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MAKUMBA—THE BAUSHI TRIBAL GOD.

By ROY PHILPOT.

PREFACE.

The following notes have been gathered during the past two years in the Fort Rosebery district from the following sources :—

CHIEF MABUMBA, *alias* KALABA MUSENGA, who died in June, 1932, aged about 75 years ; he was guardian of Makumba for 28 years.

CHIEF KALASA LUKANGAWA, *alias* MULUBWA, direct son of Kaboli, who died in 1877. Kalasa is still alive, aged 75/80 years.

NAMBULU, *alias* MULUBWA CHIBUYE, grand niece of Kaboli, mother of the present chief Chimese : she is about 65 years old.

CHIEF MILAMBO, *alias* LUANDO CHILIAPA, present paramount chief of the Baushi, to whom the guardianship of Makumba was ceded by Mabumba in February, 1933. Milambo is about 50 years old and succeeded his uncle Nkandu in 1913.

KASANGA, a blind man aged about 75, of the true Baushi royal blood, cousin of Chief Mabumba II (Kalaba Musenga) and of the same generation. He was a claimant for Mabumba's "stool" in 1932, and would probably have been made his successor had it not been for his blindness, which would have been a grave handicap to a chief.

FIKWAMA, the present chief Mabumba : he is a comparatively young man of about 45 years.

CHIEF NSONGA, about 70 years old, uncle of Mpite who seized Makumba from the paramount's village on the death of Myeri-Myeri in 1904.

CHIEF KALASA MUKOSO, a young but fairly important chief of the Bena-kabende sub-tribe : he is keeper of Makumba Mulewa.

EX-MESSENGER KOWAMFUTI, an old Mwaushi, aged about 65, who has been most useful in assisting me to gather information and to cross-check it afterwards.

SUB-CHIEFS MIVENGI, KALE, AND CHAMA.

Many other natives have been questioned or have volunteered information, but the main facts stated in my notes were obtained from the above men. No actual information has been culled from official sources, although dates have been verified where possible by reference to the District Note Book.

Every effort has been made to avoid inaccuracies by cross-checking all statements through second and third independent parties, but it is realised that in statements taken from natives a certain amount of inaccuracy or even fiction is hardly avoidable.

I am also grateful to Mr. G. Sims of the Garanganze Mission, Fort Rosebery, for his assistance in checking my information ; Mr. Sims has been resident for nearly 20 years in the Fort Rosebery district.

In conclusion I should like to state that I do not consider these notes in any way complete, but hope that I may be able at some future date to add to them, to correct any inaccuracies, and to give a full and detailed account of a cult which is rapidly falling back before the advance of civilization, and which will probably disappear completely within the next thirty years.

“MAKUMBA,” THE BAUSHI TRIBAL GOD.

To understand the importance of the Baushi tribal god, one must to a certain extent delve into the history of the tribe and the ancestry of the paramount chiefs whose fortunes, according to the local histories, waxed when they propitiated and revered Makumba and waned when they failed to observe the many taboos or to carry out the rites which his guardianship entailed.

The Baushi are a Bantu tribe some 65,000 strong, inhabiting the Fort Rosebery district of North Eastern Rhodesia. The present boundaries of the tribe are roughly the Luapula River on the south and west, Lake Bangweolu on the east, and the Luongo River to the north. Within these boundaries there are, of course, at the present day several sub-tribes or clans, such as the Benang’umbo some 18,000 strong who inhabit the lake shores, and the Benachishinga in the north east portion of the district of whom there are 5,000 ; these are not properly part of the Baushi tribe, but in the old days before the advent of the white man all the clans within the Baushi boundaries were at any rate nominally subservient to the Baushi paramount chiefs.

The Baushi are probably an off-shoot of the Lunda tribe and as far as can be ascertained the Baushi clan broke away from the main tribe in Luanzanunu, in the Congo, and then travelled southwards and eastwards through the Kola district of the Congo until they came to the Luapula River. This they crossed between the Mansa and the Mombeshi rivers and, though it is, of course, impossible to fix the date of their invasion of this country, it is generally said by the old natives that they crossed the Luapula shortly after Kazembe’s invasion, which can be fixed at circa 1750.

The leader of the Baushi clan, at the time of their entry into what is now Northern Rhodesia, was a man who is now referred to as “Muwe ” (or “The First Ancestor ”) of the Benambushi totem. Muwe was apparently a commoner and not a chief, and it is possible that he was merely an ambitious upstart who had induced and led the Baushi to break away from the main Lunda tribe in the Congo. However, that cannot now be stated with any certainty, for, as can be imagined, his name is almost forgotten amongst the present-day Baushi.

It was Muwe who found Makumba in Luanzanunu in the Congo, and the legend of the discovery tells how Muwe was out pursuing game when suddenly he beheld Makumba beneath a large tree. He immediately knew that this was something out of the ordinary, “a great thing, and a thing of God,” so he stopped and sat down there under the tree. Then it was that God Himself (Lesa) spoke to Muwe in a dream, saying “Behold this person that I have given you ; take him and guard him. He shall belong to the Baushi people and be with them.” God also said that Makumba should be guarded by the chief of the Baushi and should be to him a throne or sign of chieftainship. This explains the attempts later by the Bayeke, the Lunda, and the Swahili tribes to capture Makumba and so make the Baushi subject to them.

Makumba has never so far (1933) been seen by a white man, nor even by natives who are not either of the priesthood or of the royal blood. The natives say that should he be seen by any intruder, the latter would be struck blind or would waste away and die. But Makumba has been described to me as being cylindrical in shape, one to two feet in height and with a diameter of twelve to eighteen inches. It is generally admitted that Makumba is black, and hard like stone, though the natives, of course, deny that he is made of stone. The description of him as black is probably true though not conclusive since he has been seen by so few people. In addition, it must be remembered that to the Baushi all good things are of the same colour as themselves, in exactly the same way as Europeans apply their own colour in matters connected with religion. The native, for example, will say “as white as the devil,” and God to him is black, whereas among Europeans the reverse is believed. However, it may be accepted that Makumba consists of a cylindrical piece of some hard black substance, possibly meteorite.

Makumba is dressed with three belts of python skin, in the top of which are stuck numerous feathers of the ngomba or secretary bird, and these project above the top surface of Makumba. In addition to the python skin-belts Makumba's sides are decorated with thick rows of cowrie shells, while he rests on a square of human skin the edges of which are brought up and tucked under the lowest of the three python skin-belts. The history of this skin is given below.

