi Mazimpaka. The story portrays her as a desirable and attractive woman, since everyone wanted to be with her. She was so beautiful that she was nicknamed Rwabami which means the wife of two kings.

In the same narrative, we have shown how cows were extremely significant to Kalira’s previous husband. In the narrative we see Kalira’s husband asking his brother to get married. However his brother refused citing that they did not have enough cows to pay dowry. Nevertheless when Kalira
was taken away from them they were given cows as compensation. The
tobacco for the prince, which the narrator mentions more than once, stands
for a symbol of relief. Rujugira was relieved to have his tobacco once they
had run out of food because it gave him relief. “The prince was so hungry, his
food supply had dried up and he ordered one of his servantslight his tobacco
pipe, which he did at Kalira’s house,”(*Not everything that is good is entirely
perfect, 92-99*). This is also seen on the journey to Bugesera when Rujugira
asks Kalira to give him his pipe.

Karinga symbolizes the Rwandese monarchy. The monarchic emblem
was a drum that can be compared to the flag of any country today. The
symbol was so powerful that it made Karemera Rwaka blind after he
inherited the throne because the rightful heir to the throne was Rujugira.
Karemera Rwaka’s blindness is a symbol of punishment given to anyone who
wants to own what is not theirs.

In *He is not a man but a strong tree*, the narrator says that it is used when a
man succeeds where others have failed. Bitibibisi is the main character in the
narrative and he is said to have killed the legendary Ruganzu Ndoli who is
considered one of the heroic kings of Rwanda. In the same narrative,
Ruganzu Ndoli and the abrupt suicide of Ibisumizi are identified as the
leading symbols because the narrator depends on them to build and
communicate his story.
Ruganzu Ndoli managed to revive Rwanda after 11 years. Ruganzu’s legacy made him a legend and to this day he is still considered one. His techniques of spying and attacking helped him annex other dynasties for Rwanda. Because Ruganzu was a king and a fighter he managed to achieve his goal of reviving the country. However, he died when Bitibibisi ambushed him. His name and some of his actions remain symbolic because he became an icon of liberty, power and a good example of a patriotic and altruistic fighter.

In the narrative *Keep your food, if you don't know the story at Fumbwe*, the narrator uses Fumbwe, Bunyoro, exile, and Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi as symbols. To begin with, Fumbwe is a place situated in the current Eastern Province. In this narrative, it symbolises a dreadful place that stands for hunger and drought. Fumbwe was a place that had no food or rain. The narrator notes:

Ruganzu went into exile in Fumbwe and after his departure, the Abanyoro seized Rwanda. Fumbwe was considered a black desert therefore Ruganzu and his men had to survive on anything that was edible. (127).

Fumbwe was once a green and fertile place but it had been entirely damaged rendering it dry. The narrator uses Fumbwe to explain how the Rwandese people took everything before they fled.
The Bunyoro community symbolizes an enemy or any threat to Rwanda. As the narrator puts it, it was the second time the Bunyoro had threatened to annex Rwanda. The first time had been under Mibambwe’s father Kigeli Mukobanya. Therefore, Bunyoro symbolizes one of the major threats Rwanda faced between 1600 and 1700. Fighting the Bunyoro and eventually winning is amongst the heroic achievements of the Rwandese and their king Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi. In this narrative exile refers to the victory over Bunyoro. Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi did not want to remain in exile. He wanted Rwanda to return to the Rwandese people so he initiated a heroic retaliation strategy that involved attacking the Bunyoro at night and burning down their houses. He fought hard and finally restored the country. Hence, his name is symbolic and allegorical because Mutabazi means a savior or a liberator.

In the narrative *He shot the target*, the use of character symbolism is prevalent. Kazenga and Kimenyi are used as symbolic characters. Kazenga represents honour and bravery, character traits that a citizen should have while he is in or out of the country. The narrator depicts him as a young ambitious character whom irrespective of being a king’s son, had ambition and worked hard until he succeeded.

Kimenyi a name derived from ‘Kumenya’ which stands for ‘To Know’, is depicted as a character who is supposed to be knowledgeable. His allegorical name Kimenyi, which means a person with knowledge and skills,
does not match with his performance in the contest against Kazenga who is seen as young and brave. Kimenyi, in this case is a symbol of defeat and failure. The word target has been largely used in the narrative, not only because the speaker wants to describe a selected place/person of an attack, but also to represent a will, an ambition or an objective that needs to be achieved. It helps the reader visualize the goals of the narrative. Kazenga’s success in shooting his target can be described as a personal commitment to realize his goals. Kazenga realized all his goals when he was rewarded by his father Kigeli Ndabarasa with a huge piece of land in MountGihinga which in this case is a symbol of great achievement.

In the narrative *Measure your beehive against Bugegera’s*, there are three main symbols which are: Bugegera, Mirenge and Honey. Firstly, Bugegera is both allegorical and symbolic. The name might be associated to ‘Kugegera’ a Rwandese verb which means to be redundant or to be idle. It is used to describe a person who has nothing and has nowhere to go. In this context, Bugegera represents a minority group in the society. The narrator describes him as poor and disabled, “Bugegera was a servant who was poor and physically deformed. He didn’t have fingers on his right palm” (58). Bugegera was determined to work hard and become rich and financially stable, which he was achieved successfully. He got a beehive and after sometime the bees started to produce large quantities of honey. In this case he represents a positive thinker and an idealistic man.
Mirenge is symbolic because he was not only famous in the narrative but also in the history of Rwanda. The common statement ‘you are rich like Mirenge ku Ntenyo’ which is commonly used in Rwanda, historically refers to the famous and wealthy Mirenge who lived at Ntenyo which is the current southern province. He is a symbol of wealth and power.

Honey in the insigamigani texts, does not only symbolise a product, it is used to represent sweet things, and therefore, in this narrative it represents happiness, calmness and prosperity. After Bugegera managed to produce and sell large quantities of honey, he also managed to become financially independent and even richer than Mirenge but not as famous.

In the narrative The venue is at Huro, Huro and the forest are symbolic places while Muberamfura is used as a symbolic character. Huro, in the narrative is the last meeting place and it is symbolic because it stands for serenity, peace and justice. It is only after the two brothers Murego and Rugango reached Huro that their lives are saved. The forest represents death, and in this narrative it is used as an asylum. The brothers hid in the forest with Muberamfura inorder to avoid execution. It can also be said that the forest stands for a transitional place that is unsafe.

Since Muberamfura is the character who managed to save the brothers’ life, he is a symbol of peace, loyalty and protection. It is emphasized within the narrative that what he had done for the two brothers, was a way for him to honour and pay his respects to their relatives who had
been good friends of his. He managed to protect them, despite hazardous situation they were involved in. He is a peacemaker since he did not betray them to the prince Yuhi Mazimpaka or to people who were looking for them everywhere. He is heroic and put himself in danger’s way when he made the decision to save their lives.

4.3. Dialogue

Burbules, N. in *Dialogue in Teaching, Theory and practice*, defines dialogue as a style that involves ‘*dia*’ meaning two, across or between and ‘*logos*’ speech or ‘what is talked about’ (19). Dialogue is, according to him, a speech across, between or through two people. In this sense it is not so much a specific communicative form of question and answer, but at heart, a kind of social relation that engages its participants. It entails certain virtues and emotions like trust, respect, appreciation, affection and hope (19). Burbules further asserts that in dialogue, writers use attribution to show that the person is speaking and give credit to him/her for the quoted passage. While attribution in formal essays usually gives an expert's credentials and qualifications, the attribution for dialogue acts more as a guide to show readers who is speaking (*i.e.* "he said," "she said").

One way of dramatizing narrative action is through dialogue. Writers use it to directly reveal the characters of a story, without the narrator's intruding commentary. Dialogues are not mere recordings of conversation,
but pointed representations of conversation. Through dialogue, readers gain insight into the personalities and motives of the characters.

In Insigamigani texts, there is an extensive use of dialogues which the narrator uses so as to emphasize different points of emerging linear plots and climaxes, but also to easily describe individual character traits. In the current section we intend to show various dialogues that are related to our thematic concerns which are heroism and patriotism. In the narrative ‘What is followed by men is finally attained’ different conversations take place mainly between a group of women and Nyirarunyonga. The narrator relates the conversation as follows:

Nyirarunyonga laughed at them and said: “you women are fools, instead of being surprised; you should go to your homes, dry cassavas or sorghum and grind them to make flour. Then prepare a meal that can be paired with meat. From what I can see, these men will finally catch it, of that I have no doubt.” …“We are so afraid that it might kill our husbands and you are saying such things”, some women replied (16).

Through the conversation, the narrator describes Nyirarunyonga as a confident woman with the ability to persuade her friends to stop worrying about their husbands.
In the narrative, *Rumors ended up in Gishike*, the narrator illustrates a dialogue between a queen and her servant Gashambayita, to show that Rukeramihigo is an exceptional soldier and describe Rukeramihigo’s heroism during the war between Rwanda and Abagereka:

“Even if you have been wounded, are you sure the man who made Abagereka withdraw is Rukeramihigo?”… “I have seen him fighting for you as if he was the brother to the late king” replied Gashambayita. (30).

From Gashambayita’s response to the queen mother, the reader can visualise how strong, patriotic and heroic Rukeramihigo was while fighting. In fact, before the conversation ends, as the narrator recounts, Rukeramihigo appears at the royal palace claiming victory over Abagereka people.

