

**A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF THE COLLO**

BY

DR. LAM AKOL

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE COLLO

1. SOURCES OF HISTORY OF THE COLLO

History of the **Collo** has been preserved through oral tradition and songs. These were the two sources passed over from generation to generation. As the Collo came into contact with the outside world (that is, beyond their neighbours) in the nineteenth century, written material on the Collo came to the scene as another source of history. Although it drew heavily on the oral tradition and songs, the writers recorded their firsthand observations of the events taking place. The first written “original” material on the Collo was done by travellers, traders, anthropologists, missionaries, administrators and soldiers of the Turco-Egyptian Army. Chief among them were: G. Beltrame (1861), a Collo soldier in the Egyptian Army who published his memoirs in 1896, C. Tappi who wrote two articles on the Collo in Cairo in 1903 and 1904, respectively, P. Banholzer and Giffen (1905). They were followed by pioneers such as W. Hofmayr (1910), F.S. Thomson (1910), C.G. Seligman (1911) and D.H. Westermann (1912). Thereafter, came more writers on the subject. It is important to emphasize that even these learned scholars had their source in oral tradition and songs. They wrote what they were told by the Collo people they spoke to and recorded the tradition they saw.

2. ORIGIN OF THE COLLO

The leader and founder of the Collo nation was **Nyikang** the son of **Okwa**, Okwa was the son of **Mol**, Mol was the son of **Kolo**, Kolo was the son of **Omaro**, and Omaro was the son of **Odhiang (Nyadhiang Aduk)**. One source (Angelo Othow) takes the genealogy further. He contends that Odhiang was the son of **Diwad**, Diwad was the son of **Oyel**, Oyel was the son of **Cacre**, Cacre was the son of **Lwor**. Nyikang’s mother was **Nyikayo nya Kiir** (literally, the daughter of the river). Nyikang and the small group of relatives and followers that went with him to the present Collo land were from the **Lwoo** family. This name could easily pass as the pronunciation of **Lwor**. For Collo, the last letter (R) is not pronounced in a number of names such as Oyor (pronounced, Oyo).

The land of Nyikang’s nativity and the cradle of the Lwoo community (**wij pac**) is believed to be in the Bahr el Ghazal region around the area of Rumbek town. It is referred to by the Collo as **Kar** and also as the land of **Diwaad**. The Lwoo family witnessed the most extensive migrations. Nyikang and his group moved northwards around the first half of the sixteenth century. Other Lwoo groups moved southwards following the course of the Nile to Uganda (such as the **Alur** and **Lango** tribes) and yet the rest proceeded up to Lake Nyanza (the present **Lwoo** tribe in Kenya). Those who remained behind are: the present **Lwoo** tribe (erroneously termed **Jur-Col**, an identification given them by the Jieng to distinguish them from the light-coloured tribes in the area), the **Chat**, the **Thuro** and the **Balanda-Bwor**, all in Bahr el Ghazal region. Members of the last group are the descendants of **Bwor** wa Okwa.

As they migrated, the Lwoo absorbed or influenced other groups they came into contact with (for example, the **Jopadhola** in Uganda).

In the case of Nyikang, he totally absorbed the people he found in the present Collo land forming a new tribe (Collo) speaking a Lwoo language (**dho Collo**). Of course, the language is affected by the environment and surrounding tribes, hence the present variations in the languages of the Lwoo tribes.

The Collo are politically the most highly organized of the Nilotes with the *rüd* as the local and temporal leader. The *rüd* is believed to be possessed by the spirit of Nyikang and is his incarnation. Most of the present Collo country (north of the present Panyidwai) was formerly belonging to the **Apuny** (the Funj tribe of Southern Blue Nile). The Apuny put up stiff resistance before they were dislodged from their traditional homeland by Nyikang and his group.

3. THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY NYIKANG

Nyikang left his homeland because of a quarrel between him and his half-brother, Diwaad. The list of his followers included his sons **Bwor**, **Cal**, **Anongo** and **Dak**; his brother **Ojwok**; his half-brothers **Gilo** and **Milo** (also called, Ujul) and associates such as **Obogo**. As he travelled, he stopped for some time in the land of Thuro, home of the mother of his son Dak, **Akec**. It is believed that Dak, who had proclivity for mischief, caused a dispute with his maternal relatives at Thuro forcing Nyikang and his group to start off again on their wanderings.

According to Collo oral tradition, Nyikang and his group moved along **Kiir Palugo** (Bahr el Ghazal river). When they reached the crossing point, they found it blocked by the **sudd**. Obogo took the sickle of Nyikang and got into the blocked river cutting the grass with it as he waded through. The river was deep. In the process of cutting the grass the sickle injured his body just below the armpit and blood was seen flowing on the surface. But he managed to make an opening through which the whole group crossed north of Bahr el Ghazal river. This episode is reported by some writers that Obogo was sacrificed for the sudd to open. In fact, Obogo arrived with the group of Nyikang to the present Collo land. Another related mix-up is that the present shrine of Obogo in Wuobo village is reported to belong to this Obogo, the associate of Nyikang. In fact, the shrine belongs to Obogo the son of Nyikang.

The group camped in a place known as **Pa-Nyikang** in the extreme end of **Papwojo** area which traces are still evident today. They met nobody there. From there the group moved slowly and tactically until they arrived to Kiir (Bahr el Jebel river). Here, still in Papwojo area, Dak was to discover that somebody used to go fishing in the river and then return inland afterwards. They laid an ambush on him one day, got hold of him and he led them to the village where they were evidently welcome. There is a famous shrine (*kengo*) of Nyikang in Papwojo today.

Afterwards, the party continued its movement northwards to **Nyilwal** and then **Dedigo**. Here the group must have decided to stay and it appears they had grown in number to hundreds if not thousands. Up to this point, no battles of any significance with the original inhabitants of the land are mentioned.

4. BWOR WA NYIKANG RETURNS

It appears that some problems developed within Nyikang's family which saw his son Bwor return to Bahr el Ghazal. There he settled in **Morro** in the **Aweil** area.

It is also reported that **Gilo** left the group here and crossed the White Nile moving eastwards along the Sobat river. His descendants – the **Anywaks**- were living in villages along the Sobat (such as **Adong, Gelachiel, Ulang**, etc.) up to Ethiopia before they were displaced by the later waves of Nuer and Dinka migrations in the nineteenth century. The Lwoo tribes of **Pari** (Lokoro) and the **Acoli** are offshoots of the Anywak tribe.

Dak also moved from Dedigo and built himself a homestead at the present **Palo-Parädh** some several hundred metres from Dedigo. Dak's decision was taken with the approval of Ojwok while Nyikang was briefly out on an errand. When he received the news on coming back that evening, he blamed Ojwok, his brother, for what he did but did not reverse his decision. This action by Ojwok, the Collo maintain, is what denied him and his descendants the right to become rädh.

5. BATTLES WITH APUNY

From Panyidwai, Nyikang and his group moved northwards in battle formations. They faced stiff resistance from the Apuny in **Wau** and **Padiit**. According to the most credible story tellers, the group had divided into two columns: the column under Nyikang moved along the river while the other, under Dak, moved parallel to it to the west. Nyikang's party had successfully fought its way up to Wau. At Wau itself, the Apuny fought fiercely but they were overcome. By this time Dak and his force had reached Padiit. While Dak was in Padiit, the Apuny had reorganized and mounted a counterattack on Nyikang at Wau succeeding to dislodge him from there. Dak moved his force to reinforce his father and they finally defeated the Apuny who ran in disarray northwards. Dak was following them in hot pursuit. This explains why there is no shrine for Dak in Wau. He did not stay there.

