

PLANTS AND ANIMALS USED ON BIRTH AND DEATH OF THE NGANDU (BONGANDO) IN CENTRAL ZAIRE⁽¹⁾

Jun TAKEDA
Saga University

ABSTRACT The Ngandu, slash-and-burn agriculturists in the Congo Basin, believe in the hidden demons of illness and evil powers which threaten their lives. A child warmly blessed by people may suddenly get cold in death. An adult may die in the evening, though he is full of vitality in the morning. A venomous serpent hiding in a tree hollow may attack a woman engaged in bail-fishing. Various kinds of small animals, tsetse flies and mosquitoes in particular, also may cause fatal diseases to them.

The Ngandu people prepare traditional medicines for these diseases and fight against them. The wives and mothers go into the forest in search of herbal medicines for her husbands and children suffering from various diseases. The parents secretly bury "medicines" under the road to protect their children from evil spirits. A child suffering from a disease caused by breaking a food taboo is given an enema. In general, younger generation, or children, are carefully protected from evil powers in various ways by their parents.

Complicated social regulations are imposed on the adults responsible for nurturing and protecting the group. Obligations deriving from marriage and incessant gift exchange between lineages serve to bind different groups, and these are continued, through funeral rituals, even after death. The strong tie between this world and the other cannot be easily lost. These traditional belief and customs are deep-rooted in Ngandu society, maintaining strong ties between generations, between lineages, and between the forest and the Ngandu people.

Key Words: Slash-and-burn agriculturists; Use of animals and plants; Folk medicine; Tropical rain forest.

INTRODUCTION

The curtain of night falls over the tropical rain forest in the Congo River basin. The forest is covered with a veil of silence. The dark silence is sometimes broken by a loud scream of a tree hyrax or the noise to drive away an elephant damaging cassava fields. In the village a bonfire throws light on the faces of the Ngandu people gathering in the gossip hall. They listen to old tales by a storyteller and sing merrily. They drink *masanga* liquors made from maize, faintly hearing the sounds of drums from a far village. The get-together is over.

The long shadow of a man making his way home is swallowed up in the dark forest. Walking in the dark, he is suddenly seized with fear. The ritual stories which have been recited to him since his infancy come back to his mind. He is afraid to go out alone on a moonlight night, still more on a moonless night. Ngandu believe evil spirits lie hidden in the pitch-dark forest, spirits which fly about like tributary streams of the Congo River forest in flood, running in all directions through the forest.

The morning mist bespeaks the opening of the day. When the swaying and flowing

mist is scattered and disappears in the glaring sunlight, the creatures of the night hide themselves, and animals of the day stir. The young of a blue duiker sucks its mother's milk. A new life is born in the forest. A lot of warm and friendly eyes are fastened on the newborn baby. His free first cry is the joy of life dedicated to the god of forest.

In another village someone loses his life. The heart-breaking cries of his bereaved family shake the forest. They writhe in agony on the earth to enact the last scene of parting from the dead. Rain mercilessly pelts the ground. People shiver with cold, and warm themselves at the fire.

The curtain never falls on the drama of life and death played by those living in the merciful forest. The soul communicating with the forest is the ghost of the ancestor. There is a culture of oral tradition from generation to generation. An epitome of life can be glimpsed in the way that Ngandu society expresses joy and sorrow for the newborn and the departed.

Innumerable beliefs, values and customs are integrated in their daily life between the first recognition of new life and the last separation from this world.

Extensive and intensive field studies were carried out at Ngandu villages in Région de Equateur (Fig. 1) from September, 1975 to February, 1976 and from August to December, 1977. The data were obtained through interviews, direct observations and questionnaires in Lingala.

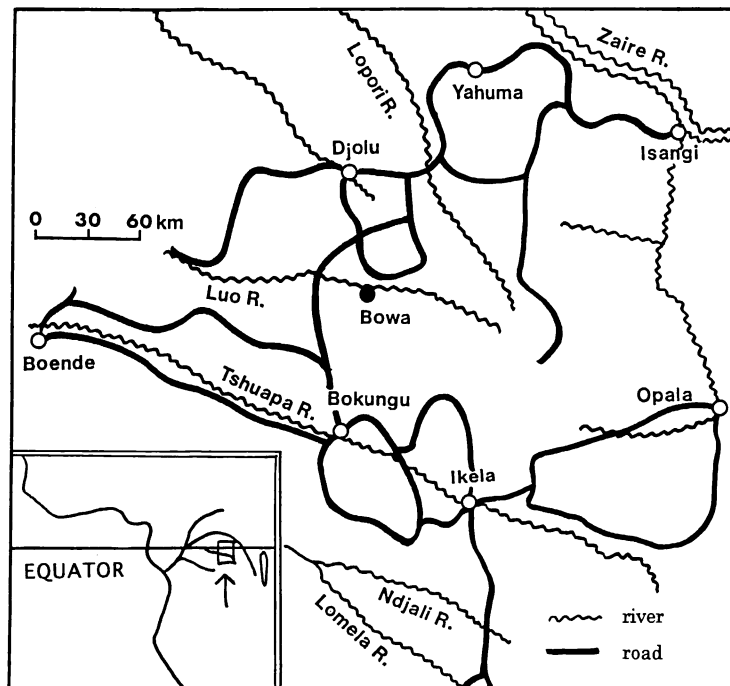


Fig. 1. The study site.

