

## **1. DESCRIPTION**

### 1.1 Name(s) of society: Lunda (1)

Name of language: Lunda or Chilunda (1)

Name of language family: Niger-Congo → Atlantic-Congo → Volta-Congo → Benue-Congo → Bantu (1)

### 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): lun (1)

### 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

--"The Lunda are broadly distributed in eastern Angola, southern Zaire, and northern and western Zambia." (2) In Zambia, the Lunda are located between 24° and 26° E and 12° and 14° S. In Angola, the Lunda are located between 22° and 24° E and 12° and 14° S. (1, see the Language maps)

### 1.4 Brief history:

--Before the sixteenth century, the basic institution of the Lunda was believed to have been the matrilineage. Each lineage segment occupied its own small territory (*mpat*). Each *mpat* was probably centered on an ideal location for fishing, with crops being planted in the fertile alluvial soils along the riverbank. Lunda territory was dotted with a rapidly expanding number of independent domains, each with its own headman. Shortly after 1600, a centralized polity emerged that attracted traders from both the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts of Africa. The Lunda capital was located at Musumba, in present-day Zaire, but several major Lunda clusters existed with populations exceeding 10,000 people each. With four large standing armies, an array of titled court figures and a large complex bureaucracy, the Lunda became an empire capable of controlling the terms of trade and exacting tribute over a wide area. The Lunda have a long history of spawning émigrés who, through political manipulation or outright conquest, have reformulated the social and economic landscape of Central Africa. During the 1600s, five sets of émigrés headed in various directions all over Africa. The impetus for most of this movement was the attempt to control strategic positions in the rapidly expanding long-distance trade network. Caravans from both coasts, with up to a thousand merchants and carriers, were crisscrossing Central Africa on a regular basis in search of marketable commodities, and in need of vast quantities of food. Some Lunda groups specialized in providing ivory, slaves, copper, wild rubber, and other goods that fueled the trade. Other groups ventured into the commercial production of food. Still others grew wealthy by levying taxes on the movement of men and materials through their territory, particularly at strategic river crossings. Most of these polities remain in direct tributary relations with the Lunda center at Musumba. With the formal establishment of colonialism in the late 1800s, the Lunda were subjected to a tripartite division among the European powers of England, Portugal, and Belgium (later France). The long-distance caravan system was curtailed. The Lunda in each of the three colonial territories were relegated to the margins of newly emerging centers of economic activity. Little has changed in the era of independence. (2)

### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

--MISSIONS: "Evangelical Protestants, who arrived in 1906, were the first Christian missionaries in Mwinilunga District. Today, their churches are well established in even the most isolated villages." "The construction of square rather than round houses, the adoption of Western attire, the speaking of a European language, the use of eating utensils, and the acceptance of monogamy became powerful symbolic markers of conversion to the new religion." (3 pages 192-193)

--GOVERNMENTS/NEIGHBORS: "The empire reached the height of its power by the 1850s. Thereafter its might was eroded by the incursions of the neighboring Chokwe. Portuguese troops arrived from Angola in the west in 1884 and Belgians from the Congo Free State in the northeast in 1898. Lunda was partitioned between them. Guerrilla warfare against the Congo Free State continued until 1909, when the Lunda leaders were captured and executed." (6)

### 1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

--"The Lunda are broadly distributed in eastern Angola, southern Zaire, and northern and western Zambia. Most of this territory is characterized by high plateau ranging between 1,200 and 1,500 meters above sea level. The vegetation-soil types are generally described as Northern Brachystegia woodlands on clayey plateau soils in the extreme north, Northern Brachystegia woodlands on Kalahari Contact soils in the central region, and *Cryptosepalum* forest and *Cryptosepalum*-*Brachystegia* woodland on upland and central sands in the south. The landscape, however, is

broken up into myriad micro-ecological niches, corresponding to bands of changing soil type and variations in elevation. The most common are thick forest, forest of low stunted trees, gallery forest along rivers, grassy plains, and sparse shrub land at the edge of plains." (2)

--"There are three rather distinct seasons. There is a rainy season that runs from roughly September to April, during which time 15 to 28 centimeters of rain may fall. May to July is the cold, dry season, during which time the temperature regularly drops down to around 4° C, and night frost sometimes occurs in low-lying valleys. August to September is the hot dry season, with temperatures regularly soaring into the 30s (C)." (2)

#### 1.7 Population size:

--Ethnologue reports a total population of 628,000 Lunda in all countries. (1)

--"No reliable census figures exist for the number of individuals who consider themselves Lunda. A rough estimate is 500,000 in Angola, 750,000 in Zaire, and 200,000 in Zambia." (2)

#### Mean village size:

--"Villages would range in size from less than a dozen individuals to several hundred people in the villages of chiefs or senior headmen. More than 10,000 people were known to have occupied the court of the paramount chief at Musumba." (2)

--Pritchett found during fieldwork that: "In the 1950s the average registered village consisted of about thirteen houses containing a total of roughly thirty persons. The average unregistered village contained seven to eight houses and sixteen to seventeen persons, and the average farm, two or three houses and about five to eight persons." (4 page 91)

