


Hamweema, interview; Choonga, interview; Chinkuli, interview; and Chipolokoto, interview.


Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, *Annual Report for the year 1958*, 70. Oral Traditions collected in Chief Hanjalika's area showed that actually most malende rituals, except those associated with health and rain had disappeared by early 1960s. Agricultural shows had also become popular by the 1950s.

Mhoswa, 'A study of the educational contribution', 58.

During personal interviews, it was revealed that those associated with schools and Christianity were forbidden to attend rituals at malende and other Tonga traditional ceremonies; Joojo one of the first four Tonga followers of Father Moreau stopped attending malende rituals in 1905, interview; Father Nchete, Mazabuka Catholic Church Parish Priest and a descendant of Monze Nchete, the famous Simalende who lived towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 1900s, said he stopped attending rituals at malende in 1937, interview; In Chief Hanjalika's area a similar trend was discovered. Namaolongo of Hanzala, and Moomba of Nkonkola said that they stopped attending rituals at malende in 1940s because they were not allowed to do so by both the school and church authorities, interview, Hanzala, 21st December, 1986.

43. A. Chaava, a primary school teacher since mid 1950s, interview, Monze, 20th December, 1986; Moomba interview revealed that people admired the educated, and the wage earners for their access to commodities such as sugar, suits and good shoes which were a luxury most uneducated and unemployed people could not afford, especially in 1940s and 1950s.

44. W. Lane, quoted in A. Mhoswa, 'A study of the educational contribution', 184.

45. Joojo, interview; and Mbabalani, interview, Maunga (Hanjalika), 20th December, 1986; explained how most of those who became Christians developed negative attitudes about mizimbo worship and attending rituals at malende.


47. Nchete, interview; Also Kamboombo, interview; Chiyonga, interview; and Choonya, interview, revealed that those who attended rituals at malende where they were basimalende included Christian adherents. They also claimed that they were Christians and attended church services.

48. Chinkuli, interview; Explained how many people evaded vaccinations and treatment at European health centres and mobile teams in late 1920s and early 1930s in chief Hanjalika's area and around Mungolo area in chief Mwanza's area of Monze District.

49. Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1931 (Livingstone: The Government Printer, 1932), 42.

50. J. Moreau, NAZ, KSB, 1/7/1, Mazabuka District Notebook, Annual Report for the year 1927, 42.


52. Northern Rhodesia, Department of Native Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1935, 37.
Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the Year 1959, 76; Also, many informants from Chief Hanjalika's area such as those from Hanzala neighbourhood, such as S. Mwiinga, remembered how people walked long distances to European health centres, some as far as Chikankata and Chikuni in the 1950s because they were popular. S. Mwiinga, interview, Mapondo, Magoye, 17th December, 1986.


On a western model of government; spread of western ideas, values and attitudes, and Christianity intensified after Zambia became independent. By 1964 most of the rituals associated with malende such as those for warfare and hunting had already completely disappeared. The coming of independence did not strengthen the malende, and if anything, it weakened their influence. Some of the rituals such as those for controlling pests and diseases of epidemic nature which survived the colonial period have now disappeared.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF MAL ENDE IN INDEPENDENT ZAMBIA, 1964-86

This chapter deals with the role of malende during the post colonial period and the factors which have affected malende since independence. The factors which weakened malende during the colonial period, such as bureaucratic rule based on a western model of government; spread of western ideas, values and attitudes, and Christianity intensified after Zambia became independent. By 1964 most of the rituals associated with malende such as those for warfare and hunting had already completely disappeared. The coming of independence did not strengthen the malende, and if anything, it weakened their influence. Some of the rituals such as those for controlling pests and diseases of epidemic nature which survived the colonial period have now disappeared.

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In some parts of Butonga malende rituals no longer take place. Where malende have continued to exist, such as in parts of Chieftancies of HanjaJika, Mwenda and Naluma, Mwanza, Monze and Chona in Mazabuka and Monze districts, they function in a
contracted form mainly to regulate rain. When local interests in maintenance of malende sites come in conflict with national economic interest, they are overridden. This was demonstrated in a dispute over a malende in Chief Hanjalika's area.

In 1986 the people of Chief Hanjalika's area led by their chief, John Matambo, objected to a white commercial farmer constructing a dam on Mbaya stream which would flood Chifwumpu malende.¹ On 20th February, 1986, Chief Hanjalika wrote to the Water Development Board of Zambia opposing the construction of the dam:

I write to register an objection on behalf of Hanjalika people against the application no... under Gazette no... in favour of ... for the construction of a dam across Mbaya Stream. Mbaya Stream has running water throughout the year and people of the area believe that it is so because of the shrines of rain making at that particular place... During heavy rains and periods of drought people gather at the same spot to pray for reduction of water or for rainfall....²

On 2nd April, 1986, Chief Hanjalika requested the Director of the National Monuments Commission to declare the malende under dispute as a national monument. The letter read, in parts as follows:

I write on behalf of Chief Hanjalika's people to recommend for your approval that piece of land within farm ... across Mbaya Stream be declared national monument for the purpose of preserving a cultural heritage.....people from my area go to pray for rains during periods of drought and also periods of excessive rainfall. People of the area have been going to such places from time immemorial....³
The commercial farmer argued that the dam was in the national and local interest because it was going to benefit the area by way of water supply, fishing, bathing etc, and that he would allow people to perform rituals at a new site for the malende.

