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Natives and Outsiders: the Historical Experience of the Anywaa of Western Ethiopia

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Introduction: a view from the 'periphery'

Up to now for many Ethiopian highlanders who claim Semitic origin the Gambela region has appeared as a remote hot lowland rampant with malaria and other tropical diseases, occupied by black African 'tribes' with whom the highlanders share very little cultural and historical traditions. Even now when the Nilotic peoples of Gambela—mainly the Anywaa (Anuak) and Nuer—come to the highlands, they often suffer the insult of being called *shankalla* ('black' or more properly translated 'nigger') and *baria* (slave). They, just same as other peoples of the lowlands, are stigmatized. The whole mentality of ordinary Ethiopian citizens has changed little even since the socialist revolution started in 1974.

Also academic studies of Ethiopia have neglected peoples of the periphery. In her recent article on the comparison of the traditions of ethnographic writing on the Sudan and Ethiopia, Wendy James argues:

> Here [in Ethiopia] developed the high Orientalist scholarship of the Amharic and Ge'ez languages and the history of the Church and the central and ancient institutions of state. Those outlying populations which were then, almost without exception, by consensus the province of the anthropologist rather than the historian were viewed, as often as not, through the lens of the imperial centre.[1)]

Under this tradition black populations of the Ethiopian periphery, who are not of Semitic origin, are considered less civilized and intellectual[2)]. Although detailed ethnographical studies started in the 1960's[3)], the mainstream of Ethiopian scholarship has regarded them to a great extent as isolated minority

1) Wendy James, 'Kings, commoners, and the ethnographic imagination in Sudan and Ethiopia', Richard Fardon (ed.), *Localizing strategies: regional traditions of ethnographic writing*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990, p. 111.

2) For instance, one of the modern classic studies of Ethiopian culture presents the following view of the Nilotic peoples such as the Anywaa and Nuer; 'they form no integral part of the life and civilization of Ethiopia' (E. Ullendorf, *The Ethiopians: an introduction to country and people*, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 42).

3) James, op. sit., p. 98.

peoles, who have very little to do with the centre, and who have no significant history.

Serious attempts to study centre-periphery relations started only in the 1970's. First they focused on politico-economic relations, in an effort to clarify the pattern of domination and the contribution made by the periphery in the process of the expansion and establishment of Menilek II's Ethiopian Empire. This new move was initiated by scholars at the Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, later to become Addis Abeba University. Using oral and literary sources, they have produced some excellent studies on western Ethiopia[4], which is the topic of this article.

This trend culminated in the publication of *The southern marches of imperial Ethiopia* in 1986, a joint work both by historians and anthropologists. This book presents a picture of 'another Ethiopia' as stated in the preface;

> We bring into focus for the first time the story of the *political interaction* between the expanding imperial state on the one hand, and the peoples of its new southern frontiers on the other..... we hope to have demonstrated something of the general nature of interconnections between the Ethiopian centre and the various parts which make up the whole. From a grassrooots perspective, these have often been exploiteve; but to reveal the interconnections at least reminds us of the role of the provinces and frontier regions in the making of a remarkable nation[5].

Among the contributions in this book I am particularly indebted to Douglas Johnson's article, 'On the Nilotic frontier'. He argues, based on literary and archival sources, the relations between the Nilotic peoples—Nuer and Anywaa—on the one hand and Ethiopian empire and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on the other. The two peoples live on both sides of the international border which was officially demarcated in 1902.

Unlike other peoples, who were incorporated into the expanding Ethiopian empire, the land of the Nilotes was not settled by soldiers and the peasants did not become serfs of the state. Johnson demonstrates that the Nilotes were not

4) I am indebted to the following B.A. theses: Bahru Zewde, 'A biography of Dejazmach Jote Tulu, Abba Iggu (1855–1918)', 1970; Birhanu Dibaba, 'The historical survey of trade in northeastern Illubabor and southwestern Wallaga (1900–1935)', 1973; Altaye Tadesse, 'The historical survey of Dembi Dollo (1880–1941)', 1983; Minale Adugna, 'Foundation and development of Gore town: 1883–1970', 1987. Bahru Zewde's Ph.D dissertation at SOAS of University of London, 'Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the western Ethiopian frontier (1898–1935)' (1976), is highly informative and a basic literature for the historical studies between the centre and peoples of the periphery in Ethio-Sudan border regions.

5) 'Preface' by W.J. in Donald Donham and Wendy James (eds), *The southern marches of imperial Ethiopia: essays in history and social anthropology*, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. xiv.

colonized by the Ethiopian empire, but gained 'autonomy' by virtue of 'their geography, their culture, and their ability to manipulate the international border'. He further notes, 'they were able to achieve far more flexible relations, based on reciprocity, with the Ethiopian border administration than they enjoyed with the Anglo-Egyptian government in the Sudan'[6].

In this paper I try to present an Anywaa point of view on their relations with the centre. In an attempt to listen to the voices of the people who have been considered voiceless, the main focus of this paper lies in the analysis of oral traditions found in data collected by field research[7]. Literary and archival sources on the Anywaa are also refered to. In this paper data from two different sources are combined not only to 'reconstruct the past' but also to examine the discrepancies between the two sources so that we may reach a profounder understanding of the realities of Anywaa historical experience.

It will be demonstrated that the Anywaa were not merely an object to be dominated and exploited by the centre but they reacted to foreign forces for their own interest and advantage based on their own political philosophy. In this way they managed to maintain their autonomy to a certain degree.

Another related focus of this paper is the form of the narratives. How do Anywaa informants narrate? What kind of terminology do they employ to describe the relations with various peoples from the centre? I found that they use the terminology of the indigenous political system—the system of *nyieye* (nobles) and *kwaari* (village headmen) —when narrating these relations. This can be seen as a result of efforts by the Anywaa to make new and foreign relations intelligible in their own words and as a case of cultural adaptation. Then I try to account for the autonomy of the Anywaa both at political and ideological levels from the view point of the indigenous political system and philosophy.

1. Anywaa and Outsiders: Historical Background

a. Anywaa, neighbours and outsiders

The Anywaa[8] are Nilotic speakers[9] who live in the plain immediately to the

6) D. Johnson, 'On the Nilotic frontier: imperial Ethiopia in the southern Sudan', in *The southern marches of imperial Ethiopia*, 1986, p. 219.

7) These data derive from field research I conducted on the Anywaa in Gambela region of Ethiopia from December 1988 to February 1989 and from August 1989 to February 1991. See Appendix 'Notes on oral data collection'.

8) I use Anywaa instead of Anuak which is usually used in the literature since the former is their self-name.

9) According to Greenberg's classification, Anywaa belongs to the Lwo group of Western Nilotic speakers of Nilotic of Eastern Sudanic which is a branch of Chari-Nile of Nilo-Saharan language family (J.H. Greenberg, *The languages of Africa*, the Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963, p. 85).

west of the Ethiopian highlands. The population including the Sudanese Anywaa may not exceed 100,000[10]. Basically they are sedentary agriculturalists, though they also engage in fishing, hunting and gathering. In eastern part of Anywaaland they raise no domestic animals at all because of the presence of the tsetse fly. In western part cattle, sheep and goats are raised.

The Anywaa possess a clear notion of their territory. Their settlements are concentrated along four major rivers, the Upeeno (Baro), Giilo (Gila), Akobo and Oboth, and a tributary of the Upeeno, the Aluoro. The mountains to the east and to the north, which mark the border with Illubabor and Wellegga regions respectively, are recognized as the boundary with the Oromo (Galla) who are Cushitic speakers. The Nuer[11], who are a Nilotic people like the Anywaa but more oriented to pastoralism, live to the west of Anywaaland. To the south of Anywaaland live the Murle[12] who are pastoralists like the Nuer. The Murle and Nuer are considered traditional enemies by the Anywaa. On the fringes of Anywaaland live minority populations of the Majangir, Komo and Opuo[13].

It is significant for the discussion of this paper to compare the strategy of survival of these small populations—Majangir, Komo and Opuo—on the one hand, and of the Nilotes—Anywaa and Nuer—on the other. The former peoples used to be raided and captured for slaves by Ethiopian highlanders. They were also raided by the Anywaa and Nuer. They never put up military resistance against invaders as the Nilotes did. The Majangir adopted the strategy of hiding away in scattered settlements deep in the forests[14]. Many of the Opuo and Komo became politically subordinate to highlanders in order to secure

10) More than fifty years ago Evans-Pritchard estimated their population 'between thirty and forty thousand' (E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The political system of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd.,1940, p. 6).

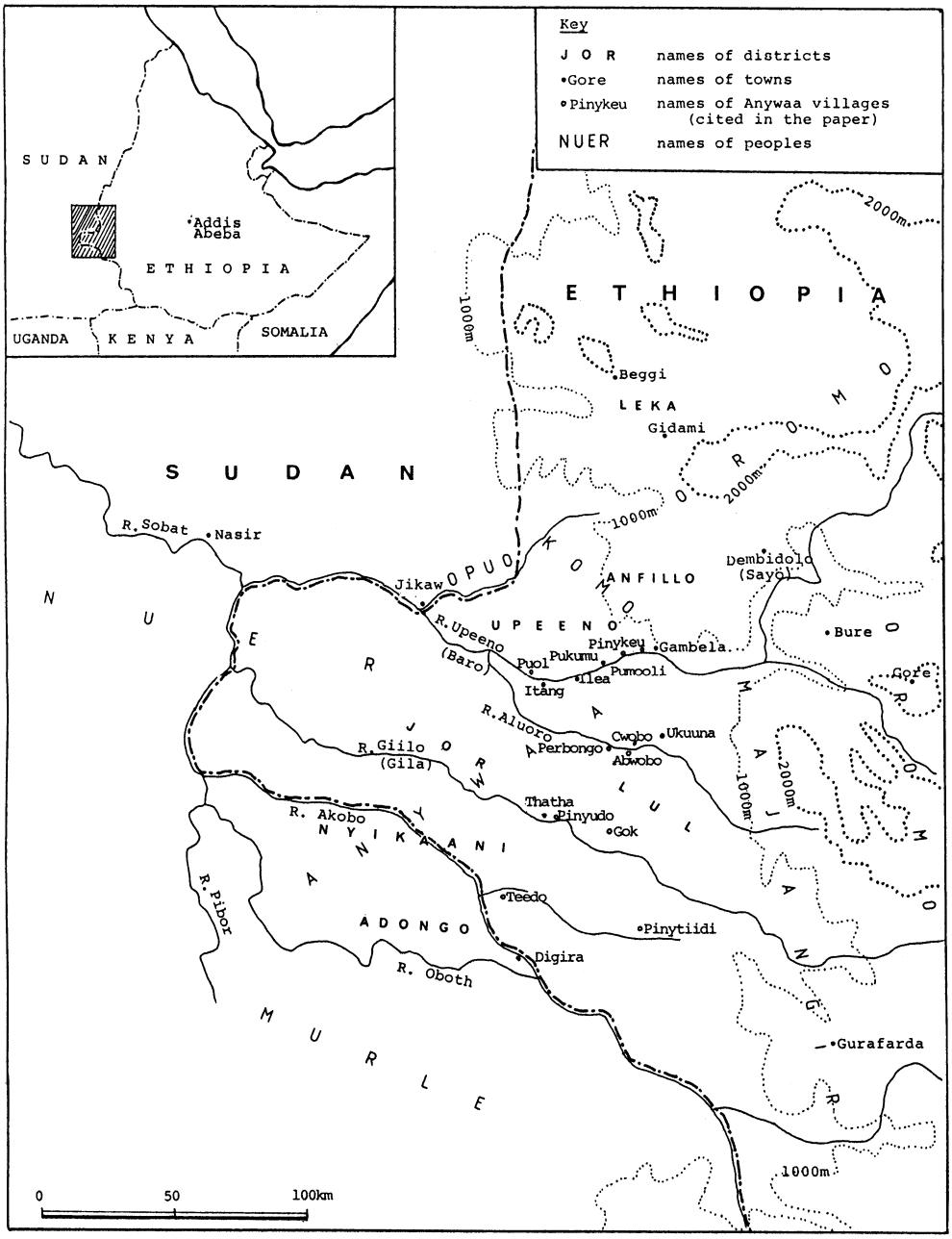
11) The Nuer have been expanding their territory eastwards at the expense of the Anywaa. They are well known in anthropology through the work of Evans-Pritchard.

12) Linguistically they are Surma speakers of Eastern Sudanic group of Nilo-Saharan language family.

