

A HISTORY OF THE LUYANA OF
KALABO TO 1906

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
LUSAKA

A HISTORY OF THE LUYANA OF
KALABO TO 1906

A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in
partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Arts. (History).

by


George Nyambe Sumbwa

Date: 1979

I GEORGE NYAMBE SUMBWA hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own research, and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or at any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G.N. Sumbwa', written in a cursive style.

This dissertation of GEORGE NYAMBE SUMBWA is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

Signed:  J.K. RENNIE

Signed: H.W. Macmillan H.W. MACMILLAN
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Signed:

Date: 19th November 1980
.....

ABSTRACT

Title: A History of the Luyana of Kalabo to 1906.
Author: G.N. Sumbwa.
Degree: M.A. (History).
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Like every other kind of historical research, the subject matter of this study cannot be considered exhausted. Both for the limitations to historical research and writing in general, and more so for the period involved (pre-colonial), it could not have been possible for everything pertaining to Luyana history at this time to be fully unearthed and documented here.

This is not to say that the work is inadequate. For, it contains a fair amount of new data, as well as fresh interpretations to Luyana history in particular and that of Bulozhi (Western Province) in general. In the main, the following issues have been discussed:

First, the identity of the people in question. Existing Bulozhi history uses the term Luyana to denote the ruling group in Bulozhi prior to the coming of the Kololo. The word is used interchangeably with the word Luyi which refers to the same people. Consequently, the Luyana of Kalabo are precluded from this definition, and are referred to only by their individual names: Makoma, Nyengo, Mwenyi, Imilangu and Liuwa. In contrast to this view, my study makes a distinction between the names Luyi and Luyana. (See Appendix B, 1). It then

reserves use of the former name to the ruling group, while applying the latter to the above mentioned peoples, as well as the other Luyi offshoots such as the Kwangwa and Kwandi.

Second, this study discusses the question of the origins of the Luyana peoples, including the manner of their migration into the Luyana region. Here again, there is a marked contrast between the prevailing views and my findings. Whereas existing literature considers the Luyana as being non-Luyi, and to have come to Bulozhi earlier than them, my thesis is that most Luyana broke from the Luyi and the recognized Luyi offshoots viz: the Kwangwa, Kwandi and Mbowe. Their coming to Luyanaland is shown as a gradual process, in which different clansmen came to the area either as hunters or as refugees. And for historical reasons, these clans eventually merged into the major peoples now existing.

Third, we have a discussion on the economy and government of the Luyana peoples. Both are discussed under various periods. An early period, when Luyana affairs were administered by their clan heads (makulututu), a period when there were independent chieftaincies in Nyengo and Makoma prior to the incorporation of these areas into the Central Luyi Administration, and the period of Luyi rule in the region. A number of interesting factors emerge from these discussions. The scientific mind of the early Luyana as exemplified by their preparation of crystalline salt, and Luyana inclusion into the Luyi Administration through the lifunga system, are notable

examples. Interesting too is the issue of Luyana militarism. Whereas existing literature says practically nothing regarding Luyana warfare, apart from stating their being conquered by the Luyi, my study shows that some Luyana played significant roles in some wars that were fought in Bulozhi. Ngombala's conquest of the independent chieftaincies in Luyanaland for example, was achieved through the corroboration of some Luyana men.

Finally, this study deals with the crucial issue of the advent of colonialism. The Luyana were under the Luyi then, and Lewanika's treaties with the British resulted in Luyana 'country' falling under the British sphere of influence. Unfortunately for the people, some of their kinsmen came under the Portuguese, who had been advancing from their trading posts in present day Angola. An administrative station (Lukona) was established in 1906, to effect British rule in Luyanaland. The date marks the terminal point for this study. It is sincerely hoped that what the work contains will interest scholars, to the extent that some of them may conduct further research in the region.

CONTENTS

Preface	xix
Abbreviations	xxiii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LUYANALAND: COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF ITS PEOPLE	27
3. LUYANALAND: THE ENVIRONMENT, EARLY ECONOMY AND GOVERNMENT	60
4. THE RISE OF INDEPENDENT CHIEFTAINCIES 1740* - 1760*	97
5. THE LUYANA UNDER LUYI RULE 1760* - 1899	114
6. THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS	149
APPENDICES:	
A. Chronology	171
B. Ethnic Terminology	174
C. Glossary of Vernacular Terms Used	183
LIST OF ORAL SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	190

M A P S

- 1: Luyanaland its location and major Population Groups 26 a ✓
- 2: Luyanaland, Distributuion of Clans 59 a
- 3: Luyanaland, Physical Features 96 a
- 4: Luyanaland, Places of historical interest including 148 a ✓
Chiefs placed in Angola by the boundary of 1905

PREFACE

Research work is a kind of social enterprise. Although the outcome is associated with an individual, its production involves many people. There are the academic advisors, librarians, informants on oral traditions, financiers, and so on. Though playing different roles, each of these peoples help ensure the success of the project. This is very true of my own work. A lot of people assisted me in carrying it out. I owe them all a lot of thanks. Particularly worth mentioning are the following.

First, The Bursaries Committee of the Ministry of Education for funding my field research.

Second, my supervisor, Dr. J.K. Rennie, Senior Lecturer in History, University of Zambia for his most invaluable suggestions, constant advice and encouragement.

Third, Dr. W.G. Clarence-Smith, then Lecturer in History, University of Zambia, for kindly translating some Portuguese and French materials for me into English.

Fourth, Professor Terence Ranger, currently Professor of Modern History, University of Manchester, for his suggestions on the organization of the chapters.

Fifth, Mr. N. Kamayoyo, a fellow student, for his useful comments on my first draft.

Worthy of special thanks too are my many informants (see List of Oral Sources) on Luyana tradition. Since there is a great scarcity of written accounts on Luyana history (as the

reader will discover) the outcome of this work owes much to these men.

The Kalabo District Governor Mr. Kamavu, the District Secretary Mr. Muliokela, the Assistant District Secretary Mr. Mushukulumbwe, the Rural Council Chairman Mr. Mwendiana and Education Officer Mr. F. Moola are equally thanked. These were quite co-operative and rendered whatever assistance I required of them whenever they could.

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G.N. Sumbwa

ABBREVIATIONS

B.S.A. Co.	British South Africa Company
D.C.	District Commissioner
N.A.Z.	National Archives of Zambia
N.W.R.	North-Western Rhodesia

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study i.e. the Luyana of Kalabo, involves a number of peoples. These include the Makoma and Mwenyi who live along the forest edges of the Luanginga river valley, the Nyengo of the Nyengo plain, the Imilangu and the Liuwa. (1) Though they are such a collection of peoples, the Luyana have several unifying links. According to their traditions, they are mainly of Luyi origin and began coming to Luyanaland at the end of the 17th century. (2) Besides this, they have cultural linkages such as that of language, food, dress and religion; as well as common historical experiences. An example of the latter is their subjection to Luyi rule.

(a) Why the subject was chosen

By comparison with other areas of Zambia, writes Mainga, Bulozzi (Western Province) has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention...Among these are Professor Vansina's survey of the material available for the pre-colonial Lozi state,... Anyone presenting another extended treatment of Lozi history, therefore, must attempt to indicate what novelties of source or interpretation justify the work. (3)

The truth about this statement cannot be disputed. Beginning with David Livingstone in the mid-nineteenth century, coming on to Westbeech and Coillard towards the end of that century; then Gibbons, Jalla and Stirke, and finally through to the more recent writers such as Gluckman, Turner and Clay: an enormous amount of written records have been created about this Lozi state. For this reason

further studies pertaining to this Province certainly require justification.

Foremost among the justifications is the question of gaps in our knowledge. Although there is a proliferation of material on Lozi history, there is a lamentable gap left in our knowledge of the Province as a whole. This is a result of the concentration by existing history on politics at the centre. I hoped that by shifting the area of focus from the centre to the periphery i.e. from the rulers to the ruled, this would help to significantly portray the ways in which the two communities interacted. The question of these people's resistance to the Lozi state, for instance, and that of the impact the state ultimately had on them, were particularly in mind.

Second, was the issue of Luyana identity. Since some of the existing records allege that they were one of the two major groups which lived in Bulozhi before the foundation of the Lozi kingdom, (4) I felt that a study of their political institutions and economy (prior to the Luyi advent) would help to shed light on existing interpretation of Bulozhi history. My desire to try and determine this identity was greatly increased when I found that oral traditions were at variance with this autochthonous explanation. Because these traditions claim common ancestry for the Luyi and Luyana, I therefore thought it would be interesting to discover the dynamics which led to the prevailing distinctions between

the two communities.

Third, the Luyana country became a major refugee centre for Lozi exiles fleeing from the Kololo invaders in the nineteenth century. The impact of the Lozi during this time, I believed, was worth studying.

Fourth, the nineteenth century was an era of great commercial activity to the north, east and west of this area. This involved trade in rubber and ivory mainly, in addition to slaves, and was spear-headed by the Mambari and Chokwe. The apparent lack of reference to this trade in Luyanaland, in the travellers' records I looked at puzzled me. I therefore decided to investigate the matter with the hope of determining the nature and extent of local involvement in these wider trade networks.

Fifth, the Mambari/Chokwe commercial penetration was followed by the invasion of European commerce, aided by European exploration and missionary enterprise. Men such as Silva Porto, Serpa Pinto and Capello and Ivens had connections with the area. This penetration was historically important, for the region became in the late 19th century and early 20th century a contested area between Britain and Portugal. The results of this contest, especially the impact arising therefrom, were issues I wanted to investigate.

Finally, the apparent paucity of historical records about this region and its peoples, appeared to make it virgin land for historical research. 1906 is the terminal

date for this study. This was determined by the fact that this was the year in which the British established an administrative centre (Lukona) in the region. This was done following the settlement of the disputed boundary by arbitration in 1905.

(b) Contents

The findings of this study have been arranged and written in six chapters. Following this introduction is one entitled Luyanaland, composition and origins of its people. Two things are dealt with here. First, the identity of the Luyana. Who are these people? Where are they found? What peoples comprise them? What earns them the common term Luyana? In trying to answer these questions, I will argue that the Luyana are a people made up of two distinct groupings i.e. clans (mikowa) and peoples (mishobo). The twelve smaller units (the clans), it will be argued, were the primary ones, out of which grew the five larger ones viz: the Nyengo, Makoma, Mwenyi, Imilangu and Liuwa. I will also point to common cultural traits and some historical factors as accounting for the 'unity' of the people.

The second issue, origins, is by no means less important. Since there already exist varying explanations on the subject, all of which are negated by the present study, this section is thus of great significance. Apart from discussing the short-comings of the existing views, I will also deal with the following: (i) portray the migrations of the Luyana into

the region, as they are given by the traditions; (ii) present arguments in support of these claims; (iii) show the value to Bulozhi history of this new set of data.

Next to this chapter is that on the environment, early economy and government. Under environment, I outline the different geographical and ecological zones appearing on the Luyanaland landscape. The animal and other natural endowments of each of these zones are portrayed, together with the limitations to human endeavour, caused by the climatic and soil conditions of the region.

The section on economy deals with the division of Luyana economic activities into food-producing ones and crafts. Fishing, hunting, cultivation, gathering and stock-keeping, constitute the first category; while cloth-making, pottery, basketry, wood-work, salt-making, fat and perfume preparation account for the other. Apart from identifying these branches of production here, I will also look into such questions as organization of work, range of manufacture and the importance of each economic activity involved.

The type of government dealt with in this chapter is the clan-based one. The administrative structure of this type of rule; the functions, powers and privileges of its officers; as well as the modes of appointment to office pertaining to it are all issues looked into.

Chapter 4 is on the rise and fall of independent chieftaincies in the 18th century. This concerns the Kabinga

chieftaincy in Makoma and the Sitamemba/Kambunji dynasty in Nyengo. Although they arose in different parts of Luyanaland, these chieftaincies occurred at about the same time. My attention here is focused on the reasons for the rise and fall of these chieftaincies, their impact and on the issue of comparison between these governments and those preceding them.

In the middle of the 18th century, these chieftaincies were submerged by the Luyi state. Henceforth, the Luyana remained under the Luyi up to the coming of the whites. I discuss this lengthy period under three phases: the pre-Kololo period (1760* - 1850), the Kololo period (1851 - 1864) and the post Kololo period (1865 - 1899). Questions relating to the nature of this type of rule are all examined.

The last chapter is on 'The coming of the Whites', which occurred at the end of the 19th century. Particularly discussed here is the contest for Luyanaland by the two European powers - Britain and Portugal, as well as the immediate results of colonial advent.

(c) Problems and Methodology

Like every kind of research, this particular study had its own problems. The problem of sources, that of periodization and one relating to authenticity of data were the most prominent.

Normally, historical studies have three main sources of
* = 'Soft' date i.e. date derived by estimation. (See p. 13).

data collection. These are written sources (primary and secondary), archaeological findings and oral traditions.

Unfortunately for my study, no archaeological studies have been carried out in Luyanaland. The nearest identified early iron age sites to the region are Sefula on the eastern margin of the Barotse Plain, Lweti to the south of Senanga and Lubusi in western Kaoma District. (5) Although the only dated one of these, Lubusi, is like the rest within a few days journey of Luyanaland; it was not possible to get much help from it in terms of information for my study. The site is carbon dated to the last quarter of the first century A.D. and hence belongs to the early iron age people who may not be the ancestors of the Luyana.

Nevertheless, there were a few factors of importance I was able to deduce from these studies by Phillipson. As will be seen in chapter 5, his views on the location of the Linyanti pottery tradition tallies well with the Luyana claims that they were not conquered by the Kololo.

Regarding written sources, I made use of the University of Zambia library, where I had access to all the relevant material it has in stock. The Special Collection section gave me useful though scanty information about events in the region in the early and mid-nineteenth century.

Besides the University library, the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) was another important source of written material collection. The District Note-Books, Annual Reports

and Correspondence Files all had information that greatly supplemented the primary and secondary material I obtained from the library. The Anglo-Portuguese contest over Luyanaland in particular was fairly covered.

The major snag with these sources however, is that they did not go far back in time as our study demanded. To try and make for this deficiency, I turned to oral tradition. I made my research trip between April and August, 1977. This took me to all parts of Luyanaland where I made over sixty interviews.

Although it provided a lot of information, this source had two main problems. First, there was the problem of periodization. As the communities I was researching into were non-literate, it was difficult to pin-point the periods during which most of the events they described occurred. Finding that the earliest period they referred to was contemporaneous with that of the first Luyi king Mboo, I decided to make use of Mainga's generation table of the Luyi rulers. Since Mboo's time on that table is 1671* - 1695*, I put this down as marking the time for the earliest Luyana migration into the region.

I adopted these dates for purely convenient reasons. In the light of Miller's work, on state formations among the Lunda, Chokwe and Imbangala; (6) it is quite possible that the period of the Luyi occupation of Bulozhi is several centuries earlier than this.

According to Miller, the name Naweej and others, that are

attached to the founders of the Lunda state for example, are infact titles. By making use of traditions from both the Lunda of Zaire and their Chokwe/Imbangala offshoots, he found that the first dominant political title among the Lunda was Mbumba a Mbulu.

Hundreds of years later, the title Yala Mwaku came to pre-eminence. This was later overthrown by a rebellion led by the Kinguri and Kinyama title holders. But in the struggle for power that followed, the Naweej title managed to assume the office of the Yala Mwaku. For fear of continued opposition from the Kinguri/Kinyama title holders however, the restored Yala Mwakuship introduced greater centralisation and later invited Luba protection. Personified by the Naweej/Cibinda Ilunga marriage, this brought the use of iron weaponry among the Lunda and to a rise among them of the Luba title Mwata Yamva. Another result was the departure from Lundaland, of the Kinguri and Kinyama office holders, to establish the Imbangala and Chokwe chieftaincies in Angola.

Miller believes that the Kinguris must have taken about a century to travel to Kasanje. And since they were fighting the most powerful chiefs between the Kuvo and Kwanza rivers (1601 - 1602) (7) he is certainly right by pointing out that the decline of the Yala Mwakuship and start of a centralized state in Lundaland occurred 'much earlier than the late 16th century.' (8)

Coming back to the situation in Bulozzi, it can be said

that something similar to the above may have happened here. There is the man Yutoya for instance. Apart from being depicted as the owner of Ngulu (Bulozi), as in the saying 'Ngulu ta Yutoya,' (9) little else is said about this man. However, it is clear from this reference that the man ruled Bulozi. Also evident about him is the fact that his rule preceded both that of Mbuywamwambwa and that of her son Mboo. Mr. Sakabilo made this point when he testified that Yutoya was the leader of the Luyi on their way from Lundaland. (10) According to the story, this man quarrelled with one of his sisters, Sokanalinga^{namah} at Lukulu. The latter then left for Kabompo and thence to Mwito, and founded the Nkoya people. Yutoya went further south with his remaining sisters Mwambwa Ndeyakati and Mwambwa Njemakati. They settled near Libonda. Apart from being the ruler of his people, Yutoya is said to have had children by his niece Mbuywamwambwa, thereby starting the custom of regarding one's nieces as his wives. The acknowledged first Luyi ruler Mboo, the story concludes, is one of those children.

If this story is true, it would mean that state formation in Bulozi began much earlier than Mboo's time. For, if Yutoya was the first Luyi ruler in Bulozi, but the fact is no longer generally known, it may mean that there was a time lag between his rule and that of Mboo.

The official history given to Jalla seems to suggest a reason for this time lag. This states that Mbuywamwambwa

went to Lunda country in the north soon after Nyambe's ascendance into heaven; and that when she later returned, some of her children e.g. Soke (Sokanalinanga) refused to follow her and went to other places. (11) Because no reason is given for the queen's departure for the north, it can be assumed that it had to do with the events of the Luyi migration as given by Mr. Sakabilo. This is the more so if Yutoya took over leadership through staging a coup around Lukulu. Apart from occasioning Sokanalinanga's split from the main body, this usurpation may have forced the man's niece Mbuyamwambwa to return to the north.

After many years her people may have returned under a new Mbuyamwambwa. Yutoya's power may then have crumbled and Sokanalinanga's group had already developed into the Nkoya. Their experiences in the north, memories of Yutoya and possibly what they saw Isimwaa doing to the south, may have led to a fresh desire for male rule. This may have led the incumbent Mbuyamwambwa to abdicate in favour of her son Mboo. (12).

Testifying to the notion of a long standing pre-Mboo state in Bulozhi also is the subject of the Nyambe cult. Nyambe (God), according to the Lozi, created all things including Kamunu (man). Due to a conflict with the latter, Nyambe ascended to Litooma, his (Nyambe's) home in heaven. (13).

Although many of the things and places connected with Nyambe e.g. the 'Nyungu Luyela Matanda' site, are all found near

Liumba Mission School, (14) no one remembers anything about these places.

We do not know for instance whether these places were a centre for pilgrimages. This lack of knowledge I believe, arises from a considerable time lapse between the era these places had their religious and perhaps political importance, and the more recent time, when the Luyi state was developed under Mboo.

My divergence into the issue of the Lozi state formation may appear unrelated to our study. However, it has some bearing upon it. In their testimonies, the Luyana deny finding any people in their land when they broke from the Luyi. But if Luyana immigration is associated with Mboo, and if one accepts Mainga's late 17th century for this event, one reaches the improbable conclusion that Luyana land was un-inhabited before the late 17th century. There are only two possible explanations to this issue.

Either, the Luyana are right but that Mboo's time occurred much earlier in view of Miller's findings, or that there were actually people there whom Mboo found and thoroughly absorbed. The latter view is unlikely however, considering the Luyi failure to acculturate the Subiya, Totela and other southern based peoples to the same degree as they are supposed to have done to the Luyana. If my hypotheses about the two migrations were true however, the mystery would have been resolved. This would mean that Mboo and his mother Mbuywambwa, found those Luyi who had remained in Buloz

when others went back to the north. The two groups could then have merged under the leadership of Mboo. And due to dynastic problems, others may have left for lands to the south, east, and north-west of the Flood Plain, where they could have absorbed any of the earlier Luyi immigrants who might have moved there.

The dating of the early Luyana migration was hardly the only chronological problem I faced. It arose again when I came to the subject of the rise and decline of the independent chieftaincies. This is because Kabinga is associated with both kings Ngalama (1696* - 1720*) and Ngombala (1721* - 1745*). Since available evidence tend to suggest that Kabinga was of the latter's peerage, (15) I put his flight from the Flood Plain and the subsequent creation of his chieftaincy at about 1740*. Kabinga was about twenty years then, and quite capable of doing such things.

Although his adversary, Ngalama, was around forty five, it is probable that he did not live long enough after this to be able to destroy Kabinga's emerging power. Consequently, this formidable task was only effected by his (Ngalama's) son and successor Ngombala. This could have been around 1760*, twenty years after Kabinga's flight. The reason for this is the acknowledgement by the people of Makoma, that Kabinga ruled the whole of their land. Because the area concerned is fairly big, it is my contention that its effective control must have taken long to accomplish. This is despite the claim that

the chief was accepted on account of his royal background (see chapter 4) and that the population of the area must have been small then.

The final chronological problem I faced was that of the conquest of Bulozzi by the Makololo. In Portuguese material translated for me by W.G. Clarence - Smith, I discovered that the Kololo finally drove the Luyi from the Flood Plain in 1850. (16) Since this is ten years later than the currently accepted date, 1840, I took great interest in the matter. This was the more so that the statement appears to be a contradiction by the author, Silva Porto, of his own earlier statement recorded in 1848. This was to the effect that the Luyi country i.e. the Barotse Flood Plain was by then under the Kololo. (16a) In spite of this, my research findings seem to support the 1850 date for the event.

First, Porto's apparent contradiction appears to have been a result of a mistaken identity of the people he found at Lukulu. He writes,

Lui territory 'proper' now inhabited by Makololo... Old King 'Riumbo' took refuge in a place called 'Lucculo' (Lukulu) and there continues to reign over a wider area and to fight Kololo..., receives tribute from wide area... has no cattle or stock, only hens. (17)

The name Riumbo has not been identified with any of Mulambwa's sons. The initial struggle for power after the great chief's death was between his sons Silumelume and Mubukwanu. The former was killed. And before the latter

could establish himself, the Kololo arrived upon the scene. (18)

Following the fighting that occurred, Mubukwanu is said to have either been killed or to have fled to Lukulu where he was poisoned and then replaced by his son Imasiku. (19)

Besides Silumelume and Mubukwanu, Imbua (who headed the exile chieftaincy at Nyengo); Lutangu Sipopa (first Litunga after the restoration); Litia (Lewanika's father); and Mando, Ilukui, Sibeso and Mebelo Nang'anga - are all mentioned among the great chief's sons. (20) The omission of Riumbo from this list casts doubt on his having been an 'Old Lui chief.'

In my view, Riumbo could well have been the leader of the Mbunda exiles at Lukulu. And judging from records, this could well have been Mwene Ciengele. He was the Mbunda chief who was raised to the status of a prince by Mulambwa, and also the one who supplied Mubukwanu's wife the poison with which to kill the chief when he came to join the Mbunda/Luyi community at Nakalomo in Lukulu. (21) My reasons for making this assumption are as follows.

First, the Mbunda are known to have fled to Lukulu upon the advent of the Kololo. They built a stockade there, which the Nguni under Nxaba failed to penetrate, and which Livingstone says was attacked and broken by Sebitwane. (22)

Second, the testimony that Riumbo did not have cattle but hens. Although it is possible that the man may have left his stock due to haste, it is equally true that the issue may reflect the man's culture. Until recently, the Mbunda were

hardly pastoralists. The existence of hens only at Riumbo's village therefore, may mean that he was Mbunda.

Third, the name Riumbo may not even have belonged to this man. Limbo is the Mbunda name for village, and mwene, the one for chief. It is possible that Porto heard people refer to their leader as the Mwene Limbo i.e. the chief or owner of the village; and construed this to mean chief Riumbo (Limbo).

It is perhaps significant that Porto makes no mention of the Mbunda exiles at Lukulu. Since they lived in a stockade as indicated above, it is difficult to imagine how they should have escaped Porto's notice. That the stockade may not have been built by then is very unlikely. Perhaps owing to the vulnerability of their area of habitation in Bulozzi (the eastern forest margin of the Barotse valley) in view of the time of arrival of the Kololo, they actually preceded the Lozi rulers in fleeing to safety. The fact that Nxaba found their stockade when the Kololo were still driving the Lozi from the Flood Plain is proof of this. In the absence of a reason to explain this omission therefore, one can safely assume that Porto mistook their settlement to belong to the Luyi.

Having come from Bihe, the possibility of his having come into contact with Mbunda before then is quite great. This could not have prevented his mistaking this group of Mbunda for the Luyi however. For one thing, these people had

had half a century of close contact with one another. (23) These Mbunda may therefore have acquired cultural traits which distinguished them from those Porto may have seen in Angola. More than this, the Mbunda settlement here appear to have had a Luyi element. In his Litaba, Jalla states that some Luyi went to Lukulu and built a stockade with the Mbunda while Mubukwanu was still fighting the Kololo in the Flood Plain. They later sent Mwiyawamatende to bring the chief from Nambwawata. (24) This Luyi presence within the predominantly Mbunda inhabited stockade must have contributed to Porto's mistaken notion about the existence of the 'Old Lui chief' at the place.

Riumbo's reported receipt of tribute from a wide area is undoubtedly the greatest counter to my contention that he and most of his people may not have been Luyi. This is on account of the decentralized nature of the Mbunda. 'Nayange njili Mwene' (I too am a King), (25) is said to be the usual claim of many Mbunda headmen. If Riumbo's people were Mbunda, it can be argued, he would not have managed to obtain loyalty from so many of them.

Though formidable, this argument is not insurmountable. The fact about their half a century of contact with the Luyi has been referred to. During all that time, the Mbunda had two chiefs namely Mwene Ciengele and Mwene Kandala. They had forwarded their tribute through these chiefs and fought under them. (26) This shows that the Mbunda were becoming

less decentralized. Their going to Lukulu could not have changed this way of life overnight, especially that they still acknowledged the Luyi ruler Mubukwanu and had some Luyi indunas among them.

Moreover, the situation they were in dictated against decentralization. This is testified by the people's construction of a stockade. This is hardly work for a few people. Because they united in building it, so they must have done in trying to ensure that there was food there when the need arose. This may account for Riumbo's receiving of tribute from a wide area. Some may have paid as a means of gaining favour so that they could be allowed entry to the place of refuge in time of need.

With all these facts, it can be argued that Silva Porto's records were not really inconsistent. He was most probably referring to a Mbunda leader in the first instance; and his suggestion about the Luyi rulers finally leaving the plain in 1850 may well be correct.

The protracted nature of the Kololo conquest seem to uphold this date also. Soon after the Kololo had begun to fight the Lozi in about 1840, (27) they found themselves faced by three external forces. The first of these, that from the Nguni under Nxaba, has been referred to. The Kololo were then at Kama river, 'pursuing the Luyana refugees fleeing to Nyengo,' according to Mainga; or being not brave enough to disperse in the Flood Plain yet according to Jalla. (28)

This means that the battle for the land was not yet over. Since the Kololo departed for the south under a scheme to starve their enemy before slaughtering him, (29) the Luyi may well have reorganized for further resistance. Because this threat was followed by two others from the Ndebele, (30) it seems rational to accept the suggestion that the final blow to Luyi sovereignty in the Flood Plain did not come until 1850.

The strongest argument in support of this date emerges from David Livingstone's records. In 1853, he wrote about Mbololo's complaints concerning the Nyengo people. After saying that the 'Banyenko' plagued his people and that they would not listen to his emissaries, Mbololo asked the missionary: '...are we to endure their scornful and murderous treatment of our people in silence?' (31)

The coming of these complaints at this time shows that the conquest of the Luyi had just been completed. Had it been effected in 1840, as it is now generally believed, the plaguing of these conquerers would not have been postponed to the 1850s.

My research into the issue of the date for the final conquest of Bulozhi raised another problem. This is the question of Lewanika's date of birth. Given as 1842 by Jalla, and accepted by Mainga uncritically, (32) I found this to be in sharp contrast with Silva Porto's 1850 date which I am advancing for the Kololo conquest. This is

because Lewanika is known to have been born in exile in Nyengo. Besides this contradiction, my desire to look into this issue was heightened by my discovery of Serpa Pinto's estimate of the then young King's age in 1878. Lewanika, he said, was a young man of about 20. (33) This would indicate that Lewanika was born in 1858, 16 years later than the generally accepted estimate. I therefore resolved to make an effort to solve this issue. My conclusion is that Lewanika was born about 1851, midway between the earlier estimates. Besides my own personal judgement based on an examination of some of Lewanika's photographs, I have one other reason for rejecting the 1842 date.

Following a futile attempt to overthrow Imbua in 1855, a number of princes fled Nyengo to take refuge with the Kololo. Among those involved, according to Mainga, was 'Litia and his young son Lubosi, later to be known as Lewanika.' (34) Among the Kololo, Lewanika was made Sekeletu's son Litali's playmate. Although there is nothing odd about this, it becomes unimaginable to be told that he was made to continue in this role when his father was executed in 1863. (35) There is clear evidence that Litali was still a junior then, (36) and it is unlikely that he would have had for his playmate, a man of 21.

Turning now to Serpa Pinto's estimate, this, as already said, is equally wrong. My proof here is the year of birth of Lewanika's oldest son Litia. This was 1871. (37) If

Lewanika was born in 1858, he would then have been a father at 13. This is highly improbable. It means therefore that as Jalla over-estimated Lewanika's age, so did Pinto under-estimate it.

Accepting that Lewanika was born soon after the Lozi got to Nyengo in 1850, I decided on the year 1851 as marking that of the King's birth. This makes him 5 when he left Nyengo with his father, 12 when his father was executed and when he was Litali's playmate, 20 when he had his first son, 27 when he ascended to the throne and 51 when he went to England.

My last major problem was with regards to my collection of oral traditions and involved how to ensure authenticity. Acting upon the advice of one induna, who thought it was the best way of getting co-operation, I used to have my informants testify in front of all the representatives of the clans in the area. These representatives were supposed to be the best clan historians in the areas concerned.

Though started as a matter of convenience, this system eventually proved a safety valve as well. Apart from helping retrieve facts which were forgotten by individual informants, it also minimized deliberate falsifications by the informants. An example of the latter fact occurred while I was in Nyengo. A Mutume man provoked protests from other clan representatives, when he claimed that their Mutume ancestor Kamwanga made a boundary with the Mbula man Shuwa Muenyi. Disputing this, the other clan representatives (including those of the Mbula)

pointed out that the boundary in question was between Shuwa Muenyi and the Ng'omba ancestor Lukundu. (38)

Besides these problems, I had one major worry during my trip. As I went from place to place I usually met with an agonizing remark: 'Oh!' one would exclaim after learning about my mission: 'Had it been that time, when (so and so) was still alive...that one was a Bible.' This told me of our lost past, a testimony which became easily apparent when one met a few of the remaining real old men.

