

considerable emigration, especially of men who move away for a year or two as labourers in the industrial centres and then return to their homes; this has led to a degree of breakdown of traditional tribal life. These are all features characteristic of rapid social and economic change, part of the process of change from tribal subsistence small-scale societies to a wider-scale society based upon a cash economy. See also BANTU (INTERLACSTRINE); CHAGGA; GANDA; HAMITE; KAMBA; KAVIRONDO; KIKUYU; LUGBARA; LUO; MADI; MAKONDE; MASAI; NANDI; NYAMWEZI; NYORO; PYGMY; RUNDI; SANDAWE; SUKUMA; SWAHILI LANGUAGE; TESO. (J. F. M. M.)

#### E. WEST CENTRAL AFRICA DB

The following areas may be included in this region: the Cameroons region, Chad, the Central African Republic (Ubangi-Shari), Gabon, Republic of Congo (former Middle Congo), Democratic Republic of the Congo (former Belgian Congo), Angola north of the Kalahari, Zambia and Malawi. The habitat ranges from semidesert in northern Chad and southern coastal areas in the west to open woodlands (savanna) and tropical rain forest. The northern limits of dense forest are situated toward the 5th parallel, but there are grasslands and savanna in the eastern and southern Congo, Angola and Zambia. The peoples of this diverse area are heterogeneous. They include pastoral or agricultural Arabs in the north; pastoral seminomad or sedentary Fulani living as minorities or as dominant groups in the Cameroons region; pygmies in Gabon and the Congo republics; Sudanic-speaking tribes, including some Nilotes, in the northeast of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and to the south and west many subdivisions of Bantu are found. Moreover, there are numerous ethnic mixtures which often make strict classifications difficult, while linguistic groupings do not coincide with racial or cultural ones.

Agriculture is of primary importance throughout the area; but hunting, fishing, food gathering and herding are also widely practised. Pure hunters survive among the pygmies; elsewhere, though dependent on an agricultural economy, some tribes have strongly preserved the outlook of hunters. The staple crops cultivated in different habitats are: millets and maize, roots (yams, manioc or cassava, taro and sweet potatoes), bananas and peanuts. The oil and the raffia palm are important in the forest regions. Bows and arrows, spears, throwing knives, knives, clubs and shields are found as weapons of war and the chase. Dwellings range from tents in the north and rudimentary shelters in the forest to quadrangular or round huts and rectangular houses. Settlements may be small and dispersed or large and compact; royal capitals and other towns occur among some tribes.

Social groupings often depend on descent systems that range from patrilineal to matrilineal and double; but residence is generally patrilineal although the practice of bride service may result in the temporary residence of husbands with their wives' families. Marriage payments (in iron, cattle and sheep) are common. In some areas exchange marriages predominate. Some societies are organized into larger or smaller chiefdoms; while in others, small autonomous village groups with a segmentary structure form the ultimate political units. Associations may have great political significance. Tribal or village initiation is general and may be accompanied by widely different forms of body markings. Besides a general belief in a supreme being, ancestral, skull and spirit cults are much developed. Islam has spread among certain northern tribes. Many of the tribes are renowned carvers and craftsmen practising ironworking, plaiting, basketworking and weaving.

**The Cameroons Region.**—The people of the northern Cameroons are subdivided into numerous small groups: some are culturally similar to the plateau tribes of northern Nigeria, whereas others are linked with groups from Chad or the Central African Republic. The Kirdi (pagan sedentary tribes), Bata, Bura, Vere, Mumuye, Chamba, Namshi, Kotopo, Mbum and Wute are the better-known peoples. Most peoples speak languages of the Adamawa-Eastern branch of the Niger-Congo family. Fulani are also present everywhere and are politically dominant in Adamawa. Shifting hoe cultivation is practised; some groups also keep cattle

and milk them. Bride service and elopement are very common. Most tribes have patrilineal descent, but some also stress matrilineal ties. Some groups have been incorporated by the Fulani into their chiefdoms.