When Muwe and his followers arrived in the country to the North of the Luapula, they found it uninhabited or, rather, very sparsely inhabited by a scattered Bantu tribe. These people the Baushi defeated and most of them fled to the swamps of Lake Bangweulu where their descendants, derisively called the “Ba-twa” or “water-folk,” still eke out a precarious existence. Most of the women and young men were probably absorbed into the Baushi tribe as slaves.

Muwe travelled northwards and eastwards until he reached the Luera River, which he crossed, and he eventually settled on the Mansa River, quite close to the present site of Fort Rosebery. But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his conquest, and it is probably owing to this that he was never recognised as a chief ; the first Baushi paramount chief was Muwe's son, Chabala, into whose care Makumba was given by Muwe before he died.

This unusual succession, among northern Bantu people, through the direct line of father to son, explains the change in the totem of the Baushi chiefs. Muwe was a Mwinambushi (Goat Clan) but his son Chabala was a Mwinangulubi (Wild-pig Clan). Had the succession gone through the female line as is customary, Chabala would not have become chief and the ruling totem would still be Benambushi, instead of Benangulubi as is actually the case.

Thus we find the Baushi at this time (circa 1765) firmly established in the present Fort Rosebery district, and Makumba installed as the guardian spirit of the tribe, and especially of the Royal family, the first of whom, Chabala, was now on the throne and busy consolidating his position by building villages, cultivating gardens and occasionally sending out raiding parties to swell the numbers of his people by conquest.

Before proceeding further with the history of Makumba and of his guardians, we may well pause to give a further description of what this guardianship entails, to examine the taboos connected with Makumba's worship, and to attempt to estimate what his spiritual and temporal significance is to the Baushi people.

Makumba has at various times been given varying names by different Europeans. Some of these are : “tribal regalia,” “tribal totem,” “insignia of the Baushi paramount chiefs,” etc., etc. But that none of these is wholly correct will be shewn by an examination of the beliefs which natives themselves hold. Probably there is no strictly accurate word in English to convey exactly what Makumba means to the Baushi, but the nearest we can arrive at, I think, is “tribal-god.” That Makumba is more than an insignia of office is very evident from the mere fact that the natives always refer to him as a person, a practice which I have continued in these notes. Yet at the same time Makumba definitely conveys to his guardian chief the paramountcy or leadership of the whole Baushi people. This is probably not so much due to the nature of the god himself but more to custom and tradition, which definitely states that Makumba was given by Lesa to Muwe to be a sign of chieftainship, and to be kept by the chiefs for the people.

Thus Makumba to the Baushi is a very definite person, a god to whom, as will be seen, they prayed and made offerings, a god who could give of his bounty or refuse it at will, and who could kill people at sight. Hence the care and worship of Makumba has its own ritual, and, like any other god, Makumba is served by his own priests and priestesses and has his own prophet. The veneration of the Baushi for Makumba is in some ways similar to that of the Ashanti natives for the Golden Stool, but with this most important exception : Makumba to the Baushi is a god and a person, whereas the Ashanti have never ascribed divinity to the Golden Stool, but regard it more as an emblem of the tribal might and the repository of the soul of the Ashanti nation.

It is possible that Muwe's tales of his discovering Makumba and of his vision were nothing more than the well thought out inventions of an unscrupulous upstart—mere tales which he knew would enhance his own authority and bind the people more closely to him. But this is extremely improbable since the whole cult with its ritual,

taboos, and priest-hood seems too intricate and yet too well knit together to be the invention of a single man. What is more probable is that Muwe on seeing Makumba did in fact experience a vision, or dream, and as a result proclaimed Makumba as the god, and that the ritual and taboos involved in his worship have been built up by succeeding generations of chiefs and priests.

The historians vary somewhat in their accounts of the appointment of Makumba's priests. Some (*e.g.* Mabumba and Kalasa Lukangawa) state that Muwe appointed the priests and priestess immediately after the discovery of Makumba in Luanzanunu whereas others (*e.g.* Luando-Chiliapa, the present Milambo or paramount chief) state that the priests were only invested after the arrival of the tribe in Rhodesia. All agree, however, that at the time of his vision in Luanzanunu Muwe was told the names of the men to be appointed as Makumba's priests, of the woman who was to be given to Makumba as “wife,” and that Makumba himself would, by means of a vision, select a man as his prophet. The original priests were Mutumpa of the Benakashimu totem, Kalenge of the Benambushi and Nkandu Chisenga of the Benambulu totem. These were chosen by God Himself and their descendants, for the priesthood is inherited matrilinearly in the same way as the chieftainship, are still men of the same totems and still bear the same names as their ancestors. This change of names on inheriting any position is common to all Bantu peoples so that the retention of the original priests' names does not imply that the names in themselves have any religious significance.

There is also some divergence of opinion upon the date of the appointment of the first woman to act as “Makumba's wife,” but the majority of the Baushi seem to agree that Makumba had no wife before he was brought to this country and that it was only after his arrival here that Muwe, or his successor, Chabala, was warned by Makumba in a dream “to marry” a woman named Mukolo Bwalya to him. This he promptly did, though, as far as I can ascertain, there was no ceremony to constitute the marriage. At this time a fire was kindled in Makumba's hut, for a special hut was built in the chiefs' village for Makumba and his wife, and this fire has been kept burning continuously day and night from that time up till June, 1932, except for short periods when it was extinguished when the tribe fled before invaders or when the village was shifted.

It is curious to find, however, that apart from the priestess described as Makumba's wife, there are also three other women who are given and belong to the Chief who is at the time guardian of Makumba. Makumba's wife is always an old woman, very often a widow, for it is taboo for any menstruating woman to approach the god. Thus only women who are past the age of menstruation and childbirth may be chosen as wife of Makumba, to clean his hut, tend his fire and sleep in the god's hut at night. The other three priestesses of Makumba, however, are always young girls, since it is their duty to look after the guardian chief, clean his hut and sleep with him at night. This may appear a somewhat objectionable custom, but is not so in reality, since these three women merely become additional wives of the chief and are respected by the common people and well

treated by their “husband.” They are not in fact wives as no marriage ceremony is held, nor does the chief give the usual marriage presents to their parents ; they are merely “given to the chief by Makumba.” But apart from this their status is even above that of the chief’s ordinary wives and there is no doubt that the positions are much sought after by the young girls of the tribe.

