Notes,
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Notes

Chapter 1

1. De Jonghe wrote widely on African religion and ethnology, and his views on "secret societies" and ethnological theory are found condensed in the following works: Les sociétés secrètes au Bas-Congo (Bruxelles, 1907); "Les sociétés secrètes en Afrique," Semaine d'Ethnologie Religieuse Ser. 3 (1923); "Formations récents de sociétés secrètes au Congo Belge," Africa 9, no. 1 (1936): 56–63. Unless otherwise indicated, the review of works is drawn from De Jonghe's 1923 article.

8. L. Frobenius, Die Masken und Geheimbünde (Halle, 1898).
15. L. Bittremieux, La société secrète des Bakhimba au Mayombe (Bruxelles, 1936).

18. I am drawing these phrases from my own work, but they appear in most of the above-mentioned publications, frequently using the very same cognates from region to region.


20. These terms are drawn from Kongo, although the verbal stem of *n'ganga* appears across the entire Bantu-speaking region, as do other terms associated with the therapeutic system under consideration. M. Guthrie’s *Comparative Bantu*, 4 vols. (Hants, 1967) is an important reference for tracing the distribution of verbal concepts connected with this system.


22. Prins, “Disease at the Crossroads,” has demonstrated the effectiveness of this approach in reconstructing intellectual history. Long-term surviving values and categories, amidst changes, indicate for him the “core” of a culture. He has used therapeutics as such a barometer of Lozi culture in the long term in his historical study *Hidden Hippopotamus* (Cambridge, 1980).


24. This is especially true of the work in Werbner, *Regional Cults*, and is exemplified in Werbner’s introduction, pp. ix–xxxviii.


31. K. Garbett’s “Disparate Regional Cults and a Unitary Ritual Field in Zimbabwe” in Werbner, *Regional Cults*, pp. 55–92, is an exception to
this. Garbett, in his analysis of the Mutota cult of Zimbabwe, develops a clear picture of several cults interpenetrating in a single region. Alongside the centralized, hierarchic ancestor cults he finds other nonhierarchic and territorially undefined cults (p. 58).

33. Van Binsbergen, “Regional and Non-Regional Cults,” p. 144.
35. Ibid., p. 94.
36. K. Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth* (Toronto, 1969), says that millenarian activities provide a test case in social analysis for the joining of statements valid for both participants and investigator. “Beyond their intrinsic human interest . . . millenarian activities constitute an acute theoretical challenge. They invite a statement through which particular actions and rationalizations may be given a more general validity” (p. 2).

37. C. Geertz, in “Religion as a Cultural System,” in M. Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (New York, 1966), cites Santayana to the effect that “any attempt to speak without speaking any particular language is not more hopeless than the attempt to have a religion that shall be no religion in particular. . . . Thus every living and healthy religion has a marked idiosyncracy” (p. 1).

40. J. Goody, in his *Technology, Tradition, and the State in Africa* (London, 1971), develops an analysis of state formation for Africa. He acknowledges the importance of Southall’s concept of the “segmentary state” in which central and local powers have equal weight, a condition that has often arisen as larger empires or states disintegrate (pp. 9–10). For reasons of technological small scale in food production (the use of the hoe rather than horse- or ox-drawn plow), Goody rejects a “feudal stage” in state formation for most of West and Central Africa, arguing instead for a variety of historical types: the hereditary structuring of ritual powers; the ability to attract and keep a following (privileged descent groups); conquest; diffusion of the institution and idea of a state; the emergence of a central state from a nucleus in lineages, age sets, cult associations, and other institutions in acephalous society; in opposition to slave raids; or the need to move trade goods across long distances occupied by peoples lacking chiefs (pp. 12–18). Goody would then concur, perhaps, that it is difficult, even unnecessary, to make a sharp distinction between “state” and “cult,” and that either can fulfill the functions of centralized or regional institutions.
41. J. Miller, in his *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Oxford, 1976), has reviewed models of state formation in Central
Africa, arguing that generally "state" institutions are created in response to the need and desirability of contact between unrelated lineages. Relationships created are by definition political. They may come about in one or several of the following ways: to control scarce but valuable resources such as salt, iron and copper ore, or trade advantages; military or strategic advantage; as innovations capable of attracting manpower, for example, the Mbandu and Imbangala *kilombo* war camp, a converted initiation camp used to overcome particularistic loyalties of descent groups; ideological innovation relating to large-scale institutional integration; the assistance of outside allies; the control of commercial monopolies such as those taken over by so-called "broker states" like Angola, between Kasanji and Portugal and Brazil; agricultural surpluses, a necessary but not sufficient factor in state formation; technological superiority; and individual genius. Most of these factors could be cited as elements in the emergence of *Lemba*, suggesting the pitfalls of reading into a combination of them any teleological tendency to political consolidation.