13) The Majangir, called Masango by highlanders and Ujang by the Anywaa, live in the forest of the escarpments of the Ethiopian highland, between the Oromo and Anywaa. Linguistically they are Surma speakers like the Murle. They live by shifting cultivation, hunting and beekeeping. See Jack Stauder, *The Majangir*, Cambridge University Press, 1971. Both of the Komo and Opuo (Opo or Shita) linguistically belong to the Koman group of Nilo-Saharan family. Most of the Komo seem to live in the Sudan and Wellega province of Ethiopia, but a small population of them lives to the northwest of and to the east of Gambela town. The Opuo live along the river Jokau (Jikaw). Neither linguistically nor anthropologically little is known about these two peoples. See F. D. Corfield, 'The Koma', *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1938, pp. 123–165; M. L. Bender, 'Proto-Koman phonology and lexicon', *Afrika und Ubersee*, vol. 66, 1983, pp. 259–297.

14) See Stauder, ibid., pp. 2–5.

MAP OF THE RESEARCH AREA



protection[15]. Therefore we can find three different kinds of relations with highlanders among native peoples in the Gambela region. First, the Majangir have tried to avoid any political relation with them. Second, the Komo and Opuo were obliged to be subordinate. Then third, the Anywaa and Nuer could establish relations with highlanders on equal terms based on reciprocity, which were an outcome of both collaboration and resistence, as I shall argue later. There could be various factors which worked to make these differences such as geographical proximity with highlanders, population size and political system. But after all each ethnic group established these relations with highlanders in order to survive and retain its autonomy as much as possible under a given condition.

Here we see how Anywaa classify outsiders. They call all peoples other than Anywaa *jur* (pl. *jure*). A white man is called *jur mu tar*, 'white outsider'. *Gaala* (pl. *gaale*) is another word to mean outsiders. This word particularly signifies the Oromo, as the word *gaala* derives from Galla. This word is, however, applied to all highlanders who are considered 'red' in skin and even to the whites as well. But 'black' people such as the Nuer or Majangir are not called *gaala*. We can say, therefore, the notion signifies an outsider who is not black.

Because of its geographical and historical setting Anywaaland since the end of the last century saw the coming and going of many kinds of *jure*. The Oromo and Amhara descended from the highlands to plunder and trade. The British came as military administrators to the Sudanese side of Anywaaland, and as officers stationed at the Gambela trading post which became a Sudanese enclave. These British left as the Sudan became an independent state in 1956. During the fascist Italian occupation of Ethiopia the Gambela region also came under its control. In 1941 the British troops consisting of African soldiers from Kenya, Uganda and Belgian Congo came in from the Sudan and fought Italian forces in various parts of Anywaaland.

The socialist revolution of Ethiopia which started in 1974 brought fundamental changes to Gambela region. The number of state officials working there greatly increased in comparison with the previous regime. They came from the highlands as administrators, cadres of the Workers Party of Ethiopia,

15) They also sought protection from the Nilotes against raids by highlanders. See Johnson, op. cit., pp. 239–240. The Opuo are called Lango in Anywaa. The same term, *lango*, also means a slave. Since in other Lwo languages, *lango* signifies a foreigner, not a slave, I believe that the term, which was originally applied to the Opuo as a foreign people, later took on the meaning of slave as the Opuo were main victims of slave raids. Some Anywaa told me that most of the Komo had become Oromo and some of them have turned into Anywaa by adopting the other's language and customs and that the Komo would cease to exist in the near future. This was not confirmed from the Komo side, though a couple of Komo whom I talked to were bilingual or trilingual (Komo, Anywaa and Oromo) and did not speak their mother tongue in the presence of a third person.

teachers and officials of agricultural development projects and so forth. Another group of outsiders, that is 65,000 settlers mainly composed of the Tigre, Amhara and Kambata, were settled in Anywaaland by the socialist Ethiopian government. By the beginning of 1991 most of them had either died or fled. Since 1983 there has been a huge influx of almost 300,000 Sudanese refugees who settled at two camps in Anywaaland. Forces of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) also set up military camps there[16]. Both Sudanese refugees and SPLA forces took flight back to the Sudan after the fall of the socialist regime at the end of May 1991 because their position was not secured any more.

For the last one hundred years Anywaaland has not been isolated at all. On the contrary. The Anywaa have experienced the coming and going of a variety of outsiders. These experiences of the past have certainly shaped the present Anywaa views on history which are expressed in oral traditions.

In the following part of this section I discuss relations with outsiders in more detail based on literary and archival sources. The aim is to present a general picture of the history of the period between 1880's and 1930's.

b. Between Ethiopia and Sudan

Present Gambela region was a frontier in a double sense. It was a frontier for both the expanding Ethiopian empire and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan which was established in 1899 after the fall of Mahdist rule. On the Ethiopian side Menilek extended his dominion to western Ethiopia during 1880's. In 1883 Dejazmach[17] Tesemma Nadew established a military camp at Gore in Illubabor province, after having conqured the Oromo of the area[18]. Gore later developed into a very important trading and administration centre of the region. In Wellegga province, Jote Tulu, a powerful Oromo king of the Leka and Kelem area, submitted to Ras Gobana in 1880's[19]. Later he was invested with the rank of Dejazmach by Menilek, and established his base at Sayo (present Dembidollo). Thus a local ruler was appointed as an imperial agent. Sayo and Gore became advance bases of the Ethiopian empire for the lowlands. Both Jote and Tesemma were obliged to pay a lot of tribute to Addis Abeba[20], and of course at the same time they needed to accumulate their own wealth. As Johnson argues, 'On the

16) Both Sudanese refugees and SPLA are called 'Ajwil' in Anywaa which is an Anywaa word for the Dinka. This is because many of them are from the Dinka, a Nilotic people of the Sudan.

17) Dejazmach ('commander of the gate'), an Amharic term, is a high rank appointed by a king or emperor. Later Tesemma was promoted to the rank of Ras ('head').

18) Minale, op. cit., pp. 3–4.

19) Bahru, 'A biography of Dejazmach Jote', pp. 17–18.

20) For instance at the end of the last century Jote used to receive 100 pieces of ivory every day during the paying season of tribute (Birhanu, op. cit. p. 18). In the beginning of this century Tesemma used to collect about eight to ten tons of ivory every tribute paying season (Bahru, 'Relations between Ethiopia and Sudan', p. 248).

Ethiopian side the government's goal was the extraction of local wealth, and it almost revelled in a diversity of means to obtain it'[21]. In this way the lowlands of Gambela turned into a focus of Ethiopian interest for extracting local wealth such as ivory, slaves and cattle. The great rivalry ensued between Tesemma and Jote cencerning the control of resources in the lowlands, which thier successors inherited[22]. This rivalry made the border administration more complicated.

On the Sudan side the demarcation of Ethio-Sudan border became a issue for the British. In 1899 two survey expeditions were sent to the border region[23]. And in 1902 the international border was officially demarcated. In Gambela region three rivers, all of which join as the Sobat flowing into the White Nile, became the border: the Baro[24] to the north, the Akobo to the south and the Pibor to the west. And both of the Anywaa and Nuer were divided by the border.

Even after the official agreement on the demarcation the border remained ambiguous to some extent until 1921[25]. Soon after 1902 the Sudan government started to regret that they had agreed to incorporate Gambela region into Ethiopia[26]. This region was called 'Baro Salient' by the British, and in fact it projects into the Sudan territory. In 1904 a Sudanese trading post was opened at Gambela on the right bank of the Baro. The land here was considered as a Sudanese enclave and a British Custom Inspector was assigned. Although there were some obstacles such as poor transportation and shortage of currency, this trading through Gambela became prosperous[27]. From the Ethiopian highlands coffee, wax and gum were carried by mules and porters to Gambela and then exported to the Sudan by steamer. From the Sudan such manufactured products as cotton goods, salt and empty sacks were imported. In 1917 the British Consulate was also established at Gore town because of its significant location in the international trading route[28].

Then what was the interest of both Ethiopian and Sudanese states in the peoples of Gambela region? As stated before the goal of Ethiopian administration was the extraction of local wealth. This was effectively done not only by imposing tribute on natives, which could hardly be distinguished from raid, but

21) Johnson, op. cit., p. 221.
22) Bahru, op. cit., pp. 261–268; Johnson, ibid., pp. 221–222.
23) Bahru, ibid., pp. 90–91. They were led respectively by Major Gwynn and Major Austin.
24) The Baro, which is an Oromo name, is called Upeeno in Anywaa.
25) Johnson, op. cit., pp. 211–212.
26) Bahru, op. cit., p. 112. Sudan demanded that the Baro Salient should be tranfered or exchanged with another territoty. In 1907 Menilek agreed to have a British officer to administer the Anywaa for him, which was a favourable offer for the Sudan government. The plan, however, didn't come true, as this would have decreased the revenue of Ethiopian governors (ibid., pp. 113–115).
27) Bahru, ibid., chap. 4, 5.
28) Minale, op. cit., p. 12.

by establishing trade relations with them[29]. In these relations Anywaa political leaders emerged as sort of agents. Most well known and influential were Udiel, Uliimi and Akwai[30]. All of them were *nyieye* (nobles). They traded ivory with firearms and as a result of this obtained a large number of rifles. This made their position in Anywaa society very powerful[31].

There are two distinctive types of political leaders among the Anywaa: that of *nyieye* (nobles, sing. *nyieya*) and of *kwaari* (headmen, sing. *kwaaro*)[32]. Villages under the control of the former are distributed in the south-eastern part of Anywaaland. Both offices are patrilineally inherited. A son of a *nyieya* is enthroned as a *nyieya* by the investiture of a set of royal emblems, most important of them being royal necklaces and stools. No such common emblems exist for all *kwaari*, though each new *kwaaro* inherits village drums and possibly a few royal items such as necklaces from his predecessor. While all *nyieye* belong to one royal clan, *kwaari* are from various clans. Despite differences, both positions carry similar political functions as peacemakers and redistributors of wealth, and have little religious functions. Court officials of the two leaders are also almost identical. Many Anywaa told me, however, 'A *nyieya* is greater than a *kwaaro*'. In fact a *nyieya* can exercise his power over a number of villages, while the power of a *kwaaro* is confined to his own village. This might be a reason why all of the prominent Anywaa leaders who established trading relations with highlanders were *nyieye*, and no *kwaaro* obtained such a position as Akwai, Udiel or Uliimi did.

On the Sudan side the form and object of the government administration was very different from that of Ethiopia. Its goal was the political submission of subjects[33]. Whenever there was any resistance by natives, like the case of the Nuer and Anywaa, it applied every measure including military operations to 'pacify' them. After the pacificacion and political submission was once achieved, the government was obliged to maintain the law and order in its own sense. As we shall see later, in the beginning of this century one of the concerns of British administrators was the slave trading by Ethiopians, of which victims said to be

29) In Ethiopia tribute and trade were closely related and 'demands for tribute expanded the trading network' (Johnson, op. cit., p. 222).

30) Udiel put his base at Abwobo on the river Aluoro in Ethiopia. Both of Uliimi, paternal cousin of Udiel, and Akwai were based in Adongo district along the Akobo and Oboth rivers, which is divided into Ethiopian and Sudanese territories (Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 23–24, 92).

31) Evans-Pritchard, ibid., pp. 11–13; Johnson, op. cit., pp. 225–226.

32) See Evans-Pritchard, ibid.; 'Further observations on the political system of the Anuak', *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. 28, 1947, pp. 62–97; Lienhardt, 'Anuak village headmen I, II', *Africa*, vol. 27, 28., 1957, 1958. In Ethiopia all *niyeye* and *kwaari* were deposed after the socialist revolution in 1974. But among the Anywaa in the Sudan they are still in power.

33) Johnson, op. cit., p. 221.

Anywaa and 'Burun'[34]. After 1911 when the Anywaa acuqired rifles and started extensive raids on the Nuer and Murle in Sudanese territory, control of firearms became their main interest. Especially when a military campaign led by British officers against men of Akwai resulted in failure in 1912, this issue attracted much attension[35].

The Sudanese government urged its Ethiopian counterpart to disarm the Anywaa. This attempt, however, didn't succeed, because Ethiopian officials were more interested in the financial gain from firearm-ivory trade than in security issues[36].

In the Sudan it was only after 1921 that the government started to administer the Anywaa[37]. Akwai died in 1920 and his son Caam, still a small boy, took over. The Sudan government considered this a good opportunity and recognized Caam as the Sultan of the Sudan Anywaa[38]. In 1927 the royal emblems of Anywaa were confiscated by the British District Commissioner, and the royal succession of *nyieye* became under the conrtrol of the government. This, of course, had an effect of weakening the Anywaa political leadership[39]. But then Ethiopia became a shelter for *nyieye* who were dissatisfied with the Sudan administration and conflicts continued until late 1940's[40].

In conclusion, this uncertainty and ambiguity in the border administration, offered an opportunity for the Anywaa leaders to maneuver between Ethiopia and Sudan and between rivalling government officials in Ethiopia (at Sayo and Gore) in order to keep their autonomy. Basically they maintained an autonomous state until 1940's, though after 1920's they gradually came under the control of both Ethiopian and Sudanese governments[41].

c. Guns, conflicts and Anywaa leadership

A couple of Europeans who travelled Anywaaland in the beginning of this

34) 'Burun' refers to small populations in Ethio-Sudan border regions including the Opuo and Komo.