He got the support of the simalende, Chifwumpu who conducted a ritual and had a Kaanda built at another site. The dispute was finally settled in favour of the commercial farmer who went ahead to construct a dam on Mbaya stream against the wishes of Chief Hanjalika and some of his people. Although a minority of the people in Chief Hanjalika's area still believed in malende in 1986, the erosion of malende influence had continued after independence. The apparent contradiction between the Chief and the people on one hand and the commercial farmer and the simalende on the other demonstrates a power struggle between what the simalende saw as the extent of his authority, and the Chief who saw himself as a representative of the people. It is highly probable that the Chief used the malende issue to get people's support in an effort to argue his case for water rights in Mbaya stream. The construction of a dam would lead to the drying of part of the stream below the dam and cause problems for both people and livestock in outlying areas, except those living in the immediate vicinity of the dam.

The act by the simalende to transfer malende to a new site against people's wishes led to his rapid loss of popular support as a medium. People ignored his shrine and consequently, it fell into disuse as people withdrew confidence from him. People appealed to other shrines under different basimalende because they believed that the shrine at the new
site would not be as effective as the old. The traditionalists of Chief Hanjalika's area especially those in Maunga, Chivuna and Chikumba neighbourhoods explained the long dry spells between November and December, 1986 as a result of basangu anger at the flooding of the shrine, and the building of a Kaanda at a different place. The death of Chifwumpu, the medium at the centre of the controversy, during that time of drought was interpreted as confirmation of the anger of basangu. Although a minority of the people in Chief Hanjalika's area still believed in malende in 1986, the erosion of malende influence had continued after independence.

BUREAUCRATIZATION OF RULE

The coming of independence in 1964 did not reinforce the malende and their officials. Their influence continued to decline as more rituals disappeared. The bureaucratic type of rule based on a western style which diminished the status of basimalende in the colonial period continued to operate under the new Zambian government. The office of the traditional religious leaders was not resuscitated. Instead power continued to be attached to secular leaders as during the colonial period and the role of basimalende has been ignored by the government and by many people. Therefore, the significance of malende and their leaders has been pushed further into the periphery of the Tonga cultural activities.
In the political sphere there are different leaders at different levels of the bureaucratic strata. At the constituency level there is an elected member of parliament; then comes the ward and section leadership. All these people are elected to office, and status in the malende system does not lead to popular support for political office. In the political hierarchy there is no position of ritual leadership. Politically basimalende are treated as any other ordinary people in the area although in isolated instances people appeal to them when there is a pressing need such as to conduct a ritual to counteract the visitation of drought or flood.

The coming of colonial rule, and the attainment of independence in 1964 have given people freedom not to attend malende rituals. Previously all people in a neighbourhood were expected to attend rituals and obey the rules of malende. People co-operated for the common good because they believed that otherwise the community could suffer from a visitation of drought, flood or epidemic. Those who did not comply were punished. After independence as during the latter part of the colonial period, people could be seen working in their fields while others were busy praying for rain at malende. Such people could not be punished. But when the rains came after a ritual at malende, it fell into an area and not only on the fields owned by people who had attended the rituals. This weakened the position of malende and their leaders because people
realized that if one did not participate nothing could be done against them, and after all rain fell in their fields too.

Choonya, a simalende in Maunga neighbourhood of Chief Hanjalika’s area, expressed disgust at the deteriorating position of malende leaders and lack of chiefly power. He said:

people of this area are naughty. If the Chief had the power to really deal with those people, all those working in their fields while others are busy praying for rain, which will also fall on their fields could be taught a lesson because those who break malende rules are responsible for the anger of basangu.?  

This simalende knew quite well that he and the chief had no right to compel people to attend rituals at malende and that this lack of power to enforce ritual rules put basimalende and beendelezi in an awkward position and lowered their status.

SPREAD OF WESTERN IDEAS

Agriculture

In Chief Hanjalika’s area as elsewhere in Butonga the influence of western ideas, values and attitudes have continued to undermine the role of malende in several ways. In agriculture improved methods of production such as the use of chemical fertilizers, increased agricultural extension services to assist farmers in good farm management, and credit assistance such as short-term seasonal loans (from Agricultural Finance Company, Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, Zambia National Commercial Bank and the Southern Province Co-operative and
Marketing Union) have penetrated the society and in turn affected people's attitudes about causation. During the colonial period such facilities were restricted to selected successful farmers such as those who joined schemes such as the African Farming Improvement Scheme. After 1964 loans and especially agricultural extension services were open to all peasant farmers and as a result more people have been exposed to western ideas through such facilities. Consequently, many people no longer associate good yields with the powers of basangu but attribute them to good management and one's financial strength. Although some people in Chief Hanjalika's area still attend rituals at malende mainly for rain regulating activities, many people have become sceptical about the role of malende in agriculture.9

