

## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

In law-cases appeal was sometimes made beyond the group-chiefs to the paramount, but Mushili, in order to preserve their dignity, seldom reversed the judgment of the group-chiefs. In



FIG. 24. AN OLD MBWELA WOMAN, A CENTENARIAN,  
IN FRONT OF HER INKUNKA

Photo by C. M. Doke

each of these four groups were miniature Mushilis; within their own villages they were paramount. But all villages outside of these four groups, throughout the whole of the Mushili territory, dealt directly with Mushili as their paramount. This was seen, for instance, when an elephant was killed. Both tusks were taken to Saili, Matipula, or one of the others if killed within their immediate territory, otherwise to Mushili himself. The chief chose one tusk, and the hunter took the other and the meat. The

## TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

chieftainship of the paramount or the group-chief was similarly acknowledged when an eland or a lion was killed. The *akatiwōi* (breast) of the eland belonged to the chief, as did the skin of the lion, though in the latter case the chief compensated the lion-killer with the gift of a slave.

### The Dispensing of Justice

These chiefs, the paramount and the four group-chiefs, had power to pass the death-sentence after judging a case. An ordinary village chief or headman, on seeing that a case might involve the death-penalty, would send it on to the group-chief or paramount concerned.

Village chiefs and headmen could settle ordinary cases involving fines, but never pass sentence of death, for the Lambas say *Umwana wambeŵa tatiŵula-chitele*, "A young mouse doesn't pierce the calabash," and a village chief or headman is but a "young mouse" compared to the group and paramount chiefs. The Lambas favour the principle of fines, for they say *Tawāteka-muŵoni sombi umuŵusu*, "One does not enslave a rich man, but a poor!" If, however, the fine cannot be met, the case is sent on to the group-chief, for an ordinary chief cannot impose the penalty of slavery. The group-chief, on hearing the case, might say to the plaintiff, "He is your slave," and the man would be sent to work to pay off his debt, or even sold to the Mbundu traders.

In Ilamba there used to be three main punishments, death, slavery, and fining. Only the third could be imposed by ordinary chiefs. If the accused or the plaintiff were not satisfied with the decision of the ordinary chief, he could appeal to the group-chief, but no further.

Should a man under the jurisdiction of Saili commit murder, and, fearing the consequences, fly to Mushili's village and give himself up there, Mushili would have him thrust into the stocks to await word from Saili. On hearing the evidence Mushili would restore the man to Saili with the advice, "Don't kill him, but fine him heavily!" Should a man of Mushili's similarly escape to Saili or to Nkana, he would immediately be sent back under escort.

Between the Lambas and the Wulimas matters were always much more formal. Should a murderer escape from Mushili's country and take refuge in Lesa's, Mushili, on hearing where he was, would send a gun to Lesa, requesting him to seize and restore the man to him. It would be out of the question for Mushili to

## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

send armed men into Lesa's country to arrest the man. Should he do so, Lesa would order the arrest of all the men, and Mushili would have to pay heavily for their release. In such a case the murderer would then be protected by Lesa, for "Did not Mushili despise Lesa in sending the men?" Naturally the same procedure would obtain in the case of a murderer escaping from Lesa's country to Mushili's, or between Mushili and Nkole.

In matters of extradition Nselenje would act toward Mushili as Mushili toward Nkana or Saili. In the old days Lamba,



FIG. 25. A GROUP OF LENJE MEN

Photo by C. M. Doke

Wulima, and Maswaka territories reciprocated in assisting extradition, but if a man got away to the country of Shiwuchinga (Awenambonshi) or Mukubwe (Awenamukuni) he was said to *ililila*, go away for good; his escape was treated as though he had reached Kaonde, Lenje, or Lala country, and there was no chance of procuring his return.

### The Origin of Chieftainships

The Lambas say that in the beginning there was only one village in the country. When the chief saw that his village had grown very big he decided to divide it, and, calling one of his principal men (*ichilolo*), who was not of chief's clan, said to him: "Go and build at such and such a stream, and I shall send you people." He acted similarly with other *ifilolo*, forming villages in various places. At first the chief feared to send men of chief's rank, lest

## TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

they should get sufficient power to rebel against him. When a goodly number of villages under *ifilolo* had been established, he then began to send men of chief's clan to form their villages. First he sent *imfumu ishyamukoka uchye*, chiefs of small rank, not those in his immediate *entourage*. Such inferior chiefs to-day are Katanga, Senkwe, and others. When sending out these chiefs the paramount chief instructed them where to build, and told them not to exploit the people. "For," said he, "they are not your people. All of you belong to me!"



FIG. 26. IN A LENJE VILLAGE—A GROUP OF WOMEN

Photo by C. M. Doke

If the minor chiefs annoyed the *ifilolo* (headmen not of chief's rank), the headmen would complain to the paramount, who would send others of chief's rank to expostulate with them and threaten them.

Later on, when he saw that the inhabited parts of his country were getting thickly populated, the paramount began to send *imfumu shyawuleme*, chiefs of renown, such as Chiwombe and Wasa, saying to them, "Go and look after those people. Such and such villages are yours. I have given them to you."

### Village Distribution

The foregoing account explains the existence of villages of varying standing in the community. There are three main types of villages:

## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

(1) *Umushi wamfumu*, a chief's village, the headman over which is a man of chief's clan, an *umwinamishishi*. Of these there are three grades, (a) the group-chief, such as Saili, (b) *imfumu yaŵuleme*, a prominent chief, such as Ntenchye, and (c) *imfumu ichye*, a minor chief, such as Katanga.

(2) *Umushi wamuchyete*, a commoner's village, the headman over which is an *ichilolo*, a prominent man, but a commoner.

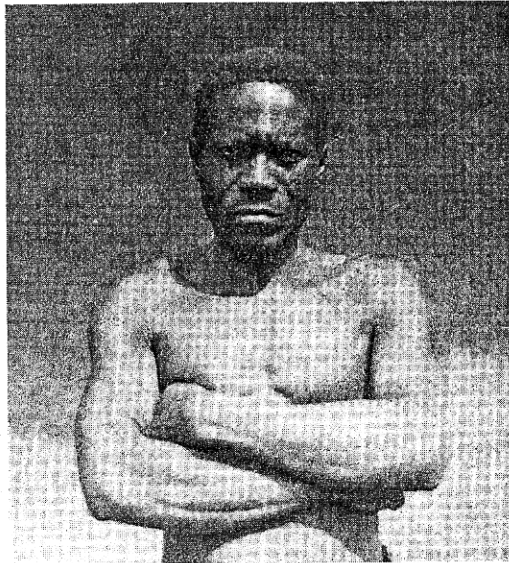


FIG. 27. NSENSENTA, A LAMBA HEADMAN, WHO HAS SUFFERED FROM SMALLPOX

Photo by C. M. Doke

Such villages are Chisachyuni and Kombe.

(3) *Ichipembwe*, under the headship of an *umwinamulenda*, a commoner who has succeeded a member of the chief's clan. The Lambas say, *Walaya amata amfumu*, "He has eaten [inherited] the weapons of a chief!"

Generally the *imishi yaŵachyete* are larger than the *imishi yamfumu*, because many people prefer the headship of a commoner, who does not 'lord' it over them or oppress

them as does a member of the proud *aŵenamishishi*.

The most important *imishi yamfumu* in Mushili's country are the following: Mushili, Ntenchye, Tolo,<sup>1</sup> Muchyenda,<sup>1</sup> Chyembonkonde,<sup>1</sup> Chilenga,<sup>1</sup> Nkambo, Chishiŵanamwansa,<sup>1</sup> Matipula, Kaŵundachiwele, Kaŵundakasopa,<sup>1</sup> Kampasu,<sup>1</sup> Senkwe,<sup>1</sup> Mukumbi,<sup>1</sup> Katanga,<sup>1</sup> Nsonkomoona, Saili, Mutyoka, and Maŵote.<sup>1</sup>

The following are a few representative names of *ifilolo* in Mushili's country: Chisachyuni, Chimbalesepa, Kombe, Masombwe, Kalata,<sup>2</sup> Kachyeya,<sup>2</sup> Kaŵalu,<sup>2</sup> Nsensa, Nsenseuta, and Lwembe.

<sup>1</sup> These names are those of minor chiefs; all the others are *imfumu shyatŵuleme*, and include the paramount and the four group-chiefs.

<sup>2</sup> These are also *aŵenamulenda*.

## TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

### Ifipembwe

The *ifipembwe* are the villages in which are the *imilenda* (shrines with relics) of the paramount and group-chiefs. The *aŵenamulenda*, keepers of the shrines, are *ifilolo* who are headmen of the *ifipembwe*. In Rhodesian Lambaland there are seven *ifipembwe*. The paramount chief Mushili has two, while Nkana, Saili, Wasa, Matipula, and Nkambo each have one. The Ŵulima chiefs do not have *ifipembwe*.

Mushili's *ifipembwe* are Kaŵalu and Mŵema (Lyala), Wasa (Kaŵundachiwele) has Kachyeya, Saili has Kalata, Nkana has Kampundu, Matipula has Shichyūŵa, while Nkambo has no other *ichipembwe* than his own village.

According to Lamba custom, the *ichipembwe* seems to be a kind of city of refuge. A man who has committed theft, murder, adultery, or some other serious offence, and is pursued by the avenger, will attempt to fly to an *ichipembwe*. The pursuer,

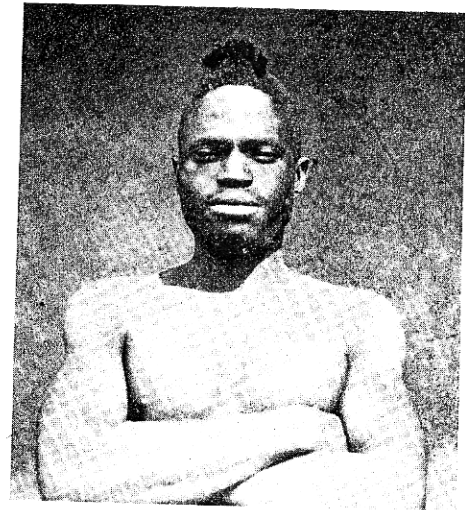


FIG. 28. NDELEMETI, A ŴULIMA

Photo by C. M. Doke

even if he be a chief, will stand without the *ichipembwe*, at some distance. Within the village the fugitive is now caught, secured, and taken before the group-chief for trial. His taking sanctuary has saved him from summary justice at the hand of the avenger. After his trial, "if he is fortunate," they say "he will be fined, for he fled to sanctuary, and we cannot kill him." If the offence is very serious, the fugitive will be bound at the *ichipembwe*, and the chief will come there to try him. Should he sentence him to death, the *umwinamulenda* will carry out the sentence at the *ichipembwe*, and set up the criminal's head outside the village.

### Impemba

The paramount chief does not depend upon himself to decide in every case brought before him, nor in every emergency. He

has certain councillors, who are called *impemba*. These men, usually four or five, are chosen by the chief himself, and a wise chief chooses men who in his eyes have outstanding ability in counsel. The *impemba* are of varying clan, but always commoners. In 1913 Mushili I had as councillors Nsensa (*-mbushi*), Kachyule (*-wesa*), Chimbalsepa (*-wesa*), and Masombwe (*-ngo*). Later Shiwata took the place of Nsensa.