The central Cameroons highlands are inhabited by peoples of diverse origins, such as Tikar (*q.v.*) and Nsaw, Bamum, Bamileke, Banen, Bafia, Bali. Linguistically some of them are Bantu (*e.g.*, Bafia); others are Sudanic (Bali). Most of those that have been called semi-Bantu have been shown by modern research to belong to the Bantu group. Culturally many are complex groups in which different elements have been combined. Thus the Bamum invaded some of the Bamileke and their ruling clan is said to be of Tikar origin. Agriculture is important, millet, maize, cassava and cocoyams being the staples. A few groups have small cattle, but these are not milked. Nearly all tribes of this area are patrilineal and patrilocal. Marriage payments are common, but simple marriage gifts with bride service do occur. The social organization is based upon a lineage system. Most people live in small compact villages or dispersed in neighbourhoods, but there are some large settlements. They are organized in chiefdoms of varying size, with sacred chiefs and special status attributed to queen mothers. Men's associations, often important, exercise military or police functions or are mainly religious in character. Cults of ancestors, twins and skulls are widespread. Some of these peoples (Bamum, Bamileke) are well-known artists and craftsmen working in wood, bronze and terra cotta. King Njoya of the Bamum invented a system of pictographic signs for writing (*c.* 1895).

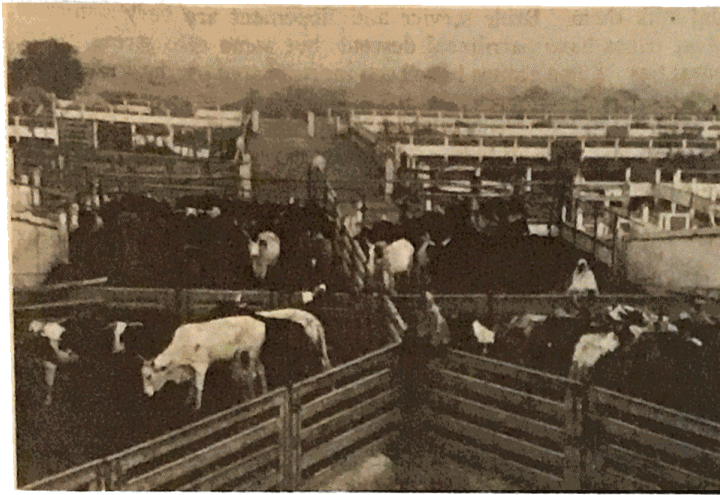
The coastal area of the Cameroons is peopled by various Bantu-speaking groups, such as Kpe-Mboko, Duala, Limba, Tanga-Yasa, which are linked by common myths of origin. They are fishermen, but cultivation and cattle keeping are not unknown. Settlements may be small and dispersed or concentrated. The Duala are famous traders. There is generally some stress both on patrilineal and matrilineal descent and some tribes have a clear-cut double descent system; virilocal residence is general. Marriage payments (goats) are common. The social organization is of the segmentary type and leaders are often merely village headmen. But some groups (Duala) have developed larger chieftaincies. Dance associations are prominent and there are cults of ancestors and water spirits.

The southern Cameroons are inhabited by Bakoko, Ngumba, Mabea, Bulu, Beti and the larger Fang (*q.v.*) group which also extends into Gabon. There are also some pygmies. The progressive expansion of the Fang has often disrupted earlier tribal organization and Fang influences have been profound. (See also BAMILEKE; BAMUM; DUALA; NSAW; KPE.)

**Chad.**—In the Republic of Chad a large number of groups which present varied aspects of language, origins and modes of life may be distinguished. A mosaic of small tribes of Negro origin was overrun and broken up by waves of invading peoples, including Arabs, Fulani and Kanuri-speakers. The northern parts are inhabited by people of Kanuri linguistic stock, such as Teda, Daza, Bideyat, who are seminomadic herders (camels and cattle). Agriculture (date palms, millet) is left to the descendants of ancient captives, and hunting to some specialized groups. Descent is either bilateral or double, but residence is virilocal. Political organization does not extend beyond autonomous local communities or small chiefdoms. They are partly pagans and partly Muslims.

