

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:

- *Ngombe, Lingombe, Bagondo; Ngombe; Bantu*

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

- *ISO 639-3: ngc*

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

- *Northern districts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; 2.14, 21.51*

1.4 Brief history:

- *Although there is no written history of the Ngombe, a rough idea of the Ngombes' past can be painted by looking at the recorded accounts of the Ngombes' neighbors. The Mongo people record a period of major social upheaval, when the Ngombe migrated south into their territory. The Mongo remember this time in the early nineteenth century as the "Lufembe War" and the "War of the Dog". The wars continued into the late nineteenth century, as recorded by the first European settlers. The next recorded account dates to the early nineteen-sixties, when the Ngombe were experiencing a time of extended peace. (1, pg. 61)*

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

- *"A result of this combination of factors is that most Ngombe express without hesitation their belief in the existence of the Christian God, even though their contact with missionaries has been limited, their villages being visited only briefly, once or twice a year." (3, pg. 77)*

1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

- *The climate of the area is tropical, with a hot, rainy season extending from mid-October to mid-May, broken for several week in February. The dry season is somewhat cooler, the sky being overcast much of the time. Temperatures also vary considerably with altitude. The vegetation is savannah grassland with gallery forests along stream beds; forests of somewhat different composition, located on hilltops, mark the sites of former villages." (2, pg. 8)*

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

- *Around 150,000 speakers of the Ngombe language (4)*
- *"A Ngombe village consists of some thirty to one hundred huts in a row along a road or forest path" (3, pg. 30)*
- *"The group holds no land, nor does its territory have a distinct boundary, though the political lineages of which it is composed usually occupy contiguous territories" (3, pg. 36)*

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

- *Manioc (2, pg. 9)*
- *Beans.(2, pg. 9)*
- *Wild fruits (3, pg. 62)*
- *Wild berries (3, pg. 62)*
- *Peanuts (2, pg. 9)*
- *Rice. (3, pg. 62)*
- *Cassava (3, pg. 62)*
- *Maize (3, pg. 62)*
- *Sweet Potatoes (3, pg. 62)*

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

- *Fish (3, pg. 62)*
- *Monkey (3, pg. 62)*
- *Chicken (3, pg. 62)*
- *Duck (3, pg. 62)*
- *Antelope (3, pg. 62)*

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

- *Spears (3, pg. 88)*
- *Knives (3, pg. 88)*
- *Bows (3, pg. 88)*
- *Machetes(3, pg. 88)*

2.4 Food storage:

- *“Thus, what is produced is normally distributed widely and consumed quickly, and there is little saving. Nevertheless, fish and some meats are smoked and dried to feed a family for a month or more” (3, pg. 68)*

2.5 Sexual division of production:

- *“For the activities providing the most essential produce, fishing and agriculture, are the work of women” (3, pg. 15)*

2.6 Land tenure:

- *“Quite apart from dogmas and models, the inalienability of land may be the custom of eastern Kongo.” (2, pg. 294)*

2.7 Ceramics:

- *“Pottery and iron bars, two items of common usage, were traditionally obtained from riverine peoples, fishermen of the Congo and Mongala Rivers, in exchange for manioc, palm oil, and plantain.” (3, pg. 66)*

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

- *“The primary functions of this grouping are, as implied, economic. Sharing plays an important role in preserving the bonds of the economic lineage. The distribution of game and of incoming bridewealth are the most manifest aspects of this pattern, which asserts itself in other ways as well: a wife serves fish from her season's first catch to every elder member of her husband's economic lineage, that is, to those in the senior generation; an artisan who sews, repairs bicycles, or does carpentry, applies his skill gratis for a lineage "brother"; a demand for a gift or loan within the economic lineage is almost assured of a positive response; "theft" within this group is shamed but not punished. Generosity is a factor of cohesion in every aspect of life.” (3, pg. 29)*

2.9 Food taboos:

- *“The same amount of labor spent in other activities, either agriculture or fishing, would undoubtedly yield a much greater return, but the Ngombe would not be satisfied to give up hunting for these other pursuits. Hunting is their most important economic activity not because it is most productive, but because that kind of labor has certain qualities making it satisfying in itself.” (3, pg. 61)*

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

- *Not addressed*

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

- *Not addressed*

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

- *Not addressed*

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

- *“Girls also undergo changes from childhood to adulthood without ceremony. At about the age of six a girl begins to learn the tasks of a woman, something not completed until after she has married and learned the idiosyncrasies of her husband. The distinction between child and adult is clearer in the case of a girl than of a boy, for after a girl menstruates, and when her breasts are developed to "the size of a man's forearm," she is considered a woman, and may sleep with her suitors.” (3, pg. 15)*

