

Report of the Luangwa Valley Research

Catholic Diocese of Chipata

Christianity in the Luangwa Valley

Bernhard Udelhoven

December 2006

draft report

without maps & pictures

for Web

Why are men absent from the church?

What are people's religious experiences?

What do people expect from the church in the valley?

“You reap what you sow”

Table of contents

Glossary	4
1. The background of this research and expectations	5
The Luangwa valley	6
Church life in the Luangwa valley	8
Expectations for this research	11
The modalities of the research	11
First answers: Why has the church not been successful in the valley?	14
2. Conceptions of the valley	18
<i>Makolo</i> (ancestors)	18
<i>Njala</i> (hunger).....	20
3. Lessons from Kambwiri	23
The historical background of the Kambwiri saga	26
4. Historical Identities	30
Chiefly and tribal identities: the Nsenga South (Nsenga, Ambo, Chikunda)	31
The Kunda	34
The Chewa of Mwase wa minga and the Bisa of Kambwiri in the central valley	35
The Senga	37
Senga identity	43
The Chewa of Kazembe	44
Some dynamics of valley tribal identities.....	45
5. A Century of Isolation	48
Factors of isolation.....	49
The rule of wildlife conservation	49
ZAWA (Zambian Wildlife Authority), CBNRM (Community Based National Resources Management) and private investors.....	52
Isolation and the presence and absence of <i>Citukuko</i> (“development”)	54
Linking to town.....	55
Voting patterns.....	57
The valley, the outside world, and the churches	58
6. The Gendered Valley	60
Surplus of marriageable women	62
Reasons for early marriages	64
The church and the struggles of marriage	68
7. Alliances of power	69
Relating to national politics and the law	69
The state and the churches.....	71
Relating to development projects.....	72
The chiefs	74
The lineage	78
8. The God of the Valley	81
Religion of hunters.....	82

<i>Mulungu anali pafupi</i> – In the past God was near	84
<i>Cinamwali</i> (initiation for girls)	86
Experiences of witchcraft	88
<i>Viwanda</i> (spirits of the dead)	94
<i>Mashawe, mizimu, ngulu, vimbuza</i> and <i>fufumi</i>	96
9. Christian initiatives in the valley	100
The beginnings of the Anglican Church in Msoro	100
The Watchtower Movement and the Jehovah Witnesses	101
The Lumpa church	103
Other Christian initiatives	107
10. Conceptions of Christianity	109
Appendix I: histories narrated today	114
The Kunda of Mambwe	114
The takeover of Kambwiri (Bisa)	115
Kambombo (continuation of the narrative of chapter 4)	116
Tembwe narratives (Senga)	117
The Mwine Mutondo driven out by Kazembe	120
The Lumpa war in the valley (1964)	121
Appendix II. Population Statistics	124
Appendix III. Selective village counts (from north to south) of married, divorced and widowed adults	126
Appendix IV. Election results for the Luangwa Valley	127
Endnotes	128
References	141

Glossary

<i>alangizi (banacimbusa)</i>	women teachers in the initiation rites
BiGoCA	Bible Gospel Church in Africa
Boma	Administrative centre (standing still for British Over-seas Military Administration of colonial times)
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CBNRM	Community Based National Resources Management
CCAP	Church of Central African Presbyterians (formerly Free Church of Scotland)
<i>cinamwali (cisungu, moye)</i>	female initiation rites
<i>ciwanda (cibanda), pl. ziwanda</i>	spirits of the dead. In the Senga north: spirit of any dead. In the central and southern valley: the dead belonging to another lineage or an estranged person from the own lineage.
<i>ciwongo</i>	“surname” (in the south inherited from a name corresponding to the matrilineal clan of the father, like Zulu for the <i>wene Mvula</i> , etc.)
<i>cokolo (bupyani)</i>	levirate marriage with a kin of deceased spouse
CRB	Community Resource Board
<i>kacasu</i>	strong distilled alcoholic drink
<i>kabvuwa (kavimba, lufuba)</i>	ancestor shrine, usually of headmen or headwomen
<i>makolo (fikolwe)</i>	ancestors, parents
<i>mankhwala (muti)</i>	medicines
<i>mashawe (ngulu, fufumi)</i>	spirits (not ancestral), often linked to natural sites.
<i>mfwiti (ndoshi). Pl. afwiti</i>	wizard, witch, sorcerer
<i>mukowa (mukoka). Pl mikowa (mikoka)</i>	clan
<i>mwambo (lutambi). Pl miyambo (ntambi)</i>	custom, tradition
<i>mzimu (mupashi). Pl mizimu (mipsashi)</i>	1. spirits of the dead of the own lineage and/or other positive spiritual forces from the realm of the dead. 2. Angelic spiritual forces coming from God and acknowledged by the Zion churches bestowing gifts of healing power and prophecy.
<i>ng'anga</i>	traditional healer, “witchdoctor”
<i>njala (nsala, nzala)</i>	hunger
RCZ	Reformed Church of Zambia (formerly Dutch Reformed Church)
SDA	Seven Days Adventists
<i>ufwiti (bulos)</i>	
<i>wene (bena, Mbawo, Ina)</i>	
<i>Mumba, Ngo, Nsovu, Nkalamo, Nyendwa, Ng'oma, Miti, Ng'ona, Njoka, etc</i>	
ZAWA	Zambia Wildlife Authority

Map 3: electoral constituencies of the valley and its neighbours.

(Source: Central Statistical Office, Lusaka)

, the
opard, ele-

phant, lion, female sexual organ, drum, tree, mushroom, snake, etc.)



1. The background of this research and expectations

This research was commissioned so as to understand better the conditions that mark people's lives in the Luangwa valley that make their lives different from people on the surrounding plateau. It was financed jointly by the catholic Diocese of Chipata and by Missio/Aachen (Germany). The Centenary celebrations of the catholic Diocese of Chipata (July 2004) had prompted the research. They were held in a historically significant location: in Chasera (in the past it was called Kambwiri), the spot of the first Catholic mission properly within the boundaries of today's Diocese of Chipata. The Catholic Church witnessed many difficulties in the valley. The White Fathers had opened Kambwiri in 1904, but they had to close the mission and leave the valley barely seven months later. After leaving Kambwiri, the missionaries focused on greener pastures on the plateau, where their endeavours seemed to bear more fruits. Within the next 100 years of evangelisation, the valley had witnessed periods of renewed impetus, but as a whole one can say that the valley remained only an appendix to the catholic life of Chipata Diocese. Pastoral plans focused on the plateau, and they were based mainly on the conditions of the plateau, not on the conditions of the valley. For many pastoral workers and also for many laypeople of the plateau, the valley was conceived as a difficult place, backwards, left behind; people of the valley were often labelled as stubborn, begging, living just from day to day with their fish and game meat, and not be "interested in anything pertaining to the spiritual." Church structures and policies were mostly determined by the "tarmac centres" of the plateau, far away from the valley, The church came with its own programmes, structures, and agendas, and it was expected (in different degrees) that the people in the valley had to fit into the structures of the plateau. But they did not: actual church was determined by the local "nitty-gritty" of everyday life. The oldest living missionary of Chipata diocese who had worked in the valley at the end of the 1950s (and who is well remembered) put it this way:

The valley was my first appointment on arrival in Northern Rhodesia. Bishop Courtemanche used to send young missionaries into the valley so that they could gain a real missionary experience. What concerns Christianity, there was nothing. Missionaries had been there for many years, but church wise the level remained just at zero. We were going to villages to teach, and the catechist was ringing the church bell so many times, but people were not interested. We liked

the people in the valley, but our approach as a church was very much coming from above. We were there to teach as if we knew it all.¹

When the Catholic centenary celebrations drew near in 2004, the charismatic renewal conducted a small research in Chasera about the meaning of the Catholic church for people. They found only one catholic family with a copy of the Bible, and they concluded that the Catholic faith was largely meaningless to people in the area of the first mission of the Diocese. Even those who knew by heart one or two Christian prayers could not relate to them; it was an abstract knowledge divorced from day to day life. At the same time they found the desire for a new start. During the celebrations in Chasera the bishop promised a renewed commitment for the valley, and a new pastoral approach that would be based on the specific conditions of the valley. This report of the research then is about the historical, social, political, economic and religious coordinates of people, hoping that a pastoral approach will build in openness on what is meaningful and relevant in people's lives.

The Luangwa valley

Geographically speaking, the Luangwa valley is an extension of the East African rift valley system. The source of the Luangwa is in the Lilonda and Mafinga Hills, 1500 m high, near the border with Tanzania and Malawi. What one may call the Luangwa valley proper comprises an area of roughly 50,000 km² and starts about 150 km from the source, when the Luangwa has dropped to an elevation of about 690m. Here the Luangwa has a flood plain that gives the valley a specific character. Flowing south-west, the river has dropped near Mfuwe to an elevation of about 520m; the valley has become 100 km wide, and is surrounded by the Muchinga escarpment in the West (with mountains 1500 m high) and a softer and more accessible slope in the East. Following its course through the hilly Nyimba district, the Luangwa valley has narrowed down significantly. Eventually the Luangwa merges with the Lusemwa river, and 720 km from its source flows into the Zambezi.² The valley basin is separated from the eastern and western plateaus by a 400 - 800 meter slope (in general easier accessible from the eastern side) that makes road-building difficult. The many rivers running into the valley from the plateau cut the valley during the rainy season into tiny slices; these patches of land become cut off from the plateau and also from each other.

Since colonial times, parts of the Luangwa valley have been declared as national parks, out of which people were evicted (North- and South Luangwa, Luambe, and Lukusuzi National Parks are in the Luangwa valley). The rest of the valley was declared as Game Management Areas, where settlements of people have to follow a number of restrictions and regulations laid down by the Zambia Wildlife Act and enforced by the Zambian Wildlife Authorities (ZAWA).

The part of the valley that belongs to Chipata Diocese (corresponding with Zambia's Eastern Province) is over 500 km long, and comprises different populations, cultures and tribes (Achikunda, Ambo, Nsenga, Kunda, Valley-Bisa, Chewa, and Senga). Among people in the valley there is little unity and little centralisation, and people speak different languages: Nsenga and Kunda, Bemba dialects (Ambo and "Wiza", how the Bisa dialect of the valley is called), Chewa, and Senga (which is a Tumbuka dialect with a strong imprint of Bisa.) Two administrative districts of the Eastern Province are right in the valley: Mambwe in the Kunda area, and Chama in the Senga area of the North. In the 2000 population census, Chama district³ had a population of 75,000 people, and Mambwe 47,000. Since then the population has grown significantly in Mambwe (due to the expansion of the tourist industry and the airport), but also in Chama, and the district health boards are working with higher figures. Between Chama and Mambwe Districts, we find a valley population belonging to Lundazi district of about 35,000 people.⁴ In Msanzala constituency of Petauke District (west of Petauke) the census numbered 46,000 people of whom however only a part belongs strictly to the valley. Unlike the north with its wide flood plane, the hilly southern valley has no clear demarcations. In Nyimba District one would place the chieftaincies of Nyalugwe, Luwembe and Mwape as strictly belonging into the valley, with a population of maybe 20,000 people.⁵ Together this brings the population in the valley of the area belonging to Chipata Diocese to around 200,000 people. Most of them live in the wider northern part of the valley stretching from Mambwe to Chama.

The valley population is one of the poorest in Zambia, with one of the lowest literacy levels of the whole country.⁶ Schools and clinics are either missing or of very poor quality and under-staffed. Because of its isolation, the valley has since colonial times been regarded as a sanctuary for wild animals. Across the different peoples of the valley, men's culture was built in the past to a great extent on hunting and fishing, and the tough wildlife restrictions of the past decades are therefore cutting very deep into people's sense of identity. Common food crops consist mainly of maize, rice, groundnuts, and different vegetables, but floods, draughts, and crop-raiding by animals contribute to chronic food shortages (now an annual occurrence) that sometimes result in severe hunger.

The last 15 years have brought deep reaching transformations. The liberalisation of Zambia's economy has attracted a number of investors into the valley to build up the tourist industry (mainly hunting- and walking safaris). For some people this brought some chances of (mainly seasonal) employment. But the new developments also highlight and accentuate the conflict of interest in regards to wildlife: Poor farmers in many ways have to bear the real costs of the presence of wild animals near their fields. They are rarely refunded for damages done by the animals to their fields and to human life, and most would prefer to see the animals in their cooking pots. Another change that has taken place from around 2002 onwards is the drastic increase of commercial cotton growing in the Northern half, which has brought some money into the valley. Even in isolated vil-

lages one sees new little shops where essentials are being sold. Otherwise people live mainly from farming, fishing, seasonal work in the safari camps, ZAWA, or in one of the NGOs, or from (largely illegal) hunting. Some people also practice some petty mining for gemstones, gold and silver. Formal employment is very rare. Food security moreover is a yearly problem throughout the valley, and some areas depend regularly on food aid organised by the Zambian Republic.

When the rains start and the rivers fill, the valley becomes largely cut off and life proceeds in isolation. News of floods and draughts in the valley (sometimes in the same year following each other) reach the rest of Zambia nearly every year, and people in the valley characterise their life with the word “*njala*” (hunger). When the rains start, also church life comes largely to an end, to be resumed again after the rains with fresh visits by the priests and pastors.

Church life in the Luangwa valley

Apart from a relatively small but growing number of Muslims in the valley, most people call themselves Christian. Churches, like all over Zambia, are plentiful also in the Luangwa Valley: Catholic, Anglican (centred around Msoro), Reformed Church of Zambia (RCZ) in the middle and South, Church of Central African Presbyterians (CCAP) in the North, Cipangano (in the North), African National Church (in the North), Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BiGoCA) and a variety of other Pentecostal churches, Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), New Apostolic Church, Church of Christ, Church of God, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Baptists, and a variety of small Zion churches centring around a prophet or prophetess are present in the Luangwa valley. Most congregations, however, are of small size when compared with the surrounding plateau.

The churches with the longest presence in the valley are the CCAP (Church of Central African Presbyterians, which emerged from the Free Church of Scotland, who opened in 1903 a mission in the valley in Kazembe),⁷ Catholics (1904 in Kambwiri), Anglicans (1911 in Msoro) and RCZ (Reformed Church of Zambia, in the past known as the Dutch Reformed Church, who opened Kamoto in the valley in 1928, but who had a presence in the southern valley already since the beginning of that century). All of them have a presence of more than 100 years in different parts of the valley. And all express today that in spite of 100 years presence, they still consider the valley to be “mission territory” in the sense that they feel the churches are not yet established, have problems in finding local committed leadership, and remain financially dependent on the plateau. (Especially the efforts to make the heavy structures of the Catholic and Anglican churches in the valley self-reliant proved a failure; the structures of the CCAP and RCZ are somehow lighter.)

A catholic priest coming from the plateau on a visit into the valley may sometimes attract a crowd of people for a church service (especially when people haven't seen a car for a long time); but at other times church attendance is very poor, and episodes are told of priests waiting at the church for hours, while their "flock" (including the leaders) were busy drinking beer not far away. Interest in church affairs is low even for church members. Church council meetings strike in the valley in their irregularity or sheer absence. Long-term commitment over several years is rather rare. Men in general are absent from church affairs (except for leadership positions), many meetings and seminars flop for lack of attendance, it is common for catechumens to give up on their way to baptism, a large percentage of those who finally reached baptism flocked to other churches, especially to new-coming churches. Very few people of the valley have trained to become catechists, priests, brothers, or religious sisters. The catholic church in the valley has remained financially completely dependent on outside finance throughout the 100 years of evangelisation; Catholics of the valley contribute very little in terms of money and kind. A priest may travel 200 km (one way) by four-wheel drive from Lundazi to Chasera, and as contribution for his fuel he receives from the Christian community a few worn-out 50 Kwacha notes and some maize cobs. Catholics usually point to their poverty as reason for failing to contribute to the church, but pastoral workers in the valley would also question people's interest in the church and motivation.

One reason for the "trenched-in" situation is surely the physical condition of the valley. Most of the valley is cut off throughout the rainy season, much more so than other rural areas of the surrounding plateau. Such conditions go hand in hand with a general lack of education and an exodus of educated people. But apart from the consequences of such physical conditions, the valley poses to the church still other question-marks on a more uncomfortable level. Many missionaries of various congregations as well as many Diocesan priests, sisters and seminarians, and even catechists who had come from the plateau, expressed that they have serious doubts about the response of the valley population as far as evangelisation goes. Many feel there is a certain apathy and lack of interest in things pertaining to the spiritual. In addition, many who worked or lived in the valley for longer periods complain about an attitude of begging, and about a lack of initiative both in regards to issues concerning development and the church. Some pastoral workers consider efforts in the valley as a sheer waste of time – not because of the physical conditions, but because of the lack of response of the population.

The valley puzzles us with many contradictions. To mention but a few: Some licensed fishermen make 200,000 Kwacha and more in a single week of fishing when the water is warm (October), yet they will complain of *njala* (hunger) in the same month of October when it comes to church contributions, and the state of their houses back in the village and the look of their children speak indeed of dire poverty. Fish (mainly produced by men) does not enter the church and belongs to a different budget; subsistence crops in contrast are more readily given as local contribution. People call for more visits of their

priests, but when a priest finally comes, only few kids turn up. Men go by bicycle deep into Malawi, to Isoka, Mpika, Chipata, Lundazi, and yet the same men complain that it is too far to the next church just three km from home.

Also discomfoting for the catholic church is the fact that many old people in the valley today openly express that the mainstream churches (Catholic, Anglican, RCZ, and CCAP) have alienated them from their ancestors and culture. During this research a number of people expressed that God was nearer to them before the churches came. (See chapter 8). Some missionaries expressed in the same vein that Christianity seems to have done little in the valley to diminish fear; some go further still and say that both witchcraft and fear have increased in the valley rather than decreased with the advance of Christianity. It is especially hunters and fishers whose way of life has little affinity with the structures of the church.

Saying this, people praise the churches (and in this regard especially the catholic church) for the efforts towards development. Where government structures failed to come in, church structures tried to help out. Examples on the side of the catholic church are Lumimba Secondary School, several orphan projects to fund schooling, the skills project (farming and trades) of the Comboni Missionaries at Chikowa, initiatives in road and bridge building and maintenance, and the “Luangwa Valley Project” within the area of Lumimba (chiefs Mwanya, Chitungulu, Kazembe and Chifunda), which helps with storage facilities, where people can sell rice and maize in May/June with the option to buy it back in times of hunger at the end of the year.

On the spiritual side, the valley has also witnessed some remarkable initiatives in Christianity. In spite of many setbacks concerning the establishment of big and organised church structures in the valley, people have been open to the Christian message and also to the its messengers. If one goes through the Catholic mission diaries and looks at the 100 years of evangelisation, one reads little about hostilities in the valley. Exceptions were the Kambwiri adventure (chapter 3), and open clashes with the movements of the Watchtowers (from the late 1920s) and the Lumpa (middle 1950s-64, see chapter 9). Both were linked to the independence struggle. In general, however, the missionaries did not encounter open hostility in the valley. In the mission diaries of both Chilonga and Minga (the earliest catholic missions involved in direct pastoral care of the valley) we often read about a “friendly welcome”, about hospitality, and about “a good disposition” of the valley population. Throughout most of the 100 years of evangelisation, this seems to have been the rule, and the short periods of conflict the exception. Many pastoral workers in the valley also today treasure people’s hospitality as much as their predecessors did. During this research people everywhere in the valley asked for more presence and more visits of priests rather than less. And yet, when a priest comes, things don’t really seem to come up.

Expectations for this research

Some expectations for this research by pastoral agents focussed on the issue of self-reliance. People cannot be visited, because they don't contribute to the running of the Parish – and people don't contribute, because they are not visited. Some expect from this research to find ways that will improve financial contributions in the valley. But expectations of a fast track towards self-reliance in the valley are difficult to fulfil, unless maybe people will be allowed to pay in ivory, lion skins, precious stones or *fyamba* (marijuana), or maybe if the dream of an oil refinery in Chama is revived of which the church could buy some shares.

Other expectations concerned the role of women in our church, who are the backbone of the church in the valley and yet are absent from leadership positions. What can be done to build more on their potential? Other expectations focussed specifically on men, whose absence from the church is notorious in the valley. Why is this? Some priests encouraged me specifically to look at the place of religion in a culture of hunters and fishers to look for a religious foundation on which one can build. It is hoped that this research promotes a pastoral approach that links up with the “nitty-gritty” of daily life and with the specific conditions (cultural, religious and economic) of the valley.

The modalities of the research

The time frame given for this research (May 2005 – December 2006, excluding the rainy season) proved to be far too limited. Still since things on the ground had been well prepared by the different parishes, the research could bring up some issues. I could benefit especially from the experience of Toon van Kessel with whom I could discuss many questions throughout the research. But all the valley priests and the Teresian Sisters of Lumimba helped, shared and encouraged me a lot and now that the allocated time is finished I still treasure their hospitality of so many ways. The bulk of this research was conducted in the following catholic outstations: Nyalugwe & Chitumbi (Nyimba Parish), Mwape & Chinsimbwe (Minga Parish), Kasweta, Masumba & Nsefu (Chikowa Parish), Chasera, Mwanya, Lumimba & Chiweza (Lumimba Parish), Vilimukuru (Kanyanga Parish), Tembwe & Kambombo (Chama Parish), in which I spent between one and three weeks each. Shorter visits I made to Msoro, Jumbe, Chitungulu, Lumimba & Chama. Everywhere people had been prepared by the parish team for my visit: Catechists and church councils knew about the aim the research, and had sometimes prepared meetings with chiefs, headmen and other churches in advance. In some parishes the Parish team offered me their 4x4 to go around; Fr. Edouard Morrison lent me his 4x4 for three months, and in Chikowa Brother Paul and Brother Oscar welded together my motorcycle which had lost a few parts on the valley roads. In the villages, in the time of hunger when many people were eating *nsima* made out of dried bananas with boiled mangoes as relish

(forget about the cliché of people in the valley eating game meat every day!), I experienced great hospitality. Not rarely I was given food four times a day, with the best people could offer.

I certainly did not have much time to become known to people, and many were surely wondering what all my questions were about. Nevertheless I found that people in general were open, much more than I expected, which had surely to do with the preparations that had been going on. In each outstation in which I spend some time I met separately with women (in different groups: married, single, in polygamy), men, & youths, to which the Catholics were invited together with anybody else who wished to come. Discussions focused on their specific problems and on the old *miyambo* (traditions, culture), history, and issues of the youths. Then I gathered as many case histories as possible that were based roughly on the following questions: what have people been up to? Where did they live, and where are their brothers, sisters, and children? How long had they been in school? How long were they in town? Why did they come back to the valley? Where did they pray in childhood and where do they pray now? What are their main problems in marriage? And so on. In some villages I could analyse the marriage- and settlement patterns. Of special help proved the interviews with chiefs, headmen, hunters, *ng'anga* (traditional healers), *alangizi* (traditional midwives), teachers, health workers, and the leaders of the different churches. In some places the chiefs themselves had organised meetings with knowledgeable persons at their palaces about the history of their chieftaincies (Mnkhanya, Chikwa, Tembwe, Nyalugwe), while others gave names of people who proved to be very knowledgeable. In general, the chiefs were helpful in this research, and a number of them produced also written documents, like genealogies. Outside the chiefs' circles, also old people & headmen were very cooperative and surprisingly open. Finally, when staying a week or two in a village, there were usually a number of events happening that I could attend and that could be very revealing, like funerals, the visit of a *ng'anga*, initiation rites, names-changing ceremonies for children, etc.

In between the meetings I was relaxing going from house to house, asking questions about anything coming to my mind, about life-stories, history, hunting, medicines, marriage, divorce, *ziwanda* (spirits of the dead), and *ufwiti* (witchcraft). Some people were suspicious, so I went politely somewhere else, but others had actually fun answering such questions. In many places, after some days, especially women started coming (often two by two); it was their time now to ask questions: "What do women do in Germany when babies have fits? Or when they dream of the dead? How do women in Germany stop their husbands going out with other women?" The major concern for most people was sickness that was often chronic, which is not surprising with the state of health care in the valley. People had seen me writing names of local medicines in my books and asked about the herbs that people recommended in other places. I realised that doing this research I became a little bit of a *ng'anga* myself. Many also asked for house blessings.

When the sick people were just too many, in some places the catechist organised a prayer service for the sick, or for those with *mashawe* (spirits).

I was know to be a Catholic priest, but only few people asked me about issues specific to the church like receiving the Eucharist or how to pray. Baptism, the Eucharist, and even prayer are seen in the valley in a very legalistic framework: they may bring you to a remote heaven (or at least help you to have a good funeral), but they have little life in themselves and little that would link up with their own lives, or out of which they can live and grow. Even the Christian heaven or eternal life is seen as far away, and has little to do with people's own *makolo* (ancestors) who had given them life and brought them to the valley. Many of people's own religious experiences are rather marginal to our catholic gate, but they are very deep as three examples may show:

- In Nyalugwe brother Vinod and I were waiting at the church for a long time to little avail. People were informed of our coming, and the few kids that had come were ringing the church bells every 5 minutes, but nobody turned up for hours. At some point we gave up and went into the village. There in the afternoon we asked some women to sing some songs of the *cinamwali*. We were quickly surrounded by plenty of people and the air was full of electricity. This was not just entertainment. It faded however when we tried to organise it and people started to become suspicious. In Kapilingisha (Kambombo), Tembwe, and especially in Mwanya, women had fewer suspicions, drummed and danced deep into the night to the tunes of the *cinamwali* songs. People (including myself) were captured by the atmosphere, and afterwards the women asked: why is it a sin to do this?
- In Malama (Kambombo) I attracted only a very small community of Catholics in the school for mass and a meeting (the church building had collapsed), but at night I followed the hypnotising sounds of the drums that led me to the house of "Doctor" Peter Mngelo, who was delivering some patients from witchcraft attacks. I was given a chair as guest of honour in the front row; the place was packed with people (including many Catholics – also among the drummers – who had not shown up for mass); the singing, the drumming and the dancing, was captivating for everybody, also for me. Some songs seemed old and traditional, but many songs were clearly inspired by Christian and Biblical themes. One song was based on the Christian creed, and in another song with a beautiful melody the virgin Mary figured very highly. The drama performed by Doctor Mngelo was largely based on the symbolism of the death and resurrection of Christ.
- In Chitumbi (Nyimba Parish), Brother Vinod, myself and the catechist had organised a prayer service for the sick and for people with *mashawe* (spirits) who had asked us for prayers. I thought it would flop, because the choir were very few and looked awfully

tired at the start – they had just come back from a funeral where they had sung the whole night through. But as soon as the *mashawe* started reacting, the choirs forgot their tiredness, the pitch of the drums changed, and their songs seized the church for hours and hours; people left the church only after nightfall (having started at 14:00), and even then people still wanted to bring more sick people.

My impression formed that people in the valley have strong notions about the spiritual world and are attuned to it, but that our concepts and conditions as an organised church and people's own experiences and expectations rarely meet.

First answers: Why has the church not been successful in the valley?

Some answers to this question (in interviews and meetings) focused on the different social conditions in the valley, while others focused on the churches ways of doing things. Concerning the former point, three answers stood out:

1. **“Religion of hunters”**. It was put to me somehow this way:⁸ “On the plateau, in contrast to the valley, people have had a long tradition of agriculture. Long before Christianity arrived, they were very dependent on the rains. Rain came from *Chauta* (God), and dependency on rain meant dependency on God. The Chewa also had centralised rain cults, and agricultural peoples may have linked up easier with Christianity because of their long experience of centralised religion. In the valley people were more dependent on hunting. But failure in hunting is explained rarely in reference to God. People are more inclined to look at their medicines and own skills, and there may be little thirst for looking for a God up there. Missionaries were preaching something that people were not looking for.” This research confirms that Christianity as it was presented or understood in the valley linked up very little with what hunters expected from religion. For example, the *makolo* (ancestors) play a dominant role in hunting traditions, but Christianity is still seen or imagined as a religion that alienates people from their own *makolo* and roots.
2. **“Quicksand of social structure”**. Some priests who worked both in the valley and on the plateau experienced the social structure of the valley to be much more loose.⁹ Especially in the south of the valley people come from very different places of origin. People rely more on family structures and are often only very loosely incorporated into larger village structures or even “tribal” structures, more loosely than on the Plateau. Building church structures in the valley is like build-

ing a house on sand. In the north of the valley (among the Senga) there is more cohesion than in the south, and even church structures seem to function better. But otherwise there is little sense of a “common good” or common identity beyond the own lineage.

This research largely confirms this argument. Hunting people tend to disperse rather than to centralise, and this research looks into some of the forces at work. Such dispersing forces are not timeless, and in fact they have been counteracted by government policies in regards to village sizes and locations. Still, the fact of being regrouped together into stable villages does not create by itself a community. In consequence many of our structures like church councils don't really have a grip on people for reasons that touch issues of authority and integration. All over the valley people mentioned as one of the chief reasons for failure in church matters a basic lack of cooperation. “*Sitigwirizana* – we don't cooperate together.”

3. “**Being left behind**”. Because of the physical isolation of the valley, people did not really participate in changes in the church. A catholic women group (*Apamtondo*) in Chama (made up mostly of women originally from the plateau) put it this way: “Much has changed in the church. On the Plateau we hear for example about self-reliance from many sides, not only from priests and catechists. We meet with people from different parishes, and each week along the tarmac road there are visitors in our churches from all over Zambia, and all speak the same message. That is why we are faster on the Plateau to believe in new issues. Here in the valley people are left to themselves for most of the year.” One can add that people of the valley were rarely consulted about the new developments of the church and pastoral issues; they had to follow the lead of the plateau and were simply overruled, which led to a certain alienation from the church.

This research suggests that there is actually more movement in the valley than many assume. However, most movements happen between the valley and the towns – back in the valley one is submerged again into a very different life in which much of what was assimilated in the towns is no longer applicable.

A number of other answers were also given about cultural entrenchments: “There is too much beer in the valley” – “There is too much polygamy” – “People always had enough meat to eat and want to be merry today – in their culture there is not much concern for tomorrow” – “People in the valley are lazy and don't know how to cultivate.” The problem with such answers is that they give very little to work on. They close an investigation instead of opening it up. This is not to deny that cultural entrenchment and habits do exist. People in the valley themselves mentioned everywhere beer and polygamy (in the north) as major setbacks to Christianity. A number of women openly spoke of the laziness of their husbands. Some Chewa immigrants settling in the valley belittled the agri-

cultural commitment of the valley population (though some of the newcomers did not convince either with their own successes). And fishermen are often described by non-fishers as having “dry heads” and as just being difficult (*kuuma*). “It is futile to discuss anything with a fisherman. They are just too stubborn.”¹⁰ – “They have no education, and they take their own children out of the school classes to go fishing. You cannot argue with them about prices of fish nor about anything else. They have only one pair of trousers and don’t want a second pair. When their money for beer is finished, they just go out again fishing to make a new budget.”¹¹

But we don’t go very far if we view cultural entrenchments as something passively inherited. It seems more fruitful to focus on the mechanisms that actively maintain the appropriation of cultural images by certain groups. What for example makes the village for the man the place of recreation and for beer rather than the place of work, and what do both men and women do to sustain this image? Or why do people today refer to *njala* (hunger) even in times of plenty? Why does the church belong in popular image only to people with “fine clothes” (that is how many non-church goers describe their failure to attend church)? Incidentally, neither beer, nor polygamy, nor perceived laziness of men, are absent elsewhere in Zambia, and therefore can hardly attain real explanatory power for the specific situation of the valley.

The second set of answers that I received in the course of this research focused on our pastoral approach towards the valley. Such argument looks at our side, on our own mistakes as a church. Three points came back often:

1. **Neglect.** “We concentrated on the Plateau because it was easier and we got more results”. A look into history gives some nuances to this argument. There have been times of great efforts in the valley. For Bishop Martin, for example, the valley was definitely a priority. Bishop Courtemanche also appointed the young and enthusiastic to the valley. But as a whole the argument is correct and applies not only to priests and sisters: mission diaries speak of difficulties also in finding catechists and teachers willing to settle and work in the valley. In most valley parishes people mentioned the lack of being visited as the main reason for the poor state of the church. “We want to learn, but we are left on our own.”
Many pastoral workers themselves see a direct link between progress in pastoral programmes and the regularity of visits. The Lumimba/Lundazi pastoral report of 2006 states that things in Lumimba each June start from zero. The following months, things start picking up rather satisfactory. With the rains in November pastoral visits cease and next June things start again from zero.
2. It is also the **style of our work** that people complain about. “In the past you priests were different. We don’t see priests anymore in our villages. In the past Father Morrison and Father Gundi came into the village and they went from

house to house, and asked about our families. Today we only see the Jehovah Witnesses at our houses. Catholic priests only come for mass, for meetings and seminars, and then we hear the sound of a leaving car.” Here a challenging comment from an ex-soldier (Kataba/Lumimba): "We people in the valley are always blamed, even in the church. It is always us with whom there is something wrong. I was in the army where we were taught: ‘there are no bad soldiers, there are only bad officers.’ In the church it should be the same. If things do not go right, we should blame the ones in charge, but not always the people."

3. A number of priests and catechists make responsible a **“handing out mentality”** of former missionaries for the failure of self-reliance in the valley. “People have been spoiled!” This argument is pervasive for many, but not for me. Surely much has been given out in the valley, but this cannot compare with what has been given out on the plateau by the same former missionaries. This research on one hand confirms that people in the valley see it as the task of the church to help them, and that they don’t see it as their responsibility to help the church. This view is certainly entrenched. But if “handing out” and “spoiling people” is the main reason for the failure of self-reliance, then the valley should be more self-reliant than the plateau. Deeper reasons are more compelling. The begging mentality of the valley by far transcends the church, and I propose to investigate the problem in the much wider framework of political powerlessness: begging reflects a resignation into dependency.

Another point is that one could mention for the southern and central valley is that only very few priests learned a language of the valley: Chinsenga, Chikunda, or Chiwiza. In general people cope well with our Chewa and Tumbuka; they themselves are used to many mixtures of languages among themselves. It were only the Anglicans in Msoro who vigorously took up Chinsenga and who published the Bible and prayer books in the language of their people. We find still today in Msoro a pride of the Anglicans in their Nsenga Bible and prayer books. In the catholic church, from Nyimba to Lumimba, nobody in the valley prays in his or her mother tongue. Catechists in most parishes make it a point to teach in Chichewa “so that people get used to the church language”. Prayers are learned by heart in Chichewa. Not even the “our father” is prayed in the mother tongue. People may be speaking to you the whole day in Chinsenga; when food comes and they feel obliged to say a prayer, they say the prayer in Chichewa. God seems to speak a different language from their own. The church language is well understood by people in the valley, but maybe it also shows that the church really belongs to the plateau rather than the valley.



2. Conceptions of the valley

Conceptions of the valley from outsiders are often very negative. Even many teachers and health workers working in the valley whom I interviewed shared this negative image and many saw their stay as a temporal episode in their lives. “People here are just difficult.” To the international community, the Luangwa valley is known for its animals, not for its people. Readers of the *Zambian* newspapers are well acquainted with Chama and Mambwe being as the hunger districts of Zambia, regularly struck by natural disasters. Many outsiders consider the valley as a place where people will move out and should move out in the long run. But for the valley population, the valley is a magnet that pulls people back who lived for 20 years or more in the towns. Many attempts to lure people away from the valley towards other locations have failed. Some attribute this to the presence of game and fish, but people’s cooking pots today speak mostly a different language. There is more to the valley than meat.

How do people themselves describe their home? Two main metaphors came back during these inquiries all along the valley: the valley is the place of the *makolo* (ancestors) but also of *njala* (hunger), and both metaphors are very symbolic. Reading through the mission diaries and through the District notebooks, one realizes furthermore that these two metaphors have become entrenched already for many decades.

***Makolo* (ancestors)**

People are proud of the valley. The valley is the place of their *makolo*. One cannot speak about the valley without mentioning the *makolo*. Whenever I asked people who had stayed a long time in town why they came back, the usual answer was a reference to the *makolo*. This was so obvious that people were even surprised that I could ask a question with such an obvious answer. The image of the valley, of home, is often constructed over and against the towns. Towns are the places for jobs, to make money. But towns are also the places of AIDS and of insecurity, of high prices for food that is free in the valley. The town is the place without broad networks of kin. To speak of the *makolo* in contrast makes the valley a place of kin and family.

In the north people refer to the first ancestors who brought them into the valley, and the subsequent chain of ancestors who form the link right up to the present. Here we find in many villages of group-headmen a *kabvuwa* or *kawimba* (spirit shrine) in which his *makolo* are remembered. This makes it rather easy to inquire about history. The *makolo* of headmen and chiefs have in the north often become synonymous with the *makolo* of everybody else. In the South we find more diversity of origins. The *makolo* of an individual family have often little to do with the *makolo* of the chief or headman. People remember their *makolo* especially if they provide the link to a previous location from which they parted, often due to marriage or war. "Remember that we are *wene Mvula* from Monde at Kasenje," a mother told her daughter. "The mother of your grandmother was so-and-so, she came here because of her marriage, but the children of her sister still live in Monde. Remember this, so that you can go back if things go bad here."¹² If this link is not important anymore, also the names of the *makolo* can be forgotten.

In spite of these differences between the north and the south, throughout the valley the *makolo* provide the vital link with the present location. People are on the right place, because their *makolo* brought them there. This makes the valley a sacred place. A number of people said that God himself had guided their ancestors into the valley. God gave them the valley as their rightful place. Such reference to God was made already 90 years ago in a meeting of 1915 that is recorded in the District Notebooks. The colonial office had made a plan to remove many of the Akunda from the valley because of sleeping sickness. We read that

Kakumbi's representative, District Messenger, and village headmen all declared that without doubt they have suffered a heavy mortality from Sleeping Sickness, and the disease is still in their villages. But they are all agreed that they do not wish to remove on any account from their present homes. Chikoko said "Kakumbi has ordered me to speak these words for him: We know that the sleeping sickness is killing us, but it is the Act of God, and we will not remove from the country where God has planted us".

In the same meeting, chiefs and headmen of Nsefu, Mnkhanya, Chiaula, Jumbe and Tindi simply denied that there was any sleeping sickness in their villages, but that people "were well off, and healthy, and would not think of moving from their present locations". A number of other attempts failed on similar grounds, including the promise of concessions (land, inputs, money) to those who would go voluntarily. People remained there where their *makolo* had brought them, on their rightful place, where God obviously wanted them to be.

Among the old people the awareness is still very strong that the blessing for one's life comes from this link with the *makolo*. Especially hunting and its religious significance is strongly linked to this notion. The metaphor of the *makolo* goes hand in hand with another metaphor: the *mwambo* (or *mudauko* in the north, or *lutambi* among the Bisa – tradition, culture). One needs to walk in the *mwambo* in order to secure the bless-

ings of the ancestors. The *mwambo* refers often to the observance of different taboos taught in the initiation rites concerning marriage, birth and funerals, but also concerning hunting, witchcraft, authority and protection. The churches in this respect are often seen in the valley as alienating people from their own ancestors and their own traditions.

***Njala* (hunger)**

As much as the valley has the connotation of being the place of the ancestors and of blessing, it has also the connotation of constant *njala*. This may look at first a contradiction, but it is not. Many said that God blessed them with good soil and animals. For people it is not the location which is bad, but what modern politics have made out of the valley. The blessings of the valley (animals, meat, fish, soil) are there, but politics are made outside of the valley (and by foreigners), and they have alienated people from their own home. The blessings of the *makolo* belong to the image of the past. The image of the present is one of *njala* and high risk factors in agriculture: draughts & floods during the same year, monkeys eating away their fields during the day and elephants at night, plagues of rats and birds, and the lack of markets for their products. This image is also reinforced through the negative images that outsiders paint of the valley. Even in May and June, when there is plenty to eat, people keep this image of *njala*. The person who has spent today already a lot of money on beer and *kacasu* will still complain of *njala*. *Njala* has become a key- metaphor with which people present themselves to the outside world. Why is this? The image of *njala* links up powerfully with the ban on game meat.

We have tasted meat. We cannot live on vegetables. We get no strength from eating mangoes, and therefore we cannot work in our fields.¹³

The taste of meat is very symbolic. A study conducted in the 1970s suggested that people in the valley were then consuming seven times more meat than people on the Eastern plateau and more meat than in any other area studied elsewhere in the whole of Africa.¹⁴ Meat is *their* food, is *their* culture, and meat has also many religious connotations. The distribution of meat linked kin together: your relative was the one with whom you freely shared meat. Meat gives strength. Vegetables bring weakness. The ban on hunting cuts very deep and it can only bring *njala*, because any meal without meat means *njala*. Meat of course was also used to trade for grain. “My grandfather’s field was his gun”,¹⁵ with which he used to provide the whole family with food through exchange with meat. In popular imagination there was no hunger in the past because there was always meat. “In our houses there were hanging legs of *mbowo* (buffalos), of *mpala* (antelope), of *nguluwe* (wild pig), of *nsefu* (eland), and each day we chose what we wanted to eat. When some-

body went hunting he said: 'yesterday I had a *mpombo* (duiker), today I want *mpala*', and he killed an *mpala*."¹⁶

From accounts in the various diaries we know that this image of the past is distorted. Much before the ban on hunting became rigorously enforced, the valley was already known for its hunger periods. Father Lukas Gundi remembers that already in the 1950s people from Nabwalya were flocking to Lumimba to look for grain, because there was real hunger. But without any doubt the enforcement of the law on hunting has aggravated the conception of *njala* and of a golden past without hunger.

Njala has come for people because of modern politics. Strickland (1998) working among the Kunda gives back a pervasive argument: In the past, Kunda hunters preferred to live in scattered villages that allowed proximity to the animals. The government said that villages were too small, that people should settle in big villages where they would build schools and clinics. People were lured out of the parks into big villages by these promises. But with higher population density, animals withdrew and hunting became more difficult: people had to go much further into the bush and kill larger animals, also because there were now more people to be fed. Living around a clinic also meant to live constantly with sick people. Larger populations and mixing of populations encouraged the spread of AIDS. It also meant to live now with game scouts as neighbours, whose work became much easier since villages regrouped. Many feel that the promises of health and education have not been fulfilled, but that government planning has brought them sicknesses and hunger. In Lumimba (Temba village) I heard some people putting it this way:

The clinics have brought us sicknesses. In the past there were very few sicknesses here. Now when a child is sick, when it has malaria, we go straight away to the clinic to get pills. Our children have no resistance any longer. Ask anybody here, they all know that we had fewer sicknesses before the clinics came.¹⁷

Both in Chitumbi and in Mkasanga *njala* was put in direct link with increasing sickness. As it was put to me in Chitumbi:

Here we are all sick. You don't find anymore a healthy person in this area. That is because we don't eat meat any longer. Every day we are eating vegetables and mangoes together with the monkeys. Our bodies are too weak to fight any sickness, and therefore we are unable to do any work in the fields. That is the problem with *njala*.

In the metaphor of *njala* the images of insiders and outsiders of the valley meet. While outsiders (including church personnel) often portray hunger as resulting from the low level of initiative of the valley population, from backwardness, laziness, unwillingness to cultivate properly, beer, and an attitude of not planning for the future, the valley population takes up eagerly the same metaphor of *njala* to manifest and even resign into their

dependency on outside help. *Njala* for them legitimises a begging mentality. It provides a frame of reference where people today see it as their *right* to be helped, and sometimes they do not ask for help but *demand* it. In Mkasanga somebody put it this way:

We cannot kill animals any longer. Now the animals are destroying our crops and we are not allowed to do anything about it. Farming here is impossible. The Boma has to give us food every year because we are keeping for them the animals.

