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STATE FORMATION IN ACHOLI: THE EMERGENCE OF
OBEO, PAJOK AND PANYIKARA STATES, c.1679-1914.

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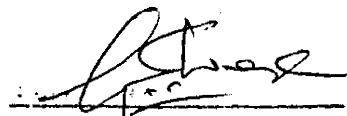
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G. S. WERE

B.A., PH.D. (WALES)

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY.



M. W. KOFI

B.A. (GRINNELL),

M.A., PH.D. (NORTHWESTERN)

LECTURER IN HISTORY.

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NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS

A.H.T.	ACHOLI HISTORICAL TEXTS.
N.C.A./S.P.	NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID - SUDAN PROGRAMME
S.D.F.	SUDAN DEFENCE FORCE
S.I.R.	SUDAN INTELLIGENCE REPORT

ABSTRACT

The question of the origin and development of the state is a subject that has attracted scholarly interest from various disciplines. The interest is mainly due to the fact that the state's organization has become a very significant political issue: whose interests does the state serve? What powers has it acquired? How does it guarantee the rights of its citizens? In other words, the enquiry is basically concerned with the question of the distribution of power in society. And similar questions do also apply with respect to the 'early' state, the subject of this enquiry, which preceded the emergence of the modern nation state.

The different theoretical attempts to explain the origin and development of the state can, however, be grouped into two broad categories: those according to which social inequality or stratification was the prime mover towards statehood, and those which maintain that the state is based upon some form of social contract. The former theory expresses more accurately the view of Marxist scholars, while the latter is more often subscribed to by those who believe that Marxism does not offer an adequate explanation of the origin and development of the state.

The object of this study was not to reconcile the two theoretical positions nor was it concerned to provide an alternative theory to explain the phenomenon of state formation on a world scale. Rather, its basic aim was to study the process of state formation in Acholi in order to understand what basic factors underlay these developments.

Contrary to current literature on the formation of Acholi states, the three case studies show that the phenomenon was the result of multiple factors in the ecology, economy and inter-societal environment. Each state emerged under a set of specific conditions following a long and gradual process of evolution.

Firstly, the evolution of state structures or institutions was significantly affected by the nature of the Acholi environment. Great limitations were placed by the environment on the nature and size of the social and political institutions that evolved as well as on the system of production.

The specific factors which triggered off the emergence of each state were, however, varied. The formation of Pajok state was, for instance, the result of the conquest of the earlier settling communities by the ancestors of the royal clan. This event was itself

gradually by several factors - economic break-down due to the weather factor, ambition for leadership by the conquering group as well as their prior experience in political organization. All these factors acted in conjunction with, and reinforced, one another.

In fact, the immediate cause of the rise to pre-eminence of the royal clan was their defeat of the Lokmini people. This was, in fact, a direct upon pressures exerted by peoples moving westwards into Acholi from the Imatong mountain complex. The movements seem to have been in response to the Nyandere Famine which set many people migrating towards Acholi.

There is no evidence to indicate that the emergence of the two states was associated with the coming of migrants from the inter-lake region. In fact, the states were formed before any significant number of migrants from the region came there, and there is no evidence to suggest that the concept and symbol of the drum as an emblem of authority and the state played any role in this process.

The formation of Panyikwara state and the neighbouring Ayom, Acholi, and Wandiker chiefdoms was, on the other hand, in-

(x)

timately associated with people coming from the 'south'. And in the case of Panyikwara state, in particular, there is circumstantial evidence to indicate that the ancestors of the Pajule, who were instrumental in organizing the state, may have been Paluo migrants that came from Pajule kingdom in eastern Acholi.

It is further suggested that their rise to pre-eminence was based on the utilization of the concept of the royal drum. However, the easy acceptance of this principle of organization was made possible by the existence of a famine. In the people's attempts to overcome these economic difficulties, the introduction of the concept of the royal drum as an instrument of authority provided the catalyst for the emergence of state structures and institutions. It was, in other words, introduced at the appropriate moment when conditions were ripe for change.

Whether the concept played the leading or secondary role in the formation of the states, but once they emerged the development, organization and unity of the states were closely based on the drum. The ruling hierarchies used the drum to strengthen their authorities and to subordinate the commoner groups. In Panyikwara state, the concept was made more effective by the association of the royal drum with rain-making ceremonies.

The concept and symbol of the drum, in other words, strengthened the positions of the ruling hierarchies and ensured the continued exploitation of the mass of producers of food and the perpetuation of the unequal access to resources between the class of rulers and the ruled.

Thus, when in 1861 the ivory trade was introduced in Acholi by Arab traders coming from northern Sudan, it was not particularly difficult for the ruling hierarchies to exploit their people by imposing a policy that every tusk of an elephant killed was to be given to the rwot. They became markedly 'wealthy' in contrast to the rest of the people.

However, the development of the ivory trade, and subsequently the trade in slaves, was accompanied by a spiral of violence. The ruling hierarchies, despite their apparent wealth vis-a-vis the commoners, were unable to contain the traders' raids and so control the trade to their advantage. This inability was, in turn, reflective of the weak economic and political bases of the states themselves. They lacked strong standing armies, and there was, moreover, a technological gap in weaponry vis-a-vis the traders and the Africans—that is, firearms versus spears.

The reaction of each community to the new situation, which took the form of either collaboration or passive resistance, was conditioned

by this fact. Those rulers who collaborated with the traders, such as Otto of Obbo and Ogwok of Padibe, benefited from the booty that they obtained after raids against neighbouring states. They also formed strong standing armies armed with firearms provided by the Arab traders. With these, they constantly raided other communities.

The incidence of violence continued even after the establishment of Egyptian rule in 1872. This was due partly to the weakness of the administration, but mainly because of certain policies adopted by the Egyptian rulers, such as the levying of grain tax, which encouraged the perpetuation of violence by the soldiers against the people.

The collapse of Egyptian authority in Acholi between 1884 and 1889 as a result of the Mahdist Revolution escalated the incidence of inter-polity and inter-ethnic fighting considerably as various groups took the opportunity to settle outstanding disputes by fighting. Consequently, warfare and defence became the pre-occupation of many communities. This continued till the close of the century when the British finally arrived on the scene.

The coming of the British was, therefore, timely and opportune to many communities since they were already worn out by constant

fighting. Their reaction to the new situation was thus that of accommodation, rather than resistance, and this greatly facilitated the establishment of British rule in the area. Only in Pajok and Panto were there serious attempts to resist the colonising power, but these were even due to the influence of Awich of Payira and Kabalega of Bunyoro who were desperately trying to rally the Acholi to resist the establishment of British rule.

After the establishment of British rule, nevertheless, the local rulers subsequently became the agents of colonial administration. It was through them that colonial policies were implemented or passed to the local people.

INTRODUCTION

THE AIM OF THE STUDY AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study arose as a result of an enquiry into the pre-colonial history of Acholi society, how the various Acholi polities with a similar political structure and organization originated, what factors promoted or facilitated this development, and how they developed and functioned before the imposition of colonial rule in the area. It soon, however, became apparent that this was part of a general problem of the origin of states and chiefdoms¹ in Luo or Luo-influenced societies.

In the case of the Acholi, it is often thought that the date 1680 is a watershed in the history of the area for it marks a dividing line between a pre-state and state period in Acholi history². By about 1680 and throughout the century after this date, several small, minimally centralized states were formed in both eastern and western Acholi. Recent studies³ indicate that the emergence of these socio-political structures can be associated with the spread into Acholi of concepts of government originating in Bunyoro-Kitara through the intermediaries of Paluo migrants. The utilization of these concepts of government and society in Acholi radically transformed the original small polities into states very much similar in organization and structure to Paluo states.

The underlying belief in the explanation of the emergence of these Acholi states rests, of course, on the assumption that the diffusion of ideas or institutions of statecraft is a primary cause of state formation. In this case, the diffusion of ideas of statecraft from the lacustrine or Bantu world to Acholi is seen as having been responsible for the great transformation that took place in Acholi from 1680 and thereafter.

The aim of this study is, therefore, to investigate to what extent the diffusion of ideas or institutions can be a suitable model for explaining the phenomenon of state formation in Acholi, taking the process of the formation of Obbo, Pajok and Panyikwara states in northern Acholi as case studies to illustrate the general theme of the study. It is an attempt to study the process by which socio-political units such as lineages and clans were integrated into a hierarchically ordered socio-political structure, and under what conditions they were re-structured. The study also aims to address itself to the problem of how states often survive once they are formed, and to trace their development after the initial period of formation.

In addition the study seeks to address itself to the question of the ethnic origin of the founding ancestors of each of the three communities. The importance of this enquiry stems from the fact that each of the states is often identified as being homogeneous - as if all the founding fathers were of the same linguistic or ethnic origin.

Thus, it is often claimed that the ancestors of the Pajok people came from Lokoro (i.e. Pari or Lafon), meaning that they are Luo in origin. The founding fathers of Obbo state are claimed to be Otuho⁴ (i.e. Eastern Nilotic) in origin, while the Panyikwara are sometimes said to be the true Acholi of the Sudan as many of their clans have a common history of origin in eastern or western Acholi. But sometimes this group, together with the Magwi, Agoro and Omeo people, are lumped as Baar (i.e. Eastern Nilotic) people.

These claims, of course, revolve round the question of which groups in northern Acholi are 'pure' or sprung from one ancestor of Luo origin, and, therefore, the true Acholi. The aim of this study will be to use the oral evidence to ascertain whether there is much sense and utility in thinking in terms of purity or homogeneity, in so far as the ethnic composition of the groups is concerned, or whether it might be useful to look for heterogeneous origins for each of the groups.

The study also aims to examine the process and dynamics of colonisation in northern Acholi. The interest in this process is due to the fact that an understanding of what the British did and how the Acholi reacted to them may shed light on what existed earlier. In other words, it may help to illuminate the extent of development of Acholi states prior to the establishment of colonial rule.

The central chronological focus for the study is from c.1679 to 1914. The first date (i.e. c.1679) signifies the emergence of the

earliest state, while the other (i.e. 1914) marks the date when the present eastern bank of Eastern Equatoria province, of which northern Acholi is a part, was transferred from the Uganda Protectorate to be administered by the Condominium Administration of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.⁵ This event effectively cut off northern Acholi from most of Acholi in Uganda, and from then on the two parts of Acholi were to develop under different geo-political configurations.

The first enquiry into the origin of kingship among the Luo was started by Amine Wright⁶, then a colonial official in the Uganda Protectorate government. In his view, kingship, and hence the idea of statecraft, was introduced to the Luo people by 'Hamitic'⁷ elements from south-western Ethiopia or northern Sudan. Specifically, he ascribed the origin of the Shilluk kingship and the Luo Babito state of Bunyoro-Kitara to the influence of Cushites. Wright believed that there was contact between Cushitic elements and Luo people in the Atura - Pakwach - Nimule triangle. The result of this contact was "first, a Luo - [Cushitic] mixture, giving rise to the Shilluk aristocratic tribal organization, and second, a Bantu - [Cushitic] mixture, giving rise to the aristocratic kingdom of Kitara"⁸.

Wright's explanatory model of state origin among the Luo, based on the theory that statecraft was brought to Sub-Saharan Africa by Cushitic elements, was rejected by Professor Ogot as being unsatisfactory. He argued that

There is no traditional evidence to show that any large-scale miscegenation or prolonged contact

occurred between these two groups of invaders - the Luo and the Hima and Tutsi - prior to their arrival in Uganda. 9

In place of Wright's Cushitic or diffusionist theory, B. A. Ogot substituted the local situationist theory whereby he stressed the "presence of certain economic, political and military factors"¹⁰ as being responsible for the formation of Bunyoro and Shilluk kingdoms.

Recently Onyango ku Odongo supported the local situationist argument when he claimed that the idea of kingship developed among the Luo people under a certain rwot (chief or king) Opii between about 1193 and 1220 when they were still at Tekidi settlement in the Agoro or Ogilli mountains.¹¹ A century or so later (i.e. c.1328-1355), the Jo Oma pastoralists, a group he believes to be Cushites, arrived from the north-east. They had no tradition of kingship, but soon began to "organize themselves in Iwo style"¹². Odongo also claimed that Kitara, founder of the Luo Babito dynasty of Bunyoro and the counterpart of Rukidi, was the son of a Luo king called Owiny by a pastoralist woman (Muhima or Mucwezi)¹³.

Odongo's hypothesis is supported by the Alur tradition of Ocak and Kilak¹⁴ which Wright cited in support of his claim. The tradition suggests that the kingship tradition comes from the non-pastoralist, dark-skinned, element. Ocak, the milk drinker, was a mysterious stranger, while Kilak was the daughter of a Luo king. Luo settlers in other areas, especially the Luo in Pawir and Alur, where they established replica states over the Sudanic-speaking Lendu - Madi -

Okebu groups, copied the system as developed at Tekidi under rwot Opii.

Although his explanatory model for the origin of Luo kingship is a variant of the local situationist theory, since he claims that the kingdom at Tekidi arose in response to local conditions, Odongo did not explain or spell out what local factors promoted or facilitated the development of state institutions and why the state emerged when it did.

Earlier, D. W. Cohen argued that some of the Luo peoples had notions of political institutions of an elaborate kind even before leaving their 'cradleland'. These ideas and other elements of their 'cradleland' culture were influenced to a certain extent by those of other alien groups with whom they interacted and the local conditions of their new homelands. Nevertheless, they played an important role in the formation of states and chiefdoms in Luo societies.¹⁵ To Cohen, therefore, both the diffusion of ideas and the local situation were important in the development of Luo societies.

Ralph S. Herring recently arrived at a similar conclusion when he re-examined the evidence concerning the development of four Luo states and chiefdoms in order to discern whether or to what extent Luo ideas, non-Luo ideas, and the local situation argument explains their development.¹⁶ He was convinced that "neither a diffusionist nor situationalist argument can by itself explain the origin and

development of the Luo polities in eastern Africa"¹⁷.

In spite of these observations, state formation among the Acholi is very much tainted with the diffusionist theory as the only model for explaining their origins and development.¹⁸ And this is in spite of the fact that scholarly opinion is radically and diametrically opposed to any idea of special state forming people roaming around Africa and conferring the blessings of government on anarchic peoples. Beneath this scepticism lies, first, the suspicious association of the theory of diffusion to the theory that statecraft was brought to Sub-Saharan Africa by Cushites, a theory whose racial overtones had bedevilled the writing of African history during the colonial period.¹⁹

Secondly, diffusion per se is not an adequate aid to understanding processes of change. An idea or institution, for instance, may not necessarily mean the same in two or more different contexts.²⁰ To take an example, it would be utterly misleading to equate an Acholi rwot with a Paluo rwot or a Lango rwot, though they have many things in common. The danger with such analysis is that it overlooks the different circumstances in each place which motivate people to adopt such ideas or institutions. Yet, it is logically possible that similar tensions in two or more communities could lead to similar solutions being devised by the people concerned without a full understanding of the meaning of such ideas or institutions in other societies.

There is, therefore, a basic problem in understanding the process of state formation in Acholi - the predominance of the diffusionist theory as the only model for explaining the origin and development of Acholi states. The key question for this study is, therefore, does diffusion provide a satisfactory solution for the problem of the formation of Acholi states? Are there no alternative explanatory models that can adequately account for the phenomenon of state formation in Acholi? We shall return to a consideration of this shortly below.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The study can be justified on several grounds. Firstly, judging from the numerous studies²¹ on the nature and origin of the state, it is obvious that the subject is still a consuming intellectual pursuit. Further, as the title and theme of a recent conference²² in eastern Africa suggests, the process of state formation is still one of the dominant themes of East African historiography.

Indeed, as a social phenomenon which appeared only several thousand years ago, the state has since generated a lot of studies. There is, however, still no agreement as to the factors that promote the state's emergence and its subsequent development.²³ This is in spite of the fact that extensive literature exists on the subject, and each year new interpretations are added to the already vast body of material.

Among the most important obstacles preventing students from gaining a firm grasp of the subject is the problem of definition. There is no definition of the state that is accepted by the entire community of scholars. This has encouraged every scholar to evolve his/her own definition.²⁴

The second problem is theoretical. Theories about the character of the state in various epochs are often based on insufficient or premature data.²⁵ Those concerned with writing about the nature and origin of the state usually formulate theories which only prove useful in explaining particular cases, but are inadequate to explain the phenomenon on a world scale.

Thirdly, there is much confusion in the theories on the formation and early development of the state. Theories purporting to explain the formation of states and chiefdoms in Luo or Luo-influenced societies are a good case in point. They reflect the diversity of scholarly opinion on the development of Luo societies. Similar problems also exist with regard to the origin and development of other African societies.²⁶

It is with this third problem of state formation that this study is concerned. There is a need to study this problem to discern what basic factors underlay the formation of states, particularly the Acholi states. Further, a study of this problem can help us to understand the problem of the state in general as well as to enhance our perception of contemporary problems in our midst.

The states of Obbo, Pajok and Panyikwara in northern Acholi have been chosen as case studies to illustrate the general theme of the study. The obvious reason for the choice is that so far the area has received practically no attention from historians.²⁷ At the time of my research, no systematic historical research had been undertaken among the people.²⁸ The only work of historical value were the oral traditions collected by Father J. P. Crazzolara of the Verona Mission. Despite the author's extensive work among the Acholi and other Luo peoples, the section on northern Acholi covers no more than ten pages. In a book of three volumes, it is thus evident that no serious effort was devoted to collecting and analysing their traditions.

Crazzolara puts Pajok and other Luo groups on the early migration path of the Luo, but nobody can deny that there were later Anywak - Pari - Acholi ties. What was this northern tie, and how important was it in state formation in northern Acholi? This is an important question in Acholi historiography as it has been written over the last ten years.

It is also important to understand whether northern Acholi states were more like R. R. Atkinson's model in not, relatively speaking, using extensive marriage alliances and sending out princes or chiefly representatives, or more like the northern Luo model. The significance of this question stems from Atkinson's belief that their socio-

historic development and basic socio-political organization differ from the rest of Acholi society.²⁹

A more important justification for the study is C. C. Wrigley's assertion that there is no evidence of Acholi political continuities before the formation of states in the region.³⁰ This claim needs to be investigated especially because it provides a basis for his diffusionist theory of the origin and development of Acholi states.

Related to Wrigley's assertion is J. O. Dwyer's claim that "there was no indication of the possibility of constitutional development" in Acholi³¹ because, in his view, political power was fragmented and power shifted according to a large set of variables. It is difficult to understand how Dwyer reached this conclusion since his study of western Acholi only covered the period from 1890 to 1920. Consequently, the scope of his study was limited. Yet, to discern the factors underlying the emergence of the states and the dynamics of their development, it would have been necessary for Dwyer to push or stretch the scope of his study far back in time to the pre-1890 period. It is in this period that the enquiry about the origin and development of the states should be directed in order to understand whether there was any or no indication of the possibility of constitutional development.

The study can also be justified from another perspective. As W. R. Ochieng's study of Yimbo³² clearly shows, the impact of

colonial rule on traditional African societies (i.e. pre-capitalist social formations) can be better understood if we examine the real units of pre-colonial administration, the chiefdom or state (rather than the 'tribe'). When we look at vast areas of Africa (at least East Africa), the major or main type of society was not a kingdom and not stateless, but the kind of small, minimally centralized polities of the type we are examining in this study. It is, therefore, important to know more about how this type of society functioned or how it was organized.

A final, but general, justification for the study lies in the fact that a study of these communities will enhance our understanding of the history of the central Luo, particularly Acholi history. Some of the pertinent and unanswered questions about Acholi history, for instance, include the problem of the descendants of the great Luo king of Tekidi 'kingdom'.³³ Onyango ku Odongo has suggested that after the fall of the great 'kingdom', rwot Owiny migrated towards the present Sudan Republic where, he believes, his descendants still live. It is among the Luo of the Sudan, therefore, that the question should be investigated. Although it does not claim to have fully solved the problem, nevertheless, this study may open new avenues for further enquiry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Acholi state system was one of the various forms of polities found all over Sub-Saharan Africa at the time of the continent's colonisation by European powers in the late nineteenth century. In the last few decades, the study of this type of societies dominated scholarly interest as scholars sought to understand how they had once made the transition from stateless to state societies, how they functioned before the imposition of colonial rule, and how they reacted to European colonisation - in other words, a search for the dynamic element in their evolution towards complex socio-political structures.

The Marxian Approach

The Marxian approach to the question of state origins and development has tended to dwell on an attempt to prove that the state is an instrument of oppression used by a dominant class to maintain a situation of social inequality. F. Engels, for instance, sees the state as "a machine for the oppression of one class by another"³⁴. In this way, he links the formation of the state to the emergence of social classes. The development of social classes, in his view, causes the formation of institutions which appear on the surface to be an instrument of arbitration between opposing classes. But in reality, it is an instrument for the dominant class to maintain and reproduce its dominance. The state is, therefore, a result of social stratification or class formation which, in turn, is a consequence of the transformation of social relations of production through which ex-

ploitation enters a previously egalitarian society.³⁵

Marxist scholars basically accept the class basis of state origins, though some, such as M. H. Fried, sometimes introduce a series of independent variables whose changing nature are associated with the development of stratification.³⁶ Other scholars, though accepting the existence of social inequality and exploitation, however, maintain that the state originated from external factors.³⁷

From a strictly Marxist point of view, therefore, the notion that state formation could be brought about by the diffusion of ideas or institutions of statecraft from a 'superior' system to an 'inferior' one is not only inadequate, but essentially idealistic - that is, it reflects the idealism of bourgeois philosophy. Such a conception of state origin does not, in this view, adequately explain the basic factors that underlie these developments nor does it give serious consideration to an analysis of the development of productive forces and their consequent impact on the superstructure - the very basis of the development of human societies. Further, such a view erroneously implies that ideas, and not the material conditions of production of a people, are the dynamic element in the progressive evolution of human societies. And more important, it obscures the fact that "ideas [or institutions] have a way of being accepted when they become useful as a rationalization of an economic fact of life".³⁸

This is basically the underlying Marxian notion that ideas, institutions, or a people's consciousness, does not illumine social reality, but is rather explained by it. Marxism, in other words, asserts that the mind cannot be the basis for explaining the social modes of society because it is itself shaped and conditioned by a prior antecedent - the economic modes of society.

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society..... the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. 39

This is the essence of the materialist conception of history. Its application to the study of the African reality has meant that the scholars concerned had to find out whether there is sufficient evidence that the consciousness of pre-colonial African societies - as manifested in their social being, their social relations and organization, the structure and pattern of their religious beliefs, morality, ethics and value systems, and their political systems - has tended to correspond to and reflect their contemporary economic milieu.

The materialist philosophy is also related to another component of the Marxist theory - the theory of successive stages of development or linear dialectics and periodization of human evolution - which accepts a fixed progression of societal evolution from barbarism via primitive communism, feudalism, the bourgeois stage, and to proletarian society.

In broad outlines Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. 40

The result of the application of this theory by some scholars to the study of pre-colonial African societies was the proliferation of feudal structures in African history.⁴¹ It further meant accepting the view that pre-colonial African societies essentially belonged at the very dawn of history when primitive communism reigned and society was prefeudal, and that African societies must necessarily evolve through all the epochs prescribed by Marx before reaching the epoch of socialism.

This view was, however, criticized for its lack of coherence with the African reality.⁴² The evolution of African societies, it is argued, was not linear nor consecutive. On the contrary, different modes of production or heterogeneous economic systems existed side by side with one another as the histories of the Sudanic empires of West Africa, Kush and Meroe, Zimbabwe and the east coast of Africa clearly show.⁴³

As noted above, the attempt to explain the evolution of African societies on the basis of the theory of linear dialectics was itself due to the fact that Marx and Engels had outlined another mode of production⁴⁴ called the Asiatic Mode of Production which was originally intended to describe the social formations found in the Near East (Egypt and Mesopotamia) and the Far East (China).

Essentially, the Asiatic mode of production presupposes villages based on collective production. The villages are bound to a superior social organization, the state, which compels its members to work. It was, as it were, an entrepreneur, exploiting the mass of the people for the interests of the ruling class.

Now, can the concept of the Asiatic mode of production be applied in the study and analysis of pre-colonial African social formations? It seems that this was the belief of those scholars who attempted to insert the socio-economic formations of pre-colonial Africa into one of the three 'classic' stages of development studied in Western Europe (i.e. slavery, feudalism or capitalism). However, a critical assessment of the African situation showed that a true Asiatic mode of production, in its sense of oriental despotism, was lacking in Africa.⁴⁵ This, in turn, created a need to understand the means and organization of production in pre-colonial African societies on their own terms.

A pioneering study along this perspective was started by Suret-Canale who described an Asiatic mode of production for Africa in terms of a three-stage evolution from the 'primitive community' through the intermediary 'tribo-patriarchal' structures of the so-called segmentary or stateless societies in which the fundamental unit is the lineage or extended family, to class-based or state society.⁴⁶

Maurice Godelier also tried to extend the concept of an Asiatic mode of production for Africa by making a distinction between an 'Asiatic Mode of Production with public works' and an 'Asiatic mode of production without public works'. Consequently, he proposed the addition of a second hypothesis to Marx's.

We propose the addition of a second hypothesis to Marx's. Assume the possibility of an alternative route and another form of Asiatic mode of production in which a minority dominates and exploits the communities intervening in their conditions of production not directly, but indirectly, by appropriating surplus labour or produce as profit. 47

But Godelier went further than that by linking the formation of the state to long-distance exchange.⁴⁸ Accordingly, he argued that

In West Africa the emergence of the kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, Songhay, etc. was not the result of the organisation of major projects but seems to be linked to the control exercised by the tribal aristocracies over intertribal or interregional trade in rare commodities, gold, ivory, hides, etc. between Black and north Africa. In Madagascar..... the kingdom of Sakalava [was] based on nomadic herding and the trading of cattle and slaves. 49

An earlier study⁵⁰ on the development of trade in west Africa also suggests that the basis of the power of ruling aristocracies was wealth obtained through their control of long-distance exchange. Moreover, Suret-Canale had also observed that west African states were based on the coincidence of a 'tribal' confederation (led by a king) and a market whose security was ensured by the king and from which he got an important part of his income. From a slightly different angle, C. Meillassoux also placed emphasis on exchange, rather than production, as a basis for understanding the development of pre-colonial African societies.⁵¹ The suggestion, therefore, seems to be made that we ought to look at the level of exchange, rather than production, in order to understand the evolution of African societies.

Following on Godelier, C. Coquery-Vidrovitch also attempted to analyse the nature and character of the mode of production that characterized much of pre-colonial Africa. Not only did she support the addition of another hypothesis to Marx's, but she also advanced an hypothesis which recognized the importance of long-distance exchange in the development of African societies, whether centralized or segmentary.⁵² In an endeavour to justify the existence of an African mode of production, as distinct from the Asiatic mode of production, she argued that

It seems to us that one of the driving forces in the history of the people of Black Africa is to be found in the dialectical interplay of the relations, or lack of them, between apparently heterogeneous socio-economic levels within the same totality

(the co-existence of community clan structures with the territorial system and the superposition of family self-sufficiency and long-distance trade); at each moment this force corresponds to a certain stage in the development of the relations governing these elements, which are contradictory and therefore persistently generate disequilibrium and conflict. 53

The African despot, in her view, exploited neighbouring communities more than his subjects through war, for the procuring of booty and slaves, and the control of trade that passed through his territory. This was in a sense production, a "bastardized form of production"⁵⁴, and not merely the circulation of goods. Long-distance exchange was, therefore, the dynamic element in the African mode of production, and it was the control exerted on it by African rulers that constituted the basis of their power.

The 'long-distance exchange - state formation' hypothesis was also supported by Samir Amin who argued that long-distance commerce played a decisive role in the evolution of tropical African societies.⁵⁵ Liberal or non-Marxist historians⁵⁶ have equally arrived at the same conclusions.

However, the assumption that long-distance exchange exercised a direct influence in the formation of states was questioned by E. Terray who contented that "hegemony over long-distance exchange cannot be argued to be the direct and immediate foundation of political hegemony"⁵⁷ - that is, of state formation. He admitted, however, that the role of long-distance trade in state formation is undeniable

"but it is not direct and it is impossible to isolate it from a whole series of other factors whose operation is equally important"⁵⁸.

To refute the central claim of the hypothesis, Terray made use of the Abron kingdom of Gyaman in West Africa. The kingdom was involved in long-distance exchange as early as the late seventeenth century. The trade was, however, dominated by the Dyula, Muslim merchants of Malinke origin. But in spite of their dominance over the trade, the Dyula never became a dominant political class. Instead, political hegemony was exercised by a warrior aristocracy of Akan origin, the Abron.

What was then the basis of the political hegemony of the ruling aristocracy? The control of labour power, the means of producing commodities for the long-distance exchange.

The wealth of the local aristocracy arose essentially from the surplus labour it extorted from its captives; it was this surplus labour which provided it with the products which it introduced into long-distance trade; and if it held a predominant position among the local clients of this trade, this was because it controlled the greatest share of captive labour, whose activity from Gyaman swelled the flow of long-distance exchange. 59

Furthermore, the ruling aristocracy was first and foremost a military aristocracy⁶⁰, and it articulated the functioning of the state in such a way as to "create and reproduce the material and social conditions for the exploitation of captives"⁶¹. The ruling aristocracy also had a monopoly of judicial power which it used to extort wealth from the local people.

Now then, how does long-distance exchange lead to the formation of the state? Terray provides a succinct explanation of how this comes about:

Its real role consisted in the introduction of slave-type relations of production into social formations dominated until then by the kin-based mode of production, accompanied in mature cases by simple domestic slavery; and it was in their turn these slave relations which evoked the formation of a state as the condition of their functioning and reproduction. From this point of view, we criticize Catherine Coquery and Samir Amin, not for having asserted that the development of long-distance exchange exerted an influence on the formation of states, but for having let it be understood that this influence operated in an immediate and direct manner: we consider ourselves that it acted on the social formation and on its political superstructures by the intermediary of a transformation of the relations of production which were its basis. 62

Terray thus seems to suggest that relations of production are primary, and that a change in them affects the character of the social formation concerned. But what causes a change in the relations of production except through a change in the productive forces? And this raises the question whether there was a possibility of the African mode of production ever evolving towards a higher or complex social form.

For Catherine Coquery, the African mode of production was characterized by stagnation. Its productive forces were not real forces. They were sterile because they were founded on war or trade - which was why the Sudanic states disappeared when the basis of their existence was weakened (i.e. when trade was diverted away).

Nevertheless, she admits that in one instance, in the case of Dahomey, the African mode of production was at least capable of evolution.⁶³ Dahomey was founded on slave trading, but in the middle of the nineteenth century, following a decline in the slave trade, the king renounced the trade in favour of legitimate commerce in palm-oil and palm kernels. He proceeded to the private appropriation of land by carefully maintaining a confusion between 'lands of the kingdom' and 'lands of the king'. Peasants were compelled to maintain trees and collect oil. Taxes were also levied, which made the king very wealthy. Consequently, he developed huge plantations of palm-oil trees under his control. This was, in her view,

the beginning of the passage to a mode of production having some characteristics of the ancien regime (most labour was servile, supplied by annual slave raids), and certain forms akin to feudalism, but with monarchy increasingly claiming the right of eminent domain over property. 64

Jack Goody, on the other hand, contented that the African social formations cannot be meaningfully compared with those of medieval Europe or Asia which evolved along the path described by Marx and Engels. The fundamental difference between the two areas was in the absence in Africa of a highly developed technology, such as the plough and the wheel, which had such a revolutionary impact on the development of social relations in Europe and Asia.⁶⁵ There is hardly much to argue against Goody's hypothesis - since the technological gap between Europe and Africa during the same period is acknowledged⁶⁶ -

except that it implies a form of technological determinism as the basis for the evolution of human societies.

With regard to the long-distance exchange - state formation hypothesis, however, there is some difficulty. Should we see the exploitation of African communities simply at the level of exchange? Taking pre-colonial Acholi polities, for instance, it is difficult to see how the hypothesis - even in its form as modified by Terray - can be applied in understanding the characteristic form of their mode of production.

True, the existence of trade contacts between the Acholi and other communities cannot be denied. For instance, there was exchange in a variety of iron articles between them and the Madi. Specifically, the Madi produced a certain type of iron hoe (called Lojili) which was in high demand in Acholi (for marriage) and which the Acholi obtained by offering grain, goats or sheep in exchange. The exchange was, however, individualized and the rwot or the ruling hierarchy had no control over it.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the items which the Acholi used to exchange for the iron articles were things whose production did not really require extra-slave labour.

However, it might be argued in favour of Terray's hypothesis (i.e. control over labour power) that it could have as well exercised influence on the development of kin-based societies. In such a community, for a group or family to be better off socially than

another, an important requirement is the availability of a labour force that can be employed on the resources of the soil - the object of labour. Such a group or family can put more land to the hoe than a smaller family unit.

In spite of this, however, there is no explicit evidence to show that this factor prompted the Acholi family to seek extra-slave labour to supplement the family's domestic effort. The kin-based system of production (see Chapter 1 below) took care of the family's need for extra-labour by evolving the system of Awak (corporate work group involving members of a kin group or a clan). In this regard, therefore, it is difficult to account for the emergence of such states by any of the two variants of the long-distance exchange - state formation hypothesis.

The Liberal View

While the Marxian approach to the origin and development of African state systems has thus tended to emphasize the class basis and exploitative nature of the state, the non-Marxian or liberal view was dominated by the desire to restore the African initiative.⁶⁸ This was largely conditioned by the attainment of political independence in the 1960s as the emergent states sought to find precedents in their past which would support the claim that Africans had a capacity to rule just like any other race, and that African state systems ante-dated the period of involuntary tutelage.

The search for states and their history was justified by the fact that certain aspects of African history were deliberately distorted or ignored by early writers on African history.⁶⁹ Pre-colonial African societies were described as though they lacked state institutions. The motive behind these distortions, it is argued, was to justify the colonisation of the continent by European powers for the colonialists realized that "the historical sense is in the hands of the oppressed, a powerful tool for revolutionary mobilization"⁷⁰. It was for this reason that African institutions were robbed of their history in the colonial era. And it is precisely for the same reason that the African initiative has to be restored.⁷¹

The geographical occupation of space in Africa was also facilitated by the creation of a psychological disposition toward subjugation:

To show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society looking in values.... The native is declared insensible to ethics. He is..... the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. 72

The European colonizer was, on the other hand, portrayed as a representative of a higher race, bringing 'civilization' to 'backward' societies of the world. The result of this outlook on colonial historiography was that any cultural remains found in Africa, such as the Zimbabwe stone structures which indicated some past cultural achievements, was explained not as the work of Africans but of a

higher race, in this case the Cushites who were considered to be the distant connections of the white race.

Racialist interpretations of African history and development, however, suffered an eclipse with the introduction of Structural - Functionalist Anthropology. Functionalist Anthropology not only suspected, but banished history entirely for functionalism implied that the African past was itself unknowable. This was, in effect, facilitated by the belief of bona fide historians who had dismissed oral accounts as inadmissible historical records.⁷³ Consequently, the 'Hamitic' theory fell into quiet hibernation.

In the early 1960s, however, a variant of the theory - the Sudanic state hypothesis - was formulated by R. Oliver and J.D. Fage who argued that the states of Sub-Saharan Africa can be explained as being the result of the diffusion of ideas of political organization from the Nile Valley - that is, Egypt.⁷⁴ After asserting an Egyptian origin for African state ideologies, they claimed further that these ideologies were superimposed on an indigenous infra-structure which had nothing in common with them.⁷⁵

The hypothesis had originally been advanced by G.P. Murdock who claimed that Africa had a common political system which he called 'African despotism',⁷⁶. The area extending from Sub-Saharan Africa to Madagascar and south-western Ethiopia all had this common political

structure. However, he felt that western Sudan was the probable area where the system originated, adding that to this basic Sudanic pattern the Nile Valley added significant increments in later periods.

The notion of a single external source for African kingdoms was, however, challenged by J. Vansina who, to show its inadequacy, identified three centres from which the Kongolese political system evolved.⁷⁷ The most far-reaching attempt to explain the origin of African kingdoms was, however, pioneered by a group of west African scholars whose studies showed that societies hitherto considered stateless actually had state-like institutions from which state structures developed.⁷⁸

Inspired by these studies, J. C. Miller sought to employ a similar approach to the study of the origin and development of Mboundu states in north-western Angola⁷⁹. He showed how the institution of Kinguri (king of the Imbangala) developed. The introduction of Atlantic slavery radically affected its development. Whereas the strength of the Kinguri had originally depended on the strength of the most important clans that elected him, now he began to develop his own independent social and economic base. He built a strong army which raided for more and more slaves. The effect was to strengthen the army as well as to swell the ranks of those who were responsible for feeding the king and his court. And for the

society in general "kinship relations, social relations and relations of production were increasingly commoditized"⁸⁰ as a result of the trade.

In this way, Miller sought to bury once and for all the theory that Cushites brought statecraft to Sub-Saharan Africa. He noted that while the most objectionable aspects of the theory have been discarded, the central premise - that outsiders brought statecraft to Africa - was still retained. However, despite his professed aim, Miller's account of the origin of Mbugu states was still rooted within a diffusionist problematic.

In actual fact, the appropriation by local ambitious and clever men of someone else's good ideas seems a far more likely explanation of most early Mbugu states. It was thus the idea or institution which travelled in most cases, while the basic population of the Mbugu region has remained relatively stable for a long time. 81

Lacustrine state formation was also dominated by diffusionist tendencies. The kingdom of Bunyoro, one of the first states to be formed in the region, was thus attributed to the Bacwezi whose origin is sometimes associated with Cushites. Traditional evidence claims that the Bacwezi were themselves descended from another dynasty called the Batembuzi with which traditions have created a genetic relationship. S. R. Karugire, however, dismissed the claim of a genetic relationship between the Bacwezi and the Batembuzi as simply nothing but a patriotic fiction⁸².

Karugire's dismissal of Bacwezi - Batenbuzi relationship notwithstanding, historians are not even agreed about the historical existence and racial identity of the Bacwezi. C. C. Wrigley, for instance, dismisses them as imaginary gods rather than real men.⁸³ Oliver, on the other hand, sees the Bacwezi as real historical figures and suggests that the Buganda kingdom of Chwa was probably identical with that of the Bacwezi. Thus, he claimed that what the Luo Babito conquered was a single political unit under the domination of the Bacwezi⁸⁴. J. S. Webster, C. A. Buchanan and M. Posnansky, similarly, treat the Bacwezi as real men⁸⁵. Posnansky goes further to claim that they were cattle herders⁸⁶.

On the racial origin of the Bacwezi, G.W.B. Huntingford suggests that they may have been of Cushitic stock related to the Sidama people of south-western Ethiopia⁸⁷. Crazzolaro, on the other hand, believes that the Bacwezi were related to the Bahinda, and he considered both to be of Luo origin⁸⁸. According to him, the migrant Luo group was first known as the Bacwezi, then later as the Bahinda (of Arkole) and Bashambo and Batutsi (of Rwanda).

Despite the diversity of opinion about the historical existence and origin of the Bacwezi, they are generally associated with the founding of the ruling dynasty of Bunyoro. When they disappeared, the 'empire' which they built was taken over by the Luo Babito dynasty.⁸⁹

In south-western Uganda, the emergence of Nkore as a state four or five centuries ago is explained in terms of the migration of Hima cattle herders into the area. After the disappearance of the Bacwezi, Ruhinda - one of the rich pastoralists (Bahima) - was said to have moved with his herds and followers to Nkore and, subsequently, set up the centralized state structures which have been handed down through time⁹⁰. Ruhinda is also said to have founded a number of Bahinda dynasties in Buhaya and other areas of south-western Uganda and Bukoba⁹¹.

The rise of Buganda, Bunyoro's intractable and traditional enemy, is also associated with the diffusion of kingship in the region. In common with other states of the region, it experienced an influx of Hima cattle herders. Some writers like Oliver, J. M. Gray and A. Southall, however, claim that the dynasty of Buganda was founded by the Luo Babito⁹². This view is hotly contested by other historians including M.S.M. Kiwanuka⁹³, but whatever the case it is generally believed that kingship in Buganda was never associated with a conquering group distinct in origin from the rest of the clans⁹⁴.

The dominant view on lacustrine state formation has thus tended to link the establishment of centralized state structures in the region to the migration of Hima pastoralists. There is, however, no apricri reason why this should have been the case, nor do we have any sound basis for linking them with the rise of states in the

region generally - except for the fact that western and southern Uganda and the Bukoba areas of Tanzania formed a general cultural area with Hima culture as the common denominator.

In Nkore, for instance, it seems that kingship may have existed there in an era before the Bahima assumed political control. This suggestion is based on the fact that some rather un-pastoral ceremonies, such as the planting of millet seed, were still retained in the inauguration of the king or Omuqabe of Ankole⁹⁵. It is probable, therefore, that the Bahinda-dominated state structure was projected back into history to establish a claim on its origin. The attempt to link the Babinza to Bahinda clan of the Bahima, and thus to project them as state-builders in Usukuma, was also exhonored by B. Itandala⁹⁶.

In the northern Interlacustrine region, the Acholi states are also said to have emerged as a result of similar influences from Bunyoro⁹⁷. From 1679 Paluo migrants, fleeing the persecution of Winyi II, moved into Acholi just to the north of Pawir. They are claimed to have brought with them new concepts of government associated with hereditary kingship, tribute payment and the concept of drum symbolism as an embodiment of kingship.

It is claimed further that prior to the Paluo exodus, there were early Luo groups in the area but that they were organized much along the lines of their Sudanic and Eastern Nilotic neighbours.

There is no evidence that the Lwo-speakers in pre-1680 Acholi were unique among their Madi and Iseera neighbours.....Their political organization seems no different and if they possessed the special traits or qualities attributed to them by some earlier writers, there is no indication that these had much effect on their neighbours. 98

Having made this observation, nothing impedes Atkinson from concluding that "the great changes which occurred in western Acholi between 1680 and 1780 had their origins in northern Bunyoro"⁹⁹.

J. B. Webster also sees Luo-speaking groups coming to Acholi from different directions: from the Agoro region, from the Albert Nile, from Karamoja, from south-eastern Uganda, and from Pawir. All of these came and intermingled with groups which spoke languages belonging either to the Sudanic family or Eastern Nilotic groups. But to the eventual synthesis of these groups, the Luo contributed both "the idea of monarchy and the language"¹⁰⁰

The idea of Nyoro-influenced Paluo migrants spreading Nyoro concepts of government to their Acholi neighbours was acceptable to Wrigley in its basic form. He was, however, sceptical of the claim that the Acholi had earlier state forms from which the states of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries developed: "there is..... no serious traditional evidence of Acholi political continuities extending to the fifteenth or earlier centuries"¹⁰¹. For him, the initiative to state-building in Acholi and concepts associated with

it came from Bunyoro through Paluo migrants.

Wrigley's hypothesis, however, appears to be an attempt to offer a general explanation of the origin and development of not only Acholi states, but states and chiefdoms in Luo societies. Thus to be able to do this, he felt it necessary to alter the traditional view of a north to south Luo movement from the Sudan through northern Uganda.

The proto-Luo lived in and near Bunyoro before the rise of the interlacustrine states, and their mainly northward expansion was stimulated by upheavals in the Bantu territories on their southern flank. 102

Wrigley felt that his hypothesis was in full accord with the evidence from tradition and philology and because, in his view, it makes a better sense as it presents a more intelligible account of cultural and political change in eastern Africa rather than the existing narratives which cause the Luo to carry out improbable gyrations, even describing a complete circle, before they plunge into Uganda. Thus, he conceives the Luo expansion as "a colonizing expansion from the great centres of power in south-west Uganda, where, as we infer from the Bigo and other remains, the arts of government had been developed well before the seventeenth century"¹⁰³.

In effect, the hypothesis makes the Luo as the perfect medium for carrying Nyoro concepts of government to areas which they later came to dominate since, in Wrigley's view, their expansion was accompanied by economic and political techniques which they acquired

from the lacustrine world. In the case of the Acholi, the hypothesis was further concocted by his rejection of Atkinson's earlier claim that there were earlier Luo people in Acholi before 1680.

Wrigley adduced both linguistic and archaeological evidence to support his contention. The archaeological evidence centred on a ceramic record, known as Chobi ware, discovered on the right bank of the Victoria Nile in Acholi, just across the river from Pawir. The pottery has not been dated, but by inference it is thought that it belongs to the first millennium A.D.¹⁰⁴.

The linguistic evidence was based on the presence of certain Bantu root words of authority in several Luo dialects, including the Anywak, but especially the Acholi, language. He took the evidence of the presence of these root words to mean the extent of the influence of Nyoro concepts of government. On the basis of this, he was encouraged to suggest that "the Acholi and the Anywak, so far from supplying a dynasty to Bunyoro, in fact derived their rulers from that source"¹⁰⁵. Implicit in this assertion is, of course, the suggestion that the origin of Acholi and Anywak political systems can be traced to Bunyoro.

The evidence adduced by Wrigley is not, however, entirely satisfactory to warrant the conclusions he made. The archaeological evidence, for instance, is not sufficiently credible to support the claim that the proto-Luo lived in the lacustrine region some two

thousand or so years ago before they spread to their present homelands. The argument based on the presence of the Chobi ware, also found over a wide area of the lacustrine region, particularly needs further investigation to determine both the nature and exact age of the ware. Otherwise as it stands now, the conclusion based on the ceramic record rests on flimsy evidence.

Even the linguistic evidence which he considered crucial for proving his hypotheses is not absolutely convincing. The mere presence of root words of a language in another does not conclusively prove that the Anywak or Acholi, for that matter, derived their political systems from Bunyoro. There are similarly such words of Luo origin which exist in the vocabulary of Nyoro kingship, and one could argue that the presence of such words also implies that Luo - speakers influenced the origin and development of kingship in the area. The linguistic argument, therefore, appears to be tautological and not very helpful in resolving the basic problem.

From the fore-going, therefore, it is evident that the various theoretical attempts to explain the origin and development of African states or kingdoms have so far been a variant of the theory of diffusion. The evidence adduced in support of them have not, however, been adequate enough to provide conclusive support for diffusion as a model for state formation. Further, even the data from Acholi do not show explicitly that diffusion was the primary cause of the

formation of all Acholi states. In effect, therefore, the whole question of diffusion as a theoretical model for state formation becomes suspect.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

If diffusion hypothesis does not adequately account for the phenomenon of state formation, then what does? Moreover, it has been noted above that the 'long-distance exchange - state formation' hypothesis does not, similarly, offer an adequate explanation of the origin and development of those social formations that were kin-based. We may, therefore, have to look elsewhere for the factors that can sufficiently explain the emergence of these socio-political structures¹⁰⁶.

In this study, we seek to show that state formation is a multi-causal and systemic process. What this means is that each set of factors or any particular factor, once it develops, stimulates and feeds back onto others which are, therefore, made to change in the general direction of statehood. This hypothesis was first used by H. T. Wright and G. Johnson who applied it in their study of state formation in Iran¹⁰⁷. However, the approach appear not to have been popular with respect to the origin and development of pre-colonial African state systems¹⁰⁸.

To understand the process, it is worthwhile to adopt J. Maquet's concept of the global society¹⁰⁹. Maquet used the concept of the global society to mean the relative nature and number of relation-

ships - social, economic, political, religious - among individuals and groups occupying a contiguous geographical area. This means that any number of peoples or groups occupying an area adjacent to each other will have numerous ties among themselves. And if the members of two global societies "interact more closely and with greater frequency"¹¹⁰, it may be possible for the two in time to merge and become one society.

The circumstances favouring such development are usually many and may include social stratification, ecological or environmental circumscription, population pressure, warfare or the threat of war, conquest, organization, production surplus, or simply the need to be part of a larger society. Any of these factors, singly or in combination with others, can trigger off development towards statehood.

The effect of this development would be to facilitate the development of those features of pre-state societies that are already pre-adapted for development into more complex systems¹¹¹. The fundamental feature here seems to be that of property which provides a basis for the later development of unequal access to resources. To illustrate the point, the production of food can be taken as a good example. It involves a continuous sort of relations of collectivity to renewable resources. Such property relations can be defined as a group's (i.e. lineage or clan) traditionally recognized, legitimized, and defensible resources. These may include things such as land, crops, herds - in short, the means of sustenance for the community.

They became the basis for a new society and polity. The new polity then emphasizes the importance of the continuity of relations between groups and their resource base.

Food production, therefore, forces property relations in society because it is based on resource utilization of longer duration than human life spans. It also provides advantage to larger or more populous property - owning groups. In terms of the evolution of society, this bedrock of correlates of food production is a constant basis for inequality within and between polities. Unequal access to resources thus become an inevitable accompaniment of agriculture.

Acholi society appears to have been evolving along this direction. The various tim (large tracts of land used both for agriculture and hunting) of every Acholi polity was owned by individual clans or lineages. Ownership rights seem to have been based on which group settled the land first, but tim could also be bought or given as payment for an offence committed by a member of the group owning it. Any stranger wanting to settle on such land or organize hunting therein usually sought the permission of its owners.

These community - wide differences, though not great, carry with them some notion of property relations and unequal access to resources. This inequality is further shown by the fact that when hunting was organized in a particular tim, its custodians were entitled to a portion of the game killed.

As already stated above, the state emerges out of such polities as a consequence of close contact and interaction between them. Groups of such polities may relate socially and economically, with one original community coming eventually to dominate the others. This development is facilitated by those selective pressures already mentioned above.

Once the state emerges, the leadership then acquires more power and authority by performing various functions such as handling disputes, organizing more communal activities, carrying out more and more elaborate ceremonies for the public welfare, etc. Accumulation of power and wealth, in turn, leads to greater centralization. The society is then stratified into the class of rulers and the ruled.

The development of a state ideology caps the unity of the state. The state religion, however, develops from the religious functions performed by local leaders in pre-state systems. After the formation of the state, their rituals are increased to affect all in the community.

A basic assumption of this study is, therefore, that the process of state formation is often triggered off by a specific or a combination of multiple factors in the ecology, economy and inter-societal environment. After this initial impetus, the polity then centralizes as the ruling hierarchy accumulates to itself more power

and authority by performing various functions for the welfare of the public. The division of society into two classes - the class of rulers and of the ruled - is then complete. And the legitimacy of the authority structure is finally achieved by the development of a state religion.

METHODOLOGY

The utility of oral tradition in writing authentic histories of non-literate societies is now no longer disputed. However, the growing confidence in the use of this type of evidence in writing African history has come to be based on the method used to record, test and analyse the testimonies¹¹².

The constant pre-occupation with methods of research centres on the fact that the method used in recording testimonies, the type of questions asked, the researcher's world view¹¹³, not to mention several other factors, often affect the quality of the traditions on which history is based. Moreover, the mode of transmission of oral traditions also differs from one society to another, depending on the social structure.

A statement on the method used in collecting the traditions, the social role of informants, the circumstances under which the interviews were conducted, modes of verification, is thus important. This can enable the quality, utility and limitations of the traditions to be assessed by other historians.

Data Collection

The materials for this study were gathered during one period of field research between November 1980 and March 1981. As it was not necessary for me to have any basic orientation to Acholi village life before actual interviews began, having been born and brought up in Acholi, I proceeded to introduce the research aims to local government officials of the study area - Obbo, Pajok and Panyikwara. It was also opportune for me to meet and talk to a few elders and primary school teachers, and to explain to them the aims and significance of the study.