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

- *Not addressed*

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

- *“When she has passed child-bearing age, and when her children are grown to adulthood, her function has been fulfilled and her worth to the community begins to decrease.” (3, pg. 19)*

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

- *“During this entire period, approximately a year, the young mother is in partial seclusion in her father's house, exempt from any labor but the care of her child...Children born subsequently have no such experience as that of the first-born. The mother and her infant remain for approximately three weeks in the father's house cared for by other women of the household, the father's other wives, his mother, or his brother's wives. Then, however, the mother takes up her normal duties” (3, pg. 11-12)*

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

- *“An institution called lingondo has the ascribed function of aiding the physical development of girls from the age of three or four years until they marry at seventeen or eighteen years.” (3, pg. 15)*

- *“At ten years of age or slightly more, he begins to participate in communal hunting under the supervision of his father and other adults of his lineage. His value as a hunter increases gradually as he becomes stronger and more experienced, and no particular point marks the transition from boyhood to adult status.” (3, pg. 14)*

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

- *“On the day the girl goes to live with her husband, her kinsmen take gifts of food to his family, at the same time informing them of the amount of bridewealth they shall expect to receive on a second visit one year later. The Ngombe apparently consider this first year a period of trial marriage rather than “true marriage,” (3, pg. 16)*
- *“Separations are not at all uncommon during this period and in this event that portion of the bridewealth already received by the girl's family must be returned.” (3, pg. 17)*

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

- *“The mother and her infant remain for approximately three weeks in the father's house cared for by other women of the household, the father's other wives, his mother, or his brother's wives” (3, pg. 12)*

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

- *“On the day the girl goes to live with her husband, her kinsmen take gifts of food to his family, at the same time informing them of the amount of bridewealth they shall expect to receive on a second visit one year later.” (3, pg. 16)*
- *“At any rate, a Ngombe man in this stage of marriage says of his wife, ‘I have acquired her, but I have not yet purchased her.’” (3, pg. 17)*

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

- *“For the mother and her kinsmen the birth of a child is of importance for quite different reasons. The child is not a member of their lineage, nor will he spend much time with his maternal relatives, but his birth enhances the status of his mother, increases her value as a Ngombe wife, and permits her family to make larger requests for bridewealth from the husband and his family.” (3, pg. 9)*

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

- *“Even so, the adolescent male has a peculiar position in Ngombe society: he is fully capable of contributing materially to the subsistence economy, yet Ngombe tradition dictates that he remain completely dependent upon his father, father's brothers, and his own elder brothers, for a younger man is not expected to take on responsibilities which would demonstrate his independence from those his senior.” (3, pg. 14-15)*

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

- *Not addressed*

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

- *“A man cannot marry a woman who is from the extended family of a wife of any man in his own extended family, and certainly not from the kin group of his own mother.” (3, pg. 18)*

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

- *“This manifestation that the ancestors deem him worthy of continuing the lineage brings the father nearer to achieving some of the highest goals of Ngombe culture: that a man shall father a large family, that he shall be head of an extended family made up of his own children and the children of his sons, that his name shall live after him as the title of the lineage which he shaped, and that his spirit shall be the object of veneration of a significant company of descendants.” (3, pg. 9)*

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

- *“The prestige of a woman, on the other hand, is at its maximum when she has the care of growing children. When she has passed child-bearing age, and when her children are grown to adulthood, her function has been fulfilled and her worth to the community begins to decrease.” (3, pg. 19)*

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

- *“A view consistent with the rest of Ngombe culture in which transitions appear always to be gradual rather than abrupt” (3, pg. 17)*

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

- *Not addressed*

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

- *“The patterns of mate selection tend to prevent situations where these various obligations might conflict. It is likely that even the extension of the marriage prohibition to a man's bonoko is a consequence of such considerations rather than any concern about genetic relationship. In the first place, sororal polygyny is said to be disallowed because a confusion of the separate bridewealth obligations would be the result. For the same reason two men from one economic lineage may not both marry*

women of another. If a man married a woman from his bonoko he would be violating this principle, since both he and his father would owe bridewealth to the same group. Also prohibited are "exchange marriages," matings of a man and woman from one economic lineage to a woman and man from another." (3, pg. 50)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

- *"When the girl has passed puberty, the man visits her periodically and sleeps with her in a hut provided by her family. Even this does not signify commitment, for the girl may, with the sanction of her parents, entertain other suitors who are also making preliminary bridewealth payments to her family." (3, pg. 16)*