#### Home range size:

--No specific data could be found. Home range size varied on where the Lunda lived. For examples, the home range size in villages was smaller because all of the houses were clustered around the village circle: "The average Lunda village in the early 1950s was a circular arrangement of houses in a cleared space ranging in diameter from thirty to seventy yards." But Lunda farms "tended to consist of a single nuclear family that had detached itself from village affiliation" so their home range size was larger than that of village homes. (4 pages 90-91)

#### Density:

--"Population densities range as low as 0.8 persons per square kilometer in some rural areas, but reach extremely high ratios in urban areas of all three countries." (2) Pritchett recorded that the population density is roughly six persons per square mile. (4 page 129)

## **2. ECONOMY**

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

--"Subsistence production consists mainly of cassava--the basic staple--supplemented by maize." (2)

### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

--"Goats, sheep, pigs, chickens, and a few cattle are present in most areas. Game is fairly abundant and is secured either through hunting or trapping. Fishing is a popular activity." (2)

### 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns:

--Hardly any mention of weapons in any of the sources but it was mentioned that the Lunda acquired guns by importing them during the era of their trade empire. (6)

### 2.4 Food storage:

--The Lunda utilize granaries to store food: "The granary is used for storing maize for making beer the year round. There may also be a small cylindrical structure for storing groundnuts, but those are usually stored in trees, tied up in a grass sphere." (3 page 118)

--"Outside the village circle and behind the house of each adult woman were smaller structures of varying shapes, which served as cooking and storage places." (4 page 90)

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

--"Males, females and children all plant cassava extensively. Men are responsible for cutting trees and clearing the fields. Women do all the processing and cooking. Men are responsible for providing the household with protein foods, either by hunting, trapping, fishing, raising domestic stock, or through cash purchases. Men are also responsible for all village construction and for providing tools, as well as some clothing, for wives and children. Women provide most of the child care, with

some assistance from husbands and older children. Women also secure and maintain the cooking and other household utensils." (2)

#### 2.6 Land tenure:

--"Land is rather abundant throughout most of the Lunda territory and is, therefore, rarely a subject of dispute. Traditional use rights are established by requests made to local chiefs and senior headmen. Requests for land are generally denied only if a prior claim exists. Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, fields as well as entire villages move frequently, and land is not generally considered an inheritable commodity. Access to land in or near towns is granted through local government councils, often on a ninety-nine-year lease basis. The civil war in Angola has, since 1975, made all land tenure uncertain in that country. Zambia has held national discussions on the future of land tenure in rural areas." (2)

#### 2.7 Ceramics:

--No data found. "Traditionally, the Lunda were well known for copper- and ironsmithing, pottery, basket making, mat weaving, and woodworking" but no mention of ceramics. (2)

#### 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

--Caravan trade is a huge part of the Lunda history that involves sharing patterns. "Precolonial trade was characterized by a vast array of goods from both Europe and the Indian Ocean nations flowing into the Lunda region in exchange for copper, iron, ivory, skins, slaves, honey and wax, rubber, and food. During the colonial era, 1884-1964, external trade was forcefully curtailed. Today there is extensive interregional trade between Lunda in Angola, Zaire, and Zambia, exploiting the differing price structures of each country. The trade consists mainly of foodstuffs, particularly dried fish and game meat, in exchange for manufactured commodities such as sugar, salt, cooking oil, clothing, and household utensils." (2)

#### 2.9 Food taboos:

--During a girl's rite of passage, she is subject to several food taboos. (4 page 150) "Slippery foods are said to increase the possibility of spontaneous abortions; red foods, difficult menstrual periods; and the meat from spotted animal, leprosy; other foods dry up milk." (4 page 358 footnote #16)

#### 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

--Yes, the Lunda use dug-out canoes to fish, one of the main sources of wealth. For example, boys use canoes during their apprenticeships: "A boy in his teens gets his father's net for a night's fishing. He takes a friend in his father's canoe and sets up in his father's fishing camp." (3 page 12)

--Canoes are used for transportation. "Canoes, which during the rains had been paddled over the extent of the valley floor, are now confined to channels and lagoons [when the rain stops]." (3 pg 7)

### **3. ANTHROPOMETRY**

#### 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

--No specific data found. Pritchett describes men and women's builds. See 3.2. Poewe describes a woman that portrays good health to be "short and plump". (5 page 67)

#### 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

--No specific data found but Pritchett describes their physique:

--"Lunda men are hunters whose most trusted weapon is endurance, whose most reliable technique is simply to chase animals until they drop from sheer exhaustion. Most Lunda men are built like marathon runners, lean and sinewy." (4 page 203)

--"The life of a Lunda woman, however, is one of endless lifting and pounding: lifting calabashes of water from the stream, lifting enormous baskets of food from the garden, lifting firewood, lifting young children [...] Lunda women have powerfully built upper bodies, indeed, an overall portly rounded appearance." (3 page 203)

### **4. LIFE HISTORY, MATING, MARRIAGE**

#### 4.1 Age at menarche (f):

--No specific age found. However, girls go through a rite of transition after the girl has her first menstrual period. The ceremony typically occurs during the young to mid-teens. (4 page 144)

#### 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

--No specific data found but a girl does not become sexually active until after she undergoes Nkanga, the female rite of transition from a girl to a woman. Nkanga occurs after the girl has her first menstrual period (usually during her early teen years). (4 page 144 and 150)

#### 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

--No specific data found but Poewe did note that: "A woman always has children. If her husband does not impregnate her, she will choose another mate. If she is barren, she will claim and receive some of her sisters' offspring." (5 page 72)

#### 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

--No data found.

