ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA

EDITED BY DARYLL FORDE

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA

PART II

BEMBA AND RELATED PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

by

WILFRED WHITELEY

with a contribution on the Ambo

by

B. Stefaniszyn, S.J.

PEOPLES OF THE LOWER LUAPULA VALLEY

by

J. SLASKI

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE
LONDON
1951

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This study is one part of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa which the International African Institute is preparing with the aid of a grant made by the Secretary of State under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, on the recommendation of the Colonial Social Science Research Council

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA

FOREWORD

The preparation of a comprehensive survey of the tribal societies of Africa was discussed by the Executive Council of the Institute as far back as 1937, but the interruption and restricting of its activities caused by the war resulted in the postponement of the project. Events and developments during recent years, however, have led to a wider recognition of the need for collating and making more generally available the wealth of existing but uncoordinated material on the ethnic groupings and social conditions of African peoples, particularly in connection with plans for economic and social development. Moreover, it appeared that the International African Institute, as an international body which has received support from and performed services for the different Colonial governments, was in a very favourable situation for undertaking such a task.

The Institute, therefore, in 1944, applied to the recently established British Colonial Social Science Research Council for a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund to finance the preparation of an Ethnographic Survey of Africa, and a grant was allocated for a period of five years from 1945, and was subsequently extended for a further period of three years. A committee, under the Chairmanship of Professor Radcliffe-Brown, was appointed to consider the scope and form of the survey, and collaboration was established with research institutions in South Africa, Rhodesia, East Africa, French West Africa, Belgium and the Belgian Congo.

The aim of the Ethnographic Survey is to present a concise, critical, and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings, distribution, physical environment, social conditions, political and economic structure, religious beliefs and cult practices, technology and art of the African peoples. The material is to be presented as briefly and on as consistent a plan as possible, and the text will be supplemented by maps and comprehensive bibliographies.

The Ethnographic Survey is being published as a series of separate, self-contained studies, each devoted to one particular people or cluster of peoples. It is hoped that publication in this form will make the results more quickly and readily available to those interested in specific areas or groups. A list of the sections which have already appeared is given on the cover of this volume.

Since the unequal value and the generally unsystematic nature of the available information constituted a chief reason for undertaking this survey, it will be obvious that the material here presented can make no claim to be complete or definitive. Every effort has been made, however, to scrutinise all available literature and to check it by reference to unpublished sources and to workers actually in the field; thus it is intended to present a clear picture of our existing knowledge and to point out the directions in which the need for further studies is most pressing. Any assistance from those who are in a position to remedy deficiencies and correct inaccuracies by providing supplementary material will be greatly appreciated.

The International African Institute expresses its thanks to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, for recommending the grant which has made possible the initiation of the work, and also to the many scholars, research workers, administrative officers and missionaries in Europe, South Africa and the various African territories who have so generously responded to our appeals for information and who have spared time to correct and add to the drafts.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Audrey Richards, who supervised and revised part I of this volume, and to Mr. Norreys Davis of the Northern Rhodesia Service who kindly supplied information to Father Stefaniszyn; also to Professor Max Gluckman for his supervision of the work on the Luapula peoples in part II, and to the Director and Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, as well as to Mr. Ian Cunnison, one of their research officers, for their co-operation in allowing use to be made of unpublished material.

DARYLL FORDE,
Director, International African Institute

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THE BEMBA AND RELATED PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

INTRODUCTION

This section is concerned with a group of matrilineal peoples having linguistic and other cultural affinities, who belong to the wider group usually known as the Central Bantu,(1) and occupy the north-eastern plateau and the Bangweulu Swamps of Northern Rhodesia. They include:

(I) The BEMBA, BISA, AUSHI (with sub-groups NGUMBU, CHISHINGA, MUKULU, KAWENDI), UNGA, SHILA, TABWA, BWILE, TWA.

(II) The LALA including the LUANO.

(III) The AMBO (or KAMBONSENGA).

(IV) The LAMBA, including the SEWA, LIMA and SWAKA.

(V) The KAONDE.

Notes are appended on:

(VI) The SENGA, a Tumbuka-ised offshoot of the Bisa.

I. The *BEMBA* occupy an area on the north-eastern plateau of some 20,000 square miles, between latitudes 9°-12°S. and longitudes 29°-32°E.: an area which includes virtually the whole of Kasama administrative district and much of Mpika, Chinsali, Luwingu and Mporokoso. To the west, south and east, in a corridor of varying width, stretches the territory of the Bisa. Further to the west and stretching into the Belgian Congo(2) are the Aushi and their sub-groups Ngumbu, Chishinga, Mukulu and Kawendi. The inhospitable swamps of the Lake Bangweulu are occupied by the Unga and the little-known Twa. To the north-west are the Shila, Bwila and Tabwa, also extending into the Belgian Congo. In the territory of the last are still to be found enclaves of Swahili-speaking groups, made up of Arabs, Yao, Nyanja and other groups who, coming originally into the area as slave traders, have settled down and intermarried with the local population. Some Tabwa (c.3,500 in 1937) and Bemba (c.30,000 in 1937) are living as minorities in the reserves demarcated by the Commission of 1927.

II. The *LALA* occupy an area between 12°-15°S. and 29.5°-32.5°E., covering the whole of the administrative district of Serenje, parts of Mkushi and Petauke districts and an area in the Haut-Katanga district of the Belgian Congo in the territory of Sakania. This last, also known as Bukanda district, is occupied by four Lala chieftaincies;(3) Munday describes it, as well as the Luano country to the south, as being occupied by similar, but distinct groups: Bena Bukanda and Bena Luano.(4) There is little other

(1) cf. I. Schapera, "A working classification of the Bantu Peoples", *Man*, May, 1939.
(2) See map for the extent of the Aushi, Bemba, Shila and Tabwa into the Belgian Congo.
(3) Lambo, 1946, No.8, p.233.
(4) Munday, 1, 1940, p.435; 5, 1948.

evidence for this distinction and the differences in social organisation are probably small. The *LUANO* inhabit the Mulungushi valley and the confluence of that river and the Lunsemfwa. Concerning the four chieftaincies cited by Lambo as being in the Petauke district, there is some difficulty. The district includes the lands of three groups: Ambo, Nsenga and Chikunda, who have often been grouped with the Tumbuka-speaking peoples to the north-east.(1) The Ambo, however, share a ruling clan with the Lamba and Lala, and are considered below. The Nsenga and the Chikunda are described among the Maravi peoples in the Lake Nyasa section of the survey.(2)

III. The *AMBO*. This offshoot of the Lala call themselves Mumbo (plural Bambo) or Kambonsenga.(3) The term Ambo in use is the plural Nsenga form. They are sometimes wrongly called the Luano. The Soli of Mpanshya country call the whole of the Lukusashi and Lunsemfwa valleys and their inhabitants the Luano. The western Lala probably do the same. The bulk of the Ambo are settled in the middle and lower valley of the Lukusashi and its tributaries. One group under Chief Mboshya occupy the country on the left bank of the Lunsemfwa between its tributaries the Tumbwe and the Tutenje, i.e. the country on both banks of the Chipawa which flows through the centre of Mboshya country. Tutenje stream divides the Kambonsenga (and Mboshya country) from the Luano. Another group of the Ambo reached the Luangwa. They occupy the country of Chief Mwape, east of the Luangwa between the Mtikila stream and the banks of lower Mvuvye river. They also occupy the western side of the Luangwa opposite the country of Mwanpe. The confluence of the Lukusashi-Lunsemfwa is inhabited by the Chiponda, a sub-tribe of the Nsenga. Thus the ethnical boundaries are sharply marked, the villages being fairly homogeneous in speech though the shifting of villages complicates the tribal boundaries. In many villages a few men of an alien tribe may be found married matrilocally and settled.(4)

IV. The *LAMBA* including the SEWA,(5) LIMA and SWAKA occupy an area extending across the whole of Ndola administrative district, parts of Solwezi, Mumbwa and Mkushi districts and including an area in Sakania 'Territory' in the Haut-Katanga district of the Belgian Congo. Within this area of some 25,000 sq. miles there are, in addition to Lamba, a number of sub-groups, all closely related and consisting in varying degree of mixtures with the neighbouring peoples. The Sewa in the north-west of the area seem to be a mixture of Lamba-Sewa-Kaonde groups; the Lima, in the south, have a Lenje element and the Swaka, in the east, have mingled considerably with both Lala and Lenje; in fact, a recent report(6) states that on the definition of the South Swaka reserve in 1929 many Swaka were moved thither from Broken Hill - generally considered to be Lenje country; a circumstance possibly due to pressure on the Swaka by the Lala, whose tendency to shift

(1) Tribal Map of East Africa, 1943, Sheet 2.
(2) See Tew, 1950, pp.30-1.
(3) In this survey the terms Ambo and Kambonsenga are used indiscriminately. It is not correct to speak of two different sub-tribes, the Ambo and the Kambonsenga. It may be noted, however, that the section living in Petauke district is officially termed Ambo and that in Mkushi, Kambonsenga.
(4) Stefaniszyn, 1950.
(5) The 'W' of Sewa, a bi-labial fricative, as the initial consonant in Bemba, is found as a 'B' in Guthrie's *Classification of the Bantu Languages*.
(6) Report of the Land Commission, 1946.

southwards has been noted by Munday.(1) The Lamba occupy about one-fifth of this whole area.

Prior to 1926 there was little interference with tribal settlement or movement in the area. In that year, however, a commission was set up to determine native reserves - to be set away from but with access to the railway southward from Ndola and away from the immediate vicinity of the Copperbelt, both of which areas were deemed capable of development by Europeans. Four reserves were subsequently set up: (1) Lamba - Lima (redefined in 1942), (2) Swahili - Yao, (3) Swaka - North, (4) Swaka - South (redefined in 1943). The result of these changes on the population distribution is discussed below.

V. The *KAONDE*(2) are the most westerly group of the peoples under consideration, and occupy the greater part of the administrative districts known as Kasempa, Mumbwa and the old Solwezi district. It is not clear how far their territory extends into the Belgian Congo. Verhulpen's(3) tribal map of the Katanga province of the Belgian Congo marks the Kaonde as extending almost to 24° east to an average depth of 45 miles over the Northern Rhodesian border. Maes and Boone,(4) however, make no mention of any Kaonde groups in the Congo; there is an isolated reference to 'Kawonde' in Angola(5) but this is not substantiated by any other references. Moffat Thomson(6) mentions that there are Kaonde in the Congo.

VI. The *SENGA* occupy both banks of the upper reaches of the Luangwa river between about 10°30'S.-12°S., and parts of the administrative districts of Lundazi and Chinsali. There has been some confusion in the past of the Senga with the Nsenga people,(7) who are located to the south-east of the lower reaches of the Luangwa river and who formerly extended over to the west bank. It seems clear that the Nsenga are of Maravi stock, with Lenje-Lala accretions, who seceded from the Cewa about the middle of the last century.(8) In contrast, the Senga appear to be a Bisa offshoot with Tumbuka(9) accretions, who were driven into the valley under Bemba pressure. The difference is also to be seen in language. (See p.70 below.)

The *MAMBWE-LUNGU*, numbers of whom are found in the northern districts of North-eastern Rhodesia, have been grouped historically, culturally and linguistically(10) with the patrilineal Iwa and Mwanga to the east of them, with whom they share affiliations to the Fipa peoples of South-west Tanganyika. Linguistically, while Doke(11) considers both to be dialects of Bemba, Guthrie(12) places Mambwe and Lungu with Fipa in a single group, with Iwa and Mwanga in a second group of the same zone. The Mambwe-Lungu are not

(1) Munday, 1, 1940.
(2) Other variations, e.g. *Kahonde, Kawonde* are found in Belgian publications but the above is generally recognised as being correct.
(3) Verhulpen, 1936.
(4) Maes and Boone, 1935.
(5) Van Buggenhout and Wens, 1933.
(6) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(7) *viz*, Coxhead, 1914; Moffat Thomson, 1934; Trapnell, 1943.
(8) Livingstone, *The Zambezi and its Tributaries*, quoted by Poole, 1934; Tew, 1950, p.31.
(9) Poole, op.cit.
(10) See Moffat Thomson, 1934; Meinhard, 1947; Guthrie, 1948.
(11) 1945. (12) op.cit.

considered here but will be discussed in a forthcoming section concerned with the peoples of the eastern shore of southern Lake Tanganyika and adjacent regions.

In brief, the Bemba-Lala-Lamba-Kaonde groups, with their closely related sub-groups, occupy almost the whole of North-eastern Rhodesia and the northern parts of North-western Rhodesia, besides adjacent areas of the Belgian Congo.

With the exception of the swamp-dwelling groups, the Unga and the Twa, all live under broadly similar conditions. Plentiful rainfall waters the generally unproductive plateau soils covered by deciduous woodland. The density of population which such land can carry is small, reaching only to about 12 persons per square mile, and this figure is not exceeded, or even approached, except in reserves where local over-population of a serious nature occurs, and in the swamp areas where inundation creates a land shortage either permanent or seasonal. The total population of the selected groups can be reckoned to be about 440,000.

GENERAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

The languages of these peoples are closely similar, so much so that the whole group of peoples in this area has been loosely termed "Bemba-speaking".(1) Guthrie, however, distinguishes within one of his linguistic zones *Bemba* with *Aushi* as a sub-dialect; *Tabwa* with *Shila* as a sub-dialect; and a further group of closely related languages, *Bisa, Lamba, Lala, Swaka,* and *Sewa.*(2) He places *Kaonde* in a different linguistic zone, L, because it has certain distinct features, such as a single prefix in independent nominals, which make it more closely related to the Luba group of languages. No mention is made of the languages spoken by other small groups closely related to the Bemba, such as Chishinga, Mukulu, Ngumbu, Kawendi, and Bwile. What little is known about the languages spoken by the Unga and Twa suggests that they may be closely related to Bisa.

There is apparently little linguistic evidence to support the tradition held by all these peoples that they originated in areas west of the Luapula from peoples of Luba stock, although Richards says that Bemba told her that archaic words they used in ceremonies at their Paramount's court were "Ciluba".

These people practise shifting cultivation with finger millet as the staple crop in the east and cassava in the west. The absence of cattle in the area distinguishes them from the Mambwe to the north and some of the Ngoni to the east. The greater part of the area lies within the tsetse belt, but Lambo mentions that cattle were used as marriage payments among the Lala, and a few goats and sheep are kept by the Bemba and probably by other tribes. Hunting was highly developed in the west of the area before the arrival of Europeans and hunting guilds and associations are recorded.

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, p. 16, and Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Guthrie, 1948. A zone is both a geographical and a linguistic concept in that the languages within it have both linguistic affinities and geographical propinquity.

Marketing and organised trade were non-existent before the British occupation except in the Bangweulu swamps where fish and other commodities were continuously bartered. Arabs traded guns for slaves and ivory in the 19th century.

The material equipment of these peoples is of the simplest. Bark cloth was the only form of clothing before the appearance of Europeans, but it was not elaborately patterned or ornamented. Wood-carving can hardly be said to exist in the eastern part of the area and even in the west fails to reach anything like the artistic heights found amongst the peoples of the Congo. Iron was smelted and is still forged into spears or axe-heads with primitive bellows. Pottery made by the coil method is made everywhere but only the simplest designs are found. The common type of hut is the round wattle and daub house with a roof with over-hanging eaves and a verandah. Rectangular huts are more common in the west and are being introduced in the east in imitation of the European house.

All groups are matrilineal. Clans are totemic (in so far as they have totem names), exogamous and dispersed. A form of joking relationship, reciprocal burial rites between clans whose totem names are either complementary or antipathetic, and reciprocal hospitality in varying degrees are characteristic. Loosely organised matrilineages of some 3 to 4 generations' depth are found in most groups for which there is information but there is no evidence of larger corporate, segmented lineages.

Marriage is matrilocal, at the outset at least. The transfer of goods, so significant a feature of the marriage contract in other areas, has here only a token character. The important element in the contract here is the service undertaken by the husband for the parents-in-law over a period of years.

Formal age sets or regiments as found in East Africa do not occur and secret societies as found in the Congo occurred only in the swamp area and are now either extinct or vestigial.

The village, generally of some 30-50 huts, is the basic political unit and is administered by a headman to whom the majority of villagers are related. It tends, however, to be an impermanent unit, consequent especially on features of the system of shifting cultivation.

The political structure of the wider groups varies considerably. The Bemba have a centralized form of government, a single paramount chief with secular and ritual functions, a royal dynasty and chiefs with fixed titles. The Lala and Kaonde, in contrast, were, at the time of contact with Europeans, composed of small autonomous chiefdoms, owing no allegiance to an external authority and without any centralized form of government.

Ancestor worship is the core of religious observance in the area. While all groups recognise a high-god, *Lesa*, with one exception(1) he is not worshipped.

(1) See pp.28-9 below.

Girls' initiation (*cisungu*) is general but with varying elaboration of ritual and social significance. In some groups it is a nubility, in others a puberty rite, or both. Among the Kaonde it antedates puberty by a couple of years but is subsequent to marriage.

The unevenness of the treatment in this account is largely a reflection of the limitations of the available material. The detail provided by the Ecological Survey has made it possible to give a fuller picture of the agriculture of the area, but material on social organisation is very scanty for some groups. The Bemba, who are singularly well documented, are given fuller treatment than would be justified were the documentation on the other groups more complete.

At the present time the area has the character of a labour reserve and there is a high annual migration rate of adult males to the belt of copper-mines that runs from Broken Hill to Elisabethville.

I. THE BEMBA AND RELATED PEOPLES

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

NOMENCLATURE

The Bemba and Bisa were formerly known as the Wemba and Wisa on account of the fact that the initial consonant is a bi-labial fricative the sound of which is midway between a European W and a B. In the new orthography B is used to represent this sound. The Aushi (also called Batushi, Ba-usi, Wa-uzhi, Wa-usi) were formerly known as Ushi but the nomenclature here adopted is now generally accepted.

The Unga are described in Belgian publications as Honja, while Kawendi are also sometimes described as Bena and Kabende.

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

The Bemba are the largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia; their numbers in 1933 being given as 114,274,(1) although a later figure suggests that 140,000(2) is more accurate. The 1933 figures for the other groups are as follows:-

Bisa	41,591	Ngumbu	24,116
Aushi	28,958 *	Chishinga	22,604
Unga	13,670	Tabwa	7,918 *
Kawendi	9,189	Shila	5,536 *
Mukulu	10,522	Bwile	4,745
		Twa	1,480

(* Excluding groups living in the Belgian Congo)

The density of population is difficult to estimate on account of wide local variations; an impression may be gained from the following estimates for administrative districts:-

	Persons per square mile	
	1938(3)	1949(4)
(Chiengi	4.05)	Not listed as a district in subsequent publications
Mporokoso	4.05	4.6
Abercorn	6.2	6.9
Isoka	3.54	4.6
Kasama	6.67	8.0
Luwingu	7.86	9.2
Fort Rosebery	7.79	8.0
Chinsali	3.46	3.7
Mpika	1.86	2.3

(1) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Richards, 6, 1939.
(3) Pim, 1938.
(4) Appendix F. *Report of the Financial Relationship Committee*, Lusaka 1949. The source of these figures is not, however, stated.

These figures are likely to be inaccurate for the reserves, although the 1938 Commission reported no serious overpopulation; they certainly give an entirely misleading picture with regard to the swamp area for which Trapnell(1) notes local densities of approximately 150 and 340 persons per square mile, and a later work estimates density as high as 400 per square mile in one area and over 200 per square mile in another.(2) Labour migration affects these figures but this subject is dealt with later.

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

It is probable that, with the possible exception of the Twa, all the groups in the area came to their present habitat from west of the Luapula River in the Congo, and that they are offshoots of the great Luba tribe. There are detailed studies of the traditions of only the Bemba, Aushi and Unga, with scattered comments on the Twa.

The *Bemba*, in their incursion into their present habitat seem to have been preceded by the Bisa and followed by the Lunda, whom Lacerda visited in 1798 and whom Coxhead believes to have arrived c. 1740.(3) On their arrival the Bemba began to expand rapidly, pushing back both the Bisa and Lala to the south(4) and the Lungu and Mambwe peoples in the north. Livingstone passed through Bemba country early in 1867, coming in contact with them for the first time in the country north-east of Lake Bangweulu. He comments on the war-like nature of these peoples whose villages were walled and surrounded with a dry moat.(5)

At the time of the establishment of the British South Africa Company in 1899 at Kasama, the Bemba Paramount Chief held sway over the whole of the area between Lakes Mweru, Bangweulu, Nyasa and Tanganyika, and southwards into the present Lala and Lamba country. There is still a small group of Bemba near Tabora in Tanganyika.

There is little to indicate how the Bemba fought, or the nature of their military organisation. Their campaigns seem to have been essentially raids, operations with groups of mobile, well-armed, determined warriors but not on the scale of those of the highly organised Ngoni with whom they had contacts in the east. There was certainly a flourishing trade with Arab slave traders for guns and ammunition, which contributed in no small way to the success of their campaigns.(6)

The *Aushi*, probably an offshoot of the Lunda people of the Congo prior to their migration eastward, arrived in the area shortly after the Lunda chief, Kazembe, assumed power in the area south of Lake Mweru, c. 1750.(7) Their traditions are closely bound up with their tribal god, *Makumba*, a symbol of the authority of the Aushi Paramount Chief. At the time of their

(1) Trapnell, 1943, p.71.
(2) Brelsford, 5, 1946.
(3) Coxhead, 1914.
(4) See Lala - p.33 below for different version.
(5) Waller, 1874.
(6) Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1904. Cf. "Life of Bwembya" by A.I. Richards in *Ten Africans*, edited by M. Perham, 1936.
(7) Philpot, 1936.

separation from the Lunda, the Aushi were led by one Muwe, a commoner, who 'discovered' *Makumba* and whose son Chabala became the first Paramount Chief. This Chabala was subsequently killed in a disastrous war with Kazembe's Lunda but was avenged by *Makumba* who forthwith despatched a famine to the victors who had to sue for forgiveness. *Makumba* subsequently saved the Aushi again in an equally unsuccessful resistance against the Ba-Yeke.(1) The later history of the group in the closing years of the last century and the first thirty of this was occupied with a series of disputes over the paramountcy. While previously the Paramount held both secular and spiritual power - as guardian of *Makumba* - this period witnessed the split of the paramountcy into two, a secular and a spiritual chief. This division of function lasted until 1933.

The *Unga* are thought to be of Luba origin, and to have migrated with the Bemba and other groups in the 18th century from the west, subsequently splitting off from them with the Mukulu and Ngumbu, who later came under Aushi authority.(2) With the Chishinga and Kawendi they form a closely related block. In fact the Unga trace their ultimate descent from an ancestress, Kaundamwelwa, from whose daughters the Ngumbu, Mukulu, Chishinga and Unga trace their more immediate ancestry.(3) Their later history is one of inter-tribal quarrels and of occasional raids by the Bemba when the water-level in the swamps fell low enough to permit land-travel.

The *Twa*, one of a number of swamp-dwelling peoples of that name,(4) seem to have been well established in the area at the time when the Unga arrived.(5) Von Rosen, who spent some time in the area with a Swedish ethnological expedition, considers that they, along with the other groups in the area, originally came from the Congo and were of Luba stock.(6) They were at enmity with the Unga until very recently - 1943 - and as early as 1916 were made to settle at Kansenga outside Unga territory, but throughout the years of contact have intermarried freely with the Unga.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The soils of the area are generally poor, of a thin sandy character, and are covered by deciduous woodland, predominantly of the type *Brachystegia-Isoberlinia*. In the Lake Basin, however, a high grass woodland (*chipya*) predominates, in which very tall grass grows mixed in with various types of tree. Largely deciduous, this type of woodland is remarkable for dense evergreen thickets.

The climate is characterised by a single rainy season in which generally more than adequate rainfall is assured. On the Central Plateau an average of 45 inches per year is customary, decreasing in the east and north-west and rising in the Lake Basin area.

The annual mean variation of temperature on the Central Plateau appears to be 55°-84°F.

(1) Maes and Boone, 1935. see Ba-Yeke.
(2) See Philpot, 1936.
(3) Brelsford, 5, 1946.
(4) Anon., N.A.D.A. 1948.
(5) Brelsford, op.cit.
(6) Von Rosen, 1914.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE ECONOMY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

AGRICULTURE

Three main crops are grown in the area but only one of these, finger millet, is a universal staple - it is well suited to a highland climate and to rainy summers. Of the other two, Kaffir corn (*Sorghum Vulgare*) seems to be of decreasing importance, though it is still the crop of chief ritual significance. It requires a good soil and more labour, particularly in the protection of the crop from the ravages of birds. The remaining crop, cassava, seems to have been introduced into the area from the Congo and its use is still spreading eastwards. It is a staple in some areas, particularly in the Lake area. It makes a lighter but less sustaining flour than millet and is poorer in fats - which are deficient generally in the diet. Maize is grown as a subsidiary crop. Besides these, groundnuts, beans, edible gourds, pumpkins, cucumbers and cowpeas are planted.

The method of cultivation common in the area is known as the *citemene* system. The word comes from *ukutema* "to cut". It describes the common practice in this part of North-eastern Rhodesia of pollarding trees and piling the lopped branches in small circular patches which are then fired to form an ash bed in which the seeds are sown. This practice, also known as "slash and burn", is commonly held to be typical of, and to have originated with, the Bemba, but there is some evidence that it was borrowed from the tribes they found in the area; it is, in fact, almost identical with that found among the Lungu and some Mambwe-speaking groups. The Bemba themselves say that in Luba-land they were formerly hoe-cultivators and learnt the *citemene* practice from the peoples with whom they made contact on their arrival. The system differs from that practised further south among the Lamba-Lala groups, where almost no rotation of crops is carried out and the area cleared, besides being larger, is made into a number of small garden-patches. Trapnell distinguishes the Bemba practice as the Northern *citemene* system and that of the Lamba-Lala group as the Southern *citemene*.

This 'Northern' method involves the preparation, for the sowing of finger millet, of a single circular garden from a clearing in the woodlands. The proportion of pollarding required to provide the ash for a garden is estimated, for the more thickly wooded country, to be about 6½ times the size of garden required and about 10 times the size of that needed in the poorer woodlands.

Land selection is largely dictated by the growth of trees as a source of branches for burning for millet-gardens. There is a certain preference for old forest land. The cutting is carried out around May. The Bemba are noted for their custom of climbing recklessly to the top of the trees and lopping off the branches. Smaller trees tend to be cut off waist high, a practice widely carried out by the Bisa and Lala as well as by the Mambwe and Lungu.

The fallen branches are systematically stacked with the thicker ends toward the centre and the piles are fired together, traditionally by a signal that the chief's garden has been lit. This takes place some time between the end of September and the middle of November. The area is now

covered by a blanket of fine ash and is called *bukula*, a garden. Subsequently this garden is fenced and the cleared ground beyond the fence remains uncultivated. While, apart from the wood ash, the Bemba do not deliberately use manure or decaying organic matter for its restorative powers as do the Mambwe, they do recognize that gardens on old village sites tend to be more fertile. The ash covering on the garden does a good deal to counteract the acid in the soil and makes further weeding unnecessary. While this system of clearing annually large areas of bush has frequently been condemned as wasteful, no more satisfactory method of woodland cultivation has yet been evolved.

Millet is sown when the ground is soft after the first rains. Kaffir corn and cassava are sometimes sown immediately before the millet. In succeeding years other crops will be grown in an old millet-garden but a new millet-garden is made annually.