IN TIMES OF BIRTH AND GROWTH OF CHILDREN

The Ngandu, the slash-and-burn agriculturists in the central Congo Basin, do not celebrate a woman's menarche nor show her menstruation to others (Takeda, 1990, 1991, 1996; Takeda & Sato, 1993; 1996, for details of the subsistence ecology of the Ngandu). They do not have any special name for it. It is usual with the Ngandu that such a thing is kept private, because it is not a special matter in the society. When a woman finds herself pregnant, she keeps her pregnancy a secret from others until she is three or four months with child. Ngandu say that the body of a woman in the very early stage of pregnancy has a burning high temperature due to her burning blood. When the flames for cooking happen to catch the palm oil in a pan and flare up, the Ngandu people think that the wife of the man who collected the palm fruit must be pregnant. It is said that after the fourth month of pregnancy the burning temperature decreases as the unborn child settles in the mother's body.

When a mother with a nursing baby becomes pregnant, she is called *bokoko*, which also means a "child born within a year of another". It is not a taboo to have sex with a pregnant woman, though it is a personal problem that such relations can be continued to the month of parturition. A polygamous man usually moves between each of his wives on a nightly basis, though it seems that his physical burden may be reduced if he changes his partner weekly rather than daily. He never has sexual relations with more than one wife on any day. There is, however, constant bickering and discord between wives, though the cause of the bickering and discord is not always sexual dissatisfaction.

Today many women give birth to children in the hospital attached to the Catholic Church at Yalisere in the Djolu district for 40-50 makuta (smallest currency unit in former Zaire). Traditionally it was customary for a woman to give birth to her baby in a special delivery room heated by a fire and attended by some female relatives. A woman experienced in midwifery would assist in delivery. When a baby was born, it was washed and purified in water on a banana leaf by a woman other than the mother. Now warm water is used. The afterbirth is abandoned. A *bombambo* tree (see Table 1 for the scientific name and other information) is a quick-growing parasol tree commonly seen in the secondary forest, and easy to split as it is not so hard. This tree is split lengthwise in half to make a bed on the ground. The woman in her confinement and the baby lie on this bed. A dish of *lisingo* leaves and a dish of cassava leaves cooked with very hot red peppers are prepared for the new mother. Such dishes are very hot. A lot of pieces of wood are thrown on the fire in the room for the mother and the baby. It is too warm for others to enter. The heat, which stimulates sweating, is thought to ward against the demon of ill health like puerperal fever. Traditionally a mother left her bed six or seven days after giving birth, but now she starts to walk after approximately two days. The Ngandu women have no rituals to meet the situations of an agrippa (a breach birth) or twins. In this regard they are different from the Tongwe people living in the wooded savanna of the western Tanzania, who respect various observances and make sacrificial offerings (Itani et al., 1973; Kakeya, 1976; Nishida, 1973; Takeda, 1976).

A few days after giving birth the mother has her breasts massaged so that she may have plenty of milk. It is a man's work. Her husband may do if he has a skill in massaging. A medicine man called *nkangandoho* may be sometimes entrusted with the task. Medical doctors in Japan recommend mothers to give their babies nutritious

Table 1. Flora and fauna cited in the text*.

