CHANGE AND CONTINUITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE MUKANDA INSTITUTION IN THE WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF ZAMBIA, 1900-1963

APPROVAL

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EXAMINERS

1. ---------- 24th November 1989 ----------
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4. ----------

ABSTRACT

The mukanda institution in the Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia, is one of the popular cultural heritages in the country. Over time it has created an inter-ethnic cohesion which in turn has integrated more than ten previously heterogeneous ethnic groups into a single entity. This institution is an age long cultural heritage whose genesis is inextricably linked to the various vakamulauko (the people of this study) royal houses in the Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia and beyond (i.e. Angola and Zaire). From the late nineteenth century when colonial rule was imposed on Zambia, to about 1963 when the colonial epoch was coming to a close, the mukanda institution was subjected to various forms of social change. Through adaptation to the colonial environment, the mukanda institution both managed to change its role and to sustain its own continuity.

This dissertation is basically an attempt to reconstruct a history of the mukanda institution during the colonial epoch. In order to portray a fair picture of the institution, a comparative approach was preferred, to cover both the Western and North-Western Provinces. In Chapter One, we have attempted to review the existing

literature on the topic, with a view of delineating its weaknesses and strengths. We have argued that much of this literature contains limitations, one of which was the static portrayal of the mukanda.

Chapter Two is an attempt to reconstruct a pre-colonial history of the institution in both the Western and North-Western Provinces. This entailed: tracing the genesis of the mukanda institution among the vakamulauko generally; assessing the historical development of the institution in the two provinces; and examining how mukanda rites were practised in the two areas during that period.

In Chapter Three, we have attempted to analyse the impact of the colonial social change (i.e. colonial economic and political policies), Christian evangelization, Western medicine and modern education on the mukanda institution. To this end, we assessed the impact of hut tax, migrant labour, and other colonial policies, on the mukanda practitioners in both provinces. It has been argued that these policies had a far-reaching effect on the structure and practice of the mukanda rites. As a result, the mukanda institution of the colonial society reflected the influence of these forces; hence the chapter emphasizes change in the institution and not a static state of affairs.

In conclusion, we have contended that during the colonial epoch, the mukanda institution adapted itself to the prevailing socio-economic and political environment, and in the process sustained its continuity such that by 1963, the institution had become a vehicle for integration and cohesion among Vakamulauko, not only in the Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia but also beyond the territorial boundaries of these provinces.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This dissertation is a product of concerted efforts and sacrifices of various personalities. They are too numerous to be all mentioned in this work, given the limited space this study allows. However, there are particular individuals and groups of individuals who deserve my personal appreciation and gratitude because without their contributions and sacrifices this work would not have been a reality.

In the first place, I would like to express my most sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. A.C.S.M. Mushingeh, whose rare qualities of motivating students most subscribed to my ability to turn a topic previously dominated by sociological studies into a historical study. His open mindedness and persuasiveness in discussing academic issues were unique inspirations that I will live to remember.

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Thirdly, I wish to express my indebtedness to all individuals who served as the resource persons for this dissertation. These individuals are too many to mention

by individual names. I therefore wish to thank them in their respective collective groupings. Thus, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the vakamulauko chiefs in general, and in particular those whose personal contributions provided the inside knowledge of the mukanda institution used in this dissertation and also for allowing me without reservations, to commit their highly priced cultural heritage to paper. I would also like to thank the Zambian Government officials, the officials of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Village headmen, mukanda practitioners, makishi dancers (ritual, secular and professional), educationists, medical personnel, priests/evangelists and others, for giving me access to the material on which this dissertation is based. Most, if not all of them, were very busy people, but the support they demonstrated for academic work was exemplary. This allowed them to fit me into their work schedules.

Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to both Irene and Marjorie. To Irene for her continued sacrifices of bearing the heavy burden of caring for our dear children in health and in times of sickness, particularly during the time of my long absence from home. Only a dedicated partner could do the things she did in the course of my study. To Marjorie for encouraging me to concentrate on my work in spite of her failing health. In most cases she had to suppress the seriousness of her deteriorating health in order to free my mind from the tension her poor health created. To both of them I extend my sincerest thanks.

DEDICATION

This work is sincerely dedicated to my late father, Swana-Mileji Chingumbe Chimbinga whose brave action as a youthful mukamanda (court attendant), of publicly flogging two Portuguese-sent tax collectors on the Zambian soil set in motion the train of tax resistance among the Luvale, Mbalango and Mbunda of chief Kasabi; also to my late grand-father, Ngambela Mwanga-Chifula Mubila, under whose Premiership and patriotic advice, Mwangana (chief) Kasabi Ka Chikanda, on behalf of his Luvale, Mbalango and Mbunda subjects sacrificed his royal dignity for humiliation and imprisonment at the cruel hands of Portuguese oppressors and British colonialists, respectively.

ABBREVIATIONS

BSA Co.:	British South African Company
CMML:	Christian Missions in Many Lands
LEA:	Local Education Authority
NAZ:	National Archives of Zambia
NRG:	Northern Rhodesia Government
OFM Cap.:	Order of Friar Missions of the Capuchins
PEMS:	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
RNLB:	Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau
SAGM:	South African General Mission
SDA:	Seventh Day Adventists.
UNIP:	United National Independence Party

CHANGED NAMES

NOTE: In this study colonial names are used interchangeably with those adopted in independent Zambia and her neighbours.

Old Name	New Name
Balovale	Zambezi
Barotse District	Western Province*
Barotseland	Western Province*
Barotse Province	Western Province*
Lealui	Mongu
Lukona	Kalabo
Mankoya	Kaoma
Nalolo	Senanga
Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Portuguese West Africa	Angola
Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe

*From 1911 to 1941 Barotse District, Barotseland and Barotse Province were used in reference to the present Western Province, including the present Zambezi District and most parts of Kabompo District.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Maps	xi
List of Plates	x
List of Abbreviations	vii
List of Old and New Names	viii
Glossary of Terms Used in This Study	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO: THE MUKANDA INSTITUTION IN THE WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD	20
CHAPTER THREE: THE MUKANDA INSTITUTION IN THE COLONIAL ERA, 1900-1963	53
CONCLUSION	99
APPENDICES	102
BIBLIOGRAPHY	111

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Likishi lya Chileya (Village Clown), a secular Likishi Character entertaining an Urban Audience ---------- page 32

Plate 2: Chikuza, a Ritual Likishi Performing with Tundanji/Vindanda (Initiates) in the Ritual Mukanda Dance known as Kuhunga to mark the closing of the Mukanda Institution ---------- page 45

Plate 3: Likishi lya Mwana-Pwevo (feminine character), a Professional Acrobat Performing for his Personal Economic Benefits ---------- page 66

LIST OF MAPS

MAP 1: Map of the Western and North-Western Provinces, showing Districts in which Mukanda Rites were Affected by Colonial Rule ----------page 15

MAP 2: Map of the Western and North-Western Provinces, showing the Limits of the Mukanda Institution During the Pre-Colonial Period, 1625-1899 ----------page 30

MAP 3: Map of Zambia, Showing Labour Routes Along Which the Mukanda and Professional Makishi Developed, 1900-1963 ----------page 62

MAP 4: Map of the Western and North-Western Provinces, Showing the Vakamulauko Ethnic Distribution, During the Colonial Period, 1900-1963 ----------page 64

MAP 5: Map of the Western and North-Western Provinces, showing the Main Hospitals Which Offered Circumcision Services During the Colonial Period, 1900-1963 ----------page 81

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY

chisolo = circumcision with a short uncelebrated confinement.

cilolo (plural, vilolo) = a Luvale term for a senior man or village headman.

funda = a collection of protective charms for a senior circumciser.

ji jita ja Ulamba (or Wars of Ulamba) = royal wars of pacification and raiding waged by Luvale chiefs against the Mbwela and the Lozi in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Jindamisa va-Mbwela = put the Mbwela to flight.

jita = (plural ji jita) = War

katokonganian = events which took place during the time when the Luunda polities occupied an area traditionally known as Katokonganyi.

Kayando = is used in reference to both endurance and perseverance.

Kuhunga = a ritual dance performed by initiates at the close of the mukanda rites.

Ku Kasa mihya = refers to the ritual dressing of a baby as performed among the subject people of this study.

Kukosa Chikula = refers to the ritual cleansing of the initiates which takes place after the healing rite. This signifies the passage of the initiates through childhood into adulthood.

Kulonda Shimba = is an esoteric term for the healing rite.

Kulonga = refers to the induction and indoctrination which the initiates undergo as well as the oath of secrecy which they take.

kupukula = ritual looting carried out mainly by makishi characters on the homesteads of relatives and friends of both the mukanda organizers and parents of the initiates.

kuteta mihya = is a euphemistic term for circumcision.

livu lya mbunda or Mbunda = refers to reddish fertile soil.

lutengo = smelting furnace used by traditional miners among the subject people of this study for separating metal from ore.

Luunda = refers to the Lunda rulers of the Mwata Yamvwa origin who came to rule the Chokwe, Luchazi, Luvale, Mbunda and others.

lwowa = an esotoric term for the mukanda ritual bornfire inside the mukanda lodge.

mahuvila = a Luvale name for the sweet beer prepared from formented bulrush millet.

makishi (singular likishi) = masked characters which in the past were solely used for mukanda rites.

masangu = a Luvale word for bulrush millet.

mashangu = a Mbunda word for bulrush millet.

Mewiko or Wiko = a Lozi collective term for the Chokwe, Luchazi, Luvale and Mbunda. However it contains derogatory connotations which make the people on whom it is used bitterly detest its use.

mbumbulu = a ritual place outside the village where initiates are permitted to meet old women and children from the villages. Women between puberty and the menopause are not permitted to visit the initiates at the mbumbulu.

mwanda = a highly organized training session held at the mukanda camp in the evenings.

mwene (plural Vimyene) = a Mbunda word for chief or king.

Nama Kungu = the current Luvale ruling clan in Angola, Zaire and Zambia.

Ngambela = after the chief, he is the most important person in society. He is the closest to the chief. He is the president of the court in the chief's royal village.

njamba (literary means elephant) = is a euphemistic term for the ritual bornfire inside the mukanda lodge.

Vakamulauko (Literary means people of the west) = a Luvale collective term for the Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda/Ndembu, Luvale, Mbunda, Mbundu, Nkangala and Yauma in Zambia.

Vimwata (singular mwata) a Mbunda term for senior men or village headmen.

Visangwa = a Mbunda name for the sweet beer prepared from fermented bulrush millet for feeding initiates.

Vumwene = a Mbunda word for chieftainship.

Wali = female initiation rites as practised among Vakamulauko.

Wangana = a Luvale word for chieftainship.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This work is a comparative study of change and continuity in the mukanda institution in the Western and North-Western provinces of Zambia. The institution is sometimes referred to as 'circumcision rites', 'circumcision ceremony', 'circumcision camp', and so on.[1] In this dissertation, the term 'mukanda institution' has been used in reference to the male initiation rites as practised by the vakamulauko (the Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale, Mbunda, Nkangala, Yauma, and others) in both Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia. These rites combine ritual circumcision, the training in social-economic and political matters and in aspects of reproduction and makishi (masked characters), who create an environment conducive for the achievement of the intended goals. Among the vakamulauko in both Provinces, the mukanda is one of the most important cultural heritages. The moral code of these people is collectively bound up with this institution; it symbolises inter-ethnic organization and co-operation. However, much of the existing literature on this topic centres on its practice in the North-Western Province of Zambia.

Several accounts and researches, mostly referring to the North-Western Province, have been undertaken on the mukanda institution in both the colonial and post-colonial periods. The most leading among those who have written on mukanda are: Max Gluckman, C.M.N. White, Victor Turner and Willie Mwondela.[2] Nevertheless, these studies have not exhausted the subject of this topic as much about the mukanda institution remains to be documented. Although these studies have made a valuable contribution to the topic in review, it is important to note that they have glaring limitations and deficiencies which need to be critically reviewed before a fair and undistorted picture of the mukanda institution can be portrayed. For example, the works of Gluckman, White and Turner are anthropological; hence they all analyse the mukanda institution in terms of 'typical rites de passage which follow the general pattern formulated by van Gennep'.[3] This is a serious limitation because by describing the institution as a typical rites de passage following one general pattern, these studies portray it as a static institution which has not been receptive to change. Through old anthropological analysis, these studies have also failed to draw a difference between mukanda as an institution on one hand, and circumcision on the other; the latter is merely one of the rites of the mukanda.

Such terms as we have shown above are preferred without realizing that the act of carnal circumcision on its own does not constitute the mukanda institution.

Another limitation of these studies is that they describe the mukanda in isolation from the social, economic and political developments among the people on whom it is practised. This is a serious limitation because as we have stated earlier, it implies a denial of the changes that have taken place in the institution, since the mukanda forms the core of the socio-economic and political values of these people. Like in any other society, 'a change in /the/ physical environment or more accurately, a change in the nature of their struggle, alter/ed/ their institution and hence their mode of life and thought. Their mode of life and thought ... in turn affect/ed/ their institution and general environment. A profound change in a people's economy, or in their dwelling place, through trade and migration, /would/ make people organise themselves differently to meet the new set of circumstances.'[5] In Africa the colonial period was a crucial one in terms of social, economic and political adaptations which enabled the colonized people to meet the prevailing circumstances. Owing to the limitations of isolating the mukanda institution from its practitioners, the studies in review give descriptions rather than explanations of the colonial contradictions. This makes it difficult for them to

reconcile their accounts. For instance, neither Gluckman nor White explains the contradictions in the policies of the British colonial administration as regards the authorization of the mukanda in some areas and not in others. As a result, the two writers differ on this point. 'In Barotseland', according to Gluckman, 'the permission of both British and Lozi authorities is sought before the rites /mukanda rites/ are held.'[6] In refuting Gluckman's assertion, White only states that 'in the district to which my notes refer the permission of the British authorities is never sought.'[7]

In addition to the collective weaknesses demonstrated in such literature, **each of these authors has individual limitations and deficiencies in his work.** We can cite a few examples in support of this statement. Let us begin with Gluckman. One of his major shortcomings stemmed from the language barrier which existed between him and the people; this made it difficult for him to have more than a superficial view of the subject he was studying.

Confessing this handicap, he wrote: 'I worked through Lozi /language/... but as I could not speak the Wiko languages, and was not resident among them long enough to observe the full background of family life, I appreciate that I have missed much of the symbolism of the rites.'[8] According to mukanda traditions, this was a serious breach of its ethics. Traditionally, all mukanda practitioners have detested discussing mukanda

rites in languages other than those of the vakamulauko. When discussing the rites in other languages, terms that are meant to mystify and glorify the mukanda institution have historically been employed so as not to give its correct picture. The same tactic has always been used when discussing these rites in the presence of women and uncircumcised youths in the vakamulauko societies. Gluckman may have been subjected to the same practice, firstly because he was a white man and secondly because he used Lozi, as the medium of communication. Hence he was mistaken in calling the two ritual fires (one inside and the other outside the mukanda lodge) *as male and female elephants*, respectively.[9] This shows Gluckman's lack of the inside knowledge of the mukanda institution. We have shown in Chapter Three how pressure on the mukanda during the colonial epoch led its practitioners in both Western and North-Western Provinces to adopt new terms when discussing these rites among women and uncircumcised youths in their respective societies. The use of such coded language was also meant to mount a psychological war against the disruptive forces of social change, by scaring away non-mukanda practitioners who held political power in the new traditional set up; hence the adoption of such terms as njamba (elephant) in reference to the ritual fire that was meant to

to warm tundanji/vindanda (male initiates). They did so because in these parts of Africa, tame elephants were not heard of, let alone an elephant that provided heat to keep human beings warm instead of fire. According to mukanda traditions, there were two major forms of coded language: the one used in the presence of non-mukanda practitioners, such as women and uncircumcised youths. This was meant to mystify the mukanda and to scare the non-mukanda practitioners. For example, women, uncircumcised youths and members of non-mukanda practising ethnic groups found it puzzling and scaring when they heard that instead of fire a male elephant provided heat from inside the mukanda lodge and a female elephant provided it from outside, because such mysteries could only be performed by people with great powers to control and command mystical forces. On the other hand, there were esoteric terms for these two ritual fires, used among the practitioners themselves. For instance, the inside fire was called lwowa (ritual bonfire) by all mukanda practitioners in Western and North-Western Provinces. Such terms were largely used among the initiated males, though they were also used in testing strangers who would claim to have undergone mukanda rites. The point of the mystification of the mukanda can be illustrated further by an excerpt from White, who had some inside knowledge

of the mukanda. He stated that 'the uncircumcised feel frightened and ask their elders whether the operation will be painful. They are told that no knife is used; candidates will be required to jump over a blazing fire or bush of Muvangwa (Paropsia brazzeana) and will then find their foreskins gone.'[10] This deeper understanding of the coded language is lacking in Gluckman's work.

Turner's work on mukanda contains one serious limitation: most of his work is based on the alleged model of the relatively self-contained, whole, integrated tribal society of the Ndembu. Although in his reference to the Ndembu society in general Turner states that 'considerable intermarriage took place with the simply organized Mbwela and Lukolwe people whom the first Ndembu had conquered (and that) later, Ovimbundu slave traders and Lwena and Chokwe raiders from Angola... completed the disintegration of these virtually isolated outposts of Mwantiyamvwa's empire,'[11] he fails to perceive this change in his work on the mukanda institution, which is based on the Ndembu society. He regards the Ndembu 'as a more or less isolated unit whose internal functioning including ritual, can be understood on the basis mainly of internal principles and dynamic human groups and individuals out of which this unit consists.'[12] This does not seem to be a correct analysis of the society in which Turner's work

is set. The Ndembu like any society in this area, were affected by many external forces, a factor which led to their interaction and social mingling with other ethnic groups. For instance, apart from the factor quoted above, the migration from Angola into Northern Rhodesia which occurred after 1920 as a result of 'the revolt in east Angola during the First World War ... and economic factors such as currency devaluation in Angola during the twenties and better economic opportunities /in Northern Rhodesia/ such as wage earnings,' affected the Ndembu society in Mwinilunga District to an appreciable degree, owing to the district's proximity to Angola.[13] Other important factors which affected the Ndembu society and its institutions, such as the mukanda institution included: the imposition of colonial rule, colonial political and economic policies, missionary activities, the introduction of western medicine and modern education. Hence by the close of 1963 when the colonial epoch was folding up, one could not talk of a pure Ndembu society. The Ndembu and all their institutions (i.e. the mukanda) had by then successfully adapted themselves to the new circumstances. In this context, research should aim at analysing change and continuity on a given topic.

