

is generally boiled to make a relish. Salt is greatly prized to boil with meat.

Following are lists of the more common animals (*inama*) and members of the mouse family (*imbeŵa*) eaten by the Lambas. It will be noticed that certain of them demand special treatment, owing to ill-omen which is associated with them.

(I) INAMA. *Insofu* (elephant). Lambas do not bake the trunk in the orthodox Bantu fashion in a heated trench. Pieces of the elephant are cut off and grilled on the embers. The tasty pieces are the trunk, the feet, and the flesh above the eyes.

Imfuŵu (hippopotamus). The tasty pieces are the entrails, the head, and the feet. The feet are chopped up and pieces put into a large pot and boiled.

Kakwele (rhinoceros). Only a few people eat this.

Imbishi (zebra). It is taboo to bring the hoofs of a zebra into the village lest a death should occur; they are always cut off and thrown away.

Inkulo (black waterbuck).

Impeleme (both roan and sable antelopes).

Inkonshi (hartebeeste). The front feet are not eaten; between the hoofs is a deep cleft, and it is said that the *uŵungwa* ('roguishness') of the animal is there. Natives fear that they may become 'rogues' if they eat it. The hartebeeste is credited with *uŵungwa* because of its method of running and the way in which it eats, away in the middle of the plain.

Inshya (duiker).

Senya (oribi).

Inseŵula (puku).

Ichikokamabwe (klip-springer).

Inja (lechwe).

Impoyo (reed-buck).

Insoŵe (sitatunga).

Impala (gazelle).

Timba (grysbok).

Imbowo (buffalo).

Ichikwindi (yellow-backed duiker). This animal is not eaten by women, as it has quantities of blood. Women fear lest at childbirth they should lose a great deal of blood.

Shiŵolwe (bush buck). One must never beg the neck of this buck, for it has a white hairless patch. It is feared lest a child born should have a similar spot on the neck. With this the evil seems to be in the begging; if offered, it can be eaten with impunity.

Insongo (eland). This animal is prized above all others for its fat. The tasty bits are the shins and feet.

Inguluŵe (bush pig) and *injili* (wart hog) are highly esteemed. When killed, these animals are held over a fire to burn off the bristles, and eventually eaten skin and all.

Inunji (porcupine). The meat is fat and greatly relished. The intestines are thrown away, as they are bitter, and it is said that dogs die if they eat them.

Impendwa (ant-bear). It is taboo to bring an ant-bear's head to the village, and it is always cut off and left in the bush.

Akampalanga (steinbuck).

Imbushi (goat). Not eaten by some natives.

Kolwe and *musemeni* (monkey and baboon). Eaten only by old people and little children.

Inshimba (genet). The *ichifungo* (scent-excreting gland) is first cut out, and then the animal is boiled, never grilled.

Inchyema, *ŵumbe*, *akasakanenga*, and *akapolobwe* are small animals boiled, not grilled.

Fulwe (tortoise). The old people eat this; they first put it on the fire to take off the shell, and then boil it.

Katumpa (civet). The scent-gland at the tail is first cut out, then the animal is grilled and afterward boiled, when it is said that the meat is good.

Akalulu and *ichilulu* (hares). It is taboo to bring the head to the village; it is cut off and left.

Chyanga and *akawundi* (galagos).

Uhupale (squirrel).

Shiŵembele (flying squirrel).

Kambole (ratel), always boiled.

Ipulu, *akakwiso*, *chikankati*, and *kandende* are small animals like mongooses and weasels.

Unborn animals are never eaten, but are thrown away. Meat *pakusasa*, when 'high,' but not yet putrid, is greatly prized. The natives say of it, *Fyaito'muto*, "It is calling the soup!"

(II) IMBEŴA. Under this heading the following are eaten, generally boiled: *insenshi* (cane-rat), *imfuko* (large mole), *akakoko* (small mole), *imfumbwe*, *tunga* (by children and very old people only), *polongwe*, *ipanga*, *chishye*, *iŵende*, *mwansakala*, *pena*, *imfulwe*, *ingali*, etc. (all species of mice).

(e) *Ifyuni*, birds.

(i) Those eaten whether boiled or grilled:

Insumbi (domestic fowl). The eating of this is often connected with ceremonial.

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Inkulimba (pigeon), *chizwa* (dove), *musokoshi* (pheasant), *ikanga* (guinea-fowl), *chintalantala* (partridge), *pwele* (thrush), *shimutengu* (lark).

Akatutwa, a small bird which is never eaten by anyone who still has his own mother and father living. It is believed that if this taboo is broken the bird can curse the eater.

Inyanga yashiwakota, *chintole*, *impolcwe*, *mukwe*, *ifukulansyama*, *ichisokosoko*, *akaundu* (quail), *chyandwe* and *chyelemfu* (parakeets), *muwangwa* (woodpecker).

(ii) Those only eaten boiled: *ichyoso* (duck), *ishipi* (goose), *ichipampamanshi* (a water-fowl), *mulondwe* (cormorant), *akasewe* (buzzard), *akasewa* (sparrow), *induwā* (lurie), *umukuta*, *fumfunkanana*, *mulongwe* (hornbill), *mutongola*, *inkonje* (egret), *imbuwute* (hoopoe).

(iii) Only eaten grilled: *akatinga* (type of tomtit).

(f) *Isazi*, fish. Fresh fish are usually boiled, but the larger ones may be grilled on the coals. Generally, however, fish when caught in quantities are cut open, dried over slow fires, and then when used are either boiled or grilled. The commonest fish in the rivers is the barbel called *umuta*, of which there are several kinds—e.g., *kambale*, *akatananyanya*, *sampa*, and *ichiwowe*. Other edible fish include the following: *isuwula*, *ikamba*, *chikuwamawo*, *sampa*, *chipuwamulomo*, *akafumbe*, *umusenga*, *ilemba*, *umupofwe*, *shimwenje*, *ulukomo*, *ulupumbu*, *chinimba*. In addition the crab (*inyanje*) and a certain species of water-beetle (*imbushi yapamenda*) are eaten.

(g) The following foodstuffs are also used as relish:

Inyangu (small beans). These are crushed on the grindstone, winnowed clear of husks, boiled, and stirred into a kind of gruel. It is called *kwela wanyangu*.

Umuninga (pea-nuts). Roasted with salt.

Intetele (pips of pumpkin and marrow). These are used either roasted with salt or stamped, boiled, and made into gruel called *umusanta*.

Uwuleya (a species of ground-nut). Broken up in the stamp-block, winnowed, boiled, and made into gruel, called *kwela waawuleya*.

(h) Miscellaneous relish:

Londwa (flying termite). Roasted.

Umutende (small flying termite). Roasted.

Ulushye (locust). Used when they appear, and treated in one of three ways: (i) boiled, (ii) roasted, (iii) dried by old people and stamped to a meal.

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Ichipembya (countess beetle). Roasted.

Amaluko (young of bees). Boiled or roasted.

(i) *Ifyakulunga*, condiments, are used when they can be obtained, and are principally of three kinds: (i) salt (*umuchyele*), (ii) chilies (*impilipili*), and (iii) onions (*ifitungulu*). Natives often make up a type of pickle of all three mixed with water.

(3) **Supplementary and Famine Foods.** In the various seasons the people supplement their menu with gleanings from the forest; these, called *ifisepo*, consist of fruits and roots. They also avail themselves of the various types of honey and the many kinds of edible fungi. In famine time certain of these wild roots become their mainstay of life. As will be seen, some of them have to be treated in a special way.



FIG. 38. MISSION SCHOOLCHILDREN WITH TELYA MUSHROOMS

Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

(a) *Uwuchhi*, honey. Bee-honey is to be found at different seasons

according to the type of nectar procurable by the bees; and the natives recognize the following: *kasabwa*, *kumba*, *akankobwe*, *umusamba*, and *umutendefu*. But apart from the ordinary bees there are several kinds of small honey-making insects which the natives call *utushimu* (the ordinary bee being *ulushimu*). Most of these place their honey deep down in the ground or in anthills. They include *uwungulwe*, *ichipashi*, *umwande*, *insolwe*, *uwunyanta*, *ichiwonga*, and *chintimba*, the last of which makes a strong intoxicating honey if it has used the nectar of the *kasabwa*-tree.

(b) *Uwowa*, fungi or mushrooms. It is wonderful to see how well the people, young and old, are able to pick out the edible from the poisonous types, and I have not heard of a case of mushroom poisoning among the Lambas. Edible mushrooms are of many kinds, and during the rainy season are generally

plentiful. The following is not a complete list: *winyanta*, *ulumbulula*, *chimpape*, *akatyotyoty*, *tande*, *uwukwesenje*, *sukwa*, *ichisamfu*, *akatulukwa*, *nsanda*, *telya*, *uwunkungwa*, *akankolenkole*, *munya*, *uwusepa*, *kaŵansa*, *musefwe*, *kakonso*, *imfuti*, *ubwitondwe*, *ichilomonamunomba*, *ichiwengele*, *ilimfwemfwe*, *ikaŵakaŵa*, *akapolo*, *mushinje*. As a rule these are eaten boiled, but the *kaŵansa* is also eaten raw, while the *munya* may also be grilled.

(c) *Fruit*. The following are some of the commonest fruits eaten by the natives in Ilamba: *ulupundu*, *ikonkola*, *ulukomfwa*, *imfinsa*, *ifufuma*, *ikole*, *iŵungo*, *ikukwe*, *mukolamfula*, *impo*, *ichikundukuluwŵyu*, *ilinkulimba*, *uluchyenja*, *ichichyenjeshilu*, *ilolo*, *isuku*, *akakonko*, *ichisombo*, *akalunji*, *chyangwemuleya*, *akatonga*, *akaŵungombalala*, *akampamapebwe*, *munomba*, *ulukulungufya*, *ulu-fungo*. The last named is also eaten when boiled and stirred into a kind of gruel.

(d) *Roots*. The following provide substitute food in times of scarcity of the crops planted:

Uŵusala. This resembles a sweet potato when it is cooked.

Umupama. Boiled.

Kasaŵo. This root, on account of its poisonous properties, has to be treated in a special way. The root is white, and is cooked in large pots. After it has been thoroughly cooked, the next day the skin is scraped off and the roots sliced up. They are then placed in an *umusantu*, a grass bundle, and put to soak in running water, where they are left for two days. On the third day they are taken out and put in water boiling over a fire, stirred up, and treated like *inshima*.

Natives say that if hyenas are troublesome about the village they take bones with a little meat on them, soak them in water with raw *kasaŵo*, and then place a pot of this at a crossing of the paths. A hyena will come and eat the meat and bones and drink the water. He will then be rendered so helpless by the poison that he will be found there by the villagers in the morning and killed. Sometimes villagers in famine time have been poisoned through not waiting to soak the roots for the full time required.

Ulukolongo. This is a red root which is treated in the same way as the *kasaŵo*, except that it has to be soaked in swiftly running water for four days. After that it may be eaten straight away or made into *inshima*. If not treated in this way it is said to cause 'drunkenness' and even death.

Uhufumfutu. This root is not dangerous, but on account of its bitterness and slimy nature it too has a lengthy treatment.

It is cooked, taken out, scraped, and cut up; then it is soaked for two days, after which it is eaten.

Ulusasa. A root eaten raw.

Mukwilwa. Eaten raw or cooked.

