

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-20,523

TAYLOR, Donna, 1929-
SOME LOCATIONAL ASPECTS OF MIDDLE-RANGE
HIERARCHICAL SOCIETIES.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
Anthropology

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© COPYRIGHT BY

DONNA TAYLOR

1975

**SOME LOCATIONAL ASPECTS OF MIDDLE-
RANGE HIERARCHICAL SOCIETIES**

by

DONNA TAYLOR

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York**

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 17, 1975
date

Richard E. Blanton
Chairman of Examining Committee

April 17, 1975
date

Melvin Ember
Executive Officer

Richard E. Blanton, Chairman

Carol Hamlin

Gregory A. Johnson

Ralph S. Solecki, External Reader

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to the hard-working members of my thesis committee: Richard E. Blanton (supervisor), Carol Hamlin, Gregory A. Johnson, and Ralph S. Solecki (external reader). Various aspects of the study were discussed with the following persons, from whom I received very useful comments and suggestions: Robert L. Carneiro, Francis P. Conant, May Ebihara, Melvin Ember, Robert Glasse, Jane Schneider, John Speth, Joan E. Vincent, and Eric Wolf. Not all suggestions were followed, and only I am responsible for the shortcomings of this study. I received much support and encouragement from my husband, James V. Taylor, our daughter Heather, and dog Christy. Finally, I feel a strong sense of gratitude toward my electric typewriter.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	7
Locational aspects of hierarchical societies	
The "chiefdom" model	
Some expectable archeological correlates of the	
"chiefdom" model	
Hierarchy and centralization in African societies	
II. SAMPLE	31
Some characteristics of the middle-range hierarchical	
societies of the sample	
Some aspects of centralization in the most centralized	
systems	
III. METHODS	43
Relevant political-jurisdictional data	
Procedures of numerical taxonomy	
Characteristics utilized	
Settlement pattern aspects	
IV. DESCRIPTION	59
Patterns of political-jurisdictional organization	
Summary: political-jurisdictional patterns	
Settlement pattern aspects	
Relation between size of center and size of political	
aggregate	
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	79
Ethnographic sample	
Methods of analysis	
Political-jurisdictional patterns	
Settlement pattern aspects	
Conclusions	
APPENDIX 1. ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS	106
APPENDIX 2. DOCUMENTATION OF CHARACTERISTICS	201
BIBLIOGRAPHY	206

LIST OF TABLES

1. Sample societies	95
2. Characteristics Utilized in Taxonomic Analysis	96
3. Main Characteristics of the Hierarchical Systems	97
4. Overall Population Density	104
5. Size of Political Aggregates	105

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Sample Societies	94
2. Data Chart	98
3. Similarity Matrix--Societies	99
4. Similarity Matrix--Characteristics	100

Histograms

5. Plateau Tonga	101
6. Lele	101
7. Lakeside Tonga	102
8. Yao	102
9. Ndembu	102
10. Lovedu	103
11. Tswana	103

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is an exploratory study of relationships between hierarchy and centralization of political-jurisdictional organization and certain aspects of settlement pattern in ethnographically described middle-range hierarchical societies ("chiefdoms"). The results are intended as a substantive contribution towards the explanation of settlement pattern in such societies, and towards the interpretation of relevant archeological settlement pattern data.

Recently a number of archeologists, particularly Sanders and colleagues (Sanders MS, Sanders and Marino 1970, Sanders and Price 1968; cf. Flannery 1972) have advocated the use of the Service-Sahlins and Fried economic-sociopolitical evolutionary constructs in the interpretation of diachronic archeological data, particularly to aid in "elucidating the factors and processes leading to the evolution of civilization" (Sanders and Price 1968: 37). The role of "chiefdoms" in early state development is emphasized or mentioned, in addition to the writers cited above, by Blanton (1972b), Johnson (1973), Parsons (1971), Renfrew (1973, MS), and Watson and LeBlanc (MS). Some writers have made suggestions, discussed below, regarding expectable archeological features of "chiefdoms."

However, as Sanders and others have noted, there are considerable difficulties involved in distinguishing advanced chiefdoms from early states in the archeological record. Also, the "chiefdom" model, being largely derived from Polynesian ethnographic materials, is not based on a sufficiently broad comparative sample (Sanders MS, Sanders and Price 1968). That is, ranges in variation of hierarchical societies, and archeological correlates of these ranges, remain to be established.

Some of the difficulties regarding the general application of certain "chiefdom" and "state" models, or at least their application to African materials, from which the present sample is drawn (see Figure 1 and Table 1), are discussed in subsequent sections. For example, in applying a simple "chiefdom"-"state" dichotomy there are problems regarding the distinction of "non-state" societies on the basis of the primacy of kin relationships, and concerning the characterization of the "state" form of organization as possessing a monopoly of force. Furthermore, available ethnographic data suggest that fewer spheres of activity are centrally and hierarchically organized in most East-Central African hierarchical societies, including some highly centralized ones, than in many Polynesian "chiefdoms." Thus one cannot expect to find archeological correlates of certain characteristics derived from some "chiefdom" and "state" models.

The present study explores some expectations regarding certain settlement pattern correlates of middle-range hierarchical

sociopolitical systems. It is suggested here that the application of some of the procedures of numerical taxonomy and some aspects of geographic locational analysis to ethnographic data can facilitate greater discrimination of characteristics of hierarchical societies, and can enable the development of models that are more operational archeologically, than does the "chiefdom" model discussed below.

Through procedures of numerical taxonomy (Sneath and Sokal 1973, Sokal 1966, Sokal and Sneath 1963; cf. Cole 1969), classification is based on all available characteristics, rather than on one or a few characteristics theoretically shared by all members of a group. This puts comparison on an operational and quantitative basis (Sokal 1966: 111). Further, classes with aggregate properties enable more successful prediction about character states in various groupings of the classification than do taxa based on a few characteristics. As in any method of classification, there is some loss of information involved in using the procedures of numerical taxonomy, but this information can be retrieved by means of separate description.

The procedures leading to the formation of the political-jurisdictional groupings of the present study are discussed in Chapter III, Methods. The operationally determined patterns of organization of these groupings are described in Chapter IV, and further ethnographic description is provided in Appendix 1. The following section is a general discussion of some locational aspects of hierarchical societies and their relevance to the present study.

Locational Aspects of Hierarchical Societies

Owing partly to deficiencies in the available ethnographic literature, it is feasible to deal only with certain locational aspects of settlement pattern in the present study. From this literature it is possible to obtain data on the population size of settlements, but rarely on the areal size of settlements (or, therefore, on population density within settlements), or on distances between settlements. Attention in this study is thus focussed on the relationships between political-jurisdictional hierarchy and centralization on the one hand, and, on the other, the frequency distribution of settlement sizes, and the relative sizes of largest centers.

Johnson (1972, 1973, MS) has demonstrated the applicability of central place theory (see, e.g., Haggett 1966, 1972: 286 ff.; Berry 1967; Berry and Pred 1965) to archeological data from the Middle East. As he states, in the central place model discontinuous size distributions of central places (settlement size hierarchies) develop in relation to activities or activity sets; functions performed in higher-order places are qualitatively and/or quantitatively differentiated from those in lower-order places. That is, a settlement hierarchy indicates a functional hierarchy. As Johnson also notes, this relationship has been demonstrated through numerous geographical field studies (such as those cited in Berry and Pred 1965). Models have been presented for hierarchies (as well as for regional placement patterns and rank-size distributions) based on a number of variables, or on combinations of variables. These models

include those of Christaller, the original developer of central place theory. He proposed models based on what he terms the marketing, transport, and administrative principles (Christaller 1933).

Johnson argues convincingly that in early Middle Eastern state systems settlement hierarchy may be related to decision-making hierarchy (cf. Wright 1969, Flannery 1972), and he suggests that a similar relationship obtains in less complex societies. In other archeological studies, relationships between settlement hierarchy and sociopolitical patterns have been noted by, among others, Adams (Adams 1965, 1972; Adams and Nissen 1972), and Watson and LeBlanc (MS), for Middle Eastern materials; and by Sanders (MS), Sanders and Price (1968), Parsons (1971), and Blanton (1972b, MS) for Mesoamerican materials.

Johnson (1973) defines states as societies which have a specialized decision-making organization of minimally three hierarchical levels. He presents archeological evidence for a combination of variables indicative of an early state system in southwestern Iran. One dimension of variability considered by Johnson is settlement hierarchy. He suggests that states have minimally three hierarchical levels of settlement size above that of the general population. He also suggests that chiefdoms, similarly, have a two-level decision and settlement hierarchy, and tribes a single level of hierarchy, above the level of the general population (Ibid). Sanders and Price (1968: 229) suggest a minimum of three hierarchical settlement levels altogether for civilization, and two (center and hinter-

land) for chiefdoms. They further suggest that at least three different patterns of settlement are possible for chiefdoms: (1) ceremonial centers with small resident populations, the majority of the population residing in other communities; (2) a large center with a large population, the rest of the population residing in smaller, nearby settlements; and (3) the entire chiefdom resides in a single large center (Ibid: 116). Watson and LeBlanc (MS) suggest that where there are low-level chiefdoms, with only one level of chief, there may be little difference in settlement size, but that large villages may occur in ranked chiefdoms. For the Valley of Mexico Parsons (1971) and Blanton (1972b) suggest that it is first possible to recognize small, independent sociopolitical entities like chiefdoms in the Valley when there is at least one level of settlement hierarchy above that of small hamlets and villages. I suggest that the differences expressed by various authors regarding expectable settlement hierarchies associated with chieftaincy systems are resolvable through further discrimination of the ranges in variation of specific characteristics of middle-range hierarchical societies, and in correlated aspects of settlement pattern. The present study is intended as a contribution in this direction.

In addition to settlement hierarchy, another important aspect of settlement pattern is the relative size of centers of higher rank compared with those of lower rank. This relationship is discussed by Blanton (1972a, MS; also cf. Flannery 1972, Sanders and Price 1968). Blanton (MS) argues that an index of centralization based on the size

of largest center relative to the sizes of the next largest centers may be applicable in the prehispanic Valley of Mexico. Locational considerations of the postulated relationship, mentioned above, between decision-making organization and settlement hierarchy, would suggest that greater centralization in decision-processing should be associated with relatively greater size differences between highest and lower ranking centers.

Two propositions, then, are explored in this study:

(1) in hierarchical societies there is a close positive relationship between settlement hierarchy and political-jurisdictional hierarchy; and (2) in hierarchical societies the relative size of centers of higher rank is closely related to the extent of centralization in decision-processing. The archeological implication of these relationships is that the degree of hierarchy and centralization in a sociopolitical system is predictable on the basis of the settlement hierarchy and the relative size of the largest center (provided, of course, that these can be determined; for surveys of archeological methods for estimating sizes of population units see, e.g., Baker and Sanders 1972, and Cook 1972). These relationships in the present sample of societies are described in Chapter III. The available settlement data are summarized there and in Appendix 1.

Before proceeding to an outline of some characteristics of the present sample, the "chiefdom" model referred to above is discussed in the following pages. The following is intended as a

consideration of the archeological applicability of the "chiefdom" model rather than a critique of the Service-Sahlins and Fried constructs.

The "Chiefdom" Model

Service's and Sahlins' band, tribe, chiefdom and state "levels of sociocultural integration" (Service 1962, 1971b; also 1958, 1963; Sahlins 1961, 1965, 1968) are derived from Steward's variously formulated "levels of sociocultural integration" (Steward 1955 and earlier). These are designated by Steward as family, band, tribe, and state in his "Levels of Sociocultural Integration" (1951), and, in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946-1948), as marginal hunters and gatherers, tropical-forest village-farmers, Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms, and Central Andean civilizations.

The term "chiefdom" was used by Oberg (1955) and later by Steward and Faron (1959) to designate a type of South American society called "Circum-Caribbean" in the Handbook on the basis of suggestions by Kirchhoff. Steward and Faron subsequently extended the use of Oberg's term to include certain societies in addition to those classed "Circum-Caribbean" in the Handbook. They distinguish two broad subtypes, militaristic and theocratic, and find that "No societies of South America were so kaleidoscopically varied culturally as the chiefdoms" (1959: 175).

Service acknowledges the use of the term "chiefdom" by Oberg, and by Steward and Faron (Service 1962, 1971b), and specifies that

"The present usage somewhat simplifies this regional type and extends it to designate a stage in general cultural evolution" (1971b: 133). Further, "The discrimination of chiefdom as a stage in cultural evolution has not been made in other evolutionary schemes" (Ibid: 164). Sahlins uses the term "chiefdom" similarly (1961, 1965, 1968).

The basis for classification in the Service-Sahlins construct is quite different from that of Steward. Steward's four-fold classification in the Handbook is based on a combination of aspects of subsistence, technology and material culture, sociopolitical and religious patterns, and other "culture elements." While considering this classification primarily a heuristic device, he also felt that it had "historical significance" and offered a more comprehensive version applied to New World cultures as a whole (Steward 1947; cf. Steward and Faron 1959: 11-16). The categories in the Service-Sahlins classification are distinguished mainly on the basis of forms of social-structural integration (Service 1971b: 172): "bands" are relatively small local groups integrated on the basis of kinship and residence; "tribes" are integrated by supralocal, or pantribal, kin and nonkin "sodalities"; "chiefdoms" are integrated by chieftainship and the centralization of economic, social and religious activities; and "states" are integrated by the use of legal force, and are marked by the emergence of political-economic class divisions.

Fried's evolutionary types of political society (1960, 1967) are based on permutations of relationship between access to basic

resources and to positions of prestige. Thus, in "egalitarian societies" there is egalitarian access both to basic resources and to valued status positions; in "rank societies" there is egalitarian access to basic resources, but differential access to valued status positions; in "stratified societies" status differences are based on economic differences, so that there is restricted access to both basic resources and positions of prestige; and "states" are stratified societies in which order is maintained by means of a monopoly of force and power.

A number of the archeologists cited above, who have shown an interest in the application of the Service-Sahlins and Fried constructs to archeological materials, have discussed relationships between the two schemes. Usually Fried's "rank societies" are identified with "chiefdoms"; not correctly, I suggest, since "rank society" encompasses the range between "band egalitarian society" and "stratified society"--including some societies that would be grouped with "tribes" according to criteria used in the Service-Sahlins classification. It should also be mentioned that there have been a number of criticisms of the two classifications, not least noteworthy among these being criticisms by Fried of various aspects of the Service-Sahlins construct (e.g., Fried 1966, 1967, 1968). Service has recently made an apostasy regarding his initial formulation, in favor of one more similar to that of Fried (Service 1971a). The main difficulty that Fried and Service find with the band-tribe-chiefdom-state construct is that it is not based on data

pertaining to aboriginal conditions. They feel that the investigation of "pristine" situations (Fried 1967: 175) is a requirement for the study of evolutionary development. Thus, Service asserts that it is necessary to "disentangle aboriginal primitive societies from those so drastically altered by modern influences . . ." because "The classification of the societies must be based on the assumption that they are bands adapted to other bands, tribes to tribes, and chiefdoms to chiefdoms" (1971b: 174). However, some archeologists have recently suggested that it might be fruitful to abandon such attempts at reconstruction of situations of first occurrence. Thus, Trigger suggests that more useful and more broadly applicable results can follow from the investigation of "observed structural variation," whether or not influenced by other (e.g., more complex) societies (1972: 575). Binford (1968) and others (see, e.g., Flannery 1967) have suggested that it would be productive to devote increased attention to factors of process.

Service states that his classification in Primitive Social Organization "is only a crude beginning, little more than an argument in favor of hypotheses . . ." that can and should be subjected to test procedures in the future (1971b: 174). However, it should be noted that such criteria as those employed by Service, Sahlins, and Fried for their research purposes may not be applicable to other sorts of problems. Examples like the "central" or "typical" ones used by these writers for purposes of illustration will not always be encountered in specific field situations (ethnological or archeological). This may present a greater problem for the archeological

application of the "chiefdom" model than its lack of "aboriginal" derivation.

"Advanced" or "developed" forms of chiefship are especially emphasized by Sahlins and Service for purposes of contrast, but all three writers under consideration here note the range in ethnographic variability that is encompassed in each of their categories, particularly for "chiefdoms" or "rank societies." Thus, in Sahlins' presentation the concepts "tribe" and "chiefdom" indicate positions along a continuum rather than dichotomous categories (e.g., 1963, 1968). Toward one end of the continuum are simple societies in which local groups tend to be "small, separate, and equal" and "politically unintegrated" (1963: 287). He also suggests that they tend to be maximally dispersed (1972: 97). Towards the other end of the continuum is "chieftainship properly so-called" (1972: 129). This is illustrated by societies of the Polynesian high islands, such as Hawaii, which have a "pyramidal political geometry" (1963: 287) in which local groups are integrated into larger units. There are

hierarchical relationships within and between local groups, a regional political frame maintained by a system of chiefs, major and minor, holding sway over segments of greater and lesser order and subordinate all to the one paramount [1972: 139; cf. 1963: 287].

Similarly, in Service's presentation "chiefdoms . . . contrast clearly with tribes in economics, art, religion, polity, and other respects" (1971b: 161). Economic arrangements are characterized by central collection followed by redistribution. There can also be directed deployment of labor, and development of "tech-

nology, arts and crafts, and material culture generally" (Ibid: 162).

Further,

The direction of public labor also leaves highly visible results: in some chiefdoms, irrigation works and terracing of slopes; in others temples and temple-mounds, pyramids, and other such monuments [Ibid].

The "chiefdom" model demonstrates "the economic and political limits" of pre-state society (Sahlins 1972: 141). Therefore, using some of the above attributes as criteria, in an archeological context one might well have difficulty determining whether an early state or some less complex sort of hierarchical economic-political system is represented.

Some Expectable Archeological Correlates of the "Chiefdom" Model

A number of characteristics of middle-range hierarchical societies that might have archeological correlates have been suggested by Service, Sahlins and Fried, and/or by archeologists (see, e.g., Sanders MS; Sanders and Price 1968; Renfrew MS, 1972; Watson and LeBlanc MS). These include (in addition to settlement hierarchy, mentioned above): more clearly defined territorial boundaries or borders than exist in simpler societies; greater population size and density, and greater productivity; centralized coordination of production, and centralized redistribution of products; intra-village variability in house size, work areas, and public or special-use structures; inter-settlement variability in structures; and differential distribution of grave, status, and trade goods.

The investigation of most of these features is outside the scope of the present project, and they were not studied specifically. Yet it is possible to make observations concerning some aspects of these features, based on my reading of the ethnographic sources that were utilized for the particular purposes of this study. Thus, there are indications in the ethnographic literature that some features can be utilized as indicators of the extent of hierarchy and centralization. These include the intra-village and inter-village variables mentioned above, and differential distribution of grave, status, and trade goods. Aspects of the other features, and some other characteristics of the societies in this sample, are described in the following chapter. That discussion will serve both to illustrate some problems with the blanket application of the "chiefdom"- "state" construct, and to describe the sample societies. It will be helpful to precede that discussion of specific African societies with the following survey of some treatments by Africanists of aspects of hierarchy and centralization in African societies, particularly societies in East-Central Africa, from which the present sample is largely drawn.

Hierarchy and Centralization in African Societies

Hierarchy and centralization have, of course, received considerable attention by political anthropologists, and much of their work has concentrated on African societies. In the initial formulation of African political systems made by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard

(1940), states are distinguished from two kinds of uncentralized systems: unilineal-segmentary systems, and smaller-scale societies in which political relations are coincident with kinship relations. A number of structural and other diagnostic aspects of political systems have been distinguished in later critical and/or comparative works (Brown 1951; Cohen 1965, 1970; Easton 1959; Eisenstadt 1959; Fallers 1973; Goody 1971; Kaberry 1957; H. Lewis 1969; I. Lewis 1959; Lloyd 1965; Macquet 1962, 1971; Mair 1962, 1972; Middleton and Tait 1958; Richards 1960; Schapera 1956; Southall 1965; Vansina 1962). These include various kinds of kin-based groupings, locality groupings, clientage relationships, age-sets, cult groups, and title associations. In uncentralized as well as in centralized societies one or more of these organizational features may dominate and/or be combined with others. In a number of the works cited, considerable attention is devoted to differences among different societies with regard to the structure of political decision-processing, the extent of political centralization, and the nature of the delegation of powers.

Stevenson (1968) deplores the sparing use by the authors of African Political Systems of the terms "state" or "state organization"; they tend instead to use such expressions as "centralized rule," or "high degree of political centralization." Stevenson says that these expressions unfortunately range

from a certain hesitation and ambivalence to a near exclusion of the vital socio-economic criteria in favor of the purely formal "political centralization." This often leads to a

confusion of chiefdoms . . . with states--a distinction which, I would argue, should be carefully maintained, not blurred [Ibid: 12-13].

At least some of the archeologists who are interested in applying the band-tribe-chiefdom-state construct to archeological data have expressed equal concern with attempting to draw this distinction clearly.

However, in Africanist literature since the work of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard there has continued to be a lack of interest in making distinctions along the lines of Service, Sahlins, and Fried. Thus Mair, in Primitive Government (1962) says of societies that would be classed, in their schemata, somewhere between "egalitarian bands" and "states":

Between the close-knit hunting band and the organization of state type there is a form of polity characteristic of populations which are a good deal larger than the hunting band, though not necessarily smaller than those which are governed as states. I am not prepared to offer a name for this phenomenon. . . [Ibid: 106].

In such societies, there is no one

person or body of persons . . . having general authority to decisions in matters affecting . . . [the population as a whole]. In different contexts, different subdivisions of the whole take collective action for the purposes for which they are autonomous Sometimes, but not always, such populations are linked by the recognition of a unique position the occupant of which has the same relationship to all of them, but often the occupant of this position has little or no right to command the actions of others [Ibid].

Such a position is what I take to be, at least in the sample of societies used in the present study (and Mair's sample overlaps this one in the northern part of East-Central Africa), a nominal or minimal degree of centralized authority. Thus, where it is described

in the literature that a chief has only ritual or nominal authority, what appears to be indicated, at least much of the time, is that economic-sociopolitical activities are organized mainly independently of centralized controls. That is, they are very largely locally self-regulating. Yet independent groups may be involved in relationships of mutual amity by means of their common relationship to a politically and/or ritually active figure.

Regarding headship in centralized societies, Mair says that the words "chief" or "king" "may mean many different things" (1962: 21). Indeed, use of these terms is not consistent within the Africanist literature, let alone consistent with distinctions indicated by Service, Sahlins, and Fried. There seems to be a tendency in the comparative and monographical Africanist literature for these terms to have the following meanings suggested by Mair (Ibid: 74): A king is someone who holds "a unique position, as all kings do"; this position can be based on the sacredness of the ruler himself, or on his being the holder of sacred objects. But special status may not give special powers; a "king" may not be a "monarch," a

rather different word . . . which literally means 'sole ruler' This, however, is a good reason for not calling him a chief, since that word, in the great majority of contexts where it is used, does imply power and the right to command.

Richards mentions that early European travellers, by contrast, referred to heads of centralized governments in East Africa as "chiefs," unless they seemed to wield absolute power, as in Buganda, when they were called "kings" (1960: 36).

In the literature of Africanist political anthropology Balandier's (1967) effort to distinguish between chiefship and kingship is somewhat exceptional. It should be mentioned that while Balandier feels that political anthropological research is justified mainly by the use of comparative methods, and that comparative methods require the use of classification, he is less than optimistic about the present prospects for establishing the necessary criteria for the classification of political forms. (In the following passages my presentation of Balandier's views departs as little as possible from his forms of expression in the original French.)

Balandier discusses a number of difficulties in distinguishing systems of chiefship and kingship (1967: 55-57). He says that neither size of political unit, relation between political and cultural space, nor complexity of administrative apparatus constitute distinctive criteria. But he suggests that it might be helpful to utilize Lowie's (1927) contrast between "titular chief" and "strong chief." The former does not have exclusive control of force, does not legislate, and does not have monopoly of executive power, but does see to the maintenance of customs. He possesses the power of persuasion, ability at pacification, and generosity. The "strong chief," on the other hand, has coercive authority and complete sovereignty; he is sovereign in the full sense of the term. Balandier adds that the criterion of social stratification is relevant to the distinction between chiefship and kingship. He (Ibid: Ch. 4) discusses the difficulties of trying to reduce a

multiplicity of forms of hierarchy and stratification to a limited number of types (Ibid: 102), and he suggests that it might be legitimate to restrict application of the concept of stratification to societies in which at least two conditions are met: (1) major inequalities are formed on the basis of criteria other than those of age and sex, kinship and descent; and (2) hierarchical distinctions permeate a society or nation as a whole. That is, inequality governs all predominant social relations (Ibid: 56, 102-103).

We may note in these remarks by both Mair and Balandier a relatively strong emphasis on criteria of the extent of power exercised, and the extent of inequality permeating relationships, in more centralized societies. There is a relative lack of emphasis on the equalizing aspects of kinship or familistic relationships (Morgan's "societas") as a criterion for distinguishing "chiefdoms" or other non-state systems from states, as in the Service-Sahlins and Fried constructs. Thus, in the present sample, the basis for authority in some of the simplest as well as in the most complex societies rests on criteria other than the nature or degree of kin relationship. For example, authority can derive from the inheritance of ritual and/or judicial powers in certain lines only, and/or on the relative time of arrival (relatively early or relatively recent) in an area. Further, Balandier (1967: 82) emphasizes that in "kinship-based" sociopolitical systems the genealogical charter, kinship and marriage alliances are never mere mechanisms that automatically assure the attribution of political status and devolution

of office, as, for example, Sahlins and Service characterize pre-state societies. Even in so-called egalitarian societies there is a relationship between the distribution of power and dissymmetries in social relationships. In simpler societies this relationship is attenuated, in more complex societies it is pervasive; but no society is perfectly homogeneous, with perfectly reciprocal relationships between individuals and groups, and automatic social equilibrium (Balandier 1967: 46, and elsewhere; cf. Mair 1962: 18). Some of the complexities of inequitable and egalitarian aspects of sociopolitical relationships in African societies have recently been considered by Fallers (1973) and Goody (1971). All of the studies cited above lack such dichotomous distinctions as those emphasized in the Fried, Sahlins, and Service presentations.

These introductory materials will now be concluded with a presentation of Balandier's and Mair's more specific discussions of highly centralized political systems.

Balandier suggests that insofar as they are states, both traditional and modern states have certain characteristics in common. He describes the state as a differentiated, specialized and permanent organ of political and administrative action that requires an apparatus of government capable of assuring security internally and at the borders. It is territorially administered, and organizes political space in such a way that this arrangement corresponds to the hierarchy of power and authority, ensuring the execution of basic decisions throughout the entire country under its jurisdiction.

Domination is held by a minority with the monopoly of political decision-making. This minority employs a permanent use of strategies to maintain the supremacy of the state organization and that of its controlling group (Ibid: 175-176).

Balandier also argues that the traditional state has certain general characteristics which distinguish it from the modern bureaucratic state. Pre-existing sociopolitical units are not abolished by the traditional state, which instead bases its structure on them. There is inadequate imposition of the supremacy of the political center; a diffused quality is preserved, and there is a constant threat of territorial segmentation (Ibid: 176).

It can be noted that on the basis of the above characteristics, and on the basis of Mair's suggestion that "The effectiveness of such a system in securing obedience to the ruler may of course differ greatly in different cases" (1962: 138), we might expect a continuum of forms between "kingdoms" and "paramount chiefdoms."

More specifically for East Africa, Mair says that

In the context of East Africa we can say that we see a state where a hereditary monarch is at the head of a people who recognise that he has temporal as well as spiritual authority. The various other forms of state that have come into existence in the past two centuries have no counterpart in this region [1962: 107].

In this "patrimonial" system of authority (as Mair and Balandier note, this is one form of "traditional" domination distinguished by Weber), the sovereign holds power by virtue of a mandate from the gods or ancestors, and by a mode of authority that is essentially

personal rather than formal (Balandier 1967: 54-55, Mair 1960: 23). A sovereign's private and public spheres of interest are difficult if not impossible to separate. Loyalty is secured by relations of personal dependence, and officers are dignitaries and notables rather than functionaries (Balandier 1967: 54-55, 176-177). East African states are characterized by government controlled from a single source. The ruler holds final authority, and delegates authority "in such a way that he can expect his orders or decisions to be carried out throughout the land which he claims to rule" (Mair 1962: 138). The ruler has not only hereditary ritual power and authority, but also secular powers that consist of the ability to build up and maintain a permanent following dependent on him in such a way that their first loyalty is to him. The centralization of control is based on the elimination from power of hereditary elements, so that for every position of authority there is a personal dependence upon the paramount. Subordinate territorial heads hold their positions not by hereditary right, but by virtue of a personal relationship with the ruler, who appoints them to, and can remove them from, office (see, e.g., Mair 1962, Richards 1960, Beattie 1971).

The authority system consists, not of a neat unitary hierarchy of controls, but rather a "patchwork" of controls, a series of separate but overlapping pyramids of authority all centered on the ruler. He maintains control by an elaborate system of checks and counter-checks, in which the authorities in all the various hierar-

chiefs of the political structure compete for the paramount's favor, and watch and report on each other in an effort to obtain a reputation for loyalty to him (M. Fallers 1960: 35, Richards 1960: 50-51, Southwold 1965: 89-90). This concentration of controls at the center means that the individual peasant's or peasant family's enduring political ties are directly to the ruler, rather than, as in European feudalism, to a nearby chief or lord (Beattie 1971: 147, and elsewhere; Chilver 1960).

This system of centralization has important correlates in settlement pattern. The ruler keeps an eye on at least his major subordinates by requiring them to maintain residences at the capital and to make frequent personal visits to him. Thus

The machinery of central government consisted of officials congregated at the capital which was the only sizable settlement in each kingdom. These were councillors, judges, priests or magicians, messengers, executioners, soldiers and the many pages, cooks, stewards and slaves who made it possible to cater for the men assembled in the king's village [Richards 1960: 351].

Adding to the population at the capital were the ruler's numerous wives, people awaiting judgement, and boys sent to the ruler's court for service and education, to increase their fathers' prestige, and to further ambition, using the time of service to advance themselves and the members of their lineage or clan up the political ladder (Richards 1960: 347-352).

The foregoing gives some indication of the patterns of political organization and of settlement in the most centralized societies of the present sample. In the following chapters these are

described in more detail and are compared with the patterns of political-jurisdictional organization and of settlement in the less centrally organized societies.

CHAPTER II

SAMPLE

To test relationships between political-jurisdictional hierarchy and centralization and the aspects of settlement pattern investigated in this study, it was considered necessary to draw an ethnographic sample from an area of the world with a large number of hierarchical societies for which there is both good description of political organization and information on settlement sizes. It was considered useful to concentrate on societies that rely in large part on cultivation for subsistence, in order to provide greater comparability of data both within the sample, and between the sample and many of the previously suggested "chiefdom" samples or models. It was also thought useful, for purposes of comparison with the Service-Sahlins "chiefdom" model, to use a sample of societies from a region other than Polynesia. The present sample is taken from parts of Central Africa, mainly East-Central Africa. Future research will utilize data from West Africa, Melanesia-Polynesia, and elsewhere, where there are indications of differing patterns and degrees of centralization of activities, in order to establish the range in variation of at least some of the characteristics of hierarchical societies.

The search for relevant materials began with East-Central Africa. Because of insufficient data it was necessary to increase the sample size, and search was continued through materials on contiguous areas, resulting in a geographically somewhat scattered sample of twenty-five societies drawn in large part from East-Central Africa, but also from the southern part of West-Central, and, to a lesser extent, from South-Central Africa (see Figure 1). Most of these are Bantu peoples who share numerous sociocultural traits.

The emphasis in this study is on "traditional" systems observed by, and/or reconstructed by (mainly) ethnographers. In general these data refer to nineteenth century patterns which continued, in varying degrees, into the twentieth century. There has long been considerable interaction of various peoples in these regions, both with each other and with outside groups. Most of these peoples are, and/or believe themselves to be, amalgamations of previously independent groups. The investigators whose writings were consulted for this study use various kinds of samples to represent what most or all of them evidently assume to be distinct "sociocultural" entities. For the exploratory purposes of the present study this assumption may be accepted. Furthermore, whatever the limitations of the ethnographic materials, for present purposes they may be assumed to be unbiased with respect to the particular problems under investigation here.

In the following sections some comparisons are made between some characteristics of the hierarchical societies of the present

sample, and features which various writers have previously suggested are typical of "chiefdom" and "state" societies. My coverage of the ethnographic literature was less intensive regarding those characteristics of the sample societies not within the major focus of attention in this study. Yet comparison even at this level can serve to illustrate some problems in the applicability of the "chiefdom"- "state" construct to particular economic-sociopolitical systems. At the same time, this discussion will serve to introduce some of the characteristics of the ethnographic sample used in this study, and treated in greater detail in Chapter IV and in Appendix 1.

Some Characteristics of the Middle-Range Hierarchical Societies of the Sample

Among the previously mentioned features which some ethnographers and archeologists have suggested are characteristic of middle-range hierarchical societies are: territorial boundaries, greater population density and size than in less centralized societies, greater productivity, centralized coordination of production, and redistribution from the center.

Territorial boundaries: population density and size

Territorial boundaries, where mentioned in the literature on the societies in this sample, are described as diffuse, shifting, or nonexistent, with few exceptions. One exception is the Bemba, described as having had fairly well-defined district boundaries.

Another is the Ganda, who had a more centrally organized political system, and a well-planned and carefully maintained system of roads radiating from the capital to all sectors of the country. However, the borders of another of the more centrally organized systems in the present sample, the Lozi, were diffuse and shifting.

