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B. WALLNER, Erika és BIERNACZKY, Szilárd

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AZ ELSŐ MAGYAR, SZABAD FELHASZNÁLÁSÚ, ELEKTRONIKUS, ÁGAZATI SZAKMAI KÖNYV-, TANULMÁNY-, CIKK- DOKUMEN-TUM- és ADAT-TÁR/THE FIRST HUNGARIAN FREE ELECTRONIC SECTORAL PROFESSIONAL DATABASE FOR BOOKS, STUDIES, COMMUNICATIONS, DOCUMENTS AND INFORMATIONS

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## ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN CONGO FREE STATE [WITH PLATES XVII–XX.]

E. Torday and T. A. Joyce

The following tentative sketch of the population of the South-Western Congo Free State, the order in which the peoples have arrived in their present positions, and the causes which have underlain the tribal movements, is based on a two years' survey of the district, the extent of which is exhibited on the accompanying map. It forms the conclusion of the series of ethnographical papers published by the same authors in various issues of the *Journal*<sup>1</sup> and  $Man^2$  though many points of interest in connection with the collections made during this period still await publication. Although mainly ethnological, it contains a certain amount of purely ethnographical matter, chiefly in connection with the Ba-Yanzi, which hardly sufficed to form a paper by itself. The paper has no pretensions to conclusiveness, since much remains to be done in this most interesting district. At the same time the amount of information collected seems to be a sufficient basis for a few general theories, which, at best, must be regarded as working hypotheses.

The tract of country of which the inhabitants are under consideration may be roughly defined as that between the Kasai on the north, and  $7^0$  S., and again between the Loange in the east, and the Kwango on the west. The country slopes from the south to the north, and is drained by the following main rivers; starting in the east, the Lubue, the Luela, the Kancha, the Kwilu, the Wamba and the Kwango; the Kwilu basin, which has been the centre of observation, is mainly grass-land, the banks of the rivers alone being forested. The banks of the Kwilu itself appear to be the most fruitful portion of the whole region, and the history of the population consists, in a great

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> TJ.<sup>1</sup>; 2. TJ.<sup>2</sup>; 3. TJ.<sup>3</sup>. <sup>2</sup> T.; TJ.<sup>4</sup>.

measure, in a struggle for the possession of this, the most fertile, territory.

The following tribes come under consideration, Ba-Samba, Ba-Songo, Wa-Ngongo, Ba-Bunda, Ba-Yaka, Ba-Yanzi, Ba-Pindi, Ba-Mbala, Ba-Huana, Ba-Lua, Ba-Kwese, and Ba-Djoke (Kioko). The position and extent of each of these can be seen on the map, and are further defined at the beginning of the section of text allotted to each.

Their culture appears to be purely "West African" in type, the sole incongruous elements being formed by the coiled basketry of the Ba-Kwese (P1. XVIII, B. Fig. 2), the swords of the Ba-Bunda (P1. XVII, B. Fig. 5), and the spears of the Wa-Ngongo.

Cannibalism is practised by the following: Ba-Yanzi, Ba-Huana, Northern Ba-Mbala, Ba-Pindi, and one tribe of the Ba-Kwese, also the Ba-Samiba, Ba-Songo, Wa-Ngongo and Ba-Bunda where they are in contact with any of the above. It is interesting to notice that, generally speaking, those tribes inhabiting the districts where food, both animal and vegetable, is most abundant are most addicted to this practice. This fact seems to prove that, for this region of Africa, cannibalism cannot be attributed to a scarcity of provisions.

During the time that this information was being collected, the country was visited by a German scientist, Dr. Frobenius. The authors regret that the information collected by him has not yet been published, since it must necessarily be of great value in any discussion of this region. At the same time there is an advantage in publishing an entirely independent survey. There are a few points in the preliminary observations published by Dr. Frobenius with which the authors cannot quite agree, and it may be as well to refer to them here.

In the *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, 1905, p. 468, he claims to have identified the Ba-Jeje of Kund with certain Ba-Jaja or Ba-Ja; this name is not a tribal appellation at all, but simply a term expressing the inhabitants of the village Baia. On p. 469, he states,

"Die Zusammengeherigkeit der erst-gennanten Stamme (Bajaka, Bassamba, Bapindi und Bamballa) bezeichnete ich als Granitbildung. Das ist so zu verstehen: sie sind regellos über das ganze Gebiet verteilt. Auf dem Marsche in irgend eine Richtung mag man erst ein Dorf der Bamballa, dann zwei der Bapindi, dann eines der Bassamba, wieder eines der Bamballa, drei der Bajakka, u.s.w. beruihren." Though this is true of the part of the country through which he made his "Zweitagemarsche"<sup>3</sup> (i. e., behind Michakila), it gives a false idea of the conditions prevailing over the rest of the region as the map accompanying this paper will show. The fact was that the learned traveller passed through just that district where these tribes meet, and a certain amount of overlapping has necessarily taken place. The statement which immediately follows:

"Die zweite Eigenart ist dass sie alle auf genau den gleichen Kulturerscheinlngen leben. Die Stämme sind abgesehen von der Sprache heute genau einer Art..."

can only be taken in the very widest sense as signifying that they all belong to the "West African" form of culture. Of course, in such a region as the neighbourhood of Michakila, the villages have acquired a certain false homogeneity owina to constant intercourse and interchange of customs, but this is certainly not the case in the large tracts which compose the rest of the Kwilu region.

The statement on the same page that the Ba-Huangana (a local name for Ba-Huana) have reached their present position from the south we cannot accept for the reasons given in the section relating to that people.

Again, in the Zeitschrift for 1906, pp. 737–738, Dr. Frobenius speaks of certain tribes (Bansadi, -Badinga, Banguli and Bankutu) as "Baschensi und Halbbaschensi." As is well-known throutghout the Free State the term *Ba-Shensi* means merely "aborigines." No doubt the author was aware of this, particularly as the fact is mentioned (though of East Africa) by his learned colleague, Dr. Ankermann, in his exceedingly valuable paper in the *Archiv. für Anthropologie*, 1906, p. 252. But it is just possible that he may have been misled by his interpreters, who were strangers to the neighbourhood, and therefore may have applied this rather depreciative term to the natives, regarding them as an uncultured folk because they had not yet advanced to the "dignity" of being in the service of a European. Also in the same journal for 1907, on p. 315, he states of the "Kwangovölker" and the "Stamme am unteren Kassai," "Vor allen Dingen ist die Sprache noch heute das alte Kikongo." It is true that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zeit. f. Eth., 1905, p. 767.

some of the natives, especially among those on the river banks, speak the trade Chikongo, but the local dialects, spoken by the population at large, do not resemble Chikongo more than Chikongo itself resembles Kiswahili.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Frobenius follows Dr. Ravenstein<sup>4</sup> in identifying the "Anziken" (Anzicana, Anzichi, Anziques) with the Ba-Teke of Stanley Pool.

## Ba-Samba, Ba-Songo and Wa-Ngongo

These peoples live in small enclaves distributed amongst the peoples already mentioned. The most important are: Wa-Ngongo, on the Luzubi and on the Gobari; Ba-Songo, on the Kwilu to the north of Kongo, and to the north of the Luchima; Ba-Samba, on the Gufu. These peoples, owing to the small size of their settlements, speak the language of the tribe surrounding them; but they each speak a language of their own which is not understood by the rest. So little is known of them that it is impossible to discuss their affinities, but it is possible that they may be the remains of an aboriginal population. They are extremely reticent as regards any information concerning themselves, and though, when friendly relations are established, they will chat freely on anly other subject, yet if any question is asked regarding their origin or habits they immediately refuse to understand.

The northern Ba-Mbala found the Ba-Songo in possession of the country when they arrived, and purchased land from them and the Ba-Yanzi.

The Wa-Ngongo are particularly interesting as the only tribe amongst whom spears are found; these are of the socketed variety; they also use pan-pipes.

All have adopted the hair-dress, clothes and houses of the surrounding population.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> AB. pp. 91 (note) and 192.