Ilintabwa. Dug up, brought to the village, and sliced up after being scraped clean of rind. Certain bitter leaves called *wufunde* are placed in a pot, the *amantabwa* is placed on them, and more *wufunde* on top. With water this is set on the fire and boiled for a long time, until the whole settles to the bottom. It is then dished up and divided out; all use ladles and drink it as gruel. The *wufunde* in the mixture is said to have become sweet and the whole to taste like honey.

Ilumbwe. A root resembling sweet potato, eaten raw or boiled.

Umunkombwa. Eaten boiled.

Isafwa. Eaten raw.

Ulupakwa. The roots of the water-lily (*ichikwiŵu*) eaten grilled or boiled. This is the main food of the Twa people of the swamps, and is said to taste like *amarwo* millet.

From this list it will be seen that the bush of Lambaland provides very many kinds of famine foodstuffs. Such is the improvidence of the people that, despite the number of kinds of cultivated food grown, they very often have to depend upon *ifisepo*, veld food, in the period before their crops ripen, and when it is realized that *kasaŵo* and *amantabwa* have frequently to be relied upon it can be seen how hard-pressed they sometimes are.

(4) *Drink*. There are two principal kinds of beer made by the Lambas, *ifisunga*, which is non-intoxicating, and *ubwalwa*, which is very intoxicating. The only other intoxicating beverage which they make is *imbote*, honey-beer, which may be intoxicating or not, according to the method of brewing. But there are several other kinds of non-intoxicating drinks which the people are able to make only at special seasons. From sorghum, in addition to *ifisunga*, they make *intongo*, *akatete*, and *funku*; from maize, *ichisekele*; and from various fruits, such as the *impundu* and the *amasuku*, they make *timbwa*.

To brew (*ukukumba*) the intoxicating *ubwalwa* the Lambas soak (*aŵika*) sorghum in water for two days, until it begins to sprout, when it is called *amamena*. This they spread out to dry (*anika*). When dry, it is ground, and the flour is then boiled for a long time. Meanwhile a portion of the *amamena* is taken when dry, mixed with ordinary sorghum, ground, cooked, cooled in a large pot (*umutondo*), and set aside to ferment (*wila*). This

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is called *umusunga*. This 'leaven' is then mixed in small quantities with the boiled *ubwalwa*.

Beer-drinks take place after working-bees or working-parties (*imbile*), when the one whose garden is hoed supplies his helpers with the beverage, also during the dancing in connexion with mourning and other types of spirit-worship. Women brew the beer, but they do not gather at the beer-drinks as the men do. They often wait on the men, handing the beer round, and may drink moderately by themselves, though I have never known of a Lamba woman getting drunk.

Honey-beer (*imbote*) is of two kinds, an intoxicating and a non-intoxicating.

(a) INTOXICATING. The young of bees (*amaluko*) are taken and put into a calabash with a little maize flour; the calabash is closed up and the preparation set for one day to ferment. In the morning a mixture of honey and water is poured in and stirred up, the calabash being filled, and then set out in the sun for a day. In the evening it is set near to the fire and kept warm during the night. After another day in the sun it will be ready for drinking by night. This beer is violently intoxicating, and is indulged in only by small parties. The drinking of honey-beer is not connected with any of the social or religious gatherings.

(b) NON-INTOXICATING. Water and honey are mixed in a calabash and set in the sun for a day. That same evening it is drunk. This beer is called *umumfundwa*.

Tobacco

Tobacco, *fwaka*, is grown in every Lamba village, principally on the sides of the enormous anthills, where the soil is very rich. Sometimes the leaves are plucked, quickly dried before the fire, crushed, and then smoked. But when large quantities are dealt with the leaves are picked and packed in a large drum of bark called *imfuulu*, which is mudded up to render it airtight. This bark drum is then put into the fire, baked carefully, and put aside for four or five days. After this it is broken and the tobacco taken out and pounded in a mortar (*ichinu*). The tobacco is then put out to dry slightly, pounded again, made into little cakes (*ifimpwampwa*), and again put out to dry. These cakes are then put into a basket (*ichilukwa*) and pressed and kneaded together (*ukukatika*) with the pounded leaves or bark of a shrub called *umulolo* to make the mass bind. It is then taken from the basket, polished, and put out to dry. This result is called *umwambwa*.

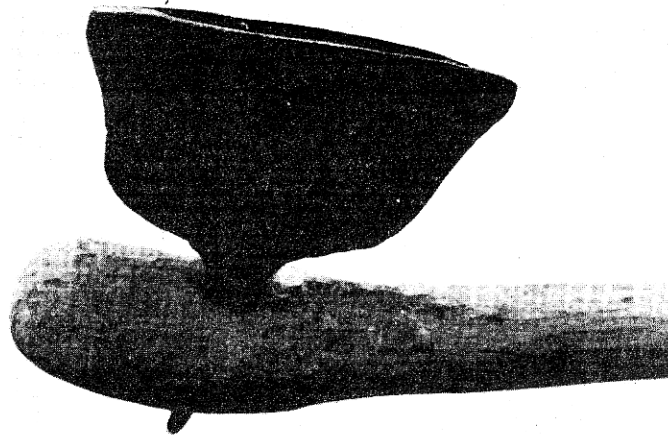


FIG. 39. ICHIPAMBA

See p. 121.

Photo by W. Paff



FIG. 40. OLD CHYALWE AND HER IMBOKOMA

Photo by C. M. Doke

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There is another type of prepared tobacco, called *kansai*. Green leaves of tobacco are bound together in a bundle of grass (*umusantu*) and left for five to ten days, until the tobacco rots, when it is treated as above. *Kansai* is extremely strong.

The common Lamba pipes are of two kinds, the *impoli*, a small clay bowl at the end of a long reed, and the *imbokoma*, or calabash pipe.



FIG. 41. IMBOKOMA AND IMPOLI WITH CLAY PIPE-BOWL

Photo by W. Paff

The *impoli* holds but little at a time, and is often used for *uluwàngula* or hemp. The *imbokoma* is composed of three parts. A large clay bowl (*intuntu*) with a neck, into which is fixed a reed stem (*itete*) connecting it with a long-shaped calabash water-container (*umuchinda*). Tobacco is placed in the *intuntu*, live coals put on top, and the smoke drawn through the water in the calabash with a gurgling noise.

In the old days hemp was grown in most villages. When it is full size the people cut it down and dry it; they then tie it up in bundles,

and use it after crushing it in the hands. When smoked to any extent this *uluwàngula* has a maddening effect, far worse than that of intoxicating beer. In Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo it is now illegal to grow hemp.

Salt-making

Before European salt was imported the Lambas used salt of three kinds: (1) a brown salt imported from the Kasempa district, (2) a black salt, called *nyinalochya*, imported from the Congo, and (3) their own, obtained from the burning of certain grasses.

Nyinalochya is prepared by the Congo Lambas, who dig a species of black mud, put it into *imfuulu* (bark covers), and then cause water to percolate through it (*ukusumika*). The dry mud which is left over is then burnt by turning the container over a

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fire as on a spit, the bark cover not being allowed to burn. It is then put aside to cool. When cool, the bark is broken off, and the mud is found black and hard. This is used for salting food.

Various types of salt grass are used for salt extraction—e.g., *umunyaña*, *chikukulu*, *chikankati*, *chiwàngalume*, *nteëve*—as well as the plant *ulwisonga* and the leaves of the *ichitashi*-tree. When preparing this salt, women who are not menstruating go to the



FIG. 42. HOW MAIZE IS STACKED

Photo by Miss O. C. Dohé

river, gather the grass, maybe *nteëve*, and spread it out there to dry. In the morning they come and gather more. When dry the grass is burnt and the ashes gathered and carried to the village in baskets (*ututundu*). Salt percolators (*ifyeso* or *ifsumiko*) made of finely woven palm leaf are brought and the ashes placed therein. Water is poured on, and this trickles through into a pot below. This salty water is used to season meat. At times salt-ash is stored in bags and treated as above when required. Salt made from the *ichitashi*-tree is not greatly relished on account of its smell, as also that from the chickweed, *ulwisonga*.

At places a salty incrustation is found on rocks, ground, and *chyembe* grass. This looks like hoar frost, is called *chyembe*, and

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is merely gathered together and used in that state for salting relish.

The soil of certain of the large anthills is decidedly salty, and this has been discovered by the large game, who resort to such places to lick. Some of these salt-licks have been used for many years, great cavities being made in the anthills. These the natives call *imbu*.

Bird-scaring

One of the regular annual duties, which takes up considerable time and the attention of all the women and children, often

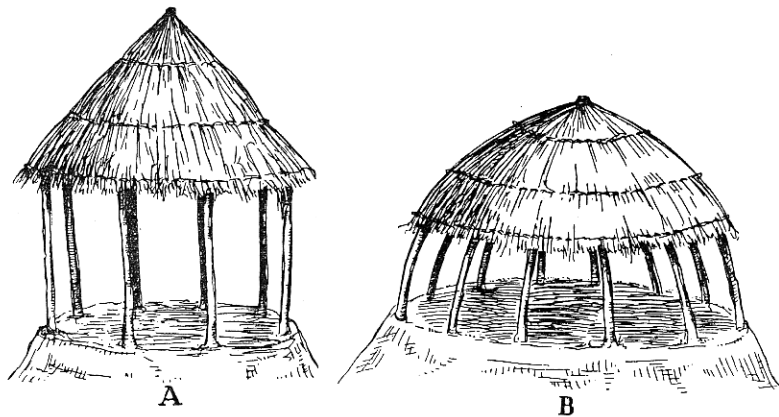


FIG. 43. TWO TYPES OF INSAMA

A, with upright poles and thatched roof; B, with poles bent to meet at top and upper part thatched.

assisted by the men, especially the old people, is the bird-scaring, *ukwamina*. This generally commences at the end of April, and lasts some seven weeks, until the harvest of sorghum is gathered in. Small shelters, *insama*, are erected on the anthills to shelter the scarers from the sun, though the work is confined mostly to the morning and the evening, the birds not being active at midday. If there are insufficient ant-heaps, *utupingwe*, platforms on poles, are erected to elevate the scarers. The birds which cause most damage are the *utusewa* (sparrows), *uwuchyonko* (finches), *wachiwa* (doves), *wachyandwe* (parakeets), and *ubwilangwe* (mecklings). In these days tins of all sorts, in addition to the *amankuwala* (hollowed boat-shaped logs of wood), are beaten to make a noise and scare off the birds. The little boys make miniature bows with grass-stalk arrows (*intende*) and shoot at the birds to keep them on the move.