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

- *Not addressed*

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

- *"A Ngombe child is not considered the responsibility solely of his own parents, but of the whole extended family or lineage group of his father." (3, pg. 13)*

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

- *Not addressed*

4.22 Evidence for couvades

- *Not addressed*

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

- *Not addressed*

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

- *"The child learns to feel secure in his dependence upon the elders of his lineage group who are, in turn, dependent upon the ancestors who are their elders. The virtue of generosity and the depravity of greed are also subjects of the child's education." (3, pg. 13)*

4.24 Joking relationships?

- *Not addressed*

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

- *"With that ceremony the first-born child of a woman is returned to his proper home, which, in this patrilocal society, is the community of his paternal lineage." (3 pg. 12)*

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

- *"A man cannot marry a woman who is from the extended family of a wife of any man in his own extended family, and certainly not from the kingroup of his own mother." (3, pg. 18)*

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

- *"Following a social dance honoring the child, a spokesman for the mother's kin group, usually her father's brother, formally presents the child and the gifts to the patrilineal group represented officially by a spokesman, usually the brother of the father's father, who then makes the presentation of the bridewealth. With that ceremony the first-born child of a woman is returned to his proper home, which, in this patrilocal society, is the community of his paternal lineage." (3, pg. 12)*

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

- *"His name shall live after him as the title of the lineage." (3, pg. 9)*

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

- *"With that ceremony the first-born child of a woman is returned to his proper home, which, in this patrilocal society, is the community of his paternal lineage." (3 pg. 12)*
- *"Proverbs and tales even go so far as to warn explicitly against making friendships outside the family, as in the adage, "I like you' kills people," which means, in effect, that expressions of love may be meant to disguise evil intent" (3, pg. 13)*
- *"Marriage is more than a simple union of two individuals; it creates a tie between two lineage groups, a relationship represented in part by the obligations of bridewealth." (3, pg. 16)*

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

- *"A girl and her mother often attempt to keep secret her first menstrual periods so that her father and father's brothers will not immediately arrange her marriage." (3, pg. 15)*

- *“The decision as to which man she should marry is eventually made by the girl's father's brother, upon the advice of other men of the extended family who take cognizance of the feelings of the girl herself.” (3, pg. 16)*

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

- *“Bridewealth has significance beyond the mere validation of marriage. It represents the worth of a woman; the higher the bridewealth the higher her prestige, both in her native community and in that of her husband. A woman for whom little bridewealth has been paid would be but a slave, for her lineage is said to care little about her, while her husband's kinsmen reveal their attitude toward her in the size of their gifts. The magnitude of bridewealth is very directly a function of her productivity in terms of industriousness and reproductive capacity.” (3, pg. 65)*

5. Warfare/homicide

5.1 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

- *Not addressed*

5.2 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

- *Not addressed*

5.3 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

- *“If a husband, for example, discovered another man with his wife, he would try to kill the man immediately; failing this he would let it be known that the culprit's life was in danger.” (3, pg. 33)*

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

- *“The kumu and mowe are also significant in ordering relations between village lineages. While the warrior leader, elombe, directed fighting, a pact of peace between two communities would be concluded by the respective baKumu at a ceremony involving the execution of a "slave." Peaceful visits from one village to another for purposes of entertainment, an institution called eloki, offer opportunities for the mowe to exercise his function as speaker for the village and for the chief. It is he who announces the length of the visit and the value of the gifts to be exchanged.” (3, pg. 33)*

5.5 Cannibalism?

- *These two tribes are voracious cannibals and fierce man-hunters...after such a raid many are killed for cannibal orgies.” (1, pg. 61)*

6. Socio-Political organization and interaction

6.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

- *“A Ngombe village consists of some thirty to one hundred huts in a row along a road or forest path” (3, pg. 30)*

6.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

- *“The Ngombe traditionally move their habitations every three or four years, and the village lineage is the unit which organizes such movement” (3, pg. 33)*

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

- *“Seniority is highly important to the Ngombe, and with few exceptions the oldest man in the senior generation of any lineage group is its leader, exercising the sanction of the ancestors, from whom he derives the power to bless or curse his juniors.” (3, pg. 19)*

6.4 Post marital residence:

- *“With that ceremony the first-born child of a woman is returned to his proper home, which, in this patrilocal society, is the community of his paternal lineage.” (3 pg. 12)*