#### Ba-Bunda

The Ba-Bunda extend, roughly, from 50 to 5.30° S., and from 19° to 20° E. According to the northern Ba-Mbala they were in the country before the Ba-Yanzi. Physically they are of much heavier build than the rest of the peoples described in this paper, they are large-boned and very dark in colour. Frobenius says that they are fairer than the rest, but those, amounting to many hundreds, seen by one of the authors at Kikwit, whither they had come to fetch loads for the Kancha River, were certainly extremely dark. The same author says that they extend nearly as far as the Kwango, but it is certain that none are found established west of the Kwilu. The mistake may have arisen from the fact that the Bakwa- Mosinga tribe of Bakwese are ruled by a chief of Ba-Bunda blood, Yongo.

It is interesting to note that swords are in general use among the Ba-Bunda; the peculiar "counter-changed ogee" pattern of blade is, we believe, unique. (PI. XVII, B, Fig. 5.)

## Ba-Yaka<sup>5</sup>

The Ba-Yaka extend from the Kwango, south of  $4.30^{\circ}$ , where they are found on the left bank also, roughly speaking to the Ba-Mbala. They have been settled on the Kwango for centuries, since they are mentioned by some of the earliest travellers. Here they are ruled by one great chief known as the Kiamfu, whose power, at the beginning of this year, has been overthrown by the Congo authorities, the Kiamfu himself being now in prison at Leopoldville. It has been stated that in former times this state was subject to the Muata Yamvo, ruler of Lunda, and it seems quite possible that the chieftainship was seized by one of the emigrant raiding chiefs of Lunda (see Carvalho<sup>6</sup> *passim*), who have formed so powerful a factor in the history of this region of Africa. It may be, indeed, that the title "Kiamfu" is derived from "Yamvo."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See also TJ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> C. This admirable work is by far the best of those dealing with the history and ethnography of the tribes connected with the Lunda Empire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> vM. mentions the term *Kiamvo* as a title of the ruler of the "Mayakalla," but appears to confuse it withMuata Yamvo.

It is, however, very doubtful whether the Ba-Yaka were actually tributary to the state of Lunda; and, even if the first chief of Lunda origin did send a nominal tribute to the Muata Yamfo, it is very improbable that it was long maintained.

The eastern portion of the Ba-Yaka seem to be emigrants who have rebelled against the Kiamfu, and are ruled by a chief named Muri Kongo, and it is to this eastern section that the notes already published relate. It may be mentioned in passing that the title "Muri " applied to Kongo seems in this case to be merely honorific.

The strip of Ba-Yaka extending in a north-easterly direction from the upper waters of the Gufu or Kafi, as well as the enclave on the right bank of the Kwilu, appear to be the result of a later migration of the subjects of Muri Kongo towards the east.

Physically, psychologically and culturally, the Eastern Ba-Yaka show a close resemblance to the Southern Ba-Mbala. The languages of the two peoples also display important points of resemblance.

#### Ba-Yanzi

The Ba-Yanzi, with which this paper deals, including their stub-tribes the Wa-Nguli and Makua, extend on the east bank of the Kwilu from its mouth to  $430^{\circ}$  S., occupying the territory eastward as far as the Kancha and Kasai. South of the 4<sup>th</sup> degree they are separated from the Kwilu bank by Ba-Huana and Ba-Mbala territory. On the western bank they are found from 4° to 4 30° S. An isolated settlement exists on the eastern bank north of 5°. It is possible that the Ba-Konde<sup>8</sup> on the left bank of the Kwilu, and, if Frobenius is right, the Ba-Dinga between the Luela and the Kancha, are also Ba-Yanzi.

Their original home appears to be in the north, since their manner of preparing manioc is typical of the Congo where the parent stock is found. There is a statement found in the works of many writers that the Ba-Yanzi are Ba-Bangi, who have been drawn down the Congo by trade to Stanley Pool, and that the term Ba-Yanzi is an uncomplimentary nickname given them by the surrounding peoples. It is difficult to fix the responsibility for this statement, or to discover the grounds on which it was first made, but it may safely be said that the Ba-Yanzi of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Ba-Konde appear to display certain affinities with the Ba-Huana also.

this neighbourhood do not regard the name as a nickname, nor do they call themselves by any other. As far as could be discovered they have no tradition concerning their arrival in the country, which they seem to have occtupied more by peaceful settlement than by force of arms. Certainly they seem to have been in possession of it for a considerable time. The northern section of the Ba-Mbala admittedly purchased the territory they now occupy from them and the Ba-Songo; and, even if this tradition did not exist, the subsequent arrival of the Ba-Mbala would be apparent from the fact that they regard the Ba-Yanzi chiefs as suzerains. The northern Ba-Huana, too, pay the latter tribute. In fact, apart from the Ba-Songo, Wa-Ngongo and Ba-Samba, the Ba-Yanzi, with the Ba-Yaka and Ba-Bunda, may be regarded as the tribes longest settled in the stretch of country under consideration.

Physically the best specimens of the people are found in the upcountry, the worst on the river banks.

The hair of the men is dressed in a bunch at the back of the head, that of the women is usually parted in the middle and made up into two plaits which hang down behind the ears, less frequently the head is shaved, with the exception of three longitudinal ridges of hair, or is dressed in the same fashion as that of the Ba-Huana. The last is true of those Ba-Yanzi inhabiting the banks of the Kwilu. Head-coverings are only worn in mourning. On the river no paint is used; inland they employ a red pigment extracted from the seed-capsule of the Bixa Orellana, with which they ornament themselves on festal occasions. In mourning the face is smeared with soot. The men do not ornament theinselves with scars, but women are decorated in this fashion on the abdomen. Clothing consists of palm-cloth worn round the loins; on the banks this cloth is plain, but in the interior, behind Luano, it is ornamented with diaper patterns; women wear, attached to their girdles, a number of small receptacles made from the necks of gourds. Bracelets of iron and copper are worn on the arms and legs. The clothes of the dead are buried with them. The Ba-Yanzi will eat practically anything. Manioc flour is prepared in the following ways:

1. A pot of water is placed on the fire and a handful of flour is thrown into it; when it boils, it is stirred, and more flour is added little by little until it forms a compact pudding; it is then formed into a ball, placed on a leaf and is ready for eating; it is both palatable and nutritious. 2. The flour is mixed with water until it forms a stiff dough; this is made up into portions in the shape of sausages, the length and diameter varying according to locality; it is then wrapped in bananaleaves and boiled; so prepared it is sourish and not palatable as far as Europeans are concerned.

In both cases the flour is prepared as follows: the manioc is soaked in water for three days, and then peeled and dried in the sun; after this it is pounded in wooden mortars. The Ba-Yanzi will eat the flesh of all animals (except a certain fish which is considered unwholesome), even in an advanced stage of decomposition. Fish and meat are smoked and exported. Palm-oil is used in cooking, except in the case of smoked meat, which is eaten uncooked. They are not cleanly in the preparation of their food.<sup>9</sup> They are cannibals, but do not eat relations or the flesh of individuals who have died natural deaths. In the case of a murder it was found by enquiry that every male in the village, except the chief and his children, who were debarred by his office from eating human flesh, had shared in the banquet on the remains; the children were given the bones to gnaw. They are not ashamed of cannibalism. Tobacco is used chiefly for smoking, though snuffing is also practised. The tobacco grown near Luano is famous throughout the country.

In the interior they are hunters, though they do not know how to make speartraps for elephants and hippos. These are made for them by Ba-Mbala who are allowed a share of the meat. Pitfalls and nets are used, the latter being large and of good quality; snares are set in the plantations of ground-nuts for partridges and guinea-fowl. On the river they are great fishermen. Fowls, goats and dogs are kept as domestic animals.

They are good agriculturists, their manioc plantations are easily recognisable because they do not clear away the grass; ground-nuts, Kasai-peas (*voandzeia*), all kinds of bananas and plantains and much tobacco, are cultivated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "My followers, mainly Ba-Mbala and Ba-Huana, frequently refused food offered them by Ba-Yanzi on this account."

Three types of hut are found amongst therm:

1. Rectangular, with ridged roof and two compartments, about 1.50 m. high and 4 m. long, built of grass; the threshold of the door rises 30cm. from the ground.