The elaborate nature of the system lies in the extent to which rotation, or at any rate the alternation of crops in a four to seven years' cycle, has been developed. Throughout the central and north-western districts a simple rotation of millet-groundnuts-beans is practised, but in the Kasama district a more elaborate system is found - possibly owing to contact with Iwa and Inamwanga groups to the north where such rotations are even more developed. Here the millet-groundnut sequence is followed by either beans on mounds and Kaffir corn or Kaffir corn on mounds and beans.(1)

Variations on the *citemene* system are found, corresponding with local variations in physical conditions, and a few are considered below:

1. *Aushi, Chishinga, Mukulu, Ngumbu, Kawendi*

On the plateau between Fort Rosebery and Kawambwa, occupied by Aushi, Chishinga and adjoining sections of Mukulu and Ngumbu, a form of *citemene* cultivation is found with cassava as a joint staple or staple crop. This seems to be a hybrid system representing a fusion between the millet-culture and a more recent cassava-culture from the Congo. Since millet is here grown chiefly for beer, cassava is the real staple, forming an important crop in the *citemene* and a main crop in the village gardens. Groundnuts play an important part in both gardens, and annual Kaffir corn is also found. Beans are less common and are not found among the southern Aushi.

Among the first four groups listed above, clearing of gardens may be done by lopping, favoured by the Aushi, or breast high cutting, favoured by the Chishinga. Millet is followed by mounded groundnuts, around which beans are planted among the Chishinga and Kaffir corn among the Aushi. Maize, gourds and pumpkins are planted as catch crops. Gardens may be abandoned after the second year, but Aushi, Ngumbu and Chishinga tend to mound beans in the third or fourth year. Village gardens are found throughout the area and here cassava is the main crop and groundnuts grown on mounds are more common than beans. Separate Kaffir corn gardens are found in the south among the Kawendi and Aushi.

(1) Richards quotes a ten-year sequence of crops in Bemba country near Kasama. 6, 1939, p.318.

The Mukulu on the northern lake shore plant groundnuts in *citemene* gardens in the second year, as do the Bemba, and the Ngumbu and Kawendi in the Lake Basin grow millet in such *chipya* thickets as survive, alternating with cassava. Where thickets no longer exist, as on Chishi Island, the ground is broken by cassava mounds and then millet is planted. Some maize, gourds, cucumbers and pineapples are found near villages. Along the Luapula among the Chishinga a more prosperous form of agriculture is found, in which groundnuts predominate with cassava and millet is relatively unimportant.

2. *Bisa*

Among the Bisa to the north-east of the Lake, the *citemene* garden is planted with cassava either alone or as a joint staple with millet. Gardens are cleared by lopping, commonly every third year or less, and catch crops - gourds, pumpkins, maize - are planted with the cassava. Groundnuts are planted on the flat in the second year. Early millet gardens are not found. Rice is cultivated and the gardens prepared by the *citemene* method, the rice being broadcast as though it were millet. Village gardens, for the cultivation of root crops and pulses, are found throughout the area. Among Bisa living on islands in Lake Bangweulu, thicket cultivation is practised by burning the thicket *in situ* and sowing millet which is followed by cassava on mounds. Gourds, pumpkins and maize are also planted.

3. *Shila, Bwile, Tabwa*

In the southern parts of the area occupied by these groups, clearings are made by cutting trees at breast height and the gardens are sown with millet and catch crops. Subsequently the ground may be used for mounded groundnuts or millet and groundnuts or millet alone. In the Luapula basin and Lake Mweru area, millet is little cultivated and is restricted to small *citemene* clearings. The main gardens are planted with cassava and groundnuts. Kaffir corn is locally grown by the Bwile and among these people and the Shila rice is cultivated with the hoe. Very variable types of crops are found in the village gardens.

It is noteworthy that among the groups living in this latter area the value of rotted grass as manure is clearly recognized.

The dense thicket country north-east of Lake Mweru supports a distinct system, practised by the Tabwa. Finger millet is the staple crop and is sown in burnt gardens but the circular clearing, catch crops and crop sequence are absent. The clearing is roughly rectangular, the brushwood is burnt *in situ* and the main crop is grown for several consecutive years. With such limited variety in the crops cultivated, the village gardens play an important part in supplying root crops. Cassava is grown on separate parts of the garden. Rice is grown locally.

4. *Unga*

The Unga may be divided agriculturally into two groups: those living in the central raised swamp land of the Lunga plain and those living at the more southern end of the swamp on sandbanks and ant-hills.

The former make millet gardens on such land as is clear of water and subsequently plant mounded cassava. Such a two-year sequence may be continued for several years, but many groups abandon cultivation after the first two years. Village gardens are also planted with cassava, and bananas and pineapples are grown. In such gardens, made on low sandbanks denuded of soil by years of cultivation, cassava seldom grows to full maturity owing to the hunger of the cultivators. Some people make an annual migration to the Lunga plain to plant millet, others barter fish for meal. Very little in the way of subsidiary crops is found beyond a little Kaffir corn, some beans and sweet potatoes. In the territory of Chief Kasoma(1) the people make a mass migration to cultivable areas in the dry season, June to November.

The *Twa* cultivate little, relying mainly on their fishing with which they get meal by trading. A certain amount of cassava cultivation is found here and there.

HUNTING AND FISHING

While every Bemba is a hunter by inclination, present shortage of game prevents this desire from being fully gratified. While Melland(2) records the existence of organized hunters' guilds and specialized hunters among the Kaonde these do not at present exist among the Bemba, although elephant hunters formerly were specialists. Hunting by traps and pits is neither an organized nor a specialized activity. Net hunting demands communal effort and is often carried out as a form of divination. There is little information on the hunting activities of the other groups; among the swamp peoples (Unga, Twa, Bisa) hunting is subordinated to fishing but the meat of a certain antelope (*lechwe*) was greatly in demand and these animals were hunted so persistently that a protection law has only prevented, recently, their extinction. There was a certain amount of trade in *lechwe* skins worked in designs.

Fishing is not a major activity, though fish is greatly appreciated as a relish and caught whenever possible. There is no regular trade in fish, nor is fishing a whole-time occupation except for certain groups living on the banks of the larger rivers, where there are definite fishing villages with permanent sites where fishing is carried on all the year round, and there is quite a complex system of pond and weir ownership.

Fish are caught by three chief methods: by poisoning, by weirs and by nets. Poisoning is a communal and unskilled activity carried out at the end of the dry season (August-November). Weirs are only in use in November and December before the crocodiles become a menace. Only one type of net is used, a rectangular variety, stretched across the river, at the beginning and end of the dry season.

It is among the swamp peoples, however - the Unga, Twa and, to a lesser extent, the Bisa - that fishing attains greatest importance. Here the land resources are so depleted, by the over-cultivation of areas which are diminishing in size through increasing inundation, that the growing population

(1) Brelsford, 5, 1946. (2) Melland, 1923.

must fish or starve. Fish, however, is not only regarded as food, but is also used as an article of trade. The supply in Lake Bangweulu seems to be virtually inexhaustible. The Unga can sell their fish for meal at a good price on the Copperbelt and elsewhere and are therefore unwilling to leave this otherwise undesirable habitat.

A number of methods of fishing are employed, such as netting, the setting of lines, trapping fish in baskets set in weirs, catching fish in baskets at low water, and poisoning. The diversity of fishing methods is not as great as it is for instance among the Lozi further south,(1) but since the Unga are able to catch plenty of fish with their traditional technique, improvements of method seem unlikely.

Netting grounds are available to all, but weirs have a fixed ownership. In certain circumstances a chief may reallocate a weir, but generally the owner has the absolute right of use. He calls in friends and relatives to fish and to repair the weir and each keeps the fish caught in his own basket.

Fish may either be sold at the waterside or taken to Kapalala - the ferry over the Luapula at the Congo border - or to the markets on the Copperbelt. A better price is obtainable at the latter but against that has to be set the time involved and expense incurred (such as the purchase of a bicycle or the canoe to Kapalala, and thence by lorry to Ndola). Of those selling at the waterside, some sell to African consumers, some to middlemen, some to Missions and some to representatives of European firms. Many fishermen, however, find their way to Mufulira market on the Copperbelt to market their own fish.(2)

The following figures taken by Brelsford in 1943 from some 250 Unga fishermen show the distribution of their choice:-(3)

64% sold their fish either in Kapalala or Ndola.
12% sold on the mainland at places like Fort Rosebery.
24% sold at the waterside.

CRAFTS

Bemba equipment is of the simplest kind. There are only four main implements: an axe-blade, locally forged and fixed into a wooden haft,(4) used for clearing the bush and most other wood-cutting jobs; iron hoe blades, also fixed into wooden hafts, were formerly traded from the Lungu; a spear, locally forged, used in war, hunting and fishing; and, finally the bow, now rarely made. These tools are of the simplest kind, neither carved nor decorated and, generally speaking, crafts are poorly developed. Decorative iron-work, which reached a high level of development among the Luba peoples, hardly exists. Iron-smelting is still practised among the Aushi(5) and was recently revived among the Chishinga(6) group, formerly

(1) Gluckman, 1941.
(2) Brelsford, 6, 1947.
(3) Brelsford, 5, 1946, gives a more detailed treatment on the subject.
(4) Mass produced European tools are now superseding the others.
(5) Barnes, 1926.
(6) Brelsford, 7, 1949.

widely reputed for their iron-working, when during the recent war tools became scarce. It is rarely found among the Bemba. Village smiths able to reforge and sharpen axe-blades and hoes are, however, common all over the area. The Unga obtained iron blades for their fish-spears from the Mukulu.

Wood-carving, highly developed among the Congo peoples, is limited among the Bemba to the simplest geometric designs, but Von Rosen noted some elaborate and rather striking carving among the Twa.(1) Weaving is unknown among the Bemba, and is not reported elsewhere. Baskets are generally made well but are not elaborate. For a fishing group the Unga have little variety in baskets and these again are simply made. A certain amount of leather-work is made by the Bemba. Both cooking and eating pots are made all over the plateau, but although they are well made they tend to be badly fired and hence to be fragile.

Salt-making flourishes particularly among the Shila and Tabwa, around Lake Mweru.(2) It is highly lucrative, compensates for the comparative infertility of the soil and provides a lively marketing activity. The salt is obtained by straining the soil through baskets and boiling the resultant brine. The salt-earth supply in the area is permanent and this tends to have a stabilizing effect upon villages, which would otherwise move frequently in accordance with the practice of shifting cultivation. The natural salt found in the pans at Mpika in Bemba country was also utilized and highly valued, being traded around the country to gratify the longing for salt in which the Bemba diet is singularly lacking.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

KINSHIP

(a) *Matrilineal Descent* is one of the cultural characteristics of this area. Amongst all these people affiliation is traced through the mother and a man belongs to his mother's clan. Succession is within a loosely organised matrilineage of narrow span whereby a man is succeeded by his younger brothers or by his sisters' sons, or by his sisters' daughters' sons. These rules govern succession to chieftainship, to a headmanship, or to the name and status of a dead man by the practice known in this area as *ukupyanika*.(3) A woman usually succeeds to the name of her maternal grandmother and, in the case of a chieftainess, she succeeds to the title itself. Succession to a name is associated with the power to call on the ancestral spirits of the dead man or woman in question.

All the peoples described appear to be organized into matrilineal clans with totemic names. Among the Bemba, for instance, there are 40 or more such dispersed exogamous matrilineal clans. The clan claims descent from an original ancestress, a more or less legendary figure dating from the time of the first occupation of their present territory by the Bemba. Clan centres, in the sense of original villages of occupation, are remembered but

(1) Von Rosen, 1914. (2) Moore, 1937.
(3) Richards, 9, 1950, describes this as 'positional succession'.

it must be emphasized that the matriclans in this area are in no sense political or territorial groups. Through clan affiliation a man traces his descent, his rank, and, if he belongs to the royal clan, his right to succeed to chieftainship. In the old days substitution of men or women in the payment of blood revenge could take place within the clan. But no property is owned in common by the clan. There is neither joint occupation of land nor collective ritual activities. The distinguishing features of the Bemba clan are the name, praise-name and legends associated with the original ancestress and also, in some cases, with her brother.

Characteristic aspects of these Bemba clans are the hierarchy of status in which they are ranged and the reciprocity of paired clan relations. The former is based on the alleged priority of the arrival of clan ancestors in Bemba country and also proximity to the heart of the country. Highest in rank and forming the royal clan are the Crocodiles. This hierarchy is to be observed in other groups in the area, though the royal clans differ. Clan names, generally those of natural objects, animals, birds etc., have been called totemic, although there are few, if any, food taboos associated with them.(1) The words used are frequently archaic and are common to other groups in the area, e.g. Lamba, Kaonde, Lala. The story of their acquisition is the basis for the pairing of opposite clans. The clans paired seem to be those whose clan symbols are naturally antipathetic or complementary to one another, e.g., fish and crocodile, mushroom and rain. They are not paired systematically but often by purely arbitrary factors connecting the clan with several such partners.

Reciprocal functions of a paired clan are chiefly confined to funeral rites.(2) The *'banungwe'*, the name used reciprocally by members of paired clans, of a dead man's family both help and hinder at the burial ceremony. Ritually expressed, therefore, the traditional attitude between partners is one of hostility yet, as the complementary nature of the clan names often implies, one of service. Between partners there is ease and freedom of behaviour, privileges are taken and formerly, it is said, marriages between them were preferential. Briefly, reciprocal clan relationship among the Bemba implies ritual interdependence, partnership of rivals expressed in ritual, traditional joking and licence in daily relations and preferential marriage claims.(3)

Within the Bemba clan a loosely organized group called "the house" (*inganda*) is recognised which is composed of the descendants of one woman. Richards points out that this matrilineage is in no sense a corporate group.(4) The members of the "house" trace descent to one woman and remember the village where this woman lived. They do not, however, live in one place since the rules of residence at marriage necessitate the scattering of both male and female members of the matrilineage throughout a number of villages. No property is owned in common by its members, nor is its senior male in a position of political authority, although he has certain powers over the women of the group and their children. This dispersed

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, p.62. Food taboos do exist among the Tabwa, see Vleugels J., 1948.
(2) Richards, 5, 1937.
(3) This is marked among the Tabwa. See Vleugels, op.cit.
(4) Richards, 9, 1950.

matrilineage is, in the case of commoners, merely a unit of succession; in the case of members of the royal dynasty it is the unit which provides for the succession of chieftainships.

MARRIAGE

Uxorilocal residence, at any rate during the early years of married life, is characteristic of this group of peoples. Large payments in money or goods are not made at marriage, but the bridegroom, formerly at least, gave service to his parents-in-law for a number of years and sometimes remains permanently a member of the village in which his wife was born. Among the Bemba, for instance, it is the common practice for a young man to give a small betrothal present (*nsalamo*) to his fiancée's parents. He then moves to her village and builds a house there. Young girls were often engaged in this way before puberty, and performed small services for their husbands, such as sweeping the hut, drawing water or even sleeping in the same bed with them. At puberty they were removed from their husbands' huts until the *cisungu* (girls' puberty rite) had been performed and a marriage ceremony with the ritual consummation of the union took place. When she was first married, a girl had no right to a fire-place of her own, but shared in the cooking with her mother and married sisters. Later she acquired her own fire-place, granary and garden. After two or more children had been born, and the son-in-law had won the confidence of his parents-in-law, he was allowed to remove his bride to his own village or to some other village of his choosing. The rate of conversion of such marriages is not known amongst the Bemba, although Richards states that she believes that it was higher in this area than among the Bisa.(1) Figures for the Lamba, who practise a similar type of marriage, are given on p.59.

Characteristic of the Bemba marriage contract is the importance attached to the series of ceremonial presentations of food by the mother-in-law to her son-in-law, which gradually make him "free" to eat the different staple foods, and the final ceremony known as the *kuingishuya* or "the entering in of the son-in-law", which takes place after the children have been born and the marriage is established and which puts an end finally to the tabooed relationship between a man and his wife's people. The ceremonial marking of the different stages in the establishment of a permanent marriage relationship was sometimes concluded in the old days by a second marriage ceremony known as the *bwinga*. This was a gesture of respect which a man of substance offered to his wife and her people in the case of a marriage which had been long established with a woman to whom the husband was particularly devoted. At the *bwinga* marriage, which has also been described for the Bisa, more goods were transferred than in the case of the first marriage, and it is specifically stated to have been a display of wealth.(2)

Among the Unga, marriage procedures seem to be much more casual, there being no service by the son-in-law. Brelsford suggests that the marriage payment serves simply to confirm the fact that intercourse between the couple has already started and that the marriage is a fact.(3) The Bemba hold such arrangements in contempt.

(1) Richards, 9, 1950.
(2) Richards, 8, 1940.
(3) Brelsford, 1, 1946, p.108.

Polygynous marriages occur throughout this area and the second marriage of a man is usually virilocal instead of uxorilocal. Save for chiefs, however, the polygynous household is not a recognised social unit as it is amongst the patrilineal southern and eastern Bantu. Where commoners marry two or more women, the second or third wife often lives in a different part of the village. Among chiefs, however, the wives live in huts fenced round by a common stockade. Nowadays polygyny is not generally practised by commoners, though chiefs may have as many as several dozen wives. A sample of 209 Bemba marriages in the Chinsali district in 1939 showed 68% to be monogamously married, while an earlier sample showed 59%.(1) Similar figures are not available for the other tribes in the area.

Marriage within the Bemba clan is not permitted and Bemba themselves say they are prohibited also from marrying within their father's clan. This is not strictly true, since the preferential marriages of the Bemba include cross-cousins on both the father's and the mother's side. A further preferential marriage is that between a man and the classificatory grand-daughter. From 144 marriages in 6 villages, 49% were between cross-cousins and a further 7% with grand-daughters.(2) A chief, but not a commoner, may marry the daughter of a son. A woman has rights over her brother's daughter, whom she may demand as an additional wife for her husband, or as a substitute, should she herself be tired of her partner and wish to return to live with her brother.

Inter-tribal marriages appear to be common today but formerly marriage was not allowed between members of tribes which believed that they shared a common origin. Gouldsbury, for instance, states that marriage was forbidden between the Bemba and the Northern Alungu, Senga and Aushi, but was permitted with the Southern Alungu, Tabwa, Lunda, Lamba, Bisa and Chishinga.

Divorce

Divorce was and is common amongst the Bemba, particularly in the early years of married life when the union is considered in some respects to be on trial. Where divorce occurs the children belong to the mother and her matrilineage, and no return is made for the service of the son-in-law or his token presents. Unga divorce rates, resulting from the absence of husbands from home, are extremely low according to Brelsford.(3) Formerly divorce seems to have been a family affair among the Unga, action being taken by the family of the injured party. Data for other tribes in this group are not available. Throughout this area main grounds for divorce appear to be the following: sterility, adultery, failure to perform domestic duties, or desertion on the part of the woman; impotence, ill-treatment and prolonged desertion on the part of the man.

FAMILY AND FAMILY EXTENSION

Among the Bemba the basic domestic unit is not usually the individual household composed of a man, his wife and young children, but a group of related households consisting of a middle-aged or old man and his wife, their married daughters and the latters' husbands and children. A young Bemba

(1) Richards, 8, 1940, Table A.
(2) Richards, 8, 1940.
(3) Brelsford, 2, 1949, p.103.

girl has no fire-place of her own when she marries, and remains a member of her mother's cooking-group, even as a young married woman. This extended family group is not a joint household in the sense of a compound surrounded by a wall, or a homestead or kraal separated from other houses by some form of hedge, but a group of households which cooperate even though the huts in which they live may be scattered through the village. When a married man with children wins the right to remove his family to his own village, it is a unit of this kind which usually moves with him. Richards describes the delight of a Bemba man in the birth of daughters who will attract sons to the village and build up a group of this kind. In fact, although a woman's children belong to her clan and must submit ultimately to the authority of her brother, who could, in the old days, sell them into slavery, the father nevertheless acquires considerable authority over his wife and children in a stable marriage. When the children are small they obey him; when the daughters marry they stay at first under his rule; and even the sons who go elsewhere to marry, remember their father, give him presents and may even join him later in preference to living with their mother's brother. Children also take their father's name, although they belong to their mother's clan, and some "sons of the chief" are given minor chieftainships as well as the royal princes - the sisters' sons of the chief. Richards emphasizes the extent to which authority is divided between the father and the mother's brother in this area, with a tendency for the power of the father to increase under modern conditions.(1)

Richards states that the avunculate is stronger at the present day among the Bisa. It is not quite clear whether this is a structural difference or due to the fact that the Bisa are, on the whole, less in contact with European civilisation. Little is known of this aspect of kinship among the Aushi and Unga. There seems, however, to be a marked contrast between the position of the father and mother's brother among the Bemba and among the Cewa and Yao to the east, where the avunculate is again much more strongly developed and there seems to be some form of corporate matrilinage.(2)

It will be seen that as regards residence and common activities the effective kinship unit is not one based on unilineal descent, as is common among the patrilineal, patrilocal Bantu, but a loosely organised group of kinsfolk composed of near relatives on both sides of the family. The Bemba call this group a *lupwa*.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The bilateral character of Bemba kinship ties is reflected in the system of nomenclature. It will be found that in one's own generation, where there is the maximum distinction in terminology, a man uses the term *munyinane* for his own brothers and for parallel cousins, male and female, on his father's and his mother's side. Only his own sister is called by a special term, *nkashi*. A woman in the same way uses the sibling term for her own sister and for her parallel cousins, male and female, but uses a special term, *ndume*, for her own brother. No marriage is possible between a man and any woman who is a *munyina* on the maternal or paternal side. A special term *mufyala* is used by men and women for their cross-cousins, i.e. either for the father's

(1) Richards, 1, 1934 and 9, 1950. (2) Tew, 1950, pp.11, 43.

sister's child or the mother's brother's child. Cross-cousin marriage is, as has been said, the preferential marriage, and joking relationships exist between a man and his female cross-cousins on either side.

In the first ascending generation, a man uses the term *tata* for his own father, his father's brothers, real and classificatory, and the husband of a woman whom he calls mother. He uses the term *mayo* for his own mother and her sisters, real or classificatory. He distinguishes his father's sister by a special term, *mayo senge*, from his mother's sisters and the mother's brother by a separate term, *yama*, from his father's brother. In the first descending generation, there is a common term, *mwana*, used for both sexes, but a man calls the children of his sister by a special term, *mwipwa*, and a woman calls the children of her brother either *mwipwa* or *mwana senge*.

In the second ascending generation there is a common term, *shikulu*, for the paternal and maternal grandfathers, real or classificatory, and *mama* for grandmother. In the second ascending generation the same term, *mweshikulu*, is used for boys and girls, whether the children of daughters or the children of sons. The common term, *bukwe*, is used for spouses and members of the *lupwa*, although there is a special term for sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, *shifyala* or *nafyala*. These terms are used reciprocally.

CHANGES IN MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY DUE TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

Changes in marriage and the family have resulted both from the teaching of Christian missions and also because of the absences of adult males, who leave home to earn the means wherewith to pay tax and buy European goods. Missionary teaching has, as in other areas, been directed against the practice of polygyny and divorce. Missionaries have also opposed the practice of giving young girls to their husbands before puberty. They have endeavoured also to eradicate the magical attitudes towards sex and fire, described in a later section - attitudes which form one of the sanctions of marriage morality. They have been largely successful in their attempt to prevent the celebration of girls' initiation ceremonies (*cisungu*).

Native marriage is recognised in this area. The British South Africa Company recognised the Native Customary Law from the start and administered it through district magistrates' courts with the aid of Bemba assessors. Simultaneously the Missions instituted various Christian ceremonials in which a restricted(1) form of traditional marriage ceremony was carried out. With the institution in 1929 of Native Courts of Law, all civil actions arising out of marriage were referable to them and not to a European Magistrate. An early missionary claim to regulate marriages was quashed in 1934. Native marriages may now be registered.

LABOUR MIGRATION

Although it is generally recognized that labour migration has been an

(1) Without initiation rites and full ceremonial, e.g. post-initiation intercourse.

increasingly potent cause of change in family structure and has affected many other institutions among the Bemba and other people in Northern Rhodesia, precise data in respect of migrants, their age, and tribal and territorial distribution are not available. Estimates prepared for the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia give the following average number of Northern Rhodesian African workers in European employment:-(1)

	In Northern Rhodesia	*Outside Northern Rhodesia*	*Total*
1927	43,314	36,873	80,187
1936	53,462	51,212	104,674

The Report points out that the figure of those employed outside Northern Rhodesia, i.e. in Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, the Rand and the Congo, is an under-estimate and that the actual number is probably considerably higher. As the total number of tax-paying males is estimated at 288,000, of whom not more than 170,000 are fit for hard manual labour, the high incidence of migrancy becomes self-evident.

The Report states that "it is certain that the local economic opportunities are insufficient and that money can for the large majority only be earned by going abroad."(2) While it is clear that there are other motives, such as love of adventure, or family tensions, underlying the decision to engage in migrant labour, economic pressure is the overriding cause. The actual incidence of migrancy varies widely, depending on local economic conditions; districts situated along the railway lines or, as in part of the Northern Province, where income can be obtained from fishing, having generally a smaller proportion of migrants.

The length of time the men are away from home probably varies considerably, and here again, precise data are lacking. The mines around Ndola and at Broken Hill are the largest single employers of migrant labour. In 1936 they employed 15,137, which is 28.3% of the total number of Native workers employed in the Territory.

The following figures for the whole of the labour intake of the Northern Rhodesian mines give some idea of the overall picture in 1937:-

Period of Absence	*Percentage*	*Number*
Up to 6 months	43.98	8,372
6 months - 2 years	28.02	5,332
2 - 3 years	11.71	2,230
Over 3 years	16.28	3,097

The estimates given by District Commissioners of the proportion of adult males normally absent from their homes show a considerable variation in different districts, ranging from 12% in Mkushi to 40-70% in Mporokoso. The following are the estimates of male absentees in the three Northern

(1) Except where otherwise stated, these and other figures are from Pim, 1938, pp.35, 36, 357.

(2) ibid., p.37.

Province districts in which the majority of the Bemba live:-(1)

Kasama	50%
Chinsali	29%
Mpika	30%

Estimates for other districts containing some Bemba are:-

Abercorn	49%
Isoka	Not given
Mporokoso	40-70%
Luwingu	20%

It must be stressed that these estimates are not based on precise data. But despite the fact that the figures are only approximate, the general conclusion as to the large extent of migrancy is not in doubt.

In 1937 the three districts(2) in which the majority of Bemba live contributed 21.9% (1937 men) of all Northern Province labour (8,752) to the Copperbelt, and 11.3% of the total labour force employed on the Copperbelt (17,128 men). The contribution of all districts containing some Bemba(3) represented 46.5% (4,071 men) of all Northern Province labour and 23.8% of all labour.

Marriage and the family are affected by this high rate of migration of marriageable males. As in other parts of Africa where this system of migratory labour is prevalent, the absence of the man naturally leads to a loosening of the marriage tie. Women left alone for three or four years contract other unions in their husbands' absence. The amount of land that can be put under cultivation is also reduced and the economic condition of the wife and children is inevitably worsened. There are, however, certain factors inherent in the matrilineal system which do not apply in the patrilineal areas to the east and south. Bemba society does not recognise a stable residential unit based on the kinship of its male members as do the patrilineal Ngoni to the east, and the absentee men have fewer permanent ties to bind them to a particular village at home and seem to have a less developed sense of allegiance to such villages. Moreover, the marriage contract in this area depends, as we have seen, on the giving of service to the father-in-law rather than the payment of money or goods. This service cannot be given when the young husband is at the mines, and a small monetary payment of about 10/- is given in lieu. The whole process

(1) *The Annual Report on African Affairs* for 1948 gives the following figures for that year for the three Bemba districts:-

Individual District	*% taxable males absent*	*% employed in Northern Rhodesia*	*% employed outside Northern Rhodesia*
Kasama	53.55	17.06	36.49
Chinsali	39.54	10.74	28.8
Mpika	28.62	3.9	24.72
Average	40.47	10.56	30.00

(2) Kasama, Chinsali, Mpika.
(3) Kasama, Chinsali, Mpika, Abercorn, Isoka, Mporokoso, Luwingu.

by which a young son-in-law is gradually incorporated into his wife's group is therefore altered. The young wife remains behind with her own people and not with her in-laws and thus, perhaps, is in a happier position than she would be in a patrilineal society; but Read considers that the brides are better looked after among the patrilineal Ngoni, where a woman's in-laws have made a considerable marriage payment for her and conceive it to be their duty to look after her while her husband is away.(1)

AGE SETS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Age is not stressed as a principle of social grouping. Precedence is reckoned on the basis of seniority and, as among other peoples, there are special terms for the various stages of life, but there are no boys' initiation ceremonies and no regiments based on age such as are found among the Nilo-Hamitic groups in East Africa. The existence of certain occupational groups, as fishing communities, and of associations, such as those of iron-workers among the Aushi and Chishinga, has already been noted. While there are no secret societies among the Bemba, the Twa in the swamps of Bangweulu were renowned for *Butwa*, a secret society whose influence at one time extended the length of the Luapula river on both banks as far as Lake Mweru. Among the tribes affected by the cult were the Aushi, Unga, Shila, Tabwa in the group at present under consideration, and also the Lamba and Lunda.(2) It is suggested that in its original form *Butwa* is now extinct,(3) but it is uncertain whether it still exists in a modified form. Membership was not restricted by age or sex and people were initiated into the mysteries at a festival which lasted several days. The avowed aims of the society were to suppress selfishness and promote social life and its main attractions seem to have been dancing, singing, beer drinks and sexual licence; there was also considerable prestige attached to the ability to converse in the secret language *Lubendo*.