Overall density of population, as indicated by readily available data (see Table 4), does not seem to co-vary with the operationally determined (see Chs. III and IV) sociopolitical groupings of this study. Most of the least centralized societies had some of the highest overall densities. In the most centralized societies, population density was rather low for the Lozi (under nine persons per square mile; however, subsistence resources were scattered and restricted to quite limited areas) and for the Nyoro (ca. 23/sq.mi.). Population density for the Ganda was around 100 per square mile--this is considered well below carrying capacity, and density is thought to have been considerably less in the past. The data for the nonranked and ranked chieftaincy systems range from a low of 2.4/sq.mi. for the Tswana to ca. 100/sq.mi. for the Alur. Overall density for the Lovedu was ca. 235/sq.mi., but they were inhabiting but a small portion of their former territory. Of course these are gross data which do not take into account local environmental details, and they refer to a range of time periods. Yet it can be noted that they support statements by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940: 7-8) on the lack of relation between political centralization and population density, which have been challenged by Stevenson (1968).

However, in contrast to the indications regarding correlations between population density and political centralization, there is some indication in the literature that the population sizes of political aggregates in this sample do vary with the extent of hierarchy and centralization. This relationship is discussed in the last section of Chapter IV, in connection with the aspects of settlement pattern described there.

Productivity and distribution of products

Service describes chiefdoms as complex societies composed of unlike parts which are integrated by chieftainship. The functionally discrete and interdependent parts are characterized by differentiation and specialization in regional production and/or in labor skills. Activities are centrally directed and coordinated by chieftainship. Associated with the central coordination of labor and production specialization is centralized redistribution. Service argues that these factors lead to greater size and density of population than in simpler societies (as mentioned above), because of greater productivity (Service 1963, 1971b).

The middle-range hierarchical societies of the present sample are not typically differentiated and redistributive societies as delineated in the above "chiefdom" model--but it should be remembered that the model emphasizes "advanced" or "developed" forms. In all the societies of this sample, including most of the most centrally organized ones, local groups tend to be very largely self-sufficient, and to provide most or all of their own material needs.

Chieftaincy in this sample is not typically characterized by the central coordination of the specialized activities of unlike parts of the whole. (The organized collection of regional production specialties, and associated redistribution by a central agency, are reported for only one of the most centrally organized societies examined [Lozi].) However, it should be fruitful to investigate the extent of chiefly ritual or other controls on productivity, through such means as determining times of planting or of harvest. As discussed below, the investigation of data on ritual activities was not feasible for the present study.

Another question worth investigating is the suggestion of Sahlins that productivity varies with the political pressures brought to bear on the household mode of production, rather than with the nature of productive resources and skills (Sahlins 1968; 1972: Chs. 2 and 3; cf. Carneiro 1961). The peoples in the present sample inhabited a variety of local natural environments and utilized a range of natural and domesticated resources and exploitative techniques. While the investigation in depth of these aspects was not undertaken for this study, the readily available information was surveyed (and is summarized in Appendix 1). Like the data on overall density of population, these are gross data which refer to a range of time periods. Yet the indications are that most of the least centrally organized societies, like all of the most centrally organized ones, and many in between, possessed reliable productive bases for subsistence. Some of the single-level and ranked chieftaincies were able to deal with poor or unpredict-

able conditions of natural environment through migration (e.g., Sukuma), and two of these peoples (Ngoni and Bemba) derived subsistence mainly from raiding other groups.

By all reports the more highly centralized among these societies were no better able than the others to solve storage problems in these particular conditions of climate, and using the available means of storage. Crops not soon eaten would be consumed by rot or by pests. Such problems were apparently solved most easily where crops were used that do not require regular times of harvest, but instead can remain where they grow for some period of time, to be harvested as needed. This is true of cassava and plantains, which, at the same time, require relatively less effort in cultivation than the other staples. They were staple crops, or at least one of a variety of crops relied on, in some of the simplest as well as the most highly centrally organized of the societies in the sample.

Evidently there was greater productivity in some of these societies than in others, at least judging by the differing extents to which there was funding of chiefly activities. Hierarchical organizations of different scales involved social and economic networks of varying dimensions in a variety of political-economic enterprises. As Sahlins says, political economy brought to bear on the household economy can employ various strategies of intensification capable of harnessing domestic economic efforts to wider purposes, "getting people to work more, or more people to work"

(1972: 82). However, as mentioned above, the strategy of central direction and coordination of differentiated and specialized production is not typical of the chieftaincy--or the more centrally organized--systems in this sample. Yet in all of the most centralized systems of the sample tribute collection was effectively centrally organized. But in the less centrally organized hierarchical societies produce accumulated through the "autoexploitation" (Sahlins 1963, 1972) of a leader, supported by those in immediate personal contact with him, as well as through "reciprocally funded reciprocity" (Ibid) by means of which wider social networks might be involved, in varying degrees. Headmen or chiefs were expected to be very generous in times of need and in the support of chiefly enterprises; funds accumulated by them were utilized to increase their followings rather than their personal stores.

There seems to be a significant contrast in the patterns of redistribution of the less and the more highly centralized systems examined here that parallels the contrast made by Sahlins (1963, 1972) between Melanesia and Polynesia. In Melanesia, there was extraction from a big-man's faction in favor of distribution to the population at large, whereas in Polynesia there was extraction from the population at large in favor of the chiefly faction. In East-Central Africa, the less centralized chieftaincies could be characterized as societies in which chiefly hospitality was funded through the labor of a chief's many wives and various other supporters; whereas in more centralized systems the ruler's generosity as well as numerous royal wives and followers, many of whose positions

become increasingly politicized, were supported through the labor of others in the society. Only in the more centralized societies did all of the (not necessarily unlike) parts of the whole tend to become involved in centrally coordinated activities (cf. Mair 1962: 106).

Some Aspects of Centralization in
the Most Centralized Systems

Access to agricultural land in this sample of societies was not organized through a hierarchy of "overlapping stewardship" as in Polynesian societies (Sahlins 1958). Rather it was largely a local matter except in the most centrally organized systems. In such systems there was a quite different principle in the control of land by which the allotment of important political positions involved the granting of "estates," and therefore not only political controls over peasants, but also rights to a portion of their produce and labor (Mair 1962: 86). However, rather than a neat unitary hierarchy of controls, there was a "patchwork" system in which estates might be granted within, between, or among other major political-territorial divisions. This authority system is discussed further below.

As Mair mentions, particularly little is known about the ways in which justice was meted out in the most centralized African systems. However, the available evidence suggests that state organization in Africa was not characterized by a monopoly of force. That is, the rights of individuals, and of local and kin groups, to secure redress for wrongs were not eliminated. What seems rather to

have been the situation is that there was a new class of offences-- offences against the state. These were often dealt with in new ways: by punishment, frequently involving the infliction of pain, or even the taking of life; or by the imposition of fines, that is, payment made to the court rather than to another offended party (Mair 1962: 154 ff.). Yet arbitration and adjudication of cases were important functions of headmen, chiefs, and paramounts, and societies differed in the extent to which arbitration-adjudication were hierarchically organized, a matter discussed below.

As indicated above, not characteristic of even the most centrally organized societies of the sample is the economic reorganization of society involving the coordination of certain activities, as described for states in West Africa, and elsewhere. Thus, in the present sample extensive craft specialization is mentioned for Buganda, one of the most centrally organized societies. Potters, drum-makers, smiths, and canoe-makers, often with special titles and privileges, were attached to the households of the ruler and the more important chiefs, but craft production was not coordinated throughout the country. Outside the capital tools, weapons, and other items were made locally by peasants themselves or by part-time specialists. Even less centralized production of specialties is indicated for the Azande, the only other society in the sample that is described as having had extensive craft specialization.

Also a feature of Buganda society (and of some neighboring ones) were regular markets, at which fees were collected by "market

masters" on behalf of district chiefs and paramounts, but these markets were not centrally administered. They were what Bohannan and Dalton call "peripheral markets," a system of markets in which the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or allocation of land and labor resources (1962: 2-3).

In Lozi society, another of the most highly centralized systems of this sample, the collection and distribution of production differentia were highly centralized, as in some Polynesian chiefdoms, but the coordination of production itself was relatively uncentralized.

Findings of the present study confirm recent statements by Fallers (1973) and Goody (1971) concerning the relative lack of population pressure on agricultural land in African societies, including the most centralized ones, the relatively low population densities, and the relative lack of central control over production resources and relationships. Thus, in East-Central Africa there is less central organization of activity spheres than is indicated in at least some "chiefdom" and "state" models; some African "chiefdoms," as well as at least some "states," may be less hierarchically and centrally organized than the more highly organized of the Polynesian "chiefdoms." Therefore one would not expect to find archaeological correlates similar to those possibly recoverable for more hierarchically and centrally organized systems. Thus, for example, the distribution patterns of artifacts in a society in which most activities of production, exchange, warfare, and ritual are control-

led from the "capital" should be quite different from the distributional patterns in a society in which there is central coordination of only one or two of these activities.

It remains to be considered what activities are centralized in the societies of the present sample. They are, primarily, aspects of headship, and are discussed in the following chapter. As Fallers (1973) and Goody (1971) have observed for African societies as a whole, political activity tends to be the only full-time occupational specialization.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Relevant Political-Jurisdictional Data

Political-jurisdictional hierarchy can be reflected in the number of levels of authority, or jurisdictional levels. For present purposes a jurisdictional level may be taken to consist of an organization in which "original and definitive jurisdiction," broadly conceived, is exercised over spheres of social life, and "in which the organization has the legitimate right to make decisions having a significant effect on its members" (after Befu 1966: 44, quoting Murdock 1962: 269, following Swanson 1960). Thus, one jurisdictional level above the local community would consist of a grouping of local communities into a supralocal organization; a further supralocal jurisdictional level would consist of a grouping of "districts" or "provinces," each comprising a number of local groups, into a larger organization; and so on for three or more jurisdictional levels above that of the local group.

However, the powers exercised at a given level of authority can range from nominal to considerable, forming a continuum in the extent of hierarchical organization. Yet the extent of powers exercised by the highest level authority (such as local headman in

societies with no higher level authority, or "chief" in societies in which some centralized control is exercised over local groups), may be measured with regard to the extent to which activity spheres, or subsystems, are in linkage with this highest-order control (Flannery 1972). By this means degrees of hierarchy and centralization in decision-processing may be defined and compared.

It has already been indicated above that in this particular sample of societies not many spheres of economic-sociopolitical activity are centrally and hierarchically organized--evidently fewer in East-Central African paramount chieftaincies, and at least some "kingdoms," than in some Polynesian "chiefdoms." Functions in these societies which do evidence various degrees of centralization and hierarchy are aspects of headship, including aspects of ritual, control over subordinate headship, assistantship to political heads, arbitration-adjudication, and funding of headship. The characteristics utilized in this study are defined (below) in terms of increasing spatial inclusiveness.

For this study it was not feasible to deal systematically with aspects of ritual associated with headship. As indicated by Morton-Williams (1972: 899), it is necessary to distinguish cosmology from the organization of ritual-religious activities and ceremonial, then to relate the two; and then the relation of political (and, it might be added, social-economic) reality to cosmology and to patterns of ritual may be tested. Data on ritual activities, as presented in the literature, pose considerable difficulties regard-

ing comparability and standardization. While fruitful (cf. Rappaport 1968, 1971a, 1971b), the analysis of such data would be so time-consuming as to constitute a separate project. Yet it is evident from the literature on these societies that an increasing importance of ritual sanction for the position of chief is associated with increased political-jurisdictional centralization. However in this sample this tendency continues only into the range for ranked chiefship, rather than into the range for the more highly centralized systems. Not all the paramount chiefships are described as being surrounded with considerable ritual and constraint, but those headships that are so described fall within this group (e.g., Suku and Lovedu). By contrast, the Ganda and Nyoro paramounts are described as having had basically secular powers. They were neither gods nor especially closely associated with gods. In fact, in Buganda "the gods were supposed to derive their position from the fact that the men whose ghosts they were had rendered special services to previous Kabakas [paramounts]" (Southwold 1965: 90). Perhaps, as Sahlins suggests for Hawaiian chiefship, a less effectively centralized system must "meet its diverse problems of rule" by, among other things, "economizing its scarce real force by an awesome display . . . [he emphasizes sumptuary rules, but other ritual behaviors could be equally emphasized] as intimidating to the people as it was glorifying to the chiefs" (1972: 145).

Some seemingly likely indicators of the degree of centralization did not turn out to be useful, because of their isolated and

scattered occurrence within the sample. Further, in many cases the possibilities for more precise discrimination among characteristics are severely limited by great differences in emphasis and in methods of presentation in the literature. This problem was met by drawing the lines of discrimination among characteristics at a level believed significant and yet consistent with the available data. That is, there are clear distinctions between the characteristics that were ultimately found usable for taxonomic purposes, and these distinctions are justifiable on the basis of the available information. However, lines are rather loosely drawn, and a range of phenomena is subsumed in each characteristic. These distinctions and ranges are indicated in the list of characteristics utilized, which is presented in the last section of this chapter, as well as in Tables 2 and 3. They are also indicated in the following chapter, Description, and in the brief descriptions of the sample societies presented in Appendix 1. Documentation of the characteristics utilized in the taxonomic analysis is presented in Appendix 2.

The indicators of the extent of hierarchy and centralization which were utilized for the purposes of this exploratory study, and the groupings of societies resulting from the analysis based on these indicators, lead to the development of a trial model, to be tested by further investigation which utilizes field and archival sources of information. The groupings of societies resulting from the present analysis should not necessarily be expected to coincide with groupings based on other structural, or on formal, criteria.

Procedures of Numerical Taxonomy

The characteristics available for use in classification were classified by means of some procedures of numerical taxonomy (Sneath and Sokal 1973, Sokal 1966, Sokal and Sneath 1963). As mentioned above, there is some loss of information involved in the procedures, as in any method of classification. However, what is gained here is the grouping of societies into clusters, each of which consists of a number of societies more similar to each other in specified respects than to societies of other clusters. It is also possible to determine which characteristics are most closely correlated.

The simplest available procedures of numerical taxonomy were utilized. Such methods were considered appropriate to the variable nature of the data, the comparison of which is, however, rendered operational by these means. Character states were expressed only in terms of presence or absence, due to a lack of any reliable basis for the differential weighting of characters. It can, in any case, be argued that it is a logical fallacy to weight characters for the purpose of distinguishing groups in a classification, in advance of establishing that classification (Sokal 1966: 109).

For computing the resemblances between societies, and the associations between characteristics, the simplest available coefficient of association was utilized, that of Sokal and Michener (S_{SM}), which includes negative as well as positive matches (see Sokal and Sneath 1963: 133 ff., 300 ff.):

$$S_{SM} = m/n,$$

where m = the number of characters in "matched" cells,
and n = the total number of characters.

Association coefficients were calculated between all possible pairs of societies and all possible pairs of characteristics. A data chart is presented in Figure 2, and the coefficients are presented in Figures 3 and 4, the similarity matrices. The groupings of societies and of characteristics, respectively, in these matrices result from the procedure of arranging the units in each matrix with maximal clustering of the high similarity values along the diagonal. These groupings are described in the following chapter.

In following the taxonomic procedures it was found convenient for practical purposes to restrict data comparison to societies with at least some degree of centralized ritual-political activity, and to exclude from the taxonomic analysis the uncentralized societies and nominal chieftaincies in the sample. However, these latter are briefly described in the following chapter, as well as in Appendix 1. It is also necessary to discuss and compare separately two centralized societies, Soga and Haya, both because of insufficient data and because much of their description in the literature is dependant upon description of the neighboring and highly centralized Nyoro and Ganda, to which they are described as being very similar. In the following chapter some comparisons are made between the Soga and Haya and the other centralized societies of the sample in terms of the criteria utilized in the present study.

The available characteristics which were used to determine the phenetic similarities among the societies of this sample fall into a number of sets of "homologous," or structurally corresponding, characteristics, described below. In general these homologous "unit characters" are ones that cannot be subdivided, not so much into logically as into empirically "independent characters" (Sokal 1966: 110). As indicated above, this empiricism is necessitated either by the nature of the materials themselves, or by limitations on the availability and/or comparability of data. For example, with regard to the funding of headship, it is logically possible for there to be systems in which tribute and/or tribute-labor are relatively organized at the district level, with little or no funding of a district headship from communities in other districts. However, in this sample, wherever there is relatively organized funding of a district headship within its district, there is also a certain amount of funding from outside the district. Similarly, one might expect to find examples of societies in which access to agricultural land is allocated at the district level, with little or no supra-district control; but in this sample of societies this phenomenon is of such rare occurrence as to lack utility for classificatory purposes.

It is also logically possible to describe the positions of assistant administrative personnel with greater discrimination of their functional sociopolitical relationships than in the present characterizations; but only the rather crude level at which distinctions are drawn here was found reliably consistent with the

ethnographic materials. In fact, all of the indicators of hierarchy and centralization utilized in this study are based very largely on data as these are presented in the literature, with very little reworking or reinterpretation. Similarly the brief descriptions given in Appendix 1 are mainly summations of materials as presented in the ethnographic literature.

Characteristics Utilized

The characteristics available for use in the taxonomic analysis are defined below. Corresponding characteristics are grouped together, except that category 5.0 is a miscellaneous grouping. Some indication is given of the empirical basis for these operational definitions; further explication is provided in the following chapter and in Appendix 1. Documentation of the presence of the characteristics is presented in Appendix 2.

1.0 Hierarchy of headship

For the purposes of this study a level of chiefship is defined as a level of authority over a number of local groups. There is ranked chiefship where one (or more) such "district" or "territorial" head has some authority over others. Paramountcy denotes an additional hierarchical level above that of district or territorial chiefship.

As indicated earlier, it was not considered useful to define the extent of hierarchy of headship through enumeration of

authority levels, because the powers exercised by an authority can range from nominal to considerable. Therefore, by somewhat circular reasoning (but these are interrelated variables), the position of chief (or highest ranking chief in ranked chieftaincies) is here considered more than nominal if headship is more than ritually manifested. Thus, as mentioned earlier, in some societies there is "recognition of a unique position the occupant of which has the same relationship to all . . . , but often the occupant of this position has little or no right to command the actions of others" (Mair 1962: 106). For the present study, such a position is considered nominal if there is no evidence that the occupant makes effective decisions with regard to the matters that are considered here.

1.1 Nonranked chiefship. There is more than nominal headship over local groups (Ila, Alur, Yao, Ndembu, Nyakyusa). Minimally a chief is primus inter pares in relation to locality heads (Ila); at most there is nominal authority of one chief over others (Ndembu).

1.2 Ranked chiefship. One (or more) supralocality head has authority over others, but with relative lack of control over the subordinate headships, most or all of which are inherited positions. In some societies all district headships are inherited (Suku, Sukuma); in others highest ranking chiefs can exercise some control by appointing relatives or nonrelated supporters to some of these positions (Lovedu, Azande, Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana).

1.3 Paramountcy. Paramount head is not a district ruler, but rather is at an additional level of political-jurisdictional hierarchy (Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro).

1.4 Some district headships controlled from above the district level (Lovedu, Azande, Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana).

1.5 Most or all major subordinate headships controlled from above the district level (Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro).

2.0 Assistant administrative personnel. in addition to heads

It was not always possible to tell from the ethnographic literature just how political-jurisdictional assistants functioned within a system, that is, to tell the extent of specialization and differentiation among assistant political officers. This is another topic which merits more intensive study and comparison. Yet it is clear that in some of the sample societies chiefs did not have a regularly constituted court or council resident at the capital, but consulted informally as necessary with subordinate headmen or others; and/or they made use, for various purposes, of retainers, hangers-on, or other followers. In other societies there was a regularly constituted body of assistant personnel but evidently lacking specialized political-jurisdictional functions. In the Bemba chieftaincy there was a much larger number of councillorships (35 to 40) than is mentioned for the other systems included here (around ten in the Sukuma and Venda chieftaincies), but offices do not seem as specialized as in the Lozi, Ganda, and Nyoro paramountcies. In the latter, the

heads of major subordinate political divisions functioned as agents of central government. In addition, there were specialized tribute collection officials.

2.1 No regularly constituted court or council. A chief consults, as necessary, with subordinate heads, not resident at court; and/or makes use in various capacities of the services of retainers, relatives, or other followers (Ila, Alur, Yao, Ndembu, Nyakyusa, Suku).

2.2 Regularly constituted court, council, or set of assistant military personnel, but lacking specialized political-judicial functions (Sukuma, Lovedu, Azande, Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana).

2.3 As above but some council members have less generalized political functions. Heads of major subordinate political-territorial divisions not only administer their own areas but also function as agents of central government; and there are specialized tribute collection officials (Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro).

3.0 Adjudication hierarchy

While arbitration and adjudication in the sample societies were not monopolized by central authority, they were important activities at all levels of headship. In some societies chiefs functioned only in limited situations, such as in the settling of disputes between clan or lineage sections, and in some societies persons

other than chiefs could deal with the same sorts of difficulties that chiefs could handle. In other societies there was a hierarchy of adjudication, but not, or not regularly, above the district level. The various forms of limitation on hierarchical organization are indicated in more detail in the following chapter and in Appendix 1. For the remaining societies an organized hierarchy of local, district, and paramount courts is described.

3.1 Chiefs arbitrate-adjudicate, but not through a hierarchical system. Either chiefly arbitration-adjudication is limited to certain spheres or/and the same sorts of cases dealt with by chiefs may be handled by other persons (Ila, Alur, Yao, Ndembu).

3.2 Hierarchy of arbitration-adjudication, but not, or not regularly, above the district level (Nyakyusa, Suku, Sukuma, Lovedu, Azande).

3.3 Organized hierarchy or arbitration-adjudication culminating above the district level (Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana, Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro).

4.0 Funding of headship

The nature and extent of tribute and tribute-labor given varied widely, and the available information is summarized in Appendix 1. In at least some of the less centralized chieftaincies (e.g., Yao), as in the more centralized systems, items of tribute included subsistence products as well as less perishable goods. The

latter were utilized to further not only local political influence but also long-range enterprises. For the present purpose of discerning the extent of hierarchical and centralized organization it was possible to make the following distinctions. In some of the sample societies chiefly generosity was funded largely through the efforts of personal followers of a chief, or tribute was received through wider networks, but irregularly as available, and apparently varying in relation to chiefly influence. The regular giving of tribute was evidently more an ideal than a practice (see esp. Southall 1956: 80 ff.), and the extent of chiefly influence and support fluctuated greatly over time. Other systems of tribute and tribute-labor involved not only a chief's own district but others as well, though with a variety of limitations. This range is elaborated in subsequent descriptive sections. The remaining tribute and tribute-labor systems were fully hierarchically, centrally, and effectively organized through the hierarchy of headships (Tswana), through a specialized collection system (Lozi), or through a combination of both (Ganda, Nyoro).

4.1 Relatively unorganized tribute, tribute-labor to chiefs. Tribute is irregular and/or not from all sectors of the chiefly "domain" (Ila, Alur, Yao, Ndembu, Nyakyusa).

4.2 Tribute, tribute-labor to highest ranking head from within own district; from other districts to a limited and/or irregular extent (Suku, Sukuma, Lovedu, Azande, Venda, Ngoni, Bemba).

4.3 Fully hierarchically and centrally organized funding system (Tswana, Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro).

5.0 Additional aspects of centralization

Characteristic of some of the societies of this sample was the granting of "estates" by the highest ranking head. That is, positions of political-territorial control were created through which the ruler maintained a "patchwork" control system within, between, and among other major political-territorial divisions (Tswana, Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro). In the sample there is further evidence of the centralization of activities, but unfortunately in many cases it is difficult to specify and compare the degree of centralization. This is for a number of reasons, including scattered occurrence through the sample, and fluctuation over time. Clearly centralized activities which were characteristic of only some societies of the sample are centrally coordinated redistribution of production specialties (Lozi), and the existence of regular markets (Ganda, Nyoro; also Soga and Haya, not included in the taxonomic analysis)--neither production nor markets were centrally administered.

5.1 Centralized "patchwork" political-territorial control system (Tswana, Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro).

5.2 Centralized redistribution of production differentia (Lozi); or regular markets (Ganda, Nyoro).

Settlement Pattern Aspects

As was mentioned in the Introduction, only certain aspects of settlement pattern are investigated in this study: the frequency distribution of settlement sizes (settlement size hierarchy), and the relative size of largest centers. Most of the settlement data available in the ethnographic literature concern population size. Information on areal size and on distances between settlements is rarely available--therefore it is not possible to deal with problems of relationship between population size and settlement area, or details of the distribution patterns of settlement. However, at least some of the data necessary for such studies is obtainable from other sources, such as aerial photographs, government census data, and ethnographers' fieldnotes. These data could be incorporated in future, more intensive study. (Such study would, of course, be centered upon twentieth century conditions which differ from the reconstructed nineteenth century patterns which are, for the most part, the focus of the present investigation.)

The following data relating to population size of settlements may be available in the ethnographic literature: the total population and number of settlements in a given region or sample; the population sizes of villages or other local groups; the number of dwellings per settlement, and of inhabitants or family heads per dwelling, or per settlement. There is also descriptive information pertaining to the range in size of settlements, and to modality in the settlement size frequency distribution. Some information is

also available on pattern of population aggregation/dispersion (such as village vs. homestead settlement), and on the sizes of political aggregates.

The available settlement data are briefly described in the last section of the next chapter, and are further detailed in Appendix 1. Much of these data consist of descriptive, order-of-magnitude information rather than quantified data, such as actual population sizes or numbers of dwellings. However, the more specific data have a fortunate dispersion through the sample, in that they are available for some societies in all but one of the groupings. These data have been organized into histograms (Figures 5 through 11). Histograms have thus been constructed for two uncentralized societies (Plateau Tonga and Lakeside Tonga), one nominal chieftaincy (Lale), two nonranked chieftaincies (Yao and Ndembu), and two ranked chieftaincy systems (Lovedu and Tswana). Since in the sources the qualitative descriptive data and the quantitative data are supportive of each other, the histograms serve to illustrate graphically some of the descriptive information presented in the ethnographic literature.

The patterns of political-jurisdictional organization indicated by the data analysis, and the aspects of settlement pattern that were investigated for this study, are described and compared in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION

Patterns of Political-Jurisdictional Organization

As mentioned above, for practical reasons it was found convenient to restrict similarity comparison to societies with some degree of centralized political-jurisdictional activity, and to compare separately the uncentralized societies and nominal chieftaincies of the sample. All the groupings are briefly characterized below, in order of increased centralization. The two centralized peoples (Soga and Haya) which had to be excluded from the taxonomic analysis because of insufficient data are described last; it is possible to make some comparison between them and the neighboring and similar, but more centrally organized, Ganda and Nyoro after the latter have been discussed. (See Appendix 1 for more ethnographic detail, and Appendix 2 for documentation of the presence of the characteristics utilized in the taxonomic analysis. The ethnographic sources are listed in Appendix 1 and presented in the Bibliography.)

Uncentralized societies

Lugbara. Sociopolitical authority exercised by elders of family-homestead clusters. Difficulties arbitrated by elders,

onlookers, kin.

Amba. No specific heads of villages. Arbitration by any elder or group of elders.

Plateau Tonga and Lakeside Tonga (unrelated peoples).

Nominal village headship based on personal rather than constituted authority. Village head essentially primus inter pares vis-à-vis other elders. Arbitration by elders, onlookers, kin.

Nominal chieftaincies

To paraphrase Sahlins (1968: 21), the "office" of "chief" in these societies is distinguished more by its pettiness than by its officialness.

Gisu. Constituted village headship; i.e., a village head had specific duties; he represented the village in relations with other villages, was its war leader, and arbitrated disputes together with village elders. Cases could also be heard by other important men, or by specialist judges or administrators of ordeals. Only some village-clusters had specific headship.

Lele. Nominal village headship and regional chiefship. The oldest man in a village, "by definition approaching senility" (Douglas 1954: 15), was nominal village head. In each village there was, in addition, a young man who acted as spokesman for anyone in the village, and was village treasurer as well. A senior member of the Lele "aristocratic" clan in each of three regions claimed to be

"chief" in that region. However, a "chief" had no judicial or military authority. He had active relationships only with villages in the immediate neighborhood of his own village. These were ritual-social relationships, affinal relationships maintained by the reciprocal exchange of wives and raffia cloths. Any claims to chiefly dominance in the region studied by Douglas were, at any rate, somewhat academic, since the aristocratic line there had dwindled to two adult men. It is possible that Lele chiefs had more effective political powers in the past than were evidenced in this century.

Luvale. Chiefs had ritual claims to privileged status, but were "somewhat precariously integrated with the commoner autochthones" (White 1960: 50). Most controls on subsistence, jural, ritual, and social activities were strongly localized in unilinear segments "largely independently of the chiefs who came rather late on the scene" (Ibid: xii). Chiefs intervened only to avert feud where homicide had occurred, to limit bloodshed and acts of violence. They seem to have been first accepted in that capacity, and may have had more authority in the past. Chiefs also acted in certain ritual capacities expressed in rather sporadic, individualistic, and limited ways.

Centralized systems

The patterns of political-jurisdictional organization indicated by the taxonomic analysis may now be briefly described.

The groupings of societies and of traits resulting from the

taxonomic procedures are illustrated in Figure 2. The political-jurisdictional groupings are separated by horizontal lines. In this study they are termed nonranked chieftaincies, ranked chieftaincies, and paramountcies. It can be seen that the greatest range in variation of characteristics is among the ranked chieftaincies. It can also be seen that there are more traits in common between the ranked chieftaincies and the paramountcies than between the ranked and nonranked chieftaincies.

The basis for grouping is shown in the similarity matrices, Figures 3 and 4. These present the coefficients of association calculated between all possible pairs of societies and all possible pairs of characteristics. The coefficients show, respectively, the similarity value of each society with respect to every other society, and the similarity value of each trait with respect to every other trait. These values are given in the matrices both numerically and graphically, the magnitude of the similarity coefficient being indicated by the depth of shading. The darkest squares and triangles along the diagonal in each matrix indicate greatest similarity; larger triangles consisting of these plus the less dark areas indicate major groupings. It can be seen from Figure 3 that of the three main groupings of societies there is least similarity among the societies of the middle group. The Suku are least similar to other societies in the sample on the basis of aggregate characteristics; this society is grouped with the ranked chieftaincy cluster on the basis of the presence of ranked chiefship. In Figure

4 the traits are also clustered into three main groups. The traits which correlate least well with the other traits are aspects of adjudication (traits 3.2 and 3.3), particularly partially hierarchical adjudication (3.2). Although fully hierarchical adjudication is characteristic of half the ranked chieftaincies, it correlates with the paramountcy traits rather than with other traits of ranked chieftaincy. The range of characteristics associated with each political-jurisdictional grouping is as follows.

Nonranked chieftaincies:

Ila, Alur, Yao, Ndembu, Nyakyusa

In all these nonranked chieftaincies there was more than nominal authority over local headships. Minimally a chief was primus inter pares in relation to local heads (Ila); at most there was nominal paramount chiefship (Ndembu).

Tribute was given to chiefs irregularly, evidently as available, and in accordance with the extent of chiefly influence. With the Yao and Ndembu the extent of chiefly support fluctuated greatly over time. Alur chiefs received tribute-service more regularly than tribute in kind. Tasks were performed by clan sections living nearest a chief's residence. Nyakyusa chiefly generosity, like that of other important men, was funded largely through the labor of wives and children. Ila chiefs received labor from personal followers and from slaves.

All lacked a regularly constituted council or court. Nyakyusa, Alur, and Ila chiefs consulted with village headmen as needed.

Ndembu district chiefs, including the "paramount" chief, had little authority over the headmen of their areas, but were dependent on the personal support of kin and slaves. Important Yao chiefs consulted with loyal headmen regarding conditions in their parts of the country. Important chiefs also used as court assessors men of any rank who possessed the requisite skills. These were impermanent positions.

All the nonranked chieftaincies but the Nyakyusa lacked hierarchy of adjudication. Nyakyusa chiefs settled cases not settled by the senior headmen of each half of a chiefdom, but chieftaincies were not grouped into supradistrict organizations. Alur chiefs and "chieflets" functioned only to stop disputes between warring clan sections. Yao and Ndembu chiefs adjudicated as requested but other important heads could also adjudicate. The settling of cases by Ila chiefs in council with headmen or other elders was only one of several means by which difficulties could be settled. Even where chiefly authority was involved, influence was dependent in large part on the character of the individual chief.

Ranked chieftaincies:
Suku, Sukuma, Lovedu, Azande,
Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana

Highest ranking chiefs had relative lack of control over subordinate headships, most or all of which were inherited positions. All the Suku and Sukuma district headships were inherited; in the other societies of this group highest ranking chiefs could appoint

relatives or nonrelated supporters to some of the positions.

Among the Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, and Tswana arbitration-adjudication proceeded, as necessary, from the courts of headmen through the district hierarchy to the court of the paramount chief; in some societies certain sorts of cases could be dealt with only there. In the other four ranked chieftaincies adjudication was less, or less consistently, hierarchically organized. The Suku had, in theory, a hierarchical system of adjudication, but it was irregularly and ineffectively activated. The highest ranking chief and the subordinate district chiefs intervened only in inter-lineage quarrels and in matters affecting operation of the formal political system. The Sukuma courts at the levels of village head, district chief, and paramount chief tended to have defined spheres of concern rather than constituting stages in adjudication. A chief of highest rank was most reluctant to consider a case on appeal from the district level. Among the Lovedu most adjudication was handled by the district heads, and cases rarely went to the capital of the paramount head. Azande adjudication tended to be largely uncentralized. All chiefs of highest rank and most subordinate district chiefs could sit in judgement and order punishment. Only in strong chieftaincies might there be a sort of hierarchy in the employment of official oracle tests.

