Résumé
Du XVIe au XIXe siècle, la structure politique de la région entre le Nil et la Mpolo-gowa se modifie par le développement de la relation dominant/dominé liant balan-gira et bakopi et par la centralisation du pouvoir autour de quelques noyaux. On trouve à l'origine une relation dialectique fondée sur les différences culturelles entre dominants et dominés, les premiers étant d'origine luo. Au Busoga, le groupe dominant est constitué par les Owiny Karuoth (aujourd'hui Ngobi, Naminka, Mudoola et Kibiga), installés il y a environ cinq siècles autour de Nang'oma Hill. Leur expansion en tant que groupe dominant s'est faite essentiellement par alliances matrimoniales avec les non-Luo, grâce à un système d'exogamie proscrivant le mariage avec les lignages de souche luo, et à l'habitude de confier l'éducation des garçons à leurs maternels. L'intégration des Karuoth, leur passage du statut d'étranger à celui de balangira (« royaux ») par opposition aux bakopi (les « roturiers » des patrilignages non karuoth) se fait à partir de ce réseau, la dispersion des garçons aboutissant à une sorte de colonisation progressive. A partir du xve siècle, le développement du culte mukama (terme désignant le roi en nyoro) donne une prééminence particulière à certains Karuoth, identifiés par les non-Karuoth comme possédés du mukama ; c'est autour d'eux que s'opère le passage de la prolifération de centres d'autorité à la concentration en quelques points. Au xve siècle, la centralisation s'accentue avec la nomination, par le roi Inhensiko Ier, de bakungu (chefs « roturiers ») parmi ses clients.

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Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, the architecture of social life in the region between the Nile and Mpologoma rivers (eastern Uganda) was dramatically transformed. The superordinate and subordinate statuses of mulangira and mukopi had, by the 19th century, enveloped the daily lives of all the peoples of the area. Several political centers capable both of extending their domains and of reproducing themselves over time had emerged from among a far larger number of competing local foci of authority. Population shifts, seen most clearly in the growth of refugee populations from eastern Buganda and southern Busoga in the 19th century, reshaped the settlement patterns across much of the area. The extension of warfare between Bunyoro and Buganda into the lands along the Nile between lake Victoria and lake Kyoga introduced new considerations into the alliance politics of the emerging polities on the western side of Busoga and may have tested the loyalties and interests of people over a far larger area. The growth of activity along the circuits of the lake Kyoga trade network, which appears to have been a feature of 19th century regional economic change, drew attention, commerce, communication, and settlement from the old lake Victoria basin trade system and moved the orientation of northern Busoga communities toward the north.

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Cahiers d'Études africaines, 87-88, XXII-3-4, pp. 465-488.
The emergence of a number of States or polities in this zone between the Nile and the Mpologoma was a development of some importance in the region over three or four centuries. Most of these polities developed around the dominant positions of Luo-speaking and once Luo-speaking groups who began to establish themselves among the Bantu-speaking communities of the Busoga region around the 16th century. The formation of political and economic institutions and the articulation of status differences through the entrenchment of stranger communities are familiar aspects of the past of the lakes plateau region and of Africa more generally. Both the older and the more recent considerations of early political formations in the area bring forward the roles of these stranger groups—Luo speakers, particularly—in the formation of States among the largely non-Luo-speaking populations. It is possible to summarize what is generally understood and accepted on this subject in a series of five statements:

1. Prior to the appearance of Luo speakers there were important centers of political authority in the lakes plateau region, under the control of non-Luo-speaking groups.
2. Between 1450 and 1850, a series of new centers of authority emerged in the region.
3. In most cases, Luo speakers, or the descendants of Luo speakers, assumed dominant positions at these new centers of authority.
4. This authority assumed by Luo speakers (or by their descendants) was exercised mainly over non-Luo-speaking groups, non-Luo maintaining a numerical superiority while forming a subordinate population in most situations.
5. Most of the States observed to exist in the region at the close of the 19th century (just prior to the beginnings of European colonialism) were controlled by rulers agnatically descended (within corporate patrilineages) from Luo speakers who had assumed dominant positions at the new centers of authority established between 1450 and 1850.

None of these statements is at odds with the conquest theory of State formation found in both early and recent historical literature, nor with B. A. Ogot’s suggestion (1964: 298) that the States of the region ‘evolved as a result of a small, well organized group successfully imposing its rule over a disorganized majority’, nor with Fallers’ and Southall’s more coalescent explanations (Fallers 1965; Southall 1956).

While neither revealing new information nor unveiling new explanatory models, these five statements bring into brighter light the issues of formative process in the lakes plateau region. With the appearance of the Luo speakers (if not before) it was a region of cultural differentiation and of cultural contact along a broad front. It was, moreover, a region in which neither Luo speakers nor non-Luo had a premium on political or formative ideas, institutions, experience, or success. These five statements bring attention to the significance of the nature of relations
between the stranger Luo groups and their non-Luo 'hosts'. Conquest is moved from its present status as a problematical primary explanation of the 'origins' of lakes plateau States to a sub-category of 'relations'. What is implicated is not the spear but culture and behavior—first, in giving distinction to Luo and non-Luo, and, second, in giving meaning, preference, and institution to certain aspects of contact among people who were, or thought of themselves as, different.

The detail from Busoga on certain elements of this formative process may be particularly illuminating, both in bringing forward some more recent, and therefore more accessible, examples of this formative process and in suggesting the often long and complex means through which general and enduring routines of authority were constructed.