#### 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

--"In the 1950s, 71 percent of the males had married by age twenty-nine. Thirty-five years later only 41 percent were married by that age. The corresponding change for females was equally dramatic, with the number of females who had been married before the age of twenty drooping from 61 to 27 percent. The divorce rate was also cut by more than half." (4 page 105)

#### 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

--"The Lunda possess one of the highest rates of divorce noted in the anthropological literature. In the 1950s it was recorded that nearly 66 percent of all marriages ended in divorce. By the 1980s, the divorce rate had dropped to around 33 percent." (2)

#### 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

--"Polygyny is permitted, but probably less than 1 in 50 men actually has more than one wife." (2)

#### 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry:

--"In the past, couples would live uxori-locally for the first few years of marriage, with the husband performing *bride-service* for his in-laws by assisting with agricultural tasks and village construction. Today a wife generally moves to her husband's village immediately upon the completion of an exchange of *bride-wealth* and the performance of a simple ceremony. Bride-wealth may consist of agricultural commodities, tools, household utensils, clothing, and a small amount of cash." (2)

--Men are usually forbidden to marry anyone from his mother's clan. However, if he meets a girl from his mother's clan who is a stranger, he is allowed to marry her but he must give the girl's parents an extra payment of "cisambamukowa". This means "the money to wash out the clan". The payment is made at the public declaration of the clans of both parties at the wedding. (3 page 78)

#### 4.9 Inheritance patterns:

--"Titles, positions of leadership, cash, and other precious articles are inherited matrilineally. Individuals are traditionally buried with their few utilitarian personal possessions, such as tools, clothing, and household utensils. Standing crops and domestic stock are consumed by the funeral party." (2)

#### 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

--Young children assist their mother with daily chores until their initiation rituals. After this, boys usually join their fathers and assist them with hunting, house building, and other male tasks. Girls still continue to work with their mothers until they marry and move away with their husbands. In theory, parents exercise control over their children but in reality, children are rarely forced or punished to do things against their will. They independently do these things with the notion that their labor makes a valuable contribution to their family's needs. (4 page 133)

--"Between men and women there is much evidence of love, affection, and concern for the well-being of each other and of their offspring. It is obvious that men and women need each other in order to produce the children whom parents hope will take care of them in their old age and ensure the survival of their memory after they have gone." (3 page 181)

#### 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

--No information found regarding homosexuals.

#### 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

--ENDOGAMY WITHIN THE FATHER'S CLAN: "The clan is not exogamous. Those familiar with the Luapula should note that when it is said that 'we like to marry within the clan' this refers to the father's and not the mother's clan. Paternal cross-cousin marriage is favored because it is well

known that conciliation in case of difficulties is readily obtainable at a family gathering and such a means on conciliation is more favored than a court." (3 page 77-78)

--EXOAMY OUTSIDE THE MOTHER'S CLAN: "A man may not marry a woman of his mother's clan unless they do not know each other. [They must be strangers]. That is, a man may not marry anyone he *calls* his sister. Strictly this ought to apply to any member of the clan of about the same age. However, there would be little difficulty in marrying a clanswoman resident in a different tribal area. But marriage within the [mother's] lineage is out of the question." (3 page 78)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; Paternity partible? Are other fathers recognized?

--"It is believed that a child is 'made' by its father and simply nourished by its mother. Intercourse should proceed normally for a few months after conception, for in this way the father continues to 'strengthen' the child. Even if the child is conceived in adultery, the husband through subsequent intercourse 'makes' more of the child than the lover and so is considered to be its genitor." (3 page 83-84) There was no evidence of the 'lover' being recognized as another father of the child.

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly?

--As mentioned about, the man is the only person recognized as the actual biological creator of the child. The woman is only believed to provide nutrition. That is the mother's only role. (3 page 83)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process?

--Yes, there is some evidence that supports this idea or at least a similar idea. For example, after the husband has sex with his wife and conceives a child, he continues to have intercourse with her to strengthen the child. And if the wife conceives a child through adultery, the husband has sex with her repeatedly following the conception to "make more of the child" than the man she originally slept with. Therefore, conception is not necessarily viewed as a single event that one man and one woman are responsible for. There can be multiple steps involved. (3 page 83-84)

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape:

--Rape was not discussed but Poewe did mention different forms of sexual violence occurring due to jealousy over a sexual partner: "Some men are obsessed with the sexual activities of their wife. This sort of obsessive sexual dependency on one partner is severely frowned upon, though it does occur. Usually, its duration is shortened by outbursts of physical violence. In the event, a woman is likely to hit and kick a female rival, as a man is to fight a male rival." (5 page 69)

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

--"Traditionally among the Lunda there has been a slight preference for cross-cousin marriages. Little pressure is exerted, however, and individuals generally enjoy a great deal of latitude in the choice of marriage partners. Many marriages take place across ethnic boundaries." (2)

--"Paternal cross-cousin marriage [within the father's clan] is favored because it is well known that conciliation in case of difficulties is readily obtainable at a family gathering and such a means on conciliation is more favored than a court." (3 page 77-78)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