2. Semi-cylindrical, with a verandah supported on pillars, similarly divided in two compartments, about 2 m. high.

3. The same pattern as 2, but without a verandah, and 4.50 m. high. The last type was found in the village of Kibwata, east of the Kwilu, and the houses were arranged in a circle, each separated from the next by a space of about 1 m. This was the only place in which this type was found.

In Chitutu's village, Ganga, the huts were of the first type, except that of the chief, which was of the second type, though as large as the huts at Kibwata. With the above exception the huts were built without any systematic arrangement. Each wife has her own hut.

They make good basketwork and pottery; iron is smelted and worked; the Wa-Nguli, in particular, are good smiths, and their weapons, tools, etc., are particularly well made. They are great traders, exporting food, tobacco and ivory; the currency used is formed by Djinmbu,<sup>10</sup> brass rods aind salt. The first, being of southern origin, are not common, and, consequently, have a value about four times as great as on the Lukula. Brass rods, on the contrary, have a very low value.

As far as could be observed inheritance was from father to son; where there were no sons the brother was the heir.

The Ba-Yanzi are governed by a number of great chiefs, each of whom rules over a number of petty chiefs; no tribute is paid by the latter to the former, and the organisation seems only to exist for the purposes of war; a free man will often leave his village and set up as a petty chief on his own account; he regards the chief of the village he left as his suzerain. At the same time the great chiefs of the Ba-Yanzi exact tribute from foreign tribes who have settled in their country; this tribute consists of the heads of all game slain and -all people killed in war. For instance, generally speaking, all the Northern Ba-Mbala, except those in the extreme west, pay this tribute to Ba-Yanzi chiefs,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The small shell *Olivella nana*.

and many of the Northern Ba-Huana also; in consequence, all ivory found in these villages can be traced as having been purchased from a Ba-Yanzi chief.

The great chiefs are assisted by a council consisting of all the fighting men, though only the petty chiefs speak in deliberations.

The great chief usually has a confidential adviser, who, in all cases observed, was a slave; such slaves have great influence, and receive numerous presents from their masters; they often impersonate the chief before strangers, while their master keeps in the background. The chief is, as a rule, the head fetish-man.

The slaves are mainly Ba-Yanzi, and their status is hereditary; they are very well treated. Some chiefs breed slaves, and a male slave who is considered a father of good children receives many wives from his chief. Great chiefs live in a separate village of their own, inhabited only by themselves, their wives and their slaves. Polygyny is the rule; the unmarried are free to indulge. In the case of adultery, theoretically, the man may be killed, but in practice he pays a heavy compensation. Blood revenge is known; if a Mo-Yanzi is killed his village at once rises and attacks that of the murderer; hostilities do not cease until a slave belonging to the latter village is handed over to be eaten.

The name of a married woman may not be pronounced by any man except her husband or brother; she must be addressed as "wife of soand-so." Neglect of the rule is a great insult and would be regarded as an excuse for manslaughter; it is punishable, at the least, by a heavy fine.

In war, on the road leading to the village, about 200 metres from the entrance, a small hillock, about 30 cm. high, is erected, with three arrows stuck into it. This is a sign that entrance is prohibited.

The road leading to the village is defended as follows: Sticks, about 1 m. long are pointed and the ends hardened in the fire, these are fixed in the ground in the high grass bordering the tract, the pointed ends pointing diagonally towards the path and away from the village, so that anyone approaching and leaving the tract runs against them. At various distances, from 5 to 20 m. are traps, each consisting of a hole about 1 m. deep and 40 cm. in diameter, at the bottom of which are several stakes with hardened points; they are covered with grass and earth, and distributed unequally on the path and in the grass on either side of it. Near the village is an especially elaborate trap; in the centre of the road is a pitfall similar to those just described, with similar

armature, but with the covering half removed, so that it is plain to the passer-by, but at each side, a step further on, is another trap carefully concealed. In the village itself, especially behind houses where people might hide, similar pits are prepared.

The most frequent disease is an affection of the skin which attacks the entire body; whole villages are affected by it; wounds heal with difficulty, owing, probably, to the bad food the Ba-Yanzi eat.

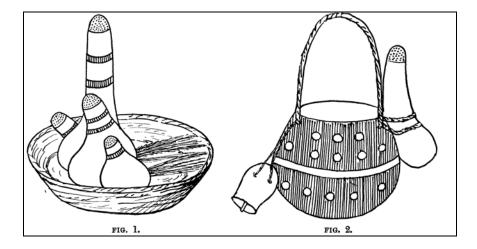
The graves are not surmounted by any mound, and are only recognisable by the broken pots which are placed on them. The whole village mourns the death of one of its members. At a funeral, ivory side-blown horns are sounded; these are of great age and cannot be purchased at any price.

Among the Ba-Yanzi of the river bank, especially in the neighbourhood of Kongo, belief in *Moloki*, as the cause of sickness and death, is found, and the person accused of possession is killed and eaten; this belief, which is not found amongst the tribes of the interior, has evidently been adopted from the Ba-Mbala.

Certain fetishes seem to be of a phallic nature and are propitiated, and petitions, especially relating to the fertility of women, are made to them. There are three principal fetishes involved; these were seen at Ganga, and belonged to the chief Chitutu, who is considered the greatest magician in the country.

1. Chitutu himself said this was the male, *Mulume* (Fig. 1). It consisted of a coiled basket, in which were set four phalli, made of clay moulded on wooden cores; to the bases of each of these, on one side, were attached feathers, which he said represented the pubic hair. These were painted white with two transverse bands of red. The extremities were yellow from spitting with kola.

2. This was said to be female (Fig. 2); it consisted of a pottery vessel, globular in shape, with a circular mouth and a straw handle; it was ornamented with red, a white transverse line, and white spots. To this was bound on one side a sausage-like object of clay moulded on a wooden core, painted red. On the other was fastened an iron bell. Inside were offerings, such as *jimbu*, brass rods, pieces of iron, etc.



3. An object, also of wood on a clay core, triangular in outline, with a conical projection on one side; along one edge was a fringe of teathers supposed to represent hair. This was said to be female, and probably represented a vulva. Besides these are a number of wooden objects; these were said to represent children.

The ceremony is as follows: All the fetishes are spread out on a piece of cloth; the chief with two of his sons or slaves sits down opposite them. A cock is brought, and the chief cuts an artery at the side of the bird's neck and lets the blood trickle out through the mouth over the three first fetishes, scattering a few drops over the others. Then he chews kola, and, meanwhile, addresses the fetishes, alternately coaxing and threatening them, and making his petition, which is usually a request for fertility for his wives and slaves. After each sentence he spits on the three principal fetishes, and his sons or slaves spit on the others.

### Ba-Pindi

The Ba-Pindi are found in two distinct settlements on the Kwilu. The main body are on the right bank of the Kwilu between  $5.30^{\circ}$  and  $6.30^{\circ}$ ; a smaller colony is found on the left bank of the Kwengo, between the Ba-Mbala and the Ba-Yaka, and there is an offshoot of this section on the right bank of the Kwilu near Kikwit. As far as is known, the main

section extends eastwards as far as the Kasai, where Wissmann<sup>11</sup> found them settled in territory belonging to Mai Munene, to whom they were paying tribute.

Very little is known about their ethnography, except their skill in carving and weaving. More, however, is known concerning their history than that of the other tribes with which this paper deals. It appears that they were originally inhabitants of the Upper Kwango, where they were attacked about the year 1620 by the Lunda chief, Kinguri, and his band of roving marauders.<sup>12</sup> Some of them mixed with the invaders to form the basis of the Imbangala people,<sup>13</sup> while the rest, a large proportion, were driven into the interior, penetrating eventually as far as the upper waters of the Kasai, where they settled. But they were not left in peace, for a Lunda chief, Mukelenge Mutombo, who had come from the court of Ilunga with the original Mai, attacked them and seized part of their territory. However, he treated them well, so they remained. Perhaps the tribute which, according to Wissmann, some of them paid to Mai, had its origin in this conquest. Thus they are related to the Ba-Kwese, though the relationship is not recognised by either people; nor is this surprising, since the Ba-Kwese only contain a small element of Ba-Pindi blood which they have derived from those who acquiesced in the rule of the Lunda invaders. The two languages, however, display considerable similarity.

