

STUDIES ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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LÁSZLÓ KRIZSÁN

**„HOMO REGIUS“ IN AFRICA
(IN COMMEMORATION OF THE CENTENARY OF
DAVID LIVINGSTONE'S DEATH)**

1975

**INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ECONOMICS
OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

BUDAPEST

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(FORMER CENTER FOR AFRO-ASIAN RESEARCH)
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

LÁSZLÓ KRIZSÁN was born in Budapest in 1929. He made his studies at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanistic Studies, Budapest. In 1952, he took his diploma in archives and got his doctor's degree of history at the same University. Between 1952 and 1960, he was research worker at the National Archive of Hungary. In this period, his studies and publications were issued on the history of Hungary. Since 1960, he has been engaged in the social history of African countries. Working in the Institute of Eastern Languages of the Lomonosov Moscow State University, he qualified for a candidate's degree in History. Since 1969, he is research fellow of the Institute for World Economics (the former Center for Afro-Asian Research) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His works deal with the formation and inner structure of the African working class, the class structure of African societies in the 19th century and the development of the ethnic composition of the West African population.

"Homo Regius", i.e. the Royal Man, or in another interpretation, the King's Man was the mediaeval name for a person acting in important events and decision-making as the king's representative. His word was that of the king, his will was that of the king, - himself the king's emissary.

At dawn on May 4, 1873, deep in the African Continent, near Bangweolo Lake, a missionary died. His heart was buried at the foot of the tree which cast its shadow upon the hut serving as his last dwelling, while his embalmed body was being carried by land and sea, through thousands of miles, for one year, to be entombed in the Westminster Abbey with a reverence due to princes only.

All this for a simple missionary as Livingstone had declared himself in all his life?

Whom, then, did England and the whole world mourn for?

Perhaps the great explorer, who had wandered through vaster territories in the Black Continent than all of his forerunners together?

Who was then, Livingstone, the man who had called himself a missionary until his death, whose missionary activities and achievements had been surpassed even by those of an uneducated native priest?

And why did this pious priest search for the river-head of the Nile instead of a way leading the natives to God?

To find answer to these questions, we have to recall the events of Livingstone's life and the political movements of his age.

David Livingstone was born on March 19, 1813, in England then in the midst of her "consciousness as a great power": in 1805 Admiral Nelson regained England's supremacy over the seas in the bloody battle of Trafalgar. In 1812, the army of the strongest rival of England and also the whole contemporaneous Europe perished on the battlefield of Borodino, in Moscow's flames, and in the terrible Russian winter. Napoleon's surviving troops, or rather skeletons, dragging themselves back to Europe no longer menaced Britain's interests neither in Europe nor overseas. England could reach everything she wished.

British war-ships were cruising along the African coasts in an effort to prevent slave-smuggling. England at the time already looked upon the manpower resources of the Black Continent as her own, and assigned special tasks to this labour force in her plans concerning Africa. Thus in the first part of the 19th century, the sails of the slave-hunting British

war-ships were not blown by winds generated by mere "philanthropy", rather by her anxiety about the lost labour force.

The age itself was very rich and hopeful - while the family very poor. David Livingstone's ancestors were manual workers. His father was an itinerant tea vendor in the environs of Blantyre, David's native town. He had a scanty income, hardly enough to keep a family of five. Thus it was only too natural that the little David, second among the children, had to take care of the little ones, and became, at the age of ten, worker in the weaving-mill of Blantyre. At the time, the employment of children was wide-spread throughout Britain.

Receiving his first wage, the little David bought a Latin grammar, but could only hardly find time to learn from it. From six o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening he was practically tied to the power-loom. Sparing minutes from his sleep, he could get acquainted with the wonders of the "accusativus cum infinitivo" and of selections from Tacitus. He was highly interested in acquiring knowledge at all levels. In his reading he tells us - later in his *Missionary Travels* - that he devoured all the books that came into his hands. But his father - he wrote - like so many of his contemporaries - felt that science was contrary to the religious world outlook and felt aversion to reading science. He would have preferred if his son had devoted his time to reading theological works only. Their quarrels usually involved sad consequences for Livingstone: he received his last caning for his having denied the reading of a religious book. His aversion to such books lasted for years.

This raises the question of whether he as a missionary continued to have this dislike for that kind of religious literature which had been recognized as such by his contemporaries, first of all by his father teaching in the Sunday school?

This episode of Livingstone's life is important if only because it foreshadows the great contradiction of his life, the irreconcilability of his official, but at the same time rational "missionary-character".

At this point we must return to the question of who indeed Livingstone was? Can he be considered as a missionary, an evangelizer or as an apostle sent by the British Empire to Africa?

In 1836, he started studying medicine and theology at the Glasgow University. This curious coupling of studies resulted from practical considerations: a physician, similar to witch-doctors, possessing and communicating with "supernatural forces" may have a greater chance to come to an understanding with the natives and to oblige them by giving back their greatest asset: their health. Perhaps at the time when he chose to take medicine and theology, he took his mission as evangelizer seriously. Or he might want to prove that religion and science may come along with each other, and may be cultivated simultaneously, thus making the knowledge complete. He turned his attention toward Africa only when he learned that he could not go to China because of the so-called "Opium War".

He completed his university studies with pass marks and was sent to carry on practical studies to the pastor of Chipping-Ongar in Essex. From his probation term of three months, he returned to London with fail mark. He was said to have had an irresolute deportment and to have been poor at preaching.

Nor was his medical examination free from difficulties. In diagnosing a certain illness, he failed to recognize the role and necessity of using stethoscope.

After such trials, the title "physician-missionary" was conferred on Livingstone on November 20, 1840, who still in the same year (on December

8) started to Cape Colony on board of the ship "George". Since the ship approached its destination via Rio de Janeiro, the trip took three months. The young priest made friends with the sailboat's captain who willingly lectured on "the determination of geographical position" and on "astronomical instruments", as well as on the rudiments of navigation based on the non-instrumental observation of celestial bodies. It seems probable that the knowledge the "physician-theological would-be explorer" had acquired from Captain Donaldson formed his entire practical experience in the field of movement and determination of position on unknown territories. Nor do we know if Livingstone had previously trained himself at home in this field of study.

What did the work of a missionary - belonging to any of the denominations - consist of in Africa in the mid-19th century, in Livingstone's age?

First of all, he had to take root in Africa, having due respect for the customs of the people among whom he wanted to evangelize in order to rouse their trust, respect and attachment towards himself.

This was the iron law of missionaries in Africa, and its variants acted as the Ten Commandments for the young missionaries.

Thus, to settle down first!

Livingstone, in contrast, from the summer of 1841, i.e. his arrival in Africa, up to 1873 when he died, had never stayed in any place for more than a few months, and at the missionary stations he was more of an "overnight-guest" than a settled pastor anxious about the salvation of the natives.

Since at the Missionary Society in Kuruman he did not find any concrete working plan or order, he thought the geographical exploration of the region as the most useful occupation until the order of his superiors would arrive. And as the order was not yet received as late as the autumn of 1841, Livingstone himself took the initiative. In his letter of September 23, 1841, he submitted his proposal to the effect that the Society should conquer the largest possible territory for the Gospel.¹

In the course of his conquest, at least as regards evangelization and its gospel content, Livingstone met with subsequent failures. He wandered through immense territories. He succeeded in incurring the hatred of Mosilikatse, the Zulu tribal head, and the Boers, too, received with aversion the Englishman travelling as priest. The tribes of the Kalahari Desert felt the same antipathy for him as the Zulus. Thus he could do nothing but to return to Kuruman.

This "marking time", however, could not satisfy the far-sighted Livingstone. From Kuruman he went to Mobotsa, from where he was soon driven fellow-priests. Then he chose Chonuana as his field of activity. Hence he was driven further away by aridity to Kolobeng. Nor was nature more generous here, still it was not nature's fault that he had to go away from here, too, on account of his quarrel with the Boer colonists.

Then it was almost a decade that he had been wandering on the wild territories of the Black Continent to the south of the equator. In 1845 he went to the Ngami Lake, then returned to Kolobeng, now raised to the rank of a base, ostentatiously to show that he did not fear the threats of Boers, who suspected the missionary of being a British agent, and threatened him with killing. They devastated his home at Kolobeng himself, however, succeeded in escaping. In his report on the Boer incident he wrote that the Boers had decided to isolate the country from the external world; but he was convinced that he would be able to thwart their plan by the help of God. - And here the missionary is already speaking of politics,

taking a standpoint in a political issue which - half a century later - set South Africa aflame. Livingstone's standpoint, otherwise, was the same as that of the British politicians concerning Paul Krüger five decades later.

"Evangelization" on territories taken into account by Livingstone was hindered by both the natives and the European colonizers. After a series of failures, the missionary started to take interest in a less dangerous, "more virgin" region of Africa: he planned to go to territories, stretching behind those coastal districts where the Portuguese had their poorish settlements. Now an explorer, Livingstone, following the Zambezi River and touching Kassai, arrived in Loanda, a Portuguese fortress built on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, then succeeded in realizing the first West-East transcontinental travel in Africa.

As regards his geographical results, the first one decade and a half Livingstone had spent in Africa was of great importance in his life-work. For his travel from Cape Town to Loanda and his scientific observations - (some of which was later rectified by László Magyar; see Magyar's report in the Appendix on territories which were wandered over by both of them) - Livingstone received the highest recognition.

However, the recognition of the Geographical Society and the colonial authorities could not make the contemporaries forget the original mission of the scientist's travels: evangelization and the healing of natives, i.e. the service of religion rather than of colonialism.

Amidst his wanderings, on May 26, 1826, in the small town of Quilimane, Livingstone received a statement by the superiors of the Missionary Society in London concerning his explorations. Drawing conclusions from Livingstone's missionary activities of fifteen years, the Society made a decision according to which it was not in the position that it could further Livingstone's plans which were only very loosely connected with promoting the spread of the Gospel.

Livingstone felt the wording "loosely connected" particularly insulting, and in his application to Missionary Thompson, the Society's director in Cape Town, he referred to the fact that he had made his travels with the consent of the Society.

Deserving particular attention in his application is Livingstone's statement that the interior of the Continent is the most densely populated area. He wrote that at the time he had submitted his plan to the Directorate to the effect that he would search after a route either from the East or the West coast leading to the interior of the Continent, to the most densely populated areas. The Directorate then revised the plan and officially approved it. Livingstone's above statement seems to prove the direction of the African migration in the 16th century when the population escaped the slave-hunters by wandering from the coast serving as site of ancient civilizations and from the areas of river valleys and mouths easy of access to the interior parts, difficult of access, of the Continent. This involuntary direction of the African migration brought about a particular ethnic arrangement, and can be - to a great extent - regarded as one main historical cause of the present-day backwardness. What this implies is that the natives were - meaning figuratively - driven back up to the trees and were forced to live under such natural conditions as resulted in the disintegration - and after two or three generations - in the complete decay of civilization. The natural conditions of these interior parts with the primitive but always existing factors of subsistence made unnecessary all civilizatory efforts and creative work.