N O T E S

1. For location, see map 1.
2. The first migrants to the area claim to have gone there at the time of Mboo, whose place on Mainga's Generation Table of the Luyi dynasty is 1671* - 1695*. M. Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, Longman, London, 1973, p. 216.
3. Mainga, Bulozi, p. xi.
4. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 16.
5. D.W. Phillipson, 'The Early Iron Age in Zambia', Journal of African History, IX, 2, 1968, p. 200. Phillipson, 'Iron Age History and Archaeology in Zambia', Journal of African History, 1974, No. 1, p. 12.
6. J.C. Miller, Kings and Kinsmen: The Imbangala Impact on the Mbundu of Angola, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972, pp. 242 - 259. Unless otherwise stated all references to this aspect of Miller's study is found in these pages.
7. Miller, Kings and Kinsmen, p. 406.
8. Miller, Kings and Kinsmen, p. 255.
9. The saying is of common knowledge among the Lozi.
10. OT 66.
11. A. Jalla, Litaba za Sicaba sa Ma-Lozi, Oxford University Press, Lusaka, 1969, p. 8.
12. The idea of the two migrations is also suggested by L.S. Muuka in 'The Colonization of Baroseland in the 17th century, Conference of the History of Central African Peoples, May 18 - June 1st, 1963, p. 6.

13. Jalla, Litaba, 1969, pp. 1 - 4.
14. Mainga, 'A History of Lozi Religion to the End of the 19th century', T.O. Ranger and I. Kimambo (ed.) The Historical Study of African Religion, Heinemann, London, 1972, p. 100.
15. The fact is deduced from the fact that both Kabinga and Ngombala were great grand-sons of the Luyi ancestress Mbuywamwambwa.
16. Silva Porto, Viagens e Apontamentos de um Portugese em Africa (ed.) J. de Miranda & A. Brochado, Lisbon, 1942, p. 109. W.G. Clarence - Smith Translation.
- 16.a Porto, Viagens, p. 76.
17. Porto, Viagens, pp. 76 - 77.
18. Mainga, Bulozi, pp. 71 - 73.
19. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 74; Jalla Litaba, p. 29.
20. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 74; Jalla Litaba, p. 46.
21. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 68; Jalla Litaba, p. 29.
22. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 74; Jalla Litaba, p. 29.
23. The Mbunda are said to have been received into Bulozi by Mulambwa at the beginning of the 19th century.
Mainga, Bulozi, p. 67.
24. Jalla, Litaba, p. 29.
25. This is what I was told by Makoma people who used to ~~trade~~ commodities among the Mbunda people in Angolea. Mainga says this was a nickname they got from the Luyi for their decentralized outlook. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 68.

26. When the feuding factions in the civil war following Mulambwa's death sought to involve the Mbunda, both contacted Mwene Ciengele. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 72; Jalla, Litaba, p. 26.
27. This is the date currently accepted for the Kololo overthrow of **the** Lozi Kingdom. Although I am disputing this, I nevertheless accept the date as marking the start of the Kololo invasion of Bulozi.
28. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 75; Jalla, Litaba, p. 34.
29. E.W. Smith & A.M. Dale, The Ila Speaking People of Northern Rhodesia, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London, 1920, vol. 1, p. 32.
30. J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa, Longman, 1971, pp. 122 - 123; Smith & Dale, The Ila Speaking People, pp. 32 - 33.
31. David Livingstone, Private Journals, 1851 - 1853; (ed.), I. Schapera, Chatto & Windus, London, 1960, p. 140.
32. Jalla, Litaba, p. 52; Mainga, Bulozi, pp. 128, 214; Smith & Dale, The Ila Speaking People, p. 41.
33. Serpa Pinto, How I crossed Africa, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1881, Vol. 11, p. 3.
34. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 99.
35. Jalla, Litaba, p. 52.
36. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 96.

37. Jalla, Litaba, p. 96.

38. OT 49; OT 50.

Major population groups

CHAPTER 2: LUYANALAND: COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF ITS PEOPLE

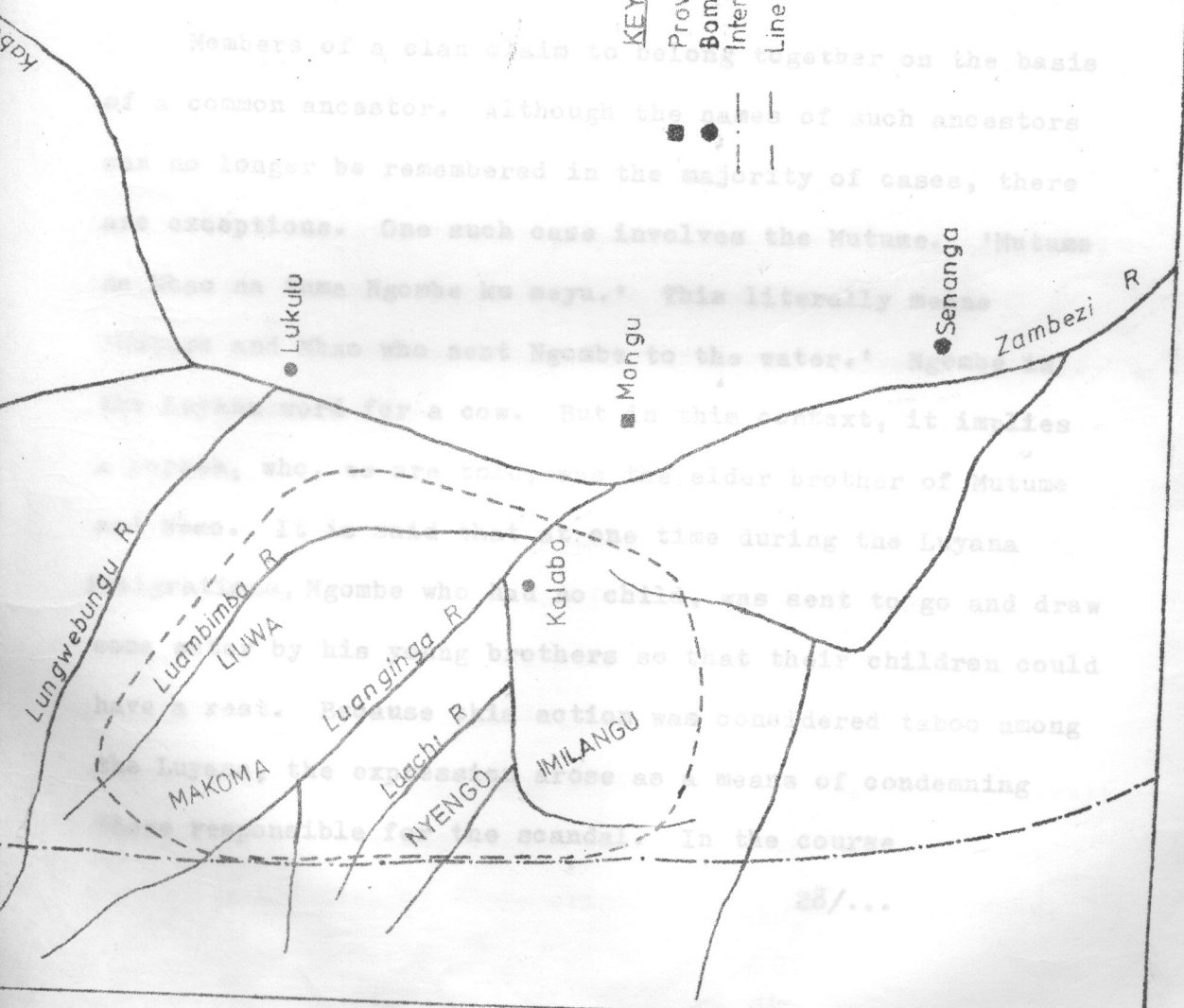
(a) The nature and distribution of clans

As indicated in chapter 1, the Luyans of Kalabo are now a people comprising five major distinct groupings viz: the Makoma, Nyengo, Mwenyi, Luwingu and Liwa. Marked mainly by dialect and a defined territory (see map 1), each of these groups is likewise a fusion of some of the thirteen clans in the region. The clans are the primary units, out of which the major groups developed, and are defined on the basis of putative kinship and a shared interest in certain types of property.



KEY

- Provincial Headquarters
- Bomas
- - - International boundary
- - - Line marking the extent of Luyaland



CHAPTER 2: LUYANALAND: COMPOSITION AND ORIGINS OF ITS PEOPLE

(a) The nature and distribution of clans

As indicated in chapter 1, the Luyana of Kalabo are now a people comprising five major distinct groupings viz: the Makoma, Nyengo, Mwenyi, Imilangu and Liuwa. Marked mainly by dialect and a defined territory (see map 1), each of these groups is likewise a fusion of some of the thirteen clans in the region. The clans are the primary units, out of which the major groups developed, and are defined on the basis of putative kinship and a shared interest in certain types of property.

Members of a clan claim to belong together on the basis of a common ancestor. Although the names of such ancestors can no longer be remembered in the majority of cases, there are exceptions. One such case involves the Mutume. 'Mutume na Mbao na tuma Ngombe ku meyu.' This literally means 'Mutume and Mbao who sent Ngombe to the water.' Ngombe is the Luyana word for a cow. But in this context, it implies a person, who, we are told, was the elder brother of Mutume and Mbao. It is said that at one time during the Luyana immigrations, Ngombe who had no child, was sent to go and draw some water by his young brothers so that their children could have a rest. Because this action was considered taboo among the Luyana, the expression arose as a means of condemning those responsible for the scandal. In the course

Yauma and Fwee. (3)

Map 2 shows the location and distribution of these clans. Apart from the Fwee who are exclusively found in Liuwa, the Nyanga and Shea who are confined to Makoma, the Yauma who are mainly in Imilangu and Nyengo; the rest are found in most of the areas of the region. The Nyuwe and Situndu in particular are found in all the areas.

A study of the migrations of these clans suggests an explanation of their distribution. For example, the Fwee, Nyanga and Shea who are restricted to single areas are among the latest arrivals. For this reason, it would appear that one factor for their failure to fragment was that they found much of the land occupied by their predecessors. They thus had to stick to whatever lands they were given by the people they found or fight to acquire more. The alternative it appears was not followed. There are two possible reasons for this. First, the new comers must have been numerically too few to fight those they found. This fact is, I think, supported by the present day population strength of these clans. Whereas I did not conduct a census of these peoples, one could notice that the three clans in question constitute fairly small numbers of people. The Shea for instance have only two villages under their dominance.

Second, these people may have failed to fragment because they came at a time when there was political stability in the region. The Fwee came at the time of Mulambwa, about the

beginning of the 19th century. When they tried to impose their authority over the people of Konje in Liuwa, the litunga sent an army which killed most of them including their leader Lungowe. (4) Any chances that these people must have had for spreading were thus spoiled. The same goes for the Shea and Nyanga. Although they arrived at the time of the Kololo, when political conditions in Bulozhi were generally unstable, it seems reasonable to regard this period as one of reasonable stability for Luyaland. The formation of Imbua's government in exile in the region is a matter in point. Unlike previously, when Luyi rule was exercised in the region from an external centre, from which no real control could be made, Luyaland now had this stabilizing element in its midst. Any attempts by the new comers to subjugate the earlier peoples and thereby spread were therefore likely to be thwarted. An example of this is when Imbua nearly annihilated the Nyanga at Sifungelo in Makoma during the Kololo period. Upon their arrival at the place, the Nyanga are said to have killed a leopard and used its skin to ornament their bows. When this misuse of royal trophy was reported to the Chief in Nyengo, Imbua despatched an army against the offenders. This killed all the Nyanga people found, except for a young girl named Likelo, who it is alleged had taken refuge under a papyrus bush. (5)

The corollary of the limited distribution of late clans, is the wider dispersion of the earlier clans. The Nyuwe for

instance are one of the two clans found in all areas of the region. Arriving earlier than any of the other clans, and (allegedly) finding no people in the region, (6) nothing could have stopped them from setting up settlements wherever they chose.

To conclude this analysis of the composition of Luyana society, it may be of interest to refer to the issue of the acquisition of clan membership. Was this through one's paternal or maternal descent? Was such membership open to strangers? Did it incorporate slaves?

Although it is no longer the case at present, all indications are that a person acquired this through his

maternal line. His uncles on this side were free to do what they felt necessary with him. They could go with him when migrating to other lands, give him away as tribute to the litunga (7) or present him as an indemnity payment for wrong done to other people. (8)

Conversely, a nephew could inherit his uncle's position and estate, including his wife and children. This usually occurred when a man had no brothers to take over from him. Likomba of Libunga village is an example of this. When his uncle Mukumbiana died in the early 1900s, his wife Shita, who apparently is my great-grandmother, got married to him. (9) Besides these rights of inheritance, a nephew could also marry his uncle's daughter. A good number of the people of Kate village are descended from such a union. Their

ancestress, and Mushoke's daughter Namangolwa, was married to this man's nephew Susikwana. Their sons Malala and Linyotwa, and daughters Shita and Namate, became the parents and grand-parents to some of the elderly men in the village to-day. (10) It is worth noting here that children of such marriages were regarded highly in the village. This was because of their having both their parents as ba mukowa (members of the clan).

Acquisition of clan membership by people of servile origin was somewhat different from that of free men. This came about through marriage between a free man and a slave woman. Because the latter had no relatives around, any children she might have had, had no uncles to make claims over them. Like their mother therefore, they became attached to their father only. They became members of his clan and enjoyed the benefits and rights it offered its people. (11)

(b) Origins

Luyana origins have varying explanations in existing literature. Mainga considers the Luyana to be probably of Luba origin, and to have come to Bulozhi prior to the Luyi advent. When the Luyi arrived, they fought, conquered and assimilated the Luyana. (12) Moffat Thompson states that the Luyana peoples come from different peoples outside Bulozhi. He says the Nyengo originated from a people 'domiciled west of the Kwando river in Angola' and that the Makoma were of 'Lunda and Luyi origin.' (13) This

Lunda/Luyi theory is also given by H.H. Johnston in respect of another branch of the Luyana, the Mwenyi. (14) Serpa Pinto, and Capello and Ivens also speak of Angolan connections for the Nyengo. The inhabitants of Lutwi, writes Serpa Pinto, 'like all the aborigins of Nhengo (Nyengo) Plain are of the Ganguella race.' (15) And in their De Angola a Contra Costa, Capello and Ivens observe as follows: '... the Nyengo are part of greater Luvale group.' (16)

The problem with these interpretations is their inconsistency with the oral information I collected. According to the accounts I obtained, the story of the origins of the Luyana is not of whole groups like 'Makoma' or 'Nyengo'; but of individual clans that constitute each of the five major groups in the region. The immigrations of these clans from both Luyi and non-Luyi peoples, the interaction among the settlers, and subsequent historical experiences, accounted for the emergence of the Luyana peoples we know to-day. This can be seen from a clan by clan account of settlement.

The traditions of migration and settlement - the first wave (1691* - 1711*)

The Nyuwe claim to be descendants of Nyuwe Silundu, a half brother of Mboo, the first Luyi King. (17) At the latter's accession to power (1671* - 1695*), Nyuwe was forced to leave Lukangala, a village near Libonda for Nanjuca area in Senanga. There he settled on a mound which up to now is known by this name. (18) But Mboo sent people to drive Nyuwe

away from Nanjuca and then from Munde and Kaundu, his other places of refuge. From Kaundu in Mwenyi area, Nyuwe then went to Mashi in Southern Angola, where he grew old. Returning from there in his old age, Nyuwe died at Kaundu soon after arrival. (19) His place as leader of the clan was thereupon taken over by his nephew Sende.

Sende^a led the group westwards along the Luanginga river to Nongi area in Makoma. It was here that he died at his village called Sito (Lito?) and buried on mound Windu. His successor, Nangula, led the group to Mushukula area in northern Makoma. This became a major settlement area for the Nyuwe, abandoned temporarily only at the time of Ngombala's wars against Kabinga in the early 18th century. (20) The earliest clan migration was therefore by the Nyuwe, a Luyi offshoot. This is accepted by other clans as well. Some claim to have found Mushele and others Mwambwa-Naluendo, both of whom were Nyuwe clan leaders. (21)

Occurring at about the same time with the Nyuwe migration was that of the Mulonga. One of the few clans that make no claim to any direct link with the Luyi, the Mulonga are a people whose migration was initiated by hunting. Named after their original home in Senanga, where they were a part of the Shanjo people, the Mulonga came to Nambwawata near Sefula. Here, they left Nalumango and proceeded to Kakita. Encountering Luyi hostilities over hunting rights, they left for Liuwa via Libonda and settled at a place called Konje. (22)

Following the Nyuwe and Mulonga migrations of the late 17th century, other settlements clans came into the region about the start of the 18th century. These were much bigger and included the Situndu, Mbwaye, Mutume and Namaya clans. Like the Nyuwe clan, the reason for these people's migrations seem to have been political instability during the reign of the Lozi ruler Ngalama.

After the reign of Mboo, which was characterized by militarism, as represented by his schemes against Nyuwe and wars against the Mulonga and Andonyi (23) there occurred an era of comparative peace during the reigns of Inyambo and Yeta 1. (24) When Yeta died however, and Ngalama ascended to the throne, war and conflict returned to Bulози. Ngalama particularly fought the Kwandi, a Luyi group which had gone south to Senanga under Mboo's young brother Mwanambinyi, and the Kwangwa, another offshoot which inhabited the Mongu forest margin under Mange, the son of Mboo's sister Nolea. (25)

While Ngalama's purpose may have been re-unification of the Luyi peoples, the inevitable outcome was further fragmentation. For, it made some men leave the war zones to seek peace elsewhere. The Mbwaye, Mutume, Namaya - in fact, the entire second wave of migrations to Luyaland, can be viewed in this manner.

The traditions of migration and settlement - the second wave (1720* - 1750*).

This particular migration was begun by the Namaya, whose

traditions point to several places for their origins. (26) According to one tradition, these people left Ng'unyama area under the leadership of Ngongi Kapaa at the time of Ngalama (1796* - 1720*). (27) They travelled eastwards to Nyunyi forest i.e. the Mongu forest margin. Here, Mwanamambo's group broke away and went to Kaulu in the Totela country. The main party went to Kabompo river in Mbowe area. Attacked and defeated in Mbowe area after deliberately provoking the local people, the Namaya went to Konje where they subjected the inhabitants and prevented them from taking their tribute to the litunga. For this reason, Ngalama sent an army against them. Although they tried to escape, the army caught up with them at Malai and attacked them. They then fled to Lialelo in northern Makoma, from which place they later moved to other centres in Imilangu, Nyengo, southern Makoma and Angola. (28)

Whereas other versions differ from this one, in that they present different areas of origin and directions of movement, (29) they fully concur on a Luyi origin for the Namaya. Ng'unyama Mbowe and Kwangwaland are all areas connected with the Luyi and their primary offshoots.

The Situndu arrived in the region soon after the Namaya. Their immediate home of origin was Mbowe. This is a fact on which all my informants on the history of the clan were unanimous. Whereas there were a few people who traced Situndu origins to the Kwandi or Kwangwa, these pointed out that the Situndu came to settle first in Mbowe before moving

on to the Luyana country. (30) The Mbowe origin for these people is corroborated by the evidence of one Mutume informant, which together with that of another Mutume man also show that the Situndu preceded the Mutume in coming to Luyanaland.

We came from Mbowe area, stated one of them. Travelling ahead of us were the Situndu under Lwangwe. When we reached Lukoko we divided. One group went to Nongi under Nashi and Simawa Mumbula. (31)

Next to the Situndu migration then was that of the Mutume. Their story of origin is perhaps the least puzzling. Of five informants contacted, only one claimed origin from the Kwandi in Senanga; (32) while the rest said they were from Mbowe. (33) There is a noticeable division among the Mbowe claimants however. Whereas two of them talk about coming direct to Makoma, save for some stay at Suunga in the Mwenyi plain: (34) the others state that they went to Luena, Soli sa Mbeta in Senanga, Kalenga and Saai before finally reaching Makoma. (35)

From the above, it seems plausible to regard all the Mutume groups as having originated from the Mbowe area, and that they had a major division while there. While one group went south-westwards to Suunga, Lukoko and then west along the Luanginga up to Siluwe: the other first went to Senanga via Luena. From there, the group then went to Kalenga near Kalabo Boma, then to Lutendela in Mwenyi, where another division took place. Leaving Lutendela, one group went

westwards through Saai to Kaluwe in Makoma; while the other crossed the Luanginga to Lumei, then eastwards to Mulinga, north-west to Konje and finally south to Mushukula. (36)

The arrival of the Mbwaye under Kabinga was of far reaching consequences for the Makoma area of Luyanaland at this time.

Kabinga Maumbo wa Lukutwatanga,
Wa Atangambuyu wa Mbuywamwambwa,
O mwaba Mange,
Minya Matondo a Nolea. (37)

This literally means Kabinga Maumbo, child of Lukutwatanga, the child of Atangambuyu, the child of Mbuywamwambwa, a relative of Mange, the owner of the woods of Nolea. The saying has two implications. It points to the royalty of Kabinga by tracing his connections with Mbuywamwambwa (the Luyi ancestress) believed to be the mother of Mboo. More than this, it implicitly confirms what is said about Kabinga's membership of the Mange group, when the latter broke with the central Luyi Kingship, and about the reason and time of his migration from Bulози.

Kabinga, according to Waiti Konga, was a relative of Mange. When Mange was defeated by Ngalama, Kabinga went to Makuli near Soli sa Mbeta in Senanga. Later he left with his half sister Sitamunga for Makoma via Nyengo. (38) This story is corroborated by what the late D.N. Luywa used to say. Kabinga, he frequently stated, left the Mongu forest margin during the Ngalama-Mange wars. He went to Litoya near Senanga, where he had contact with Mwanambinyi. From here,

he went to Makoma via Nasilimwe and Nyengo. (39)

That he left Bulozhi at this time can be appreciated. Since his leader Mange was defeated, it was only natural that he should leave and find a place of refuge. Senanga could have provided such a place, but the Ngalama-Mwanambinyi wars were going on there. So he left for Makoma (then Sisheenyi) where he found safety, albeit temporarily. This was during the early decades of the 18th century, when Ngalama is supposed to have ruled Bulozhi. Kabinga set up his own chieftaincy in Makoma, and ruled the people until he was attacked and subsequently killed by Ngombala. (See Chapter 4).

Another migrant group to Luyana land at this time were the Ng'omba. Various places are given for the origins of these people. Two of these point to the Nkoya area, one to Kwangwaland, one to Sesheke, while yet others refer to the Mbowe area. (40) One interesting thing about these traditions is that the majority of them make reference to a Ng'omba stay in both the Kwandi and Mbowe areas, with both places appearing mainly as transit centres. In one incident we find Nkoya from Kaoma and Kwandi from Sesheke meeting in Soli sa Mbeta and/or Sikundangombe hill before proceeding to Luyana country via Mbowe. On the other hand, we have Ng'omba from Nkoya and Mbowe areas again meeting in Senanga before moving to Luyana country.

This makes the subject of Ng'omba origins a mystery. Was it the Nkoya area, Sesheke, the Mbowe area, or did the

Ng'omba clan arise in Senanga as a result of a fusion of peoples from these centres?

The last testimony on this subject is particularly interesting. This comes from Induna Mwanamungela. According to him, the Ng'omba were from Mbowe area. They went to Soli sa Mbeta in Senanga. In the party was Himusha-Mungela (Himushi of Mungela), later Mwanamungela (the child of Mungela). Because of wars, Mwanamungela left Soli sa Mbeta together with Mahamba Namushi-Mbumu, Singundumbwa and others for Sikundangombe hill. Here, Mwanamungela left the main party and travelled back to Mbowe country, to see those they had previously left behind. He found that some of them had gone to Nkoya country. From here, Mwanamungela went to Luyulu, where he left Simangolwa wa Namate and Namakando when he finally made his way to Makoma. There, he found some of the people who had been to Mankoya living at Liyoela under Nahupula, and stayed with them. (41)

This would seem to suggest that the Mbowe area was the original home of the Ng'omba, and that the people claiming descent from Mankoya or Senanga, had initially gone there from this centre. Whether or not this is so, is not very important; what is worth noting is that the majority of these informants trace their origins to Luyi groups, the Mbowe, the Kwandi and the Kwangwa. Important to note too is the fact that like most others, members of this clan did not come to Luyaland as a single unit. They came in small

groups, at slightly different times and following different routes.

The Mbula and Ngondo arrived in the region at about the same time as the Ngomba. The former are of Luyi origin, and from their testimonies, Senanga appears to have been their main centre of dispersion. For, apart from two of the six people interviewed, who give Sesheke and the Kwangwa area as their homes of origin, (42) the rest give this as the Kwandi area in Senanga. (43) Moreover, one of the exceptions, does in fact testify that the Mbula stayed in Senanga before finally going to Luyanaland. (44)

The other group, the Ngondo, were a non-Luyi people. Under the leadership of Simunja Suya, these people, who allege to have come from South-West Africa, (45) first stayed on Mbeta island in Senanga. They then went to Kalongola, Tapo, and Lilengo, where Suya was killed by a Luyi army. Following his death, his son Sitamemba went to Nyengo, where he conquered and ruled the local people. (46)

Marking the end of this wave of migrations was the coming of the Yauma. These were Mbunda-related and came to Luyanaland from Kwito river in Angola. Their leader Namulimbwa was, for his military skill, destined to replace Kaywa as leader of the people of Imilangu. (See Chapter 4).

The traditions of migration and Settlement - the third wave (1800* - 1860*)

Leading the final wave of migrations into pre-colonial Luyanaland were the Fwee. Originating from Mulonga in

Senanga, and led by a great hunter named Lungowe, these went and settled at Konje in Liuwa. This was at the beginning of the 19th century when Mulambwa was litunga of Bulози. (47)

Following them were the Shea and Nyanga clans from the Nkoya. The former claims origin from Sokanalinanga, (48) which takes their departure from Kaoma way back to the days of Mboo. (49)

Passing through several places, such as Lutembwe and Litabwa, they finally came to Kaeshe in Makoma at the time of the Kololo, (50) i.e. in the 1850s. (See Chapter 1).

The other clan of Nkoya origin, the Nyanga, have a different story regarding their origin and migration. They are, they say, from Mwene Mutondo's group of the Nkoya. Ngongi and his brother Mulongwe, together with their nephews, Lipeng'ula, Simunga and Matitwa Mbambi, broke from Mwene Mutondo and went to settle at Konje. After the death of Ngongi, Mulongwe led the group to Sikoma in the Makoma plain, where Lipeng'ula and Matitwa Mbambi left the others. The former went to Ukoma in Suluwe area, and the latter westwards into Angola. Simunga, who remained with Mulongwe on the plain, also went to Makoma after the death of his uncle. He settled at Sifungelo in Mushukula area. (51)

From this presentation of the Luyana traditions of origin, we may note that the majority of them trace their origins to the Luyi. The Luyi dominance is explained by two factors. First, seven of the thirteen clans make this claim. They do this by either expressly claiming links with the

Luyi e.g. the Nyuwe, or implicitly by claiming origin from the original Luyi offshoots, the Kwandi, Kwangwa and Mbowe. Second, three of the clans of non-Luyi origin were greatly massacred after arriving in the region. These were the Fwee at Konje, (52) the Nyanga at Sifungelo (53) and the Ngondo at Liundu. (54) These massacres depreciated their numbers no doubt, and reduced the degree to which they could have influenced the culture of the dominant Luyi originating peoples. Because the majority of the Luyana claim a Luyi descent, I have called this theory a 'Luyi-origin' one. Whether the theory is valid or not is the subject of the next section.

The validity of the Luyi-origin theory

The truthfulness of the Luyi-origin theory can be deduced from a number of factors. These are concurrence of evidence, claim to refugee status, cultural and other similarities between the Luyana peoples and their Luyi kinsmen, in addition to the internal checks of group interviewing. (See Chapter 1).

The internal consistency of the evidence is exemplified by my informants apparent unanimity on the issue of their origins. Because most of these clans are so widely dispersed in the region, there is less possibility that the evidence they give is a product of prior consensus. I have the feeling that the claims they make are based on historical facts that enable them all to speak, as it were, with 'a single tongue'.

Another pertinent factor is the apparent scarcity of prestigious claims among these traditions. Of the thirteen clans in the region, only six make claims to superiority of some kind for themselves. (55) And of these, four appear to be claims based on valid historical facts. These are the claims in respect of the Ngondo, Yauma, Mwaye and Namaya.

The truthfulness of the Ngondo and Yauma claims is shown by the unanimity of the evidence. Everyone in Nyengo of whatever clan accepts the Ngondo claim that the area was at one time under the rule of the Ngondo leaders Sitamemba and Kambunji. The same is true of the people of Imilangu and Nyengo concerning the Yauma claim. They accept the idea that the Yauma man Namulimbwa was responsible for destroying the Sitamemba/Kambunji dynasty in Nyengo. (56)

The validity of the Mwaye claim of blood ties with Kabinga is disputed by some people in Makoma. They say that far from being relations of Kabinga, the Mwaye were simply his chief stewards (likombwa). (57) While it is not possible to prove beyond doubt the veracity of the Mwaye claim, it seems to me that this is much more probable than that of its critics. First, there is no other clan which claims the same blood ties with Kabinga in the region. Since it is highly improbable that all of his kinsmen were exterminated, it is only logical to assume that those who survived belong to the only clan claiming this connection. Second, the idea that the Mwaye were likombwa is an admission on the part of

the critics of the close ties that existed between the Mbwaye and Kabinga. Since all the people who were with Kabinga could not have been likombwa, or even predominantly so, it would seem that the designation is merely used by those people not willing to accept an earlier dominance of the Mbwaye as a clan, over them. Third, the Simashi Royal Grave, which is supposed to be inhabited by the spirits of Simashi (58) and Kabinga, is looked after by the Mbwaye.

The Namaya claim that when they came to Konje, during their migration, they subjected the people they found there, and prevented them from forwarding their tribute to Ngalama. This claim could well be fictitious. Nevertheless, there are factors which seem to validate it.