Among these writers, no one has produced as much work on the vakamulauko group (collectively called Luvale) to the extent that White has. However, White's major weakness in analysing the mukanda institution lies in the fact that

he does not do so in the light of the social, economic and political developments of the area he is studying. This makes it difficult for him to periodize change in the mukanda institution from the pre-colonial days up to the last days of the colonial epoch, the period in which his work is set. For instance, in his: 'An outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization' and 'The Preliminary Survey of Luvale Rural Economy,' he ably analyses the social, political and economic developments which took place among the vakamulauko in the two provinces under study, but he treats these developments as separate from the mukanda institution, which he deals with in separate articles entitled: 'Notes on the Circumcision Rites of the Balovale Tribes,' and 'Elements in Luvale Beliefs and Rituals'.[13*]

Secondly, being one of the colonial administrators, White attempts to show the impact of missionary work on the mukanda institution, while he avoids to discuss the impact of the colonial order such as hut tax, migrant and forced labour and African resettlement on the institution. In Chapter Three we have attempted to show the impact of colonial rule on the mukanda institution. We have argued that the colonial economic and political policies were responsible for the expansion of the mukanda to all parts of the present Western Province. They also played an important role in sustaining the continuity of the institution both in the Western and

North-Western Provinces. It is largely these limitations which this study sets to correct, in an attempt to write a fair account of the mukanda institution.

Even Mwondela's analysis of this topic contains certain weaknesses. Perhaps, his major weakness lies in his denial of the religious significance of the mukanda. He writes: 'The circumcision tradition had no religious significance but it marked a boy's entry into adult life.'[14] Mukanda rites had always contained a religious perspective. For instance, the withdrawal of the youth from their societies to undergo instruction away from home and to emerge back as new people was in relgious terms 'a symbolic experience of dying, living in the spiritual world and being born (resurrected).'[15] As we shall see in Chapter Two, it was through the mukanda institution that the vakamulauko expressed their social (religion included), economic and political thoughts.

Mwondela's study is basically a comparison of traditional education with modern education. In this way, he portrays the mukanda institution as a static educational institution in the traditional society, from which he expects the modern educational system to borrow. In his conclusion Mwondela states that 'the tradition of mukanda can still be of use and relevance to Zambia.... An adaptation could therefore be of as great a benefit to the country in the future as was the traditional

system'.[16] In his apparent attempt to describe the institution as an integral part of the Luvale socio-economic and political development, he ends up integrating unrelated subjects such as Luvale history, the mukanda institution, Wali (female initiation rites) and the traditional views of what constitutes an ideal man and woman. This type of analysis does not accommodate the social changes which have taken place in the institution since the spread of Western culture in Africa, changes which according to our analysis have facilitated the continuity of the institution.

More serious than the foregoing limitations in analysis has been the lack of chronology in the existing studies. Chronology is the essence of historical analysis; thus its absence in a given study makes it static. The lack of chronology in these studies has even made it difficult for us to appreciate the social changes that have taken place in the mukanda institution, thus making it more difficult for us to realize how through adaptation to the new situation the institution has sustained its continuity over time.

These limitations in the existing literature have distorted the picture of the mukanda institution. By a comparative study of the mukanda institution in Western and North-Western Provinces, this work attempts to examine the process of social change in the institution and to explain the reasons for its continuity during the

colonial era. In order to do this, it has been found necessary to begin our study from the pre-colonial period. This approach enables us to examine the mukanda in time and space (i.e. to appreciate how it adapted itself to colonial circumstances). It is in the context of change that we can also appreciate how the institution sustained its continuity under the pressure of disruptive forces of cultural erosion. We thus attempt to analyse the nature of interaction between the mukanda institution and the forces of social change in the light of its practitioners' social, economic and political developments on the one hand, and the colonial economic and political demands (hut tax, migrant labour and African resettlement), missionary attitudes, western medicine and modern education on the other. This analysis entails the assessment of the impact of these forces on the mukanda institution in both Western and Northern-Western Provinces in the period under study.

In line with our preceding approach, this study attempts to assess the impact of the forces of social change on the institution in the light of the social, economic and political developments among the vakamulauko in both the Western and North-Western Provinces. This approach is necessitated by the fact that the changes which took place in these spheres determined both the changes in the mukanda institution and the course which it took in sustaining its continuity during the colonial epoch.

Data Collection

The data on which this dissertation is based were derived from three main sources. The first part of data collection which included published secondary sources, such as books, articles, journals and official reports was in the University of Zambia Library. This literature formed the preliminary reading on the topic and was important in presenting the popular image of mukanda as it is known today. These sources were also important in that they included published literature from which our critique started. For comparison with oral evidence, these sources were invaluable.

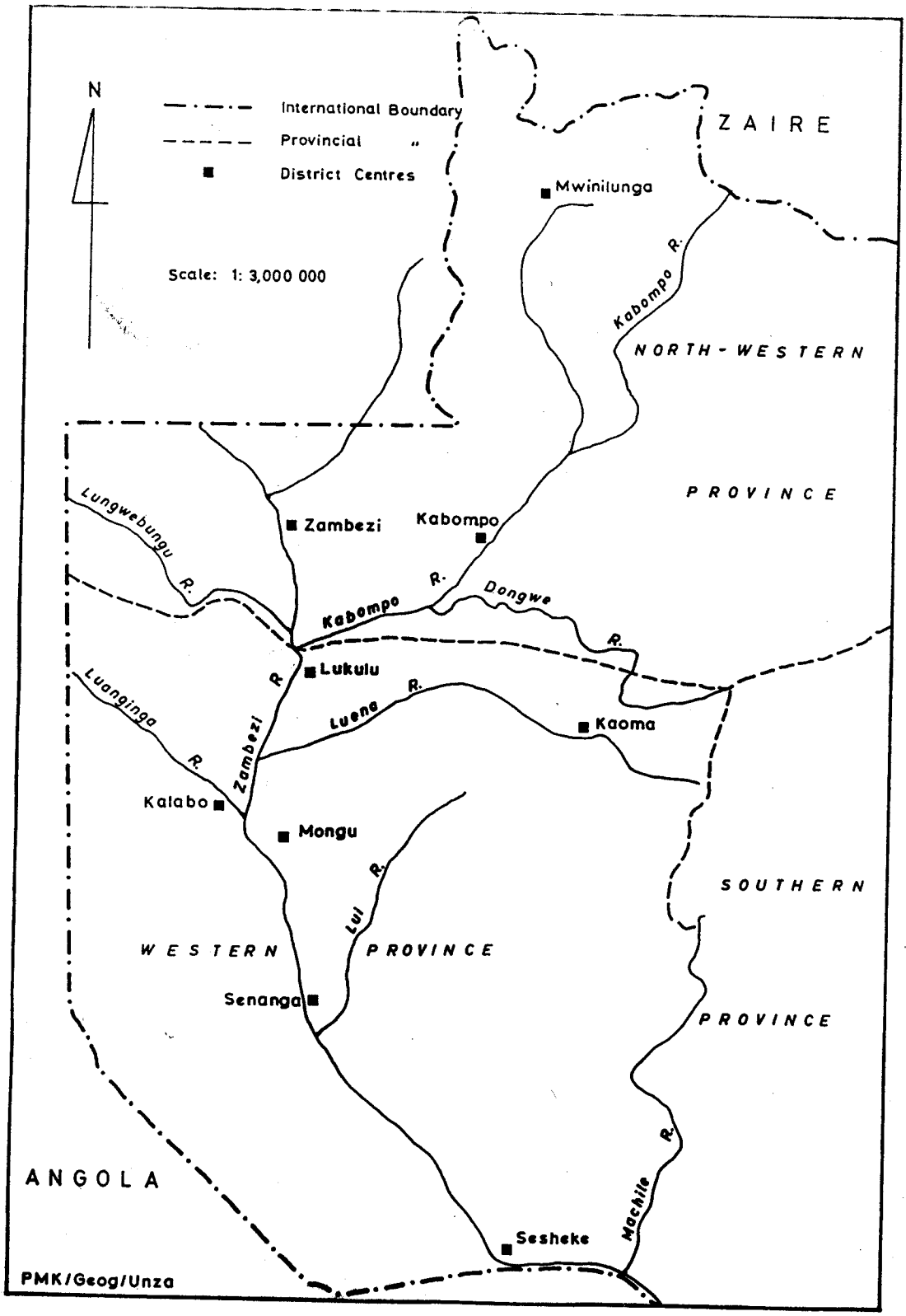
The second part of data collection was in the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), where various District Note Books and Secretariat Files, dealing with the activities of the Capuchin Fathers, Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), South African General Mission (SAGM), British South African Company (BSA Co.) Administration and Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG), were consulted. Archival documents were important firstly, as a primary source and secondly in providing the colonial and missionary perspective on the mukanda institution. These data enriched those from secondary sources.

The third part constituted field-work which entailed a number of tours in Western, North-Western and Lusaka Provinces to interview various people with various experiences on the mukanda institution. *Interviews were* conducted in Kalabo, Kaoma, Lukulu, Mongu, Kabompo, Solwezi, Zambezi and Lusaka districts. These took the form of personal discussions with such people as vikeji (circumcisers), ritual makishi dancers, educationists, modern medical personnel, and so on. In Western Province, interviews were conducted in Luvale and Mbunda; in the North-Western Province only Luvale was employed, while in Lusaka they were conducted mainly in Luvale and Mbunda, these being the main languages among the mukanda practitioners in the geographical setting of our study, with the exception of Mwinilunga which, as we have shown in the course of this study, presented a unique case during the colonial era. By accident of birth, the researcher happened to speak both Luvale and Mbunda fluently. The researcher had another advantage of being an insider in the matters concerning the practice of mukanda.

Geographical Setting

Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia in this study comprise the territory variously known as 'Barotse district', 'Barotseland' and 'Barotse Province' between 1900 and 1941, as well as Mwinilunga District.[17]

MAP 1 WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN **PROVINCES** SHOWING DISTRICTS IN WHICH MUKANDA RITES WERE AFFECTED BY COLONIAL RULE



This dissertation is divided into three chapters. The second chapter looks at the mukanda institution in Western and North-Western Provinces during the pre-colonial era, by tracing the origins of the institution and its historical development in the two provinces. It ends with an analysis of how the mukanda institution was organized in the two provinces before colonial change - economic and political policies, missionary activities, Western medicine and modern education - came to disrupt the mukanda status quo. We have also demonstrated how mukanda was related to production, social and political organization. Chapter Three looks at the mukanda institution during colonial rule and assesses the impact of colonial social change on the institution. In particular, we examine certain aspects of the mukanda which were affected by this change and explain how the institution through adaptation to the prevailing circumstances, managed to sustain its own continuity so that by 1963, at the close of the colonial epoch, the mukanda institution was still relevant to the vakamulauko. The dissertation ends with a conclusion which recapitulates the major points discussed in this study.

NOTES:

1. See C.M.N. White, 'Notes on the Circumcision Rites of the Balovale Tribes,' African Studies, 12(1953), 41-56.

   See also, J.T. Brown, 'Circumcision Rites of the Becwana Tribes,' Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 51(1921), 419.

   Max Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes in Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies', in M. Fortes (ed.), Social Structure (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 145-67; C.P. Holdredge and K. Young, 'Circumcision Rites Among the Bajok,' American Anthropologist, 29 (1927), 166; Victor Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 151.

2. See Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes'; White, 'Notes on the circumcision'; C.M.N. White, 'Elements in Luvale Beliefs and Rituals,' The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 8(1961), 1-74; Turner, The Forest of Symbols, Chapter 7; W.R. Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi: Traditional Education in North-Western Zambia (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1970).

3. See Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes', 145.

   See also, White, 'Notes on the Circumcision', 41; Turner, The Forest of Symbols, p. 152; Arnold van Gennep, The Rite of Passage (Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), Chapter 7.

4. R.J. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi: A History of the Luvale People, 1000-1900', Ph.D Thesis (University of California - Los Angeles, 1978), 175.

5. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Home Coming: Essays on African and Carribbean Literature, Culture and Politics (London: Heinemann, 1972), pp. 4-5.

6. White, 'Notes on the Circumcision', 45.

   See also, Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes', 153.

7. White, 'Notes on the Circumcision', 45.

8. Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes', 146.

9. Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes', 148.

10. White, 'Elements in Luvale Beliefs', 1.

11. Turner, The Forest of Symbols, pp. 2-3.

12. Wim M.J. van Binsberger, 'Ritual, Class and Urban-Rural Relations: Elements for a Zambian Case Study,' Anthropological - Sociologisch Centrum (The University of Amsterdam Seminar Paper, April, 1975), 3.

13. C.M.N. White, 'An Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization', The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 30(1960), 3.

14. Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 6.

15. J.S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy (London: Heinemann, 1969), p. 121.

16. Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 58.

17. See C.M. Milimo, 'Relations Between the Lozi, the Subject Tribes,and the Colonial Administration, 1890-1941', Ph.D. Thesis (Oxford University, 1981), 83.

13* See White page 117 of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MUKANDA INSTITUTION DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

This chapter attempts to reconstruct a history of the mukanda institution during the pre-colonial period. We first begin by examining the origins of the institution, then assess its historical development in both the Western and North-Western Provinces. The last part deals with the way the institution was organized during the pre-colonial days.

In a fusion of religious, educational, economic, political and cultural ideals and aspirations, the vakamulauko in the Western and North-Western Zambia developed the mukanda institution. Basically, the mukanda comprises three firmly integrated asoects: circumcision, training and makishi.

The Origins of the Mukanda Institution

From both oral traditions and written sources we learn *that the origins of the mukanda institution in the* geographical setting of this study was linked to the development of the vakamulauko's current royal houses or chieftainships. According to R.J. Papstein, 'the distribution of mukanda indicates that its origin /was/ *among the musumban polities ... where it was associated* with chieftainship and broader complex of fertile symbols linked to both land and lineage.'[1] His argument that the mukanda may have developed between the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries seems to be corroborated by oral evidence. In Papstein's view, 'one of the most important periods in the development and elaboration of mukanda took place during the ... period, c. 1525-1625'.[2] This period is very important in the historical development of the chieftainships among which the institution in both the Western and North-Western Provinces emerged. It seems likely that this is also the period when the variant of the mukanda institution that reached these two provinces developed. This can be deduced from two factors. To begin with, both Papstein and White state that during that period, 'the /Vakamulauko/ *Luvale, Chokwe, Luchazi, Mbunda, Ndembu/Lunda, were in close physical proximity*'.[3] *Secondly, the prevailing* oral traditions in this region trace the founding of their respective royal houses, wangana/vumwene in both the Western and North-Western Provinces to this period. In both Provinces these people trace their respective royal houses from three Kings: Chinguli cha Konde, Chinyama cha Mukwamayi and Ndonji ya Konde, who were all sons of Konde Muteti, said to have been the founding father of the Mwanta Yamvwa dynast.[4] It seems these three kings brought with them the mukanda of the Katokonganian period from Luundaor Lunda empire between c. 1525-1625.