In this area the government established settlement schemes on some of the land which previously had been occupied by white settler farmers who did not want to stay after Zambia got her independence. 10 They were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of implementation</th>
<th>Number of farmers (families)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngwezi block</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwezi Extension 'A'</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwezi Extension 'B'</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tundwe</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbaye</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musuma</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwezi Extension 'C'</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumba</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiimbe</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two hundred and ninety seven families joined the schemes. These farmers were assisted by agricultural extension officers on good crop husbandry practices such as early ploughing, early planting, correct spacing and fertilizer application and keeping the crop weed free. The agricultural extension officers also advised people on improved animal husbandry methods such as regular dipping or spraying of cattle, regular vaccinations, better breeding methods and building better kraals. To ensure close supervision, agricultural extension stations were established to cater for people in the schemes. In areas classified as 'Reserve' or 'Traditional Land' agricultural stations exist at Munjile, Maunga, Chivuna, Chijanwa, Nkonkola and Nanchengwa. Such facilities have led to better agricultural yields and the expansion of a class of rich peasants called small scale farmers. Similarily, the rest of Butongu experienced remarkable improvement in agricultural techniques by 1970, for example, the swing from traditional dribbling behind ox-plough to planting by mechanical planters, hand-mowing, check rowing and use of ox-cultivators as row crop markers, was greater than the year before.

During the same period there was an increase in the use of good agricultural demonstration by different farmers in the area. Field days provide farmers with time for discussion, questions and inspection of the field or research station where the field is being held. Aldrino to control pests and herbicides to control weeds. The use of the ox-plough was widespread. By 1986 in Chief Hanjalika's area, for example, it was common that each family owned or used a plough. Some of the small scale farmers had even more modern equipment such as tractors. Aaron Namanje, Davison Chinzila, Brown Ngoma, Jonah Mungalu and Choonya...
Hambizyi are among these small scale farmers.

There were several other ways by which better techniques in agricultural production were spread. For example, it has been government policy to spread ideas on agriculture through radio broadcasts such as 'Rural notebook' programmes, daily weather forecasts on the General Service of Radio Zambia, and 'Habasune Kumuunda', a programme in Tonga on the Home Service of Radio Zambia. Good agricultural ideas have also been spread through organized seminars for farmers, agricultural field days and the increasing number of agricultural shows which had already become popular by 1958 during the colonial period.¹³

People of Chief Hanjalika's area attended field days and demonstrations at Magoye regional research station. After 1970 area agricultural field days were also organized by the government through the office of the District Agricultural Officer in Mazabuka. The latest were held in July 1986 such as those at Namanje's and Chilanga's farms in Ngwezi Settlement. The purpose of field days is to inspect or observe the result of good agricultural demonstration by different farmers in the area. Field days provide farmers with time for discussion, questions and inspection of the farm or research station where the field day is being held.¹⁵

The impact of such increased agricultural extension services during independence has led many more people in Chief
Hanjalika's area and other parts of Butonga to adapt to new farming methods. With increased use of a plough, chemical fertilizers and pesticides people have realised better yields. As a result many more are convinced that good yields are due to better farming methods rather than the powers of basangu.

In Chief Hanjalika's area, those living near the line of rail attended Mupani clinic which was constructed in 1965. In 1968 a clinic was opened at Lwani in addition to the then existing one at Chivuna. People also continued going to Mazabuka district hospital for serious illness. Treatment at such centres, both government and mission health centres, is free. This has attracted many more people. The spread of western medicines and institutions has also undermined the role of mixing in the care of individuals' health. Many people now associated good health with good personal hygiene and western type of health facilities rather than with the protection of mixing and basangu.

Health

After 1964 the penetration of western medicines in treating individual illness and diseases of epidemic nature were becoming more successful and popular. This increased the influence on the malende in the field of health. Rituals to predict and treat outbreaks of epidemic diseases for both people and livestock have disappeared as more people have turned to western type of medicines and institutions away from malende rituals. After independence it was a deliberate government policy to construct clinics and health centres in rural areas where none existed. The Central Government started building new hospitals and clinics, and expanding existing hospitals in urban centres as part of the campaign.
By this programme, the government assured the masses that doctors, nursing staff, para-medical staff, medicines, linen and drugs would be provided where hospitals were constructed on self help basis.

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However, the role of mizimo and basangu associated with malende has also been affected by the development of new cults which invoke basangu and a new type of spirit, the bangelo, whose origins dates to the early 1960s and which became increasingly widespread in 1970s.

Bangelo is a Tonga term for Angels. Bangelo mediums, unlike basimalende, deal with individuals and not with communities. Whereas in the past basangu dealt primarily with community matters, the new basangu cult, some associated with bangelo affected individuals. Those who claim to have been entered by basangu now treat individuals for various ailments. They build shrines, twaanda, which they call malende and calim healing power from basangu. The basangu
said to reveal to them the medicines to be used to treat each
sick. These treated pay the healer, usually a set fee which in
might amount to less than twenty 'wacco' for simple illness,
as well as the 'kambio' 'wacco' for more serious and complex ailments.
As a result of fear by those the claim possession by kambos and
hence led some people to further scepticism about kambos.