The first has to do with other themes in the whole story of this migration. The Namaya leader in Mbowe, Ngongi Kapaa, we are told, was a ruthless man. He used to order 'the throttling of those who passed through his village without clapping their hands.' For this reason, the story continues, the Namaya were attacked and defeated prior to their going to Konje. (59) It is difficult to see any bias of prestige in the Namaya claim to a subjugation of the people of Konje. For, if there were a bias, it is unlikely that the issue of their defeat in Mbowe would have been revealed.

More important than this, moreover, is the apparent corroborative evidence implied in the Mulonga tradition. According to the Mulonga, they were found by the Namaya in

Konje. Because the Namaya reported them to the litunga, for an unspecified reason, they left for Makoma. (60) This testimony seems to corroborate the Namaya claim. The Mulonga say they went to Konje at the time of Mboo, and were conquered by him. (61) This means that they must have been paying tribute to the Luyi rulers since then. The arrival of the Namaya could have interrupted this process, which may have angered Ngalama and prompted him to send a punitive army to the area.

Having given the reasons for my contention that the claims by these four clans to superior political status are authentic, one may consider by contrast the facts of those of the remaining two i.e. the Fwee and Nyanga.

The Fwee, like the Namaya, claim to have subjected the people they found at Konje. This they say, was at the time of Mulambwa. Because they prevented the people from forwarding their tribute to the King, Mulambwa sent an army against them; which killed many of the Fwee including their leader Lungowe. (62) It is difficult to ascertain the truth about this claim. Whereas it may be true that Lungowe was killed at Konje, as evidenced by the existence of his grave in the area, there is no evidence to support his having subjugated the people there.

A Nyanga claim similar to the Namaya and Fwee ones, is, I think, the only one based on prestige. (63)

First, the claim is made by one man, with some members

of the clan rejecting it. (64) Second, the supposed Nyanga leader at the time Ngongi, is only given by the same individual, with all other members portraying Mulongwe as the leader of their clan when they migrated. Third, this particular informant makes other obvious prestigious claims. For instance, the claim that the Nyanga came to Luyanaland at the time of Ngalama, i.e. in the early 18th century*; is certainly not true. Other informants have unanimously put this at the time of the Kololo, when Imbua was in Nyengo. (65)

As shown in Chapter 1, this must then have been between 1850 and 1864, since the Kololo are said to have finally occupied the Flood Plain in 1850. Interestingly enough, this informant undermines his own claim, when he says that they came from the Nkoya of Mwene Mutondo. For according to G.C.R. Clay, the first Mutondo, i.e. Mwene Mutondo Lushiko 1, died about 1860. (66) The Nyanga, who left at the time of his accession probably in the 1840s, may then have reached Makoma in the 1850s. This invalidates the early 18th century* claimed time of arrival of the Nyanga into Luyanaland, and with it the view that they subjugated the people of Konje then. But since the claims here are only by an individual and not by his clan as a whole, and because there are scarcely any other false claims by the rest of the clans, it seems rational to consider the Luyana traditions of origin as truthful.

The Luyi origin hypothesis is also validated by the

nature of the Luyi links specified. These indicate not an attempt to claim royal origins but emphasizes a refugee status. The Nyuwe story is one good example. Whereas these people claim that they left Bulozhi because their leader Nyuwe was in conflict with his half-brother Mboo, they make it plain that Nyuwe's link with the King was through their father Silundu (67) a commoner, and not through queen Mbuywamwambwa from whom Luyi royalty is said to originate. (68)

Their claim to refugee status therefore, seems to reflect simply a question of relating a historical fact about what the position was, and not a desire to glorify the past.

Another relevant factor to this issue is the existence of a common language between the Luyana peoples and their Luyi parent community. While a number of writers have referred to Mbukushu, Luba etc. as being or having been spoken by some of the Luyana peoples, it is now generally recognised that all these peoples do in fact speak dialects of the Siluyana language of the Luyi prior to the Kololo era. In his, 'A Note on the languages of Barotseland,' for instance, Professor Fortune classifies the Luyana peoples' languages (Si-Liuwa, Si-Mwenyi, Si-Imilangu, Si-Nyengo and Si-Makoma) under the Si - Luyana Language group, with vocabulary agreements of 85%, 84%, 83%, 79%, and 78% respectively with the latter. (70)

While a situation of this kind could be a result of acculturation, this does not seem to be the case here. The

reason for this is aptly given by Mainga. Casting doubt on the idea that the Luyana peoples of Kalabo possibly acquired their Luyana dialects through acculturation by the Luyi rulers, she says:

If the new dynasty could impose their language on the groups in the north, it seems quite logical to suppose that they could similarly impose it on the southern groups, given the fact that the time of subjection did not vary too greatly. (71)

By the southern groups, Mainga refers to the Mbukushu, Subiya, Toka and Totela who, inspite of being under Luyi influence from the time of the rise of the Luyi state, (72) have retained their own languages. Her doubt is justified and reasoning plausible.

Unfortunately, Mainga appears to have missed the point when she concludes the matter thus:

It seems more likely that the Siluyana language was spoken in northern Bulozhi by the early migrants and that the later rulers spoke either a language similar to it or adopted it for their court language. (73)

Professor Fortune's, 'A Note on the languages of Barotseland,' appears to negate this proposition. According to the article, the languages of the original Luyi offshoots (the Kwandi, Kwangwa and Mbowe) have vocabulary agreements of 93%, 91% and 88% respectively with Siluyana. (74) As can be seen, these figures are much higher than those showing the percentage agreements of the Luyana dialects with this language.

The reason for this may be that, Siluyana was the

actual language of the Luyi. The place which became the centre of the Luyi population (the Central Barotse Plain) became the core area of the Siluyana language as well. And those Luyi offshoots who remained nearest to this core area retained the largest percentage of various aspects of the language-vocabulary, idiom, syntax, etc. For the Kwandi, Kwangwa and Mbowe people's languages to have higher percentage agreements is therefore no surprise. These stayed nearer the language centre. And because they were in far greater numbers than their Kalabo kinsmen, (75) they were able to offer greater resistance to the influence of their languages by foreign words.

Language aside, cultural similarities between the Luyi and the Luyana also support a common origin. To begin with, there is a strong occupational link between the Luyana peoples and the Luyi. The fishing orientation of both these groups (76) is one example of this; which incidentally is re-enforced by the settlement patterns of the Luyana. In line with Luyi practice the Makoma, Nyengo and Mwenyi peoples settled on arrival in their present areas of settlement: on mounds on the flood plains, as opposed to the forest edges of these plains. (77) Whereas this may be seen as merely reflecting a people's desire to exploit a river environment (as the Luyana actually state in their own case), yet it may equally portray a people's cultural background. The Mbunda are a good example here. Although

these have lived in Bulozzi for almost two centuries, they are scarcely found living on the Flood Plain.

Besides the occupational connection, we have religion, (78) marriage customs, tribal marks in form of tattoos, (79) taboos of various kinds, etc., in common practice between the Luyana peoples on the one hand, and the Luyi on the other. It is not my intention to discuss all these, suffice it to say that the many similarities between the two peoples, is one more indicator to the likely existence of an ancestral link between them.

The usefulness of the Luyi-origin theory

The value of a historical theory is measured by its explanatory power. The Luyi-origin one lies in the following facts it makes about the hitherto scarcely - explored Luyana history.

First, it shows that the Luyana are an admixture of over a dozen clans. Second, that they came to Luyanaland in a series of migrations as members of clans not as the major groups now comprising the Luyana people. Third, that they came to be Luyana because the majority of the people who came into the region were of Luyi origin and culture. Fourth, that these people came to the region when the Luyi state was being founded on the Central Barotse Plain.

This interpretation therefore departs in major essentials from existing published accounts. As pointed out earlier, these records speak of the Luyana as having

had a separate origin from the Luyi; that they migrated to Bulozhi earlier than them; that their major groups (the Nyengo, Mwenyi, Makoma, etc.) were homogeneous entities and indeed that some of these peoples were of Angolan origin. (80)

An evaluation of these recorded facts will show how largely defective they are. Take the issue of the alleged ancestral link between the Luyana and the Angolan peoples for instance. This is highly improbable, considering the glaring contradictions in the cultural tenets of the two peoples. The circumcision of boys which takes place among the Mbunda and related peoples, but not among the Luyana is one example of this. Were the Luyana-Mbunda, Lunda, or Lovale related, they most probably would have this custom. That they do not is perhaps an indication of their different origins.

The same can be said about the differences pertaining to the filing of teeth, plaiting of hair and manner of dress. Whereas the Mbunda-Lovale group filed all their teeth, the Luyana, like all other Luyi peoples, did this to only the two front ones. As for hair plaiting, this was unknown to the Luyana, whose women have only recently taken to the practice as a kind of fashion.

With these differences, it is difficult to see the basis for the assumed links between the two peoples. The improbability of acculturation having played a part has been referred to (see p. 49 above) in the case of language. This is equally true of these other aspects of culture. The

Mbunda-Lovale cultures do not die quickly. (81) If the Luyana originated from them, they would most likely still be exhibiting aspects of Mbunda-Lovale cultures in spite of the Luyi influence. Indeed, if Luyi influence did not obliterate Toka and/or Subiya customs, there is no reason why it should have succeeded in the Luyana case.

How inadequate! may be an apt remark when one learns these facts regarding the supposed ancestral link between the Luyana and the Mbunda-Lovale group. As will have become apparent from the preceding pages, bottlenecks are not confined to this particular assumption only. Rather, they also involve the other assumptions contained in the scanty records on the Luyana. Besides nullifying the assumptions in question, all the facts discussed in this chapter are a basis for subsequent ones, in which the origins of Makoma, Mwenyi, Nyengo, Imilangu and Liuwa are explained historically.

N O T E S

1. OT 26.
2. OT 59, 30/4/78*.
3. See Appendix A for more information on these clans.
4. OT 57.
5. OT 13, OT 17.
6. OT 13, OT 17, OT 27.
7. OT 62.
8. OT 62, 31/11/78.
9. OT 62, 31/11/78.
10. OT 62, 31/11/78.
11. OT 62, 31/11/78.
12. M. Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, Longman, London, 1973, pp. 11, 16, 24.
13. W.V. Brelsford, The Tribes of Zambia, Government Printer, Lusaka, 1965, pp. 12 - 13.
14. H. Johnstone, in introduction to D.W. Stirke, Barotseland, Eight Years Among the Barotse, John Bale and Dannielsson Ltd. London, 1922.
15. Serpa Pinto, How I Crossed Africa, Alfred Elwes Translation, London, 1881, p. 368.
16. H. Capello & R. Ivens, De Angola a Contra-Costa, National Press, Lisbon, 1886, Vol. I, p. 371
17. N. Mushele, 'Nyuwe History: K.S. Mushele', manuscript on origins of the Nyuwe as related 'by my father', p. 1. (Attached to Oral Testimonies).

* OT numbers with dates concern interviews on which no formal notes were taken.

18. Mushele, 'Nyuwe History', p. 1. Muuka also writes about a village called Nyuwe, which he says belonged to Mwanawina 'least known of Mbuywamwambwa's children'. L.S. Muuka, 'The Colonization of Barotseland in the 17th century', in E. Stokes & R. Brown, The Zambesian Past, Manchester University Press, 1966, p. 257. The place could be the same. Probably Mwanawina took possession of it after Nyuwe had been driven away from it.
19. There is no unanimity on Nyuwe's death place. While Kaundu is given by many, there are those who give this as Munde in Mulinga and others who say it was at Mashi. See for example OT 17.
20. Mushele, 'Nyuwe History', pp. 1 - 2.
21. OT 7, OT 8, OT 10, OT 11, OT 19.
22. OT 19.
23. The Andonyi were a Lovable group from the west who menaced the Luyi State in its infancy. Muuka, 'The Colonization of Barotseland', p. 252; A. Jalla, Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi, Oxford University Press, Lusaka, 1969, p. 9; Mainga, Bulozi, p. 25.
24. Yeta 1 is reputed to have been a very kind ruler. In fact, he is usually referred to as Yeta ya Musa (Yeta the kind). Jalla, Litaba, p. 12.
25. For details concerning these wars, see Jalla, Litaba, pp. 13 - 17.
26. OT 4, OT 14, OT 54.

27. These are birth dates marking the litunga's birth and that of his first child. The Namaya migration may have taken place any time after 1720.
28. OT 4.
29. See OT 14 & OT 54 for these divergences.
30. OT 18, OT 28, OT 35.
31. OT 26, OT 8.
32. OT 16.
33. OT 8, OT 26, OT 50, OT 21.
34. OT 8, OT 26.
35. OT 50, OT 21.
36. The mention of similar places up to Lutendela and different ones thereafter, seems to suggest that the two must have been together until they parted at this particular place.
37. OT 1.
38. OT 6.
39. The late Mr. Luywa, a teacher who was well versed in the oral traditions of the Luyana people, was born in Nyengo. His father was Nyengo and mother Makoma. He taught for over twenty years in these areas and was very popular with the people. During the 1973 Parliamentary elections, he was asked to contest the Sikongo Constituency. Unfortunately he was vetted by the Central Committee and worse still, he died soon after the elections.
40. OT 6, OT 9, OT 20, OT 32, OT 33.

41. OT 59.
42. OT 25, OT 49.
43. OT 40, OT 42, OT 44, OT 22.
44. OT 25.
45. It is probable that these people may have been from Botswana since some records refer to Mahurutse people as having raided the Nyengo. See V.W. Brelsford, The Tribes, p. 10.
46. OT 1, OT 52.
47. OT 57.
48. OT 7, OT 14.
49. Sokanalinanga was a contemporary of Mboo. The latter's young brother Mwanambinyi is said to have magically and cunningly stolen his cattle. It was after this that Sokanalinanga is alleged to have told his children to leave the place for fear that Mwanambinyi would later return to kill him. OT 7. See also Jalla, Litaba, p. 15.
50. The Shea claim to have found Mushele, one of the Nyuwe clan leaders at the time of the Kololo.
51. OT 13.
52. OT 57.
53. OT 13, OT 17, OT 18.
54. OT 1, OT 48, OT 52.
55. OT 3, OT 4, OT 13, OT 38, OT 52, OT 57, OT 39.
56. For details, see OT 38 or Chapter 4 on the Rise of Independent Chieftaincies.

57. OT 5, OT 9.
58. Simashi is said to be either a son or brother of Kabinga who went underground at Simashi when a Luyi army came to attack him. OT 3, OT 6.
59. OT 4.
60. OT 19.
61. OT 19.
62. OT 57.
63. OT 13.
64. Refuting the claim regarding Nyanga rule in Konje, Mr. R.M. Iliamupu pointed out that the Nyanga only fought a few local people over an animal, and that they (the Nyanga) left soon after for fear of reprisals:
OT 63.
65. OT 17, OT 18.
66. G.C.R. Clay, History of the Mankoya District, The Rhodes Livingstone Institute, Lusaka, 1945.
67. Mboo's other name Mwanasilundu literally means child of Silundu. This may be a reference to his father, who Lozi tradition depicts as Nyambe (God).
68. Mainga, Bulozi, P. 24.
69. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 16, Brelsford, The Tribes, P. 13.
70. G. Fortune, 'A Note on the Languages of Barotseland', in Conference on the History of Central African Peoples (May 28th - June 1st, 1963), pp. 5 - 6.
71. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 13.

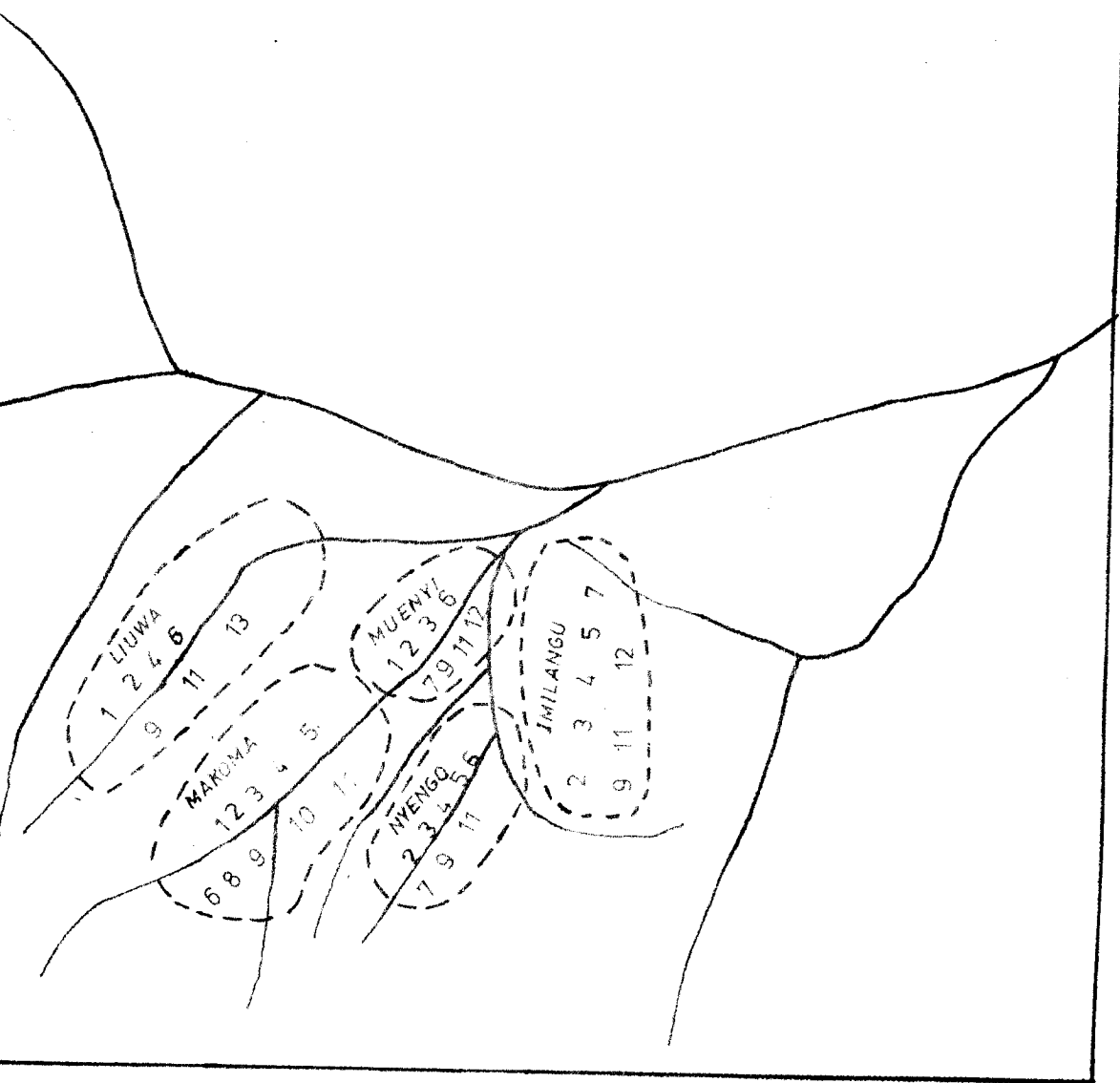
72. These were conquered by Mboo's young brother Mwanambinyi. Jalla, Litaba, p. 16, Mainga, Bulozi, p. 28.
73. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 13.
74. Fortune, 'A Note', pp. 5 - 6.
75. See Statistical figures - 1969 Census.
76. The Luyana talk about having engaged greatly in fishing (see chapter 3). And on the Luyi side, Mupatu states that some people failed to grow crops because of fish. Y.W. Mupatu, Bulozi Sapili (Barotseland in the Olden Days), Oxford University Press, London, 1959, p. 6.
77. The Luyana prove this by pointing out that the earliest grave sites in the region are on mounds in the flood plains and not at the forest margins.
78. See Chapter 1.
79. Tribal marks for the Lozi, Luyana and people of Angolan origin are shown in the Kalabo District Records. See N.A.Z. KDE2/44/4, History of Barotseland.
80. The cultural divergences between the Luyana and the Angolan peoples referred to are so great that they make such claims preposterous.
81. While it is difficult to detect any Nkoya forms of culture among the Nyanga who went to Makoma in the mid-nineteenth century, those of the Mbunda who came to Bulozi at the beginning of that century are still largely intact. Were the Luyana from that culture therefore, they would probably still portray these cultural trends.



of Clans

KEY

- 1 Mbwaye
- 2 Mutume
- 3 Mbula (Myula)
- 4 Mulonga
- 5 Namaya
- 6 Ngamba
- 7 Ngondo
- 8 Nyanga
- 9 Nyuwe
- 10 Shea
- 11 Situndu
- 12 Yauma
- 13 Fwee



CHAPTER 3: LUYANALAND: THE ENVIRONMENT, EARLY ECONOMY
AND GOVERNMENT

Once they had settled in Luyanaland, the Luyana clan communities, found themselves faced with two things. They had the task of finding the means to subsist, as well as that of regulating their every day affairs. What they did to satisfy these needs is the subject of this chapter. However, none of these things operate in a vacuum. Man has to till the land to grow his crops, search the woods for his game, use timber for his buildings, and so on. In other words, human life is intricately tied to his environment. For this reason, we shall first look at the Luyanaland environment, before turning to our study of the peoples' economy and government.

The study on economy and government, I must hasten to say, is based on what people remembered about the obtaining situation at the close of the nineteenth century, minus the changes brought about by the effects of the Luyi administration. Because the facts concerned do not seem too complex for the people and period in question, and since there is no evidence to the contrary, I have decided to accept them as valid.

(a) The Environment

According to Trapnell and Clothier, the Luyana region is basically a low country with an altitude of below 3,500 ft. Its temperature, they say, is hotter than that of the Zambian

plateau; and it experiences greater extremes. The soils of the region are said to belong to the Kalahari sands type which is made up of coarse grain sands that are chemically poor even though they have the advantage of water conservation. Agriculturally, the land is considered unsuitable for most crops except cassava and bulrush millet on account of soil infertility. In dambos and depressions, where potatoes and other crops could be grown, the frequency of frosts is said to be a source of danger to cropping. (1)

These general factors about the Luyana country must no doubt have partly affected the economic life of the people. However, this general description is too crude, and it is necessary to sub-divide the region into five different ecological zones (See Map 3).

The first of these areas, the Luanginga river valley, is the home of the Makoma and Mwenyi peoples. This is a narrow flood plain (about sixteen kilometres wide) stretching over a hundred and sixty kilometres from Kalabo Boma to the Angolan border. Because the Luanginga river flows through it, and the Luanja and Manga forests mark its edges, fish and game were plentiful in the area. This is supported both by tradition and by the records of early Europeans. Silva Porto talks about obtaining fresh fish, salt, maize, sorgum, 'bihello?' and small beans from the Makoma when he passed through their area in 1853. (2) The Annual District Report for Lukona (Kalabo) also refer to large quantities of fish as having

been traded by the Mwenyi and Makoma 'to the Mambari and Mambunda tribes in Portuguese West Africa.' (3)

Closely resembling the Makoma/Mwenyi area in terms of features is Nyengo. This too is a plain, but is wider and shorter than the Luanginga valley. In fish and game, however, the two were alike. The Nyengo swamps, according to Clay,

were filled with fish...while on the landward side there were great open plains in between areas of bushland, and in both the plain and bush were aggregations of game animals on a scale only seen today in national parks and game reserves'. (4)

Talking about 'plains in between areas of bushland', brings to the fore the third major area of geographical distinction on the Luyanaland land scape. This is Imilangu. Mainly a land mass of bush, the area is dotted by a series of lakes, (5) around which settled the ancestors of its present inhabitants. So attached were they to both water and bush environments that they can be said to have slept on a 'bed of water' and covered in a 'blanket of wood'. And like the other Luyana, fish and game were their gifts of nature; while fishing and hunting were their cherished occupations.

Last but not the least of the geographical divisions of Luyanaland is Liuwa. Meaning 'waterless plain', the physical features of this area are of two distinct types. On the one hand, there is the vast Liuwa plain. Running to the north of and parallel to the Luanginga flood plain, this plain is said to have had an abundance of game. The fact that it was once the Luyi litunga's game preserve (6) and that it is now one

of Zambia's game reserves is enough testimony. And with so many animals, hunting among the Luyana of this area was not to be unexpected. The other part of Liuwa is a stretch of woodland interspersed by several streams flowing into the Luambimba river. Unlike the Luanginga which has a plain along its course, the Luambimba and its tributaries have none. The woods come so close to the running water that it makes the area distinct from the others. Nevertheless, such geographical divergence did not imply a different economic experience for the people involved, especially in the early days. For, like the others, the people of Liuwa were well provided with fish and other water based foodstuffs.

(b) Early Economy

...the first premise of all human existence and, therefore, of all history, wrote Marx and Engels, is that, men must be in a position to live in order 'to make history.' But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, a habitation, clothing and many other things. The first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs. (7)

The above is an indisputable fact of life. Food, clothing and shelter are prerequisites of all human endeavour. For, they enable man to live and hence to work. Because of this, a study of a people's economy is not only essential, but it ought to precede that of other aspects of their life. It is with this in mind that I have chosen to begin by discussing the economic life of the early Luyana.

Simple but diversified, Luyana economy appears to fall into two categories: food producing activities and crafts.

Fishing, hunting, cultivation, stock-keeping and gathering constitute the first; while cloth-making, fat and perfume preparation, mat-making, pottery and iron work comprise the other.

Fishing provided one of the two major sources of Luyana subsistence. (8) Existing in abundance in rivers, streams and lakes, fish were killed in many ways.

One such way was stabbing. Often carried out as an individual enterprise, where a man stabbed for fish alone for his family's needs, this system took three distinct forms. First, there was what was called kushungamena. Using a very long-handled fish spear, a Luyana man would sit on the bank of the Luanginga for example, or in a canoe looking patiently in an opening in the grass about him, to stab any fish that would pass through it. Depending on the fisherman's skill, the availability of fish at the time and place, as well as the weather condition, (9) this kind of stabbing not infrequently provided enough fish for the man's family to consume. The opening in the grass (lishunga), which enabled the man to see the fish, and the surrounding grass, which prevented the fish from seeing the fisherman - combined to enhance the man's chances of success in this kind of job.

Next to kushungamena was a kind of stabbing known as kutandaula. This usually occurred in January when the rivers and plains were beginning to flood. At this time, mbufu (pl. limbufu), a type of bream, lays eggs in shallow parts of

the rising waters. Limbufu were, as indeed they still are, very much liked by the Luyana for their taste. Because of this, many Luyana men were at this time crossing the flooded areas of their neighbourhoods in their tiny canoes stabbing any mbufu that failed to escape from its breeding place (lisheke) in time.

The third type of stabbing which is referred to as kuwaya, was, unlike the first two, often undertaken in groups. This was of two kinds: kuwaya mulungu and kuwaya masa/lisa. Kuwaya mulungu was when men killed bubble fish when these came to feed near the dry land during the ^{night} at the beginning of the floods; while kuwaya masa was stabbing for fish in fish pans when these became fairly dry, mainly in the months of August, September and October. kuwaya was conducted in groups for at least two reasons. One reason was security. Since kuwaya mulungu was done at night, the time wild beasts usually move about, the Luyana must have deemed it necessary to do this kind of job in groups for mutual protection. The same can be said about the motive for group work in Kuwaya masa. Since most fish pans were found in the bush many kilometres away from the villages, people may have chosen to work in groups as a way of protection. However, it appears that the need for efficiency also accounted for the group activity. It was difficult for a lone individual to make a good catch in a lake or fish pan, since fish would easily escape to safer areas of the pan. This handicap could be avoided by working

as a group.

To increase the catch during kuwaya lisa, a system of fishing using lwando (pl. nyando) was used. Lwando is a kind of mat made from reeds. In this type of fishing, several nyando were joined to cover the diameter of the fish pan. This was then pushed from one end of the pan towards the other. The effect was to force the fish to one side of the pan where they were easily caught and killed. In the absence of nyando, the same system worked by using a ridge-like barrier of grass in place of lwando. And when this system was used, the combined catch was usually shared by the participants at the end.

In addition to the various types of fishing outlined above, are the following others: fishing by using nets, fish-weirs and poison, as well as fishing by the bailing process, kuyuba. Of these, the bailing system of fishing was unique in that it was the only one which was entirely a woman's activity. The system involved bailing water out of a disused well or trench in order to catch the fish it contained. Because of this demanding job, this type of fishing was almost always carried out by a good number of women from several households in the village. And, as was the case with the lwando based system, the catch that women obtained through this process, was shared among them at the end of the day's work.

Fishing by means of fish weirs involved two things. First, a kind of barrier (of earth or reed mats) was built

across a stream to stop fish from moving into the river or lake into which the stream flowed. Then some fish-traps (makuko) were placed in openings at various points along the fish barrier. The fish were trapped when trying to get into the river or lake through these openings.

A number of tubers helped in the killing of fish by poisoning. These were kayanga, kabeti and kalumba. Having dug any of these tubers, fishermen would pound them, and scatter the crushed powder into a lake or a part of the river, causing many fish to die.

A second major branch of food production was hunting. Responsible for the migration of some of the people into the region, (10) this branch of the economy was important in two other respects. First, it accounted for the procurement of one of the peoples' staple foods, meat. Referring to this fact, a Makoma man nowadays might remark:

The world has really changed. To think that you can wander through this forest up to the lilolo, (11) then from there to Nalinjoko, Muulwa and finally Luati without seeing even a hare. The wild beast which was here, the buffalo, the duiker, the lechwe..., Oh no, you cannot believe it. And had this scarcity of animals been there in the olden days, you think we could be here? How? What would our ancestors have lived on to be able to bear us? (12)

Second, hunting was also important in that it helped some people to acquire land. Besides the migrant hunters whom we have referred to, there were individuals who acquired land through their hunting activities and skills as well. One good

example of this was a Mbowe man named Mukaba. According to *Muyatwa Simakando*, soon after the Mbula had settled at Fula in the early 18th century, they were joined by this man. Being a good hunter, and having served Simakando (the Mbula clan leader) in this capacity for a long time, Mukaba was given a piece of land as payment. (13)

Hunting at this time took a variety of forms. One way was by using mibeto (s. mubeto) - (traps). A strong rope was tied to a strong stick which was firmly stuck into the earth. The rope was then carefully rested upon a small piece of wood stuck a few metres from the foot of the stick to which the rope was tied. This had the effect of bending the stick towards the spot at which the other end of the rope was in contact with the small stick. When an animal stepped on the small stick, the rope flew up, holding the animal in its noose which had been prepared for the purpose. Caught and helpless, the animal remained hanging until the hunter came to kill and take it home for his subsistence.

Besides mibeto, people used lishenja, mawina (pits), and bows and poisoned arrows to kill animals.