The battles in Wau and Padiit appear to be the decisive ones in the fight against Apuny. The rest were just skirmishes.

Nyikang and Dak moved northwards with relative ease. Some of the maternal relatives of Dak, **Thuro**, who came with Nyikang established a homestead which grew into a village bearing their name up to today. The rest of the party moved to **Akurwa** where Nyikang is believed to have disappeared in thin air.

It is believed that Nyikang did not go beyond the present **Kaak** (Kaka) but Dak is said to have been making reconnaissance deeper northwards into the present **Manyo** (the Collo equivalent of reconnaissance).

The most notable shrines of Nyikang in Collo land are found in **Papwojo, Nyilwal, Dedigo, Wau, OcØro, Otiigo-Panyikang, Akurwa** and **Morro** (Mwomo).

6. CLANS OF COLLO COMMUNITY

The Collo, like the other tribes of the Nilotes, have no claim to common origin. As he advanced, Nyikang and his group absorbed members of other tribes adopting his language and way of life. Today, the Collo are divided into more than seventy different clans and lineages.

Those who trace their origin to Nyikang are either **Nyirädh** (son or daughter of a rädh), **Nyanyirädh** (son or daughter of a Nyiradh) or **Kwanyirädh**. The rest are named after their ancestors (e.g., **Kwajwok**, **Kwawang**, **Kwajulu**, after Ojwok, Awang and Ujul, respectively) or their original tribe (such as **Kwajango**, **Kwamuoyo**), or some activity, function or action associated with their ancestors. The **Oro** (or Nyiroro) are a special clan of people who although they trace their origin to Nyikang (more specifically, Ocollo Dak), were declared through a royal proclamation in the past to be termed so. They are also known as **Kwa-Mool** (or **Kwa-Nyimol**) originating from rädh Diwaad wa Ocollo's instruction that "let the orphan-children report to me every morning", in Collo language, "*kopi Nywoli Wothonho Nyimool gen ya.*"

Nyikang had developed a system where each clan in Collo land has a specific role to play in the community, especially in the installation of the rädh and the maintenance of the system. This ensured the unity of the Collo nation. Also the rädh marries from all the clans except those descending from Nyikang. Thus, everybody has a stake in the rädhship.

7. THE RÄDHSHIP

The Collo nation has a well organized system of government dating back to the time of Nyikang. At the top of the hierarchy is the rädh. He is assisted by chiefs and elders who are in charge, respectively, of the villages and homesteads all over the land. The chiefs are appointed by the rädh and are accountable to him.

The rädh himself is elected by the council of chiefs (*Jaagi Pa-Diwaad*) from among the Nyirädhs. It is a condition that the father of the candidate must have been rädh installed according to the tradition. Previously, it was not uncommon that a powerful Nyirädh would occupy Fashoda or eliminate the reigning rädh and assume rädhship, thus circumventing the election process. Presently, the rädhship rotates in turn between the three remaining families (of rädhs: Papiti wa Yor, Aney wa Kur and Dak wa Padyed). Thus, the competition is between Nyirädhs of the same family at any one time.

The first rädh was **Nyikang** himself who ruled ca. 1527 to 1557 AD. The present rädh (*Kwongo Dak Padyed*) is the thirty-fourth in line (see the attached list of **ror** {radhs}). All rädhs have been male except for rädh **Abudhok** nya Bwoc. She assumed rädhship because her brother **Dhokoth** was a minor. When he became of age rädh Abudhok abdicated in his favour.

Fashoda was built by rädh **Tugo** wa Dhokoth, the tenth rädh, as the capital of the Collo nation. Henceforth, installation of the rädh is concluded here and it is where the items connected with that tradition are kept. Although each rädh continued to choose a village where he reigned as was the case in the past, Fashoda assumed a central role in consolidating the rädhship. The important annual rituals, such as the incantations for rains, are done here under the leadership of the rädh himself.