Simultaneously, I tried to identify prospective informants to be approached for the interviews. The local officials (sub-chiefs and their subordinates) produced preliminary lists of people, usually the oldest members of the particular clans who they thought were the best to approach. Most of these prospective informants were eventually confirmed when actual interviews began, while others dropped out and new ones added. Furthermore, if in the course of interview certain lineages were mentioned as being important or connected with certain events, I would often search for a qualified member of the lineage to record its tradition.

Throughout the research, informants were interviewed singly, rather than in groups. I visited each informant in his home, in spite of the transport difficulties this entailed, and conducted

the interviews privately. In some cases, however, it was difficult to avoid the presence of on-lookers or passers-by who often happened to be members of the same clan. Very rarely did these interfere with the interview process nor did the informants fear their presence.

The private method was preferred to the group interviews because of several reasons. A group testimony is often considered valid if it takes the form of an agreed version conveyed through a spokesman on behalf of a definite social group¹¹⁴. However, this is not often what happens when historians advocate for the group method. In practice, it is used as a time-saving device in order to cope with the multiplicity of historical sources such as in non-centralized societies lacking specialists to record and transmit traditions. The researcher can then cover the ground more quickly with less repetition and less disagreement among the informants.

The group method, however, has some serious limitations, the most serious being that it obscures or even suppresses discrepancies between related traditions. Yet, these are a vital part of the historian's source material since they show up the conflicting views which different social groups have of the same event. Moreover, individuals with strong personalities or political influence will often have their views prevail over others in group interviews. The effect of this is partially to remove away from the historian's hand the opportunity to weigh conflicting evidence.

Throughout the research, moreover, there was never any suggestion from the informants that a group meeting should be called. Perhaps, this was a tacit acceptance of the private interview.

Many of the accounts began with tales of migration of the group's ancestors, routes followed during the process of migration, etc. Historical points of interest often emerged from these accounts provoking questions and discussions in order to be clear about them. A few informants were, however, unable to hold forth for a much longer period without prompting. For such informants, the basic form of the interview was, therefore, question-and-answer. Some of the informants, however, talked copiously and without much prompting.

After such interviews, I listened to the recording to discover what inconsistencies were emerging and what points still needed to be pursued further. If it was necessary to see an informant again to clarify some inconsistencies, then this was done immediately.

As the research progressed, it was discovered that some important lineages had no qualified elders who could narrate the lineages' traditions. Fortunately for some of these lineages, several informants proved conversant with the traditions of such groups. The problem, however, was to test whether such testimonies reflected the views of the groups concerned or whether it was a falsification of their traditions. There was no way to test these accounts as some of the lineages have practically no qualified elders.

Generally, the interviewing atmosphere was relaxed and friendly, presumably because the interviews took place in the home of each informant where they felt most at ease. In Obbo and Panyikwara, my informants were never pre-occupied with thoughts of material gain. None of them asked me to give anything in payment when I arrived to request an interview. Instead, they often complained that they had nothing such as food and beer to offer to me.

In Pajok, on the contrary, a few informants demanded for presents before or soon after interviews. One informant even demanded for payment before interview could begin. I was not prepared to yield to the demands of such informants. In any case I had made it a point never to offer any payment to any informant for eliciting information.

Some of the informants eventually gave in and granted interviews. This was often due to the pressures of on-lookers, usually young people, who booed and criticized the informants for refusing to record the group's traditions. The local government officials also did much to influence them to grant interviews. The researcher also convinced many of the fact that he was a student, a role from which I never deviated throughout the field work process, and, therefore, unable to offer presents. Later, I discovered that the intransigence of some of these informants was due to the influence of earlier researches done in the area. The researchers allegedly gave money and presents to their respondents. I was, therefore, also expected to do likewise.

The Nature of the Evidence

One of the most salient features of these traditions is that they reflect the dynamic and living concept of history. The separate clan or lineage traditions tend to be remembered because of their present utility, because they explain certain social phenomena which persist in time or the special positions of certain groups, or because they help keep a record of friends and enemies. In other words, the traditions are elements in a living culture. To illustrate the point, two separate observations will be narrated.

The first of these is connected with the Pajule of Panyikwara. This group was almost totally decimated in population as a result of a war with the Eastern Nilotic-speaking Lokoya. During the funeral ceremony of a popular Oyira elder, an elder of Paliwa clan, in an attempt to drive home a point¹¹⁵, boasted of the role of his grandfather who was a war leader of Panyikwara state at the time of the Lokoya-Pajule war. Traditional evidence suggests that the war was caused by an unauthorised retaliatory attack on the Lokoya people by a party of Panyikwara warriors led by the war leader¹¹⁶. When the descendant of this historical figure, therefore, attempted to compare the dynamism of the deceased to that of the late nineteenth century war leader of the state, he provoked Pajule sympathizers. A fight was only averted by the wise counsel of elders present.

The second observation again comes from Panyikwara and is connected with Olubo lineage of Goloba clan. An informant of that lineage told the researcher that a 'conference' of Olubo people was shortly to be held¹¹⁷. The purpose of the conference was said to be to find out which group from the 'Olubo diaspora' in Acholi and Madi holds the legitimate right to become rain-makers. The conference was seen to be necessary because the present rain-maker in Olubo-Aru was allegedly failing to make adequate rain for the welfare of the people. Olubo elders in Aru had, accordingly, decided to call a conference of the 'Olubo diaspora' in order to discuss the matter and determine which group should take over rain-making functions from the present incumbent. The assumption is that due to some factors, the legitimate clan or lineage responsible for rain-making (presumably the ruling class) may have migrated away from the area. The conference would thus look into the traditions of the various groups in order to find out which of them is the rightful heir to the office.

These two examples clearly show that oral traditions are of direct relevance to the present, which implies that those traditions that help to explain present conditions are remembered and recited more readily.

Another feature of the traditions is that they are limited in the sense that they do not concern the society as a whole. They pertain to lineage or clan only, but not the whole society. Only a few traditions claim to be for the entire society. The history of each

of the states can, therefore, be considered as the aggregated histories of the various clans comprising it. The historian's extrapolation of evidence concerning states may be regarded as the distortion - though a necessary one.

It was somewhat easier to retrieve the traditions of the chiefly clans, which seem to have been better preserved than those of commoner clans. However, this relative ease in retrieving their traditions is matched by an extreme difficulty in evaluating those traditions. This is probably due to several factors. The ruling elite may have an articulate awareness of the past or because they realize the political importance of those traditions for their own time¹¹⁸. Events which reflect adversely on the ruling dynasty may be deliberately distorted. It is difficult to check against this due to the nature of the limited time-depth of most commoner traditions, especially if the event in question is about the far distant past.

There is further the danger of many commoner groups attempting to fit their traditions within the context of the traditions of the chiefly clans. The danger with this is that the divergent experiences of the various groups is suppressed in favour of a common tradition for the whole group.

The tendency of commoner clans to fit their traditions within the context of that of the ruling lineages has resulted in the pre-

valence of Luo evidence as the reader will realize in the case of Pajok and Panyikwara states. I find it difficult to understand why this should be the case. The only probable explanation is that most of the clans are of Luo origin and their traditions have tended to suppress those of the other clans of non-Luo origin.

The traditions are also characterized by a certain degree of shallowness. Between the period of state formation and the traditions of the recent past, for instance, there is a dearth in the quality of traditions in the sense that they are scanty, incoherent and, therefore, difficult to place in context. This seems to be a common feature of Acholi traditions generally¹¹⁹.

Nearly all the traditions had something to say about rwotship which implied that it was an embodiment of the state. Accordingly, core questions were asked to elicit information about its evolution: Why did lineage X assume a dominant role vis-a-vis the others, what were the bases of the ascendancy of these lineages, why did other groups accept commoner status, what were the obligations of commoner groups to the ruling lineages, etc. The bulk of the traditions merely imply the continuity of chiefly forms of organization since time immemorial.

Key questions were also asked about the organizational and functional aspects of the states, the mode of production, military

organization and warfare, judicial proceedings, etc. Questions were also asked about the development of the concept of Jok (spirit) worship, what function it performed in society, etc.

The mode of their transmission also seems to have had an effect on the nature of the traditions. Since there are no officials charged with the responsibility of recording and transmitting traditions, almost everyone was, accordingly, involved in the preservation and transmission of historical information. Thus, the traditions of a clan cannot be preserved as a whole.

Informal transmission of traditions of this kind has important bearing on various facets of traditions, notably the time-depth of those traditions themselves. The chiefly clans have relatively longer genealogies. Many commoner lineages have genealogies extending back three to four generations only, which indicates that they do not remember their own histories in detail. Other lineages have genealogies extending back five, six or seven generations. This variation may also suggest that the lineages were incorporated differently within the communities of which they became a part.

However, whether genealogies extend back a long or short way may also be dependent on the social functions the traditions serve in that society. Where land is important for the production of the means of sustenance, such as is expected of an agricultural community like

the Acholi, it is important to identify with a particular locality or resource base. Traditions would then tend to revolve round the question of the extension of its occupancy - how long ago the ancestors of a particular group settled there, why they settled there, and how they related to their neighbours. In this case, if the area was settled long ago, the genealogy may also be long. Most of the commoner genealogies are, however, short. The nature of the chronological framework, therefore, affects the depth of the traditions for chronology is the framework within which history is based. This indicates why it has been relatively difficult to establish exact dates for events of the remote past.

Chronology

One of the main problems of the study was, therefore, to date the various events since documentary evidence about the three states are lacking before the late nineteenth century. This is, however, a general problem facing historians trying to date histories whose sources are entirely oral testimonies preserved over the years. Many informants respond to questions about chronology by saying that event A or B happened long, long ago; others try to be more exact and say it happened during the reign of rwot X or Y. Some informants refer to certain phenomena or events such as local droughts, famine or a popular war. This is obviously the best that they could do.

In trying to determine the chronology of such non-literate societies, however, historians have tended to depend on several devices. In societies whose social organisation is based on age-sets, the historian has depended on these as a tool for dating their past. Normally, the sets are named group which follow each other in a fixed cycle at regular intervals. Historical events are, therefore, ascribed in traditions to the period of one set or another. In this way, it becomes possible to date the events of these societies¹²⁰

In societies where age-sets are lacking or not prominent, however, other devices are used. Thus in Acholi, chiefly lists and lineage genealogies provide the only means for constructing a chronology. Lineage genealogies, however, have a weakness in that "most societies possess a multiplicity of independent genealogies, none of which applies to more than a small proportion of that society's members"¹²¹. This is similarly the case with the genealogies collected from the three communities.

Nevertheless, the chronology for this study (see p.54) will be constructed in close reference to these devices. Accordingly, it is suggested to use the convenient notation devised by D.W. Cohen when constructing the chronology of the Interlacustrine region¹²². He placed late nineteenth century rulers such as Mutesa I of Buganda and Kabalega of Bunyoro in Generation one (G.1), then counted generations back from this baseline. In the case of this study,

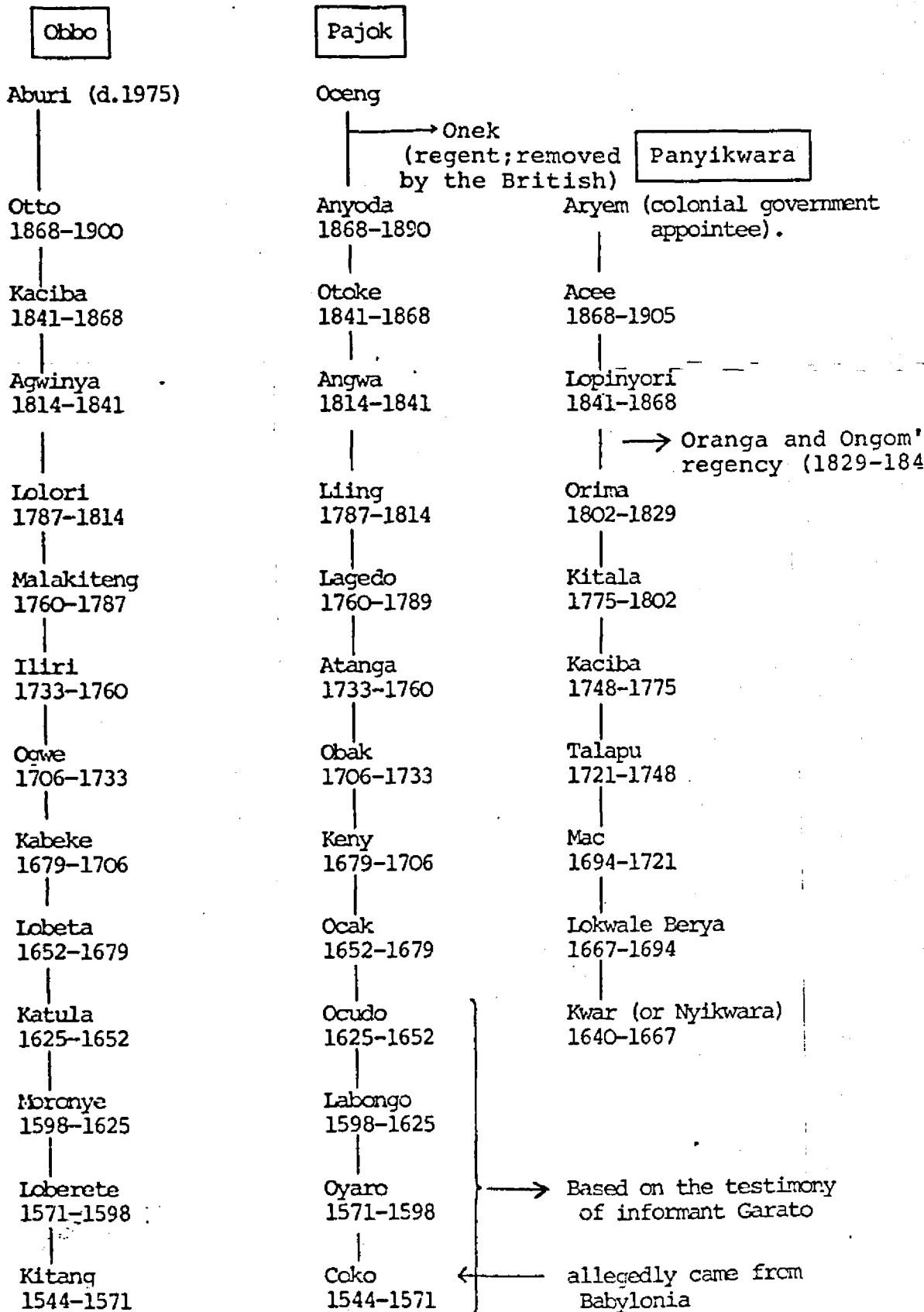
we can similarly identify Otto of Obbo state, Anyoda¹²³ of Pajok and Acee of Panyikwara as rwodi (rwot sing., rwodi plu.) of the period of the colonial conquest. A common baseline date starting from 1895 will be used for all the states.

It is further suggested to adopt the reasonable convention of allowing twenty-seven years to each chiefly generation, and twelve years for brother successions or periods of regency. This practice, however, has certain inherent limitations¹²⁴, and it is used here while bearing in mind that it does not produce absolute chronology.

Chart 1. Tentative Chronological Chart

Generations back from 1895	Approximate dates
1	1895 - ± 27
2	1868 - 1895 " "
3	1841 - 1868 " "
4	1814 - 1841 " "
5	1787 - 1814 " "
6	1760 - 1787 " "
7	1733 - 1760 " "
8	1706 - 1733 " "
9	1679 - 1706 " "
10	1652 - 1679 " "
11	1625 - 1652 " "
12	1598 - 1625 " "
13	1571 - 1598 " "
14	1544 - 1571 " "

Chart 1. 1 Genealogies of Obbo, Pajok and Panyikwara ruling clans.



FOOTNOTES

1. It is rather difficult to determine a satisfactory term for the political system that characterized Acholi during the pre-colonial period. The Acholi language even provides no name for it, and instead the individual name of the polity was used. The polities are groupings of unrelated kin groups, of a number of lineages and clans. Father J. P. Crazzolaro in The Lwo, 3 vols., Verona: Editrice Nigrizia, 1950, 1951 and 1954 uses the term 'realm' to refer to the polities. F. K. Girling in The Acholi of Uganda, London: HMSO, 1960, uses 'domain', and Professor J.B. Webster in his study of eastern Acholi (see his chapters in J.M. Onyango-ku-Odongo and J.B. Webster, The Central Lwo During the Aconya, Nairobi: EALB, 1976) use the term 'kingdom'. Ronald R. Atkinson (see his chapter in The Central Lwo) prefers the term 'state'. In this study, the term 'state' or 'chiefdom' is used to describe similar socio-political structure. In this regard, a state or chiefdom can be defined as a centralized socio-political order whose basic function is to regulate relations in a society divided into at least two basic strata or emergent social classes - the rulers and the ruled - whose relations are characterized by political dominance of the rulers and tributary obligations of the ruled and legitimized by the ideology of reciprocity. (The definition is adopted from H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalnik (eds.), The Early State, (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978, p.640).

2. Actually, the phenomenon of state formation in Acholi became pronounced from c.1680 and afterwards. But before that date few states had emerged in the region. Wol kingdom in eastern Acholi, for instance, emerged during the period c.1652-1679 (see J.B. Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.227), while Patiko and Paibona states in western Acholi were formed during the period c.1675-1705 (see R. R. Atkinson, "Socio-Political Developments in western Acholi from c.1650 to 1850", in D. Denoon (ed.), Uganda Before 1900: Politics and Ethnicity, vol.2, Nairobi: EAPH, Forthcoming). Even Pajok, one of the states of this study, emerged during the period c.1679-1706.

3. R. R. Atkinson, "State Formation and Development in Western Acholi", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp. 262-290;

Idem, "State Formation and Language Change in Western-most Acholi in the eighteenth century", Goethe-Institut - History Conference, Nakuru, 1979;

- Idem, "Socio-Political Developments", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900;
- J.B. Webster, "The Second Babito dynasty in Bunyoro-Kitara and the formation of new states, c.1650-1780", in Ibid;
- Idem, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp. 335-356;
- Idem, "Lira Palwo: An Expanding Acholi State", in Ibid, pp. 291-319;
- A. M. Garry, "Ethnicity and Change in a Group of Central Acholi Kingdoms: The importance of symbol and ritual as a key to understanding historical processes", in University of East Africa Social Science Conference, Kampala, 1971;
- Idem, "Pajule: The Failure of Palwo Centralization", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.320-334;
- D.W. Cohen, "The River-Lake Nilotes from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century", in B. A. Ogot(ed.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History (Nairobi: EAPH and Longman, 1974), pp.142-146.
4. In this study, the term 'Otuho' will be adopted in preference to 'Lotuko', 'Lotuho', or 'Latuka'. These latter terms represent distortions of the original term 'Otuho' by the British authorities during the colonial period. The people refer to themselves as 'Otuho' (Personal Communication with Ogum Jacob Lamoro Loroto).
5. R. O. Collins, "Sudan-Uganda Boundary Rectification and the Sudanese Occupation of Madial in 1914", UJ, 26 (1962).

6. A. C. A. Wright, "Lwo Migrations: A Review", UJ, 16, 1 (1952), pp.82-88.
7. The term 'Hamitic' is highly confusing and loaded with racist overtones. It has been used in a variety of ways to denote linguistic, physical and cultural traits. It was also presumed that the 'Hamites' were the more European - like of Africans - that is, those peoples with lighter skins, thinner lips and straighter noses inhabiting most of northern and north-eastern Africa. To these was attributed any remarkable technological feat, any notable political organization, any trace of civilization in Africa. To prevent confusion, and even deprive it of its racist overtones, a current terminology - Cushitic or Cushites - will be used hereafter (see J.E.G. Sutton, "The Settlement of East Africa", in Ogot, Zamani, pp.95-97).
8. Wright, "Lwo Migrations", p.87.
9. B. A. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo: Migration and Settlement 1500-1900, Vol. 1 (Nairobi: EAPH, 1967), p.43.
10. B. A. Ogot, "Kingship and Statelessness Among the Nilotes", in J. Vansina, Mauny and Thomas (eds.), The Historian in Tropical Africa (London: OUP, 1964), pp.295-96.
11. J.M. Onyango-ku-Odongo, "The Early History of the Central Lwo", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.25-170.
12. Ibid, p. 91.
13. Ibid, pp.118-130.
14. J. P. Crazzolara, The Lwo: Lwo Traditions, vol.2 (Verona: Editrice Nigrizia, 1951), pp.179-199.

15. Cohen, "The River-Lake Nilotes", in Ogot, Zamani, pp.135-149.
16. R. S. Herring, "Political Development in Eastern Africa: The Luo Case Re-examined", Kenya Historical Review, 6, 1 and 2 (1978), pp.126-145.
17. Ibid, p. 142.
18. C. C. Wrigley, "The Problem of the Lwo", History in Africa, 8 (1981), pp.219-246; and footnote 3 above.
19. For a detailed analysis of the 'Hamitic' myth, see E. S. Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective", JAH, 10, 4 (1969), pp.521-32.
20. D. Denoon, "Introduction", Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
21. The following are a select literature on the state:
M. H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society (N.Y.: Random House, 1967);
E.R. Service, Origins of the State and Civilization (N.Y.: Norton, 1975);
Idem, Primitive Social Organization (N.Y.: Random House, 1962);
L. Krader, Formation of the State (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968);
R.F. Stevenson, Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1968);
R. L. Carneiro, "A Theory of the Origin of the State", Science, 169 (1970), pp.733-738;

- D. Webster, "Warfare and the Evolution of the State: A Reconsideration", American Antiquity, 40 (1975), pp.464-470;
- P. C. Lloyd, "The Political Structure of African Kingdoms", in M. Banton (ed.), Political Systems and the Distribution of Power (London: Tavistock Publications, 1965), pp.63-108;
- J. Thornton, "The State in African Historiography: A Re-assessment", Ufahamu, 6, 2 (1973), pp.113-126;
- J. Lang, "In Search of the State: A Review Article", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 22, 2 (1980), pp.227-233.
- J. C. Miller, Kings and Kinsmen: Early Moundu States in Angola (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1976);
- E. I. Steinhart, "The Emergence of Bunyoro: The Tributary Mode of Production and the Formation of the State 1400-1900", Dept. of History Staff Seminar, 1980;
- Idem, "Ankole: Pastoral Hegemony", in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State;
- Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
- Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State.

22. In 1979 a conference was held at Nakuru (Kenya) on the theme 'The Process of State Formation in Eastern Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'

23. The divergent views expressed in the conference papers referred to above as well as the different articles in The Early State clearly attest to this.
24. See R. Cohen, "State Origins: A Re-appraisal", in Claëssen and Skalnik, The Early State, pp.32-6 for a summary of the various definitions.
25. H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalnik, "The Early State: Theories and Hypotheses", in Ibid, p. 1.
26. As an example, see the diversity of opinion regarding the origin and development of lacustrine states lucidly expressed in M.S.M. Kiwanuka, A History of Buganda From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900 (London: Longman, 1971).
27. The choice of this area for academic study was partly due to the accident of birth. Being an Acholi myself, I find a study of Acholi history more interesting than studying, say, the history of the Celtic or Slavic people.
28. Prior to my own research, two anthropological researches were apparently carried out in the area between 1976 and 1977.
29. R. R. Atkinson made this observation in a letter to the author dated June 17, 1981.
30. Wrigley, "The Problem of the Lwo", p.230.
31. J. O. Dwyer, "The Acholi of Uganda: Adjustment to Imperialism," (Ph.D Thesis), Columbia University, 1972, p.3 (available in the Microfilm Section of the Library).
32. W. R. Ochieng', A History of the Kadimo Chiefdom of Yimbo in Western Kenya (Nairobi: EALB, 1975).

33. Onyango-ku-Odongo, "The Early History", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.117
34. K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1968), p.258.
35. For a much different view according to which change is seen not as a function of other social and economic changes, see M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau 1800-1950 (London: OUP, 1960).
36. M. H: Fried, The Evolution of the State, p.235.
37. For this view see Oppenheimer's position in Claessen and Skalnik, "The Early State: Theories and Hypotheses", in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State, pp.7-8.
38. Quoted from E. S. Sanders, "The Hamitic Myth", p.522.
39. K. Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy", in L.S. Feuer (ed.), Marx and Engels (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), p.43.
40. Quoted in K. Botchwey, "Marxism and the Analysis of the African Reality", African Development, 2, 1 (1977), p.12.
41. See J.H.M. Beattie, "Bunyoro: An African Feudality?" JAH, 5 (1964), pp.25-35;
- P. B. Gravel, "Life on the Manor in Gisaka (Rwanda)", JAH, 6 (1965), pp.323-331;
- E. M. Loeb, In Feudal Africa (Bloomington, Ill., 1962);
- R. Cohen, "The Dynamics of Feudalism in Bornu", African History (ed. Butler), Boston University Papers on Africa, vol.2, 1966.

42. See M. S. Tsomondo, "On the Application of the Marxian Conceptual Framework to the Historical Study of African Traditional Societies", Ufahamu, 6, 2 (1973), pp.57-77, and Botchwey, "Marxism and the Analysis of the African Reality", pp.9-16.
43. C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production in P. C. W. Gutkind and P. Waterman (eds.), African Social Studies: A Radical Reader (London: Heinemann, 1977), pp.77-92.
44. For an understanding of the concept of mode of production, see B. Hindess and P.Q. Hirst, Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975); and for a critique of this see T. Asad and H. Wolpe, "Concepts of Modes of Production" Economy and Society, 5, 4 (1976), pp.470-506.
45. Ethiopia was, perhaps, an exception for there they made use of the plough. As a result, landlordism developed which was lacking in other African societies. In true medieval fashion, estates in land supported a nobility that filled the important offices of state. Besides the nobility, there was also ecclesiastical landlordism. In fact, the church was the largest land-owner after the emperor (see J. Goody, "Polity and the Means of Production", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, p.98, 104).
46. See Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production", in Ibid., p.78.
47. M. Godelier, "The Concept of the 'Asiatic Mode of Production' and Marxist Models of Social Evolution", D. Seddon (ed.), Relations of Production: Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology (London: Frank Cass, 1978), p.242.
48. For a definition of long-distance exchange, see C. Meillassoux (ed.), The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa (London: OUP, 1971), pp.67-76.

49. Godelier, "The Concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production", in Seddon, Relations of Production, p.242.
50. Meillassoux, The Development of Indigenous Trade.
51. C. Meillassoux, "The Economy in Agricultural Self-Sustaining Societies: A Preliminary Analysis", in Seddon, Relations of Production, pp.127-157;
- Idem, "The Social Organisation of the Peasantry: The Economic Basis of Kinship", in Ibid., pp.159-169;
- Idem, "Kinship Relations and Relations of Production", Ibid., pp.289-330.
52. C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production", in Ibid., pp.261-288;
- Idem, "Research on an African Mode of Production", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, pp.77-92;
- Idem, "The Political Economy of the African Peasantry and Modes of Production", in P.C.W. Gutkind and I. Wallerstein (eds.), The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa (London: Sage Publications, 1976), pp.90-111.
53. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production", in Seddon, Relations of Production, p.276.
54. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, p.84.

55. See E. Terray, "Long-distance exchange and the formation of the state: the case of the Abren Kingdom of Gyaman", Economy and Society, 3, 3 (1974), p.317. For an emphasis on the Trade Thesis for state formation, also see B. Swai, "Pre-colonial states and European Merchant Capital in Eastern Africa", Goethe Institut-History Conference, Nakuru, 1979; A. Temu and B. Swai, Historians and Africanist History: A Critique (London: Zed Press, 1981), pp.84-98.
56. See Terray, "Long-distance exchange", p.318; and M.A. Ogutu, "The role of commerce in the state formation of East Africa", Goethe Institut-History Conference, Nakuru, 1979.
57. Terray, "Long-distance exchange", p.322.
58. Ibid, p.318.
59. Ibid. p.329.
60. For an extent to which the ruling aristocracies were militarised see J. A. Braimah and J. Goody, Salaga: The Struggle for Power (London: Longman, 1967).
61. Terray, "Long-distance exchange", p.331.
62. Ibid, p.339.
63. C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "From slave trade to palm-oil exportation in nineteenth century Dahomey", in Meillassoux, The Development of Indigenous Trade, pp.107-123.
64. Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Research on an African Mode of Production", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, p.89.

65. Goody, "Polity and the Means of Production", in Ibid, pp.93-106;
- Idem, Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa (London: OUP, 1971).
66. W. Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London and Dar es Salaam, 1972);
- Idem, "Technological stagnation and economic distortion in pre-colonial Times", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, pp.107-115.
67. With the introduction of the ivory trade in the later half of the nineteenth century, there was a partial attempt by the ruling hierarchy to control the trade. It was thus required, as part of this move, that every tusk of an elephant killed by a person was to be offered to the rwot as tribute.
68. See T.O. Ranger, "Towards a Useable Past", in C. Fyfe (ed.), African Studies Since 1945 (London, 1976);
- Idem, Emerging Themes in African History (Nairobi: EAPH, 1968);
- D. Denoon, "Introduction", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900, where he states that "Just as the denial of Africa's history was a denial of its potential, so inevitably an assertion of its history must be an assertion of its future". For a critique, see Temu and Swai, Historians and Africanist History.
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70. Quoted in Swai, "Pre-colonial States and Merchant Capital", p.3.
71. Ibid; Also see Temu and Swai, Historians and Africanist History.

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87. G.W.B. Huntingford, "The Peopling of the Interior of East Africa by its Modern Inhabitants", in R. Oliver and G. Mathews (eds.), History of East Africa, vol.1 (London: OUP, 1963), p.86.
88. Crazzolara, The Lwoo, vol.1, pp.94-7, 102-3.
89. E. I. Steinhart, however, argues that there is no tangible evidence to show that the state was formed during the period of the Bacwezi. For him, Bunyoro emerged as a state in the eighteenth century during the period of the Luo Babito dynasty (see his "The Emergence of Bunyoro", and "From Empire to State: The Emergence of the Bunyoro Kingdom c.1400-1900", Goethe Institut - History Conference, Nakuru, 1979).
90. See G. S. Were, "The Western Bantu Peoples from A.D. 1300 to 1800", in Ogot, Zamani, pp.178-181.
91. Karugire, "The Foundation and Development of the Western Kingdoms", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
92. R. Oliver, "Discernible Developments in the Interior c.1500-1840", in Oliver and Mathews, History of East Africa, pp.184-85;
- J.M. Gray, "The Early History of Buganda", UJ, 2, 4 (1935), pp.259-71;
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93. Kiwanuka, A History of Buganda, pp.25-63.

94. C. Young, "Buganda", in R. Lemarchand (ed.), African Kingship in Perspective (London: Frank Cass, 1977), p.194. Actually traditions suggest that the founder of the ruling dynasty was either Kintu or Kimera (see Kiwanuka, A History of Buganda). Whichever the case, the new rulers and immigrants were preceded in the country by other inhabitants.
95. Cf. E. I. Steinhart's account of the origin of Nkore. He argues that in the fifteenth century, groups of Pastoral Hima settled in a specific region of the Marshlands. There were also in the same region a few scattered agriculturalist settlements, but there was virtually no contact between them. In the eighteenth century, however, effects of droughts and famine triggered off a chain of battles and wars between the pastoralists and the agriculturalist communities. Defeat in war and the fear of new or further wars led to the organization of a defensive apparatus - that is, the formation of the state (see Steinhart, "Ankole: Pastoral Hegemony", in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State).
96. B: Itandala, "Ilembo, Nkanda and the Girls", in Webster, Chronology, p.165.
97. See footnote 3 above.
98. Atkinson, "State Formation and Development", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo p.267.
99. Ibid., p.267.
100. Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", Ibid, p.231.
101. Wrigley, "The Problem of the Lwo", p.230.
102. Ibid, p.220.
103. Ibid, p.231.
104. R. C. Soper, "Iron Age Archaeological Sites in the Chobi Sector of Murchison Falls National Park, Uganda", Azania, 6 (1971), pp.53-87.

105. Wrigley, "The Problem of the Lwo", p.233.
106. In the case of the emergence of Bunyoro State, E. I. Steinhart has used the concept of the 'dyna-state' to account for its origin and development (Steinhart, "From Empire to State", and "The Emergence of Bunyoro").
107. H.T. Wright and G. Johnson, "Population, Exchange and Early State Formation in south-western Iran", American Anthropologist, 77 (1975), pp.267-89.
108. This theoretical perspective has somewhat been applied with respect to the states of Ankole (Nkore), Jimma and Kuba. In Ankole, the state is said to have emerged as a result of several factors acting in conjunction with each other. Warfare, defeat in battles, and the fear of further wars stimulated the formation of the state as a defensive apparatus. In the case of Jimma, a number of Galla groups apparently displaced most of the earlier inhabitants from their homeland and settled there as mixed agriculturalists. They were surrounded by previously existing states. In time, they began to fight against these as well as among themselves as they competed for the control of land, trade routes and markets. The state emerged as a result of a succession of local conquests as one Galla group defeated and began to impose its rule over the others. The process of the formation of the Kuba State was, on the other hand, dialectical in character. Bureaucracy and the production of a surplus mutually stimulated each other's development. The production of a surplus was stimulated by the pressure exerted by the chiefs; surplus production, in turn, made possible the growth of a more complex governmental apparatus. Both of these fostered the development of a more complex ideology to legitimize the status quo (see Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State).
109. J. Maquet, Power and Society in Africa (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp.13-17.
110. Ibid, p.13.
111. The typology for this study is partly adopted from R. Cohen, "State Origins", in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State, pp.31-70.

112. D. W. Cohen Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth Century African Community (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp.3-20;
- E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo, "'What Next Holinshed?': A Historian's Plea for Method", Unesco - Sponsored Seminar on Oral Traditions Past Growth and Future Development in East Africa, Kisumu, 1979.
113. The influence of ideology on historical writing on Africa is discussed in P. Manning, "Notes Toward a Theory of Ideology in Historical Writing on Modern Africa", Canadian Journal of African Studies, 8, 2 (1974), pp.235-253.
114. J. Vansina, Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology (London: OUP, 1965), p.28.
115. In Acholi if a person dies, elders gathered in the funeral often discuss to find out the cause of the deceased's death - a kind of post-mortem examination.
116. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali, at Cere-Okun, December 16, 1980 and February 13, 1981.
117. Testimony of Bernardo Obwoya, at Cere-Okun, March 19, 1981.
118. Vansina, The Historian in Tropical Africa, p.64.
119. Atkinson, "State Formation and Language Change", p.5.
120. See A.H. Jacobs, "A Chronology of the Pastoral Maasai", Hadith I (1968), pp.10-31;
- J.E. Lamphear, "When the Ngitome Speared their Oxen: Problems in Reconstructing the Chronology of the Jie", in Webster, Chronology, pp.263-82.

- G. Muriuki, A History of the Kikuyu 1500-1900
(Nairobi: EAPH, 1974), pp.14-24.
121. J. Tosh, Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango: The Political History of an East African Stateless Society c.1800-1939 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p.12.
122. D. W. Cohen's "A Survey of Interlacustrine Chronology", JAH, 11 (1970), pp.177-201, is a landmark in Interlacustrine chronology. It focusses particular attention on cross-references between states of the region. Also see his Womunafu's Bunafu, pp.166-186, where he discusses the mechanisms of constructing a chronology of Bunafu's past.
123. Actually, Anyoda died during the Longulu war (see Chapter 4,) around c.1890, and was succeeded by Onek as regent. It was the latter whom the British dealt with during the initial period of the colonial conquest.
124. See a critique of this in D. Henige, The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

CHAPTER I

THE ACHOLI ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

As stated in the introductory section above, one of the hypothetical bases of this study is that state formation is often triggered off by a specific or a combination of multiple factors in the ecology, economy and inter-societal environment. The assumption implies, of course, that these factors lie at the basis of the evolution of societies. It is, therefore, important to understand the bases upon which they affect or influence societal evolution towards complex social forms and to what extent they can account for the uniqueness of a given society's social, economic and political institutions. The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to briefly examine the influence of ecology or environment on Acholi economy as well as the social and political super-structure¹.

Indeed, in a society where people live by simple means or depend entirely by exploiting the environment around them, the ecological relationship - the relationship between a society and the environment it exploits for sustenance - is important. The nature of the habitat that a particular community settles affects communications and, hence, social contact between its various groups. In this sense, therefore, the social and political system that evolves is dependent to a certain extent on the nature of the natural environment.

The Acholi environment is part of the broad geography of the Nile basin that includes both Uganda and the Sudan Republic. It is thus appropriate to describe it within the context of the geography of both regions. Southern Sudan² forms part of an irregularly shaped basin which is tilted towards the north. At its perimetre, the land is elevated and is drained by the Bahr el Jebel, Bahr el Ghazal and the Sobat river systems which form the White Nile. The Bahr el Ghazal drains the lands to the west of the Bahr el Jebel while those to the east are drained by the Sobat river.

The basin is a plateau with an altitude of 1500 to 3000 feet above sea level. As one moves southwards along the White Nile from this area, the altitude changes gradually till it reaches the East African plateau rising above 3000 feet above sea level. In parts of northern Uganda, the altitude rises to about 6000 feet above sea level. Most of the Uganda Nilotes, including the Acholi, occupy a plateau of between 3600 to 3800 feet above sea level.

The plateau itself is interrupted by a series of mountain ranges and peaks. At the boundary between Southern Sudan and Uganda, for instance, stands the Imatong mountain complex which stretches from the north-east in a south-westerly direction to Acholi. In Acholi, the Imatong mountain ranges are represented by Agoro, Lotti and Lomarati³ mountains. The Agoro mountain rises to 8649 feet above sea level, while Lotti and Lomarati probably rise to 6000 feet above the surrounding landscape.

Besides Lotti and Lomarati mountains, there are several small mountains or hills straddling northern Acholi environment. In each of the areas, there are mountains which in the past had been the site of settlements. Because of this relief feature, Seligman thus referred to northern Acholi as the "hill country"⁴. These mountains were important not only for security reasons, but some of them, especially the imposing Lotti and Lomarati mountains, act as important water towers in a plateau environment where the annual rainfall is generally below forty inches⁵.

The above point is important because rainfall, its quantity and distribution over the year, along with other factors, is an important determinant of climate over much of tropical Africa⁶. In the tropical savanna climate, for instance, rainfall changes from the more central wet savanna (1000-1600 mm p.a.) to the more peripheral and dry ones (400-1000 mm p.a.). The former corresponds to Uganda and south-western Sudan, while the latter describes the nature of rainfall over much of the Sudanic belt⁷.

The length of the rainy season declines as one moves northwards from the Equatorial belt. Here, in the Equatorial belt, rainfall lasts between eight and nine months while the northern-most limit of Southern Sudan barely receives two to three months of rainfall. The intensity of rainfall similarly ranges from 500 mm in the north to 1800 mm in the south-west on the Nile-Congo divide. At Gilo, in the Inatong

mountain region, the intensity of rainfall is sometimes 2200 mm⁸.

The vegetation of the area is based on these climatic and relief features, and the region falls roughly into three ecological zones. The first is the central rainland zone with a vegetation of woodlands alternating with open grassland. Then there is the flood plains zone characterized by several features: highland covered by thorn bushes and grasses; intermediate land water-logged during the rains and interspersed with some trees and grasses; the toich with open grassland; and finally, the sudd, which is a permanent swamp. The third zone is the Equatorial belt which has a true tropical vegetation and rainfall.

The second ecological zone, the sudd region or south-central Sudan, is the home of the Nilotic Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Anywak. The ancestors of Luo-speakers are also believed to have originated somewhere in this region on the flat swampy clay plains, and/or on some of the larger ridges within the region, and/or on the slightly more elevated periphery of the Ironstone plateau⁹.

It is in this area that the majority of the River-Lake or western Nilotes of the Sudan live. Their lives had been, and are still, conditioned by the nature of the physical environment which they settled. Between June and October, when the area is flooded with water, they seek areas above the flood waters. In these areas,

they put up their settlements which are surrounded by land for cultivation and wet-season grazing. When the floods begin to recede, they move to moist pastures near the rivers called toich in Nilotic (i.e. Nuer) parlance. These dry-season settlements, situated close to the drying water courses, are called cattle camps and people from different villages assemble there.

The Nilotic seasonal migrations, or transhumance, are significant because they allow units larger than the village to gather and assemble in a locality for corporate economic activity. It is thus evident that there is an intimate connection between the conditions of life of the people in the region and its physical environment.

Like the central rainland zone, the Equatorial belt does not support such seasonal movements. The ecological or hydrological conditions of the environment make it possible for groups occupying the area to live in the same place throughout the year. It is thus possible for each village to remain isolated as a self-sufficient or autonomous economic unit.

The Acholi environment is part of this hydrological condition. The rainy season in the area begins in April and continues through October¹⁰. The rains usually fall in the form of a heavy downpour or during a thunderstorm. Rainfall in Acholi is unreliable and varies so much from year to year that a severe drought is not unusual. This

may be due to a high rate of evapo-transpiration over much of the Nilotic - settled areas¹¹. Loss of water by this process depletes moisture which, in turn, causes crop failures. Evapo-transpiration is particularly marked where there is little cloud cover.

Within the area itself, rainfall varies in intensity from one place to another. The areas around the Imatong mountain ranges - that is, the Lotti and Lomarati region or roughly the south-eastern belt of northern Acholi - receive on average more rainfall than the outlying region to the west. These areas are relatively higher in altitude than the western belt of the region which slopes gradually towards the Nile. Thus, due to the local variation in the altitude, the rainfall in the highland areas is much higher than that in the lowland areas. The rainfall in the Lotti and Lomarati area is very much similar to the recorded 2200 mm at Gilo in the Imatong mountain.

The Imatong mountain region generally receives more rains than the outlying areas because of the influence of its relief features on rain-bearing winds¹². The Lotti and Lomarati mountains on the south-western end of the Imatong mountain ranges act as barriers around which air turbulence induces higher rainfall totals.

The rain-bearing winds referred to are the south-westerly and south Atlantic trade winds which carry moisture with them¹³. As they pass over highland or mountainous areas, they shed moisture over them.

It is because of this factor that the Imatong mountain region receives relatively higher rainfall totals than the outlying areas.

The drainage of northern Acholi is composed of two main river systems, the Ayii and Attepi rivers. River Ayii rises in the Lotti mountains and flows north-westwards. At some point along its length, the river is known as river kit which eventually flows into the Nile.

River Attepi, on the other hand, rises in the Lomarati mountain area and flows westwards into river Aswa which rises in the border between Lango and Karamoja districts in Uganda. In Lango district area, the river is known as the Moroto¹⁴. After flowing into river Aswa, the river then joins the Nile at a point a few miles from Nimule town.

Both rivers Attepi and Ayii are each fed by numerous small seasonal rivers which are usually dry after the rains. The main rivers themselves are liable to become perched during a severe dry season. However, at other times of the year, their tributaries can swell so suddenly to increase the volume of water in them.

As a result of these climatic and relief features, the vegetation of Acholi is characteristic of a well-drained savanna. The area is dotted with trees here and there, and there are occasional forests, especially in the areas bordering on the Imatong mountain ranges. The soils are thinner and are properly covered with high grass cover.

For about eight months in a year, the whole area is usually covered with grass six to nine feet high. During this period, social contact between the villages is difficult. The numerous seasonal rivers act as barriers and seal off one village from another. Moreover, this is the time when people are engaged in agriculture which constitutes the most important and basic feature of the Acholi economy.

Throughout the nineteenth century, as at present, Acholi economy and the social and political organization of the people was conditioned by these geographic or climatic factors. The division of the climatic condition into two main seasons, a wet and a dry season, meant that economic activities had, accordingly, to be organized in order to suit these climatic factors. During the wet season, which lasts from April to October, the main form of economic activity consists of farming, while the dry season is characterized by hunting and a great deal of social activities involving ritual practices, feasting and other social functions.

The close correlation between the climate, environment and economy, in turn, meant that the Acholi had to adapt themselves to these conditions. The irregularity of the rainfall and the shallow soils, for instance, dictate a particular form of agriculture, and the crops which they sow must, of necessity, favour the climatic and hydrological conditions of the area.

Accordingly, like many peoples of northern Uganda and southern Sudan, the Acholi had to adopt the pattern of seed agriculture¹⁵ so prevalent in these areas rather than the banana - based economy of the Bantu peoples of the lacustrine region that requires different climatic and soil conditions. The main crops which provide the staple of the area are, therefore, millet, sorghum and simsim. Crops such as beans, peas, water melons, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, and others are also grown. Some of the food crops such as cassava, however, appear to have been introduced during the period of colonial occupation.

The adaptability of these crops to the Acholi economy were closely dependent on the climatic and environmental factors¹⁶. Millet, for instance, grows well in an environment of between thirty and seventy inches of rainfall, light soils and high temperatures. It has fibrous roots and is not, therefore, suited for tapping deep soil water. These features thus make millet a less drought-resistant crop. During the first 75 days of its 120 to 130 days growth cycle, it requires sustained rainfall. Any prolonged break in the rains depresses and destroys the yield if the ground water is not supplemented by run-off from high rainfall areas.

This explains why drought was an important factor in the history of several Acholi communities. If the optimum conditions for the growth of the staple crops, particularly millet, did not obtain, then they often failed and the economy adversely affected. The main reason

for this is also due to the pattern of agriculture which the people have adopted. At the beginning of the rains, the first crop to be sown is often millet. However, due to the irregularity of the rainfall which sometimes results into acute shortages between May and June, the crop is liable to adverse weather conditions since it requires sustained rainfall during the early period of its growth cycle. Thus, if the first crop fails, the consequences are often adverse on the economy of the people since the next crop, sorghum, is not often ready for harvest till around December or January. In the past, these conditions were often exacerbated by the low level of technology the Acholi had and the limited nature of exchange or economic transactions.

Unlike millet, sorghum is resistant to drought and can yield good harvests even under conditions of low and irregular rainfall where millet cannot survive. It has deep and efficient roots which enable it to tap water from deep down in the soil. Because of these advantages, sorghum can grow in areas of less than thirty five inches of rainfall. This means, in effect, that sorghum can grow in any part of Acholi since the average rainfall there is above thirty inches. This relative adaptability has, in recent years, given an advantage to sorghum over millet as a staple food crop of the area. Sorghum is more widely grown presently than millet, and provides the main food crop on which the people depend for subsistence.

Simsim, which is largely grown as a relish and because of its high oil content, also requires reliable rains during the early stages of its 90 to 120 day growth cycle. It is particularly sensitive in this regard and might fail if there is no adequate rainfall during the early period. However, once fully established, simsim can withstand a drier climate during its growth since it has well developed roots to tap underground water. It can thus grow in a more restricted rainfall of fifteen to twenty inches provided that during the early period of growth, there is sufficient rainfall to sustain it.

The special requirements of these crops as well as the hydrological, climatic and environmental conditions of Acholi, thus meant that the Acholi farmer had to command a good knowledge and experience of these factors so as to realize good harvests and to avoid economic catastrophe. Each particular crop has to be sown at the appropriate moment in order to meet its basic requirements for growth and also throughout its growth cycle.

The system Acholi farmers adopted is to cultivate millet as soon as the rains begin to fall in April. This is probably because at this time of the year, the amount of rainfall is adequate for the crop's early growth. The rain does not often fall in very heavy down-pours which would otherwise wash off the seeds. Furthermore, the rainy period from April to October is sufficiently long enough for the crop to grow well. In May or June, however, the rains some-

times become scarce, often not falling at all. Timing for sowing is thus important and demands a good knowledge and experience of the climate. If cultivation does not begin in good time, then the crop runs the risk of not receiving adequate rainfall during the crucial 75 days when it needs sustained rainfall.

From May to July, sorghum is cultivated, while simsim is generally sown after sorghum. The crops thus follow each other almost alternately as the length of the rainy season recedes towards November. The amount of rainfall is generally, however, adequate enough to ensure good yield, though the possibility of failures due to local variation in the weather cannot be ruled out. In fact, the several famines recalled in Acholi traditions were often due to fluctuations in the weather condition of the area, which fluctuations produce adverse repercussions in the economy.

A common feature of Acholi agriculture is, therefore, associated with the fact that the sowing of most crops is restricted to one long season when rainfall is often plentiful. The disadvantage with this system of agriculture is that net harvest is greatly limited, which, in turn, increases the chance of shortages if the weather in a given period is not adequate enough. This is why a minor fluctuation in the weather of the area is of such great importance to the farmer. He has to be constantly assured of the availability of rain for his crops, a function which was identified with the political head (rwot)

of the community. We shall return to a discussion of this shortly below.

A millet or sorghum - based agriculture, however, requires a lot of labour. Before sowing, the land has to be cleared in advance, and this often requires co-operation among several people. Corporate efforts are, similarly, required during the period for sowing, weeding and harvesting, the last two being done by women while men do the heavy job of clearing the ground and sowing.

Cultivation is often done outside the village settlement in areas known as Ker (not to be confused with the concept of Ker which means throne or kingship) or aker, as it is known in other parts of Acholi¹⁷. The ker is a large tract of land reserved for cultivation when other areas are burnt during the dry season. When the first rains begin to fall, or sometimes during the period of simsim cultivation, it is burnt and made ready for cultivation. Each family from the village, then, selects an area within the ker, the size of which depends on its requirements, and every morning its adult male members go to till it. Every village often prepares its own ker, but if for some reason a village does not have one, then its members may individually request to cultivate a portion of the ker of a nearby village, where sometimes they have kin or marital relations.

The Acholi believe that it is advantageous to cultivate in the ker for several reasons. Firstly, they believe that a lazy person, seeing that other people are working in their fields, will often be encouraged to work as hard or even harder in his own fields. An unmarried person working in his field in the ker can also share meals with married people digging nearby when their wives take them food to eat. The most important reason, however, seems to be connected with security which had become a serious problem in the nineteenth century. Working in fields nearby each other meant that in the event of a surprised attack, the people would easily come together to fight off the attackers. Every adult male going to dig had to carry defence weapons in case of any emergency¹⁸.

Another reason why fields were grouped together in the ker is probably connected with actual preparation and preservation of the ker itself. The ker is essentially a large expanse of land outside the village left intact with its grass while surrounding areas are often burnt down to protect the ker itself from fire. The grass is always burnt before clearing begins. It is obvious, therefore, that for an individual to have his separate ker was not practically feasible as it would be difficult to safeguard each individual ker against fire during the period of hunting during the dry season. The only alternative was, therefore, to carve off a large tract of bush for the common use of all members of the village.

Further, animals often fear to go into the fields to destroy crops since it is possible for a person to see what is happening in other fields from any point in the ker where usually platforms, called pan or Lobele, are erected. From these platforms, birds or animals can be scared off the fields by guards always stationed there.

The principle of the ker thus reflects the corporate needs of a millet or sorghum - based economy such as the Acholi practise. More hands are often required to work in many fields in order to make them ready during the required period so as to avoid crop failures and attendant consequences in the economy.

However, the basic unit of production in Acholi is the household or the family. The head of the household, usually the man, and his adult sons or other male dependants performed the heavy work of clearing the ground and sowing, while weeding and harvesting is usually done by the woman and adult daughters. It is also customary for male members of a few households within a lineage to work in their fields alternately. Women, similarly, co-operate in the weeding and harvesting of the crops.

Though production in Acholi is thus located within kinship units, this is at times supplemented by an awak, which was a work party specially called to cultivate in the field of a family.

Beer and food was often prepared for an awak party to reciprocate the efforts of its members. An awak usually consisted of members of a lineage, if it was large enough, or several lineages within the village. It was often called by a family or household when the work-load was very heavy.

The awak system has, however, been modified in recent years. Instead of being called for specific purposes, now the members of an awak constitute an all-year-round work party called kamponi (from the English word company) that works in the fields of its members on a rotational basis. This is particularly done in the cultivation of sorghum and simsim. The beer that was often taken after every awak is now reserved for the dry season (oro), after the agricultural season (cwiri), when each family, comprising the members of the kamponi, prepares beer on a rotational basis for members of the work party.