Both karmos and kambos cults have many followers and seem to
survive as some people argue these individuals had 'claim' spiritual
power. The karmos are accused of treating illness as false interest-
y in accumulating money. They argue that the real kambos have
appeared and no longer exist to explain. Many people therefore
are to take part in such kambos rituals as are still carried out
today.

The development of possession by kambos, and its association
with karmos, is a new phenomenon. Individuals claim to be
possessed by karmo spirits. They too build karmos (shrines),
there are paid for treating illness at a price just like now
kambos, and are not paid in appeals for rain, regulating. Their
leaders read the Bible as they pray for their patients to recover.
They claim that karmos guide them in recommending correct herbs. The
relationship of the kambos cult cults is interpreted as an attempt to
adapt Christian beliefs and practices to older ideas. It is also
expressed that modern medicine has not entirely provided
cause for inadequate of modern health services, such as failure to
treat certain diseases like madness. The Christian Churches do not accept the development of bangleo cult. By the end of 1986 there were many such shrines, so called new małyende, in Chief Hanjalika's area such as those of Mary Chibunta in Mapondo and Choonya in Maunga, all of which were initiated between 1960 and 1986.

During independence the Veterinary Services improved and this continued to undermine the role of małyende. The health of livestock which was once the work of małyende is now the responsibility of the government department of Veterinary Services and Tsetse Control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development. The department provides free services and drugs to the people. Where the government medicines run out people buy drugs from chemists to treat their livestock. Problems concerning livestock are taken to government officials rather than to małyende leaders. During the recent outbreaks of the corridor disease commonly known among the Tonga as Denkete, which killed thousands of animals between 1981 and 1986, the people did not perform any rituals at małyende. They were discouraged by extension officers from following traditional ways of animal husbandry, and were encouraged to report any cattle illness to the Veterinary officers in the area who gave them free drugs and advise. During epidemic outbreaks, affected areas were quarantined. Those who failed to follow instructions from the Veterinary department were threatened with prosecution.
As a result it has become a common practice in Chief Hanjalika's area for people to dip or spray their cattle. Nearly every family which owns cattle has a crush pen, and some of the rich peasants possess their own syringes and drugs which they use to treat simple cattle diseases. Communities have been encouraged by the government to construct communal dip tanks to supplement the existing ones.

Some people applied traditional herbs to their sick animals in desperate attempt to treat Denkete, but no records were found of people appealing to malende. Although I heard of no cases of people in Chief Hanjalika's area appealing to new basangu and bangelo for treatment of cattle diseases, it is highly probable that some might have done so since appeals to cult practitioners is on an individual basis and in a rather private manner.

Considering the importance the Tonga attach to their animals as wealth and source of prestige, and the central position cattle hold in agricultural production mainly for traction purposes, the fact that people did not appeal to malende indicates how much the role of malende has been replaced by new methods of animal care centred on western type of ideas. Many informants argued that they appealed to Veterinary officers for help because people were now following 'European ways' and because they were fined if they did not follow instructions from government officers.
However, some of the older generation were sceptical about the explanation given by the Veterinary officers that ticks were responsible for the death of their cattle. They wondered why animals did not die like that in the past when there were a lot of ticks. They said that it was one way God was punishing the people for ignoring rituals at malende and for following foreign ideas. 21 But all the same, such people did not initiate the revival of rituals at malende to treat cattle diseases.

**Education and Wage Employment**

Malende are also now irrelevant to the increasing number of educated men and women, a class greatly expanded since independence because of a great expansion in primary, secondary and tertiary education. Chief Hanjalika’s area in 1986 had nineteen schools; eighteen primary schools and one secondary school, St. Joseph’s Girls School. Most of the primary schools existed by the late 1950s but offered education only up to Standard II (grade four), except for Chitongo, Mainza and St. Michaels which went up to Standard VI (grade seven). 22

The pre-independence schools were: Chitongo, Munjile, Kataba, Hanjalika, Mainza, St. Michaels, St. Mary’s, Chijanwa, Nkonkola Lower, Chibuyu, Hanzala and Namaila. From 1966 these schools were upgraded to offer education to grade seven level. Other primary schools were built after independence mainly on self-help basis. These were Nkonkola Upper (1964), Mweemba (1966), Ngwezi (1970), Mbayamusuma
(1972), Kaangila (1980) and Sikaloze (1980). Many pupils from these schools have gone for secondary education at Monze, Mapanza, Chikankata, Canisius in Chikuni, and other places where such facilities exist. Some have gone to secondary schools outside the province.

In schools, both primary and secondary, respect for malende rituals is not taught and most of those who teach Tonga as a subject are sceptical about malende. Instead, Religious Education (R.E.) based on Christianity is taught as part of the school curriculum as early as grade three. Since in schools Christian ideas are studied those so educated have acquired new values and a new world view and regard surviving malende rituals as relics of a dying tradition with no direct bearing on their lives. The majority of such graduates, especially those from secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, live in towns and are employed for wages so that their livelihood no longer depends on rainfall and agricultural routines. Wage employment separates sections of the population from traditional rituals and communal responsibility based on malende. Most of the educated do not attend rituals at malende, and those who have become Christians instead pray in church for rain or for the ending of different problems. Even those in the subsistence sector who may have little education see wage employment as an alternative to agriculture. If crops fail, those with money can buy food, or the government and international relief agencies are relied upon to import food.
This means that such people have less need to try to find a means to bring natural forces under control by prayer and offering. Though large farmers are dependent on rain, yet they and wage earners are able to purchase food when harvests fail during bad agricultural years more than people who solely depend on subsistence farming.