Lishenja was a system of running after animals until those that got tired were caught and killed. Undertaken on an individual or group basis, this system of hunting involved the use of dogs. Mawina, which as shown means pits, were used to kill animals in the following manner. A pit was dug in a place that was frequented by animals but rarely by men. Spears were

then stuck in the pit with their sharp points facing upwards. This done, the top of the pit was camouflaged with earth, branches, leaves and/or grass. The system was used mainly for big game killing and because of the nature of the labour involved, the work was hardly ever performed by one man.

Gathering as an economic activity is said to have been practiced by the early Luyana, as a means of acquiring food. Bringing in a variety of tubers such as ndowa, mampana and machela (from a type of lily); a multiplicity of fruits like mumosomoso, mumawa and mahuluhulu; some leaf types like tepe; and fungi types in form of mushrooms: this type of enterprise helped the Luyana diet from both the point of view of need and that of choice. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the relative importance of each of these types or indeed of these types as a unit compared to that of other foods eaten at the time: on the basis that Thayer Scudden discusses the subject (gathering) as it relates to the Gwembe Tonga. (14)

The fourth food-producing category of the Luyana economic activities then was cultivation. Compared to hunting and fishing, this aspect of the economy was, it is alleged, carried out on a very small scale, despite the extensive list of crops involved. The precise reasons for this are difficult to pinpoint. 'Fear of Mambunda raids', was given by some of my informants as an explanatory factor. Pertinent though this may be to the issue, considering that those raids could have made it difficult for people to leave their mound homes in the

flood plains (even if they had wanted to) for the forest margins where arable land was plentiful, it seems likely that there were other relevant factors.

One such factor appears to be connected with the prevalence of fish and game in the region at the time. With such sources of food readily available, people may have had little cause for large scale cropping, especially that the fruits of such labour took too long to yield. Indeed, Mupatu may have spoken for the Luyana as well, when he spoke of Bulozzi (the Central Plain) saying:

Our country...had a lot of fish, and they were eaten a lot, they even prevented some from cultivating because they had an inclination to subsist on them alone. (15)

Closely connected to the above was the peoples' dependence on gathering as one of the sources of their food also. Sahlins' suggestion that the gathering-hunting stage was the 'original affluent society', which he interpreted as one 'in which all the peoples' wants are easily satisfied' (16)

- may have been true for the Luyana at this time. Like the Dobe Bushmen, who spent only 'twelve to nineteen hours per week on the food quest', (17) the Luyana may have managed to gather enough foodstuffs to have bothered to spend much time growing crops which took too long to ripen.

Another possible explanation for the lack of emphasis on cultivation is that of demographic scarcity. Considering that the Makoma, once described as the 'principal tribe in the district', (18) numbered only 3,276 in 1914, (19) which

was a population density of roughly 2 persons per square kilometre, it becomes evident that the people were far too few for their area of settlement. Coupled with the prevalence of game, and the dependence of the people upon gathering as another source of food, this smallness of population must have influenced the peoples' lack of interest in tilling the land. This was because it made little demand on the provisions of nature, thereby enabling the Luyana to obtain easily the alternative foods available.

The last of the food-producing economic activities of the Luyana was stock-keeping. Like cultivation, this aspect of the economy is said to have been unimportant. Apart from the keeping of chickens and dogs, domestication, according to my informants was almost non-existent. Cattle, they pointed out, only became many after the Mashukulumbwe war. This incidentally was during the last quarter of the 19th century, when two expeditions: one in 1882 and the other in 1888 were sent by litunga Lewanika against the Ila and brought large numbers of cattle. (20)

Evidence for this notion of cattle scarcity seems to exist in available records. In his reports on the Luyi exile group in Nyengo, Silva Porto makes no reference to the existence of cattle with this group. Whereas he wrote about receiving an ox from a Kololo headman in the Barotse Flood Plain on 2nd February, 1853, his gifts from Imbua (in Nyengo) on 29th June, 1858 are listed as 'two tusks of ivory and two

slaves.' (21) The absence of cattle from this list and the lack of mention of cattle in any way on his two journeys to the area might actually mean that these were not of significance in the area at the time.

The situation is by no means true of the Nyengo area alone. Passing through Nyengo and Imilangu in 1881, Serpa Pinto makes no mention of the existence of cattle. Faced by starvation, his provisions having run out, Pinto tried to obtain food from the peoples of these areas. In Nyengo, he writes 'the natives turned out to be shy', and ran away at the sight of the strangers; while the people around Lutwi in Imilangu refused to sell him anything until he had to attack a village and take by force some sweet potatoes from their general stores. (22)

For Makoma area, two good examples of cattle scarcity are available. One of these appears in Silva Porto's records pertaining to his 1853 journey through the area. Fresh fish, salt, maize, sorghum, 'bihello?' and small beans, he says, were offered by the Makoma to his caravan, in return for presents. (23) As with Serpa Pinto, who talks about sweet potatoes and not milk in Imilangu so does Porto about these foodstuffs in Makoma which do not include milk. Pointing to the same issue, no doubt, is Major Gibbons' statement: 'My chief recollection of the Bamakoma', he writes, 'lies in the fact that I was always able to procure as many eggs as my appetite could appreciate.' (24) This is a record about a

journey made to the area between 1898 - 1900 i.e. about ten years after the last Mashukulumbwe war. Whereas cattle numbers must have begun to swell at this time, they were probably still too few to impress a visitor.

If these records about the middle and later decades of the 19th century are proof of the factor of cattle scarcity (if not absence) in the area at the time, they could as well mean that the situation was the same during the early Luyana settlement period. For, had there been large herds of cattle in the early days, they most probably should have been found to be so in the 19th century - at least in one or more of the areas of the region.

This idea of cattle scarcity raises a great problem. Why, it can be asked, were the Luyana not identified with this major aspect of Luyi culture for so long? Surely, if the majority of Luyana were of Luyi origin, and left for Luyanaland during and after Mboo's reign, when ownership of cattle is said to have flourished in the Central Plain, then they ought to have brought this practice with them.

Asked about this, my informants at Licha pointed to the refugee status of most Luyana peoples as an explanatory factor. Because people were running away from wars they said, they could not have managed to come with cattle. They gave the Luyi exile group under Imbua as an example. When the Luyi were fleeing from the Kololo, they said, they did not bring their herds. (25) This argument appears plausible.

For, if these people did take any cattle with them, it can be argued, these could have been too few to be of significance in the lives of the people. Moreover, by death or through capture by raiders, (26) the numbers of such animals could have been substantially diminished if not obliterated altogether.

Having adequately though by no means exhaustively dealt with the food-producing aspect of the Luyana economy, let us now turn to crafts. Of these, cloth-making was perhaps the most important. Making use of animal skins, cotton and bark, a variety of items was made to cater for clothing and blanket needs of these people. Mabindo for men, lingo for women and tuzungu for boys were the usual clothes for these sexes and ages. Like the maputana blankets, all these types of attire were made of animal skins. Woven clothes were unknown to the Luyana then. Indeed, apart from makabi which were worn by girls of a tender age (mostly those under twelve); the cloth requirements of the Luyana were entirely obtained from skins. (27)

Preparation of these skin materials involved a number of processes. First, there was the softening stage. During this time, the inside of the hide was smeared with rotten stuff in form of husks or animal brain to make it soft and easy to work with. This was followed by scraping much of the top layer of this part of the skin with mang'etana (broken potsherds) used as scrapers. The skin was then smeared with animal fat or

munyelenyele oil as a prelude to wringing it for further softening. Finally, the skin was cut according to the requirement and given to whoever was going to be its wearer.

In the actual production of these materials, especially where large hides were involved as in the preparation of maputana or lingo; there was a certain amount of co-operation. This manifested itself mainly in the scraping and wringing stages of the work, when a good number of the men in the village helped one of their number in these difficult tasks. No payment was made in respect of such assistance rendered, except that a man who was thus helped, was expected to reciprocate by offering his services also when these same tasks faced another man in the village.

Another important craft among the early Luyana was pottery. This produced different makes to suit different usages. Lipizana (small pots) were made for ordinary cooking, lindozi (big pots) for brewing, lingwana (water pots) for carrying water from the well, and lindondo (water pots) to cool and store drinking water.

Pottery was a man's job. There is evidence of this from Phillipson. According to him, Luyanaland falls under the Lungwebungu pottery tradition area, in which, the craft is a man's field. (28) Further evidence was obtained from my informants. There is an interesting story of what may be termed the Naluendo affair. While resident in Lueti, Naluendo is alleged to have angered Namulimbwa. He then fled to

King Mulambwa for sanctuary. The King summoned Namulimbwa and offered him some meat, which, it is alleged, was cooked in a pot made by Naluendo. Having eaten and expressed his appreciation for the meal, the King called Naluendo to join them. Revealing to Namulimbwa the connection between the meat he had just eaten and the man he had attempted to kill, the King then censured him for wanting to kill the potter. (29)

Besides showing that this job was done by men, the Naluendo story is significant in another respect. It indicates the specialized nature of the craft. This seems to be implied by the significance the King attached to Naluendo's craftsmanship. Had pots been made by almost everybody, the King would scarcely have shown so much concern to this fact. The reason for this specialisation appears to be inadequacy of suitable moulding clay. (30) As in the case of salt, this restricted the art to a few areas and kept down the number of potters.

Closely related to pottery, were such crafts as woodworking, basketry and mat-making. Like pottery, woodworking and basketry helped to provide utensils in the absence of the iron pots, dishes, etc. brought by Europeans. Some of these were used for carrying water, some for storing grain and other items, some as utensils to eat from and so on. Mats too had many important functions. They were used, as certainly they still are, for sitting on; they were used to sleep on, and they were even used in the construction of a certain kind of

circular huts. (31)

The diversity in these products - not so much in form, which was functional, but in decoration - reveals the peoples' appreciation of beauty and hence of their values of quality in production as opposed to production from the mere point of utility. A basket was not simply made for storing grain, but also that it should be admired. The same ideas of modern fashion designers, inspired Luyana craftsmen.

Another set of related crafts undertaken by the Luyana were mining, smelting and iron-working. These helped the people to obtain spearheads, axes, hoes, needles and arrows. Due to scarcity of ore however, mining and smelting were of little significance among the Luyana. The few iron sites in the region could not satisfy the peoples' needs. They therefore had to trade with the Kwangwa for iron implements. (32)

Finally, and perhaps of greatest interest among the Luyana crafts were salt-making, fat-making, and perfume preparation.

Luyana salt was of two types. One of these was in liquid form. To make this type of salt, which was usually put in relishes made out of leaves of plants; some types of grass had to be burnt. The ash thus obtained was then dissolved in water. This was followed by the filtration process which resulted in the collection of the required salt solution.

The other type of salt, crystalline, was found and worked in selected areas. Cilele and Lyaelo in Imilangu; Lubuta, Mitondo and Liundu in Nyengo; as well as Kahole in

Liuwa were among such areas. In each of these places, there were men such as Linyama in Liuwa, with exclusive rights of production. Perhaps due to scarcity of the salt substance, the Luyana practice of clan ownership of various items of property was here undermined.

In terms of production, the following processes were followed. To start with, likela (salt earth) had to be gathered. This was then dissolved in big pots (lindozi) with small holes at the bottom that enabled the salt solution to drip into a receiving container. Evaporation then followed, which led to the final product being left in form of residue. This was then packed into small bark containers tukoko (s. kakoko) ready for use or sale. In later years, when Luyanaland was incorporated in the Luyi state, most of this salt was taken to the litunga as tribute. (33)

Equally illustrative of the scientific mind of the early Luyana as this system of salt-making, was his fat-making craftsmanship. As in salt manufacturing, the preparation of cooking oil from the munyelenyele fruit also included the evaporation process. Once the crude oil had been obtained by squeezing the fruit, it was boiled to remove the inherent water. This left the oil which was then stored in small calabashes or pots for use in the cooking of relish. (34)

The remaining Luyana craft, perfume preparation, was a straight forward process. It involved making into a powder a mixture of parts of the mukung'u and ndao-ndao plants. Known

as lukumba, this product was used for a variety of purposes. It served as perfume for balanjo at initiation ceremonies, couples at their weddings and/or mothers with young babies. (35)

This completes our list of Luyana crafts. Together with these peoples' food producing activities discussed earlier, the basis of their material well being is roughly covered. However, food, clothing and shelter are not the sole requisites of life. Order and stability are equally necessary. Because these are attributes of government, let us now turn to this subject.

(c) Government

Most Luyana societies moved through three successive stages of pre-colonial government. These were government under clan heads, government under independent chieftaincies and government under the Luyi litungas. Admittedly this is somewhat over-simplifying. For in Mwenyi, there is no evidence of the Luyana having gone through the first two forms of government. Uyoya Ndimba, the first known man to have settled there, is believed to have maintained contact with the Luyi rulers through the payment of tribute. (36) Because this system was followed by all his successors, it appears that in Mwenyi at least, there is no remembered time when the Luyana people were outside Luyi control.

That a government unknown to us could have existed in the area prior to the coming of Uyoya is highly probable. Uyoya went to Mwenyi in the early 18th century, (37) during the

second wave of clan migrations to Luyanaland. As pointed out in Chapter 1, there could have been people living in the area then, whom the new comers may have assimilated. Such people must no doubt, have had a form of government, which Uyoya may have destroyed and replaced with the Luyi centred one. Be this as it may, it does not alter the fact that the Mwenyi experience was quite different from that which occurred in other areas such as Makoma and Nyengo. For, even though there was a government in the area before Uyoya's time, only the Luyi based one has affected the Luyana people since their coming to the area.

Of the three stages of government mentioned, only the clan-based one is to be discussed in this chapter. Having the simplest structure and involving the fewest people and smallest territorial units, this type of government corresponds with the economic situation described above. As game and fish were plentiful, and clan communities small, not much land was required by any such community to realise its subsistence needs. This was particularly so, since forests were considered open to hunting by anybody in the region. (38)

Once enough land was procured, therefore, it was customary for established clan communities to allow new arrivals to settle on lands surrounding their own, even if these newcomers belonged to different clans. And when such a community divided, one or more of its groups would go and settle on empty land away from the original settlement. This

accounts for the scattered and small sized nature of lands belonging to individual clans in the region today.

Functionally, clan government operated at two levels i.e. the village level and the clan segment level. Each village (munzi), comprising a few lineages (limba) of the same clan, was administered by an official called mun'ga munzi (the owner of the village). Several such villages, living in proximity to each other, formed a lusika (clan segment). This was under one of its leaders whom they referred to as likulututu (pl. makulututu). (39)

The village head, who was at the lower stratum of this two tier structure of government, performed a number of functions. Looking after the welfare of the villagers was one of these. He prayed for the afflicted individuals for instance, especially those whose illnesses were considered to be due to annoyance of some kind on the part of ~~some~~ departed ancestor. An example of this was when a woman in labour failed to give birth. When it was discovered through divination that this was due to an ancestor who wanted the child named after him, the midwife would ask the village head to perform the necessary religious rites to help the woman deliver. (40)

Another important function of this man lay in the field of land allocation. Although land was considered to be communal property, individuals held tenure for the purposes of building and cultivating portions of it. Such sites and plots

were often allotted to young men upon their marriage.

The procedure was simple. At a village meeting, attended by most if not all of the adult population, the village head would announce the subject. Expressing the assumed joy of the villagers, concerning the particular young man's attainment of married status, he reminded them of the latter's land requirements. What I have called you for, he would say, is to give him land. He then put forward the sites he had in mind. As these had been previously discussed and agreed upon with some of the village elders, their acceptance at this meeting was almost always a certainty.

Presiding over the settlement of cases was another of his functions. Whenever there was a dispute in the village, the matter was taken before the village headman. Hearing and judgement was before the entire village community. After both parties to the dispute had put forward their case, any adult man was free to give his opinion. Thereafter, the village head gave his verdict. This often represented the majority view, which in turn was based upon precedent and custom. Where the dispute seemed too great for the village head to handle, he invited the likulututu or the heads of adjacent villages of the same clan to come and help. (41)

His fourth major function was the supervision of tasks undertaken at village level. In accordance with his role as the custodian of the people's welfare, the village head sometimes called upon the villagers to help construct shelter

for an aged man in the village. Such men, who were often maternal uncles to some of the village elders of their villages, benefitted from the extended family system which was in practice. With their own sons living away at their uncles' villages, they looked to their sisters' sons and grandsons for their own material needs. (42)

Receiving strangers was another of this man's functions. Whenever a stranger came to a Luyana village, he was taken to the village head. After finding out the purpose of his journey, the latter later took the stranger, or reported his presence to the likulututu.

Finally, the village head was sometimes required to collect food and other items from his people and take them to the likulututu. This did not happen frequently however, nor did the practice have anything to do with the question of tribute. Rather, this only happened when a particular clan segment was required to make an indemnity payment to some wronged party. In such a situation, the likulututu would gather his people (see below) to discuss the issue. Once the question of payment was agreed upon, it remained to the village headmen to collect the materials required and bring them to the likulututu. These would then be forwarded to the people concerned.

In terms of privileges, the village head was not so fortunate. While it is possible that he received gifts from the strangers he received and that he may have kept a little of the food and materials he sometimes collected, such things

appear to have been of very little significance. Strangers may not have been many, they may have had little to offer, and above all, they do not seem to have been obliged to make any gifts to this official. Moreover, as the materials he collected were for a special purpose and that he took them to the clan head in the company of some of the people who contributed them, his chances of withholding part of these items for his own use were minimal.

Be this as it may, the village head was not entirely without privileges. Obvious among the ones he had was the privilege over the choice of land and that pertaining to free services. (43) Being in charge of land allocations, he was able to procure for himself the best sites for his building and cultivating needs. While the scarcity of population may render this inconsequential, considering the size of Luyanaland as we know it now, the fact that most of these people lived on island mounds show how immensely important this privilege then was.

The issue of free services may need elaboration. This means free labour, in the double sense that it was neither coerced nor paid. It was not applicable to all categories of work however. Like every other man in the village, the village head did all manner of work expected of him by his wife and children. Unless he was too old for the tasks, he built his own hut or huts, hunted for his family's meat requirements, fished, and worked to produce his and his

family's clothing needs. An area in which he got free services was transport.

Whenever the village headman had something to carry e.g. fish - after a communal fishing undertaking; meat - at the end of a group hunting session; or any items of property to be delivered to the likulututu, he always had the services of some of the young men in the village at his disposal. The practice, which was often extended to a number of other elderly men present, is said to have sprung from a need for protection in the early days. Because men were the ones to fight any attackers, they were required not to carry any heavy burdens. Their weapons were all that they were supposed to carry, in order to be able to defend the women and children when need arose. (44)

An interesting feature of the village headship lay in the succession system. Unlike many societies, where this could have been based on primogeniture, the choice here was not so obvious. To choose a new leader involved a number of stages.

First, was the gossiping stage. Some months after the death of the previous office holder, there occurred a series of informal discussions over the issue. Such discussions, which often took place impromptu, and usually involved a few people at a time, resulted in a consensus being reached by the village's male adult population on who was most suited to succeed. The man, who was often a nephew of the previous holder, was informed of the matter at a formal meeting of all

the villagers. At this meeting, the most senior of the village elders officiated.

Reminding the people of their plight, at having lost their leader, he told them of the obvious fact that they needed someone to lead them. 'Look among yourselves', he would tell them, 'and find someone to take care of X's spears'. And in a dramatic manner, the people's choice was made. A number of men stood up and held the secretly agreed upon individual to the ground. They proclaimed him the leader and shattered the hopes of those who had secretly coveted the position.

This formal appointment of the village head was followed by the succession ceremony. It usually took place after the harvest. When everything was ready, some form of drink was prepared. (45) A little of this was taken and poured at the succession altar or muyombo tree planted at a spot in the new leader's court yard. This beer was for the ancestor spirits, who were being solicited to help the new leader in his task of guiding the people. Having given the spirits their share of the beer, the new headman was then lectured to by the village elders on the ethics of leadership - such as simplicity, impartiality and kindness, before the people began to drink and dance to the joy of having found a new leader. So ended the succession ceremony: an event of ancestor spirit solicitation, of instruction for the new leader, of the new leader's introduction to the outsiders, and above all, one of merry-making.

The most prominent of the invitees to this occurrence was usually the likulututu. Standing above the village head in the regulation of affairs among these people, this officer's functions were essentially similar to those of chief's in tribal communities.

Presiding over clan segment meetings was one of his important functions. In times of danger or starvation, it was customary for members of a clan segment to meet and decide on what appropriate measures should be taken. In the mid 18th century, for example, when the Namaya were faced with the wrath of Mwanamungela Kamutiana wa Sandwe, as a result of the accidental breaking of Namaloya's baby's spine by Libao wa Mokaana's sister, Libao, then head of the clan segment at Nongi is said to have gathered his people to discuss the issue of payment. (46)

Prayer making for hunting and fishing was another important undertaking of his. Such prayers were directed to Nyambe (God) as well as to the departed ancestors. On gathering at a fishing pond for example, the people would put all their fish spears together. And taking a small fish which one of the boys would kill for the purpose, the clan head would retire to a small bush to solicit the 'gods' to give the people a successful catch. Naming the long gone personages, the prayer would go something like this:

Yes. You Namenda, You Mushoke, You Simushi and You Mubebo are all here. You know why we your children are assembled here today. We want fish to feed our seed. It is here where you killed

them. Bubble fish and bream of every kind used to die here. Give them to us today in plenty. And you Nyambi no Kuwilu (God of Heaven), help us your children as you always have done. Let the fish die in large numbers.

Finishing the prayer, he would pick up his own spears and throw one of them into the pond. He then went into the pond followed by everyone present. (47)

The end of a communal undertaking like this one, characterized another function of this man. For, at that time, the job arose of dividing a part of the catch among the heads of the villages involved. These shares were not intended for the village heads' own consumption however. Rather, they were supposed to be sub-divided and given to the aged and handicapped members of the villages concerned. (48)

The fish to be divided was obtained in one of two ways. Either it was taken from the entire catch if this was obtained through the use of lwando (a kind of drag-net), before the rest was divided among the participants; or it was levied from the participants if stabbing was used and people did not put their catch together.

Levying was on a 'pay as you earn' basis. Those who had very few fish were exempted from it, while the number of fish paid by each of the remaining individuals was determined by the size of his catch. (49)

It may be interesting to note that this levy system (mubingu) is still in practice. However, because stabbing for fish in a pond now involves people of clans other than that of the owners, it is these aliens alone who are subjected

to the levy. Moreover, when it comes to a division of the levied fish, most of it go to the owners of the pond present. The money economy appears to be eroding the system. Because fish can be sold, people seem to be reluctant to part with any of their catch, while they strive to increase whatever they have by claiming a share of the levy obtained. (50)

Foreign relations also fell on the shoulders of the likulututu. When Mwilo Nakufa (early 18th century) is said to have objected to the settlement by a newly arrived group of Nyuwe at Nongi, due to a past quarrel, his clan leader, Libao wa Namasiku is said to have rejected Nakufa's stand. 'Kumooya Kumaayula', he is reported as saying 'Kumana kuuya o Kusheka'. (51) With these words, which literally meant that quarrels take place when gathering but that after it people laugh, the settlement of this group of Nyuwe along side the Namaya was assured. It is important, though, to point out that Nakufa's second suggestion of setting up a boundary between the two communities was accepted. Examples of makulututu dealings with foreigners are many. Simawa wa Nyambe received Lungowe's people when they arrived at present day Minya-Liuwa's place from Konje; Uyoya Ndimba welcomed Singundumbwa and Kaongolo in Mwenyi; while Kaywa did the same to Namulimbwa in Imilangu. (52)

Leadership, it has been said, often goes with powers and privileges. In as far as privileges are concerned, the Luyana clan segment heads were no exception. One of their

privileges concerned their role in the sharing of communal produce. 'Mukwata-kwati wa nyama kolwa kanyinga ku munwe' goes the saying. Literally meaning that whoever touches meat must have blood on his fingers, the saying actually implies that a person who shares things must have a portion to himself. Thus while the fish or meat shared by makulututu to heads of villages was meant for re-distribution to the aged and disabled, it was expected that both the makulututu and the headmen would retain a little for their own consumption.

Closely allied to this privilege was one pertaining to the clan head's position as being the recipient of items of property meant for an indemnity payment. Whereas the receipt of property per se did not constitute any privilege, the manner in which such property was delivered to the wronged party was somewhat advantageous to the clan head. Putting forward part of the items collected - some axes, hoes, and/or bangles, together with a piece of land, a fishing pond or fish weirs, and pretending that this was all that they had to offer - the likulututu would plead with the complainants to accept the payment. Unless the plea was rejected, in which case the withheld items would actually be brought forward, this official stood the chance of owning some of them. For, although a few of these could be returned to the original owners, others were usually left under the leader's possession. (53)

Receiving gifts and obtaining services from strangers

was another privilege this man enjoyed. In their bid to find security and possibly freedom of movement in foreign lands, strangers often seek to befriend local people in the areas they travel. This actually happened in Luyanaland, where presentation of gifts and rendering of services were the usual means of cementing if not cultivating friendship. The story of a Mbowe hunter named Mukaba, who hunted for Simakando Lipoke (early 18th century*) has been referred to (see p. 68 above). The fact that Mukaba was later given a piece of land in appreciation of his services, shows how valuable Simakando may have found this man's presence, and underlines the fact that receiving strangers was a privileged function of the clan heads.

In contrast to the lengthy list of this man's functions and privileges, was his almost lack of powers. This was due to the man's lack of the instrument of coercive force. Unlike tribal chiefs, who exercised authority through this device, Luyana clan segment heads merely depended upon personality. A leader was respected and obeyed because of his charm, ability and enterprise. If he lacked these qualities, the result was divisions, with discontented individuals leading factions of the clan to other areas. No wonder therefore, that we have such dispersion among most Luyana clans.

From the above discussion on Luyana government, one may conclude by saying the following. First, early Luyana government was fairly simple, both structurally and

administratively. The lack of an elaborate government system is explained by the twin issues - demographic scarcity and abundant resources for the region in those days. These two factors minimised conflict. A few clans inhabiting a vast piece of land with plenty of game and fish had little cause for war. This was much so when it is considered that the forests were open to hunting by any interested persons.

Whether this situation could be termed utopia is for the reader to decide. What I would like to mention however, is that it did not last indefinitely. Things changed dramatically during the 18th century. Those changes and the reasons for them are the subject of the next chapter.

N O T E S

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2. Silva Porto, Viagens e Apontamentos de um Portuense em Africa, (ed.), J. de Miranda & A. Brochado, Lisbon, 1942, p. 102.
3. N.A.Z. BS2/153, District Report, Lukona, 31/3/1911, p. 17.
4. G. Clay, Your Friend Lewanika, Chatto & Windus, London, 1968, p. 10.
5. Notable among these lakes are Sihole, Lilambo and Lutwi.
6. N.A.Z., BS2/153, District Report, Lukona, 31/3/1911, p. 17. J.S. Cambell, 'Lewanika I knew', Northern Rhodesia Journal, 1,1, 1950-52, p. 18.
7. Marx and Engels, 'The German Ideology', in Marx, Engels and Lenin: On Historical Materialism, (A Collection), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, pp. 27 - 28.
8. The other major source was hunting (see below).
9. A windy atmosphere is unconducive to this form of fishing.
10. OT 19, OT 46.
11. A small area of grassland surrounded by woods.
12. This is not a real quotation but I used to hear my grandfather and other elderly men express these ideas when I was young. This was when some hunters returned home without having found any animals to kill.

13. OT 25. Kaonga Namenda (see chapter 5), is another example.
14. T. Scudder, Gathering Among Woodland Savannah Cultivators, Zambian Papers No. 5, Manchester University Press, 1971, pp. 19 - 35
15. Y.W. Mupatu, Bulozi Sapili, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1959, p. 6.
16. M.D. Sahlins, in Lee and De Vore (ed.) Man the Hunter, Aldine Press, 1968 - Quoted in T. Scudder, Gathering, p. 3.
17. R.B. Lee, 'Kung Bushmen', Letter to the Editor, South African Medical Journal, Vol. 43, January, 1969, p. 48 - Quoted in T. Scudder, Gathering, p. 3.
18. N.A.Z., KDE 2/44/4, History of Barotseland, p. 9.
19. N.A.Z., KSH 2/1, Kalabo District Note Book, Vol. 2, p. 23.
20. M. Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, Longman, London, 1973, pp. 149 - 150, 154 - 155.
21. Porto, Viagens, pp. 103 and 143.
22. Serpa Pinto, How I Crossed Africa, Alfred Elwes Translation, London, 1881, pp. 366 - 367.
23. Silva Porto, Viagens, p. 102.
24. Major A. St. H. Gibbons, Africa from South to North Through Marotseland, Lane, London, 1904, Vol. II, P. 52.
25. OT 53.
26. Raiding of the Luyana appears to have begun upon their advent to the region. Mboo is said to have sent troops to drive Nyuwe from a number of places where he wanted

to take refuge. They also suffered Mbunda raids until the time of Lewanika (see chapter 5).