The continued success of the Acholi type of economic production also depends on the utilization of adequate tools for cultivation. It is difficult to assess what type of tools was originally used by the Acholi before the introduction of the iron hoe and other iron implements, but it seems that some of the earliest settlers in the area may have used wooden hoes¹⁹. The introduction of the iron hoe was, however, a very important step in their quest for

mastery over the environment: Large areas of land could be effectively cultivated and the trees cut by the use of iron axes. In this way, better yield and more production is assured, provided, of course, that the weather remained favourable.

Because of contact with Madi and Lokoya people, more iron implements found their way to Acholi. The Madi were especially skilled smiths and had the reputation of working iron articles. In the nineteenth century, and probably in earlier centuries, the Acholi took goats, sheep or grain to barter with iron goods. This had the effect of increasing the quantity of iron articles in the area.

Local smiths also became important as some of the iron articles had to be re-worked to convert into different shapes. In Acholi, the knowledge of iron-working was handed from father to son and, thus, remained within the lineage. In the nineteenth century, however, almost every Acholi community had smiths who often found time, after their agricultural duties, to make iron implements for people.

The Acholi smith is known as Latet. To produce iron, he often collected iron ore and brought them to the smelting place. This is called Ot Buk, often situated in a rocky surface called Lela commonly used for drying and grinding grain. The smith was helped by Lokony, who were actually apprentices and usually sons of the smith. Their

duty was to help in heating the furnace when the smelting process was on. The furnace itself was a hole made under a rock with two connecting tunnels. Each end of the tunnel was fitted with hollowed pottery, one end of which was tied with loose skin. This was then used for supplying oxygen to the fire in the furnace.

When the ore was smelted and cooled, it was cut into smaller pieces which were then fashioned into required shapes such as hoes or knives. In the last century, iron articles went into circulation as items for bride wealth²⁰, in addition to goats or sheep. Thus, iron goods had not only economic significance, but this was reinforced by the social value attached to them as objects for bride-wealth. Most iron articles used for marriage, such as the hoe known as Lojili, were obtained through trade with the Madi people²¹, which increased the social and economic contacts between the two peoples.

Iron articles are not only used in agriculture and as items for bride-wealth, but they are also used in another form of economic activity with which the Acholi are also commonly pre-occupied. As noted above, after November lack of rain imposes a period of non-agricultural activities in which hunting features as the main economic activity. Hunting²² and fishing²³ are undertaken during this period when, due to lack of rain, people are forced to sit idle and wait for the next agricultural season. Both of these activities, however, subsidised farming and other aspects of the Acholi economy.

Almost every Acholi village has a tract of land for hunting, called tim, over which certain lineages had ritual powers. There are several ways of Acholi hunting. One of the most popular of these methods was called Dwar Mac (or arum mac) in which people surround a hunting ground and set the grass on fire. Any animal trapped within the encircled bush that tries to escape the fire is then killed using spears. This method of hunting often results in the killing of many game, including elephants, especially when the grass is so dry as to facilitate the spread of fire easily. Usually, when the animals emerge from the fire they are weak, and are thus easy to kill.

Another method of hunting is called Arum in which nets are set and people set the animals running towards them from the opposite ends. In this type of dwar, people can move from one hunting ground to another as there is often no grass to impede movement. The Dwar Arum is often organized at the beginning of the first rains when the burnt grass starts sprouting and are suitable for animals to graze.

A third method of hunting is called Dwar Buto-Tim in which traps are employed and the hunters remain away from home for a considerable period of time. As many as four, or even fewer, people could spend as much time trapping animals and smoking the meat. In the past, hunters also dug pits along well trodden paths which animals often frequented. This method of hunting was known as Dwar Uno, which, in

modern times, has been replaced by another method in which a hunter set a trap, called waya (from the English word 'wire') or kwaka, along the paths which animals commonly follow or near water pools which they often come to drink.

During the period from December to March, when no rain falls and the people practically idle, hunting is thus the only major pre-occupation of the people. Accordingly, the Acholi had to devise the best and most economical way of benefitting from this mode of economic activity. Different methods of hunting would ensure that hunting continued throughout the period into the agricultural season. Indeed, minor hunting is also often undertaken during the agricultural season mainly to kill animals destroying crops.

Though farming and hunting constitute the main, in fact the basic, mode of economic organization of the Acholi, there are other forms of production, such as animal husbandry, which are of great importance to the economy and social organization of the people. But the type of animal husbandry practised was itself conditioned by the nature of the environment as well as the mode of economic organization. A great part of Acholi environment is infested by tse-tse flies, which is not good for animal keeping, particularly cattle. Further, the fact that for most of the year the people are pre-occupied with agricultural activities makes it difficult enough for animal husbandry to claim much attention from the farmers. The

people who settled the area probably realized these environmental factors and adopted a mode of economic livelihood consistent with them.

The form of animal husbandry practised in Acholi thus consists of raising goats and sheep. Goats are especially important because they are used for many purposes such as bride-wealth and for ritual practices. Many Acholi ritual practices involve the sacrifice of goats or sheep. Because of these factors, their importance was greatly accentuated and raising goats and sheep became a worthwhile economic activity.

Besides goats and sheep, cattle also played a role in the economy of the Acholi. Its significance in the economy, however, seems to date from the nineteenth century when it was used as a medium for acquiring ivory. Some Acholi rwodi and individuals, who collaborated with the Arab traders, acquired cattle which gradually became a part of the economy. In spite of this, cattle never acquired the same significance in the Acholi economy as it did among other Nilotic peoples associated with the cattle complex. The main reason for this was because of the prevalence of the tse-tse flies in the area, which did not favour cattle raising, and the nature of the Acholi social organization as well as the mode of economy the people adopted.

The inter-relationship between ecology and economy is also reflected in the development of the social and political structure. During the rainy season, inter-communication between different parts of Acholi becomes difficult because the grass grows very long and thus cover the foot-trodden paths. Furthermore, the numerous small streams swell frequently with every rainfall and make travelling difficult.

But more important is the fact that at this time the people are engaged in agriculture. Much of the economic and other activities thus takes place within the village. Even matters such as local disputes were settled by village elders without being referred to the rwot. This was a most time-saving and economical way because it did not involve travelling over long distances, which would have been difficult because of inadequate communication at this time.

The village was, therefore, the most important social, political and economic unit. It was practically autonomous and ran its day to day activities without any interference from elsewhere. Only during the dry season, when several villages participate in hunting, did the people feel as a part of one community.

Although it was autonomous in many respect, the village did not constitute the apex of Acholi political structure. It was rather a unit from which the polity was made up. Acholi polities were headed

by a rwot, whose position was hereditary. He was the central political and social figure in the polity and was at the centre of the redistributive tribute system of the polity.

The social and political importance of the rwot itself may have developed in response to the several functions, such as rain-making for instance, which he performed in society. Being an agricultural community, the Acholi considered rain as being of utmost importance for the success of their crops. And as a part of the development of the political structure, they associated the function of rain-making with the head of the political community.

The importance of this function was greatly accentuated by the often unreliable pattern of rainfall that characterize Acholi. At times when much rain is needed, it is often scanty; and when not much rain is needed by the people, sometimes it falls in heavy down pours. The question of rainfall reliability is thus a source of constant worry for the Acholi farmer who needs timely, constant and adequate supply of rain for his crops.

Because of this and his role as rain-maker, the rwot thus became a central figure in the survival of the polity. This is reflected in the saying that the rwot dwells in the middle of his people like the queen ant in a nest²⁴. Indeed, the Acholi regard the queen ant as the principal organizer of the work of all the others in the nest.

If it is removed, then the whole organization breaks down and the nest disperses.

The central position of the rwot is also shown by the fact that before cultivation began during a new agricultural season, he and the village elders did certain rituals necessary to ensure good yields²⁵. After the ceremony, the people began cultivation by first working in the fields of the rwot before they can move to their own individual fields. Each village usually cultivated one or two fields for the rwot who reciprocated this by preparing food and/or beer for the purpose. His fields were usually centrally placed within the ker. Later in the year during harvest time, the people again worked in his fields. Sometimes, a first fruit ceremony was held which was attended by all the people²⁶. These kind of ceremonies served as affirmations of the rwot's political authority over the people.

The development of the political structure also reflects the influence of the ecological relationship. Since the village was, in effect, autonomous and the rwot did not exercise any real authority over it for most of the year, he had to contend with ruling through village elders. The village elder was known as won gang (father of the village) or Jago (plu. Jagi) for the larger villages²⁷. The village or clan/lineage elder was assisted by his counsellors (Lodongo paco, i.e. village elders) whom he consulted in all matters of importance. All internal affairs of the village were dealt with

by this body without being referred to the rwot. Only matters such as those involving killing were referred to him.

The authority of the village elder was derived from the historical position of his lineage or clan within the community. By virtue of his genealogical position in the group, the village elder was in effect the living representative of the group's common founding ancestor from whom he was supposedly descended. This genealogical connection with the founding father of the group also enabled him to inherit the politico-ritual authority over the group. His authority in ritual and other matters was acknowledged by all its members. The village elder thus represented not only the unity of the community, but also its unbroken link with the past.

It was through the village elders and their counsellors, therefore, that the rwot exercised authority over the polity. When major decisions were to be made that would affect the polity as a whole, such decisions as those involving fighting neighbouring polities for instance, the rwot often had to consult with his counsellors (village elders) first.

In some cases, however, the rwot had representatives among the local subject groups. The ruling lineage of Payira state, for instance, had members of the lineage in various parts of the state where they were mostly the elders of a given group²⁸. The system was apparently introduced by rwot Awich who probably realized the

difficulties of controlling a large and expanding state. Thus, he established a system of small chieftainships whose heads brought matters of importance to the rwot for decision. They also acted more or less as war leaders and could easily gather men when the rwot wanted them for fighting or any other purpose. In Obbo, rwot Kaciba had at least one wife in each of the villages which were governed by one of his several sons²⁹. Pajok's ruling clan also employed similar system for controlling commoner groups³⁰. In Palabek, the rwot placed an elder at the head of the subject groups³¹.

The system of chiefly representation adopted by the ruling lineages of these communities in effect resembles the penetration of chiefship in Ukuru among the Alur people of the west bank of the Nile³². In Acholi, however, the system appears to have been conditioned to a certain extent by the ecological relationship. Since the rwot could not effectively rule single-handed, some ways had to be devised to fill the vacuum. The rwot needed a representative permanently stationed among subject groups to govern on his behalf since during the agricultural season state-wide affairs could not be tended to by him. It thus became a necessary expedient to entrust some of his authority to village elders or chiefly representatives.

The nature of the political structure may have also been a result of the productive technologies they employed in production. Agricultural and craft techniques were still rudimentary. There was

no wheel nor the plough, and the basic tool for production was the hoe which was not capable of bringing large areas under cultivation so as to increase the value of arable land and create a condition of private land ownership. In this sense, they lacked the conditions that obtained in Europe for the development of a feudal mode of production.

In Acholi, therefore, there was little or almost no development of the forces of production beyond probably the growth of population³³. There is no evidence to suggest that irrigation, or public works;³⁴ aimed at increased production was initiated. Political leadership, therefore, tended to be over people rather than over land³⁵.

This brief discussion of Acholi environment, economy and the social and political structure does show that the ecological relationship was very important in influencing and conditioning the nature of the economy and the social structure. Environmental and climatic conditions affected the mode of production they adopted. They also determined to a certain extent the size of the community, communications between various groups and the social and political structure.

Despite this, however, the natural environment cannot be said to be the only factor involved nor does it alone account for the diversity in the political, social and economic institutions of the

different societies. Furthermore, it does not explain certain characteristics such as the linguistic peculiarity of a people, how they evolved into a single political community, etc. For these to be understood, we need to look elsewhere for other factors.

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be pointed out, however, that the data on which the analysis is based are scanty and, therefore, the conclusions can be no more than tentative.
2. For the geography of Southern Sudan, see K. M. Barbour, The Republic of the Sudan: A Regional Geography (London: University of London Press, 1961).
3. Lomarati region is also known as Talanga (see map).
4. C. G. Seligman and B.Z. Seligman, Paçan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p.113.
5. D. N. MacMaster, A Subsistence Cross Geography of Uganda (Eude: Geographical Publications Ltd., 1962), p.10.
6. P. Safholm, The River-Lake Nilotes: Politics of an African Tribal Group (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1973), p.21.
7. Ibid, p.21; R. S. Herring, "The Influence of Climate on the Migrations of the Central and Southern Luo," Historical Association of Kenya Conference, 1975, pp. 1-36, divides the Nilotic - settled areas into three distinct climatic zones based on the pattern of rainfall.
8. Barbour, The Republic of the Sudan, p.47.
9. Cohen, "The River-Lake Nilotes," in Ogot, Zamani, pp.138-9;
Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, pp.40-7;

- Crazzolaro, The Luo, pp.31-4;
- P.S. Santandrea, The Luo of the Bahr el Ghazal (Verona: Museum Civitanianum, 1965), pp.28-9, 109-123.
10. F.K. Girling, The Acholi of Uganda (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), p.14.
11. Herring, "The Influence of Climate," p.11.
12. MacMaster, A Subsistence Crop Geography, p.13.
13. Ibid, p.13; Herring, "The Influence of Climate," pp.11-2.
14. Tosh, Clan Leaders, p.19.
15. The early settlers in Acholi practised an economy based on agriculture and the raising of small stocks of goats and sheep. The evidence for this is contained in various oral testimonies.
16. Much of the information on crops and hunting comes from MacMaster, A Subsistence Crop Geography; R. S. Herring, "The Influence of Climate"; R. S. Anywar, Acholi Ki Ker Megi (Gulu: Eagle Press, 1947); and A. Adefuye, "Palwo Economy, Society and Politics", Trans-African Journal of History, 5, 2 (1976), pp.1-20.
17. Anywar, Acholi Ki Ker Megi, p.82.
18. Ibid, p.74.
19. It seems that many communities used wooden hoes before the introduction of iron articles. For a random selection, see the following references: R. S. Herring, "Iron Production and Trade in Labor, North-eastern Uganda", Trans-African Journal of History, 8, 1 and 2 (1979), pp.75-93;

O.J.E. Shiroya, "The Lugbara States in the 18th and 19th Centuries", Goethe Institut - History Conference, Nakuru, 1979, p.8; Tosh, Clan Leaders, pp.24, 83-84. The Langi of Uganda continued to use wooden hoes till the close of the nineteenth century when iron articles began to replace wooden hoes. They bought iron articles from the Labwor of north-eastern Uganda and the Banyoro to the south.

20. Anywar, Acoli Ki Ker Megi, p.70.

21. Ibid., p.70. The Acholi also traded with the Lokoya in a substance called Pala (in Acholi) or Pulala (in Lokoya). Pala was made from biotite gneiss. It was first powdered, then burried for a period of about two months. After several processes, it is then roasted. At this point when it cools down, it can be mixed with simsim or Lulu oil. Pala was used particularly as baby lotion, though women and girls probably also used it to smear on their bodies as well as on the Aduba, animal skin made for resting babies on fork-like poles of granaries or a tree branch in a field, which was different from Obero, also made of animal skin but only used for carrying babies on the back. After 1850 when warfare became frequent, Koyo people exploited the Pala trade with the neighbouring Acholi states to spy on their strength. Itinerant traders moved from village to village carrying Pala which was bartered for goats, sheep or grain. In Panyikwara, however, the people discovered that the stuff could be made from Iwire mountain. This discovery greatly reduced their dependence on the Koyo people for the production of Pala.

The Acholi were also involved in a long-distance trade between the Luo-speaking Pari to the north and the Banyoro in the lacustrine region (R. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889, London: OUP, 1961, p.38; and C. T. Wilson and R.W. Felkin, Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan, vol.2, London, 1882, p.54). The Pari apparently needed salt which the Banyoro produced from the salt deposits at Kibero. Salt was also produced from the salt lakes region of western Uganda (see E.R. Kamuhangire, "The pre-colonial economic and social history of East Africa with special reference to south-western Uganda salt lakes region", in E.A. Ogot (ed.), Economic and Social History of East Africa, Nairobi: KLB, 1976, pp.67-91). It was through the Acholi intermediaries that the Pari obtained the salt. The Acholi themselves also needed salt to supplement the local one which they extracted from the dung of goats and sheep, and from certain type of grass and branches of trees.

The commodities used in these transactions were mainly foodstuff - principally millet, sorghum or simsim. These were bartered for various articles; iron implements, salt, Pala, etc. The value of each commodity fluctuated according to demand. One iron hoe, for instance, could be exchanged for one basket-full of grain, or one goat.

22. Hunting is also often organized during the agricultural season, but this is restricted within individual villages and serve the purpose of keeping out small animals from destroying crops from fields around the homestead. Nets are used in this type of hunt.
23. Fishing is done mainly by women using spherical-like baskets called Ogwa for scooping out fish from the water. Women from several villages, accompanied by a few men, often participate in this dry-season economic activity. Sometimes, they can spend as much as two or three days depending on whether the catch is encouraging or not.
24. Testimony of Der Odidi, at Lokide, November 17, 1980.
25. See Safholm, The River-Lake Nilotes, p.66 (cf. an Otuho rain-maker, C. G. Seligman and Z.B. Seligman, Pagan Tribes, pp.324-28).
26. Safholm, The River-Lake Nilotes, p.66.
27. Ibid., p.69.
28. Ibid., p.69.
29. S. W. Baker, The Albert Nyanza: Great Basin of the Nile and Explorations of the Nile Sources (London: MacMillan and Company, 1874), p.201. Also see testimonies of Der Odidi; Saverio Olaa, at Aliya, November 19, 1980; Patrisyo Alwari, at Aliya, November 20, 1980; and Anjeleo Okeny, at Aliya, November 19, 1980.
30. Testimonies of William Ojwe, at Ywaya, January 12, 1981; Kusantino Ongwec, at Paliyo, January 21, 1981; Garato, at Lagir, January 20, 1981; and Ochan, at Eobi, January 17, 1981.

31. Safholm, The River-Lake Nilotes, p.69.
32. See Southall, "Incorporation Among the Alur", in R. Cohen and J. Middleton (eds.), From Tribe to Nation in Africa (Scranton, Pennsylvania: Chandler Pub., 1970), pp.71-90.
- Idem, Alur Society (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1956);
- D.W. Cohen, R. S. Herring and B.A. Ogot, "The Construction of Dominance: The Strategies of Selected Luo Groups in Uganda and Kenya", Goethe Institut - History Conference, Nakuru, 1979, pp.4-12.
33. The testimony of Bernardo Obwoya suggests that the population of Panyikwara, for instance, had grown prior to the mid-nineteenth century.
34. There was, however, some simple irrigation work in the Agoro area (Uganda) which did not involve the use of complex machines (see J. M. Watson, "The Agoro systems of irrigation", UJ, 16, 2 (1952), pp.159-163).
35. For an elaborate discussion of this see Goody, "Polity and the means of production", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, pp.93-106, and his Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENT FROM c.1559 TO 1895

A very important feature of many African societies before the colonial period was that they were not very much isolated from one another. This was partly because of trade contacts between one African community and another, and partly because of the factor of migration which continued throughout the pre-colonial period until the late nineteenth century when the continent came under European domination. The most notable of these movements that affected a large part of East Africa were the Bantu expansion and the Nilotic movements between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Equally important was the almost explosive movement of Sudanic - (i.e. Madi) speaking people southward from the present Sudan Republic.

It was largely because of such population movements that the history of the continent was at one time looked at as the history of migrations of peoples. Migration was, in a sense, a means by which cultural traits and ideas flowed from one community to another. It was a means, just as much as trade was, for the transmission of ideas, institutions and belief systems from one area to another.

Existing literature on the formation of Acholi states, for instance, suggests that the phenomenon of state formation in the area was affected by the process of migrations and interaction. Specifically, it is claimed that states began to emerge in the region from

around 1680 as a result of the migration into Acholi of Paluo migrants. The migrants supposedly brought with them concepts of government which transformed the original small polities (the clan units) into new, larger socio-political structures.

In this chapter, we shall try to reconstruct the process of migrations and settlement in northern Acholi and to understand in what way they affected the evolution of the communities under study. In particular, it is hoped to examine to what extent events in the lacustrine region, especially the idea of drum symbolism as an embodiment of authority and the state, affected their development towards statehood. Finally, the question of the ethnic composition of each of the communities will also be discussed with a view to determining whether they are heterogeneous or homogeneous in origin.

THE EARLY PHASE OF MIGRATIONS FROM c.1559 TO c.1679

The setting for migrations into Acholi takes us far back in time¹ and space to events whose beginnings lay beyond the borders of Acholi and which were to have a profound impact on the history of East Africa. The most far-reaching of these events were the movements of Nilotic peoples from proto-Nilotic homeland somewhere between Lake Turkana and the south-eastern corner of the Sudan Republic², and the expansion of Madi-speakers southward from around the south-western corner of the Republic of the Sudan³. Both of these events profoundly affected the evolution of many societies in East Africa and the Sudan.

Linguistic evidence⁴ suggests that during the third millennium B.C., the proto-Nilotic language was spoken in the south-eastern corner of the present Sudan Republic. After about 2000 B.C., the proto-Nilotes began to diverge into three separate communities, each of which became the ancestral speakers of the present Highland or Southern Nilotes, the Plains or Eastern Nilotes, and the River-Lake or Western Nilotes.

The ancestors of the Highland Nilotes, however, appear to have been the first to leave their ancestral homeland. They moved southwards into East Africa and occupied parts of present Kenya Republic where they formed the basis of the early Maasai, Kalenjin, Nandi and Dadog communities.

The factors that caused the ancestors of the Highland Nilotes to leave their ancestral homeland were part and parcel of the historical processes that were already beginning to shape the history of the region. G.W.R. Huntingford suggests that the proto-Highland Nilotes may have left their homeland as a result of the Somali occupation of the Horn of Africa which event, in turn, caused a displacement of the Galla from present-day Somaliland after 1200. The Galla moved westwards and came as far as south-western Ethiopia and occupied the area. As a result of this penetration, the ancestors of the Kipsigis, Nandi and Kalenjin moved southwards into present Kenya Republic⁵.

Meanwhile, the early speakers of the proto-Western Nilotic community spread from the proto-Nilotic homeland westwards to the Nile region. It is not clear what specific factor brought about this development, but it seems that the explosion of the Galla out of their Lake Turkana - south-western Ethiopian - homeland⁶ and the vagaries of climatic conditions⁷ may have forced them to move westwards. The same factors apparently also account for the migrations of proto-Eastern Nilotic groups across southern Sudan from the east into the Nile Valley between the eighth and thirteenth centuries⁸.

The Luo Migrations

The Luo peoples form one of two groups into which the River-Lake Nilotic community can be divided culturally and linguistically - the other group being the Dinka and the Nuer who live in the present Sudan Republic. The oldest traditions of these peoples indicate that the earliest remembered 'cradleland' of the Luo was near a large body of water - probably the White Nile in the Southern Sudan. Crazzolara thus argues that the Luo lived in, and spread from, a 'cradleland' somewhere around the Bahr el-Ghazal in the Sudan Republic⁹.

M. E. C. Pumphrey, on the other hand, relying on Shilluk traditions, argues that the Luo lived and dispersed from the Great Lakes of East Africa¹⁰. The 'Great Lakes' hypothesis was again recently revived by Wrigley who believes that the picture of a north

to south movement of Luo peoples is not in accord with the evidence of philology. To him, the movement of Luo peoples to their present homelands becomes intelligible if it is seen as having started from a homeland near the Bantu states in the lacustrine region¹¹.

Pumphrey's and Wrigley's accounts of the location of the Luo 'cradleland', however, run counter to another view which places the Luo 'cradleland' around the western shores of Lake Turkana¹². Onyango-Ku-Odongo, who advanced this view, believes that after leaving the Dog Nam (i.e. the shores of Lakes Turkana or Baringo) settlement, the Luo peoples established two new settlements: Wipaco Dwong settlement somewhere in the north, and Tekidi settlement around the Ogili - Agoro mountains. These settlements later, in turn, broke up, causing Luo peoples to move and settle their present homelands.

Just as it is not known exactly where the original homeland of the Luo peoples was located, it is not also clear what specific factors prompted them to leave the settlement and migrate to their present homelands. I. R. Dale, for instance, thinks that the movements of the Luo peoples and that of other peoples in Eastern Africa may have been connected with dessication¹³. Crazzolaro, on the other hand, believes that a combination of several factors - over population, lack of adequate land for grazing due to over-stocking, and hostility of their neighbours - compelled the Luo peoples to disperse and migrate towards East Africa¹⁴.

Onyango-Ku-Odongo, however, suggests that it was because of a famine sometime between 1031 and 1058 that the Luo settlement at Dog Nam broke up¹⁵. This hypothesis is indeed supported by the fact that his date coincides with a disastrously low Nile level in Egypt around 1059. The Egyptians are said to have accused the Nubians and Ethiopians of altering the course of the river¹⁶. The implication is, therefore, that there was probably a very severe drought in the Ethiopian Highlands from which Lake Turkana is also fed by the River Oromo. The drought may have extended up to the Lake Turkana region itself, causing a famine and the dispersal of the Luo-Didinga¹⁷ settlement.

After the break-up of their settlement, one group moved northwards and came to a place which they called Wipaco Dwong (probably around the Wipari region). Another Luo group moved southwards and settled at Tekidi in the Ogili-Agoro mountain region. Between about 1382 and 1418, Wipaco settlement also broke up due to a famine¹⁸, and the Luo people there moved in different directions. The proto-Anywak went directly north-eastwards to their present homeland, while other groups (such as the ancestors of the Patiko and Panyimur Alur) moved southwards. The proto-Shilluk moved directly northwards under their founding father, Nyikang. They invaded and conquered the Funj Kingdom¹⁹ between 1490 and 1517.

Meanwhile, a section of this northern Luo group turned south-eastwards and occupied the Schat and Akobo region of present Anywak. The group was led by Gilo and their arrival in Anywak appears to have

inaugurated a period of political instability²⁰ for the early Luo settlers soon began to leave the area around 1520.

While these events were taking place in the north, a quarrel between two brothers at Tekidi settlement also caused an exodus of peoples from the area towards the Pakwac-Kilak-Pawir Triangle. The ancestors of the Joka Jok group, for instance, moved southwards and came to western Kenya²¹ during the period 1490 to 1517.

It was apparently about this time that Rukidi²², founder of the Luo Babito dynasty in Bunyoro, left the Agoro region and went to Bunyoro to establish himself as ruler over the indigenous Luduni people. Odongo claims that he was the son of rwot Owiny I of Tekidi by a Jo Oma woman called Latworo Owila²³.

About two generations after Rukidi left the Agoro region, the Luo people there experienced two major invasions by alien peoples. The first invasion apparently took place around 1490. It was by a people the Luo called Lango²⁴. Then between 1517 and 1544, the Galla invaded Tekidi settlement and forced the Luo peoples to take refuge into the mountains²⁵. The settlement was finally broken up by an invasion of the white, red or brown men in alliance with Otuho people round about 1571. Its last rwot, Owiny II, fled westwards to the Nile where, due to a quarrel, the group divided. Owiny him-

self, at the head of a small party, moved northwards into the present Sudan Republic²⁶. Due to further quarrels, the group split into smaller groups, many of which allegedly later converged on present Acholi.

The other Owiny group, meanwhile, moved south-east into the Kaberamaido and Budama area and into western Kenya. And soon after the fall of Tekidi, a severe famine gripped much of the Northern Interlacustrine region and caused the break-up of Luo settlements in the triangle. Many groups moved into Lango and Kaberamaido region. Omolo Ooc, the last rwot of Pawir, led a group northwards and eastwards into Agoro, then Puranga in the Otuke region. By around 1589 they appear to have left Otuke and migrated to Western Kenya, reaching there by 1625²⁷.

Some of the Pawir migrants included the Koc who had earlier on migrated from the Baar²⁸ region in the north. They also split as a result of the famine. A group of them came northwards into the Kilak area, while another moved southwards to Padhola between 1653 and 1679.

The migration of the Koc people from Baar was part of a large scale movement of Madi-speaking peoples towards the lacustrine region. The movements appear to have been triggered off by the Nyarubanga Famine of the 1580's which affected a wide geographical region. Odongo and Webster claim that the ancestors of the Palabek, Attyak,

Padibe and Koc people were among the first to leave Baar region for the south. They were soon followed by the founding fathers of Pabo, Parabongo, Alero and Pagak states²⁹.

The Madi dispersal also appears to have been a direct consequence of the invasion of the Nile region around 1490 by representatives of Eastern Nilotic speakers. The movements of these peoples (i.e. Eastern Nilotes) took place throughout the sixteenth century and appear to have dislodged several communities in their path. The dispersal of the Luo settlement in the Agoro region and their consequent migrations into the triangle and thence to Lake Kyoga, Teso and eastern Busoga between 1517 and 1571 was, for instance, caused by Eastern Nilotic thrusts westwards. In the same period, another Luo group from Anywak moved into the region of Mt. Lafon (i.e. Pari) and Baar. Their arrival, together with that of the Eastern Nilotes, precipitated an exodus of peoples (i.e. Madi, Luo and Eastern Nilotes) from Baar towards the triangle.

The period from the sixteenth up to the mid-seventeenth century was thus characterized by major population movements. Both Luo and non-Luo peoples were set in motion, mainly from the north to the south, and in many areas settled alongside alien groups. It was, therefore, an important period because it was as a result of these movements that the basis was laid for more intimate contacts and the creation of multi-ethnic communities.

It is against this background that the plethora of small-scale migrations into Acholi should be understood for it was also during this period that the ancestors of the oldest clans came and settled in the area, providing the nuclei around which later migrants were to gather.

Migrations to Obbo

The first settlers in Obbo appear to have been people of Luo origin moving southward from the Anywak-Pari-Baar region³⁰. These early settlers can be identified with the ancestors of Pajombo clan who are claimed to have migrated from Anywak³¹. The tradition of the chiefly clan of Pajok tends to support this view for it claims that Jomo, the founding father of the Pajombo people, and the ancestors of Ywaya clan were among the early Luo groups that migrated from the north and proceeded to western Kenya. The ancestors of the Ywaya were left behind (probably at Lafon), while Jomo came together with the south-bound Luo groups and settled at Got Luo.

The Kenya Luo are our brothers with whom we share a common tradition of origin. They came ahead of us and passed through Got (Mount) Luo where they left one of their brothers. 32

If this is what the traditions of the Pajombo and Ywaya, some of the most important Luo groups in northern Acholi, suggest, then why did Crazzolara claim that the ancestors of the Pajombo came from

loka³³ (i.e. Bunyoro or Pawir)? It is difficult to check how Crazzolaro arrived at this conclusion for he does not state whether his conclusion is based on the tradition of the group or not. But his claim, nevertheless, poses a major chronological problem: When did the ancestors of the Pajombo migrate to Obbo?

If we are to take his claim as a certitude, then it might be expected that they were a part of the Paluo exodus from Bunyoro in 1679 and thereafter for the only significant Luo movement northwards from the lacustrine region apparently dates from that period³⁴. But this view is in contradiction to the recorded traditions of the Pajombo and Ywaya which claim that they migrated together with the ancestors of the early Luo groups that went to western Kenya. As stated above, these groups include the Joka Jok Luo whose traditions recall a migration through Pajok³⁵. If these claims are true, then the ancestors of the Joka Jok may have been contemporaries of Jomo, and it is probable that they migrated together.

This suggestion is supported by the traditions of other Obbo clans which suggest that Jomo may have been settling in Obbo during the late fifteenth or sixteenth century. Traditional evidence of one of these groups, which is of Eastern Nilotic origin, suggests that when the ancestors of the Lokomini came to Got Kapai, the Pajombo had already been well settled at Got Luo. It also claims that the ancestral home of the Pajombo was in Anywak.

Our fathers told us that when our [i.e. Lokmini] ancestors came, there were no people here [i.e. present Obbo]. The ancestors of all these people [i.e. the other Obbo clans] found us [i.e. Lokmini ancestors] here,.....The Pajombo were [settled] far way at their Got Luo. They came from Anywak. The Pokongo came later and settled next to them at Got Tido. 36

The significance of this testimony is that the ancestors of the Lokmini are often claimed to have been among the first migrants to Obbo³⁷, even preceding the chiefly clan whose founding fathers migrated to Obbo around 1613. If Jomo and his followers had already settled Got Luo by this date, and taking into account the testimony that he came from Anywak, then it is obvious that Crazzolaro's claim is false.

One very important point emerges from these traditions - namely, that Jomo's migration to Obbo can be placed sometime in the sixteenth century. Now, assuming that his ancestral homeland was in Anywak, as the traditions suggest, then it is plausible that he left the area around 1520 or 1540 for Anywak traditions suggest that Gilo's arrival in the area from Shillukland before that period precipitated an exodus of Luo peoples from Anywak towards the Pari-Baar region. By about 1598 some of these Luo groups had reached Lafon³⁸, and it is possible that some may have also reached the Agoro-Imatong region at about this time or even much earlier. These dates also agree with the date of the break-up of Tekidi settlement between 1544 and 1571. And since Jomo's northern Luo origin is not contested

by any of the Obbo traditions - at least those that have been recorded - the conclusion cannot, therefore, be avoided that he was either a contemporary of the ancestors of the Joka Jok and some of the early Kenya Luo groups, or that he was following closely behind them. Whichever the case, his migration and settlement in Obbo no doubt took place in the sixteenth century.

Soon after the occupation of Got Luo by the ancestors of the Luo-speaking Pajombo clan, an influx of migrants into the Kapai-Lobeca-Lamoko region to the north-east of Got Luo began to take place. The migrants associated with these movements were generally of Eastern Nilotic origin moving into Acholi from the east and north-east, specifically from around the present Toposa-Otuho area in the south-eastern corner of the Sudan Republic.

The earliest of these Eastern Nilotic speakers to migrate to Obbo include the ancestors of the Lokmini, Lokoworu, Irwangi, Ilereji and the chiefly clan, Abong. Although they seem to have been moving contemporaneously, nevertheless, traditions suggest that the ancestors of the Lokmini, Lokoworu and Irwangi were the first in the order of arrival.

The migrations of these groups of Plains Nilotes can, however, be understood against the background of Eastern Nilotic thrust towards the Nile from the east. Present research³⁹ suggests that between 1490

and 1571, four waves of Eastern Nilotic invaders left the present Kapoeta area near the Didinga hills and pushed westwards to the Nile river. These thrusts included proto-Pajulu, Kuku, Kakwa, Bari and Otuho elements.

The ancestor of the Kakwa called Meme, for instance, lived in the Kapoeta area from around 1490 to 1517. Then between 1517 and 1544, his sons separated from the ancestors of the Iteso and the Karamojong and moved westwards, crossing the Nile to its western side. The genealogy of the Bari also suggests that their ancestors reached the Nile by 1544 and settled at Shindiru on its eastern bank.

These general movements can be associated with the explosion of the Galla as well as the incidence of drought and scarcity in the region. Groups of Plains Nilotic speakers thus began to move west towards the Nile, while others moved southwards into north-eastern Uganda⁴⁰. The westward thrust brought elements which were later to constitute the nuclei of the modern Plains Nilotic groups in the Sudan. The south-bound groups also apparently formed the substratum from which many Eastern Nilotic communities in the region emerged.

While many of the west-bound groups moved as far as the Nile, proto-Otuho elements settled in modern Otuholand. They seem to have settled at Salamini and Hiliu⁴¹, and it was from these centres that they were later to occupy the rest of Otuho. This was not long in

coming for sometime in the sixteenth century the settlements broke up and many groups moved out to settle different areas.

The circumstances surrounding the fall of these settlements may never be known, but they seem to have been ultimately connected with Otuho social structure. Like many Nilotes, the Otuho people live in compact and fenced villages, sometimes numbering as many as three hundred houses⁴². Each village is divided into sections which are often at enmity with one another.

Otuho traditions claim that originally there was only one rain-maker, called HOBU, whose function was to make rain for the people. A rain-maker can only, however, come from the Igago clan and he must be descended from parents of both rain-making families⁴³. Because it was often difficult to fulfil this requirement, certain sons of rain-makers were not eligible to become rain-makers. This state of affairs promoted constant quarrels between brothers for the office of rain-maker. Traditional evidence suggests that at one time a son of a rain-maker left Igago and went to another village where he made himself rain-maker over the people⁴⁴. Thereafter, Otuholand was divided into two rain areas, but the Hobu from each rain area was still a man of Igago clan.

This division has tended to create an atmosphere of animosity not only between rain areas, but also between villages which was reinforced by the social organization. Although a rain-maker was the political head over several villages, nevertheless, each village

was practically autonomous and often at war with one another. The age group in power had the duty to defend the village from external attacks, and this social arrangement served to reinforce the isolation and autonomy of each village.

The incidence of continual inter-village fighting was also accelerated by the cultural practice of killing a person, usually from a different village or ethnic group, without which one can never become a man⁴⁵.

As a result of these factors, there was considerable violence and inter-village fighting which convinced R. R. Somerset that Otuho history was one of internecine warfare⁴⁶. These problems were also probably exacerbated by the system of production. In Otuho, no cultivation can begin during a new agricultural season unless the Hobu performs certain ritual ceremonies. The implication is that in an area such as Otuho where rainfall fluctuates, failure by the Hobu to order cultivation at the appropriate moment could mean crop failure with attendant social stress.

It is imperative, therefore, that these factors played a considerable role in the break of the old settlements of Salamini and Hiliu. Once they broke up, individuals, families and groups began to move out in search of new areas to settle.

Emerging out of these social disorders were apparently some of the groups of Plains Nilotic origin that came to Acholi. As Obbo traditions suggest, the first of these groups to migrate to Acholi were the ancestors of the Lokomini, Lokoworu and Irwangi people. The traditions of these groups, in turn, attribute the separation of their ancestors from Salamini to a dispute for the office of rain-maker between two 'brothers', Obbo and another un-named 'brother'. Obbo decided to migrate away from Salamini, but seems to have been killed in an apparent clash between the contending parties. Nevertheless, his sons led his supporters to present Obbo where they settled at Got Kapai.

Obbo did not come here. He died at Salamini.....Our people [i.e. Lokomini ancestors] were brought here by three brothers. 47

In spite of the apparent Eastern Nilotic origin of this group, however, a variant of their tradition also claims that Obbo came from Anywak, therefore implying a Luo origin.

When we were still young, our grandfather used to tell us that long, long ago our people [i.e. Lokomini ancestors] came from a far away country called Anywak. The person who came from there was called Obbo. His sons passed through Salamini, Tirrangole and Got Kaphoro. From Kaphoro they came and settled at Got Kapai. Here they decided to call this land after the name of our grandfather [i.e. founding father]⁴⁸.

This piece of traditional evidence suggests that the founding father of the Obbo people was a Luo-speaking migrant from Anywak. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that the ancestors of the Lokomini people were Plains Nilotic (i.e. Otuho) speakers. Firstly, there is a clan in Otuho called Lomini from which it might be supposed that the ancestors of the Lokomini probably originated. Otuho traditions claim that the founding father of this clan, Omini, was one of several ancestral Otuho people who came from Otukei near Lake Turkana⁴⁹. Each of these proto-Otuho elements was later to found one of the several Otuho clans.

Secondly, there is a cultural practice that conveniently links the Lokomini to the Lomini of Otuho. Like the Lomini, the Lokomini recognize the elephant as their totem animal, and again like the former they are custodians of the ritual ceremonies connected with the installation of an Obbo rwot on the Ker (throne)⁵⁰.

All these, therefore, strongly suggest that ancestral Lokomini people were Eastern Nilotic speakers. But they do not rule out the possibility that Obbo himself may have been a Luo migrant from Anywak. The suggestion is strengthened, firstly, by the evidence of Luo migrants streaming southward from Anywak during this period, and, secondly, by the proximity of Otuholand to Lafon through which many Luo groups migrating towards the Agoro region passed.

It is plausible, therefore, that Obbo may have left Anywak in the wake of the political revolution taking place there after Gilo's invasion of the area, then came to Salamini where he met early Otuho settlers. Either due to a struggle for political dominance or because of some other factors, Obbo's followers were eventually forced to emigrate to present Obbo.

It is, however, difficult to confirm or reject this suggestion because of the dearth in the traditions themselves, but that Obbo and his followers may have been ultimately of Luo origin is strengthened by the fact that both the chiefly clan and the Lokomini are depicted as being of different ethnic origins: 'Abong [i.e. the chiefly clan] came from Lotuko [i.e. Otuho]. But our ancestors [i.e. Lokomini] came from Anywak'⁵¹.

If this is the case, then how can the similarity in the name between Lomini and Lokomini as well as the cultural linkage between the two be explained? Assuming that Obbo and his followers were actually Luo migrants who came from Anywak and intermingled with Eastern Nilotic (or Otuho) speakers at Salamini, then it is likely that the group that left Salamini and migrated to Obbo under the leadership of one of his sons was already multi-ethnic in character, the Otuho element probably predominating while the Luo element was submerged. And it is not unlikely that a section of the Lomini clan hived off and migrated to Obbo to found Lokomini clan. The cultural

pre-eminence of the Otuho elements was compensated for by naming the emergent community after its Luo-speaking founding father.

Whatever the truth about the founding ancestor of the Obbo people, the arrival of these groups was soon followed by the migration of the ancestors of Abong clan which was later to become the chiefly clan of Obbo state. Traditional evidence indicates that they left Toposa around 1559 and arrived in Obbo by 1613. Their movement from Toposa was said to have been caused by a famine which destroyed their crops⁵².

The next group of settlers did not apparently arrive until around 1652. Again, many of these are associated with Eastern Nilotic elements migrating from Otuho. One of these groups, Lowudo clan of Obbo, claims that their ancestors left Hiliu around 1625 and went first to Lafon. From there, they later migrated to Obbo, arriving there by 1652. The founding ancestor of Oyere clan, Loyere, also seems to have migrated contemporaneously with the ancestors of this clan⁵³.

Arriving in Obbo about this time were also the ancestors of the Ilereji of Tinggili. The tradition of this group claims that their ancestors came to Obbo from Mongalla in the north past Otuho⁵⁴. However, it seems that the ancestors of this group were Otuho migrants who went northwards during the period of the 'colonization' of Otuho-land. The suggestion is based on the fact that there is an Ilereji

clan in Otuho from which the ancestors of Ilereji lineage of Tinggili may have actually separated before moving northwards to Mongalla. Furthermore, both groups recognize the aphis as their totem⁵⁵.

Whatever their actual ethnic origin, at Mongalla they seem to have met the ancestors of the Luo-speaking Pagwer clan of Padibe. When the ancestors of the oldest Padibe clans (i.e. Patini, Pabogo, Polwal and Pagwer) began to leave Mongalla for the Agoro region, Kujang, the furthest remembered ancestor of the Ilereji, also began to migrate southwards. However, he came past Otuho and thence to present Tinggili where he and his followers settled at Got Lamoko. Ogwer, the founding father of Pagwer clan, also arrived at Lamoko around this time - that is, about 1661 at the latest. Soon, however, he quarrelled with Kujang over the Ker (throne) and decided to leave Lamoko to join the ancestors of the other Padibe clans at Palogar⁵⁶.

By around 1670 another group of apparently Luo-speaking origin also arrived in Obbo and settled at Got Tido adjacent to the ancestors of the Pajombo people. The leader of this group, Okongo, is claimed to have been a 'brother' of Tongo or Otongo⁵⁷, founding father of Patongo state. If this is true, then Okongo and his followers may have been one of the groups that came from Pawir for Patongo and Puranga traditions recall that Otongo came from Bunyoro and joined Puranga state between 1634 and 1670.

Traditional evidence from Pokongo, however, claims that their ancestors came from the direction of present Panyikwara⁵⁸ - that is, from the north-west or Baar region. What is, therefore, the basis of the claimed relationship between Otongo and Okongo? The answer to this question might also provide the clue about the ethnic origin of the ancestors of the Pokongo people.

Puranga traditions suggest that Otongo came from Bunyoro and joined the state between 1634 and 1670⁵⁹. The same traditions, similarly, claim that Cumbek, the founding father of Palabek state, also joined Puranga about this time. Soon, however, both of them left Puranga and went to set up the respective states of Patongo and Palabek.

The traditions are silent about the original homeland of Cumbek, but Palabek traditions clearly state that their ancestors came from the present Mundari country in Southern Sudan⁶⁰. After leaving Mundari, they passed through present Juba town, Panyikwara, then into eastern Acholi where they apparently founded Palabek state. Thus, though Otongo and Cumbek were joining Puranga about the same time, they seem to have originated from different places and were probably of different ethnic origins - Otongo apparently of Luo origin while Cumbek was of Madi-speaking origin⁶¹.

But what does this information suggest about the ethnic origin of Okongo? Firstly, if there was any blood tie between him and Otongo,

then he must have been of Luo-speaking origin. On the other hand, if he came from Baar, then the probability is that he was either of Madi or Luo-speaking origin for about this time peoples of both linguistic origin were streaming southward into the lacustrine region⁶².

However, this does not even solve the question of the ethnic origin of Okongo - unless, of course, if we are to take the evidence of his typically Luo name to mean he was actually a Luo migrant. Nevertheless, the most significant clue about the ethnic origin of the two is provided by the claim that the ancestors of the Patongo migrated together with those of the Pokongo people, leaving the latter to settle in present Obbo.

Ja Pokongo came from the direction where the sun sets [i.e. Panyikwara]. He passed through Panyikwara. When they reached here [i.e. Obbo], they said: 'All lands are the same. We will settle here'. His brother refused to settle; so he went ahead up to Patongo. They [i.e. the Patongo] are our brothers 63.

The inference that can be made from this testimony is that both the ancestors of the Pokongo and Patongo people were probably migrating about the same time. Furthermore, Otongo and Okongo were probably contemporaries and/or actually connected by a blood tie. While Okongo remained in Obbo to establish Pokongo chiefdom, Otongo proceeded southward as far as Bunyoro before returning northward to join Puranga, and subsequently to set up Patongo state.

This provides, at least, some explanation about the Bunyoro link in Patongo traditions. Furthermore, it suggests that by the time he was joining or leaving Puranga, Otongo may have already been speaking the Luo language. But the possibility that both were either Luo in origin or Luo-influenced is evidenced by the fact that the states which they subsequently established were, like the Luo polity of the Pajombo, based on the Luo concepts of kingship and government. The leadership was based on the principle of heredity. Furthermore, it was distinguished from the rest of the population by the possession of certain regalia of office and tributary obligation of the commoners to the leadership.

Meanwhile, many of the migrations that were to determine the political configuration of the region did not take place until much later, mostly from around 1679 and afterwards. A discussion of these will, therefore, follow in the appropriate section below.

Migrations to Pajok

As indicated above, the first migrants to Pajok included ancestors of the Joka Jok Luo, but these proceeded southward as far as western Kenya, leaving only the ancestors of the Pajombo to settle Got Luo to the north-west of present Pajok. It is not at all clear whether Pajok was already settled by this time or not. Traditions suggest, however, that some of the early settlers were the ancestors of the Aduke and Oyanga people⁶⁴. These groups may have been a vanguard of

Nilotic (probably Iseera) speakers spreading into north-eastern Uganda and the Lango-Acholi area from the Agoro hills just before the arrival there of elements ancestral to the modern Karamojong and Iteso peoples⁶⁵. On the other hand, they may have been Madi speakers moving southwards from the Rejaff area. However, because of the dearth in Pajok traditions, the question of their origin will remain an unsolved problem.

Traditional evidence from Panyikwara also suggests that the ancestors of the Patoko were among the first people to settle the Angok-Patoko region to the south-east of Got Luo of the Pajombo. The group appear to have been Luo-speaking for the tradition of Pamunda clan of Panyikwara claims that the ancestors of the Patoko were Anywak migrants.

The Patoko came from Anywak. They were the first to come here; then we [i.e. ancestors of the Pamunda] followed them. They came and settled their mountain called Patoko, near Owiny-Ki-bul. Then later, they were dispersed because of war; others came here and joined us; others went to Agoro, and some joined other Pajok people.⁶⁶

It would appear, therefore, that the ancestors of the Patoko were Luo-speaking migrants from the north. If this is so, then their movement can be placed sometime during the late fifteenth century or in the sixteenth century. In fact, the tradition of the Pajombo claims that when their ancestors came, the ancestors of the Patoko had already settled Mt. Patoko⁶⁷, in which case their arrival in the area just preceded that of Jomo.

Indeed, the mounts Luo-Patoko-Obwoc region appears to have held a small concentration of early Luo speakers. The traditions of the Pamuda, Panyigiri and Pajuku, for instance, recall that their founding ancestor, Okare, left Anywak and came to settle briefly at Okaru - between present Torit and Juba towns. The cause of his migration from Anywak is not indicated, but at Okaru he separated from his brother because of a quarrel. Moving southward, he came to Pajok where he settled at Obwoc⁶⁸. The traditions suggest that Pajok was hardly settled by this time.

It was while at Obwoc that Okare's three sons - Agiri, Amuda and Juku - were involved in a quarrel, cast within the lost spear and swallowed bead tradition, which led to the splitting of the belly of a child and, subsequently, to the separation of the three brothers⁶⁹. Amuda moved southward and settled at Mt. Lalak, while Juku also departed from Agiri and went to Panto hill. Agiri remained at the old settlement of Obwoc.

If, as their traditions suggest, the ancestors of these groups were some of the early Luo migrants into the region, then the tradition of their separation from Obwoc may give some indication as to why other Luo groups proceeded southward without settling long in Pajok. The splitting of the belly of a child was a tragic and an unfortunate incident, and probably encouraged other Luo groups to leave Pajok and move farther southwards.

Nevertheless, if the evidence concerning the movements of these peoples of Luo origin is to be trusted, then it is most likely that either they preceded or were contemporaneous with the migrations of peoples of Madi origin into Pajok. The Madi explosion itself appears to have been the result of the invasion of the Nile region by representatives of Eastern Nilotic speakers⁷⁰. The movements were also accelerated by the effects of the Nyarubanga and Great Famines⁷¹ between 1587 and 1623, which set people streaming southward into Agoro and the lacustrine region.

Once the Madi began to leave their ancestral homeland in the present Rejaff area, they followed two different routes: one running southward along the Nile in the west, and another south-eastwards into the Agoro region⁷². The western route passes through Kilak and Pakwac, then into Pawir and Bunyoro. The Madi entering Pawir appears to have met and interacted with groups of Bantu cultivators pushing northwards. A legacy of this interaction is the adoption of the Madi root word te or ti for cow into the Bantu language⁷³.

The eastern route, on the other hand, leads into the Agoro region which encompasses Acholi and other parts of northern Uganda. Here, as indicated above, both the Madi and Luo people appear to have been preceded by an early sub-stratum of Iseera cultivators along whom they settled.

The migrations of the clans of Madi origin into Pajok apparently date from this period. As a result of the southward expansion of the Madi people, some of the groups came and settled in the area of present Mt. Ayom and Owiny-ki-bul. They include the ancestors of the Gaya, Pajaa, Pakworo and Ayu people.

It is from this parent stock that the various Gaya groups in the interlacustrine region apparently originated⁷⁴. The ancestors of the Pagaya clan of Pajok seem to have moved only a short distance south-eastwards from here and settled at Pajula in Oton⁷⁵. They were led by Agaya from whom the clan derived its name. The founding ancestor of Paliyo clan, Liyo, also came and settled adjacent to the ancestors of the Pagaya people.