<u>Flora</u>			
Local name	Common name	Life form	Scientific name
<i>Bamba-ya-liyoha</i>		Tree	<i>Rothmannia</i> sp., Rubiaceae
<i>Bohehele</i>		Tree	<i>Tessmannia africana</i> , Caesalpinioideae
<i>Boitsitsi</i>		Tree	<i>Rothmannia whitfieldii</i> , Rubiaceae
<i>Bokako</i>		Herb	<i>Coutou afer</i> , Zingiberaceae
<i>Boloma</i>		Vine	<i>Landolphia</i> sp., Apocynaceae
<i>Bombambo</i>		Tree	<i>Musanga cecropioides</i> , Moraceae
<i>Bombekambeka</i>		Vine	<i>Canthium hispidum-nervosum</i> , Rubiaceae
<i>Bondolondolo</i>		Tree	<i>Rytigynia dewevrei</i> , Rubiaceae
<i>Bonga</i>		Vine	<i>Tetracera alnifolia</i> , Dilleniaceae
<i>Boondo</i>		Tree	<i>Pycnanthus marchalinus</i> , Myristicaceae
<i>Booyengo</i>		Vine	<i>Rutidea membranacea</i> , Rubiaceae
<i>Bopembe</i>		Tree	<i>Anthonotha fragrans</i> , Caesalpinaceae
<i>Bosefe</i>		Tree	<i>Garcinia punctata</i> , Guttiferaceae
<i>Botsitsi</i>		Vine	<i>Landolphia violacea</i> , Apocynaceae
<i>Ikaikai</i>		Vine	<i>Manotes pruinosa</i> , Connaraceae
<i>Ikambo</i>		Shrub	<i>Dicranolepis disticha</i> , Thymelaeaceae
<i>Likoso</i>		Tree	<i>Chrysophyllum</i> sp., Sapotaceae
<i>Lilanga</i>		Herb	<i>Crinum jagus</i> , Amaryllidaceae
<i>Liloko</i>		Herb	<i>Ranalisma humile</i> , Alismataceae
<i>Lisimbelo</i>		Shrub	<i>Penianthus longifolius</i> , Menispermaceae
<i>Litolo</i>		Herb	<i>Cyrtosperma senegalense</i> , Araceae
<i>Lokosa</i>		Vine	<i>Manniophyton fulvum</i> , Euphorbiaceae
<i>Lomata</i>	Cassava tuber		<i>Manihot esculenta</i> , Euphorbiaceae
<i>Bokinja</i>	Cassava leaf		<i>Manihot esculenta</i> , Euphorbiaceae
<i>Lisanga</i>	Maize		<i>Zea mays</i> , Gramineae
<i>Lisingo</i>	Pokeberry		<i>Phytolacca dodecandra</i> , Phytolaccaceae
<i>Lomba</i>	Oil palm		<i>Elaeis guineensis</i> , Palmae
<i>Likemba, Likondo</i>	Banana		<i>Musa</i> spp., Musaceae
<i>Iyole</i>	Red pepper		<i>Capsicum annuum</i> , Solanaceae
<u>Fauna</u>			
<i>Eeleka</i>	Tree hyrax		<i>Dendrohyrax arboreus</i> , Procaviidae
<i>Njou</i>	African elephant		<i>Loxodonta africana</i> , Elephantidae
<i>Boloko</i>	Blue duiker		<i>Cephalophus monticola</i> , Cephalophinae
<i>Nkenge</i>	Bongo		<i>Boocercus euryceros</i> , Bovidae
<i>Mbuli</i>	Sitatunga		<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> , Bovidae
<i>Ekanda</i>	Dark mongoose		<i>Crossarchus obscurus</i> , Viverridae
<i>Buunju</i>	Marsh mongoose		<i>Atilax paludinosus</i> , Viverridae
<i>Bongeemu</i>	Slender mongoose		<i>Herpestes sanguineus</i> , Viverridae
<i>Iyonge</i>	Otter shrew		<i>Potamogale velox</i> , Potamogalidae
<i>Bolende</i>	Genet		<i>Genetta</i> sp., Viverridae
<i>Simbu</i>	Forest genet		<i>Genetta maculata</i> , Viverridae
<i>Lowa</i>	Golden cat		<i>Felis aurata</i> , Felidae
<i>Lisile</i>	Dwarf galago		<i>Galago demidovi</i> , Galagidae
<i>Luka</i>	Black-and-white colobus		<i>Colobus angolensis</i> , Colobidae
<i>Mpunga</i>	Brazza's monkey		<i>Cercopithecus neglectus</i> , Cercopithecidae
<i>Mbeka</i>	Mona monkey		<i>Cercopithecus mona</i> , Cercopithecidae
<i>Punungoli</i>	African hawk-eagle		<i>Stephanoaetus coronatus</i> , Accipitridae
<i>Nkoko</i>	Fowl (domestic)		<i>Gallus gallus domesticus</i> , Phasianidae
<i>Likanga</i>	Bagrid catfish		<i>Auchenoglanis</i> sp., Bagridae
<i>Mpia</i>	Bagrid catfish		<i>A. punctatus</i> , Bagridae
<i>Mboto</i>	Citharine fish		<i>Distichodus antonii</i> , Distichodontidae
<i>Sune</i>	Labyrinth fish		<i>Heterobranchus longifilis</i> , Bagridae
<i>Eyale</i>	Reeves tortoise		<i>Chinemys</i> sp., Emydridae
<i>Eulu</i>	Hinge-backed tortoise		<i>Kinixys erosa</i> , Testudinidae
<i>Lokonga</i>	Green Congo mamba		<i>Dendriaspis jamesoni</i> , Elapidae
<i>Ii</i>	Tsetse fly		<i>Glossina</i> sp., Glossinidae

*: The local and scientific names of plants are based on Idani et al. (1994).

colostrum for the first three days. Among the Ngandu, unlike Japan, babies are not fed the cloudy colostrum, but mothers wait for full lactation, and only feed their babies with the white breast milk.

After five days approximately the mother cuts the dry navel cord of the baby with a traditional knife (*lokengo*). The wound is disinfected with warmed leaf sap from the *ikaikai* vine or the sap of the leaves and vines of the *bonga*. As the Ngandu cut the umbilical cord in such a traditional manner, many have protruding navels.

For about two weeks after parturition the husband may not enter the forest. If he does, he may meet with serious trouble caused by an elephant or an insect. The husband must not be unfaithful in love during the time his wife is pregnant, so that he will not carry various diseases to the newborn baby. The pregnant wife must also refrain from having sex with men other than her husband. In addition, there are further taboos for the husband when his wife is pregnant. For example, he must not climb a tree, except for climbing to bag an animal in the hollow of the tree. In this case, he climbs the tree by fastening an additional chip of wood to the tree with a rope. He cannot come down from the tree until he cuts the rope used for climbing with a knife, or he must remove the chip of wood used for climbing after he comes down from the tree. If the climbing tip is left behind on the tree, it is believed that it may be an obstacle to his wife's smooth parturition. The animal bagged on the tree is not subject to any food taboo.

It is said that a wife will suffer from the disease of *sanga* if her husband is unfaithful, but generally imprudent sexual behavior by parents causes their baby to be seized with a disease. The baby may sometimes die of it. Such a disease is different from the disease of *beeko* symptomatic in children, but similar to yellow or white jaundice. According to the Ngandu classification that a baby of one month or less is not yet human, such a newborn baby never falls victim to the disease of *sanga*, whereas babies of two or three months old are particularly prone to this disease. When either the mother or the father of a suckling baby and its older sister or brother is unfaithful, the unweaned baby is not subject to *sanga*, but the older child is. Parents protect their children from the evils of *sanga* disease with a talisman called *likoko*.

Firstly the father puts together the bark of *booyengo* vines and the bark of any specific tree which has low branches that make him stoop to pass in the forest. He rubs them against his right thigh with water, and collects the dripping fluid in a dish. In the same way the mother also rubs the bark against her left thigh to collect the dripping fluid in a dish. Both types of bark are then added to the fluid, which is warmed up and used as an enema. The first excrement of the child given the enema is placed in an emptied fruit-shell of the *bamba-ya-liyoha* tree. The two empty halves stuffed with excrement are put together and joined by piercing them through with a stick. The parents dig a square hole 15 cm deep in the ground on a road and bury the fruit with care at the right time not to be seen by others.