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Threshing and Winnowing

When the sorghum is harvested the cut heads are stacked on low stands (*ifufu*) to keep them off the ground, away from termites. In front of the stand the hard ground is swept clean. A certain amount of the gathered heads is put down on this

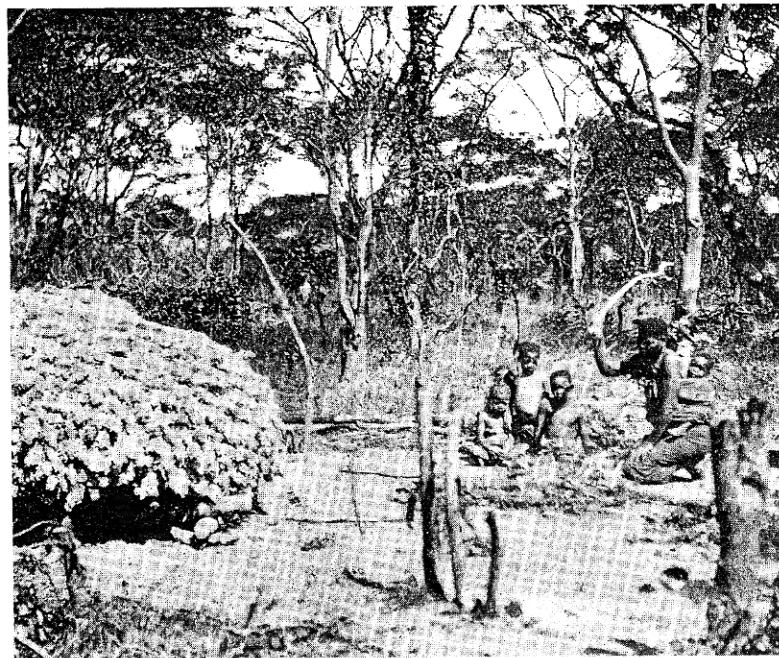


FIG. 44. THRESHING SORGHUM, AND AN ICHIFUFU OF SORGHUM

Photo by C. M. Doke

threshing-floor. A woman will break off any serviceable stick, and, kneeling down, often with her baby asleep upon her back, will beat (*ukupuma*) the corn, continually turning it over. The empty heads are thrown aside and the threshed corn gathered into baskets. She will now proceed to winnow (*ukwela*). Taking a quantity of corn in a small basket called *ulupe*, standing at full height, she pours it out in a stream into a large *akatundu* basket standing on the ground. If the wind is blowing this process is repeated only a few times to clean the grain of all refuse.

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Grinding (Ukupela)

After the corn-heads are harvested into the permanent grain-houses, the people prefer to thresh and winnow small quantities from time to time, as the unthreshed corn is less susceptible to the ravages of the weevil (*utvusunfi*). Sorghum and the small

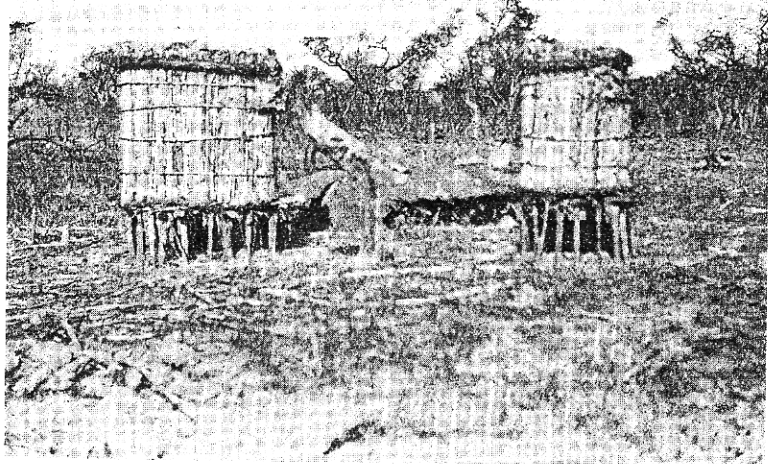


FIG. 45. GRAIN-BINS
Photo by C. M. Doke

millet are ground on the grindstones. Each woman has her stone beneath the eaves outside her house. A hole is dug, in which the stone is set; mud is pressed down all round the stone and moulded carefully round its edge. The nether grindstone is called *ibwe* (the stone). The upper stone is called *impelo* (the grinder). The women use a third stone, called *insono*, for chipping and roughening the lower stone when it becomes too smooth. In front of the *ibwe* and below it is a scooped-out hole, well plastered, into which the flour falls as the corn is ground. The woman kneels behind the stone, takes a handful of corn from her basket, places it on the stone, and works the *impelo* over it with the motion of a washerwoman using a washboard; the ground meal goes into the hollow below, and more corn is added to the



FIG. 46. A COMMUNAL GRINDSTONE
Photo by C. M. Doke



FIG. 47. AN ICHIMABWE
Photo by C. M. Doke

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stone as required. The Lamba method of grinding while kneeling is in marked contrast to that of the Ila, who stand at raised grind-stones. Most villages have a communal grinding-house, in which as many as five stones may be seen together beneath a shelter. The grinding-house is called *ichimabwe*.

Stamping (Ukutwa)

Maize is generally treated in the stamp-block or mortar¹ called *ichinu*. This is a partly hollowed log of wood which stands about 2½ feet in height, the lower part being of solid wood. The pestle (*umunshi*) is a heavy smoothed piece of wood. Women sometimes stamp singly, but more often in pairs, alternate stamping crushing the foodstuffs very quickly; and I have frequently seen three working in rotation at the same mortar. The maize, after being stamped, is generally husked by sifting or shaking up. Cassava, various leaves for relish, and tobacco are all treated in the *ichinu*.

Soap Substitute

In the place of soap the Lambas used to use the *akapofwe* bush, the roots of which were dug up, scraped clean, pounded in the mortar, and the pulp pressed into cakes. These cakes were used as is a cake of soap, and much froth was produced. Usually a small portion was pinched off and rubbed over the body. The Lambas say that this was known to the Ngoni and Swahili also.

For cleaning the teeth they have a substitute for the tooth-brush. They take a thick twig of *umusuku* or *umupundu*, scrape it free of bark, beat the one end with an axe-handle on a stone, and use this fibrous end for rubbing their teeth. It is called *umuswachi wameno*. Sometimes ash is used as a tooth-powder.

Fire-making

The Lambas used regularly to make fire by friction, though this method is seldom seen nowadays. The lower stick, called *ichipantu*, is in the rainy season always made of *indale* wood, but in the dry season any stick is chosen for the purpose. The upper stick, called *ulushiko*, is made of the bush *umushikalilo*. The upper stick is twirled between the opposed palms of the hands until a small pile of powder is ground off from the lower stick and commences to smoulder. A bit of cloth is put to this, and when it has caught alight grass is lit by pressing it against the smouldering cloth and blowing upon it. The lower stick is always notched,

¹ Note the two mortars in Fig. 47.

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to give the upper stick a grip. The Lambas have always venerated the *ulushiko*; they say, "It is our father, for it makes fire for us."

Clay-moulding and Pottery

Apart from the moulding of pipe-bowls from clay, all clay-moulding and the making of pots is the province of the women. It is not every Lamba woman who can do it, but certain *awamano*, clever ones, regularly do this work and barter what they make. In the plain or near the river they dig up suitable clay, called *iwumba*, which they bring to the village and pound on a stone. Old potsherds are now brought, broken up, and mixed with the clay, the resulting mixture being called *inshiwō*. A little water is

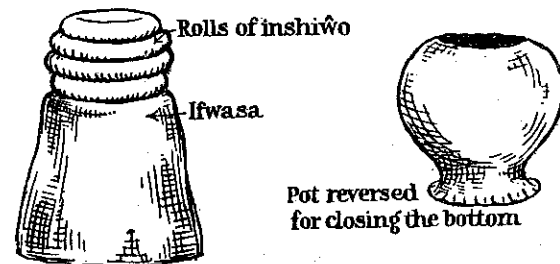


FIG. 48. STAGES IN THE MAKING OF A POT

now added. When this mixture is ready a large *ifwasa* (nodule ant-heap) is brought, the top cut off level and smeared with mud, and the ant-holes all stopped with mud. All this is done within the house. The *inshiwō* is now kneaded up, and a long roll of the damp clay prepared and placed encircling the top of the *ifwasa*. On top of this another roll is placed, and so on, gradually building up the pot. When one layer is set on the other an oyster shell is taken and used to smear the two together. When the mouth of the pot is finished decorative markings are made all along the lip. The pot, with the hole in the bottom, is then taken off the *ifwasa* and stood inverted in order to dry. The moulder then takes an *ichipyolo*, a type of wooden knife, which has been used for marking the lip, and with it works over the outside, bringing the superfluous clay forward to fill up the hole left. When this is closed up the pot is put aside to dry hard.

When a number of pots have been moulded and dried firewood is brought; some is put on the ground, with the pots upon it, while the rest covers the pots completely. The pile is then burnt and the pots thoroughly baked.

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Lamba pots are of various sizes and types. The general term by which they are indicated is *inongo*. Others are *ichimfwembe* (a large pot with a large mouth, used for cooking and washing purposes); *ichisanshilo* (a large pot for brewing beer); *umutondo* (water-pot); *ichisanji* or *uluwya* (a small pot with a wide mouth, used for relish); *intalo* (the regular medium pot for cooking *inshima*); and *insukuso* (a warm-water finger-bowl).

Mat- and Basket-making

It has already been observed that the making of mats and baskets is carefully divided between the men and the women according to the materials used in their manufacture. The women use grass and rushes, the men palm-leaf and bamboo, while both use reeds.

The finest type of mat made by the Lambas is the *umuchyeka*, the manufacture of which is almost entirely

confined to the men. Sometimes there are women found who plait and weave this type of mat, but they do this after the men have procured and prepared the materials. Branches of the *ulunchindu* palm are cut down and put out to dry. When dry they are dipped into water to soften them. In order to obtain dark leaves for weaving the pattern some are left in the water for a whole day. When the leaves are ready they are cut and torn down into strips. The weaving is done by hand, great lengths of woven material, each 2 to 3 inches in width, being produced and wound into a coil like a roll of ribbon. When the weaving is finished the length is worked together in spiral fashion to make a huge mat cylinder, which is cut through and laid out flat.

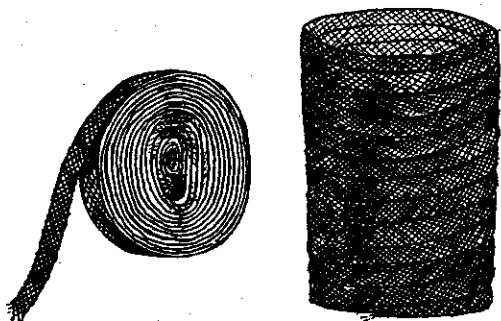


FIG. 49. MAKING OF UMUCHYEKA

Working in Wood

Men only make implements and instruments of wood, using the axe and the adze. Drums (*ingoma*) are hollowed from logs of the *umuchinka*-, *umusase*-, and *akalunguti*-trees, stools (*ifipuna*)

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from the *umuchinka*, and *amankwala* (used in bird-scaring) from the *akalunguti* and *ichiwowo*, on account of their resonance.

Makers of boats, dug-outs, are called *awawashishi wamato*, and they command considerable respect in the community. As much as fifty shillings is paid for a good dug-out canoe, and in the old days the price was a gun or a female slave. The trees used are the *umupundu*, *umupapa*, *umululu*, and *umuchyenja*. The tree selected is felled; the next day the top is cut off; the next day the bark is beaten and removed; on the next notches are cut across the log (*ukuwange'mango*) and the hollowing commenced. When the log is hollowed out the outside shaping is done. Usually two men work together, and the work is completed in about a month.

A bark canoe (*ichikondo*) may be made in a very short time. I once watched one being made for the purpose of retrieving a hippo which I had killed in the Upper Kafue, and it took just two and a half hours from the choosing of the tree to the launching in the river. My guides quickly picked out a large *umuputu*-tree

growing near the river, ringed it round near the base with an axe, leant against it a pole, up which one climbed and ringed the tree round again at a height of about twelve feet. A vertical incision was then made in the bark from one ring to the other, poles being inserted into this incision and used to lever the bark from the tree. As soon as it was loose the whole strip of bark slid to the ground and was pulled away. A fire was kindled, and into this the ends of the cylinder of bark were placed. They soon became pliable, and were doubled up and secured with cross skewers of wood. Other cross-pieces were placed at intervals along the length of the canoe to keep the bark open. The canoe was now ready. A couple of cracks, where hasty work had penetrated the bark, were plugged with clay, and the boat was launched, two men paddling it quickly to the other side of the river, to secure a long bark rope to the hippo.