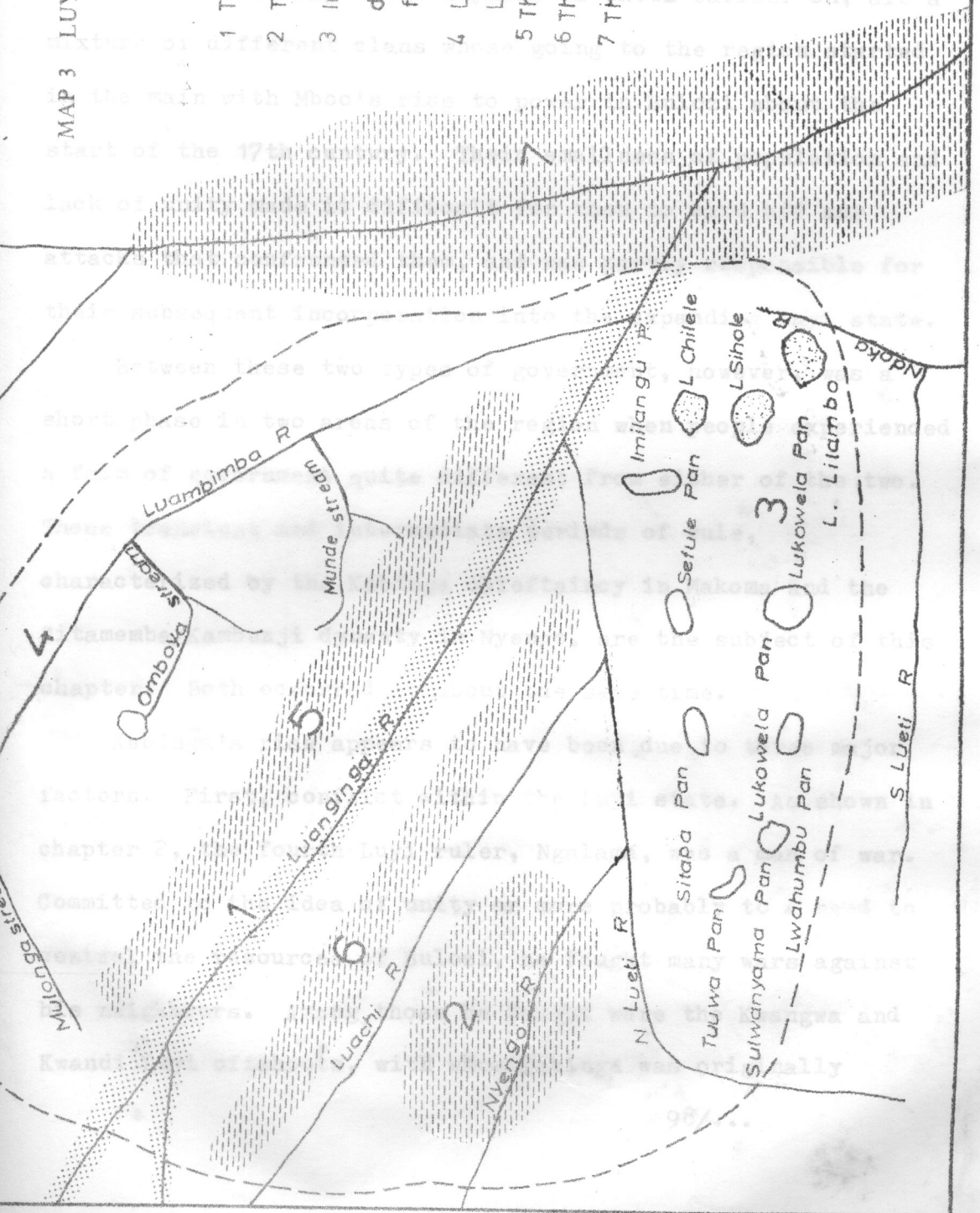
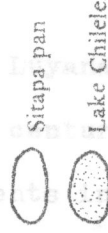
27. See Glossary for explanations of these terms.
28. D.W. Phillipson, 'Iron Age History and Archaeology In Zambia,' Journal of African History, 1974, No. 1, pp. 11 - 12.
29. OT 61.
30. D.W. Phillipson, 'Iron Age History', p. 12.
31. Stirke refers to these huts, which he says were 'frequently built by the Makoma by slunging several of their special water proof mats over a horizontal pole'. D.W. Stirke, Barotseland: Eight Years Among the Barotse John Bale Sons and Danielsson Ltd., London, 1922, p. 58. See also OT 53, OT 58.
32. Lack of iron ore in Luyanaland initiated Imbua's futile attack on his fellow Luyi exile chief (Imasiku) at Kabompo. A. Jalla, Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi, Oxford University Press, Lusaka, 1969, p. 46.
33. Pinto writes that this commodity could not be given or sold without a licence from the king. Pinto, How I Crossed Africa, p. 371.
34. OT 12, OT 47, OT 53, OT 58.
35. OT 44, OT 47, OT 53.
36. OT 1, OT 31, OT 32, OT 34.
37. Kaonga Nakweti puts Uyoya's arrival at the time of Ngalama (see OT 24), which according to Mainga is the period 1696* - 1720*.

38. This is evidenced by the fact that even today, there is no clan anywhere in Luyanaland which makes claim to any part of the forest for purposes of hunting.
39. OT 12. Unless otherwise stated most material on government refers to this interview.
40. Whereas the village head was asked to assist in this way, he was never allowed to enter the secluded place where the woman and others attending her were.
41. This practice is still in operation today. Heads of other villages may be called upon to help settle a case before it is taken before the Court.
42. OT 59, 30/4/78.
43. OT 59, 30/4/78.
44. OT 59, 30/4/78.
45. This used to be ilya or liti and not bucwala (beer) which the Luyana say was brought by the Kololo. OT 53, OT 58.
46. OT 4.
47. From personal experience of what I saw happening when I used to attend kuwaya masa (see above) sessions.
48. OT 59, 30/4/78.
49. From personal experience.
50. From personal experience.
51. OT 4.
52. OT 33, OT 38, OT 57.
53. OT 59, 30/4/78.

MAP 3 LUYANALAND : Physical Features.

KEY

- 1 The Luanginga River Valley
- 2 The Nyengo Plain
- 3 Imilangu area, bushland dotted with lakes and fish Pans
- 4 Luwa River Settlement - the Luambimba and its tributaries
- 5 The Luwa Plain
- 6 The Mbanda Plain
- 7 The Barotse Flood Plain



CHAPTER 4: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF INDEPENDENT
CHIEFTAINCIES 1740* - 1760*

The era of clan based governments in Luyanaaland was followed by that of Luyi rule in the 18th century*. This was a logical follow up of the sequence of events in Bulozhi in the previous century. The Luyana, as shown earlier on, are a mixture of different clans whose going to the region started in the main with Mboo's rise to power in Bulozhi about the start of the 17th century. Their smallness of population and lack of unity made it difficult for them to ward off any attacks that confronted them, and was partly responsible for their subsequent incorporation into the expanding Luyi state.

Between these two types of government, however, was a short phase in two areas of the region when people experienced a form of government quite different from either of the two. These transient and intermediate periods of rule, characterized by the Kabinga chieftaincy in Makoma and the Sitamemba/Kambunji dynasty in Nyengo, are the subject of this chapter. Both occurred at about the same time.

Kabinga's rise appears to have been due to three major factors. First, conflict within the Luyi state. As shown in chapter 2, the fourth Luyi ruler, Ngalama, was a man of war. Committed to the idea of unity or more probably to a need to control the resources of Bulozhi, he fought many wars against his neighbours. Among those he fought were the Kwangwa and Kwandi Luyi offshoots, with whom Kabinga was originally

associated. These wars were responsible for his flight, and for his subsequent setting up of the chieftaincy.

Important also was the factor of Kabinga's royalty. While many would wish to be kings, it is mostly only those born of kings who aspire to the position. Their exposure to the niceties of office by their stay at court and observance of the benefits and privileges of the ruler, plus the knowledge that their royalty qualifies them to hold such office account for this. The same may be said to have been true of Kabinga. As a member of the Luyi royal family, he stayed at Mange's (1) Court during his childhood. This exposed him to what went on there and probably motivated him into wishing to be a chief himself. When the latter was defeated therefore, and Kabinga found himself in Makoma, his knowledge of the institution of chieftaincy and his knowing that he had a legitimate claim to be a ruler, could have prompted the establishment of this chieftaincy.

The third factor following from the issue of royalty, was Kabinga's initial following. For, while it may be true that Kabinga's acceptance in Makoma was due to his alleged royalty, the factor of his initial following is no less significant. Although these men were not an army, they represented a potential instrument of coercion, which may have frightened some of the earlier inhabitants into submission.

The setting up of this chieftaincy brought a great many changes in Makoma. Before I discuss these, however, I wish

to refer briefly to the rise of the other chieftaincy in Nyengo; that of Sitamemba and Kambunji, as the functions, effects and decline of the two were essentially similar.

Nyengo ka wa Sitamemba na Kambunji,
Nyengo wa Naka na Lukundu,
Katunga na Yiula a Kwengo.

Nyengo does not belong to Sitamemba and Kambunji,
Nyengo belongs to Naka and Lukundu,
The small country that was found by the Kwengo
(Bushmen). (2)

The names Naka and Lukundu which feature here, are those of the alleged Luyana pioneers in Nyengo. (3) The proverb implies that the two were in Nyengo before Sitamemba got there. How, it may be asked, did Sitamemba and his son Kambunji come to rule the Nyengo people then?

Unlike Kabinga, Sitamemba was neither a member of the Luyi royal family nor was he and his Ngondo people of Luyi descent. For this reason, his rule was not based on the factor of mere acceptance. He established it through conquest of the Luyana clans he found. (4) That he managed this was due mainly to two factors. One of these was lack of unity among the Luyana clans he found. As was the case with the people in Makoma, existing governments in Nyengo then, were based on clan communities. Because these communities were small and not used to fighting due to the prevailing peace amongst them; it was not surprising that they fell victims to these invaders.

Facilitating Sitamemba's rise to power, too, was his people's experience in warfare. As shown in chapter 2, the

Ngondo were a people from South West Africa. Driven from their original home by wars, they were further attacked at Mbata island in Senanga and at Lilengo near Kalabo Boma, before they finally settled in Nyengo. While they were defeated in all these wars, it is likely that they gained some experience in the art of fighting. Such experience which could have been in tactics and/or weaponry may have been a deciding factor in Sitamemba's encounter against the Luyana peoples of Nyengo. He might have defeated them because they lacked the experience that he had.

The argument is based on assumptions no doubt. Nevertheless, these people's claims to several military encounters before coming to Nyengo would seem to vindicate it. The fact that they came with the knowledge of stockade making (see below), is particularly of significance. Since stockades require a lot of labour to construct, this shows that these people had reached a high degree of political organisation. If they were capable of devising so effective a defence mechanism, it is not unlikely that they knew other means of warfare, which helped them to overcome the hitherto peaceful Nyengo peoples.

That these indigenous peoples successfully rebelled against him later on, (5) may be further proof of this. For, it may mean that, the former had, by then, learnt Sitamemba's tactics, and used this knowledge to undermine his authority.

Compared to the clan-based governments, these independent chieftaincies brought about many important changes.

Administratively, a third layer of authority was added to the hitherto existing two-tier structure of government. This third and highest organ of power was symbolised by the chief himself. Like the village and clan heads, a number of functions fell under this man. Tradition has it for instance that Kabinga's fall was due to betrayal by one of his subjects who acted in anger out of an injustice shown in settling his case. Mwanguana had his wife taken away from him by Kabinga's nephew, Nalungwana. When the latter complained, nothing was done, allegedly because he was a commoner and that the other party to the conflict was of royal descent. This annoyed Mwanguana who went to the litunga to seek vengeance. With his knowledge of Kabinga's charms or of the secret entrance to his hitherto impenetrable stockade, Mwanguana successfully led the Luyi army against his chief. Consequently Kabinga's stockade was destroyed, Kabinga himself was caught and taken to the litunga, where his fate by drowning was secretly decided upon and then effected. (6)

Besides confirming the notion of Kabinga's royalty by reference to the manner of his death (drowning) (7) this tradition is a portrayal of the fact that the third layer of authority, the chief, had a juridical role to play during the independent chieftaincy period.

The issue of defence and security led to another great change inside Luyaland. This manifested itself in the construction of stockades. In the bush just above Nongiana

village in southern Makoma, is a large area of treeless ground. This is said to have been the site of Kabinga's first home. Like Liundu, where Kabinga was driven from prior to his capture, his Nongi home is said to have had a stockade around it as well. Indeed, some of the elderly people will point out that the remnants of some of the poles that constituted it were still visible during their childhood. While it is not known whether stockades were also built at Kabinga's three other capitals, the existence of these two plus those of Sitamemba and Kambunji, clearly shows that these security undertakings were another symbol of change in the region.

Whereas nothing is known as to why construction of stockades began at this time in the region, it would appear that this was due to two important historical factors. One of these was the factor of warfare. As pointed out earlier, Kabinga's coming to the Luyana country was precipitated by the factor of war. When Kabinga fled at the defeat of his leader Mange, it is not unlikely that he went with pressing thoughts on how best to secure protection. The building of stockades was probably his answer to the problem.

That warfare was a factor in stockade building is made even more apparent when one looks at the history of Sitamemba and Kambunji. Sitamemba, it has been stated was the son of the great Ngondo leader, Simunja Suya, whom the Luyi killed in Lilengo after destroying his stockade. Because he knew about stockades and since Luyi aggression continued to be a

menace, it is only to be expected that he and his son Kambunji should have built such defences.

Moreover, this Ngondo story appears to shed light on the possible origins of stockade making in this part of Africa. Being from South West Africa, the Ngondo may well have learnt the art from the Imbangala in Angola. (8) Nor is it impossible for Kabinga to have acquired the technique from the same source. For one thing, it is possible that during his stay in Senanga, he may have been in contact with people from the stockade - making area of Angola. After all, Mwanambinyi had fought the Mbukushu and Shanjo before Kabinga came to Senanga. If these wars resulted in the capture of some people who had seen or heard about stockades, it is quite likely that Kabinga may have learnt the idea from them.

Even more important than this however, is the likely contact between Kabinga and Sitamemba. While there is no concrete evidence linking the two men, there are indications that the two could have been in contact. Reports that Kabinga's hunting activities sometimes took him to Nyengo Plain point to this possibility. (9) Another pointer is the saying 'Waca Makoma konaka tukana Nyengo, Sitamemba nomana ku laa'. Meaning: 'You should not despise Nyengo when you go to Makoma, Sitamemba had warned', this saying is assumed to stem from farewell words spoken by Sitamemba to Kabinga. While the motive behind the words can hardly be made with certainty, the idea that they passed between the two men

indicates contact. And if this be so, then it can be argued that Kabinga's knowledge regarding stockade building could have been acquired from Sitamemba.

A further factor differentiating these new chieftaincies was that of labour, which could be used for purposes such as the building of stockades. As this labour was tribute rather than free, mention of it brings us to another crucial element of change in Luyaland at this time. This was the possession by chiefs of the power of coercion. Inherent in a chief's ability to use his personal following, the ruling class to enforce obedience among his subjects, this power afforded the chiefs many privileges. They obtained tribute of various items from their subjects, including food items like fish, meat and wild fruit, and animal skins for use as blankets and attire. While there is no indication of a significant re-distribution system regarding this tribute, it appears likely that the chiefs gave some of these things to members of their courts - the nobility and royalty.

Although the issue of tribute collection has sometimes been found to be linked with excess production, it does not seem likely that this was true of the Luyana situation. This is because hunting and fishing which were the main economic activities of the people then, produced, except for the animal skins, highly perishable articles. As such, it seems obvious that production here was geared towards obtaining the peoples' immediate consumption needs. That tribute collection arose then, is to me a result of the following possible factors.

First is that of the emergence of a non-productive element within Luyana society. This was made up of the chiefs and their stewards, the royalty and the nobility. Much though it is said that both Kabinga and Sitamemba were great hunters, it would appear that as chiefs, their hunting expeditions were sporadic rather than frequent and that in the long spells of their non involvement in the business, they had to have their subsistence catered for by some other means. The presence of subjects and the power to make them produce these things, appear to have provided the chiefs with the required means. For all they had to do was to call upon their subjects to provide the needed produce and enforce their demands if need arose.

The other possible explanation of the matter is what I might term 'intensification of labour'. Early Luyana economy was, as already said, greatly dependent upon fishing and hunting. While it is possible that these can be undertaken throughout the year, it rarely occurs that the operations take place everyday of the week or say twelve hours of each day of work. And in the case of the Luyana, it is certain that labour exerted in the provisions of their own food requirements was essentially minimal. After a great catch or kill, they would stay for days without even going for a further hunt. This minimal use of labour meant that people had a great deal of unused energy. The harnessing of this dormant energy through an intensification of labour, was of vital importance to tribute collection among these people.

This is because it helped satisfy the new demands.

Another factor of change brought about by the independent chieftaincies in the region was of a territorial character. In contrast to the long stretch of land, about a hundred kilometres long, under Kabinga's sovereignty for instance, those clan segment controlled lands rarely exceeded fifteen kilometres in length. The obvious smallness of the clan segment populations, and the fragmentations that occurred within them, account for this. That a different situation arose with the establishment of the larger independent chieftaincies is easy to understand. As the new rulers amalgamated the existing clan communities under them, it meant that the territories they thus created were reasonably big - at least in comparison with any of the hitherto existing clan-ruled ones.

Last but not least of the changes that came with this type of government was demographic. While clan based governments everywhere in Luyana land had populations of a homogeneous character, in that they had their peoples belonging to single clans, the composition of people under each of the independent chieftaincies was heterogeneous. Kabinga ruled not only his Mbwaye clansmen, but also the Nyuwe and Mulonga who came before him, as well as the Situndu, Namaya and some Mutume who came to the area at about the time he did. And the issue of heterogeneity was even greater in the Sitamemba/Kambunji chiefdom. Not only was demographic

diversity signified by a multiplicity of clans within the chiefdom, as was the case in Kabinga's Makoma, but this chiefdom's population also had a substantial element of a non-Luyi origin. This element was made up of the Ngondo, who apparently were the ruling clan in the area.

Apart from the above factors, these chieftaincies were also responsible for the following consequences. First among these was the creation of partial unity among their peoples. Whereas the peoples concerned continued to identify themselves in terms of clans, they, nevertheless, began to have a sense of belonging to the new and larger societies embracing them. The chief became a symbol of unity with every clan recognising his authority. Recognition manifested itself in the payment of tribute and in the provision of labour when this was required.

The second consequence was this type of government's social effects upon the governed. The introduction of tribute payments and especially of the system of tribute labour made exacting demands upon the peoples governed. This was particularly so in view of the magnitude of the stockade construction projects. These required a lot of hard wood, which had to be felled and carried to the building sites. References are made to the fact that people rejoiced at Kabinga's downfall. A man said to have stumbled upon him, as Kabinga was in hiding following the destruction of his stockade and before his capture, is reported to have offered him no help. This, we are told was on account of the ill

treatment experienced during his rule. (10)

A similar case is that of the reported refusal by the people of Lukoko east to give him food when he was being taken to the litunga by his captors. The people's past sufferings under his rule is again given as the reason for this. According to this story, Kabinga is said to have retaliated by cursing the people of Lukoko with the scourge of perpetual hunger. (11) As floods frequently destroy crops at that place, some people remark: 'Is it any surprise? Did not Kabinga curse them!'

Nor was the harshness of chieftaincy experienced by the subject peoples alone. For, despite their short duration, these chieftaincies could not avoid the misfortunes of dynastic conflict. In Makoma especially, Kabinga is said to have killed his nephew, Muponda, for fear that he might succeed him. This angered the latter's mother Itea Munga (Sita Mbunga) who cursed the chief and left for Liuwa. As a result of this ill-feeling, Kabinga was rebuffed by his sister when he tried to take refuge at her place following the destruction of his stockade. Disappointed, the chief went back and hid at Silopu, where he was soon captured by his enemies. (12)

Perhaps of greatest significance among the results of the new independent chieftaincies is that it initiated the incorporation of some of the Luyana peoples into the Luyi central government. The establishment of Kabinga's

chieftaincy in Makoma soon drew the attention of the Luyi litungas. This was inevitable. Kabinga's membership of the Luyi royal family and his setting up of the chieftaincy so close to the centre of power of the Luyi could not hide the facts. Survival of the chieftaincy then, depended upon the goodwill of the well-established and powerful emergent Luyi state or on the ability of Kabinga to successfully resist and repel aggression. Neither of these occurred.

As Kabinga's chieftaincy was set up during the implementation, through Ngalama of the Luyi policy of reunification of the peoples, it soon became a target of attacks. While the exact number of encounters cannot be ascertained, tradition has it that in the end Kabinga was captured and subsequently drowned. This marked the dawn of a new era in the field of government in this part of Luyaland. A decree is said to have been made by Ngombala, forbidding the revival of the Kabinga chieftaincy or even calling someone by Kabinga's name. Instead of an independent government operating in the area, the people thenceforth came under the central Luyi administration.

Like the people of Makoma, those in Nyengo were equally drawn into the Luyi administration through the crushing of the independent chieftaincy there. As indicated above, Sitamemba's reign over the Nyengo was shortlived. Used to their independence, these people rebelled against their non-Luyi overlords. This led Sitamemba to go and seek Luyi

military aid against 'his subjects' the Nyengo. The Luyi promised to assist. They sent an army ostensibly for this purpose but in reality to kill Sitamemba and his men. The massacre took place at Liundu, where a school by this name now stands. Many though the victims were at Liundu, the Ngondo threat was by no means over. This is because Sitamemba's son, Kambunji, who had sensed treachery in the advancing Luyi army and had accordingly fled to Licha, was maintaining resistance to the Luyi from the safety of his island stockade village there.

Several expeditions sent against him failed. And when he finally fell, the credit for it was due not to Luyi men of war, but to one Namulimbwa, a Yauma immigrant whom Kaywa of Imilangu had welcomed and introduced to the litunga. On learning about the Kambunji problem, goes the tradition, Namulimbwa offered to help. Assisted by his followers, among whom was his brother Malala and his uncles Luandamo and Lishoomwa; he constructed what is called Sing'alamba. This was a kind of shield made of makege roots. They carried this to Kambunji's capital, where the latter and his men, in the usual manner, loosed their arrows and spears upon the advancing enemy.

Unfortunately for him, his weapons did no harm to any of his attackers, as they got stuck on the Sing'alamba. Consequently, the edge of Kambunji's stockade was reached for the first time. It was then cut and destroyed and its owner

killed. Ngombala was so pleased with this accomplishment that he elevated Namulimbwa's position over that of Kaywa, forbade lifunga in Imilangu and promised to welcome any Wiko who might come to Bulozzi. (13) The promise to welcome people from the west may explain why Mulambwa received the Mbunda chiefs Kandala and Ciengele at the level of princes. (14)

With the fall of Kabinga in Makoma, and Sitamemba and his son Kambunji in Nyengo, in about the 1760s, the whole of Luyanaland now came under Luyi rule. For the litungas, two things had been achieved - control of resources and elimination of possible rival states. Henceforth, the litungas were to enjoy all manner of tribute from the whole of Luyanaland. There is the interesting story of the litunga Yubya who refused to eat honey on the grounds that it was 'dirty'. Unwilling to see their ruler miss such a delicacy, the Luyi advised him that honey from Nyengo was prepared in a very hygienic manner. Having tasted and liked some, the litunga continued eating honey which he was made to believe was from Nyengo. (15)

N O T E S

1. Mange was the leader of the Luyi break away faction which later became known as the Kwangwa.
2. OT 65, 197/77.
3. OT 48, OT 49.
4. OT 1, OT 48, OT 52.
5. OT 1, OT 48.
6. OT 1, OT 3, OT 4, OT 24.
7. Drowning was a method the Luyi sometimes employed to kill their rulers: since they did not want to spill royal blood. Yeta Nalute, Litunga 5, who was disliked for his cannibalism was killed in this manner. A. Jalla, Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi, Oxford University Press, Lusaka, 1969, p. 17.
8. This suggestion was made by Dr. J.K. Rennie and appears quite plausible. The Imbangala are said to have made a fortification against the Portuguese in the first decade of the 17th century. J.C. Miller, Kings and Kinsmen, The Imbangala Impact on the Mbundu of Angola, Ph: D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972, p. 408. Since these people undertook slave trading activities in Southern Angola at a very early date, it is probable that the knowledge of stockade making may have spread from them to the peoples of South Central Africa.
9. OT 1.
10. OT 61.

11. OT 61.
12. OT 61.
13. OT 1, OT 46, OT 48, OT 52.
14. M. Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, Longman, London, 1973, p. 68.
15. Jalla, Litaba, p. 21.

CHAPTER 5: THE LUYANA UNDER LUYI RULE 1760* - 1899

The period of Luyi rule is undoubtedly the most significant in the history of the Luyana, both for its length, and for the many changes it brought to the region. These include the unification of the peoples under one government, the issue of tribute in young persons, the introduction of the Luyana into the central administration and, above all, the placing of Luyanaland for good or bad under the British sphere of influence. Each of these issues is discussed below. First, let us look at the subject of origin. When did Luyi rule begin in Luyanaland? Unfortunately, this is a question to which no simple answer exists. Partly owing to historical factors and partly, it would seem to geographical ones as well, (1) establishment of this rule occurred in stages.

Liuwa appears to have been the first area to experience this rule. Mboo, according to Jalla, fought and defeated the Mishulundu, Namale, Mulinga, Upangoma, Liuwa and Mwenyi peoples. (2) While it is difficult to determine the truth of all these claims (some of which have actually been rejected by the peoples concerned) the Liuwa one is fully collaborated. According to the Mulonga, who claim to be the first Luyana clan to reside in Liuwa, they were attacked by the Luyi near Kakita on the Barotse plain during their hunting expedition from Senanga. (3) Residing at Konje after this defeat, the Mulonga seem to have begun paying tribute to the litunga. This is evidenced by the Namaya claim that they were attacked

by Ngalama (1696* - 1720*) when they subjected the Mulonga at Konje and prevented them from forwarding their tribute to him. (4)

After Liuwa, the next Luyana areas to come under Luyi rule were Mwenyi and Imilangu. In both areas, this appears to have coincided with the establishment of Kabinga's chieftaincy in Makoma i.e. in the 1740 - 1760* period. (5) At that time, Uyoya Ndimba, a Luyi immigrant from Libonda, came to live in Mwenyi area; while Kaywa settled in Imilangu. Unlike Kabinga, neither of these two severed links with the Luyi. They maintained their subject position by paying their tribute. (6)

The last Luyana areas to fall under this type of rule were Makoma and Nyengo. This was to be expected. As centres of the independent chieftaincies previously discussed, their conquest was more difficult, and they stayed outside the ambit of Luyi suzerainty until their conquest. Since both these chieftaincies were destroyed by Ngombala (litunga 6), we may date the coming of Luyi rule to these areas at about 1760*. (7) Not only was this a mere extension of the process of incorporation begun in Liuwa, but rather, a completion of that process in the region as a whole.

Chronologically, the entire era of Luyi rule after the conquest neatly falls into three periods. These are: the pre-Kololo period (1760* - 1850), the Kololo period (1851 - 1864) and the post Kololo period (1865 - 1899). The division

is of course tentative. As the reasons for this are given in chapter 1 and because something has already been said regarding the time and manner by which this rule was brought to various parts of Luyanaland; our study of each of these phases will be confined to the changes and consequences experienced.

(a) The Pre-Kololo Period: 1760* - 1850

The immediate result of the crushing of the independent chieftaincies in Makoma and Nyengo was to bring all the Luyana peoples under the umbrella of the Ngulu (8) based Luyi Central Government. Three major changes - the litungaship, indirect rule and tribute illustrate this.

While it is true that the litunga's role was played by the independent chiefs before, the extent of the litunga's authority and his system of rule were completely different. Unlike Kabinga, who only ruled Makoma, or Sitamemba, whose administration was confined to Nyengo, the litunga ruled the whole of Luyanaland, in addition to his vast territorial 'provinces' to the north, east and south of Ngulu. For, in addition to the Kwangwa and Kwandi peoples, subjected by Ngalama, the litunga Ngombala had conquered the Subiya, Totela, Shanjo and other peoples before incorporating the Makoma and Nyengo areas.

For all its ills, inclusion into such a community undoubtedly had its advantages. Although there was no real unity between the Luyana and their rulers, in the sense that they could unite to repel attacks, yet it afforded the former

free movement through the Luyi-controlled lands. They were thus able to trade freely not only with the Luyi but with the Kwangwa as well: their chief suppliers of iron implements.
(10)

Administratively, Luyi rule also differed markedly from that of the preceding period. This was of the kind that Lord Lugard evolved for British Colonial Africa after the Partition. It was an indirect type of rule where the Luyi rulers had their administrative needs carried out by recognised local dignitaries among the clan heads in various parts of the region. These included Mayam^uba and Mwambwa-Nalwendo (11) in Makoma, Neloya in Nyengo and Uyoya Ndimba in Mwenyi.

Except in Liuwa, Imilangu and Mwenyi, where this form of government was introduced in the early days of settlement, its introduction in the other areas represented another novelty. It raised the authority of some clan heads over that of others. In southern Makoma for example, all the clans were initially brought under the control of the Mbwaye leader Mayamba. Whereas there are no references to any troubles having arisen as a result of this arrangement, it can be assumed that the situation was merely tolerated rather than welcomed. Much as the Ngómba may have detested Mayamba's rise, for example, there was little they could have done against a litunga's appointee. After all, Kabinga's fate was still fresh in their minds.

Besides fear of retribution, it would seem that

acceptance of the changed circumstances was due to the areas of control and the nature of the authority conferred upon these appointed indunas (officials). Although we talk about Luyi rule in this pre-Kololo period, it is important to note that this did not cover many aspects of the peoples' lives. In essence, the Luyama peoples remained largely autonomous in as far as governmental functions were concerned. They settled their own cases, looked after their own defence and indeed, it can be said, did everything their own way - subject to one condition - recognition of the litunga's authority and its expression through tribute payments.

That this should have minimized dissent is easy to see. As discussed in the previous chapter, the independent chieftaincies of the 18th century were detested. Perhaps more than anything else, the burden of stockade construction was the source of resentment. Since one immediate effect of Luyi rule was to remove this burden, it is not surprising that the people should have been less resentful, especially that they were allowed much of their freedom.

Moreover, the nature of control was equally less infuriating. While the tribute indunas were presented as collectors, their actual functioning was no more than supervisory. Collecting the tribute required from his own clan, a tribute induna would tell other clan heads to do the same in respect of their own clans. When this was done, the induna would lead his area's makulututu, or their

representatives to forward the tribute to the ruler. This made them leaders as opposed to rulers; and hence, less likely to be over-zealous of their powers: which could have generated resentment.

Hunters as tributary indunas

In the appointment of tribute indunas, merit appears to have been the determining factor. In particular, the Luyi appear to have recognised eminent hunters as tributary indunas. Mayamba, the Mbwaye clan leader referred to above, seems to have been a man of great enterprise. Like Kabinga, he is said to have lived in a stockaded village. (12)

However, following the fall of Kabinga, and Ngombala's decree forbidding the recreation of his chieftaincy, Mayamba ordered his people to destroy his own stockade. This was for fear that maintaining it would create suspicion to the effect that he was trying to make himself an independent chief. (13)

Skilled in the art of survival, Mayamba followed the destruction of his stockade by forwarding tribute to the litunga. As the amounts were considerable, he was given the ngongi, (14) his symbol of authority on this score. Mayamba was only one of many such indunas all over Luyaland, who had been great hunters. Kakuya, one of the leaders in Mwenyi was formerly known as Noanga. The name Kakuya was given him to denote his skill as a hunter. (15) The first of the Singundumbwa's who controlled tribute in Lueti area got the name through killing elephants. His original name was

Inambao. Giving him the new name, the Litunga Mulambwa said, 'Oyu kasa munu Singundumbwa sa mumusitu' - this one is not a person but a ferocious creature of the woods. (16)

To this list can be added the name of Kaongolo, who assumed leadership of the Mwenyi people at the death of Uyoya Ndimba. During the latter's life time, he received two enterprising strangers. One of these was Singundumbwa mentioned above. The other was Kaongolo. A hunter like Singundumbwa, Kaongolo was welcomed by Uyoya, whose sister Mwambwa he soon married. Being of the same trade with his brother in law, Kaongolo often went to the litunga with Uyoya to present their tribute. This made him known to the authorities and upon Uyoya's death, he was appointed regent for his young son Mulonda. (17) Mulonda took his father's name on succession and thereby established a new name at the leadership level of affairs in Mwenyi.

