

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Marek Jakoubek and Tone Sommerfelt

This book presents a collection of the key texts by Axel Sommerfelt, a significant Africanist whose contributions are poorly known because he published little. Sommerfelt (b. 1926) has nevertheless been a central figure in the development of modern Norwegian social anthropology after the Second World War, and his influence on former students and colleagues endures.¹

Following extensive fieldwork experience from south-western Uganda and eastern Congo and six years as a lecturer in Salisbury (Harare), Sommerfelt joined the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo in 1966, where he stayed until his retirement in 1996. The main motivation behind this book lies in the conviction that Sommerfelt's work represents a missing piece in the history of social anthropology. His staunch empiricism, his strong connection to the Manchester School and the extended case method, and his insistence on including power asymmetries, history and the state in research on ethnicity and judicial processes reveals an original mind, but one whose impact has largely been indirect, through his students and colleagues. His uncompromising insistence on a solid empirical foundation ahead of analysis or lofty generalizations was necessary, certainly at a time when many students had been dabbling in versions of postmodernism, whether they understood it or not, or engaged in political agendas only superficially dressed up as anthropology. Typically, when a postgraduate proposed a generalization about the society under scrutiny, Sommerfelt would ask, in a mild voice: 'So, how do you know this?' That question could be an efficient gobstopper in the seminar room and a contribution to improved rigour and intellectual integrity.

Sommerfelt's intellectual itinerary is described in detail in the interview that makes up the final chapter of this book. He tells the interviewers, Rune Flikke and Jan K. Simonsen, that he was recruited to the resistance movement through the boy scout movement during the war. According to his own account, he was somewhat unfocused for a few years after the war, dabbling in Egyptology at the Historical Museum in Oslo, until he realized that there were exhibitions representing people living today just two floors up the stairs. Introducing himself to the professor at the Ethnographic Museum, Gutorm Gjessing (1906–79), he explained that he wished to study anthropology. Gjessing welcomed him, adding that it would be nice to have a student, since there were at the time none, but warned him that there were just four positions for anthropologists in the country, and they were all occupied by young men.

Gjessing, trained as an archaeologist, had a wide-ranging, multi-disciplinary approach to the study of humanity (Eriksen 2018a). He wished to synthesize cultural history, archaeology and geography as well as sociocultural anthropology, and was unimpressed by the new, slimmed-down, narrowly focused social anthropology from the British school to which Sommerfelt and his contemporaries were committed. Sommerfelt was keen to do ethnographic fieldwork, but the plans fell through for financial reasons, and he ended up writing a theoretical re-analysis of Meyer Fortes' Tallensi studies from Ghana (Sommerfelt 1956, summary in English published in 1958a and reprinted as Chapter 1 in this book). Sommerfelt came from a family that was generously endowed with cultural and intellectual capital, but they were not materially wealthy.

Sommerfelt would soon become a central figure in the 'attic gang', a handful of dedicated students increasingly under Fredrik Barth's intellectual leadership, who were determined to create a new discipline, fresh and sharp, devoid of the layers of dust that had for generations gathered on the mahogany furniture in the Ethnographic Museum.

Sommerfelt describes the student years in the attic of the Historical Museum as a time of rebellion – as rebellious as academia allows for – during which they carved out a space for modern, ethnographically based social anthropology in Norway. This was a project in opposition to teachers of archaeology and ethnography, Professor Gutorm Gjessing in particular, who, in the opinion of Barth, Sommerfelt and their fellow students, propagated a speculative ethnological tradition (see also Eriksen 2018b: 5–6). Sommerfelt

still refers to this critically, as US-inspired, 'encyclopaedic cultural history'. Observing the independence battles in the colonies from a distance, in particular the British brutality in the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, and gnawing at the ignorance of these developments in Norwegian media and public debate, added to their progressive self-consciousness.

Sommerfelt credits his interest in political resistance to his war experience, though his early years in an intellectual and deeply engaged home quite obviously also shaped this orientation. His father Alf had countered Nazi racial thoughts and theory through a public lecture series in Oslo. His son remembers well how the Norwegian Nazi group called *Hirden* took position outside the university aula by Oslo's main street, in a protest demonstration against Alf's lectures. Alf Sommerfelt continued the commitment through work in UNESCO. Axel's mother, Aimée Sommerfelt (b. Dedichen), was an author of children's books and novels for young adults. She wrote stories about youth resistance during the war, and eventually, as one of the first in the Norwegian context, about discrimination, multiculturalism, migration, ethnic minorities and solidarity work.