42. L. de Heusch, in "Structures de réciprocité et structures de subordination," in his *Pourquoi l'épouser?* (Paris, 1971), has studied the Nyimi (kingship) institution among Bushong peoples—Kuba, Lele—and has suggested that centralized "statehood" is but a variation of several possibilities found throughout the cluster of Bushong peoples. This leads him, in the explanation of state formation, to emphasize a rather willful historical event such as the murder of a kinsman, the act of royal incest, or similar break with the past, to destroy the "structure of reciprocity" having existed in a society and to establish in its place a "structure of subordination." This sheds much light on transformations of authority symbolism in the *Lemba* region and related centralized systems. Extensive experimentation occurred to reach appropriate combinations of "subordination" and "reciprocity."


Chapter 2

6. Ibid., p. 345.
8. Kwamba, *Text 1* (Chapter 4, below), line 68.
12. Ibid., p. 59.
15. Ibid., p. 287.
17. Ibid., p. 94.
18. Ibid., p. 86.
29. The intellectual source of this simplistic notion of homogeneous ethnicity is the “culture-area” (Kulturkreis) school inspired by Gräbener, Wissler, Frobenius, and perhaps Murdock. Lacking in understanding of the dynamics of social organization, the adherents of this approach map out cultural units on the basis of features such as language, dialect, or material culture affixing them to a given territory. By definition, a culture area defined by its most “characteristic” elements or complex of elements is therefore “pure.” An improvement in the Africanist literature is the work of Baumann and Westermann of the so-called “historical” school. In their maps and ethnographies, one can note the superimposition of one identity over another, the accretion within a population of successive historical trends and polities. See H. Baumann and D. Westermann, *Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1967).
33. P.-P. Rey, "L’eslavage lignager chez les tsangui, les punu et les kuni du Congo-Brazzaville," in C. Meillassoux, ed., *L’esclavage en Afrique précoloniale* (Paris, 1975), pp. 509–528. Rey’s approach to defining the levels of Kunyi organization concentrates on the large territorial estate (*mukuna*) comparable to the *nsi*. However, because he is interested mainly in the visible unit of production, the lineage (*diku*), ignoring other levels of categorial classification, he is led to make the statement that the clan (*ifumba*) may span ethnic boundaries of such peoples as the Kunyi, Tsangui, and Punu which are therefore presumably territorial and discrete. This approach stops short of solving problems inherent in the view of one ethnic unit seen as territorially discrete.
38. See for example Martin, *The External Trade*, pp. 3–5, who reviews the sources.
41. Ibid.


51. De Cleene, "Les chefs indigènes."

52. L. Bittremieux, *Mayombish Idioticon* (Gent, 1923), map.


54. Bittremieux, "Un vieux chef."


58. Ibid., pp. 109–110.

59. Ibid., p. 118.


63. Ibid., pp. 534–535.

64. Ibid., pp. 535–537.


68. Ibid., p. 382.


70. Ibid., p. 163; Pechuel-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango*, p. 381.


75. Ibid., p. 377.


79. Ibid., pp. 323–324.

80. Ibid., p. 330.

81. Ibid., p. 331.

82. Ibid., p. 332.
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83. Ibid., p. 396.
84. Ibid., p. 384.
85. Ibid., p. 456.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., p. 324.
88. Ibid., p. 326.
89. J. Van Wing, *Etudes Bakongo* (Bruxelles, 1959), Map I.
93. Ibid., Map I, and Montesarchio’s list, p. 301.
95. Ibid.
100. Maillet, Luozi Territorial Archives.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
106. Pierre Nzuzi of the Kimbanga clan of Kisiasia, Luozi Territory, narrated this to me in 1969.