6.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

- *“The group holds no land, nor does its territory have a distinct boundary, though the political lineages of which it is composed usually occupy contiguous territories” (3, pg. 36)*

6.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

- *“An important part of Gonji Ngombe socialization is the acquisition of the conception of one's dependence upon the collectivity, and more specifically, on elders who represent the collectivity. This is accomplished gradually, of course, through such behavior as the generosity of elders mentioned above and also through admonitions and precepts, often in the form of proverbs.” (3, pg. 13)*

6.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

- *Not addressed*

6.8 Village and house organization:

- *“The Ngombe are firm in their conviction that a man must build his own house, or houses for each of his wives, with a minimum of assistance from his brothers who may, for instance, help put up the ridge pole. Further, each married man is supposed to have exclusive gardening rights on all land “in front of” and “behind” his house or compound” (3, pg. 27)*

6.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses):

- *Not addressed*

6.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

- *“One may not sleep in a bed the other has slept in” (3, pg. 46)*

6.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

- *“The pattern of authority within the lineage at this level is different from that we have observed for the lineages of smaller span, where the emphasis is on the principle of seniority. Leadership roles in the village lineage tend to be allocated by consent of the lineage members and while seniority is one consideration, demonstrated ability or supposed potentiality are influential in selecting men for the three “offices” of kumu (chief), mowe (speaker-judge), and elombe (warrior leader). The performance of these roles results in the accomplishment of what we consider the primary functions of the village lineage: organization for warfare and for peaceful relations with other village lineages, organization of village migration, and organization of collective hunting.” (3, pg. 31)*

6.12 Trade:

- *“As suggested above, trade is not an important aspect of Ngombe economic life. The extended family based on the economic lineage, if not the nuclear family, is very nearly self-sufficient, and only a few goods need be procured elsewhere” (3, pg. 66)*

6.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

- *“A man's prestige increases with his age, providing he exhibits those attributes which the culture values: generosity, courage in warfare and hunting, wisdom, and respect for his elders and ancestors.” (3, pg. 19)*
- *“Leadership roles in the village lineage tend to be allocated by consent of the lineage members and while seniority is one consideration, demonstrated ability or supposed potentiality are influential in selecting men for the three “offices” of kumu (chief), mowe (speaker-judge), and elombe (warrior leader).” (3, pg. 31)*

7. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

7.1 Time allocation to RCR:

- *Not addressed*

7.2 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

- *“The belief that certain ailments may be caused when one or more strange spirits enter one's body is related to the ancestral cult only in that the spirits involved are comparable to ancestral beings, though they are not ancestral to the group affected by them. Like the ancestors, they were at one time living human beings, for according to Ngombe definition, spirits have their origin only in human pregnancies. Such harmful spirits are controllable by experts who have special knowledge of medicines or other means to rid the body of them. Any such expert is called nganga keta, but the most common type is that called nganga momboma.” (3, pg. 79)*

7.3 Stimulants:

- *“With these five francs a child was sent to buy cigarettes which were divided among all the men except those of the economic lineage of the kumu himself.” (3, pg. 68)*
- *“The men visit one another, hunt together in the forest, share their food, and drink palm-wine with each other.” (3, pg. 30)*

7.4 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

- *“The birth of a child is an event of signal importance to a Gonji Ngombe community. This manifestation that the ancestors deem him worthy of continuing the lineage brings the father nearer to achieving some of the highest goals of Ngombe culture” (3, pg. 9)*
- *“At ten years of age or slightly more, he begins to participate in communal hunting under the supervision of his father and other adults of his lineage. His value as a hunter increases gradually as he becomes stronger and more experienced, and no particular point marks the transition from boyhood to adult status.” (3, pg. 14)*
- *“Once the grave is prepared, the body is interred without ceremony. Several brothers or other close kinsmen carry the body, on a mat, to the grave where it is placed, fully extended, on the framework of boughs laid in the excavation. Another mat covers the body to protect it from the dirt which will fill the grave.” (3, pg. 20)*

7.5 Other rituals:

- *“Ancestral support necessary to successful procreation and most day-to-day subsistence activities normally does not depend upon specific supplication. However, it is held that no communal hunt could possibly be successful were it not preceded by a ceremony in which ancestral favor is explicitly sought. The same ceremony, called bojongwa, is performed to regain the favor of the ancestors after it is supposed to have been withdrawn in response to a curse pronounced by the kumu of a village or the elder of a lineage.” (3, pg. 72)*