8. FRICTION WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Following the victory of Nyikang forces over the Apuny, the Collo land witnessed a period of relative calm and stability. It was not till the time of rädh **Ocollo wa Dak**, the fifth rädh, that battles with external forces were reported. It is reported that war broke out east of the White Nile with the **Abeel**. It would appear that rädh Ocollo wanted to extend

his dominion to that side of the White Nile. Although some Collo maintain that the Abeel are Anywaks, it is difficult to accept that the Anywaks went that far northwards at that time (ca 1597- 1617). Furthermore, the Collo know the Anywaks and would have called them by their name. A more plausible interpretation would be that the Abeel are the inhabitants of the southern extremities of the Funj kingdom which by that time was still powerful. In this war, the Collo suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the Abeel with heavy casualties including all the Nyirädhs save for Diwaad wa Ocollo (*paak* Diwaad is dØng, meaning **remaining** or **left**, probably because of that fact). As a result, the plans to expand east of the White Nile were abandoned for good.

The decline of the Funj kingdom in the latter part of the eighteenth century resulted in the Dinka expansion in the area north of the Sobat and east of the White Nile. Hence, the **Abialang** pushed north displacing the former Funj subjects. In 1821, the army of Mohammed Ali Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt which had invaded north Sudan the previous year, engaged the Abialang Dinka at Renk and subsequently at the upper reaches of Khor Rau (Gleichen: 129). Thus, the Abialang were there in or before 1821.

It would seem that the expansion of the Collo northwards west of the White Nile had continued without interruption. For instance, rädh Tugo's son, Aba, owned the present island opposite Kosti bearing his name (**mu**j **Aba** , meaning Aba island. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Collo warriors controlled the White Nile up to Khartoum and perhaps beyond. In fact, the word itself could be Collo's (**Kier a tum**), literally, rivers met, denoting the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. It is also established that the Collo had a strong presence at **Alith** (a Collo's word), the present Kawa in the White Nile State. **Kaaw**, which could have been easily corrupted to Kawa, is the Collo's word for paddles of canoes; quite relevant in view of the importance of Alith those days for caravan crossing west of the White Nile to Kordofan. The reign of rädh Tugo (ca 1672 – 1692) coincided with the period of the decline of the Funj kingdom.

The subsequent retreat of the Collo's northern frontier to the present borders was only made possible by the use of firearms which were far more superior to their spears and other items of war. The Collo resisted forces of the Turco-Egyptian rule, the Mahdiya and, to a lesser extent, the Condominium. In these wars, the Collo lost hundreds of thousands of its people including four rädhs (***Kwadhker wa Akwod**, **Ajang wa Nyidhok**, **Kwikon wa Kwadhker** and **Yor wa Akoc***). Under pressure from the Governor of Fashoda at that time, rädh Kwadhker retreated to **Lwak** (the southern part of Collo land) in 1869. Ajang wa Nyidhok was appointed rädh by the Governor after having cabled Khartoum and Cairo that rädh Kwadhker had died. When Samuel Baker was passing through the area in 1870 on his way to Equatoria, he met rädh Kwadhker to his utter disbelief. He then arranged a surprise encounter between the two antagonists at **Tawfiqiyah**, the capital of the province. The encounter was a great embarrassment to the Governor and turned out to be bitter and acrimonious between the two. After Samuel Baker left, the Governor made it a point to hunt Kwadhker down. Indeed, he succeeded to kill him that year (Baker 1875).

