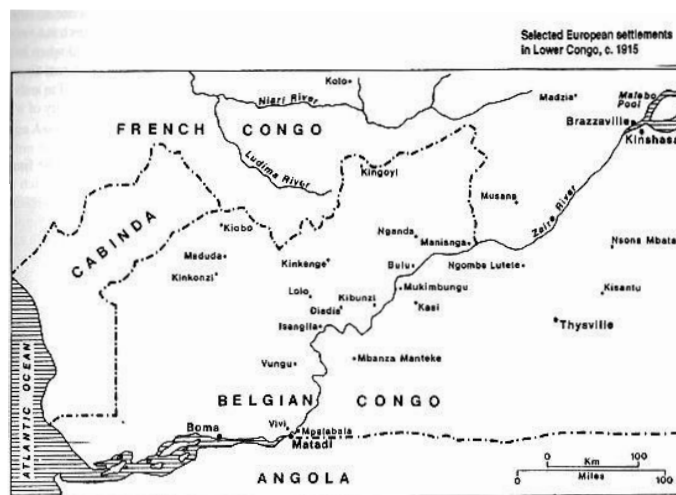


The Laman collection of KiKongo texts

John M. Janzen

This collection is an archival treasure of about 10,000 handwritten pages that records the life of people in the Lower Congo early in the 20th century. Congolese teachers wrote the notebooks in response to questions prepared by Karl Laman, missionary ethnographer linguist with the Swedish Covenant Church from 1898 until 1917. The notebooks cover the history of the region where the teachers worked (see map) and its peoples; their livelihoods, food preparation and domestic housing; social organization, political structures, religious beliefs and prominent rituals; language arts, music, dance, visual and material culture. Some of the authors depart



from the questions to offer creative independent narratives on topics of their interest. Throughout the decade in which he developed his lexicon for the dictionary, Laman corresponded with scholars about his work and extended his questionnaire with the teachers and discussed with them the nature of their findings ([Missionaries and fellow-workers in the Lower Congo](#)). The collection represents a veritable encyclopedia on Kongo culture in the Kikongo language by Kongo authors.

The [digital version of this collection](#) presents each of 429 notebooks as a separate numbered file, zipped together for easy downloading. Wyatt MacGaffey has offered a [biographical sketch of each author](#) and a brief review of the [contents and highlight of each notebook](#).

The original material in the notebooks has been used by several scholars, and will hopefully receive wider use as it becomes more accessible. When Laman returned to Sweden in 1919 with the notebooks, they provided him with idioms and vocabulary to produce his masterful *Dictionnaire KiKongo-Français* (Bruxelles, 1936), to go with his 1912 KiKongo grammar. He also developed a KiKongo and Swedish ethnography based on the notebooks and his interpretive comments. This work remains unpublished, although it is available in microform at the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago. (See the [brief guide to the Ethnography](#) and the [catalogue entry for the microform](#).) Posthumously, under the direction of S. Lagerkrantz, it was reworked and published in English as *The Kongo I-IV* (Uppsala, Studia Ethnographica Uppsaliensia 1953, 1957, 1962, 1968). Although this work provided some access to the material of the notebooks, it has been difficult to work with because of the lack of reference in them to place, time, context, and authorship.

John Janzen studied the notebooks in 1970, then housed in the archives of the Svenska Missionsförbundet in Stockholm, and published an analysis of the notebooks ([Laman's Kongo Ethnography: Observations on Sources, Methodology, and Theory](#)) and how they had been handled. On request, archival director Ragnar Widman arranged the microfilming of the notebooks; a negative film remained with the archive, and several scholars obtained positive copies of the film. Later the original notebooks were moved with the SMF collection to the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm.

Sample texts of these invaluable historical materials by Kongo authors of the early 20th century are available in their original language and in translation in the following published works: [Nsemi Isaac's essay on *minkisi*](#) and other texts in *An Anthology of Kongo Religion* (eds J.M. Janzen & W. MacGaffey, 1974); accounts in KiKongo (with English translation) about a 17th to 20th century healing and trading association ([Lemba 1650-1930: A Drum of Affliction in Africa and the New World](#), J.M. Janzen, 1982); lengthy texts in KiKongo and English translation on *minkisi* along with identification and interpretation of materials in the Stockholm Ethnographic Museum (*Art and Healing of the BaKongo, commented by themselves*, W. MacGaffey, 1991); the texts as they reveal historic concepts and institutions of chiefship and power in Kongo society (*Kongo Political Culture: The Conceptual Challenge of the Particular*, W. MacGaffey, 2000).

Missionaries and fellow-workers on the Lower Congo.

For many years past I have been preparing a Dictionary of the different dialects of the Lower Congo. I have at present about 15,000 words besides the most common derivations, but that is of course far from enough.

I have already received very valuable contributions from the Bwende dialect through the Revds. Ivar Johansson, C. N. Börjesson and P. A. Westling, from the Kifwa dialect through Mrs. Friderickson and from the Mayombe through Miss Harris. Besides this I have of course had Dr. Bentley's splendid Dictionary of the San Salvador dialect.

It has been in my mind a long time to ask you for your kind cooperation to get a complete Dictionary of the whole Congo language with the different dialects, but the uncertainty as to whether I could get the book printed, being of course an expensive undertaking, has made me doubtful and consequently retarded the work.

However after the publishing of my Congo Grammar in the Swedish language I have received two offers to print and publish the Dictionary, one from the well known Professor Meinhoff, Professor in Bantu languages at the Colonial Institut in Hamburg, Germany, and the other from Professor Lundell at the University of Upsala, Sweden. I have also an offer to print those articles about the Congo people's social, religious and political life, which I now want your kind help to secure from the natives.

Missionaries of the different societies have shown a very great interest in this work and have expressed their wish to have a Dictionary as complete as possible concerning the different dialects. A Committee of the A. B. F. M. S. has quite recently expressed their desire to cooperate in the language work. The different dialects have not been dealt with in my Congo Grammar for our Mission College but that will be done in the Dictionary, where also everything of linguistic interest will be dealt with.

In order that the Dictionary shall satisfy all pretensions to be a complete one of the Congo language, it is required:

- 1) that all words in the literature issued by the different societies shall appear in the Dictionary;
- 2) that the Dictionary should contain all other words in the different dialects as far as possible.

To make the first possible Rev. M. Westling, Matadi, has promised to see that all the above mentioned literature will be divided among missionaries and qualified natives to be thoroughly read and all unknown words as well as words with strange meanings to be put down.

In order to make the second requirement possible I will ask all those who in studying the language have put down words from different dialects to rewrite them or to get someone to copy them. Each word should be written on one piece of paper as that will make it easier to arrange the words in alphabetical order.

For instance:

Bwala (bula)=town
Bwende

In the case where the words are written in special books I shall be very thankful to receive them. Missionaries and natives who contribute to the Dictionary will be mentioned there.

Of still greater importance is your help in getting qualified natives to write articles on the subjects which I, through Rev. Westling, will send to those stations where somebody is willing to cooperate in this work.

It is necessary only for the missionaries to choose able writers, hand over my letter in kikongo and give the subjects to those who are chosen at each station and explain to them how to do the writing. The writers are to be paid at a reasonable rate and the accounts will be paid by Rev. Westling, Matadi, to whom also the written articles are to be sent.

This work is of great importance not only for the Dictionary but for the natives and the missionaries who need a thorough knowledge of the language, the life of the people and their thoughts.

It is through such articles written by Makuudu Tito that I have received a good foundation for my Congo Grammar and a pretty good insight in the Mukimbunga dialect.

These old stories, hymns and proverbs of the people are of course best expressed in the people's own language without any foreign influences. Thus I know by experience what value these writings will have for my dictionary work.

Regarding the articles I beg to give the following information:

1. The writers ought to be chosen from among the old and experienced men, church-members or not, with ability to express their thoughts in good writing. The teacher and evangelists may have time for this kind of work besides their evangelistic work. On a new station it might be possible to have some young man to write from the dictations of an older one. The work itself is of educative value for those natives.
2. On each station or in each district there ought to be chosen several writers, both because there are so many subjects and in order to get the very best writers. These might later on be asked to rewrite the subjects that have been treated rather shortly. But each writer ought to get his own subject in order to get them written without delay. The subjects ought to be treated as thoroughly as possible but without empty repetitions.
3. Everything is to be written in common writing books used in school or on paper strongly put together and with pencil as the natives write better with a pencil. In the case that such books are wanting they will be sent from S. M. Matadi. Everything will be paid by Rev. Westling. The writers name and district must be written on each book.
4. The writer in his writing must follow § after § and answer all questions and give all the information that I ask for. But beside that he ought to add everything that he knows and describe it in detail, but always avoiding repetitions. The subject must be written as a heading over the article and at the side of each § the corresponding number in my syllabus. Will the missionaries kindly help the writers to understand this?
5. The value of having these articles from different stations is great. It is thus made possible to compare the statements in order to get them completed, and also to see the differences in dialects, customs and ways of thinking.—It is of course understood that the writers write in their own true dialect and not according to the literature used by the different societies.
6. As soon as the writer has finished his subjects and the book is full he shall leave the book at the station and receive new subjects and another book.

I am now rewriting my Congo-Swedish Dictionary and translating it with help of the french pastor in Stockholm. As soon as that is done I will do the French-Congo part. It is certainly best and most natural for the missions, for the people itself and for other white men wishing to study the language that the Dictionary should be in french, specially as most of the missionaries nowadays study French more or less.

I hope to be back in Congo at the end of 1913 and I want then to receive all these written articles so as to go through them. In order to do that I want to stay on a station in each district and to gather all writers or other qualified person from that district to converse with them about new words etc.

If it were possible to get—in connection with the articles—some natives who could draw different kinds of designs, ornaments and figures that the natives used to weave, plait, write or paint, it would be of great value.

If there is something difficult to understand about the subjects Rev. Westling will try to explain it in English. Twenty different subjects are now worked out. The religious subjects will follow by and by.

The articles thus written will be made a complet story of the peoples life with all the differences in dialects, customs etc. according to the articles; and it will surely be of greatest interest both for the natives themselves and for the missionaries to read and study all of this.

With heartiest greetings:

I am

Faternaly yours

E. E. Laves.

30/11/1912

Kwa bankwa ndwenga bazeyi tanga ye sonika.

Tala, mase mase mansi ukulu ka mazya sonika vo tanga ko, ukitungu ka baladilla usamu minsonukwa ko. Beto yeno ka tuzeyi usi au ye ukadulu au vo fu biau ko, kansu wa fuwanga usamu minkaka.

Bakalunfu ye ugadi zabantu besi fwanga ye usamu mian, kansu benu bazeyi sonika vo lukula sonika mamonso- no mabazeyi, ma mase ye minkaka mamonso- no malumbu biau, fu biau, mabanza mau, usiku miza, ukadulu au ma- kapula mau, biau jama benu ye mbandu zazimunina ba- kunga ziza mamonso- no.

Yeto mindole fasonekene minkaka mpasi miongo ye- la bazaya ndinga ye mabanza ye fu biau, kidi bakala okalunfu yafwanga ye yeno ye kulubonga mambu ma Nza- mbi ye salu biampila ma mpila. Kansu mambu momo ma- sonukwa ma kingelezo vo ma kisuele vo mau kifalansa, mboki ka batomeho zaya mamingi ko, kansu yeno kaka lufwanga sona mamonso- no ye samana makaza ye fu bia- leka kala mu isi eno.

Tala, usamu mindolele lwasonika miana salu biolo; ya kintoto kidi yabaka mambu mamingi mamila au mpila mandinga asi aku ye mpavolo xeno; mboki kidi usamu mieno mayonxakwa ye nietakwa, ye kebwa mpasi benu kiduni ye benu benu ye mbandu zazimunina bazaya mio bonso beto mindolele tuzeyi mase moto.

Tala, mono mhadikidi sana zaya ndinga abisi Kimbu- ngu ma diambu diansamu miamingi mayamano sonkisa kwa Makundu Tilo ye ma diambu diasalu kiani, kansu bu tu- sekulanga mambu ye sonkanga ukanda ye kubakanga sa- lu biakaka biamambu, benu ka tuzeyi mambu ku nda- ulu zankaka kansu ko, ukitungu ma diambu diodio ye ma diambu diankanda amambu mamo mandinga akikongo mangoti kubika ngiena usatu uzaya ndinga yayonsonoka ndambu ndambu, kuna utandu a Boma, kuna Dwendu ye Kongo dieto diafalansa, kuna ndambu a Kifwa ye kuaa Mpambu, kuna ndambu a Mbanza Manteko, ye Ngembe ye kuaa ndambu a Kongo dia Ntotila.

Usamu minkaka mibenda fwanga wabete, kansu mfa- tutu usamu ye ndinga asi mau mazabu mamingi ye mba- agudulu mpila zankaka. Mambu minkaka ku ndambu a Kimbunga bonso kiasi ye ulumi ye minkaka mena soni besi mu bika mu usi zankaka, I beto mansi zankaka ku Kimbunga mpe.

Mase mbeki kasi 15000 mamambu malikongo kansu nkonolelo momo mamingi mansi eno, i kuma bwabu mfi- dipi usamu mindolele lwasonika kwa mindolele mieno, mpa- si balabangudila mambu lwatoma sonika. Minkaka migh- di mboki minkaka. Ba lusonika, luyindula mambu mame:

Kunika I. Nsamba mlansi nkulu.

1. Sonika ye kamba mamonsomo malwawila kwa nguli zabantu mu mase meno ye nsi eno bonso bwakadila nsi nkulu ntama beni, beni, bonso vo kanda diaku vo mase maku kwe batuka? Nani waluyala nsi nkulu?
Kamba nkumbu zamfumu zansi nkulu zayenda kumu ye invita zaa ye mavanga zaa.
Luzeyi vo mase meno manwanisa myila zazingi, vo babeduswa vo babedisa makanda mankaka.
Bila nki banatukina koko kubenina bwabu?
2. Banani bateka kalanga ku nsi yilwenz bwabu. Zeyi nsamu miakaka mu yaa, konso kubatuka ye bonso bwakadila? Kani badiya bantu?
3. Lubeki mizamu mu makanda ye bantu bankaka bakala ku ndamba ndosha kani bakundi vo mizamu? Kani bakala ku nsi anfunda vo bwe?
4. Lubeki mizamu mu utukulu amase vo batuka kani kwa mututu, mfunu beni, kani kwa bulu, kikinene vo kiakike vo mu nti wawene vo wauke ye bonso bwenina nsamu kani funza vo kiakaka imvangi au?
5. Luzila nsamu mu mindele miyiza sumba bantu nsi nkulu. Nki luzeyi, bwe luwila mu nsumbulu ye nteko? Diamba didio "eso" dibokulwanga ku Matati, kumbi bu dilweki, bila nki?
6. Sonika nsamu miakaka mlansi nkulu kani lwawila mu nguuga yayitene beni beni, vo mu nkisi waukaka waukulu beni beni, vo mu malema mamasene avula bu zabambwa noka, vo mu mwila abantu vo babulu vo mu diamba diakaka.

- nzilanga nguli zabantu vo mase meno. Bila nki bafwanikisa nsamba zozo ye ngandu vo leawa miakaka?
8. Dwe lwawilwanga utu bonso mbulu vo utumpa utu, matu, mbombo, meno. Meno bwe matetwanga ku nsi aku. Mbombo ye utu matobulwanga? Momo mamonsomo bila nki? Kansi uzabululu yena mpe? Kani babakala ye bakonto bazengwa. Dwe busilwanga? Bila nki, mabanza bwe? Keli ndamba akutu yilenda zengwa mu diamba diakotama ye mbeki dikuswa. Lekwa kiakaka kifenda zengwa vo lwekwa mu diamba diakolama vo mu bila miakaka?

ye nsamu miagudi zabantu ye mabasa zazu. Mu diambu diasala kiokio lwafutwa bonso hufweni kwa mudele.

2. Wonso wonso wasolwa katambula ukanda wansonikina ye lapi kiandevita. Va utote fwiti sona ukumbu aku ye ukumbu ansi aku, mboki toma sona mambu mamu ye makedika, kadi bu manietukwa buna mpe ukumbu yina nama ye nei aku, kidi wazayana ndinga ye nei zazonsono.

3. Bu luhadika sonika nsamu, luteka tala ye taaga kunku kiansamu ye ndambu ndambu buku luku bonso bwenian biavu ye mambu mana sonukwa. Blavu biotao biabingi bieta mu kulubambula moyo mu nsamu mposi twayindula wa, kidi lwasonika momo mamonsono. Kansi kilendi sona ye yuvula mamu, i kuma yeno lwakutikila manaka mamoso, kansi luteka tala mamami ye sona mo.

4. Vo ngeye kibeni ku ngudi amuta vo kota ko ye lembolo toma zaya nsamu ye mambu buna yuvulanga kaka bakalantu ye yindula ye mokisa biavu biami, mposi wasona mamu.

5. Diambu diadinene i diadi: sonika ndinga ansi aku ye ndatunu ye mporolo zabamakota bansi aku ye ka ndinga yanietukwa mu minkanda ko, vo ka bwa ko nga kibodi zaya ndinga ansi aku nabode ko. Kusionikisani kimindele ko, vo tanginina ndinga yankaka ko.

6. Toma tala mposi lwavisik vo nsamu minzolele zaya mina bonso bamakadila ye bonso bwabanzuliwa mu utazuzi yina yakandwa mudele mu nei aku.

7. Mboki ka lakalani wanga ko mu sona mabanza mamu vo mansoni mpe, vo ba biambi, kadi wanga mabangua yankaka yena ku nei yankaka ye momo mansoni ye mamu mpe twena usatu usayu.

8. Nsonokono ye ndatunu ansamu yifwiti lwanasa ye nsamunu amambu kwa mono kibeni, i mola mosi ta weti mo ta utole yamokana (yayambila).

9. Nsonokono ansamu miami yena yambote ye yandogokolo kwa yeno kibeni mpe mboki kwa bisi nei. Yangu-lala mpe si lwayangalala bu luna tangasana ansamu miansi nei. I kuma lutoma sona, mposi twasalsans mu esu kiokio kiskisane. Lusa kimfuzi ye nawabu, kadi bu kwiza—vo Nzambi uvana mavimpi ye ngolo—ku usakulu asivu, azolele bwabana ye nsamu miombo, kadi mboki azolele bu-miana ku nei zemo mu tanga mio ye wa mio mhangudulu amambu ye mabanza.

Weno mu Mfumu.
Swala 112 26, Nov. 1912.
K. E. Luvua.

Kunuku 3. Nkadulu abisi usi aku.

A. Nkadulu auitu.

1. Kamba diswaswana diena mu nkadulu auitu vo mu nene vo mu ko vo mu utela vo mu upiaki? Vo mu mbwaki vo bwankaka mu kanda dinku ye makanda manakaka vo mu mvila mvila ku usi eno vo mu usi zifinangene. Kamba mabanza maku! Nani lutidi utoko ndiena wena utolobe beni vo fuma vo mbwaki?
2. Bwe bwena mu wa, m-na, wa mfuku, mona kwama, mona luyu bonso bankaka. Kamba bonso bubanda viludulwa nsata, mpwila nianga, kwama bonso bulubanda mona mu meso vo wa mfuku vo mu matu.
3. Bwe bwakala ngiendole abantu, kamba diswaswana ye bila bila kikwendilanga munda ebu vo ebu, bonso ngiendole atuta nxa, abambombo, abuna, abakento, amatoka, amfumu, angudi zabantu, abasumbwa. Muntu bu kavwendi, bu kalole, bu kavundidi, bu kadiaaga, bu katanga mamba bwe kasilanga vo kebanga nita andi?
4. Bambwaki ye bandundu (nkieso bampembe) bea mu nsi eno. Bwe babanzilanga mu nkadulu yoyo. Bila nki bendu bobo? Kani babelwanga?
5. Tonta sonika ye samuna lunitu lwamwisi nsi bonso bwena zizi, mbulu, meso, mbombo, matu ye bonso bobo, mboki bonso bwena ntulu ye moko ye malu.
6. Bankaka bakala kieta, kamba bonso bwenna kieta kiampila mu mpila ye utaka vuntu ye fwa koka ye mpiki ye biankaka ye bonso bubienana.
7. Kamba bonso busilwanga nitu mu diambu diutoko ye bwankaka. Banwata nsamba ku nsi aku? Ewe zavangulwa? Nki amvu amuntu (mu kileke, kintweu a)? Nani nwataaga? Nsamba nki ankadulu zikalanga? Keti zankaka nkieso ngandu ye zankaka bwe? Bila nki nsamba zoxo. Samuna mamonsono bonso bwakedi banzilanga ngudi zabantu vo meso mono. Bila nki bafwanikisa nsamba zoxo ye ngandu vo lekwa biankaka?
8. Bwe bwasiwanganu bonso mbulu vo ntumpa nta, matu, mbombo, mono. Mono bwe matotwanga ku usi aku. Mbombo ye utu matobulwanga? Momo mamonsono bila nki? Kansi azabudulu yena mpe? Kani babakala ye bakento bazengwa. Bwe busilwanga? Bila nki, mabanza bwe? Keti niambu akuta yilenda zengwa mu diambu diakolama ye mboki dikuswa. Lekwa kiankaka kilenda zengwa vo lekwa mu diambu diakolama vo mu bila biankaka?

B. Nkadulu adela.

1. Bisi nsi bea kani kieso, kiadi, nganzi, bampombo,

Kunika 5. Nkebolo anitu.

1. Bwe bakebanga nitu? Mu yohila, mu kusa mazi, ya diake bwe? Mase nki basadila mu fulu kiamzaba? Bwana bwe baveduswanga vo yobuswanga. Bena kieta ya banyana bwe bayobuswanga?
Baweni sumuka bwe baveduswanga? bonso nkento lwidi ku mbela vo batidi ye bakala ye bankaka bwe? Bila nki mpedoso yoyo? Nitu mpe yakuswa nkula vo bankaka mu vedila. Nkusula yoyo yampedoso bwe? Bila nki?
2. Samuna mamousono mu nkebolo, ye nzakulu ansuki ye nkebolo ansuki mu nkebolo zampila mu mpila ye ntoko zisiwanga nsuki mu mabese ye bwankaka. Mu ntangu akiese bwe? Kansi mu ntangu adila vo dizi bwe?
Bila nkusuki zivilukanga mu sanwa ye kebwa vo zakwa? Nani tebanga vo vandanga nsuki? Muntu usalanga salu kiokio mu safutu? Nkebolo ansuki kwa bahakala bwe? Kwa bakento bwe? Kwa mfumu ye basumbwa bwe? Nzevo vo ngiero bwe zenina? Bwe zikobulwanga? Zabanzulwa ntoko ye vemi vo bwe? Longo bawensanga nsuki bena?
3. Nki andambu anita yaluta yobuswa vo veduswa kani nwa, meno, moko, meso, uzala, moko, bwe? Bila nki? Bangula, vedesolo kiameno nki?
4. Nki amimywatu lwakala vwatanga, miankamba bwe, mladilu bwe, salamambu bwe, miakwelo, miazanda, miankaka bwe? Nlele (mbadi) nki miyangulwa ye bwe? Samuna nkumba zamimywatu ku ntulu, ku luse, ku nima ye mwankaka.
Samuna diswaswana mu bahakala, bakento, bana, zimfumu, basumbwa.
5. Va malu nki? Bibada vo bankaka? Nki biyangulwa. Va ntu nki, budu, mpu, bankaka? Samuna bonso bawensana ye bila biywalwanga. Bakento bena ye budu vo mpu? Bila nki?
6. Samuna ntoko zampila mu mpila zakefi vwatanga bana bahakala, bakento, zimfumu, basumbwa.--Nki alumbu baluta vwatanga ntoko zozo? Bamvwama balutidi kala zintoko? Vo bahakala vo bakento, Bila nki? Balenda mpe vwata zankisi ye bankaka. Bila nki?
7. Samuna ntoko zamwata namba ye kota meno ye tobulu mbombo ye matu ye zankaka zazo? Bila nki zabanzulwanga ntoko ye sadula yoyo?

Authors: a list of Laman's contributors.

Biographical notes compiled with the assistance of Jacques Bahelele, June 1995. Pastor Bahelele, an old man in 1995, had long been the best known SMF pastor, respected also for his vernacular publications on Kongo lore. Other information from mission literature, including the bulletin Minsamu Miayenge.

NAME	CAHIERS	STATION	Notes
Babembe (?)	001-004	Kolo	
Babokidi Davidi	005	Kinkenge	1
Babutidi Timotio	006-023	Kinkenge (Kisenga)	2
Basukisa Samuel	024	Kinkenge	3
Baya Filimoni	025	Kinkenge	4
Bitebodi Andela	026	Madzia (Mansimu)	
Demvo Thomas	027-044	Kingoyi	5
Diafwila	045-053	Kibunzi	6
Kavuna Simon	054-065	Nganda	7

- 1 Village Kungu, near Kinkenge. Taught in many villages. Wrote hymn #365 in Nkunga mia Kintwadi, much sung even today. A believer until his death.
- 2 Born in the village of Kisonga (sic), close to Kinkenge. in about 1893. The first MuKongo to teach French, having studied at the Colonie Scolaire in Boma with the intention of assisting Dr. Laman on his research travels. Went with Laman to French Congo in 1916, when he was 26. Wrote hymn #732 in Kintwadi.
- 3 Village Ntadi-Nkondi, near Kinkenge. With Mrs Børisson wrote hymns #335 and 442 in Minkunga Miayenge, much sung in our churches. Died in the faith.
- 4 Also from Ntadi-Nkondi. A teacher, he fell into the prophet movement (*kingunza*) and was sent away to Upper Zaire. Died not long after returning to his village in 1959.
- 5 Village Kindamba-Madungu, near Kingoyi. He was very tall and robust. A teacher at Kingoyi, especially for women in training to be teachers; taught Bahelele's wife in 1931. He became ill and was sent for treatment to Brazzaville, where he died.
- 6 Village Kibunzi, where he was one of the first teachers. His son the pastor Samuel Nsimba died in an airplane accident in 1948.
- 7 Born probably in 1878 in the village of Kibonda, on the Zaire near Bulu (Luozu). As a boy, he worked briefly for a Swedish official in Bulu, then as a house-servant for the SMF in Nganda and elsewhere. According to his own accounts in Minsamu Miayenge (1901, 1904), he went to school in Mukimbungu. He

Kiananwa Abeli	066-073	Kibunzi	8
Kibangu Yelemia	074	Kingoyi	9
Kilola Esai	075-078	Mukimbungu	10
Kimbembe André	079-082	Madzia	
Kimfuzi André	083	Kibunzi	11

married in 1909, but his wife died two years later. Entered the Kingoyi Seminary and was sent as a pioneer evangelist to Kolo, among the BaBembe in French Congo; Kolo was conquered by the French only in 1911. On his return he became pastor of Nganda; after that station closed in 1914, he remained there to look after the twelve graves of missionaries. In 1914 he wrote an article in Minsamu Miayenge urging his compatriots to respect the KiKongo language, which he taught many people to read. In 1916-17 he returned to Kolo to carry out research for Laman. When he died, he was buried next to the missionaries in Nganda. He had only one eye.