Liyo was probably of Madi origin, though Paliyo tradition claims that he came from Anywak⁷⁶. That he is of Madi origin seems to be suggested by the claim that Liyo, Agaya and Abiti, founding ancestor of the Biti people, were 'brothers'⁷⁷. As far as the ethnic identity of Agaya is concerned there is no doubt that he was of Madi origin for the Gaya people are generally known to have been Madi speakers⁷⁸. Liyo and Abiti, who came and settled not far from where the ancestors of the Pagaya had built their settlement, also seem to have been of the same linguistic origin, but their ethnic identities will become clear shortly.

Another important group that settled Pajok during this period were the ancestors of the Bobi clan. The tradition of this group claims that they came to Pajok from Anywak and settled at Lanyungu⁷⁹, some distance away to the east of the Pagaya, Paliyo and Biti people. Traditional evidence of the Bobi clan of Padibe also suggests that the ancestors of the Bobi people came from Shillukland⁸⁰. They were led by a man called Bobi. On reaching Pajok, a section of them under Aruk decided to remain while the main group proceeded southwards.

The two variants of Bobi tradition thus suggest that ancestral Bobi people were Luo-speaking in origin. However, other sources of evidence tend to contradict this view. Professor Webster, for instance, believes that the Bobi people were Muru in origin⁸¹. Crazzolaro, on the other hand, thinks that the Bobi were a part of the Madi people who migrated southward from Baar region and occupied Pawir and Kabera-maido⁸². Traditional evidence collected by C. A. Buchnan also suggests that the Bobi were Madi speakers⁸³.

Contrary to the claim of the Bobi themselves, therefore, available evidence suggests that their ancestors were Sudanic speakers who spread into the interlacustrine region from a homeland in the present Sudan Republic. How can one, therefore, explain the claim that ancestral Bobi people were of Luo origin?

In the case of the Bobi of Pajok, an explanation seems to be available at least. The suggestion that their ancestral language was Luo is probably a result of later developments following their settlement of Pajok. As will be apparent in chapter three below, in later years the Bobi came under the political hegemony of a Luo-speaking clan that came from Anywak. And to effectively control and supervise the affairs of the group, a representative of the ruling clan was imposed on the Bobi people⁸⁴. The descendants of this individual formed Pakeny lineage. Like the ruling clan of Pajok, this lineage traces its ancestry to Anywak through Keny⁸⁵. The tradition collected for Bobi clan thus represents the tradition of Pakeny lineage and not of the original founding lineages of the clan⁸⁶.

In the case of the Lamwo, who are evidently Madi in origin but who claim to be related to the ruling clan⁸⁷, it is difficult to explain the motive for the distortion of their tradition. Either because of the pogrom which in later years they seem to have suffered along with the Pagaya people, the transmission of their traditions was affected and, therefore, do not remember their tradition of origin. Alternatively, this may have been the result of a deliberate policy by the chiefly clan to encourage the myth of a common origin as a charter to legitimize its political hegemony over the other groups and to ensure the perpetuation of the exploitative relations of production.

Nevertheless, the arrival of their ancestors in Pajok can be placed in the generation between 1652 and 1679 for when the ancestors of the chiefly clan came to Pajok around 1679, Mwo, their founding father, was still alive and settled at Mt. Lacic. He was allegedly possessed by JOK and was only able to free himself from the possession of the JOK after a sacrificial offering was made by the ancestors of the ruling clan.

I [i.e. the ancestor of the Ywaya/ followed my 'brother', Mwo, who had left me at Iepfool. I came and found him at Got Lacic. He was possessed by Jok Lacic. I took a black goat with a white spot on the head and slaughtered it at Lacic. Then Lacic left him.⁸⁸

From the foregoing, it should now be evident, therefore, that the ancestors of Paliyo and Biti people, whom traditions claim to have been 'brothers' of the Bobi, Pagaya and Lamwo ancestors⁸⁹, were also of Madi-speaking origin. All these groups were settled as small communities near each other when the ancestors of the chiefly clan came in 1679.

In order to understand the circumstances surrounding the migration of this group⁹⁰ of Luo-speakers, however, we may need to go back in time and space as far as Anywak during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The events leading to the migration of the group seem ultimately to have been related to the political instability caused by Gilo's invasion of the area as well as the effects of the Nyarubanga and the Great Famines mentioned above. Both of these events

precipitated an exodus of Luo migrants from Anywak towards the south.

The migration of the ancestors of the chiefly clan of Pajok, however, appears to have been contemporaneous with the movement from Anywak of the Boi and Kor clans of Lafon with whom they are probably related. The Boi and Kor are sometimes known as Jowatywa, meaning that they are the descendants of Ywa. According to J. H. Driberg, Ywa was the maternal grandfather of Otyeno, the founding ancestor of the Boi clan⁹¹. In common with the Anywak system that a lineage can be named after the maternal grandfather of its founder, the Boi came to be known as Jowatywa or Oywanboi. They are also related to Kor since they claim a common ancestry from Ochudo.

There are several indications that Pajok chiefly clan is related to the Boi and Kor or Lafon. Firstly, from the name Ywaya may be inferred an association with Ywa and, therefore, a common origin with the Boi. Secondly, the Ywaya and the other groups of Anywak origin are often referred to as 'Lokoro' (i.e. Pari) people. Specifically, they are said to be Joo Kor⁹², a clear indication that they are related to the Luo-speaking Kor and Boi clans. Furthermore, like the Boi and Kor, the Ywaya claim that their founding ancestor was Ocudo⁹³.

This association provides an important clue as to the circumstances surrounding their migration from Anywak. It seems that the ancestors of these groups left Anywak as a result of the changing political situation there. As noted above, the arrival of Gilo and

his party from Shilluk was followed by a political struggle for leadership. Consequently, this precipitated an exodus of Luo peoples from the area towards the Pari-Baar region. These events were greatly exacerbated by the Nyarubanga and the Great famines.

The development of the status quo can be better understood if put against the background of Anywak political process which was itself characterized with succession wars between rival claimants to the throne⁹⁴. The traditions of the Boi and Kor, for instance, speak of a struggle between Gilo and Otyeno, and it is significant that the two are claimed to be 'brothers'⁹⁵. Anywak traditions also recall that the emigration of several groups from the area was caused by a political 'revolution'⁹⁶ which can probably be identified with the invasion of Anywak by Gilo.

In Anywak political system, men from the royal clan who fail to become kings lose their noble status and become like commoners. The descendants of such men were automatically ineligible to succeed to the throne and must, therefore, remain as commoners. The Anywak call such people Jowatong.

The Boi and Kor clans of Lafon, though they are also referred to as Jowatywa or Oywanboi, are also known as the Atong clan⁹⁷. This is no mere coincidence in name. On the other hand, it may point to a very important historical process regarding the evolution of king-

ship in Anywak. Specifically, it helps to illuminate the events of the period of the political revolution when Shilluk-Luo groups invaded Anywak and began to struggle for power with the earlier settling clans.

Either because of their failure to gain a pre-eminent position in Anywak, and/or because of the famines of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or because of some other factors, the ancestors of the Boi and Kor, as well as those of the ruling clan of Pajok, left the area and came southward to Lafon.

The ancestors of the Ywaya, however, seem to have remained in Anywak for a while when the Boi and Kor moved southward. Nevertheless, they eventually also left Anywak and came to Lafon where they did not seem to have settled much longer. Ocudo apparently died here and the group was led from Lafon to Pajok by his son called Keny. Keny arrived in Pajok around 1679 and found ancestors of the Pagaya and Paliyo people at Pajula. He proceeded southward to Mt. Lacic where he apparently met Mwo and his followers. From here, the group went to Mt. Lalak before returning to Mt. Agu where they apparently decided to settle.

At the time of Keny's arrival, the earlier settling groups were living independently of each other. The Bobi were then at Lanyungu to the east, while the Panyigiri and Pamuda were at Obwoc. Juku had

apparently left Obwoc and went to Panto rock. There were also other communities of both Luo and Madi origins in the region of mounts Patoko and Adodi. The arrival of this group of Luo speakers was soon, however, followed by the emergence of a new socio-political order and the extension of Ywaya's political hegemony over other groups. This important political development took place between 1679 and 1706, but the details of how it came about will be discussed in the appropriate chapter below.

Migrations to Panyikwara

The settlement of Panyikwara is similarly related to the great population movements of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first important group of people to settle the area seem to have been people of Madi origin moving southward from Rejaff. While some of these people moved directly southward into the Pakwac-Kilak-Pawir Triangle, others just withdrew a short distance from Rejaff and occupied the present areas of Lirya-Aru and Opari⁹⁸.

It was as a result of the movements of the Madi people that the ancestors of the Gaya, Pajaa and Pakworo people came to present Panyikwara. They settled the region between Got Ayom and Owiny-ki-bul. Mt. Ayom itself was settled by the ancestors of the Ayom and Ayu people, both of whom were of Madi origin.

The migrations of the Madi people also coincided with an exodus of Luo peoples from Anywak towards the Pari-Baar region. Many of the migrants went directly southward to Lepfool (i.e. Lafon), then into the Agoro region. A few, however, seem to have moved south-westwards from Anywak and came into the Lirya-Aru area which was already being settled by Sudanic speakers. Available evidence suggests that they settled here for sometime, and when they finally decided to leave Aru they had already learned the language of the area⁹⁹ and also acquired the technique of working iron from the Sudanic people¹⁰⁰.

Traditional evidence suggests that these Anywak migrants came from Gila in present Anywak¹⁰¹. The migrants comprised the ancestors of several groups including the Pamunda, Panyijok, Paradwo, Pali, Pacar and the ruling lineage of the future Panyikwara state. It is not clear how long they remained at Aru, but eventually they left Aru and proceeded southward to present Panyikwara. J. V. Rowley suggests that it was because of population pressure that the migrants were forced to move southwards.

All the men were accustomed to sit in the shade of a tree near the village. There was not enough shade for all and as the sun moved overhead so the older men kept pushing the younger out of the shade into the sun. The latter, becoming exasperated, decided in the end to migrate.¹⁰²

The 'population factor' argument advanced by Rowley seems to be a suitable basis for explaining the migration of this group of Luo speakers from Aru to Panyikwara. As indicated above, the characteristic

feature of the period was that of great population movements.

Firstly, the Madi explosion was itself the result of Eastern Nilotic intrusion into the Nile region from the east. The arrival of these groups of Eastern Nilotic speakers eventually displaced the Madi from the Nile region and set them moving southwards.

Secondly, the Nyarubanga and the Great Famines further accelerated the movements of peoples southwards. The populations in the Pari-Baar region began streaming southwards into Agoro and the lacustrine region.

Thirdly, and more directly relevant to the big concentration of peoples in the Aru area, was the arrival into the area of another wave of Eastern Nilotic speakers migrating from the east. Between about 1625 and 1652, the ancestors of the modern Lokoya people left Hiliu in the Imatong mountain region and moved westwards into the Lirya-Aru area¹⁰³. The intrusion of this group of Plains Nilotes did not only increase the population of the area, but also placed great stress on resources. And this factor seems to have been the most immediate cause for the emigration of peoples of both Sudanic and Luo origins southwards from Aru.

The migration of the founding ancestor of Panyikwara can, therefore, become intelligible if placed against the background of these factors. Traditional evidence thus suggests that due to the in-

creasing number of peoples into the area, there were a lot of quarrels. And the founding ancestors of Panyikwara immediately decided to emigrate.

When many people started coming to Aru, the number of people increased. People began to quarrel among themselves. Kwar then said: 'there are a lot of quarrels here. We cannot stay here. We must go away'. They /therefore/ decided to leave Aru and came here /i.e. present Panyikwara/¹⁰⁴.

Indeed, migrations have often been the normal demographic tendency in many pre-colonial African societies lacking viable political systems to resolve conflicts between their various groups. It seems that this was also the case with the different ethnic communities of Aru. When the increased population of the area began to exert a lot of pressure on resources, several groups simply left and migrated southwards¹⁰⁵.

The genealogy of the ruling lineage suggests that Nyikwara and the other Luo migrants left Aru between 1640 and 1667. They first stopped at Kuki, then moved to settle at Got Iwire farther southwards. Traditions claim that when these groups came, Panyikwara was sparsely settled. To the south-west of Got Iwire were apparently the ancestors of the Madi-speaking Gaya, Pajaa and Pakworo people, while around Got Ayom were the Ayom and Ayu people. Traditional evidence also suggests that they found the ancestors of a people known as Logwar¹⁰⁶, but these moved almost immediately to the present homes of the Madi-Lugbara people¹⁰⁷.

However, the most important group of people whom these Anywak migrants are claimed to have found settled in Panyikwara were the ancestors of the Pajule people whom traditions associate with the foundation of Panyikwara state. They were settled at Tong Yilo to the east of Got Iwire.

One of the problems with this group is to determine both its ethnic origin as well as its ancestral homeland before migrating to Panyikwara. Crazzolaro claims that the ancestors of the Pajule people of eastern Acholi migrated to their present homeland from the Agoro region¹⁰⁸. Panyikwara traditions, on the other hand, maintain that the founding ancestor of the Pajule people, called Jule, was a 'brother' of Nyikwara and that both came from Gila in Anywak¹⁰⁹. They further claim that the ancestors of the Pajule of eastern Acholi migrated to their present homeland from Panyikwara due to constant fighting with the Koyo people.

Onyango-ku-Odongo, however, places the ancestral homeland of the Pajule and Puranga people in the Nyakwai-Labwor region where states of like names were formed¹¹⁰. He claims that after the collapse of the Luo settlement at Tekidi, following the invasion of the red or brown men and the Otuho people between 1544 and 1571, survivors of the invasion gathered round an individual called Opolo to found a new polity. Opolo was, in turn, succeeded by Kuku, Obwor and Omero in that order. The last named was later succeeded by Oranga who was so

popular that he gave his name to the emergent state despite the fact that he was fourth in the line of succession from the original founder of the polity.

Oranga had two sons called Beno and Jule, the former being elderly to the latter. When Oranga died, Beno succeeded to the Ker. However, his succession was resented by Jule who felt that he had as much right as his brother to succeed to the throne. A dispute thus arose between them, and Jule finally decided to break away and found Pajule state.

Although Odongo does not state that Jule came from Anywak, nevertheless, his account is similar to the traditions cited from Panyikwara in that both suggest that Jule was a Luo migrant. Crazzolara, however, believes that the ancestors of the Pajule people were Eastern Nilotes since the Agoro region, from where he thinks they originated, was predominantly populated by Lango elements¹¹¹.

In order to determine which of the two views about the linguistic origin of the group is correct, we may first of all need to ascertain the nature of Jule's supposed relationship with the founding father of the Panyikwara people. Panyikwara traditions claim that Jule was an elder brother of Nyikwara. However, he came and settled in Panyikwara shortly before Nyikwara arrived. If this claim is true, then both Jule and Nyikwara belonged to the same generation (i.e. from 1640 to 1667).

The testimony of a Pajule informant, however, claims that their founding ancestor fell from the sky¹¹², a dead-end sort of explanation, while another testimony claims that ancestral Pajule were Boori people¹¹³, a term allegedly used by the Madi people to refer to people who spoke the Luo language. Crazzolaro, however, believes that the Boori were Madi people who occupied the present Opari area. Some elements of these Boori people later joined and migrated with the early Luo peoples to western Kenya¹¹⁴.

The question of whether ancestral Pajule were Boori people can, at least, be easily disposed of since neither the traditions of the Panyikwara nor those of the Pajule of eastern Acholi suggest that they spoke the Madi language. Further, the claim that Jule and Nyikwara were related by a blood tie is difficult to prove and may be simply a deliberate attempt to falsify reality. That this is so is suggested by the fact that the ancestors of the ruling lineage later imposed their hegemony over the earlier settling groups. The lineage became the nucleus around which Panyikwara state was later organized. The Pajule, who subsequently became a part of the ruling class, apparently helped the ruling lineage to organize the new state.

It seems most likely, therefore, that the ruling hierarchy encouraged the creation of a myth of common origin with the Pajule people in order to enhance and consolidate its authority. The perpetuation of this myth was made possible by the lack of an explicit

tradition of origin of the Pajule people. Moreover, the Pajule people themselves suffered a catastrophic defeat in war during the nineteenth century which almost decimated their previously large population. This factor, therefore, seems to have adversely affected the transmission of Pajule traditions. Today there exists only a handful of Pajule people who can hardly remember the tradition of their origin.

In spite of this difficulty, there is a significant minority of informants who claim that the ancestors of the Pajule came from Lango country in the Agoro region¹¹⁵. One of these informants first claimed that Jule came from Gila. However, after cross examination, he confided that he came from Lango¹¹⁶. This is a very significant testimony especially since it came as a result of careful reflection.

The traditions of the Puranga and Pajule of eastern Acholi, indeed, indicate that between 1598 and 1625 their ancestors left Nyakwai and migrated to Labwor. From 1625 and onwards, they began to move slowly towards their present homelands. It may be expected, therefore, that it was during this period that a group broke off and came to Panyikwara.

Traditions collected by Odongo suggest that Jule was himself a cruel but weak ruler. And because of his cruelty, many of his followers deserted him. Even the ancestors of Palenga clan who, it seems, con-

stituted the nucleus of the chiefdom, abandoned him and re-joined the Puranga people. Jule was himself claimed to have been overwhelmed by a Paluo rwot who came from Pawir, seized power and made himself rwot over the Pajule people¹¹⁷. In the circumstances, therefore, it is plausible that some Pajule people who resented the overthrow of their ruler left Pajule and came northwards to present Panyikwara.

However, this raises a very serious problem of chronology for one would like to know when the ancestors of the Pajule came to Panyikwara. As indicated above, Panyikwara traditions and the genealogy of the ruling clan suggest the period from 1640 to 1667. On the other hand, if, as the traditions collected by Odongo suggest, Jule was a brother of Beno, then applying Puranga king-list¹¹⁸, it is probable that both belonged to the generation 1625 to 1652 - a suggestion which also implies that Owiny Opok, the Paluo rwot who seized power in Pajule, came around this time.

The chronology of Pajule kingdom¹¹⁹ constructed by M. Garry, however, suggests that Owiny Opok seized power in Pajule and established a Paluo dynasty between 1695 and 1722. If so, therefore, it seems that he was not a contemporary of Jule but rather of one of his successors.

A further confusion is again introduced by the fact that the genealogy of the Madi Lokai claims that their founding ancestor, whom traditions claim to have been the 'brother' of Nyikwara¹²⁰, lived in

the generation 1694 to 1721. This clearly contradicts the date suggested for Nyikwara in Panyikwara chronology.

Which of these dates is, therefore, to be accepted? The answer is that it is difficult to take any of them as the correct date because the problem is further compounded by the lack of any genealogical framework for the Pajule of Panyikwara which could have been appropriately used to clear the doubt. We are, therefore, only left to speculate, in the light of available evidence, that the ancestors of the group may have left their ancestral homeland and come to settle in Panyikwara by the end of the seventeenth century or early in the next century.

Social And Political Organization

How were the lives of these communities organized? In other words, what were the characteristic features of their social and political organization? These questions are of interest because the answers to them may help shed light on the nature of the polities which preceded the emergence of states in the region. The greatest difficulty in reconstructing the picture is, however, the dearth in the traditions themselves about the early period of settlement - the fact that the various traditions do not explicitly give any indication as to the nature of the societies formed by the early settlers, their basic form of organization, the system of production¹²¹, etc. What

follows below is, therefore, largely inferential and based on a few traditions of some of the clans.

In terms of socio-political organization, the early settlers seem to have been organized in small patrilineal kin units¹²². Each kin group occupied a recognized territorial unit and was 'independent' of one another. We can take note of the communities formed by the ancestors of the Pagaya and Paliyo as typical examples. Both of them belonged to the same linguistic group and were living adjacent to each other at Pajula. However, each community was independent of the other as their traditions clearly indicate.

The Paliyo had their own rwot. The Pagaya also had their own rwot. Even Jaa Boki and Jaa Biti had their own rwodi. 123

Other groups in present Obbo and Panyikwara were also organized in like manner. The members of each group were, however, related by a kinship network.

In spite of the claim that the leaders of these communities were rwodi it is, nevertheless, clear that the quality of their leadership was not comparable to that of the rwodi of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the contrary, the head of each kin group seems to have been also the political head of the community.

However, a very important aspect of this leadership was that it seems to have been based on the hereditary principle. Thus, when Liyo died the leadership of the community he founded was assumed by Kawang who was his son¹²⁴. This also seems to have been the case with the kin groups that settled in other areas.

It is not very clear where authority to make political and other decisions lay in these communities. But what seems to have been a common feature of decision-making process was that the counsel of the elders of each kin group was respected by its members. The elders were, moreover, supposed to be the most knowledgeable members of the community and it was 'politic' to heed their counsel.

In certain cases, however, it seemed as if decisions could be made by the leaders of the kin groups without taking the counsel of elders. Such a situation is comparable to the 'unpopular' decision taken by Kawang not to resist the invasion by the chiefly clan.

When the Ywaya came they found Ladero, the mother of Kawang and wife of Liyo, at the winnowing place.....They had a calf and a spear whose footmarks and shaft /respectively/ made marks on rocky surfaces. Ladero was surprised. She hurried home and told her son: 'there are strangers at the winnowing place. They came with Tangu /i.e. miracle/. If they ask you who is rwot, don't say that you are rwot'.... Kawang /thus/ refused to fight the Ywaya.....some of our people became angry and went away to Got Okaka in Pajule. 125

If this testimony is true, then it suggests that the leader of the

community was not always obliged to heed the counsel of elders. In the case of Paliyo, it seems that the refusal by Kawang to order resistance to the invasion caused a split in the community and the subsequent migration of a small section to Pajule in eastern Acholi.

In addition to this basic form of organization, some of the groups were already beginning by about 1667 to be organized into groupings comprising several patrilineal kin groups. Some of these kin units that joined to form extra-kin groupings were of the same ethnic origin, whereas others were of different linguistic origins.

The community founded by Jomo at Got Luo, for instance, appears to have been organized in exogamous clan unit which was segmented into lineages: namely, Okwe and Parii lineages. The lineages, in turn, recognized one dominant lineage because of its genealogical connection to the founding ancestor. From around 1667 and afterwards, however, other kin groups began to join this original kin unit. The ancestors of the Luo-speaking Gem joined it as well as those of the Sudanic-speaking Palyec lineage.

In Panyikwara, similar cases also abound. The founding ancestors of the Woroger lineage who seem to have preceded those of the ruling lineage were living independently before the arrival of the latter. Following the arrival of the ancestors of the ruling lineage, however, they decided to join them to form Bura clan. However, both were apparently of the same linguistic origin. Several examples could also be cited, but there is no need to enumerate all of them.

There seems to have been no general factor that determined which group joined which extra-kin grouping. Some simply appear to have joined their kin groups or groups of identical linguistic origin, while others were simply brought into an extra-kin grouping by virtue of the fact that they settled adjacent to such units. In some of the cases, the groups may have come as economic or political refugees and, therefore, joined any group with which they first came into contact.

In these extra-kin groupings, leadership was based on which group settled the area first, on the genealogical position of the group to the founding ancestor, or whether the leader came from a more populous and, therefore, stronger group.

The leadership was, however, ritual in quality than political. The heads of some of the groups appear to have been responsible for performing certain ceremonies connected with jogi of the groups. The leader of the Lokomini, for instance, performed the ceremony for Jok Jikiloti. The leaders of the Bobi and Lamwo also performed the ceremonies for Oyaro and Lacic respectively. The concept of Jok worship thus cut across ethnic boundaries.

Just as the concept of Jok was widespread, so was also the concept of rain-making. Many of these early communities claim that they had rain-making devices which their leaders are said to have used for making rain. The implication is, therefore, that the concept of rain-making preceded the emergence of the states.

FROM c.1680 TO 1895

These were then the social formations that characterized pre-eighteenth century Acholi. From about 1680 and throughout the next century, however, new larger socio-political orders began to emerge with supra-local authority structures over the original small units, the extra-kin groupings.

In eastern and western Acholi, this development was associated with the spread into the area by Paluo migrants of the concept of the drum as a symbol of authority and the state. The utilization of this concept is said to have brought about a radical transformation of the original small polities that characterized eastern and western Acholi before the Paluo exodus.

As for northern Acholi, which lies on the northern fringe of Acholiland, it is not yet known what factors promoted the formation of states in the region, whether they arose as a result of similar influences coming from the lacustrine region, or whether their emergence can be accounted for by local factors or both. What is certain, however, is that during the same period, several groups of migrants coming from the northern interlacustrine region reached the area and either settled alongside or joined the early groups of migrants. Their migrations can generally be associated with the social, economic and political effects of the famines of the eighteenth century that affected the northern interlacustrine region.

Some of these 'southern' migrants included ancestors of the Parangol and Payako, who came from Gwa and Payira respectively. Both of these joined Pamuda clan at Mt. Lalak¹²⁶. However, the most important group, from the point of view of the spread of the concept of drum symbolism, that came to northern Acholi were the ancestors of the Kera. The Kera were originally a part of Labongo chiefdom of eastern Acholi before migrating to Pajok.

Crazzolara goes even further to claim that ancestral Kera people were Madi speakers and that they migrated southward into the lacustrine region from Baar in an earlier period¹²⁷. He suggests that the group may have been affected by Paluo concepts of government since he claims that they had a 'royal' drum.

The Kera were, apparently an autonomous part of Labongo state. Even before they left Labongo for Pajok, their small community was joined by a Luoized Eastern Nilotic group called Paikwor. Like the Kera, the Paikwor had a chiefly drum, but unlike them they worked for the rwot of Labongo¹²⁸. This suggests that the Kera may have been a separate polity from Labongo but associated by some kind of relationship.

Crazzolara's claim that the Kera may have actually constituted a polity organized on the basis of Paluo states seems to be supported by Pajok traditions which suggest that the group had a 'superior' system of political organization. When they came to Pajok, they

were organized around a female leader called Ayo to whom traditions refer as rwot¹²⁹. They settled at Panto hill. Soon, however, they noticed the presence nearby of the ancestor of Pajuku lineage whom rwot Ayo ordered to be brought home. In time Juku married rwot Ayo and his descendants became the ruling lineage of the emergent Panto chiefdom¹³⁰.

The claimed 'marriage' between Ayo and Juku is not to be understood literally. Firstly, Ayo and Juku seem not to have been living contemporaneously. This will become clear shortly.

Secondly, the 'marriage' seems to be no more than symbolic of the emergence of Panto chiefdom under the leadership of the Pajuku in association with the migrant Kera group. The Kera appear to have utilized their experience in political organization as well as the concept of the drum as a symbol of authority and the state to help the Pajuku organize the new polity. In order to make the concept acceptable to the Pajuku and to facilitate the formation of the state, the Kera had to make a sacrifice - that is, they had to recognize the dominance of the Pajuku people who preceded them in their new homeland.

Indeed, this seems to have been a general strategy used by many Paluo migrants in eastern Acholi to make the concept of the drum acceptable to the indigenous peoples¹³¹. They did not them-

selves apparently use the concept in their new homelands to organize new states. Rather, they let their 'hosts' or the indigenous populations utilize the concept in the formation of new polities.

The success of the utilization of this concept in the organization of Panto chiefdom was no doubt of great significance for neighbouring communities. Whether this development influenced the emergence of neighbouring Pajok state is not clear, however, for it is not known when Panto chiefdom was being organized. If the emergence of the polity was effected under the leadership of Juku, then it certainly preceded the emergence of Pajok in about 1679 - in which case it was clearly of great significance for the formation of the latter.

However, it is generally established that the idea of the drum as a symbol of authority and the state began to spread to Acholi from 1679 and throughout the eighteenth century. By this date (i.e. 1679), Juku was certainly no longer living, and he could not have been a contemporary of Ayo. Moreover, Labongo state was founded¹³² between around 1679 and 1706, the same period during which Pajok was emerging as a state. The earliest date for the Kera to have come to Panto would have, therefore, been by around 1706. The implication of this piece of evidence is that the emergence of Pajok either preceded or went hand in hand with the formation of Panto chiefdom which seems to have been effected early in the eighteenth century.

If so, therefore, in what way did the adoption and utilization of the concept in Panto affect Pajok? Firstly, in spite of the fact that the concept of the drum came to Pajok from the south, however, traditions claim that the chiefly clan brought the concept from Anywak¹³³. But we know that the insignia of Anywak royalty consisted of beads, spear and harpoon¹³⁴. Of these objects, the chiefly clan of Pajok had a spear around which traditions have now woven a myth of uniqueness.

As for the drum, however, it is not clear whether the Anywak considered it as being ritually important for royalty or not. In this case, therefore, it seems that the claim that the concept was brought from Anywak may be a deliberate falsification of reality. The concept clearly came from the south for if the Ywaya brought it from the north why did they, then, have to use excessive force - rather than the 'attractive' and convenient concept of the drum which everywhere in eastern and western Acholi, and even Panto, appears to have been adopted and utilized peacefully - in the formation of Pajok state?

It may be argued, however, that possession of the 'royal' drum did not guarantee an automatic assertion of authority nor did it eliminate the possibility of violence as a means to assert political hegemony. After all, the Pailor who had a 'royal' drum did not behave in the way that the Kera did when they came to Pajok.

In the case of the formation of Pajok state under the leadership of the Ywaya, however, the conclusion cannot be avoided that the concept of the drum was introduced only after the emergence of the state. If the Ywaya had known of the concept before the state emerged, then it is probable that they would have avoided the more costly method of conquest by employing the concept of the drum in the formation of the state.

How, then, did the concept reach Pajok state? Firstly, let it be stated that apart from the Kera, another group known as Paibwor, which was also familiar with the concept of the drum, came to Pajok about the same time as the Kera were migrating northwards from Labongo. They settled in the Pogee area to the south-east of Pajok. Unlike the Kera, however, they did not seem to have utilized their 'royal' drum to stimulate the formation of a state.

Nevertheless, the possibility exists that the idea of the drum as a symbol of authority diffused to neighbouring Pajok from here and, particularly, Panto chiefdom for the drum came to be regarded in Pajok as an integral part of the authority structure: "If you had drums, you were considered big. You would be made rwot"¹³⁵.

The concept was not only included in the state's arsenal of power structure, but it also seems to have been utilized for extending authority over other groups. Traditions thus claim that

the ruling clan distributed drums to the Bobi, Biti and Ayu people¹³⁶. The same events are apparently stated differently in the tradition of the chiefly clan¹³⁷, but they, nevertheless, amount to the same thing - the subjugation of other communities under Ywaya authority. In the case of the Bobi, the event seems to have taken place between 1769 and 1796¹³⁸.

The area of present Panyikwara also experienced 'waves' of migrations from the late seventeenth century and throughout the following centuries. Arriving during this second phase of migrations were the ancestors of Oyira, Goloba, and other clans.

The founding ancestor of Oyira, called Yira, is said to have come from Koyo (i.e. present Lokoya area) and settled at Lagot (Mt.) Onderu¹³⁹ between 1694 and 1721. His sons (Murye and Kwac) later founded the Pamurye and Pakwac lineages respectively, while the ancestor of another lineage, Paratik, is said to have fallen from the sky and joined them at Lagot Onderu. The ancestor of a fourth lineage (i.e. Gem), on the other hand, is claimed to have been a 'brother' of Murye and Kwac.

The claim that Yira came from Koyo suggests that he may have been of an Eastern Nilotic origin. However, the weight of available evidence¹⁴⁰ leads one to think that he was probably a Madi speaker moving away from the pressure-prone Olubo-Aru (i.e. Koyo) area. The ancestor of the Paratik, who is claimed to have fallen from the

sky, may have also been of Madi origin since traditions claim that he was related to the ancestors of the Madi-speaking Pakworo people¹⁴¹. Ancestral Gem people were, on the other hand, Luo-speaking, but their eventual association with the Madi-speaking Pamurye and Pakwac people will be explained shortly.

The founding ancestors of Goloba clan also came at about the same time as Yira. About their ethnic origin, however, there seems to be no doubt that they were of Eastern Nilotic-speaking origin, or at least already influenced by Eastern Nilotic cultural elements by the time they came to Panyikwara. The inference is based on the fact that the lineage which they founded is associated with a cultural practice called Lokirwanga which can be identified with the Bari-speaking Lokoya people and other clans in Agoro and Omeo of the same ethnic origin.

Lokirwanga is essentially an initiation ceremony for the young generation, a residual sort of age-set organization which reflects a past heritage linked to the Eastern Nilotic-speaking peoples (i.e. Bari, Lokoya, etc.)

The suggestion is further reinforced by the traditions of the clan itself which claim that Golo, its founding ancestor, came from Olubo¹⁴². Although the Olubo or Luluba people were originally Madi speakers¹⁴³, but they seem to have already come under Lokoya influences following the intrusion of the latter into the area between 1625 and 1652. It is most likely, therefore, that they had

already adopted certain aspects of Lokoya culture, or Golo and his followers were actually Lokoya elements, for if not how can one explain the widespread practice of Lokirwanga in Agoro, Omeo, and in Goloba clan itself - all of which are not only related by the common factor of proximity to Lokoya but whose traditions of origins point to the same area.

During the same period (i.e. 1694 to 1721) that Golo and Yira were migrating to Panyikwara, rwot Labongo II of Attyak also came to the mounts Guruwa-Patoko and Anyomogera area and scattered the Patoko people¹⁴⁴. Some of them went to nearby Pajok and joined the state, while others moved northwards and joined Pamunda clan of Panyikwara and the Agoro people¹⁴⁵.

The period of the movements of these peoples roughly falls within the period of the Nyandere Famine (i.e. from about 1706 to 1755) when the northern interlacustrine region was affected by this natural disaster¹⁴⁶. Moving northwards as a result of this catastrophe were the ancestors of the Pombira and Pamucu lineages who came from Koc in the Koro-Gulu area.

The history of the Koc people itself goes back in time and space to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when their founding fathers were in the triangle¹⁴⁷. Though they were originally Madi-speaking, but by the time they left Pawir and migrated to Acholi they were already Luo-speaking.

At the onset of the Nyandere famine, however, the founding ancestors of the Pombira and Pamucu left the Koc people at Koro and migrated to present Panyikwara¹⁴⁸, arriving there by about 1748. They found and scattered the Madi community that had originally settled at Got Ayom. Subsequently, they proceeded to impose their hegemony on the remnants of the Madi people.

How did the Pombira and Pamucu assert their dominance over the 'indigenous' Madi peoples they found at Got Ayom? Did they, perhaps, utilize the concept of the drum, which was already widespread in eastern and western Acholi by this time, to win acceptance among the local people?

If we are able to establish a link between the ascendancy of these 'southern' migrants to a pre-eminent position and the introduction of the concept of the drum, then it would be of great importance for the emergence of Panyikwara state. There is, however, a dearth in the traditions of the group. They only suggest that the ancestors of the group had been a part of a state (Koc-Labongo?) with a strong tradition of association with Bunyoro, from which could be deduced that they were probably familiar with the idea of the drum as a symbol of authority and the state.

Whatever the case, the concept of the drum, nevertheless, reached Panyikwara, but which group of migrants is to be associated

with its introduction is the big question that holds the key to an understanding of whether the concept played any causal role in the formation of Panyikwara state or not. The mature state had a royal drum called AKENDA in which were put rainstones.

Our big drum was called Akenda. It had rainstones inside it. Akenda was bul pa rnot [i.e. royal drum]. Sometimes if there was an emergency, Akenda would sound an alarm by itself. 149

What can be deduced from this testimony? Firstly, it clearly shows that the state had a royal drum. But more importantly it asserts that the royal drum was also used in rain-making ceremonies. Now, as noted above, many of the earlier settling communities were familiar with the concept of rain-making, but they also state unequivocally that the devices employed were rainstones. In both eastern and western Acholi, rainstones also appear to have been the 'universal' devices used in rain-making ceremonies. From around 1680, however, eastern Acholi states began to use the royal drum in these ceremonies¹⁵⁰, while in western Acholi rainstones still persisted despite the Paluo influence¹⁵¹.

The implication of this piece of evidence is, therefore, that the concept of the drum and its association with rain-making functions may have 'diffused' from eastern Acholi or the neighbouring states of Pajok and Panto, but not from western Acholi where the concept does not appear to have undergone much change after its adoption.

In Panto and Pajok, however, there is no indication in their traditions that the drum was associated with rain-making practices; nor could it have been brought by the Anywak migrants since, as noted above, the drum did not appear to have been an important feature of Anywak royalty. It was only from eastern Acholi, therefore, that this concept may have come to Panyikwara.

The questions that immediately arise are, therefore, which group from eastern Acholi may have brought the idea, what role did the group and the concept they brought play in the formation of Panyikwara state? But even of equal importance is when did the idea itself come to Panyikwara and when did the state emerge?

If we are able to answer all these questions, then we should be in a position to tell whether or to what extent the concept of the drum played any role in the emergence of Panyikwara, or whether the foundation of the state actually preceded the coming of the concept and symbol of the drum. It is precisely at this point that our problem arises for there are hardly any explicit traditions nor a thoroughly reliable genealogy which indicate when the concept came to Panyikwara. As for the emergence of the state, however, available evidence suggests that by about 1721 Panyikwara had already been founded¹⁵².

There is a somewhat defective piece of evidence which may be interpreted as signifying the arrival of the concept of the drum in Panyikwara. It associates a certain individual called Iyani, whom traditions now refer to as rwot, with the royal drum Akenda.

One day the rwot went to the bush to look for roofing materials for his granary. He did not return home. The next day Akenda made an alarm [so] all Panyikwara [people] gathered in the kal pa rwot [i.e. palace].... [then] they learned that Iyani was missing. The people said: 'let us go to look for our good rwot'. When they went to the bush to look for him, they found Iyani near a river with a spear in his chest. Before he died, he told them: 'my people, Jaa Oloro killed me. My Oloro opii [i.e. slave] speared me [and] ran back to his people'. [The] Panyikwara became very angry: 'Jaa Oloro killed our good rwot, so he must also die'. The Oloro people fled their homes [but] our people followed them and found their rwot on a tall tree. Before he was killed, he confessed: 'I sent my opii to kill your rwot because he was big. His greatness was undermining me'. 153

The problem with this testimony is that it does not mention which clan Iyani belonged to, except the assertion that he was rwot and, therefore, of the royal clan. In this sense, therefore, it is not easy to determine his ethnic origin. Moreover, Iyani does not appear in the chiefly list of Panyikwara state, in which case it is difficult to place him within a temporal context.

Nevertheless, if we are to take the evidence of his name as pointing to his ethnic identity, then it may be possible to derive Iyani's linguistic or ethnic origin for the name appears to be quite

akin to names of Eastern Nilotic peoples. If we are to associate any group from this linguistic category that came to Panyikwara and which may be linked with the coming of the concept of drum symbolism, then the Pajule represent the appropriate group.

As suggested above, they were of Lango (i.e. Eastern Nilotic) origin, but by the time they were settling their modern homeland in eastern Acholi they were already Luoized¹⁵⁴. And between about 1695 and 1722, the Paluo concept and symbol of the drum was introduced to them by a Paluo dynasty under the leadership of Owiny Opok.

Now, if the Pajule were responsible for bringing the idea to Panyikwara, then they must have arrived by 1721. There is, indeed, supportive evidence that this may have been the case for the traditions of several Panyikwara clans claim that the state was founded by the Pajule¹⁵⁵. One piece of traditional evidence even goes further to associate the foundation of the state with Talapu¹⁵⁶ whose reign began around 1721.

The weight of present evidence thus tends to suggest that the emergence of the state of Panyikwara was intimately associated with the introduction of the concept of the drum by the Pajule. From here if we go back to the problem posed by the coming of the group about Panyikwara chronology, then it seems evident that both Nyikwara and the founding ancestor of the Pajule belonged to different generations. The community that the descendants of Nyikwara formed remained small -

essentially consisting of those groups that came from Anywak. They were settled at Mt. Iwire.

With the coming of the Pajule, however, the state began to emerge. And it seems that the Pajule behaved in much the same way as the Kera of Panto did - working in association with the dominant lineage (i.e. the descendants of Nyikwara) to form the state¹⁵⁷. This goes to explain why the state took its name from the founding ancestor of the ruling lineage rather than that of Pajule.

It may now be clear why the Oloro ruler was loathe to kill Iyani. With the formation of Panyikwara state and the possession by the rwot of a royal drum, he seems to have been genuinely envious: '[Iyani's] greatness was undermining me'. The drum became to these communities as flags and national anthems are to the modern nation states. Thus, in eastern Acholi, as Webster observed, there was a rush for drums.

Evidence in eastern Acholi suggests that the idea of royal drums came out of Pawir and was added to the traditional royal spear. Those Lwo groups which did not come out of Pawir and had no royal drum found themselves at some disadvantage vis-a-vis the Pawir Lwo. Something of a scramble for drums followed. Drums could not just be made by anyone. But the lack of drum did not stand in the way of the popular will. The people could sanction the creation of a royal drum [or even secure it by fighting].¹⁵⁸

The 'scramble' was to secure an independent rwotship for it seemed that without a royal drum a group's independence could not be secured for long.

Royal regalia [jami ker].....showed you had ker [royal authority or power; kingship...]. And in case someone came and took it away, then it showed you had no ker and you would have to look for it.¹⁵⁹

The Oloro ruler may have eventually wanted to take Akenda and subsequently extend his authority over the Panyikwara people. There is nothing strange in this for such seems to have been a common characteristic of kingship everywhere.

The formation of Panyikwara state seems to have been followed up by a proliferation of smaller polities nearby. The Oloro mentioned above were, for instance, situated to the north-west of Panyikwara. The ancestors of the ruling lineage of the chiefdom apparently came from the western Acholi state of Payira¹⁶⁰. They seem to have migrated about the same time as Ker, the founding ancestor of Pandiker chiefdom, who is also said to have come from Parabongo¹⁶¹ and founded the polity to the west of Panyikwara in present Opari. To the east of Panyikwara was another chiefdom, Aycm, which was founded around 1748.

The polity with the oldest tradition of origin was, however, Palabek state which was founded between 1652 and 1679. The founding ancestor of the state, Cumbek or Subek, migrated southwards from Mundari and apparently joined Puranga first before separating to set up the state. It is difficult to establish where the state was founded, but it may have been in present Palabek P'Abii (in eastern

Acholi) or at Kuki in present Panyikwara near Oloro chiefdom. The traditions of the Palabek P'Arema suggest the latter¹⁶².

Whichever the case, the state later split during the Laparanat famine of the 1780s and drifted apart. One section under Abii occupied their present area, while the other part under Arema settled next to the Oloro people. The leaders of both fragments were brothers and belonged to the same generation (i.e. 1787-1814). It seems certain that they separated as a result of a dispute for the rwotship¹⁶³.

Unlike Pajok and Panyikwara, which received substantial numbers of migrants from the northern interlacustrine region, Obbo seems to have been only marginally affected by direct migrations from that region. The few migrants that came to the area included ancestors of the Gem and Palyec people, both of whom came from the Terretenya - Madi Opei area.

The Gem were apparently Luo-speaking in origin. Odongo suggests that they were originally a part of the Omolo Luo group that left Pawir between 1598 and 1625 and moved north-eastwards to Agoro. While Omolo Ococ and the main group decided to leave Agoro for the south, some of the ancestors of the Gem apparently remained in the Agoro region - eventually settling in Odyia between Terretenya and Madi Opei. Between about 1694 and 1721, they left Odyia and came to Okbo, having left a group at present Palabek in eastern Acholi¹⁶⁴.

The migration of the Gem people from Oद्या seems to have been due to the effects of the Nyandere famine. Before they left Oद्या, Madi refugees had reached there from the west and settled almost throughout the Agoro region. One of these Madi groups was led by an individual called Olworo¹⁶⁵, whose name suggests he was Luo-speaking. The traditions of the Gem claim that it was because of a dispute for rwotship between Ajwac and Olworo that led to the migration of Ajwac and Ioni¹⁶⁶. The latter remained in present Palabek P'Abii, while Ajwac came as far as Got Luo and settled alongside the Pajombo. Later due to a quarrel with the Pajombo people, some Gem people moved away and joined Oyere and Oyira clans of Obbo and Panyikwara respectively, while a few remained at Got Luo.

Though Luo-speaking in origin, the Gem seem to have been influenced by Lango culture and language as a result of their long settlement of Agoro. Their traditions state that when they came to Obbo, they were speaking the Lango language¹⁶⁷. Even their economic system, cattle-keeping and agriculture, closely resembled that of the Eastern Nilotic-speaking populations of Agoro. The Pajombo along whom they settled were distinctively agriculturally-oriented.

The Palyec were, on the other hand, Madi-speaking in origin. Their ancestors migrated from the Kilak area in western Acholi between 1652 and 1679 and came to the Agoro-Agago area where, it seems, they split into smaller groups. Traditional evidence suggests that the ancestors of the group that migrated to Obbo left Madi Opei as a

result of pressure from a cattle-owning people moving westwards from the east¹⁶⁸. These may have been Jie or Karamojong elements fleeing to Acholi as a result of the Nyamdere famine¹⁶⁹.

It is not clear whether or to what extent these migrants influenced the emergence of Obbo, but it seems that they did not introduce any new or radical idea of political organization and kingship into the area. They were not associated with any significant political role in the communities which they subsequently joined. More importantly, traditions suggest that Obbo had already emerged as a state by the time of their arrival.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that by about 1841, the concept and symbol of the drum may have already reached Obbo for during Kaciba's reign the royal drum was used by the ruling hierarchy to strengthen its authority.

One day people went hunting. A Gem man killed a buffalo /and/ carried some of the meat.....on his head. Kaciba then came and put a /royal/ drum on his shoulder. The Gem man asked: 'What is this?' Kaciba told him that it /the drum/ was Otur Kal /literally meaning palace breaker, but could actually mean an instrument for subjugating other people/.... The Gem man /then/ threw the drum down. Kaciba was very angry and told him: 'Go wherever you want'. The Gem people then went to Palabek /but/ later Kaciba sent messengers to persuade them to return to Obbo.¹⁷⁰

Despite its clear function as an instrument of authority, it is never stated anywhere in Obbo traditions when the concept was actually adopted nor where it came from. It may only be hypothesized that it was perhaps the result of the influence of the neighbouring states of Pajok, Panto and Panyikwara.

Throughout the nineteenth century up to around 1895, numerous small-scale migrations continued to bring migrants into Acholi. Most of these movements can, however, be associated with the impact of the ivory and slave trade on the one hand, and the Mahdist intrusion into Equatoria from 1884 and afterwards. As a result of these factors, many Bari-speaking people fled their homes and came to Acholi¹⁷¹.

In conclusion, the following points may be noted. Firstly, although the concept and symbol of the drum came from the south to northern Acholi, there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that it played the leading role in the formation of the states. Panyikwara and Panto states were probably the only significant exceptions. The formation of Obbo and Pajok, on the other hand, seems to have preceded the coming of the concept of the drum as a symbol of authority. Nevertheless, once the states were formed, the concept was used in all of them to strengthen the authorities of the ruling hierarchies as well as to unify the states.

It has also become apparent that the states were not 'alien' structures grafted onto an institutional vacuum. There were indigenous institutions, the extra-kin groupings, which provided the bases or building units for the formation of the states. They were, in other words, the state in miniature version.

It is also important to note that the populations of these communities were, like most pre-colonial African societies, heterogeneous in origins. Their ancestral languages belonged to the three linguistic families: Sudanic, Eastern Nilotic and Luo. All these linguistic or ethnic categories were moulded by complex historical processes to produce the present identity and characteristics of the people.

FOOTNOTES

1. The period covered in this chapter is from about 1559 to 1895. The first date (i.e. 1559) is the earliest date indicated by the longest and a bit reliable genealogy collected. The other date (1895) marks the end of the period of the numerous migrations to and from between Acholi and Baar during the nineteenth century (see A. C. Beaton, "A Chapter in Bari History", SNR, 17, 2 (1934), pp.169-200).

2. C. Ehret, "Cushites and the Highland and Plains Nilotes", in Ogot, Zamani, p.157;

Idem, "Some Thoughts on the Early History of the Nile-Congo Watershed", Ufahamu, 4, 2 (1974), p.90.

3. A. N. Tucker, The Eastern Sudanic Languages (London: Pall Mall, 1967), pp.21-55;

Ehret, "Some Thoughts.....", p.87.

4. Ibid., p.90.

5. G.W.R. Huntingford, The Southern Nilo-Hamites and the Nandi (London: IAS, 1953).

6. H.S. Lewis, "The Origins of the Galla and Somali", JAH, 7, 1 (1966), p.27ff, dates this event to about 1531-1537 which date closely correlates with the low Nile in 1530-1.

7. For a more detailed account of the effects of climatic conditions on movements from the area as well as in the lacustrine region in general, see R. S. Herring, "Hydrology and Chronology: The Rodah Nilometer as an Aid in Dating Interlacustrine History", in Webster, Chronology, pp. 39-86.

8. Ibid, pp.39-86; also see C. Ehret, The History of the Southern Nilotes (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), pp.35, 43, 52-4. It seems that the ancestors of the Pajulu were among the first Eastern Nilotic groups to move westwards to the Nile since they were apparently there before the ancestors of the Joka Jok left the Luo 'cradleland' for western Kenya (see Crazzolara, The Lwo, p. 387; Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, p.149).

9. Crazzolara, The Lwo, pp.31-2.

10. M.E.C. Pumphrey, "The Shilluk Tribe", SNR, 24 (1941), p.1;

D.S. Oyler, "Nikawng and the Shilluk Migrations", SNR, 1 (1918), pp.107-115.

11. Wrigley, "The Problem of the Lwo", p.230.

12. Onyango-Ku-Odongo, "The Early History.....", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.38-48.

13. Quoted in Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, p.42.

14. Crazzolara, The Lwo, p.15;

E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Nuer: Tribe and Clan", SNR, 16 (1933), pp.1-54.

15. Onyango-Ku-Odongo, "The Early History.....", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.40-41.

16. See footnote 6 in Ibid, p.5.

17. Odongo claims that the Luo were originally Didinga or a Luo-Didinga mixture. They allegedly spoke one language and lived at the shore of Lake Turkana. This region and the adjoining areas in the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda appear to have been an important settlement zone from which various groups spanned

the region of East Africa. The traditions of the Otuhō, for instance, claim that their founding ancestors came from a place called Otukei in the Lake Turkana region to occupy their present homeland. They are said to have earned their name from the word Otuhō, which means the 'deaf ones', because the younger generation were often far ahead of the older generation and could not heed the call by the elders for the march to be slowed down so as to wait for the weak and sick people (Personal Communication with Ogum Jacob Lomoro Loroto, September 14, 1982).

18. Onyango-Ku-Odongo, "The Early History....", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo, The Central Lwo, p.63.
19. J. Spaulding, "The Funj: A Reconsideration", JAH, 8, 1 (1972), pp.39-53.
20. J. B. Webster, "Noi! Noi! Famines as an aid to Interlacustrine Chronology", in Webster, Chronology, p.8.
21. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, p.57; also see Anywar, Acoli Ki Ker Megi, p.7.
22. Webster claims that Rukidi belonged to the generation 1436-1463 (see Webster, "Noi! Noi!", in Webster, Chronology, p.7).
23. The Jo Oma people, whom Odongo believes to be of Cushitic origin, entered Tekidi settlement and left for the south-west between 1328 and 1469 - that is, during the reign of rwot Owniny I (c.1409-1436) of the Luo Kingdom of Tekidi. Webster also apparently believes that the Jo Oma and the Bahima were related (see footnote 13 in The Central Lwo, p.8).
24. These people should not be confused with the 'Langi' of Uganda. The Acholi often referred to the latter as 'Lango Omiro', probably because of all the Lango groups only the Lango Omiro spoke the Luo language. For a detailed discussion of Acholi use of the term see Ibid, pp.51-52.

