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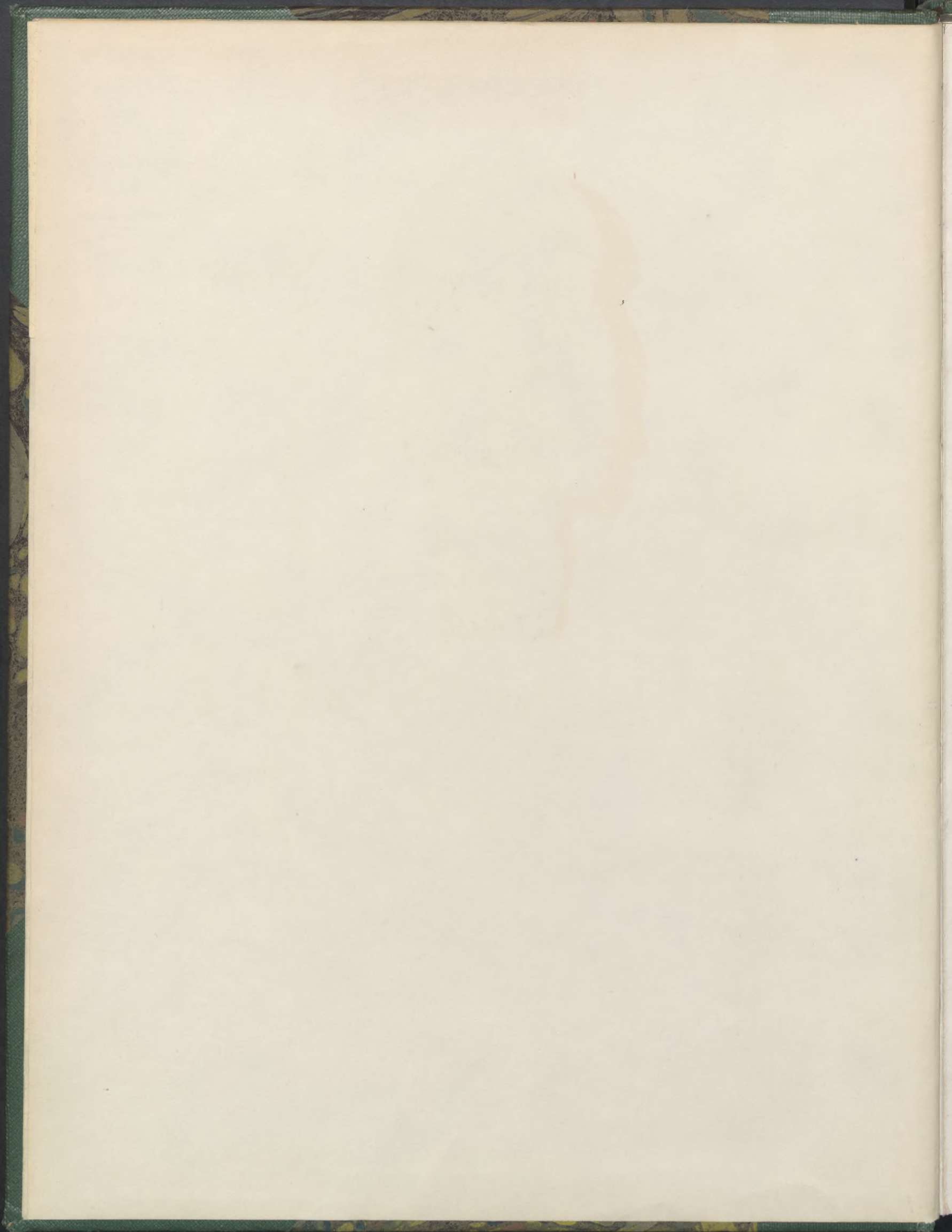




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THE KONGO I

by Karl Laman

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1952



THE KONGO I

by Ralph Latham

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STUDIA ETHNOGRAPHICA UPSALIENSIA. IV

THE KONGO

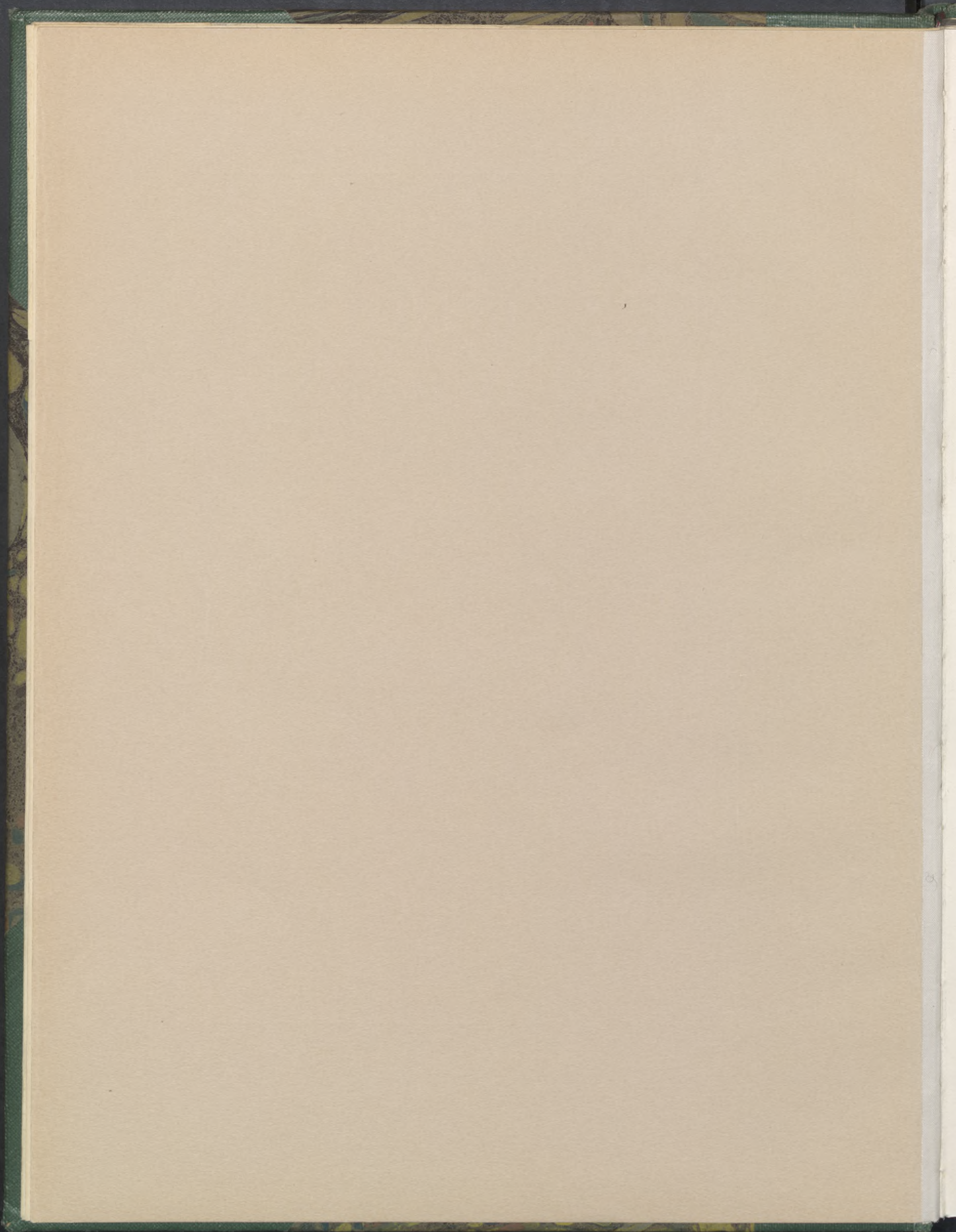
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by

KARL LAMAN

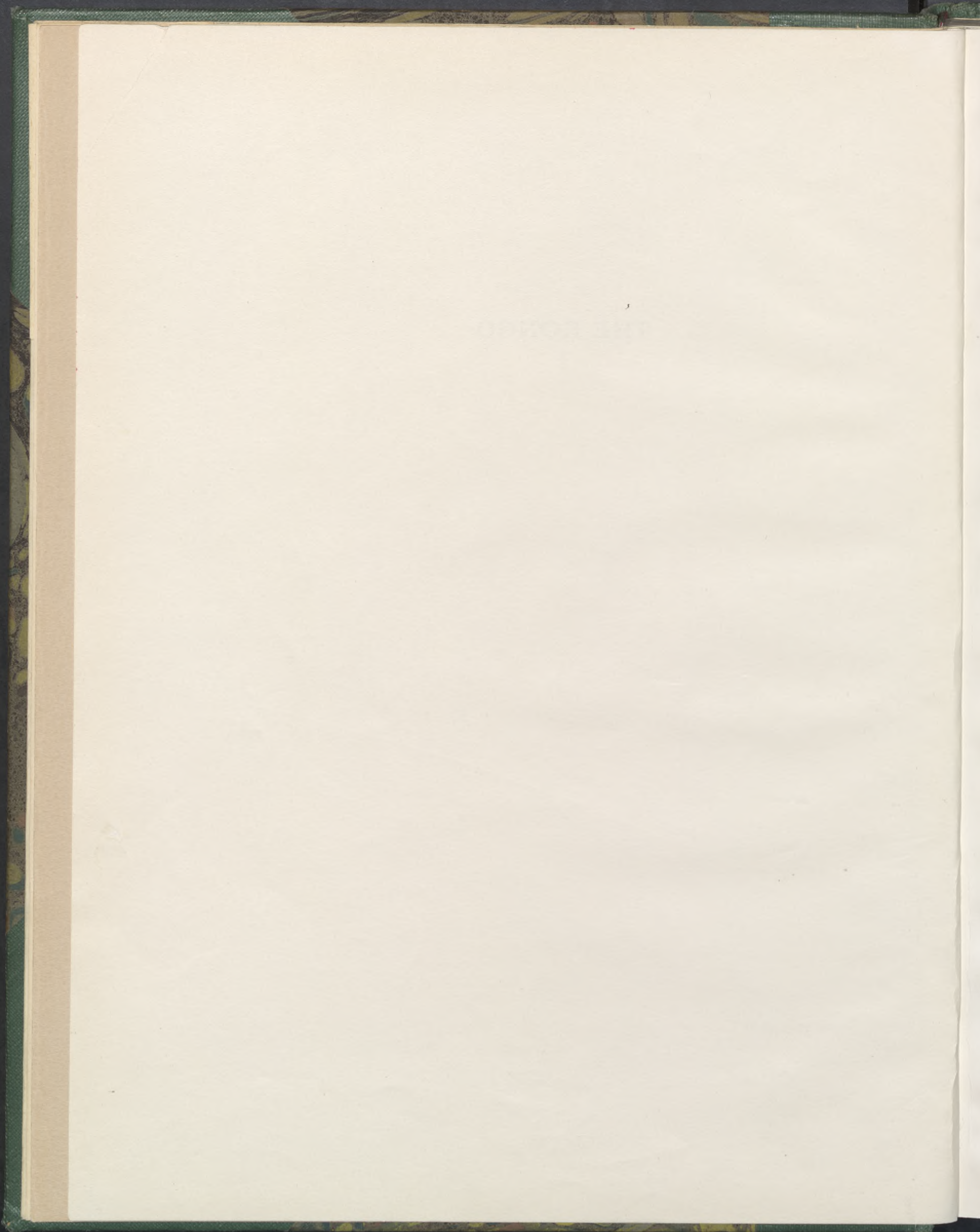


1953



THE KONGO

I





Karl Laman.

STUDIA ETHNOGRAPHICA UPSALIENSIA. IV

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KARL LAMAN



1953

STUDIA ETHNOGRAPHICA UPPSALIANA

THE KONGO

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Preface

KARL EDWARD LAMAN was one of the many missionaries in Svenska Missionsförbundet whose prolonged stays in the Congo have proved lastingly fruitful. He arrived there in 1891 at the age of 24 and remained until 1919, his stay being interrupted only by shorter visits to his native country. To the scientific world LAMAN is known as one of the foremost Bantuists of his time, and for his pioneering research on the Kongo language. It is scarcely known outside of Sweden that on leaving the Congo LAMAN took with him very important ethnographical collections which were handed over to Svenska Missionsförbundet. A large part of these collections has been temporarily placed by the latter body in the State Ethnographical Museum. Nor has any attention been paid to the fact that until his death in 1944 he was engaged on an important monograph on the Kongo. The collections are irreplaceable and contain numerous objects which have fallen into disuse and are now no longer procurable at all. His study is a remarkable document on the popular culture in the Congo at the turn of the century, the more so as he had the opportunity of studying this culture scientifically before modern Europeanization began in earnest.

The tribe mainly described by LAMAN is not the Kongo but the Sundi. In naming his investigation he was influenced by VAN WING's "Études Bakongo", which describe the Mpangu. As far as LAMAN's study is concerned, "The Sundi" or, following the practice formerly in vogue, "The Kongo-speaking Peoples", would have been more suitable; we have, however, deemed it best to retain his original title.

The present volume constitutes the first quarter of LAMAN's manuscript. It was on the whole finished at the time of LAMAN's decease. In compiling it he had followed the method used by J. SPIETH in the latter's "Die Ewestämme", which has entailed, amongst other things, the repetition of the same facts in different places. As far as possible such repetitions have been eliminated by S. LAGERCRANTZ in his editing of the manuscript. Some of the theories advanced by LAMAN, which were commonly held about 1920, have been abandoned by subsequent research. Some of his results, moreover, are not con-

vincing. We have considered the possibility of providing "The Kongo" with commentaries, but decided that it would be better to publish these in a single appendix, if this should prove desirable, when the whole monograph has appeared in print. LAMAN's work is thus left to speak for itself and his important contribution as an ethnographer appears, also from the viewpoint of the history of African research, in sharper relief. Only one part has been excluded, viz., the section concerning the migrations of the Yaga before their arrival in Angola, which LAMAN based upon versions by authorities who are now quite out of date. It might perhaps have been desirable to provide the present volume with an index; for technical reasons, however, it is more suitable to make one index for the whole work. It is our intention later to commission a study on LAMAN's life and work, thus showing his contribution in clearer perspective.

In editing the work we have had the great privilege of utilizing Dr. E. ANDERSSON's detailed knowledge of conditions in the lower Congo. The illustrated objects from LAMAN's collection have been placed at our disposal through the kindness of Rector W. BREDBERG (Lidingö) and Prof. G. LINDBLOM (Stockholm). The drawings have been made by H. FAITH-ELL (Stockholm) with unfailing interest and accuracy. The work of translation, for various reasons by no means always straightforward and easy, has been performed by Mr. DONALD BURTON (Stockholm). To all of the above, without whose cooperation we should have been unable to carry out the task of editing, we convey our warm thanks. We also wish to express our great indebtedness to the Humanistic Foundation, whose grants have enabled the publication of the present volume.

Upsala, January 1953

S. LAGERCRANTZ

B. SUNDKLER

CHAPTER I

The Country

When in 1482 D. CÃO discovered the mouth of the Nzadi and landed on the south bank just inside Shark Point in Diego Bay at Sogno (St. Antonio), the natives informed him that their chief lived in Mbanza Kongo (now known as San Salvador). The inhabitants there were called the *bisi Kongo*, and in the course of time the entire country down towards the coast, the population, the River Nzadi and the Congo basin were given the name Kongo. Although within this area there were a number of distinct, but, as regards their descent and language, related, tribes, the Europeans retained the name Kongo for them.

The Portuguese regarded Nsundi as a province in the kingdom of the Congo. It was situated between Matadi and Inkisi, along both banks of the River Congo, in the north being adjacent to the Teke and in the south to Mpempa. The population, the Sundi, had immigrated and established a great kingdom here long before the foundation of the Congo. The capital appears to have been in the vicinity of Boko Songo, on the mountain ridge, so rich in copper and lead ores, between the Belgian and French Congos. The clan system shows that the Kongo and the Sundi are of the same descent. And it is evident from the linguistic material that they speak the same language, though it is spoken to-day in two widely differing dialects. The Sundi have retained the original *b*-dialect, while the Kongo around San Salvador have adopted the *w*-dialect. The former seems to have been well-known during the first period of the Portuguese in the Congo.¹ A tradition has it that when the Sundi resumed the interrupted trade with the Kongo *dya Ntotila* the language there had undergone such a change that it was scarcely possible for the Sundi and the Kongo to understand one another. The *w*-dialect is characterized by, amongst other things, the fact that *w*, *u* or *y* are used instead of *b* and *t*. Thus we find *wantu* (*bantu*), *undoki* (*bundoki*), *wuka* (*buka*), *wuta* (*buta*), *kaya* (*kaba*) and *mayeeni* (*mabeeni*). The resulting phonetic changes are very radical.² The Kongo, who emigrated to the Matadi tract or crossed over to the west bank of the Congo either before or after the founding of the kingdom of the Congo, still speak the same dialect.

¹ VAN WING, J. and PENDERS, C.: *Le plus ancien Dictionnaire bantou*, Bruxelles 1928.

² LAMAN, K.: *Dictionnaire Kikongo-Français*, Bruxelles 1936, p. LVIII.

It may also be mentioned that the Kongo-Sundi group inhabit, on the whole, the region along the two banks of the Congo between Stanley Pool (Mpumbu) and the Atlantic. The population was considerably greater at the time of H. STANLEY's first journey through the country than it is to-day.

The country is very rugged, and rises almost in the form of terraces from the sea up to Stanley Pool. It is traversed by many big rivers in deep valleys, alternating with more or less considerable grass-grown and bush-clad hills, fertile plains and high plateaux with grass or woods. Mountains or mountain-ranges there are few, for what at a distance seems to be a mountain turns out as a rule to be the edge of a plateau, falling more or less sheer in the form of terraces. Rocky summits and stone blocks of varying size are occasionally to be seen. The Crystal Mountains, stretching across the Lower Congo and farther up along the coast, consist of mountainous plateaux with deeply serrated edges. Their altitude varies from 300 to over 1,000 meters (the Zombo Plateau to the east of San Salvador). The du Chaillu cliff-face, where the tributary of the Nyari-Kwilu takes its source, rises to an altitude of something over 1,500 meters. From the Zombo Plateau the Kwilu and the Inkisi flow. Between these and other smaller rivers mountainous plateaux extend down towards the Congo to an altitude of 200 to 400 meters (e.g. Mpalabala, Matadi and Pic Cambier). The Mbangu Plateau above Kimpese may also be noted. Several of the plateaux continue on the other side of the Congo, to join the watershed which forms the border of the Moyen Congo, in the north-west in the woody and rugged mountain tracts of Mayombe, and farther north in Boko Songo (800 meters), where a plateau extends southward to the Congo. Another goes higher up over the Bidi Mountains above Manyanga, and a third north-eastward toward the Minduli copper mines (600 meters) and farther northward over the great Teke sand-plateaux. From the Boko Songo tract the country falls away rather steeply in several places down to the Nyari-Kwilu Valley. On the other side the plateaux rise up to the watershed in the direction of the Ogowe river. The highest altitude there is that of the du Chaillu cliff-face. Farther down towards the coast the Mayombe mountain-chain continues through Kabinda with an altitude of from 300 to 800 meters.

The mouth of the River Congo between Banana Point and Shark Point is a little more than 11 km. Just inside, however, it is twice as broad, with innumerable islands. Above Ponta da Lenha the river narrows, and the current becomes stronger and more rapid as it approaches the Cataracts and Matadi. Here the stream is 1,200 meters across, with a current of 7 to 8 knots. In the rainy season a steamboat needs to do at least 9 to 10 knots in order to be able to round the point towards the so-called Hell's Cauldron. The first ocean-going steamer to come up to Matadi was the Lualaba on June 28th 1889. On the north bank, just above Matadi, lies Vivi, where H. STANLEY arrived in 1879. Here the Nzeka Falls begin, and farther up are the Yalala Falls, whose roar may be heard far around. The river is in several places no more than 500 meters across. On the inaccessible islands great flocks of pelicans and other birds breed. Just below Isangila are the last falls in this series. From here and up as far as Manyanga the river

is navigable by sailing and motor boats. Between Manyanga and Stanley Pool the river is not navigable on account of waterfalls. Among these may be noted Kintamo below Brazzaville. High-water level occurs in the middle of December, and low-water level between July 15th and August 15th. High-water level lasts as a rule from October to the end of January. On account of the numerous waterfalls, the Belgian Government has built a railway from Matadi up to Stanley Pool. The distance is 250 kilometers as the crow flies, but with the railway it is 399 kilometers. The line was begun at the end of 1889, and was inaugurated on July 2nd 1898. Since then it has been shortened and much improved. Along the Nyari, which in its lower reaches is called the Kwilu, dwell, amongst others, the Dondo, Kamba, Bembe, Kunyi and Vili (Loango). The river is navigable only at the mouth. Its longest tributary is the Lwese. From Brazzaville to the Minduli copper mines a railway has been laid. It has been relaid in recent years and taken right up to Pointe Noire at the Atlantic.

The soil consists for the most part of red, yellow and white clay; there is even china-clay. In several spots there is also another type of soil, laterite, a red clay which often contains iron-red oxide which is in many places used by the natives for the production of iron. There are several lead finds, especially in the mountainous watershed between the Belgian and French Congos. Copper finds are also known here, and these were formerly worked by the natives. The best mines are in the Minduli tract, where the state has an old mine.

The temperature does not vary much in the Lower Congo. At Boma the maximum has been 41° Centigrade and the minimum 13° . At Matadi and Lukunga the corresponding temperatures have been 39° and 18° C. At Brazzaville (1907) the maximum was 38° in March and the minimum 12.5° in June and July. The average temperature for July was 30° . At Libreville (1907) the maximum was 33.5° and the minimum 19.5° . The average annual temperature has been 25.25° in Brazzaville and 25° in Loango. The rain follows certain seasons and the fall is about the same everywhere. During the hot season there may be an annual rainfall of more than two meters. The average rainfall at Banana is 756 mm in 76 days; at Boma 930 mm in 77 days; at Vivi 1,006 mm during an unknown number of days; at Brazzaville 1,312 mm in 101 days (maximum 1,986 and minimum 1,198); at Leopoldville 1,502 mm in 94 days; in Loango 1,504 mm in 122 days (maximum 1,894 and minimum 1,115), and at Libreville 2,586 mm in 161 days (maximum 3,055 and minimum 1,837). The seasons occur at about the same time everywhere. The long dry season (sivu) lasts from the middle of May to the end of September. The short rainy season (ntombo) from the beginning of October to the middle of December. The short dry season (kyanza) from the middle of December to the middle of January. The long rainy season (ndoolo) from the middle of January to the middle of May. The shorter seasons are irregular and not so marked. During the long dry season the mornings are very chilly, the sky is overcast and the sun can scarcely penetrate the clouds in the forenoon. In September, on the other hand, the sun begins to shine powerfully.

The wind at Pointe Noire has in September a maximum velocity of 5 meters (4 times);

in October 6 meters (twice); in November 9 meters (once, as a tornado) and in December 6 meters (once). The sea-wind at Libreville comes during the dry season from the south-west and north-west, rising towards 2 or 3 o'clock and lasting till about 9 o'clock. After this it is calm till towards midnight. The shore-wind, on the other hand, comes from the south-east and east, rising towards dawn, to abate and die away towards 8 or 9 o'clock. During the rainy season the wind is the same, but is not so strong and regular. At Brazzaville the prevailing wind comes from the south-east, blowing almost constantly during the dry season, through it is not particularly strong. During the rainy season the wind blows as a rule from the south and west. But tornados consist as a rule of winds from the north-east, east and south-east. The nights are generally calmer than the days. Hail is very rare.

The vegetation on hills and slopes is shrub-like and very sparse. It is very poor on the moors and sand-plateaux. By the river-beds grow galleries of woods and in the valleys themselves, where the soil is good, grows elephant-grass (*madyadya*), and on older, cultivated fields *nyanga*, the grass which is used for thatching roofs. In the great equatorial forest grow trees which may attain a height of up to 30 to 50 meters. They have a diameter of 1 to 2 meters, and the first branches begin at a height of 25 to 30 meters. There is no undergrowth in their shade, but only shrubs, creepers and leaf-plants of various kinds. Where there is no forest the trees are somewhat smaller and sparser, and here there is undergrowth alternating with lianas and thorny creepers of all sizes, so that it is only with difficulty that one can advance at all. In other parts of the country, again, there are marshes full of, amongst other things, bamboo-palms (*Raphia vinifera*), cane-palms (*Calamus rotang*), *Pandanus* and *Borassus flabellifer* (*ndingi-rattles* are made from the fruit of this latter). In the woods are to be found rubber-trees, mahogany (*Chlorophora excelsa*), African rose-wood (from which *nkula-pomade* is made), *luvanzi-trees* (*Pentacletra marcophylla*, whose seeds are rich in oil), *cola-trees* (*Cola acuminata* or *Cola Ballayi*), *nkwinkiti-trees* (*Combretum rambaultsi*, whose bark is used for dyeing), *mfuma* (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*, from which canoes are made) and *nsenga* (*Musanga smithii*, which flourishes best in old clearings in the forest and is split into planks by the natives), and finally, *nsafu* (*Canarium nsafu*, which yields very much appreciated fruits). Dwarf-trees and bushes of every kind grow more or less sparsely on hills, moors and great plains with but little grass, which is burnt off during the dry season for the sake of the hunting.

After the burning of the grass and the first rains the landscape begins to take on a park-like appearance. The trees on the moors soon become green. They are very sappy and covered with thick bark, which is fire-resisting. Some instances of the kind of tree referred to are *Bridelia scleroneura* (*mwindu*), *Anaphe infracta*, which is used for dyeing articles black, and *Hymenocardia acida* (*luveete*), which yields charcoal for forging purposes. Among the grasses represented may be mentioned *nkobo* and *nyanga* (*Imperata cylindrica*), which grow in drier areas, while elephant-grass (*Pennisetum benthomii*), which attains a height of over five meters, grows in the moister and more

fertile soils. On the sandy plateaux grow rubber plants (*Landolphia thollonii*, *L. tumilis*); and in lagoons and other marshy places grow mangroves (*Rhizophora mangle*) and papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*). The oil-palm (*Elæis guineensis*) grows almost everywhere, both in the valleys and on the hills.

The fauna does not differ very much from that in other tropical parts of Africa. Elephants and hippopotami occur, and the red-haired buffalo is common everywhere. Antelopes are represented by many species, such as e.g. the lubongo (*Cephalophus sylvicatrix*), nkongo (*Cephalophus castaneus*), nsuma (*Cephalophus nigrifrons*), nsesi (*Cephalophus nyasæ conigicus*, the sly beast in the animal fables), nsia (*Sylvicapia grimenia elegantula*), nsungu (*Kobus defassa* subsp.?), zobongo (*Redunca avundinum*), valangi (*Hippotragus equinus*), mvudi or nkabi (*Tragelaphus scriptus*) and mvudi a mamba (*Limnotragus gratus*). There are, however, no giraffes, zebras, rhinoceroses, sword-antelope or koodoo. Among the game that is much hunted may be mentioned the wild pig (*Potamochoerus porcus* and *Potamochoerus porcus conigicus*), nduutu or nsibizi (*Thryonomys swinderianus*), nkumbi (*Cricetomys gambianus*) and ngumba, the broom-porcupine (*Stherma africana*). Nzobo (*Viverra civetta*), kinsezi or nzuzi (*Felis cervicalina*), mbongi cats (*Genetta pardina*), musimba or mbala (*Genetta aubryana*), mfwenge or mubaku nswanga (*Mungos ichneumon parvidens*), mubaku a ngulu (*Mungos paludinosus*), mfuki (*Mungos galera*), ntoto (*Crossarchus zebroides*) are shot and caught in traps. One also finds squirrels, such as the mbukulu (*Heliosciurus gambianus*), luvadi (*Heliosciurus annulatus*), the striped nkanka (*Funiaciurus conigicus*) and lunsokonsoko or ngola mamba (*Potamogole velox*). Among the otters may be mentioned a subspecies of clawless giant otter (*Aonyx capensis conigica*). Among those animals which are feared are the leopard, the hyena and hyena-dog (mevwa, *Lycaon pictus*). The common jackal is hunted. The lions in the north sometimes come down from Teke.

The four-handed animals are numerous. The gorilla is said to have been found in the Mayombe forests, and the chimpanzee still occurs there, as also in a few other places. Long-tailed monkeys, nsengi (*Cereopithecus cynosunus* subsp.), ngondo (*Cereopithecus ascanias*) and other apes are to be found everywhere. One may mention here, inter alia, the closely related kinkanda (*Perodicticus edwardsi*) and mfyete (*Hemigalogo demidoffi*).

Sea-cows are caught in the sea and also at Stanley Pool. Bats are common, and special mention should be made of the great ngembo (*Rousettus ægyptiacus*). It measures 80 cm from tip to tip of the wings, and is regarded as a delicacy by the natives, who catch it in the air with nets. A smaller species is *Pterocyon helvus*. Among the rats one may refer to the nbende-species (*Lemniscomys* sp.?) and a striped species (*Arvicanthis pulchellus*). Crocodiles are also found, as well as several kinds of snakes. The latter may be exemplified by the python (mboma), with a length of up to 8 meters and more, the kanza (*Naja melanoleuca* or *Aparallactus flavitorques*), ndimba (*Psammophis sibilans*), kinzengele (*Feylinia chevreri*), kinzengele (*Glauconia lepezi*) and mpidi (*Bitis gabonica*), which is very venomous. Among the lizards one may mention the great varanlizard. Chameleons occur everywhere, as do also tortoises.

Sea-eagles (mbemba, *Gypohierax angolensis*), hawks (*Astur melanoleucus*, *Machaerhampus andersoni*), falcons (*Falco minor*), owls (*Bubo maculosus cinerascens*, *Gyrnium nuohale*), horn-bills (e.g. mvwondo = *Ceratogymna atrata*, mapangi = *Bycanistes sharpii* and nkuya-nkuya = *Lophoceros fasciatus*), pelicans, herons, wild and tame ducks (*Chenalopex aegyptiacus*) occur. On the moors one finds ntoko yaka (*Stephanibys inornatus*), which cry out and warn the game when man approaches. Among the pigeons one may refer to ndinga (*Vinago calva*) and the turtle-dove (*Turtur semitorquatus*). In tales there is frequent mention of the birds kiduka (*Chalcoperia afra*), kiduka kya mbwela (*Tympanistria tympanistria*), nkuka (*Turacus persa*), nkuka a mpela (*Centropus senegalensis*), tumsi (*Ispidina picta*), the night-jar (*Caprimulgus fossei*), tyokula (*Pycnonotus tricolor*), ntyetye (*Cisticola lateralis*) and ntoyo (*Coccytes jacobinus*). Among francolins may be noted the bare-necked (*Pternistes cranchi*) and the ordinary ngumbi (*Francolinus squamatus*), as well as guinea-hens. A cuckoo with a tuft on its neck is *Coccytes cafer*. We may note further barbate birds (*Barbatula*), woodpeckers (*Dendromus*), pheasants (*Colius*), kingfishers (*Halecyon*), bee-eaters, of which the smallest is *Melittophagus meridionalis*, swallows (e.g. little swift, Swedish barn-swallow, sand-swallow, palm-swallow and Swedish grey fly-catcher, as well as a black species of the latter with a crest), black and white butcher-bird with narrow tail (*Larius humeralis conigicus*), metal-shining thrushes (*Lumprocolius*), weaver-birds (*Plocus*), birds of the sparrow family, of which one may mention the seke (*Coliuspasser macroura*, which with pairing plumage is called mpongo) and honey-birds. The above-mentioned mammals and birds are instances taken from my collections for the State Museum in Frescati.

Fish are plentiful, and the natives fish in all pools and watercourses and in marshes. Among the fish differing much in appearance from those in our waters may be noted proboscis-fish (nsongi = *Gnathonemus*), fishes with warty excrescences about their lips (venda = *Labeo*), those with a long row of sharp spines on the back (nkuki a ngandu = *Polypterus conigicus*) and those with sharp teeth outside the mouth (mwenge = *Hydrocyon*). The largest belong to the family of the Silurides, some of these attaining a length of up to 1.5 meters and weighing from 60 to 80 kilograms. Down towards the sea there are still larger fish. A curious fish is the lung-fish (*Protopterus*), occurring at e.g. Stanley Pool. Other fish deserving of mention are *Barbus lamani*, *Clarias ngola*, *Amphilius lamani*, *Synodontis ovidins*, *Belonoglanis nudipectus*.¹ Crabs and shrimps are also found, the latter in their millions over the rocky points in the Congo. Among frogs are noted the edible nlwanzu (*Rana moeruensis*) and the sisi or kimfusi (*Phrynomantis affinis*).

For the natives the insect-world is of value only inasmuch as the insects are edible or can be used for some purpose, such as e.g. the production of nkisi. Among the largest beetles we may note the nzau a ba, whose larvae (nsombe) are a delicacy, ngokoso species (*Oryces*, *Heliscopris* etc.) and the metal-shining mbungu mputu (*Diplognatha gagates*).

¹ BOULENGER, G.: Poissons nouveaux, Bruxelles 1898-1900.

Concerning butterflies, many new species have been collected, and there are bees everywhere. The natives have no bee-hives, and collect honey from hollow trees. Ants are legion, the driver ants in their long columns are very troublesome, as they make their way into houses in their campaigns. They are extremely rapacious, and attack large animals. They are often used as bait for fishing. Red and black venomous ants are also very troublesome. Termites are to be found everywhere, and I have collected over 60 different species. Many of them do great damage to woodwork and the thatched roofs of houses. In the park-landscape one finds innumerable termite-stacks in the form of mushrooms. In between rise pointed termite-stacks of various sizes. The largest termite in the country is *Termes gabonensis*, which advances unprotected in the darkness of the jungle. Others make themselves tunnels on trees and stones, and in these they find shelter from light and rapacious enemies. The natives look upon the fully developed flying termites which swarm at certain times of the year as a great delicacy. The natives place cola-nuts in the stacks of *Termes gabonensis* to get the thin pulp around the nuts eaten away. The earth-flea (*Pulex penetrans*) attacks man (entering the skin especially at the toe-nails) and domestic animals in order to lay its eggs. This insect was introduced from America in the middle of the last century. It multiplies during the dry season. There are many diptera which attack man (*bimfiki*), as well as gnats of various kinds, e.g. *Anopheles* and the tsetse fly (*Glossina palpalis*), which transmit fever and sleeping sickness. Among the Orthoptera found may be noted the cockroach (*mpese*), the cricket (*nzenze*) and a number of species of grasshoppers (*makonko*). Some of the last-mentioned are veritable pests, and they used formerly to cause great famines wherever they settled. In my time, since 1891, they have descended in such myriads once. A smaller swarm appeared the following year, and the third year there were only a few left. This species was not eaten by the natives, but other kinds of grasshoppers are eaten, especially by women and children. Spiders are numerously represented, and in some tracts scorpions are very troublesome. Millepedes (*mwalala*) and multipedes (*ngongolo*) are also found in the forests.

Among the domestic animals in the country may be noted goats, pigs, poultry and dogs. Sheep are rare, as are also ducks. There are no cattle, nor are there any camels or asses. Cattle for slaughtering are bred by the state. The attempts made by our mission to introduce cattle have failed.

History

The history of the Kongo-speaking peoples before D. CÃO's arrival is in part known through the Portuguese, who made notes of the then current traditions concerning the origin of the people and the founding of the Kongo-kingdom. Extremely valuable information has also been published by E. TORDAY and T. JOYCE.¹ The population in the region between Stanley Pool and the sea consists, if we except the Teke and the Bongo, of immigrants. When the Kongo immigrated to the southern part of the area it was, according to the tradition, uninhabited. Archaeological finds show, however, that the country was inhabited even before the immigration in question. When in the course of my journey in the Lwese Valley I met the intelligent chief LUUBA, he told me that his people was descended from their ancestor MUBONGO. I answered: "Are you then descended from the Bongo (the short-statured people in the surrounding forests)"? He admitted that this might be possible, and he would otherwise certainly have protested strongly, as the Kongo regard the Bongo as far inferior to themselves. In the Teke district the language of the Bongo as it is now spoken is a dialect of Teke. The Portuguese sources speak, moreover, of a dwarf-like or at least small-statured people, the Mbaka-mbaka, whom the Kongo met with on their immigration to the tract of the Inkisi. They dwelt otherwise higher up among the Teke in MAKOKO's kingdom (at Stanley Pool in the French Congo), and were probably identical with the Bongo. The terms mbaka and mbaka-mbaka are still retained by the Kongo as a designation for stunted individuals.

It is probable that these short-statured people were the first inhabitants of the country, and they doubtless came from the north, like the later immigrants. From the accounts given by E. TORDAY and T. JOYCE it appears that the small people were referred to by the Shongo as Twa, and according to the legend trees were supposed to open and give birth to many such small persons. When they were asked "What people are you"? they answered "Bini baatu e"? (Are we not human beings). Ever since then they have been known under the name Twa=ntu (human being). They were looked upon as a sort of supernatural beings who were superstitiously held in great esteem.

¹ Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Bakuba, ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées. Les Bushongo, Bruxelles 1910.

At the investiture of the paramount chief among the Shongo respect was shown to them because they were the first inhabitants of the country, and they served as a sort of guard of honour at the investiture. Similar notions are supposed to have been held at the courts of Kongo and Loango, and the Mbaka-mbaka also played a certain rôle in the secret society known as the Kimpasi.

E. TORDAY and T. JOYCE assert that the Shongo or Kongo crossed the Kasai-Sankuru about the year 550 A. D. They came from the South Sudan, where the Shari (Nzadi) flows into Lake Chad. The name Shari (in more northerly dialects also Nyari) has, for the rest, been retained as the designation for all large rivers, and particularly the Congo. Their supreme god was called CHEMBE (CHAMBE), which has become NZEMBI in the north, NZAAMI among the Teke, and is referred to most generally by the name NZAMBI. The tribes having the same origin retain the name NZAMBI.

BUMBA is the first of the 121 paramount chiefs among the Shongo. The following is related concerning him. In the beginning there was darkness, and on earth there was only water. In this chaos BUMBA CHEMBE (NZAMBI) reigned alone. He had a human shape, was enormously tall and white in colour. One day he got severe pains in the stomach and began to vomit. BUMBA vomited up the sun, the moon and the stars, and owing to the heat of the sun the water began to evaporate, and sandbanks appeared here and there. There were, however, as yet neither animals nor plants. BUMBA vomited again, and this time were created the leopard (KOY BUMBA), the eagle with the crested neck (PONGO BUMBA), the crocodile (GANDA BUMBA), a little fish (YO BUMBA), the tortoise (KONO BUMBA), the lightning (an animal resembling the leopard, but black in colour, TSETSE BUMBA), a white heron (NYANYI BUMBA), a black dung-beetle and a goat (BUDI BUMBA). And finally he vomited up a large number of human beings. Among these latter, however, there was only one who was white (LOKO YIMA). The lightning caused a great deal of damage, and BUMBA accordingly drove it away. It concealed itself in the sky, but then the people did not get any fire. BUMBA therefore permitted the lightning to visit the earth now and then, though it always did some damage. Whenever the lightning struck a tree, the people hastened to take a burning brand and kept a fire going from it. The first tree to be struck by lightning was a raffia-palm, from which tinder was got. When BUMBA had completed his work he summoned the three chief men: LOKO YIMA, YELE and DUMA CHWA (the two last-mentioned were black), and said to them that YELE was to be chief of the Ngongo, DUMA CHWA chief of the Ngendi and LOKO YIMA was to be CHEMBE KUNZI (NZAMBI) on earth, which is to say chief of all people. YELE and DUMA CHWA were to pay tax to him. When BUMBA had decreed this he went up into the sky and vanished in the heavens, and in this way LOKO YIMA became the second regent of the Shongo. LOKO YIMA had a daughter, LOBAMBA, who succeeded him and became the third regent. She, too, was white (fair). Of her children, one, WOTO, was a mulatto, the others were black. That the Kongo are descended from a white chief is still a current tradition. And in this case, as also E. TORDAY and T. JOYCE assume, the ancestor in question was probably a Berber.

It is not without interest that bumba and yima signify "to form", "to make something from clay" and "to bear fruit", "to become pregnant". The royal title among the Shongo is nyimi.

At an early stage of WOTO's reign the tribe was divided into two groups, the one being the Shilele, after the ancestor NYIMI LELE (lele = grasshopper), and the other the Kongo, who afterwards wandered off to the west. The Kongo are thus identical, as is also pointed out by E. TORDAY and T. JOYCE, with the Shongo (k frequently becomes s). The name of the ninety-seventh regent was KONGO KAMA BOMANCHALA (the latter name is the mother's).

The meaning of kongo is uncertain. It cannot be derived from any word now known, as for instance nkongo (hunter), as was believed earlier. The word may possibly refer to kongo (in the north kong, koo or kooko), a throwing knife. Kongo (kong) signifies also spear, and makongo is also the designation for the stones etc. with which guns were formerly loaded. Perhaps kongo was the name of the inventor of the weapon, or perhaps the throwing knife, which later became a coin, was originally his sign of dignity. Of this we know nothing. Kongo was, however, used to refer to the great ancestor of the tribe, NAKONGO, and was also an expression meaning the great, the mighty. The word is frequently used as nzambi, e.g. in replying to a paramount chief: kongo (nzambi), or in expressions such as kongo (nzambi a) nganga, kongo (nzambi a) nzundu, a very great nganga, a very great anvil.

NAKONGO's name was transferred to his town of residence (Mbanza Kongo), the kingdom he founded (nsi a Kongo) and was used in the title: Kongo dya Ntotila (the Kongo of Ntotila). NAKONGO's spirit has been incarnated in their greatest nkisi, Nakongo, the creator of the embryo.

The Kongo thus immigrated from the Shari to the Kasai province about the year 550 A.D., and first established their capital in Mbanza Mushenge (= Nkenge, a well-known clan-name in the Congo). If we assume that the migration westwards towards the Kwilu and the Kwango took about 300 years, then they would reach these tracts about the year 850 A.D. About 300 years afterwards, i.e. in 1150 A.D., they continued westwards on the other side of the Kwango, over the Zombo plateau towards San Salvador and along the Inkisi to the point where it joins the Congo. They crossed this river and then pushed forward from San Salvador towards the sea, which they had reached, moreover, at the time of D. CÂO's arrival. This is confirmed, at least in part, by the tradition current among the Kongo that "our ancestors came from the East". The tradition indicates that a long time elapsed before the immigrants were able to cross the River Congo. Known places for crossing were Mboma (Boma) and Noki. It is related that when the Kongo had reached the sea they turned back and went up along the south bank of the Congo towards Matadi. Before undertaking the ascent of the mountains at Matadi and Mpalabala they seem to have stayed at Noki, where they made their first river-crossings. Above Noki the river is so swift-flowing and has so many waterfalls that crossings appear out of the question. When the Kongo were up on the

Mpalabala plateaux they stayed at Tadi dya ngo (The Leopard Grotto), the place whence they later migrated further to Kimpese, Lukungu and the Inkisi. From here they set off in a westerly direction towards the Congo and founded the Nsundi kingdom with the capital Mbanza Nsundi. In this region they met with waves of invasion from the east and south, and another kingdom was founded. Its capital was Mpangu Luango, after the tribe Mpangu, the life, customs and usages of which are described by J. VAN WING.¹ At Bu, near the Inkisi, a rallying-point was also formed from which the Kongo extended in a northerly direction towards Stanley Pool, where they met the Wumbu, a branch of the Teke, and in an easterly direction, where they met the Mfumungu. Opposite Yongo there was another very well-known crossing-place, in the vicinity of Kibunzi. It was formerly called Mumba, as this was the place where the Mumba clan first crossed the river. The Sundi came later, and in the course of time the place came to be referred to as the crossing-place of the Sundi. Here, too, there is a grotto, about which strange legends are circulated. Such grottoes are regarded as abodes for the spirits of the deceased ancestors of the tribe, and are called as a rule Tadi dya ngo (leopard grotto). They play an important rôle in connection with the appointment of regents.

It is not known when the Kongo kingdom was founded, but it is probable that it was not long before the arrival of D. CÂO. The Portuguese sources refer to traditions which may in many points remind one of what my informants have said. Thus one Portuguese source has it that there was a chief in the region of the Kwango called NIMI NZIMA. He was married to LUKENI LWA NZANZA, NSAKU LAU's daughter, and she bore him a son, LUKENI. The latter grew up to be a strong and bold warrior, who levied taxes on the people at the crossing-place over the Kwango. He gathered around him a number of followers of the same calibre. One day, when NIMI NZIMA set off on a campaign against some chiefs, LUKENI remained at home. On this day his brother-in-law and the latter's wife came by on the Kwango, and LUKENI demanded toll of them. On account of the relationship, however, his brother-in-law refused to pay, whereupon LUKENI became angry and slew him with a knife. NIMI NZIMA was very wrathful at his son, but did not dare to punish him because of the number of his friends. The upshot of the trial was that LUKENI was appointed chief (ntinu). He afterwards set out and made war upon Mpemba Kasi, which is to say, the country which came to be called the Congo. He conquered the Mbata in the Zombo region, as well as several other tribes. LUKENI belonged to the Nsaku clan, and his royal title was NTOTILA, NTINU A LUKENI. The kingdom was called, as it is to-day, Kongo dya Ntotila.

The ruler at the time of D. CÂO's arrival was NZINGA A NKUWU, who was christened on May 3rd 1491, when he assumed the name JOAO, and who died in 1509. An elder brother, NZINGA MBEMBA, ruled at Nsundi, and a younger brother, MPANZU A KITIMA, intrigued against his brother and the Europeans. After his father's death he seized the power, but was vanquished and killed by NZINGA MBEMBA at Mbaji. The latter was

¹ Études Bakongo, Bruxelles 1921, 1938.

christened, and assumed the name AFFONSO I. He ruled for 33 years, dying in 1545, and was of great service to the Catholic mission. Several of his successors had Portuguese names, e.g. BERNARDO, ALVARO, PEDRO and DIOGO, but a number of them also retained their native names, as for example ZUZI (ALEIXO II), NLENGI (HENRIQUE II), KAFWASA (ALVARO XII), NENKANGA Mvembi (GARCIA V), LUNGA (HENRIQUE III), MFUTILA and NTEYE-KENGE. In order to prevent any fighting for the throne, the Portuguese stipulated that the successor to the throne should be appointed from the clan Navuzi dya Nkuwu.

The available material shows that several migrations took place in the Congo, and the most remarkable of these was the immigration of the Yaga (Yaka). Their chief, ZIMBO, gathered large forces around him in Angola. He died, however, and the sub-chiefs divided the country among themselves. They invaded and plundered the Congo about the year 1550. For periods it was necessary for the king here to take refuge with his men on the islands in the River Congo. One of ZIMBO's war-chiefs left a widow named TEMBA NDUMBA. She organized the Yaga and gave them laws, and after her death she became a war-nkisi for their chiefs. The camping-place of the soldiers was called Cilombo. A later female regent by the name ZINGA was christened in the year 1677. Other Yaga, again, under the leadership of NGALA's son CUMBUNDU, advanced on the Kwangu and the Kwilu, attacking the Kongo living there and killing great numbers of them. Thus if one wished to insult a person, one said: "May you be seized by CUMBUNDU"! Those who remained under CUMBUNDU's rule adopted his name and called themselves the Mbundu. Others, finally, crossed to the north bank of the Congo and spread out, under the name Yaka, to the east of the Mayombe forests. They were very clever smiths, and thanks to their spears and arrows they were able to fight their way to power in the country. As soon, however, as flintlocks were introduced there, the Yaka were driven away over the Nyari-Kwilu, where they still live to-day.

Through the early Portuguese sources and J. VAN WING's researches, the history of the Congo kingdom as well as the history and the social life of the Mpangu are well known. But insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the people to the north of the Congo, the history and the migrations of their clans, and to the great Nsundi kingdom. It is especially through the clan-system (the names of the clans and the elucidations thereof) that we get to know the traditions here and are able to follow the tribes in question and their history, and to show the connection between them. It is said that in the beginning there were no clan names, but only kingudi kyabutana (tribal maternal names for offspring). Those who had the same tribal maternal name (kingudi) were not permitted to marry each other. When the people increased in number and were scattered, kingudi became mvila. Thus each clan (mvila) has its ngudi (tribal mothers). Of great importance is the fact that the clan-system, with the rights and laws pertaining thereto, follows the maternal line and not the paternal line.

The old clan names are as a rule derived from some important chief, whose feats or wisdom and the traditions associated with them were often in a boastful manner

passed on through the generations through the clan name. Later clan names, on the other hand, frequently arose from the most miscellaneous causes. Mumba belongs without doubt to the oldest clans. It occurs already among the ancestors of the Kongo, and NAMUMBA is generally given by, inter alia, the Sundi as their first ancestor. He is doubtless identical with the BUMBA, the creator, of the Shongo (Kongo). It is in the Bantu languages not uncommon to find m in place of b, e.g. to see = mona (Kongo), bona (Tonga and others); to form = bumba (Kongo), mumba (probably in the Lum-bila language, which was spoken by the Shongo before the change in language took place there). The first regent, NAKONGO, belonged to the Mumba clan, and the same is said to have been the case with MANSUNDI, the paramount chief of the Sundi. According to a tradition, the Sundi's great crossing-place over the Congo is called Mumba. No-one can explain what Mumba actually signifies. In certain expressions, however, Mumba is connected with Mpanga or Mpangu (from vanga, to create, to do), since all clans are descendants of NAMUMBA.¹ NAMUMBA is also explained with the device: "He, MBANGU BAMBA (the white one), who had intercourse with those in Mputu Lukeeso". Mputu Lukeeso (a distortion of Portugueza) refers to the land of the Whites, but not directly to Europe (Portugal), but to the country where the ancestors of the informants dwelt together with white men. They no longer wished, however, to live together with the Whites, so they emigrated. That it cannot be the south bank of the Congo which is referred to emerges from, amongst other things, the fact that this took place long before the Whites arrived there. This is also confirmed by a tradition among the Sundi. In the beginning the Sundi came from a long way off. There were at first only one man, TAATA DINENE NZAMBI (the Great Father NZAMBI), and one woman, NGUDI YINENE NZAMBI (the Great Mother NZAMBI). To these were born two daughters, one white and one black. Shortly thereafter they got two sons, one white and one black. The white son married the white daughter, and the black son married the black daughter; and they began to multiply. The black children became more numerous. When, however, they commenced to quarrel among themselves, their parents said to them: "You must part company. You Whites must go to sea, you Blacks must stay on land, so that you may not hate each other". The white son asked: "Who is first to become ruler? I or my black brother"? The father answered: "The black MANSUNDI shall first become ruler, but you must be patient". The white son then asked: "But these plates and spoons that I have begun to make, shall I give them for nothing, or shall I sell them"? The father answered him: "Sell them, so there will be no more quarrelling". Then their father MALWANGU (the chief of a branch of the Sundi) said to his black son: "You, too, try to make plates, spoons and cloths like your brother". He did so, forming plates and pots of clay, and

¹ This is, for example, the case in the appellatory device: "The mighty in deed, eats mightily, works mightily, begets mightily, all in MPANGA is mighty". Other such devices which may be adduced in this connection are: "MUMBA is the Great One, who cleared the way to the churchyard, who made the raffia-cloth", "NAMBANGA, from whom the pickers of palm-kernels are increased, if you wish to crack them, it is your business, if you wish to throw (them) away, it is your business" and "The interpreter, who interpreted all clan-names. He, the distributor, who distributed all the names to all clans".

weaving ngombe-cloth of the raffia-palm; but since he could not make thread, he bought this. Again the white son asked: "When shall I become a ruler and govern like MANSUNDI"? The father answered: "Wait for a thousand years, then you may govern". When the father separated them, the white son set off on long voyages. He came to a distant land, went ashore and got children. The black people went overland, crossing many waters. First they followed a great river till it flowed out into the sea. Then they continued, going on and on, leaving people in the villages on the way, till they reached Mwembe Nsundi (Kayi Mbaku), near Kisen'ga. Another tradition is of interest in this connection. A woman of the Mumba clan, named MUSAN, became pregnant, and gave birth to four things: a human child, a leopard cub, a brood of snakes (muziki), and a piece of chalk (bwene or bweno). This came to be used as a coronation nkisi, used in connection with the king's investiture; and it is from bwene that the Bwende clan has its name. A descendant of the Kimumba or the Bwende is not allowed to enter the grove where MUSAN's leopard and snake dwell; if he does, he will never come out again. The snake lies across the path, or he is captured in some other way, and must be ransomed with a pig.

CHAPTER III

The Sundi

The Sundi are descended from the ancient Nsundi clan. Their female ancestor was MANSUNDI, and her name afterwards became the title of their paramount chief. As the Nsundi spread over large parts of the north bank of the Congo and usurped the power over other immigrating clans, they were all called the Nsundi. The oldest clans, of which some remained on the south bank, then took Kongo as a suffix to the clan name (e.g. Mbenza Kongo and Nlaza Kongo); and those on the north bank, governed by the Nsundi, called themselves the Mbenza Nsundi, Nlaza Nsundi, or the Kimbenza, Kinlaza. A number of younger clans have branched off from the Nsundi, and these have only the name Nsundi as a suffix, if it is necessary. It is strange that the Nsundi on the south bank have not the added name Kongo, but are always called the Nsundi, Mansundi or Me Nsundi. They were thus probably not under the paramount chief of the Kongo. Like Kongo, Nsundi has become a legendary name, which has also been given to the country (Nsi a Nsundi or Nsi a Basundi). Mbanza Nsundi is the capital of the kingdom founded by the Nsundi. Nor is it possible to derive Nsundi from any words known at present. It is, certainly, said that "the Nsundi excel all clans", but this is a secondary explanation without importance.

From Kibunzi it is reported that the Mansundi have twelve female ancestors (ngudi) from Nkambu.

Nkambu	{	Mbambi	Nsuka
		Mfutila	{Ngolo or Mfulu Ngombo
	{	Kadumu or Kitima-tima	Mvula
		Nkambu	Masika
	{	Mbungu	Kinsangu
		Mpungi	{Nzinga Nkenge
	{		Mpuna
		Mbenza	Mpemba
			Nzadi

The sister (mpongi) of these first female ancestors is NAMWEMBE NSUNDI or NSUNDI MWEMBE, from which other great Nsundi families are descended. From the watershed between the Belgian and the French Congos they have emigrated in different directions. The former Nsundi branch has been called the male, and the latter the female branch. According to a tradition, "MANSUNDI KYANGALA or NSUNDI A NGIDI slays ten and pays one. He is KYANGALA MANKUNKU (the bandit), who carried off ndembo away in San Salvador. He is the greatest at the ferry-crossing, one does not beg him for ferry-money. If anyone does ask for ferry-money, it is the end of his caravan. The ferry-crossing is at Mumba. MUMBA is the ancestor". The reason for the saying "slays ten and pays one" was that in connection with a fight on his wife's account he paid only one pig to her brother, although he had killed ten. It is also said concerning him: "I am the lord of NGIDI A ZULU (from heaven), whence I have descended, and my wife is a descendant of the Bwende. I am NGIDI, the strong one, who have come down with my strength". Or: "He was MANSUNDI, who descended with his bows, daggers, other knives and all sorts of edged tools. It is he who has produced them. If it had not been for him they would not have existed". It is thus of interest to note that Sundi children swear an oath with the following wording: "He is NGIDI, who robs, NGIDI, who kills. He who dies in NGIDI's wars rots, the corpse is not paid (= is not buried)".

Ndembo is the coronation-chalk (yaazi) of the country and of the Mansundi clan. The first to be crowned had his ears rubbed with it when he took over the reins of government, and the act was performed by a member of the Mpanzu clan. The coronation chalk protects the Mansundi clan, and it must therefore not be thrown away, for this would mean that the people of the country would be afflicted with the *nsi* sickness and die. This disease comes from the ground if a man sleeps with a woman on the bare ground, which is therefore strictly forbidden. The coronation chalk, which also has great significance for a secret society, surpasses *nkisi* in point of greatness and power. It was brought by the Mansundi when they came from the Congo. Other ndembo exist in pots, bark-baskets or calabashes, and are used as ordinary *nkisi*, with which sick persons are cured. But for this purpose the ndembo of the tribe is not used. Since yaazi is sacred for the head men of the tribe, they are not permitted to see it until someone is to be crowned. The sons, however, are permitted to prepare it.

The Mansundi people are not allowed to eat the leopard, for he is their brother, as the coronation ceremony takes place on a leopard skin. If the leopard is shot or captured because it has carried off pigs, a palm-band must be wound round the animal's head and grass stuffed in his ears. This implies that he has been deprived of his chief's dignity and that he has been abandoned to death, because he is a thief. If, on the other hand, a party meets the leopard while out hunting, all raise their guns and return home, for he has committed no wrong. If a leopard has been shot, he must not be cut up until someone has trampled on his head, which is first covered with raffia cloth by the *mayala*-chief. They then cut the leopard from the lower lip down to the breast. He is then flayed, and the skin stuffed with leaves and ashes and sewn up, so that the animal appears whole again.

The first immigrants in the country north of the Congo crossed the river at Noki and Mumba, and at several places farther north. The place was called Noki because the people rained down (*noka*) there, i.e. assembled there to make the crossing. Above Noki lay high mountain-plateaux, and the river began to flow very rapidly. A part of the Mumba clan made the crossing at Mumba, below the crossing to Kibunzi. These people, like later immigrants, moved up towards the head-waters of the Luwala, whence they spread in different directions to meeting-places which were called *muntala*. Three larger *muntala* have been pointed out, viz. at Nsundi Nsamba, Nsundi Lutete and Minduli.¹ The first chief at these places was NAMUMBA. It was at this Mumba that a branch of the Nsundi later crossed the Congo.² In connection with later emigrations such meeting-places were called *Tadi dya ngo*, Leopard rock or Leopard cave, for they were situated near grottos.

It is difficult to decide when the Kongo and the Nsundi separated, and when the Nsundi kingdom was founded. From the earliest known maps and documents it emerges that practically the whole of the north bank of the Congo up to Stanley Pool and the entire Nyari Valley were inhabited by the Nsundi; but they were also to be found on the south side of the Congo (e.g. on the bank of the Inkisi River). It appears from the traditions that they came from the south bank, and had connections with the people there long before the foundation of the kingdom of the Kongo. But as the crossing of the Congo was such a difficult undertaking, and famines and war were raging on the southern bank, there was but little contact between the north and south banks, and at times it was cut off altogether.