--Yes, several sources say females enjoy sexual freedoms and are very sexually active:

--Girls become sexually active women after puberty. During Nkanga, the female rite of transition, the teenage girl lives in a hut in seclusion for two to three months. She is only accompanied by an attendant (usually an older woman) who "instructs the initiate in matters concerning sex and childbirth. These lessons are often animated affairs accompanied by alcoholic beverages, much laughter, and graphic demonstrations of sexual positions and techniques." (4 page 150)

--Grandparents advise and instruct their teenage grandchildren on sexual matters. (4 page 97)

--The Lunda believe "sexual satisfaction creates an aura of health and peace; sexual deprivation creates chaos." (5 page 66) "In Luapula, female sexuality is not seen as a disruptive power which society needs to confine. If anything the opposite is true." (5 page 67) Women, both married and single, are allowed to engage in sexual intercourse whenever they desire. However, it is frowned upon when they have sex with more than one man during pregnancy. (5 page 68)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring?

--No. Although a woman may conceive a child with an extramarital partner, the husband of the woman has sex with her repeatedly following the conception so that he can claim he made more of the child than the extramarital partner. As a result, the husband is recognized as the single creator

of the child and the extramarital partner (the actual biological father) is not recognized at all. As a result, the Lunda technically do not have extramarital offspring. (3 page 83-84)

--No evidence was found of gift exchange between extramarital partners.

--The only evidence of gift exchange is: "When twins are born, the parents go around the village from house to house demanding presents." (3 page 135)

#### 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

--No specific data found but children most likely would live with their grandparents. "The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren was a particularly special one. Because many houses contained only one room, when children were considered too old to continue sleeping with their parents they were often sent to sleep with their grandparents. They could use each other's possessions freely and could call on one another for assistance with the certainty that it would be forthcoming. So strong was this bond that a man wishing to secede from his father's village could not automatically expect his own children's support; if the children were old enough to choose, they might choose to remain with their grandparents." (4 page 98)

#### 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

--In 1959, the ratio of all adults was about 1.04 in the population being studied in Luapala Valley. There were 20,688 males and 21,561 women. (3 page 22)

#### 4.22 Evidence for couvades:

--None found.

#### 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers:

--None. Only one father (the husband, if the woman has one) is seen as the father. See 4.13 for more.

#### 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

--Yes. Lunda men often avoid their mother-in-laws in the first years following marriage: "Although a husband lives initially in the village of his wife's mother, this is the rule only for a few years until the husband is 'accustomed'. The awkward situation, in which residence, often next door to the wife's mother, goes hand in hand with avoidance of her, gradually eases until finally after the birth of children the ceremony of *kwingishya* (entering-in) puts an end to the avoidance. More than that, it allows the husband to go and live with his wife in whichever village he wants." (3 page 123)

#### 4.24 Joking relationships?

--Yes, the Lunda place much importance on the existence of joking relationships.

--"Each clan is in such a relationship with one or more other clans. Members of these clans are at liberty, in certain circumstances are expected, to joke with each other, banter, curse, or slander." (3 page 64)

--"The relationship is exploited on many occasions. Women working in the fields pass hours in banter. Formal occasions are often prefaced by joking passes between the principals to set everyone in good humour. Joking superiority and inferiority are expressed in the idiom of sorcery or of chieftainship. Superiors say their inferiors are slaves or subjects, inferiors say their superiors are sorcerers." (3 page 65)

--"The joking relationship based on clan names exists between people who know each other well, and operates generally between people of about the same age." (3 page 68)

#### 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

--"As the data show, the majority of individuals residing in a village were matrilineally related to the headman." (4 page 94) Children are ascribed to their mother's clan. (3 page 84) "Titles, positions of leadership, cash, and other precious articles are inherited matrilineally." (2)

#### 4.26 Incest avoidance rules

--Yes. "A man may not marry a woman of his mother's clan unless they do not know each other. [They must be strangers]. That is, a man may not marry anyone he *calls* his sister. Strictly this ought to apply to any member of the clan of about the same age." (3 page 78)

#### 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

--"Today a wife generally moves to her husband's village immediately upon the completion of an exchange of bride-wealth and the performance of a simple ceremony. [...] Couples today may also choose to marry in civil ceremonies in town, or in Christian ceremonies in any of the numerous churches in Lunda territory, with or without bride-wealth." (2)

- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?  
 --“A child gets a name from either mother’s or father’s side and is ascribed to its mother’s clan. When the child is born, the parents themselves choose a name for it. The name should be that of a deceased senior member of the bilateral family of either parent. The spirit of this deceased relative resides in the body of the newborn child. But this does not prevent two or more children being born to the same spirit; nor does it prevent the spirit from working evil towards its descendants. If the father should die during the wife’s pregnancy, the child is called by its father’s name. Otherwise there is no rule regarding the side from which the name should be taken.” (3 page 84)
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community?  
 --Marriage is preferred to occur within the father’s clan and it is almost always forbidden to marry within the mother’s clan. See 4.12 for more information. (3 page 77-78) “Traditionally among the Lunda there has been a slight preference for cross-cousin marriages.” (2)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges?  
 --“A boy on marriage chooses his intermediary [a negotiator], for making arrangements with his in-laws, from among the more distantly related members of his village.” (3 page 135)
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:  
 --No. “Little pressure is exerted and individuals generally enjoy a great deal of latitude in the choice of marriage partners. Many marriages take place across ethnic boundaries.” (2) The only rules that may come into play are restrictions on marrying within the mother’s clan (see 4.12) and successful completion of a bride-wealth negotiation. (4 page 184)

