

A Comparative Study on the Barter Markets of the Upper Zaïre River

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ABSTRACT An extensive survey of economic anthropology was made along the upper Zaïre River. The author found forty-two periodic markets, thirty of which practiced direct barter of fish and farm produce. These barter markets had varied methods of barter and management, and the author compared the results with those of an intensive study on the Songola carried out in 1979 and 1980. Although many of the barter markets were in the process of transformation, a few of them have institutionalized a defense mechanism against cash use, and two of them revived in 1983. The results verified some of the hypotheses obtained through the study of the Songola economy: barter markets in the region are traditional and they have survived the period of colonization. Under today's severe inflation, barter is sometimes more efficient than the use of cash.

INTRODUCTION

There exist numerous periodic markets in the Republic of Zaïre, especially along the upper reaches of the Zaïre River (known as the Lualaba until 1971). Many of them are characterized by the direct barter of fish and farm produce. The author carried out an extensive field survey of these markets between the cities of Kasongo and Kindu, which are located at a distance of 2950 km and 2700 km respectively from the mouth of the river.

During the years of 1979 and 1980, the author studied the barter economies of the Songola, a Bantu people inhabiting the tropical rain forest stretching out to the north of Kindu (Ankei, 1984: 1-68).

This report describes the distribution and periodicity of the barter markets located to the south of the Songola land, and tries to classify them on a comparative basis with the Songola barter markets.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES AND THE BARTER ECONOMY OF THE SONGOLA

A. Subsistence activities of the Songola

The Songola are a Bantu people, and Murdock (1959: 280) classifies them among the equatorial Bantu group. They utilize at least two different habitats: the tropical rain forest and the riverine areas of the Zaïre River. There exists a sharp contrast in the patterns of their subsistence activities: those subgroups inhabiting the tropical rain forest are cultivators whereas those living on the Zaïre are fishermen (Ankei, 1984: 3-9).

Among the agricultural subgroups of the Songola, men practice slashing and burning of the forest, and women do all other work in the field as planting, weeding and harvesting. The cultivation system is characterized by the continuous harvesting of vegetatively reproducing crops of which the most important are sweet and bitter varieties of cassava and plantains. Seed crops such as rice and maize are also planted (Ankei, 1981: 106-152).

The forest-dwelling Songola practice various subsistence activities besides cultivation: men hunt mammals, such as duikers and monkeys, and construct barriers across streams to trap fish at the beginning of the rainy seasons. Women bail out the streams to catch small fish during the dry seasons.

Rice and bitter cassava are important cash crops, and the men's cash income derives from the extraction of palm oil and fermenting palm wine, as well as making canoes and ropes for the fishing nets. Distilling spirits is the most efficient way to create a cash income for the women (Ankei, 1981: 106-109).

Fishing subgroups of the Songola call themselves Enya or Songola-Enya. Although they are often referred to as Wagenia, this appellation is only a sobriquet to indicate the fishermen of the upper Zaïre River (Ankei, 1984: 9).

The livelihood of the Enya is based on the year round fishing activities, and they know more than twenty fishing methods (Ankei, 1985a). Since the introduction of nylon nets in the 1950's, *makila*, one of the flowing gill nets has increased its importance. Although some of the fishing villages have small-scale fields, the Enya must rely on some trade of food for their supply of staples mainly because agricultural production along the Zaïre is much less stable than that in the forest.

B. An outline of the Songola barter markets

Barter takes place in periodic markets held once or twice weekly. They are situated on the banks of the Zaïre River and its tributaries, where the habitats of the Wagenia fishermen and inland Songola farmers overlap. Apart from these barter markets, cash sale markets exist in villages and towns. These two kinds of markets are generally held on different days of the week.

Wagenia fishermen paddle their dugouts loaded with raw and smoked fish to the barter markets, whereas the women from villages of slash-and-burn cultivation in the forest carry their produce on their backs. Fishermen place their fish on the women's piles of farm produce. They barter fish for sweet and bitter cassava, plantains, polished rice and other farm produce.

Barter markets are governed by the traditional chiefs of the owner village. The daily supervision of the market is left to the deputies of the chiefs, who deal with such troubles as quarrelling, theft, and failure to settle a debt. A violation of the rules is subject to a severe fine after a judgement in the traditional court presided over by a council of village chiefs.