The main locality from which the people immigrated lay in the tracts of the watershed between the Belgian and the French Congos, where rich lead and copper mines were worked by the natives. Owing to famines and conflicts a part migrated to the south and west, where larger provinces, such as Mayombe and Loango, were founded on the coast. To the north of these was formed the province of the Nguunu. Farther inland to the eastward live the Kunyi and the Bembe. The people living in the Nyari Valley call themselves the Kamba; others call them the Nsuku, as they live deep down in the valley (*nsuku*). The people on the mountain to the south are by the Kamba called the Dondo. To the east and south live the Ladi and Bwende. The Sangi, Yaka, Nzabi, Puno and others living farther north are doubtless descended from the Kongo, but they are now mixed with, *inter alia*, the Teke.

From Kibunzi the following account of the Sundi is given. MANSUNDI himself we do not know, but we understand that he was a great chief, for we hear that the Mpanzu is the clan which assists Mansundi at the coronation; it is therefore called the Nsundi Kyangala Nampanzu. The sister-clan (*mpangi*) of the already-mentioned *ngudi* is the Namwembe Nsundi. The clan from which all clans have come is Mansundi, for he

¹ *Muntala*, guardian, comes from *tala*, to look after, guard. *Muntala watala mvila zazonso* (= The guardian who watches over all the clans).

² Also other places, villages and plateaux have the name Mumba.

was the first. Our forefathers here around Kibunzi came from afar off in the east (Ntandu). They emigrated east of Nzadi to Banganda and towards Mpumbu Nkulu, and right down to the country at Kongo dya Ngunga, San Salvador, as it was called after KONGO LIYA, one of our chiefs.¹ He became very powerful and conquered the people round about, building his capital in Kongo dya Ngunga. Our ancestors emigrated farther down towards the sea to Mbala.

KONGO LIYA had the following children: NAVUZI, NANGA, NKAZI A KONGO, MBENZA, NALUKUTI, MABAKU, MAZINGA and NLAZA, and the clans are called the Navuzi Nakongo, Nanga Nakongo, Nkazi a Kongo, Mbenza Kongo, Nalukuti Iwa Kongo, Mabaku ma Kongo, Mazinga ma Kongo and Nlaza Nakongo. When KONGO LIYA had died, the eldest son, NAVUZI, was appointed as his successor. He was the first king in the Congo to be given the title ntotila. After NAVUZI, NANGA was appointed ntotila. When we Mansundi were in Mbala at the coast, we were conquered by NKAZI A KONGO, so we migrated further to Mbanza Ntinu. When we had multiplied somewhat, we left the country and came to the Nzadi river, which we crossed at Yongo, just south of Kibunzi. In the rock Tadi dya Ndeele (the rock or grotto Ndeele = resting-place) we left behind the token of our chieftainship, the place was first called Mumba, and afterwards Mbila a Mansundi (where the people call for Mansundi to be allowed to cross the river). Our ancestors did not settle in the Kibunzi region, but continued, like the Namumba, up as far as the upper Luwala, and named the place Nsundi a Kavozi (Behind the Mountains), Nkaazu a Luyaalu (At the Cola-nut Tree) or Tadi dya Ntuuku (The Rock Whence They Came). The Nsundi always planted a cola-nut tree where they settled down as a proof that they had assumed possession of the country. Only those who had given birth to their first-born were allowed to eat of this tree.² The people multiplied and began to emigrate in different directions. A number of our forefathers returned hither to Kibunzi. The Vili had entered the country. They devoted themselves to working in iron, smelted bog-ore on plateaux, where it was very windy. The places may be recognized by the stones of bog-iron (makukwa) on which they forged. They made, amongst other things, strong cross-bows and spears. The Vili were a fair-complexioned people. The Nsundi took up arms against them and overcame them, taking large numbers of cross-bows and spears from them.

When a clan-chief named NAKAYI KWA BUNZI or NABUNZI, who was at the same time nganga to the nkisi Bunzi, was ruling, the Nkazi a Kongo clan came and took possession of the crossing-place of the Mansundi at the Congo. The Nkazi a Mpanzu then asked NAKAYI: "Shall we not go and wage war with them?"³ He then sent a message to the chiefs of the villages, and they assembled to wage war against the Nkazi a Kongo. The latter were defeated and returned to the other side of the Congo. The Mansundi then

¹ The situation of Banganda and Mpumbu Nkulu is uncertain.

² Other sacred clan-trees were the baobab-tree (nkondo) and the fig-tree (nsanda).

³ The Nkazi a Mpanzu was a so-called wife-clan, i. e. it was from this clan that MANSUNDI took his wife at the coronation.

became masters of the whole of this country north of the Congo. It was now called Nsundi or the Nsundi bank, in contradistinction to the Kongo bank on the other side.

NABUNZI built up the village Kibunzi as the clan-chief, for as yet no-one had been crowned on a leopard-hide or nkuwu-mat. But it was from his brother MVULA that the first to be crowned arose, and this man's name was MAKAYI MENTA. NABUNZI, however, was a powerful chief, who ruled over the whole clan thereabouts, made laws and waged war against his enemies. At his side he had assistant bamayaala, i.e. younger brothers or sons, and after these the elders in each village. The laws were as follows. If a brother (of the same clan) sleeps with his brother's wife, he need not pay a fine. But they must eat a goat together. Children and grandchildren are not to be made captive or sold by their brothers. If anyone has got into difficulties on account of debt, he may give his children or grandchildren as bottlers of palm-wine to the chief. The son is called "younger brother", "subordinate" (nleke) and by no means "slave". When the debt was paid they got back the youth, but they received no interest. On the occasion of a marriage they gave only two pigs to the wife's family. They intermarried with the Mpanzu, Nanga, Ngimbi and families from the Mwembe Nsundi and the Zulu Mongo and Ntuma. The clans inter-marrying with the Mansundi were called Mpanzu Nsundi, Nanga Nsundi etc. At first they inter-married with the Nanga, as they had no other clan to inter-marry with. But afterwards they did not wish to do so, for a member of the Nanga was their mpangi (brother, sister).

At this time also the Zulu Mongo (Mazinga) came here from the other side of the Congo, since the Nkazi a Kongo had been defeated. They were permitted to stay, but paid tax to the Mansundi. Later, when they had multiplied, and their brothers on the other side of the Congo had come, they rose in revolt, and refused to pay the tax. On account of hostilities with the Nkazi a Kongo there were no trade connections with the south Congo bank. The chiefs were clad in cloth made from bark.¹ The women often covered their nakedness with the bones of poultry threaded on a string, with net of ntumbu-fibre or with leaves and cotton threaded on a cord (nzanda). Apart from this they went naked. Cultivated masantu-seeds were employed as ornaments. These were white in colour and resembled the makomo-komo-seed (from the ginger plant). Round their necks they had a ring of rattan-cane, and in holes bored in their ears they wore pins made of grass. Back, breasts and belly were tattooed. The head-hair was retained as a sign of pure blood. The banganga kept a tuft or toupet in front over the forehead. From the sources of the Luwala and the water-shed a number of the Nsundi began to migrate in the direction of Nsundi Mamba and down towards the Congo River to Man-ya-nga, where descendants of NAMUMBA had settled. It was these who first saw the water-falls there, and herewith also gained the fishing rights at this place (mpu za Nzadi). Others turned up towards the Minduli mines and away to Musana, where they met their clan-brothers who had crossed the Congo farther north, even as far off as the vicinity of Mpumbu (Stanley Pool).

¹ Bark from the nsanga-tree; fibres of raffia and pine-apple were also used.

On the other side of the water-shed towards the French Congo dwell three strong and powerful tribes, descendants of the Nsundi who were afterwards given the names Bwende, Dondo (those living on the heights) and Kamba (those down in the valley). The tract was earlier known under the name Kayinga and Boko-Songo (nsongo = copper), on account of the copper-mining carried on there. In Mayombe there are many wonderful tales about Kayinga, the land to the east, from which their forefathers had come. They were able themselves to weave their cloth, forge their hoes and knives, so that when the whites came there to trade with them they refused to buy anything, for they already had all they required. The whites went home again. The people called them *minkisi*; but others believed them to be black people who had died, changed their skins like snakes and then come back to the Congo.

Mwembe became the capital in the kingdom of Nsundi, and it was consecrated to the Nsundi's paramount chief (*ntinu*) and other paramount chiefs who came to rule at Banda (Lower) Lwangu and in Mayombe. These were appointed by and were dependant upon the *ntinu* in Mwembe Nsundi, which was largely on account of the fact that the Nsundi spread out westwards along the river-valley of the Lwangu and Mayombe towards the sea. After the great emigration westwards, the kingdom was divided into two parts.

MANSUNDI KAASA was the name of the first *ntinu* at Mwembe Nsundi and of the whole country to the west. He was called KAASA because he always said: "E—e kaasa (kaasa = never) have I seen anyone living in this way". After the emigration eastwards a kingdom arose which was ruled by MANSUNDI DUMA (the Famous). This extended out over the Nyari-Kwilu Valley and away over Minduli, whence come the present Kamba, Bembe and others.

Tradition has it that the Nsundi in Mayombe originally came from Nsuku Nkamba (where the Kamba now dwell). They crossed many waters, leaving behind them people in the villages along the route, until they reached Mwembe Nsundi (Kayi Mbaku), near Kisenga. After multiplying, they spread out in different directions. MANSUNDI NTINU stayed at the sources of the Lwangu, but he sent his younger nephews and nieces to settle in Mayombe. At first they formed only a single clan, the Mansundi. But when they increased in numbers and spread far around they were distinguished by the clan names Mansundi Malwangu (Those Who Came from the Sources of the Lwangu), Mandingi (Still-Flowing) Malwangu and Mansanga (from Nsanga, another name for the river Lwangu),¹ three names which thus ultimately refer to the Mansundi clan.

One of MANSUNDI's families at Maduda in Mayombe was given the name Nsundi Nlundi (Who Hid), since MANSUNDI at first begot a woman, who gave birth to two girls. These in their turn gave birth to a boy and two girls and two boys and a girl respectively. MANSUNDI NGYANGALA (= KYANGALA) beheaded one of his sisters and wanted to inveigle MANSUNDI NLUNDI into beheading his sister. But the latter refused, for he thought: "As I have only this one sister, who should bear those who are to continue

¹ Rivers and places received their names from the clan or the person, and not vice versa.

my line, if I were to kill her"? The names of these mothers were NSANI MUKUNDA and LEMBA DYA MUKUNDA. MALWANGU, who was their father, then gave a sword as a sign of royal dignity to MANSUNDI NGYANGALA and a ring to NSUNDI NLUNDI. To the former he said: "You shall be my ntinu, and with this sword you should execute all who wrong you". To the latter he said: "To you I give this ring. May each of you rule over his family. If, therefore, MANSUNDI NLUNDI should be appointed regent, this must not be done with the sword, but with ring, munkwisa and kinkanda's skin". They lived at first in Mwembe Nsundi, but they moved from here and crossed the Ludima, continuing to the tract of Tsyela (Maduda). They then crossed the Lubuzi and the Lukula, where they multiplied greatly. They recrossed the Lukula and settled at Nlundu Matende (at the tributary Mbafu or Bavu). They then separated again, and some of them made towards the Lwangu, on the yonder side of which they met with other Sundi families.

From Manyanga, too, a number of the Sundi immigrated to Mbuku Nsongo (Boko Songo). They divided into three groups, the Me Nsundi, Numbu Zinga and Nsaku Malele, and separated. The Nsundi Mbuku Songo clan came to Kimbidi, a plateau stretching up to the sky. Here there were no running rivers but only pools and meres of standing water. Nor was there any madyaba-swamp with ntondya fish. But there were plenty of nkuti-antelopes. They stayed here for a long time, but at last a group of them summoned the whole clan, for they wished to return to Mbuku Nsongo, where they would find ntondya fish. A number of them, however, remained.

The group which came from Mwembe Nsundi and opened the way to Mayombe went under the name of Mengo Mbakala (male leopard). For this reason Nsundi has been given the following appellations: Nsundi Ngo Mbakala, Nsundi Mendongo, Nsundi Hila and Nsundi Kyangala.

The father charged MENGO MBAKALA to kill his brother. The order was obeyed, whereupon the father summoned all his children to his presence and said to them: "See, now I give the sword of power to your brother, so that with this he may have executed all who do evil and violate the wife of another. Therefore you should respect and obey him". When MANSUNDI had been given the sword of power and had become regent he asked his father MALWANGU: "If I, the chief or my wife should die, in what way are those over whom I rule to act"? His father answered: "Let them hollow out masks of wood and pleat dry pisang leaves so as to be masked for certain tasks". When MANSUNDI received the sword, his father said to him: "You are not to keep it yourself, but to let your brother MANSANGA keep it for you". MALWANGU was not crowned, but he was honoured, as he had begotten the paramount chief.

All the clan groups who came from the region to the east of the sources of the Lwangu were ruled by MANSUNDI. He was very severe, laying down many laws and proclaiming many decrees. And those who did not obey them were taken prisoner and executed, unless they were able to pay a very heavy ransom. The ntinu had an executioner (maken-da) appointed, and for him he ordered that a sword (mbeele ya makenda or ya lusimba) be made with a hilt of ivory, beautifully carved in the shape of a human figure, with the

head shaved and with the breasts of a woman. The sword had a keen edge. It was not to be brought out until a prisoner was to be executed. On such an occasion the people from all the surrounding tracts assembled to witness the spectacle, and to take palm-wine with them to the ntinu. They were first to prostrate themselves before him in the grass and then to take wedges to pin down the prisoner's arms and legs. Then they sang: "E, Makenda-kenda, kenda bantu (execute people)". While they sing, they are accompanied by the sound of ndungu and mbuma drums, gongs and mpwanda trumpets of wood. The executioner dances first with his sword in his hand. When he is about to strike, he takes up the song: "Shall I execute? — E, execute not!" When he has thus threatened to do it, he rushes forward in a rage and hews off the head. All cry out in chorus: "E, wewe"! MANSUNDI's children and grandchildren go and fetch the head to place it in water until the skin and flesh have fallen away. They then fix the skull in a tree outside the royal residence, so that strangers who pass by may see that it is the residence of a great ntinu, who has people executed. If the executioner does not succeed in striking off the head of the prisoner at a single stroke, he has to pay a forfeit of perhaps two pigs and a sheep. If he is not owned by ntinu, he is sentenced to death, but he may redeem his head by paying a person many pigs and other possessions. When ntinu has had a person executed, he gives a great feast to the crowds who have come to witness the spectacle. Afterwards they are supposed to dance the whole night. In the morning ntinu has a couple of pigs and sheep slaughtered, and the people are then allowed to go home.

Other ntinu appointed by MANSUNDI were also entitled to execute people; but not all of them had a sword, so they went to the paramount ntinu and said: "I have taken a prisoner for such-and-such a reason, lend me the sword". If the paramount ntinu finds the reason sufficient, he lends the sword and the day for the execution is decided upon. When it is over, the paramount ntinu says: "Now wash my sword clean, for I have paid a high price for it". The ntinu who has borrowed the sword must pay five makangi raffia cloth. If this is not done when the sword is returned, the paramount ntinu takes a prisoner from him, and the latter must be redeemed with heavy fines. If the other ntinu refuses, war ensues, and he is then obliged to pay those who die or are taken prisoner. Each one is redeemed with a human being, a bundle of cloth and a pig. After this the sword of the paramount ntinu must be washed.

According to a Yombe tradition, MBANGALA was the chief who sired the Nsundi clan in Mayombe, for he made an agreement with MALWANGU to the effect that he should marry MALWANGU's sisters, while MALWANGU should marry MANSUNDI's sisters. MANSUNDI sired a large number of nieces and nephews (baana ba nkazi) to MALWANGU, but MALWANGU sired only a small posterity to MANSUNDI. MALWANGU therefore took the chieftainship and ruled over MANSUNDI. But after a while MALWANGU's nephews and nieces venerated, instead of their uncle, their father MANSEMWI who had begotten them. At this MALWANGU grew angry and issued a kandu prohibition, saying: "Since you do not venerate me, I hand over my chieftainship to MANSUNDI, that he may rule over you". In this way MANSUNDI inherited the regentship and became the chief man

for the clans. The Mansundi clan thus comprises the children sired by MANSUNDI and MBANGALA MWANDA.

On one occasion a man named NDULU, taking his wives and his sisters' children with him, moved into the Mayombe country, as it was as yet uninhabited by human beings. He ruled over his family. But when the Mansundi multiplied he came and wrested the power from MENDULU, becoming ruler over all.

The paramount chief of the Yombe was a member of the Nsundi, but he was subordinate to the great Mansundi, who remained at Mwembe Nsundi. If the ntinu of the Yombe should die, the Nsundi in Mayombe were not allowed to choose a successor. They must unconditionally go to Mwembe Nsundi, in order to choose from the dynasty ruling there a younger brother of the ntinu or one of his sisters' children, who would then be sent to Mayombe to be instated as the ntinu of the country. If one ntinu after the other died, this was reported to Mwembe Nsundi, and there they chose a successor, who inherited both the regentship and the royal residence, with all the wives of the previous rulers. If the ntinu of the Yombe named any of the small children after the great Mansundi, the child in question might inherit both the regentship and the wives etc. But in the absence of such a namesake the right to rule reverted to the dynasty in Mwembe Nsundi. Mansundi's ntinu had royal residences built, and these were enclosed with great trees such as the nkumbi, mingyengye, mimvumbi-mvumbi and minsanda. The residences were built with two gates, one for the women and one for the servants.

Ntinu's residence was divided in the middle with a row of nsenga-trees. In the one part was the house of the wives and in the other the assembly hall (mbongi) in which the ntinu drank his palm-wine. The servants' door was placed just opposite the mbongi hall, and the wives' door opposite the servants' quarters. If a wife entered through the servants' door, this meant she was looking for a young man; and if a servant entered through the wives' door, this meant he was looking for a wife, and both must be executed. It was laid down in a law concerning the royal residence that no member of another clan was permitted to enter there, but only MANSUNDI's descendants on the maternal side, and children and grandchildren of the Nsundi on the paternal side.

Ntinu also had a large nsampa-shed built outside the enclosure, and here justice was administered. Anyone who wished to begin a lawsuit must first report to a duki-chief,¹ who went to ntinu with the request that he should come and administer justice. Ntinu sat on the judge's chair with his sign of dignity, a whisk-broom (mfunka). None other might show himself with such a judge's badge of office, and Mansundi punished any such usurpation of his rights with death. When exercising his office of judge Mansundi stood up and executed a judge's dance, after which his "assistant magistrates", who had already made themselves familiar with the matter in the hand, informed Mansundi of what the suit was about, whereupon the latter pronounced sentence, against which there was no appeal. As payment for his work he sometimes took ten pieces of bindele-cloth and a pig from each party.

¹ A child or grandchild sired by MANSUNDI.

Traditions concerning the Oldest Clans

Nsaku (Vunda) is one of the oldest clan names. The youth whom D. CÂO took with him to Europe was named NSAKU (a clan of chiefs at San Salvador). At present the clan is called Nsaku Navunda, after NAVUNDA, its last great paramount chief.¹ NAVUNDA got his name when with his people he moved northwards, east of the Congo. They then came to uninhabited tracts, and, wearied by their travels, they stopped in a place where there were plenty of wild potatoes, which they ate. Their chief MABYALA then decided to stay here, and took the name ME VUNDA MABYALA WAVUNDILA VA NTU MYA MBALA (Who Rested on the Heads of Potatoes). NAVUNDA was buried in Nkondo, which became the graveyard of the chiefs. Nsaku Malela may be read Maleela, which signifies: Who Slept on the Way. Navunda is thus a more recent form with the same significance. Two Navundas have been crowned, and the third, who was to have been crowned, was called NANKUNKU; but he died quite suddenly before his coronation. NANKUNKU was not permitted to make water out-of-doors; he had to relieve himself indoors. The whole clan took calabashes to the house, so that his wife might throw out the urine. She was not permitted to do other work, and her children and grandchildren carried her when she wanted to visit anyone. KULU BYA VUNDA was the name of the chief who first ruled over the Vunda clan. He was succeeded by MANYATU MA NGO. Nsaku is actually a title, for the clan itself is called Nzinga or Mazinga. Nsaku means Nzinga's rivulets (myala mya Nzinga).²

The Nsaku are divided into three groups: the Nsaku Malele, the Nsaku Navunda and the Nambondo a mbakala. The Nsaku Malele is the oldest group; the significance of the name is uncertain.³ The Nsaku at Manyanga and Boko came from the tract of

¹ Navunda, Nlaza and Nanga are friendly clans, and have respected one another since olden times, helping each other in war, in lawsuits, with loans etc.

² Concerning NSAKU, it is said that "Father NSAKU gathered together the whole family. It was the chief NSAKU who assembled the young men and the virgins. It was NSAKU who united himself with his own (sister), for with his sister he had intercourse".

³ Concerning NSAKU NAVUNDA, the following motto is connected with his name: "NSAKU NAVUNDA, shall he rest upon the ground? No, but upon a throne and a leopard and a throne-mat". Further: "NSAKU NAVUNDA rested upon his own nkuwu-mat, he was not sent after wood and water to the Congo". And: "NSAKU NAVUNDA, eat and rest, speak and rest, rule and rest". Other mottoes are the following: "I child of NAVUNDA, shall he rest upon the ground? No, but upon his own nkuwu-mat"; "A whole piece of cloth is still left at Mbanza Nsaku, which slaves have not been able to cut to pieces"; finally "Him one cannot track, of him one cannot demand a debt in the morning, but one may (well do so) when the sun has risen in the forenoon" and "If you should request it (the debt) in the morning, he refuses to pay it".

Ntotila, the name of the chief was NKAMA. They arrived first at the village of Ndunga (or Lukunga) on the south bank of the Congo. They crossed the river and came to Manyanga, where they increased in numbers and became very powerful. They also conquered other clans that had come there before them, such as, for example, the Kikwimba kya Fumvu, the Kikwimba kya Lenzi and the Kingoma. The Nsaku chief kept them in a state of slavery. All the fish caught in the river at Kimataka was taken to him, and he chose the biggest, best and fattest. When he stood up and looked at the food or something else, his boy was to come and sit down beside him. The spear that had been handed to the chief he thrust into somebody's thigh, to support himself on it when rising. No wound resulted from this, however. When the headmen of the other families at Manyanga shared out the fishing places in the river, he paid no attention, for he thought: All is mine. When the family increased in numbers, very many of them moved northwards to Boko and elsewhere. They got into difficulties, finding neither fish nor possessions. Their power vanished, and the people thought that their chief was very stupid, for the motto says: "The food is eaten up, but the chieftaincy is not eaten up", which is to say: Food comes to an end, but not the chieftaincy, for another comes to power. The people here assumed the new clan-name Kimvimba, and moved further up in the French Congo.¹ In the French Congo it is said that the Kimvimba and the Kinsaku are one and the same clan.

The Nanga clan was named after NAVANGA, the oldest and foremost chief of the clan. The female ancestor is said to have issued from a hollow baobab-tree. She gave birth to four progenitors for the clan. These were TUKULA, KUNDU, NKUKU and LUKENI. The Nanga have since been divided into three families, viz: Vuzi dya Nsungu,² Nsukulu a Nsungu³ and Nzuzi a Nsungu.⁴ Nanga and Nzinga are sisters (mpangi), as they have the same motto.⁵

The ancestors on the northern side of the Congo, opposite Noki, came from the south bank. They emigrated because some natives ate up a new-born child with the after-birth, and the parents and their friends lost the day when they fought against the perpetrators of the outrage. At that time people ate each other up, and made war upon each other with a sort of iron rod that was cut in two, one end was then bent while another bent bit was welded to the other end. They were probably used as a throwing weapon, for the people say: "They flew in the direction whither one aimed". Chief NANGA then fled

¹ The name MVIMBA is explained by the fact that he was often wrathful, and when he exploded, it was seen and heard. But others thought thus: When a woman is pregnant, it may be seen; and when she gives birth (to a child), it is a daughter or a son.

² Revealer of the Nsungu (clan), from whom one cannot pluck any feathers, he fights night and day. He is a gigantic smoke reaching up to heaven.

³ The latest-born of the Nsungu family.

⁴ Twin of Nsungu.

⁵ Some traditions refer to the feats and descendants of the clan: "NANGA has twisted the iron rods, of bows he made bolts for the house. It was he who woke up the headmen for all clans. If you have bought a climbing sling, then cast against the palm (=climb). If you do not climb, you have bought it in vain. He is cruel and bites iron to pieces". Concerning NANGA it is said further that "He (FUMVU) is a manly (one) who attacks unexpectedly, and the place becomes a wilderness". Nanga and Nsundi stuck together from old times and aided each other.

with a large number of followers to Bangala ba Nanga (in the region of Kongo dya Ntotila).

Little by little the practice of cannibalism was resumed. NANGA then said: "No, this is not good. We shall continue to another, far-distant land". They now came to a place on the banks of the Congo called Noki. With their iron-rod tools they felled a mfuma-tree, which they hollowed out to form a canoe. All wished to make the crossing at the same time; but the vessel was too small. They were therefore divided up into groups for which there was room in the canoe. After the crossing, each group was given a leader, whose names became the names of the families in the clan. They were NANGA, MAKABA, MBENZA, MPUDI, MANYANGA, NUMBU, MANKUNKU, NGIMBI and MBOMA. The country of which they had taken possession was uninhabited. As there was no strange clan here they made friendly agreements among themselves for trade, marriage, the settlement of disputes and war etc. A number of them settled down in little villages on the bank of the river, but NANGA went up to the place where Vivi now lies. They no longer practised cannibalism, for they wished to multiply and become powerful. But then the first conflict broke out on the north side of the Congo. The chiefs MAKABA and NUMBU decided to attack NANGA. They now fought with bows and iron rods (mbinza). NANGA was defeated, and fled to Nakondo a Nanga, the present Ngangila. NUMBU took possession of Vivi. They became friends again. But a terrible famine arose. They had not yet had time to multiply so greatly. The rains did not come. Only the sun scorched down, till all the grass was shrivelled. There was nothing left to eat. They began to eat their own excrement. If anyone died in the forest, by the wayside, and remained undiscovered, the corpse dried up and became completely black and hard from dryness. It did not decay. When hunger became intolerable, they began to eat the dying. When the rains came, they made an end of eating human flesh. This was the first famine since they had left the banks of Ntotila.

The people afterwards multiplied greatly, but they preferred to remain in the vicinity of the Congo, for it was difficult to clear a way up-country. But then an eagle (ngo nuni) began to eat up their children, so they fled, some towards Isangila and others to Vungu, to a place called Yima. On account of the good hunting in this region, some of them agreed to go there and settle. Then came the second famine, which was referred to as Nankasi, after the woodland potato (nkasi or sadi) which they dug up and ate. But there were many who died down in the pits that they had dug, as they had not the strength to climb out again. Many years later, when NAMBEMO was chief of the district, there was another period of famine. There were not so many deaths this time. They ate the root-end of bananas and ngamba-potatoes, which they first placed in water, to take away the bitter taste.

Others of our forefathers here came from Mboma (Boma). They had emigrated because a brother and a sister had quarrelled about a pig that had eaten up the sister's food in the field. She offered a coarse insult to her brother, by turning her rump towards him and slapping it. War ensued. Both the brother and the sister sought aid. There was

a bloody struggle, to which the name bengenene was given. The brother and his party fled to Nsafu. There he took his life by thrusting an awl into his navel. The host was scattered and the countryside was soon covered with people. Members of the Nanga Nakongo from the south bank of the Congo were trying to find out one another's clan-names, and they then found the Kinanga on the north bank. But they had assumed another name, for their chief said: "I am NTAMBA, who embraces (tamba, tabakana) the whole of this country all the way from the Congo to here. Now we have met our brother KINANGA, who has come from up-country". Mbenza Nakongo also came down to the north bank of the Congo. MBENZA and KINANGA are brothers born of the same mother. At first there was none to rule over them. Nanga Nakongo, however, gave them a regency (bwene), which was called divungu. If a chief was to mount the divungu throne (baluka divungu), he had to give costly presents to the village-chiefs in the clan. Those who first came to him with palm-wine and said: "May you be crowned"! should receive the most. Among the presents which the pretender to the throne was obliged to give were ten human beings and ten of all domestic animals. The kingdom extended all the way from here to Nsanda and Kinganga. The chiefs were crowned with the help of two nkisi, the most prominent of whom which was called mwema. The most well-known paramount chiefs were: NAMAVUNGU, NAMPANZU, NAMFUTILA, NANSANDA, NAYANGA MVULA, NSEKOLO, MADYENGA and NANZITA. The first to rule at Mboma was called SINGINI KYA NKUNU.

If a family came to a tract where another had already settled, and themselves wished to take up their abode there, they had to buy the right to this. Others married into a family and begot children. The country Vungu was owned by the Manyanga, but it was bought by a member of the Nanga, who was begotten by a member of the Manyanga people. His name was MALWEKA. Formerly, a man married a woman from his father's district or from his forefathers' family. In these families none might break up such a marriage. If anyone sought a wife from another family, an agreement must be made that the marriage should not be dissolved. The cloths of our forefathers consisted of raffia-fibre that was made like sengi (lattice-work) and strips of palm-leaf which were made like raffia-bast.¹ Later, clothes of raffia were most employed. They hunted animals with bow and arrow and with nets, using swingles to kill the animals caught in the nets.

Among our friends were the people on the south side of Kongo dya Lemba, for they and our ancestors had made trade agreements with each other. When they began to sell human beings they brought them here, and we bought them, selling them afterwards to Mboma. Their crossing-place was at Makanga. We were also friendly with the Solongo farther down the Congo. They sold dance-drums etc. to us to teach us to dance. We had different dances and speech. The old people said that the Sundi and the Yombe were their enemies. They were not to be made war upon, but must be deceived and taken captive so that they should be obliged to pay a ransom. For the Sundi and Yombe had to pass through our country to reach Mboma and buy gods. Our forefathers therefore

¹ Only the topmost shoots of the palms were used.

set all sorts of snares and deceived them in various ways, amongst other things pretending that the strangers had contaminated their nkisi and must accordingly pay a fine. A member of each foot-caravan was to be left as a hostage or security, and then ransomed on a later occasion for a heavy fee. When guns had been introduced the Sundi bought these weapons years after year; and on one occasion they sent a large host to wage war against the chief MFUTILA. The Sundi shot him, and when his sister heard the shot and went to see her brother she was also shot and laid over his corpse. Hostilities then ceased, and the parties concluded peace with each other and opened trade connections. Thus when they went down to Mboma to do trade, they first rested in our villages, and their friends answered for their well-being and safety.

There were members of the Nanga also in the Kibunzi tract. They had come thither from Mbanza Nsundi because one of their number had gone there to hunt. When they found that the country was good, they settled down there. The Nsundi and Nanga were good friends. Members of the Nanga were further to be found in the Nsundi Lutete tract. These were called the Nanga Kongo. NANGA WA NKAZI MPEMBA went to the Nabwende where he was crowned as kimbongi. The emblem of the Bwende, an elephant's tusk, was kept by the Nanga. Those who settled together there were the Nkumba Kongo and the Mbenza Kongo, as well as, later, the Nsundi and the Nabwende. In the Mukimbungu tract the Nanga were well-known. The Nanga and Nlaza clans were formerly regarded as sisters, and the members of their clans were therefore not allowed to inter-marry. This prohibition has now been annulled. When members of the Nanga were crowned, they took as their queen a woman from the Nlazi clan. Towns inhabited by the Nanga were Mbanza Mpelo, Mbanza Ngombe and Mbanza Nkoki. The clans governing here besides the Nanga were the Nangombe, Nankoki and Nlaza. The Nanga do not seem to have become a politically significant clan, nor to have established any great kingdom.

Kele is the name both of a country and of a clan. The old Nanga Nakongo clan came from the other side of the Congo, where MPUDI NZINGA and NSAKU MALEELE crossed the river. They both had the clan-name Kimpudi. The one who made the crossing was LUSINGU LWA NZADI. NZUZI NZADI was his daughter, and NZADI one of MANSUNDI's ngudi.

At Nsanda they scattered. The Kele came to Vungu and settled at Mumba, afterwards continuing to Kele Vaku, Yombi and Mayombe. There lived at that time a rich woman, well versed in legal matters, and she was appointed regent at Kele Vaku (Vaku Makele).

One of the groups here, which came from Kima Kongo, near Kabinda, is called Yombi di Pangi. This is also the name of another group in Mayombe which came from Kabinda; and this is why the language of the Yombe people in some tracts resembles that of the Kabinda. The first female to ascend the throne was anointed mbenza makele, but she did not receive kimbenza rights. She assumed the name MAKELE MABUNU, and was succeeded by MAKELE MPANZU, who made a payment of nine human beings to complete all the constitutional ceremonies.

The Nzinga and Nanga have the same appellatory device. The names have been taken from small snails. The first-mentioned is screw-shaped (*zingana*), and the last-mentioned is raised (*nangama*) and is identical with *mfuluwa* (so-called *cauris*). They were formerly used as coins and ornaments. They are still used in *nkisi* to strengthen the embryo in the womb and at birth.¹ From the Nzinga came the Nazulu Mongo and Nakulu Mongo (who are also called the Ndumbu a Nzinga or Numbu a Nzinga) and the Masaala ma Nzinga (Zulu Mongo). The Nakulu Mongo moved down to the west, the Nazulu Mongo up to the east, the Masaala ma Nzinga remained behind. Numbu (or Ndumbu) is considered to be a later name for Mumba. The Zulu Mongo and the Mpanga are one and the same clan, and they do not inter-marry. The Mpanga and the Mumba are also the same clan. The Nakuti and Natona also belonged to the Mazinga.²

The Mazinga people who dwell in the Lolo tract came from Kingoma, and they are therefore called the Mazinga Ngoma. The Lolo people were given their name because they ate tree-melons (*lolo-fruits*) in time of famine. The Mazinga clan became a powerful clan with influential chiefs both to the north and the south of the Congo. Other clans were not able to conquer them. Their first two paramount chiefs were called NANGOMA LUBOTA and NANGOMA MAKAYI NGOMA. They were buried in Mbanza Kintudi.

On either side of the Congo, at Mukimbungu, there arose in earlier times a celebrated kingdom called Mazinga. In Bwende at Kingila the Mazinga was a powerful clan. They had no title of ownership to the grass-grown or marshy ground there, but they bought sites to build upon. They had powerful chiefs, especially after *nkisi* Lulendo came into use, for chiefs were everywhere appointed to be *nganga* to Lulendo. The small part under NANKAMBA was governed through *nkisi* Bweno. The most celebrated chiefs of the Mazinga were HAKA MABENGE, MINTUNGI and MBINDA, who were all famous as judges. Their signs of dignity, whisk-brooms (*mfunka*), are preserved to this day.

At first the people believed that members of the Mazinga had brought the Europeans to the country. On the very day of their arrival the man who had brought them, NYAKUNU, died. The white men had called out to the natives to ask their help in taking their sailing boat past the Makolo Konko point where it was most difficult to pass. They had taken a big canoe and helped the Europeans. The first white man was called MBWELA (glass beads). The second had died on the journey and in the same month as NYAKUNU, and it was therefore believed that also the Europeans belonged to the Mazinga clan.

Among the branches of the Nzinga (Mazinga) may be noted the Kimpudi and

¹ Zingila may also be derived from *zinga*, which signifies "to live for a long time". The people say: "Nzinga has surrounded all small families". When intending to insult, others say; "Namazinga lies coiled on top of the excrements" or: "Namazinga extends over the whole world. He wound the pig's entrails round its legs on account of the abundance of fat".

² "NANKUTI gathered together all families". "NATONA has seen to, watched over, all families". But the people also say: "NATONA regarded his own sister, as he had no other to cast eyes upon" and "NATONA looked upon all that had been done and was familiar with it".

Kimbauka (Mpudi a Nzinga, Mbauka a Nzinga). They came from Nsanda on the bank of the Congo about opposite Noki. They spread to the upper Lolo country, the Yubu plateau and to Kiyombe, a country that is full of mountains. Among these is to be observed especially the high Nkodo Masu. The chief there belonged to the Kimakaba. He was conquered and succeeded by the celebrated chief BUNKUTA MABUNDA, who in his youth was given the name MPWENYA because he was very handsome and was loved by many. MPWENYA was afraid of dying, as his body was so beautiful; and he was therefore constrained to leave his village to seek a place where death was unknown. The country was afterwards ruled by the Mbenza Nsundi. It was from the Kimpudi that the Kele descended.

The Kinsuku people are also descended from the Nzinga. Their first chief at Kingoma was named NANSUKU NZINGA. At first the chiefs ruled at Mazinga, but later at Kinsuku. The title of the chief was makayi. One chief became very old, and brought up six groups of his offspring in his village. The Mazinga are said to have come first to several tracts in the country, and they are therefore also called the Nansambu wasamba nsi (Who Cleared the Way in the Country).

Nkumba is an old clan-name, which is also the first to be mentioned in the list of such names (Nkumba Kongo, Nanga Kongo, Mbenza Kongo, Ntudi Kongo, Mazinga ma Kongo etc.). NKUMBA ruled as NANKUMBA at Muntala. Later he also ruled over other clans who had settled in the country (e.g. the Nanga, Ndamba, Mbenza). At the coronation of NKUMBA, NANGA and NSUNDI became queens, for in the absence of a woman from the Nanga and Nsundi, NKUMBA could not be crowned. He married them on his investiture, and they were therefore called bakazi ba Mpemba. NKUMBA was descended from NANKUMBA, and came from Muntala in the Nganda tract. He was also called KIBINGI, MBINDA, and MBINDA KONGO. The first-mentioned name refers to the belief that he was the first to make fire. Thus the people say: "He who makes fire is one of the Nkumba". According to the tradition, one of the oldest members of the Nkumba wanted only to quarrel and make war.¹ NKUMBA had no nkisi for his clan.

To the Kinkenge tract came also the Nambinda Kongo, from the direction of Matadi. They multiplied, and became so powerful that the Lolo wanted to drive them away. They were, however, unable to conquer the invaders, and a discussion arose as to who should rule the country. Finally, the Mbinda people said: "Let us decide the matter by a lawsuit. The winning party gets the country". Accordingly, chiefs from distant villages, together with their right-hand men, medicine-men and judges, were sent for. When they had arrived, the Mbinda chief said: "Let us go to the water and throw in our staves with our chief's headgear upon them. Let then two nsona-days elapse, and let us return on the third. We shall then look for the staves and the headgear far down the watercourse, down to Kyangu. Thither we shall go with the medicine-men, singing our songs and beating on our drums. The chief whose staff and headgear has stopped at zaku kya nlangu (where something gets caught fast in the water) has lost, and the

¹ "KIBINGI lit the fire of quarrelsomeness, was the instigator of war and sought out other families in order to wage war".

one whose staff and headgear appears in Kyangu has won and shall govern the country". When the day had arrived, all assembled at the water's edge, and the staff and chief's headgear of the Mbinda people came floating on the stream, whereas those of the Lolo had got stuck somewhere. Thus the Mbinda people won the suit. The Nkumba spread out, moving into French territory as far as to Boko and to the Teke. There they assumed the names Mbemba, Mpanga and Mpwati, for their forefathers on the maternal side were the Kinkumba.¹ The Mpwati live in the Yanga tract or the Mpika Seese-market, in the French Congo. They came originally from the vicinity of Mbu Kayabwa.

The Ndamba or Kindamba clan is also descended from MUMBA. It is best known from the region to the north of Luozi and Manyanga, at Kingoyi and in the Nyari-Kwilu Valley under several new clan-names. NZUZI is looked upon as the female ancestor of the clan. The Ndamba contributed four tribal ancestresses: NSANGA or MUNSANGA, NAMVANGI, LEMBA (DYA NKUNGI) and KYANGALA, while from NSANGA was descended FUMA KYA NSANGA. From FUMA came four tribal ancestors: NTUMBA, NKENGE, BUKONGO and NSUKA. At Manyanga these divided up into ngudi-families, so that the fish might be justly shared out among them. The Kinki a Mfutu three families, the Kyabukonzo three and the Kintumba three. The names of Kyabukonzo's families are Yowa, Makunda and Mingana. They are not real clan-names but ngudi (mothers) or bikota (the most noble, eldest). Members of the Kyabukonzo began to call themselves the Kimbenza. But all those who had come from the French Congo belonged to one and the same clan, viz. the Numbu a Nzinga (Mazinga).

NDAMBA is the forefather (nkayi) of the Zulu Mongo or Mazinga. Inter-marriage between them is an ancient custom. Mbenza and Nanga are their brothers. Taata MBENZA afterwards became Kindamba and Mbenza from Mansundi. Kindamba's father is MONI (a member of the Fumvu).

NAMUMBA had all his clans assemble and said to them: "My sister has received a royal nkisi (bweno), but I did not want it, you receive it". He threw it, and all the families fought for it. NDAMBA won, however, and for this reason called himself NDAMBA NGOLO (NDAMBA THE STRONG).²

The Kindamba people came from Fuma, a country in which it is said that a shining

¹ The Mpanga people said: "If NAMPANGA does not sting, the mangungu-insect stings. A snare of mbinzu creepers he does not mix with that which is sown. If he has mixed it with that which is sown, he has made an end of it. He sits not upon a thorny thicket, if he does so, his buttocks will be hurt". MPANGA, NGOMA and NZUNDU have the same mother and the same father. In the Kimbengi tract, from which the Lukwayi come, the Kimpanga say: "MPANGA THE MIGHTY, if he does not sting, then the mangungu stings. He is the rumble of thunder in the sky, if he groans up there, the rain falls on the earth". The Mpanga believe that he created the thorn, the mangungu that stings and those things which are very venomous; and sometimes they say: "He, MPANGA, created all things here on earth".

² Concerning him it is said: "NDAMBA THE STRONG, eats with strength, walks with strength, clothes himself with strength, journeys with strength, everything with strength". It is, however, also possible to derive ndamba from lamba (to cook food). It is said that if a person prepares food and it turns out insipid, she blows snot into the dish, which is then very tasty. Thus concerning NDAMBA it is said that he prepared food with snot in the absence of salt.

Of NSANGA from the Ndamba it is related that "if he starts a lawsuit, he does not conclude it, if he concludes it, will there be any left? What shall they say (what shall they eat)?" "NAMVANGI created the human species. If he had not created the human species, no people would have existed".

metallic beetle, mbungu za mputu, was to be found on a mountain near Luozi. It was from here that the clan multiplied. From Fuma a man, a woman and their son went towards Manyanga. They built their house in the Nkenge or Masangi Valley. When the mushroom season came round the son went to look for mushrooms, and presently reached the Nzadi, in the vicinity of the falls. He pondered mightily as to what it might be that roared so loudly, and went up to the falls. Here he saw a lot of fish leaping up onto the shore. He picked them up and wondered how he should catch them in the water. He cut the stalks of a plant and weaved a pot. This he placed in the water and went home with the fish. On his way home he met his father, who had come out to look for him. The boy told what he had seen and heard. The following morning they went to the falls and examined the two pots, which were brimming with fish. The father was surprised that the boy had dared to remain by the riverside, where it was so dangerous, and that he had begun to make pots to put out in the river. The father then gave his son the name of NIMONI, as he had first seen (mona) the Nzadi. The lad grew up, became a big man and was very much respected. He was a Kinswaya resident of the Kikwimba, and governed together with his father, a Fuma resident of the Nsanga (Kindamba). It is now a Kinswaya resident who keeps mpu (yaazi). They moved nearer to the river, and the father divided it up among his family, so that they got their own fishing waters. To NIMONI he gave a nkaku-stow net, which surpassed all other implements for catching fish.

The Fuma people of Nsanga became very numerous. They were divided up into four mother-families: the Ntumba, Nkenge, Konzo and Nsuka. NKENGE and her younger sister NSUKA went there when they were married, but NTUMBA and KONZO remained behind and helped their mother. All of them, however, belong to the Fuma kya Nsanga (Ndamba) clan. When FUMA KYA NSANGA got involved in a lawsuit, he went and took a hen in the corner (fuma) of the henhouse, gave it to those who wished to prosecute, so that they might wait for a time. In this way he saved himself by calming his opponent. Another reason why they said FUMA was that he disputed with his brother (NDAMBA) and said: "Hear me, you are so wise. Let us then go and bind together two bundles, and put something in them". They did this. FUMA took a bundle in which there was salt, but NDAMBA took one containing earth. FUMA was ashamed, and hid himself in the henhouse. But NDAMBA threw out a part of the earth on the hill on which he wanted to settle, which therefore became his.

If a child of the Ndamba should say: "O father, NDAMBA NGOLO"! and there is a mfumu of the Ndamba present, the latter says to the child: "Come happiness, legs vigorous, arms nimble. May he who hates you bite in a tiba-plant and die with him". Or: "Reach over happiness. As NZAMBI wishes, you should work".

When on one occasion NANDAMBA was at Muntala, a man was drawing palm-wine in a calabash. The latter happened to see a nsuma antelope come tripping at the foot of the palm, whereupon he dropped the calabash with palm-wine on the animal's back. It struck the beast right in the middle of the back, and killed it. A conflict arose at Mun-

tala, because they refused to give the "heart" (ntima) of the antelope to NKUMBA, their ancestor. The Kindamba, it must be understood, were taken by NANKUMBA whence the human species came. NDAMBA paid three pigs as a conciliatory gift to NKUMBA; and thus at first NKUMBA ruled over NDAMBA. In the course of time, however, some members of the Ndamba went and bought guns from the whites in Mboma. They shot at the Nkumba, who scattered, crying: "O, they have the lightning"! It was thus the Ndamba who first used guns; but when it became known that they had shot with guns, and not with the lightning, also others began to buy such weapons.

The clan had no nkisi. At Muntala the Kindamba ruled. Their sign of dignity was a cap. They had a ntotila chief, TA MATAKA, who was at the same time nganga Mpu (bweno). This nkisi afforded fish, vegetables and children. If bonzo-medicine was placed in the river, fish became plentiful, and if men and women drank it they got children. If the earth yielded no harvest, a nsungwa-ring was to be bound to every hoe. A part of the population in the north crossed the Congo from the east at Mpumbu.

The Nlaza or Ndunga are an old clan that still survives at Kongo dya Ntotila. They keep the yaazi of the country and honour all the Nlaza who come there. They consider that the Nlaza, Nsundi and Bwende are the same clan or brothers. The Ndunga come from the Kinlaza. The Nlaza Ntinu or Nlaza Ntotila, as the Nlaza clan was formerly called, was a descendant from NAMUMBA, and thus a compeer of Nsundi a Mbamba and Nsundi a Mwembe. The children were called MBEDI, NABULU and NAMASONGO.¹ From the Nlaza Ntinu are descended also the following: Nlaza Ntinu, Mbenza Ntinu, Ntadi a Kongo and Nkumba Kongo. A serpent is their yaazi. The clan-names come from NANDUNGA, who is a Nlaza. The Ndunga came also from Muntala. The Fumvu, Kikwimba, Nlaza and Kimbenza have the same mother (ngudi).² When the Kinlaza family came to Mukimbungu and the north bank of the Congo up towards Luozi, they multiplied greatly. Quarrels ensued, however, concerning the fishing rights, and the people scattered. It was this clan which taught the art of making canoes. During MAZA's reign the clan divided up into four families (the Kinkyenge, Kizinga, Kimbambi and Kikonzo), who multiplied greatly and spread out over the country. According to the tradition, the family-names arose in the following way. One who hung his bell (kinkyenge) on his own person was given the family-name KINKYENGE, one who bathed in the pond (zinga) the name KIZINGA, one who ate his palm-nuts (mbambi) the name KIMBAMBI, and one who went to a market (konzo) the name KIKONZO. They ruled with nkisi Mwandazi.

Fumvu is the name given to the Nlaza who came from the south bank of the Congo in the Ngombe tract and belonged to the chief MAKITU. Others, again, came from Mowa. They went over the river to Boko in the French Congo, where FUMVU and his

¹ Among the numerous mottoes, the following may be mentioned: "Nlaza ntinu is not reckoned in clans, if you want to count his clan, it is your father's or mother's".

² "Ah, I FUMVU OF MAKABA, I shared out to the bearded ones, it is I, MAKABA, who shared out the whole country. It is the whole country that I, MAKABA, shared out among them, if I had not existed, they would have no country. To all the little ones I, MAKABA, have shared out all they possess". The Kikwimba clan has the same motto.

brother KIKWIMBA were called FUMVU DYA MAKABA and FUMVU DYA MYAKA, and KIKWIMBA KYA FUMVU and KIKWIMBA KYA LENGI respectively. These latter Kikwimba came from the Teke tract. They crossed the river at Mowa and moved up-country. The Kinlaza people know that they and the Fumvu belong to the same clan. These families, like the Kinsundi and Bwende, declare that the Kikwimba, Fumvu und Nlaza took guns with them on their journeys in the country, and that they steered up the Congo.

The Kimpanzu (or Songi) say that their female ancestor was called BWENDE. The Ntuudi a Kongo (or Ntuudi a Mpanzu) are also descendants from BWENDE and her husband NSUNDI, who came down from heaven.¹ MPANZU explodes in wrath like a boil that bursts. KISONGI is the one who shows the way in lawsuits. BWENDE took with her a palm-scion to the Congo. When she was crowned as regent, a palm-scion was planted and she sat on a leopard-skin and on a nkuwu-mat with a copper ring as a sign of dignity. When she had prepared her nkisi, KINANGA and NSUNDI were nkazi a mpemba and chalked (her?).

Ntuudi is the name given to the Bwende clan that knew how to make proper beds. The others took all sorts of brittle kinds of wood, so that their beds soon tumbled down, and they had to sleep on the ground again. Then BWENDE said: "Go to the forest and cut down the ntende-palm, for I own this palm. Then cut off a branch of the creepers ntubungu, ndimbu-ndimbu or zuudya and cut four poles with a fork on top from the trees mbota, mindu, mpeete or lubanzi lwa mpakasa and bring all here". A Bwende then cut branches of the palm and wove a bed with the fibres and made two pits in the ground at the head and two at the legs. He then took two trees and laid them in the forks of the bed-poles, one at the back and one in front. Then earth was packed tightly about the poles and the woven bed laid on the cross-pieces, while over all was laid a mat of papyrus or ndubi. People who saw the bed did likewise, and were called Ntuudi a Kongo or Ntuudi a Mpanzu (from tuudika, to set up).

It is sometimes said that the Bwende were given their name because they eat dogs (bwende) and marry within the same clan. The Nsundi Bwende are descendants of the

¹ "I, the Lord of Bwende, I, NYUMBU of NTENDE, I brought forth the chiefs of all tribes, I am a dangerous beast that follows any paths at all, I am not a leopard but a lion. I, BWENDE, crossed the Congo on a dry tree. I was the first who knew my way in the River Congo, afterwards I showed others (the way). It is I who gave them the beautiful creatures. If I, BWENDE, did not exist, the beautiful (ones) would not exist (either). Go to the forest, if you have cut off a branch at the edge of the palm, you must know that it is BWENDE who owns these palm-branches. If you want to build a house, the peeled palm-branches belong to BWENDE. If you crack palm-nuts, they are BWENDE's. If you eat his palm-nuts and you do not deny yourself (the pleasure of) wiping the dirt off your body, but wash yourself with their oil, you will become very beautiful therefrom. Then you will know that it is BWENDE who gave the beautiful creatures. And also the palms that are tapped are BWENDE's. Wherever there is no palm-wine, things are in a bad way, for a mug of palm-wine stills angry words". The Kisongi people say: "At Yanda MASONGI showed the travellers the right way, if he did not direct the lawsuits in the right way for you, you would have much trouble, forefathers on the maternal side or maternal uncle. BWENDE is SONGI, who showed the travellers the right way, if he guided you into the nkobo-grass, you would wallow in stinging nettles." Or: "He, BWENDE MPANZU, who speaks, i.e. SONGI who guides the travellers, if you lose the way, then go to SONGI who shows all ways". Or: "SONGI THE GREAT showed how with mpu or bweno they should be crowned, with a ring and on a leopard-skin, and (how they should) dress themselves. Otherwise, they would not have understood how the investiture should take place".

Bwende who came and settled on MANSUNDI's place; another group is called Bwende bwa Nsanga. The Bwende came also from the south bank of the Congo. They crossed the river at Manyanga, amongst other places. From their appellatory devices it emerges that they reckon themselves as belonging to MANSUNDI, but they took the name Bwende after nkisi Bweno. The tribe became influential, but seems never to have founded any great kingdom with ntinu-title or mbanza-town. One of their sacred sites is at Ntu a Matundulu, where NABWENDE or NAKYANGALA and his successors were crowned. The spot is honoured to this day by the Bwende people and the free-born from the Bwende and Nakyangala may not set foot there, but only children and grandchildren.

The Bwende who were of the Kinumbu people in the country north of Matadi up towards Vunga crossed the Congo to Mpalabala, whence they returned to the Nsundi-bank, multiplied greatly and moved to Mayombe. Those who owned the country were called Nsundi. In the Mumba country the clan-groups Mpanzu and Makaba arose. They separated, and each group bought its allotments of earth for a slave, and on these allotments they were permitted to build their villages. Then they left the country and changed their name to Bwende Mbambi and others.

Mbenza and Nanga are brothers. At Kibunzi, MBENZA is reckoned to be one of the female ancestors of the Nsundi clan. In Mayombe it was MANSUNDI's nkazi. Mbenza Kongo, Nkazi a Kongo, Nkala Nlandu and Nakuti a Nimi have one and the same palm, the same nsafu, i.e. they belong to the same clan. MBENZA became famous through MANSUNDI's government, for he became the executioner, who beheaded people with the lusimba-sword.¹ He became a great regent in the Boma tract. The kingdom was called Kimbenza. In some tracts the Mbenza became afterwards Kindamba.

In Mayombe we find MBENZA and his descendants in many places. They were called Mbenza Nakongo, and they went back to the south bank (of the river). However, they moved higher up, arriving at Nsaka a Mbenza (Vungu), where they met the Mbenza who had crossed the river at Noki and Matadi. They multiplied and moved up-country, crossing the Nkoko (the River Lukula), where there was a nkokolo plank-bridge (a tree felled over the river) by which to cross over. From this they got the name Mankoko or Nkokolo people. Other groups went to Yanga and Yema in order to join the Malwangu. Here, too, there were Mbenza, whose descendants were called Mbenza Mayombe, since they had remained behind in the Mayombe forests; the Mbenza Mayanga stopped at Yanga, the Mbenza Mantene arrived at the River Ntene in the Ndingi tract, the Mbenza Makamba remained in the middle of the country. Even when the Malwangu came to the Lower Lwangu at Nzobe, they met Kimbenza people, who had come from Vungu. These crossed the Lukula and the Lubuzi. The first ntinu at Vungu was called NAVUNGU DYA MBENZA or MBENZA NAVUNGU. After NAVUNGU new clan-groups were formed, and the descendants of NSAKU MALELE assumed the clan-name of Vungu in consequence of the bwene-regentship.

¹ The motto says: "MBENZA did not cleave mpunga-fibres, but only human heads". And: "MBENZA MUTYABI does not break off misenga-wood, but he breaks off human heads, those which Mr. MBENZA sits upon".

A great chieftainship was instituted at Yanga. At Nganda Yanga, MAYANGA MANIKA was appointed ntinu. He was the first to rule over the Kimbenza. He lived for so long that he smoked a hole in nine pipe-bowls. As signs of dignity ntinu received a mfunka-whisk-broom, a mpu-cap, a necklace of leopard's teeth, a bark pot with chalk and the sword lusimba. It was placed in the forest with the edge turned upwards to the sky. There were buried two binkanda, slow apes, a condyle (ngonzi), four claws and two teeth of the leopard, two minkwisa-plants (one was ground to pieces and one was made like a cornet), the creeping plants moobula and mungele-ngenze and two white crystals. After the arrival and regentship of the Nsundi people the place was called Nganda (Mbanza) Nsundi. Those who went to Mboma (Boma) were called the Mboma Nsundi. The Kimbenza people spread also farther eastwards and up-country to Nsundi Mamba and Fwenta etc. among the Bwende and other tribes. The great Kinumbu clan also came under the suzerainty of the Mwembe Nsundi. Mbenza is derived also from Numbu: Mbenza Numbu, which seems to indicate that NUMBU is the same as MUMBA.

MPANZU had no regent's rank (kiyaazi), and no residential town (mbanza). He was Nkazi a Mansundi (queen-clan) and a descendant of NANGA. From MPANZU came these children and four future mothers (ngudi): MFULU MPANZU, NLAZA MPANZU, NIMI MPANZU and NSUNGU MPANZU. From MFULU MPANZU came BWENDE.

The Nambamba were not one of the foremost clans.¹ NATUMA was a descendant from MBAMBA. He and NSUNDI were brothers. If NSUNDI does not sleep, MBAMBA does not get a wink.² NAMBAMBA, NATUMA, NANSAMBA and NANKENGE succeed one another in the same family. They had one mother (ngudi). The Lukeni have four mothers: MBIZI A LUKENI, MPODI A LUKENI, NKENZI A LUKENI and MVEMBA A LUKENI (or LUKENI LWA MVEMBA or LWA NKANGA). They did not inter-marry with the Mafuta and Nkenge a Lau, as they had the same ngudi. The mother-clans of the Mafuta and Masaki ma Nsunga are Vita Nima³ and Kyangala Nsundi respectively. Among other clans may be noted the Tanda Mazamba,⁴ Kinsembo (or Ndunga),⁵ Ngombe,⁶ Nanzundu a Kwimba,⁷ Ngoma Nzundu, Nakosi, Nambungu a Lala (brotherhood with the Nsanda, Luketi or Nlaza), Nantangi⁸ and Nankazi a Kongo.

¹ "NAMBAMBA wove cloth, he paved the way for those who clothe themselves. MBAMBA wove and received, he did not look at the fire, may they go and clothe themselves".

² At Mbala the people said: "NATUMA has commanded that nkampa-cloth be taken for clothes, if he had not commanded (men) to clothe themselves, men would be naked. He who swallows bingandu-grubs is the Lord of heaven".

³ "MAFUTA folded up the families of the lion and the leopard. If the leopard sleeps, he lashes and shakes the tip of his tail".

⁴ "TANDA MAZAMBA, TANDA OF MBUKU A MFUNDI, accuser through his mouth or (if it is a matter) through the mouth of another. MAZAMBA who called out his boasting, a boasting (deception) that had no end".