Unfortunately, we do not have any exact knowledge of the effect of that wave of African migration which was caused by the African peoples'

encountering Europe - or more precisely the European slave traders -, and we do not know this complex problem adequately. Nor have we given due attention to the study of this significant question, although a through-going scrutiny of this problem would certainly be able simplify or rather explain many phenomena of ethnic and linguistic diversity which now are complex to the degree of incomprehensibility. Livingstone's above statement that the interior of the continent is the most densely populated area is an authentic, direct observation, in the 19th century, of the aftermath of a forced migration, coming up to a catastrophe, which was going on in the 16th to 18th centuries.

Refusing the Missionary Centre's instructions limiting his movement, in his above-mentioned letter to Thompson, Livingstone declared that he would carry out his plan despite the will of the Missionary Centre: "... I would perish rather than fail in my enterprise. I shall not boast of my deeds, what I have done, but the wonderful mercy I have received will constrain me to follow out the work veto of the Board. ... If it is according to the will of God, means will be provided from other quarters."

What plan might a missionary have against the Mission's will, and what resources might he expect to finance his plans?

This question again leads back to our basic problem: who, indeed Livingstone was; what was the plan on the execution of which he swore even against the will of the Missionary Society; what financial aid did he expect and from whom?

On the plans and tasks Livingstone himself thus wrote: "... my action in the interest of geography may, in fact, form only the starting point of my enterprise."

Scientific observation, geographical exploration thus form only the initial step or means towards further activities. As if it were only the preparatory phase - as Livingstone himself meant it - of the "enterprise proper", i.e. of colonization which is referred to several times by Livingstone:

"Our task is to look through the new continent; to mark out sites suitable for missionary stations; to abolish the hateful custom of slave-trade; to put the raw produce of the new continent on the market of international trade: and to transform its entire social structure."

All this is nothing else but the program of the 19th century classic colonization. The exploitation of raw materials; the forcible transformation of the social development of native peoples; serving the purposes of colonization!

It was the "transformation of social structure" that gave rise to the distorted and forcible formation of African societies, different from and alien to their own historical regulative forces. And all this was brought about by that administrative intervention of the colonizers which forced the population, then living in tribal societies under the system of natural farming, into the capitalist relations of productions, - as had already been conceived by Livingstone, too.

Livingstone, otherwise, dealt - not only in general but in concrete form, too - with the technical implementation of colonization, with settling British subjects in Africa.

He deemed the Shire region as the most suitable dwelling place for the British colonizers. On August 4, 1858, he says in his Journal: "I have a very strong desire to commence a system of colonisation of the honest poor. I would give 2.000 or 3.000 pounds for the purpose ... Colonisation from a country such as ours ought to be one of hope and not of despair. It ought not to be looked upon as the last and worst shift that

a family can come to, but the performance of an imperative duty to our blood, our country, our religion, and to humankind . . ." (sic! L. K.)

In his letter to a friend, Maclear, Livingstone's formulation is even clearer and more unambiguous: "... From day to day, I am more and more convinced that the colonization of this territory would essentially help us with achieving our goals. On this beautiful plateau, the support of cotton-trade and the abolition of slave-trade may lead to ineffably useful results... In our country how many poor people's body and soul are consumed by the vain struggle for their daily bread! It always breaks my heart to think of them, and, in addition, to see this marvellous land of God unutilized... I do not know any other area where the self-supporter might have prospects of more promising or alluring results..."

These thoughts spontaneously lead to certain associations; they remind us of Cecil Rhodes' words about the British colonial policy.

When Dr. Livingstone returned to London for a short time in 1856, enjoying the glory of ovation due to the victor, he broke with the London Missionary Society for good.

The open break was decisively influenced by the new situation under which Livingstone found the material resources from which he hoped to be able to accomplish his further goals. The British government appointed him consul with a scope of authority covering East and Central Africa. His residence was placed to Quilimane and he was commissioned to explore the surrounding region.

The British government made proper provisions - both finances and material (ships, arms) - for Livingstone's explorations.

When in March, 1858, after a stay of one year and a half in Britain, Consul Livingstone again started to go to Africa, the whole country had already known and acknowledged the opinion of Pastor Braithwaite, Livingstone's friend, that Livingstone's person is no longer his own property, but practically a common property, the property of the entire British Christian society.

Returning to Africa in 1858, Livingstone as consul started his activities under unfavourable auspices and political conditions much in the same way as his ancient predecessor Consul Scipio Africanus. After disembarking, Scipio Africanus slipped and fell flat on the shore, but, to turn this ridiculous situation to his advantage, he tried to make this accident appear as wilful and thus exclaimed: "Land of Africa, I hold you fast!" (He, too, was sent to conquer Africa in the capacity of consul.)

Livingstone's series of misfortune began with his disagreement with one of his naval officers. Captain Bedingfield went as far as giving up collaboration with Livingstone who - in Bedingfield's view - was a megalomaniac. Then Livingstone himself, the consul, took over the ship's control. The ship went up the river Shire, one of the most significant affluents of Zambezi. On the way, he was halted by tribal head Tingane, who nearly butchered the members of the British expedition taking them for slave-traders. Then the ship "Ma-Robert" broke down on the Zambezi. Until the ship "Pioneer" arrived, more suitable for this purpose, Livingstone had to waste much time, because this ship was so deep-drawing that she often stranded on the unknown African waters.

It is quite obvious that this nervous traveller, trying even those surrounding him, had already nothing to do with evangelization; all the more was he concerned with exploring a commercial waterway which was in the interest of British trading companies and factories rather than of missions. A smaller steamer, "Lady Nyasa" was sent in broken down condition to Livingstone from England. Having been reassembled, this ship - which

Livingstone had purchased from the royalty of his book - transported the expedition as far as the Murchinson Falls. Apart from this, Livingstone also searched for another way to Nyasaland, the safety of which would not be menaced by the marauding Portuguese slave-traders or by such natural obstacles, difficult to surmount, as waterfalls. From this viewpoint, he took into account the Rovuma River, but owing to its rapids and waterfalls it turned out unsuitable for a serious watercraft. Thus the expedition ended in a failure. The Portuguese, too, who were thought to be weak and tolerant, repeatedly protested against the British presence, since the territory wandered through by Livingstone was considered as a Portuguese sphere of interest on the basis of a silent agreement between the great powers. The British government also expressed its disapproval of the expedition's failure. The consul, like his great one-time predecessor, Scipio Africanus, could do nothing but to make a pretence of "holding" the land of Africa.

The explorer returned to England in 1864 for the second time. 1864: this is the year when Livingstone left Africa temporarily while his contemporary, László Magyar, the outstanding Hungarian explorer of Africa, left it for good. Livingstone went home to collect commissions for a third African travel, while László Magyar, together with his invaluable scientific notes, perished unknown along the British coast.

It is not intended here to give a thorough analysis of the place of Livingstone and László Magyar in the complex field of African studies. As has been referred to, László Magyar rectified several errors of Livingstone in very important questions in a correct manner. Here we only note that the credit for exploring the African watershed - attributed to Livingstone by Sir Roderick Murchinson, president of the Royal Geographical Society, - must, in fact, go to László Magyar. It was Magyar who first wandered through the plateau, and named it "Mother of the Waters", which is regarded in the field of geography as Livingstone's "achievement of great importance".

Speaking of László Magyar's tragic death, we cannot escape making mention of a new but highly probable scientific hypothesis. In the opinion of the authoress Lady Judith Camless of Listowell, an outstanding expert in Magyar's life-work, (which she told me in the summer of 1973 during her stay in Budapest), Livingstone deliberately evaded meeting László Magyar, but it was on the basis of information he acquired from Magyar through mediation of the native ruler Sekeletin that he could realize his famous transcontinental travel.

Livingstone started on his third African travel with a well-defined task. Sir Roderick Murchinson, after whom he named a waterfall on the Shire River, called him to give up any missionary activity - even to that small extent which he had done until then for the salvation of native souls - and to spend all his time on the exploration of the Nile's riverhead.

Touching upon this task in his diary entry of June 5, 1865, Livingstone took up the position that he would continue to act only as missionary in Africa even in the course of performing his new task. Livingstone's insistence of his "ex-missionary" status is virtually unreasonable and incomprehensible. It was well over a decade that he did not belong organizationally to among the missionaries, but in his letter to a friend, James Young, ten years after his break with the missionary organization, he thus expressed his contrary opinion about Murchinson's offer: "I would not consent to go simply as a geographer explorer, but as a missionary, and do geography by the way, because I feel I am in the way of duty when trying either to enlighten these poor people, or open their land to lawful commerce."

The missionary appearance was probably a mask. A mask for the "Homo Regius", who, - under this cloak -, could more successfully serve the "god" of the 19th century: the Colonialism.

And here we wonder whether it is not profaning to write down these lines about the explorer who - despite his faults and human weaknesses - achieved many lasting and magnificent results?

Whether it is the goal or the result of the exploration what really counts from the aspect of science and scientific cognition?

Drawings of more or less correctly plotted watercourses, mountains, peaks and villages got onto the territories wandered through by Livingstone which until then had been blank spots on the map of Africa, and routes, waterways were opened toward the interior of the continent: roads for the colonizers to the heart of Africa.

This was - without any idealization - the result of Livingstone's life-work.

His third (and last) voyage of discovery gives evidence of his awareness of the importance of his life-work. He is literally in dead earnest about performing his task: to explore the riverhead of the Nile.

The significance of this exploration is shown by the fact that it was initiated by the British government and the Royal Geographical Society.

But what has the Nile's riverhead got to do with the political power relations of the second half of the 19th century, with colonialism, with Britain's position as a great power?

The answer to this can be found in one word: cotton. The American cotton fields, supplying the British textile factories with raw material, became theatre of war in the sixties, and cotton growing was discontinued for a long time even after the end of the Civil War. In India, another cotton supply basis of British factories, it was about that time that the emancipation of the majority of slaves took place, and subsequent native uprisings swept over the fields. Thus, in India, too, production either came to a standstill or decreased considerably. The British textile industry was menaced by a catastrophe. This is why the colonizers reached out for Africa's natural resources, above all for cotton, which was the most important owing to the political relations.

On the Black Continent, cotton was mainly grown in Egypt: in the inundation area of the Nile, on that silty soil which is carried by the Blue Nile. In Livingstone's time, nothing was known of the exact place of the junction of the Nile's two branches (the White and the Blue Nile), as well as of the fact that the fertilizing mud may come only from the Blue Nile to the sand. Nor did the travellers and politicians of the age have exact knowledge of the place of the so important Blue Nile's riverhead.