There are instances where the two above-mentioned kinds of bark are omitted. In such a case, the mother prepares dirty dripping water by pouring water in a dish and rubbing it against her right thigh with her hands, and then the father collects the dripping water in the same manner to produce an enema.

Bekolo is another disease which the Ngandu believe is brought to children by their parents' immoral conduct. The symptoms are fainting, diarrhea, and jaundice.

Beeko may be sometimes caused by the food a child eats for the first time, but

generally it is a disease brought to the child whose mother or father eats taboo food (*ekila*: Takeda, 1990; see also Table 2 and Ichikawa, 1987, for details of food taboos and the growth of the Mbuti Pygmies in Ituri Forest) by mistake. Parents, however, can eat such taboo animals if they are far away from their children. When the parents are with their children in the village, they must keep in mind not to eat taboo food like the meat of a mongoose. *Beeko* disease is a serious disease related to the abdomen and internal organs. The symptoms are different from that of *sanga* disease. The patient shakes their ribs up and down in pain like a kingfisher. The specialist called *nkanga* is not called for treatment of this disease, as most *botoli* (adult men and women who have or had children) in the village adequately know how to treat it, and it is general to ask them for a remedy. The remedy is giving an enema to the patient or applying burnt ash to the abdomen. The remedy varies depending on the kinds of taboo animals to the child. Parents use a talisman to protect their child against *beeko* disease. For example, to protect against Mona monkey's *beeko*, a fruit of *bamba-ya-liyoha* tree cut in half is used. The dripping fluid is poured in to an emptied half of the fruit. Next, another emptied half is tightly pressed against the half and both are pierced with a stick to fix them together. The bark of a *bondolondolo* tree or the root-bark of a *bombekambeka* vine may be sometimes used. The excrement of a child given any of these enemas is put into a *bamba-ya-liyoha* tree's fruit cut in half and buried under a dumping ground. To protect against black-and-white colobus's *beeko*, a fruit of *bamba-ya-liyoha* tree stuffed with the excrement is similarly buried under a dumping ground. The patient is treated for *beeko* disease as follows:

For *beeko* disease caused by fish (generically called *beeko-an-nse*) with spiny mandibles such as *likanga* fish and *mpia* fish, ashes of burnt spiny mandibles, roots of *ikambo* shrub, and roots of *botsitsi* vine are used. Three ingredients are not made into enemas. Rather, the skin on the patient's ribs (at the front breast near the armpit) is cut with a *lokengo* knife to make three bleeding wounds on the left side and two on the right. Sometimes two wounds are made on both sides, but in this case the wounds are symmetrical on both sides. The three ingredients are rubbed against the wounds on the left side, but those on the right side are allowed to bleed so that what is regarded as a *beeko* germ may flee. For *beeko* disease caused by *mboto* fish and *sune* fish, the outer root shavings of the aquatic *liloko* herb are hulled and used as an enema. The *liloko* herb used for this purpose must be growing completely submerged beneath flowing water. When only the roots are submerged, the *liloko* herb is not suitable. For the *beeko* disease caused by a galago, a nocturnal small-sized primate; leaves from the nest in a hollow of a tree and leaves of herbaceous *lilanga* are used as an enema. For the *beeko* disease caused by a black-and-white colobus, ashes of the burnt fur of the black-and-white colobus and bark shavings of the *boondo* tree are mixed into an enema. If the child does not get better with the enema, then an enema made from the ashes mentioned above mixed with shavings of the *bohehele* tree is given. If it is still inefficacious, an enema made from the above ashes mixed with shavings from the *bopembe* tree is used as a last resort. These three stages of treatment suggest either that the patient may fall seriously ill or that it is a common and frequent disease. For the *beeko* disease caused by the *sitatunga* (a kind of antelope) or *bongo* (a kind of antelope), leaves of the *litolo* herb are mixed with the ashes of burnt fur and horns of the *sitatunga* or *bongo*, and a fruit of the *bamba-ya-liyoha* tree to be used as an enema. For the *beeko* disease caused by an

African hawk-eagle, ashes from the burnt feathers of this bird are mixed with the fruit of the *bamba-ya-liyoha* tree and the root bark of the *boitsitsi* tree to make an enema. In the case caused by *eyale* reeves tortoise (aquatic and hard-shelled); the child of the person who eats the turtle will have the same yellow throat as the turtle's (the patient may show the symptom of jaundice), and may die of the disease. The first-aid treatment is unknown.

Only babies less than one month old are free from supernatural diseases such as *beeko* and *sanga*. Children can be released from fear of these diseases around the age of eight years old. Therefore, children of 7 years and downward bear various talismans (*likoko*) provided by their parents to protect them from evil and the diseases of *beeko* and *sanga*. Regardless of sex, every child exposed to the menace of *beeko* wears a string with a talisman around the waist up to the age of 6-7. The talisman worn next to the skin is called *likoko-la-yonge* or *likoko-loona*. There are many kinds. One is made from the hoof of a *situnga*, from which the bony tissues have been removed so it can be filled with various medicines. The medicines in the hoof-shell are then covered with resin, a hole is made, and a string is passed through to wear it around the waist. Sometimes a bladebone of an *eulu* tortoise, some hair of the child, and some fingernails and toenails of the child may be wrapped in a leaf of *lisimbelo* shrub to be used as talisman. This small package is bound with a string of the *lokosa* vine. The upper end of the package is cut to hang around the neck of the child. As a variation, a horn of a blue duiker may be used in place of a bladebone of a tortoise. In this case, the horn is filled with the child's hair and nails, and the opening of the horn is sealed with resin and the talisman is hung around the neck of the child. The fruit of the *likoso* tree may also sometimes be used as talisman. A string is passed through the fruit so the child can wear it around the waist.