The first woman to hold the position of “Wife to Makumba” was Mukolo Bwalya, alias Mofya, of the Benabwali totem. The chief’s concubines being Mukolo Mubili of the Benamumba totem, Mwewa Luamba of the Benakashimu totem, and Mukolo Chibali of the Benango totem.

It seems that these positions as priestesses are hereditary matrilinearly, but, should no suitable descendant be available, any suitable woman of the same totem may be chosen by the guardian chief, or by Makumba through his prophet, to fill the vacancy. It may be remarked that the name “Mukolo” borne by these priestesses has no significance, merely meaning “first wife.”

It was not until the time of Chabala that the prophet, as had been foretold by Muwe in his dream, was chosen by Makumba himself, and apparently the method of the selection was, and still is, simple for the same procedure is followed at the present time. Makumba simply appeared in a dream to a man of the Benango totem who was named “Chilaluka” (or “Seer”) and Chilaluka immediately fell into a trance or epileptic fit and began to prophesy in Makumba’s name. He was immediately recognised by the people as Makumba’s expected prophet and from that time onwards his prophecies were treated with due respect by the Baushi. Remarkably enough the position of prophet to Makumba is not inherited as is the case with the priesthood, but on the death of one prophet an interval elapses until such time as Makumba himself, as before, elects another man to replace the deceased by appearing in a vision. The only restriction is that the prophet, who inherits the name Chilaluka, must be of the same totem as his predecessor, viz. Benango. But what seems more remarkable to the European with his long experience of impostors and charlatans is that the natives cannot recall there even being more than one pretender to the position of Makumba’s prophet.

With regard to the prophecies made by Makumba, through Chilaluka, the natives aver that Makumba warned them of threatened invasions, of famines, locust plagues and of any great disaster which was about to befall the tribe. The reputation of Makumba was certainly well known throughout North Eastern Rhodesia and the adjacent Congo territory, for it is said that Kazembe himself made offerings to Makumba at the time of Mbulu Kosongochali (circa 1830), while the attempts by the Bayeke and Balunda to capture Makumba are mentioned below. The latest occasion on which Chilaluka made a prophecy in Makumba’s name was in May of 1932, when he prophesied the death of chief Mabumba who was then the custodian of Makumba. Mabumba did actually die in June, 1932, but as he was a very old man and was ill for some two months before his death, this prophecy is not so miraculous as it might seem,

There are several ceremonies connected with Makumba, but the most important of these is that of “adorning Makumba.” This occurs at intervals varying from six months to two years, the time being chosen either by the guardian chief or by Makumba himself through Chilaluka. When it is known that the time has come for the ceremony, the three priests, Mutumpa, Kalenge and Nkandu are sent for by the Chief to perform the ceremony. If they are not actually in Makumba’s village when this time occurs, they must come and sleep there one night before the actual day; this night, or part of it, is usually spent in beer-drinking and dancing, but this has no ritualistic connection with Makumba.

Next day, early in the morning, everybody except the chief and the priests leaves the village and these then proceed to Makumba’s hut. Outside the doorway they kneel down and clap their hands and the chief then hands the offerings or adornments to Mutumpa. These consist of flat shells (mpande), cowrie-shells, and feathers of the secretary bird (ngomba), which may be either the property of the chief or else offerings to Makumba from sub-chiefs or commoners. The priests led by Mutumpa then go into the hut where they are met by Makumba’s wife, Mukolo Bwalya, and they proceed to adorn Makumba with the shells, which are tied round him in strings. When, however, an offering is being made to Makumba to ensure good crops, to ask for his assistance in averting any tribal disaster, or for any other cause, the mpande are not tied on to him but are thrown at him by the priest (Mutumpa) or by the chief. If Makumba accepts the offering the shells stick to him, but if he rejects the offering they fall to the ground and are then returned to the donor with the information that he has offended Makumba, who refuses to accept his offering. The suppliant then retires sorrowing or else returns with larger and better mpande in the hope that these will be accepted.

Finally the old feathers are removed and burnt by Makumba’s wife and the new feathers are stuck in under the python skin belts. While this has been going on, the chief has been waiting at the door of the hut, though he may and sometimes does assist in the re-dressing of Makumba. When Makumba is dressed again he is taken out and carried round the village by the priests, who sing songs of praise to him. He is then returned to his hut and the ceremony is complete.

In connection with the above ceremony it might be noted that while Makumba was staying at Mabumba’s village (1904-1933) the position and powers of the chief, as far as the ritual is concerned, were taken by an old woman named Nambulu, alias Mulubwa Chibuye, on the grounds that she was of the royal blood and therefore more entitled to do so than Mabumba who was not so closely related to the ancient royal line of chiefs. It is more probable, however, that Mabumba merely permitted her to carry out these duties in order to keep her friendly, and because it was through her that Makumba had come into his (Mabumba’s) keeping.

Another ceremony in connection with Makumba is that of choosing a new village, which occurs as soon after the death of the guardian chief as the weather and seasons permit, for when the chief dies it is taboo for Makumba to remain for long in the old

village. The new site for the village is chosen by Makumba himself in the following manner. It is decided by the chief in which direction the village will move, *i.e.* upstream or downstream, since they must remain near water, and he then sets out in the chosen direction accompanied only by the priests who carry Makumba. The method of selecting the site by lot is rather similar to the old Christian practice of judging by “cutting the Bible,” for to the top of Makumba a large feather is affixed with wax and Makumba indicates the new site for the village by “pushing down” the feather. The fall of the feather is caused, of course, by the action of the sun’s rays in melting the wax—but naturally this simple explanation is not accepted by the Baushi.

The only other known rites of any importance with which Makumba is directly connected are the annual fertilisation rites which are carried out just before the grain seed is sown, *i.e.* in November. The ceremony, if it can be so called, is very simple. Each year when the crops are reaped every man in Makumba’s village and all the sub-chiefs, would bring in a small portion of their harvest as an offering to Makumba. This was almost in the nature of a tithe, though not in any way compulsory, and of course the amount brought in was never so much as a tenth of the whole crop. These offerings were given to Makumba’s “wife,” or to the chief, who would put them in the grain bin which had been specially constructed for Makumba outside his hut. Then the following year before the crops were sown, the guardian chief would distribute this grain in small quantities to be mixed with the seed before sowing to make it fertile. It is interesting to note that the dipper or cup which was, and still is, used to distribute the fertile seed from Makumba’s bin, consists of the top of a human skull. I cannot trace any special significance in this use of a human skull; the practice was probably begun merely to impress the people and as an example to them of Makumba’s justice rather than for spiritual or ritualistic motives. (The history of this human skull is given below). It is said, however, that the practice of these fertilization rites is rapidly dying out, and at the present time only the chiefs’ villages and a few of the older men from other villages bring in the annual grain offerings for Makumba.