Of the ranked chieftaincies, all but the Suku had a regularly constituted council, court, or set of assistant military personnel whose members, however, lacked specialized political-jurisdic-

tional functions. The Suku paramount chief and the district chiefs relied on informal consultations with the elders of the villages in their vicinities. The male guardian of the paramount chief's ritual paraphernalia not only performed a number of rites associated with the paramount chiefship, but also sometimes handled political matters which could also be dealt with by the paramount chief or any of his brothers. The authority of a Sukuma paramount chief depended largely on his personal bodyguard, whose members also served as ritual officers. A paramount chief also made use, in a variety of capacities, in his court and elsewhere, of a number of councillors and courtiers, chosen traditionally from certain families. They attended the paramount chief in turn, there always being at least ten in residence at his court. The Lovedu paramount head had no military organization, organized priesthood, or specialized political officers, though there was a court at the capital. Each Azande chief had his own military organization and personal bodyguard. In addition he was assisted by influential men who had managed to attract considerable followings of relatives and other people. These men acted, in a variety of capacities, as intermediaries between chiefs and local groups. The duties of Venda paramount chiefs were shared with certain close relatives. These, and at least five additional important officials, as well as five lesser officials, served in various capacities. There was also messenger service, and two or three executioners were resident at the capital. District chiefs had a lesser complement of officials; generally two important ones and a few messengers. In the Bemba paramount chief-

taincy there were 35 to 40 councillors who held their positions by hereditary right. Each had a particular office-duty-privilege, and priestly duties. There were also advisors picked from among near relatives, as well as military personnel and enforcement officers. The Ngoni and Tswana paramount chiefs had the assistance of subordinate military personnel for any venture.

Only the Tswana, of this group, had an effectively hierarchically organized tribute system. The Tswana system was organized through the hierarchy of political headship. Suku and Sukuma paramount chiefs did not receive annual tribute. The Suku paramount chief collected tribute every few years, and then by his own travel around the country with an armed retinue. Sukuma paramount chiefs received tribute in grain only in years of good harvest. The Lovedu paramount head had fields cultivated only in a few districts which belonged to the capital. An Azande paramount chief or district chief was formally entitled to various forms of tribute and tribute-labor from his subjects, but in reality most of his "wealth" derived from the labor, in his own fields, of his numerous wives and personal bodyguard. Venda paramount chiefs had fields cultivated in their own districts, and also in some, but not all, subordinate districts. The Ngoni and Bemba chieftaincies were funded largely by means of external raiding. Paramount chiefs received tribute-labor as necessary from residents in the vicinity, but irregularly from other areas of their domains.

Of the ranked chieftaincies, only the Tswana shared with the

more centrally organized paramountcies, discussed below, centralized "patchwork" political-territorial controls, and fully hierarchically organized internal funding of chiefship.

Paramountcies:
Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro

Paramountcy in these societies constituted an additional level of political-jurisdictional hierarchy above the district level. Paramount heads did not double as district heads, although district chiefs did double as agents of central government. All major subordinate headships, and sometimes lesser offices as well, were controlled from the level of paramountcy. Centralized control was not maintained through a unitary hierarchical organization but rather through a patchwork arrangement of differing political-territorial control systems, each of which culminated in the paramount. Funding involving all the diverse sectors of the paramountcy was effectively organized from the center, to which were attached specialized tribute collection officials. Other highly centralized functions were the organization of offense-defense and of external trade-raid. These activities were also undertaken in other societies in the sample, but in varying degrees of centralization not feasible to determine for the purposes of this study. The Lozi had, in addition, central administration of internal redistribution, though not directly of production differentia. In Buganda and Bunyoro markets were held at which fees were collected by "market masters" on behalf of rulers, but the markets were not centrally administered. In Buganda admin-

istrative and military activities were facilitated by a well-planned and carefully maintained system of roads radiating from the capital to all sectors of the country. A part-time navy was maintained on Lake Victoria, and standing armies were developed near the end of the pre-British period.

Soga and Haya

These are described as being very similar in organization to the Ganda and Nyoro. As mentioned above, one of the main reasons they could not be used on the same comparative basis as the other centralized societies in the sample is that much of their description in the literature refers to and depends on that for Buganda and Bunyoro, the main difference being that Busoga and Buhaya were organized into multiple rather than single polities. There also seems to have been rather less effective central control, with frequent splitting and proliferation of the political units. Another important difference, in terms of distinctions utilized in the present study, is that not all district headships were appointed by the paramount head. It is not clear how many or what sorts of assistant political officials there were. The same patchwork scheme of hierarchical administration is described as for Buganda and Bunyoro, and it is mentioned that markets were sometimes held. On the basis of available evidence the Soga and Haya would most likely be placed in the present classification somewhere between the Tswana and the more centrally organized systems.

Summary: Political-Jurisdictional Patterns

The patterns of political-jurisdictional organization indicated by the taxonomic analysis, and by separate comparison of the sample societies that were not included in that analysis, may be briefly delineated as follows (see Table 3 and Figure 2).

The societies here operationally classed as uncentralized societies and nominal chieftaincies lacked, or possessed only nominal, local headship and/or supralocal headship. Of the more centrally organized systems, similarity is greatest among the non-ranked chieftaincies and among the paramountcies. The greatest range in variability of characteristics is among the middle-range hierarchical societies, the ranked chieftaincies.

The nonranked chieftaincies lacked a regularly constituted court or council, had relatively unorganized tribute or tribute-labor to chiefs, and most lacked adjudicative hierarchy. In the ranked chieftaincies there was relative lack of control by the highest ranking head over subordinate headships. In most of the ranked chieftaincies there was a regularly constituted council, court, or set of assistant military personnel, though members had generalized political-jurisdictional functions. Also, most of them lacked a fully hierarchically organized internal tribute system. In half the societies of this group there was partially hierarchical adjudication, and in the other half fully hierarchical adjudication. All three paramountcy systems had the following characteristics:

fully hierarchical adjudication (in common with half the ranked chieftaincies); fully hierarchical and centrally organized tribute system, and "patchwork" political control system (both in common with one of the ranked chieftaincies); increased specialization of assistant administrative offices; the paramount did not double as a district head, but rather was at an additional level of political-jurisdictional hierarchy; all major subordinate headships were controlled from the level of paramountcy; and there were additional but variable centralized functions.

Though the taxonomic clusterings of societies are clear, there is comparatively greater variability among characteristics of middle-range hierarchical societies. These have characteristics in common with both nonranked chieftaincies and with paramountcies. It would be of interest to have greater comparability of data for such societies as the Soga and Haya, in order to determine the extent of continuity between ranked chieftaincies and paramountcies.

Some aspects of settlement pattern which correspond to these patterns of political-jurisdictional organization can now be described.

Settlement Pattern Aspects

While the aspects of settlement pattern of main concern in this study are the frequency distribution of settlement sizes, and the relative size of largest centers, some information was also gathered on the sizes of political aggregates, and on patterns of

population aggregation-dispersion. After describing the settlement aspects of main interest here, some indication will be given of the relationships between size of largest center and size of political aggregate in the political-jurisdictional groupings distinguished in this study.

First it can be noted that in this sample patterns of dispersed settlement in homesteads or aggregation in villages do not co-vary in relation to hierarchy of settlement size or relative size of largest center. However, aggregation into fewer and larger settlements is most probably related to intersocietal relationships, and to requirements of offense-defense, since it is described for most of the ranked chieftaincies in this sample, and for some of the less centralized systems, in the nineteenth century, but is much less characteristic in later times. Although the investigation of this factor is outside the scope of the present study, some indication of nineteenth century conditions is given briefly in ethnographic descriptions in Appendix 1.

As indicated above, most of the available ethnographic information pertaining to settlement data consists, not of quantified data, but of qualitative description. These data are summarized in Appendix 1. Information on total population sizes, and on sizes of political aggregates is also presented in Appendix 1, and is summarized in Table 5.

Uncentralized societies and
nominal chieftaincies

There is considerable variation in the size of settlements in this group, ranging from tiny hamlets to villages containing over 500 people. The settlement pattern is usually described as consisting of numerous small settlements, and there is no quantified or descriptive evidence of discontinuity in the frequency distribution of settlement sizes, that is, no evidence of settlement hierarchy. As evidenced by the particular histograms available, for the Plateau Tonga, Lakeside Tonga, and Lele (Figures 5 through 7), modal size is in the low sector of the range, being relatively somewhat larger for the Lele than for the Plateau Tonga and the Lakeside Tonga (the latter represented by a very small sample).

Lele "chiefly" villages in regions other than that studied by Douglas, and/or all such villages in the past, may have been larger than other villages. Also, in the early days when the Luvala chiefly lineage first established itself over the local lineages, chiefs' villages were probably larger than the villages of later chiefs.

Nonranked chieftaincies

For this grouping of societies the quantitative ethnographic data are particularly thin, especially regarding the size of settlements where chiefs resided. However, the descriptive materials indicate, as for the uncategorized societies and nominal chieftaincies, no evidence of settlement hierarchy. But descriptions also indicate

that the size of a chief's village varied with the extent of his importance and influence. Evidently chiefs' villages were usually among the larger settlements, although the villages of other important men might be equally large. The histogram for the Yao villages (Figure 8) may be considered representative of an expectable distribution pattern. The larger villages were headed either by chiefs or by other important men who had managed to attract large followings. Modal village size is in the low sector of the range, as in the preceding histograms.

The histogram sample for the Ndembu (Figure 9) illustrates the distribution pattern before periods of intensive slave-raiding in the last century, as well as the pattern of modern times. During the raiding periods some formerly independent villages united into larger stockaded ones, both for protection and in order to pursue successful raids on other smaller villages, while other villages dispersed into the bush.

The Ila chieftaincies consisted either of several villages all around the same size, or of one large and several smaller settlements. The Nyakyusa controlled village size by limiting the number of boys who formed the population of a future mature age-village. The smaller villages were either newly forming villages, or those of old men. There seems not to have been a great size difference among the villages of the young and middle-aged men of the politically active generation. Evidently chiefly village size would not even have been increased by the presence of a chief's more numerous wives,

for they were distributed among a number of villages.

Ranked chieftaincies

Two patterns of settlement are described for the ranked chieftaincies. Reported especially for the last century is a unimodal distribution in which there were a number of large compact settlements containing hundreds or thousands of people, sometimes with smaller ancillary settlements. The other pattern, reported mainly for this century, consists of a bimodal distribution in which the chiefly homestead or village contained from one to several hundred inhabitants, while other settlements were much smaller, except possibly where district chiefs resided. The histogram for the Lovedu settlements (Figure 10) is the subdistrict of the capital may be considered illustrative of the second form of distribution, and the histograms for three of the Tswana groups (Figure 11) illustrative of the former. In the Tswana Reserves the smaller settlements away from the much larger capitals were occupied mainly by immigrants and aliens. There has always been a tendency for all tribal members proper to reside in a single large settlement. All 1563 residents of the Tlokwa Reserve occupied a single settlement. In the frequency distribution of the Lovedu village sizes, the modal size in the major mode is very small (two dwellings).

Paramountcies: Soga and Haya

The Lozi had a three-level settlement hierarchy which consisted of: (1) numerous small villages containing, on average, six

to ten men and their families; (2) larger "royal" villages ranging in size from tens of people to a couple of hundred; and (3) capitals with populations in the thousands. A three-level hierarchy is also indicated for the Ganda and Nyoro. They lived in neighborhoods of dispersed homesteads. The homesteads of district chiefs had, at least in Buganda, "many houses and huts to accommodate wives and children and dependants and slaves," and probably served as foci for the relative aggregation of other homesteads in the vicinity (Southwold 1965: 104). The Buganda capital, by all reports, had a population in the tens of thousands, though Southall and Gutkind (1956) consider two early population estimates of 77,000 and 60,000 to be excessive. The Bunyoro capital was similar to the Buganda capital, though on a smaller scale. The Soga and Haya capitals were in turn similar to that of Bunyoro, but on a still smaller scale, although some larger Haya capitals may have approached the Bunyoro capital in size.

Relation between Size of Center
and Size of Political Aggregate

The population sizes of the political hinterlands influenced by centers in this sample appear to vary in accordance with the magnitude of center size. The readily available information on the sizes of political aggregates has a number of limitations, not least of which is the chronological variation in the ethnographic documentation. Yet we may note the order-of-magnitude indications (see Table 5). Local groups in the uncentralized societies ranged greatly in size, as mentioned above, from settlements containing two

dwellings to some containing over 500 people. On the order of one hundred to three thousand people were comprised by the nonranked chieftaincies for which evidence is available. A major break in the size distribution occurs between these figures and those for the ranked chieftaincies, roughly 20,000 to well over 100,000. It is of interest to note that the largest number of assistant political personnel is indicated for the Bemba, the most populous of these (ca. 140,000). The other major break in the size distribution occurs between their population size and that for the Lozi, who, at ca. 296,000, are over twice as numerous. The size of the Buganda population was perhaps around a million people, but that of the relatively less centralized Nyoro people (ca. 110,000) falls back within the range for ranked chieftaincies.

These figures may be compared with the following ranges that have been suggested by Sanders and Price (1968: 74-86): tribes, 500 to 2000; chiefdoms, 800 to 10,000; civilizations, at least 10,000. Also, Flannery mentions that in chiefdoms there may be thousands of people (1972: 403, 412), while "States usually have populations numbering at least into the hundreds of thousands . . ." (Ibid: 404; his emphasis).

In the present study the main concern is not with the absolute figures, which would not necessarily be expected to have universal occurrence, but rather with the discontinuities and order-of-magnitude distinctions. These are indicated not only mathematically through the population figures but also in the political geometry of

the differing scales of central control. Thus, control in a non-ranked chieftaincy is exercised over a number of local groups. In a ranked chieftaincy a number of such "districts" is governed (to varying degrees in different systems), from the center of one of them. It is evident from scattered discussions in the literature that chiefs of larger districts had correspondingly elaborated ranks of subordinate headship, though the available details are not sufficient for comparative purposes. In a paramountcy the capital does not double as a district administrative center but functions as the more specialized administrative center of an entire paramountcy.

In summary, in the sample studied there is a close positive relationship between the frequency distribution of settlement sizes and political-jurisdictional hierarchy and centralization, as well as between size of center and extent of functions centrally performed (and also, evidently, size of hinterland influenced by the center). In less centrally organized systems more activities are locally regulated. Settlement hierarchy is not evidenced for societies lacking supralocal organization, or having but one level of supralocal organization, but only for societies which have a ranking of supralocal controls. In such societies the extent of settlement hierarchy and the relative size of the highest ranking center vary in relation to the political-jurisdictional hierarchy and the numbers and kinds of centrally performed functions. Results of this study thus confirm the proposed relationships explored here between certain features of settlement pattern and hierarchical sociopolitical systems of differing scale.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored relationships between hierarchy and centralization in political-jurisdictional decision-processing and certain aspects of settlement pattern, namely, settlement size hierarchy and relative size of centers of higher rank. It has applied some of the procedures of numerical taxonomy and some aspects of geographic locational analysis to readily available ethnographic data, and concentrated on middle-range hierarchical societies ("chiefdoms"). It was suggested that methods such as those employed here can facilitate greater discrimination of the characteristics of middle-range hierarchical systems, and can enable the development of models that are more operational archeologically, than does the "chiefdom" model.

Ethnographic Sample

In order to broaden the comparative base of the Service-Sahlins' Polynesian-derived "chiefdom" model, an ethnographic sample was drawn from another area of the world with a large number of well-described hierarchical societies relying in large part on cultivation for subsistence. The data utilized relate mainly to observed or reconstructed "traditional" systems; that is, for the

most part, to nineteenth century patterns that continued, in varying extents, into the twentieth century.

The geographically somewhat scattered sample of twenty-five societies was drawn largely from East-Central Africa, but also, as permitted by sufficiency of data, from south and west of that area. All but the Lugbara, Alur, and Azande are Bantu peoples who share numerous sociocultural traits. There are long histories and traditions of interaction of various of these peoples both with each other and with outside groups. There are also a number of differences in the nature of the ethnographic sample for each "society." Whatever the limitations of these materials, for the exploratory purposes of the present study they were assumed to be unbiased with respect to the problems investigated here.

A number of the diagnostic features of the Service-Sahlins and Fried models of hierarchical societies, delineated by these authors themselves and/or by archeologists interested in applying their constructs to archeological studies, are not characteristic of the hierarchical societies of the present sample. Therefore these features would not have archeological correlates in systems similar to those studied here. Most of these features were not investigated in depth for the purposes of this study, but some observations concerning them could be made, based on my reading of the ethnographic literature in connection with the problems investigated here. Thus, territorial boundaries, where mentioned, are described as having been diffuse, fluctuating, or nonexistent for most of the middle-

range hierarchical societies of the sample, and for at least some of the more centralized societies as well. Also, there is little correspondence in the sample between degree of political hierarchy and centralization and overall population density; and population pressure on agricultural land is not described for pre-colonial conditions. As discussed in Chapter II, productivity may have varied less with the nature and distribution of productive resources and techniques (cf. Carneiro 1961, Sahlins 1972) than, as suggested by Sahlins, with the political pressures brought to bear on the household or domestic mode of production (Sahlins 1968; 1972: Chs. 2 and 3). But it should be remembered that most of the comparative materials on population density and on production factors that I surveyed are gross data and refer to a variety of time periods.

The middle-range hierarchical societies of this sample were not typically redistributive societies as these are described by Sahlins and Service. Local groups tended to be largely self-sufficient in material needs, not only in these, but in most of the more centrally organized systems as well, and the organized collection and redistribution of regional production specialties is described for only one of the most centrally organized societies examined. Also, access to agricultural land in these societies was not organized through a hierarchy of "overlapping stewardship" as described for Polynesian societies (Sahlins 1958). Rather it was largely a local matter except in the most centrally organized systems of the sample. In these systems the allotment of at least some of the important political positions involved the granting of "estates,"

and therefore not only political controls over peasants, but also rights to a portion of their produce and labor.

In addition, the most centrally organized political-jurisdictional organizations in the sample are not characterized by certain features which various writers have considered diagnostic attributes of state society. Thus, central organization here did not have a monopoly of force, and the rights of individuals, and of local and kin groups, to secure redress for wrongs, were not eliminated. However, central authority did endeavor to maintain a monopoly of political decision-processing, and there was a new class of offences--offences against the state, (which could encompass a considerable range of behaviors. At the same time, adjudication was not confined to matters of state, and arbitration and adjudication of many sorts of cases were important functions of headmen, chiefs, and paramounts. Societies differed in the extent to which arbitration and adjudication were hierarchically organized, and this proved a useful index of degree of hierarchy and centralization in the present analysis.

Also not characteristic of the most centrally organized societies in the sample is economic reorganization of society involving the coordination of craft production or trading activities. There might be extensive craft specialization attached to the households of rulers and the more important chiefs, but craft production was not coordinated throughout the country. In some of the Inter-lacustrine societies regular markets were held, but they were not

centrally administered. However, rights to various trade items and the control of external trading activities were at least in theory important prerogatives of chiefs and paramounts in all the hierarchical systems, and those subordinate to them were involved in the trading sphere in varying degrees.

Thus, findings of this study confirm the recent statements by Fallers (1973) and Goody (1971) that, on the whole, in African societies there is relative availability of agricultural land, relatively low population density, and relative lack of central control over production resources and relationships.

Kinship relationships, and the nature and degree of their politicization, are important topics not investigated in this study. However, it is evident that the basis for authority in some of the simplest as well as in the more complex societies in this sample rests on criteria other than the nature or degree of kin relationship, such as the inheritance of ritual and/or judicial powers in certain lines only, and/or on relative time of arrival in an area. Inequalities are present in a variety of forms and contexts throughout the range of political-jurisdictional organization represented here (cf. Fallers 1973, Balandier 1967, Netting 1972).

In sum, as stated above, a number of the characteristics of certain "chiefdom" and contrasting "state" models are not typical of the hierarchical societies of the present sample. Therefore some of the archeological correlates which might be expectable on the basis of these models may not be recoverable archeologically for socio-

political systems similar to those described in this study.

Methods of Analysis

The major objective of the present study is to make a contribution towards a more refined definition of the range in variation of characteristics of hierarchical societies, and of associated aspects of settlement pattern. It was noted above that there can be difficulties involved in distinguishing forms of political-jurisdictional organization if classification is based on the presence of only one or a few features. Some procedures of numerical taxonomy were thus used to facilitate the objective determination of aggregate characteristics of political-jurisdictional systems, and aspects of geographic locational analysis which can contribute to the development of models that are operational archeologically were also utilized. However, it must be noted that the groupings of societies presented in this study are based on indicators of the extent of hierarchy and centralization, and should not necessarily be expected to coincide with classifications based on other structural or on formal criteria selected as appropriate to the analysis of other kinds of research problems. It should also be noted that this study is concerned with the interrelationships between political-jurisdictional organization and certain aspects of settlement pattern, rather than with the processes of development of these related sets of phenomena. However, findings such as these can be applied to both synchronic and diachronic archeological problems, especially after further substantive results are in.

The activities in this sample of societies which evidence various degrees of hierarchy and centralization are, primarily, various aspects of headship. However, the extent of hierarchy and centralization is not measured in this study through the enumeration of levels of headship, for headship is nominal in many cases. Instead, the degree of hierarchy and centralization is defined by means of aspects of activities associated with headship. It was not feasible to study ritual aspects of headship or comparative details of trade-raid-tribute activities at this time, but such studies could be undertaken in the future. Characteristics that were available for use in the taxonomic analysis include aspects of: (1) hierarchy of headship, (2) assistant administrative office, (3) funding of headship, (4) adjudication hierarchy; and (5) additional but variable features of centralization.

Political-Jurisdictional Patterns

For practical reasons the sample societies lacking, or having nominal, chiefship were excluded from the taxonomic analysis. This includes the Lugbara, Amba, Plateau Tonga, Lakeside Tonga, Gisu, Lele, and Luvale, the last three with nominal chieftaincy. The patterns of political-jurisdictional organization indicated by the taxonomic clusters are termed nonranked chieftaincy, ranked chieftaincy, and paramountcy.

All five nonranked chieftaincies had constituted chiefship, operationally defined here as a level of authority over a number of local groups. They all lacked a regularly constituted court or coun-

cil, and had relatively unorganized systems of tribute or tribute-labor to chiefs. One (Nyakyusa) had a hierarchy of adjudication, but not above the district level; the other four (Ila, Alur, Yao, Ndembu) lacked adjudicative hierarchy.

The greatest variability of characteristics is among the middle-range hierarchical societies, here termed ranked chieftaincies. In all eight societies there was relative lack of control by the highest ranking chief over subordinate headships. In two (Suku and Sukuma) all subordinate territorial headships were inherited; in the other six (Lovedu, Azande, Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana) the paramount head could appoint relatives or unrelated supporters to some of these positions. One of these societies (Suku) lacked a regular court or council; in the remainder there was a regularly constituted court, council, or set of assistant military personnel, though having generalized political-jurisdictional functions. All but the Tswana lacked a fully hierarchically organized internal tribute system, although two chieftaincy systems (Ngoni and Bemba) were funded largely by means of external raiding activities. The Tswana shared with the more centrally organized systems not only effectively centralized internal tribute collection, but also centralized "patchwork" political-territorial controls. In half the ranked chieftaincies (Suku, Sukuma, Lovedu, Azande) there was partially hierarchical adjudication, and in the other half (Venda, Ngoni, Bemba, Tswana) fully hierarchical adjudication, as in the paramountcies.

All three paramountcy systems (Lozi, Ganda, Nyoro) had the following characteristics. There was fully hierarchical adjudication (in common with half the ranked chieftaincies); fully hierarchical and centrally organized internal tribute collection, and centralized "patchwork" political controls (both traits in common with the Tswana). There was also greater specialization of assistant administrative functions than in chieftaincy systems. The paramount did not double as a district head, and most or all major subordinate headships were controlled from the level of paramountcy. There were also additional but variable centralized functions, such as centralized collection and redistribution of production specialties (Lozi), or the regular holding of markets (Ganda, Nyoro), though neither production nor markets were centrally administered. It would be useful to have greater comparability of data for societies such as the Soga and Haya. They were evidently somewhat less centrally organized than the neighboring and similar Ganda and Nyoro, but to degrees not feasible to determine on the basis of the available data. More information on such societies would help to indicate the extent of continuity between ranked chieftaincy and paramountcy systems.

Settlement Pattern Aspects

As predictable on the basis of locational theory there is a close relationship between the operationally determined political-jurisdictional classes and modal distribution of settlement sizes; and size of largest centers varies with extent of centrally-per-

formed functions. There are also indications that size of center varies with size of hinterland (here, political aggregate) influenced by the center. Most available ethnographic data pertain to population size of settlements, but rarely to areal size or distance between settlements.

In uncentralized societies and nominal chieftaincies there is a great range in the size of settlements, but lack of settlement hierarchy. In nonranked chieftaincies chiefs' villages are among the larger settlements, which may be headed by other influential persons. However, chiefly control over local groups may be indicated by archeologically recoverable features other than settlement hierarchy, such as differential distribution of trade or status goods.

Two modality patterns are evidenced for ranked chieftaincies. One is a bimodal distribution, reported mainly for the twentieth century, in which the chiefly homesteads or villages contain about one to several hundred inhabitants, and other settlements are much smaller. The other pattern, reported especially for the nineteenth century, is a unimodal distribution consisting of a number of large settlements, each numbering into the hundreds or thousands. These fall into the range for sizes of the capitals of more centrally organized systems, which comprise one level in a hierarchy of settlement sizes.

A paramountcy capital, rather than doubling as a district center, serves the more specialized function of administrative

center of an entire paramountcy. This is a more effectively centrally controlled system in which the paramount does not double as a district chief, but district chiefs double as agents of central government. Paramountcy capitals are of a greater order-of-magnitude than "capitals" in ranked chieftaincies, as well as being much larger than any other settlement in a paramountcy. The evidence indicates that they number into the thousands; in at least some cases into the tens of thousands. There are strong indications that district centers form an intermediate level of settlement hierarchy between those of the capital and of local groups.

The population size of political hinterlands influenced by centers apparently varies with the size of center, at least as indicated by the order-of-magnitude data available. Local groups in the uncentralized societies ranged greatly in size from settlements containing two dwellings to some containing over 500 people. Populations on the order of 100 to 3000 people comprised the nonranked chieftaincies for which information is available. A major break in size distribution occurs between these figures and those for ranked chieftaincies, roughly 20,000 to 140,000, and the other major break in size distribution occurs between that figure and the population size for one of the paramountcies, the Lozi, who, at ca. 296,000 were over twice as numerous as the most populous of the ranked chieftaincies (Bemba). Of course the main interest here is not with the absolute figures, which would not necessarily be expected to have universal occurrence, but rather with the discontinuities and order-of-magnitude distinctions. These are indicated not only mathemati-

cally through the population figures but also in the political geometry of the differing scales of central control. Thus control in nonranked chieftaincies is exercised over a number of local groups. In a ranked chieftaincy a number of such supralocal groupings is governed, in varying degrees, from the center of one of them. In the more centrally organized systems the capital functions as the specialized administrative center of a paramountcy composed of a number of territorial divisions, each controlled through a district administrative center.

Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that political-jurisdictional organization and aspects of settlement are systemically related, and that the first is reflected in the second. Hierarchical organizations involve social and economic networks of varying dimensions in a number of political and economic enterprises. As described by Sahlins, various strategies of intensification are employed by political economy to overcome, in varying degrees, the underproductive and centrifugal forces of the domestic mode of production (Sahlins 1972; cf. Carneiro 1961). As mentioned in the Introduction, at least some of the less centralized East-Central African chieftaincies may be characterized as societies in which chiefly generosity is funded through the labor of a chief's many wives and other supporters, while in more centralized societies the ruler's generosity as well as numerous royal wives and followers, many of whose positions become increasingly politicized, are sup-

ported through the labor of others in the society. (It should also be mentioned that even in the relatively uncentralized systems of the present sample, in which local groups are largely independent and self-regulating, there is funding of ritual activities through which aspects of group and individual well-being are controlled.)

In hierarchical systems local groups are not "small, separate, and equal" and unintegrated into larger units (Sahlins 1963: 287). Rather, there are sufficient political-economic means for the integration of local groups into supralocal political aggregates (Carneiro 1967), and for holding together at least some larger communities (Naroll 1956, Carneiro 1961).

In the Introduction there was a brief discussion of a variety of expectable settlement patterns for "chiefdoms" that have been suggested by archeologists. In the present sample, hierarchy of settlement size is not evidenced for societies with only one level of supralocal organization, here termed chiefship, but only for societies with some degree of ranking of chiefships (that is, some degree of control by one supralocal head over others). Other evidence of chiefship that is potentially available by means of various archeological techniques includes evidence of such functions as ritual activities, adjudication, hospitality, and trade and/or raid. There could also be evidence of differential permanence of settlement, and of inter- and intra-settlement variabilities in structures. Such aspects have not, however, been investigated in the present study.

A three-level settlement hierarchy is indicated in the sample only for societies that are effectively centrally controlled, in which case the center of highest rank is relatively much larger than any other settlement. Such societies are characterized by a centralized monopoly of political decision-processing (though not of legal force), which is maintained through control of most or all major subordinate headships in a "patchwork" system of hierarchical authority. This pattern of political-jurisdictional organization should, of course, also have archeological correlates other than the aspects of settlement size investigated here.

The ranges in variability of characteristics of hierarchical societies (including aspects of settlement pattern) remain to be determined. It is a finding of this study that methods such as those utilized here can facilitate the discrimination of these ranges in variability, and of expectable archeological correlates. It is also a finding of this study that the numbers and kinds of centrally performed functions are particularly critical diagnostic features of hierarchical societies, and that they are reflected in settlement hierarchy and in the relative size of largest centers. The archeological implication of this finding is that the degree of hierarchy and centralization in a sociopolitical system can be predicted on the basis of the settlement hierarchy and the relative size of the largest center (provided, of course, as noted above, that these can be determined).

More specific findings of this study concern (in addition to the relationship between political-jurisdictional centralization and the relative sizes of both largest center and political aggregate) the relationship between political-jurisdictional hierarchy and settlement hierarchy. Thus, systems which lack centralized functions also lack a settlement hierarchy. Nominal and nonranked chieftaincy systems lack settlement hierarchy also. Moreover, relatively uncen-
tralized "state" societies, such as some known ethnographically in East-Central Africa (the paramountcies of the present sample), have fewer levels of settlement hierarchy than sociopolitical systems which are more hierarchically and centrally organized, such as some known archeologically from southwestern Iran (see, e.g., Johnson 1973). That is, in the first sort of system there are three hierar-
chical levels of settlement size, while in the second there are four.

The findings of this study should be tested with a greater range and variety of centralization patterns than the range covered by the present sample. The inter-settlement variabilities dealt with here could thus be expanded upon. Also additional aspects of hierarchical societies can be investigated, such as intersettlement variabilities in structures. Intra-settlement variabilities can, of course, also be studied in relation to sociopolitical centraliza-
tion. This study has led to the development of a trial model of certain relationships between sociopolitical organization and aspects of settlement pattern which should be tested by further investigation which includes field work (human geographical, ethnological, archeo-
logical), as well as the use of archival sources of information.

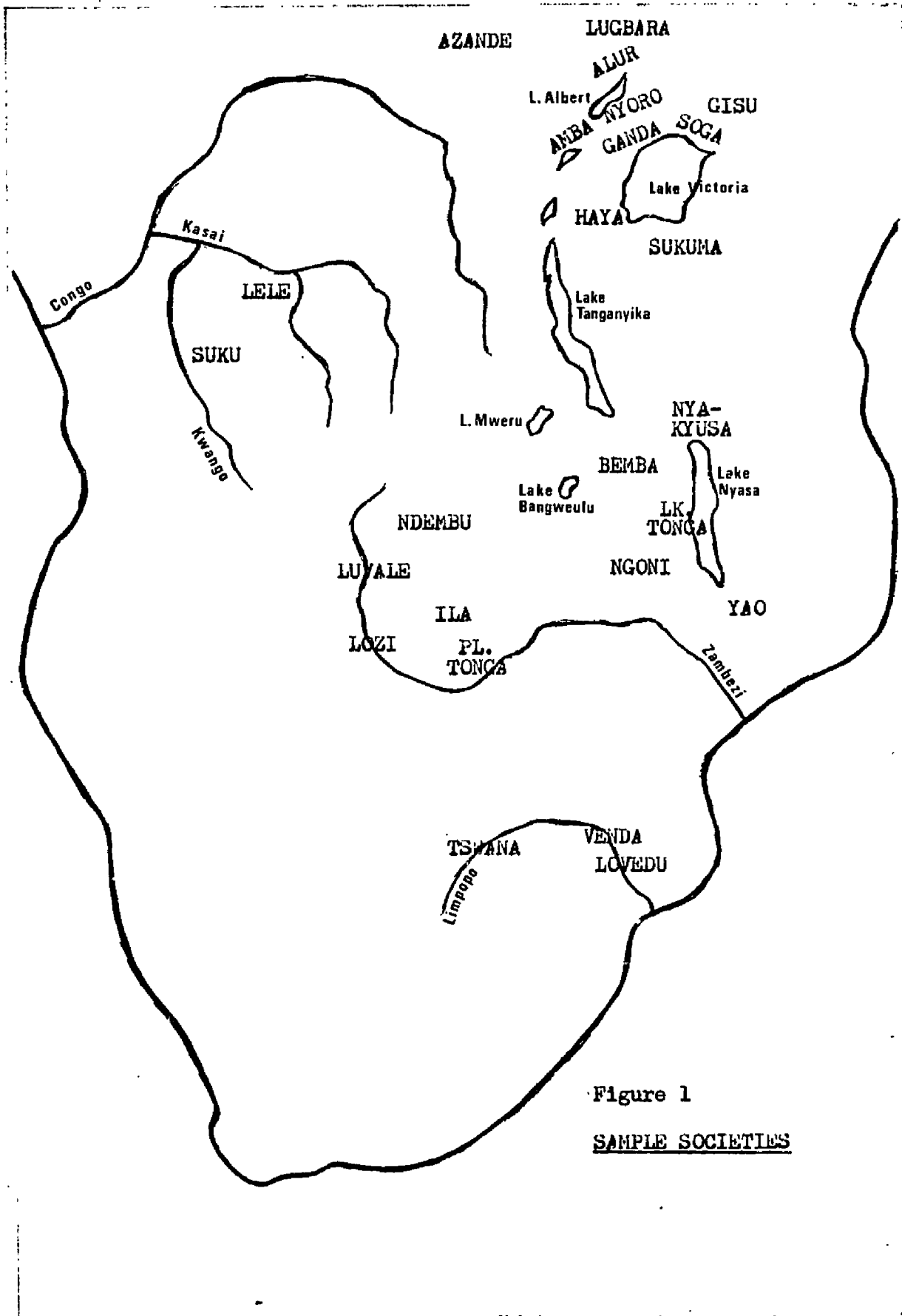


Figure 1

SAMPLE SOCIETIES

Table 1

SAMPLE SOCIETIES

Uncentralized

Lugbara
 Amba
 Plateau Tonga
 Lakeside Tonga

Nominal chieftaincies

Gisu
 Lele
 Luvale

Nonranked chieftaincies

Ila
 Alur
 Yao
 Ndembu
 Nyakyusa

Ranked chieftaincies

Suku
 Sukuma
 Lovedu
 Azande
 Venda
 Ngoni
 Bemba
 Tswana

Paramountcies

Lozi
 Ganda
 Nyoro

Unclassified centralized

Soga
 Haya

Table 2

CHARACTERISTICS UTILIZED IN TAXONOMIC ANALYSIS

1.0 Hierarchy of headship

- 1.1 Constituted by nonranked chiefship; i.e., supralocal, or "district" headship
- 1.2 Ranked chiefship
- 1.3 Paramountcy; i.e., supradistrict headship
- 1.4 Some district headships controlled from above district level
- 1.5 Most or all major subordinate headships controlled from above district level

2.0 Assistant administrative personnel

- 2.1 Chiefs consult with subordinates as necessary; no regularly constituted court or council
- 2.2 Regularly constituted court, council, or assistant military personnel; generalized political-jurisdictional functions
- 2.3 As (2.2) but some administrative assistants have less generalized functions

3.0 Adjudication hierarchy

- 3.1 Chiefs arbitrate-adjudicate, but not through a hierarchical system
- 3.2 Partially hierarchical arbitration-adjudication
- 3.3 Fully hierarchical arbitration-adjudication

4.0 Tribute hierarchy

- 4.1 Relatively unorganized tribute or tribute-labor to chiefs
- 4.2 Tribute or tribute-labor to highest ranking head from within own district and to limited extent from others
- 4.3 Fully hierarchical and centrally organized tribute system

5.0 Additional aspects of centralization

- 5.1 Centralized "patchwork" political-territorial control system
- 5.2 Centralized redistribution of production specialties; or regularly held markets

Table 3

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HIERARCHICAL SYSTEMS

Nonranked chieftaincies

- 1.1 Constituted chiefship; i.e., supralocal, or "district" headship
- 2.1 Chiefs consult with subordinates as necessary; no regularly constituted court or council
- 3.1 Chiefs arbitrate-adjudicate, but not through a hierarchical system
- 4.1 Relatively unorganized tribute or tribute-labor to chiefs

Ranked chieftaincies

- 1.2 Ranked chiefship
- 1.4 Some major subordinate headships controlled from above district level
- 2.2 Regularly constituted court, council, or set of assistant military personnel with generalized political-jurisdictional functions
- 3.2 Partially or
- 3.3 Fully hierarchical arbitration-adjudication
- 4.2 Tribute/tribute-labor to highest ranking head from within own district and to limited extent from others

Paramountcies

- 1.3 Paramountcy; i.e., supradistrict headship
- 1.5 Most or all major subordinate headships controlled from above district level
- 2.3 As (2.2) but some administrative assistants have less generalized functions
- 3.3 Fully hierarchical arbitration-adjudication
- 5.1 Centralized "patchwork" political-territorial control system
- 5.2 Centralized redistribution of production specialties; or regularly held markets

(Note: Insufficient comparative data available regarding centralization of ritual and of trade-raid activities)

(Coded traits are listed in Tables 2 and 3, and discussed in Ch. 3.)