Adults may wear similar talismans. Some wear *baango* copper rings or strings of *lokosa* vine around their arms. All parents keep this *likoko* talisman against *sanga* disease in mind even today.

Boys are circumcised. The Ngandu have no traditional custom to cut off girls' phalli. There is no special rule for the age of boy's circumcision, but generally most boys are between 2 and 3 years old when they are circumcised. However, it is not unusual for a boy under one year old to be circumcised. For instance, a newborn boy under three months was reported to be circumcised. Circumcision may be given in a hospital. However, there are some who can circumcise for only 50 to 100 makuta, so few go to the hospital for circumcision. In the traditional way, after the foreskin is cut off with a *lokengo* knife, the wound is disinfected with warmed sap from the leaves of the *ikaikai* vine or young leaves from the *boloma* vine to prevent festering. If there is a hospital nearby, some may go there for an antibiotic after circumcision.

IN TIMES OF DEATH AND MEMORIAL SERVICE

When someone dies, the news is immediately delivered by beating a *lokole* wood drum. The delivery distance varies depending on the weather conditions and the hour when beating. If any one can catch a faint sound of the drum and recognize the emergency in the village, then people can be in drum communication with those as far as 30 km away. Relatives in neighboring villages catch the sound of the drum telling of the death and hasten there. When a man dies, his wife is hit by all his brothers including

Table 2. Restricted animal consumption of the Ngandu people.

Family name	Scientific name	Common name	Local name ⁽¹⁾	Beeko ⁽²⁾			Bolenga ⁽³⁾	Women	(I) ⁽⁴⁾	(II) ⁽⁵⁾	(III) ⁽⁶⁾
				[1]	[2]	[3]					
MAMMALS											
Sciuridae	<i>Heliosciurus rufobrachium</i>	Red-legged sun squirrel	<i>bokoma</i>				X				
	<i>Funisciurus pyrrhopus</i>	Red-footed squirrel	<i>epehe</i>				X				
Cricetidae	<i>Iiurus zenkeri</i>	Pygmy flying squirrel	<i>indumba</i>	X		X				X	
	<i>Cricetomys emini</i>	Giant rat	<i>botomba</i>								
Hystriidae	<i>Atherurus africanus</i>	Brush-tailed porcupine	<i>iiko</i>	X	X(Pm)	X	X(Pm-y)	X(y) ⁽⁷⁾			
Manidae	<i>Manis tricuspis</i>	Tree pangolin	<i>ngaa</i>				X				
	<i>Nandinia binotata</i>	Two-spotted palm civet	<i>mbio</i>				X(Pm-y)	X(7)	X		
Viverridae	<i>Genetta spp.</i>	African civet	<i>simba</i>				X(Pm-y)				
	<i>Herpestes sanguineus</i>	Slender mongoose	<i>bongeemu</i>				X(Pm-y)	X			
	<i>Atilax paludinosus</i>	Marsh mongoose	<i>buunju</i>	X		X	X(Pm-y)	X			
	<i>Crossarchus obscurus</i>	Dark mongoose	<i>ekanda</i>				X(Pm-y)	X			
			Mongoose	<i>imangone</i>				X(Pm-y)	X		
Hippopotamidae	<i>Hippopotamus amphibius</i>	Hippopotamus	<i>nguo</i>	X		X				X	
Suidae	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	Bush-pig	<i>nsombo</i>					X(Bh-m)	X		
Bovinae	<i>Syncerus caffer</i>	Dwarf forest buffalo	<i>mbolo</i>					X(Bh)	X		
	<i>Boocercus euryceros</i>	Bongo	<i>nkenge</i>	X		X	X(e)	X(Bh)			
Cephalophinae	<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i>	Sitatunga	<i>mbuli</i>	X		X	X(e)				
	<i>Cephalophus monticola</i>	Blue duiker	<i>boloko</i>				X(e)				
	<i>C. callipygus</i>	Peter's duiker	<i>mbengela</i>				X(Bh)X(e)	X(Bh)	X		
	<i>C. nigrifrons</i>	Black-fronted duiker	<i>mpambi</i>				X(e)				
	<i>C. dorsalis</i>	Bay duiker	<i>kuluha</i>				X(Bh)X(e)	X(Bh)	X		
	<i>C. sylvicultor</i>	Yellow-backed duiker	<i>mbende</i>				X(e)	X(Bh)			
Tragulidae	<i>Hyemoschus aquaticus</i>	Water chevrotain	<i>lukulukya</i>				X(e)				
Galagidae	<i>Galago demidovi</i>	Dwarf galago	<i>lisile</i>	X		X		X			
Lorisidae	<i>Perodicticus potto</i>	Bosman's potto	<i>kachu</i>	X		X			X		
Cercopithecidae	<i>Cercopithecus mona</i>	Mona monkey	<i>mbeka</i>	X		X		X(7)			
	<i>C. neglectus</i>	Brazza's monkey	<i>mpunga</i>	X		X			X		
	<i>Cercocebus aterrimus</i>	Black mangabey	<i>ngila</i>								
Colobidae	<i>Colobidae Colobus angolensis</i>	Black-and-white colobus	<i>luka</i>	X	X	X					
	<i>C. badius</i>	Red colobus	<i>yemba</i>	X		X					
BIRDS											
Alcedinidae	<i>Megasceryle maxima</i>	Giant fisher	<i>bondongid ongi</i>	X		X					
Bucerotidae	<i>Tropicranus albocristatus</i>	White-crested hornbill	<i>lochumba</i>				X(Pm)	X(Li)			
	<i>Ceratogymna atrata</i>	Black-casqued hornbill	<i>mpwa</i>				X(Pm)	X(Li)			
	<i>Bycanistes albotibialis</i>	Brown-cheeked hornbill	<i>yaata</i>					X(Li)			
Accipitridae	<i>Stephanoaetus coronatus</i>	African hawk-eagle	<i>punungoli</i>	X		X		X(Li)			
Phasianidae	<i>Guttera edouardi</i>	Crested Guinea-fowl	<i>lokanga</i>				X(Pm)	X			
	<i>Gallus gallus domesticus</i>	Chicken	<i>nkoko</i>								
Picidae		Woodpecker	<i>lingwele</i>	X		X	X(Pm)				
			<i>yolo</i>	X		X	X(Pm)				
			<i>iyondooko</i>	X		X	X(Pm)				
Rallidae	<i>Himantornis haematopus</i>	Nkulengu rail	<i>bonjemba</i>				X(Pm)				
Strigidae	<i>Glaucidium perlatum</i>	Pearl-spotted owl	<i>eteketeke</i>	X		X					
?			<i>bofoafoa</i>	X		X					
?			<i>ihukihuki</i>	X		X					