⁵ Other people say that: "NDUNGA and NDAMBA have one and the same nkaaka (forefathers on the maternal side) NZUZI: NDAMBA NZUZI, NDUNGA NZUZI".

⁶ "NGOMBE (bull) who puts up a resistance, he does not put up a resistance for a lawsuit, he does not put up a resistance against a dungheap. NGOMBE MAKAKA NYANGA opposed the whole country".

⁷ "NANZUNDU OF KWIMBA rises (walks) on the surface of the water, water may flow, he only continues walking".

⁸ "NANTANGI has entangled himself in the whole country, a great animal that walks on every road, if not a lion then a leopard".

The Namboma came from the Congo. They made their crossing at Nsanda, which NZONDO had planted (with trees). Then they separated. One group went to Boma, where NAMBOMA became regent under the name NAMBOMA KONGO. Formerly, the Boma country was called Lombe. NAMBOMA at first ruled with bwene-power, afterwards he received the lulendo-sword and power to execute people. NAMBOMA sired VASI KYA KONGO, NKUNDA KONGO and TUKULA TWA KONGO. NALOMBE was the first chief there. The people thought that he had come from the sea. LUMWENO LWA KONGO was a white (a fair-complexioned person, an European?) who ruled with the bwene-power of the country. Another chief was called NAMBOMA SINGI. A branch of the Namboma is the Kinzama clan. Other clans are the Nangimbi¹ and Nankuwu.² NAMVIKA NTUMBA, NANGOMA NTUMBA and MAKATI MA NTUMBA are descended from NTUMBA. He has also the name MABAKU, i.e. NLAZA. They were given the name Mabaku, as their nkisi had a very great idol.

NTAMBU KATAMBWA NKANU is a member of the Ngongolo, which signifies the same as the Nakyasimba.³ Members of the Mpembo, Kimbaku, Mazila and Kangu have formerly belonged to the Nsundi clan. The Nkamba (or Kamba) in the French Congo are the same clan as the Numbu a Nzinga (or Kindamba). Other clans that may be noted are the Ntamba,⁴ Lolo and Mbuku Sala. The two last-mentioned are members of the Nsanda. The Lolo were given this name because they ate malolo-fruits in time of famine.

The Kikwimba are the same as the Kingwala in the French Congo, and the Kifumvu are the same as the Kikwimba.⁵ Other clans are the Nansimbila and Nanga. Nanga kya Namfulama Nkanga, Nanga kya Namvemba and Nanga kya Nansamba have the same mother, NANGA. Nkazi a Kongo and Mazinga ma Kongo ye Nkumba Kongo have also one and the same mother. Namwanza, Namvemba and Nambamba belong to the same family (kanda) and have the same ngudi. The Kimpalanga are the same as the Kimbanda. The Ngandu and Kyunga are the same family. Those who belonged to the Kyunga moved elsewhere, as they did not want to pay such high fines. The oath of a member of the Kawunga clan is: "Taata MPANGA". Those who are appointed as regents are called nga vuka.

The Kiyinda and Kinsembo are of the same family. They separated in connection with the making of a nkisi, for members of the Kiyinda made a nkosi and those of the Kinsembo made a mpongo. These nkisi are called the origin of the family. They say that the Yinda people swear an oath by nkosi. The oath runs thus: "Father NKOSI

¹ "NANGIMBI is not calumniated, if one does not meet a grandchild there, one meets a child. NANGIMBI NKOTE, he went with chiefs into the enclosure".

² "NANKUWU OF TUBA or TUMBULA, if he wanted to appoint, he appointed, if he wished to depose, he deposed. If NANTUMBA was appointed, NANTUMBA was refused fines by ntinu NAKONGO".

³ "NTAMBU was not led astray, who (ever) set a snare for him was caught himself".

⁴ "I am NTAMBA, I have spread myself out over the whole country, from the other side of the river to this side (in Mayombe). Now we have come after my brother KINANGA who came from the east".

⁵ "NAKWIMBA made his sleeping-place like a rock that a lion is unable to climb up".

(lion) roared, the leopard's cubs shook their tails. A great giant tree where MIYINDA hid in the shade". When swearing an oath NSEMBO's children say only: "Taata NSEMBO". Other clans are the Kinkanga,¹ Muvimba (when they were ruling, they were called the Malela Muvimba), Kinimbi,² Munwani, Kingoyi³, Navangi,⁴ Nansungu,⁵ Nantadi, Nansanda,⁶ Nanoki⁷ and Nakyonzo.

¹ "He who eats a guinea-hen will get the itch visibly and become spotty, he is the master of the Kinkanga, for the rank of chief came from the guinea-hen".

² "Father NIMBI ruined his brother with a hot manioc-root". And: "Members of the Nimbi sat practising sorcery at the edge of the fire in great cold".

³ "NGOYI the creator, who created lawyers for litigants in order to make an end quickly".

⁴ "NAVANGI who created the human species. If he had not created men, no people would have existed".

⁵ "NANSUNGU elected the good, for the wicked we made a village".

⁶ "The Nansanda Kongo richer than all families".

⁷ "NANOKEI who let the rain fall over the whole country".

Brief Legends concerning Clans

The Makaba clan had formerly multiplied greatly and reached the River Congo. In order to cross over to the other side of the latter they collected nkole carrying-bands (for baskets etc.) and knotted them together till they reached right over to the opposite bank. When they tied the end of the band fast here, the river divided in the middle and became dry, so that they were able to cross. On the other side they began to cultivate plants. Nothing would grow, however, and there was a serious famine. They then left this country, and when they reached the river again they once more threw their carrying-bands over to the other bank, and, as before, the waters divided and they crossed over to the other side.

Some consider that the Mazinga clan was the first to begin hollowing out canoes, others, again, that it was the Ndunga. At first the Ndunga tried to paddle over on a banana-trunk, but it sank. They then hollowed out a dry tree, and on this they made the crossing. This is why they say: "The Bwende people crossed over on a dead head, although he himself (NDUNGA or MAZINGA) made the crossing on a dead (dry) tree".

The Kimbenza wanted to climb up a burnt mfuma-tree without a crown. A man bound nkolokoso-creepers firmly round the trunk, in order with their help to climb the tree. He climbed higher and higher with the loop of creepers, but then he fell down to the ground and was killed, for the loop had no hold above the burnt trunk. The one who was with him went to the village to get helpers to carry away the dead man. When they arrived at the site of the accident the new-comer asked: "But how did he die"? The other answered: "He took this loop and began to climb up like this". He continued climbing and suddenly tumbled to the ground. The man who was standing by watching fetched another. But the latter also asked how it had happened. When the man who had witnessed the fall tried to demonstrate this, he, too, fell to the ground. Several died in the same way, until the chief came. He put the same question as to how the accident had happened. One man was immediately ready to climb up, but the chief refused to allow him to do so. He said: "Stand here beside me and show me how it was". Then the man explained just what had occurred. For when the loop of creepers reached the top of the burnt off trunk it slipped over, and the climber accordingly fell down to the

ground and was killed. The chief made them swear an oath to the effect that if they saw anything dangerous, they should never do the same thing and expose themselves to the same danger.

In the beginning men were born of the same mother. She had nine breasts. She also bore MABIDI, who was called NGUDI A MABIDI (Mother MABIDI). She gave birth to quadruplets the first time, and triplets the second time. A later mother swore an oath, saying: "If I should give birth to a girl-child, may she have one breast and bear one child, for it is very troublesome to give birth to four children at once". The womb heard the oath, so that only one child with one breast was born, NGWA MAYEENE. This child became a mother and bore many children, and these, with only a single breast, multiplied till they were a great number. The children sucked only one breast. Finally, NGWA MAYEENE thought it was bothersome to suckle the child at one breast, so she said: "If I bear a girl-child it shall have two breasts". She now gave birth to different kinds of children with one or two breasts. At first twins (bansimba) or bakisi were born, for their mother is nkisi and the children are also nkisi. The child coming thereafter was given the name NLANDU that followed (landa) after twins.

Concerning the Nananga there is a story to the effect that they changed themselves into apes, because NANKUMBA plagued them with palaver although they were his brothers-in-law. When he was crowned, the Nanga were nkazi mpemba to NANKUMBA. One day the torment was too much for them and they said: "We must always answer and answer in lawsuits, let us go and become apes". And they turned themselves into apes and sang the song: "We have been men, we have been afraid of lawsuits, kito-kitontobolo kieye, kito-kitontobolo kieye (the sound made by apes)".

The reason why the Numba Nzinga and others crossed over to the north side of the Congo was that while they were still at Kongo dya Ntotila, NAKONGO bought a slave from Kasi, up-country. He was a tapper of palm-wine, and he began to tap palm-wine and give it to NAKONGO. One day, when the palm-wine became strong and NAKONGO drank much of it, he grew sleepy and slept for so long that his sister's children began to think the slave must have poisoned it. When the latter heard their intention to kill him, he fled. When the chief had sobered up, he sought his slave. But the people said that he had fled, because they had thought of killing him. NAKONGO became furious and said: "Seek him out, for he has found something good for me. If you do not find him, I will have you all killed". Those who had been sent to seek him, together with their women, searched everywhere, and finally reached the Congo. They crossed the river at Nsanda (the fig-tree) that NZONDO (a messenger of God's) had planted. There some of them remained, while others settled at Nteye. In this way several provinces were founded, such as Kimakunga, Vungu Mbenza, Kimpese kya vunga, over which former members of the Nanimi ruled.

CHAPTER VI

The Inhabitants

“The Kongo were formerly much bigger and stronger”, says one of my informants, “for their forefathers forbade them to commit fornication and to marry too early”. The soil and the mode of life seem to affect physique. Where the soil is sandy and the game consists mostly of rats and grasshoppers and the like, the Kongo are rather small of stature and thin. But where bananas and peanuts are cultivated, and where there is plenty of big game, they are stronger and more courageous. Big and heavy-grown persons are much esteemed, for their appearance is such as to command respect. If a man is very small, he is scorned and jeered at with the words: Byokwa tuvi (one who belches dung) or keti sinza (as low as the stump of a tree). The natives are very quick to remark on appearance, and this causes annoyance and fighting. As a result of their daily work in the fields, the women seem to be stronger and more heavily built than the men, and their power of resistance appears also to have been greater in many cases. With the dawn of the new era, with other kinds of work, for example the carrying of heavy burdens (by bearers of trade-caravans) and the construction of railroads, the men at first succumbed rather soon, not least in consequence of the unaccustomed food, gastric affections and sudden epidemic diseases such as sleepy sickness.

The body-odours are almost intolerable for Europeans, but they vary considerably. Those with very darkly pigmented skins seem to emanate the most pungent odour. A native I brought home with me to Sweden was in the habit of smelling his winter-cap to recognize it among many others in Swedish homes. A native attaches much importance to the colour of the skin: herein consists his beauty. A very darkly pigmented skin is not considered beautiful, nor is a fair complexion. But a person with a shining brown complexion like the fish ngola zanga (*Clarias ngola*) is pleasant to look upon. If the skin is too dark, it is likened to the sooty mfilu-trees, where a prairie-fire has passed. If a person has too fair a complexion, the mother is considered to have come into contact, for example when bathing, with nkisi Funza or simbi-spirits.

The family that gets strong children is regarded as a good breeding family, and those who have weak and sickly children are likened to nankoko-dyongo (a cock). The people also say: “Shall I despise an ugly calabash, if it is not cracked? Nor (shall I despise) any

child, if it is not dead". Concerning heredity, they say: "If the monkey's tail is not like the father's, then it is like the mother's". The senses of sight, hearing and smell are strongly developed. This is especially evident when the men are out hunting. Some are said to be able to know by their sense of smell whether a porcupine or other animal is in its hole or not, and they are considered to have a scent as keen as a dog's. Of the women it is said that they do not need to taste the food, for they can tell from the smell alone whether it is salt or not. The Kongo frequently smell things to tell whether they are good or bad. They react swiftly to that which smells bad, especially excrements and the like. If something tastes bad, nausea is felt at once. When meat, on the other hand, begins to smell bad, the smell is said to be good.

Small, bright, clear eyes are considered to be the most beautiful. Prominent eyes, which appear swollen or staring, are ugly. Blood-shot eyes are evidence of an irascible and ill-disposed temper. Some of the natives have drooping eyelids and do not see so well. Blind persons are of rare occurrence. Attention is paid to the appearance of the ears, and they are often made the subject of jeering remarks. Very outstanding ears are likened to the wings of the great ngembo-bat, and wide and drooping ears to a mushroom that droops when rotting. Small and compressed ears are said to resemble the nduutu-rodent, or, if they are larger, the lubata-bata plant, with its leaves pressed down to the ground. A very flat nose is not considered beautiful. Nor must a nose be tip-tilted or crooked. And large, straight noses are taken as a subject for mirth. They resemble a munkatu trap. The mouth may be wide, with thick, sometimes split lips. Some have a protruding mouth and a crooked chin. One person is said to have had such a coarse and big lip that he was able to draw it into the actual mouth-cavity. The chest is as a rule not very high and prominent. Those who have a rounded or hollow chest (a chest like the duka-bird) are often ridiculed. If the chest is broad at the shoulders and strong, it is called dongo. The arms are thin and long. Few have heavy arm-muscles. Hands and feet are rather small. The legs are as a rule without well-marked calves. They are thin and have frequently outstanding shin-bones. The ankles are uncommonly thin. The legs are often made the subject of comment. Some have long legs (which are) likened to the elephant's trunk, others have legs resembling those of the sheep, the heron or the nsuma-antelope. Others have small, short legs like the nduutu-rodent or the ntyetye-bird. If a pair of legs are fat and heavy, they are said to resemble an elephant's, and the feet are likened to a sledge-hammer.

The Kongo stand not only heavy blows, but also other physical suffering with great composure and patience. If necessary, they are able to stand great hardship in connection with work, or much privation in the way of hunger and thirst. On the occasion of a death or other cause for grief the Kongo can fast for many days, if they only get a bit of cola-nut, a little portion of malandwa-onions, or some tobacco to smoke. If they are without drinking water, they try to slake their thirst by chewing certain juicy plants.

Their gait is generally erect and their deportment good, as everything is carried on the head. A person's gait is often mimicked and joked about, and people are frequently

judged by it. If a chief visits another village, he should walk with short steps and lean somewhat forward, not looking behind him. He holds a staff in his hand (fig. 1), and a little bell is fixed to the corner of his mantle, so that all who hear the tinkling shall immediately understand what social rank he holds. All his followers, even the slaves, must walk slowly. A more important chief must be carried. His sister's children blow trumpets and beat gongs, while his wives are among those who have to carry his belongings. If the man gets into conversation with anyone, he must grind his teeth (*kweta meeno*), from which it follows that he is a great chief. Young men who wish to show their arrogance walk with round shoulders and indrawn belly, and with a jauntily stamping stride (*kita-kita*, *nginda-nginda*, *kuda-kuda*, *kubakani-kubakani*). The older ones then ask: "Why have you become so forward-leaning (arrogant)?" The gait of the old is somewhat limping, tottering (*dinunu-dinunu*, *tyu-tyu*, *zekani*). Big obese women walk with quivering fat (*zezo-zezo*, *zebo-zebo*), and are therefore called the corpulent ones (*bamaze-buka*). Fat children walk lightly on their feet with quivering flesh (*zwakakani-zwakakani*, *zwakya-zwakya*). Young men and women often walk in a provocative way when they see each other. The girls lean forward slightly to peep at their breasts, and in such a way that the breasts quiver, for then the youths desire them. They are still more popular if they walk like corpulent women, i.e. with a hopping gait (*domo-domo*) and swinging their loin-cloths so as to expose their nakedness in front or behind. The men, in their turn, walk with a tripping gait (*kita-kita*). On their right hip they wear a knife in a sheath, and they walk in such a way that the knife shakes and sometimes slants in a manner that makes it bump still more on their thighs, which delights the other sex. The slaves are not allowed to walk in any other way than that to which they have been accustomed since childhood. When they walk past a chief they must creep forward stealthily on their toes, bending low as they go, without showing their chests. When passing in front of a chief, women, too, must walk silently on their toes, and in a crouching posture.

Many different movements have each their special significance. If one clasps one's hands together above the nape of the neck (*taka ntaala*), this is a sign of sorrow, weariness

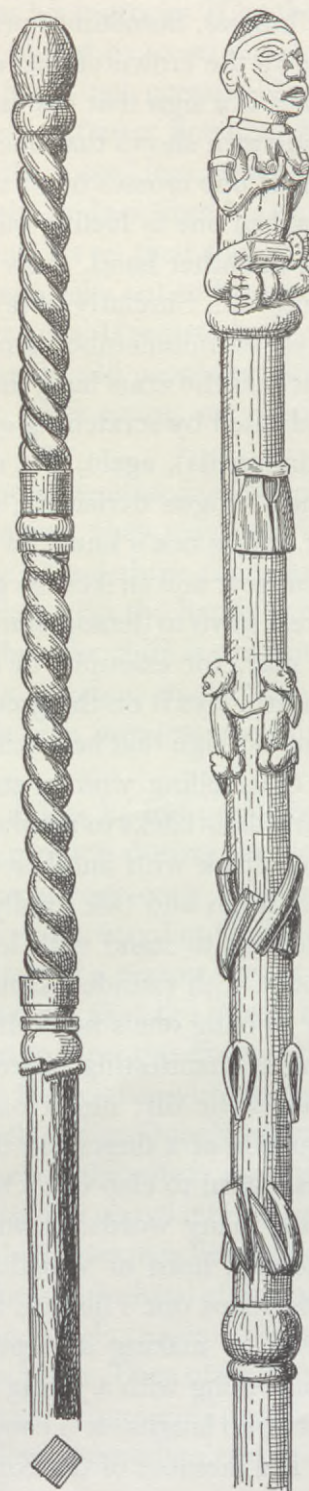


Fig. 1. Chief's staff: a, *Sangi in Masendjo (Laman 752)*; b, *Sundi in Mayombe (Laman 759)*.

or hunger. Sometimes persons may go and weep thus. If the hands are clasped together above the crown of the head, this signifies a very great grief. To cup the chin in one's hand is a sign that one is pondering. To stretch out the arms (tukuna mooko) strongly and yawn shows that one is hungry, sleepy, or pondering which way to take or what to do. If one crosses one's arms with one's hands on one's shoulders (zinga nkondibila ya vembo) one is feeling cold, is without food and alone. Arms folded across the chest, on the other hand, show that one is idle or has nothing to hold onto or to place one's hands on. Similarly, it is a sign of idleness if one clasps one's hands over one's stomach (vyavisa mimilembo va mooyo), or if one has one arm akimbo or both hands on one's back. If the arms hang limply, one is ashamed, bashful or has nothing to hold. Wrath is indicated by scratching one's head and ears vigorously. To shake and flick one's fingers (kindookila), again, is a mark of great anger, and wrath is also indicated if one clicks one's tongue derisively, wrinkles one's brow, compresses the lips, breathes sighingly or strikes one's knuckles on the ground. The same applies if a person snatches off his headgear and strikes the ground. If a paramount chief acts in this way, the younger men fire a salvo to demonstrate their desire to realize the intention behind their chief's wrath it may, for example, be a matter of war or a lawsuit. If a man takes his knife from the sheath, lays it on the ground, snatches off his headgear and places it in top of his knife, this is a sign that he intends to wage fight.

Quarrelling women stand with legs wide apart or take off their two loincloths and turn their backs to another as a mark of derision. When one is invited to partake of food and drink with another, it is considered good manners to belch when one is satisfied. To laugh and talk loudly also indicates that one has eaten sufficient or is happy. It is boastful to stand with legs wide apart or to sit with legs spread out, as is also to stamp about with rounded shoulders, to gnash one's teeth, to walk with one's head in the air or to hang one's head. If one raises one's eyebrows or smacks the lips in a certain way one is manifesting contempt. To point with the finger is reprehensible, for then one shows the dirt under one's nails (tuvi), and this is a sign of anger. To point with the knuckle of a finger, on the other hand, is respectful and good manners. Similarly, it is respectful to clap one's hands gently, not to look directly at a person and not to answer with many words. If one wishes to attract the attention of a person at a distance one blows a horn or whistles, according to agreement. If the distance is short, however, one snaps one's fingers. Shaking the head or the shoulders implies refusal. Lifting the head or making an upward jerk implies approval. If a man narrows his eyes when conversing with a young woman, lewdness is intended, and the same applies to a young girl who laughs, acts coquettishly or rolls her eyes.

If a member of the Kongo wants to sit down, he should sit sedately with crossed legs and be silent. He should not sit down on a mat, but should wait until he gets one to sit upon. It is most desirable to sit at the fire, but if several are already sitting there another spot should be sought out. One who is clad in a loin-cloth should fold it in from the sides and under the posterior and sit upon it. One who is clad in the mataba-cloth

(one in front and one behind) should tuck the one in front under his buttocks. If he then wishes to draw up his knees, this is permissible, but the cloth should be so arranged as not to afford a view of his private parts. It is, on the other hand, not permissible to sit with legs stretched out towards a person whom one respects. If after finishing his work a man wants to sit at home in the village, he should sit with crossed legs, chat with his family, chase away the flies with his whisk and drive away the midges from his eyes. Mosquitoes and horse-flies he kills. Before the fire the men often sit on their toes, with their buttocks on their heels. At meal-times a man of the Kongo calls out to his wives to bring out the food; the men-folk sit with crossed legs on their mats. If anyone behaves in another fashion or eats greedily, he is admonished. As a rule, the old people eat first, and then the younger ones and the slaves, if they are sent for. After eating one should dry the spoon and the mouth well.

After the food, palm-wine is drunk, and the women are generally summoned to join the men-folk in their drinking. When they have finished drinking, they may not rise before the one who has served the palm-wine has struck the vessel three times and clapped his hands. All the members of the company should then clap the hands three times simultaneously, and only then is the vessel put away. When the chief is drinking, all the others must be silent. The meal is rounded off with a common smoke with a munkoka-pipe or an ordinary pipe, as desired. When a lawsuit is in progress one must sit very properly and observe traditional customs.

In the day-time it is seldom that anyone lies down to rest unless he has performed some heavy work. Older chiefs and old people generally sleep much during the day, but during the night, on the other hand, they sleep little, waking at cock-crow. Pregnant women are also in the habit of sleeping in the day-time. If the sun is very hot while the day's work is going forward, a rest is taken in the shade of a tree. If a person wishes to lie down on a bed indoors, he first makes a fire, shakes the mat and then lies down. He takes off his loin-cloth and spreads it over himself. If he wishes to meet the dawn at the fire-side, he must now and then get up in order to tend the fire. He first lies with his back towards the fire, then turns round or lies on his back until he falls asleep. One should not lie down or sit leaning towards the fire, for one may then be burnt. If the wife is also lying in the bed she must never turn her back to her husband. When having sexual intercourse, they always lie on their sides. If there are two men in the same bed, they may lie however they like. A smoker should shake out the ash from his pipe and put it at the head of the bed.

The natives are by nature happy and jovial, ready-witted and lively, unless they are afflicted with sorrow and suffering. There is much that delights them. They often dance and are merry evening after evening. People from neighbouring villages are invited to festive occasions of different kinds. For such occasions they adorn themselves and dress up in all their finery, eat, and drink palm-wine. After a victorious campaign, a successful hunt, if someone has come to seek protection in the village (*lokila kunda*), eaten *nkasa*-poison but survived the ordeal, or been away on a caravan-trip to the coast and returned, the event is celebrated with a great feast.

But just as they are quick to express gladness or sorrow, so, too, they are quick to anger. They are very sensitive and susceptible to insults, whether references has been made to their appearance, their words or their actions. Thus quarrels and fighting with knives blaze up easily. All the little squabbles in the home between man and wife often lead to insults, which are followed by fights and lawsuits, for every dispute must be settled. Nothing is forgiven, the culprit must be made to suffer. One sees clearly that there are two different parties to a marriage. Cases of adultery are the occasion of important lawsuits. Where more than one family or clan is represented in the village discord and great difficulties often arise. The disputing parties then separate, for the natives have a great desire for peace and quiet, and gaiety. Dissension between villages with different families is often very violent, so that war breaks out and is in its turn succeeded by lawsuits. The chief of a village shows his anger by taking off his headgear and flinging it to the ground, which implies that he swears he will wage war upon his adversaries. If he is very indignant, he may take his gun, run to their village and fire a shot.

The gentle and peace-loving are very popular, they are sung and praised in various ways. If one tries to quarrel with them, they do not make any defence. They do not stamp, but walk as usual. They do not speak forcefully, but quietly and cautiously. Their appearance shows clearly that they are friendly and peace-loving, and they decide lawsuits in a just manner. Enmity between persons in the village and between different villages may sometimes last for a long time, and is manifested especially by their refusal to have anything to do with each other. Rather does each try to inflict injury upon the other when opportunity offers. Such hostility frequently arises when banganga point out various persons as bandoki, who are hated by all, or when a person is considered to bewitch animals or crops, or to manifest envy in some other way. Such enmity is generally wound up with a lawsuit, and the relations between the parties may become good again if the one who considers himself wronged is paid a sufficient sum as compensation. A very good native feature is revealed by the fact that when once an offence has been atoned by a fine or other punishment, there is no further talk of the matter. On one occasion a thief returned to his village from the prison in Matadi, and was received with discharges of fire-arms and jubilation. When teaching, reference should never be made to any wrong that has been committed by a known person, for then it will be said that one has not forgotten the matter or quite forgiven it.

Friendship is accorded in the first place to the individual's own family or clan and others with whom the members contract marriage. Others are regarded as strangers, enemies (batantu). Friendship is best sustained with the families with which a person's ancestors lived on a friendly footing. If a somewhat younger generation should loosen the bands of such a traditional friendship, they try to establish renewed friendship by confirming the old tie with an oath before a well-known nkisi. If anyone fails to meet his obligations in this connection, he will suffer for it by being visited by ill-luck and disease. Friends afford each other mutual support in work, in lawsuits and in the case

of sickness, and by the exchange of gifts. This friendship is also shown to members of the clan travelling through the village, for hospitality within the clan is great.

There is real love and devotion between child and mother. The remarkable thing is that there are no really adequate words or expressions in the language for such concepts as love, chastity and purity. Love, to love is expressed e.g. either by *zola*, to will, wish to have or *tonda*, to thank (a person) for (getting something). Compassion and tenderness for persons outside the family or for animals is rather alien to them. Yet one cannot say that the Kongo are cruel by nature, for actions which strike us as cruel are for them something they have witnessed from childhood and never reflected about until they have been taught. If children and women, for instance, go out after a prairie-fire to dig in rat-holes and catch the rats, they break their legs and throw the rats in the basket without giving the matter a thought. Also captives and others are treated with unnecessary cruelty, but this is rather to be regarded in the light of a punishment. On such occasions the natives show their innocence and ignorance by laughter and jeering.

The frequently used word *mavimpi*, to greet, is foreign. They used to say *malembe* (peace) or *mpolo* (healthy) and clap their hands, snap their fingers (*bindookila*) or rub their hands and beat their breasts. They may also take each other's hands and stretch them out three or four times towards each other, or cross them towards each other and greet with clapping. This is repeated two or three times. They never, on the other hand, shake hands in the European fashion. If two friends meet in the morning, the first says: "Mpolo"! The other replies: "Yes, mpolo. But the chief, has he good health (mpolo)"? "Yes, he is healthy". A great chief is greeted by falling on one's knees (*yobila tobe*), rubbing one's hands on the ground, stroking one's ear-lobes or temples and clapping one's hands. The chief replies to the greeting with: "Ngete-e (yes), and the person greeting him must then perform *yobila tobe* three times. When he leaves the chief's house, he should go backwards, bending his knees. To turn one's back to a crowned chief (*ntinu*) is insulting, and for such a flagrant offence one may be beheaded. A chief may sometimes also reply to a greeting with the words: "Go and come so that you do not bang your foot on the way, that you are not bitten by any snake on the way, and when you arrive at your village, you shall not die so soon, and I shall see you again".

Another friendly greeting takes the form of both parties falling on their knees and clapping their hands. The same greeting is offered to a stranger coming to the village. The latter does not greet first; he sits still until his friend comes and greets him. He is then given a mat and palm-wine, after which the greeting proper begins. This consists in the two parties giving each other an account of the health and other details from their respective villages, after which the real purpose of the visit is mentioned. If enemies meet they may say *mpolo* and separate, or else they may go out of each other's way. Towards older persons and superiors, when they are related to them, the natives are always very careful and polite in their behaviour, a feature to which neither missionaries nor other whites have paid sufficient attention.

The people are hard-working, for their own welfare and that of the family, and many

of them are, indeed, very industrious. Industry is honoured in many ways, not least in connection with marriage and death. The women devote themselves entirely to agriculture and to various domestic arts. The men, on the other hand, occupy themselves with clearing forest areas, cultivating pisang, building huts, hunting and fishing, tapping palm-wine, smithing and trade with neighbours and friends. Trading trips might also, however, take them as far as the coast, or to other tribes up in the north. At the watershed between the Belgian and French Congos the population was for certain periods occupied entirely with the smelting of lead and copper ores, and in a number of other places with the smelting of bog-ore. In this connection the women were responsible for procuring coal. The Kongo are very interested in all sorts of new trades, in which they develop considerable skill. They find it difficult, on the other hand, to learn punctuality, accuracy and perseverance.

Truthfulness is not one of their cardinal virtues. "Who does not lie, if he can profit by it"? asked a young boy. Nevertheless, lying and theft in one's own family is frowned upon. It is, on the other hand, commendable to lie to strangers and to steal from them, provided that one stands to gain by it and is not discovered. Such offences within the family are severely punished. If one is in the habit of lying and cheating, he may be given a fine necklace of the excrement of goats and pigs. This is hung round the neck, chest and hips of the culprit. The people of the village then gather round him to dance and sing jeering songs. In the market-place women may also be made the subject of insulting songs. An older Kongo may sometimes say to a younger: "You are a worse liar than I"! (i.e. you are slyer than I).

A person who is very hungry may cheat people into giving him food by going to them and concocting stories of what, for instance, their enemies have said about them. The visitor is then given food for telling his hosts about the matter. Then when the truth comes out and the culprit is to be punished, he invents new lies, and fresh disputes arise between the parties. Younger people who are hungry and outcast often steal from the fields. If they are seized they are punished in different ways. Gunpowder, for example, is put on their heads and then ignited; or they are placed on a shelf in a house in which a fire is then made with a very smoky kind of wood, after which the house is sealed as hermetically as possible. Children are often punished by having masticated pepper rubbed in their eyes and posteriors, bigger offenders by being placed in the stocks or the pillory. Theft in the market-place is punished by living burial. Cheating of relatives is taken to court. Adultery used generally to be punished severely, but after the arrival of the Europeans the laws touching this offence were made less drastic. Among the Bwende and other tribes in more northerly tracts a young girl must be chaste at the time of her marriage if she is to be respected and honoured as a good wife. In the Nyari-Kwilu Valley towards Brazzaville child marriages used to be common.

In their relations with Europeans the Kongo are cautious and reserved. There is no hostility on the score of the light skin, it is due rather to the encroachment of the whites in all spheres. The Kongo tend to react strongly against acts of violence, and this has

not seldom resulted in war. In their relations with strangers, whether Europeans or not, the Kongo show great cunning and calculation, combined with an almost incredible sense of solidarity. Important events may be kept secret, so that Europeans, at least, are entirely deceived. On such occasions it is the chief who speaks, and no-one else is allowed to say anything.

The Kongo are not nomads, though they very frequently move their villages, especially in certain tracts where hostilities are rife. They often move also, however, if many cases of sickness or epidemics occur. But such moves are seldom to such a distance that they are not able to transport their huts to the new site for the village in the course of the day. And they often move back to the hills and palm-groves where their forefathers lived. On account of the constant moving, their huts used to be made of grass or, in the wooded tracts, of bark. These huts were both ugly and dilapidated, and sometimes constructed from fragments from older buildings. Various causes have contributed to the fact that the fields are sometimes situated far distant from the village. In such cases, however they erect guardhuts on the spot, so that the crops may be protected from wild pigs and other animals.

CHAPTER VII

Food

Fruits and other edibles, such as various foliaceous plants, fungi, flying termites, grubs and insects, form the general diet. Among the fruits which are harvested, those of the oil-palm are the most important. They are eaten boiled or roasted, and from them is prepared palm-oil for cooking purposes. The latter is also exported under the name nzetta. The palm-nuts are picked by the men, who climb up in the palms and knock down the clusters of nuts, which are then collected by the women. Palms were formerly much planted. They were also tapped for their sap, from which palm-wine is made. Palm-nuts, which in consequence of their ripeness, sweetness and redness are considered to cause insanity, are forbidden by a nkisi.

One of the most popular fruits is nsafu (*Canarium saphu*). When it has become ripe there is jubilation in the village, for everyone gets some of it. The men climb the trees and with a long pole with a hook (*lungoya*) at the end they drag the branches towards them and pluck the fruit into their bags. All the fruit is collected in the village square (*boko*), and the chief distributes it among the people, men and women, free and bond. Nsafu, which requires good soil, is still planted. The person who plants nsafu owns it. It may be inherited and even sold as real property. It is a dark blue fruit whose flesh is eaten roasted or parboiled. It may also be stored indoors until the fruit withers and becomes soft, when it is immediately eaten. One can also dry the fruit, but before it is eaten it should be parboiled.

Mbidi (*Poehylopus*) is very similar to nsafu, but it is not so good nor so popular. It is picked and distributed in the same way as nsafu. It is often called the little nsafu-tree. It has a dark blue fruit which should not be roasted, but which is parboiled before it is eaten. Nsati is a variety of nsafu with a very strong acid taste. It is eaten chiefly by children. Munbombo is a kind of large, tall almond-tree which grows along the banks of the Congo. When the fruits fall to the ground and rot they are shelled and the almonds eaten. Ntezi is a big tree whose fruits resemble those of the almond-tree, though they are larger. When ripe the fruits are broken in two and the nuts eaten. Nsekinya (*Bosqueia angolensis*) bears fruits resembling peanuts. The fruits are boiled or roasted, after which the kernels are eaten.

Several other fruits from different trees are juicy and tasty as they are, e.g. mvuuta, a red, acid fruit which grows in big clusters, lemons of various kinds and the plum-like fruits of mungyengye (*Spondias lutea*) etc. Among other fruits may be noted pineapple, which in some places grows wild in the woods in dense patches. Of the fruits which are eaten to still hunger may be mentioned the cola-nut (makaazu), ngadidi (or nzadila and ngadyadya, *Garcinia gladii*), which all have a bitter taste. The cola-nuts are placed in a termite-hill until the pulp has been eaten away. They are then eaten for the most part by older persons in order to keep awake. The Sundi have planted the cola-nut tree as a sign that they rule in a country.

Of the cultivated fruits the banana (dinkondo, diko) is probably the most important. There are a number of fine varieties of this plant, the fruits being of different sizes and of various appearance and colour, e.g. the finest, ndongila, and sele, mayimba and mbende. Foreign varieties of the banana have also been introduced into the country. The variety tiba (*Musa sapientum*) is not much eaten, but is used chiefly as fodder for the animals. Wild bananas growing in the woods are eaten mostly in times of famine. The native banana is roasted and eaten before it is ripe. It may also be boiled and used for various dishes. There are several varieties of peanuts (nguba), e.g. nzabi, binkonya and mindadu. They are eaten both fresh and roasted, pounded into a mash and eaten with pepper or added to other dishes (yuuma). Among the varieties of beans (zangi) may be mentioned mpwati, nzi and makongo. There are at least two varieties of peas, the tall Indian variety and nguba zankongo (*Voandzeia*), which is so called as this variety grows into the earth. Maize (masangu, masa) is much cultivated, and several new varieties have been introduced in recent years. It is prepared in various ways.

There are several varieties of potatoes (mbala), some of which grow wild in the woods and are eaten when there is a shortage of food. As some of them contain a good deal of arsenic and are thus poisonous, they must be put in water for a time to take away the bitter taste. This applies to e.g. ngamba and masoko. The nkanga (or sadi) potato is a very valuable article of food. The cultivated varieties are above all batatas, sweet potatoes of different kinds and ignames (*Dioscora*). "Hippopotamus potatoes" (mbala nguvu) grow to an enormous size and may be kept for a long time. Pieces are cut off and boiled. There are also different kinds of pumpkin (malenge) and masudya, whose seeds are eaten, leaf-cabbage (nkoya, nkooya), lettuce, hembe-sorrel (*Rumex*), whose leaves are pounded a little and stirred up with peanut mash (kindunga). There are several varieties of pepper (nungu, ndungu), above all so-called pili-pili. Also wild spices are used. This is the case with e.g. kwini, whose leaves are dried and pounded, and added to yuuma. The natives like to spice their food strongly.

Fungi are very much liked, and the women are familiar with the best varieties. They are also sold in the market. Tumbula is considered to be the best, and among other good varieties may be noted kinata, kimbula-mbungu, nsempila, mbombo fulwa, businda, mazangana, buwdoolo, bumwanga and bumfumfu. Among edible fungi may also be mentioned ntundulu and mpembo. The latter resembles batatas and grows under the

ground. It is boiled like potatoes. Women and boys pick mushrooms, clean them and boil them. Some are parboiled, while others again are put to dry on some shelf in the house, being used afterwards together with a good yuuma dish.

Certain termites cultivate different varieties of fungus by spreading the mycelium in the earth. The spawn grows into mushrooms even in a single day, after which the termites harvest them.

Some flying termites which come out in swarms during the ndoolo season are very popular. They are caught in the air when swarming, with pole-nets and with big baskets fixed to poles, or else on the ground in their nests, where grass with big sprays of flowers is heaped. The termites are then caught in the sprays when they fly out, and are shaken off into baskets. They may also be dug out of the nests, but as a lot of earth is collected at the same time this method is not so popular. They are eaten together with boiled manioc or yuuma with beans. Cooked meals are eaten in the evenings. On journeys and at work the natives eat roasted maize, peanuts, palm-nuts, pieces of manioc and cassava.

The natives as a rule deny that their forefathers were cannibals, but the traditions of the Nanga clan do nevertheless indicate that cannibalism occurred in the former kingdom of the Congo, above all in the frontier tracts between the Congo and the Kasai. It was for this reason that the clan broke up and crossed to the north side of the Congo, where it was decided that they should refrain from eating human flesh. During a severe famine the clan lapsed for a time into the old custom. Also according to certain Portuguese sources, cannibalism seems to have occurred. And some have found support for the assumption of a former cannibalism in the circumstance that the Kongo say *dia bantu* ("eat people") in connection with black magic, where the correctness of an accusation is ascertained with *nkasa-poison*.

Certain kinds of earth, chalk-earth and the earth and clay with which certain termites build their hills or tunnels on the trunks of trees are much favoured. They are dug up and eaten to still hunger or to take away the taste of fat in the mouth. The earth, which gets its taste from the termites, is not chewed, it melts in the mouth and is swallowed. Boys, girls and pregnant women often eat earth, but also older persons may be geophagous. If chalk-earth and (reddish) clay-earth from the plains are much eaten the earth-eater gets swollen eyes, cheeks and limbs, and becomes unable to excrete the food properly. Chalk is also mixed with medicine from a *nkisi* and is given to children to fatten them.

Palm-wine (*malavu*) is the most important beverage. It is tapped in different ways and at different seasons. When a palm has become full-grown and has rich clusters of flowers the tapster cuts off the leaves close to the trunk with a knife designed specially for the purpose. The latter (*nkanku*) has a somewhat rounded point and a sharp edge. If the tree is tall, the tapster climbs it with the help of a climbing-loop (*ngodi* or *lukamba*). This is generally of bamboo and is knotted on one side. The loop is slung about the trunk and the back of the climber. The tapster then shifts the loop and

his feet alternately, throwing the former up behind the trunk and climbing with stiff legs. When he has reached the top he clears away obstructing leaves around a cluster of flowers and cuts up a part at the end of the cluster. The next day he returns, and clears away obstructing bits and makes the cluster quite free. On the third day he takes a ntumbu-calabash with him and hangs it in such a way as to catch the palm-juice. He sharpens two sticks and fixes them above the cluster, afterwards arranging a tube or funnel (nkuta) of strips of palm-leaf, cushions of palm-fibre (mfika) and a plug to prevent the bees from entering. When he has placed the funnel where the sap will run into the calabash and the cushion underneath he makes an incision in the stem of the cluster and the mouth of the calabash is placed against the opening. The calabash is then tied fast with the string round the two sticks which have been driven into the palm. Towards sundown he has to return to clean out the incision and to make a deeper cut in the stem. He throws out the first sweet palm-wine or else drinks it up. Every tapster has as a rule several palms to look after and to tap in different places, so he goes from the one tree to the other. As soon as the palm begins to yield sap more copiously he takes another calabash with him into which he pours the tapped sap. The new fresh wine is taken home to the women in the village, unless he himself wants muzele-wine (of the first tapping). He continues in this way cleaning out the cuts and hanging out small calabashes in which there has been fermented palm-wine. The wine thus begins to ferment a little, after which it is collected in bigger calabashes at the tapping-places in the wood or at home in the village. The wine is not intoxicating until it has begun to ferment much. If, however, it is left to stand for some time it becomes strong (nabambi), and is then liked and very much in demand among buyers. If the wine turns out bitter and acid, it is mixed with other wine that is weaker. At the tapping-places in the wood the palm-wine is mixed to suit different requirements and tastes.

Nsamba-wine is generally tapped as described above during the sivu-season. In the ntombo-season nkookolo-wine (ma bulu) is tapped in the following way. The palm-tree is cut down and the top shoot is cut off. After a couple of days tapping is commenced by covering over with pisang or masonya leaves the part from which the top shoot has been cut and making a little hole in it. The latter is then cleaned morning and evening. The sap that collects at the mouth of the hole is quickly sucked up. As it gets cluttered up, a hole is made just below it, and here a tuutu-tube is attached with a tapping vessel, e.g. a sanga-jug, a veeza-demijohn or something of the sort. This season is also suitable for the masoka-wine, which is tapped from a hole in the trunk just under a branch of the palm where it grows out of the trunk (keke). The trunk is here very hard, so some is removed in order to expose softer parts, where it is possible to make a hole and penetrate deeply through the bast with the knife. The hole is then blocked up with the hard outer bark, so that the interior part may get rotten with the heat. After five days the hole is reopened. A plug is now made with masonya leaves and the hole plugged up to prevent the sap from running out, but a hole is kept open which is cleaned out morning and evening until the palm-sap begins to flow copiously. A tube

is then made from the keke-part of a palm-branch and inserted into the hole. The wooden plugs are driven in on either side and the wine is caught in a little ntumbu-calabash. When this is filled morning and evening it is replaced by an old, already used nsaka-calabash. If the yield is so rich that the calabash is filled morning and evening, the latter is again replaced by a big syelo-calabash or a big veeza-demijohn. Neither this wine nor the nkookolo-wine is so strongly intoxicating as the nsamba-wine.

In marshy tracts where the raffia-palm and other varieties grow in greater numbers than the oil-palm these may be tapped, but the wine obtained from them is not so well liked. As the oil-palm was to be found almost everywhere—the clans used, for instance, to plant palms on immigrating to a tract—it was formerly not customary to make beverages from maize, sugar-cane, bananas or pine-apple. Palm-wine flows freely at all kinds of festivals, on the occasion of law-suits, visits and in the evening after the common meal. The tapping of palm-wine is therefore a very lucrative occupation. Drinking parties are sometimes held, and some of the participants become so intoxicated that they fall asleep, start quarrelling and fighting or try to force their way into houses to molest the wives of other men. Everyone, young and old, men and women, is allowed to drink palm-wine. In certain cases, however, it is forbidden, as for example, when using a nkisi, and for certain persons it is prohibited from birth. On account of envy or from motives of enmity one or another may set a nkisi as a prohibition against the use of certain palms with a copious yield. Only those who have dedicated themselves to this nkisi may then drink of the wine from the palms in question.

The most popular and frequently used spice for cooking purposes is pepper (nungu, ndungu), of which there are many varieties, such as e.g. pili-pili (*Capsicum frutescens*) and a kind of Chile pepper (*Capsicum annum*). The common pepper-bush grows everywhere. "The use of pepper gives a fine taste, and therefore the food tastes good. Food without pepper is disgusting, and causes nausea". If a person gets sleepy, he will often eat pepper as a stimulant, and pepper is also eaten as a remedy for a feeling of nausea. Pregnant women, too, chew pepper and then spit it out. Mothers punish their children by rubbing pepper in their eyes or rumps, or, in the case of girls with nasty habits, in the vagina.

Tobacco (fuumu) is cultivated everywhere, but is reputed to be especially strong and good in certain places. Particular mention may be made of divunga, with its big, long leaves, and of nkombo, which has shorter leaves with long stems like a cabbage-leaf. Smoking is general among adults. The women as a rule smoke clay pipes (fig. 2) out in the fields, the men, on the other hand, smoke munkoka (a calabash pipe with a clay bowl), which after a couple of deep puffs is handed to the next man, a very popular habit when two or more have come together for a gossip. Older chiefs, however, also smoke clay pipes very often. When the natives want a smoke they take a bit of leaf from the stock of harvested tobacco, dry it near a fire or in some other way, rub it and press it in the bowl of the pipe. Tobacco is smoked to "quieten the heart", for one who comes home hungry first looks for tobacco, and then for food. "Tobacco stills hunger

and lightens the burden of life". The smoking of clay pipes produces a nasty smell in the mouth and injures the teeth. Calabash pipes are therefore more popular. But one may easily become dizzy from smoking the latter. "He is then unable to speak, but gasps as if he had been running very fast, got out of breath or got the stitch. There is a hard sensation in the chest, as if one had become sated with much food". One who is not accustomed to smoke may suffer if the tobacco is nkasu (very strong, i.e. fine, good).

A few use snuff, which is rubbed on the skin under the nose. When taken in the mouth, snuff may be used to counteract tooth-ache. It is not uncommon for the natives to stuff the female flowers of maize (myoya) in their pipes and to smoke this in default of something better. Hemp (dyamba), which is said to have been smoked much formerly, is now only used by a few. Opium, or other such stimulants, on the other hand, there are none.

Chimpanzees, gorillas, hyaena-jackals (mwinzi) and shrew-mice are not eaten, the two first-mentioned because they resemble human beings, the hyaena-jackal because it persecutes man, and the last-mentioned animal because it smells so nasty. Formerly, the ordinary jackal was used as an article of food, but this is no longer the case, as it hunts up dead bodies and may thus be used as a sleuth in cases of death. The big warehouse rats and forest rats (ngoni) are not popular as food.

Women, boys and girls eat various kinds of rats. Domestic animals, fishes and birds are generally eaten by all. Some grubs and insects are also eaten according to inclination and taste in different parts of the country. Snakes are not eaten in certain places; in Bwende, on the other hand, pythons and other snakes are relished.

On account of the konko-prohibition it is forbidden in all clans to hunt and eat leopards. But if a leopard has been sent by enemies to prey on domestic pigs in the village, it may be shot. After certain ceremonies it is skinned, and the flesh may be eaten. In certain families it is likewise forbidden to eat striped or spotted animals (e.g. the nkabi-antelope), as their markings will come out in the form of ring-worm or other such eruptions. Pregnant women may not eat goats, mfwenge (Mungos *ichneumon parvidens*), nzobo (*Viverra civetta*, which "make a hole" in the pregnancy), nor, as a rule, hens and eggs. Men are not allowed to eat crickets, zebe-frogs, kula-rats or nsweka-leaves of pumpkins, which are not, on the other hand, forbidden to women. For men it is also forbidden to eat the nkala-crab, for it goes backwards. It would affect one who wished to climb up a palm-tree to tap wine. Fish of the genus *Belonoglanis* are also forbidden.

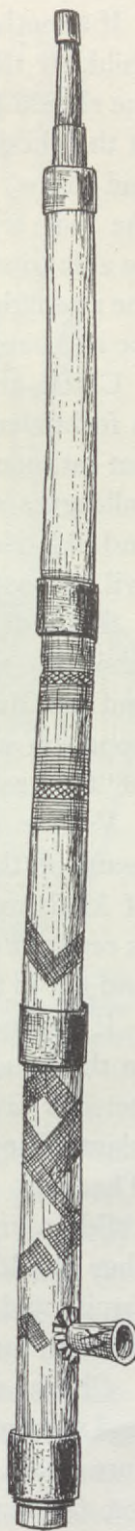


Fig. 2. Pipe of madyadya-grass, Teke in Kolo (Laman 337).

If a mother has a small baby, she should take care that the food suits herself and the child. If the mother eats e.g. wanzi-tomatoes and the child begins to vomit much, she should for a time refrain from eating the tomatoes and munyaka-leaves for the sake of the child. If a pregnant woman gets a stomach-ache after eating leaf-stew (ntoobo) and beans, she should avoid this dish. If she begins to get a copious flow of saliva, she may try wanzi-tomatoes and munyaka-leaves, which her stomach will probably be able to stand. Food which causes nausea is forbidden. The old women who have not the strength to work in the fields and whose teeth have begun to fall out cannot eat manioc and hard peanuts, so such food must be pounded to mash for them.

Chiefs and medicine-men who have prepared a nkisi may not eat the food which is forbidden by the nkisi. There are, moreover, a number of dishes which they may not eat together with laymen, i e. those who do not share in the same nkisi. With their colleagues among the medicine-men, on the other hand, they may eat anything at all, and likewise with boys and girls who have not learned how to exercise magic power for evil purposes.

Some dishes and the flesh of certain animals are forbidden for men and women who have no children. Women are often forbidden to eat certain titbits from mammals and fish. But with regard to the supernatural power of the father (kitaata) it is incumbent upon son and daughter to give a definite part to the father and his family. He is entitled to "the heart" (ntima), a certain fine, fat and tasty bit of any game that is killed.

Various dishes are prepared with certain ceremonies on account of a nkisi. The nsafu of the nganga Nsonde, for example, is always roasted, while he puts a blade of kimbanzya-grass in his mouth and is not allowed to say a word until the food is ready. Food that is forbidden for medicine-men must be prepared in a place apart, and not in the village.

If anyone who has not a nkisi has eaten forbidden food, he is not allowed to set foot in the house of a medicine-man until he has washed and cleansed himself. If several persons have offended in this way they foregather and burn leaves of the luyangu-yangu plant. They hold their mouths over the fire so that smoke enters and purifies them. There are certain dishes which are considered especially suitable for men, women, children and slaves respectively, and which were avoided by the other categories lest they should be exposed to ridicule. Thus the pumpkin (malenge), plants of the cucumber family and masoko-potatoes, for instance, were formerly considered suitable only for women; but now they are also eaten by the men.

Chiefs, elders and the wealthy are fond of good food such as chicken, fish, beans and very good yuuma. "The heart of an animal gives a blessing in the village, and therefore chiefs, elders and their sons and fathers are to eat it". Those who have several wives get different food from their wives. The one who prepares the best food and works well is most favoured. She may then prepare a buki-dish like yuuma with thick palm-oil, or buy ngola-fish under which she puts beans with a stew of leaves. When a husband has become accustomed to this kind of food he is unwilling to eat what his other wives

have prepared. Children's food must be easily digested. They may eat potatoes, cassava and thin yuuma, but not beans and pisang.

When the head of a village wants to please his subordinates and the women, he may summon them to the boko-square and have a large hog slaughtered and shared out among them.

The women try to prepare the food well and to make it as tasty as possible. It is eaten as a rule in the evening in messes to which the members are summoned by the chief. If a woman has been careless with the food and the people laugh at her, her husband may become angry and strike her for putting him to shame in front of his family. If a woman takes badly prepared food to the market for sale she may be exposed to hooting and jeers by those gathered around her. The men often try to criticize good food in order to show their arrogance and superiority, but the women revenge themselves with insults in song and dance.

A popular dish is yuuma, which is more or less tasty according to the ingredients. As a rule, it is prepared as follows: peanuts are roasted and then ground to a fine mash (mwamba), and pepper is pounded and kept ready to hand. Bananas are now peeled and boiled together with manioc (mayaka) and palm-nuts. When the whole is well boiled, the palm-nuts are pounded in a mortar so that the pulp is loosened from the kernel. The pulp is placed in warm water and strongly squeezed to make the oil run out. The whole is now sieved in order to get rid of the fibres of palm-pulp. The palm-oil, the manioc and the bananas are then put on the fire again. While the pot is gently boiling the peanut mash and the pepper are added and, nowadays, also salt. When the dish is ready it is turned out on large wooden plates or into small pots to cool. Pork or other meat is frequently added. On festive occasions the family in one or several villages boil large pots full of yuuma. When they have cooled they are borne to the eating-place on the heads of a long procession of bearers with singing. In places where bananas and peanuts do not grow so well, yuuma is made of palm-oil, beans, potatoes, manioc, the leaves of the bean and other plants. The beans are the first to be boiled, and the next step is not taken until they are almost ready. The palm-nuts are then boiled, and in the meantime the leaves are chopped up. Leaves of the lembe-potato, however, must be grated or pounded. When the palm-nuts are ready they are removed

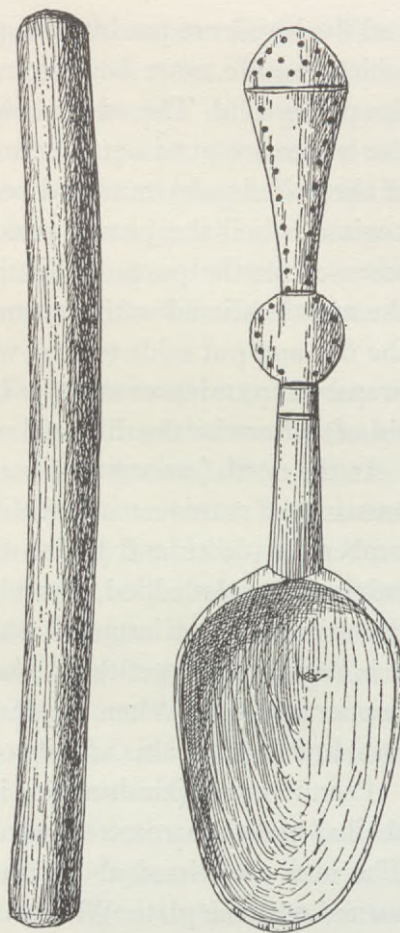


Fig. 3. A, Stirring stick (*mvadulwa*, *mwiku* or *nlambulu*), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 344). B, Spoon, Sundi (Laman 329).

and the leaves are put into the pot and stirred. On top of the leaves are placed the beans, which require more boiling, and slices of banana, after which a large leaf is tied over the pot as a lid. The whole is allowed to boil furiously. If the beans are fresh, they and the leaves are put in at the same time. While the pot is boiling the oil is squeezed out of the boiled palm-nuts and poured into the pot, which is put back on the fire. When it begins to boil the peanut mash is added little by little and well stirred with a spade reserved for the purpose (fig. 3 a). The boiling is not, however, continued for long. But the mess is stirred until the smell shows that the dish is ready. The pot is now taken off the fire and put aside to cool, when the oil will rise to the surface and form a layer. Yuuma prepared from leaves must be boiled on a hot fire, so that the taste of green leaves is got rid of; otherwise the dish will not taste good.

In the north (among the Bwende and other tribes) one finds a kind of leaf-oil stew with bananas or manioc and a little peanut mash (nsakila). The bananas or the manioc are broken in pieces and boiled thoroughly. When the bananas are ready a little bisulu palm-oil may be added,¹ as well as salt and pepper. The pot is then allowed to boil until the mixture is no longer frothing. When the wife who is preparing the dish sees that it is beginning to get thick, she adds a leaf and tastes it to see whether there is enough pepper and salt. When the mess is sufficiently thick it is taken off the fire. Meat (e.g. rats) and fish are also added to the pot.

Peanut mash (kindungwa) is prepared in the following way. The peanuts are first shelled and then roasted over a slow fire in a benga, an older, discarded roasting pot. The nuts are stirred about until they are brown and roasted to a turn, when they are turned out on a plate. When all extraneous matter has been fanned away they are placed on a flat grindstone and ground with a round nsindu-stone. A little bisulu palm-oil is added so that the mash will not be granular and taste bad. Pepper and salt may also be added.

In many places in the north, the roasted and pulverized nteete-seeds of the sundia-pumpkin are used instead of peanuts, which do not grow so well here. They are cracked and ground twice on a stone, to ensure a really fine flour. The latter is stirred up with water and salt to a porridgy consistency. The mess is placed in leaves, which are tied together and put into a pot to boil. The mess must not become mixed with the water, as it would then turn out badly.

Fresh corn-cobs may be boiled or roasted, after which the maize is removed from the cob and eaten. Fresh maize may also be ground into a mash (kende) and mixed with pepper and salt. If the maize is dry it is coarsely ground and used as a pudding, which is boiled and eaten in pieces. Maize may also be put in leaves, roasted in the ashes and eaten together with manioc and cassava-root.

Of manioc (mayaka) the natives make kwanga or cassava, which is given the form of large round cakes or long loaves. The root is peeled and put in water until it is loose. It is then taken up and ground with stones, after which it is wrapped in top-leaves

¹ An oil that has not been completely pressed out of the pounded and boiled palm-nuts.

of pisang and boiled in a pot. Manioc may also be roasted in the ashes of a fire. When the cassava is ready it is eaten either alone, or preferably with meat. Manioc may, further, be ground to flour, dried and sieved, and boiled in smaller or larger lumps which are eaten as they are made into cakes and loaves. Cut in pieces the manioc-root may be put to dry or eaten as it is. The root may also be peeled and placed in a mpidi-basket which is covered over. The manioc is left until it is mouldy, when it is eaten. The mould may be scraped off, after which the manioc itself is roasted at a fire. In this form it is very good to eat together with roasted dry peanuts. And finally, it may be tied up in palm-leaves to be boiled or roasted.

Beans and peas are boiled, but frequently only half, for as the native saying has it: "If the stomach swells up, no hunger". They are often prepared together with palm-oil and pepper. If peanut-mash is added, a good nzunya-yuuma is obtained. One must not break in bits of banana. These are specially roasted and eaten as an extra. Such extras are often spitted on porcupine-spines or sticks so that they may be blown upon if too hot; otherwise they may be put on leaves to cool. The native is very afraid of hot food.

Meat and fish are as a rule spitted on sticks and roasted at a fire. Rats and ntondya-fish are in this way roasted or smoked with entrails and all. The flesh of larger animals is also boiled, and meat which has nsunga (i.e. a smell like that of old birds) is very popular. If the fish is too loose and has been allowed to go bad, it is placed in leaves with salt and pepper and roasted. As extra dishes, manioc or bananas are eaten.

