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" Pouvoir rester peuple en conseillant les rois "

Cette sentence de Kipling fut, depuis 1960, adoptée comme Devise par le "Bureau d'Etudes pour un Développement Harmonisé" (BEDH), alors installé dans une cité africaine de Léopoldville. C'est tout naturellement qu'héritière des objectifs et des valeurs du BEDH, la Paul Raymaekers Foundation a repris – comme devise – la dite sentence.

EDITORIAL

" Les hommes passent... les problèmes demeurent", a-t-on souvent coutume de répéter en parlant du long cheminement des membres de l'espèce humaine.

Ils naissent de manière disparate : beaux ou laids, de toutes les couleurs, handicapés ou en pleine forme, hommes ou femmes, intelligents ou bêtes, dans des milieux structurés ou dans l'anarchie de guerres sans issues.

Pourquoi naissent-ils maintenant et pas à une autre époque ?

Pourquoi certains vivent-ils dans la joie et d'autres, le visage fermé, dans la peste et la terreur des dictatures ?

Pourquoi les uns sont-ils libres, les autres esclaves ?

Les uns riches, les autres pauvres ?

Et ces lamentations de se multiplier, tous azimuts.

Pour répondre au problème existentiel, des humains pleins de bonne volonté ont créé des dieux, des religions aussi nombreuses que sans vraies réponses aux inquiétudes et aux pourquoi de la condition humaine.

L'on perd de vue trop fréquemment que l'homme existe depuis près de 5 millions d'années, et que les plus anciennes religions contemporaines n'atteignent pas – malgré des transferts de concepts successifs et une évolution interne – 5000 ans d'âge, démontrant ainsi leurs limites.

Qu'en conclure ? que la condition humaine est une condition imbécile ? que l'homme qui mit des millions d'années à sortir de sa gangue naturelle, de sa préhistoire, se trouve actuellement prisonnier d'un développement technique devenu quasi incontrôlable ?

Il a fallu près de 5 millions d'années pour délaisser l'outillage en pierre, mais en moins de 10 000 ans l'humanité découvre le fer, la vapeur, l'électricité, l'atome, l'espace.

Le chercheur en sciences humaines a-t-il le droit de s'arrêter en chemin, de se conforter dans la révélation de la foi ? Malgré tout le respect que nous portons aux religions et aux messages souvent désespérés de leurs prophètes, nous ne pensons pas qu'éthiquement on ait le droit de s'arrêter ainsi, de prendre le Christ sans la Croix, l'Islam sans les autres.

Devant un tel problème, la seule solution pour le chercheur est de continuer à chercher, patiemment, sans écran – et sans doute en mettant tout en œuvre pour valoriser le monde des hommes : efforts humanistes temporels et intemporels, particulièrement vis à vis du Tiers-monde.

Respect de l'environnement.

Respect du droit naturel, ce qu'ont bien compris les grandes religions contemporaines : Bouddhisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme, Islamisme malgré de fréquentes contestations internes.

Continuer à chercher, dans la tolérance et le respect, dans le souci de compréhension de toute expression humaine – et dans la préoccupation également constante de sauver les valeurs essentielles.

" Un ajouté à un deviendra grand ", écrivions-nous déjà dans l'éditorial d'un des premiers Carnets Ngonge.

Voilà, à l'aube de cette reprise des Carnets Ngonge par la Fondation Paul Raymaekers quelques réflexions qui ne seront pas inutiles pour les années à venir.

LA PAUL RAYMAEKERS FOUNDATION

Créée pour prolonger l'effort humaniste réalisé depuis 50 ans par de nombreux collaborateurs du Bureau d'Etudes pour un Développement Harmonisé ⁽¹⁾ de par le Monde, la Paul Raymaekers Foundation s'est fixée – en principe pour un minimum d'un siècle – quelques objectifs essentiels :

1. Promouvoir, sans but lucratif, la recherche scientifique d'étudiants belges et européens en sciences humaines outre-mer.
2. Promouvoir la réalisation de contributions marquantes dans le domaine des sciences humaines outre-mer par l'octroi d'un Prix périodique attribué à un homme ou à une femme de n'importe quelle nationalité, ayant remarquablement oeuvré en ce domaine.
3. Poursuivre le développement de la Bibliothèque rassemblée par Paul Raymaekers. La mettre à la disposition de doctorants belges et européens, et l'offrir cent ans après le décès de son fondateur à des organismes spécialisés de divers pays de par le Monde.
4. Conserver, étudier et enrichir les Collections rassemblées par Paul Raymaekers et les offrir, cent ans après le décès de leur fondateur, à des organismes spécialisés existant dans leur pays d'origine.

Concrètement,

1. En fonction de ses revenus et disponibilités financières, la Fondation octroie à des doctorants en sciences humaines outre-mer – âgés de moins de 30 ans – des aides financières n'excédant pas 10 000 Euros et renouvelables une fois. Le candidat à une telle aide financière doit justifier d'un apport propre de 1750 Euros.
2. En fonction de ses revenus et disponibilités financières, la Fondation décerne périodiquement, si possible chaque année, un Prix de 3000 Euros destinés à récompenser une contribution marquante dans le domaine des sciences humaines outre-mer.
3. La Bibliothèque initiée par Paul Raymaekers est accessible, moyennant certaines conditions reprises au Règlement d'ordre intérieur de la Fondation, aux doctorants universitaires belges et européens qui le souhaitent. En fonction des moyens financiers de la Fondation, elle poursuivra son développement dans les secteurs choisis par son fondateur.
La Fondation anime, à travers un site informatique, une Banque de données spécifiques en sciences humaines.
4. Les Collections rassemblées par Paul Raymaekers peuvent être étudiées, moyennant certaines conditions reprises au Règlement d'ordre intérieur de la Fondation.
En fonction des moyens financiers de la Fondation, ces Collections poursuivront leur développement dans les secteurs choisis par leur fondateur.
Elles peuvent faire l'objet d'Expositions.