35) Bahru, op. cit., pp. 115–122; Johnson, op. cit., pp. 222–224, 236–237. The patrol consisted of about 354 men lost two British offeicers, three Egyptian officers and forty two non-commissioned officers and men in the battle of March 15, 1912 ('Reports on the finances, administration and conditions of the Sudan', part 2, 1912, pp. 12–13, Sudan Archive, University of Durham).

36) Bahru, ibid., pp. 123–131.

37) Evans-Pritchard, *The political system of the Anuak*, p. 95.

38) C.R.K. Bacon, 'Kingship amongst the Anuak', *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. 4, 1921, pp. 162–163.

39) Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 95–98; Johnson, op. cit., pp. 226–227.

40) Johnson, ibid.

41) Johnson, ibid., pp. 240–242; Bahru, op. cit., pp. 154–166. Little has been studied on the Ethiopian administration on the Anywaa after 1941. Further studies are needed on this issue.

century felt that the Anywaa were facing a crisis of complete collapse because of pressures from more powerful highlanders and Nuer. For instance based on his own observation in 1904 Jessen says:

> There is no doubt that these people, who, sad to say, are gradually becoming extinct, are greatly influenced by their surroundings and the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. Shut in one side by the giant Abyssinian mountains, and on the other by the warlike and ever-aggressive Nuer tribes, their existence is not much better than that of the flying fish[42].

Highlanders seem to have been often coming down to the lowlands to plunder and capture slaves. Captain McMurdo who travelled along the Upeeno river upto Gambela in 1905 writes, 'All along this portion of the frontier slave trading is carried on with all its attendant forces. The victims appear to come mainly from the Anuak tribe, who inhabit the country north of the Baro River[43].' Oscar Neumann who travelled along the rivers of Giilo and Akobo reports that because of 'many Abyssinian razzias' many of the Anywaa migrated westward and 'live in a state of semi-slavery under the protection of the more powerful Nuar near the Egyptian fort of Nasser on the Sobat[44].' According to another travel report, by 1910 the Anywaa living along the upper Akobo below Gurafarda had left thier home 'for fear of falling into the condition of "gabares"[45].'

It is difficult to evaluate the scale of devastation in Anywaaland during the period. Even the rough estimate of the number of Anywaa captured as slaves is not available. But we can know at least from written sources that the raids by highlanders seem to have been quite frequent. As early as 1897, 'the chief of Gambela' whose name is Ouria-Marou 'complained to the Bonchamps mission of two "Abyssinian" raids. ' He ' owed allegiance not to Jote, but to the supreme Yambo chief at Boko, Niea[46].' Bahru argues that one of the two raids might

42) Jessen, 'South-western Abyssinia', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 25, 1905, pp. 162–163. See also Jessen, *W. N. McMillan's expeditions and big game hunting in Sudan, Abyssinia, and British East Africa*, London: Marchant Singer & Co., 1906, pp. 117–118.

43) 'Reports on the Finance, Administration and Condition of the Sudan', 1905, Part 1, p. 37, Durham. In Part 2 of the same volume, the Governor General expresses his concern over the constant raids on the Anyuak tribe by Abyssinians (p. 58). See also 'Cromer to Wingate', 1. Jan. 1906, 278/1/2, Durham.

44) Neumann, 'From the Somali coast through southern Ethiopia to the Sudan', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 20, 1902, p. 392.

45) Montandon, 'A journey in south-western Abyssinia', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 40, 1912, p. 385. A 'gabare' (*gebbar*) is a serf under the Ethiopian feudal system.

46) Chalres Michel, *Vers Fachoda: À la rencontre de la Mission Marchand à travers l'Ethiopie*, Paris: Plon, 1901, quoted in Bahru, 'A biography of Dejazmach Jote', p. 20. 'Yambo' is Anywaa in Oromo and Amharic. I cannot identify who 'Ouria-Marou' was. 'The supreme Yambo chief at Boko, Niea [*nyieya*]' could have been Udiel, if Abwobo was mistaken for Boko.

have been undertaken by Jote[47]. Jessen witnessed some results of recent raids: Depha [Dipa] village on lake Tata [Thatha] had been deserted; Sheikh Olimie [Uliimi]'s men at Digira had been killed by a punitive campaign sent by Ras Tesemma of Gore. He also writes that Sheikh Shamma of Gog [Gok] was eventually murdured by Abyssinians after his departure[48]. In 1905 Itang village on the Baro river was raided by men of Tokkon, the Oromo Balabat (hereditary chief) of Bure, in which 24 Anywaa were killed[49].

This balance of power, however, drastically changed after 1911. As a result of the ivory-firearm trade with highlanders some Anywaa leaders obtained a number of rifles and staged large scale raids against the Nuer in the Sudan[50].

In 1911 four raids were reported. In the second raid, in which a village of the Lou Nuer to the west of the Pibor river was attacked, five men were killed, one hundred women and children with three hundred head of cattle were captured. The third raid was on an village of the Jikany Nuer killing thirty men and capturing one hundred fifty women and children with four hundred head of cattle. The fourth and largest raid was carried out under the leadership of Akwai. The raiders consisted of about four hundred and fifteen men including Akwai's own three hundred riflemen. They penetrated deep into the territory of the Lou Nuer. The loss on the Nuer side was estimated between one and two thousand head of cattle and several hundred women and children having captured[51]. As stated previously a punitive operation against Akwai by the Sudan government met with strong resistance and ended up in failure in March 1912. At that time Akwai mobilized seven hundred riflemen[52].

By that time the Anywaa seem to have acquired a large number of rifles. In August 1912 Captain Kelly reports on Chief Abachali (that is how Udiel, a rival of Akwai, was called by highlanders), 'His men probably have more rifles than men[53].' Captain Pearson who was sent to the Giilo river area on a reconnaissance mission in 1912 estimated the number of rifles possessed by the Anywaa along the river to be two thousand[54].

Anywaa leaders such as Akwai, Udiel and Uliimi obtained such large

47) Bahru, ibid.
48) Jessen, *W.N. McMillan's Expeditions*, pp. 149, 161, 218.
49) 'Sudan Intelligence Report', no. 134, Sept. 1905 (National Records Office, Khartoum, quoted in Bahru, 'Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan', p. 111).
50) Bahru, ibid., pp. 107–117; Evand-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 11.
51) 'Reports on the finances', part 1, 1911, pp. 13–14, Durham. See also Bahru, ibid., pp. 116–117.
52) Bahru, ibid., p. 119.
53) Kelly, 'Notes on the Anuak country', 'Sudan Intelligence Report', no. 217 (August 1912), Appendix "A", p. 5, National Records Office, Khartoum.
54) Pearson, 'Notes on the Anuaks of the Gila river', 'Sudan Intelligence Report', no. 216, Appendix, p. 8, National Records Office, Khartoum.

numbers of rifles and ammunition through trade with Ethiopian government officials at Gore and Sayo. The main trading item was ivory. They also paid their tribute with ivory. Around 1912 a large elephant tusk was exchanged for ten rifles[55]. And Captain Kelly estimated that before 1912 Ras Tesemma of Gore used to receive nearly four hundred tusks every year from the Anywaa as tribute[56]. I suppose that many of these tusks were not submitted as tribute but were collected as a result of trade with rifles. According to oral tradition, as we shall see later, the amount of tribute was one tusk per every village. The number of Anywaa villages which were paying tribute to Ras Tesemma was far less than four hundred.

Firearms were introduced into western Ethiopia after the expansion of the Ethiopian empire, though a very limited number of firearms seems to have been brought by Arab traders even before that from the Sudan through Beni Shangul[57]. For instance, when Schuver visited the court of Jote in 1881, he had only two old rifles and showed a great interest in Schuver's rifles[58]. When Jote submitted to Ras Gobana in 1882 or 1886, he was given about two thousand rifles[59]. Then Ras Makonnen is said to have given five thousand rifles to Jote during his 1898 campaign to western Ethiopia[60].

The types of rifles used during this period were: *senadir* or *sinadiri* (Snider or Remington); *wujigra* or *wajagira* (Fusil Gras); *mascob* (Russian guns); *sabo* (Louis Phillipe rifle or a type of muzzle-loader) and so forth[61]. The centre supplied firearms to the rulers of the periphery such as Dejazmach Jote and Ras Tesemma, who used them to conquer the surrounding areas and extract local wealth by force. They were also used as gifts to native leaders and as trading items for exchange with ivory and cattle. In this way the Anywaa and Nuer obtained rifles.

Relations between Anywaa leaders and highlanders were not always friendly and stable. Rivalry among Anywaa leaders was another factor contributing to unstability. In the early period Udiel enjoyed a close connection with Ras

55) Johnson, op. cit., p. 234.

56) Kelly, 'Notes on the proposal to administer the Anyuak and Beni Shangul countries for Abyssinia through British officials', August 10, 1912, Sudan Archive, Durham, 182/2/102.

57) Birhanu, op. cit., pp. 22–23; R. Pankhurst, 'An inquiry into the penetration of fire-arms into southern Ethiopia in the 19th century prior to the Reign of Menilek', *Ethiopia Observer*, vol. 12, 1969, p. 128; Bahru, 'A biography of Defazmach Jote', p. 33.

58) J. M. Schuver, *Reisen im Oberen Nilgebiet*, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1883, pp. 21, 29, 30, 36, quoted in Bahru, ibid., pp. 13, 33.

59) Bahru, ibid., p. 18. See also Birhanu, op. cit., p. 22.

60) Birhanu, ibid., 24. The sources are oral traditions collected by Birhanu.

61) Bahru, op. cit., p. 34; Birhanu, ibid., pp. 23–24; Pankhurst, 'Linguistic and cultural data on the penetration of fire-arms into Ethiopia', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 9, 1971, pp. 57, 69–79. A type of rifles called *wajagra* is widely mentioned in Anywaa oral traditions.

Tesemma of Gore[62], but later in 1905 or 1906 he was brought to the highlands and imprisoned for about four years[63]. Landor who travelled from Gore down to the Upeeno river in 1906 wrote that 'Abbazzalle' [Abachali=Udiel], the chief of the Yambo [Anywaa] lives on the top edge of the plateau at Bure[64]. This may refer to his life as a prisoner. As the power of Udiel declined, Uliimi and Akwai arose. By 1911 Akwai was reported to be the most powerful and wealthy chief who had six hundred riflemen and four to five hundred spearmen at his command[65]. He travelled extensively in the highlands to collect rifles. Like Udiel He was once imprisoned at Bure, but escaped in 1909. 'His power was partly due to the fact that elephants were more numerous in his neighbourhood than in the northern Anuak country[66]' where Udiel based.

Akwai seized the royal emblems from Uliimi. Then Uliimi was killed when he waged a raid against the Nuer in 1911. Nyang, brother of Uliimi, took over him. After Akwai repulsed the Sudanese forces in 1912, Udiel, with men of Nyang, attacked Akwai to seize the emblems, but he failed[67].

In this way both sides tried to take the advantage of the relations. The Ethiopian government officials favoured an Anywaa leader powerful enough to supply a lot of ivory and gave him rifles. The Anywaa leaders tried to obtain more rifles in exchange with ivory so that they could dominate other leaders, collect more ivory, raid the Nuer and satisfy the material needs of their followers. In this sense the relations proved profitable for both sides.

2. Reading Oral Texts

a. The first encounter

It seems certain that the Anywaa had had trading relations with the Oromo before this region came into the sphere of Ethiopian empire. Main trading items were cotton from the Anywaa side and beads from the Oromo[68]. We do not know exactly, however, when the trade started and to what extent it was carried

62) He was invested with the title of Balambaras (a low-level administrative title). 'Notes on the Anuak country (Western Abyssinia)', March 1911, 'Sudan Intelligence Report', no. 200, Appendix "A", p. 9.

63) Kelly, 1912, 'Notes on the Anuak country', p. 5. According to another intelligence report, he was imprisoned at Addis Abeba. 'Notes on the Anuak country (Western Abyssinia)', ibid.

64) A.H.S. Landor, *Across widest Africa*, London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., vol. 1, 1907, p. 200.

65) 'Further information *re* the Anuak country', May 1911, 'Sudan Intelligence Report', no. 202, Appendix "B", p. 9.

66) Kelly, op. cit., p. 5.

67) Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 92–94; Bahru, 'Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan', pp. 108–110.

68) Bahru, ibid, p. 11.

out[69]. Though oral traditions, as far as I know, do not tell much about this period, here we see an oral text referring to the period. This narrative refers to the experience of the people of Pinykeu village on the Upeeno. It is interesting because we can learn that some Anywaa exchanged their own people with the Oromo for grain during the time of starvation. These people then became slaves of the Oromo.