The difference between an *impemba* and an *ichilolo* was given



FIG. 29. LUNTANTWE AND AN IMPEMBA  
Photo by C. M. Doke

me as this! *Impemba eupembelele'mfumu, ichilolo eupembelele'mishi nechyalo*, "The councillor is one who waits on the chief; the headman is one who waits on the villages and country." The *impemba* always attend the chief as councillors, while the *ifilolo* are his executive officers, to look after the villages and the country.

The present Mushili II has two councillors, Soloshi (*-wesa*) and Mukolwe (*-mbushi*), as well as certain other village elders to be called in for advice.

Chiefs have at times resorted to tests in order to prove the ability of their *ifilolo* and *impemba*. For instance, when an eland has been brought to the chief he has been known to call one of his men and say, "*Kalama* [attendant], I want you to cut

up this meat; some take to your house, the rest to mine, and we alone shall eat of it." If he does this there is very soon a chorus of grumbling in the village, and the chief will dismiss him, saying, "He has no sense. Had he sense, he would have said to me, 'No, sir, how shall we eat this meat alone, when the chief's people in this village are many, and all the children too belong to the chief?' Call to me a wise councillor to give me advice!" The chief expects advice, not servile obedience, from his councillors.

### Imilambu

In Ilamba there was never any regular tribute paid by the people to the chief. The villagers near the paramount chief would help him with new garden work (*ukukusya'mawala*), and those who came in to have a case settled or bring a suit would have to do some work for the chief first, and have their cases attended to afterward. Even Mushili himself, when he gave in to the Yeke despot, did not have to pay regular tribute, but paid a surrender price of two female slaves and one shell.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, in Ilamba is recognized the principle of the *umulambu*, or gift of respect. A village headman will call his people and say, "A long time has now gone by. I want you to thresh out some corn to take *kwipanga* [to the chief's village], that I may go and visit the chief." When the corn is ready three women maybe will carry baskets of corn, and, arriving, set them down in the chief's courtyard. The headman will say to the chief, "We have come to visit you. We have brought food." After greeting him the chief will set a meal before the headman, and when it is time for the headman to return to his village the chief will give him a length of calico as a return gift.

This used to be done occasionally by all headmen, *impemba*, and village chiefs. Foodstuffs such as sorghum, maize, beans, and ground-nuts were taken, but never fowls. Although the paramount chief made a counter-gift of cloth, that was not looked upon as an *umulambu*, for the *umulambu* is an offering made by an inferior out of respect to his superior.

To the native mind there is a tremendous difference between the *umulambu* which they paid to their chief and the *umusonko*, the tax now levied by the European authorities. The *umulambu* was always voluntary, and was made at such times as the headman desired to pay his respects, but the *umusonko* is compulsory, and must be paid at stated times.

<sup>1</sup> The *impande*, which is worn only by big chiefs.

### War-service

At time of war the paramount chief would summon certain of his outstanding *ifilolo*, of known physical strength and proven courage, to act as captains over his bands of fighting men (*ifita*). These captains were then called *ifilolo fyafita*. The Lambas knew of no such thing as a standing army, nor in time of war was conscription practised. It is said that a chief could not compel one of his men to go to fight, and all who joined the *ifita* did so voluntarily. They were stirred up to go by hatred of the enemy, desire for spoil, the instinct to protect their homes, or maybe by a desire for personal renown.

### Inheritance of a Chief

On the death of a chief it is his younger brother who inherits the chieftainship, or, failing him, the chief's *umwipwa*, sister's son—that is, a person of the same clan (*umwinamishishi*) as himself. If there is no *umwipwa*, then some other clan relative, nearest of kin in the village, will inherit. This principle is applied to all chiefs, and even with *ifilolo* the heir to a village headship will be one of the same clan as the deceased headman.

As far as can be ascertained, there has never been any quarrelling over succession, as the relationship system is such that all can see at once who has prior claim among those remaining.

Sometimes it happens that when the chief dies his heir has already a village of his own. Both the villages may then be joined together. If the heir has a younger brother he may leave that brother in the less important village, and himself take the name of the dead chief and succeed him. This is called *ukulye'shina lya-mfumu ifwile*, eating the name of the deceased chief.

### Installation of a Paramount Chief

At the time of the old chief's death his successor is known, and he immediately apports the wives of the deceased chief, maybe reserving some for himself. Then directly the burial rites of the deceased chief have been completed corn is threshed and beer brewed in the village. The chiefs and headmen of the nearer villages assemble, and then a greater chief comes. In the case of the death of, say, Mushili it would be Nselenje who would come. On the morrow, with all the people sitting round, the great chief sitting on an *ichipuna mwisasa*, a stool set on a mat, and the heir

sitting on another stool set on a second mat, the great chief addresses the heir, saying, *Weŵo waikala pachipuna chyamukwanu*, "You have sat on the stool [throne] of your brother!"

Thereupon all commence the 'beer-drink.' The visiting chief is the first to dip out some beer, and this he gives to the new chief as a sign of his authority, saying, *Nebwalwa wemwine twakupela. Uli mukulu wemwine*, "The beer too we have given to you yourself. You yourself are a great one." He then sits down, and the councillors and people all clap their hands. The councillors then advise the new chief to dispense justice as wisely as his predecessor. All thereafter indulge in beer-drinking. This concludes the simple formalities of installing the new chief.

## CHAPTER IV

## IMILANDU—LAMBA LAW

## Isoŵololo Lyamulandu

THE term *umulandu* is used widely among the Central Bantu tribes with much the significance of the Zulu *indaba* or the commonly used term 'palaver'—a conference, debate, discussion, before an authority. But the term *umulandu* goes a good deal further in being applied more especially to the talking over of a lawsuit before a chief, to the lawsuit itself, and hence to the culpability, blame, and punishment of the party concerned. With the Lambas the idea of judging a case is scarcely conceived. The terms *sololola* and *soŵolola* are used, and these terms indicate rather 'to talk over a case.' This is shown by such a common expression as *Twendeni kubwalo tukasolololo'mulandu*, "Let us go to the chief's village and settle [or talk over] the case." The discussion or settling of a case is called *isoŵololo lyamulandu*.

## A Case before a Great Chief

Before the chief hears ordinary cases it is usual for the plaintiff, accused, and witnesses to do a morning's work in the chief's gardens.

Should a very serious case, such as one of murder, come before the paramount chief, the chief will send some of his *ifilolo* who live in his village or near at hand to summon his *impemba* (councillors). When all the *impemba* have come the *ichitenje chyesoŵololo* (court of justice) is arranged. Women take no part in an *umulandu* before a great chief, but all the village elders gather and sit around in an informal way. Children are naturally excluded from participation in court proceedings, but as soon as a young man emerges from boyhood and "shows wisdom, ability, and physical strength" he is called by his elders to quit the play of the boys and to join the older men, take his place in listening to the settling of law-cases, and so qualify to give advice. Neither marriage nor parenthood, as with some Bantu tribes, is a necessary qualification for taking part in the settlement of law-disputes before the chief.

Each witness gives his evidence at length, and is seldom interrupted during his recital. Cross-questioning of witnesses is practically unknown among the Lambas, though the accused may protest at times against evidence brought against him. Neither the accused nor the witnesses are put under any form of oath for ordinary cases, though, as will be seen later, the accused may voluntarily strengthen his denial by oath-taking. Ordeals are imposed only in certain cases of witchcraft, never before a chief at an ordinary trial.

The court is usually the open space before the chief's principal hut, and there is no set arrangement of places for the chief, the councillors, the accused, or the accusers. The accusers are first called upon to state the charge. The accused then gives his explanation or denial, and after him the various witnesses give their evidence.

After hearing the evidence from the witnesses the chief sums up the case. "Listen, my people. This accused man met his companion on the path and killed him; it is my desire to have him put to death!" This he says as a 'feeler' to his councillors. "What do you, my *ifilolo*, think on the matter?" There is silence for a space, and then one of the *ifilolo* may reply, "No, sir, to kill him would be bad. Let the man bring *amaŵoni* [property, wealth, or goods], for it is that which has made him drunk, and give some to the chief, and some let him take to the owner<sup>1</sup> of the man he has killed." For a while the chief sits silent; then again he asks the other *ifilolo* for their advice in the matter. Maybe they too concur in the imposition of a heavy fine. The chief will now say, "No. I intend to have him executed!" Now the *impemba* will join with the *ifilolo* in protesting that they will go and leave the chief to carry out such a sentence by himself if he persists. The chief is, of course, expecting this attitude. It is what he desires. So he sends men to arrest the sisters and mother of the accused. When they are brought, some of the women are handed over to the relatives of the deceased as slaves; others are retained by the chief. The women would be taken whether single or married, and should the husband of one of them desire to retain his wife, he would have to hand over a gun to redeem her, in which case his wife would become his slave.

It is seldom that the *ifilolo* and *impemba* agree at once to killing the accused in such a case. Should they do so, the chief would

<sup>1</sup> That is, the relative who has inherited the deceased, or, in the case of a child, the maternal uncle.

rightly upbraid them for their lack of wisdom, saying, "Now two of my people are dead!"

Sometimes a man will plead with the chief for his life, offering his mother and sisters. The *impemba* will urge the chief to agree to this; and if the man's father cannot redeem the mother, nor the sisters' husbands redeem them, they will be taken and apporportioned. The Lambas have a proverb about an orphan which goes, *Ilamba-nanyina liobule nyina lyambulambula*, "He who pays with his mother, if he have not a mother, is himself the payment."

It has been known for a sister, hearing that her brother is before the chief, to go and hand herself over in his stead. The Lambas say that a man who has two sisters feels perfectly safe, for he always has the means of getting out of a scrape. A Lamba will even call his sisters *imfuti shyanji*, "my guns," because of their value in settling dues.

In minor cases the *impemba* alone give advice to the chief, and generally do so privately. In the more important cases village headmen and other *ifilolo* will also be called, and they may even correct the advice given by the *impemba*.

### Punishment

Judgments before the paramount chief generally entail one of the following punishments:

- (1) Fining in kind—a gun, a tusk, Mbundu<sup>1</sup> beads, or, for smaller offences, cloth or grain.
- (2) Enslavement of the convicted person or of some relations in his place.
- (3) Death, though this was comparatively rare, except for witchcraft charges (see Chapter XIX). However, the chief's anger may have been roused, and if the man is not wealthy, and so cannot be heavily fined, the chief may order his execution.

In the old days paramount chiefs have been known, when their anger was roused, to order mutilation, without consulting any of their advisers. This was by no means common in Ilamba, but was a custom taken over from the Lenjes. The hand was cut off for stealing and the ears for informing. The chief would call a strong *ichilolo* to bind the accused and carry out the sentence forthwith. When the ears or fingers had been cut off, the former with a sharp knife, the latter with an adze, a female slave of the chief was sent to foment the wound with hot water in order to stop the bleeding, and to put on healing medicines. Mushili I

<sup>1</sup> These beads are described at the beginning of Chapter V.

treated quite a number of people in this way, but Chipeco, the Lenje chief, was especially fond of such punishment.

The Wembas put out the eyes for adultery and cut off hands for thieving.

The Ilas cut off the upper lip for informing and the hands for theft.

The Lenjes severed the fingers at the second joint, cut off ears, and in the case of adulterers removed the Achilles' tendon.

The following are some instances. Masaka, of Chilambe's village, near Kashitu, who was living at Chipeco's in the Lenje country at the time of the locust plague, attempted to escape and return to Ilamba. The chief was notified, and said, "Why has Masaka gone off like this, instead of leaving openly by day?" So Chipeco, annoyed, sent men after him, and Masaka was caught and brought back. Chipeco had his ears cut off and his tendons removed, and said, "Now go!" When his wounds had healed he went back to Ilamba. Similar treatment was meted out to Mwanamusoka, of Chibweshya's village, who lost one ear and had his tendons removed.