(1) BEDH : Bureau d'Etudes pour un Développement Harmonisé (1956-2006)
 - Mémorial du BEDH : 1956-1996 : 133 p., Bruxelles
 - Addendum au Mémorial : 1996-2006 : 10 p., Bruxelles.

NOTES SUR ...

(1) Traditional maritime fisheries and coastal cultures in Africa south of the Equator.

Fishing is vital to a large proportion of the coastal populations of Africa and its good management a concern to many governments. Fishing in sea waters and estuaries as well as the collecting of shellfish on the shore and in mangroves have been local sources of sustenance for most populations of the African coastline since the earliest documented periods. While major economic and biological research is led concerning the sustainability of commercial offshore fishing and good fisheries governance in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, little anthropological knowledge is available about the traditional fisheries operating within a short range of the African coast. A new research project at the Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren, has been initiated to address this issue. The objectives of this research project, focusing on countries south of the Equator, are relevant to three domains of maritime anthropology, maritime anthropology being defined as the study of social and technological processes of production, transformation and distribution and ultimately of consumption specific to the cultures which main mean of subsistence is the exploitation of the marine environment:

- The inventory and study of navigation skills, fishing techniques and fishing implements (as well as other extractivist activities relating to the sea¹) in subsistence and small-scale fisheries.
- The inventory and study of ethno-ichtiological knowledge and local knowledge of marine ecosystems.
- The history and ethnography of related coastal cultures, with a special view to assess the cultural importance of the sea for the local populations.

The area chosen is the least documented as far as the anthropology, history and archaeology of fishing is concerned. Whereas fishing in West, North and North-East Africa have been described and sometimes studied from a very early period, the coastline south of the Equator, perhaps because of its lower population density and comparatively less intensive traditional fishing, has been neglected in most fields of study.

Maritime fishing in Africa, as in the rest of the world, is very important for the countries in possession of a 200 NM maritime exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and may be vital for many of the coastal populations for whom it is a direct source of food and often of income. The project is essentially anthropological but will provide data directly useful for ichthyologists, such as vernacular species names, fish location, photographs and genetic samplings: practical collaborations will be sought. The historical aspect of the project, easier to implement, will consist in the systematisation and study of museum collections, archival and bibliographic references. The data collected, be it in the form of collections, of inventories and descriptions of fishing gear and fishing crafts, the data about fish catches, digital field photographs and the like will be put entirely in databases that should be accessible freely for research and development work.

¹ The project is concerned with the use of all marine resources, fish being the primary, but including edible algae, ascidians, sea-cucumbers, crustaceans and molluscs (shell fish) as well as turtles and the occasional marine mammals.

The scientific issues:

Many authors, including the most important ‘world historians’ (Hegel 1944 (1837) or Braudel 1979) have asserted and imposed onto public opinion that the oceans rebuffed the Africans, who, it is said, barely ventured onto them for want of technological competences and spirit of endeavour. Ecological arguments were advanced by numerous authors, namely the existence of dangerous surf, currents and tempests, the linearity of the coast allegedly offering little shelter for ships, dangerous estuaries and unapproachable mangroves. Yet, if the milieu presented some constraints, it did not constitute a redhibitory cause of isolation.

Besides, the history of pre-colonial Africa focused on the medieval states, cities and empires that flourished inland and the settlement of a number of coastal areas by migrants, reaching the ‘dead end’ of the shore, was often presented as the side effect of more important historical developments elsewhere (Monod 1944). The continental polities were presented as the apex of African civilisations, whereas the people who made up the scattered and long-established coastal populations were considered ‘less advanced’ even if they sometimes showed a remarkable adaptation to the coastal ecosystems. The development of slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries added to the negative image of the African populations of the Atlantic and the Indian shores.

Centres of maritime activity, from Mauritania to the Congo estuary (Chauveau 1986; Gutkind 1999; Hendrix 1985; Henry 1989), from Somalia to the Limpopo (Allen 1981; Gilbert 2004; Grosset-Grange 1978) and coastal communities living of fish and shell-fish were reported in virtually all countries (Devisse 1989). But even though historical and archaeological data confirm that the continuous exploitation of marine ecosystems for up to 8000 years by successive African coastal peoples south of the Sahara is a fact, there is to date no history of African maritime experience and there is no inventory of navigation or fishing technologies either.² Yet, as mentioned in the introduction, fishing is still vital to numerous contemporary peoples on the African coast.

What is the local knowledge of fish and of marine ecosystems? The more advanced the knowledge of fish and its habitat, the more efficacious will be the fishing. Of all times and places, fishermen have developed a precise knowledge of the resources at hand. This is true for Africa as well. This means not only which fish is good to eat, but also where it is to be found, when, and what its behaviour may be (Henry-Chartrier 1998). One of the few published ethno-ichtiological enquiries, led among the Yasa of Cameroon (Bahuchet 1992), showed that the local fishermen distinguished more than 90% of the fish species described in Western ichthyology for the same region. This suggests that that knowledge can be coupled to ichthyology in the study of marine fauna and ecosystems. But the primary interest here will be to study the indigenous knowledge and taxonomies to unravel their inherent logics. Ethno-ichtiology is about the knowledge but also about the uses and representations of the Pisces. Considering the conflicting theories on ethno-taxonomies (Friedberg 1974, for instance) a research focus will be to determine whether the complexity and precision of ethno-ichtiological taxonomies is an indicator of long-term adaptation to a specific ecosystem.