Although skill in hunting was not the only means of appointment to office, in view of Namulimbwa's case (see chapter 4), the large number of hunters so appointed makes their position of especial interest. Why were hunters considered so important by the Luyi rulers? Two factors seem to account for this.

First, hunters were found already established as leaders of their own people. This has been portrayed in previous chapters. During the time of their immigration into the region, the Luyana were led by eminent hunters. Imusheshe

who went to Lilambo area, Naka and Lukundu who went to Nyengo, and Kaywa, are but a few examples. (18) Since this situation continued to the time of the Luyi incorporation, it is easy to see why hunters were appointed as tribute indunas. The Luyi were merely exploiting the prevailing situation i.e. making use of the already existing leadership. The more skilful among the 'leader-hunters' excelled themselves by forwarding more meat and skins as tribute to the ruler, and won themselves supervisory powers over their less skilful counterparts.

The second factor has a bearing upon Bulozzi's involvement in the long distance trade. Reports about this go back to the time of Mulambwa in the early 19th century. (19)

Slaves and ivory were the commodities required to obtain the European products offered for sale then. (20) Because Mulambwa did not like the slave trade (21) his only alternative was to trade in ivory. And there were advantages in doing this. There were a lot of elephants in his country then, and more guns (22) were coming in with which to kill them. The rise to pre-eminence of hunters like Singundumbwa, Kakuya and Kaonga Namenda, may thus be viewed in this context. They were probably given leadership roles both as a means of appreciation for the valuable tribute they brought (ivory) and as an incentive to encourage them to produce more.

Tribute.

Payment of tribute was cardinal to all phases of Luyi rule over the Luyana. This took three main forms. There

was tribute in commodities, tribute in children and tribute labour. Tribute labour only became important from the Kololo period, so we shall discuss the first two types here.

Tribute of the first type involved the sending of commodities such as grain, tubers, wild fruit, fish, meat, mats or pots to the litunga. People of every area took certain amounts of whatever was obtainable in their localities. Such things were not regarded as items of trade, for which the people would get an equivalent return. Nor were they regarded as tax, in the modern sense that they were a means of raising revenue with which to finance governmental functions. Rather, they were a kind of free gift to the litunga to dispose of as he pleased. By free, is meant that the litunga obtained the products without obligation, not that the products themselves were freely given. That this was so is borne by the fact that physical punishments were meted out to tribute defaulters. (23)

This does not mean that commodity tribute had brought no compensation for the subjects. Although the litunga was under no obligation to pay for the tribute he received, he nevertheless made gifts in return. Under the re-distributive system, he made tribute items accessible not only to the royalty and aristocrats, but also to those who provided them. Thus, items like hoes, axes, and salt which were produced and paid by one area, found their way into areas where they were not obtainable. (24)

Tribute in children (lifunga or maketo), was another innovation. (25) Designed to provide servants for the litunga and aristocracy, this system involved the carrying away of young boys and girls from their homes to the centre of Luyi power. In this way, the system robbed Luyanaland of both its population and potential man-power, making their security precarious. The system was detested. One example of this is a vivid oral account of the resistance of a great fighter Mushoke, to the taking away of his great-grand daughter Namitondo probably dating from the 1880s. (26)

Arriving at Luola, a party of lifunga men asked Simakando for a child. The latter offered them his niece Namitondo. The girl's mother was unhappy but helpless. Fortunately for her, Luondo, a friend of the girl's father, learnt of the proposal and hastened to warn the father Kuyengwa. Consequently, Kuyengwa went to Luola, and under cover of darkness removed his daughter to the safety of his home, Kate. In the early hours of the morning, Simakando and the lifunga men surrounded Namitondo's mother's hut to demand the girl. Upon learning what had happened, the party went to Kate. There they met the old man. Aware of their coming, Mushoke had prepared himself to kill or be killed. His head bare and marked by the scars of many battles, he stood ready with his weapons. Defiantly, he went a few paces towards the approaching men; then turning to offer his side he drew a line. Going back to his position, he threatened to fight if

they ventured to cross it. Afraid to take up the challenge, the party went back, leaving Namitondo in peace. (27)

Whereas this story relates to a recent event, it is quite likely that the issue which expresses resentment, goes back to the early years of the system.

Results

Three consequences seem to emerge from this period of Luyi rule. One of these was fragmentation in at least one area of the region. Although no real unity had been achieved in any part of Luyanaland prior to Luyi rule, it can be argued that political centralization had in fact begun in the case of Makoma, in the temporary unity under Kabinga. The destruction of his chieftaincy resulted in Makoma being divided into small units under tribute indunas. (28)

It would seem that fear of the resurgence of the chieftaincy was the reason for this. This is probably why the indunas were given the single power of tribute collection, and also why more indunas were appointed in the course of time. (29)

The second consequence, a result of the small population and of disunity, was the vulnerability of the people to outside aggression. The 'Wiko' raiders from the north-west, whose arrows and head severing knives were a source of constant terror to the Luyana, exploited this weakness.

The word Wiko is a collective term for most people of Angolan origin. (30) Just before and during the early

19th century, groups of Mambari, Mbunda, Chokwe and Lovale began coming to Bulozhi in search of slaves. Because most of them were from the west and north-west, they earned themselves the name Wiko (people from the west).

As slavers, these people constituted a great danger to the security and well-being of the Luyana. Although Mulambwa's humanitarian disposition barred them from buying slaves, (31) this did not stop them from raiding for them in Luyanaland, since protection from the central government was non-existent. (32)

The situation may have worsened after the death of Mulambwa, when the Luyi state was under civil war.

Few and without unity, the Luyana were no match for these raiding bands. They therefore resorted to taking refuge. Particularly blessed in this were the inhabitants of the Luanginga Flood Plain and those of the Nyengo Swamps. Making use of their dug-outs, they found safety on island mounds and warned each other of danger by the nokushimba (I carry you) message system. This was a process where the presence of raiders was conveyed to others by individual canoe men paddling to adjacent inhabited islands to deliver the message.

Featuring with the issue of Wiko raids by the way, is the interesting story of a talking tree. 'When Wiko raiders used to come near Lukoko,' my grandfather once told me, 'Simate wa Mwamwa's mulya tree would shout, telling people on the nearby island mounds not to come to the forest edge. (33) While this may be dismissed as superstitious, it underlines

nevertheless, the fact that raiding and the reporting of raiders were a significant part of Luyana experience, as well as emphasizing that island mounds were one place of refuge in those days.

Other areas, not endowed with this type of refuge, found other solutions. In Imilangu I was told of the existence of a refuge complex called Shiwa-mwi-nenge. This is an open grassland which is surrounded by papyrus bush on one side and thick bushes on the others. From its situation in the centre of the plain, people were able to see the approach of an enemy, and would hasten to take cover in one of the natural hideouts farthest from the enemy. (34)

A final consequence is the origin and development of the group names Makoma and Imilangu. A look at Appendix B.I, will show that unlike the Nyengo, who were named after a snake by this name found in the area, both the Makoma and Imilangu were named after items of tribute which the people in those areas forwarded to the litunga. Simalikita's likoma (snuff boxes) were prized by the Luyi. By constantly associating people from the area with these products (makoma in Luyana) the term Ba-Makoma (people of Makoma) emerged. (35)

This was precisely the case with Imilangu. At Kaywa's home was a very good fruit-bearing mulangu tree. Because of this, malangu became a part of his tribute commodities. In the course of time Imilangu became the designation of the area and Ba-Imilangu that of the people. (36)

The emergence and acceptance of these terms had two important implications. One was the disuse of earlier names for the areas. Makoma's Sisheenyi is one such name. If there had been other names for Imilangu, Nyengo or Mwenyi, they are no longer known. Like Sisheenyi, they died a natural death giving room to new ones, some of which reflect certain historical experiences of some Luyana ancestors.

Another implication was the erosion of clan identity. While people in various parts of the region continued to identify themselves with their clans, they also began to develop a sense of belonging to the larger groupings that were formed. Hence, from the mid-nineteenth century, European travellers to the region were referring to these people as the Makoma, Nyengo, etc., instead of using their clan nomenclatures. David Livingstone for instance, records finding Makoma captives with the Kololo in 1853. (37) And in his Seven Years In South Africa, Holub mentions finding two Manengo (Nyengo) men at Sesheke. (38)

Despite their erosions upon clan identities, these area names did not represent centralized political units. There were no Luyi courts in the region at the time, nor the makolo military and labour organization units. (39) Thus the unity and centralization of exchange economy in Luyanaland, co-existed with the disunity or diffusion of its politics. What impact the Kololo period had upon this situation is the subject of the next section.

(b) The Kololo Period: 1851 - 1864

The Kololo conquest of the Flood Plain in 1850 (40) did not include Luyanaland. This is evidenced by the entry into the region of numerous Luyi refugees and their formation there of a government in exile under Mulambwa's son Imbua. (41) This Luyi presence led to an intensification of their (the Luyi) influence among the Luyana, with long term implications. For, although the latter remained largely as in the past, in that clan heads continued to administer their peoples' affairs, there was greater Luyi involvement in their affairs than before.

For the first time, we hear of a case being settled by a Luyi ruler. According to the Ngomba clan, possession of part of their land in Nyengo is traced to Imbua. A dispute arose between them and the Mulonga clan. According to the story, the bone of contention was the latter's killing of the former's dog Siku'ngu. Alleged to have had horns, and believed to have originally come from the Ngomba in Makoma's Nengu area, the dog is said to have killed its owners a lot of game. For this reason, it had the issue of its killing taken before the chief. Arguing their case cleverly, by pointing out that the large quantities of meat and animal skins previously given as tribute were the dog's work, and that its death was therefore a great loss to them, the complainants had the case ruled in their favour. The Mulonga were made to pay a large portion of their land to the wronged party. (42)

Another important innovation of this period took place

in the field of marriage. Inter-marriages between the Luyi and the Luyana was not a new thing. Kaongolo's son Mulonda is said to have married a Luyi princess (Mukumbuta) about the beginning of the 19th century. (43)

However, such intermarriages appear to have increased during this time. Besides Sipopa's marriage to a Loke girl Mutukwa, whose child Namiluko founded the Prince Namilukoship at Nangili, (44) several other marriages are reported to have taken place. Imbua's marriage to the Situndu girl Nalute is one of these. (45) Another was that between Imbua and Naluendo of the Shea community at Silopu village, Mushukula. This marriage led to the birth of a child named Malitela, who died young. Upon the death of Imbua, the widow Naluendo is said to have been married by the chief's brother Mando. Prince Muimui Namabanda is a descendant of this union. (46)

The result of these marriages, which most probably must have been numerous on the commoner side, was to bring greater identity between the Luyi rulers and their Luyana subjects. It is stated for example, that when Prince Namabanda was put in charge of a military expedition against the Lovale in 1892, his half-brother Sindwa of Silopu village decided to go as well, by virtue of their relationship. (47).

These royal marriages brought benefits to the clans concerned. This happened in the case of the Imbua-Nalute marriage. According to the Situndu, the land they have in Nyengo to-day was given them by Imbua. This, they say was

because of his marriage to Nalute. (48) This claim is plausible since the Situndu were the last to come to the Nyengo area, since their land is surrounded by that of earlier groups, and since Imbua was the symbolic head of land in the area.

After the restoration of Luyi power, the Luyana clans found that such marital connections provided political protection. The case of Sililo supports this. During the Lewanika rebellion, Prince Namabanda took refuge at Sililo's place. Related to the prince through the Mando-Naluendo marriage of the Kololo period, Sililo took special care of the fugitive. After the restoration, it was the prince's turn to show kindness. Sililo had been reported to the King Lewanika for mis-use of government trophy. This involved the killing and eating of an eland. The offence was indeed a serious one. Fortunately, Namabanda learnt of the matter, and interceded for the offender. Sililo was thereupon forgiven and brought under Namabanda in matters of tribute. (49)

Tribute labour was also introduced at this time. Unkown to the Luyana since the days of Kabinga and Sitamemba, this was introduced to meet the labour needs of building the chief's capitals. (50) Once started, however, this third form of tribute continued up to the time of colonialism. Its operation became particularly great after the Luyi restoration. (51)

The story of the Kololo does not end with their occupation of the Flood Plain in 1850. In a bid to consolidate

their power, and to possibly tap the resources of Bulozzi to the full, they soon fought the exiled Luyi and their subject peoples to the north and north-west. This brought them face to face with the Luyana, and provided the only direct link between these peoples.

From what we know about Kololo military prowess, (52) one would think that the Luyana were completely routed upon this encounter. Not only were the Luyana disunited but they were hardly used to fighting. Apart from the wars associated with the independent chiefs in the mid 18th century, no other fighting is known to have occurred in the region until then. The people had kept peace with the Luyi by paying their tribute, and avoided fighting the Wiko by resorting to hiding. They thus had had no preparation to face the Kololo threat. Remarkably, however, the Luyana were not conquered. Influenced by the Luyi exiles, they put up a successful resistance to the invaders, when, owing to the use of canoes by the Kololo, they found their hitherto island mounds no longer safe as places of refuge.

The main reason for this was tactical. Perhaps conscious of their weakness, the Luyana avoided pitched battles with the Kololo. Rather, they staged ambushes which inflicted heavy casualties among the enemy whenever they had the chance. An example of this is what may be termed the Kakun'gula massacre. This took place close to Kakun'gula whirlpool near Kalabo Boma. Here, the enemy, who were returning from their encounter with

the ageing but formidable Simate wa Mwaamwa at Makia, encountered an ambush. This was made up of Mwenyi people mostly, with a few Makoma and possibly Nyengo. Its leader, 'Lita-Likulu' Siyoto wa Mulonda (53) took his position at Nemonanga (I will be seeing), to give the attack signal when he considered it opportune. This he did, when most of the enemy canoes had entered the ambush area. Then followed the slaughter. So effective was the onslaught, we are told, that it was commemorated by the saying: 'A Mwenyi a Kabindo na binde n'gole.' (54) (The Mwenyi are strong wrestlers, who downed the enemy).

Further examples of this apparent awakened militarism among the Luyana appear in the next period. Then, a number of valiant fighters are said to have effectively countered the Wiko raiders, and/or to have participated in Lozi raids against other peoples. (55) Although this occurred in the post Kololo period as will be seen below, it is important to note that its beginning is firmly rooted in the Kololo one. This is true of the acquisition of the Sikololo language and customs by the Luyana. Whereas these things were acquired after the restoration, the basis for it was laid in the Kololo period.

1864 marks the end of the Kololo period in Bulozhi. In that year, the Lozi exiles (mainly in the north) joined those in the Flood Plain in an uprising that massacred the Kololo. Soon after this, Njekwa, upon whose initiative, enterprise and ability the success of the venture was attributed, invited Lutangu Sipopa to assume the litungaship on the Plain. The

latter's departure from the north, paved the way for Imbua's move to the area to satisfy his desire. (56) Did this restore Luyaland to its pre-Kololo days? To what extent? Did these developments bring any new features to the region? For answers to these and other such questions, let us turn to the next section.

(b) The Post-Kololo Period: 1865 - 1899

The joy with which the victorious Lozi re-entered Buluzi after years of exile may have been considerable. The achieved vengeance, recovery of ancestral lands, and the restored freedom make this certain; as is their reported offer of the sacred position (the litungaship itself) to the commoner Njekwa. (57) However, they found such joy short lived. As in the immediate pre-Kololo days, when the people were fighting over the issue of Mulambwa's successor; the spectre of dynastic intrigues and conflicts haunted the nation. There were murders and rebellions until Lewanika's restoration in 1885 restored the peace which had eluded them for so long. (58)

Being subjects of the Lozi, the Luyana can rightly be expected to have been involved in these disorders. This was so only to a little extent. As subjects, the Luyana were not necessarily king makers. Because the conspiratorial targets were the kings and aristocracy, and as the Lozi exiles had since left the region, there was scarcely any basis for Luyana involvement in those crises. Indeed, apart from Kaongolo Mwananembo's reported attempt to remove ivory bangles from

Mukwae Mutauka's hands during the Lewanika rebellion, a thing for which he was deposed, (59) no other Luyana is said to have openly taken sides in those disturbances. They prudently served whoever was in control at the centre, while secretly helping whatever fugitives came their way. Thus, the Silopu people in Makoma gave Induna Nalubutu shelter before he proceeded to Lukwakwa, (60) while Naluendo of Lilambo put Ngambela Silumbu on the right track to reach the fugitive Lewanika despite instructions from the rebels to kill him (Silumbu), and return his horse to the capital. (61) Because they were neutral, it can be argued, the Luyana were left in peace by the warring Lozi. After all, each section in the struggles, had sufficient opponents to wish to raise new ones.

However, there was another source of instability in the region at this time. This consisted of the Mbunda and Mambari (Ovimbundu) traders. Reported to have begun coming to Bulozhi at the time of Mulambwa in the early 19th century, Mambari trading activities greatly increased in the post Kololo period. Although these were mainly peaceful, choosing to obtain their requirements through exchange, (62) their fellow middlemen in this trade, the Mbunda and Chokwe were not. Known as ~~Wiko~~ these raided the Luyana for slaves, (63) as they had done in the early decades of the 19th century. They were probably taking advantage of Imbua's departure, which left the region once more largely decentralized. Nevertheless, the effects of their raiding were no longer severe. As pointed out above, the

Luyana had discovered their militancy. As Siyoto wa Mulonda did to the Kololo (see Note 53), men like Kamuti ka Munembo, Mwimbwa and Mukosho wa Namwawa counter-attacked the Wiko raiders. (64) The success of their efforts is perhaps indicated by Kamuti ka Munembo's reported bringing back of captured relatives, as well as the fact that Mukosho used to carry out hot pursuits against the raiding bands. (65) These show that, unlike in the past the Wiko were no longer raiding with impunity.

Final peace came to Luyana land following Lewanika's restoration. With a disposition towards unity, the king, whose name means unifier, (66) drew the region much more closely into the central political system. By extending his control over the Mbunda to the west beyond Luyana land, and over the Lovale and Lunda to the north, he managed to stop the raiding activities of these peoples. His success may well have been due to the continuing decline of the slave trade at the time, or to some other reason besides military power. Whatever it was, is not very important. What does, is the fact that he brought peace.

Reference has been made to Luyana participation in Lozi raids against other peoples during this time. In particular, they fought in the Mashukulumbwe (Ila) war of 1888 and the Lovale war of 1892. (67) The latter was at the request of the Lunda Chief Shinde, who had asked for Lewanika's help against the Lovale menace. Both wars brought a lot of booty in terms

of cattle, women and children. As rewards for taking part in these wars, the Luyana were given their share of the booty. Further, a number of them were given the king's mbuwa (cattle) to look after. (68) These, plus those obtained as presents, increased the cattle population in the region and were to prove of great social and economic importance in future. Milk, meat, manure and cash when sold; were all benefits the Luyana derived from them in the course of time. And in contrast to the long gone days, cattle, as opposed to hoes and axes began to feature prominently as sionda (bride price) in marriage.

Provision of tribute labour was another major characteristic of this period. Occurring briefly for the first time during the independent chieftaincy period, this system was re-introduced by Imbua, at the time of the Kololo. From then on, it continued, increasing in scope as years went by; until in Lewanika's time, canal making and namukau cultivation were added to the initial labour tasks required of the people. (69)

This issue has a number of interesting facts about it. The canal and other public works carried out in the Barotse plain, involved the taking of Luyana labour outside the region. This enabled the Luyana to acquire a lot of the new things brought by the Kololo. These include the building of better houses, making of Kololo mats, drinking of beer, (70) as well as the use of the Si Kololo (Silozi) language. (71)

Moreover, importance of this system can be found even where labour was expended locally. Besides its economic aspect

this type of labour had a political significance as well. It extended the powers of the tribute indunas. While in commodity tribute, these officers' powers had been confined to collection and delivery, through the tribute labour system, they were also required to produce. This led to the extension of their powers, by conferring on them the added responsibility of supervising the cultivation of the namukau. As a result, their authority became much greater than that of the ordinary clan segment heads.

Alongside namukau cultivation was the growth of agricultural production as an economic undertaking of the people for themselves. Consequent upon the fairly tranquil situation then prevailing, a great deal of agriculture took place. From existing records, it would seem that much of this occurred along the Luanginga. The report that the Makoma were the chief tobacco growers of Lukona (Kalabo) District, (72) and the entry in the History of Barotseland (1935) that the Makoma had been largely agricultural and that they had formerly sold a lot of grain and meal to both English and Portuguese traders (73) are matters in point.

Illustrating the issue further is ^{the} story of Namushi wa Kende. Reported by Muuka to have introduced maize among the Lozi, (74) Namushi was a daughter of Kende of Mangandela village in Makoma. A strong cultivator from girlhood, Namushi became even more enterprising as a woman. According to the story, Lewanika learnt of this woman while she was at her husband's home in

Lukulu. She was then called to the capital, and upon proof of her hard work, was given land to work by the litunga. Now called after this woman, Namushakende is Bulozzi's Provincial Development Centre at present. (75)

The prominence given to cropping in the Makoma/Mwenyi areas does not imply the absence of agricultural practice in other parts of the region. Serpa Pinto (1881) reports the existence of large quantities of sweet potatoes around Lutwi area in Imilangu, (76) while Capello and Ivens (1886) talk about the practice of mikomona (mound) cultivation among the Nyengo. (77) Nevertheless, it is still evident that the Luanginga river area was predominant in this matter. Unlike the other areas, which register single crops as having been cultivated (penisetum? in the case of Nyengo), the Luanginga one has several. (78)

Although the reason for this increase in cropping is difficult to determine, it would appear that foreign trade had something to do with it. In my view, the Portuguese/Mambari trade was particularly responsible. Its upsurge in the 1880s, (79)

led to a demand for food. Being along one of the best routes into the region, the Makoma and Mwenyi were better suited to exploit the chance of growing food for sale to the traders. Not shying away from travellers as the Nyengo are repeatedly reported to have done (80) and enjoying a large measure of security then, they grew crops to exchange for merchandise.

Luyana recruitment into the Lozi administrative machinery was an important development of this period also. With all its short-comings, it is rather ironical that the lifunga system was the main avenue through which this came about. Since most of the children involved were selected on the basis of beauty, intelligence and courage, lifunga had the result of exposing Luyana men of talent to the Luyi authorities, and hence widen their chances of selection for office.

One such recruit was Simaloya of Liyoela village. Appointed first as libuto to Sipopa, the man was later put in charge of a section of Lewanika's limbuwa, before he finally married princess Mwanan'gumbi. (81) The same is true of Liombe, who began by being in charge of grass fires and ended up as induna Lioma in the Lozi central government. (82)

The list is extensive. Indeed, it has been suggested that some people taken under lifunga, had some of their children rise, to even the important and powerful post of Ngambela (Prime Minister) (83) which is second only to that of the litunga.

Diametrically opposed to developments towards closer identity between the Luyana and the Lozi at this time, was the emergence of a linguistic divergence between the two peoples. The colonization of the Barotse Plain by the . Kololo, brought with it the Sikololo language which was quickly acquired by the Luyi group which remained in the plain. Together with the Kololo women and children, whom the victorious rebels had

spared and shared when they massacred their former masters; (84)

these Luyi became the agents through whom their returned country men learnt the new language.

Then known as Silozi, the use of this language by the Lozi in the plain, greatly distinguished them from their Luyana kinsmen. This was to be expected. Having had minimal physical contact with the Kololo, the Luyana had not been able to learn Sikololo. Consequently, when the Lozi were changing from Siluyana to the new language, the Luyana continued to make use of their Siluyana dialects.

While it did not occur overnight, the situation eventually led to social problems. As Silozi became the official language ^{of Bulozhi,} its speakers began to look down upon the Luyana. From this prejudice, a misconception arose, to the effect that 'true Loziness' i.e. descent from the original Luyi community did not embrace people in Luyanaland. (85)

As our discussion on origins has shown, this is basically incorrect. We even have further evidence to counter this assumption. This is based on Luyi exiles who chose to remain in Luyanaland at the restoration. The Masilokwa family in Mwenyi is one good example of this. These are descendants of Mulambwa's son Silumelume. When the latter was assassinated in the succession dispute following his father's death, his children ran away and took refuge at Mwandu in Mwenyi. They have been there since and are now part of the Mwenyi community. (86)

By far the greatest of the consequences of Luyi rule over the Luyana perhaps, was its inclusion of Luyanaland within the British sphere of influence. This occurred towards the end of the 19th century. By the 1880s, capitalism had ripened in Europe, and European powers were scrambling for colonies in Africa. There was no way by which Lewanika could have saved Bulozzi from this world wide danger. As is natural with all sensible men, therefore, the king chose what he thought was the 'lesser evil' among the powers advancing upon his kingdom. Britain was his choice. As the king's subjects, the Luyana were thereby brought under the British. The story of how this actually happened now follows.

N O T E S

1. The vastness of the region and the existence of geographical barriers in the form of forests and waterless plains between some areas of the region, could have prevented this rule from reaching all areas at once.
2. A. Jalla, Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi, Oxford University Press, Lusaka, 1969, p. 9.
3. OT 19.
4. OT 4.
5. See Chapter 4.
6. OT 1, OT 31, OT 39, OT 46.
7. See Chapter 1 for my determination of this date.
8. Ngulu was the name by which the Barotse Flood Plain was originally known. OT 6.
9. M. Mainga, 'The Lozi Kingdom', (ed.) Brian M. Fagan, A Short History of Zambia, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, Lusaka, Addis Ababa, 1969, p. 125.
10. OT 12, OT 53.
11. The first Mwambwa-Naluendo was a son of Imwalye, an alleged Luyi royal who went to Makoma as a hunter soon after Kabinga's death. His name is a combination of his name Mwambwa and that of his mother Naluendo - a Nyuwe woman whom Imwalye had married. OT 18, OT 28.
12. This is said to have been situated where Luola school now stands. OT 3.
13. OT 3.

14. This was a kind of bell which an officer used to summon people if he had a message to convey.
15. OT 1.
16. OT 33.
17. OT 32.
18. OT 36, OT 48, OT 49, OT 46.
19. D. Livingstone, Private Journals 1851-1853, (ed.), I. Scapera, Chatto & Windus, London, 1960, p. 141; Livingstone, Missionary Correspondence, (ed.), I. Scapera, Chatto & Windus, London, 1961, p. 186.
20. The third trading item, rubber, does not seem to have been traded in Bulozhi until Lewanika's time. N.A.Z., KDE 8/1/2, District Commissioner and Resident Magistrate Barotse Province, Annual Report, 1910-11, p. 20.
21. Livingstone, Private Journals, p. 203; M. Mainga, Bulozhi Under the Luyana Kings, Longman, London, 1973, p. 85; F. Soremekun, 'The Ovimbundu in the 19th century,' in R. Palmer & N. Parsons (ed.), Roots of Rural Poverty in Southern and Central Africa, Heinemann, London, 1977, p. 87; A. Roberts, A History of Zambia, Heinemann, London, 1976, p. 115.
22. Confusing Mwenyi and Makoma for rivers, Livingstone writes: 'The Moeng or Moenye (Mwenyi), Macoma (Makoma) have numerous tribes on their banks'; and are all 'well supplied with guns...from the north or north-west'. Livingstone, Correspondence, p. 186.

23. Luyi attacks on Konje were motivated by non-delivery of tribute. See for example OT 4. See also Mainga, Bulozi, p. 60.
24. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 139.
25. Its advantage, the drawing of the Luyana into the Luyi Central Government will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.
26. I personally knew Namitondo. She died fairly old in 1955.
27. OT 62, 20/3/77.
28. There were initially two of these for the whole of Makoma, viz: Mayamba and Mwambwa Naluendo.
29. These later ones were Simakando Lipoke for Nengu area, Simate wa Mwaamwa for Makia and Lioko for Likulundundu.
30. W.V. Brelsford, The Tribes of Zambia, Government Printer, Lusaka, 1965, p. 9.
31. It has been suggested that the name Mulambwa originated from the litunga's insistence that those wanting to buy slaves should buy dogs instead. Mulambwa, my informant told me, is a compound from the words: muule (you buy) and ambwa (dogs). OT 1.
32. Lack of protection was not unique to the Luyana at this time. Other Luyi peoples were equally affected. Mainga points out for instance, that the Luyi on the eastern forest margin were experiencing raids from the Lovale. Mainga, 'The Lozi Kingdom', p. 126.
33. The tree was found near Makia Primary School and its owner is alleged to have had enormous supernatural powers

ue to possession of charms.

34. CT 43.
35. CT 6, CT 24.
36. For the origins of the names Nyengo and Liuwa, see Appendix B, I.
37. D. Livingstone, African Journal, 1853-56, (ed),
I. Schapera, Chatto & Windus, London, 1963, Vol. II, p. 19.
38. E. Holub, Seven Years in South Africa, Sampson Low,
Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1881, Vol. II p. 174.
39. For more information on these units, see Mainga, Bulozi.
pp. 25, 35-37, 47-50.
40. See Chapter 1 for my determination of this date.
41. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 74. The main body of Luyi refugees
settled in Nyengo where Imbua had his capital, but there
were others in Mwenyi and Makoma as well. For instance,
though born in Nyengo, Lewanika is said to have been
brought up in Nangu area of Makoma. CT 9, CT 13.
42. CT 9.
43. CT 32.
44. CT 31.
45. CT 45.
46. CT 18.
47. CT 18. Mainga says that this was at the request of the
Lunda Chief Shinde. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 79.
48. CT 45.
49. CT 18.

