The Organization of a Zande Kingdom
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A very considerable number of African polities are monarchical, and many of these kingdoms have been described by European observers. Far fewer, however, are the descriptions which give us any adequate account of the structure of these kingdoms or of the processes which characterize them. Any such account must now be in the past tense for the traditional organization of African kingdoms can to a large extent only be observed today in the memories of men. Nevertheless an attempt is made here to determine some significant features of one of the Zande kingdoms of Central Africa, that of Gbudwe (d. 1905) and to examine, in so far as the literature permits, whether they are general features of Zande political organization. The paper records information collected between 1926 and 1930, mostly from Azande of Gbudwe’s old kingdom.

It must be understood that in every kingdom the king ruled personally over a central province and appointed governors, his eldest sons being the most important of them, to rule over the surrounding provinces of his kingdom. Consequently, when Gbudwe overcame his eldest brother Ngima and took possession of the area his father had kept under his own control, roughly, and in the main, between the Hu and the Lingasi (though its most westernly extension was said to have been, to the north, the Azi tributary of the Ya and, to the south, the Mura tributary of the Were), he found other brothers or their sons in possession of neighbouring territories: the sons of Ezo to the west, Wando (roughly to the south of the Yubo basin), Malingindu (roughly east of the Gurba), and Ngoliyo between the last two. These territories had long been virtually independent kingdoms, their rulers making only formal acknowledgement of the suzerain’s position, so that they could have been described as nominally provinces
of the kingdom of Gbudwe's father Bazingbi centred on his own province or as adjacent kingdoms in each of which the king had a central position and appointed governors to rule outlying districts. Craffen and Colombo call these rulers of provinces "petits roitelets" (p. 790). 'Province' and 'kingdom' are thus terms relative to the degree of political autonomy reached, a matter I discuss more fully later. In other directions the domains he had acquired were bordered by autonomous kingdoms ruled by other royal families: to the northwest by members of the family of Nunge (finally Tembura son of Liwa), to the north by Tombo son of Yakpati, and to the east by various brothers, uncles and cousins—Ndima and Bagilisa, sons of Bazingbi, Zangbabaru and Ngbanzi, sons of Yakpati, Nganzi, son of Muduba, and some brothers and sons of Renzi, son of Yakpati; and a little later by representatives of the Arab trading companies. The western and southern frontiers underwent no appreciable change from the beginning to the end of his reign, whereas large regions to the east and the north came under his control by conquest or peaceful annexation. Except for the territory he kept under his immediate personal supervision, his father's old territories which fell to him had governors appointed to rule them, and all the newly acquired territories were likewise placed under provincial governors, some commoners and some members of the nobility, the aristocratic clan of the Avongara, and in particular Gbudwe's eldest sons, when they were old enough to be planted out. We have to bear in mind that the newly conquered territories contained a number of foreign peoples, some of whom were still only partially assimilated politically and that even in large tracts of the region his father and grandfather had ruled, the foreign elements, though politically incorporated, were still to a considerable degree ethnically and culturally distinct. It was the duty of the governors to complete the assimilation of these foreigners, spreading among them Zande institutions, language and ways of life as well as imposing ever more firmly Vongara rule, and to build up an administration, to ensure peace within their provinces, and to defend the frontiers of the kingdom. A study of these provincial governorships sheds light on the organization of a Zande kingdom and indicates some of the changes it could undergo in the course of a single reign. However, to make it requires the sifting of a confusing mass of verbal, though none the less historical, detail. I shall not present in full this mass of names of persons and rivers (by reference to which administrative areas were defined), names so common that they add to, rather than diminish, the difficulties of sifting the material. I give from the total information at my disposal only as much detail as is required to provide adequate illustrative evidences for the conclusions advanced.
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PROVINCES OF THE OLD KINGDOM OF GBUDWE IN 1926

Descendants of Gbudwe = NGINDO. Nobles other than descendants of Gbudwe = SASA. Commoners = Bakorodi

Figure 1.
It appeared to me that one way of trying to unravel a complicated history of provinces, or at least to appreciate the nature and complexity of the problem, was to find out as much as I could about the changes in the governorships of each of the provinces recognized at the time of my research (1926-1930) as political units by the British Administration in the old kingdom of Gbudwe, or rather in its western half (Yambio District) for I was unable to obtain the same information about those in the eastern part, that ruled till 1914 by Gbudwe’s second son Mange (Meridi District). Most of these units are shown in the accompanying sketch-map. It is true that the disposition and extension of the units were not entirely the same as those of Gbudwe’s provinces at the time of his death but they were in many instances approximately so and therefore an inquiry along these lines provided useful information about political mobility and other changes. This in itself was an arduous undertaking, for it was found that when a province changed hands at the death, transference or dismissal of its governor its boundaries did not always remain the same; or it might be broken up and its territory shared by neighbouring governors. Governors sometimes, even though established in a province and retaining the confidence of the suzerain, asked to be transferred elsewhere because misfortune had dogged them and the oracles were unfavourable to their remaining in their present domicile. Then there was indefiniteness about some of the minor provinces of the realm in that some of the royal sons and other nobles, and even commoners, were not formally appointed by Gbudwe but settled in one or other district, usually more or less remote, and there, having attracted a following, they were allowed by the sovereign to retain it, since they acknowledged his overlordship and paid him tribute. Craffen and Colombo have made the same observation (p. 790): royal sons, when they came of age, were encouraged by their fathers to settle far from court and to found there a sort of colonies, which slowly spread until they became small vassal domains. Furthermore, it was often very difficult to determine at what point in Gbudwe’s reign, especially in its earlier period, a province changed hands and consequently who at any given time were the governors. It is therefore improbable that this account has altogether avoided minor errors; but in general both the relation of events and the conclusions drawn from it are undoubtedely correct.

Altogether the succession of governors was investigated in 25 provinces, 22 of which appear on the map, which does not show, as already
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mentioned, the eastern half of the kingdom; neither does it show its northern extension. Names in capital letters in the map are those of nobles, those underlined not being descendants of Gbudwe; names in small letters are those of commoners. I have selected 12 provinces as representative examples, the numbers in the list below corresponding to those on the map.

1) Zegi son of Gbudwe ruled an area first given by Gbudwe to his son Binza (also called Gbakoyo) by his wife Nagbakoyo. On his death, Gbudwe gave it to his son Angbele (also called Zaza) by his wife Naduru. On his death, Gbudwe gave it to Angbele’s uterine brother Zegi (also called Mbitimo and Zogozogo) who had previously administered part of the territory of another uterine brother, Gangura, and by his grace, on the southern border of the kingdom.

2) Sasa was a son of Funa, son of Bazingbi, and consequently Gbudwe’s nephew. When Gbudwe’s son Kana, who ruled to the east of the Sueh river, was killed by the Bongo people Gbudwe ordered another son, Bugwa, to take his place, but Bugwa, fearing to be near the route of Egyptian Government expeditions (gine abolumu), refused the responsibility. In anger, for this reason and because he suspected Bugwa of going after his wives, Gbudwe drove him from his court without giving him an alternative appointment. He settled in the country where Sasa now is and collected following there on his own account, for this had earlier been the province of Gbudwe’s second son, Mange, on whose translation to the east on the advice of the oracles that he should not stay there, it had been left without a ruler. Before Mange had been appointed to rule there, it is said that the country belonged to one of Bazingbi’s sons, Ngbikadi (also called Ngbeka). It appears that Bugwa fell foul of his father again and took refuge in Mange’s country to the east. He had a bad reputation among the Azande because he did not settle cases clearly. The country then came into possession of Sasa.

3) Bima was a son of Gbudwe. His territory is said to have been at one time held partly by Urudimo son of Ngbutuma, son of Bazingbi, and partly by a commoner called Ngbamboli, a man of the Abagua clan and a sister’s son of the nobility, whom, it is alleged, Gbudwe executed for witchcraft. Certainly most of it was taken over by Gbudwe as part of his personal domain and remained so till his death. It then came within the sphere of influence of his son Rikita, whose influence and territory were then much greater than in my day, and as shown in the map, both having been curtailed by the British Administration; and he gave it to Bima, who previously had held a very minor position to the north-east on the Sueh river. (It must be borne in mind that after Gbudwe’s death there was no longer a king and the various governors acted in their own interests as they thought fit, so long as the Administration acquiesced in, or was ignorant of, their activities. I was told, however, that Bima chose to make himself directly dependent on the new Government Station at Yambio. A considerable number of Gbudwe’s personal subjects after his death left the neighbourhood of his court because it became the site of this Station and they did not wish to be in its immediate vicinity, and they settled in Bima’s country.