FIG. 50. LOG NOTCHED PREPARATORY TO BEING HOLLOWED OUT FOR MAKING A CANOE

Bark-cloth Making

Until the introduction of calico, first by the Mbundu and Chikunda traders and later by Europeans, the Lambas depended entirely upon bark cloth for their supply of clothing, both to satisfy the demands of modesty and for warmth during the winter

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nights. The Lenje and Ila peoples as regularly used skins, and to a very slight degree this custom was followed by some of the Lamba-speaking people, especially the Southern Wulimas. The preparation of bark cloth was no small undertaking. Usually a



FIG. 51. BAILING OUT A BARK CANOE
Photo by C. M. Duke

party of men went together to sleep in the bush at a place where there was a supply of suitable *lwenshi*-trees. Food for the journey and the stay there would be prepared by the women beforehand. The trees have to be tested; small chips of bark are cut out and broken to examine the fibre. Satisfactory trees are cut down, and the branches cut up to make a pile of logs, each about 4 feet long, with a diameter of about 6 inches. Each log is then taken and the hard, rough bark carefully removed with an axe. After

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this an incision is made down the length of the log, and the soft inside bark, *ulukwa*, is taken off whole. This complete process is called *ukukombole'nkwa*. The stripped logs are thrown away. When they have stripped all the logs the men carry their *inkwa* to the *umutanda* where they have slept. In the morning they clean from the *inkwa* all remnants of the outer bark (*ifipapwa*) which had escaped the work of the axe. This is called *ukupale'nkwa*. Each man will do from fifteen to twenty strips at a time, and then put them in the sun to dry. The next morning these strips are tied into a bundle and taken to the village. Several more days are taken to dry the pieces of bark completely, and then they are soaked in *ichilambe* (muddy water) for a whole day and night.

At the village flat boards (*imikunko*) are prepared, about 4 feet by 1½ feet by 4 inches, carefully cut and smoothed with adzes so as to lie flat and steady on the ground and present a flat surface for the work. *Umuchinka*- and *umuchyenja*-trees are used for this purpose. These boards are taken to the marsh where the bark is soaking. The bark strips are taken out of

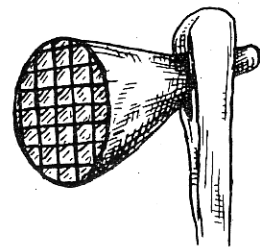


FIG. 52. ICHINKUWU

the water one at a time, carefully washed clear of mud, and laid on the *imikunko*. The hammering (*ukusala*) of the cloth then commences. It is done with an *ichipamba*.¹ One kind of *ichipamba* is of metal, shaped like an ordinary axe-head, but with the cutting edge split open. It has a short wooden handle, and is but rarely to be seen in these days, except in spirit huts. Another is made of wood, and called *ichinkuwo*. The *pupwe*-tree is used for the head, which is set in a handle, as is the other. Sometimes rhinoceros horn is used for the purpose. With the *ichipamba* the *ulukwa* is hammered thoroughly all over, water being sprinkled on to keep it wet. When one side is done the bark is turned over and the process repeated. When the second side is finished the cloth is folded over, and two men together wring out the water (*ukupota*). The finished cloth is much wider than the bark was when it was first stripped from the tree. When complete it is called *umusompo*, or, more generally, *inguwo*. *Umusompo* is a necessity to the young men, who sell it in order to get the necessary *ichyupo*, or pledge for marrying. Unmarried women will supply food to them when at this work so as to get a piece of cloth in return.

When the cloth-beating is complete, the edges of the pieces are

¹ See Fig. 39.

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trimmed and the strips sewn together with twine made from hemp (*uluw'angula*) into four-yard pieces (*ifilundo*). As an *ichyupo* two *ifilundo* are given to the mother-in-law, one to the bride, and one to the bride's maternal uncle.

Rope-making

Rope and fine twine are made from the *umukusa* (*sansevieria* plant), the soft inside bark of the *umusamba*- and *lwenshi*-trees, and in the old days from *uluw'angula* (hemp).

The *umukusa* strips are beaten with a stick on a log of wood, and then squeezed or scraped with a piece of bamboo to extract all pulp. The clean fibre left is rolled on the thigh and twisted into twine. It is interesting to note that the Qhung Bushmen of the Kalahari use the same plant, but do not beat it; they finish off the article by polishing it with kapok.

The soft inside bark (*ulushishi*) of such trees as the *umusamba* and the *lwenshi* is stripped off, soaked in water, and then rolled on the thigh (*ukuposa*) and rolled in reverse (*ukupyata*).

When *uluw'angula* is used, the stalks are broken, and the bark stripped down them; from that the string is twined.

It is perhaps not out of place to note here some of the customs of the Lambas concerning their personal adornment in hair-dressing, teeth-filing, and tattooing.

Hairdressing

Ordinarily, hair that has been cut off is thrown away on the ash-heap. Men, women, and children make no distinction in their hairdressing; they all usually keep it cut short. In the old days it was cut with a knife (*akaw'eshi*), a tedious business, but in these days scissors are used. At the time of death the relatives of the deceased *shave* their heads clean as a sign of mourning.

With the Lambas hairdressing is not significant, but merely ornamental. It is indulged in by the men as a rule, though the women at times let their hair grow long, and then weave (*ukuposa*) it in little plaits all over, some of which are worked together. The men have various eccentric ways of cutting their hair, dividing it into sections and patterns. Sometimes huge ears of hair are left—the chief Nkomeshya favoured this style—and sometimes *umwala wambishi* (a zebra's mane) is left down the centre. Others have an *ichipachilo*, like a raised vizor above the forehead, the back and top of the head being shaved clean. Some-

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times *ifipupu*, combs or horns of hair, are left, one in front and one at the back, shaved round and between.



FIG. 53. SHAVING THE CHIEF KAŴUNDA CHIŴELE

Photo by Miss O. C. Doke

Many men shave back regularly from the forehead so as to increase the size of the forehead, and thus gain more respect. This custom they say they derived from the Wembas.

An *ichisungu* girl does not cut her hair during the period of her confinement; at the end of her time the special adornment of the head with beads is carried out.

A *mukamwami* also does not cut his hair, but lets it hang in plaited tassels all round his head, adorned with castor-oil and red ochre.

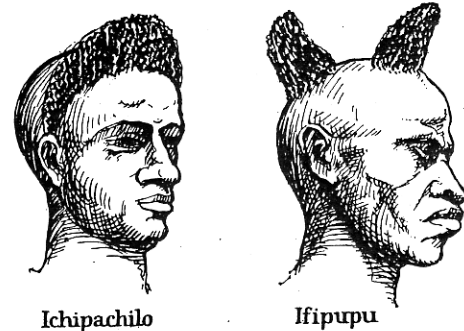


FIG. 54. TWO METHODS OF DRESSING THE HAIR

Teeth

The Lambas used regularly to practise the custom of filing or chipping the teeth (*ukwōasa'masonje*). A man with his whole teeth (*amankamba*) was laughed at by his companions. They used to say that when such a man went to sleep "his teeth came out, ate dung, and when replete went back to him in the morning," but that the *amasonje* went out at night and ate meal. This ridicule was effective in driving the young people to have their teeth chipped. On the day that a child is to have his teeth treated his father, mother, and maternal uncle each make him a present of a fowl, as a sign of honour. The Lambas have special *awāwāwashishi wameno* (teeth-chippers), among whom are Makwati and Chilyobwe, of Nsonkomona's village. The chipping is done



FIGS. 55, 56. TWO METHODS OF FILING THE TEETH

with a small, sharp adze. Friends of the patient hold him by the head during the operation. All the single teeth are done, on the first day all the top ones and on the next day the lower ones. The result is 'crocodile teeth.' This is, of course, conducive to early decay, as the enamel is destroyed, and in these days very few indulge in the practice.

Another practice, which is stated to be of Kaonde origin, is to chip the two upper front teeth so as to part them. A further practice borrowed from the Kaonde is that of extracting the two centre lower teeth. These are knocked out, sometimes by a piece of iron, sometimes by a specially shaped piece of stick hammered in between them. These practices are purely for personal adornment.

Tattooing

With the Lambas tattooing is never a tribal mark as it is with the Wemba people, who make tribal incisions between the eye and the ear. There are three significances of tattooing, that in the initiation of hunters, that for curative medicinal purposes, and that for personal adornment.

(1) *Ubwanga bwanama*, the hunting charm, consisting of incisions in the hand, is described in Chapter XX.

(2) As curative medicine. If a person suffers from continued headaches a friend, or maybe his wife, will cut small incisions

lengthwise across his forehead, and rub into them *umusamu* (medicine) prepared from *chilangalume* roots, pounded into a wet paste. This burns violently, and no doubt acts as a counter-irritant. When these *inembo* (incisions) heal no mark is left. Similar incisions are made on the back for pain in that region. A professional 'doctor' (*umulaye*) is not called in to do this.



FIG. 57. CURATIVE INCISIONS

(3) For personal adornment incisions are made on the chest, upper arms, and back. On the arms the marks are cut in short dashes lengthwise from the shoulder toward the elbow. Men tattoo the chest, while women tattoo from below the breasts to the navel.

Recently the women have begun to imitate from the Kaonde the tattooing of two long incisions above each breast, also of six

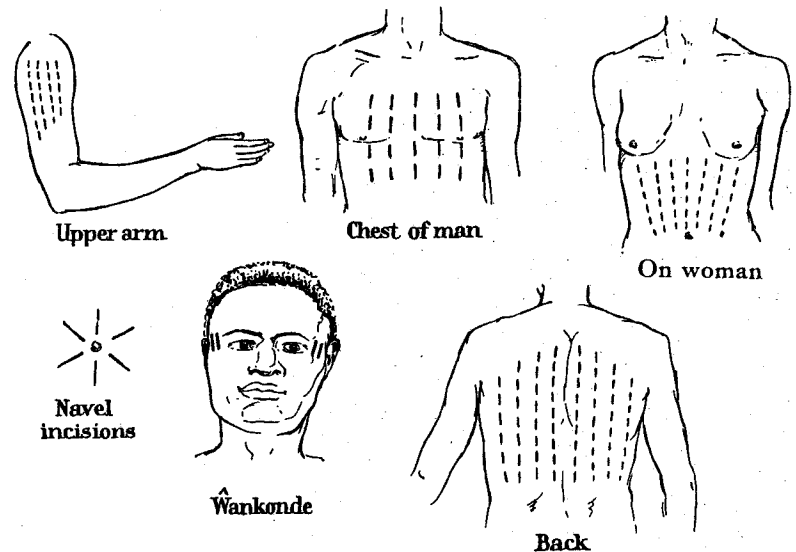


FIG. 58. EXAMPLES OF TATTOOING

radiating from the navel. Both men and women have begun to copy incisions between eyes and ears, which are called *wankonde*. The Kaonde people, both men and women, make six incisions on the pubes, but these the Lambas fear to copy.

Tattooing on the back is also of downward incisions, reaching as far as the waist.