The two sections of Ba-Pindi, mentioned above, differ considerably in character; the second are on the whole lazy, while the first are amongst the most industrious people of this region; moreover, the culture of the former has been influenced considerably by contact with the Ba-Mbala and Ba-Yaka. Of the latter, those to the north are peaceful; those to the south are extremely warlike, in consequence of their continual struggles with the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>. This southern portion have opposed all penetration on the Loange southwards, not because they are hostile to Europeans, but because they wish to prevent them from coming into contact with the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>, fearing lest they might

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> W.<sup>2</sup>, p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> S., p. 79, W.<sup>1</sup> (who alone dates this event about 1800), W.<sup>2</sup>, p. 61, F.
<sup>13</sup> W.<sup>1</sup>, W.<sup>2</sup>, p. 20, F. *Imbangala* appears to be the original and correct form of the name of the people now usually called Bangala; it occurs as early as Purchas, AB., p. 84. "Called Iagges by the Portugals, by themselves, Imbangolas." The Ba-Kwese always pronounce it thus.

supply their hereditary foes with more arms and amnunition. These Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> formerly occupied their country up to 6<sup>o</sup> south latitude, and even, according to Arnot, sent expeditions as far north as the Bashi-Lange. They proved a great scourge to the Ba-Pindi, harried their country and carried off many of them as slaves to Portuguese territory. Some twelve years ago, however, the Ba-Kwese, with whom the Ba-Pindi had also been at war, recrossed the Kwilu, and the Ba-Pindi, freed from the presence of the latter, were able to turn their full strength against the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>, with the result that they drove them down to 7°.

In these operations they laid waste a strip of land between 6.30 and 7°, which is still actually uninhabited (though traces of destroyed villages are yet to be found there), and which serves as a "march" between the Ba-Pindi and Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> territory. This artificial desert extends from the Kwengo to the Loange.<sup>14</sup> Accord-ing to information collected amongst the Ba-Kwese, the Ba-Pindi and Ba-Buiida were in occupation of the right bank of the Kwilu when they arrived there.

All Ba-Pindi are cannibals, and buy many slaves from the Tu-Kongo for eating; they are despised by the Ba-Kwese and Ba-Mbala, who say that they are liars and thieves.

An interesting question is raised by the fact that the Ba-Pindi in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Kwengo alone weave pile cloth, somewhat similar in type to velvet. This is of very good quality, and the patterns are extremely handsome (PI. XVIIJ, A. Figs. 1 and 2); it is not quite as good as that of the Ba-Kuba, from which it differs in character. The neighbouring tribes make no cloth of this description, so it is an open question whether the Ba-Pindi of this neighbourhood may not have invented the process.

## Ba-Mbala<sup>15</sup>

The Ba-Mbala fall into two distinct groups; the southern portion, who appear to be the parent stem, occupy the territory between the Kwilu and Kwengo, from the mouth of the latter as far south as a line drawn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Mr. Hohmann, of the Kasai Company, has attempted, but without success,

to cross this territory, both up the Kwengo and up the Loange. <sup>15</sup> See also TJ.<sup>1</sup>, TJ.<sup>2</sup>, and TJ.<sup>4</sup>.

through the sources of the Luano. They are also found between the Djari and the Kwengo as far south as a line drawn through Kisamba, with the exception of a small region occupied by an immigrant settlement of Bakwese on the left bank of the Djari, near its mouth. The west bank of the Kwengo is also inhabited by them, but they do not appear to extend into the interior.

The northern section is found on each side of the Kwilu, but is cut in half by the Ba-Yanzi, Ba-Songo, Ba-Huana and Ba-Pindi, who occupy the banks of the river; they may be said to extend, roughly, from 18° east latitude to the Kancha-Kwilu watershed; their limit in the north is  $4^{\circ}$ , in the south 5.30° on the left bank, and 5° on the right. The cultural differences between the two have already been fully described. They have certainly advanced to this position from the south; the native tradition is that they have been driven from their home on the sources of the Kwengo by the "Mulua," who are undoubtedly the Ba-Lua found further south.<sup>16</sup> This tradition is current among all sections of the Ba-Mbala; the Ba-Mbala, of Kolokoto, gave the additional information that when the movement started a section of their people took a more easterly route. The northern section found the country occupied by the Ba-Songo and Ba-Yanzi, from whom they purchased territory, a statement fully borne out by the fact that practically all Ba-Mbala in the north recognise the Ba-Yanzi as suzerains and pay a certain tribute to their chiefs. Further proof that these people have come from the south is furnished by the fact that the northern section, though for the most part they have abandoned the distinctive method of dressing the hair characteristic of the southern, still carve many of their fetishes with the old form of coiffuire. The question of the adoption of cannibalism by those in the north has already been treated in Man, 1907, 52.

## Ba-Huana<sup>17</sup>

The Ba-Huana occupy two distinct districts; the territory between the Kwilu and the Inzia, from the mouth of the latter to 4°, and the right bank of the Kwilu from the Luzubi almost as far as Kikwit; near

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See note 1 on p. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See also TJ.<sup>3</sup>.

Mitchakila the latter are separated from the river by settlements of Ba-Yanzi and Ba-Yaka. There is also a small enclave of Ba-Huana to the west of the Kwilu about 5.10° S. and 18.35° E. The division of this people into Ba-Huana and Ba-Honi, mentioned in a previous paper<sup>1</sup>, does not coincide with their territorial distribution.

According to their traditions this people are from the north; they say that they are descendants of the Ba-Teke, and that they emigrated in the time of a chief named Makoko, against whom they rebelled.

The question of the relationship between the Ba-Teke and Ba-Huana has already been treated in TJ.<sup>3</sup>, and it was shown there that the culture of the two peoples affords considerable differences; yet this in itself is not an insuperable objection in Africa where the culture of a people seems so largely dependant on their environment. From comparing the Ba-Huana vocabulary collected with the Kiteke vocabulary published by Dr. Sims, it appears that the two languages show considerable similarity, though much of the speech of the former people seems to have been borrowed from their neighbours. Beside the weighty evidence afforded by tradition, the following point is strongly in favour of a northern origin for them. The northern section are ruled by one great chief, whose residence is near the Inzia, and whose influence gradually diminishes towards the south; in fact, his authority is unrecognised beyond Chimbane, and beyond Madibi his very existence is practically unknown. The southern Ba-Huana, in fact, have no great chief, but are ruled by a number of independent petty chiefs. It seems more probable that the petty chiefs should be off-shoots from the main stock in the north, than that they should form the parent stem and the great chief the branch, especially as the northern section are completely settled, while those in the south are still fighting with the Ba-Yanzi, Ba-Pindi and Southern Ba-Mbala; moreover, the last-named consider them intruders in the country. It seems advisable to lay stress upon this point, in so far as another observer has stated that in his opinion the original home of the Ba-Huana is in the south.

#### Ba-Lua

The Ba-Lua are found between the Kwilu and Kwengo, to the south of the Ba-Mbala and Ba-Kwese, as far south as 6.40° approximately.

They state that they are related to the Ba-Lunda,<sup>18</sup> of whom they are an offshoot. As they had refused to recognise the authority of the Muata Yamvo they consider themselves distinct. The Ba-Kwese, however, regard them as Ba-Lunda. The history of this people, as far as it is known, has been given with that of the Ba-Mbala, whom they have driven north from the upper waters of the Kwengo. As they show a bitter hatred for the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>, it is possible that their revolt against the Muata Yamvo may be connected with the troubles caused by the admission of the latter people into Lunda territory by Noeji, the Muata Yamvo who received Graça in 1847.<sup>19</sup>

That their present northward extension is of recent date, is shown by the fact that the Ba-Lua of Muri Kikamba and Bondo, in fact all the most northerly of the Ba-Eua, pay tribute to Muri Kongo, chief of the Bagwa-Ndala tribe of Ba-Kwese.