LOCAL AND TERRITORIAL GROUPING

The basic residential group is the village - a collection of 30 to 50 huts in the case of a commoner and several times this number in the case of a chief. All these peoples live in villages rather than isolated homesteads, but the size of the villages and their propinquity vary widely from area to area; Bemba villages, for instance, are often 16 to 20 miles apart.

The village normally develops as a kinship unit. It can come into existence when a middle-aged or elderly man feels he has a sufficient following of relatives to justify his application to the chief for permission to set up a community of his own. While it is generally built close to relatives, the abundance of land makes it possible to build anywhere within the chief's administrative district. The nucleus is the headman's own matrilocal extended family composed of his young married daughters and their children, together with members of his matrilineage such as his widowed sisters and their sons and daughters. The number of relatives attached to a headman varies with his popularity and efficiency. A man may also succeed to the headmanship of a village by taking the name of his maternal grandfather or maternal uncle by the *kupyanika* system already referred to (see p.15). A

(1) Quoted by Richards, 1940.
(2) Anon. N.A.D.A., 1948.
(3) Brelsford, 5, 1946, p.14.

chief may, however, put one of his own relatives as headman or headwoman over a village, and here the composition of the community will be very mixed, containing a group of royal relatives together with those belonging to the original village.

Enquiries in 1934 showed that 29% of the villages in the Paramount Chief's territory were new titles, 16% had had one previous holder of the headmanship, 10% two previous holders, and 40% three previous holders. In the case of Chief Nkula's district, new villages form 42%, those with one previous holder 9%, those with two previous holders 18% and those with three 13%. The remaining villages in both cases were formed by the amalgamation of two or more old villages.(1)

All Bemba villages are, however, liable to change in personnel. Young boys leave to marry and may return again when they have become fathers. Men come from outside to marry girls in the village and may later take them away. The practice of shifting villages every few years provides opportunities for such changes in village composition.

The members of a village acknowledge the authority of a chief who rules over a district (*icalo*) which is a geographical unit with a more or less fixed boundary and name. According to Richards these date from the past and represent territories originally allotted to members of the royal clan. It is clear, however, that some further sub-divisions of territory have taken place. Brelsford gives examples of the division of a district by a chief, and its reallocation to his son instead of to his uterine nephew.(2) It is not quite clear how far the political territory, with a fixed name and boundary, exists amongst the smaller tribes in this area.

Each district has its own capital (*musumba*), where the chief lives, and forms a separate political unit. Its inhabitants pay tribute to the chief of the district and in the old days went to fight for him on request. Law cases are taken to the chief's capital for trial and each territory is a ritual unit in the sense that its chief performs the economic rites of the year for its inhabitants. The Paramount Chief, like the lesser chiefs, has his own territory which he administers, but the word "*icalo*" is also used for the whole of the Bemba country.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The main political authorities are the headmen, known as the "owners" of villages, the district chiefs and the Paramount Chief. The headman derives his authority from his position as head of a kin group which gives him authority over them and the right of access to the ancestral spirits. He may be said to look after his villagers. As a senior kinsman he is responsible for the maintenance of discipline among the young; he directs communal forms of hunting and fishing. He hears cases informally and initiates the cycle of agricultural activities every year. Since land is not scarce the allocation of land for cultivation is not an important function of the headman, but he acts as arbitrator in any quarrels that may arise over its use. Ritually he offers prayers at a village shrine to his ancestors,

(1) Richards, 6, 1939. Appendix D. (2) Brelsford, 3, 1944.

blessing the gardens before firing, the seeds before sowing, and the first fruits of a number of crops. He must organise the payment of tribute and labour to the district chief and pass on chiefly orders and requests. His privileges include the right to personal service from younger relatives and tribute of beer and/or meat. Primarily, however, the position is valued not for economic advantage but for the authority it brings, the command over a small following and the favour of a chief. The sanctions for this authority consist mainly in the headman's popularity, the strength of kinship ties between him and the villagers and their belief that it is dangerous to allow an elder relative to die while cherishing a sense of injury. Ultimately, of course, the headman's power depends on the support of his territorial chief and nowadays of the British Administration.

The functions of the different types of Bemba chief differ only in degree from those of the headman. Like a headman, a chief is in charge of his own village, his *musumba*, and he tries to maintain and augment this community by acquiring a reputation for popularity and generosity. A chief's village in the old days was described as having thousands of inhabitants. Big chiefs' villages observed by Richards in 1934 had 400 to 600 huts. They were divided into quarters (*fitenta*) ruled over by loyal supporters of the chief, known as *bafilolo*.

Besides administering his own village the chief was responsible for making and confirming the appointment of headmen; and presiding over a court composed of advisers mainly drawn from his own village. Witchcraft cases had to be brought to a chief and only the more important among them could administer the poison ordeal by *mwafi*. The chief could in the old days punish by savage mutilations and by selling a man into slavery. Economically the chief was responsible for initiating agricultural activities by performing the necessary rite at the time of tree-cutting, sowing or harvesting. With the tribute labour at his disposal he made big gardens and built granaries from which he fed his courtiers, messengers and workers. The chief initiated military raids and other forms of warfare, and the great Bemba chiefs maintained their monopoly of Arab guns which they traded for slaves. Bemba country was, in fact, an area of strong centralised government. The chieftains of the Aushi, Unga and other associated tribelets were on a much smaller scale and weaker in political organisation.

But the most important and characteristic activities of the Bemba chiefs are ritual. They are reckoned to have in their own persons power to bless and curse. They have to be protected from contact with death and to keep sex taboos of various kinds for the welfare of the whole territory. It is probable that the Bemba Paramount Chief in the old days might have been described as a "divine king" in Frazer's sense of the word; he was strangled when on the point of death so that his spirit should pass into the land. The Bemba chief derives his ritual power from the fact that he has succeeded to the names of dead chiefs and is thus enabled to call on a long line of ancestral spirits. Chiefs possess sacred relics - usually stools - which are known as *babenye* and kept in special huts protected by "wives of the dead" or descendants of wives of earlier chiefs. An approach to the ancestral spirits is made at these shrines. Chiefs also sacrifice at the deserted shrines of their predecessors (*nfuba*) and at other spirit centres in the area.

Much of their power depends on the keeping of sex taboos and the

protection from pollution of the fire which is supposed to burn day and night in a special hut, at any rate in the Paramount Chief's capital. An elaborate ritual concerns the protection of the sacred relics and the fire, and a number of hereditary officials are engaged in this task.

While all chiefs in this group seem to have ritual powers as heads of ancestral cults, and most of them possess and look after sacred relics, it appears that the ritual is far more highly developed among the Bemba. In fact, among some of the scattered groups on the western border of the district, there are cases where the spiritual ownership of the land is in the hands of a descendant of the original owner and the chief himself has diminished supernatural power; but further research on this point is required.

The Paramount Chief among the Aushi(1) held both secular and spiritual power in his own hands, a state which was interrupted from 1900-1930 by quarrels over the succession, during which there was both an administrative and a religious head of the group. This is the normal state of affairs among the Unga(2) where the Paramount Chief has never held spiritual or religious power.

Types of Chief

Bemba chiefs succeed to fixed titles associated with the possession of sacred relics. The chieftainships are of different kinds. The major titles are held by members of the royal dynasty and the royal princes succeed to one after the other of these titles in turn. For instance, for half a century or so there was a tendency for the Paramount Chief, the *Citimukulu*, to be succeeded by the *Mwamba*, who was in turn succeeded by the *Nkolemfumu* and the latter by the *Mpepo*.(3) The paramount chieftaincy and the major territorial chiefdoms are held by close relatives within the royal dynasty, usually own brothers, parallel cousins, classificatory brothers, or sisters' sons. Some of the territorial chiefs have under them sub-chiefs whom they appoint themselves and who are either royal princes, or in some cases "sons of chiefs". Several chiefdoms are regularly inherited by sons of chiefs rather than by members of the royal Crocodile clan, and it appears that once a tract of land has been given by a chief to one of his sons it remains as a gift which the succeeding chief can give to his son rather than to his uterine nephew.

There are also at least two royal princesses, the *Candamukulu* and the *Mukukamfumu*, who succeed to fixed titles in the same way and who rule over a group of villages rather than tracts of land. The position and power of the women of the Crocodile clan is one of the characteristic features of this area.

Lastly a few localised lines of chiefs, usually junior or ousted branches of the Crocodile clan, have established their rule over small

(1) Philpot, 1936; but in the Congo the Aushi have two chieftaincies or paramountcies. See Stiénon, 1926, p.59.
(2) Brelsford, 5, 1946.
(3) After a protracted succession dispute the *Nkulu* succeeded to the paramount chieftaincy recently; see Brelsford, 3, 1944, and Richards, 7, 1940.

territories generally in the capacity of sub-chiefs. Subject chiefs of alien stock, generally of Bisa origin, also hold some chieftainships particularly in the west.

Cases of disputed succession were decided by a meeting composed of members of the royal family and the *bakabilo* or hereditary councillors. Disputed successions and feuds between one chief and another were common in the old days.

The succession to Bisa chieftainships also goes from brother to brother and then to sister's son or sister's daughter's son, but the Bisa never reached the same degree of centralisation; they live in more scattered groups and, before the arrival of the Europeans, had no Paramount Chief. Little is known of the political structure of the Aushi and the Unga, but they have certainly not achieved a centralised government, and some of the smaller Aushi chiefs are living on tiny islands in the Bangweulu swamps.

THE MACHINERY OF CENTRALIZATION

The Bemba can be reckoned as a more or less centralized State in that its major chiefdoms are controlled by members of one royal family; its Paramount Chief had the command of the army and has the supreme control of supernatural power, the possession of the most sacred of the tribal relics and the right of appointment to lesser chiefdoms. He also provides the final judicial court of appeal.

The Paramount Chief and some of the biggest territorial chiefs have attached to them a group of hereditary officials who combine ritual with political and judicial functions. In the case of the Paramount Chief these officials, the *bakabilo*, number between 35 and 40 and form an advisory council on special matters of state. They include the hereditary officials in charge of the chief's relics (*babeny*), the royal buriers and embalmers (*bafingo*) and a number of other officials carrying out special ritual functions in connection with the ceremonial of kingship. These *bakabilo* are in a very powerful position. They are hereditary heads of villages near the capital; they are immune from giving tribute to the chief; they used to wear special head-dresses; they must keep the same sex-taboos as the chief, and are buried in the central district under his control. The real *bakabilo* are those connected with the Paramount's court. They are in fact called "the *Babemba*". The *bakabilo* of the *citimukulu* bury all the major chiefs and they act as regents at the death of the Paramount; any matter of tribal importance, such as a succession dispute, is placed before them. They check the power of the Paramount, since they can, and sometimes do, refuse to perform the ritual on which he depends for the exercise of his power. Being hereditary officials with lines of descent as old as that of the Paramount Chief himself they cannot be removed at will. They form a central tribal council but not a public assembly such as the *pitso* of the Sotho-speaking peoples.

Each chief has certain executive officials to support him. These include the *bafilolo* or heads of the divisions of a capital, who maintain peace in the royal village, organise tribute labour and allocate land for cultivation. They are appointed from among the chief's own favourites and supporters. Each big chief had formerly a number of captains or *bashika* of

whom some were hereditary and most were appointed at the chief's will.

CHANGES IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION INTRODUCED BY EUROPEAN CONTACT

In 1900 North-eastern Rhodesia came under the control of the British South Africa Company which had its headquarters at Kasama. While the chiefs were recognised, their functions were gradually taken over by the Administration and new courts of law administering a mixture of European and native law were set up under British magistrates. Chiefs were used largely as executive officials bereft of authority and privileges.

In 1924 Northern Rhodesia became a British Protectorate and in 1929 a modified form of "indirect rule" was introduced into the area by the Native Authority and the Native Courts Ordinance of 1929, subsequently modified in 1936. Chiefs, and in some instances chiefs' councils, were constituted Native Authorities, whereby they were given juridical powers over specific territories and encouraged to issue orders on matters such as village constitution, native movements, bush burning, *et al.* Native courts were also recognised and given jurisdiction over all cases except murder, witchcraft and issues implicating Europeans. The chiefs were given salaries - small in comparison with those received by other chiefs in Northern Rhodesia(1) and inadequate to their needs(2) - but which were, at any rate, indications of Government support. Native treasuries were set up in 1937.

Bemba chiefs had never lost their authority completely during the period of "direct rule", probably owing to the continuing strength of the people's belief in their ritual powers. They were no longer able to rely for their power on military success or the right of mutilating their subjects for offences, but the new measures gave them considerable government backing. But the poverty of the chiefs under modern conditions prevented the machinery of government from functioning. The old rulers were asked to carry out new executive duties but their councillors and messengers became increasingly unwilling and unable to serve them. Formerly they were fed by the chief while doing his work, but today the Government's discouragement, if not actual prohibition, of tribute labour, prevents the accumulation of food at the capital. It became necessary here as elsewhere to introduce some form of payment for court officials. The *bakabilo* were recognised as an advisory council in 1936 and it seems likely that judicial court officials will be paid in increasing numbers. Similar changes are probably taking place in other areas.

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

(a) GODS OUTSIDE THE ANCESTRAL CULT.

In common with other central Bantu peoples, the Bemba and Bisa believe there is a high god, *Lesa*, who lives in the sky, controls thunder, sends

(1) £60 p.a., as compared with £1,700 for the Barotse chief. See Richards, 7, 1940, p.116.
(2) See Richards, 3, 1935.

children to men and is the original source of magic power. *Lesa* is not, however, the object of any cult and is never directly addressed by the Bemba.(1) There is some suggestion that *Lesa* is believed to act as a judge of the dead, but it is not clear how far this is a reflection of Christian teaching.

Shrines are put up in Bemba country to a hunting god, *Mulenga*, thought to be the spirit of a forgotten ancestor. There are also traces of serpent worship in two or three centres in Bemba country where sacrifices are made to pythons believed to live in caves or near waterfalls.

The Aushi believe in *Makumba*, a tribal god. While only chiefs and priests have seen him, he is generally thought to be small - about two feet in height - black and hard like stone. *Makumba* is very closely bound up with the idea of paramountcy among the Aushi but is clearly much more than mere "insignia of office"; he is worshipped and offerings are made to him; he is conceived both as a god and as a person, and is served by his own priests and priestesses. His association with the history of Aushi has already been mentioned. (See above p.8.)

(b) THE ANCESTRAL CULT

Some reference has been made in preceding sections to the ancestral spirits. Many ceremonies are connected with them and the part played by ancestral spirits in general and those of chiefs, and especially of the Paramount Chief, is the core of Bemba religion. These spirits (*Mupashi*, pl. *Imipashi*) are worshipped on all the chief occasions of the agricultural year, particularly at tree-cutting and harvest time, and also in times of tribal disaster or emergency. It may be remarked in passing that the ritual practices associated with these occasions were formerly very elaborate but are now being carried out with diminishing ceremonial and by fewer people, even though the beliefs behind the practices still seem to be dominant in the minds of the people.

The *Imipashi* are to be approached in certain well-defined ways among which are the calling of their names, prayers, and offerings of material objects. They may be invoked at the following places: firstly, the hut of every householder serves as a shrine, since his own ancestral spirits tend to linger there in the half-light of dawn and dusk to be invoked at the crises of life: birth, marriage, illness and death. In some areas food is placed for their appeasement but there is not, as among the Ila, a separate part of the hut set aside for them. The focal point of religious activity in the village is the headman's hut or a small shrine built outside it. Here the spirits of the headman's ancestors are invoked in all matters concerning the wider welfare of the village. In some areas shrines are put up to the spirits of the former owners of the land who are addressed by the village headman.(2)

(1) The position described by Smith and Dale in *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* is very similar.

(2) Among the Unga priests operate independently of the chiefs; the fusion of secular and spiritual authority is not so complete as it is among the Bemba. For details see Brelsford, 5, 1946, Chap.XI.

Spirits are also worshipped, as has been mentioned, at the chiefs' relic huts, at the sites of dead chiefs' villages, which are revered as spirit centres, and at remarkable natural objects such as caves and waterfalls (*ngulu*) which are also thought to be spirit centres. Major chiefs are buried in a sacred grove guarded with great care by a priest, the *shimwalule*. This is the home of the most powerful tribal spirits and an animal used to be sacrificed here on the rare occasions when drought was threatened. The spirits of the chiefs also manifest themselves in the presence of possessed men and women who prophesy and heal. Ancestral spirits are approached by the man or woman who has succeeded to their name and guardian spirit, that is to say, the head of a small local lineage, a headman or a chief.

Ancestral spirits are addressed after a ritual sex act between the officiant and his wife, followed by ceremonial purification. The spirits are addressed by name and some form of sacrifice, e.g. beer, cloth, flour and chickens, is offered to them.

(c) MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

Bemba and Bisa believe in the potency of *bwanga* which may be translated as "magic". Bemba magical rites depend for the most part on medicine (*muti*), usually part of a plant or tree, sometimes with the addition of energizing charms giving potency to the medicine. Words are sometimes used but, as with the Azande, there is less insistence on and less importance attached to the spell than to the rite and the medicines. It is the magician (*Ng'anga*) who procures and uses the medicine and from whom it may be purchased. To ensure effectiveness the *Ng'anga* must invoke *Lesa*, without whose consent the medicines are thought to be ineffectual.

Magic is used for general protective purposes - to ensure fertility, good health and luck, to give staying power to food. In the economic sphere magic seems to be used less among the Bemba than the Bisa. Richards suggests that the greater development of the ancestral cult among the former is the reason for this.(1)

Magic is also used in divination. The commonest form of divination is the rubbing of an axe over a skin until it sticks in answer to a question, and boiling of medicine in a pot until the mixture bubbles over one side or the other side. Another characteristic form of Bemba divination is the hunting ritual used to ascertain the cause of a person's death, according to whether a male or female animal is first driven into the hunting nets. This rite can be used as a preliminary test for witchcraft. In the old days the *lilamfia*, or war fetish, originally obtained from the Lunda chiefs near Lake Mweru was employed. This was a horn placed on a spike which was thought only to work if smeared with the blood of a human victim. *Mwafi*, the poison used as a test for witchcraft from the Southern Sudan to Southern Rhodesia, was used by the senior chiefs in this area.

Evil magic, or sorcery, was distinguished as *buloshi*, a term which covers witchcraft, in the sense of inborn power, as well as the manipulation

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, pp.356, 187.

of magical forces in sorcery. The *muloshi* is a man who kills without rhyme or reason, an enemy of society who kills from a distance, who is associated with black birds and who steals parts of the body from newly dug graves.(1) Enemies may also be killed by the use of medicine, either apparently by an evilly disposed person or by the *Ng'anga* who may be employed to defend someone who believes he is attacked.(2)

Sex and Fire. Characteristic of this group of peoples is the series of beliefs associated with the magic potency of sex when used according to certain rules, and, connected with this, the danger of the pollution of domestic fires or the fires of chiefs by contact with adulterers or evil livers. Such beliefs are the basis of the multiplication of small protective rites associated with chieftainship, the bringing-up of children, and the girls' initiation ceremony.(3)

SOME IMPORTANT RITUALS

The most important ceremonies carried out amongst the Bemba are as follows:-

(1) *Economic Rites.* At the time of the firing of the bush the chief or headman places an axe at the head of his bed at night or, in the case of a chief, in the relic shrine. Sowing ceremonies at the Paramount's capital used to be elaborate, but are now reduced to the placing of seeds in the relic shrines; similar ceremonies are done by headmen. The first-fruits rites, when the tasting of the new crops takes place, were also formerly elaborate among the Bemba. They are still carried out in an abbreviated form at the capital, and headmen place in their small spirit huts portions of each new crop.

(2) *Ceremonial in Chieftainship.* The most elaborate forms of ceremonial amongst the Bemba are those that surround the burial of a dead chief, the installation of his successor and the moving of his village. In the old days the death of a Paramount Chief was concealed for a few days while his followers fled from the capital and the sacred relics were moved to a place of safety. The ritual buriers then took charge and dried the body and covered it with a sauce made of beans, carefully preserving the toe and finger nails. After a year the corpse was carried round the Paramount's territory and human victims were sacrificed on each spot where the body rested at night. The body was then carried across the Chambasi river where it was received by the *shimwalule* who carried it into the sacred grove. The favourite wives of the chief and some of his slaves were put into the grave to hold the body of the *Citimukulu* and were stifled as the earth was filled in. Although cattle are not kept in the area, the body was wrapped in the skin of an ox.

The installation of a chief is a similarly complex process, in which all the *bakabilo* and *bafingo* play their part. Important elements were the transfer of the sacred relics to the new capital, the lighting of the chief's new fire, and the installation of his head wife. Details of this form of ceremonial are not available from the associated tribes, but it is certain that

(1) For some comments on the relation between witchcraft and psychopathology, see Davidson, 1949.
(2) Richards, 2, 1935. (3) Richards, 7, 1940.

nothing like the year long burial rites of the *Citimukulu* exist in these areas.

(3) *Girls' Initiation Ceremony.* As has been mentioned, the initiation of boys is not here practised, but there is a form of girls' puberty ritual (*cisungu*) which is, in essence, a nubility rite. Formerly it lasted from two to three months, although the ceremony witnessed by Richards in 1934 was completed in six weeks. It consists in the seclusion of the girls during a series of mimetic rites representing their duties as cook, gardener, hostess and mother, which are carried out in the initiation hut and also in the surrounding bush. The girl is also given a series of some 40 to 50 pottery images (*mbusa*), which are associated with special songs and refer to aspects of the legal obligations of marriage. The girl is presented with these pottery images on the last night of the ceremony, after having jumped over a hoop made of crossed branches. The ceremony directly precedes marriage and is, in fact, a part of the marriage ceremonial. The bridegroom plays a part on the last night of the initiation ceremony when he shoots an arrow at a spot on the wall of the initiation hut. The formal consummation of the marriage takes place next day. *Cisungu* ceremonies of a similar kind are mentioned as existing among the Bisa, but have not yet been described.

II. THE LALA, INCLUDING THE LUANO

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

Very few figures are available for the total Lala population. Moffat Thomson's(1) figure for the Northern Rhodesian Lala in 1933 was 41,432, and Lambo's(2) estimate in 1946 gave 50,000 in Northern Rhodesia and 10,000 in the Congo. Recent counts(3) made among the West Lala in Mkushi district give a figure of 10,739. The most recent figure for the Luano in Mkushi district is given as approximately 4,500.(4)

The density of population can only be roughly inferred from district figures:

Serenje	(1934)	3.41 persons per sq. mile.	(5)
"	(1945)	6.1 " " " "	(6)
Mkushi	(1934)	3.31 " " " "	(7)
"	(1940)	3.86 " " " "	(8)
"	(Luano, 1950?)	6.2 " " " "	(9)
Petauke	(1948?)	9.17 " " " "	(10)

With the setting up of reserves in 1929, some local overcrowding occurred in Mkushi District, bringing local density to as much as 25 persons per sq. mile - three times the carrying capacity of the land(11) - but this has been remedied.

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

The Lala, like the Bemba and Bisa groups, claim to have arrived in their present habitat from the north-west, entering Northern Rhodesia through what is now Mwinilunga District, moving south-east through the Copperbelt and then north-east across the Luapula river to the edges of the Bangweulu swamps before turning south into their present area. Of the previous inhabitants of the area the only traces are drawings in caves and numerous myths and legends about 'little folk'.

Tradition maintains that the ancestress of the tribe was one Kisenga, whose son Kalunga was the first chief, and whose daughter, Kisenga Kipimpi,

(1) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Lambo, 1946, No.8, p.233. (3) Allan, 1949.
(4) Information from the District Commissioner, Mkushi, 1950.
(5) Pim, 1938.
(6) Peters, (for whole district not plateau only).
(7) Pim, 1938. (8) Report of the Land Commission, 1946.
(9) District Commissioner Mkushi, 1950.
(10) Appendix F of the Report of the Financial Relationship Committee (1949) gives the following figures: Serenje, 4.0 per sq. mile; Mkushi, 4.3; Petauke, 10.6. The source of these figures is not, however, stated.
(11) Allan, 1949.

in turn had a daughter whose fertility was such that her sons fou.'ed the eighteen chieftaincies which form the tribe. Tradition records that 13 generations have elapsed since the life of Kisenga, which would mean that, taking 20 years per generation, Kisenga had lived at the beginning of the 18th century. However, it must be noted that the Lala attach little importance to the remembering of genealogies and thus such a figure has a dubious validity.

While Bemba traditions record the pushing back of the Lala, who figure rather poorly in Bemba history and imagination, Lala record their succesful repulse of Chikunda, Ngoni, Aushi, and even Bemba raiders under their war leader Tshombela. Subsequently the area was plundered by marauding bands of well-armed 'Bangwana' (possibly Ngoni), equipped with guns, until 1898, when a Belgian force drove these back into Rhodesia. Lambo mentions that some of the descendants of these intruders are still living around Ndola.(1)

LABOUR MIGRATION

The estimated proportion of adult males absent from their homes in the late 1930s was 40% in Serenje and 12% in Mkushi,(2) but Peters considers that the proportion today is much higher.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The area is at an average altitude of 4,000 ft., rising along the eastern borders to a crest overlooking the Luangwa valley in Petauke District, and falling slightly to the north-west towards the Bangweulu depression. The soils are generally of a pallid, sandy nature, giving way around the Luangwa-Lunsemfwa-Lukusashi valleys to a heavier brown soil. The country is covered with deciduous woodlands, frequently of a type known as *Brachystegia-Isoberlinia*, with tall trees, and a rather sparse undergrowth of smaller trees and bushes. Rainfall is adequate, varying annually from 35-40". Temperature data are scarce, but a range from 55-85°F., as mean minima and maxima, seems likely. Frosts have been known to occur on the Mkushi-Serenje divide.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

CRAFTS

Generally speaking craft-work, as among the Bemba, is little developed. Some rather crude naturalistic drawing is done on walls by men, but sculpture is unknown, either in wood, ivory or bone. Pottery is exclusively a woman's craft, clay being obtained from the Luapula and its small tributaries, along the banks of which are found the best pottery villages. Iron-working is not now practised, having been abandoned, so it is said, on the arrival of the Europeans.

(1) Lambo, 1946, p.238.

(2) Pim, 1938, p.36.