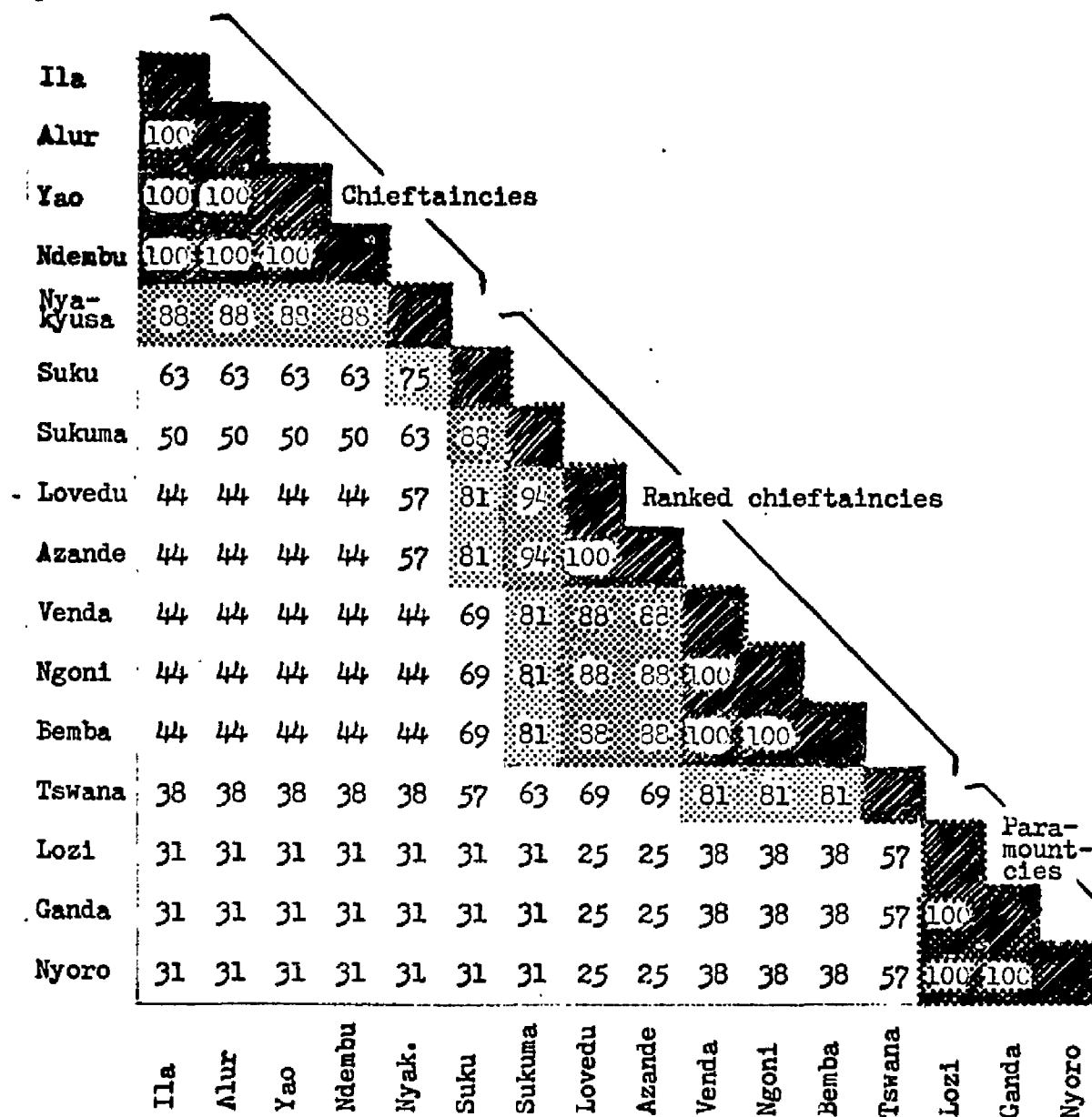


Figure 3

SIMILARITY MATRIX -- SOCIETIES

The coefficients of association (with decimal points omitted) calculated between all pairs of societies are clustered along the diagonal according to similarity value. The highest numbers and darkest squares along the diagonal indicate greatest similarity. The larger triangles consisting of these plus the less dark areas indicate major groupings.

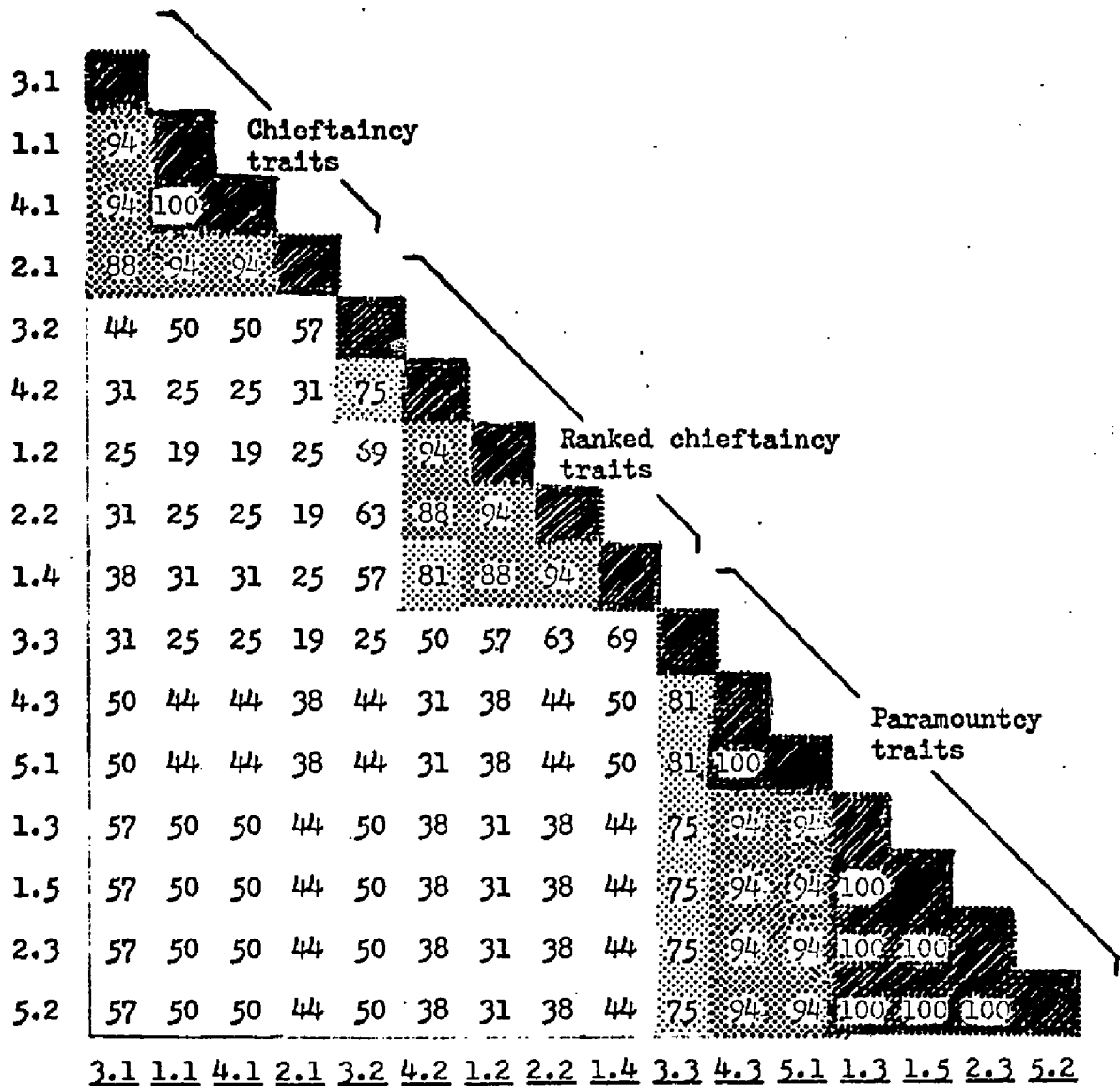


Figure 4

SIMILARITY MATRIX -- CHARACTERISTICS

The coefficients of association (with decimal points omitted) calculated between all pairs of characteristics are clustered along the diagonal according to similarity value. The highest numbers and darkest squares along the diagonal indicate greatest similarity. The larger triangles consisting of these plus the less dark areas indicate major groupings.

no. of
villages

200 —

150 —

100 —

50 —

10 —

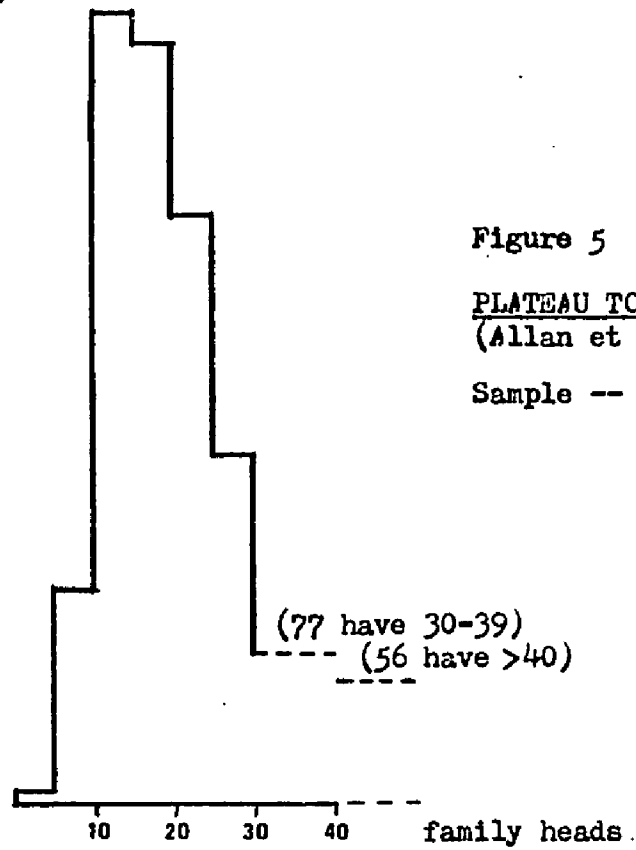


Figure 5

PLATEAU TONGA

(Allan et al 1948: 38)

Sample -- 840

no. of
villages

15 —

10 —

5 —

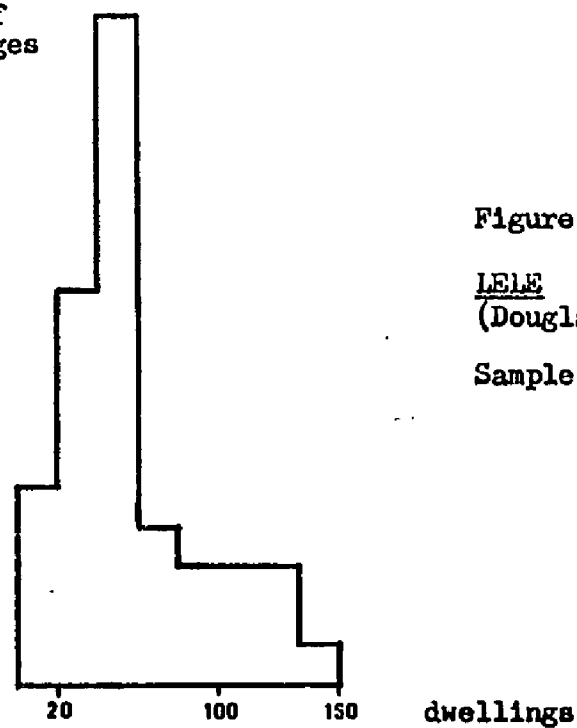


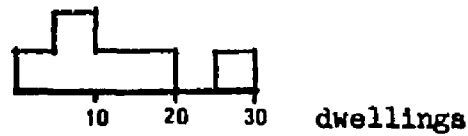
Figure 6

LELE

(Douglas 1963: 28, Map 6)

Sample -- 46

Figure 7



LAKESIDE TONGA
(van Velsen 1964)
Sample -- 6

no. of
villages
150 —

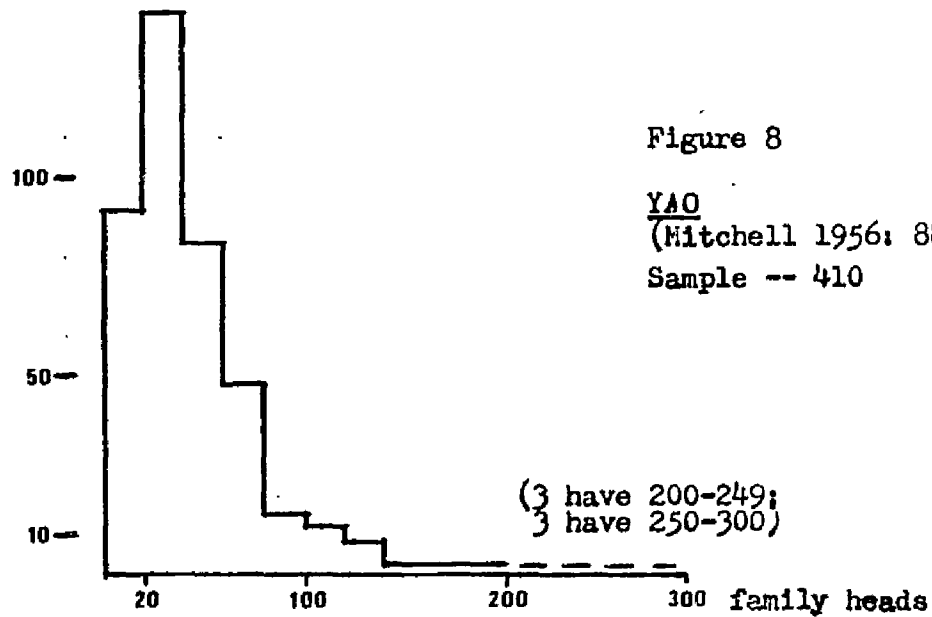


Figure 8

YAO
(Mitchell 1956: 88)
Sample -- 410

no. of
villages
10 —

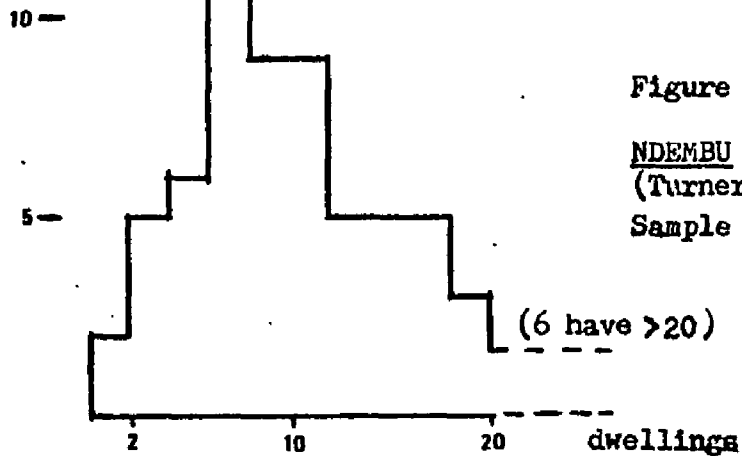


Figure 9

NDEMBU
(Turner 1957: 38)
Sample -- 68

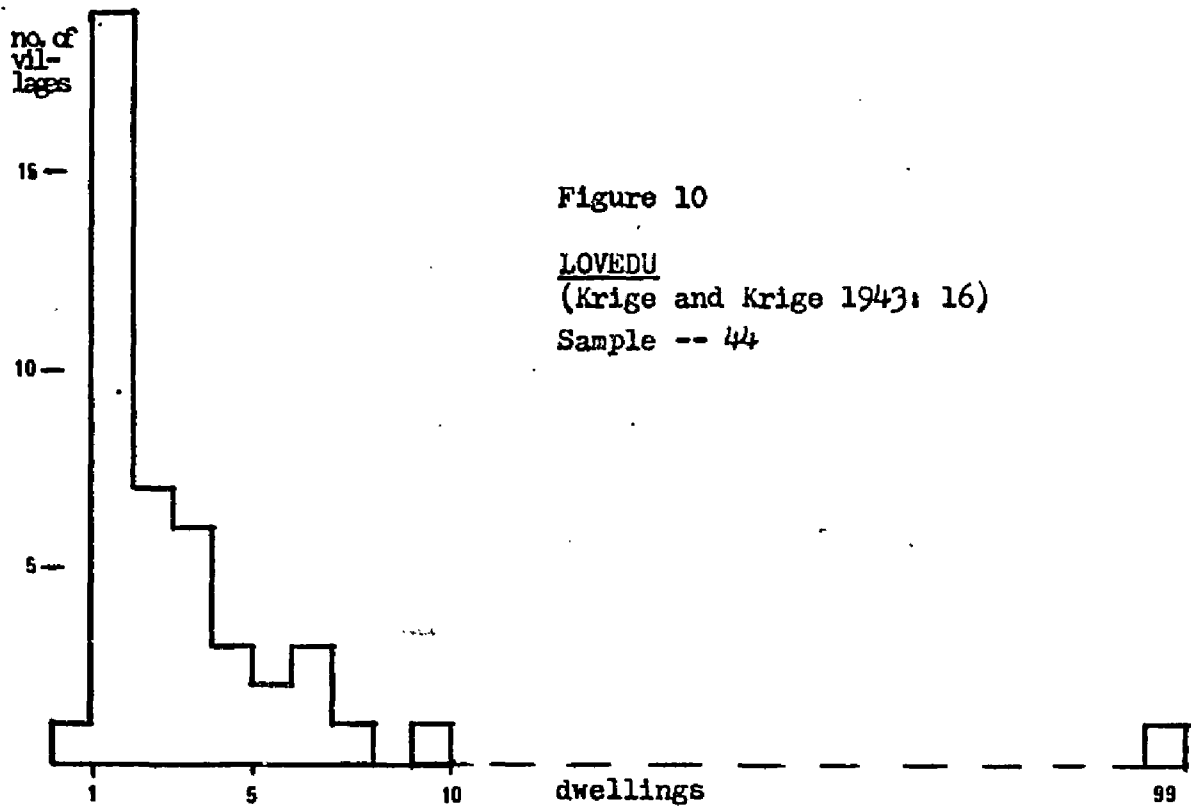


Figure 11

TSWANA
(Schapera 1953, 1955)

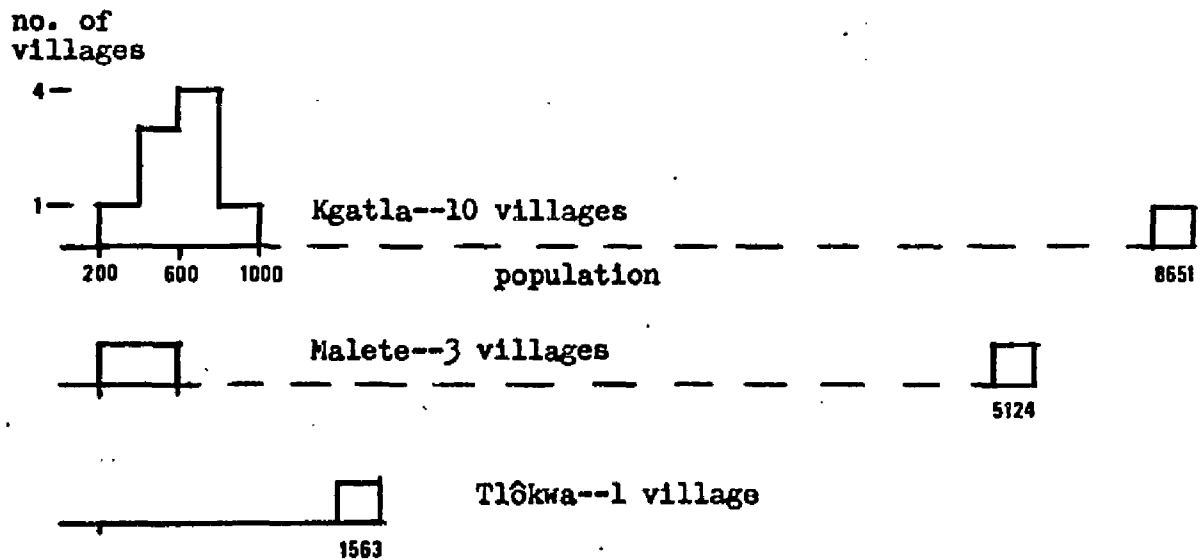


Table 4

OVERALL POPULATION DENSITY

(see Appendix 1 for documentation)

Uncentralized societies and nominal chieftaincies

Lugbara	90	per square mile
Amba	180	
Plateau Tonga	--	
Lakeside Tonga	35	
Gisu	200	
Lele	4	
Luvale	200	

Nonranked chieftaincies

Ila	3
Alur	100
Yao	57
Ndembu	6
Nyakyusa	80

Ranked chieftaincies

Suku	15
Sukuma	50
Lovedu	235
Azande	10
Venda	--
Ngoni	47
Bemba	4
Tswana	3

Paramountcies

Lozi	9
Ganda	100
Nyoro	57

Table 5

SIZE OF POLITICAL AGGREGATES

<u>Local Group</u>	<u>Independent Chieftaincy</u> (society comprises a no. of indep. polities)	<u>Total Population</u> (society comprises a single polity)
<u>Uncentralized societies and nominal chieftaincies:</u>		
Luvale	av. 13 people	
Lk.Tonga	2-6 houses	
Lugbara	15-50 people	
Gisu	10-40 houses	
Pl.Tonga	av. 100 people	
Amba	50-400 people	
Lele	29-534 people	
<u>Nonranked chieftaincies:</u>		
Ila	100-3000 people	
Nyakyusa	av. 1500	
<u>Ranked chieftaincies:</u>		
Sukuma	av. 23,000	
Tswana	av. 27,000	
Soga	av. 33,000	
Haya	av. 37,500	
Azande	50,000-100,000	
Ngoni		40,000-50,000
Suku		80,000
Nyoro [paramountcy]		100,000
Lovedu		133,000
Bemba		140,000
<u>Paramountcies:</u>		
Lozi		296,000
Ganda		1,000,000

(Political aggregate size not available for: Alur, Yao, Ndembu
[nonranked chieftaincies]; Venda [ranked chieftaincy])

APPENDIX 1

ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS

The order of presentation of the sample societies below is as in the text and in Table 1. An asterisk preceding the name of a society indicates that there is a histogram for the frequency distribution of the settlement sizes of this group. The following are mainly summations of materials as these are presented in the ethnographic literature. These materials have been reworked only to the extent necessitated by the requirements of brevity and consistency with terminology utilized in the present study. My coverage of the literature was less comprehensive for those aspects outside the major focus of attention in this study; for example, historical aspects, and aspects of ritual. Yet some of the uneven presentation of various features delineated below is a reflection of differential availability of information, and differential emphasis on the part of the authors whose works were consulted. Of course, some aspects, such as kinship and marriage, were not investigated at all for present purposes. In short, these summaries are not intended to be definitive "profiles" of the sample peoples. Rather, the intention is to give some broad indication of the ethnographic context of the particular features investigated in this study.

Specific documentation (in addition to that for quoted matter) is presented only for those aspects specifically investigated in this study. Documentation of the data pertaining to the size of political aggregates, and for data on the aspects of settlement pattern that were studied is given below; documentation of the characteristics utilized in the taxonomic analysis is given in Appendix 2. Where population density was not specifically given in the literature, but there were figures for population size and for area size, the overall density of population was calculated from these figures. The modern political units referred to below are those referred to in the ethnographic literature.

The order of description for each society is as follows: (1) location and subsistence, (2) population data, (3) settlement pattern, (4) political-jurisdictional organization; and, for the groups included in the taxonomic analysis, (5) tribute. In describing political-jurisdictional organization, I did not consider it useful to attempt to disentangle administrative, judicial, and ritual systems. However, where feasible, information on adjudication is presented last under this subheading.

Uncentralized Societies and Nominal Chieftaincies

Lugbara (Middleton 1956, 1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1962, 1965)

Location. subsistence. The Lugbara lived in an area along the high watershed of the Nile-Congo divide, which formed the international foundary between Uganda and Belgian Congo. Most of the

population lived on the high plateau to the east of the watershed, at an elevation of from 4000 to 5000 feet above sealevel. There was a fertile soil, many permanent streams, and a well-distributed rainfall of some 50 inches a year. The staple crops were millets, sorghums, cassava, and various pulses, which were supplemented by a variety of other crops. Cattle, goats and sheep were kept. Fish were obtained mostly through trade.

Population. The Lugbara numbered about 183,000 in Uganda and 58,000 in the Congo, with an overall density of about 90 people to the square mile (Middleton 1958: 203).

Settlement pattern. The Lugbara lived in family compounds or compound clusters containing some 15 to 50 people (Middleton 1958, 1959, 1962, 1965).

Political-jurisdictional organization. Each small family-homestead or homestead cluster was largely self-sufficient. There were no indigenous chiefs, and the only leadership was that held by the heads of family-homesteads or homestead clusters. Difficulties could be arbitrated by elders, onlookers, or kin. Action to redress wrongs was undertaken by an individual, kin-group, or mob.

Amba (Taylor 1962; Winter 1955, 1956, 1958)

Location, subsistence. The Amba lived in a small area, difficult of access, in the extreme west of Uganda on the Congo border. Bwamba was located on the floor of the western Rift Valley, at altitudes varying from 2400 to about 3400 feet, mostly below 3000 feet.

To the east the country was bounded by the steep escarpment of the Rift separating it from the Interlacustrine peoples, some of whom conducted occasional raids against the Amba at various times in the last century, and exacted irregular payments of tribute. Soil was extremely fertile and rainfall plentiful, usually totalling over 50 inches. Plantains were the staple until recently. The environment was unsuitable for the keeping of cattle, but some sheep and goats were kept. Hunting and fishing were quite important activities.

Population. The Amba population was approximately 30,000, and the total area ca. 164 square miles (Winter 1958: 136); overall density thus ca. 180/sq.mi. However, only about 84 square miles of Bwamba were suitable for settlement (Ibid).

Settlement pattern. The Amba lived in a large number of small villages ranging in size from 50 to 400 people (Winter 1955, 1956, 1958).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Amba villages acted very largely independently of each other. There were no specific village heads. Any elder or group of elders might arbitrate in case of difficulties.

*Plateau Tonga (Allan et al 1948, Colson 1951, 1953, 1962; Jaspán 1953; Histogram, Figure 5)

Location, subsistence. The Plateau Tonga lived along a part of the north bank of the Zambezi River. They inhabited the greater part of what is known as the Batoka Plateau, which has a general

elevation of over 3000 feet. Rainfall decreased from north to south, averaging about 30 inches per year, but variations were considerable, and during the dry season the greater part of the plateau suffered from drought. The staples were bulrush millet and sorghum, with maize, groundnuts, ground-pears, and cucurbits as subsidiary crops. Usually a succession of crops was planted in clearings for a few years, the clearings fallowed for one to three years, and then sometimes returned to cultivation for a further two years. After six to nine years the villages moved to a new site. Cattle were kept, and there was considerable hunting. Natural bush products were used throughout the year whenever possible. There was also some fishing. They were a prosperous pastoral and agricultural people when raided by other groups around 1830 (Jaspan 1953: 13).

Population. The Plateau Tonga numbered somewhere between 85,000 and 110,000 (Colson 1951: 99).

Settlement pattern. The data for the histogram (Figure 5) are taken from Allan et al 1948: 38. Average village size was 100 people in some 30 huts, and was probably smaller in the past. In the mid-nineteenth century there were small, widely scattered villages arranged as circular stockades (Colson 1951: 111, 114-115; 1953; Jaspan 1953: 50). Jaspan says that "The Tonga appear to have offered no organized opposition to the various invasions of their country. They merely scattered before the attack, and even adapted their mode of village settlement to this over-riding necessity" (1953: 14).

Political-jurisdictional organization. Plateau Tonga villages had heads with nominal authority based on personal rather than on constituted authority. A village head was essentially primus inter pares vis-à-vis other village elders. Arbitration was undertaken by elders, orlookers, kin. Self-help on the part of an individual, kin-group, or mob was permitted in cases of difficulty.

*Lakeside Tonga (Tew 1950, van Velsen 1964; Histogram, Figure 7)

Location, subsistence. The Lakeside Tonga lived in a pocket of broken lowland, surrounded by mountains, on the western shore of Lake Nyasa. About eighty percent of the total Tonga population were settled near the lake, and the remainder lived in hill areas. The country on the whole was well wooded. There were few large rivers, but numerous perennial streams. The staple crop was cassava since at least the last quarter of the last century. Its cultivation requires comparatively little hard labor. The keeping of cattle was rare, as was the use of meat from cattle, goats, sheep or game. Chickens were consumed on festive occasions or when there were visitors. Fish were utilized as frequently as possible.

Population. In the 1950's the official de jure population, including Tonga living abroad but still registered for tax purposes, was 68,391; the overall density of population, based on this figure, was 35.7/sq.mi. These figures include some people other than Tonga, and according to van Velsen's estimate the de jure Tonga population was around 50,000, and the de facto population somewhere between 40,000 and 45,000 (1964: 12).

Settlement pattern. The histogram, Figure 7, is based on data for the six villages which were most intensively studied (van Velsen 1964: 35, Table I). The Lakeside Tonga lived in small clusters of huts numbering usually between two and six; exceptionally, two dozen (van Velsen 1964).

Political-jurisdictional organization. As among the (unrelated) Plateau Tonga, discussed above, villages had heads who had nominal authority which was based on personal rather than on constituted authority. A village head was essentially primus inter pares in relation to other village elders. Arbitration was undertaken by elders, onlookers, kin; self-help was permitted on the part of an individual, kin-group, or mob.

Gisu (LaFontaine 1959, 1960; Roscoe 1924)

Location, subsistence. The Gisu lived on the western slopes of mount Elgon, an extinct volcano which straddles the Kenya-Uganda border some fifty miles north of Lake Victoria. In recent times they lived in two distinct climatic zones: the higher, wetter slopes of Mount Elgon's foothills, ranging from 4000 to 8000 feet above sea-level; and the more recently inhabited lower and drier plains, below 4000 feet. The Gisu were primarily agriculturalists, but kept some cattle. They practiced sedentary, not shifting, cultivation. There were two agricultural seasons, one of which was short and of lesser importance. The staples were millet and plantains, supplemented by several varieties of beans, yams, and cucurbits, as well as other crops introduced since the beginning of the century.

Population. The Gisu numbered roughly a quarter of a million (LaFontaine 1959: 9). Several early writers remarked on the density of population on the western slope of Mount Elgon. In recent times, despite expansion into other areas, the average population density was at least 200/sq.mi., with over 700/sq.mi. in the most thickly populated area (Ibid: 10).