- 8 Born about 1878, in Kisengele, not far from Kibunzi. Stationed at Diadia from 1892, he helped to found the station at Kinkenge in 1897. He was the first and subsequently the most frequent Kongo contributor of homilies and reports to Minsamu Miayenge. In 1908 he demanded that the Kongo teachers of the SMF be allowed to meet annually by themselves, rather than under missionary supervision as had been the practice. Very well known and esteemed in all the Protestant mission churches, noted for his opposition to alcohol, dancing, jewelry and nudity. An accomplished singer and composer of hymns.
- 9 Born about 1893 in Mpete, near Kingoyi, on the frontier. He entered the Kingoyi Seminary in 1912, where he became the doyen of the Kongo teachers because he knew French well and had earned an official diploma in French Congo. He was well informed on many subjects. In 1928 he went to Sweden with Edward Karlman, where he lived for a year and learned Swedish. After his return he continued to teach at Kingoyi until his retirement. Bahelele calls him Manianga's first philosopher, because conversation with him was always rewarding. A good photograph of him appears opposite p.64 in J. Hedlund's Svart på Vitt, SMF, Stockholm, 1972; also in Mavanga ma Nzambi, opp. p.83.
- 10 Village Mpelo, near Songololo, included in the Mukimbungu mission district. A much loved and respected catechist.
- 11 Village Mpelo, near Kibunzi. A very well known man whose clan gave the land for the Kibunzi mission. As a boy of 12, he succumbed to the missionary's bribe of a knife and entered school, although his family warned him of the dangers of learning witchcraft there. Baptised in 1895, he studied to be a teacher in 1898 with Laman, with whom he traveled the following year to see about founding a station at Nganda. Assigned to

Kinkela Ngoma	084-094	Vungu	
Kionga Aseli	095-114	Kingoyi	12
Konda Jean	115-122	Kinkenge	13
Kunzi Yelemia	123-137	Mukimbungu	14
Kwamba Elia	138-151	Kingoyi (Numbu)	15
Lemba Joseph	152	Thysville	
Loko	153	Manianga	
Lunungu Moise	154-191	Nganda	16
Lusa Meso	192-196	?	
Lusala Yoane	197-201	Nganda	17
Lutambi Samuel	202-203	Madimba	18

teach at Nsweka, Mukimbungu district, in 1908. When he died, a monument was built on his grave to show how much he was respected. His photograph appears in Mavanga ma Nzambi.

- 12 Born about 1898, in Madungu, near Kingoyi. He came to the mission quite young and was educated there. He is mentioned by Laman as his most helpful informant in the study of tone in KiKongo. Became a respected primary school teacher, but at the end of his life he left the church and married two wives; he died unrepentant.
- 13 village Nkindu, close to Kinkenge; this was also the village of Mbumba Filip, the well-known prophet.
- 14 Village Mukimbungu, where he went to school. A daughter was born to him in 1904. In 1906 he was in charge of the school for boys, but after 1910 he was named chief of the administrative chefferie of Mukimbungu, which he governed strongly.
- 15 Village Kindamba, close to Kingoyi, where he was the first convert. Traveled with Laman in 1915. He committed adultery several times but was reinstated and is remembered as a good teacher and faithful member of the church.
- 16 Village Kimayenge, near Nganda. A very knowledgeable and well-known man. He was sent as a missionary to Indo in French Congo, where his memory is respected. On his return to Zaire he went to Matadi as editor of the bulletin Minsamu Miayenge. He died in Matadi.
- 17 Village unknown, but he lived near Nganda. He was short but stocky. A respected teacher.
- 18 village Madimba, where he died; not Niangi.

Lutangu Aloni M.	204-215	Diadia (Kimpunga)	19
Lutete Esaya	216-237	Lolo	20
Lwamba Josefi	238-240	Lolo	
Mabaku Pauli	241	Kinkenge	21
Mabwila	242-244	?	
Mafula Loti	245-248	Mbanza Manteke	22
Makasi Esaya	249	Manianga	
Makundu Tito	250-266	Mukimbungu	23
Malanda Isaki	267	Kinkenge	24
Malumba Benyamin	268-275	Musana	25
Mampuya K.P.	276-277	Musana	
Mampuya ye Lunungu	338	?	
Masamba Matende Mose	278	Mukimbungu	26
Mato Davidi	279-280	Maduda	

- 19 Village Diadia. Good teacher and pastor, author of hymn #327 in Kintwadi, much sung to this day. Killed by a buffalo. (In his Cahiers he invariably writes his name, "A.M. Lutangu.")
- 20 Born near Lolo, went to school at the CMA station in Vungu in 1899. Taught in Lolo in 1904 and was probably responsible for the success of that station, reported by the mission in 1916. He subsequently worked at Vungu. Frequent contributor to Minsamu Miayenge.
- 21 Village Kungu-Yeliko. Teacher, hard worker.
- 22 A slave bought by the ABFMS mission in Mbanza Manteke, where he became a teacher.
- 23 Born within a year or two of 1870 in Madimba, very close to Mukimbungu. He had only one eye. He and David Malangidila were Laman's principal assistants in translating the Bible and writing the KiKongo grammar (LKG). In 1898 he was teaching at Nsweka. He had an encyclopedic knowledge of KiKongo and knew a great many proverbs and stories. In the course of his long life he served as informant to a number of ethnographers. After having been a Christian for some time he lapsed from the faith, marrying two wives and taking to dancing and drink, but he reformed in 1895 after a warning dream and an attack of the disease Iubanzi.
- 24 Village Mazinga in Kinkenge district. A teacher, he was later chosen to be a pastor, in which role he worked hard for many years until he retired.
- 25 Village Mbiongo. Went to Musana from Mukimbungu as a nurse, having learned nursing at Kingoyi in 1927. Died in 1935.
- 26 Died in Matende.

Matunta Philémoni	281-317	Musana	27
Mawakosi Samuel	318-320	Mukimbungu	28
Mawuku Filemoni	322	Madzia	
Mayoka Yakobi	323	Nganda	29
Mayuku Abraham	324	Nganda	30
Mbaku Simon	325	Kinkenge	31
Mbazi	326	Nganda	
Mfwandulu	327	?	
Mindoki Ngideoni	328-337	Nganda	32
Mpengani Luka	339-341	?Kolo	33

- 27 Village Mbiongo, like Malumba. He went from Mukimbungu station to Musana with the missionary Westlind. A knowledgeable teacher, he who wrote many homilies in Minsamu Miayenge. In 1910 he was a leader among the teachers who were protesting against aspects of their treatment within the mission church. In 1919 he was assigned to Madzia.
- 28 Village Nsweka, on the bank of the Kwilu (Mukimbungu). Effective teacher, although his life was full of misfortunes. As a boy he was seized by the Free State's mercenaries as a hostage for the payment of an alleged debt. Suffering from a chronic sore and rejected by a girl to whom he proposed, he joined the SMF as a carpenter. Baptised in 1897. His wife Malia Zampungu, whom he married in 1901 died with her child in 1908; they were buried by Kilola at Nsweka. A few days later, his house and all his belongings were destroyed in a grass fire.
- 29 Village Londe, at some distance from Nganda. After teaching for a while, he became a telephone operator at the Songololo railway station. Having earned a lot of money, he returned to his village and became a successful trader; "I remember him coming one day to my village to sell cloth and other things," writes Bahelele. He died in 1942. His son Basolwa Kapita is a well-known Manianga writer, author of a history of Mbumba Filip and his followers.
- 30 Village Kingila, not far from Nganda. Teacher.
- 31 Village Lukozi-Kimbambi, close to Kinkenge. Remained a believer to his death.
- 32 Village Luhombo, not far from Nganda, perhaps three hours on foot. A tall, thin man; married Masika Elizabeth, some of whose many children are still alive. Became a pastor in the Nganda district.
- 33 Village Mbiongo, like Matunta. Sent from Mukimbungu as a missionary to Kolo. Graduate of the Kingoyi Seminary, spoke very good French. He was teaching at Mukimbungu in 1925.

Mvubu Tomasi	342-344	Kiobo, Maduda	
Ndibu Kapita Joseph	345-365	Mpangala, Kingoyi	34
Ndongala	367-368	Thysville	
Ndundu Aaron	369	Nganda	35
Ngiendolo Daniel	370	Nganda	36
Ngiuvudi Paul	410-411	Musana	37
Ngoma Petelo	371-372	Mboka; Yema Yanga	
Ngoma Yosua	373-381	Musana	
Nkuzu Esaya	382-383	Mukimbungu	38
Nkwangu Lazalo	384	Diadia	
Nsakala Elisa	385	Nganda (Luwala)	39
Nsembani Samuel	386	Mbanza Nsanga	

- 34 Village Mpangala. Was *ngang'a nkisi*, but gave up both that and one of his wives and was baptised in 1912, relatively late in life. In 1926 he was about 50, noted as a speaker and for his loyalty to the mission. Because his name happened to be Kapita he was appointed village headman (*kapita*) between about 1908 and 1918, when he went to seminary, becoming pastor of the parish of Tembisa. He wrote his own autobiography in Cahier 345 (Janzen and MacGaffey 1974:57-60; Janzen 1982:87-89).
- 35 Village Kimwema, not far from Nganda. Educated at Nganda, where he later taught. An albino, as his name indicates.
- 36 Village Nsundi, but was taken to Mbanza Ngoyo. As a boy, he entered the mission at Nganda, later spent two years in the seminary at Kingoyi. Respected catechist.
- 37 Originally called Nyuvudi. Village Niangi, near the Zaire in Mukimbungu district. Was taken by the missionary Westling (sic) to the village of Ntombo-Manianga in Musana district. The missionary put pressure on him to marry a local woman by whom he had many children, some still alive to this day. His wife died and he married again. He was much loved as the pastor of Musana, but was caught up in the prophet movement and sent to Upper Zaire. He returned to Musana, died when very old, and was buried near the church.
- 38 Village Niangi. A short man, a very good teacher, much respected in Bulu and other Manianga villages. He died in 1982.
- 39 Village Luwala, but was taken to Londe [Nganda district?]. At first she was a mission teacher, but after her son became a Catholic priest she converted to Catholicism.

Nsemi Isaki	387-400	Kingoyi	40
Ntungu Esaya	401-408	Kasi	41
Ntwalani Mesaki	409	Kasi (Kilwangu)	42
Nzimba	412	?	
Wamba N. Enoki	413-428	Mukimbungu (Bulu)	43
Zoyo Zakalia	429	Kinkenge	44

Janzen, J. M. 1982. Lemba, 1650-1930. New York, Garland.

Janzen, J. M. and W. MacGaffey, 1974. An Anthology of Kongo Religion. Lawrence, KS, University of Kansas Press.

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- 40 Born about 1888 in Bwende, not far from Kingoyi. After teaching for a while he was chosen to be pastor in Kingoyi district. A much respected and well-loved member of the church, an exceptional preacher. His two grandsons are Protestant pastors.
- 41 Village Nkwanga. Became an adherent of the prophet movement, died in Upper Zaire.
- 42 A teacher, he joined the prophet movement and died in exile in Oshwe, Upper Zaire.
- 43 Born in Bulu, but taken to Kisinga. Spent three years in seminary, became a well-known Bible teacher and pastor, known as "the theologian." He was also secretary to the meetings of the SMF teachers. Wrote a number of hymns. His wife was barren, so he had no children. His mother was thrown alive into the Zaire as a witch, with a stone around her neck.
- 44 Village Bethlehem (Betelemi), about 1.5 km from Kinkenge. One of the teachers who learned French in the Kingoyi Seminary and began to teach it there in 1925. His son, very old, lives in Luozi.

Inventory of notebooks written by Laman's collaborators.

Wyatt MacGaffey,
wmacgaff@haverford.edu

Abbreviations and cross-references

LKM = "Laman's KiKongo Manuscript" (typed). He intended it a a book to be published in Kikongo, but I do not know what he intended to call it. My copy, a carbon, was given to me by Sigbert Axelson, who found it lying on a floor in Mindouli and had spent twelve years trying to get anybody interested in it, Swedish or Congolese.

LKI-IV = Laman, *The Kongo* vol. 1-4. Occasionally this annotation (below) refers to a page in one of the volumes which draws on this cahier or this author. Unlike LKM, these English volumes are addressed not to a Kongo but a European public.

"K." = Kunku = Laman's numbered topic headings in LKM. #xxx = subheading.

LKD = Laman's *Dictionnaire Kikongo Français*.

#nnnn = page number in LKM, +/- 300 [LKM pagination is irregular; I forget where this "300" came from. Numbers above 1750 make no sense with reference to my copy of LKM. The last few hundred pages consist of leftovers. LKM was never completed; Laman was evidently exhausted.

TS = typescript. Originally Laman had a typist transcribing the Cahiers. She got as far as Kimbembe (538 pages).

"See File xxx" means that a digital transcription and translation has been completed. (There are other files I have not listed.)

A & H = my *Art and Healing*, in which some texts are reprinted.

Reading the different transcriptions.

The manuscripts vary greatly in quality, volume, and content. Each is paginated individually. Many are illegible, incoherent, or trivial. Laman inserted many helpful clarifications in Swedish or Kikongo. Unfortunately his Swedish is a dialect that my Swedish contacts have been unable to understand.

The TS is generally accurate, although numbers and author attributions for the first cahiers do not always agree with the originals.

Lke the cahiers, TS uses what became, and remains, the standard way of writing Kikongo, without indications of tone or vowel length. In 1911, when Laman's *Grammar of the Kongo Language* was issued by the Christian Alliance, it is clear that he had no good understanding of semantic tone. In the *Grammar* he confuses it with 'accent', whereas in the Introduction to the Dictionary he devotes twenty-seven pages to *tons musicaux*.

Eventually Laman himself typed not the entirety of the original manuscripts (10,000 pages, by his estimate) but selections from them, amounting in all to about 3,000 pages. Early pages of my copy of LKM carry his own corrections. In due course his typing improved.

His plan for the book also changed. In the first 35 pages, addressing himself to bisi Kongo, he attempts a synthetic history of Kongo, drawing on European sources and some of the manuscripts, without identifying any of them. The plan changes to literal quotations from the cahiers, arranged roughly according to the headings in the questionnaire to which they responded, and naming the respective authors (sometimes his attribution is mistaken).

The essential difference between LKM and both TS and the manuscripts is that Laman's orthography shows vowel length and distinguishes, as in the Dictionary, between labiodental and bilabial /v/; between what he called hard and soft nasals; and high versus low tone: e.g., *n'sémi* (soft nasal, high tone, class mu-/ba-), in the sense "craftsman," versus *nsémi* (high tone, class zi-; in Kiyombe *tseme*), meaning a man who has no child. These "corrections" to the orthography of the manuscripts depend entirely on Laman's own knowledge of spoken Kikongo.

Everything I could find out about the authors from various sources, including the recollections of Jacques Bahelele, is given, with photographs, in my *Art and Healing of the Bakongo*. Janzen describes his original discovery of the manuscripts in his "Laman's Kongo Ethnography," *Africa* 45 (1972) 12-28. For a discussion of the colonial context in which the manuscripts were written see my *Kongo Political Culture*, pp. 34-50.

NB: this inventory is my personal research tool, most detailed with respect to topics of most interest to me, and it is itself a work in progress. 3 December 2020.

Film One

Cahier 1. Babembe -

--- which may be the name of the people, not the author. Stories? Text much marked up by Laman. Barely legible, difficult dialect.

K.2: nsi aku. Nsi eto yai Bembe.

Cahier 2 Babembe. Kolo.

K.3. Nkadulu a bisi nsi aku.

We file our three upper front teeth so ^^^. Ntetelo a minu. Dialect full of r's.

Cahier 3.

Cahier 4. TS says this is Basukisa in Kinkenge

Mambu ma yibila. Mbundu ordeal, which seems to be directed by nganga Mbau. Illegible concluding notes by KEL on nkasa.

Cahier 5. Babokidi, Kinkenge

List of animals and plants for food.

Ndilu a bantu mu nsi.

Matadi ye ntoto bidiwanga? Inga...Ntoto wa sama kia mbwaki, ye ntoto wa mfundi (but only by children). LKD: mfundi = "an earth eaten only by children."

Biandwa bianki?

Cahier 6, TS p.17. Babutidi,

who dates cah6 from Kisenga in 1914. Kisenga is in Congo Francais, Banda Ludima, he says.

Sculpture, music. TS 17"Carvings." Dances. Songs.

K. 24 (TS 19) The dead, Bafwa. Woman:dry leaf::man:green leaf::death:life. Death is caused by witches and bakisi. Bakisi take a person because he has broken the rules (sumuka). The land of the dead is under the earth and is called Mpemba a Fula. It is reached by crossing water. One who cannot find his relatives there is enslaved until they redeem him. A new arrival is painted red.

Ngana, kimpa: folktales. Me Nianzi a ndombe, Me Mboma.

Yonso nganga yena ye kundu lenda monikisa bafwa ku nsi a kinganga kiandi, a nganga who has kundu is able to see the dead. Digging up a troublesome ghost.

Cahier 7 (TS21).

Nganga Ntadi, ndiona wavanda Mwanza.

various diseases: lubanzi, menga nena, ntu tatika, tulu; nkisi Mbwanga, Makongo, Misambu, Mbindu (not interesting, but see file "Makongo.")

Zieta: finkisi fiema mu nsakala.

12. Mahambu treats yela kwa tulu; nkisi wowo wena mu nkutu, ye mu yau mwatulwa makodia.

17. Makongo, Mbumba (Maniangu) and Misambu inflict lubanzi for theft. Nganga ties (kanga) mfunya; when he removes them, the sick get better. Makongo. Misambu inflicts lubanzi and nose-bleeds. P.15, Makongo inflicts madness. All these minkisi are wrapped in lubongo.

Nkisi Mbindu, for yela kwa vimba-vimba.

Cahier 8 (TS25). Minkisi:

Malwangu Bunzi (Mansundi)

2. Mekongo Nsambu (nganga uses bowl of water for divining; also sets pot on four sticks)

TS 26. Mutinu Mamba. Ingredients come from the ocean (kwa BaLuangu). Treats only mabuta mana fwa.

11. Mambuku Niadi, Kibingu, Mahenia, Musansi. Not very interesting.

Kimpa.

Cahier 9-12. Bimpa.

Cah 10 says SMF Kinkenge and Kikonza. Cah 12 says, in KEL's hand, Ludima and Mayombe.

Cahier 13, Ludima and Mayombe, Babutidi.

Origin of death: the dry leaf and the green leaf (See above, Cah. 6). His name was Nsaka Mbedi, hers Kizinga.

P2. Kinkulu kia bisi Mayombe. See file "c-Babutidi."

TS 51. The agreement between MaNsundi (Mbangala) and MaLwangu to exchange sisters. LKI 22-23.

Kanda dia bantu diena mu nsi yayi diatuka ku Kamba (ikoko Kongo diantandu Afelika dianonde) LKI:20.

How the mindele brought cloth, but in those days no one felt need of it. This is repeated at cah23:1

Mansundi Ngidi. TS p53

Makaba and Ntamba. LKI:27

Mbele ya lusimba and public executions. See file "c-Babutidi."

Mwembe Nsundi and the chief Me Nsundi Kasa. TS p56

Cahier 14 Minkisi and Kinkimba of Ludima-Mayombe. TS p57.

Bunzi Nkenge Yanga, in snail shell; treats stomach swelling.

Malwangu Bunzi, in a bark box. Confers hunting luck = *nyembo*.

(Nkinda) Nsimbu, for war. Made in a pot, but also a figurine with a mirror (used to inspect warriors), and nganga has a large *dibu*.

Ditafa Malwangu (#2090; included in LKIII: "secret societies.")

Cahier 15 Babutidi. Minkisi.

Mikwanga, made in bimbinda-mbinda birole. Inflicts lubanzi.

Maniangu (Mbumba Mbedi). See file "n-Maniangu."

Lumoni TS p64ff, for nsemokono.

Nkiduku. See file "n-Nkiduku."

Kiniumba (Nkuyu)

Mbutulu a nsimba ye nzuzi twins; TS p67-8

Kula. See file "Kula"

Matala-tala (nkisi a nkembo)

Ndundu LKIII:132. See file "Ndundu"

Mukisi Nsi LKIII:168

Consecration of Ngwima in Mayombe; see file "Ngwima."

Mensungu - text makes no recognizable connection with either Nsungu mentioned in the Master List.

MeMpanga.

Lau: see file "Lau."

Mwalele.

Cahier 16 TSp78 Minkisi

5. Mbumba Cindongo. LKIII:182. See file "Cindongo."
7. Malonda mankosula
8. Ngumba, used not to buka but to tesa, for divination.
9. Cimbuka, large nkisi in the form of (the size of?) a small child, carries a large number of packets in squirrel skin.
10. Mensundi Lemba. Nganga Lemba picks on someone he sees is rich, imposes initiation to relieve him of some of his money.
18. Mbongo, detective. See file "Mbongo"
30. Mpemba Dimpombo. For one who has been nabbed by biniumba ku mfinda.

Cahier 17 TSp84 Minkisi

31. Mpodi.
- Nduda, nkisi a mvita: see file "Nduda."
- Nkisi Buntela. If somebody has violated a nkandu prohibition, he can be treated with this minor charm. Buntela is also used to control the rain. [That's all it says; see SMF 19.1068, 1103.]

Cahier 18 (TSp85)

Luyalu in Mayombe: The kipaba or dikoko of Mfumu Mambutu.
Ngizulu a bantu in Ndingi, CABINDA. #2774. Hierarchy of the clans determined by division of game.
Kinkulu of Nzobe: Mbenza Na Vungu.
Kinkulu of Yema.

Cahier 19 (TSp90)

Nzo kikumbi in Mayombe. LKII:27

Cahier 20 (TSp92)

Minsamu ye bimpa.

Cahier 21

Zindunga funerary dance for nobles in Mwembe Nsundi. LKII:82.
See file "c-Babutidi." ??

Cahier 22, Babutidi. Miscellaneous Nsundi kinkulu.

How MeNsundi Ngiangala earned mbele yalusimba from Malwangu.
LKI:20. See file "c-Babutidi."

4. How the original couple had two black and two white children who intermarried. LKI:13
8. Mengo Mbakala. LKI:21
15. How Makaba parted Nzadi with a tumpline, See LKIII:205.

Cahier 23

1. How the first whites arrived, bringing cloth
5. How Makaba separated himself from Nanga.

Cahier 24. Basukisa, in Kinkenge

Nkadulu a nitu. Classifies people as black/white, tall/short.
Haircuts, tattoos.

Cahier 25. Baya Filemoni.

More haircuts, hygiene

Cahier 26. Bitebodi Andela. Kintandu dialect.

Market rules

Nkwedolo (scarcely legible)

Healing rites

Chiefship: mbiadulu cimfumu cia ntoto. A sick man is initiated to mpu on nganga's divination: e mpu yenandie, nudiateno mpu.

Twin ritual: mothers and fathers form a line, all naked.

Proverbs explained

Cahier 27. Demvo Thomas, Kingoyi. Minkisi

119. Teki kia nkoma vo Nkondi. See file "Nkondi misc."

121. Mutinu Mamba. See file "Mutinu."

122. Nkiduku ya mu kisa. See file "Nkiduku."

123. Mpanzu Mbombo. LKIII:149

Cahier 28. Demvo. Minkisi

125. Nzyodi, kodia. 24/4/1915. Nkisi a kitantu. See file "Nzyodi."

127. Kubungu. See file "Kubungu"

Mikubulu.

128. Musansi bitutu. See file "Musansi"

130. Nkusu identifies thieves; kiteki.

Cahier 29. Minkisi

131. Mbundu. See file "Mbundu"

134. Nkutu mabungu. 1/5/1915

Cahier 30 Demvo

135. Lokila ye sakumuna, #1926. Paternal blessing. Sema. Nloka nkisi, #1929; nkondi invocation. Nloka vo sindika maladi, #1935. How to fend off the dead seen in dreams. 8/5/1915

Cahier 31

- 140. Lokila ye sakumuna, ctd. What one does who is angry with his nkisi, #1959. Sema (not interesting)
- 142. How banganga are thought of. Apprenticeship.

Cahier 32

- 145. Relations among banganga. Kinganga kia nsweki.
- 147. Mase ma luketo.

Cahier 33

- 149. Nkisi Lemba
- 150. The body, and diseases.
- 152. Houses

Cahier 34

- 155. Building a house

Cahier 35

- 159. Housebuilding, ctd.
- 161. Hunting. Traps

Cahier 36.