All this tattooing is carried out by a professional *umulembeshi* (cutter). He is paid with small quantities of beads. This art is considered a great accomplishment, and not many have it. At Nsonkomona's village is Muka-Mawutau. In tattooing the skin is cut with a sharp razor, and much blood is let out. Ground charcoal is then rubbed into the incisions. The operation is described as very painful. On the next day the places are washed, and castor-oil is rubbed on until the sores heal up. The operation is generally carried out beneath the hut eaves, and usually a crowd of interested spectators gathers round, though nervous 'patients' would be operated on in private.

Cupping

This is an operation not confined to the *awalaye*; anyone may cup (*ukusumika*) a sick person. Supposing a man is suffering in his legs and unable to walk, a friend will suggest cupping. The 'cups' (*imisuku*) are made from the horns of reed-buck, young water-buck, or young eland. The tip of the horn is cut off, and the thicker part cut straight, so that there is a hole right through. Beeswax is put on the small end.

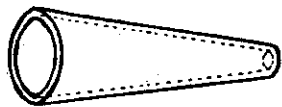


FIG. 59. UMUSUKU

Incisions are made on the affected part, the 'cups' dipped in water, set over the wounds, and the air sucked out with the mouth from the small end, which is closed with the wax. They are left on until they fill with blood and fall off of themselves. They may be put on a second time when emptied of blood. The blood thrown out is by this time clotted and hard. The Lambas believe that the sickness comes out with the blood.

Hospitality

The hospitality of the Lamba villagers is almost proverbial. It is with them a law that no stranger shall be allowed to sleep hungry. It must be conceded, however, that villages on main routes of travel are becoming very lax in this regard, on account of the constant calls they have from passing strangers. Ordinarily the traveller in Lambaland can go from one end of the country to the other with no provision for the journey. He will have shelter and food provided gratis wherever he needs to spend the night. This is so taken for granted that should a stranger happen to be treated inhospitably he would loudly voice his grievance in the morning, saying, "Do you not know that I am a

person? How is it I have to sleep like an animal in your village?" This will bring the headman quickly to make his excuses or apologies—maybe that his wife did not return from her fish-baiting until late at night—and to offer a bowl of *ifisunga* to mollify the aggrieved stranger. Nevertheless, a visitor must be careful not to overstay his welcome, and if he accepts repeated hospitality something is expected in return from him. The pot of beer, the dish of *inshima*, and the common pipe are all cheerfully shared with a complete stranger. The Lambas are brought up on such proverbs as these: *Umweni tapinta yanda*, "A visitor does not carry a house" ("You must provide him with shelter!"), or *Umwensu woŵe kakulya*, "Your visitor means food!"

The Paramount Chief's Village

In the olden days the village of the paramount chief was always greater than any other. In these days Mushili's village is one of the smallest and most insignificant. Many are the Lamba sayings concerning the wonders of "the Court of the great chief." Approach to it must be with the greatest respect, the body sagging, the spear, bow, and axe held hanging low in the hands, never over the shoulders. One must approach as though one were bound, and when the village is entered weapons must be laid on the ground and further advance made unarmed. The chief's Court, *kubwalo*, is called *mwilole*, the place where people stare. To the country villager it was a place of wonderment, full of objects of magnificence. The place was known for the generosity of the chief, who always treated his visitors well. "It is at the chief's residence," they say, "that one eats sumptuously." It is called *mwitumbatumba* also, the place of many lawsuits, for all the important cases are settled here by the great chief. The awe in which the great chief's village is held is well shown by a proverbial saying: *Twafika muno mwityatya, muchiminine, ichilele chifwile, muchifunshya-mwana, ukufunshyo mukashi tekumuŵona*, "We have arrived here in the swish-swish [of grass when one walks through a place overgrown—even as one fears long grass because of wild beasts, so one fears the chief's abode], in the standing-up [the place where the chief exercises authority, where the people are so busy that they find no time to sit about], where what is lying down is dead; where one can inquire after one's child, to inquire after one's wife one won't find her [the place is so big and busy that one's wife, who is able to walk by herself, would speedily get lost]."

Hermit Life

The Lambas have a very independent trait in their characters. If a man cannot get on with his village headman or his companions he, with his wife and family, may select a fertile spot by some stream several miles away, and go and build his house and have his gardens and set up for himself there. Sometimes such a family lives almost a hermit life, out of contact with everybody else. At other times other villagers, sharing the man's grievance, go with him, and he sets up his own village, with himself as headman. A village headman can have no constraining control over such a person—it is only the group or paramount chief who has power of life and death over the individual—and, provided the man does not remove outside the territory of his group chief, he is free to live by himself if he so desires it.

It is no uncommon thing for villages to split up. The young people of the large village of Chimbalasepa some years ago wanted a school and mission church in their village. After considerable opposition from the chief and elders the school was obtained, but the old people continued to do all they could to harass and obstruct the young people, many of whom had professed Christianity. Eventually things became so intolerable that Soloshi, one of the most prominent of the young men, left and established a village of his own at some distance. More than half of Chimbalasepa's people went with him, and now Soloshi's village is larger than Chimbalasepa's.

Uwulunda

On the other hand, lasting personal friendships between Lambas are common. Many a Lamba has his *umulunda* or 'half-section.' Such friendship is always initiated with reciprocal gifts, and kept up by a constant interchange of gifts, cloth, food, fish, meat, etc. Lambas say, *Ichiwusa chitanshi kuula*, "Friendship begins by barter." Among the Kaonde this principle is carried to an extreme, and the Lambas ridicule the *wuwulunda* of the Wakaonde, who go so far as to share their wives, lending them out when a friend comes on a visit. Nothing of that is found among the Lambas.

Height by Gesture

The Lambas differentiate between animals, people, material objects, etc., in the way in which they indicate height. The accompanying diagrams of the hand position indicate these

differences. The position of the hand generally signifies the position of the head—for an animal horizontally on edge, for a person vertically, for a baby at an angle, etc. It is significant

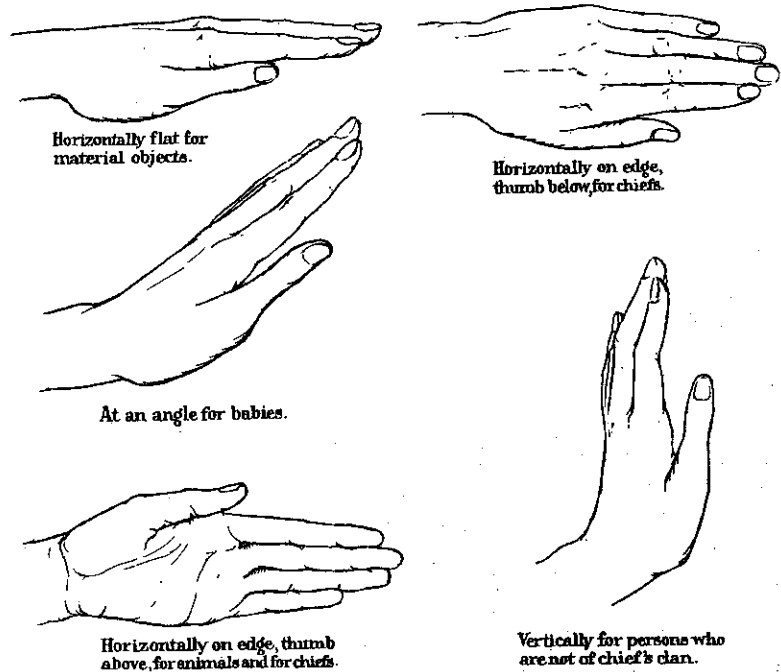


FIG. 60. HOW THE HAND IS USED TO INDICATE HEIGHT

that a chief is indicated in the same (or the reverse) way as a lion. This parallelism is further indicated when it is remembered that the word for chief, *imfumu*, belongs to the 'animal class' of nouns, in which also is found *inkalamu*, the lion.

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Pregnancy

WITH the Lambas a first pregnancy is always treated in a very special way. A young recently married woman is not acquainted with all the symptoms which indicate that she is pregnant. When her periods become interrupted she will say to one of the elder women, *Nshilukuseesa*, "I do not have my periods," and her condition will be known, though she herself is not informed of it at once. A *nyinachimbela*, a midwife, will inform the woman's husband, and say to him, "Get a small piece of calico [*ichipande*], that we may bind your wife with an *inyemba*, for she is pregnant." The man goes to tell his sister, and says, "To-morrow you must come early in the morning to announce to your sister-in-law, for she is pregnant." Man and wife retire as usual that night, but very early in the morning the sister arrives, and calls at the door, *Weŵo, weŵo, isuleni-ko, ŵanangwa ŵafwa!* "You, you, open the door. Somebody's dead!" The woman wakes up with a start to open the door and hear who has died. Directly she pulls back the door her sister-in-law squirts *umufuŵa* from her mouth on to the young woman's chest and back, and says to her, *Tiina'ŵantu wakula!* "Fear people, for you are mature!" The *umufuŵa* is mixed meal and water, and is used on this occasion as a sign of distinction.

The meaning of this procedure is clear to the young wife, and she goes back into the hut and gives way to a fit of tears. Her husband now brings the *inyemba* and fastens it about her abdomen; she continues to carry it about her person during the period of her pregnancy.

After this the older women of the village instruct her how to look after herself. She must not bathe in cold water. She must lie on her side, not flat on her back (*akampabwa*), *amala engaya peulu*, "lest the intestines should move upward." She must not run quickly.

To the woman who has already had children the symptoms of pregnancy are clear. She notices that the periods have ceased,

and that as the womb enlarges dark rings are formed around the nipples on the already swelling breasts. Then, too, the nausea appears, *kumutima alukufwayo'kuluka*, "in her heart she feels like vomiting," and she begins to refuse one and another kind of food—maybe she turns against *inshima* porridge. She gets longings (*ukutinamina*) for meat, honey, or some other rare commodity, and the people say, *Ipafu lyamupoosa ukulye'nama*, "Her pregnancy has caused her to long to eat meat." This whole state is called *ichipoosela*, a state which covers the feeling of nausea, the longings, and the revulsion that often comes toward her husband. Sometimes the revulsion is so strong against her husband that she quarrels violently with him, and the village elders advise him to go away for a time on a journey, *pakuti chipoosela ichi, ukabwele pakukule'pafu, epakuchileka*, "for this is a 'longing,' and you can come back when the pregnancy is advanced and it ceases."

As a rule the expectant mother continues her work of hoeing, grinding, etc., in the usual way. At times some women lie up, and are reckoned by their neighbours as lazy. All kinds of work are continued right up to the time of giving birth.

Birth

Women who have had several babies before take little notice of the first pains of labour, but a fearful woman will send at once for the midwife, and then it is believed that the labour will be long. Her friends will say, "How is it that the birth is so long delayed?" The midwife's reply is, "She was in too much of a hurry to send for me!" As soon as labour commences all guns, axes, spears, and hoes are removed from the hut, for it is believed that these weapons of war will bring ill-fortune to the child. The child must be born into peace. During the whole of the labour no food or drink is allowed to the mother, but from time to time water is sprinkled on her face to give her relief.

Older women, *ifimbela*, or, as they are more commonly called, *ŵanyinafimbela*, assist the mother in giving birth (*fyashya*). They often call in younger women who are already mothers to watch them and so to learn the art of midwifery. These midwives have considerable skill, and are able to turn the child if it is not presented correctly.

Birth generally takes place in the hut, but if there is too much noise and disturbance in the village the mother and her attendants go into the forest to the secluded shade of some bush, where the child is born. No idle onlookers are allowed, but the husband is permitted to stay in order to see that there is no foul play. If

he has a midwife whom he can trust he will sometimes absent himself at such a time. All small girls and young women who have not yet given birth are driven out and not permitted to see what is going on. Whether the woman cries or endures the pain without crying is without significance in a Lamba birth.