However, the bulk of our data indicates that the mukanda institution reached our geographical area of study between 1716 and 1746. Let us briefly consider some evidence from both oral and written sources. Oral traditions give two versions of the origin of the mukanda institution. One is a Mbunda tradition from the Western Province and the other is a Luvale tradition from the North-Western Province. The Mbunda tradition still vividly recalls how the mukanda institution opened the way for the founding of the vumwene (Mbunda chieftainship). According to this tradition, the institution was introduced among the Mbunda by a man only remembered as Kamenga, a trader who dealt in iron products. Kamenga is said to have strayed on a mukanda camp during one of his trade missions mu Mbwela (in the east) of Mbunda territory in North-Eastern Angola. It is said that he was betrayed to the mukanda camp by the apparent similarity of the camp to a Lutengo (iron smelting) camp. He was seized by mukanda attendants and took him before the chiefs, who charged him with trespassing; instead of giving him an option for a fine, they circumcised him. During his stay at the Luunda mukanda, Kamenga was initiated in the secrets of the royal institution. For his part, Kamenga told his captors about the beautiful fertile red soil (livu lya mbunda) of the land he came from. The chiefs found Kamenga's stories so fascinating that when the mukanda rites came to a close, they released and sent him back as an

emisary to propagate among his people, the wisdom he acquired from the mukanda secrets. The Mbunda people are said to have been so thrilled by Kamenga's propaganda that they all desired to have the rite performed on them. In a short time they invited the Luunda chiefs to teach them mukanda secrets. For some unexplained reasons Kamenga's role in bringing the mukanda to the Mbunda was later detested by the Mbunda themselves. Hence Kamenga is still cursed in the following age old mukanda song:

Kamenga!	Kamenga!
Waya mu Mbwela, Mwaka eja-a-a	Who went East, when he came back,
Na Kaita ku lishushilo lya vindanda	He passed by the initiates' ritual urinal
Mutukeni!	Curse him!
Nyo-o-o-o! Mwaka eja-a-a	To hell! When he comes back
Na Vindanda na Vilombola!	Both initiates and attendants!
Mwaka eja-a-a	When he comes back.[5]

The Mbunda tradition is complemented by the Luvale one from the North-Western Province, in as far as the foreign origin of the mukanda among its current practitioners is concerned. According to the Luvale, the mukanda was introduced by two hunters, Saluseke lwa Ngunga and his nephew Sanama Kabaze. The two hunters are said to have been sent by an unnamed Lwena chief to get animal blood for a ritual treatment of his junior wife. These hunters went

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to a well known hunting ground along a certain Mayanda river in the North-Eastern Angola. While at Mayanda, the two hunters decided to go in different directions. Saluseke went west while Sanama went east. While hunting, Sanama was attacked by a tiger which is said to have only cut off the foreskin of his penis. When he came back to the camp, Sanama told his uncle the story of his misfortune. After applying herbal treatment to his nephew's wound, Saluseke was fascinated with the results. This prompted him to request his nephew to circumcise him as well before they went back home. At home, the chief who was equally attracted to the results of circumcision, also requested to be circumcised. The two hunters and the chief left the village for a hunting mission mungongo (in the jungle) where they set up a chisolo (circumcision with simple uncelebrated confinement) camp for the chief. When they returned home, the chief called a meeting of the members of the aristocracy. He narrated his own experience and that of Saluseke and Sanama and later requested for their opinion. All the members of the aristocracy are said to have unanimously demanded a mandatory mukanda for all men in the territory, starting with the members of the royal family. According to this tradition, when the mukafunda (the mukanda chief consultant) evokes the founding ancestors he recites the following ritual poem:

Saluseke lwa Ngunga!	Saluseke son of Ngunga!
Sanama Kabaze!	Sanama Kabaze!
Kolo mapepa! Pepa!	Bless them (initiates)! Bless them!
Saluseke lwa Ngunga!	Saluseke son of Ngunga!
Sanama Kabaze	Sanama Kabaze!
Kolo malyana! Lyana!	Let them be executed (circumcised)! Execute!
Mukanda-e-e-e!	Mukanda!
Wa fuma ha Mayanda!	Originates from Mayanda river.[6]

Although the Luvale tradition is surrounded by myth, its significance is that it reinforces the Mbunda tradition in demonstrating the foreign origin of the mukanda institution. Both traditions also assert that knowledge of the mukanda originated from the east of the Luvale and Mbunda's respective territories. This is the explanation which Papstein also agrees with. He observes that 'this is the area in which the Nama Kungu /current Luvale ruling dynasty/ encountered their first real resistance, first in the Mwinilunga area which prevented eastward expansion and later as they moved into the coveted rich red soil area (mbunda),' where according to the Mbunda tradition, Kamenga came from.[7]

At the beginning of this chapter we placed the development of the mukanda in the geographical setting of the study between 1716 and 1746. This seems to be consistent with Papstein's periodization. According to Papstein, it was

during this period that Chinyama cha Ngambo, the Nama Kungu incumbent of that time, 'forced all Mbwela males to pass through the ceremony /mukanda/ thereby signifying social (but not political) equality'.[8] This evidence suggests that the mukanda institution as practised among the Vakamulauko in both the Western and North-Western Provinces, was already in existence among the three Luunda Kings mentioned earlier and their royal descendants by the eighteenth century.

The Historical Development of the Mukanda Institution

The mukanda developed in the two provinces of our study at different times. This difference in time seems to arise from the historical background of the institution in each of the two provinces. In the present Western Province, the mukanda penetrated the area from two directions, each under similar influence but different ethnic chieftainships. The first penetration in the area was associated with the expansion of the Nama Kungu influence. This brought the mukanda institution to the present Zambezi and Kabompo districts of the North-Western Province in the eighteenth century after the conquest of the Mbwela, Mbalango, Mbunda and Ndundu.[9] As we have demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, this seems to have been the time the Nama Kungu dynasty forced all the Mbwela males to participate in the mukanda rites. This mandate was given to the Mbwela for political reasons. According

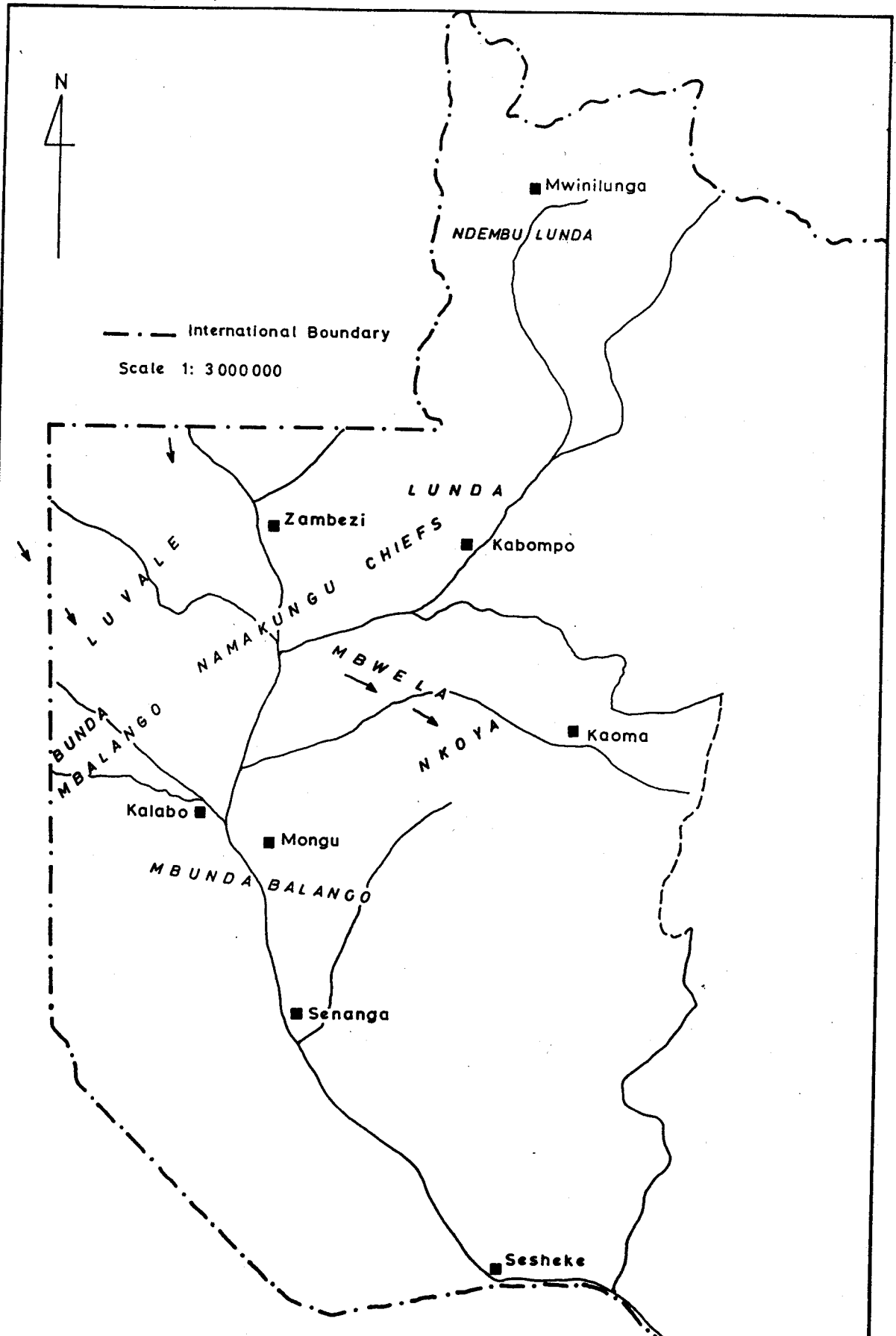
to Papstein, 'the entrance of the Mbwela into the mukanda tradition may signify the quid pro quo granted for their support in resuscitating the Chinyama title. So as not to destroy the prerogative of the vamyangana (chiefs), the special nama Kungu form of mukanda was developed as a response to Mbwela participation.'[10]

It seems not all the Mbwela were satisfied with the rule of the Nama Kungu dynasty. This dissatisfaction seemingly led the Nama Kungu dynasty into taking punitive measures against the Mbwela. During the kingships of Chinyama cha Ngambo and his nephew Kayombo ka Kutemba, Nama Kungu chiefs waged wars of pacification, traditionally known as Jijita ja Ulamba against the Mbwela who 'lived along the Kabombo /Kabompo/, Manyinga, Zambezi and Lungevungu ... rivers.'[11] Fleeing from these ulamba wars, the Nkoya (Mbwela) of the present Lukulu and Kaoma districts took with them the mukanda tradition modelled on the Nama Kungu practice.[12] The fleeing Mbwela were hotly pursued by Kayombo who ended up raiding the Lozi in the eighteenth century. It is these raids on the Lozi which earned Kayombo 'the name jindamisa vambwela (the one who puts the Mbwela to flight).'[13] The ulamba wars helped to consolidate the mukanda institution among the Mbalango, Mbunda, Ndundu and Mbwela (whose descendants together with the Lwena and the Nama Kungu successfully founded the present Luvale ethnic group) in the present Western

Appendix I).[15] Also, unlike in the North-Western Province and the northern parts of the present Western Province where the Nama Kungu ruling dynasty used the mukanda institution as a mechanism of acculturation and assimilation of previously acephalous ethnic groups into the Luvale ethnic group, the role of the mukanda institution during the second phase in the Western Province was different. This should be looked at from the point of view of the relationship which developed between the Luyana ruling dynasty as hosts and the practitioners of the mukanda, the vakamulauko royal houses of the Mbalango and Mbunda, who were guests of the former. To understand this development, it is important to have a brief look at the historical background of the second phase of the mukanda institution in the Western Province.

According to Mbalango and Mbunda traditions, the mukanda institution of the second phase in the present Western Province was introduced by Mwene (chief) Mundu Chingumbe.[16] Chingumbe was invited (from Angola) to Western Province by the tenth Litunga of Bulozi (Western Province), Mulambwa Santulu, in the eighteenth century.[17] Mulambwa is said to have been in dire need of a powerful medicine man and skilled diviner to avert the Luvale raids from the north and those of the Nkoya from the east.[18] Tradition maintains that Mulambwa invited Chingumbe after the accidental death of Mwana Uta (Prince) Kapalu, a

MAP 2: WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN PROVINCES SHOWING LIMITS OF THE MUKANDA INSTITUTION DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD, 1625-1899



powerful Luvale medicineman, whom Mulambwa had earlier invited to make medicine for him.[19] This invitation consequently bred the Luyana-Mbunda alliance, an alliance which was later reinforced by the migration into Bulozi of Mwene Kandala Viemba and Mwene Chiyengele Chiteta (who followed the former). The three chiefs from Angola brought with them mukanda rites into Bulozi, with the consent of their host and ally, Mulambwa. At first the Mbalango and Mbunda chiefs confined their mukanda rites to the present Kalabo District, where they settled. When later, Mulambwa requested Mwene Kandala Mukupu (successor to Viemba) and Chiteta to settle in Mabumbu and Nañoko, respectively, these chiefs introduced mukanda rites in the present Mongu District[20] (see Map II). However, the mukanda rites introduced by the three chiefs in the Western Province does not seem to have lasted very long. There were two basic reasons for this. The first reason is that Mwene Chiyengele and Mwene Kandala came to sacrifice the institution at the altar of militarism. They were so involved in fighting Mulambwa's wars that in some sources, they are described as mercenaries fighting Mulambwa's wars against the Luvale and Nkoya for rewards.[21] This new commitment robbed these people of men who could run the mukanda rites, since most able-bodied men were committed to military campaigns.

Likishi lya Chileya (village clown/secular likishi) developed in the Western Province of Zambia in the 19th century in response to people's desire for entertainment. When the Mbalango and Mbunda migrated to Bulozi (Western Province) during the reign of King Mulambwa Santulu, they got so much involved in Luyana wars and politics that they had no time to organize mukanda rites. However, since makishi for mukanda rites provided entertainment to the public, the Mbalango and Mbunda who had come to be known as Mbunda-shamuka abandoned mukanda rites but retained makishi for entertainment. When Emil Holub visited King Sipopa in the 1860s, he found that at least two secular makishi in Sipopa's custody which were regarded as royal property. By the end of the colonial epoch, secular makishi were performing in almost all administrative centres in Western and North-Western Zambia as well as urban centres of the country.

Photo Source: Zambia Information Service

Secondly, the invasion of the Western Province by the Makololo in about 1840 left little scope for organizing the pre-Makololo institutions.[22] During this period, Mwene Mundu Kalomo, Chingumbe's successor, is said to have fled to Kisangai in Angola,[23] while Mwene Chiyengele and Mwene Kandala together with some Lozi princes fled to Lukwakwa, in the Manyinga area of the Kabompo District.[24] This dispersion disrupted the variant of mukanda institution from Angola.

However, the wind of change in the political development of the Western Province during the second half of the nineteenth century helped in the reintroduction of the earlier near-extinct mukanda institution in the region. This change came about when Kololo rule was overthrown from Bulozi in 1864.[25] When he visited Bulozi in the 1870s, Emil Holub observed that 'in the Marotse /Lozi/ Kingdom I have heard nothing about the detested circumcision rite which is customary among the Betschuana and the Zulu.'[26] This observation was wrong because the institution was already re-established. According to traditions, Mwangana (chief) Kasabi ka Chikanda (as he is usually referred to in traditions), re-established the mukanda institution in the 1860s when he moved from the Nama Kungu-ruled territory to occupy 'the strip of country between the Upper Nyengo and Upper Lwanginga.'[27]

Another version of the tradition asserts that after the combined forces of the Mbunda and Lozi successfully rooted out Kololo rule from the Western Province, Mwene Mundu Kaumba returned from Angola during Lewanika's reign, in the 1880s. Under the long established Mbunda-Lozi alliance, Kaumba sought Lewanika's consent to celebrate his return from Angola with the holding of the mukanda rites which he re-adopted during his stay in Angola. Lewanika is said to have willingly consented to Kaumba's request not only to hold that particular mukanda but the subsequent mukanda rites throughout his kingdom. In Lozi customary law, the consent of the Litunga to any issue was by itself law which no subject had the right to question.[28]

Before we proceed to show how the mukanda was organized during the pre-colonial days, we would like to point out here that the differences in the historical development of the mukanda in the Western and North-Western Province only led to differences in ritual detail which according to Peter Just were 'accidents not of substance.'[29]

Organization of the Mukanda Institution in Pre-colonial Times.

In discussing the organization of the mukanda in Pre-colonial times, it is important to place the discussion in the context of our definition of the mukanda institution. Earlier in this chapter we stated

that in a fusion of religious, educational, economic, political and cultural ideals and aspirations, the vakamulauko in both the Western and North-Western Provinces developed the mukanda institution to comprise three firmly integrated aspects: circumcision, training and makishi (masked characters). In the light of this statement, we can see that before the colonial era, these people's ideals and aspirations were to a very great extent governed by the mukanda institution with its aspects of circumcision, training and makishi characters, all of which were designed to fulfil these objectives.

In the organization of a mukanda, the institution opened with ritual circumcision of tundanji/vindanda (initiates). In the Western Province, parents from different ethnic groups with boys who had reached the mukanda age (in most cases those approaching puberty, brought their children together to undergo a joint mukanda session. The major objective was to inculcate identical norms, values and expectations of previously heterogeneous communities of mukanda practising ethnic groups into these young adults. From this point of view the mukanda served as a focus of integration and social control. Similarly, ritual circumcision in the North-Western Province was used for incorporating, controlling and maintaining the integrated society,

particularly following the creation of the Nama Kungu dynasty. Like in other societies where ritual circumcision formed part of the youths' initiation process, the cutting of the foreskin from the penis symbolized and dramatized the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. Hence the ritual term Kuteta mihya (to cut belts) was used in reference to circumcision; this also indicated the removal of the ritual dressing, kukasa mihya (to tie belts) which everyone among vakamulauko was expected to undergo as a baby before they were presented to the public.[30] The significance of circumcision in the societies practising it, is also recognised by John Mbiti: 'So long as a man /was/ not initiated /circumcised/ he /could not/ get married and he /was/ not supposed to produce or bear children.'[31] The uncircumcised adults were in addition to the above, not allowed access to knowledge imparted through the mukanda institution. These ideals were implemented through strong social sanctions. An example of such sanctions was the one imposed on marriage in both the Western and North-Western Provinces among the vakamulauko. During his research, White commented on the marriage sanctions among the Luvale people. He stated that 'there was in the past little choice permitted spouses to exercise freedom of choice outside the wishes of their matrilineages...'[32] Such

sanctions were a means of making it very difficult for non-*mukanda* practising ethnic groups to marry among those w practised it. This is why the *vakamulauko* traditions in the Western Province maintained that after the re-establishment of the *mukanda* institutions, the practitioners of the rites jealously maintained this sanction. Consequently, marriage was turned into a closed system, which precluded members of non-*mukanda* practising ethnic groups to marry among them.[33] It seems Gluckman was not aware of this situation when he commented about marriage in the Western Province during the 1950s. He wrote that 'the Barotse nation... had always consisted of many different tribes... /adding that/ these tribes have inter-married considerably and nowhere has this been more marked than among the Lozi themselves... the *Wiko* /Luvale, Mbunda and others/ are the only people whom the /Lozi/ are reluctant to marry.'[34]

Once circumcised, *tundanji/vindanda* were introduced to new knowledge which in this geographical area was only accessible through the *mukanda* institution. However, while *mukanda* knowledge was basically meant to introduce *tundanji/vindanda* to new life, it was also meant to help circumcised youths and young men to learn new skills which they were not exposed to before their experience at *mukanda*. For instance, they learnt how to construct *makishi* masks and costumes and also how to tend and treat *tundanji/vindanda*.

Since the mukanda training was designed in accordance with the vakamulauko's modes of production and reproduction, the training 'took place when a youth was considered old enough to marry and live a responsible adult life, and considered mature enough to understand the importance of the rites and to keep the secrets.'[35] For this reason, those youths who were considered immature were not entered into mukanda.