4) Faki (also called Dekuku), son of Gbudwe, ruled a province to the north of Bima’s, between the rivers Yubo, Sueh and Hu. In Bazingbi’s time it seems to have belonged to his brother Kangu son of Yakpati. It was administered for a time, probably after Kangu’s death, by a commoner, the Ngbam-
boli referred to in the last entry. It later came to form part of Gbudwe’s own province and was then occupied by many of his aboro ngbanga, his men of the court. When Gbudwe told his son Faki to get out of his court and go and live elsewhere, as is the custom of royalty, he settled in this area and was left there to gather followers around him on his own account. At that time his brothers Gangura and Bima were in the same area, each with a small following.

(5) Wando (also called Muzelenga) is a son of Gamanzu, son of Galimbara, son of Yakpati. He had a uterine connection with Gbudwe in that Mabenge married Dunge, by whom he begat Galimbara, and after his death she was taken in marriage by Yakpati to whom she bore Gbudwe’s father Bazingbi, Ukwe, Nqindo, and Mazegbe. Galimbara had a domain to the west, in what became Ezo’s country, but his sons Mboli, Madiri, and Gamanzu moved eastwards into Bazingbi’s kingdom, and Bazingbi gave Gamanzu the territory where Wando now is. It had previously been ruled by a commoner, Kamundi, said to have been recognized by Bazingbi’s brother Renzi as his representative. Gbudwe later confirmed Gamanzu in his possessions and at his death they passed to his son Wando. The history of this succession is somewhat confused, for I was told that at different times two of Gbudwe’s sons, Gangura, till his translation to the south, and Mabenge, till his death, had jurisdiction in a part of the area.

(6) Ngindo (also called Bewadi) was the eldest son of Tikima, eldest son of Basongoda, eldest son of Gbudwe. He was therefore the senior member of the senior line of descent from Gbudwe. His territory came to him in British times, and presumably with their support, through his grandfather Basongoda, who survived his father Tikima and at Gbudwe’s death acquired this portion of his personal estate.

(7) Kurami, a commoner of the Abakpara clan, administered territory which was part of Gbudwe’s personal domain (boro ga Gbudwe kpolo du). After Gbudwe’s death a man called Asigbara gained for a while the ear of the British Administration and persuaded it to grant possession to a certain Fataki (Abauru clan), but the Administration later deprived him of it and instated in his place Sukutu (also called Gambi), the father of Kurami, who was useful in providing porters and in other ways. Kurami inherited the territory on his father’s death. His mother was a daughter of Bakorodi (see below).

(8) Bakorodi (Abakundo clan) was governor of a stretch of country once administered by two commoners, members of the Angbadimo clan, Gunde and Sagara. Gunde died of sickness while Gbudwe was a prisoner of the Egyptian Government and his son Mange, having control over appointments during his captivity, put his district in charge of Bakorodi, and this was later confirmed by Gbudwe, whose consulter of oracles he had once been. Sagara died after Gbudwe’s death, and it was Basongoda who gave him charge of that part of his territory.

(9) Boro (also called Ngbasumba), a commoner of the Agbambi clan, was in charge of country given to Gundusu (Angbadimo clan) by Gbudwe when he removed him from a governorship of one of the southern marches. Gundusu was later executed on a charge of having caused the death of Zabia, a commoner governor of the Akowe clan. Gbudwe then gave it to Tangili (Agbambi clan). He was also executed, probably in 1902, on a charge of disloyalty. Gbudwe did not fill the vacancy before his death, after which Basongoda gave it to Boro’s father Busia. He also gave him part of the district of the commoner governor Ngenzi, on that man’s death. Boro inherited these lands from his father by direction of the Administration. Part of Ngenzi’s territory was given by Baso-
The district of the commoner governor Pupuakondo formed part of Gbudwe's personal domain, which appears to have stretched unevenly to the river Kisi and in places to the east of that river. Nevertheless at an earlier period he had planted governors there, for I was told that it was once ruled by Gbaro son of Likara, who had been a leader of one of Gbudwe's military companies. He angered Gbudwe in some way and fled to the kingdom of Wando. Gbudwe pardoned him on his return and reinstated him as company leader but not as provincial governor. He was later executed during the Birisi campaign against Renzi son of Wando. Yakpati (also, I believe, called Mosanabamo) son of Gbudwe seems to have taken his place in the governorship but was later driven from it by, according to various versions, Gbudwe himself, Rikita, or the British. As far as I could gather, Pupuakondo was not given charge of the area by Gbudwe, though he was an important deputy and head of a military company in it, but by Ukwe, Gbudwe's grandson, who for a while obtained control of Gbudwe's territory shortly after his death and its occupation by the British, whose confidence he had won. They are said to have been influenced in Pupuakondo's favour by his kinsman Yango, Mange's most powerful commoner governor, who also seems to have co-operated with the British on their arrival in his master's country.

Akoavongara son of Yakpati, son of Ngindo, son of Gbudwe occupied a territory once held by Bungi son of Bazingbi. On his death, Gbudwe gave it to his second son Mange together with the adjacent country which later became Sasa's province (see no. 2), and on Mange's translation to the east he gave it to another son, Borugba. On the death of Bagboro son of Bazingbi, who ruled a province to the south, Borugba was moved to his territory and vacated this northern district, which Gbudwe then gave to his son Ngindo, on whose death, after Gbudwe's reign, it passed to his son Yakpati and on Yakpati's death to his son Akoavongara.

Rikita son of Gbudwe at one time ruled over a very extensive, though thinly populated, tract of country to the north of the Sueh river bend, its boundary to the west being the Sueh, beyond which lay the kingdom of Tembura, while to the east its boundaries with the enormous province of Mange were the Maieda and Mago. This country was first ruled by Tombo son of Yakpati and his brothers Gbalia and Ukwe, and then by their sons, Nunge and Ukwe sons of Tombo, Ngbakai and Ima sons of Gbalia, Gambavunu and his brothers Singiya and Mongbi, sons of Ukwe, and others. These were, in one way or another, dispossessed by Rikita. Rikita later moved southwards and occupied the area shown on the map. Eventually, under Government pressure, he had to yield his northern territories (not shown on the map) to his son Banginzegino. His new domain had in part at one time been in charge of a commoner, Zoli of the Angumbi clan, who had died. Part of it also seems to have been controlled by Yakpati son of Gbudwe (see no. 10). Most of the area, however, was the province of Baduagbanga son of Nunge, son of Tombo, whose people left him because he was a bad judge and beat them without cause. Yakpati also lost his people's confidence.

The sketch-map shows most of an administrative district of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan but it serves also to demonstrate roughly the kind of way in which a Zande kingdom was divided up into provinces.
and so provides an illustrative basis for a discussion of these provinces. It does not show the full extent of Gbudwe’s kingdom, for it does not include the large area ruled by Banginzegino son of Rikita to the north or the vast domain of Gbudwe’s son Mange to the east of the Sueh. This eastern extension of the kingdom, occupied by various foreign peoples, had been partly conquered by Renzi son of Yakpati and, on his death in battle, was ruled by some of his brothers (Muduba, Bakiyanda, Zangaberu, etc.) and then by their sons, such as Ngangi son of Muduba and Bagilisa, Ndima and Fuge, sons of Bazingbi; and during their lifetimes it fell in part under the control of Arab trading companies who began to use routes through it to the Congo forests early in Gbudwe’s reign. Gbudwe added it to his domains bit by bit by war, annexation, and taking advantage of Arab difficulties and put it in charge of his sons Mange, Kana and Sanango and a number of commoner governors — Kulewoka (Abakundo clan), Bagundusu (Avukida clan), Bakekpe (Angumbi clan) and others. I am unable to give an exact account of their disposition and of their duration in office, being little acquainted with the area at first hand. Kana and Sanango were taken captives with Gbudwe by the Egyptian Government in 1882 and both died before his return two years later, leaving Mange and his sons (Ndoruma, Bangbi, Mabenge, etc.) and various commoner governors appointed by him in control of the whole region to the east of the Sueh river south of its eastwards bend, where he ruled as an almost independent monarch as far as the Meridi river. When the British took over the country Mange was living at the sources of the Madeba, tributary of the Sueh. Rikita, as already mentioned, gained control over the country east of the Sueh north of the bend.

