Settlement patterns and rural development: a human geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia
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Citation for published version (APA):

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CHAPTER 2

KAONDE MIGRATIONS - THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

'Kinyema maulu muchima wikiyuka'
When a person starts running,
the heart knows why

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In the totality of Zambian pre-colonial migrations the Kaonde clan groups which migrated from Shaba Province, Zaire to Zambia since 1500, and particularly in the 1800's, belong to the later populations which moved into Zambia. Movements were still taking place at the end of the 19th century but were subsequently halted by the coming of British and Belgian colonial rule. While migrations to Zambia from 1500 to 1800 were primarily due to political factors such as Luba and Lunda state formation in Zaire and internal political conflicts within the migrating groups, a general background was the Bantu population expansion in Central Africa as Oliver (1966, 373) somewhat theatrically, but concisely, puts it:

'The southward expansion of the Bantu as a cumulative process, in which the surplus population generated in the favourable conditions at the heart of the Bantu world was constantly pushed out towards the perimeter in an unending sequence of migration, conquest and absorption. On present evidence the explosive nucleus at the heart of the whole system would seem to have been, again, the Luba-speaking peoples of Katanga.'

Population expansion in the 1500's was markedly influenced by introduction of new food crops such as bananas from S.E. Asia, and maize and cassava from South America, plus further developments in iron working and better implements, through which possibilities increased for a higher agricultural production and success in hunting.
This precipitated the necessity for more land, and copper and iron locations, which became extensively utilised. Migrants entering the country after the 1500's also had a more developed chieftainship organisation and long distance trade became more important (Langworthy 1972, 21; Roberts 1976, 63). Although the Kaonde had no prominent position in these developments, the elements mentioned were present: originally of Luba stock, influenced by the Lundas, exhibiting an internal chieftainship structure that played an increasingly prominent role in the area and possessing a well-developed iron working technology. Noteworthy of the latter is that ancient melting techniques in Zambia referred to are often those of the Kaonde (Chaplin 1961, 53; Roberts 1976, 253). The migration situation was not one of considerable population groups colonising new areas through military force, nor a question of large tribal migrations, although this is still pictured by maps showing the course of migrations into Zambia. This view should be rejected, as Vansina (1966, 88) remarks:

'Since the units of the population were clans or rather localised segments of clans, it is clear that the vista of grandiose tribal migrations elaborated by authors such as Gouldsburry and Sheane, Lane Poole or Grevisse, are unlikely; population movement would occur at the level of clansection migration.'

The Kaonde migrations (use of this tribal name is for convenience only as it probably did not yet exist before about 1800) are a clear example of a diversity of small autonomous kin groups who chronologically and spatially diffused, trekking through a wide area. It was a phenomenon of a tangle of repeatedly-moving small groups, consisting of some villages which split up among themselves frequently. A very fluid relationship between inhabitant and environment can be generally assumed whereby principles of territoriality were largely unimportant. In studies of African history, much attention has been given to the rise and decline of the large kingdoms - in Central Africa, the Luba and Lunda states (Verhulpen 1936; Vansina 1966) - and the development of state organisation e.g. the Bemba and Lozi in Zambia (Roberts 1973; Mainga 1973, Langworthy 1972). Much less
concern has been directed to systematically describing the many small population groups, which having no central political territorial organisation, lived on the periphery of these kingdoms. Important for this type of research in Central Africa is a study of the diverse clan traditions and the traditions concerning the position of headman (Vansina 1966,88; Apthorpe 1960a)\(^1\). An extensive description of past migrations made by all the Kaonde clan groups is not possible here. This chapter will be concerned with an outline of the migrations whereby the accent falls on spatial distribution and the factors influencing migrations.

Moreover, it is interesting to observe that despite the general tangle of relocating clan-sections, there is a certain coherent structure that can be detected between the clans, and also a tendency toward a more centralised political territorial organisation.

2.2. ORAL TRADITION

A few words first about oral traditions since they form the most important source for reconstruction of past migrations\(^2\). Chibanza's 'Kaonde History' (1961) consists of oral tradition as presented by several of the more important Kaonde chiefs, and is an extensive source of information. Melland (1923) gave attention to Kaonde history and delineated a sub-division of migrating groups, emphasising the relations between the Kaonde and Lunda. Grevisse (1956) details the history of Kaonde clans in Zaire. I have collected a number of oral traditions from Kaonde headmen, gaining information about diverse clans, for Kasempa District (Jaeger 1971,1972).

The following reconstruction is based on the above literature and collected information. There is an extensive literature and methodology on the use of oral tradition as a source for historical reconstructions (Vansina 1965; Roberts 1973; Hennige 1971). Care is advised when interpreting the material. Oral accounts have a strong mythical element and fulfill moreover an important function for explaining and sanctioning present power relations. But, as Vansina (1965) points out, there is a core of truth in oral traditions.
which is large enough for a possible historical consideration. Oral traditions are the history, or as Roberts (1973, 56) notes, the migration legends of certain headmanship families. The tradition designates names and honourable titles of the various successive leaders of the clan (although the sequence is sometimes dubious), describes events for each headman's term, and gives place-names. The account relates, however, nothing of other clan members who were present within the group or of the absorbed population. Their history might have been totally different.

