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THE HUNDE OF MASISI TERRITOIRE  
Field Notes (1957) and a Brief Overview of Existing Literature

Aside from the work by Viaene, there is very little information about Hunde, whose history and sociopolitical system are quite complex. During the colonial period, many of the Hunde chiefdoms were fused together, as part of the administration's general reorganization of the Congo into provinces, districts, secteurs, chefferies, and groupements. In the following pages, I would like to reconstruct those chiefdoms and their interrelationships.

According to the Nyanga linguist, Dr. Mateene, *Essai de grammaire du Kihunde* (Hamburg, s.d., his Sorbonne thesis), Kihunde was spoken in the Rutshuru, Masisi, Walikale territoires. It was the only language (together with some Kitembo spoken in Masisi, Kalehe, and Walikale) in Masisi until about 1948 when massive numbers of Banyarwanda immigrated to the area, such that today two languages coexist: Hunde and Rwanda. Hunde is fairly closely related to Nyanga. Three groups are authentic Hunde speakers: Bashali (northeast) subdivided in Bashali-Mokoto, Bashali-Kaembe, Bashali-Kamuronsa, Bapfuna; Banyungu (center and south) and Banya-bwito (east). In Rutshuru, Banya-bwito is a dialectal variant (in the groupement Bwito) and north of Lake Kivu, between Goma and Minova (on the frontier of the Kalehe territoire (route Goma-Bukavu). Hunde is also spoken in Nyangaland by persons of Nyanga culture and language.

I would like to add that only some Nyanga spoke Hunde, but it was spoken by persons of Hunde origin living in Nyanga country.

All Hunde subgroups claim origin in Uganda, more particularly in the kingdom of Bunyoro (Northwestern Uganda). The king of Bunyoro (*omukama* is the term for chief) is of the Babiito dynasty; this dynasty is said to be of Biito-Luo origin, who settled and took power, replacing the mysterious Bacwezi dynasty that had replaced the Betembuzi (earlier settlers) and ruled the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom. Bunyoro is still one of the nationally recognized kingdoms in Uganda, as are the Buganda, Busoga, and Tooro kingdoms, the former Rwenzururu (Amba and Konjo kingdom), the former (B)anyankole kingdom, and the Alur, Bunya and Kooki chiefdoms. All are recognized officially in modern Uganda.

Hunde traditions refer to internal quarrels that induced them to leave in search of new lands. The Batembo of the Ufumandu chefferie among the Hunde in Masisi also claim their ancestor Katembo in Bwito.

The Bashari, subgroups of the Hunde, lived essentially in the forest, but deforestation started early; also, the first Banyarwanda moved in about 1912. The Mokoto Lakes are called Ndalaga, Mbata, Balukira and Lukulu; two of them are in the control of the Batamba, a pre-Hunde population. Viaene in his *Kongo Overzee* publications distinguished:

Bunyungu including Bugabo, "le Kalima," "le Mwima," "l'Itambi" (shores of lake Kivu), Bwito in Rutshuru; Kishali from Mpinga to Sake; and Ufumandu of the Batembo.

**Short historical note by De Francq (1955, Administrateur territorial in Masisi territoire):** Ruhaga Kazana (Kishage in other sources) was king of Toro-Kitara, capital of Bunyoro in Uganda. One night, he was killed by his junior, Nihanika king of Toro (Kitara), who took power. Kinyungu, son of Ruhaga, afraid, left at night with seven notables: Balindi, Shamumbo, Kizizi, Bulolo, Musinga, Kiguruma, Morinda (and their subjects). They crossed the Semliki river into the Congo, past the Ruwenzori mountains and the present Beni territoire, to arrive in Katwe. Here they found a population with whom they had kinship links; they made agreements with local leaders, Nguru and Nanga. During a drinking party, Nguru and Nanga died mysteriously; Kinyungu and his people fled; war broke out with the people of Katwe; Kinyungu established rule and then started further conquests of land; he obtained Luhofu and Bwito. He gave Katwe to Kumikwa, Luhofu to Bizito and Bwito to Mugalisha (son of Kasindikira?). The Pygmies in the areas of Lake Mokoto, Mushali and Gishali (sic) became dependent on these rulers, but some Pygmies fled with chief Huruhuru to the area of Muvungi (present territorial capital of Masisi). (report manuscript).