Nevertheless, in rural area including Hanjalika some people continue to turn to malende to appeal for rain every year during dry spells especially between December and February. In 1973, 1975, and from 1981 to 1984 rituals to counteract drought were performed at several malende and the ritual for planting, Lwiindi Rwakumwaka was held in various parts of Chief Hanjalika's area. In 1978 malende rituals were held to counteract floods. Between November and December, 1986 I attended fifteen appeals for rain in different parts of Chief Hanjalika's area such as in neighbourhoods of Maunga and Chikumba when these communities approached a number of different malende on the same day. I was also informed of appeals which I did not observe such as those at Meezi on the eastern side of Chief Hanjalika's area. Most of those who attended were people without education and a few with education, mainly of grade seven standard and below. A few with junior secondary education who were thrown back into village confines because the employment sector could not absorb them also participated. There appeared to be a direct relationship between the level of education and participation. I believe this is because those with less education are more tied to the agricultural cycle and natural forces of the environment and as a result
Fig 7: SOME OF THE ACTIVE MALENDE IN CHIEF HANJIHALIKA'S AREA, 1986
they are more concerned to find ways to influence these forces than those who are well educated.

However, since 1981 some educated Tonga have tried to revive some aspects of **malende** rituals such as **Lwiindi Lwakumwaka** (ritual for planting). These include Joseph Hang'andu, originally from Hanzala neighbourhood in Chief Hanjalika's area and now a secondary school teacher at Pemba in Southern Province. The effort was made as part of a traditional cultural revival campaign through the Historical Association of Zambia, Southern Province branch, in line with the national policy to make some of the Zambian traditional rituals and ceremonies into tourist attractions. **Lwiindi Lwakumwaka** was to be an annual provincial event of the Tonga like the Shimunenga of the Ila of Namwala District, the Kuomboka ceremony of the Lozi of Western province of Zambia, and Mutomboko among the Lunda of Luapula province of Zambia. However, the attempt to make **Lwiindi Lwakumwaka** a provincial annual event failed. Although many educated Tonga and chiefs liked the idea and showed their willingness to support the project nothing has been done to make it a reality. As soon as Hang'andu left Southern province for further studies at the University of Zambia, Lusaka, the attempt died out. This shows that many educated people were sceptical about the power of **malende** while those closely associated with **malende** in rural areas objected to the move on the grounds that it was going to dilute the powers of **malende** by making it a 'play',
a tourist attraction rather than a reality. By 1986 there were isolated cases in Hanjalika, such as at Maunga and Chikumba neighbourhoods, where Lwiindi Lwakumwaka was held. Elsewhere in Butonga I was informed of Lwiindi Lwakumwaka being held in a very few places in the Chieftancies of Mwanza, Chona, Naluama and Mwenda.

Christianity

Since independence the influence of Christianity on beliefs in malende continued. Although the coming of independence led to both foreign missionaries and the local clergy becoming less arrogant than during British overrule, their influence has continued to weaken the malende. Since independence more people have been exposed to the ideas of Christianity, either directly through pastoral work of different Christian churches or through religious education in schools as it was offered as part of the school curriculum as early as grade three. As more school places have been offered at primary and secondary levels and more church outposts have been set up, many more people have been affected by the ideas of Christianity. The influence of Christianity directly challenges the religious basis of malende and as a result the more people are exposed to Christian ideas the more they turn away from attending rituals at malende. The role of malende rituals have been challenged and they are threatened with complete replacement by Christian teaching and practices.
Nevertheless, the coming of independence saw a change in attitude of some of the Christian churches towards some aspects of African traditional customs. Of the three major Christian groups in Chief Hanjalia's area, there has been a notable change of attitude by the Catholics since the 1960s and by the Salvation Army. The Seventh Day Adventists have more or less kept their old stand on the traditional aspects of African religion, such as that malende are pagan and unacceptable in the church. Among the Catholics the attitude of the church reflects the shift in policy from the Vatican since the early 1960s when there was a rethinking of the church's approach in spreading Christian ideas. This ushered in radical changes in the Catholic Church so that by 1965 it had become a church policy that the culture of the people should be a way of expression in Christian services. The church stressed the idea that the church should be under local leadership with foreign missionaries as assistants.

Thereafter, the church adopted a policy of using African culture, in Chief Hanjalia's area Tonga Culture, by assimilating various elements in Christian practices. The church stressed that Christianity should be expressed through the culture of the local people. Some of the malende ritual songs were adapted into Catholic church hymns. Instead of merely translating Irish or Polish songs into Tonga words, traditional Tonga songs as understood by the local people were adapted. Once seemingly pagan practices, such as the Tonga
way of drumming and malende songs, are now accepted in the church.