50. Imbua had three capitals in Nyengo, the well known one being Yala.
51. Both oral and written sources testify to Luyana participation in the canal projects of the late 19th century Bulozhi, in the building of Mound Nanikelako (Lewanika's burial place) and/or in the construction of the Kings palace: OT 6; F. Coillard, Report, 27/11/1894, in Journal des Missions Evangeliques, 89, 1894, p. 148.
52. J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath, A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa, Longman, London, 1966, pp. 115-121; E.W. Smith & A.M. Dale, The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, MacMillan and Coy. Ltd., London, 1920, Vol. 1, pp. 31-35; Mainga, Bulozhi pp. 65-87.
53. Siyoto was the son of Kaongolo Mulonda, Leader of the Mwenyi at the time of the Kololo. He is said to have fought the Kololo several times and that he was finally killed by them when he followed them after they had taken away his wife and sister captive when he was away hunting. OT 34.
54. OT 1, OT 28, OT 34.
55. OT 15, OT 18, OT 48.
56. The chief longed for the iron ore deposits in the area, which was not obtainable in Luyanaland. Jalla, Litaba, p. 46.
57. Mainga, Bulozhi, pp. 108-109.
58. Mainga, Bulozhi, pp. 108-109.

59. OT 32.
60. OT 18.
61. Jalla, Litaba, pp. 59-60.
62. This is the view held by my informants. Soremekun also says that the Mambari preferred peace when conducting their business. F. Soremekun, 'The Ovimbundu', p. 87.
63. N.A.Z., BS2/160, Sergt. Macauley to Major Collin Harding, June, 23rd, 1900.
64. OT 15.
65. OT 15.
66. Lewanika comes from the Luyana word ku waneka (to put together) See G. Clay, Your Friend Lewanika, Chatto & Windus, London, 1968, p. 45. My grandfather, Namakando Sindopuana, used to add that Lewanika was given the name because 'he put "nations" together'.
67. Mainga, Bulozi, pp. 149-151.
68. OT 3, OT 12.
69. The initial labour tasks were those of building the King's Palaces.
70. Initially, the Luyana took non-intoxicating drinks, ilya, malopu or liti; but not bucwala (beer). OT 12, OT 53, OT 58.
71. This language became a mark of distinction between the Luyana and the Lozi (see below).
72. N.A.Z., BS2/153, District Report, Lukona, 31/3/1911.
73. N.A.Z., KDE/44/4, History of Barotseland.

74. L.S. Muuka, 'The Colonization of Barotseland in the 17th Century', (ed.), Eric Stokes & Richard Brown, The Zambesian Past, Manchester University Press, 1966, p. 258.
75. OT 64, 19/7/77.
76. Serpa Pinto, How I Crossed Africa, Alfred Elwes Translation, London, 1881, pp. 367-368.
77. H. Capello & R. Ivens, De Angola a Contra Costa, National Press, Lisbon, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 370.
78. Silva Porto, Viagens e Apontamentos de um Portuense em Africa, (ed.), J. de Miranda & A. Brochado, Lisbon, 1942, p. 102.
79. A. Roberts, A History of Zambia, Heinemann, London, 1976, p. 134.
80. Capello & Ivens, De Angola, p. 370; Pinto, How I Crossed Africa, p. 366; N.A.Z., KSH 2/1, District Note-Book, Vol. 1, p. 53.
81. OT 6.
82. OT 6.
83. Not in a position to disclose the names.
84. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 96.
85. Jalla, Mainga and Muuka are among the writers who have erroneously depicted the Luyana as being non-Luyi.
86. OT 1. For further evidence on this issue refer to Chapter 2.

historical interest including
 Chiefs placed in Angola by
 the boundary of 1905.



KEY (PLACES)

- I1 Sitapa iron mine
- I2 Mushikida iron site
- S1 Nricaka salt site
- S2 Chete salt site
- Ik Ikanda
- Iml Imilangu
- Ka Kaunda
- Kb Kabanga's stockade home at Nongji
- Ld1 Luanda - Kibanga's stockade at Katiwe
- Ld2 Luanda - Simamba's stockade at Nyambo
- Ld3 Luanda - Karouanga's stockade site
- Lkg Likenge
- Lkk Lukoko - Site for Simate wa Mwaamwa's mutya tree
- Lm Fimaa
- Ll Lufubelo
- Mu Munde
- Mn Munwe
- Mi Minya Luvwa's home
- Nd Nanda
- Lkd Lukundu's home
- Nz Nzawe
- Ko Kunga
- S Simalikia's home
- Sf Sifungelo
- Sm Sami
- Sik Sikoma
- S3 Lubuta salt site
- S4 Maunga salt site
- S5 Likonge salt site
- S6 Kahole salt site
- Y Yala

KEY (CHIEFS)

- 1 MULANDA
- 2 MUNENE
- 3 KAIMANA
- 4 MATE
- 5 MAHAMBWA
- 6 KASINGOSINGO
- 7 KAMBINDA
- 8 MANJOLO
- 9 MAKONDE
- 10 SHEKE
- 11 KAULULA

CHAPTER 6: THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

Lewanika's return to power in 1885 marks a major turning point in the history of Bulozhi. The sad memories of the rebellion, fear of the possibility of its recurrence and awareness of the existence of the Ndebele menace forced Lewanika to cut a new political path for the nation. While not entirely new, the scheme, which entailed the involvement of the white man in Bulozhi's national affairs was nevertheless given great impetus. For, aside from seeking his (the white man's) advice - as was previously done with Westbeech and Arnot - the litunga then used Coillard and others, to help him obtain British protection. As this was to their advantage, these white 'councillors' responded favourably. They not only wrote the letters, but took measures to ensure the success of the matter. Consequently, protection was offered, albeit in a manner Lewanika had not envisaged.

The economic background to these events is the commercial and capitalist expansion of Europe. This began to affect Bulozhi at the beginning of the 19th century when the Lovale in the north and the Mambari and Mbunda in the north-west were trading with Bulozhi. (1)

Once started, the tide of European influence increased in form and scope with the passing of time. European trade goods were soon followed by white explorers, missionaries, traders, and finally administrators. As more and more of each of these

groups arrived, so grew the businesses for which they stood. There were more goods coming in, more Christian centres built, more administrative posts, and-above all - more laws and obligations for the Lozi peoples to adhere to.

The first major turn in this process took place in and around the 1850s. This took the form of the first European visits to the country. In 1848, the Portuguese trader Silva Porto became the first white man to enter the Luyi Kingdom. He came at a time when the Makololo had occupied the Barotse plain. Crossing the Luambimba on the 12th January, Porto continued eastwards to Lukulu, where he claims meeting a Luyi exile chief named 'Riumbo'. (2)

Following this was the visit of Livingstone in 1851. Whereas the immediate impact of this particular visit upon the Luyi communities may have been negligible, it having been confined to Sebitwane's capital (Linyanti) to the southern limit of Bulozhi, its long term result was enormous. For it paved the way for more European penetration and the changes that went with it.

1853 saw further journeys into Bulozhi by both Porto and Livingstone. Originating from his trading centre in present day Angola, the former passed through the Luyana areas of Makoma and Nyengo before going on to meet the Kololo governor Mpepe at Naliele. Although he mentions obtaining agricultural products from the Makoma for his caravan, there is little else of significance he talks about concerning the

Luyana, except the obvious fact of Imbua's rule over them. (3)

Livingstone's journey on the other hand took a northward direction. His aim was to find an easy trade route into Bulozhi. Travelling from Linyanti therefore, with his party of Kololo men, he went up to the Zambezi to chief Shinde's country, before turning westwards to Luanda. (4) Although he was unsuccessful in his main aim of finding a route to the sea, the journey enabled him to have contact with both the Luyi under Imasiku on the Kabompo and some Luyana peoples.

Evidence for the latter is contained in Livingstone's account about his finding of Makoma captives at Libonda on his way to Luanda in December, 1853. He managed to secure the release of ten of these together with six other captives belonging to Imasiku. (5)

The Luyi and Luyana must have welcomed this development, and probably prayed their ancestors for more whites to come and save them from the Kololo servitude. Right though such judgement may have been, in view of the prevailing circumstances, it was only a question of time before the peoples' illusions about the goodness of these new men was to disappear. For, as years went by, their trading and philanthropic characteristics developed into the real and grand designs of late 19th Century Europe, i.e. colonial acquisition.

In Bulozhi, this began to manifest itself from the 1880s. This was to be expected. About twenty years before, a civil

war had raged in America. As had been the case with the American Revolution in 1776, this civil war had adverse economic effects upon the industrial countries of Europe. Picton portrays the seriousness of the issue when he says it 'produced an altogether abnormal state of things in the commercial and manufacturing world', and that it 'threw thousands out of employment in the manufacturing districts [causing] great distress'. (6)

While no proper evidence can be given in this study, it seems likely that a major result of this was to encourage many Europeans to emigrate. This infact has been Sampson's suggestion in the case of Westbeech. After pointing out that the above problem was 'particularly bad in Lancashire, which depended on American cotton for its mills and textile industry'; he goes on to say that the 'enormous unemployment...probably encouraged Westbeech to seek a new life overseas.' (7) It is perhaps significant that in addition to Westbeech, many white hunters and traders came to Matebeleland and the Zambezi valley in the 1870s.

Now, coupled with the issue of widespread unemployment during this time was the emergence of unprecedented European capitalist competition. For some years before the American civil war, the United States and several European countries particularly Germany and France had followed Britain in the field of industrial development. Although they used protectionism to initiate this, they had returned to and

continued with Britain's free trade policy. However, as from the 1870s, great depressions forced these countries not only to reintroduce tariffs but to increase them greatly. This facilitated economic growth and expansion in these countries, to the extent where German and American industry in particular, came to challenge Britain's position as 'the workshop of the world'. (8)

It is here where the external factor of Bulozhi's colonization begins in earnest. Unlike the individual traders, hunters and missionaries who preceded them, the capitalists were real architects of imperialism. The story of Cecil Rhodes and Bulozhi is testimony of this. Filled with a great desire to create for Britain a great colonial empire to the north of the Boer states in South Africa, he set up the B.S.A. Company in 1889. In the following year, he had a treaty signed by his envoy Lochner, and the Lozi King Lewanika. (9) He also purchased the Ware Concession, which had been obtained by Harry Ware from the King the previous June. (10) Together these documents gave to his Company the entire mineral and mining rights in Bulozhi in return for a promise of British Protection for the Lozi peoples.

These concessions symbolized a new era. European capitalism, hitherto confined to commercial dealings, had caught Bulozhi in its claws. The era of Europe's exploitation of the country's resources through barter, had been transformed into that of naked expropriation. Few would have

put it more aptly than Coillard when he commented on the granting of the Ware Concession:

So there are the first waves of the invading ocean of European immigration crossing the Zambezi. Where will they stop? What will be their result for the nation itself, and for the tribes of Central Africa? (11)

The results were not long delayed however. On the 1st of July, 1890, scarcely a week from the signing of the Lochner treaty, the British made a package deal with the Germans; by which a part of Bulozzi (now known as Caprivi Strip) was given to the latter. (12)

Bad as it was, this robbery of Lozi territory was by no means ended. Seven weeks later, there followed another diabolical deal between Britain's premier Lord Salisbury and the Portuguese minister in London. Intended to enable Britain to secure Beira in Portuguese Mozambique, the Convention made the Zambezi the boundary between the British and Portuguese spheres of interest in the west. (13) A near bisection of Lewanika's territory, this placed the whole of Luyanaland on the Portuguese side. Fortunately, for the king the accord was not ratified, owing initially to the opposition of the Portuguese Parliament. (14) Had this been done, the whole of Bulozzi to the west of the Zambezi would have been lost to Angola.

While helping to salvage part of Lewanika's threatened land however, the lack of ratification for this convention led to a boundary dispute between the two powers. The Portuguese

made claims to areas which the Company believed to be Lewanika's, and hence within the British sphere.

An effort to resolve the issue was made in 1891, when on 11th June, an agreement was made recognising the whole of Bulozhi as being British territory. Unfortunately, disagreement still reigned over the precise limits of the western part of the Kingdom. Consequently, a modus vivendi was made two years later (1893), setting up a temporary boundary until the issue was resolved by a joint Commission of the two powers. Because this boundary was recognised as that part of the Zambezi between the Katima Mulilo rapids and the Zambezi confluence with the Kabompo, (15) the whole of Luyanaaland was again placed under the Portuguese sphere.

Although the Lozi did nothing about this, owing to their ignorance of these acts of treachery, the challenge was taken up by the B.S.A. Company for its own reasons. It made efforts designed to ensure the security of Lewanika's land in the west. (16) Because of this, and due to the approaching expiry of the once extended modus vivendi, Major Goold Adams was sent by the British Foreign Office in 1896 to try and determine the extent of Lewanika's territory west of the Zambezi. (17) His report mentions the Kwanda or Chobe river as forming the boundary to the west and that the king 'claimed the area between the Kwando and Lungwebungu rivers'. (18)

Dividing the peoples involved into two categories i.e.

the Barotse and their immediate subjects and tribes with chiefs of their own but recognising Lewanika's sovereignty, Adams classified the Luyana under the first category.

Under the first heading are the Barotse, Bamacoma [Makoma], Mabuenyi [Mwenyi], and Mamboe [Mbowe]...To separate any of [these] from the Mankoya, Bakwanga [Kwangwa], Matotella, Basubia, and Batoka...will unquestionably be to divide the people living under one chief, one law, and who are in every way one people...their elderly men are admitted into the Council of the nation, and regularly attend the King's Court at Lealui, they intermarry; and are more or less on an equal footing with the majority of the Marotse. (19)

This so established the issue of togetherness between the Luyana and the Lozi that when the British next sent Gibbons and later Major Colin Harding - on the same boundary problem - Luyanaland was no longer a subject of enquiry. Gibbons for instance, was asked to ascertain among other things the 'exact western limit of the Mambunda tribe'; and how far the tribes in the area were subject to the Lozi. (20)

His report and that of Harding after him, were basically similar. Each pushed the western boundary to the Kwito river; and hence further west than Goold-Adams had done. (21)

Because R.T. Coryndon, first Resident to Bulozhi and Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia made a similar claim, (22)

the idea that Luyanaland was an integral part of Bulozhi was thus greatly strengthened.

Be this as it may, the struggle over the boundary was by no means resolved. And before it did, a number of things

occurred which spelt doom for the future of both the Lozi and the Luyana peoples. The first was the arrival of a Resident to Bulozhi named R.T. Coryndon in 1897. (23)

This represented the decline of Lewanika's powers, which thing the king was well aware, and about which he cautioned his subjects.

'There were three sorts of whites', he told them, 'those of the Government, the traders and missionaries. Fear those of the Government, they have power; prey on the traders for they come to prey on you. As for the missionaries, a missionary is one of us.' (24)

This changing power structure was clearly demonstrated in 1898. Despite Lewanika's implicit ratification of the controversial Lochner Treaty in 1895, in his despair over the increasing incursions by white adventurers in his territory, both he and the Company wanted amendments to certain parts of the document. For this reason, Lewanika was invited by Captain Lawley, then Administrator of Southern Rhodesia to a meeting at the Victoria Falls. Although the young indunas opposed his going and his making the first call on arrival, according to Lawley's demand Lewanika brushed them aside. (25) He knew what Lawley was to him, in terms of authority; and meant to act according to his (Lewanika's) own teaching - 'Fear those...they have power.'

Later known as Concession A, the treaty which emerged from this meeting, together with its signed version known as

Concession B, put the final seal to the company's expropriation of the country's wealth. The 'sole absolute and exclusive perpetual' rights given the Company are too extensively documented to warrant repetition here. (26) So are the empty promises about the granting of protection and the carrying out of educational and industrial developments.

Nevertheless, two things appear worth mentioning about these concessions. One of these pertains to the administration of the territory. Whereas Coryndon had been resident in Bulozhi since 1897, the Company did not have formal juridical powers. (27) To cater for this, a clause was inserted in the Lawley Concession. Because it gave the Company powers to administer cases involving whites, or those between whites and blacks, it features as one of the earliest documented discriminatory conventions in the country.

The other issue concerns the Luyana people in particular. One of the clauses reads:

The British South Africa Company further agrees to protect as far as possible from interference the natives living on either bank of the Luanginga and Nyengo rivers, within forty miles of Lealui. (28)

The Luanginga and Nyengo are the rivers along which most of the Luyana live. Since there is a clause regarding the preservation of the Liuwa Game Reserve as well, and because Imilangu, the other Luyana area is so close to Nyengo it appears certain that this was intended to keep Luyanaland in what came to be termed Barotseland proper, an area from which

whites were to be excluded. This is evidenced by Lewanika's formal request to Coryndon, after the signing of the Lawley Convention in 1900, to have land on the west bank of the Zambezi added to the reserve area once the boundary was settled. (29)

Besides the need to retain Luyana land in what was to be the remnant of the Kingdom the above clauses portray two other factors. They reveal the king's realization by this time of the loss of his domains, as well as that of his inability to fight to preserve them. In order to salvage what he considered indispensable, he turned to the foreigner, whom he knew was powerful.

Revealed too, is another example of the unworthy dealings of the supposed Protector. Whereas the king had, by implication, asked for the protection of the Luyana peoples, the British only promised to do this in respect of those living 'within forty miles of Lealui'. As the Nyengo river does not actually enter the Luanginga until beyond the forty mile limit, it meant that the British offer hardly embraced the peoples asked for.

This is not surprising. Having once tried to auction the whole of the western Buluzi to the Portuguese, (30) this apparent refusal by the British to commit themselves to a protection of the whole Luyana area is not without basis. Self interest was behind it all. To them (the British), an amicable settlement with the Portuguese was all that mattered.

It did not bother them whatever consequences such a settlement would have on the king (Lewanika) and his subjects.

Chamberlain's Secretary, M.F. Ommanney made this clear when he wrote:

If Lewanika attempts to resist the Portuguese, [the British Government] would be placed in an awkward position of having to use force to restrain him from asserting what they are convinced and are prepared to maintain are his just rights. (31)

Following the Lawley Concession, the Barotseland North-Western Rhodesia Order in Council was promulgated in November, 1899. Superseding the Concession and rendering Lewanika's negotiations inoperative, unless ratified by the Queen, or that they were not inconsistent with the Proclamation; (32) this brought the completion of the process of transition to British rule in view. Concerted efforts were once again made, to try and resolve the boundary problem. Proposals to this effect were given to the Portuguese. When these were rejected (1900), in preference for an arbiter, (33) the King of Italy was asked to help.

In a fresh bid to obtain information to support their claims, the British sent a telegram to the Acting Administrator for N.W.R. (Kalomo) to get statements from Lewanika, Reverend Coillard, Reverend Jalla and the Mukwae (Princess) of Nalolo, regarding the authority of the Lozi chiefs over the Makoma, Mashi and Ba-Lukwakwa prior to 1891. (34) The reply was greatly encouraging. Jalla stated that these people had been

under Lozi power long before 1890, and that the Portuguese had in fact been paying Bwanik for crossing rivers flowing in their areas. More important still, was the King's testimony. All the Makoma chiefs, he said, were all 'Barotse', and that the Makoma 'stand in the same relation to the Barotse as Scotch are to English.' (35)

The long awaited settlement came on 27th June, 1905, with the Award of the boundary by His Majesty the King of Italy. (36)

Though a cause of relief to the European powers involved, it was not as such to the Lozi. On the contrary, it was highly humiliating, both for their loss of land and for their inability to resist. As the litunga aptly put it:

'...it is not quite a boundary is only to make us much disappointed, how a boundary can go a zig-zig...it not a boundary only a joke indeed...How shall we do Sir to be cutted half half?' (37)

Most affected by this undoubtedly were the Luyana of Kalabo. Although the boundary was pushed further west of the modus vivendi line, bringing them back into the British sphere, it left many of their kin under the Portuguese. The Litabwa and Shalala areas of Angola for instance, are inhabited by Luyana peoples, whose links with their kin in Kalabo were cruelly severed.

Following the Boundary Award, was the creation in Luyanaland of the Lukona Sub-District in 1906. (38) Although

the Boma was only built in 1907, and tax collection not carried out in Luyanaland until 1908, (39) the creation of this administrative centre put the final seal to the new order. Henceforth, life for the Luyana was to be characterized by imprisonments, racial discrimination, various forms of exploitation, and last but not the least the brutality and harshness of the ruling whites towards them.

Much of this does not necessarily belong to this period. As a matter of conclusion however, it may not be out of place to give a few examples of some of these features.

The harshness and wrong-doing of the whites towards the Lozi peoples was not entirely a new thing by 1906. Apart from the white adventurers, who gave Lewanika a headache in the mid 1890s (40) there is even the story of the young missionary Davit, who upon quarrelling with the King's son Litia at Kazungula threatened to request military intervention from the B.S.A. Company. (41) Since the Luyana were frequently found at the capital, they must have known about these things. As a result, when R.H. Palmer undertook the first tax-collection tour of the region in 1908 the fear of the white man, which by then had been instilled into the people's minds, led to Liolo's abdication from the Mayamba indunaship. The story about the incident is quite fascinating.

In his dread of the approching District Officer, Liolo is said to have approached his cousin Simakando. 'Look!

I am old', he is reported as saying. 'I cannot stand before this white person...Give me one of your sons to pose as Mayamba.' And when Mwananyambe, who by then was known as Mwanamungela, following his ascendancy to the Ng'omba clan headship was offered for the purpose, Liolo instructed all his people to affirm before the white man that Mwanamungela was the induna for the area.

Consequently, when Palmer called for Mayamba from the gathered crowd at Munwe, no one answered. Soon after, however, Mwanamungela stood up.

'Mulena', he said, 'we do not know Mayamba here... I am Mwanamungela...the leader of these people.

And in reply to the former's query about his having been informed that Mayamba was in charge of the area, Mwanamungela explained that this was probably so because Mayamba was his (Mwanamungela's) assistant, who often acted on his behalf. Because the view was upheld by the assembled people, the name Mwanamungela was put down in the D.O's records as that of the local induna for the Mutala area of Kalabo.

Perhaps more worrisome than harshness was the factor of economic exploitation. Although this was not a new thing, since it was inherent in the tribute system, the fact that it then took several forms, makes it worthwhile to consider it here as a major element of the new government.

One of the many forms it took was in the system of wages. In their efforts to obtain money for taxes and clothing, some

people in Luyanaaland took up paid employment. But everywhere they went- be it at the Lukona sub-Boma, at Mongu, Livingstone, Southern Rhodesia or South Africa- they met with exploitation. The employers (many of them of British stock) un-restrained, if not encouraged by their kin British administrators, paid these workers starvation wages. (43)

Closely connected to this was exploitation through the pricing mechanism. Talking to the missionaries upon his arrival in Bulozzi Coryndon promised to help them by (among other things) adopting their 'prices for the produce of the local markets'. (44) Although one cannot give the exact figures obtaining then (1897), it can safely be assumed that they must have been significantly low. With 200 lb. weight of grain going at 4/- (40n) in 1903, and a cow, an ox or bull, and sheep at £4 (K8), £3 (K6) and 3/- (30n) respectively, that same year, (45) this sort of assumption cannot be too far fetched. This is not to overlook the changing value of currency issue. As late as the 1930s for example, whites in Rhodesia were still enacting discriminatory pricing laws. Under cover of the grading system, they ensured that African grown maize was paid less than that of the whites. (46)

With such practices prevailing as late as the fifties, it is not unlikely that something similar, if not worse occurred in the early years of colonial rule.

Testimony to this in fact is the action of a trader named J. Eden. According to the District Report for Lukona,

now Kalabo, for the year 1911, Eden, who had been buying root-rubber from the Luyana for 1/- (10n) per lb., reduced the price to 8d (8n) in January. Since the reason for this was an increase in duty of 4d (4n) per lb. of the commodity, it remains clear that the people were being shamelessly exploited. (4

Government prohibition of cheaper goods from entering Bulozhi from the then Portuguese Angola further illustrates this aspect of exploitation. In August 1905, the District Commissioner (Barotse District) Mr. Aitkens, wrote the Secretary for Native Affairs (Kalomo) complaining about the existence of 200 Mambari traders at Tapo.

'At present', he said, 'there are five European traders in Lealui and two at Nalolo; now that the Mambari have arrived; all trade in Lealui has practically ceased...trade goods from the west coast can be landed in Lealui much cheaper than via Livingstone'. (48) Nothing can be more explicit over the matter. The welfare of the Lozi peoples was at the mercy of that of the colonizers. Because cheaper goods for the former from the west would ruin the trade of English traders, such goods had to be barred.

Finally, exploitation was exercised through making demands on the people to provide gifts of maize-meal, eggs, etc. to government tax collection entourages; through use of unpaid labour on some government projects (49) and above all through the institution of tax. An example of the latter is

portrayed by the income and expenditure figures for Lukona Sub-District during the tax year 1908-1909. While a total of £3,218 (K6,436) was collected as tax, only £182.16s.9d (K395-69) was expended in the Sub-District. And as if to add insult to injury, almost the whole of this was spent on items with no direct bearing upon the welfare of the tax payer. (50)

This then was the new Luyanaland. As part of Bulozzi, it fell under the British. Not to enjoy protection but to undergo servitude. Robbed of their land and kinsmen thrown into Angola, made to pay taxes from which they hardly benefited, and subjected to second class citizenship in their own land, they, like all other Africans, grew to hate the rule of the foreigner.

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16. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 166.
17. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 161.
18. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 161.
19. N.A.Z. BS2/218, Abstract from Director of Military Intelligence to Colonial Office, April, 1901.
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21. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 162.
22. Although similar, these later reports appear to have been partly exaggerated. Coryndon's for instance portrays the sort of bias which influenced him and probably Harding in making their claims: Clay, Your Friend, p. 111.
23. Clay, Your Friend, p. 109.
24. Clay, Your Friend, p. 111.
25. Clay, Your Friend, p. 112.
26. Clay, Your Friend, p. 165.
27. Clay, Your Friend, p. 162.
28. Clay, Your Friend, p. 166.
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43. Wages in Bulozi, during the early 1900s stood at 5/- (50n) per month. N.A.Z., KDE1/3/1, Out letters, September, 1907 - December, 1908.
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49. People used to make roads and construct camps for District Officials when they made their annual tax collection tours. See N.A.Z. KSH2/1.
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APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY

- 1671*-1695* - Mboo founds the Luyi state in the Barotse Flood Plain.
- 1696*-1720* - Divisions in the Luyi state: Mwanambinyi leads a group that later became the Kwandi to Senanga; Mange, the Kwangwa group to the Eastern forest margin; and Nyuwe Silundu, the Nyuwe clan to Kalabo.
- The Mulonga clan goes to Konje in Liuwa and starts paying tribute to the Luyi state.
 - Birth of Ngalama.
- 1721*-1745* - Ngalama conquers the Kwangwa and Kwandi splinter groups.
- Most clans flee to Luyanaland as a result of these wars.
 - The rise of the Kabinga and Sitamemba/Kambunji Chieftaincies in parts of Luyanaland.
 - Mwenyi and Imilangu come under the Luyi state.
 - Birth of Ngombala.
- 1746*-1770* - Ngombala destroys the independent chieftaincies and extends the payment of tribute to the whole of Luyanaland.
- 1771*-1795*
- 1796*-1820* - Birth of Mulambwa and the beginning of his rule.
- The Lungowe episode in Liuwa.
- 1821*-1845* - Mulambwa dies.

- Civil war in Bulozhi following Mulambwa's death.
- The Kololo invade Bulozhi.
- 1848 - Silva Porto passes through Liuwa area.
- 1850 - Imbua flees from the Flood Plain and sets up a government in exile in Nyengo.
- 1851 - Lubosi (Lewanika) is born in Nyengo.
- Kololo raids against the Luyana probably begin.
- 1853 - Silva Porto passes through Luyaland.
- 1853 - Livingstone finds Makoma captives among the Kololo at Libonda.
- 1864 - Sipopa annihilates the Kololo and re-establishes Luyi (then Lozi) rule in the Flood Plain.
- Imbua moves his capital from Nyengo to Lukwakwa.
- 1878 - Lewanika becomes King of Bulozhi.
- 1881 - Serpa Pinto passes through Nyengo and Imilangu.
- 1884 - Capello and Ivens pass through the area and report the existence of a Mbunda settlement near the confluence of the Nyengo and Luanginga rivers.
- 1890 - Signing of the Lochner treaty placing Bulozhi under British protection.
- 1893 - Establishment of a modus vivendi line following an Agreement made in 1891 to mark a temporary boundary between the British in what was to be known as North-Western Rhodesia and the Portuguese in Angola. This placed the whole of Luyaland in the Portuguese sphere of influence.

- 1896 - Goold Adama visits the area to ascertain Lewanika's claims of sovereignty over it.
- 1897 - Coryndon becomes British resident to Bulozhi.
- 1898-1900 - Major Gibbons passes through the area and finds the western part of the area settled by Mbunda, Chokwe and Luchazi peoples.
- 1905 - Boundary question settled by the King of Italy.
- Luyana country divided between the two powers.
- 1906 - Lewanika decrees against slavery.
- Establishment of Lukona as an administrative centre for Luyanaland.

APPENDIX B: ETHNIC TERMINOLOGY

I. Tribal Names

Imilangu (Ba-Imilangu): One of the Kalabo Luyana peoples. Recorded as having come from Angola, of a peaceful nature and that they were absorbed by the war-like Luyi: the majority of these people claim to be of Kwandi and Simaa origin and that only the Yauma came from Angola. Because these people used to take malangu (from the mulangu tree at Kaywa's residence) and bundles of bark as tribute to the king, they were thus called Ba-Imilangu and Mandundulu. Language: Si-Imilangu - a dialect of Siluyana.

Kololo (Makololo): a Sotho speaking people who came from South Africa and conquered the Luyi state in the 1840-1850 period. Language: Sikololo.

Kwandi (Makwandi): 'ndi', is a Luyana word for fish. The Kwandi, it has been suggested, were so named because of their great involvement in fishing. Led by Mboo's young brother Mwanambinyi, when the former was the litunga of Bulози these were one of the earliest groups to break from the Luyi. Language: Sikwandi - a dialect of Siluyana.

Kwangwa (Makwangwa): another Luyi break-away group, the Kwangwa were followers of a Luyi prince Mange. Their name derives from the Luyana word 'ku-kwanga' meaning to fail. Tradition has it that during

Ngalama's last war against Mange these people were so thoroughly beaten that they failed to follow their leader during his time of retreat. Language: Sikwangwa - a dialect of Siluyana.

Liuwa (Ba-Liuwa): another Kalabo Luyana group. Said by a Kalabo D.C. to be a mixture of Kwandi, Makoma, Nyengo and Lovale, the Liuwa group within this assortment claim to be Fwee. And contrary to existing literature which suggests that the name Liuwa is a nick-name given to these people when they were living near the waterless plain - the Liuwa claim that their name originates from one of their leaders known as Simangolwa wa Nalyuwa. Language: Siliuwa - a dialect of Siluyana.