1. *The Owiny Karuoth in Northern Busoga*

The twenty or so polities or States that developed in the region of northern Busoga derived from at least four separate assemblages of Luo speakers and non-Luo speakers.¹ The major cluster of polities or States—including Banda, Budoola, Mayole, Buzimba-Kigulu, Luuka, Bugabula, and Buzaaya—derives from but one of these assemblages (our category here fixed in terms of the particular origins of the dominant groups of these States). The dominant groups of this major cluster are traced back through both narrative sources and non-narrative evidence to early camps of Luo speakers established around Nang’oma hill in the Bukooli rim of southeastern Busoga, along the upper reaches of the Mpologoma river system (see Map 1; also Cohen 1972: 140-154; 1973). Through the Nang’oma sites and through sources and evidence from outside Busoga, these groups are traced to the Luo-speaking Owiny Karuoth, who reached the grasslands of eastern Busoga some four or five centuries ago.²

The Owiny Karuoth name does not survive in Busoga today, nor is there any record of it in the sources on late 19th- and early 20th-century Busoga life. It is employed here as a designation of the ancestral name of the patrilineages dominant over much of northern Busoga in the 19th century. This is because the evidence of descent of migration and of specific cultural material brings these groups into correspondence with the historical Owiny Karuoth groups that settled near Nang’oma hill and later moved east into Budama in eastern Uganda and into Siaya in western Kenya, having maintained an Owiny Karuoth identity in the Luo-speaking societies to the east and southeast of Busoga. In Busoga,

¹. This argument is developed in COHEN 1972: 124-196.
². B. A. OGOT (1967) established the outlines of the pasts of Luo-speaking peoples in the region of western Kenya and eastern Uganda. Within these reconstructions, the general movements and historical situation of Owiny Karuoth groups (within the Luo-speaking societies) have been described by Ogot and, later, by ARINGO 1969.
Map 1. The Busoga region.
the lineage names—abaiseNgobi, abaiseNaminha, abaiseMudoola, and abaiseKibiga—are the designations maintained today. There is no consciousness of either a historical or a present unity among these Busoga groups and there is no name for this larger aggregation, which derives from the historian’s collection and analysis of a considerable and diverse body of data.4

Over some two or three centuries in the Busoga area, the Owiny Karuoth of Nang’oma hill exchanged a linguistic and cultural identity of ‘stranger’ for a dominance and centrality in the communities of northern, central, and eastern Busoga. That their ‘behavior’—as noted in the record of action in the 16th and 17th centuries—was so demarcated in political and economic orientation from the ‘behavior’ of other Luo-speaking groups in eastern Busoga suggests important historical and cultural variations among Luo-speaking peoples in the eastern African past (a linguistic unity cross-cut by historical and cultural differences).5 That the Owiny Karuoth achieved dominant positions within whatever communities they entered suggests a distinct cultural and strategic approach toward contacts and relations with non-Karuoth groups or, at a minimum, a convergence between their own ideas and actions and those of certain groups with whom they associated.6 That their early patterns of dominance seem to have been counterpoised to later approaches toward the articulation of pre-eminent authority in the hands of particular Owiny Karuoth (as opposed to all Owiny Karuoth) suggests that the construction of centralized authority in precolonial Busoga involved transformations in ideology and strategy.

The argument offered here is that, while the Owiny Karuoth used overpowering force at certain moments and in certain places, the dominance and authority of the outsider was slowly constructed through the alliances early formed between Karuoth men and women and their non-Karuoth and non-Luo affines. In turn these affinal groups played central roles both in the early phases of construction of the patterns of dominance, the remains of which we see today in the pervasive mulangira-mukopi status differentiation, and in later phases of power-building at particular centers, which generated many of the States evident in the area at the end of the 19th century and which the British attempted to use extend-

3. In Busoga today, clans (ebika, sing. ekika) are generally named after a founding ancestor or one who is recalled as such. ‘AbaiseMudoola’ means ‘those of the father or forefather Mudoola’. Clan association is reckoned through patrilineal descent, but clans may include incorporated as well as descent sections.

4. The approach to reconstruction of the past of Busoga is discussed at some length in COHEN 1980.

5. This is an argument developed in COHEN 1973, 1974; also various contributors to WEBSTER (fthcg).

6. See COHEN 1973, where this is first argued. A close parallel is offered for the Alur of northwest Uganda in SOUTHALL 1956. Professor Ogot and Dr. R. Herring have recently embarked upon a very broad comparative study of political organization, settlement strategies, and culture of Luo-speaking peoples through eastern and northeastern Africa.
ing a system of indirect rule into eastern Uganda. In offering these arguments, data are presented that illuminate a formative era of the 16th through the 18th centuries and that illuminate the 19th century, during which groups descended from the early Karuoth were still expanding their spheres of domination while counterpoised ideologies of Karuoth status and descent were resisted ideologically and physically by non-Karuoth, that is subordinate groups attempting to protect their position, property, and security. Relations between Karuoth and non-Karuoth appear at the center of these processes.

2. Relations

From the establishment of the earliest Luo-speaking Owiny Karuoth in the Nang’oma camps, relations were constructed through marriage and concubinage with non-Karuoth groups. From what we know of such 19th-century relationships, the marriage ties subsumed relations of clientage and service, involving a bond not just between two individuals or nuclear family groups but also between lineages.7

The relationships that were built upon marriage and concubinage rested upon several continuing routines of behavior, routines particular to the Owiny Karuoth, routines that survived transformations of Karuoth language and culture. Such a routine was the avoidance, by the Owiny Karuoth, of marriages with non-Karuoth Luo-speaking groups. Even though other Luo speakers were accessible, the evidence of precolonial affinal relationships among Karuoth and non-Karuoth records only two marriages between Karuoth and non-Karuoth Luo groups, indicating that the Karuoth, through several centuries, restricted not only endogamic marriages8 (that is, within the Karuoth) but also marriages with groups that were, or once were, Luo-speaking.8

A second aspect of behavior was that these relationships forming across marriage and concubinage between Karuoth and their non-Karuoth affines lasted through time and extended over space. They carried meaning not only for those directly involved but also for their descendants—the descendants of the Karuoth, the descendants of the marriage association, and the descendants of the non-Karuoth affines. As Owiny Karuoth themselves segmented into new corporate lineage entities, so did their non-Karuoth affines. We know, for example, that some of the early allies and affines of the Owiny Karuoth in the camps of

7. This analysis is developed more fully in Cohen 1977; also in Fallers 1965. 8. No source recorded in Busoga explicitly mentions such a marriage preference or marriage prohibition. It is perceived as a ‘routine’ through the records of a considerable number of marriages which were organized in the 18th and 19th centuries and which were recorded in testimonies and interviews in 1966-67 and 1971-72. 9. Politically inspired marriages across cultural, linguistic, and ethnic frontiers appear to have been common for Luo speakers, and Karuoth, elsewhere in eastern and northeastern Africa. One looks forward to the comparative analyses of such practices which are being developed by B. A. Ogot and R. Herring.
Nang'oma hill assumed the roles of subordinate officials within the polities that developed a century and a half or more later in the west. This pattern of relationship between Luo-speaking Owiny Karuoth and certain Bantu-speaking groups in eastern Busoga was maintained across the frontier of transition from Luo to Bantu speech and evolved into the structure of boldly demarcated statuses of balangira (sing. mulangira, the 'royal persons', patrilineal descendants of the Owiny Karuoth) and bakopi (sing. mukopi, the 'commoners', both Bantu speakers and once Luo speakers, including the non-Karuoth, their status also borne through patrilineal descent) which have pervaded virtually every aspect of life in northern, central, and eastern Busoga. The resistance of patrilineal descendants of the early Luo Karuoth to marriages with the descendants of Luo-speaking non-Karuoth continued into the 20th century.