Even where people separate the Zambian government from the churches as different entities in their own right (which is not always the case), they nevertheless see it as the obligation of both of them to help with food relief. The strong metaphor of *njala* reflects an attitude that the outside world (in which also the churches are situated) owes something to the valley as a kind of debt-repayment for taking away their ways of living and self-determination. It reflects also an awareness of people in the valley that they will never measure up on the present political scale of power relations with outside interests; they can only play according to rules that are made outside, that allow them little space for manoeuvring, and that are sometimes set to make them leave the valley in the long run, if they want to come to anything. In such a framework even healthy people feel like cripples: to come to something they have to surrender to outside interests, speak the language of the donors, and the best and easiest button to push is the language of *njala*.



3. Lessons from Kambwiri

As this research was prompted by the centenary celebrations that took place in Kambwiri, the first mission properly in the boundaries of today's Diocese of Chipata, it seems fit to have a closer look at the events a hundred years ago that went into history as a sort of failure on the side of the catholic church. Kambwiri Mission (Our Lady the Intercessor) was opened on the feast of John the Baptist on the 14th of June 1904. The choice of Kambwiri seemed sound as it was right in the middle between Chilonga (1899) and Kacebere (1903). Kambwiri was meant to form the missing link between the earliest mission stations from Mua in Nyasaland up to Chilubula in Bemba land.

Nevertheless, hesitations about a mission within the Luangwa valley had been there from the beginning. The White Fathers had been exploring different possibilities: in May 1900 Father Boisselier and Father Louveau travelled to the Luangwa Valley to the "Senga" or "Nsenga" (the similarity of names had caused on their route some confusions), and narrated that they got lost a number of times and found many trees but only few people. In November and December of the same year another expedition was made.

Fr Guillemé goes with Fr Molinier to the Lusenga to explore the country and see where a new mission station could be opened next year. The place they have in view to go to is Kasemba wa Nyimbo, on the left bank of the Luangwa River. Fr Molinier, however, turned back at the administrative settlement at Nawalia, because he was too tired to go any further. He came back to Kilonga by an easier road, via Mumpemba.¹⁸

They found only Nabwalya to be "reasonably populated". Father Guillemé then declared the Luangwa valley, fertile as it was, "unfit for European settlement".¹⁹ But three years later he changed his mind: with the opening of Kacebere in 1903 (then called Buwa) he informed Chilubula that a mission should be opened at Kambwiri, right between Buwa and Chilonga, seven days walk from either Buwa or Chilonga (those seven days would later shrink down to five or even four for the fast ones), and two days walk from Nabwalya, where the British had a post.²⁰

What sort of place was Kambwiri at that time? Only few years earlier (in 1897) a traveller wrote that

Caravans with goods and slaves and ivory all pass through the country of Kambwili who is the big chief of the Wa Bisa. Formerly his large stockaded villages extended north of here for ten miles and west for ten miles. The whole land was under cultivation and the settlements crowded with industrious friendly people. Slavery however has depopulated the place. The offenders are the Angoni... There are always Waswahili traders who purchase the slaves. About 3 years ago Joseph Thomson [of BSAC] and his expedition visited this village and were well received by Kambwiri although the chief was urged by an Arab [Salim ibn Nassur] living there at the time to attack the whites ... The village is a central place for the interior. Two years ago Mombero's people attacked the village in hundreds, some escaped but many were killed or taken captive and taken away as slaves.²¹

Father Guillemé narrated that he found Kambwiri heavily populated. He still met the first Kambwiri, the ailing Chivunzu Mukomba, who was by then blind. Father Guillemé assisted him with medicines.²² Chivunzu Mukomba welcomed him and seemed keen to have a mission in Kambwiri. One year later, on the 24th of June 1904 Father Davoust came to open that mission station as its superior, accompanied by Father Molinier, who was asked to give him a hand until the arrival of Father Ter Maat and Brother Sebastien. Coming to Kambwiri, however, they did not find Chivunzu Mukomba any more; the first Kambwiri had died and had been succeeded by Salimu Mulilo, a nephew. There was a Swahili presence²³ in Kambwiri (as before), but the White Father's diary does not give any name. At first the White Fathers were well received by chief and headmen, and gifts were exchanged. But the local superior seemed from the beginning not really enthusiastic about the Kambwiri enterprise. Only one month after opening Kambwiri, the missionaries of Chilonga received a letter from the superior:

We received a letter from Fr Davoust giving us a few pieces of information on his new mission station. Kambwili, he writes, is the Paramount Chief of a multitude of small villages, each one with its headman, strung out along both banks of the Lukuzie River and its tributary the Katondolo River. The district is thickly populated, but the population is widely scattered. It will be extremely difficult for the missionaries to reach all those people in a very near future. We are in direct contact with some three thousand people. Kambwili's capital is made up of some two hundred huts. We intend to start building just outside the Chief's headquarters. The local population has the reputation of being made of hard-headed people, and we are expected to be just as tough and unrelenting as they are to get anywhere with them. They do not seem to be hostile to our presence among them, but are they really ready to welcome the Good News? That is another cup of tea altogether. The land is desperately flat and monotonous. Water is a precious commodity, and not too good at that. All victuals are very expensive. Hens and goats are sold at a price fifty-percent higher than in the Ubemba. We are really in God's hands! (diary entry 20th July 1904)

In July, Kambwiri was reinforced by Father Ter Maat and Brother Sebastien, and Father Molinier left for Chilonga (he then became the founder of Lubwe Mission, the first suc-

successful mission in Mansa Diocese). Also Father Molinier expressed doubts about the new venture:

Fr Molinier talked about what he saw at Kambwili, and we were not terribly impressed. The country is waterless, the natives are not particularly pleasant, they are even all out to exploit the missionaries, tinted as they are with Islam. We say that God's grace is all powerful; it will have to be at Kambwili if we are to get results. (Chilonga Diary, July 1904).

About a month after arrival, according to the Kambwiri diary, the Moslem faction reproached the chief for allowing the Fathers in. The diary narrates that the chief became more and more demanding; he expected more gifts than the missionaries could afford to give. The White Fathers became isolated from the local population, though they write that they had at first won their sympathies. Nobody seemed ready to enrol for work at the mission or even to sell food. The missionaries suspected that the chief had given secret orders to his subjects not to maintain contact. They overheard people speaking openly about chasing them away. By September they had built a house. With the beginning of Ramadan in October, just a month after moving into their house, the antagonism with the Muslim faction in Kambwiri grew. Even children were afraid and stopped coming to the mission. "We are completely isolated". On tour in the villages, however, the missionaries met with a better disposition.

From time to time, we pass through villages, thus striving to get close to our people who are obstinate to keep apart. Generally during these visits, we receive a welcome that is not too bad. If taken aside, these poor people are not ill disposed. Unfortunately they are victims of some leaders to whom they obey out of fear.

In Kambwiri itself, however, it was the time for the Moslems. People were proud to wear the white Muslim dress, and the masses were enrolling to become Moslems. Non-Muslims were being despised as pagans, as *bashyenzi*. The missionaries decided to try prayers, charity and patience. "If these fail, therefore God has judged right to put later the conversion of these unobedient souls." (Kambwiri Diary, December 2004). But patience was soon to run out. The last entry of December looking back on the venture gives little hope.

Six months passed by since our arrival at Kambwili. What have we done during this time? Humanly speaking, not much. People, excited without doubt by Moslem leaders are more than ever hostile to us...Among all this crowd that surround us, we have not yet been able to find a single sympathetic face. When we go through a village, people look at us with a defying sight and pulled faces almost hateful and sometime with an insolent shift. Not one who shows us the least of interest, of confidence or attachment. Not a young man, not a kid that dares frankly come to us. We live in complete isolation. From time to time only some people...who hardly can hide their play come to see

whether we can live without their flour and their chickens. No one would want to work at our place. And in a country that supplies all Fort-Jameson with workers and housekeepers, we have been obliged to plant ourselves our cabbage and to do our small cooking ourselves. This situation is really painful and in no way do we see hope in the future.

By now bishop Dupont was back after four years of absence, and he must have noticed this sharp contrast between the valley and the plateau. On the plateau missionaries were asking for more missions to be opened, to cope with the growing demands that were bearing fruit. Passing through Kambwiri, the bishop decided on the spot to close it for good.

His honour has judged that we should not take longer in this inhospitable land while we can find elsewhere souls more docile and better disposed,

writes the Kambwiri diarist (probably Father Davoust). Father Ter Maat was appointed to Kacebere, Brother Sebastien to Mua, and Father Davoust to Chilonga. The Chilonga diary (January 1905) describes the closing of Kambwiri as the end of an ordeal:

The situation in the new mission station at Kambwili must be pretty bad, since we received a letter from Bishop Dupont enjoining us to send at once 30 carriers to this location to pull out Fr Davoust and bring back all the material ... After a few days we have the pleasure to see Fr Davoust briskly coming down the mountain with all his people singing at the top of their voices. He looks fine in spite of all the privations he had to endure and the opposition he met at Kambwili. According to what he told us, the Devil is certainly very active in this part of the country. Islam is definitely very strong. The Moslems were already numerous when Fr Davoust came in, and they have strengthened their position in a few months' time. Fr Davoust will stay at Kilonga to recover from his ordeal, until he has a new appointment.

Evangelisation had met with stronger opposition than what the missionaries were able to cope with – and as the missionaries saw it, “the devil was strong in the valley!”

The historical background of the Kambwiri saga

The Kambwiri saga has gone down into the history of evangelisation as a marker of failure in the valley, maybe because we find already a number of issues in this early adventure that the pastoral workers for many years to come would be very familiar with: difficulties to work through the chief; people living in fear of the chief; chief and people expecting gifts and handouts; missionaries feeling exploited; entrenchments of religious and cultural concepts (the missionaries in Kambwiri called this “hard-headedness” – a term which is still used today to describe fisher men); people being scattered and “soon evading the missionaries’ influence”. Note also that Kambwiri mission remained dependent on gifts of food from Chilonga and Kacebere to a higher degree than anticipated. In the

Kambwiri story we find already a good number of reasons that are still used today to describe the difficulties of evangelisation in the valley.

Nevertheless, the failure of the White Father's mission in Kambwiri was rooted in very specific historical circumstances that should caution us not to generalise from here. Father Hannecart (1991, 61) furthermore questioned whether the White Fathers really tried hard enough. The White Fathers gave up after only seven months (much of which must have been used for building the house) – maybe not enough time to say that they had really tried. Hannecart had heard the tale that the Superior from the beginning had little faith in the venture among the Bisa; he “was fully convinced that work among the Abemba was the only thing that mattered”. Maybe if they had tried a few miles away from the Muslims and a bit longer, Hannecart asks, maybe it would have worked out very differently?

The White Fathers failed to establish a church, but the Muslims at that time managed to implant Islam. What were the particular historical circumstances that accompanied and favoured the Muslim presence in Kambwiri? The chieftaincy of Kambwiri was only maybe twenty years old when the White Fathers appeared on the scene. Around 1880 (unsure date) the Bisa ivory trader Chivunzu Mukomba (Kambwiri I) had been able in a revolt (or a Chewa civil war) to dispose Mwase wa minga and his loyal Chewa. This revolt succeeded because of access to guns that the trader had acquired from the Arabs.²⁴ Swahili traders (including Salim ibn Nassur) were maintaining an important base in Kambwiri. Throughout his life, Chivunzu Mukomba kept depending heavily on the Arabs to protect himself against the Angoni.²⁵ But some incidences nevertheless show that *he* was in charge and not the Arabs. His signing of treaties with BSAC, expressly against the will of Salim ibn Nassur,²⁶ and also the fact that the ailing chief had welcomed Father Guillemé and seemed keen on a mission (again against the will of the Arabs) indicate strongly that he was trying in a changing world to keep different options open and not to depend alone on the Swahili.

Why did his nephew and successor Salimu Mulilo fall back to a greater extend on the Muslims? The White Fathers narrate that in 1904 the new chief was only a boy; they described him of being 15 years old.²⁷ Such a young chief, we may speculate, depended much on his councillors, who may have been profiting from the trade with the Swahili. Moreover, having just come into power, one of his great concerns may have been his own recognition; his Bisa originated from a place called “Ikuza”, but various families of Nabwalia, Chongo and Kopa had joined into this recent migration to settle in the new country. The White Fathers also wrote about the presence of (chiefless) Batwa of Lake Bangweulu who had become completely absorbed by the Bisa. Many Bisa thus had been only loosely connected to Chivunzu Mukomba. Chivunzu had given them villages and land; but it still had to be seen whether the diverse subjects would show the same loyalty to his young nephew. More complicated still was the position of a royal Chewa remnant left in Kambwiri. Kambwiri's revolution had been provoked by the Chewa queen Ntemba, the

sister of the deposed Chewa king Mwase wa minga, whose descendents were now living with the Bisa but who were hardly content to accept the role of Bisa subjects after the death of Chivunzu Mukomba. Though taking on board Bisa language and customs, they remained very conscious of their origin, and considered themselves the real owners of the land. To understand this, one has to go back to the narratives of the revolt of Chivunzu Mukomba, whose meaning still today is interpreted differently by Chewa and Bisa (see Appendix I. for the narratives). All in all, Salimu Mulilo's position was surely not as strong as the one of Chivunzu. In this situation he may have clung more strongly onto his closest ally, the Arabs. Who knows if otherwise somebody else would use the Arabs for yet another revolution?

In Kambwiri the Muslims had a very missionary spirit and were keen to recruit new members. I have no evidence that the same had been the case in other Swahili strongholds in the valley, for example in Kambombo and among the other Senga chiefs, or among the Kunda, who had an equally long or even longer history of dealing with Muslims than Kambwiri. Chiefs may have adhered to Islam,²⁸ but little or nothing is recorded of Muslim missionary activity in these areas. This may simply be due to lack of recorded material. But one may also speculate that the Muslim missionary activity in Kambwiri was at least partly provoked by the missionary presence of the White Fathers.

The Moslems were already numerous when Fr Davoust came in, and they have strengthened their position in a few months' time. (Chilonga Diary January-March 1905).

The missionaries were irritated by the Muslim campaigns; they interpreted the "wild drumming" of the Muslims calling people to their gatherings and retreats as direct provocation to their own presence; people wanted to make them feel "excommunicated". There is a sign of relief in the diary when the Ramadan was over, but soon afterwards the time for circumcision came for new recruits; again the missionaries experienced the public rallies as direct confrontation. The feeling of being provoked may well have been reciprocal, and it would not be the first time in history that missionary activities of one church or faith provoked those of another.

With the two missionary faiths competing for the same souls, the White Fathers were the ones who lost out. Though the White Fathers clearly indicate that ordinary people a step removed from the chief's influence were sometimes sympathetic to the Christian faith, Islam was more attractive to those near the capital, also for ordinary people. The missionaries wrote about the attraction of the white Muslim dress that many were proud to wear, and also of camping out and chanting during the month of Ramadan.

Maybe the distinct Muslim faith linked up better with the developing Bisa identity of the eastern side of the Luangwa. The Bisa, having come to a new land only one generation ago and trying to define themselves over and against the surrounding Chewa culture (that was becoming more and more Christianised), may have been looking for

visible signs of identity that includes also a religious dimension (see next chapter). One may speculate that the Islamic faith with its different dress code and religious rituals became such a marker of difference. Whatever the reason, Kambwiri is unique in that people have maintained a constant presence of Islam; sometimes this presence was fading, but it has been maintained until today and it is presently experiencing a great revival among the Bisa of Mwanya.²⁹



4. Historical Identities

When the BSAC took over the valley at the turn to the 20th century, peoples needed to be classified and counted, and hierarchies needed to be determined through which the new administration could work and through which taxes could be raised. The administration of people in colonial time was based on tribal identities. Tribal law was studied so that chiefs and headmen could govern the tribe in minor matters; they were seen as the channel for the colonial government through which their orders and policies could reach even tiny villages. Population numbers were very small in the valley according to the early inventories of tax income. On the Eastern bank of the Luangwa, people were classified as Senga, Chewa, Bisa, Kunda, Nsenga, Ambo and Achikunda. Each tribe had to have a clear hierarchy of chiefs (even if a clear hierarchy did not exist as such before colonial rule), and each person had to belong to one specific tribe. But in the valley the administrators became quickly aware that such clear tribal categories did not work here. Though there were clear maps drawn into the District Notebooks with the definitions of boundaries, one finds writings on the margins explaining that things on the ground were not as clear as on the map. Around the palace of a chief, people called themselves with a tribal name, but the further one went away from a centre, the more vague tribal identities became. Many individuals didn't seem to know (nor did they seem to bother) whether they were Chewa, Bisa, Senga or Tumbuka.³⁰ It was also difficult to classify a number of important villages; they were too small to be called chieftaincies (taking into consideration also the fact that there was not enough money in the treasuries of the government to pay allowances to many chiefs), but their alliances to other chiefs had shifted over time, or people were aware of a distinctive origin, or they had been independent or semi-independent. What determined people's identities much more than the tribe was the clan (*mukoka, mukowa*). This is true especially for the matrilineal southern valley and central valley, but to an extent also for the bi-lineal Senga of the north. (The term "matrilineal" in this report refers to inheritance and clan identity, not to the location of marriage; also in the matrilineal south many marriages are "virilocal", meaning the couple resides – at least after some time – in the husbands' village). Clan relationships were inclusive, cutting across tribal markers. So the "*wene Mvula*" (or "*eni Mvula*" or "*bena Mfula*") are found among the Nsenga, Ambo, Achikunda, Kunda, Bisa, and (though here the clans lost in importance) among the Chewa and Senga, and also among the plateau peoples;

however distant, they would consider each other as relatives with specific rights and obligations. The clan determined who is a relative, an in-law, who is from the father's or grandfathers' side, with whom one has a joking relation, whom one buries, and whom one has to offer hospitality. The clans linked (and still link) people together in a network of individual relationships far beyond the tribe.

The matrilineal clan-system in the valley, though it works slightly different from area to area,³¹ has a long history of incorporating all kinds of strangers and refugees into its structure. Seemingly many slaves were given the clan of their masters. Even clanless Tumbuka people coming from the north were easily absorbed: the Zimbos of Tembwe became *wene Zimba*, which sounds similar to the *bashimba* (leopards) which is the Bisa and Ambo nickname of the clan of the leopards, the *bena Ngo*. By this convention, for many Bisa the *wene Zimba* became blood-relatives with the *wene Ngo*. The *wene Mbawo* of Kakumbi (Kunda) have a different origin from the *wene Tembo* of Sandwe (Nsenga) or the *bena Inama* of the Bisa, but all three inherit the paternal *ciwongo* Mwale, and all the Mwales consider each other as relatives. Chief Kakumbi (a *mwine Mbawo*) considers himself a relative of chief Sandwe (a *mwine Tembo*), though he traces his ancestors from the Bangweulu while chief Sandwe traces his to the Lenje of Kabwe.³² In Kakumbi all the *wene Tembo* and *wene Inama* are simply referred to as *wene Mbawo*; they are relatives, though some point as their place of origin to the west, others to the east, other to the north and still others to the south. The clan system was *the* way of incorporating them into the universe of relationships.

Chiefly and tribal identities: the Nsenga South (Nsenga, Ambo, Chikunda)

Williams-Myers asserted that tribal identities in the valley are a phenomenon starting only with the late 18th century but belonging more properly only into the 19th century. In 17th century Portuguese sources describing the lower Luangwa no reference is made to the Ansenga; in the 18th century the term "Senga" of various sources (later producing many misunderstanding whether they referred actually to the Senga north or the Nsenga south) seem to refer mostly to an area / a location rather than to a specific people. The typical Nsenga clans (like the *bena Nguluwe*, *bena Mumba*, *bena Sakala*, *bena Lungu*, *bena Mwanza*, *bena Tembo*, *bena Njovu*, *bena Nyendwa*) were long present (some of them probably for more than a 1000 years), but the tribal identity of a people calling itself Ansenga is a 19th century phenomenon that became cemented (so Williams-Myers) in colonial times. Though several clans attained a dominant role in specific areas already many centuries ago, one would not speak of tribal identities in today's sense.

The first occasion of cohesion between several interlocking clans in Unsenga over a large area is today sometimes attributed to the *bena Nguluwe* (or *wene*

Nguluwe...): they are acknowledged by several clans to have played at least a ritual role over other clans (maybe as an acknowledgement of their early arrival), and their widespread role is attested also by some archaeological evidence.³³ Later many lineages and clans came under the influence of the Chewa Phiri clan from the east, and the Lala/Lenje immigrants (under the *bena Nyendwa/ bena Nyangu*) from the west.³⁴ This was the first time that the area of Unsenga experienced chieftaincy in today's sense and a fixed political hierarchy. Chieftaincy spread also to other clans. But neither the dominance of the *Nguluwe* clan (and others), nor of the *Nyendwa*, nor of the *Phiri* clan connoted the tribal identity that we call today Nsenga. Different people had entered Unsenga for centuries from all directions; society or societies were held together by the inclusive clan structure that was partly superseded by specific clans (at least for ritual purposes) and later by chiefs.

The "Lala" invasion from the west started during the 17th century and after a number of immigrations led to the establishment of the present *bena Nyendwa* Ambo chieftaincies (Mboloma or Kankomba, Mboshya, Luwembe and Mwape) that stand in close relation to the Swaka and Lala. Several histories have been recorded and are available.³⁵ Chiefs Luwembe and Mwape both referred me to the works of Stefaniszyn, of which Luwembe even kindly lent me a copy, when I inquired about Ambo history. Apart from the *bena Nyendwa*, also other clans of the Ambo (notably *bena Tembo*, *bena Nyangu*, *bena Nswi* and *bena Mpande*) see the arrival of their ancestors in the valley in connection with the descent from the Lala area of the west. But each clan in fact has distinct lineages of different origins and histories, though they consider each other as relatives. Kinship in that sense is socially constructed rather than genetically. The Ambo language (called Chiumbo) is a Bemba-Lala dialect, but many Ambo have taken on largely a Nsenga dialect, and the valley Ambo today are often called "Ambo-Nsenga" to distinguish them from their plateau counterparts. The Chewa influence of the Phiri clan (coming then from immediately north of the Zambezi in what is today Mozambique) came about not only through conquest (as the Chewa oral narratives want to have it), but more often through marriages into influential clans and alliances.

During the 19th century, two powerful groups intruded into Unsenga from the South, mingled, raided, and bringing lasting changes: the Achikunda and the Angoni. The Achikunda developed on Portuguese territory as slave-armies as a response to the rapidly expanding slave trade in the absence of effective government structures. Traders from diverse origins (often ex-slaves themselves vaguely associated with the Portuguese by blood – traced according to the law through the mother – or by alliance) built up their own armies through raiding or voluntary enslavements in times of famines and wars in return for food and protection, and such armies internalized during the latter 17th century and during the 18th century their corporate identity as "Achikunda" (*kukunda* in Shona meaning to vanquish). It was especially during the 19th century that the armies of warlords such as the infamous Kanyemba and his son-in-law Matakemba (but also a number

of others) harassed the Luangwa valley. The ancestor of today's chief Nyalugwe in the valley for example was a Chikunda trader who depended on Matakanya.³⁶ He is from the Tembo clan, while most clan-members of the same clan outside his family consider themselves as Nsenga rather than Chikunda. "Many of us are *wene Tembo*, but we have different origins and ancestors."³⁷ Some Nsenga villages obtained guns through marriages with Achikunda leaders; others hired Achikunda mercenaries for defence purposes. Some valley chiefs (for example Luwembe) managed to resist Achikunda control.³⁸ Achikunda raids forced people in the Nsenga valley to unite, learn about modern warfare and the importance on alliances.

In 1835, Zwangendaba with his Ngoni army crossed the Zambezi (not far from the mouth of the Luangwa) and passed slowly through Nsenga country on their way north to Tanzania. The Nsenga were not accustomed to Ngoni warfare and resistance was limited. Zwangendaba in turn was impressed by Nsenga medicine-men (some of whom he employed) and by the *mwavi* ordeal (poison ordeal used to determine witches and for other divinations). In 1863 Mpezeni came back into Nsenga country through the Luangwa to ravage Nsenga country for a number of years before moving to Chipata area around 1870; some chiefs now were better prepared to fight, having been put on constant alert through the Achikunda raids, and could resist single Ngoni attacks, but nevertheless few could resist repeated attacks over a long period of time.³⁹ Some found refuge in the Luangwa valley (chief Mwanjwanthu, for example, fled to chief Msoro – both are of the same clan – *wene Sakala* – and consider each other therefore as brothers.)⁴⁰ The Ngoni are said to have been keen on the beautiful Nsenga women and many of the incorporated Nsenga men also rose into high positions in Ngoni society; the way how Ngoni society and language became henceforth marked by the Nsenga has been documented.⁴¹ Incidentally, many Nsenga-Ngoni were involved in raiding other valley chiefs.⁴²

Tribal Nsenga identity in the Nsenga valley is to a good extent the result of the continuous Achikunda and Ngoni raids. In the later part of the 19th century, such defence depended upon access to weapons and connections. No single family or lineage could survive any longer alone; people who had been scattered before were forced to concentrate into fortified villages to defend themselves better.⁴³ Valley chieftaincies grew by accepting refugees from the plateau; they provided an alternative to Ngoni rule. It has been documented for the Nsenga chief Sandwe and the Kunda chief Msoro in the valley that they could to a great deal successfully ward off Angoni raids until the advent of colonial rule because of their increased numbers through incorporated refugees and their access to Achikunda mercenaries.⁴⁴

When the British took over, they cemented the positions of chiefs that they found in the valley. If they did not find a chief with whom they could deal, they created one.⁴⁵ Tribal identification depended on the chief one was living with now; but for most people the network of their clans remained more important markers of identity. A number of people working in Nsenga area have remarked that (in general, and excluding chiefly

families) people have little sense of tribal history. During this research I too found it difficult to inquire about tribal history. But I found it easy to inquire about clan- and lineage history. Indeed, many case studies revealed that the ancestors of a lineage had come (be it through marriage or as refugees) from other parts of the valley or from the plateau. Maybe one can say that in the southern valley for most people who have no direct connection with the royal families, tribal allegiance is rather accidental and even interchangeable; clan affiliation is not. Looking through history, the chiefs' positions had become cemented through a monopoly on trade, then through outside threats and raids, then through the British system of indirect rule, and today through the politics of wildlife protection and the gifts and handouts of the tourist industry.

The Kunda

Also the Kunda of Mambwe district have largely taken over a Nsenga dialect, and the clan relationships make them relatives with the Nsenga and Ambo⁴⁶ They share with each other largely (but with some exceptions) a supportive history, and Ambo, Nsenga and Kunda have intermarried very freely.⁴⁷ It is unlikely that there were any people calling themselves Kunda in the valley before the 1840s.⁴⁸ Concerning other peoples that mixed with the Kunda, still today there is a certain awareness of Awetwe or Abetwa and/or Batwa whom the Kunda lineages found on their journey down into the valley, or with whom they mixed while still on the plateau, people "who did not know what to do with elephant tusks, who were just sitting on them and who had no clothes." In return for cloth they gladly acknowledged the supremacy of Mambwe and his relatives (a story repeated in different parts of the valley) and were incorporated into the polity.⁴⁹ In chief Msoro's and Mnkhanja's area a number of scattered Chewa families were found and absorbed. There exist different (and conflicting) folkloric accounts about the histories of the Kunda chiefs (Nsefu, Jumbe, Malama, Mnkhanja, Msoro, and Kakumbi, and also about "deposed" chieftaincies like Tindi and Chibanda), and in the Appendix I give back one brief account that somebody narrated during the *malaila* celebrations.⁵⁰

Kunda history became very turbulent with the coming of the Angoni. According to Poole, chief Mnkhanja was taken captive and died on the way into Ngoni land (his body was left to rot on a path); his successor Kawindula was killed in battle and his nephew Mnkhanja II was taken with a good number of his people into Ngoni exile. So was chief Tindi. Mambwe III (Kavimba) lost most of his headmen who fled either to Kambwiri or still further away; his own son Chiaula allied himself with the Ngoni, and after Kavimba's death managed to kill his father's brother who was the heir to the throne. While Sefu (the next heir in line) and his brother Jumbe went to Lake Malawi to the Yao in Kotakota into voluntary exile (where they were to pick up their Arab names), the opportunist Chiaula filled the vacuum and became a powerful chief. Kunda consciousness is

acquainted with the defeats by the Ngoni, but nevertheless people tell also of won battles in which they tricked the Ngoni, faking defeat and surrender, or revenging at night in a rather unmanly manner.

While Ambo history in the valley is closely knit with Lala and Nsenga history, the Kunda immigrants further north found a country with few people and large areas of land even devoid of settlements; maybe this helped to build up a distinctive sense of identity. Nevertheless, what applies to the Ambo and Nsenga applies also to the Kunda: the different lineages trace their ancestors into all different directions. To give an example, in Nsefu today we find villages inherited by the *wene Ng'oma* that trace their ancestor to Vunda (chief Chifunda) in the north, villages led by the *wene Lungu* with ancestors both from Luangwa in the south and Chitungulu in the north, a *wene Mpelo* village from the Bisa west (along the Luapula it is a Batwa clan), *awene Mwanza* villages from Kalindawalo in the east, *abena Ng'uni* Bisa from Mulamba-Kambwiri, etc. Then one has many Chewa from the east, some of them newcomers, others who have been there already for generations.⁵¹ Once one starts looking into any specific village in detail one finds still more diversification of origin when looking at the specific lineages. What makes people "Kunda" is the allegiance to the chief of the territory in which they happen to live; many maybe would be equally happy to call themselves something else.

The Chewa of Mwase wa minga and the Bisa of Kambwiri in the central valley

The first written reference to the Chewa of Mwase wa minga in the central valley in the Chibande⁵² comes from the accounts of Manoel Pereira who travelled along the Luangwa in 1796.⁵³ Also Lacerda referred to the Chewa when he crossed the Luangwa in 1798. He was thinking of obtaining land in the country of chief Mwase (wa minga) for a base half way from Tete to Mwata Kasembe near Lake Mweru; Mwata Kasembe considered even the land east of the Luangwa to be dependent on him.⁵⁴ Later in 1824, the Portuguese bought a plot along the Matizi from Mwase.⁵⁵ The Chewa along the Luangwa were an offshoot (like Mwase Lundazi) of Mwase Kasungu, who wanted access to the Luangwa in view of his expanding trade empire. But because of the turbulences and harassments during the second half of the 19th century and the ever changing alliances on the plateau, it was difficult to keep and support the Chewa chieftaincy in the valley. When Livingstone toured the Luangwa valley in 1865, he found the Chewa already harassed by the Bisa from the West and also by the Ngoni from the East. Some time later (maybe around 1880) Mwase was overthrown by the Bisa ivory trader and nobleman, Kambwiri Chivunzu Mukomba, who himself was persuaded into the coup by Mwase's sister Ntemba in a civil revolt against her brother. At the time of the takeover, most Chewa lived in one single fortified village in Chibendame.⁵⁶ Being pushed by Ntemba, Kambwiri's soldiers

killed Mwase and most of his people; the main plot happened basically in one single night (see Appendix). A number of different Bisa families from the western side of the Luangwa followed Kambwiri to take possession of their new country, and the small Chewa remnant of Ntemba was incorporated and intermarried into the new Bisa polity. When the BSAC took over, and when the White Fathers opened their mission in the valley, they were dealing with a Bisa chief supported by Swahili. (Note that today's chieftainships of Kazembe and Chitungulu in the valley are of later (probably 19th century) origin.

The Bisa sense of identity is special until today. The British tried to take the Luangwa as a natural boundary between its districts. The Bisa east of the Luangwa belong culturally and historically to their relatives across the river, but they became incorporated into the Eastern Province into a different cultural environment, that was often hostile to them, the Chewa regarding them as intruders that should be "pushed back" across the Luangwa. The defence of distinctive Bisa customs became paramount, which provoked Kambwiri II (Salimu Mulilo) to clash with the British authorities, when he ordered the killings of *finkula* (children born with upper teeth first).⁵⁷ Salimu Mulilo in consequence was deposed in 1920 and arrested for child murder; he died in prison in Livingstone. Just three years later, according to the District Notebooks, his successor (Bulyani) ordered the killing of his own child (a *cinikula*?) and was also deposed and imprisoned.⁵⁸ Both chiefs seemed to have risked a very confrontational stance in their defence of what they considered "Bisa custom".

After the deposal of the fourth Kambwiri (note that all three Kambwiri's after Chivunzu were deposed by the British for various offences), the Chewa chieftainship of Mwanya was reinstalled in 1946; since then the Chewa royal family (speaking Bisa, being Bisa through the fathers' lines, and having no distinctive Chewa customs like the *Nyau*) are holding onto a minority rule.

The Bisa are far from being a coherent people. People who crossed over had come from many different families. Already on the western side of the Luangwa, so wrote Stuart Marks in his study,

"the Valley Bisa, a population in flux, have never been a homogeneous group. To be sure, the chiefs belonged to the Ng'ona clan, but those under them were a mixture of lineages which moved about as circumstances dictated."⁵⁹

As said above for the Nsenga, also for the valley Bisa the prime duty and obligation is to the own lineage and clan. Some lineages of different clans had been intrinsically connected with the takeover of Kambwiri (for example families of the *bena Mvula*, *bena Nswi*, and *bena Muti*); they have their own burial grounds until today. But other lineages have not much to do with the royal family, and some make it a point to stress that their ancestors were there already in Nabwalya area before the royal *bena Ng'ona* arrived, and they have their own legends and mythology.⁶⁰ Saying this, however, since their crossing of the Luangwa, and not stopped by the deposal of the last Kambwiri in 1946, the Bisa of

Mwanya have been involved in a struggle to maintain or construct a distinctive “Bisa” identity.⁶¹ Even what concerns the knowledge and practice of witchcraft, the Bisa are known (and feared) throughout the valley for their distinctive types. In how far the history of evangelisation has linked up or failed to link up with people’s sense of identity remains to be answered. Among the Bisa majority at least I heard much discontent; mentioned was the stress (in the past) on the Tumbuka language in church services that had been introduced with the argument that people must become incorporated into the larger deanery and Diocese. People however were and are quite conscious of their distinctive background, and some feel that this background is not really valued by the church.

The Senga

The Senga north shows a greater coherence and also tribal identification than the south. Tribal history is narrated at important funerals of group headmen, at feasts, or inaugurations of chiefs; many group headmen still today maintain a spirit shrine (*kabvuwa*) for their predecessors, which gives an awareness of history in which their authority is vested. It is easy to inquire about Senga history, easier than what concerns tribal history in the south. In what follows, I look at the narrative of the arrival of Kambombo a bit closer (see the Appendix for the narratives of Tembwe; I did not collect the narratives of Chikwa and Chifunda.). It should be noted that the story of Kambombo is not representative of the whole of Senga country; though he is senior chief today, the chiefs in the past were considered to be equal next to each other, and the history of each Senga chief is interwoven with the people he found. However, what is said below for the encounter of the Senga with the Tumbuka of Chama, sheds also light on the encounter of the other Senga chiefs with the previous inhabitants (Tumbuka and early Bisa) in their location and the construction of Senga identity.⁶²

The first Kambombo, Chiweza “Goma”, and the other Senga chiefs came from Luba country, from Mwata Yamwi. The reason for leaving their home country was protest against their father, the chief, who had sent them into his gardens for weeding. Chiweza and his people first settled among the Bisa of Chibesa Kunda, where Chiweza stayed for many years. Chiweza was given a wife by Chibesa Kunda;⁶³ by that time she was still a very young girl called Mwali, not yet able to bear children. Chiweza was a rich man. He was a trader and he had much cloth.⁶⁴ At some time Chiweza and his group left to find their own country. Their relative Chiwale had already gone ahead.⁶⁵ Before they reached the Luangwa, they left Lundu behind. At Mpyana Kunda they found people. Then they also left Mulopwe at his present place. Only the groups of Chiweza and his nephew Kamphata crossed the Luangwa. Chikwa and Chifunda (on the Eastern side of the Luangwa came in separate migrations). When they had crossed and wandered around, they saw two mountains: Chiweza saw the Mphala Usenga, and Kamphata the Chiungwe. They separated, each one going to his mountain to found a country.

Chiweza's group consisted mainly of men; they had hardly any women with them. Chiweza came without any sister or aunt or niece. From the Luangwa Chiweza's group first came to the Livumbu river, where Chiweza found Chili. "Are you alone?", he asked Chili. "No, we are two of us. There is also Mpyana Kamimbe." From there, Chiweza went to Chimilila (the name means: we are only resting here, but we will go on), where he found Mungwalala, who told him: "*Nine Kazilondo mukhala pa wanthu.*" Then he went to Chama. Chama wanted to have Chiweza as his friend, not as his enemy, and he gave him his daughter Mulolwa in marriage. From Chama, Chiweza went up the hill Mphala Usenga, came down and settled. He called himself "Goma", because he had found his country ("*tagoma calo!*") His village was called Chipula Malume; men were doing all the work that is usually done by women, as they had no women with them. Men even did the grinding. To all the headmen or chiefs he had encountered, Chiweza gave a piece of black cloth which they wore around their shoulders to distinguish them from ordinary people. Thus the Tumbuka leaders were very happy with the arrival of the Senga. Chiweza was trading with the Portuguese. The Tumbuka had no proper clothing, and they did not know what to do with elephants. When they killed an elephant, they just ate the meat and used the tusks to sit on them. They were very happy when the Senga took and sold their tusks and gave them some cloth. Chiweza was trading with the Portuguese.⁶⁶ The name "Senga" comes from the fact that they were begging for land (*kusenga*). All leaders he encountered, Chiweza asked who their real leader was, and all leaders only gave their own names: Chili said: "it's me", Chama said: "it's me", and Mungulube said: "it's me." To all of them Chiweza replied: "nobody of you can surpass me."

As Mwali was not yet mature, Mulolwa, the second wife, was the first one to bear a child to Chiweza. The child was sick, and divination brought out that he was sick because he was born of the second wife. He should make this child his heir.⁶⁷ The child was named Kasolwe [*solwe-solwe* denoting the first- and only born, a royal title]. When the child was born, Chiweza called Chama and the other headmen, and he asked them to give him the honour as their chief by rolling and clapping (*kulamba*).⁶⁸ All the leaders acknowledged Chiweza as their chief and did the *kulamba*. The first one to do so was Chama. Hence he was called "Mtaya calo" (meaning the one who threw the country away). The only one who did not do the *kulamba* on the occasion of the birth of Kasolwe was Mungwalala. He just turned round and went back to his village. The name of Mungwalala was Bengu. Chiweza sent soldiers after him, who killed him and cut off his head. Hence the name of the village Dumuka, meaning "to cut the head". The village of Mungwalala was dispersed, and it took a very long time until people resettled and another Mungwalala was chosen (Kampuzunga, a son of Bengu).⁶⁹ Chiweza was recognized as leader, and the people were happy with him, because he gave them cloth and other things. Chiweza had also other children with Mulolwa, and when Mwali had grown to maturity he also had children with Mwali. When Chiweza died, he was buried at his settlement in Chipula Malume.

The rest of the narrative is given back in the appendix. Chiweza "Goma's" story is rather typical for the valley: a tiny group of traders, linked to long distant trade, cloth and weapons, set itself up as chiefs over a scattered, decentralised local group of people (in this case Tumbuka), and in the process a new tribe was formed. Culturally speaking (if one

ignores the absence of cows in Senga culture) one could place the Senga rather close to the Tumbuka in what concerns language, virilocality of marriages (including polygamous marriages), the factual absence of the clan system (though the rudiments are still there), or the relatively high marriage payments that are more and more regarded (as in Angoni culture) as transferring to the husband rights over wives and children, and the high percentage of polygamy. Yet the narrative of Senga history deals nearly exclusively not with the Tumbuka but with the royal side of the incoming Luba or Bisa. When people around Chama recall their history, it is Senga history of a few incoming individuals rather than Tumbuka history. Though everybody acknowledges that the incoming Luba or Bisa or “Senga” found Tumbuka settlements, (and in some parts like Zaongo little settlements of people related to the Bisa) nothing seems left in public memory of events that preceded the coming of the Senga chiefs. Even for the descendents of the Tumbuka, historical awareness starts only with the arrival of Chiweza “Goma”. Today the date 1790 appears often in the Senga’s own narratives for this event. The colonial administration had given this date in the District Notebooks of Lundazi, in which they referred to an estimate of Lane Poole.⁷⁰

The Luba identity of the aristocracy is strong. The narrative stresses that Chiweza himself was born in Luba country, though the Luba part in the story is not very original. The reason given for Chiweza’s departure from Luba-country (resentment against weeding in his father’s fields) is rather similar to the departure legends of other Luba migrants like the Bemba, Bisa, Aushi, Lala, or Ng’umbo. Though it is not impossible that Chiweza came directly from Luba, the remainder of the narrative contradicts it. It says that he had stayed a long time with the Bisa, lived at Chibesa Kunda, that his first wife, a little girl, was given to him by chief Chibesa Kunda, and that his first-born child was only born near Chama after he had reached, and that the child’s mother was a Tumbuka woman. Chiweza therefore must have been still quite young when he came to Chama. Notwithstanding that the term “Bisa” in the time of the migration was a very loose term and that the Bisa hardly had the tribal cohesion and identity that developed in later years, the Luba connection in the narrative seems to go via the Bisa connection.⁷¹ That Chiweza is said to be born in Luba country indicates that Luba is an important marker of identity for the Senga aristocracy who are surrounded now by people who trace their origin in the East rather than the West. Luba has to be present in the first chapter of the migration narrative. The Senga, having adopted custom and language from the Tumbuka, would hardly consider themselves a Bisa offshoot; instead they view themselves (like the Kunda or the Ambo with a similar Bisa connection) on equal footing with the Bisa, meaning originating like them directly from Luba.

When Lacerda crossed the Luangwa in 1798 just a bit south of Senga location, the Senga were not known to him; he did not mention the Senga at all. Lacerda had a big interest in the area where he crossed, as he was thinking of establishing at the Matizi river a Portuguese colony (an area which belongs today to chief Kazembe). Lacerda recorded

in that area the presence of “Wizas and Botumbucas”. That the Senga are not mentioned does not mean that Chiweza (or indeed Chifunda, Chikwa and Tembwe) had not yet arrived; it does mean however that Senga identity was not yet formed; people were known as Wizas and Tumbucas. At the beginning of the colonial administration, however, an awareness was found in the valley and also among the neighbouring people that the Senga had been there already for centuries,⁷² an indicator of the interiorisation of Senga identity by that time and an acknowledgement of that identity by the neighbours (for example the Bemba).⁷³

Chiweza’s journey eastwards finds its parallels all along the valley (Kunda, Ambo, Bisa and some early Nsenga dynasties). Roberts (1976, 91) suggested that the end of the 18th century was not yet marked by centralisation and cohesion, but rather by fission and migration, and one migratory trend went from the West into the Luangwa valley and across the Luangwa. The movement of the Senga aristocracy (like that of the Ambo or Kunda) would have been part of this trend.