As much of the ritual in the worship of Makumba is inseparably bound up with tradition and past events, it would be as well to resume here the history of Makumba and his guardian chiefs where it was left off above.

Chabala, the first Baushi paramount chief, is said to have ruled many years and by his wisdom and bravery in warfare to have extended his sphere of influence, subjugating all the tribes which were then resident between the Luongo and the Luapula, thus adding greatly to the strength of his people. It is said that Muwe in his migration from the Congo did not take many slaves with him, but Chabala soon remedied this by enslaving all the youths of the clans which he defeated.

Soon the tales of this rising tribe and the fame of Makumba began to spread abroad and Kazembe, chief of the Lunda people to the north of the Luongo River, began to have fears for the safety of his own out-lying districts near the Luongo. So he decided to attack

the Baushi before they became too strong, gathered a very large force and marched on Chabala's village. This invasion took Chabala completely by surprise as apparently Makumba did not warn him of it, and his fighting forces were scattered. However, as soon as he heard that Kazembe had crossed the Luongo, he hurriedly massed what men he could and prepared to defend his village. But the Baushi had not, at that time, learned the art of stockading their villages and their small force was overcome in the first determined rush of Kazembe's experienced warriors. Chabala hastily fled northwards stopping only to pick up Makumba in his flight. Kazembe pursued hotly and Chabala, seeing that all hope was lost, threw himself with Makumba on his shoulders into the Crocodile Pool of the Mansa River near the present site of Fort Rosebery. Chabala disappeared immediately, but Kazembe and his followers were astonished to see Makumba rise to the top and remain stationary, floating on the surface of the water. Kazembe promptly sent three men in to fetch Makumba out, but much to their astonishment they could not move Makumba. More men were sent to assist but all their efforts to move Makumba failed and he remained floating on the water.

Kazembe was horrified at this display of supernatural power, and hastily retreated, taking with him many of the Baushi women and children as slaves, and destroying all the Baushi huts and crops. But when Kazembe returned to his own country and planted his crops nothing grew. The following year the same thing occurred, and this mysterious failure of the chief's crops was repeated for many years, until he realized that it was due to his attempt to steal Makumba. He tried fresh seed from distant sources but the result was the same, so he resolved to return to the Baushi-country and make an offering to Makumba. Accordingly he set forth with a small company, taking with him many presents of cowrie shells, slaves and food, for Makumba and Mbulu Kasongochali who was now chief of the Baushi. He was received in peace and his offering accepted, and after praying to Makumba he was given a little fertile seed from Makumba's bin. He returned to his own country and mixed this seed with his own before sowing, and as a result all grew and the curse was ended. Never since that time have the Lunda people dared to attack the Baushi.

After Chabala's death, following Kazembe's invasion, the Baushi had scattered far and wide, but one Kansoko, a man who had been Chabala's slave, gathered a few men together at the old village site, and finding Makumba's priests among them he sent them into the Crocodile Pool to fetch Makumba. This they did without any great difficulty and Kansoko then set about rebuilding the village. Gradually Chabala's people returned to their village and settled down again with Kansoko as their headman, for, although he had been a slave, there was nobody strong enough to dispute his authority, and Chabala's male heirs were still young children. Thus time passed and Kansoko consolidated his position until at last he even began to dream of re-uniting all the Baushi people and setting himself up as their chief. With this end in view he murdered Chabala's two eldest nephews, who were growing up and would in the ordinary course of events have

inherited Chabala's stool of chieftainship. This was hardly noticed by the people as executions occurred almost daily in the chief's village, but when Kansoko, under some feeble pretence stabbed Chabala's third nephew and his niece, the people were very much afraid, and Chabala's sister took her two remaining children Kakulankula and Kabungo and fled with them by night into the bush. There she built a hut and kept the children, while Kansoko's captive wife, who was of the Benamfula totem and hated Kansoko, used to bring them food. Thus they sowed seed and made gardens and lived there until they began to grow up, and their mother instilled into their minds a bitter hatred for Kansoko for killing their brothers and stealing their inheritance. So they made themselves bows, arrows, and spears and practised daily in their use.

Meanwhile Kansoka was still in power as headman of the village and was almost a chief as he had many people. But the Baushi never liked or really accepted Kansoko as paramount on account of his cruelty and because he was merely an upstart slave. It happened, moreover, that a great famine spread through the land and none of the Baushi had food, except Kansoko, whose crops grew because he had the fertile seed from Makumba. All the headmen of the outlying villages came to Kansoko and begged him for good seed ; he pretended to agree and gave them seed, but before giving it to them he roasted the seed on a fire so that it would not grow.

The headmen returned to their villages with the seed and planted it, but when it did not grow they discovered what Kansoko had done and began to plan how to kill him. By this time Kakulankula and Kabungo had become grown men and, hearing about the discontent in the country, they decided that the time had come to kill Kansoko. Accordingly they gathered together the people from the outlying villages and set off for Kansoko's village, where they cut off Kansoko as he was going to his gardens and killed him. His people, seeing that he was dead, did not fight but welcomed Kakulankula and Kabungo, and the former was made chief with his brother as adviser and, as they had seed from their gardens in the bush, they distributed it to the people and thus the famine was ended.

When Kansoko was killed, Kakulankula ordered his body to be skinned and the top of his skull to be cut off, and the skin was wrapped round Makumba and the skull given to him as a bowl—possibly as some sort of recompense to Makumba for the insults he had suffered from Kansoko. This skin and skull of Kansoko are still kept as the property of Makumba and are referred to above. The skin is now, of course, a mere fragment.

From the time of Kakulankula until the time of Kaboli, Baushi history is very fragmentary, but the tribe seems to have prospered and grown strong, especially during the chieftainship of Mbulu Kasongochali who started trading with the Arab slavers and thus acquired muzzle-loading guns. It was he, also, who taught the Baushi how to stockade their villages and thus to beat off the attacks of the Arab raiders and the Bayeke from the Serenje district. Throughout this period (two generations), Makumba was kept by the paramount chiefs, the descendants of Chabala, and in return for the

rites of worship performed by them he warned them of approaching dangers and blessed them with good crops.