The war experience made Sommerfelt critical of anthropological analyses that represented domination as effortless. Several studies had been devoted to the functioning of African kingdoms, and to the ways in which rulers had established control over neighbouring groups, but few focused on the social and political dynamics of the groups under domination. He has often mentioned Audrey Richards' publication of *East African Chiefs* (1960) as an example, in which she described relations of dominance, and the ease with which kingdoms like Toro could rule so-called stateless societies. A critical appraisal of this trend, along with readings of Gluckman, motivated his application for funding from the Norwegian Research Council, for doctoral research on political and judicial processes among Konzo in Uganda. Konzo were neighbours of Amba, whose areas – like Konzo – had been incorporated into the kingdom of Toro (Winter 1956).

An important stimulus to Sommerfelt's subsequent focus was precisely Edward H. Winter's monograph on the Amba tribe (Winter 1956) as it prompted the decision not to deal with dominant groups, but on the contrary to devote himself to the relatively neglected topic of groups dominated by others. He chose the Konzo, a minority in the kingdom of Toro. When he had defended his master's thesis on Tallensi, Sommerfelt successfully applied for a scholarship, and moved to East Africa with his wife Kirsten Alnaes as a research

partner. This research stay lasted from 1958 to 1960 and was mainly devoted to the study of the Konzo. Sommerfelt became associated with the East African Institute for Social Research (EAISR) in Kampala as a research fellow, just after Aidan Southall had taken over the directorship from Lloyd Fallers (see Mills 2006: 92f.). This connection provided a scholarly arena and a large network, and Sommerfelt attended workshops at EAISR during fieldwork, visited the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI) in Lusaka, and benefited from field visits by Max Gluckman and his friend Jaap van Velsen.

The impressions from the beginning of this period are captured in an essay with the telling title 'First Impressions from Bukonjo' (Chapter 2 in this book). This study – although still read and cited by regional specialists (e.g. in Doornbos 2004, 2018) and interesting not only as a period document – has never been published until now. Another output of the research, which was initially preserved only in the form of a typescript, is the article 'Inter-etniske relasjoner i Toro' [translated as 'Interethnic Relations in Toro'], published in 2022 (Sommerfelt 2022). An earlier discussion of related topics, formulated in the vocabulary of the time, is included as Chapter 5 in this book.

As students, the 'attic gang' had been influenced by Radcliffe-Brown's elegant models of social integration, but by the early 1950s structural-functionalism was under fire from several quarters. Evans-Pritchard himself had repudiated the Radcliffe-Brownian quest for 'natural laws of society' in his inaugural lecture as a professor in Oxford (Evans-Pritchard 1948). Inspired by Max Gluckman's extended case method (1955), and with an interest in conflicting loyalties in 'stateless' societies, Sommerfelt devoted his master's thesis (1956, see Chapter 1 in this book) to a critical re-analysis of Fortes' Tallensi ethnography (Fortes 1945, 1949). In addition to assessing political 'cohesion mechanisms' according to a structural-functionalist agenda and in an undeniably synchronic perspective, Sommerfelt interrogated Fortes' accounts of political conflict, dispute, discord and warfare in (intra- and inter-) clan relations in Taleland. He criticized the argument that bonds of clanship produce conflict, arguing that Fortes' generalization that persons pull their fellow, loyal clansmen into conflict did not hold true. Using a case approach, and reinvestigating Fortes' empirical material, Sommerfelt found that conflicts and alliances took other forms and did not necessarily follow clan lines. 'A strong point' said Meyer Fortes when the two men met in Uganda in 1959. Sommerfelt also

used the study of Fortes' ethnography as an occasion to develop a Norwegian vocabulary for social anthropology, which he saw as essential to the coming of age of the discipline in academia in Norway.