The scale of the Luba migration into Senga country was very small. The narrative of Kambombo stresses that the Luba or Bisa immigrants consisted just of a small number of men with hardly any woman. Furthermore, according to the Senga narrative of Kambombo, the country that Chiweza inherited was only sparsely populated. Chiweza found only a handful of scattered villages of decentralized Tumbuka people, who were not linked to any major trading network. 100 years later, in 1910, the British counted 26 villages in chief Kambombo’s area, with an average size of 30 huts each and a total of 572 male adults.⁷⁴ By then the population had been enriched by further Tumbuka immigrants (for example the Tumbuka of Kanjumba, who were given land by Kambombo). From here one may guess how small the population was during the time of Chiweza. One may imagine the origins of the Senga tribe as a few hands full of Bisa migrants plus their slaves over not more than a few hundred scattered Tumbuka.

The oldest settlements in the area of Kambombo are said to be the Tumbuka villages of Chili, Mpyana Kamimbe, Mungwalala, Mungulube and Chama.⁷⁵ There are still a number of other old Tumbuka villages (like Kajumba), but they are said to have come after the arrival of the Senga. But even for the preceding Tumbuka villages, history only really started with the arrival of the Senga. For example, when I asked Chama about the very first Chama, I was given the name of Musolomoka. But Musolomoka was the very Chama who was found by the Senga; no Tumbuka individuals are remembered in Chama from the time before the arrival of the Senga. The same happened in Mungwalala: I was given the name of Bwengu (others say Juzi) as the first Mungwalala, in both cases the very one who was found by the Senga on their arrival. Even in the spirit shrines (*tukabvuwa*) of the Tumbuka group-headmen, the line of ancestors starts only with the leader who was encountered by the incoming Senga. And also the name of the striking landmark of the mountain called Mphala Usenga has to do with the Senga. That the Senga had the

power of naming is quite a contrast to the fact that they quickly lost their own language in subsequent history.⁷⁶

Tew, as quoted by Brelsford (1956, 93-94), gave a helpful distinction, in that she differentiated three different Tumbuka layers in the Luangwa valley as well as elsewhere: the first consisting of ancient, widely scattered, decentralised, small-scale Tumbuka settlements, not linked to the long distant trade; secondly the Tumbuka group of Mlowoka, an ivory trader from the East in contact with the Swahili, who started his dynasty in Kamanga at around 1780-1800 and who introduced many new (Arab) elements into Tumbuka culture that fell under his influence; and thirdly the wave of Tumbuka refugees that resulted from the onslaught of the Angoni on the Tumbuka of Kamanga in the 1850s. Kajumba of Kambombo for example falls into the third category, while one would place the five ancient Tumbuka villages of Kambombo mentioned above into the first category, as they were said to have been unaware of the value of elephant tusks.

With the arrival of the Senga immigrants life changed for the Tumbuka to such an extent that their descendants came to identify themselves so strongly with the new Senga identity that there was no need any longer to narrate own Tumbuka history as a separate form of identity. The Tumbuka villages became firmly incorporated into the Senga polity; they intermarried, and Tumbuka leaders from the beginning were given Induna-ship at the palace; they merged under one new polity called Senga; the induna-ship of both Tumbuka and Senga villages became hereditary only through incorporation into the Senga-polity. Chama was called "*Mtaya calo*" ("the one who gave the country away") by his fellow Tumbuka, but this must be put into perspective by the fact that Chama's grandsons became the chiefs of the new Senga tribe in Kambombo, because Chama's daughter Mulolwa, though being only second wife, constituted the main line of chiefly descent until today. The descendents of Chama therefore can hardly be called losers in the Senga affair. While originally the term "Senga" alluded to the incoming Bisa people begging for land, it came to denote later the new polity of Bisas and Tumbukas. A new tribal identity called "Senga" had been created for both groups. As far as the Tumbuka identified themselves with the Senga, there was little need to keep genealogies reaching into pre-Senga era; since they took positions within the Senga polity, also their own political history in the new sense started only with the arrival of Kambombo.⁷⁷

With the exception of Mungwalala, people say today that the take-over of Chiweza was peaceful, and that the Tumbuka rather readily submitted under his rule. Chiweza was a political intruder, but less of a cultural intruder. The immigrants at large took over both language and culture from their subjects. There were compelling forces – beyond the gifts of cloth – that may have facilitated the scattered Tumbuka of the valley to accept a new political and centralised identity in a rapidly changing world: the ravages of the slave trade that was wiping out isolated families and lineages. The Bemba were rapidly expanding in the west, but also Bisa, Chewa, Swahili, and later the Achikunda, Angoni and diverse warlords, all were drawn into the slave trade and all were looking for

elephants and slaves in the valley.⁷⁸ That the Senga escaped annihilation and even managed to resist the Angoni onslaught was due to their level of centralization and their access to guns and powder. Though at least one Kambombo was killed, the Senga present themselves today as having successfully evaded the Angoni and even leading counterattacks against them. In the latter half of the 19th century also the Achikunda coming from the Zambezi raided at times as far north as the upper Luangwa. Surviving along the Luangwa meant to be part of a larger and centralized polity, and depended on access to guns and powder through trade. The Senga welcomed the Swahili who maintained a continuous presence in Kambombo.

Senga aristocracy managed to set itself apart as a political class of rulers. The cruel burial rites of Senga chiefs and important Senga headmen testify to this. Aristocracy was not restricted to chieftaincy but extended to many important villages; many of today's Senga group-headmen trace their ancestry back to the royal line. The title of the Senga group-headman Kazembe, for example, goes back to a grandchild of Kasolwe (Kambombo II);⁷⁹ the titles both of Kapilingishya and Kapwanyanga (Chikhalangha) have to do with a daughter of Kacila Fitanda (Kambombo VII);⁸⁰ the title of Malama goes back to a son of a Kambombo, while the title of Ng'anjo Chibwato in Tembwe's area goes back to a grandson of Muzieba (Kambombo VI).⁸¹

The Kambombo narrative mentions a feature that became characteristic for the Senga in the valley: the presence of indigenous cotton. People are proud to say that this cotton was of a different (higher) quality to the commercial cotton that was introduced lately. It is said that the trees were bigger and that they produced bigger cotton balls. The Senga were famous for their cotton, which they traded with the neighbouring tribes, and they used to make their own cotton clothing. Gouldsbury and Sheane (1911, 14, 24, 337) described it as high quality cotton able to fetch a high price in London. Apart from cotton, the Senga also used to sell tobacco, e.g. to the Bemba. It was through trade that the Senga became known to their neighbours with their distinctive identity as Senga; their goods made them to be valued as trading partners, or caused them to be raided.

It was in the third generation after Chiweza that a Kambombo is reported to have been killed by the Angoni. (Chimbundu, son of Muzieba, son of Mwimba, son of Chiweza). But the narrative says that already long before Chimbundu the Angoni were a threat to the Senga. Lane Poole narrated that the first ravages against the southern Senga (chief Chifunda) had started already on the northern journey of the Angoni in the late 1830s, which lead chief Chifunda to beg the Chewa chief Chinunda for protection against the Angoni. A short time of peace came when Zwangendaba moved north along the plateau, bypassing the Senga and ravaging instead the Tumbuka and Fipa. Zwangendaba died (around 1845), brothers and sons quarrelled and fought over succession, and eventually his son Mombera moved back south to trouble the Henga, Poka, Nkamanga (all related to the Tumbuka) and the Tumbuka, part of whose refugees seemingly came to populate Kambombo's country. During the 1850s it were the Angoni of Mombera who

frequently came down to the *marambo* to trouble the Senga.⁸² A second catastrophe occurred for the Senga when Mperembe with his army decided to join his brother Mombera in Tumbuka country.⁸³ While Mpezeni later came to the southern part of the Luangwa valley to ravage the Ansenga, Kunda, Ambo and Bisa, his brothers Mombera and Mperembe were in charge of disturbing the Senga of the north.

Senga identity

The Senga today proudly distinguish themselves from the Tumbuka, whom they regard as strongly influenced by Angoni culture, and this is not just for the absence of cows in Senga cultural life. I was told several times that prior to 1930 Senga culture was much more marked by their Luba heritage than it is now, and even today the Senga understand themselves as having kept trends both of the matrilineal and of the patrilineal systems of their founding members. Even if the marriage practice may as a matter of fact hardly differ from that of the Tumbuka, the Senga often stress that their main marriage payment, the *cimalo*, is different from the *lobola* of the Angoni. As I was told in Chikwa, “the children for us belong to both sides, father and mother, and if the marriage breaks up, they can go to either side, even if the *cimalo* has been fully paid. In Tumbuka and Ngoni culture, the man buys with the *lobola* payments the rights to both wife and children. This is not the case in Senga culture.” I was told that the present marriage payments, which are rather high (today easily exceeding a million Kwacha, though the money is not always paid), entered into the equation only during the 1930s as a result of migrant workers commodifying their bride services. “Before that time, a man paid a ring of beads and gave a hoe or a chicken to the family of the wife; that was all. That was the real Senga custom.” Some add that in the past the marriage was more strongly matrilineal (but virilocal), and some go as far as to say that the husband in Senga custom prior to the 1930s was understood to be just the “*tambala*” (cock) – similar to the Nsenga culture – meaning he was there only to beget children, who did not belong to him but to the wife’s family. This however is a thing of the distant past; things have changed with the high marriage payments. The matrilineal impact on the Senga is stronger in Tembwe, Chikwa or Chifunda than it is in Kambombo; apart from Kambombo’s area the inheritance of villages still follows the matrilineal side.

The marriage payments have obtained a very legal dimension in Senga land: If something happens to the wife (death) or divorce takes place before the *cimalo* has been fully paid to her family, then the husband will not obtain freedom of remarriage until this money has been paid, an issue which can be pressed through the courts. Social organisation and the sense of belonging is markedly different in Senga culture from the cultures of the southern valley. At the death of a husband, for example, children remain attached to their father’s plot, and it is much rarer that a widow is being chased away from this

plot, as is the case in the matrilineal societies across the river. This different sense of belonging has also spiritual repercussions in what concerns the understanding of death, of the *ciwanda* (spirit of the dead), and of the meaning of the *kususula* (cleansing after death of the spouse bringing freedom to remarry), in which respect the Senga differentiate themselves strongly from their Bisa and Luba roots (see chapter 8). Often when I made in a meeting a comparison with the Bemba customs of inheritance and their notion of the *ciwanda* I was told: “But we are not like the Bemba. Our culture is different.”

Most tribes in Zambia have seen in recent history efforts to sustain (if not even to create) markers of identity. In what concerns Senga folklore and festivals, the Kwenje ceremony and Miyombe celebrations have been established during the last decades, centred on the chiefs and with organising committees based in the towns. Yet as a real spiritual marker of identity typical for the Senga one could mention the Mulenga cult (often referred to as Kamulenga). The cult is very old, and it is still alive from Kambombo to Chifunda and also on the western side of the Luangwa in Fulaza and Pondo. When rain fails, spirit shrines for Mulenga (Kamulenga) are erected at crossroads and decorated, seeds and beer are brought and dancing takes place. These Kamulenga shrines are different from the spirit shrines for ancestors (*tukabvuwa*) which can be seen throughout the Senga valley in the villages of important group-headmen. People whom I asked were proud to have kept the Kamulenga cult, yet nobody was too sure whether it was a Luba or Tumbuka custom. As the Senga are proud to stress that they successfully mixed the two, most say that it is both. “All the Luba people had similar customs, as the Bemba also venerate Mulenga, but also the Tumbuka had their cults. The Kamulenga cult came from both sides.”

The Chewa of Kazembe

According to Poole, the chieftaincy of Kazembe goes back (seemingly) to a Chewa hunting exhibition maybe in the middle of the 19th century sent out by Mwase Kasungu, that made itself independent on seeing the fertile lands in the valley.⁸⁴ According to some members of the royal family,⁸⁵ the first Kazembe – the name meaning ambassador (of chief Mwase Kasungu) – who entered the valley was Nguwa, who settled at the Matizi at the same time as the first Senga chiefs arrived from the west (the end of the 18th century),⁸⁶ but many Senga say that Kazembe came only much later. The chiefs are *wene Mwanza* through the mother’s line. Nguwa found Tumbuka people in the country (the Mwina Mutondo, a Zimba) whom they kicked out. Some of the Tumbuka are said to have committed mass suicide after being robbed of their country by drowning themselves in a pond of the Mtembwa river (see the appendix for the narrative). Nguwa himself was said (by some) to have been killed in a fight with the Bisa. Also his granddaughter Chitty (Kazembe IV), who moved from the Matizi to the present location, is said to have been

struggling with the Bisa. The relationship between Kazembe and his Senga neighbour Chifunda is said in contrast to have been supportive, especially during the time of Angoni raids. The royal family of Kazembe regards the whole country up to chief Mwanya as Chewa and historically theirs (chief Chitungulu in between as their glorified headman). In Chitungulu there are narratives of hunting groups of Chewa entering the valley from the plateau (the ancestors of group-headman Mpipa) and finding chiefless people “who did not know what to do with ivory” and intermarrying with them. But the population is very mixed, coming from all sides, and people speak more Tumbuka (Senga) and Wiza than Chewa. Like in Mwanya, there is no Nyau in Kazembe nor Chitungulu.

Some dynamics of valley tribal identities

Life in the valley was based economically mainly on hunting, and hunting peoples tend towards dispersion. Animals avoid big villages, but to kill a bigger animal far from the village implies the problem of carrying it over long distances. Also the style of cultivation (often shifting cultivation) encouraged dispersion and living in small settlements. People in the valley had entered from all possible directions and in any given area were hardly unified; lineage segments were the main focus of a person’s identity. Also the hunting traditions that involved excessive use of medicines (some very near to what we may call witchcraft) increased suspicions between different lineages.

The key factor to tribal identity in the valley (Nsenga, Chikunda, Ambo, Kunda, Bisa, Chewa, Senga) was long distance trade, the slave and ivory trade and the accompanying raids. Starting with the end of the 18th century small lineage segments could not continue to survive by themselves. In the middle of the 19th Century, the Senga, Chewa, Bisa and Kunda chiefs, themselves traders, had been firmly linked to the trade networks of Swahili traders, and the ruling classes of the valley were well aware of what was happening at the coast of Mozambique, at Lake Malawi, Lake Tanganyika and at the palace of Mwata Kazembe. The Nsenga and Ambo in turn were in contact with the Achikunda trade from whom they acquired weapons and mercenaries. Kambwiri was right on the way between Nkotakota and Mwata Kazembe, and had access both to Katanga and Lake Malawi. That is why Livingstone and those in his footsteps went through Kambwiri. Kambwiri was of course chosen by the White Fathers because of this central position. The map at the end of this chapter (taken from Isaakman 1971) shows how Kambombo and in fact all Senga chiefs were on the trade routes with Kilwa, Karongo, Lake Tanganyika, and with the route West that ran through Bisa and Bemba country, the way the first Kambombo Chiweza “Goma” himself had taken to establish himself as trader and chief among the Tumbuka.⁸⁷ Those in the valley who were isolated from long distance trade or even ignorant of it were subdued: The Tumbuka of Chama “who did not know anything about the value of elephants”, early Bisa migrations led by the *beni Nzoka* of Chongo

around Nabwalya, other small Bisa settlements along the east bank of the Luangwa, the “Betwa” or “Awetwe” of Nsefu “who knew nothing”, and Tumbuka people encountered by the incoming Chikwa Ng’uni “who were naked and used ivory to place cooking pots on the fire”, all such earlier peoples shared a common fate: they had either to submit under the authority of the incoming chiefs (Chama and others did so voluntarily, while others were forced), were killed (like Mungwalala), or were driven away (like the Bene Munto of Kazembe)⁸⁸, or committed suicide or even mass suicide (see the narratives of the appendix). Whether such stories of suicide of earlier inhabitants recall actual happenings, or myths, may be difficult to tell, especially since some of them are contested. But they show that isolation in the valley meant powerlessness. The incoming chiefs had come as traders with connections, and the long distance trade had made them chiefs over the isolated societies. The incoming trader chiefs depended on their outside connections to sustain their power. And many chiefs (the Senga, Bisa, and the Kunda chiefs) depended on monopolised access to the Swahili to maintain their authority.

Langworthy (1970) and also Wright and Lary (1970) suggest that Swahili influence⁸⁹ in the valley had been of a different kind from their influence on the plateau. In the latter half of the 19th century, a chiefs’ position depended on how he managed to monopolise the slave and the ivory trade. In the valley, chiefs in general succeeded better than chiefs on the plateau, where they were often bypassed by headmen or lesser chiefs closer on the routes: As long as cloth was available, headmen were dealing directly with the slavers. When slavers bypassed the chiefs, they had a centrifugal effect, weakening the chief’s position. The effects were also more disruptive and bringing more insecurity, as anybody could be kidnapped and sold off on short notice. Also in the valley we find many records on the destructive side of the slave trade. Kambwiri had been depopulated by the Angoni selling their slaves to the Swahili on the plateau. But chiefs in the valley nevertheless monopolised the trade to a much greater extent, and – according to Langworthy – somehow managed to block any direct trade of the Swahili with headmen. Swahili influence therefore had a unifying influence: though the chiefs had come into the valley only in an arbitrary fashion often ruling over very diverse and mixed “tribes”, they managed through the Swahili influence to cement their position in regards to the local population. On the plateau, in the second half of the 19th century, the Arabs/Swahili were engaging in own empire building, and their interests run directly against the chiefs (e.g. against Mwase Kasungu or the Angoni). But the Swahili had little interest in overthrowing valley chiefs: elephant hunting depended on the skilled local population, and therefore it was much easier to work through the local chiefs rather than starting own empires. In consequence, the Swahili presence stabilised the position of chiefs; in fact Swahili fire arms enabled Kambwiri and the Senga chiefs to defend themselves more or less successfully against the Angoni (and also against the Achikunda of Matakanya), though they also had to lick their wounds. Not denying the destructive side of the slave trade also within the valley, it must be said that the Arab/Swahili presence brought quite a degree of secu-

rity. Without them in the Eastern valley we may well speculate that there would be no traces left today of Senga, Bisa or Kunda chiefdomships.

But if long distant trade was the fuel for centralisation to function, one would expect still-stand once that trade was stopped by the British, like a car that runs out of diesel. Since it had been the raids of the slave traders (especially but not exclusively Achikunda and Ngoni) that had forced people to live in large and fortified villages, once the threats were over or a time of peace resumed, people tended to disperse again (Vail 1977). This is what had happened in the valley, a trend that was already noticed by the White Fathers in Kambwiri in 1904. Soon after the British took over, people in the valley had already scattered back into tiny settlements and farms.

The south of the Valley was never as coherent than the north. The history of the various (small) and often recent chieftaincies within the Southern valley is one of hit and run, hide and seek, and of refugees from different corners, who sometimes set themselves up as chiefs. Tribute changed with time and alliance: be it to Lala chiefs, to the Chewa, the Angoni, or Achikunda, and rivalries between the little chieftaincies themselves could be as fierce as the attacks from outside forces, as the history of Mwape for example shows (Poole 1938). History was marked by a great deal of manoeuvring: people went into different alliances to fight off different threats and were often successful to play off one enemy against the other.

Looking at the subsequent history of Christianity and the different churches, we may not be surprised to find that people were also successful in playing off one church against the other as much as possible to their advantage, when the Dutch Reformed, the Free Church of Scotland, Catholics, Anglicans and Watchtowers were at one and the same time trying to make alliances during the first decades of colonisation. Valley chiefs, confirmed and supervised by the colonial office, remained in need of legitimisation before their own people. Some churches made strong alliances with valley chiefs (for example the CCAP with some Senga chiefs, sometimes even mediating succession disputes on behalf of the colonial office); they may have profited by the good will of the chiefs, but there was also the danger that the churches could be seen as a spiritual legitimisation of the chiefs and their aristocratic families over and against the rest of the population that had few connections to the chiefs; the churches were being indirectly used or abused in the chief's power-plays. The White Fathers' method of evangelisation was to pass through chiefs (in Kambwiri they had decided to build right next to the palace) so as to gain easier access to labour and porters. In many ways the White Fathers were seen as little chiefs themselves. Also the Christian message was largely presented in chiefly terminology (Oger 1991). But people in the valley maybe were not looking for new chiefs. Their lineages and clans remained main point of reference, but that system of relationships was not entered by the priests.⁹⁰



5. A Century of Isolation

The isolation of the valley may be more ambivalent than it seems at first. On one hand, the valley is isolated in terms of its difficult topography. Rivers coming down the plateau cut the valley into tiny slices at the onset of the rains, and life proceeds now in splendid isolation for up to five months each year. There is very little communication between different parts of the valley, even within a single Parish. Most lines of communication run outside. Goods don't circulate much within the valley but they go in and out. In consequence, what is done in one part of the valley may have little impact on other parts. The physical conditions and the lack of basic infrastructures (roads, schools, clinics, etc.) make the valley a difficult place to work in.

At the same time the Luangwa valley occupies a very central position within the Southern African region between two of Zambia's massive triangles of growth and trade: Eastern Province/ Malawi/ Mozambique and Nakonde/ Tanzania/ Lubumbashi. Because of this central geographical position, until the time of colonisation major trade routes ran right through the valley (more precisely through the centre and the north of the valley). Prior to colonisation topographic conditions did not prevent the valley to play an active role in the economics and politics of Central Africa. After the turn of the 20th century, the earliest colonial administration centres (*bomas*) were built right inside the valley (Nabwalya and the old Petauke), and the churches equally started missions right within the Luangwa valley: the Catholics in Kambwiri, the Free Church of Scotland Kazembe (also at a location called Kambwiri), the Anglicans in Msoro, and the Dutch Reformed church in Kamoto; all early churches considered the valley as prime area for starting their missionary endeavours because of its central position. The topography of the valley has not changed since then, but the political framework has, together with the means of transport. The isolation of the valley has to be seen in relation to such changing frameworks.

Factors of isolation

The absence of good roads or a railway in the valley has become *the* symbol today for the valley's isolation. But this isolation may also be described in terms of lack of political motivation or willpower from the side of the government to transcend it. Early colonial times had seen great efforts in road building in and right through the valley: the Ford Jameson – Serenje road via Msoro was completed in 1919, other roads followed,⁹¹ and communication between the early *bomas* continued to run through the valley. Nevertheless, as infrastructures for motorised vehicles were difficult to build and to maintain, the valley came to be seen in colonial times as a territory too difficult to be enriched at large with basic structures. People would have to move out in the long run. First attempts to isolate the valley were prompted by the fears of sleeping sickness (a colonial panic):⁹² the valley was closed for all Europeans, barriers were erected and segregation camps created at Nabwalya, Mpika and Lundazi; passes were introduced, but for lack of manpower such laws of isolation could not be strictly enforced.

Such attempts of isolation contained also contradictions. It was offset for example by the colonial overriding concern for male labour. Taxes were needed, and men from the valley soon started to flock to “Harare” (a term that came to denote in the valley also any other location of employment), to South Africa, to the Copperbelt, to Tanganyika. In 1938, a colonial officer noted that

in the Luangwa valley, whence men go to work in all directions ranging for Tanganyika Territory to Southern Rhodesia, an extraordinary admixture of tongues can sometimes be heard.⁹³

This does not look like isolation. But the exodus of men left the valley like many other rural areas depleted of men, which at the same time also diminished opportunities for balanced structural change. Chief Jumbe for example complained to the colonial office in 1924 that the absence of men had led to the disappearance of the local cotton weaving industry.⁹⁴ Prior to colonisation, people from all over came into the valley or passed through the valley for business. After colonisation people from the valley went everywhere else for business. The valley itself was cut-off. A dichotomy developed between life in the valley and life outside.

The rule of wildlife conservation

A crucial factor for the isolation of the valley during this century was the (ever changing) vision for wildlife. The creation of game-parks in the valley and the colonial visions towards wildlife have been examined and re-examined,⁹⁵ and the colonial policies entailed many complexities. The establishment of the game parks and the policies applied to

Game Management Areas had been the results of continuous debates between quite different stakeholders (colonial administration, chiefs and headmen, park administration and conversationalists). Wildlife parks along the Luangwa were created in colonial times (the first but short lived park already in 1904, the Luangwa Lukusuzi Game Reserve in 1942, Nsefu Game Reserve in 1949, Luambe early 1950s.)

The creation of parks in the valley seemed to the colonial office the best solution of making use of the valley with its difficult topography and giving it a purpose.⁹⁶ As a whole, colonial policies of protecting wildlife were guided by a vision to preserve for people access to subsistence hunting. During this research some elderly people praised the colonial government in regards to such issues as protecting fields, cropping animals and paying compensation for crop damage. Funds from wildlife revenues were redistributed to the local authorities from 1946 onwards (though the stakeholders within the wildlife authorities of today claim this to be their invention of the 1990s.)⁹⁷ But with the creation of parks (in the national and international interest) the foundations were laid that forced the population of the Luangwa valley to submit to national and international interests of wildlife protection.

The valley was not free from clashes of the local population with the colonial government, and such clashes were often based on policies towards hunting and crop protection from raiding animals. Many chiefs in the valley were sacked for various “ivory offences” when they disrespected the rules on elephant hunting and trading. People had high hopes for independence, but the hopes of freedom from having to submit to outside interests and control were not fulfilled. “We thought we were entering freedom, but instead we entered slavery.” Some go as far as calling independence day “*ukapolo* day” (slavery day). “We were looking for freedom. Yet in colonial times the government was listening more to us than our Zambian government does.”⁹⁸

Colonial rule had laid the foundations to see in the Luangwa valley a sanctuary for animals that needed protection. Hunting was restricted, but at the same time agricultural development and production was hardly emphasised or promoted (Astle 1999). Even though the colonial administration realised the importance of hunting in the life of people, people’s connection towards hunting turned them more and more into “poachers”. But “poachers” in official wildlife discourse are a liability for game protection, not an asset. Official policies came to alienate people even from their own home-grounds; at the same time very few viable alternatives were given to hunting.

After Independence Game Management Areas (GMAs) and open areas were created, and guns of people were more strictly licensed. But many people suspected the UNIP government (at least during the late 1970s) to profit itself from the benefits of poaching. Statistics relate poaching clearly to changing political frameworks: still in the 1970s the elephant population of the valley was estimated to run to 90,000, the rhino population to 8,000. By the middle of the 1980s the elephants numbered fewer than 15,000 and the rhinos had disappeared.⁹⁹ People in the valley had been living with wild-

life for hundreds of years; but it was within one single decade that it nearly all got butchered. It was not the local population that was suddenly consuming much more meat, but the fact that Zambia's wildlife, ivory and horns were now on large scale feeding the towns and international markets. Many in UNIP government were either themselves involved in this trade, or unable (and unwilling?) to stop the butchering that was performed with heavy weapons (some say with weapons of the Zambian army). Game meat was (and still is) much wanted on the urban markets, and nobody has much confidence in the working of game barriers along the roads (corruption). Blamed for poaching was - surprise, surprise - the local population.

This brought a radical shift in how people came to look at their own location. Behind the official laws of game management, poaching had become heavily commercialised. From now onwards people knew that the valley was being isolated and that they were forbidden to hunt so that other people could make money. People's attitudes to animals also changed.

Before independence we were killing only one animal at a time. But then we started to realize that animals were business. We used to see white people coming every year from July to kill animals, elephants and rhinos, and we were told '*anagula nyama*' ('they have bought the animals'). Now we became aware that animals were good business, and from then people butchered and finished elephants and rhinos.¹⁰⁰

People in Chiweza mentioned much confusion in the 1970s and 1980s. "Big white Americans were coming to hunt and other white Americans were coming to prevent us from hunting, and both groups were very rough with us." People in the area of Chiweza today especially accuse the "Save the Rhinos Trust" of itself finishing off the remaining rhinos.¹⁰¹ People became aware that there were many contradictions in official policies towards the valley.

Towards the end of the second Republic "national interests" came to merge with the interests of international wildlife protection: revenues can only come in the long run if animals are protected. With the Third Republic and increasing privatisation of wildlife resorts, a much stronger presence of international interests is felt. Tourism within the Luangwa Valley has grown strongly, and the valley is known and actively portrayed as an area of untouched wilderness left on the globe. With such shifts in "national interests" and greater control through international agents, the pendulum went into the opposite direction: the law today criminalises a person not only for poaching, but also for shooting an elephant that has destroyed his crop, eats from his granary, and that may have even killed a family member. "Touch an animal on your own field, and the game guards will travel 100 km to catch you, beat you, and put you to prison. They may even kill you. But if you call a game guard to help you drive out the elephant from your field, you can call and call, nobody will answer." This is not an isolated comment, but a perception throughout the valley. "*ZAWA anika nyama pa mwamba munthu pansi.*" ("ZAWA put

the animals on top, human beings down”) People are alienated from the politics that shape their lives.

Before independence they made game parks, but we were living together with the guards and they understood us. When independence came our slavery started, but we could still receive sometimes compensation when animals destroyed our fields. With Chiluba things got worse, and we started to be sold out to ZAWA. Our chiefs love sugar, so what can we do? The elephants now have independence and we are their slaves.¹⁰²

In 2004 alone, 18 deaths of people killed by elephants and other wild animals were reported in the Luangwa Valley.¹⁰³ Today all across the valley there is a deep dissatisfaction of people with the post-colonial wildlife policies (funded often by international stakeholders), with the way ZAWA operates and with the power that foreign investors wield today in the valley.

ZAWA (Zambian Wildlife Authority), CBNRM (Community Based National Resources Management) and private investors

ZAWA was established in 1999; it is the successor of the former Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) which was transformed by an act of parliament into an autonomous body. ZAWA is governed by the Zambia Wildlife Act, No. 12 of 1998 and has its own Board of Directors under the policy guidance of the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources.

ZAWA is an institution whose power people can hardly evade in the valley. But the reputation of ZAWA in the valley is very bad (at least during the time of this research). It may be that the negative opinion about ZAWA is partly a result of individual misbehaviour of some members at that specific time; but people have no control over such events, nor over the severe beatings conducted by ZAWA officials. While I was in Nsefu in October 2005, a local man was shot dead in the Game Management Area by a guard with an AK47; he had no gun with him, no game meat, just an axe and a (hunting?) dog that was barking at the guards. Not the dog was shot dead, but its owner. When I was in Tembwe in October 2006, two youths (described by people as children) were shot dead from a tree in which they had climbed by ZAWA officers, which caused people to riot and destroy the ZAWA camp. Chief Tembwe promised to bring the rioters to book. Many people saw in the chief's reaction an expression that the chief himself is one of the beneficiaries of wildlife protection, hoping for generous personal handouts from the investors. People all over the valley speak widely of beatings by ZAWA. “They beat us until we make false confessions so that the beatings stop.” I asked one ZAWA officer in Kazembe about official policies towards beatings. He replied:

We are not given instructions from above to beat. When we beat people, they themselves have given us permission to beat them, because they are not truthful and hide things from us.

A number of catechists told me that people in the valley have few rights, because they cannot defend themselves, for lack of education and organisation, and also as direct consequence of the valley's isolation. "Who in the valley can check the dealings of ZAWA? Here in the valley they can get away with things that would be punished elsewhere in Zambia."¹⁰⁴

Most people in the Luangwa valley live in Game Management Areas (GMAs) that are outlined as puffer zones to the game parks: Munyamadzi, Musalangu, Lupande, Lumimba, Sandwe, Mukungule, and Chisomo GMAs. Here the CBNRM programmes are advocated with the view to co-manage the wildlife resources.¹⁰⁵ Community Resource Boards (CRBs) are established that are supposed to function as the link between ZAWA and the local community. Through them parts of the hunting concessions are fed back into the community to help with the buildings of schools, infrastructures, buying of hammer mills, sponsorships in school or financial help to "women clubs".¹⁰⁶ They are composed of elected members and representatives of the local authorities and chiefs; chiefs are the patrons of the CRBs. No doubt, the national and international wildlife authorities do advocate that wildlife protection should benefit the people of the valley in the long run by bringing in resources. This vision is enshrined also in the constitution of ZAWA. But people mostly experience it the other way round: that wildlife protection first and foremost has taken their own resources away rather than giving them new ones. People are aware that the benefits that trickle down to them through these institutions have been paid for by the fact that the "country has been sold out" first and foremost to wildlife protection. Then they experience also a lot of corruption in the trickle down process of benefits. People are well aware that money generated through hunting licenses enters the CRBs, but only very few people know where the money goes. As somebody put in Chasera: "Those of us whose crops are destroyed, family members killed, those who can no longer fish in the Luangwa, see nothing of that money. But we see the leaders of the CRBs eating very well, buying mattresses, and marrying many wives, because they have suddenly become rich."¹⁰⁷ Whenever money is redistributed within a community, there are by nature many complaints; negative views about the CRBs should therefore not surprise. Also few people even within the valley would contest the idea that wildlife in today's world need protection. Any form of protection is linked to measures of force. But the present outright negative image of ZAWA and its policies through the CBNRM in the valley sheds doubts on the promises that the benefits of wildlife protection are broadly fed back into the community, and especially to those who have to carry its real costs (farmers whose crops are raided, fishers whose licences are revoked, people whose houses are destroyed, etc.) The people who bear the hidden costs of wildlife protection

see little of the benefits. Here a revealing opinion from Kalasa about ZAWA and a private investor running a hunting safari just across the river:

We always had animals around our village, but now it has become worse. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon we don't go out any more. The lions enter our villages. Nobody goes at night to the toilet. In the past the animals stayed on the other side of the Luangwa. But now P.J. (a Zimbabwean investor running a hunting safari) has bought the place. Whenever somebody goes to the Luangwa he is beaten by ZAWA, because P.J. says: "you are chasing away the animals!" P.J. says he has bought the place with much money from the chief. But when the animals eat our gardens and when the lions eat our children in our own village, whose animals are they?¹⁰⁸

During my stay in Kazembe I witnessed both the invasion of the village at night by wild animals, including a lion prowling around the little huts, and the outbursts of anger of the above "investor", against local people who according to him "disturbed" the animals by entering *his* bush and using *his* road to go to the river to fetch water. When I followed people the next day to the river I met the same fate. People see clearly that they have to carry the hidden costs of wildlife protection, while a foreign investor reaps the benefits. I encountered similar circumstances in Chinsimbwe where Sable company bought a huge junk of land and prevented people from accessing the river. Beatings do take place. Some safari enterprises on the other hand are praised for helping the local population with education, water, health services, and employment. Much of such help, however, happens outside the official channels that were set up to involve the local population in wildlife management.

Isolation and the presence and absence of *Citukuko* ("development")

The "new ways" of wildlife conservation starting with the 1990s in Zambia's liberalised economy are a result of new coalitions between the private sector (based in the valley mainly on the tourist industry), the Zambian government (with ZAWA) and the donor community. Having been alienated from their own hunting culture, development agents now wish to show the local population how to cultivate in "harmony" with wildlife protection. Conservation farming for the valley is the new slogan of the international donor community,¹⁰⁹ who have introduced precisely laid out grids and schemes for "successful" cultivation. The isolation of the valley means that in the absence of alternatives, many people are coerced into forms of living and farming that are determined by the outside world far beyond Zambia.

What has really changed the valley more than many projects of NGOs is the recent massive expansion of the cotton industry in the wake of the liberalisation of the cotton market. Cotton is not new to the valley: it had been grown on and off since colonial

times, and even before colonial times the Senga of the North and other valley peoples were known for their local cotton. The cotton revolution of the last years comes largely from the operations of two international companies in the valley: Dunavant (USA based) and Clark Cotton (South Africa based), who give out seeds, fertilizer and bags on a loan system. Cotton grown in the Luangwa valley is known to be of high quality. Though the average price fetched by local cotton growers is very low, cotton grows well in the valley and in the absence of other forms of income it has brought a seasonal cash flow. It is true that many experience new hardships through cotton: more hunger if the money is not well kept, more beer, more polygamy after rapid cash incomes, and also more power to the husband over the cotton crop than is the case with other crops. Yet it is felt by many that cotton has brought real development. "Since Dunavant and Clark cotton companies are here, we have also more shops in the village, because there is money now. More children go to school than before, and people dress better."¹¹⁰ A number of grade 12 students of Kambombo said they would not leave the valley after school. "With cotton there are more chances for us in the valley than elsewhere." Cotton somehow transcends the valley's isolation: in spite of the bad roads the lorries are rolling. The companies have received criticism due to the low prices that they pay out to farmers (according to the figures I received from farmers in Kazembe, Chikwa, Tembwe and Kambombo areas, in 2004 people were still paid 1440 Kwacha/kg; in 2005 it had dropped to 1200, but in 2006 it were only 850 Kwacha for grade A cotton). But in spite of the low prices, the cotton production in the valley has economically transformed the valley in a short time, a powerful indicator how much development in the valley depends on wider integration and transport rather than on individual projects.

The rapid expansion of cotton farming (possible only through the road link) shows what people really associate with *citukuko*. People mention often schools, hospitals, and water, but roads are usually given priority: "We will never have proper teachers and doctors as long as we have no road." It is only a road that puts people on the map. The road has become a metaphor for linking up the valley with the promises of development, and the bad state of the roads is seen as a reflection that the valley is sidelined. Tarmac (the few km from Mfuwe airport to the park) and the bridge over the Luangwa at Mfuwe are for tourists.

Linking to town

The word isolation does not describe properly the reality of the valley. Many families living in the valley have either relatives in town (brother, sisters, children) with whom they try to keep in contact, or they have lived themselves for some if not many years in town. Among the villages in the southern and central valley in which I made population counts, there were 12 villages in which I asked about migration patters:¹¹¹ 149 out of 367

adult people now living in these villages had lived more than one year in Lusaka or in the Copperbelt (58 out of a total of 152 men, and 91 out of a total of 215 women). This is 40% out of the adult population, who have lived in town for more than one year.¹¹² In this number are not included those others who do visit their relatives in town from time to time. The 12 villages in which I asked about town experiences may not be representative for the whole of the valley, and there are in fact great differences between the villages themselves, but it shows that people in the valley are in fact less isolated from the rest of Zambia than many think. Most people try to keep open the option to live somewhere else for some time so as to look for better opportunities. Not to stretch out means to end up in poverty. The poorest people in the villages are those with no outside contacts. They are more likely to be women, and especially women without education and especially with broken family connections.

As people in the valley try to link up to the towns, also town people of valley origin try to keep contact with their home. In one village (Sonkho, chief Nyalugwe) which is quite isolated I met a young man, born in Lusaka, who had come to Sonkho to look for a wife. It was his very first visit to Sonkho, and he had been encouraged by his parents (who were from Sonkho and now lived in town) to marry a local girl. Many town people from the valley seem to encourage strongly their children to marry somebody from their home village. In the past this trend was strong, I was told. During the village counts I came across other cases of men (though many now elderly) born in town who had come back to the valley to marry. Some of them had settled permanently back to the valley, while others took their wives to town. Most of them had been encouraged by their parents or grandparents to marry in the valley, while others justified their choice by saying that “women in town don’t listen and don’t obey their husbands”. People mentioned the insecurities of urban life, and they wanted to keep the option open to go back to the valley if they lose their job or if things in town turn out really badly. Many parents came back to the village after many years in town when their children, but more specifically their daughters, reached marriageable age. “Marriages in towns don’t last, and our daughters will have nothing to fall back on.” For most people with town experience it was normal and beyond discussion that their children would come back to the valley, though in fact a number of them did marry elsewhere, especially sons. And there are many others, of course, who have lost contact with the valley up to the point of no return.

Linking up with the towns proceeds on different lines from family to family. But many people stay in the valley or return to the valley even though they could be living elsewhere better. The home village, despite its location in the valley, gives in the long run much greater securities than any other location could give. Life may be easier somewhere else in terms of education, health, transport, and money, but if someone is sick or if the wife or husband dies, there will be no relatives around. At home, labour for the fields can be found more easily with the many types of relationships, while outside the valley with no family around people are more dependent on giving *ganyu* (paid piece-work) which

makes them dependent on cash. But the main reason given by many for staying in the valley was that problems can be sorted out more easily: problems in marriage, *milandu* (cases, court-cases) caused by husbands and children. Especially sons bring *milandu* into the house by impregnating girls, which calls for high amounts of compensation (“damage”) outside the valley, but which is usually settled without payments and much more easily within the valley. “If you have many children, then you have also many *milandu*”. Also disputes about fields, about village fights, about divorces, or about witchcraft can be sorted out better when many relatives are around. To live without much family makes people very vulnerable in *milandu* but also to witchcraft attacks. This makes it also difficult for outsiders to settle within the valley. Two teachers who have been in the valley for many years told me: “We never go to court. We know if we take somebody to court we will eventually die in some mysterious way.”¹¹³ The same fears people of the valley have when they think about settling somewhere else outside the valley. If one only evaluates the valley in terms of education, healthcare, and transport, then one will hardly understand why people stay. In Kamwendo (Chikowa parish) where the last teacher left in 1990 and where the next school is 1½ walking days away (there is not even a bicycle path), somebody said: “What can we do outside? Our children will become thieves as soon as they leave the valley!”

In spite of the stretching going on, there remains much mistrust within the population between returnees and those who never went out; their worlds are very different. Marks (1976) wrote that it were those coming from the towns who brought Christianity to Nabwalya. Also in our own church councils we find a large percentage of people who spent many years in the towns. This was for me most striking in Chama: basically all active church members either come from outside (workers in the *Boma*) or had spent half their lives outside. In general we find not much participation in the church of those who never left the valley for a longer time. The catholic church is more relevant to people who have experienced for a lengthy period of time life outside the valley.

Voting patterns

The way people in the valley have tended to vote on national elections during the 3rd Republic may partly be interpreted in terms of a will to transcend the isolation rather than aggravate it more. The 2006 elections took place during the time of this research, and most people in the valley voted for the ruling MMD. In the constituencies of Eastern Province that reach into the valley (Chama North, Chama South, Lumezi, Malambo, Msanzala, and Nyimba), the ruling MMD got in average around 10% more votes than the national average and also than the Eastern province average (see appendix IV). I happened to be in Chasera on the day of the elections, and a number of influential men told people openly to vote for the ruling party, since they had received food relief. “If we vote

for somebody else we will not receive food relief any longer.” But beyond the issue of food relief the vote may also indicate a desire for more integration.

In the 2001 elections, MMD got only very few votes in the Luangwa valley of the Eastern Province (with the only exception of Msanzala), much in line with the pattern of rest of the Eastern Province that voted mainly for UNIP and in second place for FDD. Note however that in the valley MMD got an average of 10% more votes than in the rest of the Eastern Province, while UNIP got an average of 5% less. In the 1996 elections (that had been boycotted by UNIP), the valley of the Eastern Province voted for the ruling MMD with a high majority, significantly higher (nearly 10% on average) than the average of the Eastern Province. In the 1991 elections the voting pattern of the valley had followed very closely the pattern of the Eastern Province: people had voted for the then ruling UNIP rather than the MMD which won a three quarter majority on the national level.

The voting pattern of the valley in the 3rd Republic has been a vote for the ruling party, except for the 2001 elections, but even then the ruling party got more votes in the valley than it got in average in the Eastern province. This tendency (sometimes in contrast to the rest of the Eastern Province) may well indicate a fear of being more sidelined for a share in the national resources (food relief, etc.) when voting for a candidate that is not part of the ruling party, and a desire for national integration to break the isolation of the valley. At the same time MPs are hardly seen in the valley and national politics seem distant to people, as if belonging to another world.