All food is carefully prepared in the home, for the men are critical, and easily become irritated by bad food. This gives rise to discord, which finds expression in the man's refusal to eat his wife's food. She becomes penitent and is obliged, in the least serious case, to prepare a specially good dish with fish or meat. Young wives are said to be unable to prepare food quickly enough and with sufficient care, for while they are cooking they look at their breasts and think but little of the pot. The old people therefore say: "Marry an old crone, for she can prepare the little buki-dish as it should be prepared, tasty and fine".

When the food is cooked, the wife gets together plates and counts how many mouths there will be, seeing at the same time whether she shall give anything away. She doles it out in heaps, first a ladleful on each plate, beginning with her husband's, and then in turn until it is all finished, when she puts aside her own portion. The husband gets his food, and then she goes with a portion to one of her friends, or else she eats at home together with her girls. Finally, she scrapes out the pot and the leaves that have served as lid.

The chief meal of the day is eaten in the evening, when cooked food is served. As a rule, the natives eat in big messes under a great nsanda-tree (*Ficus dusenii*) or a nsangula-tree. The chiefs summon men and boys to their messes, so that all, even minors, get their share. If the chief found out that someone was going to eat in his wife's house he would scold the latter and sometimes even give him a beating. In some cases the chief might have a whole pot full of chicken boiled, and then force the culprit to eat up the

lot. If he was unable to do this, he was put in the stocks. In this way the chiefs wanted to teach the men to take care of their minors, of the fatherless and motherless and of the slaves. When the time for the meal came round, the chiefs blew a whistle or called out to each other. Only men and boys assembled. The boys and the slaves had to fetch the pots and the plates from the women's houses. They had first to wash their hands and rinse their mouths, and then to sit with crossed legs, otherwise they might not eat with the others. Chiefs and a number of others ate with wooden spoons (fig. 3 b, 4) and mussel-shells, but the majority used folded leaves. Frequently, however, and even where some had sores or were sick, one after the other would eat with the same spoon and from the same plate.

Sometimes the chief would have a big enclosure made with African poplars, and a big shelter built with two projecting eaves, under which three or four benches were placed for the food which had been prepared for distribution. While the paramount chiefs were still ruling they had big wooden plates (nkamba) made, on which three to four pots of yuuma might be poured. Then each chief called his people to the mbongi-house to eat. The more wives there were, the more food there was.

It was considered good table-manners to sit with properly crossed legs, to eat slowly and chew well, to take the food from the plate in turn and not to stuff large pieces into one's mouth, and to wipe one's mouth so that no food was visible at the corners. The food should be swallowed silently, so that it was scarcely noticed. When all had finished they clapped nsaki with their hands simultaneously as a sign of thanks. They were also supposed to lick the plate and the spoons. If a man was not married he was not allowed to lick the plate, for then the others would say: "But you have not bought the plate, you may not lick it". The same applied also to the spoon if it did not belong to the eater.

The food are served out to each one, and the children get their share. If bananas or manioc is served they get two or three pieces as an extra. Meat and fish are divided into pieces, but a stew of leaves or the like is counted in spoonfuls. Of the first-mentioned dishes the children only get a portion if there is sufficient. When all have been counted and the food, except for meat and fish, has been apportioned, a person old enough for the office is appointed to dole out the latter. All must be given exactly the same amount, but he may pass by the one who has delivered the food, for he has probably saved a little for himself. When he has shared out the food he hands over a portion to each one present, or else those taking part in the meal must each advance and take his portion. The distributor may not take his share at once, for as the saying runs: "Every distributor receives according as he has reaped". If there is a little portion left, he may not complain, for he has himself done the sharing. When the meat has been distributed, the meal may commence. If anyone eats greedily, the others may swear at him and say: "What a way to eat! Are we all to land up in your stomach"?

If a man does not want to go out and eat with the others in the mess they often tease him in various ways: "Come out! are you going to stuff yourself to bursting with our food"? If a wife has prepared a good buki-dish she does not take it out, but if she has

made a stew of leaves she takes it out and distributes it. If she does not wish to do so, the members of the mess walk round the house calling: "Have it shared out! Have it shared out"!

One who intends to start out on a journey must order a stock of cooked food and have maize and palm-nuts etc. roasted to take with him. Palm-nuts are also cracked as something to chew. A whole ntete-basket is packed full of food. But on his outward journey the traveller stores a number of cassava-loaves here and there, as they are so heavy. First he eats of the stew of leaves his wife prepared just before his departure. If there are many travellers or bearers in the expedition, first one of them opens a parcel of stew for a common meal and then another takes out his parcel. If they can borrow a pot in a village to heat up the stew they do so. They may also share the cassava-loaf and the extra bite they have to go with it in the same way. In a caravan there are always, according to the blood-ties and friendly relations obtaining, several such small "messes" for the common meals. If a trader comes to a friend in the course of the journey he makes a halt at the latter's house and is made welcome. He is given a mug of palm-wine and the friends exchange the usual greetings and polite enquiries as to the state of affairs in the village and the guest's experiences on his journey. When the food is ready the guest is invited by his host to partake. The latter may set down the whole pot, or he may serve the food on a plate. If the host does not intend to share the meal he goes away. If he offers meat or fish he also doles out some to those accompanying his guest. If anyone should be without a spoon he must eat with his fingers, or else make a spoon of banana-leaves. When the guest has eaten, has drunk palm-wine and is ready to go, he should give his host a present.

Palm-wine is drunk on various occasions, but especially every evening after the main meal. The chief then calls for it, and the younger people bring out what has been tapped during the day. A chief always has nephews and nieces and slaves to tap a daily ration, and the palm-wine thus tapped is collected in the courtyard or the village square. The chief or the oldest man present tastes all palm-wine so that he may know which is

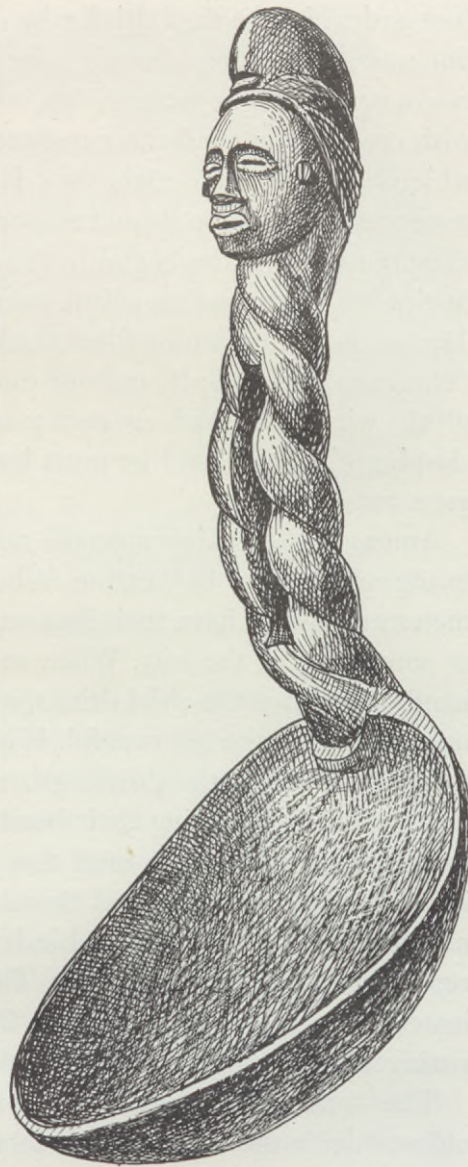


Fig. 4. Spoon, Nzabi in Singidi (Laman 144).

best and which he shall drink when he feels so inclined. The chief drinks from his own fine mug, which may sometimes be of ivory. The others have mugs of clay (fig. 5), porcelain or wood. The women, too, are summoned to take part in the drinking. All sit down with crossed legs, and the cup-bearer brings in a deep basin to put the mug into, after which he fills it from calabashes. He makes a sign before his face and clasps his hands to express thanks. To this all must reply by clapping their hands. This custom, however, like many others, has begun to fall into desuetude. When the first mug has been filled he tips it slightly, so that a little palm-wine spills over, whereupon he empties it himself. The second mug is now filled, and again a little of the wine is spilled. He then says: "Nanguna"! (Lift up!), and one mug after another is filled and handed round the mess till the wine is finished. As each person is given the mug he must first render thanks by clapping his hands, and he must leave a little wine in the mug for the younger ones to get a taste.

Among the drinking customs may be noted the doffing by the participants of any headgear they may be wearing. When drinking to certain nkisi, however, the medicine-men must always have their hats on, or at least a thread of cotton from their loin-cloths or something of the sort. When some medicine-men are drinking, all must clap their hands, but when the chief drinks, on the other hand, all must be silent. The cup-bearer must not drink the last mugful. If he does so, he must pay a forfeit in the form of much palm-wine. When the drinking is at an end, all those taking part must render thanks to the chief by clapping their hands or by knocking their knuckles on the sides of the calabash again and again until they break up. When the general drinking of palm-wine is concluded, the chief and the elders may continue drinking. They may drink ten mugfuls each, or a whole mbinda-calabash. To drink greedily is considered just as reprehensible as to eat greedily. The chief and the older members of the company sit, instead, for a long time talking. One only sees intoxicated persons if they have been sitting and drinking far into the night.

The women are as a rule served first with two mugfuls. It may then happen that the oldest chief in the village says to them: "Those who have tapped the wine have had much labour in the dew-wet grass in the morning. You must understand this also with respect to the belly. Give them therefore from time to time something to chew. They go with shrunken bellies and (are) very hungry". They then reply with the saying: "Is it only he who taps wine who has trouble with it"? At drinking parties held in the evening or on other occasions when there is no cause for unrest the oldest member of the company may speak of the traditions of the tribe, tell stories to the younger people or tell those eligible for marriage into which clan they shall marry. Also on other occasions the younger people go with palm-wine to the oldest and to the chief of the clan to drink and to hear about the traditions and about other matters. It sometimes happens that someone dilutes palm-wine with water, but this is thrown away with scorn and reviling.

Only so much food as is to be eaten is prepared at a time. It is also a matter of good breeding to eat up all that is served. It was therefore not surprising that when we miss-

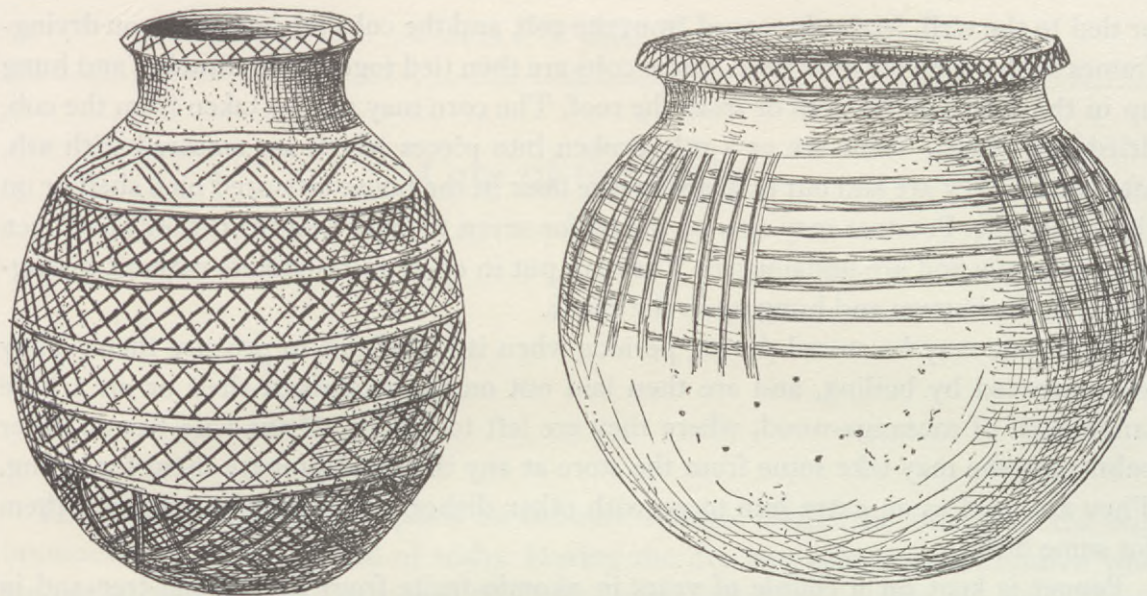


Fig. 5. Clay-mugs (*mbungu*), Sudi in Kingoyi (Laman 186, 182).

ionaries first invited the natives to tea, bread and sugar, they ate up everything, even every lump of sugar, belching loudly as a sign that they were really satisfied. Dishes which are kept over night get sour, and are therefore not liked. Roasted meat, manioc soaked in water and some of the food prepared from this, such as cassava, may, however, be kept for some days. Among the foodstuffs that are stored for longer periods may be noted peanuts, peas, beans, maize, yams and potatoes.

When peanuts have been dug up they are spread out to dry on a dry spot from which the vegetation has been thoroughly cleared (*kyansala*). After some days they are taken home to the village to be put in a *kyanda*-chest under which a fire is lit to dry them further. The wife gets up and stirs the peanuts in the chest, so that they may be thoroughly dried, after which she may keep them in sacks of *nkwala*-mats sewn by her husband. When the peanuts are poured into the sack they are measured out in a *kibudi*-basket or, if they are to be poured into large sacks, in a bigger basket. On the plains in the Nyari-Kwilu Valley the peanuts are stored in little sheds built on poles (*tula*). If the harvest is small, the peanuts are kept in chests, storage-rooms high up in the house or in sacks on shelves in an outer room. They may also be kept in conically plaited baskets in which *pisang*-leaves have first been spread, and which may in some cases be placed in a suitable tree in the village. A small quantity together with damaged peanuts are kept for kitchen purposes in a corner of the room or on shelves in the same. Sacks, chests and other store-rooms are never opened by the wife, however hungry she may be, until the season for the sowing comes round. And only after the sowing may she prepare food from what has been left over.

Peas and beans are shelled and kept in *ntete*-baskets, *nsanga*-jars, *tutu*-calabashes or bags. Beans in their pods are generally kept in *ntete*-baskets, which are laid on shelves

or tied to the wall. Maize is reaped from the cob, and the cobs are left to dry on drying-frames in the open air for a time. Some cobs are then tied together in bunches and hung up in the house on the wall or from the roof. The corn may also be taken from the cob, dried and stored. Yams are as a rule broken into pieces which are smeared with ash, after which they are laid out in heaps on the floor in the house or stored on a shelf or on the wood-pile. Potatoes may also be stored for seven to eight months if they have been dug up whole and are undamaged. They are put in open ntete-baskets without pisang-leaves in the bottom and hung up in the shade.

Palm-nuts may be stored during periods when it is difficult to procure them. They are preserved by boiling, and are then laid out on the twambatu-shelf or on a little tanda-shelf of musanga-wood, where they are left to harden. If the wife has no other palm-nuts she may take some from the store at any time and prepare them for eating. They are used as an extra bite to go with other dishes, or oil may be got from them for some dish.

Pepper is kept for a couple of years in nkondo-fruits from the baobab-tree and in cracked jars and the like. If it is tied up very carefully it may also be kept in small ntete-baskets in which dry leaves have been laid.

Food is roasted on sticks. These are first sharpened and then stuck in the earth near the fire. Small fish, rats, grubs (nsombe) etc. are spitted in this way several to a stick. Bigger fish, as well as pork and other forms of meat, are spitted on stronger sticks for roasting. Meat may also be laid in round sanza-baskets which are then suspended above the fire to dry. The fire is kept up until the meat is thoroughly dry. The older people used to parboil the meat before roasting it. If the sun was very hot both meat and fish might at times be laid out on the roof. The drying procedure might be supervised by men and women. If a person did not happen to have a spit, fish might be sent to another to be preserved. The natives roasted meat, and above all flying termites, some grubs, eggs and beetles in pots, to ensure their not being spoiled by blue-bottles or other insects.

CHAPTER VIII

Care of the Body

The natives expend great pains on the care of their bodies, for otherwise the skin becomes ugly, grey and full of scabs. During the dry and cold season, children who are not properly cared for have a very ugly, grey, yellow or reddish dry skin.¹ Their feet and fingers become infested with flea-beetles. During the hot and rainy season bathing is indulged in freely and frequently wherever there is water within striking distance. On sand-plateaux and in the drier tracts dew is collected from the pisang-leaves and the leaves of other plants and used for the washing of face and hands and, if possible, the cleaning of teeth. But above all the natives rub palm-oil and reddish pomade into their skins. The women, as a rule, bathe daily when they go to fetch water in the morning. The men bathe when a suitable occasion presents itself when they are visiting a village or when hunting. Boys and girls and the younger women often go bathing, and indulge in all sorts of games and pranks in this connection. The older men, on the other hand, are not fond of bathing. The two sexes never bathe together, and a man is not allowed to cross a watercourse while a woman is bathing in it.

Soap and soft soap used to be minus quantities. The Kongo wash their clothes in ashes, if necessary. As a rule, the clothes used to be well rubbed with oil, but if they were smeared too much they would be washed in water and scrubbed with a maize-cob. The most important cosmetic agent was formerly palm-oil. If anyone was dirty (according to native standards), he had first to bathe in water and be scrubbed with mahunga or nzonza leaves and a sponge. His back was always scrubbed by some comrade. After bathing, the skin takes on a grey, drab colour, which disappears if it is rubbed with palm-oil and powdered with ndimba or tukula (nkula) reddish pomade. On festive occasions the body gleams almost red. In many tracts the loin-cloth and other articles of clothing used also to be treated with such pomade. The oil is rubbed into the skin to render it soft and shining. The dark hue of the skin then shines with a fine gloss. For the same reason sick persons are also besmeared with oil and slightly reddish pomade. The natives also take fresh palm-nuts, peel off the pulpy part and rub with this and a little pomade. Those who do not wish to have a red, gleaming skin may chew

¹ According to the colour of the clayey soil in which they play, sit and lie down.

sugar-cane and rub this on the body, which then takes on a fine, dark, shiny shifting hue. If the skin is dry, so that perspiration is not possible, a little oil or a very oily pomade may be rubbed in.

If the coral-tree, from which pomade is made, does not grow in a certain district, yellow ochre, which is to be found in many places where the water has run dry and in ravines, may be used as a substitute. The yellow ochre is burned in a fire until it becomes hard. Small cakes or sticks are made from the ochre, and together with oil it makes a fine pomade. If anyone is too old or infirm to go to the water, water is carried up to the house to bathe him outside in the sunshine. When the skin has dried, oil and slightly red pomade are rubbed into the skin. If such old or infirm persons have no relatives to help them, they must try to drag themselves to the water unaided, or else they must go about ugly and scabby as they are. The proper care of the skin is an important item, for if it is neglected one may be slandered (: "What a body! hard and rough as that of the nkabi-antelope"! or "...as a nkuyu-spirit dug up out of the earth"!)

On festive occasions it used to be customary for the natives to bathe, to be shaven round the scalp and to be smeared with oil and powdered. It was not permitted to wet the hair. Instead, it was rubbed with yellow-ochre, palm-oil and pulverized, sweet-smelling herbs (such as e.g. mfulangi-mfulangi and nsaku-nsaku). Sometimes, too, the mixture would be knotted into a corner of the loin-cloth. A big wash is done after an ordeal with nkasa poison and in connection with the putting together of certain nkisi, such as e.g. Mayiza, Mwambuku and Namaza. Also chalk etc. may be used on such occasions.

The hair-fashions vary considerably in different parts of the country. An ordinary hair-cut cannot be given, as there are no scissors available, but the hair may be "topped" with a knife or shaved off altogether or in part. If it is desired to shave the skull entirely, a samba-knife is sharpened and whetted. The hair is then wetted and shaved off a bit at a time. Some desire to retain a little hair, for instance in the form of a munkuka-tuft in the middle of the forehead (as among the Teke), a bit upwards above the ears; or the hair may be shaved according to the Kabinda-mode. When the men do not shave their heads they may assume the Kabinda-mode, tumba-crown (on the crown of the head), nzoki-tuft (on the head or in the nape of the neck), or they may have bushy hair.¹

Women prefer to have a kizamba-tuft or to shave their hair off altogether. If it gets full of lice or reddish, it is generally shaven off. In many places, however, a kind of medicine is smeared on the scalp as a remedy for lice. But the commonest practice is for the natives to delouse one another.

If he wishes, a slave may wear his hair according to the fashion in the country from which he hails. In some places the crown of the head is shaven in such a way that bits of hair are left here and there. Sometimes a large tuft is left on the crown, and at the sides the hair is either shaved off or made shorter. In some cases the hair is shaved off in

¹ The Mbyazi chief was not allowed to wear his hair in the form of a nzoki-tuft or according to the Kabinda-mode.

such a way as to leave a big "comb" on the top of the head, running forward to the forehead to form a tuft. The rest of the hair is removed, but some is left round the lobes of the ears, being referred to as pig's ears. The hair may also be shaved in little "groups" with borders (nzila) between so as to form savu-ornaments or figures. This is said to cause pleasure and to be very grand. Before dances the hair is dressed very carefully, and as a rule the natives are shaved round the edge of the scalp. The toupet-tuft and other dressed parts of the hair are smeared with burnt peanuts or charcoal which is ground very fine and mixed with oil to keep the hair in place. Formerly, the natives did not comb their hair, but in recent times it has become customary to comb the hair frequently, so that it becomes long and bushy. After being combed, the hair is pressed down a little, to give it an even and handsome appearance. The beard and parts of the hair may be plaited. The women plait each other's hair, but do not shave it off. If a young woman's hair has been plaited her husband has to give a nsakila-stew to the person who has done the work. Older women, on the other hand, may prepare the dish themselves. Farther north, the hair is dressed and plaited over pads made of, inter alia, a piece of the middle of the pisang-leaf. When worn in this way the hair resembles a high cock's comb, on either side of which plaits or tufts may be worn. When a person is in mourning the hair may not be dressed or shaved, it is, instead, smeared with a mourning salve (ndoba) and left unkempt and straggling. When the period of mourning is over, the hair is shaved off in connection with the firing of a salute in honour of the deceased.

The growth of beard is in general very slight, nor is it considered very ornamental, except for older or other men of note who retain their beards to inspire respect and reverence. Beards are grown as full beards, goatees or moustaches. Long chinbeards may also be plaited. When beards are thus grown by the older men they are much praised by the women; but if younger men should grow beards they would be jeered at by the young women, who say that the beard smells like a shrew-mouse or like the nkubi (nzobo, *Viverra civetta*), and that they will not marry them. This is why the young men dislike beards. The natives have no medicine for the stimulation of the hair or of beards.

Everyone is supposed to rinse and clean his teeth with his finger or a tooth-brush every morning. It is generally preferred to do this with a piece of rattan, one end of which is split or chewed until it is like a brush. Tartar is removed with a knife. The morning toilet includes also the washing of the hands and, in the case of the women, the rump (taku). The face is also washed on occasion, but the eyes must not be washed in water. If the eye-brows or eye-lashes grow into the eyes they are shaved off with a knife, but they may also be removed for aesthetic reasons. The nails are not washed, but if there is much dirt on or under the nails it is scraped off with e.g. a knife. The dirt is also scraped away from the root of the nail.

There are no gymnastics or sports, but certain games and competitions have been very useful in developing the body, as have also the long marches with trade caravans to the coast and the hunting expeditions. The boys are particularly fond of wrestling

and of playing at war. When the peanuts have been harvested the men choose a suitable spot where the ground is soft and well dug over, and then summon the younger ones to engage in wrestling matches. The latter seize their challengers round the waist and use various other wrestling grips to get them off their feet, and sometimes the older men allow themselves to be thrown in order to spur the younger ones to greater effort. But in time the younger men become bigger and stronger and begin to throw their instructors.

When engaging in sham warfare the participants divided into two groups, each with its older chief. They armed themselves with corn-cobs, palm-nuts, toy guns and possibly stones and took up their positions to begin the fray. Before attacking they tried to provoke one another with all sorts of abuse, each group challenging the other to begin. If anyone is wounded in the heat of the fray the leaders forbid the others to mention it to their fathers or mothers. Toy guns are made from a branch of the bamboo-palm which is hollowed out and provided with a hole in front in which a strong bow is inserted. The firing mechanism is adjusted and the bow is drawn with its cord to shoot a small sharp arrow lying in the tube (fig. 6 a).

The older men teach the young to swim by throwing them into the water and leaving them. They gulp lots of water and sink, but they are helped until they can keep their heads above water and begin to float and swim. As soon as the young ones have become accustomed to the water they begin to lark about, striking the surface of the water with the palms of their hands to splash their companions' faces, diving for handfuls of clay to throw at each other and plunging head first with their hands on the bottom to heel over backwards with their feet against the heads of their comrades. They are also fond of diving under the water to seize the leg of a companion and drag him under the surface. There is a great variety of aquatic games, such as for example to slap each other's bottoms, to swim and dive, to sing, jump and smack the hands on the water in rhythmic time. The latter diversion is on some occasions forbidden in the vicinity of the village, and there are some women there who easily fall into a trance in consequence of the game. The youngsters swim now silently, so that no-one may hear it, now with splashing with arms and legs (*nsobo-bokotolo*). Many are good at swimming with burdens and at diving in various ways.

Tattooing was formerly very common in certain tracts, but the custom has begun to fall into disuse since the natives have started wearing clothes. As soon as a girl was about twelve years of age a small incision(†) was made in the region of the heart. This was called *vunga mooyo* (to be continent, patient and the like). After this she was not tattooed until after her first menstruation, when divers patterns were cut in the skin with a needle and a *samba-knife*. The needle was thrust under the skin, after which holes were gradually cut in it with the point of the knife. This was called cutting *nsamba-figures*. Formerly, only short *nsamba-cuts* (scratches) were made on the breast and back. Now scratches are made almost everywhere on the body, and oil and *ndimba* or *nkula* red are rubbed in. In order that the tattooed parts should swell up and form elevated figures that men and women might have pleasure in stroking, they sometimes

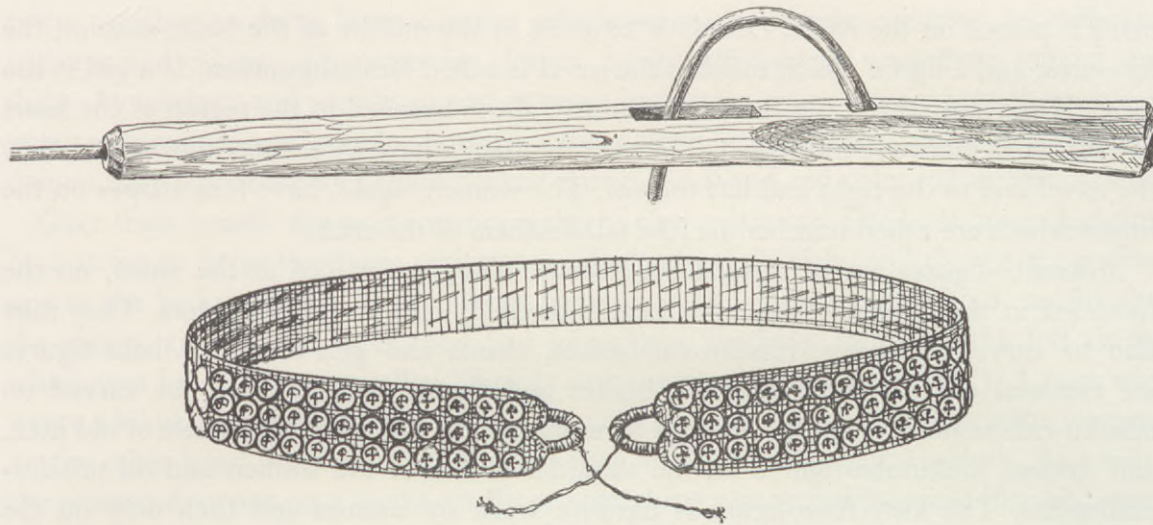


Fig. 6. A, Toy gun (*deye*), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 686). B, Girdle with porcelain buttons, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 662).

smear vegetable-juices on them also. The women tattoo themselves in this way in order to please their menfolk when they lie in bed. In Mayombe the tattooing is executed in the mabwini-pattern of the *nkwal*-mats, or in the patterns of *dodo*-baskets and *mbanga* basket-plates. The young girls have such figures on their breasts and back, so that when playing games and dancing they may be able to caress each other by stroking them and bumping their breasts against each other. If young men or women are without such *nsamba*-figures they are said to be as slippery as the *tolo*-fish and are laughed at.

In cases of general tattooing a commencement is as a rule made below the navel. The work is then continued over the belly up towards the pit of the stomach and above the female breasts. After this a fresh beginning is made in the region of the kidneys on the hips and the work is carried on over the back and shoulders to the face. When *makumbi*-figures are being made these must not be separated, but must touch each other. The pattern is marked out with ashes. *Kidyengono* and *makumbi* figures may be tattooed over the whole face. One kind of figure is called *musundu*, i.e. track of big animals. Others resemble the *varan*-lizard or the crocodile. Fantastic figures are sometimes executed, and some of them are characteristic for certain tracts or tribes. Certain figures used to be made to demonstrate the tattooer's skill, and were much praised by the people. Sometimes a certain quality might be depicted or represented in the figure, for instance precision in the hunt.

In some tracts it is only the women who have *nsamba*-figures tattooed on their persons. These figures are called *mavekwa* (the tse-tse fly), *ntyala* (long borders), *ntenda mbeele* (incision with a knife), *nsoma* (with a needle) and *dikota nzo* (go into the house) which is tattooed on the shoulder. Another figure executed on the shoulder and on the body is *divonda nkangala* (like the blue-bottle), while *dileeka toko* (for the

man) is placed on the chest. Dilaala is tattooed in the middle of the back, soko on the fore-arm, and a figure which touches the navel is called kimbangumuna. If a girl is too forward and thrusts out her breasts too much, she is tattooed in the region of the heart with divunga mooyo (continence). The men frequently have three lines above and below the navel and to the right and left thereof. The women, again, have four stripes on the breast which are called mimbemba (the tail-feathers of the cock).

Makumbi-figures are of general occurrence. They are placed at the navel, on the forehead, at the corners of the eyes, beside the belly and on the shoulders. They may also be carved on mugs, misaku-calabashes, chests and gun-covers. Kibaka-figures are tattooed on the chest, shoulder-blades and flanks, and may also be carved on misaku-calabashes and chests. Nzunga bene-figures are placed on the chests of old men, and nzunga mukumba-figures on the shoulder-blades of the women and on misaku-calabashes. The kidyefono-figure is likewise worn by women and then only on the brow. The nzaamuna-figure is carved on the breast, flank and back, while binungwa-figures may be placed wherever it may be desired on the belly, breast and back, as well as on clay mugs, misaku-calabashes and chests. Malengula ma bandumba or ma batoko are the names given to the figure tattooed at the edge of the eye. And lumbu bwa nkumba, finally, is the designation for figures at and about the navel. These and those executed in the small of the back are not usually worn by men.

Broad teeth like those of the goat are not considered beautiful, and the teeth are therefore chiselled according to the prescriptions of fashion in the different tracts. When anyone desires to have his teeth filed he sends a messenger to one skilled in the art. The latter brings a dental chisel, as a rule a broken-off knife-blade. The chisel must not have an edge at the point. The filer takes the chisel in his left hand and a piece of iron in his right hand, using the iron as a hammer. He applies the chisel to the crown of the tooth and gradually knocks off chip after chip. The patient must not swallow, but must spit out the saliva in a hole in the ground. When the treatment is over he must bite the corner of the filer's garment, lest decay set in. He is also supposed to give the practitioner a small present. If he omits to do so the latter puts his chisel in the fire and heats it up. The mouth of the patient then becomes swollen, his lips and tongue become thick and his whole mouth aches. At Kibunzi the teeth are filed to a point, or small apertures are chiselled out of a couple of front teeth in the upper jaw. In other tracts, again, the crowns of a couple of front teeth in the upper jaw are chiselled off. The sharp-pointed teeth in both the jaws are called laughing teeth (nsabi-teeth).

Before the natives had learned how to weave raffia-cloth (ngombo) they went about practically naked. The older ones wore raffia-bast in front or small seeds threaded on a string. The chief had bast-cloth from the fig-tree. The outer bark was peeled off and the layer of bast was pounded until it was soft and then treated with palm-oil and nkula-red in about the same way as among the Kuta to the north of the Nyari-Kwilu Valley. Festival attire of ngombo was carefully and well sewn, i.e. several small woven mbaadi-pieces were sewn together to form larger strips. For the chiefs in the north they were

sewn together to form large mantles which were elaborately executed in different patterns and colours. The everyday clothes, on the other hand, were drab, ragged and dirty. At markets and weddings and at more important court cases where there was a great congregation of people, however, the natives were dressed fairly decently. At dances they were here and there decked out in black and red coloured ngombo-cloth.

Over their breasts the women wore a slip of cloth (dekula). The little apron hanging by a string to cover the pubic region was called ndyata or nlala, and the corresponding one at the back pangu. The men wore a pangu both in front and behind, as did also the slaves. In certain places they had loin-cloths reaching round to the left thigh, which was bare. This was called kikukila or kilungila ("which encircles"). A man who wears a kikukila loin-cloth may also throw a cloth over his shoulder, which the women, on the other hand, may not do. The men may also be clad in matakua-cloth. As a rule, the women first put on a nzeka-girdle or something else round the waist (fig. 6b), after which they don a longer taba-apron in front, which is folded over the waist-band so that it is held firmly in position. Some have such a long strip of cloth that it is even possible to fold it up under the girdle at the back. Others have a larger piece of cloth behind, which is folded with the two corners under the waist-band to keep it in position. If a woman is clad in a larger piece of cloth she nevertheless has a small strip under this "so that she shall not feel a draught round her behind".

Chiefs used to dress in large cloth robes reaching to their feet, a part being thrown over one shoulder like a mantle. At dances the chief generally dressed in beautifully patterned nsyala or ngombo cloths which were very expensive.

When the European cloths were introduced into the country they began to oust the native cloth, and the modes of dress varied considerably. Thus, for instance, some let the loin-cloth reach down to the ankles, or tuck it up between the legs and behind so that it resembles a pair of trousers (mbati).

As a sign of mourning a woman was to wear a mourning-cloth (mfukila) on her head, and if his wife had died a man did likewise. Further, all ornaments were to be taken off. Large copper or brass rings that could not be removed were covered with dark cloth.

Children, and especially grown boys, used to go about naked for quite a long time. When they began to become more conscious they were given a small strip of cloth to wear in front. The boys often amused themselves by dressing up in banana-leaves in which they made fringes like those on short skirts. When they then moved about the leaves made a rustling sound (funya-mwa, fukya mwa) which pleased them. Then they wound strings about their persons, tying their calves under the knee. They would also whittle a piece of wood into the form of a knife, which they attached to their waist-cords. The slaves must be clothed by their master when they have been given to understand that they are to work for him. If they are hard-working and well liked, they may dress as they please.

When palm-wine was drunk, at court cases and on other such occasions, the men always used to wear headgear. A woman, on the other hand, was never allowed to wear

a cap. If a girl put a cap on she was severely reprimanded, as she would then only be able to give birth to girl-babies. The men wear caps when drinking palm-wine because they are forbidden to drink without one (fig. 7 a). If a man has no cap and is unable to borrow one he must put a thread, a bit of bast or the like on his head while drinking. A woman's head-band may also be used, but he must under all circumstances have his head protected in order not to be attacked or killed by the great *minkisi*. The medicine-men are therefore as a rule provided with caps. Influential chiefs, including females, use special headgear as a sign of dignity (fig. 7 b).

Women like to have a band or cord round their foreheads, so that their heads and faces may not seem too long. Many consider that they have too high heads, which is not regarded as beautiful. The *mpu* or *budu* cap is made from pineapple or raffia-fibre and cotton. There are several different models of this.

Shoes used not to be worn, but simple sandals consisting of a piece of dry buffalo-hide or the hide of some other animal were favoured. The wearer used such footgear on roads full of stones. Some also used such sandals if the soles of their feet were cracked or full of sores.

As soon as possible the children are adorned with small blue-white glass beads threaded on a cotton cord. Such bracelets were worn first on wrists and ankles and then round the upper arm and neck. A small *nzeka*-band was bound round the hips, and in this the mother would set a *ndeela*-ring, porcelain buttons or *mbwela*-beads. She then rubbed fragrant *ndimba* or *nkula* red pomade into the cords and all over the child's body. And on a cord encircling the neck a little *tutu*-calabash, a rattle or other ornament and an amulet to prevent sickness might be suspended. When the child could walk, it was given small iron rings to wear round its ankles, to jingle when it walked or ran.

When the boys were grown up they received a *nkutu*-bag (for food, fig. 7 c), a knife with a handsome sheath and a decent loin-cloth, and their hair was dressed in the *munkuka* fashion or according to the *kikeka* mode (one half of the head shaved). They also had their teeth filed and were tattooed.

The men adorn themselves with beads necklaces of various hue and with arm and leg rings of different types (fig. 8 b, c). They also like to possess fine sheaths for their knives. Chiefs have necklaces of leopard's teeth if they have been crowned on a leopardskin (fig. 8 d). They also frequently have a number of rings on their arms (fig. 9 b, c) and a larger, heavy ring on one leg. On the left arm are worn *soka kya yeeye*, i.e. spirals of iron, on the breast an amulet and over one shoulder a cloth or a blanket. In one hand they hold a staff as a sign of dignity. The staff is full of tacks, and it used formerly to be finely carved and embellished with lead inlays etc. When a chief went to market or set off on a journey he would fasten a bell to the shoulder-strap of his *nkutu*-bag, so that people should hear his approach.

The rich never made a parade of their wealth by wearing fine cloths or ornaments, rather did they seek to conceal it. They wore amulets to ward off envy and black magic, which might destroy both their wealth and themselves. Foppish young men, however,

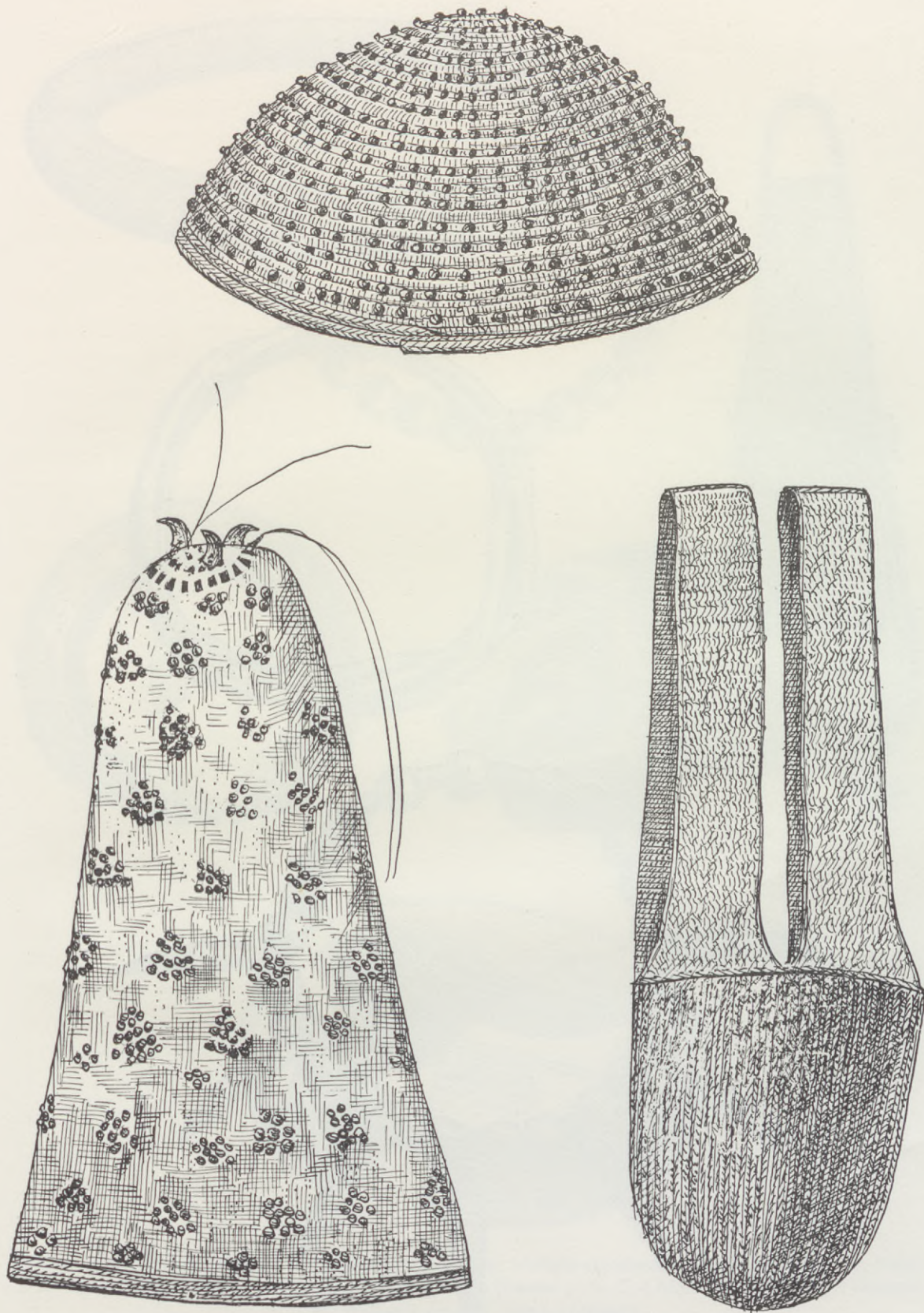


Fig. 7. A, Cap, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 693). B, Chief's headgear with leopard's claws and elephant hair (mbondula), Sundi in Kibunzi (Laman 419). C, Bag for food (nkutu), Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 285).

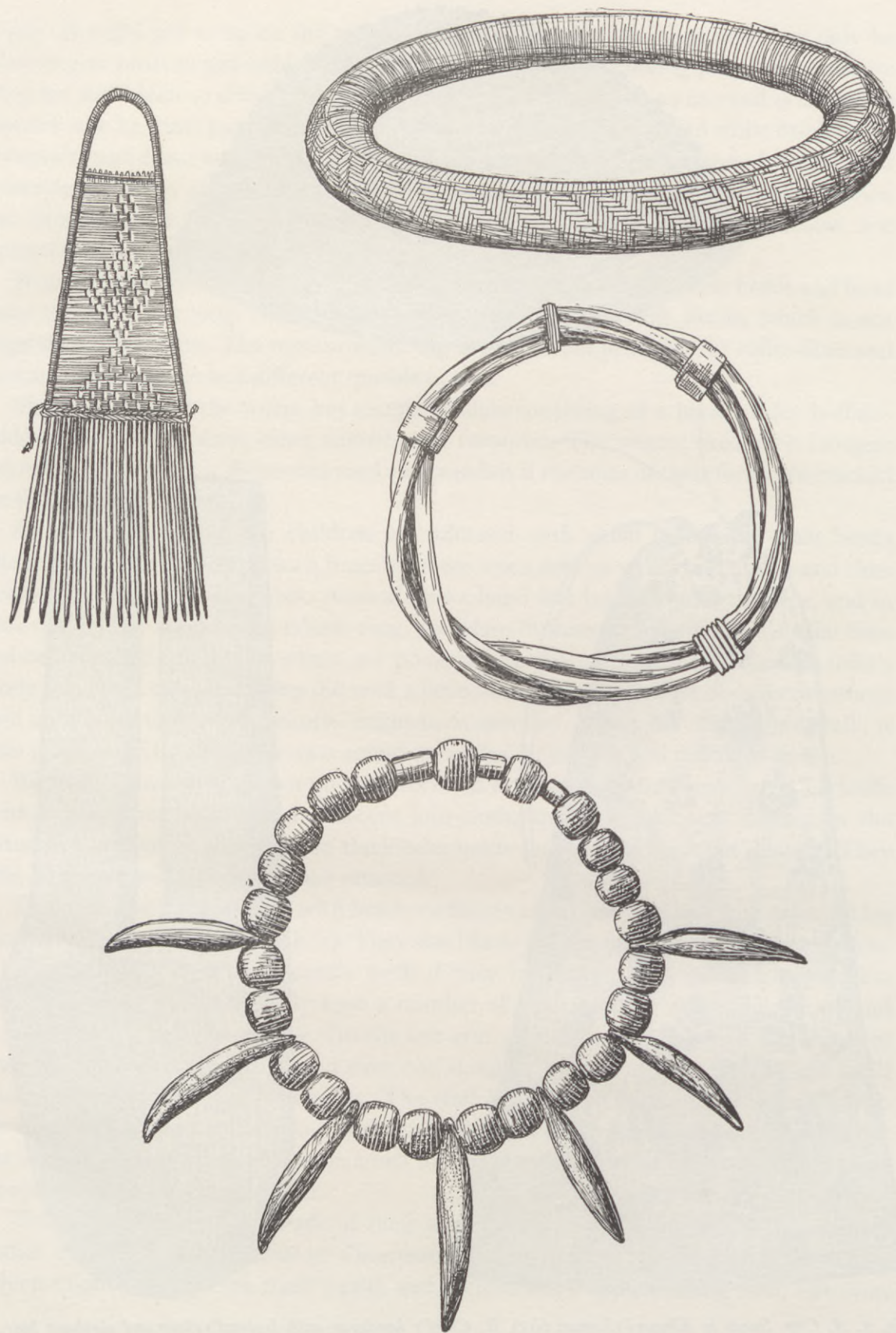


Fig. 8. A, Comb, Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 792). B, Leg-ring, Kongo (Laman). C, Arm-ring (molulu uti), Sundi in Madzia (Laman). D, Chief's necklace (mengo), Sundi in Kinkenge.



Fig. 9. A, A necklace belonging to a woman of higher rank (*maboka ma nkama*), Sundi in Kinkenge. B, Chief's arm-ring (*nlunga a kimfumu a Nzuba*), Sundi in Vungu (Laman 418). C, Chief's arm-ring, Sundi (Laman). D, Woman's leg-ring, Sundi (Laman).

might make a more showy and ornamental appearance at dances and on other festive occasions to charm the women. They would sport earrings and rings on their fingers, put cock's feathers in their hair or at the back of their necks, dress their hair handsomely and wear mboko-plaits of cotton with rings round their necks.

The women's ornaments, which they wore for the most part at dances and on other such occasions, consisted chiefly of beads of various hue and type. With these they would load their necks (fig. 9 a), and they were also worn diagonally across the breast and back (dika-necklaces) and on their arms. About their waists they had nzeka-bands or girdles of various design, studded with ndeele-rings, beads and the like. In their ears they wore rings or the necks of tutu-calabashes. The Bwende also made holes in the nasal cartilage, in which they inserted porcupine spines, stalks of grass etc. In the hair, which was frizzed, they also set mponi-fruits for the sake of their fragrance, and their skins, especially, they rubbed well with nkula-pomade. Older, married women used to wear fine and large leg-rings according to their social standing (fig. 9 d). The favourites of the chiefs had extremely large, thick brass rings which the natives themselves cast from pieces of metal (ntaku), which were formerly used as the currency of the country. The rings were as a rule hollow, and were filled with fine sand when cast.

The mothers used to carry their children in a fine carrying band (nzemba) woven from cotton, or in Bwende also in a strip of antelope-hide. To the end of the carrying-band were affixed glass beads, the little "sleigh-bells" otherwise worn by dogs or small bells with clappers. Amulets for the protection of mother and child were also necessary.

The slaves generally greased their hair with black pomade. The ornaments and clothes they wore were an indication of their efficiency or whether they were well-liked. Amulets of various kinds were always worn when the Kongo appeared in festive attire at dances and so forth, as they then met other people who might easily cast a spell upon them or "eat" them by resorting to magic.

CHAPTER IX

Dwellings

The site of an older village, where a grove of palms and divers fruit-trees have grown to maturity, is often taken as the location of a new village. Otherwise, a nganga is summoned to bury medicine (bilongo) and find out whether the place is a refuge for bankuyu (spirits of the deceased) or not, and whether it is in other respects suitable for settlement.

The Kongo generally preferred to settle on elevated ground, so that they could see when strangers approached. The latter would then be challenged, and asked from which village they hailed, and with what chief or which friends they had been staying. Not until these questions had been answered were the strangers permitted to enter the village. The sites for the bigger villages (mbanza) in which crowned chiefs lived were chosen on heights or open plains. In wooded regions, grassy hills jutting rather steeply into the air were popular sites for smaller villages. If enemies approached they could be seen, and the villagers could, in case of need, fly quickly into the woods. In the forest, the villages were built in glades or clearings; but the Kongo always sought to settle in the vicinity of a water-course or a pool, so that the pigs could wallow and young and old might bathe and play. The forest was well-liked for, inter alia, the reasons that it was there possible to take refuge from the heat and, in times of unrest, to build huts in the depths of the woods, far from the public roads. In all circumstances, however, the natives left the villages and slept out in the grass or in the surrounding plantations. In former times people did not like to live on the plains, on account of the termites, which destroyed the grass huts, and because the huts might easily be burnt down in case of war and in the event of prairie fires.

When the people increased in numbers, every growing family and clan would in many cases strike out on its own, seek a suitable site, clear the ground and begin to plant bananas. They would also till the ground round about and in this way develop their own little village (belo) at some little distance from the big village (vata). If a village was situated just near an important public highway it was considered that the chief there must be familiar with magic, in order to protect it from evil powers.

The ordinary houses are square, and are built with split palm laths denuded of their

leaves (makele) or bamboo laths and grass or leaves from mahamvu, nzombe or other plants fastened together with different kinds of binding material. Grass is most used on the plains, and leaves in the wooded regions. The huts are built in different ways. Formerly, it was customary first of all to make ready the walls and the roof of the ground. The split palm laths (makunda) to which the bunches of leaves were fastened were laid out on the ground and wall-supports were bound fast with mpunga binding material. On either side of the supports two palm laths at a time, one above and one below, were made fast, after which the wall was raised and reinforced with posts (tungwa) driven into the ground. It was then possible, with the help of bamboo laths prepared for the purpose, to bind or weave different patterns in the wall. For one wall are required between sixty-six and seventy bamboo laths as well as a quantity of bamboo poles. For the roof the natives use bamboo poles and rafters made from the wood of trees which are not eaten by boring beetles and other insects. Among such trees may be mentioned the nsya-sya, nsenge-nsenge, nlulu, lukungwa etc. With bamboo poles or palm-branches and binding material they make a sort of lattice-work (lusengi). Over this, the rafters are firmly bound in position with nzau-binding material or rattan, and the roof itself is covered with leaves or nyanga-grass. Formerly, the huts in the forest regions used to be covered chiefly with nkela-nkela or nzombe leaves. Nowadays, however, mangungu-leaves or nyanga-grass are used. The roof is supported with a long wooden pole resting upon posts with a notch at the top. Everything is bound fast, for nails and wooden pins are not used.

At present, both walls and roof are as a rule built on the site where they are to stand. Small wall-posts are driven into the ground along the line to be occupied by the wall, after which a layer of palm laths is added right up to the top of the posts. The wall is now covered with closely laid palm laths. The posts which are to support the roof-tree are driven into the ground, and rafters are laid on from the roof-tree down over the wall. Palm laths are bound so as to form a sparse covering for the whole roof (kankala), which is then covered over with grass or leaves. Each layer is made fast with care, and every fresh layer must cover the palm laths with which the previous layer has been bound. When the roof is finished, one thus sees only the uppermost palm laths at the end. The grass layers are also made flush at the lower edge, and a new, well-covered roof gives not only a finished, but an ornamental appearance to the whole. There are no loop-light windows or regular apertures for smoke, but in some tracts there are openings in the roof.

The size of the dwellings varies according to the use to which they are to be put. The ordinary houses are from one and a half to two fathoms in length, one to one and a half fathoms in breadth, and the height is measured by stretching up an arm as high as possible and laying the roof just above this point. Bigger houses are stated to be from three and a half to four fathoms in length, one and a half fathoms in breadth, the end wall one and a half fathoms in height and the main wall about one fathom in height.

The residences of the chief and the older members of the community belonged to

the latter category. The main walls (*baka bya malungu*) were as a rule built in such a way as to project a little beyond the one gable, so that a little open veranda (*mfukulu a nzo*) was provided. The door was placed rather high up at the gable-end (*baka kya mwelo*) and somewhat to the side. It was so small that one could enter only with difficulty. Just outside it lay the wood-pile. A very small door-aperture was generally made at the other gable-end or in one of the side walls, to provide the possibility of escape in case of danger. During the day, a lattice-door was often placed in the bigger door-way to prevent poultry and goats from entering the house. Otherwise, the house was shut up with a light door of palm laths or a wooden (plank) door. The latter consisted either of one broad plank or of several split planks joined together. On the inside the door was bolted with a big wooden bolt which was longer than the door was broad and was thrust through the handle in the middle. On the outside, on the other hand, the door was closed with an amulet thanks to which intruders would be afflicted with a serious rupture. More valuable possessions were often concealed inside the partition between two rooms.

There are no ceremonies or rites in connection with the building of a house. The natives may, on the other hand, hang up a number of charms inside and outside the house, and especially is this done if a *nganga* lives there. Beside the bed a *munkwiza*-plant, for example, is planted, and palm-shoots are set by the wall to the inner room. No unauthorized person is allowed to sit on such a bed, nor may any such person enter the inner room or eat anything which is forbidden for the owner. Anyone who infringes this last prohibition must be purified with the *luyangy-yangy* herb. If a woman bears a child which is treated by a *nkisi*, it is necessary for her sake to bury *nkinda*-charms under the bed and outside the house. *Nkumbi*-posts are driven into the earth, and on top of these are bound leaves from the top-branch of a palm-tree. No-one is permitted to walk round such a dedicated house or throw anything profane at it. When a person has built a house, he is glad that no *bakisi* have put obstacles in his way or driven him mad while he has been running about in the woods and across country to collect the necessary building materials. When everything is finished he sprinkles his body with *malemba-lemba* medicine to purify himself.

The great majority of the houses are movable, for the natives like to move their houses or even an entire village if it has been much exposed to storms or lightning, if the mortality is high and all appeals to the *nkisi* are in vain, or if they are the victims of war or other misfortunes. If, for example, so-called knocking spirits manifest themselves in a place the inhabitants soon move. They choose a new site for the village and sometimes plant a *nsanda* fig-tree and *tiba* and *ndongila* bananas, after which they bury a *lemba-lemba* tomato, *mbolongu*, *minkwiza* and *bonzo* medicine. This is a protective measure for the village (*nsiku a vata*). Only after these precautionary measures are the houses moved to the new site. For the removal the houses are taken to pieces, and each wall is carried by one or several men. Walls with trusses are set up and made ready to receive the roof. The latter is carried by as many men as may be required. First one half

of the roof is lifted up over the roof-tree and then the other half is pushed after until it is in the right position. The layer of grass is detachable and may be bound down again. As the Kongo are so fond of moving, the art of building is not very developed. Since the arrival of the whites, however, they have begun to build a few houses of clay, planks and bricks.

The natives take a pride in building and furnishing their houses as tidily and well as possible. The walls, and especially the front gable-end of the house, are inwoven with beautiful patterns (in the case of clay houses they are painted in different colours), while the doors and outside posts are carefully carved.¹ As a rule, the owner builds his own and his wife's house or his wives' houses himself. His family and friends may assist him if necessary. If the owner is wealthy or has other work, he may sometimes commission some-one else to build it.

The interior is furnished according to the needs of the owner. He generally erects one, or in larger houses two, partitions (ngumbu) in order to get two, or three, rooms. The walls are provided with a larger or smaller opening, with or without a door. If his wife and children are to live in the house, beds are set up, preferably in the inner room but also in the outer room. The outer room may be so arranged as to leave room for wood and dried peanuts. Around the walls in the two rooms there are shelves on which the wife may keep food-supplies and household utensils (e.g. pots, dishes and baskets of different kinds etc.) and the husband his belongings. The bigger pots are often hung in the forks of cleft sticks. Spoons and small sticks are thrust into the walls, and on the latter may be hung baskets, dishes and other utensils. If the man or woman go in for domestic arts, the tools and some of the materials are kept in one of the rooms. Bakisi are set up indoors or out-of-doors, according to what is prescribed for each nkisi. On shelves in the inner room, which may not be used by the wife, the husband keeps his valuables, gunpowder and divers possessions.

The fire-place, consisting of three stones, is in the outer room, the living-room where the family generally spends its time indoors. Beside the fire-place and up against the partition shutting off the inner room there is a place to sit or to lie down and rest. Beside this are nearly always kept the most frequently used kitchen utensils, water and a small basket with the articles needed for the morning toilet, and nearby sometimes also the mortar in which palm-nuts are pounded. Mats are hung on the wall to the inner room, to prevent draughts. On these mats are hung handsome baskets and the like.

On a pole over the fire-place there is always a large round wicker basket (nsanzu dibanga) for the drying of peanuts or meat and fish from which flies are to be kept. There are also a drying shelf and a shelf for jugs or calabashes (fig. 10) with water in the outer room; and in a mpidi-basket hanging on one of the walls in this room are kept

¹ In order to get beautiful patterns, the binding material (nkawa-rattan) is painted black. After it has been peeled, it is boiled in a pot into which leaves of bunsila and nsafu trees have been put. After the boiling, the rattan is immediately placed in water containing a lot of leaves and mud. After the lapse of a week it is quite black and is taken up. Nkawa-rattan is the finest binding material, but mbamba-rattan, the upper part (mankanda) of palm-branches and all kinds of creepers are also used.



Fig. 10. Ornamented calabashes (*musaku wanwatwa*): a, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 829);
b, Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 333).

ladles and spades used for cooking purposes. On the earthen floor are generally stored hoes daggers, graters, grindstones and a broom. Chairs and tables, on the other hand, were formerly not part of the furniture.

Older married women generally live in poor houses. In cases of polygamy each wife has her own house. Here she lives with her children and here she is occasionally visited by her husband. The houses are rather nicely furnished, with shelves and so on for the most frequently used household utensils.

In the house of an unmarried man there are relatively few objects. The fire-place is in the outer room, and if he has an inner room the bed is placed here. His gun is rested against the foot-end of the bed, and at the head is a nkutu-bag. His plates, dishes of wood or clay, knives and other tools are generally kept in the outer room. In his dwelling one may also find dogs, madibu-bells, dog-whistles, tobacco-pipes, matches, a tobacco-pouch, a number of baskets with lids (*kingungu*), mugs, jars and several other per-

sonal belongings. His climbing-sling and calabashes for the tapping of palm-wine, on the other hand, are generally hung up in the open lukanga-shed.