As soon as the child is born the navel cord is cut from the *ifnsangwe* (afterbirth), after being tied by a bit of cloth (*akasansa*). The child is then washed in warm water. The midwife takes the afterbirth and buries it just behind the house, but never away in the bush. Great care is taken lest birds or dogs should touch it. A strip of cloth (*umukopo*) is tied round the abdomen of the mother in order to steady her breathing, and hot gruel (*uwusunga*) is given to her to drink. The baby is put to the breast as soon as it is washed. If the baby does not cry at birth it is said to *fiso' wulishi*, to hide its crying.

In some cases as soon as the child has been successfully delivered the midwife goes out and dances in the courtyard (*uluwansa*) before the house. This is called *ukuchindilo'mwanichye*, dancing to the child.

On the day of birth the midwife takes charge of the child, but that same evening hands it over to the mother and returns to her home, leaving the mother to have complete charge. The father of the child will kill a fowl in honour of the midwife (or midwives), make a present of *umusompo* (bark cloth), and have some *amasaka* (sorghum) threshed for her to take with her. Nowadays cash to the value of about two shillings is given in place of the sewn piece of bark cloth. Should the mother need subsequent attention or medicine, it is usually her mother who attends to her.

There are several special cases of birth which must be noticed.

Ulunyena. If the child excretes (*pambuka*) immediately on birth he is called *ulunyena* or *ulumbashi*. The midwife fetches the leaves of the *intelele* plant, and makes medicine with which to anoint the eyes and feet of all the people in the village, lest they should suffer from the disease called *akapoopo*.

Mwika. If the child is born with a leg presentation it is called *mwika*.

Chikuto. If the membranous covering is on a child when born he is called *chikuto*. These names often cling to a person all his life.

Akafunga. A still-born baby, like a miscarriage, is called *akafunga*. When this occurs the midwife finds *ulupaapi* leaves, and makes medicine for all in the village, men, women, and children, to drink in order to ward off the evil consequences,

which may mean illness or even death. Another medicine is prepared from the *ichinchyeŵa* bush, for smearing over the body and the feet. The midwife and a companion will carry the body with the afterbirth in a large cracked pot (*ichiyinga*) into the veld and bury it secretly. For a month after this the woman may not touch another's fire. This regulation is the same for a woman who has given birth to a live baby.

On the day, however, when the woman and her husband are about to resume marital relations the husband goes into the veld and builds an *umutanda* (*zareba*) at a distance from the village. He then obtains from an *umulaye* certain medicine, which he puts into a large bark trough (*umukwa*) with water. With this medicated water both husband and wife bathe their bodies; they then take up their abode in the *umutanda*. This is done when the moon has waned (*lombo'mwenshi waya mumfinshi*). When some one wants to go and talk to the couple he first goes to where the bark trough of medicated water is and washes; then he is permitted to enter the *umutanda*. At the time of the new moon the couple may move back again to the village and resume their ordinary life.

Umuwishi. A baby born prematurely is termed *umuwishi*, an unripe one, and is cared for indoors until it is strong. There are no special ceremonies connected with premature birth.

Akasenshimbeŵa. Occasionally a baby is born with teeth. This is looked upon as very lucky, especially as there is no apprehensive waiting to see that the lower teeth are cut first. A baby born with teeth is called *akasenshimbeŵa*, a name also applied to a species of mouse.

Twins

There are two terms in Lamba which are used to indicate twins. *Wampundu* is used when both are boys or both girls, and *amapasa* is used when the twins are a boy and a girl. The birth of *wampundu* is treated exactly as an ordinary birth, but that of *amapasa* is looked upon as *ishyamo*, ill-luck, and the father immediately goes to a doctor (*umulaye*) in order to obtain the necessary medicine (*umusamu*). A certain medicine is given to him, with which he smears (*suŵa*) himself, his wife, and the twins; another medicine is placed in water and drunk; while yet another is thrown upon the fire, so that the smoke fills (*puuta*) the hut. It is feared that if the *umusamu* is not obtained the children will die. The parents too need the medicine, because *chyeŵo chyaŵo*, "it is their fault."

While they are small twins must be dressed alike and given clothing at the same time, provided they are *wampundu*. They must not be parted. These regulations apply until they are about twelve years of age. The Lambas profess to know nothing of triplets.

A child born with a hare-lip or any other deformity, such as a shortage of fingers, is believed to have been bewitched, but in such cases no action is taken to try to identify the witch.

Confinement

After giving birth the mother remains in the house for one day, and if strong enough goes to the river on the next day and bathes herself completely. She is then permitted to grind, draw water, etc. The child, however, is left in the house for five or six days, until the navel cord drops. Meanwhile he is in the charge of his maternal grandmother. The mother is not, however, permitted to *nanye'nshima*, prepare the stiff porridge, until the passage of a whole month. The moon is used for this calculation. Often this period is longer, sometimes even until the succeeding moon is finished, a period of maybe five weeks.

Until this period is completed the father is not permitted to touch the child in any way; he may not touch the child while he or she is still *koti menda*, like water—*tanje akose aŵe neŵuntunshi*, "first let him harden and get his humanity." A new-born babe is not considered an *umuntunshi*, a human being, until this period has been passed.

When the confinement period is over the husband may resume marital relations with his wife. On the day on which this takes place neither husband nor wife is permitted to leave the hut. This restriction is said to be in honour of the child. Every one knows that *walukuchindiko'mwana lelo, wapoko'mwana waŵo*, "they are honouring their child to-day, they are receiving their child." Friends will come in to visit and compliment the parents. On this day the father presents the child with an *akeshiŵilo kakumuchindika*, a token of praise. This used to be a present of beads, but in these days is usually two shillings for calico.

Meanwhile, about five or six days after birth, the umbilical cord has dropped off. Charcoal mixed with castor-oil is rubbed on the navel for about four days in order to strengthen and harden the place. As soon as the cord has come off the child may be brought outside the hut. He will be carried by his mother, brothers and sisters, or friends, but not by his father, who

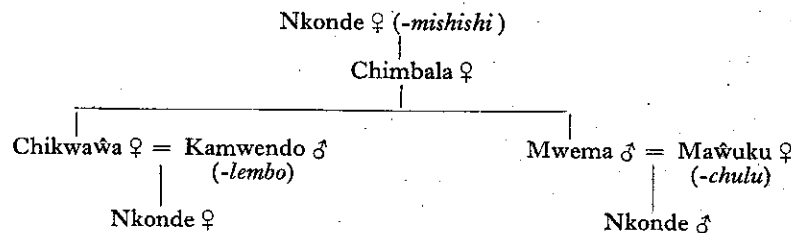
may not touch him until after he has again had intercourse with his wife. This restriction is confined to the father himself; the father's brothers are not so restricted.

Naming the Child

If the labour is long and the birth difficult a doctor (*umulaye*) is sent for. When he comes he divines and says, "It is So-and-so, who died long ago, who wants to be reborn." Then the child is born, and the name of that ancestor is given to the child.

If the birth is normal it is the maternal grandmother who decides upon the name of the child. This will be the name of a dead relation or ancestor, whose spirit (*umupashi*) is believed to be reincarnated in the newly born babe. Should the child fall sick after a day or two, or even after a week, the people say, "He has refused the name!" An *umulaye* will have to be summoned, and he will say, "He has refused this name, because it is So-and-so [naming some other dead relative] who is this child who is born." This new name is the one by which the child will be known.

The spirit of the same ancestor may be reincarnated in more than one child at one and the same time. This is discussed in the chapter on "Spiritism," but the following case of which I know is a good illustration:



The two Nkondes, who were named after their great-grandmother, were cousins of about the same age, the girl being born in 1912 and the boy in 1913. These spirit names given at birth are afterward abandoned by the children when they are old enough to select one for themselves.

The Lambas use a peculiar phrase when indicating the order of birth. They say, *Liŵe waito'mwanichye wakwe*, "So-and-so has called his younger brother," or "Chinemu called Nkonkola, Nkonkola called Wombwe, Wombwe called Shiŵata, and Shiŵata called Nsensa." Chinemu was the eldest of the family and Nsensa the youngest.

Illegitimacy

Illegitimate children suffer no disability: they are treated as orphans who have no father, and are accepted as clan members by the members of the mother's clan, to which they naturally belong. The mother also, if an unmarried woman, is shown no disrespect. Her state before giving birth is called *ipafu lyakupumba*, a begged or borrowed pregnancy. The onus is upon the father, though no case is made against him unless the woman dies in childbirth. There is no hindrance to her securing a regular marriage afterward. An illegitimate child is called *umwana watwushichye*, a child of an unmarried state.

If a married woman has had illicit intercourse with another man, it is firmly believed that when it comes to the time for her to give birth labour will be long and difficult. An *umulaye* is called, and after divining he will say, "You had another man while your husband was away at work." If the woman confesses the doctor will give her medicine to facilitate the birth. The procedure against the man involved will afterward be commenced in accordance with Lamba law (see Chapter IV).

Ichipaapo

Like the Wembas, the Lamba mothers carry their babies on their backs in a carrying cloth (*ichipaapo*) made of softened bark (*umusompo*), never of skins, as among the Lenje, Ila, and Soli peoples. The Lambas and Wulimas use the bark of the *umusamba*-tree, the Wembas use that of the *umutaŵa*-tree, while the Lala people use both. This discrimination is due to the prevalence of a particular tree in any district. The father prepares the *ichipaapo* for the baby to be carried in.

Nursing

There is no special restriction of diet for the mother during the nursing period, though *uwusunga* (gruel) is taken to induce a plentiful supply of milk.

If the milk becomes insufficient while the child is still very small *umuninga* (pea-nuts) is pounded up, mixed with water, and strained through an *ulusanso*. The milk-like fluid strained off is given to the child. At times *uwusunga* is given to the child. No stated periods for suckling are observed. The child drinks whenever he wants to, and if satisfied or sleepy he leaves off. Whenever he cries he is given the breast to soothe him. Should the mother die while the child is still at the breast, it seldom

BIRTH AND INFANCY

survives in a country where the fly prevents the keeping of cattle, unless there happens to be a younger sister of the mother who is in a position to suckle the orphan.

Clothing and Ornamentation

No clothing is given to the newly born baby. As soon as he becomes 'intelligent' (*chyenjela*) and is able to sit up a string of beads is put round his waist. Before this, however, after the dropping of the navel cord, an *ichiponje* is placed round his neck in order to strengthen it. The *ichiponje* used to be a piece of bark cloth shaped like a collar, on the ends of which strips of bark are left for tying round the neck. Beads are threaded, and lines of them fastened to the collar in vertical rows. Nowadays the *ichiponje* is made of cloth.

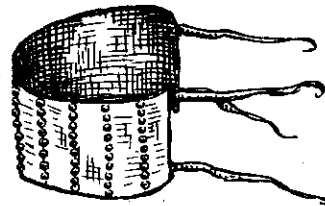


FIG. 61. ICHIPONJE

At the time of the ripening of the maize (*pamataŵa*) a small horn of *umusamu* is given to the child to prevent him from getting convulsions (*umusamfu*). Little babies may also wear wristlets (*amakoosa*) of cloth and beads.