More or less pure Arab groups (Ouled Sliman, Ouled Rashid) are dispersed throughout the Teda area. Farther south are the heterogeneous peoples of the old kingdoms (Kanem [*q.v.*], Bagirmi, Wadai, Bulala, Kotoko). Some speak independent languages, others belong to Chadic, Kanuri (*q.v.*) and Central Sudanic linguistic stocks. They practise hoe cultivation; most groups keep cattle and fishing is important along the rivers. Descent is patrilineal and residence patrilocal. Social stratification is complex and the political organization is strongly centralized. There are compact villages and towns. Arab groups (Ouled Rashid) are particularly numerous in Wadai and Bagirmi. On the Lake Chad islands, in the marshy regions and in the mountainous areas there are also isolated groups of heterogeneous origin which





PAUL ALMASY

CATTLE AT A MEAT-PACKING PLANT IN FORT-LAMY, REPUBLIC OF CHAD

have been forced back by conquest. The Yedina are fishermen and herders; the Kinga and Dadjo are agriculturists and herders. They are patrilineal and seem to be organized in small chieftaincies. The southern areas of Chad are inhabited in part by Logone populations (Mbum, Mundang, Masa) and by the more numerous Sara group. The term Sara refers to a mosaic of agricultural patrilineal tribes who also keep cattle and camels.

**Central African Republic.**—The Central African Republic (formerly Ubangi-Shari) is peopled by Sudanic-speaking groups that suffered heavily from slave raiding during earlier centuries. There are some Sara and Wadai groups to the north and some Azande, Nzakara and riverain groups (Banziri, Buraka, Ngbaka, Ngbandi) along the Ubangi to the south. But the bulk of the population is formed by Mandja-Baya groups to the west and Banda to the east. The former are related to the Mbum and Wute of the Cameroons; the Banda are composed of a large number of small tribes which settled in these areas during the 19th century. Hoe cultivation (millet, maize) is developed throughout the area, but hunting, fishing and gathering have considerable importance. Descent is patrilineal and residence is virilocal. There are dispersed exogamous totemic clans, but the patrilineal extended family is basic to the social organization. Living generally in small dispersed settlements, they are subdivided into autonomous village groups with headmen and elders. Among the Azande, however, there are strong chieftdoms. Circumcision is not widely diffused, but girls' initiations are common. Ancestral cults, beliefs in semihuman fabulous heroes and closed associations are very general. (See AZANDE.)

**Gabon.**—In northern Gabon live the Fang, who seem to constitute a special group within the Bantu linguistic family. They migrated from the northeast in mid-19th century and settled in forest areas which were occupied by pygmies (Babinga) and Bantu groups (Mekae, Ngumba, Njem). These and other surrounding tribes are strongly influenced by Fang culture. To the south of the Fang there are the Mpongwe who, with other smaller tribes, form the Omyene cluster. The other major groups are the Bakota to the northeast, the Shira to the southwest, the Okande to the centre and the Mbede-Nzabi to the east. The Fang and the other tribes which have been influenced by them are agriculturists (manioc, bananas, maize, palm trees) and gatherers, but hunting is important. Fang are renowned carvers in wood and steatite. They are patrilineal and patrilocal. Settlements are small; there is no central political organization. Fang are both egalitarian and competitive; rich people are looked upon with suspicion. Their associations have a marked religious or magical character.