REPTILES									
Elapidae	<i>Naja melanoleuca</i>	Black cobra	<i>biilimi</i>						X
	<i>N. nigricollis</i>	Black-necked cobra	<i>bongeema</i>						X
	<i>Dendroaspis jamesoni</i>	Green Congo mamba	<i>lokonga</i>						X
Viperidae	<i>Bitis gabonica</i>	Gaboon viper	<i>lichulambwa</i>						X
Boidae	<i>Python sebae</i>	Common African python	<i>nkuma</i>		X				
Colubridae	<i>Natrix anoscopus</i>	Brown water snake	<i>liyoi</i>		X				
[Squamata]		Snake	<i>lilembe</i>						X
Testudinidae	<i>Kinixys erosa</i>	Hinge-backed tortoise	<i>eulu</i>						X(7)
	<i>Chinemys</i> sp., Emydridae	Reeves Tortoise(8)	<i>eyale</i>	X		X			X(7)
[Chelonia]									
Crocodylidae	<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	Dwarf crocodile	<i>lokokwele</i>	X	X	X			
	<i>Crocodilus niloticus</i>	Nile crocodile	<i>nkoli</i>	X		X			
				X					
FISHES									
Bagridae	<i>Auchenoglanis punctatus</i>		<i>mpia</i>						X
	<i>A. sp.</i>		<i>likanga</i>	X		X			
	<i>Chrysichthys cranchii</i>		<i>ekoli</i>	X		X			
	<i>C. sp.</i>		<i>nkamba</i>	X		X			
	<i>Heterobranchus longifilis</i>		<i>sune</i>	X		X			
Distichodontidae	<i>Distichodus antonii</i>		<i>mboto</i>	X		X		X	
Ophiocephalidae	<i>Ophiocephalus obscurus</i>		<i>nsinga</i>	X				X	
Malapteruridae	<i>Malapterurus electricus</i>		<i>nchula</i>						X
INSECTS									
Saturniidae	<i>Nudaurelia dione</i>		<i>lilangachike</i> (9)	X					

X: Animals restricted to consumption as food (not as to the portion of the body, but as to the whole body).

Bh: Restricted animals which are hunted by *bohonda*-hunting directed by a hunting magician (*nkangohonda*).

Li: Restricted animals which are hunted by traps (*lilongi*).

Pm: Restricted animals which are hunted with the use of dogs (*paho-ambwa*).

e: The embryo of the animal involved is restricted to consumption.

f: Female animals involved are restricted to consumption.

m: Male animals involved are restricted to consumption.

y: Young animals involved are restricted to consumption.

[]: Order name.

(1) Local name is shown in singular form.

(2) *Beeko* [1]: Consumption of animals restricted for infants.

Beeko [2]: Consumption of animals restricted for parents, when wife is pregnant.

Beeko [3]: Consumption of animals restricted for parents with babies and/or infants.

(3) Consumption of animals restricted for a bachelor or a male adult who has not fathered a child.

(4) Consumption of animals restricted for a traditional blacksmith (*nhangosanda*).

(5) Consumption of animals restricted for a bush-pig hunting magician (*nhangohonda*).

(6) Consumption of animals restricted for a bow-and-arrow hunting specialist (*nkangalusala*).

(7) Restriction of this food is not always observed strictly; it depends on each women (*botolooto*).

(8) This tortoise is aquatic and hardshelled.