Widely known was, however, a legend about the curious warfare of Lalibala, an Amhara king in the 13th century, who, having heard that the Mohammedan Arabs were oppressing and persecuting the Coptic Christians in Egypt, (Abyssinia was also a Christian empire, held by many to have been the legendary "Fool's Paradise"); decided to close the head-spring of the Blue Nile which flows from the Tana Lake. Thus the flood did not take place, the Blue Nile did not carry the fertilizing mud on to the arid sand, and in Egypt the lean years of the biblical times set in.

To accept or deny the historical reality of this legend is a matter of personal opinion. The heart of the matter, however, cannot be varied: he who wants to grow cotton on the Egyptian sand has to be in possession of the Nile's riverhead.

That is why Livingstone went to Africa for the third time, and it is not an exaggeration to state that the "Egyptian cotton-war", a barbarous

bloody struggle, involving so much misery and humiliation, for the white gold of the desert, began essentially with Livingstone's third travel.

And Livingstone was well aware of the political significance of his mission, along with its immediate and future implications!

In November, 1869, Livingstone started from Bambarre to a west-bound direction toward "the assumed riverhead of the Nile". He came as close as some 15 kilometres to the junction of the Luamo and Lualaba rivers. He found the soil to be fertile, but the population, taking Livingstone for an Arab slave-trader, refused to help him. Thus Livingstone, having been unable to cross the Lualaba River, was compelled to return to Bambarre. From there he sent a lengthy letter to his son Thomas Livingstone from which it obviously appears that the explorer felt and understood the goal and significance of his travel.

"... I am in the Manyema Country, about 150 miles west of Ujiji, and at the town of Moenekooos or Moenekuss, a principal chief among the reputed cannibals. His name means 'Lord of the light grey parrot with a red tail', which abounds here, and he points away still further west to the country of the real cannibals. His people laugh and say 'Yes, we eat the flesh of men', and should they see the inquirer to be credulous enter into particulars ..."

"The object of my expedition is the discovery of the sources of the Nile. Had I known all the hardships, toil, and time involved I would have been of the mind of Saint Mungo of Glasgow, of whom the song says that he let the Molendinar Burn 'rin by', when he could get something stronger. I would have let the sources 'rin by' to Egypt, and never been made 'drumly' by my splashing through them. But I shall make this country and people better known. 'This', Professor Owen said to me, 'is the first step; the rest will in due time follow'. By different agencies the Great Ruler is bringing all things into a focus ... War brought freedom to 4,000,000 of the most hopeless and helpless slaves. The world never saw such fiendishness as that which the Southern slaveocracy clung to slavery. No power in this world or the next would ever make them relax their iron grasp. The lie had entered into their soul. Their cotton was King. With it they would force England and France to make them independent, because without it the English and French must starve. Instead of being made a nation, they made a nation of the North. War has elevated and purified the Yankees, and now they have the gigantic task laid at their doors to elevate and purify 4,000,000 of slaves ..."

"England is in the rear. This affair in Jamaica brought out the fact of a large infusion of bogiephobia in the English. Frightened in early years by their mothers with 'Bogie Blackman', they were terrified out of their wits by a riot, and the sensation writers, who act the part of the 'dreadful boys' who frighten aunts, yelled out that emancipation was a mistake. 'The Jamaica negroes were as savage as when they left Africa.' ... But our golden age is not in the past. It is in the future ..."

"The task I undertook was to examine the watershed of South Central Africa. This was the way Sir Roderick put it, and though he mentioned it as the wish of the Geographical Council, I suspect it was his own idea; for two members of the Society wrote out 'instructions' for me, and the watershed was not mentioned. But scientific words were used which the writers evidently did not understand. The examination of the watershed contained the true scientific mode of procedure, and Sir Roderick said to me: 'You will be the discoverer of the sources of the Nile.' I shaped my course for a path across the north end of Lake Nyassa, but to avoid the certainty of seeing all my attendants bolting at the first sight of the wild

tribes there, the Nindi, I changed off to go round to south end, and if not, cross the middle. What I feared for the north took place in the south when the Johanna men heard of the Mazitu, though we were 150 miles from the marauders, and I offered to go due to west till past their beat. They were terrified, and ran away as soon as they saw my face turned west ... I gradually gained more light on the country, and slowly and surely saw the problem of the fountains of the Nile developing before my eyes. The vast volume of water draining away to the north made me conjecture that I have been working at the sources of the Congo too. My present trip to Manyuema proves that all goes to the river of Egypt."

As is well-known, Livingstone never reached the Nile's riverhead. On May 4, 1873, at dawn, he died in Ulala, not far from his destination. The Negro boy, standing guard before his door, heard some curious noises, and when he stepped in, he found the "white master" in kneeling position, tumbling onto his bed. The boy first wanted to escape to the jungle for fear of his being held responsible for the white master's death. Then he overcame his fear and reported on the tragic event.

Livingstone was mourned unanimously by the whole of England, but his life-work was understood and interpreted diversely. And in the same way as the contemporaries, later the historians and politicians, too, formed different opinion about the three decades which may well be termed as the Livingstonean Period of Africa. Part of the personalities controlling Britain's foreign and colonial policy celebrated Livingstone for his acting as a honest civilizer aiming at the emancipation of slaves, while others maintained that "Livingstone is with us in all our efforts made to free Africa from superstition and slavery. He is with Mackay in Uganda and with Gordon in Sudan ..."

In Dr. Blaikie's opinion, the spark that Livingstone's very nature had thrown out at the time of his death in Ulala, made its effect felt throughout the world. Its effect was felt by the merchants who started to consider the question of how it would be possible for commerce to approach the continent's interior by means of roads and railways. The researchers, too, felt the results of his activities.

As has been seen, the assessment of his life-work shows a wide range of opinions. Opinions about Livingstone range from deeming him as a humanist scholar or as the butcher of Mahdi's revolt to his identification with Gordon.

It is beyond doubt that both his life-work and its effect, as well as his objective were extraordinary and unparalleled. He was the only Africa-explorer who travelled as a missionary under a government commission, and no other Africa-expert's life-work has given so much assistance and knowledge to the British colonial policy than Livingstone, the "missionary". But can we pronounce this "missionary"-explorer - without any reservation - to have been well-intentioned? Did he have proper humbleness toward science, and did he practice self-denial? Was he not too materialistic? Were business considerations not involved in his calculations? In his letter to his brother settled in Canada, Livingstone thus wrote: "I was to furnish 'a survey on successive pages of my journal', 'latitudes every night', 'hydrography of Central Africa', and because they (i.e. several members of the Geographical Society) 'voted one-fifth or perhaps one-sixth of my expenses, give them 'all my notes, copies if not the originals' For mere board and no lodgings I was to work for years and hand over the results to them." - Whether whom did he intend his scientific notes for if not for this learned society which was the most competent body to make them a public property?

On another occasion, when he had been in closer connection with the Missionary Society, he found his salary insufficient. In his opinion, Europeans working in Africa ought to be paid at the same level as those acting as officials in India. "I don't think" - he writes to his friend Watt - "it is quite fair for the Churches to expect their messengers to live as he were the Prodigal Son, on the husks that the swine do eat ..."

Speaking of Livingstone's financial circumstances - although the author is less informed in this respect -, it seems doubtless that he was never forced to live in want, except those regretably frequent cases when the natives or marauding Arab slave-traders robbed his supply caravans. But he was amply compensated for all his losses, particularly during his stays in Britain.

On the black marble slab, with which Livingstone's grave was covered in the nave of the Westminster Abbey on April 18, 1874, the word "missionary" stands first as profession. It is not my intention to argue the opinion various ages and peoples formed and maintained about their own great sons. It is beyond doubt, however, that the objective achievement of the "missionary", who - with all his activities and with his rich life-work - had served the British colonial policy more than anything else, was nothing but the preparation of British colonialism in the vast territories of Africa.

Between 1840 and 1873, it was not the "missionary" in the person of Livingstone who wandered through the provinces of the Black Continent, but the "Homo Regius" of the British ruler creating the great colonial empire of the future.

x x x

Budapest, on the 4th of May, 1973, on the centenary of Livingstone's death.

Appendix I

"From Aug. Petermann's Geographischen Mitteilungen, which I have come across, I realized the great confusion, which David Livingstone, traveller in South Africa, had got involved in, about the geographical names, existence and direction of major rivers washing these provinces, as a consequence of which the entire geographical system is refuted, and even the most recent maps of South Africa have remained erroneous. I, therefore, thought that it would not be uninteresting if I sent a summary of the 2nd volume of my account of travels, in which the mentioned provinces are amply referred to, which I have the honour to submit to you, Sir, humbly asking you to be so kind as to forward it to the above-said gentleman."

(Detail from László Magyar's letter to János Hunfalvy, dated on November 16, 1848, in Lucira. The study he had sent was read as his inaugural lecture at the session of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on October 10, 1859.)

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MOLUVA OR MOROPUU AND LOBAL COUNTRIES +

by LÁSZLÓ MAGYAR, corr. member

Dr. David Livingstone, a missionary from London, may well be ranked among those meritorious African travellers, who with excellent determination have made important discoveries in recent years, thus considerably widening the horizon of the geographical world owing to their profound scholarship. The merits and results of Livingstone's travels are much more known in Europe than to me, therefore, it is not my intention to treat them here in detail, except those concerning certain regions of Moropuu or Moluva¹ and Lobal countries in which his route touched mine, and all this is taken as an abstract from the second volume of my travel book. What will be most conspicuous in my report are the errors of this brave English traveller concerning the real name and course of geographical rivers in the mentioned countries.

+ Published in Hungarian, in Akadémiai Értesítő, Vol. 19, 1859, No. 11. Read as inaugural lecture on October 10, 1859.

To give more information on the subject to be discussed, we have to take six degrees of latitude (8° - 13°) and eight degrees of longitude (17° - 25°) so that their lines should touch the Koanza in the West, the Liambedshi in the East, the junction of the Luloa and Kasabi in the North, while, to the South, they should run across the Bunda or Luchazi province. The provinces of the mentioned territory will be described from West to East, only briefly touching upon the subject worthy of mention.

I shall lead my readers to the east of the Atlantic Ocean, crossing several degrees, right to the interior of Africa, and leaving Bihe country from the west and crossing the Koanza river, we shall arrive at the Dim-bandi or Kim-bandi province² which stretches along the bank of the former river. It is bordered by the Ma-songo estates in the north; in the east by the far-stretched Olo-vihenda forests, a vast expanse of wood¹ and separating this province from the Kibokoe or Diokoe provinces; by the estates of the Bango-Akanuka Zambuella peoples in the south, and finally, in the west, by the Koanza river.