In the narrative, *Words attain Ndabaga’s phase or Things attain Ndabaga’s phase*, we are told a story of a young courageous girl, Ndabaga, who wanted to replace her father at the battle field because her father was old. Her heroism and patriotism is evident in her conversations. For instance, she tells her mother why she needs to go and replace her father:

“He needs to see me and I want to see him, and if possible I want to replace him; you see mother, I no longer look like a girl, I am a man now. I have all the essentials a man needs at the battle camp” she said. (24)
Her commitment and determination are emphasized by the narrator who shows the girl’s strong will to replace her father.

In the narrative ‘Not everything that is good is entirely perfect’, the narrator illustrates the conversation between the two brothers who were initially the custodians of Kalira:

“Look we have a small number of cows what if I get married and you gave out the few cows we have? We will experience a shortage of milk, and Kalira would not get sufficient milk. Consequently, she will grow thin, and people will start saying that we were given a wife we couldn’t take care of. If this happens we face the possibility of her being taken from us. Therefore, I will not marry anytime soon, so that we can take care of Kalira. When we have a sufficient number of cows, I will get married and you will give me cows,” the younger brother suggested. They all agreed on the decision. (92-99)

This conversation shows how loyal and loving the brothers were to Kalira. The narrator also showcases love and loyalty by using a conversation between the elders and King Yuhi Mazimpaka. In this dialogue the elders wanted the king to give Rujugira’s wife, Kalira, back because it was illegal and inappropriate:
“Why don’t you give the woman back to her husband or give her back to Rujugira? Rujugira went on hunger strike and is now in a critical condition,” they said to the king. “I didn’t want them to fight, so I took the wife from all of them,” he responded. “You should give her back to your son since the other men accepted compensation,” they suggested. (92-99)

Within the same conversation the narrator makes it clear for the reader that it is important to show loyalty and devotion towards your family and country. The advice the elders gave the King also raise the level of morality and respect.

In the narrative, *He is not a man but a strong tree*, Ruganzu Ndoli, the main character in the narrative, is described as a hero and a strategic leader by the narrator, he cites the conversation between Ruganzu and Mukire. The narrator says:

> “Who is waking me up?” Ruganzu mumbled while waking up. “It is me your master Mukire,” Mukire responded.
> Ruganzu woke up and they had a talk. Mukire went back home after the conversation. (114).

The narrator, however, characterises Ruganzu as a tricky character because he was covered and protected by metal objects so he did not feel the pain
when he was hit with an axe. Mukire, as the narrator describes him, was very naïve to accept and told his servants that he could do the same. He says

“I can do the same; just plan it so that when he comes home, I will also be asleep. Then you will give him an axe to wake me up,” Mukire ordered his aides. (114).

Ruganzu wanted Mukire to prove his people and aides that he could do likewise. Mukire did it because he wanted to show his heroism and power to the people by being woken up with an axe.

In the narrative *Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe*, the narrator uses a number of dialogues like the conversation between the king Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi and his servants. The narrator uses the dialogues to emphasise the importance of truthfulness. He says:

“Your majesty, the Abanyoro are coming back and this time they come in droves. We would like you to do the same, call for extra support, ask your neighbors for a hand.” They asked the king. “Yes, I will,” accepted the king. (125)

The truth here is that the spies were confident about the upcoming Bunyoro attack. Hence, they wanted the king to react accordingly, by calling for extra support from his neighbors. The narrator reveals that the spies were patriotic
because they wanted Mibambwe to act very quickly to counter Bunyoro’s intended attack.

Furthermore, the narrator again supports this heroic response by using the dialogue of the king that contains his decision to retaliate only after the Bunyoro attacked Rwanda. He says:

“If we are to fight, it is better we fight in our country instead of fighting in another country. Let’s fight and if it is to the death let’s all die for our country,” Mibambwe thought and told his people. “That is a good idea, let’s all save our beloved country,” the people agreed. (125).

In the narrative *He shot the target*, we are shown the decision Kazenga ka Ndabarasa, a young fighter, made through the dialogue between Kazenga and his servant. He notes:

They went back to their lodges. “Should we set a target so that you can practice?” the servants asked Kazenga. He kept silent but eventually replied, “...I learnt how to shoot in Gisaka, if I hadn’t we would go back to Rwanda and this contest wouldn’t take place.” (161).

Kazenga was confident about his shooting skills so, he saw no need to practice. However, Kazenga had been underestimated by King Kimenyi who
thought he was too young and incompetent. The narrator illustrates this using the dialogue between king Kimenyi and Kazenga’s servants:

“Ndabarasa has sent us to show you who your adversary will be during the shooting contest,” Ndabarasa’s messengers told Kimenyi. “And who is to compete with me?” Kimenyi asked them. Kazenga stood up from the crowd and his boyish body could be seen…. “Tell me that you have not brought a baby to compete with me?” he asked them. “He is the one, you only need to tell us the exact day when you intend to have this contest,” they responded. “Tomorrow and after I defeat him you can go back home,” he told them. (161)

From the above dialogue between Kazenga’s servants, who were the messengers of King Kigeli Ndabarasa of Rwanda, and King Kimenyi, we can see how self-assured and respectful the Rwandese people were to the house of Kimenyi. His arrogance and over-confidence was met by a humble request to tell them the day of the competition.

On this Burbules calls to mind the importance of respect during conversation, he says that while there may be differences between partners in conversation, the process can go on if there is mutual regard. Respect utilizes the idea that everyone is equal in some basic way and entails a commitment to being fair-minded, opposing degradation and rejecting exploitation (19).
In the ninth proverb *Measure your beehive to Bugegera’s*, the narrator shows how important it is for two people who are engaged in a conversation to both be engaged and interested in the conversation. Again as Burbules notes when we are in conversation with our partners we should always seek to engage them because there is more going on than talk about a topic. There is a social bond that entails interest in, and a commitment to the other. In relation to this matter of concerning engagement, the narrator in this narrative once again talks about moral patriotic attitudes. The narrator tells us about how Bugegera, the main character, engaged his visitors with dialogue over drinks as a means to get them to help him achieve his ambition of becoming financially stable:

“Listen! All of you gathered here, I wish to offer wine to any person who makes a beehive for me,” he asserted. “There is no need to wait, just go with this young boy and give it to him,” Bugegera told the man who offered him a beehive. The man together with the young boy went and brought the fixed beehive. (58)

From this conversation, different goals were set into motion and later got achieved. Moreover, the narrator uses this particular dialogue to inform the reader how Bugegera achieved his goals. As the reader later learns Bugegera used cultural diplomacy by offering his visitors banana wine which in turn helped him realize his dreams.
In the last narrative *The venue is at Huro*, the dialogue between Muberamfura, a salt merchant, and the two renegade brothers, Rugango and Murego, illustrates how serious matters can be resolved. The narrator uses the same dialogue to illustrate the ethical and caring behaviour of Muberamfura, an allegoric name which means ‘the pride of elders.’ While contemplating how best to save the brothers’ lives he says:

“You can hide here for now, but what happens if some of my salt customers find you here? Won’t you be putting me in danger?” he asked them in a worried tone. “What can we do? We don’t know anybody else who can help us,” they told Muberamfura.

“Your brothers were very loyal and good to me. I will not let you down. Here is what we are going to do, I have a brother called Mugenza who lives in Huro in Bumbogo and he is the servant to Mibambwe Gisanura. If I manage to get you to him, you will be in good hands and he can recommend you to serve Mibambwe, who in turn will overturn your execution order,” he told the brothers.

“How will we get there? Everybody is looking for us now,” they asked him. “Travel separately and find any of your
friends who will not sell you out. I will also find my way.

Let’s all meet in Huro,” he proposed. (67, 69)

The worried brothers, as the narrator puts it, did as Muberamfura had suggested even though it was dangerous. Hopefully, they travelled at night and in the morning they arrived in Huro. As Muberamfura had predicted, their cases were dropped and they were saved.

Again Burbules talks about the importance of hope in a dialogue. He argues that while it is purely emotional, hope is central. We engage in conversation with the belief that it holds possibility. More Often than not, it is not clear what we will gain or learn, but faith in the inherent value of education carries us forward. (19)

4.4 Similes

As a figure of speech, a simile directly compares two different things by using words ‘like’ and ‘as’. Even though both similes and metaphors are forms of comparison, similes directly compare two ideas and allow them to remain distinct in spite of their similarities, whereas metaphors compare two things indirectly. According to Bredin H. in, Comparisons and Similes, Lingua, similes are less investigated, he asserts:

"Like a metaphor, a simile is a semantic figure of speech. It plays a central role in the way we think and talk about the world and it often associates different things with each other.
It can take an affirmative or a negative form: the affirmative form asserts likeness between the two entities compared like 'the sun is like an orange' and the negative form denies likeness, like 'the sun is not like an orange'. (68)

On his part, Fromilhague C. in “Les Figures de Style” concurs with Bredin on the functions of similes. He argues that similes have various functions: First, they serve to communicate concisely and efficiently: They are one of a set of linguistic devices which extend the linguistic resources available. Secondly, they can function as cognitive tools for thought in that they enable us to think of the world in novel, alternative ways. In discourse, they can also fulfill more specific functions depending on the textual genre in which they occur. In scientific texts, comparison and analogical reasoning play an important role (88-94). He also explains explicit and implicit similes. Explicit similes, he says, sense or point out similarity directly. Most of the sentences with 'as…as' structures are explicit similes: 'as light as feather', 'as hot as fire'. Implicit simile, as he explains, however, are those that compare things using ‘like’: 'eat like a bird which means eat very little', 'live like a pig which means live very untidily', 'swim like a fish which means swim very well'.

