

FIG. 1. THE LATE REV. J. J. DOKE CROSSING THE KAFULAFUTA RIVER BY MACHILA ON THE JOURNEY IN 1913 WHICH COST HIM HIS LIFE

Photo by Ç. M. Doke

THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

A STUDY OF THEIR CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

B

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NOTE ON THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND CHOICE OF NATIVE WORDS

THE symbol \hat{w} represents the voiced bilabial fricative, a bsound made with the lips not quite touching.

The symbol n represents the sound of ng in the English

word 'singing.'

In referring to the names of native tribes I have deleted all prefixes and used the stems as English words. Thus, instead of umulamba ('a Lamba person') and awalamba ('Lamba people') I have used the terms 'Lamba' and 'Lambas'; similarly, such roots as 'Wemba,' 'Kaonde,' 'Lenje,' 'Ila,' are used in the plural as 'Wembas,' 'Kaondes,' 'Lenjes,' 'Ilas,' instead of being given the Bantu plural prefixes. This is analogous to the accepted use of such terms as ' the Zulus,' ' the Swazis,' instead of the Bantu forms amazulu and amaswazi.

PREFACE

This book makes no pretence to being an exhaustive survey of the Lamba people; it is mainly the record of observations made during the period of my missionary work on the staff of the South African Baptist Missionary Society during the years 1914-21. These observations I was enabled to check, correct, and elaborate during the years 1927 and 1928, when, through a grant made to me by the University of the Witwatersrand from funds for research in Bantu studies provided by the Union Government, two Lambas, Joshua Kamwendo and his wife, were brought to Johannesburg for nine months in order to assist me, more particularly with the Lamba dictionary.

It is my hope that the facts recorded in these pages will assist missionaries, Government officials, and others who have direct contact with the natives to understand better the people and their point of view. I have said nothing about the missionary work in the country—this is a record of the thoughts and lives of the people, as far as I could observe them, unaffected by Christianizing and the influences of Western civilization, which are now beginning to tell. I can only say that I wish I had had more knowledge of the significance of the native customs when I first went to work among the Lambas: I should have been saved from many a grievous mistake and many a misjudgment. The ability to see through Bantu eyes will give the missionary and the official better understanding and more sympathy with the people, and a greater ability to gain their confidence.

C. M. DOKE

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CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Ilamba

THE country inhabited by the Lamba-speaking people is called by the missionaries Lambaland, but by the people themselves

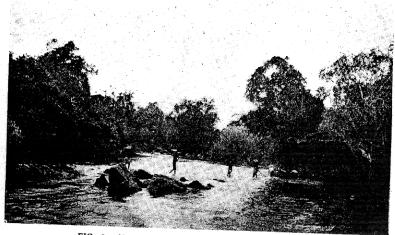


FIG. 2. CROSSING THE UPPER KAFUE—DRY SEASON

Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

Ilamba. It comprises a territory of some 25,000 square miles, partly in North-western Rhodesia and partly in that tongue of the Belgian Congo which forms the southernmost portion of the Katanga district. As will be seen from the map, the railway from Livingstone to the Belgian Congo cuts through Ilamba from south to north, entering the territory some miles north of Broken Hill and leaving it a few miles south of Elisabethville.

The average altitude of the territory is a little over 4000 feet, the hills which really constitute the international boundary and

the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi systems rising not very much higher than the surrounding country. Apart from the Irume Range in the extreme east, Ilamba boasts no mountry.

FIG. 3. AN UMUSHINJE, OR NEEDLE ANTHILL Photo by C. M. Doke

tains. The whole country is flat and slightly undulating, with here and there isolated kopjes or low ranges of hills. In very recent times attention has been drawn to the central and northern area of Ilamba by the discovery and working of a number of copper-mines from Bwana M'Kubwa on the railway - line to Nchanga, north-westward. Copper is usually, though not always, located in the kopjes.

Ilamba is distinctly forest-land. From east to west and north to south stretch seemingly interminable forests. The trees grow to a considerable height, but are not densely packed together, nor do their leaves afford much

shelter from the midday summer sun. At intervals, almost mechanically regular intervals, the forests are broken by open glades, through which run the numerous streams which drain the country. So regular are these intervals that natives use them to describe the distance from one village to another. To "How far have we yet to travel?" the answer will usually be something like this: "There remain three forests." That is, three more stretches of forest-land, with a stream between each. The glades between the forests increase in size proportionately

Ø KYOU

to the size of the stream which runs through them. The permanent rivers have wide plains on either side of them, while the beautiful parent river of Ilamba, the Kafue, is renowned for the far-stretching Kafue Flats which border its banks, at times for miles on either side. Directly, however, one reaches the higher ground, which is not subjected to the annual inundations, the forest once more commences.



FIG. 4. A BEND IN THE UPPER KAFUE RIVER, THE LOW BANK-SIDE SHOWING THE PLAIN WHICH BECOMES FLOODED

Photo by C. M. Doke

Ilamba is a land of streams and rivers. It is wonderfully well watered. With an annual rainfall averaging 50 inches, practically confined to the five months November to March, so level a country, with very slow drainage, constitutes to a great extent a vast sponge. From this sponge drain off into the Zambesi system the Luswishi, Lufwanyama, Kafulafuta, and Lukanga—all tributaries of the Kafue river, which is known to the Lambas as the Lufuŵu or Hippopotamus river—also, on the eastern side, the Lunsenfwa, 'Child of the Loangwa,' 'Child of the Zambesi'; while northward many streams, the largest of which is the Kafuŵu, feed the Luapula, one of the large tributaries of the Congo.

The climate of Ilamba is, on the whole, delightful. In the winter months frost in the early morning gives a freshness and crispness to the air, while in the summer the oppressive heat of October is soon broken by the coming of the rains, which temper the hottest day. Two potent enemies, however, militate against the opening up and development of this fertile country—the mosquito and the tsetse. Owing to the swampy nature of much of the country during and immediately after the rains, malaria



FIG. 5. VIEW ON THE CENTRAL KAFUE RIVER, WITH DUG-OUT CANOES

Author standing.

Photo by the late Rev. J. J. Doke

is extremely prevalent, and the natives themselves suffer much from this disease. Practically all of Ilamba is tsetse country. Belt after belt of tsetse is met as one travels, and this has a tremendous influence upon the habits and life of the people. There are no cattle, except in parts of Nkole's and Chitina's country on the south-east. Agriculture, food, mode of travelling, are all influenced by this lack of cattle.