The valley, the outside world, and the churches

This chapter has looked at the ambiguity of some of the facets of isolation in the valley. If we place the churches into this wider framework, we may understand better the contradictions with which people approach it. The churches remain associated with the ambivalent outside world, and the valley has had a long history of being exploited for outside interests. The churches of course are also evaluated in reference to the jungle of *citukuko*. The Catholic church in particular is seen as a rich church, as a church with plenty of means at its disposal. In a number of places people want to see more involvement of the catholic church, “because we want a better school and a hospital”. There are many different churches in the valley with different programmes and possibilities, and people try to gain the most from all. As they learnt how to adapt to the language of the different development discourses, they have also learnt the language of the churches. At the same time the churches play a major role in overcoming people’s isolation; apart from kinship it is often through church membership that people of the valley become integrated on their journeys into town structures and into the wider world. People want the churches and

they want more of them, and yet find it difficult to be committed to one. In theory the churches could link up with the metaphor of the “ancestors” described above (chapter 2) and rescue that powerful metaphor from the past into the present. In practice, however, the church is often evaluated in contrast to the demands of the lineage (and therefore also of the ancestors) one belongs to and on whom one depends.



6. The Gendered Valley

In the past, it was the man to go out, the woman to stay behind, or eventually be fetched and accompany her husband to town. In the early 1970s, a study of Nabwalya's Bisa suggested that 90% of men knew life outside the valley compared with only 30% of the women.¹¹⁴ Gendered conceptions in the valley were sometimes strongly defended. In 1945, for example, when it was a criminal act for the woman to go out to town without a pass, or without being accompanied by either father or husband, a number of chiefs and headmen appealed to the colonial office to enforce this law more rigorously.¹¹⁵ A young woman without either a father or a husband to look after her was somehow seen as a threat to the social system. The village in the valley became the place for the waiting woman, a female domain, and in spite of many changes it still is, especially in the south. The *chinamwali* or *cisungu* (girls' initiation rites) fixed the woman's place to the domestic sphere: the household, the village, the garden. In contrast, real initiation for the boy is his first visit to town. The man goes out: hunting in the bush, commercially fishing at the river, out in town, out for piece-work. Gendered patterns are reinforced also through the job-opportunities within the valley. The wildlife industry is centred on men, there are hardly any female teachers or nurses in the valley (lack of educated role-models for women), and the cotton industry focuses in practice also on men (see later). However, due to the irregular nature of most jobs (much is but piece-work), life for men in general is very unstable. Men's economic life for a great deal takes place outside the village, if not outside the valley. Many mentioned this irregularity as one of the main reasons why men don't develop much attachment to a church. When they are in the village it is for recreation, which means for many: beer. The matrilineal systems of the south do not help the man to develop strong links to the village affairs if he lives in the village of his father or in the village of his wife & children. The village is not seen as the place of action for the man.

The de-facto patrilineal and strongly virilocal north of the Senga gives a different picture. The woman always follows the husband and lives in the village of her husband and his brothers. How strong the expectation of the husband is for his wives to follow I could notice on a visit to Kambombo with Father Gabi, when a man committed suicide (he drank the chemicals for his cotton fields), because his third wife refused to settle to

his village. When his sister came in and saw her brother had committed suicide, she took and drank the same chemicals, but she was saved in the hospital. It had been taken for granted by the husband that the woman would join the other wives. Among the Senga, the man's interests and stakes in his village are higher than in the south. Also the rapid growth of the cotton industry in the north gives the man higher involvement in his village. *Lobola* payments (bride wealth) have various meanings, reasons and applications for the Senga,¹¹⁶ but apart from these official meanings a number of women felt that they became quasi the property of their husbands through these payments. The Senga have no cows, but as *lobola* is measured in cows, some women described their domestic situation as one of "cows": "I work daily on the cotton fields of my husband, but I know nothing about the money that was raised by the sales. When he gets his millions, he gives me 10,000 Kwacha or buys me a *citenge* (cloth). I am the ox that ploughs his fields." Some women in contrast expressed that they received a fair share in the produce and said that decisions about the money were done in common. Many women come to identify very strongly with the husband's location. I met in Tembwe and Kambombo some widows who chose to stay with their late husbands' families even though they did not want to become remarried to one of his relatives. "This is my home now, and my children are here. My husband's family looks after me." Such a strong identification with the husband's family I never witnessed in the matrilineal south, even if also in the south marriages are often (but not always) in the long run virilocal.

As a rule of thumb, women's lives in the valley are much more regular and centred on the village and often also to a certain extent (apart from prolonged "travelling adventures") locked-up within the village. The church belongs into the village, so the women belong into the church. But the church is not the sphere of which the women take charge. First of all, they are in their husband's church, not in their own. In the north all women, and in the south most women, take on board the religion of their husbands and leave the church of their youth on marriage. In every village in the valley we find today between five and ten churches of equal strength, which makes it impossible for most girls to become married within the own church. "If you want us to get married within the Catholic church, then bring us a lorry with Catholic men!" choir girls told me in Chinsimbwe. Secondly, also in church men are needed to lead the women. Women do the work in the church (as also on their husbands' fields), but they remain under legal tutelage until the time when they assume a new role as grandmother and gain then more autonomy. The church is a place for women, but not a place they can control. Nevertheless it is a strong and often the only means for women by which to facilitate wider contacts and support; it gives moral support, prohibits the husband taking other wives, and stresses the husband's family duties in an age where the economy rather than traditional values dominate domestic life.

The gendered pattern has seen many changes. Today much trading is firmly in the hands of women, and some husbands complain about their extensive travelling, espe-

cially in the matrilineal south, where women more easily escape the tutelage of their husbands.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless the valley remains structured strongly by gender. And one of the reasons remains the enormous surplus of marriageable women in the valley.

Surplus of marriageable women

In colonial times village life was marked by a surplus of women and children and an absence of men. Still in the 1970s there was a sharp surplus of women in the valley.¹¹⁸ Today this gap has closed down. Various statistics of the valley (clinic counts, counts of wildlife authorities and of the statistical office) confirm that there are basically as many men as there are women in the valley; the relationship between men and women in all the age-groups is basically symmetrical. What has not changed, however, is the sharp surplus of marriageable women with the result that many women don't find a husband. This is due to the fact that women tend to marry very early in the valley (often with the age of 15 years), and men rather late (often after the age of 20 or even 25). With the pyramidal age structure of Zambia, this accounts for a massive surplus of marriageable women in comparison to marriageable men. In the village counts of 36 villages that I conducted (appendix III), I found a total of 494 adult men (meaning men with experiences of marriage) and 707 adult women; "adult" here means those married, divorced or widowed. Out of the adult women, 183 were without husbands, which is more than 25%. Roughly 60% of these were widowed, 40% divorced. Some did not want to remarry, but most were not able to remarry for lack of marriageable men. Among the men only 14 were not married. Basically they were very old, sick or mad. Apart from the unmarried women, 91 shared a husband with other co-wives (in some cases up to four co-wives.) Note that the statistic contains only few villages of the north where polygamy is much more common, while it is rather rare for the rest of the valley. In the north a large percentage of women are married to polygamous husbands; in the village Iwiri for example resided at the time of the research 5 polygamous men, but this made already 13 women in polygamous households, not counting the ones that chose not to reside in the husbands' villages. Many of the second wives said that their only other option would have been not to get married at all.

Distribution of the women surplus is very diverse and unequal: in the isolated villages for example of Kasweta, Sonkho or Mushalila one finds hardly any women surplus. Nor do we find much polygamy here. In other villages one finds double as many adult women (with experience of marriage) as men, or even more. At the end of the 1990s, chief Kazembe made an open appeal to men outside his kingdom to come and marry his women. This appeal was received very badly by women of chief Chikwa: "How can they ask for our men to marry their women! We need men ourselves!" Chief Tembwe is said

to have made a similar appeal a decade earlier in Kambombo, an appeal which was equally bad received.

“For each boy, we give birth to two girls”, women explained. Others said that “men die earlier; whenever they are a little bit sick, they die. We women don’t die so easily.” Or again: “most men leave the valley.” Statistics prove them wrong: not women as such are plentiful, but marriageable women in comparison to marriageable men due to the fact that women marry much earlier. The surplus of marriageable women equals the number of women within the age-group of 15 years up to around 20 years or maybe even 25 years. Girls and young women find a husband rather easily. But most women have troubles finding another husband when their marriage has broken. Much of women's lives centres on finding a husband and on keeping a husband. Men in contrast know that they will always find another wife, also a young one, if they but want. Many women complain that “*azimuna a lero saika nzeru mu cikwati*” (husbands don’t put their minds anymore into their marriages). The man can easily walk out and often threatens to walk out, or marries from time to time another girl “to teach my wife a lesson.” It has been said that marriages tend to be more stable where a high pride price has been paid, but I could not substantiate this statement during this research. In fact, in a number of villages in the south where hardly any bride price was paid, divorce rates were exceptionally low.¹¹⁹ Domestic problems are plenty, and women groups filled up pages about the asymmetry in marriage: in the work load, in the care for children, the access to cash, the compassion given in times of sickness, and in the direction of domestic violence. Saying this, I also came across two men who had been severely beaten up by their wives, and women in the valley in general do not appear to be just “silent victims”.

The high surplus of marriageable women brings many tensions also between women. “*Sitigwirizana*” – “we don’t cooperate with each other”. A woman below the menopause without a husband is not respected. Her image is that of a woman free for all for sex. She is feared by married women. A still youngish widow in Masumba put it this way: “Whenever I greet a man on the road, his wife thinks that I am sleeping with him. Many married women think that I want to take their husbands.”

It is not surprising that medicines and *vikondi* (love charms) are sought after by many if not by most women. *Cimwemwe*, *cikoka*, *mwito*, *mphetu*, *kumbukira*, *mwanjani*, *nkhaka*, *ndilile*, *ciselu*, *muchemani*, *sioni*, *ntheuntheu*, *nyasalande*, *lumphangala*, *kabeleka*, and *kalunguti* are all used in various combinations in ointments, incisions, bathing water, or smoked, to find a husband or inserted or eaten to have “sweeter” sex. (Boys in turn know that demand his high for their male powers, and they try to keep in form by eating plenty of raw groundnuts and digging out *bwazi*, *mthothotho*, *nyang’nya*, *chibvukuzera*, *kankhande*, *mwanja* or *bvubwe*.)

Still today, most girls I interviewed got married within two years of the *cinamwali* ceremony at puberty, if not at the *cinamwali* itself, and many in the south became engaged already before the *cinamwali*. Equally, in the age group between 15 and 20 years

of age we find many unmarried boys, but few unmarried girls. Chigoma Primary School had in 2006 34 boys in grade 7, but only 1 girl. "In grades one to four we have as many girls as boys", explained the headmaster, "but from grade 5 onwards they all get married or pregnant." Chikwasha just started a Basic School with 34 boys in grade 8 but only one single girl. "We wanted more girls, but they were all married", explained a teacher. In most schools I visited I found a similar pattern. A boy may make a girl pregnant at school, but he rarely marries her; if he is forced to he rather disappears for some time to town. In fact boys up to the age of 20 are not counted as marriageable boys, and most marry much later. The surplus of marriageable women in the valley is compensated to a great extent by the surplus of not-yet-ready-to marry boys.

Reasons for early marriages

Why do we find in the valley such a pressure on girls for early marriages? In church circles often the economic reasons are highlighted: the material benefits raised by the parents through marriage payments for their daughters. This may be partly true, but it has already been mentioned that not much financial transaction takes place in the south upon marriage, and that even in the north the high *lobola* payments are not always paid. There are other reasons still for early marriages. Parents in the valley are often ill-at-ease with girls between puberty and marriage. A young woman belongs under legal tutelage: either under the parents or under the husband. But after the *cinamwali* they are somehow betwixt and between. Parents try to have their daughters married before they develop too many own initiatives. "The youths today don't listen anymore." They have also different role-models. Parents try to keep this period as small as possible, so as to win more authority over the evolving marriage matters. They have good reasons for this. In the South, people are very well aware that marriages have little chances to last if they take place between families who don't know each other well. Still today one comes across quite a good number of young marriages that were arranged by the parents. The longer they wait, the more independence and initiative comes to the girl, and the further she may want to marry away from the home village. Pregnancy outside marriage means that chances go down to find a suitable husband. As jobs centre on men, schooling for girls is still today often seen as waste of time & money. "Girls who go to school are prostitutes and it is just a question of time that they will be pregnant or have AIDS," was a comment I sometimes heard. Statistics prove that the parents' worries are not unfounded. The headmaster of Chinsimbwe who was once a teacher in Chama Secondary School shared with me his experience:

When a girl from the village manages to go to Grade 8 or Grade 10, and starts to live at school, then she needs a "protector". Most girls at Grade 10 are taken at the beginning of school by older boys of Grades 11 and 12 in "protection"

[implying a sexual relationship]. You will see that elder boys are always in time for the first term when new girls arrive, to make their picks. That is also how the girl earns a few clothes here and there or a packet of vanilla biscuits.

In popular talk, both among youths themselves and among the elder generation commenting on the morals of the youths, “vanilla” has become synonymous with the payment for sleeping with a boy – “though often we only get a bubble gum!”, girls complained in one village. A number of girls who got a “vanilla child” at school explained to me simply: “*ndinalibe nzeru*” (“I had no brains yet”). Another woman explained that she didn’t have sex in school, because her grandmother told her that both of her parents would die if she slept with a boy. But then her friends started to laugh at her: “you are stupid; we sleep with boys and our parents are still alive!” She went out with a boy and became pregnant. Then her school results came out and she had passed to go to grade 8, “and I cried bitterly”, she explained. Many early marriages are the result of pregnancy. A pregnant woman needs a husband. Parents cannot keep her; the state of pregnancy is too precarious, too dangerous, and intrinsically connected to the conduct of the husband and also to his sexual support “to make the baby grow”. I met a number of cases where the boy took the girl to avoid the damage payments, but disappeared into town once the child was born.

The reputation of many schools in the valley is low. Mwanja Basic school needs 14 teachers, but at the time of this research they have only 4, two of them untrained. Out of the four, some were always out; if somebody goes for his salary to Chipata, it means he is away for some weeks. When I visited the school in June 2006, I found only two teachers (one trained and one untrained) for a total of 409 students from grade 1-9. An impossible task! In Chingozi Basic School the head-teacher complained to me about many voluntary teachers. “They are only interested in the girls. Some bluntly refuse to teach grades 1-4, and want to teach only the higher grades where the girls have developed breasts. That is why the lower grades are much neglected and students here have a bad foundation.” During the assembly that I attended, two girls asked me publicly what to do: “since we have breasts now, it is nearly every single day that we are stopped by boys on our way home from school. What can we do so as not to die of AIDS?”

In this context one can understand the mothers when they want their daughters to marry as early as possible. That the girl keeps her husband is important not only for the girl but for the whole family, because access to cash in the valley is very gendered. Husbands also bring a certain authority into the family that commands respect, also in court cases. The need for a husband is shown quite clearly in reference to cotton. Most unmarried women don’t grow cotton at all. Cotton is very labour intensive and calls for tough management and regularity, and women without husbands and without ready cash to employ others for *ganyu* (piece work) rarely get much out of their cotton fields, for lack of access to labour at the right moments, or being sick at the wrong moments. The little they can cultivate they invest usually in food crops rather than cotton. In Chikwa I interviewed

29 married and 12 unmarried women who grew cotton in 2005. The following table shows a comparison between the two groups of cotton growers:

	Average lima per household	Average number of bags harvested per household	Average estimated cash sale per household	Profit per lima per household	Average Number of older children helping per household	Number of households asked
Married women	2.5	9	900,000	360,000	1.8	29
Widowed or divorced women	1.5	4.3	430,000	287,000	1.3	12

There was no significant difference between women in monogamous unions (22 out of the 29) and polygamous union (7 out of the 29). They had the same average results. But unmarried women grow a lesser acreage and get also fewer results per lima. But they can keep all the money. The cash sale is calculated on 100,000 Kwacha per 100 kg bag, which was a rough average. I have to use this estimate as many women had not been involved in the sale and did not know how much money the husband raised. Out of the 22 married women of monogamous unions, 10 got nothing from the money and did not even know how it was spent (except for the visible beer); the other 12 said they had either shared the money or in most cases gone together to town to buy what was needed for the house (a mattress, clothes, etc.) Two women out of the 7 polygamous households did not see any of the money. Here a comparison with Chikowa Parish (an average from Ncheka and Masumba):

	Average lima per household	Average number of bags harvested per household	Average estimated cash sale per household	Profit per lima per household	Average Number of older children helping per household	Number of households asked
Married women	2.55	8.1	810,000	317,000	2.5	20
Widowed or divorced women	1.4	3.6	360,000	257,000	2.7	8

Results of Chikowa were more erratic; many had lost their crops in floods. All over the valley people tend to cultivate near the rivers because of the fertility of the soil, which increases the risk factor. One farmer got 9 bags per lima, a number of good farmers got 5-8 bags/lima, while others lost everything, which brought the average down to only 3 bags per lima for the married women and 2.5 bags for the widows. In Ncheka there was also an acknowledged difference between Chewa immigrants from Chikungu and the Kunda population: The Chewa tended to have bigger fields and also a better harvest per lima (50 x 50 meters). But nearly all of them had to pay quite high inputs for *ganyu*, which the

Akunda were more reluctant or more unable to pay. Also among the Achewa there were some with total loss because of flooding. There was nobody who made a significant income with cotton without investment in *ganyu*, some up to 600,000 Kwacha.

Women in polygamous unions certainly were faring better than women who were alone. But also polygamy has changed in the valley. "In the past it were elderly men who had several wives, but nowadays it are the young men. They have more money now than the old and don't listen to anyone anymore."¹²⁰ Others explained that in the past the first wife had some authority to refuse the second wife by refusing to take the *ciselo* (gift taken in recognition of the second marriage). Nowadays there is often no *ciselo* anymore, and even if the husband pays a *nkhuku* (chicken) it is often impossible for the first wife to refuse it. In the past tradition there were also occasions when the first wife was shown respect by the second wife: in many areas of the valley the second wife paid to the first a *nkhuku* whenever she and the husband performed the mutual shaving of the private parts (*kutoshya nyumba*). "Nowadays this is all gone", a woman explained, "there is no *mwambo* (tradition) left for the first wife. The husband may even come home and you see he was shaven by the second wife. Today everything just depends on how the husband feels like."¹²¹

During the research I met a number of co-wives who found it very difficult to share a husband. "We cannot eat together, and we show our hostilities towards each other." Some find fights between co-wives unbearable. I also met a number of first wives who left their husbands when they tried to bring another woman into the house. Others however expressed that polygamy is the only way to find a husband, because there are simply not enough marriageable men in the valley. Many became second and third wives because they could not live a life without *ulemu* ("respect" - which is a life without a husband). But I also met quiet a number of women (including first wives, but more often second wives) who said that they went on well along; some I found sitting and laughing together, when I visited them at their homes. Here the advice I heard from a first wife in Masumba:

At the beginning it was very tough for me when my husband came with another wife, but after one year I thought it better to make the best out of it. Polygamy brings easily quarrels. The secret is to speak things out straight away with your co-wife and your husband, and not to hide things in your heart. Ourselves we work together, we go together to the choir, and we care for each other's children and even breastfeed each others children. We help each other every day.

The church and the struggles of marriage

The church in the valley is much a church of the women and also gives moral support to their plies, yet at the same time the overriding concern for a woman to find and keep a husband detaches the married woman also from the church. This is not only because she joins the church of her husband. Even if both prayed Catholic before marriage, they are rarely seen anymore in the church afterwards. Church attendance is dominated by children and middle aged women. We find in our churches a much higher percentage of unmarried women than in the surrounding villages. In a number of outstations I found that half of the adult women coming to church were not married (meaning they were widowed or divorced), while the surrounding villages had a surplus of unmarried women only of 25%. It means that many married couples don't go to church. "The husband will always mistrust the wife if she goes for a church seminar or in the choir." Some men said they mistrust the church: "You may think that you find friends in church, but the very friend will be the one who sleeps with you wife."

It is often only after many years of marriage that a basic trust develops, but up to this time there is little help coming from the church which seems really to support the most difficult stage of the marriage. But also the unmarried feel neglected by the church. Here a quote of a widow from Masumba: "In the village we are only second class people. We have no *ulemu*. But even in the church we feel second class. Everything is centred on marriage. The properly married even have their own *vipani* (church groups). There is no *cipani* which is special for our situation. Is it not also a vocation to lead an unmarried life? There is nothing that is designed for us *aziche* (unmarried women) which recognises our specific position."



7. Alliances of power

Power has to do with influence over people. Lines of power like nerves in our bodies run through all sections of society, through relationships including the cultural and religious spheres. There are many dimensions of power; we identify with some, capture and appropriate them, and allow them to shape our actions and even our dispositions, while we may oppose others, or try to evade them if they come on unfavourable terms. Different power relations often conflict with one another. Chapter 2 has laid out the ambiguity of the valley's isolation. This chapter looks at some of the conflicting focal points of power in the valley that arise from this isolation: the government, the chiefs, investors (the private sector), NGOs, churches, and the lineage. People have to find their way within the possibilities that are open to them. None of the focal points of power is subscribed to completely, but none can be avoided either completely. Alliances therefore are often situational and partial. This applies also to the alliance of people to a specific church. The main reference point of orientation for most people in the valley still today remains the lineage and its authority figures; other focal points of power (including the churches) have to integrate with the demands of the lineage.

Relating to national politics and the law

The political landscape of the valley is different from other parts of Zambia since it mostly falls under the policies of the Game Management Areas that have been described in chapter 5. Through the CBNRM programmes a local elite has been built up that controls the benefits of wildlife protection, working in close collaboration with the chiefs. The isolation from other forms of power that could be effectively appealed to in order to redress power abuses, combined with the grave lack of education and a resulting resignation has already been mentioned. The law that determined life in the valley (game parks, game management areas with the ban on hunting, the selling of huge junks of land to outside investors, licensing of fishing) was not made by the valley population; it was imposed on them against their will. MPs are hardly seen, except maybe for some major fes-

tivals or for a good rest in some safari lodge. Chiefs are financed and paid by the wildlife industry and have thereby become more independent of the structures linking them to their own people (headmen, *indunas*). Singh and Houtum (2002) have shown forcefully how parts of the “international community” and the new paradigms of wildlife conversation have created new forms of dependencies and alienation.

The law, made outside of the valley, creates a legal and an illegal sphere. Much of life in the valley proceeds within the illegal, especially hunting, but also the growing of drugs (*fyamba*) and popular methods of fishing (with fish poisons – *buba* – or indeed any fishing without licence). Because of the law a hunter has become a poacher, and a fisherman without a license a criminal whose nets (and livelihood) can be taken away from him as if he had stolen it; indeed the valley population is known across Zambia as a population of “poachers” and “criminals”. The people enforcing the law (game guards, etc.) live themselves in the valley; they themselves like meat and eat meat, and their own job is hardly a job done out of moral conviction for animal protection. They don’t see poachers to be criminals in a moral perspective. Game guards may even sympathise with the poachers they catch, yet they hardly understand that someone risks many years in prison just for a good meal.¹²² For game guards poachers are unreasonable. But from the other side of the coin the continuation of poaching in the face of very stiff punishments indicates how much hunting is a style of life, like a second nature to many people; it is not an issue that becomes object of rational reflection weighing advantages against disadvantages, but it has to do with a person’s way of life and outlook on his home.

The government has the power of making laws. But to convince people to identify with the laws they make is a very different issue. Values of people come mostly from their lineage to which they belong. Boys learn especially through hunting the values that count in their families. Hunting itself remains a high value and a reference to manhood. Hunting in spite of the total ban, remains highly esteemed. Stuart Marks puts the finger on this point when he writes:

Comparatively few individuals are recognized as “hunters” (*bachibinda*) in the local idiom. These men may appear as “poachers” or “criminals” in various government reports, yet they possess more tenaciousness and local charisma among their dependents than these outsider reporters know.¹²³

The “criminals” and “poachers” of the official discourse are often highly esteemed in their own communities. Their adventures are the material for story telling. In Kasweta (Chikowa), many men have spent some years of their lives in prison “eating beans”, because they had been caught by the game guards, but they are nevertheless the local heroes. Hunting remains a powerful marker of identity in the valley, and this has not been changed yet by the re-education programmes of the wildlife industry. In consequence people hunt now much more with traps and snares to avoid alerting the game guards with

gunshots and to avoid confiscation of the few guns they still have. Here a revealing quote collected by Stuart Marks among the Bisa of Nabwalya in 1997:

In nowadays, every man here is a trapper. Snaring is the only way of getting or killing animals. Even children aged ten years are good trappers. Even people of 70 or 82 years are setting wire snares. Guns are seldom used. Very shortly, we will be using bow and arrows putting poison on them. In the past years, snaring was mostly used during the dry season, but now snaring is used throughout the year. Some ones can kill many animals by snares, more than with a gun. Very soon young women will begin setting snares.¹²⁴

Outsiders coming to the valley are confronted with habits, values and high risks about hunting which they find difficult to comprehend. Unmarried women teachers and nurses rarely want to work in the valley. “What shall I do here? Get married to a poacher?”, a young female teacher asked me, freshly appointed to Lumimba, but trying her best to get a different appointment. (She succeeded after only few months.) But it is not only that many of people’s activities have to proceed in the realm of the illegal: they themselves are becoming illegal. Powerful investors have bought up the prime pieces of land near the river. Teachers working in Chinsimbwe for example told me that they don’t think the local people will have a chance to stay there in the long run. “How can people still cultivate with so many elephants around? The new laws are just made to get people out of this place. In future all this land will belong to Sable Company.”

People’s relationship with the government is therefore ambivalent: people look strongly towards effective integration, but are aware at the same time that such integration has come too often in unfavourable terms where they were denied to have a real voice in the official channels or where they were bluntly sold out to foreign investors.

The state and the churches

We take it for granted that government and churches each are entities in their own rights; they may merge in some aspects and differ in others. Yet this distinction is not always so clear to people in the valley. Church and government may come together in the broader category of outside forces that try to gain influence over people in the valley. The government presents itself as Christian, and on public functions churches, government and its institutions merge and are seen together. Most public meetings open with a prayer of a church representative. The following voice of a fisherman in Kalasa describes why he does not pray:

For us to pray in a church, the *Boma* first has to come and explain things to us. We are still waiting for the *Boma* to explain [the ban on hunting, the selling of land to a Zimbabwean investor who banned fishing along the Luangwa near Kalasa]. We will not pray before the *Boma* explains. *Boma* and church are one

and the same. The *Boma* receive their *malamulo* (laws) from the church and from the Bible.

There are historical precedences in the valley of this perception of a certain unity between government and churches. For example, ten years before independence, in Chikowa the White Fathers wrote that

the Akunda are pretty apathetic and show little interest in religious matters, they seem to be more concerned about national independence and material development.¹²⁵

The apathy of people and the “little interest in religious matters” maybe was not geared solely towards the catholic church in itself, but in its perceived association with the colonial regime that was alienating people from their own land. The Watchtower movement/Jehovah’s Witnesses that presented itself in a radical break from the state did gain adherents in Chikowa (see chapter 9). Another example is the role of the UCZ in Chikwa. I was told there that the UCZ in the past had been perceived as a national church. After independence people saw it spreading fast on the surrounding plateaus, but they gave it at first no chance in the valley. In a meeting held in Chikwa, people mentioned that the UCZ had been associated for a long time with the nationalism of Kaunda and that it had been boycotted because of that.¹²⁶ It was only after the Kaunda era that the UCZ gained a foothold in Chikwa area, starting with the 1990s. The church then grew rapidly and attracted especially returnees from the Copperbelt. Today it is one of the liveliest churches in the area, with attractive and strong choirs; many people see today in the UCZ a means towards wider integration into Zambia – maybe as an alternative to (rather than an instrument of) government structures, or at least as a complementary structure in its own rights. The distinction between church and government becomes clearer for people where they see the church getting involved in issues of justice and peace, especially regarding the abuses of the wildlife authorities.

Relating to development projects

Wildlife protection needs in the long run some legitimisation through development projects. Everywhere now there are clubs for *citukuko* (development), here a meeting, there a seminar, over there yet another workshop, there a new club for bee keepers, and here looking for membership for conservation farming. Internet web pages and safari brochures convince us that the local population is benefiting from wildlife protection, that they find jobs, learn crafts, benefit from sold licences, have more schools and clinics available, that many water wells have been dug with good drinking water, and that much of this has been paid with funds raised from the wildlife industry fed back into the community. Apart from regulated redistribution of funds through the Community Resource

Boards (CRB) (if they are really working....), one finds in the valley also a number of private initiatives from safari enterprises engaged in local education and healthcare. Yet, it remains a fact that in spite of all development initiatives the Luangwa Valley remains marked by one of the highest poverty levels of the whole country, and the poverty is chronic, while the valley forms at the same time one of the greatest tourist attractions of Zambia, and provides the country with a steady income.

The new wildlife policies that are applied to the Game Management Areas have a strong stress on community participation in policies and in profits. However, new words such as “community based natural resource programmes” or the “Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project” together with the new “Village Action Groups”, “Area Development Committees”, or “Chiefs and Local leaders Committees” have not dispelled the popular conception that the wildlife protection programmes have created a new elite and cemented also the position of traditional authorities within that elite, who share amongst themselves most of the profits from the new “community based” principles; the people whose fields are ravaged by the animals (who therefore bear the real costs of wildlife protection) are too often left with nothing. The isolation from the plateau has made people powerless to seek official redress in the face of corruption and nepotism; isolation from the plateau and the rest of Zambia and a gross lack of communication structures has made people very dependent on the valley elite (ZAWA, chiefs and close associates, private investors).

When asked their opinion during this research about development programmes, people didn't fail to enumerate what had improved in recent years: water supply (boreholes), clinics, more schools (though of poor quality). But most contrasted the present situation negatively with the past when they could hunt and eat (see chapter 2). “We were healthier in the past, we ate better, and there were also fewer sicknesses, and fewer deaths.”¹²⁷ Concerning a number of development projects that we find in the valley, people were ambivalent: they wanted such projects, but I hardly came across anybody who was really convinced that projects will lift the area out of poverty. The key metaphor of poverty in the valley is not the absence of development projects, but the absence of a proper road. The ideology of conservation farming is subscribed to because with each step done on their own fields, people receive handouts of maize. “I do it because of the maize, but I can't see how this sort of farming can really bring results,” said one of the catechists of Chikowa parish. In fact people in the valley tend to evaluate projects not for their communal but for its personal benefit. Many individuals look at a project of road building, or a clinic, or a school, in terms of piecemeal opportunities and employment rather than for what it does for the community. In turn many outsiders find people in the valley ungrateful and very demanding. The concept of a “common good” in the valley is shallow: since people are rooted first and foremost in their separate lineages, a project is evaluated first in terms of what it brings to the lineage (employment, benefits, handouts)

rather than to some “common good” of the valley. That “common good” has too often been hijacked by the valley elite.

People have learned how to play the game: how to adapt to the new world of *ci-tukuko* (development) that is now going through the valley, how to use the right language, so as to receive some short-term gain. Obviously, the educated can adapt best to this new language and they can best discern the right channels. The uneducated become more dependent. For them the world becomes smaller and smaller, as more and more spheres of life are removed from their competence. The low level of internal cooperation together with the low level of education reinforces a sense of hopelessness in regards to having effective political power. A response is often not to confront an outsider, not to fight, but to get as much as possible out of him, and for the rest ignore him. Another response is seeking access to alternative but illegitimate means of power, especially to witchcraft (see the next chapter). At the same time, many chiefs and headmen refuse to be sidelined by an upcoming elite: they make sure they are part in development deals and get their share, which brings a certain heaviness to many programmes.

The chiefs

When the church calls for a meeting or a seminar, people are late or more likely don't come at all. A church programme is sent out well in advance, a priest comes down 200 km on bad road all the way from Lundazi to Chasera, but finds only four or five people and a few kids looking at the car, and he gets the reply: “*bantu bali ku minda*” (“the people are in the fields - though you may suspect that a number of church councillors are just drinking around the corner). Chief Mwanya in contrast may call for a meeting, further away, and earlier in the morning, and though the Awiza may tell you in private that they don't consider him to be their chief, they will be there at call without delay. How does the chief maintain his grip on people in the valley, and how does the church lose it?

The tradition of chiefdoms in the valley has been very ambiguous (see chapter 4), and the present chiefdoms are the result of rather arbitrary history and negotiations; their position became cemented and sometimes even invented (like chief Nyalugwe) under colonial rule. The state today affirms appointments, provides chiefs with a salary and chief retainers, and regulates the chief's authority through its legal framework. But the chiefs in the valley are greatly feared and they form powerful political coordinates that by far surpass the legal framework. Many chiefs in the valley are rich (though not all) have more access to resources than their counterparts on the plateau. Many chiefs profit from the wildlife industry. They see themselves as the owners of the land, and any safari enterprise looking for land has to pass through the chief. Outsiders and investors are eager to believe that also the local people have consented when the chief consents to give away the land they want.

The chiefs of the valley, despite a weak tradition, have managed well to reinvent themselves. They also have become national focal points of folklore. The Senga have their *Kwenje* ceremony and the *Miyombe* celebrations, the Kunda the *Malaila*, and the Nsenga the *Tuwimba*. Two reasons seem obvious: there is support from the tourist industry (the chiefs incidentally become again focal point for the cultural scene), and secondly people of the valley are travelling a lot, many live in Lusaka and in the Copperbelt, and they are looking there for an identity marker. The festivals seem largely fundraised and organised by the folklore societies of the towns.¹²⁸

An interesting question to ask is how the authority of the chiefs integrates with the lines of power that run through the local population, through the villages and lineages. Under the chief's authority a variety of other local interests merge in a structure of dependencies and patronages. The Chiefs Act (chapter 479 of the Laws of Zambia) provides the chief with the authority to "discharge ... the traditional functions of his office under African customary law in so far as the discharge of such functions is not contrary to the Constitution or any written law and is not repugnant to natural justice or morality" (§10a). The focal point is the word 'tradition'. In rural Zambia the chiefs' authority depends much on how they have managed to reinvent themselves as guarantors of tradition, of the *miyambo*. Some of the issues they deal with can also be dealt with in the local courts: adultery, divorces, "damage" of a girl, village fights, insults, and thefts, but other issues are seen as belonging properly to the palace: anything to do with the land and people's gardens, village affairs and appointments of headmen, but also dealings with witchcraft (*ufwiti*). Witchcraft cannot be dealt with anywhere else (as it is not recognised by the official courts), and dealing with witchcraft has been successfully monopolised in the valley by the chiefs, falling under their 'traditional functions'. People depend on the chief for land, settlement, gardens, and certain offices, but moreover they depend on the chief for certain types of security. Despite historical arbitrariness, the chiefs quite successfully present themselves as the guarantors of the values of the valley over and against the official courts and authorities, and even the churches.

Witchcraft disputes are examples of how chiefs manage to become focal points of the *mwambo* far beyond what is acknowledged by the law. There are accusers and there are those accused of witchcraft. It is easy to see why the accuser should go to the chief: only in the chiefs' courts can he press for compensation from the accused, and he can have his suspicions publicly acknowledged. But also the accused go willingly to the chief's court, however much the churches may try to make them go to the official courts. In a climate where everybody believes in and experiences the presence of witchcraft, accused *afwiti* (wizards, witches) need to be vindicated from the witchcraft accusations if they want to receive protection against the accusing lineages. Official courts that don't recognise witchcraft can never vindicate. It is common practice in the valley for the chief to refer the accused together with the accuser to three different but approved *ng'anga*, which usually leads to a certain dilution of the case and buys time for the accused. With-

out the chief, the accused has to face the wrath of the accuser's lineage alone, which can be very powerful; someone who seeks revenge may know about poisons and witchcraft. Only the chief's court can control the accusing lineage, and the presence of independent councillors and headmen can also mean a certain amount of objectivity beyond personal opinions. Not to go to the chief can mean to put one's own life into jeopardy and also the life of family.

Witchcraft accusations are a communal affair. Some individuals may be more vocal than others in witchcraft affairs, but they too are dependent on the support of their lineages or families, and later on the support of headmen, chief, and broader sections of the community. Any witchcraft accusation or refutation is dependent on how much support from different sides this claim can rally behind itself. Unsupported claims can and do backfire. At the chief's court a variety of voices participate, the different lineages involved in the dispute, the councillors, indunas, headmen who are called to be present at the hearing. Witnesses are heard, letters written by the different *ng'anga* and their verdicts are read out, and in this process many views are expressed but also a certain objectivity is established that recognises witchcraft and that becomes binding. (See Ciekawi 2001). Witchcraft beliefs at the same time become reinforced. All are made to participate in the discourse on the *mwambo*, of which the chief has become the centre. A chief at the same time is commonly regarded as a kind of wizard himself: chiefs are associated with occult forces (and already to become a chief, a person has to get rid of opponents.) "Chiefs can kill" was a comment I sometimes heard.

Some cases are easy to deal with for the chiefs, while others can be very difficult. Two situations can be contrasted. When I was in Tembwe in August, a sick man (rather young) who lived in a poor hut and obviously did not have much money, managed to raise 340,000 Kwacha in cash to book a *ng'anga* called "Tonde Kamulukolo Gonera Lwande" from Kambombo; furthermore he organised some chickens to feed the *ng'anga* for the days he was at his home. Three family members (two of them were "fathers" of the sick) stood accused to have caused the sickness, and the *ng'anga's* task was to point out the real culprit. In the evenings a number of young people were at the drums and dancing, but my impression there was that they had come for entertainment rather than for some deep commitment in the case. I spoke with some of the neighbours, but did not sense much involvement. Yes, maybe there was witchcraft, but nobody seemed really fanatic about this case at that moment. Others carefully phrased their sentences to me: "some say that... " – "this is what we hear but we have not been there..." – "ask somebody in the family, they must know ..."; it seemed to me that many did not want to become dragged into an affair of somebody else. This was not their business nor their family. The sick man had raised a lot of money, but little communal support. In the valley it is very difficult to raise public support beyond the own lineage due to the quicksand of social structure. Such cases are easy to deal with for the chief, as they remain contained

within small segments and can thereby be easier controlled, maybe even manipulated to some extent.

In contrast, in Chitumbi (Nyimba), I was told that in 1980 a certain “Doctor” Chenda Bwamba cleansed the whole village and killed publicly more than 10 ‘witches’ with his *mwavi* within a single week. One year later “Doctor” Kasensela alias “*Kapula mu nthambo*” killed the remaining witches that were left in another proper cleansing (1981). “After that we had peace for some years”, the elders told me in a meeting.

“But it is time that another *mcapi* (witch-finder and witch-cleanser) comes, because nowadays things are worse than ever: people just kill randomly (*kupayepaye*) to have a better harvest or just out of jealousy. The *ng’anga* also don’t know anymore their business and don’t have anymore proper *mwavi* (poison to identify and kill witches) as in the past. Last year a certain Elias came, but he didn’t do a proper cleansing. Today the youths just go to a *ng’anga* to buy a *bwanga* (charm used for sorcery)– this was not like that in the past. Even the chiefs today are afraid to give a *ng’anga* proper papers to cleanse our villages.”

Chiefs can be afraid. In a situation where whole villages call for the *mcapi* and where a case has gathered public support from different sections of the community, it is very difficult for the chief to control the events. The chiefs need witchcraft cases to build up their authority, but it is always a game with fire. The very loose social structure of the valley may make it easier for the chiefs: they deal with many smaller fires (and each brings a bit of money) and thus seem to manage quite well to stay in control.

People’s relationship with their chiefs in the valley is ambivalent and contains many contradictions. In some respects they are proud of their chiefs. Chiefs have become markers of their identity, and guarantors of their *mwambo*. For people their relationship with the chief is often the only option to attain some security in their lives. At the same time they fear their chiefs, consider them to be corrupt (“they love sugar!”), and people see them selling off the country of their ancestors to foreign investors and consider themselves to be powerless against their arbitrariness; a number of Catholics compared their chief with the Biblical Pharaoh, and others called their chief “Judas Iscariot” for selling off their land. The chiefs powers far extend what has been granted to them by official law, since the power of the state limits itself in the valley to wildlife protection (even that is privatised to a large extent), and can not guarantee the protection of people. Where in the valley can a person or a whole family appeal to for example if the chief one day decides to kick them out of his country? This may be unlawful, but examples are there. The old chief Kazembe before his death in 2005 publicly expelled several people accused of witchcraft with their families from his country in a meeting attended not only by senior chief Mwase but also by the D.S., who just remained quiet.¹²⁹ The families in question did not go, and in consequence their houses were burnt down on command of the chief.

The authority of the chiefs in the valley can be put into direct link with the absence of effective state authority. In the valley people have few alternatives to the chiefs.

The chief's authority also passes right through the churches and church councils. In many places in the valley church council members fear direct reprisals from their chiefs should they dislike their decisions. A lesson can be learned from the Jehovah Witnesses who are outstanding in their independence from the chiefs in religious matters throughout Zambia. Even in the valley they are known for boycotting the chiefs' courts when they deal with matters of witchcraft and cleansings from *vibanda*. The reputation of the Jehovah Witnesses goes so far that in many places they are uniquely exempt from taxation for incoming witchfinders, because they don't pay anyway. As much as possible, they deal with disputes in their own internal courts.

The lineage

In the valley we find a multitude of lineages who immigrated from all possible directions into the valley, have a long history of co-existence, but may have little to do with each other if not linked by marriage. In the past, young hunters depended on their family (fathers and relatives) for access to medicines: hunting and medicines were intrinsically connected, and though one could acquire medicines also from a *ng'anga* (but only with payments), much stayed within the families. Access to medicines also meant access to occult forces and witchcraft, another reason why many people preferred to live away from each other.

All villages I analysed contained a settlement pattern based on lineages, most clearly in the quasi patrilineal north where lineages are easily defined, but also in the matrilineal south, though it produces much variation, as marriages today can be both viri- or uxorilocal, and as the father figure also in matrilineal societies is becoming more important. Still today, a person is as strong as his lineage. The stranger, and people with few relatives, or who have lost support of their lineages, are easy prey for everybody and are devoured without regret. This is strongly felt by teachers. I was told that on the Western side of the Luangwa in Bisa country, a number of fishing banks and especially the *fyansa* (fish weirs) are in possession of lineages and inherited through the matri-lineage. An indication of control of the lineage was (and sometimes still is) the pre-arrangement of marriages in the Southern part of the valley, or marriages at close range. People in the south (Ambo & Kunda & Wiza) still show strong preference for cross-cousin marriage. One young couple in Mkasanga told me that their marriage had been pre-arranged by their mothers, and they were happy about it.

Authority figures within the family differ (fathers, maternal uncles, grandparents, etc.) While stressing the powers of the lineage, one should not lose sight of the fact that

all over the valley there are forces at work that are steadily undermining this power. As being responsible for this trend, people mentioned especially access to money. In some isolated parts of the valley (an example is Kasweta with its surrounding villages) there is still today hardly any circulation of cash, and trade remains based on barter, where family members depend much more on one another than in a cash economy. But most parts of the valley have become fully penetrated by the money economy, especially since the massive expansion of the cotton industry in recent years. Tiny shops can be found today even in very remote areas, where there was not a single shop ten years ago. Through money people have become less dependent on their lineages. “The youths today don’t listen anymore, they do what they want” – “the youths now have more money than the adults” – “there is more witchcraft in our families” – “*Mankhwala* is not given anymore by the elders, but is bought now anywhere” (and therefore also witchcraft is out of bounds) – “In the past meat was freely distributed within the family. Today nothing is distributed freely anymore. Everything is being sold. Business has entered in everything, even kin.” Statements like this are found all over the valley.