**Republic of Congo.**—In this country, the former Middle Congo, the following clusters may be noted: the Sanga, the Njem (Bakwele) who are influenced by the Fang; the Bangi; the Bateke and Bakongo, including many subdivisions; there are also pygmies. Some links between Bakongo and Bateke exist; Shira have come under the influence of Bakongo. Some of these tribes

are also largely represented in adjoining parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (former Belgian Congo). They are agriculturists (manioc, bananas, palm trees, peanuts), but hunting and fishing are prominent among some of them. Most of them are very good carvers. Descent is patrilineal among the northern but matrilineal among the southern groups, and notably the Bakongo among whom residence was formerly avunculocal. The social organization is segmentary in type; there are no large chieftdoms, although the Bakongo once formed part of the powerful Kongo chieftdom and the Bateke have small chieftaincies.

All these tribes belong to different groups of the Bantu linguistic stock.

**Democratic Republic of the Congo.**—The savannas, grasslands and rain forests are peopled by substantially more than 200 tribes which claim widely different origins. Many of those on the margins are closely related to peoples of the former Middle Congo, the Central African Republic, and the Sudan, or of Angola, Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda. The larger part of the tribes speak various Bantu languages, but there are also in the northern regions people of Sudanic linguistic stock and in the east and northeast a very few groups of Nilotic and Hamitic stock. The tribes may conveniently be grouped into a number of cultural clusters the most important of which are: (1) Bakongo, Bateke and groups of Lake Leopold II, Bayaka-Basuku and Bapende clusters mainly in Léopoldville, Mai-Ndombe, Kwango Kwilu and Kongo-Central provinces; (2) Mongo, Ngombe, Ngbaka and Ngbandi clusters in Cuvette-Central, Ubangi and Moyen Congo provinces; (3) Azande, Meegye-Mangbetu, Mamvu-Balese, Bakumu-Babira, Babua, Balendu, Lugbara, Alur clusters in Uele, Kibali-Ituri and Haute-Congo provinces; (4) Banande, Bahunde-Banyanga, Bashi-Bahavu, Balega-Babembe and lubaized clusters in Sud-Kivu, Kivu-Central and Maniema provinces; (5) Baluba, Lunda-Chokwe, Babemba in Nord-Katanga, Katanga-Orientale and Lualaba provinces; (6) Atetela, Bakuba-Bashilele, Baluba-Bambo, Bakete and Asalampasu clusters in Luluabourg, Unite Kasaienne and Sud-Kasaï provinces. It should be noted, however, that these clusters do not correspond exactly with the boundaries of the provinces. The various pygmy groups, who may in all number up to 300,000 persons, are found in the rain forests and along the large belt of the Congo river.

Shifting hoe cultivation is practised everywhere by the other peoples, the staple crops according to the area being bananas, manioc (cassava), yams, millet and maize. But food gathering, hunting and fishing continue to play a very important role in the economic, social and religious life of many tribes. In the highlands of the eastern Congo there are some peoples with a mixed pastoral-agricultural economy. Most of the Congo peoples are organized by patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. In the southwestern Congo, particularly in the Léopoldville and Kasai areas, several tribes have matrilineal descent groups with avunculocal or virilocal residence. A few tribes show features of double descent grouping. The Lunda have complex descent groups of bilateral composition. Ritually important clans which may be dispersed in varying degrees and corporate localized lineages are common. Minor lineages and extended families play a foremost part in the social organization. While all tribes accept polygyny, this may be very restricted or, as among Kuba, Luba or Azande chiefs, very elaborate. Widow inheritance is widely practised, as are the sororate and sororal polygyny. Cross-cousin marriage is less frequent. High marriage payments occur in most tribes, but exchanges of women, elopement and true purchase of women are also known.