What is the diversity of the fishing gear and fish processing techniques and how are they adapted to local conditions? Subsistence and small-scale fisheries are not synonymous to technological archaism: from sea and beach seines to traps in mangroves, from hooks to harpoons through a large variety of nets, many gears have been developed to catch the desired fish in the various ecosystems of the African coast (Bossard 1993; Monod 1973). Already around 1435, Portuguese sailors deemed it worth to bring back admirable fishing nets from Rio de Oro to show them to their sovereign. Such nets, as most nets in Africa before the development of long distance trade and colonisation, were made by craftsmen with local fibres. Fishing gear was collected in many countries for museums and many photographs were made of popular topics like the crossing of the bar and the landing of fish. However, there have been

² Monod (1973) started an inventory of fishing gear in West Africa; see Klaus Lange (et. al.). 2005. *Fish Catching Methods of the World*. London and New York : Blackwell.

very few attempts to systematise this data. Today, it constitutes reference material to establish historical changes in fishing practice. A research hypothesis will be that the discriminate use of a broad spectrum of low-impact fishing techniques in subsistence and small-scale fisheries in Africa enabled a satisfactory and sustainable yield as well as the preservation of the ecosystems.

What can be learned from the seemingly low-tech fishing vessels and navigation techniques of the African coast? A systematic compilation of sea crafts and all their technical characteristics (from archives, published sources and fieldwork) will enable to map the diffusion of building techniques and their adaptation to the local conditions of navigation and fishing. The general type of long and narrow canoe, often monoxile, described since the 15th century does not need to be seen as an archaism. It is a very satisfactory adaptation to the local conditions of navigation, namely going through the surf and pulling the craft back up the beach after the fishing in the absence of harbour or anchorage (Chauveau 1986). This is admirably exemplified by the acute dependence of European sailors, from the earliest period and until after the colonial period, on local canoes and canoeists for loading and unloading goods from the coast. Similarly, the exclusive use of paddles instead of oars and sails before the introduction of mechanical engines was a necessity of the navigation space. One of the research hypotheses will be that knowledge of fish and marine ecosystems has constituted the frame of reference for technological development and marine adaptation.

How is marine tenure organised? Hardly ever recorded in ethnographic literature, the traditional African marine tenure for subsistence and small-scale fisheries remains to be fully researched. Who is authorised to fish, in a traditional setting, when, where and under what conditions? From the colonial period up to now, the migration of fishing communities along the West African coast has been well documented, especially that of Ghanaians and Nigerians. How this affected traditional marine tenure, however, has not been established and data about other areas remains scanty. While a few self-regulatory mechanisms were described, a recent increase in boats' and nets' size was reported in many parts of the Atlantic coast. Increased competition with industrial fishing and the illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing also has its toll on local fishing (Fernandes 1987; Klein 1999).

To what extent do coastal and fishing people differentiate themselves culturally from other populations? The specific experience of maritime peoples is not only reflected in their material culture and their cultural representations of the sea and sea fauna. The maritime environment also impressed itself in many aspects of life, notably the religious. As is the case with all traditional fishing people of the world, African fishing cultures have integrated the specificities of their experience in their religious practice. From the shrimp-possession cult of the Vezo (Madagascar) to the fish masks of the Bissagos (Guinea Bissau), specific fishermen's shrines and cults or fishermen's cemeteries: an innumerable variety of rituals, performances and artistic creations have characterised coastal cultures (Drewal 1988; Burney 1998; Gezon 1999). More generally, the import of African seamen has largely been ignored in the continent's historiography (Gilbert 2004; Ndombet 1989). The nature and volume of pre-colonial seaborne trade is only beginning to be established (Inikori 1986). African sailors have also offered their qualified services to the Europeans in colonial and pre-colonial times as crew, pilots and canoemen knowledgeable of the local surf, shoals and turbulent or difficult estuaries (Admiralty 1892; Chauveau 1986; Wright 1902). In 1753, the canoemen of Elmina went on strike for better wages for their work: as a result of which they were immediately replaced by canoeist of the Accra surf, which suggests that an open market for African sailors has long been established (Chauveau 1986). The data produced by the project will provide the basis for the development of both the history and anthropology of maritime life of the area under scrutiny.

How can ethnographic research contribute to the reconstitution of the history of human settlements of the African coast? Collaboration will be sought with linguists and archaeologists and a clear mapping of coastal populations and their languages through time will probably be revealing of the dynamics of their settlement (Devisse 1986; Mollat 1980; Roux 1981; Sedlak 1977). The languages in the area under scrutiny are all of the Bantu family at the exception of the Khoi-San populations of Southwest Africa.

To what extent the knowledge of contemporary fishing cultures can contribute to knowledge of the past will be tested whenever information from the three disciplines are available for a same region.

The developmental issues:

Sustainable fishing can contribute to poverty reduction and development issues could thus be addressed in the evolution of the research program. It is intended to procure scientific data on the domains listed below and project collaborators, especially in the partner countries, will be invited to address practical problems. Data of the ethnographic type (qualitative and quantitative) can give good indication of the contemporary trends in the development of fishing (the composition and activities of fishing populations), while historical data on past technologies and types of seafood can give indication of potential resources in the area or potentials for development of fisheries and aquacultures (Akegbejo-Samsons 1997; Bignoumba 1999; Collet 2001; Cormier-Salem 1989).