Kur wa Nyidhok was deposed in 1903 by the Administrator of Fashoda province, Mr. G.E. Matthews, the first action of its kind and he was the second and last rädh after rädh Abudhok nya Bwoc and radh Kwadhker wa Akwod to have been alive when the successor was chosen. In his exile in northern Sudan (Halfa), Kur was reported to have expressed satisfaction when he heard that it was **Padyed wa Kwadhker** who was chosen by the Council of Chiefs to succeed him as rädh. Kur wa Nyidhok, it will be recalled, was the rädh who welcomed the French expedition under Major Marchand to **Kal Dor**(the

present Kodok town, then erroneously termed Fashoda) in 1898 and signed a compact with the French. His action was motivated by his desire to counterpoise the Mahdist incursions into Collo land, which had devastated the country and led to the beheading of his predecessor, radh **Yor wa Akoc**. He, however, like all Collo at the time remained suspicious of **Bwonyo** (white or brown).

Collo oral tradition contends that the **Jikany** Nuer passed through their territory in the course of their movements to the upper Sobat and link these Jikany movements to the early years of radh Awin's reign. Thus, the most plausible time range for the Jikany migration would be between 1827 and 1828 (see later). A number of authors (Stigand, Bacon, Jackson, Johnson) agree on the route followed. Kelly (1985: 24) summarizes it as follows:

“The Jikany first proceeded north to Jebel el-liri on the edge of the Nuba territory and thence along the border area between the Nuba and the Shilluk. They then cut across Shilluk territory in the vicinity of Melut and crossed the Nile into Northern Dinka...After fighting the Dinka and reportedly capturing many of their cattle; the Jikany turned south and proceeded to the lower Sobat River, settling temporarily in the area between Abwong and the border of Shilluk territory near the Nile. From here they pushed upstream along both sides of the Sobat to the vicinity of their present territory.”

This account - at least the route up to Melut area- is confirmed by Collo's history especially the evidence in the area west of **Abuman** village of **Abeinyayo** chieftaincy where traces of the then sparse villages devastated by the Jikany Nuer, e.g., **Pa-Gaaw**, are extant. The Collo add that it is they who dislodged the Jikany from the lower Sobat forcing them to move upstream. In general, the Jikany, who moved together with their women, children and cattle, sought to avoid conflict in their migration as evidenced by taking a roundabout route which is three times the direct route to their destination.

Collo history also maintains that not long after the commencement of the Jikany migration, another group of Nuer attempted to enter Collo territory from the southwest (i.e., Tonga area). They were met with stiff resistance from the Collo of Tonga forcing them to cross the Bahr el-Jebel and move eastward.

This group must be the **Lou** and **Gawaar** referred to by Kelly (1985: 30). Again, these events took place at the reign of radh Awin wa Yor. Collo folklore records these events vividly as the following verses of a popular song testify:

Ya ka pac Langjok,
Awin nya Yor.
Ororo yi ka keny?
Nuar a tØng pac.

Which translates as:

I am going to Langjok,
Oh Awin the son of Yor.
Where are you going, Oh Ororo?
The Nuer have come to our land.

The **Ororo** clan provides the paramount chief of **Tungo** (i.e., Tonga), one of the two important chiefs of Collo extremities (**Jaagi wathi tuung**). The other is the chief of

Mwomo in the north of Collo country. The song records a symbolic conversation between the chief of Tonga with rädh Awin. The first was reporting the incursion of Nuer into his territory and wanting to go back immediately. In fact, from that time rädh Awin is reported to have decreed that the people of Tonga be exempt from any role in the building of Fashoda (which is done by all the Collo clans) so that they may pay full attention to the defence of Collo's southwestern border. This decree still holds up to today. Fashoda is more than a hundred kilometers away from Tonga; a distance that will take many days to cover by walking. Langjok is not a particular place but a way of reporting the death of **Oro** clan. The Collo report death euphemistically: it is "*aketh log naam –gone across the river*" for the rädh, "*apadh – fallen*" for Nyiradhs and Kwanyiradhs, etc.