AGRICULTURE[1]

The *citemene* system of agriculture practised in this area differs from that of the Bemba in that the area of woodland burnt is much larger in relation to the size of garden cultivated, and the finger millet is sown in several small ash circles (sing. *m-unda*, pl. *mi-unda*) with very little subsequent cropping. It has been suggested that this method is probably indigenous to the Congo-Zambezi watershed. Among the Lala the system is combined with hoe cultivation on mounds in separate gardens near villages, which seem to be, at any rate partially, prepared by the ash method. In the south-east of the area, around the Lunsemfwa-Lukusashi valley, there is transition to a form of hoe culture, where the principal crop is Kaffir corn with maize as subsidiary. With the decreased altitude and increased temperatures of the above-mentioned valley slopes and floors, flood waters play an increasingly large part in agriculture, but this applies more particularly to the mixed Ambo-Lala-Nsenga-Luano groups.

Millet gardens are prepared by cutting the branches of trees over an extensive irregularly bounded area of woodland, and by making small piles of the brushwood. The average area of the millet garden (*citeme*) is probably about 18.0 acres. A sample of 44 gardens ranged from 5.1 to 54.9 acres. Stacking is commonly in circles ranging from 9 to 30 feet in diameter but narrow serpentine forms are found.(2) Cutting is carried on from May onwards and the piles are fired in September at a signal from the chief. Pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers and cowpeas are sometimes sown first, round the periphery of the circle, and millet is then sown after the first rains, in December. After the harvest, between April and June, the whole clearing may be abandoned and a new clearing made the following season, although occasionally groundbeans, groundnuts or cowpeas are sown after the millet crop.

While these millet gardens may be some distance from the villages, two kinds of Kaffir corn gardens are planted close to them: one in which part of the garden is burnt and the intervening areas mounded; and the other in which mounds are used alone. Gardens of the first kind are prepared and branches burnt as for the millet gardens. In some cases millet is sown; in others Kaffir corn, groundnuts, or groundbeans. Mounds are planted with cassava, cowpeas, cucumbers and Kaffir corn. During a second or third year the garden may be extended by further burnings. Among Lala with Bemba influence a greater use is made of beans, these being planted in Bemba style on old millet gardens.

Among groups of Lala in the south-west, mounding is a subsidiary practice and the neatly stacked branches of the *citemene* method give way to rough heaps of brushwood, between which the ground is hoed up for planting with Kaffir corn in October after the piles have been burnt and the first rains have fallen. Separate plots are made for groundnuts and groundbeans. Cultivation is for three years on poorer soils but for four or five years on better soils.

A further type of cultivation is that practised on the edges of *dambos*

(1) For more detailed information on the agriculture of this area see Trapnell, 1943.
(2) Personal comment from D.N. Peters.

(seasonally flooded plain or marsh), permitting dry season cultivation of maize, pumpkins and gourds. As among the Bisa, separate gardens are made for cassava, and the practice, common to all the neighbouring groups, of making gardens for Livingstone potatoes is also found.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Fishing is enjoyed by everyone and those living near rivers take it up from an early age. It includes poisoning, harpooning and fishing by line. Generally a stream is dammed at both ends at the beginning and end of the rainy season, and the resultant pool cleared by various methods. The man who wishes to become a hunter by profession, however, must undergo an initiation. He must find a sponsor to initiate him into the art and accompany him to the shrine of *Kaluwe*, the hunting spirit, to make offerings. After he has had some experience as a hunter he will call upon his sponsor to assist him in building his own shrine to the hunting spirit. With the increased prestige of experience he will acquire fresh titles. Elephant-hunting, being a dangerous sport, has a number of taboos associated with it for both the hunter and his wife. By comparison with such forms of hunting, trapping is considered a poor occupation and held in low esteem. Weapons include the bow and arrow (some types of which are barbed), the lance, and nowadays the gun.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

A man belongs to the clan of his mother and, as with the Bemba, goes to live with his wife's people on his marriage, if not permanently, then at least until two or three children are born.

Marriage payment (*tengo la bufi*) seems formerly to have been paid in cows or bulls, and to have been loaned to the young man by his father; as among the Bemba the payment seems to have been in the nature of a token.(1) It is the labour of the sons-in-law which is the real marriage service. While a man may in later life take a second wife, polygyny is generally restricted to chiefs. Many second or even first wives seem to have been inherited.

While divorce is considered to be more frequent now than formerly, no figures are available. Among recognised grounds for divorce for the woman are cruelty, desertion, neglect, impotence, adultery, and disease; for the man, refusal by his wife to return to his kinsfolk after two or three children have been born, adultery, disease, and household incompetence. It seems to be extremely rare for the husband on divorce to retain possession of the children.

Should the marriage survive the hazards of the first seven or eight years unbroken, the husband will try either to start a village on his own

(1) Lambo, 1946, p.277.

or to return to a village of his mother's people - possibly that of a mother's brother.

As with neighbouring peoples, there is little material wealth to inherit; what there is passes from a man to his matrikin and from mother to daughter.

THE CLAN

The Lala clan is matrilineal and exogamous. Among the Congo Lala there are about 30, and in the south-west and west of the area studied by Munday, about 35. They are distinguished by totem names and formal praise-names are recognized.

It has been suggested(1) that, because of the close links between clansmen, villages tend to be known by the name of the clan occupying them; this would lead to a certain amount of confusion in the event of several village headmen belonging to the same clan, and is probably not the only means of recognition. There is a sharp distinction between the royal clan (*Nyendwa*)(2) and the commoners' clans. Between clan members there are hospitality obligations, which, since the names of many clans are common to neighbouring tribes, are inter-tribal. Clan members were under obligation not to kill one another in tribal wars.

Reciprocal ritual relations between clans resemble those among the Bemba; a man calls his partner *awali*, he has a joking relationship with him in daily life and at ritual occasions such as funerals. Such relationships are found, as among the Bemba, between clans whose totems are either complementary or antipathetic to one another. Exogamy is maintained between clans one of which has traditionally split off from the other, e.g., the Pot clan split from the Ant-Hill, the Fire clan from the Tree clan.

Marriage with mother, sister, daughter or niece would be incestuous by the rules of clan exogamy and, in addition, a man may not marry the daughter of a brother's wife, the daughter of a father's brother, the daughter of a sister's daughter nor the widow of an uncle, though they may be of different clans from his own. There are preferred marriages with particular kin: the daughter of a brother's son, the daughter of a brother's daughter and the daughter of a sister's son.

ASSOCIATIONS

There seems to be no form of association among hunters. There is a single reference(3) to 'sectes secrètes' organized for witch finding but no more detailed information.

LOCAL GROUPING

The important local unit is the village, which at the present time is

(1) Munday, 1, 1940, p.314.
(2) The Luano are not ruled by the *Nyendwa* clan. Their chief Chembe is of the *Mumba* (clay) clan, and their chief Liteta is of the *Lungu* (gourd) clan. (Communicated by Stefaniszyn, 1950.)
(3) Lambo, 1946, p.314.

small, comprising perhaps 10-20 adult males or 15-30 huts. Chiefs' villages are somewhat larger but do not reach the size of former days when they were fortified and the majority of the inhabitants of the district were said to reside therein.(1)

Apart from the villages of chiefs and commoners, there are distinguished the village of a chief's son and those of deceased chiefs; these latter may be treated as an asylum by anyone fleeing from public or private justice.

All villages, whether chiefs' or commoners', are basically kinship units. They seem generally to be formed of the following: the headman and men of the same clan - husbands tend in later life to move back to a matrikinsman's village; secondly, young men coming to the village as prospective sons-in-law; thirdly, widowed or deserted women; fourthly, children of the two latter categories, and, finally, accretions of individuals attracted by the good name of the village or the personalities of its inmates.

Beyond the limits of the individual villages and embracing anything from a dozen to fifty, is the district (*akalo*), administered by a chief. While at the present time the boundaries of these districts are defined, this does not seem to have been so formerly, and powerful chiefs seem to have been in the habit of encroaching as, for example, the recent instance cited by Munday(2) of a Congo chief moving across into Rhodesia. There does not seem to be any hierarchy of districts, according to their proximity to the heart of the country, as among the Bemba, nor any very definite concepts of tribal unity. Though they speak a common dialect, it may be doubted whether the difference between a Lala from the Congo and one from the Luano district is any less than that between a Lala and a Bemba man. There is no allegiance to a common Paramount Chief, so significant a feature among the Bemba. The country is divided into clusters of small chieftaincies, some few recognizing transiently the superiority of another.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Headman

As with the Bemba the headman derives his authority from his position as head of a kin group and his right of access to the ancestral spirits, though information on this latter point is deficient. For the spiritual well-being of the villagers he appoints three people, two men and a woman, to help him in carrying out the necessary rituals at seed-time, harvest and on other occasions when the welfare of the village unit is involved. He administers justice within the village.

The Chief

Chieftaincy was the privilege solely of the ruling clan, but was not restricted to males.(2) The main duties of the chief were the defence of his district, performance of rites, the hearing of disputes and the punishment of criminals. The extent to which the first duty was carried out

(1) Lambo, 1946, p.244.

(2) Munday, 1, 1940.

probably varied widely, some chieftaincies having a reputation for cowardice, others for valour. The subjects of a chief paid him tribute in both labour and goods; all ivory from elephants killed in the district was formerly yielded up to him and he obtained slaves to augment the tribute labour force.

Administration

To assist the chief there is a council of some twenty members, composed of relatives, including the chief's mother, and some hereditary officials with special duties and privileges. The tribunal seems formerly to have consisted of the chief and his half-brother, an official who seems to have combined the functions of chief justice and travelling magistrate, journeying to outlying villages to dispense the chief's justice.

At the present time there does not seem to be any insistence on the chief justice being a half-brother nor is the composition of the council the same as formerly.

Nowadays in Mkushi District, the Administration recognises a tribal council and 6 subsidiary chiefs, and in Serenje District a similar council with 10 chiefs subsidiary to it.(1)

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

The High God *Lesa* is recognised but is not worshipped.

As among other groups in the area, ancestor worship forms the core of the religious structure. Every individual has his own ancestral spirit to whom, on matters concerning the individual and the family, invocation will be made. The well-being of the village is the concern of the headman, and for the district, of the chief. Details of the rituals associated with these and other ceremonies are lacking. There seems, however, to be less emphasis on the supernatural sanctions of chieftainship, which is regarded more as a secular than a spiritual office. This suggestion is, however, based on negative rather than positive evidence.

Of the part played by magic in everyday life there is little information. As among the Bemba little distinction is made between the sorcerer and the witch. The word for both is *imwifiti* (but also *muloshi*), derived from a word meaning to kill. The Lala *imwifiti* may use both medicines and familiar spirits, in various guises, or may resort to invisibility to effect his or her nefarious schemes. In opposition to this evil, anti-social power is the witch doctor, *ng'anga*, who employs divination to identify the witch, who would formerly have been killed. The three main methods of divination are: looking into a bowl of 'doctored' water; observing the action of an axe handle thrown into ashes; and the movement of horns stuck into the ground. A community in which a number of outrages have been committed may take the matter of witch hunting into its own hands and after resorting to divination may send a party of responsible villagers out in revenge.(2)

(1) Northern Rhodesian Govt. Notice No.38, 1933. (2) Munday, 4, 1943.

INITIATION CEREMONIES

There is no initiation ceremony or circumcision for boys. Girls, however, are initiated (*cisungu*) after or before marriage. An uninitiated married girl should not conceive; should she do so her child would be thrown into the bush lest its presence cause the death of any of the village elders.(1) The fact that initiation may take place after marriage is in contrast with Bemba practice. There is little information about the actual details of the ceremony.

(1) Lambo, 1946, p.255.

III. THE AMBO[1]

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

POPULATION ESTIMATES

The Ambo in Petauke district[2] of Northern Rhodesia in 1938 numbered 5,247, and in Mkushi district[3] in 1943, 4,622, giving a total of 10,049. In addition, there are probably 1,000 Ambo living in Serenje district in Chief Chisomo's country so that this sub-tribe may now number over 11,000. The population statistics from Mkushi district show some increase.

Chief	*Total Population by years*		
	1916	*1923*	*1949*
Mboloma	1,934	2,300	2,980
Mboshya	1,151	1,144	1,918
Total	3,085	3,444	4,898

The proportion of absentee labour is given as 66% of the tax-payers approximately, which would seem unexpectedly high in view of the developed trade in various products. (See under Trade, p.45 below). Chief Mboloma has 680 square miles with a density of 5 per square mile, and Chief Mboshya has 280 square miles with a density of 7 per square mile. The population is, however, concentrated along the streams and rivers. The conditions in Petauke district are much the same.

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

The history of the Ambo is common to that of the Lala from whom they divided some two hundred years ago. There are traditions of contact with the Pygmies called Tumambwenapi.(4)

The Ambo or Kambonsenga (Ambo of the Nsenga country) came from Bukanda in the Belgian Congo and, having ousted the Nsenga, settled where they are now found. There are connections with Bukanda even today. At present, in common speech, the valley country of the Ambo is spoken of as *ku Nsenga*, "in" or "to the Nsenga country", as distinct from *ku Ilala*, "in the Lala country" on the plateau, to the west of the western escarpment of the Lukusashi Valley. The dislodged Nsenga may well be the Chiponda, whose language is related to that of the Nsenga with softened sibilants and many Lala words, and who live in the Soli country along the Lunsemfwa and in pockets farther south, without a chief of their own.

The first arrivals from Bukanda to the Nsenga valleys were the *Mpande*

(1) The material for this section has been kindly provided by Fr. B. Stefaniszyn S.J. from his studies of the Ambo. [Ed.]
(2) Tew, 1950, p.33.
(3) Information supplied by the Administration.
(4) The meaning is "where have you seen me?" Cf. *Afr.Stud.* March, 1950., pp.33-4.

(Shell) clan, probably long before the end of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Mambwe Chisaka *alias* Chifwala Mangala. His father was the renowned Makumba Chawala, chief of the Aushi, of the Bush Pig clan who were a powerful dynasty of chiefs at that time. The Shell clan settled on the Mulembo, their headman having the rank of a kind of sub-chief and official burier of the mightiest Nyendwa chiefs. Lungo of the Fish clan also tried to settle in the Nsenga valleys but was overcome by the ruthless conqueror Kunda Mpanda (or Tande), the first of the Nyendwa clan to come to these valleys. Kunda was also a son of Makumba Chawala. As Kunda was not able to succeed Makumba Chawala he went on the Mulembo to Mambwe Chisaka, but then left and went east to fight the Nsenga. He undertook many expeditions against them, and especially their Chief Nkana Yalobe. Kunda Mpanda was eventually killed by Nkana on the Bongolwe river but was avenged by Mambwe Chisaka. Offerings are still made on the Mulembo to Lungu, Mambwe and Kunda and to Kunda's wife Kaluba.

After the death of Kunda, Chilimba Nondo, a prominent chief, Kunda Mpanda's classificatory sister's son, held the first chieftaincy of the Lala, Swaka and Ambo. He settled on the Fipelele river, a western tributary of the Lukusashi. Chilimba founded the two chiefdoms of Mboshya and Mwape. He sent Nkunkwa Kabansa to the Chipawa, a tributary of the Lunsemfwa where the Mboshya chiefs reside. The chiefdom of Mboshya prides itself on a successful war of resistance to the Portuguese who demanded taxes. The war, culminating in the burning of the Portuguese outpost on the Chingombe, took place about 1880 and lasted four years.

Mwape, a sister of Chilimba, received a chiefdom on the eastern bank of the Luangwa, inherited in the female line only.

After Chilimba, Nondo Mubanga occupied the chieftaincy.

After Mubanga three brothers, Bwasi, Chibuye and Lwembe, led the Lala-Ambo-Swaka peoples. Bwasi lived far from the valleys at the hill of Katukutu, in the Swaka country. It is probable that Chibuye, the younger brother, reigned at the same time as Bwasi, and lived on the Bwinji stream (a water-course flowing to the Lukusashi, near the Chingombe river). Bwasi, like Chilimba Nondo, divided up his lands. He installed his younger brother Lwembe on the Luangwa, where he held a stockade to stem the attacks of the Nsenga and to protect Chieftainess Mwape against them. Lwembe was probably not made an independent chief, because tradition has it that Lwembe's present chiefdom was created by the Administration. After Lwembe the task of holding a defensive post on the Luangwa fell to his son, Ntimba, of the Wild Dog clan. Bwasi also gave certain streams with adjoining bush to three sons and a daughter of Chibuye, who held positions there not unlike feudal lords, with the right to make sacrifices, the duty of maintaining a stockade against the new enemies, the Ngoni (called Mapunde) and the Chikunda, and with rights to a share of all game killed and the exclusive honour of sitting on a stone. It may be that this division was an attempt to organize the country against the incessant attacks of the new foes.

After Chibuye, his sister's son Mboloma I (born Chinda) succeeded to the chieftaincy. Mboloma had a very turbulent reign. He was a warlike chief, who fought other Nyendwa chiefs, killed Chipwitima, a Nyendwa, and

went to fight his enemies in Bukanda. After his death Lwembe was chosen to be the first Nyendwa chief but he was dead within a year. Lwembe was succeeded by Mubanga Kalutwa, maternal grandson of Mboloma I, in whose reign the Europeans first occupied the country in about 1897.(1)

LANGUAGE

The Ambo speech hardly deserves to be classified as a separate language, but may be designated a dialect of Lala. There is a tendency to drop the pre-prefix, probably under Nsenga influence; the past continuous is *"nalikucita"* (I was making) instead of *"nalokucita"*; "k" is not softened into "c" before "-ile"; the ending of the perfect participle, Lala *"alificile"* (he arrived) is in Ambo *"alifikile"*.

The Ambo recognise that they speak with a different accent from the Plateau Lala. There are even small differences, mainly in vocabulary, among the various Kambonsenga regions, the Mwape section being influenced by Nsenga and the Mboshya people by Soli from across the Lunsemfwa.

In the course of its comparatively short separate existence Ambo has absorbed many Nsenga words, lost some Lala peculiarities and words and probably developed some expressions of its own.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

To the east of the middle and lower Lukusashi the poorly watered Muchinga mountains extend to the Luangwa valley. To the west there is the escarpment of the Lala plateau from which many permanent rivers, whose banks are thickly populated, flow to the Lukusashi. The valley floor, with large tracts of the heavy brown soil of Mopani (*Copaifera mopani*) is not cultivated. Lighter grey and brown clays, of a hard, cracking type, intractable when wet, form seasonally flooded pans in Mopani country. The soils of brown pedocal class are liable to wholesale sheet erosion forming fantastic gullies.(2) Stretches of barren shingles derived from the coarse sandstones of the Karroo or of later Cretaceous origin are found in these valleys.(3)

Sandy soils, thicket clad, derived from the sandstones of the Karroo, are used for cultivation.(4) The alluvial soils or sandy loams, with organic content from mica schists, granites, gneisses and other rocks brought by the streams from the escarpment, are very fertile.(5)

Permanent streams, tributaries of the Lukusashi, Lunsemfwa and Luangwa, are fringed with *Adina microcephala, Khaya nyasica* (*mululu*), *Trichilia emetica* (*musikili*), *Dyospyros mespiliformis* (*mucenje*), *Parkia filiwidea* and *Cordyla africana* (*mtondo*), as well as buffalo grass, *Pennisetum purpureum* (*malenje*). *Combretum-Terminalia* grow on inferior dark coloured soils

(1) Inyendwa, 1941, correlated with the research among the Ambo by Stefaniszyn.
(2) Trapnell, 1943, para.25, 26, p.6.
(3) ibid. para.6, p.2.
(4) ibid. para.28, p.7.
(5) ibid. para.29, p.7.

adjoining the stretches of Mopani.(1) Mopani woodland in the valley floors is interspersed with *Commiphora, Terminalia* (*kabesya*), *Balanites* or *Ximenia americana*. Python vines creep over the trees.(2)

The average annual rainfall in a single rainy season was 36.23 inches for the twenty-year period from 1929 to 1949 in the Lukusashi valley at Chingombe Mission,(3) and 33 inches in Petauke. In Petauke the mean minimum temperature is 64-5°F.; in Feira 68°F.; the Lukusashi valley may have an intermediate record. In Petauke the absolute maximum is 109°F. and in Feira 118°F., but at Chingombe Mission, in the heart of the Lukusashi valley, 114°F. has been recorded. Chingombe lies at a height of 2,500 feet.(4)

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

AGRICULTURE(5)

The Ambo are cultivators, but hunting, trapping and fishing are also important occupations. The staple food crop is sorghum (mostly annual Njasi, except for perennial Mpande on the Luangwa and Mulembo and early Kasela on the Lunsemfwa) and the secondary crop is maize, used from January to April when sorghum is scarce. The whole bush site is cut over to breast height and cultivated, the branches being piled round the stumps for burning. Intervening patches only are hoed over. Before or at the beginning of the rains in November, sorghum (20-30 grains to a hole) is planted with a hoe. Cowpeas, gram, cucumbers and bulrush are interplanted on the same ground. Pumpkins are also planted in burnt patches and small tomatoes are broadcast. In the first year maize is planted all over the garden at the same time as the above mentioned crops. Gardens are shifted every 6-9 years, though river-side maize gardens are capable of indefinite cultivation. A small patch of groundnuts is cultivated as well as another of groundpeas at the edge of the garden, and a few mounds of sweet potatoes are thrown up. A little cassava is grown for the leaves which are used as a relish, but pumpkin leaves are the most popular relish throughout the year. Finger millet is found only rarely and Livingstone potatoes are not grown.

In subsequent years maize, mixed with an early sorghum (Nyampande), is grown in the extensions. It is grown again with pumpkins, European beans or sweet potatoes without mounds on the lower banks of the big rivers after the rains in April and harvested in July. Maize is also planted in August-September in moist gardens by small streams and eaten in November-December.

Tobacco is grown in the dry season among phragmites and pennisetum in moist places along the rivers and streams. The leaves are picked in September, dried in the shade, then pounded and moulded into loaves.

(1) Trapnell, 1943, para.65, p.14.
(2) ibid., para.68, p.14.
(3) Report of Meteorological Office, Salisbury, S.R.
(4) Trapnell, 1943, para.7-9, pp.2-3.
(5) ibid., para.288-99, pp.64-7.

Crops have to be defended at night against elephants, hippos and wild pigs, and in the daytime against monkeys and, in the case of sorghum, against birds at harvest time.

Cattle are not kept owing to tsetse fly, nor are sheep, probably for the same reason. Goats are kept and highly valued.

HUNTING, TRAPPING AND FISHING

The Ambo trap cane rats extensively in dry weather in phragmites-pennisetum along the river banks. They dig various pit-traps, put up fences with openings for nooses for game, guinea fowl and rabbits, and suspend falling logs against hippos. Monkeys are driven into nets in organized communal hunts. Group hunts are undertaken with dogs and spears, and shooting parties stay in the bush for a few days at a time.

Fishermen make weirs in the dry season in the big rivers and place basket traps there. Each river-side village builds a weir every year. Drag nets are used in the big rivers before the rains.

LAND TENURE

A man is entitled to as much land as he needs to cultivate, but his plot is marked off from that of other villagers, while the headman and elders have first choice of new land. There are no rights in abandoned, exhausted or regenerated land, except to the crops which have grown spontaneously within one year after the garden has been given up. If a man wants to farm in another chief's territory, he must ask permission of his own chief and then of the chief concerned. A man has the right to cut trees for canoes, implements and building, as well as fishing and hunting rights, though hunting is now regulated by the Administration. In the past game could not be hunted in another chief's territory.

TRADE

The most lucrative products of these valleys are tobacco and baskets, which are hawked by the producers on the plateau and in the Copperbelt towns. Some dried fish is also sold on the plateau, and fowls are exported in large numbers to the railway line. The production of rice as a cash crop has increased. Middlemen thrive on the tobacco and poultry trade. Many middle-aged men engage either in the tobacco or basket industry in order to secure sufficient cash income for tax and clothing expenses. The most prosperous tobacco growers in 1942-3 could earn up to £5 a year.

A Native Cooperative Society has been established to organize the marketing of valley produce, for which purpose an attempt is being made to construct a motor road through the Western Escarpment.

BUILDING

Dwelling-huts, granaries, conical receptacles for groundnuts, pigeon- and fowl-houses are of round wattle work of plaited bamboo (weft split) in most villages. Houses and granaries are plastered with clay and topped with conical grass roofs.

CRAFTS

Many men are skilled in making baskets of split bamboo, scraped into thin strips, plaited and twilled. Three kinds of basket are made: large, round and shallow (*lubango*), similar but smaller (*kasele*), and taller and narrow with a square bottom (*citundu*). Men are skilled in making mats of split phragmites reeds, sewn across with flat needles. Many women make hand-moulded pots of various sizes. Bark cloth was formerly made of beaten strips from *Brachystegia flagristipulata* (*ngansa*). Cloth was woven in a rather primitive fashion of cotton thread, using a needle on a matting frame instead of a loom. Cotton is twined on a hand spindle without the use of a wheel. Iron was smelted.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

KINSHIP AND LOCAL GROUPING

The Ambo are divided into some thirty matrilineal and matrilocal clans (*mikoka*), which are strictly exogamous. Common clan sentiment is expressed, apart from exogamy, in special hospitality to clansmen and restrictions on burying a fellow clansman. Many clan names and ties are shared with the neighbouring peoples, the Soli, Nsenga, Chiponda, Chikunda, Lala, Luano, Swaka. Thus the bonds of clan brotherhood and exogamous and funeral restrictions cut across the tribal boundaries. The clan names are taken from the animal and physical world, like the elephant, fowl, snake, rain, sorghum, iron and clay. Apart from the name, there is no connection between the clan and the clan object.

Each clan is further split into segments - matrilineages (*cikoto*) - which tend to have villages of their own. Such a group typically comprises all matrilineal descendants of a woman four generations back. Many of these segments do not attain the status of a village of their own, but live attached through intermarriage to a village of the matrilineage of another clan. Often a matrilineage tends to intermarry repeatedly with some three to five other matrilineages of different clans, thus making up the clan system of a village.

Having its own village consists for a matrilineage in holding the hereditary headmanship of it. The headman is the guardian of the whole segment, its social and economic leader and its spokesman before the chief or the Administration and with matrilineages of other clans. As its priest he sacrifices to the clan's ancestor spirits. He is also the legal authority for any matrilineages of other clans living in the same village; thus he acts as the village leader and representative to the outside world.

All members of other clans in the village are termed *bana ba bene* (children of the owners), i.e. children of the dominant matrilineage. This applies even to wives, children and fathers. They may not take part in the sacrifices to the clan spirits and are unable to inherit.

As marriage is matrilocal for the first few years only, classificatory and still more true brothers tend to come back to live together in the village

of their matrilineage. Divorced and widowed sisters also return with their daughters and eventually with their sons-in-law.

Each village is internally divided into at least two sections (*cikole*) each composed of a series of individual families whose dwellings are grouped together. The sections are based on the avoidance rules which relate primarily to men, although reflecting also the status of women. To one section belong the maternal uncles, the fathers- and mothers-in-law and all others classified as such in that age group: e.g. a man, a stranger, who married a sister of the mother-in-law. The men of one section eat and chat together, though if the section is large they may split into table groups of three or four. The men of the other section, in spite of the relaxation of the avoidance rules in course of time, join them only for an occasional discussion. In bigger villages there may be sections corresponding to the several matrilineages of the various clans in the village, each matrilineal section having a leader (*mukulu wa cikole*) who acts as its spokesman and sub-headman. When such sections grow large they split off into independent villages.

MARRIAGE

Girls are married soon after puberty. It is thought to be dangerous for a young man to marry a fully grown woman. Mothers and mother's brothers can veto a suitor or disapprove the choice of a wife. A young suitor must work for his prospective mother- and father-in-law for some months, and the mother of a suitor asking for a wife uses the significant words "We have come to enslave ourselves". The marriage payment (apart from the boy's work) was formerly a goat or a hen and is now £1 and some clothes, and symbolical beads which are returned in case of divorce. The Ambo strongly object to increasing the marriage payment for fear of having to return it in case of divorce and in order not to lower the wife's prestige. The marriage ceremony consists of a small village feast after the first night. The parents of the bridegroom contribute a cock and the parents of the bride a hen to be eaten with porridge by the villagers. Failure to consummate the marriage at this time brings sleeping sickness on the bridegroom unless he is doctored.