> Oral taxt [1][70]
> The Gaala was over there [on the mountains]. First, when he came, he came to sell maize because of hunger. A great hunger reached here on people. There was sorghum at their home and people bought it from them. That time when elders bought it, people were sold for sorghum as money did not exist. This sorghum was brought and eaten. If a guest came passing near you, you had to catch him and took him to Gaala to be sold for sorghum. Then you ate it.

The informant says that this happened when Tor was the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu. Tor was the grandfather's brother of Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu, the famous *kwaaro* who survived until the post Italo-British war (the Second World War) period. Therefore it seems probable that it happened in the middle of the last century.

Contacts with highlanders seem to have become much more regular and substantial after the region came under the influence of Ethiopian empire towards the end of the last century. At the same time since the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1899 European explorers, many of them British officials, started to visit the area. As a result literary data on the region became available. Also Anywaa oral traditions narrating events of this period are much richer than those of the period immediately before. First, we examine oral texts narrating how the Anywaa acquired firearms.

Both literary and oral sources agree that Udiel-wo-Ngenynyo[71], the *nyieya* at Abwobo, was the first Anywaa to obtain guns from Ethiopians[72]. Udiel played a prominent role in the regional history for more than two decades until his

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69) There is evidence to prove that by the middle of the nineteenth century a trade link had been established between the Oromo of Ethiopia and peoples of the Nile valley via the Pari of the Lafon hill and both the Pari and Anywaa, who are linguistically and historically closely related, seem to have acted as middlemen. The fact that the term *gaala, gala* or *gela*, which means foreigners of lighter skin, is widely found among peoples of eastern Equatoria of the Sudan may support this hypothesis. See S. Simonse, 'Kings of disaster: dualism, centralism and the scapegoat king in the southeastern Sudan', Ph.D dissertation, The Free University of Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 28–29.

70) Ubala Ujulu, 10/12/90.

71) This means 'Udiel, the son of Ngenynyo.' The prefix 'wo' (son of) changes to 'wara' or 'wuru' if the father's name begins with a vowel 'a' or 'u' respectively.

72) Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 11; Johnson, op. cit., p. 225.

death in 1919[73]. His image is still vivid in the memories of Anywaa presumably in Ethiopia especially where he lived. Here we see an oral text concerning an Italian Captain Vittorio Bottego, explaining the reason why Udiel obtained guns. I will summarize the first part, as the narrative is considerably long. There was a *nyieya* called Agaan'ya at Teedo on the Akobo. One of his wives was pregnated by a man from Pinytiidi which locates on the Uwac river, a tributary of the Akobo. Agaan'ya became furious and ordered his men to go and destroy Pinytiidi. As a result many people of Pinytiidi were killed. Then an Italian (*talian*) appeared leading a group of Gaala soldiers[74]. On hearing the case, the Italian became indignant at the massacre for no reason and decided to go and call Agaan'ya.

Oral Text [2][75]

'You go and call Agaan'ya-wi-nyi-Jobngiei[76] for me. Tell him, "You are called by a white man."' The message reached him. He said, 'A white man is said to be passing here. You, my father's sons, the white man called me. What to do?' His father's sons said, 'You don't go.' His father's sons were many. They said, 'Why should you die first while you are our heir?' . . . . . He said, 'You, my father's sons, I am going to the white man now. If he is going to kill me, let him do so. . . .' [Agaan'ya went.]. . . . He [Italian] said, 'Agaan'ya, why did you kill the people of Pinytiidi?' He said, 'Because they pregnated my wife.' 'Wai! Were you not supposed to kill only one man? Should you kill all the village people? What is that?. . . . Do you pay the blood wealth of those people?' He [went back and] said, 'You, my father sons, I found the eyes of that white man were red. He is going to kill me later.' People came with shields. There was no gun. [They had] *kwot* shields, *aweng* shields and *agid* spears with which old men used to fight. They sharpened elephant tusks and giraffe ribs [to be used as spear heads]. People came. 'Iyaa, iyaa.' They shouted a war cry. [Then they were shot.] 'Tum!' A man died. 'Tum!' A man died. People scattered. 'What's that?' people said, 'Who knows?' It was said, 'Let us cover the back of shields with mud so that a bullet may not hurt a man.' People came again and died. So they feared. . . . .

73) Bahru, op. cit., p. 154.

74) In this case it does not necessarily mean they were Oromo or Amhara but means that they were red in colour.

75) Uceri Akwer, 16/2/91. The following texts are also from the same interview.

76) This signifies 'Aggan'ya, the son of daughter of Jobngiei.' A *nyieya* is usually referred to not by his father's name but by his maternal grandfather's name. So in a proper way Udiel is called Udiel-wi-nyi-Juula, not Udiel-wo-Ngenynyo.

For the Anywaa this was the first encounter with a white man as well as with firearms. The men of Agaan'ya were severely defeated and Agaan'ya was killed. It is interesting to know from the above text that bone-head spears were still in use even in this period (in 1897 as discussed later)[77]. When Agaan'ya fought the Italian, Udiel came to help the side of Agaan'ya. His father Ngenynyo and Agaan'ya are half brothers. At that time Udiel was still young, not yet being crowned as *nyieya*. During the battle Agaan'ya told him as follows.

> When people died again, he said, 'You, my father son's son, don't come back again. It is better for those who were invested with *ucwok*[78] to die. You are a commoner[79] and have followed me. He [Italian] will kill me later. His thing in his hand that kills me [rifles], may it come to you. I am dying now.' That was a blessing. He said, 'The gun with which he kills me, may it come to your hand. You will follow him when I die.' His throat was cut by the white man and he died.

Agaan'ya left a blessing (*gweth*)[80] for Udiel because he appreciated what he had done even though he was young. Later this blessing or prophecy came true and Udiel obtained firearms. According to the narrative the Italian then crossed the Giilo, went through Pukeedi village and crossed the Upeeno at Ilea[81]. Then he proceeded to Dejazmach Jote (Ubujuuthi in Anywaa), a powerful Oromo ruler stationed in Leka district of Wellega. He was killed by Jote and his wife became Jote's wife and eventually gave birth for him[82]. In the meantime Udiel was invested with *ucwok* necklace and became a *nyieya*. But his home at Abwobo was attacked by joint forces of Gok, Ukuuna and Perbongo. Udiel was defeated and fled. Then he started the journey to follow the Italian. He went to Pukumu of

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77) Austin saw 'a very curious species of spear amongst these natives, the heads of which are manufactured from the leg-bone of a giraffe' in 1900 in Upeeno district. Austin, 'Survey of the Sobat region', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 17, 1901, pp. 502–503.

78) *Ucwok* necklace, which consists of cylindrical black beads with a greeny-blue segment at one end, is the most important item in the royal emblems. See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 54–55.

79) A commoner (*baang*, pl. *baangi*) is someone who is neither a *nyieya* nor a *kwaaro*.

80) Every adult Anywaa is supposed to make either blessing or curse (*acieni*) before his death. See Lienhardt, 'The situation of death: an aspect of Anuak philosophy', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 35, 1962, pp. 74–85.

81) Bahru writes, 'He reached the Baro [Upeeno] river on 26 February, 1897, with his force reduced from two hundred and fifty to one hundred' ('A biography of Dejazmach Jote', p. 42). Bahru's sources on Bottego are: Vannutelli, L. and C. Citerni, *L'Omo: viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa orientale*, Milano, 1899; A. Lavagetto, *La vita eroica del capitano Bottego*, Milano, 1934.

82) The battle was fought on March 17, 1987. It is true that Bottego was with his wife. (Bahru, ibid., p. 43). It is not certain from written sources, however, whether the woman became Jote's wife or not.

Upeeno district. The *kwaaro* of Pukumu, Medho-wara-Akoth, told him that the white man had gone to Jote. Udiel and Medho went together. After three day march they reached the village of Calla-wara-Atuuc, the *kwaaro* of Opuo [called Lango in Anywaa] people. The Opuo were under Jote and Calla guided them to him. At Leka (Lika in Anywaa) Udiel met Jote.

> He [Jote] said, 'Have you come?' 'Yes.' 'Good. I killed the man who had killed your father. Where are you going now?' 'I have been following him.' 'Why?' 'I was destroyed there. All Anywaa were united and attacked me.' 'For what have you come now?' He said, 'I have come to get the thing that he carried in his hand [rifles]. I want that.'. . . . . He [Jote] said, 'You have come, Udiel. But the home has been taken by another man [the Amhara]. If I make you stay here, it may bring a problem.' That time the Amhara, Menelik, had taken the home of Gaala. He said, 'Now I send you with some Gaala to him [Amhara].'. . . .

So Udiel went to Gore from Leka. The informant says that there were following officials at Gore: Pantha, Abacaru, Ras Mulugethu, Ras Kathama, Garbi, Dejazmac Nado and Thokon who is an Oromo of Bure. Before Udiel left, Jote had given him some gold to be given to those Amhara as tribute. He said to Udiel not to tell that it was given by him.

> He gave that gold [to Amhara] and greeted with it. When he said, 'From where have you brought this?', he said, 'It was just given by god (*jwok*).' He said, 'Alright. That's good. How is it now?' Udiel said, 'I heard about you.' He said, 'Where is your home?' He said, 'My home is in the forest over there on the bank of Aluoro.' . . . . . He said, 'Alright. That's good. So what is your problem now?' He said, 'I was defeated by my people. My relatives killed me.' A *bukithi* rifle was given to him. A bullet was put from its mouth. He said, 'You go and protect yourself with it.'. . . . . .

This is how Udiel established relations with highlanders and obtained rifles. In this text he got them from Gore. In another version he got them from Jote himself. The type of rifles is the same *bukithi*, muzzle loader. Then Udiel went back to Jote with Uliimi, son of Agaan'ya. Both of them were given rifles and became powerful[83].

When I first heard these oral traditions, I wondered who the 'Italian' could be. He had come before the British came. Later, after consulting some written sources, I became convinced that the white man was Captain Bottego[84].

83) Abala Akwai, 30/1/91.

84) Bahru, op. cit. Also Jessen says that Olimi (Uliimi)'s father was supposed to have been killed by Bottego's men ('South-western Abyssinia', p. 166) and that 'it appears that he had followed Bottego up until he had seen him killed by the Abyssinians, and then went home contended' (*W. N. McMillan's expeditions*, p. 165).

Descriptions of both sources coincide well. He traversed Anywaaland from the south to the north and reached the capital of Jote where he was killed. What is significant here is that Bottego's expedition seems to have triggered off the contact between Anywaa leaders and authorities of the Ethiopian empire.

The first encounter with Ethiopian authorities is also narrated in a different way from the above case. In the following text, which was narrated by Ujwanga Giilo, grandson of Udiel, they came down to Gambela from Gore and met Udiel and Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu, one of the most powerful *kwaari* in Upeeno. There had been two battles before they came and the story should be seen in this context. The first battle was fought between the Anywaa of Abwobo and the Oromo of Gore. Ngenynyo, father of Udiel, was the *nyieya* of Abwobo that time. Ujwanga said, 'They came to capture people, take them to their home and to make them slaves.' They had rifles, while Anywaa had only spears. Raiders were, however, repulsed and fled. Anywaa chased them upto Bure and killed many of them[85]. The second battle was fought between Udiel's and Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu's men. The former consisted of not only men of Abwobo but also of men from other villages such as Ukuuna, Perbongo and Gok while men of Ujulu were only from Pinykeu. Pinykeu was defeated. This time both sides already had rifles[86]. Though Udiel and Ujulu were rivals they were related. Ujulu is Udiel's father sister son. With these informations in mind we see the text. Ras Nado and Majid came down from Gore to Gambela.

> Oral text [3][87]
> People of Pinykeu heard this and said, 'There came a man.' People of Pinykeu came [and asked]. 'Who are you?' 'I am Ras Nado.' 'Are you from over there?' 'Yes.' They came with spears. [They said] 'If you love us, I love you.' [Ras Nado said] 'Alright.' 'Now we are relatives of you. But if you would come with the policy done at Abwobo [the raid on Abwobo], we should fight.' He said, 'I don't want that.' People of Pinykeu went back home. They brought a cow for him[Ras Nado]. They brought some milk. He wrote them down. He said, 'Udiel, where is he?' Udiel is my father's father. It was said, 'Udiel is there. There is nobody reached there.' He said, 'What to do? Let a man go. Let us call Udiel. Because of the war of last time, let it be no problem. There should be no more fight again.' Three men were sent. . . . . Udiel said, 'By whom were you sent?' 'We were sent by Ras Nado and Majid.' 'May I come?' 'Yes.' 'Alright.' Udiel went on foot with people. . . . . Wuru-Ubulu was called. He was asked [by Ras Nado], 'How do you call this

85) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.
86) Ujwanga Giilo, 6/8/90; Ubala Ujulu, 10/12/90; Umot Agwa, 10/1/91.
87) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.