Food security is a concern for all fishing villages and where fish is processed and traded, the production may also be vital for other populations further a field. Economic development is based on the potential and contingencies of the natural and human resources. Good governance of small-scale fisheries must take into account the local and traditional means of production, as well as local demands and knowledge of human and natural resources. To extract their resources from the natural element, fishing people are directly sensitive to the pollution and degradation of the ecosystems, which may have an impact on human health (Cury and Roy 1998). Human health is also affected by the local and traditional techniques of conservation and processing of the fish. If some may have interesting applications, others may constitute a hazard. The safety of the workers at sea or ashore, and the potential of existing structures to cope with emergencies can also be questioned in the field. Today in Africa, a large number of fishing villages are directly affected by climate variability and climate change as the often narrow coastal lands they inhabit are being reclaimed by the sea, a phenomenon that has an impact on all the domains mentioned above.

Besides fisheries development projects, the data produced and the analysis of the social and economic processes unravelled will also be useful to integrated coastal zone management programs (Cazes 1998; Kponhassia 1997). A most remarkable example of integrated research and development, in which traditional fishing techniques and crafts were salvaged and redeveloped with good governance in the fully monitored ecosystem of a natural sea park is given by the Imragen of Mauritania. The Imragen live by the Bancs d'Arguin, of which they are the wardens and where they fish in sail-powered traditional vessels, while benefiting from improved facilities ashore for trade, health and education.

Implementation.

The countries and populations in question are the following. The list comprises most of the coastal peoples of Africa south of the Equator where research could be led but it is theoretical and not exhaustive, as in several countries there will be fishermen at work who have come from sometimes distant countries. Small-scale fishermen of non-African descent should also be included in the study wherever they are present:

GABON (Benga groups; Seki; Lumbu; Ajumba; Varama; Ngoué; Nkomi; Orungu-Beke; Myene; Galola; Pongwe);
 SAO TOME e PRINCIPE; RDC and CONGO BRAZZAVILLE (Woyo; Vili; Solongo; Mboma);
 ANGOLA (Mukubal; Mondombe; Hanya; Cisanji; Esele; Mussumbe; Pindaz; Kisama; Mbaka-Ambaquista; Kongo; Solongo);
 NAMIBIA (Herero; other populations);
 SOUTH-AFRICA (Mabhudu; Mthethwa; Quabe; Mpondo; Bomvana; Xhosa; Mfengu; Cape Hottentot; Nama; other populations);

MOCAMBIQUE (Makonde; Mabiha; Makua; Tchambo; Podzo; Zanga; Nda; Mandada; Hlengwe; Tswa-Ronga; Tonga-Inhambane; Chopi; Ronga); MADAGASCAR (Sakavala; Tankara; Undzatsi; Betsimisaraka; Sihanaka; Tambahuaca; Antambahwaka; Antemuru; Tefasi; Antesaka; Antanusi; Antandroy; Mahafaly; Vezo; Fiherena); TANZANIA (Daisu; Bondei; Zigua; Mtangata; Nghwele; Tumbatu; Unguja; Kinanda; Hadimu; Doë; Kwere; Zaramo; Ndengereko (ndereko); Rufiji; Mafia Island peoples; Matumbi; Mwera; Machinga); KENYA (Dahalo; Kambe; Kauma; Mwita; Jibana; Kambe; Ribe; Tikuu; Nyika; Duruma; Digo; Daisu; Vumba; Segeju); SOMALIE (Aulyehan (Galla); Bajun; Tikuu; Siyu Pate).

The ecosystems in question: the area under scrutiny presents three major distinct coastal topographies: mangrove forests, rocky coastline and coralline coastline. The project is concerned with the use of all marine resources, fish being the primary, but including edible algae, ascidians, sea-cucumbers, crustaceans and molluscs (shell fish) as well as turtles and the occasional marine mammals.

Fieldwork, archival and collection work: a focus on material culture, technologies and local knowledge, comparatively more accessible to the fieldworker than social and political processes, for instance, will enable a flexible and modular fieldwork program. Data collection will be based on observation and qualitative interviews. A photographic (digital) record of fishing gear, fishing crafts and fishing practice will be developed. The ethnobiological enquiry is started with a thorough and exhaustive record of the indigenous nomenclature of the environment, especially the pisces in this case. Ideally, terminologies will be recorded using contextualised phonetic transcriptions. This material can be forwarded to linguists for the record and possibly for study.

As mentioned in the description of the project, ethnographic museums are repositories of important material testimonies concerning the history of fishing and coastal cultures in Africa. This material will be reassessed and compared to contemporary material documented in the field. Most of the written historical data concerning fishing peoples of Africa is to be found in archives and in colonial and pre-colonial publications. Archives of institutions like the Musée de la Marine in Paris, the Greenwich National Maritime Museum, Stedelijk Scheepvaart Museum, the Scheepvaart Museum Amsterdam, etc.

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Boris Wastiau

1) Later Stone Age rock painting depicting fishing scenes from South Africa, the first of which might be a tidal trap. After Clark 1959.

2) Depiction of a marine turtle on a Woyo proverb pot lid from Cabinda, Angola.
Collection of the RMCA, Ethnography : EO.1951.50.78.