Young girls live as a rule several together in an older, more dilapidated house or with their mothers. Widows also live together in such older houses. Among the ornaments in the houses may be reckoned fine, well-made mats with different patterns and colours which are hung up on the walls or around the finest sleeping-berth, small, fine baskets, various kinds of wicker dishes, which are as a rule kept in the inner room. The man procures also porcelain objects, mugs and all sorts of sculptures. After his death these are placed on his grave to show his wealth. Rich persons and chiefs collect lots of such objects, as well as ceremonial dress and cloths, and powder-kegs which are kept until the death of the owner, when large quantities of powder are shot off for the funeral salute.

Apart from dwellings, a more or less sizable guest-house (mbongi) is built in every village. Here the people may gather in cold or rainy weather. Court-cases and meetings are held as a rule in the village square or outside the mbongi-house. If there is no mbongi-house the chief may evict a woman from her house to let a visiting stranger stay there, while the woman herself goes to relatives to sleep. A married man may also have a small mbongi-house where he keeps his belongings, amongst other things, his ornaments, his palm-wine and his gunpowder, and where he often stays himself.¹ When guests arrive, they may move in here. The favourite wife is often given a larger and more magnificent house than the other wives, and the husband lives most of the time with her. If the husband is wealthy and has many wives, the mbongi-house is rather large, and sometimes his wives may be allowed to go there to drink palm-wine.

Very rich persons and paramount chiefs used to build great mbongi-houses with or without gable-ends. If the house had a gable-end with a door lined with finely carved planks, big tolongo-chests and all kinds of porcelain figures were placed in the house at the other gable-end. Beside them was placed also a nduda-nkisi with its matutu-grass tubes to shoot the bandoki who wanted to force an entrance. Celebrated chiefs used formerly to build also raised houses (bipaaya-houses) without fireplaces. The floor-planks were wattled together and laid upon wooden beams resting upon poles. In these houses were kept possessions of all kinds. In recent times the natives have begun erecting such houses again.

A sort of guest-house in which the villagers may hold meetings is called mwanzu or lusanga. These have half end-walls with gables of nsenga-wood, and are generally erected between the rows of houses in the middle of the village. A large village may contain two or three mwanzu-houses. These are often divided into two halves, so that two may live there and sleep at the same time without disturbing each other. Orphans and other unfortunates are given their food in the mwanzu-houses. Here, too, different messes take their meals, and here palm-wine may be drunk and conversations with

¹ Such a man will frequently, however, keep his possessions in his wives' houses, so that no-one will see them and cast a spell on them out of envy.

strangers carried on. The chiefs may also have grass houses built for unmarried men in their villages, and may on occasion place these at the disposal of visiting friends or the members of trading caravans. The houses are provided with several good beds, are much praised in other villages and looked upon as models for others.

Here and there one still finds special houses for the safe-keeping of the nkisi, idols and ancestral images. One also comes across small well-built ancestral houses in which there is only one mug, into which one pours the palm-wine that is sacrificed to the ancestors. I have also seen other cult-houses in which a part of the room was marked off from the rest with a ring of palm-nuts as a sort of sacrificial altar for the ancestors. The palm-nuts represent certain particular forefathers and have been selected in a manner prescribed by tradition. The place is dedicated by the burial of, inter alia, medicines. The commonest nkisi-houses used to be the as a rule square nkita-houses. In these were placed also idols, ancestral images and small figures, generally made of flannel, in which reposed some of the bones of the deceased. Sometimes the nkisi was suspended from the roof, sometimes it was stood on the earthen floor. No unauthorized person may open a nkita-house.

A number of nkisi-houses were built with low walls, so that anyone could see the nkisi and call upon him.¹ For large idols like Nkondi, Nakongo and Malwangu smaller houses were erected. For others, again, a tambatala-stand was secured with bands, and the nkisi was placed on top. Some nkisi-houses are carefully concealed, so that they shall not be desecrated. If a nganga should at any time wish to live or to sleep in the house it is made bigger. If anyone becomes possessed of a nkuyu or nkisi a temporary house is erected, or a shed or enclosure in the village, so that the person in question may dedicate himself to e.g. the possessing nkisi. Such buildings are called vwala (temple). outside are set up poles of nkumbi, nsya-sya or other wood. The tops of the poles are connected with cross-beams, upon which in their turn are placed the top shoots of palm-leaves, nsanga-lavu, malemba-lemba, mikula kutende and other plants. No food is prepared in such a temple. Nothing profane may be thrown at the temple, for then the novice would faint. In order to protect the latter, a boy stands on guard for hours outside the temple. If despite this precaution the novice or the building should be profaned, the culprit must pay a nsombo-fine to restore the novice to the state of ecstasy. After the lapse of nine nsona-days the novice may return to his own house.

There are no other houses or places of a sacral character, unless a child has been dedicated in a house or a man or woman has fallen into a state of ecstasy in it. In this case the house is declared to be dedicated, and no-one is allowed to go behind it without paying a fine.

Stables or stalls for animals are called mpaka (sty, stall and so forth). On account of leopards, strong pig-sties are built with walls of nsenga-wood posts, split, as a rule, in two and cut to the same lengths. The posts are laid one on top of the other and bound fast, and a roof is then added. A door-opening is made in one of the gables, and this is

¹ For the swearing of oaths nkisi had to be lifted out of the house, but he had to be replaced after the ceremony.

closed with a kyavulu-door consisting either of a big, broad piece of nsenga or mfuma wood or of a couple of nsenga-poles. The latter have a hole at each end so that they may be dropped over two posts standing outside the door. The goat-shed has a sparsely laid floor of nsenga-wood resting a bit above the ground on cross-beams laid on short posts, as the goats must have a dry, clean place to lie down. In this way their droppings and urine run through to the ground below and they flourish and keep clean and pleasant during the rainy season. Small hen-houses are often built on palm-branches or madyadya-grass on a platform resting upon posts. A plank leads up to the house from the ground. Frequently enough, however, the fowls have to sleep under the wood-pile or in a corner of the dwelling, where in this case a small enclosure is often made with palm laths. The ducks, too, are kept in the dwelling.

The house is as a rule lit up by the light from the fireplace. If a stronger light should be required for any purpose, drier sticks are put on the fire. Formerly, the resin of the nsafu-tree and other kinds of gum were collected and smeared on sticks, which were then stuck in the wall and ignited. As these resin-sticks burned with thick smoke, which hurt the bakisi and the eyes, however, banganga and older persons did not like them. In the woody tracts higher up-country, fine resin-sticks are produced, which give a better light and smoke less. The resin is put in long cornets. If something is mislaid and must be looked for in the house, mahamvu-leaves or nyanga-grass is often ignited to provide a light. Sometimes palm-oil may be poured in a vessel and a piece of cloth used as a wick.

The fire in the hearth is kept going constantly. The natives know of trees whose wood burns so slowly that it is only necessary to push the logs together a couple of times in the course of the night. It is considered a disgrace to be obliged to borrow fire in the mornings. It must be kept going the whole time for cooking and for the sake of the warmth, and at night to protect the house from evil. No-one is willing to sleep without fire. The old people said that in this case they were always troubled with colic and such complaints. In watch-rooms and in camps the open fires are kept up on account of the wild beasts. In the fields where the women are at work the fire is always lit with a brand that they have taken with them from the fire at home. If anyone wants a smoke or to light a camp-fire on a journey, he uses flint and steel. When lighting a fire a spark is struck in this way and falls into tinder, which immediately ignites. When lighting a pipe the tinder is laid on the tobacco and the smoker puffs away until it catches. If a fire is already burning, a smoker always lights up with an ember, which is laid on the tobacco. Flint and steel (bindwa, wasu, dina = strike fire) is carried in the nkutu-bag to be ready to hand.

Tinder (bufundi) is taken from the palm where the branch issues from the trunk, and is prepared in various ways to make it inflammable. It is smeared copiously, for instance, with the greenish mboobo-sap which is obtained from rotten banana-trunks, after which it is hung up to dry in strong sunshine. When the tinder is bone-dry it is stored carefully in a little leather bag, e.g. in the well-dried scrotum of a goat. When the

bag is being dried it is stuffed with ashes, so that it will be sufficiently wide to store the tinder in. One may also scrape the tinder, take the toasted skins of sele-bananas or nzi-beans, or gunpowder, grind everything well and mix with the tinder. Sometimes the natives may make fire by firing a bullet into dry grass or tinder. And fire may be struck with the blade of a knife if the tinder is laid against the flintstone of a gun. When the tinder has caught fire it is swung about so as to spread the blaze. The blazing tinder is then placed in a bunch of dry nyanga-grass, which is in its turn swung about until smoke rises and the grass is burning properly, when wood is added. If anyone burns his finger, he puts it in his mouth to cool it. Among the sayings referring to fire the following may be mentioned: "If fire is to burn, there will be cinders", "If fire burns in the raffia-palm, then the fibres have helped it", "A small spark lights a great prairie-fire", "(If one) take(s) away what produces smoke in a fire, what is it that makes the fire burn"?, "He who holds water in his mouth has lit a fire", "If the fire has no kindling, it cannot burn" and "The plain tells when we have lit (a fire) on it".

The houses are built, according to the size of the village, along two or three straight streets. A big village (mbanza) ruled by a powerful chief may also consist of several larger or smaller groups of houses situated in each other's vicinity. The houses are often scattered here and there in the village in order to avoid discord, but if this does nevertheless arise a peace-loving villager may move a little farther off. Around the village lie ordinary tilled fields (nzengi) for the cultivation of grain and herbs.

If a village is situated on a hill, the houses are scattered up and down the slope. There is always a common open square (boko) for municipal deliberations. This is generally placed in front of the chief's mbongi-house.

According to his wealth and power the chief formerly and as a rule established a more or less sizable court with an enclosure (lumbu) of planted mpese-mpese (African poplar). This was intended partly as a manifestation of his dignity as a chief and partly to sequester his wives from outsiders. No unauthorized person was allowed to enter the enclosure without permission. The younger men in the village were in general not permitted to enter without further ado unless they belonged to the chief's family, as they might easily take a fancy to one of the chief's wives. In the case of a person enjoying his full confidence, however, the chief might entrust the entire court with its women to his supervision. This guardian might enter or leave as he desired, and the chief had to teach him the traditions of the clan, the laws of marriage and so forth. It was at the entrance to these enclosures that the skulls of executed persons were set up in former times.

In the old days, when bands of assassins roamed the country, the villages are said to have been surrounded with barricades, and the gates were closed every night.

No-one is appointed to keep watch through the night. If evil spirits and bandoki should come to do harm, the natives believe that their deceased chief will stand leaning upon his staff of dignity to keep guard. The village is also protected from enemies and evil powers by bakisi and nkinda-medicines, which "calm" the enemies' hearts, so

that they are not aroused to wrath and to thoughts of attack. For the same reason the natives used to set up nkisi Mbumba and a pot with stones in the middle of the village, and to plant tiba-bananas and malemba-lemba herbs around them. The women used to urinate into the pot. All kinds of prohibitions, moreover, were enforced. No-one, for example, was allowed to take in a whole bunch of palm-nuts; it must first be divided.

Neither in nor outside of the village were there any reserved places for slaves, soldiers, strangers and ordinary cases of illness. Pregnant women, for instance, lived in their houses until the time for their delivery, which as a rule took place out-of-doors.

For certain diseases, e.g. smallpox, there were, on the other hand, special houses a little way outside the village. In the village itself there were also special houses for boys, girls and for the circumcised; and certain poor houses were set aside for the women to sleep in when they had their periods. The place for refuse used formerly to be situated at the edge of the wood, as was the case farther north, where the natives emptied their bowels on large leaves and threw them into the wood. Chiefs had even covered pits with a little hole in the middle. In villages in which pigs are kept the problem of refuse-tips does not exist, for the pigs dispose of the refuse.

The roads running between the villages were never levelled, except when a great chief had died, for on this occasion the road was made broad and levelled with mattocks all the way to the place of burial. Formerly, when the villages were large and populous, the roads running through them were very much used, and consequently well tramped down and in good condition. Bigger mbanza-villages in which powerful chiefs resided might be situated on the common highway (nsaku), but otherwise local (poor) roads ran from these villages to those in the vicinity. In the old days natives wanted to keep the road to the village a secret from the whites and other strangers. Such a road often led to a marsh or a water-course in which one had to wade a little before one saw where the road led up out of the water. It frequently ran over and under windfallen trees. Between the villages there were also small, secret paths which the natives were not allowed to show to strangers, who were, moreover, forbidden to use such paths. If a stranger, e.g. an European, attempted to penetrate deeper into the country on unknown roads it was a crime to show him the way or to tell him where he was. In times of unrest every village had small, secret paths along which the inhabitants might fly to well-concealed hiding-places, but which might also be used to facilitate attack on others. If an attack was expected, sharp sticks were stuck in the paths and pits were dug. In the bottoms of the latter sharp-pointed wooden spears were planted.

Small paths led to the fields, and a similar path was tramped out to the refuse-dump. If a chief or other person wished to slaughter a pig in secret he would take it to the refuse-dump, where the animal was also cut up. If a stranger came to the village and heard that the chief had gone to the refuse-dump (lulombe), he had to wait till the chief returned, for it was a criminal offence to go there. Here, however, or at certain other spots outside the village, special secret meetings might be held. Public meetings were held in the public square of the village (boko).

CHAPTER X

Means of Subsistence and Occupations

One or several hunters may stalk game (*konda*) without a dog, or several go hunting with a dog (*veta*). Hunting nets and snares of various kinds are also used. When hunting without a dog the hunter as a rule goes out in the afternoon, when the sun has passed the zenith. If the hunt is to take place near the village, he should set out somewhat later.

The gun is carefully loaded with heavy stones, bits of lead or metal. It must be carried properly, with the barrel pointing forward; it is considered a disgrace to carry it with the barrel pointing to the rear. When the hunter sits down the weapon may be laid down backwards. Before setting out the hunter should not eat meat that smells strongly, nor should he use any pomade that smells. He must not touch certain aromatic leaves and herbs, such as *dingwanzya* or *mansusu*. If his wife is pregnant he should remain at home, for the game would simply flee from him or else pursue him. Nor should he sleep with a woman the night before the hunt, for no-one wants to go hunting with him in this case. If after ignoring this custom a man nevertheless sets out with the rest, and someone shoots and misses, the culprit is sent home. The bad luck may, however, be neutralized if a thread is taken from the woman's loin-cloth and the offender and the man who has missed rub foreheads. Both will in this case have good hunting luck.

If a hunter sets out very early he should not talk with anyone. If this rule is observed the hunter will soon see an animal that he may shoot. *Banganga* may bless his gun with the *nkisi Mbwanga*, but *bandoki* may "lock" it, so that he misfires or misses. When the hunter has reached a place where game is generally plentiful he stands still and listens to see if any game is in the vicinity. If so, he creeps stealthily closer to it; not a twig or a blade of grass must be broken. The hunter does not expose himself to view in the glades, but keeps to parts where there are bushes and creepers. If the game is on a hill, he must wriggle closer on his belly until the animal is within range. If he wounds his quarry the hunter follows the blood-tracks or else goes home and gets the dogs to track down the wounded animal.

If anyone intends to go hunting with dogs he blows the *nsiba* or *mwemvo* hunting-

pipe on the eve of the hunt and on the following morning. Everyone then knows that there is going to be a hunt, and those who wish to form one of the party immediately store their haversacks with food, get their guns ready and go to the man in charge of the dogs (nkongo mbwa), who will organize the hunt. Before those taking part set out, they may bless their guns through e.g. the nkisi Palu. The latter is invoked by taking tondo byala, nsaku-nsaku and other medicines in the mouth together with palm-wine and saying: "If a female or a male animal comes where we shall go, spoil its sense of smell, make its ears deaf, so that it falls on its back when I shoot. Just so, Mr. Palu. Let it be well, Sir"! Then the hunter strikes the butt-end of his gun on the ground and says: "Hold firm, hold on". The gun then belongs to Palu, and a ndutu gnawing tooth is stuck to the butt with resin.

Before the party sets off the dogs are fed. If the prospective hunting-grounds are dangerous, the hunters are protected by a nkisi, e.g. Mbwanga. They are also smeared with strongly smelling leaves (e.g. bintamba or mansusu leaves), and nowadays with paraffin-oil as well, for if pythons smell this they vanish into the jungle-grass. The party now makes a start. When they reach the hunting-ground and the men with the guns are disposed in their proper places, the man in charge of the dogs ties a little bell under the belly of each animal (fig. 11), drives them into the jungle or to the edge of the forest and says: "Let us set off in this direction, let us see if there are any beasts there". He then shouts: "If there is any woman or man here, let them get away. Let the woman take her hoe with her and put the carrying-band round her basket and go; let the man take his nkutu-bag and knife or, if he is tapping palm-wine, his climbing-loop, and go. For I have come here to look at this village. E, let us go, bayaaya, ngwa"! The dogs rush in and their bells tinkle. The dog-driver hastens forward, talking and shouting to excite the dogs, and listening to the bells to hear if the dogs have struck a scent and are rushing to follow it up.

He says: "Where have you got to? The game is hiding. Find it. The path it has taken smells like nsakala-ants, like shrew-mice. I shall adjure you, compel you. It cannot conceal itself from you. Where it has put its muzzle, do you also put your muzzle. Where it has set its foot, do you set your foot. Make your eyes clear-eyed, clear-sighted, and your ears keen to hear. Even my ears are now keen to hear. Eh, dash away downwards, swing off to the side. Can you see it"? (Or if the dog has lost the scent, cannot see and follow the animal:) "Oh, sea-eagle, wherever you may fly and hover, your place is always the mfuma-tree. If you (the dog) are such an one, how have you found that your master (the man in charge of the dogs) flees. Oh, is it in vain that I trust you to be able to drive out the animal to the marksmen, who are standing as close together as the hairs in taku (the anus)".

If an animal now comes out of the jungle and someone has a shot at it, the dog-driver rejoices, and says: "Call out to my dog"! If the animal has been hit the hunter strikes the ground with the butt of his gun and says: "Hold firm! Hold on"! Then the beast falls, shaking and quivering. The dogs are soon on the spot and go to the attack. If the

quarry dies, the marksman pronounces his name boastfully and adds: "Ach, I have not reared a dog". If he has missed, saying: "The animal has been hit. The hairs are here", the dog-driver says: "Take the hairs and stuff them into your nkutu-bag, so that you may give them to your wife or mother". If a hooved animal is hit, for example a nkabi-antelope or a wild pig, the dogs rush past and are soon far away, but the dog-driver knows that they are now hot on the scent, with the cleverest dog at the head.

If the animal is badly wounded it cannot run far, and the hunters hasten to head it off. The dog-driver cries to the dogs: "Hold on, hold on like the ngembo-bat, don't let go. By your mother's teeth. Eh, Byakyungu! Eh, Kudiba! Eh, Mwinzi! Eh, Lwenzi! (names of dogs) Ta-ta-ta! (= tatika, bite). Hold your grip like ngembo! Eh, the belly is hungry"! If he hears that the dogs are barking he says: "Eat it up or drive it out to the marksmen who are standing as close as the hairs in the armpit or the rump. Eh, you and you (to the marksmen), go down in the woods and keep on to the end of the jungle! You, Mintende, don't let the beast hide itself there! And you, Minsongo, standing by the nsafu-tree, and you there by the ravine, see to it that there are guns enough. Do you hear how strong the dogs are"! If the dogs tire, the animal cannot be shot.

The leader of the dogs may be a bitch or a male. It is cleverer than the others at knowing and understanding where the quarry has gone. Some of the dogs may follow close behind the leader, but others again may sit down at the foot of a tree, or follow any dog at all, and these are regarded as hopeless. And finally, there are some dogs that can hunt very well if they see the quarry with their own eyes. Only few dogs are able to find out the hiding-place of an animal or to follow a scent. A clever dog will run to and fro until it finds the animal, which starts up and flees. While other dogs take up the pursuit, the good sporting-dog will try to head off the quarry. If the dog sees that his master is ready to shoot, or that the marksmen have surrounded the jungle, he will sometimes start barking. Those who have smaller shot in their guns will now put in pieces of lead or other metal, or fine lead bullets, for they know that the dog only barks when it has caught the scent of bigger game such as wild pigs, buffaloes, leopards and big antelopes. Such a dog will be much fussed over by the womenfolk, and if anyone should happen to shoot it this will be made the occasion of a lawsuit year after year for a long time. This is why the natives have the saying: "A lawsuit over a dog is never finished".

If on the other hand, the dog has died a natural death, it is buried by the owner in a

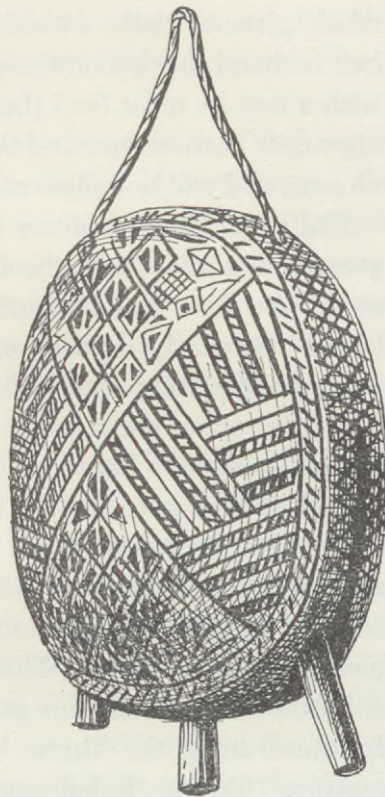


Fig. 11. Dog-bell (dibu), Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 455).

whole piece of cloth, a blanket or a bolt of cloth, after which a shot is fired. The dog's bell is then hung up on the grave. If anyone other than the owner wants to go hunting with a dog he must feed the animal and get it to feel accustomed to him, for the dogs obey only their master and those to whom they are accustomed. Many of the brutes are vicious, and will not allow any stranger to tie their bells on.

Skilful and bold hunters are much respected, and their deaths are the occasion of great lamentation, and the feats of the deceased are praised. "Who will now give us meat? We have had a mouth for meat, now we have already got a mouth for stewed leaves". Similarly, a good master of the hounds is loudly praised. If he can put the dogs on the right track, or if he knows the runways and hiding-places of wild animals and is able to show the marksmen good hunting-grounds he is held in high esteem. All hunters pin their hopes on his skill. If a good marksman misses time after time, he consults a nganga to find out the reason for his failure. The hunter may say, for instance: "Ever since I fired that shot at the nkabi-antelope, I have missed; and if I have scored a hit the beast has not been killed. I have not even been able to shoot a bird. Find out why the gun has become locked. It must be due to some ndoki, nkisi, to common ill-luck or to some person". The nganga may perhaps answer: "Yes, there are both bandoki and innocent folk in your gun. Sacrifice a hen through nkisi Makwende or Ngobila". In the evening the hunter cries out so that all may hear: "Come early to-morrow morning, for then I shall sacrifice (slaughter) a hen". When the nganga comes he prepares medicine for the gun and lays it on the nkisi. When the people have assembled they fall upon the hen and offer it up. The hunter says: "A female ndoki, a-a, a male ndoki, a-a, is angry with the gun because I do not give them sufficient meat when I shoot an animal; but I know that I have done so. I have always tried to give sufficient meat to the older ones. Do you, Mr. Makwende, wring the neck, thrust the knife into the ndoki's breast, let the nose bleed, let the breathing be laboured, may your eyes be clear-sighted, your ears keen to hear, Mr. Makwende. But if an innocent ndoki has concealed himself, (or) an innocent person grumbled a little about my gun, spare them. If they should grumble again, let the chalk say its word.¹ But if any tripping up has been done, then, Mr. Makwende, may he get a bloody diarrhoea, a swollen belly. Then we thank you, Sir". Then it is the nganga's turn, and he says: "Do you, Makwende, listen, prick your ears, make your eyes clear-sighted, your ears keen to hear. Lo! they set a banana at the edge of the water. Shall it put forth leaves? Cut it to pieces. The ntoyo-bird, your ntoyo-birds; the kaka-owl, your kaka-owls; the crocodile, your crocodiles; the snake, your snakes. Do you not see the path upon which you sent yourself, Sir? Go, plunder and strike, to nsingi a mpati to nsingi a mbuma (to the land of sorcery), for it must be a male or a female ndoki who is shutting the gun. Do you, Mr. Makwende, hammer an iron wedge into the ndoki's breast, destroy its belly, render it emaciated". When he has finished his invocation the nganga says three times: "Nkondi kisye"! (Answer:) "Sye"! "Nkondi kisye"!—"Sye"! "A, Yalala".—"Bu". "E, ntangu ufwa".—

¹ That is to say, indicate with a chalk-mark who is innocent.

"E, yayine"! After which he cuts off the hen's head. The blood is then smeared on the spell-bound gun. If the ndoki has heard the invocation he infallibly dies, and whenever the hunter fires a shot at an animal it tumbles over dead.

A hunter may, however, have bad luck because he has shown himself lacking in respect for his father, or for the person who is in his father's stead. If, for instance, the hunter has shot an animal and has not given the "heart" (certain parts of the entrails and some fat parts) to his father, who is rightfully entitled to this, the latter may say: "Ach, the child is badly behaved. Have not I, his father, begotten him? And he does not bring me my heart". When the hunter has humbled himself to his father, craved his forgiveness, given him presents and promised the heart, he gets his sire's blessing and may once more shoot with luck and success.

Disputes may easily arise in connection with a hunt. If one man has shot an animal and a stronger and more powerful hunter claims to have killed it, the former resolves to make a wager (mbimbu). When he gets to the village he takes a proper amount of gunpowder for a shot in his hand, with stones (bullets) and wadding, goes to a parting of the ways and loads his gun. When pouring the powder into the gun he says: "O gun, he cannot have shot the animal we quarrelled about yesterday, he got it by treachery. Gun, whatever I aim at, do you miss it if I am wrong. But if I shot the animal and he possessed himself of it by guile, then, gun, let whatever I aim the barrel of the gun at fall down dead". When the gun is loaded and he has repeated the above, the gun is under the wager (mbimbu). He must then fire the shot, and if he aims at an object and hits it, the animal was his, and the man who falsely possessed himself of it cannot shoot anything any more. If he misses, the animal was the other man's.

When hunting horse-antelopes (nsungu or valangi) the marksman hangs up a piece of white cloth in a tree. When the antelope catches sight of it he stops and looks at it. Meantime the marksman makes a detour and begins to stalk the animal. He aims carefully at the beast's breast or the back of its neck. The horse-antelope has not a very keen scent, but is very sharp-sighted, and it therefore frequently runs to the top of a hill to get a good outlook. The wild pig has an incredibly quick scent, and the hunter must here try to head off the herd where it is eating. It is not easy to imitate a wild pig, but the leopard does so by taking a palm-nut in its mouth and trying to crack it; or else he tries to grunt like a pig.

The nduutu-rodent is hunted without dogs at any time in the afternoon, in the evening or early in the morning, when it goes out to graze. In the middle of the day it rests, like almost all animals. In order to entice it within range, the hunter generally imitates its voice, or races over the ground and breaks off blades of grass, as if there were another nduutu there. When it approaches, the hunter immediately shoots in the direction in which, to judge from the movements in the grass, the animal is coming. It is shot rather at a venture than at sight. The nzobo-cat is said to imitate the nduutu in the same way when hunting it. When hunting apes and long-tailed monkeys the natives try to imitate the animals' voices by repeating: "Kawu-kawu-kawu" or "Oro-oro-oro". If the marks-

man has concealed himself well the nsengi-monkey comes quite near when he produces these sounds.

A hunter is also able to imitate the squirrel. If he shakes the barrel of his gun and lifts it up and down it sometimes happens that the luvadi and nkanka squirrels stand up on their hind legs and look, for they think it is a snake.

The nkabi-antelope will stop if one whistles, for it wants to see whether it is a dog, a beast of prey or a human being who is drawing near. If it is going towards the sun at sundown, the hunter must try to head it off, for it sees badly on account of the sun. The nsesi-antelope is most easily enticed by tobacco-smoke. If the hunter blows out clouds of this the animal likes to come up and breathe it in.

But the wild animals also try to fool the hounds. The most dangerous is the python (nzyodi), which often seizes a hound in the long grass. The snake strikes its head on the ground and belches, whereupon the dog thinks there is an injured animal lying there. He rushes up, only to be attacked by the snake.

Among the accessories of the hunt may be mentioned the pipe with which the marksmen and beaters are summoned and the dog-bell (dibu). It is as a rule the master of the hounds who sounds the pipe on the eve of the hunt and then again in the morning. The instrument is generally made from a nsesi-antelope horn (nsiba) or of wood with two tones (mwemvo). There are various types, such as for instance the kunki and the nkwanama. The latter has a special sound peculiar to itself. Formerly, hunting spears of mbolita wood, handsomely carved and very sharp, were used. When a smaller animal came within range the hunter would hurl his spear with a powerful cast.

Bow and arrow and crossbow (mbasa, ngoda, ponza, ntoota, mbweta) are now used only by the younger lads for hunting birds and smaller animals. The crossbow is made of a branch of the bamboo-palm in one end of which a hole has been bored. Into this hole is inserted a strong bow at the ends of which a cord of plaited palm-fibres is bound. The bow is bent when the cord is stretched behind a hook attached to the trigger or a hook on the palm-branch. In either case the weapon is fired when the trigger presses the cord up out of the hook. A length of dyadya-grass (the stalk) is bound firmly to the bamboo-branch to form a sort of barrel, into which the arrow is thrust (fig. 12).

If an ordinary bow is used the arrow (ponza) is provided with a hook at the end so that the cord is made more secure. The arrow has a very fine and sharp point. Poisoned arrows are, nowadays at least, unknown. Arrows and spears with iron points and barbs were at one time used by the Yaka when they passed through the country. The young lads use slings (ponza kya mponzangala) for killing birds.

With the arrival of the whites various kinds of flint-lock guns made their appearance. Percussion-cap and breech-loading guns, on the other hand, were introduced only much later. Only certain chiefs or notabilities were permitted to use rifles. These, however, were soon forbidden, and the hunting of elephants and certain other big game was prohibited by the government. The shot for the guns is chosen according to the size of the animal that is to be hunted. A bigger animal often starts up, however, and then

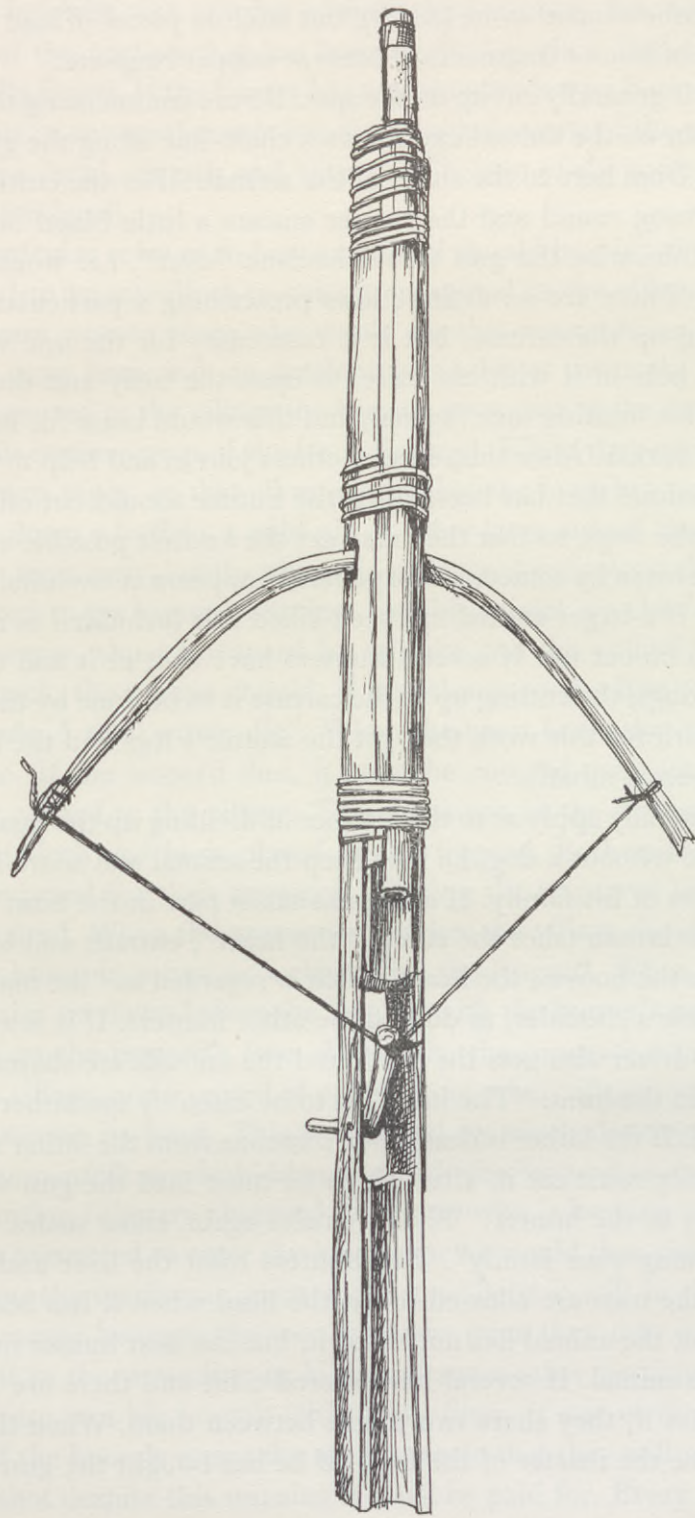


Fig. 12. Crossbow (deye), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 769).

the hunters must change the "bullet" and put in something bigger. The shot originally used was a small cube-shaped stone (nsadi), but later on pieces of lead began to become common, and bits of iron or fragments of brass or copper rings etc.

A larger animal is generally cut up on the spot. Before commencing this job the hunter often places his gun on the animal and draws a chalk-line along the gun from the butt to the muzzle and from here to the snout of the animal. After the cutting up of the carcass the gun is swung round and the hunter smears a little blood on heart and head and goes home. Otherwise the gun would become "shut", i.e. would not be able to shoot any animal. There are no definite laws prescribing a particular method for the business of cutting up the carcass, but it is customary for the one who has shot the animal to make a hole in it with his knife, to open the belly and drag out the heart, which constitutes his hunting luck (kyana), and this would cease for him if anyone else were to perform this task. After this, several others join in and help to cut up the body. If it is a nduutu-animal that has been killed the hunter should cut off the nose and eat it up or give it to the dogs, so that they may get the keenest possible scent. The larynx (mponono) is to be eaten by someone who generally appears at lawsuits, for such persons always contradict. If a larger animal has been killed it is forbidden to make a fire at the spot where it is to be cut up. If several hunters have shot at it and taken part in the pursuit with their dogs, the cutting up of the carcass is to be done by those first reaching the quarry. In return for this work they get the animal's legs and the lower part of the belly (below the thorax, mbati).¹

Certain rules generally apply as to the manner of dividing up the quarry. If a man has been hunting alone without a dog, he may keep the animal and share it as he thinks fit among the members of his family. If a dog has taken part in the hunt the quarry must be cut up. The marksman takes the rump, "the heart", entrails and legs, and if it is a hooved animal also the hooves, the head (which is regarded as "the marksman's eyes"). The dog-driver takes a shoulder, as do also the other hunters. If it is a nduutu that has been shot the dog-driver also gets the head, and the entrails are shared out among the other participants in the hunt. "The heart" is to be eaten by the father of the man who has shot the animal. If the father is dead, then someone from the father's or the maternal grandmother's family must eat it, after which he must load the gun with a mugful of gunpowder and say to the hunter: "Shoot females again, shoot males. That rump you must share out among your family". The hunters roast the liver and share it among themselves. Only the men are allowed to eat the head when it has been boiled. If the one who has first hit the animal has not killed it, but the next hunter manages to do so, they share half the animal. If several have scored a hit and there are hairs left on the spot where they shot it, they share two thighs between them. When the hunter comes home with the game the master of the farm, if he has bought the gun or if he is well-

¹ When the quarry is attacked and brought down by the dogs, the hunter may say, for instance: "Eh, father Ndamba, Ngolo has given birth to me, it is I who do so". When the animal is hit, and is staggering forward, he says: "Hold on! I am a child of Nsundi. (It is) I (who) do so".

known as a slave-dealer, is given a piece of thigh or he takes this himself. Small pieces of meat must also be given to a number of influential women, but the majority of the women get some of the portion that has been allotted to their husbands. The bigger animals are generally flayed. If the hunter has not brought down a hooved animal before, he may not take part in any meal consisting of the makolo-parts of the game in question, i.e. its calves, thighs, head, entrails and kidneys. The rest of the meat is boiled on the greensward and eaten by all.

There are no particular rules as to how an animal should be carried home. The older natives always used to be unwilling to cut up an animal in the village, for there were always some pregnant women there who would for that reason bring bad luck. Every man who helps to carry home e.g. an antelope gets a bit of the neck. If it is a nduutu that has been transported to the village the bearers get a part of the meat that is pulled out with the entrails in the region of the heart (Iwangi). When they get home they blow the nsiba or mwemvo pipes, so that all may hear that the hunt has been successful. If they have brought down a buffalo, a wild pig or other large animal they sometimes fire off several shots on their arrival at the village in order to demonstrate their joy.

No-one is allowed to go leopard-hunting, for this animal is a chief over all clans. If someone does, however, shoot a leopard by mistake and the animal becomes furious and goes to the attack, the person should, if he belongs to the Bwende clan, cry out: "Ach, father Bwende, I shall surely die". When the beast hears that this is a Bwende, it leaves him alone. If the leopard dies, it must be covered over with a red nkampa cloth before being carried to the village. The eldest son in the hunter's family is clad in the same sort of cloth and he is placed on the leopard. Both must be on the litter which has been prepared for their transport. During the transport volleys in homage to the dead cat are fired. When the procession reaches the village the chief must put on his clothes and be borne in a mat or a chair after the leopard. When the latter is put down, the chief is also set down before the leopard with the hunter's son. He must then tramp three times on the leopard's face. After this, the procession marches about on all the roads in the village, and a crowd of people from other villages come to look at the leopard and to tramp on its head. This is followed by much dancing and drinking of palm-wine. The womenfolk are forbidden to touch the leopard or even to look at it.

A number of hunting rules are observed. A hunter who is keeping watch at the edge of the jungle is not permitted to enter the jungle, for he would then risk being shot. If a beast rushes at him, the marksman must shoot it while it is still in the jungle. If the game manages to escape between the men with the guns they may not shoot after it, as this might result in the wounding or killing of some other participant in the hunt, which would give rise to a big lawsuit with heavy fines. If one of the dogs is without a bell the master of the hounds warns the marksmen so that they will not shoot the animal. If the dog is shot despite this warning it must be paid for. Every village hunts for itself with its people. If anyone wants to take part in a hunting expedition in another district, he must first acquaint himself with the hunting customs there, for every tract

has its own. This is why the older people used to say: "You must not hunt in a foreign land, you must give no attention to the dog-bell there".

Certain prohibitions had to be observed. Among these was the rule that a woman having her periods, a pregnant woman or a woman who has had sexual intercourse the night before the hunt may not touch a gun, for it would then become impure. Nor are persons engaged in nursing the sick allowed to touch a gun, as this may lead to a misfortune with fatal issue. The older natives insisted that a man who had made his wife pregnant "took the pregnancy with him" through his wife, and would therefore be unable to shoot any animals. There were, however, exceptions to this. If anyone has his gun "closed" in this way, the nganga helps him with nkisi Nkingu (though not until after the child is born), and says: "Shoot female animals, shoot male animals, Mr. Nkingu. If the animal goes to the plains, plain after plain; if it goes to water, water after water. Mr. Nkingu, free (him) from the ill-luck that he has, even if this is for the sake of your brother-in-law's pregnancy". The hunter must also go out after a prairie-fire, in order to dig up from the scorched ground frogs, lizards and snakes from their holes. If in spite of this he does not score any hits, it must be a case of nhya ill-luck, and then there will be no hunting luck. If dogs are being used for the hunt, no-one must take fresh palm-nuts with him.

Stalking in the fields, at the edge of the forest and on paths used by game is permitted at any time. The best time to go hunting with dogs is just after the prairie-fires, when the grass has begun to grow a little. If it has grown too much, hunting will be much more difficult, as the game will find it easier to hide. Close seasons to preserve game are unknown. Whenever anyone sees a big animal he must recount the fact, so that the hunters may go out after it. If he neglects to mention his sight of the beast, he will have reproaches heaped upon his head, and may even be beaten with a cudgel. "Why should not the chief have an opportunity of eating his animal, which is his property"?

Prairie-fires are the natives' best aid to hunting on the plains, in jungles and woods. They burn away the grass over large areas, but in the moister places they leave here and there more or less sizable jungles and islands of grass. The fire generally spreads as it will. The wind may sometimes accelerate its progress and drive it in an undesirable direction, for the natives want the grass to remain untouched in certain places so that it may be burned away later for hunting. On some hunting grounds that are well-adapted for this a prairie-fire may be started carefully and guided in the best possible way, so as to leave patches of jungle of the right size for hunting with dogs before they are burnt off entirely.

Higher up-country, where guns are too scarce, some large patches of jungle are left untouched for three or four years before they are burnt. The wild animals are then so accustomed to their haunts in these areas that there is plenty of game available. As it may be feared that some hunter may be badly wounded or even killed in the course of a hunt, a nganga is summoned to find out whether there are any buffaloes in the jungle and whether anyone is going to be hurt or not. He calls the people together

before the hunt and adjures them to put aside all envy, and if anyone has a kundu witch-gland he must give it up. He then strikes his nkisi and says: "He who is hiding any animal shall die presently through this nkisi". The nganga has perhaps made sure that there are buffaloes in the jungle, but he says only: "If you are now cunning and wise, and not envious, nobody will die". The men with the guns now surround the jungle, supported by others with wooden spears and swingles. As soon as the fire has been started and the dry grass is crackling and blazing fiercely, the biggest animals begin to flee. But many antelopes and other beasts are caught up by the flames and burned to death. The catch is often very big. The chief of the village generally decides that all hunters must participate.

Farther south such almost impenetrable and extensive jungles are not saved, but are depleted of game every year, at first with dogs and then, after some time, when the wild animals have become accustomed to the jungle again, they are burnt down. When the first prairie-fire has swept over plains and valleys the first game is taken by the women, girls and boys, who seek out all the holes in which rats have concealed themselves. They are dug out, and thrown into the basket with broken legs. Shortly after this the first edible fungi appear (matumbula, nsempila, binata and bimbula mbungu). Then comes the first heavy rainfall, and the women seek suitable spots to till for the planting of peanuts etc. The grass in the vicinity of the village is burnt off, so that snakes and the smaller beasts of prey shall not come and cause uneasiness in the village. It is also desired to protect the village from the bigger prairie-fires, which might, but for this bare belt, sweep over the huts and burn them down, as indeed sometimes actually happens.

For bigger beasts, such as buffaloes, hippopotamuses and occasionally elephants, deep pits are dug in the paths they have been frequenting for a longer period. Everybody must lend a hand here, for the pits must be dug quickly, so that the game will not surprise the men at their work. Sometimes sharp poles are stuck in the bottom of the pit. Beside the elephant-pits the natives also set a laba-snare (a spring-pole snare), in which the natives claim to have caught many elephants in former times. For instruction in the manner of setting this snare the price was two flint-lock rifles and two ntete-baskets full of peanuts. When better guns came into use the elephants were shot instead, until this mode of hunting them was forbidden by the government.

The natives liked to own such a valuable object as an elephant's tusk, and the chiefs especially esteemed them. A tusk was therefore on the death of a chief often laid in his shroud or on top of the grave. This was the kind of old ivory that the first great expeditions took back to Europe with them. Trumpets were made of smaller tusks, and these were sounded when, for instance, captives were taken. Sometimes a fine figure would be carved in ivory and then affixed to the whisk-broom that paramount chiefs used as a sign of dignity. Other chiefs, clad in leopard-skins, sometimes used the tusks as signs of dignity on festive occasions, when salvoes were fired. A piece of ivory is placed in NKONDI'S salu-bags, to show that he has an elephant as a symbol of his strength. In

former times even rather large tusks were carved in different ways with one or several figures. More recently, skilful native sculptors have made a vast number of divers objects, such as crocodiles, elephants and wine-tapsters climbing up palm-trees, from smaller tusks.

Pigs are generally caught in pits. There are deep holes placed by the side of a road running between two villages, where the wild pigs are in the habit of passing. It frequently happens that two or three of the animals are caught in the one pit. Sometimes, too, a smaller pit with a laba-snare is used to catch wild pigs singly. Such a snare is called a dyati or bummba. In this case a hole is dug in the ground out to the pit. Into this is thrust the stick with which the horizontal lever is set. Upon the latter a running noose is laid, and by the side of the pit is set a long, stout spring-pole. Thus when the wild pig tramps on the release mechanism the noose is tightened on one of the forefeet and the animal is dragged up into the air, where it dangles until someone comes and kills it. The snare may also be set in such a way that on release the noose drags one of the pig's forefeet firmly against a wedge driven into the ground. If the snare and the rope are sufficiently strong, the animal cannot get free however much it may fling its weight about. Finally, if the noose is set vertically, it is drawn tight around the neck or chest of the wild pig.

Ngoma (or nkandu) is very frequently used for the capture of, inter alia, nkabi-antelopes. The snare may be likened to a drum (ngoma). It consists of about half a cord of a felled rotten palm, which is half hollowed out like a palm-nut mortar. The lower part of the lump is buried in the ground on a plain or at the edge of a wood where the animals graze. In order to entice them to the snare, urine is poured out here and there in the vicinity; or a few beans, peanuts and peas with an aromatic odour are planted near the snare. Urine and salt are poured in the upper part of the latter, as well as leaves of which the antelopes are very fond. When the natives notice that the antelopes have found their way to the snare they set it. On either side of the hollowed-out bit of wood, stout wedges are driven into the ground to hold the snare steady. Above the opening a stout noose is laid over the bait stick; the bait is a mixture of leaves (kunzo) of which the animals are fond. The bait stick is set with a bent bow. By the side of the lump of wood a stout spring-pole is set with a noose twisted from oil-palm or raffia fibres. Two to four men are needed to bend down the spring-pole. When the antelope puts its head in the noose to take the bait, the releasing mechanism is touched off and the noose is jerked up with the antelope dangling in the air. Many of the natives do not bother, however, to set the snare when they notice that the antelopes have found the place. Instead, they wait in ambush to shoot the beasts with their guns.

Small snares of this type are used for catching rats and other such small animals. Another kind of spring-pole snare is called mbifika. A strong tree is bent down over the road in the form of an arch, and a notch is cut at the top. The rope from a spring-pole is taken through the notch and the noose is laid on the ground and covered over with a little earth. The snare is set with the bow and two loose sticks. When the animal

tramps on the stick parallel with the ground the snare is released and the animal is dragged hard up against the bow, but without being strangled. Simple snares of various types are also set on paths used by wild beasts and in little glades. They are attached to a pole or stick which is driven into the ground beside the track, over which the snare is hung vertically and at a level suitable for the animal it is desired to catch. The victim then runs its neck into the noose. A simple snare with a running slipknot is set on the runways in more thinly wooded tracts between creepers and bushes. The running noose is jerked in front of the bow and is drawn tighter as the beast thrusts forward. The whole thing is fastened to a small stick which is dragged along until it gets stuck fast in some thicket.

Nkumina is a snare that is used for the catching of smaller animals such as e.g. nduutu, bamfuki and banzobo (porcupine). When a much frequented runway is discovered, a couple of poles are cut and driven into the ground on either side of the track, their upper ends being tied together with strong creepers. A noose is hung in the opening between the poles and attached to a spring-pole whose lower end is connected with a stick which in turn is combined with a stick over the path. When the animal presses down the latter with its neck or shoulder, the snare is released and the beast is pressed hard up against the pole nearest to the spring-pole. Longer and shorter blind runways are constructed in suitable places where wild animals have their own runs. Poles are run into the ground as far as the blind runway is to go, and these are then joined together with palm-branches. Openings are left here and there, and in these spring-pole snares are set.

At the openings in the blind runway the natives may also set a deadfall (mpombolo) which is loaded with heavy stones and squashes the game to death on the ground when the release mechanism is touched off. The size and the loading of the deadfalls varies of course according to the game they are intended to catch. When the question as to how long the fall log shall be is settled, two parallel rows of poles are stuck in the ground. The rows of poles are as long as the fall log, and in each row palm-fibres are plaited between them to make two walls. Between these is laid a "floor" of wattled branches and the like on which leaves and rubbish are cast to confuse the animals. The fall log is then suspended on a release-device which functions as soon as the game tramps on a stick placed in the middle of the trap on the ground.

Deadfalls consisting of flat stones or a wattled platform with extra weights of stone and set with or without carrion are called kyemba. These are used to catch, inter alia, nduutu and rats. If the wattled platform is sufficiently large, it is possible to catch between three and four nduutu at the same time. One end of the deadfall rests upon the ground, while the other is set with a variant of the post release-mechanism. When the bait is taken, the platform falls and the animal is crushed. If the snare is set without a carcass as bait it is so placed that the platform is disposed at right angles to the path, over which it is partly suspended. Over this are stretched one or more cords which are tied fast to a cross-piece against which in turn the releasing stick is set. When the cords are displaced, the platform drops.

Self-shooting with guns (mbudi) is another method. Here the trap is generally set beside the animal's runway. Two posts with notches in their tops are driven into the ground in such a way that when the gun is laid in the notches it is on a level with the animal it is desired to shoot (e.g. buffaloes or wild pigs). A stick is laid on the gun, and at the side, by the trigger, a couple of poles are driven into the ground to hold the gun steady, and behind the butt a post is driven in to receive the recoil. Between the side-poles a wooden stick is bound fast to the butt, and a short piece of wood connects the lower end of the stick to the trigger. From the upper end of the stick a cord runs to the muzzle where it is bound fast to a rope running transversely across the runway. When the animal presses against the rope, the gun is fired. This trap may also be set with bait in front of the muzzle, or dangling from a short rope, so that the gun is fired when the animal drags at the bait. This method is frequently practised when a leopard or other big beast of prey has carried off a domestic animal that it has not had time to devour. The remains of the animal are then used as bait.

The usual tube spring-pole snare for rats (saka) is made of five to seven horizontal palm-fibres which have been interwoven with other palm-fibres. A spring-pole is stuck into the pointed end of the tube and another bow, which may also be used as a handle, is firmly attached to the tube. At the free end of the bow is tied a cord the longer part of which is made to form a noose in the tube at its opening, while the shorter part of the cord is attached to a small releasing-stick. The latter is set against the second bow and the bait-stick projecting from this and ending in the tube. Among other rat-traps may be mentioned the ndinzi and the nduba. The latter is the ordinary rat-trap of plaited palm-fibres. The rat can easily enter the elastic hutch, but it contracts if the animal tries to creep out backwards or to turn round. When a sufficient number of hutches or crates have been woven the natives seek out the rat-haunts in small, still unburned islands of grass. The hutches are placed in the middle of the tracks and four or five boys begin to drive in the rats by advancing from the outer edges of the hunting grounds. The rats rush homewards along the tracks. A couple of lads who are accustomed to this type of hunting stand by the traps to see whether any rat is scurrying in his direction. If this is the case, he whistles, and the young beaters redouble their efforts, so that the rat will not have time to change direction and disappear. As soon as the animal has run into the hutch the boy rushes up and turns it up. He takes out the rat and puts the hutch back.¹ When one island of grass is finished the boys continue to the next.

Kuti is the name of a rat-trap where the bait is placed in a small circle of palm-fibres at the opening of which a spring-pole snare is set. The latter is set with a bow and two loose sticks. Another spring-pole snare (kinnkatu or nzoka) is combined with two small pits connected with a tunnel. The snare is set at the mouth of the tunnel, so that the rat is caught when it sticks its head into the tunnel to reach the bait.

Hunting with nets is nowadays, when guns of various kinds are in general use, no longer so common in the south. Farther north, however, in the forest regions, net-hunting

¹ When the hutch is turned backwards it becomes shorter and wider.

does occur. The animals get entangled in the nets and are killed with swingles by watchful natives who have been waiting in ambush. They are generally woven with mpunga-cords and may be over 100 meters in length, while the height often exceeds that of a normal human being. The natives drive poles with notches into the ground at divers points around the jungle and then hang up the nets on them. The wild animals started up by the beaters rush against the net, and as this frequently falls down over them they become entangled in it and roll over. The watchers rush up and beat them to death with mbindi-swingles. Small antelopes of various kinds, nduutu and other creatures of about the same size are easily caught in this way.

Although the Kongo are familiar with several strong poisons, these are not used in connection with the hunt. A species of potato (*Dioscorea macroura*) resembling fresh manioc is sometimes eaten by goats, which in a short time leads to their death. If the fowls start scratching up the newly sown peanuts the womenfolk boil some of these potatoes and scatter them in the fields. When the fowls eat them, they die. The saucepan in which they have been boiled must always be destroyed at once, lest anyone be poisoned.

Snares set in trees are set to catch wild cats. The dikeela is a common snare for wild cats. A little wall of palm-leaves and fibres is built up by the wayside and a hole is made in the middle of it. A snare which is combined with a spring-pole is then set in the hole, through which the animal is obliged to go.

Birds are caught with cages and snares of various types, lime-twigs and nets. Thus very small bird-houses (nzo banuni) are made with strong grass-stalks or palm-fibres and covered over with grass. A tiny opening is left free, so that the birds may enter. A door to fit the opening is attached to a spring running through the house and the back wall to a hiding-place where the bird-catcher, a boy, is sitting. When everything is ready the lad looks for a termite-heap with flying termites in it. He leaves some of the termites near the house and a quantity of the insects inside. Some of them fly up in the air, and the birds come in crowds when they see the flying termites. When many birds have entered the house the boy pulls the string and thus closes the door. In some cases this arrangement may be made in the form of a trap, the door then closing by itself when the birds enter the house. Such houses may also be used to catch partridges, turtle-doves and mkuuku mpeela etc. Very small, fine snares are most commonly made with strips from small palm-leaves. These are rubbed and peeled and then scraped, so the resulting fibre will be very fine. It is twisted together, knotted and made into loops. These are tied firmly, in twos, to a sharp wooden stick thrust into the ground. These snares (mansyo) are placed opposite each other and as a rule bound fast in a little notch in the stick. The height of the snare above the ground is carefully calculated, so that the birds' feet will easily get caught in it. It is customary in this connection to seek out a level place with small openings and paths here and there in the grass. Here the snares are set at the edge of small clumps of grass, sometimes several hundred at a time. Early in the morning the young hunter goes and breaks the termite-nest

and lays out the flying termites near the snares. Some of the termites fly up into the air and the birds catch sight of them. The bird-catcher then begins to whistle, and says: "Eh, ntyetye (a bird) bring hither your flock, I see, but I do not see so well. Oh, nkyoni (a bird) bring hither a host, I see, but not so very well". As the nkyoni-bird soars straight up in the air when catching the termites, the other birds see him and hurry to the place, where they begin to hop about on the ground and eat. Presently a score of them have got caught in the snares. The hunter throws a cloth over them and then kills them one after the other.¹ Fresh termites are caught and the same procedure is repeated. The same spot may be revisited on another day, and the snares may be used two or three times.

Francolins and other birds are caught by the neck in snares (dooda) which are set vertically and attached to small sticks which are stuck in the ground at the edge of the paths used by the birds when they go to the fields. Snares based on the spring-pole system (nzanza) and loaded "platform-deadfalls" are also used for catching birds. Termites and palm-nuts, inter alia, are used as bait. If many snares have been set out, the bird-catcher generally sits in hiding and watches them.

To make lime-twigs the natives cut notches in the nzanda fig-tree and collect the resin. This is put in a pot on the fire and boiled to a glue, which is then smeared on small sticks made from the veins of palm-leaves. These are then placed where the birds are in the habit of congregating to eat. When they alight near or on the twig they stick fast with their legs or wings and fall down to the ground. The lime must always be fresh and sticky.

Bird-nets are set up in the air over grassy patches where birds are in the habit of flying in great flocks. If the birds are started up in the vicinity they fly blindly against the fine nets and are caught and killed. In Brazzaville and the neighbouring countryside the Kongo seem to have learned from the Teke how to catch the fruit-eating bats (ngembo) with snare-nets. In glades, depressions and other places where these creatures fly past on their way to where their food grows in the woods several rows of fibre-snares in couplings of half-a-dozen or more are set out on a long rope. Each row has a shell with a clapper and can be hauled down separately when the alarm signals to the watcher that a bat has got caught. The line is then hauled down and the bat is removed. The first catch of the season must have its head crushed by the hunter's teeth.

Only a few animals may not be hunted as game. Apart from the leopard, mention may be made of the hyena (mwinzi), which is exempted because it attacks man and hunts other animals. There are many animals, on the other hand, which for one reason or another the natives are forbidden to eat. Formerly, the older folk ate snakes, lizards, crocodiles and jackals etc., and these are still eaten higher up-country among e.g. the Bwende and other tribes. Farther south such food is not liked. Skin complaints such as ring-worm etc. are believed to be caused by eating spotted or striped animals, many birds, crustacea and the mpidi-snake and the python.

¹ The young hunters may also wring the birds' necks, squeeze their heads hard, put out their eyes or break off legs and wings and spit them alive to roast them at the fire.

The many big rivers and smaller streams and the more or less open marshlands are fished in all parts of the country. There are no big lakes. During a perilous voyage on the River Congo or if fishing luck is bad ancestral spirits and nkisi are invoked to ensure the success of the voyage or the fishing. There are plenty of fish of many varieties in the bigger rivers, especially in the Congo, and the types of fishing tackle and the methods of fishing are therefore many. Nets and fish traps of various sizes and types are used, both in open waters and in pools and streams. Poison is used in stagnant shallow pools, or the water is bailed out and the fish taken with the hands. The expedient of diving down and taking the fish with the hands may also be used if it is keeping to a hole or other hiding-place. The fishermen on the bigger rivers are very skilful. They are familiar with different fishing-places and with the depths where the different kinds of fish may be expected. They know, too, how to use their fishing tackle to the best advantage.