### WARFARE/HOMICIDE

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:  
 --Specific data not found. The only talk of warfare was found in the history of the Lunda people, regarding their trade empire that collapsed in the late 1800s:  
 --“During the 1600s, The Lunda capital was located at Musumba, in present-day Zaire, but several major Lunda clusters existed with populations exceeding 10,000 people each. With four large standing armies, an array of titled court figures and a large complex bureaucracy, the Lunda became an empire capable of controlling the terms of trade and exacting tribute over a wide area.” (2) “The empire reached the height of its power by the 1850s. Thereafter its might was eroded by the incursions of the neighboring Chokwe. Portuguese troops arrived from Angola in the west in 1884 and Belgians from the Congo Free State in the northeast in 1898. Lunda was partitioned between them. Guerrilla warfare against the Congo Free State continued until 1909, when the Lunda leaders were captured and executed.” (6)
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:  
 --OUTGROUP:  
 --The only evidence of out-group conflict/violence found was the invasions of the Chokwe mentioned above. They were originally one of the twelve clans of the Lunda Empire but they grew wealthy and strong and got sick of paying tribute. They eventually dismantled the empire by invading the area and using guns they had purchased through trade.
- INGROUP:  
 --Today, only small in-group conflicts occur: “Most of Lunda territory is lightly policed, and *serious conflicts are rare*. The local docket is dominated by cases of untethered domestic animals straying into neighbors’ gardens, accusations of adultery, and the occasional drunken brawl, most of which are swiftly resolved. Most petty crimes and misdeeds are handled by informal local gatherings presided over by headmen, senior headmen, and chiefs. The focus is primarily on restitution, through the imposition of fines paid to the aggrieved party.” (2)  
 --Poewe explained that conflicts among the Lunda were rare. For example, in 1973, of the 250 civil court cases, 103 referred to tensions between the sexes (described in detail in 4.16); 73 dealt with money debts; 13 dealt with destruction of property; 7 referred to other land disputes; and 49 regarded insults. These were the main conflicts at the time. (5 page 69)
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:  
 --See 4.15 above. The causes of any conflict or violence are listed there.

#### 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

--Today, the Lunda are mainly only surrounded by other Lunda villages and relations seem friendly and stable. The only neighbor mentioned was the Chokwe group during the 1800s and relations were filled with fear and hostility. "Central Africa became embroiled in war as groups fought one another in mad pursuit of slaves to exchange for furs with which to protect themselves against the slaving activities of others. An era of fear and instability set in. By the 1880s, the Lunda capital itself was being overrun by better armed Chokwe groups from the west." (4 page 32) The Lunda ended up losing their powerful empire but the people themselves survived. The Portuguese later conquered the Chokwe.

#### 4.18 Cannibalism?

--None found.

### **5. SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND INTERACTION**

#### 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

--"Villages would range in size from less than a dozen individuals to several hundred people in the villages of chiefs or senior headmen. More than 10,000 people were known to have occupied the court of the paramount chief at Musumba." (2)

#### 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

--"Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, fields as well as entire villages move frequently". (2)

--"Because divorce and remarriage are frequent, women with their children oscillate between the villages of their matrilineal kin and those of their successive husbands." (2)

--"It has become clear that a large proportion of village inhabitants are not permanent residents. They shift about frequently from village to village. They seek a village which is healthy, harmonious, free from sorcery and premature death, and where they prosper." (3 page 136)

#### 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

--"During the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, the Lunda king at Musumba was able to exact tribute from wide areas of Central Africa. Otherwise, he made few demands and exerted little influence on daily village life. Headmen oversee the affairs of each village. The longest-standing headman in a particular area is generally recognized as the senior headman. Subchiefs preside over clearly defined territories. The power of headmen, senior headmen, and chiefs resides in their ability to mobilize a consensus on local issues. They possess little coercive force and cannot dictate the course of events. Shifting agriculture and residential mobility enable individuals to simply leave the territory of an unpopular leader. Today the central governments of Zaire and Zambia continue to recognize traditional leaders as the custodians of rural lands. There are, however, national structures (i.e., executive, legislative, and judicial bureaucracies of government) superimposed on the traditional framework, as well as representatives of the ruling political party." (2)

#### 5.4 Post marital residence:

--"In the past, couples would live uxorilocally for the first few years of marriage, with the husband performing bride-service for his in-laws by assisting with agricultural tasks and village construction. Later the couple would reside patrilocally. Today a wife generally moves to her husband's village immediately upon the completion of an exchange of bride-wealth and the performance of a simple ceremony." (2)

--OTHER INFORMATION REGARDING RESIDENCE: "Ideally, each mature adult has his or her own house. Children tend to sleep with their mother when they are very young, with a grandparent in their preteen years, and in single-sex "dormitories" as young adults." (2)