25. Lewis, "The Origins of the Galla and Somali", pp.27-47, places the Galla invasion of Ethiopia between 1530 and 1539.
26. Odongo believes that the Bor and Wau Luo of the Sudan may have originated from this northern Owin Luo group (see The Central Luo, p.140).
27. Ibid, pp.131-142; for the date see Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, p.28.
28. The Pari-Baar region is the area to the east of the Nile and bounded by Lafon and the Agoro-Imatong mountains.
29. Onyango-Ku-Ondongo and Webster, The Central Luo, pp.1-19.
30. It is difficult to determine the exact sequence of the movements because of the lack of reliable genealogies.
31. Testimony of John Laboke, at Cama, November 22, 1980.
32. Testimony of William Ojwe, at Ywaya Kal, January 12, 1981.
33. Crazzolaro, The Luo, p.172.
34. A very significant exception was probably the Omolo Luo of Pawir who moved northwards into Agoro between 1598 and 1625, and then southwards to western Kenya.
35. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, p.148.
36. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende, at Oyere, December 4, 1980; also see testimonies of Alfonsyo Ogo, at Tinggili, December 3, 1980; Akai Angaya, at Lowudo, November 21, 1980; and Kalawudio Oyenga, at Oyere, November 23, 1980.

37. Testimonies of Der Odidi, at Lokide, November 17, 1980; Saverio Olaa, at Aliya, November 19, 1980; Patrisyo Alwari, at Aliya, November 20, 1980; Kalawudio, Ogoda, etc.
38. Webster, "Noi! Noi!.....", in Webster, Chronology, p.8.
39. Lamphear, The Traditional History of the Jie; both J.B. Webster ("Noi! Noi!....." in Webster, Chronology, p.8) and R.S. Herring ("The Nyakwai: On the Borders of the Lwo World", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.374) quote Mark Loro's ("The Pre-colonial History of Kakwa", Makerere Graduating Essay, 1971) and J. B. Baba's ("Adiyo: The Coming of the Kakwa and the Development of their institutions", Makerere Graduating Essay, 1972) concerning the westward expansion of the Bari-speaking (i.e. Eastern Nilotic) people from the east.
40. For details see Herring, "The Nyakwai", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.371-397; and Webster, "Noi! Noi!", in Webster, Chronology, pp.14-16.
41. G. W. R. Huntingford, The Northern Nilo-Hamites (London: IAL, 1953), p.11, also believes that the Bari separated from Salamini.
42. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, pp.195-97, records that the village of Tirrangole had 3000 houses.
43. Because Otuho clans are exogamous, it was not possible for rain-makers to marry from Otuho (i.e. from Igago clan) if their sons or daughters were to become rain-makers as well. The practice was, therefore, to marry from Acholi - principally Obbo - or Lokoya chiefly families (see G. and B.Z. Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan (London: Routeledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p.328).
44. Personal communication with Ogum Jacob Lomoro Loroto, September 14, 1982.
45. R. R. Somerset, "The Lotuko", SNR, 1, 3 (1918), pp.153-59.
46. Ibid, pp.153-59.

47. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende.
48. Testimony of Patrisyo Atare, at Ogondo Pokongo, December 1, 1980.
49. Personal communication with Ogum Jacob; also see Seligman, Pagan Tribes, pp.326-334.
50. Testimony of Alfonsyo Ogoda; also see Seligman, Pagan Tribes, pp.326-339.
51. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende.
52. Crazzolaro, The Luo, p.170. The date 1559 also falls within the period of the movement westwards of Eastern Nilotic peoples from the east (1490-1571). The ancestors of Abong clan may have, therefore, moved as a result of similar factors causing these groups to migrate westwards.
53. Testimonies of Akai Angaya, and Kalawudio Oyenga.
54. Testimony of Alfonsyo Ogoda.
55. Ibid; also see Huntingford, The Northern Nilo-Hamites, p.81.
56. Testimony of Alfonsyo Ogoda.
57. Testimony of Okee Alimu, at Pokongo, December 2, 1980.
58. Ibid.
59. See J. B. Webster, "Acholi Historical Texts" (Dept. of History, Makerere University, Kampala, 1971), Typescript, Text No.44.
60. Testimonies of Juliano Ongee, at Palotaka Mission, November 23, 1980; and Manyo, at Palabek, February 13, 1981. J.B. Webster

and J. M. Onyango-Ku-Ondongo also believe that the Palabek emerged as an ethnic group in Baar between 1490 and 1517 (see their The Central Lwo, p.6).

61. For the Madi origin of the Palabek people see Crazzolara, The Lwo, p.496.
62. As the reader will shortly find out, the ancestors of some of the Luo-speaking clans of Panyikwara state were also moving around this time, arriving there around 1640-1667. Also see Webster, "Noi! Noi!", in Webster, Chronology, p.12.
63. Testimony of Okee Alimu.
64. Testimony of Garato, at Lagir, January 20, 1981.
65. Tosh, Clan Leaders, p.256. J. P. Crazzolara (in The Lwo, pp.454-475) presents linguistic and historical evidence to show that the Iseera at one time probably extended as far as the Nile. He identified these people as 'Western Lango' people and presented evidence of their antiquity (again see The Lwo, pp.81-82, 331-347, 454-480, 508-515). Iseera is also a term used by the Jie to distinguish an early agricultural Nilotic people in Jie from the ancestors of the Jie and Karamojong people who came later. It seems, therefore, that the Iseera and 'Western Lango' were the same people. R. R. Atkinson ("State Formation and Development", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.263-265) also places the Iseera in present Acholi by 1000 A.D. In Panyikwara, traditions claim that the earliest settling people were ancestors of a people called Logwar (Testimonies of Popiryo Oceng Bali, at Kamach, January 5, 1981; and Emmanuel Abiny, at Palotaka Mission, November 23, 1980). These people may have been akin to the Iseera people (see Crazzolara, The Lwo, p.496).
66. Testimony of Andrea Bake Acung, at Maji, August 10, 1977.
67. Testimony of Demensya Abwoyo, at Cama, November 22, 1980. The traditions of the Pajombo regarding the movements of the Patoko people is to be generally trusted since, being close to them, it is to be expected that they would have been aware of what was taking place around them.

68. Testimony of Obale Cogol, at Bura, January 21, 1981.
69. Ibid.
70. Webster, "Noi! Noi!", Webster, Chronology, pp.9-10.
71. Ibid, pp.11-12.
72. Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.224.
73. C. Ehret, "Cattle-Keeping and Milking in Eastern and Southern African History: The Linguistic Evidence", JAH, 8, 1 (1967), pp.1-17.
74. Crazzolara, The Lwo, pp.399-400.
75. Testimony of Gulyelmo Aburi, at Bura, January 18, 1981.
76. Testimony of Kusantino Ongwec, at Paliyo, January 21, 1981. Indeed, he claims that all Acholi clans originated from Anywak, which is false.
77. Ibid.
78. Crazzolara, The Lwo, pp.399-400.
79. Testimony of Ochan, at Bobi, January 17, 1981.
80. P.M.L. Owot, "Padibe During the Aconya, 1400-1900", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.190.
81. Quoted by C. A. Buchanan, "Courts, clans and chronology in the Kitara complex", in Webster, Chronology, p.100.
82. Crazzolara, The Lwo, p.450.

83. Buchanan, "Courts", in Webster, Chronology, p.100.
84. Testimony of William Ojwe.
85. Testimony of Ochan.
86. The researcher tried to remedy this imbalance, but there were unfortunately no credible informants to proffer any information.
87. Testimony of Valente Owiny Lipura, at Lamwo, January 13, 1981.
88. Testimony of William Ojwe.
89. Testimonies of Ochan and Kusantino Ongwec.
90. The Luo group that came from Anywak under the leadership of the ancestors of the chiefly clan, however, seems to have comprised ancestors of the Patanga, Paitenge and Obwolto.
91. J. H. Driberg, "Lafon Hill", SNR, 8 (1925), pp.46-57.
92. Testimony of Kusantino Ongwec.
93. Informant Garato, however, gives an array of other names before Ocudo starting with Coko, who supposedly came from Babylonia to Anywak, then Oyaro and Labongo. The last named was allegedly the father of Ocudo, Kor, Jur and Koc. Whatever the truth of the claim, it certainly contradicts Odongo's and Webster's assertion that the Koc were a Madi people who emerged in Baar around 1532-1586 since the resultant genealogy suggests that they were emerging between 1625 and 1652. By Odongo's and Webster's dating, on the other hand, the latter date (i.e. 1625-1652) was when the Koc were dispersing from the triangle (see The Central Lwo, p.9).
94. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Relationship Between the Anuak and the Fori (Sudan)", Man, XL, 62 (1940), pp.54-55.

95. Driberg, "Lafon Hill", pp.46-57.
96. Personal communication with Henry Ojil Okony, an Anywak from Nyikwar, May 29, 1982.
97. Evans-Pritchard, "The Relationship", p.55.
98. Crazzolara, The Lwoo, p.363.
99. J. V. Rowley, "Notes on the Madi of Equatoria Province", SNR, 23, 2 (1940), p.284.
100. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali, at Cere-Okun, February 13, 1981.
101. Testimonies of Bake, Demetiro, Popiryo, Bernando, and Matiya. Gila was probably a village in Anywak of the people who call themselves Nyikwar. Henry Ojil Okony quoted in footnote 96 above also says that he himself is a Nyikwar. It is not, therefore, by accident that the people of Panyikwara also call themselves as Nyikwar people.
102. Rowley, "Notes on the Madi", p.284; also see Crazzolara, The Lwoo, p.363.
103. Huntingford, The Northern Nilo-Hamites, p.11.
104. Testimony of Popiryo Oceng Bali. Kwar is also known as Nyikwara (see Rowley, "Notes on the Madi", pp.279-294).
105. In certain situations, such factors and the presence of multi-ethnic communities would have stimulated the emergence of state institutions. In Patongo, for instance, the presence of Lango-Tiro and Madi elements in one locality triggered off the emergence of Patongo state in order to regulate relations between the diverse ethnic elements (see Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.226).

106. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali.
107. Testimony of Emmanuel Abiny.
108. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, p.469.
109. Testimonies of Demetiro, Popiryo, and Bernardo.
110. Onyango-Ku-Odongo, "The Early History", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.143-152.
111. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, pp.505-507.
112. A casual talk with John Okech, at Maji, December 25, 1977.
113. Testimony of Bernardo Obwoya, at Cere-Okun, March 19, 1981.
114. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, p.560.
115. Testimonies of Matiya Abwoye, at Maji, January 28, 1981; and Ocito, at Cere-Okun, January 28, 1981.
116. Testimony of Matiya Abwoye.
117. Onyango-Ku-Odongo, "The Early History", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.153-155.
118. See Chart 1.5 in Webster, "Noi! Noi!", in Webster, Chronology, p.31.
119. M. Garry, "Pajule: The Failure of Palwo Centralization", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.334.
120. Testimonies of Popiryo, and Demetiro; also see Rowley, "Notes on the Madi", pp.279-294.

121. The system of production that characterized these communities was kin-based, and the economy centred on food production. For a detailed discussion of such social formations see C. Meillassoux's, "Kinship Relations and Relations of Production", in D. Seddon, Relations of Production, pp.289-330; "'The Economy' in Agricultural self-sustaining societies", in Ibid, pp.127-157; and "The Social Organisation of the Peasantry", in Ibid, pp.159-169.

122. There seems to have been little difference in terms of socio-political organization and belief systems between these communities and Ron Atkinson's early settlers of Western Acholi prior to 1680 (see his "State Formation and Development", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.262-290; and "Socio-Political Developments", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900).

123. Testimony of Ochan; also see the testimonies of Kusantino Ongwec, Gulyelmo Aburi, and Obale Cogol.

124. Testimony of Kusantino Ongwec.

125. Ibid.

126. Testimony of Obale Cogol.

127. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, p.537.

128. Ibid, p.537.

129. Testimony of Obale Cogol.

130. Ibid.

131. See Webster, "Lira Palwo", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.313-316;

Idem, "The Second Babito Dynasty in Bunyoro-Kitara", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.

132. This information is based on the fact that its founding ancestor is reckoned to have been one of the first Paluo migrants into Acholi, the others being Atiko, the founding ancestor of the Patiko people, and Kakaire. All of them belonged to the same generation (1679-1706); see Webster, "The Second Babito Dynasty in Bunyoro-Kitara", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
133. Testimony of Sirlaka Okwir, at Odwele, January 16, 1981.
134. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (London, 1940).
135. Testimony of Sirlaka Okwir.
136. Ibid.
137. See p. 204, chapter 3 of this thesis.
138. For the date see chapter 3 below (footnote 23, p.252).
139. Testimony of Ocito.
140. See Crazzolaro, The Lwo, p.561, where he argues that terms such as Yira, Yiro, Yera or Payiro point to the people's Madi origin. Also see the testimony of Otto Lolimakono, at Opidi, February 15, 1981, which suggests that the group may have been of Madi origin.
141. Testimony of Otto Lolimakono.
142. Testimony of Bernardo Obwoya.
143. See Crazzolaro, The Lwo, pp.363, 398; Tucker, The Eastern Sudanic Languages, pp.7-8, 37; Huntingford, The Northern Nilo-Hamites, p.74.
144. Anywar, Acoli Ki Ker Megi, pp.146-165.

145. Testimony of Popiryo Oceng Bali.
146. Indeed, several Acholi states place the famine between 1697 and 1733: Alero from 1697 to 1724; Puranga about 1697-1724; and Patiko and Lira Paluo about 1706-1733 (see Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.11).
147. For details see R. A. Sargent, "The Generations of Turmoil and Stress: A Proliferation of States in the Northern Inter-lacustrine region, c.1544-1625", in Webster, Chronology, pp.231-261. Odongo and Webster suggest that the Koc left Baar for the triangle between 1559 and 1586. During the Nyarubanga Famine, they split, some moving northwards into the Kilak area while others went to Padhola between 1653-1679 (see The Central Lwo, pp.6-9). Also see Crazzolara, The Lwo, pp.303-311 about the traditions of the Koc people.
148. Testimony of Owan Aramac, at Katire Ayom, February 14, 1981.
149. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali.
150. Webster, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.345.
151. Atkinson, "Socio-Political Development", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900, particularly footnote 36.
152. For details, see chapter 3 of this thesis.
153. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali.
154. See Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.223-224.
155. Testimonies of Demetiro, Popiryo, Matiya Abwoye, Bernardo, Ocito, and Owan Aramac.
156. Testimony of Bernardo Obwoya.

157. This may be true if we assume that Iyani was the founding ancestor of the Pajule people and a contemporary of Talapu. Another testimony, however, claims that the Pajule ancestor was called Ogarkwe Wod Kirya (see chapter 3 below).
158. Webster, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.341-342.
159. Atkinson, "State Formation and Development", in Ibid, p.272; also see his "Socio-Political Development", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
160. Rowley, "Notes on the Madi", pp.293-294.
161. Ibid, pp.293-94.
162. Testimonies of Manyo, and Juliano Ongee.
163. Testimony of Manyo.
164. Testimony of Kanuto Lobai.
165. Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.224.
166. Testimony of Kanuto Lobai.
167. Ibid.
168. Testimony of Lotuk, at Oyere, December 4, 1980.
169. Lamphear, The Traditional History of the Jie, p.111.
170. Testimony of Kanuto Lobai.
171. Beaton, "A Chapter in Bari History", pp.169-200.

CHAPTER 3

EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATES C.1679-1872

From the previous chapter it is apparent that the Paluo factor, though it played a considerable role in the evolution of the states, was not the only nor the primary factor in the formation of some of the states. It is time, therefore, that we turned attention to a discussion of the factors that brought about the emergence of each of the states. But before we do that, a word of explanation about the dates chosen above is necessary.

The first date marks the beginning of the generation when the ruling clan invaded Pajok and imposed its hegemony over the earlier settling Madi people. Between this date (i.e. 1679) and 1706, the process of subjugating some of the original small polities under the authority of the ruling clan had been completed, thereby making Pajok the first of the three states to emerge.

The other date (i.e. 1872), on the other hand, marks the establishment of Egyptian rule in Acholi and other parts of Equatoria. This event was justified by the Egyptian government as being a necessary remedy to the ravages and depredations caused by the ivory and slave traders who have been active in Equatoria since the mid-nineteenth century. By 1872 their activities not only attracted Egyptian 'concern', but they had begun to have adverse consequences on the politics of the area as well.

THE PAJOK C.1679-1868

The emergence of Pajok between 1679 and 1706 seems to have been the result of the conquest by the royal clan of the earlier settling groups. It is suggested in traditions that when they came, the ancestors of the ruling clan first went to Lacic where they met the Lamwo people. Then shortly after the encounter with the Lamwo people followed the pogrom on the Pagaya which was to determine which group would become pre-eminent in the area.

The Pagaya were then settled at Pajula, at some distance away from Lacic. And settled adjacent to them were the Paliyo people. These communities became the first target for the new comers' aggressive designs. Soon after their arrival, the Ywaya began to impose themselves on these Madi communities by asking for grain and flour 'contributions' from them. The Paliyo people, apparently fearing the numerical superiority of the new comers and a claimed magical power¹, did not offer any active resistance against them. Nevertheless, the acquiescence of their leader provoked resentment among a section of the group who decided to migrate southwards to Got Okaka in Pajule².

The Pagaya, on the other hand, appear to have interpreted the Ywaya's request for grain and flour as implying a tactical assertion of political hegemony, and acquiescence to it as amounting to acceptance of a subordinate status vis-a-vis the new comers. Accordingly, they declined to offer any kind of assistance to the Ywaya, saying that they did not have surplus grain to give away.

After some time elapsed, they [i.e. the Ywaya] sent a Paliyo man with a message to the rwot of [the] Pagaya for grain and flour. The messenger returned and reported that the Pagaya said they did not have enough grain to give to the guests of Paliyo people.³

The refusal by the Pagaya to offer grain greatly angered the Luo migrants who seem to have been in desperate need for assistance. Thus, encouraged by the intransigence of the Pagaya people, they carried out their pogrom against the polity.

One day when our [i.e. Pagaya] people went hunting, the Lokoro people went and killed their children, women, and old men. They put the bodies in pots and boiled them. When the Pagaya saw what happened, they became terrified and fled.

Remnants of the massacre, accompanied by some Lamwo sympathizers and/or those who were too terrified by the brutal nature of the event, fled southwards and joined Atiko⁵, founding ancestor of Patiko state and one of the figures associated with the Paluo exodus into Acholi. Some elements of Pagaya people, however, fled eastwards to Palwar, while a few remained as a subordinate group under the emergent Pajok state.

Now, how can the Ywaya's pogrom against the Pagaya be explained, or why did they behave in the way that they did? The conflict between these early Madi communities and the migrant Luo group may have, however, been due to the interplay of multiple factors.

Firstly, in a multi-ethnic situation, conflict between different ethnic groups is almost an inevitable accompaniment of closer contacts and interaction in various fields - social, economic, religious or political spheres. Such conflict may be generated, for instance, by population pressure in an ecologically circumscribed area as a result of which a more powerful group may raid less stronger or weaker surrounding peoples to obtain food or to effect the payment of tribute. Conflict and fighting thus occur, and the result would be the emergence of a stronger leader and a better and more 'superior' organization. Such a situation was observed by Webster with respect to Lango-Tiro and Madi elements in the Agoro-Agago region where social conflict between the two ethnic categories prompted the emergence of a state under a Lango-Tiro dynasty⁶. It is in this light that the demand by the Luo migrants for grain and flour 'contributions' from the Madi populations can be seen as an attempt to assert political authority over them.

However, this development may have also been facilitated by a deteriorating economic situation. As noted in chapter two above, the migration of this group of Luo speakers from Anywak was partly associated with the Nyarubanga and the Great Famines which caused the Cwa-Patere and other Luo groups to move southwards into Agoro and Pari-Baar regions. These natural disasters were followed by yet another famine, the Nyamdere Famine, which the traditions of many Acholi states place between 1697 and 1733. The emergence of Pajok between 1679 and 1706 falls within the broad spectrum of these dates

and may have very well been the result of the effects of this famine. Indeed, there is indication that this may have been the case for traditional evidence portrays the Ywaya as hungry refugees.

There was no rain for a long time. The sun shone almost endlessly. Crops failed. People were [desperately] hungry; the Lokoro people [i.e. the Ywaya] more so than other groups since they had just come from Lokoro [Lafon]. They began to force people to give them grain. They also had Tangu [i.e. miracle]. That is why people feared them.

Furthermore, the traditions of the Lamogi clan also report of a severe famine during this period⁸. It is, therefore, legitimate to assume that the Ywaya-Pagaya conflict was a result of economic dislocation caused by the outbreak of the Nyandere Famine. The pogrom was both a deterrent as well as a mechanism to enhance the ascendancy of the Luo group to a pre-eminent position. The same period also witnessed the emergence of several states in the interlacustrine region⁹.

In the case of Pajok state, the rise to pre-eminence by the Ywaya seems also to have been greatly enhanced by their ambition for power as well as a prior experience in political organization. Together with the Luo-speaking Kor and Boi clans of Lafon, the Ywaya appear to have left Anywak not only because of the effects of the Great Famine, but were apparently a defeated group that could not lay any rightful claim to Anywak kingship¹⁰. Whereas the Boi and Kor remained commoners and did not rise to a pre-eminent position in their new homeland (i.e. Lafon), the Ywaya nurtured the ambition

to become leaders and impose themselves over alien groups. In a sense, they came as an 'elitist' group seeking to dominate other people. This is the implication of the claim that

When the Ywaya came, they found the earlier settling people living haphazardly without any form of [political] organization. They had no rwot ruling over them. When they saw that our rwot knew everything, they decided to follow him. 11

Indeed, as discussed in chapter two above, the early settlers that preceded the ruling clan in Pajok were small autonomous kin or extra-kin units. There was no supra-local authority structure over all of them. Each conducted its own affairs independently of one another, although there was apparently much closer contacts and interaction in both the social and economic spheres.

In spite of this organizational feature, however, one or the other of the groups that settled adjacent to each other appears to have attained a position of partial pre-eminence over the others. The traditions of the Pagaya, Paliyo and Bobi all claim that each of the two other groups constituted a bong (i.e. commoner) group vis-a-vis itself prior to the Luo invasion¹². The ascendancy of the group concerned, if at all it was effected or any attempt made towards attaining that goal, may have been based on the fact of an extended occupancy of the area or which group arrived there first before the others.

Whether any of these groups was eventually going to rise to a pre-eminent position and impose its hegemony over the others, nevertheless, the arrival of the Ywaya was to climax the development towards a higher and more complex social form - that is, the formation of a hierarchically ordered socio-political structure represented by Pajok state.

Unlike the early Madi settlers, the Luo migrants had an experience of a more 'superior' political organization than the kin or extra-kin units that formed the basis of the political structure of the first settlers. Like the Anywak and the Shilluk, they seem to have believed that any group with ritual power had natural right to rule over those that had no such powers.

Both Anywak and Shilluk noble houses, for instance, claim supernatural ancestry. The Nyiye clan of the Anywak claims that its founding ancestor (Ukiro) came from the river. He had both magical and supernatural powers. After proving his political and magical superiority, he predated the daughter of Cua, the eponymous ancestor of one of the earliest settling clans in Anywak. After this incident, Ukiro returned to his subterranean home, leaving behind beads and a fishing spear which were to be symbols for his descendants to hold dominant political positions¹³.

The Shilluk, similarly, believe that their first Reth (i.e. King) called Nyikango was descended from a white cow created by Juok (i.e.

spirit or high god), while others believe that he was the son of the sister of a crocodile. Nyikango had supernatural powers, but disappeared into heaven soon after conquering Shillukland and laying down basic laws for the society¹⁴. The Boi and Kor of Lafon also have similar traditions of superhuman ancestry¹⁵.

Although their traditions do not claim supernatural ancestry, nevertheless, the Ywaya 'invented' something similar to it. They claim that their ancestor had supernatural powers. He had a spear and a calf which had the extraordinary ability to make marks on unusually hard rocky surfaces¹⁶. Furthermore, they claim that their ancestors were a god-chosen people and ate food made by JOK. Other groups such as the Lamwo were beaten when they attempted to eat the food¹⁷.

Ralph S. Herring sees these legends as forming part of an ideology of dominance which the early Luo peoples developed to facilitate their acceptance as leaders in non-Luo societies. Thus, he argues that the ascendancy of the Nyiye and Kwareth clans of the Anywak and Shilluk were based on the application of this ideology¹⁸.

Whether this is true or not, the fact is that it is often difficult to determine when and where the decisive step was taken that caused the formation of each particular state. No one knows exactly when a particular state came about, but in some cases - as in the case of the Anywak and Shilluk - it may be that some contemporary leaders realized

that a new situation had developed or that time was ripe to create new, or re-organize existing, institutions. When they did so (whether professedly or really), through the introduction of new laws and new forms of organization - such as Nyikango and Ukiro apparently did for the Shilluk and Anywak - or new mythical charters; they came to be represented in traditions as the creators or founding fathers of the states in question. Yet, in reality, what they did was only make explicit certain already existing trends. In other words, like the 'Great Man' of history, they exerted their influence only under favourable conditions. And when they did so, they left their 'footprints in the sand of time'¹⁹.

The Ywaya-Pagaya conflict and the subsequent ascendancy of the Luo migrants to a dominant political position can also be understood along this perspective. The general economic break-down that affected the northern interlacustrine region following the outbreak of the Nyandere famine provided fertile ground for the development of a new situation. The other factors mentioned above, such as the factor of multi-ethnicity and the Ywaya's ambition for leadership and a prior experience in political organization, acted as stimulants or catalysts for the re-organization of existing socio-political structures, represented by kin units, into a hierarchical state structure under their own dominance.

It is along this perspective that the claim that the early settlers were living 'haphazardly devoid of any political organization'

can be better understood. Its function was to explain the emergence of the state and the establishment of the Luo dynasty vis-a-vis the first settlers. But by claiming that the early migrants lacked any cohesive political organization, it was also distorting reality. The indigenous peoples who settled in the area before the arrival of the Ywaya were organized into small polities each of which was headed by a clan leader. The coming of the new group from Anywak simply created a new situation that facilitated the emergence of the state under Ywaya leadership.

Meanwhile, the social and political stress engendered by the economic dislocation set peoples from the northern interlacustrine region migrating northwards. The Attyak people, led by their rwot Labongo II, came into the region of mounts Guruwa and Patoko. They met and fought the Patoko people who were then organized into a small polity²⁰. By 1721 small groups of Patoko people had joined both Pajok and the emergent Panyikwara states, while a few proceeded further northwards to Agoro²¹.

In the next generation (i.e. by 1748), another Luo-speaking group (i.e. the ancestors of the Pamucu and Pambira lineages) migrating from western Acholi under the impact of the Nyandere famine invaded Mt. Ayom area²². Some of the original Madi settlers (particularly the Ayu people) fled south-eastwards and settled at Got Adodi, but they were subsequently incorporated within Pajok state.

The incorporation of the Ayu people, however, seems to reflect a new policy adopted by the ruling hierarchy - the policy of expanding the territorial confines of the state. The policy appears to have been directed more towards non-Luo peoples than the Luo-speaking populations of the area such as the Pamuda and Panyigiri who continued to live as autonomous units.

Between 1760 and 1787, the emergent state expanded eastwards and southwards from its nucleus in the Lacic-Pajula area to include the Madi-speaking Bobi, Biti and Ayu people²³. Up until then, these communities were living independently of Pajok state.

After their defeat, the Paliyo, Pagaya and Lamwo people joined the Ywaya as bong [i.e. commoners]. But Jaa Bobi refused to join them and remained at Lanyungu.....Jaa Biti did not also join the Lokoro people.²⁴

Of the three communities, however, the Bobi alone appear to have been organized into a polity of some repute and size. Probably as a result of the invasion by the Ywaya people, they felt threatened and formed a polity as safeguard against attacks by hostile or aggressive neighbours. The polity was subsequently joined by individuals and groups of diverse ethnic origins coming mainly from the Agoro region²⁵.

The foundation of this polity is remembered in tradition by a long legendary story part of it may be reproduced here.

Bobi rwot was without a child. He was like a woman. Bobi people became concerned about the fate of the Ker, so three people were sent Loka Nam [i.e. across the lake or sea] to consult an Ajwaka [oracle priest]. The Ajwaka told them: 'Your rwot is swallowed by JOK; that is why he is like a woman. You must sacrifice a ram and a girl with a protruding navel to cleanse him'..... when this was done, the wife of the rwot conceived..... One day, the child spoke from the womb: 'mother, tell rwot that I want to come out. Let Bobi people kill a bush-buck and dry its skin. I will sit on it when I come out'..... When Tangu grew up, he began to look after cattle.... If the herds were thirsty, he'd pull ocwico [a certain type of grass] and water would gut out from the hole and flood the whole area.²⁶

This legend may be interpreted as symbolizing the emergence of a new polity of the Bobi people. The legendary figure Tangu, if at all he was a historical figure, served as the centre of a new 'communitatis' much like Womunafu of nineteenth century Busoga²⁷.

But the emergence of the polity seems to have been associated with the influence of the now prevalent Paluo concepts of government. The suggestion is based, first, on the claimed link between Bunyoro (i.e. if loka is taken to mean Bunyoro or Pawir as the traditions of several Acholi states suggest) and the 'continuity' of the ker of the Bobi. Secondly, and more importantly, traditional evidence suggests that the Bobi were among several non-Luo groups (the others being the Biti and Ayu) to whom the Ywaya distributed royal drums²⁸.

Now in many parts of Acholi, the introduction of the concept and symbol of the drum is said to have been synonymous with the

establishment of independent states. In the case of the emergence of Bobi chiefdom, however, it is not clear whether the Ywaya (i.e. assuming that they were actually responsible for the introduction of the concept to these people) intended it to be utilized for the creation of independent polities, or whether it was a means for them to subordinate these communities. Moreover, there is no explicit reference in traditions to indicate whether the Bobi may have actually been influenced as a result of contacts with Bunyoro or not.

Whatever the case, it seems to have been ultimately the case that the Ywaya had actually wanted to bring the Bobi under their own suzerainty for when the emergence of Bobi became a reality, they were greatly alarmed.

The Ywaya heard of /Tangu's magical powers/ and became jealous: 'Our daughter has begot ker to the Bobi /Onywalo ker bot Bobi/. Now the Bobi will take away the ker if Tangu remains with them. We must bring him here /i.e. to Pajok/²⁹.

The testimony not only shows that the Ywaya were concerned about their 'coveted' leadership position, but that they had apparently tried to bring the Bobi under their dominance by arranging a marriage link between the two groups. When this strategy failed, the Ywaya resorted to the aggressive policy of fighting the polity. The Bobi were defeated following a bloody three-day-war, and were subsequently incorporated within Pajok state.

The incorporation process seems to have involved the placing of a chiefly representative over the Bobi as well as the Biti and Ayu people.

The Biti people had no rwot. Our [i.e. Ywaya] ancestor then sent one of his 'sons' to them to be their rwot. He also sent others to the Bobi and Ayu people³⁰. . . . Yaro was sent to become rwot of the Bobi people. He was cun rwot [literally pennis of the rwot, but means 'son of rwot']³¹.

The new measure signalled the eventual collapse of the Bobi, Biti and Ayu polities. The state had almost expanded to include the present territorial confines of Pajok. Other small and weak groups joined the expanded state voluntarily - probably fearing a repeat of the Bobi calamity - while groups that came as a result of famine or political repression in their places of origin had no alternative but to join the new state.

However, the Luo-speaking Panto chiefdom, though adjacent to Pajok, was never incorporated but remained as an autonomous unit. The Pamuda and Panyigiri, on the other hand, became a part of the state but their status was different from those of the non-Luo peoples. Unlike the other groups, they did not pay tribute to the rwot of Pajok³².

The overwhelming superiority of the Ywaya was, however, compensated for by an ideological (i.e. religious) insubordination. The jogi of the Larwo, Bobi and Pagaya were 'elevated' to a 'national' status. When

Pajok was in distress, such as when there was crop failure, the people would consult one of the three jogi³³, while another jok called Labot - Onyom safeguarded the state in war.

As the state continued to grow and prosper, many individuals, families or groups came to join it. Between 1814 and 1841, as a result of an increase in population, rwot Angwa divided the state into two 'administrative' parts, Lacam and Lacwic (literally left and right, but actually meaning the western and eastern parts). Over each part of the state, he placed a chiefly representative, Irongo and Ayau, both of whom were his sons³⁴.

In the 1840's a famine struck Pajok and many Pajok people went as far as Pajule in eastern Acholi to look for grain. However, many of them were killed by the Pajule people³⁵ who were also subjected to persistent attacks by Lango Dyang refugees fleeing to Acholi as a result of the famine³⁶.

The Pajok people were resentful of the unprovoked attack on their people by the Pajule. Thus after a bumpy harvest, they decided to avenge the deaths of their 'brothers'. They allied themselves, first, with the Labongo people, then with the Labwor clan of Pajule itself which was locked in a bitter struggle against the Paluo clan of the state³⁷.

Soon after the conflict with the Pajule, however, the state was subjected to an internal stress that put its unity to the limit. Following the death of Otoke in about 1868, his two brothers Irongo and Ayau got embroiled in succession struggle for the regency. Each of the two parts of the state supported its claimant to the regency. In the ensuing struggle, Ayau went to Obbo to solicit the support of Arab traders against his rival. The conversation between him and the leader of the traders purportedly ran thus:

"Ahmed, don't you have teeth for eating cattle?" Ayau asked. Ahmed replied, "I have teeth for eating anything". Then Ayau told him, "if you have teeth, come with me to Pajok and let us feast"³⁸.

The alliance with the Arab traders tipped the balance of power in favour of Ayau and his supporters. Fearing its consequences, Irongo fled to Attyak and took with him all the regalia of the state. In spite of his victory, however, Ayau never reigned for any reasonable length of time. He died almost soon after his accession to office and was succeeded by Anyoda, the son of rwot Otoke.

The conflict, nevertheless, signalled the beginning of a new era, the era of Arab traders and their intervention in local politics. This was a new factor and was to remain a potent force for most of the nineteenth century.

THE OBBO C.1694-1872

The traditions of the Obbo people recognize the ancestors of the Lokomini as the founders of the state. They claim that the ker (i.e. leadership or rwotship of the state) of Obbo originally belonged to the group before the ancestors of the ruling clan rose to pre-eminence and subordinated the Lokomini under their authority³⁹. These claims, however, raise very fundamental questions: Did the state emerge as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century as traditions suggest? What exactly occurred or what did the ancestors of the Lokomini do to warrant the conclusion that the state was actually formed around this time?

Although there is a dearth in the traditions about the early period of settlement, it seems almost certain that the socio-political structure represented by the early Lokomini community was not a state. It lacked many of the attributes of statehood. The first Lokomini settlers formed what was earlier on referred to as a kin unit. This kin grouping was later joined by the ancestors of the Lokoworu and Irwangi people, all of them of the same linguistic origin, to form an extra-kin grouping.

Traditional evidence suggests that the leadership of this extra-kin grouping belonged to the Lokomini⁴⁰. The basis of the leadership, however, appears to have been dependent on those factors which were

already recognized by J. Maquet as being fundamental in the distribution of power in 'global' societies.

In a global society, one lineage or clan generally has precedence over all the others. It may have been the first to arrive in an area, and been later joined by the others; or it may remember an ancestor further back than those of the other groups which were formed by fission from a common root represented by this very ancient ancestor. In this case, the patriarch of the first group will enjoy a certain pre-eminence over the rest⁴¹.

Indeed, the extra-kin grouping formed by these kin units was a global society in the sense defined by Maquet⁴². The leadership of the group was apparently based on both of the criteria mentioned.

Firstly, as traditions suggest, the ancestors of the Lokomni were the first to settle the area which became the nucleus of the future Obbo state. This extended occupancy was thus more like a charter for them to gain a pre-eminent position in the emergent extra-kin grouping vis-a-vis the Lokoworu and Irwangi people.

Secondly, and equally important, is the fact that they trace their ancestry to Obbo⁴³ whom traditions recall as the founding ancestor of the Obbo people. Whether Obbo was actually their ancestor or not, the claim is important in the sense that it acted as a powerful factor to legitimize their pre-eminent position within the community.

In spite of this development, the community lacked one of the most fundamental attributes of statehood - that is, tributary obligation by the ruled to the rulers. There is no indication that the Lokoworu and Irwangi people paid tribute to the leader of the Lokomini in recognition of his pre-eminent position. On the contrary, traditions suggest that the three kin units were bound together by a kinship network⁴⁴, although the nature of the relationship seems to be no more than that they belonged to the same linguistic origin.

The structure of power and authority in this community also appears to have been much like Meillassoux's description of power relationship in nineteenth century Guro society⁴⁵. The distribution of power was apparently based on seniority, the elders being respected by the young because of their counsel for community-wide problems. Apart from this, there was no semblance of authority or power which the elders exercised; no tribute was paid to them and nothing, except age, differentiated them from the rest of the community.

Without any effective authority and/or a stratified social structure, the extra-kin grouping dominated by the Lokomini could not have, therefore, been a state. It was simply a community of immigrant groups under the leadership of a clan head, elder or a strong personal leader or hero. The state, as a centralized socio-political order whose basic function is to regulate relations in a society divided into at least two basic strata or emergent social classes - the rulers and the ruled - had not yet emerged.

It was, however, towards the end of the seventeenth century (i.e. between 1694 and 1721) that the state, as defined above was formed. This development is recounted by two variants of traditions about the origin of Obbo state.

One variant of the traditions suggests that the emergence of the state was due to a conflict between the ancestors of the Lokomini and Abong clans. According to this version, the ancestors of Abong clan came and dispossessed the Lokomini people from the Ker by force.

When Abong came, they fought our people
[i.e. the Lokomini] and took away our rain-
stones. They also took charge of our JOK
[called] Jikiloti,.....We became bong
[i.e. commoners]⁴⁶.

The other version, on the other hand, claims that the Lokomini people deserted their leader and began to follow the leader of the Abong because he was a selfish man who never shared his meals with people. The leader of Abong clan, on the other hand, is recalled as having been a generous person who had the welfare of his people at heart.

The Lokomini rwot was selfish. He did not take care of his people. Instead, he used to eat his meals on top of a tall ant-hill. His wives used a ladder to take the meals there. Then a new rwot came from Lotuko [i.e. Otuho]. This new rwot shared his meals with the people. He came well off [obino pek], so people began to follow him⁴⁷.

In spite of the conflicting accounts of the two variants, there is indication that both events did actually take place. And it seems that the key to understanding this development might lie in seeing the changing power structure as a function of the productive and demographic potential of the areas settled by these communities.

As noted in chapter two above, the Lokomini and some of the Otuho migrants settled in mountainous areas in the Lotti mountains. The Abong, on the other hand, settled on the foothills of Got Kapal near rivers Kimoru and Ayii. In comparative terms, therefore, the area settled by the Lokomini was more circumscribed than that of the Abong people. Such a situation of environmental circumscription may have promoted important economic differentials between the two communities despite the fact that the whole region is generally well endowed with rainfall.

An expected result of this would have been for the difference to lead to a concentration of wealth by the Abong leader which, in turn, would have generated ambition for political power. Power then, in other words, becomes as a kind of internal cement which strengthens the fragile but all important economic differentials upon which social differentiation is based⁴⁸.

This, indeed, seems to have been the trend of development that took place in the region. The Abong appears to have been in a much better economic position than the Lokomini whose mountainous settle-

ment could not have allowed for extensive cultivation to realize surplus production. Furthermore, traditional evidence suggests that between 1694 and 1721, Otuho and Lango elements were migrating from the Dongotono mountains towards Acholi in large numbers. These migrants successively displaced the Lokomini from Got Kaphoro and Lamoko until they came to settle in the region of mounts Kapai and Lobeca.

There were many people coming from the mountain there [i.e. Dongotono]. When they came, they found the Lokomini at Got Kaphoro and said: 'leave this mountain to us. We don't have anywhere to settle'. The Lokomini left the mountain and came to Got Lamoko. Then another group came and asked them to leave.' Again they left and went to Kapai⁴⁹.

The nature of these movements suggests an unusual situation comparable to the great population movements from Pari-Baar region towards the lacustrine region during the Nyarubanga and the Great Famines. In fact, the Dongotono area is known for its scarcity of rainfall, probably because of its being on the leeward side of rain-bearing winds. Drought and crop failures, therefore, seem to have been a common feature of the area.

Whatever actually set these peoples migrating towards Acholi, the impact of their presence caused population pressure which forced the Lokomini people to move nearer to the Abong people - and this at a time when traditions recall that the area was struck by a famine⁵⁰.

There is no doubt that during an unfavourable economic situation such as this an ambitious leader with surplus agricultural and/or other products could use it to attract following and bolster his own position by offering food or beer for entertainment, or shelter and food to those hard-hit by the scarcity. The snow-balling effects of having such a tribute-paying following has, for instance, been noted with respect to the foundation of Patiko, Alero and Koc states.

In Patiko.....Atiko had enough meat to feast his neighbours, to offer it in exchange for grain, to acquire rights over both the Acwa and two of the most important local jogi, and to persuade the members of at least four different clans to join him. In Alero and Koc, similarly, their leaders offered meat in exchange for assistance of various kinds, thereby pleasing some of the local people so much that they eventually acknowledged the political pre-eminence of the migrants⁵¹.

The leaders of these emergent communities thus utilized the surplus products available at their disposal for political gains.

The leader of Abong clan also used the same strategy to win acceptance and following from the neighbouring Lokomini people. He entertained both his people as well as the Lokomini people without discrimination. The latter then decided to desert their leader and follow the Abong leader.

One day rain fell very heavily. People caught plenty of white ants. They decided /therefore/ to take some to the new rwot from Lotuko. They also began to cultivate for him. 52

The payment of tribute by these people to the Abong leader symbolized the act of their collapse and submission as well as the ascendancy of the Abong to a pre-eminent position. It signalled the emergence of a new, larger and more complex socio-political order, a society characterized by two emergent social classes, the class of rulers and the ruled. It was also symptomatic of a changing political economy vis-a-vis the two communities, and the critical factor for change here seems to have been the composition of the surplus which the emergent ruling class 'appropriated' and put to new uses.

The final straw to their pre-eminence, however, came as a result of fighting generated by population pressure as the Lokomini encroached on the resource base of the Abong people.

The Lokomini were an aggressive people
/Joo Kolo/.....They pushed the Abong
away from Got Kapai. But the Abong were
many /and/ defeated them⁵³.

The conflict provided, as it were, the supportive climate to ensure the concentration of power in the hands of the emergent ruling hierarchy. The Lokomini not only lost the Ker (i.e. leadership position), but the extra-kin grouping for which they had provided the leadership also broke up. Its leader moved towards the Lotti mountains with some followers and joined the Iyire and Ngabara people, while other small groups of Lokomini, Lokoworu and Irwangi people joined Kitaka, Oyere and Lowudo clans⁵⁴.

It is further suggested that a section of the ruling lineage was absorbed by Abong clan. The group is said to be represented by Kure lineage⁵⁵. Its function in the state seems to have been to perform ceremonies related to Jok Jikiloti and the installation of rwot on the Ker.

The new socio-political order was gradually joined by yet more migrants coming to Acholi from different directions. The ancestors of Lokide clan, for instance, left Got Lokobo area as a result of a famine⁵⁶ and settled at Got Pakwa by around 1733. The tim (i.e. land) which they settled came to be known as Meri Lokide. Though it was a bit distant from the centre of the new state, it seems that the two communities maintained some contacts between themselves. Between about 1733 and 1760, they came closer to each other by a marriage between an Abong man and the daughter of one of the ancestors of Lokide clan⁵⁷. The Lokide people then began to identify themselves more with Obbo state than Pajombo chiefdom which they had initially wanted to join⁵⁸.

During the same period (i.e. 1733-1760), a section of the Gem people left the Pajombo as a result of a war and joined Oyere clan⁵⁹. The ancestors of Ijula lineage also fled Lirya in the Lokoya area following a war with their neighbours⁶⁰. When they came to Obbo, they settled near river Kimoru where an Obbo hunter spotted them. The rwot invited them to come home and gave them food. Later, they joined the Lowudo people.

The absorption of the Gem, Lokide and Ijula people was typical of the incorporation process. It indicates that there were various mechanisms for absorbing new groups into the state: kinship affinity, security needs, and so on. Nevertheless, whatever condition motivated each particular group to join any of the component clans of the state, the result of incorporation was recognition of the authority of the rwot and the pre-eminence of the ruling clan. Every group joining the state had to pay tribute to the rwot both in kind and labour.

By around 1814, the ruling hierarchy seems to have further consolidated its position by introducing the system of chiefly representation.

Lolori also began to send sons of rwodi to other [commoner] groups to be his eyes [i.e. representatives] over them..... In Lowudo, Panyadwala and Gari [lineages] descended from sons of rwodi sent there. Other children of rwodi were sent to Kitaka, Logolo, Padyeri and Opckomere⁶¹.

It is not clear, however, what motivated the rulers to introduce the system at the time that they did, but it was apparently a more effective way of exercising chiefly authority.

A more interesting aspect of this system is that its introduction seems to have been connected with the coming of the concept and symbol of the royal drum to Okbo. As noted above with respect to Pajok state, the system of chiefly representation more or less coincided with the

introduction of the concept of drum symbolism as a mechanism for subordinating commoner groups to state authority and enhancing the position of the ruling hierarchy.

In the case of Obbo, however, there is no conclusive evidence to indicate whether the two concepts coincided or not, and, if not, which one preceded the other. But during the reign of Kaciba (i.e. from 1841 to 1868), the concept of the drum as an embodiment of state power had already been deeply rooted. It was used to subordinate commoner groups to state power. Accordingly the royal drum came to be known as Otur Kal⁶² (literally palace or home breaker, but actually meant an instrument for subordination).

This integrative mechanism was strengthened by marriage alliances between the ruling clan and commoner groups. Rwot Kaciba, for instance, married from nearly all the clans of the state. Thus, he had a representative (usually one of his sons) in almost each of the clans⁶³. He was so effectively represented that Baker thought of his system of government as a 'family government'⁶⁴.

In spite of his 'closeness' to the people, there were signs that people were not absolutely happy under Kaciba's rule. He seems to have pursued a heavy-handed policy, especially as regards any attempt to undermine the authority of the rivot. Thus, when the activities of a blacksmith of the state threatened to undermine his authority by diverting people's attention away from their usual

tribute-paying obligations to the rwot, Kaciba sacked his home. The blacksmith and some few associates moved away to Lokung and joined Parapul clan⁶⁵. Secondly, when a Gem man refused to carry the royal drum, he told the Gem people to 'go wherever you want'⁶⁶.

Kaciba's action may reflect a continuing concern about his control of affairs of the state. But it is, nevertheless, ironical that such concern should have encouraged fissiparous tendencies which are often detrimental to the unity of the state.

Towards the end of his rule, however, the state was visited by Arab traders searching for ivory. They made Obbo as their headquarters, and from there they raided neighbouring areas for ivory, slaves and foodstuff. The Arab presence was a wholly new factor and their impact was soon to manifest itself even during Kaciba's life time. Thus, he complained to Baker that his country "is now a land of starvation [since] the Turks had eaten up the country"⁶⁷.

Before his death, Kaciba felt it necessary to re-organize the administration of the state to suit the new conditions by dividing the functions of government into two - one dealing with the affairs of the Arab traders and the other to take care of the rwot's obligations towards his people⁶⁸. But after his death, this administrative re-organization became the cause of a dispute between two of his contending sons. By 1872, the quarrel had taken a new turn when Otto shot and killed Loci whom Kaciba had appointed to deal with the Arab

presence⁶⁹. Otto was arrested by Turco-Egyptian officials and taken to Padibe which was apparently the administrative headquarter of the region. However, he was released on the intervention of Rwot Ogwok and Obbo elders who felt that succession to the rwotship should still remain in Kaciba's family in spite of the incident. Subsequently, he was made rwot of Obbo, but his accession to the office marked the transition to a new era for his rule was characterized by repression unlike those of his predecessors⁷⁰.

The neighbouring polities of Pajambo, Pokongo, Tinggili and Koyo had not, however, been incorporated into the state as yet. They were autonomous of Obbo, and they continued to be as such till the establishment of colonial rule in the area. It was only then that they were amalgamated to Obbo to form a single administrative unit.

THE PANYIKWARA c.1721-1868

The foundation of this state is often attributed to the ancestors of the Pajule people who apparently came from Pajule kingdom in eastern Acholi towards the end of the seventeenth century or during the early part of the next century. Although there is no doubt that the Pajule did actually play a very significant role in the formation of the state, it also seems to be the case that they came and found a small chiefdom under the political dominance of the descendants of Nyikwara from whom the polity derived its name.

If this is the case, what was, therefore, the Pajule contribution to the emergence of the state? In order to understand this question, it is necessary first of all to discuss the factors that led to the formation of the polity which they found in the area.

The emergence of this socio-political order seems to have been the result of several factors. Firstly, the communities that formed this socio-political organization were apparently groups of the same linguistic origin. The Panyijok, Pacar, Pali, Palokiri and Pamunda, for instance, recall a common tradition of origin in Anywak⁷¹. Their ancestors came to Panyikwara at different times, but all were moving more or less during the same generation (i.e. from 1640 to 1667). They recognized the pre-eminence of the ancestors of the ruling lineage around which the polity was organized⁷². In other words, the factor of a common origin or kinship network lay at the basis of this development.

Another factor which brought these groups to form one community under the leadership of the ruling lineage was probably also the need for security. It seems that the relationship between the early Madi and Luo speakers was one of warfare or threats of war. When the Gila migrants came, for instance, they fought the Sudanic-speaking Logwar people who were forced to move southwards to eastern Acholi⁷³.

Under these circumstances, therefore, a more powerful or populous group will rise to dominate weaker and smaller groups as they seek security and protection against their enemies. Thus, when the ancestors of the ruling lineage came, some of the early settling people sought protection from them by placing themselves under the new comers.

Bura Kal came as a large group. They found the Woroger people here. Then Jaa Woroger said to them: 'It is good that you have come. Your arrival is timely because we are disturbed by constant fighting. Let us unite and be brothers'⁷⁴.

Whereas the factor of security or warfare prompted groups such as the ancestors of the Woroger people to join the populous new comers, other groups were simply attracted by the fact that these people possessed 'superior' agricultural implements. Traditional evidence suggests that the early settlers had rudimentary implements for agriculture. They lacked axes for cutting down trees from cultivated fields.

The Luo migrants from Anywak, on the other hand, knew of the art of making axes⁷⁵. This, in turn, seems to have been an influence of the Sudanic speakers of Aru⁷⁶ where they settled briefly before migrating to Panyikwara. When they saw the 'primitive' way of cultivation of the early settlers, they showed them how to cut down trees from the field in order to realize good yield. The ancestors of the Panyijok were so impressed that they decided to pledge allegiance to the ruling clan.

When I [i.e. the ancestors of Bura Kal] came, I found Jaa Panyijok also settled here. But he had no axe for cutting down trees from the fields....[so] at night, my ancestor used to cut down the trees. When Jaa Panyijok saw this in the morning, he was surprised.....One day, they decided to hide in the bush nearby to see what was happening to the trees. When my ancestor went at night to cut the trees, the Panyijok caught him. He told them: 'I am not alone. I have my people nearby here'. The Panyijok then told him: 'Since you have shown us how to cut trees from the fields, you should now be our leader. If it were not because of you, we would not be realizing good harvest. We would be dying of hunger'⁷⁷.

