Paideuma 49:125–135 (2003)

PROPAGANDA CONCERNING 'MAN EATERS' IN WEST-CENTRAL AFRICA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

Beatrix Heintze

Since antiquity, the accusation of cannibalism or anthropophagy – according to reports, people were not just consumed or eaten but basically devoured – has frequently been directed against other peoples classified as 'barbarian', 'primitive' or 'wild' and has served as a justification for their exclusion, disparagement, subjection and enslavement. Even in the twentieth century, anthropophagy became a hotly debated topic in anthropology, the supposed evidence for it in Africa filling a whole volume. Wherever it was not found, references to the custom of filing teeth, human sacrifice and skull depositories were nonetheless supposed to suggest that anthropophagy could still not be ruled out.[1] A critical use of sources was an alien concept in these and other 'investigations'. The lack of firm eye-witness reports finally led William Arens, writing in 1979, to cast doubt on the consumption of men by men as a general custom. The vigorous debate that then erupted subsequently led to a general retreat by both extreme positions and gave rise to a series of theories to explain remaining cases of predominantly ritual anthropophagy following a re-examination of the literature. In addition, academic interest increasingly shifted from efforts to prove or disprove the reality of anthropophagy in concrete cases to the question of why, for centuries, western commentators and researchers have emphasised precisely this custom in this particular way. Their answer is mostly seen to lie today in the close connection between accusations of cannibalism and western colonialism and imperialism.[2] While earlier the cannibalism motif was used to construct and maintain differences in terms of race and 'civilisation', today it serves in the deconstruction of precisely these differences.[3]

In Africa the Azande especially, the 'tailed' Niam-Niam, have enjoyed notoriety as cannibals from medieval Arab sources into the modern period. Claims of cannibalism, incorrigible heathenism, nakedness, and backwardness in civilisation made them seem like near-animals. In an exemplary critical examination of sources, Paola Ivanov

---

* This contribution is based on a German version written for an as yet still unpublished Festschrift for the 70th birthday of Joseph Franz Thiel (September 2002). I thank Robert Parkin for the translation.

1 See Volhard (1939, on west-central Africa especially 75–76, 109–110, 126–143).

2 On this theme in more recent times, see, for example, Sanday (1986), Lorbeer and Wild (1993), Peter-Röcher (1998), Arens (1998), Hulme (1998), Barker, Hulme, and Iversen (1998), and Henriques (2000).

3 Kilour (1998:242). However, an acceptance of cannibalism as a prior stage in 'human socialisation' can still be found even in the most recent publications: see Henriques (2000:52–55), and for an opposite view Peter-Röcher (1998: Chapter 1).

has shown that these attributions have no geographical or ethnic value as information at all, being based instead on preconceptions and the desire to systematise world views. In course of time, several circulating stereotypes (tailed, cannibalistic Niam-Niam, filed dog's teeth and dog's heads) were combined and localised at the edge of the known world (Ivanov 2000:30–104, 135–143, 177–200). In Africa too, cannibalism was a 'phenomenon beyond the pale' (Frank 1987:200; all translations by R. Parkin).

The same was true of west-central Africa, where, from the sixteenth century, the 'Anzicos' (Teke) and 'Jaga' (the later Mbangala) acquired a particularly bloodthirsty reputation for cannibalism. The disparagement and belittling of indigenous peoples as cannibals, as well as the generalising of ritual cannibalism, practised only rarely and on special occasions, as a supposedly everyday practice, facilitated the objectification of these peoples and their reduction to property, that is, their large-scale commercialisation through the Atlantic slave trade. Later, from the nineteenth century onwards, accusations of cannibalism became an important argument for imposing re-education and forced labour, which the Portuguese together with other Westerners called 'civilising', on Africans through colonial subjection. How much this stereotype still haunts western minds was shown in March 2000, when a socialist member of the European Parliament disparaged an Angolan minister as a 'cannibal' (Henriques 2000:62–79).

Necessary and enlightening though deconstructions of this theme may be, they themselves risk creating a stereotype, especially when they claim general validity and do not take account of the particular historical context. In such a case – remaining with the example of Africa – a dichotomy between (active) racist and colonialist slanderers from outside Africa and (passive) African victims of slander becomes established all easily and simplistically. The reality was often very differentiated, as will be shown in what follows.