- More on hunting. Dogs
- 169. Planting crops

Cahier 37

- 172. Domestic animals
- 173. Animals not eaten. 5/6/1915
- 174. Other tasks. Division of labor, men and women.
- 175. Metal working

Cahier 38. Crafts

- 177. Pottery
- 178. Woodworking. Decorative marks.
- 180. Weaving. Baskets, bags.

Cahier 39

- 183. Leatherworking. Kikumbu (leopard) skin.
- 184. Dyes. 185. Raffia

Cahier 40

- TS 186. Markets. Market rules. Freeman and slaves as traders.
- LKM:328-31, 336-37, 340, 343-45

Cahier 41.

More on trading. Barely legible. #343, 347
Mvwilu a mbongo. #646. Ownership of land and forests, #651, 654,
660.

Cahier 42. Demvo

Land can be sold if the heirs run out.

Cahier 43.

Ownership of trees and other property. Organization (nkubukulu)
of villages. Clans, slaves, marriage, elders

Cahier 44

Slavery
Proverbs

Cahier 45. Diafwila, Kibunzi

Kinkulu from Boma. How Ntotila would help himself to any woman
he wanted. See file "c-Diafwila." Market rules; no capture
permitted.

Account of arbitration procedure.

Account of rituals for the killing of a leopard.

Cahier 46. Diafwila.

Kinkulu of Nsundi in Kibunzi, chiefship of Na Menta. See file
"c-Diafwila."

TS 213. Coming of death.

Sun, moon & stars; miscellaneous.

TS 217. Nkisi Santu

Cahier 47.

K.21 Nkasa, genitalia, sex, body products.

TS 220. Bwakala vo wonsonkento kalendi songa mbwa nzini ko.

Nzini kayilendi monika kwa mbwa ko buna meso fwa.

Hair and nails in minkisi. Blond [albino] hair, nsuki zabilema
zabikwa nkumbu mfumbu, put in minkisi to control the weather.

Pubic and axillary hair, called luswamu, "hidden," is put in
nkisi to confer the powers of humans, ngolo za bantu.

Sweat and other body fluids in minkisi

The whole clan spits on your gun to help the hunting.

Nkisi Mvutudi vo Nsevi; nkisi Masisia

Cahier 48. Diafwila

TS.229. How one acquires a nkisi; leads into long essay on death
and dying—fragmentary, semi-coherent.

Cahier 49. 1920

Kimbanzya
Signs, scarification
Nkisi Funza

Cahier 50

Stories, dreams

Cahier 51.

Taboos of three simbi-nkisi in his clan, which are also minkisi.
?LKM:1139. Langa mwangwebo, code name for pig. Other taboos
(selections in LKIII:200).

Cahier 52.

Stories, bimpa

FILM TWO**Cahier 53. Diafwila, Londe ye Mbanza Nsundi. Kinkulu**

Kinkulu of MaNsundi. List of clans in various villages, with
their praise names. Extensive notes in Swedish & KiKongo.
Kiluangu: bisono biabi biena va tadi dia vandiamu [engraved
stone]; nkimbikiti. See file "c-Diafwila."

Cahier 54. Kavuna, Bulu.

Kita mbongo. Markets. Slaves. LKM:334-36, 338, 345-46. Copies
KEL's questions.

Cahier 55: more of the same

Nzailu ye nduka, Signals between lovers. Bird cries. (LKMIV2)
Counting. Notes on language by Kavuna; words mindele find it
difficult to understand.

Cahier 56. Kavuna, Nganda.

52. Binsamu biansi a Musana. Story of Nkenge.
76. Kavuna's signature.

Cahier 57, Kavuna at Nganda,

Deals with bisimbi. See file "s-Kavuna"

Cahier 58. Kavuna.

Nkisi NaKongo. See file "n-Nakongo"
Story of Nsesi ye Ngo.
Story: Na Ngo wakala nsongi a malavu
Nzailu ye nduka. List of body parts.

Autobiography of Kavuna. See file "Kavuna"
List of animals. Bulu biatoluka = domestic animals. Bibulu
biampete = game

Cahier 59

Story: Nsesi ye Nango.

Cahier 60

Riddles.

27. Nsesi ye ngo.

Cahier 61

Games, riddles, songs

Cahier 62. Kinkulu

Mvila za nsi: Laman's questions listed. BaBembe, "between the Ladi, the BaYaka Minkenge and the Teke." Account of the violence of chief Nsakala Kongo, who killed his mother-in-law when she complained of not having enough food. LKIV:18ff. abbreviates.

Cahier 63-64

Customs of the BaBembe. Sex, burial, marriage. LKM Kunku IX:102.

Cahier 65

Minkuyu: ancestors who look after their descendants. See file "Mpiya."

Cahier 66. Kiananwa

KEL: "Anna! Spar denna sida nu!"

Food and drink

2. Kinkulu of Kinanga. [Uninteresting anecdotes about wars fought. Crossed out.] Mase mandi Mbenza.

8. In Kibunzi the most respected minkisi are Na Kanga Vangu, Mbozo, Kibomvi, Simbi, Funza, Mayiza.

Slavery in time of famine. See file c-Kiananwa.

15. The character of your countrymen. Large eyes considered an evil sign. Girls when they walk swing their clothes to show their bottoms to the boys. Albinos are thought of as minkisi; they are respected and their hair is sold in the market.

We have two legs and five toes on each foot. Maladies. Sex and scarification; bodies without scars are slippery, like a fish.

Filing the teeth: Mpabula (Kibunzi) and nsongi (Mb. Manteke).

Hairstyles, pierced ears and noses. Circumcision (nzabudulu).

25. Customs. Causes of fighting: accusations of witchcraft, jealousy over wealth, quarrels among women. How to greet a chief.

31. Care of the body. Nkisi Ngovo, Nsonde and Mwaluangu preside over menstruation. Mayiza brings out the newborn. Hair care. Dress.

Cahier 67. Kiananwa. Kibunzi.

1. Ntungulu a nzo. Questions listed.
46. Agriculture, hunting.
54. Domestic livestock.
56. Crafts. #298. Kinzonzi brought in a lot of wealth: 2 or 3 pigs, mbatu muntu wamvimba.
64. Trade, markets. A young man or woman sold for 5-9 pigs. LKM:338, 347
69. Mbutulu ye kimwana. Children. #355.
74. #405. A child may be given a nkisi name, such as Nkondi.

Cahier 68.

82. Nkwedolo, marriage. #485, 487, 490
95. Marital insults: wizi kumpenda, etc.
101. Distinction between mvila and kanda.
104. Death. #566. Diseases. Kileke "a sharp pain in the chest" - see LKII:72.
113. When nganga nkisi Nsonde is at the point of death, #583.
115. #600. A corpse is painted red.

Cahier 69.

- 120.#650. Property. Ntoto ye mfinda bilenda tekwa ye vingululua fwa mpe.
122. Slave in general, mwana a mbata ntu, as opposed to bamakunzi.
- Luyalu. See file "Kiananwa."
126. Lulendo ye nsiku. Family relations, credit. Avoidance: Bamako bafwiti tinasana nsoni beni, ye banzadi mpila mosi.
133. #709. Kinzonzi. Elicited responses.
- 140 Nkasa, mbundu. Koma mbau mu nkisi; lubau vo luvuya.
143. #754. Nkubukulu a bisi nsi. Social structure.

Cahier 70. No page numbers.

- TS 373. Bought slaves are kinanga; those born in slavery are nzimbu.
- K 17. Luyalu. When a chief is to be invested they first agree on the candidate and then tap him on the shoulder with *nkawu*. Women may be big chiefs, but men help them. #3821. In case of serious quarrels, such as a killing, they dia Nkondi. See file c-Kiananwa.
- War and war magic.

The dead [apparently answering a series of questions] LKM 1505. We have heard that white people are cannibals, their white skin is a covering, they live under the water and they sell black people in Mputu.

K.18. Arts: music, sculpture, painting. TS 376. Some carvings are beautiful, others not. Good carvers are much respected. For a large one a carver might get three chickens. Sounds made by musical instruments. Ngoma is used for dances and war, diti and the stringed instrument *nsambi* for pleasure only. Dancing styles: the young people bump breasts.

Sounds and uses of various instruments, #3012 or #3003. Dances, songs (132 of them).

cahier 71. Typing instructions for Anna, 21/2/20.

Apparently true stories about recent disputes, some involving lapsed members of the church, mfumu za palata, and the railway to Matadi.

Stories about remarkable rocks, including Kaku and Tunzima.

How ku nsi nkulu, nganga Na Kimbizi-mbizi dried up Nzadi. #2032. Minkuyu, a story. #1903.

#1851. More ghost stories.

#2031. Stories of the banganga.

TS 408. Cosmology: White people thought of as former black people, or as having a black skin under the white one. The hardware they bring is not made by them but by halfmen, in a country where the sky is propped up on iron stakes. Other transformations: people who become elephants in order to eat the crops of others.

Proverbs (68).

Cahier 72.

Animal stories.

Riddles.

Cahier 73. Minkisi.

Biteki biabikeke bituluanga pelo mu diambu dia tala banani i bandoki. See file "PASNKISI"

#977. Not just anyone can compose an important and expensive nkisi. One doesn't compose more than a few, even small ones, because of all the taboos to observe. Very large minkisi are both frightening and expensive.

#983. Na Kangavangu, Nsonde, Mayiza, Ngovo, Kubungu, Ngundunga, Mwanza (brief mentions). The greatest is Na Kangavangu (nkisi a zulu).

#988. Minkisi mia zulu: Mfumu Nsansi, Mbozo, Makwende, Ngobila, Na Kangavangu. Other types of minkisi.

#992. Nkisi vo usumukini. #995. Bilongo bia nkisi. Biau kibeni ka bilendi nuwa biau ye biau kaka ko, kansi bibunduanga mu makaya mankaka, Bonso lemba-lemba ye mansusu mankento ye mambakala.

#998. General description of nkisi rituals.

#2084. Nkimba ritual; kwanga nkwanza; zika makuta (LKIII:252). When they reappear they are as children, ignorant of proprieties.

#1418. Minlongo. Pork is often forbidden. Varieties of taboo. More rituals: lokila ye sakumuna,

#1928. *Lokila, Nsibulu, Ntangumunu* #1934. (These seem to be three different phases of the invocation). See files "PASNKISI" and "Nsansi."

Mase mafwa: ritual for better hunting.

Mbiekolo ya muntu sumukini. Rituals on the death of nganga Nsonde, or to purify a widower.

More rituals. Muntu kasemuka ku Mbenza ko kalendi kota mfinda Mbenza.

#1755. Tulu ye ndozi, sleep and dreams. #1777, 1775, 1785.

Kiananwa recounts some of his own dreams and their consequences.

#1788. Visions.

K.33. #1408. More uses for minkisi.

K.24. Bafwa. #1797, 1800, 1804, 1814, 1817, 1826, 1833.

Several pages of what is probably KiNkimba.

Cahier 74. Kibangu Jelemia. Kingoyi.

K.33. Other uses for zinkisi. To catch thieves, these seven: Yoba, Nkondi, Musansi, Manswana, Nziodi, Mukwanga ye Luhemba.

1. Nkisi Yoba. See file "n-Yoba."

5. Nkondi ye Mukwanga. See file "n-Mukwanga."

10. Musansi deals with theft. Semi-legible. Has nothing in common with file "n-Musansi." See file "Nsansi."

Cahier 75. Kilola. Kinkulu

1. clan Na Vunda, including Na Vunda, Nsaku a Malele, Na Mbondo. Chiefship. See file "Kilola."

9. Clan Nanga. The chief chooses his nkama wife from either Ntambu or Nlaza. Ritual intercourse supervised by the bamayala.

Cahier 76. Kilola, Cosmology

Sleep and dreams. #1753, 1774, 1787, 1786

21. Nzambi (very Christian).

28. The Nzambi of Kongo dia Lemba. #1701.

34. Mase ma luketo. Marriage rules. Clan exogamy. Incest compared to the promiscuity of dogs; *Mbizi a mbwa, ntula yo mungwa, mono ngina yo dia?*

Divination in affinal dispute: mansusu mankento, luvemba, & luyangu-yangu in the left hand, mwakasa in the right.
What boys, girls were taught. Not to sleep too often with one's wife, and preferably in the morning. Women lose nothing in sex.
Luzitu: a woman should reply Kongo! when called, not Ndweki! and kneel when her husband gives her something.
Disciplining children with pepper.
Slavery: nkazi may sell a man's wife or child.
58. Bafwa. Funeral procedures.
60. Nsi ya mpemba yikwendanga bafwa. #1804, 1855.

Cahier 77. Kilola, Mukimbungu

Classification of minkisi #1397:

1) miazulu, inc. Nkondi, Lembe, Mpindi, Na Kongo, Nzumba, Nsalazi. The diseases they inflict: mazunguza, mbombo mputa, lembama, meno mena mputa and others.

2) nkisi miandungu 3) mianzo 4) mianlangu 5) miankiduku

Generalized description of treatment.

6: The owner of a nkisi must treat it with respect, putting it on a mat and not on the ground.

16. Nganga arrives to administer Bau. #1403.

22. Administration of mbundu poison.

28. Omens, oracles. #2105. tumsi, nuni a kuti, kimbembe

Cahier 78. Kilola, Divination and ordeals.

Banganga za kindoki ye zanana (ka zakindoki ko). The former is able to samuna ndilu a bantu kuna nsia fuku. #1966.

9. Nganga ntombodi. #2018.

25. Nganga nkasa. Detailed account of ritual.

Cahier 79. Kimbembe, Madzia.

R dialect

Makanda ma bantu, inc. bankwa mikila (tails).

Fu dieto: yes, we go to market.

Stories

Cahier 80. Kimbembe, Madzia.

Songs sung by the banganga when they capture minkuyu.

22. Lemba is a nkisi larger and more expensive than the others.

25. Kinkulu. Kimfumu kia Madzia. The founder of the chiefship, Kayi Ngoma, decreed that each of his successors, on taking up the chiefship, should bury a man alive before entering the market.

27. Nkisi Nkondi. nti = vo. See file "Bambimi"

28. Nkisi Ngabambimi. See file "Bambimi"

29. Nkisi Mubwongo. See file "Mubwongo."

- 30. Mbedolo mawata.
- 33. Mata ma mpimpa, night guns.
- 34. Mvila zeto.
- 35. Mbingulu a bankusu.
- 37. Busongi bwa dintumbu. Palmwine tapping.

Cahier 81. Kimbembe

Kinkulu of KiNgoma, barely legible.

- 71. Mbikululu za minkisi; brief and imcomprehensible.

Cahier 82. Kimbembe

Kitsua kia bantu, benevolent spirits.

- 82. Kinkulu of Kindamba (Musana).

Cahier 83. Kimfuzi

Nkisi mia Bovi. See file "n-Mbola."

Cahier 84. Kinkela Ngoma, Vungu

- 1. Kinkulu/Tradition, of migration from Kongo dia Ntotila on account of cannibalism (dia bantu) LKI:25ff. Description of a throwing knife. See file "Kinkela."
- 9. The girl whose brother stuck an awl in his navel.
- 18. Basundi and Bayombe, friends and enemies. Commercial alliances. Members of passing caravans trapped, having allegedly sumuna nkisi, LKI:28. Trade patterns.
- 25. Nanga and the 4-breasted mother in nkondo. LKM:32
- 26. How Nzambi gave out a penis to man but not to woman.
- 32. Slavery. Prices at Boma. Techniques. Names of white slave buyers. People selling an older man would blacken his hair with burnt peanut.
- 39. Ku nsi nkulu kamwateka kala minkisi miamingi ko.LKM:34; Kinkela ends.
- 45. Baluka divungu, chiefship ritual. LKI:27. See c-Kinkela
- 49. Geography of Vungu.
- 54. Animals and birds, trees
- 67. It used to be that if a man married into F or FF clan, divorce was impossible.
- 70. Physical appearance of the people: "some are tall, some are short." Not everybody smells the same.

Cahier 85.

Kinzonzi.

- 87. Ndundu/albino. Body techniques (trivial).
- 105. Circumcision.

Cahier 86. Food. Haircuts

Cahier 87. Houses. Hunting

Cahier 88-89. Cultivation, crafts, pottery, basketry, musical instruments.

LKM Kunku III, pp. 308-13, on drums and drumming.
P. 308. Ndembo, a large standing drum. LKIV p.80.

Cahier 90-91. Cosmetics. Markets. Childbirth. Marriage. Misc.

Cahier 92. Kinkela Ngoma, Vungu, ctd. Kinship.

Slave marriages

Adultery payments

Joking and avoidance relationships with affines.

Insults, obscenities

Funerals

35. Yiwutu: very close relatives

42. Diseases

55. Death. #581

59. Death of chief. 72. The great banganga are believed to go, after their death, to sanga kia mpemba, an island in Nzadi [opposite Boma]. Their arrival is announced by stormy weather.

Cahier 93

Land sale.

Property rights. Rent. Theft.

Cahier 94

Justice. Ordeals.

23. Chiefs. Na Nsafi [nsabi] keeps the keys to the chief's store of wealth. #756 Bula banda.

36. Luyalu, #782. See file "Kinkela."

57. Minkisi for war.

60. How the whites assembled the chiefs of Mumba (north of Kyonzo) and paid cloth for the right to settle there, and how a fight broke out.

65. K 18. Carving, crafts: vala, kusa yimbila, sika.

FILM THREE

Cahier 95, by Kionga in Kingoyi, Minkisi.

1. Mutadi. See file "n-Mutadi."

4. Mwe Nsundi; see file "n-Mwe Nsundi."

9. Mpanda, a very small nkisi.

11. Musansi Bitutu [calabash]. See file "n-Musansi"

17. Lukudi, treats wasting sickness..

18. Mbwanga. See file "n-Mbwanga." Also called Zyeta. See cah97, 117.

Cahier 96. Minkisi.

1. Mwe Mbuku, also called Bunzi. See file "n-Mwe Mbuku"
7. Mutadi, also called Lwamba lwa mpumbu. [Another account from this Cahier is translated in file "n-Mutadi."]
12. Suku. Tuku kwa Suku i mayembo [tuntuka]. Kadi vo muntu kondolo mayembo buna sikasumba mo kwa nganga. For divination. Nitu a Suku i salu, containing ordinary medicines; it's a small nkisi that can be composed mu kumi dia minuta kaka. See cah109:16
16. Kinswiti, for the oversexed.

Cahier 97. Minkisi

1. Mwe Solo, also called Mpanzu.
7. Zieta, also called Mbwanga. Healing, ye mu kanda mvula. Called Zieta kadi kabelwanga ntu diengila. Kanda dia zulu. Origin in nkenge lu kundu i nkumbu a kindekwa-ndekwa kiena mu mila mianlangu, whose motion suggests dizziness. Composed by a man only. Similar to Nkutu Zyeta, cah117.
13. Mbumba. See file "n-Mbumba"

Cahier 98. Minkisi

1. Bunzi with pig's teeth. LKIII:107
8. Nkiduku. See file "n-Nkiduku."
10. Nlongo taboos. Date 1-5-1915. #1421. Distinction between the bina of minkisi and the mina of secular contexts - chiefs, markets, etc. Text drifts into rules of respect for people. A man should announce himself when he comes upon women working, lest he surprise them naked; but this is not a rule everywhere.

Cahier 99

1. Kindoki witchcraft. #1496, 1520, 1535, 1560
16. Nkasa ordeal, used in conjunction with nkisi Suku to identify kundu.

Cahier 100.

1. Kindoki ctd.
2. Mbukulu healing. #1375
16. Influence of the moon.

Cahier 101 & 102. Kionga, Kingoyi

More treatments for various conditions. Care of the body.

Cahier 103. Food

Cahier 104. Nkadulu a bisi nsi aku, Character of the people

Cahier 105. Mbelo madiela.

7. Food

Cahier 106. Care of the body.

17. Child bearing and childhood. Continues into the next.

Cahier 107. 19. Marriage. Continues into Cahier 110.

Cahier 110. 7. Death. #560. Continues into Cahier 112.

Cahier 112-113.

13. Nkwabudulu a mambu. Announcement of minsiku. Settling disputes. Continues into Cahier 114. #712, 724, 745

Cahier 114

3. Minkailu, gifts/sacrifices. How to appease mukuyu. Propitiation of minkisi.

Cahier 115. Konda Yona, in Kinkenge

God and Creation. #1688

#1710. It was believed that the great banganga would mount into the sky and walk about there amid thunder and lightning.

#1310, LKM P.1410

8. Mpandulu a bakisi. To compose a nkisi it was first necessary to find one in the forest, in the earth or under the water.

#928.

Cahier 116. Konda Jean, Kinkenge. Minkisi.

1. Mabimba. See file "n-Mabimba."

3. Mpodi, nkisi wanseke.

11. Malwangu. See file "n-Malwangu"

13. Mbola, nkisi wankosi. See file "n-Mbola"

17. Nsakulu, i nkisi wanungu.

Cahier 117. Minkisi. Konda

Nsambu a mpindi, nkisi ankosi. See file "n-Nsambu."

6. Tiaba nkuni, the bagworm.

7. Nkutu a Zieta. Requires a parrot feather. Cf. cah97. Controls the weather. LKIII:155

10. Ntadi, nkisi a ngombo. Wena futu, no figurine.

12. Simbi, i nkisi a nlangu. #1680

18. Ntafu a nkimba, brief. #2096

19. Nsumbu, nkisi wena mu nsanga (small gourd), with medicines in a futu.

Cahier 118.

1. Nsadulu a diba. #1486 = LKM1186. See file "Diba."
3. Kodia vo dila kia nzau, nkisi.
8. Nkisi Mayimbi. See file "n-Mayimbi"
11. Tolo, used in nkisi and as cosmetic. Black and white. #1485 = LKM 1185, which gives "folo."
13. Mfunka, whisk.
15. Nkisi Kimfwiti kia Mpodi, or Mpodi. See file "n-Mpodi."

Cahier 119. Konda Jean. Minkisi.

1. Mabeta, name of priestess of Mpodi. The others are Mayungi and Nkwelo. See file "n-Mpodi."
2. Sefi.
3. [refers to Nkondi MAMBA, MUNGUNDU, MANTUKU, & MUNSANGA WA NTUMBU, but only describes the second and third.] See file "n-Mungundu."
9. Kiubi kia Mbola. See file "n-Mbola." kyubi = axe LKD
10. Lemba, i nkisi a mbakila.
13. Makongo Banga,
15. Makongo Mpanzu, Makongo nkangu [slav] nkisi.
16. Mayimbi, i nkisi a nkosi. See file "n-Mayimbi."

Cahier 120. Konda in Kinkenge.

1. Ntinu Malenga i nkisi.
3. Mavanga ma kindoki. Witchcraft. #1496 [LKM1196], 1503, 1538.

Cahier 121-122.

1. Kindoki. #1558. Nkasa & mbundu. Nkisi Nkosi will frighten witches from a sick person. Medicines planted at mafula ma vata will harm only passing witches.
5. Bimpa. Songs, tales.

Cahier 123. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Kinkulu of Na Vunda. Luyadulu ku tadi, chief's initiation in a cave. See file "c-Kunzi"

The dead: Bisusi (pamu) that happened in Sept. 1903, and in 1895. #1863. Symmetry of the worlds.

Cahier 124. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Volksphysiognomy. How girls wiggle to attract boys.

Cahier 125. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Scarification sometimes used to distinguish clans.

Cahier 127. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Washing, barbering. Barber = mbangu.

Cahier 128-9. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Childbirth, childrearing, marriage.

Cahier 130. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Marriage of chiefs; they send servant with staff to touch any woman they fancy. Adultery rules.

Cahier 131. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Insults.

Married life.

Social structure: distinction between mvila and kanda. How the division of the clans was a response to incest.

Funza, or Tuka zulu, a little black man who descended from the sky mu mpezomo, brought the first minkisi. One day he returned to the sky in a thunderstorm. LKM p.531, but not the same!

Cahier 132. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Sickness and death. LKM:547ff. Funerals, funeral songs, very detailed.

Cahier 133. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Execution in the market. (Nkisi Lulendo.) The story of the couple whose child died, woman broke rule, rustling leaves, origin of death. Funerals

P.47. Divination#1991.

Animal omens.

Story of three spirits of the dead, Na Ludumu-dumu, Na Lulombo-lombo, Na Matulumunu-mvula [ie., storms].

Nganga samuna.

Account of Nzambi, thoroughly missionised.

Cahier 134. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Nzambi - see Anthology.

Simbi. See file "s-Kunzi"

Sleep and dreams

Cahier 135. Kunzi in Mukimbungu.

Dreams, ctd. Procedures for coping with nightmares.

Nkisi Ngobila, with n'sibu and divinatory chicken sacrifice:

Nkondi kisye! Appeal to Yaya Makibi. [Makibi also mentioned in Cah231, 407]

Prayers at father's grave. Yobila tobe mu mbela mpenga ntu, mu baka mavila = good fortune.

Kituzi animals, ndambu bulu, ndambu muntu.

Lemba treatment for one who sees the dead. Taboos of Lemba priest.

36. The soul.

Cahier 136

9. Soul, ctd. Child acquires breath in the womb (life) from mother's breathing.

Cosmology.

The story of the man who shot a mvudi that was really a woman, who led him to the village of the dead.

Witchcraft. Nkasa poison.

37. Mbundu ordeal. 39. Hot iron ordeal.

Cahier 137 Kunzi

Witchcraft

Sacrifices to the ancestors.

25. Nlongo (nsiku). Nganga. Konko kia kanda, clan taboo.

LKM:1114.

35. Ritual treatment of widow to separate her from her husband.

40. Those guilty of incest are expelled from the clan. LKM:1115.

Cahier 138. Kwamba in Kingoyi

"Numbu i nsi ami."

Nkisi Funza, the chief of mikisi, watuka ku zulu.