In Ilamba one lives down on the level, pent up within the interminable forests. It is only when one climbs on to one of the scattered kopies and gets a view over the rolling sea of trees, or visits the great Kafue Flats, that one becomes aware of the tremendous distances and enormous spaces which so characterize Africa.

Ilamba is rich hunting country. Game of almost every kind abounds, though with the advent of the white hunter and the

increase of muzzle-loading guns in the hands of the natives it is fast diminishing. In 1913, when I first visited the country, portions of the Kafue plains were still teeming with herds of big game, and one could stand on an anthill and choose one's breakfast from any of ten or more species feeding with apparent unconcern. The existence of the game, like the absence of the cattle, has constituted

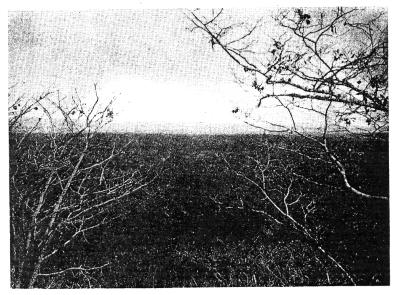


FIG. 6. THE INTERMINABLE FORESTS, WITH A GLIMPSE OF THE PLAINS OF THE LUFWANYAMA IN THE DISTANCE

Photo by C. M. Doke

a strong deciding factor in the habits and mode of life of the Lamba-speaking peoples.

Neighbours

Ilamba is bounded on the north by the country of the Seŵa people in the Congo, the Kafuŵu (tributary of the Luapula) roughly constituting the boundary. The Seŵas are a buffer tribe between the Lambas and their northern neighbours, the Lubas; they understand uŵulamba, and might almost be termed Lambaspeaking. Few in numbers and lacking in influence and importance, they scarcely constitute a separate tribe. On the north-east the Lamba boundary reaches almost to the Luapula river, on either side of which live the Aushi people, undoubtedly of Ŵemba stock,

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

acting as a buffer between the Lambas and the Wembas. Though speaking a dialect with individual peculiarities, these people really belong to the Wemba-speaking group. The eastern boundary of Ilamba is formed by the Irume Range and the watershed between the Mukushi and Lunsenfwa rivers. Beyond this boundary lies Ilala, the country of the Lala people. In speech the Lalas and the Lambas are closely akin; the languages may be regarded as



FIG. 7. SWAMP GROWTH ON THE EDGE OF AN UMUSHITU,
OR SWAMP FOREST

Joshua Kamwendo with bicycle.

Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

sister languages, and in fact were treated together as one by the late A. C. Madan.¹ The southern border of Ilamba is marked for the most part by the Lukanga river, which loses itself in the great Lukanga Swamp, extending in the rains over some 1600 square miles. In this swamp have lived, and still to a slight extent do live, that most interesting swamp people, the Twas.² Very few in numbers, degraded in the extreme, physically

¹ See his Lala-Lamba Handbook (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908). Madan even mixes up Lala, Lamba, and Wisa (eastward from the Lala country)—see his Lala-Lamba-Wisa Dictionary (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913). Wisa is as distinct from Lamba as is Wemba, though all belong to the same Central Bantu Group.

² The Lambas call these people Awatwa, and say that the term is derived from twa, twila, to pound and set fish-poison, to catch fish by poison. But it must be remembered that the 'inferior people' of the swamps of Bangweulu are so called by the Wembas, and those of the swamps of the Kafue by the Ilas:

and intellectually backward, the Twa people have made the Lukanga Swamp their refuge from stronger neighbours. They used to live entirely in little villages built on the floating sudd, maintaining a precarious existence on fish, water-lily roots, and what they could get by barter from the land folk living around them. Perhaps the best description we have of these interesting people is that given by J. M. Moubray. As far as we know, the



FIG. 8. LAMBA SWAMP BRIDGE
Author on bush-car.

Photo by the Rev. W. H. Doke

speech of these Twa people is a branch of Lenje. The real southern neighbours of the Lamba people are the Lenjes, or Bwene-mukuni, who are allied, linguistically and otherwise, with their southern and south-western neighbours, the Tonga and Ila peoples. A. C. Madan wrote a little handbook of Lenje,² and Father J. Torrend, S.J., has done considerable work on

while the pygmies (again inferior) of the Congo forests are called Twa by their neighbours, as are the Bushmen by the Zulus and Xosas. The same root is found in the Sotho and Chwana term for the Bushmen—Baroa. This root must have originally indicated outcast or inferior person, and the explanation given by the Lambas must be but a clever attempt at explaining what is not known to them. As a matter of fact, the Twa people seldom fish with poison; they use the spear, ukusumba, not ukutwa.

See In South Central Africa (Constable, London, 1912), chapter vi.

² Lenje Handbook (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908).

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this language.¹ The Ila-speaking people, so ably described by E. W. Smith and the late A. M. Dale,² approach the Lamba boundary on the extreme south-west, where the Kafue river, after taking the waters drained from the Lukanga Swamp, turns westward to form the 'hook of the Kafue.' The western boundary of Ilamba is made by the watershed between the Luswishi and the

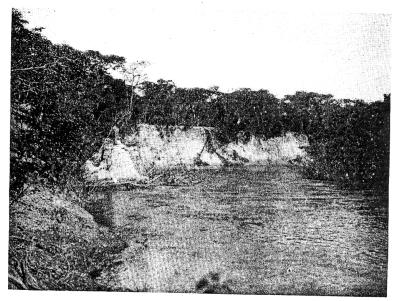


FIG. 9. A BEND IN THE UPPER KAFUE RIVER, THE HIGH BANK-SIDE $Photo\ by\ C.\ M.\ Doke$

Lunga rivers. The western neighbours of the Lambas are the Kaonde people, an offshoot of the Lubas of the Congo. The Kaondes have been well described by F. H. Melland.³

Territorial Divisions of Ilamba

Ilamba is inhabited by certain sub-tribes in addition to the real Lambas. The territory occupied by all of these, however, is reckoned as belonging to Ilamba. These sub-tribes are the

² See The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia (Macmillan, London, 1920).

³ See In Witch-bound Africa (Seeley, Service, London, 1923).

¹ See his Specimens of Bantu Folk-lore from Northern Rhodesia (Kegan Paul, London, 1921).

