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A general survey of the historical migration of the Kaonde clans from southern Congo into Zambia

I. INTRODUCTION

The Kaonde-speaking peoples

The present study aims at presenting a more detailed survey of the history of the Kaonde-speaking peoples in the Northwestern province of Zambia (Central Africa) than has up till now been published. The author relied on interviews and information collected in the field. The resulting data have been compared with published sources on the Kaonde and related groups which also provided valuable supplementary information.

The focus of this article is on the origin and migration of a number of Kaonde groups which during the last two centuries have migrated from Katanga in the Congo to what are now the Mwinilunga, Solwezi, Kasempa and Mumbwa Districts in Zambia.

In referring to the Kaonde the term 'groups' is consistently applied in preference to the term 'tribe'. The latter concept, and this applies to many other tribal groups in Zambia, was heavily emphasized in the colonial period, when on the basis of cultural and linguistic affinities the country was divided into areas ostensibly corresponding to a fixed pattern of tribal groupings.

1 Fieldwork was carried out in the northwestern part of Zambia during part of 1968 and 1969. Special thanks are due to Mr. M.J. SUNDASANDA, M.D.S., retired headteacher at Kasempa, for the information he gave and the records of interviews he made available to the author. The author expresses his gratitude to Mr. J.L. WRIGHT, M.A. (Oxon), for his much appreciated advice and his comments on an earlier draft of this article, especially with regard to questions concerning the Kaonde language.
When applied to the Kaonde, however, 'tribe' is a loose and flexible concept, which bears no relationship to an overall political organization. A paramount chief or any other central power is absent. Neither do the Kaonde have any specific royal clan from which the chiefs are chosen.

In common parlance the tribal name is loosely applied, some groups calling themselves Kaonde, others Kaonde-Lunda, Kaonde-Luba, Kaonde-Lamba, Kaonde-Ila, according to the particular language-groups to which they are affiliated.

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The clan and sub-clan

In contrast to the looser concept of tribal affiliation, clan membership was, and to a certain extent still is, a more fixed notion. The Kaonde clans are exogamous groups based on matrilinear descent. They are referred to by the name of an animal or some other natural object, though they are non-totemic in character.

The actual or fictitious relationship between those who bear the same clan-name cannot be traced anymore, as the present clans are very large and live scattered over extensive areas. The same clan-name can actually be found to occur in different tribal areas. The clan in its entirety has also nowadays ceased to be a lineage group or a corporate group.

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1 For corresponding structures of other tribal groups in Zambia reference is made to, *inter alia*, the publications of APThORPE (1966) on the Nsenga.
The role the clan plays in present-day social structure is not very great anymore. Elements of clan structure that survive are the rule of clan-exogamy, a more or less strong consciousness of a duty of mutual help towards people bearing the same clan-name, joking relationships and assistance at mortuary rituals rendered between pairs of opposite clans (bunungwe).

Historically, there is often a vague knowledge of the original clan homeland, and sometimes a mythical story concerning the origin of the clan-name. A frequently recurring theme is that after a burial a group of relatives returning home became known under another clan-name. Doke (1933, p. 193) recounts a similar phenomenon among the Lamba.

In the unravelling of their history, in particular as far as origin and migration are concerned, the clan or the smaller sections of a clan (sub-clan) occupy a key position.

Vansina (1966, p.88) rightly points out that the earlier history of the south Katanga area, Luapula and northern Zambia can only be uncovered by studying the clan traditions and the traditions of the original chiefships. The idea of large-scale tribal migrations must be rejected. Population movements occurred in the form of clan-section migrations or of sub-clans splitting away from the clan nucleus and setting themselves up as autonomous units.

Cunnison in his “History of the Luapula” (1951, p.V) speaks of sub-clans, referring to groups of clansmen who migrated from the Congo into the Luapula valley. He defines a sub-clan as an exogamous unit, the largest group from which members may come together at one time to discuss matters of inheritance and succession. In most cases the sub-clan is further divided into lineages.

It seems appropriate to use the same term, i.e. sub-clans, for the great number of small Kaonde-clan-groups who migrated from Congo into the north-western part of Zambia. Most of the clan-groups under consideration here did split off

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1 For the meaning of Bunungwe, cf. Melland, page 252, and for the corresponding notions held by other tribes, see Doke (1931, p. 197), Grevisse (CEPSI No. 35, 1956, p. 96), Richards (1960, p. 181) and Stefaniszyn (1950, p. 290).

2 The homeland was often called Kola, which also means Lunda homeland and sometimes the “West”, without any further specific indication. Many of the clan-names contain words no longer current in modern Kaonde, e.g. tembuzhi-lion, ngee-leopard, luo-monkey. For the translation of the clan-names occurring in this article, see p. 37. Throughout this article clan names are given in the plural, e.g. Bena Kyowa. The singular, such as Mwene Kyowa etc., is never used here. Names of tribes are given without the Bantu plural prefix “Ba”, and their languages without the prefix “Ba”, “Ki”, etc.
from older-existing clans and migrated under the leadership of a lineage-head or chief. The sub-clan is known by the clan-name and commonly further distinguished by the name of their leader or chief, e.g. the Bena Kyowa ot Kasempa [the people of the mushroom of (chief) Kasempa].

Originally, it seems, the sub-clan was not much bigger than an ordinary lineage.

The rule of clan-exogamy naturally results in the presence of people with other clan-names within the same territorial group. Though growing bigger, the sub-clan, as can still be observed nowadays, consists of a cluster of villages in which most of the headmen belong to the same clan, forming a territorial political unit under the leadership of their chief or group-headman.

In the course of time, such a sub-clan could, under a popular and powerful leader, considerably grow in numbers as other groups were, willingly or unwillingly, incorporated.

It could also happen that a group of non-ruling clansmen in the sub-clan would try to usurp the chieftainship when a new chief had to be appointed. If they failed in this effort such a struggle could lead to a separation of groups and the emerging of a new sub-clan with their own line of chiefs. Thus, it happened that new groups (lineages) branched off from an existing group and became known under a new clan-name.

Some older Kaonde still retain a vague knowledge about the existence of very old clan-names precedent to more recent ones; they can also distinguish ancient chieftainship titles from chieftainships which emerged in later times.

Nevertheless, there does not exist any definitely acknowledged hierarchy of clans or chieftainships among the Kaonde.

Clan migrations and the Luba and Lunda empires

The settlement pattern of the population has of old been of a semi-nomadic character.

Originally there was, and in some areas there still is, a perpetual movement of villages over smaller distances due to the application of the system of shifting

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1 See, in this volume, the article by Mr. H. BANTJE on the history of the Lubango chieftainship. He illustrates clearly the existing tension created by disputes over succession as it mounts between sisters' sons and sons. Although the Kaonde are, in principle, matrilinear in their organization, consistency is often lacking in actual practice, especially where Kaonde groups are influenced by other systems.
cultivation, movements to new hunting-grounds, dilapidation of houses and general decay, an increasing frequency of death or the demise of an important headman or chief.

It seems that when these factors were at play, movements took place mainly over smaller distances or were performed on a circular pattern. Migration over greater distances, the subject of this paper, must mainly be attributed to socio-political factors such as conflicts in connection with succession, political pressure and the burden of tribute imposed by dominant groups, and (perhaps) to increasing population pressure.¹

Grevisse (1946, p. 80, 1950, p. 10) assumes that the population of south Katanga, where the Kaonde clans originated, consists of a mixture of various small groups of patrilinear Bantu hunters and Bantu groups who arrived from the west in the 15th and 16th centuries, introduced the matrilinear pattern and brought with them new agricultural systems.

The physical circumstances did not greatly impede migration from south Katanga to Zambia. The watershed between the Congo and the Zambezi basin was relatively easy to cross, and the monotonous, thinly populated and well-watered high plateau of northwest Zambia served as an overflow for different groups coming from the Congo to Zambia.

The two most important political factors that motivated the migration are the development and the expansion of the Luba and Lunda kingdoms. At the end of the 16th century, the Luba kingdom came into being in the northern part of the Katanga province and a distinction can be made between the first Luba kingdom under Kongolo, comprising only a small area, and the more extensive second Luba kingdom which grew out of it. According to Verhulpens (p. 58) the clan-groups in the southern part of Katanga have never formed part of this first Luba kingdom, nor of the second. The dialects spoken by these clan-groups are closely related to Kiluba, the original language of the first Luba empire. The expansion of the second Luba kingdom forced various clan-groups to march further south and southwest.

A second power with which the fore-mentioned clan-groups were much concerned at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, was the Lunda kingdom expanding under the well-known King Mwachiyamvwa

¹ In an article on pre-colonial trade in Zambia, Andrew Roberts (1970) points to the economic factor as a cause of migration movements and of the foundation of new chiefdoms near economic resources.
THE HISTORICAL MIGRATION OF THE KAONDE CLANS

(Vansina 1966, p. 78). The origin of the Lunda Royal Family is told in the mythical story of the marriage between the Lunda princess Lueji and a Luba hunter, Ilunga Chibinda, son of the Luba chief Ilunga Mbili — a story pointing to a strong Luba influence in the Lunda kingdom, though the Lunda and Luba kingdoms never merged completely.