The fieldwork in the Ruwenzori did not turn out to be easy, and when Gluckman visited, he exclaimed that he would have refused to do fieldwork under such circumstances. The Konzo lived in scattered homesteads on steep mountain slopes, having been forced into marginality by the dominant Toro, their huts camouflaged and invisible from a distance to prevent raiding. Apart from the physical strain, Sommerfelt was frustrated by the virtual impossibility of getting close to the Konzo. Whenever he met them, asking an innocent question, they would typically burst out in laughter instead of answering. As a result of these difficulties, Sommerfelt began to spend time following court cases, which were public and therefore accessible. In a report written in the field, he nevertheless confesses that

after nine months in the field I am still largely unable to obtain direct and inside information from the litigants themselves when I work on court material. So far I have had to rely on the information brought forward in court and on what I have been able to gather from contacts who knew the litigants personally. (1959a: 1, Chapter 3 in this book)

The decision to spend substantial time in court may not have been a bad move although it was an emergency solution. Sommerfelt's involuntary turn to legal anthropology was not only consistent with interests being developed at the RLI, but it was by the 1950s a central concern in British social anthropology (unlike the situation in France and the USA), perhaps especially because the British colonies were governed through indirect rule. A result of this was legal pluralism, where it became a matter of paramount interest, and not just of academic relevance, to understand how customary and colonial law interacted.

The reluctance of Konzo to engage with Sommerfelt was a result of their being a minority in a region dominated by Toro. This comes across in all his papers about the Konzo, which include field reports as well as papers presented in academic contexts such as the Ethnic Groups and Boundaries symposium in 1967 (Barth 1969b), but also at the EAISR in Kampala. The Konzo material suggests a culture of resistance. At the same time, Konzo welcomed British rule because it brought peace. They were not anarchists but acted strategically in a complex situation of unequal power relations.

Sommerfelt would later regret that he did not bring history and comparison into his early critique of Fortes, as Worsley (1956) did in his Marxist re-reading of Fortes' Ghanaian work. Yet in the Konzo ethnography, carried out only a few years after the Tallensi analysis, there is a great deal of both. In this work, the influence from the Manchester School is evident, but his contact with the EAISR in Kampala should also not be underestimated. At the time of the fieldwork in 1958–59, Lloyd Fallers had just left the institute. Fallers, who died prematurely in 1974, was a product of the Chicago branch office of British-style social anthropology, but his main interests were social stratification and nation-building.

At the time of Sommerfelt's fieldwork, Aidan Southall was the most significant anthropologist at the institute in Kampala. Another unsung hero in the history of the discipline, Southall worked in Uganda from 1945 to 1960 and published important critical appraisals of the notions of 'tribe' and 'nation' as designations for large ethnic groups in Africa, implying that it was impossible for Nuer and Dinka to conceive of themselves as members of imagined communities (Southall 1976).

Upon completing fieldwork in 1960, Axel took up a lectureship in Salisbury (Harare) in the Department of Sociology at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There, he joined Jaap van Velsen and a thriving anthropological environment. The anti-colonial current of the anthropologists from the RLI continued and intensified in Salisbury (see Kapferer in Berthelsen 2012: 186–87). Clyde Mitchell led the department. Axel and Jaap, among 'the more overtly radical members of ... [Clyde Mitchell's] staff', according to Bruce Kapferer (Berthelsen 2012: 187), actively resisted the racial policies of Ian Smith's regime. During a London conference in 1966, Ian Smith had argued that he would test the African stand on the independence question. Upon leaving London, he was asked by journalists how the African stand was to be tested and answered that he wished to consult anthropologists and other specialists in Rhodesia. Eight or nine members of the academic staff – Sommerfelt, van Velsen, economic historian Giovanni Arrighi among them – immediately issued a statement that the only way to determine public opinion related to independence was *one man, one vote*. This view did not sit well with the Smith regime. Sommerfelt and van Velsen were arrested along with the rest of the signatories in July 1966, on grounds that they were likely to pursue activities which would endanger the security of the nation. They were expelled from Rhodesia eight days later (see

Muzvidziwa 2006: 100–101). Ahead of his arrest, Axel had applied for a position in the anthropology department at the University of Oslo, eventually joining the department in autumn 1966.