3) Some sea shells, like the cauri or the conus, became widespread currencies in Africa for centuries.
This disc made out of a conus shell was used in the Upper Zambezi until the late XIXth century.

4) Museum pieces throughout the world, like this model fishing canoe from “Zambezi”, i.e. probably Mozambique, remain to be identified and systematised.
Collection of the RMCA, Ethnography, EO.1979.63.5233.

Modern life : The engine takes the place of the paddle
(Photo FAO / PRF)

(2) Back to the future: new developments at an old museum

In 2007, the Pitt Rivers, Oxford University's museum of anthropology and world archaeology, will open a major new extension. To understand the significance of this, one has to know something both about the Museum itself and about the changing role of artefacts in the study of anthropology.

The Pitt Rivers Museum was founded in 1884 and takes its name from the quirky soldier, General Pitt Rivers, who gave the Museum its founding collection of some 20,000 artefacts. As a young soldier, Pitt Rivers had been attached to the section of the army testing the new rifles which were being considered for adoption in place of the smooth-bore weapons in use in the 1840s.

This experience first interested Pitt Rivers in technology. He formed the view that technology advanced by gradual stages – of which the replacement of smooth bore weapons by rifles was one example. To demonstrate his theory, Pitt Rivers began to collect other kinds of weaponry, including ethnographic weaponry, and then other kinds of ethnographic artefacts.

He also began to arrange the artefacts he collected by category, the simplest first, according to what he took to be the historical order in which they must have been produced. This is best illustrated in a famous diagram which shows how he thought a simple stick might have evolved in the direction variously of a boomerang, a spear, club and shield. The mid-19th century saw, of course, the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* with which Pitt Rivers instantly identified. Indeed, it seems that he sometimes saw himself as having anticipated Darwin, but in the realm of material culture rather than natural history.

In due course, Pitt Rivers' collection became too big for his house and, after many negotiations, he donated it to Oxford University, imposing on the University three conditions. The first was that the University build a museum to house the collection; the second that it continue to be displayed according to Pitt Rivers' own principles; and the third that the University employ someone to lecture on the collection in anthropology.

Over the course of the 1880s, the Museum was constructed in Oxford, and the collection started to be installed, arranged according to Pitt Rivers' 'typological' principles rather than by cultural area. Not for the first time, however, the realisation of a project coincided with it becoming outdated.

First, Pitt Rivers' own interests shifted towards archaeology – he was to become Britain's first Inspector of Ancient Monuments. And then, with the fieldwork revolution in anthropology in the early 20th Century, artefacts themselves ceased to be a primary means through which anthropologists understood indigenous societies. The 'armchair' study of other societies through their artefacts was replaced in British anthropology by a strong fieldwork tradition which emphasised instead the need for prolonged residence in other societies in order to understand them.

The Pitt Rivers Museum soldiered on, increasingly unfashionable, with its artefacts displayed by type of object (all the weaponry together, all the means of making light, or navigating, or the different kinds of housing). Successive curators continued to add to the collection and to publish on it. By the mid-20th Century, plans to demolish the old museum were developed and replace it with a more modern building with artefacts arranged by cultural area as well as typologically. A start was made on constructing was intended to be a series of new galleries elsewhere.

But once again the wheel turned, just as it had when artefacts had originally fallen out of fashion as a source of knowledge. There were many reasons why artefacts started to be re-appreciated as a source of anthropological insight and the Museum started once more to become popular. First, anthropologists became interested in the history of their discipline. The Museum, with its out-dated and apparently

unchanging displays, was part of that history and so became a corresponding source of interest. Secondly, anthropology also re-defined itself, so that it was no longer “us” studying “them” but was rather about “us” *and* “them”. One consequence of this was that the process of making ethnographic museums – what was collected, why, and how it was displayed – started to be examined as a way of shedding light on “us”. Thirdly, as other museums started to look more and more like art galleries or shopping malls, people started to re-appreciate the Pitt Rivers, with its Victorian cases, and densely-packed quirky displays.

But until now the Museum has lacked the modern teaching and research spaces, and the public facilities necessary to capitalise on this resurgence of intellectual and public interest. It is this which the Museum’s new extension now provides. A hundred and twenty two years after the Museum’s foundation we are on the point of opening a 2000 square metre space interconnected to the Museum’s historic galleries. This will enable us to pursue contemporary anthropological research, and to teach our postgraduate degrees, at the heart of a historic museum which will be both the context for and a subject of our academic work

Michael O’Hanlon

(3) Talismans utilisés par les "Forces Nouvelles", issues de la rébellion des populations du Nord de la Côte d'Ivoire

En fin 2006, la quasi totalité des soldats membres des troupes de la rébellion du Nord de la Côte d'Ivoire utilisaient des talismans ou gris-gris octroyés par des féticheurs traditionnels villageois.

Le plus souvent les militaires demandent l'obtention de gris-gris utilisés par les chasseurs traditionnels.

Le militaire va d'abord se présenter au féticheur et lui précise le genre de talisman demandé :

Par exemple, un talisman qui le protégera des balles de fusils, mitraillettes, mitrailleuses et autres munitions du genre,
ou un talisman pour devenir invisible,
ou un talisman qui lui donnera un courage indomptable et lui évitera toute tentation de fuite devant l'ennemi,
etc.