In the narrative What is followed by men is finally attained the narrator speaks about a butch-woman under the name of Nyirarunyonga who acted, behaved and reasoned like a man. The narrator says “She was as tough
as a man” (16). The speaker uses the explicit simile to differentiate
Nyirarunyonga from the rest of the women.

In the narrative *Words or things have attained Ndabaga’s phase* the
narrator uses implicit similes, when referring to Ndabaga. Similes like the
following are used to describe her: “she trained herself to jump high like a
man … I no longer look like a girl.” she said. (*Words or Things have attained
Ndabaga’s phase, 24*). The two statements above are used by the narrator to
describe Ndabaga’s intentions to replace her father. The sentences use implicit
similes to help the reader visualize what Ndabaga did so she could go to the
battle camps to replace her father.

In *He shot the target*, the narrator once again describes Kazenga ka
Ndabarasa as young but a competent shooter. In the same description the
reader can transcribe Kazenga’s character traits from an extensive usage of
explicit similes. The narrator says “he was as good in shooting as any
experienced fighter” (*He shot the target, 161*). In this narrative, the narrator
directly relates Kazenga, a young boy with a long time fighter due to his
undeniable competency in the field of shooting. His young age made
Kimenyi underestimate him and because of that Kazenga managed to defeat
him and humiliate Kimenyi in front of his people.
4.5 Hyperbole

According to Bussmann in *Routledge Dictionary of Language*, hyperbole is an overstated phrase or exaggeration. It is also considered an exaggerated description intended to elicit alienation, revaluation or any kind of emotional reaction. Bennett and Royle in *Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory* define hyperbole as a figure of speech which involves exaggeration, for example: ‘I am starving’ instead of ‘I am hungry’, ‘incredible’ instead of ‘very good’. On the other hand hyperbole can also be seen as a form of comparison using exaggeration or obvious overstatement for comic and dramatic effect (18).

The use of hyperbole is evident and has been identified in three Insigamigani texts: *Words or things have attained Ndabaga’s phase*, *He is not a man, but a strong tree* and *Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe*.

In *Words or things have attained Ndabaga’s phase*, the narrator convinces the reader that Ndabaga is very determined by saying that Ndabaga had her breasts cut off. He narrates:

Surprisingly enough, she had her breasts cut off. Her mother asked why she had to do all that, and she answered: “If I am the only child my father has, who else would protect you if things got out of hand in his absence.” (24)
This is an overstatement in the sense that a woman cannot cut her breasts. However, the dire need to replace her father at the battle camps influenced her actions. The narrator is trying to explain how far people go to protect their families.

In the narrative *He is not a man, but a strong tree*, the narrator talks about Ruganzu. Although he is considered a legend, being woken up using an axe is humanly impossible. He recounts:

Mukire asked to see him and was told that he was asleep and that he could only be woken up by hitting him with an axe.

Mukire took an axe and hit him hard on the chest. Ruganzu could not be hurt as he was covered with heavy metal objects.

He only felt a slight knock. (114)

As we mentioned above, Ruganzu was an exceptional hero and king, maybe the best Rwanda has ever had. However, this does not mean he was not a human being. The narrator uses this to make Ruganzu Ndoli appear superhuman because metal objects do not diminish the blow of an axe to the human body.

In the narrative *Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe*, the narrator tells the story of how Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi tried to get military support from the neighbouring countries by saying that the fight was not Rwanda’s alone. The narrator says:

Sekarongoro accepted their request, he sent messengers to the neighboring kings, including Kimenyi from Gisaka (Eastern
Province) and Nsoro from Bugesera (current Eastern Province). To explain why he could not fight Abanyoro alone he said: “They want more than Rwanda, if they win this war they will come for you next.” (125)

The King in this case was exaggerating the situation in order to get help and be in a position to fight the Abanyoro who had a large army.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we explored certain stylistic features such as symbolism, imagery, similes and hyperbole in Insigamigani narratives. We have shown how these stylistic features convey the intentions and intended meaning(s) of Insigamigani narratives in the society. In this regard, we have shown how language has been figuratively used in the Insigamigani narratives not only to advance certain meanings but also to show some kind of relationship and interaction between the characters and their historical past.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the Findings

In this concluding section of the study, we make a brief review of the issues that emerged during our analysis and discussion in this study and propose possible areas for further studies. This study had set out to examine how the values of heroism and patriotism are portrayed in Insigamigani narratives. We also set out to examine how various stylistic features have been utilized in the narratives to convey particular messages and to prescribe certain moral codes in society.

In our first chapter of this study, we presented the introduction to the study, background of the study and most importantly, the justification of the study. Here, we sought to determine why this study was necessary and eventually outlined its scope and delimitation. In this chapter we also outlined the methodology of the study.

In our second chapter, we extensively reviewed and discussed available literature that closely relates to our study. In this, we discussed how various scholars conceptualise and treat heroism and patriotism. The singular purpose of conducting the literature review was to establish the knowledge gap that this study sought to fill through the analysis of Insigamigani narratives. In the same chapter we also outlined the theoretical framework
upon which the analysis of the entire study is placed. We argued that this study will utilize both narratology and Stylistic theories. In narratology, we showed how we were to utilize narratological proponents to depict the content while in stylistics we showed how we shall engage the theory by examining various stylistic features utilized in Insigamigani narratives.

In our third chapter, we investigated the manifestations of Patriotism and Heroism in Insigamigani narratives. The two social values were analysed intensively and extensively in the chapter. While relying on Primoratz Igor’s ideas on Patriotism, we explored various categories of patriotism as illustrated in Insigamigani narratives. In this we analysed extreme, robust, moderate, and deflated types of patriotism as they emerged in the narratives.

As far as Patriotism is concerned, our findings defined it as the love for one’s patria and a concept of virtue that should be emulated by children in a society. The study broke down types of patriotism as postulated by Primoratz into 5 categories, namely extreme, robust, moderate, deflated and ethical. In *Words have attained Ndabaga’s phase*, for example we found Moderate Patriotism as illustrated extensively. Primoratz argued that in this type of patriotism, there is more adherence and the will to show special concern for a country in a more humanitarian manner.

In the proverb mentioned above, Ndabaga who is the main character is a prolific example of this type of patriotism. In the same chapter, we also examined the manifestations of heroism in Insigamigani narratives. Guided
by Northrop Frye’s models of heroism, we illustrated how the value of heroism is portrayed in the narratives. In this regard, we examined divine, romantic, common, and leader as forms of heroism as shown in the narratives. By using different characters such as king Ruganzu Ndoli, Ndabaga, Rukeramihigo, Kazenga and others we were to show how heroes and heroines shape a country and its respective culture.

Heroism is analysed herein as a second value. The study found out that the theory of Narratology, which is derived from the Russian school of formalism helps the researcher apply Vladimir Propp’s morphology of folktales, by analyzing the challenges a hero goes through before he is rewarded. Different types of heroic models were identified to include divine, common, leader, ironic and romantic. A typical example of divine heroism is represented in “This is not a man but a strong tree.” As Northrop Frye puts it, this type of a hero is superior and uses supernatural powers to reach goals. King Ruganzu Ndoli in this case exemplifies this type of heroism through his journey of liberating Rwanda.

In a move to highlight functional values as postulated from texts, this study has found out that patriotism and heroism are not limited to their sole content. We found that there were ethics and codes of conduct illustrated in the texts that are appropriate to use in the society. The study revealed that morality cannot be limited to the obvious aspects of respect, will, love and care; Insigamigani texts became clear examples of other aspects involving
creativity, commitment and loyalty as behaviours that can be adopted.

‘Words attain Ndabaga’s phase’ or ‘Things attain Ndabaga’s phase’ uses Ndabaga’s love for her family and country as an example of morality.

Ndabaga shows extreme commitment by forsaking her femininity and training herself just to get her father back home.

In chapter four, the study took a holistic approach in looking deeply how Insigamigani narratives employ various stylistic features such as symbolism, imagery and similes among others to convey the intended message. As initially stipulated from the study’s objectives this chapter reveals extensive usage of symbolism and imageries amongst other styles.

In the narrative “He is not a man, but a strong tree” for example, the style of symbolism is used with reference to Ruganzu Ndoli’s name and the abrupt suicide of his fighters (Ibisumizi). King Ruganzu is a symbol of courage, loyalty, supernatural power, resistance, ambition, vision and an icon of liberty and ferocious love to his country. The suicide of Ibisumizi represents great love and loyalty for such a powerful leader. They symbolize power, determination and altruism.

Additionally, Insigamigani texts, according to the same chapter prove highly intricabilities of proverbs versus narratives, which led to references of Metagenres. The narrator introduces, merges and explains the evolution of the narrative. We have been able to show how language has been used not
only in developing the narratives’ plots but to also show the relationship between various characters and history.

5.2 Conclusions

In this study we have shown how Insigamigani narratives developed and communicated different social values like patriotism and heroism. We have classified Insigamigani narratives as mythological stories based on their unique history, issues and relevance to modern society.

From our assumptions, this study has helped to clarify that having grown out of major historical events that shaped the Rwandan culture, Insigamigani texts are literary structured, since they provide a wide range of thematic concerns (content) stylistic features (form). Insigamigani texts are a synergy between Rwandese literature and history and very relevant to Rwanda since they recall the past to define the present, and suggest a wide range of codes of conduct to the society.