9. INTERNAL FRICTION AMONG NYIRADHS

The competition between Nyirädhs for the rädhship is the norm but this had been pushed to bloody heights in some episodes in Collo history. For instance, rädh **Dekwor** (well known as **Nyadwai**, after the name of his mother, **Adwai**) wa Tugo, the twelfth rädh, made it a point to eliminate all the Nyirädhs he could lay hands on except his sons. Thus, three of his sons (**Muko**, **Waak** and **Dyulguth (Nyatho)** in that order) became rädhs immediately in succession after him. When **Kudit wa Okon** who managed to escape Dekwor's vendetta came to power, he was already advanced in age. It is reported that he had decreed that Dekwor's family will no longer be entitled to become rädh. Indeed, there has never since been a rädh from that family. However, it is also possible that the right of that family to the throne might have just been eliminated by sheer human age as **Yor** (well known as **Nyakwaci**) wa Kudit who became rädh after his father ruled for about forty years. By the end of his reign there simply were no sons of Muko, Waak or Nyatho still alive to vie for the position of rädh.

Another case in point is that of rädh **Aney wa Yor** who also made attempts to deny his half-brothers the chance of becoming rädh by removing their teeth.

Although he succeeded with **Alipo**, his other half-brothers **Akwod** and **Awin** resisted him until they finally killed him. Akwod took over. It is to be noted that Akwod and Awin were close friends. Their mothers were from the **Jieng** (Dinka) tribe; from the **Nyiel** and **Dingjol** sections, respectively.

One more serious feud which brought the two sections of Collo (**Garr** and **Lwak**) to war happened at the time of **Akoc wa Akwod** in relation to his differences with his half-brothers and cousins in **Ogod**.

10. The List of Collo Rädhs Revisited

It will be noted that the attached list of the Collo rädhs carries dates different from those which have been published so far. The difference is in relation to the reigns of rädhs: **Nyidhok wa Yor**, **Akoc wa Akwod** and **Awin wa Yor**. As a result of the revision of dates connected with the three, the dates of earlier rädhs have been adjusted accordingly. The revision is dictated by the information available from other sources, especially in relation to Nuer migration. An explanation is necessary.

Nyidhok wa Yor was the rädh at the time of Salim Qapudan's Nile voyage on behalf of the viceroy of Egypt (Collins: 21). He passed away in 1859. He was preceded by rädh Akoc wa Akwod, who is believed to have ruled for five years. Akoc took over from rädh Awin wa Yor who was in power for somewhat less than five years. The period of reign of

the three rädhs can thus be established by working backward from the time of rädh Nyidhok's succession to the office of rädh which must be before 1839. The memoirs of a **Collo** soldier in the Egyptian Army, published in 1896, state that Nyidhok "***was reth in 1836, and that he ruled for forty years***". (Johnson: 686). The forty-year reign is improbable as it is not supported by Collo's oral history. In fact, Fr Crazzolaro (1951: 137) who describes his reign as "***long and prosperous***" gives him only a duration of eighteen years. The date 1836 is more likely to be reliable as the time of ascension of Nyidhok wa Yor to rädhship. It follows, therefore, that Nyidhok reigned from 1836 to 1859, Akoc held the position from about 1831 to 1836 and Awin was rädh from 1827 to 1831.