West-central Africa, with its main port for exports at Luanda, had been one of the most important sources of slaves for the Atlantic slave trade since the sixteenth century. As the hinterland of the coast gradually lost its significance as a source and began to function mostly just as a transit area, more and more stretches of land were drawn into the trade beyond the Kwango. Slave-selling, slave raids and slave caravans spread anxiety and fear. Year after year, thousands of human beings from the continent's interior were taken overseas as slaves, an average of 10,000 a year rising to up to 40,000 in the peak years before the official abolition of the trade, a total of several million, many of whom perished before even reaching the coast. When the Atlantic slave trade was prohibited in 1836, the period of so-called 'legitimate' trade began, with wax, ivory and later rubber being the main products, though for decades this trade overlapped with, and was mixed up with, the 'illegal' trade. The slave trade within Africa continued to exist, as did slavery itself, becoming restructured and even increasing. Clashes of interest arose between long-distance trade caravans seeking to acquire new, cheaper or better markets on either side of existing routes, and local rulers who did not want to lose the advantage they had so far enjoyed as producers or middlemen.

Trade monopolies were therefore stoutly defended. Without walls, standing armies or an established system of roads, this was most effectively achieved through intimidation. In this context, horror stories had long proved to be a highly effective, tried and tested, targeted method. Thus, for example, the 'Jaga' of Cassanje took care to threaten Portuguese merchants in the middle of the eighteenth century 'that he would eat them cooked and having people carry pots, wood and water in front of them to bully them even faster'.[4]

For many peoples of the interior, and especially for the Lunda, who were particularly affected by the slave trade and whose rulers claimed a monopoly in the ivory trade, cannibalism was the ultimate horror. Thus the Mwant Yav or rulers of the 'Lunda Commonwealth', who feared for their authority and the decline of custom, devised a particularly horrifying form of capital punishment in the form of the consumption of the corpses of the worst executed criminals by the neighbouring 'Akaawand',[5] who were feared as cannibals.[6] What was therefore more obvious than to fan the flames of the general fear of cannibalism and use it as a weapon to one's own advantage?

This defence was especially called for against European scientific travellers, whose motives as travellers were not understood and whose declared aims were mistrusted. Because of the previous experiences of Africans with Europeans and the latter's richly equipped caravans, to begin with they could only be perceived as nothing other than disguised merchants and therefore as a threat to the Africans' own interests. All scientific travellers in the nineteenth century had to combat this suspicion. On the Loango coast, Güßfeldt had the greatest trouble convincing the Africans he came across that he was not a merchant. Soyaux reported the fear, hatred and curiosity that

---

4 Sebestyén and Vansina (1999:338, see also 315, 343). Jan Vansina kindly reminded me of this nice quote. Admittedly in this case the Jaga supposedly 'only' wanted to force alcohol and cloth from the merchants with their threat, though it is also basically appropriate in the wider context that is being foregrounded here.

5 On the Akaawand, see Ceyssens (1979). The Akaawand ('those below, those downstream' – not their true ethnonym) include the Salampasu, the (southern) Kete and the Mbala. The Salampasu in particular still have a reputation today for anthropophagy and brag about it (Ceyssens, personal written communication, 11 December 2001). Hardly any traveller who visited the Lunda failed to report, in more or less concrete terms, this supposed food preference. Only the information given by the 'non-anthropophagic' Akaawand under Mwene Massaca (Masak) living on the right bank of the Kahungweji, neighbours (!) of the 'anthropophagic' Akaawand, but with obligations to pay tribute to the Mwant Yav, relativises this significantly. Massaca, who was acquainted with the cannibal stories concerning the other, independent part of the Akaawanda, told Carvalho that he did not know this people personally and that the elders had told him what was being said about them when he was a child (Carvalho 1890–1894, Volume 4:428). Buchner voices similar criticisms (Heintze 1999b:347).

6 See Carvalho (1890:136–137, 602–605; 1890–1894, Volume 2:232–235), Buchner (Heintze 1999b: 159, 440), Graça (1855:142–143), and Pogge (1880:173, 190). For most peoples in the African interior, Hulme's words (1998:20) on the western world also apply: 'Cannibalism is – as practice or accusation – quite simply the mark of greatest imaginable cultural difference and therefore the greatest challenge to our categories of understanding'.