According to traditions in both the Western and North-Western Provinces, mukanda training was in four categories. These were: endurance, perseverance and obedience; thanks-giving; indoctrination and production. According to our data, the first three categories continued to be conducted well into the twentieth-century. The fourth and the most important one declined when the elements of cultural erosion which came in the wake of colonialism entered traditional societies. The first category was aimed at cultivating a high degree of endurance, the ability to withstand pain and suffering in life and to inculcate a high sense of obedience in tundanji/vindanda. Endurance of both physical and emotional pain, perseverance in the face of difficulties and obedience to one's elders were great virtues meant to prepare the initiates to withstand hardships (i.e. protection against wild beasts as well as human enemies).

If captured by slavers, a person who had undergone the mukanda rites was expected to stand the physical discomfort and emotional humiliation to which a slave was subjected. The purpose was not to lose dignity before one's captors and masters. In both the Western and North-Western Province slavery was functionally abolished in 1906.[36] For these and other reasons, every initiate (except members of the royal houses), was exposed to kayando (physical and emotional pain), so as to harden his life in order to face the world as a man of courage and composure.

The second category of mukanda lessons was religious in nature, related to prayers of thanksgiving. It was mandatory for all tundanji/vindanda to be thankful for whatever they received from individuals, the community and even from nature. They sang songs of thanksgiving for the firewood, food and other services they received as alms from individuals and the community during the period of their confinement. They also thanked the sun for providing light during the day and warmth during the cold season when the mukanda opened.

The third category of mukanda lessons, according to traditions, was conducted through mwanda (highly organized evening teaching sessions). During mwanda, the initiates were entertained through songs and dances performed by circumcised men and youths; they were also

expected to take part in the singing. At intervals, experts in sex education conducted their lessons through dance drama, recitals and songs. Prior to their entry into mukanda, the youths listened to stories which emphasized social distance between mature women and uncircumcised males. Mwanda lessons bridged this social distance and brought the initiates into the real world of man-woman relationship, where they were expected to become husbands and fathers. In a fusion of religion and education, the initiates took an oath of secrecy (kulonga) during intervals in the mwanda sessions. Under this oath an initiate was expected never to divulge the secrets of the mukanda to uncircumcised males or to women. Following the mwanda sessions were informal sessions during the day when circumcised youths learned to improve on their skills in drumming, singing and makishi dancing. The different beats, rhythms and dancing steps which went with the drumming, clapping, singing and dancing during makishi performances were an integrated and inextricable part of mukanda secrets, which had to be learned only at the mukanda camp.

The fourth category of mukanda lessons was conducted after the kulonda shimba (healing rite) and the ceremony of kukosa chikula (washing away the taboos of growing up rite). This was the period of practical training which

prepared the initiates in basic skills for self-reliance within the subsistence economies of their respective societies. Available written evidence suggests that the mukanda practitioners were very dependent on nature for their provisions.[37] This agrees with the Luvale and Mbunda traditions which indicate that the training in basic skills of production was based on what White calls the 'collecting economy.' The collecting economy which White describes among the Luvale seems to have been elaborate: 'Luvale consciousness of the characteristics of the environment in which they live is shown in many ways. They are good naturalists and botanists, turning this knowledge to effective use in the collecting of animals, insects and fruit. The catching of animals, birds and fishes calls for a considerable knowledge of their habitat, habitat preferences and animal ecology. This highly developed collecting economy played an important part in Luvale life in the past.'[38] These skills called for organized training which among the vakamulauko during the nineteenth century reached the peak during the mukanda institution. Training of the initiates called for skilled manpower of able-bodied men. This is one of the reasons why the mukanda tradition collapsed in the Western Province during the eighteenth century when most able-bodied men among the Mbalango and Mbunda were pre-occupied with Mulambwa's

wars against the Luvale and the Nkoya. In order for the initiates to acquire such considerable knowledge in the habitat and ecological preferences of animals, birds, fishes and insects, the pre-colonial mukanda institution in both provinces (according to traditions), used to run uninterrupted for a year or two. Such extended periods were necessary in conducting the lessons during the right seasons and conducive weather for the availability of different animal, bird, fish and insect species. In this way the mukanda was directly related to production.

The value of mukanda training was enhanced by the presence of makishi (mask) characters at every camp. According to oral traditions, the historical development of makishi was rooted in the people's religious and cultural ideals. The vakamulauko, regardless of where they lived had a very strong belief in vakulu (spirits of the ancestors). The significance of spirit worship among the Luvale is also corroborated by White: 'the spirits of the ancestors of a lineage... /were/ in traditional Luvale beliefs regarded as forming an essential continuum with living lineage members, and their names /were/ remembered at invocations to them not merely as remembering the dead, but as providing a genealogical validation of the lineage in depth.'[39] In accordance with these beliefs, tradition accorded the royal makishi characters the status of symbolic

representatives of the ancestors of the vakamulauko's respective royal houses, while the ordinary makishi characters were accorded the status of symbolic representatives of the dead relatives of individual tundanji/vindanda. In this sense, the ritual makishi for a mukanda became the guardians of the institutions and all its activities. The makishi characters themselves had multi-faceted roles.

First, in a fusion of religion and education, makishi helped to create conducive learning conditions, different from those obtaining in the village for tundanji/vindanda. Their regalia was meant to condition the initiates to the new and serious environment of the mukanda institution. Although the new environment was created for the purpose of conducting the business, of the mukanda, it was also meant to entertain tundanji/vindanda. At the same time the initiates were taught the seriousness of the institution by using the makishi for tasks normally carried out by human beings in an ordinary community.[40] During the life of the mukanda, for example, makishi were used in running muwakala (the errands concerning appointments of makishi performances in given localities).

According to traditions, the presence of makishi at the mukanda camp was also vital in the security aspects of the institution. The makishi acted as a police unit of the mukanda institution. They were

responsible for controlling the movements of tundanji/vindanda as well as checking the movements of uncircumcised youths and women. In the Western Province, makishi had an added responsibility of checking the movements of the would-be trespassers, who were largely members of non-mukanda practising ethnic groups.

Third, makishi also played an economic role in the institution. The running of a mukanda was an expensive undertaking in terms of feeding. Food resources were both a determining factor and a source of worry among mukanda organizers. Two types of food were particularly important in the holding of mukanda. The first was masangu/mashangu (bulrush millet). This was used for brewing beer which played a cardinal role in the celebrations of kwingisa (opening), chikula (cleansing rite) and kulovola (closing rite). Bulrush millet was also used in making mahuvila/visangwa (sweet beer), a nutritious drink which tundanji/vindanda were allowed to drink in the process of healing. The second category of mukanda foodstuffs were cassava and bulrush millet again. These two were needed for shima (thick porridge) which was the principal dish among all mukanda practitioners. Shima was consumed in extra large amounts because at the opening and during the entire life of the mukanda, male adults and circumcised youths in their

Chikuza: A ritual likishi who trained tundanji/vindanda in the ritual dance known as kuhunga, is seen here performing with his trainees to the public at the closing celebrations of the mukanda rites. During the pre-colonial days, Chikuza was a likishi character of the Chokwe. However, as the mukanda institution became a symbol of unity and co-operation among the vakamulauko during the colonial epoch, Chikuza was found at all mukanda rites in both Western and North-Western Zambia because of his dynamic discipline.

Photo Source: Zambia Information Service

scores converged on the mukanda camp for a number of reasons. Some patronized the mukanda for the purpose of training tundanji/vindanda in different skills; some went there to provide such services as collecting firewood or drawing water and others, especially circumcised young men, patronized the mukanda in order to acquire more experience and improve on some of the skills they had learned during their time as tundanji/vindanda. All these services were offered in appreciation of the skills and knowledge old initiates had gained from mukanda. The organizers were responsible for feeding everybody who came to the mukanda from the time of opening to the time of closing. In order to replenish the food resources, makishi were used to procure food for mukanda through anyone of the three methods.

The first method was through soliciting. The very junior makishi characters, such as chileya cha mukanda and Ndondo went around the villages soliciting for foodstuffs from women. Women enjoyed the simplicity of these characters who were prepared to perform and dance according to the choice of their audiences. In appreciation, the women gave them foodstuffs which they took to the mukanda camp for use by the organizers.

The second method of obtaining food was through looting. According to oral evidence, this was done by strong characters, such as Katotola, Kanjenjela, and Munguli (hyena); who conducted kupukula (ritual looting)

campaigns. On such campaigns, society expected the makishi to raid the homesteads of the relatives and friends of those who had children at the mukanda. These raids were accepted as part of tradition and no one raised serious complaints against them. It was during such campaigns that the services of such characters as Munguli were most needed. In the vakamulauko traditions, munguli, (hyena) was a greedy animal that had no respect for other people's property. He was a natural thief who was believed to sustain his family by stealing from people. In the same way, the character of Munguli was used during mukanda to loot villages in order to sustain the life of the institution.[41] In the North-Western Province, such food raiding campaigns were traditionally accepted because of the widespread use of the mukanda, but in the Western Province where sometimes the friends of the mukanda organizers came from non-mukanda practising ethnic groups, such campaigns caused some conflicts among neighbours.[42]

Thirdly, food resources for the mukanda came by way of organized makishi performance shows at the villages of chiefs or villages of vilolo/vimwata (village dignitaries). In the Western Province, oral traditions remember vividly one of such performances. It is said that when Mwene Mundu Kaumba held the first mukanda in the Province in the 1880s, King Lewanika welcomed Kaumba and his makishi. During four days of performance shows at Lewanika's royal capital, the King gave Kaumba and his makishi an ox for each day they performed. Traditions acknowledge that

organized makishi performance shows were common in both the Western and North-Western Provinces because they provided entertainment to visitors and local communities. In the 1870s, Holub was entertained by two secular makishi characters.[43] At the close of the show it was incumbent upon the host to make payments to the makishi in appreciation of the show.

In this chapter we have attempted to show the common origin of the mukanda institution in both the Western and North-Western Provinces. All its practitioners, the vakamulauko (the Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale, Mbalango, Mbunda, Nkangala and Yauma), lived in close physical proximity when the institution was introduced among them by the Lunda chiefs. We have also shown the differences in the historical development of the institution; it was argued that these differences existed only at the level of ritual detail, within the same structure and organization. We have also attempted to show how the organization of the institution was directly related to the people's modes of reproduction and production as well as to social and political organization.

NOTES:

1. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 177.

2. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 177.

3. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 177.
   See also, White, 'Notes on the Circumcision,' 42.

4. See M.K. Sangambo, The History of the Luvale People and their Chieftainship (Los Angeles: African Institute for Applied Research, 1986), pp. 21-32.

5. Interviews: Arthur Mukoboto, Retired Evangelist, Yuka (Kalabo), 24 January, 1987.

   Kawengo Kalukango Kabutwima, Traditional Circumciser, Kanchumwa (Kalabo), 24 January, 1987.

6. Interview: Mwangana Salwenyeka, Chief, Mize Palace (Zambezi), 26 December, 1986.

   See also, White, 'Elements in Luvale Beliefs', 14. White states that chisolo is 'a much reduced ritual involving little more than physical circumcision and a short period of seclusion,' but according to Lakamulauko traditions, the first mukanda was a chisolo in which adults including chiefs of the conquered people were circumcised. According to these traditions, this exercise was carried out mungongo (in the jungle) to mystify the rites, to women and children.

   Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 174, for the term '-ngongo'.

7. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 177.

8. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 178.

9. See Sangambo, The History of the Luvale People, pp. 29; 39-40.

10. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 178.

11. Sangambo, The History of the Luvale People, p. 29.

12. See Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi,' 174.

    See also, Sangambo, The History of the Luvale People, p. 39; National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ), KSX 4/1, Mankoya District Note Book, 1907-1963: 'People's Customs:Circumcision.'

13. C.M.N. White, 'An Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization,' The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 30 (1960), 48.

    See also, Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 2.

14. See Sangambo, The History of the Luvale People, pp. 39-40.

15. See Max Gluckman, 'Economy of the Central Barotse Plain,' The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 7(1968), 12.

    See also, Appendix 1 in this Dissertation.

16. Interview: Meleki Limande Njunguma, Historian of the Mbunda royal establishment, Liumba (Kalabo), 23 January, 1987.

    See also, Mutumba Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-colonial Zambia (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1973), p. 69. Note that Mainga mentions the arrival of Manulumbe instead of Chingumbe.

17. See Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, p. 69. Mainga states that the claim of invitation was in connection with Manulumbe.

18. See H.W. Langworth, Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of Pre-colonial History (London: Longman, 1972), p. 52.

    See also, Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, p. 64;

    C.M.N. White, 'The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi,' African Studies, 24(1962), 14.

19. See Sangambo, The History of the Luvale People, pp. 42-43.

20. Interviews: Mwene Mundu Muyamba, Chief, Liumba (Kalabo), 23 January 1987;

    Golden Mukanjo Sakambungo, Historian of the Kandala royal establishment, Mabumbu (Mongu), 2 February, 1987.

21. See White, 'The Ethno-History,' 14.

    See also, Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, p. 64.

22. See Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, p. 65.

    See also, Andrew Roberts, A History of Zambia (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 126.

23. Interview: Meleki Limande Njunguma.

24. See White, 'The Ethno-History,' 19.

25. See Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, p. 96.

    See also, Langworth, Zambia Before 1890, p. 80; Roberts, A History, p. 132.

26. Emil Holub, 'A Cultural Survey of the Lozi-Mbunda Kingdom in South Central Africa,' Royal Imperial Geographical Society, (1879), 44.

27. NAZ, KSH 2/1, Kalabo District Note Book, Vol. 1, 'The People of the District, Kasabi and his Mbunda';

    Interview: Peter Muzungu Mubila, Village Headman, Kaungeta (Mongu), 10 December, 1986.

28. Interview: Mwene Mundu Muyamba, Chief, Liumba (Kalabo), 23 January, 1987.

29. Peter Just, 'Men, Women and Mukanda: A Transformational Analysis of Circumcision Among Two Central African Tribes,' African Social Research, 13 (1972), 204.

30. Interview: Peter Muzungu Mubila, Village Headman, Kaungeta (Mongu), 10 December, 1986.

31. Mbiti, African Religions, p. 123.

32. C.M.N. White, 'Tradition and Change in Luvale Marriage,' The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 34 (1962), 29.

33. Interviews: Mwene Mundu Muyamba, chief, Liumba (Kalabo), 23 January, 1987;

    Mwangana Salwenyeka, chief, Mize Palace (Zambezi), 26 December, 1986;

    Mwangana Kandombwe Chinyama, chief, Kaoma, 12 December, 1986.

34. Max Gluckman, 'The Lozi of Barotseland in North-Western Rhodesia,' in Seven Tribes of British Central Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 6.

35. White, 'Elements in Luvale Beliefs,' 15.

36. G.L. Caplan, The Elites of Barotseland, 1879-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1970), p. 99.

Interview: Mwene Mundu Muyamba.

37. See C.M.N. White, 'A Preliminary Survey of Luvale Rural Economy,' The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 29 (1959), 6-10.

38. White, 'A Preliminary Survey,' 2.

39. White, 'Elements in Luvale Beliefs,' 46.

40. See Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 19.

41. See Mwondela, **Mukanda** and Makishi, p. 19

42. Interviews: Mwene Mundu Muyamba;
Edward Chipango Mutondo, Railway Worker, Muzoka (Choma), 12 March, 1987.

43. Holub, 'A Cultural Survey,' 50.

enforced in 1906.[1] Tied to this policy was the resultant migrant labour as Africans looked for wage labour to earn money to pay tax and to avail themselves of European goods. The second factor had to do with political policies and regulations concerning settlement of the vakamulauko (the people of this study) which were legislated by the colonial administration in both provinces. The third factor had to do with the practice of the mukanda in the two provinces, vis-a-vis Christianity. Missionary activities (i.e. evangelization), their attitude towards the practice of the mukanda rites and their introduction of western medicine and modern education had already begun to have a very strong impact on traditional societies. In the Western Province, all the mukanda practising ethnic groups came to be under the direct influence of three denominations. The first of these was the South African General Mission (SAGM). The mission was under Rev. J. Jakeman, who settled at Luampa in Kaoma with a group of Mbunda and Luchazi, whom he had migrated with from Angola in 1924.[2] The second group were the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), who operated among the Mbunda. The SDAs opened their stations at Liumba Hill near Kalabo in 1928 and Yuka, ten kilometres west of Kalabo, in 1955.[3] The third group consisted of the Capuchin Fathers, who began providing modern education for the population of the Kabompo area, before they established

themselves at their present site of Lukulu boma in 1936.[4] As we demonstrated in chapter two, most of Lukulu was an area where Nama Kungu chiefs took advantage of the existence of the mukanda to assimilate the Mbalango, Mbunda and Ndundu into the present Luvale ethnic group. In contrast, the North-Western Province had only one active missionary group during the period under review: the Christian Missions in Many Lands (CCML). This group entered the area from Angola. The CMML established their centres at Kaleni Hill in Mwinilunga District and Chitokoloki in the Zambezi District. These centres became the foci of missionary activities in the region and it was here that missionary action on the mukanda institution emanated. There were basically three ways in which missionary work affected the mukanda institution negatively in both provinces. Their negative attitude and propaganda against the institution were reinforced by the introduction of modern education and western medicine, both of which were aimed at eliminating what the missionaries considered to be pagan behaviour, of which the mukanda was an aspect.

We now proceed to examine the impact of social change on the mukanda institution in the light of the social, economic and political developments among the mukanda practitioners during the period under review.