The province is generally hilly; its hills are growing higher and higher towards the east and are densely covered by medium-height forests. Its soil is fertile, composed of black and white clayey sand.

Its rivers: the Kuiba or Kuiva, which takes its source in the east, in the vast Olo-vihenda forest, and meeting several minor rivers coming from the north and south, becomes a navigable river, and by its fine bends dividing the province into two parts, it finally flows into the Koanza. The Kuiba's tributaries are: Bem-dika, Kambale or Umbale, Kotia or Si-se, Kuima and Karima.

The Kuyo springs in the south-east, from the marshland of the Bunda plateau, having a considerable amount of water in the rainy season only, while in the dry months it is shallow, meekly flowing into the Koanza.

Peoples living in comparatively large numbers in Kim-bandi province are ruled by several, lower or higher-ranked popular heads who are partly independent from each other and are titled 'muanangana'. Such chiefs of the first rank are:

Kuyo in a settlement of the same name. The settlement is built on a height lying along the eastern bank of the Koanza, from where one gets a fine view of the river bending close below and of the meadows stretching beyond it surrounded by forests. It is at the same time one of the most remarkable ferries of the Koanza river.

Kariongo is a settlement with a muanangana of the same name, is at the foot of the Olovihenda forests having many peoples. Caravans going east used to supply themselves here with food to travel several days in uninhabited places.

Na-Senda, not far from Kuiva in the middle of a fertile plain, is the seat of a princess of the same name, who is the only majestic personality to rule over this province.

Angoluka or Anguru, a ferry on the eastern bank of the Koanza in the northernmost direction, where the Bihe people used mostly to cross the river. Its peoples are of a more pugnacious character than the others, therefore they now seem to rule over the others.

The Dimbandi peoples are diligent agriculturists, and are growing a large quantity of manioc (*Jatropha maniho*), masambala (*Res mais minima*), masango (a kind of pisorgum), and less maize. Their commercial goods are: wax in considerable quantities, less ivory, and slaves. Their domestic animals: sufficient quantity of cattle, sheep, goat, pig; poultry is represented only by hens in large numbers.

Their religion is simple fetishism; they worship the good and the evil Being with innumerable hideous ceremonies. Polygamy and circumcision are in general practice. They are kind to foreigners, otherwise they are apt to be suspicious, mendacious, perfidious and thievish.

Going east from the Dimbandi province, we arrive in the vast uninhabitable forests of Olovienda, which - as I have experienced - are extending over a territory of several degrees from the north to the south down to the Kuando river, and even beyond that to the Kubango river. From the west to east, the width of these forests is varying; in the north they are narrower: six, seven days' journey, but going south, they are widening out, being twice as wide as in the north. This immense woodland separates, to a great distance, the estates of peoples part of whom are continuously at war with each other; these peoples only rarely communicate with each other as is fairly well proven by the almost completely impassable paths leading through the forests.

The Olovienda forests are almost completely uninhabited, being wandered through only by elephant-hunters and honey-gatherers, coming from Diokoe and Bunda countries, and also by the Ka-sekel or as they are called in the south Mu-kankala³ hordes, who lead a fully nomadic life, and used to come from the south to the north. All the much more wild beasts are living there. The angry lion can wield his frightful power undisturbed over the animal kingdom; elephants and rhinoceroses may freely breed, feeding on the rich vegetation that covers the soil, so much the more as the dense forests are here and there separated by smaller or larger meadows.

The incessantly appearing rich and variegated natural scenes will give magnificent impressions to the traveller going in the eternal dark shadow of the high trees, but the dead silence that always encircles him, will soon give way to a sombre feeling in his soul. The boring uniformity will be broken only by smaller or larger glades, appearing here and there at great distances, which richly cover the forest with grass and by crystal-clear streams cutting the wilderness. Groups of games grazing sporadically will also enliven the picture by their light movement.

The whole surface of this territory is varied by wavy hills, which becoming higher and higher towards the east seem to concentrate on the border of the Diokoe province, thus forming one remarkable culmination point of the South-African plateaus, from which innumerable streams are flowing from the west to east. A European would not even suspect that in the interior of Africa there could exist such a large and permanent quantity of water as that given by this highland covered by immense forests. Flowing in all directions are smaller or bigger rivers and streams the widely muddy and swampy banks of which will hinder even the foot-pas-sanger, and their crossing with pack-animals is almost impossible.

Several rivers abounding in water which spring from this high plateau take partly westward, partly eastward direction. The latter flow into the Indian Ocean. Belonging to the former are: the Kuango, one branch of the Zaire, then the Kuiva and Vindika or Si-sa.

Taking an eastward direction are: the huge Kasabi or Kasavi whose waves, enriched by several streams, are rolling on with magnificent bends towards the east through the northern part of the Moluva empire; the Lunge-bungo which, separating Diokoe country from Bunda and below Lobal from the Zambuella estates, meets Liambaje river, flowing from the north to south; it is navigable to a great distance; the Luma flows from the north-west to the east, and flow into the Lunge, but only its lower reaches are

navigable throughout the year to a distance of some 20 geographical miles; the Kuitu (on Zambulla) which - flowing from the north to south through the provinces of the savage and ferocious Bango-Akanuka and Lulu peoples - falls into the Kubango river at Indiriko, lying upward within one and a half day's walking distance from the residence of Libebe (the Mukursu chief). The Kuitu is also navigable to a great distance throughout the year.

That much for the Olovihenda wilderness, and now let us enter the province inhabited by the capricious Diokoe peoples where after a journey of seven days through the unhabited waste our ears will be pleasantly surprised upon hearing the shrieky crowing of cocks.

Kibokoe as called by the Kimbunda, or Diokoe as called by the natives lies between the latitudes 10° and 13° south and the longitude 20° and 22° east (from Greenwich). It is bordered by the Sindshe and Marzaza Moluva estates in the north, by the Lobal and the Bunda or Luchazi provinces in the east and in the south, respectively, and finally by the Olovihenda wilderness in the west, separating it from the Kimbandi peoples.

Kibokoe is generally strongly hilly or even mountainous; its mountains are lower and lower eastwards to become quite flat at the border of the Lobal province. Its surface is covered everywhere by mighty, dense forests; its heights of semicircular inclination are separated from each other by regularly winding, narrow but deep and very humid valleys, from the marshes of which crystal-clear brooks are streaming. Its climate is moderate even in summertime, while in the dry wintertime the thermometer exposed to the open air at night will be down to zero.⁴ The numberless streams of the province, going in all direction, flow into the rivers Kasabi, Lungo-bungo, Luena and Lu-medai; and it is here where the latter two take their sources. Spring also from Kibokoe are: Kiapela, the two Luatis, Salera, Lu-zángala, Lu-angrika, which are all minor rivers, though part of them carries a considerable quantity of water in the rainy season; with their shorter or longer runs, they are joining the above-mentioned four main rivers. Considering the large quantity of water which is supplied in every season of the year by this highland province, Kibokoe may rightly be called the mother of South African waters, and if we want to look upon the high hills leaning against each other as mountains, then the province may well be said a Helvetia on the South African highlands.

Its population is very large as compared to the size of the province, and it is no mistake to state that Kibokoe is more densely populated than any other province of South Africa. The inhabitants of Kibokoe, too, are under the popular rule of several chiefs also titled muanangana, who are mostly independent from each other. The mightiest chiefs are: Kanyika in the north-west, Dumba in the north, Pehu in the middle of the province, and Dua-Kala not far from where the Lume river meets the Lungo-bungo.

The main places of the province, if groups of tiny straw huts hidden amidst dense forests may be termed as places, at all, form the residence of the said chiefs, bearing the same name. Each having a population of about one thousand, these places are still considerably extended since the individual huts are widely scattered, surrounded generally by the cultivated piece of land belonging to them.

The inhabitants of the province are damned suspicious, deceitful, false in nature, and excessively superstitious; always ready to rob foreigners, completely ignoring what is called hospitality; therefore foreigners have at all times to take care that they should not be entrapped by the natives, so much the more because these highly superstitious people would declare every more conspicuous movement of a foreigners as disastrous to them, and under this pretext they would immediately force him to pay ranaom

(apopoka milonga), and should their claim be denied, they would be not long to attack him by force of arms, either openly or on the sly, pending on the circumstances, and to destroy him. Personally, I have visited them several times, and being aware of their suspicious, superstitious nature and their inclination to robbing, I made every effort to get along with them peacefully. Nevertheless, once I was perfidiously surrounded by them, along with my armed escort over 400 strong, and was forced to engage in a bloody battle, in the course of which many people were wounded and killed on both parts, myself having been dangerously wounded on my thigh.

However, the inhabitants of Kibokoe also have some good traits: they are industrious agriculturists, specializing in the growing of manioc, masambala, masango, luko (a kind of pisorgum, but its colour is red), and in the past few years they have been growing tobacco, as well; they are bold elephant hunters, and are widely-known as skillful blacksmiths.⁵ They go elephant-hunting by troops, and they will often be seen engaged in hunting in remote places, on territories beyond the Moluva, Riambedshi or Liambaye rivers. Then they will buy European product of remarkable value and slaves for the ivory they collected and exchanged in the hunt, and then they will go home. - Polygamy and circumcision is their common practice. Their main commodities: a very large quantity of wax, being of the best quality in South Africa, which they take out from the nests of wild-bees occurring in unbelievably large numbers in the dense forests, after killing the bees by fire; less ivory and still less slaves. With very rare exceptions, they will not sell people belonging to their own nation.

Their domestic animals: very few cattle, many goats and pigs, a great deal of tiny little hens. Deserving special mention among the natural resources is iron which - regarding its quality - is not at all inferior to the Swedish iron.

Leaving the Kibokoe province, as we proceed towards the east the surface is gently sloping to become quite flat near the border of the Moluva and Lobal countries, which are edged by curved heights in the north, and in the vicinity of which the beautiful Kasabi river is rolling its waves toward the north-east. Following the deep valleys of this river, we reach the Moluru or Moropuu empire, which is the mightiest of the South African empires, while Lobal which borders the former up to the Riambedsi river is left to the south. Being the former two provinces the subject matter I have mostly intended to discuss here, I will first deal with the Moluva empire, then with the Lobal country, thus making it easier to cast light upon some errors of the worthy Dr. Livingstone as to the geographical situation and hydrography of the said two countries.

The real borders of the very widely extended Moluva or Moropuu empire have been less or not at all known until recently to geographers. Even the empire itself is only little-known, because its name is often confused with that of Kazembe, although the two names and empires can by no means be taken for one and the same since the Moluva empire is separated from the Kazembe country, situated to the east of Moluva at a distance of some 30 days' walk, by a mostly uninhabited wasteland. A decade ago, Kazembe still recognized the superiority of Moluva and even paid annual tribute to it, but presently this relationship is completely different.