But still oral tradition gives account of a broader kin group rather than only that of the lineage of one headman. Headmen are chosen from a broad kinship base or come into position through internal power struggles. The applied system of positional succession assumes the appointed head to be a (direct) descendant of the clan ancestors, but consanguinal kinship between successive headmen is sometimes far removed. Therefore, when studying oral tradition of headmanship succession, it can be presumed to represent a much broader group of clan members. As such, the oral tradition is substantially a history of a clan or clan-section.

Establishing chronology is made difficult since events are often telescoped into a short time period and are presented as having occurred under one well-known headman when, in fact, they often took place over many generations. Comparative analysis of oral traditions between adjacent groups sometimes allows, then, for chronological approximation. Migration legends are particularly comprehensive for the more recent past (50-100 years) concerning geographical location, for example, they give a fairly exact location of streams where people settled. It can be assumed that little distortion or exaggeration took place afterwards as territorial attachments were hardly important and the oral accounts have, in general, no function in enforcing territorial claims. The legends then make it possible to roughly reconstruct migration routes.
2.3. THE CLAN AND CLAN-SECTION

As clan structure is a primary differentiating unit of social organisation, pre-colonial situations can only be studied by paying due attention to the clan. Everyone belongs to a clan and identifies with the clan object designation, by calling oneself e.g.: 'Amiwa Bena Kyowa', i.e. I am a child of the mushroom people. Clan names are often taken from plants and animals, although there are no myths concerning descent from these clan objects nor are there food taboos concerning their consumption. The clans are therefore not totemistic. It is presumed that every human being belongs to a clan and a foreign investigator will be asked to which clan he belongs. Laughing and interest results when he asks about clan membership: 'That person is well informed about our society and internal relations'. Answers as to clan membership are direct and without hesitation. This contrasts to questions about kinship relations; more thought is needed and often leads to discussion and consultation with others present. Mutual kinship between all clan members is not traceable although it is assumed. (Refer to Appendix III for a synopsis of the most frequently occurring Kaonde clan names in Zambia).

The same clan names occur over a wide area and are not territorial or tied to a particular 'tribal' grouping. Some Kaonde clan names e.g. exist by the Lamba, Bemba, etc. Clans of the Central African Bantu can not be considered corporate groups. (That is, a group coming together for specific collective action, recognising a central leader or group of leaders, and having common property (Radcliffe Brown 1950, 40). By missing these forms of unifying characteristics, clan significance is often overlooked. In the studies of the structuralist school of anthropology, the accent is put particularly on studying the Central African village, headman position, and the small kin group, without giving attention to the clan myths and mutual relation pattern between clans. As Apthorpe states: 'Clanship relations in Central Africa may be non-corporate but they are not therefore non-existent.' (in Stefaniszyn 1964, VIII).
Precisely by studying population groups and their mutual relations for a wider geographical area the clan, as institution, does appear to be an essential aspect beyond the village structure and directly traceable kinship relations, as for example Cunnison's study (1959) of the Luapula Province population clearly shows.

Within the concept of the clan, a further delineation must be made as to clan-segments or clan-sections. (Cunnison 1959, 80) speaks of sub-clans). Clan-sections are split-offs from the original clan group. Clan-sections have elements of a corporate group - they are more or less territorially bound and associated with their headman's family name. One refers to e.g. the 'Bena Kyowa of Kasempa', the section of the Bena Kyowa clan under Chief Kasempa. There are again a number of lineages within such a clan-section.

In summary:

CLAN : - spread over a large area, the same names existing in various tribes
- a non-corporate group, but having mutual rules of hospitality and exogamy.
- common kinship is not traceable

CLAN-SECTION : - segment of a clan, localised under one headman who is seen as the clan representative in an area.
- having elements of corporate group: gathering for burial rites, choosing and installing the headman, etc.4).
- common kinship between clan-section members is not traceable.

LINEAGE : - there are lineages within the clan-section having a limited (3-4) generation depth; these lineages consider themselves as (fictitious) kin of the headman's lineage.
- the headman's lineage is of more generations (8-10) and he is (fictitious) kin of the clan-section progenitor.
- disputes can occur between lineages during headman succession and a group will sometimes split-off to eventually form a separate clan-section or becomes known by a new clan name.

Cunnison (1959,62) mentions a number of points whereby the clan, and particularly the clan-section, can be recognised: a clan name, a clan ancestor, a clan home, a clan praise-name, a joking relationship with one or more other clans,
a set of inherited names, a set of lineages of almost equivalent depth. These characteristics also apply to the Kaonde clan-sections although they are more widely and better known in some clan-sections than others.

Clan exogamy results in members from other clans being present in a certain clan-section. For marriage, as well as in fulfilling certain ritual functions, it is necessary that members of other clans are settled in a territory. Within the clan-section, the clan of the headman is dominant and numerically the largest (see Appendix V). Members of other clans recognise the headman's political authority over the clan-section with whom they live. But they regard themselves as belonging to another clan and contact is maintained for ritual functions. Within a clan-section, factions can form of kingroups belonging to another clan. Oral tradition gives examples of how such factions became disassociated from a clan-section to form a separate clan-section (cf. 2.4.2.).

There are also indications that migratory groups consisted of clan-sections travelling and settling together in the same region.