Settlement pattern. Roscoe reports that the common number of houses in a village was ten, but that the number went up to 40, which was a large settlement. He also says that stockades were not necessary due to the location of the settlements on heights (1924: 2). LaFontaine says that the Gisu lived in scattered homesteads grouped into more or less clearly defined neighborhoods, and that before British rule the southeastern area was settled in nucleated villages fortified against the attacks of the Masai and Iteso (1959: 23).

Political-jurisdictional organization. A village had a constituted headship to which were attached specific duties. A village head was its war leader, represented the village in relation to other villages, and, together with village elders, arbitrated disputes. This body had no power to enforce decisions except by the imposition of its curse, which was rarely done. Cases could also be heard by lineage heads or by other important men, or by specialist judges and administrators of ordeals. Some, but not all, village-clusters had specific headship.

*Lele (Douglas 1954, 1962, 1963; Tew 1951; Histogram, Figure 6)

Location, subsistence. Most of the Lele lived in an area of the southwestern Congo bounded by the Leange River to the west, and the Kasai to the north and east, on the eastern border of a great stretch of savannah. This part of the Congo had two short dry seasons, one a mere pause in the rains in February, and the other consisting of the three months from mid-May to mid-August. Much of the annual rainfall of forty to sixty inches came in heavy downpours which fell in a few hours and poured off the surface in violent streams. Soils were very poor and acid in much of Lele territory, but some of their neighbors maintained a denser population on equally poor soil; yet there was a very rough correlation of population density with occurrence of sterile soil. The staple foods were maize and manioc, garnished with vegetable relishes. The Lele practised no crop rotation and reaped only one annual maize harvest. Fresh clearings were made each year for maize, and the original clearing was kept open for several years until other plants had matured. A village changed its site every ten to fifteen years. Hunting was important in all seasons. The Lele were not conscious of any shortage of land, and disputes about land did not occur.

Population. The Lele population of about 26,000 had a population density of ca. 4/sq.mi. (Douglas 1954: 1; 1962: 215; 1963: 2, 17).

Settlement pattern. The data for the histogram (Figure 6) are based on the population sizes of all villages in the western

"chiefdom" studied by Douglas. Village size there ranged from 29 to 534 people, and the average was 200 (Douglas 1963: Map 6). For consistency with most of the other histograms, the number of dwellings per village is represented in the Lele histogram. This was calculated from the average of 3.55 people per dwelling given by Douglas (1963: 28). Though not in the western sector studied by Douglas, among the eastern Lele headship of the "chiefly" clan was developed into a highly ritualized office with probably at least some degree of political effect (Douglas 1963: 198 ff.) apparently reflected in features of the chief's settlement: "The chief of the eastern Lele . . . apes Kuba fashions in his little capital" (Douglas 1962: 211).

Political-jurisdictional organization. Villages were autonomous economic and judicial units. The oldest man in a village, "by definition approaching senility" (Douglas 1954: 15), was nominal village head. In each village there was a young man, who was chosen by his predecessor, or elected informally, who acted as spokesman for anyone in the village, and was also village treasurer. Groups of villages were united by intermarriage, alliance in war, and some collaboration in ritual. Member villages are described as having been spread out in a haphazard way, in some cases at considerable distances, even in different "chiefdoms." Nearest neighboring villages were often as not unrelated villages exhibiting strong rivalry, or even hostility.

The Lele were divided into three "chiefdoms," of which only the most westerly, that investigated by Douglas, has been studied. In each region the members of the "aristocratic" clan claimed precedence similar to that claimed by the founding clan in any village. The senior member of the aristocratic clan in each region claimed to be its "chief." A "chief" had no military or judiciary functions. He had active relationship only with the villages in the immediate neighborhood of his own village, and this was a ritual-social relationship; an affinal relationship with the villages which was maintained by reciprocal exchanges of wives and raffia cloths. This exchange "between the chief and village was not essentially different from those which linked independent villages None of this interfered with the autonomy of the village" (Douglas 1962: 229).

The "aristocrats" did enjoy a certain prestige, but they had to manipulate the existing political structure, rather than dominate it, in order to maintain their prestige. The precedence which they claimed "was an intangible thing, giving subtle satisfaction to its members, but, politically speaking, null" (Douglas 1963: 202). Any claims to chiefly dominance in the western region studied by Douglas were, at any rate, somewhat academic, since the aristocratic line there had dwindled to two adult men. Lele chiefs may have had more effective political powers in the past than were evident in this century. When the chief of the eastern region died in 1949, the attempts to kill slaves at his funeral, in accordance with traditional practice, were checked.

Luvale (McCulloch 1951; White 1955, 1957, 1959a, 1959b, 1960)

Location, subsistence. The Luvale lived in the Balovale District and other sections of the northwestern part of Northern Rhodesia, near the Ndembo of the Mwinilunga District. They did not have a defined area in which most Luvale lived, but rather were widely scattered among other peoples. Much of their dispersal in Northern Rhodesia was relatively recent, but the "Luvale appear always to have lacked any developed sense of a tribal entity associated with an overall tribal territory" (White 1960: 2). Local environmental conditions limited the supply of water in most of the districts in which the Luvale lived, and villages were usually concentrated in ribbon fashion along rivers and major streams. Cassava was the staple. Formerly, considerable bulrush millet was also cultivated. The cassava staple can be cultivated for long periods without the need to rest gardens, so that long village stability was possible. Continuous cultivation without fallowing gardens was observed for as long as 25 years, and some villages studied had been on their existing sites for 26 to 30 years and more. They were cattle-keepers only on a small scale.

Population. In the areas where the Luvale lived population densities of one or two hundred persons per square mile were not uncommon, and locally might rise still higher (White 1960: 4).

Settlement pattern. White suggests that a count of Luvale villages which he took in one district is most illustrative of traditional Luvale society (1960: 8-9). In that district there were

fourteen villages, with a range of from eight to twenty huts, and an average around thirteen huts. In the early days, at least, when the chiefly lineage first established itself over the local lineages, chiefs' villages were probably larger than others. As a new chief "was set up with villages and an area, a person from each village in his area was required to come and live at his capital. In addition persons outlawed from villages could find a refuge at the capital" (White 1960: 46). " . . . Luvale chiefs made their capitals a refuge for outlaws, and these and other outsiders may have provided them with sufficient 'mercenaries' for . . . small expansions" (White 1960: 48).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Luvale chiefly lineage claimed descent from one of the Lunda kingships, and appears to have arrived rather late among the inhabitants of the region they later occupied. In the middle of the last century they seem to have dominated a considerable portion of the Zambezi valley to the north of the Lozi. Since at least the eighteenth century, and continuing through the nineteenth century, Luvale chiefs were involved in exacting from Ovimbundu trading caravans heavy payments of cloth, beads, guns, gunpowder, and other trade goods, in return for freedom to pass through their areas. They augmented their wealth further by the sale of slaves seized from their neighbors, and Luvale slave-raiders were still disturbing a Lunda group as late as 1905.

With the wealth gained from their involvement with trading caravans the chiefs were able to bestow considerable gifts on their

most trusted followers and supporters, but appear to have achieved, at best,

Zones of diminishing authority [which] tended to lie outwardly from the main chiefdoms, whose power fluctuated from time to time, and this largely amorphous structure took the place of any centralized kingdom. Any transient effective monopoly of armed force was used for raiding rather than for territorial expansion [White 1960: 48].

Yet, as noted above under Settlement Pattern, the outlaws and other outsiders living in chiefly villages may have facilitated small-scale expansions.

There was not a fixed number of hereditary titles so that the number of chiefships was subject to infinite increase. Males or females could succeed to chiefship. Luvale chiefs had certain ritual claims to privileged status, but were "somewhat precariously integrated with the commoner autochthones" (White 1960: 50). The chiefly lineage seems first to have been accepted in a role of intervention in feud, in which chiefs interfered only to limit bloodshed and acts of violence. There was a mechanism for settling for a killing by payment of a fine at a chief's village. If the required arrangements were not adhered to, a chief might send men from his village to put an end to the fighting forcibly. If necessary he might call upon other villages to help him.

The fertility and well-being of Luvale realms and people were not dependent on the persons of chiefs. The supernatural powers of chiefs were used only in sporadic and limited ways for conferring benefit--they were more likely to be used in a malign and destructive manner if a chief bore anyone a grudge. Most ritual,

judicial, social, and subsistence activities were strongly localized in lineage segments. Villages which were relatively strongly dominated by a chief "sent food twice yearly to his capital, cultivated his fields, and built his house. Certain trophies of animal skins and tribute of meat from animals killed were given to him" (White 1957: 66).

Nonranked Chieftaincies

Ila (Jaspan 1953, Smith and Dale 1920)

Location, subsistence. The Ila and related peoples inhabited the greater part of an area in North-Western Northern Rhodesia along the north bank of the Zambezi River. The Ila were located on both banks of the Kafue River, approximately between east longitudes 26° and 27°. The wide plains through which the Kafue flowed were among the most fertile in Northern Rhodesia. The main crops were maize and sorghum; and millet, sweet potatoes, beans, peanuts, pumpkins and gourds were also grown. In the traditional agricultural practice ash gardens were cultivated for about three years, after which adjoining bush was cleared for a new field. Fishing was an important occupation. The Ila were renowned hunters, and hunting was done throughout the year. Many cattle were kept formerly, but their numbers declined greatly between 1920 and 1947. Rights to land were vested in the local community. Before clearing or cultivating land a man obtained the permission of those villagers whose land adjoined the desired plot. Rules governing rights to land were not precisely formulated, as there was no scarcity of land.

Population. The population of "the Ila-speaking peoples," including some non-Ila, when Smith wrote in 1920 was estimated at approximately 60,000. Smith gives the figure of 16,437 Ila in 1915, and according to a 1934 estimate they numbered 18,653. The population density was said to be about three to four per square mile in 1938. A 1946 estimate for the whole Namwala district, predominantly populated by Ila, is 21,800; density 2.3/sq.mi. (Jaspan 1953: 16). In 1915 there were about 80 independent chieftaincies which ranged in population from less than 100 to nearly 3000 (Smith and Dale 1920: 299, 313-315).

Settlement pattern. Settlements ranged in size from three or four huts and six or ten people to 200 or more huts and 1000 people. In each petty chieftaincy there were several villages more or less equal in size, or else one large and several smaller villages (Jaspan 1953, Smith and Dale 1920).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Ila seem never to have had internal political unity. Each independent chieftaincy was in a constant state of feud or potential war with others. Territorial boundaries between chieftaincies were strictly demarcated and treated with ritual respect, and trespass was punished.

Jaspan summarizes the position of chief as follows:

The word applied to the chief's relation to his people is kulele (to rule), but its primary meaning is 'to nurse' or 'to cherish.' The chief is the father of the community, maintaining its interests against neighboring communities, settling the disputes of his people, helping to pay their debts. His duties and responsibilities include the allocation of new grazing grounds (he could not alter the distribution of the old), and the admission

or rejection of strangers He settled the date for the ceremony of sending the cattle to the river, and for their return. It was his duty to take the initiative with the diviner in ridding the community of sorcerers and witches. He was the leader of the warriors in war.

However, the authority of a chief outside his own village was little more than nominal. He was essentially primus inter pares in relation to the men who headed the villages, or segments of large villages, in each chieftaincy. Together they formed a council which judged cases and settled disputes.

Tribute. To enable a chief to meet his material responsibilities "he had a special field cultivated for him by his servants and slaves" (Jaspan 1953: 36). He also received the greatest share of fines paid to his clan and to the community, received offerings and gifts, and the fees paid by strangers for the right to hunt, fish or build in the region.

Alur (Richards 1960a, Southall 1956)

Location, subsistence. Alurland was an area along the west bank of the northern third of Lake Albert, and along the Albert Nile for fifty miles or so farther north, stretching inland from the lake and river for seventy or eighty miles at the furthest point. It was cut roughly in half by the Congo-Uganda border. There was a variety of climate, topography and natural resources in Alurland. A highland belt at 4500 feet and upwards was mainly grassland with an annual rainfall averaging around sixty inches. The main traditional crops

in this zone were finger millet, beans, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins. Cattle thrived there. In the midlands, at about 3000 to 4500 feet, the presence of tsetse fly prevented the keeping of cattle. Rainfall averaged thirty to forty-five inches, and the main traditional crops were finger millet, sorghum, and beans. The lowlands along Lake Albert lay at 2000 feet above sealevel. Rainfall averaged thirty to forty-five inches, as in the midlands, but in some localities it was probably lower than thirty inches. Fishing and the production of mineral salts were the main attractions in the lowlands, in spite of the fact that a number of diseases were prevalent there. As elsewhere in Alurland, cassava was replacing finger millet as the staple.

Population. On the eve of European occupation Alur society may have included nearly a quarter of a million people. In modern times the Alurland area was ca. 2000 square miles, and the total population was just under 200,000 (Southall 1956: 3, 10, 18); overall density was thus ca. 100/sq.mi.

Settlement pattern. The Alur lived in homestead settlements that contained either a single elementary family, or a larger and more composite group with, typically, around 25 huts, 10 family heads, and a total of 63 persons. Chiefs often had two or three homesteads several miles apart. The greater chiefs had a larger body of people living in and around their homesteads. This might include some of the chief's councillors, but the majority included some of his wives, daughters, sons and their companions, girls paid

to the chief as fines for breaches of the peace or affronts to his authority, and anyone attached to the chief for protection, assistance, or asylum (Southall 1956: 76-77). "Many of the chief's brothers and father's brothers who had not become chieftlets elsewhere continued to live round about" (Southall 1956: 77).

Political-jurisdictional organization. Traditionally, and even under European rule, Alurland was continuously expanding, with always fluid boundaries at many points. This was a result of internal increase, assimilation of foreigners and the establishment of emigrant Alur in positions of dominance among surrounding peoples.

The Alur were very heterogeneous, incorporating many subordinate ethnic groups under the domination of a number of chiefly clans. Alur chiefs were believed to be the descendants of Luo groups who had crossed the Albert Nile some generations back, other Luo groups moving south or southeast from much the same period. By the end of the nineteenth century members of certain clans which were recognized as noble had acquired authority over local clan sections. Sons of chiefs were accepted as "chieftlets" over subject peoples of the Alur, or over groups of Alur settled some distance from the centers of chiefdoms.

The Alur were thus divided into a number of small and constantly proliferating petty chieftaincies loosely related to parent chieftaincies, each of these having flexible boundaries. Domination seems to have been accepted peacefully. There was no military organization, and neither the chiefs' nor any other Alur

homesteads seem ever to have been highly fortified.

All positions of authority, whether chiefs or clan section heads, were hereditary. Clan section heads dealt with all intra-clan matters. Chiefs and "chieflets" served as arbiters or keepers of the peace, stopping disputes between warring clan sections. They had no administrative officials to support them, and little executive authority. Yet there was an ultimate sanction of force available in a chief's power to call together loyal clans to plunder those who failed to obey his rulings. However, authority was based largely on ritual attributes. The chiefs had rain-making powers, and performed first-fruit and other seasonal rituals, as well as sacrifices when divination indicated that these were necessary. They provided the means of contact with the chiefly ancestors through ancestral shrines built at their homesteads, and also with other supernatural guardian forces whose shrines were under the care of chiefs.

It was mentioned above that Alur chiefs did not have specialized political officers to assist them. Greater chiefs might have councillors, advisers, or envoys, but these

did not necessarily need to live at his homestead, for they usually belonged to one or other of the ancient commoner clans whose territories lay near by. They could easily walk in daily to the chief's council and would always be fed when they went there [Southall 1956: ??].

Tribute. Clan heads were supposed to give regular annual tribute to chiefs, but in reality tribute was evidently given irregularly as available and as the need was felt. Tribute labor was probably more regular than tribute in kind. Chiefs and "chieflets" had their fields dug for them every season, and their huts and granaries built whenever they needed it, probably by members of the nearest residing clan sections. Fines were an important but irregular source of income. In at least some of the greater chiefdoms "the chief received diverse products in tribute according to the ecological resources of different localities and also the varied skills of the different ethnic groups" (Southall 1956: 81). Iron-work, basketry and other craft products, salt, ivory, dried fish, and local vegetal resources are mentioned.

*Yao (Mitchell 1949a, 1949b, 1951a, 1951b, 1956; Histogram, Figure 8)

Location, subsistence. The Yao lived south of Lake Nyasa, between the lake and the Shire highlands to the south, which rise to a height of 11,000 feet above sealevel. This is a hilly region of variable topography. The average rainfall was about 42 inches a year in this region, and the rain fell almost entirely during the months November through March. During the first part of the rainy season there were heavy showers, very heavy runoff, flooding of rivers and lakeshores, and much soil erosion. The soil is described as variable. Maize, cassava, and sorghum were the staples; finger millet, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and legumes of various sorts were also grown. The main gardens were cultivated by slash-and-burn

methods. They were planted for a number of years, some for more than five, before being abandoned. Some households had gardens along the stream-beds; these gardens were especially useful in the dry season. A certain amount of both wild and cultivated fruit was also eaten. Few cattle, and few sheep and goats, were kept, but chickens were ubiquitous. Villages were apparently fairly well fixed, some having been in their existing locations for thirty years and more.

Population. In 1945 the total Yao population was 117,035, tribal areas totalled 2059 square miles, and average density was 56.8 persons per square mile (Mitchell 1956: 13).

Settlement pattern. The data for the histogram (Figure 8) were taken from Mitchell 1956: 88, Table X. The Yao lived in small groups of 5 to 60 or more huts, occupied by between 20 and 200 people. The average was 12 huts and 40 people (Mitchell 1949a, 1949b, 1956). The evidence indicates that chiefs' villages in the past, as in modern times, were approached or equalled in size by those of other important heads who could on their own initiative attract numbers of followers to their villages, and possibly become chiefs themselves in time. However, prior to the cessation of slaving activities the villages of important chiefs were at least at times greatly increased in size by numbers of slaves (Mitchell 1949a, 1949b, 1951, 1956).

Political-jurisdictional organization. This was by no means a homogeneous population, but the Yao were the largest group. They seem to have entered the region as invaders from the east at some time in the past. The Yao were in contact with the Arabs on the east coast, as middlemen and traders, probably for at least two hundred years before Europeans appeared on the scene. Ivory, slaves, beeswax and tobacco were traded for cloth, beads, guns and gunpowder. Much of the durable trade goods were used to extend trading activities further inland to other tribes. (Most subsistence is believed to have been provided by the people themselves.) Chieftaincy meant particularly the sole right to send slave or trade expeditions to the coast, and monopoly over ivory from elephants slain or found dead within the chief's domain. The size of a chief's following was increased by slavery or by immigration from other areas. Village headmen would move from the domain of a less to a more powerful chief who offered protection and security, and who offered to his followers the right to include their goods in his caravans to the coast. His followers were also dependent on the chief ritually because his ancestors controlled rainfall in his area. In addition, successful initiation ceremonies were dependent on the good-will of the chief's ancestors.

A strongly centralized system was never developed. Rather, as individual leaders acquired sufficient followers to make themselves militarily effective, they were able to set up independent chieftaincies. A chief had only certain ritual sanctions over the headmen associated with him; they were largely autonomous, and only

partially under his domination. A chief, himself a village headman, was on much the same footing as the headmen subordinate to him, and he was in competition with them. Yao histories abound with examples of chiefs who lost their military and commercial leadership, and important village heads who launched out and became independent leaders.

A chief's ritual authority consisted mainly in his power to grant to other important village heads the right to approach the chief's ancestors, necessary for conducting initiation ceremonies in their own villages. An important village head was a man who had managed to attract a following larger than a single localized kin-group. A chief had the power to raise a headman's position of authority by granting to him various degrees of ritual authority. At the same time, an important headman could leave the chiefly domain, depriving it of his followers. An influential chief had a number of important headmen whom he trusted as councillors and advisors, and who could keep him informed of matters in various parts of the country, such as impending famine, or the approach of enemies. An important duty of a chief was to settle disputes, but so could any important village head. Resident at the court of an influential chief were court assessors. These were men of any rank who were skilled at oratory, and astute at interviewing witnesses to disputes, and at sifting evidence.

Tribute. A chief was supposed to receive from all villages in his area annual tribute of food and beer, which were used to entertain visitors at court. However, the extent to which a chief

received such tribute was probably extremely variable. "Village headmen seem to have been almost entirely autonomous in their actions, slave-raiding on their own, even raiding villages who paid tribute to the same chief as they did" (Mitchell 1949a: 143).

*Ndembu (McCulloch 1951, Turner 1957; Histogram, Figure 9)

Location, subsistence. Prior to European occupation the Ndembu domain comprised most of the territory between the West Lunga, Zambezi and Lufwiji Rivers; tribal lands which were later crossed by the international boundaries demarcating Northern Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, and Angola. The group studied by Turner inhabited the western portion of Mwinilunga District, North-Western Province, Northern Rhodesia. The Ndembu area was part of the Plateau region of northwestern Northern Rhodesia, here lying at about 4500 to 5000 feet above sealevel. Most of the District was flat woodland and was well-watered, being in fact a source area of many rivers, most of them perennial. Grassy plains sometimes surrounded rivers for some distance from their sources, and dry patches of grassland were not infrequent. Game was formerly abundant especially in those areas. Rainfall averaged about 55 inches between 1926 and 1937. The heaviest rains fell during November and December, the main planting months, and the wet season ended in April. Soils were mainly of low productivity. The Ndembu combined shifting hoe cultivation with hunting. The staple crop was cassava, planted for one or two seasons before the land was abandoned for about thirty years. Finger millet was also grown--mostly for making beer--with the first

planting of cassava, or separately in small ash-plantings. Maize was cultivated in stream-side gardens for food and for beer. Other subsidiary crops were also grown in bush, village and stream-side gardens. Gardens were held and worked individually wherever suitable land was available. They were not administered by locality or kinship segments.

Population. The total population in the area studied by Turner was 18,346, total area 2994, and overall density 6.13/sq.mi. (Turner 1957: 17).

Settlement pattern. The histogram data for Figure 9 are based on the following sample of 68 villages. Turner collected population sizes for two types of villages that were organized on the basis of traditional principles (Turner 1957: 34-37; 38, Table II). In 50 registered villages there were from 4 to 54 huts; mean number of huts per village, 13.1; median, 12. In 18 unregistered villages the range was from one to 16 huts; mean, 7.5; median, 8 (Ibid: 37). Turner hypothesizes that before the period of slave-raiding most villages were about as small as those found in modern times in areas remote from European settlement. These were very small and exhibited high rates of individual and village mobility and fissioning. During the raiding period formerly independent villages took one of two forms of settlement. Some tended to unite into large, composite, stockaded settlements under important heads, both for mutual protection against slave-raiders, and in order to make successful raids on other, smaller villages. Other villages dis-

persed, and their inhabitants hid in the bush (Turner 1957: 43-44, 220, 228-229).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Ndembu appear to have invaded their presently occupied region from northern Lunda sometime before the start of the eighteenth century, conquering or receiving the submission of small scattered groups of indigenous peoples. According to tradition, the Lunda chief Kanongesha was accompanied by, or shortly followed by, twelve senior headmen from various noble Lunda families. Apparently nothing like the degree of centralization in the area they left was established in the area to which they came. Each headman was accompanied by male and female relatives and a retinue of warriors. Kanongesha granted to each leader a tract of the land which they had jointly conquered, reserving for himself the largest portion. In time he allocated further areas to certain of his sons and to close matrilineal relatives. Later district heads were thus either descendants of the first Ndembu leaders who had entered the region, or of chiefs later granted territory.

It seems that in time there was an increase in the autonomy of local groups. Even under Kanongesha there was little centralization. Turner suggests that the factors responsible for this include the local subsistence base and its associated shifting settlement pattern, accelerated by internecine raiding and the constant necessity to be ready to flee before an external enemy--slave-raiding and slave-trading reached a height in this region in the second half of

the nineteenth century. Kanongesha and some of the important senior headmen made pacts with Ovimbundu slave-traders according to which they raided their own tribesmen and exchanged them for guns and cloth. Later the Ndembu were attacked and raided for slaves by the Chokwe and Iwena, who were heavily armed with Portuguese muskets. These groups were defeated and caused to withdraw into Angola not by a chief, but by a commoner who went round the country urging the Nembu to cease their private feuds and unite against the common enemy.

Any degree of centralization which any chief, including the paramount chief, managed to establish depended more on his personal qualities, and on his possessing rather larger followings of kin and slaves than other headmen, even to enjoy local pre-eminence. A district head "seems to have been little more than a village headman writ large, unable to coerce the headmen in his area to obey his will" (Turner 1957: 327). The paramount chief, similarly, was "politically hardly more than a senior headman writ large and his effective authority was confined to the few vicinages [village-clusters] of his immediate area" (Ibid: 16).

Turner suggests that the institution of chiefship was probably strengthened in one sense during the slave-raiding period because there was a greater degree of political activity and economic advantage on the part of chiefs. At the same time, the raiding activities entered into by chiefs fostered local self-dependence, and thus a degree of decentralization (Ibid: 326-327). He also says that

As for the paramountcy that office was much more than an index of tribal identity; it represented tribal rights to the use of land. Although Kanongesha wielded hardly more political power, in terms of control over organized force, than any other important headman, the ritual component of his status was bound up with Ndembu rights in the occupation and exploitation of a large region over which Ndembu felt free to roam as they pleased [Ibid: 319].

The social composition of villages and village-groups in a district was constantly changing, and many matters were decided locally. For example, locally important men other than the district head could sponsor boys' circumcision rituals, or confer or withhold permission for an incoming group to build and garden in the vicinity. Most disputes were settled at the level of the discrete village-cluster. Hearings and judgements were given by men especially skilled in these functions. They were often, but not necessarily, headmen. If there was a district head resident in the village-cluster most cases would be settled in his village. Cases were seldom brought to the court of the paramount chief on appeal. Turner suggests that the paramount chief was "ritually rather than politically important . . ." (Ibid: 15), as indicated above. Occasionally the paramount chief or a district chief might officiate in a ritual to bring on belated rains, and confer fertility on crops, animals and people. District heads would be assisted in this by important local elders. Also the paramount chief or a district chief might be asked, by any person who had been named by a diviner as a witch or sorcerer, for recourse to the chief's own poison oracles.

Tribute. The district heads were supposed to send to the paramount chief various kinds of tribute, but the giving of tribute

was apparently regarded more as a moral obligation than as a compulsory matter.

Nyakyusa (G. Wilson 1938, 1951; M. Wilson 1950, 1951, 1957, 1959)

Location, subsistence. The Nyakyusa lived just northwest of Lake Nyasa in a region surrounded on three sides by high mountains, and on the fourth by the turbulent headwaters of the lake. The lake lies at an elevation of 1537 feet above sealevel. After about fifteen or twenty miles of marshy plain, the hills rise in a broken cascade for about twenty-five miles to the upland plateau at 5000 feet, from which the recently extinct Rungwe volcano rises. Rainfall averaged 100 inches a year, and the dry season was short. The land was extremely fertile, and famine was rare. Formerly the Nyakyusa were able to expand into sparsely populated areas, and there was periodic splitting of groups, conquest, and reabsorption. Strangers were received most willingly by villagers and chiefs. "Men are still scarcer than land in most places" (M. Wilson 1951: 47). Mixed cultivation and cattle-raising were practiced. The main foods were bananas and plantains, finger millet, maize, and a variety of other crops, as well as meat and curds from the cattle. Fixed, not shifting cultivation was practiced, involving green manuring, rotation of crops, and periodic fallows.

Population. The Nyakyusa numbered ca. 150,000 (G. Wilson 1951: 253; M. Wilson 1951: 1; 1957: 3), and population density averaged over 80/sq.mi. (G. Wilson 1951: 253). There were over 100 chieftaincies (M. Wilson 1951: 11-12); average population of each

thus perhaps ca. 1500.

Settlement pattern. The Nyakyusa lived in age-villages that began as boys' villages with twelve or less members. The villages of old men were often at least that small. The villages of young and middle-aged men varied between 20 and 50 households. In 1938 in the chieftaincy studied there were 19 established villages and 6 boys' villages, with an average of over 20 men or boys per village. The evidence does not indicate that chiefs' villages were larger than other villages, even by the possible factor of the presence of a chief's more numerous wives, for they were distributed among a number of villages (G. Wilson 1951; M. Wilson 1951, 1957, 1959). In 1955 there were eight men in one of two senior villages which had been dominant in the 1930's, and 10 in a subordinate; there were 12 men in the other senior village, and 8 in a village subordinate to that. In the succeeding dominant generation there were 20 young men in one of the two senior villages, and 11 and 25 young men and/or boys, respectively, in two subordinate villages. There were 29 men in the other senior village, and 10 and 23 men in each of two subordinate villages (M. Wilson 1959, data from Table facing p. 91).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Nyakyusa were largely isolated in their valley from the outside world until late in the nineteenth century. Slave caravans and slave-raiding activities passed to the north, west, and south, but never through Nyakyusa country. They successfully repulsed repeated attacks by neighboring groups, and their villages were unfortified.

Chiefship was hereditary in only certain family lines whose descent was traced from a line of invaders believed to have come down from the Livingstone mountains some eight generations ago. Commoners traced their descent from the indigenous occupants of the area.

One each generation a chiefdom was divided into two new ones, each headed by a senior son of the retiring chief. At this time the age-villages were relocated and land was reallocated. The age-villages of the generation of the in-coming chiefs were located near the centers of their chiefdoms, and the older men's villages, now smaller, at the periphery. At this time also, either previously appointed heads of the young men's villages were confirmed as village headmen, or new ones were selected, upon consultation between the retiring chief and the headmen of his generation. Village heads could not be chosen from among kinsmen or a chief nor sons of the present headmen of the senior villages, though any man could inherit his father's social and political position upon the latter's death.

Each village had considerable autonomy under its own headman. A headman provided for his fellow villagers in times of need, judged their cases when necessary, led them in war, and was their leader at ceremonies. He presented the villagers' desires to the chief, and he presented to the villagers the orders of the chief which the chief had decided upon after consultation with the village heads. A village headman protected his village from witchcraft and he shielded the people and cattle from the spiritual forces of evil. Necessary qualities for a headman included wealth, being of a respected family,

ability in judging cases, popularity with his fellows, and courage and the ability to lead men in battle.

One headman of each half of a chiefdom (a future independent chiefdom) was senior to the other village headmen of that half of the chiefdom in only two functions. He settled cases not settled by other headmen of his side (cases which he could not settle went to the chief), and he also led men of the villages of his side in battle, in cattle-raids, and in communal hunts.

A chief was responsible physically and spiritually for the well-being and fertility of the land, the women and the cattle of his chiefdom. The villages and lineages were dependent on him for the control of weather and for success in warfare. The ancestors of chiefs influenced the fortunes of chiefdoms, and chiefs and hereditary priests made frequent sacrifices of cattle to ensure their continuing goodwill. Sometimes two or more neighboring chiefs participated in these rituals to their common ancestors. After retirement from political life, a chief and the village heads of his generation continued in their ritual functions until death (chiefs are said to have died soon after retirement), when ritual functions were added to the political and other functions of the ruling generation of chief and village heads.

A chief initiated warfare and organized cattle-raids on other chiefdoms. Only he could enforce decisions, his own or those of village heads. Thus, the poison ordeal could be administered only on his order.

Chiefs, and to a lesser extent important commoners, especially village headmen, were wealthier in cattle than other people. The cattle came to them mainly as inheritance and from the marriages of their kinswomen. Control of cattle conditioned the extent of a man's polygyny, and hence of his generosity. Few commoners had more than five or six wives, but a chief frequently married fifteen, thirty, forty, or more. More wives and children meant that more food could be produced; and even chiefs hoed in their gardens when they had the time.

Tribute. Only a chief received a pot of beer or a hoe from a plaintiff to "open a case," and beer, or occasionally a bull, as thanks-offering from the winner of a judgement. Other arbiters won only respect and honor.

Ranked Chieftaincies

Suku (Kopytoff 1961, 1962, 1964)

Location, subsistence. The Suku lived in a region of rolling savannah in the southwestern Congo between the upper stretches of the Bakali and Kwengi Rivers. Subsistence was based mainly on the cultivation of cassava and on hunting and fishing. Once used for a planting, the soil had to be fallowed by fifteen or twenty years. However, villages were relatively stable, and some had not changed their general locations for thirty years. When changes occurred, a village moved within a radius which was seldom more than a mile, regarded as a convenient distance, since fields had to be

planted at some distance from the village to prevent depredations by domestic animals. "Land is extremely plentiful and, as far as cultivation is concerned, it may be classified as a 'free good', with no system of tenure attached to it" (Kopytoff 1964: 92).

Population. The Suku population in the past probably numbered less than the modern figure of 80,000, with an overall density of roughly 14 or 15 to the square mile. Their territory measured roughly 50 by 100 miles (Kopytoff 1962: 461; 1964: 83).

Settlement patterns. Settlement data relate to the earliest available administrative records, which date back only to the middle 1920's, when "Suku villages normally varied in size between fifteen and seventy-five inhabitants; only the villages of important chiefs were larger" (Kopytoff 1964: 84). Regarding the size of the paramount chief's village, "comparisons made by informants with modern villages suggest a population in the neighborhood of three hundred persons" (Kopytoff 1962: 459).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The ancestors of the Suku, like those of many neighboring groups, apparently occupied the region some one hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago. This was the result of an eastward migration which originated in the Kwango River valley, and was related to Lunda expansion. According to tradition the Suku paramount head, the MeniKongo, led his subjects into largely empty lands in the east. The Suku were too far east to have been directly involved by the slaving activities on the Portuguese-held west coast, and too far west to have been within

reach of the Arab slavers operating in central Africa. Slave-raiding appears to have been unknown, though people could become enslaved on an individual basis.