These routines of selection in historical marriage associations encouraged the deepening and broadening of relationships between the stranger Luo and local and established non-Luo populations in the region. It moved the Luo Karuoth from a position of outsider or stranger to one of centrality, as marriage networks formed about them, funneling service, support, and cooperation from particular affinal groups. Today, the early Karuoth are noted in traditions as suppliers of meat or food to the pre-existing populations they found. What may be involved in this perception of an economic nexus in the evolving relations of Karuoth and non-Karuoth is perhaps not so much a monopoly of supply in certain commodities (with its implication of superiority in weapons and tactics) but rather that the Karuoth began to occupy nodal positions in marriage-based networks of production and exchange, which included the movement and consumption of food supplies as well as livestock—networks that in time competed with and then replaced older systems of supply.

It is a picture such as this that Renée Tantala (1973) has drawn for an area of southern Kigulu (central Busoga) which only came under the domination of the Karuoth (in this area known as abaiseNgobi) in the 19th century. She has noted how, during periods of localized famine, people suffering from hunger sought out these nodal figures who had, through using broader networks of support, created surpluses from a wider, more diversified zone of production, surpluses which could be distributed to the hungry in return for goods and services—and in return for women who would serve as wives or concubines or would be introduced to supporters, thus reinforcing the affinal networks already functioning. And, if one might extend this argument, these pressures and responses

10. These were divisional chiefs (ab'etwala), village chiefs (ab'emitala), and sub-village chiefs (ab'ebisoko), as well as some court officials. These offices were at different times and places appointive or hereditary.
11. See Fallers 1965, and Cohen 1977, for two discussions of status differentiation in Busoga.
12. Again, this avoidance is noted in the records of marriages, but not in the 20th-century discourses on rules, customs, and preferences. For further discussion, see Cohen 1980.
would have increased the productive force directly under the authority of the nodal figure.

In sum, dense networks of relations developed through marriage between Karuoth and non-Karuoth. Thickening in time, denoted by expressed differences in status, these relations represented one salient feature of the emerging structure of the new world that was northern, central, and eastern Busoga. The force of these relations was intensified in the patterned choices of residence of the sons of the Karuoth.

3. Residence

A second salient feature of both early and late (and recent) Luo Karuoth behavior and ideas was the routine raising of their sons in the households of non-Karuoth and non-Luo mothers.13 This still further reinforced—or perhaps underlay—the evolving system of relations between Luo Karuoth and non-Luo. Tantala (1973: 60), working on southern Kigulu, has recorded a mwiseNgobi (Karuoth) source: ‘Whenever a wife gave birth to a son, she was sent home to her father to ask him to buy [sic] a plot in the wife’s village for the son. The grandfather (mother’s father) used to give a village to his grandson. The grandson then moved to this village and ruled there with his grandfather as katikkiro (commoner assistant).’ The son (grandson) referred to in this testimony is a son of the Ngobi or Karuoth group and the mother’s father is, of course, of non-Karuoth origin. It is important to note that this was a routine behavior of the Karuoth and not of the non-Karuoth groups in northern, central, and eastern Busoga, whose sons were commonly raised in the household compound of the father. Sources hold that the Karuoth male child was taken to the household away from the father’s, at a very early age, and in some cases this move was accomplished by the mother and her kin even before the birth. A common explanation is that the father’s compound was an unhappy place for a Karuoth boy to be raised.14 An important element was that while the son of the

13. This section is devoted to a discussion of the sons born of these marriages between Karuoth men and non-Karuoth women. The situation of the daughters of these relationships is somewhat different, and is discussed briefly below. There are considerably less data available on the marriages of Karuoth women than there are on the marriages of Karuoth men.

14. The explanations that circulate today concerning the routine raising of sons of princes or Karuoth (balangira) away from the residences of their fathers are specific to the Karuoth and not to the domestic arrangements of other groups in Busoga. In the 1960s and 1970s, the balangira of Busoga were clearly not conforming to the old practice and sons were being raised at the father’s home. Without recognizing it as something specific to the balangira of Busoga, I heard of numerous instances of serious domestic conflict between sons and fathers in compounds in Busoga. In the early 1970s, there seems to have been a general interest among young men to remove themselves altogether from their father’s lands and father’s control. Another notice of this is the observation made repeatedly of sons coming from remote residences to try and claim the father’s property at the time of his decease. Robertson (1978: 68-69) presents a case of filial conflict and exile involving a young mulangira from Busoga.
Karuoth man was brought up at his non-Karuoth mother’s home, he was not isolated from his father. When feasible, he visited his compound to pay respect and to offer gifts from his mother’s home; in the other direction, the father sent occasional gifts to the son in the mother’s compound.15

This routine had three implications of considerable importance to the extension of domination of the Karuoth into Busoga. First, it intensified the process of cultural linkage between stranger and non-stranger groups and hastened the transition from Luo to Bantu speech of, at least, male members of the Karuoth patrilineage. Essentially, it assigned the responsibility for the education of young Karuoth males to people who were outside the cultural experience of the Luo Karuoth. In one way, however, this process was tempered and slowed. Karuoth daughters were, unlike their brothers, raised at the father’s compound, at least until the mother moved off with a male child to her family’s home; the duration of stay of the daughter in the father’s home tended, then, on the average, to be longer. Therefore, the daughters may have been crucial in the cultural exchange between Karuoth and non-Karuoth and may have been, more than any other category of people, oriented toward a bilinguality and a cultural education in two different worlds. As the Karuoth daughters married non-Karuoth men, the linkages between Karuoth and non-Karuoth would have been further ramified.