A menstruating woman is tabooed from "fire and salt"; she may not cook for any man for fear of infecting him with a chest disease (tuberculosis?). This is one of the strictest tribal taboos and seems to be common to all Bemba-related peoples. In spite of the status of the woman in the Ambo descent system she must kneel as a sign of respect when handing an object to her husband.

Divorce seems to be easier than among those tribes in the area who have a high marriage payment.

SLAVERY

Slaves were captured in war; men also enslaved themselves voluntarily to atone for an offence. Some petty accidents entailed enslavement. A man could give his own sister as a slave in payment of damages in cases of adultery or manslaughter. Female slaves were married by their owner or his brothers. Classificatory or actual sisters of the owner were given as wives to male slaves to prevent their escape. A woman slave was valued at two

guns, a man at one gun. It was thought wasteful to kill a slave and better to sell at a cheap price. A female slave could free herself by bearing children whom she could then take to her own village, and a male slave could redeem himself by working. A slave could not own a garden but could own portable objects like a hoe or a spear.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

All the chiefs among the Ambo, Lala and Swaka are of one clan, the *Nyendwa* (Vagina) clan. There are only four Ambo chiefs: Mboloma, Mboshya, Mwape and Lwembe. Mboloma is still called by the honorific name of Kankomba and, for historical reasons, has always been regarded as the senior chief. He is probably the only Nyendwa chief who after death becomes a lion. Chikwashya, a headman on the Mulembo, changes the remains of the dead Mboloma into a lion, and sacrifices to the dead chiefs at their burial place on the Mulembo (see p.42). He has certain prerogatives in relation to the Mboloma chiefs and considers himself to rank as an independent sub-chief on the Mulembo. The other chiefs seem to copy this institution but less elaborately.

Chiefs had the prerogatives of tribute labour for a few days a year, a tribute of gifts and royalties on killed elephants (ivory), elands and lion and leopard skins. Murder, manslaughter and confirmation of witchcraft trials were referred to the chief.

At present Chief Mboloma is always accorded the chairmanship in the Court of Appeal over other Lala and Swaka chiefs. He has a common Native Treasury with them and therefore he and Mboshya, two Ambo chiefs belonging to Mkushi district, are inclined to call themselves Lala. Chief Lwembe, on the other hand, having been raised to be a senior chief over Mwape and some Nsenga chiefs in Petauke district, claims to be the Ambo Paramount Chief and strongly stresses Ambo separatism. Lwembe has the "Ambo school" and Ambo Native Treasury. It is to be noted that men of the same tribe are, on their Identification Certificates, classified in Petauke district as "Ambo" and in Mkushi District as "Kambonsenga".

Present Ambo chiefs have to a large extent lost the right to labour and grain tribute and the right to judge criminal cases and control witchcraft, but they judge many petty cases which they did not do before and do much administrative and police work. Chief Mboloma has a court clerk, two assessors and two messengers. For some years the Nyendwa Paramountcy has been contested by Chief Muchinda of Serenje district and Chief Mboloma.

The headmen are all of equal rank in the sight of the Administration, though the memories of former glory are still cherished.

WARFARE

The Ambo used to defend themselves by palisades with a surrounding ditch and a cleared space beyond it. The houses inside the walls were numerous and crowded together. Scouts were sent out to notify the approach or presence of Ngoni raiders. The Ambo sometimes ambushed an Ngoni expedition on the Luangwa and wiped it out.

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

RELIGION

The Ambo believe in the existence of a supreme being, *Lesa*, and in *Cuta*, the creator and the giver of rain through the mediation of the spirits of the chiefs. *Cuta* causes epidemics like smallpox or game pest. He is also the witness of oaths. It is not certain whether *Lucele* is his other name, or that of another being. *Lucele* is the maker of extraordinary floods and cloudbursts. *Lesa* has a tail like a crocodile covered with scales, which causes fire and lightning when shaken. Apart from this, nothing is known of him and he is unapproachable because nobody is of his clan.

There is thought to be no retribution after death, but a wronged spirit (*cibanda*) may take revenge on the wrong-doer. Such a spirit may be made innocuous through medicines. Other spirits (*mupasi*) receive sacrifices only from members of the matrilineage (*cikoto*) to which the spirit belonged. In cases of sickness or bad luck in hunting, a diviner is approached who may decide that the illness is caused by the neglect of a spirit who demands a sacrifice of beer. Sometimes the spirit asks to have a spirit gourd (*cipesi*) - a moveable shrine consisting of a gourd adorned with white beads - dedicated to it. Personal sacrifices to the spirit consist in the pouring of beer, the uttering of a short, improvised prayer for health and the provision of food with a meat relish, which is consumed with the rest of the beer by the members of the matrilineage and the funeral friends. (see below p.53) In making sacrifices, special attention is paid to one's own guardian spirit whose name one bears.

Collective offerings on behalf of the village are made under a traditional big tree, a baobab or *Khaya nyasica*. The headman usually makes the sacrifice in the presence of men and children, scattering sorghum flour to the accompaniment of prayer, similar to that described above, and the clapping of hands. These sacrifices are made in case of drought and at the first-fruits ceremony, and are directed to the chiefs' spirits. The approval of the local spirits is sought in choosing a new village site and in building a communal weir in the river.

There are also un-named bush-roaming spirits which drive people mad by striking them when met. Stricken persons can be cured by medicines. Other spirits (*syabe*) may possess individuals. The possessed are exorcised by being doctored and made to dance until they are exhausted.

Large, old, male animals and certain trees are said to have evil spirits; examples are, eland bulls, elephants, lions and leopards and the trees *Khaya nyasica* (*mululu*) and *Entandophragma* (*mofwe*). Some say that it is their own awe-inspiring force, rather than separate spirits attached to them, against which men must be doctored. Such cases, if not doctored, will end in madness, or, in the case of trees, in the death of somebody in the family.

Divination is an integral part of the ancestor worship as a means of contact with the spirit world. The most common method is to push an axe handle to and fro on the ground while asking a question. When the handle sticks fast in the ground it gives the answer. To become a diviner, a man

has medicine put into incisions in his hands. The guardian spirit of the diviner is believed to give the answers. This method is used to ascertain which spirit causes illness or bad luck in hunting, or what name to give a child.

The Catholic Mission, Chingombe, evangelizes most of these valleys. East of the Mulembe, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission is at work.

WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY

A person becomes a witch by instruction from his or her mother. If a child refuses to respond, it is disposed of by the mother. Being of a different clan, a father would not trust his children with his knowledge of witchcraft. The exercise of witchcraft follows from a refusal of a request by the witch or from jealousy. The witchcraft medicine makes the witch, who goes naked, invisible at night. Hyenas are the "cattle of the witches" on which they ride at night. Witches may be men or women.

A sorcerer may keep a sorcerer's snake (*ilomba*) which he sends to kill his enemies. One of the most common practices is for the sorcerer, when angry and quarrelling, to swallow saliva and pronounce the name of his enemy, who then dies of choking.

An ordeal of *mwafi* poison (*Erythrophloeum guinense*) was formerly used on fowls in order to discover a witch. Tortures were resorted to to make a witch confess: the head was squeezed in a forked stick or the index finger was pulled back towards the wrist. Witches were killed by a pointed pole being driven through the head right down to the anus or by decapitation, the head being burnt. The witch's heart was then doctored.

Nowadays a diviner who has discovered a witch in private consultation may volunteer to dispose of him. After open witch-finding by communal divination, the witch is usually driven out of the village.

MEDICINES

Ambo medicines are based on sympathetic magic. It is believed that the properties of plants and animals may be transferred to men or other objects by doctoring them, i.e. through cicatrization, drinking, inhaling, anointing, wearing of the "medicinal" objects, smoking or eating them. The roots, leaves and bark of plants are thus used for therapeutic purposes. They are dried, crushed into powder or burnt for use or are soaked in water for drinking. Plants so prepared for "medicinal" use are termed *miyanda*. Animal concoctions are *cisimba*. To acquire certain properties or to cause certain effects, such as the breaking of the weir of a rival, a special magical medicine, *bwanga*, is blended of vegetable and animal ingredients. Knowledge of medicines is handed down by relatives or bought. The recipes of medicines for the same purpose vary greatly among individuals. Medicines are used in all the more important activities and events; at birth, for the maturing of boys and girls, in hunting, fishing and trapping, in preserving food against thieves and for achieving popularity. There are medicines to ward off the danger of crocodiles and lions, to reconcile brothers (*coni*), to ensure fertility and preserve offspring (*miyanda ya busoke*).

A doctored person or object must avoid actions, or contact with other objects, which are held to neutralize the power of the medicine used. Hence there are many personal and collective taboos. A whole village, for example, must observe certain taboos consonant with the recipe of the medicine with which it has been doctored to protect it against lions. The following are typical instances of the use of medicines and of their associations. When a first-born child has died, the next child is doctored with *mufungula* (*Kigelia pinnata*) bark. The fruit of this "sausage tree" is thought to resemble a child. The bark of *mululu* (*Khaya nyasica*), one of the most imposing trees in height and size, is given for strength. *Mabele*, the name of a shrub, the bark of which is used as a medicine, also means breasts. The roots of *tindisa*, taken for health and toughness, may be of therapeutic value as other explanation is lacking. The name of the *kabosya*, whose roots are also used, means "to make rotten". It is directed at, in order to make rotten, an evil spirit believed to kill newborn children. The spirit may have been offended because the woman had intercourse in the bush, i.e. on the grave of the spirit. The name of the plant *kabosya* recalls the word *kabesya*, "the breeze", which also designates the spirit. A woman is given the bark of certain trees with porridge when she has been separated from her husband before she delivers the child, and she also drinks these medicines soaked in water. A child is given them to drink when he has two teeth. The concomitant taboos are that the mother may not eat a fowl killed by a hawk, as this resembles an evil spirit killing a child. She may not accompany a guest to the bush and then return alone, because this action resembles a funeral in which also a human being is left in the bush. The mother wears a piece of *mukome* (*kukoma* = cutting someone with an axe), perhaps a defensive medicine against the spirit. If she infringes any of these taboos she must inhale smoke from the burning leaves of all these trees.

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

When a boy is born, the women significantly give one joyous shrill cry, but for a girl they give the cry twice "for a girl stays in the village, she is a chief". Twins have always been doctored only, but a child which cut the upper teeth first (*wa lutala*) used to be drowned in a pool as if it were not human. If the delivery is difficult, unfaithfulness of the husband or wife during pregnancy is suspected. He or she has to confess the name of the lover to the respective clan relatives and the wife is then doctored.

After a fortnight the father ceremonially nurses the child, having first doctored his hands and the child. This is believed to be necessary in order to avoid giving the child a chest disease. After two months the father and mother perform a ritual marital act, but from then on sexual relations are not resumed until the child can stand up, lest he become a cripple. When the child starts laughing, it is presented by the mother to the father-in-law and by the father to the mother-in-law. The marriage is then regarded as stabilized and the avoidance rules are somewhat relaxed.

The father usually gives the name of one of his paternal or maternal dead relatives to the first-born. The name may be changed on the advice of the diviner if another spirit, wanting to be named, infects the child with a

sickness. When a child is sick for the first time it is a sign that the spirit of a relative, either from the father's or mother's clan, wishes to give its name to the child and to become its guardian spirit. The name of the spirit is ascertained by a diviner who uses the axe handle. If a person's guardian spirit is of the father's clan or choice, the father's clansmen are invited to be present at the sacrifice made to it.

When a child dies, especially if it be the first, the work of a revengeful spirit is suspected. The spirit is made harmless by doctoring the mother and the next child. Such a child is named *Bwanga* (medicine) and must be specially doctored when eating first-fruits.

INITIATION OF GIRLS

After her first menstruation a girl is shut up in a hut. A women's dance is then performed before the hut on the first day. An old woman acting as instructress shows the girl how to behave as a good wife: "the wisdom of the house" (*mano a nanda*). The girl is trained to observe female taboos during menstruation, especially those of "fire and salt". She has to keep many taboos during this period of seclusion and must be careful not to part with anything from her body which would signify also parting with the genital power. Thus she does not cut her finger-nails, nor wash or cut her hair.

The end of the initiation is celebrated by a big beer party, preceded in the morning by the rite of taking out the initiated girl from the hut (*kufumya cisungu*) in a procession of women, of paying her homage and of a short solo dance by the initiate.

There is no initiation rite for boys, but every boy has to take a medicine for strengthening his genital powers for fear of being unable to beget children.

BURIAL

When a person dies, the body is washed, anointed and wrapped in a blanket. The placing of the body in the prenatal position, as well as the digging of a second side chamber in the grave, have now been abandoned. The graveyard is chosen in sandy soil near a stream. Before the funeral a child of the deceased scatters some flour and asks the dead to take revenge on the witch who killed him. Only men bury the dead, but old women past child-bearing age accompany the funeral. The grave is marked with cross-lines, flour is scattered over it and the surrounding space is swept clean to see if any witches have left marks when interfering with the body. After the burial, the mourners are given food - the ordinary thick porridge with fowl as relish. The following night the mourners sleep outside, singing funeral songs to the accompaniment of gourd drums (*malimba*).

At an opportune time a big festival of commemoration beer is prepared in honour of the deceased. Beer drinking begins in the evening and goes on all night. Funeral songs are sung to the accompaniment of axe-blades struck against stones and of gourd drums. One pot of beer is drunk in the hut of the deceased by the grave-diggers (*fimbwi*: hyenas) and the "funeral friends" (*banungwe*) of the dead person, to the accompaniment of funeral songs and dances.

When a woman dies with an unborn child or in childbirth, the husband may be held responsible as having committed adultery while his wife was pregnant. He is roughly treated by the woman's matrilineage and the death ransom which a husband must pay may amount to as much as £3. But if the woman's matrilineage is convinced that it was she who was guilty of infidelity during the time of pregnancy, the husband is required to pay only the ordinary death ransom. (See below). A husband held guilty was formerly forced to pierce the womb of his wife in the grave with a stake, as a sign that he had caused the deaths of two people, and lest the child should be buried alive. Nowadays he simply drives the stake into the grave.

Stillborn children and children dying when a few days old are not buried in the ordinary way but placed in an ant-bear burrow or in a hole in an ant-hill. Only old women past child-bearing age (*mpelafyala*) perform this duty. All villagers doctor themselves against the disease of cracking of the soles of the feet which they might get by treading upon such graves. Lepers were formerly left at death to decay in a hut in the bush, but are now buried in a hole in an ant-hill.

On the day after the festival of commemoration beer, the rite of the deliverance (*kulubula*) of the bereaved spouse is performed. The bereaved man or woman gives 31/- (or less) to the nearest clan relative of the deceased spouse as the ransom due. The relative sleeps with the money and a string of white beads at his head. If there is no adverse sign from the spirit of the deceased during sleep, the ransom is accepted, the string of white beads is tied round the wrist of the bereaved and he or she is free to remarry. The widow may be married by a clansman of the deceased if she wishes.

If the spirit of the deceased shows displeasure with the gift of deliverance, unfaithfulness towards the dead spouse during the period after death is suspected, for which the penalty is the madness of the bereaved spouse. The clansmen of the dead refuse to tie the beads and the children of the bereaved are asked to perform the rite.

FUNERAL FRIENDSHIP

This institution of the Ambo and related tribes consists of a joking relationship between clans whose clan objects stand in the relationship of ritual opposition or interdependence, e.g. the Iron and Snake clans are inimical because iron weapons kill the snake. Men and women drawn from such interrelated clans have the right and duty to handle and bury a dead member of such interrelated but alien clans. In the first place, the clansmen who actually practised the joking relationship with the dead are called upon to assist in the burial. The joking consists of jesting at the clan object of the funeral friend and cursing him. These funeral friends (*banungwe*) are admitted to be present at the exclusive matri-clan sacrifices of their funeral friends. They are, as has been mentioned, invited to drink the special beer pot with the grave-diggers.(1)

(1) Stefaniszyn, 1, 1950.

Tribal Marks

All subjects of Kankomba, i.e. those under the authority of the chiefs of the Nyendwa clan, had 16 small perpendicular incisions in a line on the forehead, with spaces in between each set of four. This mark is called *musibula*.

IV. THE LAMBA
(including the SEWA, LIMA and SWAKA)

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

Estimates of the population of the area have not varied widely. Cuvelier(1) estimated that the Lamba groups numbered c. 70,000, of whom 25,000 were resident in the Congo. Moffat Thomson(2) gives the figure for the Lamba-speaking groups as 46,955, made up as follows: Lima 9,013, Swaka 12,496, Sewa 3,137, Lamba 22,309. This suggests that Cuvelier's estimate covered all the Lamba-speaking groups in Northern Rhodesia. A later figure(3) for the Lamba-Lima reserve gives a population of 25,000 of whom 15,000 were Lamba and 10,000 Lima. Finally the reconnaissance survey carried out by Allan in 1940 made an estimate of Mushiri's chiefdom (representing one of the two major Lamba sections in Northern Rhodesia) based on a sample of 19 villages out of a total in the official records of 228 villages; the result was 10,524 as compared with 10,256 from a normal tour count.(4) This suggests that the Lamba population in Northern Rhodesia is around 20,000. The latest figure for the Swaka (1943) is 16,173.(5)

Population distribution over the whole area can only be gathered from the distribution figures for administrative districts taken in 1934:-(6)

Ndola	2.69	(3.8)(7)	persons per sq. mile.
Solwezi	1.91		" " " "
Mumbwa	2.65		" " " "
Mkushi	3.31(8)	(3.86)(7)	" " " "

The danger of accepting such estimates at face value may be seen when considering the position in the reserves. On the definition of the Lamba-Lima reserve, the chiefdom of Mushiri, numbering some 10,000 Lamba, was compelled to move into an area of some 360 sq. miles (about one-sixth of its former area) representing the area common to the reserve and the chiefdom. This has led, as may be seen, to gross local overpopulation, around 40 persons per sq. mile in some areas, where the carrying capacity of the land is not more than 17 persons per sq. mile.(9) A further example is to be found

(1) Cuvelier, 1932.1.
(2) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(3) M.S. Human Geography Report Ndola district, 1935.
(4) Allan, 1949. (5) ibid., p.48.
(6) Pim, 1938. Appendix.
(7) Report of the Land Commission, 1946.
(8) Appendix F. *The Report of the Financial Relationship Committee* (1949) gives the following figures:-

Ndola	6.0	persons per sq. mile.
Solwezi	2.3	" " " "
Mumbwa	3.2	" " " "
Mkushi	4.3	" " " "

The source of these figures is not stated.

(9) Allan, loc. cit.

among the Swaka, where, in Mkushi district, uneven population distribution consequent upon the setting up of the reserves(1) accounted for local over-population. In the case of the chiefdom of Nkole a density of 34 persons per sq. mile in areas with a carrying capacity of c. 11 persons per sq. mile is noted by Allan, as being merely the most serious among a number of similar instances.

LABOUR MIGRATION

A number of estimates have been made of the percentage of males (unspecified) and adult males absent from their homes in employment. The Lamba village survey(2) cites the estimate of a District Commissioner on tour in 1938 of 10.4% of the population being absentees, and Allan's figure for 1940 of 18.9%.

Since these figures do not specify the age-groups from which the data were drawn, the Survey revised them in terms of the age-groups 10-49, and the results were comparable to the figure of 38% reached in an independent estimate.

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

The Lamba, together with satellite sub-groups, seem to have come originally from the Congo, as offshoots of the great Luba group of peoples to the north-west of their present habitat. They are closely related to the Kaonde in the west and to the Bemba and Lala in the east. Tradition records that while originally there was a single chief over all the Lamba-speaking groups - Chipimpi, by name - there was quite early a split into two chiefdoms, one in the Congo and one in Rhodesia: Lunda, a woman, was the first chieftainess of the Congo Lamba and Nwilye the first chief of the Rhodesian group. The former is recorded as dying c. 1840, the latter c. 1845. Thereafter the sub-groups Sewa, Lima and Swaka acquired their own chiefs and have remained largely autonomous.

The chieftainship of Chisumpa, the second Rhodesian chief, was marked chiefly by a successful campaign against raiding Chikunda from the east, some few of whose descendants are still living in Lamba country; this success was not emulated by his next successor but one, Mushili I, who yielded to a force of Yeke from the north-west in the Congo, and paid tribute for a number of years. This Yeke force failed to subdue the Lima under their chief Lesa and concluded an alliance with him. The last five years before contact with the British were taken up with campaigns against Arab slave-traders led by Chiwala, a Yao, who caused considerable confusion and casualties in the thirteen major campaigns which are accorded the title of 'Wars'. A number of Swahili descendants of these slave-traders are to be found in the reserve created for them around Ndola.

(1) Northern Rhodesia (Native Reserves) Supp. Order in Council, 1929.
(2) Barnes and Mitchell, 1946.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The whole area lies on the Northern Rhodesian plateau with an average altitude of 4,000 ft., falling slightly from north to south. It is a land of woodland, broken by rivers, in particular the Kafue with its many tributaries; the most common of the deciduous trees - as among the Bemba and Lala - are forms of *Brachystegia* and *Isoberlinia*, the undergrowth associated with which tends to decrease in density from north to south. The soils of the area are generally infertile, varying from a rather heavy clay, of moderate depth, in the north, to a loose, sandy and rather shallow soil in the south.

Rainfall is more than adequate on the whole, varying from 45" to 50" over much of the area but falling towards the south to as little as 20" around the Mumbwa district. Temperatures appear to be fairly evenly distributed with mean minima around 55-60°F. and mean maxima around 85°F.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

CRAFTS

Baskets of palm-leaf and bamboo are made by the men and those of grass and rushes by the women. Baskets of reeds are made by both. Implements of wood are made only by men but wood-working generally is poorly developed. Dug-out canoes and bark canoes are widely distributed.

All clay moulding and pot-making, with the exception of clay pipes, is carried on by women. No effort is expended in finishing or glazing the pots which are frequently badly fired.

Formerly the chief weapon of the Lamba was a well-made bow with arrows that were usually barbed and poisoned. The spear, either with metal blade or wholly of metal, was used at short range for administering a *coup de grâce*. Finally, an axe, of the hardest and best iron available, was used both for cutting up meat and cutting down trees. Harpoons were used for hunting hippopotami.

The profession of smith or metal-worker is obsolescent, largely owing to the ease with which imported implements can be obtained. Formerly, however, such workers commanded considerable respect and had the means for amassing a good deal of wealth. On the part played by trading and markets there is almost no information available.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural systems of these groups are based in varying degree upon the *citemene* method of woodland clearance and burning - a practice proper to the cultivation of finger-millet as exemplified by the neighbouring Lala and Bemba. Here, however, the garden cleared is used for Kaffir corn, with some variations. Notably among the Western Lamba, on poor soils with sparse vegetation, the method varies little, the brushwood being heaped in small

circles or strips and burnt, as among the Lala. Alternatively, and this is a method favoured particularly by eastern groups of Lamba, rather more than half, or in some cases the whole, of the area cleared might be covered with brushwood and burnt as a whole on the 'block'(1) method.

With gardens prepared by either of the above methods, the ash patches are "sparsely planted with maize, broadcast with Kaffir corn and underplanted, especially with cucumbers."(2) Around the periphery of this garden, finger millet clearances are made, generally on one side only. The unburnt ground on the other side is hoed up into mounds to be planted with sweet potatoes. The following year the finger millet is followed by groundnuts or groundbeans, while the mounds are devoted to Kaffir corn. Pumpkins and sweet potatoes are also sown in the second year. Such gardens are under cultivation for not more than three or four years, and villages seem to move not less frequently than every six years.

The Lima cultivate according to the 'block' method mentioned above and, as with groups of Kaonde in the west of the area, ground not covered with brushwood is hoed up; maize being planted on the burnt patches and Kaffir corn over the whole area. Maize and pumpkins may be grown on ant-hills during the first year and on extended ash patches during the second. Extensions may be made annually until the gardens are abandoned after 5 or 6 years: a variation exists whereby finger millet is planted on small *citemene* extensions, groundnuts are planted in the second year, after which the garden is incorporated into the main Kaffir corn garden.

Among the Swaka, branches are piled up in small circles, on ant-hills or in long strips. The Kaffir-corn garden (*inkuule*) is prepared by hoeing up the land between the branch-piles to the extent of about one-third of the clearing. Ash patches are planted with finger millet in the first year and some with groundnuts in the second. It seems that brushwood from ground immediately surrounding the *inkuule* is brought into it to provide an ash covering for the Kaffir corn, after the surface of the ground has been hoed up.(3) Groundnuts, sweet potatoes and cassava are grown either in the *chonde* - the remaining area of the clearing - or around the periphery of the *inkuule*. Maize is planted on anthills.

Among both Lamba and Lima separate finger millet gardens are made, commonly some distance from the village. This is especially true of the Lima who tend to make smaller gardens in thicker belts of woodland than do their neighbours. Branches are stacked to a rather greater depth than for Kaffir corn and are grouped round anthills. Both Lamba and Lima plant pumpkins and gourds around the periphery and in the second year these are followed by groundnuts and groundbeans, after which the garden is abandoned. Among the Eastern Swaka, where contact with the Lala has been greatest, there is a tendency to use the main garden for finger millet instead of Kaffir corn.

Village gardens are found in all groups but are little utilized among the Lamba. Cassava, plantains and sweet potatoes are most commonly found in such gardens. Among the Eastern Lamba, gardens are made on *dambos* (seasonally flooded plain or marsh) for early maize, a practice also found

(1) Trapnell & Clothier, 1937, pp.31 ff.
(2) ibid.
(3) Allan, 1949, p.60

among the Lima. Ridge gardens for Livingstone potatoes are found among the Lamba and Lima but not among the Western Lamba under Kaonde influence.

HUNTING AND FISHING

As among the Lala, the hunter is held in considerable esteem among the Lamba. A sharp distinction is drawn between initiated professional hunters and the trappers and fishers who have no special status in the community.(1) A young aspirant finds a sponsor to accompany him to the hunters' shrine (*icipanda*), where he will have the hunting charm (*ubwanga*) rubbed into incisions made in his right hand, arm and shoulder-blade by the sponsor. On making his first kill a ritual ceremony of purification for having killed an animal is carried out. Titles may be acquired for special prowess and elephant-hunting required special taboos and charms.

Trapping was in disrepute and little magical equipment was required for it.

The country has well-stocked rivers and fishing is carried on by all, but chiefly by men. Many methods are used including hook and line, net, weir-trap, poisoning and spearing. Certain communities, especially skilled and well situated, trade and barter fish for meal and other commodities.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

A man belongs to the clan of his mother and, on marriage, goes to live in the village of his wife, for a period of at least three or four years, before returning to his own village or to one of his matri-kinsfolk.

The marriage payment varies in amount but seems generally to be in the nature of a token, handed over to the mother-in-law; here, as in neighbouring groups, however, the significant feature of the marriage contract is the labour of the son-in-law over a period of years. The period of matrilocality varies; a recent survey of some Lamba villages by workers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute(2) has attempted to measure the degree of matrilocality and its persistence. Out of 189 marriages, 157 were found to have been initially matrilocal and 32 patrilocal; of 116 extant marriages about half were still matrilocal and just over a third patrilocal. From this it was worked out that the conversion percentage from matrilocal to patrilocal marriage lay between 26% and 38%. It is not stated, however, how long after marriage conversion took place, so that perhaps the most significant factor for obtaining such a conversion figure is omitted.

Marriage is not allowed within the mother's clan and, in addition, the proposed bride must not be of the father's clan, although infringements of this latter rule seem now merely to lead to ridicule. Preferred marriages are those between cross-cousins, although the village survey quoted above

(1) Doke, 1931, p.321.

(2) Barnes and Mitchell, 1946, p.50.