In spite of such wide erosion, ideals, values, moral codes and ethics still have the lineage as main reference, rather than say our church. Formal education of a number of years provides a certain stepping back from one’s own lineage. One should therefore expect that especially people without formal education (meaning the majority of people in the valley) are more confined to life strictly within the lineage structures and values. Some church policies can clash with what is demanded by the family. The churches forbid their members to go to a *ng’anga* in case of death in the family, but for a lineage to accept death with closed eyes means that either more people will be killed by the *mfwiti* (wizard) or others will suspect the *mfwiti* in the own family. The interests of the lineage demand the visit to the *ng’anga*. The Catholic church does not acknowledge divorce, and also in the lineage one goes a long way to save a marriage, but there are situations where this is not possible anymore, and in such cases the whole extended family will suffer from an impossible marriage; the strain of a redundant union, if it is not broken, can break whole lineages apart (Fields 1982). Catholics may be taught by their priests not to be afraid of *vibanda*, but to remain with the *cibanda* of a dead spouse can have consequences far beyond ones personal life since it affects also the spouse whose lineage may press for a case (*mlandu*) in case of sickness attributed to a *cibanda*. Christians in the valley listen politely to the church leaders, but for most of them the prime reference for moral codes is not their church (which can be changed after all), but their lineage on whom they depend and that cannot be changed.

When in Lumimba the parish council after their meeting announced in church that parents should be bared from the sacraments if they receive marriage payments for a union of their baptised child outside the blessings of the Catholic church, the whole church burst into laughter. The secretary of the church council stood her ground, and in public defended the rule, but each additional explanation was answered by further outbursts of

laughter, until she gave up and laughed herself. Not only because marriage payments among the Bisa (especially in times of hunger) can be very little. Not only because a girl will always follow the religion of her husband, wherever he prays, and there are too few Catholics. Not only because the majority of Catholics in the valley are already barred from the sacraments for marital reasons or never reached baptism. But also because people – and this point was made all along the valley – consider the church to be imprudent with marriages. “Why do you priests want to bless marriages of couples before they are ready?”, was a question I was sometimes asked, most forcefully in a big meeting with the Catholic chief Mnkanya. In the valley girls marry early, and parents want their girls to be married early, not only for the money, but for many other reasons discussed above. But that does not mean that they consider their children to be ready for marriage in church. Marriages in the valley proceed in stages, and are fully recognised only when several children have been born and when the marriage has been tested by both families concerned. For the Catholic church to press for a blessing of a marriage before that final stage is reached, is met with little understanding in the valley. Pastoral workers on the other side of the coin experience that the Christian message is accepted on a very partial and selective level; this has often to do with the demands of the lineage clashing with the demands of the church.



8. The God of the Valley

Many pastoral workers have made the experience that people forget about the church and fall back on what everybody else believes in the valley once the rains start and isolation comes about. “When we start coming in June after the rains, we always are starting again from zero.” (pastoral report of Lundazi/Lumimba 2006). One priest put it to me this way: “If you leave a person too long in the valley, he becomes like the valley people themselves. You better take him out before he becomes dangerous himself.” The valley has a very long history of provoking such remarks. Already in 1830, when Monteiro was revisiting the Portuguese colony along the Luangwa that had been acquired some years earlier to facilitate trade with Mwata Kazembe (seemingly somewhere between Lukusuzi and Matizi rivers), he found Petro Pereira (the brother of Manuel Pereira) whom he had left behind. J. C. Monteiro then described Pedro as “living like the (Africans) not only going about clothed like them but even resembling them in their customs and superstitions ... a man who has entirely forgotten his religion.” (quoted in Astle, 1997, 5). A quote from Chilonga Mission diary of 1919 shows what can happen when “good Christians” go back into the valley:

Father Superior went to visit the Kasenga (Luangwa Valley) for a week. One of the villages, Kachela, is peopled of ex-Chilonga citizens, whose faith is almost a past memory. They do keep the Sunday rest, but they do not gather for the Sunday service. Sunday is indeed different from the other days, for in the morning the men go hunting instead of working, in the evening they drink beer, and the whole population join in singing bawdy songs and dancing lascivious dances. As for the catechists, they are cold-shouldered by the Christians. Since the villagers have turned their backs to prayer and religious instruction, they look to the old pagan practices for comfort. One day they decreed that they had to offer a sacrifice to the spirits to ward off bad luck. They stretched their nets and caught...a hen, which they ritually obliterated with bows and arrows. Then they proclaimed very seriously that they had returned to the Old Testament!!! Father Superior gathered those poor misguided people together, and kindly endeavoured to make them see light. They at last confessed they had gone completely astray, and that they would henceforward observe the genuine Christian Sunday (religious service and rest), welcome the catechists, follow the catechism classes, etc. We shall see whether the ‘Israelites’ of Kachela will return to Christianity! (19th February 1919)

Religious life and concepts of the valley were often viewed to be irrational; often they were seen as a hindrance rather than as stepping stones towards Christianity. Valley religion took people away from the teachings of the churches. Christianity has many links with traditional religion in Africa, and in many societies it did not seem too difficult for people to make the transition from one to the other. In the valley, however, it was more difficult. And some in the valley today go into the offensive: they feel that the churches did not build on what was there. The Catholic chief Mnkhanya put it to me this way: "Jesus said he had come to fulfil the law. But you missionaries came to abolish the law." The same phrase I also heard in interviews with young men in a number of places in the valley. Some hold that the churches did not build on the religious foundations in which they saw nothing good. This chapter is about what is left of these old foundations today, especially what is left of publicly expressed traditional religion. What attitudes do people have towards them today, how do they shape people's understanding of God, and how are the churches seen in relation to them?

Religion of hunters

"Religious is what is fundamentally meaningful in terms of ultimate existence", is one of the many definitions of religion. Men's life was until very recently centred on hunting. Stuart Marks wrote a well acclaimed book on the hunting traditions and religious frameworks of the Bisa of Nabwalya which proved very helpful for my interviews all across the valley (less though for the Senga of the north) (Marks 1978). Hunting in the valley was highly ritualised and the hunters' experiences in the bush were intrinsically connected to the wives' activities in the village (death or accident of the hunter in case of adultery, plastering, or only sweeping done by the wife). The movements and behaviour of animals mirrored domestic life back in the village. This connection between animals and people was foremost established through the influence of deceased ancestors on animals. These ancestral spirits could lure animals into the hunter's traps, but also chase animals away from the hunters. They could make animals to copulate before the hunter (to show him what his wife was doing back in the village), entice them to charge and kill the hunter, or to confuse a charging animal. Hunting was a major form of divination (*lutembo*), which was practised at all major deaths. The sex of the animal killed determined where to look for the cause of death. Going out hunting meant for the hunter to prepare himself and be in union with the ancestors. One old hunter near Nyalugwe confirmed to me that still today he pours some flour under a tree before hunting, to call on the ancestors, and check in the morning for signs of animals around the flour. Most hunters, however, including the old, told me that was a thing of the distant past. Today hunting is much less ritualised than what Marks described in the 1970s. People in the south basically confirmed to me the observations of Marks, saying that was their culture, but

told me that "modern rifles know no rituals". One old man born in 1920 in Mwanya told me that he still witnessed many hunting rituals as a youth during the 1930s, but that already in the 1940s many hunting traditions were not really followed any longer. But two issues remain important also today, inclusive for many young hunters whom I interviewed, and both issues show that hunting still today cannot be isolated completely from the ancestors: not to go hunting after bad dreams, and to abstain from sex before going hunting, "otherwise you kill nothing or you may even have an accident or be killed." Nobody today builds some systematic explanations around these taboos, but they still show the link between the ancestors and the bush with its animals. Dreams are related to the dead, and so is the taboo on sex: sexual intercourse makes hot, but the ancestors and the bush are cold; to go hunting while being hot will not work.

Another point made by Marks also came still back in some of my interviews 40 years later: To become a hunter is understood by many as a calling, as a vocation. When people described how they became hunters, it reminded me of the religious language we use when describing a vocation to the priesthood. "I dreamed of my dead grandfather who gave me a rifle. The next morning my father gave me his gun and sent me away hunting", explained a hunter of Mwanya to me. A number of men confirmed to me that they had become hunters through a calling in a dream. Stuart Marks found in Nabwalya that most of those who were recognised by the community to be real *bacibinda* (real *ba-fundi* in contrast to occasional hunters) had had a number of *bacibinda* (professional hunters) in their family trees. To refuse such a calling to become a hunter meant to reject a duty to the family and ancestors.

Hunting was linked not only to human ancestors, but also to the shades of animals. Like humans, also animals (especially eland & elephant) have *vibanda* (spirits, shades) from which one needs to be protected but which can also be a source of occult powers. Hunting needs medicines, but medicines are not just given to anybody; they come from the *makolo* (ancestors) or other experienced hunters, especially those close to the own family. Hunting thus linked the men not only strongly to their ancestors, but also incorporated them into a network of distribution. Meat was distributed in certain ways among family, headman and chief, though such distribution patterns had also given rise to many tensions; as hunting often proceeded with much secrecy and discreetness (only a fool speaks out loudly what he has caught), one would talk about big kills only with other professional hunters who know about the required medicines to be protected against the shades of these animals. Stuart Marks wrote that the Bisa also had various hunting guilds in the past.

Especially outsiders in the valley consider hunting as one of the main reasons why Christianity is only accepted half-heartedly. "In hunting there is too much secrecy, but in the church we don't want secrecy. Hunting needs medicines, but in the church we are not allowed to use medicines".¹³⁰ One could add that hunting has to do with ancestors, and that the church was not really at ease with people's contacts with their ancestors.

In spite of the fact that a number of missionaries were hunters themselves, Christianity has not built much on the religious experiences that were in the hunting traditions. This may be another reason why many men found it very difficult to make our church their home.

Mulungu anali pafupi – In the past God was near

“When do you think God was nearer to you, now or in the past?” This question I often asked during meetings throughout the valley. The answer was nearly always the same: “*Kale mulungu enze pafupi*” – in the past God was near. Many people feel that God was nearer to their ancestors than to themselves. Some even added that God ran away with the arrival of Christianity. Here a quote from men in Mwape:

Our parents used to pray under the *Msolo* tree; whenever there was no rain they pleaded under the *Msolo* tree and rain came. When they lacked meat they went to God (Nyamalenga), and a lion came and left an animal at the village that he had killed. When sicknesses were there, they pleaded and the sick healed. When the missionaries came they forbid all these and said “you are praying to idols (*mafano*), and that is when we stopped to pray under the *Msolo*. God was very near to our parents because when they prayed the rain came: they were just coming back from the tree and the rain fell already. Because God was near to them. But today it does not work anymore because we are only doing bad things. We don’t do good things. But in the past people were listening a lot, therefore they also knew God and what he wanted. They did not know that there was another person of his who had died for them but as soon as we heard that Jesus had died for us that was when God fled from us. In the past if somebody did something bad, God reprimanded and punished him, that is why things were good in the past. But that is over, because when you go today to the *kawimba* (spirit shrine) the rain will not come because it is full of sins everywhere today. In the past people feared God, and if a person was just doing bad things they killed him. They tied those people to a tree and gave them *mwavi* to drink. And if a man committed adultery they fried his hands, that is why people in the past were afraid. When the missionaries came they forbid us our things, they forbid our *miyambo* (traditions), but they did not give us their *miyambo*.¹³¹

This is not a unique quote; I found arguments in similar shades all over the valley. With the arrival of Christianity people could not deal anymore with their own issues (witchcraft, adultery), and they lost fear in God, because – as quoted above – Jesus had died for their sins, so there was no need to punish someone else. The last sentence of the above quote is also revealing. Somebody else said that “the missionaries did not give us everything. There cannot be a country without punishment, but the missionaries only preached about love and not punishing. They were hiding some things from us people.” A group of young men in Chikowa put it this way: “Christianity is good, but we never understood it

properly because either the missionaries did not tell us everything or we misquoted them. There are many things in their countries of which they never spoke about.” Here another quote of a young adult in Chikowa:

The churches took away our *nzeru* (understanding, intelligence). In the past our ancestors knew what to do to get good crops. When they went to the *kabvuwa* the rains came the same day. A little cloud would appear in heaven, and before they had reached their homes it would pour rain. Just make an experiment: call all church leaders together, the Catholics, Anglicans, and Jehovah Witnesses, all of them, and put them together in a house and we will feed them for two weeks. Let them pray together for rain day and night, still you will see it will not rain properly. We had bad rains now for more than ten years, this year we had floods and a draught in one and the same year. This never happened in the past. Our ancestors knew what to do.¹³²

The *msolo* tree symbolises today the religion of the ancestors. It stands also for the aspect of past religion that has been abandoned. Sometimes it stands for the feeling that God himself has abandoned the valley: “even if we’d go back today to the *msoro* and do all that is required, it would not work.” God will not listen any more.

Many people are nostalgic about the *msolo* tree, but at the same time they are aware that it belongs into another era that is long gone and that it would be irrelevant today. Those people who complained to me about the erosion of the spirit shrines (*kabvuwa* or *tuwimba*) were mainly headmen and chiefs, people whose traditional authority and social position relies to some extent on such expression of traditional religion. Ordinary people were much less concerned about their disappearance. Young people who do not pray in church, showed still less interest for the *kabvuwa*. Young generations that sought to break away from the authority of headmen and lineage elders found in the churches a convenient means to do so. Not to go to the *kabvuwa* of the group-headman also meant to weaken his political authority. In the north of the valley (from Mwanya up to Chama) I found much more open expression of public traditional religion than in the south: spirit shrines at group-headmen, public *cinamwali* (“*ca cikunja*”), and among the Senga the Mulenga cult organised by headmen and chiefs when they build a decorated hut at cross-roads and sing and dance for rain. I don’t think that those who dance for rain at Mulenga’s shrine really believe that it will not rain if they don’t do so. Nor do those (I guess) who go to the spirit shrine of the group-headmen, pour out beer and exclaim *papa* with outstretched arms. But in the north such traditional religion still constitutes to some degree political authority. One headman compared the *kabvuwa* with a flag: “whenever you see a flag, you know that you are in a place of authority, and when you see a *kabvuwa* you know you are at the group headman.” One could say that in the north the *kabvuwa* and the Mulenga cult give “social capital” to the headmen, as does the public *cinamwali* to the *anyapungu* and the organising family. Such expressions of traditional religion remain in the north markers of identity that still fill many people with pride, and to some degree also reinforce unity.

Chief Chifunda organised in 2005 an extraordinary event in his country: He called together (for the first time) leaders of all churches (including the catholic catechist of Chiweza) and asked them to pray together for rain. "In the past we all went to the *msoro*. Now since we are all Christians, let us pray together for rain, rather than each one in his own church." Nearly all churches had joined (except Jehovah Witnesses and the New Apostolic church), and I was told that heavy rain fell down only few days after the prayers.

***Cinamwali* (initiation for girls)**

For chief Mnkhanya and his council, the disregard for the *mwambo*, especially the *cinamwali*, has much to do with the absence of God. The first ancestors came into the valley because they were guided by God and because they were walking within the *mwambo*. The ordinary union with the sacred was not done through words but through right conduct, the walking in the *mwambo*. The *cinamwali* is not just a feast; it is a teaching that determines ordinary every-day conduct. When you break the *mwambo*, then things start to go wrong. Prayers and offerings (at the *msolo* tree or at the *kawimba*) were done in times of troubles (draught, hunger, disease), when something had already gone wrong. Today religion has become a matter of formal prayers (on Sunday), but is largely detached from ordinary affairs.

The *cinamwali* is one out of several steps that make an adult woman who is capable of leading a married life. Out of the multiple steps (puberty, marriage preparation and sex-education, birth of the first child, etc.) the public focus is on the *cinamwali* which is in the valley much more than a puberty rite teaching proper behaviour and hygiene (as the Christianised rites want) but a summary or nutshell of all the rites leading into marriage. The *cinamwali* is a protected space with guarded secrets, which gives women positions of ritual authority in which men better not meddle. Sexual activity, the house, the bush, gardens, pregnancy, the kitchen, food & salt, children: everything becomes ritually charged to be hot or cold, and thereby all important aspects of life become linked together and must not be seen in isolation from the legitimate sexual union between husband and wife. Life is a unity and the centre of all activities must be the guarded space of the married household. We find in the *cinamwali* a counter part to the hunting traditions of the men that equally link the animals with the domestic sphere and right sexual conduct.

In the *cinamwali* women are in charge. The man may prefer a wife who has gone through the *cinamwali* and has become more docile. But he may find out that the "docile" wife will prove very strong in the long run. The man is the official head of the household, yet in the matrilineal societies he is also the *tambala* (the cock) who begets children for a lineage not his own; the cock may crow around the house and make noise, but he may

remain a stranger to the affairs of the children he begets. The submissiveness of the wife, taught in the initiation rites, can give ritual control to the woman: she cleans and guards the house and the kitchen, guards the act of procreation and the ritual state of the children; the right time and the wrong time for sexual intercourse will depend more on the rhythm of her body (and the health of the children) than on his – except for what was in the past determined by hunting, which was his sphere; she takes the initiative of the ritual shaving (in the north the *kutoshya nyumba*), one of the prime symbols of unity and love in marriage. Due to the intrinsic connection between adultery and the life of the spouse and children in a milieu where men are out for long periods of time, sometimes even years, and where everybody knows about the ravages of AIDS, it is not surprising that women don't easily give up the *cinamwali* and its guarded space, that gives them some control over the sexual life of their husbands.¹³³

In the valley, many complained to me that young men have money but that they lost all respect for their marriage. The economic developments in the valley have sidelined women. “*Anyamata a lero saika nzeru mu ukwati* (young men don't put their brains into their marriages)”, is a comment I heard all over the valley, and “*indalama zaononga mwambo*. (Money destroys tradition)” The whole of the catholic choir of Lukusuzi (Liva) was depreciating the *cinamwali* to me: “It's mere superstition of uneducated women – it's just drunk women talking (*kusabaila*) about things they don't know themselves – they only want to get some beer – the Bible forbids it anyway”. In the south (Nyimba, Chikowa) even the big drums needed for a proper initiation ceremony are rare and hidden. The *cinamwali ca cikunja* (“pagan” initiation) is publicly discredited and young women I interviewed (though not all) had gone through the *cinamwali ca cikristu* (Christian initiation). But also in the south it is still full of electricity when the initiation tunes are played, even when the *cinamwali* is no longer a village feast, when drums are hardly used (they are “*cikunja*”), when women only clap, and *thobwa* is served instead of beer. But apart from the fact that the girl puts salt into the food of her parents, many women assured me that deep down it is the same *cinamwali*: the same teaching, the same songs, and the same framework, only less lively. “*Mu namwali wa cikristu muliye pindo.*” In Chikowa where a number of women are quite articulated, some called back for the drums and spoke that request into my tape recorder “for the bishop to hear”.

Women were throughout the valley very interested in discussions on girls' initiation and marriage preparation and I felt in this research that this is one of the main issues that women want to have addressed. But the catholic *alangizi*, especially in the southern part of the valley, are often the ones who seemed most ill at ease with the rites in the presence of a catholic priest. When they establish their authority as members of the catholic church over and against the traditional midwives, then anything traditional becomes bad: drums are very bad, and so is beer and any form of nakedness, and the traditional decorations are also very bad, and worst of all is the taboo on putting salt. But whenever I asked them why it was so bad, the only reason I received was that it is “*ci-*

kunja” (pagan) and that it is forbidden in the Bible. I learned much more from non-Catholic women, who proved to be more open and free in the discussions with a catholic priest on their *mwambo*, and had no need to be defensive or feel criticised. But there is much confusion, and things are messy. Often the *maphunsiro* (teachings) of the *cinamwali* are out of touch with what the girls learn at school, and also with their ways of looking at life today. But they touch a dimension of marital life that goes very deep and that cannot be explained in words alone. In the Christianised rites of the *cinamwali* some evaluation has gone on, but also here many *anyapungu* have not gone to school themselves, and some remain rather aloof to what is going on in terms of sex education (and sex experiences) in the schools. Interest is great, but discussions are a minefield, and the church still has some homework to do.

Experiences of witchcraft

The previous chapter brought out some points how chiefs manage to deal with witchcraft. Here I investigate how experiences of witchcraft and dealings with it shape the religious mind. Witchcraft has to be dealt with and a religion that cannot deal with witchcraft disqualifies itself in the valley. Sometimes I asked people who don't pray whether there was a reason. “The churches are full with witches!” A young man at the beer in Nsefu was more precise: “Were there no witches in Europe? Did you not get rid of them all? But here in Zambia you forbid us to deal with our witches.” He was much applauded by his colleagues. “It is especially in the churches that the witches are hiding today, and you protect them. You put the witch on top and the victims down.” The point of the churches harbouring sorcerers contains some truth: in some of outstations people were afraid to remove some elderly church council members or chairmen because they were known to know about witchcraft and they exploited this fear. The Bisa mentioned of people “making themselves heavy” (*kwifinya*) to stay in power, which means they allude to their knowledge of occult forces.

Witchcraft is not dealt with in some arbitrary way. What is witchcraft and what is not is established in a discerning process, which is a communal affair. Thereby people have to deal with issues that go very deep and touch death, dreams, and spirits of the dead. It is a religious issue. Witchcraft in the valley (as elsewhere in much of Africa) is closely related to authority. People are afraid of witchcraft, and *ufwiti* of course is experienced as a negative power against members of the community, but at the same time any headman, any person in a position of authority, and especially any chief, has to know about witchcraft. Witchcraft, authority and knowledge belong together into one and the same framework.¹³⁴ A person of authority must also have knowledge of witchcraft. But his knowledge is to benefit the community, while the *mfwiti* kills own family members or other members of the community for personal gain, jealousy or hatred.

An example of such legitimate witchcraft used by legitimate authorities I found in an event that happened in Tembwe just before the Lenshina uprising in 1964. I quote from an interview with headman Ng'anjo Chibwato and a group of elders narrating the events:

In Chikwa and in Kambombo everybody followed Lenshina. But here in Tembwe we were mission educated (CCAP) and chief Tembwe (Joseph Changwe) had been educated in Chasefu. We knew that a disaster was coming up. Lenshina had a group of supporters also here in Tembwe, which was lead by Kalewa. We knew that many people would die if we could not stop the group. Therefore the chief sat down with his council to look for a way to get rid of Kalewa. They sent James Mwale to Kalewa to shake hands with him. James Mwale met Kalewa on the road, greeted him, shook hands with him, and went on. The same night Kalewa died, and without his leadership the group of Lenshina collapsed. Because of this there was no war in Tembwe, while hundreds of people died in Kambombo and in Chikwa.

Kalewa was killed through the legitimate magic (witchcraft) of the chief's council, given in the hands of Joseph Changwe. Of this sort of legitimate witchcraft people are proud. Access to occult forces is a power of the valley that is also intrinsically related to the ancestors, a wisdom that they left for us. Chiefs and headmen guarded the secrets of their legitimate occult forces (legitimate witchcraft) from commoners, thereby they prevented illegitimate use of witchcraft and at the same time protected those who rallied behind them by means of these very powers. A number of chiefly dynasties narrate stories about the magical powers of their founding members. The first Mambwes for example was known for his ability to change himself into a Baobab tree, a stone, or a bird in times of war and thus protect himself and his followers from attacks of the Angoni or Bisa. (see Appendix I.) Lane-Poole narrated stories he heard about the occult powers of the first woman chief Mwape.¹³⁵ In Luwembe, the *beni Kashimu* and the *beni Nzovu* are still proud today of their historical role of guarding the magic of changing dead chiefs into royal lions and of the magic to protect an army in war. Today many people regret that such knowledge is gone. "In the past headmen knew how to prevent wild animals and elephants to come into the village. They were protecting the villages with medicines. Today nobody knows anymore how to do it."

The borderline between legitimate medicines and illegitimate witchcraft is not always very clear. Many women for example use *vikondi* (love charms); such medicines are good for a giggle and often seen to be rather innocent. But they can have unintended consequences. When I was in Mkasanga, one woman had to flee the village while I was present, because she was known for using love charms to keep her husband. But when her husband died and she started to see him in dreams, she was accused of having put love portions into his food, which happened to kill him.

Legitimate medicines are especially interwoven into the hunting traditions. One hunter in Nyalugwe told me and Brother Vinod of 72 different medicines that he knows well and that he prepared for his sons: a number of medicines are used to call different animals, to

evade angry buffaloes or charging elephants, to get rid of the *viwanda* (spirits) of killed animals (especially the *nsefu* - eland), protections against the consequences of adultery of the wife while he is on a hunting trip, medicines to wash the gun and the body to free them from the animals' *viwanda*, medicines when taking out the pulp of elephant tusks less one will be haunted by headaches, etc. Children are well protected, and just by looking at the necks of babies, one sees medicines against the *luwombo*, *ciwere*, *lunse*, sicknesses of the eyes, *mankowesha* of sexual pollution, but also whether the mother had a previous miscarriage, whether another child has died in the family (*katwi*), whether the father of the child left, or whether the child has dreams or fits that are attributed to a *ciwanda*. Many speak of protective magic in homes (though nobody showed me a single exhibit); one Catholic elderly man in Kalasa told me that he had protected all his children and his wife by incisions against witchcraft – “do you think I want to remain alone [and my family dies]? Of course I protect my family!” Business women spoke openly to me about magic for their businesses; some showed me even how to prepare it “so that everybody will buy from you”. I was shown how to cut open a *mulozi* shrub right through from top to bottom and how to walk through it naked (though I did not practise it in public) before going to court, and how to put a piece of the root of the *palibe kanthu* shrub under my tongue when going to the chief, in case I have made a *mlandu* (court case). I was told about medicines to protect gardens from theft (*ikai*), and wives from adultery, but again in this case I was shown no exhibit (it were always the “others” who do it). Two women were not shy and explained under much laughter how to protect their husbands from getting sick (*nsima*) when they have slept with another man.

Sometimes even illegitimate medicines can fill people with pride, as long as it is used against other people far away. Here a story that I was told in Mkasanga about their local hero, Aliele Zimba (narrated by Bana Saba).

Aliele Zimba worked with “Kalanga Chuma”, his powerful magic, even more powerful than that of the Indians. Locally he was known for his dreams. Whenever a lion caught an animal he dreamed about it and led the villagers to pick up the carcass. When he was hunting, no game guard ever saw him. But his most powerful magic was his *nkoli* (stick) with which he used to go to the towns. He entered a store and put down his *nkoli* just at the entrance of the store. Now all the goods of the store that he wanted entered his stick: bicycles, bales of cloth, haws, wheelbarrows, blankets, anything he wanted just entered the stick. Back at home in Mkasanga he dug a big pit, put his stick inside, and everything came out again, and he covered the pit with grass. That is how he stole from all the shops of Chipata and Lundazi. Whenever something was stolen, the police heard the name of Aliele Zimba. Until they looked for him in Mkasanga. Aliele Zimba was living in Chitumbi, where he had married the sister of Chitumbi. When the police came to Mkasanga, he was out in his gardens in the *citeba* (garden hut). The police finally asked headman Simoni where Aliele Zimba would be found. “I know where he is, he is my grandchild,” and the headman led the police to the *citeba* of Aliele. It was getting evening, and Aliele was inside. Simoni called him out, and Aliele thought that his grandfather was alone. When he came out and saw the police with him he said: “Owe!!

Mwaiza ne vipondo! – you came with traitors!” The police then tied him up there and then onto their bicycle with many robes and said they would take him early morning to prison. Then everybody went to sleep around him. But early morning when they woke up they found he was gone, and so was their bicycle. The robes were on the grounds and in the sand they found written the following words: “*Nebo Aliele Zimba, tamwankumanishe!* – I am Aliele Zimba - you will not keep up with me.” The police was angry, so they arrested Aliele’s wife. “You are hiding him!” Again, early morning they found a note: “I am Aliele Zimba. *Tamwankumanishe!* Leave my wife alone. If you want me, just look for me in Chipata in the prison.” The police went back to Chipata, and found to their surprise that Aliele Zimba had given himself up to prison on own accords! He led the prison staff to Mkasanga to the pit he had dug, but they found out that most of the goods had been spoiled by rust and water. They kept Aliele for one year in jail. When he came out and went back to Mkasanga, only a short time passed and a *ng’anga* came to cleanse the village. He was called Kamuchimba. He took away all the *fishimba* (charms) of Aliele. The only thing left now were his dreams and hunting skills.

Such stories fill people with pride rather than disgust. Yes, Aliele Zimba was a *mfwiti*, but people are proud that their fellow villager knew more than the Indians, Europeans and the police together! But in spite of all his superior charms and magic, he was caught in the end because he was also enmeshed in the local net of in-laws, family, wife and headmen, and as in many stories in the end betrayed by the people he trusted, in this case his grandfather with whom he used to joke, but who could not reconcile the two roles of grandfather and headman, which had to link up with the wheels of state power. Aliele Zimba’s slogan “*tamwankumanishe!*” (you cannot reach up to me, you will not get me) captures people’s imagination: their strength consists of their knowledge of magic and medicines.

But it is important to note that such medicines need to be controlled, and that they are allowed only in certain categories. Different parts of the valley are known for different types of medicines, and what may be legitimate in one part may not be in another. Here a story that was much talked about in Masumba and Nsefu (I heard it in February 2006):

During the rainy season, some Wiza people were changing chicken in Nsefu against maize flour. (Some said they were from Mwanya, others said from Nabwalya.) One woman took two chicken, but gave flour only for one chicken; the other chicken she hid, pretending that she got only one. An argument arose, and the Wiza people left. A week later a lightning struck the family: the husband and the child at the mother’s breast were thrown down by the impact but survived; the woman however who had stolen the chicken was killed by the lightning.

I heard different comments. Many people in Nsefu told me it was right to kill the woman, because she had stolen. But nevertheless it was wrong, because they did not want *tulumba* in Nsefu. “We don’t know how to call down lightning, but the Bisa know. We don’t want lightning of the Bisa here in Nsefu.” Chief Nsefu in response to this event was

said to have made an appeal to the Bisa to leave his country: their types of witchcraft did not belong here. Then I met Bisa from Mwanja, also selling chicken in Nsefu, and asked them about this story. “Those people were not from Mwanja, but from Nabwalya”, they said. “We also fear those people from Nabwalya for their lightnings.”

Especially with the penetration of the cash economy people fear that medicines turn more and more into witchcraft. A group of elders in Mwape put it this way: “Today there is money, and people just buy medicines anywhere. Even a child may buy a charm to kill his parents. There is no control any longer.”

With a general awareness that witchcraft in the valley is growing out of hands and out of control, and with the dramatic increase of sickness and death in the valley, everybody takes part in the discernment process of witchcraft, including the Christians. Here an example from Chasera: the young and active chairman of the church council fell very sick while I was there in July 2005; I brought him to the clinic in Mwanja where he died. It was a sudden death also for me, because I had been the whole week with him, and he had been organising things very well and seemed o.k. To make things worse, the very day after his death also his lastborn child died. They were buried together. In October I came back to Chasera to visit the family. It happened to be just the day when his wife, his sister and other family members were going to chief Mwanja where they had been summoned by a neighbouring headman whom they had accused of witchcraft. Here the events as narrated by the sister of the deceased:

We did not suspect witchcraft, but when we buried J. and came back from the grave, the headman ... was washing himself right there at our funeral house. Why did he wash himself at our house if he did not kill J.? The next week we found *inongo* (rests of clay pots) at the grave. We also saw signs at our house that medicines had been sprinkled all around at night. He wanted obviously that the *cibanda* should come back to us and be quiet. Then we heard from his family and friends that he had started to dream every night, and even during the day whenever he closed his eyes. People heard him talk in his dreams: ‘Julius, go away from me! J. go away from me!’ Then so-and-so told us that he was warned by the headman: “you better fear me! Do you not know that I kill not one by one, but two by two?”

In the old *mwambo* of the Bisa, people washed before they reached the village when coming from the grave, so as not to pollute the village, because the *ciwanda* (ghost, shade) of the dead is linked to the soil of his grave. Today the family and the *anungwe* (joking clan members) involved in the burial wash when they have come back; but there can be a certain measure of uncertainty. That the headman – who was neither a family member, nor one of the *anungwe* – removed his shirt and washed at the funeral house came to be interpreted that he had killed the man and now wanted the *ciwanda* to stay at the funeral house. Why? A *ciwanda* always clings to his murderer; but if the murderer leaves some soil of the grave at the funeral house of the dead man’s family “where it can go to sleep”, then his spirit may leave the murderer. But it did not work, and the *ciwanda* was haunting

him, so one night he went back to the grave with medicines and then sprinkled these medicines around the house of Julius' family, to return the *ciwanda* to its family and make it rest. After some more rumours here and there the sister of the dead started to announce publicly that this headman had killed him and his child. The headman in turn bought a court summon to chief Mwanya for deformation of character.

I asked other Catholics about the events. Everybody knew what was going on, but all had different stories and different explanation, some even gave different names of the people involved. The next day his sister came back, and I asked how the case went at the chief's court.

We won the case. The headman was asked: "Is it true that you had a fight with Julius at the beer, and that Julius beat you at the beer with his fist?" – "Yes, this was true." – "Did Julius not ask for reconciliation the following day?" – "Yes he did." – "Did you forgive him with all your heart?" – no, he had not forgiven him. Then the witnesses were called in who said that the headman had boasted to kill people two by two. The case ended that the chief reprimanded the headman: "You should have brought the case to me when Julius beat you. But you didn't. And see what happened –you killed two people, including an innocent child!"

"So what will happen now?", I asked. "Nothing," his sister answered, "the chief said that Julius was a Christian leader and that his funeral should not be dragged into pagan custom." – "You did not ask for compensation?" I asked – "No, the case is finished now." – "But why did you go all this way?" – "Because he killed my brother." The next day I left, and I don't know how the case went on. I knew though that the grievance of the family of J was very strong, and that it would take a long time to come over it. J had been the only male child in the family, and he supported his mother and his sisters. A male child was born the very month of J's death, and it was called by the name of the deceased.

Witchcraft touches the innermost soul, issues of death, and dreams. In the above example it also touched the alleged lack of forgiveness (the reason for the headman's alleged witchcraft) – it was said that he had publicly admitted not to have forgiven Julius. The Pentecostal churches acknowledge actively the presence of witchcraft and offer their members prayers for protection. The Zion churches go a step further: Their leaders are *ng'anga* themselves, who combat the powers of the *afwiti* with the occult powers given by their *mizimu* that come from God himself. They actively discern where a sickness comes from. The Catholic church has little part in the discernment process that deals with death and sickness, and even with forgiveness. In the jungle of witchcraft accusations and practices, we priests are somehow seen like blind referees on the football pitch.

***Viwanda* (spirits of the dead)**

In Mwanza, one old woman and her family asked me for prayers for “*kulalika cibanda*” (to put a *cibanda* spirit to rest), and she gave me this explanation:

Everything was normal and we were living well, until my uncle (*ba yama*) died. We knew he had died of *nsima* [a sickness attributed to adultery of the wife manifesting itself in the inability to swallow *nsima* and coughing blood]. First everything was o.k. But then one afternoon his wife (the widow) came. She knelt down from afar and greeted me, but we did not speak to each other. Then she left. The next morning when I woke up, I found before my doorstep many roots, and I swept them away. From then onwards the *ciwanda* came every day. It enters the house like a lightning, and first moves around and then it enters me and gives terrible pain. I cannot sleep in the house any more. And not only I have the *ciwanda*, also four of my children have it now. It is so terrible. When I was in the Chililabombwe, I saw that the Catholics have a very powerful rite for *kulalika ciwanda* (to make a *ciwanda* rest). That is why I called for a priest.

As in the story of Julius above, also in this story the *ciwanda* followed the causer of death (the wife who was accused of killing her husband through her adultery), but she managed to bring the *ciwanda* back onto his family. But in fact she managed only partly, because I was told that she herself has no home any longer; “she is now in Lundazi, but she just moves around everywhere without rest, three months at one relative and three months at another relative. She even went to Lusaka.”

Ziwanda usually refer to the spirits of the dead. In the quasi patrilineal north of the valley, the *ziwanda* seemed to me less of an issue than in the south, where they continue to operate on a very deep level. When I asked in Chasera whether *vibanda* were an issue, somebody said: “*kuno ifibanda filatuteka*”, that people are ruled by (their fear in) *fibanda*. In Lumimba, Chikowa and Minga parishes I was given examples of people who had become mad because they had picked up a *ciwanda* by engaging in sexual intercourse with a widow/ widower before she/he had been properly cleansed by the dead spouse’s family.

Nowhere in the valley is the *ciwanda* a metaphysical concept on what happens to life after death; I found nobody in the valley who could give a coherent definition (say in clear distinction to *mizimu*), nor do people look for such a definition. Verbally, the Nsenga, Kunda and Bisa distinguish *vibanda* from *mizimu/mipashi*. Many Senga in contrast told me that *viwanda* and *mizimu* are one and the same thing. The *mizimu* can have a very positive connotation while the *ciwanda* is always a negative phenomenon. The only positive connection I heard was with one type of *ng’anga* that claim to take their occult forces, knowledge and healing powers from a *cibanda* attached to their bodies or utensils (either from a *cibanda* they inherited somehow or from a person they are said to have killed); but also here the *cibanda* has a rather sinister connotation. In some meetings people referred to the *mizimu* as the spirit of a good person, and to the *ciwanda* as the spirit of

a bad person. But in practice such a crude distinction hardly works. In all meetings people confirmed that any dead person, and be it a saint or a hero, will be a *ciwanda* to his spouse, however much they loved each other, even in the best possible of marriages. The wife even of a saint needs to be cleansed from the *ciwanda* if she does not remarry within the same family.

The clearest distinction of a *ciwanda* from a *mzimu* I got in meetings in Mwape and Chinsimbwe: the difference is one of relation towards the matri-lineage, rather than one of good or bad. What is a *mzimu* to the family member of the dead is a *ciwanda* to the outsider, and the spouse of course always remains an outsider to the matri-lineage. It is only from here that the attributes of positive or negative, good or bad, come in: for the family the dead is a positive force (*mzimu*), and it will be given to the next born child, and it can be appeased through offerings of beer if need be. (Exceptions are death of a *mfwiti* and death through suicide: both remain of negative influence to the own family from whom they have cut themselves off through their actions.) While the *mzimu* belongs to the own lineage, the *ciwanda* belongs to another lineage. *Vibanda* are passed on through sexual intercourse. The dead usually do not harm a relative, and therefore after death there is no cleansing of the remaining spouse if he/she remarries within the same family. But the dead clings to non-members (like the spouse) as a *ciwanda*, as a foreign object, that cannot be appeased but that must be got rid of. But again, even such a good definition that goes quite far finds its limits. In the example of Mwanya given above, the poor woman was haunted seemingly by her maternal uncle. And in the past whole villages were usually moving on the occasion of death “because of the *ciwanda*”, which indicates that the dead were more of a negative rather than positive force even to their close relatives. The *cibanda* is not a theoretical object, but discernment takes place when things happen, when a person becomes mad, or sick. Still, the argument of relation of the dead to the matri-lineage made much sense to me. The own family remains the point of reference when dealing with the dead.

The *vibanda* show that unions don't just break with death and that families remain bound to each other beyond death until they all take part in some formal rite. To be with a *ciwanda* means to stay in dependency of the kin of the dead; only they can make it “go to sleep”. But also old cases (*milandu*) may come back on the table, and the remaining spouse has to answer for them. In the valley cleansing can be demanded in court, but then the *milandu* that contributed to the refusal will also be brought up. The cleansing from the *ciwanda* prevents the widower/widow from walking away from the family of the spouse before clearing outstanding issues about the relationship with the in-laws, domestic disputes and how the spouse was cared for in times of sickness. “If we see the dead was not shaven [at the private parts], then we also know they did not go on well together.” In such a case the *kususula* (cleansing) will be delayed, or fines may be asked for. Total dependency on the family of the late spouse sanctifies among the Bisa also property grabbing.

We find a different situation in the Senga north, which has in many ways de-facto become patrilineal since the introduction of high marriage payments starting at the end of the 1930s. The *ciwanda* can hardly remain a token of the matri-lineage, even though many villages are still inherited matrilineal. The rituals of freeing the person from the old union and from the family of the spouse (*kususula*) are performed also in the north, and also here a number of people speak explicitly of *kutaya ciwanda* (getting rid of the spirit of the dead) in these rituals, but it seems to be less of an issue. In Chikwa, during a meeting of elders, people contrasted their beliefs with the Bemba up the plateau and the Bisa down in the valley: “Here they don’t become mad if they sleep with a person who did not go through the *kususula*, nor do they have much fear of *viwanda*, except for issues related to the grave yards. But to marry or sleep with a person prior to the *kususula* it is a big *mlandu* in court that calls for high fines to be paid to the dead person’s family. The *kususula* is delayed when the wife dies before the *cimalo* (bride wealth) had been paid in full.” The *cimalo* being high among the Senga is often paid only bit by bit. In a way the courts have taken over the functions of the *ciwanda*: they prevent a person walking away from his in-laws before outstanding issues (debts) have been settled. In the north, once the wife has been fully “bought” (meaning the *cimalo* has been paid in full), her family remains with few tangible rights over her, not either on the spiritual level. In the south, however, the *ciwanda* shows dramatically that membership to the matri-lineage always overrides marriages, until death. Throughout the southern valley people confirmed in meetings that the *ciwanda* of a dead spouse can only be made to rest by his own kin. In that sense Christianity has shaped very little the understanding of death.

Mashawe, mizimu, ngulu, vimbuza and fufumi

In Chitumbi (Nyimba parish) I asked naively after Sunday mass people with *mashawe* to stay behind to talk with me about their *mashawe*. I expected two or three women to come forward which would give me an opportunity to inquire more about *mashawe*. What happened instead was that one third of all women who attended Sunday mass said they had *mashawe*, not counting those who had had *mashawe* in an earlier phase of their lives. It took not only the whole afternoon to listen to their stories and also to their dreams, but also the next three days myself and Brother Vinod were kept busy listening to more and more people coming with *mashawe*. Also in other villages I was approached to pray for people with *mashawe*, and I also met one very sick woman who went the whole way from the valley to meet archbishop Milingo when he came in September 2005 on a visit to Chipata Diocese, but she was too late because of her sickness.

Again it is futile to ask about some metaphysical and theoretical explanations of the *mashawe*. In the south people distinguish the water spirits from those of the dry land, and *mashawe* that stay within a family from those that are picked up by anybody, but the dis-

tinctive patterns seem to be disappearing more and more. Some *ng'anga* discerned the *mashawe* through the different beats of the drums, and for this they needed very good drummers; it was a work of precision. A good number of European and Indian spirits have long appeared in the valley. Through Pentecostal influence (echoed also by the charismatic renewal) *mashawe* are identified now more and more with evil spirits, with demons, or with Satan. But then we have also the Biblical *mizimu* of the Zion churches, who come straight from God. In the north, people speak of different *vimbuza*, *fufumi* and *mizimu* and their distinctive dances or types of *mangwanda*, and different *ng'anga*. But also here the distinctions become obscure.