Lupiya, of Chishye, near Lesa's village, while a child, stole in the Lamba country, and Mushili had his ears cut off as a warning.

Lyambula, of Mpokota's village, committed adultery with a slave-girl belonging to Chipeco. The chief had his fingers all cut off at the second joint and his ears and tendons removed.

### Inkole

In order to secure the restoration of articles borrowed or the payment of some due Lambas used to take the law into their own hands and seize a person as a hostage, or at times property as security. A hostage or property so seized is called *inkole*, or *umukole*. Here is an example of this method of obtaining justice.

A. is plaintiff, belonging to Katanga's village, and B. is defendant, belonging to Mpokota's village. The charge is one of borrowing a gun and failing to return it. A. goes to Mpokota and demands from B. his gun; B., who has used it to settle a debt elsewhere, says he has not yet been able to get a gun to replace it. That evening A. seizes a boy from the village and carries him off to Katanga. As soon as it is found out the father of the lad goes straight to B. and says, "It is you who have caused my child to be carried off!" B. very quickly procures a gun and hands it to the father, who goes with it to Katanga's village to redeem his child. On seeing the gun A. restores the child to his father, and gives

the child a gift of calico, saying, *Nakusamfyo'mukole pamuwili*, "I have washed the stigma of a hostage from your body."

Sometimes, because of the distance they are away, men will put off indefinitely the payment of dues. The exasperated creditor calls his wife to prepare meal for a journey, and then, accompanied by three brawny companions, sets out for the delinquent's village. When still some considerable distance away they prepare an *umutanda* (zareba) in the bush, and put their pots of meal therein. They then proceed to another village, arrive as strangers, and ask for a house to sleep in. They are shown a house, but they carefully watch the village children and the weapons of the villagers. Presently, maybe, some of the children call to their companions to go to the river for a bathe. The visitors watch them closely, and then, emerging one by one, follow the children, and at the river or water-hole seize one of the bigger ones. His companions fly in fright. The captors now throw *amarwo* (red millet) meal into their captive's mouth to stifle his cries, and carry him off as quickly as possible. The other children carry the news back to the village, and it is at once known that the boy has been captured as an *inkole*. The captors reach their *umutanda*, eat their food, and sleep. Then in the morning they make for home. News gets to the village as to where the captured boy has been taken, and the relatives arrive to inquire the cause. They are told that the boy was captured because of So-and-so's fault. It is now the business of these villagers to demand satisfaction from the defaulting man in the village near theirs. When they bring the goods to the captor of the child he takes a portion and gives it to the *inkole*, who returns home with his relatives. Should men act incautiously when attempting to secure a hostage, the villagers would kill them if they got an opportunity.

### Cases before a Headman

Cases of various types are dealt with by the village headman, whether he be of chief's rank or a commoner.

(1) **Stealing.** If boys have been pilfering in the village the sufferer from these depredations will go to the headman and lay a charge against the children. The headman will summon the parents and children, and order the parents to pay such-and-such an amount to the complainant. The parents will pay over the amount, and then themselves punish the children for the trouble they have brought.

(2) **Immoral Interference.** If during the dancing of an

*akasela* dance<sup>1</sup> some of the young men catch the young married women by their breasts, and if the headman is informed of what is going on, he will summon all the young men who were dancing, and warn them strongly, saying, "When you dance the *akasela*, don't you touch another man's wife, for if adultery is committed by one of you he will be killed before his parents' eyes. Beware. I do not want to hear of this thing again in my village. For if the husbands of the women hear, they will go and beat your parents. You had better stop the dancing, for I do not wish to be called to account at the paramount chief's court!"

If news of such behaviour should get to the ears of a husband, the culprit would make off, and the enraged husband would beat the guilty youth's father and mother. They are held to blame for not having brought up their son properly. When the culprit returns, he keeps to himself for some time, and in all probability would be thrashed by his father. Should he not get away in the first place, the husband would beat him unmercifully. If in addition to his offence of immoral interference he should have suggested adultery to the woman, and she, refusing, had reported the matter to her husband, the husband would still have contented himself with administering a severe beating.

(3) **Quarrelling.** People quarrelling violently in the village are brought before the headman, who will say, "You children of mine are not behaving yourselves here in this village. I do not want quarrelling, as quarrelling induces murder!" Such admonition usually has its effect.

(4) **Reviling.** In the same way the headman will admonish a villager for reviling, *ukutukana'matuka*.

### Adultery

In the old days, if a man found his wife and her paramour *in coitu* he immediately killed them both, and then went to the paramount chief and confessed what he had done. In reporting such an affair to the chief the man would approach and hold out his gun to the chief, saying, "I have killed a person, sir, I have killed two, my wife and a man. And I have come to tell the chief!" He would then recount to the chief the whole circumstances. And the chief would say, "You are a man!" In the morning, when the people were all gathered, the man would dance his dance of triumph, surrounded by the advisers and officials of the chief. Thereupon the chief would take some red calico

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXII.



and put it on him. In such a case neither the relatives of the woman nor of the paramour could take any action, nor is there any need for the casting of meal (see Chapter XI), as this action resembles that of warfare. But the man would go to an *umulaye* and inform him that he had killed his wife, and make a present to him. The 'doctor' would then bring the medicine necessary for driving off the *ichiwanda* (attendant demon) of the woman. With the animal's tail which he carries as a switch the *umulaye* would sprinkle the man with the medicine, and with other medicine he would cause smoke to envelop his head. This is done by putting medicinal leaves on the fire and holding the man's head in the smoke; thus he is prevented from dreaming of his dead wife. Similar action is taken on behalf of men who have killed enemies in a war. Dreaming of the dead is believed to be a sign that the *ichiwanda* is coming to kill the person who dreams.

Lambas believe that for adultery seen by the husband he must kill, or else his heart would never settle down. For adultery which has been reported to him he is satisfied with a trial. This explains the dissatisfaction there is over the administration of English law, which demands a trial in either case.

If a husband, after a long absence from home, returns to find his wife *enceinte*, he will demand of her the name of the culprit. If she tries to hide it, he will bind and beat her. Under this treatment she confesses. The husband goes out, and maybe finds the culprit on his guard. He sends a demand for damages, and the co-respondent sends by the elders goods and a gun. This is generally done before the paramount chief, and if the husband is satisfied with the damages proffered he accepts them, and then says, "Let him also bring *wuwuoni bwamankumanya* [goods for meeting]!" The man will then in all probability bring an additional ten shillings, as a sign that the stigma of his action is removed, so that he and the aggrieved husband will be able to meet together as though nothing had happened.

In some cases men divorce their wives if they have committed adultery, as they fear that they can never forget the stigma, but such action is rare.

When a husband has received damages from a co-respondent he never keeps them himself, but hands what he has received over to his wife to give to her mother, who in turn passes it on to her brother, the woman's *mwinshyo*. A man never retains 'adultery money'; it always goes to his mother-in-law, for it has come through her daughter. Should he, however, divorce the woman, he would recover that money.

At times, after hearing from his wife the name of her paramour, a man will follow the culprit privily, and kill him with an arrow, without saying anything to put him on his guard. Should he do so, he would follow the procedure of reporting to the chief, triumphing, and then being treated by an *umulaye*.

Another treatment is as follows. A man hears that So-and-so has committed adultery with his wife. He reports it to the chief and demands compensation. Maybe he gets a gun, and *amankumanya* in addition, but still he is not really satisfied in the matter. Later he hears that the man concerned has gone on a journey, so he goes to this man's wife, and, intimidating her, outrages her. On the return of her husband the woman informs him of what has taken place, but since he was the original aggressor he can take no action. Such a man has been known to turn in fury on his wife and kill her, thus incurring a murder charge from her relatives.

In 1925 the chief Lesa-waluluma committed adultery with the wife of a man named Makofi. The case was heard by Mushili II, and Makofi secured a gun and ten shillings for *amankumanya*, but he could not rid himself of the hatred in his heart. When Lesa went on a journey Makofi outraged his wife, and on his return Lesa was told of the affair. Lesa could do nothing except drive away the woman. And now it is said that he and Makofi get on very well together.

There is no 'wife-trade' among the Lambas, and they laugh at the Kaondes for lending out their wives to *awalunda* (blood-brothers).

### Seduction

Except in the cases of an *imbuli* (immature girl) or a *moye* (girl who has just passed through initiation), a man is not fined for seducing an *umushichye* (any woman not living in wedlock). He is, however, usually ostracized. If he desires to marry such a woman afterward, the marriage can be arranged if he is considered a suitable husband. There is no *umulandu* for such action.

### Rape

As will be seen later, rape, carried out in the bush, is a most serious anti-social crime, one to which a man is prompted by an *ichiwanda* (demon). The penalty for such is the death of the man and the enslavement of his sister.

## Incest

Incest of every type is with the Lambas a most serious anti-social crime. A man committing such must have been incited thereto by an *ichiwanda*. The committing of incest entails the breaking of strong exogamic taboo, and it must be remembered that many cases which in Ilamba are regarded as incest would not be so regarded under European systems of kinship. In Lamba incest is called *ishiku*.

(1) *Ishiku lyamuntu nenkashi*, of a man with his sister or a woman in his age-grade bearing his sister's clan name. In such a case the man is driven from the community by the woman's brother, and can never return to it. The woman, if she reports the matter, is not in any way blamed. If both, however, were consenting parties, and the truth came out, as in resulting pregnancy, in the old days they would have been burnt as *imfwiti*, witch and wizard.

The Lambas have peculiar beliefs concerning the result of the marriage of a man who has committed incest. If a man, driven away for such a crime, goes elsewhere and marries, when the time comes for his wife to give birth the labour is prolonged. At this an *umulaye* is sent for. The doctor questions the husband concerning the reason for his having left his home, and warns him that unless he speaks the truth his wife will die. In fear the man confesses: "It was *ishiku* I committed with my sister!" At this confession the *umulaye* goes for special *umusamu* (medicine); some he gives to the woman in labour and some to the husband. The woman now gives birth. More medicine is procured for the husband to bathe himself in it completely; afterward he gives his wife certain goods as compensation. It is said that some *awalaye* agree to hush up the matter, perform the ceremonies secretly, and receive the compensation goods themselves. It is part of the work of an *umulaye* to find out the breaking of taboo. Breaking of taboo is always shown in the sickness of friends or relatives of the culprit. Similar results come when a man has relations with a widow before the death-dues have been paid and she is released for marriage. This breaking of taboo, however, is not termed *ishiku*.

In certain cases when a man has committed incest the fear of the consequences drives him to take his sister and go straight to an *umulaye* to be cleansed and freed from the *ichiwanda*. After this, though the man will be driven away from his home village, he will be able to marry elsewhere, without fearing any evil consequences.

(2) *Ishiku lyamuntu nawanyina*, of a man with his mother. This is treated as a case of witchcraft. It is not caused by the evil influence of an *ichiwanda*, for that would have driven him to his sister, a crime less heinous, as the *ichiwanda* is said to have some *inkumbu*, or pity. In the case of a man committing incest with his mother both man and woman would be burnt.

(3) *Ishiku lyamuntu nemwana umwanakashi*, of a man with his daughter. Here it must be remembered that the clan totems differ, as the girl takes her mother's clan. Nevertheless, she has her father's blood in her. Generally both would be treated as *imfwiti* and burnt, but if the girl were very young she might be spared and taken to the *umulaye* for cleansing.