The peoples of the empire used to call themselves Moluva as a nation, and the name of Moropuu given to them by the geographers may supposedly derive from the shortening of the world Moluva. The Moluva empire is situated between the southern latitudes 4° to 13° and the eastern longitudes 21° to 26°. I cannot determine its northern border; according to some reports received, the estates of various anthropophagite peoples,

the Kau-handa and Mu-bumbo, are bordering the Moluva empire; its neighbours to the east are the Muene-Kanika and the Kazembe countries, but - as have been mentioned - the latter is separated from it by a widely extended uninhabited wasteland; its southern neighbour is the Lobal country as far as the Riambedsi river, and beyond that are the Kapenda and Mu-kongoto - or as they are generally called - the Lui-banda provinces. Finally, the Ma-hungo, Sindshe and Diokoe countries are laying in the west.

In the north and east, the Moluva empire is generally very hilly, covered by high-grown forests; the highest part of the continuously and evenly wavy heights stretches from the west through the Manzaza province to the Challa district, from here, towards the east and south, it is increasingly descending, with a slight inclination, though, to change, finally, into a forestless plain richly covered by grass in the districts of Katenda and Katema. This plain extends even beyond the Luena river as far as the Lunge-bungo river, and this is why these regions are exposed to seasonal floods. The province is generally sandy-soiled with more or less humus, being more or less fertile accordingly. But it is everywhere watered by streams. The empire, then, is crossed in every direction by rivers, most notable among them being: the Kasabi which, as has been seen, running from west to east through the Diokoe province, augmented by several minor or major rivers, grows into a big river; near Katenda, five miles higher up, it presses through two opposite cliffs and forms the Mueve Falls, then taking, gently, a northbound turn; farther on it turns again to the east, and - so the natives informed me - its lower reaches are several miles in width. Its water is always sweet, but there navigation is dangerous in certain periods of the year on account of strong waving. For certain reasons I believe that it grows very wide at places where it touches the big Moura (Moura) or Uhanya lake.

Springing from the south-eastern lowlands of the empire, the Lulua flows to the north-west to meet the Kasabi; owing to its depth, it would be navigable for some rather long distance where there no rocks going through its bed as bolts where the river forms falls.

The Lu-embo, running from south-west to north-east, joins the Kasabi somewhat lower down than Lulua in the Muadi region; Lu-embo, too, would be navigable in a good part of the year, but it also has falls.

The Kasongo, Manzaza or Maluvo, Kihombo or Chi-hombo, running to the north-east, meet the Lu-embo, while the Lu-atiri, Lu-alo, Sakarula seek to join the Kasabi; flowing into the Kasabi are also the Lu-ana and Chica, both coming from the south. Of all these rivers only the Kasongo, Manzaza and Kihombo are more or less navigable, while the others will rise to a large extent in the rainy season only.

The Riambedshi or Liambaye takes its source in the large marshlands laying in the Kazembe-Mutanda district⁶ in the central part of the empire; runs from north to south, then takes an east ward direction, and I think it flows into the Indian Ocean, forming a wide delta at the Kilamani shores.

The Kifumadshi or Chi-fumadshe springs from the Inamuana lakes situated in a wide plain of the same name, and running from the west to the east, it falls into the Riambedshi. Flowing into the Kifumadshi are the Lutembe and Dilolo from the north and the slow and swampy Lu-ati from the south, while the Kila-Metunda falls into the Riambedshi from the north. All these rivers will rise in the rainy seasons completely to flood the whole region generally in the months of March and April. In the Moluva empire there are practically no major and permanent lakes, because the Dilolo and Kifumadshe lakes - as they are called - loosing their water

in the dry season, are much more marshes covered by reed grass; nevertheless there are many good fish in them throughout the year, particularly silures, carps, pikes, and crucians; these are caught by the natives with touching devices; then they dry the fish and do a considerable business in dried fish the taste of which - as they never salt it - is bitter and disgusting.

The climate of the empire is clement and moderate, the European will easily get used to it. In the rainy summer months the thermometer will rarely read more than 26 R^o, while in the dry winter months, it will read 20 R^o at noon but will be down to 8 R^o at night or even less, particularly in the marshy areas. In the plains which are exposed to seasonal floods, intermittent (malaria) and raging fever, as well as dysentery are very common in a certain season.

Domestic animals: very few cattle and sheep, many goats and hens; no pigs at all. Of the wild beasts, elephants will frequently be met with; in the southern part of the empire, particularly in the environs of the Dilolo marshland, I found quite a lot of strikingly big snakes which I saw stretching in the high grass often in tens or even more; my native companions, however, instead of fleeing them in horror, covetously chased and caught them to devour the monsters like some delicious roast.

As to the mineral kingdom, there is plenty of iron, while in the south-eastern part of the empire rich copper mines are to be found. Getting the ore in the form of malachite the natives can suitably melt and clarify it; the pure copper thus gained will then be cast into x-shaped pieces, each 4 to 5 pounds in weight, which named as muambo are circulated in the home trade.

The Moluva peoples are tall and slenderly-statured, and generally their fine looking marks them out from among the other races of South Africa; they - even their women - are pugnacious in nature; with foreigners, however, they are hospitable, kind and given to gentle conversation. Their arms: long bow and arrows, lance which they never poison, moreover, sword (kaimpaka), about half a span-wide with groovy blade, which they wear in sheath hanging by the shoulder; in addition they also use as defending arms egg-shaped shield made of leather, inside it is lined with wild reed while its edge is finely decorated with pearls of various colours. Firearms can be found only in the southern parts of the empire where cast-bound caravans would frequently appear.

The Moluva people undoubtedly surpass the other peoples of South Africa by their culture which they have developed out of their own intellect. They can produce certain objects of original and masterly forms, thus, e.g., their weapons, but particularly their jewels which are sort of embroidered with beads of various size and colour; they manufacture beautiful bracelets and torques of the feathers of colourful birds mixed with beads. By means of a certain mixture, they can make the copper yellow, then they extrude it to form a thin thread, then they wind it on the hair of the elephant's tail out of which they make nice, flexible bracelets and leg-bands of various thickness, and which called Minungo or Kinungo are also used as money in home trade in the inside of South Africa. Finally, belonging to the Moluva products are the many-coloured cotton fabric as the mallas and the various fine matings with which the wealthier used to cover even the internal walls of their houses.

The Moluva people also know the social life developed on the basis of relative sound principles and regulations. After all this, it would seem almost incredible that - on the other hand - the Moluva people are real cannibals on account of their obscure and superstitious religion, when

to placate the anger of their god Kalumbo, they do not dread to offer human sacrifice. It should also be attributed to their perverted religious view that the grown up girl will be deflowered by her own father or brother before marriage. Polygamy and circumcision is common practice among the Moluvas, too.

The Moluva people grow a large quantity of manioc, less masambala, masango, luko, amendoim and now even tobacco. (While staying with them, I distributed a good quantity of tobacco seed which they sowed; the tobacco grew well to be in general use soon afterwards instead of pango or liamba, a kind of hemp which they had used before.) In some places to be found in profusion are sugar-cane, pineapple, banana, and along the Luiza River in the north-eastern parts the dendee palm, too.

Their commodities: ivory⁷ in large quantities; slaves of both sexes, and in such a large number that one-third of all victims dragged off to the Loanda and Benguela markets have boon, for almost a century, taken from the Moluva Empire. Presently the caravans coming here from Bihé and Pungo-andongo are purchasing the slaves part of whom they exchange for ivory in various internal provinces, while the other part is used as carriers to transport ivory to the sea shore. The Moluva Empire also has plenty of wax, but its transportation through tiresome ways would be highly expensive because of the immense distance, and since it promises no profit, it has been held in contempt as yet.

As compared to the immense dimensions of the empire, the population is little, hardly more than one million; uninhabited wastelands of several days' walk are extending in the interior, and as I have observed, it is only in the north-eastern part that one can more often find settlements composed of tiny, round-roofed houses made nicely of straw, and, as a rule, they are built amidst forests far from the rivers. The neighbouring forest is cleared to create sowing area. These places, surrounded by immensely high forests, are looking seriously romantic. The open space is lit by the freely coming sunbeams thus forming a pleasant contrast to the eternal dark shadow of the surrounding forests. In each of these places, except the residences of chiefs, 100 people are living.

The monarchical system is utterly despotic and tyrannic, undoubtedly the most inhumane and bloodiest that ever and anywhere existed. The ruling prince, whose title is Muati-yanvo, is a despotic master of the life and property of his subjects who are suffering as perpetual slaves under his rod of iron. It is astonishing to see the brutish obedience and readiness with they fulfil the inhumane orders of the despot; with complete self-devotion they let themselves be executed, often without any real cause, after the mutilation of the nose, ear and genitals, punished with the most painful death of skinning alive or with beheading. The subjects have no right of appeal of any kind against the bloody rule of the despot; they even worship him as a god; when they appear before him they are creeping on the ground, meanwhile they keep chafing their chests and arms with sand grasped in their hands, and thus cry: "U-vurie! vurie kalombo! Vurie, Muati-yanvoa vurie!" (Hail! Be greeted our God! Hail! Muati-yanvo, hail!). This principality is, however, not a hereditary dignity, it can be attained through an election by the kilolos (chiefs).

The Moluva empire is distributed into several feudal provinces each being ruled by a chief named muanangana; these chiefs are independent of each other, and they all acknowledge the superiority of the Muati-yanvo and pay him annual tribute consisting of ivory, slaves, wild animal hide, as well as of various products, European and domestic. Delegated to the court of each such chief or feudal lord is one or more high official,

called kilolo, of the prince (Muati-yanvo) with the task of informing him instantly about every event. The collection of the tributes is supervised by officials named kakuata, who - with a smaller or larger armed escort - will appear in the court of the feudal chiefs to exact the tributes. It often occurs in the remote, borderline provinces of the empire that the chiefs will refuse to pay tribute, and even the collecting kakuatas will be chased out ignominiously. Thus in these remote provinces the superiority of the Muati-yanvo is nominal rather than actual.

The capital of the empire is Kabebe lying between the southern latitudes 7° to 8° and the eastern longitudes 24° to 25° in a wavy plain sloping gently towards the east; the town, together with places closely surrounding it from all sides, occupies an area of three German geographical square-miles, which is cut across by several fine streams. Its total population can be estimated at 50,000. It is the seat of the mighty Muati-yanvo; neatly covered with straw, its numerous houses are constructed of thick posts sticked in the ground, surrounded with a double fence forming a regular square. From the outside, these princely dwellings seem to be two-storied, in fact, they are one-storied or rather single-floored, but they have very high round roof placed on pillars much in the same way as the roofing that covers the large wheel of Hungarian dry mills. Inside, the walls and floors are carefully lined with neat mattings of various colour.