7.6 Myths (Creation):

- *“Christianity appears to them as an accretion to their traditional knowledge about the universe. They say, for example, that the Ngombe did not understand the origin of mankind until the missionaries told them of the Garden of Eden, whereupon the Ngombe agreed, “Yes, that must be, indeed, the way it happened.” As a result, Adam and Eve are very nearly a part of Ngombe ancestral lore.” (3, pg. 77)*

7.7 Cultural material (art, music, games):

- *Not addressed*

7.8 Sex differences in RCR:

- *“It is evident that the system of religious beliefs as a whole is consistent with, and gives meaning to, patterns relating men to men and men to the material things of the universe. Ideals that are important in the social life are reinforced by the definition of the powers that reward and punish, as well as by the means felt to be effective in controlling or directing these powers in a way beneficial to men.” (3, pg. 90)*

7.9 Missionary effect:

- *“A result of this combination of factors is that most Gonji Ngombe express without hesitation their belief in the existence of the Christian God, even though their contact with missionaries has been limited, their villages being visited only briefly, once or twice a year.” (3, pg. 77)*

7.10 RCR revival:

- *Not addressed*

7.11 Death and afterlife beliefs:

- *“The Ngombe recognize four kinds of phenomena which operate in ways that can be labeled supernatural, though they are not conceived as a single class distinguished from a class of empirically verifiable facts. First, human beings have immortal spirits which leave the body at death, and inhabit the forest near the villages of their descendants. Secondly, some individuals possess a mystical power called demba which is innate and inseparable from them during their life, but which ceases to exist after their death.” (3, pg. 70)*

7.12 Taboo of naming dead people?

- *Not addressed*

7.13 Is there teknonymy?

- *Not addressed*

7.14 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

- *“A result of this combination of factors is that most Gonji Ngombe express without hesitation their belief in the existence of the Christian God, even though their contact with missionaries has been limited, their villages being visited only briefly, once or twice a year.” (3, pg. 77)*

8. Adornment

8.1 Body paint:

- *Males and females do not appear to have or use body paint. (5)*

8.2 Piercings:

- *Males and females do not appear to have or use piercings. (5)*

8.3 Haircut:

- *Males tend to have short-cropped hair with facial hair. Females had either short hair similar to that of males, or neck-length hair. Females also do not have any facial hair. (5)*

8.4 Scarification:

- *Significant scarification to both males and females. Scarification present on all parts of body. (5)*

8.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

- “Raffia skirts and numerous strings of colorful beads to adorn the body of the young mother for the ensuing ceremony. Fine beads form an intricate design in her tightly dressed coiffure, many strings of large disc beads encircle her waist and her breast, and large highly polished brass anklets decorate her legs” (3, pg. 12)

8.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

- “She also bathes the infant with a cloth dipped in cool water, after which a mixture of palm oil and red camwood powder is applied to the skin. This mixture, called gola, is also used in many other situations to honor an individual and to promote physical development and corpulence.” (3, pg. 10)
- “Other distinctions the kumu enjoys include the right to wear a costume consisting of a necklace of leopard's teeth, a leopard-skin hat topped with gray and red feathers, and an iron or brass bracelet with a semilunar bell. He wears this ensemble only when visiting or receiving important persons, or in the mbela, a secular dance danced only by him, one of his wives, and an appointed dancer.” (3, pg. 32)

8.7 Sex differences in adornment:

- Males and females appear to be similarly adorned. (5)
- “They wear similar costumes consisting of a thick raffia hoop about the waist, a narrow loin cloth, beads on legs, torso, and in the coiffure” (3, pg. 15)

8.8 Missionary effect:

- Not addressed

8.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

- Not addressed

9. Kinship systems

9.1 Sibling classification system:

- “His name shall live after him as the title of the lineage.” (3, pg. 9)

9.2 Sororate, levirate:

- “Finally, a man may marry the widow of his father, providing she is not his own mother, or acquire through the levirate, the widow of his father's brothers or of his own elder brothers. In any of these cases, further bridewealth payments must be made to the widow's family.” (3, pg. 17)
- “The bonds of siblings are shown in a man's calling his older brother's wife “my wife,” because he may “inherit” her upon the death of his senior.” (3, pg. 27)

9.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

- Not addressed

10. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- “The afterbirth is traditionally buried just outside the doorway of the father's house, where it may be protected from machinations of those bent on evil, who would use it magically to cause sterility of the mother. This custom appears to be giving way to shallow burial of the afterbirth at the edge of the bush some twenty yards from the house, not because evildoers are no longer feared but because the general pattern of burial of corpses has, at the instigation of the Belgian administration, changed in this direction, away from the house.” (3, pg. 10)

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