The Luba empire was situated in the north-eastern part of Katanga. It had a fairly centralised organisation, whilst the Lunda empire in the western part of Katanga was more loosely structured. Gradually Lunda rule spread over a very large area, incorporating various other population groups. Mwachiyamvwa dispatched Kazembes, approximately to be defined as leaders of small fighting groups (some authors even call them generals), to subdue surrounding areas and set up buffer states around the central kingdom. About the beginning of the 19th century, the Lunda kingdom was at the apex of its power.

The area of the headwaters of the Lualaba and the adjoining region of northern Zambia were ruled by the Lunda Paramount Chief Musokantanda.

Most of the Kaonde clan-groups were subject to Musokantanda or to tribute-collectors installed by him. Attracted by the prestige of the Lunda and the decentralized system of government, clan-heads placed themselves voluntarily under the protection of the Lunda. The Lunda overlords sanctioned their leadership and as confirmation gave them certain insignia of chieftainship.

References to this Lunda investiture in the histories of the chieftainships are difficult to follow. In some cases it seems possible that it is only mentioned to add glory to the individual office-holder and to justify his chieftainship.

In the middle of the 19th century, especially in the frontier areas, the increasing demands for tribute made by the Lunda and their tribute-collectors led to a further migration southwards, in an effort to evade Lunda dominance.

A further factor influencing migration in the second half of the 19th century was the establishment of the Bayeke kingdom around Bunkeya in the area of the Sanga chief Pande. This was a trading group of the Nyamwezi tribe from Tanzania, established in this area under the son of the Nyamwezi trader Kalasa. In the beginning they acted as the protectors of the local population, guarding them against invaders from the North and resisting the Lunda demand for tribute. They soon became a powerful independent force and undertook intensive slave-raiding parties into the neighbouring areas. Towards the south, across the watershed of the Congo far into Zambia, their warlike expeditions
were notorious and resulted in several groups of the population fleeing in various directions.

Until the beginning of the 20th century many movements and treks occurred on a small scale. A definite consolidation of the *status quo* took place when colonial administrations were established. Most of the chiefs were recognized and their areas demarcated. In later years several numerically small groups were incorporated with their chiefs into larger, comprehensive areas under a paramount chief.

Account

History writing and the use of studies based on oral tradition handed down through generations should be regarded with great caution. The available records contain many mythical elements and often give a subjective interpretation to the historical truth in order to explain or justify present institutions and existing or pretended rights. In spite of these difficulties, there is still a sufficiently "hard" core of truth in these traditions to justify drawing up an approximation of historical truths (see also Vansina 1965, p. 186). This is even more valid when we are dealing with more "objective" facts such as migration routes and when the possibility exist of making comparisons regarding the same subjects from several sources.

It is greatly to Melland's credit that he drew attention to the Kaonde history in his book published in 1923. He distinguished three completely separate migration movements, each set in train by different clan-groups; these came together in the same area and became known under the name Kaonde.¹

Apart from Melland's publication, the only other published account on the history of the Kaonde is that of Chibanza, dealing mainly with the chieftainships of Kasempa, Mujimanzovu, Kapiji Mpanga and Chibanza. This source, and the testimonies² dealt with in this article, give no cause for doubting

¹ For an explanation of the origin of the word Kaonde, see Chapter VI.
² The most important data dealt with here are a survey given to the author by the present chief Kapiji Mujimanzovu on the history of his chieftainship (reference to this source of information is made under the name Mujimanzovu); information from chief Mushima and his elder headman; notes compiled by J. Sansadanda concerning the Kasempa chieftainship and notes he made available to the author from Chewemukulu concerning the various Kaonde chiefs; records collected by the author from small chiefs' groups. In the framework of this article it is not possible to give the texts of the various sources in their entirety, but at the end of each chapter a synopsis gives the most important information concerning successive chiefs, as recorded in the various sources.
or reviewing the general outline developed by Melland concerning the migration pattern.

The most important migrations, from which the present Kaonde population in Zambia has originated, are detailed as follows:

a) The sub-clan of the Balonga of chiefs Kapiji, Mujimanzovu, Kaindu and Nyoka and of the chiefs Kapiji Mpanga (Bena Kyulu) and Chibanza (Batembuzhi) who separated from the Balonga group.

b) The sub-clan of Bena Kyowa of chief Kiboko-Kasempa.

c) The sub-clan of the Balembu of chief Mushima Mubambe. (This group, which migrated separately, is not mentioned in Melland's report).

d) The migration of the west Kaonde group, partly also called Kaonde-Lunda.

Since we lack sufficient information on the clans and chiefs in the western part of the Kaonde area, this group is very summarily dealt with and is only added to complete the overall picture.

In the framework of this article it is not possible to deal in detail with a number of smaller Kaonde groups: sub-clans with their chiefs or headmen who either separately or jointly took part in the larger migration streams.

The history of a clan or sub-clan is represented by the history of its representative chief's lineage. Although this account is not the exact history as interpreted by all members of a clan or sub-clan and all the villages in the territory of one chief, it is the only official source available concerning the history and migration of the groups under review and consequently it is used here as the main source. For review of the present location of the various chiefs' groups mentioned here and the migration routes they followed, the reader is referred to the attached map.

In the last chapter a synopsis is given of the most important sub-clans in the Kaonde area with their chiefs or headmen, supplemented with a table of migrations in order of time-sequence.

Dates as given in this article are based on other authors; they are compared with data in interviews and the extent of chiefs' families. The aim being only to give rough indications of sequence, they have obviously to be handled with great care.
II. MIGRATION OF THE BALONGA CLAN TO ZAMBIA

Origin and related groups in the Congo

The migration of the Balonga clan from southern Katanga to Zambia can be regarded as one of the first migrations.

Grevisse (1956, p. 91) places the Balonga, with various other clans, in a group he calls the pseudo-Sanga, thereby reserving the name Sanga for the Benanzovu clan under Chief Pande in Katanga. The present Chief Klpiji Mujimanzovu (Balonga) indicates in an historical review of his chieftainship that the first Kapiji chiefs settled in the river basin of the Lualaba. Subsequently they split off from their elder brother Mushima, who remained settled in the Congo, and, preceded by their nephews Nyoka and Kaindu, set out over the watershed of the Congo-Zambezi to the south. The expansion of the second Luba kingdom to the south at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, possibly forms the underlying reason for this migration.

Grevisse (p. 90) writes that Mushima travelled further to the north-west until he came into contact with the Lunda. From the Lunda he received the title of Ilunga, possibly bestowed upon him by the Lunda Paramount Chief, Mwachiyamvwa. Later, when Mwachiyamvwa despatched his Kazembes in various directions to enlarge his influence and to set up buffer states around his kingdom, Mushima came into contact with the Lunda Chief Musokantanda.

Vansina (1966, p. 162) places this event ca. 1700. Musokantanda defeated Mushima and took the title Ilunga from him. The story goes that he then gave Mushima the name of “Mushima wa ku Kaonde”, after a similarly named river (Kaonde), a tributary of the Mukwizhi which flows into the Lualaba (Grevisse p. 91). It is possible that the advance of the Lunda along the Lualaba and the fight between Mushima and Musokantanda were the reasons for Kapiji’s march to the south. Little is known about this migration, but it can be assumed that a route was followed along the East-Lunga, which ends in the region of the confluence of the Lunga and Kafue rivers.

At this time, the Mbwela\(^1\) were still firmly established in the north-west of

\(^1\) The name Mbwela is a collective applied to various groups at present living in the northern and eastern parts of Barotseland (Western province of Zambia). Clay (p. 8) states that in common parlance Mbwela means ‘people of the east’. The Mashasha, Lukolwe and Nkoya are often referred to by the term Mbwela. The Lunda speak of Kabwete wa Mbwela,
Zambia (Mwinilunga, Solwezi and Kasempa District) and even as far as the Lualaba basin in the Congo, so that a more westerly route was not possible. Further to the east (upper Kafue) it is possible that they repeatedly encountered incoming Lamba groups.

Apart from the Balonga clan (Kapiji, Nyoka, Kaindu), other clan-groups migrated to the Kafue river (also called Luenge), such as the Bena Kyulu from Kasonso. Whether these reached the area of the Kafue Hook before or after the Balonga is difficult to find out.\(^1\) That in this area there was initially a distinct union of these groups, can be taken as a fact which suggests that the Bena Kyulu had the same origin as the Balonga.

The present descendants of these Luba in the region of the Kafue river (Mumbwa District) are now known as the Luba pocket in Kafue Hook (Brelsford p. 58).