We have shown how the values of patriotism and heroism are utilized in the selected narratives and how the modern society can look back to the narratives for inspiration and motivation. The narratives also seek to convey particular moral codes that the modern society can look back to whenever it strays. For instance, virtues such as patriotism, heroism among others will help transform the modern society.
5.3 Recommendations

This study delimited itself to the examination of 10 randomly selected Insigamigani narratives. It further focused on the values of heroism and patriotism and how they are manifested in the selected Insigamigani narratives. We, therefore, suggest that literary studies dealing with values such as social conflicts, courage, jealousy, ethnicity among others should be conducted using Insigamigani narratives. It would be a great contribution, if another research on proverbs and other genres of oral literature can be conducted.
Works Cited


APPENDICES

Translated Insigamigani texts

1.0 “What is followed by men is finally attained”

This Rwandan proverb is uttered in a situation where people opt to work on a difficult decision. And you hear people saying: “What is followed by men is finally attained” originating from a strong Musinga woman (a Rwandan clan) called Nyirarunyonga, the proverb initially became uttered in Rukoma district, southern province, in Rugarika rwa Kigese community during Yuhi Gahindiro reign at around (1700).

One day, hunters woken up a buffalo in Kigese area, on the banks of Nyabarongo River, an animal believed to be strong, brutal and aggressive. When the buffalo saw hunters, it runt quickly trying to escape, it crossed Kigese hills and reached Mibilizi hills. Hunters were shouting loud to warn and communicate its presence to farmers and cattle keepers in that area. After it reached Rugarika via Mibilizi, people rushed out of their homes with swords and machetes and runt after it. It runt fast to reach the Kadasaya ka Ngoma; there women and children stood by their houses watching the way men were chasing a strong, dangerous and wild forest animal. Amongst watchers there was one Nyirarunyonga, commonly known in that area as a strong woman. She was a butch given her male behaviors that are as same men’.
While watching, women started to argue whether the animal will be caught or not:

‘You women are surprised by the size of that scary wild animal,’ Nyirarunyonga silently told them.

‘Don’t you see that such an animal is massive and those men running behind it are almost crazy, what on earth can kill that thing?’ replied women to Nyirarunyonga.

Nyirarunyonga laughed at them and said: ‘you women are fools, instead of being surprised, go at your homes dry cassavas or sorghum and grind them to get what you can eat with meats, what I have seen these men will finally catch it, no doubt.’

‘We are so afraid it may kill our husbands and you are saying such things’, some women replied.

‘Which means that you live with your husbands and you don’t know them or what they are capable of doing, ‘what is followed by men is finally reached,’ they will kill it, I tell you the truth, in case you doubt lets bet,’ Nyirarunyonga suggested.

While discussing terms of betting, the sounds of horns were heard, it is a sign to the community and the forest that a huge animal had been hunted down.
and killed. Within that moment of argument, discussions and bets, Nyirarunyonga asked them whether they know what those horns stand for.

‘We have heard, you were speaking the truth,’ women responded to Nyirarunyonga.

The buffalo has been hunted down by a group of different men from different communities; it was covered by so many swords and spears and died at the Mayaga hill, between Kibogo and Ngoma sectors. At the same hill men butchered it and shared big quantity of meats.

Men/ hunters came back to their families to feed them and their dogs, they recounted different strategies that have been used to kill the buffalo; and women told their men how there have been strong arguments between them and Nyirarunyonga whether that animal would be killed or if, it would kill their husbands.

And from that occasion, emerged that proverb that has been first uttered by Nyirarunyonga. “What is followed by men is finally reached,” and the proverb became so popular, and up to today it is still uttered in a situation where people opt to do something difficult, knowing that finally it will be achieved. So ends the story.
2.0 “Rumors ended up in Gishike”

To make an end to rumors is to make an end to the cause of the social conflicts, and people will say “Rumors ended up in Gishike”, originating from a person called Rugereka in Abega clan, who was residing in Nkobwa za Gishike neighborhoods, this proverb came into being from 1800 under Kigeri Rwabugiri royal regime.

Earlier, before Rwabugiri heirs the reign, Rugereka was a cherished servant of Mutara Rwogera the father to Rwabugiri, he was living at Rwesero in Busanza bwa Nyabisindu in the central province of Rwanda and he had another homestead in Nyanza district.

When Rwogera died his son Rwabugiri inherited the crone, people started gossiping around that Rugereka was responsible for the king’s death, that he might have poisoned him with his friends Nkusi and Rubega. Rugereka was also rumored to be responsible for the drought, and hunger that have engulfed the country by that time, people have been starving and all those calamities were nicknamed Rugereka, in other words Rugereka drought/ calamity.

The more the rumor spread people became so angry and furious about him, they were extremely jealous, although it was not ease to find a way and get rid of him. To them Rugereka was an evil to the society, he has committed abomination, he deserved to be cursed and expelled out of the society.
Rugereka did not only have problems with people but also the queen mother of Rwabugiri. The king by then was so young; the queen’s mother was ruling the country on his behalf. So the rumors spread all over the country, and tensions of retaliations from both sides rose, the Rugereka side (since he was a cherished servant of the former king, he was in a position to possess warriors) and the royal side.

Rugereka had his people/warriors (Abagereka) and they were equipped and royal warriors were obviously equipped. Finally the royal fighters engaged a war on Bagereka community. The first day of fighting Abagereka won over royal fighters, and pushed them back up to Rukari rwa Mwima na Mushirarungu, close to the royal palace. Among royal fighters there was a certain Rukeramihigo rwa Sentimbo ya Kazenga ka Ndabarasa a renowned fighter. The next day he pushed back Abagereka up to Rwesero; the queen mother was being told about the battle and how Rukeramihigo has been a hero over the fighting. She called people to offer him more ammunitions, she sent a certain Gashambayita to make sure it is Rukeramihigo.

Gashambayita went with spears and handed them in between the two fronts, while he was doing that he got touched with abagereka spears on the right hand; he came back to the palace quickly and servants removed the spears from the hand. The queen mother asked:
‘Even if you have been touched, are you sure the man who made Abagereka withdrawing is Rukeramihigo?’

‘I have seen him fighting for you as if he was the brother to the late king,’ replied Gashambayita.

Within that particular moment, Rukeramihigo appeared claiming the victory over Abagereka and that he had killed the enemy himself and burnt all his properties until Gishike homestead.

And then rumors that have been spread on Rugereka being responsible for the king’s death ended with the war between Abagereka and royal fighters. Rugereka was defeated and all his property including Gishike’s main homestead were burnt down, people had nothing to gossip again; and from that war the proverb ‘Rumors ended up in Gishike’ emerged. To end rumors in Gishike is to make an end to the cause of the social conflicts.

3.0 “He reaches Yihande horizons”

This proverb is uttered when people see a person in troubles and has no way out. Originating from one of the uncles of King Cyirima Rugwe, who lived in spheres of Gitima, Rutobwe the current Muhanga district, the proverb came into being in 1300 and got spread-out countrywide.

Nkurukumbi was an uncle to the king Ruganzu Bwimba, who reined in between 1312-1345, the king is well known for his royal martial services, in
Gisaka dynasty where he fought offensively, in the current Ngoma district, where he died as it has been confirmed by the ritual preparations he failed to observe. After Nkurukumbi suspected an under plan attack from Gisaka dynasty to Rwanda, the king had no other choice but to suddenly attack and fight first, he went to fight without observing war initial rituals, which were to ask gods protections. Another proverb, “Umusindi has surpassed the isle” was uttered by the king telling his mother in the clan of Abasindi, that she has surpassed the limit when she told him not to attack and to let his uncle Nkurukumbi to do so. And he told immediately the messenger sent by his mother to tell his mother that Umusindi has surpassed the isle, which means that she as the mother originating from Abasinga clan, had no rights to say that. Since then Abasinga clans got eliminated from being queens and get married to Abanyiginya clan who possessed the reign. So did the proverb came by Ruganzu Bwimba who attacked Gisaka community without gods protection and left his wife pregnant, to give birth to his successor Cyirima Rugwe.

Nkurukumbi lived with Yihande a Munyiginya clan boy; when Ruganzu went to war Yihande was a young adolescent, and he proposed him to fight together, since they had almost the same age. But his uncle Nkurukumbi advised him not to go to war with Ruganzu, he had to hide himself until the king has gone. From this simple fact there came another proverb which says
that ‘A pitiable Munyiginya scares to fight for his own royal regime’, because Yihande refused to defend his clan’s monarchy supremacy.

Ruganzu went ahead and fought for his country and he died at the battle fields. His uncle Cyenge helped his son Cyirima Rugwe, who was an inborn when the king attacked, to lead the country. When this one became fully mature, he got involved with different grown-up people daily chores including hunting. One day hunters killed an antelope, and the killing raised too much discussion over who really killed the animal, an appropriate judgment failed to take place amongst hunters. A case was brought to the elders. Cyenge, the uncle to Cyirima Rugwe who by then was a young king being overseered by him, was part of elders and it turned out that elders as well failed to deliver a proper judgment, the young king was present at the moment of the discussions. And he asked elders, “Can it really be possible for all of you to fail deliver a proper judgment on this case?” They looked into each other’s eyes. The exchange of glances amongst elders simply meant that the kid had grown up and that he should heir the crone officially. He introduced the culture of testimony to be able to know who really shot the antelope, and finally he became known and was given his antelope.

After the judgment, Rugwe proclaimed himself the king of the nation and would only go through official ornaments and rituals with the help of the elders. After some time he was told, how some people including Yihande refused to serve alongside his father to secure the country against
Abanyagisaka. He withdrew all their properties and urged the people not to give them any sort of the assistance; even a single visit should not be paid. Yihande later died in the mountains with nothing but loneliness. And from that particular time people began to use such proverb when they see a similar person who faces similar situations like Yihande, and there goes the proverb, “He reaches Yihande’s horizons” a place of no help.