A second implication of this routine of behavior to the extension of domination of the Karuoth in Busoga was that the settlement of Karuoth sons at sites removed from the father’s compound was, in one sense, a colonization process.16 Indeed, it was not only a colonization of Karuoth men, but also a dispersion of ideas concerning Karuoth status and power. Such a dissemination of ideas, likely touched and varied by local nuances, was based on, first, their own presentation of selves by the Karuoth to non-Karuoth and, second, by the non-Karuoth’s reading of this presentation, as they saw, met with, and related to the strangers. Karuoth status passed from fathers to sons. The maintenance of this ideology of descent, expressed and defended by both Karuoth and non-Karuoth at different times, has meant that the Karuoth have had the potential of generating a vast, agnatic group, projecting qualities, interests, and behaviors that translate into dominance in various situations.17 Generation by generation, community by community, the Karuoth, as a group,

15 The limits of such continuity in filial relationships were physical and political as well as affective. In the 19th century, some sons were sent so far away, or across what would become a tense political frontier, that it was not possible to sustain a relationship between the Karuoth father and his son. See also TANTALA 1973: 60.

16 This appears to have been similar to patterns of expansion of princely control (biko rule) in Bunyoro to the west, a region also dominated by groups which had earlier been Luo speaking, as well as among other groups affected by Luo immigration.

17 The significance of differentials in growth of royal and non-royal groups has been widely noted in Africa. See SOUTHALL 1956: 53-54; 1970: 38; and LLOYD 1968: 95-96; COHEN 1977: 144.
as ideology, as status, expanded steadily. It is possible that this process of expansion—which we call 'colonization'—had its roots well before the Nang’oma hill camps and that certain complex social processes that have heretofore been placed under the heading of ‘Luo migration’ may have been more of the nature of a slow, steady expansion through the operation of descent ideology and residence preferences. It is necessary to note that the effects of this process of colonization of Karuoth personnel, status, and ideology may have been considerably tempered by the influence of the maternal kin upon the education and socialization of the young Karuoth.

Following on this, the third implication of this particular routine of behavior—the raising of Karuoth boys away from the father’s household—was that it gave considerable dimension to the political role of the maternal kin in a context in which authority and status were normally transmitted through filial or agnatic links. In a broad sense, it left the initiative for action, power-building, and wealth construction in the hands of the maternal kin. Writing about the succession conflicts in Buzimba-Kigulu in the 19th century, Tantala (1973: 60) has noted that 'it can be said that power accrued only to those maternal relatives who were strong enough to ensure the success of their prince'. Tantala presents a case study in the developing relationships and commitments between the abaiseMuhaya ‘mothers’ of Prince Gonza Bato and the career development and success of the prince: 'While it is difficult to determine exactly how Gonza Bato rose to power, it is certain that the abaiseMuhaya did as much as possible to promote the fortunes of the young prince, for in doing so they promoted their own interests as well.’ (Ibid.: 32.) Later, to ensure their position, the abaiseMuhaya played a leading role in collecting together kinsmen, allies, and an army from Buganda to depose an adversary of Prince Gonza Bato (ibid.: 35).

There are other examples which demonstrate the fulcrum position of the maternal kin of a member of the Karuoth in northern Busoga. In the 19th century in Luuka, the woman Kabalu and her abaiseMunhana kin pushed the interests of their son Wambuzi Munhana with extreme force and skill. During a period of crisis set in motion by major Ganda campaign in Luuka, the abaiseMunhana protected Wambuzi Munhana, who was by then ruler of Luuka, and then they helped reconstruct the administration of Luuka. After Wambuzi’s death, they continued to push the interests and candidacy of one of Wambuzi’s sons against a slew of usurpers (Cohen 1977: 23-25, 139-140). Some stories recall Kabalu ruling Luuka during this period, though they are likely apocryphal, or perhaps refer to Kabalu’s role during the earlier crisis, which may have produced an interregnum. Their campaigns after Wambuzi’s death, which took them to the courts of the rulers of Buganda, involved support not only for a particular princely candidate, but also for the principle of commoner ascendancy in Luuka political life (ibid.: 155-159).

There is also the example of Tibulya, the mwiseMusuubo mother of
Gabula Namugweri, and her kin, who transformed the composition of settlement in eastern and southeastern Bugabula during the period of their son's rule, fostering the immigration of countless new clients of themselves and of the Bugabula ruler.\textsuperscript{18} Across Busoga, from the 16th through the 20th centuries, this particular routine of behavior—raising young Karuoth or princes at their mother's home—made these non-Karuoth women and their kin central controlling figures in the expansion of Karuoth personnel, status, and ideology.

The nodal position of the maternal kin of the Karuoth sons gave scope and importance to the recruitment of new clients, followers, and servants. These new relationships would have had the effect of furthering the process of colonization through the building of continuously fresh and active followings.\textsuperscript{19} In the cases of the abaisemuhaya and Gonza Bato, of the abaisemunhana and Wambuzi Munhana, and of the abaisemusuubo and Gabula Namugweri, this recruitment seems to have been strongly directed by commoner groups (that is, non-Karuoth). While elements of the Karuoth ideology generated an increasingly expansive network of settlements of Karuoth figures, it was the non-Karuoth, through their service and through their recruitment, who transformed a 'stranger' culture and evolving distinctions in status into a system of domination.

One maternal kin group in a community with a Karuoth male in the compound may not have thereby achieved a centrality within the local community, but, over time, the utility of the Karuoth network in the recruitment and utilization of still more service or labor within, around, and for their compound may have given the maternal kin and their Karuoth son a comparative advantage in the competition for local resources and regional position. The construction of this new level of power and production required time. In Bunafu, Luuka, to take an example of 19th-century Karuoth expansion, the Karuoth contingent did not manage to overcome a pre-existing power center in Bunafu for some thirty or so years,\textsuperscript{20} when the Karuoth figure's sons became old enough to make headway in their own dispersed settlements along the ridge that was Bunafu.

One of the important elements within this model is that the recruitment of new labor and new support by the maternal kin, operating in a broad competitive arena, ensured that there would be significant differences in the actual power and influence that could be manifested by particular maternal kin-Karuoth settlements. Whereas theoretically each Karuoth son was accorded a status equivalent to that of his father, as the stakes in the competitive arena were raised, so the variations from

\textsuperscript{18} This is discussed at length in a study of Busoga in the 18th and 19th centuries, which is to be completed shortly.

\textsuperscript{19} The 'following' is central to the political life in the lake Victoria region. See FALLERS, ed., 1965; and FALLERS 1965, ch. 6, 7, 10. I discuss the 'following' and its significance in COHEN 1977: 79-83.