Also, the map and notes on provinces only partially show the situation as it was in Gbudwe’s time. We have to allow for Gbudwe’s substantial personal province which stretched unevenly between the Yubo and the Hu and as far eastwards as the Kisi and in places to the east of that river. To the north it included what became Bima’s and Faki’s provinces, almost stretching to the Sueh, though later he yielded the northern part to Faki. To the south it extended to the Úze. Moreover, its boundaries changed as he changed his capital; as he moved it in one or other direction he extended his personal control in that direction and allowed others to take over elsewhere, for example, when he took up residence at Belekiwe (Yambio) his son Bafuka had to withdraw his home from the Úze and settle on the Masambu.

We have also to bear in mind that when it is said that after Gbudwe’s death Basongoda gave provinces to various people this was done in British times and presumably with their consent and certainly in some cases under their influence or pressure. Some appointments
were definitely described to me by Azande as European appointments, though, with one or two exceptions, they were immediately post-conquest and of short duration—such unimportant persons as Asigbara, Basa, Lebe, Fataki, and others—for it was found that the Azande would not recognize them and did not readily obey them. But European rule had another and more lasting effect. Apart from destroying royal paramountcy altogether, it froze the political situation more or less as it was at Gbudwe’s death so that the normal process which followed the death of a Zande king by which the more powerful of his sons became entirely independent and extended their territories at the expense of the weaker could not operate. It is perhaps idle to speculate what would have happened had Gbudwe died before the arrival of the Belgians and the British, but we can be certain that there would have been strife between some of his sons, and it may be assumed that Mange would have become an entirely independent monarch and probably also Rikita, and possibly also Gangura at the expense of Basongoda in spite of his being the eldest son, for he was a weak character.

3.

It will have been noted that the southern provinces of Gbudwe’s kingdom were omitted from the list of provinces discussed in the last section. A slightly different line of investigation was pursued in this region, part of which I knew better than the rest of the kingdom since I lived for many months in Gangura’s country. These southern marches guarded the frontier of the kingdom against incursions from the followers of Gbudwe’s powerful neighbour, his brother Wando, and they formed a co-ordinated line of defense in the sense that if an attack was made on any province all the others, if they were near it, at once mobilized and either went to its assistance or prepared to do so. The statement made before holds here also: it is not possible to determine with certainty the distribution of provinces at any given time. We can, however, present a general picture of the political set-up obtaining at various periods of Gbudwe’s reign. In the earliest part of it the southern marches were in charge of persons appointed by his father Bazingbi, and these were slowly replaced by Gbudwe’s nominees as they died or were removed from office. I can furnish no reliable information about this period. Round about 1875 to 1880—his reign began in 1868 or 1869—three of Gbuwe’s eldest sons had governorships on this southern frontier, Basongoda, Mange, and Gumba, the rest being held by five other nobles, Kipa, Gongosi, Ndani (a great hunter), Bagboro and Rikita, and six commoners, Ongosi, Zengendi, Baipuru, Gundusu, Mai, and Wangu.
Of the sons, Basongoda, the eldest, had first been given a district to the west of the Lingasi in the area ruled by his great-grandfather Yakpati. He was then transferred to the east and given the province
roughly corresponding to that of Ngere in the map of provinces, which had before been the domain of Mboli son of Galimbara, son of Yakpati. Mange, as already stated, was in charge of a district to the east of the Sueh river, later to be much enlarged. Gumba had earlier been situated further to the west on the Nagbaka, tributary of the Lingasi. Bagboro, Kipa, Gongosi, Rikita and Ndani were sons of Bazingbi and brothers of Gbudwe.

The next sketch represents the position as it was some years later. Several governors had been dispossessed on one pretext or another or had been transferred elsewhere or had died in war, and their places had been for the most part taken by Gbudwe's sons. Baipuru (Avukida clan) had been killed in the Egyptian campaign and had been replaced by Bamboti. Ongosi, who had been the most important of King Ngangi's commoner governors and had come to settle in Gbudwe's territory after Gbudwe had conquered his master's kingdom in about 1875, was dismissed on the verdict of the poison oracle that he was unreliable and his province, said to contain large numbers of the foreign clans Abaiwo and Amiteli, was given to Gbudwe's fifth son Bafuka (also called Bokweyo), the frontier between it and Basongoda's province being the Nambia, tributary of Yubo, the Yubo being the boundary between Gbudwe and both sons. Gundusu (Angbadimo clan) was removed to a post in the east of the realm and his country, between the Mbomu and the Uze, went partly to Gbudwe's son Ndukpe and partly to Bazo (Akowe clan) and for a short time Tangili (Agbambi clan) was appointed to administer a section of it, but he was soon translated to office beyond the Yeta. As mentioned earlier, Gundusu was later executed. To Bafuka's province was added that of Gongosi, who appears to have been squeezed out of his domain by Bafuka before he was killed in the Egyptian campaign. Mai was killed in the campaign of Karikai between Gbudwe and Wando in about 1886, and Gbuwe gave most of his country to his son Bagbandara, the remainder going to his son Gumba (this country is today in the Belgian Congo). Wangu (Auboli clan) was suspected of disloyalty and relieved of office, later dying of complications of gonorrhea, and his province was also given to Bagbandara. Kipa son of Bazingbi had been killed in the Egyptian campaign and he was replaced by two of Gbudwe's sons, Boli and his younger uterine brother Tombo. Bagboro son of Bazingbi was also killed in the Egyptian campaign and was not replaced by his own son Bazamangi but by Gbudwe's son Borugba. The boundary between the territories of Borugba and his elder brother Basongoda was the Mbomo river. Ndani had died and instead of being replaced by his own son Gbate, Gbudwe gave his estate to his son Mopoi (also called Zimoma and Mbangana). Rikita had been killed in war and had been replaced
by his brother Mongbi. It will be observed that the commoner governors had by this time largely been eliminated, that their places had been taken by Gbudwe’s sons, and that the collateral descendants of Bazingbi and Yakpati had almost disappeared from the political scene.

Some complications arose from Gbudwe being in Egyptian Government captivity from 1882 to 1884. During his absence his son Mboli, who had been given the eastern part of his province by Bafuka, was expelled by the donor, who placed his own eldest son Kipa in charge of it. Mange, who was then deputizing for Gbudwe, nominally on behalf of the Egyptian Government, dismissed his father’s friend Zengendi (Angumbe clan) and gave his country to Bamboti (Auboli clan). On Gbudwe’s return he restored his province to him, removing Bamboti to the east of Gumba (his original province going to Ndukpe); but Zengendi had aroused the jealousy of both Bafuka and Ndukpe, and he was murdered, much to Gbudwe’s sorrow, by subjects of Kipa in 1898 or 1899. Gbudwe gave his country to Ngoliyo. He was to prove an unsuccessful ruler who ill-treated his subjects and abused their wives, and after Gbudwe’s death he lost his subjects to Gangura. Mange had also removed his brother Boli from office and replaced him by one of his own sons. Boli’s province was restored to him by Gbudwe. Then Bafuka died, probably in 1899, and Kipa took over his province. Ndukpwe, whose home at the time was on the Dingbili, tributary of the Duru (in what is now the Belgian Congo), died at about the same time and was succeeded by his uterine brother Gangura, who in his turn granted a portion of his territory to his younger uterine brother Zegi, later translated to the northwest (see no. 1), and later still to yet another uterine brother, Ango. Of the commoners, only Bazo and Bamboti seem to have retained their governorships till the end of Gbudwe’s reign. When, after Gbudwe’s death, they died Bazo’s subjects became followers of Bagbandara and Gangura, and Bamboti’s went mostly to Gumba for a time but later, drifting from him on account of his taking their women, to Bagbandara (on the death of Gumba, who survived his father, part of his territory was added, presumably by the Belgian authorities, to Bagbandara’s domain). Basongoda had placed his son Ngere in charge of the frontier district of his province. Borugba had died, and his son Limbasa had been installed in his seat. Mongbi had died and had been replaced by Gbudwe’s son Ndoruma. Boli died, and his place was taken partly by his uterine brother Tombo and partly by his son Ukwe. Ukwe proved unreliable and was driven out of his possessions by Gbudwe at the turn of the century. Gbudwe replaced him by his sons Mboli, Ango and Kpotogara and two commoners, his at one time oracle-consulters Kpoyo (Abanginda people) on the
Kisi river and Zai, later shot by the British. However, some four years later came Gbudwe's disastrous attack on the Belgian Post at Mayawa and in the following year (1905) his death at the hands of a British patrol, and the British restored Ukwe to his territory, and for a time he was put in charge of Gbudwe's province as well. The three sons and Kpoyo thus lost their estates. The final sketch shows the frontier in about 1900, before Ukwe's expulsion. It presents an almost unbroken line of Gbudwe's sons and grandsons.