Although such developments appear to be in favour of Zambian traditional culture, in the case of the role of malende, Christian influence affects malende in a negative way. It has affected people's attitudes towards the foreignness of the Christian churches and practices and their stand against indigenous customs. The churches are viewed by the people as being interested in local customs thereby attracting more adherents. Most of such adherents abandon attending rituals at malende in favour of church services.

Although different churches have different attitudes towards malende, all of them regard malende rituals as un-Christian. However, in Chief Hanjalika's area, I found some Christians who attended malende rituals. Many informants argued that they did not see any conflict with Christian teaching and malende rituals because in both cases people appealed to God for help. Many other Tonga Christians appreciated the fact that malende rituals were part of their cultural heritage, but they did not wish to attend. For example, in 1986, Isaiah Ngoma the appropriate inheritor to lead rituals at the new Chifwumpu Kaanda refused to do so because he was a strong follower of the Seventh Day Adventist church. Although the ritual was conducted by another agent, people were sceptical of its effectiveness because the rightful
agent had refused to lead the ritual activities. Such people who became strong Christian adherents condemned malende rituals as pagan and superstitious, and as a result they encouraged people to ignore malende rituals.

The inclusion of Tonga in the leadership of the churches has added impetus in activating change in people's attitudes towards malende rituals. They became examples and were seen by the people as representatives in the churches, and their previous knowledge and experience in malende rituals made their attacks against ritual practices effective. These indigenous Tonga church leaders, together with foreign missionaries, have become direct agents who fight against the activities associated with malende.

By the end of 1986, the role of malende had weakened so much that most of the rituals associated with them had disappeared. Rituals for warfare and hunting, for first fruits, rituals to scare birds and Lwiindi Lwakutebula (ritual for harvest) disappeared during the colonial period while rituals for treating diseases of epidemic nature and controlling pests which had survived the colonial period disappeared after independence. The role of malende has contracted to one concerned mainly with regulating rain. Rituals to counteract droughts and floods, and in very isolated instances Lwiindi Lwakumwaka are held in Chief Hanjalika's area and some other parts of Butonga such as in Chieftancies of Chona, Mwanza,
Mwenda and Naluama on the plateau, and the Chieftancies of Gwembe Valley. Malende no longer occupy a central position such as enjoyed in the precolonial period. Malende now are more suitably referred to as rain regulating ritual centres because other rituals have disappeared. But in spite of all these factors some malende rituals have survived and adapted themselves to the local needs.


Chiwembe malende was popular in Chief Hanjaliwa's area. During fieldwork I was told by most of the informants how Chiwembe in December, 1973, collected green crops from Mwape and Bimwine deep pool, a sign that there was going to be a good harvest, and indeed it became so. I was told that he came out of water with his clothes dry. To the people any new site would be less effective.

Twelve out of the seventeen people who filled in a questionnaire showed that they had heard about malende rituals but they never participated. The remaining five indicated scepticism in the role and powers of basangu, malende and basimalende, and as a result they no longer participated in rituals associated with malende. They claimed that in the past malende were effective and that current mediums were dubious and ineffective.

Chonya, interview. Chonya conducted a successful ritual on 20th December, 1986 in that there was rainfall during the evening after the ritual ceremonies and the next three days people of Neuma continued to receive rain while neighbouring areas of Chitowa, Malume and Chitone continued with drought. During fieldwork most of the informants in Chief Hanjaliwa's area said that their traditional cultural heritage was in danger because it was openly challenged by individuals who offended basangu by cutting trees at malende and failing to attend rituals.
1. Chifwumpu malende has been very famous in Chief Hanjalika's area and neighbouring chieftancies. In 1973, 1978, 1981–1984, simalende Chifwumpu conducted rain regulating rituals in many areas outside his neighbourhood as far as Mwanza, Mwanachingwala and Hamusonde area; B.C. Chifwumpu, 78 years old simalende, interview, at Maunga, 10th November, 1986. In general informants indicated that Chifwumpu was more successful than his contemporaries in Chief Hanjalika's area. Chifwumpu malende has been famous since 1937.


5. Chifwumpu malende was popular in Chief Hanjalika's area. During fieldwork I was told by most of the informants how Chifwumpu in December, 1973, collected green crops from Mwandungwa or Himatambo deep pool, a sign that there was going to be a good harvest, and indeed it became so. I was told that he came out of water with his clothes dry. To the people any new site would be less effective.

6. Twelve out of the seventeen people who filled in a questionnaire showed that they had heard about malende rituals but they never participated. The remaining five indicated scepticism in the role and powers of basangu, malende and basimalende, and as a result they no longer participated in rituals associated with malende. They claimed that in the past malende were effective and that current mediums were dubious and ineffective.

7. Chonya, interview. Chonya conducted a successful ritual on 20th December, 1986 in that there was rainfall during the evening after the ritual ceremonies and the next three days people of Maunga continued to receive rain while neighbouring areas of Chivuna, Mainza and Chitongo continued with drought. During field work most of the informants in Chief Hanjalika's area said that their traditional cultural heritage was in danger because it was openly challenged by individuals who offended basangu by cutting trees at malende and failing to attend rituals.