\textsuperscript{20} This is argued in \textit{ibid.}, ch. 9.
the ideal became more marked, and the differences in the positions and capacities of particular Karuoth centers became more and more outstanding. No terminology developed that distinguished powerful Karuoth (that is, balangira 'princes') from those nearly powerless. But as centralized authority was more clearly articulated in certain areas of northern Busoga, so the lineages of potential candidates for stools, rulerships, or powerful local offices were narrowed, narrowed by the force of commitments accorded particular princes by their maternal kin. In the play of political and economic interest of particular groups in respect to their Karuoth sons, and similarly in much of the oral narratives, one detects a tension in the role of mulangira or prince between figure as leader and figure as instrument.

Map 2. Expansion of the Owiny Karuoth in the Busoga region.

There is another feature of the cultural landscape of northern, central, and eastern Busoga which reinforced this fulcrum position of non-Karuoth and non-Luo groups in the expansion of Karuoth personnel, status, and ideology. Where the Karuoth settled, or were settled by their maternal kin, they acknowledged and took as their own the pre-existing misambwa (spirits of place, in particular) of the peoples among whom they lived. This occurred at the earliest known Karuoth settlement sites west of Nang’oma hill—those at Mayole, Buwongo, Nhenda hill, and Luwoko hill—and it was also the pattern later as Karuoth settlements were extended toward the north and the west (see Map 2). The relationships of marriage that were forged between Karuoth and non-Luo included ties with the caretakers of the sacred places of the region.
The groups that maintained the misambwa shrines were not expelled, but served the Karuoth as caretakers of the old shrines, as translators and priests in the interactions between Karuoth and the misambwa. The Karuoth thus utilized the existing complex of ideas and practices concerning the capacity and play of spirits in particular communities, while some experts were, over time, brought within the coterie of the Karuoth (Tantala 1973: 46). We do not know how this insertion of ideas and personnel occurred two to four centuries ago, but there are models, from 20th-century Busoga, of sacred places of but local significance becoming places of considerable importance in the wider region, of lineage ancestral spirits of non-Karuoth becoming significant to local and regional populations beyond the lineage, and of the construction of new networks of relations among religious and political authorities.

In looking back over these features of the emergence—between the 16th and 19th centuries—of a new social architecture of the world of northern, central, and eastern Busoga, we glimpse images of Karuoth emerging as figures of some distinction and importance in a growing number of communities and of a demarcation of status, function, and behavior of Karuoth and non-Karuoth, which we have noted is continuous with the balangira and bakopi statuses of the 19th and 20th centuries. In a general way, we can suggest that non-Karuoth were monopolizing the cultural and linguistic education of Karuoth males, were regulating in a nearly total way the service and labor recruitment patterns of the region, and were monopolizing the interpretations of the meanings and significance of sacred places and both ancestral and non-ancestral spirits.

4. Direction

A question arising from this is, who was directing the Karuoth expansion across this region? Were the Karuoth themselves directing the essential processes of domination, or were the key figures in this members of particular non-Karuoth groups who saw competitive advantage in embellishing their local resources through the construction and enhancement of relations with particular Karuoth men? Do we misrepresent a complex of initiatives and processes in seeking a directive mechanism or a directive group? Was there some convergence of resource, capacity, ideology, strategy, and interest among early Karuoth and non-Karuoth, a niche constructed and a niche filled? These are interpretative problems of considerable challenge. Given the nature of the whole body of evidence available on precolonial Busoga—in particular, its selective quality—it is unlikely that one is going to arrive at a lasting and satisfactory interpretation. Whatever the level of prudence

21. Changes in the range and significance of particular sacred places, objects, and spirits are noted throughout the past of the lake Victoria region. See Cohen 1968; and the monographs of Berger 1981; Packard 1981; Kenny 1977, who have been concerned with detailing the processes that underlie this mutability.
or skepticism that one might maintain, there would seem to be some value in exploring the terrain that lies between the apparently decisive routines of behavior noted above and some satisfying interpretation of process. One of the ways, perhaps, of making such an exploration is through turning the axis of analysis from an identification of certain potentialities within an arena (defined in the observations of the several routines which have endured over several centuries) toward a consideration of known particular features of the developmental history of dominance, power, and authority in the Busoga region.

5. The Locations of New Authority

One of the first elements of such an attempt at constructing a developmental history is a locational analysis of the early post-Nang'oma sites of settlement of the Owiny Karuoth in Busoga. Taking the inventory of sites that our oral data provide, we notice that all of these early post-Nang'oma sites were located on the immediate margins of the moist, southern Busoga region (see Map 2). This area, southern Busoga, had been, was then (in the 16th and 17th centuries), and would continue to be (up to the first quarter of the 19th century), a zone of considerable production and exchange. There were a number of States located in the area; basically, they were arranged in bands or tiers parallel to the northern shores of lake Victoria, and perhaps are best seen as component units in a regional system of production and exchange which were, presumably, organized hierarchically in terms of market position. The regimes that were dominant in the area had benefitted from the organization and control of production and exchange of such goods as bark-cloth, pottery, diverse iron wares, planted and sown foodstuffs, and livestock. The region of exchange probably extended west through the Buvuma islands and along the coast of Buganda and to the east along the Nyanza coast as far as Winam gulf (Kenny 1977, 1979; Tosh 1970).

The Owiny Karuoth settlements at Mayole, Buwongo, Nhenda, and Luwoko appear to have been sited so as to tap—perhaps ultimately dominate—sections of this economic region. Analyzing the locations of the first twenty or so sites of settlement, the Owiny Karuoth are seen to have selected not open lands but rather well populated and productive sites—whether this was the effect of the marriage-residence routines, or of particular economic strategies, or of both, remains a question. In the cases of Mayole, Buwongo, Nhenda, and Luwoko—and of the adjacent areas of production—the communities of southern Busoga looked out toward the lake Victoria coastlands and islands to the south, not to the north, and thus one might suppose that the Owiny Karuoth were unable, merely by situating themselves on the northern margins of southern