According to research I concluded among the Hunde in the 1950's and administrative documents I read, the divisions of Hunde of Masisi territoire, Grand Chef André Kalinda, were as follows:

The large divisions mostly referred to in the colonial documents of Masisi are: Bashari, Banyungu, Bagabo, Bapfuna (Bapfuna) and the related Batembo of the Ufumandu region. In the fifties (AT De Francq), the recognized regions/groupements were labelled as follows: Washali-Mokoto; notable Bashari; Washali-Kayembe, notable Petero Bulenda; Bafuna (sic.) of Loashi; Kamuronza (Kiroce area, near Lake Kivu ); Muvungi-Lac; Muvungi-Karuba; Muvungi-Matanda; Muvungi-Ouest; Nyamaboko; Bugabo; Bigiri; Banyungu; Ufumando(sic), the region inhabited by the Batembo (Hunde-related).

In my list of 1956 made in situ and explained by a large group of elders who were present in the village of the colonially recognized chief, André Kalinda, I noted the following divisions in the Masisi territoire:

#### A. CHEFFERIE BANYUNGU (Hunde, chief André Kalinda)

1. **BAPFUNA DIVISION** or Banyipfuna (name derived from Funama-pfumumu, a former chief) headed by the "grand notable" (or ex "sous-chef") Bakungu (Baanira clan among Bapfuna with the status of *barutsi*, i.e. "nobles"). This groupement included nine villages inhabited by numerous named kinship groups, such as Baanira (status of *barutsi*). One of the villages was inhabited by bashii-incorporated Hunde followers and three of the villages were inhabited by Banyarwanda, another one was inhabited by immigrants of Hunde origin coming from Ruberike and Walowa-Ruanda regions in Nyangaland, Walikale territoire. The discussion indicated that these villages constituted five "*kihuwo*:" Lushebere, Kilambo, Kahanga, Kisonja, Misanze. The *mfula ya kihuwo* was called *mubake* (chief); the ritual expert who simulates the theft of the *mubake* stool was called *mwiru* or *mushumbitsa*.

In the Bapfuna version, they originated in Bwito (Uganda) the area of Mushuti, from where the ancestor Mulungu, a chief who left because of famines after he had sent his counsellor, named Shemubembe, to explore the land. In their genealogical recitation, they do

not mention Kahiwa, an oft-quoted primordial ancestor, as the father of Mulungu (the migrating ancestor).

Mulungu had two sons, Pfunamapfumo and Murisi, and a daughter Kahindo, the mother of Mutwa (Kamuronza area). Mulungu came with his Baremba Pygmies and Bahati Pygmies (extinguished).

Pfunamapfumo had three sons: Mwanira (kihuwo: Lushebere), Mulengezi (kihuwo: Kilambo and Misanze) and Ndandu (kihuwo :Kahanja and Kisonga). The three sons are listed as *mutambo*, *muhunga*, *mukikulu* in the local social structure; Mwanira is politically listed as *mwami*, chief.

2. **BUGABO DIVISION:** is comprised of six villages headed by capitas (colonial-type village headmen) (in one case of Rwanda origin). Each one is inhabited by territorial kinship groups holding statuses in the sociopolitical structure<sup>1</sup>. There two traditional chiefdoms (*bihuwo*): Mashaki (this is where the mwami mukulu Bagabo of the Babito group resided) and Lushebere.

The Bagabo migrated from Katwe in Bunyoro. They claim Kahiwa as their ancestor. One of his sons Bagabo had three sons: Bigisi (chieftainship in Mashaki), Rukioka (chieftainship in Lushebere), Shamwami (chieftainship in Bushiha). Bigisi came with six kinship groups. Several other groups settled later with them, most of them coming from known places in Bunyoro. These six groups had their named lands (some Banyarwanda had infiltrated); they presented tribute (*mutulo*) to Bigisi<sup>2</sup>. The *mutulo* consisted of eleusine, leopard hides, ivory. If a person in the junior Rukioka wanted to obtain special ritual status, a special ritual (*ihema ngoma*) is held, whereby the senior (Bigiri) authorizes the junior to be consecrated.