Political organization ranges from small autonomous states with petty chiefs of a sacred nature and larger kingdoms with divine kings (Bakuba, Lunda) to states of the feudal type (Bashi) and military conquest states (Azande); from complex segmentary structures with or without special functions vested in lineages or closed associations (Atetela, Balega, Mayumbe) to small band organization (pygmies) and small autonomous villages or village groups (Bakumu, Mongo). Some tribes too, which are of the segmentary type were once organized in powerful states (Bakongo, Luba). Circumcision, tribal and youth initiations, closed associa-



tions and corporations are very widespread. Most tribes have a belief in a supreme being and in heroes; ancestral, twin and spirit cults are very general. Most Congo peoples are exceptional craftsmen. Ironwork (knives, spears, arrowheads, bracelets) attains an extraordinary variety. Masks are made in wood, ivory, bone, gourd and wicker; statues are made from the same materials, but some are also made in pottery or steatite. Outstanding carvings are known from the Luba, Bakuba, Bapende, Bayaka, Chokwe, Bakongo-Mayumbe, Balega, Benalulua and Asalampasu. (See also KONGO; KUBA; LUBA; LUNDA; MONGO; MAMVU.)

**Angola.**—In Angola the large Ovimbundu tribe occupies a central position on the Benguela highlands. North of them are the Ambundo and Kongo tribes which are related to groups of the southern Congo. To the east live the Imbangala, Songo, Chokwe, Lwimbe and Luchazi who are linked to tribes of the southern Congo and Zambia. To the south are localized cattle-owning tribes, like Nyaneka, Cipungu, Cilengi, Ambo. Many customs and institutions of the Angola peoples are comparable to those described for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All groups speak various Bantu languages. They practise hoe cultivation, but hunting is important. Long-distance trading, especially between the coast and the interior, played a prominent role in the past centuries. Some tribes keep small herds of cattle.

Marriage payments are not usually high; polygyny is common and cross-cousin marriages are allowed. Descent is either matri-

islands of Lake Bangweulu; and the Ushi on the plateau between Fort Rosebery and Kawambwa. The ruling group of the Lunda of the Luapula area south of Lake Mweru were also originally of the same stock as the Bemba. South of the Bemba country where the high plateau land begins to slope to the Zambezi plain are the Lala (50,000) and the Lamba (20,000). Similar in culture are the Kaonde (38,000) of northwestern Zambia and the Senga of the upper Luangwa valley. Groups of Lamba, Lala and Ushi are to be found over the border of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This group of tribes claim to be of Congo origin. They speak dialects so similar that they are all classed as Bemba at the Zambia copper mines where they go to work in large numbers. Like the peoples of the west central region they are predominantly agriculturists and, though livestock are occasionally kept in the regions free of tsetse fly, the ritual attitude to cattle found in parts of East and South Africa does not exist. Hunting was formerly an important activity but game is now nearly extinct. The soil of the northeastern plateau is poor and finger millet and cassava are the staple crops. The people are shifting cultivators, moving their villages every four to five years and sowing their millet in the ash beds formed by the burning of piled-up branches lopped from the savanna forest trees (*chitimene* system). No cash crop has been found for the area and the people now make money in the copper mines farther south. The emigration rate for adult males is 40%–60% in Bembaland.