(4) *Ishiku lyamuntu nemulamuwakwe*, of a man with his wife's sister or one in similar relationship. This used to be no uncommon occurrence, as instanced by the proverb, *Umulamuwakwe pamenso, kafishyoloko'lukolo mukashi*, "A sister-in-law is a sister-in-law in public; when they go behind the house she's a wife!" As soon as such an occurrence, however, is known a hue and cry is raised, and the man hides himself. When he is caught he is made to pay to his injured sister-in-law a gun, and he has then to go to the *umulaye* for cleansing from the baneful consequences. The girl would in such a case hand the gun to her mother.

If the matter were not discovered at the time, both parties, fearing lest the consequences should be shown in sickness, would agree to go privately to an *umulaye* for cleansing, and the affair would be hushed up.

(5) *Ishiku lyamuntu nemwipwa*, of a man with his niece of the same clan as himself. This would be treated as (3), and the man would be put to death in any case as an *imfwiti*.

(6) *Ishiku lyamuntu namukamwinshyo*, of a man with the wife of his maternal uncle. A man is, as a rule, on peculiarly friendly terms with this aunt, and misbehaviour would be treated as witchcraft, and the man killed. A man capable of such behaviour, say the Lambas, is capable of anything. The elder brother of Lifwa, a one-time pupil at Kafulafuta Mission School, was guilty of this, and it was only fear of the white administration that saved him. As it was, he had to give his maternal uncle a gun.

## Procedure between Group-chiefs

The following hypothetical case will illustrate the procedure followed when two group-chiefs are affected. A. of Nkambo steals or burns the property of B. of Saili. B. catches and binds

A., and takes him before Saili. Saili asks A. where he comes from, and A. replies, "From Nkambo." Saili instructs B. to go with A. to Nkambo, fifty miles away, and to put a rope round the prisoner's waist. The prisoner, they say, would not attempt to escape, and the shame he would feel in the villages is such that he would refuse food. Nkambo, when he sees one of his people brought in in this ignominious fashion, roundly abuses B. for treating A. "like a dog" instead of merely accompanying him. If Nkambo loses his temper B. will be thrashed. After passions have subsided, and Nkambo has heard the case, he will give B. compensation, and later on A. will have to restore to Nkambo the goods he has handed over. Should the man have been caught redhanded burning the grain-house or other property belonging to B., he would have been killed immediately.

#### War-challenge

Should a chief, A., think his renown is such that he can make demands upon a distant chief, B., he sends word to B., "If you do not send me an *inkombe* [a present as a sign of submission] we shall fight!" Chief B. calls together all his people, councillors, headmen, and youths to consider the case. He informs them that A. has sent him a demand for submission, and then, in order to test whether his people are courageous or not, he says, "My headmen, I want you to send to him an *inkombe* with slaves male and female!" But his headmen and councillors refuse, saying, "No, sir, that means servile submission. Send him word saying, 'Let him come and let us fight!' and revile [*tuka*] him too!" The chief replies, "My children, it is not well to kill one another." But they reply, "No, sir, but he is the aggressor." The chief, having tested the feeling, says, "It is well. Prepare your arrows throughout the villages! Those who have guns, let them come here and get powder!"

A haughty message is sent back. It is now A.'s turn to consult his advisers, and if he really does not want to fight he himself sets out with three of his *impemba*, and, reaching a near-by village, sends on word announcing his arrival to the chief. Chief B. inquires of the messenger as to the number of men with the visiting chief. On hearing that he has only the three *impemba*, B. knows that the other does not desire to fight. In the morning, when chief A. arrives, they talk the matter over, and, to settle it, A. gives B. a slave.

Sometimes when a haughty reply is to be returned to a challenge

a youngster is sent, if the distance is not too great. The youngster on arrival says, "My chief says that to-morrow he will meet you at such-and-such a stream and fight. *Teete teete napankashi yenu!*<sup>1</sup> ['Come and fight, if you don't want to marry your sister!']" On hearing this abuse the chief, disregarding the youngster, calls together his people, and says, "Tighten your bowstrings, for to-morrow we fight." And he sends back the youngster, saying, "If he does not set out quickly, *paliwanyina*<sup>2</sup> ['It is on his mother']. Go and tell him that!" On getting this reply the chief is roused, and the two parties meet and fight on the morrow.

#### Hired Assassins

Even as the youngster who carries the insulting challenge is not held in any way blameworthy, so in Lamba law with hired assassins. The Lambas have a proverb *Kamunkomene tarwona mulandu*, "The little one who wounds does not carry the blame." If certain people are sent to kill a man, and when they have done the deed they are brought before the chief, they will say, "O chief, we were sent!" The chief, quoting the proverb, will order the arrest of the man who sent them, and have him put to death. The assassins whom he employed may be lightly fined.

#### Sundry Cases

(1) **Accidental Homicide.** The unfortunate culprit will, if he can do so, go straight to his paramount chief and tell him that he has killed a man. The paramount will call the relatives of the deceased, tell them that the killing was not intentional, and ask them whether they desire a gun or the sister of the culprit as compensation, warning them not to persecute the man. The culprit would fear to go to the deceased's relations to tell them, lest they should kill him in anger.

(2) **Disrespect to an Elder.** At a 'beer-drink,' if A. tries to start a quarrel with B., one younger or feebler than himself, B., afraid, will go and sit near one of the elders. A. will now fear to touch B. But if he should go and strike him the elder would consider himself affronted, and deal drastically with A., because B. had taken refuge beneath his reputation.

(3) **Harmful Frightening.** If an armed man, for fun, pretends to stalk youngsters while they are playing, and the youngsters scatter in fright, he is held guilty if one of the youngsters hurts

<sup>1</sup> This is provocative abuse, telling the chief to commit incest with his sister.

<sup>2</sup> Abuse telling him to commit incest with his mother.

himself in his eagerness to get away. If the child is not badly hurt the elders content themselves with scolding and reviling the causer of the trouble. If an arm is broken, he might be fined two lengths of large beads; if the child is totally disabled, blinded, etc., a fine of a gun or two guns might be imposed; if the child is killed, a fine of a gun or a sister as a slave might be demanded. Blinding was always reckoned by the Lambas as being a terrible calamity, the eye being reckoned presumably of greater value than life, for invariably two guns would be demanded for the loss of an eye.

(4) **Wrongful Arrest or Charging.** If a man is wrongfully arrested through a mistake in identity, and an innocent man is charged before the chief, the accuser will, on proof of innocence being produced, have to pay the accused two strings of large beads.

(5) **Cause of Suicide.** A. is wrongly accused by the wife of B. as co-respondent, and sentenced. He goes into his house on the pretence of smoking and blows out his brains. The relatives of A. now make a case against the wife of B. They go to the *umulaye* for him to divine, as is done in witchcraft cases, for A. is dead. The *umulaye* demands of the woman the name of the real adulterer. She tells. The person responsible for the spirit of A., probably his younger brother, now takes the woman and enslaves her. The man whom she had shielded will have to pay a gun, but the husband, B., gets no compensation at all.

(6) **Suicide.** Suicide was by no means uncommon in Ilamba, not only because of fear or worry preying on the mind, but also because of the deliberate intention of bringing trouble upon the one who was causing the fear or worry. The person whose action has caused another to commit suicide is held responsible for the death.

A. continually pesters B. for the settlement of some debt, and threatens him with enslavement, or otherwise makes his life miserable. B., in exasperation, takes a length of bark rope (*ulushishi*), tells some of the youngsters in the village what he is going to do, and goes and hangs himself from a tree at the side of the path, some distance from the village. People passing find him, cut the body down, bury it, and then gather to wail. As they seek for the cause of his death, the youngsters will tell them that B. said his life was made miserable by A., and that that is why he has killed himself. The relatives now charge A. with his death, and if A. is wise he will procure a gun and pay it over at once; otherwise the case will be taken before the paramount chief.

(7) **Borrowing.** Many of the continual lawsuits of the Lambas are due to their habit of borrowing. If a man has a death-due to pay in order to free himself to marry again, he usually borrows a gun for the purpose, and then lightly puts off the day when he will procure the means to get another gun to repay his debt. Suits are continually being made for the restitution of articles borrowed or for their equivalents. Should a man die before making such restitution, his *impyani*, or heir, would be held responsible.

The Lambas have a proverb *Mwapu usekaseka napakuluwula usekaseka*, "A smiling loan, and a smiling when redeemed." A man must not be angry when the creditor comes to claim back what he has lent.

With the Lambas, an article borrowed is returned and no addition is demanded. They do not know of interest or usury charges. In buying, however, they have a custom which seems peculiar. A. agrees to buy an article from B. for, say, nine shillings. When the article is brought and the money passed over B. will say, *Nundileni-po*, "Add on for me!" and A. will perhaps give him an extra shilling. It is the one who brings the article to sell who asks for the addition, "because of the distance I have come to bring your goods," he says. Possibly because of this, the store principle of the *imbansela* (the Lamba equivalent term) has caught on in Ilamba. The people have a saying, "*Nundile-po*" *tabwelelwa-makweŵo*, "Saying 'Add on for me' does not mean the returning of the articles!"

(8) **Trespass on Garden Rights.** If a man hoes beyond his recognized patch, and encroaches upon a portion belonging to his neighbour, the case may go before the headman. Such cases are usually settled without much wrangling, for the headman will quote *Mushili-mfumu tekumulwila*, "Don't fight over the soil, our chief!" and will add, "One of you can fell timber in another direction!"

(9) **Responsibility for Messengers.** A. sends B. on a message to the village where C. lives. B. meets C., quarrels with him, and kills him. A. is held to a certain extent responsible.

In such a case B. is arrested. B. says, "But it was A. who sent me here!" A., when called, protests, "I merely sent him to take some cloth to my mother-in-law!" Possibly B. will then be killed, but the relatives of B. will go to A. and demand certain compensation from him as having been the cause of B.'s coming to the village and dying while in his employ.

Should B. be the slave of A., A. would have to face the full

penalty of the death of C. and pay the necessary full compensation to C.'s relatives.

The Lambas say, *Chiwasa-munko walimuloŵele*, "The carver of the porridge-stick bewitched him!" A charge of witchcraft poisoning can go farther back than to the one who cooked the food; it may implicate the one who made the utensils.<sup>1</sup>

(10) **Life-saving.** If a person, in trying to get honey, or some small animal, such as a galago,<sup>2</sup> from the cleft of a tree, should get his hand caught, so that he cannot free himself, he will shout and shout for help. If some one hears him and comes to his aid he will have a life-debt to pay to his rescuer. In order to secure his own freedom from slavery he may have to pay over a sister as a slave.

(11) **Denial of Guilt.** *Mukana-lweŵo alakana nefyakwe* is a Lamba saying—"He who denies the charge denies his all as well." A man denying guilt must deny ownership of all the goods brought as evidence of his guilt. This principle is carried further. If villagers condemn a certain man as unworthy of their society, and drive him away, they dare not keep any of his belongings; all must be counted as unworthy, and he must be allowed to take them with him.

(12) **False Evidence.** A man who desires vengeance on another may call assistance from another village. These helpers, on arrival, will talk over the case, and if the man has brought them on a trumped-up charge they will revenge themselves on him. So the Lambas say, *Muloŵafita alaliloŵela*, "He who betrays to assassins betrays himself."