Chapter 3


Introduction to Part II


2. For present purposes, V.W. Turner’s *Drums of Affliction* (Oxford, 1968) is the leading example of this approach in the area of African therapeutics. More generally, C. Geertz’s work on religion as a symbol system characterizes it, as for example in his “Religion as a Cultural System” in Banton, *Anthropological Approaches to... Religion*, pp. 1–46. This approach is given historical depth and critical justification in J.L. Dolgin, D.S. Kemnitzer, and D.M. Schneider, eds., *Symbolic Anthropology* (New York, 1977).


12. Primarily I have in mind the semiotics of R. Barthes as formulated in *Système de la mode* (Paris, 1967), or his literary essays such as *S/Z*.
(Paris, 1970), with its emphasis on levels or codes, and the relationship between these codes, although I am aware of the theoretical sophistication of C.S. Peirce's much earlier work.

13. G. Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (New York, 1972), and E. Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols are Connected* (Cambridge, 1976), are two examples of the kind of work I have in mind.

14. An issue raised by most of the above writers and resolved or formulated in a great diversity of ways too involved for further discussion in this study.

Chapter 4


2. Text 2 by M. Lunungu is drawn from Notebook 181 of the Laman Collection, SMF, Lidingö, and may be dated at about 1915.

3. I have elsewhere discussed the origin and fate of this extensive KiKongo corpus: see my "Laman's Kongo Ethnography: Observations on Sources, Methodology, and Theory," *Africa* 42, no. 4 (1972): 316–328. When Laman returned to Sweden in 1919 with the notebooks, they provided him with the basis in idioms and vocabulary to produce his masterful *Dictionnaire KiKongo-Français* (Bruxelles, 1936). He also translated (into Swedish) passages on Kongo custom using categories of his original questionnaire, selecting from the notebooks what he regarded as most representative and best written. Posthumously, Laman's Swedish text was translated into English, under the direction of S. Lagerkrantz, and published in the Studia Ethnographica Uppsaliensia series as *The Kongo I-IV* (Uppsala, 1953, 1957, 1962, 1968). Fortunately scholars of Kongo and Central-African studies have had access to these English sources although they have been difficult to work with because of the lack of reference in them to place, context, and authorship. Also, some of the materials having gone through double translation have lost their original meaning or have become very elliptical. The reader may wish to compare Kwamba's original text on Lemba given here with the version offered in Laman, *The Kongo III*, pp. 113–116.

Lunungu's description of Lemba (Text 2) has not been published anywhere to my knowledge.


5. For such a rewriting, used as partial model in this work, see A. Dundes, E. Leach, P. Maranda, and D. Maybury-Lewis, "An Experiment: Suggestions and Queries from the Desk, with a Reply from the Ethnogra-

Chapter 5

1. Kimbembe, Notebook 80, Laman Collection, Svenska Missionsforbundet (SMF), Lidingö, ca. 1915.
5. Ibid., p. 53.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 59.
8. Ibid., p. 60.
9. Ibid., p. 54.
18. Ibid., p. 55.
19. Ibid., p. 56.
22. Andersson, Contribution, pp. 247–248, based on notes taken 1930–31 at Madzia from Milonga Jean and Muyakidi, at Musana from Masamba Philippe and Ngusa Ruben, a Lali. It is noteworthy that this origin account traces Lemba to a founder with the “Nga” title, similar to most of the Teke nkobi holders.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.

Chapter 6

3. Solomo Nitu, noted storyteller and catechist of Cabinda, narrated these Mavungu texts (5, 6, 7) to Charles Harvey in 1961 at the age of 75 years. I am indebted to Harvey for recording Nitu’s narrative treasure as well as for the generosity of allowing me to use them here. Nitu lived in the village of Masala, near the Portuguese administrative post of Luadi, also near the mission of M’boku, on the banks of the Mbika River, in the so-called Zala area, in tall forest country.

5. Ibid., p. 47, my translation.
6. Ibid., p. 46.
7. Ibid., p. 50.
8. Ibid., p. 43.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp. 43, 49.
16. Nitu, Text XXIIIa, MS.
17. Nitu, Text XXXIX, MS.
18. Nitu, Text XLIV, MS.