(9) Children, along with both parents, are forbidden to eat, but orphans can consume the larvae without any attention to this food restriction. Children with only one parent are also allowed to eat, but must chew them on one side in the mouth.

those by a different mother. On the other hand, when a wife dies, her husband's clothes are torn off by his brothers. Relatives and brothers of the spouse of the deceased arrive at the house. The female relatives smear their bodies with mud. Men do not smear their bodies with mud, but simply sit down on the ground. The deceased lies on the bed inside or outside the house, and his family and relatives cry bitterly in parting from him. Some express their regret over his death by tossing themselves about in great sadness on the ground. The body, wrapped in a new cloth, is placed in a coffin and buried in the ground in the village. Unlike funerals in the main village, when someone dies in a camp in the forest called *behacha* or *kumbo* (Takeda, 1990), the body wrapped in cloth may sometimes be carried with a pole to the main village (*boola*). Usually, however, the deceased is buried in the ground in their accustomed place. The close relatives eat and sleep on the burial ground for 1-2 weeks, whereas other mourners only sleep there for two or three days. During the period of mourning, the relatives, except for the bereaved family, may drink alcohol and water. The bereaved family in mourning cannot drink water but may have meals. Adult men dance a funeral dance (*liluwa*). Women do not join in this dance. The spouse of the deceased does not wash himself or herself for two weeks. Brothers, sisters, and close relatives of the chief mourner go into mourning without washing themselves for 2 or 3 days. The bereaved family do not wear good clothes during the period of mourning because they sleep on the ground. As they are in mourning for many days without washing themselves, their body become white as if they are covered with ashes due to the dry mud on their bodies. Brothers of the chief mourner or some of the lineage take *liyando* (which is composed of a short sword, a spear, a copper ring called *bolombolombo*, and so on) to the lineage of the deceased to return. When the period of mourning expires, the chief mourner can drink water, wash away the mud in a river, and wear mourning dress, either dark black or white. The mourners can be released from living and sleeping on the ground and can use a bed. During the period of mourning, the chief mourner and the bereaved family pass the days with untrimmed hair, sidelocks, and a mustache. Both members of the lineage of the deceased side and members of the lineage of the spouse side pass the days in such an untrimmed situation until the second memorial service is completed.

When a married adult dies their death has great social significance because of the networks of exchange in returning bride prices or dowry to the lineage of the deceased. However, the death of a child or an unmarried person is simply of personal concern. Accordingly, children are not given the formal funeral (*nyongo*), but *ikeka* which corresponds to a kind of exorcism. Although there is no drum beating or dancing, a child's funeral is not veiled in a gloomy atmosphere. Drinks and chickens are served out, and money is partly exchanged. At that time, the husband returns to his wife's lineage a part of *gando* (the party from the bridegroom side to the bride side), and the wife returns her husband's lineage a part of *lisongo* (the dowry from the bride side to the bridegroom side). Only the close relatives on the father's side and mother's side gather together to go into mourning. During a period of 3 to 4 days they stay and sleep on the ground, but unlike mourning for the death of an adult, they can drink water. After the period of mourning expires, all the family and relatives wash themselves and put on clean clothes. Some hold a memorial service for the deceased called *teke*, but it is left to the bereaved family's discretion to decide if the service is held or not.

There are three memorial services for a deceased adult. *Teke*, which is called *baringa*

in Lingala, is not a traditional memorial service. It was one of the policies recommended by the suzerain Belgian Government during the Belgian colonial rule. It is held only once after death, and is not compulsory but held at a personal discretion, like the case of a child's funeral. On the contrary, *nyongo* and *ikeka* are formal traditional funeral services, and both include a return of a bride price as a means of supporting the bereaved family. *Nyongo* is held when either one of a couple dies.

At a *teke* funeral, both men and women dance in the simple circle structure made of oil palm branches in an open space. The bereaved family do not put on clean clothes until the *teke* finishes. If an attendant has no mourning dress, he or she should have a piece of black cloth around the left upper arm as an armband. There is no special rule for the date of a *teke*, but it is held when various foods and articles such as liquors made from maize, meat, fowl, clothes, articles used by white men and cash are sufficiently collected. Clothes, fowl, and alcoholic drinks go to the bereaved family; and the cash is shared among the bereaved brothers and sisters.

Nyongo involves no dancing. It formally consists of the first *liyando*, the second *isaka*, and the third *nyongo*. When a husband dies, his wife and her lineage must return the *gando* (bride price) given by her husband's side to them. When a wife dies, her husband must return the *lisongo* (dowry) to his wife side and her lineage. Therefore, the lineage of the deceased are busily engaged in collecting as many articles like short swords, spears, and *baango* (copper rings) as possible to return to the bereaved lineage. The first *liyando* can be held in the *behecha* (hunting camp in the forest). The second *isaka* and the following *nyongo* cannot be held in the *behecha* camp, but they are usually held in the *boola* (hamlet in the village) fronting the drive way. When the *bolombolombo* copper ring (the biggest among the *baango* copper rings) given at the first *liyando* is returned the series of memorial services finishes. The number of articles to be returned is generally as follows:

If 60 articles are returned at the second *isaka*, 40 articles should be returned at the third *nyongo*. If there are only 20 articles returned at the second *isaka*, then 80 articles should be returned at the third to make the accounts balance to approximately one hundred. Not all the one hundred articles collected during the mourning period go to the bereaved lineage of the husband or the wife who is deprived of his or her spouse, but a part of them may sometimes be returned to the lineage of the deceased by the bereaved family.

At the first *liyando*, 3 short swords, a *poo*-type spear, and a *bolombolombo* copper ring must be returned in the course of the day. For example, when a wife dies, her brothers and her lineage must return the above five articles to the bereaved lineage on her husband side. When the husband's brothers go to the deceased wife's lineage to receive the articles at the *liyando*, her husband, the chief mourner, may go along with them. However, he usually goes into mourning at home. After they leave from his house, he can go to bed and drink water. He can also put on mourning clothes after washing away the mud from his body in the river.

The second *isaka* is not held at the village of the bereaved, but at the village of the lineage of the deceased. The bereaved family go there with 30-40 pieces of *gando* (bride price) which consists of short swords, spears, *baango* copper rings, and others. There must be at least two of each item.