Awenambonshi, under the headship of Shiwuchinga, an intrusive Kaonde chief, and are comprised of mixed elements of Lamba, Sewa, and Kaonde, though mostly of Lamba; the Wawulima, inhabiting a large tract of land south of the real Lamba district, and under the headship of five territorial chiefs, Lesa (the paramount), Malembeka, Fungulwe, Chyushi, and Ngabwe; the Awenamukuni, intrusive Lenje elements, under the chieftainship of Mukubwe, on

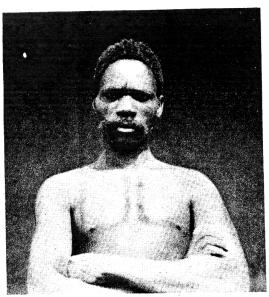


FIG. 10. SANDAŴUNGA, HEIR TO THE CHIEFTAINSHIP
OF KATANGA'S VILLAGE
Photo by C. M. Doke

the northern section of theLukanga Swamp in the Wulima area; and the Aŵenamaswaka. under two chiefs, Nkole and Chitina (the paramount), a buffer sub - tribe sharing much in common with the Lala and the real Lamba peoples. From a glance at the map (p. 19), it is quickly seen that the true Lambas are confined to a comparatively small area, about one half of Ilamba. This area again is divided in halves

between the great chiefs Nselenje in Congo Lambaland and Mushili in Rhodesian Lambaland. The relative positions of importance of these chiefs will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. It is but necessary here to note that there are two territorial chiefs in the Congo area, Nselenje and Chikoloma, and two in the Rhodesian area, Mushili and Nkana, and that their boundary practically coincides with the international border between the Belgian and British territories.

Although I have travelled over practically every part of Ilamba, this present study of the Lambas is for the most part confined to the people of Mushili's district, which I know best.

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The Lambas

The Lamba-speaking people may be described as hunting agriculturists. The lack of cattle has to a great extent determined their mode of life. They are typical exponents of hoe culture. The hoe is their most important implement, so much so that until recent times the marriage pledge was always made in hoes.

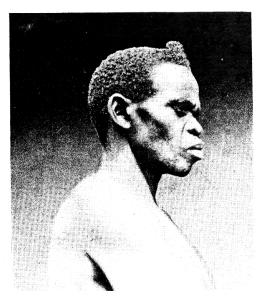


FIG. 11. KACHYASU, A MACHILA-CARRIER OF THE
1913 TREK
Photo by C. M. Doke

Throughout their vast territory the Lambas are scattered in numbers of small villages, each under its headman. Usually the villages contain from twenty to thirty circular huts, though some villages have many less and some a few more.

The people are divided into a number of exogamous clans, which only to a slight degree may be described as totemistic, and clan descent is matrilineal. This important feature of their social organization is seen to be interwoven with their religious and spiritual conceptions.

Physically the Lambas are of medium build, and though they do not as a whole show the physical proportions of such a tribe as the Zulus, they are remarkably robust and strong. The men

make very good carriers, and they stood up to the heavy war-load porterage to the East African theatre of war as well as any of the neighbouring tribes. The women too are able to carry enormous loads. I have repeatedly seen women coming from long distances with a baby on the back and an 80-lb. load of thatching grass on the head. One day, for a wager, a Wulima man carried a huge load of corn twenty miles to Kafulafuta Mission Station; when

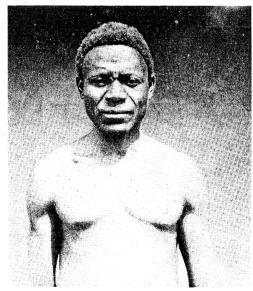


FIG. 12. MAŴETI, A MACHILA-CARRIER OF THE
1913 TREK
Photo by C. M. Doke

weighed the load turned the scale at 120 lb., and the carrier walked back home with his purchases the same day!

The Lambas have no tribal mark such as distinguishes the Wembas. They are a handsome folk, and their women generally are extremely comely, so much so that in the past Ilamba was repeatedly depopulated by Swahili slavers from the east and Mbundu traders from the west, so great was the demand for Lamba women. Their history reveals them to have been a peaceloving people, and, though they are roused to fight on various occasions, fighting is by no means one of their characteristics.

Linguistically the Lambas belong to the Central Bantu Group, of which uwulamba is a typical example. Their language is

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remarkably rich in folk- and proverb-lore, and they take a great delight in talking. Practically every Lamba is a born orator, unafraid to voice his views, no matter what size the assembly may be. I estimate that the average man's vocabulary far exceeds



FIG. 13. LAMBA BELLES

Photo by C. M. Doke

10,000 words, an estimate which would not apply in many European communities.

From the moral point of view I do not consider the Lambas to be degraded as a people. Their standard of morals certainly differs greatly from that which we have inherited from centuries of Christian precept, but the standard which they have is not low, nor is its observance by the people lax. Of this I trust that the succeeding chapters will give some clear idea.

CHAPTER II

LAMBA LEGEND AND HISTORY

History and Myth

THE earliest reference which we can trace to the Lamba people is contained in the journal of Dr Francisco José Maria de Lacerda e Almeida, who wrote on September 21, 1798:

The Caffres say that on both sides of and near the high road are small villages. They also assured me that to northward lies the Uemba ² nation, between the Muizas ³ and the Mussucuma, ⁴ who reach the banks of the Chire ⁵ or Nhanja. ⁶ Also they assure us that the Uemba and the Mussucuma are mortal enemies to, never sparing, the Cazembe's ⁷ people; but they are equally so with the Muizas, whom they know by their combed heads. On the south are the Arambas ⁸ and the Ambos, ⁹ peaceful friends of the Cazembe, who trade, they declare, with the Caffres near Zumbo. ¹⁰

Reliable Lamba history does not go very far back, and we are glad to have such a reference as this given by Lacerda. On questioning the old people one finds very quickly that historical data merge into legend, and legend into pure myth, and I therefore give an account of the generally accepted myths and legends of the past before recording the sparse historical data I have been able to collect.

Luchyele

If one asks a Lamba to speak of the beginnings of Lamba history he invariably goes back to the coming of Luchyele. In a later chapter ¹¹ will be discussed Lamba beliefs in theism and cosmogony

¹ Cf. The Lands of Cazembe, Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798, translated by Captain R. F. Burton (John Murray, London, 1873), pp. 98 and 99.

The Aŵaŵemba of North-eastern Rhodesia.
 The Aŵaŵisa of North-eastern Rhodesia.
 The Wasukuma of Tanganyika Territory.