Chapter 7

1. J. Konda, Notebook 119, Laman Collection, Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF), Lidingö, ca. 1915.
2. T. Babutidi, Notebook 16, Laman Collection, SMF, Lidingö, ca. 1915. This account of a Lemba initiation is identified as having occurred at Mamundi, “westward of Kinkenge.” I have been unable to locate this site exactly, but Kinkenge is at the boundary of the Yombe area, therefore I have identified it as Eastern Mayombe. Parts of this text have been published in K. Laman, *The Kongo III* (Uppsala, 1962), p. 116.
4. Ibid., p. 41.
8. Based on Belgian Colonial Ministry economic reports on the Bas-


11. A. Jacobson-Widding, in her *Red-White-Black as a Mode of Thought* (Uppsala, 1979), pp. 250–251, makes much of the discrepancy between the “white” name Mpemba Lemba and the “red” tukula ingredients in Babutidi’s report, from which she is working in Laman’s Kongo ethnography, possibly without realizing it. She relates this to her theory of the need to reconcile what she speaks of as the “inner” with the “outer” man, and with the “matrilineal principle of inheritance of male characteristics.” Unfortunately, this elaborate theory is based on the perpetuation of a simple phonetic error by Babutidi who, not being a Lemba initiate, confused *phemba* or *phemba* for *mpemba*. The same mistake was made by Lehuard, and before him by Maes, and before him by Bastian and Pechuel-Loesche. Bittremieux’s research (see note 12 below) and circumstantial evidence in Lehuard’s monograph and in Pechuel-Loesche’s account of *n’kisi Phemba* permit a correct interpretation.

12. Bittremieux’s original research on the distinction of *phemba* (or *phemba*) and *mpemba* is reported in unpublished letters written in 1939 to the then director of the Musée d’Afrique Central, at Tervuren, J. Maes, from Kangu where he had collected two nkobe Lemba, including the one sketched in figure 21 and pictured in plates 5–7.


14. R. Lehuard, *Les phemba du mayombe* (Paris, 1977), is an excellent presentation of this sculptural genre, except for the confusion of *mpemba* with *phemba*, which I have discussed at greater length in my review of this monograph in *African Arts* 11, no. 2 (1978): 88–89.


19. This summary is based on J. Van Wing and C. Schöller, “Les aventures merveilleuses de Moni-Mambu le querelleur,” in their *Légendes des BaKongo orientaux* (Louvain, 1940), pp. 11–44, which is a heavily
edited Kongo narrative for school children based on an earlier text published in KiKongo, circulated in ca. 1935, itself transcribed from an unknown narrator. I have not been able to find the KiKongo original, but it was retold by A.-R. Bolamba as “La légende de Moni-Mambu chez les BaKongo,” in *Arts et metiers indigènes* 9 (1938): 17–19. I have added Bolamba’s episode 8 to the Van Wing and Schöller version since it was apparently in the original KiKongo. Other accounts, much shorter, were given by Jules Benga and Pierre Ndakivangi, as “Mumboni-a-Mpasi, celui qui avait beaucoup de palabres,” *Arts et metiers indigènes* 9 (1938): 20–21.


Chapter 8


7. R. Bastide, *Le candomble de Bahia (rite Nagô)* (The Hague, 1958); and Bastide, *Afric religions of Brazil*.


15. Ibid., pp. 18–19.
18. Ibid.
23. Ibid., pp. 164–165.
24. It would be tempting, both on grounds of terminological similarity and of functional resemblance, to suggest an association between Bosu of the Haitian rite and Boessi-Batta of the Loango coast and Cabinda cosmologies and rites (see Chapter 2). The latter included components of the domestic realm and the wild or the beyond, as represented in the trade. There is also in Boessi-Bata’s ritual, as reported in Dapper, Beschreibung von Afrika, pp. 534–537, a divinatory process which identifies the subject’s needs through the ecstasy of the officiating priest. This same dualism of the domestic realm and of the beyond is present in nineteenth-century Cabinda figures M’boze, female domestic personage, and Beti-Randa, male, keeper of the wilds, the two being mediated by Kuiti-Kuiti (also known as Nzambi-Mpungu), as recorded by C. Tastevin, “Idées religieuses des indigènes de l’ enclave de Cabinda,” Études missionnaires 3 (1935), no. 1, 105–111; no. 2, 191–197. However, if Bosu is to be identified with Boessi-Bata or M’boze it would mean either some resemblance between the Fongbe (Dahomean) and Kongo deities, or a conjuncture in Haitian thought of the two. What is striking is Bosu’s presence in the Pétro (or Congo) set of deities in the Haitian rite.
26. This translation of Price-Mars’s 1938 text is published in Métraux, Voodoo in Haiti, p. 307.