It seems to be especially women who are favoured by the *mashawe* spirits. Different reasons were given for this by men: “women believe everything, men are more sceptical;” – “women spend the whole day pounding maize where they are thinking over such matters”; – “women want to attract more attention (*vilele*)”. But apart from such comments, women are more often seen as the passive victims of *mashawe*, who suffer from them and want to get rid of them. Only a small percentage of women who are sick with *mashawe* come to occupy the more active role of being *ng'anga*, though some had at least for short intervals collected medicines from the bush without however going the full way of becoming a *ng'anga*. The female *ng'anga* whom I interviewed were all with the Zion church. For men this is very different: few men become sick with *mashawe* or *mizimu*, but the few are then much more inclined to go the whole way and become *ng'anga* themselves. The male *ng'anga* I interviewed said they had received their vocation through sickness (with two exceptions only who had been introduced to the *ng'angahood* by their fathers); they had been in hospitals to no avail, and were finally dramatically cured by a *ng'anga* with whom they then stayed some time until they were fully cured. Their sicknesses had been attributed to *mashawe* or *mizimu* (the latter then nearly all entered a Zion church or founded one themselves), and they had learned how to deal with their *mashawe* through dancing and dreams; the *ng'anga* working with *mashawe* or *mizimu* seemed to me much less inclined to work through material manipulation and trickery than those working with *mwavi* or even *vibanda*.

Most women, however, don't take the road to become *ng'anga*. Instead they remain in the passive role as victims of *mashawe* and want to get rid of them. The stories of the many I interviewed in the valley (more than 50) contained many similarities: Some were not able to bear children, other *mashawe* came just at the point of marriage, or when the second or third child was born (loss of freedom), or at the *cinamwali*, or in school, and we may be inclined to look at situations of stress and tension as catalyst for some *mashawe*. For one woman I suspected that the *mashawe* provided a convenient reason for not having sex with her husband who used to come home day after day completely drunk, and she did not seem too eager to get rid of her *mashawe*. But the stories throughout the valley were so many, the sicknesses and personal situations that accompanied them so diverse, that we do not do justice to the *mashawe* with any simplistic answer or just say-

ing it is stress. People themselves go through discernment by looking at their patterns of regular dreams of snakes and animals, *azungu* in robes, or of drumming and dancing, or their reactions to cat-fish and other foods that are usually forbidden by the *mashawe*. People also distinguish fake from real *mashawe*, and for most women I interviewed I had little doubt that their experiences were genuine and not faked. This is not to exclude such convulsions are socially conditioned and that they are triggered by socially accepted standard situations (for example when laying on hands). Every sickness needs a name if we are to cope with it. Nothing is more terrifying than a serious sickness without a name. To name a sickness is as important for the community as it is to the individual sufferer; a name of a sickness has a social function. Being limited largely to Panadol, Fansida, Tetracycline and vitamins, there are serious limits to what a clinic can offer in the valley. Research furthermore has shown in other African countries that clinics are pretty ineffective in regions with a low level of education; studies suggest that a minimum of six to seven years at school is required for a person to understand somehow what the clinical understanding of sickness is about and what not. There are many reason why people in the valley are looking into the traditional setup to name and approach sicknesses. Making sense out of a sickness implies that this can be communicated to and eventually be shared by the community, and therefore it has to take place within those concepts that are shared by the community. *Mashawe*, witchcraft, *mizimu*, *viwanda*, and the *makolo* are such shared concepts.

When a sickness is ambivalent and the clinic has failed, the families of the sick have a number of possible alternatives as explanations. Maybe the sickness is accompanied by dreams of snakes. Such dreams are common for the *mashawe* but the same dreams can also be signs of witchcraft. Or they may be caused by a *ciwanda*. Or maybe the sickness was caused by adultery of the spouse. Similar symptoms give rise to multiple possibilities of explanation. Though many people, when they are asked, affirm that these alternatives can in principle be distinguished by the specialists by differences in symptoms and histories of the sicknesses, in praxis there are no fixed borders and clear-cut distinctions, and there is room for different interpretations. Many of the people I interviewed had interpreted their sickness at different times in different terms.

Occasions of sickness become often religious experiences, for the sufferer but even for the wider community. To attribute a sickness to *mashawe* sends a very important message to the community: "This sickness did not come from witchcraft. We are not looking for a guilty party." *Mashawe* are spirits that are picked up accidentally; to have *mashawe* takes away the association with personal guilt. But *mashawe* also open up a positive understanding of sickness: *mashawe* are ambivalent; they start as foreign objects that make people sick, but when people come to terms with them, they achieve a positive function for the community. On one hand, the *mashawe* are intrinsically erratic and difficult to control, patients manifesting signs of unpredictability and changing moods. Nevertheless many women whom I interviewed seemed to have outstanding personalities; they

seemed to have gained much inner strength through their inner struggles with the *mashawe*. In some Centres I made a test: I looked out for the women in the church council and lay movements who looked active, dedicated, outspoken and courageous, and I asked them whether they had had *mashawe* at some point in their lives. It came as no surprise to me that many of them had. *Mashawe* and sickness often make people open to dimensions of life that remain closed to many of us who are healthy.

There was a time in the valley when people with *mashawe* were highly respected. "The chiefs listened to them a lot." *Mashawe* were not evil, though they were ambivalent. But they could be made to work for the community by the person accepting her sickness. Today they are tolerated, but mostly smiled at. The wider framework of people has changed so much that the very people with *mashawe* themselves are lost in regards to the meaning of their experiences and how to deal with what is going on within them. Two churches are outstanding in the valley in regards to their healing ministries: the Pentecostals and the Zion churches. They came to shape the understanding of *mashawe* in the valley, but in very different directions. As the *mashawe* are demons in the Pentecostal churches, they are evil and have to be cast out. Many Catholics have taken over this understanding. The Zion churches distinguish *mizimu* from *mashawe*: the latter can be exorcised, the former cannot. They are not much concerned with *mashawe*, but with *mizimu* who come from God himself. They have Biblical names (Lazaro, Jobo, Luka, Mariko, Paulo, etc.) and though they make people sick in their initial coming, this sickness is often the beginning of a vocation to become a prophet, a *ng'anga*, or a "searcher", and it is a vocation that in the Zion church must be exercised for the benefit of the community and not for personal gain. During the services in the Zion churches that I attended, those possessed with *mizimu* were consulted by a number of outsiders very much like consulting a *ng'anga*, but they used the Bible (scattered verses) in their divinations. Catholics with *mashawe* in general do go to the Pentecostals or the Zion churches to get answers that they can relate to. But they are also brought closer to our own church, when they find someone with a listening ear.



9.

Christian initiatives in the valley

The acceptance of any religion and people's identification with it depends on the agency of people in appropriating it, which is based on their own initiatives that they can take. In this chapter I look at some exemplary initiatives, both within and outside the mainstream churches. It is needless to say that they are not exclusive.

The beginnings of the Anglican Church in Msoro.

According to the narratives of Anglicans in Msoro,¹³⁶ the church started as an initiative of a local Kunda headman who had come across a school run by the Dutch Reformed Church to the West of Msoro at the beginning of the 20th century, and who approached a white settler to help him write a letter to request the coming of missionaries to his village. The British settler did not write to the Dutch Reformed Church, but requested help from the Anglicans with whom he felt more at ease. A priest from Nyasaland (one of the very first African clergy), Rev. Leonard Kamungu was entrusted with the task to look for a suitable place between the areas of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterians in the North. He arrived the beginning of 1911, and already a month later he had "crowds of people of all ages" under instruction.¹³⁷ The farm building that the British settler had put under Anglican disposal proved already too small, and Kamungu with his new converts built (with the words of bishop Hine) "a magnificent building of great length, breadth and height."¹³⁸ In 1912, nearly 200 people had been admitted into the catechumenate. Kamungu travelled a lot, and his preaching bore fruits in many places, so that it proved difficult to provide the new schools with adequate teachers from Nyasaland.¹³⁹ Kamungu saw the first baptisms during his second year. After a ministry of less than two years, he died early 1913 a saintly man (some say he was poisoned, others that he died of sickness), leaving behind a crowd of enthusiastic Christians. When Weller did his research on Rev. Kamungu more than 50 years after his death, people remembered still his instructions about brotherly love, the warnings against witchcraft, and the appeals to serve Jesus Christ;¹⁴⁰ his preaching was understood and made sense to the people of Msoro. Myself too I was guided to his grave where he is buried. Rev. Kamungu is still regarded as a

saint of the valley. Weller described how the Anglican church after Kamungu experienced difficulties, especially when decisions were imposed on the early Christians without much dialogue. A crisis developed when his white successor moved the church away from Kamungu's site to the present site (he excommunicated all those who refused to help), and when he stiffened general church rules and teachings to a degree that was not understood by people. Stability came back only when dialogue was restored.

The Watchtower Movement and the Jehovah Witnesses

In the 1920s, the south of the valley (Akunda, but also the Ansenga) had witnessed initiatives of the Watchtower movement, unsolicited by Western missionaries, in which adherents were even ready to die.¹⁴¹ In the old mission diaries the Watchtower movement was perceived as a misguided anti-colonial revolt of fanatics, but in modern literature such endeavours are sometimes valued as the first organised initiative in the independence struggle.¹⁴² The colonial concern in repressing the Watchtower movement (merging in this regard with the concerns of the mainstream churches) obviously was not religious but political, and the resilience of the Watchtowers has religious as well as political dimensions. But the line between religion and politics was and is not easily drawn in the valley.¹⁴³

Today the Watchtower movement has transformed itself into an established but small church in the valley. I did not receive much response to my questions on its beginnings in the valley, not even from the Jehovah Witnesses themselves. There may be in fact little link between yesterdays' Watchtowers and today's Jehovah Witnesses, and today not many memories are left that concern the early Watchtower groups.¹⁴⁴

The diary of Minga with entries especially from 1924 onwards contain many referents to the Watchtowers, also in the Luangwa valley, known first as the "Ethiopian sect" and then as the "*Mpatuko*"; whole villages had gone over to them, and the missionaries started to experience hostility of the local population that were sympathetic to their cause. "Africa to the Africans" was a Watchtower slogan, and the religion of the White Fathers was pictured as a colonial and oppressive religion, a "foreign devil" from which the valley needed to be freed.¹⁴⁵ The Watchtowers advocated total disobedience to the colonial regime and its representatives which included chiefs and mission schools, and called for all European missionaries to leave the country. From 1924 onwards the White Fathers of Minga made a number of requests to the government to do more to outlaw the movement, but they felt that their appeals were not given due attention. Some years later, however, the colonial regime pursued more active steps to contain Watchtower preaching; by then they had found out that the Watchtower movement especially among the Kunda had cut the authority from under the feet of the chiefs. Already without the Watchtowers the colonial government had in the valley many difficulties to rule through the

chiefs, and the government found it difficult to discuss issues with the valley chiefs that concerned a wider and broader level beyond village disputes and issues of gardens.¹⁴⁶ They saw this as a consequence of the “tribes” in the valley not forming cohesive bodies. But now the preaching of the Watchtowers undermined even more the authority of the chiefs: for them chiefs were but puppets of the colonial regime to foster colonial interests. Chief Mnkhanya and other Kunda chiefs were openly defied and disobeyed by sections of the population, and their orders were often simply ignored, while chief Sefu was praised by the administration for actively putting down the Watchtower threat.¹⁴⁷ In 1928 there were riots in the valley. The valley Kunda seemed to have been a centre of the movement according to the District Notebooks, but I got only very few reactions here in my interviews. For the people I interviewed it seemed a very distant event. In Lumimba, Chitungulu, Chiweza and Kazembe, people mentioned that the Watchtower influence had come from Jumbe in the late 1920s or early 1930s. Known figures were Makina Banda (in other villages known as Makina Nguluwe), based in Zokwe, Yobo Nguluwe, James and Mark Sakala (returnees from South Africa). There were no Watchtower churches, but wandering preachers gathered people together under mango trees. Up in the north (Chama) people mentioned little influence, though later in the 1940s some headmen (and their villages?) became Jehovah Witnesses (mentioned were Kabende and Mulumbu).

In a research in Serenje District it had been said that the Watchtowers attracted especially returnees from the mines.¹⁴⁸ They were used to life of the towns, they brought new skills into the villages and sometimes also capital. It has been argued that such returning miners were often ill-at-ease with being swallowed up by their extended families and by the authority of the rural chiefs and his patrons whom they considered belonging properly to a past age. The Jehovah Witnesses strongly stress the nuclear family and a cut of ties with the extended family who are non-members; such they could provide returning miners with a support group, with an alternative ideology that positively acknowledged the skills and crafts of its members (Jehovah Witnesses according to their belief will have to build up the Paradise on earth for which such new skills are needed), and with a good reason not to be swallowed up by the rural authorities.

Today the Jehovah Witnesses have a steady presence in the valley, but it is still a small church. Their very strict moral codes, the cut of ties with the extended family, and especially their policy at funerals (nobody of the extended family nor of the wider community is allowed to sleep at the funeral house; this is left to the nuclear family alone) has made it difficult for the Jehovah Witnesses to become a popular church in the valley. To cut links with wider kin is only possible for the wealthier section of the population. But in spite of their low numbers they have a big impact in the valley due to an abundance of literature that appeals to people and due to their reputation of no compromise in regards to any issue that relates to “pagan” customs. Jehovah Witnesses, settling cases as far as possible among themselves rather than in the chiefs’ courts, have managed to control

witchcraft practices and accusations and also the fear of spirits to an extent that the catholics and others have not.

The Lumpa church

In the 1950s the north of the valley became a stronghold for the Lumpa church of Alice Lenshina. Again unaided by external missionaries, ten-thousands of people from the valley were flocking to Chinsali, “because we wanted to see Christ for ourselves”,¹⁴⁹ no distances were too far, and the regular contributions for *their* church in kind, labour, and money (“one pence, one pence”) made the church completely self-reliant. (Lumpa in Chinsali operated two lorries and built one of the most elaborate cathedrals in Zambia, all from local contributions). The valley population provided generous hospitality to the Lumpa members of Chinsali on their tours through the valley. Some Lumpa members from the Luangwa valley had been in key positions as treasurers of the movement in Chinsali. Within two years after the visions of Alice Lenshina, basically all the north of the valley was Lumpa. In the final war in the year of independence many followers chose to be killed, march into exile to Congo, or starve to death rather than give up their faith. Again, the rise of the Lumpa church and the successive events in the valley cannot be understood by looking solely at the religion in itself. The building of separate villages and the erupting violence between Lumpa, UNIP and the chiefs show the political dimensions and implications of the movement. But on the religious level, such events pose discomforting questions (asked by Oger and Hinfelaar) for the mainstream churches about the *form* of Christianity, resonating with people’s conceptions and aspirations, which make it acceptable. The main tenants of the church and also its attractions have been described a number of time.¹⁵⁰ The rise, decline and final destruction of Lumpa were intrinsically connected with the political situation at the eve of independence, frustrations in politics at the onset of Federation (a vacuum filled by Lumpa) and then the rise of UNIP and its clash with Lumpa.¹⁵¹ The Lumpa church is long dead in the valley, like embers drowned in water, and nobody is willing to resurrect it. But the war has left scars that are still felt today.

In the meetings where I raised the question of “Elenshina”, discussions were not always easy. All seemed in agreement that things went wrong because of politics – both the politics of the nation to be born and also the politics of the Lumpa elite.¹⁵² About the status of Lenshina people are divided. Many today call her a *mfwiti* (witch) who had very powerful charms.

Her in-laws wanted to kill her, but she survived – that is when she had her visions. She went to a *ng’anga* in Tanzania from whom she received very powerful magic. People then started to flock to her, not knowing that they were carrying their own charms along, which they handed over to Elenshina; so strong

was her magic. Elenshina confused church and witch-finding, real prayers and medicines, and that is why we still today in the valley don't know what real prayers are about.¹⁵³

In this type of narrative we also here stories of Lenshina's people drinking their urine in the final war, that would make them invulnerable or turn bullets into water, stories which are denied by her supporters.

In another type of narrative there is no doubt that Lenshina came from God. The church was described to me as something marvellous and beautiful – something “*makora comene*”. They had gone to Chinsali to see God, to see Jesus, and at last they had found *their* church. They don't know how things did go wrong so badly in the end. It had been something that was good and wonderful, God himself was speaking to Africans, but it got smashed in the wheels of politics and jealousy of the other churches. Some could still sing some of Lenshina's popular songs they had been singing in the past. Most people easily combine both narratives: Lenshina was a *ng'anga* who was sent by God. For a description of the war in Kambombo and Chikwa see the appendix.

Many of Lenshina's people who were killed in the massacres in Chama were never buried. The places are avoided, and still today people speak about the remains of bones. When the war was over, there were not many people left who could influence the story-telling from Lenshina's side of view. Those who had remained with Lenshina until the end had either died in the final massacres, starved to death on the way to Mokambo (Congo), or remained quiet. The frontiers between Lumpa and the “others” had been clear-cut; UNIP and chiefs now had taken up full power, and there was little room for another type of narrative. It has also been said (Mulenga 1998) that those returning to Chama were harassed well into the early 1970s by a procedure called “*kupetekela*” – which meant being accompanied by UNIP members to the bush and assisted to commit suicide under supervision. The report of the official inquiry of the Republic of Zambia mentions that “villagers in Chief Kambombo's area of Lundazi district adopted a very antagonistic attitude towards Lenshina followers. They threatened to kill any strangers in the area.”¹⁵⁴

In our meetings in Chikwa and Chifunda we had former Lumpa and UNIP members present. The atmosphere remained good, but there may well be a number of unburied bones also in the narrative of the past. Lumpa was the first church with which many people in the north of the valley really identified; it was their church. For once a religious trend was sustained by the valley population; *The Times* wrote at the heights of the conflict that

Like a bush fire, the word swept through the valley tribes of Senga and Chewa, touching more lightly perhaps their neighbours of the plateau. For once, the valley set the trend and the plateau followed.¹⁵⁵

When it ended in a disaster, it took more than a decade for people to put again some trust in any church. “You see, those churches they speak of love, but in the end they all kill each other!”, was repeated by many non-church goers. It was not a secret to anyone in the valley that the different churches did not go on well with each other, and that other churches did not think it possible that God could speak through an African. Most people stayed convinced that they were faring better without any church. For the next ten years after the Lenshina events (the first decade of independence), no church had real success in the northern valley; people remained suspicious about churches. “They just bring war.”¹⁵⁶

In the time of Lumpa, many attitudes all over Zambia were still fused together concerning the meaning of religion, politics, and the place of Africa in Christianity, which became detangled only in subsequent years and through much time. There were the first 10 years of independence, and there was the second Vatican Council in the Catholic church. Outside the valley through new engagements people’s expectations changed both in regards to politics and to a church. This engagement did not take place in the northern valley. When the churches picked up again some importance at the end of the 1970s (now the Cipangano church was multiplying throughout the Lumpa part of the valley), people on the plateau had already developed quite different attitudes, and took things for granted that were in the valley never heard of.

Hugo Hinfelaar (1994) studied central symbols in Lenshina’s teachings and hymns. A central metaphor of Lenshina’s songs is light (*lubuto*). The believers saw themselves as moving towards a wonderful light, long promised, towards God and his child, but to come into the presence of God they needed to be purified and holy, cleansed from sin. This was done in Lenshina’s baptism where witchcraft was renounced and charms handed over. But what was the most fundamental condition of sin and witchcraft? Lenshina never provided a systematic theology, but many of her symbols and references were taken from the initiation rites and concerned the proper and legitimate sexual relationship between husband and wife, and its intrinsic connection with fire, fertility and seed. Life is seen as a whole, its parts should not be separated, and the centre of life, work, food, the village, offspring, granaries and wealth was the intimate and guarded union of husband and wife, where mediation with the divine took place. Hinfelaar explained that “Sanctity and wholesome living could only be reached through an undefiled union of husband and wife within a legal marriage.” – “Lenshina Mulenga showed that by abolishing the taboos concerning Seed, Blood and Fire, the whole network of marital relationships had collapsed and that together with her fellow women she believed that this was the cause of all chaos created within the families.”¹⁵⁷ Hinfelaar’s account fits well with today’s stress in the valley on initiation rites. The story of Lenshina: her death, her call from God, her presence in the wonderful light, but then being sent back with a message to preach purification, her relationship with Christ as the perfect husband and brother, expressed in her marriage with Petros her husband, this was a story that many people had taken up as their

own journey towards God. It was an African journey, built on the rock of old tradition that reached far into the past, and that was transmitted primarily by the women. But the marriage bond, central to fulfilled life and contact with the divine, had been eroded in a long process, starting with the coming of centralised chiefdom, the slave trade, and then the advent of colonialism. In the time of Lenshina the majority of men were away from the village, and the colonial system of labour migration had made it basically impossible to live a faithful marriage. In the time of Lenshina, most men were leaving the valley just after having married a valley girl! The breakdown of the marriages and the resulting chaos, jealousies, hatred, and despair were the most fertile grounds for witchcraft. Women seeking charms to keep their husbands, co-wife against co-wife, men seeking to become rich or powerful on own accords, children being killed by witchcraft to be put into granaries to make the food increase, all of it came from isolating life from its centre, the legal union between husband and wife, in short by breaking the taboos in connection with seed, blood, fire and sex. This unity of life was not achieved by going backwards to the past; Lenshina's songs were about moving forward, moving towards the light, crossing over from the old ways of sin and witchcraft to the presence of God.¹⁵⁸ Lenshina refused baptism to all second wives and to polygamists, unless they got rid of the unlawful wives. In this regards Lenshina's success among the Senga was mixed. People say that many men took up polygamy again after they had come back from Chinsali, but nevertheless they say that no other church had ever had such a success against polygamy as Lenshina.

Some former miners told me that when they came back into the valley after a number of years abroad, they had to go within the very first week to Chinsali, together with their wives. They were not allowed to stay in the village if they would not make this journey. In Chinsali they had to give up their charms (though everybody explained to me that only the others had charms...), were baptised, and some of them were then also married properly within the Lumpa church; Lumpa was famous for its much embellished marriage ceremonies. The pilgrimage to Lenshina was definitely a way of being reintegrated into the valley, and Hinfelaar argued that life of the village (in contrast to life in the mines) in this new covenant was to be based on marital fidelity. Calmettes (1978) and Binsbergen (1981) showed that it was especially the peasant class (who was losing out to the returning miners) that provided the cornerstone of Lenshina's followers. Traditional networks of kin were undermined by returning miners who settled as a new middle class, and Lumpa managed to start a process of rural reconstruction based on the peasant class. Also the minutes of Lumimba Parish (Lenshina toured the Chiweza area in 1958) mention that school children and the educated in general were less interested in Lenshina.¹⁵⁹ This contrasts sharply with the Jehovah Witnesses who legitimised the new middle-class and its severance from the demands of peasant kin.

Lenshina's strict rules on marriage were not always followed, and non-Lumpas made songs about the many unmarried women in Lenshina's following, who never found

their perfect husband. People mentioned that there was an enormous social pressure in the villages to go and receive her baptism. Many say today that they had to go; there was no other option if one wanted to stay in the village. But some also resisted. The Catholics for example of Mukonka (Kalasa) remained Catholic and they were known over the area as the people of the *cibolya* (old and deserted village site), as the Romans who killed Jesus, as the enemies (*balwani*) who stayed in their old ways of life of witchcraft and for whom there could be no salvation. “*Baneni kuŵanensu – aŵa Roma e ŵaipeye Yesu – aŵa Roma ŵamuŵika pa chipandama, e ŵaipeye Yesu*” (the Romans (= the Roman Catholics) killed Jesus and hang him on the cross) is a song that people still remember all over Chiweza and Chifunda about the Catholics of Mukonka. They were accused of displaying Jesus’ corpse on rosaries around their necks, because they were following the church of his murderers. (In Kazembe and in Tembwe people remained with the Free Church when all the surrounding villages absconded to Lenshina.)

All commentators seem to agree that rural women were the cornerstone of the movement; from here we may also conclude that the pressure in the villages for returnees to go up to Chinsali radiated especially from women. Whatever may have been the real reasons for Lumpa’s success, there is little doubt that Lenshina made a lot of sense to people in the valley, especially to women, and that she reached a deep level in people’s hearts. Alice Lenshina herself did not have much education, like most women in the valley. Pastoral agents today go to the valley with a high level of education. Literacy provides a level of stepping back from words, concepts and meanings, but it seems that what Lenshina preached and said, and how she understood witchcraft, made more sense to people in the valley. A number of missionaries have studied the Lumpa church for inspiration. The beautiful Bemba church hymns of today are at least partly a follow-up of Lenshina’s success. But there may still be more to be learned ...

Other Christian initiatives

A decade after the Lumpa war, the Cipangano church (an offshoot of the African National church in Malawi that itself split off from the CCAP on grounds of polygamy) took root in the vacuum left in the Northern valley. Still today the northern valley is largely dominated by the Cipangano church that is sympathetic to polygamy, that is widespread and that has many followers among the youths. The success of the unstructured Zion churches since the 1970s in the central valley (Chikowa and Lumimba Parishes) has already been mentioned and compared with the plentiful Pentecostal churches of the 1990s; both have little organisation above the individual congregations, and both stress (in different ways) the healing ministry and the existence of spirits, witchcraft and demons.

For the catholic church a striking initiative was the establishment of 19 prayer centres around Nabwalya between 1976 and 1985: Missionaries coming from Chilonga

had been coming to Nabwalya for 70 years without much visible success. Then a catholic teacher (Mr. Kaimba) and his wife took up the challenge of a last appointment before his retirement to Nabwalya; he considered it a vocation from God. He, his wife and children prayed on Sundays in the school and would invite children passing by to join. "Some joined in, others walked past." Things started very slowly, but the Kaimbas were regular and did not give up. They knelt down for prayers also when bypassers were laughing. Kaimba and his family tried to be present at funerals whenever they could. Once, while he attended the funeral of a Jehovah Witness, the family asked him to lead them into prayers. From then onwards he was called to conduct many funerals. The initiative spread, and without the priests in Chilonga knowing anything, in village after village catholic churches started to develop, until some years later a delegation from Nabwalya presented itself on own initiative to the Chilonga parish council.¹⁶⁰

The valley has its own share of Christian initiatives. Those which succeeded often had linked up with people's notions of death, witchcraft, sickness, marriage and spirits. Christians gave original answers that built on people's concepts but that brought in also very new dimensions that inspired people to follow.



10. Conceptions of Christianity

The mainstream churches (CCAP, Catholics, Anglican, RCZ) have a presence in the valley of over a hundred years. All of them have experienced great difficulties in the valley, and contrast the *malambo* (valley) with the *mtunda* (plateau), where things are easier and where they had more tangible successes. However it is important to stress that all the four mainstream churches in spite of these difficulties have maintained their presence in the valley, built up spheres of influence, and became churches into which many people have been born, meaning they have roots. As such people contrast them with the new churches that came only *manje manje* (recently): They attract many people, but often people do go back to their old churches in which they have grown up when the initial enthusiasm has faded or when a marriage has broken. In spite of the difficulties that the mainstream churches have met in the valley, they have become part of the valley, part of its landmarks, physically and spiritually. It is true that whole villages switched side when the Lumpa church swept through the valley; nevertheless many others kept their church alliances throughout these difficulties, which entailed many personal sacrifices. When the enthusiasm of Lumpa weaned, already some years before the final clashes, many came back to their old religion.

Saying this, in the valley to be a church member is not necessarily a sign of deep faith. Many are Christians because of the “pull-factors”. People may refer often to the Bible without ever having read a page in it. Christianity today is the respected suit that one wears for official life. Church membership may provide a good funeral at the time of death in the family: plenty of people, a choir, many people sleeping, and maybe somebody respectable say some words. Many in the valley in fact left our church because in times of death too few people from the church had turned up or none at all, and their expectations had not been fulfilled. Another pull factor is the advantage of church membership when travelling. For going to Lusaka such membership helps to find hospitality and to link into existing networks. Some women have established their trading networks through women church groups. Traditional religion cannot really play this role for people in the valley. Their *makolo* are too local and of no relevance in Lusaka. You have to be a Christian. Christianity is the religion today that is taken for granted. In a meeting with elders in Mwape (Minga Parish) somebody put it this way:

There is a time for everything. Our ancestors prayed under the *msolo*. Today we are all Christians. Everything comes with its own *nyengo* (season).

Now is the season of Christianity. And tomorrow? It could be anything else, because there is a season for everything; but today Zambia happens to be a Christian nation, that is how it is. But in which church one lives out such a formal Christian identity is for many of little importance; one is as good as the other. In Sonkho (Nyimba Parish) myself and Brother Vinod gathered in the Baptist church which was full with former Catholics. “Why did you leave us and go to the Baptists?”, we asked, expecting some profound answers. “Because it was new!”, they said. That was all. In Chasera (Lumimba Parish), a headman explained his church affiliation in these words:

I was in the RCZ but now I am a Muslim, because I did not agree with what the RCZ were saying. And if I will not agree anymore with what the Muslims are saying, I will go to another church. There is only one God.

Catholic, Anglican, Reformed Church of Zambia, Church of Central African Presbyterians, Cipangano, African National Church, Bigoka, Seventh Day Adventists, DTM, New Apostolic Church, Church of Christ, Church of God, the various Pentecostals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Baptists, Zion, and Islam, they are all there in the valley and they are for most but one and the same, as there is only one God. On the question why there were so many churches in the valley, people mentioned strive for leadership positions (more churches means more leadership positions), local quarrels and different styles of singing. Competition between the churches has contributed towards a certain relativism. People embrace Christianity as the official religion of today, but at the same time there is a certain apprehension to commit oneself fully to any single church. One person in Kalasa (Lumimba) put it this way:

In the CCAP people are not allowed to drink, but they do drink because the Catholics are allowed. The Catholics also marry a second wife, because the Cipangano are allowed. The Cipangano also have *mizimu* because the Zion are allowed.

How is the Christian worldview envisaged? Much centres around very few issues: Adam, Satan, and the last judgement. To put it in a nutshell: God made the earth with many astonishing and wondrous things and he did a very good job, and people praise him for that in their songs. But Adam messed it all up, and he was expelled from the presence of God and from paradise. God then cursed the soil, and since then we have the draughts and the floods, sicknesses, death, and hunger, a condition that is enhanced also by our own sins. But not only the soil has been cursed; some people add that God must also have cursed us humans.¹⁶¹ All our misery is because of Adam. The second cluster has to do with Satan. It’s not only that God has cursed the soil, but this world is also ruled by Satan. We drink, smoke marijuana, sleep with women not our wives, because of Satan. Satan especially is

in charge of all the witchcraft going on. Within the Christian rhetoric, anything that has to do with *cikunja* (paganism, traditional beliefs not incorporated in Christianity) comes also from Satan. Satan is bad, but in this present world one has somehow to accommodate with Satan. Jesus and some saints did not follow Satan, but they are far removed and such people certainly cannot be found in the valley. People's relationship with Satan is a little bit like to a chief: people may not like their chief, but they have to accommodate with him. Yes, we renounce Satan wholeheartedly in church, but this commitment cannot be sustained very long. As soon as we leave the church we are back in the real world.

A third cluster of images of Christianity in the valley centres around the last judgement. One of the few known Bible passages is the story of Noah, repeated at many funerals. All who follow Satan and his witchcraft, all drunkards and adulterers, and those involved in pagan or traditional (non-Christian) rites, will all be sent to hell in the last judgement. But the boat of Noah will save all those who go to church and have been baptised. This boat is in a way a foreign boat, with foreign rules and a foreign captain, (going towards a foreign heaven), but as long as you somehow catch this boat in the end you are o.k. In fact there are several boats around as there are many churches, and not all the rules on board need to be followed. The ship of the Roman Catholics has strong rules about marriage, but it were the "Romans" who killed Christ (this point of Lenshina is still strong in the north of the valley), so our rules should be taken with a pinch of salt. The entrance fee for going through the front door is the annual church tax. But why entering through the front gate? It is the last option when all other means have failed. As long as you manage in the end to climb on any boat from any side, you will be saved. And what about Christ? He does not really figure much in symbols nor in songs. God is known and praised as the creator. Christ will come back and he is the final judge. In a few occasions he is also here on earth, especially when casting out some *mashawe* spirits. But he is not really overworked. In a nutshell this is what most people know of Christianity; it has become an official language for official occasion, and it is very much a male narrative. I rarely heard women spelling out theological arguments (beyond the Catholic *alangizi*'s condemnation of drums in the *cinamwali*) But I heard many men, also those who don't pray, rationalising about the Christian worldview and their African place in it.

The easiness with which Christianity now-a-days is accepted as official discourse maybe shows that the valley is integrating stronger into wider Zambia than it was before. During the last ten years the valley has changed enormously; the spiritual world is also changing, and people look for orientation.

From a sociological viewpoint one can say that a church is relevant if a number of people build up and shape their own identities in reference to that particular church. The relevance of a church depends on its laity and on the initiatives they are allowed to take. On the plateau this has taken place to a much stronger degree than in the valley. We may think for example of the many church groups (*vipani*) with their distinctive uniforms; the *Apamtondo* or the *Asamaria* are proud to be Catholic and want to be known as Catholics;

member's social identity is constructed often in relation to church membership. Such examples are rare in the valley.

From a theological viewpoint one may say that a church's relevance depends on how far it helps people to discover God in their lives, and in how far the Good News of Christ lived by the church is relevant for people. This research was provoked by pastoral workers with the questions how to build better on people's experiences of God. It has identified some of the concerns where people strongly feel the presence or the absence of God: in relation to their ancestors, to political powerlessness and isolation, to witchcraft, to sickness and the spiritual world (*mashawe*), to tradition (the *miyambo*) with special reference to the *cinamwali*, to the world of the animals, to the selling of their land to outsiders by their own chiefs, or the loss of control over the youth with an accompanying sense of disorientation. Openness, discussions and dialogue on these issues may provide the required "fertiliser" that allows churches to grow in the valley's soil.

This report has also identified some areas where the present church structures are ill-adjusted to the valley: the illiterate (meaning the high majority of people) hardly participate in the church and are lost in long meetings. They cannot write reports, and have great problems with regularity (especially the catechumenate). Many are unable to follow our literate minds and concepts which remain meaningless and abstract for them (especially fishermen). Men with their irregular life hardly fit out structures and borders. The lack of finance has been a key-handicap that led to the pastoral neglect of the valley. The catholic church in the valley will not become self-reliant in the short run. Often a pastoral approach was based on the financial possibilities of the plateau. Saying this, the most important pastoral activities are not the most expensive ones. The priests whom I felt people remember most in the valley were those who went from house to house, just to greet people and ask how they were. And that is what people miss today in the church. Sometimes I asked old people where they prayed, and they answered with a big smile on their face "*ine ndimapemphera kwa abambo cifukwa anandiyendera pa nyumba panga.*" Priests and sisters with their silent presence at a funeral said often more than they could have done in a long church council meeting (that would have been poorly attended anyway). Since people depend on their families/lineages for security and livelihood, a church can only be meaningful if she enters the lineage settings, and in this regard the valley seems to prefer personal contacts to structures. "Give us one real Christian to live here with us, and we will follow him," said a headman of Chasera. This is the context of the stress of the bishop first and foremost for an "incarnational theology". This needs Christians ready to live and stay in the valley. An old catholic of Lumimba put it this way: "We want to be Christians, but we are left to ourselves. We have no real leader. Give us somebody here who gives a real example that we can see with our own eyes, and we will follow."¹⁶² The demands of this call were summarised by a priest who worked many years in the valley:

“It is difficult to work in the valley. It is not an easy task. It is a vocation. If you do not have that vocation, then don’t go to the valley. You will give up with the first rains. If you have the vocation, then you have no conditions, you can go tomorrow just with what you are wearing today; just leave what you are doing now, and the things you worry about today will be taken care of by somebody else tomorrow. But you go to the valley, and you will see that living with the people and getting to know each other will make you happy, and this happiness comes from God. The word of God when you really try to live it there in the valley is very powerful.”¹⁶³

* * *

Appendix I: histories narrated today

In what follows I give back a few historical narratives that were narrated either at official functions or during meetings during the time of this research. They give a glimpse into present historical awareness of the story tellers.¹⁶⁴

The Kunda of Mambwe

Here I give back the account of Esner Njovu from Magezi at the occasion of the *Malaila* ceremony in October 2005:

“The Luba chief Chabala Makumba had many wives, among them *mukolo* Chanje, a *mwina Chulu* (the clan of the anthill, now the royal Kunda clan). He did not want male children and agreed with his wife that she should kill them all once they were born. She had only one daughter, Chiluya Manda. Then she gave birth to a boy, Mambwe, and a slave girl convinced the mother not to kill him; she offered to hide the child for her: “This child will look after you in future.” When the boy was 12 years old, the mother brought him finally to the king and confessed the whole story. The king was very much impressed by the beauty and intelligence of the boy, who had not been given yet a name. The king named him Mambwe, and from then onwards the king stopped killing his male offspring. The next male children were Malama wa Chikuntho, Mambwe Kalindula and Mambwe Mucaca. Then they were sent out by their father to take their sister (so as to start a royal line) to go and look together for their own country to rule. Chabala Makumba used to send his royal children of different mothers (future tribes) to the periphery so as to have protection from future enemies. Mambwe was given by his father a tail (*mucila*) which was a charm to change himself into a baobab tree, a stone or a guinea fowl. He was also given a stick with which he could cross the Luangwa “like Moses”. They took along also a large group of slaves. One such slave was Kalindawalo, a *mwina Mwansa*. They left him near the crossing of the Luangwa: “*ulinde amalo kuno*.” Next they left Malama wa chikuntho. Next they left Kakumbi, a *mutenzi* (in-law) since he had married a daughter of Chiluya Manda; his task was to care for the *tuvimba* (ancestor shrines). Then he left somebody at Matula: Mambwe Kalindula who was Mnkhanya. Next they left Msoro who was also a *mutenzi* since he also had married a daughter of Chiluya. Next ku Mphata they left Mambwe Mucaca (Jumbe). Next Mambwe himself settled *kuli Chitontho* at Mazera to become *Mambwe wa ku Uluba*. Then came the *Mazitu* (Angoni). Mambwe escaped many times through his magic by changing himself into a guinea fowl, or a baobab tree, until the Ngoni caught his first wife, who revealed the secret: ‘you will find a very big *muuyyu* (baobab) at Ulanda.’ The Angoni found the tree and pierced a needle into it; blood flowed out. So they speared the tree with a spear and Mambwe died; the body never came out of the tree and there is no grave. The Angoni rejoiced and called in

their families to live in the country. But Mambwe had still an in-law who had married his niece. He was called Chibanda, a *mwina Mbawo*, and he went up to the Angoni to invite them for a feast given for them as a sign of welcome and an invitation to rule them. They prepared plenty of beer and meat, and built many grass huts for the Angoni to sleep when they were drunk. At night the huts were burnt with the enemies inside except the officer in charge: they cut off one ear and sent him back to the Angoni to tell the story...”

(**Note:** According to narrative collected by Poole – published in 1938 – Mambwe was killed by a Bisa headman Chalwe Cholola, whose wife had been raped by a Kunda in the group of Mambwe. Concerning the origin of chief Kalindawalo there exist many different narratives (of the *wene Mwanza* themselves, of the Chewa, the Kunda, etc.) and there exist also narratives of the “Chewa-Kunda” deal to seal each others boundaries after the arrival of the Kunda. According to the narrative collected by Poole, Kalindawalo was worried when he heard of the coming of the Kunda across the Luangwa, which made him sent some people down to settle in between as protection (the ancestor of chief Sanje and others.)

The takeover of Kambwiri (Bisa)

The event has deeply marked Chewa/Bisa historical consciousness until today in the area of chief Mwanya, so more so since the Bisa royal family is fighting already for many decades to regain the chieftaincy. I was given different narratives by the Chewa and Bisa royal families,¹⁶⁵ especially in regards to the interpretations of the meaning of the takeover.

The takeover was grounded in the discontent of chief Mwase’s sister Ntemba about the killing of her brother Mwanya and of all her male children. Mwase had them killed for fear they would take over his chieftaincy, and he refused the corpses to be buried – he had given orders for the corpses to be left for the birds to eat. [In some narratives, Mwanya and Ntemba were brother and sister – hence the affection for each other – while chief Mwase was their half-brother from another lineage – hence the jealousy. In other narratives all three were full brothers and sister.] Ntemba never came over the murder of her brother and her children and she contemplated for a long time to have them revenged. The Bisa trader Kambwiri used to pass through Mwase’s headquarter on his journeys to the coast, and chief Mwase used to give him hospitality. On one such journey, Ntemba approached him and asked him to kill her brother Mwase if he was a man. Kambwiri refused, and Ntemba took off her *bukushi* (her strip of undercloth never to be seen by a man) with which she slapped him in the face – the most terrible sign of contempt. Kambwiri left for the coast [some say to Mbwani] for his business. On his way back the same scene repeated itself. Ntemba promised Kambwiri “something he would like” in return for killing Mwase [according to the Bisa he was promised the country; according to a Chewa narratives he was promised sex but not the country.] Again Kambwiri refused and left; this time after being slapped he grabbed the *bukushi* from Ntemba and went with it. He went up to his uncle chief Kopa [or Kasense], showed him the *bukushi* and sought advise on what to do. His uncle took him to the bush, where they performed the poison ordeal on a chicken; the

chicken died, and the uncle advised him to go ahead with Ntemba's plan: he would succeed. Kambwiri passed again through Chibendami on another journey and came back stocked with weapons. He approached Ntemba and told her that this very night the coup was to take place; Ntemba was to take into her quarters all the people she wanted to be spared. That night, Kambwiri's people started the slaughter of the Chewa, but Mwase could escape at first. [According to one narrative, Mwase had a magic through which he could transform himself into a bird (*nkwale*) and fly away to "Phiri Mwase" in Mpalabwe (Lukusuzi) where he went into hiding in the rocks.] Kambwiri's soldiers pursued him and forced an old man whom they found near the rocks to reveal the location of the chief; begging for his life he did so. Kambwiri's people cut off the head of Mwase and brought it to Kambwiri. [According to another narrative, Mwase was hiding in a rock within the ilinga itself, and he was caught and killed when he came out to empty his urinal.]

Seeing the corpse of Mwase, Kambwiri was upset since he had not intended to kill him. "Mwase was treating me well; why should I kill him?" He asked Ntemba to confirm the identity of the body which Ntemba did. Ntemba asked for the body of her brother to be left to the birds – as her own children had been on Mwase's orders, but Kambwiri insisted on a royal burial. Mwase accordingly was buried in Chibenda Minku, head and body together. Then Kambwiri and his people asked Ntemba for their reward. Ntemba had no sons left to rule, and she feared reprisal from her own family of the plateau. "They will not leave me!" So she gave Kambwiri the country and asked him to care for her and her relatives whom she had saved. [According to Bisa narratives, she gave the country to Kambwiri for good: "*tatwaitendeke ukwisa kuno*" – "we did not come here on our own account – we were asked by the Chewa themselves to come here and take over." According to the Chewa account, Ntemba wanted only protection from Kambwiri, but she hoped her own male relatives or future children would eventually reign.] Kambwiri went back to Kopa [or Kasense] to narrate that he had succeeded. Kopa advised him to take a good number of people and go and settle in the new country. This then was the Bisa migration across the Luangwa. Ntemba had two daughters [or granddaughters]: Chidoti and Ntemba, whom Kambwiri married to Bisa noblemen (his "sons"): to Saidi (a *mwina Mvula*) and to Mukwela (a *mwina Nswi*). [The present chief Mwanya and his royal family trace Ntemba II (younger sister of Chidoti) as their royal ancestor mother.]