It remains only to relate the last sketch to the map of provinces as they were in the 1920's. Dika (15) was a son of Mboli, to whom Gbudwe had, as we have noted, given part of Ukwe's territory when he drove him out. When Ukwe was reinstated by the British Mboli took refuge with Gangura, but he eventually regained his possessions, the British by that time being less well disposed towards Ukwe. Tombo (14), Gangura (16), Xgere (17) and Bagbandara (21) [together with Gumba's estates (22)] have already been accounted for. Kipa, together with his brothers, disappeared from the scene when Gangura, after a fight between their subjects, shortly after British occupation, was authorized by the Administration to take over his country. Ngoliyo had also, as earlier mentioned, lost his subjects to Gangura and hence neither his name nor that of one of his sons appears on the map. Mbadabu (18) was a son of Limbasa, son of Borugba and inherited his province from his father and grandfather. Mopoi (19) has been accounted for. Tali was a son of Binza, son of Malingindo, son of Bazingbi. He originally held some position to the south of the Nile-Congo divide. He fought, and fled from, the Belgians and, having elected to remain in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, he was given by the Administration a stretch of country to the west of the Lingasi. Part of this had been unoccupied country between Gbudwe's kingdom and the domains of the sons of Ezo and part of it had been the territory of Rikita, son of Bazingbi, who was killed in the fighting between Wando's sons in the Congo, and then of Mongbi (or Muengbi), son of Bazingbi and father of Mabenge, on whose death Gbudwe had given it to his own son Ndoruma (also called Pasuda). He appears (I was not well acquainted with this area) to have been dispossessed by the British and, with their consent, Basongoda installed Pelembata son of Ndakpwe, son of Bazingbi, on whose death the Administration gave the territory to Tali.

4.

A further approach to the topic of this paper was to list Gbudwe's sons, those who became adults, and to follow their careers. This provided much additional information and also served as a check
on that already obtained. To record in detail these careers would entail much repetition, and enough information has, I think, already been given to support some general conclusions. I shall therefore merely list the sons in order of seniority and give after each the number of the province he was given charge of (some, as already explained, after Gbudwe's death) or, since the princes were sometimes translated from one province to another, that of the more important appointment. Though, owing to changes in size and shape of provinces, the numerals can only be a rough indication of direction they provide a kind of index to persons and places mentioned in the text. The names at the end of the list may not be in the right order. Some names of earlier sons have been omitted because they died too young to have achieved any prominence, e.g. Rungbakpoto, Keletu, Kurumbise, and Yepu were mentioned by informants, and there were others who do not appear in the list.

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<th>No.</th>
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Those sons not shown in the table as holding provinces must now be accounted for. Mange, Kana and Sanango held provinces in the eastern part of Gbudwe's kingdom, not shown on the map of provinces. Ngoliyo and Mopoi were killed in the Egyptian campaign. Bavungara (also called Sungeyo) was not given a province, but he collected a following on his own account. Gbudwe deprived him of it for going after his wives and wounding one of his subjects with a knife. Bugwa also, as already mentioned, collected a following on his own account but fell foul of his father and fled to the east. Sasa does not appear to have been given a province. Gbudwe refused to give Zemoi any authority in his kingdom because he ill-treated his subjects. Ravura was taken as a baby to the court of Bafuka son of King Wando at the time of the Egyptian campaign and stayed there. Baikpolo was killed as a youth in the Derwish campaign. Kuruwiso, Gbandi and Limbasa (also called Zingbwadu) were too young at the time of their father's death to have been given authority; they were still children.
Given below for easy reference is also a genealogy showing the relationship between the nobles recognized as rulers by the Administration of Yambio District in the 1920’s. The names of all these rulers appear on the map of provinces except Rikita’s son Banginzegino, whose country lay to the north of the map, and Kanimara son of Funa, whose position near the Sueh, where he had attracted a following, mostly of the Abuguru people, also lay to the north. He occupied a stretch of country on the Sueh river which had originally been in the hands of two commoner governors, Ngbandarungba (Agiti clan), who died, and Nagaza (Agbambi clan), who was killed in the Egyptian campaign. Gbudwe then gave it to his brother Bungusue, but he quarrelled with his neighbours and his subjects left him, so Gbudwe told Kanimara to settle there and win over the Abuguru to his allegiance. The genealogy also shows such other nobles than Gbudwe’s sons as are mentioned in the text as having held governorships in the area under discussion.

In Figure 3 I present a sketch-map of Gbudwe’s kingdom as it was in about 1900. My reconstruction has been piecemeal and it has also necessitated an inter-penetration of past and present, and this may have made for some obscurity. Also the distribution of provinces loses much of its significance unless it is seen in relation to the central royal province. I have not attempted to demarcate provincial boundaries, only to show the relative positions of the provinces and their proximity to some of the main rivers of the country. Nobles are again shown in capital letters, those other than Gbudwe’s sons or grandsons being underlined, and commoners in small letters. On a very rough approximation the distance from the most northern point of the kingdom to its most southern point was round about 100 miles, and it was also about 100 miles from the most easterly point to the most westerly. It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the size of its population. One can only suggest, on the basis of such censuses as we have, that it was somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000.

5.

The details—names of persons and rivers, and movements and successions—form themselves into a picture of a repetitive process. A prince held a province under his father’s suzerainty but in varying degrees independent of his control, and in the case of eldest sons almost completely so. Then the king died and the kingdom was not inherited by any one son. Each then became independent ruler of his own territory, what used to be one of his father’s provinces. However,
a vacuum was left at the centre, the portion of a kingdom over which
a king had not delegated authority but retained under his personal
direction, and this was likely to have been the largest and most thickly
populated part of his kingdom and with the highest proportion of
Ambomu-Azande (as distinct from foreign elements). This prize
did not fall to the eldest son or any other son by right. He took it
who could. Bazingbi was a cadet but he gained it for himself. Gbudwe
was a fifth son but he wrested it from his eldest brother Ngima; and,
as I have said earlier, it is unlikely that his eldest son Basongoda
would have established himself in it if it had not been for British
intervention. Therefore what Craffen and Colombo say (p. 790) is
correct only in theory: that when a king dies the heritage goes to his
sons in such a way that the eldest has the principal part and lives in
his father’s home while “les autres doivent s’éloigner et s’établir comme
de petits chefs vassaux du premier”.

This process has repeated itself in each generation. When
Mabenge died his senior sons Bugwa, Yakpati, Nunga and Ngindo
became independent monarchs. Then on Yakpati’s death his senior
sons Tombo, Ukwe, Bazingbi, Pereke, and Muduba became independ-
ent rulers. Then on Bazingbi’s death his senior sons Ezo, Wando,
Maliningido, Gbudwe, and Ngoliyo, became in their turn rulers of
autonomous territories. Then on Gbudwe’s death Basongoda, Mange,
Rikita, Gangura, etc. became independent rulers, or rather they
would have done so had the British not taken over their territories.