22 COHEN 1972, ch. 1, 3, 5, for a discussion of the early history of these polities; also LUBOGO 1962. Kay Kea has, for Africa, most fully developed the hierarchical model of production and exchange as a regional system (see KEA 1982).
Busoga, to draw away much of the surplus production of the area. In each case, the Karuoth settlement was abandoned for new sites farther to the north and to the northwest. Indeed, from the period 1670-1740 up to 1890, the centers of Owiny Karuoth activity marched steadily north, eventually engrossing a number of market centers of the lake Kyoga basin trade which stretched from the mount Elgon foothills in the east to the iron and salt works of the Bunyoro kingdom to the west. Only in the late 19th century and in the early 20th did the expansion of the Karuoth— that is, abaiseNgobi—switch back toward the south; in this, considerable resistance was met by already established non-Karuoth polities in the area (Tantala 1973), while the British agents in the area clearly welcomed this trend. What looks on the surface as an expansion of groups—the Karuoth—seeking scope to exercise a political domination appears, under closer scrutiny, as a concerted economic strategy and brings the Karuoth expansion through parts of eastern Africa into a certain comparability with the expansion of mercantile/ethnic diasporas in West Africa.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the shift of interests north involved the evolution of a 'colonization process' based on Karuoth sons being taken to and raised at their mother's homes. Thus, in noting that the major centers of Karuoth settlement were increasingly to the north—in Bugabula, Luuka, and Buzimba-Kigulu—we are also noting the locations of the more successful, power-building centers organized through the networks of relations among Karuoth and their affines (see Map 2). While the Karuoth carried with them a number of clients, retainers, and followers from the earlier communities in the south—or descendants of those with whom they associated on the margins of southern Busoga—the newer Karuoth communities to the north attracted new clients and followers from the less moist areas of central and northern Busoga.23

To summarize this first general phase of Karuoth expansion in Busoga, we note a process that carries aspects of a program of colonization and aspects of a pattern of segmentation. A Karuoth man would take non-Karuoth and non-Luo women as wives and concubines. Their male offspring would be raised in the households or compounds of the women, away from the enclosure of the Karuoth figure. As the sons approached maturity, they were accorded the status of their Karuoth father—certainly by the maternal kin and presumably by the Karuoth father and his retinue—and in turn the son himself built up small retinues of clients, servants, wives, and affinal relations. The domains of action and domination of particular Karuoth were defined by their immediate retinues, not necessarily by those of their fathers or sons. If there were a process of segmentation under way, it involved a dispersal of ideas and behaviors concerning Karuoth status. If there were a program of colonization under way, it involved the extension here and there of a routine

23. Particularly, from the Busiki and Bukono areas of northeastern Busoga.
of domination, but not the extension of authority from one center over a number of secondary centers. The general effect was a proliferation of similarly organized centers around which Karuoth figures held sway but with none having significant precedence over any other.

6. Signs of Transformation

Let us try to look across the stage of 17th- to 19th-century Busoga to see if it is possible to detect signs of a ‘slide’ toward the crystallization of significant authority at particular points and the concomitant restriction of the ‘Karuoth impulse’ toward proliferation of multiple and similar centers of local domination loosely connected through lineage ideology. It is very nearly impossible to shape a sequence of influences or causes. But some of the signs that we can identify may together indicate certain ideas which may have contributed to the crystallization of authority and to the emergence of centralized institutions with the capacity of maintaining themselves across generations.

A first signal thought is that there were in southern Busoga before the 16th century a number of political and economic entities that appear to have been strongly centralized. As noted, the early Owiny Karuoth in Busoga attached themselves to communities along the northern margins of these polities. From these communities, individuals and groups now associated with the abaiséMususwa, abaiséMusobya, abaiséIgaga, abaiséNkwalu, abaiséNkwanga, abaiséNangwe, abaiséKibande, abaiséMukooyo, abaiséMuganza, abaiséKitandwe, and abaiséIsanga, attached themselves to the Karuoth in this belt of early settlements around the northern rim of southern Busoga. Some were attached through marriage. Others, particularly the Luo who were not Karuoth, were associated as followers or retainers. These were the groups that would play important roles at later, more northerly, settlements of the Karuoth.24

The close support that these non-Karuoth groups offered their Karuoth affines and patrons appears to have lasted for more than two centuries. Coming from the rim communities of southern Busoga, these non-Karuoth would have been raised within the ideological and behavioral framework of the centralized polity. Some of the routines of daily life in southern Busoga, upon which the political and economic architecture of the southern Busoga communities rested, would have carried over into the relations with the ‘stranger’ Karuoth who settled close by or among these rim communities.

Perhaps, at first, the salience of the developing relations of Karuoth and non-Karuoth lay not in a recognition of the exalted status or supremacy of the ‘stranger’ group, but rather in the recognition of marginal social and economic advantage in forming relations with some outsiders, who may simply have been perceived at first as more labor, more service,

24. This is taken up in a forthcoming study of 18th- and 19th-century Busoga.
and more support for these groups settled on the margins of a world oriented toward Lake Victoria. The attachment of groups such as the abaisenKwalyo to the Karuoth may not have been necessarily antithetical to the participation of the Nkwalyo folk in the political and economic world of southern Busoga. But, in a second or third generation, the Karuoth, through exercising their customary routines, had established a descent network linking a number of communities along the rim of southern Busoga, with further linkages east, west, and north. These networks could easily have functioned as informal exchange networks, a phenomenon that Tantala has observed for her 19th-century southern Kigulu communities, and one that has been observed for 19th-century Bunafu in Luuka as well. Gradually, the ‘strangers’—the Karuoth—would have assumed nodal positions encompassing a distributed network of exchange and support that was effectively antithetical to the centers of power existing in the southern Busoga area.

It is important to note, additionally, that the rim of southern Busoga, where the Karuoth first established themselves after the camps at Nang’oma hill, was also the area in which the idea of Mukama was appropriated significance in Busoga. The Mukama formula combined a number of ideas and meanings concerning status, identity, authority, and spirit possession within one social and ideological form. The formulaic aspect of Mukama is to some extent revealed in the popular traditions which hold that a heroic Mukama figure passed across Busoga from east to west, leaving sons in the country to found dynasties and States. This narrative is a simple and popular representation of the complex processes of expansion of Owiny Karuoth around the rim of southern Busoga as far as the Nile river (Cohen 1972, ch. 9).

The formula of Mukama inheres within the central ideas of spirit possession in northern Busoga. At different places and at various times in the past, Mukama, the possessing spirit, invaded the bodies of particular princes (Karuoth males). As noted elsewhere, ‘Mukama here is an idea eternalized, reawakened occasionally in the person of a prince, a lineage-oriented idea unencumbered by the orderly rules of succession and inheritance.’ (Cohen 1977: 159.) The possessing spirit of Mukama gave particular exceptionality or precedence to selected young Karuoth. Importantly, non-Karuoth played the crucial roles of identifying and nurturing the possessed Karuoth, gaining position, security, and influence through the manipulation of relations with the Mukama figure.