There is no hierarchical organisation between the Kaonde clans or clan-sections nor is there the recognition of one clan as the 'royal' clan, the clan from which the chiefs are appointed over a wide area, as is known among the Bemba, Lamba, etc. (Richards 1961,24; Doke 1931,194).

Various researchers note the existence of structural relations between clans, although a systematic investigation of various clan affiliations between clans has not been done. The most commonly known affiliation is that of 'joking relationship'. Apthorpe (1960a,1968) points to the existence of a number of clan affiliation types among the Nsenga. Melland (1669,33) also notes the existence of 'classes of totems' among the Kaonde but makes no further analysis.

Through information gained about relations between Kaonde clans I have been able to delineate at least three types: a) sister clans ('bana bankazhi'): members of these clans do not marry each other and clan names are similar (e.g. Bena Mbwa and Bapumpi - village dog and wild dog). They often live in the same area.
b) marriage exchange clans ('mizhazhi ya pikankana': twisted together): clans of which one says that the roots run parallel; they live in the same area and are closely related through marriage.
c) joking relations clans ('Wunungwee'), clans who have a joking relationship with each other and who perform reciprocal ritual functions. There is also a play on words known on the name of the clans concerned, such as e.g. Balonga - Bena Kyowa: when rain falls mushrooms can appear. Appendix IV gives a list of joking relationship clans among the Kaonde. Several of these word-plays are also well-known among related groups like the Lamba, Bemba, Nsenga (Doke 1931,197; Richards 1937,188; Stefaniszyn 1950,290; 1964,6; Cunnison 1959,65).

The joking relationship is best documented for reciprocal tasks carried out with regard to burial rites. But there are several more functions. The 'Wunungwee' clan among the Kaonde still plays a role in the installation of a new village headman or chief. In earlier times, the 'Wunungwee' clan also had a role during the initiation of girls (Melland 1967,76; oral information to author). It is still unusual to bring an official complaint against a member of one's own clan or that of a 'Wunungwee' clan in dispute situations. Making fools of or even insulting 'Wunungwee' clan members occurs in villages giving cause for hilarity, for which a small gratuity is expected.

Not much is known about the origin of the clan affiliations. For instance, it is remarkable that certain clans present in the same area are affiliated while others are not. Concerning the origin of joking relationships between clans, Richards (1937,192) conceives that new immigrants were dependent on those already located in the area for ritual functions such as burial as they were the 'owners of the land' and those knowledgable about the land and its spirits. In that way 'Wunungwee' relations came into being between more recently arrived clans and clans already present.

Stefaniszyn (1964) places emphasis on the mythical character of the clan names having elements of hostility and opposition and considers the relationship as a form of social integration of potentially hostile and actually mistrustful strangers into the clan-matrilineage.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to gather material concerning origin of these mutual relationships between clans. Kaonde informants questioned as to this primarily...
emphasise the play of words between certain clans and the antagonistic character of certain clan names. Further conversation about this indicated two types of origins: a) 'we came together and we are friends'; b) 'we were first enemies, and then became friends, and now we are 'Wunungwee'. This latter is especially indicative of a possible defeat in war where certain groups were subjugated or assimilated into the clan by a system of house slavery. These clans eventually began to fulfill ritual functions for one another\(^9\). There existed in the first instance a situation of subordination, later only the mythical element of the play on words with its elements of dependence remained.

Furthermore, it appears probable that newly-formed clans resulting from a clan-section division came to have relationships of marriage exchange and 'Wunungwee' with the clan they separated from\(^{10}\). Whatever the different origins are, it is important to recognise here that various ties between clans exist and that some clans are more strongly affiliated than others.

2.4. KAONDE CLAN MIGRATIONS

The Kaonde clans present in Zambia are split-offs from clan groups in Zaire. Oral tradition points to Zaire as the land of origin and 'Kola' as the area of origin, which is vaguely identified with that region of central Zaire between the river Zaire (formerly Congo) and the Atlantic Ocean. Practically all of the Kaonde clan names occurring in Zambia are to be found in Zaire (Grevisse 1956,73, map,207). Clan-sections of Luba origin moved southwards from central and eastern Zaire to the upper reaches of the Lualaba and Lufira rivers. These migrations are considered to have resulted from expansion of the Luba Kingdom, namely the second Luba state in the 16th century (Langworthy 1972,16; Verhulpen 1938,58).

At various times during the 16th-19th centuries, many of these clan-sections trekked over the watershed between the Lualaba River in Zaire and the Zambezi/Kafue River in Zambia. This range is not very high, formed no difficult barrier to overcome, and the plateau lands on either side are similar.
Fig. 2.1 KAONDE CLAN MIGRATIONS APPROXIMATE ROUTES