9. During field work in Chief Hanjalika's area, from November, 1986 to February, 1987, I observed that less than half the people in any given neighbourhood attended rain regulating rituals.


13. Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1958, 70.

14. D. Chinzila, 50 years old, interview, Ngwezi, 15th December, 1986. He with other informants claimed that by 1970 most people were using chemical pesticides to control pests instead of appealing to basimalende, and partly because pest attack was not widespread to merit communal ritual.


17. Interviews conducted in Chief Hanjalika's area revealed that bangelo cult developed in 1960s. Interviewees with such views include Mary Chibunta, a bangelo medium, interview, at Mapondo, 25th December, 1986.
18. Nchete, interview; and Father C. Habbwayu, Parish Priest of Chivuna (Catholic) in Chief Hanjalika's area, interview, at Chivuna, 20th January, 1987. Both said that bangelo cult was dubious and based on superstitions.

19. During field work in Chief Hanjalika's area, all those interviewed (one hundred and ten) indicated that they never appealed to basangu and they did not know anybody who did. Basimalende such as Chonya and Chiyonga of Maunga and Namwaanga neighbourhoods respectively; interviews, confirmed that no appeals were made for basangu assistance to treat Denkete.

20. D. Mukwenya, Hajuma, 46 years old, interview, at Mapondo, 12th December, 1986. He revealed that some people including himself used traditional herbs to treat Denkete, though rather unsuccessfully.

21. Chinkuli, interview; Hamweemba, interview; and Hang'andu, interview.


23. In fact, as late as 1980, most of the secondary schools in Southern Province (fourteen out of twenty one) were mission schools. They were Canisius, Chikankata, Choma, Macha, Mazabuka Girls, Mukasa, Namwanga, Njase, Rusangu, St. Edmunds, St. Joseph's (Chivuna), St. Marks (Mapanza), St. Mary's (Mambwe), and St. Raphael's. Only Chipepo, Hilcrest, Kalomo, Linda, Monze and Namwala were Government Secondary Schools. In mission schools as well as in Government schools Religious Education which did not attach any importance to malende rituals was part of the school curriculum.

24. See map, figure 7 p111 showing some of the active malende in 1986 in Chief Hanjalika's area.


27. J. Corboy (Bishop of Monze Diocese), Amutambule Mulumbe (Nola: Mission Press, 1983). Father Wafer, with some selected Tonga Christians composed new hymns based on Tonga aspects of life especially malende ritual songs, and then compiled them into a hymn book for Catholics in Monze Diocese referred to as Amutambule Mulumbe. The selected Tonga contributors included Father Nchete, originally from Chief Monze's area, Mr. M. Nyanga and B. Mwiinga both originally from Chivuna in Chief Hanjalika's area.
CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to show that in the precolonial period malende played a vital role which cut across various boundaries of social activities in areas such as politics and economy; in welfare, health, hunting and gathering, fishing and agriculture. It is through malende also that the political organization of Tonga society evolved, and cohesion of society could be perceived. In the precolonial period, the system of social organization of the Tonga was highly decentralised centred around malende ritual activities of numerous independent neighbourhoods which were controlled by community elders such as basimalende.

By the end of the nineteenth century, malende came to operate within a new environment. Malende activities were affected by the imposition of British colonialism which put in question the belief in the power of basangu, basimalende, and the malende rituals. Colonial rule involved the restructuring of political authority, control of feuds and raids, and the emergence of a new and different economic set up which stressed wage labour and cash cropping. It also led to the creation of schools and hospitals, and the spread of Christianity. In combination these factors led to the abandonment of many malende rituals until only the regulation of rain and rituals for planting and controlling pests continued to be associated with malende. The factors which
affected malende during the colonial period did not cease with
the attainment of independence in 1964. By the end of 1986,
the malende which were once at the centre of Tonga cultural
activities continued to be pushed into the periphery of
political and religious life.

However, people have not been content to rely solely
on the European type of health services, in part because they
fail to treat pressing problems such as mental illness. This
has led to the emergence of new basangu and bangelo cults whose
rituals show the influence of Christianity.

In Chief Hanjalika's area the role of malende contracted
to that of rain regulating, but even surviving malende rituals
such as those to counteract drought and floods are
threatened with extinction as evidenced by their sporadic
occurrence.

People continued practices which were seen to be
working. Where there were seemingly better alternatives,
they changed. The survival of rain regulating rituals could
be attributed to the inability of both the colonial and
Zambian government to develop irrigation system which would
use much of the underground water to remove the desperate
situation of unrealistic rainfall in Butonga. There has been
no effective replacement of malende rituals as a solution to
the rain problems which have faced the Tonga for decades. The
Tonga largely depend on adequate rainfall for both crops and livestock, and any alternative which can assure reliable supply of water for people, crops, and livestock would receive overwhelming support.

Today some Tonga believe that Christianity and belief in malende can be reconciled. Christianity by itself has failed to offer a convincingly different approach to rain problem. Occasionally clergy conduct prayers in churches for good rainfall and crops. They appeal to God, an act which is similar to prayers at malende. While Christians pray to God through Jesus Christ, the Tonga stress the role of basangu and conduct rituals at malende. Both believe in God, the creator. As a result it was not surprising to find some Christian adherents who continued to attend rain regulating rituals at malende.