The person of the paramount chief was surrounded by considerable ritual and constraint. Among his ritual paraphernalia were several kinds of medicines with the power to injure enemies and to maintain the well-being of the Suku people. In theory the paramount chief was at the apex of a pyramidal structure from which he delegated powers to regional chiefs, each of whom in turn stood over several local chiefs, with authority over groups of villages. In reality, the sparseness of population and limited means of communication were associated with a lack of formal and continuous lines of communication between the paramount head and subordinate heads. The paramount head ruled actively only over some twenty or thirty villages in the vicinity of his "capital." There were no representatives of regional heads resident at his village, no formally constituted council, nor assistants with highly specific functions. However, the male guardian of the ritual paraphernalia of the paramount chief not only performed the main sacrifices to the royal ancestors, and other rites associated with the paramount chiefship, but also sometimes handled political matters, such as the settling of disputes between regional chiefs, which were otherwise handled by the paramount chief or any of his brothers.

The paramount chief travelled around the country every few years to collect tribute and to deal with any unresolved quarrels

and complaints brought to him against regional chiefs, or conversely, any cases of insubordination reported by the latter. He "had no professional standing army, but his judgement could be swiftly enforced by his retinue, much of it consisting of hangers-on amassed during the trip and only too eager to burn and loot a designated village" (Kopytoff 1962: 461).

The offices of regional chief were in control of a few lineages, the country being divided into several regions of unequal size--prior to European occupation there were about a dozen. The position of regional chief duplicated that of the paramount chief, but on a smaller scale. Regional chiefs were surrounded by the same kind of ritual, and constrained by the same taboos, as the paramount chief. Like him they lacked any well-defined council, but relied on informal consultations with the elders of their constituent villages. Also like the paramount chief, they could act as judges in any matter brought before them, but had little power to enforce decisions. Their authority depended as much on their personal abilities and strengths as on their prestige as representatives of the paramount chief. Recalcitrance might bring retribution during the paramount chief's next visit. "It is not surprising that there were always some chiefs who restricted themselves to collecting tribute (a right seldom disputed them) and avoided the discomforts of keeping the peace" (Kopytoff 1962: 462).

Lineages were entirely autonomous with regard to internal affairs; the paramount chief and subordinate chiefs intervened only

in inter-lineage quarrels, or in matters affecting the operation of the formal political system. Most difficulties were handled by lineage elders. Cases could be taken to a regional chief if the involved parties were of the same region, but enforcement at this level was, if anything, less reliable than if handled through the lineage groups. Difficulties could also be taken to independent judges who specialized in handling cases; or there could be resort to armed strife, self-help, capture of hostages, or enslavement of strangers.

Tribute. Theoretically, tribute flowed upward from the local level, ~~step~~ by step, by way of each successive link to the paramount head. It was gathered by the regional chiefs (who retained some of it) in the name of the paramount chief. As mentioned above, tribute was collected every few years by the paramount head, when he travelled about the country with an armed retinue.

Sukuma (Abrahams 1966, 1967; Cory 1953, 1954; Liebenow 1960; Malcolm 1953; Williams 1935)

Location, subsistence. The Sukuma and other closely related peoples inhabited a part of west-central Tanzania that Abrahams refers to as greater Unyamwezi. The Sukuma were the largest group, and were in the north of this area, located just south and southeast of Lake Victoria. This region is a large and undulating tableland, most of which lies at an altitude of between 3,800 and 4,200 feet above sealevel. There were two main seasons, a rainy season from

October or November, and a dry season beginning in April. Average annual rainfall in greater Unyamwezi was roughly 35 inches; in Usukuma about 30 inches. Rainfall was unpredictable from year to year and was often very poorly distributed. Much of the land was of poor quality and famines were fairly frequent in the past. However, Cory reports that land was abundant, and that there were no problems regarding land allocation and tenure (1954: 31). He says that " . . . population pressure was met by immigration to sparsely populated areas" (Cory 1953: 4). A wide variety of crops was grown, among the most important being sorghum, bulrush millet, maize and cassava. Cattle were very unevenly distributed due to the presence of tsetse fly and the shortage of water. Goats and sheep were on the whole more evenly distributed. Wild produce was gathered, and game animals were hunted in some areas. In the last century wild animals were abundant in many parts of the region, and elephant hunting was a particularly highly organized and profitable occupation.

Population. In 1957 there were over a million people in the Usukuma tribal area of about 16,000 square miles, with an overall population density of 64/sq.mi. (Abrahams 1967: 13-15). In 1948 there were 43 independent chieftaincies (Ibid: 13), average population of each thus ca. 23,000.

Settlement pattern. Settlements in the nineteenth century were typically large, compact and fortified, usually inhabited by a chief and some hundreds, in some cases, thousands, of followers.

Sometimes there were smaller ancillary hamlets within easy reach of the main settlement (Abrahams 1967: 41; Malcolm 1953: 12). In modern times, except for a few minor settlements in the hinterlands, the Sukuma lived in dispersed family homesteads separated by a few hundred yards or even a mile of cultivated, grazing, or waste land (Liebenow 1959: 230).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The area south of Lake Victoria presented "almost an extreme case of the existence of multiple chiefdoms within a single tribal group" (Liebenow 1960: 233). The total number varied greatly from period to period. In recent times there were, as mentioned over forty independent chieftaincies; among the neighboring and closely related Nyamwezi there were about thirty. In the pre-European period each chieftaincy was relatively autonomous.

The ruling group seems to have arrived in small numbers, and to have been accepted as impartial arbiters in interclan disputes and organizers of economic activities. They evidently did not arrive en masse as military conquerors.

During the nineteenth century, and possibly earlier, peoples of this region engaged in trade with the coastal areas of East Africa. Around the middle of the nineteenth century the frequency and scale of such activities seems to have increased considerably. Much of this trade was indigenous hands, and existed independently of, and to some extent in competition with, the trading activities of Arabs and others. The main items traded were ivory and slaves, for cloth,

metal wire, beads, and later, guns and ammunition. (There was also internal trading of cloth, salt, honey, livestock and slaves, but there were no formally organized indigenous markets. In addition, there was part-time craft production; usually the products were bartered within a fairly small distance.) There is a description of a large caravan that set out in 1891 from Usukuma with six hundred elephant tusks, 1000 head of cattle, and 2000 small stock (Abrahams 1967: 38). A single expedition during this period might contain several hundred or even several thousand people. During the same period Indian and Arab traders reached at least some parts of greater Unyamwezi, and Arab caravans did pass through the area. However, the full impact of their entry was not experienced here, particularly towards the north, in Usukuma. Yet trading, raiding, warfare, and the taxation of caravans offered new forms of storable wealth, which became available in great quantities in the region. The nature of involvement of chiefs and headmen in these activities is not clear, but they seem at least sometimes to have been involved in the organization of trading expeditions. Abrahams suggests that since a chief was at least in theory the recipient of tribute and other forms of wealth from all parts of his chiefdom, competition for the fruits of trading-raiding activities might have led to the fighting that is described from this period between greater headman, probably in attempts to control, and perhaps in some cases to further, a chief's activities in this respect (1966: 134).

The main function of the paramount head was as the ritual head of his chieftaincy. There was an intimate connection between

his person and the well-being of the chiefdom. His ancestors were more responsible than any group within the society for its well-being, for they could visit good or bad fortune as indication of their approval or disapproval of activities within it. The paramount head ensured to his people the benefit of good rains, bountiful crops and victory in war, through the performance of a series of ceremonies in which he played a leading part. A chief's "duties appear to have been confined to magico-religious observance within well defined bounds rather than in autocratic governance" (Williams 1935: 119). He "had few administrative duties beyond the settling of disputes in his own immediate vicinity" (Abrahams 1966: 131).

The main administrators, who were also the warriors, were the territorial heads of major subdivisions of a chiefdom. Most district heads were patrilineal descendants of previous paramount heads. The others were descendants of rulers of formerly independent units that were later contained within a chieftaincy.

Annual meetings between the highest ranking head and the regional heads "are said to have taken place" (Abrahams 1966: 131). At these meetings affairs of the chieftaincy were discussed and settled, laws were made, and edicts were issued for the coming year. The courts of village heads, district heads, and the paramount head tended to have defined limits rather than representing different stages of appeal; a paramount chief was most reluctant to open a case already decided by a district chief.

Considerable support for a paramount head's position of

dominance came from his royal guard, which consisted of the best warriors of the chiefdom. Many of these were ex-slaves captured in raids or in combat. They had few local ties, owed their lives to the sufferance of the paramount chief, and were well supplied with women and other spoils captured in raids. When a Sukuma army went into battle the guard stayed behind to protect the paramount head, and to check any surprise move of the enemy. The guard also "was often used to enforce the authority of the ntem [paramount head] against rebellious elements within the chiefdom" (Liebenow 1960: 235). Members of the bodyguard also doubled as ritual officers. They helped the paramount chief to perform ceremonial and other duties. A paramount chief also had a number of councillors and courtiers who were chosen traditionally from certain families in each chiefdom. They attended the paramount chief at his court in turn, at least ten always being in residence. They acted as delegates or deputies of the paramount head in various matters, functioned as judges or assessors in his court, if necessary went on circuit to hear cases and to negotiate with territorial chiefs, and they performed a number of magico-religious rites.

There were a number of checks to chiefly authority, such as that exercised by the clan elders. These elders were among those in whose presence a chief must arrive at his judicial decisions, and they had concern for protecting the interests of their respective clans. In extreme situations clan members could remove themselves and their cattle to a neighboring domain, thereby depriving a chief of a source of tribute, warriors, and labor. Also, village elders,

as well as a number of local organizations, counterbalance the exercise of chiefly authority, or performed political functions independently of the paramount head. For instance, they maintained order in the villages, and they regularly provided aid and assistance to the aged or needy. The leaders of the village young men's societies were able to arrange terms of work contracts with a paramount chief. They could also demonstrate for and demand a chief's abdication when it was evident that his powers had failed him. There were many remembered cases of the deposition of chiefs who had failed in their magico-religious powers, for "dependence on magico-religious supports was precarious at best in a land where drought and pestilence are recurrent phenomena" (Liebenow 1960: 236). In some areas the elders who assisted a paramount chief could depose him and elect a near relative in his place. A chief

who was 'successful' in securing the favour of his ancestors lived lavishly, acquired scores of wives and came to possess large herds of cattle. However, in times of 'failure' of his powers, . . . the true character of chiefly tribute as a famine relief fund for the benefit of the people was revealed. Moreover, in the case of a protracted crisis the strength and loyalty of the special guard were the only means by which a chief could be saved [Liebenow 1960: 236].

Tribute. The regional heads were supposed to bring annually to the paramount head a portion of tribute which they had collected from their subjects, of fines they had exacted, and a part of any booty gained in warfare. Tribute in grain, at least, seems to have arrived only in years of good harvest. Chiefly generosity was highly valued, and the paramount chief was not expected to reserve his wealth for his personal use. But with the store of wealth at

his command he could gain support for his regime, or withhold favors from the obstinate.

*Lovedu (E. Krige 1941, 1964; E. and J. Krige 1943, 1954; J. Krige 1939; Histogram, Figure 10)

Location, subsistence. The Lovedu lived in a mountainous area of the northeastern Transvaal, amid fertile foothills and forest-clad ravines below the Drakensberg escarpment, a region of rich subtropical vegetation. A mixed economy of agriculture and cattle-rearing was practiced, with less reliance upon cattle than by some neighboring groups. Finger millet was the earliest grain grown, but the modern staples included maize, millet, pumpkins and ground-nuts. These were supplemented less by the use of domesticated animals than by uses of natural vegetation. The Mujaji Reserve was but a small portion of the former Lovedu country, and it was no longer possible to practice the rotation and fallowing methods of the past. Land was allocated at the district level, but this was largely a local matter, for there were 140 districts, with an average area of one square mile and an average population of about 235. The authority of the paramount head was rarely interposed regarding land matters, and then only to secure peace, not aspects of land tenure.

Population. The Lovedu population of roughly 33,000 inhabited a Reserve area of about 140 square miles, which, as mentioned above, was but a small portion of the former Lovedu territory (E. Krige 1941: 2; Krige and Krige 1943: 13-14). Overall density was thus ca. 235/sq.mi.

Settlement pattern. The data for the histogram, Figure 10, were taken from a map of the subdistrict of the capital that contains the capital (Krige and Krige 1943: 16); the number of huts in each village of this subdistrict are indicated in the map. The average size of Lovedu villages is reported to have been 5 to 15 huts; " . . . a few large villages of from 40 to 80 huts represent the old order of things, just as those of only two huts do the new. But the Lovedu village was never large . . ." (Krige and Krige 1943: 17). The capital contained 99 huts (by my count). Most other villages in the subdistrict of the capital were very small, two to four huts; the two largest contained 8 and 10 huts each. The few large villages of from 40 to 80 huts mentioned by Krige and Krige were, obviously, in areas other than the subdistrict containing the capital.

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Lovedu lived in a geographically insulated area that was skirted around by the great migratory movements of major groups near whose frontiers the (formerly more extensive) Lovedu country was situated. The Lovedu themselves migrated some three hundred years ago from a region to the north, and established themselves as rulers over the sparse Sotho population they found in occupation. Many accretions were later attracted from diverse tribal groups of surrounding areas, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century, following the wars and raids of Shaka and others. The period described here is the 1930's, after fifty years of European contact.

The person of the paramount was surrounded by considerable ritual, mystery and secrecy. She had rain-making powers, and could transform clouds into rain for her people, or withhold rain from their foes. She established the year and changed the seasons. She protected her people from enemies, who would be visited by drought and locusts if they attacked. There was no military organization, no organized priesthood, nor specialized political offices, although there was a court at the capital, as at each district capital.

The districts were headed by descendants of original sections of the nuclear ruling group, by royal wives or their descendants. Districts were also given to the heads of immigrant alien groups and to others. A district head was the center of the political and legal life of the district, responsible for the welfare of its people, and with considerable ritual authority for his/her position. Considerable autonomy was maintained at the district level. Members of a district could take collective action to protect their interests. Local groups within districts had extensive economic and other cooperative activity, but no particular political-judicial functions.

The districts were linked to the paramount head on the basis of wife and cattle exchanges. Wives were sent by district heads to the paramount head, who then became "son-in-law" to these district heads. By allocating wives to other district heads, to her councilors, and to royal relatives, she became parent-in-law to these persons. These ties were renewed from generation to generation, and

royal wives bound to the paramount head her closest relatives, as well as most of the important people in the country. About six to nine wives remained with the paramount head at the capital and had allocated lovers. The paramount head was "father" to the children of these wives, and was responsible for arranging their marriages. The royal wives, either permanently resident at the capital or in transit to other marriages, "do the work that wives ordinarily do: they hoe for their husband, the queen, who sometimes accompanies them to the fields, they attend to domestic duties, they stamp and brew beer" (Krige and Krige 1943: 174).

Court hearings at the district level and at the court of the paramount head were concerned with reconciling differences between individuals. The enforcement of decisions was left entirely to the parties concerned, but resort to force was not permitted. The paramount head seldom interposed her authority to the district level. If any offence was committed against her in a district, she might send out a group of young men from a district of the capital, either to collect a fine (imposed by custom) from the district as a whole, or to effect repentance.

Tribute. Like the heads of districts, the paramount head had fields cultivated for her, but only in certain districts belonging to the capital. District heads also received tribute in beer, and they received labor for the building and mending of their huts. The paramount head received tribute in beer from all districts each year at harvest time. Tribute was used to secure or to reward ser-

vices and/or loyalty. There was no concentration of wealth in the ruling group.

Azande (Baxter and Butt 1953, Evans-Pritchard 1963, Larken 1926-27, C. Reining 1962, deSchlippe 1956, Seligman and Seligman 1932)

Location, subsistence. The Azande lived in a territory which straddled the Nile-Congo divide and the boundaries of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, French Equatorial Africa, and Belgian Congo, mainly north of the Uele River. The greater part of the country consists of gently undulating hills, and the natural environment shifted gradually from tropical forest to savannah. Rainfall was fairly constant from year to year, averaging fifty-five inches, and falling mostly between April and mid-November. Plenty of productive and easily worked land was available. Traditionally there were no formalities of land tenure. The agricultural calendar was quite variable. A large range of crops was cultivated, including finger millet, cassava, maize, sorghum, sesame, gourds, pumpkins and beans. A simple system of crop rotation was practiced. Fields were planted two or three times and then fallowed for six or seven years. A variety of wild resources was utilized. Insufficiency of meat was an acute problem.

Population. Population estimates for the Azande range from three-quarters of a million to two or three million. Around 1800 there were probably some fifteen chieftaincies with populations not likely less than 50,000, and some probably nearer 100,000 (Evans-Pritchard 1963).

Settlement pattern. The Azande lived in scattered but not isolated homesteads. Those of paramount chiefs and other important chiefs were similar to those of commoners, but had many more huts. - The many wives of an important paramount chief, his sons and kinsmen, visiting chiefs, visiting deputies, members of bachelor companies in barracks, pages, servants, and others were resident at his court (Baxter and Butt 1953; Evans-Pritchard 1963; Seligman and Seligman 1932). The homestead of a deputy was intermediate in size between that of a chief and that of an ordinary Zande (Baxter and Butt 1953: 53).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Azande were an agglomeration of indigenous groups of varying origins, cultures, and languages, and descendants of leaders of the last great (Sudanic) invasion before that of the Europeans. The invasions seem to have had no central organization or direction, and evidently there was a number of independent warrior groups. A number of territorially distinct chieftaincies was established, each with its own military organization and ruled by members of the dominant Avungara clan. These independent polities were involved in slaving activities in quite differing degrees. In general the Azande were on equal terms with the traders and received respect and lavish presents in return for ivory. Some chiefs obtained rifles from soldiers employed by slave-raiders, and then defied the slavers by conducting their own raiding activities. They raided subject peoples or other groups; Azande themselves rarely appeared on the slave markets. The Azande had well developed skills in basket-making, net-weaving, pottery-

making, ivory- and wood-carving, and metallurgy. Most exchange was by barter and was conducted over short distances.

Some chieftaincies had, at least at times, more centralized organization (see, e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1963) than that outlined below. The following is a presentation of the more usual situation described in the literature.

Paramount chiefs and most district chiefs were members of the Vungara clan. A paramount chief ruled a large central district, and other district chiefs were usually younger brothers or sons of the paramount chief. But he might appoint to this position a faithful follower, such as a military leader, or occasionally a conquered chief. Mutual cohesion between a paramount chief and his subordinate district chiefs depended very much upon the personal character of the paramount head and on the size of his domain. If it became very large, he would divide it during his lifetime between two or three of his sons or brothers, who then had complete authority over subordinate headships. Or the sons or brothers might become independent before such an event occurred. In either case there was only nominal allegiance to the paramount chief, although great respect and complete subordination were simulated at court. "The political position was never stable, and every chiefdom was a kingdom in embryo" (Baxter and Butt 1953: 50); further, district chiefs "were . . . absolute masters within their provinces" (Baxter and Butt 1953: 50).

Baxter and Butt say that "Avungara superiority, though

justified by a myth, was maintained by political and administrative organisation--not by ritual sanctions as many African kingships are" (1953: 48). Each chief had his own military organization. In addition to warriors and members of his personal bodyguard, a chief was assisted in his administrative and other functions by deputies directly responsible to him. Deputies were always commoners. They were usually persons of seniority, wealth and influence who had managed to attract, and become head of, a considerable following of relatives and other people. A deputy served as intermediary between his group and the chief. He superintended the carrying out of the chief's orders, saw to the collection of dues, to supplying laborers for the chief's estate and meat for his household, to the apprehension of criminals, to calling out the district for war, clearing of paths, and arrangement of religious ceremonies. He frequently visited the court to report to the chief on the state of the district and the loyalty of the subjects. As power was most easily derived through a chief's favor, there was a constant succession of commoner Azande who became court-trained, favored and trusted supporters of Avungara power.

Only Avungara chiefs could sit in judgement and order punishments, and only their oracle tests were official. In strong chiefdoms there might be a sort of hierarchy in the employment of oracle tests. Cases in which there was an element of doubt would be decided by oracle tests, but other cases might be settled on the spot on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Judgement could depend on the extent to which a chief was personally concerned, or on the

extent to which a guilty party possessed influential friends or relatives who could intercede for him and pay heavy compensation. Sometimes the latter situation would result in the commutation of a sentence of instant strangulation at the hands of the chief or his bodyguard to a sentence of mutilation. For minor offences a sort of pillary might be employed.

Tribute. A paramount chief or a district chief was entitled to receive from his subjects ivory from his district, a portion of every beast killed, a quantity of termite oil, court dues, materials and labor to build his homesteads. In addition he received presents from the winners of successful legal actions, from those seeking a chief's favor, and from any Zande making a visit to the court. Most of these gifts consisted of perishable foodstuffs or beer, which were returned to his subjects as hospitality. A chief must entertain lavishly, hold feasts and dances, be generous, and assist his needy subjects with subsistence, and in acquiring wives. Most of his "wealth" in reality derived from the labor of his numerous wives, and of his personal bodyguard, in his own fields.

Venda (Stayt 1931)

Location. subsistence. The Venda lived mainly in a territory of the Zoutpansberg district of the northern Transvaal bounded on the north by the Limpopo River, which formed part of the boundary with Southern Rhodesia, on the west by the Sand River, and to the south and east roughly by the Levuvhu River. The Venda were scattered over the greater part of the Zoutpansberg range, a mountainous

and rugged region, with a varied climate and rainfall, and a rich subtropical vegetation. In most years the rains started in October or November; the winter dry season was between May and September. Southeast of the mountains the rainfall was very good, but local droughts were fairly common. North of the mountains droughts were frequent and often prolonged. In some places there was enough water for irrigation, and crops were grown throughout the year. According to Stayt

The fertility of the soil and the general climatic conditions make the production of crops comparatively easy, except to the north of the Zoutpansberg range where the rainfall is small. . . . The same land is used for many successive seasons, there being no idea of the rotation of crops, although sometimes a plot of ground is left fallow for a year and a piece of virgin soil cultivated in its stead. . . . Fortunately, arable land is plentiful and every man can obtain the usufruct of as much land as he requires for himself, his wives, and other dependants [1931: 34].

The staple crop was maize, and sorghum was also very popular. Both were used for beer-making, although the use of finger millet, the indigenous cereal, was preferred. Few cattle were kept. In the past there were even fewer, and those were probably kept only by chiefs. The Venda had both sheep and goats, but the former were not numerous. Fish was not popular, but meat was "consumed in enormous quantities in almost any degree of decomposition" (Ibid: 47). Until about fifty years before Stayt's writing big game of every description roamed Venda country.

Population. Stayt gives 150,000 as a rough population estimate (Ibid: 1). There were a number of independent chieftaincies (Ibid).

Settlement pattern. The Venda lived in large villages before modern conditions of peace were established. "Each village was ruled by a chief or petty chief and formed a strong, compact community, living inside an enclosure and ready at a moment's notice to mobilise in full strength to protect itself against surprise attacks of enemy invaders" (Ibid: 29). The modern village was the residence of the chief and his family, important officials, and a few followers, but still served as the "centre of all the public life of the district" (Ibid: 29). Most of these modern chiefly villages had about 200 inhabitants. Other homesteads were built in fairly close proximity to a chief's village, some dozens of them, or else were isolated by many miles from a nearest neighbor (Ibid: 39).

Political-jurisdiction organization. The Venda were a composite people comprising a number of groups of unrelated peoples "who have, in varying circumstances and localities, come in contact with a small homogeneous nucleus and become identified with it. The ethnological origin of this nucleus . . . is uncertain" (Ibid: 9). The generally unapproachable character of the Zoutpansberg district "played an important part in protecting them from their enemies, and accounts for their being the last tribe in the Transvaal to submit to white domination" (Ibid: 2). During the middle of the last century, when the Boers first came in contact with the Venda, an extensive ivory trade grew up. Ivory trade with the Portuguese had been conducted for many decades before that time. With the Portuguese the Venda traded for rifles and ammunition which were used in a "perpetual state of petty internecine war" (Ibid: 71) until Boer

pacification. There used to be a constant interchange or commodities such as pots, baskets and masila cloth, which were traded for each other or for maize. When shortages of food occurred, "an exchange between neighbours is readily arranged, but in the case of an exceptional drought the people are compelled to seek grain in distant parts" (Ibid: 75). Formerly iron-smelting was a flourishing activity, and hoes were made in great quantities. The iron-ore was traded for maize and then taken to smiths who manufactured the required articles in exchange for a fee--for example, two hoes were worth one goat.

Until some time in the last century most but not all Venda "were more or less united" under a single paramount head, after whose death a number of independent divisions were formed. These "fluctuated according to the fortunes of war and the personality of the individual ruler" (Ibid: 214). At one time or another nearly all greater and lesser chiefs fought against each other, most constantly those in close proximity. Campaigns were in the nature of plundering raids, generally comparatively small-scale, for stealing cattle, or for revenge, though they were evidently quite effective when on larger scale. In each chiefdom the army was organized in age-sets, which assembled at the chief's kraal when summoned. An expedition was under the control of a brother of the chief. Male age-sets primarily formed graded fighting units, but the same units also worked the chief's lands.

The situation described by Stagt consists of "indigenous"

conditions observed by him and/or his wife in the 1920's. Part of their investigations included frequent consultations with district chiefs and their councillors.

Several lesser chiefs were grouped around each of a number of important chiefs, to whom they owed allegiance; each such paramount chief thus had his own district, as well as being superordinate to a number of other districts. Each district, unless very small, was subdivided into a number of subdistricts, each under a headman. Stayt says that a paramount chief

is the father of his people, and the sacred living representative of their far-off ancestors. He is the hub of their universe, all the life of the community, religious, social and economic, revolving around him. His subjects treat him with reverence, awe, and humble adoration. He is responsible for the prosperity of his country; he must see that it is provided with rain and must determine the time for sowing and reaping of crops; he gives his consent before the inauguration of any event, such as initiation ceremonies and important dances [Ibid: 201-202].

Yet Stayt also says that much of a paramount chief's power and ability to maintain the adherence of subordinate heads depended on his personal character and wealth (Ibid: 217). Although normally chiefship of whatever rank was hereditary, a recalcitrant lesser chief could be driven out by a paramount chief, usually to be replaced by a relative of the latter.

The duties of paramount chieftaincy were shared with and constrained by certain close relative of the paramount chief's own generation and that of his father. Other officials had responsibilities at court, in the paramount head's household, in the keeping of his cattle, in various matters outside his capital village, and

so on. Functions of five important and five lesser officials, as well as messenger service, are described, and formerly there were two or three executioners resident at the capital. District chiefs had a lesser complement of officials, generally two important ones and a few messengers.

Government operated through three councils: the private council of the paramount head, the Great Council, and the district council. A paramount head could not make important policy changes without consulting with members of his private council; however, he chose these himself. He usually included, in addition to some of his most influential district chiefs, any capable friends or relatives, who then resided at the capital. The Great Council met only when important measures were proposed, such as direct taxation, or some crisis affecting the people as a whole. At this council the deliberations of the private council were discussed and ratified. Its decisions operated and were recognized throughout the country. All district chiefs were members of this council and had to attend when summoned, each accompanied by his main assistant. Any lesser headmen might attend who wished to do so. At a district council matters concerning individual districts were decided upon.

There was a judiciary hierarchy consisting of the courts of headmen of all ranks, through which adjudication proceeded, as necessary, to the court of the paramount head. Certain sorts of cases were taken directly to his court.

Tribute. A paramount chief generally had large tracts of land close to the capital as well as some scattered portions in charge of some, but not all, of his district chiefs. He received labor for working all these lands and also for housebuilding and other activities. District chiefs were similarly entitled to labor from their subjects, and when a paramount head had strips of land in a district outside his own, the residents there had to do double service. However, much of a paramount chief's agricultural service was performed by members of the military age-sets. In bad seasons he had to spend weeks or months visiting his fields away from the capital supervising the harvest, to make sure his subjects did not steal his crops. Stayt says that Venda chiefs were "generally rich out of all proportion to their subjects, obtaining a large revenue from their lands, taxation, proceeds of justice, and the fees levied on social functions, as well as many other prerequisites" (Ibid: 217). To a lesser degree, all district heads received similar emoluments in their districts. A paramount chief and all district chiefs were entitled to a proportion of all animals paid by defaulters in judgment cases. Often when a man won a big suit he presented his chief with a few additional head of cattle. It was customary for any man blessed with particular good fortune to offer his chief a share of his good luck. In former times large windfalls were occasionally obtained by the conviction of witches and murderers, when a chief could appropriate all the offender's wives, children, cattle, and other property. At irregular intervals a paramount chief might augment his revenue by direct taxation. But this was done only with

the consent and approval of the Great Council, whose members took into account the prevailing conditions and the ability of the people to pay. The subordinate chiefs were responsible for the collection of the tax in their districts and they retained a portion of it.

Ngoni (Barnes 1948, 1949, 1951, 1954)

Location, subsistence. The Fort Jameson, or Mpezeni's, Ngoni resided in the vicinity of Fort Jameson in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia. They arrived in this area after a long period of migration from the south, during which they were a military and raiding group,

relying for at least part of its subsistence on raided crops and beasts produced outside the borders and for the rest on the maximum exploitation of the land inside them. When its enemies had been plundered and its own lands exhausted, it moved on [Barnes 1954: 104].

Further, the "great season for raiding was after the harvest when the surrounding tribes could be raided for their crops as well as for captives," raiding being the main source of dependants and followers (Barnes 1951: 238-239).

Population. Immediately pre-conquest population estimates which were given by two early travellers are, respectively, 40,000 or more, and 50,000; the 1945 population was ca. 60,000 (Barnes 1949: 100; 1951: 195; 1954: 103). In 1898 the population was probably ca. 70,000 and the area occupied was probably ca. 1500 square miles (Barnes 1948: 99); overall density thus perhaps ca. 47/sq.mi.

Settlement pattern. During the period of migratory fighting before conquest the political-spatial distribution of the population, described below, remained relatively constant. Similar patterns of villages and clusters of villages were repeated in each new area in which the group settled. In addition to the movement of the tribe as a whole, villages shifted from one site to another within the same locality from time to time, maintaining village names and the allegiances of people to their villages and of one village to another. Barnes suggests that "we may liken . . . [the residential groups] to ships of different sizes and importance that preserve a loose formation while the fleet sails from place to place" (1951: 197). Although there was some splitting off and proliferation of villages, the greatest tendency was for concentration of the population into large villages on the order of 3000 persons. This was apparently the situation in the immediately pre-conquest period. These large settlements had no defensive preparations. During the period of migration by the Ngoni to their later occupied region near Fort Jameson, "the area round them was vacated by its former inhabitants so as to leave a dwelling-area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other inhabited areas" (Barnes 1954: 40). An observer wrote in 1894 that the Ngoni "have no stockaded village, such protection they deem unnecessary as no enemy can be strong enough to attack them" (E.J. Clave, quoted in Barnes 1954: 104). However, such settlements were "particularly vulnerable to attack by troops armed with guns and intent on burning" (Barnes 1954: 104).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Fort Jameson Ngoni were descendants of a section of Ngoni that arrived near Fort Jameson around 1870, led by a chief named Mpezeni. They had been part of a larger group of refugees from Shaka's wars that was led by Mpezeni's father. Upon the latter's death around 1845, his group split into a number of segments led by his sons and lieutenants. Mpezeni's was thus a military group. Mpezeni planned and directed the military campaigns, and was the final arbiter in all disputes. He was assisted by his sons and by his senior lieutenants. Some members of junior branches of the royal lineage acted as lieutenants, but most lieutenants were trusted non-royal followers who had come with Mpezeni and his father from Zululand.

The paramount chief had about twenty wives who were placed in groups of about four or five in separate villages in different parts of the country. These large "royal" villages were thought of as belonging to the senior royal wife resident in each village, and were in control of the wives' sons, in association with lieutenants appointed by the paramount head. Associated with each royal village were three or four regional governors, promoted by the chief from among his lieutenants. Each governor was in charge of a group of lesser commoner villages, which had originated by hiving off from the royal village. The governor resided in a village of his own among the lesser villages. Each regional governor had his own lieutenants, again selected and trusted followers, who assisted the governor in control of his group of commoner villages. Each village had a headman who could also nominate his own lieutenants. In addition to his

lieutenants, each important person had a deputy, a patrilineal kinsman of the same generation who was selected by each new holder of the superordinate office. The deputy acted for his principal in the latter's absence, and served as intermediary between the principal and his lieutenants. In time all these posts except deputy became hereditary in the agnatic line. However, new posts were continually being created and the holders of others falling into disgrace.

The army was divided into age-set regiments, each under the command of an experienced warrior from a senior regiment. There was no administrative system separate from the residential and age-set systems, and there was little specialization of function among those wielding power. Those with special tasks of government were all heads of large segments. The closest approximation to specialized political office was that of regional governor.

There was a hierarchy of dispute settlement procedures. Disputes in the villages were, if possible, settled by the lieutenants of its headmen, or, if necessary, they were taken to the regional governor or lieutenants of the appropriate royal village. Finally the dispute might have to be referred to the senior lieutenants of the paramount head. Their decisions could be set aside only by him. These senior lieutenants, on consultation with the paramount chief, deliberated on serious quarrels in the tribe and took the initiative in affairs of state. The lieutenants were responsible for administering the poison ordeal.

Evidently there were at least some limits to the controls of the paramount head. For example, his senior lieutenants sometimes sentenced people to death without referring the matter to him. Also, in the old days the large royal villages were to some extent independent--sections of the army appear to have been sent out on raids from a royal village without reference to the paramount head. Barnes states that there was "no strong centralized power posed against the provincial lords" (1954: 59). The paramount chief had no monopoly of force, since any leader of an important military segment "who could claim the loyal support of his segment had at his disposal a fighting force as efficient as that of anyone else" (1954: 59). At a time when Mpezeni had wanted to place himself under British protection, and had made a number of overtures in that direction, he was unable to prevent his people from mobilizing against the British under the leadership of his eldest son and heir.

Barnes found information on the ritual aspects associated with the chieftaincy difficult to obtain, but he suggests that there is evidence

that the chiefly office was hedged about with mystical sanctions and that the chief was no mere secular ruler. Yet it is also clear that these values were associated with the office of chieftainship rather than with the particular occupant of the office, and that they were linked to successful military achievement [1954: 58].