Shiré river. 6 Lake Nyasa.

⁷ Kazembe was chief of a section of the Lunda people living in the area between Lakes Mweru and Bangweulu.

The Aŵalamba.

⁹ Evidently the Awenambo or Awenambonshi.

19 At the junction of the Loangwa and the Zambesi rivers. It is well known that the Lambas went on trading expeditions to the Nsenga country.

11 Chapter XIV.

LAMBA LEGEND AND HISTORY

and their conception of Lesa, the deity. It is but necessary here to note that the Lambas believe that Lesa visited the earth in the

beginning under the name of Luchyele.

Luchyele is said to have come from the east, 'arranging' the whole country, rivers, hills, anthills, trees, and grass. He came with numbers of people, planting the tribes and communities in their respective places, and passed on to the westward.¹ Curious markings on the sandstone in the Itabwa plain, not far from Chiwala's village and Ndola township, are pointed out as being the footprints of Luchyele and his people as they passed. It is said that the stones then were soft like mud, but that as soon as Luchyele had passed the mud hardened, and the marks have thus been preserved ever since.

Chipimpi

In those early days the people had no chief, and they were but few in number. But when they began to increase there came a superior man from the west country whose name was Chipimpi.2 He was accompanied by his sister Kawunda Shimanjemanje, who is credited with having obtained seeds by stratagem. There were no seeds or cultivated vegetables in her country, and so she journeved with her son to the Lualaba river 3 in the Luba country, and was well received by the chief there. The Luba people cultivated their gardens, and Kawunda used to go and do her share of the work. She let her hair grow very long, and after a while worked it up like a great pot hollowed inside, with a small opening on top. As she went out to plant the seeds in the chief's garden she would take seeds of every type, maize, sorghum, millet, pumpkin, etc., and throw them into her hollow headgear, until it was quite full. Her son did the same, and used to beg seeds to roast or fry, and store these in his headgear. They then returned to their own country.

So Chipimpi, with his sister and their households, came to the

² See the interesting variant to this myth given by me in *Bantu Studies*, vol. i, No. 3. The name of Kawunda is attributed to several persons in early learned.

legend.

The

There is one other reference in Lamba folklore to the Lualaba river; cf. my Lamba Folk-lore (American Folk-lore Society Memoir, No. XX, 1927), p. 165. These references to a river otherwise unknown to the Lamba people suggest that in the past they may have known that river, and that their route of migration may have lain in that direction.

A recent addition to this account states that he instructed the communities to plant their corn and, when they had reaped a harvest, to follow after him. But they were too lazy, and stayed where they were. Those, however, who did obey reached a great river (? the sea), where Luchyele washed them white and gave them great wisdom and much wealth from out the water.

Lamba country, far superior in their knowledge of foodstuffs. The people of the country had no proper food; they ate what leaves and roots they could find in the bush.

Chipimpi and his sister prepared gardens and sowed the seeds they had brought. This so astonished the people that when the crops were reaped word went round, Ifyakulya kwipanga! Twendeni, tukapoke kumfumu! "There is food at the royal village!



FIG. 14. TYPICAL OLD LAMBA

Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

Let us go and receive from the chief!" The possession of food had become the sign of chieftainship. Thereafter Chipimpi became known throughout the country as chief of the Lambas. He was also credited with introducing the fire-sticks (ulushiko and ichipantu).

Now Chipimpi had a son, whose name was Kaŵunda. One day, when Chipimpi's people were building a grain-store, every one was called upon to assist in the plastering. When the plastering was done *inshima* (porridge) was prepared by the chief for his people to eat. He also brought a goat (*imbushi*), so that his son and nephew might wash themselves in its blood. His nephew washed off the mud in the goat's blood, but Chipimpi's son,

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Kaŵunda, refused to follow his example. He had set his heart on washing in the blood of a man, having been urged to do this by his mother. So Chipimpi gave him a slave, saying, "Here is a slave, he will help you with your work." Kaŵunda picked up his hoe, slew the slave, and bathed in his blood. Then he said, "Now we are aŵenamishishi [hair clan people], for we have killed a man with the hair on his head! But as for you [indicating his father and his

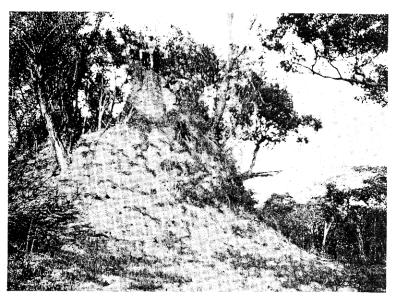


FIG. 15. AN ICHYULU ANTHILL Photo by the Rev. W. H. Doke

cousin], you are awenambushi [goat clan people], for you bathed in the blood of a goat." And Kawunda slew Chipimpi and became chief.

Then Kawunda gave orders that the body of his father should be taken up and buried. After the burial the villagers returned home, and were amazed to find Chipimpi sitting outside his house. Kawunda then said, "Burn this chief!" Again, when they believed that they had successfully burned the body, on returning to the village they found the skull resting there. Kawunda then ordered the skull to be placed in a shrine and thus preserved. And the skull remained where it was put; so the people said, "This is what Chipimpi himself wants: he does not want to be buried, and he does not want to be burnt; he just wants to stay in a shrine."

Some while after this Kaŵunda began to ill-treat the younger relatives of Chipimpi who belonged to the goat clan, and their anger was roused. "It is ours," they said, "which is the chief's clan! Why should we be treated thus? Let us now kill ourselves! Let us see what will remain! Kaŵunda himself can remain and the kingdom be his!"

So they all arose and went to the lake of the Mofya clan—the Akashiŵa Kaŵena-mofya ²—where they sat down and began to extract oil from castor-oil beans, ³ and to collect it into calabashes, bowls, and baskets. They then took all their goods and chattels, fowls, dogs, etc., and, tying themselves together with one long rope, threw themselves into the lake. A member of the leopard clan was the last on the line, and at the last moment he seized a knife, severed the rope in front of his wife, and cast her on to the bank. The woman screamed hysterically (so goes the native legend), but her husband took her away to the village, and she became the mother of all the present aŵenambushi. Thus did the humanhair clan wrest the chieftainship from the goat clan.

But Chipimpi's head was not quite so easily disposed of. The children of Chipimpi beat out new bark-cloth to wrap around the head, to preserve it in its shrine, but in the morning they found the cloth split. And one said, "Father's calico is already perished! Let us go and beat another piece, that Father may stay in it!" And this they did; and even in the present day it is said that they still continue to beat out cloth for Chipimpi's

head.