We argue that the emergence of the disruptive forces of social change in the two provinces constituted a mixed blessing to the mukanda institution. This was especially so in the political sphere where the mukanda practising ethnic groups used the coercive political policies to their advantage. From 1905 to 1941, the present Western Province, the Zambezi District and most of the Kabompo District in the North-Western Province, constituted what was known at various times as 'Barotse District', 'Barotseland' or 'Barotse Province'.[5] From this political setting, we find that throughout the colonial period, our study is set in one colonial administrative background. This meant that the mukanda practitioners in the two provinces were faced with the same colonial policies, the first of which were economic. Among the first policies was the Hut Tax which as earlier mentioned, was imposed in 1906. Colonial penetration in Northern Rhodesia has been aptly described by Robin Palmer: 'the /British South Africa Company/ B.S.A.Co. came to Northern Rhodesia /Zambia/ ... with its foolhardy and expensive ventures in Southern Rhodesia /Zimbabwe/ in the 1890s.'[6] This unsound economic position did not only lead to the imposition of Hut Tax on the Africans in 1906 but also created conditions for the untold brutality with which tax was exacted from the poor people in then Barotse District. The misery of the tax

defaulters is best described by Caplan: 'they /Africans/ suddenly found themselves obliged to pay money they often did not have and for reasons they did not comprehend. Informants talked vividly of arrests, handcuffs, miserable prison food, ticks in the blankets, men often enchained, /and/ sometimes being forced to carry buckets of excreta on their heads.'[7] Under such repressive and degrading conditions the vakamulauko (the people of this study), instead of looking at the colonial administration and their bomas as symbols of fear and oppression, quickly capitalized on the imperfect methods of exacting tax in their areas to establish a strategy of reducing the sufferings of the poor who were termed tax defaulters. Holding a prolonged mukanda became one of the ways of avoiding paying tax.

The method of exacting tax from the people in the outlying areas of the Barotse Plain involved the touring of villages by British officials, accompanied by Lozi indunas.[8] When the police force was withdrawn from the subdistricts in 1915, Boma messengers were deployed in the exacting of tax from the villages.[9] Traditions are not exact about the period, but probably between 1906 and 1920, both the indunas and the majority of the boma messengers were Lozi and their affiliated ethnic groups who did not practise the mukanda rites. The mukanda practitioners as an entity used elements of the

institution as a means of resistance against colonial rule and its agents. For instance, the alleged mystical powers of the mukanda were invoked to scare away the tax-hunting indunas and messengers, especially when a mukanda was in session. During this period, the mukanda institution was mystified, creating an unfounded belief among non-mukanda practitioners in both provinces that any uncircumcised male who ventured near a mukanda camp had either to be circumcised or die instantly from the mysterious forces of the mukanda. This belief caused fear among the non-mukanda practising ethnic groups in the areas. The fear of instant death was even more vigorously propagated by the mukanda practitioners than the secrets of the institution. The colonial officials had soon to learn of the mystical powers of the mukanda practitioners. For example, when 'a District Commissioner at Balovale /Zambezi/ raised with the Barotse Government in Mongu the question as to why they did not attempt any closer administrative control over Balovale, ... /he/ received the reply that it was useless to try because if any action was taken against any Luvale, he could turn into a wild beast or snake and disappear.'[10] According to some informants, this fear among indunas and messengers increased the popularity of the mukanda institution because poor men who could not meet their tax obligations found refuge in the institution; to them the institution was a shield against the long hands of the oppressors.

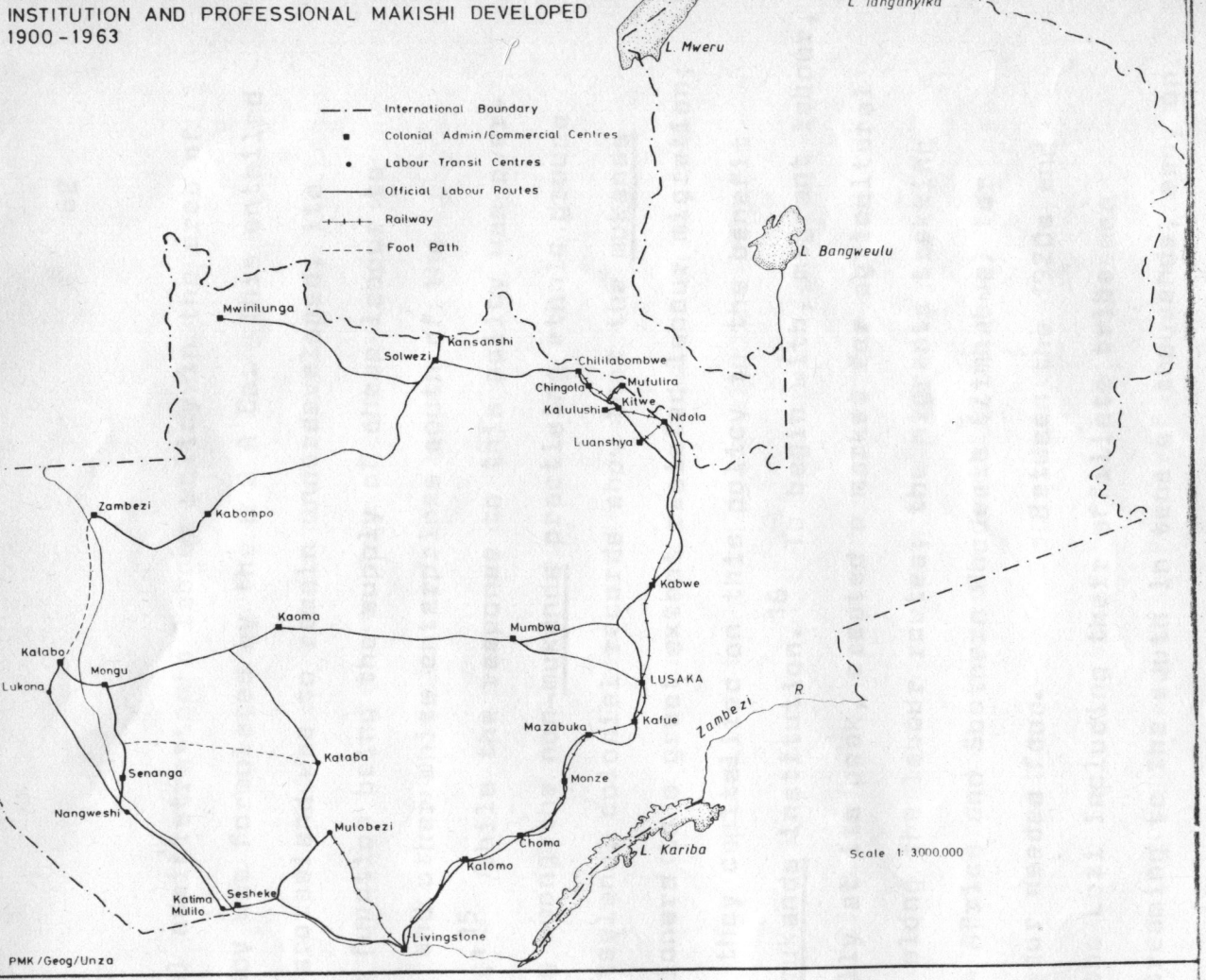
However, when messengers who belonged to mukanda practising ethnic groups began to increase, they were empowered by legislation to track down tax defaulters to the mukanda camps. The legislation stated that 'collectors and police officers /had/ a right of entry on land or premises in the execution of their duties of enforcement.[11] The method of using circumcised messengers to apprehend tax defaulters at the mukanda camps was only partially successful; the defaulters with the co-operation of their respective communities soon developed a new code of communication which they used to inform their counterparts living in a given locality, and only people close to the mukanda institution were capable of decoding such messages. It was the duty of old men, children and women to spy on the presence of messengers in the locality and to communicate their presence to the men in special codes. For instance, an old man would tie a knot at the end of a string and pass it to anyone nearby to pass to the men at a mukanda camp. The knot was symbolic of handcuffs, and all men in such communities were expected to know that. When that piece of string was delivered to them at the mukanda camp, all tax defaulters would vanish in the bush only to re-appear after another coded piece of communication was shouted out to announce the safety of the mukanda camp.[12] According to our informants, this response to colonial policies continued throughout the colonial era

(i.e. long after 1941 when the two provinces ceased to be under one local administrative control). This reaction to the imposition of the Hut Tax in both provinces demonstrates that the mukanda institution became a focus of opposition or resistance to the political economy of colonialism which brought untold sufferings among the masses. The mukanda institution in these areas thus became a refuge for the poor men who did not only lack the money with which to pay tax but who also did not understand why they should pay it even if they had the money.

Besides taking advantage of the weaknesses in tax collection, there was also open resistance to the payment of tax among some Luvale and Mbunda chiefs, particularly in Barotseland. Both oral and written sources corroborate on numerous instances of active resistance to payment of Hut Tax. For instance, after Chief Kasabi ka Chikanda moved from Kalabo District to Kaoma District in 1917, he took the lead in resisting the exacting of Hut Tax from his subjects who settled in the Lukute area. 'In 1923 Kasabi was severely reprimanded for interference with messengers on duty in his area... and for facilitating tax evasion. Kasabi /stated/ that he /did/ not wish messengers to enter his area without his permission. In 1924 Kasabi's subsidy was withdrawn for failing to co-operate with the administration. In 1928 he was fined £5 or 3 months

/imprisonment/ for aiding tax defaulters to escape arrest. By 1933 Kasabi was half crippled physically but no tax was paid for two years in his area which was full of visitors from Portuguese West Africa /Angola/'.[13] Such uncompromisin chiefs were not slow to exploit the prevailing situation in order to consolidate their positions. Kasabi according to traditions, was aware that his political power was abrogated by the British administration in collaboration with the Luyana aristocracy, so he capitalized on the people's resistance to Hut Tax to consolidate the mukanda institution. The mukanda became a focus of integration and resistance to colonial rule among its practitioners. This was in contrast with the majority of the inhabitants of the present Western Province who happened to be non-mukanda practitioners. It was in this context that White was prompted to comment that 'adding to the lack of centralised political authority pivoted upon chieftainship ... Luvale unity is expressed through consciousness of a common culture, and not in terms of adherence to a political and territorial homeland.'[14] Without doubt, the common culture White was referring to was the mukanda institution.

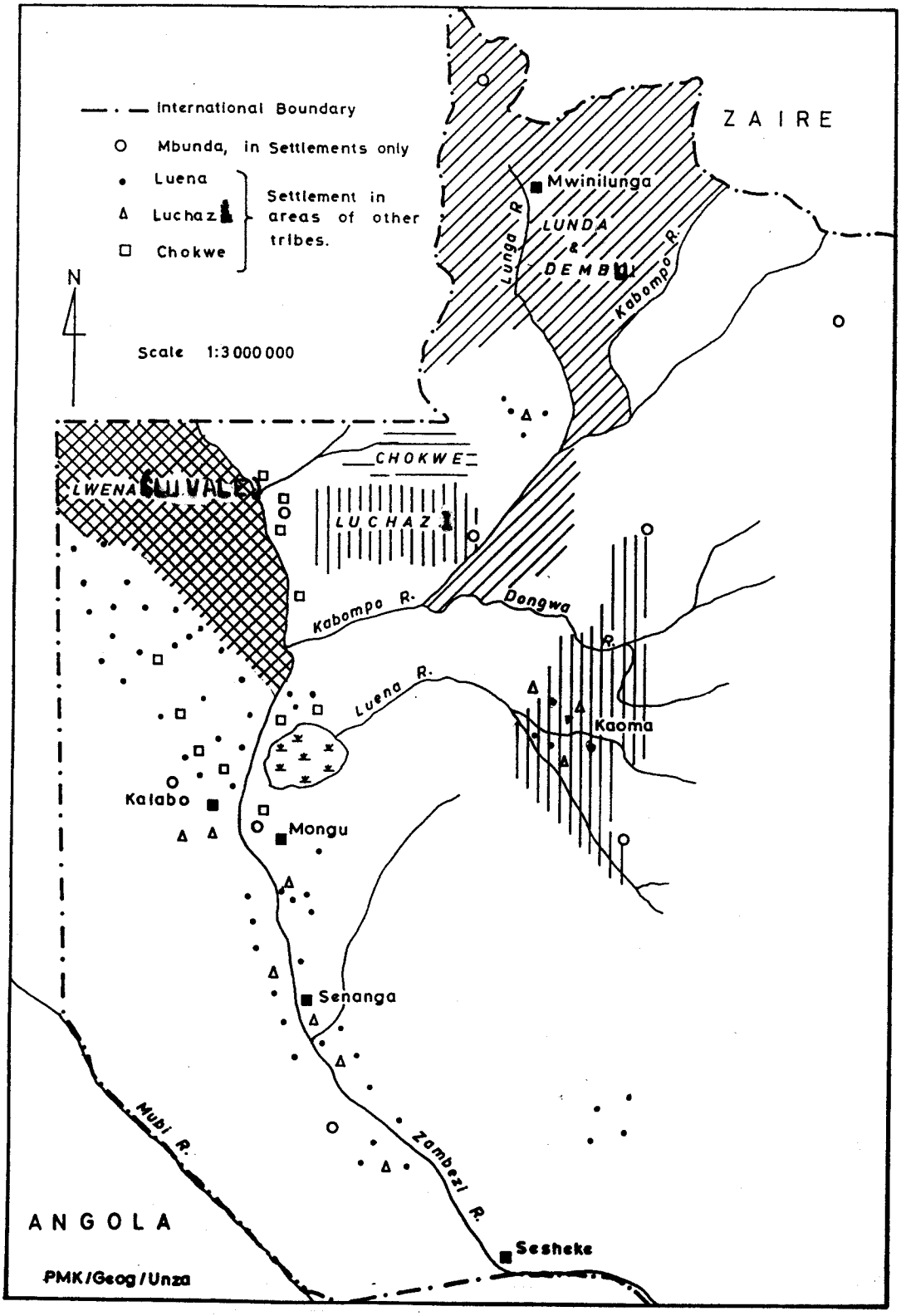
The second colonial economic policy which the mukanda practitioners came into conflict with was forced labour and labour migration. It is important in the light of this conflict to make a brief examination of the colonial administration's labour policy. According to Caplan, the


INSTITUTION AND PROFESSIONAL MAKISHI DEVELOPED
1900 - 1963
International Boundary
Colonial Admin/Commercial Centres
Labour Transit Centres
Official Labour Routes
Railway
Foot Path
L. Tanganyika
L. Mweru
L. Bangweulu
Mwinilunga
Kansanshi
Solwezi
Chililabombwe
Chingola
Mufulira
Kitwe
Kalulushi
Ndola
Luanshya
Zambezi
Kabompo
Kabwe
Kaoma
Mumbwa
Kalabo
Mongu
Lukona
LUSAKA
Zambezi R
Kafue
Mazabuka
Kalaba
Senanga
Monze
Nangweshi
Mulobezi
Choma
L. Kariba
Kalomo
Katima Mulilo
Sesheke
Livingstone
Scale 1: 3000.000
PMK /Geog/Unza

colonial administration's labour policy in the area of our study was formulated by the B S A Co. This entailed that 'Barotseland was to remain underdeveloped, its primary function being the supply of cheap labour to company and other White enterprises south of the Zambezi.'[15] While the response to this policy was overwhelming among the non-mukanda practising ethnic groups in Barotseland, colonial records show that the mukanda practitioners to a great extent resisted labour migration; instead they capitalized on this policy to the benefit of the mukanda institution.[16] To begin with, migrant labour, especially at its peak, created a market for agricultural produce along the labour routes; the migrants trekking to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for wage labour needed food. Between the 1920s and 1940s, the Lozi including their affiliate tribesmen began streaming to the south in tens of thousands, many on their own, others recruited by the Southern Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (RNLB). These migrant labourers (... together with repatriates), opened up routes from Mongu, Senanga and Kaoma to Mulobezi in Sesheke (see Map 3). In addition to migrant labourers and repatriates were carriers who were not slow to take advantage of the wealth entering the country; men from Mankoya (Kaoma), Mongu and Senanga... travel/led/ down Mulobezi with a little meal or a few baskets for sale and on arrival there ... offer/ed/ themselves for hire as carriers to repatriates who... usually acquired so much wealth in goods, that

they... /could/ not possibly carry it themselves.'[17] All the three categories of travellers provided an excellent market for foodstuffs on the labour routes. New villages of the vakamulauko immigrants from Angola and the North-Western Province of Zambia, quickly sprang up along the chief labour routes in response to the needs of the travellers (See Maps 3 and 4). This was particularly evident after 1915. 'These people /understood/ how to grow cassava in the dry sandy regions through which the labour routes passed, so they had a considerable advantage over the older inhabitants of Barotseland who concentrated on cultivation in fertile wet areas.... The need for food, a desire to celebrate and a wish to display the wealth acquired abroad created a regular business of these villages.[18] As earlier pointed out, the mukanda practitioners in both provinces had weaker political institutions in comparison with for instance, the Lozi, but their cultural code was enshrined in the mukanda institution. Hence their settlement along the labour routes led to the dispersal of the mukanda in these new places. In this way, it can be safely argued that in response to the new settlement patterns emanating from conditions created by the colonial political economy of labour migration, the vakamulauko immigrants from both Angola and the North-Western Province of Zambia utilized their common culture of the mukanda institution to create an integrated community of vilombola (initiated men),