Religion before the conquest was a cult of the paramount chief's ancestors, who were believed to be concerned with the well-being of the entire nation. When sacrifices were made to them the officiants were not their agnatic descendants but the chief's lieutenants. The

annual first-fruits ceremony "provided supernatural sanction to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the leadership of the Paramount Chief" (Barnes 1954: 40).

Tribute. As mentioned above, the Ngoni depended for some part of their subsistence on raiding surrounding peoples for crops and cattle. There seems not to have been an organized system of internal tribute, except for the obligation to carry one pot of beer to the chief whenever any was brewed in a village.

Bemba (Richards 1939, 1940, 1951; Whiteley 1951)

Location, subsistence. The Bemba occupied the high Tanganyika plateau of northeastern Northern Rhodesia, which stretches from Lake Bangweulu on the west to the Nyasaland border on the east. At the height of their politico-military career they dominated the territory between the four lakes: Tanganyika, Nyasa, Bangweulu, and Mweru. Rainfall was ample, and the country was well-watered. Agricultural land was of poor quality but very plentiful, and there were no formalities of land tenure. The Bemba followed a shifting system of cultivation. Gardens once made were planted for four or five years according to a fixed rotation of crops and then abandoned. Except for the villages of important chiefs and councillors, villages were very impermanent. They were moved every four or five years as new gardens were opened up. The staple crop was finger millet, and some sorghum, a little maize, legumes, and pumpkins were grown. Hunting and fishing contributed a small share of the food supply. Richards says that "Characteristic of the Bemba is their

lack of interest in agriculture or ambition to do well in this line. By tradition they are warriors. Formerly they lived largely from tribute brought by other peoples" (1951: 167).

Population. The Bemba were the largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia. They numbered ca. 150,000, with a population density of nearly four per square mile (Richards 1951: 164).

Settlement pattern. The average village contained 30 to 40 huts. Chiefs' villages were very much larger, up to 300 or 400 huts. Before British rule the Bemba tended to group into large stockaded villages, each under the protection of a chief (Richards 1939: 18; 1940: 89, 91; 1951: 171). "A chief's village in the old days was described as having thousands of inhabitants" (Whiteley 1951: 25). The capital of each chief of whatever level had its own court, however small (Richards 1940: 91). In the old days, in ritual and power "the bigger territorial chiefs sometimes rivaled the power of the Citimuku [paramount head]" (Richards 1940: 92).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Bemba appear to have formed one of a successive series of invasions that proceeded eastwards from the Congo area. According to tradition they entered empty country on their arrival; this and other indications would mean that unlike many other peoples of Northern Rhodesia and other parts of Africa, they represented a homogeneous group, rather than one people superimposed upon another or others.

The Bemba are among those groups that stood on a direct

trade route of the Arabs. The exchange of guns and cloth for ivory and slaves apparently lasted from around 1865 to 1893. Slaves were taken in war, and, besides being exchanged for trade goods, were given as compensation in crime. Correlated with the Bemba reliance on goods collected from other peoples was a lack of skilled handicrafts, internal trade, and markets.

The paramount chief and most territorial chiefs were of the highest ranking (crocodile) clan. The hereditary councillors discussed later belonged to other clans of similar antiquity but of somewhat lesser status. The paramount chief had strong supernatural sanction for his position. He owed much of his power to the possession of important relics and relic shrines. The state of his personal wellbeing affected the prosperity and the welfare of his people. He initiated rites annually or as necessary on behalf of the people as a whole. His supporters included his royal kinsmen, who were expected to act with loyalty, and other followers attached to him by rewards. His executive officials included military personnel who controlled warrior bands, raiding surrounding areas, exacting tribute, and holding new territory for him; and other officers who apprehended criminals, carried out sentences of death or mutilation, and enforced the payment of tribute in labor or in kind. The paramount head was supreme military commander. His was the final court of appeal, and only he and three or four chiefs immediately below him could administer the poison ordeal.

The paramount chief ruled over his own district located in

the center of Bemba country, as well as being superordinate to the heads of five or more other major districts of the country. The heads of the most important districts were close relatives of the paramount head, and traditionally one succeeded the other in order of seniority, up to the position of paramount chief. Succession to district headship could be complicated by the number of persons eligible to succeed, and by the extent of personal influence of the paramount chief. The administrators of outlying newly conquered territories were appointed by the paramount chief.

The paramount chief had between thirty-five and forty councillors. Councillorship was hereditary, limited to a few clans of similar antiquity to that of the highest ranking and chiefly crocodile clan. The holders of councillorships could not be removed easily. The councillors had political-judicial-ritual functions, and could exercise control over actions of the paramount chief by refusing to perform ritual functions which were necessary to his state. Each had a special office-duty-privilege, and priestly duties. They acted as an advisory group on matters of state--on any question of succession or other matter of tribal importance. The Bemba paramount head as well as subordinate territorial heads also had advisors picked from among their near relatives.

Territorial chiefships were arranged in order of precedence according to nearness to the center of the country and antiquity of office. As noted above, the heads of the most important districts were nearest relatives of the paramount head. Under the territorial

chiefs there were sub-chiefs, some of whom might govern a few villages. Sub-chiefships tended to be concentrated in local branches of the royal family in outlying areas of which the paramount head had less knowledge and control. In some cases he might appoint one of his relatives to such a position.

Each district was a more or less self-contained unit with fairly well-defined boundaries. Within each district the district head had hunting and fishing rights above those of neighboring chiefs. People could not make gardens in a neighboring territory without the permission of its chief. The functions of the different ranks of chief differed only in degree, and "the bigger territorial chiefs sometimes rivalled the power of the Citimukulu [paramount head] in the old days" (Richards 1940: 92). Each district head performed religious rites for the benefit of the entire district, and initiated subsistence activities. The capital village of each district had its own court. The villages of great chiefs were divided into quarters ruled by loyal supporters of the chief. At each capital were sacred relics of the first holders of the title of district chief, and other representations of ritual powers. A chief carried out religious ceremonies both at relic shrines and at spirit centers located throughout his district. He led warriors in the event of war, provided food for his followers, often arranged their marriages, and supported his villagers in times of famine.

A village headman could receive his position by inheritance, or could be a man who had collected a following of relatives on his

own initiative, and subsequently was granted a chief's permission to found a village. A chief might also give a village to one of his own relatives, including a sister or uterine niece, "with or without the inhabitants' goodwill" (Richards 1940: 90). A village head maintained law and order, decided small disputes, organized tribute and labor, supplied his people if in need, dispensed hospitality to strangers, and acted as intermediary between his people and the chief. He acted as ritual head of his villagers and offered prayers to his ancestral spirits before tree-cutting, burning of branches, sowing, and at first fruits--giving him leadership in economic pursuits.

Tribute. The labor for the gardens of a chief, including the paramount chief, and the young men for his military groups, were supplied only from his own district. Thus, each district chief had rights over the labor of his own villagers, who worked for him only, and not for the paramount chief. Commoners served chiefs in garden work and in war, and in the clearing of paths, and they gave tribute in beer and food when required. In the trade with the Arabs the paramount chief had a monopoly over ivory, and hence over guns. The guns, of course, rendered the conquest of other peoples, and the collection of tribute from them, more effective. The paramount head also had a monopoly over the local salt trade, and over elephant meat. Chiefs were not interested in accumulating wealth, but rather were interested in utilizing storable wealth and food to command as large an amount of service as possible--"the wealth of a Bemba chief consisted in the amount of service he could command as agricultural

labor or military force, and the number of slaves, whether of his own tribe or conquered peoples, he possessed" (Richards 1939: 22).

*Tswana (Schapera 1938, 1940, 1941, 1943, 1947, 1953, 1956; Histogram, Figure 11)

Location, subsistence. The Tswana consisted of a number of related peoples which lived in a number of areas in South Africa. Most lived in Bechuanaland on Reserves which embraced areas much smaller than those once occupied. Most of Bechuanaland consisted of rolling country of little relief lying at an average altitude of around 3000 feet. The vegetation ranged from, in the south, grassland interspersed with thorn bush and patches of park, through increasing parkland, to extensive dry thorn forest, with occasional evergreens, in the north. Rainfall ranged from ten to twenty inches in the western region to fifteen to twenty-five inches in the east. It came in the summer (October to April) in uncertain amounts and localities. The uncertainty of rainfall and the poorness of the soil, including its porous nature, led to the rapid loss of organic matter. Because of this, most fields were left uncultivated at least once every three or four years, and crop failures were frequent. On the larger Reserves there was sufficient land for most families to have two or three fields each. These were often situated in different localities, to help overcome the above hazards. The principal crop in former times was sorghum. Maize, millet, and other crops were also cultivated, but in much lesser quantity. Wild flora of various kinds were utilized. In pre-European times cattle, goats, sheep, fowls, and dogs were kept, and other domesticated

animals were added later. Also in pre-European times, the entire region was very well stocked with game of all kinds. Even in modern times some hunting was possible in most parts.

Population. The Tswana population totaled ca. 254,600, the areas totaled ca. 104,775 square miles, and the average overall density was 2.4/sq.mi. (Schapera 1953: 11). In 1936 the populations of eight Native Reserves ranged from ca. 1500 to ca. 100,000 (Schapera 1953); average ca. 27,000.

Settlement pattern. The histogram, Figure 11, is based on data for the Kgatla, Maletse, and Tlôkwa Reserves, included below. The Tswana lived in large compact settlements. In the old days it was common to find all the members of each tribal group living in a single village concentrated around their chief. In modern times, usually most members of the dominant tribal group of each Reserve lived in the village of their paramount head, while the much smaller outlying villages were inhabited largely or exclusively by conquered or immigrant peoples. As summarized by Schapera, capital towns numbered in the thousands, in the largest Reserves there were also a few villages with 1000 inhabitants or more, and other villages were much smaller (1955). In 1936 there were eight Native Reserves, as follows (Schapera 1955):

Ngwato Reserve: 39,000 sq.mi.; population 101,481

8 Districts: Serowe and Kgalagadi -- 34,500
 25,000 in Serowe
 In 15 villages -- 9,500 [av. 633]

Ca. 17,000 in 24 villages [av. 708]
Ca. 15,000 in 35 villages [av. 457]

Ca. 10,000 in 38 villages [av. 263]
 Shoshong and Kgalagadi -- 5,000
 Shoshong -- 1,000 or more
 In ca. 5 villages -- 4,000 [av. 800]
 Ca. 3,800 in 12 villages [av. 317]
 Ca. 5,400 in 22 villages [av. 245]
 Minadinare and Tonota -- 10,700
 1000 or more in each -- 2,000 or more
 In 10 villages -- 8,700 [av. 870]
 (The smaller villages were "generally much smaller; . . . very many villages contain less than 100 people each" [Schapera 1955: 8].)

Tswana Reserve; 34,500 sq.mi.; population 42,158

Capital, Maun -- 600. Remainder of population in very much smaller settlements consisting usually of only a few family groups.

Kwena Reserve; 15,000 sq.mi.; population 26,439

Capital, Molepolole -- 12,600
 3,000 -- 3 villages of 1000 or more
 15,600; leaves 10,839 in ca. 6 villages [av. 1806]

Ngwaketse Reserve; 9000 sq.mi.; population 23,584

Capital, Kanye -- ca. 14,000
 Moshipa -- 1,000 or more
 15,000; leaves 8,584 in ? villages

Kgatla Reserve; 3600 sq.mi.; population 13,855

Capital Mochudi -- 8,651
 The other villages: 497
 219
 671
 680
 427
 418
 644
 916
 678
 13,801

Malete Reserve; 178 sq.mi.; population 5,900

Capital, Ramoutsa -- 5,124 (These are my figures calculated from the 1946 census
 424 [Schapera 1953: 35])
 322

Rolong Farms; 450 sq.mi.; population 3121

Tlôkwa Reserve; 56 sq.mi.; population 1563

Entire population resides in a single village.

Political-jurisdictional organization. A number of migrations into and through South Africa by the Southern Bantu Sotho peoples, to whom the Tswana belong, are recorded by tradition. In the past was recurrent fissioning of tribal sections, and amalgamation by one group of others. The process of fission continued into more recent times but relatively few seceding groups succeeded in becoming independent. This is mainly because of disruptions caused by successive onslaughts of invaders from the east, the main ones dating from the 1820's. Added to this was the gradual extension of European control, dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Social and political organization were very similar in all the Tswana groups, of which some eight or ten are best known. Most of Schapera's work was done with the Ngwato, the largest tribal group, and with the Kgatla, a smaller group, though he also did some work with other groups.

Each Tswana household was very largely self-supporting, including the manufacture of much of its own clothing, utensils, ornaments, and so on. There was much internal trade in iron implements, pots, and other objects made by part-time specialists; as well as in livestock, grain, meat, and other items. These were all bartered for one another directly between the parties concerned.

Each large settlement was divided into a number of wards, each consisting of a number of family-groups under the leadership of a hereditary headman. A large proportion of wards in any Reserve was located in the capital. Some large villages contained several wards, but each smaller village usually constituted but one ward. The paramount chief was the head of the royal ward of each Reserve. Other ward-heads were nobles, commoners, or immigrants. Each ward had its own court, and formed a unit for many economic and social functions. Ngwato wards at the capital had two modes of origin. Formerly a chief would group his sons by one wife into a single body under the authority of the eldest, and attach to them some commoners as servants. The later headmen of wards created in this way were thus the descendants of former chiefs. Other wards were created when a paramount chief allocated the supervision of his cattle posts to faithful commoner followers. These he appointed as headmen over ward nuclei formed of these headmen's immediate relatives. Members of these wards included close agnates of their heads, as well as the menials who lived out in the veld actually tending the cattle. In 1940, 35 of the 112 ward-heads of the Ngwato capital, and 17 of the 40 ward-heads of the Tswana capital, were such loyal supporters whom the ruler had placed in charge of various of his herds.

A commoner headman placed in charge of a paramount chief's cattle post provided the ruler's household with milk and meat from the cattle under the care of the headman, who would also come with his followers to perform such other work as might be demanded of them. In return a headman had use of the cattle as he pleased for

milk and meat, bridewealth for his sons, or as exchange for other commodities. On his death they were passed on to his children. He also kept most of the hunting tribute from the subject peoples who inhabited the region where the cattle grazed. However, the paramount head had ultimate claim to the cattle, and, in fact, to anything acquired by the headman. The chief could at any time withdraw his support from a headman, and his entire property, ruining him. The paramount's own relatives were never entrusted with royal cattle posts, although they were provided with cattle and with servants of their own.

In former times each community living outside the tribal headquarters was placed under the control of a Ngwato commoner headman. Each such headman had heritable responsibilities, and was resident at the capital. Sometime in the last century many subject communities were too far away from headquarters to be controlled effectively, and the paramount head Kgama III (c. 1837-1923) grouped the more remote communities into districts. In each district he placed a resident governor. This governor was usually a member of his family, but in some cases was a prominent and reliable commoner headman. Kgama's successors continued and extended this policy. Such an appointment tended to become hereditary, but a district chief was subject to recall by the paramount head.

Commoner headmen were among a paramount head's "most loyal adherents . . . strong supports against the intrigues of his uncles and brothers . . . he came to rely more and more upon them, until

in time they became the most influential group assisting him to govern the tribe" (Schapera 1940: 78).

Only a paramount chief could create or recognize a new ward. As mentioned above, wards might be created to serve as personal retainers of a chief's sons, or to look after some of the royal cattle. Also, a sufficiently large group of immigrant or conquered peoples might be classed as a separate ward with its leader as headman, or might be divided into a number of wards, according to its size and existing kinship or territorial organization. Single families or family groups were placed in some existing ward. An existing ward might be divided by the paramount chief into two separate units. Wards could disappear by seceding from a tribe, or by becoming so small the the chief amalgamated the remnant with some other ward. Every person had to belong to a ward, and, except in exceptional circumstances, was required to live in the same place as his fellow ward members. Bigger and more important wards, especially those of the capitals, were usually located physically according to traditional rules of seniority and precedence. In most tribes, within the capital there were three divisions that had military significance. That of the paramount head was in the center, and there was also an "upper" and a "lower" division. The wards in each division were contiguous and constituted a single section of the tribal army.

Among the Tswana, Ngwato, and Kgatla all wards, not just those of the capital, were grouped into "sections." There were,

respectively, three, four, and five sections in each of these groups. The sections in each tribe were developed over the course of time, and became stabilized about the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the Kgatla the wards within sections were ranked in a well-defined order of precedence based mainly on historical-traditional associations. The sections were also ranked; the first in order included almost all wards under noble and immigrant headmen, and the others contained mainly wards under Kgatla commoner headmen. Among the Ngwato and Tawana each section was composed of wards under nobles, commoners, and immigrants; in these tribes the sections were not differentiated in rank, except that the section headed by the paramount chief took precedence over the others.

In all three tribes one ward-head in each section was senior to the rest and exercised overriding authority in judicial and administrative matters. The section often met together under his leadership to discuss matters of local or tribal concern. Its members constituted a separate unit in each age-set for military or other joint activities.

The administrative and judicial systems were hierarchical, from family-group elder, through ward-head, and then through sectional headman, to the paramount head. Certain offences could be dealt with only by the court of the paramount head, and only he could impose the penalties of death or banishment.

The paramount head, like his subordinate authorities, was assisted by some personal advisers whom he consulted privately and

informally. He chose and varied them as he wished, but they usually included certain close paternal relatives. In some tribes he occasionally also consulted with a wider and more formal body which consisted either of all ward-heads, or at least those he trusted. These men were summoned whenever he needed them, and the meetings were secret. In addition, public meetings which were open to all men of the tribe took place very frequently. Normally only the men of the capital would attend and, if necessary, information would be later communicated to the inhabitants of outlying villages through their headmen. But sometimes the men from outside the capital were also summoned, or even compelled to attend. This was done if the matter was at all critical, as in the case of a serious internal dispute. All the men came to a crucial meeting of this kind armed and ready for trouble. Such a meeting was usually preceded or followed by a communal hunt. Through the regimental organization the paramount head could thus bring the men together for war or for a work project.

Only the paramount chief could, as noted above, create new wards. Also, he was the war leader. Only he could create new regiments, convene full tribal meetings, and arrange tribal ceremonies. He was the principal officiant in a number of tribal ceremonies, including rain-making, initiation into age-regiments, doctoring of the army and of tribal boundaries at certain times, consecration of the capital whenever it was moved to a new site; as well as in sowing, first-fruits, and harvest festivals. The paramount head also regulated the cycle of agricultural activities by arranging for

the collective planting, weeding, and reaping of his own fields, and for threshing, at suitable times. Only after this work had been done for the paramount head could people do it for themselves.

Tribute. In the 1930's there were nineteen "very large" fields among the Kgatla, twelve among the Kwenä, and twenty-six among the Mgwaketse, that were cultivated specifically for the paramount chief each year by the members of individual districts or other local segments. The paramount chief provided the seed and received the crops and the people performed all the labor under the direction of their respective local heads. In most groups each woman also gave the paramount chief a basketful of her own grain at harvest. The paramount chief also received certain hunting spoils: wild animal skins, ostrich feathers, and ivory. His main source of wealth was cattle inherited from his father, received as bridewealth for his daughters or other female dependants, received as presents on his accession, or looted in war, and he also received any unclaimed stray cattle. He retained part of the fines imposed in his court, particularly for certain offences. He could banish and confiscate the entire property of any tribesman who conspired against him or committed any other serious offence. Through the age-regimental system the paramount head could command the services of his people for any personal or public purpose. He had, in addition, a large number of servants directly attached to him. The paramount chief was very generous in providing beer and meat to the people who visited him or partook in any of his various projects. He also rewarded advisers, headmen, warriors, and retainers, and supplied his

subjects with food in times of famine.

Paramountcies
(also Soga and Haya)

Lozi (Gluckman 1941, 1943, 1950, 1951, 1952; Turner 1952)

Location, subsistence. The Lozi lived mainly on the great flood-plain of the upper Zambezi River. They lived mostly on mounds, higher parts of the plain that stood above the summer flood waters. Limited agricultural and fishing resources were attached to each mound. In general these resources could be used only by the residents inhabiting the mound. Towards the height of the flood the Lozi moved for a few months to homesteads built above the water line on the margins of the plain. Many crops were grown, by a great variety of methods. Cattle were kept, and there was extensive fishing.

Population. In 1938 the total population was 295,741. Density in different districts ranged from 2.52 to 29.6; overall average 8.87/sq.mi. (Gluckman 1951: 88).

Settlement pattern. As indicated above, most homesteads were built on mounds, higher parts of the flood-plain that stood above the waters of the summer floods. The limited area of building space on a mound and the limited resources attached to it restricted the size to which villages could grow. There were two village types: those inhabited by groups of kinsmen and their families, with possibly a few attached persons; and those belonging to members of

the royal family and to the titles of councillors at court. Some of the former had only a couple of men and their families, but the average was 6 to 10 men and their families. The sizes of the latter, or "royal" villages ranged from tens of people to a couple of hundred. There were thousands at the capitals. The main capital was that of the paramount. There was also a similar subsidiary capital, established about 1750, ruled by a daughter of the paramount (Gluckman 1943, 1950).

Political-jurisdictional organization. The Lozi seem to have been dominant on the plain, and in contiguous regions of varying extent in different periods, for some hundreds of years. They were not attacked before the nineteenth century. They did not have a strong organization in the provinces, although around 1750 a subordinate Lozi capital was established in the plain itself, some twenty miles south of the main capital. It was ruled by a close relative of the paramount, often a daughter (a "princess chief"), and several of the paramount's wives resided there. This capital was provided with all the royal emblems. It was in most respects a duplicate of the main capital to the north by which it was dominated. There was considerable trade in both subsistence and craft items between the Lozi and surrounding bush-peoples, with comparatively little trade between the bush-peoples themselves.

As noted above, the smaller mound villages were inhabited by groups of kinsmen, and perhaps a few attached persons. The larger "royal" villages; which belonged to members of the royal family or

to titled councillors residing at the capitals, were inhabited by members of various families and tribes, collected together by the paramount. In the past the paramount had marshy lands drained with national labor to make gardens. These gardens were distributed among local people, or among people the paramount settled there; and the paramount retained some for his own use. He also opened new areas, both in the plain and in the bush, by selecting people from different tribes and families and establishing them in homesteads there.

The nation was divided, on a non-territorial basis, into political sectors which were headed by councillors at the capitals. Sector members did not live in defined areas but were scattered throughout Barotseland. People in adjacent villages, and sometimes in the same village, belonged to different sectors. Under each senior sector head were a number of junior councillors. The members of each sector were not always specifically allotted to individual junior councillors. The sector organization was utilized for labor projects, and as a military organization. It also formed the formal hierarchical judiciary system of the country. Disputes of any importance, or not settled at a lower level, came to the sector-heads at the capital. However, people could take their affairs to any councillor of the sector to which they belonged, or to any councillor in a royal village in their neighborhood. There were courts in many royal villages, courts held by any travelling prince or councillor, and there were small locally held courts. But all important affairs were settled at, or at least reported to, the capital.

Any village which had been a capital of rulers, or at which certain royal persons were buried, or any village in which a prince or princess, queen, or holder of an important title resided served as a capital for its neighborhood. These capitals were distributed throughout the plain. In some places several were close together, while in other places one village served a large area. A royal village might or might not have attached to it a number of other villages whose heads formed a council to "look after" the royal village: the gardens, fishing, personal affairs, and so on, of its royal incumbent or title-holder. The neighborhoods which acknowledged these capitals varied greatly in size and population, and frequently overlapped. They were not territorially demarcated as compact blocks. Not only did the politically attached but scattered villages have other attachments of other sorts, but the composition of groups varied between the flood and dry seasons. There were frequent disputes between princes and title-holders over their commoner followers, and between them and commoners about the latter's allegiance. However, there was no competition between the councillors and the titled priests who were appointed to administer the villages of dead royalty.

Yet another non-territorial administrative division centered on the royal storehouses, the repositories of tribute. In the capital the paramount had one private and four public storehouses. There was also a councillors' storehouse, and each of certain of the ruler's wives had both a private and a public storehouse. The storehouses were administered by stewards, and people were allocated to

storehouses without reference to sector membership. Members of a sector were attached to several storehouses, and the people allocated to a storehouse belonged to different sectors.

At the ruler's court there were over fifty senior councillors, as well as junior councillors, stewards, princes, princess consorts, bandsmen, police, and attendants. Successors to all titled offices were appointed by the paramount in council, although a few titles passed in kin-groups. Each paramount also appointed his own main senior councillor with a new title of office to which the paramount attached a large number of people scattered over Barotseland, forming a new political sector.

The attachments of people to titled offices were fluid. They varied with seasonal moves, and with changes of residence (voluntary or by royal command). They also varied with changes in the incumbents of titles, and upon the creation of new royal or commoner villages. There was a complex of attachments leading ultimately to the paramount, and permanent political ties were with him only.

Tribute. Lozi royal gardens and other resources were worked by nearby commoner residents, who shared the produce. Commoners also worked on various labor projects. The Lozi also brought tribute to the storehouses at the capital, and subject peoples brought numerous local specialties, including both subsistence and craft items. In addition, a variety of gifts were brought to the paramount. After tribute was brought in, the paramount and other persons first

took portions privately, then later in public view. Distribution proceeded from the paramount, first to members of his family and to the councillors, and then to commoners, who are said to have freely asked for things they wanted. It is emphasized in the literature that little was storable, that there was little variation in standards of living, and that most items became distributed to all who lacked or needed them.

Interlacustrine peoples:

Ganda (Beattie 1971; L. Fallers 1964; M. Fallers 1960; Mair 1933, 1934, 1962; Richards 1960b; Roscoe 1911; Southall and Gutkind 1957; Southwold 1961, 1964, 1965, 1966; Wrigley 1957, 1964)

Nyoro (Beattie 1960a, 1960b, 1971; Roscoe 1923; Taylor 1962)

Soga (L. Fallers 1955, 1956a, 1956b, 1960; M. Fallers 1960; Roscoe 1915)

Haya (Césard 1935-37, Cory and Hartnoll 1945, Korit-Schoner and Hartnoll 1942, LaFontaine and Richards 1960, P. Reining 1953, Taylor 1962)

Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga, and Buhaya are the best known of the Interlacustrine peoples, those inhabiting the "great lakes region" of East-Central Africa, between Lake Victoria on the east and a chain of lakes to the north and west down to Lake Tanganyika. Buganda lay to the northwest of Lake Victoria. Busoga was also just north of Lake Victoria, separated from Buganda by the Victoria Nile. Bunyoro was to the north of Buganda, between the latter and Lake Albert, and Buhaya was to the south of Buganda, and west of Lake Victoria. This is a plateau area lying at an average elevation of 4000 feet. Most of it was fertile and well-watered. The Nyoro kept

cattle and grew finger millet, sorghum, plantains, sweet potatoes, beans, and a variety of other food crops. For the other three peoples the staples included a great variety of plantains as well as sweet potatoes, groundnuts, pulses, and other crops. Plots of land could be permanently occupied by practising rotation of the annual crops. Moreover, banana gardens can bear for decades, and after a banana garden is established, little labor is required to maintain it. The work of one woman could provide food for a number of men, who then had much time available for warfare and political pursuits.

Population. Buganda was the largest political community in East Africa (Mair 1962: 29). One hundred years ago the population was probably about one million, and the kingdom area about 10,000 square miles (Southwold 1965); the population density thus ca. 100 per square mile.

In recent times the Nyoro population of ca. 110,000 lived in an area of ca. 4700 square miles (Beattie 1960a: 1); overall density thus ca. 23/sq.mi.

In 1948 the Soga numbered ca. 500,000 (L. Fallers 1960: 79; Mair 1962: 29). During the later part of the nineteenth century there were some fifteen independent political units (L. Fallers 1960: 80-81); average population in each thus ca. 33,000.

The Haya in 1948 numbered ca. 300,000 (LaFontaine and Richards 1960: 175). In the immediately pre-British period there were eight autonomous political units (Taylor 1962: 140); average

population in each thus ca. 37,500.

Settlement pattern. All these peoples lived in neighborhoods of dispersed homesteads, the capital of each independent political unit being the only sizable settlement. Southwold suggests that, in Buganda at least, in the old days the house-sites of peasants may have been placed to some extent with relation to the compounds of district chiefs, which had "many houses and huts to accommodate wives and children and dependants and slaves" (1965: 104).

Similarly, Roscoe says of Buganda that

In their own districts the chiefs maintained greater state than in the capital, because they were the chief authority there and were like petty kings. They had enormous enclosures with wives, men-servants, and slaves; in addition they had the care of many women related to them . . . [1911: 13].

A chief's country-seat was more like a small town than a village, for there he was supreme, living in great state, and having a large enclosure in which there were often hundreds of women and slaves [Ibid: 240].

A Ganda "village" in the sense of a local administrative unit consisted of 30 to 80 homesteads (M. Fallers 1960: 21, Southwold 1965: 104). By all reports the Buganda capital had a population in the tens of thousands, although Southall and Gutkind consider population estimates at and near the beginning of this century, of 77,000 and 60,000, respectively, to be excessive. Numerous officials, royal wives, retainers, craft specialists, and many others were resident at the capital.

The Nyoro capital consisted of hundreds of huts within and near the ruler's enclosure, around which were those of important

chiefs and councillors (Beattie 1960a: 1; Roscoe 1923: Ch. 5, Sect. 1; Taylor 1962: 21-22).

The Soga palace

was a large establishment housing dozens of royal wives, children and servants. Physically, it consisted of a large enclosure . . . within which was the great conical thatched house of the ruler, the smaller huts of wives and servants, and kraals and sheds for the ruler's large herds of livestock. Each day the ruler held court in the courtyard in front of the royal house, where he might be visited by his chiefs and entertained by jugglers, musicians and story-tellers [L. Fallers 1956: 132].

Haya "villages" consisted of areas of scattered homesteads. They were permanent, named units which varied in size from about 40 to 100 homesteads, and some were divided into hamlets (Taylor 1962: 134). LaFontaine and Richards (1960: 181) give, as the range of village size, 100 to 200 households (this is based on Césard's data, given below). Further, they describe that

There was evidently a greater distinction between the capital of a king and the much smaller villages of commoners. At the capital were the large royal residences, the houses of the king's many wives, of numerous office-bearers and gate-keepers, of slaves and herders, as well as the huts of the bands of young men It is recorded that there were residential areas designed for more than thirty different categories of inhabitants of the capital [Ibid: 180].

Césard (1937: 23) gives an example of one Haya political unit which had a population of ca. 43,000. There was a total of 46 villages which contained a total of 8413 huts (an average of ca. 180 huts per village), in nine provinces, as follows:

Ishozi	--	813 huts, 5 villages
Kanyigo	--	2209 huts, 8 villages
Ruzinga	--	721 huts, 2 villages
Buyango	--	1207 huts, 7 villages
Bugandika	--	785 huts, 4 villages
Kitobo	--	795 huts, 6 villages
Kibumbiro	--	787 huts, 7 villages
Bwanjai	--	613 huts, 3 villages
Gera	--	383 huts, 4 villages

Political-jurisdictional organization. There was considerable competition between Bunyoro and Buganda since the eighteenth century, at least, and the Soga and Haya were at various times tributary and/or raided by one or both of the other two groups. Some time in the nineteenth century contacts with the Interlacustrine area were made from the north and the south by Egyptians, Arabs, and, around the middle of the century, by Europeans. While all these peoples had very similar political-jurisdictional systems, that of Buganda was evidently the most centralized.

By the time of British domination Buganda was divided into ten districts, each headed by an appointee of the paramount, and subject to recall by him. Ganda princes were efficiently, rigorously and explicitly excluded from any share in political authority, and the authority of clan heads was severely curtailed. Each district head had under him a number (usually about six) of district sub-chiefs. Each of these ruled a section of the district, and below him were one or more further levels, the lowest being village head. Most of these officers were chosen by the paramount rather than by their immediate superiors. Every chief, any heir to land, and

anyone succeeding to a position of political authority had to be presented personally to the ruler, and personally installed in office by him. District chiefs had to maintain a residence in the capital as well as in their districts. They were required to visit the capital frequently, and when there to see the ruler, formally and informally, several times a day. A deputy acted in the place of a chief when he was absent from his residence at the capital or in his district; a district chief thus had to be in two places at all times. Each chief was responsible for collecting and leading the men of his district in war, and for certain kinds of public works in his district or elsewhere as required, particularly at the capital. Tax collection was not a direct responsibility of the chiefs, but rather was in the hands of special officers appointed by the paramount.

One of the main tasks of heads at all levels was to maintain order and security. There was an organized judiciary which culminated in the paramount, but rights of adjudication and rights to seek redress for wrongs were not restricted to central authority. The situation was, rather, that there was a new class of offences, offences against the ruler. These could encompass a considerable range of behaviors, and could be met with a considerable degree of punishment. The Ganda paramount, or Kabaka, is described as being particularly despotic, notably in dispensing punishments at court. However, evidently it was quite feasible to remain out of his reach.

Administration, while hierarchical, was a patchwork of control over land and peasants. Within the administrative jurisdiction

of a district chief was his own private estates and some of those of his senior subchiefs. Within his district there might also be the estates of royal relatives, of clan officials, and others. He had no control over these, for they had their own hierarchies of headship. One such "estate" might consist of pieces distributed in several parts of the country, in several districts, or of several pieces within one district. The ruler, the queen mother, and the king's ministers had estates scattered throughout Buganda. One category of officers who held estates consisted of favorites of the ruler, persons who had supplied him with goods or services, and had proven themselves loyal and trustworthy. Such a person was supplied by the paramount with an estate, and therefore with political authority, often at the level of a lesser chief, but usually authority only over a single village. These were especially "the king's men," used to check and spy upon other chiefs.

Apparently Bunyoro was to some degree less centralized than Buganda. When Speke and Grant reached Bunyoro in 1862 the paramount exercised suzerainty over a considerable area,

But it would be a mistake to suppose that all of this large area was subject to peaceful and uniform administration from Kamurasi's capital. Especially on the periphery, revolts, often led by "princes" of the royal Bito line, were frequent [Beattie 1971: 64].