had confronted them to begin with. Büttner was suspected of wanting to ruin the local trade throughout his travels in the Congo, but especially among the Yaka on the Kwango. No one could understand why he did not want to buy any rubber or ivory, despite the many goods he was carrying. Mwene Mputu Kasongo, the chief of the Yaka, tried to pursue trade with him for a while but, having no success, the situation became increasingly unpleasant for Büttner, with veiled threats, a general change in mood and violent attacks. Pogge and Buchner fared no better among the Lunda, especially as it was usual here for trade caravans to deliver all their wares to the Mvant Yav upon arrival and to enjoy his hospitality and free board until he had collected together the equivalent value in slaves and ivory. Hunters and scientific travellers did not fit into this schema, especially when they wanted to leave before the bulk of their goods had been disposed of. They were greeted everywhere as powerful merchants, but the way further into the interior that they desired was kept closed to them. 'Every deviation was an offence against the will of the king, who, concerned for his own trade monopoly, kept the borders of the neighbouring area to the north, which served him as a warehouse of slaves and ivory, firmly closed' (Buchner, in Heintze 1999b:357). The Mbangala defended their trade monopoly from Schütt just as firmly as the Lunda did theirs from Pogge and Buchner, or the Chokwe theirs from Pogge and Wissmann. Elsewhere the fear of the potential desire for conquest, betrayal to powerful overlords or slave raids stimulated mistrust.[7] Pechuël-Loesche eloquently expressed this: the Africans knew people:

> Almost invariably treated with contempt, they shy away from Europeans, taking notice of them only exceptionally and greeting them, according to position and circumstance, in a manner at once courteous, submissive, importunate, cowardly and impudent, although always hospitably. [...] Keen observers, good thought-readers, unconcerned about the value of time, they are cunning traders able to discern any weakness in the European. The latter is, to them, an acquisitive, reckless alien, whose sort slaughtered or negotiated with their ancestors, created havoc, and never did any good. He is their opponent, who is probably still taking their own kind overseas, with or without witchcraft, drowning them, overworking them or simply feeding off them. After all, what was hidden in those tin cans? (Pechuël-Loesche 1907:55)

The last remark is an allusion to the widespread idea in west-central Africa that the whites were exporting African slaves to consume them. Fears of cannibalism ran in both directions here for centuries.[8] Even purely African long-distance trade caravans were subjected to such suspicions as late as the 1880s (Carvalho 1890–1894, Volume 2:636).

---

7 See Heintze (1999a), as well as Büttner (1890:96, 113, 119–120, 154), Carvalho (1890–1894, Volume 1:365, Volume 2:339, 376), and Pechuël-Loesche (1879:275–276).

8 See, for example, Livingstone (1858:402, 1960:42, 146), and Wolff (1889:215). See also Chavanne (1887:52, n. 261), Cavazzi (1965, Volume 1, book I: § 329, used as powder and oil), and Pogge

Since the leaders of the caravans were not to be shifted from their intentions through argument, and violence against them was to be avoided if at all possible out of fear of unforeseen consequences, this aim was most easily achieved by influencing the porters. A mixture of known tales that migrate, existing fears of unknown lands and the all too real dangers of such long-distance journeys into the African interior, as well as deliberate scare tactics on the part of the local population and their political masters, were highly successful in this respect. The fact that even widely travelled Portuguese merchants like Saturnino de Sousa Machado spread stories of cannibalism (Lux 1880:102–103) increased their credibility. In contrast to the usual assumption, the scientific travellers were generally not impressed by this, seeing right through the strategy and laughing at the fears of their people.

Buchner especially was subjected to such defensive fire when he sought to press towards the north, against the express prohibition of the Mwant Yav:

> I had just reached the border of the Lunda state and the free *Tukongo* on the 8th degree of latitude when an unfortunate event blocked my progress for the first time. There had just been a Muatyamvo war, and a Tukongo chief had been subjugated. There were still some of the king's policemen there, collecting late war contributions, just miserable women and children. They straightaway suspected my criminal intentions, hypocritically raising the whole country against me behind my back, while outwardly showing me, the friend of their lord, the greatest obsequiousness and favour. As a result the proper route was hidden from me and I was led into a cul-de-sac, suddenly coming to a halt in front of an impassable swamp of papyrus, through which there was no way out.
>
> Throughout the night warning calls rang out around our camp. 'If you go this way tomorrow, we shall make war on you, and if you go that way, you'll all be devoured the day after, since there the *Tubindi*, the terrible eaters of people, live in numberless villages. They will set traps for you and poison you. Do you not hear the howling of our women? That is for our children who have been devoured, since not a day goes by when one of them is not taken away by the Tubindi'. Under such circumstances, it was no wonder that my cowardly porters ended up in the greatest fear. Indeed, more than that they went over to the local people and agreed to run away together with them if I tried to force them to go north. If my people had stayed by me, it would probably not have been so difficult to get through.[9]

The African strategy therefore proved highly successful. Buchner failed and had to turn back. Paul Güßfeldt in Loango, Alexander von Mechow on the Kwango and Hans Mueller among the Pende had similar experiences. Güßfeldt recognised that the Vili had every interest in

---

(1880:52, fn., powder from their bones). Hulme confirms this generally for Africa in the nineteenth century (1998:35).