There is a relationship between the ways in which the formula of Mukama was given social form as a ‘property’ of non-Karuoth and the development of centralizing tendencies in northern Busoga. The relationship lies in freeing the social groups forming around the possessed Mukama figures from not only a coequivalence but also a position of subordination.

25. Tantala (1973: 49 sq.) presents a ‘feasts and famines’ discussion, but stops short of seeing the royal lineage as an exchange network.
among the array of Karuoth and non-Karuoth establishments in an area. In the case of the emergence of the Karuoth community centered on a possessed Mukama at Bunafu (about which we know the most\(^27\)), the formula of Mukama has been seen as counterpoised to the authority developing at other centers in Luuka in the 19th century (Cohen 1977, ch. 9). Many of the followers of Mukama at Bunafu had been refugees from the Karuoth expansion in the south (ibid.: 115-118). At the same time, the Mukama ideas—exceptionality, pre-eminence, the distinction of the Mukama environment from the rest of the world, the notion of new community—made tangible the articulation of particular authority within the theoretically gray world evolving in Busoga through the proliferating Karuoth impulse (ibid., ch. 9). While drawing heavily upon the Karuoth ideology gripping central Busoga in the early phase of Owiny Karuoth expansion, the Mukama communities—in giving special identity and significance to occasional Karuoth settlements—projected modes of leadership and organization which conflicted with the older Karuoth tradition.

The Mukama ideas were also linked, it appears, to the emerging popular accounts of the origins of the abaiseNgobi, which placed stress upon the legitimacy of particular established centers of abaiseNgobi (Karuoth) authority and of particular Ngobi lineages. We do not know in what period these popular reconstructions first became current, though we know that general accounts of Karuoth history were circulating in northern Busoga in the 1870s.\(^28\) What we sense from the close study of Bunafu and Luuka is the emergence, by at least the 19th century, of serious ideological and physical conflicts concerning the prerogatives of some members of the Karuoth, the opportunities and security of tenure in offices and upon the land of non-Karuoth, and the authority and legitimacy of particular Karuoth figures and lineages (Cohen 1977, ch. 6-9). Tensions developed among several interconnected, yet basically conflicting frameworks of ideas and routines—the segmentary Karuoth impulse in which an evolving status of superiority was drawn outward to more and more settlements across northern Busoga; the Mukama formula, in which special inflection was given to the occasional Karuoth community through the identification, by non-Karuoth, of a Karuoth male possessed by Mukama; and a centralizing principle, in which groups of non-Karuoth attempted to advance the position of certain Karuoth figures and centers as against all others in the area, pressing cases for the legitimacy of particular figures or lineages among the many Karuoth. There is a sense that the popular, consensual narratives of Karuoth history represent a

\(^{27}\) The emergence of this community is the subject of Cohen 1977.

\(^{28}\) The names of several early oral historians in Busoga were recorded in the fields in 1966-67 and 1971-72. One person, Daudi Waiswa, showed me a notebook which he said contained stories which he had recorded from one old man who had travelled across Busoga collecting and relating stories in the 1870s (Waiswa 1920).
rationalization and simplification of a cluster of ideological oppositions evoked in various arenas of intense local competition for pre-eminence.

Linked to the Mukama formula in Busoga was the impact of Bunyoro ideas, interests, and activities upon the Busoga region. Mukama, of course, was also the title of the rulers of Bunyoro. While certain stories circulating in Busoga and Bunyoro hold that a Mukama of Bunyoro visited Busoga at some remote time and organized the States of the Busoga area, this is unlikely to have happened. These traditions reflect not actual events, but rather interests in parrying, through a Bunyoro connection, the increasing Buganda penetration of Busoga in the 19th century. They reflect, as well, a more diffuse influence of ideas about Bunyoro through the lake Kyoga basin trade that connected salt and iron production centers in Bunyoro with production points and markets around the eastern margins of the region, through the movement of groups through the zones between Bunyoro and northern Busoga (which appears to have been an old cattle movement corridor), and through the migrations of particularly important groups into northern and central Busoga.30 Among these migrations, the most important was that which we label the ‘Kakaire migration’, which brought a number of groups, Luo and non-Luo, from the Pawiir area of the Bunyoro kingdom to the hills of south-central Busoga. It is likely that this was one of the crucial transit routes of ideas concerning the organization of power in the Bunyoro kingdom and of the Mukama figure in particular.31 It is difficult to ‘fine-tune’ a chronology of the early Kakaire settlements, but they fall within the general period in which the Owiny Karuoth were expanding westwards around the rim of southern Busoga.32

A further force contributing perhaps to the process of mutation of the Karuoth impulse toward more centralized authority developed in the region of eastern Buganda, which lay to the west and across the Nile from Busoga. In the 18th century, the Buganda kingdom began a program of effective expansion into the eastern regions of Kyaggwe, first, and then Bugerere, later (Kiwanuka 1972). Many groups fled eastward across the Nile into the very areas where the Owiny Karuoth were expanding. It may have been that these groups—one thinks here of the Mulondo of northern Kyaggwe—gave impetus toward the expansion of the prominence and authority of some Karuoth centers as opposed to others. They would have naturally allied themselves to particular Karuoth centers rather than to the general principle of Karuoth domination expressed through the Karuoth impulse. Today, these abaiseMulondo, as they are collectively named, are remembered as having been respon-

29. This is discussed in Cohen 1972: 181-183; see also Cohen (in Webster, fthcg).
30. One notes that in central and southern Busoga, people refer to the area of northwestern Busoga as ‘Bunyolo’.
31. The ‘Kakaire migration’ is discussed at length in Cohen 1972, ch. 8.
32. This period falls around 1640-1720.
sible, in accession proceedings, for the seating of rulers of several northern Busoga States on their stools, which in each case came to be identified as Namulondo.33

The incorporation of the Mulondo groups, who came in considerable numbers to northern Busoga, may have reinforced centralizing processes already under way. That the polities on the western side of Busoga—Luuka, Bugabula, and Buzaaya—were, among Busoga States of the 19th century, more inclined to restrict the proliferation of Karuoth prerogative, may have been, in part, a consequence of the Mulondo influence and of a search for a stronger line of resistance to Buganda expansion. As one moves east through the Karuoth polities of 19th-century Busoga (that is, away from Buganda), one finds less and less readiness to assign authority to commoners, a stronger preservation of the traditional proliferating Karuoth model, and weaker impulses toward sub-regional centralization.34