4.0 “Words attain Ndabaga’s phase” or “Things attain Ndabaga’s phase”

This proverb is uttered when things turned to be impossible or socially unbearable. People tend to think about its origin, but they don’t talk about the really source of the Ndabaga’s character. People refer to Ndabaga as Nyamutezi daughter who lived Bwishaza, the now Karongi district in the Western Province; the proverb dates from 1700.

Ndabaga was a unique daughter of Nyamutezi who had gone to serve his country at the southern border battle camps. Ndabaga never was seen by his father, because she was born when the father was at the battle fields. Ndabaga used to ask her mother the whereabouts of his father and the mother would just answer: “your father went to serve his country and it won’t be easy to come back since he doesn’t have a substitute, he went before giving me a boy who would later replace him at the camps in case he get old. In addition he doesn’t even have a brother.”
Ndabaga would all times get puzzled by the idea that his father could not be replaced at the battle fields. Suddenly an idea came to her “why can’t I replace him, why can’t train myself men and fighters techniques? One day I might participate in the selection of young boys trained at Itorero(training camp) level.”

Eventually, she trained herself, the shooting techniques with swords, arrows, and other tools, she trained herself high jumps like men and the running exercises, and on top of that she learnt everything to be known at the training camps. Surprisingly enough, she had her breasts cut off, the mother would ask her reasons she had to do all that, and the answer would be: “If I am the only kid of the father, who else would protect you if things turned weirdly.”

Finally, Ndabaga told her mother that she want to go visit her father, “he needs to see me and I want to see him, and if possible I can replace him; “you see mother, I no longer look like a girl, I am a man now I have the essentials a man can have at the battle camp” she said. The mother never hesitated; she gave her the food supply for the long journey and got her people to go with, some of these people were taking the food supply to their relatives at the camps.

Upon her arrival at the camp she requested to meet a certain Nyamutezi, who later come and they greeted each other. In the morning Ndabaga questioned his father why not coming home, “my child I couldn’t find a replacer and as
you see am growing very old and tired,” Nyamutezi replied. “Don’t mention my femininity, let me demonstrate all boyish skills,” she proposed to his father. “Like what skills?” The father asked. “Jumping, racing, shooting using arrow and swords, and those that I could not learn well home I can get trained well here,” she replied.

She was given a test on those skills, which she passed excellently, and the father suggested her to the head of the camp as a replacer. The head accepted and the father went home.

Ndabaga at the camps learned a lot including parading and battle drillings; she became an exemplary and a beloved fighter, mostly because of her attitudes, respect and discipline. She was among the firsts to be rewarded cattle of cows. However, some of the fighters became so jealous of her celebrity and started rumoring about her femininity; rumors attained the king. The king asked them how they came to such speculations. “Her body is not that thick, her breast nipples are much bigger than the boys, in fact she doesn’t share bed with colleagues and when she goes for a short call, she goes very far,” they replied to the king.

In the morning the king summoned Ndabaga, and he asked her exclusively: just be frank with me ok? Are you a boy or a girl? The king asked. It was very difficult to answer the particular question for Ndabaga. “If I tell him that I am a boy and he makes me swear with a proof of taking off my clothes,
won’t it be a lie and a sin to the king,” she thought. The king posed again the question and it became more difficult for Ndabaga. Finally she said the truth and nothing but truth. “Your majesty I am a girl,” she said. “Your body features were that ambiguous, we could not stop to wonder about your gender, much as you are very tough in shooting, racing, jumping and parading, and why would you do all that,” he asked again. “My father came in camps when I was an inborn, when I grew up I never knew him, and I could not stop to ask my mother of his whereabouts, and she could reply simply “your father is in the camps, you was born alone and you are a girl and he can’t find a replacer.” I felt sad, because I couldn’t help anything at all and because I didn’t have a brother to replace him, I started training myself boys’ skills and concealing everything that would portray me a female. After sometime I decided to go visit my father at the camp with an aim to replace him, if he could accept. We discussed on the issue and how he would never mention about my womanliness and he accepted; he suggested me as a replacer and the camp head accepted.

After the king had listened the testimony, he called on Nyamatezi to come, he asked him: “is this child yours? Is she a girl or a boy?” Nyamatezi hesitated on what he would tell the king, whatever the case he would not dare tell a lie to the king. “Your majesty she is a girl and she is mine,” he replied. “What has made you put her in the camp, if you knew she was girl?” “I was getting very old and I was tired, I was alone like a single sorghum in the whole millet
field. I was left with children alone, when she came, she proved me that she could be a suitable replacer and I accepted,” he said to the king.

And the king told Nyamutezi that indeed he should not be worried and that he will go home again. “I appreciate the servant you have given me, and she will stay here with me, get all the cows you gave her as reimburse. From then Ndabaga become a cherished servant in the king’s house. When she attained the age of marriage, she became married to the king, and his father became richer. The king ordered that fighters who don’t have replacers would be sent home to retire.

5.0 “Not everything fine is entirely perfect

This proverb is uttered in a situation when a delightful moment gets interrupted by undesirable circumstances, and a person will not be pleased fully. The exact proverb emerged under the reign of Yuhi Mpazimpaka, when a lovely wife (Kalira) to his son Cyirima Rujugira died earlier before his coronation in 1700.

Kalira was said to be a beautiful and kind hearted woman, everybody would wish to have her as a wife, but she was from the lower class of the society. Her father was from Abega b’abahenda clan, and his name was Banyaga ba Gahenda. When kalira attained the age of marriage, she was demanded a hand and got married to another husband from the same class, who was an
orphan living with his young brother. They moved in the same house together.

She became so cherished. One day the older brother suggested the younger to get married as well. “These cows shouldn’t finish before you get married, it would not look good for us, since I remained the only family to you,” the husband told his brother. The younger brother refused. “Look we have few cows, and your wife is not meant for our family. What if I get married and you gave out cows. There will be a shortage of milk, and Kalira would not get sufficient milk, consequently, she will grow thin, and people will start to gossip around that we were given a wife; we couldn’t handle, there are possibilities for her to be taken from us, in case we fail. Therefore, I would suggest not to marry soon, so that we can be able to take care of Kalira accordingly, the time, we will have a sufficient herds of cows, I can get married and you can give me cows,” the younger brother suggested. A decision they all consented.

One day, A Prince (Cyirima Rujugira), went hunting with his aids, they landed in Kalira’s neighborhood, not far from her house, and they sought a shade from long flourishing trees planted close to the courtyard of Kalira’s house. On that particular day, the husband to Kalira and his brother had gone watering cows. The prince was so hungry, his food supply had finished and he ordered one of his followers to go lit a tobacco pipe, which he did at Kalira’s house. When the servant reached at the house, he found calves
playing in the yard, they forcibly got out of their home ranch, and Kalira was having hard times getting them back in the ranch. She would try to put one inside the ranch and another would simply sneak out again.

The situation continued unceasingly, and the aid helped the lady getting calves inside the ranch, they gave them food and closed tightly the ranch. When they finished, Kalira asked the servant, where he came from, and the reason why he was there. And he told her that he was with the prince who sent him to lit a pipe. Kalira then offered to reward him due to his help in the control of the calves. She took him inside the house and gave him milk. When he finished he lighted a pipe and took it, to the prince. Rujugira asked him why he took long to come back. “I wish u could have seen what caused the delay, you would not leave it,” he replied to the prince. And what have you seen?” the prince questioned. He told him how he met a beautiful and a wonderful woman where he went to lit a pipe. The prince became so excited to see that particular woman, he asked again the helper to go back and request a prince’s visit to her house. “The prince asked to shade at your house,” the helper said to Kalira. “Go and tell him to come and have a shade,” she replied to the boy.

When the king entered the house, they hugged (a common Kinyarwanda way of salutation) each other, and she turned against him and sat facing the door. The prince did not see her as he wanted he proposed to see her face again, which she refused. They talked without facing each other. But the prince
wanted to see her face enviably, and Kalira was too much afraid to ask the prince to offer him milk, since she was wondering where to begin to offer the king’s son milk, “I am not even famous or known,” she thought. The way the prince wanted to see Kalira in the face is the same way Kalira wanted to offer him milk to drink; she has clearly seen that he was very hungry.

It continued like that and everyone wanted his will to be fulfilled. The Prince later stood up and said he was leaving, “I want to say goodbye, I appreciated the care and the fact that I found no solitariness in this house, but before I leave, I promise a special reward, and I once again, I demand to see your face, I want to see you, I want to know your name and the name of your husband; I want to know the name of a person I will reward,” he said to her.

“What you have asked, I will do as you said, but also accept my request,” she replied. Rujugira accepted. She stood up and organized herself and then she joined him, they saluted each other traditionally, while hugging, Rujugira kept her tight into his arms. He suggested a face to face conversation. “If you decide to go inside, I will follow you,” he told her. Within such a brawl, Rujugira took advantages and saw her really face, which he immediately fell in love with. “I did what you asked me, now let me demand to offer you milk to drink because I have no other drinks for you to quench the thirsty; if the milk is not good leave it, if I serve it in a dirty bowl do not drink it,” she asked him. But Rujugira accepted everything; he was so much in love.
She went and pulled milk in the bowl and served him in the sitting room. “To show you that I did not despise your milk come and we share,” he proposed her and she accepted. When he finished he went out and summoned his aides to call local leaders in the area, he requested a carrier and extra aides for him. When the aides were on the way coming, the husband to Kalira and his brother returned cows from the fountain; before they reached home they saw a crowd in their courtyard, they just continued slowly thinking of what was going on. People told them that a prince was around; they went inside and greeted Rujugira and Kalira.