The shrine with Chipimpi's head is said to be near Kashise's village in the Congo, near the source of the Kafulafuta river. The Lambas reverence the head very greatly, and look upon it as an oracle of the tribe. If some evil is committed the head is said to become annoyed, leave its shrine, and go bounding away into the bush! The regular keeper 4 of the shrine, umwinamulenda, then follows it out into the bush and calls for it, whereupon it appears

¹ Suicide is often preferred by Lambas to humiliation.

² Now often called the Akashiwa Kawenambushi, 'Lake of the Goat Clan People.' It is a beautiful rectangular lake, situated about 50 miles west of Kashitu railway-station. The length is about 400 feet, the width 300 feet, and the depth has recently been sounded at 350 feet. Apart from the legend given here, the lake is shrouded in mystery and pregnant with native superstition. An account of some of these beliefs is given in Lambaland for July 1917. The term mofya is derived from the verb ofya, to entangle, as these people entangled themselves with the rope.

³ Castor-oil plants are to this day found growing around the lake. It is by no means clear why the people extracted the castor-oil.

⁴ Chyandashika is the present *umwinamulenda* of this shrine, and is living at the village of Chyasoŵakana.

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seated on a stump. On being assured that the evil will be dealt with, and on being presented with gifts, the head consents to return to its shrine.

History

It has been extremely difficult to collect accurate genealogical tables of the Lamba chiefs. Different informants give entirely



FIG. 16. OLD NSAKA Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

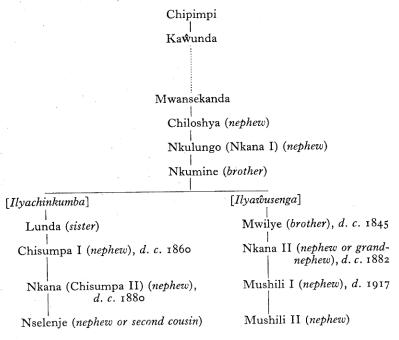
different sets, and to add to the confusion various chiefs and members of their families have more than one name, being known by one in one area and by another in another. Absolute verification has been impossible in several cases. As an instance of this, Mulilakwenda, the mother of Mushili I, is also known as Kaŵalu and as Nkonde.

Despite their uncertainty in some details, the tables of Lamba and Wulima chiefs given (pp. 40 and 41) will not be without their interest and value. It will be seen at once from these that the succession is from chief to brother or to sister's son: this is

necessary because of the matrilineal clan succession, which will

be discussed in Chapter XII.

Chipimpi and Kawunda are regarded as the first Lamba chiefs; then there is a gap, no doubt of considerable length, before we come to the definitely historical names, though one informant would run the lists continuously. The list of historical chiefs soon splits up into those reigning over Ilamba Lyachinkumba (Congo Lambaland) and those over Ilamba Lyawusenga (Rhodesian Lambaland). The list of chiefs, then, is as follows:



Some accounts attribute to Mwansekanda the introduction of seeds and cultivation, which is more properly put down to Chipimpi, the first chief. Chiloshya, Mwansekanda's nephew, who succeeded him, is credited with introducing weapons to the Lamba people.

Nkumine

Lamba remembrance of Nkumine as a chief is not very happy. They say that he would not cultivate, but continually seized the

¹ Old Nsaka, who knew Mwilye and Nkana very intimately.

foodstuffs of other people. Without any provocation he harassed his people, confiscated their food, and transferred it to his own grain-houses. Many of his people he sold as slaves to the Mbundu traders from the west coast for calico, guns, and powder. It was during his chieftainship that the true Lamba territories, at present those of Nselenje and Mushili, became divided. The story goes that the chief's sister Lunda married a *lumbwe* (consort) named Kalyaŵune. This man belonged to the honey-guide clan.



FIG. 17. THE ITABWA RIVER
Photo by C. M. Doke

Kalyawune slew Lunkeshi, an umwinamishishi, a member of the reigning clan. Thereupon Lunda fled by night with her consort to the present Congo Lambaland. She then tried to go to the Wemba territory across the Luapula, but Nkumine, usually referred to as Nkana, besought his sister to remain on the western side of the Luapula, within Lamba territory, and he, her younger brother, would pay the death-price for the murder committed by Kalyawune. Lunda thereafter became a great chieftainess, and Kombo, who had been chief of that country, became subservient to her. Thus it was that two great chiefs reigned in Ilamba at one and the same time, and the chieftainship has been divided ever since.

Chisumpa

The chieftainship of Chisumpa is marked by two events, the great famine which followed a visitation of locusts and the war with the Chikundas.

The people had sowed their foodstuffs, and when the pumpkins and maize were ripening there came great swarms of locusts, com-



FIG. 18. KATANGA ARRAYED IN THE GLORY OF A NEW BLANKET Photo by C. M. Doke

pletely destroying the crops, eating, so the people say, even the roots. Then came the *insala yachipumpula*, a terrible famine, when people boiled leaves of ordinary trees and tried to subsist thereby, some even trying to eat grass. Very many people perished. Chisumpa sent many people to buy food in the Aushi country, but the food was insufficient for those who went, and many of them died. It was principally those who remained in Ilamba who survived the famine.

When Chisumpa lived on the Chimeto river, a tributary of the Luapula, there came into the country Chikunda adventurers from the Lower Zambesi, elephant-hunting. It is said that they came to Chisumpa with guile, pretending to form a friendship (uŵulunda). But Chisumpa was more than equal to them in suave

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dealing. Under cover of the friendship they induced Chisumpa to give a meal-offering to the spirits and pray for their success in elephant-hunting, "for," they said, "Chisumpa, these forests are your garden!" They were successful, and took back to their country much ivory. So impressed were they with Ilamba as an elephant country that they returned in force to stir up a quarrel with Chisumpa and take the land. They dug a trench around their camp and fortified the place, and then sent to Chisumpa demanding ten baskets of meal and ten slaves. Chisumpa refused, and said, "If you want war you will get it!" The Chikundas called on Chisumpa to come and hold a palaver. He sent a slave to speak with them. This roused the Chikundas, who left their fortification and went to attack Chisumpa's village. Chisumpa had had time to summon his men, whose guns outnumbered those of the attackers, and in the fight many Chikundas were killed. The remnant fled to those who had remained in camp and elsewhere, and again came to attack Chisumpa. This time Chisumpa did not wait for them. He poisoned water and foodstuffs; and the few who survived fled from the country. Chisumpa gained considerable spoil in guns and tusks.