This process of periodic splitting of kingdoms might have produced
smaller and smaller fragments had it not been for two facts. The
first is that till the Arabs and Europeans finally obstructed their
advance, until, that is, Zande political history may be said to have
come to an end, the Azande under their royal houses were still expand-
ing, so it was possible for kingdoms to fragment without necessarily
decreasing in size. The second fact is that only the stronger sons
maintained their independence and were able to transmit their domains
to their sons. The weaker sooner or later had to accept the over-
lordship of the stronger or they were deprived of their territories.
At the beginning of a new reign a king was obliged to give admin-
istrative posts to younger brothers and to cousins or to commoner
governors because he had as yet few sons of his own old enough to
fill them. Thus we saw how in the early part of Gbudwe’s reign a
number of his brothers—Ngbakadi, Mongbi, Ngbutuma, Bagboro, etc.
—ruled provinces, and though some of them may have received these
from his father, I think he must have appointed most of them himself
because they were all said to be his juniors. In either case, there is
no evidence that he wished to oust them from their lands. However,
as these brothers died Gbudwe replaced them by his own sons, instead
of theirs, as they became old enough to be planted out, a transference from collaterals to direct descendants facilitated in his case by the massacre of a number of his brothers by Egyptian troops in 1882 (those whose names I have recorded were Ngbimi, Bagboro, Kangu, Gongosi, Bagilisa, Ngbutuma, and Kipa; also several of his sons, Mangu, Kipa, Takapande and others). I think it is evident that the same procedure was adopted in other Zande kingdoms when the sons of reigning monarchs grew up and could be given political authority.

This did not at that time produce a large class of nobles without office, for it must be remembered that almost all the nobles of Gbudwe's kingdom were descended from Yakpati, who was only his grandfather, and also that he vastly increased his domains during his reign, thus providing new provinces for his sons and others to administer. Moreover, in the wars that raged during the reigns of Yakpati, Bazingbi and Gbudwe a considerable number of princes lost their lives. Nevertheless, as Gbudwe's reign continued, more and more sons had to be provided for, and we have seen that at the end of it the country was mostly in the hands of the royal sons and a few commoner governors, nobles of collateral lines surviving in only one or two places. It may
be considered doubtful whether even they would have been able to maintain their estates, on which the sons of Gbudwe were already encroaching, had not the British Administration given its authority to the status quo. However, there were other nobles here and there living in the provinces with a small commoner following. Basongoda gave charge of a small district in his province, on a grace and favour basis, to Bavurubele son of Bazingbi (Basongoda was in a rather exceptional position in that he had at the time few sons, and probably only two old enough to rule, Tikima, who predeceased him, and Ngere). Bima likewise gave a small district to Zingbondo son of Pereke, though this must have been in early European times; and even in my day Gbile, a son of Kangu and grandson of Yakpati, though very old and blind, still had a small following in Faki's province. Gangura gave an estate to Mbitimo son of Badiyo, son of Muduba, but his people left him because he demanded too much game from them. Gangura later emasculated him. Two of King Tombo's great-grandsons, Maruka and Agaba, held minor office in Rikita's country. I met other elderly nobles without office of any kind, but they were few. Their homes were maintained by their wives with some aid from themselves and their sons in cultivation and building and from a few neighbouring commoner families who had attached themselves to them. A prince in whose territory they lived did not feel that his authority was challenged by their presence for they recognized him as master and made him gifts from time to time. Indeed, they were the most frequent visitors to his court where they partook of the meals provided for them in the inner court. Being poor compared to the royal sons, they were unable to acquire so many wives and hence tended to have smaller families. The situation with regard to the younger generation had, however, already begun to be much changed in this respect, for while the sons of the nobility had continued to increase the means of providing estates for them had correspondingly diminished, a situation which did not exist in Gbudwe's time.

A large number of noble families must, I think, have become extinct, or almost so, through natural causes or through wars. Seldom indeed, other than descendants of Bazingbi, does one meet descendants of the sons of Yakpati: Muduba, Renzi, Manzi, Zangaberu, Maku, Manguru, Pereke, Bagiando, etc.—he must have had at least 20 grown-up sons. They may be more numerous in Ezo's old kingdom and in the kingdoms of the Congo, with which areas I was little acquainted. Seldom also does one meet, other than descendants of Gbudwe and those of his brothers who inherited kingdoms, descendants of the sons of Bazingbi: Ngbikadi, Sisiru, Binikpele, Gbagidi, Dakaya, Bungusue, Ngatua, Rikita, Makisa, Kipa, etc.—he had some 40 grown-
up sons. Here again, some of these may be living in other parts of Zandeland. In a census taken in Gbudwe's old kingdom in 1929 and 1930 (Evans-Pritchard, 1959) it was found that there were about 800 adult or near-adult male Avongara living there. I cannot give exact numbers but I can say that the majority of these are descendants of Gbudwe himself. One need not be surprised at this statement, for Gbudwe had died 25 years before, when he was about 70 years of age, and before his death some of his grandsons already had families. Most of his numerous sons were, as we have seen, given provinces and were, by Zande standards, wealthy men who used their wealth and their authority to acquire for themselves many wives, and wives also for their sons, who could therefore marry at an earlier age than most commoners. If each of his sons begat 5 male children who reached maturity—and many of them begat many more than 5—Gbudwe would have had close on 200 male grandsons, many of whom, in their turn, had by 1930 begotten sons old enough to have been included in the census, and even some of these great-grandsons were by that time married men with families.

Others have drawn attention to the size of royal and princely families. Junker (1892, p. 32) says that Bakangai listed 54 of his father Kipa's sons, not including the youngest, whose names were unknown even to Bakangai. Casati (vol. I, p. 198) says that this same Bakangai possessed more than 500 women, and he also remarks (vol. I, p. 209) on Kipa's numerous children, stating that his sons alone amounted to 50. Czekenowski (p. 24) comments that the power of a chief (princeling) called Risasi was evidently limited in that he had only 7 wives and 15 living children. Hutereau reports (p. 238), in noting how rapidly these aristocratic families can increase, that Kipa's son Kana had 46 sons and 33 daughters. Gamu, his fourth son, then aged about 50, had already 24 sons and 11 daughters. Liwa, Gamu's eldest son, aged about 38, had already 6 sons and 5 daughters (there must have been an error in Hutereau's estimates of ages, for even Zande princes do not beget children at the age of 12 !). Two of the wives of Liwa's eldest son Eliwa, a youth of about 18 years of age, were pregnant at the time the record was made. Akengai, son of the Bakangai mentioned above, had in Hutereau's time already 40 sons and about 40 daughters. Geyer tells us (p. 284) that it was impossible to determine the number of King Tembura's wives and that he himself did not appear to know the exact number. It was stated to be 400. His half-brother Beka, says the same authority (p. 293), had 15 wives, 16 sons and 10 daughters. Mr. T. A. T. Leitch, at one time a British official in the Sudan, mentions in an unpublished report 39 sons of the same King Tembura, of whom 21 were still alive in 1953. To give a final example: I have myself listed 22 adult sons
of a minor princeling, Baduagbanga, in Gbudwe’s old kingdom, and 29 adult sons of Gbudwe’s son Bafuka. The sons of both men were all said to be married and to have families.

6.