Sommerfelt's reports from his Ugandan fieldwork reveal some interesting differences to those developed in the book edited by his more famous colleague, Fredrik Barth (1969b). There were obvious similarities. Sommerfelt is far from being a primordialist and does not deny that ethnicity is socially constructed. After all, the urban anthropology pioneered by Gluckman, Mitchell, Epstein and van Velsen, as well as by Southall, showed how the 'de-tribalization' predicted as a result of urbanization did not take place; on the contrary, 're-tribalization' took place in the mining towns of the Copperbelt. This was a reflexive reinvention and reconfiguration of tradition aimed to strengthen tribal (or ethnic) ties in a new social setting. To Sommerfelt, this much was obvious. Although the Konzo were not being urbanized, the circumstances of their society were changing owing to cash cropping, British colonization and the relative weakening of Toro supremacy; but this did not change their identification based on place and kinship, even if social change led to new expressions of ethnicity. However, in Sommerfelt's analysis, power discrepancies are fundamental, unlike in Barth's work on political leadership in Swat, where Barth's chief concern is with the Pashtun landowners and their political strategies, a focus for which he was later criticized (Barth 1959; cf. Asad 1972; Ahmed 1980). Writing about a similarly hierarchical society, Sommerfelt takes the perspective of the subordinate group, structurally comparable to the landless workers in Swat valley.

In line with Barth's emphasis on the ethnic boundary as constitutive of groups, Sommerfelt's analytical agenda, too, questioned how boundaries were maintained and transgressed. In the kingdom of Toro, ethnic identities were reproduced in the economic arena, in exchanges of goods and services, and particularly in competition over education and employment, between Konzo, Amba and Toro. Boundaries were to a large extent also maintained in legal processes that involved Konzo council of elders, local Toro courts and British authorities. This legal context contributed to Sommerfelt's anti-essentialist view of ethnic relations. He had observed the way in which an educated elite minority among Konzo made strategic use of co-existing legal institutions in their attempts to be assimilated into Toro society. They did so by bringing their disputes before the courts of the Toro administration, circumventing the Konzo council of elders.

Konzo disputes were also taken to local courts that were led by Toro chiefs and formally controlled by the British District Commissioner. These legal processes reproduced Toro-Konzo distinctions as relations of dominance and subordination. Moreover, Sommerfelt's relational approach to the constitution of identities and groups in Uganda conveyed a shared interest with Barth both in the analysis of social process and a methodological emphasis on individual persons and their constraints. In Sommerfelt's case, however, Erving Goffman's microsociology was not the source of inspiration; his gaze grew out of Manchester-style situational analysis of complex events and extended cases, in which the study of the same persons in different situations – over time – was the methodological way in (Handelman 2006: 99; van Velsen 1979: 143). Rather than 'abstract reconstructions in the ethnographic present' (Myhre 2013: 5), Gluckman's case approach focused on real persons in real time, over time, and traced persons' activities beyond the confines of familiar categories like 'the tribe'.

Sommerfelt has always favoured strongly empirically grounded research, an insistence that took more inspiration from Gluckman and Schapera than from Goffman and Leach. Famously, Gluckman accused Leach of having become 'bored with ethnographic fact' ([1961] 2006: 21). Sommerfelt shared the opinion that Leach made sweeping generalizations on dubious grounds. However, he appreciated the processual element of Leach's theorization, and besides, the stress on societal dynamics was shared across these differences.

Sommerfelt's perspective on ethnicity as part of social process encompassed the political and broader regional ramifications of inter-tribal relations. He was, and is, fundamentally concerned with aspects of power and experiences of subordination. Whereas Barth's view was that it is the 'ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff it encloses' (Barth 1969a: 15, emphasis in original), Sommerfelt's relational emphasis was balanced by 'stuff'. That stuff was political.

Sommerfelt was interested in the way in which the constitution of groups was shaped by structures of governance. Konzo experiences with Toro bureaucracy and British colonial criminal authorities were an aspect of what Trouillot later explored in terms of the everyday encounters with statecraft (2001). Sommerfelt made comparative reflections on these encounters. During the second half of 1960, he conducted fieldwork on the Congolese side of the border. In Congo, Konzo – known as Banande – were not a minority encompassed by an African kingdom. Sommerfelt has elaborated on the differences in legal procedures in Congo and Uganda (T. Sommerfelt, personal

comm., and Chapter 4 in this book), emphasizing that convictions were far easier to enforce in Uganda than in Congo. In Uganda, legal processes were controlled by the British District Commissioner. Prison sentences were central to the penal repertoire. Elders who made judgements in the courts in Uganda could easily call on witnesses and produce convictions, which in turn were implemented by Toro and led to prison in the district headquarters in Bundibugyo (Sommerfelt 1959a, Chapter 3 in this book). Distrust of both Toro and the British was intense, and secrecy was key in Konzo sociality (Sommerfelt 1993, Chapter 6 in this book).