3. **BAGIRI DIVISION:** comprised of twelve villages, each one headed by a capita, including named territorial kinship groups with the usual status position in the political system and in the social system. Banyarwanda were mentioned as followers (*bashigi*) of this or that group. Traditionally, there was only one chiefdom (*kihuwo*) called Kalembera (Lwashi). The genealogy traced by the *barutsi* (nobles) among whom the mwami of this kihuwo was traced, was as follows: Kinyungu's son Kahiwa, had two sons: Bitegetso, the senior, representing the lineage of chief André Kalinda (chief of the Banyungu installed by the colonial system) and Mupfuni, the great-grandfather of Bigiri (who was an enthroned chief ) and whose grandson was Yuma (son of a mumbo, daughter of Bigiri). The *shamwami* (also called *shamumbo*) provided the ritual wife of the chief (*mumbo*). In a more extensive rendition: Kahiwa (eponymous ancestor) had three sons, Bigetso, Mupfuni, Bagabo, and a daughter Kahindo (whose descendants were in Nyamaboko); all three provided tribute (*mutulo*) for Bitegetso. The migration from Uganda was traced as follows: Kinyungu came from Bunyoro (Uganda), passed Ngetsi, went to Bwito (Kishingiri in the Congo), where they left Mugalishya. They

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<sup>1</sup> barutsi, bakungu (There is one kihuwo also called Bamwiru), batambo, and bapfuku (also called bekari or barembetsi) and/or social structure (batambo, bahunga, bakekulu).

<sup>2</sup> (they also speak about *mubalamo*, gifts given out of respect between "friends").

went to Wahurekene (Ndalaga) where they met the woman Nyamigomba (of the Batamba, a pre-Hunde group still present in 1952 in the Kishari division). They arrived in Nyehya (Kalembera) where Kinyungu left his son, Kahiwa, while he, himself, moved further on to the area of Rwanda and the Bashi ethnic group. Bitegetso, a son of Kahiwa, took the regions of Kitopfu and Lutambi, whereas Mupfuni (sic), second son of Kahiwa, stayed in Kalembera where his father was. The third son, Bagabo, settled in Bugabo; their sister Kahindo, holding the title of murutsinyere, took the area of Mwima (Nyamaboko).

These Batamba in the region of the Mokoto lakes in Kishari are population that the Hunde encountered when they immigrated. They were known under various names in different parts of Hundeland, such as Bakumba in Bigiri, Bakeno and Barungu in Muvunyi, Banihira and Balegeega (sic) in Ufumandu and Nyamaboko regions.

Mupfuni, one of the sons of Kahiwa and great-grandfather of Bigiri, came with seven groups representing the traditional political social structure: batambo, bapfuku, batambo, barutsi who received their own lands.

4. **BUNYUNGU DIVISION:** Comprised of six villages. As is usual in the other divisions, each village included a number of named title-holding territorial kinship groups, such as *barutsi* (nobles), *batambo* (*bahunga*), *bakungu*, *bapfuku*, *balembetsi*, *bamihesi* (blacksmiths). The situation in this group was difficult (perhaps because of Kalinda who became, under colonial rule, the chief of all Hunde). The genealogy of Bunyungu begins with Mupfuni, his son Tabaro, and his grandson Batwa. Batwa had two sons Bigiri and Bagabo, whose mothers were the ritual wife (*mumbo*) of the chief; this is contested by the Bigiri group who claims that Bagabo's mother, Nyabagabo, was a "*mugole*" (a common chief's wife) of the Bashani kinship group; the Bigiri also claim that the descends of Bagabo became chiefs (*mwami*) because of internal warfare and conquest. The maternal uncles of Ngiko and Tabaro, two sons of Bagabo, were both nobles (*barutsi*). They were of the Bashani and Banigi groups; both of them came with their title from Bwito-Toro. The ethno-historical information, as given to me (amidst much contestation), claims that Bigiri seduced a wife of his father, Batwa, who thus began looking for sorcerers to kill Bigiri. As a result, Bigiri became lame in his legs. The maternal uncles of Bigiri healed their nephew and engage in warfare against Bagabo. The latter, however, had in the meantime been enthroned as chief, apparently with the consent of his father Batwa. As a result of this warfare, Bagabo was chased out and went to settle with his maternal uncles. Bigiri ruled as sole chief. In order to reestablish some peace, Bigiri presented Bagabo with a goat, but it turned out that he "stole" the goat from a certain Ketsirabuhimbi (Bapfuna) who had made a bloodpact with Bagabo; as a result of the various oaths taken in the course of the bloodpact rituals, Bagabo died, leaving sons, but Bigiri remained as sole ruler having taken all the land from Bagabo.