#### Bak-Kwese

The Ba-Kwese on the Upper Kwilu are divided into three tribes, the Bagwa-Ndala, Bakwa-Mosinga, and Bakwa-Samba. According to native traditions they are comparatively recent arrivals in the country, and have come from thle Upper Kwango, where the Imbangala and Ba-Achinji,<sup>20</sup> with whom they claim relationship, are still settled. This relationship is regarded as so close that the Ba-Kwese say their nation is divided into five tribes, Bagwa-Ndala, Bakwa-Mosinga, Bakwa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> There seems little doubt that they actually are Ba-Lunda; the Ba-Mbala call them Mulua or Milua, which is one of the earliest names given to the subjects of Muata Yamvo (see TB., p. 14, "The capital of Moolooa," p. 16, "The Moolooas," and also p. 18). In MB.<sup>1</sup>, moreover, we are told that "Milua" is the Kioko name for the Ba-Lunda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> C., p. 554.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> A most interesting piece of evidence showing the close relationship between the Imbangala and Ba-Achiniji, in fact, their original identity, is given by C., p. 98. Here it is stated that the nickname "Xinjes" was given to the Imbangala by the surrounding peoples, owing to the fact that they eat rats. It is also interesting to note that the word *Shinje* among the Ba-Mbala means a species of rat. A parallel instance of a nickname given to a people from some peculiarity in their diet, is afforded by the Ba-Huana, who are called *Koto*, i.e., frogs, by the Ba-Mbala, because this animal is eaten by Ba-Huana women, whereas the Ba-Mbala abstain fromi them altogether (TJ.<sup>3</sup>, p. 279).

Samba, Imbangala, and Ba-Achinji. The Imbangala make frequent trading expeditions to Ba-Kwese territory, where they are received as brothers. The date at which the Ba-Kwese left the Upper Kwango may be approximately fixed by the following, piece of information obtained from Muri Kongo, the great chief of the Bagwa-Ndala, who states that his father's father was among the band who left their old home. As Muri Kongo is a very old man, it is likely that the circumstances which gave rise to the Ba-Kwese migration may be connected with the troubles between the Portuguese and Bumba the Great, chief of the Imbangala, who was twice forced to cross the Kwango and disappear into the interior.<sup>21</sup> During their migration they were, of course, unable to cultivate manioc, which requires several years to give an adequate return, and this explains the native saying that they have learnt its cultivation recently from their neighbours.

Upon their arrival the Ba-Kwese distributed themselves as follows: The Bagwa-Ndala occupied the country between the Jari and the Kwilu. The Bakwa-Mosinga and Bakwa-Samba crossed the latter river, drove off the Ba-Pindi and Ba- Bunda whom they found there, and settled upon the further shore. But they were not allowed to retain possession undisturbed, and there followed a troublous time, during which, not only were they continually fighting with the Ba-Pindi and Ba- Bunda, but they were also engaged in repelling the raids of the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> in the south.

After one of the numerous wars the Ba-Bunda were obliged to pay an indemnity to the Bakwa-Mosinga, which was partly composed of slaves. Among these slaves was a boy named Yongo, who adopted the cause of his new country, and took part in the wars against the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>. His bravery won him distinction, so his master gave him his freedom by presenting him with a bracelet. Shortly afterwards he married the daughter of a chief, and his influence became such that when the chief died he not only usurped the chieftainship, but gradually reduced all the other chiefs to a condition of vassalage, except Momambulu, the head-chief of the Bakwa-Samba. At last, tired of supporting a continual struggle against three tribes, the Ba-Kwese of the right bank of the Kwilu decided to emigrate, and the leadership fell naturally to Yongo, Momambulu following his guidance. They recrossed the Kwilu, drove off the Bagwa-Ndala not under the direct

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> S., p. 60, AB., p. 151 (Butimbad ied in 1873), F.

rule of Muri Kongo, and settled in their present home. This settlement was not effected without several severe battles, in which the victory naturally fell to the immigrants, who had been for some time well versed in warfare, while the Bagwa-Ndala had, during the same period, been living the life of peaceful agriculturists. The section of Bagwa-Ndala who were thus driven out went towards the north-west into the barren plains they now occupy, where they live under considerable difficulties owing to the sterility of the country. This movement of the eastern Ba-Kwese occurred about 12–15 years ago. Yongo divided the country into several provinces, placing one of his brothers-in-law at the head of each. Part of the newly-acquired country was given to Momambulu also, but it seems that Yongo regretted his generosity, because, at the end of 1906, he attacked the Bakwa-Samba and took some of their territory. In fact, it was only due to European influence that he did not annihilate them.

Yongo is a powerful and energetic chief and knows his own power. He remarked to one of the authors (E. T.) "If you had not come, Momambulu's head would have been up there (pointing to the skulls behind him) with the others." He also remarked, "I have sufficient rubber for ten years. When that is finished I shall take the territory of the Bagwa-Ndala." He is, moreover, capable of carrying out his threat, and it is quite possible that he will make an attempt on their territory when Muri Kongo dies.

The following few ethnographical details may be of interest.

Both men and women wear a dress composed of a square of palm cloth, but European cloth is found amongst them in considerable quantity, and is obtained from Imbangala traders from Portuguese territory. Unmarried girls leave the buttocks bare; married women wear the cloth so as to cover this part. Chiefs wear a long cloth reaching from waist to ankle, and a second piece over one shoulder. Palm cloth is not made locally but imported from the Ba-Mbala and Ba-Yaka, in exchange chiefly for palm-oil. Bales of cloth are used as currency. No head ornaments are worn as a rule, but some men wear wig-caps on festal occasions.

Bracelets are worn by all women and by free men; slave men are not allowed to wear these ornaments, and if a man gives a bracelet to his slave, the latter becomes *ipso facto* free.

Their method of dressing the hair is the same as that found among the southern Ba-Mbala, though the coiffures are not prepared with such care. The chiefs, however, wear their hair in five bunches. Chiefs also let their beards grow as a rule, though the rest shave.

In one ear both men and women wear a long cane snuff-box, similar to that shown in the illustration of an inhabitant of Luimbe published by Capello and Ivens.<sup>22</sup> The left or right ear is used indiscriminately.

The nasal septum is often pierced, though no ornamnent is worn there.

Ornaments made of beads, teeth, sections of reeds, cowries, and the niative-miade blue glass beads from Katancga, are worn; also pendants of wood carved to represent domestic utensils, such as knives, bellows, etc. Knives are worn on the upper arm by men, thrust through a fibre armlet.

Red clay is used for painting the body except by chiefs, who do not paint. Tukula wood is also used, but only for the face. They do not show as much care in their painting as the Southern Ba-Mbala.

Food is scarce in the country; there is not much game, and since the Ba-Kwese are only recent settlers and have been continually at war for many years, their plantations are not larger than necessary for their own personal needs. They cultivate manioc, maize and millet, but they say that the first has been grown only of recent years. This is easily explained by the fact that a manioc plantation requires several years before it yields an adequate crop, and therefore can be cultivated only by a settled people, which the Ba-Kwese have only recently become. The plantations are exceptionally poor, and are made by the women round the houses, except in the north, where more extensive fields are found. All agricultural work is done by women; the crop belongs to the husband. Bread, Musa, ismade of boiled manioc-flour mixed with flour of millet or maize; it is very dark owing to insufficient sifting of the flour, and is considered of very bad quality by the neighbouring tribes. European salt is used in great quantities. Cooking is performed by the women. Fire is procurted by means of flint and steel.

The Ba-Kwese are not cannibals; but a section of the Bakwa-Mosinga, living near the Kwilu at Nganu, have adopted the practice since 1900, owing to contact with the Ba-Pindi, and probably in the beginning, by way of reprisal since they have been at war with them; they are not despised by the other Ba-Kwese on that account.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> CI., vol. i, p. 145.

Wine, *Matombe*, is prepared from the *Elais*, anid is often drunk hot, when it is very intoxicating. Tobacco is smoked in gourd pipes, the leaves are torn to pieces and beaten together into a kind of ball. It is also pounded to make snuff.