#### 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

--Chiefs are responsible for establishing the territories of villages with the neighboring headman: "Villages are frequently sited as beads on a string along the main road. Here the officials determine boundaries with neighboring villages, the boundary signifying the extent to which houses of each village may eventually spread. The distribution of the fertile land at the swamp edge will be demarcated, and canoe-parks and watering places settled by villages. Although less control is exercised over the sharing of garden land—any man being at liberty to cultivate where he will

within his own chiefdom—agreement may be reached about the general area in which gardens of a village should be situated.” This makes the village a legal political entity. (3 page 122)

#### 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):

--Yes. The Lunda are strictly divided by both age and sex. For example, “Children up to the age of ten live with their grandparents but normally return at that time to the village of their parents. The boys build bachelor huts. The girls sleep in kitchens or in houses of older unmarried widowed or divorced women. Play-groups are formed by village children in the village. Village girls band together to play kubuta: older girls each adopt a ‘daughter’ from among the younger and teach them to cook outside. Banacimbusa (midwives and instructresses of girls at puberty, marriage, and childbirth) are taken from among the older women of the village.” (3 page 134)

#### 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

--Yes, the Lunda have joking relationships. See 4.24 for more information. (3 pages 64-68)

#### 5.8 Village and house organization:

--“The traditional village was a collection of small circular clay houses with straw-thatched roofs, arranged in a circle around a central meeting house. Members of alternate generations would build on opposing hemispheres of the circle. Banana, tobacco, and a few specialty crops would be planted around the periphery, with the main food gardens fanning out some distance from the village. Hectares of forest would separate individual villages.” (2) “Today villages of square or rectangular houses tend to form straight lines along roadways and major paths, clustering at crossroads. Small towns, where life takes a more urban tempo, dot Lunda territory.” (2)

#### 5.9 Specialized village structures (men’s houses):

--In traditional villages, houses were arranged in a circle around the central meeting house. (2)

--“The granary is used for storing maize for making beer the year round, and since it is raised from the ground, it provides a convenient shade to sit in. Groups gather together for talk at the headman’s house. Stores and tearooms are important centers of gossip.” (3 page 118-119)

--“The *chota*, the men’s palaver hut and mess room, was the place toward which the men of the village gravitated when not otherwise occupied by duties.” (4 page 90)

#### 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

--It appears that the Lunda sleep on the ground in their houses. (3 page 118)

#### 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages:

--“Lunda individuals tend to be embedded in social networks made up of numerous distinct, yet often overlapping, social units. These include the household, the village, the matrilineage, local cohorts, ritual cults, religious communities, occupational associations, civic clubs, and perhaps political parties. These social units vary in their methods of recruitment, the claims they make on the individual, and the benefits they offer in return. Individual commitment to particular social units varies over the course of a lifetime as people’s ambitions, capacities, and strategies change. Lunda enjoy a great deal of flexibility in residential affiliation and choice of personal association. The social landscape is fluid and ever-changing.” (2)

--“Houses are grouped together into distinct villages, the core of which is usually a set of matrilineally related males, ideally uterine brothers and their wives and children. Extended and classificatory kin, as well as friends and visitors, are also present in most villages. In some respects the matricentric bond can be viewed as the basic unit of society.” (2)

#### 5.12 Trade:

--“Pre-colonial trade was characterized by a vast array of goods from both Europe and the Indian Ocean nations flowing into the Lunda region in exchange for copper, iron, ivory, skins, slaves, honey and wax, rubber, and food. During the colonial era, 1884-1964, external trade was forcefully curtailed. Today there is extensive interregional trade between Lunda in Angola, Zaire, and Zambia, exploiting the differing price structures of each country. The trade consists mainly of foodstuffs, particularly dried fish and game meat, in exchange for manufactured commodities such as sugar, salt, cooking oil, clothing, and household utensils.” (2)

#### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies:

--“Hierarchy, expressed in an idiom of age, is the dominant feature of traditional social organization. Notions of hierarchy are embedded in the language; they are expressed in routine greetings, and

they set the norms of daily social interaction. The hierarchy extends from the most recently born up to the paramount chief. It cuts across lineages, villages, and national boundaries.” (2)

--“Hierarchy based on age defines relationships among the Lunda. Most kin terms reflect, or are appended by terms that reflect birth order or relative age.” (2)

## **6. RITUAL/CEREMONY/RELIGION (RCR)**

### 6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

--The majority of Lunda regularly attend one of the Christian churches in their area. Most also still rely on herbal medicines and participate in traditional healing rituals. (2)

### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

--“Traditionally, it was the task of diviners to ascertain whether it was an ancestor or an invisible being who was responsible for a particular human affliction. A *chimbuki* (medicine man) would then be responsible for performing an elaborate ritual that would appease and neutralize the afflicting entity. The *chimbuki* would be assisted in the ritual by a coterie of individuals who have themselves been afflicted, yet survived the same sort of metaphysically induced illness being experienced by the patient.” (2)

--“The Lunda can be described as botanists par excellence. Nearly a hundred different medicinal plants have been recorded as being in use, from which herbal specialists can concoct a vast array of composite remedies. Even very young children tend to be competent in the preparation of herbal remedies for such simple ailments as headaches, stomach aches, colds, influenza, and muscle aches and pains. The local population also accepts and seeks out Western pharmaceutical drugs, viewing them as being akin to traditional herbal preparations, albeit more powerful because they are believed to be more concentrated, especially injections. Nevertheless, most individuals in rural areas still try one or more herbal preparations before resolving to visit a clinic.” (2)