Le féticheur demandera au militaire de se rendre au Marché de la région pour y acquérir les produits nécessaires auprès des vendeurs spécialisés, particulièrement :

1. Une corne de bélier, qui servira de récipient aux différents gris-gris.
2. Une peau de chat noir (propice à l'invisibilité).
3. Un os de lion, ou des poils de lion – particulièrement ceux du front de l'animal ; de la graisse de lion est aussi recommandée. Ces ingrédients susciteront un courage indomptable.
4. Une peau de varan, des poils de civette et de genette (noirs et blancs) : tout ceci protégera des balles de l'ennemi.

On ajoutera également un morceau de fer noir, et un morceau de cuivre rouge.

Parfois sera joint un morceau de linceul utilisé pour ensevelir un cadavre, sans oublier diverses plantes sauvages traditionnelles connues par les féticheurs.

Le féticheur broie et brûle les objets précités. Il en mélange les cendres avec du beurre de karité et de la graisse de lion.

Il verse ensuite ce mélange, sous forme de pâte, dans la corne de bélier que le militaire portera sur lui, soit sous forme de pendentif, soit mise en poche.

En remettant ce talisman au militaire, le féticheur lancera des incantations, sous forme de prières aux Ancêtres et de recours aux forces invisibles du Monde.

Le militaire devra s'acquitter des frais, sous forme de dons remis au féticheur.

Par exemple : - des noix de cola ou des poulets vivants (un à sept, suivant l'importance du gris-gris ; jamais plus de sept),
- ou un à sept cauris (jamais plus de sept),
- ou de 5 à 35 francs CFA par gris-gris.

Il joindra toujours à ces dons un morceau de tissu tissé de manière traditionnelle.

Il existe des gilets pare-balles fabriqués avec des tissus tissés de manière traditionnelle et auxquels sont attachés des gris-gris du type précité.

En fait, c'est une adaptation "à la guerre" des talismans civils traditionnels.

Dans le camp ennemi existent les mêmes usages, avec forcément des apports différents bien que similaires.

Paul Raymaekers & Mohamed K.
(Notes de voyage, décembre 2006)

RECHERCHES EN COURS ...

(1) An introduction to ‘Farming in a foreign home : Sotho farmers and the hunter-gatherer archaeology of the Lesotho highlands’

Introduction

In Lesotho Bushmen were, and are, perceived as being people, but not quite as the country's modern inhabitants (the Sotho) are. Historically Bushmen were much feared by many of the Sotho tribes due to their perceived propensity to attack the Sotho with poison arrows and steal their cattle (How 1970; Wright 1971) which would then be taken to the rock shelters in the highland valleys beyond the reach of the farmers. These factors led to a very mixed relationship between the Sotho and the Bushmen, and whereas some tribes such as the Phuti, remained on good terms, other tribes such as the Nguni Xhosa were in a state of perpetual conflict with the Bushmen.

This ongoing piece of research, built around fieldwork conducted in 2004 and 2005, is rooted in an exploration of alternative understandings of Lesotho's recent archaeological past. Traditionally archaeologists working in Lesotho (see Mitchell 1992 for a history of archaeological research in Lesotho) have almost exclusively attempted to develop a Bushman-centric understanding of the area's history. As a result the contemporary local knowledge about sites and history has been largely omitted, the exception being the (unpublished) oral history research carried out by Vinnicombe in the 1960s and 1970s, however even this was an attempt to further inform the hunter-gatherer archaeology. Rather than taking a 're-interpretative' or 'alternative interpretation' approach the aim of this study was to explore the state of current knowledge and understanding of Lesotho's history as held by the modern inhabitants of the country. In this way there is no attempt to identify a single historical truth but instead the aim was to carry out a 'knowledge survey', thereby taking a snap-shot of today's thinking in relation to Lesotho's history, rituals, myths, hunter-gatherer past, and the Bushmen who lived in the country prior to the Basotho arrival and for many years thereafter.

Research Setting

Lesotho's position in the recent history of southern Africa, and especially that of south-eastern southern Africa, gives it a distinctive historical perspective and offers a unique opportunity to conduct historical research into archaeological hunter-gatherer populations in southern Africa. The uniqueness of the situation exists due to the very recent nature of the hunter-gatherer occupation of Lesotho, as well as the length of time of cohabitation of Lesotho by Basotho and Bushmen, and the fact that the Lesotho highlands was the last area of southern Africa where the mountain Bushmen lived as autonomous people.

Lesotho was gradually occupied by the various Basotho tribes from the seventeenth century on, culminated in the occupation of the inhospitable (for farmers) eastern highlands in the late nineteenth century when population pressure due to refugee populations fleeing the Lifiqane (aggressive Zulu expansion) increased. It is believed that the last autonomous Bushman bands disappeared from eastern Lesotho's Maluti mountains in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however there is strong evidence that many of these hunter-gatherer people stayed in the region living with and marrying Basotho. These historical circumstances resulted in over two hundred years of interaction between

separate populations within the modern borders of Lesotho that ended only one hundred years ago, while within the last century there continued to be intermarriage between people of identifiable Bushman descent and Basotho. Archaeological evidence (Hobart 2004) also suggests that interaction may have had even greater time-depth in the form of long-distance trade. The aim of this research was to examine whether this 200+ year relationship had any lasting impression, be it acknowledged or unacknowledged, on the Basotho.