- - - Balonga and Bena Kyulu clan sections
→→→→→→→ Bena Kyowa clansection of Kasempa
- - - - - - - Balembu clansection of Mushima Mubambe
- - - - - - - Bena Luo and other clansections
6 Figures ref. Appendix III
++/+ Boundary Zaire – Zambia
- - - - - - - Rivers
### TABLE 2.1. KAONDE CLAN MIGRATIONS: CHRONOLOGICAL APPROXIMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>A1 Migration of the Balonga clan</th>
<th>A2 Migration of the Balembu clan</th>
<th>B1 Migration of the Bena Kyowa clan</th>
<th>B2 Migration of various Western Kaonde clans (a.o. Bena Luo)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16th century</td>
<td>Migration of the Balonga (Mushima and others) in a westerly direction, toward the Lualaba basin</td>
<td>Expansion of the Luba empire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th century</td>
<td>Separation from Mushima; Kapiji Mujimanzovu, Kaindu, Nyoka and others move southwards across the Congo/Zambezi watershed and along the eastern Lunga as far as Kafue Hook</td>
<td>Expansion of the Lunda empire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th century</td>
<td>Mushima in the Congo subdued by the Lunda (Musokantanda). The Balonga in Kafue Hook after their defeat by Mbwela move more east in the direction of Ila.</td>
<td>Settle in Lualaba basin near the Lunda (Mwachiyamvwa)</td>
<td>Kiboko splits off from the Sanga Chief Pande and settles in the same area as Katanga, Ngulu, and Ntenke in Zaire.</td>
<td>Closely related to and influenced by the Lunda in the Lualaba basin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th century beginning</td>
<td>Kapiji Mujimanzovu and others (Bena Kyulu) return in a north-eastern direction and settle along the Lunga and Mutanda rivers. They are the subjects of Musokantanda.</td>
<td>Cross the Congo-Zambezi watershed and reside with the Balonga, then move further south to Kafue Hook area</td>
<td>Kiboko obtains the chieftainship from the Lunda (Musokantanda or Mwachiyamvwa) and enters Zambia.</td>
<td>Various clan-sections enter Zambia and settle along the Kabompo and its tributaries. Some Move further south in the direction of Barotseland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Other clans cross the area where the Balonga are settled (Solwezi District). Nyoka returns from Kafue to Lunga</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kiboko-Kasempa crosses the area of the Balonga and settles near the Luma and Mwafwe streams (Solwezi District).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end</td>
<td>Kapiji Mpanga (Bena Kyulu and Chibanza) split off as independent groups from Kapiji Mujimanzovu</td>
<td>Return from Kafue towards Lunga, then flee south of the Busanga plains to Lalafuta and settle on the border of Barotseland under Mushima Mubambe.</td>
<td>Kasempa chiefs move further southwards, defeat Mbwela, Jipumpu settles at Kamusongolwa hill, where a small Lozi army is defeated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the basis of the period of migrations from Zaire, and the relationships between clan-sections, four main groups can be roughly delineated\(^\text{11}\) (Cf. Table 2.1).

A1) A group of clan-sections migrating along the Kafue and Lunga rivers to the south until reaching Kafue Hook (Mumbwa District) in the 16th and 17th century. Later, part of this group went back northwards to locate primarily in eastern Solwezi District. These clan-sections belong to the first Kaonde migrations: they are of Luba origin and spoke a language referred to as 'Kikaonde Kya Kasongo Nyembba Kiluba'. The most important clan of this group is the Balonga clan (water). Also the Bena Kyulu (termites) and Batembuzhi (lions) clans belong to this group.

A2) Later, in the early 19th century, a group, closely affiliated to the Balonga, under Mushina Mubambwe of the Balembu (bees) clan, followed the same route. After reaching the Kafue area, they fled westwards and at the end of the 19th century trekked to the very southwest of present Kasempa District\(^\text{12}\), where they came into contact with the expanding Lozi empire.

B1) A large group of clan-sections migrated to Zambia from southern Zaire, at the end of the 18th century and especially 19th century, because of the expanding Lunda state, ruled by Mwachiyamvwa. Their political system was such that titles were given to local leaders who became bound to the Lunda political system. These territories formed buffer states around the Lunda state. These clan-sections were, although of Luba origin, more strongly influenced by the Lunda. The language is designated as Luba-Sanga, a dialect that became known in the later 19th century as Kaonde. A number of these clan-sections, such as the Bena Kyowa under Kasempa, moved through the area of the mentioned Balonga in Solwezi District to the present Kasempa District.

B2) Other clan-sections, as the Bena Luo (monkeys) followed a more westerly route and were even more strongly influenced by the Lunda. These moved in particular along the Kabompo and its tributaries.
Fig. 2.1 roughly gives the migration routes of the four groups mentioned above (cf. Jaeger 1971, for a more extensive discussion). The map shows the general direction of main clan-section movements. In the second half of the 19th century movements become much more intense because of the slave trade. Many groups were warring and fleeing from each other during that time. The intensive population movements were halted when colonial rule was established at the beginning of this century. Although a few relocations took place in the first decades of the 20th century, the general picture of population distribution has remained as of 1900. Changes and movements have since then taken place over smaller distances and, as will be seen in the following chapter, are of a different nature.

Kaonde clan-sections are presently located over a wide area from Mwinilunga District, in the north via Solwezi and Kasempa districts, to Mumbwa District in the central part of Zambia. Appendix III gives a synopsis of all the Kaonde clans with their headman today living in those areas. It appears evident that clan-sections from one clan at present often live far apart.

In the following the migration of two clan-sections, the Balonga and Bena Kyowa, will be described in more detail in order to give an impression of the factors contributing to migration as well as the tendency both groups have exhibited in forming a centralised political power for gaining control over a wider territory.