A market supervisor signals the opening of the market, and prohibits drinking palm wine until transactions are over. Distilled spirits and marijuana are strictly prohibited and do not usually arrive at the markets. He restricts the use of cash in the barter markets: participants are not allowed to use their cash until most of the day's barter is over. Thus, the locality, periodicity, and the administration of the Songola barter markets are set up so as to segregate cash use from barter transactions.

A two week observation on the diet in a Songola-Enya fishing village revealed that more than 60 percent of its total calorific intake was derived from barter, gifts given, and purchases made at a barter market. Social and economic ties based on the barter of different kinds of food are made up between the fishing and farming subgroups of the Songola.

Barter rates do not fluctuate according to the supply-and-demand market principle. The rates were kept virtually stable during the observations made after an interval of one year. Imbalances of supply and demand are settled with a combination of gift-giving, one week lending, or deferred barter, of excess foods for other kinds, and finally by the use of cash.

Fish in the Songola barter market is the only item that can be bartered for any other item than itself, and is the only item that can be used to settle a debt. Furthermore, Wagenia fishermen foster the fiction that any unit of fish is identical in the barter market regardless of its species, flavor, or state of preservation.

C. Hypotheses obtained through the study of Songola barter markets

1. The first hypothesis: survival of a pre-colonial economy

The barter economy of the Songola is assumed to be a traditional one although we have no documents extant to assure this assumption. Songola barter markets share most of the characteristics of the pre-colonial barter economies in tropical Africa which were comprehensively compiled by Sundström (1974). The barter economy of the Songola, however, is a special case in which the traditional barter economy has survived in the form of institutionalized periodic markets.

2. The second hypothesis: the reasons for the survival

The reasons why the barter market system has survived in this region are thought to be as follows: 1) although barter markets were repeatedly prohibited by Belgian colonialists who intended to make the inhabitants become accustomed to cash sale markets, the traditional political organization of the Songola decided to set up black markets in places that were inaccessible to the white men, and thus, successfully impared the suppression. 2) The segregation of cash use from barter was thus established before the former had become a custom among the Songola. 3) Instability of the national currency, inflation and sudden convergence of the currency for example, has made the Songola people remember the stability and the reliability of their barter markets.

3. The third hypothesis: fish as "primitive money"

Fish in the Songola barter markets may well be regarded as a kind of so-called "primitive money", or more precisely, limited-purpose money as Polanyi (1957: 254-256) defined it. Fish has the following three functions of 1) a medium of exchange, 2) a measure of value, and 3) a standard for deferred payment. It has a fairly standardized unit which serves as the unitized purchasing power in the market. It is, however, among the most perishable of the bartered foodstuffs, and it does not have the function of a store of value. This fact may be understood in relation to the specific livelihood in the humid tropics, where storage of foodstuffs is very difficult, but at the same time, usually unnecessary.

4. The fourth hypothesis: symbiotic relationship and ethnicity

A symbiotic relationship through the barter of foodstuffs has existed between groups having different subsistence patterns and utilizing different habitats. Barter of cultivated starchy food and proteinaceous food exists between cultivators and non-cultivators such as hunter-gatherers (Mbuti Pygmies for example), fishermen (Enya), and pastorarists (Plains Pokot of Kenya) in tropical Africa (Ankei, 1984: 62). Those groups inter-related by barter ties are assumed to have experienced divergence of their subsistence patterns on one hand, and convergence of their languages and social systems on the other. Complex ethnic identity of the Enya and Songola could be better understood through ethnohistorical studies of their barter economy.

DISTRIBUTION, PERIODICITY AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MARKETS

A. Distribution and periodicity

The author visited the markets by dugout canoe paddled downstream from Kasongo-Rive (the nearest village on the Zaïre from Kasongo) to Kindu. The vegetation

type at Kasongo is savanna, and it tends to be in transition to tropical rain forest just north of the village of Nyangwe. There are two rapids along the route, and it is impossible to pass them without the aid of experienced pilots.

Figure 1 shows the information on the periodic markets obtained during the survey. Geographic locations, market names, and the presence/absence of barter transactions are indicated. The result was that there are at least 42 markets along this part of the Zaïre, of which 30 markets practice barter more or less.

In the remaining 12 markets no barter practices could be observed. They may as well be called "cash sale markets" (Ankei, 1984: 12). Three of these are public markets located at the commercial and administrative centers as the capital cities of the *Sous-Région* or sub-region and the *Zones* or prefectures. Each of the central markets has one to three nearby satellite cash sale markets, for a total of six cash sale markets. Thus, as many as nine cash sale markets are related to the capital cities, and seven of them are held daily. An isolated cash sale market that is situated between Kibomo-Rive and Kindu had been a barter market before it became a big cash sale market in the early 70's.