REFERENCES

1. ANGELO OTHOW NYIKANG, Personal Communication, Malakal, April 2007.
2. BACON, C.R.K., "The Anuaks", Sudan Notes and Records 5: 113-29, 1922.
3. BAKER, Sir Samuel W., "Ismailia: A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade", New York, 1875. Quoted in MAWUT, L.L., "Fashoda and its Invaders", unpublished monograph, 1982.
4. BANHOLZER, P., "Im Lande der Schilluk", Anthropos, 1911.
5. idem and GIFFEN, J.K., "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan", 1905.
6. BELTRAME, G., "Il fiume Bianco e i Denka", Verona, 1881.
7. idem, "On the White Nile from Khartoum to Gondokoro, 1859-1860". In "The Opening of the Nile Basin", edited by E. Toniolo and R. Hill, 129-39, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975[1861].
8. CANN, G. P., "A Day in the Life of an Idle Shilluk", Sudan Notes and Records 12, 1929.
9. COLLINS, R.O., "Land Beyond the Rivers: The Southern Sudan, 1898-1918", New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971.
10. CRAZZOLARA, J.P., "Beitrage Zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk", Anthropos, 1932.
11. idem, "The Lwoo", Part II, Verona: Editrice Nigrizia, 1951.
12. EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E., "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk", Frazer Lecture, Cambridge, 1948.
13. GLEICHEN, Count, "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan government", Vol.1, London: Harrison and Sons, 1905.
14. GRAY, Richard, "A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889", London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
15. GRIFFITH, N., "The Title of the Reth", Sudan Notes and Records 19, 1936.
16. HOFMAYR, W., "Zur Geschichte, Religion und sozialen und politischen Gliederung des Stammes der Schillukneger", Anthropos, 1910.
17. idem., "Religion der Schilluk", *ibid*, 1911.
18. idem., "Die Schilluk: Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes", Mödling bei Wien, 1925.
19. HOWELL, P.P., "The Shilluk Settlement", Sudan Notes and Records 24, 1941.
20. idem., "The Installation of the Shilluk King", Man, No. 117, 1944.
21. idem., "Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The Laws of Homicide and the Legal Functions of the Reth", Africa, Vol. 22, No.2, 1953.
22. idem., "The Death of Reth Dak wad Fadiet and the Installation of his Successor: A preliminary note", Man, No. 142, 1952.
23. idem., "The Death and Burial of Reth Dak wad Fadiet of the Shilluk", Sudan Notes and Records 33, 1952.
24. idem., "Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: Customary Law, Marriage and the Violation of Rights in Women", Africa, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1953.
25. idem., and THOMSON, W.P.G., "The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor", Sudan Notes and Record 27, 1946.
26. idem., and UDAL, J.O., "The Election and Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti of the Shilluk", Sudan Notes and Records 34, 1953
27. JACKSON, H.C., "The Nuer of Upper Nile province", Sudan Notes and Records 6: 59 – 189, 1923.
28. JOHNSON, Douglas H., "History and Prophecy among the Nuer of the Southern Sudan", PhD. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1980.
29. KELLY, Raymond C., "The Nuer Conquest", Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985.

30. MUNRO, P., "Installation of the Reth of Col", Sudan Notes and Records 1, 1918.
31. OYLER, D.S., "Nikawng's Place in Shilluk Religion", Sudan Notes and Records 1, 1918.
32. idem, "Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration", *ibid*, 1918.
33. idem, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye", *ibid*, 2, 1919.
34. idem, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Good Medicine Man", *ibid*, 3, 1920.
35. idem, "The Shilluk Peace Ceremony", *ibid*, 3, 1920.
36. idem, "Shilluk Notes", *ibid*, 9, 1926.
37. OYLER, Mrs D.S., "Examples of Shilluk Folk-lore", *ibid*, 2, 1919.
38. PUMPHREY, M.E.C., "Shilluk Royal Language Conventions", Sudan Notes and Records 20, 1937.
39. idem, "The Shilluk Tribe", *ibid*, 24, 1941.
40. RIAD, Mohamed, "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk and its Origin", *Archiv Fur Volkerkunde* 14: 141 – 284, 1959.
41. SELIGMAN, C.G., "The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine King of the Shilluk", Report of the Welcome Tropical Research Lab., 1911.
42. idem, "The Religion of the Pagan Tribes of the White Nile", *Africa*, 11, 1931.
43. idem, "Egypt and Negro Africa", Routledge, 1934.
44. idem. And B.Z. SELIGMAN, "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan", Oxford University Press, 1932.
45. STIGAND, C.H., "The Story of Kir and the White Spear", Sudan Notes and Records 2: 224 – 26, 1919.
46. TAPPI, C., "Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chillouks", *Bull.Soc.Khediv de Geog*, Cairo, 1903.
47. idem, "Le Pays des Chillouks", *ibid*, 1904.
48. THOMSON, F.S., "Among the Shilluks of the Southern Sudan", New York Independent, Vol. 68, 1910.
49. THOMSON, W.P.G., "Further Notes on Death of a Reth of the Shilluk", Sudan Notes and Records 29, 1948.
50. WESTERMANN, D.H., "The Shilluk People: Their Language and Folklore", Negro Universities Press, Westpoint, Conn., 1970.