We have noted that in the early period of Gbudwe’s reign there were also among the governors of provinces on his southern frontier a number of commoners. It was at that time the same along his eastern frontier. At the beginning of his reign some of these must have been appointments made by his father, but certainly most of those I have mentioned earlier were his own. There appear to have been several reasons for appointing commoners. Firstly, it was probably necessary to entrust some of the provinces to commoners at the beginning of a reign, the king’s sons, except perhaps for the eldest ones, being too young for appointment, even though princelings sometimes received office in their teens, their education in government being entrusted to a wise elder of the court till they gained experience and confidence. Junker, writing in the 1880’s, more than once speaks (e.g. 1892, pp. 317-318) of the authority in provinces exercised by mere striplings and the great deference shown them. They were not to be seen in my day as there was no longer a king with authority to make such appointments. Also there might be too few younger brothers or other nobles suitable for governorates available, for we have to bear in mind that a king like Gbudwe was a rival of the families of his uncles, such as Tombo, Muduba, and Renzi, and also of the families of his elder brothers Ezo, Wando, and Malingindo. They belonged to different and hostile kingdoms which he wished to subdue or against which his attitude was one of jealous opposition. So he was not likely to have appointed, except in very peculiar circumstances, members of these families to governorates in his own domains, and this left available only his younger brothers and such scions of the nobility as belonged to no reigning house. Secondly, commoner governors were more directly dependent on the king than were his own sons, who could become, as we have noted, almost independent rulers even during their father’s lifetime, a position a commoner governor could not, in virtue of his class, aspire to. It was therefore good policy to have a sprinkling of commoners among the governors. Thirdly—and I found that this was the motive Azande stressed—it was the policy of kings to entrust commoners with the difficult task of administering and bringing about the assimilation of foreign peoples (zoga auro) or, as they often put it, of pacifying them (zelesi yo). This is why, they say, in Gbudwe’s kingdom we
find them ruling provinces on the eastern border, which was populated by various foreign elements, and in the southern marches those to the south-east where the population was at the time of his father's death still only partly assimilated, either politically or culturally. When that task had been accomplished, Azande say, he would either appoint (*ju kpolo*) one of his sons to rule a province in the place of its commoner governor or would let a son settle in the area and, with his greater prestige, win over the population by exercise of generosity and good sense. It is often said of Gbudwe that from time to time he drove his older sons still at court from his home (*do yo*) on the grounds that they went after his wives or stole his subjects' fowls or tormented them (rubbing their skins with seeds of the *abakpa* plant), but this seems also to have been a conventional way of getting them to settle in parts of the country lacking adequate administration or in areas ruled by commoners whom he did not wish to displace directly. A governor accepted the situation. The young man was his master's son. Sometimes, however, Gbudwe just translated a commoner to another area to make way for a son, and a number of commoner governors were, as noted in the records of provinces, for one reason or another, executed. This was for commoners one of the hazards of political office; and, to judge from the number of executions, there can be little doubt that Gbudwe kept a suspicious eye on them. Perhaps this is what Czekanowski meant when he said (p. 50) that the rulers seem to treat important Azande with some mistrust and to look for support against them to the lower strata of the population; though it is difficult to determine for certain the meaning of this observation. The point established, however, is that early in Gbudwe's reign there were a number of commoner governors and that they were bit by bit replaced by his own sons. There were others besides those I have earlier mentioned, but of whose time and duration of office I am uncertain. I can do no more than give some names, clans, and stated provenance: Yangiliya (Akalingo) on the Yubo; Wanangba (Agiti) between the Mboimu and the Singbi (he was at one time a royal consulter of oracles); and Murungba (Agbambi) between the Huru and the Kisi.

This seems to have been a usual process in Zande political history. It was certainly the policy pursued by Gbudwe's father and grandfather, some of whose commoner governors ruled over considerable provinces. Indeed, the only commoner governors holding comparable positions in Gbudwe's realm were Nguasu, to the east, in the earliest period and later his son Mange's general Yango (Abawoyo clan). I am not able to give any exact account of Bazingbi's commoner governors. The best known of them was Nzaniwe (Akowe clan and sister's son to the Apusi). His son Gami told me that he ruled over
a wide domain centered in the region of the Hogo (Sudan) and the
Manzagara, tributary of the Gurba (Belgian Congo). Gami himself
held a territory under Gbudwe near the Yeta, where he still was in
my day, though it was a matter of difference between Rikita and the
British Administration whether he held it in his own right or under
Rikita. This piece of country was before ruled by Rokomboli (Ang-
badimo clan), who, involved in the death of Gbudwe’s son Kana and
having speared Gbudwe’s brother Duli, took refuge with Gamanzu,
son of Galimbara, who executed him. It was afterwards ruled by
Gundusu, of the same clan.) Another of Bazingbi’s commoner govern-
ors was the already mentioned Nguasu (Agbambi clan), who occupied
a region in the extreme east of the kingdom which eventually stretched
from the Yeta to east of the Sueh. (He was dispossessed by Gbudwe
on account of fighting between his sons and other irregularities. Also
his son Bangumbiyo had speared Gbudwe’s brother Mange in the
thigh on account of adultery with his wife and, although Gbudwe
supported him in this matter and paid him compensation and compelled
Mange to do likewise, the incident probably added weight in the scale
against Nguasu. His territories were given to Gbudwe’s sons Mange
and Kana.) Other of Bazingbi’s commoner governors were Mbazua,
a younger brother of Nzaniwe, on the Mangondi, Sakita (Abangbinda
people) beyond that river, Nzunga (Agbambi clan) on the Birisi, in
Gangura’s present territory, Kuasi (Abiri people) on the river Moegbu,
tributary of the Lingasi, and Bafurumai (Angumbe clan) on the Yubo.
Bazingbi’s famous brother, the conquering Renzi, whose domains
stretched far to the east also gave large estates to his commoner
governors, the best known of whom was Welegine (Agiti clan), to the
east of the Sueh. Others were Ngbamboli (the country of Faki and
Bima), Kamundi (Wando’s country), and Ngbandia of the Avokili
clan. One of King Ngangi’s commoner governors, Ongosi, has been
mentioned earlier.

Probably all Zande kings appointed commoners to governorates,
such persons being known as abanyaki, and it would therefore be
curious that early travellers do not mention the fact were it not that
the matter is barely mentioned in most writings on the Azande of a
later date. Piaggia, it is true, gives (p. 163) the names of certain
“fattori” of Kings Tombo and Bazingbi, and some of these may have
been commoner governors. The names of others suggest that they
were nobles. Schweinfurth (I, p. 436 and II, p. 22) knew the word
banyaki (he writes it as behnky and says it is pronounced as a French-
man would pronounce bainqui) but he, and it would appear other
travellers, thought that this word meant any chief of a district acting
as representative of a king, whereas it is only used by Azande for
commoner governors, noble governors being called simply agbia,
nobles. Schweinfurth, who appears to mention the names of two of Ngangi’s commoner governors, was probably unaware that some governors were nobles and others commoners. Junker says (1891, p. 193) that most of the chiefs were of noble blood and that, throughout his travels he only heard of one man of political importance who came from foreign stock. Nor, apart from the one exception, Kommunda in Ndoruma’s country, does he mention any other commoner governors. Yet at the time of his residence in Zandeland there were certainly some of these in Wando’s kingdom, through which he travelled, three of them being on Gbudwe’s southern frontier, Bangodiya (Agiti clan), Ndegu (Angbadimo clan) and Ngatuo (Agiti clan), the last of whom was of sufficient importance for his subjects to have defeated an army sent against them by Gbudwe in about 1886; and I consider it certain that there were others in the other Zande kingdoms at that time, e.g. Hutereau mentions (p. 235) one of them in Bakangai’s country. Junker tended to travel from the court of one king or prince to that of another and he probably would not have known when he was crossing the territory of a commoner governor if he had not made particular inquiry. Even then, he might simply have been told that it was the country of such and such a king, just as he would not have been told the names of princes’ deputies in their provinces unless he asked for them. When he passed through Gbudwe’s country he could scarcely have avoided, as his route shows, the territories of commoner governors lining the west bank of the Sueh at that time as they continued to do till the end of his reign; but it must be added that he was in a hurry to reach the Nile and that Gbudwe’s kingdom had recently been devastated by troops of the Egyptian government and was much disorganized. Other writers say much the same, e.g. Craffen and Colombo state that the “vassal chiefs” are all sons, brothers or kinsmen of the sovereign (p. 787). I have given further evidence elsewhere (1960, pp. 100-102) to show that commoners played an important part in provincial administration.