15. The war called Lomba Tiya. People instituted the four-day week to limit fighting: mpika and nkoyi for war, mukila and bukonzozo for peace.

Cahier 139. Kwamba, Kingoyi. Minkisi .

1. Nsi ami, Numbu. Kinkulu. Tradition: Twelve clans in his area. [No mention of Kongo]. Chiefship of KiMpombo. See file "c-Kwamba"

4. Nkondi za Mafula. See file "n-Mafula."

6. Nkuba ye nkobe makonko.

9. Nkisi Nkutu Nsi, for wealth; it eats blood.

11. Mungani, to control hunting; subordinate to Funza.

13. Luvu, vo Bunzi. For smithing; very expensive.

16. Muhingu, for catching rats.

Cahier 140.

1. Menga mambiki.

2. Nkisi Mwandasi, to keep one's wife chaste. Stories.

41. Homage to Bunzi.

Cahier 141.

Binkonko.

12. Kundu; autopsy. Nkasa.

16. Chiefs, lumbu, ceremonies.

21. War.

27. Nganga and magical war.

29. Nkisi Nkondi ya ntilumuka. See file "n-Mukwanga." Follows a story about the use of Nkondi to settle quarrels.

31. Yenge kia mfumu mosi. Use of nkisi Mboko to calm a village. See file "n-Mboko."

33. Ngo & Nsiesie, story.

Cahier 142. Minkisi

6. Details of some minkisi. LKM1920.#37. Mbundu, Mutadi, Kula, Mpodi, Mutinu, Muhongo, Mungani, Kodia-nzau.

10. Mfumu Funza ku mamba. LKM1622. #38.

12-21. Mpodi Mputu.

21-29. Bunzi dia nsemoka. #40.

29-34. Kula diampungila. #41.

35. Nkomina. #42.

37. Lemba.

Cahier 143. Minkisi.

1. Lemba ctd.

9. Muhingu. #44.

12. Nzenze. #45.

14. Mungani. #46.

18. Nkondi ya mfiedila. See file "n-Mfyedila." LKM1018. to be ctd.

FILM FOUR

Cahier 144. Kwamba.

Nkondi ya mfiedila, ctd.

2. Nzemba, nkisi a nsakulu (wanseke).

7. Nkisi Mampunga.

13. K. 23, Tolo ye ndozi. LKM1751

36. Mabanza ma bakulu mu bafwa. LKM1804

40. LKM1804. Nsi a bafwa.

41. LKM1813. Mamba ma Kalunga.

Cahier 145. Kwamba, Kingoyi.

Bikula: portents, omens. #1986.

Cahier 146. Kwamba, Kingoyi.

More bikula

13. Biena lulendo lwa kinkisi. #921. Things believed to lutisa lulendo lwa nkisi ye tula nsisi mu wau ye kwa nganga. For example, a mukuyu. The sengo (hardware) nailed into nkondi has no power of itself to vutula ndinda, kansi mukuyu wena lendo kinanguka ye kwenda bwila; LKM:621.

16. Leopard, python and the snake luka lwamamba as empowering binkonko in minkisi.

Cahier 147. Kwamba, Kingoyi.

More on the composition of minkisi. The elders thought mayimbi kavundanga ko kavunda diambu kavengi ye wayundudila bala bandi...What's more, it has meso meso makunduka mu tala bena buzengi. So nganga Mukwanga was thought to have mayimbi in his service.

Bantu bantesa vo lendo kia kinkosi kiena mu mpakasa mu bunga bahananga yambi. Dreams tell you which animal, mu lulendo lwa nkisi, is coming after you.

6. Kinkanda wena lendo ye ngolo mu tomisa bantu mu mpasi za lufwa, kadi wena ngolo mu lembwa kula fwa yandi mu ntambu.

Nsengi monkey: bambanzila vo bulu kia kimfunia mu dia ye tumuna [=vuza] madia ma bantu. Nimble in its movements.

#940. #948. More ingredients. #953.

Cahier 148. Kwamba. Semi-legible

6. Knowledge and understanding, nzailu ye nduka. K.19, #2218.

11. #2220. Transcriptions of birdcalls as messages.

12. #2225. Counting. (LKIV:8).

Games.

20. #2333. What the elders said about the Babemba, BaTeke and bamintala-ndabu. Babemba known as magicians. The Bamintala-ndabu have no eyelids; they eat their dead and bury their pigs. LKM Kunku IX:116.

23. #2375. Geography, cosmology.

30. How the animals got their tails.

32. Transformations of animals. Physiology.

Cahier 149-150. Kwamba, Kingoyi.

Song of the woman who married a crocodile. More songs and riddles (?). Biayimbulwa mu munziki. #2263.

Cahier 151

Metalworking. #301. Nsungi [bli] ye nsongo.

Makala. Charcoal.

Bimpa. Riddles.

Cahier 152. Lemba Joseph, Thysville

Semi-literate. Kinkulu, tradition.

12. List of minkisi. Includes Kiengele (luyalu), Wumba (for women), Mpindi (teki), Mvumbi a maza, Nkosi (nkisi miangolo). 26 in all.

14. Chiefship: NdoFula, Mfutila Na Wembo. Luyalu lwa nkanda ngo ye nkuwu ye vo nkanda nkombo.

17. Death and burial of the chief.

23. No Nkimba; Nkita instead. Circumcision, to please the women. Circumcision names.

29. Childbirth. Children's nkisi-names. Santu names.

33. Kinship terms, nkumbu za yutu.

34. List of shameful words (body parts)

Cahier 153. Loko, Manianga

Names of traps. Nsi eto, bisi Kindamba.

Coming of Europeans, thought to be dead persons from Mazinga clan. Niakumu watambula mindele.

Nkisi Nkosi. See file "Nkosi."

6. Nkisi Mpu.

Nkisi Lemba. Ka wakala wa mfumu ko; wonso muntu with enough money may take it.

Extensive and illegible notes by Laman.

Cahier 154. Lunungu Mose. Nganda.

Sleep and dreams. #1751. The soul, #1724, 1727

Cahier 155.

The life of plants and other natural things #1734, 1736. The soul of a plant is in its roots.

15. Parts of the body

Cahier 156 Lunungu

Bimpa - stories

Cahier 157 Lunungu

Bafwa - the dead. They live just like us, they marry;

kababutanga ko.#1799, 1801

Cahier 158 Lunungu

Bafwa ctd. They excel in kimfunya, because they envy the living. Nzambi's people in the sky suspend their activity during the dry season.

Cahier 159, Lunungu in Nganda. Minkisi.

Laman is obviously editing the text for a Congolese reader; eg. when Lunungu lists a second song with the note "2", L replaces it with "Wahika wau:"

Mpanzu.

Mbwanga. See file "n-Mbwanga"

Nsansi. See file "n-Musansi"

Mbambi za Bakongo. Lenda zekula nsingu ye sa mafumpila mu nitu.

Song includes phrase "Ngulu za Na Nsundi kazawanga mbila ko."

Short, uninteresting text.

Nhingu.

Ngovo. See file "n-Ngovo"

Mayimbi, finkisi fihananga nyembo. See file "n-Mayimbi"

Songo.

Mbanda.

Dila.

Mvutudi.

Mpodi.

Nkondi (see file "n-Mfyedila") Nsongi nzila, used for the churching of women: nsongi e, nsongi nzila.

Mayiza. See file "n-Mayiza"

Bamfumu vo Nsumbu. See file "n-Makwende"

Mbumba maza. See file "n-Mbumba"

Mwanza vo Ntadi.

Bitutu.

Cahier 160a. Joan Mvemba, OR Lunungu - hard to tell.

Minkisi

Kimpasi

Ngombe chiefship

Cahier 160b. Lunungu in Nganda

Kinkulu, clan tradition. Chiefship in Nsundi Mamba, kimfumu kia nsi, ka mu nkisi ko. Lesser chiefships, including Bwende and Mazinga. Muntala, the place of origin of the clans. See file "Lunungu"

Cahier 161.

Bipamu, "divers spook-histories"

Cahier 162.

How to make minkisi.

How to make salt from leaves.

How to chase away ghosts

Wealthy people, such as a lucky fisherman, are suspected of witchcraft.

7. #776. Luyalu; government by elders; markets.
Warfare. Chiefship (see file "Lunungu"), #284.
25. Nkisi Nkiduku to test warriors.
28. Coming of mindele. One of them killed when he tried to appropriate a site by force. Missionaries thought to be bafwa who ate people; baptism as initiation into kindoki.
35. Dance songs, used to express opinion.
Funeral rites. Conditions for return of marriage money.

Cahier 163. Lunungu

Misc. taboos: like persons should not urinate together lest one die and come fetch his companion. Pregnant women not to eat eggs lest the child be bald. LKM:1127.
Ngudi a kutu "inner ear."

Cahier 164. Miscellaneous

Cahier 165. Spook histories

Cahier 166-168.

Bimpa, ngana, witch stories.

Cahier 170. Riddles, etc.

Cahier 171 Lunungu

How Niumbula was buried but suddenly rose again.
Longo lwa mbwata - "bottle marriage," without marriage money.
Chiefship. Enthronement on the leopardskin, kimfumu kia nsi.
Healing of leprosy. See file "Lunungu"
Clothing, cosmetics, gestures: how to interpret them.
Fathers, sons, and hunting luck.
Nkisi Niambi
Rules and terms of kinship. Affinity = buko.

Cahier 172. 12.12.1916

Tradition. Ntukulu a bantu ku ndambu Nsundi Masiki.
Several pages on how difficult it was to get coherent kinkulu from the elders.
Kinkulu, chiefship of Kimumba.
The Mazinga chiefship, and tadi dia Tunsima. See file "Lunungu"
Lulendo

Cahier 173. Lunungu in Nganda

Misc. animals, etc.
Bamintala-ndabu lack eyelids and eat men instead of pigs.
Taboos of nkole tumpline.

Nkisi Nsakulu, for a man whose wife is insatiable.
Note on Nzazi: thought to be owned by the bakisi ba yulu.
Minkisi such as Nkondi could strike an offender's village with lightning. The inhabitants would then send for nganga Nkondi lest lightning strike again.
last page: a note in Lunungu's handwriting: nziki (muziki) = mboma.

Cahier 174. Lunungu in Nganda. 5.1.1917.

Tricks of the banganga.
The Mazinga cave holds 100 people. Has four openings and has statues in it, bifwani biankadulu za bantu biamatadi.
Lunungu notes that he traveled 16 days in Bwende and Lukunga in Jan. & Feb.

Cahier 175. Lunungu 22.10.1917

Animals, insects and their uses in minkisi etc. Mosquitoes sent by witches.

Cahier 176. Lunungu 13.10.1916. Witchcraft stories

Cahier 177. Lunungu. Proverbs.

Cahier 178. Lunungu in Nganda

Misc. animals. Drums.
Two days' fieldwork, 80 cents informants' fees.

Cahier 179. Lunungu in Nganda

Code language. KiBula Matadi (LKIV:5-7)
Mayembo trembling

Cahier 180. Lunungu. Bifu bya BaYaka. LKIV:24.

Cahier 181. Lunungu. Bifu bya BaYaka

Witchcraft. Kinzonzi. "Casual" marriage arrangements. Use of nkisi Lemba to guard the chastity of wives. Lunungu notes variations between this area and "the way we do it."

Cahier 182. Lunungu

Mpinga. Other taboos. Proverbs in C dialect.

Cahier 183-187. Lunungu in Indo

Stories and proverbs in KiTsangi. Laman says, "BaYaka Indo."

Cahier 188-189. Lunungu

Funeral and other misc. customs, apparently Yaka.

Cahier 190. Lunungu.

Customs of the BaBongo. Apparently condescending and unreliable reporting. "They stink, they don't build decent houses, just hovels."

Cahier 191. Lunungu. The BaTsangi.**Cahier 192-196. Lusa Meso.**

Nkimba, or nkisi Lwangu. Taboos of the initiation include, vana vena ngudi a nganga ka nena mfuni ko. List of very specific Nkimba questions in Laman's handwriting.

FILM FIVE**Cahier 197. Lusala Joane, Nganda**

Crafts. The lucrative ones include making hoes; bracelets for chiefs earn the smith a pig.

Cahier 198. Lusala.

Pottery. Mats, canoes, drums. Hides used by nganga zantadi: mbala, mayalu, nzobo, nkima. Houses.

Cahier 199.

More on houses and what goes in them. Relations between husband and wife.

Cahier 200. Lusala.

Marriage. Avoidance rules; suspension of same after child is born. Authority of the clan. Children, slaves.

Cahier 201

Death and inheritance. Debts and contracts. Arbitration.

Cahier 202. Lutambi Samueli, Niangi.

Natural history: fish, birds. Mongo the fabulous beast.

Cahier 203.

Nkisi: Kibasa, Nzau, Mazebo, Mayiza (Bamfumu) - see file "n-Mayiza."

Cahier 204-06. A.M. Lutangu, Diadia

Much crossed out and rewritten by Laman; virtually indecipherable. Some of it is about scarification and sex. Later, about food, drink, animals, cooking, care of the body

(menstruation, care after childbirth). Hairstyles. Washing. Clothing.

Cahier 207. Lutangu

Funerals. Diseases. Nkisi: Ta Mankwangu, for yela ku tulu; Mfwemo, for yela kwa ntaka; yela kwa ntulu [chest] that is not cured is caused by not initiating to Mbenza after having children.

When someone dies, the body is painted with nkula in oil; this is called: Mvumbi imeni sungwa. #593: Vangudulwa [separation] is to cut hair and nails from the body, wrap them in lemba-lemba and bury them at the foot of a *nti kaleki* tree where there are hills of binionio ants. #607, burial of chiefs and men of wealth.

Cahier 208. Lutangu - in Kimpunga, Diadia

More on funerals, #630, 625, 636, 638. Funeral songs. Houses and villages. #615. Food; hunting, fishing, livestock.

Cahier 209.

Lutangu, it says, but inside it is "Lazalo Nkwangu of Diadia" and the handwriting is different. About halfway through, Lutangu takes over.

Mortuary rituals. Joking relations.

Distinction between mvila and kanda.

Warring clans could make peace by dikasana kondi.

Kinkulu: we came from Noki. The chief's name was Mayombe; he bought and sold slaves, fought wars, executed many, burned villages. Slavery.

Death of important chief or nganga may stop the rain.

[All the foregoing very brief.]

Lutangu: #695. Settling disputes. Mbundu ordeal. #706, 725.

Cahier 210, Lutangu.

Bisimbi. Water spirits, dwarfs, very old people. Witches, too: "those with cold hands." Simbi of the village, simbi ku mpemba. Some bisimbi come from minkisi, others were once living people. See file "s-Lutangu" #169.

Minkisi, #925.

Cahier 211

Minkisi: Songo & Mpokoni (made in antelope horn; ntima bound with maka manti a nkuki, resin from the nkuki tree).

A dead leopard must not be brought into the village with meso ma mpene but must have its eyes covered with a black cloth.

Food taboos.

Nkisi Ndemo, made in a goat's horn. Nkisi Mbenza: "Lekwa kiena nkisi wawu kizeyi kio ko."

Nkisi Luvemba vo Bunzi, usemukanga bansemi.

Nsonde, Mwalwangu, Ngovo.

Nzau (Nzawu). [This material is messy and repetitive, but contains odds and ends of information.]

Cahier 212. Lutangu

#937, powers of minkisi. Leopard is not used in minkisi, it's for luyalu. Inauguration of chiefs.

Nkisi Nsakulu contains snakes' heads and black ants.

Bansalafu ants...

Nkisi Mangwa, Mazebele, Ngongo, for fighting wars, ie. for testing warriors before combat.

Mwalwangu ye Nsonde, minkisi milawulanga [laukisanga]. Called nkosi.

Cahier 213

Kinkulu, clan histories. Nsundi, etc. Brief notes.

#942. Powers of minkisi. Controlling rain. Misc. notes. #946.

Disease and the weather. #952, nkisi ingredients.

#956: Minkisi and the diseases they treat. All this barely legible, repetitive, and not very informative. Much of it apparently crossed out by Laman.

#960, 966, 969, 976, 979: Minkisi.

Names of banganga and their wives. Bakento balutidi kala kinganga mu nkisi mibutilanga i ku Mayiza, Na Maza, Mwa Mbuku Mongo. Others, wives of priests, are called nkazi a Mayiza, etc.

Mivananga vila vo ntomoso, mu baka mbongo vo madia: Songo, Mpungu, Mpokoni. Songo i fifutu fiafunda dianlele fiatulwa bilongo bibateba ye ntu mia nuni zanyembo kitunsi [Ispidina picta], sempe[le] (Halcyon albiventris orientalis).

Cahier 214, Lutangu

Minkisi encore. Miscellaneous, barely legible. #981

Kinkimba language, examples.

#987, 999, 993

Cahier 215

More of the same. #997, Attaching mbwa in nkisi to catch a thief.

#2075. Nkimba names, ritual, songs, language.

Letter to Laman, 30/12/1917.

Cahier 216. Lutete Esaya, CMA Lolo

Anna typed it on 24.2.21. Much of this is rambling, the pages apparently crossed out by Laman. Kinkulu kia nsi a Lolo and of his father's clan, Mbinda. See file "c-Lutete."

- 31. The origin of death
- 33. Slavery
- 36. Mbwangi and other minkisi respected for dealing with witches. Superficial.
- 43. Kinkulu of Teng'i. See file "c-Lutete"
- 47. Marriage feasts. More kinkulu (see "Lutete").
- 65. 27 kinds of game animals and 27 kinds of fish; edible plants (lists).
- 71. Scraps of kinkulu. Bafisana bezi ye tula kio mu kiteke mpasi luwawanu lwena kala nakekete mbandu ka mbandu.
- 74. Nsi a Bwende. Bwende people of the Kinumbu clan crossed from Vungu to Mpalabala, where he married a girl with one breast and took her home. She had four children, the Panzu clan of Mumba. More travels, purchase of land. List of chiefs.
- 78. Physical appearance of bisi nsi ami. Manners.
- 84. Albinos, whose hair, called *nkufi*, is sold to banganga. It is put in nkisi, with other medicines on top. When they bakomina nkisi they go under a cloth, ku nsi a luvungu.
- 86. More on appearance. "Some have large ears, some small." Beauty scars for girls. Teeth filing. Circumcision.
- 85. Sorrow, anger, health
- 103. Foodstuffs (lists). No cannibalism here, but elsewhere..!
- 107. Palmwine. 110. Intoxicants.
- 114. Cooking.

Cahier 217. Lutete.

More on food. Clothes, ornaments, amulets.

- 21. Housebuilding.
- 34. Hunting.
- 42. Planting. Crafts, smithing.
- 67. Markets.
- 75. The old road that goes to Boma, #346.
- 78. Things transported on the head, #349.
- 79. Marriage. Etiquette for courting and sex. Sex instructions: vo bakala zolele lekila nkento mansenga.

Cahier 218, Lutete. 86 pages

More on marriage. 3. Polygyny, #465.

- 10. Wedding agreements. Marital obligations. Respect between in-laws.
- 27. Wife's obligations. Marital insults.
- 33. Raising children.

39. The clan head.
 45. Funerals, #517.
 51. Kanda and mvila. Mpudi a Nzinga: Mpudi is mwana, Nzinga is se.
 58. #531. Nkisi Funza, fertility functions.
 67. Mu nsi yayi ya Bwende [Bwende vid Lolo]: nsamu a mwana wa kulu kumosi.
 68. Diseases, #537. The page after "70" is "60."
 60. Minkisi. Nganga sprinkles water on mbevo in dead of night; if he does not pamuka, maybe he will get better. Treatments for various diseases. Nkisi Bundula for toothache.
 82. Nkisi Nkubulu, for smallpox. See file "n-Nkubulu."

Cahier 219

Nkisi Nkubulu, ctd. More medical treatments, 48 in all. Some are called minkisi.

4. #28. For mambusa, nkisi Kanda ndungu. [mambusa = kidneys] Text in LKM #545.
 5. #29. For luka, nkisi Ndobudi
 6. #45. For mvindani mu vumu: an nkisi called Lukengo, Kikuyungu or Nkukula. Nkisi wowo balenda dia mbisu mu nseke ye yimbu kia ngolo balenda lamba ye seba kio mu kinzu ye dia ye kabalendi mona buma ko. Kazu didianga bana vanda nkisi wowo dileluswanga va ntandu a nzini a nkento bosi nkento una lafika nlala ye dina leka koko nini, mbazi nsuka diau bana dia kani badia yimbu bana teka dia kazu diodio bosi bana dia nsusu. I nkisi wa mbi beni beni mu diambu dia fu kiokio.13. Medical care in general, #569.
 22. LKM585. Burial. A white rag called nsoni zafwa is tied across the eyes of the deceased. 27. We don't dry corpses. See file "c-Lutete."
 34. Funerals of important people. 44. Dirges, 50 of them.

Cahier 220, Lutete.

Kindoki, Witchcraft.

Nkasa ordeal.

Mbundu ordeal. See file "Mbundu."

Cahier 221

Witchcraft. #1498. Portents and familiars. Mpandulu as for nkisi. "Tuala mbut'aku." Bilongo for kindoki. Acquires kundu of three kinds, located in 3 different places in the body. At night, the witch grows claws and teeth like a leopard's. A witch caught in a trap falls ill. Nkisi uzaikisanga ndoki i ndoki. How to detect witches (put drops in their eyes, see if they turn red). Some are bald because after eating human flesh they rub the fat on their heads. 42. Places where witchcraft feasts are held.

#1929. Yes, witches recognise one another. They can change into animals. #1531. They do not eat nzini. #1543. Internal and external signs.

62. Nkasa ordeal, three days. Songs, formulae.

86. Mbundu ordeal. See file "Mbundu."

93. Nkisi Bau. See file "Bau."

Cahier 222. Lutete Esaya

102. Nkadi a mpemba, nkuluntu a bandoki.

103. #1563. Bilokolo mu nkasa. Songs.

123. #1576. Story of the witch Fuladio, and others. 143, #1582.

Cahier 223.

Stories of the land of the dead. Activities of nganga.

8. Minkisi: Mayodi, p.13 Panzu, p.14 Mbongo, p.17 Dipombo.

26. Stories of the bisimbi. Pangu Lusunzi and the fight with Pulu Bunzi. irregular pagination See file "s-Lutete"

6. Mbamba, a shell in which the elders hid their souls. Various rocks, etc.

11. #1493. Binkoko familiars, bivanduanga bonso bu vandwanga kindoki.

19. Nkisi Nsungu and Mbambi za Luwanda, bavandila mu mpezomo (brief). Death by witchcraft.

film six

Cahier 224, Lutete Esaya. K. 29, Minkisi

Lutete's list of diseases is at LKM:537ff.

1. Nkisi is a thing to help people who are sick, and to tell them things that other people do not know. The first nkisi is Mpulu Bunzi, LKIII:69. Strange rocks also called minkisi kwandi ye mvangi au i Mpulubunzi... [he tends to use simbi and nkisi interchangeably]

4. Kabu dia nkisi diateka vangwa i bakisi bankosi, landila babiese mu laukisa bankua mbi.

new p.1. Mankuni cures mputa zazingi. The minlunguzi of this nkisi include balancing a hot pot on your legs without burning.

7. 2) Nkondi Mamba Me Mbenza. See file "n-Nkondima" and cah225.

10. 3) Nkondi mu Ngundu Me Mvuma. See file "n-Mungundu."

12. 4) Nkita Nsumbu. See file "n-Nkita Nsumbu" and cah225.

14. 5) Nkita Nyombe. KEL says = "from Mayombe"

16.[new pagination] Nkisi mianlangu: 1. Na Maza. LKM842 says Babutidi. See also cah 231 and file "n-Na Maza."

2. Mayanda. See file "n-Mayanda."

3. Mbobo

4. Nsiba Mabilia Miandembi vo mwana weti bela mbazu [fever] buna soba tukula yobisa mwana. Pandulu andi tula kandikila [that's all]
5. Mabwilu.
6. Mbundu, very brief; see file "Mbundu".
7. Matenzi - see file "n-Matenzi."
8. Mbwangi.
9. Ntedika.
10. Katoti. [A note here, probably KEL, says "Esaya Lutete," indicating doubt as to the authorship]
11. Fundu Kimbwa.
12. Lubangala [see file "n-Lubangala"]
13. Simbi, i nkisi batula pezo nanungu. [At the end of this list of minkisi he writes "Momo mabanza mangolo zankisi nkumbu a nganga Lubamba Mwanda" - informant?]
10. Mabilia vo Mayina. See file "n-Mabyala."
15. Konga vo fiela manga. #1969. The section includes lots of songs, and is followed by a similar one on Ngombo. Last page dated by KEL 8/1/1942.

Cahier 225. Minkisi

1. Mbenza. See file "n-Mbenza."
15. Bisimbi. Mangundazi. P.18."Lusongo, songula nzila."
21. Bisimbi bia Kimvwete [place]. Mingulazi-Mingulazi.
22. Bisimbi bia Nkodo Masu.
31. Nto a Binsungwa.
34. Nto a Kimbidi.
37. Bisimbi i matadi mangitukulu, some red, some white.LKM:1318
51. Bisimbi biankaka i bimenamena. LKM:1326
58. Nsemono a bisimbi. Mu ndambu yayi, basema bisimbi biena mwamu bayenda ku mfinda, not on foot but on their knees. LKM 1368
60. Bisimbi bia bisi Ngandu.
63. Nto a Nkondo yena 19 dia matadi.
72. Mbenza songs.
75. Nkita Nsumbu. This bit is not in file "n-Nkita-ns." See cah224.
81. Za kia Nkondi Mamba, which has simbi-power. See cah224.
83. Za kia Mpungu na Mbuma.
84. Za kia Kidi-kidi. And yet more waters...