(13) **Enforcement of Payment.** It is a Lamba custom that a man, if he cannot get payment of a debt, will at evening fetch a long log of firewood and put it through the door of the debtor's house, reaching to the fireplace within and protruding outside. The creditor will light a fire at the outside end of the log, intimating that he is going to remain until the case is settled. The door cannot be shut, nor can the debtor go to sleep. Sometimes a mat is brought and laid in the doorway with the same intent.

(14) **Accidental Burning of a Grain-house.** If the parties concerned cannot agree upon the amount of restitution to be made, the case is brought before the paramount chief. If A. demands

<sup>1</sup> See the Lamba story of "Mr Wild Dog and Mr Duiker" (Doke, *Lamba Folk-lore*, p. 233), where the guilt for the chief's wife's poking a needle in her eye is traced back from the cock to the hornbill, lark, night-jar, elephant, monkeys, shrew, snake, duiker, wild dog, and eventually to the women of the village.

<sup>2</sup> Kind of small lemur or large night-ape.

exorbitant restitution, say, ten *ututundu* (large baskets) of grain at a time of food shortage, B. will bring the headman as witness to the shortage, and the chief may award, say, three *ututundu*.

(15) **Death of a Stranger.** Lamba hospitality demands that if a stranger comes to the village he must be given a hut to sleep in. There is more than mere hospitality in this, for should he sleep outside and be caught by a lion the villagers would be held responsible to the paramount chief. If such a thing were to happen, and the stranger were a visitor from another tribe at a great distance, the headman of the village would report to the paramount chief, who would await news from the man's relatives. In the event of no news coming there would be no further action taken.

### Cursing

In Lamba *ukufinga* or *amafinje*, cursing, is believed to have its effect. Should death come upon a person cursed, even after a lapse of years, the curser would be reckoned as an *imfwiti* (witch). The following are typical curses:

(1) *Neli ninkalamu ikwikate, neli ninsoka kekulya, neli kufwa ufwe lelo!* "May a lion catch you, or a snake bite you, or may you die to-day!"

(2) *Wafwa walowa!* "You are dead, you are bewitched!"

(3) *Neli manata kolwala, kawichyele lukoso muyanda!* "May you suffer from leprosy and have to sit in your hut!"

### Filthy Reviling

*Ukutukana* or *amatuka*, filthy reviling, is a very common cause of fighting in Lamba communities. If a person repeatedly indulges in it he may be taken before the chief. *Umuchyobwe*, abuse in word or action, is a term which includes *amatuka*.<sup>1</sup>

### Oath-taking

*Ukulapa* or *ichilapo*, an oath, is taken in order to strengthen a statement, generally when a man is denying his guilt. The Lambas used to believe thoroughly in this method of establishing a man's innocence, and would say, "Leave him alone, he is innocent, for he has named a powerful name!"

<sup>1</sup> The following are typical examples of *amatuka*:

(1) *Kakala kanoko!* "Little penis of your mother!"

(2) *Kanyo kanoko!* "Little anus of your mother!"

(3) *Kakala kowe!* "Your little penis!"

(4) *Kawólolo!* "Your little testicle!"

## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

The following are examples of oaths:

(1) *Neŵo kani nshikesa-po'ko Lesa uyu akandye!* "As for me, if I do not come there, let God eat me!"

(2) *Kani nachita-po ichichintu Shyakapanga andye wopelo'yu!* "If I did this thing, may God himself eat me!"

(3) *Kani neŵo napepa-po fwaka wenu yalile umukwasu!* "If I smoked your tobacco, a lion has eaten my brother [*i.e.*, it will therefore come and eat me too!]"

(4) *Kani nalya-po amataŵa enu mulwanshya umulela'ŵakwasu!* "If I ate your maize, it is at the Lwanshya river, where my brethren lie [*i.e.*, you can take me there to the cemetery!]"

(5) *Nalesa!* "And God!" (A recently imported oath, said to have come from Nyasaland.)

(6) *Kani nachita-po ifyo ulusengo kwambowo uhulele-ko umukwasu!* "If I did that, the horn of the buffalo at which my brother lay!" (The brother killed by the buffalo is invoked, and therefore "I can go the same way!")

(7) *Chingwali<sup>1</sup> kani nachita-po ifyo!* "It is smallpox, if I did that!" ("Let it kill me!")

(8) *Ichipumpula!* "Famine!" (Old Lambas used to swear by the great famine.)

### Divorce

See Chapter X, on "Marriage."

### Trial by Ordeal

See Chapter XIX, on "*Uŵufwiti*—Witchcraft," in connexion with which it is used.

<sup>1</sup> *Mwalo!* and *Chilwashi!* are other similar expressions, the latter borrowed from the Lenje.

## CHAPTER V

### SLAVERY

#### Slave-trading

ACCORDING to Lamba accounts, Ilamba was for many years the happy hunting-ground of the slave-traders. Lamba women are generally very comely, and were greatly prized by slave-traders. The first regular slave-traders were the Mbundus from Angola. The Lambas say they were peaceful traders who brought calico, guns, and beads to trade for ivory and slaves. Mbundu beads are but rarely to be seen in Ilamba to-day. Those used in buying slaves were of two kinds; the first, called *imikoshi yamabwe* (stone necks), had a diameter of about two inches, and a necklace of these reaching as far as the diaphragm would purchase a female slave; the second, called *utunkolomwena*, were smaller, with a diameter of about two-thirds of an inch, and were red in colour; five strings of these, measuring from the small toe to the hip, would purchase a female slave, while three similar strings would purchase a male slave. A female slave (*umushya*) was thus of more value to the trader than a male slave (*kalume*).

The Mbundu traders were often treated treacherously by both the Lambas and the Lenjes. In some cases they were robbed by the Lamba chiefs. It is said that the Lenjes used to bring their own children to the Mbundu traders in order to buy calico, powder, and tins of dynamite. After conveying their purchases to their houses they would arm themselves with the guns and powder just acquired and in the evening attack the Mbundu camp, scatter the traders, and recover their children. This is said to have happened at Chipepo and on the present site of Broken Hill.

Later the Chikundas from the Lower Zambesi came trading for slaves and ivory. But perhaps it is the Swahili traders who have left the strongest impression of this nefarious traffic in the country. Many of these very traders are still to be found living in the villages not far from Ndola. Old Nkana, of Nkana's country, to the west of Mushili's country, a few years before his death, which took place about 1924, gave me a most realistic account of

how the Swahili slave-raiders—for they were not peaceful slave-traders—depopulated that vast stretch of country to the west of the Kafue river. I had travelled from Chipulali's village, on the Lufwanyama, to Nkana's, on the Kafue, a distance of over fifty miles, and had found only one village between, although we passed stream after stream and fertile valleys all the way. Nkana told me that some years ago that whole country was thickly populated, but the Swahilis came, working up the streams systematically, burning the villages, shooting the men, and taking the women and children captive. They said that the men gave them too much trouble on the long march to Zanzibar!

### Domestic Slavery

The Lambas, in common with the surrounding tribes, practised a type of domestic slavery from which the horrors of the slave-raiding and slave-trading were to a great extent absent. As we have seen already, men and women were enslaved as a punishment for some misdeed or in settlement of some debt. So in many cases the slaves were deserving of their state. In European communities they would have been convicts, and in fact many of them were guilty of murder and other serious crimes. But the hardness of this system was that accidental damage or accidental homicide often resulted in enslavement; and to hold a man responsible for an injury whether he has committed it of intent or by misfortune is not an equal dispensing of justice. The domestic slave in Lambaland, however, enjoyed freedom of movement, and, as we shall see, was often at liberty to go in search of employment to redeem himself. Men became slaves in various ways—in settlement of debt, by misdeed, by capture in war, and by self-enslavement.

### Self-enslavement

In the old days *ukuliteka* or self-enslavement was quite a common thing.

(1) **Of a Male.** A man finds that he cannot get on with his relatives and others in his village, and so, having heard of some distant village headman of repute, he leaves his home, goes to the village, enters the house of that headman, and sits down on the hearth. The headman asks him, "Where have you come from?" "I have come from yonder, sir. I have come to eat here with you." The headman now asks him, "Have you no relatives?" "I have!" "Why, then," he asks, "have you left your relatives to come and enslave yourself?" And the man

explains that he cannot get on with his relatives. At this the headman gives him a hut and food, and thereafter sets him to do such work as he desires, hoeing, felling timber, cutting firewood, or building. The slave dare not now run away. In time the headman will give him a wife. If he behaves well, after many years such a slave may become an *impemba* (advisor) in the village. He would not be treated as an ordinary *kalume*, for he could not be sold by his master. He might, however, be temporarily handed over as a hostage, should the headman get into serious trouble, and then be redeemed later on.

Self-enslavement has generally been the result of *insala* (hunger) through inability to manage one's own garden, or inability to get on with one's relatives, or inability to face the payment of a large due.

(2) **Of a Female.** If a woman enslaves herself she may be married by the chief if she is prepossessing, but even then she would be called *umushya*. Such a woman, when enslaving herself, would not stay outside when she reached the chief's house, but would go straight in and sit by the fire. Should the chief not desire to marry her, she may be married to some one else; in this case the calico of the marriage pledge would be given to the chief to whom she had enslaved herself, and she would no longer be accounted *umushya*, but *umukashi*, or wife. In case of the death of such a self-enslaved woman her husband would have to go to her relatives to clear himself of the death-dues; so would the chief have had to do had he married her, but in his case he would pay over only a small amount of his own choosing in order to satisfy and allay the *ichiwanda* (attendant demon) of the deceased woman. Should such a female slave not get married, she would have her own house, and do certain work for the chief, water-drawing, hoeing, weeding, sweeping, grinding, and so on. Such a woman is called *umushyakashi*, or *chipishyamenda*, the latter term meaning 'water-warmer,' because she takes the early morning warm water to her master.

(3) A man's father has died without settling a debt, and at his death his creditors come to his son and say, "Give us a gun!" When the son finds he cannot procure a gun he makes up his mind to enslave himself. Going to some chief, he says, "I have come to enslave myself, sir. Give me a gun to settle my debt. If I cannot procure another to repay you I am your slave." And the chief gives him a gun, which he hands over to his creditors. If he does not procure a gun to pay back the chief, the latter will either keep him as his slave or sell him for a gun to some one else.

If, however, the man desires to go away to work, and the chief sees that he is honestly trying to get the necessary money, he will not trouble him. The Lambas say, *Ufwayafwaya taluwa*, "He who is looking for money to redeem himself is not lost." For even if he should go far away he will come back; are not his relatives present who can be enslaved? A further proverb in Lamba gives wise instruction in these matters—*Talipula munjombe kalikala mumuntu*, "The [spear] does not pass through the ox and rest in the man!" For if a person desires to kill another for some misdeed or debt, and he meets the other bringing an ox as payment, let him be satisfied with the ox and not pursue his vengeance on the man!

### Slaves Acquired

Says the Lamba slave-owner, *Uyu nikalume nemwine wakunonka wakapimi kamulombe*, "This is my slave, whom I have acquired like an axe-handle of *lombe* wood! He is my own."

A man may demand a slave in settlement of a debt. If his debtor has no slave to give he may give a gun, with which the creditor is able to buy a slave.

If a man has committed adultery, and then made his escape to a neighbouring territory, the aggrieved husband may seize the delinquent's sister and enslave her. He may marry her if he cares to, or he may sell her. Should she die, her relatives must *pooso' wunga*, throw on him the meal as a sign of his liberation from the consequence of her death, without demanding any payment at all from him. No one else would marry such a slave as this.

### Marriage of Slaves

If two slaves of one master marry, their children are also his slaves.