The kwanda-net has large meshes and is knotted with cords made from fibres of the nkusa-creeper. It may be from fifty to a hundred fathoms in length and from one to two fathoms in breadth. Stones are tied to the ground-ropes and the net is then put out from canoes in the larger bays of the Congo or stretched across smaller rivers. All the fishes that are once caught in it are bound to die. The meshes are strong and "burn like fire, so that the crocodile itself may die there". It is used for catching big fish like the mpondo, mvundu, suwa, lenge, kendende, mvulu, nenge and ngola. Other nets are both knotted for and named after the kind of fish it is desired to catch with them (e.g. nkembi-net and lewa-net). They are knotted in the same way as the kwanda-net, but are only between four to eight fathoms in length. One of the native nets is so fine that it is only with difficulty that it can be observed at all. It is for this reason called lubungi (misty, feeble-sighted), and is put out in waters frequented by the nyonzi and other small fish. When a net has been put out the fishermen paddle upstream to find out where the fish are congregating. When these are frightened they swim swiftly downstream and fasten in the net, which is then hauled in.

Bucks are often called kunzi-nets. Kunzi dya mvweta (kunzi, that is put down in the water) is a creel knotted with nkusa-cords which is put out in bays where the water is very still. When the fish tries to get back to the river from the bank it finds itself caught in the creel, which is then lifted up and closed, so that the fish cannot escape. This type of trap is used for big fish like the nteka, nsuma ngola, lusale and mwenge or nenge (capitaine).

The small nsangi-fish is caught with a pole-net (kunzi dya nsangi). This consists of a large, very fine-meshed net fastened to a bow-shaped bent frame made of two branches. These in their turn are forked and attached at their bifurcation to a pole. The net is composed of 100 breadths, each of which is 30 meshes broad; their length, at least formerly, used to extend from the bend of the maker's arm to his finger-tips. The breadths were knotted together with long cotton threads and divided into fathoms (nlemba), which in their turn were knotted together to form a net of the desired breadth.

Two men fish together in one canoe. The one sitting in the stern paddles slowly and noiselessly. The one standing on the prow carefully puts out the pole-net without any jerky movements. The moon must not be out, but a firebrand is laid across the gunwale near the prow. This putting out of the pole-net is called *tamba* (to put out in order to catch). Sometimes, however, this mode of fishing is practised by only one man. In this case he first puts out the pole-net and with one leg curved over the pole to steer it he paddles slowly forward to some spot frequented by the *nsangi*-fish. If he finds the fish where he expects he listens for their sounds: *wo-wo-wo* and then *so-so-so*. While the fish are playing he must try to hear whether the school is passing above or beneath the pole-net, so that he can at the right moment, and without shaking either the canoe or the net, gently raise or lower the latter. If the net is filled it is taken in and laid in the canoe, and the fish are shaken out or, if he finds any difficulty in doing this, he paddles in to the bank and picks them out. It is, however, both difficult and dangerous to go fishing alone in this way, for many have been dragged under the water by crocodiles who snatch the leg with which the fisherman is steering the pole-net. Where the banks are steeper it is possible to paddle in a canoe or to walk along the bank dragging the pole-net with the current, for the fish swim here against the same.

The *kyanga* and *mundeeka* are two rib-nets which have been woven or bound together with rough palm-laths and *mpunga*-cords or raffia fibres. The first-mentioned is big and broad and is used for catching small fish which nibble their food near the banks of the river. The rib-net is held under water and pushed slowly towards the bank, so that the fish gets entangled in the net when it tries to get down to deeper water. The *mundeeka* may be two fathoms in breadth. The rough palm-laths used in the construction of these rib-nets must be cleft, peeled and from two to three meters in length. When binding them together it is important to see that every other one has the light side and every other one the dark side turned upwards, for the fish are afraid of the light half of the ribs. The rib-net is used by women, who walk against the current and hold it slopingly in the water of small streams. A number of women wade and splash and beat the water in the stream above those who are approaching with the net, thus chasing the fish towards it. When a fish swims against the *mundeeka* the latter is quickly lifted in the air, the fish is removed and thrown into *mpidi*-baskets. This mode of fishing is practised at any time during the year. Only smaller fish are caught in this way.

The circular throwing net (*mwaka*) is about one and a half fathoms in breadth and somewhat contracted in the middle. Small pieces of lead are attached to the ground-rope as sinkers. The net is thrown in such a way that it spreads out in its flight and falls down flat over the water, shutting in the fish that happens to be just underneath its fall. Thus when a fish wants to swim out into the stream it gets entangled in the meshes and the fisherman quickly draws up the throwing net to the bank.

With larger or smaller pole-nets (*nkasi*) the natives try to catch fish that hide in holes, eat near the bank or get stranded in small streams whither they have been

chased by splashers. The pole-nets, which are, as a rule, woven with pineapple fibres, do not generally have the appearance of a cornet with a "horn", but have two "horns". When a fish has been caught, the person holding the handle gives this a twirl and thus swirls the net close, so that the fish cannot escape. The fish caught in this way may be of medium size (e.g. the matolo, makeke, mpampa and mpudi).

Basket-traps or bucks are, independently of their size, woven and used in the same way. The smallest, however, should be put out in places where the current is not too strong. The biggest are commonly called ntambu, and the next sizes are nswa and nswela. At Manyanga and the other big rapids one finds the biggest bucks, which are put out daily. The business of weaving and putting out these basket-traps or bucks is collective. Those who weave them receive payment in the form of cassava and palm-wine when the work is finished, as well as a share in the catch or in the proceeds from its sale. The binding materials and withes used in the weaving must be provided by the prospective owner of the buck. The withes are taken from the creeping plant zudya or from the ntubungu and, though less frequently, the nkungu. A large ntambu-buck is about two fathoms in length, and the height of the opening is about that of an average man. The mouth is woven especially strongly, and it is amongst other things reinforced with withes and binding material transversely across its diameter. The mouth thus comes to consist of a number of apertures (nzawa), even up to eight or ten. When the work of weaving is finished a very stout rope (nzemba) and a longer rope (mpita)¹ are fastened to the buck, and to the first-mentioned rope near the buck a large stone (kukulu, suspender) is fastened. The buck is now thrown out in the rapids stone and all, with the mouth directed against the current, so that the fish are as it were washed into the buck by the tumbling waters. Fish that are swimming upstream are often driven back and into the buck, where they are held by the pressure of water, for they find it difficult to turn round in its cornet-shaped end. Smaller fish that are able to pass between the withes escape, but the bigger fish die rather quickly.

When there is a catch of fish in the buck it is dragged ashore to a suitable spot to be examined and emptied, after which it is left until evening and the fish is shared out. Besides the owner and the maker of the buck, those who have procured the binding materials and the withes, as well as those who have put it out and dragged it in, are entitled, if the catch is good, to their share. The fish that is left goes to the ruling chief. The lots that are shared out or sold in the case of a good catch are called ngyende or tulula.

Nswa-bucks are woven with fresh rough palm-laths, the backs of which are well peeled and smooth. The number of ribs may be anything from twenty to thirty or more. The weaving is performed with the mankanda-part of the ribs, which may be a fathom or more in length and are very flexible. The nswa-buck is put out in rapids, but it is also

¹ The bucks in ordinary rapids are provided with a line of three to eight fathoms, according to the type of fish to be caught. The fishing-places have definite names, and the natives are perfectly familiar with the depth of water and the kind of fish that are generally caught there. These fishing-places have from time immemorial been allotted to certain families, who have thoroughly exploited them.

much used in the openings of dams through which the fish find an exit. Strong dams of wood, stone and earth are sometimes provided with one or two holes, and the buck is placed with the mouth towards the current. If there are any fish in the buck it is hauled ashore, but it is immediately put out again after being emptied. If the buck is rather close woven, smaller fish may be caught, and even crayfish and shrimps (fig. 13 c).

The lembo-bucks are of various type and size (fig. 13 b). The bigger ones bear an outward resemblance to the nswa-type, but inside they have an opening provided with sharp ribs (nzolo). The buck is woven with the mankanda-parts of the palm-laths. There are thirty ribs. A commissioned buck commands a price of 50 centimes, cassava and palm-wine. The edge around which the weaving is begun is called ndyodyo and is made in such a way that it can be opened for the removal of the fish. When the buck has been woven, the nzolo-opening is woven with sharp ribs and inserted. If such a pot is to be used in open water with a feeble current, a nzolo-opening is made at the mouth to prevent the fish from escaping. For dams a buck with only one nzolo-opening is used, as the strength of the current helps to keep the fish inside.

As in the case of the nswa, the lembo is put out in dams with one or two openings, and if a dam cannot be built stones and sticks are laid out and a pole suspended over the water. The latter is fastened to trees on either side or to posts that have been driven into the ground here and there. As such a dam will let the water through, channels will be made in which bucks may with advantage be put out. These are examined in the morning and taken ashore. The fish are shaken out or the buck is opened at the ndyodyo-end. This is always done if any electric fish has been caught. In the afternoon the buck is put out again. Also lembo-bucks are put out in bays and other places where the water is quieter. In order to be able to find the spots where the bucks have been deposited, the rope is attached to a piece of wood that is left to float on the surface of the water. Canoes are used for the deposition of the bucks.

These bigger bucks, like the small duba-bucks, may also have two cornets, one inside and one at the mouth. Each of these is affixed to a round, stout curving span on the buck. The cornet-ribs are very pointed, to prevent the fish from retreating. The ribs are mafindu-ribs and the binding material is of mango. Near the bottom the buck has a hole (dunda), through which the fish is taken out. The space inside is called kelolo (trumpet or funnel). If the buck is put out in quieter waters it is baited with lumps of old manioc, with bones and rotten palm-nuts, which entice the fish.

The duba-buck (in some dialects also referred to as a lembo) differs from the ordinary lembo-bucks, both as regards shape and size. It is thus considerably smaller and is used to catch ntondya fish and ngola. It is put out preferably in small streams in marshes and fen-country. The duba is woven in three ways. If the buck is to be used for catching ngola-fish it is woven in the form of a cylinder with cords contracting one end. In the middle a girdle is woven so that it cannot be squeezed together, and in this is fixed the cornet with the sharp ribs to prevent the fish from getting out. If the buck is to be used for catching ntondya-fish it is made in about the same way but is provided with two

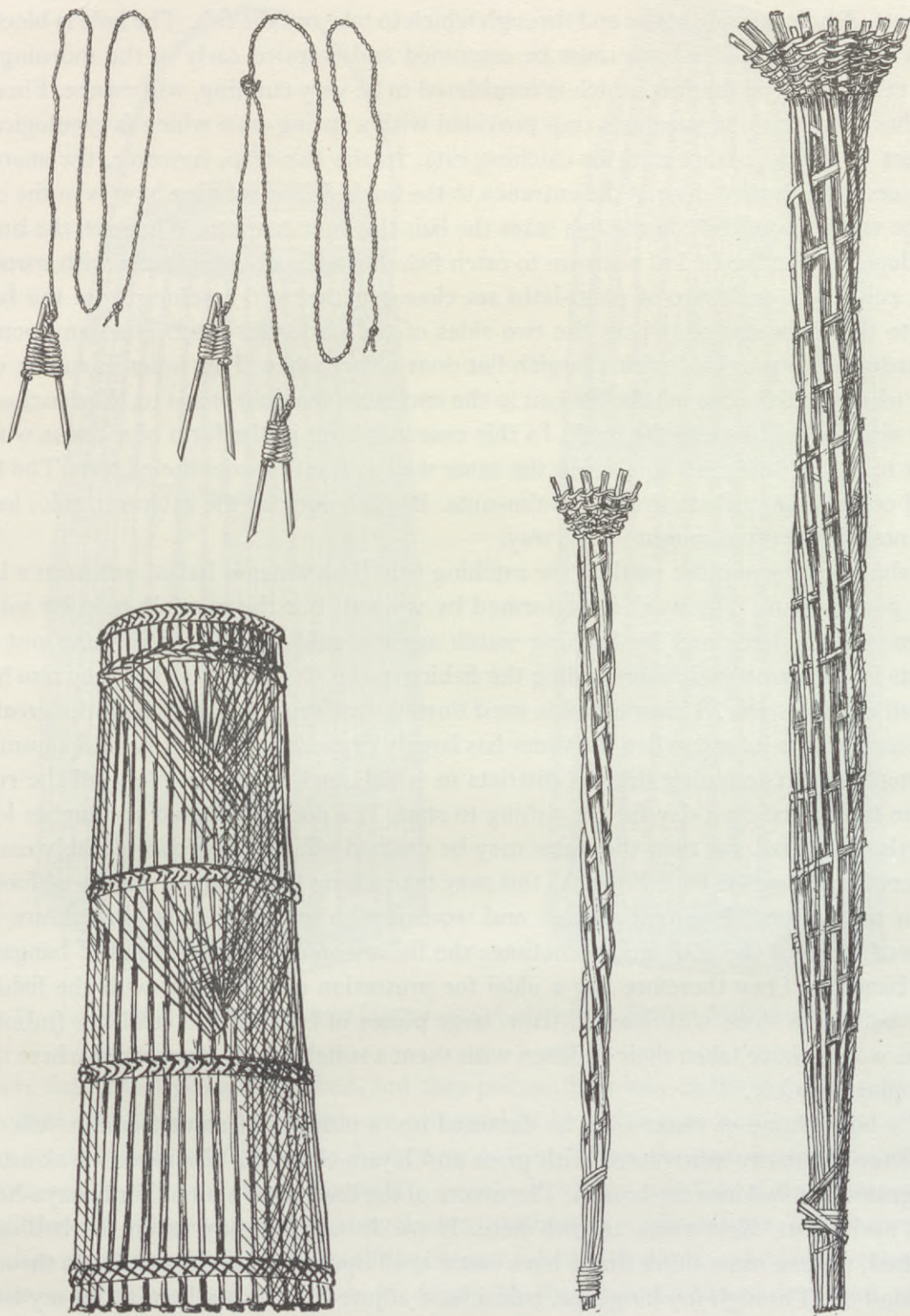


Fig. 13. A, Fish-hooks (ntaku), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 736). B, Fish-buck (lembo), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 1011). C, Fish-buck (nswa), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 1020). D, Fish-buck (nswa), Sundi in Lolo (Laman 1018).

cornets. A hole is made at the end through which to take out the fish. The hole is blocked with a corn-cob. The buck must be examined and emptied early in the morning. If this task is delayed the fish, which is considered to be very cunning, will escape. Finally, the buck may also be used as a trap provided with a spring-pole which is typologically closest to the saka-trap used for catching rats. In the fish-trap, however, the snare is replaced by a wattled door at the entrance to the buck. It is set with a bow as in the case of the saka-trap, and when the fish takes the bait the door snaps to. When set, the bucks are deposited on the bed of a stream to catch fish that will not enter bucks with cornets.

A zulu is an enclosure of palm-laths set close together and reaching from the bank out to the main stream, where the two sides of the enclosure meet. Here an opening is made that is provided with a largish flat door of branches. This is set in such a way that when the fish tries to take the bait in the enclosure the door snaps to. The enclosure may also be built free of the bank. In this case it is built in the form of a circus with a door in the middle, and it is set in the same way as the first-mentioned trap. The bait used consists of crickets, frogs or palm-nuts. Big fish such as the mbuumi, tolo, lenge and ntabala are often caught in this way.

Yaba is a very popular method for catching fish. The water is bailed out from a big-gish pool or dam. The work is performed by women; but the menfolk help by sometimes making dams and by keeping watch against wild animals or hunting out the beasts in the countryside surrounding the fishing-place. Occasionally they may also help to bail out the water. This method is used during the dry season, and with the greatest success towards its end, when the water has largely evaporated and left behind a number of small pools containing fish. In districts in which such pools are plentiful the ruler of the tract must fix a day for the fishing to start. If a pool is situated at a higher level everybody is glad, for then the water may be drained off, which is considerably easier. Otherwise it must be bailed out. As this may take a long time, a good supply of food is taken to the spot. Pregnant women and women who generally have ill-luck are not allowed to go to the pool, and sometimes the fisherwomen are also afraid of banganga and bandoki. They therefore beg a nkisi for protection and for help with the fishing. The bailing is done with baobab-fruit, large pieces of bark or basket dishes (mboba). If the women have taken their children with them a suitable spot is prepared where they may play in safety.

If a big volume of water is to be dammed up, a number of stout trees are felled to reinforce the dams constructed with grass and layers of earth. Wherever a leak arises, dry grass is stuffed into the breach. The owner of the dam takes a bit of kimbanzya-herb, spits and says: "Now there are fish here. If we do not find any when the bailing is finished, no-one must think that I have cast a spell upon the dam, for example through my kindoki. Through my kinganga, bakisi have adjured me to bewitch it, but my heart is innocent. May female and male fish now die. If they do not, then someone else has come and his heart is evil. Let us bail out the waters of the dam with happiness and without evil in our minds". Then he spits. The work of bailing begins, and may last the

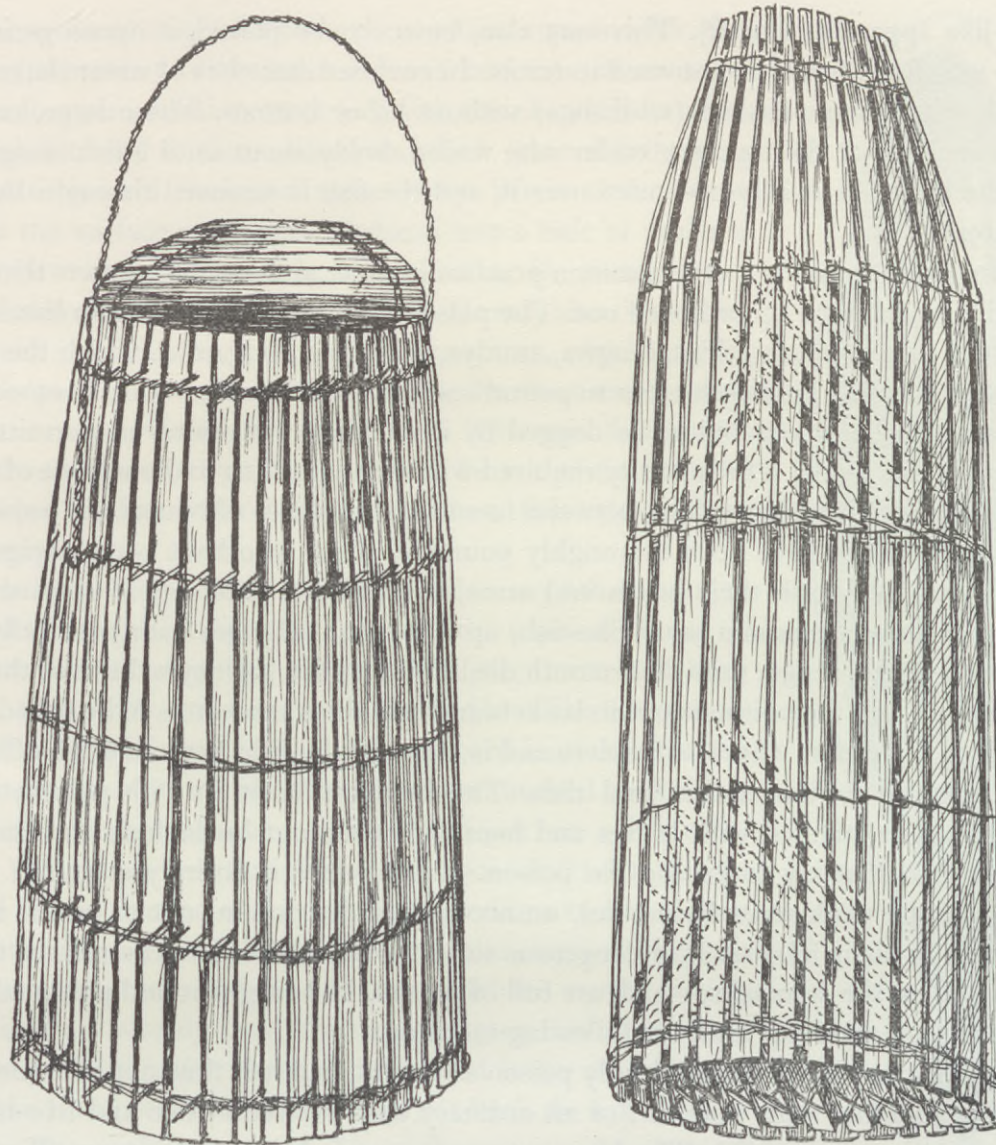


Fig. 14. A, Fish-basket, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 282). B, Fish-buck, Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 1014).

whole day. The women are naked, but they put on their loin-cloths if there are men at the dam. As soon as bigger fish are observed to be seeking an outlet to freer waters they are attacked with pole-nets, baskets or knives. When the dam begins to get dry, all its nooks and crannies are carefully searched. All the fish found are collected and carried to the village square to be shared out as tradition prescribes (fig. 14). The owner of the dam may first pick out for himself the biggest fish in each catch, and what is left belongs to the one who has made the catch. If, despite the fact that she has worked hard, one of the fisherwomen has been dogged by ill-luck, she is allotted a portion from one who has got plenty of fish. There are generally many disputes in this connection on both sides. It is also customary at the dams for splashers to chase the fish towards a long,

basket-like apparatus (maizi). This may also, however, be placed at openings in the dam to which the fish is accustomed to resort. In enclosed stretches of water the natives also fish with plunge-baskets (vwakanga) without lid or bottom. These large, conical baskets are held at the top by a wader who wades slowly about until a fish is sighted, when the basket is swiftly up-ended over it, and the fish is removed through the hole in the top.

Fishing with poison is a very common practice in quiet and stagnant waters that cannot easily be dammed up or bailed out. The poison is prepared from certain leaves and roots, such as e.g. buumi, diiza, langwa, zuudya, masoko and ngamba, which the menfolk and womenfolk help each other to pound and pour out into the water. Persons who are thought to be or reputed to be dogged by ill-luck are not, however, permitted to take part in this work.¹ The quantity required will vary according to the volume of water to be fished: for an ordinary dam, between 10 and 12 basketfuls of buumi will be picked.

When the leaves have been thoroughly pounded, those who have been engaged on this job carefully wash their hands and arms, and all turn their palms upwards and downwards three times and say: "She-fish, up with your belly, up with your belly, he-fish, sengo, sengo, sengo, may their mouth die, their ears die, their eyes die, may they die wriggling". Then the poison is put in baskets and carried to the waters to be fished. It is tipped into the water, where it dissolves and is eaten by the fish. Soon one fish after the other floats up to the surface and dies. The booty is taken in with pole-nets and budi-baskets or stabbed with knives and hoes. Some set out bucks here and there to catch the fish that try to escape the poison. If the water is entirely stagnant, those engaged in the work must be careful, on account of the poison, not to cut or injure themselves or their fellows. It is dangerous to eat poisoned fish and the natives therefore do not eat the stomachs, which are full of poison. In a stagnant and poisoned dam the fish are not taken up until the following morning.

Diiza (a cactus) is not such a deadly poison as buumi, and it is thus not as a rule used alone, but together with buumi. For an ordinary dam between three and five mpidi-baskets of diiza are needed. The leaves are not pounded, but cut into small pieces. The tuberous roots of the langwa, masoko and ngamba are pounded to pulp and put into the water. The two last-mentioned plants are strong poisons.²

Although it has not such a powerful effect as buumi, zuudya is a very strong poison which may cause the death of both human beings and animals; five to six drops is a fatal dose for the former. It is not often used for fishing. The natives prefer fish that has been poisoned with buumi and langwa. All fish that has been poisoned putrifies very quickly. Anyone is allowed to pick the poisonous plants mentioned above, except for buumi and diiza, which are planted and therefore accounted as property. A mean person will often not permit anybody else to pick any of his poisonous plants.

¹ The menfolk must also drive away or kill the crocodiles that often go to the dams to eat the fish.

² It sometimes happens that masoko are dug up by mistake instead of potatoes (manto), which are, by the way, also called masoko by many of the natives.

Where there is good fishing it is rather common for the native fishermen to dive under the water and examine crannies and hiding places and to catch fish with their hands. Many are very accustomed to this method and show great skill therein, though it is hard work and rather risky. When a man dives below the surface and sticks his hand into a hole or under a stone he may quite possibly find a snake, for example the mba-kooko, whose bite is very painful. He may also risk catching hold of a fish with sharp, poisonous spines, which may be equally painful. In order to avoid this, the diver uses a small pole-net which he applies to the hole. The most favourable time for this mode of catching fish is at the end of the dry season, when the low-water mark is reached and fish try to conceal themselves.

A native fishing hook (taki) with which many fish are caught is made from the medial vein of one of the topmost shoots of a palm. Leaves of pisang are scraped clean, the vein is bent and the two ends are bound with pisang fibre. The bent part is cut off short to form a hook and a long cord is attached to the upper part to serve as line. When about a hundred hooks have been made, earthworms are collected and put into a little calabash. Worms are now threaded on the hooks and left to dangle in the water, the end of the line being tied to a tree, a root or a stout stalk of grass on the bank. The following morning the lines are examined, and the fish that have been caught during the night are already dead, for the hook goes down into their stomachs. The native hook is considered to be much better than the European kind, which does not hook the fish so effectively. The angler must not spit in the water or break wind when putting out lines, for he will then have no luck. A good way to get fish is to whistle and make the sound mfyo-mfyo with the tongue, as the fish will then get the impression that other fish are near. Another trick is to chew cassava and throw it out in the water among the hooks. The taki-hook may also be used for angling with rod and line. The float (ntunta, lusuku) may be a bit of the pith from a branch of bamboo or raffia (fig. 13 a). It is chiefly the younger generation that fishes with European hooks (mpaku). The line is made from hard twists of pineapple or mpunga fibre. The stalk of the corn blossom is generally used as a float. As it must be possible to make the line shorter or longer according to the depth of the water, two stalks are tied to the line together, with the line running between them.

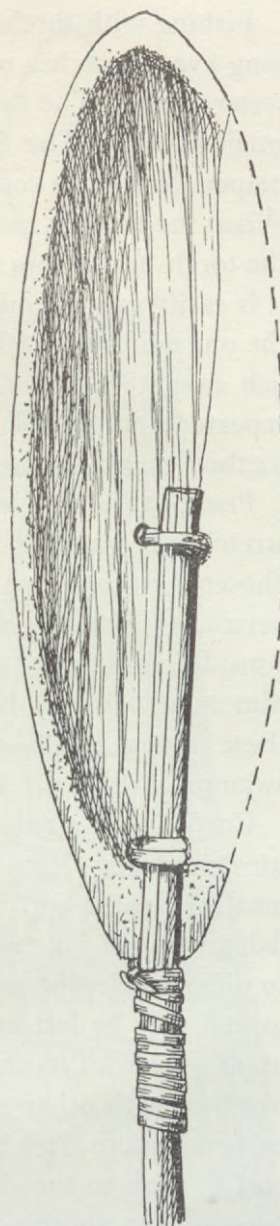


Fig. 15. Ladle of baobab-fruit for lading up driver ants used as fishing-bait, Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 735).

Fishing with torches is practised on the banks of the River Congo and in bays with long even stretches of shore-line, so that the fisherman may easily walk along by the water's edge. The torch is as a rule made with dry nyanga-grass which is bound in small sheaves. The fisherman sharpens his dagger and goes to the river-bank with a helper. Many fish come to the bank to eat ants and other insects that fall into the water. When the torch is moved slowly the fish does not turn tail, but stays and stares at it. If the torch-bearer sees a fish he stabs at it with his knife. If the fish is stabbed in the head it is easily caught; otherwise it escapes to deeper water. If it happens to be cut in two, the one half swims off by itself. A single night's fishing may result in a good catch. The fish cannot be threaded on a spit, but is roasted on a fire, the pieces being turned repeatedly until cooked. There is a great demand for the cooked fish at the markets. This method cannot be used on moonlit nights, for then the fish see well and escape in time.

Pisciculture has been practised since time immemorial. Fish are transplanted to stretches of water that have not yielded any fish for some years. Among the varieties chosen for this purpose may be mentioned the matolo, ngola, ntanda and ntondya. The person who has the management of the water and who has transplanted the fish is also considered to own it. If a slave has the management of the fish, his master exacts from him an oath by the bakisi that he will not conceal any fish when he begins to angle in these waters. If the owner dies, his younger (baleeke) inherits the water or the papyrus swamp in which fish have been introduced.

Corfs are as a rule plaited in the form of a cylinder with rough palm-laths and the nteela-creeper. They are called ngoma (drum) or ntadulwa (ntadulwa=that one looks into). A ngoma-corf has a lid at one end through which the fish is dropped. As not all fish are suited for each other's company, it is necessary to have several corfs to be sunk to different depths, according to the habits of the different sorts of fish. The ngola and mpudi may be left together with impunity, but not, on the other hand, the ngola and ntanta, for with its sharp spines the ntanta kills the ngola. The ntondya may not be left together with other small fish, nor may there be too many ntondya (eels) in the same corf, not more than 15 to 20, for in this case they die too quickly. Eels also die if the corf is sunk to too deep a level. When a corf is sunk it should be carefully and well covered, for mungos (mfuki) and others are very fond of ntondya, and they therefore break the corf to get at the fish. But there are also thieves who try to seek out the corfs in order to steal the fish in them.

Fish from the Congo and other big rivers do not flourish in swamps and marshy water, which is cold. If it is possible to keep them in a bay in the river it is better. Catches of fish are kept in corfs, and many are roasted before market-days. Those which are not sold are put in a drying basket over the fire and roasted dry. In this way it is possible to keep them for a time.

Certain species of fish as well as human beings may bring bad luck to the fishermen. They therefore dedicate themselves to the Nginga nkisi-family. When fishing tackle is made, the greatest care is exercised to ensure that it is not dirtied or rendered impure by

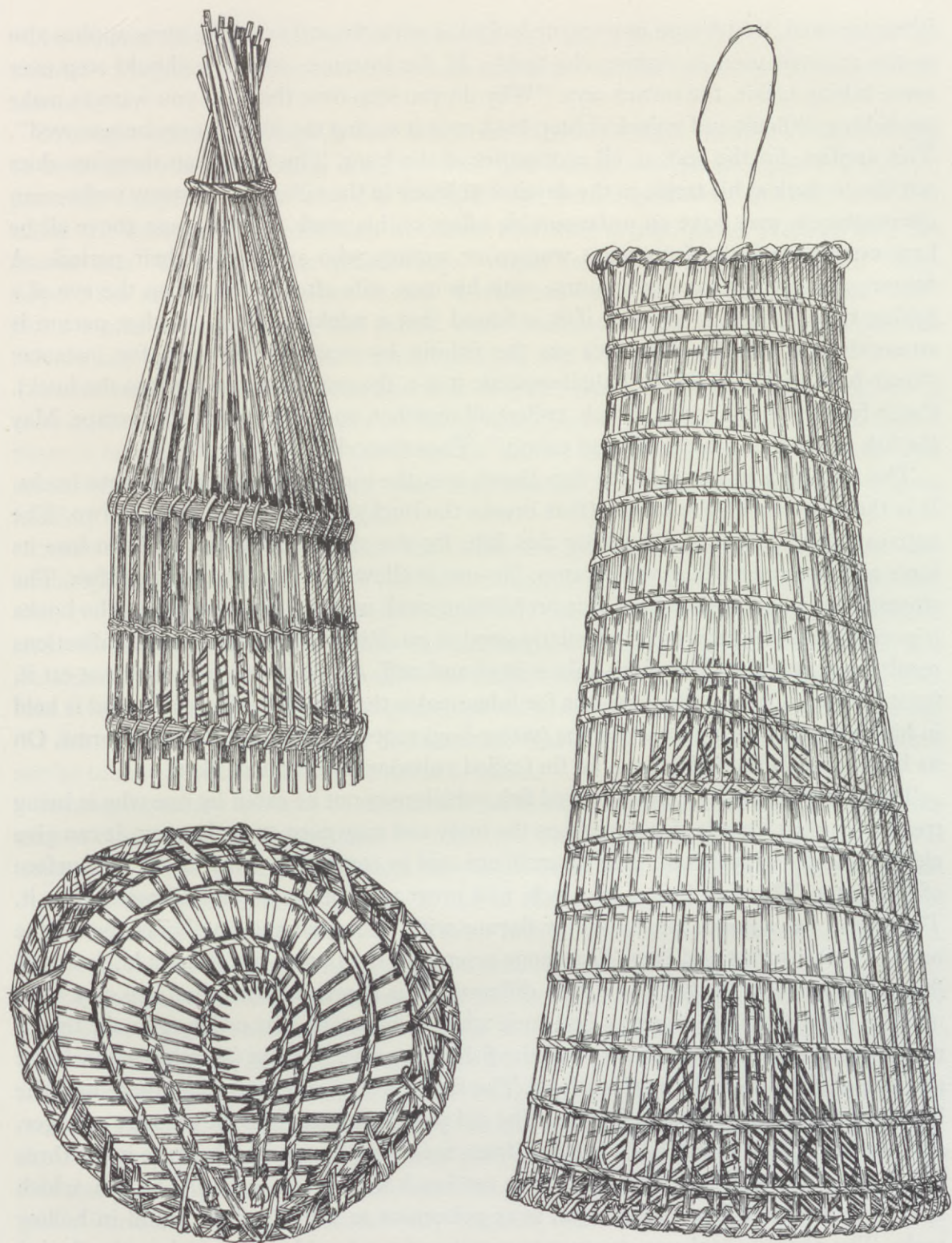


Fig. 16. A, Fish-buck (*kasu*), Sundi in Kibunzi (Laman 889). B and C (B Section of C), Fish-buck (*kimpaza*), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 1017).

being touched, trodden on or over, or looked at with the evil eye. The same applies also to the material used in making the tackle. If, for instance, someone should step over some fishing tackle, the owner says: "Why do you step over this? Do you want to make my fishing difficult and unlucky? Step back over it so that the ill-luck may be removed". This applies, for the rest, to all accessories of the hunt. The fisherman therefore does not like to work at his tackle in the daytime at home in the village, as so many unforeseen circumstances may have an unfavourable effect on his work. Tackle must above all be kept out of the way of pregnant women or women who are having their periods. A fisherman must not have intercourse with his own wife after midnight on the eve of a fishing trip. A nkisi is invoked if it is feared that a ndoki, nganga or other person is attempting to exercise influence on the fishing by magic. They say, for instance: "Grab hold of the grass! So! I shall separate it (i.e. the grass that has got into the buck). Catch females, catch males. Catch, collect all together, so that they may not escape. May the fish enter the buck quietly and calmly". They then clap their hands.

The electric fish, the cuda (to flap about) eats the nungu-fish and swims into bucks. It is therefore called the kibudi (that breaks the buck). It breaks the buck in two. The natives are very afraid of touching this fish, for the shocks cause the body to lose its force and become weak as with cramp. No-one is allowed to eat the ngungu mfwa. The stomachs of any who disregard this prohibition swell up until they are dead. The booka is a red-spotted fish and not particularly good to eat. Ringworm and other skin affections result from eating it. The miki-ntiki is hard and stiff. A full-grown man may not eat it, for it affects his penis. The luvamba (or luhampa) is the fish of the ferrymen, and is held in high esteem. The ngulu a mamba (water-hog) roots in clay and eats earthworms. On its back towards the tail it has a fat fin (called vulva) which is much liked.

The masese is a very light-coloured fish, which may not be eaten by one who is being treated by nkisi Losada, for it weakens the body and may even cause leprosy. It can give electric shocks with its tail. The lukembi are said to court each other above the surface of the water. This fish brings bad luck, and pregnant women are not allowed to eat it. The nsimu has a good, fine and juicy flavour with dark flesh and few bones, hence the name. It eats worms and clay. The nenge resembles the booka, but it has a knife-edged fin on its back and the head is a little different. It is short, eats fish, but also clay. The nzimbu (forgetfulness) signifies bad luck when it is caught. In order to avoid this, a nzimbu-pearl is put in the buck, and the fisherman says: "Sinza (stumbling-block) by the side of the toto-stick, by the side of. The fishes near the top are mine, those near the bottom are mine. Eh, hunger for fish. The old people ate, shall we die who are younger, and not be allowed to eat"? The ntanta (from ta=sting) is so called because it has three sharp spines that sting the fisherman who catches it if he is not careful. The fish, which is very spotted and has a long head, is as poisonous as a snake. It is found in hollow rocks. The nkanka (kankama, to want to vomit and not be able to, to stick in the throat) has three sharp spines. If a crocodile tries to swallow a nkanka, the latter erects its spines so that it sticks in the crocodile's throat and the reptile dies. Hence the proverb:

"The nkanka does not swallow the crocodile, and the crocodile does not swallow the nkanka". Pregnant women and those suffering from catarrh (pains in the chest) may not eat it.

The light-coloured nungu is also called the mbodisa longo, because the first thing to be bought after a wedding is such a fish. The lukaya lwa wandu (leaf of a herb) is generally caught in dams, where it is killed with buumi-poison or the like. It is also called the kyala, and is forbidden in connection with certain nkisi. With its fins the ntanta says "kwe-kwe"; the nkokolo says "vanda ntete"; the maseese whistles "mfye mfye"; the mbole coughs when it eats "kovo-kovo" and the crocodile coughs "ovo" like a human being. During the period when humbuya-grubs appear on the peas the fish are said to have a misty veil before their eyes, and no-one can see them.

Concerning the crocodile, it is said that only the last of its progeny survives, for as soon as the young enter the water on being hatched, the fish take them; but the last of them is carefully protected by the crocodile until it is able to take care of itself. The crocodile swallows one stone every year, and when it has swallowed a hundred it gives itself up to its enemies and is killed.

Some fish in stretches of water near cliffs and grottoes may be transformed into simbi-spirits. In such a spot the tolo-fish, for example, became very old, big and strong, with a dorsal fin resembling a parrot's plumes. It was therefore called lusala lwa nkusu, and was looked upon as sacred and was also called Nakongo, Mayiza and Londa. If a medicine-man wants to bathe in water in which this fish is swimming about, he must first invoke it, break off a stalk of grass, spit on it and throw it into the water, saying: "O fish, I wish to bathe here, go downstream. Good luck"! Such a fish may of course not be touched; neither must it be killed or eaten.

Among legendary fish may be mentioned the mongo, which lived at the time when the natives died of famine. It stretched from the one bank of the Congo to the other. It was impossible to cut it up; and although the people came from both banks and from great distances they were unable to make an end of the mongo. The fish had a long beard, which it wrapped around a tree when it drew breath, whereupon the tree was uprooted. Wherever the mongo eats, the river-bank crumbles, with trees and all.

The Kongo have no beasts of burden and they lack first-class implements. They use only hoes, axes, daggers and tanzi-knives in their hoe-culture. The women use hoes (fig. 17) when working in the fields and plantations, the other implements are used by the menfolk for cutting grass and felling trees or for digging holes in which to set banana-shoots etc. The menfolk have to make clearings in the woods and to clear virgin soil so that the women may afterwards prepare their plots and give them a deep hoeing. The menfolk also generally cut away the stoutest clumps if a tract is overgrown with madyadya-grass. Formerly, the men planted only bananas, fruit-trees, tobacco and sugar-cane; now, however, they have begun to prepare their own fields and to plant almost everything, though they do not like to plant peanuts, as it is considered shameful if a man moves along with his rump skywards. An unmarried man harvests his own crop. The

men must also put up fences in the field if necessary, and during the dry season help to start fires to burn off brush and undergrowth to clear the land. Men who are careful of their dignity and young fops enjoying a vogue avoid all work connected with the soil. Sometimes the women say to a man: "You who are a chief, are you to go planting like a married woman, or are you a little child"? It is also considered unsuitable for him to perform other women's work such as cooking food, fetching wood and water. To boil meat and roast fish, on the other hand, is not unsuitable. But an unmarried man must perform such tasks unless he has a sister who may help him. A man may help his wife with the harvest only if she gives him permission to do so, since what she has sown is hers or belongs to her family on the maternal side, just as the man or his family on the maternal side owns what he has sown.¹

When a suitable area has been cleared and the brush burnt off it the women begin to prepare the fields for cultivation. Manioc, potatoes and beans may be planted in a field that has already yielded a crop, and in some tracts, where the soil is fertile, the same applies also to peanuts. In tilling the soil the natives pay particular attention to the nature of the earth. If it is barren the grass is not burnt off; instead, it is hoed up and then disposed in heaps which are afterwards covered with earth. These heaps of earth, which are called mazala, are not ignited until after the rains have begun, and the grass is then burned under the soil, after which manioc and maize, or whatever may be desired, are planted. In several tracts, squares of earth of varying size are piled up instead of round heaps. If, on the other hand, the soil is rich, the grass is burnt off, small trees and bushes are cut down and the soil is hoed.

The fields upon which the greatest care is expended are intended for peanuts. They are first hoed deeply and then re-hoed, so that the soil becomes very friable and even, for the nuts themselves grow in the earth. Grass-roots and the like that have been hoed up are collected in heaps and burnt, after which the ashes are strewn over the field. In other fields the big clumps of grass are often disposed in lines along the boundaries between field and tilled plot, for the natives are very careful to keep these in order. They also heap the grass at the roots of the banana and in piles where manioc has been sown. There are always small plots around the houses in the village, where the soil is very rich. Here maize and other cereals are sown very early. Sometimes the entire village is surrounded with fields sown with peas, and here and there between them grow bushes of pepper and cotton, tomato-plants and the like. Palms and a small banana plantation also grow there. Beautiful palm-groves are to be found wherever there has been a village. The work connected with agriculture goes on all the year round. The fields are prepared, the seed is sown, the crops are weeded and harvested. Maize is sown at different seasons, but the period before the first corn-harvest is often a time of famine, when palm-nuts are hoarded and eaten, and wild potatoes and leaves from the forest are also eaten. The better situated natives, however, have their manioc fields to fall back on.

The first items to be sown when the rains begin are maize and peanuts. The maize

¹ Slaves who have families work according to agreement for themselves and for the family of their master.

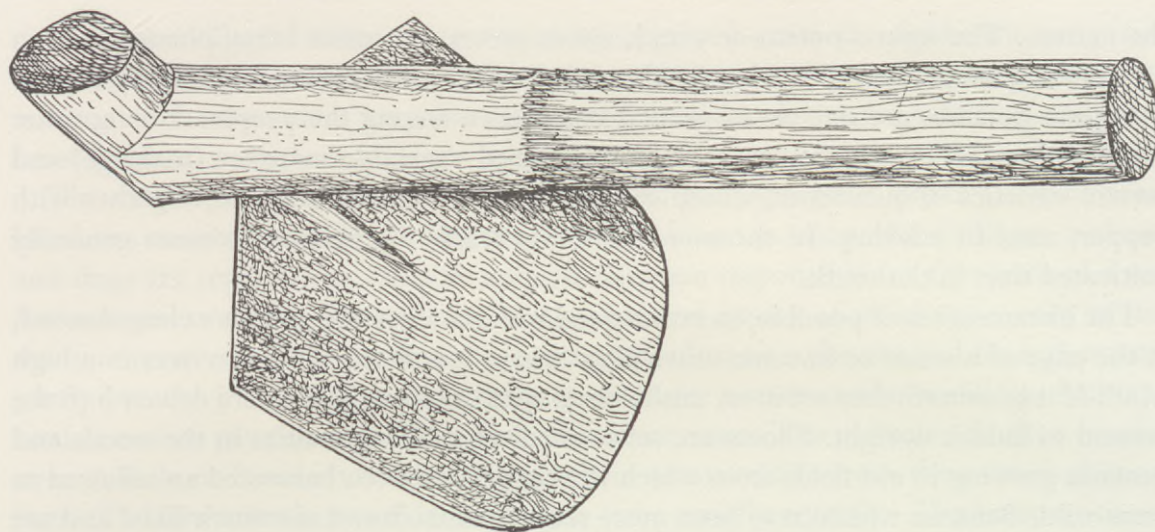


Fig. 17. Hoe, Bembe in Kolo (Laman 330).

is sown around the houses, in mazala-mounds and in clearings with the remains of burnt trees and branches. It is sown in tiny pits hoed in the ground, four or five grains to a pit. For each peanut a small hole is made with the hoe, and the nut dropped into the hole is earthed over. The work goes forward quickly, with singing and jubilation, for the women often help one another in the bigger fields. When the grass has grown up the field is carefully weeded with the hoe, and the grass and weeds are either carted away or left lying between the plants to rot. If the soil is rather infertile the peanuts are sown on heaped squares of earth or mazala-earth-mounds, where the underlying burnt grass gives better nourishment. Beans are much sown in districts in which the soil is not so suitable for peanuts. As early as July and August the women may plant beans in low-lying ground and marshy tracts where the fields have been hoed up. Beans are also planted, however, on the slopes of hills with good soil. One bean is hoed into each hole in the ground. Runner beans are grown especially in wooded tracts, where small branches are stuck in the ground to give them support.

Indian peas are sown around the houses or in their vicinity, so that the proper care may be expended on them. They flourish anywhere, even in fields in which peanuts do not grow; but in good soil near the houses they grow to a considerable height. Together with manioc they are also sown in mazala-mounds. Manioc, which with maize and peanuts is the most important product of hoe-culture, is set in the form of slips. As a rule, two slips are set together in small mazala-mounds or in other mounds of soil collected from elsewhere, in new fields or old ones that have borne crops earlier. Manioc flourishes everywhere, and is generally cultivated where peanuts cannot be sown.

Potatoes (batatas) are much grown around the villages. They need well-hoed soil or mounds of earth if they are to flourish. These, too, are set in the form of slips. Potatoes are often set at different seasons during the year, in moist places during the dry season. They are dug up and boiled while fresh. Potatoes were formerly not so common among

the natives. The nguvu-potato or yam is cut in pieces, one piece being planted in each hole in the ground. It is set during the first rainy season and harvested in the dry season. European potatoes are not yet of general occurrence among the people. Among other plants cultivated by the women may be mentioned vegetable marrows (malenge) and certain varieties of cucumber, whose seeds (nteete) are pulverized and, together with pepper, used in cooking. In the more northerly tracts the marrow is more generally cultivated than in the south.

The banana is set, if possible, in rather good soil in a sheltered spot in a cleared wood, at the edge of a wood or in some other place where it will not be blown over in a high wind. If it is nevertheless set in an unsheltered spot, strong supports are driven into the ground to hold it upright. Shoots are set in small pits. Tiba-bananas in the woods and bananas growing in old fields from which the crops have been harvested are allowed to grow wild. Bananas which have been more recently introduced are much liked and are being cultivated more and more.

First the fresh maize is harvested and then the peanut-fields are "opened", i.e. the first fresh peanuts are dug up from the edges of the plots. The period of food-shortage is now succeeded by a good and happy time with plenty of food. From this first harvest a man must give to his family and his friends, and he must also have beans cooked if they have helped him with the cultivation of the crop. Similarly, a woman must give part of her crop to the relatives and friends who have helped her. The fully ripe corn is reaped in bunches and set to dry, at first out-of-doors and then hanging from the walls indoors. Beans are pulled up, dried, shelled or threshed and kept in large calabashes. Those which are intended for the next sowing, on the other hand, are not shelled. In the big fields the peanuts are harvested collectively by many women who have agreed to help each other. As the peanut harvest is regarded as the most important, kandu-prohibitions are proclaimed for those who wish to cast a spell upon it. The prohibition consists in taking a part of the kyenga-tree with trunk, branches and foliage, or even leaves and cabbage, to place in the fields as a protection. When the peanuts have been dug up, each person must be given his share according to agreement. Some work for payment instead, generally in the form of food (e.g. bananas or manioc). They are also given a stew of leaves, which is served out in the fields, and a portion of damaged and undamaged peanuts. The peanuts are laid out in the field to dry for six to eight days, after which they are taken in and subjected to another drying before being stored in chests, baskets or small huts on posts. The harvest may be commenced in the kyanga-season (January) and continue until the beginning of the dry season. The person who owns the field is also the owner of the harvest. Manioc roots are taken up according to need as soon as they are fully grown. Peas are harvested, threshed and stored in e.g. calabashes.

The soil belongs to the village. In order to avoid disputes, the chief in a bigger village may sequester certain tracts with especially good soil and allot this to certain families, whose members then cultivate it and harvest the crops yielded by it collectively. Otherwise, everyone has the right to start cultivating a plot which he marks out as his own.

In bigger villages where there are many pigs and goats the fields are sometimes situated rather a long way away. In this case watchman's huts are put up, where women, and sometimes also men, keep fires going and keep a look-out for wild pigs and other beasts.

The natives have no cattle, and sheep are rare; but pigs, goats, poultry, on the other hand, are common enough. Ducks, too, are to be found in many of the villages, and cats and dogs are regarded as valuable animals. Anyone responsible for the death of a cat, for example, must pay a heavy fine. It is considered a mark of social superiority to rear many domestic animals, partly on account of the income to be derived from them and partly because it is useful to have them on hand for occasions like weddings, holidays, burials and to pay fines in connection with court cases. The animals are often handed over to male or female breeders who get their remuneration from the animals that are born. To have animals reared in this way is to be socially superior. The breeders themselves live in villages that are not surrounded by any plantations, so the animals may roam freely and graze where they will, as long as there are no leopards in the vicinity. Goats and sheep are left almost entirely free. The leopard has a preference for pigs, and these are accordingly shut up in their sties at night and at times also during the day. They are afterwards let out to feed wherever anyone has paid his debt to Nature. To clean up the messes left by babies and small children, the village dogs are whistled up.

If an old pig has littered twice, the breeder is to have a sow. When a young pig litters, he gets a weanling. The one who owns the pig may take the rest of the litter and the mother if he wishes, as soon as the young pigs are weaned. In return, the breeder must give a chicken and palm-wine to the owner. If a breeder keeps a sow year after year, the owner generally gets all the weanlings of the first litter, and in some tracts the breeder gets a boar. After the second litter the breeder may borrow a sow, and after the third litter he gets a boar. If a sow gets five young ones, the breeder may take two, a boar and a sow. If the owner has himself reared a sow and it gives birth to six at a litter, he throws away two and keeps four, so that they may grow up to be fat and flourishing pigs.

When a goat has had young for the third time the breeder gets a kid. In certain districts he is allowed to keep the goats until they have multiplied respectably, and when the owner comes to fetch them the breeder gets a nanny-goat. Elsewhere it is the practice to give a female kid from the second and fourth litters, but nothing from the third. Sheep are reared under the supervision of the village chief. When they have increased sufficiently, he sends a message to the owner to fetch them, and the latter leaves a sheep and a ram behind. When a hen has six chicks, the owner is to have four and the breeder two. Sometimes the latter gets a cock-chick from the first clutch and a hen-chick from the second, and on this occasion the owner takes his hens home. Similarly, the breeder gets a drake from the first hatching and a duck from the second.

Dogs are as rule bred by the owner. He prepares a hole in the earth with a little roof over it for the pups. This is kept open, so that the bitch may enter whenever she likes. The pups are then raised on potatoes.

The natives pay no attention to the actual casting of the litters; the animals must in any case look after themselves on these occasions. It is, for the rest, considered improper to be present when animals are giving birth to their young. Although it is an occasion for great rejoicing when the animals multiply, the natives are often quite indifferent to the proper care and management of the young. The pigs, it is true, often cast their litters in out-of-the-way places at the edge of the wood, and have to be taken care of. But when they have received their food from the mother they must look after themselves. They may sometimes be given bits of manioc and left-overs from the meals, and one does sometimes see really prime and fat pigs.

Industry

A large number of domestic arts and handicrafts of various kinds are carried on in the villages by both men and women, each according to his or her particular bent and desire. Certain crafts are handed down from generation to generation in different families, so that skill and dexterity are developed to the highest possible pitch. The men make for the most part articles of wood, such as for example drums, trumpets, bells, idols, chests, doors and canoes, and weave raffia-cloth. They also make fishing tackle and nkutu-bags. In a number of villages there are smiths, and in certain districts workers who smelt lead, and who formerly smelted also copper and iron. The women are as a rule engaged in pottery, basket-work and spinning. They also help the men by getting charcoal for the smithy and other material for various trades. Groups in the same family sometimes band together to help the skilled worker; they get clay, for example, for the pottery, and pound it. Slaves work in part for their masters and in part for themselves.

To hire workers has not been common, except in connection with the cultivation and harvesting of crops. Professional workers, however, have been commissioned with, for instance, the building of a house, smithery and woodwork. The craftsmen endeavour to make their articles as ornamental as possible, in order to get commissions, and in order to be able to sell them easily in the market. Pots, mats, baskets etc. are made, for example, precisely for sale in the market. Before money was introduced payment was made in kind, in the form of food-stuffs and cloths etc. It is seldom that one and the same man engages to perform all the different tasks included in one commission; they are generally allotted to several workers, and each is paid separately. Thus when a house is built the building contractor has a number of assistants, who procure binding material and palm-laths etc., and a smith is assisted by the man who works the bellows and by those who get charcoal. The trades which are held in the highest esteem are those of the smith and the wood-carver. The chiefs carry on trading, rear animals, conduct lawsuits and the like, "sit and gnash their teeth, eat and drink"; but they sometimes also occupy themselves with carving chests and with other such work in which they may be interested.

Smithery was known before the migration to the north bank of the Congo. The older

people have declared that they dug up bits of iron of which they manufactured weapons and tools. Copper seems to have been rare until it was discovered on the water-shed between the Belgian Congo and the Moyen-Congo. Lead is found in many different parts of the country.

That iron (sengwa) was smelted in different places in the country is evident from the slag left behind. The work appears for the most part to have been performed by the Yaka and Vili, who erected sheds here and there, smelted and worked the so-called makongo iron ore, sharp-edged stones containing iron. Later generations used these stones as bullets for their guns. After the Yaka and Vili had been driven from the country the people seem as a rule to have bought their iron, via Manyanga and other markets, from more northerly tracts, in the last analysis from the Teke. Iron has been smelted by the Sundi in the north even in recent times. In the course of my journeys in these regions I have come across as well ore as great, deep pits in which the iron has been smelted. Alternate layers of ore and charcoal were laid in these pits, and the blast was directed into them through holes from great bellows, which were worked by men standing round the smelting pit. The smelting of copper and lead is carried on in the same way, although on a smaller scale.

When the natives wandered about they found leavings (tuvi) of copper on the earth. They placed such leavings on nkudu sores, which then got better. They therefore began to dig in the earth in the places where this waste copper had lain, and found large lumps of copper. These they dug up and collected in bibata-baskets. They smashed the lumps into fine pieces and washed them in clear water until the copper was clean.¹ The copper (mongo) was then taken to the smelting pit. In this, however, lead-ore is first smelted, after which the Congo slag-stone, the ash and the charcoal remains are removed. Stones are then taken from the hills and a forge is made. Alternate layers of charcoal and copper are now laid in the lead. The bellows are worked and fresh copper and charcoal are added. When the copper is smelted and begins visibly to shine the fire and the stones of the forge are taken away, and a pause is made until the copper has settled a bit. When the metal thus smelted is taken up it is called kibata kya nzakala ("remaining bit"). It is round in shape and is placed directly upon a stone, where it is smashed into small pieces while still hot. A lot of wood is heaped on the fire, and upon this is placed a melting-pot of potter's clay containing the broken pieces of copper. While the men are working the bellows to smelt the pieces, moulds of sand are prepared. These are commonly of four kinds: bwele-bwele, two finger-joints in length (counting from the tip of the finger), mbu-ngwedi, with a length corresponding to half the third joint, simu-ntulu, the length measured from the middle of the breast to the nipple,² and bakanga-bakanga, with a length corresponding to the first joint of the finger. The size of the mould is marked with a hunga-twigg of the right length. It is narrower

¹ Bibudi-baskets were used for the washings. One hand was held over the mouth of the basket, which was then lifted up and down in the water until all the earth was washed away.

² If the length stretches from the left to the right nipple the mould is called lutaku lwa simu.

than a finger, and in the twig is inserted a stick which serves as a handle. When the copper is smelted it is poured into the mould prepared for it. When the copper has been formed in this the natives take a very porous kuku-stone (with small holes in it), to which they give a very even surface, and place it over the fire. The latter is kept going until the stone and the pieces of copper which have been laid on it are red, whereupon the copper is put into water that has been poured into a hollowed-out piece of wood lying beside the forge. In the water the billets take on a copper-red colour (bididi-colour), and the roughness disappears. The billets are now ready to be sold on the market. They are then made into arm and ankle rings. The waste (nkuna) from the smelting is washed, but the stones of the forge and the ash are thrown away. These leavings are now treated as bits of copper. "The nkuna-leavings do not soon come to an end", says a proverb.

The copper-pits on the other side of Kingoyi were abandoned at the time of my visit there. A number of the old miners had died, while others had become too old for work in the pits. The latter were round, went straight down into the earth and were provided with small foot-holes cut in the walls so that the workers could climb in and out. The ore was hoisted up in baskets and carried to the smelting furnaces. The women helped with the carrying.

Lead-ore (nsengu or nzaba) may be picked up in ravines, from sand in water-courses and from deep cuttings in dry hard earth. For the smelting, nsangula-branches are first broken into small pieces, perhaps fifty. These are placed in the smelting-pit, lead-ore, logs of wood and charcoal are placed on top, and the men begin to work with the bellows. If a nsangula-branch burns through while the smelting is going on it is immediately replaced with another. There is generally room for five budi-baskets of lead-ore at once in the smelting-pit. The smelted lead is hammered in the same way as the smelted copper. When the lead is completely smelted, it is poured into sand-moulds, and the billets are called teko or tekwa. They are then re-smelted to miloba bars, which may be cut in pieces or cast to form bullets. The slag from the first smelting is called makongo or nsadi, and the waste from the smelting that is still usable is known as budi or mabaata ("hail").

Those engaged in lead-smelting must be careful not to get sores or be poisoned by the fumes from the smelting-pit. They should eat papaw and palm-oil to keep their bowels open. If any of the workers fall ill they are not treated by nkisi, but stones are piled on their stomachs until they excrete three hard lumps (makengele) of excrement. The women help with the carrying of ore and the charcoal burning. They generally use nsanganya and misamvi trees, which are easily broken up into suitable lengths. The wood is charred in a place reserved for the purpose. Two large logs are first laid on the ground and then a lot of dry logs and sticks. On top of all are placed fresh broken-off branches. A fire is lit between the two large logs at the bottom. When it has burned down and there is a lot of charcoal on the ground, the logs and sticks which have not yet been turned to charcoal are moved to another place. Water is poured over the

remaining logs to extinguish them. If only a little charcoal is desired, the ends of some larger logs may be charred, the thoroughly charred ends being knocked off progressively and extinguished. When the charcoal has blackened, leaves of the mfumvu-tree, for example, are placed in the bottom of a mpidi-basket, which is then filled with charcoal. Leaves are now bound over the basket in silence, and the charcoal is carried to the forge or the market for sale. Charcoal is ordered both for smelting and for forging. If anyone has iron to be forged, he must himself procure charcoal for the work.