About 1847 Kaboli succeeded to the paramountcy of the Baushi and soon began to gratify his ambitions by leading raiding parties against all the surrounding chiefs. It was while he was away on one of these expeditions that a party of Bayeke raiders from across the Luapula descended on his village in an attempt to capture Makumba. They drove off the people and entered Makumba's hut to seize him, but to their astonishment they found that despite all their efforts Makumba could not be moved. Then, out of horror at this witchcraft, they tried to burn down his hut, but it would not catch fire for water suddenly began to spurt from the roof. The Bayeke fled in terror and were pursued by Kaboli, on his return, who drove them back across the Luapula.

On Kaboli's death, in 1877, it was found that he had no heir capable of assuming the chieftainship, for his two nephews, Mulubwa and Kasuba, were already dead and the next descendant in the direct line was Kanakansoka, alias Saka (present Chief Chimese), who was then a mere baby, being the son of Kaboli's grandniece, Mulubwa Chibuye, alias Nambulu. Accordingly Kaboli's relatives were consulted and his niece, Chama Chilomo, alias Nkachibuye, the mother of Nambulu, stated that Kaboli himself had instructed her to send for a distant relation of his, one Myeri-Myeri who was then a headman in the southern part of the district bordered by the Luapula River, who should inherit the paramount chieftainship of the Baushi. The matter was discussed at great length and eventually it was decided to send for Myeri-Myeri, for not only was he of the Benangulubi or royal totem but he was also famed as a warrior, and at this time a strong ruler was essential to beat off the frequent raids of the Bayeke and other tribes from across the Luapula.

Myeri-Myeri was therefore installed as paramount chief and took charge of Makumba. He also took the name Milambo, the hereditary name of the Baushi paramount chiefs. It seems probable that Myeri-Myeri was only appointed temporarily as Regent until the correct heir should grow up, for to this day his descendants are spoken of as “outsiders” —not of the true Baushi royal blood. However, be that as it may, he was accepted at the time as paramount chief and there were no attempts to take Makumba from him.

At first Myeri-Myeri entered into his duties as paramount chief with all the keenness expected of one in his position, and beat off several minor raids from the Congo territory. He was also, at this time, admired and looked up to by his people and, by the correct performance of the ritual and prayers to Makumba, he ensured good crops and prosperity for his people. But Myeri-Myeri had built his village to the south of the Luera River, not in the old royal district near the Mansa River, and after a few years had passed discontent began to spread amongst the people living in villages near the former royal headquarters. Mabumba I, alias Chama, a direct cousin of the old paramount chief, Mbulu Kasongochali, who had made him a sub-chief on the north bank of the Mansa River, now moved across to the south side of the river and built near the site of the old

royal village. Here he began to assert that he, being of the royal family and in the direct line of inheritance from Saka (though he was too young at the time of Saka's death to inherit his stool), should be paramount chief of the Baushi and keep Makumba instead of the outsider from Nsunga country—Myeri-Myeri.

Meanwhile in the south Myeri-Myeri was losing his first keenness and pleasure in ruling the tribe and becoming lazy and unhealthy. He no longer travelled round his country inspecting his villages, and soon he even ceased to take an interest in legal matters—a serious defect, for the Baushi, like all Bantu people, love “taking matter to the law courts,” and the chief is to his people *ex officio* the High Court Judge, the Legal Adviser, and keeper of the tribal Law. Thus Myeri-Myeri's power began to wane steadily and more and more of his people began to desert to Mabumba, who at any rate exercised the real functions of a chief in the north.

The tale is told that at about this period, a few years before the white-men entered this district, the Baswahili raided Myeri-Myeri's village. All the men, including the chiefs, fled, leaving Makumba and the women at the mercy of the invaders. The Swahili chiefs immediately seized Makumba and by torturing the women prisoners tried to force them to tell how Makumba could be made to “bless” them and adopt the Swahili as his people. The women at first refused to answer but at last one, after being blinded, told the chiefs that Makumba would immediately adopt any people who sat on him. The Swahili leaders promptly uncovered Makumba and each in turn sat upon the God, but to their horror they found next day they had all developed “lusula” (elephantiasis of the scrotum). Their followers were so panic stricken at this sign of the God's wrath that they forced their leaders to return immediately to their own country, leaving Makumba behind.

Thus at the advent of the first white official to the district in 1899—when Mr. H. T. Harrington visited the Baushi to recruit labour for the construction of the telegraph line towards the north—Myeri-Myeri had sunk to the level of a mere village headman, ruling no more than his own miserable village which consisted mainly of his own near relations. Attempts were made by the first two officials in the district (Mr. Harrington and Mr. George Lyons) to restore Myeri-Myeri to power, in the hope that he would then be of use to the administration, but these failed, for he had then sunk too low and lost the respect of the Baushi.

Eventually in 1904 Myeri-Myeri died and after a long “indaba” or council it was decided that he should be succeeded by his nephew, Nkandu Chibatata, and that Makumba should pass into his heir's keeping. This was not decided without a great deal of argument for the claimants to the succession, as is usual, were many, and in this case many of the Baushi felt that Makumba should now be restored to the keeping of the old royal line. But, as this would *ipso facto* have meant switching the paramountcy over yet again to another branch of the family and as Nkandu appeared to be a more suitable man than the other claimants, he was finally installed as paramount and guardian of Makumba.

As soon as this decision became known, Nsonga, a very minor chief although of the royal Benangulubi totem, sent his nephew, Mpite, with two men to remove Makumba by night from the late Myeri-Myeri's village. The raid was successful and Makumba was duly brought back to Nsonga's village, where he was installed in a temporary hut pending some decision as to whom would be given the permanent guardianship. It has been thought that Nsonga intended to keep Makumba himself and attempt to set himself up as leader of the people, but this, upon examination of the facts, seems improbable. Nsonga was such a minor chief and his followers were so few that such an attempt would have been ridiculous. It is also to be noted that he only constructed a “temporary hut” (nsaka) for Makumba, not a permanent dwelling place, nor did he raise any objections when another claimant, Nambulu (see below), appeared and took Makumba away with her. It seems probable, therefore, that the reasons advanced by Nsonga himself and other natives are the correct ones, namely, that they did not think that Makumba had been treated properly by Myeri-Myeri—the smallpox epidemic of 1901 was ascribed by natives to this cause—and believed that Makumba should be in the hands of the direct descendants of the old Baushi chiefs. It is also probable that Nsonga was a mere figure-head in this act and was instructed or bribed to commit the theft, so that the claim of the originators of the plan should not be marred in the official and public mind by a wrongful acquisition. It is said that within two days of the theft, the two men who laid violent hands on Makumba both died from no visible cause. Nsonga and his nephew were not affected as, of course, they had taken good care not to touch Makumba themselves.