The streets of the town are rather neat and broad, intersecting at almost right angles, shadowed, here and there, by huge panda trees; the streets are leading to several market-places in the inner town where plenty of foodstuff of various kinds and even certain European products, e.g. textile, are for sale. Serving as money in the market are mainly half a span long stringes of large white porcelain beads, kauri shells and the above-mentioned minungoes made of yellow copper thread.

The land is cultivated here with conspicuously great diligence and with even great success, producing the afore-mentioned crops. Dendee palm can be found here in large quantities; the dendee palm-oil is gained from boiling out the seeds of the plum-sized, lengthy and round shaped fruit - fine brownish when ripe - of this kind of palm. Banana, particularly the long S. Thome-banana as well as pineapple are also grown here. To the east of the Atlantic Ocean this was the first place where I had opportunity to eat banana and pineapple in the interior of Africa.

Galanye is two days' journey to the north of the capital, numbering some 6,000 inhabitants; noted for the burials of muati-yanvos. According to a time-honoured custom, the deceased Moluva princes used to be buried here in separate crypts, each with an area of several square-fathoms, dug adequately deep in the ground and covered with round high straw roofing in which an entrance door is made. The walls of the spacious grave are carefully covered with coloured mattings and fine European textiles. In the middle of the grave, a catafalque-like boarding is placed on which the pompously dressed princely body will be laid out; before the funeral takes place, however, several slaves of both sexes will have been killed to conciliate the souls of the dead; two slaves will be allowed to live to take care of the body and the grave, to clean and keep it as long as the successor of the deceased lives because when the successor dies the burial of the former will be closed for good.

Sakambundshi, near the Kasabi River, is the birthplace of the currently ruling Kinanezi-Muati-yanvo Dynasty, and the seat of feudal princes springing from this dynasty. Owing to its suitable situation it is a meeting point of caravans from Pungo-Andongo, Kasandshi and Bihe going east, and here they can supply themselves not only with foodstuff necessary for

the long eastern journey but also with plenty of ivory. I estimate the number of its inhabitants at 2,000 who are maintaining friendly relations with the frequently coming foreigners.

Kamunguasha, Muso-Katamda, Kapenda, east of the Riambedshi River, are doing considerable business in ivory, and are often visited by caravans.

Katenda, by the Kasabi River, is noted only for its ferry. Katema is 4 to 5 days' walk from here to the south-east, beyond the Inamuana plain, near the borders of the Lobal country, forming the residence of the second-ranking feudal chief with perhaps some 1,000 inhabitants. They are also doing remarkable business with caravans going east since this town is on their way.

Let us leave the Moluva country which has been adequately reported on, and let us proceed to the south through the uninhabited Inamuana grassland, extending right at the foot of the Katenda and completely disappearing in the horizon, where the long grass blooming in the dry season is pleasantly waving as the wind sways it, and which is completely flooded in the rainy season looking like a big sea from which only here and there, at a good distance from each other, on higher places, some smaller or larger spots are looming as they emerge like real islands serving at this time as refuge for a large number of various beasts. It may well take three days while we reach the southern end of the plain and the borders of the Lobal country; here we arrive at the Lunge-bungo River which flows from the west to east. Beyond it, the plain Lobal country, cut across by several streams, extends as far as the Lunge-bungo river.

Its borders: in the north the Moluva Empire; in the east the Riambedshi River, which separates it from the Lui-banda provinces; in the south the Lunge-bungo, which separates it from the Zambuella and Buunda countries; in the west Diokoe.

The province in general is a plain meadowland, only the higher table-lands are covered with dense forests, therefore it is mostly subject to seasonal floods, and even after the flood has gone, there will remain permanent lakes, smaller and larger, in which the above mentioned kinds of fish are living in abundance. Its climate is similar to that of the southern part of the Moluva Empire. Its more significant rivers:

The Lu-ena which springs from the so-called Dikoma swamps of the Diokoe province in the west, and leaving that province it soon presses through a rocky height; in its eastern course it runs through the Lobal country, finally, in Sonan-Gambo district, it breaks through the rocky fall Napuh to join the Riambedshi. It is navigable for some distance throughout the year.

The Lu-medshi, too, takes its source in the Diokoe province in the west, not far from the place Pehu, and leaving Diokoe with big bends it falls into the Lu-ena at the Lobal place of Hamishibi; this river is also navigable for some distance with flatboats.

Riding from the western part of the province, the Lu-valodshe meets with numerous streams in its eastern course to become a remarkable river, therefore two-third of its course is navigable throughout the year. It also flows into the Lu-ena after taking up the medium-range rivers Lu-zhi-rakata and Mukuse.

Springing from the Olovienda forest in the west, the Lunge-bungo, in its eastward course, separates Diokoe from Buunda, and farther on, the Zambuella (Madshe) parts from Lobal, joining the Riambedshi at the end. The Lunge-bungo, which I have seen several times, is comparable to the Tisza (in Hungary) as regards both the volume of water and breadth.

Flowing into it are the rivers Lumbale, Mukenda, Luma-medshi from the north and several other minor streams.

Lobal country is ruled by several cruel, tyrannic chiefs of minor or major rank whose title is muanangana. They are partly independent of each other. There are among them several ruling princesses (sonan), too, such as Sonan-Gambo, Sonan-Guhu, Sonan-Kabango. Mightiest among these chiefs is the so-called Kakenge ("perikit-bird") who has been ruling over the eastern part of the province in utterly despotic and cruel manner for more than half a century, and his name inspires fear even now in distant peoples, and also in domestic caravans going there which have long been in commercial relation with him because it is possible only through his mediation that they can deal with peoples living beyond the Riambedshi River and can buy ivory and slaves. Namely, these articles have - for a long time - been permitted to be purchased under his name only, therefore his name and power have become widely known even in remote provinces. This probably may explain why Livingstone placed the residence of the said prince several degrees further to a place where the caravans starting from here used to go to buy ivory. Presently the road leading through the Moluva empire towards the east is open, thus the caravans used to approach the tributaries of the Riambedshi through the places of Katenda and Katema, and so they can reach their destination more safely - with some time-waste, though - and less expensively than through the country of the wild marauder-natured Ka-lobar peoples where particularly the above-said prince used to push them for "voluntary" tributes; not infrequently did it happen that even after receiving the requested tribute, he would attack them with arms and would completely rob them.

Prince Kiryama ("Lion") had less power, but owing to his long rule, he was just as well-known as Ka-kenge; he, however, was very popular and for his hospitality he was liked by the foreign caravans, particularly by those coming from Bihe who would often go there even now. I twice visited the more than hundred years old chief whose readiness and good-heartedness cannot be praised highly enough, particularly in comparison to the pugnaciousness and thievishness characteristic of these peoples; but he is no longer alive, he died one year and a half ago succeeded by his grandson of the same name.

The population of the Lobal Country is relatively large, I estimate it at 200,000. These people are generally well-built with good lookings; it is regrettable that they are so much given to theft and marauding; even if they show hospitality to foreigners, they do it out of selfishness and greed, even so they will rarely keep their promise, and what is more, they will often attack the seemingly peacefully received and dismissed traveller shortly after his leave unless they fear his greater power. Even among themselves, the objects of various chiefs are incessantly quarelling the main objective of which is to enslave each other. Therefore, here to be found or rather to be purchased are always large numbers of slaves who have been bought up to now by the caravans at unduly low prices. Dragged off from their fatherland, these slaves will easily forget about their former life, and will stick to their master whom they will never leave. They are clever, bald and determined people, being therefore very suitable to armed service, and to make long travels with them promises success. In my travels the greater part of my slaves were Lobalian by birth; in 1855 these slaves arrived with me in their homeland for the second time, some of them in the vicinity of their birthplace, yet none of them escaped, on the contrary, they even brought me presents from their brethren. To be sure, I had taken good care to have made married Kimbundu women back in

Bihe country, thus many of them left children at home, and the fatherly love could easily be a counterpoise to the love of their fatherland.

The Lobalian religion is also a stupid fetishism: the good being is called Kayanda while the evil is Makitchi to whom they will often sacrifice animals but never men. Polygamy and circumcision are usual among them.

Their agriculture is identical with that of the Moluva people, but their trade consists almost exclusively of slaves. However, now they are not much in demand on account of the necessity of their transportation to the coastal region; their price is very low. Currently the caravans buy them mainly because they can exchange them in other places for ivory which, then, will be transported also by slaves to the coast. For select women ivory will be bought which will then be carried further by men as brutes. More than half of these unfortunate slaves, however, will perish during these hard travels lasting several months.

Ivory is precisely what the Lobal Country does not supply, because even the little that can be found there comes from provinces lying beyond the Lunge-bungo and Riambedshi rivers. Wax, which can be found here too in large quantities, has become an article of merchandise over the past five years, and this is mainly on account of the slaves, cheap in this country, who carry the wax on their back to the sea-shore. Because if they can survive the travel, the slave or the wax is a net profit. The slaves thus arrived at the sea-shore then can be used to gather orseille (orchil).

Notes to Supplement I

1. "Lunda" or "Ba-Lunda" are not real geographical names and they are mostly used by the Kimbunda and Pungo-andongo caravans coming from abroad. The word in its full sense means a widely extensive country with many uninhabited wastelands, and this, indeed, is characteristic of the Moluva Empire where the populated areas are separated by uninhabited wastelands often of several days' journey.
2. "Kim-bandi" is formed from two Abunda words, the first meaning 'man', the second 'pot', thus the whole name means something like 'potter's land'. To the east of this province, the clayey soil ends and beyond that the sand is predominant which is more or less mixed with humus; i.e. sand is not suitable for pottery, therefore people, even those living far inside the country, used to go to get earthenware to the country along the Koanza, to obtain there mostly big earthenware pots used to prepare the drink called "ovalua". As a result, this country is called Kim-bandi abroad, although its name in the vernacular is Lu-embi.
3. Owing to their small stature, smoky yellow colour, and to their flat face, the Mu-kankala people form a separate and specific ethnographical class among the South African races. Their outward appearance shows nothing but the caricature of a human figure; they are hardly taller than four feet, their legs are thin; their body is lean but muscular, almost one-third of which consists of a semi-circularly protruding pot-belly, their neck is thin, seating a big head with flat face that shows an even flatter nose or rather two protruding holes; their mouth is broad with thick lips; their eyes are tiny, ears are large, their woolly hair is short curled in rare knots. More praiseworthy than their evil looking and disgusting appearance is their mental construction: they are peaceful and kind to the foreigners who meet them and to whom they give ivory, wax, honey and dried meat in exchange for trifles, e.g. for glass or porcelain beads, tobacco, etc. They will never steal or resort to violence to obtain foreign goods. - To the south of the Kubango River, in the Kongari and Mukursu regions I would often meet such Mu-kankala or Ka-sekel hordes, but more and more rarely can they be found further up to the north and cannot be found at all beyond the latitude 11^o, since they do not go that far on account of the Masongo and Kibokoe peoples and particularly because the Olovihenda wilderness is narrower there, thus the above mentioned peoples often cross it who hunt for them (i.e. for the Mu-Kankala people) as if they were games to enslave them. Of this race I have an adult lad and two girls whom I bought in their childhood from Banda-men and who have been sticking to me ever since;

although during my travels we often approached their own hordes, yet they did not flee but distinguished themselves by their obedient behaviour. Their mental abilities, however, are at a very low stage of development.