It should further be mentioned that the more important princely governors sometimes put areas in their provinces under control (ma kpolo) of commoner governors of their own and directly dependent on them and not on the king. These did not have the same status as those appointed by the king but, nevertheless, their position appears to have carried more authority than that of an ordinary deputy (ligbu or bakumba), and the area of their administration was more self-contained than his. Thus Rikita gave jurisdiction to Toi the Bongo, with whom, as the chief of a foreign people, he made blood-brotherhood, after defeating him in war, on condition that he brought his people from the east of the Iba river to the west of it and they became his subjects. Mange gave jurisdiction to Yango, as
already mentioned, and also to Pakwiyo (Abawoyo clan) and others; Basongoda to Nganayo (Agbambi clan); Bagbandara to Raliyo (Abafuta clan); etc.

7.

The organization of Gbudwe's kingdom and the situation obtaining at various periods of his reign are paralleled by the organization of other Zande kingdoms and the phases of their development. There were, of course, many local differences, and in these other kingdoms Arab intervention was earlier and a more disturbing influence, but we may say that much the same pattern emerges from the records of the early travellers and the first ethnological writings. Everywhere the story is the same. A prince inherits part of his father's kingdom; he enlarges it, if he can, at the expense of his brothers and neighbouring foreign peoples; he appoints governors to rule over the provinces of his kingdom, his eldest sons eventually receiving the lion's share; and then on his death his sons, or his brothers if he died young, fight for dominance and the process is repeated. The political circumstances I have described were too obvious to be missed by the early travellers. They are indicated by Piaggia (Antinori, pp. 121-122): "Gli abitatori delle regioni Niam-Niam se ne vivono in piccole tribù governate da capi, molti dei quali sono tra loro stretti in vincoli di parentela, il che non impedisce di trovarsi fra loro in continue guerre per vendicare rapine di roba e di donne, ovvero per non soddisfatti tributi." Schweinfurth noted (I, p. 479) in 1870 how Bazingbi's extensive domains had been divided into six small principalities, a heritage which was a perpetual apple of discord among his sons, and (I, p. 480) how Tombo's kingdom had likewise been cut up after his death into a number of smaller states. He further remarks (II, p. 22) that whilst the eldest son is considered to be the heir, at the death of a king the firstborn is frequently not acknowledged by all his brothers—some may support him but others insist on becoming independent rule's in their districts: "contentions of this character are continually giving rise to every kind of aggression and repeated deeds of violence". Junker speaks (1891, pp. 188 and 268) of the kingdoms of Ndoruma, Malingindo and Wando being similarly divided up during the lifetimes of these rulers, and he describes the bitter struggles for power between Wando's sons even while their father was still alive. He relates (1891, p. 194) how in the case of some of the descendants of an earlier King Tombo fractionization had led to impotence, and how (1892, pp. 264-265) on the death of Sabiru son of Nunga dynastic wars broke out and his empire was divided among his brothers and sons. Like Schweinfurth, he says (1891, p. 200), in reference to the inheritance of Bogua, that
though according to the traditional Zande right the eldest son succeeds the father "the dismemberment of the state was a sufficient proof that this legitimate custom had long yielded to the law of might over right".

De Calonne, the historian of the Azande, has emphasized (p. 235) this repetitive process of fission on the death of a king, especially in connection with the hostility between royal brothers and royal sons; kingdoms again and again being broken up by struggles for power and then being re-established by force of arms, the stronger wrenching their domains from the weaker and making Zande history a monotonous record of murder and rapine. He has also pointed out that the process is contained in the structure of a kingdom, though in normal circumstances it is only on the death of a king that for a time complete disruption ensues. Thus he instances (p. 237) how in the immense kingdom of Sasa, outside the central territory directly controlled by the king himself, the rest of the kingdom was divided into numerous provinces administered by his sons, each being an autonomous whole to such a point that certain of their rulers, for example, Momi and Turugba, between whose provinces there stretched a completely deserted zone, were in a state of open hostility; and he concludes that these provinces "devaient être considérées comme des états indépendants liés par un engagement féodal de vassalité". He says further that in each province there is found a particularist spirit, especially when, as is sometimes the case, the provinces are ethnically distinct.

This last point of de Calonne's is of great importance. When a prince had been for some years in charge of a province the people of it came to see themselves as a distinct political community through allegiance to him, and as the river boundaries of provinces often remained the same when they changed hands local particularist sentiment was thereby strengthened. The people of Gangura's province or Rikita's province, for example, saw themselves in a broadly patriotic sense as avuru Gbudwe, subjects, or followers, of Gbudwe—political solidarity being expressed by reference to the person, and through the person to the territory, rather than the other way round. But they also saw themselves as a community in a narrower and more intimate sense as avuru Gangura and avuru Rikita, since their contacts were with, and their affairs were the concern of, Gangura and Rikita and not Gbudwe. Now, all such allegiances imply, even of necessity involve, opposition to similar allegiance, and it had to be on a provincial level and could not be between a provincial attachment and that to the paramount, for that would have meant disloyalty. As we might expect, therefore, there was rivalry between the people of one province and those of one or other of its neighbours, the personal jealousies and ambitions of their rulers
combining with the particularist sentiments of their subjects to make a province a kind of proto-state. The struggles which ensued after the death of a king were already latent during his lifetime and sometimes, as has been noted, could in certain circumstances, perhaps chiefly due to Arab interference and intrigue, lead to war between sons even before their father's death. However, in the case of a strong king like Gbudwe, who kept a firm hand on his sons, fighting between one prince and another was not tolerated. Nevertheless, the stage was set for the drama which would inevitably have taken place had he left it before European intervention.

It was the same in all the Zande kingdoms. The facts have been recorded by de Calonne (1921) and Hutereau (1922) and I have summarized them elsewhere (1958). In that summary I barely mentioned the House of Ndeni, and I therefore take it as my example of the general circumstances occurring in any Zande kingdom to show by a further illustration that, in main features, what has been said about Gbudwe's kingdom is typical. Any other kingdom would have served the purpose equally well.

Ndeni son of Tombo had quarrelled with his brother Ezo. He thereupon departed with his followers to the south, where he founded a domain for himself in the country of the Ababua people beyond the Uele river. He was later murdered by them, and the leadership of his people eventually passed to his son Kipa (or Tikima), who avenged his father's death on the Ababua and then extended his domains, warring right and left against other Avongara kings and the Mangbetu and other foreign peoples. In 1868 the great warrior Kipa is said to have died of a snake-bite on an expedition against the Mabode. During his lifetime he had placed his elder sons in various parts of his kingdom to rule over them. At the time of his death the main lines, following de Calonne, of their distribution were: Mange (or Ngura), the favourite son, to the north-east, on the Bomokandi; Kana, the eldest son, to the south-east; Bakangai to the south-west between the Bomokandi, the Poko and the Makondo; Kamisa to the north-west; Nganzi, Mabura, Zebo, Ngandua, Zakala (on the left bank of the Teli) and Mingemi among foreigners, mostly sections of the Abarambo. Others were in other parts: Gwa, Bangoya (on the right bank of the Poko), Hino, etc. When Kipa died his sons watched each other with apprehensive hostility.

Kipa was already dead before Schweinfurth's visit, and his eldest son Kana and King Mofio were, according to him, in 1870 the two most powerful Zande kings with the most extensive territories (II, p. 22)—Kana's territories lying to the west and north-west of the Mangbetu (II, p. 55). The domains of some of his brothers were also extensive, for Junker tells us (1892, p. 8) that in 1882 "Bakangai's
territory stretches from the Bomokandi three days southwards, and some five days east to west”. Junker’s appreciation of the political situation (1892, p. 29) was as follows: “It further appeared that the brothers of Kanna visited by me stood in very loose relationship to him, as did also his other brothers farther east, as well as Kipa’s brothers, who also administered various provinces of the old kingdom. In time of war they doubtless rendered him the military service required of vassals; but in other respects they sought to maintain their independence with all the proud arrogance of descendants and heirs of Kipa. Kanna expressed himself frankly enough on these relations, and even harboured the fear that many were plotting against his life.

![Kipa's Sons C. 1882](image)

Figure 4.