Table 1 summarizes the information on the riverine markets in the study area in September 1983. Information on the inland markets that are located more than 15 km from the Zaïre has been, as a rule, omitted. They are arranged from south to north, and the information on the name, open days, participating peoples, and the history of each market are described. The reference numbers of the markets correspond to those in Fig. 1. Abandoned markets are preceded by cross symbols (+) instead of their reference numbers, and their locations are not always shown in Fig. 1 because of the difficulty in deciding their precise locations. Eighteen of the barter markets are weekly, 11 are held twice weekly, one market is held every four days. The participants say that this last example retains the traditional market periodicity before the adoption of weekly cycles became common during the period of Belgian rule.

Names of the markets are usually preceded by a word that means "market". *Soko* is Swahili, whereas *limanga* is the Zairean form of Swahili that means a petty market. In the language of the Enya fishermen of Kasongo and Kibombo, it is *kituka*, whereas it is pronounced as *kichuka* in the language of the Enya of Kindu or Songola-Enya. It is called *inumba* in the language of the Ombo who insist on their identity as Songola. The Ngengele also use *inumba* for market. Consult the explanatory notes in the Table 1 for further information.

Figure 2 indicates the density of market distribution along the study area. Since Wagenia fishermen travel twenty kilometers at most to attend a market, the density is expressed by the number of market days a week per 20km distance along the Zaïre. The ordinate of Fig. 2 represents the distance along the Zaïre in Fig. 1, whereas the left abscissa represents the frequency of the barter markets, and the right abscissa, that of the cash sale markets. It must be noted that the frequency of a market is not necessarily related to its size. Furthermore, two of the largest cash sale markets, namely those of Kasongo and Kibombo towns are excluded from Fig. 2 as they are only rarely visited by the Wagenia fishermen because of their inland locations. Those barter markets started in the year 1983 are shown by sparse dots in the figure.

It is concluded from Fig. 2 that barter markets are distributed at a density of more than twice a week per 20 km distance with the sole exception of the section where there is the Kambelebele cash sale market. Barter markets were just opened in 1983 in the 20 km section of the City of Kindu, the capital of the *Sous-Région* of Maniema and in the *Zone* of Kindu as well. Two other capital towns of Kasongo and Kibombo do not seem to have any influence on the frequency of the barter markets. In fact, those small satellite cash sale