Naturally such an act as the theft of the tribal god set the whole tribe talking, and immediately she heard of it Nambulu, alias Malubwa Chibuye, grandniece of Kaboli, mother of the present chief Chimese and a woman of the direct royal line, sent to Nsonga, who was her “nephew” according to native custom, though not so according to European standards, and demanded that he should bring Makumba to her village. This he did without complaint and Nambulu immediately built a hut for Makumba, sent for the priests, and waited developments.

Nambulu certainly was, and still is, a woman of great personality, and there can be no doubt that she considered this an opportune moment to seize Makumba herself and, by giving it to her son Chimese, to re-enter politics and regain the leadership of the tribe for her own family. Chimese had been passed over previously in favour of Myeri-Myeri on account of his youth, but he was now a grown man, was popular, and as far as she could see there was nobody strong enough to oppose him. She knew, however, that she could not take such an important step on her own initiative and therefore she merely awaited calmly the inevitable quarrel with Nkandu, Myeri-Myeri's heir.

Surely enough Nkandu very soon appeared on the scene with a few followers; but much to Nambulu's disgust her uncle Mabumba II, alias Kalaba Musenga, also arrived and demanded that Makumba should be given to him. He based his claim on territorial

rights, for Myeri-Myeri had moved his village away from the old royal site near the Mansa River to the south side of the Luera River, leaving Mabumba to build upon the royal site and govern the people who had, before Myeri-Myeri's accession, been governed directly by the paramount chief. Mabumba argued that Myeri-Myeri, by leaving his proper sphere of influence, had resigned from the paramountcy, leaving the royal district, the people, and the chieftainship, and therefore the guardianship of Makumba, to Mabumba. He also pointed out that he, Mabumba, was in the direct line of descent from the old paramount chiefs, although his ancestors had been passed over in favour of a junior branch of the family. Nkandu, however, was a mere outsider, a foreigner, and had no better claim to Makumba than the fact that he was the heir to the regent Myeri-Myeri, a man who had been a failure as chief and who, by his neglect of the god Makumba, had brought many disasters upon the tribe, including the smallpox epidemic of 1901.

Nkandu thereupon replied in his turn that he had been appointed chief and the appointment had been approved by the Administration ; this, he argued, undoubtedly implied that he should also retain the guardianship of Makumba. Moreover, if Mabumba and Nambulu refused to deliver Makumba to him, he proposed to take it by force and they would be held responsible for any trouble that might ensue.

Throughout this argument Nambulu had remained impartial, hoping to keep Makumba in her own hands, but now, seeing that the dispute was likely to lead to fighting for which she might be blamed, she immediately intervened and decided that the question of the guardianship should be referred to the Boma (District Government Headquarters) for a decision. Here, it is said, Mr. Harrington, who was then in charge at Fort Rosebery, heard all the arguments on both sides and also asked Nambulu, as an elder of the tribe, for her opinion. She, however, promptly claimed the guardianship of Makumba for herself and for her son Saka (the present chief Chimese) but, on being told that her claim could not possibly succeed, she finally supported her uncle Mabumba. No full records of this discussion can be found at Fort Rosebery but it is said by all concerned, even Milambo himself, against whose interest this admission lies, that Mr. Harrington's decision was that Mabumba should have the guardianship of Makumba, as he was then the senior chief with the largest following and was chief over the territory of the old Baushi paramounts. In return for this both Mabumba and Nambulu agreed to recognise Nkandu as Myeri-Myeri's legal successor and chief over the country to the south of the Luera River, and hence to recognise him as Milambo or paramount chief for the whole Baushi tribe.

The above decision was confirmed in 1906 and again in 1908 by the Administrator, and from that time until 1932 the leadership of the Baushi was divided between the two strongest chiefs, Mabumba and Nkandu, alias Milambo, and later the latter's successor, Luando Chiliapa, the present Milambo. Mabumba was recognised as guardian of Makumba, while Milambo was recognised and later gazetted as paramount chief.

This decision, though probably unavoidable at the time it was made, must have been found most difficult to understand by the ordinary Baushi people and indeed by the parties themselves. For to the Baushi the word “Makumba” is now by usage almost synonymous with “power” or “paramountcy” in the same sense as “throne” in English implies “kingship”; thus although Mabumba had been given the guardianship of Makumba, which in the old days meant the leadership of the nation, yet at the same time he was compelled to recognise Milambo as his temporal superior. Even to-day many of the Baushi do not recognise Milambo as the paramount but look to Mabumba for leadership, merely regarding Milambo as chief over the people living in the district to the south of the Luera River.

This somewhat anomalous position was maintained on the succession of Luando Chiliapa to the Milamboship, after his uncle Nkandu’s death as the result of an accident while he was engaged in an illegal elephant hunt. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any change could possibly have been made without disturbing the peace of the tribe, for Mabumba would have resented any attempt to remove Makumba from his village during his lifetime; also although Luando, being a young and ambitious man, made claims on several occasions to the guardianship of Makumba, he did not press them for he knew well that any disturbance caused by his efforts to obtain Makumba would be promptly quelled by the Administration, and possibly his own somewhat invidious position as paramount might be jeopardised by any premature move on his part.

Thus from 1904 to 1933 Makumba remained in Mabumba’s village, and his priests lived nearby, or in the village itself, so that they could be called on when necessary to perform their duties. The position was accepted by the Baushi and all who wished to have intercourse with Makumba presented themselves direct to Mabumba without reference to Milambo, the paramount. Indeed Milambo himself often visited Mabumba at his village and admits that on such occasions he never failed to give the customary offerings of “mpande” (shells) for the god. Nambulu was also a constant visitor at Mabumba’s village and as his niece she gradually assumed quite a position of authority in connection with the rites and offerings to the god, for her uncle was a very old man, and, as will be seen, Nambulu still entertained very strong hopes of obtaining Makumba for her son Saka, alias Chimese, on the old man’s death. In fact, during the latter years of Mabumba’s life he was so old and incapable that Nambulu usurped practically all his functions in relation to Makumba, and doubtless had a good deal of power in the management of the chief’s district as well, for although an old woman herself, she retained all her early strength of character and love of power, and continued to have a certain amount of influence in the tribal politics.