Chapter 9

3. A more extended discussion of this process in Kongo culture structure is found in J.M. Janzen and W. MacGaffey, Anthology of Kongo Religion (Lawrence, 1974), pp. 87–89.
4. L. Frobenius, Die Masken und Geheimbünden (Halle, 1898), Part II.
8. E. Lutete, Notebook 229, Laman Collection, Svenska Missions-forbundet (SMF), Lidingö, ca. 1915.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
24. Lacan’s point of reference here is Freud’s notion of *Einstellung* from the “Interpretation of Dreams,” a term which has also been translated as “distortion” or “misrepresentation.”
25. Freud’s *Verdichtung*, a bringing together of several signifiers.
26. Freud’s *Verschiebung*.

Chapter 10


4. Zablo Makanza, Kinganga village, in De la Kenge, Luozi Territory.

5. F. Ngoma, *L'initiation BaKongo et sa signification* (Lubumbashi, 1963), p. 120.


**Chapter 11**


During fieldwork campaigns in the Manianga (Territory of Luozi) in 1964–1966 and 1969 I began to perceive Lemba’s historic importance to the region. I pursued some inquiries into the context of its political activities and the role of its priests and priestesses in marketing, conflict resolution, and other judicial and economic activities. Those Lemba priests and priestesses initiated before 1920 who were willing to speak to me and whose memories were lucid were of inestimable help in reconstructing the local nature of Lemba in the Kivunda district. Of these, special mention must be made of Katula Davidi of Nseke Mbanza. Nzuzi Pierre of Kisiasia and Munzele Yacobi of Kumbi although too young to have been initiated were both very helpful in explaining Lemba’s role in their communities. Fukiau was a valuable guide in technical KiKongo discussions with these people.

Published and unpublished accounts from various specialized sources have been used to reconstruct Lower-Congo society and Lemba’s role within it. I have combed many historical chronicles and ethnographies for explicit or circumstantial details on Lemba. Mention of the term “lemba” does not always mean Lemba the drum of affliction, since the name is used in a number of towns and villages. As far as I can determine, there is no historic connection between Lemba the drum of affliction and the use of lemba as the title for a chiefly order in Bandundu and Kasai societies, although lemba does appear as a Western Bantu cognate in Guthrie’s Proto-Bantu word list. Fortunately, Lemba is not a clan name in Lower-Congo societies. First mention of Lemba as n’kisi appears in print in Dapper’s 1668 Beschreibung of Loango. Thereafter allusions appear in reports by traders, missionaries, and other travellers and eventually in writings by Kongo authors. These have been consulted in numerous specialized libraries and archives. Such writings as those by the missionaries Hyacinthe de Bolonge and Montesarchio and other sources published by the Catholic church I have located mainly in the Jesuit Institute of Bonn and in the Anthropos Institute of St. Augustine. The German Loango coast expedition of the 1870’s organized and carried out by Adolph Bastian offers the first professional ethnographies of Congo-Basin societies, including some perceptive passages on Lemba. These are all in published works, but unfortunately I was not able to locate any unpublished documents of the Loango expedition, except for some pertaining to material culture collections in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum of Ethnography, which will be detailed below. Neither the Catholic missionaries nor the Loango expedition personnel link Lemba to trade. Personal correspondence of the merchant Robert Visser in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, offers some light on this trade, although Lemba is not mentioned explicitly by him. On other
aspects of *Lemba*, missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, of the turn of the century and a bit later offer exceptional material on *Lemba* and its setting. Tastevin’s work in *Cabinda* I located in the Jesuit Institute of Bonn, and much of Bittremieux’s unpublished work from the Kangu district in Mayombe is available in the Musée d’Afrique Central at Tervuren. Swedish missionaries’ work and correspondence were consulted either in the Svenska Missionsförbundet in Lidingö, in the Stockholm Ethnographic Museum, or in the Göteborg Ethnographic Museum. These include Laman, Hammar, Westlind, Börrison, Andersson and Stenström, all of whom worked in Nsundi, Kamba, and Lali regions, and who offer excellent although often anecdotal information on *Lemba*.