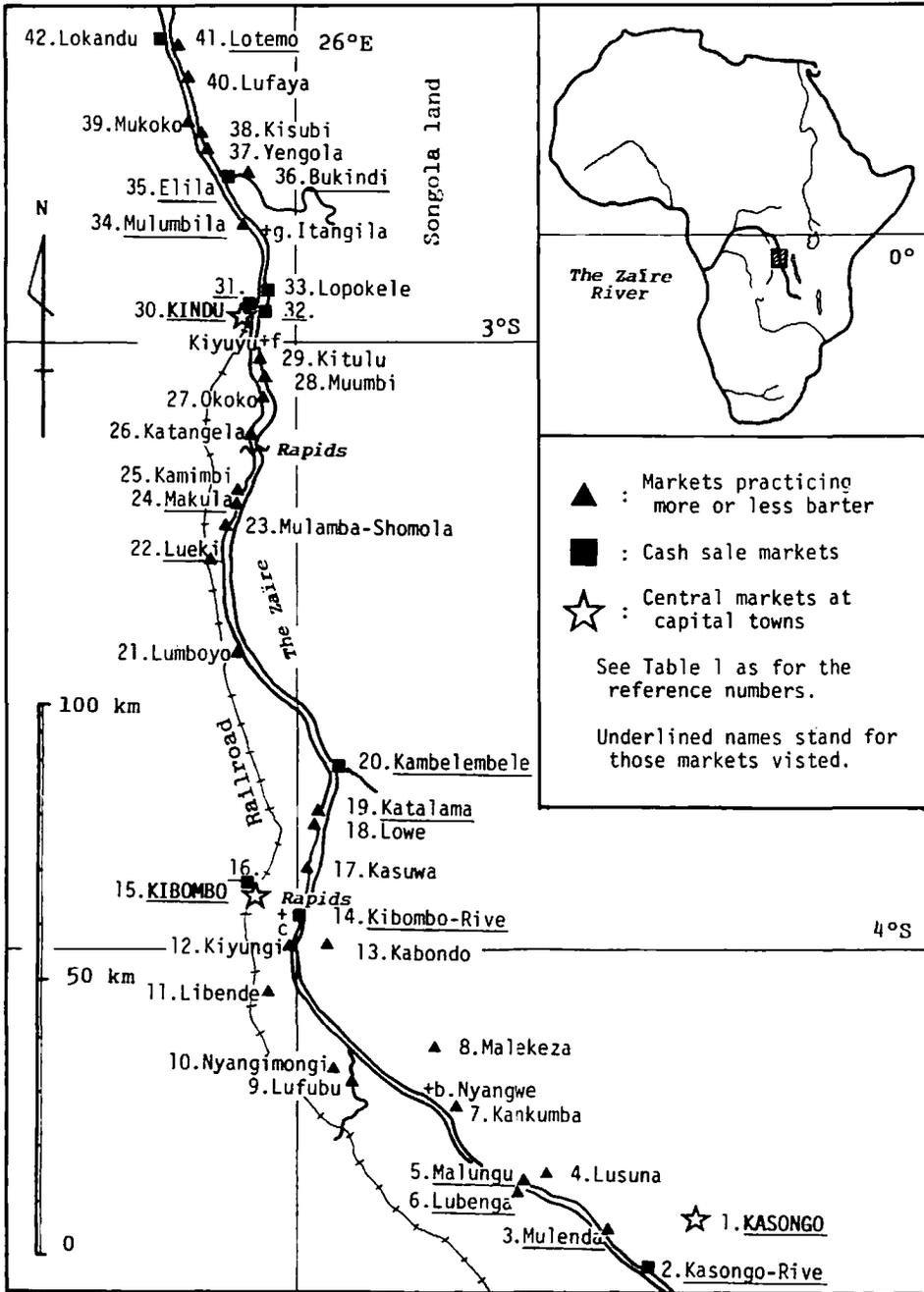


Fig. 1. Distribution of the markets along the upper Zaïre River.

Table 1. Periodic markets along the upper Zaïre (kasongo-Lokandu).

Ref. no.	Market names	open days	Explanations
1	Soko ya Kasongo	0	A central market of capital town.
+a	Soko Kubwa ya Kichinja	?	Near no. 2. Abandoned in 1964 during the Simba Rebellion.
2	Soko ya Kateketeke	0	Petty morning market at Kasongo-Rive.
3*	Kitùkà kyá Mùlèndà	3,7	Owned by a Songe chief. Established during the colonial period.
4*	Kitùkà kí Lùsúnà	7	Established in the colonial era. Attended by the Zimba and Kwange.
5*	Kitùkà kí Màlungù	2	Established before colonization.
6*	Kitùkà kyá Lùbéngà	4	Abandoned in 1925 and revived in 1965 in Mulobo village.
7*	Kitùkà kí Kànkùmbà	7	Located in Matala village. Traditional market.
+b	Kitùkà kí Màlèlèlè	?	Traditional market at Nyangwe. Abandoned in 1962.
8*	Kitùkà kí Màlèkézá	4	Traditional market of a Kwange chief. Màlèkézá means bargain.
9*	Kitùkà	7	Established in 1973. Located on the Lufubu River.
10*	Kitùkà kí Nyàngimóngì	4	Traditional market of a Kwange chief.
11*	Kitùkà kí Libèndé	3	Traditional market of a Kusu chief. Cash use is prohibited.
12*	Kitùkà kí Kìyúngì	7	Owned by a Kusu chief.
13*	Kitùkà kí Kàbòndò	every 4 days	An old market established by the Luba people before Arabs' advent.
14	Limanga ya Kibombo	0	Merchants arrive to lay stock of fish for sale in no. 15 market.
+c	Kitùkà kí Lùpàmbà	every 4 days	Held on the next day of no. 13. Abandoned before Independence.
15	Soko Kubwa ya Kibombo	7	Central market of Kibombo. Much less people than in no. 1.
16	Limanga ya Kibombo	0	Small-scale afternoon market held in the same place as no. 15.
+d	Soko ya Ngongo-Kitete	?	Abandoned before 1925. Named after an Enya chief.
17*	Kitùkà kí Kàsùwá	6	Opened in June 1983. At first also held on Wednesdays.
18*	Kitùkà kí Lòwè	2,5	On the Lowe tributary of the Zaïre. Inaccessible by bicycles.
19*	Kitùkà kí Kàtà-làmà	3,6	Palm wine was traded in olden times, and now, is prohibited.
20	Kitùkà kí Kàmbè-lèmbèlè	4	Established in the colonial era. At the mouth the Kaliba tributary.
21*	Soko ya Lumboyo	3,6	Owned by a Kusu chief.
22*	Soko ya Lueki	3,6	On the Lueki tributary. More participants on Wednesdays.