With regard to hunting, there is not much game in the country except in the south, and only the Bakwa-Mosinga and Bakwa-Samba are hunters. Hunting is practised by single individuals except when the grass is burnt; then everyone participates. The same weapons are used as in war. No fishing is found.

Dogs of two kinds are found; the ordiniary reddish species, and a black variety, commonly called the "Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> dog." Both are used in huntitng.

Houses are made of grass, square, with a domed roof; they are small and badly kept. The walls are about 1.50 m. high; the door is on a level with the ground. There is no verandah. A man of importance has several houses, in one of which he lives, the others being storehouses; in addition each of his wives has her separate hut. Each village extends over a considerable amount of ground, since the plantations surround the huts.

Important chiefs usually receive their guests under a flat shelter.

Carving in wood is practised with great skill, though many articles of this nature are imported from the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>. The great chief of the Bakwa-Mosinga, Yongo, possesses a carved monitor lizard which is supposed to be a great fetish.

Baskets are made, and among the Bagwa-Ndala examples of *coiled* basketry were collected in Baba (P1. XVIII, B, Fig. 3). It is most surprising to find this type, which belongs to the Eastern and Southern culture-areas, in this locality.

Large mats are made of palm-leaf strips with inwoven patterns, some diaper, some in black and white. These are used to cover beds and hut-floors.

Metal is roughly worked, but no smelting is practised.

Primitive bridges are erected across streams, consisting of a treetrunk, or poles supported on piles.

They have no canoes; but rafts, composed of three logs of very light wood, each about 2 m. long and bound together with creepers, are used. These cannot carry more than two persons, one of whom sits in front and uses a paddle, about 1 m. long, consisting of a stick with a

split at one end through which are fixed transversely four or five short lengths of wood or palm-rib.

They are great traders, though ratbler handicapped by the fact that they are greatly distrusted owing to their propensity for robbery. Their chief customers are the Imbangala of Portuguese territory and the Ba-Pindi, from whom they buy slaves. The currency used is brass rod, iron ingots, salt and bales of palm-cloth.

Inheritance is uncertain, but it appears that a man's heir is in his brother. Succession to the chieftainship is also doubtful. Yongo, chief of the Bakwa-Mosinga, when asked who would succeed him, got up and went away without replying; Kangufu, his most important subchief, said that the successor would be Muata Mbondo, one of Yongo's brothers-in-law; Muri Kongo, chief of the Bagwa-Ndala, said that Yongo's sucessor would be Sangu, another brother-in-law; while Chatula, chief fetish priest of the Bakwa-Mosinga, said in confidence that it would be himself.

The Ba-Kwese are ruled by absolute chiefs; the Bagwa-Ndala by Muri Kongo, who received his title of Muri through his mother, a Southern Ba-Mbala woman; the Bakwa-Mosinga by Yongo, who was originally a Ba-Bunda slave; and the Bakwa-Samba by Momambulu, a pure Bakwa-Samba. Of these, Muri Kongo is universally respected by all Ba-Kwese,<sup>23</sup> though, owing to his extreme age, all real authority is in the hands of his brother Chiboba. Each chief has a council of elders whose advice he takes if it suits him. The three principal tribes are divided into sub-tribes, governed by sub-chiefs appointed by the headchiefs. Often there are two or three chiefs in the same village; in this case the order of precedence is by age, though the real authority is generally in the hands of the youngest. For instance, in the village of Kingongo, inhabited by Bakwa-Mosiniga, there are three chiefs, the youngest of whom, Kangufu, admits the priority of the other two, though his commands are paramount. Treason against the chiefs is punishable by death.

Tribute is paid to the local chiefs, and the three great chiefs claim tribute from the latter. A chief never sits on the ground but on a chair carved from wood, the support of which is often carved to represent a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> So much so that when the Eastern Ba-Kwese, under the leadership of Yongo, re-crossed the Kwilu, they refrained from attacking the territory under his direct rule.

hippo, elephant or antelope. Chiefs eat in their huts and are served by the elders, they may not be seen eating or drinking.

An account of the reception of one of the authors by Yongo may be of initerest. Yongo sent a number of his elders to meet the guest in the village but a quarter of an hour's distance from his hut. These elders were armed with brooms to sweep a place for the interview, and sticks to keep back the crowd. Thet Yongo arrived with a number of his slaves, no word was spoken, but the visitor's belongings were carried into the chief's enclosure, and after an interval, the visitor was invited to enter, Yongo was sitting under a shelter of leaves in front of a number of sticks, each of which was surmounted by a human skull.

The guest announced the purpose of his visit, and the elders replied with a chorus of *Zambi*, *Zambi* (Well, well), at the same time striking their breasts. The thief replied, and for nearly half an hour enlarged upon his own greatness; at the close, offering a present of a fowl and a she-goat or a castrated he-goat (an entire he-goat was first offered but was refused, as, according to Ba-Kwese ideas, unfit to be eaten by a great man). The crowd again exclaimed *Zambi*, *Zambi*, then the visitor gave the chief the ordiniary greeting *Kwakola*, and shook hands. After this business was discussed. This is the ordinary ceremonial observed upon the arrival of an honoured guest. As a rule the Bagwa-Ndala receive their guests in a very friendly manner, while the Bakwa-Mosinga try to rob them; the latter are most aggressive robbers in the whole of this district, even Yongo himself does not trust them, but says that they are great thieves.

Polygyny exists, and, besides their wives, chiefs have a number of slave-concubines.

Children appear to belong to the maternal uncle for this reason; one of Yongo's sons wanted to accompany the visitor when he departed, Yongo said that the matter was one for Muata Mbondo, his brother-inlaw, to decide. However, children remain with their father at least until puberty. Many slaves are kept; nearly all are foreign, mostly Ba-Pindi and Ba-Bunda; they are very well treated, take part in war, and may marry anyone; they are inherited with other property.

The Ba-Kwese are famous as makers of musical instruments called *Kimbanda* (pianos), and a number are exported throughout the country. The sounding-boards are of palm-ribs, and the keys of slips of bamboo. They are very well tuned. The Ba-Kwese were not heard to sing; probably they do not do so in the presence of strangers.

The Marimba is also found among them; though this instrumment has probably been adopted from the Ba-Lua, amongst whom it is in general use. These they never sell. Drums and friction-drums are also found; these are chiefly used in war.

As to morality, lying is considered a proof of intelligence; adultery is a personal injury. Theft and rape are thought disgraceful by the Bagwa-Ndala, though the Bakwa-Mosinga and Bakwa-Samba, being, warrior-peoples, are rather proud of such acts. Blood-revenge is practised, and a whole tribe will rise to punish a murder.

In war all adult males take part, that is to say, all males above the age of ten or thereabouts; the fighting men are summoned by means of drums; the sub-chiefs are summoned by the great chief. They are brave, especially the oldest amongst them, who are placed in the rear to prevent the younger men running away, a precaution which, however, is hardly necessary amongst this people. The weapons are large bows, like the war bows of the Southern Ba-Mbala, and guns. The Bakwa-Mosinga possess the most guns, which they have acquired from the Imbangala in return for slaves and rubber. Some of them even possess breech-loaders. They make determined attacks upon the hostile village, and no quarter is given. Night attacks are frequently made.

The chief remedies for sickness are charms, blisters, by means of hot stones, and cupping. Syphilis is known and not uncommon.

No funerals were observed, but the natives said that if one of the great chiefs dies the whole country mourns, and that the ceremonies connected with the burial last several months, during which all ordinary occupations are suspended.

They recognise and evil spirit who causes sickness through the instrumentality of someone he has possessed. An individual accused of possession is forced to drink a decoction of the bark of the *Erythrophlocum Guineense*; he then runs about the village, followed by his friends and enemies, the former proclaiming his innocence, the latter his guilt. His innocence is proved by his vomiting the whole of the poison he has swallowed; if he fails to vomit, or vomits only a small quantity, he is killed.

Fetishes are kept in small huts each built round a large tree; it was impossible to obtain permission to enter one of these, or to witness the operations of the magician. It is interesting to notice that, at the entrance to the subdivisions of Yongo'as village, are found erections composed of two upright poles, connected by a cross-piece anid ornamented with palm-leaves, similar to the *Mabili*, illustrated by Dennet, *At the Back of the Black*, Man's Mind, Plate VI.

## Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>

The Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> are a branch of those people known variously as Kioko Kioque, Chiboque and Va-Chioko. The first form of the name has been used in this paper since the Ba-Kwese certainly pronounce it in this manner. The history of this people is rather complicated, and, as it is bound up closely with that of the state of Lunda, it will be necessary to have recourse to a large number of other writers. The best account of the early history of Lunda is given by Carvalho<sup>24</sup>: a Luba chief, llunga, a great hunter, when on an expedition southward, came in contact with a people known as Bungo, who were agriculturists, and lived in scattered villages under chiefs more or less independent. He married the daughter of the most important of these chiefs, and gradually imposed his authority on the rest, and the nucleus of the Lunda empire was formed. Of course a number of his own people followed him, but the great majority of his subjects were the agricultural folk by whom he was accepted. This point must be kept in mind, since we are told distinctly at a later date that the Ba-Lunda were not hunters. His brother-in-law, who had guarrelled with his father, was the Kinguri who emigrated west and eventually founded the Ba-Ngala (Imbangala, see p. 142) people. Shortly after his marriage and accession to power, another emigration of malcontents took place; among whom were two chiefs named respectively Muzumbo Tembo and Ndumba Tembo. The first of these constituted the Songo people on and around the Luando, and one of his descendants married Bihe the hunter, a chief of a tribe further to the south, who organised the Ba-Bihe as a tribe. The second founded the Kioko, of whom the Makosa are a branch.<sup>25</sup> The tribe of the Minungo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> C., p. 59 foll.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> A similar account was given to Capello and Ivens by a subsequent Kioko chief; also named Ndumba Tembo. CI., vol. I, p. 190.

were formed in the same way and at the same time. Most authorities agree that these events took place early in the seventeenth century.

The Kioko people grew up in the neighbourhood of Cangombe, on the plateau land where the sources of the Luando, Kwango, Kasai and Lungwebungu are situated, in close connection with the Luchaze and Lobale peoples. Now in this case, as in all where new tribes were founded by Bungo or Lunda chiefs, the said new tribes contained a far larger number of aborigines than immigrants, and the conquerors inevitably became more or less merged culturally in their subjects. The most striking feature of the Kioko in later times is that they were essentially a nation of hunters and iron-workers,<sup>26</sup> but principally the former. As it has been stated the dominating immigrants were not hunters but an agricultural people, so that their fame in the chase must be referred to the aborigines whom they subdued. As far as the probabilities go, in the present state of our knowledge, it seems safe to infer that these must have been Lobale, or Lobale and Luchaze mixed. The affinities of these peoples are by no means certain, but they seem far more closely related to the "Southern Bantu" than the " Central Bantu." It may be remarked in passing that nothing is more striking in the early history of this part of Africa than the importance of the hunter; Ilunga, as stated above, was a hunter, Bihe was also a hunter,<sup>27</sup> and, according to Capello and Ivens<sup>28</sup> "real aristocracy" among the Jinga is composed of hunters and warriors. The chief character in the peculiar politico-religious revolution which resulted in the institution of the riamba cult among the Bashi-Lange was a hunter, and the *pakassero* revolutionary society of Magyar<sup>29</sup> was a society of hunters.

The profession of hunting naturally induces an adventurous and self-reliant character, and encourages a roving disposition, so it was not long before the Kioko began to expand. Serpa Pinto<sup>30</sup> speaks of their constant imigration into Luchaze territory, but with movements

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> SP., vol. I, p. 270; S., p. 28; W.<sup>1</sup>, MB.<sup>3</sup>, p. 3761, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> SP., vol. I, p. 156, etc. This author, on p. 174, also mentions a festival called the "Feast of the Quissunge," at which four women and one man were killed and eaten it is interesting to note that the man in question must be a deer-hunter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf., vol. II, p. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> LM., p. 266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> SP., vol. I, p. 270, and vol. II, p. 108.

in this direction we need not deal, Buchner<sup>31</sup> states that the Northern Kioko may be divided into three branches, that of Ndumba Tembo (a descendant of the founder), still occupying the Kwango-Kwanza plateau; that of Mona Kiniama, on the Kwilu; and that of Mona Kissenge beyond the Luachim. The two latter appear to be offshoots of the first, and it is from the second of the three that the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> of the present paper seem to be derived. To return, however, to an earlier date: Carvalho<sup>32</sup> relates how, in the reign of Umbala, the seventh successor to Ilunga, the Kioko had begun to mix in Lunda politics, and in the reign of Noeji, the next sovereign but one, who received Graca in 1847, numbers of Kioko were invited into Lunda state to hunt elephants, the Ba-Lunda not being hutiters themselves.

He further states that many of the Ba-Lunda were greatly annoved at the presence of these Kioko, and narrates the collisions which ensued between the inhabitants and the visitors. But the energy of the Kioko in hunting and trade was destined to overcome all obstacles; and, though in 1856 they had not passed 9°,<sup>33</sup> in the time of Buchner, the latter states that the Kioko were crossing Lunda state in two compact lines, following the courses of the Kwilu and Luachim, and that the Lunda empire stood in great danger of being cut into sections by them.<sup>34</sup> Schutt<sup>35</sup> relates the first arrival of a Kioko in the territory of the Bashi-Lange, and Wissmann<sup>36</sup> speaks of the ivory trade between the two people as having been established some years; the latter<sup>37</sup> also mentions the Kioko as far north on the Chikapa as about 7.30° S., and Buchner<sup>38</sup> states that in his time they had reached to 7° S., having moved up from 10° S. in twenty years. They subsequently continued their progress northwards as far as  $6^{\circ}$ , but were driven back to  $7^{\circ}$  by the Ba-Pindi assisted by the Ba-Kwese and Ba-Bunda as already related.

- <sup>31</sup> MB.<sup>3</sup>, p. 3761. <sup>32</sup> C., p. 548, <sup>33</sup> C., p. 91. <sup>34</sup> MB.<sup>1</sup>, MB.<sup>2</sup>

- <sup>35</sup> S., p. 145.
- <sup>36</sup> W<sup>2</sup>, p. 41. <sup>37</sup> W<sup>2</sup>, p. 52. <sup>38</sup> MB<sup>2</sup>

### Conclusion

The history of the various muigrations may be summed as follows. The aborigines of the Kiwilu, were, in all probability, the Ba-Samba, Ba-Songo, Wa-Ngongo, and, possibly, the Ba-Bunda, the Ba-Yaka extending from the Kwango to the Inzia. The Ba-Yanzi moved down from the north, occupying peacefully a country, which was, as yet, very sparsely inhabited. The Ba-Pindi came next, from the Upper Kwango, occupying the country from the Inzia to the Loange, and reaching as far north as  $5 30^{\circ}$  S.

Almost immediately, the Ba-Mbala were forced up, from their home on the head waters of the Kwengo, between the Ba-Yaka and Ba-Pindi. This movement had its origin in troubles further south, the ultimate cause being the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup> applying pressure to the Ba-Lua, who, in their turn, attacked the Ba-Mbala and drove them north.

At the same time a tribe of Ba-Yaka revolted from the Kiamfu, and spread eastwards to the Lukula.

Shortly afterwards the Ba-Huana, coming from the north, probably the region of Stanley Pool, cut through the Northern Ba-Mbala, and occupied the banks of the Kwilu. Then followed the arrival of the Ba-Kwese from the Upper Kwango. This people occupied the two shores of the Kwilu, forcing their way in between the Ba-Mbala and Ba-Pindi. Being a people amongst whom the tribal feeling is very strong, they had probably forced their way through the sterile country occupied by the Ba-Lua. They were stopped in the north by the Ba-Bunda, Ba-Pindi, and Ba-Mbala; probably their arrival was the cause of the extension of the Ba-Pindi to the Kasai, where they were found by Wissmann.