A. owns a male slave, B. a female slave. Should they marry, A. will come to B. and say, "Give me a gun, because your *umushya* has married my *kalume*, and I shall see him no more at my house; he will be as though he were your son-in-law!" B. will do so, thus buying A.'s slave. Any children will naturally belong to B.

### Slaves Captured

In inter-tribal fighting, and even in faction fighting within the tribe, when an enemy village was raided, the men were slaughtered, but the women and children were carried off as slaves. When the fighting was over the captives were all brought before the chief.

If a man had caught, say, three persons the chief took one and handed two over to their captor. Such slaves were treated as those enslaved for debt or misdeed, the master in reality having absolute power over them. In such fighting the men were speared lest they should organize the women to escape back to their country.

### Redemption of Slaves

Strong-hearted relatives of slaves captured in fighting have been known to come to the conquering chief and tell him that they are looking for captured relatives in order to ransom them. The chief would summon the man who captured the slaves, together with the captives themselves, and instruct him to hand over his captives and take in their place the slaves brought by the relatives as ransom.

There is a Lamba saying regarding an industrious slave, *Kalume aliluwuchile mumbono shyakwe*, "The slave ransomed himself with his own castor-oil." An industrious slave can do little odd jobs and continually bring things to his master. After several years of this he may demand his release, on the plea that he has brought to his master more than the amount of his debt, and may thus be released. No stigma attaches to a one-time slave in Ilamba. As soon as he has gained his freedom he becomes once more an *umwana wawene* (free man).

Should a slave kill an elephant, or, when alone, find one dead, one tusk will go to the paramount chief, and with the other he will redeem himself and go free. But should he be out hunting with his master, any elephant he found would belong to his master.

### Responsibility for the Misconduct of Slaves

If a slave is the cause of the burning of a grain-store it will be the responsibility of his master to make reparation. If this was an accident, nothing would be done to the slave. Should a dwelling have been burnt, the slave may be sent to build another.

Should a male slave commit adultery, he would be killed by the aggrieved husband and his master beaten for not looking after his slave properly.

If a slave steals, his master must make restoration; and the master will probably beat his slave to warn him against doing it again. A master may beat his slave for lying or for insolence.

For continued thieving a master may kill his slave. If this is done, the person or persons who last laid a charge of stealing



## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

against the slave are brought before the paramount chief and sued by the owner as being the cause of his slave's death. The chief will confirm upon them the blame of being the cause of his death, and will say that the master of the slave acted as a *kamunkomene*,<sup>1</sup> one sent to kill by those complaining of the thefts. They will have to bring a slave or a gun to the dead slave's master, and pay the chief two strings of Mbundu beads, practically the value of a slave.

If anyone injures a slave, compensation has to be paid to the owner of the slave. Suppose the slave loses an eye, a compensation of two guns would be paid to the master, who would give his slave one and send him home free.

Should a slave belonging to one man injure the slave of another, the settlement of the case would be between the owners.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter IV.

## CHAPTER VI

### VILLAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM

WE now come to consider more closely the village life and the customs and habits of the people in the villages of Ilamba.

#### A New Village

When the soil in the vicinity of a village has become worked out—a thing which happens after a few years, inasmuch as hoe cultivation does not go very deep—or when the environs of the village have become insanitary owing to long residence on one spot, the village headman will call together his *impemba* (advisors) and inform them that it is time to search for better soil. His advisors will assent, and in all probability tell him that they have been waiting for him to broach the subject, as the first approaches in this matter cannot come from the *impemba*. Should the *impemba* desire to remain longer on the old site, the headman would not force his desire to move, but would wait for a more opportune occasion. The subject of village moving would only be raised *pamwela*, during the dry season.

For moving a village in the old days no permission from the paramount was necessary as long as the site chosen was still within that chief's territory; for instance, Saili's villages could not move from the territory belonging to Saili. Established villages welcomed newcomers to their vicinity, for these provided an added protection in time of war; and since game was plentiful, there was never any jealousy.

The chief generally chooses the direction of the move. He will say, "Let us go to such-and-such a river. There is good soil there." When this has been decided, maybe four young men are sent out *ukwendelo'mushili*, to go over the soil in order to choose the best spot, keeping in mind the proximity of good drinking-water. On their return these men make their report. If it is satisfactory, the women are now sent to grind corn for the pioneers of the new settlement. In the morning the men of the village fill bark bags with meal, tie up their cooking-pots, and set off *mukwikato'mushili*, in order to 'catch the soil.' All the women

remain at the village. The last of the men to leave the village and go to the new site is the headman.

When the men reach the proposed site they erect one big *umutanda*, or stockade, which they share. That very evening the village headman takes a small quantity of meal (*uwunga*), and addresses the spirits of the people who used to inhabit the country round that stream: *Twamupeleni mwemulele muno, twamupeleni uwungo'wu, tulukufwayo'kwenda nenu. Kani tamulukutufwaya, uwungo'wu tusangane mwapalaya*, "Ye who sleep here, we have given to you, we have given to you this meal; we want to live with you. If you do not want us, let us find that you have scattered this meal!" This he says in order to propitiate them for the intrusion and to gain their good wishes. And he adds, *Kani mulukutufwaya, tusangane wonse wulikumene*, "If you do want us, let us find it all intact!" After this he pours the meal in a heap outside the stockade, behind it to the eastward. Then, with more meal, he goes to another spot, and says, *Kani pali wambi awachikani awatawenda nawantu, nawo uwunga bwawo mbu!* "If there are others, evilly minded, who do not get on with people, this meal is theirs!" Thereupon the old man goes into the stockade, and they all sleep.

At dawn the headman emerges, and goes to inspect the various heaps of meal. If he finds the heaps intact, he goes back to the *umutanda*, and says to his people, "They have accepted us!" And all are relieved.

If he should find the meal scattered about, perhaps by mice, the headman reports, "They have not greeted us here; they have driven us away!" Perhaps some will protest, "Let us stay here. The soil is so good!" And they will stay, but not without some misgivings. Should a man die, the headman would immediately say, "Did I not tell you that they have driven us away, and you would not listen?"

When the men come out in the morning, should one find a dead genet or a dead hare, intact with head, it would be considered an ill-omen. All would gather together to consult with the chief. In all probability they would decide to move to another stream, as such an occurrence is considered an indication of approaching death or disaster.

Should, however, all the omens be favourable, the men leave the *umutanda* that morning to choose their various garden sites, and each chooses his own plot and marks the trees. The next day they all go to commence the timber-felling, which takes several weeks of labour. At a new village site (*umusokolwe*), as

each tree is felled the branches are lopped and piled about the tree to dry for burning; the *ifiteme*, as these piles of branches are called, are not packed regularly, as is the case with already established gardens.

Meanwhile, if the distance is not too great, the women will bring regular supplies of meal. They do not do the cooking—the men cook for themselves—for the women have the bird-scaring to do at the village, and can be away from it only during the heat of the day. If the distance is great, the men will go from time to time to fetch their food. Sometimes, though rarely, men will return for spells to their wives at the village.

At the end of about a month the men will all return to the village to assist in reaping the harvest of sorghum (*amasaka*).

The corn-stalks are first cut down (*tewula*); then, when they have lain thus a day or two, the heads are cut off (*chyesa*) and gathered into stacks (*ififufu*) on stands raising them just off the ground away from termites.

Next, grain-houses (*amatala*) are erected in a secret place in the bush, in which the corn is stored (*longela*).

When this is done, all men and women alike, go to the new site to commence the hoeing. On their arrival they erect each man his own *umutanda* around the site of the big stockade, and an embryo village springs up. Bamboo doors are made for each *umutanda*, which is generally bushed over the top as well. Now men and women set about the first rough hoeing (*ukukuula*), turning up the great clods. Sometimes the woman does this while her husband is extending his *ifiteme* by felling more timber. Should the *ifiteme* be large enough, the man does the rough hoeing and his wife comes after him, breaking up the clods (*ukupume'нкуule*). Hoeing thus consumes many days, and from time to time visits have to be made to the old village to fetch food.

When the timber is dry the time for burning it comes, and when this is done the women commence to sow the *amasaka*, some in the ash-covered soil, some in the hoed ground as they smash the sods. The ground beneath the ash is not hoed, as it is held that

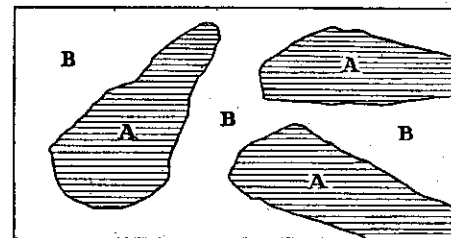


FIG. 30. PLAN OF A NEW GARDEN

A, ash-covered soil where trees have been felled and burnt; B, *inkuule*, roughly hoed soil.

## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

as the tree burns it softens the soil, so the hoe is merely struck in to make a hole for the seed. In these new gardens maize and sorghum are sown long before the first rains.

As soon as the sowing is complete *inkunka* huts are built, the men cutting the poles and bringing the bark rope, while the women bring the grass. The *inkunka* is a lean-to hut. Heavy poles are planted in the ground in a circular trench, the tops of the poles being brought together to form a cone. This is thatched

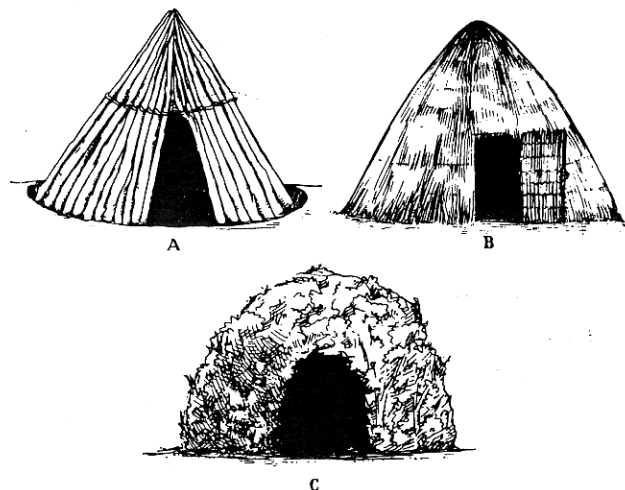


FIG. 31. INKUNKA AND U MUTANDA

A, *inkunka*—poles assembled; B, *inkunka*—thatched, with door; C, *umutanda*. Bamboo doors are made for each *umutanda*.

over, the grass reaching right to the ground, where sods cover the ends and make the whole secure.

By the time that the settlers have moved into the *inkunka* the first rains are upon them. Pumpkins are planted, and very soon the weeding of the gardens commences. As soon as the sorghum has grown to a certain height the women thin it out and transplant. The first crop they get is that of pumpkins, and as these are ripening the people have to erect shelters (*ututungu*) in the gardens themselves, into which they move temporarily to protect the pumpkins and maize from bush-pigs and monkeys. The next crop to ripen is maize, and after that the sorghum (*amasaka*), which necessitates the bird-scaring.

The *inkunka* village has been built *ichiwakewake*, without plan or order, but when the sorghum has been harvested grain-stores

## VILLAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM

are built on the outskirts of the site chosen for the permanent village.

### The Village

One day the headman will summon his people to go with him and choose the site for the *amajanda antanda*, the permanent houses of upright walls and conical roofs. When they reach the site the chief selects the spot for his own house, and says, "I shall build here; my brothers-in-law will build there; and my



FIG. 32. INKUNKA VILLAGE OF KAPOPO, 1913

Photo by C. M. Doke

sons-in-law yonder!" Under his direction each man marks out the spot for his own permanent dwelling.