2.4.1. Balonga and affiliated clan-section migration

The land to which the new migrants came had already long been settled. Oral tradition gives accounts of conflicts with the Mbwela inhabitants and their displacement further south. Before the Mbwela, people of Bantu origin, had come, the land was populated as shown by archaeological excavations at Kifubwe near Solwezi and by Kamusongolwa Hill near Kasempa. Rock paintings along Kifubwe stream date to the late stone age ca. 4000 BC, and finds of stone artefacts near Kamusongolwa Hill have been dated to ca. 11,000 BC (Fagan 1966, 57-77, Bisson, 1980). These finds probably represent Pygmy and Bushmen populations.
Recent excavations by the Kansanshi copper mine, 15 km north of Solwezi, have shown that copper exploitation and working began there ca. 400 AD. The finds indicate four phases of inhabitation in the area, the first three of the same cultural affinity and the last, beginning ca. 1500, clearly different (Bisson 1974, 1980). Since that time, the mine was exploited by a group having a more highly developed metal-working technology and the associated pottery is very similar to that of the present Kaonde. These excavations appear to support that Kaonde immigrants from the Luba-Sanga area brought a better-developed iron-working technique with them, and Kaonde oral tradition says that they worked the mine in the past. When the mine was visited in 1899 by the Grey expedition, it was no longer in use but the site was pointed out to Grey by the Bena Kyulu chief, Kapici Mpanga (Melland 1967, 17). The Balonga and Bena Kyulu clans report that they were the first Kaonde inhabitants of the present area and that other clans immigrated later. The oral tradition of those clans also establishes this.

It is interesting to note that the Balonga and Bena Kyulu clans have a joking relationship with all the other clans in the area. This relation is expressed in a word play that everyone (all other clans) is dependent on water (Balonga) and termites (Bena Kyulu) eat all kinds of dead animals and plants. That these clan groups have a 'Wunungwee' relationship with later arriving clans supports Richards' hypothesis (1937, 188) that the joking relationship is connected with a structure of relations between older populations in an area and newly arriving groups.

The Balonga clan migration went from Zaire, along the Kafue and Lunga rivers, to the south during which various split-offs occurred. Oral tradition says that four nephews of a chief Kasongo - Nyoka, Kaindu, Mushima, and Kapiji - went their separate ways when the chief died. It is not clear if this fissioning took place in Zaire or Zambia as information is contradictory (Jaeger 1971, 17). These groups moved southwards until they reached the region of Kafue Hook. A large number of small copper mines are located here, and this was probably advantageous for settlement in the area. The Kaonde clan-sections in the south came into conflict with the Mbwela
and Ila at the beginning of the 19th century, displaced as these had been by the expanding Lozi state (Clay 1945,82; Smith and Dale 1930,26).

Some Kaonde clan-sections subsequently retraced their route to locate in eastern Solwezi District by relatives who had stayed there, and into Zaire. Clan-sections remaining in the south were the Balonga under Kaindu, and the Bena Kyulu under Kasonso.

These groups are referred to in earlier literature as the Luba pocket of Kafue Hook (Moffat Thompson 1934; Brelsford 1965,57). This points to their Luba origin and the fact that the Kaonde name came into use later. Although clearly related to and split-offs from the Balonga and Bena Kyulu groups living in Solwezi District, those of Kafue Hook remained relatively isolated and therefore known as Luba for a long time.

Around 1800, the Balonga chief Mushima was defeated by the Lunda, reportedly under chief Musokantanda. Other clan-sections hearing of Mushima's defeat subjected themselves voluntarily to Lunda authority. Oral tradition relates (in Melland 1967,43):

'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 thought it better to be content with the country east of Mutanda and pay tribute to Ilunga, so we did so.'

After that time, various Kaonde clans were incorporated into the Lunda state and paid tribute to the Lunda King, Mwachiyamvwa through the paramount Chief Musokantanda. The local clan leaders received a title from the Lunda and retained autonomy within the relatively decentralised Lunda state organisation.

The legend pertaining to the derivation of the name Kaonde stems from this period as well. Various versions are known.

It is told that Musokantanda defeated Mushima by a stream called Kaonde, a tributary of Mukwizi stream in Zaire, and since then the Balonga group was known by this name (Grevisse 1956,90). Another version says Mushima was so heavily defeated that only a small and miserable group remained; it received the nickname Kaonde, deriving from
'ku-onda' (thin) or 'batuwondo' (the miserable) (Boone 1961,64). Since then, the surrounding populations such as Lunda and Mbwela referred to the Balonga as the Kaonde. Later, when other clan-sections moved through the Balonga area, they became known as Kaonde, having come from that area. The name thus gradually became the designation for a variety of clan groups of Luba origin speaking a Luba-Sanga dialect.

An internal struggle within the Balonga clan-section under Kapiji Mujimanzovu took place in the mid 19th century, concerning the headman position. This conflict shows how internal political disagreements can lead to fissioning into several clan-sections. The chieftainship was initially controlled by the Balonga clan. In a power struggle, the title comes into the hands of a member of the Bena Kyulu, subsequently in that of a member of the Batembuzhi clan and later again in the hands of the Balonga clan. Each time these successive chiefs solicited Lunda sanctioning of their position (Chibanza 1961,96).