Ngiko (Djiko), a son of Bagabo (it is unclear whether he is a son or grandson), asked his grandmother Nyabagabo to ask Bigiri to give back some of the land he had taken, in order to plant banana trees. Bigiri gave him a place called Lutumba but Bagabo did not like it and, having assembled various supporters and weapons left behind after the Batetela revolt (1895 in the Masisi area), he engaged in warfare against Bigiri and his people. Bigiri fled and died in

Lutobo, the Hunde area of the Mokoto lakes. Ngiko became the sole ruler and accapartated more and more land that had belonged to Bigiri. To help solve the conflict, Karinda (chief of the Hunde as of 1952 and a junior kinsman in the Bigiri line) would have gone to Muvunyi (Muvunyi, the grandfather of the colonially appointed chief André Kalinda) to expose the situation that they needed land. Muvunyi called Ngiko and his junior Shamwami, Irungu. The conclusion was that Muvunyi Karinda has acted badly and had to provide a *mumbo* to the Tabaro line in the Bagabo group in the hope they would thus get more land. But no land was provided (they finally received more land from Muvunyi).

The *mumbo* provided was called Mabuganano (peace). In a statement made by the Bigiri, they claim that they gave a *mumbo* because earlier they had given birth to Banyungu, a son of Tabaro. (In the past, they had contacted Muvunyi to have the ritual cutting of hair of the deceased Bigiri).

5. **BUFUMANDU DIVISION:** In a handwritten letter by a member of the Batembo ethnic group, “chefferie of the Batembo,” the following data are provided: The one who ruled in Ufumandu was Katembo; he came from Bwito. His father was called Mbeba Etsiramatsa. On arrival, Katembo met four groups of counsellors (*bakungu*). They took him for initiation to the sacred mountain Kabale Kambo; thereafter, they took him to the mountain Nyacengya, where they drew water for the initiations. Then Mbeba went to build his village, Misima, near these two mountains. In this letter, an anonymous Tembo writer notes the names of eighteen chiefs (*mwami*), from Katembo to Misati. “The first Whites arrived in Ufumandu in 1911. Cornelius Misati, still young, made agreements with the Whites and helped in the compulsory transport of food to Kibati (Rwanda border) for the soldiers in 1914-1918. In the year 1922 André Kilinda (chief of all Hunde in the 50’s who knew how to read and write – *barua* - before Misati did) became, as time went on, the Grand Chef (see Bunyungu; he was still grand chef in 1955).
6. **MUVUNYI-LAC, MUVUNYI-KAYEMBE, KAMURONTSA DIVISION** (no data).

**B. CHEFFERIE GISHARI** included the following colonially-created “groupements” (which resulted from the merging of various traditional kingdoms:

1. WASHARI-MOKOTO, notable Bashari (Batibito nobles)
2. WASHARI-KAYEMBE, notable Petro Bulenda (Bahitira nobles)

The two notables (Bashari was grand notable and was supposed to be the head of both Bashari groupements) traced an impressive patrilineal ascendancy starting with the remote ancestor Mulungu (Murungu) over eight generations. For both of them, the direct line was split into two branches six generations ago. The ancestor Mulungu, the son of the great hunter Kihanga, came from Mushuti in Bwito (Uganda); he was preceded by his Pygmies who encountered Shemubembe of the Batamba (a group of people established around the Mokoto Lakes; Shemuhembe held the mystic powers over the Mokoto lakes). Arriving in the area of the Mokoto lakes, Muira son of Mulungu, made a bloodpact with Shemuhembe, who had protected Muira’s child against the Banyungu. Shemuhembe (or Shemubembe) had also received banana breads and ripe bananas from Muira (foods with which he was unfamiliar) and thus passed authority to Muira. Until now Shemuhembe’s descendants are

linked to every new chief by a blood pact and in the ritual role of *shebakungu*. Mulungu, looking for a region that offered more rain for the plants to develop, had left Mushuti for Mashala where his son Muira was born. Mulungu himself was accompanied by several groups such as Bashunga, Baitsi, etc. In Mashala, they heard about the “Balega” people who sporadically came to hunt. Muira remained in Mashala where he had two sons (Muritsi Mapfumo and Mpfuna Mapfumo, respectively. Founders of the Bashari and Bapfuna kingdoms) and a daughter Kahindo (went to Kamurontsa, in the Bunyungu division, as *mumbo*, thus creating the chiefdom of Kamurontsa).