For one area of northern Busoga—Luuka—it is possible to 'observe' a transition from a model of proliferating centers and localized dominance toward a model of more articulated authority capable of subordinating other Karuoth. In this instance the Karuoth figure was Inhensiko I, removed by some four to six generations from the period of the Nang'oma camps, and installed among his maternal kin some few kilometers north of the Luuka (Luwoko) hills. Inhensiko I's active life is dated to the second half of the 18th century.35 Inhensiko I—whose name meaning, 'owner of the land', is the Lusoga equivalent of the Luo Wuon ng'om, from which Nang'oma hill took its name—had sixteen sons, our sources tell us. In watching these sons grow up at sixteen different sites across the landscape, Inhensiko I would have been observing perhaps the most notable processes of segmentation and colonization in the two centuries or so of Owiny Karuoth expansion in the Busoga area up to that time. Inhensiko I, the father of these sixteen Karuoth men, appears to have lived to a very considerable age and, merely by virtue of his paternal precedence, may have begun to institutionalize an authority of Karuoth pater over various descent-linked outlying settlements.

But Inhensiko I is also recorded as having appointed three non-Karuoth clients to positions of authority over his sons and over other Owiny Karuoth in the area, thereby effecting, through action, a change in the 'rules of the game'. These clients were assigned the responsibilities of recruiting new settlers in particular zones, of collecting tribute from settlements (whether under the control of Karuoth or non-Karuoth), and of promoting the integration and security of the general area (Cohen

33. This carriage of ideas and forms from the Buganda region is an important aspect of the past of Busoga between ca. 1820 and 1920. It is discussed in my forthcoming study of Busoga in the 18th and 19th centuries.

34. This analysis is presented in COHEN (in DENOON, ft/cg).

35. A discussion of a method of establishing a chronology for Busoga is presented in COHEN 1972: 62-69; also COHEN 1977: 166-186, where the earlier discussion is developed further and given specificity for the area of Luuka in west-central Busoga.
Such appointment did not by itself accord authority to these bakungu chiefs (as they came to be called). What these non-Karuoth would have been given were rights to assign lands and offices to other commoners (and Owiny Karuoth as well) and thereby to construct their own constituencies and retinues which in turn would allow them to build the force necessary to control recalcitrant folk and even discipline the Owiny Karuoth who had colonized the countryside as sons of Inhensiko I or of his predecessor.

It is evident that, during the lifetime of Inhensiko I, the new bakungu (Inhensiko's client chiefs) made slow headway. In the Luuka area, it could take as long as fifty to a hundred years for a princely family or a commoner one to take control of an 'appointed' area, so much of the resource base of any true authority lay in the slow construction of power through the building of clientages through marriages and through the encouragement of immigration and new settlements. But Inhensiko I had, by his appointments, warped the ideas and routines of the Karuoth to a grander interest—the securing of population and land, labor and resources, over a far vaster area than anything previously attempted by the Owiny Karuoth in Busoga. While the proliferation of Karuoth settlements would continue, extending Karuoth domination here and there over a considerable terrain, Inhensiko I with his non-Karuoth affines and allies had enhanced the roles of particular commoner retainers and had given force and momentum to a centralizing ideology through which the interests of those commoners, as opposed to Karuoth, could be developed and secured.

These were some of the elements contributing to the partial transformation of the older Karuoth model in northern, central, and eastern Busoga, toward broader control from particular Karuoth centers, and toward the supplantation of Karuoth local authority by commoner agents of the emerging central authority. Some elements of this transformation—particularly the Karuoth reaction in the 19th century—belong properly to another study, one concerned with the effects of the proliferation of Karuoth population in the Busoga region. What is seen here in this inventory of forces and influences developing through the relations of Karuoth and non-Karuoth one to four centuries ago is the centrality of the non-Karuoth in the evolution of first, Karuoth domination and,

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36. This was the case of the Muluuta lineage in northern Luuka. In Bunafu, the princely family of Womunafu did not gain control of the area of its first enclosures for some thirty years.

37. This point is made at some length in COHEN 1977, ch. 9.

38. Ibid., ch. 6-9. It is possible that Inhensiko I was not the first of the Owiny Karuoth in Busoga to encourage directly or to set in motion inadvertently such fundamental change. It is perhaps only the selective quality of the historical record that has placed my attention upon his life and experience.
second, central authority. The non-Karuoth were vital figures in the expansion, across the face of Busoga, of Karuoth domination, in the construction of routines of service, clientage, marriage, and residence, in the partial transformations toward more active controlling centers of authority, and in the crystallization of routines of authority and of ideologies of domination. In the earlier phase of Karuoth expansion, the non-Karuoth may have used the ‘strangers’ to strengthen their own positions within local situations. Then, in the later phase, non-Karuoth may have used developing competition among coequal Karuoth centers as an entry to larger responsibility and power in broadened political and economic arenas. We should see these initiatives by the non-Karuoth not simply as reflexes within a given structure but as animating the transformation of political and economic structure in central and northern Busoga.

Over some generations, there appears to have been an exchange by the stranger Karuoth of both language and culture for positions that were increasingly privileged, but an exchange in which the non-Karuoth held processually central and powerful roles. The Busoga experience offers us a variant of models of colonial or imperial domination in which the maintenance of a cultural distinction is a critical element in the growth and elaboration of a system of domination. The non-Karuoth never succeeded in overthrowing Karuoth domination in Busoga, though in both the 19th and 20th centuries they appear to have softened its effect and controlled its expansion.\(^{39}\) It is clear from the late 19th and early 20th centuries—and from observing the political economy of Busoga in the 1960s and 1970s—that the Karuoth ultimately won in this cultural, linguistic, and political exchange. But it is nevertheless important to note that the Karuoth did not spill across Busoga in a conquest or para-conquest but rather they were brought in here and there, a nibble at a time, as non-Karuoth competed for political and economic advantage and security in numerous local arenas.

\(^{39}\) There is a constellation of non-Karuoth local leaders emerging in the late 19th century and reaching toward a centrality in local politics and administration in the 1920s and 1930s. Some were the appointed caretakers of very young, hereditary chiefs in Busoga who had been appointed by British agents. The study of local politics and administration in the 20th century, a very active and fertile field, was disrupted by the Amin regime in the early 1970s. One hopes that it can be picked up again.
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