Haircutting

Long before teething time, when the child's hair is somewhat grown, it is shaved off with an *ichimo*, a small metal razor which is often carried by adults secreted in the hair. Before the shaving is begun the head is well washed in order to soften the hair. The shaved hair is buried in the *ishyala*, the midden. Hair is never burnt, for the natives say the smell of burning hair is offensive.

When the nails begin to get long they are cut with a sharp *ichimo*, and the parings are thrown away.

Cutting of Teeth

The cutting of the first teeth of any child is a most important occasion, and one which is awaited by the parents with extreme anxiety. Normally the lower front teeth come through first, and when this takes place the relief of the parents is tremendous.

If the teething worries the child the mother foment the inflamed gums (*ukuchinefishili*). A piece of medicinal bark is warmed in hot water and rubbed gently on them. Sometimes medicinal leaves are similarly used.

When a tooth is discovered in the early morning the maternal grandmother brings the child outside the hut and utters the shrill lulu-ing indicative of joy (*ukulishyo'lumpundu*), in order that everybody may know that the child has successfully passed this critical stage. She addresses the child, saying, *Wakula wamena'meno*, "You are grown up. You have grown your teeth." After this he is able to begin to eat *inshima* and soft vegetables.

Amankunamwa. If, however, the upper teeth show signs of coming first a doctor of repute is summoned. He brings medicine for drinking and for smearing on the gums, and is believed to be able to prevent the upper teeth from coming out and to induce the lower ones to come first.

But if the upper teeth come first the people say, *Tekwolelwo' kushyo'mwano' wamankunamwa, mumupoose*, "It is wrong to leave a child who has cut the upper teeth first. You must throw him away!" In the olden days such a child was thrown into a pool. An *ichimbela* (midwife) wraps the child in calico, binds it, and carries it on her back to the pool. She then stands with her back to the pool and throws off the child without looking round (*amamfutenuma*), to be drowned or devoured by the crocodiles. The state of cutting the upper teeth first is called *amankunamwa*, and such a child is thus termed *uwamankunamwa*. It is popularly believed that should one of these children be spared, many people would die as a result of the influence from the child, who is considered to be an *imfwiti* (wizard) embodying an *ichiwanda* (demon). In fact, it is believed that as each milk tooth of an *uwamankunamwa* comes out some relative dies. The mother and father of such a child must not mourn when he is thrown away. They fear also that should they spare the child all their children to be born will be *awamankunamwa*.

Talking

When the child begins to speak (*taata*), to say "Father," his father makes him a present of a fowl, and when he says *kapa* ("Grannie") his maternal grandmother also presents her grandchild with a fowl to greet him. Natives say that the order of the first words which a child learns is (1) *tata* (father), (2) *kapa* (grandmother), (3) *mama* (mother). Despite the fact that the third is the more likely beginning, they say that the mother constantly tries to get the child to say *tata*, and that he hears her using that term more than any other.

Walking

The child usually crawls first and then gradually begins to walk. No special notice is taken of the child when he achieves this, but a child who does not walk at the usual period is called *ichite*.

Weaning

Weaning (*ukusumuna*) is not carried out until the child has his teeth and is able to run about, often between two and three years of age. Should another baby come along, however, weaning will take place at the birth of this next child. The child is said to fear the new one who sucks, though very often the mother does not refuse to let both children drink. At times, in order to expedite weaning, chilies (*impilipili*) are rubbed on the nipples, or the child is sent away to spend some time with the grandmother. No ceremony is performed at weaning or after.

The Losing of the Milk Teeth.

When the first tooth comes out the child takes it and a piece of cinder (*umushyangalala*). The tooth he throws to the east and the cinder to the west, saying, *Welino kawise'fisa'kasuwa! Wemushyangalala kauye'fiwa'kasuwa!* "Tooth come back in the way the sun comes back! Cinder go in the way the sun sets!" This is done in order to ensure the proper growing of the new teeth—the sun comes up again in the east. A gift is necessary to satisfy the west, and the cinder or a piece of charred wood signifies the darkness which is the quality of the west.

under the water, while their backs are still exposed. When they get older their diving becomes more serious. One will sink

CHAPTER VIII

CHILDHOOD

The Grandmother

THE child sleeps in his parents' hut until he reaches an age sufficient to allow of his going to live in the hut of his maternal grandmother. If the grandmother lives in the same village the child may go to live with her as soon as the next baby is born. If she lives in another village the child may be five years of age before going to live with her. Sometimes, if the maternal grandmother has other grandchildren to look after, the child will go to the paternal grandmother. The duty of the grandmother in the community is to provide the grandchild with food (*teŵeta*), protection (*lama*), and shelter (*ukulala muŵanda*). Generally the children spend their time in play, though at times they will be sent to draw water or to gather kindling wood (*utusamfu*). When they are big enough the girls are required to grind, stamp, cook, bail fish, and sweep out their grandmother's hut. They will be taught how to make baskets (*ukupose'filukwa*) and screen-mats (*amasasa*). The little boys will be required to cut firewood, hunt for honey, and kill birds and mice for their grandmother. Later they learn to make sleeping mats (*imisengelo*) and doors as they are needed.

Games

There are many games which native children play to while away the leisure hours, besides the various dances, which for the most part take place at night.

Ukusamba. Lamba children are very fond of bathing (*uku-samba*), generally in the more or less shallow fords of the rivers, where there is no danger from crocodiles, or in the *ifisapa*, the draining-off channels of water from the plains, when they are flooded in the rainy season. Little boys and girls bathe together until they reach the age of about seven or eight years, when the little boys are able to accompany their elders on their hunting and foraging expeditions into the bush. The little ones splash about in the shallow water and play at diving, putting their faces



FIG. 62. TWA CHILDREN
Photo by C. M. Doke

out of sight, and his companions will guess where he is going to come up. In their frolics the children chase one another, running through the shallow water, and when one stumbles they all throw themselves down in the same place.

Intafu. Playing ball is a favourite pastime, and one indulged in even by grown-ups, from one side of Africa to the other. It is called *ukwante'ntafu* (catching the ball) or *ukutane'ntafu* (playing ball). The *intafu* is made of solid rubber. Boys go into the bush where the rubber-creeper (*umuwungo*) is growing and collect the juice on their arms, where it quickly hardens; it is then peeled off and worked, with continual additions, into a ball the size of a golf-ball. Two teams play, and each tries to keep the ball among its own members. The ball may not be kept for a moment in the hand, but as soon as it is received it has to be bounced on the ground to another member of the holder's team. Boastful expressions are freely indulged in as the play goes on, and the excitement of the game is enhanced by the wit of these expressions. When one side captures the ball from the other the victory is announced by a loud Lamba cheer (*ingwele*), which incites the others to strive for its recapture.

Ichisolo. Another game which is found right through Africa is *ichisolo*, or African 'draughts.' Four rows of holes are made in the ground, and small stones are used for 'men.' Each player distributes his men along the rows of holes on his side. Then he begins to move the stones along, capturing those of his opponent according to certain definite rules.¹ The one who clears the 'board' of his opponent's men wins the game. Much cheating, through very rapid moving of the pieces, often takes place in this game. Quite small children become most proficient in playing *ichisolo*, but it is a game which has a strong fascination for the older folk also.

Inshingwa. The children have whip-tops (*inshingwa*), which they spin. The top is made of a cone of wood, bark string is wound round it, and the top is then thrown down and kept spinning by whipping. The whip (*ubwembya*) consists of a stick to which is attached a bark-string lash.

Inondo. Lamba children have a game which closely resembles that of ninepins. A number of shelled mealie-cobs, called *awantu* (men), are set up in two opposing lines about 12 feet apart, and behind these are ranged the players. The *inondo*, a kind of teetotum, is spun across the intervening space, in order to knock over the opponent's men. This *inondo* is made of a convex circular piece of calabash, with a stick inserted in the

¹ For careful descriptions of this game see Smith and Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 232-237, and Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, second edition, vol. i, pp. 345-349, where the game is called *tshuba*.

centre to act as a spindle. If one of the men is knocked over it may be restored if its owner can knock over an enemy cob. If all the cobs of one side are down their owners may throw until the teetotums are exhausted; then, if they do not succeed in raising any of their men, the game is over and they have lost.

Other Games. There are many other ways which the children have of amusing themselves. The boys indulge in wrestling (*ukusunkana*), in which the winner has merely to throw his opponent. Wrestling is often used as a means of settling quarrels, though in this case the under man is usually severely mauled when he falls. Lambas do not know how to use their fists in fighting, and wrestling takes the place of this. Boys also go in for tug-of-war (*ichyandanyombe*). The two centre players catch one another's hands, the others holding on in a row, each with his arms round the next boy's waist, much as is done in our Oranges and Lemons. No rope is used, and the Lambas say of this, *Ulushinga lwanombe taluputuka*, "The ox-thong does not break."

Others play at walking on stilts (*ukuchito'tukonkola*), and others at a hopping game, in which many children, holding one leg, hop about, calling out *Shimunkonkoli! Shimunkonkoli!* anyone falling causing great merriment. Little children are fond of swinging (*ukuchita'kampelwa*). Two long bark ropes are suspended from a tall tree, and a short stick is used as a seat. Then they have games resembling our Hide and Seek, and indoor games like Hunt the Thimble, one of which is called *ichippyolopyolo chyawana wankanga*, "the Guinea-fowl Chick."

Amansanshi

Most of the children's play, however, centres in the *amansanshi*, miniature huts, which they build outside the village and where they reign supreme. There are three types of these *amansanshi*: the *amansanshi atwanichye*, play huts of the little children, the *amansanshi ambuli*, the play huts of the girls, and the *amansanshi awalalume*, the play huts of the boys.

(1) *Amansanshi atwanichye.* Little children will club together to go and build a miniature village of their own. They steal some axes belonging to their elders, go to the outskirts of the village (*ifitumbo*), cut down bushes and branches, and build their miniature huts. These *amansanshi* are lean-to huts (*inkunka*), and look like *imilenda* (spirit huts). When the huts are built the children appoint one of their number as village headman (*umwine wamushi*), and go off to steal monkey-nuts (*umuninga*) and other

foodstuffs from their elders in the village. Sometimes they even go and dig up *umumbu* (certain succulent roots cultivated in the marshes), but if they are caught at this they can be certain of a sound thrashing. Some of the children will play the part of strangers visiting: this is usually done by the boys. They come to visit the *amansanshi*, and the girls prepare food for them. When they have eaten, obscene language is often indulged in by the girls, who will say to their boy visitors, *Pano ukulya walya fungulule'wolo lyowé ulale-mo!* "Eating you have eaten. Now unfold your scrotum and sleep in it!" On saying this the girls slip quickly into the *amansanshi* and shut the doors. Meanwhile others of the girls have hidden themselves in the shrubbery, pretending to be hyenas (*ifimbolo*). They now spring out, howling like hyenas, and the boys run off in pretended fear. The girls in the *amansanshi* now in their turn rush out to drive off the hyenas. If one of the visitors is caught by the hyenas all the others will gather together to wail. Some will be sent to the village for food for the time of mourning (*amalilo*), pretending that their companion has been killed by a wild beast. The one who has been caught they cover over with calico, as though he were a corpse, until the food is brought, when the dead one is restored to life. They all now shout, *Pano mwe'wame ninkondo!* "Now, mates, it is war!" They divide themselves into two parties, and attack the food to see who can eat the most and the most quickly. The one who gets the least in this contest usually finishes up in tears.

Sometimes the children go down to the river-bank and make toy pots with the moulding clay there. In the evening they troop back to the village and leave their play for the next day.