Luyana: (i) The ruling tribe in Bulozhi prior to the ~~the~~ Kololo advent - (various records). Language: Siluyana.
(ii) Tribes that originated from the Luyi or ruling tribe in Bulozhi. This is the sense in which the word will be used here. And to differentiate these from the parent body, the latter will only be referred to as Luyi. The suffix 'ana', which is attached to the root-word Luyi to form Luyana has a connotation of smallness. For instance, Kaunduana means small Kaundu and Kateana means small Kate. Kaundu and Kate are names of villages while Kaunduana and Kateana also refer to villages which

are usually smaller than and generally offshoots of the former ones. As there is ample evidence to show that the people under discussion originated from the Luyi, or founders of the Barotse Kingdom it is only fitting that we call them Luyana.

Luyi: The ruling group in Bulozhi prior to the gololo advent: (various records). As in (ii) above, this is the sense in which the word will be used here. Language: Siluyana.

Makoma (Ba-Makoma): once referred to by a Kalabo D.C. as 'the principal tribe in the District', the scarce records that exist on the history of these people are in sharp contrast with oral traditions. The suggestion that the people are of Lunda-Luyi origin for instance, or that they were found and conquered by Mboo, are refuted by oral traditions. These claim that the people are mainly of Kwandi and Mbowe origin and that most of them went to the area at the time of Mboo. This means that the Makoma, like all the other Luyana claim connections with the Luyi and that they came with and not before the latter. Their name came from the likoma (snuff containers) which they used to take to the Luyi king as tribute. Language: Simakoma - a dialect of Siluyana.

Mbowe (Mambowe): one of the recognised Luyi offshoots to

whom a number of the Kalabo Luyana trace their descent. Their name has a herbal meaning. It comes from Mbowa (~~Mushroom~~). Tradition has it that when a group of the Luyi remained around Lukulu when the main party went into the plain the former were cautioned that they would have nothing to eat except (~~mushroom~~). From this, it is said, the name Mbowe came about. Language: Simbowe - a dialect from Siluyana.

Mwenyi (Ba-Mwenyi): like the Makoma, the Mwenyi deny the autochthonous theory regarding their origin and the notion that they were a product of the Lunda. According to them, they have their origin in the Mbowe and Kwandi branches of the Luyi and that they have always had ties with the kingship. Language: Simwenyi - a dialect of Siluyana.

Nyengo (Ba-Nyengo): said to be of the Ganguella 'race' and that they were attacked and conquered by Mboo or Ngombala; as well as raided by both the Baruhutse and Kololo: the Nyengo, like the other Luyana, portray their history in an entirely different way. They don't remember themselves conquered by Mboo. It was Sitamemba of the Ngondo whom they remember subjecting them. The Luyi only came to fight in Nyengo, they say, when they sought to destroy the Sitamemba/Kambunji dynasty that emerged at

Ngombala's time. And apart from the descendants of the Ngondo, who claim descent from South West Africa, the whole Nyengo community point to Mbowe and Kwandi areas as their homes of origin. Their name comes from a snake by this name (green mamba) which their pioneer Luyana men killed on arrival in the area. Language: Sinyengo - a dialect of Siluyana.

Simaa (Ba-Simaa): a branch of the Luyi who were so called after their leader Isimwaa. Language: Sikwa-Simaa.

Wiko (~~Mawiko~~): meaning people from the west, this word has been used by the Luyi and Luyana alike, to refer to the Chokwe, Mbunda, Luchazi and Lovale groups who were coming into the country from the west. Language: Siwiko - a bracket term for the Mbunda, Luchazi, Lovale and Chokwe languages.

II. Clan Names

The word clan (mukawa) is hereby used to refer to a group of people whose members consider themselves to have a common albeit distant ancestry. It is the largest common grouping within each of the major groupings forming the Luyana people, and comprises of lineages (masika) and families (limba) as its component structures. It differs from a people in that members of the latter are not always conscious of the common ancestry notion but

rather, of the sense of belonging to a recognised territorial unit.

Mbula (Mvula): Meaning rain, there is no proper explanation for the origin of this clan name. There is a tradition among the Mbula in Nyengo which states that the name arose when their ancestor, Naka, (who had killed a male lechwe 'ng'omba' with his brother-in-law Lukundu) was drenched by rain while Lukundu took shelter under the lechwe skin. After the rain, so goes the story, the brothers jokingly referred to each other as Mbula (rain) and Ng'omba (lechwe) in reference to what had happened. Naka was Mbula because he braved the rain and Lukundu Ng'omba because he took shelter under the lechwe skin. Although this story sounds logical, it has an obvious deficiency. This is that while this incident is said to have occurred upon the two brothers' arrival in Nyengo - yet there are traditions which talk about Mbula and Ng'omba people prior to Naka and Lukundu's advent in Nyengo.

Mbwaye: Named (allegedly) after an ancestor, this clan claims to have come from Mbowe and that it had kinship ties with Kabinga Maumbo (a Luyi prince) who set up a chieftaincy in Makoma about 1740*-1760*.

Mutume: 'Mutume na Mbao na tuma Ngombe ku meyu' - goes the

saying. It literally means Mutume and Mbao who sent Ngombe to the water. Ngombe is a Luyana word for cow. But in this context Ngombe implies a person - the elder brother of Mutume and Mbao. Tradition has it that during the Luyana migrations, Ngombe who had no child was sent by his young brothers to draw some water in order that their own children should have a rest. Because this action was considered taboo among the Luyana the above expression emerged as a means of condemning the group out of which had occurred this scandal. In the course of time the whole group came to acquire the name Mutume.

Mulonga (Longa): Originates from Mulonga area in Senanga. Kaywa - its leader in Imilangu - ruled the whole of the area while acknowledging the sovereignty of the Luyi litunga (king). His powers only waned when he was subordinated to Namulimbwa, a Yauma immigrant who Mulambwa promoted in recognition of his role in the destruction of Kambunji's power in Nyengo.

Namaya: Most of my informants do not seem to know the origin of this clan name. Some people refer to a type of ant bearing this name as being the origin. Unfortunately they don't say why this is so. A more plausible explanation offered is that the

name stems from elands' tails that Namaya ancestors used to take to the Luyi litunga as tribute. This is because an elands' tail is known as namaaya in Luyana.

~~Ng'ondo:~~ see Mbula.

Ngondo: Found mainly in Nyengo, this clan is associated with Sitamemba, the founder of the Sitamemba/Kambunji dynasty. It claims to have come from South-West Africa.

Nyanga: Found almost exclusively in northern Makoma, this clan is one of the two that claim descent from among the Nkoya of Kaoma. They are numerically few but very enterprising. Their clan name is said to derive from bangles, (anyanga) which these people used to wear round their wrists.

Nyuwe: Named after an ancestor Nyuwe Silundu, who allegedly was Mboo's half-brother; the Nyuwe are the earliest Luyana group to come to the region. Like most other groups the Nyuwe are found in all the areas of our study region. Interesting about this clan also, is the existence of a tiny group in Imilangu which shares the name but claims an independent origin. These are the descendants of the Yauma immigrants to the area-Namulimbwa, Malala, Luandamo, etc., whose place of origin is given as Kutii in Angola. These are discussed

under the name Yauma.

Shea: Like the Nyanga, this clan is almost entirely confined to the northern part of Makoma and traces its origin to the Nkoya. The major difference between the two is that while the Nyanga claim to be an offshoot of Mwene Mutondo's Nkoya, the Shea say that they are direct descendants of Sihokanalinanga, who features in the Lozi traditions.

Situndu: Named after a plant by this name because the clan settled in an area where this type of plant was plentiful and ate a lot of its fruit; this clan's immediate place of origin when coming to this region was Mbowe area in Lukulu.

Yauma: Found mainly in Imilangu, the Yauma came from Angola about the beginning of the 18th century. They were led by Namulimbwa who helped the Luyi subdue Kambunji's independent chieftaincy in Nyengo.

APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY OF VERNACULAR TERMS USED

- Induna (pl. indunas) - a member of the group of administrative officers in the Luyi (Lozi) governmental set up.
- Kabeti - a plant whose tubers are pounded and used to poison fish.
- Kakoko - a container made of bark or banana leaves for storing salt.
- Kalumba - a plant used for poisoning fish.
- Kayanga - a plant used for poisoning fish.
- Kushungamena - a system of killing fish in the river by using a very long handled spear.
- Kutandaula - a system of killing fish by throwing a spear towards an escaping fish.
- Kuwaya - the stabbing of fish in a fish pan or any other shallow water.
- Kuyuba - a kind of fishing done by women using the bailing process.
- Lifunga - a system in which young people were taken to serve the litunga and other important members of the Luyi aristocracy.
- Likoma (S. Koma) - snuff boxes made from the fruit of the mulangu (silangu) plant.

- Likombwa (S. Sikombwa) - chief stewards.
- Likela - salt earth.
- Likulututu (Pl. Makulututu) - head of a clan (mukowa) or clan segment (lusika).
- Likun'gu - a plant used in the preparation of the Luyana perfume known as lukumba.
- Lilolo - a small area of grassland surrounded by forests.
- Limba (s. mba) - Lineages
- Limbo - Mbunda/Lovale word for village.
- Limbufu (S. Mbufu) - a bream type of fish liked by the Luyi/Luyana peoples for its taste.
- Limbuwa (S. Mbuwa) - herds of the litunga's cattle given to some people to look after.
- Lindondo (S. Ndondo) - pots with long necks and very narrow mouths used for cooling drinking water.
- Lindozi (S. Ndozi) - Very big pots usually used for brewing beer.
- Ling'etana (Pl. Mang'etana) - broken potsherd.
- Lingwana (S. Ngwana) - pots used to carry water from the well.
- Lipizana (S. Pizana) - pots used for cooking.
- Lisheke (Pl. Masheke) - a place where a fish lays its egg

- Lishenja - a system of hunting using dogs.
- Lishunga (Pl. Mashunga) - an opening in the grass at the edge of the river through which the fisherman sees the passing fish so that he could spear them.
- Lwando (Pl. Nyando) - a kind of mat made of reeds, several of which could sometimes be joined and used as a dragnet.
- Lukumba - a kind of perfume made by pounding a mixture of the Likung'u plant, sang'ole plant and maondao roots.
- Lusika (Pl. Masika) - clan segment
- Mabindo (S. libindo) - a lineage.
- Mahuluhulu (S. lihuluhulu) - Luyana men's wear where two skins of small animals were made to hang from a skin-belt, one to cover the front and the other the behind of the wearer.
- Makolo (S. likolo) - a kind of fruit with a hard shell, whose seeds and juicy contents are used for food.
- Makabi - military and labour organisation units.
- Makabi - Luyana wear for small girls made from cotton or bark strings.

- Maketo* - a pleasanter word to express the lifunga system (see above). The word means the chosen ones.
- Makuko (S. Lukuko) - kinds of fish traps made from certain grasses or small sticks of the munze plant.
- Makulututu - see likulututu.
- Mang'etana - see ling'etana.
- Mampana - kind of tubers obtained from some kind of water lilies and used for food.
- Maputana (S. liputana) - softened big hides used as blankets.
- Masheke - see lisheke.
- Mashela - kinds of tubers from a type of water lilies used for food.
- Masa (S. lisa) - lakes or fish pans.
- Masika - see lusika.
- Mawina - holes.
- Mbufu - see limbufu.
- Mbuwa - see limbuwa.
- Mibeto (S. mubeto) - animal traps involving the use of strong ropes and sticks.
- Mukowa (Pl. Mukowa) - Clan e.g. Nyuwe, Namaya, Situndu.
- Mishobo (S. mushobo) - larger groupings of peoples e.g. Nyengo and Liuwa.

- Mubingu (Pl. Mibingu) - a kind of levy whereby some people were made to surrender part of their catch after a communal fish stabbing session.
- Mukowa - see mikowa.
- Mulangu (also Silangu) - a plant, the shells of which were used for making snuff boxes.
- Mulungu - a kind of fishing conducted at the beginning of the floods when fish go near the dry land to feed and lay eggs.
- Mumawa - a kind of fruit obtained from very small plants and turns black when ripe.
- Mumosomoso - a kind of fruit whose plant is brownish in colour and the fruits have hard kernels inside them.
- Munyelenyele (also liyela) - a kind of fruit which is particularly black when ripe and is used for making cooking oil.
- Munzi (Pl. Minzi) - village.
- Mung'a munzi - the owner of the village (village headman).
- Muyombo - a kind of plant which is usually associated with the spirits.
- Mwene - Mbunda/Lovale word for chief.

- Namaaya - elands' tails.
- Namukau (also Sikiliti) - the king's field.
- Ndaondao - a kind of grass.
- Ndowa - a kind of tuber used as food.
- Ngongi - a bell like symbol of authority used by some indunas to gather people when there was a need.
- Nokushimba - a system of carrying a message or an item of property by different individuals from one village to another.
- Nyando - see lwando.
- Silalo - an administrative division.
- Sikiliti (Pl. Likiliti) - see namukau. The name sikiliti flourished in Luyanaland mainly because cultivation of the king's fields became prominent during Lewanika's time when the word District was also introduced by the white administrators.
- Sing'alamba - a kind of shield made from makenge roots which the Yauma used to defeat and subsequently kill Kambunji.
- Tepe - a leaf type of food.
- Tukoko - see kakoko.

Tuzungu (S. sizungu)

- boys wear. This was a piece of animal skin which passed between the boys' legs from the front to the buttocks.

LIST OF ORAL SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

(i) List of Informants

- OT 1. Richard Munuwene Liamba, Date of interview, 14/3/77;
Place of interview, Lusaka.
Born: 20/11/39; Village: Lisheke; Kuta: Salunda;
District: Kalabo.
Educated: Liumba Hill Mission, Rusangu Secondary
School, G.C.E. Correspondence with the
University of London.
Worked: as Registration Officer 1965-1975. Now
with the Administration at the Ministry of
Home Affairs.
- OT 2. Namenda Minya-Kalabo, Date of Interview, 24/4/77;
Place of interview, Nakutolele Village.
Born: C1916; Village: Nakutolele; Kuta: Salunda;
District: Kalabo.
- OT 3. Taulo Liamba, Date of interview, 28/4/77; Place of
interview, Munwe Village.
Born: C1900; Village: Munwe; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Livingstone, Bulawayo and South Africa.
- OT 4. George Mushimbei Kambwenge, Date of interview 29/4/77
Place of interview, Kasindu Village.
Born: C1925; Village: Kasindu; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.
Educated: Liumba Hill Mission, up to Standard IV
(Grade VI).

- Worked: South Africa. As UNIP Councillor for Mutala Ward, 1973-76.
- OT 5. Kakulubelwa Sindopuana, Date of interview, 30/4/77; Place of interview, Kasindu Village.
Born: C1900; Village: Kasindu; Kuta: Mutala; District: Kalabo.
Worked: Bulawayo and South Africa.
- OT 6. Waiti Konga, Date of Interview, 1/5/77; Place of interview, Liyoela Village.
Born: 1918; Village: Liyoela; Kuta: Mutala; District: Kalabo.
Worked: Mulobezi. Johannesburg (3 trips).
- OT 7. Daniel Nalishuwa Nyambe (Headman Kamuti), Date of interview, 4/5/77; Place of interview, Siluwe School.
Born: 1937; Village: Kaeshe; Kuta: Litapuya; District: Kalabo.
Educated: Siluwe Primary School, 1949-53.
Worked: Johannesburg, Wankie and Lusaka. Now, Home-store owner.
- OT 8. Kayambila Kakuwa, Date of interview, 4/5/77; Place of interview, Siluwe School.
Born: C1916; Kuta: Litapuya; District: Kalabo.
Worked: South-West Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa.
- OT 9. Namushi Sitenge, Date of interview, 5/5/77; Place of interview, Siluwe School.

- Born: C1906; Village: Utapa; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: At home all the time.
- OT 10. Daniel Mundia Sikuka, Date of interview, 6/5/77;
Place of interview, Siluwe School.
- Born: C1909; Village: Mabango; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Bulawayo (1928), Johannesburg (1938-48).
- OT 11. Nyambe Neta, Date of interview, 6/5/77; Place of
interview, Siluwe School.
- Born: C1916; Kuta: Litapuya; District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Johannesburg (2 trips) and Lusaka.
- OT 12. Siluwe School (Group Testimony), Date of interview,
6/5/77; Place of interview, Siluwe School.
- OT 13. Daniel Sitenge Lioko, Date of interview, 6/5/77;
Place of interview, Siluwe School.
- Born: 1916; Village: Lukena; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Zambesi Saw-Mills in Livingstone;
Johannesburg, Several times between 1938
and 1947; Silalo Induna from 1947 to present
serving as Court Justice (1947-54), Court
President (1954-76) and as Presiding
Justice.
- OT 14. Simaloya Mafwanda, Date of interview, 6/5/77; Place
of interview, Siluwe School.

- Born: C1911; Village: Matindi; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Victoria Falls Bridge, Rhodesia.
- OT 15. Nashi Mwanamambo, Date of interview, 6/5/77; Place
of interview, Siluwe School.
- Born: C1905; Village: Siyaela; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Rhodesia and South Africa.
- OT 16. Nyambe Light Sinyamaana, Date of interview, 8/5/77;
Place of interview, Mushukula School.
- Born: 1907; Village: Mulondo; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Livingstone (1931), Rhodesia, Johannesburg
and Kimberley. Now - businessman.
- OT 17. Nyambe Nasilele (Headman Mwambwa - Naluendo), Date
of interview, 8/5/77; Place of interview, Mushukula
School.
- Born: C1907; Village: Sami; Kuta: Litapuya;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: South Africa, Lusaka and Salisbury.
- OT 18. James Muwina Sindwa, Date of interview, 9/5/77; Place
of interview, Silopu Village.
- Born: 1902; Village: Silopu; Kuta: Litapuya
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Wankie (Rhodesia), 1920-27, and as a
hunter for the Litunga Mwanawina.

- OT 19. Wankie Namasiku Mbulalizina, Date of interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.
Born: C1920; Village: Mbungo, Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Rhodesia.
- OT 20. Tolopo Njongolo Siongoongo, Date of interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.
Born: C1924; Village: Kakula; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Johannesburg (3 trips). Now engaged in tobacco cultivation.
- OT 21. Nyambe Sitenge, Date of interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.
Born: C1907; Village: Sambangula; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Rhodesia and Johannesburg.
- OT 22. Nyambe Munjini Makai, Date of interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.
Born: 1922; Village: Siumi; Kuta: Mutala
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Mazabuka, Johannesburg (2trips), Bulawayo, Veterinary Messenger (Kalabo), now clinic Station worker.
- OT 23. Lyaenda David Kabisa, Date of interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.
Born: 1916; Village: Lomwe; Kuta: Mutala;

District: Kalabo.

Worked: Fort Victoria (Rhodesia), 4 trips,
Johannesburg, 3 trips.

OT 24. Kaluwe School (Group Testimony), Date of interview,
12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.

OT 25. Muyatwa Simakando, Date of interview, 15/5/77;
Place of interview, Mutala School.

Born: C1927; Village: Fula; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Victoria Falls, Johannesburg, Copperbelt,
tailoring for Mr. Hart, now a fisherman
and carpenter.

OT 26. Waiti Simangolwa Makui, Date of interview, 17/5/77;
Place of interview, Makia School.

Born: C1910; Village: Muunga; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Rhodesia (3 trips), Johannesburg (6 trips).

OT 27. Atanga Mukwenje, Date of interview, 17/5/77; Place
of interview, Makia School.

Born: C1895; Village: Lukoko; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.

OT 28. Munjini Muyabai Namakando, Date of interview, 17/5/77
Place of interview, Makia School.

Born: C1910; Village: Savu; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Rhodesia, Kabwe, Johannesburg and as Kapasu
for 25 years.

- OT 29. Isaih Kuwabo Limba, Date of interview, 19/5/77;
Place of interview, Loke West Primary School.
Born: C1910; Village: Siyengu; Kuta: Salunda;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Katombora (1931) and Johannesburg.
- OT 30. Libanga Silowa, Date of interview, 20/5/77; Place
of interview, Loke West Primary School.
Born: C1906; Village: Namawina; Kuta: Salunda;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Salisbury, Wankie and Johannesburg.
- OT 31. Samui David Simangolwa, (Headman Ikamui), Date of
interview, 20/5/77; Place of interview, Loke West
Primary School.
Born: C1892; Village: Loke, Kuta: Salunda;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: South-West Africa and Rhodesia.
- OT 32. Kalaluka Walubita (Headman Sinyambo), Date of
interview, 22/5/77; Place of interview, Mwenyi
School.
Born: C1908; Village: Lutendela; Kuta: Salunda;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Bulawayo, Salisbury, 8 years with a Labour
recruitment Agency, 10 years with the
S.D.A. Church as a Barge Capitao. Now a
home-store owner.
- OT 33. Petros Simutulo Nyambe, Date of interview, 22/5/77;

- Place of interview, Mwenyi School.
- Born: 1925; Village: Ikanda; Kuta: Mwandi;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Johannesburg, Victoria Falls and Copperbelt
- OT 34. Kaonga Nakweti, Date of interview, 22/5/77; Place of
interview, Ikanda Village.
- Born: C1876; Village: Ikanda; Kuta: Salomo;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Bulawayo, Pemba and South-West Africa.
- OT 35. William Akabana Mabunde, Date of interview, 25/5/77;
Place of interview, Kalabo Boma.
- Born: 1902; Village: Kancumwa; Kuta: Salomo;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Survey Department (Ndola), Repairing
telephone wires in Kabwe, curio maker
since 1930.
- OT 36. Sikwela Susiku, Date of interview, 30/5/77; Place of
interview, Itulilo Kuta.
- Born: C1903; Village: Kachola; Kuta: Itulilo;
District: Kalabo.
- Worked: Bulawayo, Umtali, Wankie, and Zambezi
Saw-Mills in Livingstone.
- OT 37. Itulilo Kuta (Group Testimony), Date of interview,
30/5/77; Place of interview, Itulilo Kuta.
- OT 38. Benson Simangolwa Sipalo Luandamo, Date of
interview, 21/6/77; Place of interview, Lutwi School.

Born: 1930; Village: Lutwi; Kuta: Lutwi;
District: Kalabo.

Educated: Sihole Mission School, to Standard IV
(Grade VI).

Worked: Church Pastor (1953-61), Kapasu (1961-64),
Policeman (1964-70) and Silalo Induna,
1970 to time of interview.

OT 39. Benson Simangolwa Sipalo Luandamo, Date of
interview, 23/6/77; Place of interview, Lutwi School.

OT 40. Simenda Imasikwana, Date of interview, 23/6/77;
Place of interview, Lutwi School.

Born: 1927; Village: Mikusi; Kuta: Lutwi;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Johannesburg (5 trips), and in building
with the Catholics and the Ministry of
Education within Kalabo District.

OT 41. Nasilele Neta, Date of interview, 23/6/77; Place of
interview, Lutwi School.

Born: 1895; Village: Malongo; Kuta: Lutwi;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Salisbury, Bulawayo and Johannesburg.

OT 42. Patrick Liyowe Simonga, Date of interview, 25/6/77;
Place of interview, Lutwi School.

Born: 1936; Village: Sibanda; Kuta: Lutwi;
District: Kalabo.

Education: St. Mary's Primary School (Lukulu) - up to

Standard VI (Grade VIII).

Worked: Northern Rhodesia Police (1957-60),
Messenger - Gwembe Boma (1962-63), and as
a Security Guard Chililabombwe (1963-1964).

OT 43. Simangolwa Mulilo (Headman Monde), Date of interview,

25/6/77; Place of interview, Lutwi School.

Born: C1907; Village: Lyangundu; Kuta: Lutwi;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Salisbury and Bulawayo in maize
plantations.

OT 44. Ndilai Kakundu Silelwa, Date of interview, 27/6/77;

Place of interview, Lutwi School.

Born: C1922; Village: Likungu; Kuta: Lutwi;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Bulawayo, Salisbury, Lusaka, Livingstone,
Mazabuka.

OT 45. Nosiku James Kakula, Date of interview, 5/7/77;

Place of interview, Tuuwa School.

Born: C1916; Village: Nong'e II; Kuta: Tuuwa;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: Bulawayo, Salisbury, Livingstone. Worked
as a guard along the Zambia/Angola border.
Now engaged in agriculture.

OT 46. Kakula Mwakamui Mubita, Date of interview, 5/7/77;

Place of interview, Tuuwa School.

Born: C1911; Village: Nong'e 1, Kuta: Tuuwa;

District: Kalabo.

Worked: Bulawayo, Johannesburg, W.N.L.A. Security worker for twenty years. Now engaged in agriculture and stock-keeping.

OT 47. Tuuwa School (Group Testimony), Date of interview, 5/7/77; Place of interview, Tuuwa School.

OT 48. Sikusi Simasiku Namakaya, Date of interview, 10/7/77; Place of interview, Licha Kuta.

Born: 1921; Village: Katunda; Kuta: Licha; District: Kalabo.

Educated: Luyi Wanyau Primary School to Standard II (Grade IV), and Liumba Hill Mission to Standard IV (Grade VI).

Worked: Johannesburg (3 times); Rhodesia; Mail Runner 1959; Court Justice, 1968 to time of interview.

OT 49. Nasilele Mwakoi (Headman Makonde), Date of interview 10/7/77; Place of interview, Licha Kuta.

Born: C1928; Village: Mitondo; Kuta: Licha; District: Kalabo.

Worked: Bulawayo, Gwelo and South Africa (7 trips)

OT 50. Nelson Maingo Katukula, Date of interview, 10/7/77; Place of interview, Licha Kuta.

Born: 1938; Village: Limwata; Kuta: Licha; District: Kalabo.

Worked: Johannesburg, Wankie in Rhodesia, the

Copperbelt and as a Councillor 1970-76.

- OT 51. Meleki Mwelo Siyeba, Date of interview, 10/7/77;
Place of interview, Licha Kuta.
Born: C1900; Village: Mwenduko; Kuta: Licha;
District Kalabo.
Worked: Bulawayo (3 times).
- OT 52. Muyondi Namushi, Date of interview, 10/7/77; Place
of interview; Licha Kuta.
Born: 1943; Kuta: Licha; District: Kalabo.
Educated: Muyumbana School, to Standard III (Grade V)
Liumba Hill Mission, to Standard IV
(Grade VI).
Worked: Mkushi, in the Agricultural Department,
1968 to 1972.
- OT 53. Licha Kuta (Group Testimony), Date of interview,
10/7/77; Place of interview, Licha Kuta.
- OT 54. Mubita Meleki Kayuwa, Date of interview, 12/7/77;
Place of interview, Maala Kuta.
Born: 1913; Village: Nasiwi; Kuta: Maala;
District: Kalabo.
Worked: Johannesburg, Livingstone, South-West
Africa. Now, a ferry man.
- OT 55. Nyambe November Namenda (Headman Kawanda), Date of
interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Maala Kuta.
Born: C1910; Village: Nong'e; Kuta: Maala;
District: Kalabo.

Worked: South-West Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa.

OT 56. Kaonga Namenda, Date of interview, 12/7/77; Place of interview, Maala Kuta.

Born: 1914; Village: Mayaba; Kuta: Tuuwa; District: Kalabo.

Educated: Liumba Hill Mission to Standard III (Grade V).

Worked: As Court Clerk for 9 months (1937); reporting Induna in the Veterinary Department (1941); and appointed Silalo Induna for Tuuwa Kuta (1943).

OT 57. Samutumwa Sinjabata, Date of interview, 16/7/77; Place of interview, Liuwa School.

Born: C1912; Kuta: Lupui; District: Kalabo.

Worked: Rhodesia and South Africa.

OT 58. Liuwa School (Group Testimony), Date of interview, 16/7/77; Place of interview, Liuwa School.

OT 59. Joseph W. Mwanamungela Mwanamungela, Date of interview, 18/7/77; Place of interview, Kalabo Boma.

Born: C1910; Village: Luola; Kuta: Mutala; District: Kalabo.

Educated: Liumba Hill Mission to Standard IV (Grade VI), Solosi Missionary College (Rhodesia) to Form II.

Worked: As a teacher at Luyi Wanyau School in

Senanga, at Tapo and Liumba Hill Mission; as Court President 1947-1974; and as a Councillor for Mutala Ward - 1976 to time of interview.

- OT 60. Webster Monde Akalemwa, Date of interview, 19/7/77; Place of interview, Kalabo Boma.
Born: 1932; Kuta: Sishekanu; District: Kalabo.
Educated: Mishulundu Primary School to Standard II (Grade IV) and Liumba Hill Mission to Standard VI (Grade VIII).
Worked: Liumba Mission as Woodwork instructor (1957-68). Became Self employed as a Carpenter in 1970.
- OT 61. Petros Nyambe, Date of interview, 12/5/77; Place of interview, Kaluwe School.
Born: C1916; Village: Kalumbu; Kuta: Mutala; District: Kalabo.
- OT 62. Ma-Sitali Naluendo, Date of interview, 20/3/77; Place of interview, Lusaka.
Born: C1916; Village: Luola; Kuta: Mutala; District: Kalabo.
- OT 63. Mr. R.M. Iliamupu, Date of interview 20/8/78; Place of interview, Lusaka.
Born: 1942; Village: Katwi Kamunu; Kuta: Litapuy District: Kalabo.
Educated: Kambule Secondary School, University of

Zambia

worked: As a Primary School Teacher (1965-72).

College Lecturer (1976-78). Now - a
Resident Tutor with the University of
Zambia's Centre for Continuing Education.

OT 64. Ma - Laisi Likubese, Date of interview, 19/7/77;

Place of interview, Kalabo Boma.

Born: C1935; Village: Kasindu; Kuta: Mutala;
District Kalabo.

OT 65. Moffat Muyatwa Simasiku, Date of interview, 19/7/77;

Place of interview, Kalabo Boma.

Born: C1930: Village Sietiana; Kuta: Mutala;
District: Kalabo.

Educated: Nongi Primary School to Standard II

(Grade IV), Kalabo Primary School, (Night)

School to Grade VII. Kalabo Secondary

(Night) School to Form III.

Worked: Johannesburg, several times. Kalabo

Secondary School as Head Cook (1967-69).

Kalabo Rural Council as Messenger 1970.

Now Deputy Head-messenger for the Council.

OT 66. Steven Kalembwe Sakabilo, Date of interview, 21/5/77

Place of interview, Mwenyi School.

Born: C1930; Headmaster, Mwenyi Primary School.

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- BS2/76: Letters between the Administration (N.W.R.),
Lewanika and the B.S.A. Co. in London - on
the collection of hut tax in N.W.R.
- BS2/99: Portuguese/Mambari trade with the Barotse
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Baroseland, police patrols in Makwangari
Country. 1901 October 9 - 1903 September 17.
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