> man [Udiel]?' 'My mother brother's son.' [He asked Udiel] 'What about this man [wuru-Ubulu]?' 'My father sister's son.' [Ras Nado said] 'Why did you fight? Don't fight again. I have come because of you, Udiel, you, yourself. I have come because of you, wuru-Ubulu. This way to the border is for Ujulu. That way to the border is for Udiel. It would be good that you meet as relatives because things from outside will come through your ways.' .... He took out rifles. And he gave one to the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu, Ujulu. He gave another to Udiel. The rifles were carried on the back of mules.

This narrative is a bit confusing. If the Ras of Gore were the first Ethiopian governor there, he should have been Tesemma, not 'Nado' (Nadew in Amharic). He was the governor of Gore from 1883 to 1911. Majid Abud came to Gambela for the first time in 1915[88]. So it was impossible for Ras Tesemma and Majid to come together. If he was really Ras Nadew, he could have been the governor at Gore between 1920 and 1930[89]. Then Ras Nadew and Majid could have come together. But by 1920 Udiel had already been dead.

If we carefully read the oral text, only a part of which is described above, it is clear that their visit was the first one to Gambela and that it was before the opening of the Sudanese trading post at Gambela in 1904. And according to the narrative, Ras Nado asked Udiel to show him the whole Gambela region. They travelled along rivers of Upeeno, Pibor and Akobo to 'put iron bars' for the demarcation of Ethio-Sudan border[90]. It seems, therefore, that the above narrative describes one of the first encounters of Udiel and Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu with Ethiopian officials at Gambela. If that is the case, neither Ras Nadew nor Majid could have been present.

It is significant that I never heard the name of Ras Tessema from my informants. On the other hand the name of Ras Nado at Gore, just as Jote of Sayo, is well remembered by many Anywaa as one of the most prominent figures in the first historical stage of interactions. I should add that Tessema father's name is Nadew. So his name is Tessema Nadew. This might be another source of confusion. Majid is also well known since he himself stayed at Gambela for years and led many military campaigns against various sections of Anywaa. I suppose, therefore, that the name, Ras Nado might have become a synonym of the first Amhara ruler or rulers at Gore. The same pattern will be seen in the case of 'Mori' who is claimed to be the first British administrator at Gambela. In the above text the name of Majid was just added presumably because of his fame.

Now let us go back to the analysis of the narrative. In this story it is the

88) Bahru, 'Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan', p. 140.
89) Minale, op. cit., p. 20.
90) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.

Amhara who approached the Anywaa leaders. The relation expressed here is not that of submission, let alone that of conquest. Ras Nado came to establish a peaceful relation with Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu and Udiel. At the first meeting of Ras Nado and Ujulu, it is the latter side who took the initiative and made the former promise not to raid again. In return Ras Nado successfully reconciled Ujulu and Udiel and appointed them as his agents. They were authorized to trade with the Ethiopian state. The new relation was beneficial for both sides. I would argue that the basic theme expressed here is that the Anywaa recognize the relation with highlanders as reciprocal and that of between equals.

On the other hand in text [2] it was Udiel who approached Ethiopian authorities. He gave some gold, which he had received from Jote with goodwill, to officials at Gore. So this was a kind of tribute. In return Udiel got the access to rifles. This interaction has more an element of submission than in the case of text [3]. But still we might say that the relation is reciprocal. And after all, Udiel went there by his own will. His long journey searching for the source of rifles is narrated in Anywaa terms as the realization of blessing. He was not looking for his lord to be.

This theme of relation between equals is also expressed in the next narrative on the first coming of a British officer to Gambela. Though it was related by another informant, the pattern is surprisingly similar to that of text [3]. Nyigwo which appears in the text is another name for Ujulu, the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu.

> Oral text [4][91)]
> After that when the British [*niiglic* in Anywaa] came, he settled there [Gambela] and said, 'Let Nyigwo-wuru-Ubulu come.' Nyigwo came. . . . . He said, 'I'm a British.' [Nyigwo said] 'What is your problem?' He said, 'I have come near you here.' 'For what?' He said, 'We are two. The leader of me, *nyieya* [the king of Britain], is over there.' Udiel went there and said, 'What? Are you a British? What is your name?' 'I am Mori.' 'Where are you from' 'I am from my country over there.' 'Are you a British?' 'Yes.' 'Don't you go back?' He said, 'You, I want to settle near you here. And we work together.' [Udiel said] 'If you make a mistake [what shall we do]?' 'No, I don't. We sign signitures.' They signed signitures. Udiel returned and came here[Abwobo]. . . . .

Here again the Anywaa side took the initiative and had Mori promise not to do wrong. Of course signing a signiture is a foreign custom for the Anywaa and in the original text an Amharic word *perma* is used for a signiture. Exactly same as in text [3], Ujulu (Nyigwo) and Udiel were called. It is not narrated that they

91) Uceri Akwer, 12-8-90.

were inferior to the British; it was an agreement between equals.

As said before, a trading post was opened at Gambela by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan government in 1904. Then who was Mori? The name of Mori, like Ras Nado, Majid and Ubujuuthi (Jote), is still well remembered by many Anywaa as the first British who settled at Gambela. It is said that during the time of the Italo-British war he was also residing at Gambela. An informant told me that at that time Mori was a Major. From written sources, however, this cannot be true. At first the Gambela post was under the jurisdiction of the Custom Department of the Sudan government and a British Custom Inspector was stationed there. Later in 1919 it was transfered to the Upper Nile Province and a District Commissioner was assigned[92]. When I looked through 'Staff list' of the Sudan government kept at the Sudan Archive, Oriental Library of University of Durham, I found the name of Captain (later Major) J. K. Maurice as A/DC (later DC) of Gambela. His name appears first in the volume of July 1929 and continues until that of March 1949[93]. Apparently Mori is a modified form of Maurice. Therefore we may assume that since Maurice spent more than twenty years at Gambela, the name Mori became the synonym of successive British officials[94]. This case is quite similar to that of Ras Nado discussed before.

b. Resistence and collaboration

Next we discuss how the Anywaa talk about the relation with outsiders, Ethiopian highlanders in particular, after the period of the first encounter. The relation was ambivalent. Some Anywaa strongly resisted invading highlanders, while others collaborated with them in trade and even in plundering their own people. First we see more peaceful relations of 'grassroots' level: coming of Oromo hunters and trade in cotton.

Oromo men used to come down to the lowlands to hunt buffaloes. Many Anywaa helped them as guides and even hunted for them. They took horns home as trophies without which, as the Anywaa believe, they were not able to get

92) Bahru, op. cit., pp. 254–258.

93) Maurice took over J.F.H. Marsh and was taken over by Captain H.R. Dibble. 'Staff list', Sudan Archive, Durham.

94) Maurice seemed to be a kind of 'protector' of the Ethiopian Anywaa. J. Winder, a British administrator of Upper Nile Province writes in his private notes as follows. In 1936 'due to his long service there, and to his own personality, he had been able to keep on cordial terms with the Abyssinian functionaries and also in some manner to become the protector of the local Anuak over whom he gained great influence and with whom he was on the friendliest of terms. Although he has no jurisdiction over them, the Anuak would come in from all up and down the Baro and even from the Gila [Giilo] river for advice and help from Maurice' (Sudan Archive, University of Durham, 104/17/5). His influencial, friendly and long term relation with the Anywaa was no doubt a major reason why the name of Mori is still often mentioned in oral traditions.

married[95]. The rest of a killed buffalo was given to the Anywaa.

> Oral text [5][96]
> The Gaala came because of buffaloes. When a buffalo was killed for him and he went back home, he became a big man. . . . . When the Gaala came for buffaloes, bullets were brought by them and guns were here. When a buffalo was killed for him, he went back home, became a big man and got married. It was like that.

This narrarive refers to the period after the introduction of firearms. It is not certain when this partnership in buffaloe hunt started. The relation was reciprocal as the Oromo supplied bullets and took horns while the Anywaa used their own rifles and took the skin and meat of a buffalo. Text [5] was told by a man of Gok. It seems that the Anywaa of Gok and Abwobo, which locate on the eastern fringe of Anywaaland were more involved in this than others. Today the Oromo have ceased to come for the buffalo hunt.

Cotton was an important item in trade with the Oromo. Some Anywaa cultivated cotton only for trading purposes since weaving was unknown to them[97]. Cotton is said to be exchanged with cattle and rifles. The following narrative was told by a man of Pinykeu.

> Oral text [6][98]
> When we stayed, we had no gun. We found guns because of Gaala. When the Gaala came, they bought cotton from us. We bought cows and guns from the Gaala by cotton. That was the thing we sold to the Gaala and in this way we got many guns. Guns became many and we got guns.
>
> KURIMOTO: From where did the Gaala come to Pinykeu?
>
> They came from Anfillo. They were from Sayo. They came because of cotton that we cultivated. It was like that.
>
> KURIMOTO: Didn't they come because of elephant tusks?

95) Birhanu writes: Hunting and killing were important and prestigeous in the Oromo social values. One had to kill big game such as lions, buffaloes, and elephants, or even display the male genital organ of the enemy, to prove his bravery or that he is really a 'man', in order to have a respectable status in the society (Birhanu, op. cit., p. 18).

96) Umot Agwa, 10/1/91.

97) Bahru says the Anywaa-Oromo trade in cotton-beads existed before the expansion of he Ethiopian empire (Bahru, op. cit., p. 11). In 1900 Austin observed that along the Upeeno cotton is cultivated by the Anywaa, all of which 'is usually taken over by the Gallas inhabiting the summit of the Abyssinian plateau' (Austin, op. cit., pp. 502, 506).

98) Ucala Ugwal, 9/2/91.

> When an elephant was killed by an Anywaa, it was paid as *gimmira*. And *gimmira* for all people [of Pinykeu] was finished by a tusk. The elephant tusk was given by the *kwaaro* [to the Gaala]. First, a tusk was given to the *kwaaro* and when [the time of] *gimmira* came, the *kwaaro* took it out and gave it to the *kwaaro* of Gaala.
>
> KURIMOTO: That time, if you wanted a gun, how many sacks of cotton did you need?
>
> Cotton was cultivated in the field outside there. If your cotton was four sacks, you got a gun and a cow. You sold two sacks for a cow and two sacks for a gun.

In this the informant clearly distinguishes cotton trade with tax or tribute (*gimmira*)[99]. Informants agree that *gimmira* used to be one tusk per one village. The '*kwaaro* of Gaala' to which the people of Pinykeu paid a tusk was the governor of Sayo, not that of Gore. This cotton trade seems to have existed before the expansion of Ethiopian empire and I suppose unlike trade in ivory it was not monopolized by Ethiopian governors at Sayo and Gore.

The Majid campaign is a typical case to illustrate the ambivalent relation of the Anywaa with highlanders. Udiel became a main ally of Majid, and many of his men joined Majid's forces and raided various parts of Anywaaland. The following text, told by a grandson of Udiel, tells us what Majid did and how Udiel worked with him.

> Oral taxt [7][100]
> Majid was sent by Haile-Selassie. But he was only a *nyikugu* [deputy of a *kwaaro* or *nyieya*]. . . . When he came, Jo-Abwobo[101] had guns in their hands. He went to Jor[102]. They [Jo-Jor] were tied and all of their things were taken. He went and fought Jo-Itang and took them there [Gore] and sold them. But this was not known by the government, as the government did not know the problem. Those black people [in the highlands] were taken by Majid. But he worked together with Udiel-wi-nyi-Juula. He also worked with my father [Giilo-wuru-Udiel]. They went and caught people. Some were killed. Other things were done on some others. . . . Then he was afraid of only this place [Abwobo]. But he dominated all the villages. He went to them with this people [Jo-Abwobo], because this people were soldiers for him. They did other things there [in Jor] and their cattle and goats were taken.

99) This word seems to be a modified form of the Amharic word *gibir* which means tax.
100) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.
101) The prefix 'Jo-' means 'the people of'.
102) The lower part of the Giilo river.

Majid Abud was a Syrian christian who came to Ethiopia in 1906[103]. In 1914 Ydlibi was appointed as the first governor of Gambela by Lij Iyasu, but he transfered the authority to Majid as the governorship was not so attractive to him. So in 1915 Majid came to Gambela by order of Iyasu[104]. Therefore the informant is wrong in saying that Majid was sent by Haile-Selassie.

In 1913, just before the coming of Majid, Lij Kassa, the representative of the Ethiopian empire at Gambela, was murdered by some Anywaa[105]. This incident was certainly a motive for Iyasu to decide to have a governor at Gambela in order to establish a more effective administration over the Anywaa. I heard from informants of Pinykeu that a certain Kaaca who led Gaala or Amhara soldiers were killed in a battle at Pinykeu. This Kaaca must have been Kassa. An informant of Pinykeu described the battle as follows.