The casting of copper, lead, iron and brass rings of various types and sizes is very common, and European rings of white-metal are also re-cast. Brass was formerly used by the Europeans as a means of payment. Very large ankle-rings of brass (*matula*) are also cast. These are often hollow, filled with sand, and very heavy. When a mould is being made, a piece of a banana-plant, for example, is placed in it. The mould is then put in the fire, and when it gets thoroughly dry and hot the piece of the banana-plant is burnt out, so it becomes hollow. The mould is hardened by extra firing.

Iron is commonly used for the forging of all kinds of tools and ornaments. The smith needs a smithy (*luuvu*) and tools (*bilwazu*=properly edged tools). The smithy is a shed whose walls often consist of planks split out of the *nsengwa*-tree. The end-walls are lower than those running lengthwise, so that one can climb over them. A very large stone is used as an anvil, and the smith has two sledges, one bigger, male one (*nzundu* or *nyundu*) and a smaller, female one (*ntenda*). The wooden bellows are provided with a clay tube.¹ The smith has no tongs with which to handle the hot iron; instead of these he uses a *nsuku*-iron. This generally consists of a rifle-barrel that has been provided with a handle of wood. The iron to be forged is pushed into the other end of the barrel. Another of the smith's implements is a whisk of palm-laths (*kinwa-nwa*) for sprinkling water on the iron. The iron was formerly bought in the form of long rods (*milambula*), which were thin at one end and thicker at the other. Seven to nine rods were sold in one bundle (*kuta*). *Binkinga*-rods were also bought. These were no longer than a man's finger, but they were very broad at the end. Ten such bars were called *bibata*, and sufficed for the forging of a hoe. Later, iron of all kinds was bought. Very popular were e.g. old flint-lock guns and hoop-iron from bales.

Among the products that were forged may be noted, inter alia, hoes, hatchets, adzes (fig. 18 a), knives (fig. 18 b), daggers, *nkaku*-knives, *sengele*-knives and gouging knives, while the *tanzi*-knives, on the other hand, were made in Europe. One of the most difficult smithing jobs was the making of sledge-hammers, and less experienced smiths therefore often bought these from more skilful brothers in the craft. The big sledge-hammer was very expensive, and formerly a price corresponding to the value of thirty European *nsumala*-cloths was paid for it. Before beginning to make such a hammer the smith goes to *Bunzi's nganga* with a pig as a first payment, in order to be sure of succeeding with his task. He then collects a lot of iron, which is placed in a pit filled with water (*yowa*=pool for pigs to bathe in). When this is put into the fire to be smelted, it changes

¹ The tube may also be made from a loose mineral that has been hollowed out.

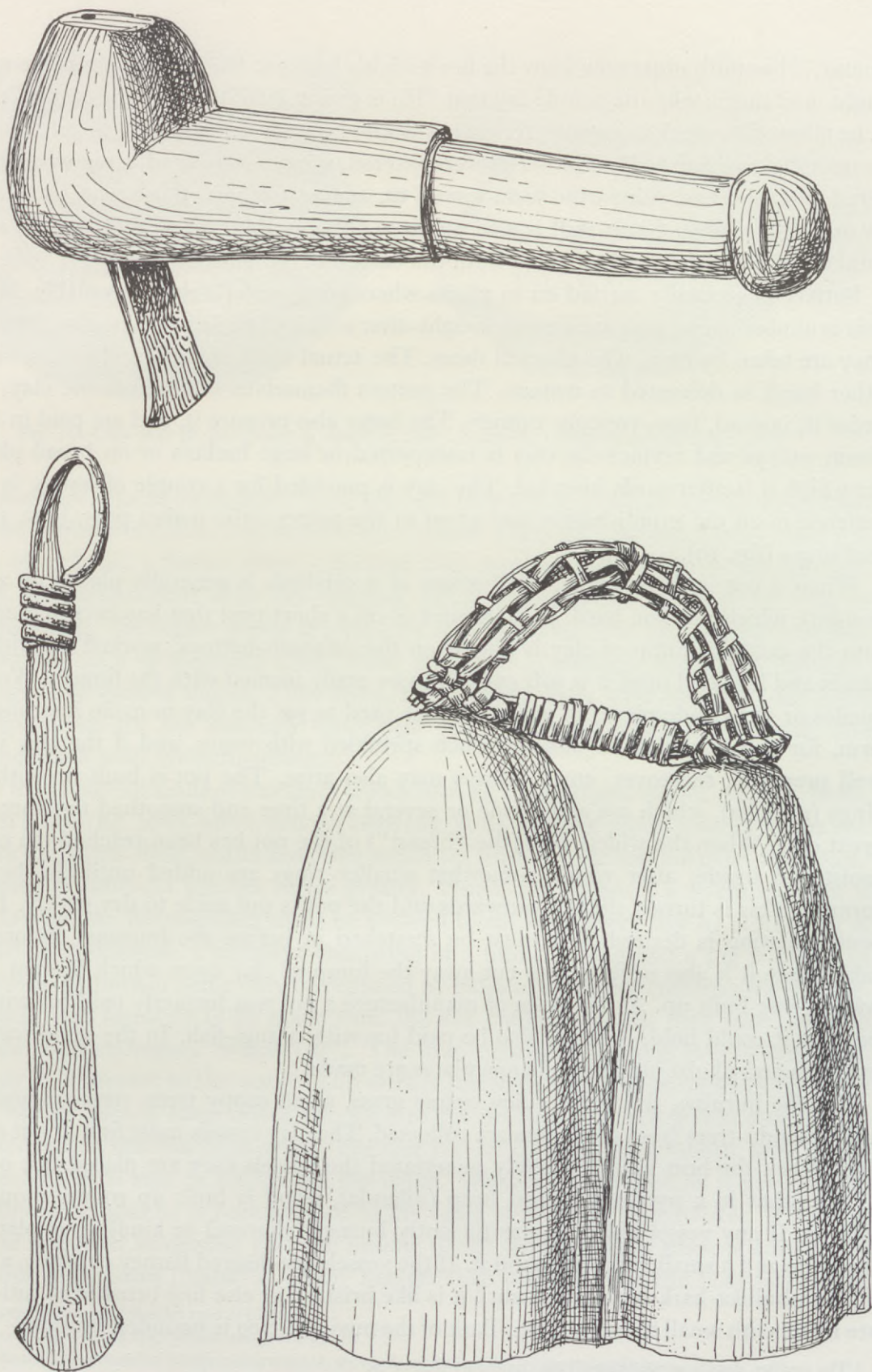


Fig. 18. A, Adze (bavu), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 288). B, Nkisi-knife (sengele kia Mbenza), Sundi in Vungu (Laman 483). C, Double gong (ngongi), Sundi in Mayombe (Laman 435).

colour. The smith must now blow the fire with his bellows. He may not sleep the whole night, and this is why the people say that "He is giving birth to a nyundu-sledge". Nor is he allowed to speak to anyone, for then it would be spoiled. When the sledge (nyundu or nzundu) was finished, milolo-cries were uttered, salvos were fired, a pig was slaughtered and food and palm-wine were served to, amongst others, those who had helped to make the sledge. Great skill is also required to forge the now so rare, simple mun-kunku-gongs that were often made from the barrels of old guns.¹

Pottery is generally carried on in places where good potter's clay is available. Where this is unobtainable, pots are a much sought-after article of trade in the market, to which they are taken by men, who also sell them. The actual work of making the pots, on the other hand, is delegated to women. The potters themselves seldom get the clay, they order it, instead, from younger women. The latter also prepare it, and are paid in food. From valleys and ravines the clay is transported in large baskets or on broad planks, on which it is afterwards kneaded. The clay is pounded for a couple of hours, is then watered in an old mpidi-basket and given to the potter, who makes pots, jugs, plates and mugs (fig. 19).

When a pot is to be made, the bottom of a calabash is generally placed on a disc (nsuku), which rests on hard, level ground or on a short post that has been hammered into the earth. A lump of clay is placed on the calabash-bottom, worked up with the hands and kneaded until it is soft enough to be easily formed with the fingers. Wooden spades or well-made pieces of palm-laths are used to pat the clay to make it strong and firm, for it may otherwise dissolve when sprinkled with water, and if the clay is not well prepared, moreover, small bumps may also arise. The pot is built up with clay rings (nzekula), which are added one or several at a time and smoothed together with great care. When the widest part (the "breast") of the pot has been reached the clay is moistened inside, after which somewhat smaller rings are added until the brim is formed. This is turned slightly outwards and the pot is put aside to dry slowly. If any ornamentation is desired, this must be scratched in before the burning. Before this takes place it is also necessary to cut away the lump of clay upon which the pot stood while being built up. At the place of manufacture a pot was formerly paid for with the peanuts it could hold, it might also be paid for with nsangi-fish. In the same way also masanga and nkuba jugs and bibenge plates are made.

For the burning, dry grass, juicy coarse grass, small sappy trees, nsyasya-branches and mwindu-trees from the moors are collected. The clay vessels must first dry at a slow fire. When the heat has thoroughly penetrated the vessels they are placed one on top of the other in a pyramid-shaped heap (dilanda), wood is built up round about and ignited. If any vessel has been insufficiently burned, charcoal or kindling is placed in the same and a smaller fire lit round it. If the vessels are desired flamey or black, a piece of nkombuluka-bark is pounded until it is like bristles, or else fine brushes of futi-grass are made with small holes in them. Bark of the mwindu-tree is pounded in water. When

¹ The smaller, double gongs (ngongi) are commoner (fig. 18 c).

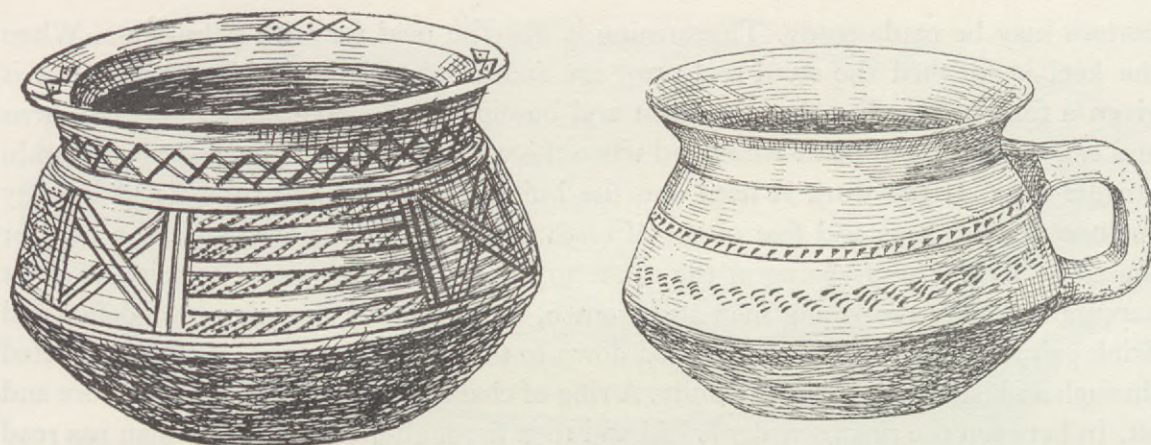


Fig. 19. Clay-pots (b, *kwengwa*): a, *Sundi in Lolo*; b, *Sundi in Kibunzi* (Laman 194, 181).

the vessels are almost completely fired, they are thoroughly brushed outside and inside with the *mwindu*-solution and burned once more. They then become quite black. If, on the other hand, a flamey effect is desired, they are sprinkled rapidly in patches with a weak *mwindu*-solution after the burning. Small plates with high rims are used as drinking mugs, the bigger plates are used for serving food.¹ The biggest pot is *ntubu*, after which, on a diminishing scale, come *mutelula*, *kyansakila*, *nsaba* and *mbungu*. The jugs have various shapes. *Fuku-fuku*, for example, has a wide mouth.² Clay pipes and pipe-bowls for the calabash water-pipe (*munkoka*) are made by the men and coloured black with *mwindu*-solution.

The men make all kinds of articles of wood, such as, for example, canoes, drums, chests, wooden plates (fig. 20 a), ladles, spoons, bells (fig. 20 b), hunting pipes, powder-horns and sculptured figures. Beds, chairs and other articles of furniture are made of palm-branches.³ The price of different articles varies greatly. When, for instance, a *ndembo*-drum is being carved, the drum-maker must be allowed to eat meat every day he is working at it. When it is finished, a payment consisting of a human being and a pig is made, in some cases the human being may be replaced by bales of cloth to a corresponding value.

Canoes used formerly to be made from the silk-cotton tree, but they may now also be made from mahogany or teak (*sic!*). The first-mentioned wood is easy to work with and easy to transport to the water. The work is performed by several men together. For ten to twenty men it takes about two days to cut down a silk-cotton tree, and each is rewarded with a hen and palm-wine. The tree is then left to lie for a month, after which a canoe-builder is sent to hollow out the trunk. When he is fetched he is given a hen and palm-wine, and he is remunerated in the same way for the first strokes. When the canoe is hollowed somewhat past the middle of the trunk, several persons smooth off the inside with adzes (*mabavu*). Many helpers then come to turn the boat so that the

¹ The *beye*-plates are a smaller type of plate.

² Different types of jug are *mubula*, *sanga* and *nkuba*.

³ The drums, like a number of other instruments, are made very carefully by special craftsmen.

bottom may be made ready. The turning is likewise paid for with palm-wine. When the keel is finished the stern and prow are fashioned and the inside of the canoe is given a final polish. For the stern-post and bowsprit the canoe-builder gets two hens and two calabashes of palm-wine; and when the whole job is done he gets two mbandu powder-kegs. If the work is hard and the builder stubborn and tight-fisted he may get two powder-kegs and five pieces of cloth as well as a bolt of cloth and a hen for the adze-work. The dragging of the canoe to the water's edge is an occasion of great happiness among the young men and women, for then they may sing and dance and drink palm-wine. Before being dragged down to the water the canoe must be protected through a nkisi of the Nsakulu family. A ring of chalk and tukula-red is drawn fore and aft. In between the rings powder is laid and then fired, after the medicine-man has read the following invocation: "Eh, Mr. Ndeko, male ndoki, female ndoki, they may be two, they may be three. If they put a spell upon this canoe, eh, Mr. Ndeko, hunt them up for me. Make their eyes red, their bodies full of scabs, their hips burning with pain. May it come to pass"! Three or four rings of futi-creeper or of nlombo are bound about the farthest end of the canoe. To these are fastened two long ropes, one on either side of the canoe, where men and women stand ready to drag. The children hack away grass and bushes to pave the way.

In order to facilitate the dragging, poles are placed under the canoe (mbanya, mbwa). A man at the prow steers the boat and a man at the stern takes up the poles as they are left behind and sees to it that the canoe does not derail. Those holding the ropes sing and shake them twice, and the third time the canoe is dragged with all their force and as far as possible. The ndungu-drummer, followed by about ten other drummers, leads the way. The other drummers play, while those at the drag-ropes sing songs, as for example: "E, koka Makamba. E, bulungu balembana bo. E, koka Makamba. E, koka Makamba. E bulungu balembana. E, koka Makamba".¹ While the dragging is going forward eight to ten calabashes of palm-wine are drunk. When the canoe reaches the river a great festival begins, for the owner gives a big feast with dancing that lasts until dawn. Canoes frequently have names, e.g. Koka makamba (ferry for two), Makokuzuka (ferry and ferry untiringly!), Mfuku menga (smell of blood), Koba nzo (a colossal house), Nlwangu (that is long and goes quickly), Kyanzungu (that is tormenting when ferrying). If anyone else than the owner is to do the ferrying, he gets a hen and palm-wine to start with. The takings are then shared between the owner and the ferryman when a suitable opportunity presents itself. The former must then have a goat slaughtered as a sign of gratitude to the ferryman.

Formerly, also a chest (tolongo) was made, in which cloth and other possessions were kept. When the owner died, it was used as his coffin. From the parasol-tree (nsenga) and the munfiba nswa-tree planks were split off with the help of big wedges or sharp sticks of lubota-wood that were beaten in with a heavy wooden club. The planks were then smoothed with an adze and kombo polishing iron. The chest was "nailed" up

¹ Eh, drag Makamba (the name of the canoe). Eh, is the canoe too much for them (and so forth).

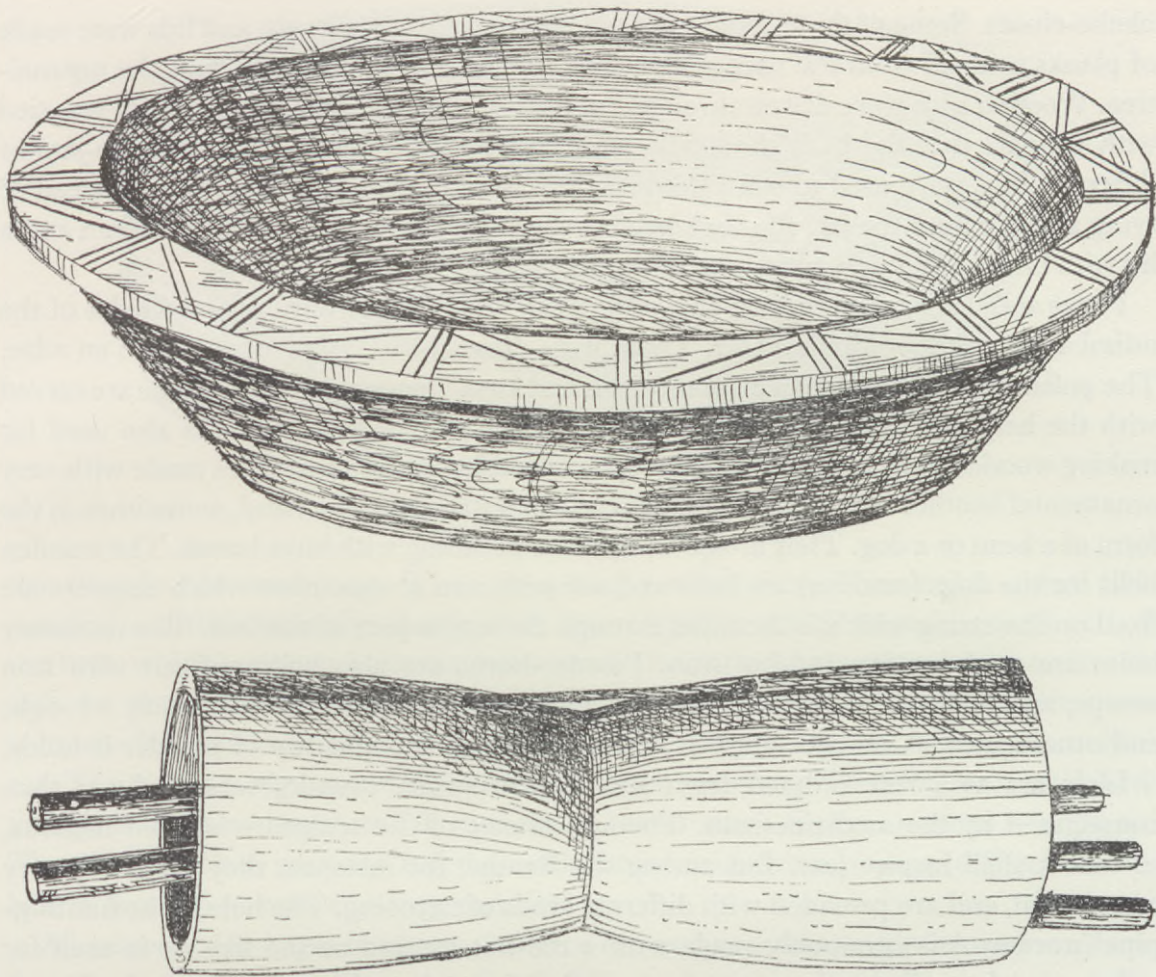


Fig. 20. A, Wooden plate, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 1603). B, Double-bell (kunda), Sundi (Laman 274).

with sharp wooden pins of thoroughly black, mature lubota-wood. The holes for the pins were as a rule made with a red-hot iron rod. Two pins were hammered into each plank. Those who did not own such a chest kept their cloth in the skin of animals and mats of e.g. pineapple fibre. The cloth was first laid in the mat, and the skin of an animal was then wrapped round the whole to protect the cloth from the ravages of rats and moths. The bundle was concealed in the roof, where the smoke swirled about it as an added protection. The tolongo was decorated with all kinds of carved patterns and painted. For this purpose mwindu-stain that had been mixed with chalk, ndimba-red and soot were used. The nsabi was a smaller chest that was made in more or less the same way as the tolongo, and was painted in the same decorative manner. Sometimes the planks were not barked, and in this case a fine ornamentation was carved in the bark, so that the white colour of the wood gleamed through. Such chests were made by men who were sometimes only chest-makers. They were then assisted by younger men who procured wood and split the planks. In former times there were also plenty of

nkobe-chests. Some of these could hold ten blankets. Their bottoms and lids were made of planks split off from the nsenga-tree, and the sides of the thick bark of the mpanzi-tree. Wooden pins were driven through the planks into the bark, and the chest was tied with rope so that the bark should be held firmly at the joints. Round nkobe-jars of different sizes were used to store things in and were made in the same way. Instead of tying a cord round the jar, the bark was fastened together at the side with a seam and a lid with broad edges was put on top of the jar.

Plates and dishes were oblong or round. They were made from the broad sides of the ndimba (or ndimba-ndimba) tree. These were dressed and hollowed out with an adze. The polishing was done with a kombo-iron and kuya "emery-paper". Spoons are carved with the help of a gouging-iron of mumpala madibu. The same wood is also used for making wooden bells (madibu). Bigger spoons and ladles are sometimes made with very ornamental handles. Sometimes they are carved in the shape of a hand, sometimes in the form of a head or a dog. They are given the final polishing with kuya leaves. The wooden bells for the dogs (madibu) are hollowed out with iron scoops, after which clappers are fixed on the string which is threaded through the upper part of the bell. The necessary holes are made with a red-hot iron. Powder-horns are also hollowed out with iron scoops, and provided with a lid. Both lid and horn are sometimes very finely wrought and ornamented. A powder-horn is as a rule sold for the quantity of powder it holds.

Idols are as a rule ordered from special professional woodcarvers, and are then consecrated by the medicine-man. The appearance of the sculpture is often hideous, so that it shall inspire fear. But among the Bembe, for instance, they are made very ornamental, and are provided with different kinds of tattooing. The hole in the hunting-pipe (mwemvo) is commonly made with a red-hot ramrod or the like. It is used for calling the dogs. Doors are sometimes made of wood, and, especially in the Nyari-Kwilu Valley, they are carved very beautifully.

Beds were formerly bound together with rough palm-laths and placed on the ground or on poles that had been driven into the earth. Papyrus or nkwal mats are placed on the beds. According to the tradition, it was the Ntundi-clan of the Bwende that began to use hard wood for the bed-posts and the sides of the beds and raised the bottom of the bedstead off the ground. The latter consisted of bamboo or ordinary palm-laths, on which mats were laid. The laths were bound together or nailed with wooden pins. Suitably gnarled or twisted branches and wooden blocks were used as chairs, or a branch was provided to lean against. Chiefs generally sat upon brandy-crates or stools (fig. 21).

The weaving of bast (mbadi, mbongo) and pineapple fibre was of general occurrence even at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese to the Congo. Bast from the leaves of the oil and raffia palms was used. The mid vein was first removed and the fibres then scraped clean and hung up in the sun to dry. They were then collected in bundles, as a rule ten at a time, and tied together with a cord. After separating them out the natives tie them up in the loom on bamboo rods, where they are drawn on the beam and heddled. When the bast is heddled it is bound firmly to misenga-trees stuck in the ground, so

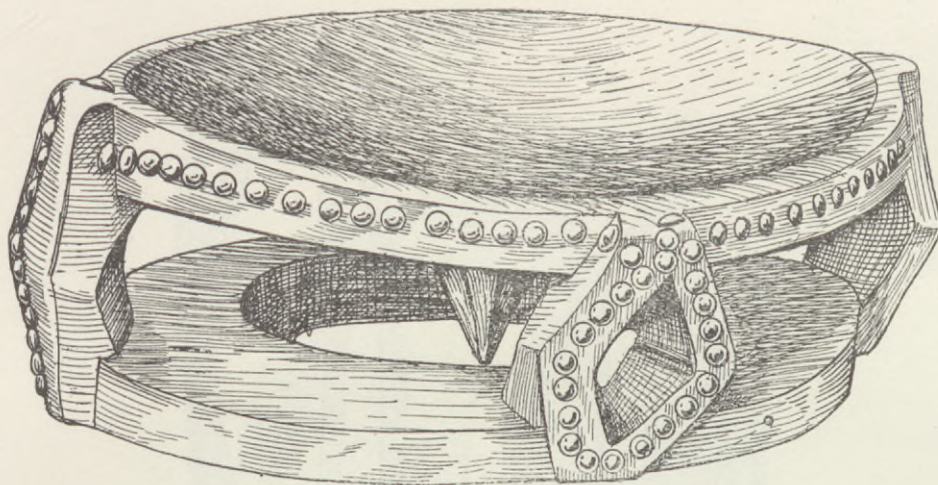


Fig. 21. Chief's stool, Sundi in Kinkenge.

that they do not come loose. When everything is ready the weaver makes a shed (*saka masaku*) and then takes the shuttle-stick (*munongo*), in which there is a notch to hold the bast, which is drawn in through the shed, and with the shuttle-stick he strikes the weft, for the shuttle-stick is also used as a beam. It is for this reason as long as the weave is broad. It is made of *lubota*-wood and is rather sharp at the end, where the notch is cut. The weaving of pineapple-fibre is done in the same way. Weaving is a man's work, though it has now begun to fall into disuse, as so much European cloth is imported. The pieces of cloth are sewn together with thread made from pineapple-fibre or raffia-bast to form loin-cloths and large mantles.

All material for bags, headgear, handles for carrying things, girdles and cords are spun from the native cotton on a distaff. The women spin, but both women and men twist cords of fibre on their knees for nets. Fibre from pineapple, for instance, is obtained by laying the leaf on a banana-trunk and scraping away the fleshy parts. The men sew *nkutu*-bags, caps, head-bands and net-bags (*nkosi*). The women sew or plait handles for carrying things (*nkole*, fig. 22 b), *mazeze*-bands, *nkindi*-girdles and other loin and waist bands.

The *nkutu*-bag is used for carrying the haversack and as an ornament for the shoulder on which it hangs. The two bands by which it is suspended are therefore often very handsome. Anyone who does not possess such a bag is called *musyunu* ("has not even a *nkutu*-bag"); and as the food is also carried in it another current phrase is "in the *nkutu*-bag there is life" (fig. 23). Like the headgear used by the natives, it is sewn with cotton thread, pineapple fibre, bast or dry *pisang*-leaves. The medicine-men frequently sew *nkutu*-bags of cotton thread to put *nkisi* and commonly *nkisi Ndwele* in, so they are called *ndwele*-bags. They are rather small. Small meshes are used in sewing haversacks or provision-bags. The bags are sewn in different ways. Some are provided with "backs" (*nima*), others with raised edges (*nkala*), with network (*mukwala*) or knots. Headgear is generally sewn with raffia-bast in different models, with or without knots,

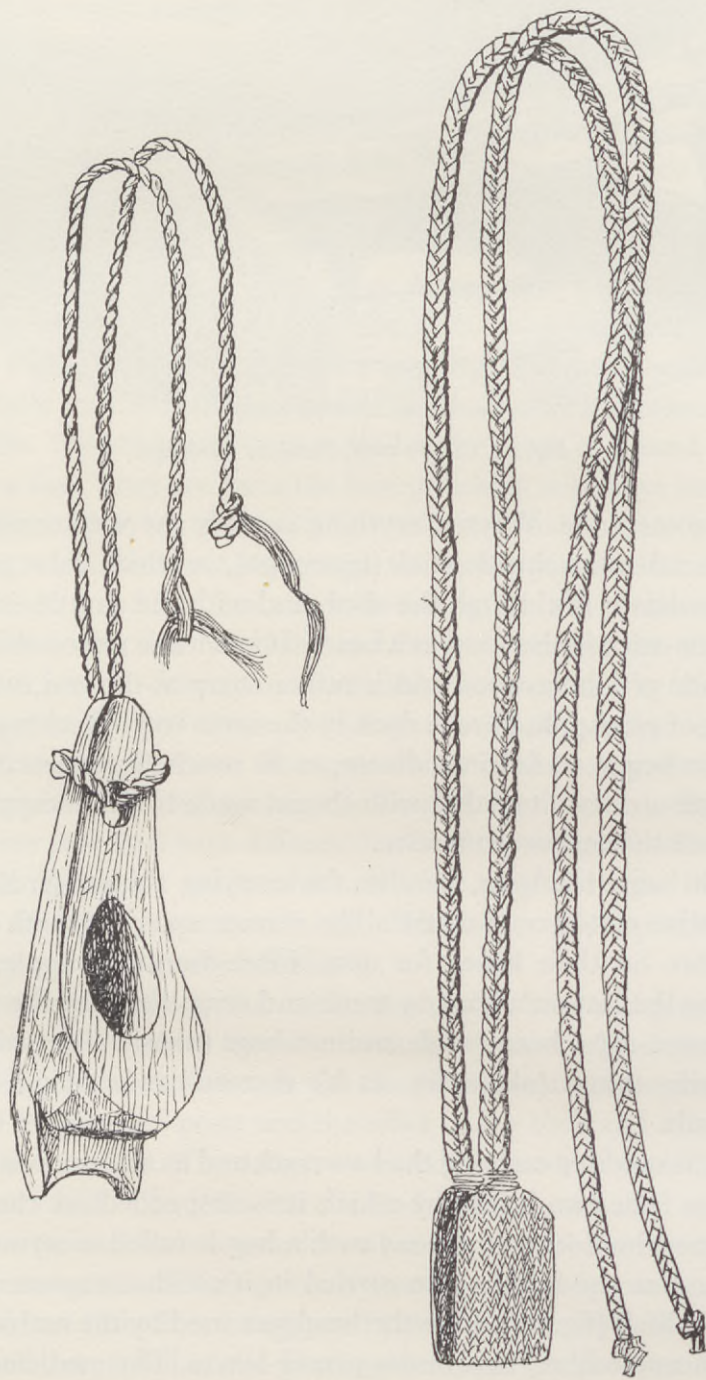


Fig. 22. A, Resting-block for bearer (mbendo), Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 299). B, Carrying-band (nkole), Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 871).

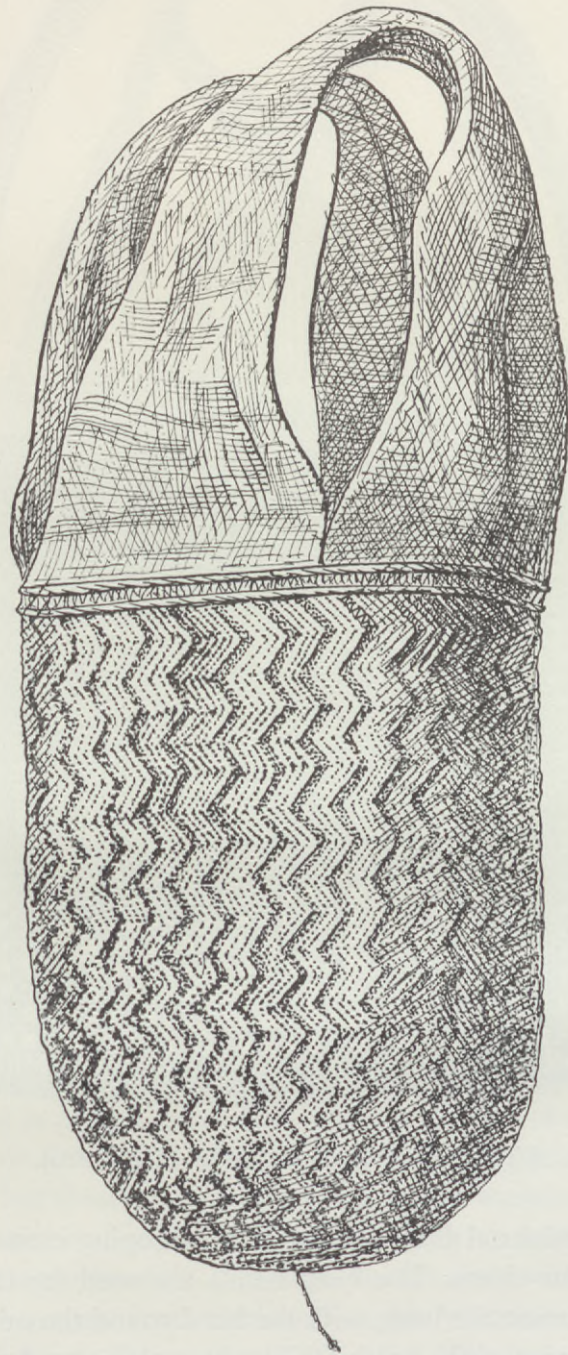


Fig. 23. Food-bag (nkutu), Sundi (Laman).

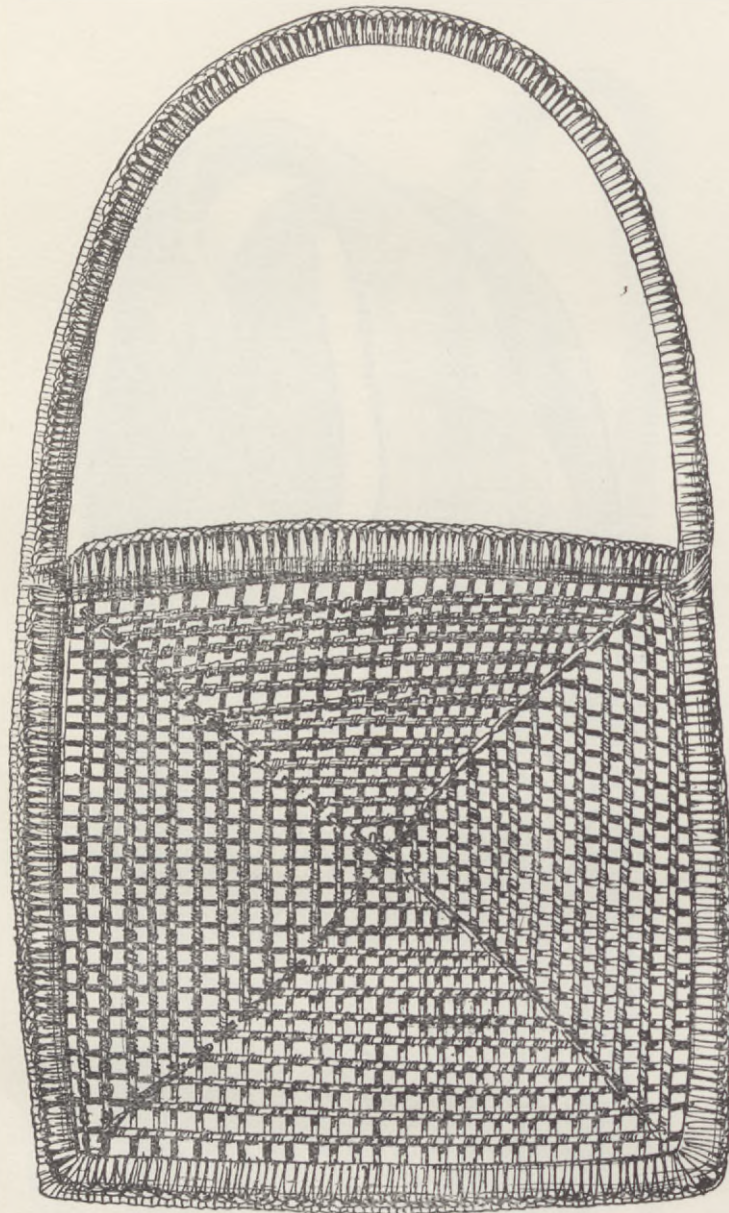


Fig. 24. Sieve, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 880).

and sometimes with coloured thread. Caps with drooping crowns and tassels (bandi) are worn by paramount chiefs. The head-bands are used for carrying mpidi-baskets and children, the former on the back, with the band round the middle of the basket and suspended from the crown of the head. Children, on the other hand, are carried on one hip with the band round the opposite shoulder. The head-band is made of mpunga-bast. The leaves are scraped until the bast emerges. It is well dried and then rubbed until it is soft. The bast is cut off in pieces corresponding to the width of the band. It is twisted into threads, after which are plaited first the broad part of the band lying over the

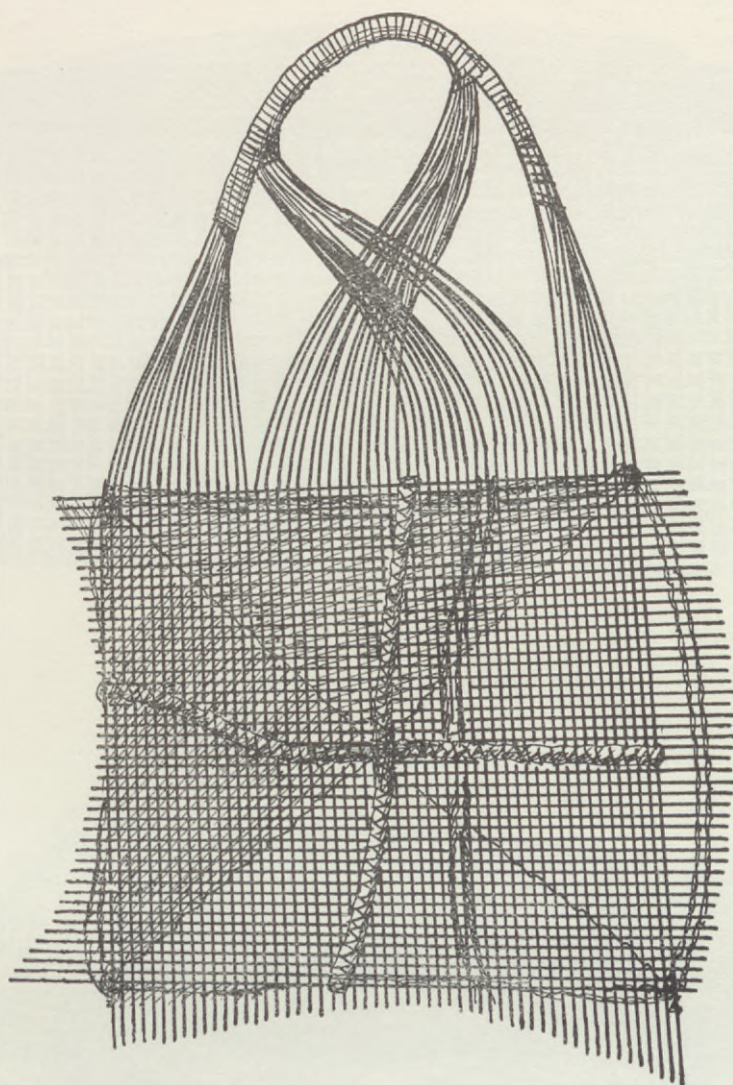


Fig. 25. Sieve, Sundi in Mukimbungu (Laman 882).

forehead and then the narrower parts which are knotted at the ends. Last of all the outer edge of the head-band is plaited and a knot made at the end of the threads so that this outer edge cannot come unravelled. One kind of head-band (kimbambu) is plaited by the men with cotton; but these are as a rule worn by the women as ornaments. Nkindi is a thick girdle common in Bwende; it is worn chiefly at dances, as it shakes at the buttocks, which delights the menfolk. These girdles are sewn with cotton thread around a pad of old cloth, so as to make them thick and round. At certain intervals cotton thread is bound tightly round the girdle in order to "joint" it. The "joints" are called mазeeza. Like many other objects, the girdle and the head-band are ornamented with porcelain buttons, beads, dog-bells and the like.

Large-meshed bags of varying sizes are sewn with cotton thread for carrying palm-wine calabashes. In certain dialects the same name, lukosi, is used to designate pole-

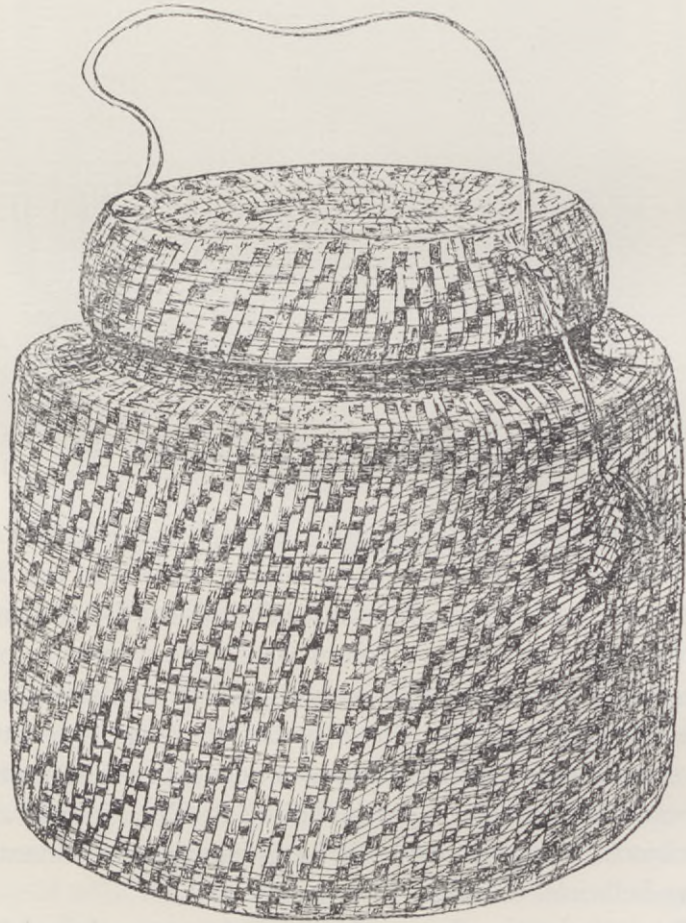
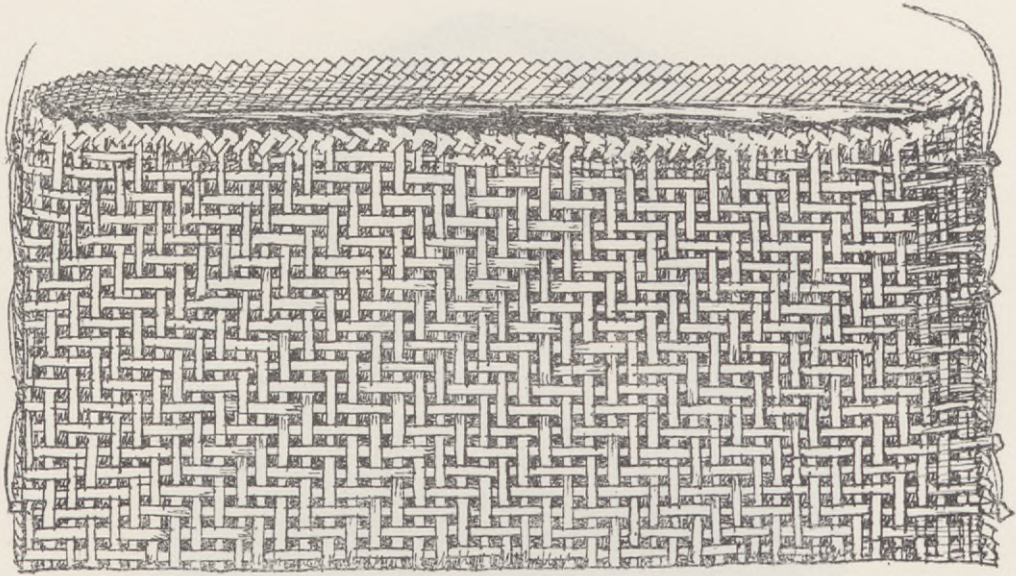


Fig. 26. Baskets (a, mbwandi; b, kinkunku): a, Sundi in Lolo (Laman 1026); b, Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 862).

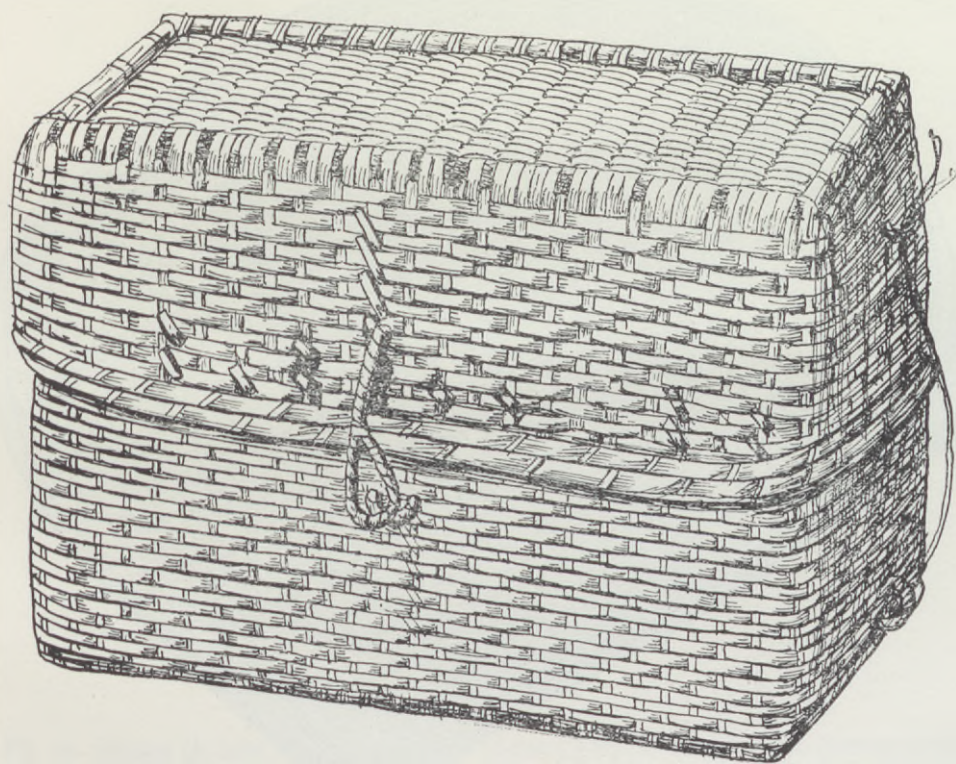


Fig. 27. Baskets (a, nsweka; b, somewhat Europeanized): a, Sudi in Mukimbungu (Laman 943); b, Sudi in Madzia (Laman 821).

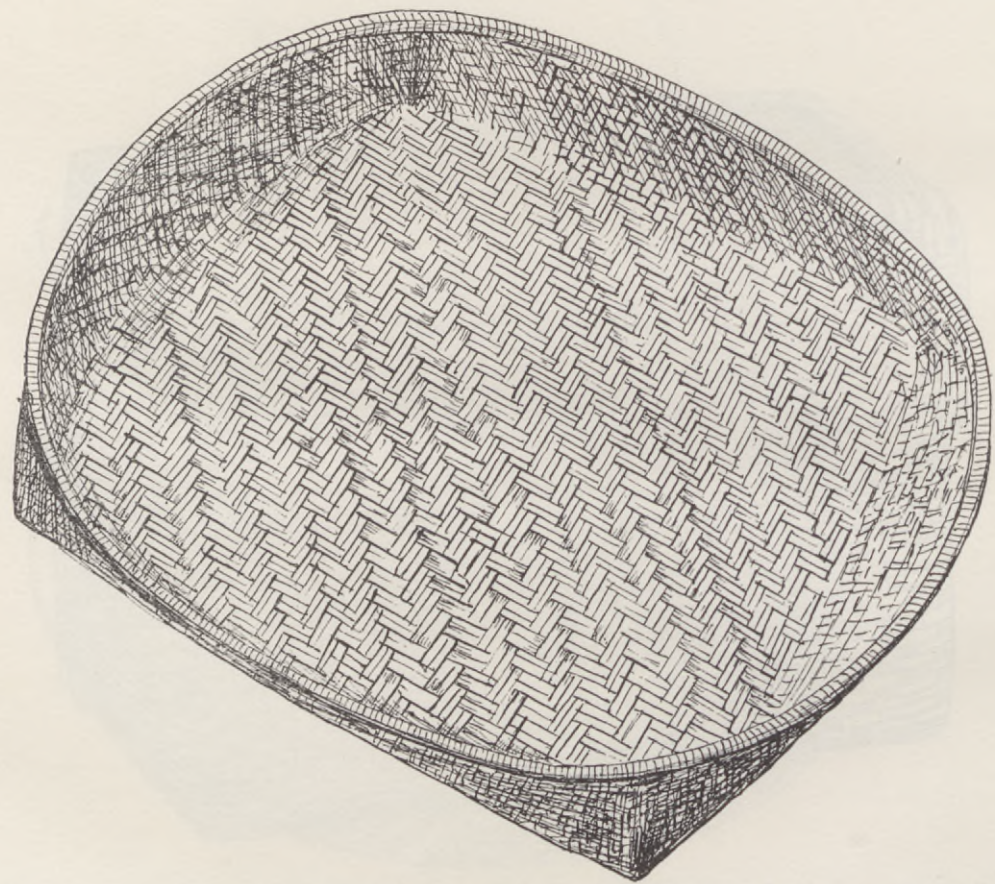
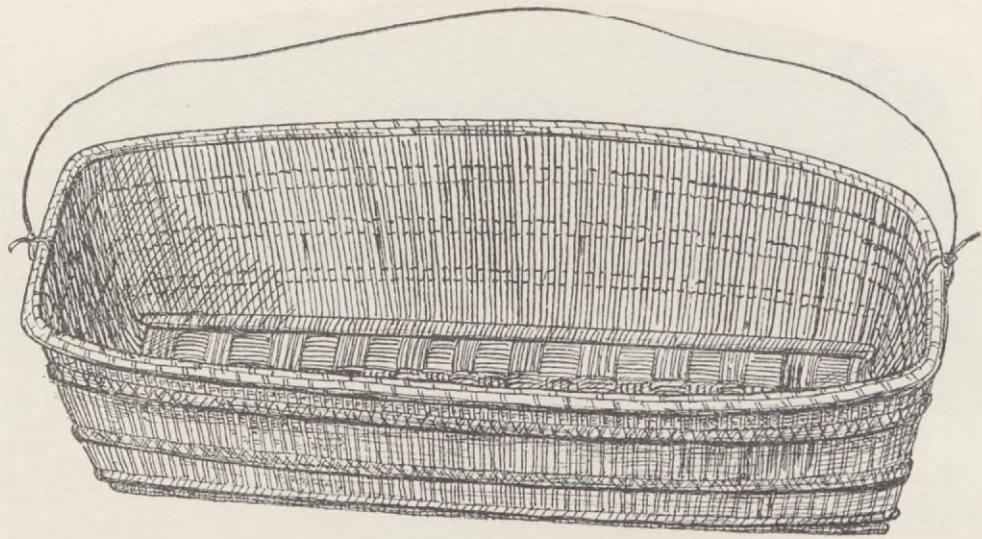


Fig. 28. Baskets (*a*, *ntete*): *a*, Sundi in Madzia (*Laman*); *b*, Sundi in Kingoyi (*Laman* 946).

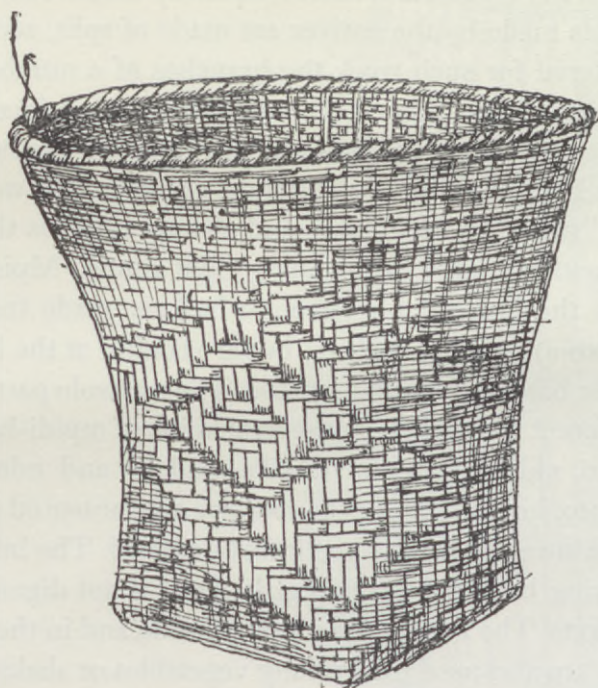
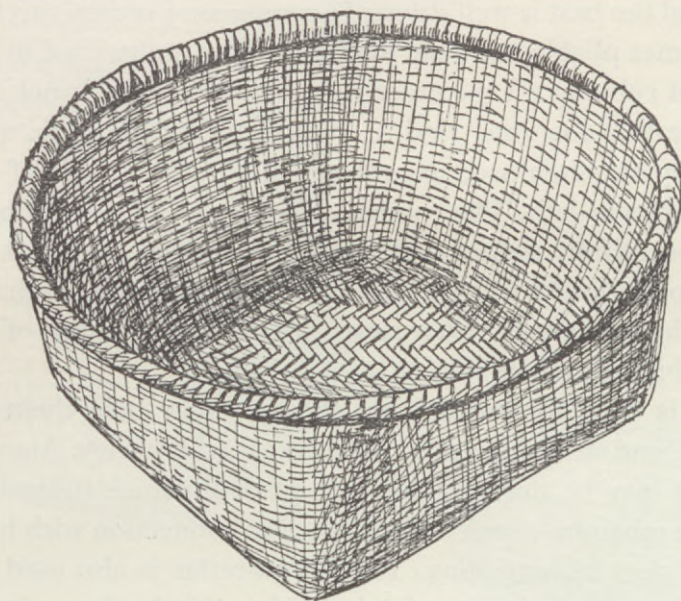


Fig. 29. Baskets (b, tuba, old type): a, Sundi (Laman 930); b, Sundi in Lolo (Laman 917).

nets and other kinds of nets. These latter, however, are made of fibre from different creepers. Rope (mfumvu) is made of mpunga-bast or fibres. The fleshy parts are scraped from the leaves and the bast is well dried. The outer rind is then carefully rubbed off so that the bast becomes pliable and easy to twist. Ropes are twisted over the knee. Some make rope without rubbing off the outer rind, but such rope is not durable, as beetles and other insects eat up the outer rind. Combs (sanu) are as a rule made beautiful and ornamental, as they are often used as ornaments. They are made of clean, fine, peeled and pointed bits of palm-lath. The combs are sewn together with fibres of fresh palm-leaves which are beautifully stained and patterned (fig. 8 a). Sieves (kedulwa) are made from the veins of palm-leaves and plaited together with ntyeba, so that one part forms a handle and the other the sieve. Other sieves are made in the form of mbangu and dodo baskets, but with bigger meshes (fig. 24/5).

Basket-making is done by women, but the men may help them by procuring the necessary material, and sometimes even with the actual basketry. Among the plants used for basket-making may be noted in the first place Calamus (nkamba) and the rattan cane (nkuku). The mbamba-rattan is used much in connection with house-building and for binding round the climbing-sling. The nkawa-rattan is also used in house-building (amongst other things, to bind the roof-ridge). Many kinds of creeping plants and fibres are used, moreover, for minor basket-work (fig. 26/30).

The mpidi-basket is the biggest and most frequently used work-basket. The strongest and best of the baskets made by the natives are made of split, scraped rattan, but they may also take as material for such work the branches of a number of leaf-plants (e.g. nzombe) or the pith of a palm-branch denuded of its leaves (mafwo). The nzombe-branch is subjected to the same preliminary treatment as the rattan. A beginning is made by plaiting the bottom, with as a rule four corners. The work is now turned up for the sides, with a "waist" in the middle and also up towards the mouth or opening, which is reinforced with a coarse rim running right round. Mpidi-baskets of nzombe have four corners in the bottom, but nkungu-baskets made from the pithy part of palm-branches (mafwo) have no corners, but are conical at the bottom and very wide at the top. The smaller baskets are called ntende. The mafwo part is commonly divided in the middle. In different tracts there are several kinds of mpidi-baskets of varying size, such as e.g. mutonto, nkinga, kibudi, musaka, mukuta and ndooda (or nzadi). The biggest are the mutonto, in which the peanut-crops are measured (fig. 30 b). Next come the nkinga, which are lower and may sometimes be carried. The kibudi (or tumfuka) are used chiefly as carrying baskets by young girls, for it is not dignified for them to carry mpidi or musaka baskets. The latter have a wide mouth, and in these are collected weeds from the fields. They are also used for washing vegetables or shaking the earth from the pea-nuts which have just been harvested. The mpidi type is too closely plaited to be used for such purposes. The mukuta and ndooda (nseba) types are small baskets with which the children learn to carry things on their heads. Their food, for instance, is put in these baskets. Banga-baskets are plaited from nzombe. The bigger ones are hung up to dry

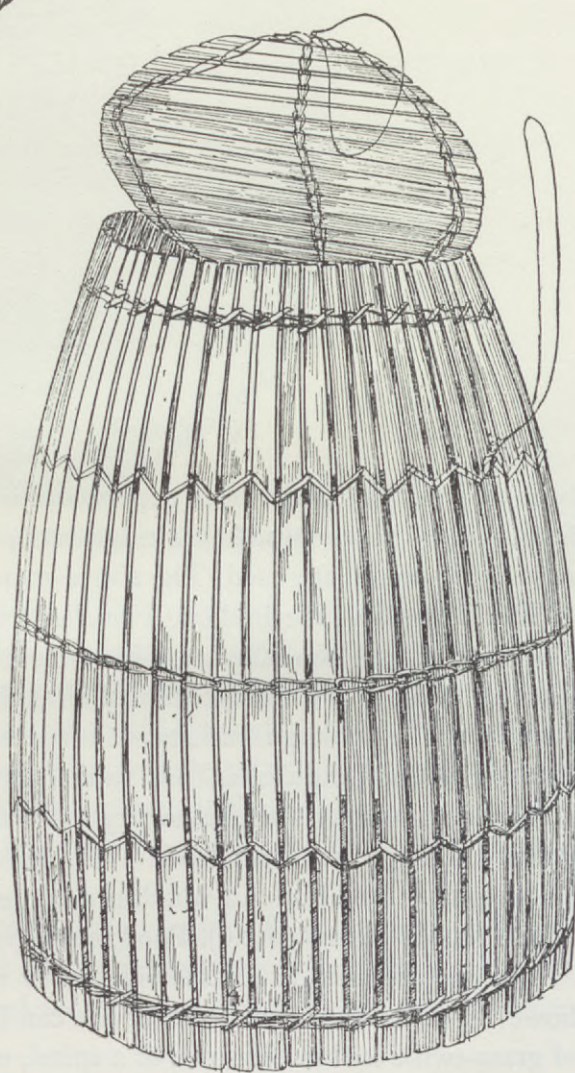
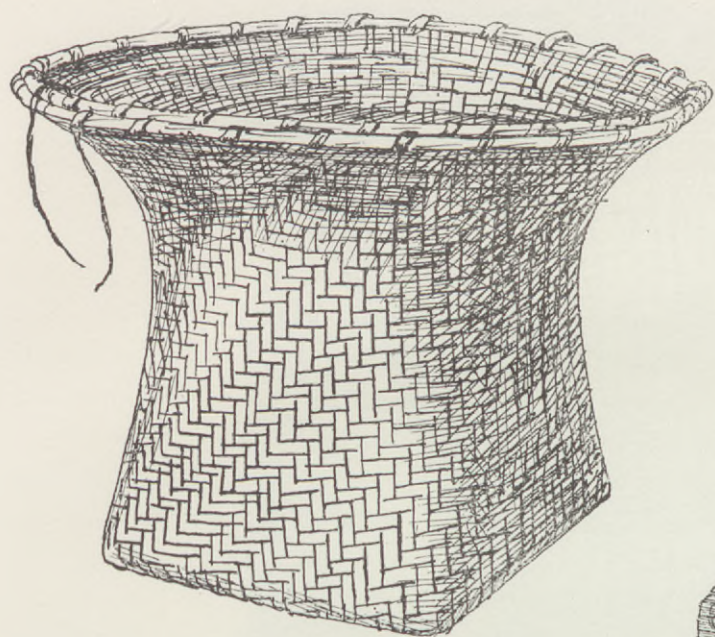


Fig. 30. A, Basket (nseba), Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 910). B, Basket for peanuts (mutonto), Sundi in Kingoyi (Laman 985).