Cahier 226

K.26. Bisimbi ye Miongo. #1643. A long list of rocks which were called bisimbi. A group of 20 are called by the name Mabembe (pigeons); they are white, as though painted with mpezo. Manluka is a simbi ka kiasemua kua zinganga ko but by Mpulubunzi; he has

29 children. These rocks much inhabited by bangumba (porcupines). Pools inhabited by bisimbi. LKIII:40

Cahier 227

Mbuena a mangu ye bamona bio i bafwa bakituka minkuyu vo biniumba. Bayembe = nkuyu. #1877.

Cahier 228

Minsamu ku nsi a bafwa. Ghost stories. How the chief Makayi Ngoma presides over his grave-site. LKM1518.

Cahier 229

Brief references to 41 minkisi.

7. Nkisi i kanda dia bisimbi mu sadisa mu bukila bantu mu mayela mau. Mbundu was the first nkisi. Then in Ngoyo they made Mabilia Mandembe, wabikwa nkosi; bisi Mayombe learned it from them.

#962, 967, 971

13. Mbumba Luangu i nkisi uviokele mu ngolo. The nganga can climb a palm without loop. This brief information came from Ndimba, nganga of Mb.Luangu, still alive though very old.

15. Ku nsi nkulu, vo kiteke kiatutukua bakala, they carved a male statue, female for a woman.

16. Wonso muntu wena mayembo lenda vanda nkisi. #978, 984

21. Nkisi Mbambi za Lwanda

23. List of 65 minkisi.

25. Nkisi miamionso vo biteke biena zimbau mibikuanga nkumbu Nkosi, mu d.d. mibuidilanga muntu mu ntulu ye milenda dukisa buala mu fintangu-ntangu.

Nkisi mia biese, etc. List of 13 kinds of minkisi, distinguished by function and type of container.

29. Characteristics of minkisi. #992, 994, 996, 998

33. Bavanga kiteke bonso mbua vo bulu kiankaka kia nganzi vo kifwani kia muntu wakala ngolo ye bedisa bankaka.

36. Lulendo lwa nkisi, #925. Stones, animals, birds.

Cahier 230.

K.24 Bafwa, the dead. Burials of different types.

32. #622. Those who are buried alive are bound hand and foot mboki nengumuna rolled va kati a ndiamu; vo yena kimbi kiantela buna yantela yina kala mu ndiamu. Vo kimbi kia lambala buna nkela mpe yina lambudukwa. Vo mvumbi ya mfumu ntu andi bana tadisa ku bwala lidi lezi kiandi vingidi kimfumu una kumfidisanga ndozi za biza.

33. A slave of no account was buried on his back; vo wakala nzitusu fiuma mu ntulu, vo wakala nzitusu beni ntela mirole.

Cahier 231. Nkisi.

Ngovo. See file "Ngovo"

Koko Bondo. See file "n-Nkoko-b."

Na Maza. See file "n-Namaza."

Kengele. See file "n-Nkengele."

Lau. See file "n-Lau"

Kalu ki Kondi, v. brief.

Nsungu. See file "n-Nsungu."

#9. Mensundi Nlambi. "Mbenza yayi ye simbi kiaki.." Has in it se & ngudi and nine children. v. brief.

#10. Membaku Mwanda. Simbi stone.

#11. Membaku Nsundi. Carved stone?

12. Nsundi Meluadi. Bisimbi biole.

13. Mbenza Mvuma. 4 simbi stones.

14-50. List of one-sentence references to misc. "bilekwa biatungwa."

8. Bilekwa biatungwa. List of things and their uses. Some of them seem to help with fishing. *Dibu*, name of a tree that puts ndoki to flight;

mfukisi (destroyer, terminator), a creeper used in mpandulu nkisi mvita, also worn on the left wrist by women ku nzo futa. From *fwa*.

Tulungi, another of the same. On p.20, he mentions Tubungu as a creeper that Nganga Kengele ties in the nzo futa to hide the warriors.

Lumbangumbu leaves burned by nganga mu luta luengusina mu zaya bandoki mu ndozi vo bana ta kimbi (investigate witchcraft - LKD).

Dimbuila a leaf used by banganga to see vata dia bafwa, diau basikanga kimpanzingila.

18, No.52.Nkita nsi. Nkisi Mvumbi muyemba.

19, no.54. Mobula and Mungelengeze, nsinga wa luyalu. Like kimfumu, they last for ever.

21. Mala mbuaki, a herb squeezed into the eyes of nkimba initiates to make their eyes red.

Nkisi Zandu dia Bunzi, for poverty.

Nkisi Mekangu

p.28. All about chiefship. See file "Lutete"

Cahier 232

1. Kinkulu. Kimfumu kia Makaba.

11. Me Mbuku Mbangala. See file "c-Lutete"

17. Zintadi za bisimbi. Famous rocks and pools.

37. Famous banganga of the past.

Cahier 233

Kinkulu of Cabinda.
Bandoki ye minkisi.
33. Nkisi Mbumba Bingu. Cf. Cah219.

Cahier 234

Lukadulu lwa BaYaka. #2347. LKIV, KIX:130.
12. Kinkulu ku nsi a Yema. #2785. See file "c-Lutete."
17. Mbele Lulendo. See file "Lutete."
25. Luyalu lwa Bwene. See file "Lutete."
34. Minkailu kwa bafwa, sacrifices to the dead.
40. Mwela - the soul.

Cahier 235.

K.17. Luyalu: chiefship. See file "c-Lutete."
6. How Maswa Ngoma sold a tract to Mpudi a Nzinga for two slaves and went elsewhere.
41. Ma Ngudi a Mabidi, who had nine breasts.
42. Ku nsi nkulu, Boma was called Lombe [the name of the market].

Cahier 236

Kinkulu kia nsi a Mbangala, Kimbenza. Nkosi Tona ku Mbamba. See file "c-Lutete."
The rocks and springs on the mountain Nkodo Masu. Leopards give birth there, and chiefs store their souls; in the dry season mabembe (pigeons) are trapped.
Drum message rhythms, ningu mu ngoma.

Cahier 237

Animal stories

Cahier 238. Lwamba Josefi, Diadia, 1916.

K.23 Tulu ye ndozi, sleep and dreams
19. Bafwa, the dead
61. Bankuyu, ghosts

Cahier 239. Lwamba in Lolo

K.11 Nkwedolo - marriage. Includes KEL's questions.
48. Kanda and mvila.

Cahier 240: Minkisi

K.30 minkisi
1.. Mwivi, for success with theft, women and hunting
9. Songo. Nsonde Ngovo, see file "n-Ngovo."

23. Nkondi Nsanda. See file "n-Nkondi Nsanda."
37. Funza dia Monzi. Kanda ku Luangu.
44. Mpandi a Kadi, kanda Mazinga [mvila].
51. Mbumba Nzeka, Nkiduku. Zeka bantu bana kwiza kwa ngeye.
59. Lufwa
61. Kibwa Ntombe ["Who walks at night?"], or Mpanzu Bakala.
Ensures wife's chastity.

Cahier 241. Maboku, Kinkenge

K.3 Physical characteristics of bodies. Uninteresting.

Cahier 242. Mabwila, location unknown.

Kinkulu, history. Chiefship. Nandukuta. Na Mazinga. Na Ntentila, Namoto. Difficult and uninteresting. See File "Mabwila."

Cahier 243. Mabwila.

Nkasa. Banganga.

Cahier 244. Mabwila.

Kinkulu kia kisi Mpambala, Na Mazinga.
Na Ndonga, who had huge hands and breasts like tree trunks.
Nkisi Santu, Na Mbevo.

Cahier 245. Loti Mafula, Mbanza Manteke.

(Loti was a slave redeemed by the mission; his gravestone could be seen in 1965.)
Omens. Kimbembe hovering near the village foretells makiese mana kuluakila.
Death and ghosts.
Minkisi - general.
Mpudi a Nzinga, nkisi a luyalu, and Nampindi, both lifesize and feared. Diatu. Nkiduku. All very brief. Makwende for hunting.
Nsonde. Santu, also for hunting. Nduyi, Ndule, Kubungu.
Kinkuma.
Ingredients of minkisi. Mbambi za Nsesi put in because nsesi is very intelligent. Parts of the body. Hot water treatment for infants. Marriage and marriage rules. If a woman is having a difficult labor, many people, including men, should come to watch, so that she will be ashamed and hurry up. (All very superficial, but interesting oddments).

Cahier 246

Kinkulu of Kongoliya. Aborigines were Avidi, red ironworkers. The eight original clans were named after their father, na Kongo. Kinkulu of Manteke, Mbenza and Nanga.
Funerals (superficial). [This material is in LKM on p.25]

Geophagy. Women eat mafuma. Mpezo is similar but whiter.

Cahier 247

Cooking. Women did not know Kinkimba.
Good list of parts of the body.
List of words easily confused by Europeans.
Property rights. Land sale.
Household goods.
Hunting. Division of game. Fishing.

Cahier 248.

Stories, including "The son of Nzambi Mpungu." #1705 [=1405].
See MacGaffey, "The Black Loincloth and The Son of Nzambi Mpungu," in B. Lindfors, ed., Forms of Folklore in Africa, 1977.

Cahier 249. Makasi Esaya, Manianga.

Minkisi. Disorderly, barely legible.

Cahier 250-251. Makundu of Mukimbungu

Birth and death. Brief and barely legible. He writes out the questions:

1. Mbutulu abana bwe yenina?
2. Moyo kani in nki kwani?
3. Mase madikanda ye luvila nkia nkumbu mana bikwa?
4. Bwe yabanzulua ye bila kia fwila?
5. Muntu bu kafidi bwe kafwilanga?
6. Bafwa fulu kibakalanga bwe bienina? Etc.

Cahier 252

Lemba, Ntadi, Nzau, Mpodi, Kubungu, Songo and other minkisi.
Barely legible. Lemba is also called Funza; to compose it the support of kanda dia mase is necessary.

Cahier 253, Makundu in Mukimbungu

Nkisi Nsonde. See file "Nsonde."
92. Nkisi Mbuzi, nkisi a kiese. Unusual taboos of nganga, list of medicines - that's all.
94. Ngizulu a madongula = chiggers
95. Kimpanzu, nkisi a lubanzi
98. Nsilu a mbwa evo mfunia mu nkisi wa Nsonde, vo Ngobila, vo Mbuzi.
100. Nkisi Dia Bilezi.
106. Matamba i nkisi a bwazi mu nitu.
109. Bela kwa tulu, or the origin of nkisi wa Ndungina, whose composition requires that it be stuffed in the belly of a live pig.

Cahier 254.

- 115. How a free man may be enslaved.
- 120. Zikulua maloki. #1932.
- 125. Mwanza i nkisi a vutudila nsala muntu.
- 130. The origin of dancing.
- 132. Kimfwita, nkisi to protect a fighter from bullets.
- 139. Nkisi Na Kongo. See file "n-Nakongo"
- 143. Nkisi Ngobila. See file "n-Makwende"
- 150. Bodisa, nkisi to vonda ngolo zankisi miankaka.

Cahier 255. Makundu, Mukimbungu. Minkisi.

- 156. Kindyondyo
- 172. Mazenzila
- 180. Waniaka [= Bovi]. See file "Mbola"
- 189. Madungi [matutu ma mfinda].

Cahier 256. Minkisi. Makundu

- 199. Mivovele
- 206. Makwende. See file "n-Makwende."
- 217. Mayiza. See file "n-Mayiza."
- 224. Zimbambi.
- 230. Sela Mayende

Cahier 257. Minkisi

- 1. Nkengani, inkisi ankandila mvula ye nwika bantu mpe. Also scares off the dead, if you keep seeing them.
- 5. Kinkanda
- 11. Manzanza [= simbi kianlangu]
- 19. Kibungi [= mbungi a zizi]
- 27. Nsansi a Matadi
- 33. Mpungu
- 38. Kindungu-ndungu

Cahier 258. Minkisi

- 1. Luvuka
- 9. Ndoki a Nsoki
- 18. Nkondi. See file "Nkondimu."
- 25. Na Mbangu
- 33. Manlengolokono, nkisi a mvita

Cahier 259. Minkisi. Mukimbungu

- 1. Nsumbu. For each of these minkisi Matunta gives little more than the taboos.
- 9. Funza
- 11. Lusunzi
- 12. Ntaka

- 14. Diatu
- 16. Mbwanga
- 18. Nsansi
- 21. Nkondi a Mamba. #1781. Nganga Nkondi may not tala kini mu nlangu, kuna mpe tala zizi mu lumweno ko. That's all.
- 22. Kinkuma. See file "Kinkuma."
- 26. Nkanda
- 29. Madungu. See file "Madungu"
- 31. Makuta

Cahier 260. Minkisi.

- 1. Londa
- 5. Kimpanzu
- 7. Nkondi. Brief.
- 9. Songo
- 11. Nkiduku
- 13. Simbi
- 15. Mayiza. See file "n-Mayiza"
- 17. Mbuzi
- 19. Lemba
- 22. Kindiondio/ Kindyondyo

Cahier 261. Minkisi.

- 1. Londa dia Makanga
- 4. Zimpambu
- 7. Na Mbangu
- 9. Nkungazi
- 15. Nkuswa Mamba
- 17. Nsakulu
- 22. Makenda
- 24. Kukula

film seven

Cahier 262, Makundu

- K.34 Ndilu a nkasa. Ngombo divination.
- 32. Mpandusulu a minkisi.
- 42. Healing and treatment.
- 48. Mvutudulu a nsala, returning of souls.
- 52. Mpayukusulu a mwana, bringing out the child.

Cahier 263. Makundu

Songs, stories

- 30. Trees: M'fuma (spikes all over), n'kamba (very tall). Potting.

Cahier 264-65

Stories of rising from the dead.

The country of Na Vaka

Mampuya Andela went to the land of the dead, came back, gave up his second wife and lives to this day (very Christian).

Young man bewitched by old woman.

Cahier 266

Praise names of KiNlaza, Na Vunda, Na Tuma, Nanga, Mazinga, Ndamba, Kitona, Bwende, Ngidi, Mbenza, Ngombe, Nkumba, Mpanga, Na Vangi, Mbamba, Ngoma, Na Ntudi - 17 in all..

Ntotila = totila bantu madia = yundula beni (KEL).

Cahier 267. Malanda Nsaki, Kimbambi, Kinkenge.

Kinkulu, clan history. Not well done.

Cahier 268. Malumba Benjamin. Musana.

He is very missionized, not very knowledgeable.

Kinkulu, Kimbamba clan. See "c-Malumba"

9. Story of a battle with French troops, and how mfumu Ntolo lost his chiefship.

13. Small chiefships, called mayala makinkondo.

A famous hunt.

22. Trapping, planting.

Cahier 269.

Breeding livestock. Food taboos. Division of cooked food.

35. Public meetings. Nganga ngombo. Nkasa ordeal.

49. Leagues of chiefs would seal agreements by dia nkondi.

Cahier 270.

57. How to bring a war to an end by the mediation of neighboring chiefs.

The coming of white people. Beto butwamona mindele mu nsi eto twabanza vo bankuyu bafwa bafulukidi mu diodio bameni yubula, but others were skeptical. The first arrivals were Bula Matadi, but afterwards the French took over, to our puzzlement. When the missionaries arrived, writing our names on paper, we thought they would kill us by kindoki.

60. The Kimbamba clans. Fimpasi beni mu mana bangula zazo, kadi bambuta zabantu beti tina beni, beni! Kadi beti banza vo tuna sona nkumbu zau mu nkanda ye ku badia mu kindoki kiето.

Bisimbi (see "Bisimbi")

65. General essay on minkisi. See file "Pasnkisi."

Cahier 271.

Nkisi Mbwangi and rainmaking.
The dead.
90. Bisimbi.

Cahier 272. Mulumba.

K.27 104. Mase ma luketo; genitor. Descriptions of the dead; they replicate the living.

Cahier 273

General discussion of minkisi and healing, concluding that now we have Nzambi we are much better off.

Cahier 274

Woodcarving. The best-looking statues are believed to be more effective and cost more. The carver does not make his own figures. Costs of figures.
Songs and dances, musical instruments.
Bisimbi and bankuyu contrasted.

Cahier 275

Misc. songs, stories, proverbs. Isai Nzuzi contributes scraps.

Cahier 276. Mampuya, in Kai

Witchcraft, divination. Nkasa.
Chiefship of MaKai. See file "c-Mampuya."
If a man lacks money or hunting luck, buna una kuenda kua mase ye vwata kimbanzia mu tambula lusemo kua mase mu kanda dikabutua. Ritual.
Chicken sacrifice for a sick man. No specific nkisi mentioned, but the invocation is as for Ngobila. Ntangu a fwa, yayine!. NB: kito kiankondi katuka. At the end of the invocation, Mampuya writes: "Nsonekene momo monso malembolo zaia mbangudulu lenda mo yuvula."

Cahier 277. Masamba in Matende , near Mukimbungu

1. Traps
minkisi - barely legible.
3. Chiefship of NaKai, wadiata nkanda ngo. His inauguration, barely legible. See file "c-Masamba."

Cahier 278. Masamba Mose in Mukimbungu. Written in 1914

Chiefship of NaNdamba, who burned people at a n'kondo in a market near Mukimbungu. See file "c-Masamba." Lulendo.
Fathers and sons. Difficult to read.

Cahier 279. Mato David, Maduda

K.1-10. Chiefship of Me Kivula Mazamba.

War nkisi called Nsimbu.

Mbenza clans.

Names of fish, trees. Names of chiefs. Kavati.

Nkadulu a bisi nsi. Food and drink. Nkebolo a nitu.

House. Activities. Preparing food.

Mat weaving; bwinu = design. Picture of design called kimbambi.

Trade.

Mbutulu ye kimwana.

Cahier 280. Mato David, from Kivula, "an outschool 45 minutes from Maduda."

K.11-19. Mbutulu ye kimwana.

13. Marriage. A man pays an unmarried woman one lubongo per night.

54. Death. List of 14 diseases.

72. Property rights.

84. Lulendo ye nsiku. Engagements, inheritance. Debts.

98. Nzengolo a mambu.

113. Nkubukulu a bisi nsi.

129. Luyalu. Chief Me Vula Pungi. Each village had its own chief.

133. At the investiture, they put munkwisa on top of the kobi bakulu; if it grows, the chief will rule; if not, not. See file "Mato."

139. In war, few died; compensation paid.

193. Bula Matadi and the mission.

146. Carving, color, music. Includes drawings of various products: ndubi, nkela, tumba kia muntu, and nkisi Makwende - a four-legged animal stuck full of nails.

Dances. Songs.

K. 19. Signs and knowledge.

We are called basundi, speak kisundi. The differences among mvu, mimvu, luvu, zimbu.

Parts of the body. The creator is Bunzi Ngoma. Sun, moon, stars.

Cahier 281. Matunta

Dialect differences between Musana and "beto" [Nganda/Bulu]

An albino child is an effect of nkisi Ndundu.

Death, burial

Cahier 282

More on death and burial

Cahier 283.

More on death and burial; responds to questions about burial alive.

69. Malaki vo dizi (nkungi).

Cahier 284. Matunta

Bisimbi ni bantu bateka mana fwa ntama beni. Also called bankuyu (malicious), bankita (generous), basimbi (regulatory), kinunu.

92. Mase ma luketo, another category of the dead;

Cahier 285.

Report on his evangelical work in Musana, where he arrived in February 1912, with Westlind. Good text about early preaching.

111. The market of Mpika Sese. Ivory, rubber, etc.

114. Marriage. Sex.

Cahier 286

More on marriage. The "obscene story" about a woman and a dog.

Cahier 287, 288

More on marriage, sex. Widowhood.

204. Difference between kanda and mvila.

Cahier 289

Clanship and kinship.

231. Stories.

Cahier 290, 291

More stories.

Cahier 292 Matunta, Musana.

Food and drink. (MS now relatively legible.)

Cahier 293

Mbongi, the men's house. Who eats where.

Cahier 294. Matunta, Nganda (Bwende)

Mpandusulu a buloka - sorcery. #1587.

Mbiekolo a nkento ukedi ku futa. Nkisi Mpanzu for menstruation.

#1943. The nkisi has pots in a lukobe.

Story of the marriage of the woman Kindundu.

Trees and their uses. N'safu = mbozi.

Bifulu - fruits.

Cahier 295

Stories about rocks. #2380. The Kazinguluka cave; one who failed to emerge was not destined to be chief. Fwa Nzondo, stone with footprint.

5. Sun and moon - folktale.

Nkisi Fwa Kongo, ku ndambu eto yayi ya Luozi.

Story of the two girls, Nkenge the elder and Nkenge the younger, who refused to marry.

The last two pages tell how Na Kunka cured his fathers; they belong at the end of the next book.

Cahier 296, Matunta

Proverbs (76), listed without translation.

Stories of villages under the water. Drownings and deaths by crocodile.

The rainbow, said to be a great black snake; mu laka diandi mwena mintalazi [bands] mintatu, black, white and red. Minkisi Nsumbanga and Simba dia Ngembo to control rain. (Brief.)

People from French Congo tell us that bamindele are formerly dead people who came from the water. Chief NaBidi reincarnated. Story of the mundele treated by the nganga; so white people do too bewitch one another.

Transformations of animals. LKIII:210

Story of the man and the elephant.

Nkasa ordeal. #1562. (Nothing special.)

Story of Na Kunka. See file "Na Kunka."

Cahier 297, 298. Matunta, Mukimbungu

Birth and childhood. #366, #374, 378, 380, 386, 411. LKII:ch.1. Meanings of names: Mankama, wife of mfumu a mpu; Ne Nswami has been consecrated, not yet shown in the market. See file "Matunta"

Nkisi Mazeza, for war. Warriors tested by passing under the legs of a woman, Mponi Nkonka, wearing it.

Vaikisa mwana. LKII:12-13.

Cahier 299 Matunta,

More on the same; #414, LKII:12-13. Bringing out the child, naming ceremonies. Nsongi, nsongi nzila; blessings through water nkisi. "Your owls, your crocodiles..." See file "Nakongo."

#420. Burial alive. Newborns killed for lack of nurse.

Ndiekono, #423, 428, 435.

Circumcision, believed to aid sexual intercourse. LKII:22-23.

Namesakes (ndusi).

Rat traps, other traps.

Cahier 300

Hunting. Avoidance of women. Hunter = nkondi. Blessing the gun.

FILM EIGHT

Cahier 301. Matunta #XXI.

1. Mpetolo, hunting. Mu nsuka badika sika mwemvo. Rub the dogs with smelly plants (but now we use fuka kia mundele ["white man's smell" - odor or perfume?] ye pitiloya) to protect them from mboma. The doghandler is nganga mbwa. Burial of dogs in cloth with dogbell on the grave.

Proverb: Mbemba kadi ukwe diengilanga, kundu kiandi i mfuma.

Cahier 302. Matunta.

More on hunting. Nkisi Makwende. See file "Makwende."

Cahier 303. More on hunting.

Cahier 304-305. Fishing.

Cahier 306-307.

Nkisi Lunkanka. See file "Lunkanka."

Cahier 308. Matunta

Nkisi Mayiyama [= yinama]. (he writes *sonia* = *tukula*). One of his bilongo is *hamu*. Chicken sacrifice song: E ngizi yobila menga ma mfumu... Nganga's costume: *nzemba*, his protection against witches.

Kinkulu of BaNsundi. Fights with the Bwende. Crossed to Manteke. Yayi ku Congo Francais. Mvila of KiNdamba, who came from Fuma, ku ndambu a Luozi. Tradition of Kikwimba kia mwisi Kinzwana i kiokio kiyalanga ye tat'andi i mwisi Fuma Kiansanga. Mwisi Kinzwana i yandi ukebanga Mpu (nkisi a kimfumu), because he is mayala. - apparently a fishing cult, with a basket (nzadi, nkaku) among its power symbols. The four daughters of Fuma kia Nsanga, who scattered because of a quarrel over peanuts. LKI:32.

Cahier 309-310-311. Bimpa biansakanana.

Cahier 312 Stories.

Cahier 313. Matunta.

13 uncommented proverbs.
Chiefship. Mbiadulu, #785.

Cahier 314

Herbs used by the banganga to see and to protect against witches. They take hota biambwa bikalanga mu meso ma mbwa ye tula hota biobio mu meso maku. Wash carefully afterwards. Properties of the plant *langu*, for poisoning water. More on chiefship (repetitive).

Cahier 315

#1475. Herbs used in minkisi, and the water beetle nkengenzengele. Kihala ngutu. Kimfwa-nkabu. Mpuku a mfiyongolo. Biting things in general, sent by witches.

Cahier 316

Stories. p.5, Nsi ami ya Luwala. The cave of Na Mazinga, Ntadi a Kongo. Only the Children may enter. Instructions for traps, and for making ndungu drum from mungoma-ngoma tree.

Cahier 317

History of Kimvimba clan, Boko district. Clan Kimpanzu. Fumvu, Kikvimba, Nlaza. Mbembe, i mvila yilutidi ku ndambu a Boko.

Cahier 318. Mawakosi Samuel

"Traditional rules," miscellany. Mourning rites of separation, mvangudula.

5. Licking a child all over, so that he does not stink when he grows up. LKM:1124

7. Rite for restoring hunting luck with kimbanzya.

10. Reconciliation with mase, the Fathers. LKM:1126.

Cahier 319

The Mongo fish that stretched from bank to bank. LKM:1166
Causes of war.

37. Nkisi mizenganga mpaka.

40. One clan accuses another of multiplying at the expense of the other. How the dispute is settled. See file "c-Mawakosi."

Cahier 320-21

Miscellany. Sexual defects.

Cahier 322. Mawuku Filemoni, Madzia.

Bandu dia Kingizila. First they built two houses in the valley of Mboko. Then they carved two biteki mu Senga, of the height of a man. The left one, female, was called Mihodi-Budi; the right, male, was called Mihodi-Nkutu. Long story of a ritual.