(p. 59) found the percentage from 18 villages to be only 6.6%[1] of extant marriages. This Gluckman considered to be too low, having found 20% of cross-cousin marriages in the one village where he worked intensively, and the figure is lower than that in a sample of four Bemba villages where Richards found 49% of cross-cousin marriages.(2) Inherited marriage under the levirate or sororate seems to have been rare.

Polygyny seems to have been rare, and generally restricted to chiefs. Divorce seems to have been frequent and, according to Doke, the marriage tie among the Lamba is loose.(3) The village survey considered the divorce rate high - 119 out of 194 contracts dissolved had been terminated by divorce and not death. This figure, 61%, is considerably higher than that given for the Bemba,(4) which was, however, reached in a rather different manner.

INHERITANCE

A man's personal property passes, at death, to his brothers; the widow has no claim to anything, but the brothers may pass on certain articles to the children. A woman's personal property - pots, baskets, etc. - pass to her maternal relatives; nothing is left to the husband. It is not stated what happens to a man's property if there are no brothers, but in the succession to office, the title passes to brothers or failing that to sisters' sons.

CLANS

There are over thirty matrilineal exogamous clans, a figure which does not include the extra-Rhodesian Lamba nor the Sewa, Lima or Swaka groups for whom we have no figures. While the clans bear a totem name, they are not totemic in the accepted sense of the word, and there are ordinarily no food taboos. There is no information concerning the use of praise-names or the recollection of genealogies as distinguishing features of the clan. Furthermore, there is no gradational hierarchy of clans in respect of priority of arrival into Lamba country. There is a single royal clan (*Mishishi*), from whose ranks alone chiefs are appointed. All other clans are commoner clans, although one of these (*Mbushi*) is regarded as senior owing to the tradition that it was originally the royal clan.

As among other groups in the area there is a joking relationship between clans whose totems are either complementary or antipathetic to one another. Such partners are known as *umulonga*. Two clans do not, as among the Lala, make a single exogamous unit. There is no information about hospitality obligations between clan members.

Within the clan there does not seem to be a distinguishable lineage system. No stress is placed upon the recollection of genealogies and few go back beyond 3 or 4 generations.

(1) Barnes and Mitchell, 1946, p.17.
(2) Richards, 8, 1940, p.46.
(3) Doke, 1931, p.173.
(4) Richards, op.cit.

AGE GRADES AND ASSOCIATIONS

There are no age regiments, but precedence is reckoned on the basis of seniority and there are various terms for the separate stages of life. The occupational groups of hunters and smiths, already mentioned, appear to be in decline. There is no mention of secret societies.

LOCAL AND TERRITORIAL GROUPING

The important unit of local grouping is the village. Doke[1] lists three types of village: the chief's village, of which the headman is a member of the royal clan; these villages vary in size and importance according to the rank of the chief occupying them; the commoner village; and thirdly, villages in which a commoner chief has succeeded a member of the royal clan. In these latter villages are housed the shrines and relics of the more important chiefs. Such a village also acts as a kind of asylum for criminals wishing to escape the wrath of their victims; once in the village they are assured of trial.

Doke makes no reference to the structure of the village in terms of personnel, but the commoner village appears generally to consist of some 7 - 30 huts arranged in a circle around a central space,[2] the majority of whose occupants form a group of kinsfolk related to the headman by matrilineal, patrilineal and affinal ties. The village may be composed of the following groups: firstly, the headman and members of his matrilineage (younger brothers when their period of matrilocality is over, and sisters' families); secondly, members of the headman's clan or, occasionally, members of his father's clan; thirdly, affines created by marriage with one or other of the first two groups; finally, people attracted by the good name of the village and the personality of the headman.

The village is a relatively impermanent unit both territorially, owing to the system of shifting cultivation, and temporally, since the death of a headman, not infrequently a man of middle-age on his succession, tends to lead to splitting of the matrilocal and matrilineal segments of the village.

The district

Beyond the confines of the village is the district, a geographical unit now having a fixed boundary and taking the name of the district chief. A group of such districts forms a territory, administered by a territorial chief, and represents the largest territorial segment of Lamba country in Rhodesia. Doke lists two territories in the Belgian Congo,[3] and eight others in Northern Rhodesia, comprising the chiefdoms of the Swaka, Lima and Sewa but, since he excludes part of the area now recognized as Sewa country there are likely to be one or two others. There are two such segments comprising Lamba country in Northern Rhodesia, administered by Chiefs Mushiri and Nkana.

While the two Congo territories and the two Rhodesian territories

(1) 1, 1931, p.56.
(2) Not noticed, however, by the village survey.
(3) See map for various extensions of Lamba in the Congo.

constitute Lamba country, the latter is not an area within which tribal unity is proclaimed or maintained; there is a common language throughout the area, but there is certainly no tribal mark, as among the Bemba, and the sense of allegiance to a common Paramount, so significant a feature of that political structure, is not here apparent.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Headman

The headman derives his authority largely from his position as head of a group of kinsfolk and of a matrilocal extended family. His authority also derives from his position regarding the ancestral spirits to whom he makes invocations for the welfare of the village. His secular duties concern the maintenance of order in the village, where he has the power to deal with disputes of a minor nature, quarrels, petty theft and licence, involving the payment of a fine. The headman also regulates the payment of tribute(1) to the district chief. There is no information as to whether the headman is selected by the villagers with the chief's consent, as among the Lala; or appointed by the chief, as among the Bemba.

The Chief

Although three grades of chieftainship are recognised - territorial, district,(2) and sub-chief - each chief has a larger measure of autonomy within his own area than is generally consistent with a hierarchical political structure. Of the two territorial chiefs of Rhodesian Lamba country, Mushiri is considered by Doke to be Paramount, and Nkana sub-paramount; further, while this was formerly not the case, he considers that Mushiri is recognised as Paramount by all the Rhodesian Lamba-speaking groups,(3) i.e. including the sub-groups. Certainly at present the Administration recognizes(4) Mushiri as Paramount Chief over the Lamba in Ndola district with a tribal council and 5 subsidiary chiefs. The Lima have a Paramount, Nduweni, with a council and 11 subsidiary chiefs, while the Swaka have simply a tribal council and 5 subsidiary chiefs. From the available evidence it would rather appear that Mushiri was *primus inter pares*, and that other territorial chiefs accorded him deference but not obedience; any one of them could refuse co-operation, and in time of trouble he could only request help from Nkana.(5) Furthermore, judicially, there was ordinarily no appeal beyond the court of a district chief, so that the concept of the Paramount Chief as the ultimate court of appeal, as among the Bemba, here has no place. In executive matters chiefs had normally no recourse to Mushiri and managed their own affairs. They looked after their areas, maintaining law and order (only territorial and district chiefs could administer the death penalty) and ritually ensuring welfare, though there is little information on the ritual side of chieftainship. The Congo territories were almost completely independent of those in what is now Northern Rhodesia.

(1) Note that tribute was a mark of respect rather than a token of subservience.
(2) Known as 'group' chiefs by Doke, 1931, p.50.
(3) Doke, 1, 1931, p.50.
(4) Northern Rhodesia Gov. Notices No.38, 1933.
(5) Doke, op.cit., p.51.

Administration

To assist in the work of administration Mushiri has a number of councillors, chosen by himself. These men (*impemba*), usually not more than four or five in number, are of different clans but always commoners. They remain in the chief's village, largely, it seems, to act as advisers in judicial affairs. Since Doke considers Mushiri as Paramount he assumes such councillors to be the peculiar prerogative of that office, but he omits any statement as to their presence or absence in other territories. In Mushiri's territory, the judicial tribunal in grave cases is composed of Mushiri with his councillors and the relevant headmen. Otherwise the chief and councillors are sufficient. The chief asks the opinions of councillors and headmen, after hearing evidence and before making the decision which is his own.(1) Punishments are of three grades: fining in kind, which may be imposed by headmen and sub-chiefs; slavery of the defendant or his relatives, and death or mutilation, which may be imposed only by district or territorial chiefs. Appeals cannot be made beyond district chiefs. Criminals from one district seeking refuge in another would normally be returned by the district chief. Similarly with regard to territories, provided a formal request for extradition were made by the territorial chief. Lamba, Lima, Swaka and Sewa territories all reciprocated thus but a man escaping to Kaonde or Lenje country was considered finally lost.

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

The basis of Lamba religion is again the relation of everyone, chief or commoner, to the ancestral spirits. Some time after a man has died, the relative who has inherited his 'spirit' must prepare a memorial shrine (*umulenda*) to him. The preparation of such a shrine is shared by a number of the inheritor's friends, and intoxicating beer is brewed and food placed in the shrine to ward off illness and other calamities. On all occasions affecting the individual and his immediate kinsfolk the ancestors will be invoked. At harvest time, although the headman performs rites on behalf of the whole village, each individual also makes offerings at his own personal shrine, which may house more than one spirit, provided they are of the same clan. Headmen make offerings on behalf of the village on all occasions when its welfare is concerned, and this applies with widening scope to districts and territories - though information is here very deficient. Shrines of chiefs are placed in special villages(2) and house, besides the offerings, the weapons of the deceased chief. Shrines (*akapeshi*) in honour of chiefs and notable village headmen are also built to encourage rain.

Besides the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits for assistance or hindrance in the daily life, there is a strong belief in the existence of fictional spirits - demons, will o' the wisps, familiars - of which every individual has one in attendance affecting his or her well-being; finally there are three types of spirit-possession, all of which commonly lead to enhanced status in the community. Firstly, there are *wamowa*, individuals possessed by woodland-spirits, invisible to all except those possessed by them. Such *wamowa* become skilled dancers and song-writers, and build themselves a dancers' shrine. Secondly, there are *awayambo*, professional hunting

(1) Marchal, 1946-7.

(2) See above, *Local grouping*, p.61.

dancers, possessed by the spirit of Twa hunters. Finally, there are the *wamukamwami*, commoners possessed by the spirits of Lenje chiefs. Thus possessed, the individual goes about the country, providing medicines and claiming prophetic powers for averting evil, in return for which people are induced to make them offerings. Again, they may act as rain, birth or hunting prophets and amass both wealth and prestige from offerings. It is not clear whether the *wamukamwami* are merely diviners or in fact spirit media, being possessed at the time of their prophecies, although they are undoubtedly possessed at the time of their initiation.

In addition, the High God, *Lesa*, is regarded as creator of all things, but he is too remote to worship and the most that people can do is to address prayers to him and make offerings to his intermediaries, the spirits.

The typical magical rite among the Lamba is centred around the use of *ubwanga*, an energizing force activating certain charms and amulets; these may be used as protection against wild animals, snakes, lions *et. al.*, in hunting and in war, and for the protection of property and crops against thieves.

Practically every death is attributed to witchcraft. A witch (*imfwiti*) has the power of transmutation, of operating naked and invisibly by night, and generally of wreaking evil. The witch may use poisons. The witch doctor operates by divination and the poison ordeal (*mwafi*) is frequently applied to chickens as a deciding factor in determining the victim's guilt. A convicted witch was generally killed by spearing and burnt. The Lamba consider that the greatest witches come from and live in the Kaonde country and the use of familiar spirits by witches is attributed to Kaonde inflence.

Initiation ceremonies

The girls' initiation ceremony (*icisungu*) is carried out at the first menstruation and more than one candidate may go through the ceremony at the same time. It may last up to four months. As among the Bemba, it is largely a preparation for marriage and, during the period of seclusion from the men and older women of the village, the initiates are instructed in matters pertaining to sexual behaviour with their husbands and on all manner of marital etiquette suitable to initiate status and married life.(1) There is no corresponding ceremony for boys.

(1) For a more detailed account see Marchal, 1934.

V. THE KAONDE

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

The only available estimate of the total population of the Kaonde group is Moffat Thomson's figure of 37,952. The density of population may be judged from the district figures for 1934:-(1)

Solwezi(2)	1.91 per square mile	(This district closed in 1936 and
Kasempa	1.25 " " "	reopened in 1947)
Mumbwa	2.65 " " "	

There are no native reserves in the area so that this opportunity for local overpopulation does not present itself.

LABOUR MIGRATION

The following is the estimated proportion of absentee males for the three districts in which the majority of the Kaonde live:-(3)

Kasempa	33%
Mwinilunga	10%
Mumbwa	45%

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

The Kaonde are probably the most heterogeneous group in this area. They seem to have derived originally from the Luba people in the Congo, but the Kaonde of today appear to be the product of a fusion of some three separate groups which split off from the Luba, but probably at different times and possibly from different groups.

The three main groups of Kaonde are: firstly, a group who came, immediately, from across the Kafue river in the south-east under Mushima and Kasongo, settling in the north of the present country and overflowing into the Congo, where some may still remain; a second group, passing through the first and coming from the north to settle around the source of the rivers Luma and Mafwe in the north-west of the area; finally, a third group coming from the south-west from the Kabompo river to settle in the extreme west. The last group may, however, simply have been retracing their steps when

(1) Pim, 1938.

(2) See Appendix F. *The Report of the Financial Relationship Committee* (1949) which gives the following figures:-

Solwezi	2.3 per square mile
Kasempa	2.0 " " "
Mumbwa	3.2 " " "

The source of these figures is not, however, stated.

(3) Pim, 1938, p.36.

they returned up the Kabompo, possibly having been repulsed by one of the Sikololo groups in the area. There are a number of minor differences between the sections but the striking thing about them is not the presence of differences but the absence of connecting links, apart from a common dialect. There was no Paramount Chief and all the groups were subservient to the Lunda chief, Musokantanda, paying him tribute. In the course of time the Kaonde expanded considerably to the south and the former Mbwera country is now Kaonde.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The area lies at an average altitude of 4,000 feet, but rises still higher on the Congo border and falls in the southern areas. Rainfall is highest in the north, where about 50" per year falls, and lowest in the south, with around 30" which falls in a single rainy season between October and March. The mean monthly temperatures range from 55°-85°F. Soils fall broadly into two classes; the northern soils tend to be of a more clayey and brighter coloured type, attaining a greater depth, and more fertile than the southern types which have a higher proportion of sand, particularly in the western regions.

The associated vegetation is of a deciduous woodland type with *Brachystegia-Isoberlinia* trees predominating with varying densities of undergrowth.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

AGRICULTURE

While the *citemene* method of agriculture is proper to finger millet in North-eastern Rhodesia, it is here used, with variations, for the main Kaffir-corn garden. Among the eastern Kaonde the branches cut down are piled in circles around anthills or in long strips. The area planted is about half that cleared, i.e. 2-3 acres planted for 4-6 cleared. Maize, planted sparsely, is followed by Kaffir corn. Some cucurbits and Kaffir beans may be planted around the periphery. Some of the unburnt land may be planted with sweet potatoes and mounded cassava if the village is close to the garden or if there is no other suitable land near the village. The land is broken up and resown with Kaffir corn during the second and third years. Some maize may be planted in ashes from remaining branches in the second year but little is grown in the third, after which the village is moved. There are no modifications in the system as are found further east.

Among the western Kaonde the soil is lighter and sandier and the *citemene* method does not seem to be necessary, although in the vicinity of new villages the "block" *citemene* method, as among the Lamba, is found. Generally the brushwood is gathered together in piles and the intervening ground broken up during the first rains prior to planting. Maize is planted in the burnt patches and Kaffir corn sown over the whole area. Some extension of Kaffir corn may be made in the second and third years prior to abandonment. Finger millet gardens among the Kaonde, in poor woodland on clay

soil, are generally made close to the Kaffir-corn gardens. In such gardens are also commonly found some sesame and a fish poison (*Tephrosia*). Among the western Kaonde village gardens are widely planted with cassava, but these gardens become more poorly stocked as one moves east until the Lamba country is reached, where they hardly exist at all on the extremely infertile and unproductive clays.

Stream-side gardens (*mashamba* or *manamana*) for early maize seem to be proper to the Kaonde but are copied by others. Generally they are found in tall grass and reeds on "black peaty loams and humic clay loams".(1) The grass is hoed off and burnt and maize, beans and pumpkins are sown on mounds. Such gardens are cultivated for from 3 to 6 years consecutively. Among the southern Kaonde and Lima these sites pass into stream-side belts of acacia and transitional bush with tall grass, which are planted on a larger scale.

Gardens for Livingstone potatoes, proper to the Lamba and found among the Lima, are not found among the Kaonde.

HUNTING, FISHING AND CRAFTS

Game is plentiful and hunting is carried out individually except for hippopotami and elephants. Fish are taken by spearing, trapping and poisoning. There is little information on the material culture which is probably very similar to that of the Lamba. Among the southern Kaonde iron-working is not found but further north a good deal of work both in copper and iron was carried on, iron-workers forming a guild.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE(2)

A man belongs to his mother's clan and on marriage goes to live in the village of his wife for a variable period or possibly for good. The marriage payment is in the nature of a token, the real bond between affinal groups being the labour of the son-in-law and his residence in his wife's village. Clan exogamy is enjoined and, in addition, marriage between paternal cross-cousins and parallel cousins is prohibited. Preferred marriages are those between maternal cross-cousins and with brothers' sons' daughters. Polygyny is practised but is not common; in a sample of 6,009 marriages, mostly Kaonde, 4,778 were monogamous. The levirate occurs locally. Divorce seems always to have been fairly common. Grounds for a man include the refusal of a wife to cook for his friends; refusal of the wife or her parents to allow him to remove her to his home; sterility; disease; for a woman, impotence, failure to supply clothing, disease and excessive beating.

Inheritance is from a man to his brothers and, failing that, to his sisters' sons in order. If none of these survive the sister's daughter's sons will inherit.

(1) Trapnell and Clothier, 1937, p.34.
(2) The present tense is used although the source material (Melland) is over 25 years old.

Clans are matrilineal, exogamous and associated with a totem animal or natural object. There is no information on the number of clans or the existence of a clan hierarchy. Hospitality is shown to a member of one's clan but there is no obligation to refrain from killing a clan member in war such as exists among the Lala. Information is lacking on the use of praise-names and the recollection of genealogies. A joking relationship between members of clans whose "totems" are either complementary or antipathetic to each other is found as in other groups.

LOCAL AND TERRITORIAL GROUPING AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

There is hardly any material available on local grouping or political structure. It is likely, however, that, as among the other groups considered, the village is formed around a group of kinsfolk related to the headman in various ways. The largest political unit is probably a group of villages under a chief, the whole country consisting of numbers of these small autonomous chiefdoms, possibly temporarily recognising some superior chief, but any centralisation of authority was in the past frequently lost in feuds and disputes. Today the Administration recognizes a Tribal Council with 8 subordinate chiefs.

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

The basis of Kaonde religion is, as among other tribes, the belief in the ancestral spirits' power for good or evil, a power to be propitiated on all occasions involving the well-being of the group. The spirits are approached at the family altar (*chipanda*) and a more elaborate ceremony is held prior to the reaping of the crops and, formerly, after a battle.

There is also a widespread belief in various malevolent spirits. The High God, *Lesa*, is a supreme being and creator, but is worshipped on one occasion only, when prayers are offered for rain. Since rain is considered to be a gift from *Lesa* there are no professional rain-makers in this group. The headman prays on behalf of the village.

The typical magical rite among the Kaonde is centred round the use of *ubwanga*, an energizing force activating certain charms and amulets. These charms are worn as protection against wild animals and general misfortune, others are hung up around the gardens to ward off thieves and others again are used in hunting to ensure success.

Belief in witchcraft is widespread, the most common form being concerned with familiar spirits(1) who assist their owners to become wealthy but who, becoming discontented, turn and kill the villagers and involve their owner in a charge of witchcraft. It would appear that charges of witchcraft tend towards the equalization of the material fortunes of life. A man may also work witchcraft by drinking a special potion obtainable from the magician (*ng'anga*). Witches are discovered by divination, the most common method of which was the *mwavi* tests: poison ordeals administered first to fowls and then to the victim, and boiling water ordeals.

(1) See Melland, 1923, Chap. XVI, for a fuller discussion of the activities of these familiars, *tuyewera*.

RITUAL IN THE LIFE CYCLE

As among other groups in the area there is a girls' initiation ceremony, but here, it seems, a girl undergoes the ceremony at a time which is both before her first menstruation and, generally, after marriage,(1) implying that marriage takes place at a very tender age. In this respect the Kaonde differ from all the groups under consideration with the possible exception of the Lala, among whom marriage is also not dependent upon initiation. The ceremony may last for three to four months, during which time the initiate sleeps apart from her husband. There are no corresponding ceremonies for boys who do, however, receive medicines from brothers-in-law when approaching adolescence, and puberty for the boy seems to be the recognized occasion for him to take a wife.

Funeral ceremonies are also occasions for ritual but there is no information on the significance of a chief's burial.

(1) Melland, op.cit., pp.76-80.

VI. A NOTE ON THE SENGA

(A Tumbuka-ised offshoot of the Bisa
in the upper Luangwa valley)

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

No figures specific to the Senga are available but Moffat Thomson[1] gives a figure of 67,477 for both Senga and Nsenga, while Poole gives 44,000 for the Nsenga in 1930. This suggests a figure of 23,000 for the Senga.

A rough idea of the density of population may be found in the figures for administrative districts in 1934(2) and in 1947 (c).(2)

	1934		1947
Chinsali	3.46	per square mile	3.7
Lundazi	5.49	" " "	5.9

A number of Senga share Northern reserve no.13 with other groups.

LANGUAGE

The difference between the Senga and the Nsenga is to be seen in language, although confusion has obscured the difference for some years. For instance, Madan's(3) *Senga Handbook* actually refers to the Nsenga, as does Ranger's *Chinsenga Grammar*,(4) although it is not clear from the latter's preface whether he includes the Senga and thus confuses them. Doke(5) makes no reference to Senga as distinct from Nsenga, but whether from lack of material or from the belief that there was no distinction is not clear. Guthrie,(6) however, draws a distinction. While he places both Senga and Nsenga in the same linguistic zone, Senga is considered to be a dialect of Tumbuka while Nsenga is a language in a different group, more closely related to languages spoken in Portuguese East Africa. While paucity of information on Senga precludes anything more than this tentative classification, the available evidence suggests a fairly well marked linguistic difference between the two.

HISTORY

Tribal traditions seem to agree that the Senga originally migrated eastwards from the Luapula in company with the Bisa, of whom indeed they formed a part.(7) After a period spent near Lake Bangweulu, from which they were dislodged by Bemba raids, they crossed the Luangwa river about 1800, a date tentatively suggested by Poole. On their arrival here there seems to have been considerable intermarriage with the Tumbuka on the plateau to the east of the river, as a result of which some similarity to Tumbuka customs may be expected.

Bemba and Ngoni raids seem always to have been a menace, even in the

(1) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Pim, 1938, and *Report of the Financial Relationship Committee, 1949.*
(3) Madan, 1905.
(4) Ranger, 1928.
(5) Doke, 1945.
(6) Guthrie, 1948.
(7) Poole, 1934.

valley, and the substantial stockades of Senga chiefs on which Fraser[1] commented bore witness to the fear in which these raiders were held.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

As stated above the Senga inhabit the Upper Luangwa valley, at an altitude of some 3,000 ft. decreasing to the south. It is a region for which adequate climatological data are not available but the rainfall is probably less than on the Plateau with an average of 30-35" annually. The probable temperature range is from 65°F. (mean min.) to 88°F. (mean max.).

The soils generally are more fertile than those on the Plateau, especially close to the river, and are of a heavier texture and darker colour. A type of woodland (*Isoberlinia - Globiflora - Brachystegia*) common to the Plateau is found on the western banks of the Luangwa, but the valley floor and the eastern banks are covered with *Mupane* scrub-land, in which the trees attain a fair height near the river but are stunted towards the escarpment.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

The shifting cultivation on the sterile soils of the Plateau gives way in the valley, potentially at any rate, to semi-permanent cultivation. Maize, finger millet and Kaffir corn are the most important crops, each of which is found locally as a staple. There are various sequences, from a millet-Kaffir corn sequence in northern districts to a millet-Kaffir corn or maize-groundnut sequence in districts in contact with the mixed Bisa-Cewa groups of the Middle Luangwa and on the eastern banks towards Lundazi.

In both sequences new sites are first cleared of trees and the branches and brushwood burnt. Later, in the first sequence, the grass which grows up in the clearing is cut down and left to rot helped by the first rain; this forms the seed bed for the millet - some maize had already been scattered before the grass was cut - and little subsequent weeding is carried out. Kaffir corn may be sown in the following year or, alternatively, in the third year after a second millet crop. A few pumpkins and cucurbits are also found.

In the second sequence, after preliminary clearing, there is less tendency to use rotting grass as a seed bed, but to leave it standing to manure subsequent crops. Millet is planted with maize and in the following year Kaffir corn and maize are planted in varying proportions in a seed bed of grass-manure left from the previous year. In some areas maize may be planted alone and a simple millet-maize sequence carried on for up to ten years. On lighter soils groundnuts may be planted in the third year.

Apart from this groundnuts are normally grown in separate gardens. Small gardens for maize in the dry season and rice cultivation are locally found, as is tobacco, particularly in Chinsali district. Village gardens are not properly found in the area but small plots of sweet potatoes, cassava, beans and pawpaw are commonly found near villages.

(1) Fraser, 1914.