Another tradition mentions Kabungo, a third son of Muira, who is the great-grandfather of Kibale with whom several dispersed Hunde groups originate.

The following is yet another extensive tradition among the Bashari as a whole:

The ancestor Kinyungu, accompanied by numerous named kinship groups came from Katwe (salt lakes) in Bunyoro; he migrated via Ngetsi (Beni territoire) to Bwito (Rutshuru territoire) where his son Kahiwa (often mentioned in various traditions) was born. Subsequently, Kinyungu travelled widely in various named places (located in areas inhabited by the Havu and the Shi people. Passing Nyabugogo, he saw for the first time Tutsi and their cattle; he chased the cattle and died because of poisoned milk. The sons of Kahiwa were Mitegetso, Mupfuni, Bagabo and the daughter Kahindo. Batwa, one of the sons of Mitegetso, represents the lines of the colonially-appointed chief André Kalinda.

The Hunde of the groupement Kamurontsa claim that their ancestor Mbaniko came, accompanied by various kinship groups, together with Kinyungu from Katwe. The last *mwami* was Luhanga (who died in the thirties). When the Hunde of Kamurontsa arrived in the present area, they met the Banyangole (from Ijwi island in Lake Kivu); they were fishermen who fished in Lake Kivu with fish traps (*migali*) and fishing nets (*milaga*).

An incomplete genealogical narrative starts with Kibwi who came from “heaven.” His son Kihanga, a hunter came from Nduga (? Nyanza in Rwanda); Mulungu the ancestor of the Bashari was the son of Kihanga.

These contradictions result from: an incredible mix of pre-existing divisions into chiefdoms; the reoccurrence of ancestral names in various genealogical traditions; an internally complex history and socio-political structure; extreme manipulations by the colonial government. Genealogies drawn up in the thirties (AT Preumont) and in the fifties (AT De Franck) are of course contradictory but include the following data:

The ancestor Kihanga was a great hunter in Bwito (Uganda); in one version he had two sons, Kinyungu who was at the origin of the Banyungu and the Bagabo; the other son, Kishali, gave rise to the groups of the Mokoto lakes of chief Murisi and of the Bapfuna; the Tembo would have migrated from Bwito together with Kinyungu.

Another version speaks about Mulungu, son of the ancestor Kihanga, who would be at the origin of the Muritsi (sic) group, the Kamurontsa group and the Bapfuna (Bafuna). The incumbent of the Muritsi chiefly title resided in Kalungu village and his *mumbo* (pl *bombo*) always resided in Muhanga village. Two villages, Kalungu and Muhanga, were still inhabited by *barutsi* (nobles) in 1955.

By 1868 the country of the great lakes was ravaged by the slave-raiders and ivory seekers of Rukundura; in 1912 there was an extremely severe military campaign and repression by the Belgian colonial troops.

The Hunde in the Muvunyi and Kamurontsa groupement provided the following cultural information: they hunt with dog/spear, and with nets; they must ask and receive authorization from the chief (*mugomba wa mwami*) to hunt anywhere; if they receive this authorization, nobody can forbid them from hunting on the land. The Bashari of Kayembe groupement hunt with a large bow (*buta*) and arrows (*mishale*); they trap elephants with the *karungu*-trap; they also make pitfalls (*mahya*), which they can do anywhere with the permission of those in control of the land, but they must give the local *mutambo* a gift (*muhango*) consisting of the animal's tongue (*mushai*).

They also hunt with a wire trap (*muteo*); when a large animal is killed, they give tribute (*mutulo*) of one leg; another leg goes as a gift (*muhango*) to those who control the mountain (*minakitwa* or *mutambo wa kitwa*) from whom the hunter then receives a benediction (*bwanga*). When a traditional village elder (*mutambo*) has received the tribute three times, he must himself give a tribute to the chief.