There are still a few scattered families of Chikundas living in Ilamba. Mukakangoma, a half-caste Portuguese-Chikunda, now a petty village headman in Lesa's country, originally came to the country after these disturbances with goods to buy slaves, but owing to debts and eventually to the coming of the white man he remained in the country and lost all his slaves.

At the time of Chisumpa natives say that the Amapundi (Ngoni) fought with the Lala people, but did not get as far as Lambaland.

When Chisumpa was near to death, and suffering from lung trouble, Kalachilimuka, who afterward became Mushili I, then a youth, sent a man to Chisumpa to beg for some of the poison with which he had defeated the Chikundas. Chisumpa refused to give it unless Mushili came himself, but Mushili feared he might be killed, as he was an heir to the chieftainship and Chisumpa might want some one else to die with him. Shortly afterward Chisumpa died. This must have been about 1860.

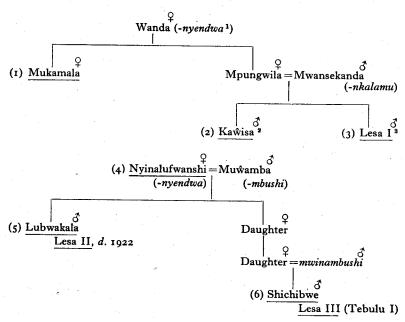
Nkana

Chisumpa was succeeded by Nkana, whom he had nominated as his successor. He was often called by the name of Chisumpa, and was chief until about 1880.

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Meanwhile in Ilamba Lyawusenga another Nkana had succeeded the old chief Mwilye, who died about 1845. Old Nsaka used to call this Nkana Nkana wachibwela, "Nkana returned," meaning Nkana II.

ŴULIMA CHIEFS



Mushili

Nkana II died about the year 1882, and was succeeded in the chieftainship by his nephew Mputu, otherwise known as Kalachilimuka and Kaŵalu. Mputu took the name of his predecessor Nkana, and kept that name until, out of courtesy to the Congodespot, he took the title of Mushili.

About the year 1885 the great Yeke despot of the Garenganze, whose headquarters were at Mwenda, in the Belgian Congo, sent an expedition into Ilamba. The leader of the expedition was Chimfumpa. At that time many people fled from the country.

¹ Here and elsewhere I have indicated the roots of the clan names of certain individuals. For an explanation see Chapter XII.

² Kaŵisa successfully fought the Waluunda, who retreated.

3 Lesa I successfully fought Chimfumpa (sent by the Yeke chief Mushili), who made a treaty entailing the equal division of tusks when an elephant was killed. Chimfumpa built a walled village at the Musangashi river, where he lived for some time. Lesa I left no heir, and Nyinalufwanshi "came from the west."

Katanga, the chief on the Kafulafuta, fled to the Lenje country with many of his people, while other chiefs submitted to the despot. Lesa, the Wulima chief, resisted and was undefeated; he made an agreement with Chimfumpa under which they divided the ivory equally. Mputu was one of those who submitted to Chimfumpa, and "drank the potion of submission" to his master Mushili by surrendering two female slaves and one *impande* shell.¹



FIG. 19. MUSHILI I AND THE AUTHOR

Photo by the late Rev. J. J. Doke

Mushili of the Garenganze, otherwise known as Mwenda, in accepting Mputu's submission permitted him to take his name, which is now the established name of the paramount chief of British Lambaland.

In February 1893 was published in the Geographical Journal a paper by Joseph Thomson, which he had read before the Royal Geographical Society in November 1892, entitled "To Lake Bangweolo and the Unexplored Region of British Central Africa." With two companions, James A. Grant and Charles Wilson, he had travelled from Lake Nyasa with a large number of carriers, and reached the village of "Mshiri" on the Katunga river, near the

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Lunsenfwa, on November 4, 1890. His carriers had brought with them the smallpox, and of this Thomson wrote:

On the tenth day I got back to Mshiri's, and not a moment too soon, for the smallpox had spread to the village, and among the victims was the son of the chief. Regretting sincerely that Mshiri's hospitality should have cost him so dear, we hurriedly completed our preparations, and on November 18 commenced the long return journey to Nyasa.

Thomson gives a vivid glimpse of those unsettled slaveraiding days. Of his entrance into Southern Ilamba he says:

It was more unpleasant to discover that we were once more within the pestiferous sphere of influence of the slave-raiding half-caste Portuguese from Zumbo.¹ We hear much of the ravages of the Arabs on the Congo. I should like, if circumstances permitted, to describe to you the ghastly work carried on by men with European blood in their veins, which has spread death and desolation over many thousand miles of the Zambezi basin. We had soon unpleasant evidence of the reputation the Shakundas, as they are called, had acquired. Invariably we were assumed to be of the same race, and to be engaged on the same bloody mission. Our appearance was the signal for the usual frenzied war-cry, the gathering of excited warriors, and the flight of terror-stricken women and children.

Natives who speak of the visit of these three white men say that they brought a British flag to Mushili's village. In those days the village was near the Lunsenfwa, where the present *imilyashi* (burial-places) of the chiefs are. They remember these men by the names of Mangalananda, Chyochyaŵukala, and Mwenye.

Their arrival was followed by a scourge of smallpox (ichingwali), which carried off numbers of people. This again was followed by a failure of the food-crops, and many died of famine. The Lambas called this famine munshyumfwa-mupopalo, for whenever they heard a chopping the people would gather to see if there were anything to eat. They are unripe fruit, and used the famine food akalembwe-lukasu as their staple inshima.

In 1892 the country was again stricken, this time by locusts (called by the Lenje *ichisoshi*). So bad was the famine that great numbers of the people emigrated into the Lenje country and lived under the chief Chipepo for a considerable time. Of those who remained only a few survived.

In 1895 began the contact of the Lambas with the Swahili slave-

¹ Though some say he paid fifty elephant tusks.

That is, the Chikundas.

traders under Chiwala. 1 Chiwala, as he was known to the Lambas, or Majariwa, as he was known on the east coast, was a Yao, born about 1840. He had been a slave, but had scraped together sufficient wealth to purchase his freedom. Possibly the slow process of buying his freedom in accordance with the laws of Islam

once said, "He is so

'near' that he will save

a fowl's feathers to make

soup therefrom, and skin

a louse to sell its hide."