A source of comparable importance in the reconstruction of the setting of *Lemba* is the local colonial archival network, particularly those documents resulting from detailed inquiries made in the early decades of this century by colonial agents seeking to understand the region’s history and basis of legitimacy so as to achieve fuller penetration of the colonial administration into African society. Although the Luozi Territorial Archives and offices were burned to the ground by partisans during the interval from Free State rule to Belgian colonial rule in 1907–1910, later surveys made by territorial agents and administrators such as Maillet, Vercreaye, and Deleval are available and were consulted in Luozi, giving accounts, based on interviews, of inaugurations of precocious chiefs, clan migrations, and village compositions. Little mention is given *Lemba* in these archives. What they convey is a contempt for “northern” anarchy in which there are no big chiefs. Repeated efforts were made to identify or create such chiefs, in the process of which the segmentary social system and its horizontal mechanisms of integration were generally overlooked and misunderstood. One exception to this is the work of Deleval, whose writings both published and in the archives reflect remarkable insight. Known locally as *mundele si-si-si*, “Whiteman Yes-yes-yes,” after the petulant manner in which he answered questions, Deleval’s materials go well beyond the standards of administrative requirements for information and constitute very helpful scientific accounts.

The most exciting unpublished written sources on *Lemba* are accounts of initiation séances and exegetical remarks prepared by Kongo catechists for Swedish missionary Karl Laman from ca. 1905–1919, before *Lemba*’s demise. Local accounts culled from the 430 notebooks, used by Laman to prepare his KiKongo-French dictionary and the four volumes of Kongo ethnography, provide much of the primary material for the regional variants of *Lemba* in Chapters 4–8. These notebooks by largely unheralded Kongo writers are in the Laman Collection in the Svenska Missionsförbundet archives in Lidingö, and have been microfilmed for easier access.

The tradition of Kongo writing begun with the catechists continues, offering further accounts of *Lemba* by modern writers such as Malonga Jean, Brazzaville novelist and essayist, Ngoma Ferdinand, Zairian sociologist, and Mampuya and Fukiau, both active writers. All four have been seriously
concerned with Lemba, the major institution of their recent culture history. We may add to this list Haiti's well-known ethnologist-physician, Jean Price-Mars, who has written the only in-depth account, however brief, of Lemba in the New World. These efforts by indigenous writers to describe and interpret Lemba's significance provide the base for my own résumé of a conscious Lemba ideology of therapeutics in the ngoma, drum-of-affliction tradition in the final part of the book.

A final, and very important, source on Lemba is artifactual. Many of the aforementioned missionaries, traders, travellers, and colonial officials gathered cultural objects and deposited them in African and European museums. Rarely have Lemba objects been labelled and displayed for what they are. However in several research trips to Central-European museums I discovered extensive holdings of Lemba objects, revealing a mute record of Lemba's historic existence, its geographic distribution, and its integral role in Congo-Basin social and cultural history. Particular museums consulted are listed in the inventory of museum objects below.

In sum, I have used all possible sources for the reconstruction of Lemba and its context. Figure 1 records the geographical distribution of those which are identified with a specific location. The following lists of sources identify other nonlocalized objects and documents.

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Museum Collections

ABBREVIATIONS OF MUSEUMS

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<tr>
<td>AMBG</td>
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<tr>
<td>B–D</td>
<td>Berlin–Dahlem Museum für Völkerkunde</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEM</td>
<td>Göteborg Ethnographic Museum, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KM</td>
<td>Kimpese Museum, Lower Zaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMS</td>
<td>Linden Museum, Stuttgart, West Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRM</td>
<td>Leiden Rijks Museum, The Netherlands</td>
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LEMBA DRUMS

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<td>“coco Lemba”, from Bavili, don. R. Visser, 1904 (No. 29, fig. 1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>34778</td>
<td>“Ngoma Lemba”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>35342</td>
<td>miniature bone Lemba drum amulet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>43695</td>
<td>miniature wood Lemba drum amulet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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MAC 53.74.1323  miniature metal Lemba drum amulet.
MAC 35052  Lemba miniature drum, don. Bittremieux.
LMS 38363  Necklace strung with teeth, miniature Lemba drum as main ornament, don. R. Visser, 1905.