_The Luba near Kafue Hook_

Smith and Dale in their well-known book “The Ila speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia” relate (p. 25) that in the beginning of the 19th century the Mbwela under Chief Kabulwebulwe and Chief Kale (Kahari) marched in northeasterly direction towards the Kafue and Lunga. The authors continue:

He (Kale) had not been there long before the country was invaded by a strong party of Baluba, from the Lunda country across the Kapompo River, under six chiefs, Kamimbe, Kapidi, Mponda, Kaindu and Mushima. They had left

meaning ‘southerly direction’. Turner (1957, p. 3) says the term Mbwela appears to have been widely applied by in-coming groups of Lunda stock to the more primitive Bantu peoples whom they encountered to the south and west of their homeland.

\(^1\) Melland (p. 42) refers to an important chief, Kasongo, who returned from the Kafue to the northwest. After his death he was succeeded by four nephews, sons of his elder sister Ngonyi, namely Nyoka, Kaindu, Mushima (a different Mushima from the one in the Congo) and Kapiji. From this, one would have to conclude that Chief Kasongo remained by the Kafue and that a rift occurred there between the four nephews. Other sources, however, mention Nyoka, Kaindu and Kapiji as separate groups that set off to the Kafue. When giving information on the history of the Nyoka chiefs, Nyoka reported that they came from the Congo. The name of Kasongo is not mentioned in the Nyoka list of chiefs. Nyoka stated also that Kasongo was the first and oldest group to reach the Kafue, and that they were followed by Kaindu and Nyoka. Mujimanzovu mentions a chief Kasongo who resided by the Lualaba in the Congo. It seems more likely that in the Congo there was already a division in the Balonga clan. Confusion possibly arose as later chiefs of Balonga sub-clans also bore the name Kasongo. This name appears a few times in the Luba dynasty (see Verhulpen p. 99) and could point also to the Luba origin of the Balonga.
their homes on account of disturbances made by a Lunda chief named Mukumbi. Kale received the visitors amicably and gave Kapidi his daughter as his wife. After a time the friendly relations between the Bambwela and Baluba were broken by a quarrel.......

This information implies that several transactions have been combined into one. It seems unlikely that an invasion of six Luba chiefs took place simultaneously.

It may be assumed that some Balonga, such as Nyoka and Kaindu, arrived earlier in the area, and that others, including Kapiji, arrived later. The Lunda Kingdom at this time (end 18th, beginning 19th century) cast its shadow far before.

The Luba possibly marched further southwards in connection with the expanding Lunda Kingdom, but they did not flee from the Lunda Chief Mukumbi. He was appointed warden by Musokantanda in the area near the Kabompo and was active there after the middle of the 19th century. The confusion in the text possibly arose because later in the second half of the 19th century another Kaonde group under Mumba (Bena Luo) marched from the direction of the Kabompo to the area of the Kafue and settled there in Ila country.

The fact that Kapiji received a woman from the Mbwela points to the fact that at first a friendly relationship existed between the Luba and the Mbwela. It is even possible that the woman in question was a tributary wife (ntombo), a wife given as a tribute to a chief. Increasing southward pressure from the Luba and, in a northerly direction, from the Mbwela, led to a clash in which the Luba were the losers. They marched back in an easterly direction, crossed the Kafue and as Smith and Dale relate (p. 26), after a long battle with the Ila, settled in the neighbourhood of the Mutumbwa Hill.¹

Consequently, Kapiji left the other Balonga and Bena Kyulu and marched back to the north. This event must have taken place early in 1800. Later, in the middle of the 19th century, internal quarrels occurred, among others between Nyoka and Kaindu, and also skirmishes with neighbouring groups, so that

¹ Cl ay (p. 7) in his history of Mankoya District relates that a meeting took place between the Kaonde and the Bamashasaha Chief Kabulwebulwe. The Kaonde were beaten by the Kafue. By inference from the time indications given by Cl ay this must have occurred between 1850-1870. This inspires the assumption that later there were more fights between the Luba and Mbwela, in which the Luba were beaten and possibly again driven further into Ila-land.
Nyoka also returned to the north and established himself along the East Lunga at Mushingashi.

Mushima Mubambe (Balembu) was also in the area of the Kafue for some time (see Chapt. IV), subsequently he marched back to the Lunga river near its tributaries Mitumba and Makaba.

The Mumbwa District note-book states that Chief Mumba from Kaondeeland settled in the Mumbwa District (area Mumbwa-Boma). Perhaps this is the Mumba who, as related by Smith and Dale, was fleeing from the Lunda under Mukumbi at the Kabompo. Later, Kaindu and Kashinka settled to the north of Chief Mumba (Brelsford p. 58).

The creation of Kafue National Park in 1944 led to the movement of the still remaining Luba groups situated near the Kafue Hook towards Kasempa-Boma and Mumba-Boma. Chief Mumba and Kashinka are now known as Kaonde-Ila, as a result of the intermarriage which took place between these groups and the Ila. Kaindu (Balonga) is known as Luba, and thus retains the name of his origin.

Kapiji Mujimanzovu

The return of Kapiji at the beginning of the 19th century from the Kafue area to the northwest is reported by various sources (Melland p. 29; Chibanza p. 91). Melland reports that his most important informant, Chief Kapiji Mpanga Mwandwe, related that when they (Balonga and Bena Kyulu) came into what is now the Solwezi District, they were returning to their old home. This indicates that the Balonga had already lived along the East Lunga before they moved to the Kafue.

It is possible that some Balonga and Bena Kyulu villages remained in this area, making Kapiji’s rapid return to the north even more understandable.

Melland is not completely clear about this return. He writes (p. 40) that Chief Kasongo returned from the Kafue but did not manage to reach his brother Mushima in the Congo. He also reports that Kapiji, according to Melland the fourth nephew and successor to Kasongo, after a quarrel with Kasongo by the Kafue, went to the North as far as the Kamfunshi in the Congo. On his arrival,

1 Grevisse (1956, p. 90) assumes that a group under Mujimanzovu returned from the Kafue to the northwest around 1600. This, however, would seem much too early, as the first migration of the Luba-Kaonde clans to the south is estimated to have taken place in the first years of the eighteenth century.
Ilunga (Musokantanda) placed him under his tribute-collector Sailunga. This report refers to two returning groups, possibly a Balonga group who marched on to the Congo into the neighbourhood of Mushima, while another group (Bena Kyulu?) settled in what is now the Solwezi District.

Chibanza (p. 91) reports that a Chief Kapiji Jing’amba, after a quarrel with his followers at the Kafue, returned the token of his chieftainship, marched to Mushima in the Congo, and settled by the Kamfunshi. Chibanza also reports that others returned later from the Kafue and restored the token to Kapiji Jing’amba. Neither Chibanza nor Mujimanzovu make any mention whatsoever of a Chief Kasongo.

It seems likely that the groups returning from the Kafue became subjects of the Lunda Chief Musokantanda and paid him tribute. Melland (p. 43) relates that his informant, Chief Kapiji Mpanga Mwandwe, gave him the following account: Mushima had tried to resist Ilunga, had fought against him and had been defeated. In the end he had to pay tribute. If Mushima could not resist satisfactorily, how could we? We (i.e., our ancestors) thought we better be content with the country east of the Mutanda (roughly between Mutanda and Kafue) and pay tribute to Ilunga, so we did so. The conclusion seems warranted that the return of these Baluba sections to the north is connected with the wish to place themselves under the protection of the more powerful Lunda chiefs in the North, after having been beaten in the south and driven back by the Mbwela. This picture coincides with Vansina’s theory (p. 91) that many small chiefs felt attracted by the power and protection of the Lunda. By recognizing the Lunda as overlords, they were able to retain their chieftainships. Their sway was even sanctioned by the Lunda and they were left with a reasonable large measure of autonomy within the decentralized Lunda system.

Both Chibanza and Mujimanzovu relate that Chief Kapiji Jing’amba married Mwajimambwe (Batembuzhi), a younger sister of Mumena.1 After the death of Kapiji Jing’amba, who was crushed by an elephant during a hunt, a bitter struggle for the succession ensued between the Balonga and the Bena Kyulu. According to Chibanza (p. 95), Kapiji Jing’amba’s death was an evil act of witchcraft by his own followers from the Kafue area. Mpanga (Bena Kyulu), his son, was designated by him to be his successor.

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1 Chibanza states that at this time Mwanza was an important Chief of the Batembuzhi. Chewemukulu named Mwanze as headman under Kapiji. It seems there existed a close relationship between the Balonga and Batembuzhi clans.
In this history Mujimanzovu makes no mention of the fact that Mpanga was the successor, he reports that it was the evil acts of Mpanga, who committed adultery with the wife of Kapiji Jing’amba (Mwajimambwe), which caused the chief’s death at a hunting party. In revenge, the Balonga murdered Mpanga and also the woman Mwajimambwe.1 With initial permission from Musokantanda, Kiwezhi (Balonga) was now appointed chief.

When Musokantanda was informed by Kapiji Kasongo Chibanza (the son of Kapiji Jing’amba and Mwajimambwe) that Mpanga and the Batembuzhi woman had been murdered, he appointed Kapiji Kasongo Chibanza (Batembuzhi) as chief and supported him in the pursuit of Kiwezhi. Kiwezhi and his Balonga were killed. This battle for the chieftainship of Kapiji points to a definite rivalry between the Balonga and Bena Kyulu and the desire of each group to seize the chieftainship. Probably this rivalry even dated back to the period when they lived near the Kafue.