A list of more than 90 minkisi, inc. Ngovo, Mbumba, Lulendo, Ngobila, Kingizila, Madungu, Mpodi, Mabiala, Kilonda, Lemba, Ndundu. Some are checked, some queried by KEL. Nkondi (semi-legible). Nga Bambimi - see file "Bambimi."

Cahier 323. Mayoka Yakobi, Nganda

Miscellaneous. Edible earths. Drinks. Smokes. Washing.

Cahier 324. Mayuku Abraham, Nganda

Kingaka is his nsi, Kinkumba his clan. General description. His signature, near the end.

Cahier 325. Mbaku Simon, Kinzonzi

Copies out Laman's questions and answers them ploddingly and with some hostility.

Cahier 326. Mbazi, Nganda. Perfunctory answers

Cahier 327. Mfwandulu. Lists of animals.

Cahier 328. Mindoki Ngideoni, Nganda

His father's clan, Mazinga; his mother's, Kinkumba, from Teke country. In Kinkumba, widi Kinkai dingani wayala mu ngolo beni. Bu kafwa, buna widi Luamba wavingila kimbiazi mu yala bantu ye bwila ye vonda mboki nwanasana nzingu. His village: Kinsimba. Nkisi Mimbedi mbele wakedi komanga va ntima a muntu ye kwendi sikanga dibu mu fuku, kansi vo una vaika buna kuna mona muntu ko ye ka Mimbedi mpe ko. Nkisi Mwandazi to institute a marriage. Makukila Mankumba and Kinkela Kianzinga. Mazinga; tradition: the smith Mimpanzu Duma was the first chief, followed by Vaka Mabenga.

People prettify themselves by piercing their ears for earrings, their noses for mwinga.

Cahier 329

Mindoki goes down the questionnaire, as have the last several writers. Foodstuffs. Care of the body. Elders wear beards, but not young men, lest the girls say they smell. Etc.

Cahier 330. Mindoki

Nkwedolo, weddings. K.11. #1148, 455; p.21, #2161; p.28, #475.

Cahier 331

More on weddings. P.4, #478; p.15, #493; p.19, #501; p.25, #507; p.28, widowhood, #513

Cahier 332

More on weddings. Difference between kanda and mvila. P.4, #529, 533.

6. K.18. Vala, yimbila, sika. Sculpture, song, music. See file "Carving."

12. Musical instruments: nlambalala, mpungi & ngongi, with drawings. Dances. Songs.

23. #693. Nzengolo a mambu, disputes.

38. "Mfundulu i yoyo kaka yintekele sonika mu luse lwa 35."

41. Ndilu a ndefi, oaths. 45. Witchcraft cases.

48. Bau ordeal.

Cahier 333. Mindoki

Hunting. Madibu are carved from *nlemba nzau*. Hunting taboos, sex.

17. Fishing.

24. Cultivation.

Cahier 334.

Decoration, dancing, courting

2. K.28, #922. Lulendo lwa nkisi. See file "Kongo-3." Nkondi.

4. Nkisi Mbwanga, finkisi fia zulu, tatikisa ntu.

5. Nsumbu, Ngombe and Mayiza, water nkisi, taku dimosi. The nganga sucks out nkita that mbevo has picked up in the water.

6. Another group: Nkondi, Ngobila, Makwende, Mimbedi, NaKongo, Nsonde. Mia zulu ye mia nsi a nlangu.

7. Nsansi and Bomvi go together, cause nasal sores. Mia makodia. Ngingu gives hunting luck.

8. Kubungu i nkisi wutukidi mu zinioka. Has in it ntu a mboma, cures snakebite. Ngombo, Ngovo, Nkiduku, Madungu. Bunzi's nganga has a crocodile for a familiar. Mayiza has two makanza snakes, male and female, which sleep on top of the nkisi basket. After his death the nganga turns into a kanza.

13. #934. The powers of minkisi. [Laman deletes from these cahiers numerous pious Christian references.]

15. Na Nsambi and the cave called Bweno. In a nearby pool, the fish of Bweno, yivwatanga lusala lwa nkusu va ntu. LKM635.

19. Nkisi Nkondi travels in kimbongila.

22. #945. Minkisi mia zulu.

39. Respectful names for animals.

42. Hunting.

Cahier 335. Mindoki.

Minsamu, stories. Na Nsesi ye Na Ngo. On the last story, he runs out of paper.

Cahier 336.

More on cultivation. It was shameful for a man to plant.
8. Livestock.
16. Poisonous trees. Animals not eaten.
19. More stories.

Cahier 337.

More stories, in response to questions asking for particular topics. Ndambu eto ya Luwala. Lubanzi = luhati.

Cahier 338. Mampuya & Lunungu, in KiTeke.

Cahier 339. Mpengani, in KiBembe. Kolo.

Short list of words in "simbi" code language. Stories.

Cahier 340. More of the same.

Cahier 341. Mpengani in KiKongo.

Death, witchcraft among the BaBembe. They do not use nkasa.
Treatment of the sick.
The first people, from the sky.

Cahier 342. Mvubu in Kiobo

"Kiobo, in our school [CMA] about 8 hours north of Maduda."
Mvubu begins each Kunku with new pagination, and each has numbered sections.

K.1. Kinkulu [Mwembe Nsundi wasabuka Ludima ku ndambu a Kisenga.] Chief Ngoma Mbakala.

Mentions minkisi: Nkondi Mamba, Bunzi, Maluangu.

K.2. Nsundi and Mbenza chiefship. Confused, semi-legible.
Execution of men who seduced chief's wife. See file "Mvubu."
List of animals

6. How Ma Nsundi H[w]ila got his name.

K.3. Physical description. 7. Scarification.

K.4, Food and drink.

K.5, Care of the body. K.6, Houses. K.7, Food production.

K.8, Division of labor, crafts. K.9, markets.

K.10, pregnancy. If twins are born, or a child with 6 fingers, Funza sisi bobo. Naming. K.11, sex, marriage. Widowhood, kifwola; kinkwezi, kizitu. Distinction between mvila and kanda; divorce, marital norms. K.12, diseases, death and burial. A slave wife of a chief may be buried with him if nobody likes her. Crops may be uprooted on account of grief.

If a man falls ill nganga una kuntula mu lusaba ye bana vanga nkungi wawuneni, a terrific party, bana vonda ngulu 2 vo 3 zibana dia, in order to discourage the witches from eating him.

Cahier 343.

K.13, ownership, loans, services. Description of a redistributive village economy. Slaves and their rights; a slave may succeed to headmanship. Land ownership.

K.14. Authority, public order. K.15, rules, prohibitions.

Adjudication, #705. Nzengolo a mambu ma kindoki, #742.

K.16, Villages. K.17, Government (see file "Mvubu"), #778.

Ngizulu a mindele, salt #826.

K.18. "Anna skrivit 6.9.21." Carving, musical instrument, arts and crafts. #3003, 3012. Dances, songs #3030.

film nine

Cahier 344, Mvubu in Kiobo

Nzailu ye nduka. Signs, tally-sticks, counting by knots. Sign language. Cries of birds and animals. Secret language of banganga and Nkimba.

Days of the week: nkoyo, nsona, nsilu, ntono.

Stories, bimpa. Geography.

6. [He is answering questions:] What is thought about the earth and its creation, mpangulu. Bunzi Ngoma made everything. Bakisi are to be found in stony gullies and in pools. They may come from hills, but he does not know where the hills come from.

7. Parts of the body.

War of the sun and the moon. The sun sets and walks under water like a crab (nkala).

No markets here.

Transformations of animals. Bilongo. [Not informative.]

Splints for broken bones. Bunganga. [Not informative.]

Stories. Na Nluki ye Na Zoba.

Troublesome ghosts throwing stones at night and filling the whole village with wonga ye nsisi. Kiniumba ye Sulumbi.

Witchcraft. A man can be sold by night and return years later, recognized by those who knew him. If he sees the cemetery, however, he will die again.

Mindele thought to buy and eat people (canned meat) and to be minkisi. Their excrement taken for bilongo.

Magical tricks of the banganga.

Nsundi chiefship, Lutengo. Kimfumu kia Lunungu ubutuka ye mpu andi [fragments only]. Mbenza Mangundazi, begetter's cult.

Nkisi Makuni Mankoko, Nzemba Mbenza.

Nzemba Mbenza.

Mwana Ngoma

Nsakulu, Ntedika, Nsilu MeKondi, Mbumba Mbutu, Nduda, Kunda ki MaKongo (koma mianda to defeat bandoki), Makubungu, Me Kongo Mbu [19.1218], Nsasi Nkondi, Dimpombo, Malwangu Bunzi, Nzieta, Mbu

Mamba [19.1308], Mwimba Ngabu [19.1112], Ndobi [19.1110], Nduda [L.0505] and others - brief notices.

Cahier 345. Kapita Ndibu Joseph, Mpangala, Kingoyi.

Bimpa - word games.

How he married and had twins (Anthology #14).

Story of Mfumu Mabindu, wabindula mukangu ku nzila Mboma (renowned for rescuing his people); see also cah396

Cahier 346

Nkasa ordeal; cooling procedure for suspected witch. [v.gd.]

Cahier 347. Ndibu.

Nkisi Musansi a Biteki. See file "Musansi."

6. Markets, executions

13. Marvels of the banganga.

Cahier 348. Ndibu

Burials. If the deceased comes back to the village, call nganga Kula. See file "Kula."

7. Autobiographical: his encounter with bamindele. He is made Kapita because that happens to be his name.

Cahier 349-350, Ndibu

Proverbs. Miracles of the banganga; one Mayaka takes his gun to the cemetery, comes back tied up in nsinga, heals people. cf. nganga Mpemba Dimpombo, Babutidi.

Cahier 351-352. Ndibu in Kingoyi

Proverbs, stories

Cahier 353-55. Ndibu

Stories, proverbs.

Astonishing story about a tug-of-war between the living and the dead over a pig; happened last month, 1915.

Cahier 356-358

Bingana, stories.

Cahier 359

Nkayi-nkibi, some sort of memorial to the dead. More stories.

Cahier 360-365

More stories. Cahier 363: one about nkasa ordeal concealed from Bula Matadi, and other real-life events.

Cahier 367-368. Ndongala in Thysville

Kinkulu. He writes out Laman's questions. Uninteresting.

Cahier 368

More questions and answers, very formal.

Cahier 369. Ndundu 1916

He is an albino. Story of his birth.

Cahier 370. Ngiendolo in Nganda

He plods through the questions. Food and drink; appearance, character. Description of his home region.

Cahier 371. Ngoma Petolo, Kabinda (Franco-Belgian border)

Perfunctory answers improve when he gets to K.4, Pregnancy, abortion, childbirth, names, marriage, slavery, mourning. Diseases and treatments. To keep a child from being poisoned by changes in mother's milk caused by second pregnancy, she would wear a nkisi that rendered her taboo to her husband. Mbumba medicine counteracts. Sex on the ground causes *nsi*, on account of Mwimbu and Bunzi, the bakisi ba nsi. Mourning. K.11, Ngolo za se. K.12, Diseases and treatments. Burial. K.18, carving.

Cahier 374-375. Ngoma Yosua in Musana.

Stories and proverbs.

Cahier 376

Death.

Bankita - their benevolence is clear. Nkind'a vata.

Story of Matompa.

Cahier 377

Stories: Ndundu a Mamba; Mukuya wankoma

A list of birds, annotated by Laman. Animals, rodents, snakes.

Cahier 378 Stories

Cahier 379-381

Lists of trees, animals, etc. barely legible.

Cahier 382. Nkuzu Esaya, SM Niangi/Lolo

Stories

Nkisi Ngundanga, Na Kongo (see file "Nakongo3"), Nkondi.

Cahier 383

Astronomy. Fish, birds. Medicines for nkisi NaKongo (brely legible).

Cahier 384. Nkwangu Lazalo in Diadia

Mbutulu ye kimwana. Nkisi Nkala.

film ten

Cahier 385. Nsakala Elisa, Luwala/Nganda

Social organization. "Vo kitomene sonika ko, buna vutula kwa mono, E. Nsakala."

Cahier 386. Nsembani Samuel in Mbanza Nsanga

K.18. Woodcarving, vala mpungi. See file "Carving." Colors. Dances, songs. Animals, birds, plants, rocks, waters, misc.. "nkasa yina komwa" - Laman's annotation to komwa: dia.

Cahier 387, Nsemi Isaki, Kingoyi. Minkisi. 1915

1. Kipeka, Ngo Mfumu, Kinkita. See file "Kipeka."
 4. Mbukulu a Ngo Mfumu.
 6. Luhemba (Luvemba), treats madness.
 9. Mwe Kongo. See file "Mwe Kongo."
- KiNkita songs.

Cahier 388 Minkisi. Nsemi

1. Lulendo lwa Kinkita lwalwingi. See file "Kipeka."
10. Mukwanga Yulu Mayima. [yima = zieta]. Describing the ntima, Nsemi adds a little drawing, unfortunately not helpful. See file "Mukwanga."
18. Mwe Nsundi. Said to have come from nkisi Madungu.

Cahier 389 Minkisi. Nsemi

2. Madungu vo Nkokobondo. See file "Nkoko-B."
8. Kula diamfiedila. Not used in file "Kula"
16. Kialonda kiamabuta. See file "Londa" cahier 390. Minkisi.
1. Mbola. See file "Mbola"
10. Bunzi dia mu mpidi. See file "Bunzi."
11. Kiyala.
13. Bisimbi.
14. Bankita.

Cahier 391. Nsemi

1. Minkisi. LKM #963-996 [in my copy, p.663, with interpolations]. Nkisi i nkumbu a lekwa bitusadilanga muntu bu kena yela. (LKIII:68; Anthology, #3)

Cahier 392. Nsemi

1. Mwela. #1717-1725.
14. The souls of animals are not reincarnated and do not go to the land of the dead. Leopards. The chimpanzee, *nziku*, resembles a human being and is therefore not eaten.

Cahier 393. Nsemi

1. #1731-1734. Trees have life, too, and are male and female. Trees especially capable of regenerating. Nzadi, vo mbu, respected as remarkable and thought of as alive; must not be annoyed. Earth and stones are not transformed, have no life. Sun and moon, female and male. Stars.
16. Rainmaking.

Cahier 394. Minkisi. Nsemi

A man's shadow
6. Funza.
8. Kindoki. Nkadi a Mpemba
9. Binkonko, totemic animals #1486.
15. Dia Mbombo. #1526 ?1826. People with kundu can disarm nkisi.
18. Vala, kusa, yimbila, sika. #9098 ?2098. Carving, scarification. See file "Carving."

Cahier 395. Nsemi

Courtship
Woodcarving, colors. Musical instruments.
16. Makinu mena mpila kani sambanu. #3018. Dances.

Cahier 396. Nsemi,

1. Minkunga, songs
3. Luyalu. Tupilu vo mu ndambu yayi ya Makela mwakala muntu mosi wakala mfumu i ku bula bwakala momo Makela, katuyudu ko vo wakala lulendo mu yokisa mavata mankaka vo zikisa bantu bamoyo ku zandu ko, vo lombisa mpaku, kansi bankaka vo wadi mwamfumu Mabindu wayenda bindula mukangu ku Mboma.
10. Mfumu zazike za mavata. #801
13. #807. Around here there was no lukutukunu to choose wonso una yala, but only meetings to drink, argue, use minkisi, fight. Mfumu zamakanda zena, bakento ye babakala. Each clan included freemen and slaves (*bakongo*).

15. #813. Function of Nkondi for inter-clan treaties. Vo kanda dimosi bena, buna ka balendi dia nkondi ko, kadi kanda ka komonwanga nkondi ko.

Cahier 397.

War.

7. Women's role: bandama (bend over), tadisa matak, mpasi babakala ka bena lwala ko. Nkiduku and Luhemba minkisi used. The coming of the first whites to Kingoyi. White people descended from the sky on a rope that later broke. #826.

16. K.14. Married domesticity; rules. #669.

Cahier 398

Domesticity ctd. Separate property. Affines

4. Rights of slaves. Inheritance. Kikandu.

Knots and tally-sticks

15. Loans

Cahier 399. Nsemi

Loans and debts

Ghost stories

Cahier 400

More stories

Cahier 401-403. Ntungu Esaya, Nkwanza/Kasi. 2/1/1914

Cultural summary. Proverbs and stories

Cahier 404

Mnemonics, signs, speech conventions, coded speech.

Counting, counting games.

Cahier 405

Parts of the body. The skies.

Cahier 406

Transformations of animals, inc. larvae, birds, snakes

151. Medication for wounds. Other medication. Anatomy.

Long list of proverbs, without comment

Kizitu: affinal avoidances (much of this written in ink on both sides of the page, barely legible).

Husband and wife do not eat together until after the birth of the first child. Licking the child all over at age three.

Mourning; rites of passage for widow(er).

Division of time.

Cahier 407. Ntungu Esaya. Written in 1914.

Sacrifices/gifts to the dead so that they will be rich in the next world, ku mfinda; bisimbi and minkisi; nkayulu to bisimbi and minkisi, but not to minkuyu. Fines. Yobila tobe to appease nkuyu.

Mbikudulu - prophecies and oracles.

Various uses of minkisi. His classification of minkisi. See file "Kongo-3."

Cahier 408.

Obscenities, insults. Marriage etiquette, sex instructions.

The body. The soul. Ghosts.

Bisimbi, who travel in whirlwinds but live in gullies, watercourses and remarkable rocks.

Cahier 409. Ntwalani Mesaki ye Nansongi. Kilwangu, 1914.

Chiefship of Na Ntetila. Area: Bulu, Kasi.

Mpandulu a Lulendo, miraculous account. See MacGaffey, "Lulendo."

"Ntwalani i nsoniki ye Nansongi i nkambi a mambu."

Cahier 410. Nyuvudi Paul, Manianga.

Mvila Kindamba, tradition.

12. Nsiku.

21. Bimpa

Cahier 411.

Occupations.

53. Minkisi. The most important (almost everybody has it) is Lemba. Doesn't cost much, except food and drink.

Cahier 412. Nzimba

Subsistence. Hunting; list of animals. Fishing. Cultivation.

Cahier 413. Wamba Enoki, Bulu.

1. K. "Mu sonika mamonso matuwilu kwa ngudi a bantu mpasi kwandi, kadi mu nsi ami bangudi a bantu bameni kukifwila."

The first man was Me Ntete. The origin of death.

Nsangu mu diambu dia malema (drought).

5. Nkisi Lulendo. See MacGaffey, "Lulendo,"

7. Tradition of KiNlaza. #2771. See file "Wamba."

Cahier 414.

1. K.10, Birth and childhood. #354, 363

7. In case of childlessness, parents will consult a diviner and then sacrifice a chicken to nkisi NaKongo, Ngobila or Makwende. See file "Makwende."

Mu buta nsimba mwabanzulwa minkisi. Mothers of twins.

17. Names, #402.

Cahier 415

More on childbirth. #426.

9. Minsamu mia Nzadi. #88.

14. K.12, Diseases and death. #550.

Cahier 416.

More diseases.

15. Preparing a body for burial. #594. Mourning.

Cahier 417

More on death. Drying and wrapping a corpse. #610

9. Mpungu vo niombo, #615. nzo a nzambi = nzo niombo

29. Mortuary ceremonies for nganga of an important nkisi.

Cahier 418. Wamba

Slaves not mourned, buried without ceremony. The body is thought of as that of a dog, kansi mbatu nkutu mbwa ho yaheti buna hioka nzitusu andi.

5. Burial alive of wife or slave in chief's grave.

8. Why are the deceased's belongings put on the grave? To show that this was a wealthy man and to remind those who come after.

Kadi bakulu beto kabazaya sonika ko, nga basonika, kansi diela diodio mpia.

13. The banganga of important minkisi such as Makwende and Na Kongo may not be present at the burial of a niombo.

17. #630.

34. Signature: N.E. Wamba.

Cahier 419

#583. Deathbed orations. Mourning songs.

15. Stories about Nzadi.

22. Mvwilu a bikwangi mu nsi a nkulu. Ntelelo a kunda. Slaves.

27. Stories. Na Ngo na baleke bandi.

Cahier 420

Bimpa, riddles and games, stories.

Cahier 421

Minkisi miankandila mvula. Rainmaking.

5. Nsamu a muntu wabakama kwa ngandu. #1592. Other stories.

19. Mbukulu mu nkisi wa Mvutudi.
25. Cosmology: mabanza ma bakulu mu zulu ye ntoto.
28. Kinsau kia nkento na mwana andi mu nzo ana Kiniumba. #1598
Other stories. Nkunga miantelo a mambu.

Cahier 422. Wamba.

Zingana. 143 riddles, proverbs.

Cahier 423

Stories. Ghosts, witches.

30. Nsamu mu Namwamvu bu kafwa mu nzikulu andi. #1905.

34. Nkento wa dibundu wafwa, kansi wafulukuka.

Cahier 424.

Kinkulu of Nlaza in Bulu. See file "Wamba."

8. Nkisi wa Lulendo ye mpandulu. See MacGaffey "Lulendo."

12. Minkondo mia zandu, market rules.

13. Regulation of disputes. #732.

14. Ntu wantete ukateka kunisa ha Nkandu watuka ku Mbota. Story.

24. Story of the stone Tadi dia Mamba.

28. Nsamu a nkento walongwa ndongi kwa bafwa.

32. Fishing.

Cahier 425.

Bird stories #2382.

Cahier 426

More animal stories

Cahier 427

Fish traps; canoe handling. Carving a canoe, #314. Canoe hauling songs.

Animal stories.

Cahier 428

Stories. Riddles.

Cahier 429. Zoya Zakalia. Kinkenge

History, heavily missionized.

INOKENE, IKYELE.

LAMAN'S KONGO ETHNOGRAPHY: OBSERVATIONS ON SOURCES, METHODOLOGY, AND THEORY

JOHN M. JANZEN

VALUABLE African archival materials are known to have been 'rediscovered' accidentally after having been 'lost' to scholarship for a time. Perhaps the foremost example of this in Lower Congo research is the eighteenth-century bibliography located by Jadin in the Vatican Library some time ago. A similar case which I shall discuss here is that of the KiKongo sources of Karl Laman's four volume ethnography *The Kongo*, a 775-page work detailing traditions, customs, lore, and legend from the BaKongo north of the Congo River at the turn of the century. These sources were 'lost' too, but in a different way. Through an obfuscating editorial policy and several translations from KiKongo to Swedish, and again from Swedish to English, their central role in the final work became completely obscured. A reconstruction of how Laman's posthumous ethnography in fact reached the stage of publication should be of help to those who find it difficult to work with as it is—although I must make clear that the work is, as it stands, already of outstanding value. An explanation of the editorial policy in terms of its premises should reveal the impact of tacit ethnological theory upon something as seemingly cut-and-dried as the posthumous works of an established scholar, already well known in his field.

Already by the eighties of the last century the Swedish Covenant Church (Svenska Missionsförbundet, SMF hereafter) was sending missionaries to the Lower Congo region north of the Congo river mid-way between the Brazzaville and Kinshasa area on the east and the Atlantic coast on the west, emphasizing the training in African culture of their missionaries and, by the same philosophy, the early Africanization of Congolese Christianity. Thus I thought as an anthropologist engaged in research in that part of the Congo I would be able to find in Sweden early ethnographic records of the north of the river Lower Congo area as well as worthwhile Kikongo documents not available in North America—or even in Congo for that matter. The major material culture collections of the early missionaries, to be found in museums in Stockholm, Göteborg, and elsewhere, were of interest to me as well. My visit to Sweden in the summer of 1971 was well rewarded, and in particular I am grateful to Bertil Söderberg, African curator of the State Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm, and Ragnar Widman, archivist of the SMF in Lidingö and Stockholm, and the staff at Göteborg Ethnological Museum for their assistance in locating Lower Congo materials.

The philosophy of culture of the early missionaries placing great value upon African culture and language can best be shown, in a general way, by citing a few examples. In 1907 missionaries Hammar, Westlind, Laman, and others published a volume named *Etnografiska bidrag av svenska missionärer i Afrika* (Ethnographical contributions of Swedish missionaries in Africa) which despite its title included not only significant accounts of Lower Congo culture by missionaries, but KiKongo essays by Congolese

published with a Swedish translation alongside. One of these essays was that of Davidi Makumba, a converted pagan priest, who wrote of the traditional classification of the *minkisi*, sacred medicines. In 1925 missionary Börrisson organized a travelling exhibition of articles of Kongo culture that toured Sweden, and wrote a detailed catalogue to accompany it. These projects in Swedish were possible only because in Kongo the development of African literacy and cultural development was being pursued as well. By the turn of the century major parts of the Bible had been translated into KiKongo by Swedish missionaries and others. This was to be expected. Perhaps a more remarkable example of the dialogue sought with Africans on the part of the early missionaries was the monthly KiKongo publication *Minsamu mia Yenge* (Good News) put out at Kibunzi, one of the SMF stations, from 1892 on, continuing till the present. The news section contains the best chronology of Lower Congo events from 1892 till 1920 that I know of; traced with considerable objectivity are such incidents as the early revolts against the Free State, the progress of roads and railroads from Matadi inland, the spread of epidemics, and the like. From 1892 on there is a growing series of letters to the editor by Congolese, and reports by the village teachers and evangelists, *minlongi*. At a time when Congolese elsewhere were forcibly recruited as soldiers and carriers for the Free State, the SMF was publishing articles, correspondence, and sermons by Congolese. Such was the emphasis of the early years in SMF; it was bound to result in documentations of some kind.