### Key to Plan of Village (Fig. 33):

The village lies east to west, with the chief's huts at the eastern end and grain-stores outside to the east.

- (1) and (2) are the chief's huts, and unless this is the village of a commoner he will be an *umwinamishishi*. (1) is the hut of the principal wife, *mukolo*, of clan perhaps *umwinambwa*, (2) the hut of the younger wife, *mutepa*, say, *umwinachyulu*.
- (3)-(7) are occupied by the brothers-in-law of the chief who have married his clan sisters, *awenamishishi*. Of these the clans of the men may be as follows: (3) *umwinambushi*, (4) *umwinamaila*, (5) *umulembo*, (6) *umwinambushi*, (7)



## THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

planted in this trench, a gap being left for the doorway; the poles are bound together with long pliable bonds made of split bamboo and bark rope, or withies of the *umusamba*-tree with bark rope twined round them, or reeds. The bark rope used is stripped from within the hard outer bark of the *umusamba*- or *akasabwa*-trees, and is not plaited. The topmost bond, called *kankasa*, is of exceptional strength, and completely encircles the



FIG. 34. WULIMAS OF AN INFERIOR TYPE IN FRONT OF A PERMANENT INKUNKA

Photo by C. M. Doke

hut, going over the top of the doorway. In large buildings the next thing done is the erection of the *ulupumpu*, a temporary supporting pole in the centre of the hut. Four *impanda shyamutenje*, forked roofing poles called *insona*, are now brought together above the top of the *ulupumpu* and tied with bark rope, the forked ends resting at equal distances apart on the *kankasa*. An *ichiwango*, a circle of withies, is now prepared below, forced up into the apex within the roof, and secured to the outside by *ulushishi* (bark rope). Many more *insona* are added to strengthen the roof and close up the large interstices. Encircling bonds are now fixed without and within, and when all is tight the *ulupumpu* is removed.



FIG. 35. A VILLAGE OF INTANDA

Photo by C. M. Doke

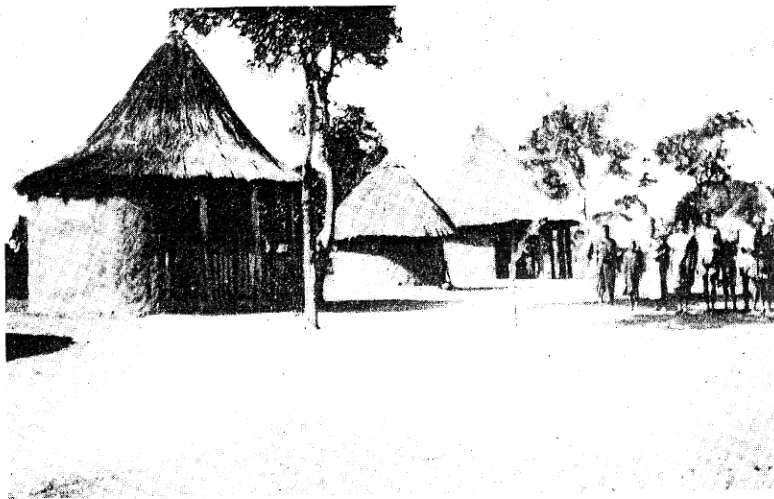


FIG. 36. IN A CHRISTIAN VILLAGE

Note the tidiness.

Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

The next operation is that of thatching the roof. From the first layer round the bottom edge of the roof each bundle of grass is placed with the head of grass hanging downward. The bundles are thrown up to the thatcher on the roof; he loosens them out and secures them with *ulushishi* to the roof-bonds. The uppermost capping of the thatch, the *sunsa*, is prepared on the ground. On the roof it is opened out; a long peg (*ulupopo*) is placed in the centre and driven in between the *msonta*, thus making it rigid. The next thing done to the house is the plastering (*masa*); usually the inside of the walls is plastered first, well-worked, heavy mud being placed in all the interstices between the wall poles; then the same is done from the outside.

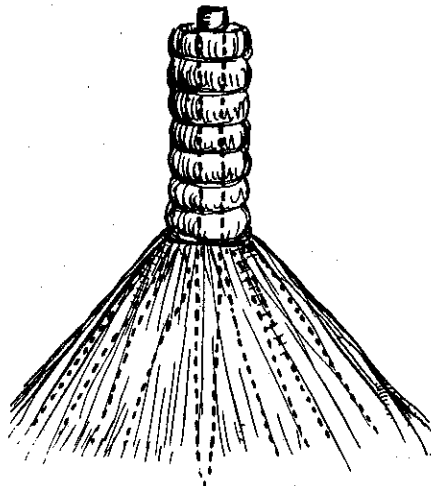


FIG. 37. SUNSA

learnt from the Europeans. Lastly, the door (*ichiwi*) has to be made, and for this bamboo, bound together with cross-pieces and *ulushishi*, is generally used, or sticks of *umusuku* or *umusamba* if no bamboo is available.

### The Calendar of Work

To the superficial observer the life of the average African native often seems to entail very little real work and an enormous amount of leisure time. Other equally superficial observers are apt to say that the women do all the hard work and the men practically nothing. To get a complete survey of the activities

of men and women in Ilamba throughout the year it is well to classify (1) the calendar of work according to the thirteen Lamba lunar months and (2) the division of labour between the sexes.

The Lamba year (*umwaka*) commences with the month of the first rains.

(1) *Ntenkentenke* or *lukundula-fiwunsa*, late October to November. This is a month of food-shortage. There is no special work apart from the daily rounds during this month.

(2) *Wangashye*, November to December. During this month the *ifiteme* are burnt and the *inkuule* broken up, maize, sorghum, and pumpkins being planted. Honey, extracted by the bees from the flowers of the *imisamba*-trees, is collected, and fish-spearing is possible as the water begins to rise.

(3) *Umwenye* or *umwenye-masuku*, December to January, is reckoned the height of the *umuwundo* or rainy season. During this month ground-nuts are planted, gardens weeded, fruits such as *impundu*, *imfungo*, *amasuku*, and *amasafwa*, honey, and mushrooms collected. The small red millet called *amawo* is sown during this month.

(4) *Akakuwo*, January to February. The weeding of gardens continues; the first pumpkins, melons, and cucumbers are gathered; the raised mounds (*imilala*) for sweet potatoes and cassava are prepared; wild fruits such as *amakonkola*, *imfungo*, and *inkomfwa* are collected, as well as such caterpillars as the *ififumbe* and the *ifisukuwya*. Bridges are constructed (*ukusanshike'fyaŵu*).

(5) *Inkuwo* or *inkuwonkulu*, February to March. Green maize is eaten, also such caterpillars as the *ulumombwe*. Garden work is suspended, except that upon sweet potatoes and cassava. The women make *amasasa ampoolo*, soft grass mats. This season is called *imintimpa*, the end of the rains.

(6) *Akawengele-ntanga* or *iwengele linini* or *akalusafya-manika*, March to April. During this month fresh *inkuule* are rough-hoed to enlarge the gardens. If a move to a new village site has to be made, it is during this month that the men set out.

(7) *Iwengele* or *iwengele likulu* or *sewa-pachyulu*, April to May. Bird-scaring (*ukwamina*) is commenced, anthill shelters (*utupingwe*) are made in the gardens, and *amankuwala* (sounding boats) carved to scare the birds. Sweet potatoes are dug, *amawo* harvested, and weirs (*ifipanda*) constructed across the receding streams to catch fish.

(8) *Ichishika*, May to June. Bird-scaring and *amawo*-harvesting continued, beans picked, *imyumbu* marsh roots dug, and ground-nuts, *wūwuleya*, and *umuninga* dug up (*tula*). This is the middle of the dry season, called *umwela*. Free-felling (*ukutema*) is commenced during this month.

(9) *Akapyantoto*, June to July. The main staple crop of sorghum (*amasaka*) is harvested, entailing *ukuteŵula* (cutting down), *ukuchyesa* (lopping of heads), building of stands (*ifufufu*), and erection of grain-stores (*amatala*). The women convey the crop to the *amatala* and store (*ukulongela*) it. During this month there is building of *inkunka* if a new village site has been chosen.

(10) *Nkumbinkumbi*, July to August. With the commencement of grass-burning cane-rats (*insenshi*) are hunted. *Umuninga* is scratched out (*ukufuka*). Tree-felling continues at the new village.

(11) *Kasabwa* or *akasako-kanduŵa* or *ichibwela-mushi*, August to commencement of September. The garden workers return to the village. Clods are smashed in the new gardens. This is a time of rest at an established village. The first maize and sorghum are planted. Timber for building is cut. Bundles of grass are fetched and stacked in the village.

(12) *Ikungulu* or *ikungulu lyamitondo* or *injelekela* or *akapalala*, September. During this month the permanent *intanda* houses are built, and the women have considerable work bringing in thatching grass.

(13) *Akasuŵa-kachye* or *temangume* or *kamalekano-nalesa*, October. This is the hottest month, just before the rains, and is reckoned the middle of *ulusuŵa*, the hot season. House-thatching is the principal work of this month.

### Division of Labour between the Sexes

The Lambas say that the sign of the man is "the axe and the spear" and the sign of the woman "the hoe." This to a great extent determines the division of labour between the sexes. Hoe-work is primarily women's work, though men may take a hoe to assist them. Axe-work is primarily men's work, though here again women may use an axe on occasion. A woman would not use a spear. A tabulation of the work of men and that of women will help the better realization of the fundamental principles underlying this social division.

	MEN	WOMEN
(1) Daily Duties.	(a) ——— (b) <i>Inkuni</i> (heavy firewood). (c) [May help sweep court-yard.]	(a) Draw water. (b) <i>Insamfu</i> (kindling wood). (c) Sweep house and court-yard.
(2) Gardens and Food-preparation.	(d) ——— (a) <i>Ifiteme</i> (tree-felling). (b) <i>Ukukuula</i> (first hoeing in clods). (c) <i>Ukochya</i> (burning <i>ifiteme</i> ). (d) ——— (e) [Help in sowing and weeding.] (f) <i>Ukusema</i> (scare pigs, monkeys). (g) <i>Ukuchyesa</i> (cut corn-heads). (h) Make stands and grain-houses.	(d) <i>Ukwanshika</i> (make bed). (a) ——— (b) <i>Ukulima</i> (ordinary hoeing). (c) ——— (d) <i>Ukupume'nkuule</i> (smashing the clods). (e) Sow and weed. (f) <i>Ukwamina</i> (scare birds). (g) <i>Ukuteŵula</i> (break down corn). (h) Carry corn to stand ( <i>ukutunta</i> ); put corn in grain-house ( <i>ukulongela</i> ). (i) <i>Ukuŵansa</i> , take out daily corn supply. (j) <i>Ukupuma</i> (thresh). (k) <i>Ukwela</i> (winnow). (l) <i>Ukupela</i> (grind). (m) <i>Ukutwa</i> (pound). (n) <i>Ukunanya</i> (make porridge). (o) Search for edible leaves for relish ( <i>uwuchisa</i> ), caterpillars, mushrooms, etc.
(3) Other Preparations.	(i) ——— (j) ——— (k) ——— (l) ——— (m) ——— (n) [On journeys, etc.]	(p) <i>Ukusepa</i> . (q) Extract salt. (r) Brew beer of all kinds. (a) <i>Akapofwe</i> for soap. (b) [Tobacco, old women.]
(4) Hunting, etc.	(a) <i>Akapofwe</i> for soap. (b) Tobacco. (a) Hunting proper ( <i>uwupalu</i> ). (b) Trapping: game, birds, mice, etc. (c) Honey. (d) Fishing: nets, weir-traps, spearing, hooking.	(a) ——— (b) ——— (c) ——— (d) Fishing: treading, bailing, string with worm-bait (no hook).
(5) Domestic Animals.	(a) Attention to goats. (b) Attention to fowls.	(a) Attention to fowls.
(6) Building.	<i>Ukutala</i> (marking out), <i>ifiti</i> (bringing poles), <i>ulushishi</i> (bark rope), <i>ukufimba</i> (thatching), <i>ukwanga</i> (erecting), <i>ukuwanga</i> (placing bonds), treading mud for plastering, <i>ukumasa</i> (rough plastering), <i>ichiwai</i> (door).	<i>Ichyani</i> (grass for thatching), water for mud, [ <i>ukumasa</i> ], <i>ukushingula</i> (smearing walls), preparation of floor, beating of floor, making of interior screen ( <i>ichipembe</i> ).