Ref. no.	Market names	open days	Explanations
23*	Kituka ki Mulamba-Shomola	3	Named after the owner Enya chief.
24*	Soko ya Makula	3,7	Large market, and visited by many merchants by bicycle.
25*	Soko ya Kamimbi	2,6	Much smaller than no. 24 market.
26*	Soko ya Katangela	2	
27*	Klchùkà kí Òkókò	6	Abandoned during the Colonial period, and revived in 1978.
28*	Kìchùkà kí Mùúmbí	3	
+e	Kìchùkà kí Sóngwè	6	Abandoned in 1980. On the Songwe tributary inaccessible by canoes in the dry seasons.
29*	Kìchùkà kí Kitùlù	5	Moved from Kiyuyu Market (+f) in 1979.
+f	Kìchùkà kí Kiyùyu	5	Abandoned after the supervisor was killed by a crazy man in 1979.
30	Marché Central Mama Yemo de Kindu	0	The biggest public market in the whole <u>Sous-Région</u> of Maniema.
31	Limanga ya Kindu	0	Small-scale evening market near no. 30 market.
32	Limanga ya Ngambo ya Pili	0	Small-scale market on the eastern bank of the Zaïre.
33	Soko ya Lopokele	2,5	
+g	Soko ya Itangila	5	Abandoned in 1980.
34*	Kìchùkà kí Mùlùmbíla	6	Established in 1983. Attended by Langa farmers and the Songola-Enya.
35	Soko ya Elila	4,7	Old Songola name is Kàkùndúfàá which meant a place of full stomach.
36*	Kìchùkà kí Kàèkèèkè	2,5	Owned by a Songola chief Bukindi. Friday market was added in 1983.
37*	Kìchùkà kí Ìbàndà	2,5	Owned by a Songola chief Yengola. No. 36-41 inaccessible by bicycles.
38*	Kìchùkà kí Ìbàndà	3,6	Owned by a Songola chief Kisubi. Ibanda means a big tree on the bank.
39*	Ìmùmbà yí Mùkókò	3,6	Owned by a Ngengele chief Mukoko. Produce and palm oil are bartered.
40*	Ìmùmbà yí Kàèkèèkè	2	Owned by an Ombo-speaking Songola chief Lufaya.
41*	Ìmùmbà yí Kàkùmbá	3,6	Owned by an Ombo-speaking Songola chief Lotemo.
42	Soko ya Lokandu	0	Lokandu is the second largest town in the Songola land.

*: Barter markets.

+: Abandoned markets.

Accent marks denote high /˘/ and low /`/ tones. The language of the Enya of Kasongo-Kibombo has five vowels, whereas that of Songola-Enya has seven vowels. For more detail, see ANKEI (1984: 7).

Open days. 1:Monday 2:Tuesday 3:Wednesday 4:Thursday
5:Friday 6:Saturday 7:Sunday 0:Daily.