> Oral text [8][106]
> He [Kassa] came. When he came, he came to collect *gimmira*. But before there had been no *gimmira*. When they came, Kaaca [Kassa] said, 'You, *kwaaro* [Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu], I will go ahead down the river.' He went. When they reached a village called Padiang which is on an island, people had been sick with small pox. The place is in front of those of Nyang-wuru-Uman. That time a Gaala beat a woman with a whip. The woman was sick and he asked for some water. Then a man stood up and beat the Gaala with a stick. When the Gaala fell down and others found blood on their relative's head, one of them shot the man with gun. All the people there stood up with guns. They [Gaala] shot and shot. They said, 'Let us go out through the bank of the river.' They came through the bank of the river. The upper and lower Pinykeu people came and they fought there. When they fought there [on the river bank] and then reached outside there, a great battle took place. The grass was burnt around them. When they [Gaala] came out, they said, 'Let us go back to them [Anywaa] to give our hands [=to surrender].' But the Anywaa do not know surrender. They came with grass in their hands [as the sign of peace]. Jo-Pinykeu said, 'Let us lie down and let them come.' They came. They were shot by *wajagra* guns and all of them died. Only one man was missed because he put dead man's intestines on his belly.

103) Among the Anywaa Majid is remembered as a 'white man.' An informant said he is a 'Saami' which is apparently a modified form of Shaami, an Arabic term meaning a Syrian.

104) Bahru, op. cit., pp. 139–140. Lij Iyasu was the *de facto* ruler of Ethiopia until he was taken over by Ras Tafari (later Haile-Selassie) in 1916.

105) Bahru, ibid., p. 132; 'Reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan', 1913, part 1, p. 276, Sudan Archive, Durham.

106) Ubala Ujulu, 10/12/90.

> When people looked at him, they said, 'This man is also dead.' It was only him that was missed and went back. . . . . The reason of war was the sick person. They beat the sick person while people gave them hens and agreed to pay *gimmira*. When the *kwaaro* heard about this, he got angry and said, 'You fight!' Those Gaala were from Sayo. They were people of Dembidolo.

This narrative is interesting as it shows the difference in war customs between two groups. As the Anywaa did not know the meaning of peace symbol (grass in hand), all men of Kassa except one were killed. This also shows that under a tense situation a slight offense such as beating a woman could trigger off a full scale confrontation.

According to literary sources, the events following the battle are as follows. In May of 1913, soon after the murder of Kassa, punitive expeditions against the Anywaa were sent from both Gore and Sayo. First, one thousand five hundred soldiers led by Grazmach Ingida arrived at Gambela from Gore. Then four thousand spearmen and one thousand riflemen came from Sayo led by Solomon, son of Jote. These huge forces, however, could not fulfill their mission because of poor coordination between Sayo and Gore and resistence by the Anywaa and finally retreated[107]. These events are narrated by an informant of Pinykeu in the next oral text.

> Oral text [9][108]
> When they [men of Kassa] were finished, only one man was missed. He reached Gambela and said to Mori that all people had been finished. He [Mori] said, 'Is it true?' It was said, 'Yes, it is true.' He called the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu and asked him, 'You Ujulu, I heard that you had killed all the peole. Is it true?' Ujulu said, 'Yes, I killed them.' Mori said, 'Oh, that people belong to the government. You stay with the stay of disease. This disease whether it may kill me or not [we don't know].' Then he said, 'When it becomes dry season, you just travel around. You just travel. There may be a problem because of the people whom you killed.' When it became next dry season, that *jur* came, a big group of people called *Adhaba*. When they came, they came through here and did fishing at a pool by nets and took fish. They defeated Jo-Pinykeu and crossed to the other side of the river. When that group chased away Jo-Pinykeu, all those people including Jo-Pumooli ran away. The *kwaaro* of Pinykeu went. When the *kwaaro* went and reached Itang, the

107) Bahru, op. cit., pp. 134–135. The archival sources used by Bahru are: Intel 1/13/59, Walker to govr, UNP, National Records Office, Khartoum; FO 371/9985, Walker to Thesiger, 5.6.13, Public Records Office, London.

108) Ujulu Deng, 9/2/91.

> *kwaaro* of Itang said, 'This place is good because no one can come to Ubil [a forest behind Itang] here. You settle here.' Then some people agreed [to stay there]. But the *kwaaro* said, 'I don't stay here. I want to go ahead.' The *kwaaro* went ahead. When that people came, they killed many people at Ubil and took people and children who were there. The *kwaaro* of Pinykeu went and reached Jor. . . . .

We can discern a few differences between the literary and oral sources. According to the former the punitive campaigns were carried out in May, the beginning of the rain season, while in the latter it was in the next dry season. A more significant difference is that while the former says that campaigns ended in failure, the latter says that all the Anywaa along the Upeeno river, from Pinykeu to Itang, were defeated and wiped out.

In the text Mori, the British official at Gambela well known in oral traditions[109], plays an important role as a friend of Anywaa. He advised Ujulu to be careful and to 'just travel'. And in fact Ujulu did not stay at Ubil of Itang which seemed to be a good hiding place and kept on his journey. That was how he could survive. Therefore Mori's advice might be considered as a sort of prophecy that came true. In the following part of text [9] which is not described here, Ujulu travelled through various villages and finally came back home when the situation calmed down.

Let us go back to the story of Majid. We see how he fought Jo-Itang and Jo-Puol. Texts [10] and [11] were told by informants of Pinykeu.

> Oral text [10][110]
> His[Majid's] journey was to dominate people of Jor and also to collect *gimmira*. He went. When he reached Puol and Piino, he settled there and said, 'You, Jo-Piino, there are loads to be sent.' That time there was no car. Canoes of Anywaa were on the river. 'You have to carry loads.' All of Jo-Itang agreed. And Jo-Pinyman agreed. When people reached Puol, Jo-Puol refused. But those people [of Itang and Pinyman] went with the things. Then Mangitho [Mengistu] who came with them said, 'Majid, you come.' He was on the other side of the river. Majid said, 'Why?' He said, 'These people refused to carry things. You cross the river to my side here.' Majid crossed the river and reached Puol. When he reached Puol, Mangitho opened the gate of the stockade [of Puol village]. When a person [Anywaa] came to close the gate, he was shot. The battle was fought and the Amhara climbed up the stockade. They

109) As discussed before, Mori is a modified form of Maurice, the British DC at Gambela. It was long after 1913 that he was appointed to Gambela.

110) Ubala Ujulu, 10/12/90.

> wanted to attack the village. Jo-Itang came running [to help Jo-Puol]. When Jo-Itang ran and reached Piino, they fought in *abarru* grass. They killed Amhara who were there. People crossed the river to the side of Majid. They fought and chased away Majid. All the people around him were finished. It was only him who remained. . . . . .

Majid fled and on the way met Ulok, an Anywaa who used to work for him. Majid was carrying a *matharajai*, machine gun.

> He said, 'Oh, Ulok, is it you? Alright. [I will shoot] only your mouth with which you ate my food.' This was because Ulok had gone to him in Gaalaland. When he shot Ulok at his mouth, and when his teeth burst and fell on the chest, that man died. People followed and followed to fight. When they reached at the Ajeiyi hill, Amhara who were with him were finished. There were only eight Amhara that remained.

When Mori heard this, he sent a man to the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu and asked him to go and bring Majid to Gambela. Mori said, 'If Majid should die, all this land would be destroyed.' Majid was found and brought on a stretcher.

> . . . . All guns like *miniceri* remained at Itang. they were killed very much. Amhara were killed. The war started at Puol and Jo-Itang helped them. The reason of the war was Jo-Puol.

> Oral text [11][111)]
> A man called Majid came from Ethiopia. When Majid came, he proceeded to Adongo to a *nyieya* called Akwai-wo-Caam. When they fought, he didn't defeat Akwai and came back. He went back again. When he went back again and fought, he didn't defeat Adongo. Majid came back through Jor and came along this river [Upeeno]. When Majid reached Puol, he caught the *kwaaro* of Puol. He fought Jo-Puol and Jo-Itang and Majid's men were finished there as they fought very much. Majid was missed with one of his friends. When he came and reached Ubit [a place in Pinykeu] here, he sent a man. He reached Mori and said, 'People were finished. Majid is there.' Majid was a white man. He was not an Amhara. Only his men were Jo-Ethiopia, Amhara. . . .

Then same as text [9] Mori asked Ujulu, the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu, to bring Majid to Gambela. And he did this for Mori.

Again Mori appears in both texts. He asked Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu to rescue Majid, because he thought if he were killed, a serious revenge would be inflicted on the Anywaa. This episode may suggest a close relation between Ujuju, one of

111) Ujulu Deng, 9/2/91.

the most powerful *kwaari* in Upeeno district, and the British official at Gambela.

Both texts narrate what happened in detail. Especially text [10] tells us how the battle broke out, how it was fought and an episode concerning Ulok who was killed in a cruel way by Majid. The narrative is so vivid and in detail that I feel as if the informant were an eyewitness.

This battle is also recorded in archival sources. Based on them Bahru writes that the battle of Itang took place on March 20 and 21, 1916[112], and the Anywaa side suffered heavy losses. Five hundred and thirty two Anywaa were killed and mutilated, while the Majid side lost fifty men. This was caused by bad tactics for holding the stockaded village, and the Anywaa defeat resulted in the establishment of government authority in the area. Then Majid's next targets were Ujulu (*kwaaro* of Pinykeu) and Akwai. He led a military expedition against Akwai in Adongo district, which ended up in failure and Majid himself narrowly escaped death[113]. At this time Majid was commanding one thousand and four hundred riflemen including many of the Abwobo Anywaa under Udiel[114].

There are significant differences, same as we saw in the case of text [9], between what informants said and what Bahru wrote. Text [10] and literary sources agree that the Anywaa held a stockaded village[115]. In the former, however, the village was Puol, not Itang, though Jo-Itang came and joined the battle later. The most distinctive point is which side won the battle. While two informants say that Majid's men were almost annihilated, according to literary sources it was the Anywaa side that suffered heavy losses. Not only informants of Pinykeu but also others agree that Majid was defeated in Upeeno. I suppose that the fact that Majid was replaced by the government and left Gambela in June 1916[116], soon after the battle, might be considered victory by the Anywaa side.

According to the informant who narrated texts [3] and [7], Udiel did not only collaborate with Majid, but he also imitated Majid's technique of plundering the Anywaa. When Udiel and his men reached a village to collect tribute, they set up screens which resembled a mosquito net and Udiel entered inside secretly. Then the *kwaaro* of the village was called.

Oral text [12][117]

The man [Udiel] entered the net without being seen by the people. He

112) In 1916 Maurice (Mori) was not present at Gambele. Therefore, Mori in text [10] is used as a synonym of the British officer who was there.

113) Bahru, op. cit., pp. 142–143. His sources are the archives of National Records Office, Khartoum (Intel 2/23/183).

114) Ibid., p. 140. The source is the unpublished autobiography of Majid.

115) Anywaa villages used to be enclosed by firm stockade for security.

116) Johnson, op. cit., p. 226; Bahru, op. cit., p. 144.

117) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.

> said, '*Mende no, mende no*?'[118]. Then a man outside said [to the *kwaaro*], 'He told you to bring a cow.' [Udiel said again] '*Mende no*?' The man said, 'He told you, "Be quick." You bring it quickly.' A cow was immediately brought. [Then Udiel said] '*Men ilal*?'[119] [The 'interpreter' said] 'It's not only one. We want many.' They brought many cattle. . . . When [the number of] the cattle became same as the people, he said, 'It's finished.' When the people [of Udiel] went to collect some flour [of grain] and brought it to him, he came out of the net. They [people of the village] said, 'He is *jwok* (god) because he talks in the net.' At night the net was removed and they moved to another village. They said the same thing there.

Udiel behaved as if he were an Ethiopian official speaking primitive Amharic and took many cattle as tribute. The informant said that he had done this in Jor district.

The relations with highlanders could influence the internal power struggle of the Anywaa royal family. When Udiel died in 1919, his son, Ugwok succeeded. But his half-brother, Giilo, who had more supporters at Abwobo than Ugwok, revolted against him. Giilo's supporters were the people of his mother's clan. After fighting Giilo brought the case to Gore and accused Ugwok. Ugwok was arrested and imprisoned at Gore and died in prison. This is how Giilo seized power. He used external power to eliminate his rival half-brother[120]. Giilo remained as the *nyieya* of Abwobo for many years and collaborated with Majid, as his father had done, when he came to Gambela again in 1932. He died in late 1960's.