Kapiji Kasongo Chibanza exercised his authority as chief for a long time and united under his chieftainship the Balonga as well as the Bena Kyulu and Batembuzhi groups. After his death the chieftainship was divided over three lines, the Batembuzhi received their own chieftainship from the hands of Kapiji Kapoba (Balonga), while the Bena Kyulu also secured a chieftainship for themselves.

Roughly the various groups living in the area were divided as follows: Kapiji Mujimanzovu with his Balonga lived in the Mutanda basin as far as the Lunga; the Batembuzhi under Chibanza lived first in the neighbourhood of Solwezi and Kansanshi and then, around the turn of the century, moved westwards to the Jiundu swamps and later to the Mwombezhi; Kapiji Mpanga Mwandwe (Bena Kyulu) settled in the neighbourhood of the Solwezi Boma and Kansanshi mine.

Migration of other clan-groups through and along the territory of the Balonga

It was in the time of Kapiji Kasongo Chibanza, during the first half of the last century, that a great number of other clan-migrations took place from the Congo to Zambia. These groups marched partly through and along the territory

1 In broad outline the stories of Chibanza and Mujimanzovu are similar. Explanations of the events, however, give rise to different interpretations: Mujimanzovu gives the Balonga view, while Chibanza (his father was a Batembuzhi chief, his mother a Bena Kyulu) takes the view of the Bena Kyulu and the Batembuzhi.
where the Balonga had settled (Solwezi District). It would appear that things went well, without any serious quarrels or fights, which would point to an original kinship between the Balonga and these other clan-groups. In view of the extensiveness of the area, thinly populated by small groups of people, there was sufficient opportunity to find new areas to settle. Some of the newly entering groups pushed the Mbwela further to the South. The Solwezi District notebook names the following groups with the places where they settled:

1. Chief Kasempa came from Lufira, north of Solwezi; he was the first to settle near the Luma stream.
2. Ingwe, who had originally settled at the headwaters of the Solwezi.
3. Kayamba, the first chief Mukumbi, who settled at Chitungulu.
4. Chibandabanda, predecessor of the present Matebo, who eventually settled on the Mwafwe.
5. Chief Mushima Mubambe, who settled on the Lunga river.

From the sources available it is not possible to determine the exact sequence of the arrivals. The migrations all took place within the same period (the beginning and middle of the last century), having started from different directions.

In their story Chibanza and Mujimanzovu mention that Mukumbi was the first to arrive in the neighbourhood of the Mwombezhi and Chitungulu, both tributaries of the Kabompo. Mujimanzovu reports that at this time he lived in the area of the Lubwe and then moved further downstream along the Mutanda and settled by the tributaries Kikole and Kifubwa, later moving to the confluence of the Mutanda and Lunga rivers. At the same time, or possibly a little later, a clan-section of the Bena Kyulu arrived (under Kasempa-Kiboko) from a north-easterly direction. They crossed the area of the Balonga and settled to the south of the Mutanda in the neighbourhood of Luma.

Established at the Kifubwa and Lunga, the Balonga encountered the Balembu sub-clan under Mushima Mubambe who had come from the north along the Kifubwa. Mujimanzovu writes that a good friendship existed between him and Mushima. It was Mushima who, according to Mujimanzovu, marked the boundary between the area of Kibuye Mulonga (also a Balonga chief) and his own territory. Kibuye Mulonga settled by the upper Lunga and Mujimanzovu by the middle section of the Lunga, while Mushima Mubambe decided to march further to the south (see chapter IV).
List of Kapiji Chiefs

To conclude this survey of the migration of the Balonga clan under discussion, a synopsis is given of their chiefs as indicated by the present chief Kapiji Mujimanzovu. Where necessary, a few additions from the Kaonde History by Chibanza have been inserted and at the same time the names have been added of Bena Kyulu and Batembuzhi chiefs.

1. Kapiji Kamuyange
   This chief was a woman. She came with her elder brother Mushima from Katokanonyi. They fought the Mbwela people at the Lualaba. They resided at a stream called Kaonde.

2. Kapiji Kasongo
   Son of Muyange. He was a chief for a (very) long time.

3. Kapiji Mwanza
   Looked after his people well and did not fight anyone.

4. Kapiji Mazhonde
   Was always called Mazhonde. He, too, did not fight. He was cheerful and told many hunting-stories. He was short in stature and died at a very advanced age.

5. Kapiji Jing’amba
   It was he who reached Lubwe and who defeated the Mbwela people. Stayed with his sons Mpanga and Kasongo Kibanza (Batembuzhi). The chief had to accommodate others whom he allotted places along the rivers. He lived to be 98 years old and was crushed by an elephant.

6. Kapiji Kiwezhi Yengayenga
   Was chief for a short time only. While returning from Sailunga, where he was appointed as chief (according to Chibanza he returned from Musokantanda), he and other Balonga were killed by Kasongo-Kibanza.

7. Kapiji Kasongo-Chibanza
   Acquitted himself well of the chieftainship. Lived in the Mutanda basin area. His years were many. Before his death he ordered the chieftainship to

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1 The origin of the name Kapiji is unknown to the present writer. Though it now precedes each name in the genealogies, it is by no means certain whether this has always been so. Literally, Kapiji means “little puffadder” or, in the Sanga language, “little hill”.

2 Chibanza reports that Mpanga was the successor before Kiwezhi. It seems possible that Mpanga acted as Mumbelunga (guardian) of the paraphernalia of the chieftainship and in this function made an effort to retain the office for himself.
be given back to his father's clan (Balonga). According to Chibanza this chief lived from 1814-1873 and it was in his time that other chiefs came into the country.1

8. Kapiji Kapoba (Chuba) Bakenda (Mujimanzovu)
According to Chibanza, he ruled from 1873-1895. Another of his names was Kasongo-Jinomba. He paid tribute to Bayeke raiders. The Bayeke called him *Mujimanzovu* (one who grows tusks). It was he who agreed to the splitting of the Batembuzhi under their own chief Jilundu Kunuka Mwanze.

9. Kapiji Jipenda (Katuta Mwilu) † 1922
Quarrelled with Bena Kyulu under Chalaputa. Chalaputa, who called himself Jamba Mwandwe, broke away and started a Bena Kyulu-line of chiefs under the name Kapiji Mpanga.

10. Kapiji Kilobo † 1923
Was *swanamuni* (vice-chief) for a long time. He was one of Melland's informants.

11. Kapiji Kimbalanga Kazhike (Mwabu) † 1956
For many years a chief.

12. Kapiji Mujimanzovu Samuel Mulunda Muntalima
Became chief on 16th February 1957. He is acknowledged as the senior Kaonde chief in Solwezi District. The government authorized him to readopt the name Kapiji which had been taken by Mpanga Mwandwe.

*Batembuzhi Chiefs* (in Solwezi District)

Kasongo Chibanza Jilundu † 1916
Settled in the neighbourhood of the Mwombezhi.

Mulilambange † 1954
Nephew of Kasongo Chibanza Jilundu.

*Bena Kyulu Chiefs* (in Solwezi District)

Kapiji Mpanga Mandwe † 1937
Alias Chalaputa, settled near Solwezi, he was one of Melland’s informants.

Kapiji Chembe
The present chief Kapiji Mpanga.

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1 The accuracy of the dates leaves much room for doubt, they are quoted only as rough indications of time.
III. MIGRATION OF THE BENA KYOWA OF KASEMPA

A second important migration movement from the Congo to the present Solwezi and Kasempa Districts took place at the beginning of the 19th century. This was the arrival of the Bena Kyowa sub-clan under their chief Kasempa. (The name Kasempa was not generally applied until much later; the original name was Kiboko). It all began with a migration that was set in train by the Sanga under their chief Panga, Jadotville district. Various independent sources contain references to this migration.

In his “Récits historiques des Basanga”, Hadelin Roland (1937, p. 9) gives a review of the Sanga chiefs named Pande. The Sanga were originally considered to belong to the Luba, subsequently they were dominated by the Lunda for a long period. According to Hadelin Roland, one Pande marched in the retinue of the Luba chief, Ilunga, when he moved away and married the Luba chief, Lueji. Later, Pande Mutombo Kola marched back under Kazembe Kaniembo to the Sanga area and thus established a dynasty of Pande chiefs by Mufuya.1 Vansina (1966, p. 167) reports that Kazembe Kaniembo marched to the Lualaba and then defeated the Sanga chief Mutombo Kola. However, he spared the life of Mutombo Kola because he said that he also came from Lunda-land.

It seems likely that we have to do with an original Luba population (in this case, Sanga), which was ruled by a chiefly family, recognized by the Lunda, and intimately related to them. This situation led to a further increase of the Lundanization of the Sanga.