In 1925, on the occasion of the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to Northern Rhodesia, the paramount or most important chiefs of all the native tribes were invited to meet him at Broken Hill. Naturally Milambo, as paramount, was selected by the Administration to represent the Baushi, but much to the surprise of all concerned,

Mabumba protested vigorously and insisted that he, as guardian of Makumba and chief over the old royal territory around the Mansa River, should represent his people. His claim was, of course, refused and Milambo, the paramount, travelled down for the interview at Broken Hill. But incongruously enough, while Milambo was journeying south as representative of the Baushi people, Mabumba was receiving a state visit as the spiritual head of the Baushi from Kazembe, the important and powerful chief of the neighbouring Lunda tribe. Kazembe was also on his way to Broken Hill and had stopped at Mabumba's village to make the customary offerings to Makumba and to pray for strength and guidance in his interview with the Prince—for to the raw natives an interview with the Prince as the son and representative of an almost legendary power, King George, was anticipated as something of an ordeal.

However, in spite of these petty intrigues, there was no open dispute or disturbance over the guardianship of Makumba until June, 1932, when Mabumba died as the result of severe burns occasioned by his falling into a fire a month previously. Immediately he died every tongue began to wag for there were several claimants to his stool and the guardianship of Makumba. As has been related above, his death had been foretold by Chilaluka and this to the Baushi seemed as a new sign of the god's power; wild stories ran round the country and there were even rumours of Mabumba's death having been caused by poison or witchcraft. These, however, proved on investigation to be nothing more than rumours, and, after the customary period of “lying in state,” the old chief was buried in the presence of all the most important chiefs and members of the tribe in the old burial ground of the royal family. No sooner had the old Mabumba been buried than the various claimants to his stool, who included Nambulu, her son Saka, alias chief Chimese, and several other members of the old royal family began to advertise their claims and seek for supporters in much the same way as a candidate at an English election canvasses among his constituents.

After some two or three months all the parties concerned and all the Benangulubi (royal totem) chiefs were called to settle the matter of the succession. The discussion, in the presence of a large and interested audience, lasted several days, each party making his or her claim with all that vigour and sense of the dramatic of which only the native is capable. Such matters as the succession to a chieftainship are usually decided by the council of chiefs under the guidance of the District Commissioner, and eventually, after many heated arguments, the assembled chiefs decided on one Fikwama, a grandson of the old Mabumba's aunt, as the correct heir by birth and custom to Mabumba's stool, and he was borne away upon the shoulders of his supporters midst the ululations of the women.

Now one of Fikwama's strongest supporters at this meeting had been Milambo, the paramount chief, and it soon became evident that Milambo had not given his support for nothing, although Fikwama was undoubtedly the correct heir to the chieftainship, except for one Kasanga, whose claim was not supported on account of his age and who,

being completely blind, could hardly have undertaken the duties of Mabumba with any degree of success. Early in February, 1933, a few months after Fikwama had been installed as Mabumba III, Milambo paid him a ceremonial visit, bringing, it is said, the usual gifts for Makumba. What form the discussions between the two chiefs took I am unable to say, but the upshot was that Milambo shortly afterwards announced that Mabumba had agreed to cede the guardianship of Makumba to the paramount. Mabumba, on being questioned, confirmed this and shortly afterwards departed to pay a return call on Milambo and to conclude the arrangements for Makumba's transfer to Milambo's village.

The actual transfer had not occurred up to the time I left the Fort Rosebery district (May, 1933), but new huts were being built for the god in Milambo's village and messengers had been sent out to summon the priests for the ceremony of adorning or decorating Makumba (described above), after which the long journey to Milambo's village would commence. I had, indeed, arranged with the permission of the chiefs and priests, to be present at the ceremony, but unfortunately had to leave the district before it took place. I have since been informed that the ceremony was held in early July of 1933 and that Makumba is now once more established in the village of Milambo, thus finally settling a dispute which had lasted some 30 years and re-uniting both the spiritual and temporal leadership of the Baushi in the paramount chief of the tribe.

APPENDIX I.

MAKUMBA'S RELATIONS—THE MINOR GODS NGOSA AND MAKUMBA MULEWA.

The foregoing notes conclude what is known of the actual history of Makumba, but before closing it may be of interest to give a few details concerning Makumba's family, for he has a sister, Ngosa Makumba, and a younger brother known as Makumba Mulewa, both of whom are also resident in the Fort Rosebery district. These relations have the same origins as Makumba himself, for they were found by Muwe at the same time under the tree in Luanzanunu and were taken with Makumba across the Luapula to Baushiland.

At first all three were installed in the same hut at Muwe's village, but on Muwe's death Chabala, his son and successor, began to extend his kingdom by conquest and, finding it difficult to control his subjects in the outlying districts, sent Mulewa, either a son or nephew, as sub-chief or governor over the Benakabende people inhabiting the area along the shores of Lake Bangweolu. It is possible that Chabala did this in order to get rid of a man who might become a dangerous rival for power, for tradition tells that Mulewa was very "strong;" but be that as it may, Mulewa departed with all his followers for the lake, and as a sign of his authority he was given the junior of the two male Makumbas—the one known ever since by his name as Makumba Mulewa.

Mulewa soon had the Benakabende subjugated and installed his Makumba as a sub-god for his people, copying all the ceremonies, customs and beliefs from those of the senior Makumba in Chabala's village. I do not intend to give a full history of Makumba Mulewa, although it is of almost equal interest to that of Makumba, for this would take too long, but there are one or two small points which may be of interest. For example, Makumba Mulewa is also wrapped in a piece of human skin—the skin of a Mulamba named Chipapa (?) who at some early date in the 19th century attempted to steal Makumba Mulewa and was therefore slain by order of the chief for defiling the god. This skin has a ceremonial value in connection with the annual fertilization rites or ceremony of the first fruits (see above), when all the seed brought in for Makumba's bin is mixed on this skin, which is taken from Makumba for the purpose, before being placed in the god's bin.

The other rites carried out by worshippers of Makumba Mulewa are almost exactly the same as those described above in connection with Makumba and I do not therefore intend to describe them in detail. It may, however, be of interest to note the names of the various chiefs who succeeded Mulewa as guardians of Makumba Mulewa. These are as follows, in correct order :—

Mulewa—appointed by Chabala as described above.
 Lwando.
 Yamba.
 Lungomfumu—a woman.
 Lwando-miloke.
 Chalwe-miloke—a sister of Lwando-miloke.
 Mukoso-chimpusa.
 Chisala-mulumba.
 Lungo—Kwangula.
 Memembe.
 Kalasa Mukoso.
 Bokwe Kapesa.
 Malupande-mushili—the present chief Kalasa Mukoso.