About this time a section of those Ba-Yaka, already established on the Lukula, appear to have forced their way through the Ba-Mbala eastwards, crossing the Kwilu somewhere near the present site of Mitchakila, fighting the Ba-Pindi, Ba-Mbala, and Ba-Huana. Further fighting resulted in the Ba-Pindi, who, in this neighbourhood, are very warlike, cutting off the eastern section of Ba-Yaka, which now appears as an enclave. The section of the country in the extreme north of the present Southern Ba-Mbala territory appears to have belonged at no very remote date to the last-mentioned branch of the Ba-Yaka, since villages are found there, the inhabitants of which, though Ba-Mbala in habits and speech, admit that they are descendants of the BaYaka; moreover, one of the chief villages is called Kiyaka. The enclave of Ba-Huana to the west of the main body seems to have been formed at the same time and as the result of the same troubles. In fact, at this period, the mouth of the Kwengo appears to have been the focus of deadly intertribal strife. Then followed the later movements of the Ba-Kwese, which have been related in detail in the section dealing with the history of that people, culminating in the driving back of the Ba-Djok<sup>e</sup>, who had meanwhile penetrated as far north as 6°, and the laying waste of the strip of territory which now separates them from the Ba-Lua and Ba-Pindi.

# SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE by T. A. Joyce

One of the most important points which may be raised by any paper dealing with primitive peoples, and one to which few authors furnish an answer, concerns the manner in which the information given was collected.

As the actual collection of the original material embodied in this paper is the work of Mr. Torday, such explanation falls, perhaps, most naturally to me. Mr. Torday was fortunate to acquire a fluent knowledge of the dialects spoken by the Ba-Mbala, Ba-Yaka, and Ba-Huana, and his investigations among each of those tribes were carried on personally, without the aid of an interpreter, in the native tongue.

With regard to the Ba-Yanzi, though not speaking the language fluently, Mr. Torday knew sufficient to be able to keep an efficient check upon his interpreter on the rare occasions when the services of the latter were necessary. As a matter of fact, most of the information concerning this people was obtained directly from Kangwe, chief of Matasu, and Mwama, confidential slave of Chitutu, the chief of Nganga, both of whom spoke Kimbala and Chikongo, the latter being a language in which Mr. Torday is also versed.

Among the Ba-Kwese, Muri Kongo, chief of the Bagwa-Ndala tribe, was the son of a Mo-Mbala woman, and spoke his mother's language with ease; all the particulars concerning this tribe, and many relating to the other two, were obtained from him direct. Among the Bakwa-Mosinga, Tochi, the son of the chief Yonigo, acted as interpreter between Mr. Torday and his father, the language employed being Chikongo. The rest of the information concerning the Ba-Kwese was obtained directly from Kangufu, chief of Luchima (Kingongo) who also spoke Chikongo.

As for the Ba-Pindi, most of those with whom Mr. Torday came in contact (on the west bank of the Kwilu) spoke the dialect of the Ba-Mbala.

The importance of an inrvestigator being able to obtain his information personally, by means of the local dialect, cannot be overestimated; not only are the grave risks of misapprehension, which attend the employment of an interpreter, obviated, but the natives themselves are far more inclined to speak freely to one who shows himiself conversant with their own tongue. It has seemed advisable to make some such statement as this, since the value of any paper lies, not so much in the quantity of the information which it contains, as in the degree of reliability which can be attached to it.

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## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

### PLATE XVII.

- A.-1 Northern Ba-Mbala fetish figure plastered with the clay (*kissi*), without which the figure has no supernatural value. From Mokunji.
- A.-2. Northern Ba-Mbala head-rest: from Putumbumba.
- A.-3. Ba-Pindi figure.
- A.-4. Ba-Pindi mask.
- B.-1. Southern Ba-Mbala figure.
- B.-2. Ba-Bunda whistle; Kancha River.
- B.-3. Ba-Yaka fetish mask; Zange.
- B.-4. Ba-Pindi hoe-handle; the blade is axed in the mouth of the human face and the two horn-like appendages at the back are used for scraping aside the weeds already removed from the ground.
- B.-5. Ba-Bunda sword; Kancha River.
- B.-6. Ba-Kwese basket; for flour.

#### PLATE XVIII.

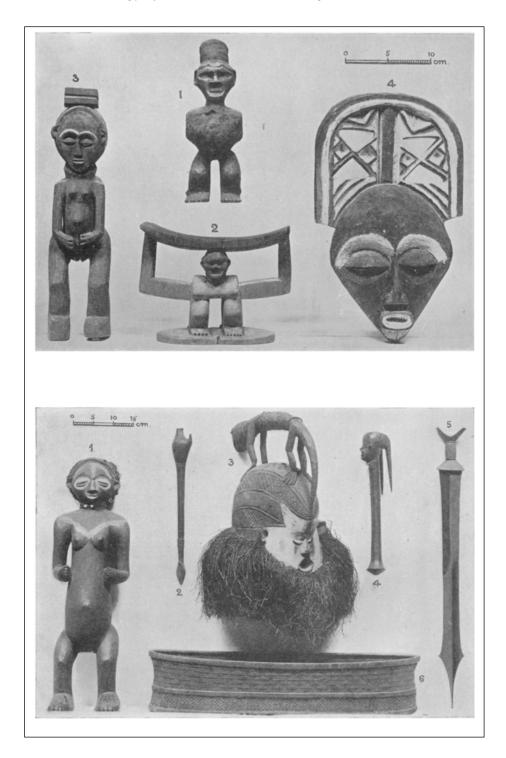
- A-1. Ba-Pindi pile-cloth, made from- palm-leaf fibre and colourod red.
- A-2. (same as first)
- A-3. Ba-Bunda cloth, with inwoven pattern in black; Kancha River.
- B.-1. Ba-Kuba figure.
- B.-2. Ba-Bunda drinkinig-cup of woven string; Kancha River.
- B.-3. Ba-Kwese coiled basket; for food.
- B.-4. Ba-Bunda cut of carved wood; Kancha River.
- B.-5. Ba-Pindi. Ditto.

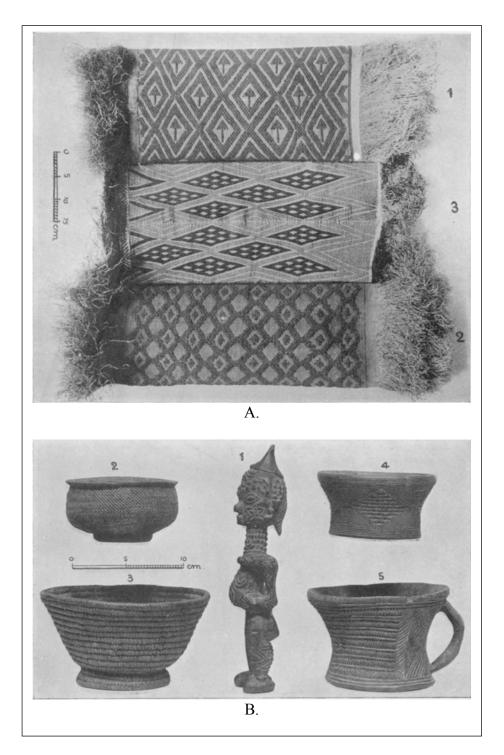
PLAT E XIX.

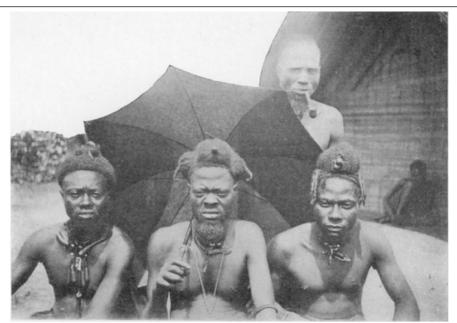
Fig.-1.-The Kiamfu of the Ba-Yaka and his councillors. Figrs.-2 and 3.-Southern Ba-Mbala warrior.

PLATE XX.

Map of the Kwilu Basin. The authors route by boat up and down the river is indicated by a dotted line in red, and not, as said in the key, by a solid line.







*Photo by rev. father R. Butaye.* FIG. 1. The Kiamfu of the Ba-Yaka and his councillors



FIG 2. Southern Ba-Mbala warrior