3. Indigenous Political System as a Model

In the Anywaa indigenous political system the relation between a leader, *kwaaro* or *nyieya*, and his followers is hardly that of the ruler and the ruled, or that of the oppressor and the oppressed. Of course it is needless to say that a leader enjoys prestige. Followers cultivate his field, construct his homestead and pay tribute. The tribute, which is called *urwaa*, consists of a portion of meat obtained by collective hunting, a portion of fish obtained by collective fishing, tusks of every elephant killed and all leopard and lion skins. Booty from inter-village and inter-ethnic group raids such as cattle, goats, women and children, are first appropriated by the leader. Elaborate respectful behaviour is shown to a leader[121]. Thus a leader enjoys both material and spiritual prestige.

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118) This is Amharic which means 'What is that?'

119) This is Amharic which means 'What does he say?'

120) Abwola Uthou, 16/5/90; Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90; Goora Kwot, 16/6/90.

121) See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 39, 62.

In return, however, a *kwaaro* or *nyieya* is expected by his followers to redistribute his wealth to them. He has to organize feasts frequently offering beer and food and slaughtering cattle. The booty of a raid, once appropriated by the leader, should be distributed to those who distinguished themselves in the battle and those who are favoured by him. Also one of the two elephant tusks is returned to the man who killed it. To a poor man a leader gives *dimui* necklaces[122] which are used as bridewealth so that he can marry.

If he is not able to fulfill these expectations of followers, he becomes unpopular and looses not only their support but his position itself. In other words generosity is one of the most fundamental requirements of being a leader. As long as he can satisfy the expectation of the people, he can remain as the leader. Otherwise he may be overthrown by his own people[123].

The above point is also clearly stated by two British anthropologists who studied Anywaa political system. Evans-Pritichard wtites on the position of a *nyieya* (noble):

> . . . .it was clear from the statements of Anuak that nobles could only exercise authority in a village so long as the villagers were prepared to support them. . . . It was, moreover, expressly stated by informants that people only pay allegiance to a particular noble, as distinct from the respect they show to all men of noble rank, in return for benefits he confers on them. They invite a rich noble to reside at their village because they wish to benefit from his wealth[124].

On the position of a *kwaaro* (headman), Evans-Pritchard and Lienhardt state as follows.

> A headman may be exiled for a number of reasons. The chief cause for dissatisfaction is meaness, particularly stinginess with food. I asked many Anuak why they exiled their headmen and almost invariably they replied 'On account of food' or 'On account of hunger'. . . . Anuak say 'After all what did we make him headman for except to eat from

122) This necklace consists of opaque blue beads. In Ethiopia the use of *dimui* as bridewealth was abolished by the government after the socialist revolution and now taken over by payment of cash, while among the Sudanese Anywaa it still continues.

123) This ostracism is called *agem*, which frequently happens in villages of *kwaari*. Both Evans-Pritchard (op. cit.) and Lienhardt ('Anuak village headmen') consider this as a phenomenon specific to the headmanship. But this term is also applied to power struggle between *nyieye* as a result of which the looser is exiled. In a modern context the Ethiopian revolution is called *agem* as well. Anyway, an *agem* is a struggle for power among factions of a leader's lineage and for the people, who are divided by factions, it is an opportunity to have a more favourable leader who can treat them better.

124) Evans-Pritchard, ibid., p. 126.

him?'[125]

> The Anuak have what might almost be called an explicit political philosophy of the freedom and autonomy of individuals and families, and clearly indicate that they consider the headman and his court as amenities which they maintain for their own benefit[126].

Lienhardt calls this political ideology 'strong favouritism[127].'

Statements by informants whom I interviewed show fundamental similarities with what Evans-Pritchard and Lienhardt write. For instance, the *kwaaro* of Pumooli village (who was deposed during the revolution) talked about his own popularity:

> Oral text [13][128]
> Up to now if someone wants to chase me away, others would say, 'He is a good *kwaaro*. He slaughters a cow for people. He cooks beer for people. He gives money for people. Why should we expel him?'

On the position of a *nyieya* an informant said:

> Oral text [14][129]
> A *nyieya* is not strong only because of him. He stays for people. If he is strong only for himself, he cannot become a *nyieya*. If he does not cook beer for people, he cannot become a *nyieya*. If he does not give anything to his relatives, such as *dimui* necklaces and other things, he cannot become a *nyieya*. He gives *dimui*. Maybe someone who committed adultry runs away from the centre of village, because he is likely to be killed for the wife of someone else, he [*nyieya*] protects him. He takes out his money and gives it to him [to pay compensation]. That man cannot be killed.

It is true that the position of an Anywaa leader depends on the support by followers and that they may bring in a new one if the leader cannot satisfy their material needs. It might be misleading, however, if we think that the system is completely operated by the people. Rather, we better see the working of the system is always a result of a delicate balance between a leader on the one hand who tries to maintain his prestige and to accumulate personal wealth as much as possible and, on the other, followers who try to obtain maximum material gains

125) Ibid., p. 43.
126) Lienhardt, op. cit., p. 29.
127) Lienhardt, 'The situation of death', p. 75.
128) Akwor Ucala, 4/12/90.
129) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.

from him. A leader is not just an instrument to satisfy the needs of people. He may behave for his own interest. This point is, I believe, clearly stated in the following narrative on the *nyieya*.

> Oral text [15][130)]
> When a *nyieya* was present among us, he was the head. He really gave *dimui* necklaces to a man. Others [stayed with a *nyieya*] only for eating, drinking and being sent [to do something for him]. If he said to a man like that *kwaaro* [President Mengistu] says, 'This man, his talk is bad. You take him and kill him', he was killed like now someone whose talk is bad is killed [by the government]. When we lived at that time, we lived with fear. People hated him [*nyieya*] and people loved him. Then he took sons of people to death there. People used to kill themselves very much while he remained behind. He remained there and did not go to the war. It is the same as this head [of Ethiopia] who sends people to death while he remains at home. It is like that. When people returned [from war], he gave ox-names and *dimui*, cooked beer and slaughtered a cow to be eaten by people. The one whose son had died, *dimui* was given to him. The one whose fathers had died for another clan, *dimui* was given to him.

To me this text seems quite interesting. It explicitly states the relation between a leader and followers operating in a delicate balance. The informant said, 'People hated him and people loved him.' No other words may rightly express the ambivalent feeling that they have for a *nyieya*. In order to satisfy followers a leader should be powerful so that he may extract wealth from outside the political community. This power may be exercised to oppress his own followers.

Another significance of the text, which I would like to argue here, is that the indigenous political system is used as a kind of frame of reference to understand the contemporary political system of Ethiopian state. The *kwaaro* of the state, the President, and a *nyieya* are compared. The former punishes a man whose 'talk is bad' just like a *nyieya* used to do. He sends many young men to the front line as soldiers while he himself doesn't go. This is parallel to the role played by a *nyieya* in warfare and raid. He was the commander-in-chief but didn't lead his men to the front. It should be noted that after the revolution many Anywaa, who were considered anti-revolutionary, have been detained and imprisoned and thousands of young Anywaa men were recruited to the National Army as soldiers and sent to the northern front line. Most of the Anywaa are not happy, of course, with these phenomena under the new regime. Moreover they have no public means to express resentment or dissatisfaction. But they can at least

130) Ugolli Ulwoc, 21/6/90.

comprehend these new phenomena in terms of the indigenous political system.

During my stay in the field I noticed that the idiom of Anywaa political system was used when they were talking about the relations with outsiders. We already saw that first encounters with officials of Ethiopian empire and with the British were narrated as relations of reciprocity and between equals. This is also a philosophy of the indigenous political system. I suppose the characteristics of relations between a leader and followers among the Anywaa were extended to the relations between outsiders and the Anywaa, in which the latter occupied the place of followers. Anywaa political leaders served as the pivot connecting them with outsiders. The Anywaa paid tribute and became soldiers for them and in return expected high rewards. Outsiders should be very generous from the Anywaa point of view. It was not surprising at all for them that outsiders could be oppressive and plunder other sections of themselves. All these were understandable in the light of their own indigenous political system. Therefore I would argue that the indigenous system was served and is still serving as a model which offers the idiom to make the foreign relations intelligible.

We have already examined oral texts on Majid. He is well known for his military campaigns and raids against various sections of the Anywaa, and yet many Anywaa became his followers. The following text explains how this situation is seen. This part is in the same story as text [7].

> Oral text [16][131)]
> When people saw this [what Majid did on the Anywaa], the gun was in his hand. The person who gives you a gun, isn't he good? The person who gives you a bullet, isn't he good? People said, 'He is good.' He gave you a gun and you walked after him.

As discussed before, the Anywaa have a keen interest in guns. Many Anywaa became followers of Majid because he distributed guns to them.

When British and Italian forces fought in Gambela region in 1941, many Anywaa became soldiers on both sides. Among the Ethiopian Anywaa more men joined the Italian side. The following three stories tell us why they became soldiers and how they were treated. The three informants were eyewitnesses of the period and in fact the one who told the text [19] was an Italian soldier. The informant of text [18] was then the *kwaaro* of Pumooli. In text [17] the informant compares the life during Italian occupation and that of the present.

> Oral text [17][132)]
> But the Italian, when the Italian started, food was given, clothes were given. All things [were given] at that time. What we hated about them

131) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.
132) Ugolli Ulwoc, 21/6/90.

was only death. . . . . If a *kwaaro* did not go to him [Italian], they went to him, brought him and cut his throat. We disliked the Italian because of this. But food and clothes which were very strong, a piece of clothes was bought with two or three birr. A large sheet of cloth was 50 cents. [They were very cheap.] We did not talk about food [as it was plenty] during the time of Italian. But when this government has come, it does not give money and it does not give food [to us]. Even the price of clothes has become high for us. This is our life. Now the Anywaa have nothing. No cars. They do nothing to satisfy them. People are caught just like hens [for military recruitment]. What can we say? It's just like that.

Oral text [18][133)]
The Italian could not see a dirty dress on anyone's body. Each week he killed ten cows for soldiers. He divided the meat for soldiers. He gave cooking oil, salt and soap. We couldn't talk about shoes [as they were plenty]. The guns were *mineceri*. People were taught. People joined because of food. When we went from here, he did not destroy *kwaari*. If he called a *kwaaro* to give some salt, he gave a sack of salt. If he gave some sugar, he gave a sack of sugar. When he gave a piece of cloth, he gave a roll of it. Money also, if someone like me came, one hundred [birr] was given.

Oral text [19][134)]
'Let us go and join the Italian who give us things.' Anywaa joined the Italian. They became soldiers of Italian because of things. . . . Even now if someone comes [from outside], the Anywaa love him. If he gives things, he [an Anywaa] says, 'Yes.' An Anywaa is like a woman.

When we compare Anywaa's own statements on their relations with Anywaa leaders and with the Italian, we notice that almost the same language is used. Similarities of the idiom are impressing. In both cases material rewards of followers are emphasized. Leaders, whether a *kwaaro*, *nyieya* or Italian, are very generous as they are supposed to be. As we see in text [17] the Italians were sometimes oppressive, and in fact I also heard from other informants that they executed some disobedient *kwaari* and *nyieye*[135)]. But this does not contradict the

133) Akwor Ucala, 4/12/90.
134) Abwola Uthow, 16/5/90.
135) Evans-Pritchard who took part in the Italo-British war in Gambela as a military officer writes that the Anywaa disliked the Italians because they did not treat them decently. Evans-Pritchard, 'Operations on the Akobo and Gila rivers 1940–41', *The Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*, vol. 103, 1973, pp. 475–476.

Anywaa conception of leaders, as I discussed before.

The phrase in text [19], 'An Anywaa is like a women', reminds us of what Lienhardt argues. He says that the relations between a headman and his people in some aspects resemble the relations between sexes, a husband and a wife. Formally they are relations of submission but in actuality Anywaa wives exercise great power over their husbands, and as a result have them provide food and clothing to the limit of husbands' capacity. Lienhardt writes:

> I have heard a poor youth say that, in order to make his fortune, he 'would go to the court of a headman or a noble, and become like a wife to him'[136].

The idiom of the indigenous political system is also applied to this metaphorical level in expressing the relations with the Italian forces.

We can find the same characteristics in statements on the relations with Haile-Selassie.

> Oral text [20][137]
> We were told by him [Haile-Selassie] to go there [Addis Abeba].
>
> KURIMOTO: Were you all *nyieye*?
>
> Yes. We were with our commoners, because a *nyieya* walks with his commoners. I went with those *nyieye*. . . . . We really reached there. When we went, a very big house and plenty of food and beer also were given to us. The next morning some things were given to us, such as guns and good clothes. That man was a very good man. His *gimmira* was three birr. It is not like forty five birr which people are tired to get. . . . . Haile-Selassie came to Gambela. When he came from there and reached here, all of us were called and went. He gave clothes to people. . . . . He was a very good man. He was our *kwaaro*. We knew his talk. We don't know those who are present [as rulers] now.