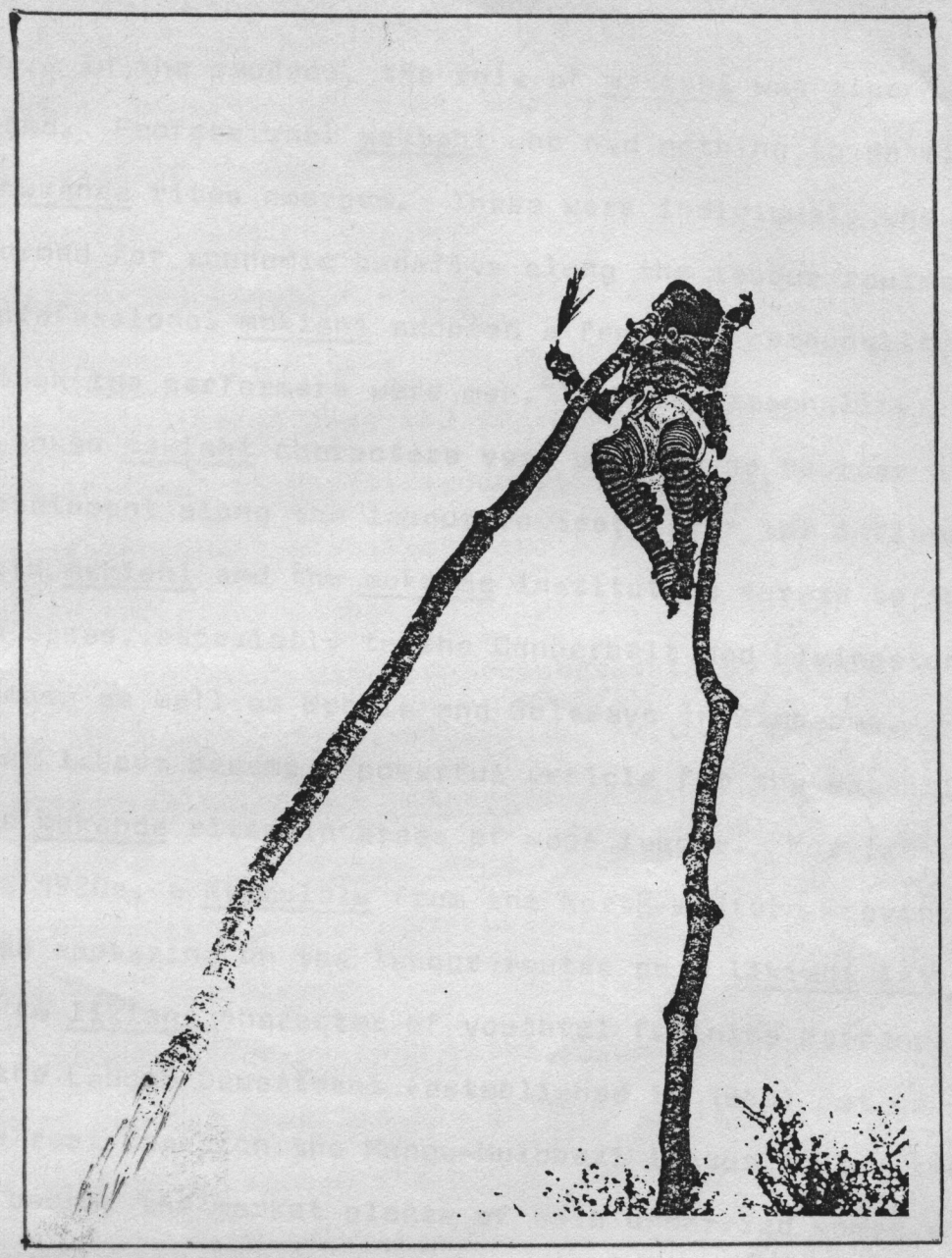
MAP 4: WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN PROVINCES SHOWING THE VAKAMULAUKO ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD 1900-1963



SOURCE: C.M.N. White, 'The Material Culture of the Lunda-Luvale peoples', The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum

along the labour routes and beyond (see Maps 3 and 4).

The settlement of mukanda practitioners along the labour routes led to change and continuity in the mukanda institution. Both change and continuity were realized through adaptation to the prevailing circumstances. It is important to look at how these factors came about. We have already pointed out that migrant labourers, repatriates and their carriers provided a regular market for the villages along the labour routes. However, like in every economic situation, other groups of beneficiaries emerged besides the mukanda practitioners. For example, on the Mongu-Mulobezi route, which came to be known as nzila ya lihule (prostitute's route),[19] unmarried young women became another category of economic beneficiaries, owing to the nature of their business, prostitution. Negative though the business was, it indirectly influenced change in the mukanda institution. In chapter two, we examined the many roles makishi played in the mukanda institution; they were particularly an economic asset in the running of the mukanda rites. Although the mukanda organizers were often resourceful, they were quick to appreciate the economic benefits which the unmarried young women were reaping from the new, but traditionally unorthodox means of earning a living. They therefore, decided to adapt makishi characters to the new conditions. When soliciting for food during the holding of a mukanda, makishi dancers imitated these young prostitutes in both appearance and



Likishi Lya Mwana pwevo (Feminine Likishi/Professional likishi) developed in North-Western Zambia in the 1920s and labour migration). Professional makishi belonged to individual dancers who used them for economic benefits. They took feminine characteristics in imitation of the unmarried young women who became mahule (prostitutes) on the labour routes. (See map on page ?). The performers of professional makishi were men under the matronage of their individual wives who were the custodians of their individual protective charms. From the 1920s to the 1940s both the mahule and the makishi provided entertainment to labour recruits, labour repatriates as well as supervisors and other workers at the rest camps on the labour routes. By the end of the colonial epoch in Zambia, professional makishi were performing in almost all urban centres and some urban centres of Zimbabwe.

dress. In the process, the role of makishi was also changed. Professional makishi who had nothing to do with the mukanda rites emerged. These were individuals who performed for economic benefits along the labour routes. The professional makishi adopted a feminine personality although the performers were men.[20] This personality made these makishi characters very popular as sources of entertainment along the labour routes; later the influences of both makishi and the mukanda institution spread to the urban areas, especially to the Copperbelt and Livingstone in Zambia as well as Wankie and Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. Migrant labour became a powerful vehicle for the establishment of the mukanda rites in areas of wage labour. For instance, in the 1920s, a Nyamulalu from the North-Western Province started appearing on the labour routes as a likishi lya mwana pwevo (a likishi character of youthful feminine personality).[21] When the Labour Department (established in 1940) put up twelve rest camps on the Mongu-Mulobezi labour route, the camps became the market places of both unmarried women and professional makishi; the two reinforced each other's type of entertainment to camp supervisors, camp workers and the travelling labourers, who in turn paid their entertainers generously. According to oral evidence, professional makishi were by the 1940s performing as far abroad as Wankie and Bulawayo in Zimbabwe.[22] In this way, the colonial labour policy of migration had by 1963 contributed to change and continuity in the mukanda institution in the two provinces.

Besides economic policies, colonial legislation also contributed to the sustenance of the mukanda. Among these laws was Proclamation No. 6 of 1905, known as Administration of Justice Proclamation of 25 February, 1905.[23] 'Under this proclamation, British Magistrates and Native Commissioners had no jurisdiction over the indigenous inhabitants... except in cases of homicide, cattle rustling, witchcraft and cases in which a whiteman and a native were involved.'[24] Hence in the present Western Province, the holding of the mukanda rites which was long consented to by Lewanika before the coming of colonial rule, became even easier. Authorization to hold a mukanda camp remained under the jurisdiction of the vakamulauko chiefs. In most parts of the Western Province where there were no mukanda practising chiefs, village headmen formed committees that sanctioned the holding of the mukanda rites.[25] However, the Administration of Justice Proclamation of 1905 sparked an unprecedented power struggle between the B S A Co. administration and the Luyana ruling class in then Barotse District. Commenting on this issue, Caplan wrote: 'one important factor was that the Luyi ruling class and the company administration were for 25 years locked up in a protracted political struggle with the company administration determined to thwart the Lozi political power and the Lozi ruling class determined to restore their authority which the company had usurped.'[26] This struggle in which the issue

at stake was political power, led to official attention being diverted from the legality of the mukanda institution in the Western Province. The holding of a mukanda became a negligible issue; this allowed mukanda practitioners to continue with their functions without official coercion. Besides, in the Western Province the rite was practised by the minority and therefore, as long as there was no breach of the peace, mukanda issues were overlooked, leading to the continuity of the institution (see appendix 1). In the North-Western Province, the 1905 Proclamation was also a blessing to the mukanda institution in the sense that, the chiefs there capitalized on this Proclamation to bring all the ethnic groups under their firm control through the unity arising from the mukanda institution; in this way, the vakamulauko chiefs successfully dislodged the weak Lozi control over the area by 1941.[27]

Colonial settlement policies had also a bearing on the mukanda institution. First, in 1923, Bruce Miller, the District Commissioner for Balovale in the North-Western Province, attempted to divide the already firmly integrated Luvale-Lunda area of Chavuma, through an order to evict all the Luvale people from the eastern bank of the Zambezi river. This move sparked bitter protests among the Luvale in the North-Western Province and before Miller's decision was reversed, many Luvale, according to oral evidence, detested Miller's administration and in their

scores streamed into the Western Province.[28] In this way, they added to the number of mukanda practitioners in that province. It can therefore, be argued that Miller's unpopular settlement decision indirectly contributed to the growth of the mukanda institution in the Western Province.

Also, the period between 1930 and 1937 was a terrible one in the history of then Barotse Province. According to van Horn, 'paid employment both in Barotseland and abroad became increasingly scarce - the recruitment agencies shut their doors in 1932 - while floods, drought, and locusts destroyed four successive crops and pleuro-pneumonia, anthrax and foot-and-mouth disease terminated the remnants of the cattle trade and the small export trade in skins. Famine, unemployment, and imprisonment or cumpulsory menial labour for non-payment of the poll tax characterized the life of the average inhabitants of Barotseland during most of the decade.'[29] Prior to this sorry state of affairs, the vakamulauko from Angola 'first moved to Balovale /Zambezi/ and northern Kalabo /now Lukulu/ area before 1920, and moved east and south through the Bulozi and Nkoya districts towards Sesheke. Wherever they went they established forest gardens which used slash and burn techniques and emphasized cassava. Moreover, these gardens demonstrated the drought resistant qualities of cassava and the production potential of the forests of Barotseland's indigenous inhabitants.'[30] Convinced of the effectiveness of this mode of food production, the colonial

administration sent whole villages of vakamulauko immigrants to various parts of the Western Province, where their skill was expected to demonstrate to the indigenous inhabitants how to grow drought-resistant crops and to teach them how to drain swamps for gardens. For example, the villages of Ngangula, Limbuti, Luanzamba and others were taken to Sesheke to teach drainage of swamps for gardens.[31] This move was important in the expansion and continuity of the mukanda institution. One example of such expansion occurred in July, 1957, in Machile area in Sesheke District, during a criminal case involving forced circumcision inflicted on a mukanda camp trespasser.[32] According to most informants, before the colonial policies facilitated the expansion of the mukanda institution in the Western Province, Sesheke District was very far from its influence.[33]

The third category of political policies which had an impact on the mukanda institution was the second wave of settlement rules, formulated for the Vakamulauko immigrants from Angola in both the Western and North-Western Provinces (then known as Barotseland). Under the Barotse Order of June, 1935, the settlement of these people in new areas came to be controlled in such a way that, 'in order to make a new village, there /were to be/ at least 10 men of whom not less than 6... /were/ tax payers. If a small number wish/ed/ to build apart they /could/ do so as long as it /was/ nearby but they... /were/ written as

belonging to the big village nearby.'[34] From the 1920s, the Angolan immigrants often came in small numbers which under this legislation compelled them to settle in established villages.[35] In the case of the Western Province, these established villages were in most cases under the control of Lozi headmen, who were not sympathetic to the mukanda institution. In the North- Western Province where almost all headmen were mukanda practitioners, the legislation was a blessing in disguise to the new role of the mukanda institution. It paved the way for the villagers' solidarity with the new immigrants. This solidarity was in the form of integrating people of heterogeneous ethnic groups into a single entity of mukanda practitioners, thus contributing to the continuity of the institution in the area. However, in the Western Province, this legislation had adverse effects on the status of the mukanda institution. Traditionally, any uncircumcised male who stayed on the mukanda camp was circumcised instantly without any option of a fine. In the Lozi controlled villages, the mukanda secrets were put at stake. For instance, when a mukanda was held in a village which happened to be under the headmanship of a Lozi, there were times when a close relative of the village headman would, either out of curiosity or under the influence of beer trespass on the mukanda camp. In such circumstances the decision to circumcise the trespasser was not instant. The headman's consent would first be sought before circumcising him. Failure to do so usually invited the intervention of

without the consent of the victim or his guardian was officially regarded as a breach of the peace. To avoid conflicts with the law, mukanda organizers in the Western Province adopted new measures in accordance with the dictates of their environment. They used tulombolachika (circumcised youths) and makishi characters to check on the movements of trespassers.[36] In the North-Western Province where cases of trespassing were rare, the vigilantes would pounce on any suspected trespasser and hand him over for instant circumcision on the orders of the chijika mukanda (principal mukanda organizer). In the Western Province the vigilantes' efforts to restrain suspected trespassers failed. Mukanda organizers there always sought the consent of a father or male guardian before forced circumcision was effected against any suspected trespasser. In all cases permission was granted for fear of the trespasser's instant death. The mukanda practitioners in the Western Province were rumoured to cause deaths.

In 1936 the settlement policy was extended with the publication of the 'Immigration from Angola' notice.[37] This notice made it illegal for any new immigrant to settle either on the Barotse Plain or the Forest Edge of the Plain. The restriction was however, a blessing to the mukanda institution, because neither of these two places offered a suitable environment for holding a mukanda. Traditionally mukanda practitioners settled in dry places in both the Western and North-Western Provinces. Such

places in forest areas with open plains, provided a ideal environment for teaching the skills relating to the practitioners' mode of production.

Having discussed the impact of colonial policies on the mukanda institution, we now proceed to assess and analyse the impact of missionary activities especially evangelization, western medicine and modern education, on the mukanda institution. In the Western Province, missionary work preceded colonial rule while in the North-Western Province the opposite was the case. Practically, however, missionary work reached the mukanda practising ethnic groups in both provinces some time after the establishment of colonial rule. The first missionary in the Western Province was Frederick Stanley Arnot, who opened his first school at Limulunga, Lewanika's summer capital, in March, 1883, with an enrolment of three pupils.[38] Arnot belonged to the Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML). After failing to make a headway among the Lozi aristocracy, Arnot left for Angola and Zaire where he was successful in establishing his mission. During the colonial era CMML activities infiltrated the North-Western Province of Zambia. Arnot was followed in 1886 by Francois Coillard, a Huguenot missionary of the Paris Evangelical Mission. The latter failed to reach the mukanda practising ethnic groups, owing mainly to two factors. First, in the case of the Western Province, according to C.W. Mackintosh, the Lozi 'aristocracy wanted

to keep for itself the monopoly of everything good.... The result of this spirit of monopoly was that for many years the Zambezi missionaries were hardly missionaries to the people, however much they wished and tried to be. It was only the chiefs and their children who were at all accessible.'[39] The second and probably more pressing factor was that the Paris Evangelical Mission had neither the money nor the manpower to open up stations beyond the Barotse Plain and its Forest Edge.[40] Thus despite the proximity of Barotseland to the North-Western Province, Coillard confined himself to Bulozi. As a result, missionary work did not reach mukanda practitioners until well into the colonial time.

Before we analyse the attitude of missionaries towards the mukanda institution, it is important to have a general look at the raison d'être of their mission, especially in relation to the habits, customs and beliefs of the indigenous people in places where they established themselves. The attitudes of these missionaries are well described by R.I. Rotberg, when he states: 'in their own eyes and in the eyes of their committees at home, they had, after all... /come/ to Central Africa to offer a backward people the benefit of a European Christian civilization.'[41] It was in this context that the mukanda institution, like many African cultural practices was viewed by the missionaries. Since the mukanda in both provinces survived the hostility of the missionaries up to the end of the colonial era, we intend to examine the impact of missionary activities

vis-a-vis missionary conception of the institution and what mukanda meant to its practitioners. We wish to argue from the onset that what the missionaries in both provinces actually condemned was the hub of its practitioners' cultural values and that what they sought to preserve, perhaps, in line with their Biblical teachings (circumcision), was but a single aspect of the institution. Missionaries seem to have confused the mukanda with the Biblical Jewish circumcision rites, with the only difference being that, while they viewed the Jewish circumcision rites as a Biblical obligation, they perceived the mukanda institution in the context of Arnold van Gennep's sociological theory of rites de passage, which considered the institution only in terms of circumcision.[42]

The missionaries in the two provinces appear to have adopted two attitudes in connection with the mukanda institution. One was a negative attitude resulting from their objective in Central Africa. Influenced by the desire to save the African from his pagan customs, the missionaries condemned two of the three aspects of the mukanda institution discussed in the preceding chapter. The first was sex education. This, perhaps, came into conflict with their respective ecclesiastical teachings. Ignoring its cultural context, the missionaries in the two provinces picked on sex education, describing it as

immoral. The sex education taught at the mukanda came into conflict with their European moral values. This conflict of values prompted the missionaries to condemn the institution as a mere licentious orgy.[43] Also, out of their lack of understanding of the role of the makishi in the mukanda institution, missionaries in both provinces condemned them as grotesque characters who were not supposed to appear in the presence of a Christian.[44] Besides condemning these traditionally very important aspects of the institution, all Christian denominations in both provinces prohibited beer brewing and drinking. Offenders were either excluded from church membership or flogged in public, especially those found in church premises or nearby villages.[45] All the missionary groups working in the Western and North Western Provinces, considered drumming, singing, dancing and other traditional ways of celebrating or expressing joy as sinful. Such practices were to be eschewed not only within the precincts of mission stations but also anywhere within the hearing range of such supposedly sinful activities.[46] In the preceding chapter we showed that beer consumption, drumming, singing and dancing fuelled the high spirits of the mukanda institution. According to oral evidence, where these activities were absent, there could not be a mukanda session, but a chisolo(circumcision with a simple uncelebrated confinement). This shows that the missionaries'conception of the mukanda institution came into

direct conflict with the people's aspirations, thereby creating a situation where the practitioners of these rites in both provinces were compelled to choose between Christianity and the age-long cultural heritage, enshrined in that institution.