At that time, one of the bereaved family called *boto-ambecha* (the person concerned)

gives two of each of these items to the person also called *boto-ambehca* on the side of the deceased. Finally the bereaved family exchange their *baango* copper ring for the *botai* hunting net (usually used in a communal hunting: Takeda, 1990, 1996) prepared by the lineage of the deceased. This *baango* copper ring is also called *baango-botai*. Then, the *isaka* is completed. The lineage on the bereaved side then return to their village, and have their bushy hair, beard, and sidelocks cropped or their heads shaved. Men in the lineage of the deceased also have their heads shaved. They are released from the state of untrimmed hair, sidelocks, and mustaches.

The last service of *nyongo* is the largest and most important. It is held in the village of the bereaved family with a lot of people attending. The people on the side of the bereaved and the people on the side of the deceased take up their positions facing each other 30 meters away with a pile of articles for *nyongo* between. A lot of people gather on the both sides, including many children who watch from the outskirts of the crowd. A lot of spears, highly polished for the day, though usually left to be rusty in the corner of their house, stand in a row. Three drums are prepared for the bereaved family. Two small wooden drums (*ibili*) with a big wooden drum (*elekela*) between them are lined with their drummers on the side of the bereaved. People called *becha-likambo* or *iyengoola-likambo* jump out of the side of the bereaved one by one. Each carries back two items from the pile of articles for *nyongo*, one in each hand, and returns to his place. The drummer of the big drum looks at the articles for the *nyongo* in the *becha's* hands and beats the drum. He tells the articles in sounds by beating the drum language (coded message) in Ngandu (*kombo-a-lokole*) (Takeda, 1990, 1996). All the drums are beaten together as if praising each person on the side of the bereaved family carrying back two articles. At the same time, a few men holding spears with bells, ring them as if they played the drums' accompaniment. An accomplished drummer called *beeya-goma* who represents the village is chosen as the drummer for the *nyongo*. He is later given some reward by the bereaved family. After the people on the side of the deceased go home, the articles for *nyongo* are little by little shared among the people on the side of the bereaved family.

Included in the *nyongo* articles are a hunting net (*botai*), fowl, a cap made from a Brazza's monkey or a Mona monkey, a golden cat skin, a *simba* (a species of genets) skin, a *bolende* (a species of genets) skin, a bongo hip belt, a sitatunga hip belt, an otter-fur hip belt, and other items from bride prices. In addition, a short sword, a spear, and at least one article of clothing or item necessary to everyday life which belongs to the sex of the deceased must be included. For instance, when a wife dies, the husband's side should necessarily include a roll of cloth, a scarf, a basket, a back-basket, an ornamental string (*nusu*), shoes for women, ear-rings, or a fishing hand-net for women (*lisangi*). On the other hand, when a husband dies, the lineage on the wife's side include either *pantalon* (trousers), a coat, a towel, shoes for men, a man's shoulder bag for use in the forest (*tombi*), a short sword (not the type given for a marriage portion but the type used for practical use in the forest), a spear of *elembe*-type, a bag-type trap (*iteko*) for hunting small rodents, or a hunting trap (*bopone*). In either case of the death of a wife or a husband, the memorial service is completed when a *tanyango* and a *bolombolombo* (which are a kind of *baango* copper rings) are returned to the lineage of the bereaved.

CONCLUSION

The Ngandu believe that demons of illness and evil powers which can take lives lie concealed everywhere. A child warmly blessed by a lot of people is suddenly cold in death. An adult breathes his last breath in the evening though he is full of vitality in the morning. A green Congo mamba hiding among the highly spreading trees shows its fangs at a man busily engaging in hunting in the forest. A venomous serpent hiding in a cave at the root of a tree makes an attack on a woman devoting herself to bail-fishing (*puhanse*). Various kinds of small animals causing fatal diseases hang around. Tsetse flies and mosquitoes biting the skin of a human being are slapped to death by a powerful hand. However, the Ngandu people prepare their traditional medicines and fight against the diseases. A wife goes into the forest in search of the sap of a *bokako* herb for her husband suffering from tuberculosis. Another wife goes into the forest and cuts trees, from which she makes ashes to cure her blind husband of an eye disease caused by onchocerciasis.

A mother looks for a *bosefe* tree to make a medicine for her child suffering from diarrhea. Parents secretly bury medicine under the road to protect their child from evil at midnight. A child suffering from a disease is given an enema as the cause of the disease is regarded to be a taboo food taken by its parent. The rising generation, or children, are protected from evil as if they were wrapped in wafers. People who enjoy life think out a powerful means of self-protection against merciless fate and uncanny supernatural powers by black magic. The adults concerned in nurturing and protecting the group are regulated by social constraints. Exchange of bride price and dowry and other continuous examples of gift exchange between lineages serves to bind one group to another, a practice which is continued through funeral rituals even after death. The compelling force to connect this world and the next cannot be easily lost. A feeling of awe of the magical power kept deep down in a person's heart, like darkness in the forest, cannot disappear easily. These customs, which are deep-rooted in Ngandu society, maintain strong ties between generations, between lineages and between the forest and the people. Today the customs remain important and relevant to the Ngandu. Will their belief systems and values ever change so that such customs are no longer relevant and no longer practiced? Will such a day come? It may be the day when the forest is completely destroyed by an ax of the name of "civilization."

NOTES

- (1) While the state name for Zaire changed to the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1997, I use the former name in this paper, because it was written when the state was still called Zaire.

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Author's Name and Address: Jun TAKEDA, *Department of Resource Management and Social Science, Faculty of Agriculture, Saga University, Saga 840, JAPAN.*