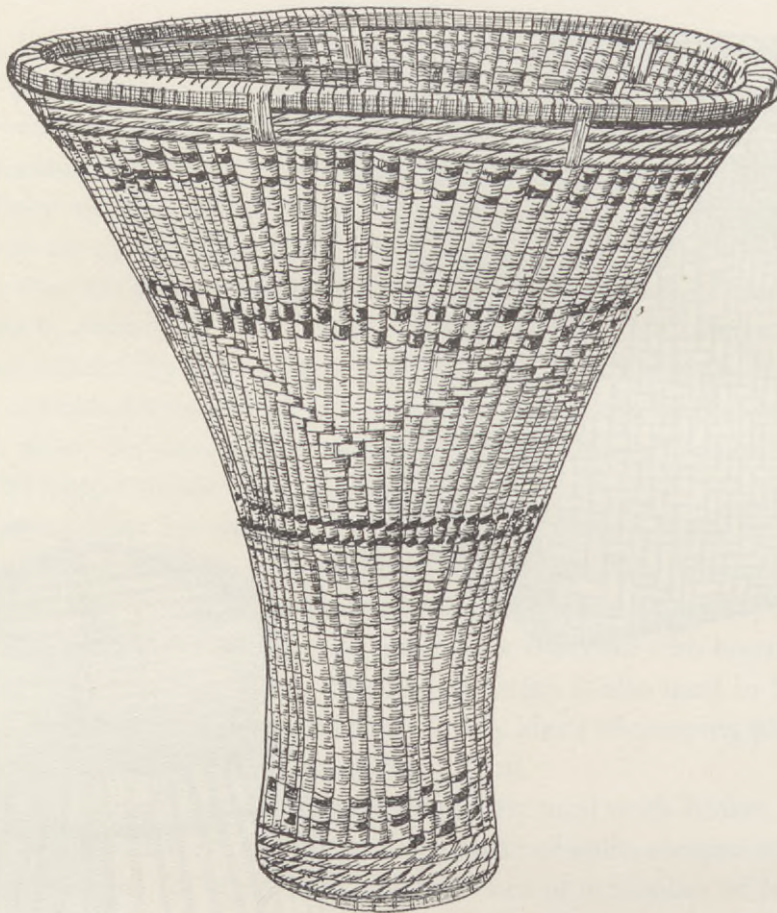


Fig. 31. Basket for salt-making, Sundi (Laman).

beans in. In the smaller ones pepper etc. is kept. Dodo-baskets are small baskets made from mvindi mya ngumbi (partridge-legs), a creeping grass which grows in the valleys. Also other plants are used. The above-mentioned baskets are made mostly by women.

The men plait tube-baskets, a smaller variant is called nseba (fig. 30 a), and mbangu-baskets (fig. 32). Nzombe is used as material for the first-mentioned and nteva is frequently used for the last-mentioned kind. Both types of basket are sometimes provided with lids. The mbangu-baskets are often woven in different colours and patterns. The Bwende make byeke-dishes from rattan, mukuku and stems of the mahamvu-palm. The bottoms are plaited in the same way as the nkwalá-mat, after which the edges are plaited upward. There are three kinds of byeke-dish: a large flat one on which peanuts are winnowed, a broad one in which grated manioc-leaves are placed and a deeper one on which food is served (dodo). Food for men is served on dongo plates.

Mboba (mbooba) are basket-dishes in which dried provender is kept. They may, however, be so closely plaited that one can have water in them. The basket-dish is made of grass-twine laid in the form of a spiral, each coil being sewn firmly to the preceding one with the help of an awl and binding material. The length of the grass is gradually increased as required while the coils are being sewn fast.

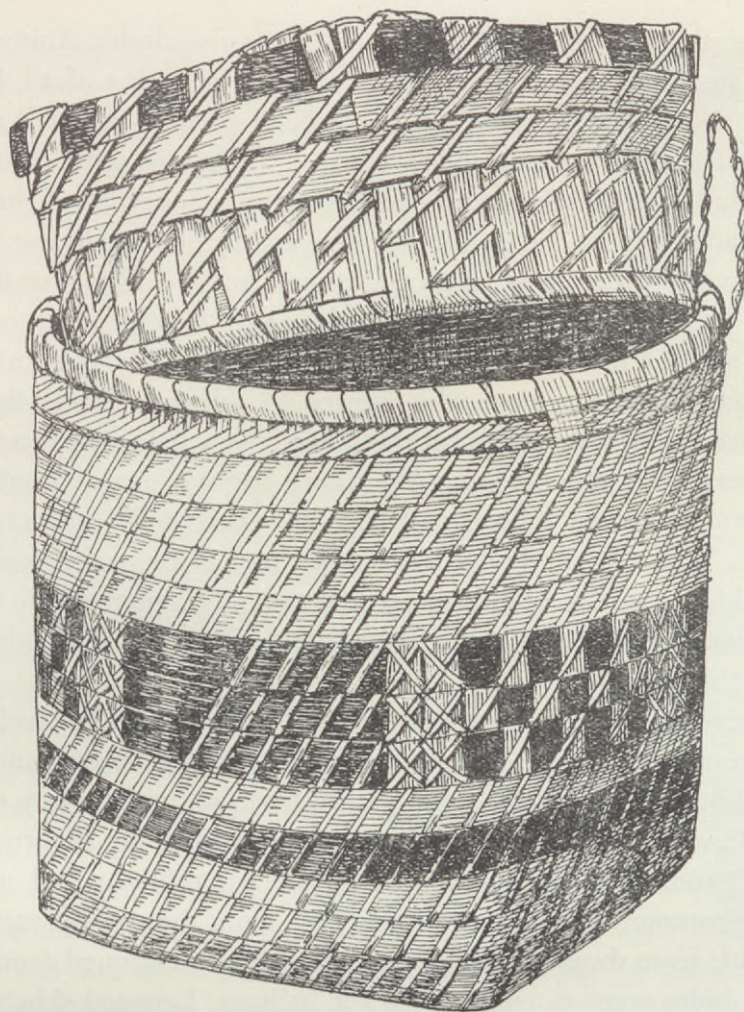


Fig. 32. Basket (*mbangu*), Sundi in Kibunzi (*Laman 971*).

Both men and women work at mat-weaving, which is a very common occupation. The unpatterned papyrus-mats (*matwandu*) are woven by the men. The stalks of papyrus are cut and dried, after which the one stalk is sewn to the other. Near the edges and in a couple of places in the middle ribs are sewn right through the mat. *Teva* (*nteva*)-mats are woven with *mangungu*-stalks or pineapple, and are very popular in Mayombe. *Nkwala*-mats are woven with *ndubi*, *kunguku* or *myungu* stalks, and are as a rule made very big. Also smaller, very strong mats of finer quality are woven from screw-shaped pineapple leaves.

Nsaakwa-bags are plaited from the bast of the *nteva*-palm. They are first plaited in folds (*nzingulu*) and then in widths that are sewn together, the one width overlapping the other. The bags are made rather large and are used for carrying palm-nuts, peanuts and the like.

Formerly, skins were used mostly by the wealthy and by traders, who used them to wrap up cloths to protect them from rain while they were on journeys and from the

gaze of others, so that spells should not be cast upon the cloths. Animal hides are not tanned, but are prepared for various purposes by drying. First of all, however, ash is strewn on them and all the fat and flesh is carefully scraped off. It is mostly the thin hides of antelopes that are used. Sandals which are fastened with cords to the ankles are made from buffalo-hide. Covers to keep the priming-powder of the old flint-locks dry used to be made from the hides of the nkongo and nsuma antelopes. These consisted of two halves, sewn together at the sides and on top, to be drawn over the barrel of the gun. At the top the hide was well sewn with beautiful figures. Such covers were also made of nkabi, so that the beautiful streaky markings of the skin might add to the effect. Among the Bwende, a man who wanted to celebrate a wedding in a worthy fashion had to give a gun-cover to his future father-in-law before he received the daughter. Smaller covers were also made for the nkutu-bag which was used when hunting with powder-horn. In recent times small bags have been sewn with rattan-thread and unprepared hide. These resemble cartridge-cases, and in them are kept powder-horn, flint, steel and tinder. In Bwende, broad strips are cut from the hide of the nkongo-antelope, and these are sewn together to make bands with which the children are carried on the hip or on the back.

Sheaths for knives were made from thin strips of wood over which hide was stretched and sewn with pineapple thread. The grey, thick hide of the nsungi-antelope was used for preference. The sheath was provided with a bark-lid, and by way of ornament an extra flap of hide was added. Antelope-hide was also used for all drums which were beaten with the hands (e.g. ndungu, ndembo, tangala, mbindu and ngoma). On the ndungu it was a common practice to stretch hide from the nsesi-dwarf antelope, and on the ngoma, hide from dwangi. The straps for the first-mentioned drum were cut from nsuma. Monkey-hides were generally used for bellows. Leopard-skin was very costly and was a sign of dignity for the chiefs. As such it is always used at the coronation investiture. At all festivals, dances and court-cases that were to be attended by a chief a leopard-skin was always brought so that he might sit upon this, his sign of dignity. When he sat down, shots were fired, for the leopard was his co-chief. Hides of the nzobo, mfwenge, mfuki and nsingi etc. are worn around the middle as dancing ornaments, and are also used as a covering for certain nkisi-bags, as e.g. mpodi.

Among the staining or colouring agents used are chalk (mpemba), charcoal (makala), black from the mwindu-tree, ngunzi or tukula red from the coral-tree and red from mbamba kwalu fruits. Definite colours with names are white, black and red. Green may be designated as titi kya nkunza (grass-green), blue as ndombe ya zulu (sky-dark) or ndombe ya simba (dark as the blue cloth in trade), yellow as mbwakuluka (i.e. shot with red), brown as mbwaki ya bindombe (red-dark), tanned by the sun as mbwaki, dark red as mbwaki ya ndombe, grey as mfumfukutu, grey hair as mvu and grey-yellow as mbwaki ya mfumfukutu. When the colours of a bird, for instance, are to be indicated, they are likened to those of other objects, e.g. that of blue cloth and that of the burnt earth under the fireplace.

For the painting of doors an incision may be made in the bark of the mungyenye-tree and the resin be mixed with pounded charcoal. According to the amount of charcoal used, the colour will be more or less dark. As a rule, water is used with the colours. If the mbamba kwatu fruit is put in water one gets a red colour which is good for painting doors and planks. If ngunzi and ndimba stones are ground, one gets a dry red colour. The medicine-men often smear their temples with this and with chalk when exercising their office. The colour may also be mixed with water, and in the absence of tukula-red it may be used together with palm-oil as a cosmetic in the care of the body. Chalk-earth (mpeezo or mpemba) is used in large quantities by the Bankimba in Mayombe, who are smeared all over with chalk during their novitiate. In certain places to the north of the Nyari-Kwilu chalk is used as a sign of mourning. The wooden sculptures placed on the graves here are also smeared with chalk. Chiefs who are also medicine-men, and in fact all medicine-men, besmear themselves every morning with chalk and as a rule also with yellow-ochre about the ears while muttering incantations when about to consecrate themselves for a particular task or when donning their ritual robes.

The colour most frequently met with is nkula or tukula red, which is used both for staining or dyeing (e.g. of cloth) and, together with palm-oil, as pomade for daily use. Two pieces of the coral-tree are rubbed against each other. The larger piece underneath is called lukula, and the smaller piece above, with which one rubs, kudulwa. A little water is poured on while the pieces are being rubbed together, so that the colouring matter may be dissolved. As a rule, a stone used solely for this purpose is laid under the bits of coral wood, of which the nethermost is ground to powder.

The sick and aged have nkula-red and palm-oil rubbed into their bodies. Women who have given birth to children rub their bodies with the same cosmetic every day. Those about to attend a feast or a dance treat their bodies in the same way. New-born infants must be powdered with nkula-red, otherwise they would look dirty and grey, and no-one would wish to caress them. As the coral-tree does not grow everywhere, quantities of nkula-red are bought in, or ndimba-red is used instead. The nkutu-bags of the young men are coloured with e.g. ndimba-red.

Objects are coloured black with a decoction of bunzi and mbunzi. Fruits and bark

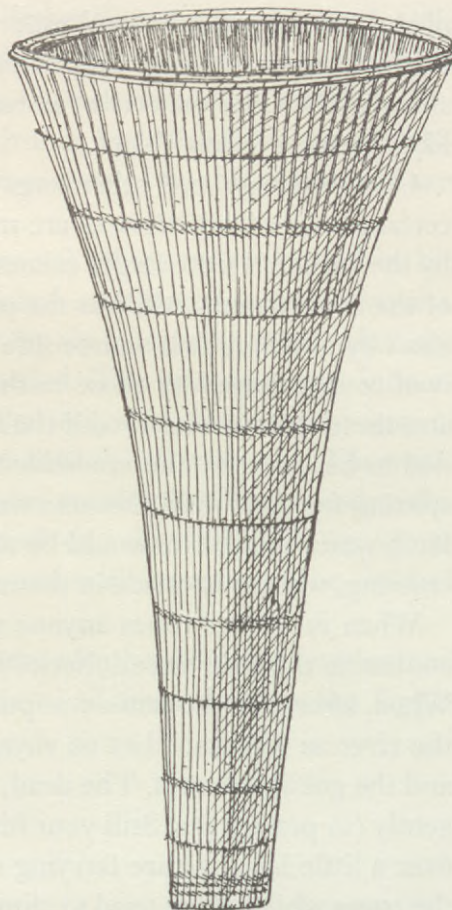


Fig. 33. Basket of uncommon type and somewhat Europeanized, Sundi in Vungu (Laman 893).

of the tree are pounded and water is added. The whole is put on the fire to boil. When it has cooled, cloths are dipped into it. If charcoal is rubbed on the cloth it becomes a shiny black. The materials for baskets, dishes and mats are also put to soak, and are likewise turned shiny black.

On the Congo and other large rivers dug-outs are used for ferrying purposes. On certain routes ferry-services are maintained by the government, but in all other places by the natives. In the larger canoes there may be three or four men paddling in the stern of the boat (*dyatu*), while at the prow (*mbombo*) there is generally one man who navigates by paddling first on one side and then on the other. Where necessary, however, he is of course helped by those in the stern. At the ferrying-places certain laws obtained, and these must be observed if the ferrying was to go forward without mishap and no-one was to be eaten by the crocodiles. As a rule, the natives "consecrated" themselves by spitting for their *nkisi*. No-one was allowed to throw stones at the ferrying-place, or to fetch water there; this would be to desecrate the crossing. There was no talk during the crossing, which was made in silence, for then the river was also still.

When in former times anyone was ferried over the Congo, however, he had first to confess to the river the adulteries he had committed and how things stood in his village. When, after this, the canoe was pushed out into the stream the ferrymen used to address the river as follows: "Let us voyage in peace (slowly). We have mentioned the lustful and the gossiping ones. The dead, the sick, they have been sent all the way yonder. Ah, gently (in peace), Sir. Still your hissing waters, still your gusts of wind. We are ferrying over a little lake, we are ferrying over the Congo". If the canoe capsized, some seized the ropes while others tried to climb up on the keel or clung to the paddles to save themselves. The fee (*mbandu*) to the ferrymen is paid as a rule in the form of provisions. If it is a trading caravan that is conveyed to the other bank payment is made, according to its size, in the form of cloth, salt or gunpowder, which is not, however, handed over until the caravan returns from the ware-houses. Europeans pay in money.

Over turbulent watercourses which cannot be crossed by wading in the rainy season the natives build bridges. To recompense them for their work in this connection, a crossing fee is paid as if it were an ordinary ferrying-place.

To make salt, sea-water was collected at the coast and evaporated or boiled in great tunda-pots till the salt was left behind. Up-country, the ash from the burned staminate flowers of the palms or the ash from certain other trees was used. Instead of the actual ash being used, however, it was as a rule leached with water in a water-tight basket, so that the salty taste remained in the water (fig. 31).

In certain places false gunpowder (*landa*) was formerly made for mixing with ordinary gunpowder. In order that it should resemble the latter, the product, together with, *inter alia*, small pieces of broken palm-nut-shell (*bisudya*) and *nkuku*-termite stacks, was burned over a fire in a pot (*menga*). The whole is stirred and stirred until smoke fills the whole pot, after which palm-oil is poured in. Flames shoot up but are extinguished by the oil. The smoke rises again and oil is poured on until all the smoke disap-

pears at once. The mixture is poured out on a kyeke-basket dish to cool. A more loosely plaited basket dish or a cap that has been sewn with meshes is now taken and the contents fanned with dry pisang leaves until only landa-powder is left in the kyeke-dish. The landa-powder is kept in the long ndungu-drums, big calabashes and nkimbichests of bark. All sorts of things could be bought in exchange for this. As an old saw has it: "Whatever the belly desires, it procures".

In Mayombe the natives made thick palm-oil (nzeeta) which was exported in big barrels. A great number of ripe palm-nuts were picked and placed in ntete-baskets. These were lowered into water, where they were left for six months or more, when the nuts began to rot. They were now taken up and pounded. The mass was kept indoors for half a year, when it formed a great heap. It smelled very bad, but in the course of time pots were put on the fire and the mass was boiled until the oil came out. The whole was now sieved into another pot. The sieving apparatus consisted of leaves and sticks. Before the oil was sold it was boiled up again, until it took on a thick and solid consistency and could be placed in ntete-baskets. It was covered with leaves and the finished product sold in this packing.

In Mayombe and a few other places the natives have also begun to sell rubber and copal, which are otherwise sold from plantations, above all from those in the Upper Congo.

Commerce

In those tracts where the villages were related to one another by marriage or allied with bonds of friendship there were originally small market-places. Barter was carried on with provisions and household articles. To begin with, order was maintained in these markets by the owner of the ground. But if the market was visited by large crowds, his authority did not suffice, and the chief took over the power instead, establishing the necessary laws and regulations. These then applied for the whole tract. Frequently the district was held responsible for the safety of the roads leading through them to the market. If assaults or fighting took place on a market-road, it was incumbent upon those responsible for the road to punish the culprits. If some chiefs had acquired more political power than others, bigger markets developed under their protection, and they answered for the safety of the market and the roads leading to it. They were called Namfumu, Nalulendo and Nampu; in the south also Namfumu and Makari. Some of the bigger markets had connections with other market-places in different parts of the country. Among these was the market at Manyanga, where caravans from Stanley Pool, Matadi and Boma met with others from the interior.

The ordinary market days were konzo, nkenge, nsona and nkandu.¹ The same names were given to the market-places, which were as a rule situated at considerable distances from one another. A market was thus held in some place or another every day. When the people began to be decimated by epidemics, only certain more notable places retained their importance for trade. The most well-known markets were given another name indicating their situation, as for example nkooyi a Ngwala, bukonzobwa Ngwamba (in Bwende) and mpiika Seesa (at Madzia).

Even to these big markets the traders had formerly to go via their friends in the one district after the other, which took rather a long time, though the distances might be relatively short. In return, their friends answered for the safety of the travellers and their goods, but they always received a present by way of recompense.

Among the numerous laws that were enacted to ensure the safety of the markets, the

¹ These market days have their counterparts everywhere, but they have sometimes, as for instance among the Bwende and in the French Congo, been given other names (bukonzobwa, mukila, mpiika and nkooyi).

following may be mentioned. No-one is allowed to visit the market with raised loin-cloth, to sit brooding with his head supported in his hands, to spit upon another, to sit on a mat or take anything without paying for it. No-one is permitted to eat in the market-place,¹ to bore a hole in the ground (indicating a death) or to pluck kimbanga-grass (a symbol of happiness) while barter is going forward. No-one is allowed to carry a gun, draw a knife, seek a quarrel with or assault anyone in the market-place. No-one may hinder another in a market-place or on the evening preceding the market-day. Nor may anyone shoot another while he is tapping palm-wine, for the wine is needed at the market. The punishment for this used to be living burial. One who failed to conform with the regulations ensuring the safety of life and limb was punished by being buried alive in the market-place. If more than one had taken part in the crime all had to be punished. If anyone had been fettered for breaking the market-law he had to be well guarded, for if the prisoner succeeded in escaping, the guard was severely punished. If it was a woman who had been fettered, no-one was allowed to go in to her. If this rule was disobeyed, the culprit had to pay a very heavy fine. If palm-wine was being sold, the buyer was allowed only to dip a strip of palm-leaf or a tututu grass-stalk in the vessel and take a single draw to try the taste.

The market must be supervised by one of the chief's grandchildren (batekolo), who intervenes in cases of dispute and separates the disputing parties. If the people like him, they give him presents when he wanders about the market, and in this way he earns his living. When some time has elapsed, however, the chiefs in the vicinity of the market come and say to him: "We have come to get a little food from you, for we have heard that the market has given you profit". He then slaughters an animal and buys palm-wine for them. When they have regaled themselves at his expense they instruct him in the art of supervising the market in such a way that there may be no cheating, violence or quarrelling, after which they go home.

If the market-place becomes overgrown with grass or gets too crowded, the responsible chief must levy folk to put it in order. On the next market-day a contribution is collected from all those present to give to those who have done the work. The chief of the market may also summon the workers when they have finished their task and treat them to palm-wine. The men and women sit apart for this.

The placing of the traders in the market-place varies. In some places the men sit to the east and the women to the west; in other places, again, the women sit in the middle and the men on either side. The wives of the chiefs generally sit on the one side of the market. No man is allowed to go this side, for if he touched them he would be prosecuted. Slaves sit together with the other traders and look after the things that have been sold, unless they are selling on behalf of their masters. In this case they must render account of their dealings on their return home. If a slave has done bad business he may be punished by a term in the pillory. If, on the other hand, he has acquitted himself well, he is given a little of the profit by way of encouragement, and if he is very well liked he

¹ The chewing of sugar-cane and the drinking of palm-wine, on the other hand, were allowed.

may even be allowed to keep it all. If a slave has bought something that pleases his master, the latter may of course take this.

The market might be visited by all, even by strangers, except the mbyazi, the chief who was not permitted to go to the market-place or past it while trading was going on. If he wished to buy anything or to meet anyone who was at the market, he had to sit at a cross-road before the market-place where there were detached places for the inhabitants of the different villages by the road-side where they might sit and eat, and talk and bargain with each other. From here the mbyazi-chief had to send a messenger to the person he wished to meet. If he wished to sell or buy goods, he had to do this through a deputy. In a number of markets it is not permissible to begin trading until the chief's deputy has seen the objects offered for sale and bought or taken what he desires. A village chief may function as a deputy. If an influential and well-known chief visited the market he was laughed at and criticized, for it was not seemly in him to go there lest there should be quarrelling or fighting.

Among the articles of trade may be noted above all food-stuffs and palm-wine. The men sell e.g. bananas, sugar-cane, palm-wine, pigs, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, poultry, fish, slaughtered animals, as well as clay pipes, tobacco, hemp, calabashes, papyrus-mats, nkutu-bags, game of all kinds, crocodile's eggs, the skin of wild cats and various "medicines" for the medicine-men. Leopard-skins with claws and teeth fetch a high price. Further, all kinds of wares such as rattan, various fibres, rope, string, iron rods, guns, flint, gunpowder, lead and nsadi-stones (both are used as bullets), flint and steel, diti-instruments, knives, hoes, axes, drums, salt and divers ornaments such as iron, brass and copper rings, glass beads and porcelain buttons. The women sell, inter alia, cooked yuuma in pots, small fish, shrimps, steaked rats, tomatoes, pumpkins, frogs, crickets, baskets of various kinds, nkuala and pineapple mats, clay vessels, pots, jars and red pomade.

Slaves were formerly a great article of export. Other important exports are ivory, palm-nuts, palm-oil (from Mayombe) and rubber. As these goods could be had at the market, the old people said: "The market is the one that preserves breath (life)", "The people's belly is hidden there". For it was customary, if one had bought a pig or some other food, for it to be eaten up in company with others, unless the pig (or other food) was intended for some special purpose. It may also be added that laws and regulations were proclaimed in the market-place.

Sometimes the seller would cry his wares, for example fish or meat, by asking: "O, udiidi eyo? O, udiidi eyo"? (Have you eaten this?). He would state the price, whereupon the buyer would haggle. Seller and buyer then went on haggling until they had reached an agreement. The older people would urge the young ones to get hold of a hen and sell it, and to procure several hens. They should then try to buy a goat, and if necessary enter into partnership, sell the kids, buy a sow and continue in this way until the merchant to-be was able to buy a flint-lock, or a slave to tap palm-wine. To one who has no sense for business they would say: "Oh, you are not a human being, you

haven't got much sense". Partners shared the profit fairly, according to what each had put into the business.

Live domestic animals and human beings were as a rule sold by agreement and on credit. If the agreement concerned an animal the seller might say in the presence of witnesses: "When I get home with the pig, if it does not fall ill by next market-day (or rather three market-days), that will be full value for the price, but if it gets sick, it must be taken back". If the animal had been paid for, the seller had to replace it with another. In order to mark the day, signs were made in a staff or a house-post. The same applied in connection with slave-transactions. As slaves fetched a high price, two or more buyers generally joined forces to raise the necessary funds. At first the slaves were bought by merchants coming from the south, but later by up-country chiefs, who in their turn sold them at the coast. Although the slave-trade proper gradually came to an end, human beings were still sold if they had for some reason contracted debts which they could not pay. Wealthy persons, moreover, were unable to invest their assets in anything but slaves. If the slave-owner got into difficulties, he might at any time sell some of his slaves. In this case he would sell in the first place the quarrelsome, dishonest or criminal slaves. In time of famine, moreover, human beings often had to be sold to more fortunate tracts. Such trade in human beings went on for a long time during my stay in the Congo. When the prohibition of the trade began to be enforced, the family had to buy back those whom they or their forefathers had sold earlier.

When a slave was bought in the market or in the villages it was necessary to be prudent. Persons sometimes had to buy the slaves without going into their origins. If the slaves belonged to influential families it might easily happen that they escaped. Various ruses were adopted to inveigle the prospective slave into following the slave-dealer to the market or to the village where the traffic was carried on; and it was not until after the transaction had been completed that the slave was allowed to know what had taken place. The buyer had then to seize him and hold him fast. Harrowing scenes frequently ensued. Mothers tried, for instance, to injure their children (e.g. by destroying one eye), in order to prevent their sale. A trial period of three or four months was commonly allowed, to give the purchaser a chance of finding out whether the slave was suffering from a serious disease, a congenital defect or disablement. A paid jobber was always engaged for the actual sale, and this person witnessed the transaction and shared the responsibility. If there proved to be something wrong with the slave he was returned to the jobber, who had then to procure a new slave or return the money which had been paid down. The jobber or agent was in his turn obliged to settle with the seller. The price for a slave varied much at different times. Up-country a man was considered to be worth 150 pieces of cloth, and a beautiful young woman might fetch 400 pieces. In time of famine persons were also sold for provisions. If slaves were sold at the coast they were sometimes handed over to the trading-house Nsafu a Uumbala, where all their hair was shaved off and they were passed on to the interpreter (dingizi) who visited the whites. After three days the business was settled. The price was two small kegs of gunpowder,

two daggers, two measures of gunpowder and one or two bolts of cloth. The cloth was called *mbemba ku mbemba*. When the transaction was concluded, the naked slaves were put in chains, the sexes being kept separate. They took up the song: "Bomba ntangu wele, ntangu una lambila baana wele" (Take comfort, time passes, the time when you had to prepare food for the children is over). The slaves were then beaten and shut up in a house, so that the sellers did not see them any more. The interpreter and the middlemen cheated the sellers as much as they could, so that the latter received only a small part of the purchase-money. The sellers who had been down to the coast and seen the Europeans had to sacrifice and eat a large pig together on their return home in order to return their souls (*vutulwa nsala*). Of the goods that had been acquired at the coast, flint-locks, guns, gunpowder and porcelain ornaments were the most coveted.

In cases of credit sales or loans the buyer or lender had to have a guarantor who would be responsible for the payment of the debt within a definite time. The latter confirmed his responsibility by beating his breast (*bunda ntulu*), scraping dirt from his arm (*nika mvindu*), striking the arm-ring of the *nkisi* *Lemba* or of some other *nkisi*. If in spite of this the debt was not paid, the guarantor had to forfeit a pig for the omission. A slaughtered and dismembered pig was sold as a rule on credit without security. If the pig cost 8 pieces of cloth, it was decided that each buyer should pay his share after 7 to 8 months. An older person was commissioned to collect the money, and by way of recompense for this service he was given "the heart". As soon as he had received the money, he took it to the owner of the pig with a calabash of palm-wine. The latter met him with palm-wine and paid a hen for the work.

The means of payment at first used up-country was the small woven pieces of cloth (*mbadi* or *mbongo*) which were tied up in bundles of four, ten or twelve pieces. The following terms were used for counting: 1 piece (*lubongo*) = *lumosi*, 2 pieces = *nzoole* (or *nzoodi*), 3 pieces = *kitatu*, 4 pieces = *vidi*, 5 pieces = *ntaanu*, 6 pieces = *kikoni*, 7 pieces = *mbo* (or *mbongo*) *nsambodya*, 8 pieces = *mavidi moole*, 9 pieces = *mbo vwa*, 10 pieces = *mukuta*, 12 pieces = *mbondo*, 20 pieces = *mikuta myole*, 50 pieces = *mikuta mitanu* and so forth.

Barter was also carried on, however, and baskets, pots and mats were exchanged for e.g. peanuts and maize. Later on, small pieces of cloth (*bela*) were generally accepted as currency. A *bela* measured from the tip of the middle finger to the wrist, and was worth about 50 centimes. With such a piece of cloth provisions of all kinds might be purchased. For 10 *bela*-pieces one could get a piece of cloth measuring one *lunana* (about 3 to 4 bolts, but in some places only 2). For 25 *bela*-pieces it was possible to buy a piece of cloth corresponding to 6 bolts in length (*ntilu*). Later this corresponded approximately to a piece of cloth worth 2 francs. Different cloths (e.g. *nseese* and *malenswa*, the latter 12 handkerchiefs in one piece) with different prices afterwards became general criteria of value.

The cloth was kept wrapped up in antelope-hide. When cloth was to be measured, care had to be taken to see that persons who were not concerned in the transaction did not see too much of it. Otherwise they might become envious and cast a spell upon the

cloth. If boys were in the vicinity they were chased away, for they would not live for long if they caught the smell of new cloth. Indoors, the antelope-hide was unwrapped quietly and carefully in the inner room, so that no-one should notice it. Gunpowder was also a very popular means of payment, and it had the advantage, as compared with cloth, of not being eaten up by insects and rats. It was at first sold retail in small kiyedi-units (about a handful), and might cost one or two human beings. The gunpowder was well wrapped up in dry banana-leaves and was concealed in the owner's dwelling until his death, when it was shot off. Later on, it became a common custom to buy gunpowder in small wooden kegs, which were kept in the house, and from which the owner might in his turn retail it. For gunpowder it was possible to buy anything at all.

The following terms were used for the measurement of cloth: nkangu a mboma or mfwoko a kooko = 1 ell (the distance from the tips of the fingers to the elbow), mpesa = $\frac{1}{2}$ bolt, vwata or nkwangu = 1 bolt (this was measured with outstretched arms), nzyoka = 2 bolts and koola = 4 bolts. Further, one mbandu = 1 powder-keg (mpimp a mfula) or 10 mugs (mbungu) = 10 francs. Smaller powder-kegs were bwayi = 3 mugs of powder, and zengo = 5 to 6 mugs of powder.

Salt was originally a very expensive article, and human beings were sold for salt. It has since become a common article of exchange on the market and in the villages, which are often visited by persons selling salt. The salt was for a time packed in big sacks of bast from the baobab-tree (mbyanda).

Copper and lead billets and imported iron rods were also popular articles of exchange. For the counting of copper and lead billets the following units were used: 10 billets = kisoko, 20 = masinga, 30-90 = 3-9 bisoko, 100 = lundala lumosi, 190 = lundala ye bisoko vwa, 200 = ndala zoole and 1 000 = mubundu. Before the government introduced coins, currency in the form of gunpowder, lead, copper, brass or iron was also everywhere used among the neighbouring peoples. From Europe were introduced brass wire (ntaku) which was cut in definite lengths and blue beads of glass, which became the general currency. The blue glass beads were counted in lots (bilazi) of 10 strings (nsanga), each with 100 beads. One nsanga was worth 1 cent, one kulazi 10 cents and 10 bilazi 100 cents or 1 franc. In business dealings the beads were counted in fives, so that 3 fives (matatu) are 15 beads, 5 (mataanu) are 25 beads, 10 (lufuku) are 50 beads, 20 (mfuku zoole) are 100 beads. Further, 500 beads are called ntaanu, 900 luvwa and 1 000 kulazi.

Barter was carried on between the villages as at the market-places. Buyers of animals or salesmen always went to the houses of their business friends and sat there quiet and

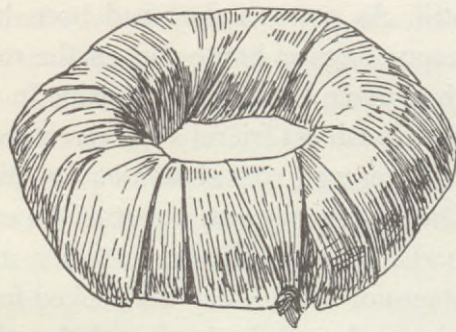


Fig. 34. Head-ring for bearer (*nkata aduka*), Sudi in Mukimbungu (*Laman 327*).

still. As soon as they had been bidden welcome by their hosts and had told about happenings at home and on the road, they were given food and palm-wine. After this they made short business trips in the vicinity. On taking their leave they always gave their business friend a gift in return for food and hospitality.

A caravan was always equipped with plenty of food, the main item being cassava. On the journey out, a part of the cassava was stored with various friends of those taking part in the expedition, so that it might be used on the journey home. During the first stages of the journey the cooked food was shared out, one member at a time taking out his supply and sharing it with the others until all the cooked food was eaten up. If a caravan passed a village during the night the members had to speak to one another or clear their throats, so that the villagers should not think they were a band of thieves. In order that the travellers might journey more freely, they used formerly to try to gain the favour of chiefs in important trading districts, and endeavour to persuade one of them to become chief in their own village. The same custom also prevailed among the people down the coast. In this way a chief from the Solongo came to Boma, where he was installed as regent under the name MBOMA NDONGO. In order to facilitate trade, the merchants also used to contract suitable marriages on their journeys, and thus establish new alliances of friendship. The friends ratified this by shaving off a little hair from their heads, saying: "If we should not act as you have done with us when coming to our country, may Nkondi (or some other nkisi) bury the mfunya-hair"! which implied that Nkondi would take vengeance for the wrong suffered.

Measures and weights in the strict sense of these terms did not exist, and tens and fives, according to the number of fingers, constituted certain units, as we observed in connection with measurements for the counting of cloth, gunpowder, copper, lead and so forth. Some foodstuffs, however, were always measured in certain small baskets, palm-wine in calabashes, gunpowder in mugs, and metal in billets. In this connection certain units of measurement were developed which were founded upon fives. When a load was prepared a trial was always made to see if it could be lifted up on to the head and carried a little way. Light loads weighed as a rule from 25 to 30 kg, and were generally carried in the long and narrow ntete-basket. For double payment a bearer might sometimes carry two lighter loads. Heavy loads, on the other hand, were carried on one or more poles borne by several bearers.

Even before the arrival of the whites there were trade-routes in the country. Especially well-known were those running south of the Congo from the coast to Stanley Pool (Mpumbu) and then inland along the river. Another well-known route with branches running off in various directions ran between the coast and Stanley Pool via the Nyari-Kwilu Valley. It seems to have continued to the watershed between the Belgian and French Congos. The eastern part of the French Congo, on the other hand, was connected more with Kintama at Stanley Pool. As has already been mentioned, merchants had to go to their destinations via their friends. If other merchants wished to travel on these roads they had first, through others, to get friends along the route,

for no-one could travel without such friends.¹ The friend was a well-known and generally also a prominent person, for instance, the chief of a village, for it was his responsibility if the stranger was robbed, captured or killed. In the event of any such misfortune, the relatives of the merchant in question came to find out what had happened and to demand payment of a fine or to carry out suitable reprisals. If, for instance, anyone from the village where the misfortune took place came to the home-district of the assaulted person, he was treated in exactly the same way. As a rule, however, the matter was settled in a friendly way and the guilty party had to forfeit a pig ("pig of cowardice"). In spite of the system with friends, difficulties of various kinds, with ensuing complications, arose in the course of these trading expeditions. Many with the same clan-name met on the trade-routes, and they at once became friends, sharing all good things between them. They were allowed to put up at a guest-house or at the houses of unmarried men; they were given food, palm-wine, wood, tobacco and cola-nuts as long as they stayed. If a "stranger-friend" yawns, "he is hungry", for he should not ask for food.

There is no such thing as road-maintenance. The roads are often changed by fire, clearings, growth of grass or forest. The friend is guide and companion on unknown and unsafe roads. At the biggest rivers there have been ferrying-places where crossings are made by canoe, and the village or its chief have kept up a ferry service. Where this has been possible, suspension bridges of rattan have been constructed, and for these, too, ferry-dues have been exacted. During the dry season, however, the suspension bridges are often allowed to fall into disrepair, and the caravans must try to wade over the river instead. In marshy tracts causeways are often built. These are, however, difficult to keep in good condition, as the wood soon rots and must be replaced. A caravan may, of course, look for trees and lay them on the causeway; but it may also happen that they dismantle it to make it unusable for others. At the fords used by the villagers themselves to visit their plantations, long rattan-lines are stretched over the stream to give them something to hold onto when making the crossing. Big trees may also be felled over the streams; or, when the level of the water is at its highest during the rainy season, those wishing to cross must try to reach the other bank by climbing from one tree to another.

¹ Whites were as a rule obliged to pay rather a substantial fee in the form of articles of exchange on entering new tracts. This requirement, however, lapsed in time.

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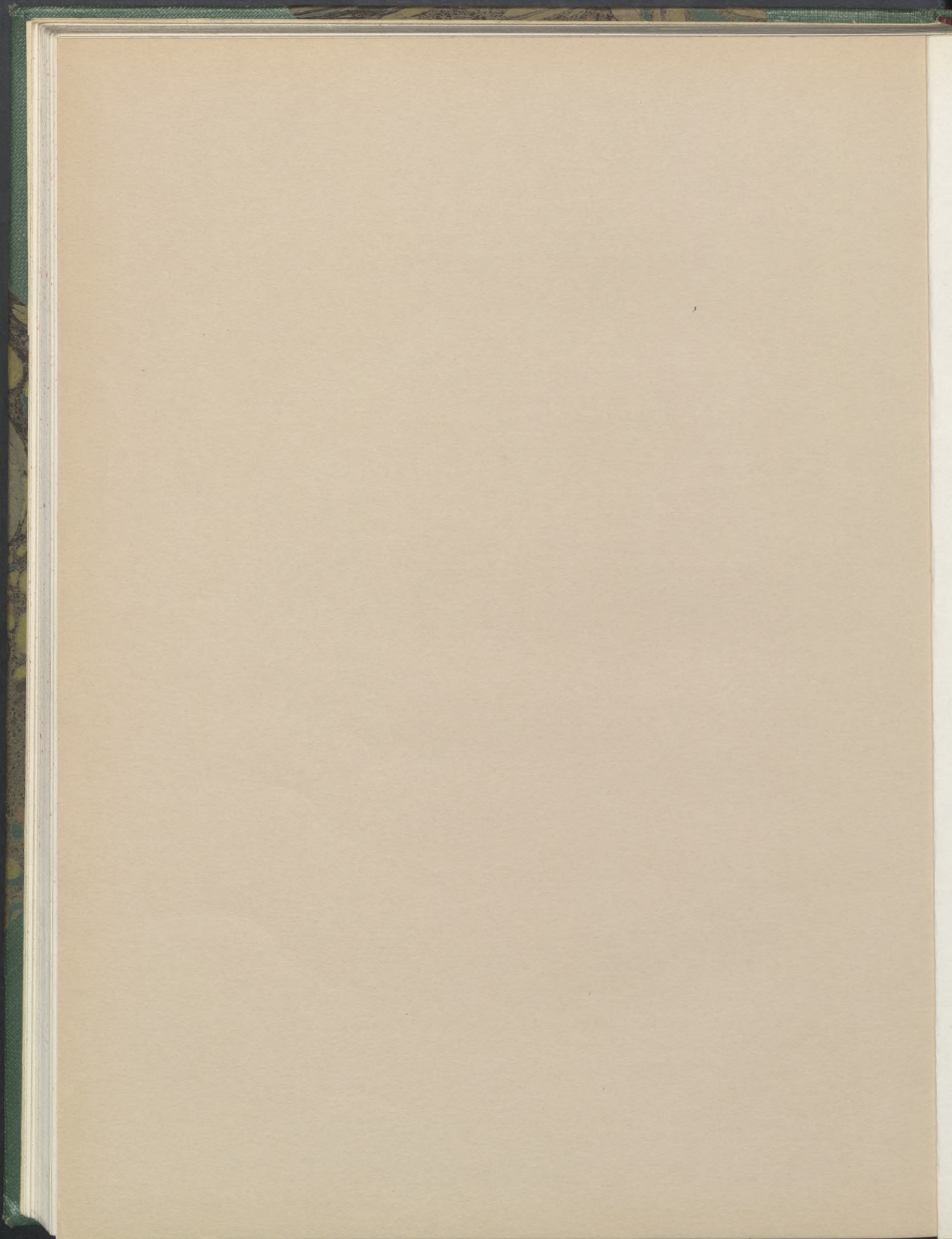
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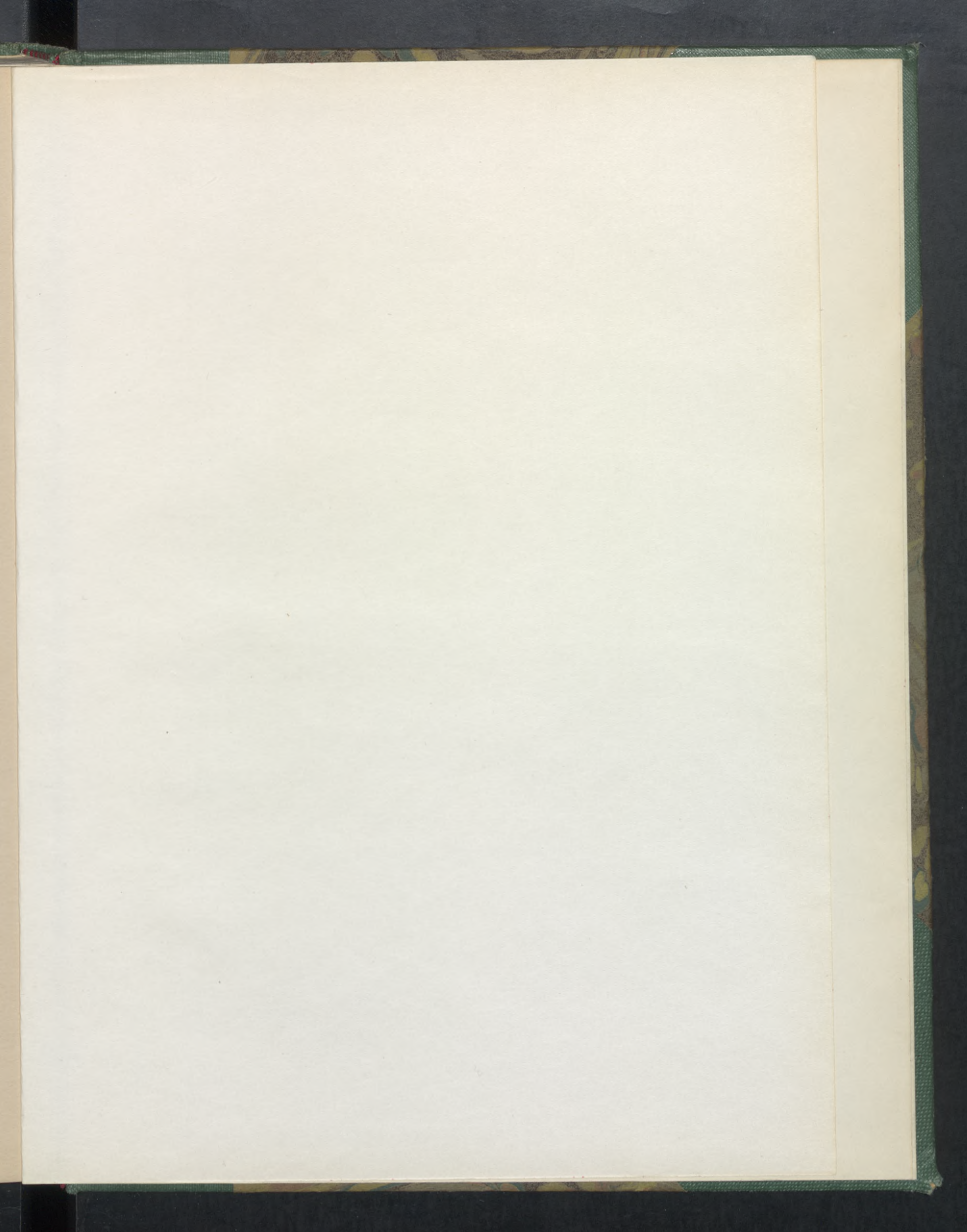
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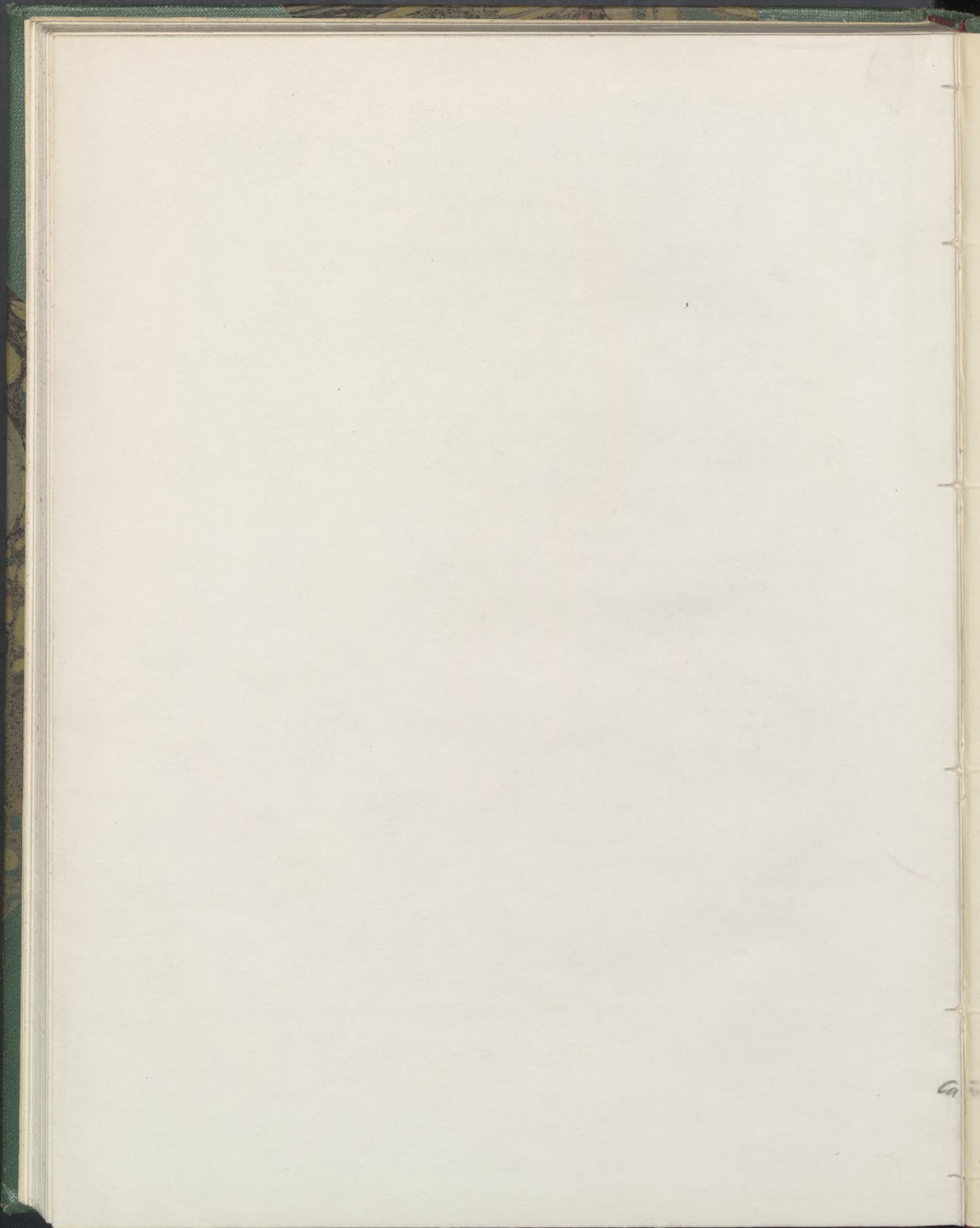
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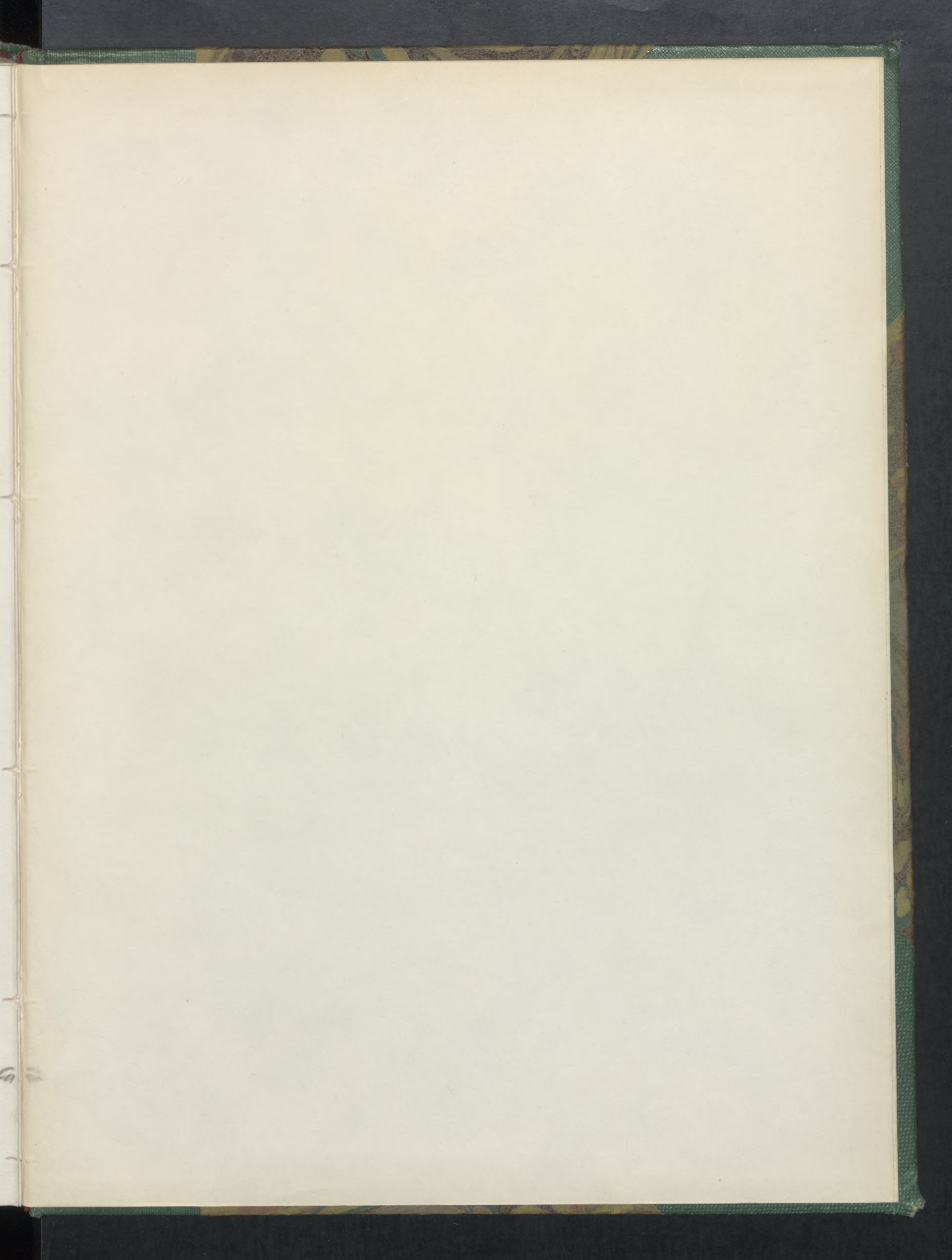
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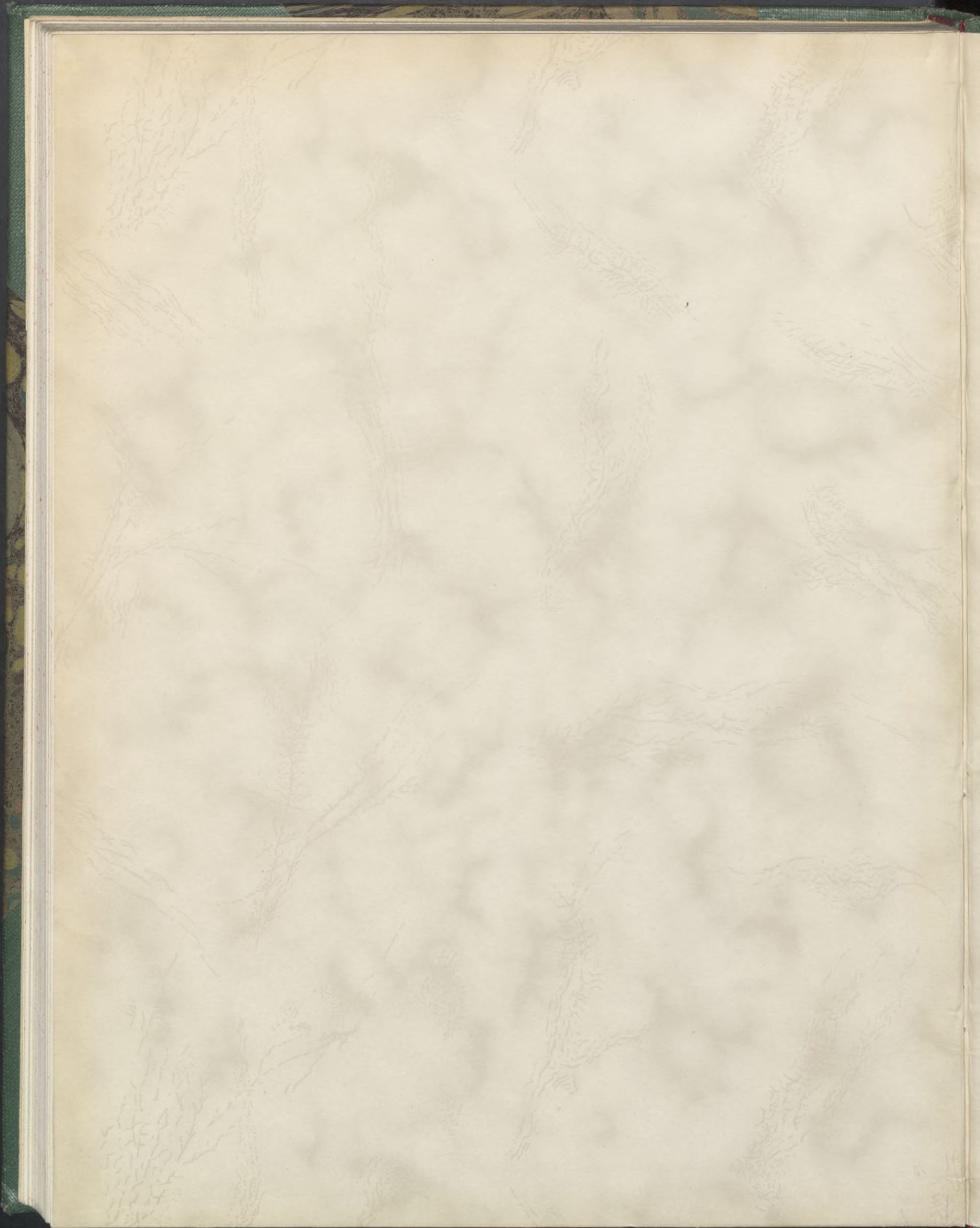






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