Hadelin Roland gives a survey of the Pande chiefs. He names Kiboko as the seventh chief, who lived around the end of the 18th century. At this time the population, divided into relatively independent family-groups, lived in the Busanga area in the Congo. After the death of Kiboko several of his sons left Busanga as they were not in agreement with the succession to the chieftainship. This could be an indication that around the turn of the century (i.e., ca. 1800) a group split off from the Sanga of Pande and, under the family-name Kiboko, marched to the south.

1 GREVISSE (1956, p. 87) doubts whether the information provided by Hadelin Roland concerning this marriage is correct, the time-period between the departure of Pande and his subsequent return being rather long. The theme of a marriage between chiefs of different groups occurs frequently and is, in many cases, a mythical explanation for the merger or submission of different tribes or clan-groups.
In 1906 Chief Kasempa Kalusha related to Mr. E.A. Copeman (District Officer in Kasempa from 1904-1908) that his forefathers were Sanga and that they left the Sanga country, the area west of the river Lufira, near Lake Retenue, during the time that Mpandi was their chief, before the days of the Bayeke (Melland p. 29). The group settled along the tributaries of the Lufira. In the same area the chiefs Ntenke, Mpoyo, Katanga and Ngalu were and still are living. Melland relates that Kasempa was equal in standing to these chiefs (Katanga, Ngalu and Ntenke) and that he regarded them all as Batemba. According to Vansina (1966, p. 167) they were local clan-heads of some importance who had been defeated by Kazembe Kaniembo in Lamba and Lemba (Temba) land and who were annexed to the Lunda kingdom. Verhulpen (p. 394) says that these chiefs were placed by the Lunda in the area as residents, though originally they were Lunda, and that most of their followers joined the same clan as their chief, namely the Bena Kyowa clan. Jesse Sandasanda related that the Batemba (meaning "water") was a clan-group which later became the Bena Kyowa.\footnote{Cf. also BANTJE's article, note 1 on p. 56.} As oral information, Mujimanzovu related that Kasempa formerly belonged to the Batemba clan and that, consequently, at that time he could not have married into the Balonga (water) clan.

This information indicates that the group of Kasempa discussed here, after separating from the Sanga in the area of the Lufira, became known as Batemba and there adopted the clan-name Bena Kyowa. It is not clear whether Kasempa (Kiboko) was already appointed or recognized as chief by the Lunda during that time. It is also possible that Kasempa was only later recognized by the Lunda as chief, that is, after he had left for the south.

Chewemukulu mentioned that the burden of paying tribute to the Lunda (Mwachiyamvwa and Musokantanda) caused Kasempa to march south to the Lushwishi river. The Kasempa note-book states that they went to Musokantanda with a request for more land. It is also quite possible that the migration to the south is connected with disputes about the succession. Sandasanda states that four brothers (Nkonde, Matavu, Bufuku and Makendu) together went to King Mwachiyamvwa to request that one of them should be given the chief-tainship and the title Kiboko. Nkonde was then given a token of chieftainship (Mpande shell).

When they were migrating southwards, they clashed with Lamba groups
THE HISTORICAL MIGRATION OF THE KAONDE CLANS

Further to the east, who were also moving south (Nkana, Kaponda, Shibukinya and Fungulwe). More to the west they encountered the Lunda, amongst others Mukumbi, and southwards the Balonga. Subsequently, they marched through the Balonga territory to the headwaters of the Mwafwe and Luma streams. This migration must have taken place around the middle of last century, under chief Nkonde Chikunku.

Having settled by the Mwafwe and Luma, Kasempa clashed with the Mbwela who had already been driven back from the Mwinilunga and the Solwezi Districts by Musokantanda and other Lunda and also by the Balonga. To expand his territory, Kasempa had to drive the Mbwela even further south. Possibly the rich saltpans at Kayimbwe, south of the rivers Luma and Mwafwe, also lured him there.

It was mainly chief Jipumpu who fought with the Mbwela as far as the Busanga swamps and the border of the Mankoya district. He finally established his headquarters by Kamusongolwa Hill, a hillock near the present Kasempa Boma, where around 1860 the Nkoya chief Mwene Kahari had his main village.

In the final years of the last century (probably 1897), just before the arrival of the first Europeans in this area, Jipumpu defeated a retaliation army sent out by Lewanika while he was in a defensive position on Kamusongolwa Hill. Chibanza (p. 59), in his history of the Kaonde, gives an extensive account of this war and of the vicissitudes of the Kasampa chiefs, especially Kabambala and Jipumpu.

Jipumpu acted as a very self-willed and independent chief, though officially he came under the Lunda and was supposed to pay tribute to Musokantanda. Chibanza (p. 62) states that there was a fight between Jipumpu and Mukumbi. Mukumbi had been appointed by Musokantanda as a tribute-collector in northwest Zambia. Possibly Jipumpu tried to shirk his obligation to pay tribute.

After the battle with the Barotse army, Jipumpu journeyed to Lewanika. According to Chibanza (p. 66) this was because it was rumoured that a new Barotse army was being equipped against Jipumpu. Jipumpu brought Lewanika presents in order to establish a friendly relationship.

Although in the time of the North-west Rhodesian Protectorate the government seems, for political reasons, to have pressed for official recognition of Lewanika by the Kaonde chief in the southern part of Kasempa District, it is
not correct to surmise that a permanent tribute-relationship ever existed between the Kaonde chiefs and Lewanika.

List of Kasempa Chiefs

The following survey of Kasempa chiefs is derived from Chibanza's "Kaonde History" and supplemented by data from Chewemukulu, Sandasanda and the Kasempa District note-book. The names and sequence of the Kasempa Chiefs mentioned in these sources do not vary to any appreciable extent. The main particulars of each chief are given, accompanied by brief comments.

1. Kiboko
   Cf. Chibanza (p. 43): appointed as chief by general agreement and with the consent of Paramount Chief Musokantanda, subsequently confirmed by King Mwachiayamvwa. Settled at a river called Kaonde. According to both Chewemukulu and Sandasanda, Kiboko was consecutively succeeded by 3 chiefs, sons of Kanyunda, the sister of Kiboko. These chiefs died in quick succession, then the chieftainship remained vacant for some time and Kanyandu acted as Mumbelunga (custodian of the paraphernalia of the chieftainship).
   Comment: The mention of the original settlement at the river Kaonde made in several texts seems on the whole to point to an explanation added at a later date.

2. Nkumba
   Cf. Chibanza: an elder brother ruled for some time. Cf. Sandasanda: Nkumba was the son of a sister of Kanyunda. Through his succession the chieftainship fell into the hands of a junior line of Kiboko.
   Cf. Chewemukulu: terrified by the demand for tribute by Musokantanda and Mwachiayamvwa and the frequent raids of the Bayeke of Mwenda, he fled from the country, leaving his brother Chikunku Nkonde behind. Nkumba came to Luenge, but as he was not pleased with the country, he shaped his course westwards and came to the Lushwishi stream, where he died.

3. Nkonde Chikunku
   Cf. Chibanza: Nkonde was chosen to be the next chief and moved from Kaonde to Mwombezhi. He brought the Bakaonde into what is now Zambia.
   Cf. Chewemukulu: Nkonde was out for the vacant office together with
Kalambankundwe (who later became Chief Kasonso), his brother-in-law. Nkonde moved to the Kyakabuka river, a tributary of the Mutanda river. It is reported that Mujimanzovu was already in that area.

Cf. Sandasanda: Four brothers, Nkonde, Matavu, Bufuku and Makendu went to Mwachiyamvwa and Musokantanda to secure the chieftainship. Nkonde was given the name Kiboko and a token signifying that he was a chief.

Nkonde paid tribute to Mwachiyamvwa and also gave him his sister as tributary wife (Ntombo). The children of this woman (Bena Kyowa) still have their villages in the country of Mukumbi Katotola. Kiboko was the one who brought the chieftainship to his country.

The Solwezi District note-book states that Kasempa comes from Lufira. The Kasempa District note-book mentions that Kiboko was a sub-chief who approached Musokantanda for more land. He was given Lukano (a bracelet), an ornament denoting him as chief.

Comment:

From these sources it is apparent that after the death of Nkumba uncertainty prevailed as to the succession and that the Lunda (that is, probably Musokantanda and not Mwachiyamvwa who lived further away in the Congo) installed Nkonde as chief. Nkonde paid tribute to Musokantanda and received permission to settle in a new area, possibly with a view to defending the territory in the south for Musokantanda against the Mwbela, whom he was to force to a further retreat. As to the direction of this migration, the explanations differ. An easterly route (Lufira, Kafue, Lushwishi, Luma) as well as a more westerly route (Kaonde, Mpala, Mwombezhi, Luma) are mentioned.

It is not impossible that the main group of the Bena Kyowa came from the area of Chiefs Ntenke, Ngalu and Katanga and followed the easterly route to the Kasempa District, while a smaller group, which went to Musokantanda to obtain the chieftainship, ultimately arrived at the Luma via the westerly route.