Indeed, the possession of 'superior' implements for agriculture was such an important asset for agricultural communities such as these that in some African societies iron workers were greatly respected. In Lugbara, for instance, traditional evidence recalls that the Ndu or Ondoa, which was a Sudanic-speaking substratum, used to be treated with great reverence because of their knowledge and skill of iron-working.

We had no blacksmiths. We bought hoes from the Ndu whom we called 'Ondoa' [i.e. the clever ones]. They were supposed not to be killed. Some settled among us. Our elders used to say that if you killed the Ndu, people would be unable to get hoes and famine would break out and people would die for there would be no food⁷⁸.

Because of the economic importance of their skill, many of the Ndu were eventually absorbed and integrated within Lugbara society through marriages. In this way, they continued to play an important role in the economic life of Lugbara society.

Similarly, this same factor, in conjunction with others, stimulated development towards statehood in Panyikwara. Though the emergent community was small, as it consisted of only a few lineages and clans, nevertheless, it was state-like in organization and structure because the various communities of which it was made up were organized around a dominant lineage which they recognized as being pre-eminent among all others.

However, an important difference between this socio-political organization and a state was that the relationship of the aristocratic lineage with that of other lineages was not governed by tributary obligation of the latter to the former since they were all bound by a common kinship network. Tribute payment seems to have been instituted only after the state had emerged⁷⁹.

It was this small community settled at Got Iwire that the ancestors of the Pajule found when they came to Panyikwara. Now, traditions suggest that the state was founded by these people rather than the ancestors of the ruling lineage who preceded the Pajule in the area. This raises the question of what exactly happened in order for the state to emerge when it did? What, in other words, did the Pajule do to trigger off the formation of the state?

The arrival of the Pajule seems, indeed, to have caused a radical re-organization in the structure and function of this nascent community. It triggered off the development of a state apparatus. There is over-

whelming evidence to indicate that the state emerged under their guidance for the traditions of the various clans associate the foundation of the state with them: "the Ker [i.e. rwotship] of Panyikwara state began with the Pajule"⁸⁰. And one testimony goes even so far as to claim that the Ker began with Talapu whose reign can be placed in generation seven (i.e. 1721 to 1748).

The Ker [i.e. rwotship] of Panyikwara was started by the Pajule. It began with Talapu. Talapu was succeeded by Kitala, Kaciba, Orima, Ongom, Lopinyori and Acee⁸¹.

Now, the concept of Ker indicates that the leadership of the Pajule was already beginning to be seen as an institution rather than a temporary recognition of the outstanding abilities of a leader. It suggests further that the various lineage or clan communities were beginning to accept a subordinate status vis-a-vis the Pajule. In short, the political structure was being re-ordered into the hierarchical state structure. This was no doubt a reflection of the intrinsic value the people, particularly the emergent ruling class, were beginning to place on the utility of the political structure.

Nevertheless, the basic question still remains: What specific factor(s) prompted the Pajule to re-organize the political structure? It would seem that the Pajule were, like the ruling clan of Pajok state, aided in this by their earlier experience in Pajule kingdom of eastern Acholi. This experience in a 'stratified' society organized on a hierarchical basis with at least two basic social strata - the class

of rulers and the ruled - was an important asset in the formation of the new socio-political order.

The Pajule came with their rwot. He had a three-legged stool. He also had a spear with three blades. People used to fear [i.e. revere] him very much⁸².

Whether this testimony is true or not, nevertheless, it is not incompatible with the concept of Ker or kingship which in Luo societies implies a hierarchical power structure, relationships and organization. Specifically, the concept is associated with the idea of a more elevated position of a leader (i.e. rwot) and the payment of tribute to him in recognition of his status and the role he played in society. The relation of the communities of producers of food to that of hierarchy, in other words, provided for the material maintenance of the rulers. The relationship was thus unequal since the ruling hierarchy, though not participating in productive activities, received a considerable portion of the communities' surplus products or labour in exchange for the services which it rendered to them.

To this concept was added, in the wake of Paluo exodus to Acholi from 1679, the idea of drum symbolism as an embodiment of kingship and the state, and the concept of incorporating chiefdoms within expanding states while leaving their own institutions intact and permitting a wider latitude of autonomy.

The utilization of these concepts in both eastern and western Acholi is said to have been responsible for the great transformation that took place there in the political structure from 1680 onwards.

Pajule kingdom of eastern Acholi was, similarly, affected. Before the Paluo exodus, the area consisted of about thirty-three clans, but they lacked a centralized political institution to weld them together. Between 1695 and 1722, however, an elitist group came from Paluo and established a Paluo dynasty in Pajule⁸³. The group had been a part of the Nyoro army that invaded Palaro⁸⁴, but it revolted under the leadership of Owiny Opok. Whereas Olumpanya went back to Bunyoro after the invasion, Owiny Opok and his followers came to Got Okaka in present Pajule.

It would seem that it was about this time that a group left Pajule and came to Panyikwara where they founded a new socio-political order organized on the pattern of a typical Acholi state. It is not certain, however, whether this group was associated with the Paluo migrants or whether they were some of the ancestors of the early clans that settled in Pajule. But it is significant that Crazzolaro claims that Pajule was a dispersal point for numerous Paluo in Acholi⁸⁵. It was here that the Paluo divided into groups, some migrating on further while others joined some of the clans in Pajule. Omiya Anyima is one example of whose continued journey the Paluo in Pajule still recall.

Whichever the case, it seems almost certain that the coming of the group signified the introduction of the concept and symbol of the drum as an instrument of authority and the state. The Paluo migrants in Pajule utilized the concept in their attempt to organize a centralized state structure over the loosely organized clans.

In Panyikwara, the royal drum of the new state was called Akenda which in Luo usually means a person without brothers or sisters. In this sense, it might even suggest that the person who came to Panyikwara and introduced the concept of the drum may have been either a lone individual or leader of a small group - in which case the drum was named in recognition of this fact. Indeed, the tradition of the Pajule claims that their founding ancestor was called 'Ogarkwe wod Kiriya' (i.e. Ogarkwe son of Kiriya) who is said to have fallen from the sky⁸⁶. This suggests either that he was just an individual who came alone or that he was leader of a small group.

If this is so, then his assertion of authority over the earlier settling groups could not have been based on force, but on the concept and symbol of the drum which was now becoming popular in Acholi. In some areas where the concept was utilized to form new states, an individual who possessed a drum simply beat it and thereafter people would recognize his authority⁸⁷. This may have been the case in Panyikwara where the numerically inferior Pajule helped to organize the emergent state.

It should be noted, however, that such objects of royalty as the drum, spear and stool were not in themselves the decisive factor in the transition from the pre-state systems to more complex social forms. They were, rather, traces of the passage of intangible ideas - that is, they signified that rwot or a ruler possessed authority not only by virtue of birth, but also because of the possession of regalia of office which distinguished him from the rest of the people.

The decisive factor which determined the acceptance of these ideas seems to lie in the prevailing economic situation in the region during this period. As noted elsewhere in this study, the Paluo exodus was not only the result of their persecution by Winyi II, but it was also taking place against the background of the Nyandere Famine. There seems to have been only few areas of the northern interlacustrine region which were not adversely affected by the famine.

In Acholi, the social stress caused by the famine was almost of the same intensity and severity as that of the Nyarubanga famine of the sixteenth century. Many groups were displaced and numerous small-scale migrations took place during the period as individuals, families or groups sought better and more adequate sources of sustenance.

In situations such as this, characterized by economic breakdown, social and political strife, it is normal for groups to compete for power resulting in the domination of one group by another⁸⁸. In other words, the prevailing economic conditions in Acholi during this

period were conducive for change. This is evidenced by the formation of states during the period from 1680 to 1780. The coming of the Paluo migrants and the introduction of the concept and symbol of the drum merely provided the supportive climate for the emergence of states in those areas where the concept was utilized.

Similar conditions also prevailed in Panyikwara. The traditions of the people recall a famine about this time, locally known as Kumbere-Kumbere, which was so severe that people were forced to eat animal skins used for sleeping and covering the body⁸⁹.

When the Pajule came and introduced the idea of the drum as a symbol of leadership, the people began to see their leadership as an institution rather than a temporary recognition of the outstanding abilities of their leader. The concept acted, in other words, as a kind of internal cement to legitimize the unequal relationship between the emergent social classes. It was a rationalization of an economic fact of life - the fact that a ruling class actually exploits the mass of producers who are in a subordinate position vis-a-vis itself.

As in other parts of eastern Acholi, the new royal drum came to be associated with rain-making ceremonies. This was a particularly important development because the region is sometimes characterized by scarcity of rainfall. It thus strengthened the institution of rwotship which was now beginning to be seen as a symbol of the state's existence and continuity.

In spite of their role in the formation of the state, the Pajule did not seem to have provided leadership to the emergent organization. They left the leadership of the new socio-political order to descendants of Nyikwara whom they found in the area.

You /Jaa Bura Kal/ are my 'brother'.
Be in charge of the Ker. Make rain
for the people.....I /Jaa Pajule/ am
giving you this Ker because you are my
'brother'⁹⁰.

In other words, like the Kera of Panto chiefdom, the Pajule simply helped the 'nascent' ruling class to found the state. They became a part of the ruling hierarchy only in the sense that together with the ruling lineage, they constituted the royal clan. As such, they were not obliged in any way to pay tribute to the rwot.

Furthermore, both groups were Luo-speaking in origin, and the fact of this common linguistic background underscores the claim that they were 'brothers'. It explains why the ancestors of both groups are said to have originated in Anywak.

Meanwhile, by about 1748, another group coming from Koc in western Acholi invaded the area of Got Ayom and imposed its hegemony on the Madi people settling there. Although their traditions claim that they were tracing the source of ash that allegedly fell on the flour of their rwot⁹¹, there is ample evidence to indicate that the ancestors of the Pamucu and Pombira were moving as a result of the Nyandere famine⁹².

To the west and north-west, small polities were also being formed by migrants coming from the 'south'. The founding ancestor of Pandiker chiefdom called Ker, for instance, came from Parabongo state in western Acholi and settled among a Madi-speaking people in the present Opari area. The original settlers of the area appear to have been organized around one dominant lineage which provided leadership for the community. However, this group soon lost its leadership position to the new comer⁹³, and the polity that emerged subsequently was named after him.

The ancestors of the ruling lineage of Oloro chiefdom, similarly, came from Payira state in western Acholi and founded a polity which was predominantly Sudanic-speaking in population⁹⁴. Between about 1787 and 1814, a splinter group from Palabek state also came and established a chiefdom adjacent to the Oloro people⁹⁵.

The eighteenth century was thus a period of state formation in the area. Many of the migrants that came from the 'south' behaved as though they were elitist groups seeking to establish their political dominance over other groups. This may have been the case since many of them had experience of being part of organized polities in which the ruling hierarchies maintained their position by exploiting the mass of producers of food. Being aware of the economic benefits that accrue from such dominance, the leaders of these migrant groups exploited the specific circumstances in each area to establish their hegemony over the people among whom they settled.

It is not clear, however, what was the nature of the relationship between one state and another, though it is to be expected that each must have guarded its 'independence' jealously.

Among the states formed in the region, Panyikwara appears to have been more populous than any of the small chiefdoms surrounding it. Many groups of different ethnic background joined it. Furthermore, it had a prestigious royal drum which was associated with rain-making ceremonies. It would seem that its possession of a royal drum roused the envy of neighbouring polities, particularly Oloro chiefdom whose ruler secretly organized to assassinate the rwot of Panyikwara state⁹⁶. The event marred the relationship between the two states, and the Panyikwara carried out a retaliatory war against them. Although the Oloro people were defeated and scattered, they were not incorporated within the state. They re-grouped and continued to maintain their independence.

The other chiefdoms were also independent of Panyikwara, but they regarded the Panyikwara people as their 'brothers' and cooperated with them in the defence of their peoples⁹⁷. During the reign of rwot Orima (i.e. 1802-1829), Panyikwara reached the climax of its development. It expanded to include the Ayom people. It was from around this period that the traditions of the Ayom people begin to refer to Orima as rwot madit⁹⁸ (literally big rwot), implying that he was the overall ruler of an expanded state whose other component parts were autonomous. The absorption of Ayom was, of course, based

on the principle that a chiefdom could be incorporated into an expanding state while leaving its institutions intact.

However, after the death of Orima in about 1829, the state entered into a period of 'decline'. It was torn by succession struggles, wars, and the Arab impact. Orima was succeeded by Oranga as regent, but he was killed by his brother Ongom who was disputing the succession⁹⁹. Ongom himself did not reign long. Following his death, the son of Oranga called Lopinyori was brought from Magwi, where he was staying with his maternal uncle, to assume the rwot-ship.

The new rwot did not also reign long. Soon after his accession to power, the Panyikwara were involved in a war with the Koyo people in which he lost his life¹⁰⁰. By this time, the people had left Got Iwire and moved to river Ayii.

According to tradition, the Koyo people were suffering from a famine, so they came as far as the tin of the Panyikwara people to collect Lulu fruits. However, they often ill-treated Panyikwara women found collecting the fruits. It would appear that on one such occasion, a Lokoya party came which included their war leader. He was killed by some Panyikwara men who had accompanied women¹⁰¹. This incident provoked the Koyo people to raise a large army, which included the Mugiri people from as far away as Mongalla, since they were forewarned of the power of Panyikwara state. The resulting war forced

the clans to flee southwards where they re-grouped at Mt. Iwire. The village of the Pajule people, who were apparently the locus of the state's power, was set on fire. The casualties included the rwot who had taken shelter in the village as the people were reckoned for their fighting prowess¹⁰².

A very important consequence of the invasion was that Panyikwara and its neighbours came much closer to one another. When the people of Oloro and Palabek chiefdoms learnt of the invasion, they came to the aid of the Panyikwara people¹⁰³. Furthermore, when the Panyikwara were again attacked by the Koyo and Lokoro people, they fought alongside them.

The need for these kind of defensive alliances was necessitated by the fact that warfare and defence was increasingly becoming the pre-occupation of many polities¹⁰⁴. This was, in turn, a manifestation of the impact of the ivory trade as one community raided another for cattle which gradually came to be used in the transaction of the trade. Consequently, it was advantageous for neighbouring polities to co-operate for the mutual defence of their peoples.

After the death of Lopinyori, Acee succeeded him. He was the longest reigning rwot of Panyikwara state, and his period witnessed the coming of Arab traders to Acholi as well as the British intervention towards the close of the century.

RWOTSHIP AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: FACTORS OF CENTRALIZATION

Available evidence suggests that the institution of rwotship was seen more or less as an embodiment of the state and state power. The rwot was perceived as a ruler par excellence, and his existence was conceived as being vital for the state's welfare and continuity. He was thus likened to the queen mother of termites (min ngwen)¹⁰⁵. The people believed that all societies were ordained to be so constructed with the rwot personifying the utopian qualities of peace, order and justice¹⁰⁶.

This perception of the institution of rwotship, however, represents an interpolation of the power and influence the rwot accumulated over time. In effect, it describes the result of the process of centralization which followed the formation of the state. The question that immediately arises is, therefore, how the process was achieved or how did the rwot accumulate political power in his hands?

Judging from available oral evidence, it would seem that the rwot accumulated power by virtue of the functions, real or unreal, which he performed in society. These included various activities such as handling disputes, organizing more communal activities, being consulted more often, carrying out more and more elaborate ceremonies for the public welfare, or spending more time carrying out other political or administrative duties.

However, of the various functions that the rwot performed or was believed to perform, only three - the ability to arbitrate quarrels, protection of his followers, and rain-making - proved to be of decisive importance in gaining influence and power.

The rwot's ability to arbitrate quarrels was particularly important because in pre-state systems major issues such as quarrels were usually settled periodically through fission. A group would break off and migrate to new areas. Under a state system, however, such problems are settled by the ruler and his advisers¹⁰⁷. In other words, a more complex set of legal-judicial procedures develops to mediate disputes between various elements using the political structure as a system of judicial hierarchy and appeal.

Apart from settling disputes, the rwot also served as a focal point for protection against external attacks. He did not have a standing army. All able-bodied males of fighting age participated in defending the state. However, the decision to go to war or when to make peace remained the prerogative of the rwot and his counsellors¹⁰⁸.

Thus, the rwot was supposed to, and often actually did, create the necessary conditions of peace and security vis-a-vis other states or neighbouring communities. This did not exclude the use of force in the interest of all members of the state, whether from the ruling hierarchy or commoner groups. A person whose kinsman was killed by a member of another state would, for instance, bring the matter to the

rwot and his council of elders and formally ask for vengeance. If the case was genuine, then war was formally declared on the polity in question.

The rwot also used his monopoly of military power to enforce state or judicial decisions. A person who wronged another but refused to pay fine imposed by the rwot and the elders council was made to do so by force. A number of able-bodied men would often be sent to his homestead and loot whatever was available. This measure was meant as a deterrent and to enforce social order within the state.

The monopoly and use of military power was not only important in enhancing the position of the rwot and his control of state affairs, but it also guaranteed the continuance of the unequal redistribution of wealth between the class of rulers and the ruled. After raids or 'foreign' wars, for instance, booty captured was often brought to the rwot who decided the manner of its distribution - how much should go where and who should get what. Sometimes the rwot could antagonize his warriors by being even-handed in distributing spoils of war¹⁰⁹.

The process of political accumulation was also enhanced by the belief that the rwot could make rain. The belief in the power of the rwot to make rain was accentuated by the fact that in many areas of Acholi rainfall is unreliable and generally low. When rain is needed for early cultivation, it is sometimes scanty and not adequate to support the growth of fibrous root crops such as millet which con-

stituted the people's staple. At times when not much rain is needed, it comes in heavy down-pours and destroys crops.

Rainfall reliability is thus a matter about which the people are genuinely concerned. In all Acholi states, it was believed that the rwot could make rain for the welfare of his people. As such, it was important for any emergent ruling class to take possession of the devices which were claimed to be used for making rain¹¹⁰.

The act of dispossessing other groups of their rain-making devices was itself the initial process of accumulation. And once the state was well established, only the rwot was identified with this function. The result was an increase in his power which he sometimes used as leverage to enforce certain decisions on his people. Baker thus writes of Kaciba that

Kaciba is a knowing old diplomatist, and he times his demands with great judgement. Thus, should there be a lack of rain, or too much, at the season for sowing crops, he takes the opportunity of calling his subjects together and explaining to them how much he regrets that their conduct has compelled him to afflict them with unfavourable weather, but that it is their own fault. If they are so greedy and so stingy that they will not supply him properly, how can they expect him to think of their interests? He must have goats and corn. "No goats, no rain; that's our contract my friends", says Kaciba. "Do as you like. I can wait, I hope you can". Should his people complain of too much rain, he threatens to pour storms and lightning upon them for ever, unless they bring him so many hundred baskets of corn¹¹¹.

The people were generally vulnerable to such threats because they strongly believed in the power of the rwot to stop rain or cause too much of it to fall, and thus inflict hardship and suffering on them.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF RWOTSHIP

The functions which the rwot, really or supposedly, performed for the welfare of his people were in reciprocation for the services which the people rendered to him as head of the political community. In other words, the ideology of the state was based on the principle of reciprocity, and the relationship between the ruling hierarchy and the commoners was characterized by the tributary obligation of the latter to the former. Tributary relations, however, developed after the states had been formed to confirm the fact of the unequal access to resources between the emergent classes¹¹².

Tribute was of two kinds, in kind and in labour. The payment of tribute in kind involved the offering of things such as meat, leopard skin, and others, to the rwot. The meat of a certain type of animal locally known as Okong was particularly highly prized and no person, except the rwot and close members of the ruling hierarchy, was supposed to eat it¹¹³.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, elephant tusks became a part of the items that were given to the rwot as tribute. This was

due to the introduction of the ivory trade in Acholi as a result of which ivory became an important economic commodity. It would seem that there was a partial attempt by the ruling hierarchy to dominate the trade in its interest for it did become something of a policy that one tusk of each elephant killed was to be offered to the rwot as tribute¹¹⁴.

And yet, trade in other articles such as iron goods (i.e. hoes, spears, etc.), salt, and red-ochre was not subjected to the same 'control' as the trade in ivory. This may have been a reflection of the fact that trade in the latter item was more valuable than that in iron articles, salt or red-ochre which remained merely a trickle and highly individualized. An individual who possessed ivory could exchange it for cattle or other goods from Arab traders. And it would appear that it was from around this time that cattle began to play an important part in the economy of the people. It was increasingly used for marriage by members of the 'wealthy' class - that is, the ruling hierarchy: "Commoner people used hoes, goats or sheep for marrying, but rwodi married in cows"¹¹⁵. In fact, cattle became so important that an Obbo individual found it necessary for him to risk his life, at a time of constant warfare, going as far as the court of the rwot of Pabo state to recover his cows taken there by Arab traders¹¹⁶.

The second form of tribute consisted in members of the commoner groups working in the fields of the rwot. This was usually done at the beginning of each new agricultural season when rainfall begins to be plentiful. Every village or clan usually went and dug the fields of one of the rwot's several wives. Similarly, during harvest time, members of each clan worked in the fields of the rwot. Such tributary obligations were also often extended to include works such as building houses for the rwot's wives or making granaries for storing foodstuff.

If for one reason or another, such as during droughts or famines, the people did not cultivate the fields of the rwot, then each family was 'taxed' a certain portion of its grain and other foodstuff at harvest time or soon afterwards. In Panyikwara state, this practice appears to have been so common that it became known as AJOK BURA (i.e. tribute for the Bura - royal - clan).

In return for these services, the rwot often entertained each group that went to work in the fields of his wives. However, such redistribution as he performed was not regular nor proportional to what he received from his followers since the yields from the various fields or the gifts that he received from them were usually more than what he gave to them as entertainment. A form of redistributive exploitation, therefore, existed. In a sense, this made the rwot and the ruling hierarchy 'wealthier' than the members of the commoner groups as reflected in their differing ability to use cattle for marrying.

The source of wealth of the ruling hierarchies also came from their monopoly of judicial power. Fines in forms of chickens, goats, sheep, were often imposed on individuals who committed offences. Though these were usually slaughtered and eaten immediately by those who participated in deciding the cases, but some often remained with the rwt or other members of the ruling groups. Other sources of wealth included war booty or Lapii¹¹⁷ (i.e. fees) that were given to the rwt when an individual wanted the death of his kinsman to be avenged.

Tribute payment, war booty, fines, and fees paid to call for war on other groups for an offence committed on one's kinsman, therefore, constituted the basis of the economic 'power' of the ruling hierarchies. Since there was little important trade connections with other communities, not much wealth did come from this source. The only significant exception was the trade in ivory which the ruling hierarchies attempted to control for their own interests.

However, the most important of these sources of wealth was tribute payment. The development of inequality thus begins with the offering of tribute to the ruler. Tributary relations emerged as the most characteristic form of relation of dependence in the state. They define the unequal relationship between the rulers and the ruled as one between two basic emergent social classes in the state. The relationship was an unequal one because the ruling hierarchies, with

the rwodi at the top, received a considerable portion of the surplus products (and surplus labour) of the mass of producers of food in exchange for the services which they rendered to them in spite of the fact that they (i.e. the ruling hierarchies) did not participate in productive activities.

The dominance of the ruling hierarchies, however, appears to have been more political and ideological than economic in character. The communities of direct producers understood the exchange mainly in a political context. Furthermore, they did not really lose their rights to the land. Every village-clan had its land for cultivation and often also hunting. Moreover, land was plentiful and the conditions that obtained for the private appropriation of land elsewhere¹¹⁸ did not obtain in Acholi.

IDEOLOGY AS A FACTOR FOR LEGITIMACY

Traditional evidence suggests that the influence of ideology on the pre-state systems was strong. Nearly every lineage had jok which its members 'worshipped'. After the formation of the states, however, some of these local jogi were elevated to state level.

There were two categories of jogi, identified by the functions people believed they performed, which the people worshipped. The first category consisted of jogi such as Oyaro of the Bobi, Pakec of the Pagaya, Lacic of the Lamwo, Jikiloti of the Lokmini, and Lori of the

Oyira. The main functions of these jogi was to avert disasters such as those caused by epidemic, ensure good harvests, remove barrenness, and generally ensure the welfare of the people.

The Bobi thus claim that if there was drought or epidemic, for instance, the Pajok people went to the custodian of Jok Oyaro to ask him to intercede with the Jok in order to avert the disaster¹¹⁹. The ritual ceremony involved the slaughtering of a goat, smearing the dung on people or placing it on every door-step, and using a leaf from Olwedo tree to bless the people. Iacic, Pakec, Jikiloti and Lori were also believed to perform similar functions¹²⁰.

The second category of Jogi was supposed to perform the function of guiding people to safety during wars, and generally to brighten the chance for victory.

These jogi represented part of the prevailing pre-state religious beliefs, but after the formation of the states they were 'selectively' elevated to 'national' status. When the ritual ceremonies connected with them were being performed, no member of the state was supposed to leave his home for any kind of activity whether hunting or cultivation. The importance placed in these ceremonies was due to the belief that if the regulations were not observed, then the jogi would be annoyed. The result would be poor harvest, destruction of crops by pests or wild animals, or that epidemic might break out.

As indicated above, these jogi belonged to commoner clans or lineages. It was only Jok Jikiloti of the Lokomini which became under the dominance of the ruling clan following the defeat of its original owners¹²¹. And when its ritual ceremonies were being performed, the ruling clan obtained goats or sheep from each of the commoner clans on a rotational basis¹²². This was an act of ensuring the continued domination of the commoners by the ruling class.

It would appear, nevertheless, that the ruling hierarchies respected the prevailing pre-state religious beliefs. They adopted these beliefs and so a politico-religious dualism, a sort of 'ritual pact' between the religious specialists of the subjugated communities and the members of the ruling classes, came about. The state religions then developed from a mixture of these beliefs. This was apparently a strategy devised by the ruling lineages to win support and acceptance from the early substratum of each state. In other words, they traded ideological insubordination for political dominance.

The state religion thus represented only part of the total ideological life of the community. It was that part which the state hierarchy promoted both for its own purposes and for those of the communities whom they subjugated.

The basic function of the state religion was, however, for the justification and perpetuation of the state and the basic division of society into two main social strata. They afforded the chief compensation for the economic burdens resulting from exploitation.

The mass of producers of food believed that the ruler was endowed with 'supernatural' powers and that the functioning of society as a whole depended on him. He was thus to be revered and tribute paid to him for the continued and good functioning of the system.

It was on this basis that the Acholi rwot was likened to the queen mother of termites. The rwot was believed to dwell in the middle of his people like a queen ant in a nest. The queen ant is regarded as the principal organizer of the work of all the others in the nest, for if it is removed the whole organization is known to break down and the nest to disperse. The rwot was similarly regarded. He personified the state, and his existence was thought to be necessary for the continuity of the state.

Thus like the economy, ideology created the necessary conditions for the performance of political activities, both by making possible and justifying social division in the community as a whole. And much of the justification for the unequal politico-economic relationship was produced in the ideological functional sphere of the state.

INTER-STATE RELATIONS, WARFARE AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The relation between one state and another appears to have been generally peaceful. The emergence of one state did not hinder the formation and development of another. If an offence, such as killing, was committed by an individual of one state against a person of another state, the matter was usually settled by the rwodi of the states concerned. This was done either through Lukwena (i.e. messengers or delegated representatives) or by the rwodi themselves meeting to discuss the matter. The usual solution consisted in the offender giving a girl in payment to the kinsmen of the deceased.

This relatively peaceful approach to inter-state relations was, however, circumvented by the lack of an effective institutionalized framework for settling major inter-state disputes. Thus, there were sometimes skirmishes between one state and another¹²³. This was particularly so with regard to relations with neighbouring ethnic communities. Offences involving individuals of two such communities were often settled by warfare which became frequent during the nineteenth century.

The organization of warfare or defence was related to the political structure. The decision to go to war or when to make peace was made by the rwot and his counsellors, who were often clan elders. When a decision was taken such as for going to war, for instance, a drum was beaten and the people would gather at the rwot's palace.

The decision was then communicated to them, and a plan of action discussed.

The 'state army' consisted of warriors from its constituent parts. All able-bodied male of fighting age from each village participated in war. The warriors of each village were often led by a person considered to be brave and intelligent. They fought under his command.

Similarly, every village defended itself against attacks from enemies. Thus, to bolster the defence of each village, stockades were made around them. There were only few gates, usually one, through which a person could gain entry into, or exit out of, the village. In some well defended villages, scouts were posted outside the fences to see approaching enemies¹²⁴. This was particularly so during the late nineteenth century when defence and warfare became the pre-occupation of most communities. When a village was attacked, warriors from other villages often came to their aid.

The political structure was also used as a system of judicial hierarchy and appeal. Disputes between members of one village were usually settled by the elders of the village concerned. Indeed, the village was the unit where most of the day to day activities took place. It often consisted of one clan only.

However, major cases such as those involving killing, or individuals belonging to different clans or villages, were brought before the rwot. Together with elders from other villages, he settled the cases.

In conclusion, it may, therefore, be briefly stated that the formation of each particular state was unique and came about as the result of various factors. In Pajok, for instance, the ruling clan rose to pre-eminence by conquering the original settlers of the area. The conflict, in turn, mirrored fundamental changes in the economy as well as the political ambition and organizational ability of the new comers.

The emergence of Obbo state was, similarly, the result of the defeat in battle of the first settlers by the ancestors of the ruling clan. This event was triggered off by pressure exerted by migrants coming to Acholi from the Dongotono mountains. The possession of surplus product by the leader of the ruling clan also played an important role in inducing the early settlers to accept his leadership - in other words, the emergence of the state.

It was in Panyikwara, however, that the formation of the state seems to have been closely based on the utilization of the Paluo concept and symbol of the drum as an embodiment of authority and the state. The state was formed by migrants associated with the Paluo dispersals from Pajule kingdom of eastern Acholi. The formation of

the neighbouring Ayom, Oloro, Palabek and Pandiker chiefdoms was also associated with peoples coming from the south - particularly from western Acholi. But a very important aspect of these developments was that they were taking place against the background of the general economic dislocation caused by the Nyandere Famine.

Nevertheless, once the states emerged, their ruling hierarchies introduced the concept of the drum to strengthen themselves as well as to subordinate other groups. Possession of the drum became an important aspect of the incorporation and unifying process. In Panyikwara, as in other parts of eastern Acholi, the royal drum was used in rain-making ceremonies. This enhanced the insubordination of commoner groups whose relationship to the rulers was increasingly characterized by tributary obligation.

From the mid-nineteenth century, however, Arab traders began to come to Acholi in search of ivory and slaves. Their presence and activities introduced a new factor in the politics of the area and was of important consequences for the development of the states. Towards the end of the century, the British also intervened in Acholi, and this event was also of great significance to the Acholi. It is to a discussion of these factors that we should now turn.

FOOTNOTES

1. Testimony of Kusantino Ongwec.
2. Ibid.
3. Testimony of Gulyelmo Aburi.
4. Ibid.
5. Crazzolara, The Lwoo, pp.223-228.
6. Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.226. Also see the chapters on the formation of Nkore and Jimma states in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State.
7. Testimony of Owot Odoch, at Obwolto, January 16, 1981.
8. Testimony of Sirlaka Okwir.
9. For an example, see E. I. Steinhart, "The Kingdoms of the March: Speculation on Social and Political Change", in Webster, Chronology; Also see articles by Webster and Atkinson in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo.
10. See Evans-Pritchard, The Political System, for a discussion of this aspect of Anywak political process.
11. Testimony of William Ojwe.
12. Testimonies of Gulyelmo Aburi, Kusantino Ongwec, and Ochan.
13. R. S. Herring, "Kinsmen and Chiefs: The Early Political Ideas of the Luo Speakers of Eastern Africa", Dept. of History Staff Seminar, Kenyatta University College, Nairobi, 1980, p.11.

14. Ibid, p.12.
15. Driberg, "Lafon Hill", p.50.
16. Testimonies of Kusantino Ongwec, Valente Owiny Lipura, and Ochan.
17. Testimonies of William Ojwe, Kusantino Ongwec and Valente Owiny Lipura.
18. R. S. Herring, "Political Development in Eastern Africa: The Luo Case Re-examined", Kenya Historical Review, 6, 1 and 2 (1978), pp.126-145.
19. Claessen and Skalnik, "Limits", in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State, p.621.
20. Anywar, Acoli Ki Ker Megi, pp.146-165.
21. Testimony of Popiryo Oceng Bali.
22. Testimony of Ōwan Aramac.
23. The traditions of the Padibe people suggest that between 1769 and 1796, a group of Pajok Bobi joined Padibe chiefdom (see P.M.L. Owot, "Padibe During the Aconya 1400-1900", in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.190). If this is so, then the war between the Bobi and the Ywaya took place during the reign of Lagedo (i.e. 1760-1787) who belonged to that generation.
24. Testimony of Ochan.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Cohen, Womunafu's Bunafu.

28. Testimony of Sirlaka Okwir.
29. Testimony of Ochan.
30. Testimony of William Ojwe.
31. Testimony of Kusantino Ongwec. Also see testimonies of Valente Owiny Lipura; Ochan; and Garato, at Lagir, January 20, 1981.
32. Testimony of Obale Cogol.
33. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, p.177. Also see the testimonies of Ochan, Obale Cogol, and Gulyelmo Aburi.
34. Testimony of Garato.
35. Ibid.
36. Garry, "Pajule", in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.326-327.
37. Ibid, pp.327-329.
38. Testimony of Garato.
39. Testimony of Saverio Olaa, at Aliya, November 19, 1980. Also see Testimonies of Der Odidi, at Lokide, November 17, 1980; Patrisyo Alwari, at Aliya, November 20, 1980; Akai Angaya, at Lowudo, November 21, 1980; Kalawudio Oyenga, at Oyere, November 23, 1980; and Abong-Tur Okende, at Oyere, December 4, 1980.
40. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende.
41. Maquet, Power and Society in Africa, p.58.
42. Ibid, pp.13-17.

43. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende.
44. Ibid.
45. Meillassoux, "'The Economy' in Agricultural Self-Sustaining Societies", in Seddon, Relations of Production, pp.127-157.
46. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende.
47. Testimony of Saverio Olaa; also see testimonies of Kalawudio Oyenga, Patrisyo Alwari, Der Odidi, and Akai Angaya.
48. See D. Webster, "Warfare and the Evolution of the State: A Reconsideration", American Antiquity, 40 (1975), pp.464-470; and R. L. Carneiro, "A theory of the Origin of the State", Science, 169 (1970), pp.733-738.
49. Testimony of Alfonsyo Ogoda.
50. See Webster, "Noi! Noi!", in Webster, Chronology; Also see the testimony of Patrisyo Alwari.
51. Cohen, et al, "The Construction of Dominance", p.7.
52. Testimony of Saverio Olaa.
53. Testimony of Demensya Abwoyo, at Pajombo, November 22, 1980.
54. Testimonies of Kalawudio Oyenga, Akai Angaya, and Saverio Olaa.
55. Testimony of Kalawudio Oyenga. The suggestion that the Kure were a segment of the ruling lineage of the Lokomini is, indeed, significant. It may represent the actual lineage of the founding ancestor of the Obbo people.
56. Testimony of Der Odidi.

57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Testimony of Kanuto Lobai.
60. Testimony of Akai Angaya.
61. Testimony of Kalawudio Oyenga; also see the testimonies of Anjeleo Okeny, Saverio Olaa, and Der Odidi.
62. Testimony of Kanuto Lobai.
63. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, p.201. Also see the testimonies of Saverio Olaa, Patrisyo Alwari, Anjeleo Okeny and Der Odidi.
64. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, p.201.
65. Testimony of Saverio Olaa.
66. Testimony of Kanuto Lobai.
67. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, p.235.
68. Testimony of Der Odidi.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid. Also see Crazzolaro, The Iwoo, p.171.
71. Testimonies of Matiya Abwoye, and Andrea Bake Acung.
72. This seems to have been a common organizational feature of the early Luo speakers (see Herring, "Kinsmen and Chiefs", and his "Luo Pre-colonial History: A Synthesis", KHR, Forthcoming).

73. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. The Sudanic-speaking people were generally known as skilled iron-workers (see Webster, "The Peopling of Agago", in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.222).
77. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali.
78. O. J. E. Shiroya, "The Lugbara States in the 18th and 19th Centuries", Goethe Institut - History Conference, Nakuru, 1979, p.8. The Early Abwor clans are also said to have used wooden hoes (see R. S. Herring, "Iron Production and Trade in Labwor, northeastern Uganda", Trans-African Journal of History, 8, 1 and 2 (1979), p.77).
79. Reference in traditions about tribute payment dates from the period of the Pajule presence (i.e. from the early eighteenth century onwards).
80. Testimonies of Bernando Obwoya, Demetiro, and Popiryo.
81. Testimony of Bernando Obwoya.
82. Testimony of Matiya Abwoye.
83. See Garry, "Pajule", in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.320-334; and Onyango Ku Odongo, "The Early History", in Ibid,p.155.
84. For an account of the Nyoro invasion of Palaro, see Crazzolaro, The Lwo, pp.261-266 and 290-293.
85. Ibid, pp.261-266 and 290-293.
86. A casual talk with John Okech, at Maji, December 25, 1977.

87. See Webster, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", in Onyango Ku Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.335-356; and A.H.T. No.88.
88. See Steinhart, "Ankole: Pastoral Hegemony", in Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State, and his "The Kingdoms of the March", in Webster, Chronology.
89. Testimony of Popiryo.
90. Testimony of Bernardo Obwoya.
91. Testimony of Owan Aramac.
92. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, pp.303-311.
93. Rowley, "Notes on the Madi", p.294.
94. Testimony of Emmanuel Abiny.
95. Testimonies of Manyo, and Juliano Ongee.
96. Testimony of Demetiro.
97. Testimony of Manyo.
98. Testimony of Owan.
99. Testimony of Demetiro.
100. Testimonies of Demetiro, Bernardo, Matiya Abwoye, and Popiryo.
101. Testimonies of Demetiro and Bernardo.
102. Testimony of Demetiro.

103. Testimony of Manyo.
104. M. Mamdani, Politics and Class Formation in Uganda (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp.1- 23.
105. Testimony of Der Odidi.
106. Testimonies of Valente Owiny Lipura, Garato, Patrisyo Alwari, and Ocito.
107. See A.H.T. No.88 where the following is noted:
"After Omongo had settled he was given a place to farm, the crops to sow and hoes for his people. Soon after establishing himself Omongo asked the people of Iapono to see if it was possible for them all to live in peace together. Omongo brought two black cows and the hosts also brought a black goat and a black cow. They were killed and Omongo said that if the embryos within them were all of the same sex it would mean that they would all live in peace. The embryos proved of the same sex and the animals were eaten by all the people of both groups. The dung was smeared on the people present. After some time Omongo began moving around the villages. People sitting idle were asked why they were so and if they said they had no hoe they were given or if no seed they were given by Omongo. At the beginning of each planting season Omongo beat the drum to call people to collect seeds and hoes. This helped to make people accept Omongo's rule".
108. G.N. Uzoigwe, "The Warrior and the State in Pre-colonial Africa", in A. A. Mazrui (ed.), The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), p.43.
109. Testimony of Der Odidi.
110. Testimonies of Gulyelmo Aburi, Kusantino Ongwec, Ochan, and Abong-Tur Okende.
111. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, pp.200, and 251.
112. When speaking of social classes here, it is intended to be used in the sense of emergent social classes where class consciousness is not yet developed.

113. Testimonies of Der Odidi, and Bernando Obwoya.
114. The evidence on which this point is based is found scattered in various testimonies.
115. Testimony of Der Odidi.
116. Dwyer, "The Acholi of Uganda."
117. Incidentally, a girl could also be given as Lapi to the rwot (see D. Ocaya-Lakidi, "Manhood, Warricthood and Sex in Eastern Africa", in Mazrui, The Warrior Tradition, p.151.
118. For a contrast of the situation that obtained in Acholi and, say, those in Europe and Asia, see J. Goody's Technology, Tradition, and the State in Africa, and "Polity and the Means of Production", in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, pp. 93-106.
119. Testimony of Ochan.
120. For example, see Crazzolara, The Lwoo, pp.177-178.
121. Testimony of Abong-Tur Okende.
122. Testimonies of Der Odidi, and Saverio Olaa.
123. There were for, instance, skirmishes between Obbo and Pajok, and Obbo and Panyikwara states. The Oloro and the Panyikwara also fought each other as discussed above.
124. Testimonies of Garato, Demetiro, Bernando, Der Odidi, and others.

CHAPTER 4

EXTERNAL CONTACTS AND BRITISH COLONIZATION 1861-1914

A decade or so after the mid-nineteenth century, the states were increasingly exposed to events whose beginnings can be traced to Ottoman Egypt at the turn of the century. These events were later to result in the annexation by Egypt of the Sudan and its involvement in other parts of the continent. In this chapter, we shall discuss the nature and impact of this penetration. We shall also discuss the activities of the British and their subsequent annexation of Acholi to the Uganda Protectorate at the close of the century.

In 1798 Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte of France invaded Egypt and displaced the Mamluks who had ruled the country since the thirteenth century. The occupation was, however, short-lived and the French withdrew in 1799, leaving behind a power vacuum¹. A period of anarchy then ensued during which several factions competed for political power.

In 1805 Muhammad Ali, the leader of an Albanian detachment, usurped power by shrewd political manoeuvres. And in 1806 the Porte confirmed his ascension to power by making him Pasha over Egypt². Later by the firman (imperial decree) of 1840, he was bestowed viceregal powers and hereditary rights for his family.

Muhammad Ali's first priority was to consolidate his authority and to break the power of the Mamluks. In 1811 he lured them into a citadel, promising that nothing treacherous was planned against them.

However, when the Mamluks gathered in the citadel, the gates were quickly bolted and several of them were killed en masse. Remnants of the massacre fled the country and established themselves in northern Sudan at Dongolla, then a dependency of the Shaqiyya confederation³. It was thus natural that Muhammad Ali should turn his attention towards the Sudan in order to guard against a resurgence of the Mamluks.

In spite of this it seems that the viceroy's interest in the Sudan was shaped more by economic considerations than by any real threat posed by the Mamluks. When he came to power, his ambition was to modernize the army, bureaucracy, and the agricultural system of the country or, as he saw it, to lay the foundation of a modern state.

The Albanian troops that brought him to power were dangerously anarchic. The Viceroy's desire was, therefore, to get rid of them and form a new modern army directly loyal to him⁴. And since the Sudan contained an untapped source of slaves, he turned his attention there. Indeed, in most of his letters to his subordinates in the Sudan, Muhammad Ali was constantly hammering on this point - the need "to swell the black army of his dreams", but also the "need for slaves in Egypt to work in his many agricultural and industrial enterprises"⁵.

A further economic attraction to the Viceroy was the reported large quantities of gold in the Sudan. He thus felt that the realization of his dreams lay in the acquisition of the Sudan. In 1838,

he paid an official visit there and went as far as Fazughli to see for himself what prospects there were for gold mining in the area. Unfortunately, the reported large quantities of gold were not there, and the viceroy was utterly disappointed.

Nevertheless, he was comforted and encouraged by the fact that Central Africa was not yet explored and might very well contain the riches he so often dreamt about. In 1839, therefore, he sent Salim Qabudan on a mission to discover the source of the White Nile. And in January 1841 the mission reached Gondokoro in Equatoria.

THE IVORY TRADE 1861-1871: PRELUDE TO OCCUPATION

The opening of the White Nile route offered immense opportunities for both those Europeans resident in Khartoum and the societies of the north to engage in trade activities with the south. Already before the opening of this route, there were trade contacts between the north and the south by way of the Nuba hills and Kordofan. In 1827 Linant de Bellefond was informed at Wad Medani that shayk Ahmed Badaoni of El-Obeid was "said to have frequent contact with the Shilhouks (i.e. the Shilluk)"⁶.

Indeed, the possibility of contacts between the two areas is also suggested by the fact that the Nuba hill men feature prominently in the traditions of the Shilluk. P. Mercer thus suggests that there

were actually trade contacts between Shillukland and the Nuba hills and Kordofan region⁷. The Shilluk needed iron ore or iron articles which were apparently in great abundance in Kordofan whereas the Kordofanis needed ivory from the Shilluk. The need for iron articles by the Shilluk was particularly important because, as Mercer notes, they were essential (as weapons) for them to maintain their undisputed dominance of the White Nile region⁸.

The demand by the Shilluk for iron articles was equally met by a growing demand for ivory following the imposition of Turco-Egyptian rule in northern Sudan. The boom in the ivory trade brought in the Kordofanis to supply ivory for the European market, but the ivory came mainly from Shillukland. In 1830, for instance, a great quantity of ivory was reported to have been produced in Shilluk presumably to meet the demands of the Jallabas⁹ from Kordofan¹⁰. Furthermore, Brun-Rollet, who knew of the regular visits of these Kordofan traders to the Shilluk, also bartered for ivory in Shillukland¹¹ in 1840.

Another group in the south which also had some trade contacts with the north before the opening of the White Nile route was the Dinka. They were reported to have given ivory in barter to the Baggara Arabs who sold them to itinerant traders who, in turn, sold them to the state buying agency in Kordofan¹².

With the opening of the White Nile route, however, new opportunities for more intensive contacts between the north and the south were also opened. Not only Kordofan Jallabas, but also Arab and European traders coming from Khartoum joined in the trade with the south. In particular, the sedentaries of the main Nile - the Ja'aliyyun, the Shaqiyya, and the Danaqla Arabs - came to the south in increasing numbers. Already before the Turco-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan in 1820/1, there was a diaspora of Danaqla and Ja'aliyyun Arabs in other Sudanese societies. And from 1839 when the south, particularly the Bahr el-Ghazal and Upper Nile regions, became accessible to traders from the north, a new diaspora of these groups was formed in the area.

At first these Arabs came either as servants or armed retainers of big traders based in Khartoum or Cairo, while some were political undesirables of Ottoman rule seeking fortune in the as yet unconquered lands of the south. Others still came as officials or soldiers of the administration following the extension of Khedivial authority in the south.

As the in-flow of traders from the north to the south continued, the volume of trade in ivory also increased significantly. Between the 1840's and 1870's, the price of ivory on the London Market and the quantity imported more than doubled and the trade obtained a recognized and valuable place in the world's economy¹³. The increase in the volume of ivory obtained from the south also tended

to correspond with this fact. In 1851, for instance, the ivory obtained from southern Sudan was only 400 quintals. In 1856, however, it had increased to 1400 quintals¹⁴, which explains why there was a corresponding influx of traders from the north to the south.

Many of the big traders, particularly those of European origin, had their head offices in Khartoum and/or Cairo. From here, they sent agents to the south to conduct business on their behalf. In Equatoria, for instance, there were two principal firms - one owned by Andrea de Bono of Maltese origin, and the other owned by the Egyptian Muhammad Ahmad al-Aqqad.

Andrea de Bono's lease¹⁵ included practically the whole of Acholi, while al-Aqqad's firm had trading rights on both sides of the Nile. De Bono's firm was based in Palaro and its representative was a certain Wad al-Mak from Fazughli. Al-Aqqad's company was, on the other hand, represented by Abu Suad and it had stations in the interior on both sides of the Nile. By about 1865, however, it had bought the asset of de Bono's company and, in effect, obtained sole trading rights in the whole of Equatoria¹⁶.

In the Upper Nile, both European and Arab traders were engaged in the ivory trade, while in the Bahr el-Ghazal, the trade was dominated by the sedentaries of the Nile. The most notable of

these was the Ja'ali, al-Zubayr Rahma Mansūr who became a real merchant prince, combining the commercial and political control of great tracts of land.

Initially, the traders came first into contact with those societies easily accessible from the Nile such as the Shilluk, the Dinka, and the Bari. When they came, they often sought the friendship and support of the rulers of those societies among whom they intended to trade. This was essential because the followers of the rulers concerned would not then interfere with or obstruct their trading activities.

In the highly centralized and powerful Shilluk kingdom, for instance, the Kordofan Jallabas found it necessary to obtain the permission of the Reth (i.e. King) in order to conduct any trading activity at all. And to be able to control the traders effectively, the Reth confined the mass of immigrants at the town of Kaka which was situated at the most northerly part of the kingdom. Here he placed a representative to supervise the trade and to keep the trader's dealings under his authority. In return for the security that the Reth provided for the expeditions as well as to maintain his goodwill, the traders offered him gifts.

In this way, a strict royal monopoly was observed in ivory trading in Shilluk. In 1854 when Viceroy Muhammad Said banned slave trading in Egyptian-controlled Sudan (i.e. northern Sudan), the

town of Kaka became even more important. Immigrants from the north came there in great numbers (at the rate of 200 every day)¹⁷ and there developed what Mercer termed 'population explosion' as a result of which the Shilluk at Kaka were outnumbered by the traders.

The traders brought beads, cloth, salt, and a variety of wide ranging articles of commerce which were exchanged with ivory or used for securing provisions. A certain quantity of these articles, mainly beads, was given in exchange for an equivalent quantity of ivory.

It would appear that at this stage of the development of the trade, the traders were greatly dependent on African intermediaries to secure the ivory for them from the interior. However, as the value of beads gradually began to depreciate and Africans began to demand more beads for less ivory, the traders were encouraged to go further inland from the Nile stations to collect the ivory by themselves. And as they advanced into the interior, they resorted more and more to the use of force in order to secure ivory and food-stuff. It was also at this stage that they increasingly began to employ armed retainers both for the collection of ivory and for their own defence. The spiral of violence thus began and was to continue throughout the nineteenth century.

When a trader and his armed retainers went into the interior, they built an enclosure called Zariba which served both as centre for

settlement and storage for ivory. Such Zaribas were sometimes built near the capital of those African rulers who allowed the traders to be stationed in their territories¹⁸. From the Zaribas, the traders raided neighbouring peoples often in alliance with their hosts.

In order to transport the ivory from the Zaribas to the principal stations in the interior such as Patiko or Padibe, and from those stations to the main stations on the rivers (such as Gondokoro in Equatoria, or Kaka in Upper Nile, or Daym al-Zubayr in the Bahr el-Ghazal) for shipment to Khartoum, the traders required extra manpower. The armed retainers were often too few to do this. The method the traders adopted was either to force people to carry the ivory or, when this failed, they resorted to capturing people by the razzia system.

The razzia system was organized not only for the collection of ivory, foodstuff or cattle, which had become the principal item of exchange, but also to capture slaves. The villages were attacked at night or dawn, and the people captured became the property of the trader who either absorbed them into his army, or used to transport ivory and other commodities, or sold into slavery. In the Bahr el-Ghazal, a special feature of the trader communities were bodies of slave-troops known as bazingers which ultimately amounted to half the armed forces of the traders¹⁹.

In this way, the ivory trade brought in its trail the slave trade. Captives were not only used as slave-troops or to carry ivory, but they became an important commodity as much as the ivory that they were initially meant to carry. The slaves also had another economic value - to reduce the traders' overhead since they were given to the armed retainers as a form of payment.

The traders thus raided far afield for ivory, slaves, cattle and foodstuff. And it was during this phase of contact that many African communities, including the Acholi, were exposed to the new comers. The nature of the contact was, therefore, violent as the traders increasingly employed force to secure ivory, cattle or foodstuff.

The first Acholi contact with the outside world probably dates from 1861 when the Maltese Andrea de Bono opened a trading station at Palaro²⁰ in the northernmost part of western Acholi. The station was commanded by Wad al-Mak whose men raided both neighbouring Acholi and Madi peoples.

However, the most intermittent contacts between the traders and northern Acholi date from 1863 when representatives of al-Aqqad firm came to Obbo and established a station there. The traders were originally based at Tirrangole in Otuho, but their destructive raids on neighbouring Otuho villages provoked armed conflict²¹.