LEMBRA BRACELETS

B-D  III C 347  Copper Lemba bracelet, Tschicambo, Loango, don. Loango Expedition, 1875.
B-D  III C 710b  Brass Woman's Lemba bracelet, 8 cm., don. Loango Expedition, 1875.
B-D  III C 8136 C  Wood bracelet form for casting, don. Visser.
B-D  III C 13810a-f  Clay forms for casting Lemba bracelet, don. R. Visser, 1901 (no longer existent).

LRM 1032/136 (I.C.E. Inv. No.)  Casting mould of clay for a bracelet, Boma (No. 31, fig. 1).
LRM 1032/60 (I.C.E. Inv. No.)  Red copper engraved bracelet, Banana (No. 32, fig. 1).
LRM 1032/59 (I.C.E. Inv. No.)  Yellow copper (brass) engraved bracelet, Banana.
LRM 1034/53 (I.C.E. Inv. No.)  Red copper engraved bracelet, Banana.

GEM 66.15.3  Bronze "Nsongo a Lemba," Kitoma, Atlantic coast, don. J. Lagergren, 1966. 5 cm. (No. 34, fig. 1).
GEM 1938.31.12  "Mulunga Lemba," Indo Bayaka, Bakuta, 7 cm. don. Andersson (No. 37, fig. 1).
GEM 1938.31.11  "Mulunga Lemba," Ntele, Bayaka, Bakuta, 10 cm.

MAC 35021  Lemba bracelet, don. Bittremieux.
MAC 21372  Red copper bracelet, don. S.G. Arnold, 1917. 9 mm.
MAC 54.2.10  Lead bracelet, purch. Walschot, 1954.
MAC 43587  Red copper, traces of ngula (sic), Lemba bracelet, Mayombe, don. M. Seha, 1946.
Copper Lemba bracelet, Mayombe, don. Seha, 1946, 9 cm.
Yellow copper Lemba bracelet, don. Seha, 1946, 8 cm.
Copper bracelet, don. Renkin, 1909, 8 cm.
Copper bracelet, don. Michel, 1919, 9 cm.
Lemba bracelet, lead or brass.
Lemba bracelet, don. J. Walschot.
Copper bracelet for Lemba wife, right arm, Tshela, Sundi tribe, Kangu-Lufu, don. A. Maesen, 6 cm.
Copper “lunga Lemba,” Mayumbe, Kai ku Tsanga, clan Makaba, don. A. Maesen, 9 cm.
Copper “lunga Lemba,” Mayumbe, Kai ku Tsanga, don. Maesen, 8 cm.
Three copper bracelets, one unworked, of Vili manufacture, two with incised snakes, ordered from Europe.
Bracelet, Loango Expedition 1875, Bastian.
Copper Lemba bracelet, don. Visser, 1896 (missing since WWII from collection).
**LEMBA MEDICINE CONTAINERS**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>B-D</td>
<td>III C</td>
<td>13871</td>
<td>Rafia Lemba charm sack (&quot;Sackfetisch Lembe&quot;), Caio, Loango Coast, don. R. Visser, 1900 (no longer in collection since WWII).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KM</td>
<td>(no identif. number)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lemba n'kobe (no documentation).</td>
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**MISCELLANEOUS LEMBA OBJECTS**

<table>
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<th>Institution</th>
<th>Category</th>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>34766</td>
<td></td>
<td>Smoking pipe head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-D</td>
<td>III C</td>
<td>13873</td>
<td>Lemba pipe (&quot;N'timbeliambe&quot;), don. Visser, 1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-D</td>
<td>Katalog</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>Lemba opium pipe (&quot;Hanfrauche Lemba&quot;), don. Bastian, 1874 (missing from collection).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMBG</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably Lemba couple, statue, Landana, Cabinda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>35176</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lemba anthropomorphic statue (&quot;Ndubi Lemba&quot;), with left arm raised and croissant-drum hanging from same elbow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEM</td>
<td>68.11.208</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lemba dance rattles, Basundi, Nganda, don. J. Hammar, 1906.</td>
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