The prince ordered his aides to put Kalira in the carrier, the order that shocked Kalira and his family. The aides never hesitated they lifted Kalira and put her in the carrier, when the husband and the brother initiated a backup, they were stopped immediately. They took the sorrowful and tearful Kalira, she was just sad that his husband was not told a reason of the situation. When the prince became assured that Kalira’s carrier was in safe hands and that it will reach his home, he talked with the husband about the compensations, which they refused. “I will give you couples of cattle and hills (to mean big plots of land), but you will find yourself other women, Kalira is mine now;” he told them. They refused and went straight to Kamonyi (the royal place by that time) and informed the king about the injustice done by his son Rujugira.
When Kalira arrived at the prince’s house, Rujugira has informed and invited people about the marriage with Kalira. Many people came with a lot of presents. Today, I have met a charming and a lovely bride, and I have called you to enjoy with me. He told the people how forcibly, he took away Kalira from his husband. That night they celebrated till morning.

After some days, a messenger from his father the king Yuhi Mazimpaka came, to tell Rujugira to respond to his father’s call at the royal palace. Rujugira went there only to be insulted by his father about his recent deeds. “That is injustice and hostility, you need to give back that husband’s wife,” the king urged him. “Is that why you have called me,” he responded to his father. “Instead, of give Kalira his husband, give the husband my yet to be married wife, indeed, I gave him 16 cows and vast of lands. It is a huge offer comparably to what they have offered as a dowry,” he told his father. The king asked the husband whether he cannot accept another wife, be it from the house or any other place. “Your majesty, take away or that you have offered me, but give back my wife,” the husband begged. The king started to wonder who that wife was and what was she looking like. He summoned Kalira at his palace. When the king saw her, he fell in love as well. “No one amongst you deserves this wife other than the king himself, from now onwards she is mine,” the king affirmed.

The first husband told Yuhi Mpazimaka(an allegoric name of the king) that he would actually surrender, with the charge of more cows, hills and a new
wife, which the king did with no doubts. Rujugira never went home with Kalira, she remained with the king. Rujugira went into hunger strike because his father has taken his wife. Official elders went to the king to ask the reason that caused him to grab his son’s wife; it was illegal and inappropriate. “Why didn’t you give the woman, her really husband or give her to Rujugira who took time looking for her, he went on a hunger strike and is now in a critical condition,” they asked the king. “I didn’t want them to fight, so I took away the wife from all of them,” he responded. “You should give back the son’s wife, since the other husband accepted the compensation,” they suggested.

The king listened to elders and did as they suggested, and he offered Rujugira a lot of cows and lands; the king announced him as his follower to heir Karinga (a drum which was an emblem of the rein). Kalira was nicknamed Rwabami because she became a wife to two kings-Yuhi Mpazimaka and Cyirima Rujugira. Rujugira and Kalira gave birth to a boy and a girl Sharangabo and Mulikanwa.

Nevertheless, Mpazimaka had developed a habit of jealousy on his wives and his property, before Rujugira took over, this resulted into Rujugira’s exile. But the exact cause of his exile was that he killed his father’s bull when he visited his house and the bull prevented him to get out; the bull was said to be like the king’s trusted guard of the house. It was mainly put there to look upon the king’s wives and property. One day Musigwa another son of the king went to the house and had a talk with the wives, the bull shouted hard
until the king came, Musigwa was killed by his father under unreasonable jealousy behaviours. When Rujugira went there and remembered the story he immediately killed the bull, that was a reason enough for him to be killed as well, but he runt quickly to his house before his father knew what he did.

When the father realized he has gone too far with being jealous, until he killed his own son Musigwa he composed a poem.

‘I no longer love again,

What I love do not love me back,

What I want to love is no longer touchable,

It quits me and go to stay very far from me,

To love and not be loved back

is like a rain in the forest.’

Rujugira told his wife Kalira what he has done, he had killed a cherished bull of his father, and the only way out of the trouble was to flee the country. Kalira took his children and enough food supply for the journey and called on the aides to assist carrying. When they reached Bihembe bya Rugalika, Rujugira said that he was very thirsty, Kalira laughed but gave him a banana wine after which she lit a pipe and give him, the prince felt relieved. And they continued directing in Bugesera and Gisaka which were by that time an autonomous dynasty ruled by Kimenyi.
The time of coronation in Rwanda came, Rujugira who was supposed to heir the rein was a fugitive, and they put Karemera Rwaka as the overtaking king. That name was not on the kings list names, it was a name which was brought by Ruganzu Ndoli from Karagwe ka Bahinda the current western Tanzania, under Karemera Ndagara ya Rulinda. Ruganzu promised the Tanzanian king that he will put the name of Karemera on the kings’ chronological and royal names simply because he took care of him while he was a refugee in Tanzania. Karemera received a crone but he was not lucky enough to rule, he became blind earlier after his coronation. People asserted that it could not have been better for him, since he is not the one who would heir the crone initially. They send messengers to Rujugira to come and heir the regime. “Mpazimaka killed my brother simply because he talked to his wife, now, me who killed his bull, how can I appear before him?” he asked messengers. It was almost impossible for Rujugira to come back in Rwanda. Elders agreed on stealing Kalira as a mean to have Rujugira back in Rwanda. They did so and Rujugira remained alone in exile.

When Kalira reached Kamonyi, he got a severe skin disease; they built her a house at Kivumu cya mpushi where she struggled with her skin disease. At a time she was healed, they urged her to find ways and make Rujugira come back in Rwanda. She tried all the best by sending him personal presents, which Rujugira would immediately recognize. The aide took the presents to Rujugira and he accepted, he however lied to Rujugira that he had something
important he would tell him once they reach Mugina wa Jenda (a place which was close to the bother of Rwanda and Bugesera by that time). But Rujugira sensed what the aid wanted, and he did come with him and seized the power accordingly, from that time he got Cyirima as a royal name. But before he took over the power, elders poisoned Kalira and she died, it was believed that a woman, who had gone into exile with his husband, would not be crowned a queen, it was forbidden culturally, and she would either die or remain outside the country. When Rujugira was told what happened he tearfully uttered the present proverb “Not everything fine is entirely perfect” I wish I would get Karinga alongside Kalira. He wanted to mean that he has got everything important but there was one thing missing Kalira. He wished he would enjoy the coronation together with Kalira, whom he has forged to much effort to be with her eternally.

6.0 “He is not a man, but a strong tree”

The current proverb is uttered when people see a man who does successfully what others have failed to do. This proverb came into being around 1500. Bitibibisi, the main character in this narrative, killed a legendary Ruganzu Ndoli who is one of heroic kings in Rwanda.

Bitibibisi was living in Musaho wa Rubengera in the current Karongi district. He was a servant of Ndahiro Cyamatare the father to Ruganzu Ndoli. When Ndahiro died after being killed by Abakongoro community, the country was
divided and ceased to be called Rwanda for 11 years. Bitibibisi got Bwishaza among the divided dynasties and ruled it until the time Ruganzu came back from Karagwe in western Tanzania, to reunite the country; he had the courage and as a prince he was not to die in exile, he would rather die fighting for his country.

On the first move of reviving the country, Ruganzu killed a certain Rubingo, a Buriza dynasty occupant. He killed him with a hoe after he told him that he was welcoming farmers with a special wine, it was rather a way of getting to him and kill him quickly.

He got back Byumba the now Gicumbi district together with the current Kigali city. After his success, different people from different places including Nduga came to fight by his side to revive back the gone country, together they fought from Nyabugogo River until the current Nyanza district. Busanza and Bwanamukali refused to support Ruganzu, but the Northern Province, Ruhengeri region the now Musanze district followed him. Bugoyi considered as the Rubavu district today had maintained its dynastic leader, a certain Rugara, said to be the father to Murinda a former head of Abagoyi. Ruganzu fought all the opposing dynasties; he killed Nyiraruzi rwa Haramanga from Abagesera community. He killed Mpandahande from Ruhande, where the current National University is located and returned back to Ruhashya, his official residence, after a while he repossessed back Huye, the current Huye district, he rescued it from the incredible Nyiragakecuru in
Bisi bya Huye, a terrible woman who had occupied the region since the existence of Rwanda. Kinyaga and Rusenyi led by Mukire was almost the only remaining part of Rwanda which Ruganzu had not yet recovered.

He continued his way up to Kinyaga, the now Nyamasheke district and befriended with Mukire a strategic approach to kill him and retrieve Kinyaga. He became his servant, Mukire who didn’t know who really Ruganzu was; was conned by him that when he is asleep, the only way to wake him up is to beat him with an axe.

One day Mukire came to visit Ruganzu house, and Ruganzu saw him appearing in the yards, he went to bed pretending to sleep and covered himself with heavy metal objects. Mukire asked to see him and was told that he was asleep and could only be awaken by a hit of an axe on his chest. Mukire took an axe and hit him hard, Ruganzu could not be touched or feel the hard pressing hit of an axe because he had covered himself with heavy metal objects, he felt a slight knock. “Who is that waking me up?” Ruganzu mumbled while waking up. “It is your master Mukire,” Mukire responded. Ruganzu woke up and they had a talk, Mukire went back home after the conversation. On the way back home, Mukire’s servants were just astonished by the power of Ruganzu, “that man is very strong,” they told him. “I can do the same, just arrange when he comes home, I will also sleep and you will give him an axe to wake me up,” Mukire ordered his aids.
Meantime, Ruganzu departed from Kinyaga and engaged a fight with Bitibibisi in Kibuye the now Karongi district. Unfortunately, Ruganzu was defeated; he went back in Mwugariro (Nyamagabe district) and fought Mukire. He killed him with an axe, when Mukire tempted to be woken up by an axe like did Ruganzu. A name Rwamukire was given to the same axe that he used to kill Mukire just after his death. An insult Uragakubitwa Rwamukire (be trashed by Rwamukire) was created and became so popular just after the incident, people could use it to refer to the axe that killed Mukire. Ruganzu added Kinyaga to Rwanda and people from Kinyaga helped him engage the second battle against Bwisha and Rusenyi at Bitibibisi.