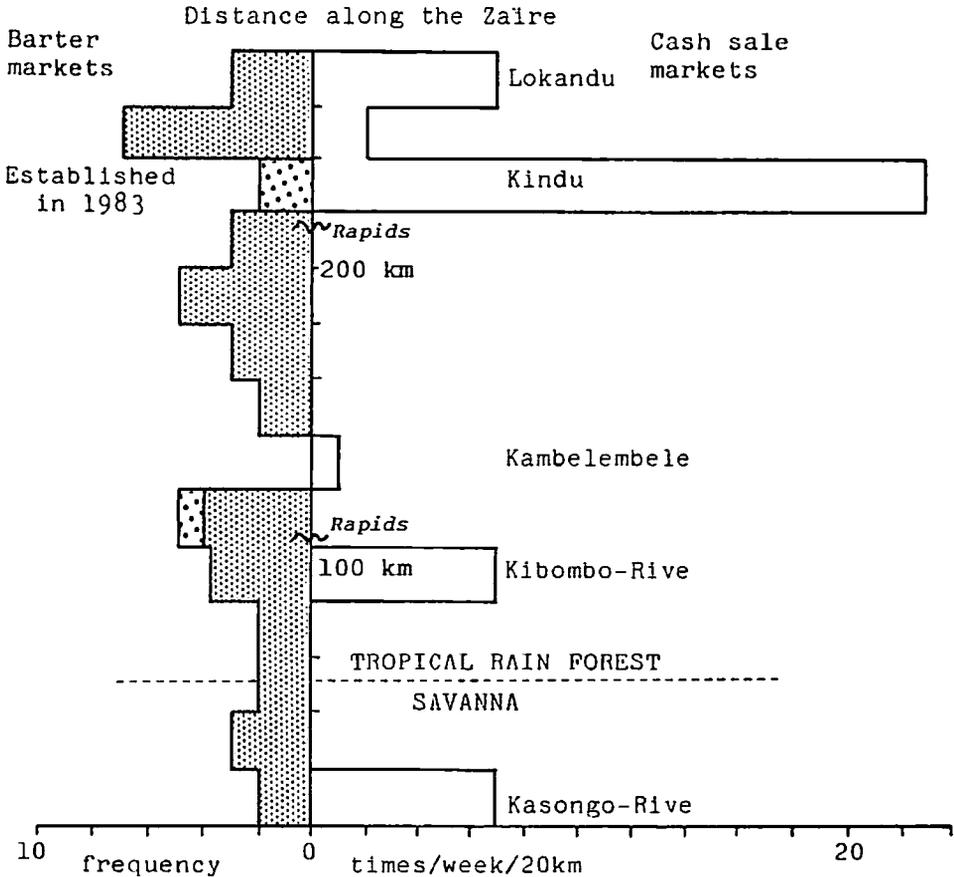


Fig. 2. Density of market distribution along the study area.

markets held everyday in the village of Kasongo-Rive and Kibombo-Rive do not provide a sufficient amount of farm produce for the Wagenia fishermen.

The frequency of the barter markets that were established before 1982 exceeds 5.0 times a week per 20 km section in the Songola land to the north of Kindu, whereas it is as low as 2.6 times to the south. This contrast could be partly explained by the relatively low density of inhabitants in this area: since the construction of the railroad from Kindu to the south farmers have moved their settlements from the riverside to the neighborhood of the railroad (see Fig. 1). The section between the two rapids cannot be easily visited or passed by strangers, and there is a vast stretch of uninhabited savanna vegetation on the opposite bank of Kasongo-Rive.

B. Classification of market types and subtypes

The extensive survey in the area south of the Songola land revealed the existence of the periodic markets. Many of them are similar to the traditional markets of the Songola in

Table 2. Classification of the markets visited during the study.

Types and sub-types	Identification of the markets						Trading regulations		Other regulations	
	Ref. no Market names	Locality	Major participants			Barter	Cash use	Prior agreements	Rules for drinking	Entry fees
			Fishermen	Farmers	Merchants					
Ia	41.Lotemo 36.Bukindi	outside the vil-lages	Wage-nia	Sonogola	only retailers	present	restrict-ed	prohi-bited	after barter	none
Ib	22.Lueki			Kusu					none	none
IIa	24.Makula			Songola	partici-pating to get a stock		not re-stricted		prohi-bited	paid in food
	19.Katalama	Zimba & Kwange								
IIb	6.Lubenga	inside the vil-lages		Wage-nia		Mamba	not re-stricted	prohi-bited	paid in food	
	5.Malungu									Zimba & Kwange
3.Mulenda	absent		free		paid cash					
III		20.Kambe-lembele	Zimba & Kwange							
IV	30.Kindu, central	city	Multi-tribal							

that they more or less practice bartering as the means of trade. The author was able to visit eight of the barter markets on their open days, and his observations will be narrated hereafter.

Table 2 describes the names, locality, major participants, and the rules of barter and administration for each market visited. Two different kinds of cash sale markets are appended for the purpose of a more extensive comparison and typology. The following classification is presented from the field observations and information.

Barter markets can be roughly divided into two types according to a criterion of whether or not cash use is restricted. Those barter markets that put strong restriction on cash use are classified as type I in Table 1, and they contrast themselves with the type II markets which authorize, or put no restriction on, the simultaneous use of cash and barter. There exist two additional contrasts between the two types: the former, type I, prohibits purchase of food by merchants who want to retail them elsewhere. Drinking alcoholic beverages in the markets is permitted with little or no restriction in type I markets, whereas it is illegal, though frequently violated, to drink in a type II market. Those cash sale markets added for the purpose of comparison are classified as type III (Kambelembele) and type IV (central market of Kindu) respectively.