Eventually Chiwala, who

had been the skipper of

a dhow on the east coast,

collected together a

quantity of trade goods,

and with several native

traders set out westward.

Chiwala became leader

of the expedition, as he

possessed most of the

carriers and guns. It is

estimated that the ex-

pedition was some seven

hundred guns strong,

and each man carried a

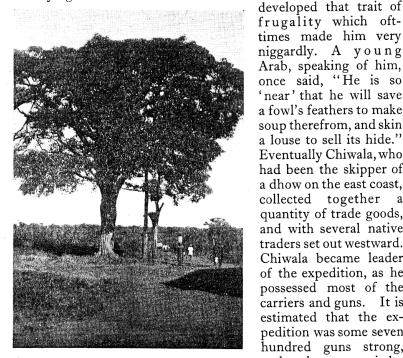


FIG. 20. THE SLAVE TREE AT NDOLA, REMI-NISCENT OF THE RAIDS Here slaves were sold.

load of trade goods besides his muzzle-loader. Photo by Miss O. C. Doke They had with them nine flags, embellished with Koranic texts and other charms.

During the march westward the parties began to separate, going off to various chiefs to trade. After several months' travel Chiwala, at the head of about three hundred and fifty guns, reached the Lamba country. He came to trade for slaves and ivory, and the tariff of exchange was as follows:

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28 yds. of calico, or 1 gun and 1 barrel of powder and caps

= 1 boy or 1 woman.

= 1 man (for he might escape). 12 to 20 yds. of calico

200 yds. of calico = 50 lb. of ivory. 48 yds. of calico, or 2 guns and 2 barrels of powder and caps

= 1 girl.

It is alleged that, on a pretext of obtaining from neighbours a vast store of buried ivory for the traders, the Lambas induced Chiwala to hand over his goods, and then treacherously informed him that they intended to keep the goods and take the lives of the traders.1 The Lambas had meanwhile built stockades and assembled in great numbers. At this juncture the notorious Chipembere, another of the leaders of the traders, who had been similarly treated by the Lambas, arrived, and at once advised an attack. All the other leaders, similarly duped, came together, and the Lambas were attacked and fled. Chiwala declared that he would not return east until he had got back his goods. 'War' after 'war' was fought, the first against Chilasa, the second against Nkunka, the third against Nkana.² The Mohammedan guns executed a great slaughter among the Lambas. The fourth 'war' was against Lilanda, who fled to the top of Chibwe (a huge rock near Chinsenda station), where Chipembere took ample revenge. The fifth 'war' was against Lumina, who sued for peace, and. paying over to the Wanyinasala, as the Lambas called the Swahili slavers, fourteen head of cattle, induced them to make the sixth and seventh 'wars' against Shiwiyungu and Mutofwe. The eighth 'war' was against Mtewa. Two more 'wars' were fought, against Ntututwe and Myele-myele.

The eleventh 'war' was fought in resisting the Belgians, headed by two white officers known to the natives as Kasekele and Kaseya, who were surprised and fled, leaving 200 native soldiers and much booty behind. The twelfth 'war' was against Chinama, Chitumbi, Kalasa, Mushili, Chyongo, Chimese, and others, who built themselves a big stockade on the Luapula river and asked Chipembere (who was now looked upon as Chiwala's fighting general) where he was going. For answer he and his men stormed the stockade, with great slaughter. The thirteenth 'war' was against Kalonga. Saidi bin Abdullah and Mulilo retired from this fight, but Chipembere had a repeating rifle, and himself killed thirty people that day. Then the Lambas broke through their own stockade, fleeing the

² West of the Kafue.

¹ For my information concerning Chiwala I am indebted to a most interesting article in the Bulawayo Chronicle, 1913, written by 'Chirupula'-J. E. Stephenson-entitled "Chiwala, Trader and Raider, a Northern Rhodesia Warrior," which Mr Stephenson has courteously allowed me to quote.

¹ This is the Swahili version, and is probably exaggerated. The Swahilis saw a quicker way of obtaining slaves and ivory than that of trade.

dreadful carnage, but the Mohammedans posted outside put to death 150 of the fugitives. There were other fights, but the preceding thirteen have been designated by the title of 'wars.'

Chipembere acknowledged that at this time "the Lambas were like the leaves of the forest" in number. The fighting spread

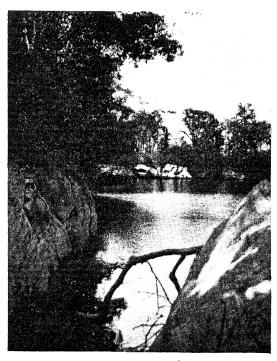


FIG. 21. A CORNER OF THE AKASHIŴA KAŴENA-MOFYA

Photo by C. M. Doke

over several years, and many thousands were slain, and great numbers of youths and girls captured as slaves.

Having subdued a chief, Chiwala's policy was to levy tribute in ivory, and great numbers of tusks passed through his hands every month. Sometimes in one morning as many as twenty tusks would be brought in. Then big parties would set out for Tete, carrying ivory, and return with guns, powder, cloth, and goods. With such wealth, Chiwala's people lived in a most extravagant fashion, until the ivory began to get scarce, the hidden stocks were finished, and Chikunda hunters competed with them.

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But the Belgians were not resting beneath the defeat inflicted upon them, and the last war took place at Chiwala's stronghold on the Luapula river, when the Mohammedans were routed and fled from the Congo territory. It was in this fight that Captain Stairs was killed.

After this Chiwala settled down to a more peaceful method of trading, though he could not give up dealing in slaves. The British South Africa Company had sent out Captain Codrington, known as Bwana M'Kubwa, about this time, and Government

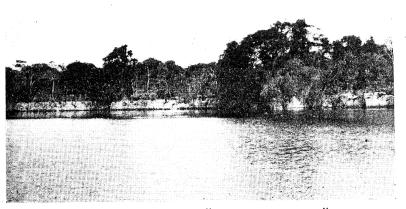


FIG. 22. A GLIMPSE ACROSS "THE JEWEL OF ILAMBA,"
THE AKASHIŴA KAŴENA-MOFYA
Photo by C. M. Doke

officials came to administer the country. Eventually Chiwala was caught red-handed with people tied up in the slave chain, and along with Saidi bin Abdullah, his evil genius, was imprisoned for a period. Thereafter he lived a quiet life, gradually became blind, and died at his village near Ndola in March 1913.