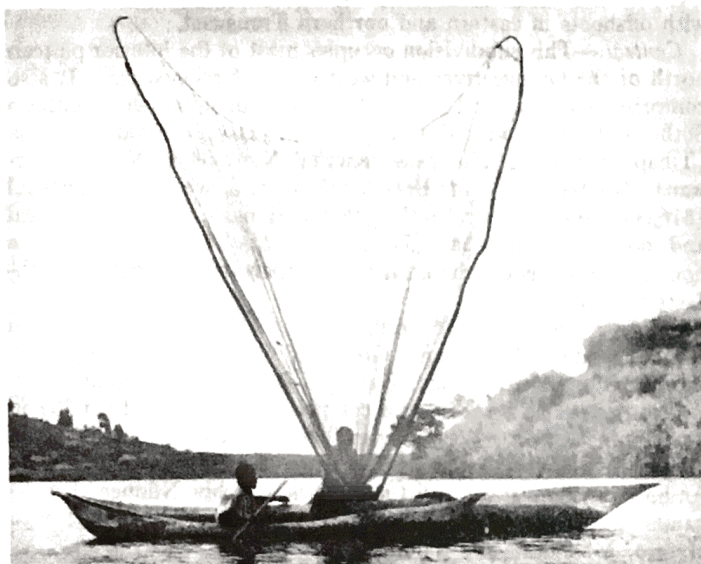
The Central Bantu are predominantly matrilineal. Descent, clan affiliation and succession to office follow the matrilineal line. Marriage is matrilineal, at any rate initially, and the labour given by a bridegroom to his father-in-law is a more important element of the marriage contract than the passage of goods. The period of service varies from tribe to tribe and is now often replaced by money. The Bemba and kindred tribes are divided into matrilineal clans with totemic names. Girls' initiation ceremonies (*chisungu*) are characteristic of this group. All these people acknowledge the rule of hereditary chiefs, although only in the case of the Bemba (who dominated the region in the 19th century) and of the Luapula Lunda is there anything like a centralized state with a king or paramount chief ruling over lower chiefs. The *chitimukulu* ("paramount chief") of the Bemba had a court with titled councilors, army captains and executioners. Chiefs were believed to have supernatural powers by virtue of access to the ancestral spirits of the tribe and the *chitimukulu* must be classed as a "divine king" in Sir James Frazer's sense.

Other matrilineal tribes in Zambia are the plateau Tonga south of Mazabuka, a people without chiefs and organized on the basis of villages linked to rain shrines. They have girls' initiation ceremonies and also rites for boys. The Ila-speaking peoples on the Kafue river follow matrilineal clan descent but combine this with patrilineal marriage and patriarchal authority, a combination due, it is thought, to southern influences. Girls' initiation ceremonies are practised. The Ila are a cattle-keeping people formerly renowned as warriors. (See ILA-TONGA.)

In marked contrast to the organization of the Central Bantu is the kingdom of the Lozi (Barotseland) on the upper Zambezi plains, which has special treaty rights with Great Britain. The Lozi nation (296,000) is formed of many ethnic groups. The original inhabitants, Aluyi, were conquered in 1810 by Kololo of Basutoland origin and, though the Aluyi ousted the Kololo chiefs in 1864, they continued to use their language. The kingdom is ruled by a paramount chief associated with a chief princess established in a secondary capital. The organization of titled ministers and councilors is elaborate. The country is divided into neighbourhoods centred around royal villages. There is no clan system but names are inherited by patrilineal descent. The Lozi follow a unique system of cultivation on mounds raised above the plains which are annually flooded by the Zambezi.

A group of Ngoni is settled in the Fort Jameson area of Zambia (see *Malawi*, below) and there are two patrilineal cattle-keeping peoples, the Mambwe and the Lungu, in the Abercorn area.

**Malawi.**—Inhabited by a complex mixture of tribes, the Arab influence was very marked in this region in the 19th century.



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lineal or double; residence is patrilocal. Some groups, like Chokwe, are organized in autonomous villages; others like Ovimbundu, are divided into a number of independent or tributary chiefdoms under the control of paramount chiefs. Youths' initiations and circumcision masks are common among Chokwe, Luchazi and Ovimbundu. Earth and celestial gods are worshiped; cults of ancestors are much practised. See AMBO; CHOKWE; MBUNDU.

(D. P. BI.)

#### F. CENTRAL AFRICA

Central Africa as here defined includes Zambia and Malawi. Most of the inhabitants of this region belong to the ethnic group known as the Central Bantu, although in Barotseland in northwestern Zambia or the Ngoni districts of Malawi there were intrusions of warrior bands from Basutoland and Natal respectively in the 19th century.

**Zambia.**—The inhabitants of the northeastern plateau of Zambia and the swamps of Lake Bangweulu include the dominant Bemba (*q.v.*; 150,000), widely dispersed over an area of around 20,000 sq.mi.; the Bisa, their neighbours on the west, south and east; the Unga and Twa, small tribes living in the swamps and



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