Type I markets are further divided into Ia and Ib subtypes, on the criterion that only in the latter entry fees are charged. Type II markets are divided into IIa and IIb on the criterion that prior agreements on transactions are strictly prohibited in the former markets. Markets in the subtype IIa are located in places remote from the settlements, whereas those in the subtype IIb are held in the villages.

C. Examples of typical transactions

Examples of transactions and trading and administrative rules of each of the types

and subtypes will be illustrated.

1. Subtype Ia

The market supervisor prohibits the use of cash by participants until most of the barter transactions are over. They are usually not obliged to give entry fees except on rare occasions when the traditional chief of the owner village attends the market. This subtype is typified by the barter market at Bukindi village of the Songola, and has been explained in the previous chapter.

2. Subtype Ib

This subtype is similar to Ia in that the use of cash is strongly controlled, but is different in the following points: small portions of fish and farm produce are collected from all of the participants and given to the village chief and his representative supervisor at the market. No restriction is put on drinking in the market although no alcoholic beverages were brought for barter or sale on the day the author's observation was made. Being situated near the railroad station of Lueki town the market is sometimes visited by merchants who intend to purchase food at lower prices than the ones current in Lueki town. However, the market supervisor prohibits those members from the inland areas to purchase farm produce, and consequently transactions observed were generally restricted to direct barter of food between the fishermen and the farmers.

3. Subtype IIa

Participants are allowed either to barter their goods or to buy them with cash. They are not, however, allowed to make prior agreements on barter or sale before the transactions begin. In order to make the participants observe this rule, the market supervisor stretches a rope in the middle of the marketplace, and keeps the fishermen and the farmers apart until the signal of the opening the market is given. Since the use of cash is not restricted, many merchants attend the markets of this subtype. A dozen merchants arrived by bicycle in the Makula market to buy fish for retail in the villages along the railroad, and four retailers sold an assortment of imported goods such as soap, cigarettes and medicine.

On the market day of the author's visit at Katalama, more than a hundred kilograms of fresh fish were left neither exchanged nor bought, and such a result was never observed in the markets in subtypes Ia and Ib.

Although selling distilled spirit is subject to a severe fine, participants stealthily buy and drink it while the supervisor is not aware of what is going on.

4. Subtype IIb

This subtype is characterized by prior agreements that habitually take place. In the Mulenda market barter is rarer and the fishermen tend to make agreements on the purchase of farm produce before the actual transactions are made, and they pay the farmers with the cash obtained through the sale of their fish.

On the contrary, in the Lubenga market, participants seemed to prefer barter to cash. A peculiar example of barter of rice and fish was observed there: a woman having polished rice from a railroad town and a woman with fish from a riverine village were bartering their food. Each of them was heard to mention the original price at which she bought her goods and insisted on a better barter rate for her side. Moreover, the author was informed that the woman from the railroad town was going to retail the fish in her town, and the woman from the riverine village was going to make rice into fried buns to be sold there. This kind of barter could never be found in type I barter markets.

5. Type III

Barter transactions were terminated early in the 1970's in the cash sale market at Kambelebele, when a merchant came to establish his trading post there and when

people gradually began to aggregate at this place to such an extent that the marketplace was transformed into a village. Now, it is the biggest market around those stretches of the river, and abundant food as well as manufactured goods such as pans and used clothes are sold here. Cooked rice and fish or meat are prepared for sale and it is not rare to find that dugout canoes, which are usually obtained only on order, are available for sale in this market.

6. Type IV

There is only one type IV market in the research area: the central market of Kindu. If we ignore the extraordinarily large size of this market, types IV and the former type III are similar in that there are no barter transactions observed. The difference between these market types is that the entrance fee is accepted only in cash whereas it is paid in the form of food at the type III market.

7. Comparison

The six market types and subtypes in Table 2 are arranged in order of transition in which barter tends to be less and less frequent: from the pure barter markets (Ia) down to the pure cash sale market (IV). The lower placed a market is, the more frequent are cash use and prior agreements. At the same time, such rules as the payment of entrance fees and prohibition of drinking become more enforced in accordance with this arrangement. These orders are obviously related to the extent in which markets are held in settlements and towns, and the extent in which foods are bought by merchants for retail elsewhere.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE OBSERVATIONS AND THE TEST OF HYPOTHESES

The result of the survey will be summarized, and will be analyzed in relation to the hypotheses suggested in the previous chapter.