Fear of the white man's wrath, rather than Christian conviction, prompted those mukanda practitioners who lived within the precincts of the mission stations to avoid holding their mukanda rites within these areas. Many informants referred to Reverends Jakeman (SAGM) and George Suckling (CMML) of Luampa (1924-43) and Chitokoloki (1914-1952), respectively, as belonging to the breed of missionaries who were strongly opposed to the mukanda rites. Villagers living in the vicinity of the mission stations either used the mission dispensaries for their children's circumcision or sent them for mukanda rites to their respective relatives, living in some other parts of their district.[47] Thus the missionaries' negative attitude towards the mukanda institution caused a dent in the rites of the institution. In both provinces, this missionary attitude divided the mukanda practitioners between the dual-culturalist minority, Vakakwitava (church adherents and workers) and the traditionalist majority or vakashili (pagans as they were called by the former). While the traditionalists continued with their mukanda institution throughout the colonial era, the dual-culturalists, took advantage of the missionaries' positive

attitude towards dispensary circumcision to continue with the rite. At the same time, the African believer embraced other benefits of the Western material culture. In order to survive, the mukanda institution had to adapt itself to the new socio-cultural milieu. We have shown in the latter part of this chapter how the institution accommodated certain European values in both provinces.

Missionary activities in the area of our study included the introduction of western medicine and modern education. The impact of these on the mukanda institution should be assessed in the light of the interaction between western cultural values and the traditional societies of the mukanda practitioners. The first hospital among the mukanda practitioners was established by the CMML in 1909 at Kaleni Hill in Mwinilunga District. Its founder was Dr. Walter Fisher. Influenced by the missionary objective of civilizing Africans, Dr. Fisher, according to Rotberg, 'thought that he could wean Africans from superstition and the worship of ancestors and eventually bring about lasting conversions by a demonstration of the power of the white man's medicine .... At the very least, the successful treatment of their maladies would, he hoped, prevent Africans from using fetish remedies and other sinful practices that marred their testimony to God.'[48] As far as the mukanda practitioners were concerned, western medicine was useful in alleviating the severe pain endured by the initiates at the mukanda.[49] In order to discourage mukanda activities, missionary medical functions included

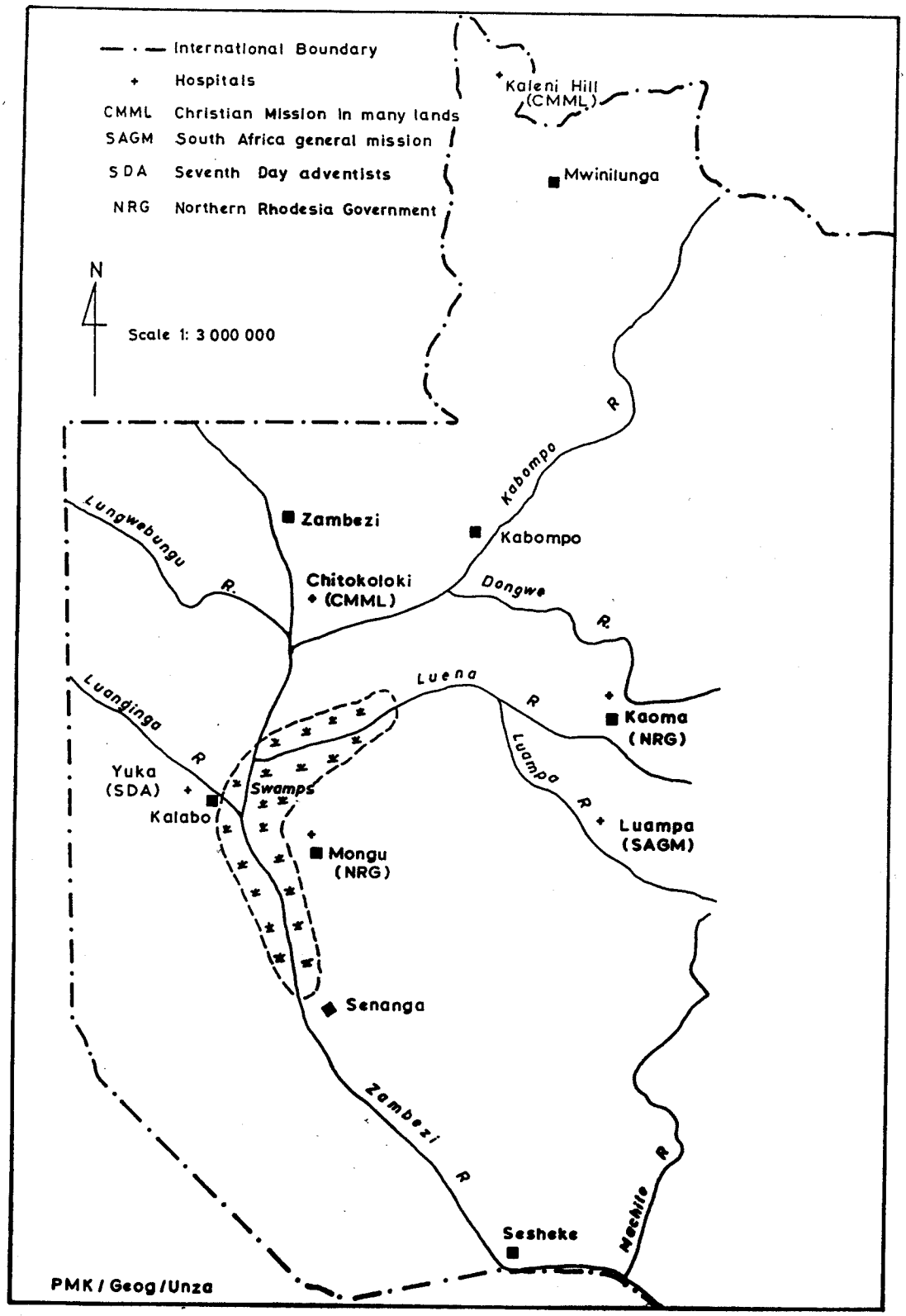
Despite the apparently attractive dispensary circumcision, mukanda rites remained highly respected throughout the colonial era. It was not until the 1920s that Dr. Fisher managed to carry out circumcision at his hospital among the sons of the African converts.[50] His counterpart, George Suckling, opened his medical mission at Chitokoloki in 1914, but he only managed to have the sons of his African helpers circumcised in 1926.[51] In the Western Province, Jakeman's medical mission at Luampa is said to have had some trained Africans, probably from Angola, doing dispensary work, including circumcision among the sons of his converts, particularly in the late 1920s.[52] These dates demonstrate that hospital and European medicine began to have an impact on the mukanda institutions, more than two decades after the imposition of colonial rule in Zambia. The SDA missionaries only began to participate in circumcision in the 1950s at Yuka hospital in Kalabo.[53] That was about thirty years from the time they established their first mission station among the Mbunda and Mbalango at Liumba Hill in Kalabo; this mission had a school and a dispensary. This may have been because they were not interested in circumcision.

An important point to note here is that these mission stations were scattered over vast territories,

inhabited by the Vakamulauko, who were the principal mukanda practitioners (See Map 5). For this reason, hospitals, and European medicine were not easily accessible to the majority of the mukanda practitioners even if they had the desire to use these facilities. For the same reason, Christianity made very little impression on these people, a factor partly explaining the lack of widespread enthusiasm for hospital circumcision. Hospital circumcision was also not very popular because it was narrower in relation to the all-embracing activities of the mukanda. As White observes, the mukanda institution was more important for other reasons, too; 'the holding of the rites can be a source of public acclaim and prestige for those responsible for them, a fact of no small importance in a society as highly competitive as the Luvale. Moreover certain participants such as keepers /vilombola/ and the masked performers /makishi/ derive a cash return from the part they play. Social prestige and economic interest must be regarded as contributing to the survival of the rites.'[54]

Although social change affected it, the mukanda institution still contained many traditional cultural elements. One of such elements was chisolo (circumcision with simple uncelebrated confinement), which is said

MAP 5: WESTERN & NORTHWESTERN PROVINCES SHOWING THE MAIN HOSPITALS WHICH OFFERED CIRCUMCISION SERVICES DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD 1900-1963



by tradition to have been the origin of the modern mukanda institution.[55] Although the mukanda institution was modified as we have shown in the preceding chapter, the tradition of chisolo continued to be relevant. It was utilized by individual adults who, for one reason or another, had missed mukanda rites during their youth, as well as sick youths who could not either wait or undergo the full mukanda rites.

During colonial rule, persons who had been circumcised at the hospitals or dispensaries were regarded as having an equivalent of a chisolo, by virtue of their circumcision. Such adaptation helped in consolidating the changing role of the mukanda institution, which was primarily to maintain group cohesion among all mukanda practitioners. Owing to this adaptation, the poor, the working class and Christians began to prefer hospital circumcision to the rigorous mukanda rites when medical facilities became more available. However, those who were circumcised at mission and government hospitals could still attend mukanda rites at a ritual fee of a chicken, paid to the chijika mukanda (principal mukanda organizer). According to Gluckman, hospital circumcision became very common in the Western Province in the 1940s. He wrote: 'Many Wiko are circumcised in Government and mission hospitals.'[56] In the North-Western Province,

White also admitted the popularity of hospital circumcision. The colonial society thus brought many elements of the new society into the mukanda institution. By being circumcised at a hospital, individuals missed the chance of being initiated in sex education and various skills, all of which were necessary for adult life. Although there was a possibility of acquiring some of the missed skills at a later date (through observation of full mukanda rites), many people missed them completely, owing to migration and urbanization.

Missionary medical effort was reinforced by modern education. While in the Western Province school education commenced as early as the 1880s, it reached the mukanda practising ethnic groups in Kalabo, Kaoma and Lukulu Districts between the 1920s and 1930s. There were a number of factors responsible for this delay. Principal among these were the Lozi aristocracy's desire to keep education in Bulozi for themselves and the Paris Evangelical Society's financial constraints and manpower limitations.

Before chiefs Kasabi, Kandombwe and Kanguya migrated to Kaoma District between 1916 and 1922 and the subsequent immigration of the Vakamulauko to the Western Province in the 1920s, the mukanda institution was confined to Kalabo District, near Angola; there were also isolated mukanda rites among the Nkoya in Kaoma

District.[58] The mukanda rites that were practised in the present Lukulu District were under the traditional authority of Luvale chiefs in the North-Western Province until their territory was incorporated into Barotseland in 1911.[59] This shows that the mukanda practitioners inhabited areas that were too scattered for a single missionary group to cope with, especially in view of the missions' chronic financial constraints and manpower limitations. Owing to these two factors the impact of modern education on the mukanda institution in Western Province before the mid-1920s was almost non-existent (see Map 2.)

In the North-Western Province, the situation was slightly different. The impact of missionary activities before the 1930s was largely demonstrated through medical work at Kaleni Hill and Chitokoloki. The latter mission, included such activities as the running of a leper settlemer an orphanage, translation work, printing as well as evangelism. However, serious educational activities did no commence until 1935; it was in the same year that a teacher training school was opened at Chitokoloki.[60] Thus before 1935, we can safely argue that the impact of modern education on the mukanda institution was negligible.

In both provinces, missionary work was first hampered by chronic financial problems and manpower difficulties. In the Western Province, two of the three

missionary groups which operated among the mukanda practitioners, the SAGM and SDA, were among the poorest missionary groups in Zambia. The SDAs' educational activities in particular, left a lot to be desired, a situation which led the Provincial Education Officer to pass a pessimistic comment: 'my experience of this society has unfortunately, been of such a nature that I am led to the conclusion that the promises are too often a cloak for subsequent inaction.'[61] A somewhat similar situation existed with regard to SAGM. This is revealed in the Provincial Education Officer's letter (Mongu) to the Manager of Schools (SAGM), at Luampa:

> You are well aware that during the past years no inspecting officer, technical or administrative has been satisfied that your schools in this area are fulfilling any useful purpose. My records confirm this. You will remember perhaps that you yourself told me that when you took over your duties at Luampa you were shocked at the state of neglect into which the educational work of your mission had been allowed to lapse and I suggest that I went to some pains to assist you in remedying this situation... all records go to show that so far your good intentions and assurances of co-operation with Government have not proved in fact to be very effective.... I feel that it is difficult for the people to show interest in an institution which takes three years to teach a child to count a handful of sticks. 62

The reasons behind this state of affairs were also well stated by the Provincial Education Officer: 'It has however, long been clear that the mission is on the rocks financially and would have relinguished the management of its schools had it not been for the threat of the Capuchin

little doubt that the mission will hand over its schools to the Local Education Authorities if it is satisfied of freedom of religion for pupils of its church.'[63]

Although the school system did not augur well for the mukanda practitioners of the Western Province in terms of literacy, it was a blessing in disguise in terms of the continuity of the mukanda institution and its values. Many adolescents in the area were therefore not exposed to those values which would have led them to abandon the institution.

It was not every mission that had financial and manpower problems. The Capuchin Fathers, operating mostly in the Western Province, were well equipped in terms of manpower and financial resources. They therefore had more impact upon the area than the poorer missions. The Capuchin Fathers opened Lukulu (Santa Maria) Mission in 1936, after the PMS, which had for a long time blocked their way in the Western Province (due to the latter's claimed unlimited sphere of influence in the Province), failed to develop it. Of their six administrative mission stations in the province, Lukulu, Mangango, and Sihole established and managed schools in areas where the Vakamulauko were concentrated (i.e. Lukulu, Kaoma and Kalabo Districts). These mission stations and schools, including the ones taken over by

Local Education Authorities (LEA) from the SDA and SAGM in the 1950s, came to exert a lot of pressure on the mukanda institution, forcing it to accommodate a number of demands from the colonial society. Both mission and LEA schools were strengthened by the 'legislation requiring the compulsory attendance of children of school going age living within reasonable walking distance of a registered primary school.'[64] This legislation was passed by the Barotse Native Government with the approval of the Northern Rhodesia Government. In areas where the people realized that school education was a gate-way to prosperity in the new setting, they helped to readjust the mukanda institution in line with their expectations. They knew that school education conflicted with mukanda rites. However, by coincidence, the colonial authorities designed their school year in such a way that it did not conflict with the mukanda sessions. Up to the end of colonial rule, the school year ended in May and the long vacation lasted towards the end of July. While the school year avoided the cold season between May and August, this was an ideal period for opening mukanda camps.[65] The cold season as we saw in chapter two was ideal for quick recovery of the wounds. In order to utilize the three cold months of the school vacation, the duration of the mukanda camp in both provinces changed; it now comprised circumcision, sex

education and a short period of makishi performances, leaving out the year-long training period in the skills related to the mukanda practitioners' mode of production.

In some areas of the two provinces, some people adopted makishi for economic reasons (i.e. as a way of earning a living). In this way, certain aspects of the mukanda were adapted to the dictates of the colonial environment. As earlier pointed out, the institution also utlized old cultural traditions, though these were presented in the context of the colonial society. For instance, the mukanda revived the old tradition of mbumbulu. This was a resting place for the initiates, where women and children visited the former during the mukanda, following the healing and cleansing rites. During the colonial period, elders equated mbumbulu with the modern school system, because in school, too, pupils always saw teachers of both sexes. The mukanda traditions therefore came to perceive school as another form of mbumbulu. School was regarded as posing no serious breach of the mukanda secrets, as long as the initiates had undergone Kulonga (indoctrination combined with an oath of secrecy) rites, prior to the healing rite and they returned to mukanda immediately after their school sessions in the same way they did from mbumbulu.

Although the mukanda institution was affected by the same social changes in both provinces, the impact of missionary activities towards the institution in the

Mwinilunga District was extreme. In this area the doctors at Kaleni Hill hospital relentlessly strove to wipe out the mukanda institution. For example, in their efforts to disrupt the authentic mukanda functions 'during 1936, fourteen circumcision camps were /organized/ by the mission. Nine of these camps were in connection with local out-schools. The camp was under the charge of the local out-school teacher who did the necessary surgical dressing and gave religious and moral instruction. In all 240 circumcisions were performed in 1936.'[66] Also, in 1944, Dr. Kaye of Kaleni Hospital, with the intention of disrupting mukanda activities, wrote to the Director of Medical Services, requesting permission to allow his African Medical Assistants to circumcise boys in the villages. To conceal his intentions, Dr. Kaye asserted that it was not fair 'to let the boys attend the native initiation camp, both surgical and moral effect of which /was/ not likely to be in the best interest of the children /and that/ the parents of the boys /were/ almost without exception anxious for them to have the operation done at the hospital... /adding that/ it /was/ almost impossible for /him/ to find time to circumcise 200 to 300 boys a year.'[67]

There were a number of factors reponsible for averting a complete extinction of the mukanda institution in the Mwinilunga District. To begin with, in the North-Western Province in the 1940s, 'education.../was/ increasingly

removed from exclusive mission control and the territorial government... assumed much greater direct responsibility both for it and for health services.' 68 This change in the administration of schools and hospitals meant that the missionaries exercised less influence on those institutions. Secondly, the schools and dispensaries run by the CMML were both few and inaccessible to the majority of the people, even if they appreciated missionary values.[69] Thirdly, in response to missionary pressure, some parents in the Mwinilunga District are said to have opted for change in the mukanda entry age; they were now holding mukanda for boys of pre-school age. Turner puts this age at about eight to ten years old, and rarely over fifteen.[70] This was not the case in the rest of the mukanda practising areas. With the exception of Mwinilunga, boys entered mukanda institution at both lower primary and middle school ages. This seems to have been the main reason why the mukanda in this area was either confined to the long school vacation or it adapted the mbumbulu rite to allow boys to attend both school and mukanda rites.