### 6.2 Stimulants:

--“Banana, *tobacco*, and a few specialty crops would be planted around the periphery.” (2)

--“The buildings of the household are normally the house, a separate kitchen, a granary, and a latrine. The granary is used for storing maize for making *beer* the year round.” (3 page 118)

--“One of the major sources of cash for women is brewing alcoholic beverages. The most common recreational activities of Lunda men are drinking alcohol, singing, and dancing.” (4 page 196)

### 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

--DEATH:

“In the case of married individuals, the surviving spouse is generally required to pay a substantial sum (*mpepi*) to the lineage of the deceased, regardless of culpability. Individuals are buried in cemeteries shared by clusters of villages. A complex cleansing ritual is performed to remove the aura of death from the village and to appease the recently departed and ease his or her passage into the afterlife.” (2)

--The boys' INITIATION rite (*mukanda*) and the girls' initiation rite (*nkanga*) are the most elaborate:

--“Mukanda today is a month-long ritual during which time groups of boys, mostly between the ages of 10 and 15, are isolated in forest camps where they are first circumcised, then instructed and tested in productive skills, cultural history, and social etiquette. They are also subjected to hard labor and harsh discipline. Mukanda begins and ends with a public ceremony that entails round-the-clock singing, dancing, feasting, storytelling, and perhaps the appearance of masked figures believed to be the embodiment of nature spirits.” (2)

--“Nkanga differs markedly from mukanda. Girls are initiated individually in the village, rather than in groups in the forest. They are relieved of all physical labor, pampered, groomed, and sung to, for up to three months. They are not subjected to any physical operation. Like the boys, however, they are instructed in productive skills, cultural history, and social etiquette. Much of the instructional focus and symbolic expression is on augmenting reproductive capacity and on child-rearing competency. For most of *nkanga*, a girl remains isolated from males in a small seclusion hut, where she is regularly visited by elder women from the surrounding area. A young attendant is assigned to each girl, to be her constant companion and to attend to her every need. A girl is to remain silent throughout *nkanga*, speaking only in whispers to her attendant. Nkanga begins and ends with a

well-attended public ceremony characterized by great revelry, most notably the singing of ribald songs extolling female virtues while denigrating male vices. [...] Gifts, primarily clothing and cash, are heaped on the new adult member of society." (2)

#### 6.4 Other rituals:

--KWINGISHYA (ENTERING-IN): Following marriage, the husband and wife typically live in the village of the wife's mother. This is the rule for the first few years until the husband is accustomed to the mother-in-law. The awkward situation of living right next to the mother-in-law while trying to avoid her eventually eases. Finally after the birth of children, the ceremony of kwingishya puts an end to the avoidance and the husband and wife can move to a new village. (3 page 123)

#### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

--"Traditionally, it was believed that Nzambi, the supreme deity, created the universe and all its inhabitants. He endowed each type of living entity with a unique set of capacities that alone determine its fortune. Humans were uniquely blessed with the gift of intellect." (2)

#### 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

--"A few professional wood-carvers and basket makers continue to produce locally. Most decorative objects, music, and performances, however, are produced by dedicated amateurs, solely for local enjoyment." (2) "Traditionally, the Lunda were well known for copper- and ironsmithing, pottery, basket making, mat weaving, and woodworking. Local craft production, however, declined precipitously under colonial rule and persists today at a very low level." (2)

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

--Only men can serve as the religious and political leaders of a village. They are referred to as "headmen". Headmen worship and sacrifice on behalf of their village. (3 page 136) "The position of headman is hereditary and the heir is chosen from among the junior members of the headman's lineage." (3 page 122) Furthermore, only men can serve as chiefs, which is the highest level of the Lunda hierarchy. They reign over chiefdoms, which contain several villages.

--Only women can be banacimbusa. "Banacimbusa (midwives and instructresses of girls at puberty, marriage, and childbirth) are taken from among the older women of the village." (3 page 134)

#### 6.8 Missionary effect:

--"The twentieth-century influx of U.S. and European missionaries into Lunda territory has led to a proliferation of religious beliefs. Evangelical Protestant, Catholic, and independent churches now dot the landscape. The earliest missionaries adopted the local term, Nzambi, to refer to the High God, implying in some respects that they were not attempting to introduce a new God but were simply bringing new information about the old Lunda High God. All local religions thus proclaim Nzambi as the supreme deity. They differ in their beliefs about Nzambi's secular and spiritual requirements, preferred forms of worship, areas of intervention, and the benefits offered." (2)

#### 6.9 RCR revival:

--"There is now a new generation for which the acceptance of Christianity requires a far less dramatic transformation. Expatriate churches have become an accepted part of the social and economic landscape. Missions and missionaries are now shaped and modeled by local forces and oriented toward serving local needs. They are continually draped and redraped with local symbolism." (4 page 193)

#### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

--"Death may be attributed to either natural or supernatural causes. It is invariably accompanied by accusations of witchcraft, threats of retaliation, the questioning of long-standing relationships, and, occasionally, divination to ascertain the true cause of death. Traditionally, it was believed that the spirit of a deceased individual remained in the area he or she inhabited during life, watching over living kin and reestablishing contacts with friends and relatives who had died earlier. Today the multiplicity of ideas about the afterlife spawned by various Christian denominations competes for prominence with traditional notions." (2)

#### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

--None. The Lunda are frequently named after deceased relatives. See 4.28.