Wide and continuous distribution of barter markets of fish and farm produce was observed along the study area, and this fact indicates that such barter markets are common among the fishermen and the farmers of the upper Zaïre River. Nevertheless, only a few of them show such firm adherence to barter as those of the Songola.

Livingstone (1875: 367-383) met with a big barter market at Nyangwe (near no. 7 market in Fig. 1) in 1871, where he saw some three thousand African participants. Since this town was the innermost trading post of the Arab traders that time, and since they massacred the market participants, the market is assumed to have started before the Arabs' arrival. This fact provides evidence to assure us that today's barter markets have a long history of existence that began well before the Belgian colonization or the advent of Arab traders (hypothesis 1). Comparison of his descriptions on the items and the methods of trade with those of today's markets leads us to believe that the tradition has survived without major changes. The sole example of the four-day-cycle market (No. 13 in Table 1) is of extreme importance because it shares the same way of alternating market days with that which Livingstone saw: they simply count three days of rest between the market days.

The century after Livingstone and Stanley has been a period of tremendous changes for the African continent and its peoples, and the traditional barter markets have been doubtlessly transformed in spite of their apparent continuity. The most serious change for barter economies has been the custom of cash use. It became well established during the age of colonization. In today's Zaïre cash is indispensable to obtain manufactured and imported goods as well as to pay taxes, fines, school tuition and medical bills (Ankei, 1981: 162-164). Nevertheless, it is too one-sided to conclude that barter is to be totally

superseded by cash use. At first sight it may seem that Table 2 indicates that barter is being displaced by Western, or cash using economies, but we cannot assume that all of the market types tend to be transformed into a single type IV as that at Kindu. It is true that the Kambelebele market (type III) is an example that supports this assumption, seeing that it was transformed from a type II (presumably subtype IIa) barter market, but it is not reasonable to conclude that all of the type II barter markets will become type III cash sale markets in due time. We must remember that Table 2 only demonstrates the variety of market characteristics as was observed in 1983, and that it does not insist on a general tendency of change.

Songola barter markets (type Ia) are featured by an institutionalized segregation of cash use from barter. The market system itself has been organized to work as a defense mechanism against the effects of Western economy represented by the use of cash. Barter of fish and rice observed in the Lubenga market (subtype IIb) provides us with an important notion of the relationship between cash and barter. The women had bought their goods at first, and after bartering them they sold the bartered foods again in their settlements. Such may well be called a cash transaction disguised as barter. This is an example to show that barter does survive in the midst of the transformation of market systems from barter to cash use.

Two of the barter markets distributed in the study area were just established in 1983, thus indicating the trend of reviving barter that has long been on the decline during the period of colonization. The author was informed that many of the barter markets were re-established after Independence in 1960.

Zaire has been experiencing galloping inflation, and there is such an atrophy of the national economy that it is not a rare occasion than cash has no more purchasing power than fish or farm produce. The instability of the national economy is the main cause of the reviving of barter markets. The second hypothesis on the cause of surviving barter markets in the previous chapter is thus partly verified. The problem of placing the reviving barter markets in Table 2 is of interest, but it will be described and discussed in another paper.

The third hypothesis that fish in the Songola barter markets plays a role of limited-purpose money does not seem to be applicable to the markets south of the Songola land. An extreme excess of fish in the Katalama market (subtype IIa) tells us that there must be some control, be it conscious or unconscious, over the supply of fish in the Songola markets. The assumption could not be verified that "money-ness" of fish in the Songola market may be related with the livelihood in the tropical rain forest, where supplies of proteinacious food is usually lower than in the savanna. Further studies must be made on the factors influencing the value in use and the saleability of fish and each of the different kinds of farm produce.

The problem of the relationship between the complex ethnicity of the Wagenia fishermen and their symbiotic relationship with the neighboring farmers (hypothesis 4), could not be answered through the author's survey. Kakeya and Ichikawa (1983: 44) tried to delineate the problem of symbiotic relationships as the habitat segregation between cultivators and foragers including fishermen. The author, however, revealed that there is a distinctive difference between the symbiotic relationship of the Enya fishermen and that of the Mbuti hunters with their respective neighboring farmers in spite of the apparent resemblance (Ankei, 1985b: 100-105), and he insists that further comparison and meditation will be needed on this problem.

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