Fishing in large rivers and in small lakes is done by divers (*bindami*); they fish with fish traps (*byamba*) and fish poison (*karuku*). Fishing is done with the permission of "lord of the water," but some fish is also given to the "lord of the land." In the large Ndalaga lake (part of the Mokoto lake area), the aboriginal Batamba (whom the immigrant Hunde encountered there) have exclusive rights for fishing with traps. Here, one finds reserved areas (*mitambi*) with specific names (Ncira, Mukisa, etc.) where a particular lineage of the Batamba group can place their traps. Three individuals – the *mwami*, the *mushonga*, and the *shemubembe* (representing the Batamba) decide on the allocation of these trapping areas. In Lukulu lake, the Babugu (who lost their chiefly status and became *bagula*, those who burry the *mwami*) have exclusive fishing rights and do not give fish tribute to chief, "because they cannot eat with the chief." Lake Nalukira belongs to the Bashii (they hold the status of counsellors and the *mushonga* is a member of this group). Lake Mbita is controlled by the Batamba (by a line among them that has counsellor status - *bakungu*).

When a goat is ritually killed in a territorial kinship group (Sw. *baraza*) the distribution of the meat is very complex: the *mutambo* receives the back, the kidneys and the hide; the *muhunga* receives the chest (*ngoro*); the *mukekulu* receives liver (*lutigo*); the *mubai* (the butcher) receives the neck; the *mugemba* receives the piece of meat near the tail (*mulico*). The head and the shank parts of the forelegs are cooked together and consumed by all; the *bashii* (incorporated followers i.e. non-members of the kinship group) receive a shoulder part; the maternal uncles of the local group receive part of a leg (*nciriro*); the sororal nephew receives part of the neck; the heart if given to the *mubambi*, the specialist who dries the hide to make it into a drum membrane; the young women of the group receive the large stomach (*kilyabaca*); the son of an unmarried woman (*kihanga*) receives her portion from the lineage from which her mother comes.

### About land, the Hunde say:

The land is not eaten together (*butaka butalilwa haumma*) - i.e. there are always limits between different land-controlling social entities. Not at all; even between children of (one) woman there is a limit (*muguma*): *Na kilo mbu bana ba mukatsi muguma*.

The person representing the group controlling the land has a ritual right to the control of the use of land; he also administers the blessing (*wanga*) to outsiders who want to use the land he controls.

The Hunde trade goats and salt with the Nyanga in exchange for *butea*, the Nyanga form of money consisting of rings made from the inner fiber of the trunk of raffia trees (*isia*), plaited raffia ropes (*mubanga*), and resin torches (*kasuku*)

In Hunde culture there are many similarities and parallels with Nyanga politico-ritual structure: there are equivalent functions and social positions, such as: *mumbo*, *nyabana*, *shabakungu*, *shamwami*, *shabapfuku*, *mubetsi*, *mutei*, *murembetsi*, *mushumbitsa*, *mugula*, *bakungu*, *mushaho*, *mwamitwa*, *mwamihesi*. In the social structure, the dispersed clans hold statuses of *bakungu*, counsellors, *barutsi*, nobles, *batambo*, headmen, *bapfuku*, servants/followers, *beyonga*, former *bapfuku* risen in rank. As is the case among the Nyanga, the territorial kinship groups, complex fragments of dispersed clans, have a basically tripartite authority: *mutambo*, *muhunga*, *mukikulu*, although mention is made of two additional ones: *mubai* and *mugembwa*.

According to Viaene (1951, etc.), the *nyabana* is a man's first wife. The *mumbo* is also called *namwami* or *mwamikazi*.

### Some notes from the literature

A chief "marries" his sister(!) or half-sister (!) à 'titre honorifique.'

Chief Kalinda rejected this nefarious custom saying that the goal was to have a successor twice provided with royal blood; if the *mumbo* is childless, she has intercourse with a man of her choice. If they have a child, they are no longer allowed to have intercourse<sup>3</sup>."

Before his death, the chief calls on the following: *shabapfulu*, *shabakungu*, *shamatzina*; he tells them whom he chooses as his successor; they may find fault with him, even if the chosen one is the son of a *mumbo*; they may look instead for the son of *musanduri* or a child of the *nyabana* (but not her firstborn).

It seems that once the chief had indicated his choice, he was killed. A dead chief was carried to the mountain where his predecessors were buried; they built a house with an enclosure; the body was wrapped in the hide of a steer (*rusara*); before he was buried, his body was kept in beer until a worm came out of his nose; after his death, he was said to become a leopard. All male animals were killed.