(2) *Amansanshi ambuli*. Older girls, not yet initiated (*imbuli*), together with some already initiated (*wamoye*), build their own secluded *amansanshi*. One of their number they appoint head of the village, and the rest are looked upon as wives and children. When they have been there for a little while they say (in play), "Now the sun has gone. Let us go in and shut the door." This they do. Later one of them acts the part of the cock (*kombolwe*), and crows that they may know that the dawn has come. So they open the door and come out. In the *amansanshi* the girls boil *umusaku* (fresh, unground corn); one of their number waits on the others as though they were visitors, and they eat. Girls will go from one hut to another where their companions are and tell folk-tales. In this way they play until it is time for them to return to the village for their evening duties. Many of

the practices indulged in by growing girls are carried out by these unmarried girls in the *amansanshi*. Here the *wamoye* practise vagina-distension, which, as we shall see, is believed to assist in child-bearing.

(3) *Amansanshi awalalume*. In some cases boys at the age of puberty erect *amansanshi* in which to practise the *ukukuya*, but generally this takes place in their own huts in the village and no bush-huts are erected at all. As we shall see, there is no initiation or puberty rite for boys among the Lambas, as there is with the girls, but the boys have certain practices which they carry out among themselves at this time. The boys choose certain roots which grow across the path, such as those of the *umukole*-, *umu-wanga*-, *ka'wumbu*-, or *umusaalya*-trees. Such roots are considered to be strong, because people tread



FIG. 63. SHYNESS AROUND THE POT
Photo by C. M. Doke

over and on them and yet they remain across the path. They therefore are believed to have the virtue of passing on strength. From the root a medicine is prepared for the boys to drink, but the chief preparation is for external application. A section of the root, about eight inches in length, is cut out, shaved down, and shaped. At night the wood is heated before the fire, turned round and round until thoroughly hot, and then pressed on to the penis (*ukukando'wukala*) all round, in order to enlarge and harden the organ. The stick is hidden in the thatch, and the operation repeated each night. In addition to this, similar roots are pounded and rubbed on to the

testicles (*amakandi*). This is done in the belief that unless the organs are thus enlarged the young men will not beget children. It is a parallel practice to that of vaginal distension among the girls. Every young man carries out this practice—fear of the scorn (*ukutongala*) of his companions is sufficient to make him do it. Christian influence naturally is beginning to have a deterrent effect on these customs.

Names

Each child at birth, or soon thereafter, as we have seen, receives what is called his spirit name, the name of that deceased relative whose spirit is believed to be reincarnated—a relative of the same clan as the child. A child may even be named in honour of a relative though the clan may be different, but in this case reincarnation is not possible, nor is it believed to have taken place.

When a child has reached years of discretion in such matters—from ten to twelve years of age—he chooses a new name. The old spirit name is despised, and should it be used by a companion after another has been chosen a quarrel would in all probability be the result.

The new name may be given to the child by an elder or by relatives, and a gift of beads is added to confirm the naming. But usually the child himself assumes the name he has chosen. The name may be one of self-praise, such as Nsandawunga, "Scatterer of Gunpowder"; Ntambika, "Offerer of Food"; Kanyakula, "Killer at one Shot"; Kalimanama, "Cultivator of Animals"; Chinami, "Bluffer." It may be one of self-com-miseration, such as Kanamakampanga, "Little Buck of the Veld"; Chipeso, "Sleeping-mat"; Chyowola, "Blasphemy"; Chilupulamatipa, "Mud-treader"; Chyendanaawulwani, "Traveller with Ferocity." Names of objects to be desired are often used, such as Nsalamo, "Ring"; Nsapato, "Shoe"; Malupenga, "Trumpet." In these days the vogue is to adopt the names of common English objects; *e.g.*, "Soap," "Table," "Five," "Sixpence."

The adoption of new names is less followed by girls than by boys, and among the Lambas there seems to be very little sex distinction in names. A name may equally apply to a boy or a girl. There are a few exceptions. I have not heard the name of Chilyelye ever applied to a boy, while such names as those taken from English common nouns are practically confined to boys. Naturally Biblical names and English proper names are applied now with sex distinction.

Grown men, later in life, at times supplant their youthful names by praise-names, either chosen by themselves or given to them by others. Such are Konibwile, "Little Bird with Darkness here"—*i.e.*, "I've no fear of night"; Fumfunkanana Uwakwenda Kachyeneme, "Hornbill who flies with Open Mouth"; Bwashingtonya-milyango Uwushiku Bwamanyinsa, "Rainy Season Night has darkened the Doorways."

Ichisungu

Of all the marginal ceremonies of the Lambas this one, *ichisungu*, is the most prominent. It is spread over a considerable time, and most of the members of the community take some part in its various sections at one time or another.

At the first signs of the first menstruation (*ukuseesa*) the older women say to the girl (*imbuli*), *Pano wakula, ukwelelwa'ti uwe' chisungu*, "Now you are mature. You must pass through the initiation!" Some girls do not wait to be told, but act at once on their own initiative. The girl steals away by herself, usually in the early morning, though it may be during the day or even in the afternoon, and goes and lies down beneath an *umwenje*-tree. Occasionally an *umusamba* or an *umutwundikwa* is chosen for the occasion, but generally it is an *umwenje*. This action on the part of the girl is called *ukuwe'chisungu*, falling as an initiate. The place chosen by the girl is called *kuchiwula*, at the place of instruction, for it is here that the *nyinachimbela*, an old dame who also acts as midwife, commences the instruction of the initiate.

The girl is soon missed from the village; the cause of her disappearance is either known already or immediately suspected, and a number of her companions set out to hunt for her. Usually they have not very far to go in their search before they find her, and then they immediately *lishyo'lumpundu*, utter the shrill cries of joy and excitement, at the spot under the *umwenje*-tree where they have found her. Now her companions cover the girl completely over with a piece of calico, for she must not be seen. Leaving her thus covered beneath the tree, they return to the village and announce, *Lelo awe'chisungu'yo mwalukufwaya, twamuwona*, "To-day the one whom you were wanting has fallen an initiate. We have found her!" On hearing this the women set out for the near-by villages (*imitala*), to call their companions to come and help them with the dancing. If the *ichisungu* has taken place in the afternoon this dancing will be performed the next morning; and if the relations and friends to be called are at a great distance, the women of the girl's village may wait for them first to arrive. Should it have taken place early in the morning, as is normally the case, the women, together with the *wanyinafimbela*, gather at the *umwenje*-tree for the dance. The women stand in a circle, with the covered girl lying in the midst. Usually but one woman dances, while the others sing and clap to give her the rhythm for the dance. On this occasion special

CHAPTER IX

ICHISUNGU—INITIATION

The Main Crises of Life

AMONG the Lambas there are no rites or ceremonies initiating boys into manhood. The elders, on noticing that a youth shows wisdom, ability, and physical strength, tell him that it is time he quitted playing and talking with the youngsters and joined the *amaswamba awakulu* (the groups of grown men) and took his part in listening to the settling of law-cases (*imilandu*). Marriage, even, is not necessarily a sign of manhood, as many youths marry while they are still looked upon as boys. Circumcision is not practised by the Lambas, and the change from boyhood to manhood is gradual and imperceptible. Not so the change from girlhood to womanhood. Here, in the first menstrual appearance, is to the Lamba the sign of a definite and sudden change, one which demands some special rite. In the life of the individual there are four of these main crises, of which three only apply to males. At each of these crises, or, as they are sometimes called, "marginal periods,"¹ rites of spiritistic or dynamistic significance have to be observed. The four main crises are birth, teething, initial menstruation, and death. There are other crises, such as the falling of the umbilical cord, the first talking of a child, the marriage of a *moye*, but these are not treated as of such importance as the main four. Additional crises happen in the lives of individuals, such as illness (brought on by the action of spirits, demons, or witches), and to meet these special spiritual, dynamistic, or other occult powers are necessary. Again, the spirit-possession which affects certain individuals, causing them to become *wamukamwami*, *wamowa*, or *awayambo*, constitutes a period of grave crisis for those individuals. In this chapter we are to consider that tremendous crisis which takes place in the life of every Lamba girl—her first menstruation, her initiation into womanhood, with all its possibilities of marriage and motherhood.

¹ Cf. H. A. Junod.

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songs are sung ; they are songs which are used on no other occasion. First of all the girl who first discovered the initiate at her place beneath the tree sings :

*Imfuko yanji natola !
Nemwine nshilile-po !
Nechiwanda nshilile-po !*

“ My mole, I found it !
I myself did not eat of it !
I, a demon, I did not eat of it.”

Then all the women join in song after song, of which the following are but representative :

- (1) *Kwasunta chyungu, wanyina-kamwale yo !
Wanyina-kamwale, ijanda yapyya !*
“ The flames have shot up, O mother of the maid !
O mother of the maid, your house is burnt ! ”
- (2) *Wanyina-kamwale, inongo yalala, inongo yalala !
Ngailale ! Nkadumba imbi !
Ukudumba temilimo !*
“ O mother of the maid, the pot is cracked, the pot
is cracked !
Let it be cracked ! I'll mould another !
Moulding is not work ! ”
- (3) *Uyumwana nimwanani ?
Nimwana-chitondo !
Wawishi ninkalamu !
Wishi alawuluma !*
“ This child, whose child is she ?
She's the child of male lion !
Her father's a lion !
Her father roars ! ”

The women and initiated girls (*wamoye*) who have come from a distance have their special contribution to the singing. They sing :

*Ichisokosoko chali mwiyaamba,
Chyaumfwa'kawele !*
“ The Sokosoko bird was in the forest,
And it heard the shouting ! ”

It is the shouting, dancing, and singing which have brought them together.

Sometimes the girl goes to sleep, covered up as she is all day under the *umwenje*-tree. The *nyinachimbela* will turn her so that she lies comfortably. This *nyinachimbela* is generally the

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nyinakulu (grandmother) who has the duty of confining (*fundika*) the girl, but some one else may be appointed.

If the *ichisungu* takes place in the afternoon the girl eats nothing until the next day ; if it takes place in the morning she must be without food until she reaches the village in the evening.

When evening comes the covered girl, who is now called *moye*, is carried pick-a-back (*ukupaapa*) by the women to the village. On the road, as they come to the outskirts of the village, all the women sing :

*Unomushi watwani ?
Tuwinjile Somale !
Amaombe Somale e !*

“ Whose is this village ?
Let us go into it, Somale !
The double-drums, Somale e ! ”

Then they enter the village.

When they reach the house of the one who is going to confine and instruct the girl there is assumed difficulty in taking the girl in. The one who is carrying her on her back goes backward (*ubwifutenuma*) a little way through the doorway, comes out again, and then goes inward and outward, keeping up this swinging motion for a considerable time. Meanwhile the assembled women outside sing :

*Mumpela'mapapula-nguwo, nemwine-mwana !
Kasolo, nemwine-mwana !*

“ Give me the baby-cloth, me, the owner of the child !
O little mouse, me, the owner of the child ! ”

The one carrying the *moye* sings in reply :

*Intululu yainjila,
Yainjila mumuchyembo, yainjila !*

“ The mongoose has entered,
It has entered the hole, it has entered ! ”

She sings this as she sways backward and forward, and then as she ceases singing she enters the hut and sets down her burden on the bed behind the screen (*ichipembe*). The screen was arranged while the girl was still beneath the *umwenje*-tree. *Ama-sasa* (grass mats) were hung in front of the bed, so that the girl is hidden and in the dark.