Melland (1967,33) assumes that this was a matter of structural chieftainship alternation among the three clans represented in this group who also shared close affinity through marriage. Each clan-section would have the chieftainship in turn. This appears improbable, even more so as such alteration is not known from any other clan group. It seems more likely that this was a conflict between matrilineal and patrilineal succession systems. Succession had namely taken place from the chief of the Balonga clan to his son and his mother's family who belonged to the Bena Kyulu. This may have been influenced by the dominance of the patrilineal Lunda over the matrilineal Kaonde as well as an usurpation attempt by one clan faction over another for control of the chieftainship.

Eventually, the three contending groups separated to form three distinct clan-sections having their own leaders and located in different areas of Solwezi District:
- the Balonga, under Chief Kapiji Mujimanzovu, along the East Lunga River
- the Bena Kyulu, under Chief Kapiji Mpanga, near Kansanshi mine
- the Batembuzhi, under Chief Chibanza, initially near Kansanshi mine and later in the vicinity of Jivundu.
Aside from this fissioning, others had formed new clan-sections over the years from within the Balonga clan, such as those under Kaindu in Mumbwa District, Nyoka in Kasempa District, Shilenda in Solwezi District.

It would appear then, that the Balonga was developing into a 'royal clan' having chiefs spread over a wide area. The following stage would have been a further political hierarchy having one paramount chief and a number of subordinate chiefs appointed by and related to him. Doke (1931,194), in his discussion of the Lamba, regards the Balonga as the 'royal clan' of the Kaonde. But this is going too far since many other Kaonde chiefs are not of the Balonga clan. That no further state formation characteristics developed could be correlated to a too extensive area over which the Balonga clan-sections settled (from the upper Lunga, near the border of Zaire, to the Kafue Hook: 320 km) as well as to above mentioned internal conflicts of succession and the Lunda domination which may have deterred a centralisation process.

2.4.2. Migration of the Bena Kyowa clan-section under Kasempa

Expansion of the Lunda state during the 18th and 19th centuries caused many migrations from Zaire to Zambia. This was partially a matter of limited military actions by which population groups were defeated or where local leaders voluntarily accepted Lunda rule, as we saw above, by being attracted by Lunda prestige and the possibility of receiving a title from the Lunda leader Mwachiyamvwa, and thereby a degree of autonomy. Local leaders went to the Lunda centre to ask for recognition and subsequently located on the periphery of the kingdom. During periods when Lunda power decreased, these groups again attempted to avoid domination and the paying of tribute (Langworthy 1972,23).

A clear example of this involves the leadership of Kasempa of the Bena Kyowa clan. In Zaire, one was a member of a Sanga speaking clan-section, under Chief Pande, originally Luba and integrated into the Lunda state in the 18th century. During a dispute concerning succession to the Chief Pande position, a kin group split off and left the Lufira
River area (Hadelin Roland 1937,9). This new clan-section, which was known at that time as Batemba (water), moved through the Balonga's area in Solwezi District and settled by the Luma and Mafwe streams. That this migration proceeded without conflict is attributed to the fact that the Balonga and Batemba were kin (and possessed the same clan name - water) (Melland 1967,30; Jaeger 1971,26). According to the account given by Balonga Chief Mujimanzovu, the two clans did not intermarry. They were probably 'sister clans'. The Batemba group leaders went to the court of the Lunda to obtain a title, which was probably granted by Musokantanda. This designation was 'Kiboko', a title that was also known within the leadership of Chief Pande in Zaire.

From the Luma area, the clan-section trekked further south to settle by the Kaimbwe salt pan. This was an economically favourable site as it is one of the few places in the North-Western Province where salt can be won on a large scale. The Mbwela inhabitants in that area, under Chief Mwena Kahari, who were located near Kamusongolwa Hill, were displaced by the invaders and had to move southwards to locate in present West Province. The migrants moved again further southwards to locate by the Busanga swamp, a plentiful fish and game area. This relocation was probably a result of trying to avoid paying tribute to the Lundas.

Legends tell of conflicts between the Kasempa chiefs and the Lunda representative and tribute collector, Chief Mukumbi (Chibanza 1961,59). It was also a period in which economic and political relations changed due to the increasing ivory and slave trade. In particular Mbundu and Luvale traders from the west and Bayeke from Zaire came to the area. The Bayeke, especially, were not only traders, but organised slave raids which reached deep into Zambia, threatening the local population and demanding payments in the form of slaves, ivory, and hides. Some clan-sections acquired better weapons (spears and fire arms) through trade in slaves and ivory and by working together with the Bayeke. Groups having particularly forceful leaders took advantage of the situation to enlarge their political power.
Chief Kasempa was one of these. He regularly vanquished other groups and enlarged his power to an autonomous position in relation to the Lunda in the north and the expanding Lozi state to the south. Continuously involved in conflicts, Chief Kasempa Jipumpu changed location repeatedly. This is the period when present names began coming into use. As already mentioned, the migrants came via the Balonga area and they also received the name Kaonde and it seems that the name Batemba fell into disuse. The clan name Bena Kyowa also becomes more prominent, its derivation being explained as follows:

'While they were moving, their old brother died. They started to bury him. It was in the rainy season. When they returned from the burial, they found a mushroom on their way. They carried it with them and when they arrived in the village they cooked it and ate it themselves, without giving it to the others. So their friends said 'You are greedy people. You have eaten the mushroom which we found together. Therefore we shall call you Bena Kyowa' (= mushroom people) (Bantje, 1971,57).