CØLLO RÄDHS (SHILLUK KINGS)

S/No.	Name of Rädh	Village	Area	Period
1.	Nyikango Okwä	Nyilwal	Panyikango	1537 – 1567 = 30
2.	Caal Nyikango	Dinyo	Tungo	1567 – 1582 = 15
3.	Daag Nyikango	Palo	Panyidwäy	1582 – 1597 = 15
4.	Nyidörø Nyikango	Nyilyej	Adhidhwøy	1597 - 1607 = 10
5.	Ocøllø Daag	Ditäng	Obwä	1607 - 1627 = 20
6.	Diwääd Ocøllø	Obudhyang	Makaal	1627 – 1642 = 15
7.	Bwøj Diwääd	Pa-Örro	Abyenyayo	1642 – 1652 = 10
8.	Abudhög Bwøj	Pa-Örro	Thwøro	1652 – 1662 = 10
9.	Dhøkødh Bwøj	Dhøkøngo	Wadajwøk	1662 – 1682 = 20
10.	Tugø Dhøkødh	Nyiwäjø	Nyigiir	1682 – 1702 = 20
11.	Okon Tugo	Palääbo	Pabur	1702 – 1707 = 5
12.	Dikwör Tugo (Nyadwai)	Dibwör	Kødhøg	1707 – 1737 = 30
13.	Mugø Dikwör	Paabo	Kødhøg	1737 – 1742 = 5
14.	Waag Dikwör	Pakirro	Burkyenyi	1742 – 1752 = 10
15.	Dyelgudh Dikwör	Panyathø	Waadmän	1752 – 1762 = 10
16.	Kudid Okon	Paläbo	Lul	1762 – 1772 = 10
17.	Yör Kudid	Agwøj	Lul	1772 – 1812 = 40
18.	Anëy Yör	Pandwøng	Nyiwudo	1812 – 1817 = 5
19.	Akwød Yör	Dibaalo	Ogød	1817 – 1827 = 10
20.	Awin Yör	Okwänpi	Nyigiir	1827 – 1831 = 4
21.	Aköj Akwød	Anyiägo	Ogød	1831 – 1836 = 5
22.	Nydhög Yör	Padwöl	Waadmän	1836 – 1859 = 23
23.	Kwadhkër Akwød	Opädhwän	Ogød	1859 – 1870 = 11
24.	Ajäng Nyidhög	Räädileeb	Waadmän	1869 - 1875 = 6
25.	Kujkon Kwadhkër	Apødho	Ogød	1975 – 1881 = 6
26.	Yör Aköc	Bapi	Kødhøg	1882 – 1892 = 10
27.	Kur Nyidhög	Akwajakwan	Gøølo	1892 – 1903 = 11
28.	Padyöd Kwadhkër	Omøli	Waw	1903 – 1917 = 14
29.	Papiti Yör Aköj	Abwögathø	Golbänyo	1917 – 1944 = 27
30.	Anëy Kur Nyidhög	Gänawad	Golbänyo	1944 – 1945 = 1
31.	Daag Padyöd	Kujo	Panyidwäy	1945 – 1951 = 6
32.	Kur Papiti	Ywödo	Kødhøg	1951 – 1974 = 23
33.	Ayäng Anëy Kur	Owiykyel	Waadmän	1974 – 1992 = 18
34.	Kwöngo Daag	Alägi	Panyidwäy	1992 -