Method

The research design utilised in this research focussed on the modern inhabitants of Lesotho and their understanding of the historic hunter-gatherer population of the country. In order to explore this relationship fully research covered not only discussion with Basotho about interaction with the physical evidence of hunter-gatherers in the form of rock shelters, but also explored the potential existence of deeper unacknowledged relationships with the country's hunter-gatherer past, as well as any cultural residue left by historic interaction between the two peoples within the landscape, through any current attitude and beliefs around Bushmen, and the modern interpretations and understandings of history, myth and ritual practice

Fieldwork was conducted in August 2004 and 2005 and consisted of a series of unstructured interviews carried out in villages with individuals or small groups. All interviews were conducted in Sesotho by a qualified Basotho archaeologist of, and were recorded for later translation and transcription. Every interview covered the same topic areas while their unstructured nature allowed interviewees to be more relaxed and threads of conversation to be pursued. In total we visited 36 villages spread around the country (see Figure 1) and spoke to over 150 people of different ages, sexes and position in local society. We found people universally willing to speak to us if occasionally bemused by our purpose.

The topic areas that were focused on and discussed in all interviews included: knowledge of Bushmen from formal and informal sources; knowledge of Bushman sites; knowledge of specific historical figures with known Bushman connections; rainmaking; traditional medicines and beliefs; places of danger; circumcision; marriage between Bushmen and Basotho; myths associated with Bushmen; and whether Bushmen still existed. In all villages an effort was made to speak to a range of people, both male and female, young and old. It transpired that the most accessible individuals, who were confident to speak and gave the most detailed testimonies, were the chiefs (male and female) and traditional doctors (both male and female).

Results and Analysis

Although the data from the fieldwork have not yet been fully analysed it is already clear that there are still areas of Basotho culture where a Bushman influence may be cautiously identified and include: attitudes towards the mountains and rivers; local versions of myths (especially about diminutive human-like creatures called Thokolosi); specific details of remembered history; stories about the origins of medicinal knowledge; and the use of Bushman words and place names in everyday speech.

These potential areas of influence will be examined through a combination of contextualisation within known events and recorded beliefs, geographical dispersion and frequency of responses, and narrative argument. It is hoped that this method will show not only the areas of knowledge and belief that continue to display Bushman influence but also bring out the geographical regions within Lesotho where this ongoing effect may be strongest, and thereby reveal some of the underlying reasons behind the longevity of Bushman influence on Basotho culture.

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John Hobart

(2) Une Base avancée de la Royal Air Force à Banana (ex-Congo Belge), Mars 1943 – Juillet 1945

Lors d'une prospection des vestiges des anciens cimetières "européens" de Banana effectuée en avril 1980, notre attention avait été attirée par la disparition d'une tombe militaire anglaise, pourtant observée précédemment.

Cette tombe – datée de 1943 – évoquait une présence, mal connue et quasi totalement oubliée en 1980 par la tradition locale, de militaires anglais oeuvrant dans la région côtière de l'ex-Congo Belge durant la deuxième guerre mondiale.

Ce qui restait des deux cimetières "européens" de Banana ⁽¹⁾ fut déplacé par l'Autorité belge "pour nécessité militaire", peu avant l'Indépendance du Congo (1960), entre Banana et Moanda, à plusieurs kilomètres des sites initiaux et à une centaine de mètres de la route côtière joignant les deux localités précitées.

François Bontinck ⁽²⁾, qui visita le Cimetière de Banana, le 28 décembre 1969, eut le mérite d'y copier 22 épitaphes dont l'ancienneté s'échelonne entre 1861 et 1943 pour la dernière.

La tombe de 1943, disparue en 1980, est précisément la tombe du militaire anglais.

Il faut ajouter que depuis 1970 (circa), le Cimetière "européen" de Banana fut de plus en plus profané, des pierres tombales étant arrachées des tombes pour être vendues à des étrangers, notamment à Kinshasa. Lors de notre dernière visite, en 1990, la profanation du dit Cimetière était quasi totale.

L'épitaphe de la tombe militaire anglaise, recueillie par Bontinck est la suivante :

NORMAN HARPHAM DIXON
Aircraftman R.A.F.
died on active service 29 September 1943

Cette version de l'épitaphe ignore le numéro matricule du militaire en question.

La récolte de renseignements sur des activités militaires durant la seconde guerre mondiale, récolte tentée in situ peu avant 1990 auprès des populations locales, fut maigre : certains parlaient de deux, voire de trois tombes militaires anglaises, évoquant un possible "crash" d'un des hydravions utilisés par ces militaires ; l'on rappelait aussi que l'imposante bouée d'amarrage – toujours utilisée en 1990 dans le port de Banana par les bateaux ravitaillant les plates-formes off-shore de recherche et d'exploitation pétrolière – était un reliquat de la Royal Air Force qui y amarrait ses hydravions.

Ce n'est que récemment que ce dossier put être réexaminé.

Consultés, les Services du Musée Royal de l'Armée (belge), dont ceux du Musée de l'Air, ne purent compléter notre information, ignorant tout à ce sujet.

C'est sur conseil de l'Attaché militaire britannique basé à La Haye que des contacts furent pris avec divers services spécialisés anglais. Une documentation d'époque, très fouillée, nous fut remise. C'est à l'analyse de cette documentation qu'il sera procédé lors d'une Communication qui sera présentée à la Séance de janvier 2008 de la Classe des Sciences morale et politiques de l'Académie Royale belge des Sciences d'Outre Mer.

Paul Raymaekers

⁽¹⁾ Bontinck, F. : Le Cimetière de Banana (Notes complémentaires)
Ngonge, Carnets de Sciences humaines, N° 50, déc. 2000

⁽²⁾ Bontinck, F. : Le Cimetière de Banana et ses épitaphes comme sources épigraphiques
Ngonge, Carnets de Sciences humaines, N° 48, avr. 1998

COLLECTIONS

(1) TIBET : TSONG – KHA – PA

Hauteur : 171 mm
 Largeur : 120 mm
 Matières : Cuivre doré au mercure
 Epoque : Fin 18^e / début 19^e S.