Subsequently, many followers and others marched to this area. At a later date, Jipumpu, when he himself went further southward and conquered new areas of the Mbwela, appointed these followers again as chiefs in the border-areas, such as Ingwe to the north-east of his own chiefdom and Kasonso (Kalambankundwe), who became chief over a group of Bena Kyulu in the Lufupa-Busanga area.
4. Muyamba
   According to the Kasempa note-book he died in 1858.

5. Katutu
   This chief is not mentioned in the Kasempa note-book.
   Cf. Chibanza : Katutu ruled for a short period only.

6. Mudungu
   Cf. Kasempa note-book : after a brief rule he was dethroned by his younger brother in 1875.
   Cf. Chibanza : his nomination was not welcomed by his people. He was deposed as chief by Musokantanda acting in agreement with the express wish of his people.

7. Kabambala
   After repeated quarrels he was killed by his younger brother Jipumpu.
   According to the Kasempa note-book this was in 1890, but according to Chibanza in 1882.

8. Jipumpu
   Cf. Chibanza : he moved in 1885 from Luma to the Ntete and later to the Mubulumene, both tributaries of the Mukunashi river. He then settled at Kamosongolwa Hill, where he defeated the Barotse army about 1897. He fought many battles with the Mbwela (see also Clay p. 7). Jipumpu died in 1905; another source (Clark p. 63) puts his death in 1902.

9. Kalusha
   Chief Kasempa from 1907-1926 (Cf. Kasempa note-book which mentions the period 1911-1926).

10. Chibunda
    Chief Kasempa from 1926-1947. Known as senior Kaonde Chief in the Kasempa District.

11. Samushi Mawende
    Chief Kasempa since 1947, † 1975

   12. Benson MushitaLA 1976-

1 Sandasanda also mentions chief Kapampwe, as coming between Mudungu and Kabambala. Other sources make no mention of his name. According to Sandasanda it was Kapampwe who was the first to use the name Kasempa.
The name Kasempa

When and how the name Kasempa originated is not clear. According to Sandasanda, a nickname for Kasempa was Kasempakanya bantu biseba, literally meaning "one who causes people to overlap their skins", that is, wrapping the skins around the body instead of hanging them from a belt. Sandasanda states that Kasempa was a chief who attacked so suddenly that his adversaries fled with so much haste that their skins were improperly adjusted.

According to Smith and Dale (p. 27), who base themselves on oral information from Mr. Hazall, a former District Commissioner in Kasempa, Chief Jipumpu was attacked by a Bayeke army. This army had come from the Congo at the request of a son of Kabambala's, to avenge the slaying of Kabambale by Jipumpu. Jipumpu fled to the Congo. When he returned again he defeated all his enemies and ruled under the title Kasempa, establishing himself on Kamusongolwa Hill.

Actually in the literature the name Kasempa is also mentioned in connection with other chiefs in the Congo, such as Katanga, Ntenke, Mpoyo and Ngalu; this could indicate that the name Kasempa had been in use in the Congo for some time and that a Bena Kyowa chief (possibly Jipumpu) adopted this name during a visit to the Congo. Moreover, the name is perfectly in accordance with Jipumpu's reputation as a fighter. The name Kiboko fell into abeyance when the name Kasempa was introduced. In Kasempa District there still lives a lineage group headed by a headman Kiboko, who claims to be senior to the lineage group of Kasempa.

IV. Migration of the Balembu of Mushima Mubambe

The migration of Mushima Mubambe of the Balembu clan to Zambia from the Congo has received little attention in the history of the Kaonde as published to date. We have to do with a migration that stands apart from the two migration-streams previously dealt with and therefore merits separate attention, the more so since the migrants followed a somewhat devious route and now form a reasonably large group in the Kasempa District. Confusion has been caused by the name Mushima being applied by different groups, especially in the Balonga and Balembu clans where several chiefs bear this name. A distinction must be made between:
1. Mushima Bakaonde — a Balonga chief in the Congo, related to Kapiji Mujimanzovu (see page 16).
2. Mushima Mulonga — a Balonga chief by the source of the eastern Lunga river, also related to the Balonga of Kapiji Mujimanzovu.
3. Mushima Mubambe — the Balembu chief in the Kasempa District discussed here.
4. A group related to Mushima Mubambe, which settled in Mumbwa District. Whether this is the same Mushima as is mentioned by Melland (p. 42) and Smith and Dale (p. 25) together with Kaindu, Nyoka and Kapiji, is not clear.

In view of the periodic appearance of the name Mushima in both groups and the frequency of the contacts between the Balonga and Balembu, it may be assumed that originally a close relationship existed between both clans. Melland (p. 30) assumes that the Balonga and the Balembu in the Congo belong to the same group, namely that of Kasongo. Apparently he is not aware of the presence in Zambia of a Balembu sub-clan under Mushima Mubambe, a group referred to in this paper and which, in the period that Melland was in Solwezi (1910-1920), lived on the fringes of the Kaonde area, that is, along the Lalafuta, the boundary river between the present Mankoya and Kasempa Districts. It is mainly on the basis of information supplied by the present chief Mushima and his elder headman that the following details can be given on the Balembu of Mushima Mubambe, supplemented with what according to Grevisse (1956 p. 95) the Balembu now living in the Congo relate about their history.

After the marriage of Lueji ya Konde to a Luba hunter, many notables left the Lunda area, among them the Balembu with their chief Konde. During the rule of the third chief of the Balembu, who was called Kapalamba, shortly before or after the arrival of the Lunda Kazembe, Luputa, a nephew of Kapalamba, marched to the south accompanied by his sister Kayombe and the notables Kipande and Mulenga. They settled below Mubambi in Rhodesia, near the rocks of the river Mukundu. (This refers to the caves of Makundu by the Lalafuta).

This account coincides more or less with the information supplied by the present Balembu group in Zambia, from which the historical sequel of events was reconstructed as follows. Originally they lived in the Lunda area of Mwachiyamvwa. In this case also, it seems not impossible that we are dealing with a clan-group of the Lualaba of Luba origin, although the appointment of the chiefs was arrogated by the Lunda, or in any case was strongly influenced by
them. Internal discord and feuds, in addition to a possible increase in the pressure exercised by the Kazembe who controlled the Lualaba area, resulted in the migration of a group of Balembu in an easterly direction. As a result of a fight with Ntenke and a meeting with Kaponda and Katanga in the Lufira area they decided upon a different way and went south.

In the Congo a group of Balembu, under Kinsengwe Kayamba, split off from Mushima Mubambe. This group marched further eastward in the direction of the Luapalu, then they turned back and also followed Mushima’s route along the east Lunga river.\(^1\)

Mushima Mubambe crossed the Congo/Zambezi watershed and met Kapiji Mujimanzovu, with whom he established friendly relations resulting in a division of the territory. Mushima, however, marched towards the southeast, where he encountered the Lamba chiefs Fungulwe and Mulembeka. Mushima went even further south and for some time took up his residence on the other side of the Kafue where, among others, Nyoka and Kaindu were settled. Nyoka left the Kafue and returned to the Lunga (surrounding Mushingashi); he was followed shortly afterwards by Mushima who had a quarrel with the Balenge chiefs Kasokomena and Kitanda. Mushima Mubambe then settled on some peninsulas of the Lunga, probably in the area of the tributaries Makaba and Mitumba. His arrival at the Kafue and his departure to the Lunga must have taken place in a period roughly between 1870-1890. This is also consistent with the information obtained from Nyoka concerning his migration from the Kafue to the Lunga.

When Mushima was living near the Lunga, the oft-related incident occurred of Mushima meeting with a Bayeke raiding party (see also Chibanza p. 61). The Bayeke were on the war-path, being on their way to the Balenge to steal cattle. Mushima told them that he considered it extremely doubtful whether they could beat the Balenge. He added, rather conceitedly, that if they were actually successful, the Bayeke might chop off his forearm and keep it as a present. When the Bayeke returned after a successful trip and demanded their present from Mushima, he entrenched himself in his stockade and sent them a goat instead. While taking the animal to the besiegers, some of Mushima’s boys gouged one of the goat’s eyes out and so delivered the present to them.

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\(^1\) For a long time Kinsengwe was settled along the Kanugashi river. Increasing sleeping-sickness infection in that part of the country caused the resettlement in 1947 of Kinsengwe’s village in a place now known as Kelongwa near the Lunga and its tributary Mitumba.
They were furious when they received this humiliating gift and attacked Mushima. In desperation, Mushima, accompanied by his closest relatives, fled at night by canoe to the other side of the Lunga (the west bank) and moved southwards to the Kabela (a tributary of the Lunga).

While he was running away, two of Mushima’s wives got lost. The versions of their subsequent adventures vary. Mushima relates that the women were taken by the Bayeke and that they were returned by the Bayeke leaders at a later date in exchange for a few slaves. Chibanza (p. 61) in his history of the Kasempa chiefs relates that the sons of Jipumpu, Ingwe and Kajoba, found the women. Several times Mushima asked Jipumpu to return the women and although Jipumpu instructed his sons to do so, they nevertheless would not let them go. This incident may chiefly have been responsible for the worsening of the relations between Mushima and Jipumpu.