Ruganzu’s fighters were named Ibisumizi. Ibisumizi together Abanyakinyaga initiated a battle against Bitibibisi and Urusenyi warriors from Rusenyi. Ruganzu’s fighters won over Urusenyi and attacked Bitibibisi at the same time.

They fought three consecutive days, on the fourth day some people from Bwishaza came to fight supporting Ruganzu, and the rest remained with Bitibibisi. Later Ruganzu attacked Bitibibisi’s house and set fire on it. Bitibibisi did not go very far, he decided to camp near his house, where he could see Ruganzu’s moves. Ruganzu looked for him all around, while searching he fell in the ambush by Bitibibisi and was shot immediately, a spear trespassed his face, and he was dying. Ibisumizi tried to get the spear out of Ruganzu’s face but it was difficult, he died at Gaciro ka Matyazo in
the same Huye district. Bitibibisi also died when fleeing to Bushi (South eastern Congo). Ibisumizi decided to suicide them after Ruganzu’s death. The proverb “He is not a man, but a strong tree” emerged, because Bitibibisi killed the powerful and a legendary Ruganzu who managed to revive Rwanda as a country after it vanished for 11 years.

7.0 “Keep your food, if you don’t know the story at Fumbwe”

This proverb is uttered when people are warning activities that may end-up in Vain. It came from Fumbwe, a renowned hill in Buganza region the current Eastern province, and was first uttered during the second battle between Abanyoro (from Abanyoro community in the western Uganda) and Cyirima Rujugira fighters during 1700.

Originating from a Buriza woman, after she kept brown flour as a supply food for her husband at the warriors camps in Fumbwe, this proverb reveals social conflicts between Abanyoro and Abanyarwanda. This woman was not fortunate enough, because the husband died, the exact day she was coming to see him with the food supply for him. The information just met her on the way and she went back. The husband died fighting the first war between Bunyoro dynasty and Rwanda. The first time Abanyoro fought with Rwanda, they were defeated and went back to home. It was under Kigeli Mukobanya and it is said that his son Sekarongoro Mutabazi did earn the royal name of Mibambwe because of his brave services during the war from which he got
seriously injured on the frontline. The second time Abanyoro had came in big numbers and they had a military support from neighboring territories those included Ankore, Toro, Bugande, Bukiri, Bukede, Busogo and Bunyoro. Fighting with Rwanda with such a joint coalition was because of the military record fame it has earned and its richness in livestock.

The spies went to Mibambwe and informed him how Abanyoro called for extra support from the neighboring kingdoms. “Your majesty, Abanyoro are coming back and this time they are so many. We would like you to do the same, call for extra force support as well, ask your neighbors a supportive hand.” They requested to the king. “Yes, I will,” accepted the king.

Sekarongoro accepted their request, he sent messengers to his neighboring kings, including Kimenyi from Gisaka (the now Eastern Province), Nsoro from Bugesera( also the current Eastern Province). Explaining why he could not fight Abanyoro alone he said: “What they want is not only Rwanda, if they win here they will no doubt come to you.” Unluckily, the kings refused him a helping hand. “I can’t fight if my country is not a target,” Kimenyi responded to Mibambwe. “I don’t have men to lose fighting that incredible number of people from all over the places, either you or any other person from your family is likely to have an exile in my country, you better fight alone or flee the country” Nsoro told Mibambwe’s messengers. He decided nothing else but to flee the country.
He escaped to Bunyabungo at Muhoyo’s house; he carried all his wealth to include cattle plus his excellent warriors. Mibambwe before he reaches Ubunyabungo, he sent another messenger to tell the king that he is being followed by Abanyoro, if he could only receive him peacefully. “Tell him that I have come with wives and his children, my mother, cows and trusted fighters. Let him not to worry as an attack if he sees that,” Mibambwe ordered the messengers.

The messengers parted and delivered the message to Muhoyo who in return assured them to inform Mibambwe his warm welcome. In fact, he even sent some boats to help him across the river and prepared lodges to sleep.

After his departure Abanyoro seized Rwanda, they all resided at Fumbwe Mont with a lot of hunger and fatigue. They ate any edible stuff they found there; because of the number of people, Fumbwe was like a black desert, everything green had disappeared, for anyone who could look at it from a different location.

“Keep your food, if you don’t know what is going on in Fumbwe,” People started to gossip “whoever kept food, would have risked it for those people; the wise one has eaten it or took it away from those people,” they gossiped. The sorghum flour was part the basic food in Rwanda, in fact, sorghum is believed to be the oldest grain. Abanyoro had reached Fumbwe coming from Rutare, Bijunde and Nyansenge. They all wanted to attack Mibambwe house
in Gasabo thinking that Mibambwe would be hiding there. They went further and looked for him in Remera y’abafurongo, his other second house, they searched him almost everywhere in the country, and he was nowhere to be found. After their occupation they decided to stay and they stayed for more than 10 years.

One day, during Mibambwe’s exile in Bunyabungo, an unusual thing happened and this became a cause of conflicts between them and Abanyabungo. There was a giant bull in his cattle which was terribly aggressive; occasionally, it fought and killed Muhoyo’s another bull during cows free range. Abanyabungo threatened to kill mibambwe’s bull as revenge after they saw what had just happened. Abanyarwanda could not stand threats; they got prepared to defend themselves. A war started instantly between Abanyarwanda and Abanyabungo. All the way through, the queen mother Nyabadaha died, Abanyarwanda decided to get boats and return to their former country which Abanyoro had taken. “If it is a fight it is better we fight for our country instead of fighting in another country, let’s go there and fight, if it is question of death let’s all die for our country,” Mibambwe thought and told his people. “That is a genuine idea, let’s all go and save our beloved country,” the people confirmed the decision.

And they all followed Mibambwe strategic plans to rescue back the country. A battle strategy of lit and firing Abanyoro houses during the night became successive to Rwandese fighters. It was very clear the mission was to blaze
up the houses and Abanyoro would come out of their houses only to fall in Abanyarwanda set ambushes. When Abanyoro saw fire surrounds them and others being killed rapidly, the remaining choice was to run. They run out of the country, while running and fleeing Rwanda those who dared fighting back could just fight their colleagues, because it was in the night; Rwandese warriors could only shout aloud to warm up the strategy.

Abanyoro died on a big number, and the war ended in Musave, the former Bwanacymbwe which is now in the Kigali city. And the proverb became repeatedly uttered throughout the society as the key saying relating to Fumbwe where Abanyoro resided and built their strong bases after they arrived there being many and found little quantity of provisions.

8.0 “He shot the target”

This proverb is uttered in circumstances where a certain individual luckily scoops a goal that many have willed for. Dating in 1700 the proverb was first uttered under the Kigeli Ndabarasa reign.

During the Kigeli Ndabarasa reign his sons would often sit down up on Kamonyi hills, look down and appreciate the Gihinga mount. They all would think: “Would I be given that mount, I would feel happy.” One day a certain Kazenga the king’s son eventually was awarded the mount after heroic and
incredible shooting performances in a contest with Kimenyi (A neighboring King).

Kimenyi was the king of Gisaka a then bordering country to Rwanda. Kimenyi himself was a great warrior and the best target shooter. He called on to Ndabarasa to look the best shooter amongst his people and compete with him. Kimenyi and Ndabarasa shared far familiar relationships. After the messenger announced his message to Ndabarasa, it was up to Rwandese to choose who would compete with the incumbent Kimenyi to shot the target. Though Kazenga was still young, he was as good in shooting as longtime fighter, he was selected amongst Ndabarasa’s best shooters. He was given servants and admirers to support him while he will be competing with Kimenyi the king of Gisaka. They took off from Kamonyi and slept in Kacyiru one of Kigali city sectors and they departed to Gisaka in the morning. After another night in Rwamagana they reached Mukiza where Kimenyi resided.

“Ndabarasa have sent us to show you who will be your adversary during the shooting contest,” Ndabarasa messengers told Kimenyi. “And who is that to contest with me?” Kimenyi asked them. Kazenga stood up from the group and his youngness could now be remarked. From the first sight Kimenyi despised him. “Tell me you have brought a baby to compete with me,” he asked them. “He is the one, you only need to tell us the exact day when you
intend to have this contest,” they responded. “Tomorrow but one is the day and after I defeat him you go back home,” he told them.

They went back to their lodges. “Should we set a target so you can be rehearsing?” the servants asked Kazenga and he kept silent, he was said to naturally be a soft voice character. “If I have come to learn how to shoot in Gisaka bring me back to Rwanda and this contest should not take place,” he told them after they insisted he should rehearse.

The day came and they went to the Mubuga arena where Kimenyi used to call the pitch of the judgment. ‘Come come!!! to the renown Mubuga arena where only men and serious warriors contest, and see Inkurazo za Mpanga (Gisaka celeb warriors) boasting and shouting how best they are, when it comes to shooting targets,’ Kimenyi called on Rwandese servants and fans of Kazenga to the arena of the contest.