During Chief Jipumpu's rule, the name Kasempa comes into use as well, as explained by the following legend:

Chief Jipumpu was a very valiant warrior who could attack suddenly. Often his helpers and those being attacked had no time even to fasten their clothing of skins properly and securely around their middles and these then fluttered loosely on all sides. So, the expression 'kasempakanya bantu biseba' arose, which means: someone who causes disarray of skins. This byname gradually became Jipumpu's honourific name and subsequently the title of Bena Kyowa chiefs in Zambia (Jaeger 1971).

Chief Kasempa Jipumpu came into contact with the expanding Lozi state at the end of the 19th century through a conflict with the Lozi supported Balembu clan-section, under Chief Mushima Mubambe, located to the south of Kasempa. Jipumpu won this battle. Oral tradition reports that Mushima, fleeing from a Bayeke slave raid, lost two women along the way. These were found by sons of Jipumpu, who refused their return. Mushima solicited Lozi help in fighting Jipumpu who entrenched himself on Kamusongolwa Hill and defied the Lozi army from there. This ca. 1898 battle
became a legendary event in Kaonde history. Chief Jipumpu's prestige grew and the name of Kamusongolwa Hill has become nearly mythical in nature.

Sometime after the battle, Jipumpu went to Lewanika's court bearing presents in reconciliation. It is often assumed that this indicates that Kasempa began paying regular tribute and was incorporated into the Lozi state. This was in fact not the case. Kasempa retained autonomy and never made regular payment to the Lozi. Several southern Kasempa District Kaonde chiefs (Munyambala, Mushima, Kapeshi, Kalasa, Kasonso) did have contact and paid occasional tribute to the Lozi, but there is no evidence that this was a fixed situation of dominance (Shaloff 1972). Chief Jipumpu extended his power by appointing regional headmen of the Bena Kyowa clan in the surrounding area. At the beginning of the century, his settlement was encircled by 5-6 regional headmen located within a radius of 50-60 km (cf. 7.1 and fig. 7.3 A).

Jipumpu also appointed his kin as chiefs of other clan-sections. His son, Ingwe, became chief of a Bapumpi clan-section and other relatives headed the Bena Kyulu clan-section of Kasonso and the Bayanga clan-section of Kamimbi.

Chief Kasempa Jipumpu created his own state in this way and one can speak of the beginning of a kingdom formation. Further enlargement of this state organisation was halted as Kasempa's area was the first of the North-Western Province to come under colonial rule, in 1900. On the other hand, British rule fixed the political status quo, which meant that Kasempa's position became protected from eventual internal rivalry or external threats.

In summarising events of the pre-colonial period, it can be said that despite the large number of small, relatively autonomous clan-sections which relocated regularly, two different developments toward a more centralised political organisation took place. Firstly among the Balonga clan, an earlier group of immigrants and as such having seniority over newly arriving immigrants, gradual development toward a royal clan took place, based on the hereditary ruling of a long-standing lineage.
Secondly, the Bena Kyowa clan, later immigrants, quickly build up a central power position under strong leadership of a mighty chief, with the help of newly introduced weapons and the slave trade in the late 19th century.

2.5. TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION AND MIGRATION FACTORS

There are only a few indications concerning the settlement pattern and the size of the migrating groups. It appears that two tendencies existed at the end of the 19th century. The one had to do with small isolated groups widely dispersed in connection with war and slave-raiding and the other was a tendency to concentrate around a powerful headman who had the followers and means for building an enclosed village (stockade). Ivens and Capello, who travelled through the northwest area in the late 1800's (cf. note 2), reported that the population was living in miserable little hamlets (Turner, 1957,42). This probably indicates that many inhabitants were living in a type of dwelling such as is now still in use as temporary hut while a village relocates, or as hunting camp, constructed from branches and leaves. Oral tradition also mentions habitation in caves along streams.

Aside from this, oral tradition mentions the existence of larger enclosed and fortified villages. The remains of these stockades have been observed at various locations in the province (Melland 1969,272). It seems probable that part of the population lived in this type of village and the rest were spread over the immediate area, fleeing to a headman's enclosed village in times of danger.

Clay (1945,14) says in his History of the Mankoya '........ the Ba-Kaonde made repeated raids upon the Mankoya, being apparently, a faint-hearted people, and running away, at the first news of their approach, to the kraal of their Induna, Mwene Mutondo, on the Luena River, where a strong and high stockade was erected in which all the people collected as much food and water as could be obtained before the arrival of their enemies ........'

Village size of the stockaded villages was probably on the order of 100-200 inhabitants, in accordance with the size of larger villages at the beginning of this century.

A headman will certainly have tried to increase his following by attracting relatives to his village as is
still done today. Death, sickness, or conflict often has the effect of reducing village size, and relatively large fluctuations in the size of the villages would certainly have taken place regularly.