Immediately across the border to Belgian Congo, the tribunals (at the time of fieldwork) were far more independent from the colonial authorities than in Uganda. Legal processes were led by chiefs of the local groups, and fines were the main means of punishment, alongside informal forms of sanction. In one case in Congo which Sommerfelt told Tone about in July 2021, a man had beaten his wife and injured her leg. In the events that ensued, the judge, a fellow Konzo, asked the man whether he thought of his wife as an elephant. When the man replied that he did not, the judge lectured the husband ('You can slap her, but not injure her'), and sentenced him to carry his wife to the hospital a few kilometres away. The man soon turned to Axel to ask if he could bring him and the wife to hospital in his car. Axel asked the judge for advice, and the motorized shortcut was accepted. In Uganda, similar cases were solved by bringing convicts to prison with a police escort, or alternatively with a fine. Moreover, in Uganda, encounters reproduced Konzo and Toro as 'Underdogs and Overlords', a phrase he often mentioned as a title for his unfinished draft of a major work on Konzo in Uganda.

Sommerfelt pursued the Congo–Uganda comparison in vernacular accounts of Konzo history, emphasizing that perspectives on the past reflect the present in a way that requires critical scrutiny of oral history (1998, Chapter 7 in this collection). Differences in myths of origin and renderings of history among Konzo on both sides of the border reflected the work of political context, and that different political circumstances produce divergent ideological perspectives on the past. However, Axel also stressed that histories of raids and violence linger in memory (1998: 15, Chapter 7 in this book). Differences in myths and history are effects of different pasts working their way into the present, becoming part of personal and collective selves. Axel's approaches to history were thus multifold: he explored temporal courses analytically, investigated history as an ideological tool in

nation-building, as imaginations of the past that convey biases of present political circumstances, and as effects of the work of collective memory in the present. The latter, a more interior concept of history as constitutive of self and subjectivity, conveyed the importance he accredited to experience, and experience of subordination and resistance in particular. In this sense, Axel's perspective points towards works that foreground the affective aspects of politics (e.g. Hage 2009) and the role of emotions in legal processes (Werbner and Werbner 2019). His more interior approach to the past – and pasts in the plural – also links up with contemporary debates on temporality and future (see e.g. Bryant and Knight 2020).

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In transcribing and editing Sommerfelt's original texts, we have made minimal changes. In consultation with Axel, obvious errors have been corrected and some formulations have been clarified. A main concern has been with cutting repetitions. Our overall editorial line has been to keep texts at their first appearance, deleting later versions (bringing along some corrections into the first appearances).² We have kept the spelling of the ethnic label as 'Konjo' in Axel's early papers, which reflected Toro and administrative usage and that Axel, after 1962, wrote as 'Konzo', which Bakonzo themselves use.³

The collection is organized chronologically. Chapter 1 is an English summary of Sommerfelt's critical re-analysis (1958a) of Fortes' Tallensi ethnography: *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* (1945) and *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi* (1949). The text conveys Axel's methodological starting point and inspiration from Max Gluckman's extended case method, and commitment to empirical detail.⁴ Chapter 2 has the form of a field report and was presented at the EAISR Conference in July 1958 (Sommerfelt 1958b). Axel describes his reception in Bwamba, and the scepticism with which he was received by the leader of the history society – 'The Bakonjo Life History Research Rwenzori'. This history society developed into the political Rwenzururu Movement after Axel's leaving (see Dornboos 2018). The paper conveys pro-Konzo and anti-Toro sentiments within the history society, the history society's work of creating a Konzo national identity and pride, and the particularly challenging position of the history society given Konzo minority status in the kingdom of Toro. Chapter 3 (EAISR conference paper, January 1959) outlines Axel's motivation to study political domination from the perspective of the dominated group (1959a). Exploring

effects of domination on the subjects of domination, this is the first paper in which Axel investigates the administration of justice at different administrative levels through an empirical investigation of legal processes. Examining trial cases, it shows how the Konzo chiefs, although responsible to the Toro Native Government, succeeded in judging according to Konzo legal rules in cases where these differed from those of the Toro. It also describes how the traditional village headmen and tribal elders – whose legal powers were not recognized by the Toro – exploited the authority of the gazetted Toro courts (under the colonial administration's control) and enforced their own judicial decisions by selecting, influencing and controlling witnesses.