Mushima went from the Lunga, via the southern banks of the Busanga swamp, to the basin of the Lalafuta and settled in the concealed and easily defendable caves of Makundu on the border of the present Mankoya and Kasempa Districts. He maintained good relations with Lewanika and possibly even paid him tribute.

Mushima never received permission to settle in Barotseland itself, although various Kaonde villages penetrated into the Mankoya District. Clay (p. 15) relates that Lewanika sent indunas to Kasempa and Mushima. The induna who went to the villages of Chief Kasempa (Jipumpu; he lived at this time in the Busanga plains near the Ntete and Mubulumenene streams), was killed by Jipumpu after a quarrel. This could have been the reason why some years later he retaliated by sending a Barotse army against Jipumpu. The induna who visited Mushima, Kashimba, led Mushima from the Lunga to the Lalafuta (Clay p. 15). It is possible that Lewanika talked Mushima into migrating toward the Lalafuta with a view to installing him as a subordinate chief between Barotseland and the warlike Kasempa chief Jipumpu, who was pushing southwards.

In later years Mushima moved in a slightly more northeasterly direction along the tributaries of the Dongwe. In 1966, with the government’s cooperation, Mushima established himself in the Mushima Resettlement Area, about 30 miles from Kasempa.

*List of Mushima Mubambe Chiefs* (according to information provided by the present Mushima and his elders)
1. Nkonde at the Lualaba river near Mwachiamvwa.
2. Ngwezhi
3. Kayombo Kamalwa
4. Kyembe
5. Mushima Mubambel fights with Ntenke, meets Kaponda and Katanga, moves along the Lunga to the Kipupushi stream; meets Kapiji Mujimanzovu at Lunga.
6. Luputa Bantu Moves to the Lushiwishi river; meets Fungulwe and Malembeka (Lamba chiefs) at the Luamala stream; goes on to the Kipese stream; meets Balenge; crosses Kafue river near the Kaluanyembe stream; meets Kitanda and Kasokomona; Luputa killed by Kasokomona.
7. Kipembe Kyamalwa Moves to Jipeta and subsequently to Lunga (Makuji); fights with Bayeke and flees to the Kibela stream and subsequently to the Lalafuta river.
8. Kyesa Lived around 1900 at the Midende stream.
9. Boya Wansi At the Midende stream.
10. Meleki At the Shinanda stream.
11. Present chief Mushima At the Lumba stream; in 1966 moved to the Mushima resettlement area.

V. MIGRATION OF THE WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN KAONDE GROUPS

There is little accurate information on the migration of the Kaonde and Lunda who are at present in the west and the northwest of the Kasempa and Solwezi Districts. In order to complete this review, here follows a synopsis of the relevant passages about this group in Melland’s work, supplemented by information originating from Munyambala (an ex-Bena Luo chief), Chief Ingwe (Bapumpi) and Chewemukulu.

Melland states that the western group belongs to the clans of the Bena Luo and the Bapumpi, who under Chief Ntambo moved from the southwest, in the

1 Other sources chief first mention Luputa Bantu and subsequently chief Mushimbwa Mubamba; it is further related that Luputa Bantu was at first encamped by the Solwezi and Kifubwa rivers, and then marched to the Lunga.
region of the Kabompo-Zambezi junction, along the Kabompo to the north-east. Melland correctly assumes that this is a return in a direction from which the group originally came, that is, the area in the Congo to the north of the Congo-Zambezi watershed. This return from the south coincided with a thrust by the Luyi into the Zambezi valley.

The fact that this westerly group also had matrilineal descent and a corresponding clan-organization, the frequent intermarriages of Bena Luo and Bapumpi and other clan-groups living further east (Balonga, Bena Kyowa) and also the linguistic similarity, caused Melland to count this western group among the Kaonde and to surmise that they, and the other Kaonde groups already dealt with, had the same origin.

Apart from Chief Ntambo in the Mwinilunga District, the groups involved are: Munyambala and Chizera in the Kasempa District, Matebo, Shilenda and Mukumbi in the Solwezi District and Musele and Lubango on the border of the Solwezi and Mwinilunga Districts. Ntambo and Musele are generally considered to be Lunda; Matebo, Shilenda and Mukumbi are often known as Lunda-Kaonde and the Lubango (clan Bena-Kyowa) distinguished themselves to some extent by being known as Luba-Kaonde.¹

The Lunda Paramount chief, Musokantanda, appointed Mukumbi as his warden and tribute-collector at the Mwombezhi.² At the end of the last century a division was arranged between the two brothers, Mukumbi Lubinga and Mukumbi Katotola. It is Mukumbi Lubinga who, as chief, enjoys nowadays the greatest fame.

Munyambala (Bena Luo) related that he had originally settled in the Congo near the Lualaba river and that later he marched to the Kifubwa stream in the Solwezi District and thence to the Mufumbwe river.

He then moved back again some little way to the northeast, where he came into conflict with Mukumbi at the Chovwe stream. He then turned back again to the Mufumbwe. From this migration-route it cannot be inferred that they

¹ It is not clear whether there is any relationship between the Bena Kyowa of Kasempa in the Kasempa District and the Bena Kyowa group of Lubango near the Jiundu swamps. The story told by Piliwe Kisala (cf. the article by BANTJE) provides no clue. In his synopsis of the Kasempa chiefs SANDASANDA refers to a group of Bena Kyowa living in the Mwinilunga District, the descendants of a tributary wife who was given to Mwachiyamvwa by Kiboko when the former received the chieftainship from the hands of the Lunda.

² In 1927 Musele, a Lunda, was appointed as the representative of Musokantanda in this area.
marched very far to the southwest (junction Kabombo-Zambezi), as Melland reported about Ntambo.

In 1945 the chieftainship of Munyambala was combined with that of the junior line of Chizera (Bena Luo), who is more closely related to Ntambo, and probably split off from that part of the Bena Luo clan. At present Chizera and Munyambala are settled in the Kasempa District in the area of the headwaters of the Mufumbwe and along the main road from Kasempa to Kabombo.

Chief Mumba, chief of a Bena Luo sub-clan in the present Mumbwa District, heads what is a section which split off probably during the period when the Bena Luo were still in the Solwezi District near Kifubwa stream (cf. p. 18).

Finally, a few notes must be made concerning the clan of Bapumpi. The migration of the Bapumpi to Zambia must have taken place about the same time as the migration of the Bena Kyowa under Kasempa and have led them directly out of the southern region of the Congo via Solwezi area to the Kasempa District.

Chief Ingwe (Bapumpi), in a survey of the main events of his chieftainship, relates that during the time of the fifth chief, Ingwe Mukonki wa Babemba, there arose dissent within the group of the Bapumpi and one section cut its links with the group and moved to Ntambo near the Kabombo.

Later, Chief Kasempa Jipumpu appointed one of his sons (a Bapumpi) as Chief Ingwe. The greatest number of Bapumpi are settled, with their Chief Ingwe, along the main road from Solwezi to Kasempa in the neighbourhood of the Kayimbwe salt pans, while another section remains further to the east near the Lunga river. A small group of Bapumpi villages is to be found near the Mpungu river, together with the Benambwa clan of Kalasa.¹

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Name Kaonde

The most widely accepted explanation for the origin of the name Kaonde is that it was derived from a small river in the Congo, a tributary of the Mukwizhi,

¹ Kalasa and his Benambwa sub-clan migrated at the end of the last century from the Luswishi river to the west bank of the Lunga. The group is closely related to chief Shibukinga (Bashishi clan) in the Ndola Rural District and is also sometimes referred to as Lamba-Kaonde.
a river which flows into the Lualaba. It must be noted, however, that even detailed maps of the area (e.g. the Atlas of Katanga, 1 : 200,000) fail to indicate Kaonde as a tributary of the river Mukwizhi.

As related already, Mushima (Balonga) was defeated by Musokantanda; he settled along the Kaonde stream, and thereafter he was called Kaonde by the Lunda. According to Grevisse (1942 and 1966) and Boone (1961 p. 64), the root of the word could also have been derived from the verb *ku-onda* which in Bemba means "to be thin". Kaonde then means "a thin one". According to Grevisse it is possible that the followers of Mushima, hunted as they were by the Lunda, received from them the nickname of *batuwonde* — the miserable ones. It may be assumed that, later, other Balonga groups related to Mushima who were living more to the south, such as Kapiji Mujimanzovu, also became known by the same name.

It is generally assumed that it was the Mbwela who named the Bena Kyowa of Kasempa, Kaonde: a name inspired by the direction from which they came, namely, the area of the Balonga, who by that time had already become known as Kaonde.

It would appear that in the last century the name Kaonde gradually came to be generally applied, as it was used by neighbouring tribes to indicate the newly arrived clan-groups from the Lualaba area, who all spoke a Luba-Sanga dialect. Another relevant circumstance was that the word Kaonde was used by the Lunda to indicate the Luba-Sanga groups from either side of the Congo-Zambezi basin who paid tribute to Musokantanda and his tribute-collectors; among them are Sailunga, Kakoma and Mukumbi in Zambia.