It was at about this time that Kaciba heard of Baker's presence in Tirrangole and sent a delegation to invite him to come to Obbo²². Baker was then on his way to discover the source of the White Nile, but came to Tirrangole in the company of al-Aqqad's men. When Ibrahim, al Aqqad's representative, heard of Kaciba's invitation to Baker, he lost no time to exploit it, so he came to Obbo together with Baker in May 1863.

Traditional evidence suggests that Obbo and the neighbouring communities had been previously attacked by traders from the south²³ - presumably by de Bono's men stationed at Palaro. The attacks by these people on Obbo were the principal factors that motivated Kaciba to seek some kind of protection, so when he heard that "a white man was in Latooka (i.e. Otuh) who wanted neither slaves nor ivory"²⁴, he sent his brother Longurojong to bring Baker to Obbo²⁵.

The coming of the traders to Obbo and their subsequent establishment of a station there brought them face to face with the peoples of the three states as well as those of neighbouring polities. From Obbo, they raided neighbouring peoples often with the active support of the Obbo people²⁶. The traditions of the Ayom people, for instance, recall that the Obbo people twice led the Arab traders to Got Ayom, but each time they were repelled²⁷. In some of the raids, however, the traders brought a lot of war booty. Baker thus reports that on one such raid which they carried in association with the Pajok people, the traders brought several heads of cattle from the Madi

country to the west²⁸.

The activities of the traders thus brought a lot of violence and suffering to the people. Generally, there was insecurity as they raided indiscriminately, and this affected the normal economic activities of the peoples concerned. Even in Obbo itself, where the traders did not seem to have carried out any raids, the effects of their presence and activities were soon felt by the people. Before his death in about 1868, Kaciba lamented that "the Turks [have] eaten up the country"²⁹. It became very difficult to obtain provisions for caravans passing through the country. It was against the background of these activities that Turco-Egyptian rule was soon to be extended to Equatoria.

EGYPTIAN IMPERIALISM AND THE ANNEXATION OF EQUATORIA 1872-1889

The extension of Egyptian rule southwards came partly as a consequence of the slave trade. The atrocities committed by the traders were publicized in Europe by European travellers such as Baker, Grant, and Speke³⁰. As a result of this publicity, European powers put pressure on the Egyptian rulers in Cairo to stop the slave trade in the Sudan.

Already as early as 1854, Viceroy Muhammad Said had banned slave trading in the areas of Sudan under Egyptian control (i.e. northern Sudan)³¹. The Hikindar (i.e. Governor-General) at Khartoum

was instructed to intercept any vessel on the White Nile transporting slaves. In 1855, an anti-slave control area on the White Nile was opened with its head-quarter at Fashoda³², the capital of the Shilluk Kingdom.

However, by the end of Said's rule, the trade in slaves still flourished as before, and he wrote a strong letter to the Governor-General instructing him to stop the trade forthwith.

Although the slave trade has long been suppressed, slaves from the White Nile are still being sold in Khartoum. This neglect of our order is amazing. Stop this trade in all your territory at once. Turn back to their ports of origin all ships carrying slaves³³.

The failure of Said's administration to suppress the slave trade on the White Nile was many-fold. Firstly, the economies of many northern societies were built on slave labour³⁴. Slavery had become an accepted practice in many of these societies. Thus, an attack on the slave trade meant in effect an attack on the basis of the economic livelihood of these peoples. Such a move was unlikely to be accepted by those who derived some benefit from the trade.

Secondly, slaves were used as a form of payment to the Turco-Egyptian officials. Consequently, no real effort of any sort was taken by these officials to suppress the trade. Thus, when Baker visited Kodok in 1869, he found the Governor absent on a slave collect-

ing expedition, his defence being that slaves constituted the form that taxes took³⁵. This was a clear indication that a trade which formed the basis of an official's pay and 'revenue' for the administration could not be suppressed except through the efforts of a strong and committed ruler.

Thirdly, the traders continued to hoodwink the Turco-Egyptian officials by the simple method of bribery. They offered gifts to any official who came into contact with a slave caravan. The most notorious slave trader in the Bahr el-Ghazal, al-Zubayr Rahma Mansur, thus admitted that he had no trouble with these officials: "Do men sleep", he asks, "when there is money to be made?"³⁶. Indeed, Zubayr and the traders of the White Nile in general were vigilant for they knew that such tricks played on the sensitive nerves of those whose co-operation they required.

Fourthly, although the traffic to Egypt was declining, there were other markets in the Arabian peninsula which took slaves from the Sudan. The decline of the trade in Egypt was, therefore, replaced by the flourishing of the trade in the Arabian peninsula. Accordingly, there was no problem of obtaining a market for Sudanese slaves³⁷.

Fifthly, there was no provision by the administration for the future of confiscated slaves. In theory, they were supposed to be repatriated at the expense of the traders, but in fact they were

taken to Khartoum and enrolled in the army³⁸. The administration was thus encouraging the trade indirectly.

Sixthly, and most important, the lands of the south had not yet come under Egyptian control. And to suppress the trade, it would have been necessary for the administration to extend its authority there.

However, due to the lack of any government authority, the traders continued to plunder these societies as they desired. They evaded government patrols on the White Nile by using the overland route through the Rizayqat country, which was equally independent of Turco-Egyptian rule. The importance of this route is indicated by the fact that in 1866 a treaty was signed between Zubayr and the Rizayqat Shayks for the safe passage of caravans through their territory³⁹. The town of Kaka in Shillukland also became an important slave centre.

There were, therefore, powerful obstacles against the drive to suppress the slave trade on the White Nile. Muhammad Said failed to register any tangible success, so the burden of suppressing the trade fell on Khedive Ismail who succeeded him in 1863.

Khedive Ismail was an ambitious ruler whose basic aim was to extend Egyptian rule inside Africa. Indeed, under him the territories of Egypt's African empire were enormously increased⁴⁰. And his desire

to expand the territorial confines of the empire opportunely coincided with the drive against the slave trade on the White Nile.

The Khedive's attention had earlier on been drawn to the lacustrine region by the reports of the explorers Grant and Speke which talked of the existence of powerful states in the region, principally Buganda and Bunyoro, with strong trading connections with the Indian Ocean island of Zanzibar⁴¹. He thus felt that if Egypt could establish trade contacts with these states, then it would be to her own advantage. But the easiest and most economical way to reach them was by way of the White Nile. And this, in turn, entailed bringing the peoples of the region under Egyptian authority.

Indeed, that this was the basic aim of the Khedive is implicit from the firman appointing Baker to lead an expedition to the White Nile. The preamble of the firman gave priority to the establishment of Egyptian authority over the suppression of the slave trade.

Considering that neither government, nor laws, nor security exists in those countries, considering that humanity forces the suppression of the slave-hunters who occupy those countries in great numbers, we.....decree as follows: an expedition is organized to subdue to our authority the countries situated to the south of Gondokoro, suppress the slave trade [and] to introduce a system of regular commerce⁴².

In other words, like the imperialism of the late nineteenth century, the extension of Egyptian rule to the south was contingent upon the

existence of the slave trade⁴³. The trade provided, as it were, the blanket to camouflage the real imperial motives of the Khedive.

Ismail entrusted the extension of Egyptian rule towards the lacustrine region to Baker who had previously journeyed as far south as Bunyoro in his quest to discover the source of the White Nile. The appointment of Baker, a European and a Christian, was a long established tradition by successive Egyptian rulers.

In the period before Turco-Egyptian rule, a handful of Europeans visited the Sudan, but none proceeded as far as the south. The Turco-Egyptian conquest of 1820/1, however, opened the country to the west and European visitors flocked into the country.

Besides travellers, European 'expatriates' appeared in the country in three principal roles: as traders, as missionaries, and as employees of the Turco-Egyptian administration. During the reign of Khedive Ismail, the number of Europeans not only expanded, but many were increasingly appointed to work in southern Sudan.⁴⁴

Baker's appointment, therefore, had a long established precedent. In April, 1871 he reached Gondokoro and proclaimed the annexation of the areas to the south of it. Almost a year later in March 1872 he reached Patiko in western Acholi, having passed through Panyikwara⁴⁵.

At Patiko, he found several Danaqla Arabs who were employed in the company of al-Aqqad⁴⁶. Before leaving Khartoum for Gondokoro, Baker had discovered that Abu Suad, the company's representative, was sheltering under a Khedivial decree to continue the trade in slaves⁴⁷. The decree authorized the personnel of expeditions to bring with them their children and concubines⁴⁸.

In order to facilitate his work, Baker felt that al-Aqqad's trading rights in Equatoria should be terminated. The government agreed to this suggestion and, accordingly, ordered the company to wind up its trading activities in the province by 9 April 1872 so as to pave way for government monopoly.

Abu Suad, of course, resented the order and his men at Patiko only entered into government service reluctantly when Baker announced the annexation of the area to Egyptian authority. Shortly after this, they revolted against the administration when Baker went to Bunyoro. It was only after fierce fighting that the revolt was suppressed.

The traders were not, therefore, genuine converts of the administration, and deep down in their hearts they still nursed a resumption of their previous violent activities. In fact, they "continued to live more as independent settlers than as disciplined agents of the administration"⁴⁹. The "cloak of government office was far from being an outward and visible sign of a return to inward and spiritual grace"⁵⁰.

Baker's position was made more difficult by his reliance on these people to execute government orders. Because of acute shortage of staff, he was forced to employ them in government service. The possibility of getting staff from Khartoum or Cairo was remote since in Egypt itself the programme of 'modernization' was going on vigorously.

This dependence on men who had condoned and, in fact, vigorously participated in the slave trade, made it absolutely difficult for Baker to suppress the trade despite his claim at the expiration of his contract that "the slave trade of the White Nile has been suppressed"⁵¹. He was only able to establish a foothold in a few stations such as Gondokoro, Patiko, and Foweira. Beyond these stations, there was no semblance of government authority and his soldiers raided people for grain.

Because of the difficulty of procuring supplies, Baker had introduced a grain tax on every adult male in the villages⁵². Every house in each village was taxed a basket of grain every month. Only the old and disabled were exempted from the taxes.

Initially, the responsibility of collecting the taxes was entrusted to the headman of each village. However, the system soon proved to be burdensome to the people, and in Acholi the people became reluctant to fulfil this obligation towards maintaining the soldiers.

The reluctance was also due to the fact that the people were not acquainted with the system of regular taxation. The system of tribute payment which was known to them and which they practised before, and during, Turco-Egyptian rule was not so demanding and frequent as the new grain tax. It was, therefore, resented and deliveries of grain became irregular.

The irregularity of delivery "afforded the Egyptian [soldiers] the excuse for levying contributions by means of raids upon the countryside"⁵³. And according to tradition, the soldiers used large bags whose bottoms were made hollow so that they took more grain than the required amount.

The Jadiya came as a fighting force. They had large bags made of skin for collecting grain. Their bottoms were hollowed.....Even if one had a granary of grain, the bags could take it all..... They also took away any foodstuff such as sesame butter, honey, meat, etc. If you resisted, you'd be shot. Thus, our people used to hide grain in underground silos. They also used to eat at night and wash the dishes before day break⁵⁴.

The Egyptian soldiers thought that it was the duty of the local people to supply them with grain in spite of Baker's instructions that every company of soldiers should try to cultivate for itself in order to reduce the burden on the local people. They also felt it a duty of the local people to do most of the hard labour such as carrying grain or working in the garrisons.

In this way, therefore, forced levying of contributions and forced labour in the form of head porterage continued. Slaves were captured under the pretext of using them to carry grains or to work in garrisons, but in fact many of them were smuggled to slave markets outside the province. It is in this light that the route through the Rizayqat country was important for encouraging the continuation of the slave trade.

When Baker's contract expired on 1 April 1873, the White Nile slave trade was, therefore, still flourishing. Before leaving for Cairo, he handed over his command to Muhammad Ra'uf who was later to become Governor-General of the Sudan (1880-1882)⁵⁵. He left behind a province over-burdened with taxation and no legitimate commerce.

In 1874 Khedive Ismail appointed Charles George Gordon as Governor of Equatoria. His instructions to Gordon were that he should establish a separate government in Equatoria since the Hikindar had been unable to enforce his authority over the traders who continued to pillage the area; secure to the Egyptian government the monopoly of all trade of the area with the outside world; ensure that soldiers grew their own food and did not make forced levying from the people; build a line of stations along the Nile to enable the province to communicate directly with Khartoum; and finally to destroy the slave trade.

Ismail's instructions reflected his desire to have a firm control of the trade of the Equatorial region. By authorizing Gordon to establish a separate government for Equatoria, he was actually intending to bring the area under direct and more effective Egyptian control.

This was characteristic of the nature of Turco-Egyptian administration of the Sudan. A Governor-General was appointed at Khartoum who was directly responsible to Cairo. Under him were governors of the various provinces of the country. This system ensured effective control from Cairo. And even the phases of so-called 'decentralization', when the post of Governor-General was abolished, simply meant more control for the Sudanese provinces was brought directly under a department in Cairo⁵⁶.

Thus with more effective control, the Khedive had hoped to monopolize the trade of the Equatorial province as well as those of the lacustrine states. This was to be facilitated by a more effective means of communication between the province and Khartoum. Hence, the instruction to Gordon to build a line of stations along the Nile.

Gordon arrived at Gondokoro in 1874 and found the province in a state of insecurity: "You cannot go out in safety half a mile"⁵⁷. This was, in turn, a result of the continued raid by the soldiers for grain, cattle, slaves, and ivory. Muhammad Ra'uf was unable to

enforce government authority. The Danaqla Arabs, who had been an inveterate enemy of Baker, found in his absence the opportunity to raid local people at will.

Gordon tried his best to improve the general condition of the province. However, several factors frustrated his efforts. Firstly, he found it difficult to secure provisions by commercial transaction. He was, therefore, forced to obtain grain by force, a system which had already strained the relationship between his predecessor and the local people.

Furthermore, his regular soldiers were outnumbered by Danaqla Arabs whom he employed both in civil and military posts. Despite reports of lawlessness among them, there was nothing he could do to instil discipline in them. Instead, he relied heavily on them since they alone knew the surrounding areas and peoples. They were thus paid as tax-gatherers, boatmen, and ivory hunters⁵⁸.

Capitalizing on this weakness, the Danaqla Arabs continued to trade by their former violent means. None of them seems to have felt any sympathy for suppressing the slave trade. Thus in 1876 when Gordon resigned, the situation in the province was no better than when Baker left it. Violence and lawlessness continued to be the order of the day.

After leaving Equatoria, Gordon was appointed in 1877 as Governor-General of the Sudan. In 1878, Emin Pasha became Governor of Equatoria Province. On his arrival, he toured the province to ascertain the state of its security. These tours brought him to Acholi where the local rwodi pledged loyalty to the administration⁵⁹. Rwot Ogwok of Padibe requested the government to revive the station at Lacic which had been abandoned in 1878 as a result of Gordon's continued fight against the slave trade. In 1880, when Muhammad Ra'uf became the Governor-General of the Sudan, the station was revived and several Danaqla Arabs returned there.

The basic problems which Baker and Gordon experienced, nevertheless, still persisted. And in order to forestall the uncertainty of procuring supplies from Khartoum⁶⁰, he re-imposed grain tax in the whole province. The quotas varied according to the whims of the local Egyptian commander. When they fell below the required amount, the soldiers did not hesitate to make forced requisitions, thereby perpetuating violence and the slave trade.

Emin's problems were further exacerbated by the outbreak of the Mahdist revolution⁶¹ in 1881. In 1884, when news of Mahdist success at Shaykan reached Equatoria, he was already cut off from Khartoum. There was no communication between him and authorities there. Furthermore, Danaqla Arabs and other soldiers revolted against the administration.

The prevailing circumstances forced Emin to take certain defensive measures against any Mahdist attacks on the province. By around 1885, he had withdrawn government troops from Lacic and Foweira stations and concentrated them at Dufile and Wadelai⁶². From then on, his hold on the remaining parts of the province was tenuous. And in 1889 he was finally evacuated by the Stanley Relief Expedition⁶³.

THE ARAB IMPACT

The most important consequence of the ivory trade was that it brought both the societies of the north and the south into much closer contact with each other. The contact was, however, an unequal one and symbolic of the interaction between two basically different social formations: the one having a long tradition of civilization, long-distance trading, and a relatively more developed political organization, while the other, excepting a few, was characterized by a 'patriarchal-communal' mode of production.

The Arab traders from the north were representatives of societies that began to experience Islamic influences since the period of the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the seventh century A.D.⁶⁴. Though a gradual process, the Islamization of the region, nevertheless, produced a powerful bond that linked the people of the northern societies much more effectively than any political organization⁶⁵.

Economically, the system of production was characterized by the prevalence of two autonomous branches of production⁶⁶ - agriculture among the sedentary populations along the Nile and pastoralism among the nomadic sector of the population. In spite of the communal nature of this mode of production, these societies were involved in long-distance exchange from a relatively early period. Important trade routes ran across their territory linking the African interior with the Mediterranean and Red Sea coastlands. Fairly regular caravans traversed these routes passing between Sennar or Darfur and Egypt. There were also other trade routes running from west to east.

All these trade routes carried large volumes of trade, and in the generation before the Turco-Egyptian conquest (i.e. by 1814), Shendi had become the great commercial emporium of the riverain Sudan⁶⁷. Its commercial activities included export of slaves which were obtained by raiding further south. Some of the slaves were, however, retained to work in the fields, serve in the houses, or to fight as armed retainers of the chiefs or notables. The northern societies were, in other words, evolving a feudal-like⁶⁸ mode of production, more like nineteenth century societies of western Sudan⁶⁹.

The societies of the south were, on the other hand, predominantly patriarchal-communal in organization and production. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, some were already involved in long-distance exchange. The Acholi were, for instance, acting as

intermediaries in a long-distance trade between the Luo-speaking Lokoro (i.e. Pari) to the north and the Banyoro to the south⁷⁰.

Before the extension of Egyptian rule to the south, the Dinka also gave ivory in barter to the Baggara Arabs who sold them to itinerant traders. These traders, in turn, sold the ivory to the state buying agency in Kordofan⁷¹.

The Shilluk are, however, the most well documented group that became involved in trade as early as the mid-seventeenth century⁷². Until 1861, they dominated the White Nile region as far north as Eleis. When the ivory trade set in, the Reth controlled it effectively. The control of the trade, in turn, made him wealthy and powerful.

The majority of the societies, however, had a weak economic and political base from which to confront the Arab traders. They were thus drawn to participate in the ivory trade as producers, and they played little or no role in determining the value of the ivory 'sold' to the traders. Moreover, as the trade gradually became violent, they were often raided and whatever ivory they had were taken as booty.

A very important consequence of the Arab penetration was, therefore, the spread of violence. Many societies in the interior came into contact with the traders during the second phase of the ivory trade when the traders increasingly resorted to force in procuring ivory, cattle, and later slaves. The nature of the contact was, therefore,

violent and the spiral of violence continued even during the period of the Mahdiyya.

The reactions of African communities to the violence were varied. Whereas others resisted the Arab onslaught, others accommodated and collaborated with them. The Dinka, for instance, exemplify those communities that vigorously resisted Arab attacks on their villages for slaves. They responded to such attacks by fighting or ambushing the traders in order to free their people taken captives⁷³.

In Acholi, some of the communities offered passive resistance by withdrawing to the mountains⁷⁴, whereas others accommodated and collaborated with the traders. Ogowok of Padibe, for instance, invited the traders to build a station at Lacic⁷⁵. As we have noted above, Kaciba of Obbo also accommodated the traders in his state.

From these centres, the traders, in collaboration with their hosts, raided neighbouring communities for ivory, cattle and slaves. Rwot Otto of Obbo was at one time, for instance, said to have led a combined army of Padibe, Obbo and Danaqla Arabs against the Owa people⁷⁶.

The collaboration of these rulers was rewarded by a certain amount of the booty obtained from such raids. They were also given firearms by the traders to create small body guards or armies called Panchura⁷⁷. It was with these that they participated in raiding neighbouring communities.

However, although some collaborator-rulers such as Otto and Ogwok had 'armies' with firearms, they did not seem to have extended their territories at the expense of neighbouring states. The military ventures which they carried outside their territories in collaboration with the Arabs had specific and limited aims - the procuring of ivory and cattle. They did not fight an occupation war. After each raid, the warriors had to return home and participate in the process of food production. It would have, therefore, been difficult and expensive for the rulers to fight for territorial expansion.

Nevertheless, the wars were a source of bitterness between these rulers and the communities that they fought. Thus, when Turco-Egyptian rule collapsed, they took the opportunity to attack these rulers. In 1887, for instance, a combined army of Payira, Pajule, Labongo and Cwa attacked Padibe. This was followed by several other attacks on the state which forced Ogwok to remove his capital from Lacic to Lalak⁷⁸.

The collapse of Egyptian rule and the withdrawal of stations from the interior thus provided an ideal atmosphere for old scores to be settled in the battle field. Consequently, "war and defence [became] one of the prime concerns of the people"⁷⁹.

The frequency of war was also accelerated by the economic benefits which the rulers and warriors alike derived from raiding

other communities. Any war booty was distributed between the rulers and the warriors. In some communities such as Obbo, for instance, a person whose relative or kinsman was taken captive by the traders and wanted to free him, had to give a certain quantity of ivory to the rwot who would then keep some for himself and take the rest to the traders to free the captive⁸⁰. The rulers also received gifts from individuals seeking the state's help to avenge offence on their kinsmen by peoples of other communities⁸¹.

In spite of the relative wealth of the ruling hierarchies vis-a-vis the rest of the people, their economic and political bases were not sufficiently strong enough to control the trade in their own interests. Moreover, they also lacked strong armies that could check the activities of the traders.

In the lacustrine region, on the other hand, the existence of powerful states acted like brakes and imposed certain conditions on the traders. H. B. Thomas thus notes that in Buganda and Bunyoro,

primary production of slaves [and ivory] was a state monopoly operated by the rulers, who dealt with Arab traders as middlemen in the chain of distribution⁸².

In this way, the ruling hierarchies of these states concentrated wealth in their hands and became very powerful.

The traders often also involved themselves in local politics, particularly in quarrels between rival claimants to the rulership. In Pajok, as noted in chapter three above, a claimant to the office of rwotship allied himself with the traders to defeat his opponent. In Obbo, similarly, Otto decided to collaborate with the traders as safeguard against revenge by the family of Loci Kaibaka whom he killed in succession struggle⁸³.

Another aspect of the Arab impact was the growth of the 'interpreter' class. These were people uprooted from their homes as a result of the ivory and slave trade. They became members of the traders' party, or married to the soldiers, while others worked in the garrisons⁸⁴. These men and women were sufficiently well versed in the Arabic language. Although many had lost contact with their people, but they formed a new class of men, the interpreters, who were "the indispensable intermediaries between African communities and the Arab intruders"⁸⁵.

As a result of these contacts, some Arabic words were also incorporated into the Acholi language. These are, however, words which refer almost entirely to names of things such as spoon, plate, bottle, tea, salt, etc.

In the religious sphere, there does not, however, seem to have been any significant impact. This may have been due to several factors. Firstly, unlike the religious fakis of medieval Sudan who

settled among the societies of the north and proselytized⁸⁶, the Arabs who came to the south were primarily traders and were not apparently pre-occupied with any idea of proselytization. Most of them were ordinary muslims who lacked any basic training in Islamic theology.

Secondly, the nature of the contacts between the traders and the African communities was not such as to encourage the work of proselytization. In order for the traders to have a religious impact or to win converts to Islam, they should have come and settled among the people peacefully, then proselytized. This was not, however, the case. The contacts were violent. Consequently, they failed to win any significant number of converts to Islam in Acholi.

In Obbo, however, rwot Otto seems to have been converted to Islam for he took the name Ibrahim, which has been corrupted to Abarayi or Abraham⁸⁷. The nature of their impact on the ordinary people is, nevertheless, unclear.

The Padibe rwot was also so thoroughly Arabized that many officials of the colonial government described him as a perfect Danaqla Arab in everything except his skin.

Chief Ogwok has become a perfect Dongolese [*i.e.* Danaqla Arab] in clothing and manners. He speaks fairly good Arabic. He sits and sleeps on a Kareb [*i.e.* bed] and entertains his guests with coffee⁸⁸.

In spite of these rather extreme cases, however, there is no sufficient evidence to indicate that the Arabs had significant impact, culturally or religiously, on the common populations of the states. On the contrary, since they were often oppressed by both their rulers and the traders⁸⁹, they kept their distance from the Arabs. It is difficult, therefore, for these to have been very much affected culturally or religiously by the Arab presence.

BRITISH COLONIZATION AND ACHOLI REACTION 1890-1914

The overthrow of Khedivial authority in the Sudan in 1881 was a great setback to Egyptian imperial interests in the Nile Valley. In 1882 Egypt was itself occupied by the British. The events leading to the occupation can be traced as far back as the early nineteenth century when the efforts of a series of rulers, beginning from Muhammad Ali to Khedive Ismail, to 'modernize' the army and Egyptian bureaucracy brought in their trail European involvement in the economy of the country. By 1875, Egypt was bankrupt and in 1879 Khedive Ismail was forced to resign. Subsequently, a series of financial arrangements were made to ensure that the country paid its debts. A British Commissioner was appointed to oversee revenue, while a French Commissioner was to supervise expenditure⁹⁰.

However, the system paved the way for increasing European control of Egypt's affairs. This provoked a strong nationalist resentment which led to the 1881 'Urabi revolt. The nationalist uprising threatened European financial interests, and in 1882 Britain intervened and occupied Egypt on behalf of the bond-holders⁹¹.

The occupation of Egypt by the British marked, as it were, a turning point in the scramble for Africa. Two years after the occupation (i.e. in 1884), the Berlin conference decided the manner in which the world would be partitioned among European powers. Many parts of the world were soon to come under imperial domination.

Meanwhile in the Sudan, the death of the Mahdi in 1885 was followed by the rise to power of Khalifa Abdullahi whose rule was characterized by a series of revolts, principally the revolts of the Ashraf and Awwad al-balad. The Khalifa's army was also involved in campaigns on the northern (i.e. Egyptian) and eastern (i.e. Ethiopian) fronts.

The British government, through the forceful influence of its Consul-General in Cairo, Lord Cromer, adopted a policy of non-interference in the Sudan. Public opinion in Britain was generally sympathetic to the Mahdist Revolution for to many the Mahdiyya was a nationalist uprising meant to rid the country of several years of injustice and mal-practice. And with Cromer virtually ruling Egypt,

the Egyptian government under Tawfik was unable to take any steps to re-conquer the Sudan.

In 1885, however, General Gordon was killed in Khartoum by the Mahdists while on a mission to evacuate Egyptian garrisons. The death of Gordon almost immediately precipitated a change in British attitude towards the revolution and the abandonment of the policy of non-interference in the Sudan.

The change in policy was also, however, influenced by events beyond the borders of the Sudan. In 1894, the French and Congolese governments signed an agreement which opened the Bahr el-Ghazal and the Upper Nile to French advance. The following year in November, the French government organized an expedition from the Senegal to the Upper Nile under Captain Marchand. Almost as if in reaction to Marchand's expedition, the British government despatched an Anglo-Egyptian force in 1896 under Kitchener with the expressed aim of re-conquering the Sudan.

The British advance up the Nile was not, however, precipitated by the French expedition to the Upper Nile as is commonly believed, nor did the Ansar pose any sudden threat to the security of Egypt. Furthermore, as later events were to show, the re-conquest was not even undertaken for Egypt's interests, although the expedition was sent in the name of the Khedive and financed by Egypt.

The event which seems to have precipitated the despatch of the Anglo-Egyptian force was the defeat of the Italians in 1896 at the battle of Adowa by Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia. The defeat boosted the morale of the Ethiopian forces. The Italians, on the other hand, feared an alliance between the Mahdists and the Ethiopians which would undermine their imperial interests in the horn. In fact, Menelik contemplated such an alliance and made overtures to the Mahdists⁹², and Ethio-Sudanese alliance would have been a reality had it not been for the ideology of the Mahdiyya itself⁹³. The British, therefore, decided to attack the Mahdists from the Egyptian front in order to divert their attention away from the eastern front as a gesture of friendship to Italy, but also to save face⁹⁴. The move was also to reconcile Germany in order to guard against the break of the Triple Alliance⁹⁵.

In 1896 Dongola fell to Kitchener, while Berber was evacuated by the Mahdists without resistance in August 1897. From Berber, the Anglo-Egyptian forces advanced on to Metemma and found it evacuated. They proceeded to Atbara, then Omdurman which fell on 1 September 1898 during the battle of Karari. The battle of Karari sealed, as it were, any hope of Mahdist success. It marked the end of the Mahdist State and the beginning of a new era - the era of Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan which was formalized by the Condominium Agreement of 1899.

The Condominium agreement created a hybrid form of government to administer the Sudan. Its architect, Lord Cromer, described it as the "child of opportunism"⁹⁶ and was accordingly careful not to delimit an explicit boundary for the Sudan. Instead, the Sudan was defined as

the territories south of the 22nd parallel of latitude which have never been evacuated by Egyptian troops since the year 1882; or which, having before the late rebellion in the Sudan been administered by the government of His Highness the Khedive, were temporarily lost to Egypt, and have been re-conquered by Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government acting in concert; or which may hereafter be re-conquered by the two governments acting in concert⁹⁷.

Many areas of southern Sudan and Uganda, including Acholi, which had been a part of the Egyptian empire but which had not yet been re-conquered belonged to the category of territories which "may hereafter be re-conquered".

The re-conquest of these areas had, however, to be delayed due to lack of funds, personnel and the sudd barrier. It was not, therefore, until much later that they became a part of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In the case of Acholi and a large portion of Equatoria, the area was, however, first annexed to the Uganda Protectorate before reverting to Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1914.

The annexation of Uganda itself has often been thought to have been the result of strategic considerations arising out of the British occupation of Egypt⁹⁸. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher who advanced this thesis believe that Uganda was occupied ostensibly to secure for Egypt the source of the White Nile. The Robinson-Gallagher thesis was, however, questioned by G. N. Uzoigwe who argued that the annexation of Uganda or East Africa in general cannot be explained by the events that took place in Egypt during the late nineteenth century⁹⁹.

Whatever precipitated the annexation of the country, by the 1890 Anglo-German agreement, the area to the north of Lake Victoria - effectively the present Uganda Republic - was put under British sphere of influence¹⁰⁰. The British government immediately authorized the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) to administer the territory on its behalf.

The company soon, however, ran into problems, and in 1893 it invited the British government to take official responsibility of administering the area. Sir Gerald Portal, the first official representative of the government, was, therefore, sent to replace Captain Lugard who had been IBEAC representative. Portal made an agreement with Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and in 1894 it was formalized by another agreement between Mwanga and Colonel Colville.

The annexation of Buganda was, however, in marked contrast to that of Bunyoro, its traditional and intractable enemy. Under Mukama Kabalega, Bunyoro waged a strong resistance¹⁰¹ between 1893 and 1899. And at one time, he sent a joint delegation with Awich of Payira, where he had taken refuge after the British drove him away from his capital¹⁰², to seek assistance from the Mahdists¹⁰³. The delegation is said to have met the Mahdists in present Panyikwara, but was almost exterminated. Its leader, Okelonwaka, only returned home in 1900 to report on the fate of the delegation.

These events signalled the fact that the Acholi and other peoples of northern Uganda were not to remain independent for long. In 1898 the British government had ordered the Macdonald expedition to the Upper Nile as a back-up to the major thrust from the north under Kitchener¹⁰⁴. Macdonald was instructed by the Foreign Office to secure by treaty a tract of territory between the Ethiopian border and the Nile as far north as the 10° N latitude¹⁰⁵.

Although the expedition was commissioned early in 1898, it was not until May that it was able to leave owing to the revolt of Sudanese soldiers. Macdonald sent a column under Austin to Lake Turkana, while he himself led the main column through Karamoja and Otuho. The two officers signed several treaties with African rulers. At Kiteng, situated to the east of Padibe, Macdonald received a delegation sent by Ogwok inviting the British to declare a protectorate over Padibe,

Pajok, Panyikwara, and Pandiker. The delegation signed a treaty with Macdonald and was given a copy of the Union Jack.

Sheikh Aggo [i.e. Ogwok] of Fadibek [i.e. Padibe], the principal chief of the northern Shuli [i.e. Acholi], has made a treaty with me and answers for Odek, Mile and Achyel06.

The other rulers on whose behalf Ogwok signed the treaty were Onek of Pajok, Acee of Panyikwara and Mila of Pandiker.

The claim that Ogwok signed the treaty on behalf of the rulers of these states might suggest that they were Padibe's 'satellite' states. The claim is further strengthened by the fact that during the second half of the nineteenth century, Padibe was a powerful state. With the help of the traders, Ogwok had created a strong standing army which raided neighbouring peoples for ivory and slaves¹⁰⁷. It would seem, therefore, that with the exception of Obbo, which had close relationship with Padibe, these communities were raided by Ogwok's army. The power and influence of Ogwok no doubt increased as a result of these raids which, in turn, enhanced his popularity.

In spite of this, however, there is no sufficient evidence to indicate that Ogwok actually attempted to assert his authority over any of these states. His wars were mainly for securing ivory and slaves, not occupation wars. The claim that Ogwok signed the treaty on behalf of the rulers of Pajok, Panyikwara and Pandiker should be seen as reflecting the need for security by all these communities.

Indeed, Padibe had itself been the subject of persistent attacks by neighbouring Acholi states which took the opportunity of the collapse of Egyptian authority to revenge Padibe's earlier attacks on them. And despite the moat that was dug around his capital, the attacks were so persistent that he was forced to move it to Lalak¹⁰⁸.

The other states mentioned in the treaty were similarly in dire need for protection. The state of Panyikwara, for instance, suffered a catastrophic defeat in war by a combined Lokoya-Bari army previously¹⁰⁹. The people were scattered and re-grouped at Iwire. Again two separate attacks by the Lokoya and Lokoro (i.e. Pari) people pushed them further southwards to Ayipa. At Ayipa, they soon quarrelled and fought a section of the Madi people called Logopi¹¹⁰. They were thus forced to leave Ayipa and return to Iwire.

During the late nineteenth century, therefore, the people of Panyikwara knew no peace and were continually on the move. Constant fighting and movements to and fro were interfering with the normal process of food production. The elders council, therefore, advised Acee to do something about it.

Acee, people are tired of fighting. They are tired of building one settlement here, abandon it, then another there. We are not getting enough sleep. Weeds are carrying the fields. What will our children eat if we don't work? There is manu [i.e. white man] at Nimule. Go and call him here. 111

The plea by the elders council reflected the popular feeling of the people. It did not mince words. No one wanted fighting. The people's energy was sapped, and they needed security and peace in order to carry out the normal economic activities. The coming of the British, therefore, presented them with a rare opportunity which was to be exploited.

When Acee heard that Langa-Langa [i.e. Charles Delme Radcliffe] came to Nimule, he went there to meet him. He took two big elephant tusks as gifts to him.....Acee [then] asked Langa-Langa to establish a station at Iwire to protect the people of Panyikwara against their enemies¹¹².

The eventual journey of Acee to Nimule marked, as it were, the culmination of a series of efforts to search for peace and security. Although tradition does not make explicit reference to the treaty between Ogwok and Macdonald, there is thus reason to believe that Acee may have sent a delegation to Padibe requesting Ogwok to communicate his wishes to Macdonald.

Pajok state, Padibe's immediate northern neighbour, was similarly affected by continual strife. Early in the century, around the 1830's or 1840's, it fought two reprisal wars against Pajule kingdom¹¹³ of eastern Acholi. Then in the 1870's, following the death of rwot Otoke, it was torn by internal strife caused by succession struggle¹¹⁴. In 1887, rebel soldiers of Fadl Mula attacked it for allegedly attacking

Ogwok of Padibe. And three years after that in 1890 it was soon involved in the Longulu war in which many Pajok warriors, including rwot Anyoda, were killed¹¹⁵. Moreover, a Madi polity was also in the habit of attacking it from time to time.

All these pressures on the state no doubt generated the need for security and protection. And like Panyikwara state, it is possible that the successor of Anyoda, rwot Onek, must have requested Ogwok of Padibe to use his influence to communicate Pajok's need for protection to Macdonald's delegation.

In spite of these overtures, Macdonald did not take the trouble to meet these rwodi, probably because the distance to cover between their capitals and Kiteng was great. He, therefore, by-passed them to the west and north-west, and proceeded to Otuho.

Meanwhile, another expedition under Major Martyr had been sent up the Nile by Berkeley, the British Special Commissioner to Uganda. Martyr was instructed to "reconnoitre and make treaties with local chiefs as far north as Fashoda"¹¹⁶. He established a line of posts (Wadelai, Lamogi, Afudu and Fort Berkeley near Rejaff) along the Nile.

Macdonald's and Martyr's expeditions achieved two important results for the British government. Firstly, by the treaties they made with African rulers, both Macdonald and Martyr extended British

commitment northwards. Secondly, they opened two possible lines of extending the Protectorate from its nucleus in Buganda.

The British government, however, appeared reluctant to immediately exploit the opportunity offered by these treaties. Macdonald had drawn up a scheme of retaining his treaty area by sending out regular patrols. The Foreign Office confirmed the treaties but put aside the idea of sending out patrols. The reluctance of the Foreign Office to take immediate action suggests that these areas had not yet featured on its list of foreign priorities. Nevertheless, the fact that it confirmed the treaties meant that future British interests were safeguarded.

The posts established by Martyr were organized into the Nile Military District. In 1899 Sir Harry Johnston, Berkeley's successor, converted it into the Nile Province, and the Afudu station was to serve both the Acholi and Madi people.

Johnston's aim was to establish an efficient administration and a sound economy which, for him, entailed expanding the protectorate in order to exploit new areas. Accordingly, he encouraged Delme Radcliffe, who succeeded Martyr as military commander of the province in 1899, to extend the Protectorate eastwards from the Nile stations.

Despite opposition from the Foreign Office, Delme Radcliffe made extensive tours mainly in Acholi. He met rwot Acee of Panyikwara and

signed a treaty with him¹¹⁷. Then he passed through the northern chiefdoms of Agoro, Omeo, and Magwi, but most of the people fled to the mountains.

At Obbo he met Otto who pledged his loyalty to the British¹¹⁸. Otto had by now become very unpopular and nobody was happy with his rule¹¹⁹. Moreover, he came to power as a usurper and still had considerable enemies. He had also been deserted by his body-guards because of his cruelty and oppression. Thus, when Delme Radcliffe came, he pledged his loyalty to the British. He was, however, assassinated in 1900 by Mandala whose brother he had killed in the succession struggle¹²⁰.

From Obbo, Delme Radcliffe proceeded to Pajok and deposed Onek for allegedly attacking a Madi ruler who was under British protection¹²¹. Oceng, a son of Anyoda, was then, installed as rwot. Meanwhile, he confiscated grain and goats as compensation for the Madi people.

In the attack on Pajok, six people were killed and several others captured. The resistance offered by the people, though ineffectual, represented a complete turn about from their ruler's previous readiness to accommodate the British. Even when Delme Radcliffe proceeded to Panto, an autonomous chiefdom, he met an equally strong resistance in which fifteen people were killed and several captured¹²².

The change from a readiness to accommodation with the British to that of open resistance was the outcome of diplomatic offensive by Awich of Payira and Kabalega of Bunyoro to mobilise Acholi resistance against the British. By this time Kabalega had been driven out of his capital and taken refuge in Payira. From here they sent a delegation to the Mahdists, who were presumably in present Panyikwara, to seek for assistance against the British. Another delegation was sent to Pajok and Panto, as Delme Radcliffe later learnt after crushing the resistance, to convince the people to resist the British advance¹²³. The mission to the Mahdists did not yield fruits and met with bad luck, but the delegation to Pajok and Panto succeeded to rally popular opinion against the British.

Thus, had Delme Radcliffe not come at the time that he did, it is likely that Awich and Kabalega would have succeeded in rallying support from other northern Acholi rulers against accommodation with the British. However, the British superseded them before they could contact their counterparts in the area. And with Awich's capture in 1901 also ended the most serious attempt to rally the Acholi to resist the imposition of British rule.

Meanwhile, Delme Radcliffe had proceeded to Padibe after suppressing the resistance at Pajok and Panto. He was cordially met by Ogwok who showed him a copy of the treaty he had signed with Macdonald. As expected, he requested the British to establish a station at Padibe.

Delme Radcliffe was very much impressed by him and was convinced that Ogwok would prove to be "one of their mainstays amongst the Acholi"¹²⁴.

However, Delme Radcliffe's exploits were not immediately followed up by establishing an effective administrative machinery. The Uganda Protectorate officials argued that these areas offered "little or no promise of successful development"¹²⁵, and could not, therefore, be considered seriously at the moment.

But British military officers who continually visited the areas put pressure for the establishment of effective administration. These were soon followed up by practical measures so that by 1911 civil administration had been extended to include Acholi. The head-quarter of the Nile province was subsequently moved to Gulu¹²⁶, and with that administration became very intensive. Only a few areas of Acholi had not been brought within the orbit of British rule, but by 1918 these had ended their passive resistance against the British and withdrew from the mountains¹²⁷.

The Nile province extended eastwards along the Nile as far north as Gondokoro, while the western bank of the Nile was under Belgian control. This was the result of diplomatic manoeuvres by the European powers in the wake of the scramble for Africa.

In May 1894 Britain had signed an agreement with King Leopold II of Belgium. The agreement granted a lease to the king over the territory west of the Nile lying to the north of Lake Albert and between the Nile and the Congo-Nile watershed¹²⁸. Its northern limit was to be 10° N latitude, while to the west it was bounded by 30° E longitude.

Due to French pressure, however, the king signed another agreement with the French government later in 1894 which restricted his influence over the territory to the portion of the lease lying east of 30° E longitude and south of 5° 30 N latitude¹²⁹. The area came to be known as the Lado Enclave¹³⁰.

Soon after the Fashoda incident, Britain began fresh negotiations with Belgium about the leased territory. On 9 May 1896 it was agreed that King Leopold should relinquish the greater part of the lease acquired in 1894 and only retain the Lado Enclave. But his retention of the enclave was to last only as long as he was still the sovereign of the Congo Free State after which his rights would terminate and the enclave handed over to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It was thus that in June 1910, following his death, the enclave became under Anglo-Egyptian administration and attached to Mongalla province¹³¹.

The transfer of the Lado Enclave from the Congo Free State to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan created a portion of Sudanese territory which entered deep inside the Uganda Protectorate. The northern portion

of the enclave was easily accessible to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as far as Rejaff, while its southern part could be easily reached from the Uganda Protectorate.

The Uganda Protectorate, on the other hand, stretched as far north as Gondokoro. Its northern part was, therefore, quite remote from the Protectorate but easily accessible from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This created administrative problems for both governments since tax evaders or 'criminals' could cross the border to emulate authorities from either side.

In order to solve the problem, a mixed boundary commission consisting of officials from both governments was formed in 1913 to study the problem and submit recommendations for a new boundary. On 1 January 1914 the boundary recommended by the commission was recognized and the transfer of territories consummated¹³². Northern Acholi and the areas to the north up to Gondokoro became a part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The northern portion of the Lado Enclave as far south as Nimule remained under the Condominium Administration, while its southern part reverted to the Uganda Protectorate.

The Anglo-Egyptian authorities immediately occupied Gondokoro and Nimule. The latter became the head-quarter of Kajo Kaji district. In 1916, however, it was replaced by Opari as head-quarter for the district¹³³, while Iwire subsequently became a sub-district head-quarter for the Acholi¹³⁴.

In the initial establishment of Anglo-Egyptian rule in the south, the authorities dealt mainly with the local rulers. It was through them that the administration was able to reach and administer the various communities. In the three communities under study, the rwodi of the period of colonial conquest, except Onek of Pajok, were retained by the British.

The policy of retaining local rulers was a pragmatic solution to the problems facing the administration¹³⁵. The government had to consolidate its authority over the vast areas that came under its rule. With insufficient troops and civil servants, it was economical to rely on local institutions. The British, therefore, found it expedient to enlist the local rulers on the side of the government.

In this way, government instructions would not only reach the people through their local rulers, but its implementation could also be effected or enforced through the local institutions. Administrative orders thus filtered from the province to the districts, then to sub-district officials and the local rulers. At the top of the administrative hierarchy was, of course, the Governor-General who combined both civil and military authority. In theory responsible to the co-domini, the Governor-General in fact reported to London through the British Consul-General in Cairo.

This policy would have, however, compromised efficiency, especially if a particular local official was weak or incompetent. Apparently aware of this problem, the British began to send sons of rwodi to schools¹³⁶. The idea was that these youths would, in time, replace their fathers as rulers over their people or work as clerks, thereby increasing efficiency and facilitating communication.

As the administration later came to be more firmly established, however, efficiency was meticulously adhered to, and local rulers who proved inefficient were removed and replaced by government appointees irrespective of whether they belonged to the chiefly clan or not.

British officials also came to intervene more regularly in the affairs of the local people. From Opari, for instance, the district commissioner or his agent paid regular visits to Iwire to settle the major 'court' cases brought there by Acholi rwodi¹³⁷. Health officials also toured the districts more frequently, particularly when there were out-breaks of epidemic diseases¹³⁸.

The effect of these visits was to undermine the authority and prestige of the local rulers. The district commissioner at Nimule thus complained that

The district is so full of sultans, sheikhs, mukungu and one would imagine that with such high sounding titles these chiefs are people with authority.....but with very few examples that is not the case. If I.....complain to a chief that he has not had the road kept in order

or has not sent the porters asked for, his invariable reply is "my Mukungu won't obey me", but if the Mukungu are asked why they do not obey the chief, their answer is "my people would not obey me"¹³⁹.

The attitude of the people towards these officials was itself the result of the demands by the administration such as regular taxation, public works, etc. The orders for these activities were enforced by the local officials to whom were assigned askaris to assist in the execution of their duties. Some of the askaris were, however, so harsh that they often flogged those who shunned public works. In particular, when cotton growing was introduced, the oppression and arrogance of these officials became so repulsive that it led to an uprising in Panyikwara¹⁴⁰. The revolt was, however, quickly crushed and order was again restored.

A very noticeable aspect of the establishment of colonial rule was also the decline in warfare. The return of peace and stability, in turn, encouraged the gradual break-up of the fenced village settlements which were so prevalent during the nineteenth century¹⁴¹.

In Panyikwara, for instance, when Iwire lost its sub-district status, the administration ordered the people to build their houses near the main road. However, some groups felt freer and securer to build their villages far away from the main road where they felt crops could grow well. The administration at one time threatened to burn such villages in order to force the people to return to the

main road, and one such village was subsequently named 'Kamach'¹⁴² - the place of fire - in recognition of this threat and has since retained that name.

However, the decisive change from the nucleated village to dispersed homesteads began more effectively from around 1920 when all resistance to the establishment of colonial rule had been crushed and the administration more firmly established¹⁴³.

In summation, therefore, the following points should be noted. From 1861 and onwards, the Acholi were increasingly exposed to outside influences as a result of the development of the ivory trade. They came face to face with muslim traders from northern Sudan who vigorously exploited the opportunity offered by the opening of the White Nile to trade with the south.

Initially, the traders obtained the ivory through African intermediaries, and in some communities such as the Shilluk, the trade was strictly monopolized by the ruling hierarchies.

However, as nearby sources of ivory became depleted and the value of beads began to depreciate, the traders began to move into the interior from the Nile stations. They increasingly began to resort to force in securing the ivory as well as the porters needed to transport them to the Nile stations for shipment to Khartoum. Gradually, this developed into the illegitimate trade in slaves.

It was after the development of the slave trade that most African communities came into contact with the Arab traders. The traders raided villages for ivory, slaves, and cattle. Lacking strong economic and political bases, most of these communities were unable to resist the traders and thus control the trade to their advantage.

The reactions of these societies to the traders' onslaught were conditioned by this fact. Those communities which were weak opted to collaborate with the traders, while others vigorously resisted their attacks on their villages.

Whether a ruler resisted or collaborated, however, the amount of wealth he obtained was marginal. It did not encourage the development of a feudal-like mode of production - probably because the productive forces were not real forces such as would normally cause a change in social or production relations.

The publicity given in Europe to the existence of the slave trade on the White Nile, and the subsequent pressure on Egyptian rulers by the European powers, coincided with Khedive Ismail's imperialist designs in Central Africa. Egyptian rule was thus vigorously extended to the south. The trade, however, still persisted for certain measures adopted by the Egyptian authorities encouraged its perpetuation.

The situation of violence worsened after 1881 as a result of the collapse of Egyptian authority. Inter-ethnic fighting became common. Thus, when the British came towards the end of the century, many African communities were already weak and tired of fighting. Consequently, no significant resistance was offered (in northern Acholi at least) against the establishment of British rule.

The Acholi were annexed to the Uganda Protectorate. In 1914, northern Acholi was transferred, with other parts of Equatoria province, from the Protectorate to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Its administration was initially based, like the rest of the south, on the policy of utilizing 'traditional' rulers and local institutions to execute orders of the colonial government.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Marlowe, Anglo-Egyptian Relations 1800-1956 (London: Frank Cass, 1965), pp.12-29.
2. Ibid, pp.30-32.
3. P. M. Holt and M. W. Daly, The History of the Sudan From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), p.47.
4. Muhammad Ali actually got rid of the Circasian-Albanian elements by sending them to fight the Greek and Syrian wars, and to suppress the Wahabi revolt in Arabia (see P. J. Vatikiotis, The Modern History of Egypt (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp.68-69).
5. R. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881 (London: OUP, 1959), p.7.
6. Quoted in P. Mercer, "Shilluk Trade and Politics From the Mid-seventeenth Century to 1861", JAH, 12, 3 (1971), p.417.
7. Ibid, pp.407-426.
8. P. Mercer claims that from the mid-seventeenth century up to 1861, the Shilluk dominated the White Nile region up to Eleis in the north (see Ibid, pp.407-426).
9. Jallabas were northern muslim Sudanese small-scale traders who operated in small groups; some even operated alone. They often travelled several miles in search of trading opportunities.
10. Mercer, "Shilluk Trade and Politics", p.417.
11. Quoted in Ibid, p.418.
12. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, p.52.

13. R. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889 (London: OUP, 1961), p.28.
14. Ibid, pp.31-32.
15. The method which the traders employed was to lease large territories from the government for purposes of trading. However, since they were not sure when their lease would be cancelled, they often did their best to obtain maximum profit in as minimum time as possible.
16. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.82. Holt and Daly suggest that Muhammad al-Aqqad bought up the establishments of his competitors with the financial backing of Khedive Ismail himself (see Holt and Daly, The History of the Sudan, p.76).
17. Mercer, "Shilluk Trade and Politics", p.421.
18. See R. M. Al-Zubayr, Black Ivory (N.Y.: Negro Universities Press, 1970).
19. For a detailed account, see Ibid.
20. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.58.
21. Baker, The Albert N'yanza, p.191.
22. Testimony of Patrisyo Alwari.
23. Testimonies of Patrisyo Alwari, and Der Odidi.
24. Baker, The Albert N'yanza, p.191.
25. Testimony of Patrisyo Alwari.
26. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, p.237.
27. Testimony of Owan Aramac.