9 Buchner in Heintze (1999b:148–149; italics in the original). See also Buchner in Heintze (1999b:119, 370, 373).

> making the expedition impossible. To them we were a respectable power that did not pursue trade. If we went into the interior, this could only lead to the ruin of the local people. Thus they had nothing better to do than using false pretences to seduce the people they could get hold of into fleeing or to instil such a fear in them, through the terrifying pictures of cannibals living in the forest, that I could be certain of seeing myself deserted by all my people when we actually departed (Güßfeldt 1875:216).

On the other hand Mputu Kasongo, the overlord of the Yaka on the Kwango, strove to bind von Mechow and his tempting wares to himself for as long as possible. He thus requested that

> I might like [...] to remain with him, at least for some time, or to leave a white with him until my return. There were no more Muata Jamvo below his *Zaidi Kuango*; also a waterfall higher than a house would hinder my further passage. Below this trap, down to the sea, lived cannibals who would strike us dead, though we would surely die of hunger before we got there, since the Majakalla would not sell us any food out of fear of us, but would run away.[10]

And the Lunda chief in the Pende area, Mwata Kumbana, told Mueller that the Kete

> fished all the corpses of those he executed out of the Luschiko into which they had been thrown, in order to eat them. Similarly, alien people who visited them were killed and consumed without more ado. As a result, he could not give me any people or canoes to visit the Tukette, since if anything happened to me, no white would ever visit him again (in Wissmann, Wolf, von François, and Mueller 1891:98).

Other researchers also had to struggle against such attempts to influence their people and found it difficult, like Pogge and Wissmann on the Lubilashi, to continue their journey over the intended route.[11] The same happened to Willy Wolff, making his arduous way to Mputu Kasongo on the Kwango:

> Since the local people did not dare oppose me openly or prevent my further travel, they sought to scare my people away from it. Indeed, they had good reason to hope that I would not press further into the interior, since, as they all obtained advantages from the trade, they feared that I was intending to enter into direct trade links by by-passing the middlemen. Indeed, my eventual successor might achieve what I did not. Soon, therefore, they frightened my youths by lying to them, saying that we would find no water, no village and no food for a full ten days. On another occasion, they told them how terrible King Kiamwo on the Kwango was; others told further lies, that we would come up against cannibals, etc. Whenever my youths heard such scare stories, they always came to me and asked me to turn back (Wolff 1889:165).

---

10 Von Mechow (1882:484). See also Büttner (1890:176).

11 Pogge (1883–1885:56), Wissmann (1892:124–125, see also 128, 132).

The stories and rumours therefore fell everywhere on such fruitful ground among the porters because, like the black man for our own children, they already fitted their expectations. Everyone already knew these stories from their home areas, and now, being told them while travelling – suitably coloured, of course – they confirmed their worst fears.[12] Europeans' attempts to render them harmless had little effect against African 'eye-witness reports':

> When they [the porters from Loango] were in possession of all these beautiful things, they came to me on the third day after our arrival [in São Salvador/Mbanza Congo] – the loads had already been got ready – to explain that they would not go with me to the Kiamwo, because of the many terrible stories they had heard. They claimed that a Bushman had told them that he himself had seen how Kiamwo [Mwene Mputu Kasongo of the Yaka on the Kwango] and his people ate some Loangos. Despite my response – I summoned the two people accompanying Dr Wolff as witnesses to the fact that this king was not at all dangerous – they insisted on their refusal and threatened me with flight, so I confiscated plates, spoons, pots, tobacco, pipes, rum and blankets, and announced the withdrawal of rations (Büttner 1890:113).