They set a target, and Kazenga became the first to shoot and he broke into pieces the target. And the Rwandese shouts victoriously. There came the turn of Kimenyi and he broke the target board as well, the Gisaka people shouted happily as well and late judged that they were both the same. The Rwandese refused the assumption that they were both at the same level. They set up another target made of a small jewelry placed somewhere in the middle of the target board. Kazenga again shoot the first and got the jewelry out of the target board, and Rwandese were throwing him up in the air happily.
Kimenyi shoot on his turn and likewise got the small jewelry out of the target board, and the Gisaka people put him in a hauler made of precious jewelries which was said to be his usual mover.

The public again judged them as equal, and Rwandese on their hand said that their Kazenga was tough than Kimenyi. “Kimenyi is just a lucky man,” they said that to undermine Kimenyi’s performance. Rwandese went and searched a petal of flower and fixed it on the target board, and this round Kimenyi was the one to shoot. The target was shot instantly, and Rwandese remained in an awe mood. It was Kazenga’s turn to shoot and his arrow took the petal of the flower out of the target board as well. After the Gisaka people saw that, this time they insisted saying that they are equal target shooters and they should stop there. While arguing Kazenga called his aid and tied a fruit up on his head and told him, “just stand there in a like stone throwing distance.”

“What is that?” the Gisaka people wondered. When the aid reached the distance he was told by Kazenga not to face him, he should turn around and face the hills. And Kazenga shot the spear which precisely took the fruit out of his head. In a terrified mood of Gisaka people, Rwandese victoriously sung and shouted aloud.

“Let the guy remain there and we put another fruit on his head and I can shoot it as well,” Kimenyi told the public. However, Rwandese refused; instead they suggested he should put one of his people. The Gisaka people
could not accept that trick. Kimenyi rushed to his home and grabbed a cleaner on who he tied the fruit up on his head. “Turn the other side,” he told the cleaner who was just positioning himself. Kimenyi fixed a spear in the arrow, bowed and shoot the spear which landed on the back side of the cleaner’s neck and he died at the spot. The panic reigned and all the young people runt quickly to their homes to avoid a call on the shooting spot. Kimenyi was just announced by his people that he has failed. “Kazenga has defeated you and you should stop there,” the Gisaka people recommended Kimenyi.

The good report went on to the king Ndabarasa, and he was overwhelmingly happy. “Let not my son feet touches the ground on his return home,” he commended the servants who announced him the good story. They carried Kazenga up to Kamonyi, on their arrival their celebrated the whole night.

“Tell me everything you want and I will make sure you get it my son,” the king asked kazenga that night. Kazenga remembered and told him that when they were still young boys they used to envy Gihinga mount while sitting up in Kamonyi. And Ndabarasa straight away announced that Kazenga has just been granted Gihinga mount as reward. “What is he going to gain from that mount full of nothing other than trees,” elders were just wondering and surprised by what Kazenga has just asked as a reward. Nevertheless, Kazenga’s young and older brothers knew what that mount meant for him. “He is very lucky, we all wanted to be awarded or given that mount and look
there it goes for Kazenga, we wish we could also have been selected to the shooting contest,” Kazenga’s brothers were telling each other. From that particular time ‘he shot the target’ saying widely got expanded across the country, and could always be uttered relating to anyone lucky to be awarded what many had vowed for.

9.0 “Measure your beehive to Bugegera’s one”

This proverb is uttered when people want others to relate and adopt good and moral bahaviours as exercised by others. Originating from a certain Bugegera, a former servant to the renowned Mirenge, a rich man who lived at Ntenyo the former southern Nduga which is the current Muhanga district, the proverb dates since 1700.

After Mirenge became too much richer and celeb, he received countless people wanting to be his servants. Bee hiving was said to be the main source of his wealth, he had stocks of honey and people could regularly come to exchange their cows, hoes and oil to get honey in return.

Even if Bugegera was a servant, he was said to be poor, and he was physically deformed, he didn’t have fingers on his right palm. He could often look at people fetching honey from his master’s beehives and different economical exchanges taking place and wonders: “Would I fix the same beehives, I would either be rich like Mirenge or I would sustain my life
everlastingly,” he consciously thought. “Mirenge does not call bees into the hives, neither his servants.” He started to look for different plants to fix his own hives; he did that with his own one hand, the left one. Geographically, the southern province did not have forests; the place was covered by savannah plants. Beehives of Mirenge were made from plants and trees his people got from Mayaga in Rutabo rwa Kinazi. When Bugegera had collected the main trees and plants to make hives, he told his wife Nyirampumbya to brew a tasting banana wine, so he can offer it to a Mirenge servant who in return would make him a beehive. “May be we can also get honey and be rich as well,” he suggested to his wife. His wife was said to be the best brewer of banana wine in the region. For the drink, she made a wine ferment until it became highly foamed. The ferment in Rwandan culture was at some extent sacred and formally respected, she could not stop the foam to grow until it eases itself.

She brewed a very tasty wine, call it a render speechless wine; so many people came in to have a sip. Bugegera took advantage and announced to his visitors his intention. “Listen to all of you people gathered here, I would wish to offer an extra tasty wine to any person who would make a beehive for me,” he asserted. One of the people, a professional maker of beehives stood up from the cloud and said: “I have one at home, there is no need of tying another, you just come and I will give it to you,” he said to Bugegera, and this pleased him and his wife. “There is indeed no need to wait, just go with
Bugegera told the man who just offered him a beehive. The man together with the young boy went and brought the fixed beehive.

In the morning, Bugegera placed the beehive in a hollow part of the outside tree of his home, after some time the beehive stored a swarm of bees. And he produced much quantity of delicious honey. People started to say that the honey was sweeter and better than Mirenge’s, they could even say that it should not be produced from a savannah place like Nduga, it would certainly be produced from the Rusinzagwa tree, a common tree from Bugesera. “Why can’t Mirenge produce the same quality of honey instead of having enough hives to just make him richer without considering its value?” they asked themselves.

And from then Bugegera became rich, because of his chances and courage to place one beehive and produce sweet honey than Mirenge the famous rich person of the whole country. And from that experience a proverb “Measure your beehive to Bugegera’s” emerged in the Rwandese society and became widely expanded. Measuring your beehive to Bugegera’s one is adopt or imitate good experiences from ambitious people like Bugegera.
10. “The venue is at Huro”

This proverb is uttered in a situation where people signal to each other on the agreed decisions or places of meetings. Originating from a certain Muberamfura lived at Kigese and Mibirizi, the now southern province, after he advised Rugango and Murego relatives of his former friends in 1600.

After Mibambwe Gisanura quit Bumbogo bwa Huro in Mbirima, he sent his son Mazimpaka to live and be a caretaker of Nduga region. Mazimpaka departed from Ruganda and slept in Rwahi. The next day he continued until reaches Rugobagoba. The next day in the morning drums where heard in the whole region and people came to see what was going on, it was the prince’s presence in the region, the son of a renowned Mibambwe Gisanura, the king known from his generosity. That day celebrations were held until the next morning, because of unceasing sounds of drums played there, Rugobagoba sector was nicknamed Umugina w’ingoma to mean a place for drums.

Mazimpaka moved from Rugobagoba and partitioned different sizes of lands. After some time, he ordered former chiefs of Nduga territories to be killed just because they paid no respect to his father by claiming that they have more cattle than him, he said that they were not loyal and submissive. Among the killed chiefs were: Kogoto from Mugina wa Jenda, Kaza ka Nyabuseri from Gisitwe cya Gakurabwenge in Rukoma, Rugaryi rwa Bwacya at Buhanga, mpaka and mpombo also chiefs and servants for gisanura in Nduga,
they all died alongside their families. Only a certain Mugarura remained alive as Gisanura’s chief, this one lived in Kinyambi cya Rugarika. Mazimpaka ordered people to follow the new chiefs he was to nominate. However, two people from the late families got survived; there was a certain Rugango, the young brother to Kaza ka Nyabuseri and Murego the older brother to Kogoto.

They found a refuge to a certain Muberamfura, a salt digger living Kigese cya Mibirizi in the forest; he used to deliver salt to their late brothers. “You can hide here by now, but what will happen if some of my salt buyers found you here? Aren’t you putting me in troubles,” he told them in a worrying tone. “What can we do? We don’t know anybody else to help us,” they told Muberamfura.

“Your brothers were very loyal and good to me, I cannot let you down, here is what we are going to do, I have a brother Mugenza who live at Huro in Bumbogo, he is a very good servant to Mibambwe Gisanura, if I manage to get you to him, you will be in good hands and he can recommend you to serve Mibambwe, who in return can ease your cases,” he told the brothers.

“How can we reach there? Since everybody is looking for us here and now,” they asked him. Go separately and found any of friends you think cannot report you, I will also take my way, and the venue will be at Huro. An agreement was reached and the brothers departed the next day in the night, and slept at their friend Mbuguje in Birembo bya Ngamba. They told him the
whole story. Muberamfura went the whole night and in the morning he was at his brother Mugenza. He also told him about the late chiefs who used to be his salt buyers and that his brothers were in trouble so he should help him and recommend them to the king as servants. Just in case they arrived there safely.

Mugenzo accepted and the brothers arrived. After the meal, they were taken to Gisanura who in return rescued them and cleared their cases. He sent a messenger to his son Mazimpaka to freeze the cases. The brothers survived, after Muberamfura took them to his brother just because the late chiefs had been his good friend. The society adopted his saying as an advice for Rugango and Murego. The saying “The venue is at Huro” became widely expanded in the whole country.