Laman's ethnographical work offers a particularly interesting example of the materialization of this early philosophy of culture, if we may call it that. He played an important role, first of all, in inaugurating it. Already in the first issues of *Minsamu mia Yenge* he published lessons in natural science, history, geography, and, not the least, humorous stories and riddles, all in KiKongo of course. Laman, furthermore, was far more prolific than the other missionaries in his collections and writings, as well as in his scope of interests. His published works alone are impressive, including the masterly KiKongo-French dictionary, a KiKongo grammar, and phonetic studies; articles in Swedish journals; and his four-volume ethnography, published posthumously. His unpublished works are almost as impressive, including the completed manuscript of another dictionary of several Teke dialects. Ragnar Widman is at present preparing a Laman bibliography. Of all these works, and the general field of publications in KiKongo and Swedish and other languages, Laman's four-volume English-language ethnography will concern us most here, for this ethnography, whose KiKongo sources were first conceived at the turn of the century, was written and rewritten throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the final volume reaching publication only in 1968. We can see in the evolution of this complex and composite document the progress of the early cultural philosophy, and what had become of it by the middle of the twentieth century. Our purpose in exposing this progress is to illuminate the valuable sources, as well as to raise certain critical questions as to why they were obscured.

As published in English, the four volumes give the impression of having been made posthumously from Laman's own manuscript, notes, and writings. Edited principally by Sture Lagercrantz of Uppsala over a period of fifteen years (1953, 1957, 1962, 1968) they represent a tremendous and laudable expenditure of time and energy, and 775 pages of closely worded ethnography on all facets of BaKongo

life. In his prefaces to each volume Lagercrantz gives an account of what readers usually take to be Laman's own work.

Till his death in 1944 he [Laman] was engaged on an important monograph on the Kongo. . . . 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 (1953, vii).

Lagercrantz states that the manuscript was 'on the whole' finished in 1944, but certain difficulties remained requiring editorial action.

In compiling it [the manuscript] he [Laman] had followed the method used by J. Spieth in the latter's *Die Ewestämme* which has entailed . . . the repetition of the same facts in different places (1953, vii).

In a later preface to the second volume Lagercrantz suggests what approach was taken to deal with these problems in the text of Laman's manuscript.

The same rules have been followed as in volume I. Laman's chapter sequences have been followed, while repetitions and contradictions have been eliminated as far as possible (1957, vii).

And an example of the way this procedure is applied is cited.

A short contradictory section with two genealogical tables has been excluded (1957, vii).

In a later preface to the third volume the problem of repetitions and contradictions receives further note.

Laman's technique of recording his information has made occasional repetitions unavoidable. In order to reduce their number to a minimum, the material of the present volume [III] has undergone considerable rearrangement (1962, vii).

Although no further clarification is offered of the 'technique' whereby Laman recorded his information, an explanation of its internal inconsistencies is attempted. The Swedish typescript, Lagercrantz suggests, was never subjected to a final revision by Laman. Furthermore, because of the years that had elapsed since their original notation, the words of the observations are 'old-fashioned'. Yet despite inconsistencies and antiquated style and the editorial exclusions and rearrangements, he reassures the reader, 'in the final analysis [he] always has been guided by *the original notes in KiKongo*' [emphasis mine] (1962, vii). This is as close as one comes to learning about the sources of this ethnography. The impression is given, erroneously, that the 'original notes' in KiKongo are Laman's, and that as a skilled fieldworker doing 'scientific research' he took notes in the indigenous language. This impression—a credible one since Laman was fluent in KiKongo—is furthered elsewhere in the same preface where it is stated that certain chapters had already been written in KiKongo.

The chapter on disease has been rearranged with the help of Docent Ivar Werner, and the final check with the original manuscript which is written in [Ki-]Kongo, has been performed by Efraim Andersson (1957, vii).

Whoever has studied Laman's work, or tried to use this ethnography as a primary source on Kongo culture, will know how difficult it is to use. The profusely detailed ethnographic observations seem often to have no orientation in time or space,

speaking simply of customs. This is particularly true of the last three volumes. The first volume on clan histories and environment does indicate place-names. But in general, the social origin of the information is rarely given, and repetitions of theme, despite the editor's efforts to eliminate them, occur repeatedly. The editor's task has been fraught with interests contradictory in themselves. If we believe the prefaces, the repetitions and inconsistencies in the manuscript are due to Laman's method of information gathering and the fact that he was unable to proof-read or correct the drafts. However, wishing to remain true to Laman's style, the editor left imperfections in the published text, eliminating only major errors. By the third preface Lagercrantz seems to have come to terms with this problem, and in effect washes his hands of the difficulties. He had considered an appendix of editorial comments, and an index of the contents to the four volumes. He even considered references to Laman's dictionary. But all these aids were given up as impracticable, he adds; for Laman himself omitted them, and Laman must be allowed to express himself in his own work (1962, vii).

What precisely was Laman's 'method'? And if he was such an outstanding scholar, why would his work be repetitious, or display internal inconsistencies? And why would so careful a scholar, who in his 1936 dictionary cites the regional origins of dialect variations, and in the same publication includes a regional dialect map, here fail to include origin, time, or place for ethnographical observations? As a user of Laman's ethnographies, these questions had puzzled me a lot, but I had never found a good answer to them.

A very real Congolese individual by the name of Nzuzi Pierre, cultivator and talented orator of the Kimbanga clan of Kisiasia village in the north of Luozi Territory, told me one day in 1969 that when Laman had been stationed at Nganda Mission Station he was in the practice of charging village catechists (*minlongi*) with the task of inquiring about local histories, customs, and beliefs in the areas where they worked. One such catechist by the name of Lunungu Moise had come to Kisiasia when Nzuzi was still a youth and had interrogated his elders about the origin of the Kimbanga, their relations to their neighbours, and the like, writing all this down in a notebook. Now, thought Nzuzi, these notes must surely be found somewhere in Sweden in an *nzo nkanda*, archive, or library. He requested that if ever I should be in Sweden to look for the notebook and convey its contents to him and his clan brothers. Perhaps it contained a morsel of forgotten clan history; perhaps of information on land and marriage. I promised to do my best. But upon re-reading Laman's ethnographies later I could find no mention of Kisiasia, nor of the Kimbanga, nor of that particular region. I suspected then that the English work excluded some of Laman's sources, or that the sources had been lost.

Fortunately, shortly after I arrived in Stockholm in the summer of 1971, SMF archivist Widman helped me quickly to locate Lunungu's notebook containing his conversation with Nzuzi's clan forebear Ngoma. Noting that the conversation had concerned the Kimbanga clan's relation with their local rivals, the Nsundi and Bwende clans, and evidence of their presence in the conversation, I sent each group a photocopy. Lunungu's notebook is placed clearly in space and time, entitled as it is *Ntukulu a bantu ye mankaka ku ndambu Nsundi-Masiki, le 12.12.1916, Monsieur Moise Lunungu* ('The Origin of the People in the Region of Nsundi-Masiki, and Other

Miscellanea'). Nsundi-Masiki identifies the information as coming from the place and time of chief Masiki-Nkombo, predecessor to chief Lutete, in the place where the SMF mission Nsundi-Lutete is today located. Thus the mere exclusion of the notebook's title-page from Laman's eventual publication robbed it of an important bit of ethnographic detail.

The discovery of Lunungu's notebook on Nsundi-Masiki led to that of his other twenty notebooks, constituting but a fraction of the total of 429 notebooks by many other catechists who had written for Laman between 1910 and 1918. These notebooks originated from regions as diverse as Mbanza Manteke among the BaMboma in the south, to Indo among the BaYaka north of Brazzaville, to Cabinda in the west. The catechists of neighbouring missions also contributed. Known as school '*cahiers*' in the Congo and holding from 40 to 50 pages, these notebooks must represent in all about 20,000 pages of description of tradition and explanation of custom. These were Laman's KiKongo sources for the KiKongo-French dictionary (particularly for the regional examples) and the ethnographic monograph. Laman's 'technique' or 'method', so obscure in the posthumous volumes, emerges more clearly once the notebooks are considered. The stages from the notebooks of the *minlongi*, catechists, to the ultimate English publication, though, need to be outlined in some detail, for they are rather complex.

From 1900 on Laman worked out a questionnaire in KiKongo for the village catechists, who became his paid ethnographers. Trained on the mission stations for two to three years, they would then take up posts as teachers and evangelists in their home regions. The questionnaire they took with them is of primary importance in understanding Laman's later ethnography, and the posthumous edited version, for it became the 'outline' of his chapters. The questionnaire begins with (1) *nsamu miansi nkulu*, history, or traditions of the old times. Since the catechist usually worked in his own region, he would be able to provide much of this material from his own memory. Some obviously interrogated the older men and women. To make the approach explicit, Laman's next question asked pointedly about (2) *nsi aku*, 'your own land', which each was to describe from various angles; (3) *nkadulu a bisi-nsi aku, mu nitu ye mu diela*, the aspect of the natives, bodily and spiritually; (4) *biandia ye biandwa*, food and drink; (5) *nkebolo a nitu*, care of the body; (6) *ntungulu a nzo*, construction of a house; (7) *salu bia madia*, food industries; (8) *salu biankaka*, other industries; (9) *kita mbongo ye bilekwa*, commerce and trade; (10) *mbutulu ye kimana*, birth and training; (11) *nkwedolo*, marriage; (12) *mfwilu*, death; (13) *mwilu a bilekwa*, possession of things; (14) *lulendo ye nsiku*, political power and laws; (15) *nzengolo a mambu*, settlement of conflicts; (16) *nkubukulu a bisi-nsi*, social organization of the natives; (17) *luyalu*, government; (18) *vala, kusa, yimbila, sika*, sculpture, music, drumming (the arts); (19) *nzailu ye nduka*, science and wisdom; (20) *zingana, bimpa, ye minsamu*, proverbs, stories, and sayings; (21) *nitu ye biela*, the body and diseases; (22) *mwela*, the soul; (23) *tulu ye ndozi*, sleep and dreams; (24) *bafwa*, the dead; (25) Nzambi, God; (26) *bisimbi*, 'water spirits'; (27) *mase ma luketo*, (idiom., 'fathers of the back', paternity); (28) *biena lulendo lwa kinkisi*, categories and powers of consecrated medicines; (29) *minkisi*, consecrated medicine; (30) *nkisi-nkisi ye nganga andi*, each *nkisi* and its priest; (31) *nganga*, the priest; (32) *mbukulu*, healing; (33) *nsadulu zankaka zankisi*, other uses of the *nkisi*; (34) *kindoki*, witchcraft (and sorcery);

(35) *bikula*, prophecy; (36) *nkailu*, gifts, talents; (37) *lokila ye sakumuna*, cursing and blessing; (38) *nlongo*, ritual prohibitions. Each of these topics is further outlined in considerable detail; SMF archivist Widman has incorporated the Laman questionnaire into a general catalogue of the Laman collection (see references).

It is clear from comparing the foregoing questions with the catechists' notebooks that many of the catechists reflect Laman's thinking in their responses especially in the case of the literal-minded ones. But the best accounts depart from the questions to become coherent accounts of specific rites, relationships, beliefs, or biography, autobiography, and travelogue, such as Lunungu's report on his visit to Nsundi Masiki in 1916. Unfortunately the coherence of these specific observations is rarely maintained in the final English monographs. Laman himself often broke them up in making his excerpts from the notebooks, and his posthumous editors removed most of the identifying marks from these excerpts in favour of a flat 'objective' text on the 'customs' of the 'Sundi', and 'Bwende', tribal names in vogue with ethnographers such as Maes and Boone earlier in the century (see map). But more on that in a moment.

When Laman returned to Sweden finally in 1919 the catechists' notebooks were turned over to the SMF archives. As already suggested, they served him as a partial basis for his dictionary. Throughout the notebooks marginal glosses appear, evidence of Laman's having studied them carefully, sketching in synonyms for obscure phrases, interpretations, and clarifications of noteworthy usages in KiKongo. After the completion of the dictionary published in 1936, Laman began to type excerpts out of the notebooks corresponding to his original questions, and his planned 'chapters'. The method used here was to identify paragraphs or passages in the notebooks which best dealt with the questions. These often parallel passages were then collated in serial fashion. From this excerpted collection of collated passages in KiKongo, comprising less than a third of the total content of the notebooks, Laman began what must have been a very tedious and lengthy process of reworking the text into Swedish. Some of the passages were translated word for word, giving the impression of repetitiousness and inconsistency, if not even contradictory observations which the posthumous editors found so difficult to work with. In other cases the parallel passages from the notebooks were synthesized into a single account. This assembled manuscript of KiKongo excerpts and the corresponding reworked Swedish manuscript, came to be called Laman's *Etnografiska Anteckningar*, 'Ethnographical Observations'; it is now deposited in twenty volumes in the SMF archive in Lidingö.

The selection of excerpts from the notebooks reveals Laman's ethnological convictions, that is, his manner of explaining social and cultural phenomena. He is interested in what day-to-day practices the Congolese have, or had; but even more, he is concerned to get the sense or meaning that these practices have in the minds of the Congolese. This principle probably led him to seek writings directly from the Congolese. It also led him, in the process of excerpting and reworking the catechists' observations, to allow local often mutually contradictory accounts to remain in his Swedish text. At the same time as this thorough respect for individual diversity is to be noted, in places there is evidence of a higher-level attempt at theoretical explanation. Thus he is led to adopt Torday and Joyce's theory of Bushong (also

called Kongo!) origins in an attempt to explain the origin and political make up of the BaKongo society (Torday and Joyce, 1910; Laman, 1953, 8-11). Further, Laman, as many of the early Swedish missionaries, was keenly interested in the religion of the Congolese. This is evidenced in his very extensive collection of *minkisi*, today located in the Stockholm Ethnographical Museum. These were in part collected by the catechists and turned over to Laman with the notebooks. It is possible in a few instances to trace the artifacts to accounts in the notebooks, but this correspondence has been almost totally lost track of in the English text of Laman's work where drawings of items in the Laman collection appear at random without reference to the text. While Laman's compilation of the catechists' notes on religious practices reveals a great deal of internal inconsistency and regional duplication, here too he offers a theoretical explanation on a higher level. He believed that the proliferation of *minkisi* in Kongo society at the turn of the century constituted a degeneration from an earlier, purer, ancestor cult (1962, 67). This theory is supported by a quasi-diffusionist comparison with societies in the Kasai where the term *nkisi* or *mukisi* refers not so much to a medicine bundle as to the spirit of a deceased person. Logically these two theories thus account for the inconsistent, regionally varying accounts of customs Laman had before him. But neither theory really makes much of an impression on his use of the prolific and detailed catechists' texts. Laman was evidently closely tied to his experience in the Lower Congo, and refused to make the logical application of theory that would distort what he knew by experience. I have spoken with old men in the Lower Congo who say he would spend hours talking with *banganga* upon arriving in a village.

Just as Laman thus probably intended to retain the inconsistencies of his texts in the interest of remaining true to his experience, so he probably intended to acknowledge the particular contributions of the catechists, whose better work he borrowed. If his dictionary is an indication of how he conceived his 'ethnography', he would have used the 'uneven, repetitious, and contradictory' regional accounts to chart regional variations of custom. That this was to have been accompanied by an identification of the catechists in question is suggested by an index of their names throughout the manuscript (Fig. 1), repeated with a notation of their names in the glosses of the text itself (Fig. 2). The opinion of several people in Sweden who knew Laman personally is that he had thought of publishing a bilingual monograph in KiKongo and a European language, thereby (1) giving the Congolese their own history and ethnography as written by the catechists, in the spirit of the cultural emphasis he supported; (2) retaining the identity of the true authors, as well as the local variations of customs; finally, (3) turning over to 'international research' a valuable ethnographic contribution.

Unfortunately, the final English edition did not fulfil any of Laman's goals very well. At his death in 1944 the typed copy of the Swedish manuscript *Etnografiska Anteckningar* was taken over by Lagercrantz and others for preparation into a posthumous work. With some reference back to the KiKongo originals—it is not clear whether this meant Laman's excerpts or the notebooks of the catechists—the manuscript was reworked further and translated again, this time into English. It was published in four volumes (1953, 1957, 1962, 1968) with the support of the Swedish Statens Humanistika Forskningsrad.

Section	Catechist	Ref.	Page	Text
Kisumu	1. Kungu	62		U XIVI bi. tukulu mena mpila mu mpila mu nkadulu. Ma-
	2. Lutanga	630		mpembe. Mampembe mena bafila kimosi, kani
	3. Ojapwila	840		mampeska ye mankaka makoko ye makutu fwa
	4. Kavuma	503		mena-mena, Mangundazi, Ekita zansi.
Kisumu	1. Kungu	1008		undazi a Mangundazi, mpila mosi mfumu
	2. Lutanga	85		Kiau kikalanga mu za biangulu biena
	3. Kavuma	631		bungi avula bilenda zieta mu biza bia-
	4. Lutanga	50		ye mu zinzila. Bisimbi biangulu bia-
Mabanda	1. Kungu	1100		wela ku filangu mu huka nahu, vo beki
	2. Lutanga	85		ta vo Simbi kinsombole. Buna balenda ku-
	3. Kavuma	631		za vo Mfumu Kongo vo Mambuku-mongo vo
	4. Lutanga	50		mu filangu. vo muntu kalendi niaka hwalu
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1100		Bisimbi. Buna vutula bana vutula mvutu,
	2. Kavuma	85		yurula hlesvo kwa Bisimbi ye bandoki.
	3. Lutanga	631		mena kimpembe? Simbi kikio kilenda kwa-
	4. Kavuma	50		nga batina mu tadidila ku benga. Ku ma-
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1100		adi ye biena mpe mu makanga, i bia- bi-
	2. Kavuma	85		lu mu ndambu zankaka vo ka babeki ko
	3. Lutanga	631		lendi sema kobisimbi nate ye basolula
	4. Kavuma	50		
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1100		za. Biabionsono biena kuna ka bilendi
	2. Kavuma	85		u. vo muntu una vova ye samuna bika-
	3. Lutanga	632		kwandi. Buna ngolo za bisimbi ye zapa-
	4. Kavuma	506		a fwa hwalu. Bibikwanga mavitu i zinda-
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		a mu yuma biia.
	2. Kavuma	85		
	3. Lutanga	632		
	4. Kavuma	506		
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		ila. Matadi mankaka mavutukanga ku bwala,
	2. Kavuma	85		
	3. Lutanga	632		
	4. Kavuma	506		
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		semuki vo mwana kabuta vo ko e vo sa-
	2. Kavuma	85		htete kalendi vika mo ko. Buna nioka
	3. Lutanga	632		mu mavitu. Evo ngudi anganga una ta sa-
	4. Kavuma	506		nzole, buna bana vutuka ku vata, kadi
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		nyandi beni ko, i bobo mu mboro mpe. vo
	2. Kavuma	85		lobio, buna bana vutuka kaka ku vata,
	3. Lutanga	632		vuka ko.
	4. Kavuma	506		
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		bu balwakanga ku vito dihtete, buna
	2. Kavuma	85		bo bana yandi. vo ka bamweni-kumbula ko
	3. Lutanga	632		ngu hui-hui-hui-hui-i-1, zibula mavitu
	4. Kavuma	506		zosi, mu dianzole nsika zole, mu dianta-
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		ziia.
	2. Kavuma	85		
	3. Lutanga	632		
	4. Kavuma	506		
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		wela semuki. Ngudi anganga una vova
	2. Kavuma	85		undazi. Mwene Mangundazi kakula zibula
	3. Lutanga	632		zombuka mavitu twizidi mu semuna wabu-
	4. Kavuma	506		mu kunda, kidi kabuta bana bankaka, kidi
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		longo. Butulwa mu Mbenza, lelulwa mu Mbe-
	2. Kavuma	85		ntu. ka tumweni bansinga-nsinga ko, ka
	3. Lutanga	632		pe hsinga ko, turyiokele niolo-niolo,
	4. Kavuma	506		si twafunza mam (vova mamonsono) mena
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		matukukisumuninanga geto beni. Tudia-
	2. Kavuma	85		ni Kadila (yambusila) bindende ndekele
	3. Lutanga	632		ni malava mu kunwikina ye tuneti zingo-
	4. Kavuma	506		ni, tambula luzitu lweto. Buku kiazila
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		na bansinga-nsinga. Buna una sika
	2. Kavuma	85		-i-1.
	3. Lutanga	632		ni Mayembo bu mamani, buna bana badika
	4. Kavuma	506		ni mu ngindolo mbuku kiazila nate ye
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		ni bobo basanga. Bana kunwikina mala-
	2. Kavuma	85		ika ziia, buna semokene (biekolo) ye ba-
	3. Lutanga	632		a diaka ndimba ye mpezo muna mwakusa
	4. Kavuma	506		vo wasumwa banda evo yela kwagolo.
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		mfungunisa ku Mbenza, buna momo bana
	2. Kavuma	85		
	3. Lutanga	632		
	4. Kavuma	506		
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		ga nkumbu Ekita nsi, vo Ekita Nsumbu.
	2. Kavuma	85		hinga niampikankaka niyikanga mu ka-
	3. Lutanga	632		mbu banga. Bina bibikwanga Simbi bia-
	4. Kavuma	506		bumzi waswikila ko Simbi biandi. lule-
Kunda Nyasa	1. Lutanga	1110		ko koko vo kulu, kani bu wadiata lewa
	2. Kavuma	85		beia, buna bantu bata vo i-bisimbi bi-
	3. Lutanga	632		mu filangu mu za biabinsene ye mu mabe-
	4. Kavuma	506		bu alongo ye mu munda kwena nadi zansi.

FIG. 1. KiKongo excerpts from catechists' notebooks. Catechists' names appear in the left column with reference to notebooks. From *Etnografiska Anteckningar*.

21 Malenye in en föröning, urini ser & sha wata
 si nanki-bala ser spagel (per) kii ser lappa kuta; ser
 iru ser co-stem tadi byambila un munta ser si ben
 as Kumbi-gwasan i munta. — Li-Lo; ikup wata.
 7. Matenzi i nkisi wakodi ye bana tula nkuki ye lumweno ye tula
 mpezo mu ngudi ye tadi diavukila mu mvita ye kisi kiakumbi ya kati ye
 zinga lubongo ye kuntula mu nkutu. Yo weti bela mu makuma, buna si
 kabukwa wau. Yo belukidi, buna si kayanda wau. (2ab.)

Du tena lita puita, sha lan nanda lenwama.

...
 kazi bala. Ye bu kameni zibula, buna i mpemba ye nsonza ye kusa mu nsh-
 ka zalmeso ye ya mbulu ye bweta meso mu mpemba ye sonza mpe. Mboki ~~shaye~~
 mpemba ya tadi d'ahisenzebele. Iboho sonza mpe. Mboki kana rutuka zu-
 nga kuku bitatu b'ampemba ye sonza ye mboki teba bilongo: mpemba,
 ... +wasambila ki-

FIG. 2. Typed excerpt of catechist Babutidi's notebook with Laman's handwritten Swedish translation and commentary. Note reference to catechist on left-hand gloss and in parenthesis at end of KiKongo text. From *Etnografiska Anteckningar*.

In this reworking of the text, and translation into English, several transformations occurred which by today's standards, and in the light of Laman's own probable goals, made the finished work far less valuable than it might have been. The parallel passages were somewhat smoothed out and made 'non-contradictory', although many obscure passages remain. References to location of observation, or of region being described, have been eliminated in many parts of the text. No maps are included to identify the obscure village and mission names that do occur, making their true identification almost impossible since village and place-names in the Lower Congo tend to be replicated many times over. The approximate date of writing of the original texts—the notebooks—is never mentioned, and the identity of the Congolese authors has disappeared entirely from the final work, apart from all but a few hints.

We may note, from those few autobiographical references that do remain, how even here the sense of the original text has been obscured. One of the revised chapters in the English work entitled 'Tales of the Ancestors' begins as follows:

In September, 1903, when I, Kunzi, was lying down, I heard someone pass my house in the middle of the night . . . (1962, 25).

Although exceptionally the date is clear, the identity of Kunzi is not. The reader might imagine that since the work is supposed to be by Laman, this must be Laman using a pseudonym, or a Congolese name. In fact Kunzi is a catechist reporting in all candour the repeated visits by a recently deceased kinsman who returns to rattle the doors at night and pull straw from the roof. The first-person reference is not explained, nor is the social context of the narrator in this case revealed.

Another autobiographical reference appears in connection with twinship in the chapter on 'Childhood'. The English text reads

A father of twins (*ngudi a nsimba*) declares: When I Ndibu got home one day from tapping palm wine, and was about to enter the house as usual, I was prevented by some people who were sitting on the greensward. They said, Eh Father, you musn't go in so quickly. Your wife has given birth to twins, a boy and a girl . . . (1957, 6-7).

A long passage by Ndibu, who remains unidentified except as a 'father of twins', follows on how he sought initiation for himself and his family to *nkisi* Funza. It is clear that this is not the account of just any father of twins, or a statement of the custom surrounding twins, but the account of a particular man as the original notebook, by Ndibu himself, makes clear. The author is Josefi Ndibu, who calls himself 'kapita', from Mpangala village near Kingoyi, an SMF mission. The full text, written shortly after 1912, includes the fact that he was very poor on account of recently having buried his father, i.e. having had to pay for the blankets and other gifts. Then, in what surely has a bearing on the story but is excluded from the English text, he continues on how, because of his poverty and consequent inability to afford a proper marriage, he took one of his father's remaining wives—not his mother, of course—and she it is who gave him twins. This prompted his neighbours and relatives to urge him to initiate to Funza, which he did. Despite his careful observations of Funza's exacting regulations, the mother and one of the two children died, details that the English text omits. Ndibu then goes on at some length suggesting that Funza was the wrong *nkisi*. Lemba, an *nkisi* concerned with father and son relations,

would have been correct for him, but it was too expensive for him. All this is excluded from the English. The point I want to emphasize here is that Ndibu's background, his socio-economic status, and the point in Kongo history, are all significant variables. All are eliminated in favour of 'custom'. The impression is given that it is a custom of fathers, upon coming home from drawing palm wine and learning their wives have given birth to twins, to declare 'When I Ndibu got home one day. . . .' Acknowledgement of Ndibu's identity, the location of the report, and the time, all available in the notebook, would have strengthened the account of a custom like that of initiation to Funza by giving it the accompanying socio-economic variables.