Kambombo (continuation of the narrative of chapter 4)

After Chiweza's death his nephew Kamphata was called to succeed. But Kamphata had established himself as chief Tembwe, and he was happy with his own country. As Chiweza had no other nephew, Kamphata judged that Chiweza's son Kasolwe should inherit the throne of Kambombo. While the chieftaincy of Tembwe and other Senga chieftaincies remained matrilineal in accordance to Luba custom, in Kambombo a son succeeds his father as chief. The Senga freely took over the custom of the Tumbuka whom they found. After the death of Kasolwe (2), his younger brother Katangalika (3) succeeded, who was born of the same mother. Then followed his brother Mwimba (4), who was a son of Mwali. The chieftaincy thus passed to the line of Chiweza's first wife. Then followed Mtumba (5), the son of a sister to Kasolwe.¹⁶⁶ The line of Kasolwe was back in power. Then a son of Katangalika took over, Muzieba (6). Muzieba was succeeded by a son of Mwimba of the line of Mwali. He was

called Kacila Fitanda (7), and he was afraid that Kasolwe's line would come back. He was known to be a very cruel chief who killed many of his brothers and relatives who might take over the chieftaincy. But the family came together and managed to kill Kacila. Until then, all the previous chiefs were buried in Soyo (except Chiweza, who was buried at his residence in Chipula Malume), but Kacila was buried on the other side, in Fipante. Senga chiefs are buried in the afternoon, so as not to pollute the country. At that time the chiefs were buried together with six life slaves and four elephant tusks. One slave was speared on top of the grave from mouth down to anus, and at his dying breath a bow and arrow was pressed into his outstretched arms; he was left with bow and arrow on the grave to deter witches.

A son of Muzieba called Chiabe (8) succeeded Kacila as chief. Then followed his younger brother Chimbundu (9), who was killed in a fight with the Angoni (his head was chopped off and carried away). The Angoni (the *Mazitu*) had started to trouble the country already for some time. But the Senga had guns, while the Mazitu had only spears. The Senga trick was to dig game pits. When the Mazitu attacked, they would fake a retreat; the Angoni pursued, but fell into the pits in which they were then burnt to death. Kambombo also attacked the Angoni, and there is still a village in present Malawi called Kambombo where they fought. Kambombo's area was known for cotton, and when he went to war to attack Ngoni villages, his trick was to bind cotton pots on the feet of doves and set them alight. The doves would fly on the roofs of the Angoni and set their villages alight; the enemy had no time to look for weapons.

A son of Chiabe succeeded Chimbundu, called Munaka (10). Then followed Munaka's brothers Ituba (11) and Kavuluvulu (12), then Ziabwata (13) who was according to some a son of Kacila, which is however refuted by others. Then followed Mutima Iwiri (14), a son of Munaka, then Kazika Alfeo, also called Chindila (15)¹⁶⁷, a grandson of Chiabe (the father being Muzayeka), then Nthowaimu (16), son of Kapembe, and then the present chief Kupula Jume (17), son of Ziabwata, grandson of Kacila.¹⁶⁸

Tembwe narratives (Senga)¹⁶⁹

While Kambombo's story as narrated in chapter 4 and above is rather straight forward, with only few variations here and there, the narrative of chief Tembwe is more complicated due to the fact that already for nearly hundred years two royal lines are competing for the throne, which flames up disputes of accession to the throne after the death of each office bearer.

The first Tembwe was Kamphata, and the name Kamphata comes from the fish of the same name [a fish with poisonous stings said to emit electricity]. While his uncle Chiweza was still staying with chief Chibesa Kunda in Bisa land, Kamphata Zimba came down to the valley to look out for a new country to live in, and when he had found it, he went back to fetch his uncle in the plateau. As there was a war going on between the Bisa, Kamphata and Chiweza were given a security officer by the Bisa chief,¹⁷⁰ called Chimunyero. They were also given a little girl called Mwali. Coming down to the Luangwa they came to the Msalongo river where they found Pendwe who was Zaongo. From there they went to Luzilukulu, then to Muzingwezingwe, and then up to Katyetye. Again, in Chibungwe they found people, and here Kamphata separated from Chiweza; Chiweza wanted to settle at the Chiphala Usenga, while Kamphata went to Kalimamtundu – in the shadow of trees – where there is a pond with water.

limamtundu – in the shadow of trees – where there is a pond with water. When they separated, Chiweza took Mwali along with him, making her his wife, while Kamphata went with Chimunyero. When Chiweza died, Kamphata did not want to inherit the chieftaincy of Kambombo; “I have my own country”, he said. Kamphata had also taken a wife, called Chileka, who was from Mungwalala.¹⁷¹ The early inhabitants found by Kamphata included Zaongo (Pendwe), Lumpimbwe (Katangalika) and Lundu.¹⁷² Lumpimbwe and Lundu were Tumbuka, while Zaongo was a Bisa.

Here the history given by chief Mafews Khunga and his family:

Kamphata had only two children: a son called Chitimbe, and a daughter called Ndekazi. After the death of Kamphata, Chitimbe became chief, because there were no maternal nephews available yet. The name Chitimbe is a nickname, as he was cruel and tended to beat people when he had drunk beer. Ndekazi had three children: Msaya ♀ followed by twins: Mwvila ♂ and Chola. Msaya was however much older than the later twins, and she gave birth to a son called Ngalawa before her brothers were to be born. When Chitimbe died, Mwvila was only a small boy, while his nephew Ngalawa was already grown-up. The family appointed Mwvila as successor, but asked Ngalawa to guard the throne until Mwvila had come of age. But when Mwvila had grown up, Ngalawa was upset and did not intend to leave the throne; hence he nicknamed himself Kwinya (“*nakwinyirila!*”), and he is known by that name until today. Mwvila took over, but Kwinya prepared his own plans to regain the chieftaincy from him.

Mwvila rather than Kwinya is therefore the legitimate third Tembwe. This was in the time of the Angoni raids, and one day Mwvila’s daughter was captured. She was called Mbile. Mwvila tried everything to get his daughter back, and finally he sent out his *nduna* Chimunyero to try his best to get her back. Chimunyero managed several times to enter the Ngoni camp masked as a food trader, and he managed to speak with Mbile. By then Mbile had made friendship with another Senga girl who had been captured from Chiwale; they had met in the Angoni camp and they both spoke the same language. This girl was called Mwandu. However, before Chimunyero could free Mbile, the Angoni removed her to another camp as they had grown suspicious. Mwandu begged Chimunyero to take her out instead, and the two of them managed to escape together. Chimunyero did not know that Mwandu was pregnant. Mwvila however did not allow Mwandu to stay in his royal court; “you are not one of us.” From then onwards, Mwandu was taken care of by an ivory trader who was residing in Tembwe’s area; he was called Mung’andu (or Ching’andu), and he had risen to a prominent position in the chiefdom of Tembwe. Originally he was a Bemba¹⁷³ by tribe who had been working for many years with the Arabs, buying slaves and ivory and bringing them up to Bagamoyo. When he discovered that there was a lot of business in this trade, he decided to split off from the Arabs and to start his own trading empire. He came to Tembwe because he was looking for a base from where to buy elephants, and he had befriended the chief; Tembwe received him well, because Mung’andu gave him much respect and he rendered him useful services. Mung’andu now accepted Mwandu into his own family, and she gave birth to a daughter (whose father had been a Ngoni back in the camp) who was called Ching’andu, a line that was later to provide two chiefs to Tembwe.

Kwinya in the meantime took his opportunity to regain the throne, and he killed Mwvila by witchcraft. Kwinya regained the throne and became Tembwe IV, but after only a short time he himself was killed by witchcraft. As the Mwvila line then had no other children around who were big enough, they had to borrow a chief from the line of Ching'andu. Ching'andu had two children: Mbuweni ♂ and Ndeke ♀, and Mbuweni was made chief (Tembwe V).¹⁷⁴ Mwvila had three children: Mulilo ♂, Sanje ♀ and Mbara ♀. When Mulilo had grown up, he wanted to become chief, and as Mbuweni did not want to go, Mulilo's people killed him. But Mulilo himself reigned such a short time before he died, that he is not even counted in the line of the Tembwes. Again, there was no other male available in the line of Mwvila, and therefore Mbuweni's nephew gained the throne; he was called Chibere (Tembwe VI), and was a son of Ndeke. Chibere was a compromise between the two families of Mbuweni and Mwvila, because he had married into the line of Mwvila, his wife being Muzongolwe.¹⁷⁵ After Chibere, a son of Mulilo's sister Sanje took over, Kamulibwe (Tiza Mulubwe), who became Tembwe VII and who ruled a long time until 1922, and was succeeded by Kambuwe (Tembwe VIII). He died in 1934, and another succession dispute broke out between the lines of Mwvila and Mbuweni, which the colonial government referred to Chasefu Mission for arbitration. The dispute was settled in favour of the Mwvila branch, and Chisasuni (Aaron Mande, Tembwe IX) was put on the throne. When he died in 1943, the Mwvila branch had the advantage of having a number of highly educated people in their ranks, as they had maintained from the beginning a rather close connection with the Free Church of Scotland and supported formal schooling in Mission schools. Joseph Changwe, the brother of the late chief became Tembwe X and ruled until 1977. At his death yet another dispute broke out which took ten years to settle. By then also the Mbuweni branch had well educated and influential people in their ranks, and it took arbitration from Lusaka to settle in favour again of the Mwvila branch. Another Mwvila (Tembwe XI) reigned until his death in 1995, followed by Gibron Zimba (Tembwe XII, 1998-2002) and the present Tembwe XIII, Mafews Khunga.

The family branch of Mbuweni gives a different history:

Kamphata had three children, the oldest one being his daughter Mwandu, followed by Chitimbe and Ndekazi.¹⁷⁶ The line of Mbuweni goes back to Mwandu, and the line of Mwvila to Ndekazi. Mwandu gave birth to her daughter Ching'andu and a son called Chikongela, who was lame and therefore unable to claim for himself the chieftaincy. Ching'andu gave birth to Kazilondo Mbuweni and his sister Ndeke. Meanwhile the grandson of Ndekazi, Mgalawa, son of Msaya, kept the throne for Nteye (Mwvila), who was the oldest of twins, the younger one being Chola ♂. Chola like Chitimbe remained childless. Mgalawa (Kwinya) made war on Nteye and killed him. Then he made war also on his elder brother [second cousin] Kazilondo (Mbuweni), fearing him as a rival for the throne. This war between the two brothers took place at the pond of Lunguziwa. Kazilondo was hit by an arrow in his shoulder, but did not die since he had access to magic; he fled across the Luangwa to Fulaza at the Lundi river. Meanwhile Kwinya went back to Kasakanyanja and made himself chief. People though resented his harshness and poisoned him at the beer. (Kwinya used to drink his beer out of the skull of one of his victims called Chimtolo.) As people did not want Kwinya's children to rule, they called back

Kazilondo from Fulaza, who then took the name Mbuweni on the throne. He had married Nguli from the family of Msaya, and his wife betrayed him, as she wanted the chieftaincy to go back to her own line of Ndekazi. Kazilondo had a magic which made him invisible whenever enemies approached who wanted to kill him, and because he loved his wife he confided the secret to her. Nguli went to the children on Kwinya and instructed them how they could kill her husband at the beer, and so they did. Nevertheless instead of the sons of Kwinya, Kazilondo's nephew Chibere took over as chief, and in revenge for the death of his uncle made war on the children of Kwinya: two of them were caught (one was called Chibwende) and Chibere had both their arms cut off, so that Kwinya's children scattered. Chibere left alive Kwinya's daughter Lekela ["the one left out"], but killed the sons on whom he could lay his hands. Kwinya's family eventually managed to kill Chibere at his village Nkhoka at Kabvumaupeta.¹⁷⁷ Chibere's mother Ndeke did not want to lose another child; that is why she refused to have any of her children inherit the throne. Kamulibwe of Mvvila's line then became chief, whom the British found on the throne, who reigned a very long time. At the succession dispute after his death, the British put a son of Mbuweni as a temporal regent (Chitimbe), who decided that the successor of Kamulibwe should be able to trace ancestry to both sides. Kambuwe therefore was chosen: Chibere at one time had had an affair with Ndekazi II (daughter of Mbara, daughter of Mvvila, daughter of Ndekazi I), and Kambuwe had been born out of that union. After Kambuwe's death, a new dispute broke out that was arbitrated by Chasefu mission, who settled it in favour of the brother of their worker Joseph Changwe (Aaron Chisasuni), at whose death around 1945 Joseph Changwe himself took over. Joseph was followed by his nephew Raban Nguwuwe, who was followed by Gibson Zimba.¹⁷⁸

For narratives of Chikwa Ng'uni and Chigunda Lungu see Poole (1938), 24-27.

The Mwine Mutondo driven out by Kazembe¹⁷⁹

The first Mwine Mutondo was Chikuse, who came from Mozambique and Malawi, his mother being Awozi. On his journey (in Malawi) he met Gumba who was his relative. That was in Magodi. While Gumba stayed in Magodi, Chikuse came down to the Matizi river in the valley. From there he went to Nyimbwe (the country at the Lumezi River in the valley). That is where Chikuse died. The first village was at Chipopomo, near the village today called Kambwiri (the first mission of the CCAP in Kazembe's country). Chikuse was buried in Kaula Tsitsi, the name being derived from the shaving during the funeral. His younger brother Chikwekwe (his mother being Samanayo) took over the leadership. He left Chipopoma because of the death of his brother and went to Chidemba (Kampinda Mulodzi), and from there to Chiwembe. That was the time when Nguwa (the Chewa intruder Kazembe) arrived. Nguwa chased him away. This was possible, because Kazembe found that Chikwekwe was alone – most of his people had gone back to Gumba on the plateau to bring him into the valley; Gumba however refused to come, since he was already settled in Magodi at Chizingizi. Nguwa first had sent out spies: Guzani and Mankomba, who had come with Gontho and Kaliza Mimba. Nguwa by then was at the Matizi river. They went back to Nguwa to entice him to take over the country of Mwine Mutondo – “let us go now, because Chikwekwe is alone!” The Chewa did not want to kill Chikwekwe and his people; they came with sticks so as to

drive them away from the country. Chikwekwe fled to Chidyake (Moto) on the other side of the river, where Bisa people were living under Sairi Chikuza. From here they crossed again the Luangwa to come to Mungwalala into the country of chief Chifunda (the country being called Chilenje). Before reaching Chifunda they slept at the Mutobozi river (Mutobozi wa Ansenga). Kazembe followed and reached the other branch of the river (Mutobozi wa Achewa). The river from now on would be the boundary. Both made their camps at their own side of the river; they saw each other but did not fight.

In the meantime the group that had gone to Gomba came back into the valley; when they found that their relatives were gone, many of them committed mass suicide in the Lumezi river, in a pond, together with all their animals that they were keeping. Others went on to seek their relatives. 8 women reached Chifunda. Since so many men had died in the mass suicide, they changed the law of inheritance from the patrilineal to the matrilineal side. They started to follow the matrilineal customs of the Senga of Chifunda.

From Mungwalala Chikwekwe's people went to Mabuwa (a name indicating water holes), where Chikwekwe died. Chingaipe took over, who reached Chifunda. Chief Chifunda received them well, and he told Chingaipe: "you too are a chief, so we cannot stay together. Go and take the country at the Zewe River. They paid Chifunda ivory tusks of male elephants; the tusks of the females they kept, and since then the tusks of all male elephants would go to chief Chifunda as tribute. After Chingaipe followed Mwebe (his maternal nephew, since inheritance laws had changed), then Dodoli, then Chakanga, then Mulopwe, then Chikatabambo, then Munguza, then Matope, then Esaya Chirwa (+1955), then Chaswe Mwandila (+1963), then Gibson Nyanje Zimba (+2002) and then the present Mwine Mutondo Witson Ng'uni (narrator of the story).

The Lumpa war in the valley (1964)

(The following narrative is a summary from meetings with village headmen and elders of different churches in Kambombo, Tembwe, Chikwa and Chifunda).

Towards the outbreak of the war, Lenshina's people had two fortified villages in the valley: Bindula (people today speak rather of Chaumbwa) in Kambombo and Mangwere in Chikwa (today's Doropa), which gathered communities also from other Senga chiefs who had not given permission to her people to settle in new and separate villages. In Chifunda her supporters refused to build a fortified village; their leader (Newton Lungu) tried to avoid a war. Lenshina's followers cut through families: the one who was not with her was against her and was a *mulwani* (enemy). Lenshina toured the villages, and on one occasion mission educated CCAP members put forward some Bible verses to ask questions, but they were beaten up on that occasion by Lenshina supporters. Tensions were so high that people did not greet anymore those of the other side, nor give a cup of water to one who was thirsty, not even to a close relative. Preceding the war, one Lumpa member was killed in Chama, and a number of harassments took place. The final war however started with Lumpa attacks. The massacres in Chama started on Monday the 3rd of August 1964, when pupils were just back from holidays to commence school. It started in Kambombo at night, when Lenshina's group attacked the chief, but he managed to escape half

naked to Kazembe; here he was picked up and saved by an Indian called Melek, who brought him in his car to Chama. They killed people in Kambombo, and then went on in the direction of Chama burning down first the village of Kazembe, but killing some people also in Chimbilima, Mungwalala, and Dungalungu. They were marching to Chama. In the villages around Chama people expected the attack and either left their villages or gathered in self-defence at the school. Many school children fled into Malawi and slept in the bush. At Chama school a massacre occurred in which people of both sides died.¹⁸⁰ Lenshina's group attacked from a direction that people did not expect, but a certain Nowell Ng'uni defended people with a rifle, shooting heavily into Lenshina's group. Lenshina's group was large but disorganised and some were killed by their own people in the moments of confusion. From Chama, Lenshina's group retreated back to Chaumbwa, where they were making their own gunpowder for their muzzle loaders.

People all around Chama then got organised and planned their attack on Chaumbwa. They painted their foreheads and the back of their heads white as mark of recognition. A certain Chikonde entered the fortified village (*ilinga*) and put down his trousers, cursed people and said: "You have killed and all of you will be killed!" and left.¹⁸¹ At some time someone of Chaumbwa shot at a certain Sudya Kumwenda of the attackers' camp and killed him. The attackers then threw petrol bottles on the roofs; as houses in the *ilinga* were built very close to each other, the whole village burnt down. The attackers then entered the village, and killed everybody: men, women and children. From Chaumbwa they went back to the villages and killed those Lumpa members who had not joined their fellow believers in the stockaded village. When the army marched in some days later they prevented further killings of Lumpa members.¹⁸²

Also in Chikwa the war started with a Lumpa attack on the chief, who was burnt to death in his house. Also a messenger and a headman (Malata) were killed. A number of villages were attacked.¹⁸³ The Lumpa attacks targeted chiefs and any person who owned a gun. Also old family scores were settled in the Lumpa war. Chief Chikwa was attacked and killed because he had rivals in the Lumpa camp who used the Lumpa war to get rid of their opponent. The army eventually came in, but the Lumpa members fled on the other side of the Luangwa.¹⁸⁴

This report can be supplemented by Hudson (1999) and Mulenga (1998).¹⁸⁵ People did not speak to me about the massacres of Paishuko (the name means "where there is happiness", the map of Roberts places it near Chikwa) where UNIP supporters massacred an unfortified Lumpa village, that had seemingly not been involved in the violence of Chikwa. As in the case of Chama, the army moved in only after UNIPs attack. Hudson (1998, 48-50) then D.C. of Isoka) wrote that

examining the corpses littered around, the soldiers were horrified to find that most of the victims had been subjected to appalling tortures. According to an army officer, some of the women had been killed by grain mortar poles forced up their genitals. A senior police officer reported: "Many of the women and children had stakes thrust into anus or vagina or down their throats — this is how they were tortured to death" ... Many of the faces of the dead were contorted in extreme agony, but some were amazingly serene. Perhaps they had endured the torture because they were fortified by their faith and the prospect of a promised after life in heaven ... Even experienced army and police offi-

cers, accustomed to the sight of battle casualties and murder victims, were deeply shocked and angered by what they saw. The horror of Paishuko had a disastrous effect on their morale, with unfortunate results at Muyombe later on. After the dead had been photographed for possible court exhibit purposes, they were buried in a mass grave by policemen wearing gas masks. Nobody seems to have been brought to trial for these atrocious murders. In the absence of any survivors, there were no witnesses apart from those involved. Police enquiries would have come up against a powerful conspiracy of silence. Prosecutions might also have been politically inconvenient.¹⁸⁶

**Appendix II.
Population Statistics**

**Population (2000) of Eastern Province Districts reaching into the
Luangwa valley**

(source: Statistical Office, census data of the 2000 census.)

	households	population
Chama North		
Chisunga	350	1,591
Kalinkhu	466	2,412
Kamphemba	1,604	8,459
Luangwa	1,263	6,263
Manthepa	555	2,855
Mazonde	205	1,139
Mbazi	447	2,074
Mphalansenga	388	1,898
Munchinga	958	4,763
Mwalala	490	2,755
Ndunda	898	4,355
total	7,624	38,564
Chama South		
Bazimu	1,243	6,392
Chibungwe	304	2,280
Chilenje	735	3,794
Chipala	134	712
Lumezi	741	4,198
Lunzi	1,126	6,090
Mabinga	948	5,374
Mapamba	764	3,536
Vilimukulu	778	3,950
total	6,773	36,326
Lumezi (x)		
Chamtonga	2,949	15,980
Chibande	1,444	6,132
Diwa	2,472	14,651
Kamimba	1,842	9,546
Kazembe	903	4,323
Lukusuzi	544	2,465
Lumimba	1,316	6,254
Wachitangati	1,071	5,247
total	12,541	64,598

Malambo		
Chikowa	293	1,394
Chipapa	522	2,525
Jumbe	941	4,841
Kakumbi	1,119	5,549
Kasamanda	831	4,217
Malama	227	981
Mnkhanya	2,285	11,324
Mphomwa	175	1,031
Msoro	168	917
Ncheka	865	4,399
Ndimba	1,184	5,862
Nsefu	964	4,336
total	9,574	47,376

Nyimba (x)		
Chamilala	754	3,699
Chinambi	1,099	6,082
Chinsumbwe	271	1,388
Chiweza	1,152	6,424
Kaliwe	1,123	5,967
Katipa	348	1,750
Luangwa	423	2,390
Lwezi	1,429	7,490
Mombe	857	4,111
Ngozi	2,205	11,832
Nyimba	1,231	7,274
Vizimunda	2,307	12,018
total	13,199	70,425

Msanzala		
Chasangu	2,258	11,473
Lusangazi	431	2,233
Mateyo Mzeka	1,544	7,485
Mawanda	1,631	7,686
Nyakwawise	1,655	8,862
Singozi	1,618	7,926
total	9,137	45,665

(x) only some parts of the district are located within the Luangwa valley

Appendix III.

Selective village counts (from north to south) of married, divorced and widowed adults

village	chief (c.)	adult men	adult women	polygamous men (a)	women in poly-gamous marriage (b)	single men (widowed or divorced)	single women (widowed or divorced)
Iwiri	Kb	18	31	5	13	0	5
Chikhalanga	Kb	39	63	3	8	3	13
Chipundo	Kb	23	37	1	2 (z)	0	11
Kapilili	Kb	7	17	4	8 (z)	0	7
Chipilinga	Kb	17	32	5	10 (z)	0	9
Zaongo	Tb	23	29	5	10	2	3
Chilindila	Cf	7	10	1	2	0	2
Chikwekwe	Cf	10	12	1	2	0	1
Chingolo	Mn	14	25	0	2	0	10
Jelemanda	Mn	19	26	2	2	0	8
Njibukishe	Mn	9	13	1	1	0	4
Paison	Mn	8	12	3	3	1	5
Mulimbwe	Mn	8	10	1	1	0	2
Chilau	Mn	8	10	1	2	0	1
Sandongda	Jm	5	6	1	1	0	1
Chinkazi	Jm	13	15	0	0	3	4
Mulande	Jm	23	31	1	1	1	9
Chembe & Kasongo	Jm	16	28	2	3	0	11
Kasanka(x)	Jm	17	22	5	9	0	6
Chikalaba	Jm	26	37	2	3	1	11
Mpamadzi (y)	Kw	35	38	0	0	0	3
Aisak	Kw	10	12	0	0	0	2
Mtumba	Kw	23	25	n.a	n.a.	0	2
Mwape	Mp	25	37	1	2	1	13
Manase	Lw	6	11	1	2	0	3
Chitumbi	Lw	8	22	0	0	0	14
Kenani	Lw	4	5	0	0	0	1
Chana	Lw	2	8	0	0	0	6
Mwaculeni	Lw	2	4	0	0	0	2
Mushalila	Lw	29	31	0	0	1	4
Sonkho	NI	33	37	2	4	0	5
Lamek	NI	7	11	0	0	1	5
total		494	707	48	91	14	183

(a): chiefs: Kb=Kambombo; Tb=Tembwe; Cf=Chifunda; Mn=Mwanya; Jm=Jumbe; Kw=subchief Kamwendo;

Mp=Mwape; Lw=Luwembe; NI=Nyalugwe.

(b): husbands living in other villages of second wives in these villages not counted here

(c): co-wives living in other villages not counted here.

(x): together with the villages of Kalumba, Kaimaima & Mulanda

(y): Mpamadzi consists of two separate villages (Mumbi Malisase and Chitala) here counted together

(z): estimated

Appendix IV. Election results for the Luangwa Valley.

Election results for the Luangwa Valley of Eastern Province (biggest parties only).
Compiled out of the following sources: www.elections.org.zm & www.osisa.org
votes against votes cast; turnout: valid votes cast against number of registered voters.

	1991 Presidential	1991 Parliamentary	1998 (x) Presidential	1998 Parliamentary	2001 Presidential	2001 Parliamentary	2008 Presidential
National	MMD 76.76% UNIP 24.24% turnout 45.27%	MMD 74.01% ZDC 24.99% NIP 45.40%	MMD 72.59% ZDC 12.75% NIP 6.86% turnout 58.44%	MMD 60.88% ZDC 19.79% NIP 7.10% turnout 58.79%	MMD 29.15% UPND 27.20% FDD 13.17% turnout 10.12%	MMD 28.02% PF 23.77% FDD 15.58% turnout 53.48%	MMD 42.98% PF 29.37% UDA 25.32%
Eastern Province Average	MMD 24.89% UNIP 70.48% turnout 46.97%	MMD 22.14% ZDC 69.70% NIP 47.02%	MMD 60.28% ZDC 18.43% NIP 6.45% turnout 34.72%	MMD 58.90% ZDC 23.15% NIP 6.13% turnout 35.22%	MMD 35.90% FDD 28.27% MMD 16.19% turnout 64.85%	MMD 34.49% PF 26.18% UDA 4.99% turnout 64.09%	MMD 42.58% PF 10.87% UDA 37.71% turnout 69.48%
Chama North	MMD 21.32% UNIP 76.33% turnout 45.55%	MMD 20.94% ZDC 76.34% NIP 58.92%	MMD 62.57% ZDC 22.74% NIP 3.81% turnout 39.48%	MMD 65.07% ZDC 30.28% NIP 3.81% turnout 39.93%	MMD 36.40% FDD 16.70% MMD 27.84% turnout 62.00%	MMD 49.42% UDA 36.74% PF 4.99% turnout 57.18%	MMD 51.89% PF 37.09% UDA 5.80% turnout 72.59%
Chama South	MMD 25.12% UNIP 72.54% turnout 43.25%	MMD 23.61% ZDC 74.42% MOP 43.39%	MMD 79.07% ZDC 10.30% MOP 2.72% LPC turnout 50.48%	MMD 81.06% ZDC 15.39% LPC turnout 50.91%	MMD 25.72% FDD 24.25% MMD 25.03% turnout 78.84%	MMD 32.78% UDA 29.33% PF 24.43% turnout 79.50%	MMD 47.08% UDA 40.08% PF 10.80% turnout 83.07%
Lusaka	MMD 29.87% UNIP 66.37% turnout 45.58%	MMD (x) ZDC 67.43% NIP 45.68%	MMD 75.59% ZDC 10.52% NIP 6.31% turnout 38.97%	MMD 74.53% ZDC 15.13% NIP 8.16% turnout 37.80%	MMD 43.15% FDD 33.22% MMD 9.38% turnout 69.34%	MMD 35.53% UDA 29.84% PF 14.22% turnout 70.32%	MMD 45.27% UDA 37.87% PF 13.91% turnout 71.78%
Malambo	MMD 23.89% UNIP 73.30% turnout 49.88%	MMD 22.27% ZDC 73.38% MOP 57.24%	MMD 67.77% ZDC 14.03% MOP 7.01% NLP turnout 31.19%	MMD 68.41% ZDC 13.06% NLP 11.22% turnout 37.27%	MMD 34.11% UNIP 27.07% MMD 24.83% turnout 58.97%	MMD 26.17% UDA 33.22% PF 18.18% turnout 60.88%	MMD 50.11% UDA 35.26% PF 10.84% turnout 72.15%
Masanzala	MMD 32.31% UNIP 62.13% turnout 48.95%	MMD 32.55% ZDC 62.02% NIP 48.73%	MMD 74.52% ZDC 8.08% NIP 5.25% turnout 37.82%	MMD 73.18% ZDC 11.12% NIP 6.81% turnout 37.85%	MMD 34.13% FDD 22.10% UNIP 21.72% turnout 76.09%	MMD 29.98% UDA 22.92% PF 21.71% turnout 66.83%	MMD 49.57% UDA 33.14% PF 7.42% turnout 68.80%
Hyimba	MMD 25.16% UNIP 71.35% turnout 43.53%	MMD 25.54% ZDC 69.56% NIP 42.90%	MMD 57.20% ZDC 12.84% NIP 10.32% NLP turnout 27.50%	MMD 51.05% ZDC 9.99% NIP 11.77% turnout 22.01%	MMD 34.11% UNIP 27.07% MMD 24.83% turnout 62.04%	MMD 47.39% UDA 20.00% PF 32.80% turnout 47.25%	MMD 63.98% UDA 23.80% PF 8.00% turnout 67.83%
Presidential Candidates	MMD UNIP Frederick Chiluba Kenneth Kaunda		MMD ZDC Frederick Chiluba Dean Mungomba Hamphrey Mulemba Chakombaka Chama		MMD UNIP FDD Leyi Mwanawasa Tienji Kaunda Christen Tembo		MMD UDA PF Mwanawasa Hichilema Sata

(x) In 1998 UNIP boycotted the elections
(x) an independent candidate won the second place

Endnotes

¹ Paraphrased from an interview with Fr. Lukas Gundi, May 2005, before he left Zambia to go back to his native Switzerland.

² cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luangwa_River.

³ Not all of Chama district is strictly within the Luangwa valley, but its mountainous parts share with the valley a number of characteristics due to their physical isolation. This research focused on the lower parts of the Senga chiefs Tembwe and Kambombo which are near to the Luangwa River. For all figures one should add an annual 2-3 % of population growth.

⁴ Source: District Health Lundazi 2005.

⁵ Chamilala: 3,700; Chinambi: 6,000; Luangwa: 2,400 (source: District Health Board). I have not yet obtained the figures of the other parts.

⁶ Republic of Zambia 2003a and 2003b (2000 census report).

⁷ The mission was opened by Rev. Ernest Boxer. Already before the turn of the century visits had been made to Kazembe. Unfortunately, Boxer's wife died shortly later of malaria, which led the mission to be abandoned in 1906. In 1922 Chasefu was opened by Rev. Donald Frazer and Rev. Alexander Macdonald (Snelson 1974, 63.)

⁸ A suggestion by Francois Richard

⁹ A suggestion by Toon van Kessel.

¹⁰ Interview with Catholic teachers in Kalasa, November 2006

¹¹ Interview with a Catholic aid worker and driver in the Luangwa Valley Project, Lumimba, September 2005.

¹² A woman in Mushalila, a village with very few *wene Mvula*. The core of the village is made up of other clans, many from Nyalugwe, but each lineage with its own story of origin.

¹³ Interview with old men of Chitumbi.

¹⁴ Astle, 52, writing about a study conducted by Stier.

¹⁵ Strickland's article „My grandfather's gun was called ‚field of children’” on the Akunda argues very pervasively how the forces of present politics are seen to have shaped the *njala* of the today.

¹⁶ Interview with hunters in Chasera.

¹⁷ A statement confirming the same logic I heard in the villages of Mpamadzi (Kasweta Outstation) that are located one and a half days walk away from the nearest clinic and the nearest school: “We want a clinic here. But God has blessed us: we have very few sicknesses here, and people here are healthier than in other areas we know. Here we know our sicknesses.”

¹⁸ Chilonga Diary, 12th November 1900.

¹⁹ „The Luangwa Valley is fertile and teeming with game, but is so low in altitude and so hot and sultry as to be unfit for European settlement. In December the Valley is turned into a furnace, and the water springs and streams are completely dried up. At this time of year (December), the Luangwa river, which must be overflowing its embankments and spreading a deep sheet of water all over the Valley at the height of the rainy season, is reduced to a mere trickle of water. The mountains of the Senga (between the Kibwa and the Luangwa Valley) are salubrious, with plenty of water available everywhere, is very thinly populated.” (Chilubula Diary, December 1900).

²⁰ Chilubula Diary, 9th June 1903.

²¹ The traveller E.J. Glave as quoted in Astle, 11.

²² Hannecart, K. 1991, 57.

²³ In this report the term “Swahili” is used as an umbrella notion covering the largely Swahili speaking long-distance traders that included apart from the coastal people and “Zanzibari” also Arabs, and various other rather powerful traders. In the north of the valley they were sometimes called “Alori” and “Alungwana”.

²⁴ Already Mwase had been much involved in long distance trade; in fact Mwase’s kingdom had been established as part of Mwase Kasungu’s plan to build up his own trading empire (Langworthy 1970). Mwase Kasungu had left his brother Mwase wa minga behind in the Luangwa Valley to control an important crossing of the Luangwa on the route to Mwata Kazembe. But while the Chewa tried to maintain their trading empire through their own traders (Langworthy 1970), Kambwiri was much closer linked to the Arabs.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 598.

²⁷ Kambwiri Diary, June 1904.

²⁸ The Kunda chiefs Nsefu and Jumbe had even exchanged names with famous Muslim traders of the lake during the time of their exile during the Angoni raids.

²⁹ In the chieftaincy Mwanya today there are mosques in Lukusuzye, Yakobe, Chasera and Mkasanga.

³⁰ The Lundazi District Notebooks refer to an occasion when headman Vunda came to the boma to reclaim his chieftaincy. His family was asked which tribe they belonged to. Some said: “We are Chewa”, others “we are Bisa”, and still others “we are Senga”. The quest for the chieftaincy ended there. The family referred to themselves as *bene Ng’oma* by clan, but they did not bother really to which tribe they belonged.

³¹ Different areas for example were differently influenced by the Angoni stress on the *ciwongo* through the fathers’ side.

³² The wasp (*tembo*) feeds on the insect that is called *mbawo*, which is taken as evidence of the relationship between the two clans.

³³ William-Myers (1971), p57ff. suggests this both with reference to the “Luangwa Pottery tradition” which reveals some ritual links to the Ngulube clan, and to oral evidence from other clans that give historical seniority to the *wene Nguluwe*. He suggests (but not in a certain sense) that the beginning of the Luangwa pottery (a term derived from the works of Phillipson) dates into the 13th and 14th century, and that the introduction of this style into Unsenga, going along also with a revolution in iron forging, speaks of a certain organizational “new order” in which the *bena Ngulube* may have played a dominant role.

³⁴ The earliest written sources referring to the Luangwa come from the Portuguese; Conçeição in 1696 (writing about an expedition from Tete to the Luangwa and Kafue that eventually lead to the establishment of Feira and Zumbo in around 1700 and 1721) referred to the Mburuma chieftaincy reaching to the confluence of the Luangwa with the Zambezi. (According to Poole (1938), the Mburuma mentioned by the early Portuguese is not to be confused with the later Ambo Mboroma of the *bena Nyendwa*, but according to Williams-Myers he refers to the very Mboroma of the *bene Nyendwa*, who had extended his sphere of influence by then to the Zambezi valley and had become a threat to the Portuguese already by 1650.) During the 18th century the Portuguese tried to undermine the trade of Mburuma, with the consequence that Mburuma forced them to leave both Zumbo and Feira and retreat back to Tete (to return only in the 1860s). Williams-Myers (1971), 22ff.

³⁵ For example Poole (1938), Whiteley (1951), Stefaniszyn (1964).

³⁶ Personal communication with chief Nyalugwe, September 2005.

³⁷ Interview with *wene Tembo* of Isaac village near Chamilala.

³⁸ William-Myers (1971), 275.

³⁹ In other areas (for example Mozambique) men were said to have run away in fear and left their women and children behind to be captured just at the sight of a few Ngoni warriors with their shields and battle-cries. (Ibid.)

⁴⁰ Ibid., 261.

⁴¹ Roberts (1976), 118ff, William-Myers (1971), 260ff.

⁴² This happened in a double sense: children captured and incorporated during the first occupation of the Ngoni were grown up men at the time of the second occupation, and a number of Nsenga craftsmen incorporated during the second occupation rose up to high positions in the skill- and achievement oriented Ngoni society. The Nsenga chiefs Sandwe and the Kunda chief Malama, for example, were raided and subdued by the Ngoni-ized Nsenga Lukezo Mvula. (William-Myers (1971), 284.)

⁴³ When Alfred Sharpe travelled at the end of the 19th century from Msoro to Chinsimbwe, he did not find a single village in between.

⁴⁴ See the interesting descriptions of Sandwe in William-Myers (1971), 294f.

⁴⁵ The Achikunda trader Nyalugwe for example was acknowledged as chief (and later even senior chief), because other people of the area repeatedly ran away at the sight of any government official. Nyalugwe functioned as a kind of in-between between the British government and the frightened or mistrusting people around, until he was acknowledged as chief by the British. But tribal identity among his subjects is rather accidental: The chiefly family today consider themselves and their subjects to be Achikunda by tribe, but many of his subjects call themselves Nsenga in accordance with their surrounding neighbours and their own origins. A prominent clan in Nyalugwe are the *wene Tembo*, who spread also to the area of Mushalila (Chitumbi), where they call themselves Ambo (since they belong there to chief Luwembe), though they speak a different language and prefer to marry into Nyalugwe families. Whether they are Nsenga, Achikunda or Ambo is situational.

⁴⁶ Both aristocracies of Kunda and Ambo see each other as going back to a common ancestor, the Luba/Bisa chief Chabala Makumba. Mambwe (the *beni Chulu* cultural hero-ancestor of the Kunda), Kunda and Lungo (the ancestors of the *beni Nyendwa* and *beni Mpande* of the Ambo) are said to have been half-brothers, all of them being children of the Luba/Bisa chief Chabala Makumba. Chabala Makumba was said to have his male children killed which led to the migration from the Bangweulu area of his sons' lineages who were looking for land to satisfy their chiefly ambitions.

⁴⁷ The Nsenga chief Sandwe for example is said to be an offspring of the first Mambwe with a Nsenga woman.

⁴⁸ According to Lane Poole (1938, 50) the first written reference to the Kunda is found in an entry in the diary of Silva Porto in 1852. 20 years earlier, the expedition of Monteiro passed seemingly through the heart of what is today Kunda land, without any reference to them. Poole concluded thereby that Kunda identity as a people originated between 1833 and 1852. The diaries of Livingstone make no reference to the Kunda, which may be due to the fact that he crossed further north of their territory.

⁴⁹ In other narratives, the name Awetwe refers instead to Kunda settlements in chief Nabwalya area where the term was said to be but another term for the Kunda in general. (Poole, 1938)

⁵⁰ Poole (1938), Whitely (1951), and the popular account published by the Anglican church in Msoro called *Ifishilano*. See also the Mambwe narrative in the appendix.

⁵¹ Striking is, however, that the Chewa immigrants in general do not emphasize the clan as much as do the Nsenga, Ambo, Kunda or Bisa.

⁵² I was told on different occasions that the name Chibande comes from the Bisa verb *kubanda fyani* – to bend down grass by stepping over it so as to make a passage, referring to the first groups of people entering an empty land with no paths. It is acknowledged in most literature that the Chewa were the first to occupy the Chibande. Some Bisa families today, however, refer in their own accounts to groups of people from the West (meaning ancestors of the present Bisa) and also to Pygmies that would have preceded the Chewa. Since the Bisa have been fighting for the last 60 years to have their chieftaincy Kambwiri restored, it is difficult to evaluate the claim of earlier occupation. According to the Chewa tradition, recorded by Lane Poole (1938, 28), the name Chibande denotes a thorny shrub: when the

children were playing in the grass, their feet were pierced by the thorns so that they shouted “Chibande, chibande”, a term that became the nickname of the whole country. This story of Lane-Poole corresponds with the name of the Chewa chief “Mwase wa minga” (“Mwase of the thorns”), a name he attained because of the thorny environment in the Chibande.

⁵³ Manoel himself was illiterate; the account comes from his later descriptions that were written down. Lane Poole (1938, 29)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁵ Poole (1931), 134-138

⁵⁶ According to headman Mulamba (13.7.2005) the Chewa had only one other village at that time, namely Ngongoma)

⁵⁷ Mothers were supposed to drop a *cinkula* backwards into the river and walk back to their homes without looking backward; otherwise the whole village was polluted and at risk. Though the fear of *finkula* was not really limited to the Bisa (the Chewa and many other peoples feared them too), it became known throughout the valley as a “Bisa custom”, maybe because the Bisa made it a point to keep it against the British administration.

⁵⁸ Lundazi District Notebook Vol III, 43.

⁵⁹ Marks (1976), 17.

⁶⁰ The Bisa *beni Njoka* who are quite numerous in Mwanya area, trace their ancestor to Chongo, who had arrived in Nabwalya before the first *Ng’ona* chiefs, but he had not demarcated his country with *malongo* (broken clay pots left behind) as was the custom of claiming ownership over land. When Nabwalya came in and claimed ownership, Chongo committed suicide with one of his wives by drowning themselves in a pool, that is used until today by the *beni Njoka* for ritual purposes. According to the mythology, Chongo and his wife still appear today as two crocodiles, when the traditional *kupupa* (calling on the ancestors for blessings) is done on the pond.

⁶¹ I was shown several letters written by Bisa headmen to the Republic of Zambia asking for a Bisa chief to be reinstated together with Bisa ceremonies.

⁶² The following narrative is a synthesis of individual narratives that I recorded from group-headmen Mutanila (the 80 years old man was appointed by senior chief Kambombo to narrate the history to me; he is of the royal family), Chama, Kazembe, Mungwalala, Malama, Chikhalanga, Kapilingishya, headmen Iwiri, Muziebe, Njewa, and the leaders of the Catholic church councils (some of them themselves of the royal family). Where the narratives differed substantially, I indicate this in the following footnotes.

⁶³ According to group-headman Mutanila of the royal family. Others narrated that the young wife of Chiweza was given by the Bisa chief Kopa.

⁶⁴ Others say that he traded with traders of Lake Malawi.