4. During my travel, in mid-June, I along with my company, pitched a camp for the night near the source of the Lu-medshi River, which is at the foot of a height densely covered with forests in a muddy swamp exposed to the east wind, where the frost was so strong that the water left in the pots was covered with a thin layer of ice in the morning and the ground was thickly covered with hoar-frost.
5. They can make fire-arms, along with all their appliances, except the barrel, imitating the European products. On one occasion during my travel in their country, I handed over a lockless rifle to a Diokoe smith who had called on me to repair it, and I also give him another, French-made rifle lock to be used as a model on which the word "Laport" was engraved. A few days later, the Diokoe master brought back the rifle, and the lock was not only well and neatly made but even the word "Laport" was engraved, letter by letter, on it, though the letters were somewhat more awkward.
6. In the interior of South Africa, at least three such names should be distinguished, namely, Kazembe-Mutobo, Kazembe-Mutanda and Kazembe-Tambalameba. The former two are separate feudal provinces in the Moluva Empire, while the latter is the Kazembe country as known by the geographers which the natives discern by appending to it the word Tambalameba, the name of its capital.
7. Elephants are living in herds in large forests extending in the northern and eastern parts of the empire, where they are hunted mostly by the wandering Kimbunda, Diokoe, Buunda peoples and also by the Kabenda people living beyond the Riambedshi River. They are bound to deliver one of the tusks of the killed elephant to the chief of the local district as tax. Not infrequently do the tusks of the elephants living here weigh 110 and even 125 Portuguese pounds; their external colour is dirty brown or even black, thus they are differing from those of elephants living in provinces beyond the Kubango River, since elephants in Libebe, Kongari and other provinces have quite white tusks. I think, the main reason for this might be that there are many marshlands in the plateaus of northern Inner Africa, on the bottoms of which several kinds of roots, particularly cucurbitaccas are growing, and the elephants there are mostly feeding on these water-weeds which they are looking for by digging up the mud with their tusks; in the dry southern regions, however, elephants are feeding on the fruits of trees being not compelled to dig up the swampy ground, thus their tusks can keep their natural white colour.

Appendix II

László Magyar's "Moluwa" and "Ka-Lobar" vocabulary which he appended to the German edition of his report published in Appendix I

<u>German</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Moluwa</u>	<u>Ka-lobár</u>
Gott	god	Kalombo-Kinauersh	Kajanda-Kalunga
Körper	body	Mussimba	Mussinga
Seele	soul	Musus	Tschina
Himmel	heaven	Diurr	Dilu
Paradies	paradise	Kuánga	Kálunga
Teufel	devil	Mukitsch	Mákitschi
Feuer	fire	Késs	Tuija
Luft	air	Runhinda	Pehu
Erde	earth	Máwu	Máwu
Wasser	water	Mema	Méba
Sonne	sun	Mutemma	Tángua
Mond	moon	Góónde	Gonde
Halbmond	half-moon	Mukátschi-mui-urr	Gonde-ebe
Vollmond	full-moon	Góónde ukusera	Gonde nénéhá
Abnehmender Mond	descrescent moon	Góónde-mukep	Gonde-káne-monchá
Warm	warm	Dürungola	Ditukuta
Kalt	cold	Máschiká	Djischiké
Schönes Wetter	fair weather	Maámbe	A'mbue
Regen	rain	Inwurra	Inwula
Donnern	to thunder	Karuma-oi-ssüss	Kálinga-muátenuka
Donnerkeil	lightning	Ssésch	Sásesch
Regenbogen	rainbow	Maesse	Lukongolo
Morgen	morning	Buididi	Lungu-diákutja
Mittag	noon	Mutemma mui urr mukátsch	Mutemáilu
Abend	evening	A'utschid (?)	Nakakowela
Nachmittag	afternoon	U'rr verre	Diana lemba-guetschi
Heute	today	Lelu	Tangalua-lelu
Gestern	yesterday	Náless	Sau-tuwássa-lilé

+ Ladislaus Magyar's Erforschung von Inner-Afrika. Nachrichten die von ihm in the Jahren 1850, 1851, und 1855 bereisten Lander Moluwa, Moropu and Lobal. /Petermann's Mitteilungen, 1860, 234-235. p. /The English translation of words are originally not included./

Morgen	tomorrow	Diámma-schiká	Hámene
Übermorgen	the day after tomorrow	Diámma-schiká- diu	Hámene-rise
Jahr	year	Muwu	Moáká
Regenzeit	rainy season	Runwula	Tukuedjschi-tua-fula
Trockene Zeit	dry season	Goudwa-máschika	Játji-schiká
Mann	man	Ikundjschi	Lunga
Weib	woman	Umbandá	Puewo
Greis	old man	Mu-kurunj	Tji-Kongo
Jüngling	young man	Muáni-káng	Mu-kuesi
Mädchen	girl	Djángá-diná	Mona-puewo
Kind	child	Muana-mukenje	Ka-keke
Riese	giant	Muanta-muschimi	Dia-neneke
Zwerg	dwarf	Ikundjschi-mukenje	Kánijke
Kopf	head	Mutue	Mutue
Haar	hair	Jessuke	Khámbo
Gesicht	face	Kumess	Kulo-holo
Auge	eye	Mess	Dissu
Augenbraunen	eyebrow	Uwudjscha-kumess	Wikenji
Nase	nose	Disul	Disul
Lippen	lips	Dijemma	Mulongo
Mund	mouth	Dikáno	Kánu
Zahn	tooth	Maseu	Másu
Kinn	chin	Miriu	Miriwue
Kehle	throat (larynx)	Pánschi	Dikanga-riwu
Ohr	ear	Mátsch	Dituitu
Bart	beard	Mocs	Woeyu
Hals	neck	Ischingu	Schingo
Brust	breast	Dibámbu	Tulo
Schulter	shoulder	Makis	Tschifuidjschi
Arm	arm	Djilkáss	Diwoko
Finger	finger	Mínje	Minue
Nagel	nail	Schinschela	Wiálá
Bauch	stomach	Diwum	Diwumo
Nabel	navel	Ditjimbi	Ditimbi
Knie	knee	Miendo	Dikondongulo
Fuss	foot	Wiss	Mukono
Blut	blood	Mádsche	Mánjinga
Eingeweide	entrails	Mudjia	Mira
Herz	heart	Ruidum	Mutjima
Lunge	lung	Matschina	Makujungo
Leber	liver	Isuri	Disuri
Lachen	to laugh	Kussipa	Kusscha
Weinen	to weep	Kudila	Muálila
Athmen	to breath	Fuime	Máfuima
Schlaf	sleep	Turá	Tulá
Rede	speech	Disu	Diso
Schönheit	beauty	Muánápé	Mauahá
Hässlichkeit	ugliness	Muumpi	Napika
Gesundheit	health	Tschri-Nauánj	Inámono
Magerkeit	leanness	Mukempe	Náhokáma
Beleibtheit	corpulence	Muschimi	Nánunu
Sehen	to see	Utádik	Muatalá
Hören	to hear	Goowiki	Neu-huúil
Riechen	to smell	Disumbu-dínuka	Muáfenje

Schmecken	to taste	Kuámpe	Hanipe
Tasten	to touch	Udintschik	Muhu-kuata
Buckel	hump	Mulunde	Katri-nákunda
Schiefer Körper	slanting body	Witupa	Natioko
Blind	blind	Ufi-mess	Nadi-ssuli
Verwundet	wounded	Itata	Wilondo
Krankheit	illness	Mucs	Muawisa
Kaltes Fieber	cold fever, ague	Ijele-muschimbi	Kuwise
Zahnschmerzen	toothache	Ijele mutue	Muawisa mutue
Husten	cough	Aisse	Makoholu
Geschwulst	swelling, tumour	Uchimba	Tschina-djimbi
Blattern	pox	Wuanokessu	Mania-manoke
Durchfall	diarrhoea	Xunje	Muawisa-muigschina (?)
Leben	life	Mono	Mono
Tod	death	Kuffua	Muffu
Wille	will	Audjonatia	Wuijja
Vorstand	chief, superior	Manánga	Schindungo
Dumheit	stupidity	Ussinjit	Wauhunga
Erinnerung	remembrance	Udi mukini	Naschinganeka
Liebe	love	Mutschina-Uánib	Tschina-muakine
Zorn	anger	Ussu edjschi	Atenuka
Furcht	fear	Uoma	Wuoma
Schmerz	pain	Mussongo	Naahole
Freude	joy	Másse	Muasseha
Schande	shame	Issonji	Ssonji
Vater	father	Tateko	Tata
Mutter	mother	Máko	Mámá
Grossvater	grandfather	Naka	-
Schwester	sister	Mana-mukuáni	Jajenji
Oheim	uncle	Manta	Nántu
Neffe	nephew	Mussonji	Nai-nji
Schwager	brother-in-law	Njári	Náári
Schwäher	father-in-law	Mauene	Nakokunu
Gatte (Mann)	husband	Jumo-ámi	Ihowenju
Gattin (Frau)	wife	Mu-karssám	Puewo-rinji
Erbe	heir	Ssuána	Ssuána
Wittwe	widow	Ssanja	Turiwue
Nachbar	neighbour	Indinendi	Muhua-ssoko
Gast	guest	Muenhi	Wangedjschi
Löwe	lion	Támpue	Dumba-kinjáma
Leopard	leopard	Kissungo	Djissuka
Elephant	elephant	Inscháwu	Indschámba
Nashorn	rhinoceros	Katunga-an pata	A'npátá
Nilpferd	hippopotamus	Muwu	Guwu
Krokodil	crocodile	Gáнду	Gáнду
Riesenschlange	boa constrictor	Kawuma-an-pata	Boma
Hyäne	hyena	Kimburu	Munguri
Wildschwein	wart hog	Inssuindi	Tschómbó
Affe	monkey	Inkima	Mámpuja
Wildbüffel	bison	Mombe an pata	Pakassa
Zebra	zebra	Nángolo	Nángolo
Antilope	antelope	Kabajj	Tupáschi
Ochs	ox	Nombe	Goombe
Gazell	gazelle	Mukaje	Bámbi
Ziege	goat	Impembe	Pembe