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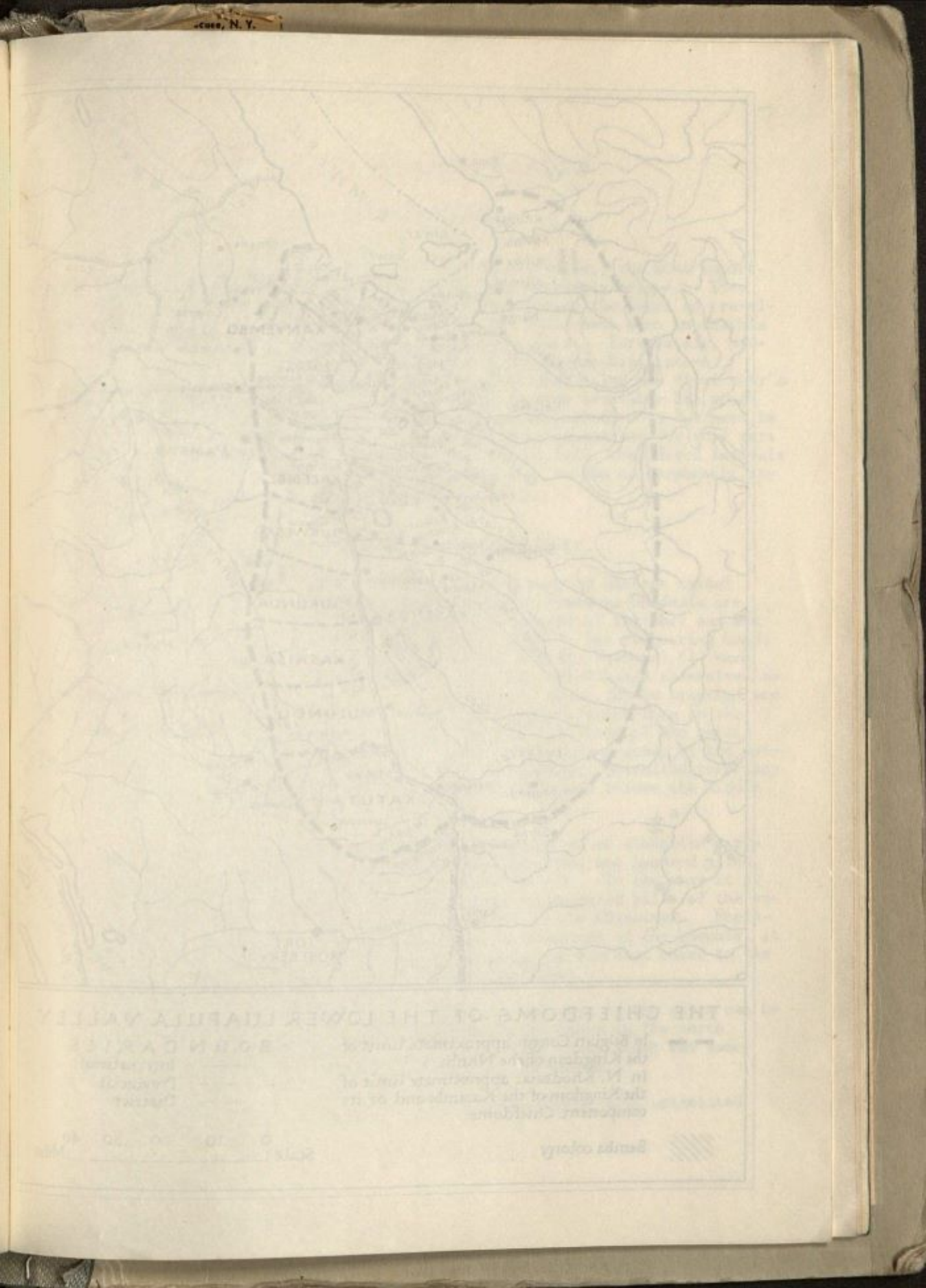

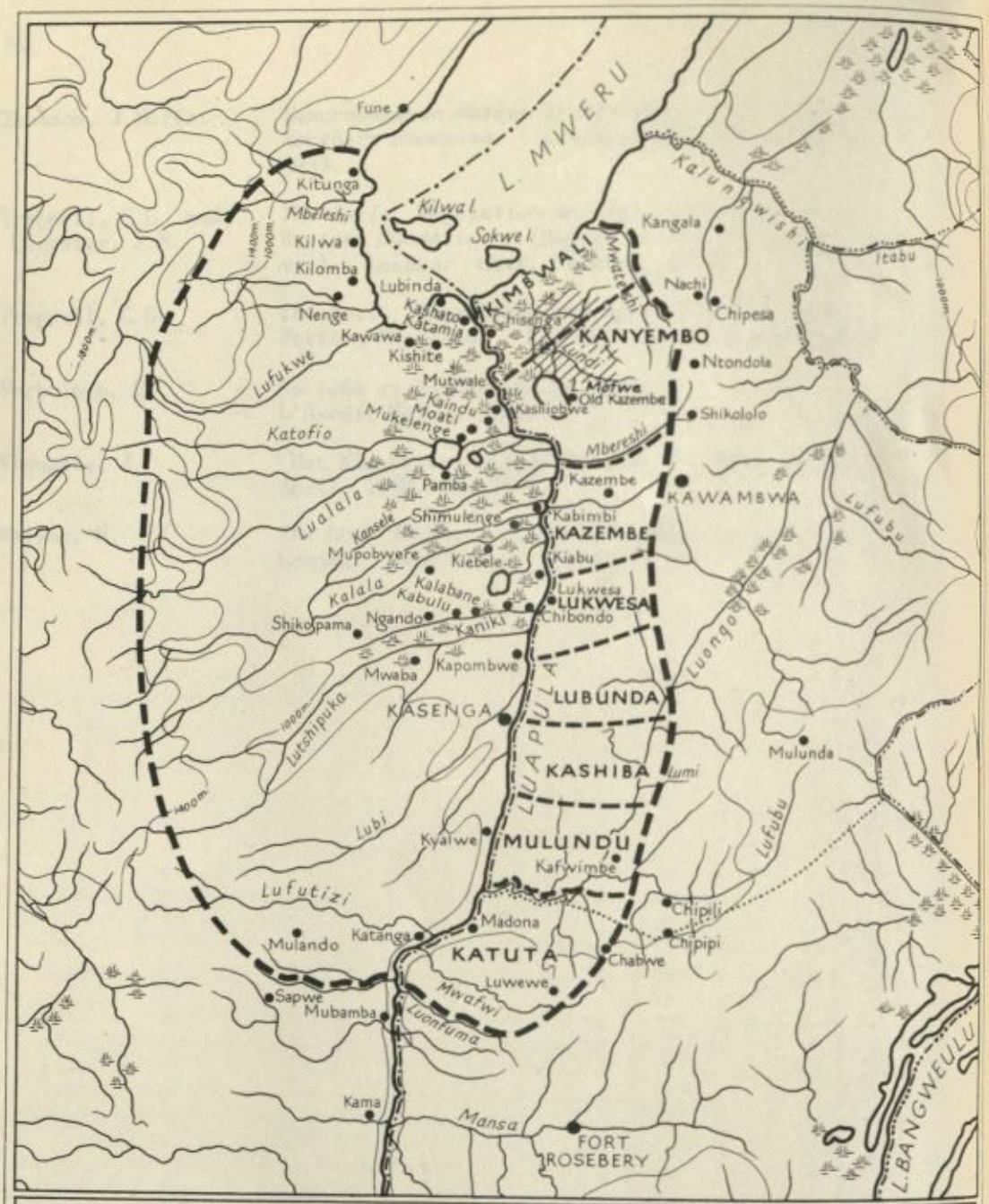

THE CHIEFDOMS OF THE LOWER LUAPULA VALLEY

— — In Belgian Congo: approximate limit of the Kingdom of the Nkuba.
In N. Rhodesia: approximate limit of the Kingdom of the Kazembe and of its component Chiefdoms.

Bemba colony

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
District

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 Miles

THE LUAPULA PEOPLES

INTRODUCTION

Published data on the peoples of the Luapula Valley, the most important of whom are the Lunda of Chief Kazembe, are extremely meagre. They consist mostly of casual information scattered through the pages of travellers', officials' and missionaries' books. It would have been impossible to make any ordered survey on the basis of these data. Fortunately, however, Mr. I. G. Cunnison, Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, was in England for a few months after completing his first year's researches in the region, and was kind enough to make available his rough manuscript on certain topics as well as information embodied in lectures he gave at Oxford. Without these it would have been impossible for this part of the survey to have been written at all. As no full, considered analysis of his material has yet been made by Mr. Cunnison, he has no responsibility for my interpretations in any part of this survey.

GROUPING AND DEMOGRAPHY

The Lower Luapula valley is inhabited by groups of diverse tribal origins. Those on the east bank of the river in Northern Rhodesia are known to their neighbours as *Bena Kazembe* (the people of Kazembe) and are often collectively described as "Kazembe's Lunda". The conquering Lunda (also known as *Londa, Alunda, Varunda, Aronda, Alonda, Balonda*),(1) were probably never numerically preponderant, but they established themselves as a governing class and still retain to some extent their former prestige and political ascendancy. The west bank of the Luapula, which lies in the Belgian Congo, has passed under the dominance of the Nkuba of the royal Shila (also known as *Wasira, Messira*) line. This ruling group of the matrilineal Shila, congeners of the Bemba,(2) had earlier controlled territory on the east bank but were subdued by the invading Lunda before the middle of the eighteenth century.

The kingdom of the Lunda Kazembe thus consists of an elongated strip of country stretching almost due north-south for about one hundred miles, along the meridian 28° 45' between 9° and 11° lat. S. To the west it is bounded by the Luapula, and to the east by the uninhabited hills of the escarpment beyond which lies the tribal territory of the Chishinga. Beginning about thirty miles south of the Luongo, a tributary of the Luapula, it extends northwards to Lake Mweru and twenty miles up its east shore to the Mwateshi stream, including Sokwe island on Lake Mweru.

The limits of the modern Nkuba kingdom to the west of the river can be indicated with less certainty as running from Lake Mweru in the north through the Kundelungu mountains and thence to the river about the same latitude as the southern limit of the kingdom of Kazembe.

The valley forms a natural ecological and economic unit orientated

(1) Burton, 1873, p.36. (2) See p.1.

towards the Luapula and, in several respects, markedly differing from the surrounding plateau country.

The abundance of fish in the Luapula, which is free from rapids and easily navigable below Johnston Falls near the mouth of the Luongo, makes fishing an important economic pursuit in which virtually all the adult male population participate and to which are attached elaborate ritual observances. (see below p.94) Besides being an important item in the native diet, fish constitutes the chief trading asset of the country.

On the plateau, where soils are poorer and the population is almost exclusively dependent on agriculture for its livelihood, the shifting *citemene* system of cultivation is the rule. In the valley, however, the rich alluvial deposits make possible a semi-permanent mound cultivation; this removes the necessity for changing village sites periodically and results in a greater stability. Cassava, of little account on the plateau, where finger millet and Kaffir corn predominate, is the staple food crop in the valley.

Common traditions accumulated over two centuries, during which the valley constituted the core of Kazembe's kingdom, have made the population conscious and proud of its past.

The patrilineal reckoning of descent introduced and established by the Lunda, as well as their tribal heterogeneity, mark the valley peoples off from the matrilineal and ethnically homogeneous neighbouring tribes: the Shila-Katya (north west), Shila (north), Lungu, Chishinga (east), Mukulo, Aushi (south), Lamba (south-west), and Lomotwa (west).

The Kazembe is now Paramount over the western (Northern Rhodesia) side of the valley, ruling directly in the province surrounding his capital. His kingdom is divided into eight chiefdoms, ruled by the following chiefs (from Lake Mweru southward): Kambwali, Kanyembo, Kazembe himself, Lukwesa, Lubunda, Kashiba, Mulundu, and Katuta. Sub-chiefs Muyembe and Kapesa administer two districts carved out of the metropolitan chiefdom but cannot hold courts. Lubunda, Mulundu, Katuta and Kapesa are of Chishinga extraction, the others are Lunda.

Kilwa island, with its Swahili chief Nshimba, now falls outside the Kazembe's kingdom.

TRIBAL MIXTURE

As a result of piecemeal settlement and frequent inter-marriage the component tribal groups are as a rule distributed over the whole territory. Local concentrations occur nevertheless: the Shila and Tabwa predominate in the extreme north, the Lungu in the Mulele district, the Chishinga in the Mununshi valley. A Bemba colony occupies land between Lake Mofwe and Lake Mweru granted to Mwawamukupa in return for the assistance given by his brother Mwaba, a Bemba chief, in opposing the invading Bayeke and re-establishing the fugitive Kazembe. On Kilwa island the descendants of Swahili slavers and Nyamwezi copper traders live alongside the aboriginal Shila.

The bulk of the population is made up of the Shila, Lunda, Chishinga,

Tabwa (Aitawa), Lungu, Bemba, and Aushi (including their off-shoots the Kawendi and Mukulo). In addition there are Bwile (Bwiri), Mambwe, Bisa, Ngumbo, Mukulu, Lala, Lamba, Lomotwa, Yeke (Nyamwezi) and Swahili elements. The presence of the Batembo pygmies, whom Maes and Boone(1) place just south of Lake Mweru on their tribal map of the region, is not confirmed by other authorities. The extent of tribal mixture is shown by the fact that the headmen of thirty-four villages in Kambwali's chiefdom belong to eleven different tribes. None of the tribes is indigenous to the valley.

The tribe, *mutundu* (pl. *mitundu*: the word is also used for a species of animal, bird or tree) or *mushyobo*, is not a descent group. Tribal allegiance, unlike clan affiliation, can be changed with residence. Though never in doubt about their clan, people may be uncertain as to their tribe. Inter-tribal differences in custom were never considerable. Neither physical type, form of settlement, nor language are now reliable indications of tribal origin. Certain characteristics are traditionally attributed to particular tribes: the Bemba are proverbially cruel, the Shila good fishermen and canoe-makers; the Tabwa are renowned as witches and for the beauty of their women,(2) the Lomotwa for their quarrelsomeness. In spite of territorial dispersion, members of a tribe consider themselves *lupwa lumo*, "of one stock". The chiefs of neighbouring tribes occasionally visit their former subjects established in Kazembe's country.

The Lunda possessed a special status and constituted a sort of nobility to which distinguished outsiders - non-Lunda chiefs and headmen - could be admitted by being invested with Lundahood (*ubulunda*).

DEMOGRAPHY

No estimates are available for the population in the valley on the western (Belgian Congo) side. On the eastern side in Northern Rhodesia it was estimated by Coxhead at 32,000 in 1914.(3) He made no attempt, however, to distinguish between the various tribal groups, referring to all the subjects of the Kazembe as "the Lunda". According to more recent estimates the eastern population approaches 50,000 and shows signs of rapid expansion. It is now concentrated in some 300 villages strewn along the Luapula by the trunk road built on the hard land next to the riverside swamps. No figures are available to indicate variations in the density of population, which must be very high locally as many of the villages adjoin one another forming a continuous row of habitations along the side of the road.

Except for missionaries there are no resident Europeans in Kazembe's kingdom. On Nkuba's side a group of colonial officials and traders live at Kasenga.

Mobility has always been high and numbers have fluctuated widely as a result of migrations due to wars and to the popularity of individual chiefs.(4) A large proportion of the population is said to have left the country during the reign of Keleka, the fourth Kazembe, remembered for his atrocities.(5)

(1) Maes and Boone, 1935, p.135.
(2) Livingstone, 1874, I, p.259.
(3) Coxhead, 1914, p.64.
(4) Livingstone, op.cit., p.254.
(5) Livingstone, op.cit., p.265.

The economic wealth of the valley makes it attractive to immigrants, increasingly numerous since the development of Katanga mining enterprises has created a ready market for the Luapula fish.

Labour Migration

A considerable and growing proportion of young men seek seasonal employment in the Copperbelt and, to a lesser extent, in the Katanga mines. It has been tentatively suggested that perhaps a quarter of the male taxable population is away at work.

HISTORY

The people at the court of the Kazembe struck Gamitto as historically-minded to an extent unparalleled in Central Africa.(1) Some of their traditions find support in those of other tribes and in the evidence of early travellers.

The pygmies, said to have been the first inhabitants, are particularly associated with Kilwa, where, according to tradition, all but two of them perished in a fire started unwittingly by Kaponto of *Bena Bumba* (Clay clan) who had come from the Upper Luapula. The country was gradually populated by small, self-contained groups, usually segments of matrilineal clans, which, led by their *fikolwe*, wandered in, mainly from the Luba country, in pursuit of game or in quest of new land. Among the first to come were *Bena Bumba* (Clay clan) from Matanda on the Upper Luapula, *Bena Lungu* (Calabash clan), *Bena Ntamba* (Tortoise clan), both from the Luba territories, and the now extinct *Bena Kansungwa*. *Bena Bwiilile* ("people who eat on their own", i.e. owe no allegiance and pay no tribute), the general designation given to these groups by Nkuba's followers, is an allusion to their lack of political organisation. The first Nkuba, who had broken away from the Bemba, came to Lake Mweru apparently for ivory which was not valued by the local population.(2) He established a highly-organized kingdom which extended along the lower reaches of the Luapula (from Chibondo on the western and Lukwesa on the eastern bank) to the periphery of Lake Mweru. His people intermarried with the *Bena Bwiilile* and their descendants became the *Bashila* (literally "fishermen") of the Lunda.

Higher up the valley were the autonomous chiefdoms of the *Bena Nsoka* (Snake clan), *Bena Nshe* (Locust clan), *Bena Ngoma* (Drum clan), *Bakunda* (Frog clan), *Bashimba* (Leopard clan) which successfully resisted Nkuba. Later arrivals from the west included the *Bena Mbeba* who came under Lubunda and the *Bena Nguni* (Bird clan). They had organized courts and a system of tribute and they erected *utwamba* huts to house the relics of their dead chiefs.

The Lunda from the empire of Muata Yamvo (also spelt Matianfa, Muata Yambo, Muata-Hianvo, Muata yi Nvo)(3) on the rivers Kasai and Luisa made their appearance around 1740.(4) The expedition was prompted by the desire

(1) Valdez, 1861, II, p.262. (2) Crawford, 2, p.254.
(3) Burton, op.cit., p.36: see also *The Southern Lunda and related peoples*, M. McCulloch, 1950, I.A.I. (4) Coxhead, op.cit., p.3.

of Muato Yamvo, who had traded with the Portuguese of Angola, to establish contact with their stations on the Zambezi.(1) The army despatched under the leadership of Kanyembo, one of Muata Yamvo's *quilolos* (captains) and reinforced by contingents of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba, met with little resistance and progressed victoriously. Kanyembo returned to report success and in the course of the second expedition was drowned in the Lualaba by a jealous relative (son?) of Muata Yamvo.(2) Nganda Vilonda, son of the dead man, appointed by Muata Yamvo as the governor of the newly subjugated territories, became the first Kazembe and put down a Shila rebellion. One of the Lunda chiefs married a sister of the defeated Nkuba. Henceforth successive Nkubas, who were left in possession of a district at the mouth of the Luapula, were styled "Kazembe's wives". Under the third Kazembe, Lukwesa, the Lunda conquests were extended eastwards towards the Chambezi.(3) In 1796 Lukwesa received Manoel Gaetano Pereira,(4) a Goanese trader from Tete. In 1798 Lacerda, the Governor of the Rios de Sena (Zambezi), made an expedition into Lunda territory, in an attempt to establish an overland communication between the Portuguese possessions on the Mozambique and Angola coasts, and to develop trade relations directly with Kazembe, eliminating Bisa and Yao(5) intermediaries. Lacerda died before he could be received by Lukwesa. His diary, continued by Pinto, the expedition's chaplain, constitutes the earliest substantial documentation on the life at the royal court. Lukwesa's son and successor, Keleka (reigned 1805-50), was visited in 1806 by two "pombeiros", native-born travelling traders in Portuguese employ, and in 1830 by a Portuguese trade mission led by Major Monteiro. Keleka was an unpopular ruler and lost to the Bemba the eastern marches gained by his father from the Bisa.(6) An Arab merchant, Ibn ben Saleh, arrived in 1854 and by the time of Livingstone's visit Arab and Swahili slave-traders were already firmly established and influential. They supplied cotton cloth and other merchandise in exchange for slaves and ivory, which commanded high prices on the Zanzibar coast. The Yeke raids precipitated a new wave of immigration. Imperilled headmen fleeing from their villages came to Kazembe for protection and were allowed to settle with their followers. The kingdom was now suffering reverses for the first time after decades of domination and undisputed supremacy over the small and loosely organised outlying chiefdoms.(7) For a time Kanyembo Ntemena, the reigning Kazembe, driven out of the country by the Yeke chief Msidi, had to seek refuge with Mwamba, a Bemba chief.

The Kazembe, although sovereign in fact, had in name remained a vassal of Muata Yamvo to whom tribute was still being sent in the 1870s.(8) With the defeat of the Arab chief Mlozi by Sir Harry Johnston in 1894(9) the slave trade was effectively suppressed. By this time the country had passed under the administration of the British South Africa Company which, in 1892, set up an administrative post on the Kalungwishi, which then marked the northern boundary of the kingdom.(10) The Kazembe offered resistance and was overcome. The first mission station was established in 1899 by Plymouth Brethren; the London Missionary Society opened a station at Mbereshi in 1900.

(1) Valdez, op.cit., p.258.
(2) ibid., pp.258-60.
(3) Gamitto, 1937, I, p.332; Valdez, op.cit., p.228.
(4) Bowdich, 1824, p.86; Johnston, 1897, p.59.
(5) Coxhead, op.cit., p.4.
(6) Gamitto, 1937, II, p.15.
(7) Burton 1873, p.43; Valdez 1861, I, p.237.
(8) Pogge, 1880.
(9) Coxhead, loc.cit.
(10) Livingstone, 1874, I, p.243.

Some Tabwa came with the British South African Company, and a group of Mambwe followed the missionaries to Mbereshi. From 1910 until 1922, when the villages returned to their old sites, the river belt had to be evacuated owing to the menace of sleeping sickness. The development of mining in the Katanga and the Copperbelt created a demand for labour and opened a market for the Luapula fish. The expansion of the fish trade organised by Greek refugees in the late 1920s stimulated a new influx of immigrants to the valley, many of them from across the Belgian Congo border. The present Kazembe, Chinyanta Nankula, is the fourteenth holder of the office.

LANGUAGE

The various dialects of Bemba (*Shila, Tabwa, Lungu, Aushi, Cinalunda*) spoken in the valley are not necessarily related to the tribal origins of the people. Cinalunda is a Bemba dialect with a slight Kampokolo admixture. The use of *Cilunda*, the language of the western (Congo) Lunda, and of its modified form, *Kampokolo*,(1) has never spread beyond the court circles. Both died out during the nineteenth century and now only survive in the traditional praise-formulae composed for each Kazembe on his accession, and as the drum-language.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Rapid-free and easily navigable in its lower course, the Luapula flows towards Lake Mweru at an altitude of some 3,000 feet down a flat, trough-like valley in which "sandstones of the Katanga system, granites and other rocks are overlaid by deep soil accumulations".(2) The flat floor of the valley rises steeply to the Chishinga plateau and more gently to the Kundelungu range on the Congo side. The river, in places overgrown by sudd vegetation, carries masses of floating papyrus. Except for a ten-mile stretch at Lukwesa and a four-mile one at Chisenga, its eastern bank is bordered by a belt of permanent swamp widening towards Lake Mweru. Sandbanks and patches of hard land are more in evidence down the western side. The swampy, seasonally flooded margin, up to ten miles wide, is studded with pools and lagoons and intersected by transverse channels giving access to the river from the villages. Flood-plain grasslands are burned in the dry season. The adjacent strip of fertile, alluvial land, not subject to floods, contains practically the whole population of the Rhodesian side. Further east, towards the escarpment, stretches for some twenty miles a bush-covered, almost uninhabited no-man's-land (*mulundu*) well stocked with wild fauna. Slow-flowing streams make their way down the open grassy *dambo* valleys to the Luapula.

The climate is of the savannah type with a single rainy season from October-November to April-May. The annual rainfall, lower in the valley than on the sheltering plateau, ranges from 36 inches at Chiengi (which lies on the Lake Mweru basin but outside Kazembe's kingdom) to 46 inches at Johnston Falls.(3) The mean minimum temperature at Chiengi, (the only records available) is 66.4°F(4)

(1) Valdez, II, pp.228 and 243.
(2) Trapnell, 1943, p.1.
(3) ibid, p.2.
(4) ibid, p.3.

A grey-brown, richly humic soil, permeable and retentive of moisture, alternates locally with loams and sandy loams. The underlying ironstone beds outcrop in the bushland towards the escarpment. Large ant-hills containing lime nodules are a characteristic feature in an area of otherwise non-calcareous soil.(1) Livingstone(2) mentions hot sources "at which maize and cassava can be boiled" south of Kalungwishi. They are more typical of the country farther north. Among the *chipya* vegetation (mixed deciduous woodland with tall grasses and bracken), now predominant, there still survive on moister sites patches of dense evergreen thicket (*mateshi*), remnants of the equatorial rain forest which must have prevailed in the earlier, more humid regime.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

AGRICULTURE(3)

Cassava, the staple crop, is planted on rectangular or, more often, round mounds which remain in semi-permanent cultivation with periodic fallows. Rotted grass turf is used as manure. Groundnuts and, in Shila villages, ground-beans, an important subsidiary crop, are usually grown on newer land. Balls of groundnuts stored in the trees are a characteristic feature in the villages. Sweet potatoes, maize, beans, pumpkins, Kaffir corn, are also cultivated in the main gardens. Cowpeas, edible gourds, and castor oil are grown as catch crops. Finger millet is grown for beer. Occasionally accompanied by bulrush millet and cattle melons, it occupies the thicket (north of Mbereshi) and, more usually, the small *citemene* gardens, measuring up to one-third of an acre each, on the clearings in the foothill woodland. These gardens, encountered more frequently among the Chishinga-Lunda than among the Shila, are abandoned after a few years' exploitation. Small *matimba* gardens under early maturing varieties of maize (consumed green), rice, bananas and sugar cane are made on the moist and very fertile acacia *damboes* east of Lake Mweru. These are more characteristic of the Bwile country. Rice plots, particularly exposed to the depredations of birds, are protected by bark rope birdscarers, and shelters are erected for the watchers to keep off the hippo. Pineapples, mangoes and pawpaws are successfully grown in the area as is oil-palm, which is common on Kilwa island. Tobacco, Asiatic and white yams, Lima beans, chillies, sesame, and cotton, are among the minor crops grown in the village gardens alongside the huts. Curcas oil is planted for fences in some Chishinga-Lunda villages. Irrigated wheat is found on mission farms and an attempt has been made to introduce coffee as a cash crop.

LIVESTOCK

Prevalence of tsetse fly, as well as the lack of pastoral traditions, were responsible for the virtual absence of cattle. Lukwesa (1760-1805) kept a few head of black cattle as a matter of prestige.(4) They were neither milked nor killed for meat and could graze where they pleased on the cultivated land of his subjects.(5) Lately the keeping of cattle has been

(1) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(2) ibid., p.270.
(3) Based on C. G. Trapnell.
(4) Burton, op.cit., p.129.
(5) Gamitto, 1, p.390.

encouraged and there are now a few herds in the valley. Horses and mules are lacking. The donkey ridden by Gamitto when he made his entry in 1830 was the first of the species to be seen in the country.(1) The villagers keep poultry and some small stock, mainly goats and sheep.

FISHING

Fish abound in the Luapula, the riverside lagoons and Lakes Mweru and Mofwe. Livingstone collected the vernacular names of thirty-nine species caught in Lake Mweru.(2) Some fishing goes on all the year round but the season, when the men move to the fishing camps on the river islands, extends from September to January. In the shallow marshland pools the fish are speared while laying their eggs. In flowing water they are trapped in conical wickerwork baskets set in rocky falls or in the openings in a weir.(3) On Lake Mweru they are caught from canoes with hook and line. On the Luapula the people go out in their dugouts at night and drive the fish into seine-nets (*ubukonde*) by hitting the surface of the water with wooden discs attached to poles.(4) Large-scale fishing is done with drag-nets (*umukwau*) which require several men to pull them. Formerly nets were made by men from barkcloth cord. Nowadays nylon and cotton nets are used. Vegetable poisons and stupefacients, now banned, were employed in the past.

HUNTING

Hunting and fowling are spare-time activities. Elephants and buffaloes, which in Livingstone's time used to be chased into the Mofwe mudflats during the rainy season and killed in great numbers,(5) are no longer found in Kazembe's country though some still remain on the Belgian Congo side. Large herds of lechwe antelope roam the swamp country beyond the inhabited belt. Fire-arms have displaced the traditional weapons.

DIET

The basic foodstuffs are cassava(6) and fish. Game, poultry, fruit and wild bees' honey, supplement the diet. Cassava is soaked in water, peeled and sun-dried for storing. The root, after being pounded and ground on a stone, is made into porridge and flavoured with groundnuts or other relish. Sweet cassava is eaten roasted.(7) Fish is consumed fresh or dried, game fresh or smoked. Fish, when dried in the sun or over a fire, will keep for three months. Water-lily roots, on which, according to tradition, the aboriginal pygmies fed, are considered a delicacy. Native-made alcoholic beverages were millet beer(8) (still made), *Borassus* palm wine, mead(9) and a spirit distilled from maize.(10) Oil is expressed from palm fruit(11) and from groundnuts and vinegar used to be made from bananas.(12) Tobacco is taken as snuff and smoked in pipes.(13) *Bhang* (hemp), was

(1) Burton, op.cit., p.252.
(2) Livingstone, op.cit., p.245.
(3) Brelsford, 2, 1947, pp.70, 71.
(4) Holmes, 1925, p.26.
(5) Livingstone, op.cit., pp.248, 276, 299.
(6) Burton, op.cit., p.40.
(7) ibid., p.101.
(8) ibid., p.43.
(9) Gamitto, II, p.26; Valdez, II, p.246.
(10) Bowdich, p.91.
(11) Livingstone, op.cit., pp.243, 278.
(12) ibid, p.272.
(13) ibid., p.251; Gamitto, I, p.401.

grown extensively in the past and some Kazembes[1] were acknowledged hashish-addicts.

TRADE

Slaves and ivory (exchanged for cloth and merchandise) were for a long period the main trading assets of the country.[2] Salt, otter-skins and beeswax[3] were other traded commodities. The valley fish used to be exchanged for the mushrooms, honey and wild fruits of the plateau. It is still bartered with the Lungu *citemene* cultivators for millet, from which hot beer (*katubi*) is brewed. Trade with the Swahili, Arab and European merchants was the Kazembe's monopoly.[4] Ivory came mostly from the Congo side of the Luapula being brought as tribute.[5] Fish, the chief export article at the present time, is marketed in the mining areas of the Belgian Congo, only a small proportion going to the Rhodesian Copperbelt.[6] Kasenga, with its ice factory and road connection with Elisabethville, is the local distribution centre. Small quantities of cassava and bananas are also offered for sale there.