Thus the borders to which central authority reached were less defined, more diffuse, than in Buganda. There was also somewhat less central control over the subordinate headships. There were a dozen or so larger districts and a number of smaller ones. Chiefs of the larger territories were appointed directly by the paramount. Chiefship, at

least at times, tended to become hereditary, but a holder could at any time be relieved of office by the paramount. Any man who by gift or service earned the paramount's approbation could be appointed to a chiefship. Chiefs who ruled smaller territories might hold authority from, and be subordinate to, chiefs of larger territories. All positions of authority had to be validated by the paramount, but only the higher ranks were required to attend personally at court when appointed. As in Buganda, an important chief was required to maintain a residence at the capital as well as in his district, and was expected to spend a good deal of time in attendance on the paramount. When absent he had to leave behind a deputy to assume his titles and to take his place on formal occasions.

One way in which the ruler of Bunyoro strengthened his hold over his chiefs was by not spending all of his time at the capital, but

like William I of England, he frequently made long tours around his kingdom, accompanied by a numerous retinue of palace officials and hangers-on, and stayed for days or weeks at or near the headquarters of one or other of his chiefs [Beattie 1971: 138].

A number of royal relatives held titles at the capital. Also at the capital was a large body of ritual-cum-household officials, some of whose offices were vested in particular clans. Another important group consisted of the king's close unofficial advisers, ordinarily including some of the above officials. The ruler could grant a "crown," a position of high ritual status and political power, to any person he wished to confirm in a particular

status; this included at least some territorial chiefs. The crown-bearers advised and protected the paramount and had certain ritual duties. All of the above officials, but particularly the crown-bearers, were granted extensive estates by the paramount administered as in Buganda. The judiciary system was similar to that of Buganda; as in Buganda, the right of private vengeance was kept.

Busoga and Buhaya are described as being very similar in organization to Buganda and Bunyoro, the main difference being that the former were organized into multiple independent polities, which varied in size. Most were much smaller than Buganda and Bunyoro. In Busoga a paramount head might control fewer people than many Buganda subchiefs who served under district heads; yet the larger Haya territories may have approached Bunyoro in size. Another major difference, at least in terms of distinctions utilized in the present study, is that only some district headships were controlled above the district level, particularly those held by commoner chiefs appointed by the paramount head. Other districts, those given by a paramount head to some of his sons, might become independent within the lifetime of the paramount head, or might in time be held by their descendants in hereditary right. "The legends of Buhaya are full of tales of rebellious sons, avenging fathers, and fratricidal strife ending in the splitting of kingdoms" (LaFontaine and Richards 1960: 178). The same patchwork scheme of hierarchical administration is described as for Buganda and Bunyoro. It could not be determined from the literature how many or what sorts of officers were resident at the capitals in comparison with Buganda and Bunyoro.

Tribute. In Buganda each chief was responsible for certain kinds of public works in his district or elsewhere as required, particularly at the capital. Tax collection was not a direct responsibility of the chiefs, but rather was collected by special officers appointed by the paramount. Taxes were collected at the establishment of the district chief, who assisted in both assessing and collecting the tax. Dues were fixed per head. They consisted of cowry shells, hoes, barkcloth, and other commodities. Chiefs at each level were entitled to fixed proportions of the taxes collected.

In Bunyoro a territorial chief had some use of the tribute labor and the goods of the people under him, but had to provide the paramount periodically with grain, beer and cattle, as well as laborers for work at the capital and soldiers in war. There were also special tax collection officials appointed by the ruler. The latter are not mentioned for the Soga and Haya.

Other centralized activities. In Buganda regular markets were held at which craft goods and produce were exchanged for other goods, or for cowrie shells, iron hoes, or barkcloth. Fees were collected by "market-masters" on behalf of chiefs and the paramount. It is mentioned that markets were held in Bunyoro, Busoga, and Buhaya also. In Buganda administrative and military activities were facilitated by a well-planned and carefully maintained system of roads which radiated from the capital to all sectors of the country. A part-time navy was maintained on Lake Victoria, and near the end of the pre-British period standing armies were developed.

APPENDIX 2

DOCUMENTATION OF CHARACTERISTICS UTILIZED IN THE TAXONOMIC ANALYSIS

(in alphabetic order of societies)

Alur

- 1.1 Richards 1960a: 314-317, Southall 1956 ff.
- 2.1 Richards 1960a: 314; Southall 1956: 77-97
- 3.1 Richards 1960a: 314; Southall 1956: 144
- 4.1 Richards 1960a: 315; Southall 1956: 80-81

Azande

- 1.2 Baxter and Butt 1953: 48-51; Evans-Pritchard 1963; Seligman and Seligman 1932: 499, 501, 503-504
- 1.4 Baxter and Butt 1953: 48-50
- 2.2 Baxter and Butt 1953: 53; Evans-Pritchard 1963; Seligman and Seligman 1932: 504-506
- 3.2 Baxter and Butt 1953: 55-59; Seligman and Seligman 1932: 504-505
- 4.2 Baxter and Butt 1953: 52, 59-62; Seligman and Seligman 1932: 505

Bemba

- 1.2 Richards 1940; 1951
- 1.4 Richards 1940: 86, 91-92, 101, 103
- 2.2 Richards 1940: 87, 89, 96, 100, 107-110; 1951: 169-170, 189; Whiteley 1951: 27-28

- 3.3 Richards 1940: 108; 1951: 170; Whiteley 1951: 24
- 4.2 Richards 1940: 91-92, 95, 104, 106; 1951: 167, 170, 172, 189-190; Whiteley 1951: 24-25

Ganda

- 1.3 M. Fallers 1960: 61-64; Mair 1962: 141; Richards 1960b: 43-53; Roscoe 1911: 232 ff.; Southwold 1965: 88 ff.; 1966: 83-84; Wrigley 1957: 71-72
- 1.5 Beattie 1971: 261 ff.; M. Fallers 1960: 34, 61-62, 64; Mair 1933: 191; 1962: 14, 52; Richards 1960b: 45-48, 52; Roscoe 1911: 238, 240; Southwold 1965: 89, 91; 1966: 84; Wrigley 1957: 72; 1964: 19-20
- 2.3 M. Fallers 1960: 63; Richards 1960b: 52-53; Roscoe 1911: 244-245; Southwold 1965: 89, 91
- 3.3 M. Fallers 1960: 63; Roscoe 1911: 241; Southwold 1965: 99-100
- 4.3 M. Fallers 1960: 34, 51-63; Richards 1960b: 48-49; Roscoe 1911: 241-246; Wrigley 1957: 72
- 5.1 M. Fallers 1960: 34-35; Richards 1960b: 50-51; Southwold 1965: 89-90, 93; 1966: 84-85
- 5.2 M. Fallers 1960: 49; Roscoe 1911: 452

Ila

- 1.1 Jaspan 1953: 35-36; Smith and Dale 1920: 298-299
- 2.1 Jaspan 1953: 36; Smith and Dale 1920: 299
- 3.1 Jaspan 1953: 37; Smith and Dale 1920: 351
- 4.1 Jaspan 1953: 34, 36; Smith and Dale 1920: 304-306

Lovedu

- 1.2 E. Krige 1964: 155-157; Krige and Krige 1943: 1954: 55, 58
- 1.4 E. Krige 1964: 156; Krige and Krige 1943: 177
- 2.2 Krige and Krige 1943: 172
- 3.2 Krige and Krige 1943: 186-210

4.2 E. Krige 1941: 3; Krige and Krige 1943: 182-183; 1954: 58

Lozi

1.3 Gluckman 1943: 12-13; 1951: 14 ff.; Turner 1952: 33-38

1.5 Gluckman 1943: 45; 1951: 32, 40; Turner 1952: 36

2.3 Gluckman 1943: 12, 21, 71, 74; 1951: 32 ff., 49 ff.;
Turner 1952: 34-37

3.3 Gluckman 1951: 33-35, 48-49; Turner 1952: 35

4.3 Gluckman 1943: 17, 71-72, 75-81; 1951: 36-37, 40; Turner
1952: 21

5.1 Gluckman 1943: 13, 17, 19, 21-22, 29, 38, 45-46; 1951: 16-17,
29 ff., 38-40; Turner 1952: 34-36, 38

5.2 Gluckman 1943: 12-13, 76; Turner 1952: 21, 35-36

Ndembu

1.1 Turner 1957: 5-7, 14, 16, 323

2.1 Turner 1957: 5-6, 323-324

3.1 Turner 1957: 16, 327

4.1 Turner 1957: 6, 14-15, 325

Ngoni

1.2 Barnes 1948: 99-101; 1951: 196-199; 1954: 10-12

1.4 Barnes 1948: 99-100; 1951: 198; 1954: 11, 24-25, 42

2.2 Barnes 1948: 99; 1951: 197-198; 1954: 11, 41-47

3.3 Barnes 1948: 100-101; 1951: 200; 1954: 11, 48

4.2 Barnes 1951: 203, 238-239; 1954: 25, 104

Nyakyusa

1.1 G. Wilson 1951: 276 ff.; M. Wilson 1950: 111; 1951; 1959: 1

2.1 G. Wilson 1951: 282, 286-287; M. Wilson 1951; 1957: 13, 22

3.2 G. Wilson 1951: 286-287; M. Wilson 1951; 1957: 31; 1959: 4

4.1 G. Wilson 1951: 285-286; M. Wilson 1959: 98, 214

Nyoro

1.3 Beattie 1960a: 25-41; 1960b: 101-104; 1971: Chs. 6, 8, 11;
Roscoe 1923: Ch. IV; Taylor 1962: 35-37

1.5 Beattie 1960a: 29, 33, 35; 1960b: 103-104; 1971: 129 ff.;
Roscoe 1923: 54; Taylor 1962: 36

2.3 Beattie 1960a: 31-32, 41; 1960b: 102-103; 1971: 124-128;
Roscoe 1923: 59; Taylor 1962: 36

3.3 Beattie 1971: 133-134; Roscoe 1923: 55, 61; Taylor 1962: 37

4.3 Beattie 1960a: 34-36; 1960b: 103-104; Roscoe 1923: 55-56,
59-60; Taylor 1962: 33-35

5.1 Beattie 1960a: 30, 33, 37-40; 1960b: 103-104; Roscoe 1923:
56-67; Taylor 1962: 32

5.2 Taylor 1962: 35

Suku

1.2 Kopytoff 1961; 1962: 459-464; 1964: 84

2.1 Kopytoff 1962: 460-461

3.2 Kopytoff 1961; 1962: 461-464; 1964: 90, 115

4.2 Kopytoff 1962: 461-462; 1964: 84

Sukuma

1.2 Abrahams 1966: 127-134, 141; 1967: 25-27, 38, 55-56; Cory
1954: 40; Liebenow 1960: 232-233; Williams 1935

2.2 Abrahams 1966: 131; 1967: 56; Cory 1954: 39, 43-44; Liebenow
1960: 235-236

3.2 Abrahams 1966: 131; 1967: 54, 59; Cory 1954: 8-9; Liebenow
1960: 234, 238

4.2 Abrahams 1966: 131, 134; 1967: 59-60, 62; Liebenow 1960: 234,
236-237

Tswana

- 1.2 Schapera 1940; 1953
- 1.4 Schapera 1940: 57, 59-62; 1956: 110-111
- 2.2 Schapera 1940: 64-65, 71; 1953: 51-53
- 3.3 Schapera 1938: 35-52, 257-278; 1940: 61, 63-64, 69; 1953: 51, 55
- 4.3 Schapera 1938: 63-66; 1940: 61, 65, 73, 76-77; 1943: 28 ff.; 1953: 26, 28-29, 31, 51-52; 1956: 99-100
- 5.1 Schapera 1940: 77-78

Venda

- 1.2 Stayt 1931: 195-196, 201-203, 214 ff.
- 1.4 Stayt 1931: 215
- 2.2 Stayt 1931: 198-201
- 3.3 Stayt 1931: 219
- 4.2 Stayt 1931: 34, 204, 217-218

Yao

- 1.1 Mitchell 1949a: 142-144; 1951a: 22; 1951b: 347-349; 1956: 31-37, 107
- 2.1 Mitchell 1949a: 144; 1951a: 24-25; 1951b: 349-350
- 3.1 Mitchell 1949a: 143; 1951b: 344-345
- 4.1 Mitchell 1949a: 142-143

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations:

- AA American Anthropologist
AS African Studies
ASA Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth
(London: Tavistock Publications)
EAS East African Studies
IAI International African Institute
RL Rhodes-Livingstone Institute
SJA Southwestern Journal of Anthropology

ABRAHAMS, R.G.

- 1966 Succession to the chiefship in northern Unyamwezi. In
Goody 1969, pp. 127-141.
1967 The peoples of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania. IAI.

ADAMS, ROBERT McC.

- 1965 Land behind Baghdad. Chicago: The University of Chicago
Press.
1972 Patterns of urbanization in early southern Mesopotamia.
In Ucko et al 1972, pp. 735-749.

ADAMS, ROBERT McC. and HANS J. NISSEN

- 1972 The Uruk countryside. Chicago: The University of Chicago
Press.

ALLAN, W. et al

- 1948 Land holding and land usage among the Plateau Tonga of
Mazabuka District. RL Paper 14.

BAKER, PAUL T. and WILLIAM T. SANDERS

- 1972 Demographic studies in anthropology. Annual Review of
Anthropology 1: 151-178.

BALANDIER, GEORGES

- 1967 Anthropologie politique. Paris: Presses Universitaires de
France. Translation 1970, Political anthropology. New
York: Random House.

BARNES, J.A.

- 1948 Some aspects of political development among the Fort
Jameson Ngoni. AS 7(2-3): 99-109.

- 1949 The Fort Jameson Ngoni. In The village headman in British Central Africa by Max Gluckman et al. Africa 19(2): 89-106.
- 1951 The Fort Jameson Ngoni. In Colson and Gluckman 1951, pp. 194-252.
- 1954 Politics in a changing society: a political history of the Fort Jameson Ngoni. Capetown: Oxford University Press.
- BAXTER, P.T.W. and AUDREY BUTT
- 1953 The Azande and related peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Belgian Congo. IAI.
- BEATTIE, JOHN H.M.
- 1960a Bunyoro. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- 1960b The Nyoro. In Richards 1960, pp. 98-126.
- 1971 The Nyoro state. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- BEFU, HARUMI
- 1966 Political complexity and village community: test of an hypothesis. Anthropological Quarterly 39(2): 43-52.
- BERRY, BRIAN J.L.
- 1967 Geography of market centers and retail distributions. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- BERRY, BRIAN J.L. and ALLEN FRED
- 1965 Central place studies. Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.
- BINFORD, LEWIS R.
- 1968 Archeological perspectives. In New perspectives in archeology, pp. 5-32. Sally R. Binford and Lewis R. Binford, eds. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.
- BLANTON, RICHARD E.
- 1972a Prehispanic adaptation in the Ixtapalapa region, Mexico. Science 175, No. 4028: 1317-1326.
- 1972b Prehispanic settlement patterns of the Ixtapalapa Peninsula region, Mexico. Occasional Paper in Anthropology 6. Department of Anthropology, The Pennsylvania State University.
- MS The role of symbiosis in adaptation and socio-cultural change in the Valley of Mexico. In Papers of the Advanced Seminar on Research in the Valley of Mexico, 1972, School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Eric R. Wolf, ed. (volume in preparation)
- BOHANNAN, PAUL and GEORGE DALTON, eds.
- 1962 Markets in Africa. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

BROWN, PAUL

- 1951 Patterns of authority in West Africa. *Africa* 21: 261-278.

CARNEIRO, ROBERT L.

- 1961 Slash-and-burn cultivation among the Kuikuru and its implications for cultural developments in the Amazon Basin. *Antropologica Supplement* No. 2, pp. 47-67.
 1967 On the relationship between size of population and complexity of social organization. *SJA* 23(3): 234-243.

CESARD, E.

- 1935-37 *Le Muhaya*. *Anthropos* 30: 75-106, 451-462; 31: 489-508, 821-849; 32: 15-60.

CHILVER, E.M.

- 1960 "Feudalism" in the Interlacustrine kingdoms. In Richards 1960, pp. 378-393.

CHRISTALLER, WALTER

- 1933 *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland*. Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag. Translation 1966, *Central places in southern Germany*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

COHEN, RONALD

- 1965 Political anthropology: the future of a pioneer. *Anthropological Quarterly* 38(3): 117-131.
 1967 The political system. In *A handbook of method in cultural anthropology*, pp. 484-499. Raoul Naroll and Ronald Cohen, eds. New York: Columbia University Press.

COLE, A.J., ed.

- 1969 *Numerical taxonomy*. New York: Academic Press.

COLSON, ELIZABETH

- 1951 The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia. In Colson and Gluckman 1951, pp. 94-162.
 1953 Social control and vengeance in Plateau Tonga society. *Africa* 23(3): 199-211. Reprinted 1973 in *Peoples and cultures of Africa*, pp. 397-415. Elliott P. Skinner, ed. Garden City: Natural History Press.
 1962 Trade and wealth among the Tonga. In Bohannan and Dalton 1962, pp. 601-616.

COLSON, ELIZABETH and MAX GLUCKMAN, eds.

- 1951 *Seven tribes of British Central Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

COOK, SHERBURNE F.

- 1972 *Prehistoric demography*. Addison-Wesley Modular Publication 16.

CORY, HANS

- 1953 Sukuma land and custom. London: Oxford University Press.
 1954 The indigenous political system of the Sukuma. EAS 2.

CORY, HANS and M.M. HARTNOLL

- 1945 Customary law of the Haya tribe. London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co.

DOUGLAS, MARY

- 1954 The Lele of Kasai. In *African worlds*, pp. 1026. Daryll Forde, ed. London: Oxford University Press.
 1962 Lele economy compared with the Bushong. In Bohannan and Dalton 1962, pp. 211-233.
 1963 The Lele of the Kasai. London: Oxford University Press.

EASTON, DAVID

- 1959 Political anthropology. In *Biennial Review of Anthropology* 1959, pp. 210-262. Bernard J. Siegel, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

EISENSTADT, S.N.

- 1959 Primitive political systems: a preliminary comparative analysis. AA 61: 200-220.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E.

- 1963 The Zande state. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 93, Pt. I: 134-154. Reprinted 1973, in *Peoples and cultures of Africa*, pp. 437-464. Elliott P. Skinner, ed. Garden City: Natural History Press.

FALLERS, LLOYD A.

- 1955 The politics of land-holding in Busoga. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3(3): 260-270.
 1956a Bantu bureaucracy. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.
 1956b Changing customary law in the Busoga District of Uganda. *Journal of African Administration* 8(3): 139-144.
 1960 The Soga. In Richards 1960, pp. 78-97.
 1973 Inequality. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

FALLERS, LLOYD A., ed.

- 1964 The king's men. London: Oxford University Press.

FALLERS, M.C.

- 1960 The eastern lacustrine Bantu. IAI.

FLANNERY, KENT V.

- 1967 Culture history vs cultural process; a debate in American archaeology. *Scientific American* 217: 119-122.
 1972 The cultural evolution of civilizations. In *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, pp. 399-426.

FORTES, MEYER and E.E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, eds.

- 1940 African political systems. London: Oxford University Press.

FRIED, MORTON H.

- 1960 The evolution of social stratification and the state. *In* Culture in history, pp. 713-731. Stanley Diamond, ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
1967 The evolution of political society. New York: Random House.

GLUCKMAN, MAX

- 1941 Economy of the Central Barotse Plain. RL Paper 7.
1943 Essays on Lozi land and royal property. RL Paper 10.
1950 Kinship and marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal. *In* Radcliffe-Brown and Forde 1950, pp. 166-206.
1951 The Lozi of Barotseland. *In* Colson and Gluckman 1951, pp. 1-93.

GOODY, JACK

- 1971 Technology, tradition, and the state in Africa. London: Oxford University Press.

GOODY, JACK, ed.

- 1966 Succession to high office. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GRAY, ROBERT F. and PETER H. GULLIVER, eds.

- 1964 The family estate in Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

HAGGETT, PETER

- 1966 Locational analysis in human geography. New York: St. Martin's Press.
1972 Geography: a modern synthesis. New York: Harper and Row.

HORTON, ROBIN

- 1971 Stateless societies in the history of West Africa. *In* History of West Africa, pp. 78-119. J.F.A. Ajaye and Michael Crowder, eds. New York: Columbia University Press.

JASPAN, M.A.

- 1953 The Ila-Tonga peoples of North-Western Rhodesia. IAI.

JOHNSON, GREGORY A.

- 1972 A test of the utility of Central Place Theory in archaeology. *In* Ucko et al 1972, pp. 769-785.
1973 Local exchange and early state development in southwestern Iran. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Paper 51.

- MS Locational analysis and the investigation of Uruk local exchange systems.
- KABERRY, PHYLLIS
1957 Primitive states. *British Journal of Sociology* 224-234.
- KOPYTOFF, IGOR
1961 Extension of conflict as a method of conflict resolution among the Suku of the Congo. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5(1): 61-69.
1962 The Suku of southwestern Congo. *In* *Peoples of Africa*, pp. 441-477. James L. Gibbs, Jr., ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
1964 Family and lineage among the Suku of the Congo. *In* Gray and Gulliver 1964, pp. 83-116.
- KORIT, SCHONER, H. and M. HARTNOLL
1942 Tribal structure in Uhaya. *Tanganyika [Tanzania] Notes and Records* 14: 1-18.
- KRIGE, EILEEN JENSEN
1941 Economics of exchange in a primitive society. *The South African Journal of Economics* 9(1): 1-21.
1964 Property, cross-cousin marriage and the family cycle among the Lovedu. *In* Gray and Gulliver 1964, pp. 155-195.
- KRIGE, EILEEN JENSEN AND J.D. KRIGE
1943 Realm of a rain-queen. London: Oxford University Press.
1954 The Lovedu of the Transvaal. *In* *African worlds*, pp. 55-82. Daryll Forde, ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- KRIGE, J.D.
1939 The significance of cattle exchanges in Lovedu social structure. *Africa* 22(4): 393-424.
- LaFONTAINE, J.
1959 The Gisu of Uganda. IAI.
1960 The Gisu. *In* Richards 1960, pp. 260-277.
- LaFONTAINE, J. and AUDREY I. RICHARDS
1960 The Haya. *In* Richards 1960, pp. 174-194.
- LARKEN, P.M.
1926-27 An account of the Zande. *Sudan Notes and Records* 9: 1-55; 10: 85-134.
- LEWIS, HERBERT S.
1969 The origins of African kingdoms. *Cahiers d'études africaines* 23: 402-407.
- LEWIS, I.M.
1959 The classification of African political systems. *RL Jour-*

nal 25: 59-69.

LIEBENOW, J.G.

1960 The Sukuma. *In* Richards 1960, pp. 229-259.

LLOYD, PETER C.

1965 The political structure of African kingdoms: an exploratory model. *In* Political systems and the distribution of power, pp. 63-112. Michael Banton, ed. *ASA Monograph* 2.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.

1927 The origin of the state. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

MACQUET, JACQUES

1962 Afrique, les civilisations noires. Paris: Horizons de France. Translation 1972, Civilizations of Black Africa. New York: Oxford University Press.

1971 The cultural units of Africa, a classificatory problem. *In* Man in Africa, pp. 3-13. Mary Douglas and Phyllis M. Kaberry, eds. New York: Anchor Books.

MAIR, LUCY P.

1933 Buganda land tenure. *Africa* 6(2): 187-205.

1934 An African people in the twentieth century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

1962 Primitive government. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

1972 An introduction to social anthropology. New York: Oxford University Press.

MALCOLM, D.W.

1953 Sukumaland. London: Oxford University Press.

McCULLOCH, MERRAN

1951 The southern Lunda and related peoples. IAI.

MIDDLETON, JOHN

1956 The role of chiefs and headmen among the Lugbara of West Nile District, Uganda. *Journal of African Administration* 8(1): 32-38.

1958 The political system of the Lugbara. *In* Middleton and Tait 1958, pp. 203-229.

1960a The Lugbara. *In* Richards 1960, pp. 326-343.

1960b Lugbara religion: ritual and authority among an East African people. London: Oxford University Press.

1962 Trade and markets among the Lugbara of Uganda. *In* Bohannan and Dalton 1962, pp. 561-578.

1965 The Lugbara of Uganda. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

MIDDLETON, JOHN and DAVID TAIT, eds.

1958 Tribes without rulers. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

MITCHELL, J. CLYDE

- 1949a The political organisation of the Yao of southern Nyasaland. *AS* 8(3): 141-159.
- 1949b The Yao of southern Nyasaland. In *The village headman in British Central Africa* by Max Gluckman et al. *Africa* 19(2): 89-106.
- 1951a An outline of the social structure of Malemia area. *The Nyasaland Journal* 4(2): 15-48.
- 1951b The Yao of southern Nyasaland. In Colson and Gluckman 1951, pp. 292-353.
- 1956 The Yao village. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MORTON-WILLIAMS, P.

- 1972 Some factors in the location, growth and survival of towns in West Africa. In Ucko et al 1972, pp. 883-890.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.

- 1962 *Ethnographic Atlas*. *Ethnology* 1(2).

NAROLL, RAOUL

- 1956 A preliminary index of social development. *AA* 58: 687-715.

NETTING, ROBERT McG.

- 1972 Sacred power and centralization: aspects of political adaptation in Africa. In *Population growth: anthropological implications*, pp. 219-244. Brian Spooner, ed. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

OBERG, KALVERO

- 1955 Types of social structure among the lowland tribes of South and Central America. *AA* 57: 472-487.

PARSONS, JEFFREY R.

- 1971 Prehistoric settlement patterns in the Texcoco region, Mexico. *Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Memoir* 3.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN and G. DARYLL FORDE, eds.

- 1950 *African systems of kinship and marriage*. London: Oxford University Press.

RAPPAPOORT, ROY A.

- 1968 *Pigs for the ancestors*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1971a Ritual, sanctity and cybernetics. *AA* 73: 59-76.
- 1971b The sacred in human evolution. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 2: 23-44.

REINING, CONRAD G.

- 1962 Zande markets and commerce. In Bohannan and Dalton 1962, pp. 537-560.

REINING, PRISCILLA

- 1953 East African Institute of Social Research, Report of the Second Conference.

RENFREW, COLIN

- 1973 Monuments, mobilisation and social organisation in neolithic Wessex. In The explanation of culture change, models in prehistory. Colin Renfrew, ed. London: Gerald Duckworth.
- MS Beyond a subsistence economy: the evolution of social organisation in prehistoric Europe.

RICHARDS, AUDREY I.

- 1939 Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1940 The political system of the Bemba tribe. In Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940, pp. 83-120.
- 1951 The Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia. In Colson and Gluckman 1951, pp. 164-191.
- 1960a The Alur. In Richards 1960, pp. 311-325.
- 1960b The Ganda. In Richards 1960, pp. 41-77.

RICHARDS, AUDREY I., ed.

- 1960 East African chiefs. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

ROSCOE, JOHN

- 1911 The Baganda. London: Frank Cass and Company.
- 1915 The northern Bantu. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- 1923 The Bakitara or Banyoro. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1924 The Bagesu and other tribes of the Uganda Protectorate. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ROTBURG, ROBERT I.

- 1962 Rural Rhodesian markets. In Bohannan and Dalton 1962, pp. 581-600.

SAHLINS, MARSHALL D.

- 1958 Social stratification in Polynesia. Seattle: University of Washington Press. Monograph of the American Ethnological Society.
- 1960 Political power and the economy in primitive society. In Essays in the science of culture in honor of Leslie White, pp. 390-415. Gertrude Dole and Robert L. Carneiro, eds. New York: Crowell.
- 1961 The segmentary lineage: an organization of predatory expansion. AA 63: 322-345.
- 1963 Poor man, rich man, big-man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia. Comparative Studies in Society and History 5: 285-303.
- 1965 On the sociology of primitive exchange. In The relevance

- of models for social anthropology, pp. 139—236.
 Michael Banton, ed. ASA Monograph 1.
- 1968 Tribesmen. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
 1972 Stone Age economics. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton.
- SANDERS, WILLIAM T.
 MS Chiefdom to state: political evolution at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala.
- SANDERS, WILLIAM T. and JOSEPH MARINO
 1970 New World prehistory. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- SANDERS, WILLIAM T. and BARBARA J. PRICE
 1968 Mesoamerica: the evolution of a civilization. New York: Random House.
- SCHAPERA, ISAAC
 1939 Handbook of Tswana law and custom. London: Oxford University Press.
 1940 The political organization of the Ngwato of Bechuanaland. In Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940, pp. 56—82.
 1941 Married life in an African tribe. New York: Sheridan House.
 1943 Tribal legislation among the Tswana. London: Oxford University Press.
 1947 The political annals of a Tswana tribe. Capetown: Oxford University Press.
 1953 The Tswana. IAI.
 1956 Government and politics in tribal societies. London: C.A. Watts.
- SCHLIPPE, PIERRE de
 1956 The Zande system of agriculture. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- SELIGMAN, C.G. and BRIENDA Z. SELIGMAN
 1932 Pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London: George Routledge and Sons.
- SERVICE, ELMAN R.
 1958 A profile of primitive culture. New York: Harper and Row.
 1962 Primitive social organization. New York: Random House.
 1963 Profiles in ethnology. New York: Harper and Row. (Revision of Service 1958)
 1971a Cultural evolutionism: theory in practice. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
 1971b Primitive social organization. New York: Random House. 2nd edition.
- SMITH, EDWIN W. and ANDREW MURRAY DALE
 1920 The Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia. London: Macmillan and Co.

- SNEATH, PETER H.A. and ROBERT R. SOKAL
1973 Numerical taxonomy. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.
- SOKAL, ROBERT R.
1966 Numerical taxonomy. Scientific American 215(6): 106-116.
- SOKAL, ROBERT R. and PETER H.A. SNEATH
1963 Numerical taxonomy. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.
- SOUTHALL, AIDAN W.
1956 Alur society. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.
1965 A critique of the typology of states and political systems.
In Political systems and the distribution of power, pp.
113-140. Michael Banton, ed. ASA Monograph 2.
- SOUTHALL, AIDAN W. and PETER C.W. GUTKIND
1957 Townsman in the making: Kampala and its suburbs. EAS 9.
- SOUTHWOLD, MARTIN
1964 Leadership, authority and the village government. In
Fallers 1964, pp. 211-255.
1965 The Ganda of Uganda. In Peoples of Africa, pp. 81-118.
James L. Gibbs, ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and
Winston.
1966 Succession to the throne in Buganda. In Goody 1966, pp.
82-126.
- STAYT, H.A.
1931 The Bavenda. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- STEVENSON, ROBERT F.
1968 Population and political systems in tropical Africa. New
York: Columbia University Press.
- STEWART, JULIAN H.
1947 American culture history in the light of South America.
SJA 3: 85-107.
1951 Levels of sociocultural integration: an operational con-
cept. SJA 7: 374-390.
1955 Theory of culture change. Urbana: University of Illinois
Press.
- STEWART, JULIAN H., ed.
1946-48 Handbook of South American Indians. U.S. Bureau of
American Ethnology Bulletin 143.
- STEWART, JULIAN H. and LOUIS FARON
1959 Native peoples of South America. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- SWANSON, GUY E.
1960 The birth of the gods. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
Press.

- TAYLOR, BRIAN K.
1962 The western lacustrine Bantu. IAI.
- TEW [DOUGLAS], MARY
1950 Peoples of the Lake Nyasa region. IAI.
1951 A form of polyandry among the Lele of the Kasai. Africa 21: 1-12.
- TRIGGER, BRUCE
1972 Determinants of urban growth in pre-industrial societies. In Ucko et al 1972, pp. 575-599.
- TURNER, VICTOR W.
1952 The Lozi peoples of North-Western Rhodesia. IAI.
1957 Schism and continuity in an African society. Manchester: University of Manchester Press.
- UCKO, PETER et al, eds.
1972 Man, settlement and urbanism. London: Gerald Duckworth.
- VANSINA, JAN
1962 A comparison of African kingdoms. Africa 32(4): 324-335.
- VELSEN, J. van
1964 The politics of kinship. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- WATSON, PATTY JO and STEVEN A. LeBLANC
MS Excavation and analysis of Halafian materials from south-eastern Turkey: the Halafian Period reexamined.
- WHITE, G.M.N.
1955 Factors in the social organisation of the Luvale. AS 14(3): 97-112.
1957 Clan, chieftainship and slavery in Luvale political organisation. Africa 27(1): 59-75.
1959a Northern Rhodesia: Luvale political organisation and the Luvale lineage. In From tribal rule to modern government, pp. 113-119. Raymond J. Apthorpe, ed. RL Conference Proceedings 13.
1959b A preliminary survey of Luvale rural economy. RL Paper 29.
1960 An outline of Luvale social and political organisation. RL Paper 30.
- WHITELEY, WILFRED
1951 Bemba and related peoples of northern Rhodesia. IAI.
- WILLIAMS, O.G.
1935 Village organisation among the Sukuma. Man 35, No. 130: 119-120

WILSON, GODFREY

- 1938 The constitution of the Ngonde. RL Paper 3: 1-86.
- 1951 The Nyakyusa of South-Western Tanganyika. In Colson and Gluckman 1951, pp. 253-291.

WILSON, MONICA

- 1950 Nyakyusa kinship. In Radcliffe-Brown and Forde 1950, pp. 111-139.
- 1951 Good company. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1957 Rituals of kinship among the Nyakyusa. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1959 Communal rituals of the Nyakyusa. London: Oxford University Press.

WINTER, EDWARD H.

- 1955 Bwamba economy. EAS 5.
- 1956 Bwamba. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.
- 1958 The aboriginal political structure of Bwamba. In Middleton and Tait 1958, pp. 136-166.

WRIGHT, HENRY T.

- 1969 The administration of rural production in an early Mesopotamian town. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Paper 38.
- MS Toward an explanation of the origin of the state.

WRIGLEY, C.C.

- 1957 Buganda: an outline economic history. The Economic History Review 10(1): 60-80.
- 1964 The changing economic structure of Buganda. In L. Fallers 1964, pp. 16-63.