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<sup>3</sup> "...cette coutume néfaste" ; "le but est d'avoir un successeur doublement muni de sang royal si la mumbo est stérile elle a commerce sexuel libre dès qu'elle a un enfant plus de relations sexuelles".

The chief was initiated near the sacred source (*maziba*); *ninambuli* was the ritual guardian of this source. The *mushaho* and the *biabire* cleaned the areas leading to the source; the *shebapfuku* and *shebakungu* prepared the many objects for the initiation (sw. *imika*). They undertook all the preparations slowly. It could take three to four years for a full initiation to be conclude, usually when the prospective sacred chief (*mubake*) had a child with with the *mumbo*.

“Until 1925, the Hunde were divided into many kingdoms, quasi-independent one from one another” – this affirmation is not correct – the kingdoms all had complex sets of interrelations.

Chiefs in Hunde, Havu, Shi (kingdoms of Kabare and Ngweshe) each receive their power from a specific Pygmy (respectively called: Shakiyijiri and Ngaombwa; Murohoye; Nakubumwe; Kabambwe).

According to some statements I received, the Hunde would originally have had one *mubake* (supreme enthroned chief) and several *bami sg* (*mwami*) who were like juniors (also in kinship position to the *mubake*). The junior must obtain authorization from the senior; if he does not, his reign would be negative. The *mubake* wears the *shungwa* (*shungwe*, elsewhere), the diadem, and has the *kalinga* drum; the *mwami* wears the *mbake* hat (made in the hide of a flying squirrel); he also has his *mwimiki* (+*shabakungu*) for the enthronement rites.

According to Schumacher (vol. I, p.186): The Hunde fix the skulls of dead chiefs to drums, also those of important enemies; the royal olifant would be made of rhinoceros horn. This is a remnant of their origins in the grassy highlands of Uganda where there are rhinoceros.

A chief may not have tattoos or filed teeth.

A chief did not see or have relations with the *mumbo*, she had a stranger as a mate.

Blacksmiths (*bahisi*) were very powerful. There was a large production of hoes, axes. billhooks, knives, hammers.

There was a large production of beans, sorghum and eleusine, which were exchanged with Rwanda for cattle, sheep, goats. Beans were eaten with banana paste or with eleusine. Beer was made with sorghum (not with bananas).

Big hunt, mainly of elephants – there were numerous elephants in this area.

According to Viaene (articles in K.O.), the political authorities included the following positions:

- *mwamilmubake*; *shamwami*, *shabakungu*, *shabatambo* (form the core of the chief' council);
- the *biabiro* (ritual experts linked to the chief): *muzimba* (*nya musimba*), *mwiru* (regent), *mutendeza* (hairdresser), *mwimiki*, *mushumbiza* (drummer), *mwamihesi* (smith), *shabapfuku* (head of the *bitakurwa* - one of four divisions of *bapfuku* – commoner of non-noble descent), *shabayonga*, *muhakaba* (administers the poison ordeal), *mulembezi*, *mushaho*, *mubeci*, *shabatambo*.

- The *batambo* can be compared to political leaders of internal divisions of a chiefdom
- The *bapfuku* include four categories: *bitakurwa*, *bayonga*, *baombe*, *basengegezi*

In these various “regions” one finds invariably a number of villages inhabited by members of different, named kinship groups (*bisasa*) patrilineal in principle but with numerous accretions (the *bashii*, followers). These territorially-based kinship groups were associated with one or more “mountains” (domain); each had its own authority structure and a specific status in the socio-politico-ritual structure. Some had the status of *barutsi*, nobles; others were *batambo*, headmen, or *bapfuku*, subjects, or *bakungu*, counsellors.

Specific status holders, such a sacred chief (*mubake*), chief (*mwami*), senior counsellor (*shabakungu*), father-of-the-chief (*shamwami*) were “selected” in specific groups that were associated with that specific status.

Within the tripartite village structure, some have the status of *batambo*, others of *bahunga* and still others of *bakikulu*. The groups were linked to the chief by the annual transfer of tribute (*mutulo*), consisting of sorghum, eleusine, goats, ivory. It would seem that some chiefs gave tribute to other chiefs who were considered to be their “seniors.”