N° Inventaire PRF : 1602

Cette statuette acquise par Paul Raymaekers en 1999 provient de la Collection William Eyben. Le Notaire Eyben l'avait lui-même acquise en 1982 chez l'antiquaire W.E. Bauman de l' "Algemene Ethnografica en Kunsthandel Aalderink (AEKA)", d'Amsterdam. L'AEKA avait elle-même acquis cette pièce lors de la liquidation des Collections du baron Taets van Amerongen.

Qui est Tsong-kha-pa ?

" Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) est l'important réformateur du bouddhisme tibétain et le fondateur de l'ordre des Gelupa ("ordre des Vertueux"), aussi appelé ordre des Bonnets Jaunes, d'après la couleur des bonnets que portent les lamas pour se distinguer des autres écoles bouddhiques qui portent des bonnets rouges. Il introduira également le port du vêtement monacal jaune. Il est le lama ou maître spirituel qui va promouvoir l'observance plus stricte des anciennes règles monastiques d'Atîsha qui, suite à de nombreuses influences, étaient progressivement tombées en désuétude. Au début, Tsong-kha-pa suivra des cours auprès des maîtres des ordres monastiques des Sakyapa et des Kagyupa et écrira une de ses œuvres principales intitulée 'Les Etapes de l'Illumination'. " ³

Les Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles possèdent une statuette en bronze doré très proche de celle de la Collection de la Fondation.

La pièce des Musées Royaux provient de la Collection Léon Verbert (1879-1941). Elle est ainsi décrite par Myriam Lambrecht ¹ :

" La statuette en bronze doré figure Tsong-kha-pa assis sur un double trône de lotus dont les deux rangées de feuilles de lotus ne se poursuivent pas à l'arrière. Le bord supérieur est entièrement décoré d'un motif perlé. Tsong-kha-pa, dans la position de la méditation (dhyânâsana), est reconnaissable aux deux fleurs de lotus dont il tient les tiges. A hauteur de son épaule droite, celles-ci sont couronnées du glaive qui pourfend l'ignorance et, à hauteur de son épaule gauche, par le livre qui contient la Connaissance. Ses mains esquissent le geste de l'enseignement (dharmaçakramudrâ). Tsong-kha-pa porte le bonnet typique d'un lama de haut rang. "

³ Ce texte, extrait du Catalogue "Art du Tibet" (p. 106), relatif à l'exposition de la Collection spécifique des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Bruxelles), a été aimablement autorisé à la reproduction par son Auteur, Myriam Lambrecht. Qu'elle en soit ici vivement remerciée.

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NOUVELLES DE LA PAUL RAYMAEKERS FOUNDATION

Prix 2006 : M. Kinden KULAM (Nouvelle Guinée)

Un exemple à suivre ...

La Paul Raymaekers Foundation (PRF), Fondation belge d'utilité publique qui associe dans son Conseil d'Administration des Citoyens belges et des Membres de l'Université d'Oxford, a attribué son Prix annuel 2006 d'un montant de 3000 Euros à Monsieur Kinden KULAM.

Ce villageois de l'Est de la Nouvelle Guinée a joué, pendant plusieurs décennies, un rôle spontané de conciliateur social lors des conflits tribaux très violents qui avaient ensanglanté cette région du Monde. Son efficacité a été déterminante pour le retour à la Paix.

Soucieux du développement harmonisé de cette région, le précité a également joué un rôle majeur dans l'organisation de l'économie rurale de son terroir qui n'avait été découvert par le monde moderne qu'à dater de 1940.

Kinden KULAM est un modèle à suivre pour d'autres régions du Monde déchirées par les guerres, notamment en Afrique.

Conseil d'Administration de la PRF (31 mars 2007)

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Vice-Président	Dr Michael	O'Hanlon	(Oxford University)
(Suppléant)	Dr Chris	Gosden	(Oxford University)
Administrateur délégué & Trésorier	M. Werner	Janssen	
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	Dr P.J.	Laurent	(Université de Louvain LLN)
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Ces Collections (chiffres arrondis) totalisaient près de 3770 pièces se répartissant comme suit :

Europe	100	Instruments de discipline	220
Afrique du nord	20	La Guerre	170
de l'ouest	460	Géologie	75
centrale	640	Erotica	70
Amérique du sud	5	Varia	85
Asie	120		
Préhistoire & protohistoire	1445	Numismatique	360

163 pièces ont été acquises du 1^{er} janvier 2006 au 31 mars 2007

Bibliothèques & Photothèque de la PRF (31 mars 2007)

- Les Inventaires répertorient près de 5000 ouvrages et 8000 (ca) autres unités de lecture sous forme de périodiques spécialisés. Ils dénombrent également 200 (ca) dossiers spécifiques.
- La Photothèque inclut près de 10 000 photos et négatifs.

Voyages

Afrique occidentale : Du 04 au 27 décembre 2006 MM. Raymaekers et Janssen ont effectué un voyage d'études dans cinq pays d'Afrique occidentale : Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Bénin, Togo. Ils étaient accompagnés de Mr M. Garba, Assistant (pour l'Afrique occidentale) de Mr Raymaekers.

NOS COLLABORATEURS

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Le Dr Robert Goedertier a bien voulu assumer la préparation du présent Bulletin.