Many oblique references to the Congolese authors remain in the English text, making reading very confusing if the reader assumes it is Laman's writing throughout. Often a chapter begins with Laman's or the editor's outside position reflected in the first-person pronoun 'I'. After a few paragraphs, however, the first-person view begins to look peculiarly Congolese. For example, chapter 4 of the first volume begins with reference to Diago Cão, Portuguese explorer. Laman, or his editors, are in charge here. But before long 'contradictory repetitions' occur which we can identify as having to do with the parallel passages by the catechists. 'Our ancestors . . . came from the south bank' (1953, 25); 'Others of our forefathers here from Mboma . . .' (1953, 26); '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' (1953, 27). Here one is certain that a Congolese is writing, after having reread several times to make certain that Laman's ancestors were not Congolese. But in passages where reference is made to 'my informants' (1953, 41) or to 'the natives' (cited repeatedly) it is unclear who is writing. In the four volumes I have found only one explicit reference to Laman's collaborators, the catechists: 'From the materials I have from my contributors from Mayombe . . .' (1957, 150). The obscurity as to who in fact the author is, makes the work very difficult to use.

It must be noted that not all the inconsistencies in Laman's work were due to his method of collating local traditions provided by the catechists into a single text. His own translations, which are excellent as far as they go, appear to have been made at a rapid pace, resulting in skipped lines, and gaps, no doubt where esoteric words and passages appeared. The editors, despite their claim to the contrary, have not reworked these gaps, or checked them carefully against the originals. In the KiKongo texts that describe rites, there usually are many songs. But in the English text these are either left half completed or skipped over entirely. This is extremely unfortunate, and probably counter to Laman's intention, for the songs of some rites metaphorize ritual instructions, tying them to the belief system. In the last volume more attention has been paid to this matter. But many songs simply do not appear in the final text, or appear only in a few English phrases, usually the refrain.

One can say of the English publication that despite its contribution to African studies it has the following shortcomings: the identity of the original authors is ignored; the parallel and diverging regional customs which it seeks to describe are smoothed over or eliminated, or left to stand without explanation; the dates and locations of the observations are rarely given; the series of translations—KiKongo to Swedish, Swedish to English—result in an often cryptic, incomplete rendering in which integral social processes such as rites and personal histories come off worst.

But going beyond a simple critique of the editorial task, we would like to know why the work turned out as it did. And in this we are led beyond the thanklessness and enormity of the editor's task to an editorial policy, the guiding idea or ideas that inspired the revisions and corrections. For it was not the enormity of the project that led to ignoring the date, place of origin, local variations, and personal sources and social context of the data.

The leading idea around which the foregoing set of characteristics, framed as shortcomings, make coherent sense is the notion that Laman's manuscript is concerned with the description of a single 'tribe' or 'sub-tribe'. Important derivative notions follow from this premise. Lagercrantz's preface to the first volume suggests this when he writes that

The tribe mainly described by Laman is not the Kongo but the Sundi. In naming his investigations 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 (1953, viii).

The corrections, rearrangements, and deletions in what the editors saw as repetitious and parallel parts of the manuscript follow directly from their conviction that Laman's descriptions were of 'the Sundi' as a more or less spatially delimited population with internally homogeneous customs, invariable within this domain. Logically, following this premise, the identification of dates and variations would be superfluous.

That the editors should have taken this view of the tribe is not surprising, for it was shared by two other centres of interest which lie close to Laman's work. The Belgian colonial ethnography practised at the time Laman wrote his ethnographies sought to establish contiguous spatially discrete tribal groups. Maes and Boone's work *Les peuplades du Congo belge* (1935) is perhaps the most systematic expression of this type of thinking. In it 'Sundi' becomes one of the Lower Congo tribes (Fig. 3). A second interest which finds expression in the editors' conviction that Laman's work deals with the 'Sundi' tribe is the culture-historical approach strongly represented in Sweden and certain other European ethnological circles; Lagercrantz's own work is oriented along these lines (1950; 1954). Both types of influence reflect the concept of the tribe being not only a reality, i.e. a spatially identifiable population with homogeneous customs, but also an analytic and classificatory unit. The suggestion that Laman's work deals with the 'Sundi' seems logical then if it be noted that he resided at Mukimbungu, Kibunzi, Nganda, and Kingoyi (Fig. 3), all within or near the 'Sundi' area.

It is unlikely though that Laman held this view of the Sundi, or that his work—rather, that of the catechists which he reworked—was limited to such a population. His own title 'The Kongo' suggests that he was following the model set forth in his dictionary. Instead of the language areas we find there, based on phonetic and semantic variations, he would here have had variations in custom and local usage. Laman's text, and the English text, do not use the term 'tribe' at all, so far as I can determine. Rather, once he has identified the scope of his monograph as the 'Kongo-speaking people' (1953, 8), he goes on to write of the Sundi—and also the Bwende and others—as a clan. The clan refers occasionally to a territory, but mostly to a

matrilineally recruited entity associated with a capital and a regent, e.g. Mbanza Nsundi, of which there are many (1953, 15-23). An individual thus belongs to his mother's clan, but he identifies himself too, patrilaterally, with his father's, particularly if the latter is a freeman. Patrilateral clan identification is the principal



FIG. 3. Lower Congo north of River Congo: 'tribal' identifications from Maes and Boone (1935), and some of the locations from which catechists wrote.

criterion for the consolidation of a political unit. And the model of the polity here is not that shared by the twentieth-century European colonials of a territory fixed by boundaries, but that of a centre surrounded by subjects or lateral groups sharing the same tradition, or competing regents vying for a place in the same tradition. The catechists' notebooks reveal multiple and contradictory local traditions, even to the point of revealing that 'Kongo'-related and 'Teke'-related clans inhabit the same region north of the river. Contrary to the editorial position, this comes through even in the English text.

Laman's posthumous work thus reveals an attempt to deal with these multiple oral-written traditions and the obvious resulting inconsistencies as if they are attributable to a faulty technique of information gathering instead of to the reality beneath. 'Tribal customs' must by definition be uniform, and if there are variations, they are due to methodological discrepancies. Following this premise, it would be the purpose of science to apply rational 'correction' so as to arrive at the pure custom beneath. The best example of this, already cited above, is the simple elimination of two contradictory genealogical tables (1957, vii), in lieu of their publication with an analysis of the human and political situation that produced them. The unfortunate consequence of the approach taken in editing Laman's work is that the actors, as well as the narrators, have been dispensed with in favour of uniform, but fictive, custom.

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Résumé

L'ETHNOGRAPHIE KONGO DE LAMAN

L'ETHNOGRAPHIE des Bakongo de Karl Laman (775 pages, 4 volumes, en langue anglaise) a été réalisé à partir de quelques 20 000 pages de sources kikongo rédigées par des enseignants des villages congolais au début du siècle en réponse à un questionnaire distribué par l'auteur. Déposées dans les archives des Missions Svenska à Stockholm, ces sources représentent la plus grande documentation du début du siècle recueillie sur la tradition locale

Kongo, les comptes-rendus de culte, etc. . . . Cependant, à la suite d'une série d'évènements débutant par la mort de Laman en 1944 survenue au milieu de son travail de dépouillement des sources, la traduction et le réaménagement des publications effectuées par les éditeurs posthumes, les sources et leurs auteurs congolais furent, dans le texte anglais final, totalement méconnus. Ceci va à l'encontre des intentions probables de Laman qui voulut souligner la part des écrivains congolais et utiliser leurs divers écrits, parallèles et parfois contradictoires. Une partie de la distorsion du travail posthume est due à l'option théorique des éditeurs qui ont voulu reconstruire une ' coutume ' objective en fonction de la méthode historique, selon laquelle une coutume est plus ou moins homogène dans les populations qui vivent près des frontières d'une tribu. Le temps et l'établissement à l'intérieur de ces frontières ne sont pas tenus pour être des variables importantes. La méthode ignore aussi la perspective personnelle et le contexte social des auteurs et narrateurs (souvent les mêmes dans les sources) et élimine leur statut politique n'apportant ainsi aucune explication des changements intervenus.

3. MINKISI: SACRED MEDICINES

This is a text written for Swedish missionary Karl Laman shortly after the turn of the century. Although author Nsemi writes a simple treatise on sacred medicine (*n'kisi*, pl., *min'kisi*), he reveals the highly coherent cosmology of Kongo culture at the turn of the century. This cosmology emerges as he discloses the relationship of one *nkisi* with another, of all the *minkisi* (plural) to God, and of the place they have in the life of man. The essay is very explicit on the place of the *minkisi* in the overall hierophany, i.e., the range of sacred manifestations in relation to the ordinary aspects of life.

The *minkisi* originate in God (Nzambi). Crucial to an understanding of this association is the being Funza, or some other principle which combines in one the non-material or intangible sense of Reality with the material, tangible embodiment of that Reality. Funza and Nzambi are the same at one level. Yet while Funza is "the first *nkisi*" (2.4) at another level, Nzambi "is not seen in any *min-kisi*," and his "name only" is used by man (2.3). Funza thus mediates between the invisible Unity (Monotheism) of Nzambi, and the visible Multiplicity of *Minkisi*. Funza is a local deity limited to the Lower Congo. But twinship (or triplet-ship, 2.5). the principle of duality Funza represents, is much more broadly distributed, and serves as a dominant sign of access to priestly functions. Elsewhere parents of twins are described as

ipso facto having the power to "combine all the *minkisi*, or make their association." Here Nsemi notes that in the event that a particular *nkisi* priest is absent, a parent of twins will be able to bless the *nkisi* as it is put together (14.3). The articulation of a hierophany that moves from multiplicity to unity, or from the imperfect to the perfect, or from the tangible to the intangible, is an indication of the sophistication of Kongo traditional religious thought.

* * *

1.1 *Nkisi* is the name of the thing we use to help a man when he is sick and from which we obtain health; the name refers to leaves and medicines combined together. 1.2 When an individual becomes sick, he will be healed by another who collects plants, mixes them together, and gives the sufferer to drink of the mixture. 1.3 It is also called *nkisi* because there is one to protect the human soul and guard it against illness for whoever is sick and wishes to be healed. 1.4 Thus an *nkisi* is also something which hunts down illness and chases it away from the body. 1.5 Many people therefore compose, or initiate to, an *nkisi*, it is for them a protector from illness. 1.6 An *nkisi* is also a chosen companion, in whom all people find confidence[?]. 1.7 It is a hiding place for people's souls, to keep and compose in order to preserve life (breath). 1.8 But the help in finding healing is why people are especially grateful for *minkisi*. 1.9 Therefore the *nkisi* are prayed to and venerated by many, and they are well known everywhere for the help they give.

2.1 The first *nkisi* to have existed here in this country [i.e., region of Mongo Luala] is not really known, but we are told that the origin of Funza is the origin of all *minkisi*. 2.2 In this connection people speak of God-Nzambi or Funza, for they think that Funza and Nzambi are really one; therefore whatever the origin of Funza, he gave rise to all the *minkisi* in order to help the people. 2.3 As for God-Nzambi, we only utter his name; and we do not see an *nkisi* called by the name of Nzambi. 2.4 Therefore the first *nkisi*, called Funza, originated in God, and Funza came with a great number of *minkisi* which he distributed throughout the country each with its respective powers, governing over its particular domain. 2.5 Funza governs over the domain of healing (*bukasanga*) a person who has twins or triplets. 2.6 So people have other *minkisi* fabricated by Funza; but not all *nkisi* are subordinate to Funza, because each receives its power at its particular source.

3.1 The first one in this country to compose *minkisi* is the ancient MUKULU, but we later know little

about him. 3.2 When MUKULU lay down and fell asleep, he dreamed a dream. 3.3 "Tomorrow you will take leaves and mix them and given them to a sufferer to drink, and he will be cured, for all the plants belong to me," said a voice. 3.4 Then MUKULU when he opened his eyes saw that he had dreamed. 3.5 He returned to sleep and was shown the medicines by God or Funza and was told to mix all things together as instructed, to help those in pain and need; and they will be charms to help you. 3.6 Then he opened his eyes and did as he had seen in the dream; he mixed together the leaves and administered them to a sufferer, and he was healed. 3.7 Thus did the plants get their power from the one who prepared them for healing. 3.8 Then Helper MUKULU, after he was taught by God or Funza, he the First Helper began to teach others in the use of *minkisi*: how they would be useful for each ailing person, and how he might regain his health.

4.1 The *nkisi* has life; if it had not, how could it heal and help people? 4.2 But the life of an *nkisi* is different from the life in people. 4.3 It is such that one can damage its flesh (*koma mbizi*), burn it, break it, or throw it away; but it will not bleed or cry out. 4.4 Yet the magicians think that an *nkisi* possesses life because when it heals a person it sucks illness out. 4.5 In this sense they think an *nkisi* has inextinguishable life coming from a source. 4.6 When, in this sense, an *nkisi* wishes to exert (*luka*) its strength, it strikes (*ubwilanga*) persons until some high priest supplicates (*lengudila*) it, his *nkisi*. 4.7 Then it will leave off, for the priest has the right to supplicate it.

5.1 The nature of an *nkisi* is like this then: it strikes and drags people around through illness because of its "jealousy" (*nsoki*). 5.2 Thus when a person is treated by it, and cured, the *nkisi* will be honored by him and paid a fee for healing. 5.3 This is the nature of the help an *nkisi* gives its particular priest when it strikes; and a priest is content because the *nkisi* brings him client-patients to cure. 5.4 And for this reason the priest will tend to think of his *nkisi* as being strong and possessing life and breath. 5.5 Because it treats a person, he eats [receives his fee]. Thus, whether the *nkisi* is alive with ears that hear, or whether it is just a dead thing, it brings in a return. 5.7 When a priest chants he knows that the *nkisi* hears and is listening to the words of its master as he honors and supplicates it.

6.1 *Minkisi* differ in form (*lunitu*) and nature (*nkadulu*) because the sufferings in the human body differ. 6.2 The *minkisi*, in like manner, are as diverse and as many as the many, many illnesses in the land. 6.3 Each person chooses an *nkisi* to correspond to his illness. 6.4 One would not, for example, take *nkisi*

Mwe Nsundi for a headache. 6.5 If the stomach aches, one would not take *nkisi* Mbwanga. 6.6 But whichever *nkisi* makes the attack, that is the one which would cure. 6.7 For this reason the *minkisi* are distinguished in their nature one from the other.

7.1 It is thought of male *minkisi* that they are particularly strong, for when a male *nkisi* attacks a person its strength only increases and increases; if the *nkisi* cannot be persuaded to relent and let go of its victim, then it is male. 7.2 But the female *nkisi* is different; it is less persistent and will let go, for it is of a more docile nature. 7.3 The *nkisi* is measured thus by the difference in strength of male and female; it is the same amongst human beings where male strength is dominant, and female strength diminutive. 7.4 The ingredients put in the *nkisi* are categorized [named] like the diseases in the body in order to help the *nkisi* in its work. 7.5 Therefore, if an *nkisi* lacks medicinal ingredients it cannot accomplish a thing. 7.6 So the *nkisi* takes medicinal ingredients; it becomes their being, their hands and feet, their eyes; medicines are all these. 7.7 For this reason, whatever *nkisi* lacks medicine is dead and has no life. 7.8 Some of the ingredients of particular *minkisi* are these: Luyala [a fruit], that it may rule (*yaala*); Lusakasaka [leaves], that it may bless (*sakumuna*); Tonda [a mushroom], that it may be desired (*tondwa*); Nkandikila [a fruit], that it may interdict (*kandika*); Mudingi [copal], that it may be silent (*dingama*); Luzibu [grain], that it may open (*zibula*); Lutete [gourd seed], that it may crack (*teta*); Mukazu [kola nut], that it may bite off (*kazuwa*); Muzazu [a cocoon], that it may stitch together (*zazula*); Luwanga [a small toad], that it may explode (*niangu*); Lufulangi [a fruit tree], that it may blow (*fula*); Kisimani [?], that it may hold tight (*simana*); Kalazima [?], that it may strike (*zima*). 7.9 These ingredients help the *nkisi* so that strength may be in its body. 7.10 The medicines are put in the *nkisi* that they may join forces (*biabunda ngolo ha kimosi*) and apply them to whatever problem desired. 7.11 Other medicines are not described here, but look for them under some of the other *minkisi*. 7.12 They are put in so that the *nkisi* may be armed. 7.13 Some people open them on Mpika-day and while divining with a mirror the priest put spirits before them, or witches, as he looks into the mirror. 7.14 Nkisi Nkondi receives wedges, or "nails" made of vegetable matter if the person driving them has no iron ones. 7.15 Lacking an iron wedge, a nail will be driven into the statue to "bind" it. 7.16 It is believed that because of its wound that has injured Nkondi, he will become angry quickly and go "tie up" the person identified in the divination.

8. The [nkisi] statues are carved so that they shall

have the appearance of a person, and like him, have a mouth to eat with. For this reason, when it is seen that a particular statue has a fearful aspect, people will respect it and think that if it attacks (a person) it will change him to be like itself. Some have the appearance of a woman because of the beauty of a woman; others are "male" because of the strength of men; yet others are named after illnesses. If it is seen that the statue has an evil aspect, then a person will quickly know that this *nkisi* has a harmful "attack." So each *nkisi* is respected only according to its evil appearance; for example, some are incomplete [or defective] so that if it attacks someone he will become like the *nkisi* itself. Such an appearance does not have the power to heal, but to cause attacks only.

9. Some priests, when before a sick person who wants to protect himself from dying suddenly, take the heart of a healthy person and put it into the sick person; in this wise the sufferer gets well. The heart of him who was sick will enter the healthy person, though, and as a healthy person he will suddenly die. In taking hearts like this the priest [magician] does not use a knife; rather he who is getting a heart will fetch one wherever he is sent, and [magically] deliver it to the magician.

10. The statue of a twin is not a *nkisi* but an important kind of pacifier (*mbidi a nlembikisi*) in case of the birth of twins. For if one of the two dies, it is not said that he has died. If the twin was male, they call him Went-to-Fetch; if female, Went-to-Chop-Firewood. 10.4 When one dies, the other will become angry; he must not be allowed to suckle unless the statuette of its companion-twin is tied to him. 10.5 The mother must respect the remaining one, and she should drum *Konko* as follows:

10.6 Bansimba and Banzuzi

Do not stiffen your necks [become angry]
Fathers and Elders,
I salute you,
Now nurse from me;
For you came to us in our lean time.
I am the mother of Nsimba, the mother
of Nzuzi
Look at this your companion.

10.7 As the mother honors them in this wise she ties a statue-charm with a string to the remaining child; it shall not thenceforth be called an only or single child, but will be called [in the plural] *bakaaka*, grandfathers, or if a girl *bayaya*, grandmothers [terms of respect, equivalent to elder brothers/sisters]. 10.8 The statuette thus represents the image of the twin who died, and this is done in order that the living one will not be upset and also die. 10.9 Such a statue has no power to protect; it is simply so the other [remaining one] will know "We are together."

10.10 When a twin dies the mother cannot mourn or show sorrow; she must be anointed with *ndimba*-red and shaved . . . 10.11 The twin which dies will not be mourned at all, and will not be buried in the cemetery, but at a crossroads, where they will also plant Lemba-Lemba, Lubota, and Nsanga-Dinkonde. 10.12 And if they want to give them something, they must give each twin the same, else one or the other will become upset.

11.1 Some *minkisi* can be created by whoever wishes it, while others cannot be composed by just anyone. 11.2 MaBunzi, for instance, can be made only by those who inherited it, thus not by just anyone. 11.3 Many *minkisi* can be composed by anyone, and some people do compose for themselves very many *minkisi*. 11.4 Some people keep them in large *nkutu* bags, one bag for each *nkisi*, while the names of others may not be known because (11.5) the priests think they live longer on account of their *minkisi*, some saying that the *minkisi* support them. 11.6 A person might make up for himself an *nkisi* for a journey to a strange part of the country; if he is an ordinary man, not himself *nganga* he may put signs into the *nkisi* that do not belong there. 11.7 Some chief priests themselves add supplementary charms . . . They can descend beneath the sea and compose *minkisi* there for a period of a month or two. 11.8 When they return they are all covered with *ndimba* (-red), although the priests who do this do not really cross over the water, their *minkisi* alone do it. 11.9 The chief priests who were capable of this died long ago. 11.10 We have not heard that *minkisi* originate in a similar way from the sky, although some medicinal ingredients come from there, like *ndingi* resin, and a certain snake with a bright flashing body and a double head.

12.1 Each *nkisi* then has its particular domain and power. 12.2 Some people think that the most powerful of the small *nkisi* is Mbwanga, for Mbwanga were first assembled—their drums *nkonko*—by a certain now-deceased priest. 12.3 . . . 12.4 . . . 12.5 A very large *nkisi* drummed up by *ngoma* is Kinkita, or others like MaBunzi, Mitinu, Mbola, and several Nkondi, and other large ones. 12.6 Some *minkisi* surpass others because they have two functions alongside the one of others. 12.7 These “grand” *minkisi* can cure in the house of a sufferer, on a termite mound, at a crossroads, or in the water, and many cures are attributed to them. 12.8 Another *nkisi*, found mostly in the houses, is Nkiduku: some of these are kept in pots (*kisa*) and others in snail shells (*kodia*). 12.9 Nkiduku is kept for the purpose of helping a person live and become old. 12.10 When it is seen that a person begins to show his years, he will not think about whether or not he is revered, but his thoughts will dwell on whether or not he already has his

Nkiduku. 12.11 It is a fighting *nkisi*; in war, if a man shoots and his weapon misfires, then Nkiduku will show the reason why. 12.12 When its priest dies, there is heavy rain; when one is initiated to it, the rain is removed. 12.13 Bikandu is an *nkisi* protecting the house and children so that witches will not eat people, for if a witch should eat a person, Bikandu—a barrier—would quickly cure him. 12.14 For these reasons, then, Bikandu and Makula too are kept in houses. 12.15 Another *nkisi*, Mihingu, is for children too. 12.16 A child may be strong as such but sometimes have weak legs; at such a time the priest of Muhingu will bless a new broom for the mother, one that has never swept before. 12.17 This she will then use day after day, and after she has swept the house, she will sweep over the child's legs and jump him up and down (*dumuna*) and speak encouragingly to him, and he should walk. 12.18 . . .

13.1 The class of “land” *minkisi* is very large. 13.2 The *minkisi* of “land” carry this name because when they are used they are not taken and put in contact with water: “of land” means “land only” whether for healing or for interdicting. 13.3 The names of *minkisi* of land (*nseke*) are these: Luhemba, Mwe Kongo, Kula, Biyala, Mwe Nsundi, Madungu or Nkokobondo, Kilonda, Musansi, Mbwanga, Nsakulu, Mungani, Kubangu. 13.4 Kinkita is at once of “land” and “water.” 13.5 Muzinga, Niambi, Muteke, Mutadi also are “land” *minkisi*; but they are in the class of divination *minkisi* as well. 13.6 In the “water” (*nlangu*) class, we find these: Bupzi, Matinu, Mbumba, Mpodi, Bisimbi, Mwe Mbuku, Mbola; of Nkondi some of them are water, others of land. 13.7 Those in the “water” class, but also included in divination, are Mutadi, Mpika, Suku, and some Nkondi. 13.8 Makwanga is in the “sky” (*yulu*) class, but also it is in the “land” class. 13.9 Mwe Kongo, Madungu, and Mungani are “land” *minkisi*, but they are used also for the blessing of dogs and weapons; so that dogs may get the most game animals, they too are consecrated by *minkisi*.

14.1 An *nkisi* may become belligerent and angry because the priest fails to observe the rules (*biria*) or sacred prohibitions (*nlongo*) given at the initiation when he was first healed by it. 14.2 Thus in this wise retribution comes to a person if he gets ill; an *nkisi* cannot quickly accept to heal such a person, for it is his punishment. 14.3 The priests' defilement (*nsumukunu*) is as when a person [. . . ?] (*bu kahengi dia kamikunwa*)—

15.1 The medicines (*bilongo*) are the ingredients [of the *minkisi*]; their strength comes from each individually and from their being joined together. 15.2 Each ingredient has an action upon man and the bringing together of these forces is what heals a per-

son. 15.3 Medicines without *nkisi* may not be employed for the reason that they have not been blessed by a parent of twins. 15.4 In villages where they have other methods and there are no *minkisi*, they collect medicines and then the twin priest (*nganga nsimba*) blesses them; then these medicines become strong to help people and this method may be used to prepare the ingredients of other *minkisi*. 15.5 The ingredients of the *minkisi* were learned by him who created them. He saw that each had rules for the medicines to be composed. 15.6 In this wise the ingredients of the *minkisi* were first given by ancestor MUKULU; his disciples taught all other followers, and when these grew up they in turn taught theirs. 15.7 Their knowledge is thus never lost.

16.1 The construction of an *nkisi*—the ingredients and the songs—must follow the original model. 16.2 If you put the ingredients together helter-skelter you injure the *nkisi* and he will become angry over your failure to arrange the ingredients in the proper order. 16.3 An *nkisi's* strength is rooted in how it was discovered originally; the ingredients are put in as they must be, else it loses its strength and gets confused. 16.4 Some people do not know how to make strong *minkisi* because they do not understand what are the plants capable of curing. 16.5 Then also there is the kind of person who makes an *nkisi* not learned from his own people, or perhaps he has no access to the parents of twins. 16.6 Others will know that such an *nkisi* has been designed by the person himself, and they will ridicule him and think him incompetent, for his *nkisi* is not authentic—it does not originate from the ancestors. 16.7 So, many people simply do not come in possession of powerful medicines, being despised, contradicted, and caused to die in shame. 16.8 As a consequence, many people never obtain powerful *minkisi*.

Nsemi Isaki, ca. 1910
Laman Collection, SMF Lidingö.