Ngosa, the sister of Makumba, does not appear to be greatly venerated by the Baushi except as a sister of the great god. She has always remained in the same hut as Makumba and is also dressed with python skins and feathers, but does not figure largely in the folk-lore of the tribe. I am told that she is also a god, or rather goddess, and is worshipped as such, and that she also receives offerings of mpande (shells) at the same time as Makumba, but apparently this is merely because she is sister to the god ; to neglect these courtesies would be an insult to Makumba himself. Possibly each has a separate sphere of influence, and I hope at some later date to be able to make further investigations and to rewrite these notes in full, making any necessary corrections and giving the full history of each member of this queer family of deities.

APPENDIX II.

THE TABOOS (“IMICHILA”) OF THE TWO MAKUMBAS.

The following list of taboos, which must be observed by all who do not wish to incur the animosity of the gods, is tabulated in two columns for the sake of comparison. It need hardly be remarked that the observance of these taboos is rapidly dying out at the present time when, under the influence of civilization, many of the younger men and women scorn both the teaching and authority of the tribal elders. Indeed, the whole cult is rapidly passing away and the Baushi are beginning to turn more and more to the missionaries and the village school-teachers for instruction, instead of to the village elders as in the past. The old mystery of Africa is rapidly giving place to what has been described as the garish vulgarity of modern civilization, and possibly within a few decades Makumba, worshipped for over one and a half centuries by some 65,000 people, will be no more than an exhibit, ticketed and exhibited upon some museum shelf. It is therefore possible that some taboos have been omitted from the following list, but if so these must have been of little importance to have passed so soon from the memory of the people.

TABOOS OF MAKUMBA.

(1) Nobody except the chief, the priests and Makumba's wife may see the god. To do so, even by accident, would cause death or illness.

(2) Nobody may die in Makumba's village. Any person on the point of death, other than the chief, is carried out to die in the bush. Should anybody die suddenly in the village the body is dragged out of the village by ropes tied to the feet, everybody exclaiming loudly as they pass Makumba's hut, “This is only a log of wood, let us throw it into the bush.”

TABOOS OF MAKUMBA MULEWA.

Nobody except the chief, the priests and Makumba's wife may see the god. To do so, even by accident would result in death or illness.

Should a death occur in Makumba Mulewa's village, for three days following the death only the children may place cooking pots on the fires.

TABOOS OF MAKUMBA.

- (3) Nobody may whistle in Makumba's village.
- (4) No grown up person may at any time place a pot on the fire. Children are called to do this, in Makumba's village.
- (5) No unauthorized person may enter Makumba's hut or temple.
- (6) The fire in Makumba's hut must never be allowed to go out.
- (7) No traveller or stranger may bring water or firewood into the village at his first entry. He must first enter to pay his respects to the chief, *i.e.*, Makumba, and then return for the water or firewood.
- (8) No child may be carried on the shoulders in Makumba's village.
- (9) Nobody of Makumba's village may, after defæcating, use the small antheap (“mafvesa”) for cleansing purposes. This antheap is largely used by others.
- (10) Nobody may mourn a death, other than the death of a chief, in Makumba's village. All mourning must be done outside the village.
- (11) No menstruating woman may approach Makumba or his hut.
- (12) No similar taboo.
- (13) No similar taboo.

TABOOS OF MAKUMBA MULEWA.

- No similar taboo.
- No lid may be put on any water pot in Makumba Mulewa's village. See also No. 2 above.
- No unauthorized person may enter Makumba Mulewa's hut or temple.
- The fire in Makumba Mulewa's hut must never be allowed to go out.
- No similar taboo.
- No similar taboo.
- No similar taboo.
- No menstruating woman may approach Makumba or his hut, nor any woman whose child was still-born until after the recommencement of her menstruation.
- “Mubanga” is the only timber which may be used in the construction of Makumba Mulewa's hut. At one time the whole village had to use this timber but this taboo has since been modified to apply only to Makumba's hut or temple.
- Makumba Mulewa's wife may not turn her back to the god by day or even when asleep at night.

APPENDIX III.

PRIESTS, ATTENDANTS, ETC., OF THE TWO MAKUMBAS: GIVING THEIR TOTEMS.

OFFICE.

Wife of the god.

Chief's concubines.

MAKUMBA: HELD BY.

Mukolo Bwalya, alias Mofya, of the Bena-bwali.

Mukolo Mubili of the Bena-mumba. Mwewa Luambo of the Benakashimu. Mukolo Chibali of the Benango.

MAKUMBA MULEWA: HELD BY.

Mukate of the Bena-ngoma.

Kaimbi Mwinsa of the Bena-kashya. Kalubila of the Bena-mumba (vacant for the Benangulubi).

OFFICE.	MAKUMBA : HELD BY.	MAKUMBA MULEWA : HELD BY.
Chief s privy councillor.	Nil.	Man of the Benamfula. Name unknown.
Priests.	Mutumpa of the Benakashimu. Kalenge of the Benambushi. Nkandu Chisenga of the Benambulu.	Two men of the Benansofu. Names unknown.
Prophet.	Chilaluka of the Benango.	Chilaluka of the Benakashya.
Mud-treader (for hut floor).	Mukandelongwe of the Benabwali.	Mukandelongwe of the Benakashya.
Herald (to announce god and disperse people lest they should see him).	Nil.	Lungansafu of the Benangulubi.
Messenger (to deliver the god's words to the people).	Nil.	Mukolo-ndama of the Benabowa.
Chief's Bow-carrier.	Any one of the chief's relations.	Kanpambe of the Benango.
Guard (during ceremonies only).	This duty done by one of the priests.	Mukanswa of the Benamumba.
Trumpeter or horn-blower.	Chief K'alaba of the Benangulubi.	Chief Mungulubi of the Benangulubi.
Slave (to tend god's crops and grain bin).	Kansoka of the Benakani.	Nil.

General Note.—In spelling names I have followed as far as possible the native pronunciation. Many of the names will be seen to be indicative of the offices held ; for example, both the prophets are named Chilaluka, a word obviously derived from the verb “ku-laluka ”=to prophesy. In the same way the mud-treader or builder is called Mukande-longwe from the verb “ku-kandila ”=to tread mud. In all cases these names are hereditary and pass with the office ; this, as can be imagined, made it most difficult to ascertain exactly what positions were held or who were the various office holders.