It was just at the close of the century that Bwana M'Kubwa came to the Irume Range with native Ngoni troops. And at that time Mushili removed his village to the confluence of the Myengwe and Mpangamumba rivers. A Government station, or boma, had been established at Mwomboshi, on the Lenje-Lamba border. Then in 1900 came the first European trader, Stakes, who traded cloth for rubber.

In 1901 the boma was moved to the Manda or Wilima river, near the Akashiwa Kawena-mofya. This boma was called generally

the Kapopo Boma, and was in the Wulima country. The Native Commissioner sent was Mr Johnson, who instituted the first taxing in the district; this was in the form of a levy of rubber, or work on the road which was cleared from the Manda to the Mukushi river, via Mutofwe and Nkole. At first the natives did not understand what the tax receipts were, and threw them away, complaining that they only received a bit of paper for all their labour. The last rubber tax was levied in 1902.

In 1905 the boma was removed, and built by Mr J. E. Stephenson ('Chirupula') at Ndola Yachyani, a site about three miles from the present township of Ndola. The tax was raised from three to five shillings, and in 1910 to ten shillings, at which rate it still

stands.

CHAPTER III

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

Lamba Boundary Disputes

In Chapter I the territorial divisions of Ilamba were given, showing that the country is divided between the true Lambas of Nselenje and Mushili, the Wulimas of Lesa, and the intrusive Kaonde, Lenje, and Lala elements in the territories of Shiwuchinga, Mukubwe, Nkole, and Chitina. The Lambas and the Wulimas are practically one in language, life, and customs, but are under separate headship. There have in the past been numerous boundary disputes, each chief exercising rigorously his rights over his own territory.

The present southern boundary of Mushili's country is the Kafulafuta river, but before the British occupation it lay about fifteen miles farther south, touching on the Nkanga Hills and including the present unoccupied territory from the Nshyawala river to the Lwankuni. This territory is now regarded as being Wulima, but in the old days it belonged to the group-chief Chiŵombe, whose present representative is Saili. Chiŵombe was a vassal of Mushili, but was also held in renown by the Wulima people.

In the past there has been considerable friction over this boundary area, as the following cases will show. The village headman Kalimanama for many years persistently built his village on the south side of the Kafulafuta, cultivating there, and hunting as far as he dared. The Wulima people did not themselves inhabit the area, and they feared to assert their claim to it and drive the intruder off. But on the other hand Kalimanama and his sons were also afraid to venture far afield on the Wulima side of the river hunting, since the Wulimas insisted on their hunting rights.

One day a hunter, Kaluwe, from one of the Lamba villages on the north side of the river wounded an eland on the south side, followed it up, and eventually killed it not very far from the village of Lumpika, on the Lwankuni river. Lumpika's men confiscated the whole animal, and sent part, as it was royal game, to the chief Malembeka. Kaluwe took his complaint to his chief, Mushili,

who sent an emissary to Lumpika. But Malembeka sent back word to Mushili, "This is our country. You and your people have a large country too. We can give you none of this meat!" And Mushili had to leave the matter at that.

Chinami, eldest son of Kalimanama, a renowned elephant-hunter, one day killed an eland as far afield as the vicinity of Kalunkumya's village, beyond the Nkanga Hills. Mpupulwa came on the scene and said, "We shall take all the meat to the chief, and you also, to be punished." Chinami said, "No, let me pay you compensation!" So he gave Mpupulwa ten shillings, and was allowed to take away his meat. But Chinami was careful not to hunt again in that direction.

In the old days Nkana's territory extended southward as far as the junction of the Lufwanyama and Kafue (Lufuŵu) rivers, but since the arrival of the white man the triangle south of the Western Kafuŵu river has been given to Lumpuma and his people, who are Ŵulimas from Lesa's country.

Paramounts and Territorial Chiefs

A glance at the map will show that Lambaland proper is cut in two by the international boundary. Nselenje, the present Lamba paramount chief in the Congo, used to be the most influential Lamba chief. At present he is regarded as the chief of his own particular country and that of Chikoloma, his sub-paramount chief. Similarly, in Rhodesian Lambaland Mushili is regarded as paramount chief over all the Lamba-speaking peoples. In the old days, however, Mushili had less power than Nselenje, and his sub-paramount chief was Nkana. These chiefs used to have no jurisdiction over the people of the Wulima, Kaonde, Lenje, or Lala portions of Ilamba. Nkana, however, acknowledged Mushili as his superior, though he was not tribally bound to any service. In case of famine in Mushili's country he would send supplies, as an umulambu (offering) and a sign of friendship. Mushili in his turn might act in the same way toward Nselenje.

Group-chiefs of Mushili

We shall now confine our investigations more particularly to Mushili's country. Within this territory there were four group-chiefs of considerable power, Saili, Matipula, Nkambo, and Wasa. Each of these group-chiefs had a number of villages under his immediate jurisdiction.

Saili was the successor to Chiŵombe, who also possessed that

portion of disputed land south of the Kafulafuta river. At present Saili's village is situated on the north bank of the river, about eight miles from the Kafulafuta Mission Station. Saili has jurisdiction over a number of villages, which include the following: Katanga, Kacheya, Nkomeshya, Chibweshya, Kalata, Mukungu, and Nsonkomona.

Matipula is situated higher up the Kafulafuta river, not far to the west of the railway-line.

Nkambo and his villages are grouped about the source of the Kafulafutariver, at the foot of the hills which form the boundary with the Belgian Congo, to the east of the rail-way-line.

Wasa used to be situated on the Wuluwa river, a tributary of the Upper Kafue, about twenty miles north of Kafulafuta Mission Station. Kawunda Chiwele has succeeded Wasa,



FIG. 23. IN A WULIMA VILLAGE

Note the akapingwe.

Photo by C. M. Doke

and removed his village southward into the present Wulima territory of Malembeka.

Saili, Matipula, Nkambo, and Wasa all acknowledged Mushili's superior chieftainship by sending him meat when animals were killed. Gifts of grain and bark cloth were also sent, but as gifts, never as dues. These group-chiefs were quite independent of any taxation by Mushili.

In case of war, however, Mushili had the right to demand help from them, whereas he could but beg help from Nkana. On the death of one of these group-chiefs, his successor had to send an *umulambu* (offering of servility) of a fowl to Mushili, to announce the death, and later go and present himself to the paramount chief.