ECONOMIC CHANGE

Labour migration to the mines and sales of fish are the most noticeable signs of economic change. Subsistence agriculture prevails although, with the establishment of co-operative farms, the growing of cash crops may develop.

CRAFTS

Iron-ore, abundant in the hillside country to the east, was smelted and iron was worked[7] until the advent of the British South Africa Company. Imported trade goods have since displaced native-made hoes, axe-heads, knives and spears.

Cotton spinning and weaving are other crafts which have fallen into decay.[8] The rough cotton cloth mentioned by Livingstone[9] is no longer made. Mats woven from reeds, papyrus and the leaf of the *mukalala* palm and split bamboo baskets are still made by men after the rains when the fishing season is over.[10] Pottery-making was confined to women. The men worked wood and leather, dressed skins and prepared barkcloth. They hollowed dug-outs, carved wooden plates and crudely finished figures of ritual significance.[11] Dyes were procured from plants and trees and a tree-bark infusion was used in treating wounds.[12] Potash salt was extracted from plant ashes.[13] The method widely used among the Tabwa and Bena Kabwili on the north-eastern fringe of Lake Mweru,[14] where a brownish salt is obtained by filtering water through salpetrous earth and evaporating the brine,[15] may

(1) Crawford, op.cit., pp.99, 100.
(2) Burton, p.130; Gamitto, I, p.398.
(3) Valdez, II, p.187.
(4) Burton, p.109.
(5) ibid., p.188.
(6) Brelsford, 2, 1947, p.70.
(7) Livingstone, I, p.307.
(8) Crawford, 2, opp.194.
(9) op.cit., p.267.
(10) Moore, 1937.
(11) Valdez, II, p.218.
(12) Gamitto, I, p.386.
(13) Valdez, op.cit., p.246.
(14) Livingstone, op.cit., p.223.
(15) Described in some detail by Moore.

also have been employed. Household utensils and vessels were fashioned from wood and gourds. Bracelets and other ornaments were manufactured from copper-wire or copper bars purchased from the Nyamwezi who smelted copper in Katanga. The traditional arms were spear, assegai, *pocue* (the short, broad-bladed, two-edged Lunda sword) and battle-axe.(1) A defensive weapon was the square, lightwood shield said to be unpierceable after being soaked in water.(2). Bows and arrows were apparently not used in war.(3)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CLAN ORGANIZATION(4)

The clan (*mukowa*) consists of persons, alive and dead, believed to be descended matrilineally from a common ancestor or ancestress, even though they may not be able to trace their ancestry. The clans, now dispersed, have each a traditional home, *ntulo* (a word also used for the source of a river), a common totemic name (usually the generic name of an animal or plant), and a common slogan, *ilumbo* (from *ukulumba*, to boast). In principle clans are exogamous but in fact this is not observed; the exogamous unit is the *cikota*, a subdivision of the clan. Each clan stands in a joking relationship (*bwali*) to one, or sometimes more than one other, with which its name is connected by an association of ideas. Examples of such paired clans are: the leopard and the goat (because leopards kill goats), the iron and the elephants (elephants were hunted with iron-headed spears), the mushroom and the ant-hill (mushrooms thrive on ant-hills). No preferential marriage obtains between the *bali* (persons in joking relationship) as is the case among the Bemba. In the mortuary ceremonies a special role is assigned to a *mwali* of the deceased. An isolated instance of an inter-clan avoidance pattern is provided by the Lion (*Bena Nkalamo*) and the Snake clans. Members of a clan are supposed to give hospitality to their fellow-clansmen whatever their tribal affiliation.

Clan organisation is believed to be universal and coeval with mankind. No mythical explanation of the origin of clans is offered. Religious or ritual cults are not practised on a clan basis. There is no prohibition against killing or eating the object from which the clan derives its name, nor, on the other hand, is any special veneration required.

The clans are not hierarchically organised though, in fact, some may enjoy greater prestige owing to their numerical strength or connections and others may be regarded as of little consequence, like the derided Pins and Needles clan. The clan to which the Kazembe's mother belongs is, for the duration of his reign, placed in a privileged position.

As a rule the clans have no specialised economic or ritual functions although the intervention of the Fish clan (*Bena Mpende*) is invoked when the water is too low for the salmon to reach their normal spawning grounds. No clan meetings are held.

(1) Valdez, op.cit., p.239.
(2) ibid.
(3) Burton, p.43.
(4) Based on information provided by I.G. Cunnison who is at present engaged on an intensive study of the Luapula peoples.

The fifty or so clans represented in the valley are part of a fairly uniform clan system which extends over the territories inhabited by the Bemba-, Luba- and Lamba-speaking peoples. The *Bena Mumba* (Clay clan) have their *ntulo* at Matanda in the upper valley of the Luapula, those of the *Bakosa* (Millipede clan) and the *Bena Mbushi* (Goat clan) are on the Lualaba; that of the *Bena Mfula* (Rain clan) is in the forest of Ngumbo on Lake Bangweulu. Originally, it is vaguely believed, all came from Kola (Angola?)

The *cikota* or *cisaka* is a segment of the clan, no longer localised, whose members gather to discuss *milandu* cases and to make decisions in matters of inheritance and succession.

Cikolwe ("big cock") is a term used to denote a common ancestor. It can be applied to the head, alive or dead, of a matrilineal descent group of any size, but usually refers to the ancestor or ancestress who broke away from the clan and led his extended family and followers from their clan *ntulo* to the valley.

Clan membership is not rigidly determined; it is usual to belong to one's mother's clan but it is possible to claim membership of any of the clans to which one's grandparents belonged. The descendants of the Lunda of Muata Yamvo remain patrilineal. The Luba from the Lualaba, who joined the Lunda and became Lundaised, were previously matrilineal.

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

Villages were originally founded by the immigrant groups under the leadership of *fikolwe* (sing. *cikolwe*) many of whom were women. The nucleus of each group was formed by a single matrilineal descent group, *cikota*. In spite of inter-marriage and increasing spatial mobility, which tend to obliterate the original connection between the territorial and the kinship structure, villages are still identified by outsiders with their founding clans.

Village headmanship remains in the *cikota*. The headman succeeds to the office, the name, the wives, and the insignia (belt and gun or spear) of his predecessor. He has the charge of *nshipa*, the village medicine. A village is divided into wards, *fitente* (sing. *citente*), in which the households of close relatives are grouped together.

Most of the old village sites in the *damboes* of the Luapula tributaries are now derelict. With the coming of the Pax Britannica and the development of cash sales of fish the villages moved closer to the river edge and now extend along the trunk road. New villages recognised by the government must number at least fifteen tax-payers. The average size of villages is 150-200 inhabitants. The capital has a population of 3,000.(1)

Formerly the huts were circular, grass-roofed, woven bamboo structures,(2) scattered amidst cassava plantations.(3) Nowadays the villages are more

(1) The capital is usually referred to as Kazembe. It was moved south after the Yeke invasion. The old site is part of the territory settled by the Bemba after they had assisted Kazembe against the Yeke. The new site was previously known as Mwansabombwe.

(2) Valdez, II, p.249; Burton, p.46. (3) Livingstone, I, p.248.

compact, and sun-dried brick is increasingly being used in building. Appendages usually include a raised granary-storehouse, a platform for drying cassava, a kitchen, goat-and-sheep pen and latrine. Fishing camps are of more flimsy construction consisting of wattle-and-daub or grass shelters.

On the left bank of the Luapula, where the density of the population and its mobility are less, greater concentrations of kinsfolk occur in the villages, which are more isolated and irregularly distributed.

In polygynous households there is a house for each wife. An open space is left in front of the headman's hut which otherwise does not differ from the others. There are bachelor huts (*itanda*, pl. *amatanda*) for boys but few for girls.

During the Yeke raids the population was concentrated in some dozen stockaded villages.

Village-gardens are occasionally enclosed as a precaution against the bush-pig, especially near Lake Mweru. Each village has its own landing-stage (*cabu*).

People are now free to build where they wish and the tendency for houses of kinsfolk to be grouped together is disappearing. As the Watch Tower movement developed separate villages were set up by believers who cultivated and harvested in the fields communally.(1)

INITIATION RITES

Initiation rites were more elaborate for girls than for boys. Girls still undergo *cisungu*, a *rite de passage*, common to the Bemba-speaking peoples but not found among the Luba, which aims at preparing them for their future life and duties as housewives and mothers. The instruction is imparted by the *Banacimbusa*, matrons and midwives.

There are now no initiation ceremonies for boys. Lunda boys were formerly circumcised at 14-16 years of age(2) in a *mushitu* (thicket) in the Nshinda swamp. No parallel operation was performed on girls.

The society is not formally differentiated on the basis of age, and there are no indications of the existence of an age-set organisation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Of the secret societies the *Butwa*(3) was open to both sexes. *Bulindu* is described as a women's society.(4) The *Butwa*, believed to have originated among the Twa of Lake Bangweulu and to have been established in the country prior to the arrival of the Bemba-speaking peoples,(5) had lodges "along the entire length of the Luapula as far as Lake Mweru on both the British and the Belgian sides"(6) in 1914. "Nkuba is the recognised

(1) Quick, 1940, p.221.
(2) Burton, p.128.
(3) Campbell, I, 1914.
(4) Crawford, 2, p.129.
(5) According to Campbell. Another version is that it came "with the migratory tribes of the Kazembe's, the Walunda and the Wausi, from the west about 1760." (Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p.260.)
(6) Campbell, op.cit., p.77.

introducer of *Butwa* throughout these parts, and his name is famous in many a *Butwa* song."(1) Membership was open to all, irrespective of age and sex. The Ant-hill clan was particularly closely associated with the society. Refusal to join on the part of either of the spouses was a valid cause of divorce. A higher grade of elders (*mangulu*) in the society was constituted by members of both sexes who wore a special dress, bore special names and claimed to possess supernatural powers. Sessions were held annually or at longer intervals. The candidates, who had to pay an initiation fee, were given the *chibolo* concoction to drink and were paraded under an arch of bent saplings before entering the temple where sexual intercourse took place. Later they were given fetish horns by the elders of the society. Painted in stripes and smeared with white chalk they participated in the all-night dancing (imitative of the movements of the crested crane), the beer-drinking, and the festivities which followed. A good deal of sexual licence was allowed within the precincts of the temple. Members were bound to assist one another in sickness and need and were forbidden, under penalty of death, to divulge the society's secrets. *Butwa* performed fertility rites; it wielded considerable political power, so that the chiefs had to treat it with respect. It was feared by outsiders who charged it with terrorism and robbery. Special funerary ceremonies were performed at the death of members. Members of *Butwa* used an esoteric language, *Bubendo*; this was an argot formed by transposing syllables, changing initial letters and introducing obsolete words and compound metaphorical expressions. *Butwa* songs were sung by women members to the accompaniment of *chansa*, a musical instrument resembling the guitar. Apparently still flourishing in the first decade of the twentieth century, the society is said to have since died away.(2)

Blood-Brotherhood

Blood-brotherhood pacts were contracted between the natives and the Arab traders.(3) A marriage with a native girl, presumably a maternal relative of the blood-brother, was a usual concomitant of the ceremony.

Guilds

Occupational guilds were known in the Chishinga(4) and Aushi country where iron-ore smelting and iron-working were hereditary crafts surrounded by a wealth of ritual. It is likely that they also functioned in the Luapula valley while the industry was alive, though no mention of this occurs in the available sources.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Kazembe was formerly an absolute overlord, subordinate in name only to Muata Yamvo to whom he continued to send annual tribute.(5) Lukwesa Mpanga did not send any for three years. When several of his subjects were killed or savaged by wild animals this was interpreted as a punishment for his neglect. He made amends by sending a convoy with slaves, salt and copper.(6)

(1) Campbell, op.cit.
(2) Brelsford, 1, 1946, p.14.
(3) Livingstone, II, p.258.
(4) Brelsford, 3, 1949.
(5) Valdez, II, p.174.
(6) Pogge, 1880.

The kingdom of Kazembe extended from the Lualaba to the Bemba country and from the Aushi paramount chiefdom of Meremere to the Tabwa chiefdom of Nsama. The districts at a distance from the capital were governed and defended by resident *bakalama* (watchmen) appointed by and answerable to the Kazembe. Outlying dependencies, *amayanga* (sing. *yanga*), were controlled by Kazembe's agents who travelled with their *mabumba* (retinues) to collect the tribute. There was no standing army.(1) In time of general war the governor of the frontier district, Moenempanda,(2) commanded the troops raised by provincial chiefs.

The earlier capital, on the eastern side of Lake Mofwe, had to be moved to a new site at the death of a Kazembe.(3) It was surrounded by a deep ditch(4) and enclosed with a wall of reeds. Its gateway was decorated with dozens of human skulls.(5) On returning to his country after the Yeke raids had been beaten off, Kazembe moved the capital farther south to Mwansabombwe where it has remained. The Kazembe had a large corps of palace officials, many of whom were his *bacanuma* (fellow-clansmen of his mother), and a bodyguard.(6) Fumo Anceva,(7) the Kazembe's chamberlain, superintended the management of the palace, escorted foreigners and arranged audiences. There were five classes or ranks of Lunda: Kazembe and his family; the descendants of the Lunda chiefs from Muata Yamvo's country; those of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba invested by Muata Yamvo; those of the clan heads who came with the first Lunda expedition; and those descended from the indigenous Shila chiefs and headmen admitted to Lunda-hood. Only sons of a Kazembe by a Lunda woman of the second or third rank were eligible for the position of Kazembe.(8) A reigning Kazembe usually recognised his successor officially.(9) The badge of office, the *lukano* armband, had to be transferred from the arm of the dead Kazembe to that of his successor.(10) A *mutaba*-tree leaf was inserted in his mouth during the enthronement ceremony.

Kazembe and his household lived in the *mosumba*, the royal enclosure.(11) His first four wives were given traditional names: Moari, Intemena, Kasaleuca, Fuama.(12) The families (? lineages) of women who had borne a Kazembe formed a nobility. Their members were the *bacalulua*.

Village headmen are nowadays administrative and ritual officials. They transmit the decisions of the Native Authority; they act as mediators in disputes, and endeavour to settle them amicably without the parties going to court; they organise work-parties to clear channels and repair village fences; they tend the village medicine (*nshipa*), ritually purify lion-killers, and take ritual measures to end a drought. Formerly they officiated at the sowing and first-fruits ceremonies. They are appointed by the Kazembe from among the members of their predecessor's *cikota*. District chiefs hear cases in the first instance. An appeal from their decisions can be made to Kazembe, who is head of the Native Authority. The chiefs have succeeded the tax-collectors who were established under the British

(1) Valdez, II, p.238.
(2) Gamitto, I, p.246; II, p.18; Burton, p.110.
(3) Livingstone, I, pp.247, 264; Burton, p.139.
(4) Burton, p.43.
(5) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(6) Valdez, II, p.238.
(7) Burton, pp.101, 108.
(8) Gamitto, II, p.17.
(9) Valdez, II, p.232.
(10) Gamitto, II, pp.35-6.
(11) Valdez, II, p.214.
(12) ibid., p.254.

South Africa Company and were given courts in 1924.

LEGAL SYSTEM

In the past the judicial officer at the capital was the Muaniancita.(1) An appeal from his decisions could be made to the Kazembe.(2) The *mwafi* (poison-cup ordeal) was administered to the accused man by his nearest relative.(3) The penalty for witchcraft was always death.(4) Adultery, homicide and theft were punished by death, amputation of limbs or genitals, or sale into slavery.(5) Travellers commented on the number of natives, even among the court officials, with mutilated hands and cropped ears.(6) Within the *cikota* homicide seems to have been compoundable.

LAND

The conquered Shila continued to be recognised by the Lunda as the owners of the land, and were consulted when fresh land was wanted for settlement. At present all suitable land in the immediate vicinity of villages is under cultivation but there remains a sufficiency of uncultivated land farther away.

SLAVERY

Slaves, sold to Arab and Swahili traders, were mostly recruited from among convicted criminals.(7) Livingstone gives this as the reason for Manyuema's reluctance to purchase Kazembe slaves.(8)

OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, DRESS etc.

"The people are black, dolichocephalic, woolly-headed, thin-lipped, of medium stature."(9) The intermingling of tribes has tended to eliminate differences of physical type. Facial scarification and tattooings, once distinctive tribal marks, have become mere fanciful embellishments. Chipping of the upper front teeth is now rare.

On ceremonial and ritual occasions in the past the body was smeared with *mpemba*(10) (a white chalky substance extracted from the river bed) and the hair, worn long and plaited or made into a knob,(11) was powdered with *nkula* (reddish wood-dust).(12) Rubbing earth on arms and breast was a token of the respect due to chiefs.(13) The dress consisted of a bark-cloth skirt, *nyanda*,(14) or a cotton loin-cloth.(15)

(1) Gamitto, II, p.18.
(2) ibid.
(3) Holmes, p.55.
(4) Burton, p.129.
(5) ibid, p.40.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.248.
(7) Livingstone, I, pp.302-3; II, p.62.
(8) ibid., II, pp.28, 35.
(9) Valdez II, p.241.
(10) Burton, p.103; Gamitto, I, p.307.
(11) Livingstone, I, p.263.
(12) Burton, p.82.
(13) ibid., pp.45, 112; Valdez, II, p.227.
(14) Valdez, op.cit., p.219.
(15) Burton, p.127.

At state functions the Kazembe appeared sitting on a stool placed upon lion-skins. He was shaded by a canopy of umbrellas made of coarse native cotton fabric(1) and wore an elaborate head-dress of scarlet and yellow feathers, the *muconzo* cloth adorned with bead and cowrie ornaments, the *insipo* girdle of hide,(2) and the *lukano* armband, emblem of his office.(3) His notables and musicians sat nearby. Ceremonial dancing was performed to the accompaniment of music.(4) Musical instruments(5) were *marimba*(6) (a sort of xylophone), *chincufo*(7) (a basso drum), *imbirebire* (big conical drum with cowhide or an elephant's ear stretched over the open end), *gomati* (two pieces of iron connected by a curved rod). The *mondo*,(8) a hollow wooden cylinder beated with drumsticks, was used to convey messages by means of varying combinations of beats. The big sacred *chambancua* drum,(9) resting on a lion's skin in Kazembe's palace, was only brought out in wartime to accompany the armies.

Clan and tribal history and family genealogies are favourite subjects of discussion at beer-drinking parties. District and village rivalry now finds expression in football matches.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

The male alone was thought to be instrumental in begetting children. Babies who cut their upper teeth first were destroyed as bearers of bad luck.(9) An infant is usually given the name of one of its dead ancestors on either the paternal or maternal side; this gives some indication of ancestry. Chinyanta, Lukwesa, Ilunga, Muonga, are characteristic Lunda names.

The effective exogamous unit is the *cikota*. Preferential marriage is with the *mufyala*, a person whose father is a fellow-clansman of one's mother or conversely, and particularly with father's sister's daughter. A network of affinal relationships thus develops between villages. In general there are no definite preferences leading to marriages between certain clans, but traditional reputations attaching to clans may cause their members to be regarded as desirable or undesirable marriage partners. Marriage payments are low. Both matrilocal and patrilocal marriages occur, but for the first few years marriage is usually matrilocal so that the husband can "get accustomed". He puts up a temporary hut in the *citente* of his parents-in-law and becomes a member of their extended family. Later the couple are at liberty to move. Often the parents of both spouses live in the same village. Lunda marriages tend to be patrilocal. Polygyny is not frequent. The second wife is usually inherited, e.g. she may be one's elder brother's widow. A man may marry a younger sister of his wife but not an elder sister, since she is called *mayofyala*, "mother-in-law".

The dead are buried in the bush. A *mwali* (see p.86 above) of the deceased takes part in the ceremony. To divert the thoughts of the partici-

(1) Burton, p.254.
(2) Valdez, II, pp.217-8; cf. Livingstone, I, pp.262-3; Burton, p.42; Bowdich, p.91.
(3) Burton, p.253.
(4) Valdez, II, p.227; Burton, p.114.
(5) Valdez, op.cit., pp.222-4; Livingstone, I, p.305.
(6) Burton, p.112; Valdez, op.cit., p.255.
(7) Gamitto, I, p.343.
(8) ibid., pp.342-3.
(9) ibid., pp.331-2.
(10) Livingstone, I, p.276.

pants from the contemplation of their loss he makes jokes at the expense of the dead man and behaves in a fashion which in other circumstances would be considered outrageous and would not be tolerated.

Kazembes considered themselves as potentially immortal; thus the death of a Kazembe was attributed to neglect of magical precautions against witchcraft.(1) According to Pinto, slaves and wives of a dead Kazembe were sacrificed and a ten-day period of authorized licence followed during which robberies were allowed.(2)

It was believed that the living and the dead could communicate. Life after death resembled that led while alive.(3)

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS AND RITUAL

The concept of the high-god Lesa is common to the Bemba-speaking peoples. *Lesa*, the creator, is regarded rather as a nature force than a personal deity and is not the object of an organised cult. He manifests himself in thunder, lightning, and the rainbow and can kill by lightning or epidemics, but generally interferes little.

The *ngulu*, nature spirits residing in animals, trees, stones, hills, caves, ponds, waterfalls, can bring good weather and crops and are prayed to in an emergency. This cult is of non-Lunda origin and has probably come from the Chishinga, Lungu and Bemba country. Most of the dwelling-places of these spirits are found on the escarpment hills and on the plateau. The *mfumu ya mipashi* (chiefs of spirits), which can enter and possess people making them dance, are local deities whose beneficient activity is confined to the village or district.

When the general well-being of the community was concerned the spirits of dead Kazembes, *masamos*, were consulted and presented with offerings of cassava, beer and goats. Kazembes were buried at a place north-east of the old capital with which it was connected by a broad pathway(4) still discernible. Each had a shrine which was tended by a guardian-priest, *mwine masamo*,(5) whose office was hereditary. These keepers of the royal graves sought the advice of the oracle when war was contemplated and invoked the assistance of the spirits.(6) The River Lualaba, in which Kazembe the founder of the dynasty rests, was held in veneration. Processions went there annually at harvesting time. It is said that Keleka was the first Kazembe who failed to lead the procession in person, and the famine and smallpox epidemic which later occurred were attributed to his negligence.(7) The Kazembe is said to have been the highest religious authority.(8)

Carved wooden figures representing dead ancestors (*nkisi*) were kept in special huts and received offerings of beer, cassava, flour, hemp and tobacco.(9) Kazembe had several such figures, some named after dead chiefs, which were carried before the army in battle.(10)

(1) Valdez, II, p.242.
(2) Burton, p.128.
(3) Valdez, op.cit., p.243.
(4) Valdez, II, p.231.
(5) Burton, p.103.
(6) Valdez, op.cit., p.248.
(7) Valdez, II, p.257.
(8) ibid., p.243.
(9) Livingstone, I, p.353.
(10) ibid.

The *ng'anga* (magicians) of whose activity little is known, dwelt in a banana grove just south of the capital which no outsiders could enter on pain of death.(1)

Human sacrifices were made at the capital.(2) Victims were prisoners of war and, failing them, the Kazembe's own subjects. Human blood, hearts and entrails are mentioned among the ingredients of which medicines were made.(3) Horns containing medicine were supposed to give protection from witchcraft. Before any hazardous enterprise - war, hunting, travel - was undertaken, an oracle was consulted(4) and, if prospects looked auspicious, a medicine was prepared.(5)

The Kazembe was said to receive warnings of hostile machinations in dreams. If he dreamt of someone more than once this was a sign that the man was plotting against him and must be put to death.(6) Crawford was informed that the Kazembe was ritually insulted during his meals, and he describes this in some detail.(7) "The king eats in a mysterious mode called *kapodio*... The 'old doctors' cursed him while he ate, his face veiled: 'Kazembe should die! He is no man! A beast! Kill the beast, oh! son of Temena (his mother's name)' ". The *mondo* was sounded to let people know that Kazembe was having his meal, and no one else was allowed to eat at the same time.

Ritual cleansing is prescribed after sexual intercourse. A man who kills a lion has to be washed in *nshipa* medicine by the headman before he can enter the village, and may not eat or speak till this has been done.

A wealth of ritual attached to fishing. Ritual authority was vested in the Shila "owners of the land".(8) The ceremony of *ukufungule sabi* (unlocking the fish) was performed annually towards the middle of the dry season on all the waters except the Luapula which "belongs to God". Bits of medicine were attached to the nets in order to ensure a good catch and prevent the nets from being torn. Charms were worn by fishermen or suspended at the bows to protect the canoe from being capsized by hippo or crocodiles. When the canoe was first launched the women sprinkled it with a little cassava flour to ensure plentiful catches. A women, particularly when carrying a child, was forbidden to step over a net. Sexual relations were tabooed when the fish were being poisoned. Lake Mweru was apparently never crossed south of Kilwa island, according to Livingstone.(9) At the "cursing" ceremony on Lake Mweru the dead men drowned in the lake were called by name and reprimanded.(10) Those who came safe ashore after their boats had foundered were greeted with a deliverance song and led in a thanksgiving procession.(11)

(1) Gamitto, I, p.358.
(2) Pereira puts the number of human victims at twenty a day (Livingstone, I, p.265). This is probably no more trustworthy than is his statement that Kazembe's army numbered 20,000 trained soldiers. R.J. Moore discusses human sacrifices as if at the time he wrote (1937) they were still common and an essential part of the salt-making ritual. The victim, according to him, is "nowadays usually a child".
(3) Burton, p.126.
(4) ibid., p.228.
(5) ibid., p.128.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.277.
(7) Crawford, 2, p.104.
(8) Livingstone, op.cit., p.252.
(9) op.cit., p.269.
(10) Crawford, op.cit., p.105.
(11) ibid., pp.105-6.

An equally elaborate ritual is practised in connection with salt-making (see above p.85).

Certain beliefs and doctrines are of recent origin. The Watch Tower movement (*Ba Chitawala*) which owes its origin to "the incidence of western culture on traditional beliefs, customs and sanctions",(1) is a revivalist movement teaching that before the second coming of Christ Lake Mweru will boil and the Europeans from the district will be thrown into it. The disciples group themselves into separate wards or found their own villages. They cultivate in common and share the produce of their work. The movement has strong political implications, and its adherents refuse to pay tax on the grounds that the Government is resisting the will of God. The Watch Tower flourished openly before the counter-measures applied after the Copperbelt disturbances of 1935.

The *bamucapi* movement(2) of witchfinders at one time also gained ground in the valley. It probably originated in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and, like the Watch Tower, incorporates elements of Christian doctrine.

Greatly feared are the *Banyama* - natives employed by or having contacts with Europeans - who are believed to murder their own countrymen to satisfy white blood-drinkers.

There are six mission stations at present in Kazembe's Kingdom. The Plymouth Brethren have three (at Kawama, Mubende and Johnston Falls), the White Fathers two (at Lufubu and Nsakaluba), and the London Missionary Society one (at Mbereshi). On the Belgian Congo side there is a mission at Kasenga and another at Chisambo.

(1) Quick, 1940, pp.216-21.

(2) Richards, 1935.

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Livingstone, D. (contd.) part of Kazembe's territory and was the first European to see Lake Mweru. His is the latest first-hand all-round account of the country.

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In addition I am greatly obliged to Mr. I.G. Cunnison, some of whose notes and unpublished material I have been able to consult. The section on clan organisation is based on the information obtained from him as indicated in the text. He is not, however, to be held responsible for any statements made in this paper since I was not in a position to avail myself fully of all the material he has collected, and, furthermore, the conclusions reached by Mr. Cunnison are provisional and subject to revision after the completion of the field study on which he is at present engaged.