The support for the surviving malende rituals by some Christians should be seen more as a sign of cultural awareness than the lack of devotion to Christianity. After all one is both a Tonga and Christian. This is indeed contrary to the widely popularised misconception that the rituals at malende were directed only at basangu and not God.

The undermining of the influence of traditional religion among the Tonga is not unique. Other societies in Central Africa experienced a similar trend, for example, the Mwari and Musikavanhu cults in Zimbabwe, and Mbona cult in
Malawi lost much of their significance as a result of forces which started to operate during colonial rule.1

In all, traditional African religions tended to lose much of their original significance in societies. This was mainly due to centralization and secularization of rule during the colonial period. The influence of African religions continued to decline after independence because of varieties of other factors such as the spread of technology in production. Their religious significance and functions are being taken over by what may be referred to as world major religious such as Christianity.

The combination of factors operating on traditional religions led to the weakening role and in many cases such as that of the malende to a near complete breakdown of traditions. Here I am not being sceptical, or opposed to change, but to talk of revival of such traditions would only be embarking on an artificial path. Most of the once important rituals at malende were effectively lost within less than a century, and the surviving malende rituals have been further pushed into the background of Tonga life.
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The visitors have arrived.

Jumbayumba, these visitors, Jumbayumba.

At your pots,

Jumbayumba, these visitors, Jumbayumba.

'ñĩkina benza aha, Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina bako,
ñĩkina benza aha Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina benza aha, Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina bako,
ñĩkina benza aha Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina benza aha, Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina bako,
ñĩkina benza aha Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina benza aha, Jumbayumba,
ñĩkina bako,
ñĩkina benza aha Jumbayumba,
are examples of some malende songs. Tonga songs have been freely translated into English.

It is much better to listen to the malende songs than reading the translated ones in order to understand fully and appreciate their messages. For example, translated songs lack ululations, praises and requests the people made as they led to God and the former basimalende.

All malende songs were accompanied with clapping, ululations and occasional s at the malende.

TONGA

a bakon Jumbayumba

senzu aba Jumbayumba,
benzu bako,
imbayumba,
benzu aba Jumbayumba.

siska beenzu aba,
imbayumba,
maanda ako,
imbayumba beenzu aba Jumbayumba.

siska beenzu aba,
imbayumba,
mnomono ako,
imbayumba beenzu aba Jumbayumba.

siska beenzu sunu,
imbayumba,
mabiya ako,
imbayumba beenzu aba Jumbayumba.

siska beenzu aba,
imbayumba,
benzu bako,
imbayumba beenzu aba Jumbayumba.

ENGLISH

Your visitors Jumbayumba

A song sung as people gather at malende, announcing their arrival to legendary Jumbayumba.

1. These visitors Jumbayumba, Your visitors, Jumbayumba, These visitors Jumbayumba.

2. The visitors have arrived, Jumbayumba, At your houses, Jumbayumba, these visitors Jumbayumba.

3. The visitors have arrived, Jumbayumba, At your pots, Tumbayumba, these visitors, Jumbayumba.

4. The visitors have arrived today, Jumbayumba, At your pots, Jumbayumba, these visitors, Jumbayumba.

5. The visitors have arrived, Jumbayumba, Your visitors, Jumbayumba, these visitors, Jumbayumba.
We are asking for water, we are asking for continuous rainfall.

We are asking for water, we are asking for continuous rainfall.

We are asking for water, we are asking for continuous rainfall.

We are asking for water, we are asking for continuous rainfall.

1. Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.
2. Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.
3. Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.
4. Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.

The soil is dry and the crop is dead.

The soil is dry and the crop is dead.

The soil is dry and the crop is dead.

The soil is dry and the crop is dead.

God, the soil is dry and the crop is dead.

God, the soil is dry and the crop is dead.

God, the soil is dry and the crop is dead.

God, the soil is dry and the crop is dead.

A song for anticipating rain. It is one of the rare songs in

THE SOIL IS DRY

ENGLISH

TONGA

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We are asking for water, we are asking for consistent rain,
we are asking for water, we are asking for consistent rain,
we are asking for water, we are asking for consistent rain,
we are asking for water, we are asking for consistent rain.

Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.
Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.
Let us plead with God, he has not given us rain this season.
Let us plead with God, he has not given you rain this season.

Read with God, he has not given you rain this season.
Because of the people of this season, he has not given you rain this season.

This season.

Ko e ka monea ko no, e ka monea ko no, e ka monea ko no.
Mukamaambo. A song in praise of Legendary Simalende, Mukamaambo, sung during prayers for obtaining rain.

1. The one who attracts water, Mukamaambo
   The one who fills deep pools,
   The one who attracts water, Mukamaambo
   The one who fills rivers, the one
   who fills deep pools, Mukamaambo

2. The one who fills rivers, Mukamaambo,
   The one who fills deep pools,
   The one who fills rivers, Mukamaambo,
   The one who fills deep pools, the
   one who fills rivers, Mukamaambo,
   the one who fills deep pools.