28. Baker, The Albert Nyanza, p.259.
29. Ibid, p.235.
30. J. H. Speke, Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile (Edinburgh, 1864); J. A. Grant, A Walk Across Africa (London, 1864); Baker, The Albert Nyanza.
31. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, pp.101-103.
32. Ibid, pp.101-102.
33. Quoted in Ibid, p.102.
34. For a comparison of West African societies during the same period, see Meillassoux, The Development of Indigenous Trade, and Braimah and Goody, Salaga.
35. Al-Zubayr, Black Ivory, p.97.
36. Ibid, p.99.
37. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, p.102.
38. Holt and Daly, The History of the Sudan, p.75.
39. Al-Zubayr, Black Ivory, p.32.
40. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, pp.134-142.
41. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.79.
42. Quoted in I.M.A. 'Abbas, The British, the Slave Trade and Slavery in the Sudan 1820-1831 (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1972), p.44.

43. Cf. V. I. Lenin, Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism (N.Y.: International Publishers, 1939);

R.M.A. Van Zwanenberg, "Anti-Slavery: The Ideology of 19th Century Imperialism in East Africa", in B.A. Ogot (ed.), Economic and Social History of East Africa (Nairobi: EALB, 1975), pp.108-127.

44. See Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, pp.24-101; and P.M. Holt, Studies in the History of the Near East (London: Frank Cass, 1973), pp.135-148.

45. G. Schweinfurth, et al, Emin Pasha in Central Africa (London, 1881), p.261.

46. Originally, the Danaqla Arabs were employed in the firm of de Bono, but when the asset of the firm was bought by al-Aqqad's company, they were nominally brought under Abu Su'ad, who was the representative of the firm in Equatoria.

47. It is claimed that Khedive Ismail actually gave financial support to the company to buy the asset of its competitors (see footnote 16 above).

48. See Mercer, "Shilluk Trade and Politics", pp.407-426.

49. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.100.

50. J. M. Gray, "Acholi History 1860-1901", UJ, 15 (1951), p.126.

51. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.103.

52. Gray, "Acholi History", p.126.

53. Ibid, p.126; also see A. J. Mounteney-Jephson, Emin Pasha and the Rebellion at the Equator (London, 1890), p.381.

54. Testimony of Popiryo Oceng Bali. Jadiya is a corruption of Jihadiyya, regular troops recruited from the slaves obtained from the Sudan and trained at the Aswan camp which was established in 1821. It was out of these Jihadiyya that the Turco-Egyptian regime derived much of its military strength (see Holt and Daly, The History of the Sudan, pp.57-58). And during the Mahdiyya, those Jihadiyya who were captured were integrated into the Mahdist army. They still retained the name Jihadiyya.
55. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, pp.148-152.
56. Holt, Studies in the History of the Near East, p.139.
57. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.107.
58. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, p.140.
59. G. Schweinfurth, Emin Pasha, His Life and Work (London, 1898), pp.267-270.
60. Between 1878 and 1884 only nine steamers called into the province from Khartoum.
61. For a detailed account of the Mahdiyya, see P. M. Holt, The Mahdist State in the Sudan: A Study of its Origins, Developments and Overthrow (London: OUP, 1958); and for Mahdist activities in Southern Sudan, see R. O. Collins, The Southern Sudan 1883-1898: A Struggle For Control (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962).
62. Collins, The Southern Sudan, p.45.
63. Ibid, pp.55-71.
64. The Arabization and Islamization of northern Sudan is studied in Yusuf Fadl Hassan, The Arabs and the Sudan From the Seventh to the Early Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh:Edinburgh University Press, 1967).

65. Politically, the northern societies were characterized by the prevalence of strong 'tribal' loyalties and fragmentation. Hereditary chiefs ruled over the sedentary communities of the Nile and the nomads of the desert. From the early 16th century, the Funj dynasty exercised a precarious hegemony as far north as the third cataract. However, by the beginning of the 19th century, no vestige of central authority survived.
66. The term 'branches of production' is adopted from E. I. Steinhart, "Food Production in Pre-colonial Ankole: Branches and Modes of Production", Paper submitted to the Inter-Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Amsterdam, April 1981, pp.1-21.
67. J. L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia (London, 1819), pp.277-361.
68. Whether the systems of production that characterized pre-colonial Africa can be described as feudal or not, see the articles by J. Goody and C. Coquery-Vidrovitch in Gutkind and Waterman, African Social Studies, pp.77-106.
69. See Meillassoux, The Development of Indigenous Trade; and Braimah and Goody, Salaga.
70. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, p.38.
71. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, p.52.
72. Mercer, "Shilluk Trade and Politics", pp.407-426.
73. R. Hill, On the Frontiers of Islam: Two Manuscripts Concerning the Sudan Under Turco-Egyptian Rule 1822-1845 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp.7-8, 34-35.
74. Testimonies of Andrea Bake Acung, and Owan Aramac.
75. Owot, "Padibe During the Aconya", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.202.
76. Crazzolaro, The Lwo, pp.171-172.

77. Testimony of Saverio Olaa.
78. Owot, "Padibe During the Aconya", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.207.
79. Quoted in Mamdani, Politics and Class Formation in Uganda, p.23.
80. Testimony of Der Odidi.
81. Testimonies of Der Odidi, Demetiro Okot Bali, and Saverio Olaa.
82. Quoted in Girling, The Acholi of Uganda, p.130.
83. Testimonies of Der Odidi, Saverio Olaa, and Patrisyo Alwari.
84. Grant, A Walk Across Africa, p.327.
85. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan, pp.100-101.
86. Holt and Daly, The History of the Sudan, pp.15-43; and Yusuf Fadl Hassan, The Arabs and the Sudan.
87. Testimonies of Der Odidi, Saverio Olaa, and Kanuto Lobai.
88. Quoted in Owot, "Padibe During the Aconya", Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.199; Also see Gray, "Acholi History", pp.121-143.
89. Testimony of Der Odidi.
90. Vatikiotis, The Modern History of Egypt, pp.74-89, 126-161;
A. L. Al-Sayyid, Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations (N.Y. and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968) pp.3-5.

91. Vatikiotis, The Modern History of Egypt, pp.126-161; and R. Owen, "Egypt and Europe: From the French Expedition to the British Occupation, 1798-1882", in R. Owen and B. Sutcliffe (eds.), Studies in the Theory of Imperialism (London: Longman, 1972), pp.195-209.
92. Holt, The Mahdist State, p.204.
93. The ideology of the Mahdiyya actually precluded any alliance or co-operation with christians whom it considered heathens or infidels (Holt, The Mahdist State, pp.221-229).
94. Further defeat of the Italians would have proved the superiority of African fighting force vis-a-vis the Europeans.
95. G. N. Sanderson, England, Europe and the Upper Nile 1882-1899 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), pp.249-250.
- R. O. Collins, King Leopold, England and the Upper Nile 1899-1909 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), p.48.
96. M. Abd-al-Rahim, Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan: A Study in Constitutional and Political Development (London: OUP, 1969), p.37.
97. Marlowe, Anglo-Egyptian Relations, p.437.
98. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism (London: MacMillan, 1961);
Idem, "The Partition and Britain", in R.O. Collins (ed.), The Partition of Africa: Illusion or Reality (N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), pp.217-230.
99. G. N. Uzoigwe, "The Victorians and East Africa, 1882-1900: The Robinson-Gallagher Thesis Revisited", Trans-African Journal of History, 5, 2 (1976), pp.32-65.
100. M.S.M. Kiwanuka, "Uganda and the British", in Ogot, Zarani, pp.314-316.

101. E. I. Steinhart, Conflict and Collaboration: The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890-1907 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp.58-97.

Idem, "The Collapse of Bunyoro-Kitara", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
102. G. N. Uzoigwe, "Inter-Ethnic Co-operation in northern Uganda", Tarikh, 3, 2 (1970), p.75.
103. R. S. Anywar, "The Life of Rwot Iburahim Awic", UJ, 12 (1948).
104. Uzoigwe, "The Victorians and East Africa", p.56.
105. J. Barber, "The Moving Frontier of British Imperialism in Northern Uganda, 1898-1919", UJ, 29 (1965), p.27.
106. J. M. Gray, "Acholi History 1860-1901", UJ, 16 (1952), p.39.
107. Owot, "Padibe During the Aconya", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.202.
108. Ibid, p.202.
109. Testimonies of Demetiro, Bernando, Popiryo, and Matiya Abwoye.
110. Testimonies of Popiryo, and Ocito.
111. Testimonies of Andrea Bake Acung, and Popiryo.
112. Testimony of Andrea Bake Acung.
113. Testimony of Garato; also see Garry, "Pajule", in Onyango-Ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.327-329.
114. Testimony of Garato.

115. Testimonies of Garato and Ochan.
116. Barber, "The Moving Frontier", p.27.
117. Testimony of Andrea Bake Acung.
118. Testimony of Der Odidi.
119. Ibid; also see Crazzolaro, The Lwo, pp.171-172.
120. Testimonies of Der Odidi, and Saverio Olao; and Crazzolaro, The Lwo, p.171.
121. The Madi ruler referred to was probably the leader of the Logopi people who had moved to Ayipa near Pajok (see Testimonies of Popiryo, and Ocito).
122. Gray, "Acholi History", p.138.
123. Ibid, p.138.
124. Quoted in Ibid, pp.136-137.
125. Quoted in J. Barber, Imperial Frontier: A Study of Relations Between the British and the Pastoral Tribes of North-Eastern Uganda (Nairobi: EAPH, 1968), p.57.
126. R. O. Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers: The Southern Sudan 1898-1918 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), p.273.
127. SIR, No.286 (May 1918); SIR No.288 (July 1918); SIR, No.289 (August 1918); SIR, No.290 (September 1918); SIR, No.319 (February 1921).

128. H. C. McEwen, International Boundaries of East Africa (London: OUP, 1971), p.236;
- W. L. Langer, The Diplomacy of Imperialism (N.Y.: Knopf, 1956);
- Collins, The Southern Sudan, pp.92-136.
129. McEwen, International Boundaries, p.259.
130. See C. H. Stigand, Equatoria: The Lado Enclave (London: Frank Cass, 1968);
- R. O. Collins, "The Transfer of the Lado Enclave to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1910", Zaire, 14, 2 (1960).
131. McEwen, International Boundaries, p.254.
132. SIR, No.223 (February 1913), and SIR, No.234 (1914).
133. SIR, No.261 (April 1916).
134. Testimonies of Bernardo Obwoya, Der Odidi, and Garato.
135. The policy of British administration of southern Sudan is discussed in Collins, Land Beyond the Rivers, pp.228-280; and G. Warburg, The Sudan Under Wingate: Administration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899-1916 (London: Frank Cass, 1971), pp.137-154.
136. Testimonies of Andrea Bake Acung, Demetiro, Bernardo, and Okee Alimu.
137. Testimonies of Bernardo, Der Odidi, and Garato.

138. When sleeping sickness broke out in Equatoria, for instance, officials of the Royal Medical Service toured the affected areas in order to treat patients. In Panyikwara, those affected were taken to Nimule to be treated there. Unfortunately, the treatment took much longer period than the people expected, so they became suspicious that the British might have been taking their sons into slavery. A certain Panyikwara warrior called Ait Loitamoi one day ambushed an official of the Royal Medical Service who was then taking some affected people to Nirule. The official was wounded, but the administration acted swiftly. The culprits were arrested and given sentences of varying lengths (see Collins, Land Beyond The Rivers, pp.262-72). The incident is remembered in a popular and moving song:

He has barricaded the way to Nimule.
The followers of Loitamoi barricaded the way
Pagena (lineage), let him come
The followers of Loitamoi barricaded the way
He has barricaded the way to the Hakim (i.e. Doctor)
Loitamoi is still at large.

(see Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali).

139. Quoted in Barber, "The Moving Frontier", p.37.
140. Testimonies of Bernando, Popiryo, Matiya Abwoye and Andrea Bake Acung.
141. See B. W. Langlands, "Factors in the Changing Form, Location, and Distribution of Settlements, with Particular Reference to East Acholi", University of East Africa Social Science Conference, Dar es Salaam, 1968, pp.11-12.
142. Testimony of Popiryo.
143. Langlands, "Factors in the Changing Form, Location and Distribution of Settlements", p.12.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The stated aim of this study was to investigate the phenomenon of state formation in Acholi in order to understand to what extent their emergence was the result of the diffusion of ideas or institutions of statecraft from the lacustrine region, to determine the ethnic composition of the states, and to study the nature of their contacts with external forces as well as the dynamic of their colonization by the British towards the end of the nineteenth century. Since the main part of the discussions was undertaken in the preceding chapters, what will be attempted here will be no more than a brief statement of the major findings of the study.

ETHNICITY

Firstly, the question of the ethnic origins of the various groups constituting the states. The study shows that the three states were all multi-ethnic in character, comprising of elements of the three main linguistic groups: Sudanic-, Eastern Nilotic- and Luo-speaking peoples.

It is abundantly clear, therefore, that the question of purity which has often claimed the interest of northern Acholi youths is just mythical¹. Like any African society, there is hardly any group in the area that can claim to be descended from only one common ancestor. On the contrary, groups of different linguistic origins

have been interacting over the years with the result that to-day we have communities of a hybrid nature, which reflects the complex historical processes that went to mould them in the 'crucible of history'².

Verin could not have, therefore, been more correct to argue, in the case of the evolution of Malagasy society, that

Today the debate is not, as in the time of previous authors, about whether the ancestors of the Malagasy are Indonesian OR African - they are both, with a marked predominance of Indonesian elements on the plateaux and a very pronounced Bantu substratum on the coasts³.

The observation equally applies in the case of the three communities studied here. They are the result of interaction between elements of the three linguistic groups. However, the Luo element - both in language and ways of political organization - tended to predominate.

Now, what does this multi-ethnicity imply in terms of methodology? R. M. Bere once stated that the "history of the Acholi is the story of the clans. Each was a political entity with its own history"⁴. The implication is, therefore, that to write a history of the people, the researcher should collect and analyse the various clan traditions in order to produce a wholesome history.

From the experience of the three communities, this was found to be a necessary requirement⁵. And it may be added here that the factor of multi-ethnicity affected the clans as well so that it is even still necessary for any researcher to take into account lineage traditions - especially if such lineages do not have a common tradition of origin with other members of the clan.

An important field for future investigation in this connection would also be to study the cultural contributions of the various ethnic groups in the evolution of the communities, what basic cultural or linguistic framework did each contribute, how were these moulded into a common linguistic or cultural stream, or to what extent the cultural features of each community are a manifestation of its material conditions of living - which aspects of development were completely overshadowed by the purely political orientation of this study.

THE PALUO FACTOR IN STATE FORMATION

Here, the question was specifically to do with the influence of Paluo and, by extrapolation, Nyoro concepts of government and society in the formation and development of Acholi states. The concepts embodied three key ideas: the concept of hereditary kingship, the concept of tribute payment, and the concept and symbol of the royal drum as an embodiment of authority and the state⁶.

In so far as the three states of our study provide any data at all, it is difficult to attribute their emergence (at least in the case of Obbo and Pajok states) to the diffusion of these ideas of government. Firstly, the concept of hereditary kingship was not an alien thing to most of the early settling groups.

In the extra-kin groupings which were formed prior to the emergence of the states, 'political' leadership was based on which lineage segment had the longest genealogical connection to the founding ancestor. The leader of such a lineage was automatically considered the political head of the community.

Leadership in the extra-kin groupings was, in other words, strictly limited to the lineage with the longest genealogy, and/or the most populous and, therefore, powerful group. In a sense, therefore, the concept of hereditary kingship developed from the pre-state institution of clan government.

Similarly, there is no indication in traditions that the idea of tribute payment to a ruler was diffused to Acholi from Paluo or Bunyoro. Rather, the traditions indicate that after the formation of the states, the relations between the ruling hierarchies and the commoners were increasingly characterized by tributary obligation of the latter to the former.

The concept of tribute payment, in other words, reflects a very fundamental process of development in the social structure. The offering of 'voluntary' tributary gifts and occasional labour to the leader of a community is often a sign of the development of inequality - an incipient process of class formation reflecting the emergence of at least two social strata within the society, the class of rulers and of the ruled.

A similar process of development took place in Obbo which is simply stated: "one day people began to offer white ants [as tribute] to the new rwot from Lotuko. They also began to dig in his fields"⁷. In Panyikwara state, a parallel process of development also occurred with respect to the rise to pre-eminence of the Pajule as a ruling class: "the ker of Panyikwara [state] began with the Pajule"⁸.

The two pieces of evidence do actually mirror the culmination of a complex process of development in the social structure - the development of inequality and the institutionalization of the leadership of the emergent ruling classes vis-a-vis other members of society. It would, therefore, seem absurd and futile to explain the development of the concept of tribute payment on the basis of the theory of diffusion while ignoring the influence of the specific social and material conditions of the society in question.

However, traditional evidence suggests that the third element of the Paluo concepts of government - the concept and symbol of the royal drum - diffused from the south (i.e. from the lacustrine region). This concept was utilized by the ruling hierarchies of the three states both to strengthen their own authorities as well as to unify the states. Indeed, as one informant lucidly put it, "if you had a drum, then you were big; you'd become rwot"⁹.

The adoption of this concept did not only enhance the legitimacy of the ruling clans, but it also ensured the perpetuation of the unequal distribution of power in society and, hence, the almost unobtrusive exploitation of the mass of producers by the rulers. In this way, the introduction of the concept of the royal drum was related to, and meant to confirm and rationalize, an economic fact of life - the fact that an emergent ruling class exploits the surplus products and labour of the majority of the population for its own interests.

It would seem that the concept underwent some changes after its adoption in Acholi. In most of the states where it was utilized in the formation and organization of the states, particularly in eastern Acholi, the royal drum came to be associated with rain-making ceremonies. The emergent ruling classes expounded the myth of its utility as an instrument for making rain, a fact which facilitated its acceptance by all in society.

Before the introduction of the royal drum, the original devices associated with rain-making ceremonies were rainstones¹⁰. In eastern Acholi, some of the people also consulted jogi (i.e. spirits) when there was little or no rain¹¹.

With the coming of the royal drum, however, it came to be increasingly used in rain-making ceremonies. The rainstones were placed inside the drum, and in this way it was believed to cause rain to fall. At least this was the case with the royal drum of Panyikwara state (called Akenda) which was said to have had rainstones inside it¹². The many eastern Acholi states that adopted the concept also used the royal drums in rain-making ceremonies¹³.

It was only in western Acholi where the royal drums were not used in ceremonies connected with rain-making¹⁴. R. R. Atkinson suggests that this may have been due to the relative abundance of rainfall in the area and the fertility of its soil compared to other parts of Acholi¹⁵.

Nevertheless, the significance of the dual function of the royal drum as a symbol of kingship and authority and as a mechanism for rain-making becomes clear if it is recalled that these communities were agriculturally-oriented in their material production of life. As such, rainfall reliability was very important for without adequate rainfall, the very basis of their existence, the fabric of their being, would have been adversely affected.

The recognition and appreciation of this fact evidently induced the ruling hierarchies to place this all-important 'function' under their direct authorities. They confiscated the rain-making devices of the commoner clans¹⁶ and 'rain-making' thus came to be gradually identified with the rwot as head of the political community and leader of the ruling group.

The effect of this was to legitimize the position of the rwot as well as that of the ruling class as a whole. It also served to centralize the state. It had, as it were, a centrifugal effect on the political structure - the general populace looking more towards the centre for the provision of this service.

The centre, therefore, came to be regarded as a symbol of the state's survival and continuity. Hence, the reference in traditions to the rwot as being the 'queen termite'. He was like the pole in the centre of a thatched house for without it (i.e. the pole), the house easily collapses. In economic terms, this reflects the central position of the rwot in the redistributive-tribute system.

This centralizing tendency was greatly enhanced by the introduction of the royal drum and its subsequent association with rain-making ceremonies. In effect this bound together two important factors which consolidated and strengthened the authorities of the ruling classes.

A very important aspect of the formation of these states, however, was that they were taking place against the background of severe economic problems caused by the Nyandere Famine. In all the three states, traditional evidence points to this factor, which suggests that the economic break-down of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a very important factor in bringing about the changes that caused states to emerge. It created, in other words, a conducive atmosphere for change and facilitated the adoption of new concepts such as the concept and symbol of the royal drum.

It is suggestive, therefore, that the concept of the royal drum was not the prime factor in the emergence of the states - at least in the case of Obbo and Pajok states. What would be interesting to know is, however, whether the concept would have triggered off development towards statehood or not if it had been the only factor available prior to the formation of the states¹⁷.

A most interesting way in testing the causal role of this concept could also consist, for instance, in studying its function in the formation and organization of the Luo-speaking Langi polities which were also within the perimeter of Nyoro influence.

Studies of Lango political evolution by J. Tosh and P. Odyamo, however, indicate that it was not until the nineteenth century that centralizing tendencies began to set in¹⁸. This was long after Paluo concepts of government diffused northwards in the previous century.

The suggestion is, therefore, that the difference in the time-lag for the start of centralization in both Acholi and Lango may not be adequately explained by relying upon the 'Paluo concept of government - state formation' hypothesis for the concept appears to have reached both areas during the same period. It may be useful, therefore, to look for an explanation that takes account of other factors such as the material conditions of living of the two ethnic groups and their varying responses to the environments which they settled. It is in this way that the evolution of a class-based or stratified society can be seen to have started much earlier in Acholi than Lango.

Indeed, this study shows that the process of state formation can be better understood as the result of multiple factors in the ecology, economy and inter-societal environment. It suggests that the process of the formation of each state should be understood on its own merit and under the specific historical conditions that obtained.

Pajok was, for instance, a typical case of the conquest state. Its Luo-speaking ruling clan fought and subjugated under its authority the original Madi communities that settled the area prior to its arrival in 1679. However, this factor was, in turn, triggered off by the existence of a famine which made the struggle for power particularly violent. The new comers greatly benefited from their numerical superiority as well as their prior experience in political organization. All these factors acted in conjunction with, and reinforced, one another.

The emergence of Obbo between 1694 and 1721 was also characterized by a similar process. The famine of the late seventeenth century caused an influx of migrations into the area from the Imatong mountain complex which generated population pressure. Population pressure, coupled with ecological or environmental circumscription, in turn, caused competition for political dominance. This resulted in fighting and the eventual rise to power by the ruling clan. The final act of the submission of the other groups was symbolized by their payment of tribute to the new rulers.

In the case of Panyikwara state, the emergent ruling hierarchy seems to have utilized the concept of the drum both to organize the state as well as to ensure for itself a dominant place in the new socio-political order. The group itself came from Pajule kingdom in eastern Acholi and seems to have been associated with the Paluo dispersal from the area to other parts of Acholi.

However, as in the case of Obbo and Pajok states, the operation of this factor was facilitated by the incidence of a famine. Under the prevailing circumstances, therefore, the coming of the concept of the drum and its presumed power in rain-making was readily accepted by the people in the hope that it might help improve the economic situation.

From around this time or soon afterwards, the ruling hierarchies of Obbo and Pajok states also began to use the royal drum in consoli-

dating and strengthening their authorities. In the two cases, therefore, the adoption of the concept followed the formation of the states. Nevertheless, the royal drum played an important role in the organization and development of the states.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, the states were characterized by the following features. Each state was independent of one another and had a recognized territory. It had a centre (i.e. kal or palace) which was also the seat of the rwot.

The mainstay of the state's economy was agriculture, but this was supplemented with hunting. The actual production of food was done by the commoners, while the rwot and his establishment exacted tribute from the producers in the form of surplus products and labour in return for maintaining law and order, protecting his followers against external attacks, and, allegedly, for making rain. Members of the ruling clan were not obliged to pay tribute to the rwot.

However, although the rwot reciprocated the offering of tribute by entertaining his followers, the reciprocity was not strictly balanced. A form of redistributive exploitation, therefore, existed. The flow of goods and labour seems to have been reciprocated mostly on the ideological level which afforded the chief compensation for the economic burdens resulting from exploitation.

The state was, therefore, characterized by a certain degree of inequality based mainly on the relative distance from the ruling lineage. There was also inequality in another sense. Certain lineages owned tim (land used both for agriculture and hunting) and their permission was often sought before using it in any way at all. There is overwhelming evidence to indicate that tim was also 'bought' - which suggests that access to these resources was not strictly equal, though in real economic terms it did not result in social differentiation.

In theory, the rwot had absolute power over his followers. However, he often ruled in consultation with the council of elders. In Obbo and Pajok, a system of delegating powers was evolved by the beginning of the nineteenth century. This implies that in the functional sphere, there were two opposing tendencies - the tendency to acquire vast powers and the tendency to create institutions to check its abuse¹⁹.

If this is taken to be a general tendency in all states, then such claim as Dwyer makes that "there was no indication of the possibility of constitutional development"²⁰ in Acholi becomes erroneous. As long as the process of evolution was not arrested, there was a possibility of development towards that order.

The state hierarchy was utilized as a system of judicial hierarchy and appeal. Minor cases were settled within each clan by

its elders. However, major cases involving members of two clans, or such cases as killing, were brought before the rwot who adjudicated when sitting in council with the clan elders.

Similarly, questions of inter-state relations were the responsibility of the rwot acting in concert with the elders. The relations between one state and another were usually peaceful, but if major disputes fail to be settled peacefully, then fighting was often the result.

In the organisation of warfare or defence, the states relied on able-bodied male of fighting age from each village because there was no standing army. Each village had its warriors and a war leader, and warriors from all the villages constituted the state's 'army'. The decision whether to make war against other people or not was the prerogative of the rwot and his counsellors.

In spite of the relative wealth of the ruling hierarchies, however, there was very little difference in economic terms between them and the rest of the people. It was in the political sphere that their influence and power was mainly felt by the commoners.

Nevertheless, when Arab traders came to Acholi, the ruling hierarchies failed to contain their activities and control the trade to their advantage. Instead, they exploited their followers by making it mandatory that every tusk of any elephant killed was to be given to the rwot.

The inability of the rulers to control the activities of the traders reflected their weak economic and political base. They had no standing army on which to rely, and the firearms of the traders were overwhelmingly superior to spears. In other words, two different social formations with different systems of production came face to face.

The reactions of the rulers were conditioned by these objective realities. Thus, they either collaborated or offered passive resistance by hiding in the mountains. Those rulers who collaborated with the traders, such as Otto of Obbo and Ogwok of Padibe, benefited by their collaboration from the booty they obtained from each raid, but they also created standing 'armies' with the support of the Arabs. With these, they raided neighbouring peoples for slaves and ivory. Some of the rulers such as Otto of Obbo, however, also became very repressive to their own people.

The incidence of violence was further exacerbated by the collapse of Egyptian authority in Acholi between 1884 and 1889 as one community took the opportunity to settle old scores in the battle field. The coming of the British was thus opportune for many communities which were already worn out of constant fighting. Consequently, no effective resistance was offered against the establishment of British rule.

The immediate consequence of the establishment of British rule was the decline in the rate of inter-ethnic fighting. The return of peace, in turn, provided the stimulus for the break-up of the nucleated and stockaded villages of the nineteenth century.

The broad impact of colonial rule on indigenous institutions was, however, an area of research far beyond the scope of this study. Perhaps in future, it might be possible to study this as well as the effects of the introduction of certain features of capitalist development. It might also be of interest to study in detail the effect of the colonial boundary on the two parts of Acholi culturally, socially, politically and economically.

FOOTNOTES

1. The myth of purity and distinctiveness may have been actually a by-product of the colonial period. When the rectification of the Sudan - Uganda boundary in 1914 brought about the division of Acholi into two, a larger and more populous part remained in the Protectorate while a smaller and less populated part was transferred to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In the 1920's and 1930's, however, colonial authorities in the Protectorate tried to re-unite the two parts of Acholi under the Uganda Protectorate government so as to eradicate lawlessness and enforce government authority. These attempts were resisted by the British officials in the Sudan on the assumption that "most of these people were not Acholi but Latuka and Lango [people] who were closely inter-married with Latuka district" (Quoted in R. O. Collins, "Sudan-Uganda Boundary Rectification", p.143). This was in spite of the fact that in 1913 the Anglo-Egyptian authorities had argued that in language, type, and origin, the Sudan Acholi are 'pure' Acholi and accordingly "should.....go to Uganda" (SIR, No.229, March 1913). The argument advanced by the Sudanese authorities re-awakened, as it were, the interest of the Acholi to the problem of their origin and identity. It thus became prestigious to identify groups of Luo origin or those who recall a tradition of migration from eastern or western Acholi as being pure, and, therefore, the true Acholi. The factor of heterogeneity was, however, more apparent to the elders than the youths who were gripped, so to say, with a sense of 'Acholi nationalism'.
2. The phrase is borrowed from Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, pp.52-53.
3. Quoted in B.A. Ogot, "The Limitations of Textual History: A Review Article"; Trans-African Journal of History, 5, 2 (1976), p.172.
4. R. M. Bere, "An Outline of Acholi History", UJ, 11, 1 (1947), pp.1-8.
5. For details, see the section on 'Methodology' in this thesis.
6. A. Adefuye, "The Palwo: Emergence and Crisis", in Onyango-Ku-Onongo and Webster, The Central Luo, pp.235-261.
7. Testimony of Saverio Olaa.

8. Testimony of Demetiro Okot Bali.
9. Testimony of Sirlaka Okwir.
10. See chapter two above.
11. Webster, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, p.345.
12. See Testimony of Demetiro.
13. Webster, "Lira Palwo", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.291-319.

Idem, "State Formation and Fragmentation in Agago", in Ibid, pp.335-356;

Idem, "The Second Babito Dynasty", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
14. Atkinson, "Socio-Political Developments", in Denoon, Uganda Before 1900.
15. Ibid.
16. See Testimonies of Abong-Tur Okende, Gulyelmo Aburi.
17. There seems to be some indication that even in the states of western and eastern Acholi studied by Atkinson and Webster respectively, an incipient process of stratification preceded the utilization of Paluo concepts of government. In Alero, Koc and Patiko, for instance, the leaders of the emergent ruling classes used the surplus available at their disposals to attract following. The royal drum seems to have been used later to strengthen and consolidate their authorities. In eastern Acholi, the formation of Lira Paluo is a good example to illustrate the point. Professor Webster indicates that either in reaction to the anarchy produced by the Nyandere Famine of the 1720's or in reaction to the establishment of neighbouring kingdoms or both, certain clans formed a sort of defensive alliance - a confederacy

called Agengo. He states further that no overall leadership emerged in the confederacy, but that the Aburu clan was influential. He goes further to say that when an individual called Omongo came from Paluo, he was invited by the Aburu clan to be their rwot. The Aburu subsequently became the Lukwena (i.e. Messengers or Ambassadors) of the new polity (see Webster, "Lira Palwo", in Onyango-ku-Odongo and Webster, The Central Lwo, pp.300-301). Webster sees this as the triumph of Paluo ideology in the formation of the state. I would argue that the Agengo confederacy was the beginning of some form of stratification. And it is significant that the Aburu clan, which was influential in the alliance, was the one that invited Omongo to lead the polity. The concept of the drum was later utilized to reinforce this development. The Aburu remained a part of the ruling hierarchy - only their role changed within the group. It would, therefore, seem that this concession was necessary in order for the state to emerge.

18. Tosh, Clan Leaders and Colonial Chiefs in Lango;
P. Odyamo, "Consensus and Leadership in the Alido Confederacy
in Nineteenth Century Lango", in Denoon, Uganda Before
1900.
19. This point is derived from Claessen and Skalnik, The Early State,
p.648.
20. Dwyer, "The Acholi of Uganda", p.3.

APPENDIX 1

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following is a brief biographical sketch on each of the people interviewed between November 1980 and March 1981. The information is arranged in such a way as to indicate the place and number of interviews, name of informant, date of interview, lineage and approximate age of informant, and other relevant information such as the informant's occupational trade. The Acholi language was used in all interviews.

OBBO

O/1; Der Odidi; 17 November 1980; Pagika lineage (Lokide clan); approximately ninety years old; a member of the 'village council' that adjudicates local cases. He was widely acknowledged as the most well informed on Obbo traditional history.

O/2; Kanuto Lobai; 17 November 1980; Gem lineage (Oyere clan); approximately eighty years old. Blind. He displayed a degree of confidence and competence lacked by many informants. Like Der Odidi, he provided on two separate occasions identical genealogies for his family - which reflects his strong memory.

O/3; Saverio Olaa; 19 November 1980; Abong clan; approximately seventy years old. Though blind, he is a member of the 'village council' that settles minor court cases. He is the eldest son of rwot Aburi. He claims to have served as Jago (i.e. Sub-chief) in Obbo from 1934 to 1938 when he joined the S.D.F. He participated in World War II and went up to Ceylon, Burma, and Bombay (India). After a year in Bombay, he returned to the Sudan. Thereafter, he was discharged from the S.D.F. and soon lost his eye-sight.

O/4; Anjoleo Okeny; 19 November 1980; Kure lineage (Abong clan). He is sixty five years old and currently working as a night watchman with the N.C.A./S.P. He joined the S.D.F. in 1938 and was among members of the S.D.F. troops that fought against Italian forces at Kaiwa, Maji and Jilimama (all in Ethiopia). After the war, he remained as a driver with the S.D.F. unit based in Torit. He was the driver of the Commanding Officer, Torit garrison. During the August 1955 revolt by members of the Equatoria corps, he left the S.D.F.

O/5; Patrisyo Alwari; 20 November 1980; Abong clan. He is between ninety and eighty years old, and now the eldest surviving member of the clan. He claims to be the age-mate of rwot Aburi (d.1975) who was born towards the end of the nineteenth century. He provided a very detailed information about Obbo traditional history.

O/6; Akai Angaya; 21 November 1980; Ijula lineage (Lowudo clan); approximately eighty years old. He is conversant with the tradition of the migration of the ancestors of the lineage to Obbo, and provided a fairly coherent genealogy for his family that goes to a time-depth of eight generations back.

O/7; John Laboke; 22 November 1980; Palyec lineage of Pajombo clan. He is approximately seventy years old. He is a descendant of rwot Akut Lowarnoi of Pajombo, a contemporary of rwot Otto of Obbo. His memory is rather weak, and provided information that left a lot to be desired - especially about the remotest history of the group which is absolutely essential for an understanding of the evolution of Obbo. He was unable to provide a genealogy that links to Jomo, the founding ancestor of the group.

O/8; Demensya Abwoyo; 22 November 1980; Okwe lineage (Pajombo clan); approximately sixty five years old. Abwoyo was the only female informant. Her account generally corroborated the information provided by John Laboke.

O/9; Abong-Tur Okende; 22 November and 4 December 1980; Lokomini lineage (Oyere clan). He is about seventy five years old. He gave the most controversial account regarding the loss of Ker by the Lokomini to Abong clan. Most of the informants in Obbo opposed his account, and supported the version favoured by the royal clan (i.e. Abong).

O/10; Fidele Oryem; 22 November 1980; Pajangi lineage of Pokongo clan; he is approximately sixty years old. The account provided by him is fragmentary and shallow.

O/10; Kalawudio Oyenga; 23 November 1980; Gari lineage (Lowudo clan). He is about seventy five years old, and is a popular Ajwaka (oracle priest). He claimed that Gari lineage was formed by the descendants of an Abong man sent to Lowudo as chiefly representative.

He claimed further that the Gari and Lokomini are the only ones who could perform the ceremony for the installation of Obbo rwot on the Ker. These points were corroborated by the accounts of Saverio Olaa, Anjeleo Okeny, Der Odidi, and Abong-Tur Okende.

O/12; Lokarya; 30 November 1980; Ngabara. He is about seventy years old. He was nervous during the interview and seemed unsure of what he was narrating.

O/13; Patrisyo Atare; 1 December 1980; Lokomini lineage in Pokongo; approximately fifty years old. His information tended to contradict the account of Abong-Tur Okende and support the 'official' tradition by the royal clan.

O/14; Okee Alimu; 2 December 1980; Bura lineage of Pokongo; about seventy years old. His account was generally shallow.

O/15; Alfonsyo Ogoda; 3 December 1980; Ilereji lineage of Tinggili. He is approximately eighty years old. The information he provided was generally useful in reconstructing the settlement history of the area.

O/16; Lotuk; 4 December 1980; Palyec lineage (Oyere clan); approximately fifty years old.

PAJOK

PJ/17; William Ojwe; 12 January 1981; Ywaya (i.e. the royal clan). He was born during the period of Onek's regency (i.e. between 1890 and 1902). He provided a rwot list which is identical in sequence and names to that recorded by Father J. P. Crazzolaro. He is generally regarded as one of the most competent and authoritative in the traditional history of Pajok.

PJ/18; Valente Owiny Lipura; 13 January 1981; of Larwo clan; about eighty years old. His account is almost identical with the 'official' tradition of Ywaya clan.

PJ/19; Owot Odoch; of Obwolto; 15 January 1981; approximately eighty years old. He is fairly competent in the traditional history of Pajok.

PJ/20; Sirlaka Okwir; 16 January 1981; Bura clan. He is about sixty five years old. Besides William Ojwe, he was the only informant who gave information about the royal drum as a symbol of rwotship.

PJ/21; Ochan; 17 January 1981; Pakeny lineage (Bobi clan). He claims that by the time of the Longulu war (i.e. 1890), he had already been born. He is now very old and can only walk a short distance by supporting himself with a walking stick. He is the custodian of JOK Oyaro of the Bobi people. He is well versed in the traditional history of Pajok, and provided a very lengthy and absorbing account of the Ywaya-Bobi conflict.

PJ/22; Gulyelmo Aburi; 18 January 1981; Pagaya clan, about sixty eight years old. His account is fragmentary and shallow.

PJ/23; Garato; 20 January 1981; of the royal clan and approximately eighty years old. This informant has a very strong memory and talked copiously compared to many. He provided an identical rwot list to that given by William Ojwe, but with the important difference that he extended the list by naming four successive 'rwodi' whom he claimed preceded Ocak. He also claimed that the founding ancestors of the royal clan came from Babylonia - perhaps a reflection of biblical influence.

PJ/24; Obale Cogol; 21 January 1981; Pamuda; agemate of Ochan (PJ/21). He is well informed about the traditions of the early Luo-speakers in Pajok. He was the only informant who could remember the story of the lost spear and swallowed bead tradition. The protagonists in this case were Amuda and Agiri, but he also mentioned a third brother called Juku who founded Pajuku lineage of Panto chiefdom. The tradition was used to explain separations both in Anywak and from present Pajok.

PJ/25; Kusantino Ongwec; 21 January 1981; Paliyo clan; sixty five years old. Knowledgeable about general aspects of Pajok traditional history, but was unable to provide much insight into the remote history of the clan. The genealogy he provided is very unreliable.

PANYIKWARA

PK/26; Juliano Ongee; 23 November 1980; of Palabek Paremo; forty two years old. The informant is a catechist at Palotaka Mission. He provided brief, but important account about the migration of the ancestors of the Palabek people. He provided a family genealogy of the same time-depth as the one given by another Palabek informant (PK/32).

PK/27; Emmanuel Abiny; 23 November 1980; Pamurulu lineage of Oloro. He was sixty seven years old at the time of the interview, but died July/August 1981. Though brief, the account he gave is very important in understanding the genesis of Oloro chiefdom.

PK/28; Demetiro Okot Bali; 16 December 1980 and 13 February 1981; Bura clan; approximately seventy five years old. Though not the eldest member of the clan, but he proved to be the most competent, and is regarded as such by many people. When the researcher approached him first, he gave a lengthy account of Panyikwara traditional history. During a second interview, he gave further detailed information. When asked about the source of his information, he told the researcher that he was 'taught' by his grandfather. He was made to 'recite' the tradition as narrated to him. In this way, he achieved a certain degree of mastery of Panyikwara traditional history.

PK/29; Popiryo Oceng Bali; 5 January 1981; Bura; seventy years old. His memory is fairly strong. He was a village school teacher until the 1960's when he left teaching due to a physical disability.

PK/30; Matiya Abwoye; 28 January 1981; Oligino lineage of Paliwa clan; approximately eighty years old. Quite conversant with the traditions of the clan, and gave very significant information about the origin of the Pajule.

PK/31; Ocito; 28 January 1981; Pakwac lineage (Oyira clan); approximately eighty years old. Displayed weak memory especially with regard to the remote past.

PK/32; Manyo; 13 February 1981; Gem lineage of Palabek Paremo; about seventy five or eighty years old. His memory of the remote past is rather limited, but well versed about the more recent history of the Palabek people.

PK/33; Owan Aramac; 14 February 1981; Pamucu lineage (Ayom); between ninety and eighty five years old. Has vast knowledge about the traditional history of the Ayom people. He never wanted any 'outside' interference during the interview. When his wife tried to challenge him over a point, he told her to "keep off men's affairs".

PK/34; Otto Lolimakono; 15 February 1981; Gem lineage (Oyira clan); age-mate of informant Ocito (PK/31). His account at times conflicted that of Ocito, and he provided a genealogy that links the ancestors of the lineage to the founding ancestor of the clan. It is claimed that he was originally of Paguta lineage (Palabek), but was brought to Oyira with his mother as a child when his father failed to raise the required bride wealth to marry her.

PK/35; Sirwani; 19 March 1981; Alero lineage (Goloba clan); born in 1924. He is a Mukungu (local government official subordinate to a sub-chief). Although he was claimed to be very knowledgeable, he did not match the claim with a proportionate account of Alero's traditional history. The interview lasted for about half an hour only.

PK/36; Bernardo Obwoya; 19 March 1981; Olubo lineage (Goloba clan); approximately eighty years old. He is comparable in memory to Demetiro (PK/28). He was quite relaxed and talked copiously. He narrated a similar training experience as that given by Demetiro. The information provided by these two informants proved to be of great importance in reconstructing the history of the Panyikwara people.

PK/37; Andrea Bake Acung; 10 August 1977; Pamunda clan. He was about ninety years old at the time of the interview, but died a few weeks thereafter. The information he provided is very important, although the interview had been done for a different purpose altogether.

APPENDIX II: GENEALOGIES OF SOME SELECTED FAMILIES

CHART 1.2 : GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF DER ODIDI (O/1).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Agika	8
Anywang	7
Wod Nyabala	6
Onbwora	5
Jamoi	4
Ioci	3
Odidi Longolomoi	2
Der Odidi	1

CHART 1.3 : GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF KANUTO LOBAI (O/2).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Ajwac	9
Okore	8
Celli	7
Wonga	6
Ocola	5
Angaya	4
Lokoya	3
Lobai	2
Kanuto Lobai	1

CHART 1.4 : GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF AKAI ANGAYA (O/6).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Kimiri	8
Nyanyaka	7
Lakodo	6
Oliang	5
Aryemo Tuka	4
Oyoo	3
Angaya	2
Akai Angaya	1

CHART 1.5 : GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF OWOT ODOC (PJ/19).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Kanyok	7
Okongo	6
Apira	5
Ogwang	4
Kapira	3
Obwo	2
Owot Odoc	1

CHART 1.6: GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF OBALE COGOL (PJ/24).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Okare	8
Amuda	7
Ongori	6
Olweny	5
Longiro	4
Awontu	3
Cogol	2
Obale Cogol	1

CHART 1.7 : GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF OTTO LOLIMAKONO (FK/34).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Yira	9
Murye	8
Were	7
Agudi	6
Abok	5
Oduri	4
Ali	3
Wod Onari	2
Otto Lolimakono	1

CHART 1.8 : GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF OWAN ARAMAC (PK/33).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Mucu	6
Obura	5
Lomoyo	4
Awoo	3
Okeny	2
Owan Aramac	1

CHART 1.9: GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF MANYO (PK/32).

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>GENERATIONS BACK</u>
Kworcak	7
Labek (Cumbeck?)	6
Yoyo (brother of Aremo)	5
Kanga	4
Lipele	3
Dongwa	2
Manyo	1

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Field interviews were carried out by the author over a four-months period of intensive research between November 1980 and March 1981. In all, thirty six informants were interviewed from Obbo, Pajok and Panyikwara. The various interviews have now been transcribed and translated into English. The texts are currently in the possession of the author and may be available for consultation when needed. However, they are still unannotated. Details about the field-work process - data collection, analysis and interpretation - are provided in the introductory part of the thesis in the section on 'Methodology'. The texts constitute the primary source for this study, and shall be called "Sudan Acholi Historical Texts (SAHT)".

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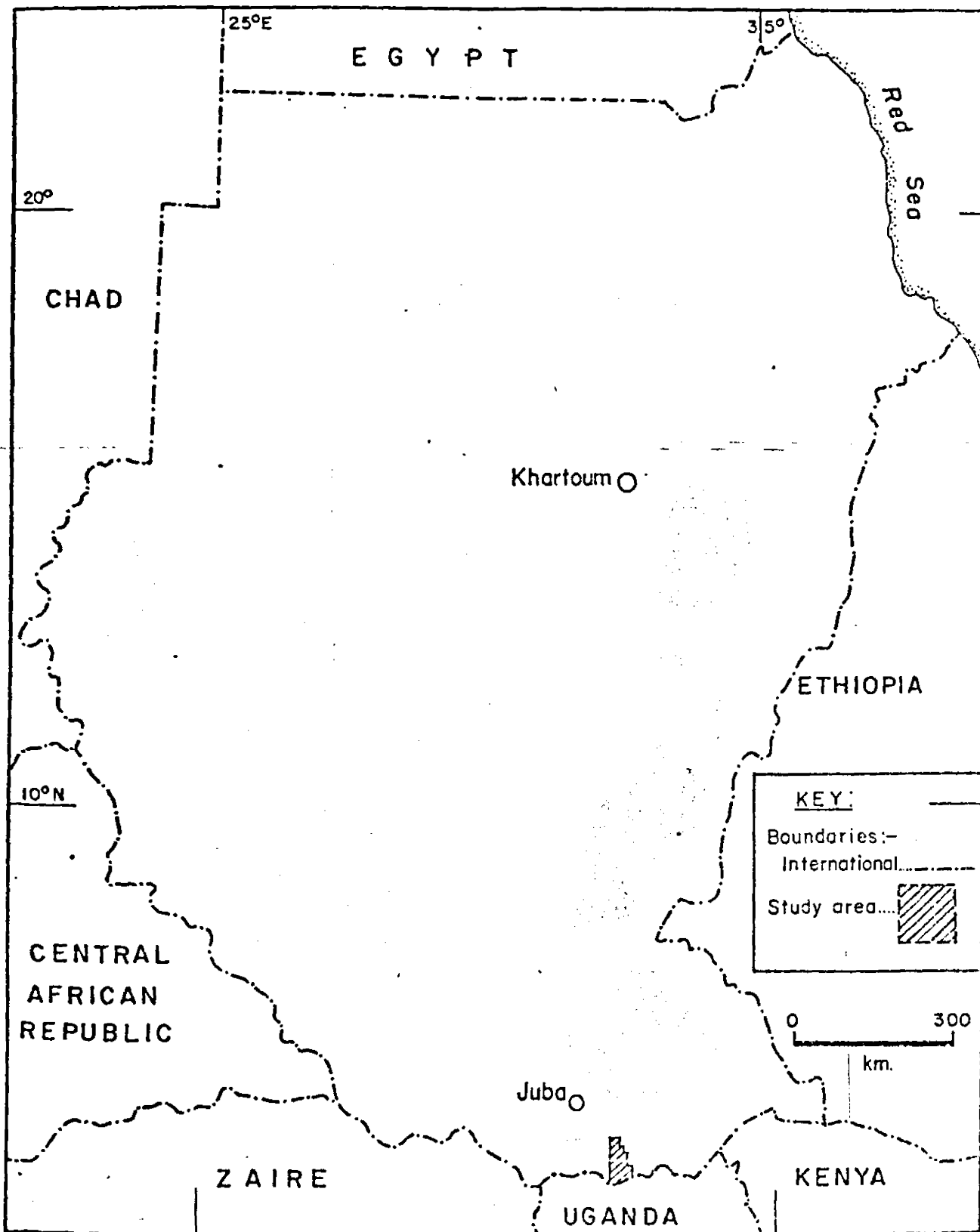


FIG.1 : A MAP SHOWING STUDY AREA IN THE SUDAN

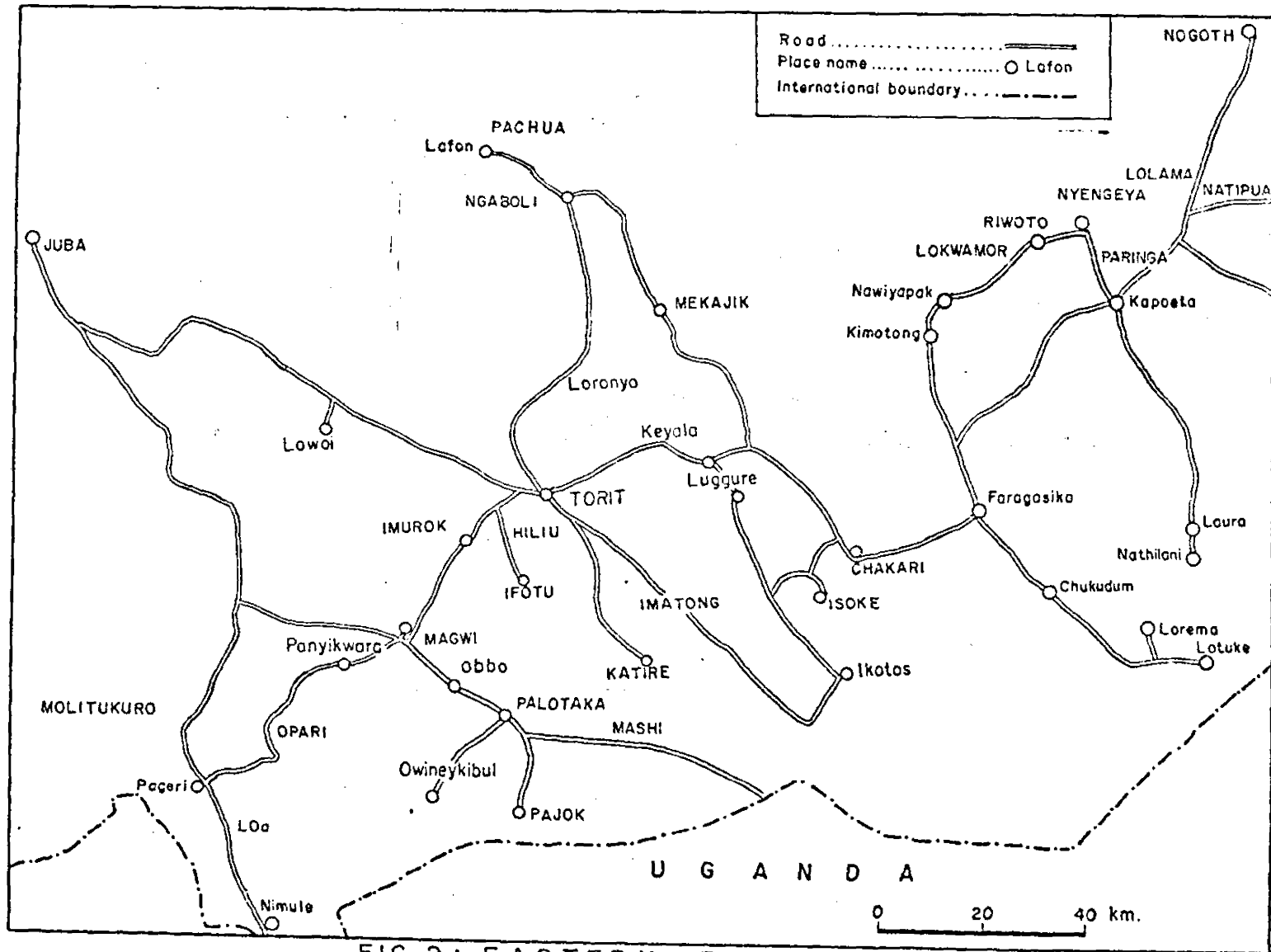


FIG. 2: EASTERN EQUATORIA