Schwein	pig	Kibonda	Wangulu
Schaf	sheep	Mukoko	Me-me
Hund	dog	Kabua	Káuá
Vogel	bird	Kandjschila	Tudjschila
Hahn	cock	Dikolombolo	Demba
Schlange	snake	Nóká	Noka
Fliege	fly	Andjschindjschi	Apuka
Weiss	white	Ussussa	Natjitoma
Roth	red	Ussus	Nekussuka
Gelb	yellow	Mutuba	Djitoma
Schwarz	black	Oschálá	llawula
Grün	green	Rumbund	Lumbundu
Flinte	rifle	Uta	Uta
Schwert	sword	Kaimpáká	Djimbengendje
Streitaxt	war-axe	Heitáka	Mutáká
Bogen	bow	Uta-pakata	Hóngi
Pfeil	arrow	Massámu	Wikiri

Appendix III

Petermann's opinion about geographical data
published by David Livingstone and László Magyar
(Remarks of the editor-in-chief)[†]

To the full understanding of the afore-going work "On Dr. Livingstone's errors" it is necessary to remind the reader that at the time of its wording the author could rely only on those maps and reports on Dr. Livingstone's investigations which had been published in the first two volumes of "Geogr. Mittheil.", and neither Livingstone's final map nor his travel-book were at his disposal. (See László Magyar's letter in "Geogr. Mittheil." no. 1, 1860, 44. p.). On those first maps, designed by W. Desborough (Vol. 1855: table 21, Vol. 1856: table 17), Lobale country lies between the tributaries of the Liba and the Kassabi valley so that the Dilolo Lake forms its centre, and Kangerke is the seat of its tribal head which can be found near one tributary of the Kassabi to the north-east of the Dilolo Lake. Lunda is represented separate from Moluwa, to the east and south-east of Lobale. Kassabi is given a strongly westbound curve below its bend near Katende, while the Luena is represented as a tributary of the Kassabi, and so forth. But all these errors are corrected on Livingstone's following map (see "Geogr. Mittheil.", 1858, table 7) so that László Magyar - without his knowledge and against his intention - gave an excellent evidence of Livingstone's reliability against the conjectures of certain geographers. The agreement of data given by both travellers on all the important points warrant the reliability of the currently used maps of the discussed parts of Inner Africa, and that they can be looked upon as highly reliable tools is due precisely to Magyar's unawareness of Livingstone's work, thus this could not influence the way of his representation.

In designing table 10, we could take Livingstone's route for sure all the much more because Magyar had cross it at two points, at Katende and Katema, on the basis of which we could modify the Hungarian traveller's route which he had determined without astronomical methods and - as far as we know - without instrumental angular and distance measurements. Although the publication, in unchanged form, of the original maps as the ones Magyar sent to us is of great value, still in this particular case, it would have caused nothing but further confusion if we had wanted to leave

[†] Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1860, 235-237. p.

Livingstone's positions out of consideration. Moreover, it became possible to keep them so that there was no need to make any forcible changes in Magyar's maps; only the distances had to be decreased to some extent since Magyar sets the village of Katema in latitude $11^{\circ} 38'$ south and longitude $23^{\circ} 29'$ east (of Greenwich), thus in pretty much the same latitude, though to the east by one degree, as Livingstone (lat. $11^{\circ} 35' 49''$ south and long. $22^{\circ} 27'$ east of Greenwich), and - accordingly, on his map the north-southward valley of the Kassabi, the valley of the Liba, etc. are laying to the east by one degree. The shortening of the route, which thus became necessary, was carried out so that it was evenly distributed between Coanza and Katema, from the coast (at Benguela) to Katema throughout the whole route, because we did not take for sure the Kuyo River situated at Coanza and its geographical longitude since on the map added to his work (1857), Magyar locates the former settlement in latitude $11^{\circ} 47'$ south and longitude $18^{\circ} 23'$ east of Greenwich, while on his map he sent to us (1858) in lat. $13^{\circ} 2'$ south and long. $18^{\circ} 4'$ east. The reliable determination of positions is completely lacking and even the position of Bihe, which is not very far off, is doubtful. Since for Benguela we kept the position as given by Raper, which had been taken from the English survey of the coast, while for Katema we kept Livingstone's determination, thus with the proper modification of Magyar's drawing, for Kuyo we obtained the following position: lat. $12^{\circ} 53'$ south, long. $17^{\circ} 31'$ east. Accordingly, in the westernmost parts of our map the positions of settlements are to the west by some 0,5 degree and in the easternmost parts by one degree as compared to Magyar's original drawing.

The west-eastward routes were shortened at precisely the same rate as the south-northward ones, thus, e.g. the capital of Muatna-yarvo - which Magyar locates in lat. $7^{\circ} 38'$ south and $24^{\circ} 43'$ east - is now set in lat. $8^{\circ} 2'$ south and long. $23^{\circ} 36'$ east. This position is still more to the east by $1^{\circ} 16'$ and by $1^{\circ} 36'$ than the positions supposed by Livingstone and Cooley, respectively, but this corresponds to the changed direction of the Kassabi which is taken by the former two authors as flowing rather to the north-west while in Magyar's opinion it runs straight to the north and even to the north-east.

Apart from these really very slight shortening the routes, we took the liberty of changing Magyar's maps only in places where data were not based on the traveller's own observations and where there were differences in his representation of the region wandered through by Dr. Livingstone. In other words: we accurately kept the routes of both travellers and their combination was so easy to perform that only a few points have remained unclear. Thus, in accordance with Livingstone's report, the village of Katema was located near the southern shore of the Dilolo Lake while Magyar sets this place roughly in the middle of the distance between the said lake and Kifumadshi (according to Livingstone: Chifumadze). However, Livingstone himself had gone from Katema to the lake while Magyar did not even see the latter. On the other hand, Magyar, who crossed it himself, located Kifumadshi higher up to the north since Livingstone - who did not see this river and drew it on the basis of information only - cannot be deemed authentic in this matter. Furthermore, on his way from Kambango to Katema, Livingstone touched a place called Kawawa, not far from the Kassabi, and Magyar calls, by the same name, the third place on his way from Katema to the north-east. Although it seems obvious that the two places are really one and the same settlement, still they had to be given separately lest Magyar's whole route should be misrepresented. The river-system between the Quango-valley and the Kassabi, which had been

represented by Livingstone in different manner at different times, was put down on the map on the basis of Livingstone's last map, although Magyar represents the Tyihumu (according to Livingstone: Chihune) flowing near Dyambi, as falling into the Kassabi after it met other rivers to form the Luatiri. This may easily be correct, but we are of the opinion that in representing this Magyar, who had never touched this region, let himself be misled only by Livingstone's first drawing since he tends to continue Kikapa (Cheekapa) also from east to west to the Quango (see "Geogr. Mittheil.", 1856, table 17, additional page).

What are really valuable and new on Magyar's map are his numerous data on such, so far almost completely unknown, countries as Lobal, Kibokoe or Dyiokoe (according to Livingstone: Quiboque) and on the interesting watershed region between the Coanza, Quango, Kassabi and the Lungebungo. Although Alexandre da Silva Texeira (1795) and Joachim Rodriguez Graca (1846) had wandered through part of this region, and on the basis of their laconic and often inaccurate data W. D. Cooley could draw only a very imperfect sketch (see: "Geogr. Mittheil." 1856, table 17) which is modified in all particulars by Magyar's map. Firstly, Gombe (Dyamba) and Angaruca (Angoluka), the two travellers' starting points, are to the north rather than to the south of Cuiba (Magyar: Kuiwa), and - accordingly - the rivers Cotia, Caluembe, and Cice (Magyar: Kotia, Luembe and Ssisse), which they had crossed, are the northern or right-hand side rather than southern tributaries of the Cuiba. Moreover, their way leads, in a north-eastern direction, to the Muangoa or Munbango (Magyar: Mu-nyango), and from here towards the east to the Lumegi (Lumedjschi), then through Moma to the Lusangala. These are the tributaries of the Luena which Cooley draws as the Kassabi's tributary flowing, independently, into the Liba below the Kifumadshi. The Luaschi River, crossed by both travellers, which Cooley identifies with Livingstone's Loash and Chihombo, can by all means be identitic with Magyar's Lower-Luati, being one tributary of the Luena, because beyond this river they arrived to tribal head Caquina (Kakenge) and to the Lueli River. Since Cooley considered the Luena as the upper reaches of the Kassabi, he had to represent the Luasch and Lueli rivers as its northern tributaries, and thus Graca had to be supposed to have crossed the Kassabi near Katende, although this traveller did not make any mention of such a crossing. Magyar's map, then, reveals this mystery: Graca did not need to cross the Kassabi at all since the Luena flows to the south of it and the Lueli forms one southern tributary of the Kassabi. From the village of Quinhama (Magyar: Kinyama) on, Graca almost always proceeded along the right bank of the Kassabi, while Magyar was going downwards, not far from the left bank. What lies to the south-east and south of Graca's route is a plain abounding in marshlands and lakes between the Kassabi and the Liba, the major part of the Luena-region, the Lunge-bongo, which now is known as a tributary of the Zambezi and which on Cooley's map of South Africa dating from 1853 is identified with the Lulua. All this has been completely unknown until recently. Just as new as the latter is Magyar's way along the Kassabi and to the south-east of this as far as the Lulua and the Liba which he deems as the upper reaches of the Liambay while Livingstone identifies the Kabompo with is.

Magyar's map and his accompanying words give the impression of reliability, complementing and correcting several things, at the same time they are highly compatible with earlier reliable data. In this respect, particularly the published linguistic samples are acting as a certain touchstone. If these samples are compared with Koelle's famous collection, the "Poly-

glotta Africana", we find a good number of differences as it is expectable if only because these two men belonging to different nations, necessarily perceived the sounds in various ways and because Koelle had just a few informants, often uncertain as regards their origin, about the languages spoken in the interior of South Africa, still, taken as a whole, the kinship between words published by Magyar and those listed by Koelle under classes X and XI is clearly marked. More particularly, in the Moluwa or Runda (in Koelle's usage) many words are identical, while the Ka-lobar words as listed by Magyar will correspond to Koelle's Lubalo words only in case if they re-appear in the majority of languages in forms of identical with those in classes X and XI. They show much more correspondence to these words which Koelle listed under Songo, Kasandsch, Ngola and Pangela. From this it appears as highly probable that Koelle's Lubalo is a country different from Lobale or Lobal lying near the Lungebungo and Luena, and this seems to be almost certain on account of Koelle's remark that the birthplace of his Lubalo informant is one week's journey from the Coanza River and two-week journey from the coast, to the east of Loanda. This distance would obviously be too small in the case of Lobale.

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