‘Bangoya’, he remarked, ‘is a chief who holds today with me, tomorrow with Bakangai’. I think it is clear from this quotation that “very loose relationship” in fact meant virtual independence and that the word “vassals” was scarcely applicable to persons in the position of, for example, Bakangai. He makes the further, and important, point (1892, p. 33) that “In the immediate possessions of the suzerain chief, his sons enjoyed more power and governed larger districts than their uncles and Kipa’s brothers”. Kana’s brother Zebu is an illustration of this sons-versus-brothers situation. He had established himself on the Bomokandi among the Amiaro branch of the Abarambo people “in order to be independent of Kana, who, as Sebu also complained, took away their power and property from his brothers, and advanced his own sons”. He adds “Massumbu was also a son of Kipa, and, actuated by the same motives as Sebu, had migrated hither with his following” (1892, p. 34). He had settled to the north-east of Zebu. Kamisa resided near the Bomokandi-Uele Confluence (1891, p. 336).
Probably there were more sons of Kipa who ruled provinces than are mentioned by the explorers.

The same process was being repeated in each of the domains of Kipa's sons at the time Junker was in the area. The administration of the extensive territory of Bakangai, who died in 1883, "had been entrusted to ten of his adult sons. They were assigned separate provinces, where they carried out their father's orders by the aid of their Zandeh subjects" (1892, pp. 8-9)—most of the population being
foreigners. Akangai, the eldest, resided in the east, on the Poko. Umboiko (I use his spellings) governed the Abarambo tribes of the north-west on the Mokongo river. Biemanghi and Songomboasso guarded the southern frontiers, while all the rest were stationed in the interior of the state. “However, these relations were soon modified, for the very year after my visit Bakangai died, and his death could not fail to be attended by great changes. Although Akengai succeeded his father as paramount chief, civil strife soon broke out among the brothers, as I was later informed.” In the same manner Kana’s vassal lords ruled his domains—his brothers or uncles or sons (1892, p. 16): “Ten adult sons of Kanna rule as many separate districts” (1892, p. 30).

Casati also has something to say about the sons of Kipa and their jealousies and wars. Between the Uele and the Bomokandi he reached the residence of Nganzi, a man “full of energy, proud but brave”, who had fought three of his brothers, Kana, Bakangai, and Mabura (I, p. 192). Bakangai, who as a youth had murdered his brother Rufula, extended the small territory to which he was heir by conquering his brother Ngandua’s dominions. Kana, Bakangai and Bangue (? Bangoya) were jealous of the predilection their father had shown for Mange, who, however, had the support of the powerful Mangbetu king Munza and of his own brother Nganzi. When Munza was killed by the Arabs and Mange by the Mangbetu ruler Nessugo a fratricidal war broke out: “Nganzi was assailed on the Mambaga and Zungli Mountain, Bakangoi [Bakangai] drove Ngandua from his kingdom, whilst Kanna fought his three brothers, Mobra, Mabura, Bangue [Bangoya], and Zaccala [Zakala]” (I, p. 211). Kana was the victor. Before his father’s death he was governing a small territory between the Uele and the Bomokandi, which he afterwards gave to his brother Kamisa, but he enlarged his domains at the expense of other brothers and made them his tributaries (I, p. 215). In his travels Casati entered that part of territory governed by his son Bazingbi, “a bad and wicked man, at enmity with his own father, and a rebel against his authority” (I, p. 220).

De Calonne adds further information. According to him, Mange was treacherously assassinated by one of his Abisanga subjects, and Kana then entered his domain under pretext of avenging his death, but Mange’s son Bauli and Kana’s brothers Gwa and Nzo, believing that he wished to annex Mange’s heritage, compelled him to withdraw. Kana attacked Gwa and was beaten. Gwa blamed Bazeria, son of Mange, and in the resulting engagement the sons of Mingemi were killed. Kana and Bauli joined forces and turned against Gwa, who was killed, his territory going to Bauli. Then the Ngoya subjects of Zebu were taken (“confisqués”) by Nganzi, who was assassinated
in 1882 by the Abarambo on the Wara river. Bangoya (de Calonne has Bangau) fought Zakala, who sought refuge with Kana. Kana occupied Zakala’s country and made a demonstration against Bauli, who had succeeded his father Mange in the basin of the Kilima, and then defeated Bangoya. Bangoya sought help from the Egyptian post at Tangasi, but they refused to intervene. He then sought help from Bakangai, who, accompanied by Bangoya and Bauli marched against Kana; but, Bauli hesitating, the two others withdrew. Kana died shortly after his son Laimu, who had seized upon the territories of Kamisa. Kamisa had fled to his royal cousin Ezo, son of Tombo, and with his support regained his lands, but he was later killed in a revolt of the Abarambo. Gita wished to take possession of his father Kana’s domains when Kana died but was defeated by his brother Gaimu.

Hutereau says (p. 237) that at the death of Kipa the provinces of his sons were distributed thus: (1) Kana in the Uele-Bomokandi angle; (2) Mabura (Maboro) to the east of Kana; (3) Mingemi (Mingami) still further to the east, opposite Mount Angba; (4) Nganzi on the right bank of the Bomokandi, between the mouths of the Teli and the Poko, but nearer the first; (5) Bakangai (Bakenge) between the Bomokandi, the Poko and the Mokongo; (6) Bangoya (Bangoy) at the Mandupa, a mountain on the right bank of the Poko; (7) Ngandua (Gandua) on the Namopali, a tributary of the Poko; (8) Lengosi on the Gani, a tributary of the Teli; (9) Nyeki (Niaki) on the Tago, tributary of the Teli; (10) Kamisa (Kambisa) had fled the country; (11) Boemi was dead and Mingemi had annexed his territory. Hino had long ago been killed by Bakangai. Hutereau tells (pp. 238-246) the same tale of suspicion and enmity between the brothers and their refusal to accept the authority of Kana, the eldest. They had no intention of surrendering their independence. He tells also the same tale of intrigues, fratricidal wars, and assassinations.

Czekanowski, who had access to Hutereau’s notebooks as well as his own records, gives a similar account (pp. 90-95) of the distribution of Kipa’s sons. He installed Kana (d. 1900) in the eastern part of his kingdom, and yet further to the east, in the Abarambo areas, Mabura and Mingemi (his spellings are different), the latter opposite Mt. Angba. In about 1860 Kipa brought under his rule the area between the Poko, Mokongo and Bomokandi and there installed Bakangai (d. 1883). Kamisa (Kambisa) was driven out by his father. Ngandua received an estate to the east of the Nemapoli, a right bank tributary of the Poko. Mange’s portion was on the right bank of the Bomokandi, above the mouth of the Teli. Nyeki ruled by the Tago, a tributary of the upper Teli. Eno (? Nzo) was murdered by Bakan- gai in 1864. Nganzi received the country on the right bank of the
Bomokandi between the Poko and the mouth of the Teli. Lengozi lived by the Gania, a tributary of the middle section. Bangoya received an area by Mt. Mandupa on the right bank of the Poko. Masumbu and Zebu did not receive estates from their father but settled on their own account north of the Bomokandi, above the mouth of the Teli, shortly before Junker’s visit. Ndima had an estate near the present station of Amadi but was driven away on account of a murder, his son Mambanga managing to stay in the country. In the eighties the provinces of Kana and Bakangai were separated by those of Ngandua and Bangoyo, who were situated between the Poko and the Teli, the first in the east and the second in the west. During his father’s lifetime, Kana ruled over a small area between the Uele and the Bomokandi, near the mouth of the latter. Towards 1870 he moved to the area to the south of the Bomokandi and east of the mouth of the Poko because of fights with his brother Kamisa (Kambisa) and a rising of the Abarambo caused by them. I have attempted, on the basis of this complicated and not always consistent information, to present a rough sketch-map showing the positions of Kipa’s sons about 1882, at the time of Junker’s visit.

So the sad story of the death of kings runs on. It is all rather a jigsaw puzzle, but the main features of the story are clear enough. A king divides his domains into provinces over which he sets his sons to rule; he dies and his sons fight for dominance and for control over as large a territory as possible; those who survive in their turn divide their domains among their sons. Poor means of communication over great distances, as Czekanowski justly observes (p. 49), compelled a king to hand over so much of his authority to his provincial governors that, even in his lifetime, they became practically independent rulers, and at his death autonomous monarchs, each in his own right. The situation appears to have been much the same in the kingdoms of the neighbouring Mangbetu people, as we learn from, among others, Czekanowski (p. 154).

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