After eighteen months of fieldwork in Uganda, Axel conducted six months of fieldwork on the Congolese side of the border (ending 30 June 1960). Chapter 4 (EAISR conference paper, December 1959, Sommerfelt 1959b) brings a comparative perspective to Axel's attention to state, governance and relations of dominance in interethnic relations. It elaborates on the Konzo situation in the Congo and in Uganda, where the administrative situations differed completely and informed markedly different sociopolitical forms. In Belgian Congo, the Konzo did not form a minority, and related to other groups in the area on equal terms. The court system and legal processes differed accordingly, and the relatively independent position of Congolese Konzo in practice meant that a far less strict legal regime was enforced. The chapter is based on the text as it was written in 1959, but we have made a few edits in line with Axel's later corrections. In Chapter 5 (originally a paper presented at the Rhodes-Livingston Institute's 16th Conference, February 1962), Axel returns to the Toro Kingdom of Western Uganda, addressing the role of political domination in interethnic relationships. The text conveys the scholarly lingo ahead of the terminological shift from 'tribe' to 'ethnicity' (cf. Jakoubek 2022), as it examines the relationships between the Amba and Konzo minorities, the dominating Toro, the British Administration and Indian traders in the area. The chapter shows some of the main features of the encompassing political situation as they emerge in a series of events connected with the planning of a small coffee hulling factory.

Chapters 6 and 7 were presented much later – in 1993 and 1998 respectively. In Chapter 6 (a translation of a Norwegian paper),⁵ Axel uses material on legal cases from his Uganda ethnography, and more recent examples (up to 1993) from anthropological literature on witchcraft cases in Africa, to explore how the legitimacy of witchcraft

has evolved in legal processes in African societies, and how anthropological discourses on the topic have evolved. Chapter 7 assesses written sources from European travellers and Konzo renditions of relations between Toro and Konzo in precolonial and colonial times. It explores how contemporary political dynamics influence the interpretation and reinterpretation of history. The chapter includes text from a paper Axel wrote sometime between 1963 and 1966, entitled 'Political Domination and Tribal History', which was presented at an anthropology conference at the University of Rhodesia. In this chapter, the analysis of Konzo construction of history in Uganda (explored in the 1963–66 paper) is extended to a comparative analysis of Konzo on both sides of the international border between Uganda and the Belgian Congo.

Finally, Chapter 8 contains the translated interview carried out by Jan K. Simonsen and Rune Flikke (2008, published in 2010), in which Sommerfelt reflects on his intellectual journey, influences and the importance of the political and scholarly atmosphere in Uganda and Zimbabwe/Rhodesia from 1958 to 1966. In an afterword, Adam Kuper details the political context of Africanist social anthropology, and the wider movement of young scholars who were determined to remake social anthropology.

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Notes

1. This Introduction is partly based on articles published in *History and Anthropology*: Eriksen (2022), Jakoubek (2022) and T. Sommerfelt (2022).
2. Notes have been converted into endnotes and numbered consecutively. Underlined segments in the original have been put in italics, and longer quotes put in indented paragraphs. Editorial comments are included in the main text in square brackets, or clearly marked as editorial notes, differentiated from Axel's original footnotes.
3. Konzo or 'Konjo' is a simplified form by anthropological convention to avoid the confusion potentially caused by the rich use of prefixes in Bantu languages. Konzo use the noun Bakonzo to refer to people (plural) and Mukonzo in the singular (one person). Lukonzo refers to the language. In the kingdom of Toro, the ethnic label of the majority population is Batoro (plural) and Mutoro (singular), whose language is Rutoro or Lutoro. Similarly, Amba appears in the text as Baamba and Muamba (or Mwamba), Nyoro as Banyoro and Munyoro, etc.
4. Originally published in 1958 in the series *Studies Honouring the Centennial of Universitetets Etnografiske Museum 1857–1957*, Vol. 4 (Oslo: A.W. Brøgers Boktrykkeri).
5. Published in the conference proceedings edited by Signe Howell: *Norsk sosialantropologi - et utsnitt. Rapport fra fagkonferansen i sosialantropologi, mars 1993*. (Oslo: Norges Forskningsråd, 1993), pp. 203–13.

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