The main theme of the narrative is the generosity of Haile-Selassie. He was a 'good man' and 'our *kwaaro*' because he was generous. As it is clear from the text, the informant used to be a *nyieya* who was later deposed by the new socialist regime. The Haile-Selassie regime seems to have been paternalistic at least to local hereditary leaders, such as Anywaa *kwaari* and *nyieye*. Therefore it could be intelligible in the Anywaa political idiom. On the other hand, the new regime is something quite foreign not only to former leaders but also to ordinary Anywaa.

It is interesting that many Anywaa told me that after the fascist Italian

136) Lienhardt, 'Anuak village headmen', p. 351.
137) Goora Kwot, 30/11/90.

occupation Haile-Selassie went into exile in the Sudan and then to England via Gambela and came back to Ethiopia with British forces through the same route. At Gambela he was protected by Mori. But this is not a historical fact. The following are typical narratives of this kind.

> Oral text [21][138)]
> That time [when the Italian started the war] Haile-Selassie was at home as *nyieya*. Then he ran away outside. When he ran away, he came here on mule and went to Mori. Mori telephoned [sent a radio call] and then a steamer came. He was put on board. He went to England. . . .

> Oral text [22][139)]
> The Amhara fought the Italian. Some Amhara were chased away into the forest. Then the British came here [to Gambela]. When the British came here, Haile-Selassie was here. A small boat was brought from the downstream by Major Mori. In the afternoon the horn was blown. He [Haile-Selassie] put an *ilma*[140)] on his head like an Arab [He disguised himself]. In the evening he came out and went to talk with Major Mori. He ate with Major Mori. When it became rain season, he was taken by the boat. Then he reached Khartoum. . . . .

We should not discard these texts because they are historically untrue. The image of Haile-Selassie as a powerful and generous leader is still lingering in the memories of the Anywaa, and these narratives reflect it. Narrating such stories as the above has, I believe, an effect for the Anywaa of bringing the symbolic figure of Ethiopia at the centre, who was politically and geographically far from them, to the periphery, to their historical stage. Moreover, these narratives are expressions of the Anywaa historical view that without help from the British, Haile-Selassie could not have defeated the Italians and restored his power.

This issue reminds me of the story among the Lou Nuer, which is recorded and discussed by Johnson, on the visit to the Nuer prophet Ngungdeng by the Ethiopians. This story refers to contacts between them before the arrival of the Anglo-Egyptian period and usually the Ethiopian visitor is identified as Haile-Selassie[141)].

Though the background and context of these stories of the Anywaa and Nuer is different, Haile Selassie appears as the symbol of Ethiopia. And among the Anywaa this became possible presumably because he was a kind of leader

138) Ujwanga Giilo, 25, 26/7/90.
139) Akwor Ucala, 4/12/90.
140) A word from Sudan Arabic meaning a turban (hat?).
141) Johnson, op. cit., pp. 242–244.

who could be understandable in their own political language. Haile-Selassie showed himself as a generous ruler at least to local Anywaa leaders. His paternalistic rule was easier to comprehend in terms of the indigenous political system than the present administration by the socialist government is.

Conclusion

I hope that I have demonstrated how the Anywaa and outsiders, the Ethiopian highlanders particularly, interacted in a particular historical setting. Partly because of their geographical and historical position and partly because of their political system, the Anywaa could establish a reciprocal relation with outsiders and thus they could maintain autonomy. This reciprocal relation was based on the ivory - firearm trade; Anywaa autonomy was secured by firearms obtained from highlanders through this trade.

The relations with outsiders, however, were not always cordial and peaceful. Especially the period of Anywaa history from the end of the last century till 1930's is full of armed conflicts between them and outsiders and among themselves. Hence the reciprocal relation with highlanders and the Anywaa autonomy were maintained as a result of the dynamic and complicated power balance among rivalling Anywaa political leaders, between rivalling Ethiopian officials at Sayo and Gore, and between the administrations of the Sudan and Ethiopia.

Examination of the oral texts has clearly shown that the Anywaa recognized the relations not only with highlanders but also with the British as those of between equals. Moreover, it was demonstrated that the indigenous political system of the Anywaa was extended as a model in narrating and recognizing the relations with highlanders, Italian occupation forces and Haile-Selassie. Foreign relations became intelligible by the idiom of Anywaa political phylosophy.

Finally, I would like to add a few remarks on the recent historical and social changes which have taken place since the mid 1970's, which could not be argued in this article. The socialist revolution in Ethiopia started in 1974 incorporated the Ethiopian Anywaa into the state. Almost all Anywaa, even those in remote areas were organized into 'peasant associations', 'women associations' and 'youth associations'. A lot of primary schools were established in every part of Anywaaland, and thousands of young Anywaa men were recruited to the National Army. All *kwaari* and *nyieye* were deposed because the government considered them anti-revolutionary. Moreover, in addition to hundreds of government officials, 65,000 peasants from the highlands were settled by the government in various parts of Anywaaland. Thus the Anywaa have come to have much more interaction with outsiders than before, and to feel greater pressure from the state than they have ever experienced.

One of my research interests was to find out how they narrate these recent

experiences[142]. But soon I discovered that they did not talk as willingly, freely and eloquently as they did about the more remote past. I could hear only short laments and resentments. This was partly because, of course, the topic was sensitive and political. In fact during the first stage of the revolution some Anywaa revolted against the government and many of them went into exile in the Sudan. I suppose that, however, there is another reason for 'speechlessness'. That is, the new relations with the Ethiopian state can no longer be narrated by the idiom of the indigenous political philosophy. The state has become too powerful and influential to allow the continuation of an equal and reciprocal relation. Though the process started during the 1930's at a slow pace, for the first time in the history the Anywaa have lost their autonomy. And they have not yet found an appropriate language to express the new political relations.

Soon after my departure from Ethiopia, the socialist regime of President Mengistu was overthrown. Therefore these recent experiences of the Anywaa now belong to the past. When I get a chance to visit them again, I would like to find out how they talk about their experiences under the previous government, about the insurgency during the fall of the old regime and about changes under the present regime.

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142) See Kurimoto, 'The dream of an Anywa Nyieya', *Sociology and Ethnology Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1991.

Abwobo. I appreciate not only his cooperation and protection which he rendered me as an administrator under a difficult and sensitive security situation but also his sincere concern as a friend

With deep sorrow I have to add that he was killed in May 1991 in insurgencey on the fall of Mengistu regime.

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(4) Oral sources (collected by the author)

name of the informant	date and place of the interview	Approximate age
Ubala Ujulu	10/12/90, Pinykeu	60
Uceri Akwer	12/8/90, Abwobo; 16/2/91, Gambela	65
Abala Akwai	30/1/91, Gok	85
Ujwanga Giilo	25, 26/7/90, Abwobo; 6/8/90, Perbongo	65
Umot Agwa	10/1/91, Gok	70
Ucala Ugwal	9/2/91, Pinykeu	70
Ujulu Deng	9/2/91, Pinykeu	50
Abwola Uthou	16/5/90, Cwobo	75
Goora Kwot	16/6/90; 30/11/90, Ucokcala	75
Akwor Ucala	4/12/90, Gambela	65
Ugolli Ulwoc	21/6/90, Cwobo	65

Notes on informants

Ujwanga Giilo is a grandson of Udiel and a son of Giilo who succeeded Udiel as the *nyieya* of Abwobo. When Giilo died, Ujwanga became the successor. But he was not enthroned as a *nyieya* because the socialist revolution broke out soon after Giilo's death. He served in the National Army in Addis Abeba and was sent to the Korean war as a soldier. Then he worked as a police officer at Gambela. Now he is retired and lives at Abwobo. A good informant on Udiel in particular and on oral history in general. He became interested in my work and introduced me to other old men in the area. Goora Kwot is a *nyieya* living at a small village of Ucokcala, 8km from Abwobo. His great grandfather is Anyoonya who is a half brother of Ngenynyo, the father of Udiel. So, he and Ujwanga belong to the same royal clan. When he was a small boy at Abwobo, Udiel was still alive. He fought against the Italian forces as a soldier of the British force commanded by Evans-Pritchard. A good informant on the myth and history of *nyieye*. Abala Akwai living at Gok is also a *nyieya* of the same clan as Goora and Ujwanga. His grandfather, Alaal, is a half brother of Udiel. He is the oldest man whom I interviewed and an excellent informant on the history of *nyieye* and contacts with outsiders.

Uceri Akwer is also a member of the royal clan. His grandfather, Udola, is a half brother of Udiel. Both of Udola and Akwer, Uceri's father, were *nyieye*. But Uceri himself was not enthroned. He left home when young and worked as an assistant for a Greek trader and driver who used to transport goods by lorry between Gambela and Malakal in the Sudan. Then he became a guerilla fighter of the Anyanya. Now he lives at Penbago on the lake Thatha. An excellent narrator of oral traditions in general.

Ugolli Ulwoc has been living at Cwobo since he was born. He is an excellent narrator of folk tales. Abwola Uthou was an Italian soldier. After the war he worked at Gambela and Kurmuk as a house cook for Arab (Sudanese) traders. He is childless and blind and staying at a relative's home at Cwobo where he was born. He is a good informant on the history of Abwobo area and the Italo-British war.

Umot Agwa is a son of the *kwaaro* of Gok. A good informant on the history of Gok.

Akwor Ucala is the *kwaaro* of of Pumooli. He told me stories of the Italo-British war, of which he was an eye witness, and of changes after the revolution.

Ubala Ujulu, Ucala Ugwal and Ujulu Deng live at Pinykeu. Ubala used to be a *nyikugu* (deputy of a *kwaaro* or a *nyieya*) of the *kwaaro* of Pinykeu. They were good informants on the history of Upeeno district, contacts with outsiders, and Ujulu-wuru-Ubulu.

Appendix 'Notes on oral data collection'

During the research period among the Ethiopian Anywaa—from December 1988 to February 1989 and from August 1989 to February 1991—I interviewed more than forty informants on history. Except for one women, all of them were men.

During the first trip I stayed at Pinyudo village on the Giilo river for about six weeks and I had chances of iterviewing a *nyieya* at Pinyudo and another *nyieya* (the last surviving son of Udiel) and a *kwaaro* on the lake Thatha. That time, however, the research was not really focused on oral history. It was only after May 1990 during the second trip to the field that I started an intensive research on that topic. Since Pinyudo village was burnt down by a group of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in September 1989, I had to choose another research site. I took up residence in the small town of Abwobo in November. At first I spent most of the time at Cwobo village near Abwobo doing a 'participant observation'. When I felt that my Anywaa language had improved enough and that the people of the area had come to know who I was, I began to interview informants.

First, I interviewed informants at Cwobo and its neibouring villages such as Ukuuna, Abwobo, Perbongo, Ucokcala and Gok. Those who were interviewed were old men who were known as excellent narrators of oral traditions. In interviews I tried not to focus on specific topics. Usually I

just said, 'Please tell me stories of the past. How was the life before and how has it been changing?' And I let them talk freely. Many of the informants talked to me with confidence, enthusiasm and eloquence. Some even talked continuously without showing a sign of fatigue for more than a hour. Therefore I hardly faced problems regarding data collection. (During the whole period, only one man refused to see me.) Almost all of the interviews were recorded in cassette tapes. As a result of this, the range of topics of their narratives were very wide. It included myth, folklore, migration history, history of *kwaari* and *nyieye*, contacts with highlanders and the British, the Italo-British war, changes after the socialist revolution, life history of informants and so on.

I had research assistants, who were young Anywaa men and could speak and write English. Though in the later stage of my stay I could do interviews by myself I occasionally needed help from an interpreter. They accompanied me to all interviews as interpreters and helped me in transcribing and translating tape recorded texts. I am particularly grateful to, among others, Abala Umot, James Abala, Ujulu Kwot and Samuel Ujulu. Especially with Samuel Ujulu who was with me from June 1990 till the end, I shared various difficulties in the field. He worked not simply as an 'assistant' but as a friend and research coordinator.

All texts were translated into English in the field, at Gambela or at Addis Abeba. After each interview was translated, I went back to the informant for a second session. At that time I asked questions concerning points which were not clearly understood by me. Usually on such occasions the informant told me new stories.

I had a plan to extend this work to be done in villages along the rivers of Upeeno and Giilo so that the research could cover all Anywaaland in Ethiopia. This plan, however, failed to materialize because of security problems. The security office in Gambela did not allow me to stay in these areas because of the presence of the SPLA forces. I visited Puol and Itiel villages twice on the lower Upeeno, but I was ordered to come back to Gambela on the same day and a security officer accompanied me to villages. So I had to abandon the plan. To compensate for this I conducted interviews at Pinykeu which is close to Gambela town and one of the most important villages along the Upeeno. Also I had chances to interview some others from Upeeno and Giilo areas who came to visit Gambela or Abwobo.

Each district or village in Anywaaland had its own migration history and had different degrees and patterns of contacts with outsiders, and in the future I hope to be able to undertake further research.