In this chapter we have attempted to assess and analyse the impact of the colonial political economy, missionary work, western medicine and modern education on the mukanda institution. We have argued that despite their disruptive nature on traditional societies, the

above factors indirectly contributed to the continuity of the institution. It is however, puzzling why the mukanda rites were tolerated in the area of our study while in other parts of 'British Africa,' they were either condemned or abolished by legislation. According to Mushingeh circumcision rites in Botswana were prohibited after a protracted struggle between the Tswana traditional doctors, dingaka ,on one hand, and the Christian chiefs, missionaries and British administrators on the other. In 1917, the colonial state in Botswana imposed a 'prohibitive legislation by way of the Circumcision and Initiation Rite Proclamation /No. 17/ of 1917 /which/ made its practice a criminal offence.'[71] In the area of our study, it seems the mukanda was also helped by the fact that it had ceased to be part of the domain of traditional healing. The hostility of colonial rulers and missionaries to traditional healing was very pronounced in the whole of Southern Africa. In both the Western and North-Western Provinces, the vakamulauke ling'aka (the Mbunda traditional doctors) who came into direct confrontation with the PMS missionaries at the close of the nineteenth century and had their practice prohibited by British administration decree of 1904 had long stopped practising mukanda rites.[72] In this way, both the BSA Co. and British Colonial administrators seem not to have associated the mukanda institution with the ling'aka practices in the areas of our study. As earlier pointed out,

the struggle between the Lozi aristocracy and the BSA Co., which according to Caplan, lasted for twenty five years, also contributed to the survival of the mukanda rites, though in an indirect way.[73] In this political atmosphere, issues such as those of the mukanda institution were too insignificant to attract the attention of two political forces, both of whom had very little to do with it. Besides, in the Western Province the mukanda rites were practised by a minority group compared to the North-Western Province where, the institution was used to integrate its practitioners into a strong political group, able to resist the rule of the Lozi aristocracy (See Appendices 1 and 2).

It can thus be argued that the mukanda institution owed its continuity both to its receptiveness to the changing circumstances and to its ability to capitalize on the prevailing traditions. The type of mukanda which emerged during colonial rule was therefore, an amalgam of both age-old traditions and forces of social change. It is in this context that one can appreciate the adaptation and continuity of the institution. Consequently, by 1963, when colonial rule was successfully dislodged, the mukanda institution had assumed a new role; it created inter-ethnic cohesion among its practitioners (the Yakamulauko) who, as a single entity were collectively known as Luvale, especially in urban centres and not as Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale, Mbalango, Mbunda, Nkangala and Yauma.

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1. See The Statute Law of North-Western Rhodesia, 1899-1909, Proclamation No. 16 of 1905, Sections 4 and 7 (i).

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3. See NAZ, NR 2/164/9/3, Director of African Education to Secretary of SDA, 23 April, 1942; See also, P.D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia, 1883-1945 (Ndola: National Educational Company of Zambia Ltd., 1974), p. 96.

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5. See Milimo, 'Relations Between the Lozi', 83.

6. Robin Palmer, 'Peasant Production, Taxation and the Impact of Capitalist Penetration in Rural Zambia, 1900-1930,' History Staff Seminar (The University of Zambia, 1979), 2.

7. Caplan, The Elites of Barotseland, p. 87.

8. E.L. Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland, 1800-1940,' Ph.D Thesis (North Western University 1973), 237.

9. See NAZ, KSX 4/1, Mankoya (Kaoma) District Note Book, 1907-1963.

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11. African Studies Branch, 'Method of Direct Taxation in British Tropical Africa,' Part 2, Journal of African Administration, 11 (June, 1952), 34.

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15. Caplan, The Elites of Barotseland, p. 87.

16. See Hermitte, 'An Economic History,' 307. Hermitte states that the Luvale to the north of Bulozi and the inhabitants of the isolated parts of Kalabo were most reluctant to undertake migrant labour. See also, Murray Armor, 'Migrant Labour in the Kalabo District of Barotseland (Northern Rhodesia),' Bulletin of Inter-African Labour Institute, 9, 1(1962), 8.

17. R. Philpott, 'The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route,' Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 3(June, 1945), 52.

18. See Hermittee, 'An Economic History,' 278-79.

19. Interview: Peter Muzungu Mubila; See also, Philpott, 'The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route', 52.

20. Interviews: John Muhondo Zuku, Area Induna, Chavuma (Zambezi), 26 December, 1986; See also, Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 28.

21. Interviews: David Kalimbwe Chikasa, Ward Chairman, Yuka (Kalabo), January, 1987. See also, Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 28.

22. Interviews: Dickson Salwenyeka, Retired Professional Makishi Dancer, Solwezi, 13 February, 1987. See also, Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi, p. 28.

23. See The Statute Law of North-Western Rhodesia, 1899-1909, Proclamation No. 6, 'The Administration of Justice,' 25 February, 1905.

24. See Milimo, 'Relations Between the Lozi', 101-2. See also, The Statute Law of North-Western Rhodesia 1899-1909, Proclamations No. 6 and No. 19 of 1905.

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26. Caplan, The Elites of Barotseland, p. 103.

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35. White, 'An Outline', 1.

36. Interview: Paul Chimbumbwe, Chikeba. See also, Kafungulwa Mubitana, 'Wiko Masquerades,' African Arts, (Spring, 1971), 59.

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38. See Snelson, Educational Development, pp. 21-25.

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42. See van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, Chapter 4. See also, Gluckman, 'The Role of Sexes,' 145; White, 'Notes on the circumcision,' 41; Turner, The Forest, p. 152.

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59. See Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette, Vol. 1 Livingstone, Friday, 15 September, 1911, No. 3: 'Government Notice No. 9 of 1911.'; See also, Milimo, 'Relations Between the Lozi,' 92. The North-Eastern Boundary of the Barotse District was defined as the Manyinga-Kabompo Rivers, so that the area of Balovale District to the east as well as the west of the Zambezi River was included with the boundary of the Barotse District.

60. Snelson, Educational Development, p. 74.

61. See NAZ, NR 2/164/9/3, Seventh Day Adventists - Liumba Hill Mission: 'Reports No. 451/VIS/1/m of 13 November, 1942 and No. 445/RI/6 of 18 September, 1944.'

62. NAZ, NR 2/169, South Africa General Mission - Luampa: Provincial Education Officer, Mongu, to Manager of Schools - Luampa, 8 December, 1948.

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CONCLUSION

This conclusion is a recapitulation of the main points discussed in this study, relating to the process of change and continuity in our comparative approach to the changing role of the mukanda institution in the Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia. We have looked at four main points in our conclusion.

First, the existing studies on the mukanda institution contain a number of weaknesses. Two of such weaknesses can verify this point. These studies have described the mukanda institution in isolation from the socio-economic and political developments among its vakamulauko practitioners. Another weaknesses is that most of these studies lack chronology; hence they have portrayed the mukanda as a static institution which was not receptive to change.

Second, in this study we have adopted a historical approach, going back to the pre-colonial period. This has enabled us to look at the origins of the mukanda institution and to trace its historical development in both the Western and North-Western Province of Zambia. By looking at the mukanda institution as it existed in pre-colonial times, we have been able to appreciate two important developments in the institution: the aspects of the pre-colonial mukanda institution which changed during the colonial epoch; how through adaptation of

pre-colonial mukanda rites to the colonial circumstances the institution successfully sustained its continuity.

Third, we have shown that the pre-colonial mukanda institution in both the Western and North-Western Provinces of Zambia was oriented towards the values and aspirations of the vakamulauko practitioners. In the North-Western Province, from the seventeenth century, the Nama Kungu chiefs who sought to consolidate their authority over the ruled ethnic groups, used the mukanda institution to create the present Luvale ethnic group out of a number of previously heterogeneous ethnic groups. In the Western Province, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the vakamulauko chiefs and headmen, in response to social pressure and the new political set up emanating from their settlement among non-mukanda practising ethnic groups, sought unity through the mukanda institution. They did this by integrating the various vakamulauko ethnic groups in the area into a single entity of mukanda practitioners.

Finally, we have concluded that the mukanda institution owed both its continuity and new role to its being receptive to the changing socio-economic and political environment and by capitalizing on its prevailing traditions. Hence between 1900 and 1963, the period of colonial rule, the mukanda institution successfully capitalized on both positive and weak aspects of the forces

of social change on the one hand, and on its own prevailing traditions on the other, to sustain its own continuity. As a result, by 1963 when colonial rule was being brought to an end, the mukanda institution had successfully developed a new role. It became a vehicle for integration and cohesion among vakamulauko in the Western and North-Western Provinces. This new role was more profound in the urban centres of Zambia where all the mukanda practising ethnic groups had collectively come to be known as Luvale and not as Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Ndembu, Luvale, Mbalango, Mbunda, Nkangala or Yauma.

APPENDIX 1: ETHNIC STATISTICS FOR VAKAMULAUKO IN WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES, 1960.

ETHNIC GROUP	NORTH-WESTERN	WESTERN	TOTAL
CHOKWE	7,616	4,777	12,393
LUCHAZI	12,543	11,542	24,486
LUNDA/NDEMBU	60,012	2,416	62,428
LUVALE	32,227	21,653	53,880
MBALANGO	-	1,392	1,392
MBUNDA	2,747	30,215	32,962
MBUNDU	369	186	555
NKANGALA	-	1,944	1,944
YAUMA	-	3,108	3,108
PROVINCIAL TOTAL NON-MUKANDA GROUPS	115,513 66,267	77,549 229,802	193,062 296.069
TOTAL AFRICANS	181,780	307,351	489,131

SOURCES: Northern Rhodesia African Affairs: Annual Report for the year 1960.

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APPENDIX 2: WESTERN PROVINCE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF THE VAKAMULAUKO ETHNIC GROUPS, 1960.

	MONGU	KALABO	KAOMA	SENANGA	SESHEKE
Chokwe	640	87	2,574	1,045	-
Luchazi	2,750	332	7,709	526	541
Lunda	1,671	320	157	-	268
Luvale	8,141	6,653	4,241	923	1,695
Mbalango	40	912	-	-	440
Mbunda	10,390	7,731	6,593	5,018	481
Nkangala	76	1,720	-	29	-
Yauma	135	2,959	-	56	-
TOTAL	23,843	20,714	21,274	7,597	3,425

SOURCE: NAZ, SEC 2/71/20, Annual Report on African Affairs, Barotseland Protectorate: 'Tribal Statistics, 1960.

Note: Due to the integration of these ethnic groups into a single cultural entity of the mukanda institution, the majority of these people have linguistically affiliated themselves to Luvale or Mbunda; hence the big numbers in these two ethnic groups.

APPENDIX 3: Some of the Vakamulauko Chiefs in Zambia

WESTERN PROVINCE

Mwene Chiyengele	Mongu	Mbunda
Mwene Kandala	Mongu	Mbalango
Mwene Mundu	Kalabo	Mbalango
Mwene Lindeo	Kalabo	Mbunda
Mwangana Kasabi	Kaoma	Mbalango
Mwangana Kandombwe	Kaoma	Luvale
Mwene Kanguya	Kaoma	Mbunda
Mwangana Chishita	Lukulu	Luvale

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE (Zambezi and Kabompo Districts)

Mwangana Ndungu (Senior Chief)	Zambezi	Luvale
Mwangana Chinyama Litapi	Zambezi	Luvale
Mwangana Kucheka	Zambezi	Luvale
Mwangana Nguvu	Zambezi	Luvale
Mwanta Shindi (Senior Chief)	Zambezi	Lunda
Mwanta Shima	Zambezi	Lunda
Mwene Sikufele	Kabompo	Mbunda
Mwanta Mpidi	Zambezi	Lunda
Mwene Chiyengele	Kabompo	Mbunda
Mwangana Kalunga	Kabompo	Luchazi

APPENDIX 4: Ritual Titles for Eminent Personalities in the Mukanda Institution.

Chijika mukanda was the chief mukanda organizer and promoter. He was a village headman or a senior man of high social, economic or political status but not a chief.

Nganga mukanda or Mukafunda, the chief mukanda consultant in protective mystical powers and curative therapy.

Chikeji, chipungu or chijihanyi, surgeon or circumciser; the last title means a symbolic executioner. He had both the skill to operate and a renowned therapeutic skill.

Chilombola (plural Vilombola) an attendant, warden and counsellor of a given initiate. He was an experienced man, capable of carrying out his multiduties without close supervision.

Kalombolachika (plural Tulombolachika), circumcised youths who assisted vilombola in addition to acting as a vigilante squad of the mukanda camp.

Mbwema chilyamilunda, these were volunteer circumcised youths from the neighbourhood who patronized the mukanda camp to give a hand in the various tasks in return for milunda (food).

Chihungu was an assistant to chipungu. He was a very strong man physically. His job was to hold initiates in position firmly so as to avoid accidents during the operation.

Chifwa or Nyachifwa was the mukanda matron. She was always an old woman past child-bearing age.

Nyachijika mukanda was the wife of the principal mukanda organiser and promoter.

Kandanji/chindanda (plural Tundanji/Vindanda) was the initiate or novice who underwent mukanda rites for the first time.

Kambungu or Sakambungu was senior Kandanji/Chindanda. He was the son of the chijika mukanda and first to be circumcised.

APPENDIX 4 (contd.)

Sakasula was an assistant to Kambungu/Sakambungu. Any boy could become a sakasula as long as he was the last to be circumcised.

Nguji ya mikula na mikumbi took charge of royal mukanda camps and rites. He was the mbimbi or principal royal consultant on both protective mystical powers and therapeutic skills. At royal mukanda rites, he took the positions of chijika mukanda and Nganga mukanda or mukafunda.

APPENDIX 5: Eminent Ritual Makishi Characters During Pre-Colonial and Colonial Days and What they Represented in the Mukanda Institution.

Kayipu was an enormous likishi who was heavily decorated. He represented the founders of Luvale royal establishments.

Mupala, lya ndenga-ndenga was an enormous likishi who was heavily decorated. Among both the Luvale and Mbunda Mupala represented ancestors of chiefs.

Linyampa, an enormous likishi with a very wide face and long white beards; he represented the ancestors of the Mbunda royal house.

Other makishi characters who represented mbunda chiefs and princes were:- Mwene Lindeo, with smoking pot on his head; Mwene Vitumbi; Mwene Litwe and Mwene Likupe.

Chikuza, a dynamic character with a cylindrical head; he represented chokwe royal ancestors (vamwanangana). His right hand man who represented Chokwe senior men was Kalelwa.

Ndtzingi or Isha Bukolo, with an abnormally big head and abnormally fat cheeks represented an eloquent Mbunda man who was a mungomba (barrister) in the matters of the community.

Kateye with a wide face and majestic step in his movement represented Mbunda chiefs.

Men of outstanding status in society and other dignitaries were always represented by Makishi characters. Among the Luvale, chizaluke represented dignified men of high social standing in society. Among the Mbunda, the following characters represented men of outstanding social, economic or political status who earned themselves praise titles such as:-

a. Likulukulenge, wa lilila ngoma, ngoma naino, meaning likulukulenge, you who long for dancing, drums are ready for you. This character represented men who earned their social status through dancing.

APPENDIX 5 (contd.)

b. Lyathindumuka lya tunda ku nyonthi, vushoko vwatunda ku vukulunu, meaning erosion came with rain and kinship was appreciated through elders. This character represented historians who earned their status by educating the youth in Mbunda traditions of past and present.

c. Kumbengu, kwa lupatha ngimbu, kunja pithile ngimbu njilala - this saying metaphorically meant the lazy ones lost their axes and when they did not they went to sleep. The actual meaning was that a hard working man was always found with his axe ready for work. Kumbengu represented hardworking men who earned their social and economic status through hard work.

d. Mukwetunga Kayongo, mukwetunga means consort; hence this character represented noble men who were married to members of the Mbunda royal families.

In every society there are men and women, hence in the mukanda created environment, women were also represented by makishi characters. Some of the feminine makishi characters were Ina-mbunda or Ina-mabunda, the wise old woman representing the mothers of tundanji/vindanda.

In most traditional African societies, even the feeble and disabled had their own contribution to make towards the well being of their respective societies, regardless of their sex. In view of this Livweluvwelu or Nyamavwelu was a character representing a disabled woman who was very good at entertaining everybody in her community. She had no arms but her soft body made her an excellent dancer and entertainer.

APPENDIX 5: (contd)

In society, sometimes people made wrong judgements about certain individuals by thinking that one's appearance told us all what he was. In order to prove this conception wrong, Kaluwe and Kanjenjela were made to appear feminine with voices of wise old men. They represented brave hunters (carrying guns wherever they went) who never looked like they could stand the dangers of the jungle.

Katotola was a character who represented messengers or servants. His main job was to run the errands of the mukanda institution.

Handsome youngmen in society were represented by Ngaji and Mwengo among Luvale and Hungu and Kapango among Mbunda.

Clowns and other humorous personalities in society were represented by cenda - Mundali, the joker and Limunga tewa nyonthi, the village clown. The former had a special song which went as follows:

Cenda - mundali	cenda mundali
Vanana vakala kulila-e-e-e	Mother is mourning
Cenda-Mundali	cenda mundali
Nana-e-e nana	Mother! Mother! Mother!
Vushoko muka mulilila e-e-e	What kinship are you mourning for?
cenda-mundali	cenda-mundali.

APPENDIX 5 (contd)

This song was metaphorical. It actually meant that a joker was a happy man who knew no kinship barriers.

Water is a very essential commodity which man cannot do without, hence Kanyenge nyenge, the pelican represented rain makers who were believed to possess power to bring water when it was needed.

Victims of mysterious deaths were represented. Kambimbindonga, a river bird which dived for fish under water; this represented victims of drowning and chitanga, a double faced likishi character symbolizing mystery, represented people who died in mysterious circumstances.

Chimbanda, meaning a herbalist, represented all sorts of people who specialized in either preventive mystical powers or in therapeutic skills.

Young beautiful women were represented by Mulombwe among the Mbunda. After responding to the dictates of the colonial forces of social change, Mwana pwevo among the Luvale represented young beautiful women.

Humble people of weak character were represented by Chileya cha mukanda, a simple character of simple personality.

The nasty experiences of slavery and slave trade were represented by Ndungo which literary meant slave among the Mbunda and Ngondo among the Luvale.

The initiates themselves were represented by makishi characters called Tundanji/Vindanda who demonstrated the ritual dance Kuhunga to the initiates.

Wicked and selfish individuals were represented by Munguli, a hyena character. A wicked and selfish man like a hyena had no respect for other people's property but had the responsibility of feeding his own family on his loot. In the same way the loot of Munguli from his raids on the homesteads of relatives and friends of the mukanda organizers always supplemented the mukanda over all expenses.

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