⁶⁵ In Kambombo it is said that Chiwale came with Chiweza. But according to Mungwalala, Chiwale is related to Mungwala and Chiri, and that they had come in the same Tumbuka migration from the East. “Chuweza found people in Chiwale”, and they were Tumbuka.

⁶⁶ According to group-headman Mutanila.

⁶⁷ This part of the narrative comes from group headman Chikhalanga (in Kapilingisha) but was refuted by a number of other headmen on other occasions.

⁶⁸ Some say that Chama was tricked to do the *kulamba* (clapping for the chief rolling on the back, acknowledging his chiefly authority), saying it was a prescription of a *ng’anga* who said that otherwise the sickish child would not recover.

⁶⁹ According to the present Mungwalala, Saiwat Kumwenda (2005), Kampuzunga Kumwenda was succeeded by his younger brother Mukololo. Then followed Kaleya Kanjele Bende, a son of the wife of Kampuzunga from a previous marriage (Kampuzunga was not the father). Kaleya died in 1953. Then followed Zimba Madumera, son of Mutemwa Kumwenda, a *muzukulu* (grandchild) of Mukololo,

who died in 1980 and was succeeded by Saiwat. The genealogy, covering only three generations up to 1953, seems too shallow. Bengu may not have been the Mungwalala encountered by Chiweza, as others give the name of Juzi.

⁷⁰ In the District Notebooks, Lane Poole is several times acknowledged as *the* authority on Senga history; much of the colonial understanding of Senga history was strongly influenced by Lane-Poole. Lane Poole arrived at the above date because he considered the arrival of the Senga to be contemporary with the arrival of the Tumbuka Mlowoka on the Nkamanga Plateau, and the date for that latter event had been proposed by his colleague Cullen Young. The date suggested by Lane Poole does not contradict the depth of generations from the first Kambombo to the present holder of office, nor the arrival of the Angoni on the scene some time after the death of the first holder of office.

⁷¹ When Poole inquired about Senga identity the beginning of last century, the then oldest living headman told him that the Senga were in fact Bisa. In his version of the Kambombo narrative (which is quite different), the dispute about the succession of Chiweza after his death was referred back to the Bisa chief Chibesa Kunda, an indication that Chiweza was considered a Bisa.

⁷² See for example a letter of the District Commissioner of Isoka to Lundazi dated 09-02-1938 that refers to a summary of older entries regarding the “Senga tribe”. The first time that the term “Senga” appears in written testimonies as referring to a specific people seems (according to Poole 1934, 20) actually to be as late as 1885. Around that time Mr. John Moir of Mandala (Free Church of Scotland) visited chiefs Kambombo and Chikwa. That Livingstone does not mention the Senga is not really a surprise, as he had crossed the Luangwa quite a bit south of Senga area. Nevertheless he placed Chibale on his map at the source of the Luangwa; the area is indicated as Bisa or as somehow lying in between the influences of Bisa and Mazitu (Ngoni). When John Moir visited the Senga, they had already a long and established history and identity as Senga.

⁷³ While references in written testimonies are lacking before 1885, the Senga have a firm place in the oral traditions of the neighbouring tribes. Bemba oral narratives as recorded at the beginning of last century go so far as to speak about the presence of the Senga in the time of Chiti, the first Chitimukulu who had come from Kola. The narrative speaks about a Senga chief Mwase on the Luangwa, whose beautiful wife Chiti seduced, on which occasion he was killed by a poisonous arrow in the subsequent fight with the Senga chief. References to the “Senga” in Bemba mythology dealing with the time of origin are usually interpreted by scholars to mean projections of the tribal affairs of the present (the time the myth was narrated) into a distant past. They tell us that the Senga were known to the Bemba at the time the story was narrated, but that does not lead to the conclusion that the Senga existed as a tribal entity at the time the Bemba journey was supposed to have taken place. Roberts (1970, 49) explains that “the fact that this later part of the legend deals with recognisable peoples and places merely indicates that the myth has taken on a new purpose. It is now concerned to place the origin of the Bemba chieftaincy securely in relation to neighbouring peoples and chieftaincies. ... This route [of Chiti from the Luapula to the Luangwa and the Senga] approximates more or less to the furthest limits of Bemba activity throughout their pre-colonial history. The various people said to have been encountered on the way – Lala, Senga, Iwa and Fipa – were all subject to Bemba raiding, especially in the latter nineteenth century.” It shows however clearly that at least in the 18th century the separate tribal identity of the Senga was acknowledged by the neighbouring tribes.

⁷⁴ Lundazi District Notebooks. In 1933, the total male population of Kambombo was 626, corresponding to 757 women (many men were absent in the mines) and 1,158 children.

⁷⁵ According to Poole, Chama was in the group of the incoming Bisa, but that contradicts strongly Chama’s own point of view, as well as the narratives of other chiefs and headmen. A number of points in Poole’s account seem hastily written.

⁷⁶ It was because of this that Poole concluded that the Tumbuka encountered by Chiweza had themselves only arrived shortly before Chiweza from Mlowoka by whom they had been allotted land. It was from here that Poole had calculated the date of Chiweza’s arrival. This contradicts however with the fact that Lacerda encountered Tumbuka much further south, and that all the Senga chiefs found people living in the country they inherited; such a wide spread and scattered Tumbuka presence can hardly be explained by reference to chief Mlowoka allocating land a few years before the arrival of Chiweza. Tumbuka presence in the valley seems very ancient.

⁷⁷ The Senga are not the only case where a Luba aristocracy set itself up over a patrilineal people, and one finds parallels a bit further north. The Namwanga dynasty like the Senga claims Bisa origin, and both adopted the patrilineal system of their subjects. (Roberts, 1976, 91). The Iwa, just north of the Senga, claim to be an offshoot of the Namwanga. Roberts also suggested that the founder of the (patrilineal) Mambwe dynasty of Nsokolo was a fugitive (matrilineal) Bemba.

⁷⁸ For the Bemba records of raiding the Senga see Roberts (1973), 49.

⁷⁹ The first Kazembe was Kalonga, grandchild of Kasolwe, followed by Muzomela (2), Chindambwani (3), Chimugatu (4), Kumakuma (5), Itenda (6), Chakokolapo (7), Topa Nenge (8). According to the present Kazembe, even the name of the village goes back to a Luba name of the royal Senga family.

⁸⁰ According to the present Kapilingishya, this daughter of Kacila was called Chenda, and she was married to royal man called Kasolwe with whom she had no children. If I understood the story well, after Kasolwe's death the village split, since the childless Chenda had not been on good terms with her husband. She gave one part to her brother Masakamika, which became known as Kapilingishya, while another part went to Kapwanyanga. After Masakamika followed Tintinti (2), a son of Chenda, then Kadongo (3), the young brother of the latter. Then followed Copusa (4) a paternal nephew. On his accession he enjoyed a pot of beer alone in his hut, an event that made other people upset who wanted to drink with him. When he heard that his people were grumbling, saying the new headman was stupid, he called them all into his hut until it was packed. "You say that I am stupid? Know that from now on my village is called Kapilingishya!". After his death, his brother Chibapate (5) became headman "Mpapatila Bantu". Then followed his brother Luaniko (6), then his brother Kampani (7), then Robert Mwenera (8) ("*canenera – cang'wamina calo!*"), and then the present Chabene Goma (9) who narrated this story. The first title holder of Chikhalanga was Chibisi, followed by Mulopwe (2), Mwesu or Mweru (3), Chitapankwa (4), Chigobi (5), Kalyalya (6), Kaimaima (7), and the present group-headman Anderson Goma (8).

⁸¹ Interview with Gideon Botha and Traiwell Mkandawile. Ng'anjo Chibwato was a grandchild of Muzieba, the mother being Nguli. Another name was Kalu Sakati. Ng'anjo Chibwato had become very famous in Senga land because of his achievements in fighting the Angoni. He took by force the wife of a man called Musopa Kaleya, against the husband's will. She was called Nyanje, and before she got kidnapped, she had already one daughter with Musopa, called Kachima Kaleya. The father gave the daughter to the new husband. Nyanje herself was of royal origin; she was the daughter of chief Tembwe Mvwila, and because of the high status of Ng'anjo Chibwato, the chief agreed to her new marriage. Back in Kambombo, Ng'anjo Chibwato prepared beer and during the party made Nyanje his principle wife, giving her priority over all the others. (Altogether he had 14 wives). With Nyanje he had the following children: Kamutowa ♂, Mwini Kalambo ♂, Matekenya ♂ (an indication that at this time the Achikunda slave trader of the same name was well known in Senga country and that he had business deals with the Senga headmen) and Chidongo ♀. In this context Kachima Kaleya became very isolated: Chibwato had now many own children with her mother, and then many other children with the 13 other wives and Kachima felt that she was not really a child of Chibwato. Therefore her brothers sat down together and decided to look for a place for her, away from Kambombo. At that time Kabvimba was chief in Tembwe. The brothers found a suitable place in Mundalanga, and they decided to ask chief Tembwe for that place. On the way to Tembwe they made halt at the present site of Ng'anjo Chibwato, which at that time was called Muzama. Muzama welcomed the men and persuaded them to stay for the night; that was when the men told him about the purpose of their trip. They did not know that Muzama himself had cast an eye on Mundalanga, and while the brothers of Kachima were sleeping at his house, he himself left at night to reach chief Tembwe before his guests. When the brothers reached chief Tembwe the next day, they were told that Mundalanga had already been given to Muzama! The chief advised them to stay nearby, namely in Muzama's old site. That is how the old site of Muzama became the present site of Ng'anjo Chibwato. Of the children of Chibwato with Nyanje, only Kamutowa stayed with Kachima in Ng'anjo. He died in 1931. He had had three wives, who had all died by then, and he inherited still one more wife in *cokolo* (inheritance of a relative). In old age Kamutowa nicknamed himself "Gwalawala" because his walking abilities were restricted only around his house. Poole said that the oldest living headman he had interviewed was the headman Ng'anjo Chibwato, whom he considered very knowledgeable. There is little doubt this was the same Kamutowa. After the death of Kamutowa, a son of Chidongo called Rojala was made headman (an-

other son of her was already headman of Chiteke). In 1958 Jonathan Chisute inherited Ng'anjo up to 1994, when the present Gideon Botha inherited.

⁸² Poole (1936), 9

⁸³ Before that, Mperembe had made common cause with his brother Mpezeni, gone west, where they had come across the Bemba by whom they were beaten. While Mpezeni consoled himself by going up to the Bangweulu to fight there at least a few Bisa, Mperembe turned back to join his brother Mombera in Tumbuka country, and doing so he crossed the Luangwa.

⁸⁴ Poole (1938), 26.

⁸⁵ Lewison Banda, 19.06.2005 and 26.07.2006

⁸⁶ Saying this, the royal family includes still one ancestor into the royal line of chiefs, namely Kaimba, the uncle of Nguwa, whom they consider to be the first Kazembe. Kaimba did not come into the valley but died on the plateau. After Kaimba followed Nguwa (Kazembe II, buried at the Matizi), then his nephew Mkazi Ng'oma (III, buried at the Matizi), then his niece Chitete (IV) a woman who shifted the royal village to its present location, Chisalanda (V) her son (also called Mkazi Ng'oma), Kabimba Bungulu (VI) (also son of Chitete), Stephen Chitambo (VII, who reigned from 1955 until his death in 1990). Then followed Henri Phiri (+2002), a grandchild of Chitete.

⁸⁷ On the map – focusing on Swahili trade – the links of Mambwe are not indicated, nor are the Portuguese/ Achikunda links to the south.

⁸⁸ Note however that the Mwine Mutondo was a Tumbuka well acquainted with trade and different from the earlier scattered Tumbuka groups.

⁸⁹ For the usage of the term “Swahili” see Endnote 23.

⁹⁰ Many priests felt ill at ease with the clan system, being afraid it would link them too closely to one particular family on the expense of others. Superiors warned the priests not to develop “particular relationships”.

⁹¹ 1940: Lundazi–Chama. 1943: Lundazi–Mbuzi road, linking up with Chitungulu and Nsefu. 1946/47: Lundazi–Kazembe.

⁹² Zambia National Archives, District Notebooks, Ford Jameson Vol V, 19.

⁹³ District Notebook, Lundazi, Vol. II, 138.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Chipata Vol II, 526.

⁹⁵ See especially Astle (1999), White (2000).

⁹⁶ Chipata District Notebook Vol. I

⁹⁷ See Astle (1999).

⁹⁸ Meeting in the catholic church of Kazembe. Similar comments were made in Chasera and Mkasanga.

⁹⁹ National Geographic, September 2005, 118.

¹⁰⁰ Banda Penias (former game guard), Chingozi (Chipalalila).

¹⁰¹ Banda Penias, 18.6.05

¹⁰² Meeting in the catholic church of Kataba, 22.06.2005

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹⁰⁴ Meeting within the Catholic Church in Kazembe.

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.zawa.org.zm/cbnrm.htm>

¹⁰⁶ Of all hunting fees generated, 45% are supposed to flow to the CRBs, 5% directly to the chiefs, 40% to ZAWA and 10% to the Central Treasury. The concession fees however go almost exclusively to ZAWA (80%); the CRBs obtain only 15%, the chiefs 5%. (<http://www.zawa.org.zm/cbnrm.htm>)

-
- ¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Mutale in a meeting with the catholic leaders in the catholic church in Chasera 13 July 2006.
- ¹⁰⁸ 16.07.2006 in a meeting in the catholic church by church leaders.
- ¹⁰⁹ Conversation farming advocates land preparation during the dry season using so-called “minimum tillage methods”, a complete stop of burning and a stress on retention of crop residue from the previous harvest, and nitrogen-fixing crop rotations.
- ¹¹⁰ Interview with men in Kazembe in the catholic church.
- ¹¹¹ The villages were Chana Chimo (chief Luwembe); Chingolo and Jelemanda (chief Mwanja); Mulande, Chembe, Kasongo, Kasanka, Kalumba, Kaimaima, Malanda and Chikalaba (chief Jumbe), Mpamadzi (subchief Kamwendo).
- ¹¹² Incidentally, most of those who lived some time in Chipata had also lived some time in Lusaka, and they are therefore included in the 40%. Also the elderly who had lived for years in Zimbabwe or South Africa usually have also lived some time in Lusaka or the Copperbelt and are therefore also included.
- ¹¹³ Headteachers of Mushalila and Chikwasha schools.
- ¹¹⁴ Marks 1976.
- ¹¹⁵ District Notebook, Chipata, Volume V, 43ff. Entry of 1945.
- ¹¹⁶ People in Kambombo mentioned a) the aspect of compensation for loss of work for the family of the girl, since she and her children will live in the village of the husband, b) the aspect of a thanksgiving to the family of the girl for bringing her up, c) the legal aspects brought about through the payments: the marriage is officially sealed, compensation can be demanded by the husband from an adulterer who sleeps with his wife, and the husband has a right to the bride price paid in future for his daughters on marriage, and the husband has the right to be cleansed by the family of his wife in case of her death and with it the right to remarry. Also the point was stressed that paying the *lobola* prevents the husband to be charged large amounts of money in case of the death of his wife.
- ¹¹⁷ Surprisingly for me, a number of villagecounts revealed that more women than men had spent more than a year in towns outside the valley.
- ¹¹⁸ At least in the area of Nabwalya as investigated by Stuart Marks.
- ¹¹⁹ Marriage payments vary greatly throughout the valley, ranging from millions in the north (though the money is rarely paid in full) to a few plates of flour among the Bisa in times of hunger, but I could not correlate a divorce pattern to such payments. Maybe my samples were too small or ill-chosen, maybe the answers about previous divorces were not truthful, or maybe the theory simply does not apply to the valley.
- ¹²⁰ Group of first wives in Chikwa (meeting in Chilumba Catholic church).
- ¹²¹ Group of first wives in Mwape (meeting in the catholic church)
- ¹²² Clarida (2003) describes the ambiguous situation where a person caught with game meat is handed over to wildlife authorities: on one hand the game guards understanding the motives of the poacher yet on the other hand failing to understand how someone can take such high risks for so little gain.
- ¹²³ Marks 1976, 128.
- ¹²⁴ Marks 1998, 134.
- ¹²⁵ Annual Reports 1954/55.
- ¹²⁶ The image of the UCZ in the northern valley has probably also to do with the war between UNIP and Lumpa (see later).
- ¹²⁷ Interview with Chimukoko and Adrian Ng’uni, Lumimba, 15 June 2005. This is not an isolated opinion.
- ¹²⁸ At least this seemed to be the case with the Malaila celebrations that I attended in Nsefu in 2005. Many busses had come from Lusaka: not only with Kunda people wishing to enjoy the celebrations,

but also with many business men and women who knew there would be a crowd of people around willing to buy their goods.

¹²⁹ Interview with Lewison Banda, Kazembe.

¹³⁰ A meeting of men in Masumba/ St. Ignatius catholic small Christian community.

¹³¹ The flavour of the argument comes out much better in the original. "Makolo wasu ezo pephelela ku cimuti ca msolo; monga akasowa mvula ezotetelela ku msolo mvula yeza lokwa. Ngati asowa nyama ezosenga kwa Nyamalenga nkhalamo yeza iwela nakata nyama. Matenda akaŵela ezatetelela, munthu apola. A missioni akaŵele elesha no nena kuti: mucita monga mupephela mafano, pamene tinaleka kupephelela m'nsolo. Makolo akale mulungu eze naye pafupi cifukwa ngati apepha mvula yeza lokwa: kufuma tyala ku cimuti na mvula ninshi yaponi. Cifukwa mulungu eze naye pafupi, koma lelo cikanga cifukwa vutucita ni viipa veka. Tucita lini vinthu va bwino. Enzo ŵamwila ngako ŵanthu akale, cifukwa ezodziwa mulungu kuti nine wakufuna. Ndipo sanali kudziwa kuti pali munthu wina wake amene anafwila koma pamene tadziwa kuti Yesu atifwila mulungu e titalamuka. Kale akacita viipa mulungu ezo ŵazuzula no ŵapanika ni cifukwa cake zonse zinali bwino. Lomba vilusile cifukwa cakuti olo aye ku kawimba vula siyulokwa cifukwa macimo apaka. Ŵala ŵanthu akale mulungu enzomuyopa ndipo munthu oyumilile viipa ezomupaya. Ezomukhokometsa ku cimuti no mumwensha mwavi aŵa ŵanthu. Kale enze kuti munthu akacita cigololo ezo mukanzinga manja ni cifukwa cake ezoyopa. Amissioni akaŵela e tilesa vasu, aletsa miyambo yathu, koma yao miyambo aliye tipatsa."

¹³² Group of young men in Ncheka/Chikowa who don't pray in any church.

¹³³ A number of different (complementary) approaches have proposed to interpret female initiation. Van Genep and Turner (1969) showed how they transform people for another social role in society, conferring on the adulthood. Richards (1956) showed how values and hierarchical order and power was maintained through the rites, while Mary Douglas (1966) had located female initiation rites in those types of societies where men can walk out of marriages rather easily, e.g. in matrilineal societies, but where the cash economy depends largely on access to men. One aspect of the argument is that women of the same family may put much pressure on a young bride to go a long way with her husband, not to give up when things are tough, but to please her husband even when she gets beaten. When a girl runs back home from her husband because she cannot bear it any longer, we may find her fellow women kin giving *her* a lesson (rather than her husband) after which she is sent back to him. Rasing (1995) looked at the construction and negotiation of female identity and power through the rites.

¹³⁴ See for example Geschiere (1997) or J. & J. Comaroff (1999).

¹³⁵ Poole (1938).

¹³⁶ Gathered during a leadership seminar that I was allowed to attend at Msoro Anglican church in October 2006.

¹³⁷ Weller (1971), 37, in the words of Bishop Hine who visited Msoro a month after Rev. Kamungu's arrival.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Towards the west of Msoro, some teachers had actually preceded Kamungu who came now within his jurisdiction. Kamungu himself was supervised by De la Pyrme in Ford Jameson, who was also responsible for selecting teachers.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 38.

¹⁴¹ In Jumbe I heard stories of Watchtowers being killed by people in conjunction with the authorities (police) in a process called "*kupereka cifuwa*" (to offer one's chest) in which armed men smashed the outstretched breasts with the guns. So far, however, I found no external evidence for this.

¹⁴² Meebelo (1971), 133-185.

¹⁴³ This point has been made for many parts of Africa. See for example Gifford (1998).

¹⁴⁴ The Watchtowers of the 1920s were inspired by but not strictly linked to the American based Watchtower and Bible Tract Society. The groups of Watchtowers in Northern Rhodesia did not have a

central leadership, and followed often very different teachings; in the Luapula for example they were known for their practices of wife-sharing, while their American based mother-church had very strict moral codes. In the 1930s, the American Watchtower and Bible Tract Society changed its name and became known as Jehovah Witnesses. In Zambia the Watchtowers became legal only when they allowed themselves to be firmly incorporated into the Jehovah Witnesses; for this purpose the colonial government had allowed black Jehovah Witnesses from South Africa into the country. The Watchtowers had been independent groupings, founded by returning miners from South Africa, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Katanga, who had been in contact abroad with forms of the Watchtower and Bible Tract Society. They had been outlawed by the government because of their strong anti-colonial reactions and the riots which they had instigated in the Northern Province at the end of World War I. Also Tomo Nyirenda, the founder of the Mwana Lesa movement in Serenje who was later hanged for killing over a hundred “witches” with his baptisms, had started his career as a Watchtower.

¹⁴⁵ Minga Diary, 24th August 1924.

¹⁴⁶ District Notebooks, Lundazi Vol II, 153.

¹⁴⁷ District Notebooks, Chipata Vol. II, 155, 156.

¹⁴⁸ Norman Long (1968) in his study on the Jehovah Witnesses in Serenje.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Aisak Lungu, Chifunda, September 2006. Aisak Lungu held at one time the position of a treasurer in Chinsali.

¹⁵⁰ Oger 1960; 1991, Calmettes 1982; Hinfelaar 1994.

¹⁵¹ Lenshina had her visions in 1953, the same year as the much opposed Federation came into being, an event that shattered trust in negotiations with the white regime. According to the study of Roberts (1970) the rise of Lumpa coincided with increasing frustrations in politics: the ANC lost its grip on people, and people were increasingly looking outside politics for solutions to their problems. Lumpa’s heights were around 1957/58, when political motivation was lowest. Also the prestige of the chief was equally low during the rise of Lumpa: their united appeals against Federation had been brushed away in a single stroke; often they were seen but as instruments and channels of the white regime. At their expense, Lenshina herself at the height of her movement resembled much a traditional Bemba chief (Calmettes 1978): she was treated as a *namfumu*, was surrounded by councillors, people brought tribute and worked on her fields, she re-enacted chiefly functions in the blessing of the seeds, and later she came to live in stockaded villages like the chiefs of old. Lumpa’s decline thereafter coincided with the rise of UNIP; independence came into reach especially after the release of Kaunda from prison in 1960, and politics became once more an option of focus. Most people left Lumpa long before the final war. The Lumpa war finally was intrinsically connected with the totalising tendencies in UNIP and Lumpa’s own increasingly fatalistic and apocalyptic tenets. To be against UNIP came to mean to be against the Zambian nation. And to be not with Lenshina came to mean to be the enemy. While UNIP put pressure on the rural population to buy UNIP cards, Lenshina was burning them. Unscrupulous UNIP youths were given a free hand to burn down a number of Lumpa churches and beat up Lumpa members; also Lumpa became more and more a kingdom within a kingdom, isolating itself into its own independent villages, that could defend themselves but that could and would also attack. While UNIP made it clear to Lumpa that there would be no place for it in an independent Zambia, Lumpa in turn made it clear that nobody belonging to UNIP could be saved; heaven became sweeter and sweeter the more apocalyptic Lumpa turned. In the meantime also the chiefs, who had been sidelined by Lumpa, recuperated themselves out of near oblivion through their alliances with UNIP, and in the valley much violence of Lumpa was incidentally directed against the chiefs (Kambombo was attacked and Chikwa killed).

¹⁵² Concerning the Lumpa elite, a former treasurer of the movement (Newton Lungu, Chifunda) put it to me this way: “Things started to turn wrong when Lenshina’s family came from the Copperbelt and wanted to take charge of things. When they came I resigned as treasurer and came back to Chifunda. We were two treasurers from the valley and both of us felt that they could kill us, because they wanted to keep the money themselves.” Newton Lungu then led the church in Chifunda. People praise him today for preventing the war in Chifunda. Why did he join Lumpa? He had been sent by his headman to see what the church was all about – “we are hearing such wonderful things” – the headman told him – “go and see what it is about.” He stayed in Chinsali until the early 1960s. The story that Lenshina

had been bought by UNIP's enemies: Roy Welensky, Harry Nkumbula, Moise Tshombe in Katanga, is widespread in Chama, and also a certain "Bwana Ling" was often mentioned, who would have supplied her with weapons and with money to set up an independent kingdom. This was the official narrative of UNIP during the clashes and after.

¹⁵³ narrated in Malama

¹⁵⁴ Page 30.

¹⁵⁵ *The Times* (6.8.1964), quoted in Calmettes (1978). The article was written by Clairmonte.

¹⁵⁶ Interviews with village headmen and church leaders in Chama & Tembwe & Kambombo in September 2006.

¹⁵⁷ Hinfelaar (1994), 99, 79.

¹⁵⁸ The ferryman (the crossing with the boat again was a symbol of the initiation rites) was God's son Jesus Christ, the symbol of the perfect husband – she called him in some songs the *mulongwe* (the weaver-bird), caring for and preparing the nest. In another song the properly married were called the sparkling stars in heaven (again the mulanga star coming from the symbols of initiation) that are guiding the others.

¹⁵⁹ Lumimba Council Minutes, 17th and 18th January 1958

¹⁶⁰ On the request of Father Bob Lavertu, Mr. Kaimba wrote down his account of the years from 1976-1985.

¹⁶¹ Sometimes I objected, but people still held that God must at least have cursed the black people. And my arguments were easily refuted anyway. "If we are not cursed, then why do we die?"

¹⁶² Interview with Chimukoko, Lumimba, June 2005.

¹⁶³ Interview with Luigi Cassagrande

¹⁶⁴ I don't include here the narratives of the chiefs of the Nsenga valley, since they seemed to me to be rather irrelevant to people outside the immediate royal families.

¹⁶⁵ By chief Mwanya and his two sisters and brother-in-law, Paul Mwale on the Chewa side, and the Kambwiri "heir in spe", John Captain and his *bena Ng'ona* family, with a number of headmen on the Bisa side.

¹⁶⁶ Though headman Njewa said that Mtumba was a brother of Mwimba of the same mother.

¹⁶⁷ According to Lundazi District Notebook, Kambombo Chimbalangandila started his reign in 1929, the year in which his predecessor (no name given) had died. We may identify Chimbalangandila with Chindila (Kazika Alpheo). According to the Notebooks he was deposed in 1947 for ivory offences (in that year most of the Senga chiefs were sacked) and succeeded by "Kambombo Mpundu" whom we may identify with Nthowaimu, though his predecessor still remained alive for quite some time. Chief Kambombo "Chimbalangandila" succeeded in 1929 and was deposed in 1947 after conviction of ivory offences.

¹⁶⁸ It may be useful to embellish the official genealogy of Kambombo with notes from the Lundazi District Notebooks and from Poole; Lane Poole especially gave a very different genealogy of succession. According to him, Kamphata remained in Chipula-Balume until the death of Chiweza, and was denied succession to Kambombo's throne. It was only then that he looked for his own country in Tembwe. In oral history of today, both of Kambombo and Tembwe, Kamphata separated from his uncle before the latter settled in Kambombo. The next difference comes with the wives of Chiweza. Poole asserted that Mulolwa was the head-wife of Chiweza, while Mwali was an inferior wife. He pointed at a succession dispute at the death of Chiweza between Kasolwe (son of Mulolwa) and Mwimba (son of Mwali). Today it is said that Mulolwa's status derived from the fact that she was older and thus the first wife to bear children, due to the tender age of Mwali.

¹⁶⁹ The following narrative is compiled from narratives given by (1) chief Mathew Khunga and a number of elderly women of his royal family whom he had gathered together, (2) group-headman Simon Kumwenda and his family, who was at the time of interviews a contender for the chieftomship (by

then Mathew Khunga had yet to be confirmed by the government), (3) a meeting attended by group-headman Lwambu, headmen Kamulibwe, Kamwendo, Kwinya, and a number of elderly royal women (Ndekazi, Chinka Mwase, Nyanje and Kwanangachi), (4) a meeting with headmen in Chitimbe attended by vice headman Chikwenda, group-headman Kabvivwanga, headmen Juma, Mphelo, Kambuwe and Chizovwa, (5) interview with group-headman Zaongo (Zakeo Ng'uni), (6) group-headman Ng'anjo Chibwato (Gideon Botha) and Traiwell Mkandawile in an interview.

¹⁷⁰ Some say that this Bisa chief was Kopa, but according to others it was Chibesa Kunda.

¹⁷¹ According to chief Tembwe. Others say she was of unknown origin.

¹⁷² Lumpimbwe is also called Katangalika, which gives rise to confusion as there are a number of villages called Katangalika in the areas of Kambombo and Tembwe. Lundu as well is not to be confused with Senga chief Lundu who was related to the group of Kambombo. It was group-headman Zaongo who was very clear about the insertion of Lundu, though the chief left Lundu out and included instead Buli. Most headmen however explained that Buli arrived only after Kamphata but was given a prominent *Induna* position due to his trading capacities and his role in settling a royal dispute (see later).

¹⁷³ According to Zaongo he was from Malawi.

¹⁷⁴ According to the present chief Khunga, the name Mbuweni comes from “Mbwa bene” – meaning “he is not mine”, “he is from somewhere else” – and he sees in the name a proof of the non-royal origin of Mbuweni. His rival contender for the chieftomship in the time of the interview was from the line of Mbuweni.

¹⁷⁵ Again, according to the present chief Tembwe (Mathews Khunga), the name Chibere (meaning breast) comes from the fact that the chieftomship belonged to the family of his wife (the breast), that Chibere was chief only because of the royal descend of his wife.

¹⁷⁶ This version is supported by the Lundazi District Notebooks, in which all genealogies include Mwandu as a daughter of Kamphata, either as the oldest or youngest daughter. According to Lane Poole, it was Mwandu's daughter, the mother of Mbuweni, who was ransomed from Angoni captivity for two elephant tusks; Mbuweni was born in Angoni captivity and was considered a stranger of unknown parentage.

¹⁷⁷ Some say he was killed by a group of Ngoni warriors who were hired by Kwinya's family.

¹⁷⁸ The succession disputes do not just concern the royal family. Poole described some of the disputes as civil wars, which is confirmed by the narrative of the Kumwenda family. It means that across the chieftomship, each claimant had his supporters who were ready to fight, which presupposes a strong identification of ordinary people with their chiefs, which is not necessarily the usual thing in the Luangwa valley. The northern valley attained a higher level of centralisation than the south. According to Poole, chief Kamulibwe, who reigned roughly from 1870 to 1922, managed to bring his people together into very large stockades by means of which he could successfully defeat the Angoni aggressions, a fact for which he was highly esteemed. The same Kamulibwe submitted under the rule of BSAC and welcomed the Free Church of Scotland.

¹⁷⁹ Narrative of Witson Nguni, the present group headman Mwine Mutondo, 27.07.2006

¹⁸⁰ People today speak of about 30 people killed in Chama.

¹⁸¹ Kampamba Mulenga wrote in his book that he entered the village completely naked and that he demanded the release of chief Kambombo's wife who was held as hostage by Lumpa; after negotiations he could take her out.

¹⁸² When I asked how many died in Chama during the final attack, I was usually given a figure of more than 100 but less than 200.

¹⁸³ People in Chikwa did not give me details in regards to the villages as in Kambombo. The governmental report speaks of 9 people killed.

¹⁸⁴ According to the official report they held out until the 10th of October but were eventually overcome; 60 Lumpa members were killed in the final countdown with the army.

¹⁸⁵ The book of Mulenga, written from a Lumpa perspective, gives a number of details of what happened in Kambombo and Chikwa. I did not have his account when I interviewed people; it is much more detailed, and I found back a number of names that I had also heard of. Mulenga however seems to have problems with numbers in his book, and Mulenga's narrative furthermore portrays all events in the valley as a conflict between Lumpa and UNIP. People stressed in our meetings more the other aspects of the conflict beyond the Lumpa-UNIP dispute. Lumpa had targeted people who had little to do with UNIP; when Lumpa needed guns, anybody with a gun became a target. People in Chikwa and Chama mentioned that the Lumpa conflict actually had been an occasion to settle old personal scores, and such personal rather than political scores took priority in the narration of the events to me.

References

National Archive Zambia (NAZ)

District Notebooks: Lundazi (Vol. I-IV); Ford Jameson (Vol. I-V); Petauke (Vol. I); Katete (Vol. I); Mpika (Vol. I-II);); Isoka (Vol. I-II); Serene (Vol. I-II)

Archives of the Missionaries of Africa, Zambia (1 Mwapona Rd., Lusaka):

the following documents were accessed in the translations of Fr. Maurice Gruphat:
Annual Reports: Bangweolo & Nyasa Vicariates, Luangwa Mission Vicariate, Prefecture of Fort Jameson 1908-1945; 1946-1955; Fort Jameson Vicariate 1937-1955; 1954-1955
Quarterly Reports (Vol I-V)
Minutes of the local Council: Lumimba Mission 1949-1968
Mission Diaries: Lumimba (translated by Adrian Sawadogo); Chilubula (Vol. I-IV); Chilonga (Vol. I-V); Kacebere (Vol. I); Minga (Vol. I-IV)
Oger, L. 1960. *Religious Sects in Northern Rhodesia Lumpa Church: A Study of the Lenshina Movement 1955-1960*.
Oger, L. 1991. *Our Missionary Shadow: A Series of Historical Flashes at the Occasion of the Centenary Celebration of the Catholic Church in Zambia (1991) and Reflections on the Second Evangelisation 1992-1993*.
Oger, L. 1997. *Casting a Shadow over the Mission: Witchcraft – a largely ignored but likely approach to meeting Christ in the faith*. Translated by M. Gruffat.

Published books and articles:

- Alber, E. 2001. Hexerei, Selbstjustiz und Rechtspluralismus in Benin. In *Afrika Spectrum* 36(2), 145-167.
- Astle, W. L. 1999. *A History of Wildlife Conservation and Management in the mid-Luangwa Valley, Zambia*. Bristol: British Empire and Commonwealth Museum.
- Auslander, M. 1993. "Open the Wombs!": The Symbolic Politics of Modern Ngoni Witch-finding. In *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual Power in Postcolonial Africa* (eds) Comaroff J. and J. Comaroff, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Austen, R. A. 1993. The Moral Economy of Witchcraft: An Essay in Comparative History. In *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual Power in Postcolonial Africa* (eds) Comaroff J. and J. Comaroff, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Binsbergen, W. van. 1981. *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies*. London: Kegan Erik International.
- Binsbergen, W. van 2001. Witchcraft in Modern Africa as Virtualized Boundary Condition of the Kinship Order. In *Witchcraft Dialogues: Anthropological and Philosophical Exchanges* (eds) Bond, G. C. and D. M. Ciekawy, Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Bond, G. C. 2001. Ancestors and Witches: Explanations and the Ideology of Individual Power in Northern Zambia. In *Witchcraft Dialogues: Anthropological and Philosophical Exchanges* (eds) Bond, G. C. and D. M. Ciekawy, Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Calmettes, J. L. 1982. *The Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction, and Conflict*. M.Sc. (Econ) University of Wales.
- Child, B. CBNRM Programme in Mambwe District under SLAMU (Summary)
- Ciekawy, D. 1998a. Witchcraft in Statecraft: Five Technologies of Power in Colonial and Postcolonial Coastal Kenya. In *African Studies Review* 41(3), 119-141.
- Ciekawy, D. 1998b. Containing Witchcraft: Conflicting Scenarios in Postcolonial Africa. In *African Studies Review* 41(3), 1-14.

- Ciekawy, D. 2001. Utsai as Ethical Discourse: A Critique of Power from Mijikenda in Coastal Kenya. In *Witchcraft Dialogues: Anthropological and Philosophical Exchanges* (eds) Bond, G. C. and D. M. Ciekawy, Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Clarida, L. *Human Animal Conflict in the South Luangwa Valley of Eastern Zambia*. Excerpts from thesis
- Comaroff, J. and J. 1993. Introduction. In *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual Power in Postcolonial Africa* (eds) Comaroff J. and J. Comaroff, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Crehan, K. 1997. *The Fractured Community: Landscapes of Power and gender in Rural Zambia*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: RKP.
- Fields, K. E. 1982. Christian Missionaries as Anticolonial Militants. *Theory and Society* 11(1), 95-108.
- Geschiere, P. 1997. *The Modernity of Witchcraft. Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Gifford, P. 1998. *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Horst & Company
- Gibson, C.C. and Marks, S.A. (1995). Transforming rural hunters into conservationists: an assessment of community-based wildlife management programs in Africa. *World Development* 23(6), 941-957.
- Gouldbury C. & Sheane H. 1911. *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia: Being some Impressions of the Tanganika Plateau*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Government Republic of Zambia (1965). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the former Lumpa Church*.
- Hannecart, K. 1991. "Intrepid Sowers": from Nyasa to Ford Jameson 1889-1946. Missionaries of Africa, Rome.
- Hinfelaar, H. F. 1994. *Bemba speaking women of Zambia in a century of religious change (1892-1992)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Holy, L. 1976. Socery and Social Tensions: The Cewa Case. In *The Queens Papers in Social Anthropology, Vol. 1: Knowledge and Behaviour* (ed.) L. Holy, 47-64.
- Hudson, J. (1999). *A Time to Mourn: A Personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia*. Lusaka: Book world Publishers.
- Isaacman, A. 1972. The Origin and Early History of the Chikunda of South Central Africa. *The Journal of African History* 13(3), 443-461.
- Kaspin, D. 1993. Chewa Visions and Revisions of Power: Transformations of the Nyau Dance in Central Malawi. In *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual Power in Postcolonial Africa* (eds) Comaroff J. and J. Comaroff, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lancaster, C. S. 1974. Ethic Identity, History, and "Tribe" in the Middle Zambezi Valley. *American Ethnologist* 1(4), 707-730.
- Langworthy, H. W. 1969. *A History of Undi's Kingdom to 1890: Aspects of Chewa History in East Central Africa*. PhD Boston University Graduate School.
- Langworthy, H. W. 1971. Swahili Influence in the Area between Lake Malawi and the Luangwa River. *African Historical Studies* 4(3), 575-602.
- Lyons, A. 2000. An Effective Monitoring Framework for Community Based Natural Resource Management: A Case Study of the AMADA Program in Zambia. Thesis (MSc) University of Florida.
- Marks, S. A. 1976. *Large Mammals and a Brave People: Subsistence Hunters in Zambia*. University of Washington Press, Seattle and London.
- Marks, S. A. Back to the Future: Some Unintended Consequences of Zambia's Community-Based Wildlife Program (ADMADA). *Africa Today*
- Marwick, M. 1963. History and Tradition in East Central Africa through the Eyes of the Northern Rhodesian Cewa. *The Journal of African History* 4(3), 375-390.
- Marwick, M. 1967. The Sociology of Sorcery in a Central African Tribe. In *Magic, Witch-*

- craft, and Curing* (ed.) J. Middleton, New York: Natural History Press.
- Marwick, M. 1970. Witchcraft as a Social Strain-Gauge. In *Witchcraft and Sorcery: Selected Readings* (ed.) M. Marwick, London: Penguin.
- Matthews, T. I. 1981. Portuguese, Chikunda, and Peoples of the Gwembe Valley: The Impact of the 'Lower Zambezi Complex' on Southern Zambia. *The Journal of African History* 22(1), 23-41.
- Moore, H. L. & M. Vaughan. 1994. *Cutting down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia 1890-1990*, Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Mulenga Kampamba (1997). *Blood on their hands*.
- Overing J. 1990. The Shaman as Maker of Worlds: Nelson Goodman in the Amazon. In *Man* 24(4), 602-619.
- Poewe, K. 1989. *Religion, kinship, and economy in Luapula, Zambia*. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Poole, E. H. L. (1938). *The Native Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia: Notes on their Migrations and History*. Lusaka: Government Printer.
- Poole, E.H.L. 1931. An Early Portuguese Settlement in Northern Rhodesia. *Journal of the Royal African Society* Vol. 30, No. 119 (Apr., 1931), 164-168.
- Rasing, T. 1995. *Passing on the Rites of Passage: Girls' Initiation Rites in the Context of an Urban Roman Catholic Community on the Zambian Copperbelt*. African Studies Centre Research Series.
- Republic of Zambia 2003a. *Zambia 2000 Census of Population and Housing: Summary Report*. Lusaka: Central Statistical Office.
- Republic of Zambia 2003b. *Zambia 2000 Census of Population and Housing: Housing and Household Characteristics. Analytical Report*. Lusaka: Central Statistical Office.
- Richards, A. 1980. *Chisungu: A girls' Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Roberts, A. (1970). *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rosny, E. de. 1985. *Healers in the night*. Maryknoll (N.Y.): Orbis Books.
- Simpson, A. 1997. Memory and Becoming Chosen Other: Fundamentalist Elite-Making in a Zambian Catholic Mission School. In *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power* (ed.) R. Werbner, London, New York: Zed Books.
- Singh, J. and H. van Houtum. 2002. Post-colonial nature conservation in Southern Africa: same emperors, new clothes? *GeoJournal* 58, 253-263.
- Snelson, P. 1974. *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*. Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation.
- Stefaniszyn, B. 1964. *Social and Ritual Life of the Ambo of Northern Rhodesia*. London.
- Strickland, B. "My Grandfather's Gun was Called *Field of Children*": Ecological History as Indictment Policy. *Africa Today*
- Ter Haar, G. 1992. *Spirit of Africa: The Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo of Zambia*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Tranberg Hansen, K. 1999. Second-hand clothing encounters in Zambia. In *Modernity on a shoestring: dimensions of globalization, consumption and development in Africa and beyond* (eds) R. Fardon and W. van Binsbergen. Leiden, London: EIDOS.
- Turner, V. 1969. *The Ritual Process*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Vail, L. 1977. Ecology and History: The Example of Eastern Zambia. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 3(2), 129-155.
- Wainwright, C. 1998. Success in Integrating Conservation and Development? A Study from Zambia. *World Development* 26(6), 933-944.
- Weller, J. 1971. in Barret B. D. (Ed) *African Initiatives ion Religion*. Nairobi: East African Publishing.
- Werbner, R. 1996. Multiple identities, plural arenas. In *Postcolonial identities in Africa* (eds) R. Werbner and T. Ranger. London: Zen Books.
- West, H. 2001. Sorcery of construction and socialist modernization: Ways of understanding power in postcolonial Mozambique. In *American Ethnologist* 28(1), 119-150.

- White, L. 1995. Tsetse Visions: Narratives of Blood and Bugs in Colonial Northern Rhodesia, 1931-9. *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 219-245.
- Willis, R. 1999. *Some spirits heal, others only dance: A Journey into Human Selfhood in an African Village*. Oxford: Berg.
- Wright, M. and P. Lary. 1971. Swahili Settlements in Northern Zambia and Malawi. *African Historical Studies* 4(3), 547-573.

Internet resources

www.zawa.org

www.elections.org.zm

www.osisa.org

www.freeweb.com

www.wikipedia.org