In such stories, the life-threatening dangers that the porters associated with such journeys into the African interior became concrete for them. Moreover, these anxieties grew in outrageousness because these porters, in contrast to those on African trade expeditions, were frequently asked to commit themselves for an unspecified period of time and for an often unknown destination. This was the main reason for the wall of refusal which scientific travellers repeatedly came up against to begin with, which made it so exceedingly difficult for them to hire the required porters at all.[13]

The fear of cannibals runs through all the travel literature in west-central Africa. European researchers neither created them nor made them concrete. Rather, they spread with a snowball effect in the form of oral propaganda around the nightly campfire, through conscious attempts to exert an influence due to high spirits, joy at others' suffering or strategic considerations, but also by the caravans themselves when they arrived home, since, having survived the fears and dangers unscathed, they gladly boasted of it a little. Thus Schütt's porters, after arriving safe and sound in Malanje once more, 'boastfully produced a pack of silly lies telling of hunger and sickness, of throats being cut and people being eaten' (Buchner, in Heintze 1999b:182), which well and truly frightened Buchner's people, who were just then preparing for departure. On the other hand, the identification of the greatest imaginable danger with the stereotype of cannibalism could also lead to Carvalho – who never even approached people

---

12 See, for example, Carvalho (1890–1894, Volume 1:87) and Wolff (1889:159). See also Büttner (1890:159, 162, 170), Capello and Ivens (1881:5, 180, 225–226), Wissmann, Wolf, von François and Mueller (1891:28, 111, cf. 215), and Wissmann (1892:84, 109, 128).

13 See Heintze (1999a: Introduction, section 7).

accused of this custom himself – being feted on his return as someone who had saved many Mbangala lives from locals in the bush 'who eat people'.[14]

Thus there was in west-central Africa both a colonial-imperialist stereotype of cannibalism and a genuine internal African one. In addition, there was a diffuse fear of cannibals as the expression of projected, extreme fears, as well as a thorough relish on both sides in using and exaggerating the cannibal stereotype, partly as a means of gaining prestige. Associated with it were ideas of cannibalism in connection with witchcraft. What seems plausible regarding the Azande may also be true in this case, namely that it cannot be ruled out

> that in the climate of confrontation between merchants [as far as west-central Africa was concerned, also European scientific travellers] and indigenous peoples, which was loaded with misunderstandings, mistrust and prejudice, some elements of this symbolic cannibalism have entered into reports of anthropophagy (Ivanov 2000:101).

In addition, the multiplicity of meanings of the word 'eat' in Bantu languages[15] might also have been responsible for misunderstandings in the minds and writings of those drawing up reports. Finally, however, as this contribution has shown, there was also the targeted, astonishingly frequent use of the cannibal stereotype as an exceedingly successful defensive strategy on the part of the Africans themselves.

Bibliography

ARENS, William
1979 *The Man Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press
1998 "Rethinking Anthropophagy", in: Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen (eds.), *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, 39–62. Cambridge *et al.*: Cambridge University Press

BARKER, Francis, Peter HULME, and Margaret IVERSEN (eds.)
1998 *Cannibalism and the Colonial World.* Cambridge *et al.*: Cambridge University Press

---

14 'que tinha salva muitas vidas de Cassanje nos matos do gentio que comem gente' (Carvalho 1890–1889[4], Volume 4:428).

15 E.g. as a synonym for killing, for the export of slaves overseas, for sacrificing or for ruling. See, for example, Carvalho (1890–1894, Volume 1:565: 'comer bem o Estado com os velhos' [rule well], Volume 2:560, Volume 3:497: 'dar de comer áquelle que fundou o jaggado'), Zintgraff (1886:92), and Pechuël-Loesche, Diary 5, 30 April 1875.

BÜTTNER, Richard
1890[4] *Reisen im Kongolande.* Ausgeführt im Auftrage der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig: Hinrichs

CAPELLO, H[ermenegildo], and R[oberto] IVENS
1881 *De Benguella ás terras de Iácca.* 2 volumes. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional

CARVALHO, Henrique Augusto Dias de
1890 *Ethnographia e História Tradicional dos Povos da Lunda.* Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional
1890–1894 *Descripção da Viagem à Mussumba do Muatiânvua.* 4 volumes. Lissabon: Imprensa Nacional

CAVAZZI de Montecúccolo, João António
1965 *Descrição dos três Reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola.* Translated and edited by Graciano Maria de Leguzzano, biographical introduction F. Leite de Faria. 2 volumes. Lisbon (Italian original [1]1687)

CEYSSENS, Rik
1979 "Akaawand: un ethnonyme manqué (Zaïre)", *Anthropos* 74:353–378

CHAVANNE, Josef
1887 *Reisen und Forschungen im alten und neuen Kongostaate.* Jena: Hermann Costenoble

FRANK, Erwin
1987 "'Sie fressen Menschen, wie ihr scheußliches Aussehen beweist...'. Kritische Überlegungen zu Zeugen und Quellen der Menschenfresserei", in: Hans Peter Duerr (ed.), *Authentizität und Betrug in der Ethnologie*, 199–224. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp

GRAÇA, Joaquim Rodrigues
1855 "Viagem feita de Loanda com destino às cabeceiras do Rio Sena, ou aonde for mais conveniente pelo interior do continente, de que as tribus são senhores, principada em 24 de abril de 1845", *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino* (parte não oficial), sér. 1:101–114, 117–129, 133–146

GÜSSFELDT, Paul
1875 "Bericht über die von ihm geleitete Expedition an der Loango-Küste", *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 2:195–218

HEINTZE, Beatrix
1999a *Ethnographische Aneignungen.* Deutsche Forschungsreisende in Angola. Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck

HEINTZE, Beatrix (ed.)
1999b *Max Buchners Reise nach Zentralafrika 1878–1882.* Briefe, Berichte, Studien. Köln: Köppe

HENRIQUES, Isabel Castro
2000 "A Invenção da Antropofagia Africana", in: *Actas dos VI Cursos Internacionais de Verão de Cascais (5 a 10 de Julho de 1999)* II:51–80. Cascais: Câmara Municipal de Cascais

HULME, Peter
1998 "Introduction. The cannibal scene", in: Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen (eds.), *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, 1–38. Cambridge *et al.*: Cambridge University Press

IVANOV, Paola
2000 *Vorkoloniale Geschichte und Expansion der Avungara-Azande.* Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung. Köln: Köppe (Studien zur Kulturkunde 114.)

KILOUR, Maggie
1998 "The function of cannibalism at the present time", in: Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen (eds.), *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, 238–259. Cambridge *et al.*: Cambridge University Press

LIVINGSTONE, David
1858 *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.* New York: Harper & Brothers
1960 *Livingstone's Private Journals 1851–1853.* Edited by Isaac Schapera. London: Chatto & Windus

LORBEER, Marie, and Beate WILD (eds.)
1993 *Menschenfresser – Negerküsse.* Das Bild vom Fremden im deutschen Alltag. Berlin: Elefanten Press

LUX, Anton Erwin
1880 *Von Loanda nach Kimbundu.* Ergebnisse der Forschungsreise im äquatorialen West-Afrika (1875–1876). Wien: Eduard Hölzel

MECHOW, Alexander von
1882 "Bericht über die von ihm geführte Expedition zur Aufklärung des Kuango-Stromes (1878/81)", *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 9:475–489

PECHUËL-LOESCHE, Eduard
[1875/76] *Reisetagebücher von der Loangoküste.* Nachlaß Pechuël-Loesche. Box 4. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München (unpublished manuscript)
1879 "Handel und Producte der Loangoküste", *Geographische Nachrichten für Welthandel und Volkswirthschaft* 1:273–336
1907 *Volkskunde von Loango.* Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder

PETER-RÖCHER, Heidi
1998 *Mythos Menschenfresser.* Ein Blick in die Kochtöpfe der Kannibalen. München: C.H. Beck

POGGE, Paul
1880 *Im Reiche des Muata-Jamvo*. Berlin: Reimer
1883–1885 "Bericht über die Reise von Mukenge nach Nyangwe und zurück; und über die Begründung der Station in Mukenge", *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* IV:56–74

SANDAY, Peggy Reeves
1986 *Divine Hunger*. Cannibalism as a Cultural System. Cambridge *et al.*: Cambridge University Press

SEBESTYÉN, Eva, and Jan VANSINA
1999 "Angola's Eastern Hinterland in the 1750s: A Text Edition and Translation of Manoel Correira Leitão's 'Voyage' (1755–1756)", *History in Africa* 26:299–364

VOLHARD, Ewald
1939 *Kannibalismus*. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder (Studien zur Kulturkunde 5.)

WISSMANN, Hermann von
1892 *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost*. Nach der siebenten Auflage des großen Werkes vom Verfasser selbst bearbeitete kleinere Ausgabe. Berlin: Walther und Apolant ([1]1889)

WISSMANN, Hermann von, Ludwig WOLF, Curt von FRANÇOIS, and Hans MUELLER
1891[2] *Im Innern Afrikas*. Die Erforschung des Kassai während der Jahre 1883, 1884 und 1885. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus ([1]1888)

WOLFF, Willy
1889 *Von Banana zum Kiamwo*. Eine Forschungsreise in Westafrika, im Auftrage der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland. Oldenburg and Leipzig: Schulzesche Hof-Buchdruckerei

ZINTGRAFF, Eugen
1886 "Eindrücke vom unteren Kongo", *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 13:83–94