Oral tradition concerning Chief Kasempa Jipumpu records that he was supported by 10 headmen. (The traditions about Mujimanzovu makes mention of 12 headmen in his area). One can then conclude that on the basis of a village size of 100-200 people, that the size of the more important clan-sections was at the most 1000-2000 people at the end of last century.

If we look briefly at the general political development of Kaonde society and especially its territorial aspects, the general trend can be followed from an egalitarian-band society, replaced by a ranked society, in which kinship affiliations become more prominent, followed by a stratified society, in which chieftainship and unequal access to economic resources are characteristics, developing towards a more centralised 'state' organisation (Fried, 1967; Soja, 1971). It is important to note that this apparently unilinear line of change in reality shows a much more varied pattern whereby characteristics of more than one of the above mentioned stages can be present in space and time simultaneously.

Within the egalitarian-band society, where subsistence is mainly based on hunting and gathering, flexibility and relocation are primary. There are no defined boundaries between groups or exclusive long lasting rights to territorial resources. Fissioning is frequent and occurs particularly in connection to the mode of production. Large concentrations of people are impossible.

Increase in technology and further development of agriculture decreases in principle the necessity of regular relocations. The significance of kinship-group cooperation in an area becomes more important. In the rank society kinship affiliation like clans, localised clan-sections and lineages become important. Territoriality is defined in social terms; an area is given the name of a village leader. Boundaries are still not important, there
is a core area and large transitional frontier zones (Soja, 1971,44). Development within the clans of lineages of which the heads have political and religious leadership functions introduces a stratified society. Chieftainship functions become more fixed, as well as unequal access to certain economic resources. These positions grew stronger through systems of domestic slavery and rules determining tribute payments to the leaders.

With the Kaonde this development is strongly influenced by the Lunda, who provided titles for Kaonde leaders and sanctioned leadership positions. Fissioning and relocations still take place, but primarily for political reasons. Lineages fight for power and titles. An abundance of land means that there is a possibility of resolving these conflicts through a territorial expression. Split-offs occur regularly whereby groups move to a different area to form its own little 'state'. Territoriality is still socially determined. Areas are known by the name of a person e.g. a chief and not by a geographical object. The power position of leaders increases when settled near economically important resources, such as mines, salt pans, or trade centres. In these surroundings a more stratified situation becomes visible, where a chief is encircled by a number of his village headman of the same clan. But for the Kaonde this situation is an exception.

Moreover there are also fluctuations in the resource exploitations, which influence territoriality. For example, already in the 1800's, the significance of mining activities had decreased, possibly because the richest surface copper veins had been worked out and trade declined in connection with the decline of the large kingdoms in Zaire. On the other hand, trade in less territorially bound resources such as slaves and ivory increased. This means a shift in the territorial aspects of political organisation; again a more flexible and changing settlement pattern occurs. Generally it can be said that in the 19th century, although society was moving in the direction of a stratified society with at some places development towards a more central organisation, the stage of political organisation varied
widely from area to area and from the point of view of territoriality there existed a highly fluid settlement pattern, with a high degree of internal fissioning and with mitigating tendencies toward stratification and centralisation.

In summarising the factors which led to the Kaonde migrations in general and the frequent relocations, the following factors can be delineated:

a) **Population growth.** This factor is considered to be a general cause of the migrations. However, it is hardly possible to quantify the actual population pressure. It should be kept in mind that we are dealing here with small population groups trekking through vast areas. At the beginning of this century, the population density of Solwezi and Kasempa districts was under one person per km², but the density of adjacent areas in Zaire from where the migrants came was equally low.

b) **Subsistence means.** Shifting cultivation and hunting made it necessary to change location regularly. It appears though that considering the limited population density, long distance migration was not particularly caused by environmental limitations, but rather by the following factors.

c) **External political factors.** Expansion of the centralised Luba state and attempts to avoid paying tribute to the new rulers, caused a southern migration of those Luba clan-sections living on the periphery of the Luba territory in the 1500's. The creation of the Lunda state in the 1700's resulted in integration of many groups into this less-centrally governed state. An increase in tribute payments which was especially required by Lunda appointed representatives and collectors located on the periphery of the state in the 1800's was reason for clan groups to migrate southwards to avoid Lunda domination and retain autonomy.

d) **Internal political factors.** Fissioning regularly took place because of conflicts within clan-sections, such as power struggles for succession. A section fissions and moves
away and in time such a village group increases, conflicts arise and fissioning occurs again.

e) Economic-geographical factors. Ample land and rivers contributed to the relocation possibilities. But that does not imply that migration direction was at random and that geographical features were unimportant. Migration was directed to natural resources such as copper and iron deposits, salt pans, and rich hunting and fishing grounds. It is noteworthy that the areas to which the Kaonde clan-sections migrated were those having copper resources: the Kansanshi area, the area near the East Lunga and the Kafue confluence, and the area of the Dongwe and Kabompo rivers\(^19\); the salt pan at Kaimbwe and the rich fishing opportunities in the Busanga swamp were also attractive.

f) War and unrest. Movements became especially influenced in the second half of the 1800's by war and slave raids. Introduction of more effective weapons also played a role in this\(^20\). Although the power of a few leaders increased, the general situation was one of unrest whereby much re-locating and searching for safety in the most isolated areas took place.