# THE LAMBAS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

	MEN	WOMEN
(7) Clay-moulding.	(a) [A few men mould pots.]	(a) Cooking and other pots.
(8) Baskets and Mats.	(b) Pipe-bowls.	(b) ———
	(a) <i>Ututundu</i> (large baskets of bamboo).	(a) <i>Ututundu</i> (large baskets of reeds).
	(b) <i>Ifisele</i> (shallow baskets of split bamboo).	(b) <i>Ifilukwa</i> (grass meal baskets).
	(c) ———	(c) <i>Imfuma</i> (grass beer basket), <i>ichisumiko</i> (beer strainer), <i>uluwanga</i> (rush fish basket).
	(d) <i>Imichyeka</i> (palm-leaf mats).	(d) [A few <i>imichyeka</i> .]
	(e) <i>Imisengelo</i> (reed and split bamboo mats), <i>impasa</i> (of split reeds).	(e) [ <i>Imisengelo</i> by few unmarried women.]
	(f) [ <i>Amasasa</i> by few old men.]	(f) <i>Amasasa</i> (of marsh grass).
(9) Wooden Utensils, etc.	(a) Eating bowls, ladles, stamp-blocks ( <i>ifimu</i> ), stools ( <i>ifipuna</i> and <i>amatewe</i> ), stirring-sticks, dug-out canoes, drums, axe, hoe, and spear handles, sticks, door-fasteners, etc.	(a) ———
	(b) <i>Inkombo</i> , drinking calabashes.	(b) <i>Ifyeso</i> (calabashes halved).
(10) Musical Instruments.	<i>Ingoma</i> , <i>akalimba</i> , <i>akankoto</i> , <i>ubwesela</i> , <i>isese</i> , <i>umusembe</i> , <i>ilinkuwala</i> .	<i>Insai</i> (wild-orange rattle), <i>umutungu</i> (gourd drum), <i>insangua</i> (seed rattles).
(11) Weapons and Instruments.	Spear, axe, bow, arrows, knife, hoe ( <i>ise</i> and <i>ubweya</i> ), adze, dancing axe, <i>akaweshi</i> (type of small knife carried in the hair), wire, brass bracelets, rings, combs.	<i>Uwuyombo</i> (grass dancing waist fringe), <i>amabwwe</i> (stones for grinding picked up).
(12) Bark and Skin Preparations.	(a) <i>Ukusale'nguwō</i> , the preparation of bark cloth ( <i>umusompo</i> ).	(a) ———
	(b) <i>Ukupashila</i> (sewing).	(b) ———
	(c) <i>Ukunyuke'fiseŵa</i> , the preparation of skins as sleeping mats. [N.B. The Lenje and Ila wore skins, the Lamba bark cloth.]	(c) ———
(13) Personal Adornment.	(a) <i>Ichingalangala</i> , the feather headdress.	(a) <i>Inkuku</i> , bead headdress worn in girls' hair.
	(b) Tattooing.	(b) Tattooing.

All wood-work (9) and metal-work (11), without exception, is the province of the man. Tree-felling, the procuring of heavy firewood, the essential parts of house-building, the use of bamboo in baskets and mats, and bark preparation all entail the use of the

# VILLAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM

axe, and therefore are done by the man. Hoeing, garden-work, clay-work, and food-preparation are the province of the woman, though when it comes to the heavier, or maybe more dangerous, parts of this the man is required; he may do the hard initial breaking of the ground in the new gardens, and while the woman scares the birds, the man is needed to watch at night for the wild pigs. Men must fetch the bamboo—it needs the *axe* to cut it down and to split it for use afterward; but the women must fetch the thatching grass, for, having no sickle, the Lambas use the *hoe* to cut it through just above the roots. The divisions of the types of fishing are equally suggestive;<sup>1</sup> the men fish with the aid of metal and traps which require the use of the axe in their preparation, while the women use the basket and similar means. Again, that the 'heavy' work is given to the men is shown in the fact that the heavy plastering (*ukumasa*) is done by men, while the women put the finishing touches by smearing (*ukushingula*). In basket- and mat-making men work predominantly in bamboo, which requires the axe, while women work in grass and in reeds, which require at most a knife to treat them. Not only is the making of musical instruments of every kind practically confined to the men, but the playing of them is similarly so restricted. One never sees a woman playing any of the instruments made by men, and, *vice versa*, the rattles and the gourd-drum which the women prepare are never used by men. It is a significant thing that since the preparation of clothing (bark cloth) used always to be done by the men, with the substitution of calico in these days the preparation of this into garments has also devolved upon the men, and any sewing-machines that there are in the country are used by the men. To a slight extent this tradition is being countered by the teaching of girls by the missionaries.

## Food and its Preparation

With the Lambas the three important things have always been food, shelter, and clothing, in that order of importance. The months or moons are regarded principally in reference to the food there is to be had, to planting, garden preparation, and the ripening of crops.

The staple food is *inshima*, thick porridge made from sorghum meal. Sorghum or Kafir corn is called by the Lambas *amasaka*. The preparation of *inshima* is called *ukunanya*. A large cooking-pot is three-quarters filled with water and brought to the boil.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XX.



When the water boils handfuls of meal are added and the whole vigorously stirred. Meal is continuously added until the *inshima* is stiff. The last meal is naturally not fully cooked. The pot is now taken from the fire, held firmly by the feet, and the stirring continued for some time, when the steaming mass is turned out into a dish, a wooden bowl, or eating basket.

Accompanying the *inshima* there must be a bowl of *ifyakutoŵela*, relish. Generally the men eat together, and the women and children together, but at times the family—father, mother, and children—will eat from the one bowl. The participants in a meal are scrupulously careful to wash their hands before eating, for they use no spoon or suchlike implement to help them. They all squat round the common eating-bowl, and, breaking off with finger and thumb a morsel of the porridge, roll it round in the hand, dip it into the pot of relish, and eat it.

All Lamba foodstuffs are thus divided into those which comprise the main part of the meal and those which are used as relish. Here is a brief survey of the main commodities which they use under these two headings.

(1) Food. *Inshima* is made from *amasaka* (sorghum), *amataŵa* (maize), or *amawo* (a very small millet, of which there are several kinds—*kaŵonde*, *kapepele*, *mutuŵila*, and *chiŵungwe*). Maize and sorghum, when fresh and young, are also used boiled; this is called *umusaku*.

The following are boiled (*ukwipika*): *chipushi* and *mwanamungu* (pumpkins); *ichilungu* and *akalungwa* (yams); *umumbu* (a marsh cultivated root, of which there are several kinds—*kafukwa*, *chyumbumapondo*, *ikumwa*, *chikata*, *kasununu*); *inyangu*, *utunyanguwulamba*, and *nyinamotoŵomatoŵo* (beans); *umungu* (marrow); *ichitungusa* and *katende* (cucumbers); *kandolo* and *chilolwe* (sweet potatoes, both red and white); *tute* (cassava); *umuninga* and *uŵuleya* (ground-nuts).

Certain of these are also baked on the coals (*ukochya*)—for instance, *umuninga*, *tute*, *kandolo*, *chilolwe*, and sometimes *chipushi*—while a number may be eaten raw, *ichiŵimbi*, *ichitungusa*, *katende* and *ichikowa* (cucumbers), *kandolo*, *chilolwe*, *tute*, also the marsh roots *umumbu*, *mukuŵa*, and *kasununu*.

(2) Relish. The general term for relish is *ifyakutoŵela*. One of the principal types of relish is, as we shall see, *uŵuchisa*, and this latter term used to be applied to all types of relish, even meat, in order to hide what delicacy it might be. Using the terms strictly, the Lambas have the following types of relish:

- (a) *Uŵuchisa*, cooked leaves.
- (b) *Umulembwe*, greens pounded and cooked to a soft mash.
- (c) *Ifishimu*, caterpillars squeezed out, skins thrown away, and interior juices boiled.
- (d) *Ifinani*, meat (i) of *inama*, animals large and small, (ii) of *imbeŵa*, types of mice.
- (e) *Ifyuni*, birds.
- (f) *Isaŵi*, fish.
- (g) Foodstuffs used as relish.
- (h) Miscellaneous.
- (i) *Ifyakulunga*, condiments.

(a) *Uŵuchisa*. The following are the commonest leaves used in this way: *umusampala* (pumpkin leaves), *impumpule*, *umushikalilo*, *umunemena*, *chimboyi*, *kaliilwanse*, *ichimbulumutumba*, *iŵondwe* (wild spinach), *sosa*, *saasa* (cassava leaves), *ichitashi*, *umusaasa*, *ubwakaka*, *tandaŵala*, *funte*, *mwaŵo* (species of grass), *ichisosola* (eaten raw), *amakasa anchyenche*, *akapulula*, *kalembula wamuchinika*, and *indulwe*.

(b) *Umulembwe*. These include the following: *mukona*, *pupwe*, *insanchi*, *umukungu*, *kalembwelukasu*, *ichilembwelembwe*, and *akafunda*.

(c) *Ifishimu* constitute a great delicacy with the Lambas. There are many kinds, which they collect from the trees at regular seasons. In many cases the caterpillar bears the name of the tree on which it feeds. In the following list the name of the tree is in parentheses after the name of the caterpillar: *ichinkuŵala* (*umutondo*), *umushila* or *umwandakoso* (*umutondo* and *umwandakoso*), *ichifumbe* (*ichifumbe*), *umukoso* (*umukoso*), *ulumombwe* (*ulumombwe*), *akawambe* (*umutondo*), *umusalya* (*umusalya*), *akakoto* (*umutoŵo*), *ichisukuŵya* (*umusuku*), *mwenje* (*umwenje*), *munshisondwa* (*ichimpampa*)—very few eat these last two—*akampakamwa* (*umusalya*), *umupetu* (*umupetu*)—eaten only by a few old people—*mumpa* (*umutondo*), *umushyankoko* (eats sorghum and grass), *ichiŵalatende* (eats grass), *chimamba* (*chimamba*), *ichilengwa* (a white grub 6 inches long, 2 inches in diameter, which lives inside *umunga*, the thorn-tree).

(d) *Ifinani*, meat, is treated in several ways by the Lambas. Fresh meat is either boiled or grilled on the coals. If a quantity of meat has been obtained, a portion is dried on a stand with a slow fire beneath—this means smoking as well as drying. Meat dried like this lasts for a long while, unless the *ifyundu* (zabrus, meat-eating grubs which become beetles) get to it. Dried meat