#### 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

--None. See 4.28 for more information regarding naming practices.

### 6.13 Briefly describe religion

--“Nzambi, the supreme deity, plays no role in the day-to-day interaction of his creation, nor does he favor any one of his creatures over the others. He requires no formal worship. Human appeals for supernatural intervention are directed mostly toward the ancestors. The spirits of the dead tend to remain in the area where they resided during life, and they continue to be concerned with the welfare of their living kin. Ancestral spirits particularly wish to be remembered for their contributions to the world of the living. Remembrance takes three forms: mentioning an ancestor's name in daily conversation, propitiating an ancestor during communal meals, and naming a newborn after a favored ancestor. Neglected ancestors are said to afflict their living kin with a range of diseases, primarily infertility for women and lack of hunting success for men. Ancestors may also afflict kin who are not living properly (quarreling and not sharing). The Lunda metaphysical world is also inhabited by a variety of invisible beings with sinister intent toward humans. These beings, under the nominal control of human witches, can likewise cause debilitating illness and even death if not discovered and neutralized.” (2)

## **7. ADORNMENT**

### 7.1 Body paint:

--None found. Neither mentioned in the text or photos of sources.

### 7.2 Piercings:

--None found.

### 7.3 Haircut:

--Not discussed in text. However, in all of Pritchett's photos of the Lunda, both men and women of all ages have very short-cropped haircuts. Men in the photos were always clean-shaven or sometimes have a small, well-groomed mustache. (4 pages 154-168)

### 7.4 Scarification:

--None.

### 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates):

--The Lunda imported foreign goods such as “beads, necklaces, bracelets, white stones, cowries, enamel plates, and cloth” to be used for adornment. These items were also used in bride-wealth negotiations and were distributed to both males and females in the bride's family. (4 page 184)

### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

--The only two rituals discussed in detail are the rites of passage for boys and girls:

--During mukanda, the boys' initiation rite into manhood, the Lunda often wear masks to embody nature spirits. (2) The male initiate also receives new special clothes from his parents during the ceremony following circumcision. (4 page 146) During nkanga, girls' initiation rite, Lunda girls go into seclusion for two to three months so no special adornment is used. In fact, the girl must be completely covered from head to toe with blankets if she wants to go anywhere. At her coming-out ceremony, she is also given special cloth. (4 page 150)

### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

--Other than the headman who may have used more decorations to stand out and display his status, no special sex differences were noted regarding adornment. The biggest differences in style appear between different cohort (or generational) groups. “Cohort groups among the Lunda-Ndembu deliberately, self-consciously, and often with a great deal of flourish, seek out new elements of style as visible markers of their separate identities within the larger group identity.” (4 page 15)

### 7.8 Missionary effect:

--None found. In photos, it appears clothes became similar to modern European styles. (4)

### 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

--While there has not been one single big event of an adornment revival, adornment and fashion trends are ever changing among the Lunda: “The manner of dress, greetings used, music preferred [...] and so forth, vary noticeably from one generation to the next. This is not only accepted but widely expected. Changes of this nature, that is, modifications that remain within a particular cohort group, are acknowledged as purely a matter of style or fashion.” (4 page 15)

## **8. KINSHIP SYSTEMS**

### 8.1 Sibling classification system:

--Siblings are classified by age: "Hierarchy based on age defines relationships among the Lunda. Most kin terms reflect, or are appended by terms that reflect birth order or relative age—for example, *yaya* (older brother or sister) and *mwanyika* (younger brother or sister)." (2)  
--"Older siblings play an active role in supervising and educating younger siblings." (2)

### 8.2 Sororate, levirate:

--These do not exist but something similar to levirate does exist. Levirate is defined as a type of marriage in which the brother of a deceased man is *obliged* to marry his brother's widow. While men are not obligated to do this, men frequently "succeed his brother as the husband of his brother's wife. But this is not the levirate." (3 page 96) All deceased men have a successor and the ideal successor is a full younger brother. (3 page 99) This explains why many men do marry their brother's widow following the funeral. This is just slightly different from the levirate system.

### 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology:

--"Most Lunda are matrilineal, but only the lineages of chiefs or certain headmen are remembered with great genealogical depth. Most matrilineages, however, are quite extensive geographically. Attendance at weddings, funerals, and initiation ceremonies serves to keep individuals in touch with matrikin over vast areas of Angola, Zaire, and Zambia. The matrilineage rarely acts as a corporate group, but it does provide a potential network for support and hospitality should the need arise. Personal relations cultivated over time, rather than cultural prescriptions, determine the degree of closeness and frequency of social interaction." (2)  
--"The grandparent-grandchild relationship is extremely close. They are permitted a degree of informality and intimacy denied in other relationships. In theory, at least, a grandparent cannot deny any request made by a grandchild." (2)

## **9. OTHER INTERESTING CULTURAL FEATURES:**

--"Age is the dominant idiom for expressing relationships between people. Birthdays, however, are not celebrated and are rarely recognized in any particular fashion. In general, people clan not to know, or are at least reluctant to state publicly, their actual chronological age. Yet relative age is a topic of constant concern." (4 page 126)

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