It is remarkable that the sub-clan of Kaindu (Balonga), who were among the very first Luba clans to migrate to the south and who always remained settled in the Kafue area, never was given the name Kaonde and continued to be known under the name Luba.¹

¹ The same applies to the group of Lubango, who are known as Luba-Kaonde. It is to them that Brelsford (p. 57) refers when he speaks of a Luba-pocket in the Mwinilunga District. They lived for a long time around the isolated Jiundu swamps and their language is still closely related to Luba-Sanga.
Main Kaonde clan-sections

Clan:

Chief or important Headman (in some cases ex-chief) representing a particular clan/sub-clan:

**KASEMPA DISTRICT**

Bena Kyowa (mushroom) Chief Kasempa
Bapumpi (wild dog) Chief Ingwe
Bena Luo (monkey) Chief Chizera

Balembu (bees) Chief Mushima
Munyambala — combined with Chizera in 1945.

Benambwa (village dog) Chief Kasempa
Balonga (stream) Chief Kasempa in 1945.
Bena Kuyulu (anthill) Chief Kasempa

**SOLWEZI DISTRICT**

Balonga (stream) Chief Kapijji Mujimanzovu
Shilenda — merged with Matebo in 1944.
Bena Kyulu (anthill) Chief Kapijji Mpanga
Batembuzhi (lion) Chief Mumena
Chibanza — joined with Mumena in 1937.
Benambuzhi (goat) Chief Matebo
Benangee (leopard) Chief Mukumbi — Lubinga
Mukumbi — Katotola
Bena Kyowa (mushroom) Chief Kasempa
Balonga (stream) Chief Kaindu
Bena Luo (monkey) Chief Mumba
Bayanga (black ant) Kashinka (and Kamimbe and Kila in Kasempa District)

Besides the above-mentioned clan-groups, the following clan-names are also known in the Kasempa District:

Bena Nonyi (honey-bird)
Bashishi (hair)
Bakiseba (skin)
Basamba (snake)
Bena Kasaka (kaifir-corn)
Benanzovu (elephant).

The above list of clans is not complete, but it covers the main and most common clan-groups together with their leaders.

VII. SUMMARY OF THE MIGRATION-GROUPS

With reference to origin, relationship and migration-route the main Kaonde clan-groups dealt with in this article can roughly be divided into a number of main categories. It must be remarked that this is a provisional division, arrived at on the basis of the material under discussion. New sources of information and later investigations could possibly give rise to a somewhat altered version, especially with regard to a few smaller sub-clans and their chiefs.

A) Balonga : Kapiji Mujimanzovu, Kandu, Nyoka.
   Bena Kyulu : Kapiji Mpanga, Kasonso, Kapeshi
   Batembuzhi : Chibanza, Mumena.

This group can be regarded as the first from a number of Luba clans or sub-clans who moved directly from the south Luba area to the Kafue, possibly as early as the beginning of the 17th century, that is, even before the Luba and Lunda empires came into being.

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, a section of this group returned towards the northwest and became subject to the Lunda.

B) Balembu: Mushima Mubambe, Kinsengwe.

This group is closely related to A, and had for a long time been settled in the Congo, where they were dominated by the Lunda. At the beginning of the 19th century Mushima Mubambe marched through the territory of A, initially to the Kafue and later in the direction of Barotseland, thus evading further Lunda domination. Increasing pressure from the Lunda was possibly the reason for this migration.

C) Bena Kyowa : Kasempa-Kiboko
   Bapumpi : Ingwe.

This concerns a division of one of the Basanga clans. In the Congo, Kiboko (Kasempa) were known as Batemba, later they became known as Bena Kyowa.
Sketch map of N.W. Zambia showing clan migration routes.

- - - - - - - - migration route of the Balonga sub-clan of Kapiji Mujimanzovu and others.
- - - - - - - - - migration route of the Bena Kyowa sub-clan of Kiboko-Kasempa.
0 0 0 0 0 migration route of the Balembu sub-clan of Mushima Mubambe.
- - - - - - - - - migration route of various western Kaonde sub-clans.
++ + + + Boundary Congo-Zambia.

Names of chiefs or ex-chiefs referred to in the text:

1. Chizera and Munyambala
2. Ingwe
3. Kaindu
4. Kalasa
5. Kapiji Mpanga
6. Kapiji Mujimanzovu
7. Kaponda
8. Kasonso
9. Katanga
10. Kinsengwe
11. Matebo
12. Mukumbi
13. Mulonga
14. Mumena
15. Musele
16. Mushima
17. Ntambo
18. Ntenke
19. Nyoka
20. Sailunga
21. Shilenda
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17th century</td>
<td>Expansion of the Luba-empire. Migration of the Balonga (Mushima and others) in a western direction, towards the Lualaba basin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration of the Bena Kyowa sub-clan of Kiboko-Kasempa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th century</td>
<td>Separation from Mushima; Kapji Mujimanzovu, Kaindu, Nyoka and other clan-groups move southwards across the Congo/Zambesi watershed and along the eastern Lunga as far as Kafue Hook. Mushima in the Congo subdued by the Lunda (Musokantanda). The Balonga in Kafue Hook after their defeat by Mbwela move in the direction of Ila.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expansion of the Lunda empire.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th century begin</td>
<td>Kapji Mujimanzovu and others (some Bena Kyulu) return in a north-eastern direction and settle along the Lunga and Mutanda rivers. They are the subjects of Musokantanda.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kiboko obtains the chieftainship from the Lunda (Musokantanda or Mwachiyamvwa) and enters Zambia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Other sub-clans cross the area where the Balonga are settled (Solwezi District) Nyoka returns from Kafue to Lunga</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kiboko-Kasempa cross the area of the Balonga and settle near the Luma and Mwafwe streams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end</td>
<td>Kapji Mpanga (Bena Kyulu) and Chibanza (Batembuzhi) split off as independent groups from Kapji Mujimanzovu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kasempa chiefs move further southwards and defeat Mbwe- la. Jipumpu settles at Kamusongolwa (a hill near Kasempa-Boma).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th century</td>
<td>1899 Grey, guided by Chief Kapji Mpanga, finds Kanshanshi copper workings.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1901 Kasempa-Boma opened at its present site. 1902 Death of Chief Jipumpu Kasempa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various sub-clans enter Zambia and settle along the Kabompo and its tributaries.

Kiboko splits off from Sanga (Chief Pande) and settles in the same area as Katanga, Ngalu and Ntenke.

Settle in Lualaba basin near the Lunda (Mwachiyamvwa).

Closely related to and influenced by the Lunda in the Lualaba basin.
At the beginning of the 19th century Kasempa marched into Zambia, also via the territory of A. The reason for this migration was the desire to have an independent chieftainship and territory; this was actually captured from the Mbwela and their conquest was sanctioned and formally assigned to them by the Lunda.

D) Bena Luo: Munyambala, Chizera, Ntambo
   Benambuzhi: Matebo
   Balonga: Shilenda
   Benangee: Mukumbi.

These groups, of which the kernel can be regarded as belonging to the original Luba clans, were strongly influenced and dominated by their Lunda overlords, especially as they were settled nearer to the centre of the Lunda Kingdom, and had lived there for a longer period.

During the 19th century they marched over the Congo-Zambezi watershed and settled in Zambia. They continued to recognize the Lunda as their overlords and to some extent they were known as Lunda-Kaonde.

In conclusion, we may formulate the assumption that the various clans and sub-clans with their chiefs, the constituent elements of the present Kaonde population in Zambia, originally belonged to the southern Luba clans in the Congo. Their speech is closely related to the Kiluba-Sanga language. They are divisions of the many fairly autonomous matrilinear clans which originally lived in the basin of Lualaba and Lufira.

From the beginning of the 17th century migrations to the south took place in the form of relatively small sub-clans moving under the leadership of a chief or group-headman.

During the 18th century nearly all the groups in both south Katanga and North-west Zambia were incorporated into the Lunda Empire. The Kaonde paid their tribute, through Paramount Chief Musokantanda, to the Lunda King Mwachiyamvwa.

The groups that migrated from the Congo at a later date were even more strongly influenced by Lunda dominance and thus, to a certain extent, lost their original Luba character, this applies in particular to the chiefly families who were mostly appointed by the Lunda.

In the 19th century some groups in the southern border-areas tried to elude to a certain degree the Lunda demands for tribute. Because of the Bayeke raiding parties in the second half of the last century some groups moved even further southwards.
Most of the clan or sub-clan groups dealt with here are still living in the areas in which they settled at the beginning of the 20th century. Gradually, however, clan-identity is losing its meaning and the relative isolation a chief and his clansmen knew in the past is vanishing. At present, as a result of both Government stimulation and social and economic developments, a further concentration of the population takes place along main roads and around development centres, introducing a totally new settlement pattern.

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